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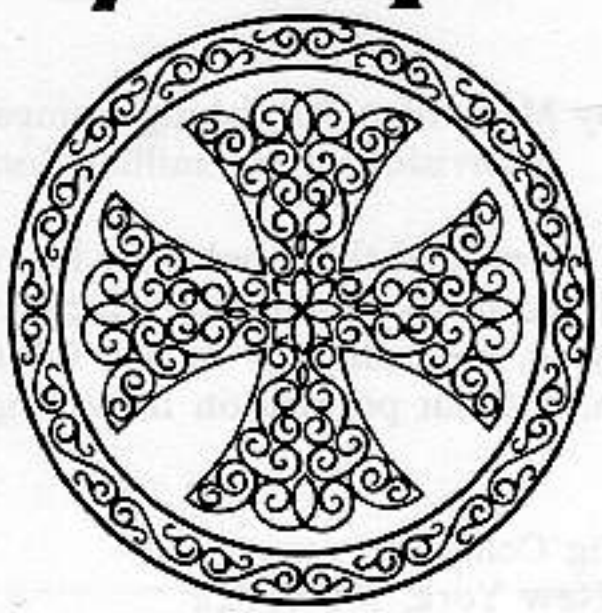
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E

(continued)

ETHIOPIAN PRELATES (continued).

SĀWIROS (fl. late eleventh century)

Sāwiros was immediate successor to his maternal uncle, Abuna Fiqṭor, who had reared him in Ethiopia. The episcopate of Sāwiros was distinguished by a series of events, which are recorded primarily in the *History of the Patriarchs*.

After Fiqṭor's death (c. 1077), Sāwiros went to Egypt, where he was consecrated as metropolitan bishop by Patriarch CYRIL II (1078–1092). To aid him in this undertaking, Sāwiros had obtained preliminary consent from the powerful amīr al-Juyūsh Badr al-Jamālī, vizier (1074–1094) of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, by promising him gifts and improved treatment of the Muslims living in Christian Ethiopia. Immediately upon his return to Ethiopia from Egypt, however, Sāwiros was opposed as bishop by the Coptic monk ʿAbdūn, who, under the name of Qūrīl (Cyril), had earlier tried to usurp the episcopal throne from Abuna Fiqṭor. Sāwiros emerged victorious, ʿAbdūn being forced to flee with whatever belongings he could collect. The fugitive monk sought safety on the island of Dahlak Kebr (off the coast of Massawa), but was arrested there by al-Mubārak (first of the archipelago sultans), who stripped him of all his goods and sent him to Cairo, where the vizier ordered his execution in A.M. 802/A.D. 1085–1086.

Sāwiros, having been part of his uncle's entourage, knew Ethiopia well and enjoyed considerable prestige. Thus, he was able to undertake a number of reforms, distinguishing himself above all by his fight against polygamy. Even the king (unnamed in the *History of the Patriarchs*) renounced all his women, save his wife and one concubine who had borne him children.

In October 1088, Sāwiros, via his brother, Rijāl, sent a present to Badr al-Jamālī. But the vizier scorned the gift and complained to Rijāl—before the patriarch and many Coptic bishops, who had been urgently summoned—that Sāwiros had not fulfilled his early promises, in particular, his promise to build four mosques for the Muslims of Ethiopia. But Rijāl replied that, on the contrary, his brother had even been imprisoned by the king of Ethiopia precisely because he had agreed to the construction of seven mosques—mosques that had been rapidly demolished by the Ethiopians. Thereupon, the vizier commanded Patriarch Cyril II to write to the Ethiopian sovereign, urging him to respect the Muslims. A delegation, led by two Coptic bishops, carried the patriarch's letter to Ethiopia, along with a letter from Badr al-Jamālī, in which he threatened to destroy the Coptic churches of Egypt

if the king did not satisfy his demands. The king, however, answered the vizier with an even harsher letter, wherein he threatened all Islam, including Mecca, with severe reprisals.

The *History of the Patriarchs* gives no further information about Abuna Sāwiros, but the Ethiopian Synaxarion relates that after ten years, he left Ethiopia to return to Egypt. However, this return was probably a prudent recall, agreed upon between the Coptic patriarch and the Ethiopian king, as a result of deteriorating relations between Egypt and Ethiopia. This could also explain why certain traditional lists of Ethiopian metropolitan bishops state that Sāwiros was "exiled by Alexandria." The Ethiopian Synaxarion further notes that Sāwiros died in Egypt and was buried at the Monastery of Anbā Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR).

It is probable (but not certain) that Sāwiros's successor was Abuna Giyorgis I.

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GIYORGIS I (fl. early twelfth century)

It is probable that Giyorgis (Jirjis in Arabic) was the immediate successor of Abuna Sāwiros. The only information concerning him is found in the *History of the Patriarchs* (Renaudot, 1713, pp. 475–76).

During A.M. 818/A.D. 1101–1102, the king of Ethiopia (unnamed in the Arabic text) sent a messenger to al-Afḍal, vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-Āmir, asking al-Afḍal to have a new metropolitan named for the Ethiopian church. The vizier summoned MICHAEL IV (1092–1102) and asked him to act quickly in regard to this request so that the new bishop could depart for Ethiopia with the returning messenger. Michael chose and consecrated a monk by the name of Jirjis who came from DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR in WĀDĪ ḤABĪB.

However, the new prelate, who left for Ethiopia immediately, remained but a short time in that country. In fact, it is said that after his arrival, he transgressed there in infamous affairs and vile deeds unbecoming to his rank (Sergew Hable Sellassie, 1972, pp. 250–51). The king of Ethiopia, sharply reacting to this, seized all Ethiopian properties acquired by Giyorgis, sent him back to Egypt, and asked that the offending bishop be punished. In Cairo, the vizier had Giyorgis cast into prison, where he remained for several years.

The *History of the Patriarchs* gives no further information about this prelate. It is probable, but not certain, that his immediate successor was Abuna Mikā'ēl I.

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MIKĀ'ĒL I (fl. early twelfth century)

It is possible (though not certain) that he was the direct successor of Abuna Giyorgis I. Christened Ḥabīb al-Aṭfīḥī, he assumed the name Mikā'ēl (Mīkhā'īl in Arabic) upon his elevation to the seat of Ethiopia by MACARIUS II (1102–1128).

According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, Mikā'ēl's episcopate was marked by two episodes important in the history of Ethiopia. The first occurred during the pontificate of GABRIEL II (1131–1145), when the king of Ethiopia (unnamed in the Arabic text) asked the Metropolitan Mikā'ēl to consecrate some bishops as coadjutors in numbers larger than that permitted by canon law. In the margin of the Arabic text, a note of doubtful value adds that at the time, the number allowed in the Coptic church was seven. However, the metropolitan replied to the king that he did not have the power to accede to this request without the patriarch's authorization, whereupon the king made his request directly both to the patriarch and to the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–1149), who likewise attempted to influence

the patriarch in this matter. The latter adroitly defended himself by explaining to the caliph that if the number of bishops in Abyssinia surpassed the canonical limit, these bishops could then elect their own metropolitan on site, which would risk removing Christian Ethiopia from all influence coming from Egypt. The caliph accepted this argument and did not insist further. For his part, the patriarch took care to write to the Ethiopian ruler, exhorting him to desist from his request. Meanwhile, since Ethiopia had been struck by diverse disasters, such as drought, famine, and epidemics, the king hastened to renounce his request, and renewed his allegiance to the patriarch. Gabriel II then sent his blessing to the Ethiopian king, and all calamities came to an end.

Mikā'ēl I continued his episcopal reign in Ethiopia during the brief pontificates of both MICHAEL V (1145–1146) and JOHN V (1147–1167).

It was during John's pontificate that the second episode related in the *History of the Patriarchs* occurred. The king of Ethiopia (unnamed in the Arabic text) wrote a letter to the powerful vizier al-'Ādil, that is, 'Alī ibn al-Salār, vizier to the Fatimid caliph al-Ẓāfir (1149–1154). In this letter, which was no doubt accompanied by an important gift, the king asked the vizier to order Patriarch John V to name a new metropolitan to replace Mikā'ēl, who had grown too old. However, John was able to ascertain the true reason for this request: the Ethiopian king had illegally seized the throne, and because Mikā'ēl continued to condemn the usurpation, the king wished to rid himself of the venerable prelate. Therefore, the patriarch replied that a new metropolitan could not be named so long as Mikā'ēl was alive. Furious, 'Alī ibn al-Salār had John cast into prison, where he remained until the vizier's death. 'Alī ibn al-Salār was assassinated in 1153. Historically, this episode is difficult to interpret. According to C. Rossini (1928, pp. 289–90, 303), the usurpation opposed by Mikā'ēl was the one perpetrated by the first sovereign of the Zāgwē dynasty, who seized power around 1137. This thesis is based on certain legends, which claim that this dynasty remained in power for 133 years before relinquishing its rule in 1270 to Yekunno Amlāk, first ruler of the so-called Solomonic dynasty.

The date of Abuna Mikā'ēl's death and the names of his immediate successors are unknown. Nevertheless, it is certain that there was at least one metropolitan who ruled after him and before Abuna Mikā'ēl II, for it is known that the latter was named near the beginning of the thirteenth century at the request of King Lālibalā to replace a metropolitan who had just died.

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MIKĀ'ĒL II (fl. early thirteenth century)

According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, during the pontificate of JOHN VI (1186–1216) and under the reign of the Ayyūbid sultan Abū Bakr, also known as al-Malik al-'Ādil, who had assumed power in July 1199, an Ethiopian delegation was received in Cairo, requesting a new metropolitan to replace the one who had just died. His name is unknown, but he was the successor to Mikā'ēl I. Since the arrival in Cairo of this delegation was also recorded by the Arab physician and writer 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, the date is known, the Islamic month of Shawwal A.H. 596/August A.D. 1200. Unable to find a monk suitable for this duty, John VI was obliged to designate a certain Kīl (abbreviation of Mikā'ēl) ibn al-Mulabbas, bishop of the city of Fuwa. Traveling with the Ethiopian delegation, Kīl, now Abuna Mikā'ēl II, came to Ethiopia, where he was received with great pomp and given large endowments in order to meet his own needs and those of his entourage. However, five years later he was back in Cairo with neither retinue nor means. He told John VI that in Ethiopia he had run counter to the treacherous intrigues plotted by the queen, who had a brother named Jabrūn. If one admits a scribal corruption of the Arabic text, the name may also be read as Khayrūn or Ḥitrūn. She had thus forced Mikā'ēl to consecrate Jabrūn as bishop, who then gradually usurped many prerogatives of the *abun*. Because Jabrūn and his cohorts had dared to attack the dwellings of the metropolitan and make an attempt on his life, Mikā'ēl had been forced to flee. Unconvinced by this story, the patriarch dispatched

to Ethiopia a priest named Mūsā, who had instructions to deliver a letter to the king and investigate the affair. One year later, accompanied by an Ethiopian delegation, Mūsā returned to Egypt with an answer from the king and the necessary information.

The true reason for Mikā'ēl's flight was that he had caused a dignitary of the Ethiopian church to be beaten to death, a man who had been posted to guard the treasure of the archbishop and whom Mikā'ēl had suspected of having stolen a bar of gold. The relatives of the dead dignitary had then attacked the residence of the metropolitan, who had fled in fear. As for Jabrūn, he had died two months after Mikā'ēl's flight and therefore no longer posed a threat. Furthermore, the king of Ethiopia had sent gifts with the delegation for both the patriarch and the sultan, and requested a new metropolitan. In the absence of al-Malik al-'Ādil, the king's letter was given to the regent, al-Malik's son, al-Malik al-Kāmil, who authorized the patriarch to carry out the Ethiopian request.

Thus, on Sunday, 9 Ramaḍān A.H. 606/A.D. 7 March 1210, Mikā'ēl was removed from his duties as metropolitan and from his rank as bishop. At the same time, the patriarch consecrated in his place a monk from the Monastery of Saint Antony, Isaac (Arabic, Isḥaq; Ethiopian, Yesḥaq), who then left for Ethiopia with another monk, his brother, Yūsif (Joseph), who had been assigned as coadjutor.

The *History of the Patriarchs* ends the episode on an important note. It says that the Ethiopian king was Lālibalā, who in fact ruled from about 1190 to 1230, that his wife was named Masqal Kebrā, and that this sovereign had two sons, one of whom was named Yabārak (this should be read as Yetbārak) and the other Abiāb (i.e., La'ab or, more precisely, Na'akuto La'ab, who, according to tradition, was the nephew of Lālibalā and occupied the throne after his uncle and before his cousin Yetbārak). It adds that the capital of this king was 'Adafa (i.e., Adafā), located near the present city of Lālibalā, and that the original country of the ruling Zāgwē dynasty was called al-Bukna, corresponding to the district of Bugnā, to the south of Lāstā. These data from the Arabic text confirm the historical bases and importance of this episode.

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YESḤAQ I (fl. early thirteenth century)

He succeeded Mikā'ēl II, who had been dismissed from his position. At the request of the negus Lālibalā (c. 1190–1230), John VI (1189–1216) chose two brothers from among the monks at the Monastery of Saint Anthony, Yesḥaq (Isḥaq in Arabic) and his older brother, Yūsuf (Joseph). Yesḥaq was named metropolitan and his brother, coadjutor. The consecration took place in Cairo on Sunday, 9 Ramadān A.H. 606/7 March 1210.

All other historical data are lacking. The direct successor to Yesḥaq I was Giyorgis II.

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GIYORGIS II (fl. early thirteenth century)

Near the end of the reign of the negus Lālibalā, Giyorgis became the direct successor of Abuna Yesḥaq I; his name has been transmitted only through Ethiopian documents.

Giyorgis II is first mentioned in a feudal act dated 29 March 1225 in connection with a donation of land made by Lālibalā. He is also mentioned in the colophon of *Kebra Nagast* (Bezold, 1905, p. 138), a literary work containing the written version of the national legend of Ethiopia. This colophon states that the work had first been translated from Coptic into Arabic in the year 1217 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1224–1225), during the reign of Lālibalā and the metropolitanate of Giyorgis II.

As for the *History of the Coptic Patriarchs*, although it does not list the name of the metropolitan, it does conserve the story of the circumstances

surrounding his election. Near the end of the pontificate of the Coptic patriarch John VI (1189–1216), the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (1200–1218) received a messenger in Cairo from the king of Ethiopia (Lālibalā). This messenger had been commanded to announce the death of Abuna Yeshaq I to the sultan and ask him to send a new one. However, an ambitious Coptic priest named Dāwūd ibn Laqlaq then went to al-Malik al-Kāmil and, after giving him 200 dinars, asked the sultan to intervene and have him (Dāwūd) consecrated as metropolitan of Ethiopia. (This same Dāwūd later became the Coptic patriarch Cyril III, 1235–1243.) Al-Malik al-Kāmil sent the messenger to John VI, who in turn suggested to the messenger that he tell the sultan "that this one is not fit because his belief in God is corrupt" and that sending him to Ethiopia could distance the Ethiopians from the Coptic church and consequently from the Egyptian authorities as well. The messenger having followed these instructions, the sultan decided to leave the patriarch complete freedom in making his choice. Thus it was that someone other than Dāwūd was consecrated as metropolitan. Although the *History of the Patriarchs* omits both the name of the metropolitan and the date of his consecration, it is clear that this episode refers to Giyorgis II, and thus, his election must be placed around 1215.

The date when his metropolitanate ended is unknown. It is possible (but not certain) that he was the immediate predecessor of Qērelos I.

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QĒRELOS I (fl. end thirteenth century)

It is probable (but not certain) that Qērelos I was the direct successor to Abuna Giyorgis II. The principal data concerning this metropolitan comes from the Life of Abuna Takla Hāymānot (Budge, 1906), the Ethiopian saint (d. c. 1313) to whom is attributed both the founding in Shewa of Dabra Asbo (later called Dabra Libānos) and the establishment of one of the two great monastic orders of Ethiopia.

This Life reports that at fifteen years of age Takla Hāymānot was led by his father to Abuna Gērelos (i.e., Qērelos or Cyril), who ordained him a deacon. The text describes Qērelos as "bishop of Amhara at the time of the Zāgwē kings" and states that Abuna Takla Hāymānot's ordination took place "when Benjamin was Archbishop of Alexandria," a statement based on a misunderstanding, since there was no successor to Saint Mark named Benjamin during the thirteenth century. According to this same Life, Qērelos then conferred the priesthood upon Abuna Takla Hāymānot and eventually named him *liqa kāhnāt* (chief of the priests). However, according to Cerulli (1943, pp. 230–31), the office of *liqa kāhnāt*, which consisted in choosing the candidates to be presented to the metropolitan for ordination as priests, was in fact established only in the fourteenth century by Abuna Yā'qob and assigned to Fileppos, third abbot of Dabra Asbo.

The name of this *abun* is often missing in the traditional lists of the metropolitans of the Ethiopian church, but there is no doubt as to his existence. He is mentioned notably in an act concerning a gift of land made in 1270 by the negus Yekunno Amlāk soon after his accession to the throne, an act registered in the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos in Shimāzanā.

The date when the metropolitanate of Qērelos I ended is unknown. He seems to have died near the beginning of Yekunno Amlāk's reign, for according to the Egyptian historian al-MAQRĪZĪ, in a letter written to the Mamluk sultan Baybars (1260–1277) that was received in A.H. 673/A.D. 1274–1275, the negus Yekunno Amlāk requested a new metropolitan. It would appear, according to certain Arabic documents, that Qērelos I had as his successor a Syrian metropolitan (unnamed) or even several Syrian metropolitans. According to one hypothesis (Weit, 1938, pp. 117–21), these Syrian metropolitans were Melchite, but according to another (Taddesse Tamrat, 1972), they were Jacobite; however, the Arabic documents are not at all explicit on this subject. According to the Life, the Abuna Yoḥannes II wished to consecrate Abuna Takla Hāymānot "bishop over half of Ethiopia." Although the reality of this consecration is questionable, the episode is important from a chronological point of view, for it confirms that Abuna Yoḥannes II was the direct successor of Qērelos I.

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YOḤANNES II (fl. early fourteenth century)

The date of Yoḥannes' arrival in Ethiopia is unknown, but in the Life of Takla Hāymānot, the Ethiopian saint who founded one of the two great monastic orders of Ethiopia (Budge, 1906—text, p. 84 and trans., pp. 206–207), it is reported that toward the end of the saint's life there arrived in Ethiopia a metropolitan called Abuna Yoḥannes. This metropolitan wished to ordain Takla Hāymānot a bishop and give him half of the country; but the saint declined the offer. In general this episode is considered only as an imitation of a similar episode—the supposed assignment of the position of bishop to Fileppos, third abbot of Dabra Libānos. However, it is important from a chronological point of view, for it shows that Yoḥannes II was the successor (probably direct) of Abuna Qērelos I and that he arrived in Ethiopia just before the death of Abuna Takla Hāymānot (c. 1313).

Yoḥannes' prelacy is confirmed by another text, the Life of Bāṣālota Mikā'ēl (Rossini, 1962, pp. 22–23; and 1961, pp. 20–21), abbot of Dabra Gol in Amhara during the first half of the fourteenth century. Here it is stated that Bāṣālota Mikā'ēl, having noted that Abuna Yoḥannes was collecting contributions for administering the sacraments and, in particular, for ordaining priests, did not hesitate to reproach him, all of which the metropolitan ignored. Thereupon, the abbot dared to make his complaints known to the negus (unnamed in the Ethiopian text, but doubtless 'Amda Ṣeyon), who, however, instead of giving credence to the abbot, exiled him to Tigre. This accusation of simony seems unusual, for it is well known that in Ethiopia the metropolitans have always been accorded revenues and that they collected a contribution from each candidate to the priesthood at the time of his ordination. This episode should thus be interpreted in the sense that probably this particular metropolitan levied too large a contribution upon each candidate, which would constitute an impediment to the increase of priests just at a time when the Ethiopian church was having to fight in a country still rife with paganism.

The date of Yoḥannes II's death is unknown, but it may be presumed that his metropolitanate can be placed between 1310 and 1330. His successor was Abuna Yā'qob.

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YÄ'QOB (fl. mid-fourteenth century)

The name of this metropolitan is listed in five texts in Ethiopian literature that comprise the "Cycle of the Holy Monks in Conflict Against the King." These monks were Baṣalota Mikā'ēl, abbot of Dabra Gol in Amhara; Fileppos, abbot of Dabra Asbo (subsequently known as Dabra Libānos) in Shewa; Anorēwos, founder of Dabra Ṣegāgā in Shewa; Aron, abbot of Dabra Dārēt in Bagemdir; and Sāmu'ēl, founder of Dabra Wagag in the southeast of Shewa. Despite the differences and anachronisms, a comparison of the five texts furnishes a sketch of the principal events of Yā'qob's episcopate.

Having arrived in Ethiopia toward the end of the long reign of 'Amda Ṣeyon, Yā'qob was expelled and sent back to Egypt soon after the enthronement of Sayfa Ar'ād. According to the Life of Abbot Fileppos, Yā'qob's expulsion occurred between the accession of the king (1344) and Fileppos' own expulsion (1346); thus, it may be deduced that Yā'qob was sent back to Egypt around 1345. Further, this same text states that upon his return to Egypt, "Yā'qob found the cinders still warm on the hearth in the home he had left seven years before." Therefore, he must have arrived in Ethiopia around 1338.

Upon his arrival, Yā'qob met Ēwosṭātēwos, founder of one of the great monastic orders of Ethiopia, but he maintained close relations with the monks of another order, that of Abuna Takla Hāymānot, whom he supported in their conflict with the monarchy.

After his accession to the throne, Sayfa Ar'ād promised to have no more than one wife, but some time later, following the example of his predecessors, he married three. Yā'qob supported the monks in their revolt against this concubinage, whereupon the negus simply hastened to exile the most aggressive monks to the south of the kingdom and dispatched Yā'qob to Egypt.

During his metropolitanate Yā'qob divided the territory of central Ethiopia into twelve religious districts, and over each district he appointed an abbot of a monastery, almost in imitation of the twelve apostles of Christ. Thereby, the work of this metropolitan had considerable impact on the life of the church in Ethiopia, despite the brevity of his tenure.

His successor to the See of Ethiopia was Abuna Salāmā II.

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SALĀMĀ II (d. 1388)

Salāmā II was the successor of Abuna Yā'qob and served as metropolitan during the reigns of Negus Sayfa Ar'ād (1344–1372), Negus Newāya Māryām (1372–1382), and Negus Dāwit I (1382–1412). The *Liber Axumae* indicates that he arrived in Ethiopia in 1341 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1348–1349) and died in 1380 (A.D. 1387–1388). According to the Ethiopian Synaxarion, he died on 20 Naḥasé (1380) (A.D. 13 August 1388).

Salāmā II occupies an important place in the history of ETHIOPIAN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, having been the promoter of a vast literary movement based on the translation from Arabic into Ethiopic (Ge'ez) of a considerable number of texts derived from the religious literature of the Copts. It was doubtless the intention of the metropolitan and his collaborators to strengthen the ties binding Christian Ethiopia to the Alexandrian patriarchate, but it is certain that this great work of translation also sought to counteract, on the spot, the menace created by the dissident ideas and movements then current among the Ethiopian clergy.

Because of his prolific literary activity, Salāmā was given the epithet *Matargwem* (translator). Although he is often similarly honored as "Translator of the Holy Scriptures," it is not known whether he was actually involved in the translation of the Bible into Ethiopic.

There is considerable documentation for the numerous literary translations effected by Salāmā II, principally in the domains of hagiography and patristics. On the other hand, although his long episcopate covered four important decades in Ethiopian history, there are not sufficient data concerning his religious politics. The Life of Fileppos, third abbot of Dabra Asbo, who had been relegated to the south of the country by the king around 1346, during the reign of Abuna Yā'qob, gives some information. Upon his arrival in Ethiopia, Salāmā II was able to secure from the king the liberation of Fileppos and his companions, but a new quarrel soon erupted between Fileppos and the king about fasting. The Ethiopians fast on Wednesday and Friday (the days of the condemnation and death of Jesus), as well as during the forty days preceding Christmas. However, they do not fast on Christmas, even if this day falls on Wednesday or Friday. Following the advice of certain priests at court, the negus Sayfa Ar'ād decided that it was also unnecessary to fast on Christmas Eve, even if it fell on Wednesday or Friday. During the same year that Salāmā II arrived in Ethiopia, Christmas Eve (28 Tākhsās 1341/A.D. 24 December 1348) fell on a Wednesday. The negus asked both the metropolitan and Abbot Fileppos to ratify his decision. Salāmā was not rigidly opposed to this royal request, but Fileppos and the other abbots evidenced a clear hostility. Once again they were exiled to a distant region. This episode confirms that Salāmā II arrived in Ethiopia toward the end of 1348 and that, from a political viewpoint, he was less strict than the regular clergy in its attitude to royalty.

These few historical data are so sparse that one may wonder if Salāmā the ecclesiastic simply stood in the shadows created by his brilliance as a man of letters. In particular, one may ask what was his attitude in the great quarrel around 1380 wherein the two sons of Sayfa Ar'ād opposed each other for the possession of the throne and at the end of which Dāwit eliminated his older brother, Negus Newāya Māryām. Did Salāmā II align himself with the monks of Dabra Asbo, who condemned Dāwit, or with the monks of Dabra Ḥayq, who supported the new negus?

Salāmā II's successor was Abuna Bartalomēwos, who arrived in Ethiopia in 1391 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1398–1399). S. Kur has recently surmised that between the death of Salāmā II and the arrival of Bartalomēwos there may have been another metropolitan, Abuna Fiqṭor. Fiqṭor is mentioned in certain traditional lists, but in the light of documents available at present, his existence seems doubtful.

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BARTALOMĒWOS (d. c. 1435)

Information about the episcopate of Bartalomēwos (Bartholonew) is scant, even though it covered the lengthy period from the end of the reign of Negus Dāwit I (1380–1412) though the entire reign of Negus Yesḥaq (1413–1430). Successor to Salāmā II, Bartalomēwos arrived in Ethiopia in 1391 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1398–1399), according to the date listed in a local chronicle *(Annals of Addi-Neamin)*. This was at a time when Christian Ethiopia was undergoing a delicate crisis. Dāwit, having seized power by eliminating his older brother, Negus Newāya Māryām, with the help of his sister, Del Sēfā, had to face the opposition of certain elements of the military and the monasteries of Shewa that contested his actions. Therefore, it was a dozen years after the death of Abuna Salāmā II before the king was able to have the patriarch send a new metropolitan to Ethiopia.

Bartalomēwos arrived in Ethiopia with important

information for the negus: an atmosphere of peace between Christians and Muslims had existed for some thirty years in the Mediterranean, and this was accompanied by a remarkable entente among the various Christian communities (Copts, Catholics, and Greek Orthodox). Upon the advice of Bartalomēwos and with the assistance of the Coptic patriarch MATTHEW I (1378–1409), the negus sent two missions to Europe in search of religious relics supposed to attest divine favor toward Dāwit and consolidate his throne thereby. The first mission reached Venice in 1402, and the other arrived at Rome in 1404. It was the first mission, whose spokesman was a certain Florentine, Antonio Bartoli, that brought from Venice the relics desired by the negus.

However, inside Ethiopia, Bartalomēwos became embroiled in a religious quarrel. Certain monasteries in the north of Ethiopia maintained that Saturday should be observed as the Sabbath, according to Holy Scripture, whereas other monasteries, supported by the metropolitan, defended the observance of Sunday, in conformity with Coptic tradition. Those favoring Saturday were the monks of the order of Ēwosṭātēwos and, in particular, Filepos, abbot of Dabra Bizan. The metropolitan's principal ally was Śaraqa Berhān, abbot of Dabra Ḥayq and counselor to the negus. Bartalomēwos won the first round. In 1400 he convoked a counsel during which Fileppos was retained at Dabra Ḥayq under the guard of Śaraqa Berhān, while his partisans were sent away far from their monasteries. However, in 1404, Dāwit decided to reverse his stand. He freed the punished prelates and authorized the observance of "the two Sabbaths." According to Taddesse Tamrat, the attitude of the Order of Ēwosṭātēwos was dictated more by nationalistic sentiments than by religious considerations, and this reversal weighed heavily against Bartalomēwos and his immediate successors for a long time to come.

During the reign of Negus Yeshaq, Bartalomēwos had to suffer another difficult period. Suspected of sympathizing with the Zamikā'ēlite movement (a heretical current initiated by a monk named Zamikā'ēl), the metropolitan had to defend himself before a board of inquiry and finally was forced to condemn formally the Zamikā'ēlite doctrine. Soon afterward, there arose the heretical movement of the Eṣṭifānosites (named after a monk called Eṣṭifānos, or Stephan), which "refused to venerate Mary and the Cross," but which was also inspired by political considerations. The Eṣṭifānosites were condemned and persecuted during the fifteenth century, but Bartalomēwos, who was present at their beginnings, does not seem to have played a role in their persecution (see ETHIOPIAN HERESIES AND THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES).

It should be noted that an act was drawn up concerning a donation of land (Arabic, *waqf*) from Negus Dāwit I to the Bethlehem Church (Bēt Māryām) of Lālibalā in Lāstā. Written in Arabic, this act carries an addendum for verification and legalization written in Coptic and signed by Abuna Bartalomēwos; it is dated A.M. 4 Paoni (Coptic, Ba'unah; Ethiopian, Sanē) 1126 (A.D. 29 May 1410).

The exact date of the end of Bartalomēwos' episcopate is not known. He was still living when Zar'a Yā'qob ascended the throne (June 1434), for he is mentioned in a royal document of this period. However, given the fact that he is not cited in the documents of 1436, it may be presumed that he died around 1435. His successors were Mikā'ēl III and Gabr'ēl, who arrived in Ethiopia together.

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MIKĀ'ĒL III (d. c. 1450s)

Contrary to the tradition which held that there could be only one metropolitan in Ethiopia, Mikā'ēl (Michael) held this post simultaneously with Abuna Gabr'ēl. Succeeding Abuna Bartalomēwos, these two metropolitans arrived in Ethiopia together. With the coadjutor bishop Yoḥannes, they formed a

small group of Coptic prelates who, according to the *Liber Axumae*, had come to the country in 1431 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1438–1439). Thus, they had been consecrated by the Coptic patriarch JOHN XI (1427–1452).

Upon their arrival in Ethiopia in February 1439, during the reign of Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–1468), the negus demanded that they condemn the heretical trinitarian doctrine of the Zamikā'ēlites (initiated by a monk named Zamikā'ēl). This was probably because the negus remembered that Abuna Bartalomēwos had been suspected of favoring this heresy. Consequently Mikā'ēl and Gabr'ēl were required to proclaim, "We believe in three persons, but one sole divinity."

Likewise, in August 1449, at the request of the negus, both metropolitans subscribed to the verdict that Zar'a Yā'qob once again declared in the old dispute of the celebration of the Sabbath on Saturday. In effect, the two metropolitans agreed to the observance of "the two Sabbaths," in conformance with the decision adopted during the reign of Abuna Bartalomēwos. Afterward, during the sovereign's residency at Dabra Berhān (1454–1468), the three Egyptian prelates participated in the tribunal that judged and condemned the Zamikā'ēlites.

The exact circumstances for the joint reign of Mikā'ēl III and Gabr'ēl as metropolitans are unknown. Probably when they were consecrated and sent to Ethiopia, the Coptic patriarch intended that they govern in succession (i.e., one after the death of the other, as often happened subsequently). However, once on Ethiopian soil and probably at the orders of the negus, the two divided their territorial jurisdiction. As a result, there were documents issued with both men holding the same rank wherein Mikā'ēl governed Amhara and Gabr'ēl ruled over Shewa. Each one proceeded to ordain deacons and priests within his own territory. At first this arrangement did not include Tigre, where the clergy refused to accept any metropolitan at all, for they felt that the quarrel of the Sabbath had not yet been definitively resolved. The negus then convoked a synod in 1450 that confirmed the observance of the two Sabbaths.

Only approximate deductions can be made as to the dates of the deaths of these two metropolitans. The Life of 'Ezrā, a contemporary Eṣṭifānosite monk, states that in 1475 'Ezrā decided to go to Egypt in an attempt to have himself ordained a priest, "for, since the death of Abuna Gabr'ēl, there was no longer a bishop in Ethiopia with the authority to consecrate priests" (Caquot, 1961, p. 95). This story is also confirmed by a traditional list of metropolitans found in an Ethiopian document, which states that Mikā'ēl and Gabr'ēl arrived together and that when Mikā'ēl died, Gabr'ēl carried out the duties alone. Elsewhere, Francisco Alvares (1961, Vol. 2, pp. 356–57), the chaplain of the first Portuguese mission to arrive in Ethiopia (1520), reported that Abuna Mārqos I told him that during the reign of Zar'a Yā'qob, the church in Ethiopia had been without a metropolitan for twenty-three years—that is, until the arrival of Abuna Yeshaq II toward the end of 1481. From these data, it may be deduced that Gabr'ēl succeeded Mikā'ēl and that he died in 1458. As to Mikā'ēl's death, it must have preceded this date by a short while.

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GABR'ĒL (d. c. 1458)

Gabr'ēl (Gabriel) arrived in Ethiopia in 1431 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1438–1439) with another metropolitan, Abuna Mikā'ēl III. They had both been consecrated together by the Coptic patriarch JOHN XI (1427–1452) and were the successors of Abuna Bartalomēwos.

According to tradition, only one bishop could be appointed metropolitan of Ethiopia. Consequently, it is probable that Gabr'ēl and Mikā'ēl III were supposed to exercise this duty in succession (i.e., one after the death of the other). In reality, they reigned jointly by dividing their territorial jurisdic-

tion. By order of the negus, Gabr'ēl took charge of Shewa and Mikā'ēl of Amhara.

For the most part, the information available is the same concerning these two metropolitans (see the biography of Mikā'ēl III, above). It must be added that it was Abuna Gabr'ēl who conferred the priesthood upon the monk Abakerazun, disciple and successor to the monk Eṣṭifānos, head of the heretical and political Eṣṭifānosite movement that shook the Ethiopian church during the fifteenth century.

After the death of Abuna Mikā'ēl III, Gabr'ēl was the sole metropolitan until his death around 1458. The church of Ethiopia then remained without an *abun* for approximately twenty-three years, until the arrival of Abuna Yeshaq II in that country.

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YESḤAQ II (d. c. 1500)

After the death of Abuna Gabr'ēl in 1458, neither Negus Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–1468) nor his son Ba'eda Māryām (1468–1478) asked the Coptic patriarch in Alexandria to send a new metropolitan to Ethiopia. The exact reasons for this are unknown, but such an attitude indicates the formation of an autonomous current at the heart of the Ethiopian church. According to the Life of Marḥa Krestos (Kur, CSCO 331, pp. vii, 76–81), ninth abbot of Dabra Libānos, during the ninth year of Ba'eda Māryām's reign (1477), the negus convened a great synod attended by a large number of prelates. The subject was to decide about their relations with the Coptic church, accused by one part of the Ethiopian clergy of "disturbing the Coptic faith and of eating food proscribed by law." The accusers asked that the prelates proceed to the immediate election of a metropolitan "chosen by the people of Ethiopia" and thus were asking that the Ethiopian church separate itself from the church of Egypt. Marḥa Krestos opposed this request, considering it to be contrary to tradition and canonical law. He proposed sending an exploratory mission to Egypt with the authority, should it prove feasible, to ask for a new metropolitan. The assembly approved the thesis of separation by four hundred votes to three hundred; but the negus agreed with Marḥa Krestos, so there was no schism. However, the death of Ba'eda Māryām in 1478 prevented the delegation from being sent to Egypt. Only after the beginning of Eskender's reign (1478–1494) was it possible for an Ethiopian mission to leave the country and begin negotiations with the Coptic patriarch.

Aware of some danger, the Coptic patriarch showed his skill by sending several Coptic prelates to Ethiopia. The first group comprised four persons: Bishop Yeshaq (the new metropolitan), Bishop Mārqos (destined to succeed Yeshaq), the coadjutor bishops Mikā'ēl and Yoḥannes, and Qummus Yosēf. Later, certain other Coptic prelates also arrived in Ethiopia, among whom was a bishop Yā'qob, who was supposed to succeed Mārqos as metropolitan. However, his death before that of Mārqos prevented this.

According to the *Liber Axumae*, Yeshaq arrived in Ethiopia in 1474 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1481–1482). Other documents state that he arrived near the end of 1481, but information about his episcopate is fragmentary. He seems to have played a part even on a literary level, for to him is attributed an Ethiopian redaction of the Life of Saint Ṗanṭalēwon (one of the Nine Saints in the Ethiopian tradition) and a hymn in honor of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Life of Marḥa Krestos, Abuna Yeshaq accompanied the negus Eskender to Dabra Libānos upon his visit to this monastery. At this time, Yeshaq ordained several priests and proceeded to the solemn coronation of Abbot Marḥa Krestos. Further, according to the Life of the Eṣṭifānosite monk 'Ezrā, Yeshaq retracted the long-standing excommunication of the heretical Eṣṭifānosites, which would indicate an attenuation of the prejudices against this movement.

The date of Yeshaq's death is unknown, but it can be approximated. Kur has proposed that he must have died before Negus Eskender (1494) because in the Life of Marḥa Krestos, Yeshaq is no longer mentioned after the accession of Nā'od to the

throne. However, there is a formal text that dismisses this argument. In fact, according to the Life of 'Ezrā, "while this monk resided at the court of Nā'od, metropolitan Yeshaq died, and Abuna Mārqos succeeded him in this duty." Since other information states that 'Ezrā lived at Nā'od's court for nine years, until the death of this king in July 1508, it is easy to conclude that Yeshaq died during the first years of the sixteenth century. His successor was Mārqos I, who had come with him to Ethiopia.

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MĀRQOS I (d. 1530)

He belonged to a group of Coptic prelates that had come to Ethiopia in 1481 with Abuna Yeshaq II and was supposed to assume the duties of metropolitan after Yeshaq's death, since he was his principal coadjutor. Thus, when Yeshaq II died near the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was no vacancy in the see, for Mārqos I succeeded him immediately. For a long while, historians did not understand this order of succession, mainly because Francisco Alvares, chaplain of the first Portuguese mission in Ethiopia (1520–1526), did not explain this matter clearly in his account, of which one phrase was translated into English as follows: "Whilst we were here the Abuna Yā'qob died, to whom this one who is now living succeeded." Rossini, however, has shown that this phrase should in fact be understood to mean that during Alvares' sojourn in Ethiopia, the Coptic bishop Yā'qob died, who was coadjutor to Mārqos and was supposed to succeed Mārqos, but did not do so because he died first.

There is little information about this metropolitan in the Ethopian documents. According to the Life of Marḥa Krestos (d. 1497), ninth abbot of Dabra Libānos, Mārqos was present at the transference of the relics of Saint Takla Hāymānot, founder of this monastery, but this occurred before Mārqos acceded to the supreme throne. According to the *Liber Axumae*, Mārqos I died in 1522 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1529–1530). Thus, he lived in Ethiopia half a century and held the position of metropolitan for approximately three decades, to a very advanced age. In fact, he considered himself to be more than a hundred years old.

There is, however, more information about Mārqos I in the account of Alvares, who had many meetings with him. While noting the inconveniences caused by the fact that in all Ethiopia the metropolitan alone had the right to ordain deacons and priests, Alvares described the ceremony during which Mārqos I ordained 2,537 priests all at the same time and in which he was thus obligated to limit himself to a very short allocution warning the priesthood against the sins of bigamy and concubinage. Further, Mārqos I recounted to Alvares that in 1508 he had contributed to the success of Queen Ellēni, widow of Negus Zar'a Yā'qob, in having the eleven-year-old son of Negus Nā'od, Lebna Dengel, elected to the royal throne. This she achieved by removing all others who had a claim thereto. On 12 January 1521, Alvares saw Mārqos I at the ceremony of the transference of the bones of Nā'od. On this occasion the metropolitan seemed to be so old that two men had to sustain him by his arms. Mārqos I also told Alvares that before the arrival of Abuna Yeshaq II in 1481, the church in Ethiopia had remained without a metropolitan for some twenty-three years. Alvares was acquainted with the EČČAGĒ, the title reserved for the abbot of Dabra Libānos, head of all the Ethiopian monks, who related that he was a converted Muslim and had been ordained by Abuna Mārqos, "who regarded him as his own son." This high prelate was 'Enbāqom, eleventh abbot of Dabra Libānos, well known in Ethiopian literary history for his translations from the Arabic.

Finally, three delicate questions remain concerning this metropolitan. First, in 1509, Queen Ellēni, the guardian of Lebna Dengel, had written a letter to Manuel I, king of Portugal, in which she proposed an alliance against the Mamluk power in the

Red Sea. The letter stated that this overture had been made with the blessings of Mārqos I, and certain authors (e.g., Jean Aubin) find in this statement proof that Mārqos I thought that he could resolve the problems besetting the church in Ethiopia by joining with the church of Rome. However, this view seems excessive, for the metropolitan must have known of the doctrinal differences separating the two churches. It is therefore difficult to believe that in 1509, with no concrete threat present, Mārqos I was thinking of allying himself with the Catholic church.

Second, in 1535, João Bermudez, the physician of the first Portuguese mission to Ethiopia, appeared in Rome. Ten years earlier, when the mission had returned to Europe, Bermudez had chosen to remain in Ethiopia at the request of Lebna Dengel. Now Bermudez related that Lebna Dengel had asked Mārqos I, who was then on his deathbed, to name Bermudez "patriarch" (i.e., metropolitan of Ethiopia). Mārqos I complied with this request and even conferred all the holy orders upon Bermudez, who accepted the investiture, providing that the pope in Rome confirm it. Lebna Dengel then directed Bermudez to go to Rome to make "an act of obedience" to the pope. According to Bermudez, Pope Paul III (1534–1549) then confirmed him as metropolitan of the church in Ethiopia. The subsequent vicissitudes of Bermudez in Ethiopia concern the bishopric of Yosāb I, but nonetheless it must be remembered that the supposed elevation of Bermudez by Mārqos I is considered a fabrication.

The third question involves Alvares' claim that Mārqos I, aware of the vagaries of the church in Ethiopia, admired the faith of the Portuguese mission to the point that he declared that, thanks to the Portuguese, the Ethiopians would not miss "returning to the truth of the Gospel." From this, certain writers have deduced that Mārqos I had at least wished to have his own succession governed by the Roman church. However, as Lanfranco Ricci has observed, while there are Portuguese texts favorable to the Catholic position, such as Alvares' account, there are also Ethiopian texts opposing it, such as the Life of 'Enbāqom, according to which this abbot argued with Alvares and "converted him to the orthodox faith of the Jacobites," which must be read with great care.

Thus, the successor to Mārqos I was not João Bermudez but rather Yosāb I, the Coptic bishop who arrived in Ethiopia after the end of the great Islamic invasion led by Grāññ, "the Left-Handed One."

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YOSĀB I (d. c. 1559)

Yosāb I must be considered the successor of Metropolitan Mārqos I although this succession took place after a long vacancy of the Ethiopian episcopal throne because of complex circumstances. At the death of Abuna Mārqos I (1530), Ethiopia passed through a severe crisis that had begun in 1527 with the Islamic invasion commanded by the imām Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, called al-Ghāzī (the Warrior Champion) by the Muslims and Grāññ (the Left-Handed One) by the Ethiopians. In 1525, João Bermudez, the physician of the first Portuguese mission to Ethiopia, had chosen to stay in Ethiopia at the request of Negus Lebna Dengel when the mission returned to Europe. Ten years later in Rome, Bermudez recounted that Lebna Dengel had asked Mārqos I, who was then on his deathbed, to name Bermudez as "patriarch" (i.e., metropolitan of Ethiopia. Mārqos I acceded to this request by conferring all the holy orders upon Bermudez, who

accepted the investiture, providing that the pope in Rome confirm it. Lebna Dengel then directed Bermudez to go first to Rome to make an act of obedience to the pope and then to Portugal, a country with which Ethiopia had relations. According to Bermudez, Pope Paul III (1534–1549) did confirm him as metropolitan of Ethiopia. The majority of historians reject Bermudez' story, first, because no Ethiopian metropolitan ever had the power to name his successor and, second, because no document has ever been discovered to prove this supposed elevaton of Bermudez by Pope Paul III. However that may be, Bermudez did go from Rome to Lisbon, where he solicited Portuguese aid for Ethiopia in its fight against the Muslims. Thus, in 1540, Bermudez joined with the famous Portuguese military expedition to Ethiopia, which was to bring death to Grāññ (21 February 1541) and put an end to the Muslim invasion. After the departure of the Portuguese troops, Bermudez remained in Ethiopia and asked Lebna Dengel's successor, Negus Galāwdēwos, to join the Catholic church. Far from acquiescing to this request, the negus hastened to ask the Coptic patriarchate for a new metropolitan, whom Bermudez sought in vain to oppose until 1556, when he was forced to return to Portugal, where he died fourteen years later.

The new metropolitan was named Yosāb. His arrival is recorded by two documents of the *Liber Axumae*, as occurring in 1539 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1546–1547). However, information about this metropolitan is rather scarce in the Ethiopian documents. The so-called Abridged Chronicle does not mention him at all, whereas the chronicle of Galāwdēwos mentions him but once, stating that toward Easter in the eighth year of this negus's reign (1548), Yosāb I blessed Galāwdēwos, who was departing to lead a military expedition against the pagan peoples living in the west of the country, near the frontiers of Damot. As for the *Liber Axumae*, it records Yosāb's name in a confirmation act of a fief, donated in 1546 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1553–1554).

The *Liber Axumae* also records one other important fact. In 1551–1552, a Coptic bishop by the name of Ṗēṭros arrived in Ethiopia. A Portuguese source confirms and adds this information: Ṗēṭros was supposed to be Yosāb's coadjutor and succeed him upon his death. The chronicle of Negus Minās (1559–1563) in fact confirms that Ṗēṭros did succeed Yosāb I. However, the date of this succession is not known and can only be approximately determined. In the *Liber Axumae*, the last document in which Yosāb's name is mentioned is dated A.D. 1553–1554, while the first document naming Metropolitan Ṗēṭros II dates from 1552 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1559–1560). It may be deduced thereby that Yosāb I died near the end of Negus Galāwdēwos' reign and that the episcopal throne was immediately occupied by Ṗēṭros II.

Further, it must be noted that Yosāb I is also cited in the chronicle of Negus Śarṣa Dengel (1563–1597), who considered him as the predecessor of metropolitan Mārqos II. This, however, is probably the result of an error on the part of the chronicler, who seems to have confused Yosāb I with Ṗēṭros II.

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ṖĒṬROS II (d. 1570)

Ṗēṭros was the successor of Abuna Yosāb I, after having been his coadjutor. The *Liber Axumae* notes the arrival in Ethiopia of a Coptic bishop named Ṗēṭros in 1554 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1551–1552). This information is confirmed by a Portuguese source, which states that the Coptic prelate who arrived in Ethiopia in 1551 was supposed to be the coadjutor of Abuna Yosāb I and should succeed him upon his death. The exact date of this succession is unknown, but it must have occurred near the end of Negus Galāwdēwos' reign (d. 1559), for in the *Liber Axumae* the last document to mention Yosāb is dated A.D. 1553–1554, whereas the first document to mention Ṗēṭros as metropolitan is dated 1559–1560. From these data it may be deduced that Ṗēṭros was named and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch GABRIEL VII (1525–1568).

There is little information about this metropolitan

in Ethiopian documents. The chronicle of Galāwdēwos states that it was Bishop Ṗēṭros (not yet metropolitan) who consecrated the ark (*tābot*) of the famous Church of Tadbāba Māryām during the twelfth year of Galāwdēwos' reign (1551–1552). Moreover, the chronicle of Negus Minās states that it was Abuna Ṗēṭros II who celebrated the religious marriage of this king.

There is no other information about this metropolitan, and even the date of his death can only be deduced from the documents available. According to the chronicle of Negus Śarṣa Dengel, after the death of Abuna Yosāb I, which occurred in the eighth year of Śarṣa Dengel's reign (1570), the negus received a new metropolitan named Mārqos (II), who arrived in Ethiopia during the fourteenth year of his reign (1576). However, this text obviously contains an error, which must be corrected. The predecessor of Mārqos II was Ṗēṭros II (not Yosāb I, who died around 1559). But from this text it can be deduced that Ṗēṭros II died in 1570 and that his successor was Mārqos II.

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MĀRQOS II (d. c. 1588)

There is little information about this successor to Abuna Ṗēṭros II in the Ethiopian documents, but the date of his arrival in the country is known. The chronicle of Śarṣa Dengel reports that after the death of Abuna Yosāb I, which occurred in the eighth year of Śarṣa Dengel's reign (1570), the negus succeeded in having the Coptic patriarch John XIV (1570–1585) send a new metropolitan named Mārqos (II), who arrived during the fourteenth year of his reign (1576). The chronicler adds that this was a very happy year, for the negus had just conquered Muḥammad, king of Adal, a date confirmed in Arabic sources, and that after seizing power in A.H. 980/A.D. 1572–1573, Muḥammad ibn Naṣīr ibn 'Uthmān, sultan of Adal, undertook a military expedition against Śarṣa Dengel in which he was conquered and killed near the end of 1575 or the beginning of 1576. The date of Mārqos' arrival is also confirmed by an Ethiopian codex in the National Library, Paris, whose *Explicit* announces that the manuscript was completed during the seventh year of the episcopate of Abuna Mārqos II and the twentieth year of Śarṣa Dengel's reign (1582). The arrival of this metropolitan in 1576 must thus be considered as certain.

Although Mārqos II is likewise mentioned in a document from the *Liber Axumae*, there is no information extant concerning his episcopate, an omission probably due to the rather dishonorable termination of his episcopate. Around 1624, after Negus Susenyos decided to join the Roman church, he issued a manifesto in which he set forth not only his reasons for joining this church but also reproaches concerning the deplorable conduct of certain metropolitans. In particular, Susenyos declared: "The Negus Malak-Sagad [i.e., Śarṣa Dengel] has shown that Mārqos [II] became guilty of sexual delights that neither the ears dare hear nor the mouth pronounce, delights of such a nature as to make God rain fire from heaven. Therefore, Malak-Sagad stripped this metropolitan of his episcopal dignity, deprived him of his holdings, and sent him to the island of Daqq in Lake Ṭānā, where he died an evil death."

There is no document indicating the date of this dismissal, which, however, must have occurred between 1582 (the date contained in the above-mentioned manuscript in the National Library, Paris) and 1588 (the approximate date when the position of metropolitan was filled by another Coptic prelate).

The successor of Mārqos II was Krestodolu I.

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KRESTODOLU I (fl. late sixteenth century)

There is little historical information available about the successor to Abuna Mārqos II, probably because of the brevity of his episcopate as well as accusations of deplorable conduct made against him. Krestodolu I is not mentioned in the Abridged Chronicle of the rulers of Ethiopia nor in the chronicle of Śarṣa Dengel. However, he is cited by the *Liber Axumae* in the texts of two acts of concession of fiefs donated by this negus. In the first act, Krestodolu's name is mentioned with that of the negus' mother, Queen Śellus Khaylā, widow of Negus Minās, who upon her marriage had taken the name of Admās Mogasā. This furnishes an important chronological landmark, for, according to the Abridged Chronicle, this queen mother died on 21 Ḥamlē 1586 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 25 July 1594). In the second feudal act, Krestodolu's name is cited with that of Tomās, *nebura ed* (chief) of Axum, who is known to have held this post around 1588.

There is absolutely no information about his episcopate in Ethiopia, if one excludes the accusations against him made by Negus Susenyos (Selṭān Sagad) in the manifesto that he issued around 1624 to announce his reasons for joining the Catholic church. Among the reproaches directed against certain metropolitans, Susenyos wrote as follows: "As for Abuna Krestodolu I, successor of Mārqos II, contrary to the customs of a metropolitan, he kept several concubines, a fact that was well known by all those living at the time, of whom some are still alive." It is not known, however, if this accusation caused Krestodolu's dismissal or whether his episcopate came to an end with his natural death.

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ṖĒṬROS III (d. 1607)

Ṗēṭros was certainly the successor of Krestodolu I, but in Ethiopian documents, information about his episcopate is fragmentary and scant, perhaps explained by the fact that the annals of the sovereigns of his time do not survive. Only the manifesto issued around 1624 by Negus Susenyos (1607–1632) in an effort to explain his joining the Catholic church gives a summary view of this episcopate. Denouncing the conduct of certain metropolitans in Ethiopia, this negus wrote:

> Abuna Ṗēṭros [III], who succeeded this metropolitan [Krestodolu I], had relations with the wife of a Melchite, and when this fact became public, he paid the fine levied against any adulterer who corrupts the wife of another; certain witnesses having knowledge of this are still living, such as Joseph and Marino, who are foreigners not Ethiopians. Moreover, to this sin the metropolitan added other misdeeds. In the seventh year of Negus Yā'qob's reign, Ṗēṭros [III] issued a general excommunication which caused the people to depose Yā'qob, exile him to Ennāryā, and replace him with Za-Dengel. Later, he [Ṗēṭros III] issued a second general excommunication in order to persuade the Ethiopians to get rid of Negus Za-Dengel, who was in fact killed [and replaced by Yā'qob]. And as if that were not enough, when we [Susenyos] decided to fight against Negus Yā'qob, the metropolitan [Ṗēṭros III] went to war with him and fell with him on the battlefield.

The essential facts referred to in this passage from Susenyos' manifesto must be summarized. Śarṣa Dengel had had no male offspring by his wife Māryām Śenā, but at his death he did leave some illegitimate sons. During his life he had designated his nephew Zadengel (his brother's son) to be his successor, but after his death the court decided instead upon Yā'qob, who was Śarṣa Dengel's illegitimate son and only seven years old at the time. Guided by a regency council, Yā'qob reigned until Easter 1596 in the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1604). But because he showed a certain independent spirit, Yā'qob was deposed and sent to Ennāryā, and Zadengel was enthroned in his place. It is to this

dethronement of Yā'qob that Ṗēṭros first excommunication mentioned by Susenyos refers. A few months later, Zadengel, in turn, found himself in difficulty. He was suspected of wishing to introduce social reform and of leaning toward the Catholic faith then being preached by the Jesuits. This provoked a reaction among the conservatives of the court, so Pēṭros III thereupon excommunicated Zadengel, who was deposed and killed. A fight for the throne then ensued between Yā'qob and Susenyos, the son of Negus Śarṣa Dengel's cousin. In this fight the metropolitan sided with Ya'qob and accompanied him on his military campaign. The first onslaught occurred on 18 Miyāzyā 1598 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 23 April 1606) at Čačaho, where Pēṭros III was slightly wounded. Susenyos then won the decisive battle that took place at Gol (in Gojam), on 4 Maggābit 1599 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 10 March 1607). During this combat, both Negus Yā'qob and Abuna Ṗēṭros III died on the battlefield. According to an Ethiopian source, the metropolitan was killed by a soldier who did not recognize him because he was not wearing his cross.

There are no other data concerning this metropolitan, whose successor was Abuna Sem'on.

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SEM'ON (d. 1617)

The exact date of the arrival in Ethiopia of the successor to Abuna Pēṭros III is not recorded in Ethiopian documents, but from the information available, it appears that Susenyos (Selṭān Sagad; 1607–1632) had him sent from Cairo, no doubt to fill the vacancy left by the death of Pēṭros III. Sem'on probably arrived in Ethiopia around 1608, a date that seems to be confirmed by the fact that—according to the Jesuit Pero Páez, who was then in the country—Sem'on was the metropolitan who proceeded with the solemn coronation of Susenyos in the cathedral of Axum on 23 March 1609. Thus, Sem'on must have been chosen and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch Mark V (1602–1618).

According to Páez, in 1615 the *eč̣č̣agē* Zawangēl, eighteenth abbot of Dabra Libānos and head of all the regular clergy, asked Susenyos to proclaim that the power to ordain deacons and priests be granted to the *eč̣č̣agē*, while the power to consecrate the holy chrism (*qeddus mēron*) remain with the metropolitan. But this request could have led to the separation of the Ethiopian church from the Egyptian church, for, according to tradition, the power to confer holy orders belonged only to the metropolitan, while that of consecrating the holy chrism belonged only to the Coptic patriarch. Therefore, Abuna Sem'on opposed Zawangēl's request, which was then denied by the negus. As a result there was no schism.

In 1603 the Jesuits had undertaken their work in Ethiopia, and their influence—which was favored by the prudent and clever conduct of Páez—soon spread, above all in the court circles. When Sem'on perceived the king's inclination toward Catholicism (as well as that of some members of the royal household), he tried to thwart it. In Jesuit writings Sem'on is often accused of being the "soul of the rebellion," but it is not difficult to understand that this metropolitan was endeavoring to support those Ethiopian groups fighting to maintain the faith of their traditional church. That is why, when Yolyos, Susenyos' son-in-law, revolted against the king and his religious politics, Sem'on allied himself with Yolyos, joined with the rebel troops, whom he blessed and urged to fight, and issued an anathema against the royal army. However, victory went to Susenyos, for on 6 Genbot 1609 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 11 May 1617), both Sem'on and Yolyos died on the battlefield at Ṣaddā. According to the chronicle of Susenyos, the negus sincerely grieved over the metropolitan's death and ordered that he be buried in the church with all honors due his rank. However, in the manifesto issued by Susenyos around 1624, the negus criticized Sem'on's entire conduct, blaming him not only for having incited Yolyos to revolt but also for having led a deplorable private life because he had kept several concubines.

According to a report written by the Jesuit Aloysius de Azevedo from Fremona in Tigre and dated 8

July 1619, after Sem'on's death, Susenyos hastened to ask the Coptic patriarch—doubtless John XV (1619–1634)—to send a new metropolitan to Ethiopia. De Azevedo added that the new metropolitan, a man of "a certain age" with grizzled hair, left Egypt for Ethiopia but died en route. Since this Coptic bishop, whose very name is unknown, never was able to exercise his duties, it is logical not to include him among the metropolitans of the Ethiopian church.

After this initial request, Susenyos no longer addressed the Coptic patriarchate. In 1622 he publicly embraced Catholicism and in 1626 he received the Jesuit Alphonso Mendez as successor to Páez and solemnly gave him the title patriarch of Ethiopia.

It was only after the abdication of Susenyos, followed by Ethiopia's official return to the faith of the church of Alexandria (1632), that the new negus, Fāsiladas, son of Susenyos, could think of asking the Coptic patriarchate to send a new metropolitan. Thus, the successor of Abuna Sem'on was Abuna Mārqos III.

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MĀRQOS III (d. c. 1648)

Mārqos was the first metropolitan to arrive in Ethiopia after the abdication of Negus Susenyos and the subsequent restoration in Ethiopia of the faith of the church of Alexandria; thus he is to be considered the immediate successor of Abuna Sem'on, despite the hiatus separating his episcopate from that of his predecessor. He was designated and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch MATTHEW III (1631–1656).

At the beginning of his reign (1632–1667), Fāsiladas requested a new metropolitan from Cairo, but according to the account of Peter Heyling, a Lutheran who resided in Egypt at the time and who was preparing to go to Ethiopia, this first mission "came to nought because of the infidelity of the emissaries." No details are given about the infidelity, but Heyling's allusion can probably be related to the passage from the Abridged Chronicle (Béguinot, 1901, pp. 48–49) that states that toward the beginning of Fāsiladas' reign, a false metropolitan named Rizqallāh arrived in Ethiopia, where, however, he was discovered and removed from office. Following a new request from the negus, the Coptic patriarch consecrated a monk from the Monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) named Ariminios, who took the name of Mārqos III. The new *abun* left Cairo before the end of 1634 with Peter Heyling among his retinue. Near Easter 1635 he reached Sawākin, a Red Sea port that, along with the port of Massawa, was governed by a Turkish pasha. Here he met the Jesuit Alfonso Mendez, former "patriarch of Ethiopia," who had been expelled with his fellow Jesuits by Fāsiladas. Delivered into the hands of the Turks, Mendez was waiting in Sawākin to be ransomed and to find a ship for Goa, the Jesuits' headquarters in India. Since Mārqos III was awaiting a ship to Massawa, he met Mendez and friendly relations were established between the two prelates. The metropolitan promised the Jesuit to do his utmost to help the Catholics in Ethiopia, who were exposed to persecution by the new regime. Mārqos, moreover, presented to Mendez a letter written at Manfalūṭ, Egypt, on 15 October 1634 by Father Agathange of Vendôme, a subordinate at the Capuchin mission in Upper Egypt. In this letter the Capuchin introduced the Coptic prelate to the Jesuits, who, he thought, still had influence at the Ethiopian

court, and warned them against the propaganda plans of the Lutheran Peter Heyling.

Near the end of 1635, Mārqos III entered Gonder, which had just been founded by the negus, and upon his arrival he issued certain moralizing edicts to Ethiopian society. In particular, he objected to the custom of keeping several concubines, which was common, especially among the nobility. He also tried to help the Catholics, who were suffering under serious difficulties, but perceiving the Ethiopians' resentment against them, Mārqos was obliged to keep his silence. Fāsiladas then thought of assigning the metropolitan the task of preaching the cause against the Jesuit bishop Apollinaris de Almeida, former coadjutor of Mendez, who had not obeyed the negus's order to leave Ethiopia and was hidden in the countryside. Mārqos was able to refuse this assignment, however, but the Jesuit was put to death in 1638. That same year, the French priests Agathange of Vendôme and Cassien of Nantes, from the Capuchin mission in Upper Egypt, entered Ethiopia, where they were discovered and condemned to death (June 1638). Mārqos III, who had known them well in Egypt, was powerless to save their lives.

Chiefly because of his restrained temperament, this metropolitan was often in difficulty with the clergy as well as with the court. It appears that with the idea of gaining the negus's favor, Mārqos III revealed to Fāsiladas the plot hatched by his brother, Galāwdēwos (Claudius) to seize power. Galāwdēwos was, in fact, apprehended and placed in seclusion (November 1646), but it appears that Mārqos III never gained the king's confidence. Moreover, in the theological disputes that were then beginning to rock the clergy, this metropolitan avoided taking any clear stand and, as a result, was disliked by all factions concerned. Eventually he was openly attacked by the *eṣṣagē* of Dabra Libānos and head of the regular clergy, who reproached him for leading a licentious life. It is possible, however, that this accusation concealed other complaints. He was dismissed by an assembly of ecclesiastics, and the negus exiled him to a high mountain. According to an Ethiopian source, this occurred in 1640 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1647–1648). It is presumed that he died during this exile. His successor was Abuna Mikā'ēl IV.

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MIKĀ'ĒL IV (fl. mid-seventeenth century)

Mikā'ēl was the successor to Mārqos III and must have been consecrated by the Coptic patriarch MATTHEW III (1631–1646). Although there is no doubt about this metropolitan's existence, there is little information about his episcopate, because there are no royal annals of Fāsiladas' rule. Only the Abridged Chronicle of Ethiopia (Béguinot, 1901, pp. 51–53) records the following for the seventeenth year of his reign (1648–1649): "At the time two bishops arrived, Abba Mikā'ēl and Abba Yoḥannes, one by way of Dankali and the other by way of Sennār. Abba Yoḥannes, who took the first route, was sent to Sārkā because he had come at the request of *Abēto* [Prince] Galāwdēwos, who did wrong in this. When Abba Mikā'ēl arrived by way of Sennār, he was established as bishop because he had been ordered by the king." From this text it may be understood that Galāwdēwos, who was brother of the negus and who had plotted to seize power and been denounced by Abuna Mārqos III, had asked the Coptic patriarchate to send a metropolitan. Meanwhile, Fāsiladas had likewise requested a new metropolitan to replace Mārqos III, who

had just been deposed. Thus, under these circumstances, the details of which are unknown, it happened that the Coptic patriarch appointed two metropolitans. The first, requested by Galāwdēwos, arrived in Ethiopia by way of the desert region Dankali, on the coast of the Red Sea. The other, Mikā'ēl, requested by the negus, arrived by the land route from the west. But the negus, reacting promptly, sent Yoḥannes to Sārkā, on the frontier of Sennar, where he probably elected to return to Egypt. Consequently, only Mikā'ēl (IV) should be included in the list of the metropolitans of Ethiopia.

There is no information about his episcopate, the terminal date of which can only be approximated. Since the Abridged Chronicle records the arrival of Abuna Krestodolu II during the thirty-second year of Fāsiladas' reign (1663–1664), it may be presumed the episcopate of Mikā'ēl IV lasted until about 1660.

During this episcopate, a Christological dispute arose in Ethiopia, one destined to divide the clergy for more than two centuries. This was the question of union and unction. According to the thesis of those favoring union, supported primarily by the monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot, whose leader was the *eč̣č̣agē*, the abbot of Dabra Libānos, the union between the Word and the flesh made Jesus consubstantial with the Father, while the Holy Ghost represented Divine Grace, which restored to the flesh the dignity lost following Adam's original sin. Conversely, according to the thesis of the Unctionists, supported mainly by the monks of the order of Ēwosṭātēwos, coming mainly from the monasteries of Gojam and Tigre, Jesus did not become consubstantial with the Father by the mere union of the Word with the flesh but rather by virtue of the unction of the Holy Ghost. In a synod held during the twenty-second year of Fāsiladas' reign (1653–1654), the Unctionists seem to have prevailed, but in another synod, presided over by the negus during the thirty-third year of his reign (1664–1665), the Unionists were able to have their doctrine acknowledged. With this state of affairs, it is permissible to wonder if Abuna Mikā'ēl IV played any role in the first phases of this great controversy and if the end of his episcopate had any connection with it. However, given the present lack of available data, these questions must remain unanswered.

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KRESTODOLU II (d. 1679–1680)

Successor of Abuna Mikā'ēl IV, this metropolitan was the second to bear the name Krestodolu, which is the equivalent of the Ethiopian name Gabra Krestos (Servant of Christ). An Ethiopian source, the *Annals of Addi Neammin*, provides as the date of the metropolitan's arrival in Ethiopia the year 1656 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1663–1664). This date is confirmed by the Abridged Chronicle of Ethiopia, which records it as the thirty-second year of Fāsiladas' reign (1663–1664). Thus, it seems evident that this metropolitan was designated and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch MATTHEW IV (1660–1675).

Some information about Krestodolu's episcopate has been conserved in the chronicle of Negus Yoḥannes I. During the month of Miyāzyā 1661 of the Ethiopian calendar (April–May 1669), Krestodolu was called to participate in the assembly that decided upon the expulsion into Sennar of the "Franks," the last descendants of the small Portuguese Catholic community that had been established in Ethiopia. One year later (April 1670), this metropolitan also took part in the council that had been convoked to examine the questions raised by a throng of warrior-monks who had invaded the streets of Gonder. Without doubt, it was still a matter of the disputes between the Unionists and Unctionists that had arisen during the episcopate of Abuna Mikā'ēl IV, but this time, the differences were aggravated by the fact that the opposing factions anathematized each other and excommunicated all those who did not share their doctrine, including both the negus and the metropolitan.

Shortly thereafter, the metropolitan's situation did indeed become difficult. Negus Yoḥannes I, who favored the Unctionists, suspected Krestodolu II of leaning toward the Unionists. Thus, he decided to get rid of the prelate and asked the Coptic patriarch Matthew IV to send a new metropolitan to Ethiopia. Matthew IV sent Abuna Sinodā, who arrived at Gonder on 9 Ṭeqemt 1664 of the Ethiopian

calendar (A.D. 17 October 1671), a date that undoubtedly marks the dismissal of Krestodolu II. Since the royal chronicle allots only a few prudent words to this dismissal, it may be presumed that Krestodolu II received proper treatment for the rest of his life. A single recension of the Abridged Chronicle of Ethiopia notes that he died during the thirteenth year of the reign of Ṭohannes I (1679–1680), by which time his successor, Sinodā, had already occupied the episcopal throne for eight years.

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SINODĀ (d. 1699)

The annals of Negus Yoḥannes I (1667–1682) and Negus Iyyāsu I (1682–1706) record much historical information about Sinodā (Shenūte), who assumed his duties upon the dismissal of his predecessor, Abuna Krestodolu II, a dismissal that resulted from the controversy over union and unction. Negus Yoḥannes I, who favored the doctrine of the Unctionists (the monks of the order of Ēwosṭātēwos), suspected Abuna Krestodolu II of leaning toward the Unionists (the monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot); thus, he requested the Coptic patriarch MATTHEW IV (1660–1675) to send a new metropolitan to Ethiopia.

Sinodā arrived in Ethiopia via Sennar, but did not go immediately to Gonder. He was forced to remain a few months at Čelgā near the frontier because of unrest in the capital, which had been invaded by warrior-monks engaged in violent polemics. When Gonder became calm, the new metropolitan entered the city on 9 Ṭeqemt 1664 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 17 October 1671). Krestodolu II was quietly dismissed and the new metropolitan immediately enthroned.

Sinodā was a wise and able metropolitan, for he succeeded in avoiding making any incisive decisions in the discussions that were rocking the Ethiopian clergy. Near Easter 1678 he convoked a council to examine disciplinary questions, but some of the assembly insisted upon discussing the "problems of faith" before touching those of discipline. As a result, the council had to be suspended. In November of the same year, Sinodā convoked another council to discuss the validity of the negus's marriage to Sabla Wangēl, daughter of the ruler's paternal aunt, a marriage that part of the clergy considered contrary to canon law. A few monks, however, affirmed that the Coptic patriarch Matthew IV had already pronounced in favor of this marriage's validity, whereupon Abuna Sinodā declared that they should abide by the patriarch's decision.

During this same year, an Armenian bishop named Hovannes (John) arrived in Ethiopia. He brought a letter of introduction from the Coptic patriarch JOHN XVI (1676–1718), along with a relic, a bone from the hand of Ēwosṭātēwos, the Ethiopian saint who died in Armenia during the fourteenth century and was founder of the order supporting the unction doctrine. Hovannes was an ambitious man who was hoping to make his career in Ethiopia, but his sojourn in that country was brief. Nonetheless, by a decision of the negus and with the approbation of the metropolitan, the relic was to be kept in the Church of the Savior at Gonder. This action aroused vehement protests from the Unionist monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot, who were difficult to appease.

In year 1672 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 1679–1680), by order of the negus, Sinodā convoked another council for the purpose of examining an "impure" letter addressed to the king from the clergy of Lāstā, who wished to maintain that "the Father had been incarnated in the Virgin Mary." The council condemned this thesis, and Sinodā threatened to excommunicate all those who accepted it.

Sinodā also had to intervene in the conflict between Yoḥannes I and his son, the future Negus Iyyāsu I. Suspecting that his father wished to apprehend and place him in seclusion, Iyyāsu fled, finding asylum in the territory of the Oromo (who are also called Gāllā). He refused to return to Gonder until his father gave him certain guarantees. The negus had to promise not to deny his son freedom,

under penalty of excommunication issued against the sovereign by the *eč̣č̣agē*, the head of the regular clergy. However, since the metropolitan could absolve all excommunications, Sinodā had to promise not to absolve this one, under penalty of his own excommunication by a priest chosen by Iyyāsu. (The royal chronicler added, however, that the excommunication issued against the metropolitan was "contrary to the usual custom.") Finally, on 10 Ṭeqemt 1673 (A.D. 17 October 1681), Sinodā participated in a ninth council that concluded with a reaffirmation of the Unctionist doctrine and the excommunication of the adherents of the Unionist doctrine.

However, the situation changed with the death of Negus Yoḥannes I and the accession to the throne of his son Iyyāsu I on 15 Ḥamlē 1674 (A.D. 19 July 1682). Iyyāsu favored the monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot (Unionists), and from the first years of his rule he thought of requesting another Coptic metropolitan. Because he liked Sinodā, the negus told him of his plans and explained that with this request he hoped not only to facilitate the throne's ecclesiastical politics but also to protect the metropolitan himself, who had been pressured by the Unctionists and invited to "fight and die" for the doctrine that he had helped to have proclaimed during the reign of Negus Yoḥannes I. The new Coptic bishop, named Mārqos, arrived at Gonder during the eighth year of Iyyāsu's reign and was introduced by Sinodā himself to the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries on 18 Maskaram 1681 (25 September 1689). The chronicle states that "Sinodā was not dismissed, and Mārqos was sent to Sārkā, where he was installed with all the honors due him, for two metropolitans could not reside in the same city." In other words, the negus decided, for the time being, to treat Mārqos as if he were the coadjutor bishop to Sinodā, who thereby continued to occupy his supreme position for a few years.

During the eleventh year of his reign, Iyyāsu I visited Tigre and was received with great pomp on 6 Yakkātit 1685 (A.D. 10 February 1693). Accompanied by Abuna Sinodā, he spent the day in the cathedral of the holy city, near the "Ark of Zion" (i.e., the most famous *tābot* of all the Ethiopian churches, said to be the true Ark of the Covenant, containing the Tablets of the Law, described in the Old Testament). This was probably the last grand function in which the old metropolitan participated. In fact, upon his return to Gonder, the negus convoked an assembly of dignitaries and prelates before whom he had a letter publicly read in which the Coptic patriarch John XVI ordered that Mārqos be enthroned in Sinodā's place. This occurred on the feast day of Abbā Salāmā, the first bishop of Ethiopia, 26 Ḥamlē 1685 (A.D. 30 July 1693). The elevation of Mārqos IV occurred immediately.

Sinodā must have lived a few years longer in general esteem. According to the Abridged Chronicle of Ethiopia, he died during the month of Kḥedār in the eighteenth year of the reign of Iyyāsu I (November 1699). This death is confirmed by the account of the French physician Jacques Charles Poncet (1713, pp. 82–84), who was then in Gonder and who, at the request of the negus, visited the dying Sinodā. Poncet added one interesting detail: Iyyāsu told him that he had great affection for Sinodā because Sinodā had been his teacher.

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MĀRQOS IV (d. 1716)

Because Mārqos was *abun* not only during the last years of the reign of Negus Iyyāsu I (1682–1706) but also during a turbulent period comprising the reigns of Takla Hāymānot (1706–1708),

Tēwoflos (1708–1711), Yosṭos (1711–1716), and Dāwit IV (1716–1721), for whom there are no royal chronicles, there is much information about the early years of his metropolitanate, especially in the chronicle of Iyyāsu I, but few data about the final period.

Mārqos IV was the successor to Abuna Sinodā. The latter, enthroned during the reign of Yoḥannes I (1677–1682), had at first been forced to acquiesce to the religious politics of this ruler, who openly leaned toward the thesis of the Unctionists (monks of the order of Ēwosṭātēwos) in the Christological controversy over union and unction, a quarrel that had arisen during the time of Abuna Mikā'ēl IV. Negus Iyyāsu I, contrary to his father Yoḥannes, favored the Unionists (monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot), and when the negus decided to reverse his father's ecclesiastical politics, Sinodā was placed in a difficult position. With Sinodā's concurrence, Iyyāsu I thought it wise to ask the Coptic patriarch JOHN XVI (1676–1718) to send a new bishop to Ethiopia. This bishop, named Mārqos, arrived in Ethiopia via Sennar and was introduced by Sinodā himself to the civil and clerical dignitaries during an assembly held at Gonder on 18 Maskaram 1681 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 25 September 1689). But the chronicle states that "Sinodā was not dismissed, and Mārqos was sent to Sārkā, where he was installed with all the honors due him, for two metropolitans could not reside in the same city." It may be deduced therefrom that the negus decided not to enthrone Mārqos at this time, but to consider him as Sinodā's coadjutor. Thus, he sent Mārqos to Sārkā, a city near the frontier of Sennar, where this prelate had to reside. According to one source, Mārqos lived there in company with his father, mother, and brother. He was not seen at Gonder for some years. When the negus visited the cathedral of Axum on 6 Yakkātit 1685 (A.D. 10 February 1693), he was accompanied by the aged Abuna Sinodā. Upon his return to Gonder, on the feast day of Abuna Salāmā I, first bishop of Ethiopia (26 Ḥamlē 1685/A.D. 30 July 1693), the negus had a letter read before a large assembly in which the Coptic patriarch John XVI, at the negus's request, declared that he was deposing Sinodā and elevating Mārqos in his place. Mārqos IV was enthroned immediately, so this date also marks his accession to the supreme throne.

In 1698, Abuna Mārqos had to assist at a council wherein the question of union and unction was discussed anew. Once again the thesis of the Unctionists was rejected, and its adherents excommunicated, by Mārqos IV. During his sojourn in Gonder (July 1699–May 1700), the French physician Jacques Charles Poncet also had an interview with Abuna Mārqos, who received him with great courtesy. At that time the physician noted the prestige accorded this metropolitan by the king and clergy.

In 1706, Iyyāsu I had to leave the throne to his son Takla Hāymānot and to the Unctionists, who had been hoping for this change. Immediately they reopened the controversy with the Unionists, but in March 1707 the *abun* responded as he had before. However, in 1708 they were successful after the accession to the throne of Negus Tēwoflos, who was the protector of the order to which they belonged.

Without convoking a council, Tēwoflos imposed by proclamation the doctrine of unction. Driven by political considerations, the negus hoped that by adopting this doctrine, he could appease Gojam, whose clergy was devoted to the Unctionist thesis. It appears that Mārqos IV was then obliged to approve this doctrine, but there is little documentation for this period of his episcopate. Nor is there any information about the following period, that of the reign of Yosṭos the Usurper, so called because he descended only from a female line of the Solomonic dynasty. However, from the Abridged Chronicle it may be deduced that Abuna Mārqos IV supported the political party that opposed Yosṭos and succeeded in replacing him by Dāwit IV, who assumed power on 5 Yakkātit 1708 (A.D. 11 February 1716) and favored the Unctionists, and so it is possible that Mārqos IV approved this decision.

A few weeks later there occurred an event that had repercussions in Europe. This was the trial of the Capuchin monks Liberato Weiss, Michele Pio da Zerbo, and Samuele de Beano, who had entered Ethiopia under the protection of Negus Yosṭos and were residing in Walqāyt, a western district far removed from the capital. They were brought to Gonder, condemned and stoned to death on 27 Yakkātit 1708 (A.D. 4 March 1716). However, it does not follow that Mārqos IV played a role in this trial, as has often been claimed. Moreover, his days were coming to an end, for he died on 30 Sanē 1708 (A.D. 5 July 1716).

His successor was Abuna Krestodolu III.

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KRESTODOLU III (d. 1735)

The immediate successor to Abuna Mārqos IV, Krestodolu III was requested by Negus Dāwit IV (1716–1721), protector of the monks of Ēwostātēwos (Unctionists) in the long controversy over union and unction. According to the Abridged Chronicle of Ethiopia, Krestodolu III arrived in the Ethiopian capital during the fifth year of Dāwit's reign, on 5 Khedār 1713 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 14 November 1720). Thus, he was consecrated by the Coptic patriarch PETER VI (1718–1726).

Upon his arrival in Gonder, Abuna Krestodolu III was forced by Dāwit to take an official stand in the Christological dispute. After trying in vain to elude the negus's request, Krestodolu III, under pressure from a group of court dignitaries, finally issued the following declaration, dated 2 Miyāzyā 1713 of the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 8 April 1721): "By unction Jesus is the natural son of God." This greatly pleased the Unctionists, but the Unionists protested loudly, whereupon the metropolitan issued another declaration hoping to satisfy them: "By union Jesus is the only son, and by unction He is the Messiah." The negus's reaction was immediate and terrible. After a great massacre by the royal troops of the monks in the order of Takla Hāymānot (Unionists), Dāwit IV had Krestodolu III brought to him by force. In the metropolitan's presence, the negus publicly proclaimed the Unctionist doctrine, thus giving it an official character. Krestodolu III could only stand by silently before the sovereign's declaration, but this silence alienated him from the monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot, who erased his name from the liturgies celebrated in their monasteries. Only five years later, following an agreement reached between Krestodolu III and the Zawalda Māryām, the head of the monks of the order of Takla Hāymānot, was his name again included in their liturgy.

Krestodolu III crowned and blessed the new negus, Aṣma Giyorgis, called Bakkāffā, after his accession to the throne on 12 Genbot 1713 (A.D. 18 May 1721). Likewise, when this negus died on 11 Maskaram 1723 (A.D. 19 September 1730), it was Krestodolu III who administered absolution to the ruler's coffin and then blessed his successor, Negus Iyyāsu II.

In 1723 there was a plot in Gonder to overthrow Iyyāsu II and replace him with one of his relatives. The insurgents seized Abuna Krestodolu III and the *eč̣č̣agē* Takla Hāymānot, and forced them to excommunicate the negus. When the rebellion was suppressed, the two prelates had to justify their action. They explained that not only were they imprisoned but also they were told that Catholic priests were hidden in the palace and that Iyyāsu II intended to favor the church of Rome. Thereupon, the negus, in a show of clemency, pardoned them.

According to the chronicle of Iyyāsu II, Krestodolu III died on Saturday, 9 Naḥasē 1727 (A.D. 13 August 1735). His immediate successor was Yoḥannes III.

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YOHANNES III (d. 1761)

Most information about Yoḥannes comes from the chronicles of Negus Iyyāsu II (1730–1755) and Negus Iyyo'as I (1755–1769). According to the chronicles, six and a half years after the death of the Abuna Krestodolu III (d. 1735), hence toward the beginning of the year 1742, Iyyo'as II formed a delegation consisting of two Ethiopian prelates ac-

companied by three Muslim merchants, provided them with 450 ounces of gold, and sent them to Egypt in quest of a new metropolitan. But the prestige of Ethiopia in the Red Sea area was then in decline, so much so that the mission suffered several misadventures on the outward and return journeys. It was first of all delayed at Massawa by the *nā'ib*, a local chief nominally dependent on the Turkish authorities of the Red Sea, who before authorizing its embarkation relieved it of half the gold. On arriving at Jidda, the mission found that the last ship bound for Egypt had already left, which compelled it to spend ten months in this port. Moreover, during this forced sojourn in Arabia, one of the two Ethiopian prelates became a Muslim; it was thus the other prelate, Abbā Tēwodros, who reached Cairo and submitted the request from the negus to the Coptic patriarch JOHN XVII (1727–1745). On 22 Maskaram 1736 (A.D. 1 October 1743, a Coptic synod designated the new metropolitan of Ethiopia, who was consecrated by the patriarch and whose name was Yoḥannes III. Accompanied by Abbā Tēwodros, the metropolitan landed at Massawa on 12 Miyāzyā 1736 (A.D. 18 April 1744), but once again the *nā'ib* delayed them with the aim of extorting money from them; it appears that in his doings the *nā'ib* enjoyed the covert support of Mikā'ēl Seḥul, all-powerful lord of Tigre and ambitious vassal of the "King of Kings." At the end of five months, the metropolitan was able to escape from Massawa, thanks to the aid of the monks of Dabra Bizan, where he also found a refuge and was rejoined by Abbā Tēwodros after the latter was able to buy his freedom. It was in Sire that the metropolitan met Negus Iyyāsu II, and finally, on 23 Ṭerr 1738/A.D. 23 January 1745, Yoḥannes returned to Gonder, where he was able to assume all his functions.

Some months later, in the course of a campaign in Tigre, Iyyāsu II laid hold of a prelate who for eighteen months had passed himself off as the metropolitan of Ethiopia. Enjoying the protection of Mikā'ēl Seḥul, this usurper had even occupied Addi Abun, near Adwā, a fief of the metropolitan in Tigre. He was a Syrian priest who declared he had received the charge of metropolitan of Ethiopia from the hands of the patriarch of Antioch, and this although the latter had never had jurisdiction over Ethiopian territory. Taken to Gonder, this usurper was judged in the presence of Abuna Yoḥannes III and condemned to the amputation of his right hand (the hand, the chronicler specifies, with which "he had dared to consecrate in Tigre the *tābot* of so many churches and to ordain so many priests"); but the Negus remitted this penalty, limiting himself to expelling him from the country (February 1747).

In 1750, Negus Iyyāsu II, together with Queen Mentewwāb, his mother and coregent of the kingdom, decided to summon from abroad some Catholic missionaries. The exact purpose of this is not known, only that the negus asked for missionaries equipped with certain qualities (they had to be skilled artisans, have medical knowledge, and be good theologians). It was thus that in March 1752 three Franciscan missionaries arrived at the court of Gonder—two Czechs, Remedius Prutky and Martin Lang, accompanied by Antony of Aleppo, a Syrian who served as their interpreter. Naturally the Franciscans nourished the hope of reconciling the court of Ethiopia with the Roman church, but Abuna Yoḥannes III, supported by the Ethiopian clergy, intervened vigorously before the negus and had the Catholic missionaries expelled from the country.

On 24 Sanē 1747 (A.D. 25 June 1755), immediately after the death of Iyyāsu II, the metropolitan proceeded to the coronation of his son, Negus Iyyo'as I, who acceded to the throne at an early age under the guardianship of his grandmother Mentewwāb. On 24 Miyāzyā 1750 (A.D. 30 April 1758), Yoḥannes III, accompanied by the *eṣṣagē* Hēnok, abbot of the monks of the order founded by Abuna Takla Hāymānot, was present at Gonder at the translation of the bones of Negus Bakkāffā and Negus Iyyāsu II, ordered by Queen Mentewwāb; the remains of the two sovereigns were transferred from the church of Abuna Takla Hāymānot to that of Dabra Ṣaḥay in the presence, and with the blessing, of the metropolitan.

In the last months of his life, Yoḥannes III had to intervene in events important for the religious history of Ethiopia. A monk named Ešatē formulated a new doctrine that provoked violent reactions among the regular clergy (see below); the metropolitan condemned this teaching as heterodox and excommunicated Ešatē, along with his partisans. Those excommunicated took refuge in Wāldebbā, where their teaching spread rapidly, expanding from there to other territories. Since the sequel to these events unfolded after the death of Yoḥannes III but before the arrival of his successor in Ethiopia and since it had wide repercussions, it is appropriate to give a summary here: having rallied to the new teaching, the *eṣṣagē* Hēnok was anathematized by a part of the Ethiopian clergy. He appealed to the Coptic patriarch MARK VII (1745–1769), who in his letter of reply could only confirm the doctrinal

position of the Coptic church and condemn the new teaching. Hēnok was then deposed by the clergy, but peace did not return to the country, where the new doctrine was to be the subject of discussion for a long time.

The doctrine condemned by Yoḥannes III is that of *Ya-ṣaggā lej* (Son by Grace), according to which, since the Incarnation of Jesus took place by virtue of the grace of the Holy Spirit, it would be right to say that Jesus is Son by Grace. Later there arose another doctrine often considered as derived from the first—the doctrine of *sost ledat* (three births), according to which Jesus had three births: first of all the eternal one, which came from the Father; then the human birth, which occurred through the Virgin Mary; and finally that which the grace of the Holy Spirit conferred upon him. As for the teaching recalled by the Coptic patriarch, it received in Ethiopia the name of *kārrā* (knife) for reasons that are not clear, perhaps because of the trenchant terms used by the patriarch Mark VII in his letter. The text of this letter seems lost, but one presumes that the Coptic patriarch then confirmed the traditional doctrine of the Alexandrian church, specifying that one could attribute to Jesus only two births: the eternal one and that received from the Holy Virgin.

Yoḥannes III was present only at the beginning of these religious controversies, for he died on 10 Khedār 1754 (A.D. 15 November 1761); in giving this date, the chronicle of Negus Iyyo'as adds that this metropolitan was buried in the Quddus Gabr'ēl church at Gonder. He had as successor Abuna Yosāb II, who arrived in Ethiopia eight years later.

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YOSĀB II (d. 1803)

Yosāb's metropolitanate included the first part of the period called the Age of the Princes (*Zamana Masāfent*, 1769–1855). During this period the Ethiopian state declined to its lowest level. The kingdom was from this time infiltrated at every point by the people of Oromo (or Gāllā). Quarrelsome and plundering regional chiefs disputed the wreckage of power, while the negus belonging to the so-called Solomonic dynasty declined to the rank of nominal sovereign, a puppet king maintaining himself on the throne only with the support of a regent protector. In this anarchy, and for want of the support of the throne, the exercise of the duties of the metropolitan became arduous, and Yosāb II had to suffer the consequences of this state of affairs.

Yosāb arrived in Ethiopia toward the beginning of 1770, in the reign of Negus Takla Hāymānot II (1769–1777), when the "Protector of the Throne" was the *rās* Mikā'ēl Seḥul, chief of Tigre and effective master of the kingdom. At the time of Yosāb II's arrival, the *rās* Mikā'ēl tried to induce him to fix his seat in Tigre, but after some time, the metropolitan decided to go to Gonder, which he entered on 13 Sanē 1762 in the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 18 June 1770). From then on, during more than thirty-three years, Yosāb II was involved in the events of the religious and political life of a state in decomposition. Several items of information about his episcopate survive, but they give only a fragmentary picture, for they come above all from the royal chronicle of this period, an incoherent text written by several different hands. Thus, there is a dearth of information about the first part of his episcopate, which unfolded during the reign of Negus Salomon II (1777–1779) and the first reign of Takla Giyorgis I (1779–1784), a sovereign whom circumstances were to bring to the occupancy of the throne of Ethiopia six times over. It is known only that the metropolitan took part in the ceremony that marked the accession to the throne of Negus Iyyāsu III (1784–1788).

In 1792, during the reign of Negus Hezqeyās (1789–1794), Yosāb II, supported by the *eṣṣagē* Walda Iyyasus, abbot of the monks forming the or-

der of Takla Hāymānot, and by certain notables, took the lead in a movement of reaction against the influence of the Oromo, who had infiltrated even into the state administration. This movement demanded the material separation of the Christians from the Oromo, who were Islamicized or often still pagans; but the movement came to nothing because of the lack of cohesion among its promoters. The incident was to end with a reconciliation between Christians and Oromo.

Toward the beginning of 1795, during the third reign of Takla Giyorgis I (1794–1795), Walda Gabr'ēl, chief of Tigre and son of the *rās* Mikā'ēl Seḥul, attacked the negus in his very palace at Gonder; peace could only be preserved by the intervention of the metropolitan. Shortly afterward, on 12 Genbot 1787 (A.D. 18 May 1795) at Gonder, Yosāb II crowned Negus Ba'eda Māryām II, who however reigned only a few months (May 1795–December 1795).

When Negus Yonās was deposed at the end of a very short reign (August 1797–January 1798), he took refuge in the house of the metropolitan, a place enjoying the right of asylum, while Negus Takla Giyorgis I reoccupied the throne for the fifth time (January 1798–May 1799). Shortly afterward, this negus was threatened by a rebel named Wāḥdu; although excommunicated by the metropolitan Yosāb II and by the new *eṭṭ̣agē*, Walda Yonā, Wāḥdu dared to break into the metropolitan's house to possess himself of Negus Yonās, whom he counted on replacing on the throne at his own disposal. He was, however, surprised to discover that Takla Giyorgis I had preceded him; he had taken possession of the person of Yonās to transport him elsewhere. This violation of the right of asylum is an indication of the decadence of the dynasty and of the decline in the prestige attaching to the charge of metropolitan. For his part, however, Yosāb II did all in his power to arrest that decline, and his action registered some successes. Toward the end of 1799, during the first reign of Negus Demēṭros (June 1799–March 1800), Amadē Qwalāsi, chief of a pagan Oromo tribe, advanced toward Gonder at the head of his troops; in the general disarray, Yosāb II ventured to go out to meet Amadē and addressed to him a firm and very dignified speech, as a result of which Amadē renounced the plundering of the capital and withdrew his troops.

Toward the beginning of the reign of Negus Egwāla Ṣeyon, called Gwālu, a nominal sovereign invested with the title King of Kings from June 1801 to June 1818, the Christological quarrel blazed up anew. The *eṭṭ̣agē* Walda Yonā adhered to the doctrine of *sost ledat* (three births), and Yosāb II, faithful to the principles of the Coptic church, did not hesitate to excommunicate him; then, in the hope of ending the quarrel, which continued to tear the Ethiopian clergy apart, the metropolitan tried to impose the doctrine of *hult ledat* (two births) by launching a general excommunication against all those who should not have adopted it. But a large part of the clergy rebelled and caused the metropolitan to be exiled to an island on Lake Ṭānā. Old and weary, and recognizing that it was impossible for him to bring a general reconciliation into effect, Yosāb II ended by retracting the excommunication: "Since all the world admits in Jesus a unique nature, as I admit myself, let each one remain in his own belief." His episcopal seat was then restored to him.

According to the royal chronicle, Abuna Yosāb II died on 1 Maskaram 1796 (A.D. 11 September 1803) and was buried at Gonder in the Quddus Gabr'ēl church. According to some traditions, a week after his death, toward midnight, a heavenly light descended on his tomb, as if to confirm the sanctity of his long episcopate. As for the *eṭṭ̣agē* Walda Yonā, immediately after Yosāb's death he in his turn imposed excommunication on all those who had not followed the doctrine of the three births, but the doctrinal quarrel was destined to continue for a long time after.

It may be noted that a few days after the death of Yosāb II the *dajjāzmāč* (later *rās*) Gugsā, an Oromo from Yajju who in that same year became "Protector of the Throne," took possession of the metropolitan's goods on the pretext that they were to serve to cover the costs of obtaining from the Coptic patriarchate a new metropolitan. This action was scarcely pleasing to the chief of Tigre, the *rās* Walda Śellāsē, who decided to march on Gonder with his troops. Caught unawares, Gugsā made haste to pay over to him five hundred ounces of gold in the guise of compensation for the metropolitan's goods confiscated by him. In 1805, Walda Śellāsē related to the British traveler Henry Salt that to this sum he had added from his own funds a considerable amount and that he had sent the whole to the Coptic patriarchate with the object of obtaining the new metropolitan. This story of Walda Śellāsē probably contains the explanation of a historical problem: some traditional lists of the metropolitans of Ethiopia indicate as successor to Yosāb II a prelate called Maqāryos (Macarius), of whom there is no trace in other documents. One of

these lists adds that "Maqāryos died en route, after his disembarking, before he had begun to ordain the priests." This is probably the metropolitan requested by Walda Śellāsē about 1805. In any case, since he never began to exercise his functions, Maqāryos cannot be counted among the metropolitans of the church of Ethiopia.

The successor of Yosāb II was Abuna Qērelos II, who was likewise requested by the *rās* Walda Śellāsē.

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QĒRELOS II (d. 1828)

Qērelos became metropolitan during the Age of the Princes (*Zamana Masāfent*, 1796–1855), a period during which the Ethiopian state sank into anarchy. Powerless to control the various regional chiefs, the sovereigns of the Solomonic dynasty reigned only nominally, the country being in fact at the mercy of a "Protector of the Throne," the military chief most powerful among those who disputed for scraps of power.

Information about Qērelos II and his episcopate comes primarily from the royal chronicle of Ethiopia for the years 1800–1840. But since it is fragmentary, this information gives only an incomplete picture. A new metropolitan had been requested by the *rās* Walda Śallāsē, lord of Tigre, who was making his second request to this end, for ten years earlier (a little before 1805) his first attempt to fill the void left by the death of the Abuna Yosāb II had not succeeded. This second attempt had a favorable result: in the course of the year 1815, the Coptic patriarch PETER VI (1809–1852) named and consecrated for Ethiopia a monk calling himself Qērelos, who reached Massawa in November of the same year and made his entry to Čalaqot, the residence of the *rās* Walda Śellāsē, on 3 Yakkātit 1808 in the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 10 February 1816), or a little before the death of the old *rās*, which took place on 24 Genbot (31 May) of the same year.

Qērelos II began by residing in Tigre for about three years, but without winning the hearts of his flock. Meanwhile, at Gonder there grew a need for the *abun*, for since the death of Yosāb II, there had not been in the capital any ordinations of priests or consecrations of new *ṣellāt* (slabs). (In the Ethiopian church the ṣellāt, placed in the *tābot*, is the movable shelf of the altar with the ten commandments inscribed on it, and its consecration by the bishop makes a holy place of the new church in which this shelf is placed.) Summoned by Negus Iyyo'as II (1818–1821) and by the *rās* Gugsā, who was Protector of the Throne, Qērelos II went to Gonder, where he made his entry on 17 Sanē 1811 (A.D. 23 June 1819), and began by ordaining many priests and consecrating several *tābot*. But his coming launched at Gonder a revival of the Christological quarrel: the majority of the monks of the capital followed the doctrine of *Ya-ṣaggā lej* (Son by Grace) and the doctrine of *sost ledat* (three births), but when it was demanded of Qērelos II that he make known his views on the subject, he could not avoid rejecting these doctrines and excommunicating those who followed them. Since the clergy of the capital protested vigorously against the metropolitan's decisions, it was decided to submit the questions to a synod held at Gonder in the presence of Negus Iyyo'as II, toward the beginning of 1820. The defender of the theses condemned by the metropolitan was the abbot of the monastic order founded by Takla Hāymānot, the *eṣṣagē* Walda Yonā, the former fierce adversary of the Abuna Yosāb II. Before the synod, the metropolitan could only confirm the doctrine of *kārrā* (knife), which was that prescribed by the Coptic patriarchate and had been defended by his two predecessors. Harshly attacked by the adversaries, the metropolitan asked for a delay to answer all the objections. He was

then asked to begin by retracting the general excommunication he had launched, but as soon as he had pronounced this retraction, he was himself excommunicated by Walda Yonā and expelled from Gonder by order of the negus and the Protector of the Throne. Qērelos II retired again to Tigre, where from that time he resided until his death.

In Tigre, the period of confusion that had followed the death of the *rās* Walda Śellāsē came to an end when one of his lieutenants, the *dajjāzmāč* Sabāgādis, was able to seize the power. The majority of the clergy of Tigre then supported the doctrine of unction, but Sabāgādis, acting above all on political considerations, decided to adhere to the principles defended by the metropolitan, that is, the doctrine of *kārrā*. This friendly understanding proved advantageous for both parties; immediately most of the clergy of Tigre followed the example of Sabāgādis. The religious who did not allow themselves to be convinced were expelled and took refuge at Gonder. On his side, the metropolitan obtained several material advantages from his support of Sabāgādis. But some time later, relations between the two men deteriorated, so much so that when the metropolitan suddenly disappeared, the rumor spread that he was dead and that his death was due to poisoning ordered by Sabāgādis. The grounds for this rumor seem questionable. Abba Takla Hāymānot of Memsāh, a priest who, after having adhered to Catholicism, wrote a kind of history of this period, recorded another version of the metropolitan's death: Qērelos II is said to have been poisoned by the *azzāž* Taklu, a local chief and vassal of Sabāgādis, because he coveted certain lands of the village of Addi Abun, a traditional fief of the metropolitans, and had experienced violent disputes with the metropolitan.

The exact date of his death is not known, but since the royal chronicle states that his episcopate lasted for about thirteen years, one may deduce that Qērelos II died toward the end of 1828. After his death, Ethiopia remained once more without a metropolitan for about thirteen years, until the arrival in 1841 of Abuna Salāmā III.

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SALĀMĀ III (d. 1867)

Salāmā served as metropolitan toward the end of the period of anarchy called *Zamana Masāfent*, or Age of the Princes (1769–1855), and during the reign of Negus Tēwodros II (1855–1868). After the death of Abuna Qērelos II in 1828, Ethiopia remained without a metropolitan for nearly thirteen years. The political power was then parceled out among various pretenders: in northern Ethiopia the *dajjāzmāč* Sabāgādis, chief of Tigre, had entered into conflict against the *dajjāzmāč* Webē Khayla Māryām, chief of Semēn, but had been defeated and killed in February 1831; having become lord of the united Tigre and Semēn, Webē nourished great ambitions; knowing that the Protector of the Throne at Gonder, the *rās* Ali II, an Oromo originating from Yajju and nominally a Christian, was in no hurry to request a new metropolitan from Cairo because the Christological doctrines of the clergy of Gonder differed from those of the Coptic patriarchate, Webē himself sent to Egypt a request for a new metropolitan. In fact, since the doctrine of the clergy of Tigre was in conformity with that of the patriarchate,

Webē counted on availing himself of the prestige attached to the metropolitanate to supplant the hegemony of the *rās* Ali II and prepare for his own ascent toward the supreme throne. Webē's delegation to Egypt was accompanied by a Catholic priest, Monsignor Giustino de Jacobis, a Lazarist.

The Coptic patriarch PETER VII (1809–1852) consecrated for Ethiopia a very young monk named Andrāwus, who had frequented the Protestant school opened in Cairo in 1826 by the Church Missionary Society of England, which explains the inclination this prelate later had for the Protestant missionaries in Ethiopia. Barely a score of years in age, the new metropolitan took the name Salāmā III in honor of the first bishop of the Ethiopian church. Several Europeans were present at the first steps of this metropolitan in Ethiopia and have left accounts of the period. Salāmā reached Adwā, the principal seat of Webē, on 19 November 1841; he was there received with pomp, but this first phase of his episcopate was very short: in February 1842, Webē, accompanied by the *abun*, invaded the Bagēmder and marched on Dabra Tābor, seat of the *rās* Ali, where he was defeated.

Salāmā fell into the hands of the victor, who decided to use him at Gonder, where the metropolitan made his entry on 25 February. But there the metropolitan ran into grave difficulties, for the majority of the clergy of the capital followed Christological doctrines contrary to those of the patriarchate. In particular, the most prestigious of the monastic orders, that founded by the sainted Takla Hāymānot, followed the doctrine of *Ya-ṣaggā lej* (Son by Grace). Salāmā III was not long in rebelling against this situation, and excommunicated both the *eč̣č̣agē* Māhṣantu and his chief partisan, the king Śāhla Śellāsē, lord of Shewa, the region in which was situated Dabra Libānos, the principal monastery of the order.

The crisis reached its height in 1846 when the *abun* was summoned to revoke the excommunications he had launched. Salāmā refused, and so the monks marched on the metropolitan's house and violated its traditional right of asylum. Salāmā was then arrested and exiled to Tigre (3 June 1846) by order of the *etēgē* (queen, or wife of a king) Manan, who was anxious to preserve order; Manan was the mother of the *rās* Ali II and governed the capital after having espoused in a second marriage the negus Yoḥannes III, nominal sovereign of Gonder.

In Tigre, the metropolitan was once again favorably welcomed by Webē, who, encouraged by his presence, reopened hostilities against the *rās* Ali. But Webē was once again defeated, and his relations with Salāmā were not slow to deteriorate. In fact, Webē tended to favor the Catholic missionaries (the Lazarists), in the hope that by so doing, France would support his designs on the supreme throne. Salāmā nourished so profound an aversion for the Catholic missions that he ended by maintaining relations with Webē's adversaries. In 1847 the metropolitan prudently retired to Dabra Dāmo, a monastery hewn out of rock, with a very difficult access, and excommunicated Webē. In reprisal, Webē seized the goods and the fiefs of the metropolitan, but toward the end of 1848, recognizing the impossibility of realizing his ambitions without the metropolitan's support, Webē went to Dabra Dāmo, where he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with Salāmā. Webē then had to fulfil the condition that Salāmā had imposed on him: the expulsion from Tigre of the Catholic missionaries.

Meanwhile, there rose the star of Kāsā Khaylu (the future King of Kings Tēwodros II), who passed rapidly from success to success, so much so that by 1850 he ranked as the principal adversary of the *rās* Ali. One may deduce from the documents available that from 1849 Kāsā Khaylu had allied himself with the metropolitan and passed for a partisan of the Christological doctrine defended by Salāmā. Each of the two allies drew from this understanding the anticipated profits. After eliminating one after another almost all his adversaries, including the *rās* Ali II, Kāsā summoned Salāmā, who returned to Gonder on 1 June 1854. Shortly afterward, under Kāsā's auspices, the new *eč̣č̣agē* became reconciled with the metropolitan. Finally, Kāsā convened at Ambā Č̣ārā, not far from Gonder, a council of the representatives of the various doctrinal tendencies. The council confirmed the Unionist doctrine, which was the one defended by the metropolitan, and rejected the contrary thesis. In conclusion, on 19 August 1854, Kāsā proclaimed as official the doctrine adopted by the council, while Salāmā solemnly anathematized all the contrary doctrines. Having thus restored unity to the bosom of the clergy, Kāsā prepared to combat his last adversary, Webē. He invaded Semēn, Webē's traditional fief, and the latter hastened from Tigre. At the confrontation that took place at Darasgē on 9 February 1855, Webē was decisively defeated, and the victor had himself anointed King of Kings by Salāmā in the church of Darasgē Māryām, near the field of battle. The new sovereign of Ethiopia then took the royal name of Tēwodros II.

In return for the support furnished to Kāsā at the

time of his winning the throne, Salāmā had obtained from him the promise that he would support him in his struggle against his two principal adversaries: the groups of monks who continued to defend the anathematized doctrines and the Catholic missionaries. It was thus that Salāmā first accompanied Tēwodros to Shewa where the King of Kings, having subjected that region, imposed on all the local clergy the official Christological doctrine. In addition, Salāmā had the Lazarist bishop Giustino de Jacobis expelled from Gonder, together with the other Catholic missionaries; further, he succeeded in persuading Tēwodros to welcome with goodwill some Protestant missionaries. But Salāmā's hostility to Roman Catholicism only rendered more concrete the support furnished by France to the Catholic missionaries and indirectly intensified the support furnished by Great Britain to the Protestant missionaries and to Salāmā. Thus, from the beginning of the reign of Tēwodros II, there arose a climate of tension between the negus and the metropolitan.

The relations between Salāmā and Tēwodros, which had never been perfect, were not long in deteriorating because the sovereign's great political plan contrasted with the interests of the Ethiopian church: Tēwodros, who never concealed his contempt for the clergy, dreamed of creating a powerful empire, equipped with a large national army, which would have allowed him to subdue any adversary and to repel Islam once and for all. He counted on realizing this plan by utilizing the resources of the church and reducing its influence on the Ethiopian people. This design could not be accepted by Salāmā. The violent and suspicious character of Tēwodros contributed to the creation of a rupture between the negus and the metropolitan. This rupture became evident at the end of 1856 at the time of the visit to Ethiopia by the Coptic patriarch CYRIL IV (1854–1861).

This was a visit out of the ordinary on two grounds: first, because this was the first time that a Coptic patriarch had come to Ethiopia and, second, because Cyril IV already knew Ethiopia, for he had gone there in 1850 when he was called only Dāwūd and was no more than the superior of the Monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS). On that earlier occasion, he had been sent to Ethiopia by the patriarch PETER VII (1809–1852) with the aim of reversing the effects of a doctrinal order that had set Salāmā III in opposition to part of the clergy and of asking the negus to contribute to the expenses that the patriarchate had to bear at Jerusalem to help the Ethiopian pilgrims. The details of this first mission are not known, but apparently it was unfruitful.

The high Coptic prelate's second mission to Ethiopia proved full of incident. The documents available are silent in regard to the precise aims of the mission, but the history of the Copts permits some deductions. The viceroy of Egypt, Sa'īd Pasha (1854–1863), was inclined not to pursue in the south the policy of expansion adopted by his father, Muḥammad 'Alī. He had therefore downgraded the Egyptian administration over Sudanese territory and reduced his army in the Sudan to the level of a gendarmerie. This policy presupposed a friendly policy on the part of Emperor Tēwodros II, who, however, did not cease to proclaim himself the enemy of Islam. Hence, Sa'īd thought to send Cyril IV to Tēwodros with an offer of friendship.

The Coptic patriarch accepted this mission, for he, too, had a plan. In January 1856, with the aim of forming a national army, Sa'īd had decreed that all young Copts, like young Muslims, were to do military service. The Copts, who for centuries had been exempt from any military obligation, were greatly disturbed by this decree, in which they saw only an indirect way of persecuting them. Hence, Cyril IV accepted the mission in the hope also of inducing Tēwodros to intervene with Sa'īd and get him to revoke the decree.

The two objects of the mission were not attained; indeed, it had results opposite to those hoped for. From the time of his arrival in Ethiopia in December 1856, the patriarch, in agreement with Abuna Salāmā III, drafted a letter in which Tēwodros, accepting Sa'īd's friendship, invited him to release the young Copts enrolled by force in the Egyptian army and declared himself disposed to receive from Egypt a certain number of civil and military "workers" (today called "consultants"). Suspecting that Cyril was in the service of Sa'īd as a spy and even a secret agent of Islam, Tēwodros refused to sign the letter. His rage became fully manifest when Cyril expressed the desire to see the negus's troops; convinced of the justice of his suspicions, Tēwodros had Cyril IV and Salāmā III imprisoned. Then he had the patriarch's baggage searched and plundered. Five days later, on 16 January 1857, following the intervention of the Ethiopian clergy, there was a public and solemn reconciliation. Recognizing that he had been too impulsive, Tēwodros liberated the two prelates and allowed Cyril IV to bless him, but the patriarch was scarcely authorized to leave Ethiopia. In October of the same year, follow-

ing a new dispute with Tēwodros, Salāmā publicly excommunicated all those who had followed the negus in his actions contrary to the interests of the clergy. It was Cyril IV who put an end to this new crisis by raising the excommunication, and this, it is said, despite Salāmā's advice to the contrary. Shortly afterward, the negus authorized the patriarch's departure (November 1857), and in fact he returned to Egypt in 1858.

Salāmā's prestige continued gradually to decline. Tēwodros inflexibly pursued the realization of his grand design and especially his plan aimed at reducing the prestige of the church to make it an instrument totally subject to the state. Since Salāmā and the clergy had long striven against the proceedings of the negus, they were accused of being the origin of all resistance to Tēwodros' authoritarian regime. They replied by often accusing the negus of acting "like a Muslim." This tension reached its highest point in 1864: knowing that Salāmā was maintaining relations with his adversaries (notably Menelik, king of Shewa, and Gobazē, lord of Wāg), Tēwodros had the metropolitan imprisoned on the *ambā* (mountain top) of Maqdalā, the mountain on which the King of Kings was preparing to entrench himself to resist increasing difficulties in both foreign and domestic affairs. As for the clergy of Gonder, it had to stand by powerless at the plundering of the capital (1864) and its devastation (1966) by order of the negus himself.

The circumstances of the end of Tēwodros II, who committed suicide at Maqdalā on 13 April 1868 in the face of a British expeditionary corps commanded by General Robert Napier, are well known. But Salāmā III was not present at this event, for he had died in his prison at Maqdalā on 25 October 1867 at about the age of forty-six years, sorely tried by the privations undergone during his imprisonment. Salāmā III remains one of the most controversial figures in the history of Ethiopia in the nineteenth century.

The successor of this metropolitan was Abuna Atnātēwos.

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ATNĀTĒWOS (d. 1876)

Atnātēwos was the immediate successor of the Abuna Salāmā III, who died in 1867. On the death of Negus Tēwodros II on 13 April 1868, at the end of a military campaign conducted against him by British troops, the two principal rivals for the throne of Ethiopia were Gobazē Gabra Madkhen, Wāgšum (or lord of Wāg), and his brother-in-law Kāsā Merčā, master of Tigre. Each of them was well aware that to have any chance of acceding to the supreme throne, it was necessary to send a delega-

tion to Cairo to obtain from the Coptic patriarch Demetrius II (1862–1870) the election of a new metropolitan who could consecrate and "anoint" the new "King of Kings" of Ethiopia. The delegation formed by Gobazē was not able to leave the country, for it was intercepted and blockaded by Kāsā. In vexation, Gobazē had himself proclaimed King of Kings by his army and took the crown name Takla Giyorgis II.

The delegation formed by Kāsā was able to reach Cairo, where it handed over to the Coptic patriarchate the sum of six thousand thalers in silver and requested the sending of the metropolitan. In the course of September 1868, Kāsā received the patriarch's reply by letter from his principal delegate. This reply was supposed to remain secret, but chance allowed the French traveler Alexandre Girard to look into it. The patriarchate demanded the payment of a supplementary sum and a promise from Kāsā that he would energetically combat the penetration of the Catholic missionaries (French Lazarists) into northern Ethiopia. Kāsā made haste to accept these conditions and, after collecting a sum of twenty thousand thalers (obtained by an extraordinary tax of two thalers for each adult man in Tigre), he sent it to the Coptic patriarchate, which decided to accede in his requests.

The new metropolitan, who was called Atnātēwos (Athanasius), arrived in Tigre in June 1869, and Kāsā took care to endow him with rich fiefs. The prelate began by playing for time, probably because he had instructions not to proceed to the consecration of a King of Kings before the struggle for power between Gobazē and Kāsā had been settled. Two years later, feeling sure of his strength, Gobazē invaded Tigre at the head of a large army but was decisively defeated on 11 July 1871 by Kāsā, who immediately proclaimed himself King of Kings of Ethiopia; finally, some months later, on 21 January 1872, in the cathedral of Axum, the Abuna Atnātēwos was able to crown and anoint Kāsā, who then assumed the royal name of Yoḥannes IV.

The Ethiopian sources are silent on the episcopate of Atnātēwos after the coronation, but it is known that the prelate's relations with the negus were difficult. The income from several fiefs assigned to Atnātēwos had belonged to the local secular clergy, who fell into extreme poverty; this provoked litigation between the former beneficiaries and the prelate. It appears that in these lawsuits the negus often made decisions contrary to the interests of the metropolitan, which created a rift between the two men. The final storm broke at the time of the Egypto-Ethiopian conflict, which in 1875 and 1876 gave rise to two military expeditions of the Khedive Ismāʿīl in Ethiopia, both victoriously repulsed by Yoḥannes IV. It seems that in the course of this conflict Atnātēwos had leanings toward his land of origin and established contacts with Menelik II, who was king of Shewa and vassal of Yoḥannes IV and who entertained secret ambitions with regard to the throne of the King of Kings. According to Guglielmo Massaia, the report ran through the country that Yoḥannes IV, at the time of his second victory over the Egyptians (at Gura, on 7 March 1876), had learned from Egyptian prisoners that Atnātēwos was in touch with Menelik II and had even tried to flee to join him, but had been prevented. It was added that the negus had even seized letters that compromised the metropolitan. After his military campaign, Yoḥannes IV returned to Adwā on 7 June 1876 and began, it is said, by getting rid of the few personages forming the entourage of Abuna Atnātēwos; then it was the metropolitan himself who disappeared, and the rumor spread that he had been suppressed by order of the negus. There is no formal proof of this report, and later certain authors even maintained that the *abun* died of the consequences of a wound suffered at the time of the battle of Gura. The local sources confine themselves to reporting laconically that Atnātēwos died at Māy Gwāgwā, near Axum, on 23 Sanē 1868 in the Ethiopian calendar (A.D. 29 June 1876) and that he was buried at Adwā, apparently without pomp or any particular ceremony. The successor of this metropolitan was Abuna Pēṭros IV.

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ṖĒṬROS IV (d. 1921)

After the death of Abuna Atnātēwos in 1876, Negus Yoḥannes IV (1871–1889), alleging that one bishop was insufficient for his whole empire, asked the Coptic patriarch CYRIL V (1875–1927) to send Ethiopia four bishops. Thus, at Maqalē, in late fall 1881, Yoḥannes received a new metropolitan bishop, Abuna Ṗēṭros IV, who was to stay with him at Tigre, and three coadjutor bishops: Mātēwos, who was to become bishop of Shewa and all territories governed by Menelik, negus of Shewa (1865–1889); Mārqos, destined for the bishopric of Bagēmder and Semēn, but who died soon after his arrival at Dabra Tābor; and Luqās, who was assigned to all the territories under Negus Takla Hāymānot and to Gojam, where he died around 1901.

Ṗēṭros IV set up residence in the traditional fief of the bishops of Tigre, at Addi Abun, near Adwā. He carried out his duties for some eight years. He accompanied Yoḥannes IV in the Ethiopian expedition into the Sudan against the Mahdists and was present when the negus died from a wound suffered during the battle of Matammā on 10 March 1889.

Menelik, who then became supreme ruler of all Ethiopia (1889–1913), promptly requested that Mātēwos be promoted to the rank of metropolitan in place of Ṗēṭros IV. The latter tried in vain to prevent this, but Menelik succeeded in obtaining approval from the Coptic patriarch in Egypt and Ṗēṭros IV was replaced. At the same time, Menelik repartitioned the territories of these two prelates, with Mātēwos receiving not only the greater part of Shewa but also many other important lands such as Yajju, Bagēmder, and Dambyā, and Ṗēṭros being given the northern part of the country (Tigre, Wāg, etc.) and certain central territories.

After the battle of Matammā, Menelik confined Ṗēṭros to Shewa to prevent him from consecrating as emperor the prince of Tigre, Rās Mangasha, alleged son of Yoḥannes IV, and pretender to the imperial throne. However, once Mangasha was defeated in 1899 and exiled to Shewa, Ṗēṭros was allowed to return to Tigre and to the residence at Addi Abun. After ten years, he left for Dassiē, where he had been invited to consecrate Rās Mikā'ēl as negus of Wallo (31 May 1914), an office that Mikā'ēl had obtained through his son and Menelik's successor, Lej Iyyāsu. When Lej Iyyāsu was later deposed at Addis Ababa (27 September 1916), Mikā'ēl took arms in his support. He begged the aged Ṗēṭros to accompany him into battle. When Mikā'ēl was defeated at Sagalē on 26 October 1916, he and Ṗēṭros were taken prisoner. Ṗēṭros was granted his freedom soon thereafter, but only on condition that he remain in Bulgā (Shewa), where he died in 1921.

Among the four Coptic prelates received by Yoḥannes in 1881, only Ṗēṭros and his successor, Mātēwos, attained the dignity of metropolitan. Mārqos was dead at Dabra Tābor in 1882, while Luqās died in Gojam around 1901 after a rather insignificant episcopate.

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MĀTĒWOS (1843–1926)

Mātēwos was metropolitan during a stormy period in modern Ethiopian history, which covered the reigns of Menelik II (1889–1913), Lej Iyyāsu (1913–1916), and Empress Zawditu (1916–1930). After the death of Abuna Atnātēwos (1876), Emperor Yoḥannes IV, alleging that one bishop was not sufficient for his whole empire, asked the Coptic patriarch Cyril V (1875–1927) to send Ethiopia four bishops. Thus, at Maqalē, in the late fall of 1881, the Ethiopian sovereign received a new metropolitan bishop, Abuna Ṗēṭros IV, who was to reside in

Tigre province. Three coadjutor bishops came with him: Mātēwos, who was to become bishop of Shewa and all territories governed by Menelik, negus of Shewa (1865–1889); Mark, who was to become bishop of Bagēmder and Semēn, but who died soon after his arrival at Dabra Tabor; and Luqās, who was to become bishop of Gojam, where he died in 1901. Mātēwos, who was received with great pomp and ceremony in his diocese, rapidly gained Menelik's confidence, and even officiated at the negus's marriage to Ṭaytu at Ankobarr, in April 1883.

Born in 1843 at Banī Khālid, in the Upper Egyptian governorate of Asyūṭ, Mātēwos took his monastic vows in DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ at Qūsqām and came to Ethiopia from the Monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS). At the beginning of his tenure in this country, knowing none of the many tongues spoken in Ethiopia, he had to make use of an interpreter. But unlike his predecessors, he quickly learned not only Amharic but also Ge'ez, the liturgical language of the church.

After Yoḥannes IV was killed in the battle of Matamma (10 March 1889), Menelik ascended the throne and promptly requested that Mātēwos be promoted to the rank of metropolitan bishop in place of Ṗēṭros IV. The latter tried in vain to prevent this; but Menelik succeeded in obtaining approval from the Coptic patriarch in Egypt, and thus Mātēwos replaced Ṗēṭros IV. At this same time, Menelik repartitioned the territories of these two prelates, Mātēwos obtaining not only the greater part of Shewa but also many other important lands, such as Yajju, Bagēmder, and Dambyā.

As metropolitan bishop, Mātēwos crowned Menelik II King of Kings on 3 November 1889 at Entoṭṭo. Henceforth, he became deeply involved in the political life of the empire. Alongside the imperial troops, he even followed the entire military campaign of Adwā against the Italians (1895–1896).

In 1902, Mātēwos journeyed to Cairo, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg. This was an extraordinary trip, for no acting metropolitan bishop had ever before been permitted to leave Ethiopia. It was officially justified by "family reasons," but according to Maurice de Coppet, it was actually an unsuccessful attempt to resolve the problem of DAYR AL-SULṬĀN, the Coptic monastery at Jerusalem near the Holy Sepulcher, whose possession has been disputed over the years by the Egyptian and Ethiopian churches.

In 1907, when Menelik decided to establish public schools in Ethiopia, Mātēwos asked that the schools remain under church control, for by tradition the church had always been responsible for education in the land; and indeed, the first government school founded by the emperor did have a corps of teachers consisting mainly of Egyptian Copts. Mātēwos' concern was based on a fear of possible Catholic or Protestant influence upon the youth of the country, which might have resulted, had foreign instructors been recruited. In fact, he was generally hostile to any Ethiopians suspected of adopting a "foreign" religion, and because of this, certain intellectual groups often considered him to be too conservative and opposed to the spread of knowledge. Nonetheless, he enjoyed great prestige among the Ethiopian clergy.

His influence grew even greater after Menelik was stricken with paralysis in 1909. On 18 May of that year, the ailing emperor publicly proclaimed his grandson, Lej Iyyāsu, inheritor of the imperial throne, and on this same occasion, a declaration was also read announcing that Mātēwos would summarily excommunicate anyone opposed to the emperor's proclamation. Following this, Mātēwos supported Lej Iyyāsu and even backed the nobility in efforts to prevent Empress Ṭāytu from meddling in any affairs of state (*Pronunciamento Pacifico*, 21 March 1910).

However, some years later after a long and prudent silence, Mātēwos reversed his position, for Lej Iyyāsu was increasingly leaning toward Islam and the Muslims, a fact that alarmed nobility and clergy alike. Finally, on 27 September 1916, conspirators approached Mātēwos, demanding that he proclaim the dethronement of Lej Iyyāsu, and the enthronement of Menelik's daughter, Zawditu, with Rās Tafari Makonnen (the future Emperor Haile Selassie I) being designated heir to the throne. After some hesitation, Mātēwos acceded to these demands, and the abortive reign of Lej Iyyāsu thus came to an end. The bishop officially crowned Zawditu empress on 11 February 1917.

In 1923, Mātēwos, gravely ill, went back to Egypt. He returned to Ethiopia a few months later, but never again completely regained his strength. At this time, problems concerning his succession began to arise, and he became the subject of several attacks in articles published in *Berhān-ennā Salām*, the newspaper founded by Rās Tafari Makonnen. After a bout with pneumonia, he died in Addis Ababa on 4 December 1926, at eighty-three years of age, having resided in Ethiopia for forty-five years and having officiated as metropolitan for thirty-seven. His death put an end to the bitter accusations against him, but in widening the debate about his

successor, it also opened a very delicate phase in the relations between the Egyptian and Ethiopian churches.

His successor, Qērelos III, did not arrive in Ethiopia until some three years later (1929).

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QĒRELOS III (d. 1950)

The metropolitanate of Qērelos covered the reigns of Empress Zawditu (1916–1930) and Emperor Haile Selassie (1930–1974), the last sovereign of the Solomonic dynasty. This prelate is often called Qērelos V, but since the history of Ethiopia knows only two other metropolitans who bore this name (Qērelos I, in the thirteenth century, and Qērelos II, in the nineteenth), it seems preferable to call him Qērelos III.

Rās Tafari Makonnen (the future emperor Haile Selassie), in 1916 named deputy to the empress and heir to the throne (but often called regent), had launched a policy of reforms; on the ecclesiastical level, he wished the Ethiopian church to become more independent of the Coptic patriarchate. Hence, he allowed some individuals to raise in an Ethiopian journal founded by Tafari in 1925 and called *Berhān-ennā Salām* (Light and Peace) the question both of the privileges enjoyed by Abuna Mātēwos and of the traditional principle according to which the spiritual head of the Ethiopian church had to be a Copt. It was clear that nothing could be changed while Mātēwos was alive, but on his death, which took place at Addis Ababa on 4 December 1926, the question became a live issue and the debate won over the ranks of the Ethiopian clergy. But the failing health of the aged Coptic patriarch Cyril V delayed the opening of the question for some months: the Ethiopian church, whose traditional secular head was styled "King of Kings," could only think of opening negotiations with the Coptic church after the death of Cyril (7 August 1927) and the election of JOHN XIX (1928–1942), at first designated as locum tenens and later as patriarch of the Coptic church (enthroned 16 December 1928).

Meanwhile, on 7 October 1928, Tafari had been raised to the dignity of negus, or king, by the Queen of Queens (i.e., Empress Zawditu). The locum tenens in the patriarchate had then addressed felicitations to him, and Tafari, in his letter of thanks, had raised the question of the regulation of the Ethiopian church. The regent requested the patriarch to name a new metropolitan, traditionally a Copt, but to provide him with the power to name Ethiopian bishops. In particular, he asked that the episcopal dignity might be conferred on the *eč̣č̣agē*, abbot of Dabra Libānos. John XIX replied that, in conformity with tradition, both the new metropolitan and the bishops dependent on him could only be Copts from Egypt.

Tafari repeated his request in a dispatch in which he added, "Our desire coincides with that of our people." This telegram was followed by the sending to Cairo of an Ethiopian delegate, who was able to reach a preliminary agreement at the end of March 1929. According to this agreement the patriarchate, while confirming that the *abun* had to be a Copt, agreed to consecrate five bishops to be chosen from among the Ethiopian prelates. Four Ethiopian prelates were then sent to Egypt. They were accompanied by an important delegation, which arrived in Cairo on 21 May 1929. On 31 May, after discussion with the Ethiopian delegation, the Coptic synod issued a decree fixing in detailed fashion the powers of the future metropolitan, as well as those of his bishops. This document specified that neither the archbishop nor his bishops, alone or united in assembly, had the power to name other bishops, whose consecration thus remained the exclusive province of the Coptic patriarchate.

The nomination of the metropolitan was then proceeded with, and the choice fell upon the HEGUMENOS (archpriest) Sidārūs al-Anṭūnī, who was born at Naghāmish (Upper Egypt) around 1880 and was the deputy of the metropolitan of Jirjā. John XIX consecrated him on 2 June 1929, and at the moment of the laying on of hands called him Kīrollos

(Cyril, or in Ethiopic, Qērelos). On the same day were consecrated the four other bishops, who, sixteen centuries after the evangelization of their country, were the first Ethiopians to be invested with episcopal authority.

The consecration of the fifth Ethiopian bishop, the *eṣṣagē*, who had not been able to leave the country, was deferred until later. The metropolitan and the four bishops went to Jerusalem on pilgrimage before leaving for Ethiopia. Finally, on 21 December 1929, John XIX himself left Cairo to carry out a patriarchal visit to Ethiopia. He was received with pomp at Addis Ababa, where on 9 January 1930 he proceeded to the consecration of the *eṣṣagē*, the fifth Ethiopian bishop.

On 2 April 1930, Empress Zawditu died, and on the following day Rās Tafari Makonnen proclaimed himself King of Kings. His coronation took place at Addis Ababa on 2 November of the same year, with great ceremony; on this day he was blessed, anointed, and crowned by Qērelos III. But some time later the metropolitan returned to Egypt for two apparent reasons: the health of the metropolitan (who, it was said, found the altitude of Addis Ababa hard to bear) and the renewal of the holy CHRISM (the holy oil prescribed for the administration of sacraments prepared in Egypt by the Coptic patriarch). It appears, however, that this journey had another reason: after the arrival of the metropolitan in Ethiopia, provision had been made for his material needs and those of his suite by assigning to him five important fiefs (including Sallā Dengāy and Mannāgashā Mārqos) and granting him a sum of one thousand thalers per month; but Qērelos had also asked that the property of his predecessor, Abuna Mātēwos (who, it was said, had amassed a large fortune) should be handed over to him. Since this demand had been rejected (it was added, moreover, that John XIX himself had judged that he did not have to intervene in this question), Qērelos III took offense and returned to Cairo. He was to return to Addis Ababa only in 1933, following a personal intercession from the pious Manan, wife of Emperor Haile Selassie.

The war of 1935–1936, which ended in the occupation of Addis Ababa (5 May 1936) by the armed forces of Fascist Italy, profoundly altered the general situation in Ethiopia: the prestige of the metropolitan declined, and the position of the Ethiopian church became weaker. Certainly Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, viceroy of Ethiopia, began by proclaiming respect for all religions, but in fact, for reasons of imperial and international policy, Italy favored the Muslims in Ethiopia over the Christians. Like the majority of notables, Qērelos also hastened to pay allegiance, in his own name and that of the Ethiopian clergy, to the Italian government (14 May 1936), while letting it be understood that he expected that Italy would recognize him publicly and officially as the supreme head of the Ethiopian church. The problem was a delicate one: by tradition he was the spiritual head of his church, but until 1936 it was the emperor who was the actual head.

The Italian government hesitated to take a position on the issue, and in the meantime a difficulty arose: in the hope of inducing John XIX not to join the pro-Ethiopian wing of the Coptic patriarchate, the Italian government invited Qērelos III to write to the patriarch a letter to inform him of the good disposition of Italy with regard to the Ethiopian church. The metropolitan declared himself ready to do so, on condition that he did not have to submit to the viceroy the text of the letter. The Italian authorities rejected this condition and hence abandoned their overtures. Taking up his original request, Qērelos wrote to the Italian government in July 1936 demanding that the Ethiopian church be exempted from any interference by the Italian authorities and that official recognition be given to the right of the metropolitan to manage the affairs of his church and to carry out all the necessary nominations. The Italian government considered that in this letter Qērelos was claiming wider rights than those that belonged to him in the time of the King of Kings, and chose to make no reply.

A serious incident took place shortly afterward. Because of armed attacks by the Ethiopian resistance, the capital had been placed at the center of a vast defensive enclosure, within which it was forbidden to introduce or hold arms, but a group of armed "rebels" was captured on 29 July 1936 at Addis Ababa. Among the members of this group was found Abuna Pēṭros, bishop of Wallo (with his seat at Dassiē). In the course of the trial that took place the following day, the bishop did not explain the reason for which he had introduced himself into the capital, limiting himself to saying that he was defending his country. The military tribunal condemned him to be shot, and the judgment was executed immediately. Pēṭros died a hero, after blessing his judges. Graziani, who was later reproached for being unable to pardon the prelate, declared publicly that "this execution did not alter in any way the respect borne by the Italian government for the Ethiopian church."

An incident just as serious occurred some months

later. On 19 February 1937 at Addis Ababa, in the course of an official ceremony, nine bombs were thrown at the viceroy. There were several wounded, including Graziani and Qērelos III (the former seriously hit by several splinters, the latter slightly wounded in the right hand). The Italian police declared that it was a case of a great conspiracy, but could establish only that the organizers of the attempt had probably acted with the support of certain monks of Dabra Libānos. By order of the viceroy, the monastery was attacked, and the monks who lived there, killed. From this moment, Graziani considered the clergy the soul of the resistance. He therefore proposed to the government in Rome to delegate to Qērelos III the widest powers over the whole Ethiopian clergy and to break all links between the Ethiopian church and the Coptic patriarchate. This was to demand self-government for the Ethiopian church, under the authority of Qērelos, but Rome replied that "it was fitting not to get ahead of the times."

Shortly afterward Qērelos asked permission to go to Egypt "for reasons of health." The government in Rome refused him permission, suggesting that he come to have himself attended to in Italy. He left Addis Ababa on 21 May 1937, after entrusting the interim care of the archepiscopate to Abuna Abraham, bishop of Gonder. He embarked at Massawa three days later, convinced that he was going to discuss with the Italian government the new regulation of the Ethiopian church. During the passage through the Suez Canal, he received a delegation from the patriarchate, to whom he declared that if the Italian government intended to raise the question of the new regulation of the Ethiopian church, he proposed to reply that this problem was the exclusive concern of the Coptic patriarchate.

In Rome, Qērelos paid visits to the king, to Mussolini, and to the minister for the colonies, A. Lessona. His health was then attended to, but the question of the regulation of the Ethiopian church was carefully avoided. Mussolini had just taken the decision, in his inner council, to place at the head of the Ethiopian church a metropolitan who was "an Italian subject"—that is, an Ethiopian prelate. Since this elevation had to be prepared for carefully and secretly, Qērelos was invited to go to Egypt, leaving him to understand that before there could be any further discussion, it would be appropriate for him to examine the problem as a whole with John XIX. It was only after Qērelos' departure for Egypt that Graziani was called upon to prepare in secret the new regulation for the Ethiopian church.

On 7 September 1937, seeing no signal from the Italian side, Qērelos went to the Italian legation in Egypt, to which he presented his requests, which he had meanwhile discussed with the patriarch. He asked that the Ethiopian church be exempt from all Italian control and that the metropolitan should have the power to manage and to dispose freely of all ecclesiastical property. After a retreat spent in Upper Egypt, Qērelos presented himself afresh at the Italian legation on 26 November. He received an evasive reply that his requests were "under examination." In reality, Italy had already decided to separate the Ethiopian from the Egyptian church, and had set its choice on Abuna Abraham. After Abraham had accepted, a series of nominations and elevations among the Ethiopian clergy was proceeded with. Then a synod was organized; it declared the independence of the Ethiopian church, elected Abraham as metropolitan with the rank of archbishop (*liq pāppāsāt*), and named six new bishops.

This maneuver took the Coptic patriarchate unawares, but when Rome attempted to induce John XIX to accept the fait accompli, it met with a refusal. Even the Egyptian government protested, but the Italian legation in Cairo replied that it was a "question internal to the Italian empire," which did not admit of discussion. It was then that the synod of the Coptic church, in its meeting on 28 December 1937, pronounced the solemn excommunication of Abraham, the bishops named by him, and any person who had recognized or came to recognize the powers of those excommunicated. Abraham died on 21 July 1939, and on 12 September he was replaced by Abuna Yoḥannes, who in his turn consecrated four titular bishops and two assistant bishops. Finally, on 30 July 1940, the Italian government granted to the Ethiopian church a detailed constitutional charter, confirming first and foremost its autocephalous character—that is, its complete independence of any other church.

Some months later, the Italian empire collapsed, and on 5 May 1941, Haile Selassie, escorted by British troops, made his return to Addis Ababa. He had previously received at Khartoum a telegram in which John XIX asked that Qērelos be allowed to accompany the emperor at the time of his return to Ethiopia, but the emperor had replied that it was not appropriate to get ahead of events. He therefore returned to Addis Ababa accompanied by the *eč̣č̣agē*, who had shared his exile, and it was upon this prelate that the charge fell of reorganizing the Ethiopian church.

A year later, John XIX sent to Ethiopia a delegation headed by Qērelos, accompanied by three laymen. It arrived in Addis Ababa on 2 June 1942, and

Qērelos was able to occupy once again his old residence. He could also take up again his place in the religious ceremonies, but no other power was accorded to him. Qērelos did not follow the Coptic delegation when it returned to Egypt with the Ethiopian requests that (1) on the death of Qērelos, he be given an Ethiopian successor; (2) the new Ethiopian metropolitan be empowered to consecrate Ethiopian bishops; and (3) the excommunication launched against the Ethiopian clergy be lifted.

John XIX died on 22 June 1942, and so it was the locum tenens in the Coptic patriarchate, Anbā Yūsāb (the future patriarch, 1946–1956) who, on 26 June, pronounced the lifting of the excommunication "with regard to the pretended archbishops and bishops, with the return of each of them to the post which he previously occupied." But since this decision did not answer all the Ethiopian requests, it received no publicity in Addis Ababa. On the contrary, the Ethiopian church declared that the power to ordain priests was the exclusive province of the *eṣṣägē*, so that Qērelos was in fact set aside. Any further discussion had to be delayed because of the very serious difficulties that thwarted the election of the new Coptic patriarch, so much so that the patriarchal throne remained vacant until the election of MACARIUS III on 12 February 1944.

After this election the Ethiopian clergy increased its pressure. It began by abstaining from invoking the name of the new Coptic patriarch in religious functions, as tradition required. In June 1944 a Coptic mission went to Ethiopia and returned with a document containing the requests of the Ethiopian church, the principal of which were the nomination of an Ethiopian archbishop and the creation of an Ethiopian synod matching the Coptic synod and having the power to choose the Ethiopian bishops, who were to be consecrated by the said archbishop.

On 29 January 1945, Macarius III convened the synod of the Coptic church, which formed a special committee to study the Ethiopian requests. On 16 June the synod approved the report of this committee, which, while welcoming several Ethiopian requests, explicitly refused to assign to the metropolitan of the Ethiopian church the right to name bishops and refused to name an Ethiopian metropolitan. The response was very badly received in Ethiopia. In addition, the negotiations were interrupted afresh by the death of Macarius III on 31 August 1945.

In December 1945 the representatives of the Ethiopian clergy assembled at Addis Ababa. This was a stormy assembly, the majority of the speakers proclaiming that from the moment the Coptic church refused to satisfy the demands of the Ethiopian church, nothing remained but to proceed to the separation of the two churches. The emperor opted for a more flexible approach and so, on 9 January, sent to Egypt a delegation armed with a letter in which he earnestly requested a new examination of the problem. On 31 January the Coptic synod convened under the presidency of Anbā Athanasius, locum tenens in the patriarchate, and accepted the principle that after the death of Qērelos III the archbishop of the Ethiopian church was to be chosen from among the Ethiopian prelates. The synod also accepted the principle of increasing the number of Ethiopian bishops who were to be consecrated by the Coptic patriarch. The demand for the power of the future Ethiopian archbishop to name bishops directly was rejected on the ground that in the church of Saint Mark this power belonged only to the patriarch.

The Ethiopian church then sent to Egypt five prelates who were to be consecrated bishop, and it was during their presence in Cairo that the new patriarch YŪSĀB II was elected; he was enthroned on 27 May 1946. On 20 June Yūsāb II reconvened the synod, which confirmed the refusal to grant the future archbishop of the Ethiopian church the power of naming bishops directly. In consequence, the patriarch attached a condition to the consecration of the five Ethiopian prelates: they must formally pledge themselves not to consecrate either an archbishop or a bishop. This resulted in an impasse, for the Ethiopian prelates refused to accept this condition. They were then summoned to Addis Ababa, to which they returned on 4 August 1946.

In June 1947 the emperor made known directly to the Coptic patriarch his desire to resolve the problem. Yūsāb II formed a special committee, the final report of which was approved by decree of the Coptic synod on 24 July. This decree provided for the possibility of delegating to the metropolitan of the Ethiopian church, in each case separately, the power of consecrating an Ethiopian bishop, on condition that each candidature should be submitted for the prior approval of the Coptic patriarchate. Upon the announcement of this decision, Qērelos III finally left Ethiopia and returned to Egypt.

The Ethiopian clergy having approved the decree, Yūsāb II ratified this entente on 29 March 1948, and the agreement between the two churches was finally signed in Cairo on 13 July 1948.

A subsequent agreement, which came about in Cairo on 25 June 1959, completed this very extensive process of achieving autonomy for the Ethiopi-

an church within the framework of "the See of Saint Mark," but this last agreement cannot be ascribed to the episcopate of Qērelos III, for he died in Cairo on 22 October 1950. This date thus marks the end of the episcopate of the last Egyptian metropolitan (*abun*) of the church of Ethiopia.

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SALVATORE TEDESCHI

ETHIOPIAN SAINTS. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church recognizes most of the saints of the Universal Church before the Council of CHALCEDON (451) and all the saints of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria, about whom it has knowledge through the SYNAXARION, accounts of their acts (*gadl;* Arabic, *sīrah*), or through other means. The Synaxarion of the Coptic church, which is the major source for the lives of saints of the Ethiopian church, was translated into Ge'ez (most probably for the second time) in the thirteenth century. The Synaxarion, which contains entries also for saints from the other non-Chalcedonian churches, is the only source about the lives of many saints. However, since the "restoration" of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, the famous monasteries, such as Ḥayq Eṣṭifānos in Wollo, were actively engaged in translating acts of saints and martyrs from the Arabic hagiographical literature of the Coptic church. The sources credit particularly Abuna Salāmā II (1344–1388) for the importation of this genre of literature to Ethiopia.

In the course of time, the translated Synaxarion assumed an Ethiopian character by being enriched with entries for indigenous saints and for other saints from the translated hagiographical literature. As a result, the Coptic and Ethiopian Synaxaria differ, at least in details in entries dealing with the same saints.

The Ethiopian church does not have a formal procedure for canonizing indigenous holy men and women, but the roads taken by these devout people to sainthood are more or less clear, although following them in any measure of strictness may not always lead one to attaining sainthood. The first step to sainthood is accepting the monastic life. It can be safely concluded that, with the exception of the kings and queens, especially those of the Zāgwē dynasty (1137–1270), the church does not have indigenous saints who died leading a family life. In the Ethiopian church unmarried as well as married men and women can take the monastic habit. Although monks and nuns are expected to live in cloisters, rich monks and nuns may stay in their houses with their (landed) properties, doing charitable deeds, such as feeding the hungry and receiving strangers and providing them lodging and board. Such charitable deeds could gain fame and recognition for the monks and nuns from the church, their fame beginning in the monastery or nunnery to which they adhered. Following the Coptic tradition, members of a monastic community are commonly referred to as saints or holy men *(qeddusān)* and women *(qeddusāt)*.

A monk deeply devoted to God in prayers and worship and to the words of God in learning and reading is soon recognized by the monastic com-

munity and its head. His knowledge of the literature could reach a standard that makes his interpretation of problematic biblical passages divinely inspired. In the course of time, admirers, especially disciples, start telling stories of remarkable or miraculous deeds performed by such a person during his lifetime. Death at the hands of non-Christians (i.e., Muslims or pagans who surrounded the Christian kingdom and were constantly at war with the Christians) while preaching the Gospel or defending the monasteries against assaults could be the next and final step to sainthood. Then, perhaps a young child or an elderly person respected in his community might see a vision that tells him that a new or an old fountain, usually in the neighborhood where the monk spent his life, is a holy spring flowing in the name of the saint to heal the sick. In a country where the faithful are taught to believe that all types of ailments are caused by demons and where the practice and use of medicine is discouraged by the teachers of the faith, the healing power of the holy spring is crucial in the winning of fame and in gaining national recognition for a saint. Furthermore, all founders of monasteries and nunneries are saints of varying degrees of recognition in the nation, whether or not they have holy springs.

Saints are normally commemorated on the day of their death. For a very few saints, such as Abuna Takla Hāymānot, days commemorating other occasions (e.g., birth or translation of relics) are also celebrated. Until the introduction of modernity into Ethiopia in the twentieth century, memorial days of the highly celebrated saints were national holidays. But most of the saints are still revered and commemorated in the regions where they lived and served.

The acts and miracles of these saints, compiled by immediate or second- or third-generation followers, have become important sources of the history and sociology of Ethiopia. Many regional synaxaria have entries of varying length, though usually short, for saints who flourished locally. Since over the course of time every day of the year in the Synaxarion has been laden with entries of several saints, the saints of the day are commemorated only by reading the entries for the day during office services.

Most of the saints who made a lasting contribution to the church of Ethiopia are mentioned under ETHIOPIAN MONASTICISM. However, special entries for a few may be in order. Knowledge of the Nine Saints, also mentioned in the entry for Ethiopian monasticism, is in its infancy. They will be listed here with dates of their commemoration.

LIBĀNOS OR MAṬṬĀ'

Libānos is the earliest foreign saint (probably after Yoḥanni, about whom very little is known) in recorded history who taught, died, and was buried in Ethiopia. Understandably, the exact dates in his life remain uncertain. He flourished during the reign of Ella Gabaz, whose dates are not known, and the metropolitanate of Ēlyās (Elijah), who is not even listed in the list of Ethiopian metropolitans.

According to a homily allegedly composed by the metropolitan Ēlyās, Libānos came from a very wealthy family of Abraham and Negeśt (probably a Ge'ez version of the name Regina). On the night of Libānos' wedding, the archangel Gabriel called him and commanded him to go to Dabra Zayt (perhaps Mount Olive or the Monastery of Olive), there to be clothed with monastic garb. He immediately followed the archangel and went to the monastery, where he became a monk.

The order to go to Ethiopia is said to have come to him from PACHOMIUS himself. He went to Ethiopia and immediately started working among the people. When Metropolitan Ēlyās heard about him, he invited him to his residence in Axum. His time in the city was not long, however. The king asked him to leave when he heard that he had accused the metropolitan of simony.

A monk by the name Adhennani or Adhani finally succeeded in bringing peace between the two religious leaders after Libānos had spent three years in a cave in seclusion. Subsequently, the two monks Libānos and Adkhenanni became associates in leading their spiritual lives. They founded a monastery in Ḥawzēn (in Tigre) and built a church that they dedicated in the name of the Holy Cross, Bēta Masqal. Libānos lived several years after the death of his associate, healing the sick and praying for the peace and safety of the church and perhaps playing some role in the translation of the Gospels from Greek to Ge'ez or Ethiopic.

Before he died, Libānos struck a rock and brought forth a holy spring by which his healing power continued.

He is commemorated on 3 Ṭerr (Ṭūbah).

THE NINE SAINTS

The so-called Nine Saints were monks who went to Ethiopia in the early history of the Ethiopian church. The exact date and reason for their going to Ethiopia from the Hellenistic world, including Egypt and Syria, are not known. The Ethiopian ruler at that time was Al'amēdā, son of Sa'aldobbā,

who was succeeded by Tāzēnā, father of Kālēb. When Kālēb, the Ethiopian king, set out to campaign in Arabia in 527 to rescue the Christians there from the persecution of their Jewish ruler, he solicited the prayer of Abba Ṗanṭalēwon, one of the Nine Saints. Historians propose that the arrival of the Nine Saints in Ethiopia was related to the schism and disturbance in the universal church over the nature of divinity and humanity in Christ at and after the Council of CHALCEDON in 451. This view arose in a consideration of this date and other circumstances, such as the struggle for Nubia (now Sudan and southern Egypt) between the Chalcedonians, led by the emperor of the East, and the non-Chalcedonians, led by his empress, THEODORA.

The assumption is that it was non-Chalcedonian monks who rushed to Ethiopia to protect the local church from the teaching of those who accepted the decision of Chalcedon. Even though some of the sources insist that these monks arrived at Ethiopia as a group via the monastery of Apa Pachomius in Egypt, it is plausible that at least some of them came separately at different times.

Aragāwi or Zamikā'ēl. His names are Ge'ez, the first meaning "The Elder" and the second "of Michael," an indication that his native name has not been preserved. According to tradition, Aragāwi was the leader of the group during the journey from Egypt to Ethiopia, a position that befits his name. The founding of the celebrated Dabra Dāmo is attributed to this saint. It was at this monastery that Iyyasus Mo'a of Ḥayq Eṣṭifānos in Amhara and Abuna Takla Hāymānot of Dabra Libānos in Shewa were clothed with monastic habits at the hands of Yoḥanni, a spiritual descendant of Aragāwi. The saint was said to have used a long serpent to ascend the impregnable summit of Mount Dāmo, where he built his monastery. Today people use rope to reach it. It is also reported that the saint's mother, Edna, followed the group to Ethiopia and established there a nunnery for virgins. Aragāwi is commemorated on 14 Ṭeqemt (Bābah).

Ṗanṭalēwon (Pantaleon). Ṗanṭalēwon is most remembered for the role of his prayers in the success of Kālēb's campaign in Arabia. Before leaving his African realm for the campaign, Kālēb visited the saint at his cell and received his blessing and encouragement to fight Zu Nuas (or Finnehas, according to local tradition), the Jewish ruler of Arabia who had inflicted serious persecution on his Christian subjects. Ṗanṭalēwon is also famous for the ascetic life he led. It is reported that the cell with which he is identified—he is sometimes known as Ṗanṭalēwon of the Cell—was so narrow that he never slept or sat in it, even though he never left it after he entered it forty-five years before his death. His cell, which was north of Axum and was known first by the name of Dabra Asbo, later developed into a famous monastery carrying his name, Dabra Ṗanṭalēwon. Ṗanṭalēwon is commemorated on 6 Ṭeqemt (Bābah).

Yesḥaq (Isaac) or Garimā. Both names are non-Ethiopian, even though his hagiographer attempted to derive Garimā from an Ethiopic word meaning wonderful. Yesḥaq joined the group only after it had arrived in Ethiopia. It is reported that he left his parents' royal palace in response to an invitation by Ṗanṭalēwon. When the group decided to leave their center at the king's palace in Axum, Yesḥaq moved to Madarā, not far from Adwā. He was famed for performing many astounding miracles. A monastery bearing the name Abba Garimā still exists today at another place in Tigre and is an important religious center. His feast is celebrated on 17 Sanē (Ba'ūnah).

Afṣē or Afāṣim. The *gadl* of this saint offers very little historical information about him, except that he made Yeha, an important archaeological site for pre-Christian Ethiopia, his center of activities. The name is clearly non-Ethiopian. The monk is believed to have ascended to heaven like Elijah. The feast of Afṣē is celebrated on 29 Genbot (Bashans).

Gubbā. His *gadl* reportedly exists but has not been studied by scholars, nor is his name listed in an important fifteenth-century calendar. According to tradition, he founded his hermitage west of Madarā, not far from the original hermitage of Abba Garimā. The fact that neither of these two hermitages survived may indicate resentment and resistance to Christianity at the heart of Axumite paganism. It is interesting to note that most of the places where these saints established their evangelical activities were centers of pagan worship. The feast of Gubbā is celebrated with that of Afṣē on 29 Genbot (Bashans). It could be that the two names, Gubbā and Afṣē, belong to one saint.

Alēf. His *gadl* repeats what has been written about the rest of his colleagues—that they came together to Ethiopia, settled temporarily in the palace, and dispersed to establish centers of religious activities. Like that of Gubbā, Alēf's name is not found listed with those of his colleagues in the fifteenth-century palace calendar of saints. However, the famous monastery Dabra Hāllē Luyā is believed to have been founded by him. His name may be related to the name of the first letter in the alphabet. The feast of Alēf is celebrated on 11 Maggābit (Baramhat).

Yem'atā. Some scholars, including Dillmann (1880, pp. 1–51), state that he is also called Maṭā'. This could be a confusion with another saint, Abba Maṭṭā', who flourished in Ḥawzen many years before the coming of the Nine Saints. The feast of Yem'atā is celebrated on 28 Ṭeqemt (Bābah).

Liqānos. This saint's *gadl*, though known to exist, has not reached the hands of scholars. At the time of the dispersion of the saints, Liqānos moved to north of Axum and founded a monastery, Dabra Qonāṣil, known by its founder's name to this day. His feast is celebrated on 28 Khedār (Hatūr) and 4 Ṭerr (Ṭūbah).

Ṣeḥmā. Abba Ṣeḥmā is believed to have settled southeast of Adwā. Like many of his colleagues, no *gadl* for him has yet come to light. Nor is there any religious center carrying his name. There is, however, a region of Tigre named Endā Abba Ṣeḥmā. The feast of Abba Ṣeḥmā is celebrated on 16 Ṭerr (Ṭūbah).

Oṣ or Oẓ. This is most probably another name of either Alēf or Ṣeḥmā.

YĀRĒD (JARED)

Yārēd is one of the very few early Ethiopian saints known to history, and no copy of his original acts has been discovered; thus, important facts about him are uncertain. His second hagiographer lived most probably in the fifteenth century. However, the tradition is firm that the Ethiopian church owes the composition of its antiphonary, the *Deggwā*, its music as well as the great part of its hymns, to this great saint.

Yārēd flourished during the reign of Gabra Masqal (c. 558–588). He was a son of an Axumite priestly family of Yeshaq and Krestinā (Isaac and Christina). When his father died while the son was still a child, his mother took him to Gēdēwon (Gideon), a famous biblical scholar of the time who also happened to be a relative. It soon became clear to the child and the teacher that Yārēd did not have the talent for learning. Frustrated after several trials and unable to further endure his master's beatings, Yārēd considered abandoning school. He left his master and ran away into the woods. While sitting there resting, he watched a caterpillar trying to climb a tree. When he saw that it succeeded after very many attempts, he went back to his teacher to try further. With persistence and prayers, Yārēd succeeded in becoming a great scholar.

Yārēd grew up serving as a deacon at the church of Axum, site of the "Ark of Zion," the *tābot* (ark) that was believed to house Moses' tablets of the Ten Commandments. When he reached the age of maturity, he married and became both a father and an accomplished priest. His marriage was, however, not without problems. When he discovered that his wife had a lover, he planned to ambush and kill him. He abandoned the plan only when the messenger of God came to him in the form of three birds and reminded him that he should rather value his priesthood.

It seems that at this time Yārēd left Axum (or even Ethiopia) and probably went to the Holy Land and the neighboring countries where Christian worship had developed. According to his hagiographer, singing in church in a loud voice was not known in the Ethiopian church at that time. But in Jerusalem he heard songs of praise to God in a loud voice. One of the birds appeared again and taught him the three types or modes of melodies that are still in use in the Ethiopian church.

As noted, tradition ascribes to Yārēd the composition of the voluminous antiphonary for the year, the *Deggwā*. There is no reason to doubt that Yārēd was responsible for the composition of the nucleus of the *Deggwā*, the text as well as the melody. But the *Deggwā* was greatly enlarged by the inclusion of hymns for the saints who lived after the death of Yārēd. It includes, for example, hymns of the majority of saints who flourished from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

After serving at the church in Axum for several years, Yārēd decided to abandon his homeland and go west to Semēn. The reason is not clear, but he spent the rest of his life teaching there. His concealed tomb is believed to be there.

Yārēd is commemorated on 11 Genbot (Bashans).

LĀLIBALĀ OR GABRA MASQAL

Lālibalā is one of the saintly kings of the Zāgwē dynasty that ruled Ethiopia from 1137 to 1270. Since its contribution and dedication to the Ethiopian church has no equal in the history of the country, it is rather curious that the clergy collaborated with a rebel, Yekunno Amlāk (1270–1285), to replace it with a new dynasty. Tribal politics may have been a factor. The construction of the monumental rock-hewn churches of Lāstā is ascribed to this dynasty, and specifically to Lālibalā. In fact, the name of the capital city, Roha, and its surroundings where these churches are located has been changed to Lālibalā.

Lālibalā was born around 1150 to a princely Lāstā family of Zān (or Jān or Zāhn) Seyyum and his wife, whose name is not mentioned in the *gadl*

of the saint. It is reported that when the child was born, bees encircled him, foretelling that he would become king and be escorted by the national army. The prophecy was not welcomed by his brother, Harboy, who was ruler of the country at that time. In fact, Harboy attempted to have Lālibalā poisoned.

Even before Lālibalā took power, the angel of God appeared to him in a vision and transported him to the seventh heaven, where the Lord was enthroned. There, the Lord said to him, "Open the ears of your mind and comprehend what I shall show you, in order that you may build my temple on earth where I shall dwell with people and where I shall be sanctified by the mouth of my people." Having said this, the Lord described for him the architecture and specifications of the ten rock-hewn churches. Today modern scholars do not have a better explanation of the existence of these breathtakingly impressive Lālibalā churches in the middle of a cultural desert. The architecture does not resemble any of the churches or other buildings in neighboring countries, which might be expected to have wielded cultural influence.

Apparently fearing the ruling monarch, Lālibalā left the city and lived in the woods until the time was right for his return. In the wilderness he devoted himself to God in prayer and fasting. His true devotion to God in his own way comes through clearly in his *gadl*. For example, among those who resented his eventual reign was one who gave this reason: "If this man reigned, he would exchange me for incense for use in the church." His judgment was not totally wrong: there is a tradition that Lālibalā indeed sold his own son when he had nothing to give to the poor. While in hiding, Lālibalā married Masqal Kebrā, who is also commemorated as a saint. His hagiographer claims that Lālibalā had visited Egypt and the Holy Land before he ascended the throne. He supposedly received his other name, Gabra Masqal (Servant of the Cross), in a revelation while he was in the Holy Land. Pilgrimage to these places is an aspiration of every religious Ethiopian. There are cases where hagiographers take the liberty of including pilgrimage stories in the acts of their saints, regardless of the actual facts.

According to his hagiographer, the end of Lālibalā's reign and life coincided with the end of the construction of the rock-hewn churches, for it was for this important mission of building lasting temples that the Lord raised him. Lālibalā is commemorated on 12 Sanē (Ba'ūnah). Although the month is the beginning of the rainy season, pilgrims from all over the country flock to Lālibalā in Sanē every year to participate in the celebration.

IYYASUS MO'A

Iyyasus Mo'a is the founder of the famous monastery Dabra Ḥayq, also called Dabra Eṣṭifānos because of the church built in the monastery in the name of Saint Eṣṭifānos (Stephen) the Protomartyr. His life was composed centuries after his death. As a result, it offers very little of historical importance.

Iyyasus Mo'a came from a religious family of Zakrestos and Egzi' Kebrā. (In fact, one of his two brothers, Gabra Ṣeyon, died from harsh asceticism.) He received his call to monastic life when he was thirty years old while living in celibacy with his parents. After spending an anguished night in prayer, he set off the next morning with another man to Dabra Dāmo to devote himself to God under its abbot, Abba Yoḥanni. Abba Yoḥanni, who left the service of the palace and his wife, the daughter of the king, earned his fame from the strict ascetic life he led. He believed that only those who can endure physical sufferings should be admitted to monasticism. He is best remembered for his being the spiritual father of Abuna Iyyasus Mo'a and Abuna Takla Hāymānot. He clothed Iyyasus Mo'a in monastic garb after the latter completed seven years of hard work and rigorous fasting.

After a while, around 1248, Iyyasus Mo'a took leave of his spiritual father and returned to his homeland. At Ḥayq he started as one of the underlings serving at the local church dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul. The original church that served the entire community, men as well as women, was built most probably in the ninth century on a site where serpents were worshiped. As soon as the community discovered the greatness of the monk, it requested that the king appoint him their abbot.

It was during the time Iyyasus Mo'a was abbot of Dabra Ḥayq that Yekunno Amlāk, the founder of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, came to the monastery to study under the abbot. The two made several pacts that Yekunno Amlāk agreed to observe if he became king through the prayers and support of Abuna Iyyasus Mo'a. One of the promises Yekunno Amlāk made was to fulfill the wish of Iyyasus Mo'a that women should leave the island and the place be designated a monastery for men only. The women were obviously disappointed when they had to leave the island, even though the new king had invited them to live at his court. "We brought this monk in," they complained when they left in tears,

"holding his hand, and he took us out holding our hands."

The monastery flourished during the forty years of his leadership. Many important monastic leaders were clothed with monastic garb by his hands. These include Abuna Takla Hāymānot of Dabra Asbo (or Libānos) in Shewa, Abuna Baṣalota Mikā'ēl of Dabra Gol in Amhara; Abuna Gabra Endereyās of Qozat in Shewa; Abuna Gabra Nāzrāwi in Tigre; and the ĘĊĊAGĖ Aron of Dārit in Amhara. Since the high priesthood of the church, the office of *'aqqābē sa'āt*, was promised to the followers of Iyyasus Mo'a by the new king, the monastery maintained close ties with the palace for several centuries. For this and other reasons, the monastery was richly endowed with land grants by the kings and many dignitaries of the empire. The monastery used the wealth to promote religious education at the monastery and, apparently, at daughter monasteries. Many Egyptian monks who helped in translating Egyptian religious books, especially acts of saints and service books, lived at Dabra Ḥayq with their Ethiopian brothers. Although its enormous heap of gold and precious clothes was plundered by the forces of Grāññ in the sixteenth century and its library was looted at different times, Dabra Ḥayq (or Dabra Nagwadgwād) is still one of the very few important centers that has a library of rare manuscripts. Iyyasus Mo'a's own copy of the Gospels is still preserved there.

Iyyasus Mo'a himself spent the last years of his life in silent seclusion. He is commemorated on 26 Khedār (Hātūr).

TAKLA HĀYMĀNOT

Abuna Takla Hāymānot is the greatest Ethiopian saint and is recognized as such among all Christians of the country. He was born in Ṣelālesh, in Shewa, under the Zāgwē dynasty (1137–1270). The people in the area of his birth were converted to Christianity by his ancestors, who migrated from the north in search of a new home. According to tradition, they came to the south to evangelize the area, which was populated by pagans and Muslims. Apparently with some support from the central administration, these new immigrants seem to have been successful in taking the leadership of the communities in Wagdā, Katatā, Qawat, Ṣelālesh, Sarmāt, Faṭagār, and Dawwāro. Their most important source of power, however, was in their roles as teachers. They spread Christianity in that region, endured severe persecution, and eventually succeeded in becoming religious and political leaders. In fact, before Takla Hāymānot's birth, his mother Sarā (Sarah) or Egzi' Kharayā, was taken captive by Motalomi, the ruler of Dāmot, who fiercely opposed the spread of Christianity in his realm. By the help of the archangel Michael, she was miraculously brought back to her husband, the priest Ṣaggā Za'ab, while he was celebrating the mass in the church of his village.

As a boy, Feśśeḥa Ṣeyon (Takla Hāymānot's name at birth) served in the church as a deacon, consecrated for the office by Metropolitan Qērelos. When he reached the age of maturity, his parents married him to a daughter of one of the community leaders, but she died within two or three years. The call to serve God came to Feśśeḥa Ṣeyon when he was on a hunting trip with his servants: "Fear not, my beloved one; as of now thou shalt not be hunter of animals but fisher of souls of many sinners. Let thy name be Takla Hāymānot [i.e., Plant of Faith], for I have chosen thee from the womb of thy mother and sanctified thee like Jeremiah the Prophet and John the Baptist. Behold, I have given thee the authority to heal the sick and to drive away evil spirits from all places."

Girded with such an authority, Takla Hāymānot distributed all his property among the poor and set out to spread the word of God. He successfully converted many regions in Shewa and Dāmot to Christianity, and he endured persecutions from local chiefs who worshiped pagan gods. On several occasions, he visited the metropolitanate to seek advice on what to do when pagan traditions and Ethiopian Christianity conflict, asking, for example, if baptism could precede circumcision.

After teaching for many years in Shewa and Dāmot, Takla Hāymānot went north to visit the ancient and traditional religious centers of Ethiopia, including Dabra Gol in Amhara when its abbot was Baṣalota Mikā'ēl; Dabra Ḥayq Eṣṭifānos in Amhara when its abbot was Iyyasus Mo'a; and Dabra Dāmo in Tigre when its abbot was Yoḥanni. It was during this extended visit that Takla Hāymānot was clothed with the monastic garb, the first stage by Iyyasus Mo'a of Ḥayq and the higher stage by Yoḥanni of Dabra Dāmo.

Equipped with the power to consecrate monks, Takla Hāymānot returned to his homeland in the south and, with several followers, established the famous Monastery of Asbo, renamed later Dabra Libānos. Almost all of the close followers of Abuna Takla Hāymānot were related both to him and to Yekunno Amlāk by blood. This fact may have

helped Yekunno Amlāk in winning the support of the clerical establishment when he overthrew the Zāgwē dynasty in 1270. In gratitude for the support of the clergy in establishing his dynasty, Yekunno Amlāk is reported to have given to the church a third of his annual revenue from the lands of the country. However, Takla Hāymānot's role in the overthrow of the Zāgwē dynasty is not very clear. The followers of both Takla Hāymānot and Iyyasus Mo'a of Ḥayq Eṣṭifānos claim that it is their father who represented the church in helping Yekunno Amlāk to establish the Solomonic dynasty in 1270.

Takla Hāymānot spent the last years of his life in seclusion, standing for prayer to the point where one of his legs gave way. There is also the popular belief that he grew six wings (three on either side) to fly like the angels. Takla Hāymānot died during a pestilence that decimated his community in its infancy. He is commemorated nationwide on 22 Tākhśāś (Kiyahk), his nativity; 24 Naḥasē (Misrā), his death; and 12 Genbot (Bashans), translation of his body.

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ĒWOSṬĀTĒWOS (Eustatheus)

Ēwosṭātēwos is known as the champion of the Jewish Sabbath in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He was born Mā'eqaba Egzi' (Trust of the Lord) to a noble family of Krestos Mo'a and Sena Ḥeywat, a family known for gathering the elderly poor together and providing them with their needs. Their faith was strengthened when God heard their prayer of many years to have a child and gave them Mā'eqaba Egzi'.

When Mā'eqaba Egzi' reached school age, his parents took him to Abba Dāne'ēl (Daniel), brother of Sena Ḥeywat, where he pursued his education diligently. This Abba Dāne'ēl founded the monastery Dabra Māryām in Māy Qwerqwer (Tigre). Mā'eqaba Egzi''s inclination toward the religious life began as soon as he started school. He grew up paying no attention to his bodily comfort. Mā'eqaba Egzi' was still a young boy when Abba Dāne'ēl agreed to clothe him with the monastic garb, and renamed him Ēwosṭātēwos.

After his ordination as a priest, Ēwosṭātēwos felt the call to go out and teach: "Sow the word of God, teach and make the law of the God of truth be heard even as you were commanded before." However, he came back to his monastery regularly for retreat and seclusion, a practice that gave him occasion to study his holy books.

Ēwosṭātēwos soon became a prominent monastic leader with many followers, including Abba Absādi, his successor and a monastic leader in his own right. Ēwosṭātēwos set rules for his followers, including the punishable prohibition of speaking against others. He also advised them not to be eager to be ordained priests—advice with far-reaching consequences for the community. As to the general public, he admonished them against slavery, murder, robbery, and fornication.

Ēwosṭātēwos was among the monastic leaders who chastized Emperor 'Amda Ṣeyon (1314–1344) for associating himself with a wife of his own father. When 'Amda Ṣeyon banished him, Ēwosṭātēwos attempted to overthrow him by encouraging Warāsina Egzi', the ruler of Ḥamāsēn, to rebel.

A more serious controversy, one that forced the monk to leave Ethiopia for good, ensued from the questions of the Saturday Sabbath. According to the Synodicon, one of the canonical books of the Ethiopian church, both Saturday and Sunday are days of rest to be observed by the faithful. The metropolitans coming from Alexandria made it known, however, that Saturday is not observed in the Coptic church. In fact, they even taught that Ethiopians should abandon Jewish practices, including the observance of Saturday as a Sabbath. This created a great schism in the Ethiopian church. Many agreed to observe only Sunday. But a few, led by Ēwosṭātēwos, refused to violate the commandments of their Scriptures, the New and the Old Testaments and the books of canon law which command the observance of Saturday.

The feuding parties came to the king's court looking for a ruling. There was apparently no metropolitan in the country at that time. However, since the king was not in a position to pass any judgment on ecclesiastical matters and feared the implications of

schism for his kingdom, he asked the two parties to go to Egypt and settle their differences before the patriarch. Before Ēwosṭātēwos left for Egypt, he ordered his followers never to associate themselves with those who did not follow his teaching. This order created an independent community within the church and the state, which became a real problem for the political as well as religious leaders of the country. Some of his disciples accompanied their father as far as Bogos (in what is now Eritrea), where he asked Absādi to return to the monastery and take charge of its administration. Only twelve of his disciples stayed with him to continue the journey.

Predictably, Ēwosṭātēwos' journey to Egypt was not a success as far as his cause of observing Saturday as a Christian Sabbath was concerned. According to his hagiographer, Patriarch BENJAMIN II (1327–1339) was sympathetic to his cause, but he is reported to have said that this teaching of the apostles had long been abandoned. Ēwosṭātēwos and his followers left the patriarchate and spent some time in the monasteries in SCETIS in strict asceticism. The hagiographer mentions the Monastery of Elijah as one of the monasteries they visited there.

After he left Scetis, he visited the Holy Land and Cyprus, and went to Armenia, where he spent the rest of his life. Why Ēwosṭātēwos wanted to go to Armenia is not clear. He had either heard a report that the Saturday Sabbath was observed there, or else he wanted to live in another country where monophysitism was the religion. His disciples at home made a statue of their teacher to be erected in Dabra Māryām, an unusual practice in the Ethiopian church.

His followers continued their separate life for many years to come. Most of those who went with him perished on the journey, but two of them were able to return to Ethiopia. They attempted to convert the Falasha (Ethiopian Jews) to Christianity. Observance of the Saturday Sabbath is the central point in the religion of the Falasha. When the number of the Ēwosṭātēwosites grew at an alarming rate and their order continued to differ from the tradition practiced by the established church—taking too seriously the advice of their teacher not to be eager to be ordained priests, they denounced priesthood—Emperor Dāwit (1382–1413) banned the movement. Since they were many and determined, destroying them was impossible. Finally his son, Emperor Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–1468), brought an end to the schism by summoning a council to consider the issue. The Council of Dabra Meṭmāq (1445) declared that according to the books accepted by the Ethiopian church, Saturday was a Sabbath to be observed by all Christians.

Ēwosṭātēwos is commemorated on 18 Maskaram (Tūt).

GIYORGIS OF GĀSEÇHĀ

The identity of Abba Giyorgis (George) is far from certain. Two or even three prominent personalities in the church of medieval Ethiopia may have been confused in the tradition. One of them, possibly Abba Giyorgis of Dabra Bāḥrey, may have flourished during the reign of 'Amda Ṣeyon (1314–1344). He must have been a disciple of Abuna Iyyasus Mo'a of Dabra Ḥayq. The other, Giyorgis of Saglā or Gaseçhā, died between 1424 and 1426. The assumption now is that this is the Giyorgis that the tradition refers to as Abba Giyorgis the writer, the preacher, and the musician. The single extant copy of his *gadl* is preserved in the Monastery of Ḥayq.

Giyorgis came from the noble family of Ḥezba Ṣeyon (probably from Tigre) and Emmena Ṣeyon from Walaqā (in present-day Wollo). Giyorgis must have inherited the zeal for learning from his father, who was widely known as "a comprehender of the Scriptures like Salathiel [Ezra]." The start, however, was not smooth for the child. His father took him to the Monastery of Ḥayq, the center of Ethiopian church education at that time. But Giyorgis was so slow in learning that his teacher lost hope of teaching him. A person who did not possess the faculty for memorization could not go far in the traditional Ethiopian system of education, where education was mostly oral preservation of knowledge. Faced with this problem, Giyorgis went daily to church, where he prayed with tears and total concentration to God and the Blessed Virgin. One night, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him and told him to be diligent in his learning, forgoing even sleeping by night.

The diligence recommended to him proved to be very effective. A hymn composed in his honor says it all:

> Rising from the region of Saglā like a bright sun,
> buckling the sharp sword of faith about his waist,
> Giyorgis swam the depth of the sea of the Scriptures.
> He built his castle upon a firm rock,
> its foundation does not shake to right or left.
> The power of the wind could not make it fall.

Abba Giyorgis is a scholar saint without equal in the Ethiopian church in the quality and quantity of original literature he produced. However, he is mostly remembered for two important works: a book of hours called *Sa'atāt* (hours), and *Maṣeḥafa mesṭir* (The Book of Mystery).

Before Giyorgis, the widely used service book for the hours was the Ge'ez version of the Coptic HOROLOGION. For unclear reasons, different monasteries compiled their own books of the hours. Ultimately, however, that of Abba Giyorgis prevailed, even though many churches continue to use the Coptic *Sa'atāt*. The distinctive characteristic of the horologion ascribed to Abba Giyorgis is that it contains the doxology of beautifully composed salutary hymns to many of the saints accepted by the Ethiopian church. As a musician, he provided the melody for his lyrics. His original horologion, probably intended to be used in shifts in his monastery, covered the twenty-four hours of the day.

The *Maṣeḥafa Mesṭir*, composed toward the end of his life, is a collection of twenty-seven well-documented treatises refuting different heresies of foreign and local origin. These treatises are arranged to be read in churches and monasteries at different holy and feast days of the year as part of the liturgy and are still in use. Other locally composed hymns to the Blessed Virgin, such as the *Argānona weddāsē* (Organ of Praise) and *Khokheta berhān* (Portal of Light), are now believed to have come from the pen of Abba Giyorgis. He also wrote a collection of hymns for the Holy Cross, *Weddāsē masqal* (Praise of the Cross). It is also quite possible that some of the locally composed anaphoras are his.

Giyorgis started his career at the royal court as a teacher of the children of Emperor Dāwit (1382–1413). Later he held the office of *nebura ed* (abbot) of Dabra Dāmo. But it appears that he was not always on good terms with the emperor. Because of Ethiopia's foreign relations, foreigners had easy access to the emperors. These foreigners very often included missionaries and travelers from the non-Monophysite churches. The church and monastic leaders, including Abba Giyorgis, found themselves at odds with political leaders influenced by such visitors. The "heretic" Bitu, who had great influence on Dāwit, was instrumental in the banishment and imprisonment of Abba Giyorgis, who won his freedom only when the emperor died. One of the chapters in his *Maṣeḥafa mesṭir* is a refutation of the conception by Bitu of the image of God.

Abba Giyorgis was also actively involved in the Saturday Sabbath dispute, devoting a chapter of his *Maṣeḥafa mesṭir* to the defense of the practice. His wish to be clothed with the monastic garb at Dabra Libānos was frustrated when he saw that that community was in the opposite camp. Instead, he went to Dabra Gol in Amhara, the monastery of the nebulous saint Baṣalota Mikā'ēl, which he later headed during the reign of Emperor Yesḥaq (1414–1429).

Giyorgis is commemorated on 7 Ḥamlē (Abīb).

ZAR'A YĀ'QOB (c. 1399–1468)

Strictly speaking, Zar'a Yā'qob (Seed of Jacob) is not a saint. But he is one of the very few theologians who have left memorable traces on the life of the church of Ethiopia.

Zar'a Yā'qob was born around 1399 to Emperor Dāwit (1382–1413) and Queen Egzi' Kebrā from Tigre. He grew up in monasteries, with little hope of ascending his father's throne, because he had many older brothers. His years in the monasteries were very fruitful. He was able to study Ge'ez and its literature thoroughly, staying away from palace politics and the struggle for the crown until his brothers reigned and died without leaving capable successors. The throne was left empty, and after a few turbulent years, the army discovered him and installed him on the throne.

Zar'a Yā'qob came to power when the country was on the brink of total collapse. The Muslim vassal rulers of 'Adal in the east were putting pressure on the Christians with regular raids, and the church was divided into monasteries based on differing theological views, notably the Zamikā'ēlites, the Ēwosṭātēwosites, and the Esṭifānosites (see ETHIOPIAN HERESIES AND THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES). Equipped with his knowledge of the theological and Christological literature and aided by his chosen *kāhnāta dabtarā* (palace clergy), the emperor decided to have a church united in its belief and teaching, as defined by himself and his theologians.

The main obstacle he had to face was the fact that the mother church in Alexandria, the Coptic church, had a tradition slightly different from that of the local church. As regards the scriptural canon, for example, the Book of Jubilees, which is enumerated in the Synodicon, was not canonical in the Coptic church. Therefore, theologians at the emperor's court challenged the emperor's reference to the Book of Jubilees. The Saturday Sabbath, to mention another example, was not observed in the Coptic church, even though the Synodicon, which came to Ethiopia from the Coptic church, commands clearly that it should be.

For some event in his own personal life, Zar'a Yā'qob became indebted to the Blessed Virgin. In gratitude, he expected extreme reverence to her and her icon, more even that what was the practice in Egypt. One of his tasks was, therefore, to settle these differences with the metropolitans, who did not dare to challenge the Synodicon before the emperor. He summoned several councils to rule on the theological issues, but he dictated his own views on them. Through persuasion, persecution, and sometimes acceptance of other views, Zar'a Yā'qob finally achieved a certain degree of success in uniting the church and hence the Christian population.

The number of the Miracles of Mary, which first appeared in translations from Arabic commissioned by his father, grew considerably during his reign through the translation of additional miracles and the composition of new miracles, incorporating local events. He or his priests composed collections of homilies to be read in the churches on holy and feast days. These homilies are mostly refutations of heresies and expositions of the position of his church on certain issues. Collections included the *Maṣeḥafa milād* (Book of Nativity), dealing with the theology of the unity and trinity of God and the Incarnation of the Word; the *Maṣeḥafa berhān* (Book of Light), dealing with several theological issues; and *Ṭomāra tesbe't* (Letter of Humanity), explaining the evils of magic and idolatry. One of the doxologies of the Ethiopian church, a collection of hymns, is also ascribed to him. These writings, including the Miracles of Mary, are part of the service books in Ethiopia even today. Several books, including the Jewish history ascribed to Joseph Ben Gorion (Josippon), were also translated into Ge'ez by his priests.

Zar'a Yā'qob introduced his reforms with force. He did not hesitate to have religious offenders executed. He even ordered that all Christians bear a tattoo of the cross on their foreheads. Relapsing violators of the order to attend religious instruction on each Saturday and Sunday had their properties confiscated. Holy days for the angels, the saints (thirty-three a year for the Blessed Virgin), and martyrs were reordained. He ordered the reading of the Miracles of Mary to be part of the service in every church.

Zar'a Yā'qob also had great success on the political front. He successfully repulsed a raid from 'Adal, killing its king, and the new king of 'Adal pledged to be submissive and peaceful. The emperor suppressed palace coups, destroying everyone he suspected of conspiracy. He wrote a strong letter of protest to Sultan Jaqmaq (1438–1453) when he heard of the persecution that the Copts suffered under the rule of his predecessor, Sultan Barsbay (1422–1438). He cried bitterly in public mourning when the news of the destruction of DAYR AL-MAGHṬIS in Lower Egypt came to him and immediately set out to build a new monastery that carried the name in Ge'ez: Dabra Meṭmāq. He received with great honor the Egyptian delegation that came to his palace to inform him of the end of the persecution. He himself had also sent envoys to the Middle East and Europe, including a delegation of observers to the Council of FLORENCE in 1439–1440.

Zar'a Yā'qob is commemorated on 3 Paguemēn (al-Nasī).

ESṬIFĀNOS

Esṭifānos is commemorated by his followers on 18 Tākhśāś (Kiyahk). For the Ethiopian church he is still a founder of a heretical sect, known by modern scholars as the Stephanite or Esṭifānosite movement. His father, Berhāna Masqal, a chief of the Gefmala district in Tigre (east of Axum), died before his son, Hadga Anbasā, was born. After the birth, his mother, Sārā (Sarah), gave the child to his uncle and married another man. Growing up without parents must have caused the child to ask many questions concerning life and encouraged him to reject the world. He himself says that he became God's follower in gratitude to Him who became his parent. He first went to a school attached to a church called Bēta Iyyasus (Church of Jesus), where he differed from other children in that he had an inquisitive mind. At school they called him Esṭifānos, a name that his hagiographer considered ominous for his later martyrdom.

Esṭifānos took the monastic habit in the Monastery of Abba Sāmu'ēl (apparently in Qwayyaṣā) at the age of nineteen. From that time he refrained from eating meat and dairy products and from drinking milk and alcoholic beverages. He became a solitary, disassociating himself from the rest of the monastic community. His colleagues resented his disapproving attitude toward their type of monastic life. He was a copyist of manuscripts, which he called "abundant in our churches, agreeing in teaching the truth . . . but with no court of justice in the country to implement their words." His views became clearer and more attractive to many when he was assigned by the abbot to be a teacher of one group of monks working in the field. He was

rightly accused of challenging the established tradition of monastic life. The metropolitan of the time, Bartalomēwos (Bartholomew, 1398–1436), was supportive of Eṣṭifānos' view.

It soon became apparent that Eṣṭifānos could not live in peace in the monastery if he was not willing to go along with the established tradition of a relatively comfortable life. Organizing his followers into groups of twelve, he left the Monastery of Abba Sāmu'ēl and established his own. His objective was to be independent of the government by receiving no land grants, unlike the rest of the monasteries in the empire. The members of his community depended entirely on their own work.

Eṣṭifānos' fame reached places far and near, attracting more followers and alarming other monasteries, which felt the draining of their "monk power" to his. He was accused at the court of the governor of inciting unrest. At the hearing, the case was intermingled with politics. When he was defending his position, one of his opponents said, "We ask you by the [authority of the] king to keep silent." Eṣṭifānos answered what he believed, but apparently unwisely, "I speak the words of God . . . The words of the Heavenly King cannot be stopped by the earthly king." The opponent went further: "I call him [the king] Israelite," a reference to the widely accepted tradition that the Ethiopian royal family proudly descends from Solomon, king of Israel. But the stubborn monk retorted, "And I call him a Christian," implying that Israelites are Jews. The governor found this controversy beyond his jurisdiction. He sent the parties to the king's court. The king, most probably Ḥezb Nāññ (1430–1483), dismissing the political accusations as unrelated to the main issues, found the accused innocent. In fact, the king and the council of one thousand participants summoned to hear the case allegedly offered him the monastery of his spiritual father, Abba Sāmu'ēl, who was an ardent opponent of the new movement. Eṣṭifānos declined on the grounds that if he accepted, he would be dependent on the government.

Unfortunately for Eṣṭifānos, the new king, Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–1468), although well versed in Ethiopian church affairs, was unable to disassociate politics from religion. He could not excuse Eṣṭifānos and his followers for their refusal to bow to the monarch, which according to him was a mere expression of respect, a tradition pervasive in those regions since the time of the Old Testament. Eṣṭifānos, however, considered bowing an expression of worship due "only to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit." There is nothing in his *gadl* that could be considered to present an insurmountable theological difference between Eṣṭifānos and his followers, on one side, and Zar'a Yā'qob and the established church, on the other. Like Zar'a Yā'qob, who represented the established church, Eṣṭifānos believed in the trinitarian theology of "three suns, one light"; he accepted the Synodicon as canonical; and he honored both the Saturday and Sunday Sabbaths. However, he refused to accept the undue reverence of the Holy Cross and the icon of the Blessed Virgin; he rejected the fast-spreading Marian literature (Miracles of Mary and the different apocryphal prayers ascribed to Mary, e.g., *Bārtos*); and he developed an interpretation of millenarianism different from that of the emperor and his clergy, the *kāhnāta dabtarā*. The emperor was particularly angered when Eṣṭifānos challenged his judicial system, in which monks, in violation of canon law and monastic principle, were made to participate as jurors, hearing worldly affairs, presided over by the monarch. His wrath was so fierce that the two prelates of the time, Mikā'ēl and Gabre'ēl, were unable to contradict him.

Eṣṭifānos' courage in challenging the king who ruled with an iron fist brought him further fame and encouraged others to follow their conscience. The king and the religious leaders were clearly threatened. No form of coercion—flogging, imprisonment, hunger, or the like—could change Eṣṭifānos' views. The emperor banished him and his followers into provinces populated by his Muslim subjects. Locked up in prison in the village of Wazremā, Eṣṭifānos died in Gwātr, a region adjacent to Ifat and Dawwāro. At first he was buried near a church in Gedem. However, when his followers were caught smuggling their teacher's body from the grave, the emperor had his body cast into the open at Ṣākrā in Dawwāro, where by orders of the governor, the people piled stones on it. Ṣākrā is the place where the remains of the ruler of 'Adal, Badlāy, were buried under a heap of stones when his rebellion was crushed in 1444.

The city of the king's residence received the name Dabra Berhān (Mountain of Light) from the persecution of this sect by the emperor. It was reported that in approval of the persecution by the emperor, a light in the form of a cross appeared over the city for several nights.

The movement of this extraordinary monk survived Zar'a Yā'qob and his successor, but by the end of the fifteenth century it was gradually integrated into the established church. Their center, the Monastery of Dabra Garzēn in Tigre, is reported to have a library with valuable manuscripts, but some

of the important ones have ended up in the hands of travelers and explorers.

GABRA MANFAS QEDDUS

Probably because Abuna Gabra Manfas Qeddus (Servant of the Holy Spirit) does not belong to the early period of the Ethiopian church and because his hagiographer knew very little about his patron, some scholars have wondered if the saint could have been a European. But there is no evidence supporting such a hypothesis.

According to tradition, Abuna Gabra Manfas Qeddus went to Ethiopia from a monastery in a district of Lower Egypt called Nehisā. The time of his arrival is not certain, but there are some sources that indicate that he died in 1382.

Abuna Gabra Manfas Qeddus can truly be called the saint of the people, a man who probably never visited the courts of any of the political or spiritual leaders of the country. He taught in the area of Medra Kabd and Zeqwālā (in Shewa), about 28 miles (45 km) south of Addis Ababa, and died there. He is popularly known as a saint who had the miraculous power to split a cliff in two as one would split a stem of a grass. The exaggerated events in his life preserved in his acts could indicate that he was then, as he is now, highly popular among the ordinary people.

The name of the saint's family is preserved as Sem'on and Aqlēseyā, which could be Egyptian. His native name is not preserved. He is reported to have grown up in a monastery from the time he was three years old. Either there was some real reason for this or, as the hagiographer hints, it was just an imitation of the tradition about the lives of the Blessed Virgin and the prophet Samuel.

The saint started a harsh ascetic life at an early age. The Lord covered him with hair when he refused to protect himself from cold with clothes. His dark beard became an added cover to his body, especially when he celebrated the mass. His main prayer was to see and hear God himself, and to have those who were in judgment resurrected and pardoned before the Last Judgment.

When Abuna Gabra Manfas Qeddus came to Ethiopia, he found the physical environment of Medra Kabd very agreeable. He praised God quoting Matthew 11:25: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things [i.e., Ethiopia] from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes [i.e., himself]." The first people he met in Ethiopia in the wilderness of Medra Kabd were the wandering hermits. Soon wild animals became his friends, and lions and leopards offered him their services, especially to carry him around.

His evangelizing activities were supported by miracles of healing, which he performed among the people. People who heard of his healing power came to him and received his blessing, and he turned them to God. It is not very clear whether the pagans in the region where he taught were in the majority, but there were churches and several other hermits whom he met there.

On his death on 5 Maggābit (Baramhāt), all who knew him in the neighborhood, including angels from heaven and the sixty lions and sixty leopards, attended his funeral and mourned him. His monastery, near the crater on the top of Mount Zeqwālā, though unimpressive, is a center for pilgrims, especially on the day his death is commemorated.

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GETATCHEW HAILE

ETYMOLOGY. *See Appendix.*

EUCHARIST, one of seven sacraments in the Coptic church. Although all sacraments contain and impart grace, the Eucharist carries the most sublime grace of all. In BAPTISM, for example, water remains water, as does the holy chrism in confirmation, the visible element of the sacrament thus undergoing no change. In the Eucharist, however, the bread and wine are no longer mere bread and wine but become the true Body and Blood of the Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Whereas in other sacraments the Lord bestows His gifts in accordance with each sacrament, in the Eucharist He offers His entire Self, so that partakers may enter in full and complete communion with Him. Being the sacrifice of Christ for all humanity, the Eucharist is universal in nature, embracing the living and the dead, and is not, as in the case of other sacraments, a grace restricted to one individual.

The Eucharist has also been known as the sacrament of thanksgiving, the Lord's supper, the Lord's table, Christ's table, the sacred table, Holy Communion, the holy sacrifice, the divine mystery, the Lord's bread, the heavenly bread, Christ's Body, the Precious Blood, the redemptive chalice.

The following topics relate to the theme of the Eucharist: the institution of the Eucharist, the expression and manifestation of belief in this sacrament, the church fathers' writings, the nature of the divine transformation, the Eucharist as a sacrifice, the necessity of using leavened bread, officiating at the Eucharist, and administering the sacraments.

The Institution of the Eucharist

Christ, having satisfied the hunger of the multitudes, began to initiate them into the mystery of the heavenly bread, which is His own body, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any one eats of this bread, he will live for ever; and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh" (Jn. 6:51).

The disciples took these words in their literal and obvious sense, without allegory or metaphor. "This is a hard saying, who can listen to it?" they asked (Jn. 6:60). Christ continued in the same vein expounding to them the mystery that He was shortly to institute, after which they received it without a shadow of doubt or further questioning.

Thus bread and wine, following the teaching of Christ and the example He set on the eve of His passion, are the elements of the Eucharist: leavened wheat bread and wine. The wine is unfermented and mixed with a little water, in memory of the water which issued with Christ's blood when His side was pierced with a spear (Jn. 19:34).

The Expression and Manifestation of Belief

It is the firm belief of the Orthodox church that after the consecration of the oblations and the de-

scent of the Holy Spirit upon them, they become the Body and the Blood of Christ. Hence the declaration by the priest: "The Holy Body, the Honored Blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God, Amen," followed, for the second time by "The Holy and Honored Body, and the Very Blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of our God, Amen," and for the third time, "The Body and the Blood of Emmanuel our God. This is in very truth, Amen." Each time the congregation responds "Amen," before the priest finally utters the profession of faith: "Amen. Amen. Amen. I believe, I believe and confess till the last breath, that this is the life-giving flesh which Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, took from our Lady, the Queen of us all, the Mother of God, the saint, the pure Mary. He made It one with His divinity, without mingling, without confusion, and without alteration. . . . I believe, I believe, I believe that this is in very truth. Amen." He kisses the altar thrice, while the deacon responds "I believe, I believe, I believe. This is in very truth, Amen. . . ."

This has always been the steadfast, unwavering faith of the church. While other doctrines of belief were subject to heresy during the early centuries of Christianity, the Eucharist continued to meet with universal acceptance for at least eight centuries, until a bishop of Antioch called Abraham threw doubt upon the efficacy of the sacrament. Patriarch Qiryāqus of Antioch (793–817), together with Patriarch MARK II of Alexandria (799–819), asked him to recant, but on his refusing to do so, a council was convened that excommunicated him.

The Writings of the Early Church Fathers

This realistic interpretation of the eucharistic bread and wine as becoming the Lord's Body and Blood was strongly maintained in the writing of the early fathers, from which we cite a few excerpts.

IGNATIUS, bishop of Antioch (c. 35–c. 107) writes: "I have no task for corruptible food nor for the pleasures of this life. I desire the Bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David; and for drink I desire His Blood, which is love incorruptible" (*Letter to the Romans* 7.3).

Saint Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200) writes: "But what consistency is there in those who hold that the bread over which thanks have been given is the Body of their Lord, and the cup His Blood, if they do not acknowledge that he is the Son of the Creator of the world. . . ," (*Adversus omnes haereses* 4.18.4).

In the *Mystagogia*, Saint CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (c. 315–386) writes: "Let us then, with full confidence, partake of the Body and Blood of Christ. For in the figure of bread His Body is given to you, so that by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, you might become united in body and blood with Him. For thus do we become Christ-bearers, His Body and Blood being distributed through our members. And thus it is that we become, according to the blessed Peter, sharers of the divine nature" (*Mystagogia* 4.3). "Do not, therefore, regard the Bread and the Wine as simply that; for they are, according to the Master's declaration, the Body and Blood of Christ. Even though the senses suggest to you the other, let faith make you firm. Do not judge in this matter by taste, but be fully assured by the faith, not doubting that you have been deemed worthy of the Body and Blood of Christ" (*Mystagogia* 4.6).

According to Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (c. 347–407), "When the words say, 'This is my Body,' be convinced of it and believe it, and look at it with the eyes of the mind. For Christ did not give us something tangible, but even in His tangible things all is intellectual. . . . How many now say, 'I wish I could see His shape, His appearance, His garments, His sandals.' Only look! You see Him! You touch Him! You eat Him!" (*On Matthew* 82.4.) and: "Take care, then, lest you too become guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ. They slaughtered His most holy body; but you, after such great benefits, receive Him into a filthy soul. For it was not enough for Him to be made man, to be struck and to be slaughtered, but He even mingles Himself with us; and this not by faith only, but even in every deed He makes us His Body. How very pure, then, ought he not be, who enjoys the benefit of this Sacrifice?"

Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan (c. 339–397) writes: "Before it is consecrated it is bread; but where the words of Christ come in, it is the Body of Christ. Finally, hear Him saying: 'All of you take and eat of this, for this is My Body.' And before the words of Christ the chalice is full of wine and water; but where the words of Christ have been operative it is made the Blood of Christ, which redeems the people."

Similar teaching about the eucharistic sacrifice is to be found in the writings of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Tertullian, DIONYSIUS THE GREAT of Alexandria, BASIL THE GREAT, Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, and many others.

The Nature of the Divine Transformation

Unlike other churches, the apostolic churches hold the unshakable belief that the elements are completely transformed into the very flesh and blood of Jesus Christ—a belief based on the pledge given by Christ in which He called bread His body and wine His blood. Saint Paul clarifies this transformation in 1 Corinthians 11:23–25. Confirmation of this belief recurs in key passages in the liturgy as mentioned earlier, and also in the prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit: "We pray Thee, O Lord our God, we Thy sinful and unworthy servants. We worship Thee by the pleasure of Thy goodness, that Thy Holy Spirit may descend upon us and upon these offerings placed here, to purify them, transubstantiate them and manifest them holy unto Thy Saints. And this Bread, He makes into His Holy Body. And this Cup the honoured Blood, unto the New Testament." Henceforth, the bread and wine having already undergone this divine and mysterious transformation, and become the Lord's Body and Blood, they will no more receive the sign of the CROSS from the priest, but become themselves the source of consignation.

This belief is affirmed by the fathers in straightforward and unambiguous terms. Saint GREGORY OF NYSSA says, "Rightly then, do we believe that now also the bread which is consecrated by the Word of God is changed into the Body of God the Word." In the words of John of Damascus: "the bread itself and the wine are made over into the Body and Blood of God. If you inquire into the way in which this happens, let it suffice for you to hear that it is through the Holy Spirit. . . . More than this we do not know, except that the word of God is true and effective and all-powerful; but the manner [of the Eucharistic transformation] is inscrutable."

The Eucharist as a Sacrifice

The church believes that the Eucharist is a genuine bloodless sacrifice offered to God. This is evident from the words of Christ when He instituted the sacrament (Jn. 6:51; Lk. 22:19, 20). Hence the teaching of the apostle Paul (1 Cor. 10:8–21) where he contrasts the Lord's table with that of the Gentiles, among whom unclean sacrifices were offered. The Epistle to the Hebrews says, "We have an altar from which those who serve the rest have no right to eat" (Heb. 13:10), thus testifying to the heavenly sacrifice of Jesus Christ as opposed to the pagan sacrifice.

The Eucharist is the sacrifice prophesied through Malachi, "I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord of hosts, and I will not accept an offering from your hand. For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure offering; for my name is great among the nations, says the Lord of hosts" (Mal. 1:10, 11).

This prophetic text carries a clear implication of the perfection of Mosaic sacrifice in the fullness of time. This one sacrifice cannot be that of the Gentiles, as they were unclean. Nor can it be that of which the Psalmist speaks "Then wilt thou delight in right sacrifices, in burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings" (Ps. 51:19), as this is a spiritual sacrifice offered by all righteous people everywhere. Christians have traditionally interpreted this prophecy as referring to the sacrament of the Eucharist offered to God everywhere.

Accordingly, the Liturgy contains various references to these offerings:

1. In the intercession prayers of Saint Basil's Liturgy the priest says, "Remember, O Lord, those who offered unto Thee these oblations, those for whom they were offered, and those by whom they were offered. Give them all the heavenly recompense." The deacon responds by saying, "Pray for these holy and honored oblations, for our sacrifices, and for those who offered them."

2. In the prayer of the veil, the priest says, "We pray Thee, our Lord, do not reject us as we lay our hands on this awesome and bloodless sacrifice."

3. Toward the end of the consecration the priest says, "As we commemorate His holy passion, His Resurrection from the dead, His Ascension into heaven, His sitting at Thy right hand O Father . . . we offer Thee Thy oblations from what is Thine. . . ."

4. In the Fraction prayers for the feasts of the Angels and the Virgin Mary, the priest says, "Today on this table is present with us Emmanuel our Lord, the Lamb of God who carries the sins of the whole world. . . . Holy and full of glory in this sacrifice which has been slain for the life of the whole world. Amen, Alleluia. . . ."

5. On Holy Thursday, the Fraction prayer for Isaac, son of Abraham, includes this section: "O God who accepted the offering of our father Abraham, do accept from us this sacrifice, and bless these oblations."

6. In the brief Fraction the priest prays, "O God who has given us, we sinners, the bread of salvation, a live and heavenly sacrifice, the holy and honored Body and Blood of Thy Christ."

The sacrificial nature of the Eucharist has been strongly stressed in the writings of the early fathers.

Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165) says: "Accordingly God, anticipating all the sacrifices which we offer through His Name, and which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer; i.e., in the Eucharist of the Bread and the cup, and which are presented by Christians in all places throughout the world, bears witness that they are well-pleasing to Him" (*Dialogue with Trypho* 117).

According to Saint Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200): "He [Christ] taught the new sacrifice of the new covenant, of which Malachias, one of the twelve prophets, had signified beforehand, '"You do not do My will," says the Lord Almighty, "and I will not accept a sacrifice at your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting, My name is glorified among the gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to My name, and a pure sacrifice; for great is My name among the gentiles," says the Lord Almighty' [Mal. 1:10–11]. By these words He makes it plain that the former people will cease to make offerings to God; but that in every place sacrifice will be offered to Him, and indeed, a pure one; for His name is glorified among the gentiles" (*Adversus omnes haereses* 4.17.5).

Saint Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258), writes: "Whence it appears that the Blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup, nor the Lord's sacrifice celebrated with a legitimate consecration unless our oblations and sacrifice respond to His Passion. . . . For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the chief priest of God the Father, and has first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of Christ, who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered" (*Epistle* 112.9.14).

Saint Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395) says: "He offered Himself for us, Victim and Sacrifice, and Priest as well, and Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world. When did He do this? When He made His own Body food and His own Blood drink for His disciples for this much is clear enough to anyone, that a sheep cannot be eaten by a man unless its being eaten be preceded by its being slaughtered. This giving of His own Body to His disciples for eating clearly indicates that the sacrifice of the Lamb has now been completed" (*Sermon on the Resurrection of Christ*).

And according to Saint John Chrysostom (c. 347–407): "What then? Do we not offer daily? Yes, we offer, but making remembrance of His death; and this remembrance is one and not many. How is it one and not many? Because this Sacrifice is offered once, like that in the Holy of Holies. This Sacrifice is a type of that, and this remembrance a type of that. We offer always the same, not one sheep now and another tomorrow, but the same thing always. Thus there is one Sacrifice. By this reasoning, since the Sacrifice is offered everywhere, are there, then, a multiplicity of Christ? By no means! Christ is one everywhere. He is complete here, complete there, one Body. And just as He is one Body and not many though offered everywhere, so too is there one Sacrifice" (*Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews* 17.3).

Christ's sacrifice on the cross and the eucharistic sacrifice are thus one and the same. Both are the body and the blood of the Redeemer, the former being the main root while the latter a shoot growing from this root, with branches spreading all over the Christian church providing fruit and nourishment to every partaker of the sacrament. The following distinctions must, however, be noted:

1. On the cross the body and blood of Christ are the visible sacrifice, whereas on the altar the eucharistic bread and wine become the body and blood of the Savior.

2. On the cross, Christ, in His capacity as the High Priest, offered the sacrifice of propitiation; on the altar it is offered by the priest.

3. The sacrifice of the cross was real, as the Lamb was physically slain. Now, "we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again" (Rom. 6:9); a bloodless sacrifice is offered through the eucharistic sacrament.

4. The entire human race was redeemed on the cross, while the Eucharist is celebrated to ask God's forgiveness for sins committed by those on whose behalf the sacrifice (oblations) is being offered, both the living and the dead.

5. The sacrifice on the cross was offered once—at Golgotha—whereas the eucharistic sacrifice has been perpetually offered since its institution by Christ.

The characteristic feature of the Eucharist as an expression of gratitude has its origin in the precedent established by Christ when He instituted the sacrament: "He took bread and when he had given thanks . . ." (Lk. 22:19; Cor. 11:23–24).

The liturgies used by the church are interspersed with expressions of thankfulness: at the beginning, following the petitions, in the epiclesis, before the fraction, during the communion.

The Eucharist is also a sacrifice on behalf of the living and the dead. According to John Chyrsostom, "For not unmeaningly have these things been de-

vised, nor do we in vain make mention of the departed in the course of the divine mysteries, and approach God in their behalf, beseeching the Lamb who is before us, who taketh away the sin of the world; not in vain doth he that standeth by the altar cry out when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, 'For all that have fallen asleep in Christ, and for those who perform commemorations in their behalf.' For if there were no commemorations for them, these things would not have been spoken. . . . Let us not then be weary in giving aid to the departed, both by offering on their behalf and obtaining prayers for them: for the common Expiation of the world is even before us . . ." (*Homilies on First Corinthians* 41.8).

The Coptic Liturgy of Saint Basil includes this section following the commemoration of the saints, which is a prayer for both the dead and the living: "Those, O Lord, whose souls Thou hast taken, repose in the Paradise of Grace, in the land of eternal life, in the heavenly Jerusalem. And we, who are pilgrims in this place, keep us in Thy faith, and grant us Thy peace unto the end."

Leavened, Not Unleavened, Bread for the Eucharist

The tradition followed by the Coptic and other Orthodox Eastern churches, and by all Eastern and Western churches in the days of the apostles, is that leavened bread should be used in the Eucharist. This is evident from the fact that Christ instituted this sacrament on a Thursday, that is, a whole day prior to killing the passover lamb, or a whole day before unleavened bread was to be eaten. It is the firm belief of the church that the Lord was crucified on the day when the passover lamb for that year was killed, which fell on a Friday, thus becoming the new Christian passover: "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (Jn: 1:29).

The Roman Catholic church continued to follow the same tradition, using leavened bread for the Eucharist until the eleventh century when it introduced unleavened bread instead, due to a misconception that when Christ instituted the Eucharist, unleavened bread had started to be used; this was a misinterpretation of certain passages in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We shall here consider the facts as gleaned from the writings of the evangelists, and also in the light of the Jewish customs for Passover.

In keeping with biblical law, every household was to kill a lamb on the eve of the fourteenth, and eat it on the eve of the fifteenth day of Nisan, which is the first month of the year. Till the end of the fourteenth day, leavened bread would still be in use, and would not be taken away until just before the passover meal which, in memory of the hurried departure of the Israelites from the land of Egypt, had to be the passover lamb with bitter herbs and unleavened bread—the bread of affliction (Dt. 16:3). The days of unleavened bread would be "feasts of the Lord": "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the evening, is the Lord's passover. And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread to the Lord; seven days you shall eat unleavened bread. On the first day you shall have a holy convocation; you shall do no laborious work" (Lev. 23:5–8).

From the gospel of John we understand that:

1. The supper which Christ ate with the disciples took place before the Passover: "Now before the feast of the Passover . . . And during supper . . ." (Jn. 13:1,2).

2. "Six days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany. . . . The next day [i.e., five days before the Passover] . . . they took branches of palm trees and went out to meet him" (Jn. 12:1, 12–13). This means that the passover was on the following Friday evening, and that the supper at which the Lord instituted the Eucharist was on Thursday evening, a whole day before the Passover.

3. "Then they led Jesus from the house of Caiaphas to the praetorium. It was early. They themselves did not enter the praetorium, so that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover" (Jn. 18: 28). It is evident here that the Lord was tried and crucified on the day on which the passover lamb would be killed later in the evening, that is, on Friday. The Lord's supper, accordingly, was on the previous Thursday, a whole day before the Jewish Passover.

4. The same fact is clear from John 19:13, 14, "When Pilate heard these words, he brought Jesus out and sat down on the judgment seat. . . . Now it was the day of Preparation of the Passover. . . ."

If we turn to the synoptic Gospels, we find that the account is different. Matthew begins with the words, "Now on the first day of Unleavened Bread . . ." (26:17–28); Mark begins with "And on the first day of Unleavened Bread, when they sacrificed the passover lamb . . ." (14:12–24); and Luke begins with "Then came the day of Unleavened Bread, on which the passover lamb had to be sacrificed . . ." (22:7–20). It is an established fact, as we have pointed out earlier, that the Passover

lamb cannot be killed on the Passover feast itself. Biblical scholars with profound knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and other relevant languages, of whom the German Jewish-Christian Joachim Jeremias is one of the most prominent, have brought to light certain inaccuracies in the Greek translation of the Hebrew text, and proved, rather convincingly, that the Last Supper was not a passover meal, but one that took place twenty-four hours earlier. How could it have been, when it was completely devoid of the ritual that must be diligently and meticulously obeyed? There is no mention of the Passover lamb, the bitter herbs, the Passover *haggadah,* the *hallel,* the necessity of giving every person his own plate and cup (actually four cups). Most important is the total inadmissibility of doing any action or holding any meeting on such a sacred feast day, while countless episodes are involved in the synod in order to try and condemn Jesus. The conclusive evidence is that the Last Supper used leavened bread. This is what the Orthodox churches use for the Eucharist.

PETER I (302–311) writes: "But after His public ministry He did not eat of the lamb, but Himself suffered as the true Lamb in the Paschal feast, as John the Divine and Evangelist teaches us in the Gospel written by him, where he thus speaks: 'Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover'" (Jn. 28:28).

The Right to Officiate at the Eucharist

This right was primarily given to bishops, as successors to the apostles who received it from Christ, and who, in turn, passed it on to priests. "For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread . . ." (1 Cor. 11:23–25). Most of the early fathers and the ecumenical councils recorded this right of the clergy, not extending it to the diaconate. Deacons can only assist; and laymen, of course, are not entitled to serve at the altar. As to partaking of the holy sacrament, this is open to every Christian baptized believer who has fulfilled the preliminary requirements, namely, fasting and confession. According to Justin Martyr, "this food is called among us the Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined" (*First Apology* 66).

The Eucharist must be denied to unbelievers, the unbaptized, and believers who are impenitent or unprepared to receive the Sacrament. "Whoever therefore eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord. Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For any one who eats and drinks without discerning the body, eats and drinks judgment upon himself" (1 Cor. 11:27–29).

The *Apostolic Constitutions* insist that the Eucharist should be given to all, including children immediately after baptism and confirmation: "And after that, let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; . . . then the children; and then all the people in order . . . " (*Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 8.13).

Dionysius the Areopagite also stressed the importance of communion to small children: "Children who cannot understand divine things are yet made partakers of divine generation, and of divine communion of the most sacred mysteries" (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,* 7.11). Other church fathers do also.

The Eucharist is celebrated daily in most Coptic churches and monasteries; a few churches, however, celebrate it only on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday.

Redemptive Fruits of the Eucharist

Partaking worthily of the sacrament brings about: (1) oneness and communion with the Lord: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him" (Jn. 6:56); Saint Cyril of Jerusalem says, ". . . thus do we become Christ-bearers, His Body and Blood being distributed through our members. And thus it is that we become . . . sharers of the divine nature" (*Mystagogia* 4.3); (2) growth in spiritual life in Christ Jesus: "As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so he who eats me will live because of me" (Jn. 6:57); and (3) a pledge of eternal life: "he who eats this bread will live for ever" (Jn. 6:58).

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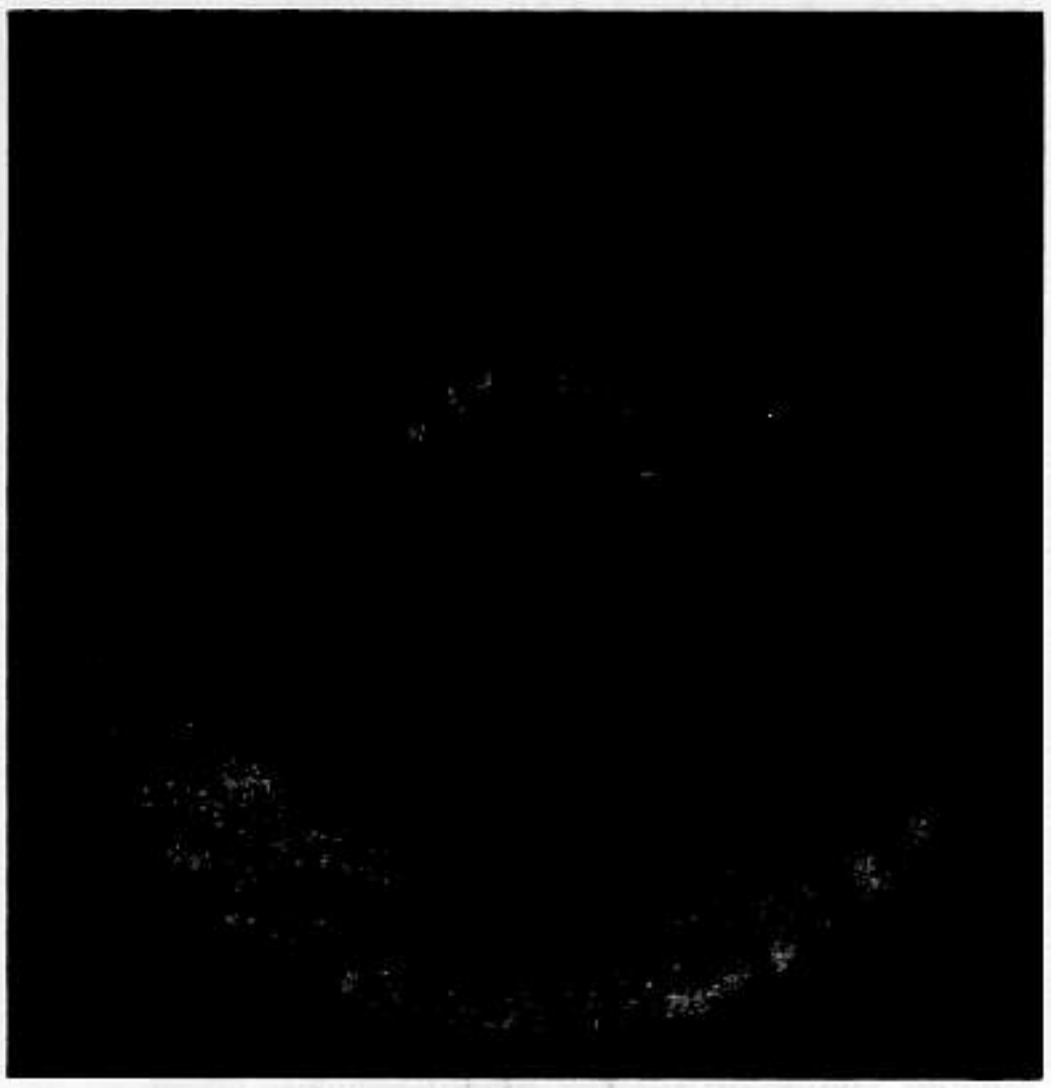
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EUCHARISTIC BREAD, one of the two visible elements constituting the eucharistic sacrament, the other element being the eucharistic wine.

The bread is leavened, unsalted bread made of the finest wheat flour. It is circular in shape and has a diameter ranging from 3 to about 5 inches, as required. On its upper surface, it is stamped with a cross consisting of twelve little squares, each of which is marked with a diagonal cross. The four central squares form the *despotikon* (the bread of the Lord). Along the circumference runs a sacred legend containing in Coptic the words Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal.



Eucharistic bread. *Courtesy Lola Atiya.*

Such crosses are engraved on the inside of the wooden seal used for stamping the eucharistic loaves before baking. An old wooden seal was found in DAYR ABŪ ḤINNIS in the Eastern Desert that had thirty-six small crosses around its inner rim, this number being the thirty-six signs of the cross made by the celebrant priest on the eucharistic loaf in the course of the liturgy. Of particular significance, also, are the five small holes pierced in the surface of the loaf before baking, representing the three nails, the crown of thorns, and the spear, by which our Lord suffered on the cross.

Two points of special traditional and historical importance must here be stressed.

In accordance with the *Church Ordinances* of Ibn al-'Assāl (1922, chap. 13, page 124), only wheat flour may be used in the preparation of eucharistic bread. This was the custom followed by the Jews at the time of our Lord, and established by the disciples (Acts 2:42; 20:7). When Christ spoke of His death, he likened His body to a grain of wheat, "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit" (Jn. 12:24).

Following the example set by Christ when He instituted this sacrament, the eucharistic bread must be leavened. He took ordinary, that is, leavened bread, as is indicated by the Greek term for bread (*artos*), and not unleavened. Saint Paul constantly speaks of bread (1 Cor. 11:23, 24; 1 Cor. 10–17). After the Resurrection the disciples devoted themselves to Christ's teaching, and frequently met to celebrate the Eucharist by breaking bread (Acts 2:42; 20:7, 11). It is also worthy of note that Christ instituted the Eucharist on Thursday preceding the Passover, one day before the use of unleavened bread, according to the Jewish custom. The early fathers of the church unequivocally speak of leavened bread (see EUCHARIST), and until the eleventh century the Roman Catholic church continued to use leavened bread for the Eucharist. The Orthodox churches, however, adhere to the tradition established since the earliest days of Christianity, corresponding as closely as possible to the actions of Jesus at the Last Supper.

Throughout the preparation of the bread—a task for deacons of the church—Psalms are read as a sign of reverence and awe toward the bread that will become the Body of the Lord. It is then baked a few hours before the service on the morning on which is it required for the celebration of the liturgy.

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EUCHARISTIC BREAD BASKET. *See* Liturgical Instruments.

EUCHARISTIC BREAD TROUGH. *See* Eucharistic Bread.

EUCHARISTIC FAST. The Copts rigorously observe complete abstinence from food or drink from the previous evening until Holy Communion is celebrated. This is not a regular fast in the sense of abstaining from certain categories of nutritious elements, but a complete rejection of any solid or liquid material from touching the mouth. On the same principle, this fast is equally observed on the occasion of baptism, ordination, dedication, and penitence.

SOZOMEN states that the early Egyptian Christians sometimes celebrated Holy Communion after eating, but adds that that was not a general practice and was probably followed in the case of the celebration of mass twice in the morning and in the evening of the same day.

The DIDASCALIA, among canonical works, prescribes this category of fasting in the East.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

EUCHARISTIC VEILS. There are five types of eucharistic veils used in the Coptic church: altar veils, chalice veils, mats, paten and chalice veils, and paten veils.

Altar Veil: The altar veil is a set of cloth coverings and curtains on and around the altar to provide the right protection and veneration during the liturgy. After a church has been consecrated, the altar should at no time be left uncovered. Three cloth coverings are required: (1) a tight-fitting case (Arabic, *kiswat al-madhbaḥ*) made of linen or cotton reaching to the floor on all four sides; (2) a second covering usually made of silk with embroidered crosses on all sides; between these two coverings is placed the altarboard; and (3) a third and smaller covering to be placed over the oblations immediately after the prayer of thanksgiving until the end of the prayer of reconciliation, when it is lifted by the priest and the deacon. This covering is called the *prospherein* (from the Greek term *prosphora,* offering), and represents the stone that was rolled away by the angel from the sepulcher at the resurrection.

The canopy over the altar, upheld by wooden, stone, or marble pillars, used to be surrounded with curtains hanging down from rods, as may still be seen in the Church of Abū Sarjah (Saint Sergius) in Old Cairo. These curtains were drawn at certain times during the liturgy, for example, at the descent of the Holy Spirit and the Fraction Prayers. In modern times, however, such curtains no longer form part of the altar coverings, since the curtains on the iconostasis doors provide the necessary protection.

These coverings, which are also consecrated by means of special prayers, help protect the oblations in the paten and chalice (see EUCHARISTIC VESSELS) so that, should any of their contents inadvertently fall, it can then be properly disposed of, in accordance with church ritual.

In the earlier days of Christianity, when churches were open to heathen attacks at times of persecution, priests used to remove these coverings, together with the altar vessels, and take them to a safe hiding place.

Chalice Veil: This is a mat similar in shape and color to the paten veil, used to cover the chalice in the ark on the altar.

Mat: Liturgical mats are square or circular pieces of fabric, white, pink, or blue in color, with a cross embroidered in the center. They are used for various purposes: to wrap the Lamb (the Body of Christ) and the cruet of wine (the Blood of Christ) during the offertory prayers at the beginning of the liturgy; to cover the Lamb in the paten, and the wine in the chalice, before both are to be covered with the large *prospherein* on the altar; to be held by the celebrant priest in both hands while saying the prayers of the liturgy.

Mats are distributed to the communicants a short while before administering Holy Communion, so

that they can cover their mouths after receiving the Body. But they have to be laid aside before receiving the Blood.

Paten and Chalice Veil: This is a rectangular sheet made of silk, measuring about 6 feet by 4 feet (180 by 120 cm), usually white or red in color, with a large cross embroidered in the center and smaller ones in the corners. At the beginning of the celebration of the liturgy, this veil remains over the oblations on the altar until the prayers of reconciliation have been said, after which it is removed by the celebrant and a deacon. It is then neatly folded and placed on the altar until the end of the liturgy. Then, after the altar vessels have been carefully washed and wiped, it is unfolded and spread once again over the empty vessels on the altar until the next celebration of the liturgy.

Paten Veil: This is a square or circular mat, white or red in color, with a cross embroidered in the center, used to cover the Lamb in the paten. At the beginning of the liturgy, after the celebrant has said the prayer of reconciliation, he removes this veil with his right hand and, holding it, makes the sign of the cross over the people, then the deacons, and lastly himself.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

EUCHARISTIC VESSELS AND INSTRUMENTS,

the chalice, paten, asterisk, spoon, and ark used at the altar in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy.

In the Old Testament, God commanded Moses to anoint the tabernacle of the congregation, the ark of the testimony, the table and its vessels, the candlestick and its vessels, the altar and its vessels, et cetera (Ex. 30:26–28). Similarly the eucharistic vessels have to be consecrated before they are first used in the church.

These vessels, though usually made of silver, were at times made of more precious metals such as gold studded with precious stones, and were presented as gifts from wealthy members of the congregation. On the other hand, vessels made of glass, wood, or earthenware were also used in Egyptian churches at times of persecution, when the churches were threatened by plunderers and marauders.

Ark

The ark is a wooden box measuring approximately 10 by 10 by 11 inches (25 × 25 × 30 cm), which always stands in the middle of the altar. The top has a wide round hole, and consists of two folding leaves through which the chalice is placed during the liturgy. The four sides carry paintings of the Last Supper, the Virgin Mary, an angel, and the saint in whose name the church was consecrated.

The ark is the embodiment of various symbolical analogies. It is sometimes called a throne in reference to the majesty of the crucified Christ. Like the ark that was the instrument of salvation to Noah and his family (Gn. 9), the altar ark holds the chalice carrying the life-giving Blood of Jesus Christ (Jn. 6:54). It is also analagous to the Old Testament ark of the covenant. But, whereas the old ark used to hold the tables of the law, the new ark holds the chalice of Christ's Blood, God's new testament with man, the fulfillment of the scriptures of the prophets (Mt. 26:54, 56); and while the old ark included Aaron's rod which budded (Heb. 9:4), the new ark symbolizes the Virgin Mary who gave birth to God, the Word, manifest in the flesh (Jn. 1:1; 1 Tm. 3:16). Finally the old ark contained the golden pot of manna (Ex. 16:32–34), whereas the new ark holds the true heavenly Manna which gives life everlasting (Jn. 6:57, 58).

It must be stressed here that, in accordance with the practice of the Coptic church, the ark is to house the chalice only during the liturgy prayers, and not to hold the Precious Body and Blood following their consecration. In the case of persons wishing to partake of Holy Communion who cannot attend the Divine Liturgy either through illness or for other reasons, the Precious Body, moistened with drops of the Precious Blood, may be reserved and conveyed to them in a special silver pyx, called the *artophorion* (Arabic, *ḥuqq al-dhakhīrah*), to be administered to them by the priest, while they are still fasting, immediately after the liturgy. The box is then returned empty to the church.

Artophorion

The *artophorion,* literally "the box of the [Holy] Communion," is a vessel usually made of silver, or thick glass in poor churches, circular in shape and having a lid measuring about 3 inches (7 cm) in diameter. Its height is about 1.5 inches (4 cm).

It is used as a container to carry the Holy Body, sometimes moistened with a few drops of the Precious Blood, to those who are confined to the house or hospital by ill health or infirmity, and to

the prisoners in their cells, and in cases of real necessity, to all who wish to communicate without being able to attend the Divine Liturgy.

It resembles the circular silver pyx now used in the Anglican church for the same purpose, but the Anglican priest suspends it by a cord around his neck while the Coptic priest carries the *artophorion* in his hands.

Asterisk

One of the instruments used during the celebration of the liturgy, the asterisk is usually made of silver or white metal and sometimes of gold. It consists of two half-circles in the form of a dome, intersecting at right angles, and riveted together with a small cross at the top. It folds so as to be conveniently put away. During the liturgy, it is set over the consecrated oblations in the paten to prevent the veil from touching them. It bears a mystical significance to the star of Bethlehem that led the wise men to the infant Savior while he was lying in the manger.

According to A. J. Butler, the Greek church "makes use of a corresponding instrument termed the 'star' . . . said to have been introduced by St. Chrysostom." He adds, as a footnote, that E. Renaudot, in *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio,* is wrong in assuming that "the Orientals, including the Syrians and Egyptians, do not use the Aster."

Chalice

The chalice is the wine cup used in the celebration of the Eucharist. It is now usually made of silver, with a long stem and a circular base. In earlier times, it was customary to engrave on the outside of the chalice the figure of a lamb, in reference to the Lamb of God.

At the celebration of the Eucharist, after the priest has poured wine into the chalice from the cruet and poured water into the empty cruet, from which he adds water to the wine in the chalice, he places the chalice inside the ark on the altar. According to Ibn al-'Assāl (c. 1205–c. 1265), the contents of the chalice should not reach the brim, for fear of spilling, and the proportion of water should not be less than one-tenth and not more than one-third of the quantity of the wine.

The tradition of mixing the chalice wine with water follows the teaching of the early fathers. Saint CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–c. 215) refers to "watered wine" (*Paedagogos* 2.2.20). This mixture of wine and water also refers to the flow of blood and water from Christ's side while on the cross (Jn. 19:34).

In the Coptic church, communicants receive the Blood by means of a spoon following the administering of the Body, whereas in the Roman Catholic church, the reception of the Blood has been restricted to the clergy since the twelfth century, a custom later confirmed at the Council of Constance in 1415.

Paten

The paten is a flat, shallow, circular dish, with a turned-up edge, measuring about 8 inches (22 cm) in diameter. It is used to hold the eucharistic bread which is consecrated during the celebration of the liturgy and is transformed into the Body of Christ.

The paten, now normally made of silver, used to be made of glass or earthenware, particularly during the ages of persecution when the Egyptian churches were plundered by invading marauders.

The paten has double symbolism. It represents the manger in which Christ was born as well as the grave in which His body was laid.

Spoon

The spoon is used for administering the Precious Blood to the communicants. It is usually of silver, but may also be made of gold, and has a long straight handle on which certain biblical verses are inscribed and ending with a small cross.

The spoon bears a symbolic analogy with the tongs with which the seraphim took a live coal and touched Isaiah's lips to purify them (Is. 6:6–7). Hence the text used in the Coptic church in the process of consecrating the spoon: "O God, Who made His servant Isaiah the prophet worthy to look at the seraphim holding the tongs with which he took the live coal from off the altar and laid it upon his mouth: do now, O God almighty, spread Thy hand on this spoon with which the Sacred Body and the Precious Blood will be administered."

In earlier times communicants used to partake of the Precious Blood straight from the chalice, but later the spoon came into use, and is now the method established in the Coptic church. Priests taking part in the liturgy, however, are given the Body in the spoon while it is placed on the paten, unlike laymen, who receive the Body in their mouths from the celebrant priest's hand, followed by the Blood from the spoon.

It was also customary in bygone days to administer the Sacred Body into the communicant's right

hand while he placed it over the left hand in the form of a cross. Accordingly Saint CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (c. 315–386) states, "When thou goest to receive communion go not with thy wrists extended, not with thy fingers separated, but placing thy left hand as a throne for thy right, which is to receive so great a king, and in the hollow of the palm receive the body of Christ, saying 'Amen'" (*Catechetical Lectures* 23.21).

Apparently, some wealthy persons, perhaps more out of reverence than ostentation, started to bring their own golden or silver vessels into the altar, into which the priest would place the Body for them to partake of, untouched by their own hands. Such a practice led to some unease on the part of the poorer members of the congregation. Consequently the Council in Trullo, in 692, laid down Decree 101 carrying the following directive: "Wherefore, if anyone wishes to be a participator of the immaculate Body in the time of the synaxis, and to offer himself for the communion, let him draw near, arranging his hands in the form of a cross, and so let him receive the communion of grace. But such as, instead of their hands, make vessels of gold or other materials for the reception of the divine gift, and by these receive the immaculate communion, we by no means allow to come, . . . But if anyone shall be found imparting the immaculate communion to those who bring vessels of this kind, let him be cut off as well as the one who brings them."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS
EMILE MAHER ISHAQ

EUCHARISTIC WINE, among Copts known by the Arabic term *abārkah*, meaning "new wine" for use in Holy Communion.

The *abārkah* is prepared from dried grapes or raisins. After being washed with water, they are placed in an earthenware pot and covered with water. The raisins are then left to soak for three days, after which they are taken out and squeezed by hand (never trampled by foot), and the juice is poured into vessels that are not completely filled in order to allow for fermentation. The juice is left for forty days, after which it is fit for sacramental use. The longer the juice is allowed to remain, the better is the wine. Sometimes a little wine from a former brew is added to each bottle of new wine. The procedure is the same when fresh grapes are used instead of raisins.

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EMILE MAHER ISHAQ

EUCHOLOGION, originally a comprehensive prayerbook but now confined to the prayers used in the evening and morning offering of incense, and the three anaphoras of BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY THE THEOLOGION, and CYRIL THE GREAT, the last being the Liturgy of Saint Mark the Apostle.

The first bilingual (Coptic and Arabic) euchologion, named the Great Euchologion, was printed at Rome. It consisted of two parts; Part 1, printed in 1761, contained, among other things, prayers used in the ordination to the various grades of the clergy, the ordination of monks, the consecration of bishops, the consecration of new churches, and the consecration of the holy chrism. Part 2, printed in the following year, comprised prayers for the con-

secration of church vessels, the baptismal font, and the altar, the order of the service of footwashing on Maundy Thursday, the service of genuflexion, the service of the prayer of the basin (on the seventh day after the birth of the infant), and the blessing of the betrothed on the fortieth day after marriage. It also included the readings from the Gospels for Palm Sunday and the two feast days of the cross.

ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

EUCHOLOGION STAND, a small movable desk of wood for supporting the euchologion on the altar during the service of offering the incense and the divine liturgy. It is similar to the Latin missal stand, and is called in Arabic *qarrāyah.*

Its use is not general and apparently began in modern times only, since in early and medieval times, the priests used to memorize their liturgical prayers. Many priests prefer to place the euchologion directly on the altar, sometimes putting another book as a cushion under the euchologion.

EMILE MAHER ISHAQ

EUDOXIA, name given to a fictitious sister of Constantine in a Sahidic Coptic legend, which credits her with the discovery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. The legend is preserved almost intact in a single papyrus codex in the Egyptian Museum of Turin (Cat. 63,000, codex Ib, fols. 10v–41r, seventh to eighth century). A small fragment from another papyrus codex, containing parts of chapters 47–49, is preserved in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Coptic Supplement 20, a, seventh century). The legend is made up of two parts: (1) the overthrow of DIOCLETIAN and accession of CONSTANTINE, the peace of the church and baptism of Constantine, and a war between Constantine's forces and the Persians, brought to a miraculous conclusion by Constantine (chaps. 1–32); and (2) the story of Eudoxia (chaps. 33–105).

According to the story, Eudoxia, the virgin sister of Constantine, is admonished by Jesus in a vision to go to Jerusalem and uncover His tomb, which (at the instigation of the Jewish authorities) for 365 years has been covered with the refuse of the city. Eudoxia, encouraged by Constantine, obeys and goes with a large entourage to Jerusalem. The Jews refuse to tell her where the tomb is, but under torture a scribe named Joel refers her to a kinsman of Christ, the aged Jacob, a descendant of Jacob, the brother of the Lord. Jacob shows her the site of the tomb and the work begins. The tomb is eventually uncovered, and in it are found the bodies of the two thieves who had been crucified with Christ, as well as the inscription that had been nailed to the cross of Christ. Eudoxia remains for a time in Jerusalem, supported by the king and his nobles, directing various building projects at the holy places. She and her company then return to Constantinople, where they are welcomed by the king.

This story has been modeled upon a number of previously existing traditions, especially the story of the discovery of the cross by Constantine's mother, Helen, and the endowments and building projects in Jerusalem carried out by the Empress Eudocia, wife of THEODOSIUS II (408–450). Constantine had a sister Constantia, known for her piety, but the name Eudoxia is clearly based on the name of the Empress Athenais-Eudocia, whose name also appears in late sources as "Eudoxia." The same name is given to the sister of Constantine who accompanies him and his mother to Jerusalem to build the Church of the Resurrection. This is according to a Coptic encomium on Saint George of Cappadocia attributed to Bishop Theodotus of Ancyra (see Budge, 1888, p. 325), a story that may also have contributed to the formation of the legend of Eudoxia.

A very imperfect transcription with Italian translation was made of the Eudoxia legend by Rossi (1886), but the legend has received little notice until 1980, when it was published in a much-improved edition, with English translation and historical analysis. Drake's extensive historical analysis suggests a time of composition for this legend of c. 640 to 650. Whether it is an original Coptic composition or a translation from Greek is debatable.

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BIRGER A. PEARSON

EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED and THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST, interrelated Gnostic tractates. They are both found in Coptic versions in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, where there are two copies of *Eugnostos* (*Eug*) (III.3 [70:1–90:13] and V,1 [1:1–17:18]) and one of *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (*SJC*) (III.4 [90:14–119:18]). In addition, a copy of *SJC* (also in Coptic) is contained in *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502 (77:8–127:12). A fragment of *SJC* in Greek (the language of composition) was discovered at Oxyrhynchus (*Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 1081). It parallels the Nag Hammadi Codex III (97:16–99:12) and *Papyrus Berolinensis* (8502.88:18–91:15).

Eugnostos is a religio-philosophical controversy discourse in the form of an epistle written by Eugnostos, who is otherwise unknown. The scribe of the colophon of the *Gospel of the Egyptians,* also called Eugnostos, is almost certainly not the same person. It is directed to "those who are his" (III.3 only; in V.1 the section is mostly in lacuna). "His" may refer to Eugnostos or to a deity. In *Eug* III, Eugnostos is given the honorific title "the Blessed," perhaps indicating that he was deceased.

The discourse of *Eug* is divided into two parts. Part I (III.70:3–85:9 and *Eug* V par.) consists of a description of the "true" nature of the supercelestial segment of the cosmos. The description is based on the theory of types, that is, that the observable world has been patterned on the "realities" in the invisible world. Those realities, it was believed, could be known by examining the visible world, which reflects the realities only imperfectly, with the help of a divine principle called Thought (Greek, *ennoia)* (III.74:13–19 and *Eug* V par.).

The invisible world is understood to have originated with a being who simply is, called "Unbegotten." He is the source of all mental powers. Subsequent realities come into being through self-objectification (Self-Begetter [*Autogenes*] and Immortal Man), spiritual engendering by androgynous pairs (Son of Man, Son of Son of Man, etc.) and direct creation (aeons, firmaments, etc.). These realities provide the types for the temporal aspects of "our aeon." It should also be noted that, in addition, Self-Begetter is the originator of a special group of people—presumably the Gnostics—and Immortal Man is the source of basic differentiations.

Part II (III.85:9–90:3 and *Eug* V par.) is a description of the highest level of the visible portion of the cosmos, which is called "chaos." Although three aeons are spoken of initially, attention is focused on the third, named "assembly." It is the source of divine beings and structures, and of the types for the rest of the visible cosmos.

Eug concludes with a prediction of the coming of one who will interpret or simply repeat the words of *Eug*.

There is no significant evidence of Christian influence in the composition of *Eug,* although there is evidence of Christian influence in its later editing (e.g., the modification of the concluding prophecy in *Eug* III). There is also much evidence of Jewish speculation on Genesis 1–5 in both parts of *Eug*. Moreover, the first part is strongly influenced by Neopythagorean number speculation. These observations point to an early date for *Eug*—probably in the first century A.D. *Eug* thus should likely be thought of as an example of the kind of speculative activity that was involved in the origins of gnosticism.

The provenance of *Eug* in all likelihood was Egypt. This is suggested by the reference in the text to "the 360 days of the year." Only in Egypt in late antiquity was the year thought to be of that length.

It is now generally accepted that the writer of *SJC* used *Eug* as a source. Most of the didactic material from *Eug,* along with that from other sources, was placed on the lips of Christ, who is pictured in *SJC* as appearing in angelic guise to his disciples and seven women after his resurrection, in order to answer their queries about the nature and purpose of existence. It seems likely that, by having Christ speak the words of Eugnostos, the writer wanted him to be seen as fulfilling the concluding prophecy of *Eug*. Emphasis on Christ is also seen in the non-*Eug* material, where the major point has to do with Christ's roles: one as revealer and one who set the pattern for triumphing over the wicked powers that desire to imprison the divine elements in matter. The connection with *Eug* and the focus on Christ in the non-*Eug* material suggest that the reason for writing *SJC* may have been to convince non-Christian Gnostics, who may have revered *Eug,* that they should become adherents of Christian gnosticism.

The non-*Eug* material also has references (albeit incomplete) to such typical Gnostic themes as the fall of Sophia, the malevolent creator god Yaldabaoth, the evil of sexuality, and the qualitative difference between those whose knowledge is "pure" and those whose knowledge is "defective." All these themes can be seen as elements in a mythological worldview focusing on soteriology.

An early-second-century date for *SJC* is suggested

by the reason just discussed for its composition, by the lack in its frame material of allusions to the controversy with orthodoxy (as one finds, for example, in the APOCRYPHON OF JOHN), and by the lack of influence from the Gnostic systems of the mid-second century A.D. Earlier attempts to date *SJC* in the late second or third centuries did not consider these points.

SJC, then, is probably to be seen as an early example within gnosticism—if not the first—of the combining of a highly speculative cosmological system and soteriologically oriented mythology.

Although references to either *Eug* or *SJC* are lacking in the church fathers, they both appear to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Gnostics, if one may judge from the number of copies that survive and the fact that the two copies of *Eug* appear to have had quite different textual histories.

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DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

EUMENIUS, seventh patriarch (130–142) of the See of Saint MARK. He held the office for twelve years and three months during the reigns of emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. He was laid to rest on 10 Bābah near the remains of Saint Mark in the Church of Bucalis at Alexandria.

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EUPHROSYNA, SAINT, fifth-century holy person of Alexandria. Since her father, Paphnutius, wished to betroth her, she cut off her hair and, disguised as a man (Patlagean, 1976), fled to a monastery, the location of which is not indicated. She took the name of Smaragda. After thirty-eight years spent in this monastery, she died at the very moment when her father, having searched everywhere, finally found her. She expressed her wish that she not be washed in the customary manner, and before her death she recounted her story.

We ought not to confuse her (feast: 4 or 9 Amshir) with her namesake, a martyr in Syria whose biographical notice has passed into the recension of the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION from Upper Egypt at 12 Ṭūbah.

The Luxor manuscript that gives the complete notice is unpublished (Coquin, 1978, p. 361).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

EUSEBIUS, SAINT, a fourth-century martyr from Antioch who was killed in Egypt (feast day: 23 Amshīr). The Passion of Eusebius, written in Coptic, is related to the Basilidian CYCLE. It is almost completely concerned with events related to Basilides, a general and dignitary at the court of DIOCLETIAN in Antioch, to his son Eusebius, and to his companions Claudius, Apater, Theodorus Anatolius, and Justus (of all these there are the relative Passions). It also dwells somewhat on the martyrdom of Eusebius. It is reported in two ninth-century Bohairic manuscripts (ed. Hyvernat, 1886–87, pp. 1–39).

The text begins with a war in which Eusebius, Claudius, Apater, Theodorus Anatolius, and Justus take part. During this war Basilides remains at Antioch, aware that Diocletian is renouncing the Christian faith. He warns his son Eusebius and his companions, who after the victory come back to

Antioch; they stop outside of the city and inform Basilides. He consults with VICTOR (later also a martyr) and decides not to leave the city so that Diocletian cannot be master of the situation. Romanus, Victor's father, an apostate himself and councillor to Diocletian, informs the emperor, who sends for Basilides. When he refuses to come, Diocletian shuts the gates of the town, but Eusebius and his companions succeed in getting in. Eusebius looks for Diocletian to throw him out, but the latter has taken refuge with Romanus. Basilides, in an interesting speech with the young men, asks for assurances that they will not usurp Diocletian's throne. Then he asks Diocletian to show himself in public, which he finally does. Eusebius and his companions decide to become martyrs. Diocletian issues his infamous edict; Basilides confesses his faith in the law court and is sent to die in Africa. Eusebius, also a confessor, is sent to die in Egypt, where he is martyred in Coptos after having been killed and resurrected three times.

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TITO ORLANDI

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA (c. 260–c. 340), author of the HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA. The authentic biography of Eusebius, recorded by his own disciple and successor ACACIUS, has been lost. Historians have to assemble the scattered details of his rich life and the immense heritage of his literary productions from contemporary authors such as Socrates and Sozomen, in addition to writings of celebrated personalities of his time such as ATHANASIUS and JEROME. One of the most elaborate modern accounts of his life appears in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Vol. 2, pp. 308ff.) by J. B. Lightfoot, who presents a detailed analysis of his multiple works, covering almost all fields of religious scholarship. However, Eusebius' fame must principally rest on his immortal *Historia ecclesiastica*, which rightly earned for him the title of "Father of Church History."

Neither the date of his birth nor his birthplace is known with precision. His life is associated mainly with Caesarea, where his parents resided and offered him a truly Christian education. This was completed under the surveillance of so illustrious a mentor as PAMPHILUS, who himself had attended the CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA under ORIGEN, whose works he had translated and many of which he had transcribed. As Caesarea became a center of persecution of Christians, Pamphilus was martyred probably in 309, when Eusebius decided to flee to Tyre, from which he went to Egypt. There he watched the fiercest of persecutions and was himself imprisoned for the faith, though not martyred. Shortly afterward, however, persecutions subsided and peace was restored, enabling Eusebius in 313 to return to Caesarea, where he was unanimously elected as its bishop in 315.

Throughout that period, he became involved in the universal conflict raging between Athanasius and ARIUS. He happened to be a supporter of the latter. Emperor Constantine decided to summon the first ecumenical council at NICAEA in 325 to settle all outstanding differences and restore peace to the church. Eusebius attended the council and argued for a compromise, producing his baptismal creed of Caesarea, in which the vital term *homoousios* was omitted to suit the Arian party. This was rejected as heretical, and instead the Nicene Creed was adopted by the council.

Though Eusebius had to accept the decision of the council, he never really gave outright support to Athanasius and harbored his old hatred of SABELLIANISM and MONARCHIANISM, which allowed him to safeguard the conception of MONOTHEISM. After Nicaea, he continued to fight for reinvesting Arius, and Pope ALEXANDER I of Alexandria complained to the emperor about Eusebius and the Syrian bishops who stood by the side of Arius. In the interval, Eusebius' indefatigable energy was demonstrated by his continued efforts at the synods of Caesarea, Tyre, Jerusalem, and Constantinople to outweigh the staunch stand of the bishop of Antioch, who supported the position of Athanasius, now the formidable successor of the deceased Alexander I. Eusebius also attended the dedication of the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. The Emperor Constantine held him in high regard and summoned Eusebius to confer with him on the unflinching and uncompromising attitude of Athanasius in the Arian controversy. Presumably this led to one of the successive exiles of the Alexandrian pope.

This universal conflict, however, came to an end with the death of Arius in 336, when Eusebius was relieved to devote his remaining few years to the completion of his literary works and especially his *Historia ecclesiastica*, which he was able to bring up to date.

It is amazing to think that in the midst of his

enormous ecclesiastical activities, Eusebius was able to produce so much writing. In fact, his productivity encompassed all departments of ecclesiastical literature. In the field of history, however, his creativity is immortalized by the first serious history of the church from the apostolic age to his own time. Though occasionally described by critics as poor in style, this work deals with the main events in the history of the church, supplemented by documents that he managed to preserve in the course of his discussions. It deals mainly with the Eastern churches, including the patriarchate of Alexandria, and hardly touches the West. It consists of ten sections, of which the first seven were probably written before the Council of Nicaea. The remaining three sections dealing with the events of his own time, of which he was an eyewitness, must have been appended to the previous sections at a later period in his life. This work proved to be the beginning for subsequent historians such as Socrates and Sozomen, whose works were supplements to the initial attempt made by Eusebius. The work has survived in Greek as well as other versions in Latin, Syriac, and Armenian. In recent times, it has been translated into other languages, including Arabic, by Marcus Dawūd (1960).

Another historical work by Eusebius is *The Martyrs of Palestine*. Here he was an eyewitness of persecutions in the countries of the Middle East and of the martyrdom of people he knew between 303 and 310 in the reign of the emperor DIOCLETIAN. His *Life of Constantine* is a panegyric full of praise for a friendly master. Eusebius further compiled a *Chronicle* of universal history that he supplemented with chronological tables of some value.

Outside the realm of history, his contributions covered a number of vast theological terrains, of which an unknown number has perished. Of his apologetic works, the best known is a treatise addressed to the pagan governor of Bithynia entitled *Against Hierocles*, which is an eloquent defense of the Christian faith. On the New Testament, Eusebius wrote several works of which two stand out. These are *Preparation for the Gospel (Preparatio Evangelica)*, which consists of fifteen books, and *Demonstration of the Gospel (Demonstratio Evangelica)* in twenty books. Through excerpts from the Old Testament, he establishes the prophesies to the coming of Christ. His treatise *Against Porphyry* in fifteen books refutes the most formidable of the heathen onslaughts against the Bible. His work entitled *Theophania* in five books cited by Jerome was written against Marcellus of Ancyra and consists of a defense of the revelation of God in the incarnation of the Divine Word. The heathen idea that Jesus was a sorcerer who achieved his aims by simple magic is discussed and refuted.

Eusebius composed numerous works of exegetic character on several biblical texts. Prominent among them is his work on the harmony of the Gospels, where he starts with the plan of the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius of Alexandria by dividing the Gospels into parallel sections and the construction of a table of ten canons, all working toward the coordination of the subject matter of the Gospels. His commentaries on the Psalms and the book of Isaiah are both works of exegetic excellence, in which he followed the allegorical system of interpretation formerly established in Alexandria by Origen. More such commentaries, extant or lost, on other books of the Scripture have been listed in the sources.

Outside the field of exegesis is a joint work with his mentor Pamphilus entitled *Defense of Origen* (perhaps his most fitting treatise for inclusion in the *Coptic Encyclopedia*). This treatise consists of six books, of which five were written between 307 and 309 by Pamphilus while in prison before his martyrdom. He may have been assisted by his disciple Eusebius, who is responsible for the sixth book after the death of his master. Another work that was considered of vital importance by Emperor Constantine is on the subject of Easter and is entitled *De Solemnitate Paschali*, in which Eusebius addressed the emperor in 365 on the "mystical explanation of the significance of the festival." Another work on biblical topography under the title *Onomasticon* contains an alphabetized enumeration of all names of places cited in the Bible. This work was written at the instance of Paulenus, bishop of the Tyrians, to whom it was dedicated. Of the literary remains of Eusebius, one should also mention his orations, his sermons, and his letters preserved mainly in his own works.

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EUSIGNIUS, SAINT, fourth-century martyr (feast day: 5 Ṭūbah). A manuscript of DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH of which a few leaves remain at Paris

(National Library, nos. 129.14 fol. 99 and 129.16, fol. 105) contains the legend of Saint Eusignius. There are two sources of this legend: one comes through the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion*, the other follows the various redactions of the Greek *Passion of Saint Eusignius* (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca 638–640); the notice in the Synaxarion clearly states what is assumed in the *Passion*.

Saint Eusignius was the soldier commanded to explain to CONSTANTINE the meaning of the cross in the celebrated vision in which the words, "In this sign you will conquer" appeared. In the majority of the extremely numerous ways in which the story of this vision is told, the meaning of the cross is explained by the Christian soldiers in general. The name Eusignius ("the good sign") is certainly connected with this basic function of evangelization—proclaiming the good news through the sign of the cross. The Greek *Passion of Saint Eusignius* presents him as the victim of the persecution by JULIAN THE APOSTATE at Antioch, despite the fact that at that time Eusignius was already feeble with age. There is a parallel here to the role of Bishop Eusebius in the story of Julian that has been preserved in Syriac. Thus the persons involved in the conversion of Constantine are recalled to life to testify against Julian. From tales about Constantine, the Greek Passion draws on a story of the Empress Helena's having been snatched out of a life of debauchery by Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, and of her child being promised the imperial purple through the protection of God.

Here in summary is the story. Julian goes from Antioch to Caesarea in Palestine for the war against the Persians and summons Eusignius to him. Previously he had already told his secretary Dionysius to ignore the proceedings against the Christians. A relative of Eusignius, a certain Eustochius, a man of property and a God-fearing man, follows old Eusignius in secret. Eusignius recommends that Dionysius should secretly make use of a tachygrapher (shorthand writer) to conserve the memory of Eusignius' destiny, the fatal outcome of which he is not aware of. Eustochius the deacon assures him that all the necessary steps will be taken. (Suidas mentions one Eustochius of Cappadocia who was a scholar and historiographer under Constantine. The choice of this name would thus be explained.)

The composition is certainly literary in the usual style of the Passions. In the saint's testimony on Constantine's vision, the latter is written by the stars according to what Philostorgos the historian and his generally Arian sources say. Constantine's campaign against the Persians is presented basically in terms of a topography, which played a very illustrious role in the Coptic tradition. Clearly, in showing that Constantine was victorious thanks to his faith in the cross, whereas Julian was to be conquered by the Persians because of his unbelief, the Passion throws into greater relief the scandal of Julian's apostasy and of the breach of the Constantinian peace.

The second paragraph of the Passion depicts Eusignius simply as beheaded in prison. There is no great torture scene. In contrast, the death of Julian is presented as an execution by an angel who strikes him with his lance. This version is particularly archaic, when we consider that in the parallel literature, Mar Qurios, one of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia, strikes the apostate emperor with his lance on the Persian front.

These various circumstances make it necessary not to place the emergence of this symbolic martyr too late. It should be noted that Basil of Caesaraea, who collected his relics, is called "the blessed" (*makarios*, that is, deceased, but not "saint") in the Greek recension published by V. Latyšev (1915). It is probably not far wrong to accept that the text came into being in the final decade of the fourth century.

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MICHEL VAN ESBROECK

EUSTATHIUS AND THEOPISTA, SAINTS,

a husband and wife who were martyred in the second century (feast day: 27 Tūt). They are well known throughout both Western and Eastern Christendom. Their Passion has survived in a great many different languages and versions, which would ultimately appear to have their source in a lost Greek version, similar to one of the three texts extant. The definitive work on this question, after quite a number of other monographs of different types, is that of H. Delehaye (1919), who distinguishes three Greek versions of the Passion: the premetaphrastic version, which is closest to the original; the meta-

phrastic version; and the version of Nicetas of Paphlagonia. Ancient translations in Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian also exist.

The Coptic version has survived in only one manuscript (British Library, Or. 6783, ed. Budge, 1914, pp. 102–127). The content does not differ substantially from that of the Greek original. The original name of Eustathius was Placidus, and he was one of Trajan's generals. In the course of a hunt, the miraculous apparition of the famous stag with the cross persuaded him, together with his wife Theopista and their whole family, to be baptized.

There follows an account of his many misfortunes, his separation from his wife and children, and finally their miraculous reunion in the course of a war against the Persians. He is recognized as Christian, tortured, and, with his family, put to death.

Delehaye recognizes three main elements in the account: that of the stag is a common hagiographical element; that of Eustathius' misfortunes is derived from the popular romances and tales—some of them Oriental—of ancient times; and the Passion proper is a sort of secondary addition.

The presence of this martyr in the Coptic tradition is undoubtedly due to his fame in international circles; the translation must have been made relatively early, perhaps in the fifth century, inasmuch as we do not find the additions that are typical of the later period of the CYCLES.

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EUSTATHIUS OF THRACE, a fictitious personage created during the period of the CYCLES; he appears in particular in the Cycle of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, exiled on the "island of Thrace," thus identifying him with an imaginary island, for Thrace was no island. There, John consecrates the first bishop of the new community, named as Antimus in the homily described below, along with some presbyters. Among the latter stands Eustathius who will eventually become Antimus' successor as second bishop.

The homily attributed to Eustathius, *In Michaelem archangelum,* is devoted almost entirely to the story of Euphemia. It recounts the many temptations suffered at the hands of the devil by the faithful woman so devoted to Michael. From a literary point of view, the prologue is greatly embellished. The listeners are invited to a spiritual banquet where dancers and musicians entertain the guests, who are themselves figures from the Old and New Testaments. Next follows the account of Euphemia, a member of the senate and inhabitant of Thrace, as well as the wife of General Aristarchus, whom the Emperor Honorius has designated as administrator of the region. Euphemia and Aristarchus have been catechized by John Chrysostom, and Euphemia promises her husband that should he die first, she will not remarry. At this point Michael is invoked to be the custodian over her promise. Aristarchus dies, and after his death, the devil, disguised as a monk, appears to Euphemia and tries to convince her to marry the eparch Heraclius, a protégé of Honorius. However, Euphemia, strengthened by the powerful help of Michael, does not break her oath, whereupon the devil, trying anew, attempts to frighten her by appearing as a very tall and black Nubian. He even assumes the form of Michael himself, but to no avail. When the good woman dies, Michael appears above the altar during her funeral services and remains there, suspended in mid-air. Even Honorius comes to Thrace to meet with Arcadius and Eudossia so as to see this miracle in person. The homily finally concludes with praise for John Chrysostom, whose discourses are copied "in all the world, except in those regions occupied by diophysites."

This treatise has survived in Coptic in four Sahidic manuscripts: one a complete codex (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M592, no. 8), and three in fragmentary codices (one from DAYR AL-BALAYZAH and two from DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH). Also there is one complete codex in Bohairic (British Library, Or. 8784; ed. Budge, 1894, pp. 93–135). The Sahidic text has been published in a critical edition by A. Campagnano (1977).

The literary qualities of this homily in relation to other Coptic texts are conducive toward dating its redaction in Coptic to the middle of the eighth century.

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TITO ORLANDI

EUTYCHES, fifth-century archimandrite in Constantinople whose Christological views had a considerable influence in molding the Christology of the Coptic-Monophysite church. Born perhaps as early as 370 (he tells Pope LEO THE GREAT (440–461) that he had lived a monastic life for seventy years), he was head of a monastic house in the capital by 420, and at the time of the First Council of EPHESUS was known as a staunch supporter of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. Thereafter he enjoyed honor at the court of Theodosius II. He was the godfather of the eunuch Chrysaphius, who in 441 became grand chamberlain to the emperor.

His hostility toward all teaching that he regarded as Nestorian did not mellow with age, and on the renewed outbreak of Christological controversy in the East following the election of DIOSCORUS as patriarch of Alexandria in 444, he quickly threw in his lot with the extreme anti-Nestorians once more dominant in Alexandria. Whether or not he was the opponent of "Orthodoxus" in Theodoret of Cyrrhus's pamphlet *Eranistes* is uncertain, but by 447 he was suspected by Domnus, archbishop of Antioch, of holding Apollinarian views concerning Christ and to be worthy of condemnation (Facundus of Hermiana, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* XII.5). Eutyches began to come under displeasure from the new archbishop of Constantinople, Flavian (446–449). In the spring of 448 he protested to Pope Leo that Nestorianism was again raising its head in the capital (Leo, *Letters* 20). In this letter Eutyches described Cyril as "leader and chief of the holy synod at Ephesus," a role with which Leo may not have agreed. The pope merely acknowledged the letter without indicating support (*Letters* 21, 1 June 448).

By the autumn of 448, Flavian had come to regard Eutyches as a menace and a troublemaker in the service of Dioscorus. In November he felt strong enough to arraign him before an assembly of bishops in the capital, the Home Synod. Eutyches' accuser was Eusebius of Dorylaeum, who as a lawyer had been an ally against Nestorius, but now was bishop of Dorylaeum and a firm supporter of Flavian and the Christology expressed in the Formula of Reunion of April 433. Only after refusing two summonses, on 8 and 17 November, did the archimandrite deign to appear on 22 November, accompanied by a crowd of friendly court officials and monks, and take his stand to answer charges at a session presided over by the patrician Florentius.

Even now it is not clear precisely what Eutyches was teaching. He feared and hated Nestorianism, and hence any suggestion that Jesus Christ was to be acknowledged "in two natures" (of godhead and manhood). However, he lacked the subtlety to clothe his views with an appearance at least of acceptable orthodoxy. In the long debate that took place between him, Flavian, and Florentius, he admitted that Christ was born of the flesh of the Virgin, but refused to say that His flesh was consubstantial with human flesh. He confessed that there was a union of two natures in Christ, but that union was before the Incarnation. After the Incarnation there was only one nature, that of the Son of God. It seemed as though Eutyches was suggesting either a mixture of the divine and the human in Christ, as Basil of Seleucia, one of his interlocutors, thought (*Gesta synodi Ephesini* ii, in *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* 2.II.1, p. 55), or that he imagined that Christ's flesh was heavenly in nature and hence different from the flesh of human beings. In either event, the incarnate Christ would be divorced from humanity and could play no part in its redemption. Not surprisingly, the Home Synod condemned him as a Valentinian (Gnostic) and/or Apollinarian heretic, deposed him from his status as archimandrite, deprived him of priestly functions, and excommunicated him. Thirty-two bishops and twenty-three archimandrites signed the decree.

Eutyches did not accept the sentence. During the latter part of the debate, he had made a telling point. He pointed out to the president of the court, Florentius, that "Cyril and Athanasius speak of two natures before the union but one nature after the union." Cyril had done so, but the works to which Eutyches was referring were Apollinarian writings that had been placed under the name of Athanasius, Pope Julius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the third-century pupil of Origen and missionary, Gregory the Wonderworker. Some of these writings had been accepted, however, at the Council of Ephesus in 431, and this was to prove Eutyches' trump card against Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum in his next trial of strength, also held at Ephesus.

Eutyches at once appealed his sentence, not only to Rome but also to what he called "the councils" of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, Jerusalem, and Ravenna (but not Antioch), and also to the emperor, denying that he had wished to add anything to the Nicene Creed (action condemned at the Council of Ephesus), that his doctrine was in accord with that taught by "the Fathers," and that Eusebius of Dorylaeum was personally prejudiced against him. Flavian also wrote to Pope Leo, explaining the reasons for the court's verdict (Flavian to Leo, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, 2.II.i, p. 22).

During the ensuing months, opinion at Theodosi-

us' court swung steadily in favor of Eutyches. Chrysaphius had a grudge against Flavian and influenced Theodosius II against him. Theodosius supported Eutyches' appeal to Pope Leo, appointed a commission to reexamine the charge against the monk, and finally, on 30 March 449, convoked a judicial episcopal council to meet at Ephesus on 1 August. Dioscorus, Eutyches' ally, was charged with its organization.

At Rome, Leo first failed to discern anything amiss in Eutyches' beliefs, and even after Flavian's prompting was still inclined to dismiss them as the incoherences of an old man (*imperitissimus senex, Letters* 47; and *confabulationes eius, Letters* 28). He was also annoyed with Flavian for failing to inform him earlier. Only on 13 June did he write the document known as the *Tome* of Leo, condemning Eutyches and setting out the Western view of the recognition of the incarnate Christ in two natures (perfect godhead and perfect manhood). By this time not only the court but also the majority of clergy, monks, and articulate laity in the eastern provinces of the empire had sided with Eutyches.

At the Second Council of Ephesus, Eutyches was vindicated. To the rapturous applause of the bishops, he produced his "proofs" from the Apollinarian forgeries of Athanasius and Pope Julius, and these were accepted. "Two natures before the Incarnation, and one after. Is that not what we all believe?" asked Dioscorus. All appeared to agree. Then the monk was avenged. Flavian, Domnus of Antioch, and Eusebius of Dorylaeum were deposed and the papacy was humiliated, allegedly for seeking to add to the Nicene Creed and causing disturbance in the churches. Dioscorus and the see of Alexandria were supreme, and the "one nature" Christology vindicated as orthodox. The triumph was short-lived. The death of Theodosius on 28 July 450 led to a complete reversal of policy at the imperial court. Chrysaphius was executed, and power came into the hands of Empress Pulcheria and her consort, Marcian. Relations between Rome and Constantinople were restored. A new and full ecumenical council was summoned to meet at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic coast of the Bosporus, on 8 October 451.

At this council, Eutyches shared the fate of his patron, Dioscorus. At the third session of the council (10 October 451), his condemnation was reaffirmed and he was exiled. He died in obscurity in 454 (Leo, *Letters* 134).

By now, however, Eutyches' muddled views had been elevated to a heresy. "Eutychianism as well as Nestorianism was conquered" (Leo, *Letters* 111, compare 110 and 119), and no one was to attempt to overthrow this decision of Chalcedon. "Eutychianism" quickly became a term of abuse. Patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople (450–458), the archdeacon replacing the strongly pro-Chalcedonian Aetius, was described by Leo as a "Eutychian" (*Letters* 111), while Eutyches' supporters among the monks in Jerusalem were branded as Manichees (*Letters* 109). In the East, Eutyches also served as a convenient whipping boy for those who disapproved of Chalcedon, but not sufficiently to demand its complete rejection. Thus, the encyclical of the usurper Basiliscus (475–476), while accepting both councils of Ephesus as well as the doctrine of Cyril and Dioscorus as canonical, castigated Eutyches alongside Nestorius (see Zacharias Rhetor *Historia ecclesiastica* V.2). In the *Henoticon* of Zeno (July 482), Eutyches was anathematized with Nestorius, though Cyril's twelve anathemas were pronounced canonical. In the sixth century, SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH was careful to distance himself from any attempt to rehabilitate Eutyches. He accepted Ephesus II not because it vindicated the monk but because it canonized Cyril's anathemas (Severus *Ad Nephalium*, ed. Lebon, p. 9 of the translation). Only JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS, his fellow exile but opponent in Alexandria, had some sympathy for Eutyches, though even he did not seek his rehabilitation.

Eutyches' theology was too confused and beset by contradictions to command assent. For Christ's flesh to be of heavenly origin and yet be capable of suffering seemed absurd. It was no more acceptable to the Coptic Monophysite church than to Byzantine Orthodoxy or the Latin West.

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W. H. C. FREND

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS (345–399), monk and writer with Origenist views. The life of Evagrius is known from the chapter that PALLADIUS devoted to him in his *Historia lausiaca* (chap. 38). He was born about 345 at Ibora, in the province of Pontus. In his youth he was a disciple of the two Cappadocian fathers, BASIL OF CAESAREA and especially GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS. Ordained deacon by the latter, he lived with him at Constantinople in 379–381. Following an amorous adventure, he had to leave the imperial city and went to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by Rufinus and Melania the Elder. Melania advised him to go and lead the monastic life in Egypt, where he went around 383. After a sojourn of two years at NITRIA, he established himself in the desert of the KELLIA, where he remained until his death in 399. With AMMONIUS, one of the "Tall Brothers," he was the soul of the community of monks whom their adversaries called "Origenists," because of their sympathy for the opinions of ORIGEN, judged heterodox. Because of his death he escaped the exile imposed on the Origenist monks after the intervention of the patriarch THEOPHILUS. But a century and a half after his death he was anathematized, at the same time as Origen and DIDYMUS, by the fifth ecumenical council assembled at Constantinople in 553.

At the Kellia he wrote numerous books, the transmission of which suffered from his condemnation in 553. Only some have been preserved in Greek, the original language, sometimes under the name of Saint Nilus; several have come down to us in Syriac versions. The books of which the Greek text has survived are especially those in which Evagrius deals with the monastic ideal and with asceticism: *The Foundations of the Monastic Life* (PG 40); the *Practical Treatise of The Monk;* two collections of metrical aphorisms, one addressed *To the Monks,* the other *To a Virgin;* and the treatises *To the Monk Eulogius, On Evil Thoughts, On the Eight Spirits of Malice,* and *On Prayer,* all four edited under the name of Nilus (PG 79). A large work entitled *Antirrheticos,* containing a great number of scriptural quotations suitable for dispelling the evil thoughts inspired by the demons, has been preserved in Syriac (Frankenberg, 1912, pp. 472–545).

In these books, Evagrius professes to transmit the teaching he received from the Egyptian monks among whom he lived. He knew MACARIUS THE GREAT, called the Egyptian, whose disciple he claims to be, and at the Kellia he lived near the other MACARIUS ALEXANDRINUS, who was then the priest of this desert, and in the company of monks who had been disciples of Saint PAMBO of Nitria. In his books he describes at length, with great psychological finesse, the temptations undergone by the monk at the hands of the demons and the remedies by which he will contrive to overcome them. It is certain that these books owe much not only to his own personal monastic experience but also to the teaching that in the desert was transmitted orally from master to disciple, and that he was the first to put into writing. But he translated this teaching into the language and with the concepts that he owed to his great philosophical culture, and he incorporated it into a system of thought all his own. Asceticism, which he calls *praktike,* has for its aim purification from the passions and what he calls by a Stoic term impassibility (*apatheia*). Through impassibility the monk enters into *gnostike* or the gnostic life: he becomes a "gnostic," according to a term probably borrowed from CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. The gnostic, to whom Evagrius devoted a small book entitled *Gnostikos,* enjoys the spiritual contemplation of the created natures, visible and invisible, the way of approach to the knowledge of God or "theology," to which man can only attain by passing in another world to the angelic state and thence return to his first condition before the fall, to the state of an intellect free from any corporality. Of this state the gnostic may sometimes catch a glimpse even in this life, in privileged moments of "pure prayer," when he has the vision of his own intellect illuminated by the light of the Holy Trinity.

This metaphysical system, which owes much to Origen, is set out in esoteric language in a large work made up of six "centuries" and entitled the *Kephalaia gnostika* (two Syriac versions, PO 28). Several of the anti-Origenist anathematisms of 553 were extracted from this book, relating to the preexistence of souls, the plurality of the worlds, the salvation of all created beings including the demons, and above all the heterodox Christology according to which Christ is a created intellect distinguished from the others solely by the fact that he remains united to God the Word.

In addition, an important corpus of about sixty-five letters has survived, several of them addressed to his friends in Jerusalem, Melania, Rufinus, or members of their circle (in Syriac, Frankenberg, 1912, pp. 564–635); there are also commentaries on some biblical books (Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, etc.) in the form of scholia and resting on allegorical exegesis and some other writings of lesser importance.

Despite his heterodox doctrine and the condemnation that discouraged the memory of him, Evagrius exercised a considerable influence in Christian tradition. It is through his work as much as through the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM (which preserved several apothegms under his name) and through the books that were written under his direct influence, the *Historia lausiaca* of Palladius, the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO, and the *Institutes* and *Conferences* of John CASSIAN, that the monks of Lower Egypt, of the deserts of Nitria, Scetis, and the Kellia, and their ascetic teaching became known throughout the Christian world. Translations of the majority of his books were made not only into Syriac but also into Armenian (Sarghisian, 1907) and Arabic. On the contrary, it seems that few were translated into Coptic. It is known, however, from the evidence of ostraca that one of them, the treatise *On the Eight Spirits of Malice*, circulated among the Coptic-speaking monks (see Muyldermans, 1963). A paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer under the name of Evagrius is extant in Coptic in an exegetical catena published by P. de Lagarde (1886).

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

EVANGELIARY, a manuscript or book containing the text of the four Gospels, or, more usually, the sections from the Gospels meant to be read in liturgical services, arranged according to the liturgical calendar. The extant medieval manuscript evangeliaries of the Coptic church (the oldest being of 1249/1250) contain Gospel pericopes (biblical passages) with the Arabic version facing the Coptic or in Arabic alone, followed by double *menologia*. One, like the Greek *menologion*, lists saints, for whose commemorative days Gospel pericopes are indicated, and another, peculiar to the Copts, lists saints whose commemorative days have no proper Gospel reading. These two types of *menologion* taken together are valuable for reconstructing the heortological calendar (a calendar for feast days) of the Coptic church of Alexandria. In modern times the readings from the Gospels for use in the morning and evening offices of incense and in the eucharistic liturgy of the Coptic church are included in the printed editions of the LECTIONARY, together with liturgical readings from other biblical books. The Coptic Catholics have twice printed an evangeliary as such, one for the entire year in Arabic only

(Cairo, 1930) and one for Sundays and major feasts only in Coptic and Arabic (Cairo, 1931).

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AELRED CODY, O.S.B.

EVANGELIST, one who proclaims glad tidings, that is, the Gospel, particularly one of the four Gospel writers: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

In Christian iconography the evangelists are portrayed by means of four symbolic winged creatures based upon the opening passages of their respective Gospels. Saint Matthew is symbolized by a human-faced figure; Saint Mark by a lion-faced figure; Saint Luke by an ox-faced figure, and Saint John by an eagle-faced figure.

The New Testament includes three references to other persons who proclaimed good news and deserve being called evangelists. In Acts 21:8, Philip the deacon is called an evangelist. In Ephesians 4:11, evangelists are regarded as occupying a rank lower than apostles and prophets, but higher than pastors and teachers. In 2 Timothy 4:5, Timothy is urged to proclaim the message of the Gospel.

Saint Mark, the patron saint of the Egyptian church, is known in ecclesiastical records and in the diptychs as "the beholder of God, the Evangelist Mark, the holy apostle and martyr." The Coptic church commemorates his martyrdom on 30 Baramūdah.

ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

EVELYN-WHITE, HUGH GERARD (1874–1924), English archaeologist and Coptologist. He was educated at King's School, Ely. In 1909 he joined the Metropolitan Museum of New York's expedition to Egypt, remaining with them until 1921, except for a period when he served in World War I.

At first he worked with H. E. Winlock at al-Bagawāt in the Khargah Oasis and then at West Thebes until 1914. This was followed by the exploration of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius at SHAYKH 'ABD AL-QURNAH. His major undertaking was making an architectural and archaeological survey of the monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn, which resulted in the publication of his three-volume *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'n Naṭrūn* (New York, 1926–1935). Among his Coptic contributions is *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, with H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum (New York, 1909–1917).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

EVETTS, BASIL THOMAS ALFRED (1858–?), English historian. Evetts was educated at Oxford's Trinity College, graduating in 1881. He authored several important works on Copts, including *Rites of the Coptic Church* (London, 1888). He edited a three-volume study entitled *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* (Paris, 1907–1915).

S. KENT BOWN

EVODIUS OF ROME, "successor of Peter at Rome" and author of three homilies of special interest transmitted in Coptic.

1. *De passione*. This is a homily directed primarily against the Jews, who, according to the author, must bear the guilt of the murder of Christ. It begins with praise for Roman justice, law, and order, stating that the Romans might be partially excused for their part in that terrible crime against Christ because they were pagan. Next, the author affirms before all unbelievers that he himself has witnessed the risen Christ; thus he discusses the relations between the Jews and Alexander the Great, even citing the sibylline predictions before following his argument with a lengthy and detailed statement of Christ's trial and passion, concluding with an account of the Resurrection. In the midst of the homily proper, another person (a "reporter") steps into the picture to relate how the narrator, Evodius, was interrupted during his sermon by Jews protesting against his words. This work survives in an incomplete codex at Turin (Egyptian Museum, cat. 63000, XII; ed. Rossi 1892), and in another codex from

New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, M595), which is complete but is as yet unedited.

2. *Encomium in Apostolos.* This work has survived in three very fragmentary manuscripts from the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) that have been examined in a cursory manner but as yet remain almost completely unedited. However, by piecing together their fragments, a good part of the text may be reconstructed. It seems to begin with praise for the apostles and continues in a long colloquy with Thomas concerning the Eucharist. Then comes an account of the resurrection of Lazarus and a narration of the passion, with characters derived both from the apocrypha, such as Carius (a Roman proconsul), and from the Gospels, such as Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Peter plays an important role in these events and hence is proclaimed head of the apostles. The author also proclaims that he himself is a disciple and witness to some of the incidents.

3. *Encomium in Mariam.* This text begins with praise for Mary and a polemic against the Jews. Actually, it merely reports the well-known apocryphal work *Dormitio Mariae,* making, however, some very interesting variations concerning Mary's assumption (on this general question, see VIRGIN MARY). In the *Encomium,* Evodius identifies himself and says he is at Rome. This work has been transmitted in two principal redactions, which in turn may be classified into subredactions. In all, we can count at least eight manuscripts of its text. Seven are in Sahidic and one is in Bohairic (Lagarde, 1883).

The figure and tradition of Evodius are pure invention, made by the authors from the era of the CYCLES, and thus Evodius' works can be dated from the seventh century. Such a conclusion may be readily proved by the contents of the three texts, all of which share similar characteristics synthesized in the anti-Judaic polemics and in the reevaluation of the Egyptian posture toward Rome, that is, its attitude toward Byzantium. Regarding this last item, there are in these manuscripts many quotations of "theosophic" nature (cf. Van den Broek, 1978), very rare in most Coptic texts, that bear witness to the seventh-century remains of Christianized pagan culture in Egypt. In fact, these homilies were probably written as anti-Islamic polemics masked by the authority of an ancient and venerated person. It is very probable that in creating "Evodius of Rome," the Copts were inspired by the Evodius who succeeded Peter of Antioch, and of whom very little is really known apart from one remark in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.

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TITO ORLANDI

EXCOMMUNICATION, exclusion from communion. The Coptic church canons contain lists of offenses that lead to exclusion from communion. The extant ostraca from around 600 show how bishops executed the punishment. As soon as a bishop received information of an offense against the church's canons or the Christian moral law, he notified the person concerned—after the information had been stated in evidence—of his exclusion from communion. If a member of the clergy was affected, his superior also was informed of the punishment. For the avoidance of further offenses that might lead to excommunication, the bishop composed circular letters in which, starting from a concrete case, he threatened excommunication to all who made themselves guilty of the same offense.

In the correspondence of Bishop ABRAHAM of Hermonthis, the following are named as grounds for exclusion from communion: disobedience, a hostile disposition toward one's neighbor, the doing of injustice, blasphemy, breach of the duty of residence by one of the clergy, making young men drunk, desecration of a church or monastery, damage to churches and monasteries, the incorrect mixing of water and wine in the communion chalice, a breach of the precept of sobriety at the Lord's table, the hindering of poor men in the catching of fish, ill treatment of the poor, and offenses against the marriage law. Among the latter offenses are marriages forbidden by reason of the kinship of the partners (marriage of brother and sister, marriage to nephews, or marrying two sisters), the divorcing of a wife without her having broken the marriage vow, the forsaking of a husband by a wife, the writing of letters of divorce, the giving of communion to people who have knowingly committed these offenses, and fornication.

In addition, excommunication is threatened by the bishop in cases that include failure to carry out injunctions of the bishop, distribution of communion in conjunction with an excommunicated member of the clergy, and distribution of communion by the abbot of a monastery while a wrongdoer ordered before the bishop is still living in the monastery.

It is not only the bishop who excludes from communion. The titular heads of churches and monasteries appointed by him can, in case of disobedience, exclude those under them from communion. Such persons are excommunicated until they come to the bishop, who then investigates the facts in a trial. If he confirms the punishment, the person punished can plead verbally and in person for readmission to communion. This plea is submitted in writing only when the person punished cannot come to the bishop because of sickness. If the bishop lifts the punishment, the person readmitted to communion declares in writing that he will not relapse. The written declaration may take the form of a statement of obligation or a personal pledge, or several persons may stand security before the bishop that the person readmitted will not relapse. If a member of the clergy relapses, he will be punished with the next higher penalty, exclusion from the clergy. The bishop can link the readmission to a condition, such as the memorization of Bible texts.

Clergy themsleves will be excluded from communion if they are not willing to act in accordance with a verdict still awaiting decision.

[*See also:* Penalization.]

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MARTIN KRAUSE

EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL, an imaginative tale, from Codex II of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, describing the adventures of the soul portrayed in the guise of a woman. The story is highly animated, telling of the soul's divine origins, her fall into the world, and her final return to the house of the Father. The soul, whose nature is feminine, was a virgin and androgynous when she was alone with the Father. When later on she fell into a body and into this life, she became contaminated by contact with numerous lovers through acts of fornication and adultery, although she believed each time that the lover with whom she was united was her true husband.

The lovers, however, deceived her, despised her, treated her as a slave, and finally abandoned her. The soul then groaned and repented, although remaining for shame in her condition of slavery.

The fruit of her unions with the lovers is imperfect: the creatures she brings into the world are deaf, blind, sick, without intelligence.

The soul later comes to her senses, repents, weeps, and invokes the name of the Father, asking His help. Moved to compassion, the Father judges her worthy of mercy. First of all he turns the womb of the soul from outside to inside to withdraw it from the sexual pollutions of the lovers. Then he sends to her from heaven a husband-brother, the first-born of the Father's house, probably the Spirit. The bridegroom descends to the bride, the soul, pure from every defilement, who awaits him in the bridal chamber which she has perfumed in expectation of the bridegroom. This waiting has been difficult. The soul is afraid of the bridegroom, for she does not know him. A dream, however, will reveal to her his appearance. The union between the bridegroom and the bride is spiritual, even if the author describes it in a very sensual and erotic fashion. Through the marriage the soul will be able to bear good children, for this marriage has been accomplished according to the will of the Father. After this the soul will regenerate herself, having received in the union, through the bridegroom, the seed and the very essence of the Father. Thus she will return to her original situation, to the place from which she fell. We may deduce from the passage 134.7–8 that she will also recover her androgyny and attain to the light of salvation (135.29).

This story is enriched by characteristics of the Hellenistic novel. Thieves and robbers are brought into the narrative, and enhance its effect (cf. Baertelink, 1967). The setting consists often of places of ill fame, of bedrooms where the soul undergoes the

impostures of her lovers. The soul is further described as a slave, seduced by the wiles of her lovers. Finally, a storm occurs in the story to underline all the more clearly the misfortunes of the soul (on this device, see Longus *Pastoralia* I XV.1). The recital of the unhappy adventures of the soul is followed, as in every self-respecting narrative, by a final denouement determined by a heavenly intervention clothed in the forms of love (cf. Chariton *Adventures of Chaereas and Callirhoe* I.1; VIII.1; Xenophon of Ephesus *Anthia and Habrocomes* I.8). Love is evoked with a certain eroticism, which in some respects recalls that of the Hellenistic romances, which were romances of love and adventure par excellence (cf. Longus *Pastoralia* II 38.2; Heliodorus *Aethiopica* V 4.5).

Exegesis on the Soul, however, is not just any story: it is a Gnostic story. In fact we have here, in the author's imaginative adaptation, the Gnostic myth of Sophia as it is set out in Irenaeus' report on the Valentinians (*Adversus omnes haereses* I 1.2–3). The story of the soul fallen from her Father's house echoes that of the Valentinian Sophia, the last of the aeons, who leaves the Pleroma and her spouse to sink into prostitution and give birth to misshapen creatures. Like the soul, Sophia also will return to her virginal and androgynous condition after many sufferings and after having made an act of repentance before the Father.

What is it then that gives originality to this Gnostic tale in the *Exegisis on the Soul?* It will be noted that the story centers on a feminine character. This is not unique in the Nag Hammadi Library, where several treatises are devoted to a female entity: *Bronte, Norea,* HYPSIPHRONE, *Protennoia,* as well as the treatise *On the Origin of the World* (on Pronoia, Pistis, Psyche), the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (Pistis Sophia, Orea), the *Dialogue of the Savior* (Mariam), the *Paraphrase of Shem* (Rebouel). These numerous women in the Gnostic literature often conceal, under different features and different names, one and the same personality—the soul in search of its origins. Do these women share common traits? We may reply in the affirmative, if we reflect on the polarity of prostitution and virginity which inspires the conduct of the majority of these figures. Most of these women are sinners, and even prostitutes, who through repentance deliver themselves from the bonds of the flesh and attain rehabilitation. This rehabilitation consists in the recovery of their virginity, an indispensable condition for access to knowledge.

In Jewish tales and novels we find stories of women who pass from the state of prostitution to the state of virginity through repentance, and thus become an example for the people of Israel. The stories of Ruth, Tamar, Rahab, and Bathsheba should be compared with the *Exegesis on the Soul,* of which they were no doubt one source of inspiration (Scopello, 1982).

The soul's journey, from prostitution to virginity through repentance, is supported by quotations from the prophets and from Homer. It has been shown that these quotations were drawn from an anthology (Scopello, 1977). The introduction of biblical and classical language into this Gnostic treatise shows the author's concern to make himself comprehensible through the medium of two languages familiar to the spirit of his age (probably the second century A.D., at Alexandria) for the better communication of the difficult message of *gnosis.*

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MADELEINE SCOPELLO

EXOUCONTIANS, one of the more extreme groups of Arianists that surfaced during the last five years of the reign of Constantius II, at the time of the third exile of ATHANASIUS (356–361).

Socrates Scholasticus' *Ecclesiastical History,* (2.45), written about 440, is the main source for information about this group of Arians. They asserted that the Son was altogether unlike the Father, "not merely in relation to his essence but even as it respected his will." In particular, they emphasized that "he was made out of nothing" (*ex ouk onton*) hence their name Exoucontians. They were strong in Antioch, but George of Cappadocia, Athanasius' supplanter in Alexandria (356–361), leaned toward their point of view. His theology was outspokenly subordinationist. He believed, according to Socrates, that the Son was "of God," but in the same way that "all things" were "of God" (1 Cor. 11:12), and explained that it was for this reason that the words

"according to the Scriptures" were added to the draft of the creed (of Ariminum/Seleucia).

The Exoucontians died out as a force within a few years of Athanasius' return to Alexandria following the death of Emperor Julian in 363.

W. H. C. FREND

EXUPERANTIUS, SAINT, a member of the THEBAN LEGION and one of the saints martyred near the Roman fortress Turicum (Zurich) in the third century (feast day: 1 Tūt). According to legend, Exuperantius, his fellow legionary FELIX, and the latter's sister, Regula, were brutally tortured and beheaded at the hands of DECIUS, imperial governor of this region under Emperor Maximian. After their decapitation, they arose and, carrying their heads in their hands, walked forty ells to a spot that became their resting place. Along with Felix and Regula, Exuperantius occupies a special place in the history of Zurich. In this city three great edifices—the Grossmünster, the Wasserkirche, and the Fraumünster—have been erected to commemorate the sites of their martyrdom and original resting place, and to house their relics. Also, the three headless figures, head in hand, have been on the coats of arms of both the city and the canton of Zurich since the thirteenth century.

Certain scholars have expressed doubts concerning the association of Exuperantius with Felix and Regula, some even maintaining that he and Saint Exuperius, the comrade of St. MAURITIUS at Agaunum and bearer of the Theban banner (*signifer*), were one and the same person. However, the oldest manuscripts seem to refute such opinions. The earliest sources (e.g., Codex C.10.i, Central Library of Zurich) always mention the companions (*socii*) of



Seal of the Parliament of Canton Zurich representing the three risen saints with head in hand. *Courtesy The Chancellery of the State of Canton Zurich.*



East Portal (die Zwinglitüre) of the Grossmünster in Zurich with representation of the three risen saints with head in hand (lower left). *Courtesy Mounir Fawzy Girgis.*

Felix and Regula. Also, Exuperantius is specifically named in the *Martyrology of Esuard* (ninth century). Moreover, Exuperantius was named with Felix and Regula in different documents—for instance, the cession of the Wasserkirche to the Canons' Foundation in April 1256 and the confirmation of this cession issued by Bishop Eberhard of Constance on 21 January, 1257. Accordingly, Exuperantius was linked to both Felix and Regula before Rüdiger Meyer of Rieden gave the Canons' Foundation all his possessions on condition that Exuperantius be mentioned and commemorated with the other two saints during their collects and prayers (1264).

As to the confusion of Exuperantius with Exuperius of Agaunum, this seems to be refuted by the fact that the earliest sources record that when Decius was questioning the three Thebans, he specifically asked if they had been companions of "Mauritius, Exuperius, Candidus, and Victor." Such a query in the presence of Exuperantius concerning the distant Exuperius would indicate that two different men were involved.



East Portal (die Zwinglitüre) of the Grossmünster in Zurich with representaiton of the three risen saints with head in hand. Detail. *Courtesy Mounir Fawzy Girgis*.

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SAMIR F. GIRGIS

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FABRICS. *See* Textiles, Coptic.

FAKHR AL-DAWLAH ABŪ AL-MUFAḌḌAL IBN AL-ʿASSĀL (b. c. 1170), father of the Coptic writers of the beginning of the thirteenth century. He is known as Awlād al-ʿAssāl. His honorific title *Fakhr al-Dawlah* (pride of the state) indicates his social importance. He came from a rich Coptic family in Cairo that distinguished itself in the service of the Fatimids and the Ayyubids, as the titles, *kunyah* (surname), and nicknames of certain of his ancestors indicated. He was the son of Muʾtaman al-Dawlah Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, son of Abū Sahl Jirjis, son of Abū Bishr Yūḥannā al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, whose father was nicknamed al-ʿAssāl.

Fakhr al-Dawlah's *kunyah* requires some explanation. Occasionally the spelling Abū al-Faḍl can be found even in Coptic manuscripts of the thirteenth century (such as in the National Library, Paris, Arabe 201, and Vatican Arabic 103, fol. 18v, last line) in the text of the *Majmūʿ Uṣūl alʾDīn* (this is an easily made copyist's error, involving the omission of the small letter *mīm*). Less frequently we find Abū al-Faḍāʾil (as in Oriental Library, Beirut, 583, Coptic, fourteenth century) in the same passage; this version was adopted by G. Graf (1932, p. 35). Most frequently we find Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, a reading confirmed by a verse composed by the Muslim poet al-Sarrāj al-Warrāq in which the reading Abū al-Faḍl is incompatible with the meter.

Fakhr al-Dawlah married twice. By his first wife he had two sons, al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibatallāh and al-Ṣafī Abū al-Faḍāʾil Mājid. After his first wife died, he remarried and had two other sons, Muʾtaman al-Dawlah Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm (named after his grandfather with all his names) and al-Amjad Abū al-Majd al-Rashīd (cf. Awlād al-ʿAssāl). He may have had other children, but there is no record of them.

Fakhr al-Dawlah's enviable position enabled him to give his children a good education. Yūsāb, bishop of Fuwwah, the church historian who composed a detailed chronicle of contemporary events, stated during the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Graf, 1947, Vol. 2, pp. 369–71) that Fakhr al-Dawlah had engaged as tutor for his children the *shaykh* al-Sanī Abū al-Majd Buṭrus ibn al-Muhadhdhib Abū al-Faraj. The *shaykh* was known as al-Thuʿbān al-Rāhib or as "the priest of Abū Sarjah" (concerning him, see Sidarus, pp. 8–15 and 19–20). He was the father of the historian, theologian, and linguist Abū Shākir ibn al-Rāhib (Graf, 1947, pp. 428–35, and especially Sidarus). Three of his sons became great Coptic writers and a fourth (al-Amjad) a high official. They were effective agents of the Coptic Renaissance in the thirteenth century.

Fakhr al-Dawlah was generous to those in need. This is attested by al-Sarrāj al-Warrāq, a Muslim poet who died in 1296 and who composed a poem of eight verses. In the poem he sings the generosity of the ʿAssālids and of Abū al-Mufaḍḍal in particular for his discretion in giving. This suggests that Fakhr al-Dawlah was still alive at the time the poem was composed, around 1250.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

FAMILY LAW. *See* Personal Status Law.

FAMILY LIFE, COPTIC. Egypt has been described as the oldest folk-nation in the world. The Egyptian family, whether Coptic or Muslim, inherited some of its main features from ancient Egypt. The continuity of a settled life in the Nile Valley provides a context for the continuity of family tradition.

The temples and monuments of ancient Egypt show an affectionate relationship between husbands and wives and a kindness of parents toward their children. In ancient Egypt the institution of marriage was grounded in the legend of the marriage of Osiris and Isis. Marriage became an honorable partnership between husband and wife. The parental system found its roots in a recognition of the husband, and not a totem, as the real father of the child. The family was a basic unit in which the husband held the authority. In an ancient Egyptian text we read: "If thou art a man of note, found for thyself an household, and love thy wife at home, as it beseemeth. Fill her belly, clothe her back; unguent is the remedy for her limbs. Gladden her heart, as long as she liveth; she is a goodly field for her lord" (Erman, 1966, p. 61).

Monogamy was the prevailing pattern of the ancient Egyptian family. Brother-sister and father-daughter marriages might have existed among the ancient Egyptian peasants.

The woman in ancient Egypt enjoyed equal rights to the man in most aspects of life. She was not veiled or immured and was given the education suitable for the role she performed. Some women became queens and sat on the throne of Egypt, as did Hatshepsut; others were women priests, and still others were goddesses. Nevertheless, the most important role for the Egyptian woman was performed in her home as wife and mother.

The children in the ancient Egyptian family were the focus of family life. The ancient Egyptians gave much care to their children and to their education. The father trained his children to succeed him in his fields, workshop, or office. In one of the ancient texts, a man was given the following advice: "Take to thyself a wife when thou art a youth, that she may gave thee a son. Thou shouldest beget him for thee whilst thou art yet young, and shouldest live to see him become a man. Happy is the man who has much people, and he is respected because of his children" (Erman, p. 235). After a father died his son inherited his possessions, but the dead father was considered alive in the person of his son, who carried on the responsibilities of the father. The sons were also held responsible for their aged parents.

Some of the characteristics of the ancient Egyptian family have existed in Egypt down to the present, especially in the Egyptian villages. The woman in the Egyptian village works side by side with her husband. The ties between husband and wife and between parents and children are strong. The responsibility for the family is shared among all the members of the family. Once grown up, the sons and daughters carry some of the family responsibilities. The older brothers are responsible for the younger ones and for their sisters. In general, the Egyptian father holds the authority in his home. The pattern of family life inherited from the ancient Egyptians continues to prevail in the Egyptian home today, Coptic and Muslim alike.

Christian Tradition in the Coptic Home

When the Egyptians became Christians, their family life was reshaped according to the principles of Christianity. Oxyrhynchus—the capital of the province in the Fayyūm valley, situated about 120 miles (200 km) from the banks of the Nile—flourished as a monastic center and as a leading Christian city in Egypt. The nonliterary papyri found there offer a picture of private life of the people and the social relations among them. The Oxyrhynchus papyri include letters exchanged among parents and children that demonstrate the intimate relationship and mutual concern among them and reveal the solidarity of family life among the Egyptians.

Coptic women found their ideal life in the examples of pious women mentioned in the New Testament, such as the Virgin Mary, Salome, Martha and Mary, and Mary Magdalene. The history of the Coptic church has supplied Coptic women with stories of heroic virgins and devoted mothers, of whom

Saint DIMYĀNAH AND HER FORTY VIRGINS who were martyred with her in the time of Diocletian and the mother of Saint Augustine are good examples.

Coptic marriage is one of the seven sacraments of the Coptic church. It is considered the fulfillment of the union between man and God. Man participates with God in the creation of life and "partakes in God's nature." The Coptic wife is not a tool for the pleasure of man but the helper of her husband. Her dignity has been expressed in her chastity before marriage and in the glory of her home.

The life of the Coptic home offers the child an atmosphere that has been very effective in shaping his identity as a Copt. The naming of the child after biblical figures and the saints itself imprints a sign on the child's personality as a Christian. Following the apostolic tradition, the Coptic church has practiced infant baptism through the centuries. The child becomes a member of the church through baptism, and recognizes his spiritual distinction from the non-Christians. In the baptismal service of the Coptic church, a godmother or godfather is appointed to become responsible for bringing the baptized child up in accordance with the Christian teachings and ideals. This godparent pledges before the priest, at the very beginning of the baptismal ritual, that she or he acknowledges Christ and promises to educate the child under their charge in the Christian faith and life within the fellowship of the Coptic church (2 Tm. 3:16).

The Coptic family has been traditionally the center of religious life in collaboration with the church. Coptic parents nurture their children in Christian faith and life and nourish them in the love of God. Acquaintance with the Scriptures and sacred writings has been stressed because they are useful for teaching virtue.

Coptic parents offer to their children a good example of Christian life in their own lives. The father is a model before his children of what it means to be a Christian. The father leads his wife and children in family prayers; he acts as the priest in the sanctuary of his house. The family altar, or holy room, has been the place where the child learns from his father how to pray. Family worship includes reading the Bible, singing hymns, and reading the seven canonical hours of prayer which contain psalms, Scripture readings, and several prayers. Religious practices in the Coptic home have tied the children to the tradition of the Coptic church. In fasting, for instance, the child learns self-control and sacrifice; in addition, it is an opportunity for the Coptic family to share with the rest of the Coptic community a common religious tradition. Through the centuries, the means of recreation for the Coptic home were also religious. The occasions of the celebration of the feasts of the saints served as reminders to the Copts of the example of Christian life given by the saint whose feast was celebrated and at the same time as an opportunity for recreation and meeting friends and relatives.

Influence of Muslim Society on the Coptic Family

The similarities between the Copts and the Muslims in family life and social customs may be attributed mainly to the common social and cultural context in which they live. Although they follow two different religions, both religions have interacted and integrated with the total Egyptian culture.

Under Arab and Turkish rule, the Copts lived a separate life within their own community with few social contacts with their Muslim neighbors. The *millet* system, which was established by the Ottoman empire, gave the heads of the *millets*, or religious minorities, the right to administer their own communities as autonomous entities in their spiritual, personal, and administrative affairs.

The Changing Structure and Functions of the Coptic Family

The responsibility for personal affairs of marriage, divorce, and inheritance has shifted from the church to the state. For centuries, marriage and divorce among the Copts were considered entirely religious matters for which the Coptic church was held responsible. Under Arab and Turkish rule, the patriarch, the bishops, and the priests of the Coptic church conducted the marriage and decided about divorce according to the canon laws of the Coptic church. When the Coptic *millet* councils were established in 1874, one of their major tasks was to organize *millet* courts and maintain records of marriage and divorce. In 1955, the Egyptian government replaced the *millet* courts by civil courts, which took over the responsibility for marriage and divorce cases among all citizens—Muslims, Copts, and other religious minorities. The principle of religious community laws, however, was preserved in the civil courts. Hence, the Coptic priests, as well as priests and ministers of other churches, are licensed as registrars for marriage on behalf of the government. The task of the priest ends with his filling in the registration forms and the liturgical celebration of the wedding. When problems later arise in the life of the family, concerned parties

apply for divorce in the civil courts, which grant divorce to Coptic couples for reasons other than adultery. Consequently, the number of divorces among the Copts has increased.

The family is gradually being deprived of its traditional functions. The economic, educational, religious, recreational, and protective functions of the family are transferred to specialized institutions in the community.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the Coptic family lived as an extended family: married sons lived with their parents in the family home, which then contained three or more generations living together. This pattern of family life has given way to the pattern of the nuclear family in which the newly married couples leave their parents' homes to start a new family life in a separate home.

The socioeconomic changes in Egypt since the beginning of the nineteenth century have increased mobility in two directions—mobility between the social classes and migration from villages to towns and cities and from one city to another. The development of agriculture, industry, business, and government employment has resulted in greater social mobility in the twentieth century.

Traditionally, the peasant's wife and daughter worked side by side with him in the fields. At the same time, the women in the city were veiled and their place was the home. Since 1923, a revolution in the emancipation of the Egyptian woman has taken place. Gradually more opportunities have been opened to her. She has taken off her veil, found her place in education, and competed with men in many fields. Many women now occupy positions in the professions as doctors, teachers, lawyers, and engineers. They also work as secretaries in offices and as laborers in factories. Women have been granted political rights. They have been given the right to vote; some women have been elected as representatives in the Nation's Council and some have become ministers of state.

The question of the effect of the new status of the woman in Egyptian society has not been yet studied. However, it may be said in general that the educated woman becomes more independent of her family. She does not wait for a husband chosen for her by her family, but she becomes the one who has the final decision. The working wife also becomes a source of family support and consequently gains more say in family decision making. The husband's authority in the home may be weakened and more conflicts between the husband and the wife might be expected. The mother's employment outside the home might have an effect on the children.

The mass media have also had a noticeable effect on Egyptian family life. The family and the school are no longer the only basic sources of information in the life of the child. The role of both the parent and the teacher is changing with the growth of mass media.

Television, however, has a remarkable effect because of its particular attraction in the home. It has become an impersonal power in shaping the relationships among the members of the family and a factor beyond control that is affecting family values.

The Coptic Church and Family Life Education

The changing pattern of family life in Egyptian society raises serious questions concerning the religious function of the Coptic home and the responsibility of the Coptic church toward the Coptic family.

The continuity of Christian life in the Coptic home depends upon the awareness and maintenance of the religious and spiritual function in the home. In 1973, the Family Life Education Program (FLEP) was established.

By 1984 twenty-five Integrated Family Health Care Centers had been established in dioceses from Aswan in the south to Alexandria and Port Said in the north. Family life education and family counseling were offered along with medical treatment and family planning methods. Books, pamphlets, and educational materials have been published by FLEP for use by families and training programs.

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MAURICE AS'AD

FAN. *See* Liturgical Instruments.

FARAJALLĀH AL-AKHMĪMĪ, author of a law register (NOMOCANON). G. Graf says that Farajallāh was from the city of AKHMĪM in Upper Egypt and lived between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth century. The evidence for this dating is the fact that his law register is mostly borrowed from the *Book of Spiritual Medicine* and the judicial works of al-ṢAFĪ IBN AL-'ASSĀL, the manuscripts of which date from this period. Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR does not mention him.

This law register is in two parts and seventy-six chapters. The first part, to be considered almost as plagiarism, has the two introductory chapters of the *Book of Spiritual Medicine*, then cites the sources of church law, and in the remainder presents the clergy and the rituals in correspondence with those sources, but in altered order. The second part, with fifty chapters, concerns moral and judicial matters, repeating for the most part the corresponding text of the *Book of Spiritual Medicine*, with the exception of the part on confession, where al-Ṣafī and civil law are followed. The only sources named for inheritance law are the *Paradise of Orthodoxy* of Abū al-Faraj 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭayyib and the treatise of Elias of Nisbis, both Nestorians. The expositions of divorce and marriage and several other subjects (unless they were taken from some unknown source) are probably independent.

Graf (*Ecclesiastical Review* 56 [1917]:129–36) cites J. Cöln as recognizing the peculiarities in the composition of the work and as giving a synopsis and table of contents.

VINCENT FREDERICK

FARAMĀ, AL- (Pelusium), city located in the northwest corner of the Sinai Peninsula about 14 miles (22.5 km) east of the Suez Canal and 3 miles (5 km) inland from the Mediterranean Sea. Coptic tradition holds that the Holy Family stopped in al-Faramā during the FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.

Attestations of Christianity in Pelusium in the Byzantine period are numerous. The Melitian bishop Kallinikos was in office in the city as early as A.D. 325. SOZOMEN reports that the patriarch ALEXANDER I (312–326) brought Kallinikos into the office of bishop and that ATHANASIUS (326–373), the next patriarch, excommunicated him and replaced him with a man named Mark (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.25). The name of Kallinikos, however, does not appear in the lists of participants in the Council of NICAEA in 325. Instead, the lists show that Bishop Dorotheus represented Pelusium at Nicaea. Nonetheless, around 335 Kallinikos attended a synod in Tyre as bishop of Pelusium and in 351 he subscribed the canons of the Council of Sardica as bishop of Pelusium.

The successor of Dorotheus, or perhaps of Mark, was Pankratius, who signed the canons of the Council of Sirmium in 359 as the bishop of Pelusium. In 431 Bishop Eusebius of Pelusium attended the Council of EPHESUS. In the middle of the sixth century a Chalcedonian bishop named George was in office in Pelusium. He had been a pupil of Sābā, the father of monks, and was ordained bishop by the Chalcedonian patriarch Zoilus (538–551) sometime between 540 and 550.

A number of saints and martyrs had al-Faramā as either their birthplace or place of martyrdom. Some of those associated with the city are Antonius of Banah, Apa Til, Epimachus, bishop of Pelusium, Hor of Siryāqūs, Isidore of Takinash, Isidorus of Pelusium, Piroou, and Sina (see MARTYRS, COPTIC).

Al-Faramā became an important center of monasticism at an early period. The APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM mentions the area often. The best-known of the monks from the area was Isidorus of Pelusium (c. 355–c. 435), who was a theologian of sorts, an exegete, and the author of a vast correspondence (published in PG 78).

When Bernhard the Wise visited al-Faramā in 870 he spoke of only one church in the city, a church of the Virgin Mary, and though he was aware of the tradition that Mary and Jesus had stopped for a time in al-Faramā, he seems not to have taken much notice of the Christians living there at the time of his own visit.

Various bishops of al-Faramā from the Arabic period are mentioned in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS. In its life of KHĀ'ĪL I (744–767) the *History* speaks of a confrontation that Epimachus, the Coptic bishop of al-Faramā, had with a Chalcedonian priest in his city. During the patriarchate of MARK II (799–819), Bishop Mark of al-Faramā helped bring a synodical letter from the patriarch to Antioch. The last reference to a bishop of al-Faramā is from the time of Patriarch SHENUTE II (1032–1046). Shenute ordained a monk named John as the bishop of al-Faramā and signed an agreement to pay

him thirty dinars per year to supplement the meager resources available to John in al-Faramā. However, Shenute reneged on his promise and wrote a letter postdated to the time of John's ordination in which he anathematized the bishop.

In 1117, the fifteenth year of the patriarchate of MACARIUS II, the crusader Baldwin besieged al-Faramā and destroyed the city though it was already sparsely populated.

A. H. Sayce began the archaeological investigation of Tall al-Faramā, the ruins of the ancient city of Pelusium, in 1887. Later in the nineteenth century, W. M. Flinders Petrie furthered the archaeological work on the site, and in the mid-twentieth century, A. L. Fontaine excavated in the area. Despite these extensive labors no remains of Christian churches have been found in Tall al-Faramā.

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RANDALL STEWART

FARAS, name given in modern times to a small village on the west bank of the Nile, on the frontier between Egypt and the Republic of the Sudan. In earlier history it was one of the most important religious and administrative centers in Lower Nubia. It is named both in Meroitic and in medieval texts as Pakhoras, while the most common Arabic rendering of the name is Bakharas or Bukharas. Bejrash, which appears in certain late medieval Arabic manuscripts, is probably another variant of the same name, although some nineteenth-century scholars attempted to locate Bejrash farther to the north.

At least two temples were built at Faras during the Egyptian New Kingdom, but the main importance of the place apparently began in Meroitic times. A walled enclosure was built at that time just beside the riverbank; texts found in a nearby Meroitic cemetery indicate that this was a major administrative and cult center. After the collapse of Meroitic power, some scholars believe that the capital of the post-Meroitic kingdom of NOBATIA was established at Faras. However, the evidence for this is largely speculative, for the remains of the post-Meroitic period that have been uncovered at Faras are not very extensive. A number of medieval Arabic documents refer to Faras as the capital of Nobatia (or al-Marīs, as they often call it), but these date from a later time, after Nobatia had been absorbed into the larger kingdom of MAKOURIA. After the merger, which probably took place in the seventh century, it is clear that the eparchs or viceroys of Nobatia resided chiefly at Faras, though they evidently had other residences as well.

The primary importance of Faras in the Middle Ages was undoubtedly religious. A bishopric was established in the seventh century, not long after the conversion of Nobatia to Christianity, and the first cathedral at Faras was apparently begun at the same time. It was replaced in the eighth century by a much larger and most imposing building, the famous Faras Cathedral, whose discovery was one of the highlights of the archaeological Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. In the immediate vicinity there were in the early Middle Ages at least six other churches. A sizable monastery (known in recent times as Qaṣr al-Wizz) occupied a nearby hilltop; there may have been a second monastery within the town. A pottery factory, probably operated by one of the monasteries, made finely decorated vessels that were traded all over Nubia. These and other Christian remains were scattered over a fairly considerable area, suggesting that Faras was one of the largest communities in Nubia in the early Middle Ages.

A marked decline is evident at Faras in the later medieval period. Some of the outlying churches were abandoned, and eventually the great cathedral itself was surrendered to the encroaching sand drifts. The list of Faras bishops, which was compiled over a period of several centuries on one of the cathedral walls, comes to an end with Jesu in the late twelfth century. Later inscriptions found at QAṢR IBRĪM indicate that the bishopric of Faras was ultimately combined with that of Qaṣr Ibrīm, the latter evidently being the chief episcopal residence. This development did not quite spell the end of Christianity at Faras, for the buried cathedral was overbuilt by a small monastery and church, where occupation continued until the end of the Christian Nubian period. With the coming Ottoman rule, these structures were converted to serve as a small

military outpost, but Faras was no longer a place of any importance, either religious or civil.

The decline of Faras in the later Middle Ages is probably attributable to the fact that its exposed riverside location was not readily defensible. In the disturbed military and political conditions which followed the Ayyubid conquest of Egypt, the Nubian population began increasingly to congregate in defensible localities such as the fortified hilltops at Qaṣr Ibrīm and JABAL 'ADDĀ, and in the BAṬN AL-ḤAJAR. Much of the population at Faras may have migrated across the river to the old pharaonic fortress of Serra, which was reoccupied and refortified in the twelfth century.

Major excavations were carried out at Faras between 1910 and 1912 by an Oxford University expedition, directed by F. L. GRIFFITH. This expedition uncovered several of the Faras churches, the pottery factory, and the Christian cemeteries. At about the same time, two other Faras churches were investigated and recorded by G. S. Mileham. Still more extensive work was done between 1960 and 1965, mainly by the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology. The Polish expedition uncovered the buried Faras Cathedral, another large church that had been built alongside it, an episcopal palace, and the monastic complex that had been built on top of the earlier remains. The outstanding achievement of the expedition was undoubtedly the discovery and preservation of the great FARAS MURALS decorating many of the walls in the buried cathedral.

[*See also:* Nobatia, Eparch of; Faras Murals; Nubian Church Organization; Nubian Church Art; Nubian Inscriptions; Nubian Monasteries.]

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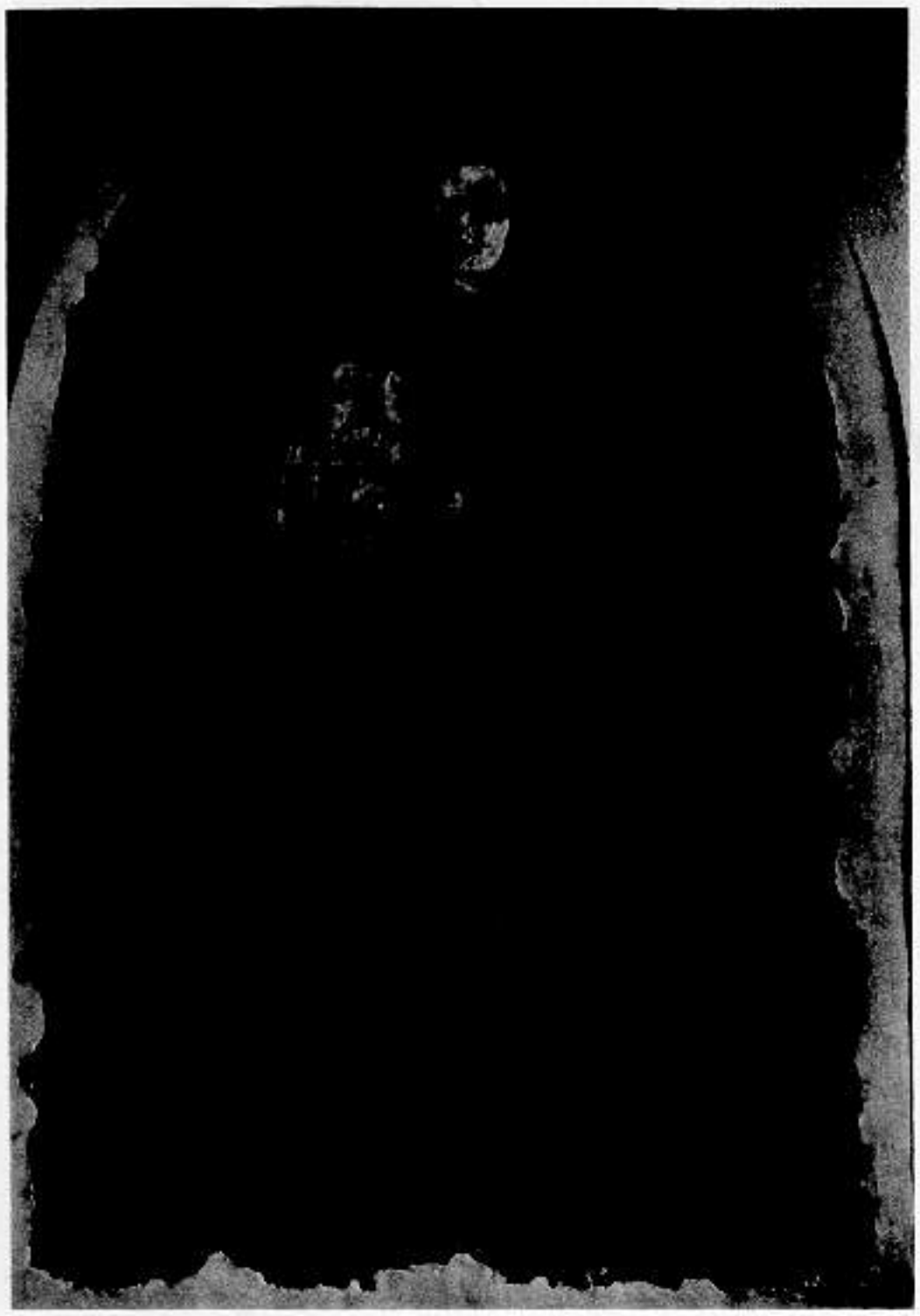
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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

FARAS MURALS. The most spectacular archaeological discovery of the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia was that of the Faras Cathedral, buried in sand with its medieval program of wall decoration largely preserved. Nearly 200 individual paintings were found on the cathedral walls and in adjoining bishops' tombs, and of these 169 were successfully removed and preserved prior to the final destruction of FARAS by the waters of Lake Nasser. The Faras murals, now divided between the Sudan National Museum and the National Museum in Warsaw, provide by far the fullest surviving record of medieval NUBIAN CHURCH ART. By a stroke of good fortune the Faras Cathedral had been abandoned and filled with sand before the end of the Christian Nubian period, so that its paintings had been largely spared the vandalism that has been visited upon many Nubian church paintings in the Islamic period.

Like most Nubian churches, the Faras Cathedral had been periodically redecorated, resulting in an accumulation of painting one on top of another. The skill of the Polish excavators and conservators who undertook the work at Faras enabled them in many cases to remove successive layers of paintings individually, thus revealing a general developmental history of Nubian church art. The paintings were believed by Kazimierz MICHALOWSKI, the Polish excavation director at Faras, to reflect four main phases of stylistic development. These were designated as the violet style (early eighth to mid-ninth century), the white style (mid-ninth to early tenth century), the red-yellow style (tenth century), and the multicolored style (eleventh and twelfth centuries). The earlier styles are clearly similar to contemporary examples of church decoration in Egypt, as reflected at BĀWĪṬ, Saqqara, and elsewhere. They are characterized by somewhat muted colors and by very formalized and static treatment of the human figure. The two later styles are more distinctively Nubian and are characterized by brilliant colors, lavish ornamental detail, and somewhat more lifelike human figures.



Mural painting depicting Saint Michael. Faras. Eleventh century. Height: 171 cm; width: 199 cm. *Courtesy Sudan Antiquities and National Museums Service.*

The largest and most spectacular of all the Faras murals is a representation of the three Hebrew youths Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, protected by the archangel MICHAEL. It is in the multicolored style and is nearly 10 feet (3 m) long. Other very large paintings include a complex nativity scene (which is unique in that the attendant shepherds are given the names of Arnias and Lekotes), a crucifixion, a descent from the cross, and portraits of archangels, saints, and the Holy Family. There are at least nine madonnas. In four of them she is associated as protectress with a Nubian bishop or a member of the Nubian ruling family. Several other paintings are idealized portraits of Nubian bishops, kings, and eparchs. In their portraits the Nubians are always shown with dark faces, in contrast to the white faces of the non-Nubians.

The sequence of stylistic development in the Faras murals is more or less parallelled in other Nubian churches, although the multicolored style seems to have reached full development only at Faras itself. Michalowski believes that Faras was the artistic center of Nubia, from which other church painters took their inspiration, but there is not enough surviving evidence to establish this clearly.

Some of the Faras paintings have been exhibited at the New York World's Fair (1964), the Petit Palais in Paris (1964), and the Villa Hügel in Essen (1969). Over one hundred of the paintings are on permanent exhibition in Warsaw and Khartoum.

[*See also:* Nubian Church Art.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

FAROUK I. *See* Muḥammad 'Alī Dynasty.

FARSHŪṬ, large town situated on the left bank of the Nile after it resumes its course from south to north, having flowed contrary to its custom from east to west between Qinā and Hiw. Farshūṭ, written with the feminine article (ⲧ) in the Coptic texts, is said to have come from the language of the New Kingdom and to be a borrowing from Hebrew, meaning the lake (Vycichl, 1983, p. 31; Černý, 1976, p. 343).

This town is famous in Coptic and Copto-Arabic literature as the birthplace in the fifth or sixth century of Saint ABRAHAM. After having been archimandrite of Pbow/Faw and having been driven out by the police of the emperor Justinian (527–565) because of his anti-Chalcedonian opinions, he took refuge at Suhāj in the monastery of Shenute (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH). He then founded two monasteries

near Farshūṭ, one for women near the town, according to a miracle related in the Coptic text of his Life, and the other for men in the *ḥājir,* the stony area between the mountains and the cultivated valley. This monastery of men is called Jadda or Ḥadda by the recension of the SYNAXARION of the Copts from Upper Egypt.

A stone STELA relates the restoration of the monastery of Abraham in 698. But W. E. Crum thinks there is nothing to allow us to identify the monastery of Anbā Abraham the anchorite on this stela with the monastery founded at Farshūṭ by Saint Abraham. According to the same author, the monastery of Abraham in the Life of Pisentius is without doubt that of PHOIBAMMON at Dayr al-Baḥrī, the superior of which, named Abraham, was a contemporary of Pisentius.

No excavation appears to have been carried out in this region to rediscover the ruins of this monastery.

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FASTING. Fasting is strictly observed by the Copts in accordance with their calendar. The custom predates Christianity in Judaism and ancient Egyptian religion. Fasts are recommended by Jesus (Mt. 6:16; Mk. 2:20) and by the apostles (Acts 13:2, 14:23; 2 Cor. 11:27). The total fasting days in Coptic tradition cover approximately two-thirds of the year or a minimum of 250 days.

In their fasts, the Copts avoid meat and all animal extracts including eggs, milk, butter, and cheese. Fish is also prohibited in the fasts of Jonah, Our Lady, and especially Lent. It is said that the forty days of Lent coincided with a similar period during which the ancient Egyptians also refrained from eating fish through the spawning season in the Nile. This renders that tradition with the Copts older than the introduction of Christianity.

Coptic monks, ascetics, and solitaries often pushed fasting far beyond the canonical practices. They fasted the whole year, and frequently ate only one meal after sunset.

Fast of the Apostles

This fast commemorates the fast observed by the disciples after the ascension of Christ (Acts 10:10; 12:2, 3; 14:21–24; 27:9, 21).

It starts on the Monday that follows Pentecost and ends on 5 Abīb, when the Coptic church celebrates the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul. Since Pentecost is a movable feast, this fast has no fixed duration, but varies between fifteen and forty-nine days.

According to the *Constitutions of the Holy Fathers* 5.20: ". . . after you have kept the festival of Pentecost, keep one week more festival, and after that fast; for it is reasonable to rejoice for the gift of God, and to fast after that relaxation" (*Constitutions,* 1951, p. 449). The Coptic church, however, starts the fast immediately after Pentecost.

The fifty days following the Resurrection are a period of rejoicing during which it is not proper to fast. "Can the wedding guests mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? The days will come, when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast" (Mt. 9:15). The fathers have stressed this point in their writings. Tertullian (c. 160–220) states: "We consider it unlawful to fast or to pray kneeling, upon the Lord's Day; we enjoy the same liberty from Easter-day to that of Pentecost" (*De corona,* 1980, p. 94).

A special rite is followed in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy during the fast of the apostles, especially in the daily Psalmodia and the Fraction. A complete fast is also kept until three o'clock in the afternoon, that is, the ninth canonical hour.

Fast of Heraclius

This seven-day fast is attributed to Emperor Heraclius (575–642), who rescued the holy cross from the Persians in 629 and restored it to Golgotha. It is erroneously linked with the Coptic church, and taken to account for the first seven of the fifty-five days forming the Coptic Great Lent. The misconception arises from the following historical event.

When the triumphant emperor reached Tiberias on his way back from Persia, he was lobbied by the

Jewish population who succeeded through lavish gifts in acquiring his written pledge of security. This they did to forestall any possible acts of retribution on the part of the Christian population of the Holy Land. However, on his arrival at Jerusalem, the Christians pointed out to the emperor concrete evidence of the devastation caused by the Jews during the years of the Persian occupation and urged him to punish them. Heraclius was at first reluctant to depart from the promise of security he had just granted, but the Byzantine patriarch of Jerusalem and his bishops argued that a promise made under fraud would not be binding. Furthermore, to allay his misgivings, they offered to institute a week's fast in expiation of his breach of promise and to write to other churches to this effect. Eventually, Heraclius gave orders for the massacre of the Jewish population of Jerusalem.

The story occurs in the chronicles of Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq (887–940), the Melchite patriarch in Egypt, commonly known as Eutychius, and author of *Kitāb Naẓm al-Jawhar* (The String of Pearls). It also appears in *Al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* by al-MAQRĪZĪ (1364–1442) and in various ecclesiastical histories by, to mention a few, SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUḲAFFA' and Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd, known as Ibn al-Makīn (1205–1273).

The authenticity of some details of this story, however, is questionable, in view of apparent discrepancies. For while both Eutychius and al-Maqrīzī state that the week's fast was to be observed in perpetuity, Ibn al-Makīn limits it to forty years. Again, according to one version, the Jews of Jerusalem are said to have been entirely wiped out, but in another version they were only exiled to Egypt and other countries. One historian confines the massacre to Jerusalem and Galilee, others extend it to the whole of Syria and Egypt. Some commentators believe that the fast was a votive offering made by Heraclius himself just before embarking on his crusade against the Persians.

Whatever the case may be, the said fast of Heraclius is completely alien to the Coptic church and its fasts for the following reasons:

At the time of Heraclius, the church of Alexandria had severed its links with Constantinople and established its own fasts as part of its exclusive rites and practices, which would not be affected by foreign events such as a massacre of Jews in Jerusalem.

The tension between the Coptic patriarchs of Alexandria and representatives of Constantinople had reached its utmost limits and prevented contact between the two sides and any exchange of views or recommendations. This was the case at the time of Pope ANASTASIUS (605–616), who was exiled from his lawful seat in Alexandria, and Pope ANDRONICUS (616–622), his successor, and also during the papacy of BENJAMIN I (622–661) who was in exile until the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT in 640.

Ever since the end of the second century when Pope DEMETRIUS I reorganized Coptic fasts, they had become unalterable. The first week of the Great Lent was integrated into fifty-five days of the fast preceding Easter.

It is remarkable that Eutychius and Ibn al-Makīn each give another justification for this week's fast. The former explains that it was added by way of a prelude or preparation, while the latter reckons that the addition of one week made up for the total exclusion of Saturday and Sunday from the lenten fast.

According to the testimony of Etheria (or Egeria), the Spanish traveler who visited the Holy Lands in 382 and 383 (*Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, 1919), the church of Jerusalem observed an eight-week fast before Easter.

Fast of Jonah

Also designated the Fast of Nineveh, this fast is observed to commemorate the penance of the Ninevites at the preaching of Jonah (Jon. 3:1–10).

This fast was originally kept by the Syrian Orthodox Church and was adopted as one of the fasts of the Coptic church by Patriarch ABRAHAM, the sixty-second pope of Alexandria (975–978), as a mark of unity and solidarity between the two sister churches.

It lasts for three whole days, representing the time spent by Jonah inside the whale, starting on a Monday, about two weeks before the beginning of the Great Lent. Liturgies are held daily in the afternoon. The eating of fish and all forms of animal fat is not allowed during this fast.

The fraction prayers appointed to be said during the liturgical service included the following words: "It was through fasting and prayer, observed by the people of Nineveh, that God had mercy on them, forgave their sins, and turned His wrath away from them."

Lent

Great Lent, as distinct from the little fast that precedes the feast of the Nativity, is observed in commemoration of the forty-day fast of the Lord Jesus Christ (Mt. 4:2; Lk. 4:2), after which the

church observes Holy Week in memory of Christ's passion.

Lent has been observed by the church ever since the apostolic age. According to the *Constitutions of the Holy Fathers:* ". . . the fast of Lent is to be observed by you as containing a memorial of our Lord's mode of life and legislation. But let this solemnity be observed before the fast of the passover. . . . After which . . . begin the holy week of the passover fasting in the same all of you with fear and trembling . . ." (*Constitutions* 5.18, p. 443). The penalty for failure to observe Lent is laid down in the *Canons of the Holy Apostles:* "If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or reader, or singer does not fast the fast of the forty days of holy Lent, or the fourth day of the week, and the day of the Preparation, let him be deprived, except he be hindered by weakness of body. But if he be one of the laity, let him be excommunicated" (*Constitutions,* Canon 69, p. 504; *Apostolical Canons* 69, p. 598; Cummings, 1957, p. 122).

Reference to the importance of observing Lent occurs in the writings of the early fathers of the church.

In the early church, Lent began on the day after the feast of Epiphany (see FEASTS, MAJOR), in imitation of Christ, who fasted immediately after His baptism (Mt. 3:16, 4:2; Lk. 4:1,2). Holy Week was observed as a separate fast to coincide with the Jewish Passover, occurring some time between the two months of Baramhāt and Baramūdah of the Coptic calendar. Toward the end of the second century, however, Demetrius I established the epact system of computation, and joined the holy fast to Passion Week, as one continuous and uninterrupted period of fasting prior to the celebration of the Resurrection.

Great Lent lasts fifty-five days, being the forty days that Jesus Christ fasted, with the addition of Holy Week as the final week of the fast, and an introductory week of preparation, in view of the particular significance of Lent.

More than one interpretation, however, has been suggested regarding this introductory week. It has been called, for instance, the fast of Heraclius (see above). AL-ṢAFĪ IBN AL-'ASSĀL, who antedated Heraclius by several centuries, states that "all men and women should observe Great Lent for eight weeks extending from the end of winter until the beginning of summer" (1927, chap. 15, p. 142).

Another interpretation was given by certain church historians, such as Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd, and Abu-Shākir ibn al-Rāhib ibn-Buṭrus ibn al-Muhadhdhab (thirteenth century), who explain that a further week was imposed by the church in view of the difference in the practice of fasting on Saturdays and Sundays. Strictly speaking, unlike other weekdays, fasting on these two particular days should not be a total abstinence between the first canonical hour of the day (6 A.M.) and the eleventh hour (5 P.M.), with the exception of the last Saturday in Passion Week, that is, Great Saturday, on which the body of Jesus Christ was still lying in the grave. To make up for the difference, a week was therefore added at the beginning of Lent.

Throughout Great Lent, the liturgy is celebrated on weekdays between the ninth and eleventh canonical hours, that is, from three to five o'clock in the afternoon, but on Saturdays and Sundays it is held as usual earlier in the day. It is also worthy of note that it is frequently taken from the Anaphora of Saint Cyril, also known as that of Saint Mark.

According to the stipulations of canons 51 and 52 of the Synod of Laodicea (343–381), no weddings or birthdays are to be celebrated during the season of Lent, and the faithful should abstain from activities of a festal nature, or those involving physical enjoyment or pleasure.

Fast of the Nativity

The fast of the Nativity invariably begins on 16 Hatūr of the Coptic calendar and ends on the eve of 29 Kiyahk, thus covering forty-three days. Originally it was observed for forty days only, but toward the end of the tenth century, three days were added to it to commemorate the miraculous event of the moving of the Muqaṭṭam hill in Cairo during the patriarchate of Abraham. The story of this event turns around the challenge by al-Mu'izz, the Fatimid caliph (952–975), to the Coptic patriarch to prove the truth of the saying of Jesus (Mt. 17:20) that faith could move mountains. Accordingly, the patriarch, together with the Coptic community, kept vigil and prayers for three days and nights, which eventually proved efficacious in moving al-Muqaṭṭam.

This fast was ordained by the church as a spiritual preparation prior to the celebration of the Nativity of the Logos, just as in the Old Testament Moses observed a fast for forty days and nights before receiving the word of God in the form of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 34:28).

The strict observance of this fast necessitates total daily abstinence from food till three o'clock in the afternoon and from eating animal fat afterward.

Throughout the month of Kiyahk, the church uses the Kiyahkan *psalmodia*, which revolves around the themes of the incarnation of the Logos, the Son of God, and the praise of the *Theotokos* (mother of God). The Divine Liturgy also includes this special fraction: "O Master Lord our God, who art unseen, unlimited, unchangeable and incomprehensible; who sent us the True Light, His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, the Logos; who abideth everlastingly in Your Fatherly bosom, and came and dwelt in the Virgin's undefiled womb. She gave birth to Him, remaining a virgin, and her virginity is sealed. The angels praise Him, and the heavenly host chant unto Him, crying: Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are filled with Thy holy glory."

Fast of the Virgin Mary

This fifteen-day fast covers the first two weeks of the month of Mīsrā and ends with the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Mention is made of this fast by the thirteenth-century writer al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl in his *Kitāb al-Qawanīn* (Book of Canon Law), where it is referred to as *ṣawn 'īd al-Sayyīdah* (the fast preceding the feast of our Lady).

This fast is most widely observed among Copts of all ages, who keep it with particular abstention from eating fish and all food substances that include fat, oil, or its products. It is also customary for many people to practice full abstention, eating only one meal at the end of the day, following the celebration of the liturgy. Other people may also extend their fast by adding a week before and after the prescribed period.

Wednesday and Friday

The Coptic church ordains that Wednesday and Friday be observed as fast days, the former being the day on which Jesus Christ was condemned to be crucified, and the latter being the day on which His crucifixion took place. This fast applies throughout the year, with the following exceptions: during the fifty days following Easter; or should the feast of the Nativity (29 Kiyahk) or of the Epiphany (11 Ṭūbah) fall on either day.

The fast, which is kept until three o'clock in the afternoon, that is, the ninth canonical hour, entails abstention from foodstuffs containing animal fats, for the rest of the day.

Reference to Wednesday and Friday fasts occurs in various sources such as the *Didascalia* (1929, chap. 18), the *Didache* (1958, chap. 8), Canon 69 of the Apostolic Canons, in Ibn al-'Assal's *Al-Majmū' al-Safawī* (chap. 15, iii), and in Ibn al-Muqaffa''s *History of the Patriarchs* (1949, Vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 161, 168).

Its importance was also stressed by Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215) in *Stromata*, vii, 12 (1956, p. 544); Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220) in *On Fasting*, xiv (1951, Vol. 4, p. 112); and Peter of Alexandria the Martyr (d. 311) in his fifteenth Canon (1956, xiv, p. 601).

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

FATIMIDS AND THE COPTS. It is difficult to give a complete picture of the situation of the Copts under the Fatimid dynasty (972–1171). Generally speaking the caliphs were very tolerant toward them, except during two very tense periods that even brought persecution: under al-ḤĀKIM (996–1021) and during the reign of the last caliph, al-'Āḍid. With the coming of Shirkūh and the restoration of Sunni Islam after al-'Āḍid, the reign of Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) augured badly for the destruction of churches.

The Copts occupied many important state posts during most of the Fatimid period. This was not actually an innovation on the part of the Fatimids. When they arrived in Egypt, General Jawhar and his master, al-Mu'izz (972–975), found Jews and Christians on different levels of the administration, and they were wise enough to change nothing in this matter. Al-'Azīz (975–996) was the first of the Fatimids to bestow the title of vizier, and Abū al-Faraj Ya'qūb ibn Killis was the first recipient. But he had, in fact, already abandoned the Jewish religion before the Fatimids arrived in Egypt. On the contrary, the Christian 'Īsā ibn Nasṭūrus, who held the same post from Dhū al-qa'dah 385/December 995 until Ramaḍān 386/September-October 996, after being financial secretary, kept his religion. Perhaps he showed more favor than was tolerated to his fellow Christians, as was rumored to the caliph. Whatever the cause, he was dismissed from his post, together with other Christians in official positions. Shortly afterward, however, 'Īsā was reinstalled on the intervention of al-'Azīz's favorite daughter, the famous Sitt al-Mulk, on condition that he pay a fine of 300,000 dinars to the Treasury. Christians occupied important posts also during the reign of al-Ẓāhir (1021–1035). For instance, Majlā ibn Nasṭūrus was in the *Dīwān al-'Abbās* (usually reserved for Muslims), Abū Ghālib al-Ṣayfī in the *Dīwān al-Kharāj* (al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ*, Vol. 2, pp. 161, 163). A certain number of Copts, who had been converted by force to Islam during the persecution under al-Ḥākim, took advantage of the easing of their situation to come back to Christianity. But in 1025 Abū Zakariyyā, a Christian who had become Muslim, was beheaded in Cairo for having returned to his former religion (al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ*, Vol. 2, p. 136).

There seem to have been no significant changes in the situation of the Copts during the reign of al-Mustanṣir (1035–1094). A certain hardening of government policy toward them may have been due to the deterioration of the relationship between Constantinople and Cairo. At the beginning of the reign, a treaty with the Byzantines permitted the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Later on there were exchanges of ambassadors and gifts. But in 1055–1056, after a delegation from Baghdad had been allowed to pray in Constantinople in the name of the Abbasid caliph, the Fatimids permitted the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to be pillaged, while other churches were closed in Egypt and Syria and the JIZYAH (poll tax) was augmented. In 1066–1067, sixty-three monks were assassinated near al-Ashmūnayn. This last event, it is true, was a consequence of disorders in the region and not directly the fault of the central government.

The first vizier of al-Āmir (1101–1130), al-Afḍal, appointed a Christian and a Jew to the head of the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq* (office of justice) that he had just founded (1107–1108) to supervise expenditure. The Christian, Abū al-Barakāt Yuḥannā ibn Abī Layth, held this post until his execution in 1134. In addition, the monk Ibn Qannā played an important role at the end of the reign of al-Āmir.

Under al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–1149) the anti-Armenian reaction that followed on Bahrām's fall had repercussions in the Coptic community. The new vizier, Riḍwān (1138), removed many officials and revived a number of discriminatory measures against non-Muslims, such as the wearing of special clothes and the prohibition on "noble" transport. Besides Bahrām we know of other Christians in the caliph's circle. Abū Sa'īd ibn Qurqah was one of his doc-

tors. Having agreed to prepare poison for Ḥasan, al-Ḥāfiẓ's son, he was put to death and his possessions were given to his Jewish colleague. Abū Bakr al-Akhram was *kātib* (secretary) with extensive powers. Later on, in 1146–1147, he was executed for corruption. One of the caliph's astrologers was a Christian named Mūsā.

It is more difficult to assess the daily contacts of the two communities. On this matter sources are very meager. We possess some indications that in general Christians and Muslims coexisted peacefully in Fatimid Egypt. Christians and Muslims met for certain feasts. At Muslim marriages it was the custom for Copts of Isnā to sing in procession before the bridegroom (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 1895, p. 102), while the Muslim population of Cairo took part in various rites of some Coptic feasts, for example, Epiphany and New Year. More than once the caliphs renewed warnings against this mixing, which proved that the warnings were disregarded. For example, al-'Azīz forbade the celebration of Epiphany in 978, as did al-Hākim in 1011. But on the New Year feast of 998, the Christian secretary ABŪ AL-'ALĀ' FAHD IBN IBRAHĪM was present officially, while in 1025 the caliph al-Ẓāhir was accompanied to the celebrations by his wives. He asked only that Muslims and Christians refrain from bathing together in the Nile. At certain periods, for example, at Christmas and Easter, the caliph's palace sent gifts, among which were specially minted dinars, to the Christian officials (Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Vol. 1, pp. 265, 494–95).

It must not be supposed, however, that the Copts enjoyed full religious liberty at the time of the Fatimids. Careful reading of the work of ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN shows, in fact, that very few new churches were built in Egypt. The Christians had to content themselves with restoring the ones fallen into ruins, according to the famous COVENANT OF 'UMAR. The same was true for the monasteries. It happened that one or another monastery was frequented and helped financially by a Muslim vizier or even a caliph, but these were isolated incidents (Abū Ṣāliḥ, 1895, pp. 62 and 89). The Copts, who at that time were far more numerous than today in Egypt, had the legal status of Dhimmis applied to them, even if the Fatimids interpreted it with a certain flexibility.

Obviously, the relationships of Fatimids and Byzantines were marked by the incessant struggle between the two empires. However, they enjoyed periods of calm when diplomacy had the upper hand. Already in 957–958, before the conquest of Egypt, al-Mu'izz and Constantine VII had exchanged ambassadors. The caliph's envoys were said to have brought a manuscript, entitled *Al-Risālah al-Masīḥiyyah* ("The Christian message"), in which al-Mu'izz invited the emperor to convert to Islam. Although the tentative was unsuccessful, at least a treaty was arranged between the two sovereigns. But when the Byzantines attacked Crete in 961, al-Mu'izz revoked the treaty and thought of preparing an expedition to defend the island. We have two letters addressed by the caliph to the Ikhshīdid amir of Egypt and to the emperor Romanus II, respectively. In the first, al-Mu'izz asked 'Alī al-Ikhshīd to support a campaign against Crete. But it seems the expedition failed for want of a response from the amir. The island fell into the hands of the Byzantines and only in 1669, when conquered by the Ottomans, did it revert to the Muslims. Many Cretan Muslims were taken prisoners and deported, while others were forcibly converted to Christianity. Ibn al-Athīr speaks of another deputation that went to Mahdiyyah in 968. After his arrival in Egypt, al-Mu'izz carried on the struggle against the Byzantines, but his army met with unequal results: though he managed to capture Tripoli and Beirut (975), he was repulsed before Anṭākiyah. The caliph, however, continued to receive envoys from Byzantium until near his death in 975.

Al-'Azīz's reign was marked by an almost continuous fight against the Greeks for the possession of Syria, and especially the Aleppo region. No doubt a delegation sent by Basil II in 987 managed to conclude a seven years' truce that, among other conditions, included the liberation of their Muslim prisoners by the Byzantines and an undertaking to have the prayer in the name of the Fatimid caliph recited in the mosque of Constantinople. But little attention was paid to this truce; up to al-'Azīz's death, fighting went on for the possession of Aleppo, and the emperor Basil II thought it necessary to join the campaign personally. On the Fatimid side, too, an extremely well-equipped expeditionary force was prepared. A first fleet constructed on the orders of the vizier, 'Īsā ibn Nasṭūrus, having been destroyed by fire, other boats were immediately built to replace them and sent to attack the port of Anṭarṭūs (996). It was a failure. The caliph died at the head of his army at Bilbeis in October 996.

As soon as al-Ẓāhir ascended the throne, the regent Sitt al-Mulk sent Nicephorus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, to lead an embassy to Constantinople, but it came to nothing. A fresh tentative in 1027, however, was crowned with success. The truce contained the following provisions: the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the churches that had been destroyed by al-Ḥākim in Egypt; the Fatimids to desist from helping Sicily

against Byzantium; a Byzantine patriarch to be named at Jerusalem; the prayer to be made in the name of al-Ẓāhir in Constantinople, where the mosque was to be reconstructed (it had been demolished after the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher); freeing of Muslim prisoners held by the Greeks; and the Byzantines not to help the Syrian opponents of the Fatimids. This truce ended in 1031, when the Byzantines supported the Syrian bedouins' revolt against Fatimid rule.

Relations improved under al-Mustanṣir. A truce was concluded in 1038 with the emperor Michael IV. This provided for the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in exchange for the liberation of 5,000 Muslim prisoners. A fresh embassy sent by Constantine IX arrived in Cairo in 1045–1046 with sumptuous gifts (there was talk of 300,000 gold dinars). The treaty of 1038 was renewed in 1048. But a new period of tension started when the emperor negotiated with the Saljuqids of Baghdad, and the prayer at Constantinople was made in the name of the sultan Ṭoghrulbeg. This was particularly true under the empress Zoë. In revenge, al-Mustanṣir had the Church of the Holy Sepulcher pillaged, and he forced the Christians in Jerusalem to live in a special district.

Ambassadors were exchanged, again during the second half of the eleventh century (e.g., in 1069), but generally the contacts were not as good as under Constantine IX. The arrival of the Crusaders in the East upset the balance of forces in the region. Alliances were concluded, sometimes between Byzantines and Crusaders, and even between the Fatimids and the Crusaders against the troops of Nūr al-Dīn (1169).

In their relationship with Christian Nubia, the Fatimids had inherited a particular situation based on the BAQT TREATY, which laid down that the king of Nubia had to pay an annual tribute to Egypt. For a long period this tribute consisted mainly of 360 black slaves, together with animals that were unknown or rare in Egypt. Through several historians, al-Maqrīzī in particular, we know that this practice continued under the Fatimids, but only intermittently. Apart from certain periods, the government of Cairo had no means of forcing the clauses of the *baqt*, and the Nubians took advantage of this to reduce or interrupt their payment. But Nubian slaves were numerous in Egypt. Ibn Muyassar says there were 5,000 solely in the service of al-Mustanṣir's mother (who was herself a Nubian), not to mention those serving in the army. The greater number of them were later exterminated in the terrible struggles against the Turkish elements.

Except for these events, the history of the Nubians had little connection with that of the Fatimids; at least the sources rarely mention them. A short time after General Jawhar's arrival in Egypt, he sent an embassy to King George of Nubia, inviting him to convert to Islam or else to pay the *jizyah*. The sovereign chose to pay. We hear of Nubia once more during the revolt of Abū Rakwah, in al-Ḥākim's times. The rebel had fled to Nubia, but was captured by the king of the country, who handed him over to the Fatimids. When the king of Nubia, Solomon, who had recently abdicated, went on pilgrimage to Aswan (1080), he was first arrested and sent to Cairo, but the vizier, Badr al-Jamālī, treated him with special attention. The king died in Cairo the following year and was buried in the Monastery of Saint George.

During the Maghreb period of the dynasty, Sicily had been one of the major preoccupations of the Fatimid caliphs. When al-Mu'izz settled in Cairo, he left his Zīrīd lieutenant the task of defending Sicily. This province remained under Muslim domination until the middle of the eleventh century. From that time on, weakened both by Byzantine attacks and internal divisions, it began to represent a coveted prey. The Norman, Roger I, gradually conquered the island between 1061 and 1091.

There seem to have been very friendly relationships between Fatimids and Normans under the caliphs al-Āmir and al-Ḥāfiẓ, and we have a certain number of documents that bear witness to this. Deterioration set in during the reigns of al-Fā'iz (1154–1160) and al-'Āḍid (1160–1171), which included even Norman expeditions by sea against Lower Egypt.

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FAW. *See* Pbow.

FAYYŪM, CITY OF, the capital of the province of Fayyūm. In ancient Egypt the city, then named after the crocodile god Sebek (Greek Suchus), was an island in a lake called Moeris (now Birkat Qārūn). The Romans called the city Crocodilopolis, and its name in Coptic was ϕιομ (sea), probably because of the size of Lake Moeris, which surrounded the city. In Greek the city was known as Arsinoites, so named after Arsinoë, the wife of Ptolemy II.

Arsinoë/Fayyūm had a bishop as early as the middle of the third century, when Nepos administered in the city. Monasticism made an early entry into the area. Saint ANTONY visited monks in the Fayyūm and John Moschus wrote at the beginning of the seventh century that the place was a thriving monastic center (*Pratum Spirituale* 44, 71).

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FAYYŪM GOSPEL FRAGMENT, a small fragment of papyrus containing six incomplete lines written in a block hand on the recto of a roll, the verso being blank. It is misnamed in that it was discovered not in the Fayyūm but slightly to the south, on the site of the ancient Herakleopolis, in the course of excavations carried out in 1882. It is preserved in the Rainer Collection at Vienna. It is unusual in being part of a roll rather than, like the great majority of early Christian papyri, part of a codex. It can be securely dated to the third century.

In it is described, as in Matthew 26:30–34 and Mark 14:26–30, the departure of Jesus and his disciples to the Mount of Olives immediately before the Passion, with Jesus' prophecy from Zechariah 13:7 and his prediction of Peter's denial. The account is closer to Mark's than it is to Matthew's, but is much more summary even than Mark's. The author certainly drew on Mark's narrative, but his vocabulary suggests that he also used some other source; for example, he uses the word "to crow," not found anywhere in the New Testament. This also renders it unlikely that what we have is part of a treatise in which the writer abbreviated the narrative of Mark rather than a separate gospel.

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FAYYUMIC. *See Appendix.*

FAYYUMIC PAPYRUS. *See* Hamburg Papyrus.

FAYYŪM PAINTINGS. *See* Portraits and Funerary Masks.

FEAST, an occasion appointed by the church to be observed with rejoicing and celebration.

Old Testament Feasts

In obedience to God's commandments, the following occasions were kept as days of rest, abstention from work, and offering of sacrifices:

1. The Sabbath (Ex. 20:8–11)
2. Passover (Ex. 12; Lv. 23:5)
3. Feast of Weeks, or of the wheat harvest, celebrated seven weeks after Passover (Lv. 23:15)
4. Feast of the Tabernacles, on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the harvest festival (Lv. 23:33)
5. New Moon Feast, on the first day of every month (Nm. 10:10; 28:11–15)
6. The Day of Atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lv. 23:27)
7. Feast of Blowing of the Trumpets, on the first day of the seventh month (Lv. 23:24, 25)

In addition, the Israelites were ordered to hallow the jubilee year, occurring once every fifty years at the end of seven Sabbatical cycles.

Early Christian Feasts

From various references in the New Testament we learn that Christ and His disciples observed the annual Jewish feasts (Mt. 26:19; Mk. 19:13; Lk. 2:42; Jn. 2:13; 5:1; 7:2, 37). Likewise Saint Paul celebrated various feasts, stressing their Christian character and dissociating them from Jewish connotations. Thus, for example, he observed the Pentecost at Jerusalem (Acts 18:21; see also Acts 20:16; 1 Cor. 16:8).

The *Apostolic Constitutions* ordained the celebration of feasts: "Brethren, observe the festival days . . ." (*Constitutions* 5.13, p. 443), and the *Apostolical Canons* warn, "If any of the clergy be found fasting on the Lord's day, or on the Sabbath, excepting the one only [the Saturday preceding Easter Sunday], let him be deposed. If a layman, let him be excommunicated" (*Apostolical Canons* 66, p. 598).

Patristic writings abound in references to feasts and festivals. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH (c. 35–107) states: ". . . let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's Day as a festival, the resurrection-day, the queen and chief of all the days . . . on which our life sprang up again, and the victory over death was obtained in Christ . . ." (1956, Vol. 1, p. 63; see also Justin Martyr [c. 100–165], *First Apology* 67; John Chrysostom [c. 347–407], *Homilies on First Corinthians* 27; Saint Basil the Great [c. 330–379], *Epistle* 176).

Feasts Observed by the Coptic Church

These fall into four main divisions: the seven major feasts, the seven minor feasts (see FEASTS, MAJOR; FEASTS, MINOR), the seven Marian feasts, and the saints' and martyrs' feast days.

The seven major feasts are:

1. The Annunciation (29 Baramhāt)
2. The Nativity (29 Kiyahk)
3. The Epiphany (11 Ṭūbah)
4. Palm Sunday, on the seventh Sunday of the Great Lent
5. Easter Sunday, a movable feast celebrated on the first Sunday after Passion Week
6. Ascension Day, on the fortieth day after the Resurrection
7. Pentecost, on the fiftieth day after the Resurrection

The seven minor feasts, in chronological order, are:

1. Circumcision (6 Ṭūbah)
2. The Marriage Feast at Cana (13 Ṭūbah)
3. Candlemas (8 Amshīr)
4. Maundy Thursday, on the Thursday preceding Good Friday
5. Saint Thomas's Sunday, on the Sunday following Easter Sunday
6. Entry of the Holy Family into Egypt (24 Bashans)
7. Transfiguration (13 Misrā)

The seven feasts of the *Theotokos* are:

1. Annunciation of her Nativity (7 Misrā)
2. Nativity (1 Bashans)
3. Candlemas (3 Kiyahk)
4. Dormition (21 Ṭūbah)
5. Assumption (16 Misrā)
6. The Iron Dissolver (21 Ba'ūnah)
7. Apparition at Zaytūn (24 Baramhāt)

Saints' and Martyrs' Days

The Coptic SYNAXARION records the history of the saints and the martyrs who gave their lives for the Christian faith. Various churches also celebrate the anniversaries of their patron saints.

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FEASTS, MAJOR. [*This entry discusses seven feasts:*
Annunciation
Nativity
Epiphany
Palm Sunday
Easter
Ascension
Pentecost.]

Annunciation

The Annunciation is one of the seven major feasts of the Coptic church; it commemorates the announcement of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary that she should conceive and give birth to Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah.

According to the Coptic SYNAXARION, this festival, which has been observed since the early centuries of Christianity, falls on 29 Baramhāt, nine months before the nativity of Jesus on 29 Kiyahk. As this occurs during the Great Lent preceding Easter, it is celebrated with due rejoicing but without breaking the fast, though it is a major feast. If, however, it coincides with Holy Week, it is commemorated without altering any of the solemn observances.

The account of the Annunciation as related in Luke 1:26–38 reflects the humility and willing submission of the Virgin Mary to God's will, in clear contrast to Zechariah's skepticism in reaction to the angel's identical message concerning his wife Elizabeth and the birth of John the Baptist.

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Nativity

The feast of the Nativity of Christ is kept by the Coptic Church on 29 Kiyahk.

The obligation to observe this feast was stipulated in the *Apostolical Constitutions* 5.13: "Brethren, observe the festival days; and first of all the birthday which you are to celebrate," where it is described as a public holiday to all, including slaves and servants: "Let them rest on the festival of His birth, because on it the unexpected favour was granted to men, that Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, should be born of the Virgin Mary, for the salvation of the world."

Many references to the feast of the Nativity occur in the writings of various fathers. ORIGEN (c. 185–254) speaks of the cave at Bethlehem where He was born: "this sight is greatly talked of in surrounding places, even among the enemies of the faith" (*Against Celsus* 1.51). He also refers to the festivals kept in commemoration of the Nativity, Epiphany, the Resurrection, and Pentecost (*Against Celsus* 8.22).

During the first three centuries of the Christian era it seems that the celebration of Christ's nativity and the Epiphany took place on one and the same day, 6 January. Thereafter, from the fourth century onward, the two occasions have been celebrated separately in all churches of Christendom except the Armenian.

There is no indication in any of the Gospels as to the exact day of the week or time of year on which Christ was born, and, therefore, the time could not be determined with any accuracy. Referring to the lack of agreement on the subject, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–215) states: ". . . there are those who have determined not only the year of our Lord's birth, but also the day; and they say that it took place in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, and on the twenty-fifth day of Pachon. . . . Further, others say that he was born on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of Pharamuthi" (*Stromata* 21).

The *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles,* however, strike a note of certainty: "Brethren, observe the festival days; and first of all the birthday which you are to celebrate on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month." The month in question here is the ninth of the Hebrew calendar.

Difference of opinion also applies to the year of Christ's nativity. To Irenaeus (c. 130–200), it was the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus, A.U.C. 751 or 3 B.C., an opinion shared by Tertullian (c. 160–200). Other historians held the view that Christ's birth took place in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, the twenty-eighth year after the conquest of Egypt, A.U.C. 752 or 2 B.C. To this school of thought belong Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–236), EUSE-

BIUS OF CAESAREA (c. 260–340), and EPIPHANIUS, bishop of Salamis (c. 315–403).

Another ecclesiastical writer, Dionysius Exiguus, the Scythian monk who lived in Rome toward the end of the fifth century and in the first half of the sixth and was the first to introduce the system of using the year of the Incarnation as the beginning of the Christian era, fixed the year A.U.C. 753 or 1 B.C. as the year of Jesus' birth.

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Epiphany

This is one of the most popular feasts celebrated by the Copts (on 11 Ṭūbah), for whom it must have been a Christianized form of the ancient Egyptian festivities associated with the Nile as one of their principal dynastic gods. The Coptic Synaxarion states that the Messiah appeared on that day as the Son of God and the Sacred Lamb to obliterate the sins of the world, hence the paramount importance of that feast in the Coptic calendar. On that day, the faithful are purified from sins by the holy water in a way equivalent to baptism.

This feast is preceded by a vigil and a nocturnal mass, one of three night celebrations, the other two being the Nativity and the Ascension. The chief purpose of this function is the sanctification of the water, which in bygone days was brought to the middle of the nave in a large receptacle with two candles on the sides. Prior to the celebration of mass, special prayers are offered for the sanctification of that water with incense, hymns, and reading from the Psalms, the Epistles, and the Gospels. After the completion of the Liturgy, the receptacle is moved to the narthex where the continuation of the offices ends with the faithful plunging into the holy waters. This practice was suppressed in modern times to avoid the confusion ensuing therefrom and did not exist in the primitive church; when its original performance on the banks of the Nile was forbidden by the caliphs after the advent of the Arabs, it was transferred to the churches.

Under early Muslim rule, however, this feast was celebrated with great pomp, and the Muslim historian al-Mas'ūdī gives a lively description of the occasion under Ikhshīd Muḥummad ibn Tughj in the year 941. The bank of the Nile was illuminated by endless torches, and the Egyptians—both Copts and Muslims—emerged in their best apparel. Many plunged into the Nile in the belief that its sanctified water would heal them from all ailments. This is reminiscent of an ancient Egyptian legend, when people reenacted the search of Isis in the waters of the Nile at the place where Seth had killed her husband Osiris and scattered his limbs. In those days, Egyptians also illuminated the Nile bank and plunged into its waters.

Copts used to visit their deceased relatives in the cemeteries on the following day. This tradition has been established among Copts and Muslims alike. The food on that day consists of a special vegetable known in Latin under the name *Colcasia antiquorum*, in Arabic as *qulqās*. It grows in the soil like potatoes. The fruit of the season also is used and distributed to the poor at cemeteries. This includes oranges and mandarins.

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Palm Sunday

One of the most popular feasts among the Copts, this occurs on the seventh Sunday of Lent and has been celebrated by the Coptic church from early Christian times in order to commemorate the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. This begins Holy Week, which is called the week of suffering (*Jum'at al-Ālām*).

The Copts throng their churches from early morning carrying with them plaited palm leaves in the shape of crosses or a round cake of holy bread, or both, decorated with olive twigs and flowers. Religious services on Palm Sunday begin at daybreak and last until the afternoon, although nowadays some curtailment is practiced in town churches. The celebrations include seven processions: three within the sanctuary beyond the iconostasis around the altar, three around the interior of the church, accompanied by censers and a great wood-

en cross decked with branches of palm and three candles. The procession halts briefly before icons and relics. The seventh tour takes place around the altar, while the choir chants hymns. Members of the congregation join in the three central rounds of the procession within the church. After the reading of the Gospel and the office of matins, the Liturgy of either Saint Gregory or Saint Basil is reiterated until the time of communion, when the office of the dead is held at the ninth hour of Palm Sunday. This traditional office among the Copts is especially practiced in behalf of those whose death might occur between Palm Sunday and Easter Monday, for no regular funerary functions are allowed for private individuals whose death falls in the course of Holy Week. Once the celebrations are completed with the aspersion of holy water and the benediction, the faithful withdraw with their palm crosses and their holy bread. As a rule, they break the fast on meals consisting essentially of fish, as this happens to be the only day of Lent when fish is permitted.

In the early centuries of Coptic history, a special procession is said to have been conducted outside the church through the city or town headed by the clergy and followed by the community of the faithful. This tradition remained in force until it was forbidden by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim at the turn of the tenth century.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

Easter

Easter is the greatest and earliest festival of the church, at which Christians celebrate the anniversary of the resurrection of Jesus Christ and His victory over death.

The observance of Easter started as early as the apostolic age. Writing to the Corinthians, probably at or near the Passover season, Saint Paul declares, "Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. 5:7,8).

In the course of their celebration of Easter, the fathers gave it various designations. Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) called it "the paschal feast." To CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (c. 315–386) it was the "holy day of salvation." GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (323–389) called it "the queen of days, the feast of feasts, and the solemnity of solemnities." After the waves of persecution had subsided, and Christianity became the official religion of the empire, Easter was celebrated on a grand scale. Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, described the participation of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT who "changed the holy night vigil into a brightness like that of day, by causing waxen tapers to be lighted throughout the city; besides which torches everywhere diffused their light, so as to impart to this mystic vigil a brilliant splendour beyond that of day."

During the first three centuries there was divergence among the churches about the date of celebrating Christ's resurrection. In Asia Minor, Northern Syria, and Mesopotamia, the church used to commemorate the crucifixion on 14 Nisan and to celebrate the resurrection on 16 Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week on which these two dates fell. The churches of Egypt, Italy, Greece, Palestine, and Africa were particular about commemorating the crucifixion on the Friday and celebrating the resurrection on the Sunday following 14 and 16 Nisan, respectively.

In Egypt, Patriarch DEMETRIUS I (189–231) devised the Epact method of calculating the exact day of Easter Sunday, so that it would always follow the Jewish Passover, in close adherence to the first Easter.

The controversy, nevertheless, continued. There was also a difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of the concept of the crucifixion. To the Asian churches, it was an occasion of rejoicing, on the grounds that it heralded man's release from bondage, while the other churches, including Alexandria, observed Good Friday as a day of mourning and strict fasting. This state of affairs was tolerated by the church, as it was acknowledged that there was apostolic authority for both attitudes, the former deriving from Saint John and Saint Philip, and the latter from the Apostles Peter and Paul.

The difference was settled in the Council of NICAEA (325), which decreed that Easter should be celebrated on the Sunday that followed 14 Nisan, after the full moon of the vernal equinox. The

church of Alexandria, the city that was famous for its expert astronomers, was entrusted with the task of computing the date of Easter and it became the province of the Alexandrian patriarch to proclaim the date of Easter to all the churches of Christendom, in a paschal letter issued on the occasion of the Epiphany.

The following are the main features of the Easter Sunday service:

1. The celebration of the Liturgy starts late on Holy Saturday evening, and ends in the early hours of Sunday, in conformity with the New Testament (Mk. 16:2, 9; Lk. 24:1; Jn. 20:1).

2. As in the case of the feasts of the Nativity and the Epiphany, the Psalms appointed for the third and sixth hours are omitted, in view of the fact that their contents are not compatible with the joyful occasion of the feast.

3. An impressive feature of this service is the enactment of the Resurrection. After the lection from the Acts of the Apostles, which follows the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, the sanctuary door is closed. A priest or a deacon holds the icon of the Resurrection, and the rest of the clergy and deacons, carrying candles, crosses, gospels, and censers, sing the hymn of the Resurrection. Then the priests, together with two or three deacons, enter into the sanctuary, while the rest remain outside in the choir, and the sanctuary doors are then closed (representing the sealed grave from which Christ rose, as well as symbolizing the closure of Paradise as a result of the fall of Adam). All lights in the church are extinguished, and two deacons, standing outside the sanctuary, chant in Coptic "Christ is risen" three times, each time the chief priest responding from within: "He is risen indeed"; this is then repeated in Arabic. The two deacons exclaim, "Lift up your heads, O gates, and be ye lifted up, o ancient doors, that the King of glory may come in" (Ps. 24:7). This is said three times, without response from within the sanctuary. After the third time the chief priest asks, "Who is this King of glory?" to which the deacons answer, "The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord, mighty in battle" (Ps. 24:8–9). Then they knock on the sanctuary door violently, at which the door is pushed open, and the lights are put on.

4. The clergy and deacons go in procession three times around the altar, carrying the icon of the Resurrection, banners, crosses, candles, and censers, and then, coming out, they go thrice around the church singing in Coptic and Arabic the Resurrection *paralex*. Finally the procession enters the sanctuary again and goes around the altar once. Thus, it will be noted that the number of circuits made in the procession is seven, symbolical of the seven circuits made by Joshua, son of Nun, around the gates of the city of Jericho, which finally fell down. This also alludes to the collapse of the gates of Hades upon the death and the resurrection of Christ.

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Ascension

This day commemorates the ascension of Christ to heaven from the Mount of Olives. Luke 24:50–53 seems to imply that the Ascension occurred during the evening of the day of the Resurrection; but it is stated in Acts 1:3 and Mark 16:19 that this event took place in presence of the apostles forty days later. Further implicit references to this are found in John 6:62 and 22:17; Ephesians 4:8–10; Hebrews 4:14 and 7:26; 1 Peter 3:22; and 1 Timothy 3:16. The forty-day tradition is accepted by the Copts and this seems to have been their practice from early times. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, Etheria, and SOCRATES refer to the celebration of the feast in the course of the fourth century.

This feast is solemnly celebrated by the Copts on the fifth Thursday after Easter Sunday, that is, the fortieth day after Christ's Resurrection. It is always accompanied by the same liturgy as the Resurrection, and a procession commemorates the journey of Jesus to the Mount of Olives from which he went to heaven. Among the Copts, this service seems to have taken the form of a simple church function without the popular celebrations of Easter.

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Pentecost

This major feast in the Coptic Church commemorates the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles on the fiftieth day after the Resurrection (Acts 2:1–4). This was in fulfillment of the promise made

by Jesus before His crucifixion: "The counselor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you" (Jn. 14:26). Saint Mark explicitly mentions the promise to enable them "to speak in new tongues" (16:17). These and similar pledges were all fulfilled ten days after the Ascension, that is, fifty days after the Resurrection, equivalent to the Jewish feast of weeks that occurred on the fiftieth day after the Passover (Dt. 16).

In the Acts of the Apostles the descent of the Holy Spirit on the disciples is described as "tongues as of fire, distributed and resting on each of them" (Acts 2:3).

The Coptic translation of the Bible clearly distinguishes between the term "Holy Spirit" when it is used to indicate the HYPOSTASIS and the term when it indicates the gift or grace bestowed upon those who are blessed by the Holy Spirit.

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FEASTS, MINOR. There are seven minor feasts celebrated by the Coptic church.

Feast of Circumcision

This feast occurs on 6 Ṭūbah.

The practice of circumcision started with Abraham, in fulfillment of God's covenant (Gn. 17:9–14), by which every male child should be circumcised on the eighth day after his birth. According to the New Testament, however, the sanctity of this ritual was superseded by the sacrament of holy Baptism. Consequently, just as the uncircumcised were not allowed to partake of the Passover lamb, those who have not been baptized are not allowed to partake of Holy Communion: "In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ; and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead" (Col. 2:11–12). Saint Paul reiterates this point in most of his epistles, but he sums it up succinctly in Galatians: "For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation" (Gal. 6:15).

During the apostolic age, a controversy arose as to whether circumcision was essential as a religious practice. The apostles met in 51–52 at Jerusalem and agreed to send Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by Judas Barsabas and Silas, to Antioch to settle the issue by explaining the real significance of circumcision in the light of the teachings of the New Testament (Acts 15:1–29).

Article 51 (7–13) of Ibn al-'Assāl's *Al-Majmū' al-Ṣafawī* (The Legal Compendium) states that circumcision is a practice followed out of habit and not in compliance with any religious ordinance, and that, though optional, it should not be carried out once a person has been baptized. Likewise, Bishop Athanasius of Qūṣ explained that circumcision was not prescribed for females either prior to, or following, baptism (a remark quoted by Ibn al-'Assāl).

Candlemas

Celebrated on 8 Amshīr, Candlemas commemorates Christ's entry with the Virgin Mary forty days after His birth into the temple at Jerusalem. In accordance with the law of Moses, a mother had to present her newborn child at the temple at the end of the prescribed period of purification, which was forty days in the case of a male child and eighty in the case of a female child (Lev. 12:2–8). The same law demanded that every first-born male was to be consecrated to the service of God (hence the words of Lk. 2:22–23). The Levites were later chosen from among the children of Israel to be consecrated priests, but as they were found to be outnumbered, it was decreed that first-born male children were to be redeemed for a sum of money (five shekels).

Notwithstanding the miraculous virgin birth of Jesus, Mary and Joseph "performed all things according to the law of the Lord" (Lk. 2:39).

Candlemas is also the celebration of the meeting between the infant Jesus and Simeon the elder, who was "righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Spirit was upon him" (Lk. 2:25). It had been disclosed to him by the Holy Spirit that he would not die until he had seen the Messiah.

From the reading for 8 Amshīr in the Coptic SYNAXARION we learn that Simeon was one of the translators of the Septuagint. While working on the text

of Isaiah 7:14 ("Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel") Simeon was skeptical, and felt inclined to use the word "maid" instead of "virgin." In a vision the Lord promised him that he would not see death until he had seen the Lord Jesus Christ in person, born of the Virgin.

Another person who witnessed the presentation of Christ into the temple was the prophetess Anna, daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Asher, a devout wife for seven years and a widow for eighty-four years, who served God with fastings and prayers in the temple. She, too, gave thanks to the Lord for granting her the sight of the Redeemer.

In the course of celebrating this feast, the congregation carries candles to signify that Christ is the light of the world and that, in the words of Simeon, He is a "light for revelation to the Gentiles."

Entry of the Holy Family into Egypt

This feast is celebrated on 24 Bashans.
[*See also* Flight into Egypt.]

Feast of the Marriage at Cana

This feast occurs on 13 Ṭūbah. It celebrates the first miracle performed by Jesus Christ during His ministry, when He changed the water into wine, thereby manifesting His glory to His disciples who consequently "believed in Him" (Jn. 2:11).

The following truths may be deduced from this miraculous event:

1. It is the first evidence of the power of Jesus Christ over matter, a power derived from within. Jesus demonstrates this power in later similar situations such as the healing of the woman who had an issue of blood, by her merely touching Him (Mt. 9:20–22; Mk. 5:25–34; Lk. 8:43–48).

2. It establishes the intercessional character of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is evident in Jesus' prompt response to her request.

3. It is an advance confirmation of the mystery of the Eucharist, the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Consequently the continuous growth in spiritual life is dependent on the full integration with Christ, like branches in their relation to the vine. "As the branch cannot bear fruit by itself, unless it abide in the vine, neither can you, unless you abide in me" (Jn. 15:4).

The wine converted at Cana was not intoxicating, but "good" wine as testified to by the owner of the feast, wholesome and beneficial, rather like the wine of blessing mentioned in Genesis 27:28, 37, and in Deuteronomy 7:13, or the eucharistic wine.

4. It is a manifest indication that the church blesses marriage and treats it as a sacrament. Hence there are many references to the marriage feast of Cana in the sacrament of holy Matrimony. Again, in the offering of incense on the eve of 13 Ṭūbah, the lection from Matthew 19, which is used in the prayers during the matrimony service, is included in the celebration of the Feast of Cana of Galilee, "Have you not read that he who made them from the beginning made then male and female. . . . What therefore God has joined together, let no man put asunder" (Mt. 19:4–6).

Maundy Thursday

Maundy Thursday commemorates Christ's institution of the sacrament of Eucharist; "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to the disciples and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body.' And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, 'Drink of it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins'" (Mt. 26:26–28; Mk. 14:22–24; Lk. 22:19, 20; Jn. 6:53–58; 1 Cor. 11:23–29; 10:16–17).

As with all covenants drawn between God and man and consolidated by means of a blood bond (e.g., circumcision in the case of Abraham, and the paschal lamb in the case of Moses), Christ's redemptive covenant was confirmed on the cross by means of His precious blood. The commemorative service that the Coptic church holds on Maundy Thursday, the only day with a Liturgy in Holy Week, is particularly rich in spiritual nourishment. It falls into three main parts.

The first part covers the canonical hours of Holy Week, starting with the first hour (or morning prayer), followed by the third, sixth, and ninth hours, in each of which the lection from the Old Testament is in perfect harmony with that from the New Testament. After each hour the relevant Psalm is chanted in a special sad melody, then follow the appointed readings from the Gospels, and finally a short passage, called *ṭarḥ* in the commentary, is usually sung as a hymn.

The second part is the service of footwashing, known as LAQQĀN, meaning basin. As in the service for the sanctification of the waters on the feast of the Epiphany, the priest prays over a basin filled with water, with a lighted candle on either side.

There are nine readings from the Old Testament and two from the New Testament, and some prayers and homilies on the theme of humility, meekness, and self-denial that our Lord taught us by precept and practice. An actual footwashing takes place, following the example of Jesus Christ: "If I then, your Lord and teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you" (Jn. 13:14, 15). Vested in an *epitrachelion* (see LITURGICAL VESTMENTS), the high priest dips a cloth into the consecrated water and washes the feet of his fellow priests and the congregation.

The third part is the liturgy proper, in obedience to Jesus' commandment: "Do this in remembrance of me" (Lk. 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:25). It is noteworthy that in the Maundy Thursday Eucharist, in view of the Passion of our Lord and the particular incidents that take place prior to His resurrection, the following changes are made:

1. The Psalms that precede the offering of the lamb are omitted.

2. There are no lections from the Catholic epistles or the Acts of the Apostles. The reading from the Pauline epistle is confined to 1 Corinthians 11:23–34.

3. The Gospel reading, which is taken from Matthew 26:20–29, is preceded by these relevant verses from the Psalms: "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of my enemies" (Ps. 23:5) and "Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted up his heel against me" (Ps. 41:9).

4. The prayer of reconciliation (as reconciliation is only effected through the Crucifixion) is omitted.

5. The kiss of peace is omitted (because Judas Iscariot betrayed Jesus with a kiss).

6. Three sections from the Creed—"He was crucified for us at the time of Pontius Pilate"; "He suffered and was buried; and the third day he rose again from the dead, according to the Scriptures"; and "He ascended to the heavens; he sat at the right hand of His Father; He will also come again in His glory to judge the living and the dead; of Whose Kingdom there shall be no end"—are dropped.

7. The commemoration of the saints is omitted. While Holy Communion is being administered, the usual Psalm (150) and its accompanying expressions of exultation are to be replaced by three readings from the eleventh canonical hour, taken from the Old Testament. The Psalm and Saint John's Gospel (13:21–30) are then read in a sad melody. Finally the priest gives the blessing and dismissal.

Late on Maundy Thursday evening, prayers are resumed in preparation for the rite of Good Friday.

Sunday of Thomas

The feast of Thomas falls on the first Sunday after the Resurrection. Thomas was one of the twelve disciples chosen by Christ (Mt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Jn. 11:16). In Saint John's Gospel he is always referred to as Didymus (Aramaic, twin).

When Jesus Christ appeared to the disciples after His resurrection, Thomas was not present (Jn. 20), and on hearing of it he was skeptical. He suspended his belief pending actually seeing the marks of the wounds with his own eyes and touching them with his own fingers. When, therefore, Jesus appeared to the disciples the following Sunday He asked Thomas to dispel his doubts, "Put your finger here, and see my hands; and put out your hand, and place it in my side; do not be faithless, but believing" (Jn. 20:27).

A clearer idea of the true character of Thomas can be grasped if we take into account that he once offered to die with Jesus on His way to see Lazarus in Bethany. "Let us also go, that we may die with him," said Thomas when he learned that the Jews were seeking to kill Him (Jn. 11:16). One does not doubt the sincerity of such a statement. Though he could not accept facts unless verified by experience like a great many people who have less faith than reason, the so-called doubting Thomas was the very first among the twelve disciples to confess the divinity of Jesus Christ.

The moment he assured himself of the reality of the scars in Christ's hands and in His side, faith welled up from within him and he proclaimed, "My Lord and my God." Christ's rebuke, however, is of particular significance to all those who share Thomas's skepticism: "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe" (Jn. 20:29).

Transfiguration

The vision of Jesus Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor was witnessed by three disciples—Peter, James, and John—in fulfillment of Christ's promise, "Truly I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom" (Mt. 16:28; Mk. 9:1; Lk. 9:27). This, however, was not the first time that these three disciples were chosen by Christ for a particular grace to be bestowed upon them. We learn from Mark 5:37–40 that when Jesus

Lord was on his way to raise the daughter of Jairus from the dead, "he allowed no one to follow him except Peter and James and John the brother of James." He also singled them out to be with Him during His agony in the Garden of Gethsemane: "remain here, and watch with me" (Mt. 26:37–39; Mk. 14:33–35).

If we were to suggest possible grounds to justify the special treatment accorded to these three disciples, we might offer the following considerations. Peter was the eldest disciple, and the first of the twelve to proclaim the sonship of our Lord, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16). James was the first disciple to gain the crown of martyrdom. He was killed by Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great (Acts 12:1–2). John, the brother of James, both of whom Jesus surnamed Boanerges (the sons of thunder) because of their notable zeal and fervor, was himself the very personification of purity and chastity, which earned him the special love of Christ.

As regards the number of the disciples who were present at the Transfiguration, it is in keeping with the established precept necessitating two or three for a lawful witness (Dt. 17:6; Mt. 18:16; 2 Cor. 13:1).

According to church tradition, the location of the Transfiguration is Mount Tabor, the same spot that saw the encounter between Abraham and Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18–20). Some scholars, however, dispute this and suggest Mount Hermon or the Mount of Olives instead. Mention is consistently made in the *Euchologion* and the doxology of Mount Tabor, particularly in the Psalmody of Good Friday, where Christ is described as transfigured on Tabor.

In the Western churches the feast of Transfiguration was recognized only toward the end of the Middle Ages. The Eastern churches, however, started to observe it at a much earlier date, first as a local and unofficial feast, then solemnized some time before the end of the first millennium. There are records that as early as the sixth century three churches had been built on the eastern slope of Mount Tabor, in memory of the three tabernacles that Peter requested permission to make. The Copts observe this minor feast on 13 Misrā.

The special significance of the Transfiguration lies in the fact that, with the appearance of Moses and Elijah next to Christ, it provided testimony of the Jewish law and prophets to the messianic nature of Christ, and gave further divine proclamation of His sonship to God by these words: "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased" (Mt. 17:5).

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FEBRONIA, SAINT, fourth-century nun who was martyred (feast day, 1 Abīb). We do not know if the notice in the SYNAXARION regarding Febronia was derived from the original Syriac text (cf. Simon, 1924) or from the Greek.

The story of Febronia is told by Muslim as well as Christian historians (AL-MAQRĪZĪ, 1853, Vol. 2, p. 493; Al-Makīn, 1625, p. 99).

The notice in the Synaxarion is rather banal and gives little information. While she was very young, Febronia was conducted to a monastery in Nisibis in Mesopotamia, of which her aunt was the superior. When Diocletian's persecutions began, the emperor's messengers came to the convent and seized the superior, but Febronia said to them, "Take me, and leave that old woman." They led her off to the town, where she confessed her faith before the governor. He tried to coax her, but did not succeed in shaking her. He had her tongue cut out and her teeth drawn; her limbs were cut and she was roasted; finally the weary governor ordered her throat to be cut. A rich believer took her members and placed them in a gilded chest.

ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN reports another story, which is said to have taken place at Dayr al-Ḥamidāt at the time of Marwān and the Bashmurites, who assisted him in the war against the Abbasids. Febronia was a nun in the convent that was besieged by the Bashmurites. She pretended to possess an unguent which rendered her invulnerable, and proposed to make a trial of it, but she died by the sword, and thus saved her sisters. The story is

found in the narrative concerning KHĀ'ĪL I (744–767), but without topographical details (*History of the Patriarchs*, Vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 162). It is a well-known theme of folklore, the exact origin of which, however, is not known (Cerulli, 1946, pp. 439–81).

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FELIX, SAINT, third-century missionary who was one of the saints martyred near the Roman fortress of Turicum (Zurich) (feast day: 1 Tūt). The earliest descriptions of his death are found in the eighth-century Codex 225 in the Convent of Saint Gall (pp. 473–78), the mid-ninth-century Codex C.10.i in the Central Library of Zurich (fols. 59r–60r), and the late ninth-century Codex 550 in Saint Gall (pp. 29–39). Linguistic, geographical, and chronological studies of the first two codices indicate that both are based on a much earlier manuscript, possibly written by Florentinus in the fourth century.



Saint Felix and his sister, Saint Regula. Stone relief. Pillar in the Grossmünster, Zurich, Switzerland. *Courtesy Samir Girgis.*

According to these accounts, Felix, his sister Saint REGULA, and their companions, all members of the THEBAN LEGION, left Agaunum (Saint Maurice-en-Valais, Switzerland) upon the advice of their commander, Saint MAURITIUS, in order to carry Christianity into new territory. Heading east, they traversed the desolate wastes of Glarus and finally reached the Limmat River at the end of Lake Zurich. There they remained, preaching the word of God. However, Maximian, later emperor, notorious for his ruthless persecution of the Theban Legion, had them pursued. As a result, they were brought before Decius, Roman governor of the region, who in the face of their resolute faith ordered that they be tortured. Legend says that during this torture, a voice from heaven proclaimed, "Fear not. A crown is ready for you, and you will have great glory among the host of my saints." After they were beheaded, the saints arose and carried their heads in their hands forty ells uphill, to a spot that became their resting place and over which the Zurich Grossmünster now stands. Two other Zurich edifices built to commemorate this event are the Wasserkirche, which stands over the spot of their martyrdom, and the Fraumünster, which contains eight famous medieval frescoes depicting every stage of the story. Although we have no specific dates of the construction of these edifices, their erection is ascribed by tradition to Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, or his grandson Louis the German.

Throughout the Middle Ages, these three churches enjoyed many privileges from the Holy Roman Emperor, and they became popular centers of veneration. Indeed, during the iconoclasm of the Swiss Reformation, a portrait of the saints that adorned their resting place in the Grossmünster was the only image to survive destruction. The gilded shrine holding the main relics of the saints at the Grossmünster was hidden, and thus saved. In 1225 the risen saints, with head in hand, were depicted on the oldest seal of Zurich, and they still appear on the coat of arms of both the city and the canton.

Other sites of veneration in Switzerland are the Church of Saints Felix and Regula in Zurich, the Church of Niederglatt and the Church of Wattwil in Saint Gall, and the Church of Thalwil in Zurich. We also find evidence of homage to Felix and Regula in Swabia, Alsace, and Hungary.

[*See also* Exuperantius, Saint.]

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FESTAL DAYS, MONTHLY. At present, the Coptic church observes three monthly festal days. These three monthly commemorations are recorded in the Synaxarion at 12 Ba'ūnah with reference to the story of Saint Euphemia, a devout widow who used to observe her husband's habit of distributing alms, especially on these three feasts every month.

The first, the Feast of the Angel, is observed on the twelfth day of every Coptic month (Budge, 1915, pp. 917–19). It is held to commemorate Saint MICHAEL the Archangel through laudation, which follows the reading of the Synaxarion in the church. It is more regularly observed in churches dedicated to Saint Michael and is usually a simple memorial except on the two main feasts of Saint Michael, 12 Hātūr and 12 Ba'ūnah. Some Copts, following the custom of their ancestors recorded in the Synaxarion under 12 Hātūr and 12 Ba'ūnah, still make vows and observe a monthly family feast, to which the priest also is invited to bless the meal that follows the prayer of laudation and the reading of the homily. Such family or church festivals are more often observed on the main feasts, where "Saint Michael's bread" is also prepared by the faithful, blessed by the priest, and then distributed to those who are present and to the poor.

The Feast of the Virgin occurs on the twenty-first of every Coptic month. It is a simple memorial service consisting of laudation after the reading of the Synaxarion, with some more hymns sung to the Virgin. The monthly feast is more regularly observed in churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, especially the feasts commemorating her dormition, 21 Ṭūbah, and the consecration of the first church dedicated to the THEOTOKOS at Philippi, 21 Ba'ūnah.

The commemoration of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Resurrection of the Lord is observed on the twenty-ninth of every Coptic month with the present exception of the months of Ṭūbah and Amshīr, which represent the Old Testament period and the silence that preceded the Annunciation, respectively. Thus, this monthly commemoration continues for ten successive months, beginning on the Annunciation, 29 Baramhāt, and running until the Nativity, 19 Kiyahk. The Resurrection of the Lord also occurred on 29 Baramhāt (see FEASTS, MAJOR).

Commonly both 29 Baramūdah and 29 Bashans fall during Paschaltide, the fifty days beginning with Easter Sunday. Therefore, they are dedicated, like all the days of Paschaltide, only to the commemoration of the Resurrection.

If these days of monthly commemoration fall on fast days, the fast is ended directly after the liturgy, which is to be celebrated early in the morning, but the required abstinence is observed. The liturgy is recited in the joyful mode (see LAḤN).

The lessons appointed for the day are to be read as usual. But if it be a Sunday, the lessons are to be changed for those of 29 Baramhāt, except during Paschaltide where the appointed lessons are to be observed. Burial and memorial services are to be performed, as on Sunday, without using the mourning mode.

On 29 Baramhāt, the hymns commemorate the Annunciation only, and verses like "Jesus Christ the Son of God took flesh from the Virgin" and "For Thou hast come and saved us" are the recurrent theme of singing. The commemoration of the Resurrection is restricted on that day to the reading of the Synaxarion (and the Fraction Prayer for the feasts of the Lord), since the glorious celebrations of the Holy Resurrection are to take place only on Easter Sunday and Paschaltide.

The twenty-ninth of the months Ba'ūnah, Abīb, Misrā, Tūt, Bābah, and Hātūr is designated for the commemoration of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Resurrection, together with the use of a verse for each or "Thou hast come, wast born, and hast risen and saved us."

There were additional Coptic monthly feasts, but they are not observed at present. The beginning of every month was observed by the ancient Egyptians, not with festive processions or ceremonies of a mythical character but simply with a service offered for the dead. However, there is no evidence

to relate the beginning of the Egyptian month to the moon.

This custom survived in Christian Egypt for some centuries in the form of a eucharistic liturgical service, as is attested by JOHN OF NIKIOU (c. 690), who attributed the origin of this custom to the Romans, saying, "Now March is the beginning of months [i.e., the beginning of the Roman year]. And in the beginning of the month they celebrate a feast, and they named that feast 'Primus.'" His comment testifies to the Coptic custom of eucharistic celebration at the beginning of every month when it goes on to say, "It is for this reason that the holy fathers, the Egyptian monks, who were clothed with God, offer at the beginning of every month an unbloody sacrifice to the holy consubstantial Trinity and receive the holy life-giving mysteries, while they chant the words of the Psalm 80, 'Blow up the trumpet in the day of the new moon, on the notable day of our festival'" (Charles, 1916, p. 46).

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FIGURINES, METAL. *See* Metalwork, Coptic.

FIGURINES, TERRA-COTTA. *See* Ceramics, Coptic.

FILIOQUE, a Latin word meaning "and from the Son" added to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed by the Latin church after the words "the Holy Spirit . . . Who proceeds from the Father." It was the subject of dissension between Eastern and Western churches.

History of the Filioque Controversy

Ideas akin to those expressed by the *filioque* were accepted in the West at a comparatively early date: the so-called Athanasian Creed refers to procession from the Father and the Son. At the Third Synod of Toledo in 589, the Visigoth king Recared confirmed his abandonment of ARIANISM by announcing that "the Holy Spirit also should be confessed by us and taught to proceed from the Father and the Son," and he recited both the NICENE CREED and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed with the addition of the *filioque*. The *filioque* and the doctrine it expressed were particularly useful as a means of combating or explicitly rejecting Arianism. The idea, though not the *filioque* itself, had reached England by the late seventh century; and Pope Martin I included the word in the synodal letter he sent to Constantinople in 649. But though the idea of the double procession obviously had gained some currency by this time, its general significance was still limited.

The *filioque* became a matter of more general controversy when it penetrated the Frankish kingdoms and became enshrined in Frankish religious policy and ideas of kingship. It appears to have been discussed (in relation to the Greeks) at the Synod of Gentilly summoned by Pepin the Short in 767. It has been suggested that, because of a delay in the sending of a Mass book from Rome when it was requested by Charlemagne in 785, Alcuin set to compiling a work of his own in which a version of the creed with the *filioque* was interpolated.

Whatever the truth about the route by which the *filioque* reached the Franks (there have been several theories), it soon became an orthodox doctrine to be defended by Charlemagne and his theologians. The conclusion of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which saw the defeat of the iconoclasts, was the occasion for a defiant trumpeting of the Frankish view of doctrine and theology. The *Libri Carolini* (790) subjected the acts of the council to scathing criticism and took issue with Patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople, who had dared to say that the procession of the Holy Spirit was from the Father through the Son. Pope Hadrian I attempted to justify Tarasius' doctrine to the Franks, but in 794 Charlemagne called his own supposedly universal council to Frankfurt, where the *filioque* was used to condemn the heresy of adoptionism. At the slightly later Synod of Friuli, Paulinus of Aquileia defended the legitimacy of additions to the creed that do not contradict the teachings of the church fathers.

About 807 a dispute broke out on the Mount of Olives between Greek and Frankish monks over the latter group's use of the *filioque*. Pope Leo II, to whom they had appealed for support, made it clear that he had no doctrinal objections to the *filioque*, though he later told a group of Frankish churchmen that while he had allowed the creed to be sung

in the Mass throughout the empire, he could not sanction any additions to it. Moreover, he advised the Franks to stop having the creed sung in the Mass, while the *filioque* was quietly removed. It seems only fair to assume that Leo was annoyed at the way the *filioque* had, in 809, been transformed into official doctrine of the church in the Western empire. His final action on the subject was to have two silver tablets engraved—one in Greek, the other in Latin—with the uninterpolated Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and to hang one at each side of the tomb of Saint Peter in Rome.

Renewed friction was generated by the use of the *filioque* later in the ninth century, when a mission to the Bulgars headed by Bishop Formosus of Porto not only requested the khan to dismiss Byzantine missionaries but also was found to be using the interpolated creed. The patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, had already clashed with Pope Nicholas I over the matter of Nicholas' election. He now energetically attacked the use of the *filioque* and eventually declared Nicholas deposed on a charge of heresy. Photius is sometimes accused of insincerity. It is alleged that he would never have raised the question of the *filioque* had it not been for the difficulties surrounding his elevation to the patriarchate. This, however, is to overstate the case. Photius consistently complained not of any injury done to him but of that done to the creed and the fathers of the church. His most ambitious defense of the anti-*filioque* position was the *Mystagogia*, completed in exile after his deposition of 886. In this work he attempted to show that the *filioque* implied not one but two causes in the Trinity, destroyed the principle of a *monarchia* within the Trinity, and seemed to relegate the Holy Spirit to an inferior rank. The Western replies to Photius came, not surprisingly, from Frankish theologians such as Ratramnus of Corbie, who quoted scripture, councils of the church, and both Latin and Greek church fathers in an anti-Greek tract composed before the council of 879–880 at which Photius had succeeded in obtaining from Roman legates not only acceptance of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed without additions but also an agreement that no additions should be made to it.

Nevertheless, by the eleventh century the Franks had succeeded in imposing the *filioque* on the papacy. It is generally agreed that Benedict VIII acceded to the wish of the German emperor Henry II, who had inherited this theological and liturgical legacy, and the creed with the *filioque* was sung in Rome. This did not mean its automatic dissemination throughout the West as a whole; we learn from Alexander of Hales that it was not in use in Paris as late as 1240. But the papacy's acceptance ensured that it was mentioned in 1054. One of the accusations leveled at Constantinople in that year by Humbert of Silva Candida and his companions, papal legates seeking reconciliation of the Eastern and Western churches, was that the Greeks had omitted the *filioque* from the creed. Other considerations, such as that over the azymes, had hitherto played a more prominent part in the dispute, but it is noteworthy that Michael Cerularius' *Panoplia* gave priority to a defense of the Eastern version of the creed, before returning to the azymes and other matters.

By the late eleventh century, however, there was some degree of willingness on the part of some prominent churchmen to try to account for the differences that had grown up between East and West on the subject of the *filioque*. Theophylact, archbishop of Ochrida in Bulgaria, while unequivocally condemning the West for innovating in matters of faith and stressing the gravity of their error, believed that the Latins erred through ignorance more than through wickedness. They did not understand the meaning of the word "procession," on which the whole debate about the relations of Father, Son, and Spirit turned; even then, there was some excuse to be made for them on account of the poverty of the Latin tongue.

At the Council of Bari in 1098, Anselm of Canterbury admitted of a difference between the versions of the creed used in East and West but strove to show that the addition of the *filioque* was not an innovation; rather, it was a matter of doctrinal clarification. In his *De processione Spiritus Sancti* (1102) he argues his own view of the Trinity while presenting possible Greek counterarguments. Although at first glance his view of the internal relations of the Trinity looks remarkably similar to the Eastern view of a monarchy within the Trinity, he is in fact stressing the double procession of the Holy Spirit and the common essence of the three Persons. As for the matter of addition to the creed, for which the Greeks criticize the Latins, he merely says that it was difficult for the Latins to consult on the issue at the time. This looks like a rather more hard-line defense of the Latin position than do his remarks at Bari, but he was also capable of saying that differences should not lead to argument and that the Greek church was no less faithful than the Latin.

In the twelfth century discussion involving the *filioque* took place between Greek and Latin churchmen in the form of theological debates that

were not usually surrounded by any great mutual animosity. In the thirteenth century, however, new developments took place. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the rulers of the Greek successor states to Byzantium found themselves faced on more than one occasion with politico-military threats of such magnitude that the backing of the papacy was a necessity. The way to achieve this backing was to hold discussions on the vexing subject of church union. Under the Nicene rulers John Vatatzes and Theodore Lascaris such avenues were explored, and during Vatatzes' negotiations it became clear that even if the Greek clergy were willing to submit to Rome, they still believed that only the sanction of a general council could legitimately add the *filioque* to the creed.

After the recapture of Constantinople by the Greeks in 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologos faced the prospect of a Western "crusade" against his empire by Charles of Anjou and therefore urged a union on his church and populace, which was confirmed at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. There was no theological discussion at Lyons, which in any case was attended by only a few Greeks as representatives of the emperor. They repeated the *filioque* several times during the proceedings. Although the *filioque* was by now, in the eyes of the West, a doctrine that the Greeks would have to accept as a prelude to union, it is interesting to note that the form its acknowledgment took was an anathema upon those who denied the *filioque* and upon those "who have presumed with audacious temerity to assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles rather than one." In his patriarch, John Bekkos, Michael VIII appears to have found a man who was personally convinced of the identity of Greek and Latin doctrines on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and who would continue to defend these beliefs even after the rejection of union by the Greeks as a whole, and his deposition and imprisonment.

The final attempt at union of the churches took place at the Council of Florence in 1438–1439 (see FLORENCE, COPTS AT THE COUNCIL OF); there the *filioque* was the object of eight months of debate between Greek and Latin theologians. The occasionally bizarre aspects of this debate have sometimes been overstressed—rather a lot of attention has been devoted to the episode in which the most obviously antiunionist Greek clergyman, Mark of Ephesus, was accused of falsifying, or conniving at the falsification of, a text of Saint BASIL THE GREAT, whom he had cited in an attempt to clarify a passage from Epiphanius. The public sessions of debate on the *filioque* did not achieve any change in the Greek viewpoint there and then, and it is perhaps worth remembering in this context that the Greeks were subject to considerable pressure from their emperor, who sought union in the face of military threat.

Nevertheless, the chief interlocutor on the Latin side, John of Montenero, had affirmed that the Latins perceived only one cause in the Trinity (thus avoiding, as the Lyons formula doubtless had sought to avoid, Greek accusations of creating two principles in the Trinity). Greeks well disposed to union, such as Bessarion and Scholarios, confessed themselves disappointed in the arguments of their own side. Bessarion was to argue, after hearing the seemingly interminable arguments in which both Greeks and Latins cited fathers of the church—and often the same fathers of the church—in defense of their respective viewpoints on the question of the *filioque*, that the saints could not err and could not in reality contradict each other. It has been argued that Bessarion was influenced by his reading of Aquinas, some of whose work had been translated into Greek by this time. The conclusion reached on the *filioque* when union was finally proclaimed was that "the Holy Spirit is ultimately from the Father and the Son, that he takes his essence as well as being from Father and Son, that he proceeds eternally from one and from the other as if from one principle and one spiration. . . . the *filioque* has been reasonably and legitimately inserted into the symbol [creed]."

Theological Background and Interpretation

There have been many attempts to discern behind the history of the inclusion of the *filioque* in the Western creed and the subsequent East–West controversies, the existence of two distinct and contradictory trinitarian models, which can be perceived through the complaints of one side against the other and through the references of both sides to patristic writers, both Greek and Latin.

The master of Western trinitarian thought is Augustine, whose theology is eventually expressed in the *filioque*. In his *De Trinitate* he declares, "Neither can we say that the Holy Spirit does not also proceed from the Son, for the same Spirit is not without reason said to be from the Father and the Son." Augustine combines a stress on the divine essence in the Trinity with the use of the Aristotelian category of relation to produce a concept in

which it is the divine essence, common to all the Persons of the Trinity, that is of real significance and also a causal agent. The Persons themselves, or the idea of Person, is not particularly emphasized. The Spirit is the Spirit "of the son"; he proceeds from the Son; and since the Spirit is sent by the Son—the West does not tend to distinguish between the procession and the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit—therefore the Spirit must come from Him; and as the Spirit is the common bond between Father and Son, it must proceed from both. Augustine believes that the Father has given the power of spiration to the Son; the Spirit proceeds from both, and (as he makes explicit in *Tractatus in Joannem Evangelium*) at once.

Augustine's thought was extensively used and quoted by the West. The Carolingian and post-Carolingian theologians involved in controversy over the *filioque*, such as Theodulf of Orleans, the anonymous author of the *Libellus de processione Spiritus Sancti*, Aeneas of Paris, and Ratramnus of Corbie, all used him. Nor does Anselm's basic thought differ substantially from that of Augustine. The explanatory framework of the *De processione* is Anselm's own but, like Augustine, he concentrates on the essence rather than the Persons of the Trinity. Saint Thomas Aquinas was also dependent to a degree on Augustine, especially when dealing with the charge—also leveled against the Latins by the Greeks—of teaching two principles in the godhead through the *filioque*. He used Augustine's *De Trinitate* (though not word for word) to show that the Father and Son are not two principles but one principle of the Holy Spirit. Augustine also was used by Aquinas to state that "the Father is principle of the entire godhead." Again, this might be used as a counter to Eastern claims. Since much of the difficulty over the *filioque* stemmed from inadequacies of vocabulary and problems over terminology, it is interesting to note that Aquinas championed the Latin idea of "principle" in the Trinity rather than the Greek "cause," believing that the latter word implied some degree of subordination within the Trinity.

The patristic background to and theological implications of the Eastern view of the Trinity present considerable difficulties. Most writers seem to agree that the East does not concentrate on the essence (the Western, Augustinian concept of essence) but comes to agree on one *ousia* (substance) and three hypostases (persons). It also seems to be beyond dispute that the East regarded the hypostasis of God the Father as the cause and fountainhead of being in the Trinity—hence the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed's "from the Father."

After this point, however, substantial problems arise. It is noteworthy that considerable use was made by Western theologians of quotations from Eastern patristic writers. Both eighth- and ninth-century writers, for instance, quote from Saint ATHANASIUS I, DIDYMUS THE BLIND, Saint Basil the Great, SAINT GREGORY OF NYSSA, SAINT GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, and CYRIL I in an attempt to provide justification for the *filioque*. Part of the problem may have been resolved by recent work that shows that many of the passages or works used in this context are not authentic or, at least, have been interpreted out of their general context. This still leaves the more general question of interpretation. For J. Gill, the theology of Cyril and the Alexandrian school was developed by Augustine and eventually took shape in the West in the *filioque*. A. Palmieri sees in the works of the Cappadocians similar adumbrations of *filioque* theology. Recent work fastens on the *ek Patros di Uiou* as the real expression of Eastern trinitarian thought, emphasizing its relation to the theory of *monarchia* in the Trinity and to the idea of one cause and origin expressed by Gregory of Nyssa, who wrote of the Trinity in terms of one cause and two causes, the Son caused directly by the Father and indirectly by the Spirit.

In the eighth century, Patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople maintained "from the Father through the Son." Yet it is still difficult to say whether "through the Son" is universally acceptable as being the true expression of Eastern patristic or medieval thought on the procession. Part of the problem lies in the circumstance that Western thinkers then and now tend to fasten on the expression "through the Son" as proof of the Father, and more than one historian of the Eastern church regards the *ek Patros di Uiou* as a compromise formula. Of the Eastern writers, Photius gives what is probably the most extreme defense of "from the Father" alone—but this is a concept not incompatible with that of the Father as cause expressed by other Eastern theologians; and Photius was, in any case, defending the creed against interpolation. And while it was possible for pro-unionists such as Bekkos to quote from other Eastern theologians in defense of the *filioque*, Photius defies this approach to such an extent that Bekkos makes him one of the real authors of the schism between East and West. (Palmieri [1913] seems to share a similar point of view.)

The formula *ex Patre Filioque tanquam ab uno principio*, used at Lyons in 1274 and at Florence in

1439, might be thought to overcome at least some of the Greek objections to the *filioque*, in that it deals with the problem of more than one cause or principle of origin in the Trinity. It is noteworthy that Bekkos felt able to declare that there was only one single production of the Holy Spirit. At Florence, during the long textual and metaphysical discussions on the *filioque*, John of Montenero reaffirmed, on behalf of the Latins, a belief in one principle. But both before and after Florence the idea that "from the Son" and "through the Son" were "identical in force" ran into a good deal of skepticism from Greeks who believed that this was simply another way of foisting the unacceptable *filioque* on them.

For the East, including the Coptic church, the *filioque* represented an illicit addition to the creed. It has been said that even if the Eastern church had believed the *filioque* to be theologically acceptable, the interpolation would still have been condemned. Photius, it should be remembered, at one time managed to obtain a retraction of the *filioque* from papal representatives and a promise that no further additions should be made to the creed. The West frequently argued that there was no substantive difference in belief and that the word had been used only for purposes of clarification. Another western argument was that the First Council of EPHESUS (431) had not forbidden alteration of the creed itself but, rather, any formulations contrary to its spirit, and that the Nicene Creed had itself been altered at the First Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 381.

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FIQTOR. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

FĪS, SAINT. An extensive life of this saint and an account of several of his miracles can be found in two manuscripts of Coptic origin.

The Life of Abū Fīs (National Library, Paris, Arabe 4775, fols. 179v–96v, ninth century) was copied by the Muslim Muḥammad 'Izzat, as commissioned by E. Amélineau. Since this text is unique and still unknown, a translation of the incipit follows: "Listen and pay heed, o people who love Chriṣt, so that I may recount to you the life of this man. This saint Abā Fīs was, ever since his childhood, when he was in the house of his parents. . . ."

Another manuscript of the Life of Abū Fīs is mentioned in passing by J. Muyser (Church of the Virgin of Ḥārit Zuwaylah, Cairo, Liturgy 23, fols. 1ff.). In it, allusion is made to the visit paid by the young Fīs to Abū Hor the Fuller (al-Qaṣṣār) of Abraḥat, who was living in the Mountain of the Pillar (Jabal al-'Amūd) near Qāw (now 'Izbat al-Aqbāṭ) with the intention of taking the monastic habit. According to this description, he was living to the west of the Nile and to the south of Qāw, probably near today's Ṭimā.

As for miracles, these are, as usual, linked to the consecration of the church dedicated to the saint. This took place on 11 Ba'ūnah. Some of these are recounted in a mutilated manuscript dated 1360–1363, copied by Jirjis Abū al-Barakāt ibn Rizqallāh, the great-grandson of the Coptic encyclopedist Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d. 1324) (Coptic Museum, Cairo, History 469, fols. 276v–80v). Since this text is unique and unknown, the incipit (after the conventional preface) may be translated as: "O beloved brethren, we shall mention a few of the miracles of the great and pious saint, the venerated Father Abū Fīs. . . ."

An isolated folio (perhaps fifteenth century) containing a fragment on Abū Fīs kept in the University Library of Louvain (fonds Lefort arabe A 14) was burned in the fire that devastated the library during World War I.

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FISH. *See* Symbols in Coptic Art.

FĪSHAH, earlier name of the Egyptian town now known as Fīshah Balkhah, which is located in the province of Beheirah in the district of al-Mahmūdiyyah in the northwest Delta.

The SYNAXARION states in its commemoration of Apa PIDJIMI (11 Kiyahk) that this monk hailed from Fīshah. After Pidjimi had lived in Scetis for more than twenty years, an angel appeared to him, promised that a memorial church would be constructed for him in Fīshah, and commanded him to return to his hometown, which the monk then did. This account places the origins of Christianity in Fīshah at least as early as the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (for the dates of Pidjimi, see Evelyn-White, 1926, pp. 157–62).

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RANDALL STEWART

FLAVIAN OF EPHESUS, name of a bishop of Ephesus that seems to be a scholarly invention. This person is mentioned only in the title of a Homily, *In Demetrium et Petrum Alexandrinos*, preserved in the British Museum (Or. 6783; Budge, 1914, pp. 137–56). This homily is, however, the result of a late redaction that made use of two earlier texts, and the name of Flavian, bishop of Ephesus, seems to have been invented for the purpose of attributing the text to a specific author.

The two original texts were very different in character, and it is not at all clear why the need was felt to combine them. The first is an encomium in honor of Saint DEMETRIUS I, patriarch of Alexandria in the third century, and dwells especially on the problem of whether it is legal for a bishop to be married and how it can be justified that Demetrius was indeed married. This suggests origins in an Encratite milieu (see ENCRATITE), which, however, is difficult to situate chronologically.

The second text, which can be fairly easily dated in the seventh century, pretends to offer an encomium in honor of PETER I, patriarch of Alexandria in the early fourth century, but actually recounts a fictional episode derived from the Cycle (see CYCLES) of BASILIDES the General, which occurred during the persecution by DIOCLETIAN in the third century. Martyria, a Christian woman of Antioch, the wife of Sokrator, who, in turn, was a friend of the martyr Ter (see TER AND ERAÏ), betakes herself by sea to Alexandria in order to have her children baptized by Peter. During the crossing, a storm endangers their lives, and she herself baptizes the children. When they arrive in Alexandria, Peter confirms the validity of the baptism. When she returns to Antioch, she is martyred.

The two texts in their separate state, or the homily combining them, were known to SĀWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA', who employed them in two different chapters of his work: one for Damian and one for Peter. Hence, although they now survive in only one manuscript, they probably had a certain importance in Coptic literature.

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TITO ORLANDI

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. The Infant Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Joseph, accompanied by Salome, mother of Zebedee's children, made the journey to Egypt in compliance with a divine message communicated to Joseph in a dream, directing them to leave Bethlehem and seek refuge in Egypt to escape the wrath of Herod the Great (Mt. 2:13). This was also in fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy, "An oracle concerning Egypt: Behold, the Lord is riding on a swift cloud and comes to Egypt; and the idols of Egypt will tremble at his presence, and the heart of the Egyptians will melt within them" (Is. 19:1).

The incident is glorified in the Coptic Doxology and the DIFNĀR hymnal, as well as in the SYNAXARION. The *Difnār*, in particular, cites under 24 Bashans a reference to the swift white cloud descending upon Egypt, symbolizing the Virgin Mary in purity and ethereality: "I praise the Lord, my Savior, and magnify His Virgin Mother, the light cloud

came to Egypt, the saintly Virgin Mary, with our Lord Jesus Christ in her arms."

PALLADIUS, Bishop of Helenopolis (c. 365–425), who spent several years with the monks of Egypt, recorded his visit to the region of al-Ashmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna), to which Jesus went with Mary and Joseph, that there might be fulfilled the word of Isaiah quoted above. According to Palladius, "We also saw there the house of idols wherein all the idols that were in it fell down upon their faces on the ground when our Redeemer went into the city."

Various historians have traced a route likely to have been followed by the group. The Coptic Synaxarion also records the itinerary, and many homilies refer to names of places visited by the holy family in the Delta and in Upper Egypt. It is now accepted that the group crossed the Sinai Peninsula by the northern caravan route alongside the Mediterranean littoral from Gaza to Raphia (modern Rafaḥ) and came to the present al-'Arīsh. Their last station in Sinai was Pelusium (modern al-FARAMĀ, regarded as the eastern key city to Egypt). Having crossed the Isthmus of Suez south of Lake Manzalah, they came to the city of Bubastis near Zaqazīq. It is believed that at this spot a spring of water was made to flow for them, where the Blessed Virgin bathed the Infant Jesus. Accordingly this spot was given the name of al-Maḥammah (the bathing-place), now known as Musturud, where a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary was built in 1185.



The tree at Maṭariyyah near Cairo under which the Holy Family rested during their journey into Egypt. *Courtesy Egyptian State Tourist Administration. Photo by Subhī Afīfī.*

The group then resumed their journey to BILBEIS, from which they followed a long and circuitous route to avoid their pursuers. Consequently, they took the road to Minyat Jināḥ (the present Minyat Samannūd), to al-Burullus, Sakhā, and further west to Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Their next stage took them in a southeasterly direction to Heliopolis; then they settled for a while at the spot now known as al-Maṭariyyah, where they took shelter under a tree, which is still known by the name of *Shajarat al-'Adhrā' Maryam* (tree of the Virgin Mary). The next station was at HĀRIT ZUWAYLAH in the northeast district of Cairo, commemorated by the Copts in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a convent.

Later the Holy Family proceeded to BABYLON, and at a spot near the present al-Ma'ādī, they crossed the Nile and penetrated Upper Egypt via Memphis, Samalūṭ, al-Ashmūnayn, as far as Mīr and Qūṣiyyah, at the spot where the monastery of Our Lady known as DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ now stands.

It is believed that the group later returned to Palestine following the same route that they had taken in the outbound journey. The Coptic Synaxarion states that on their return they lodged in Old Cairo in a cave beneath the spot where the Church of Abū Sarjah now stands (see BABYLON).

The duration of the Holy Family's stay in Egypt is difficult to determine with precision; historians waver between one and four years. Whatever the case may be, another divine message was communicated to Joseph in a dream: "Rise, take the child and his mother, and go to the land of Israel, for those who sought the child's life are dead" (Mt. 2:20). This message, like the earlier one, was also in fulfillment of an Old Testament prophecy, "Out of Egypt I called my son" (Hos. 11:1).

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BISHOP GREGORIOS

FLORENCE, COPTS AT THE COUNCIL OF

(1439–1443). The Council of Florence was one of a series of increasingly politically motivated gatherings between the Latin church and individual

Eastern churches. Pope Eugenius IV used the "divide and rule" policy, for the various Eastern churches were invited at different times, and thus they could not form a unified bloc to negotiate with the Latins as equal partners.

After the reunion with the Greeks (6 July 1439), Pope Eugenius IV sent the Franciscan friar Albertus a Sarthiano as papal legate to invite the Copts of Egypt and the Ethiopians to the council. In a letter dated 7 July 1439, he informed the Copts of the reunion with the Greeks and of the Armenians' acceptance of an invitation to the council and invited the Copts to attend as well. In Jerusalem, Albertus persuaded Nicodemus, abbot of the DAYR AL-SULṬĀN in Ethiopia, to send a representative to the council. Nicodemus appointed the deacon Peter. In September 1440, in Cairo, Albertus met several times with JOHN XI, Coptic pope and patriarch of Alexandria, who in a letter to Eugenius dated 12 September 1440 appointed Andreas, abbot of the monastery of Saint Antony, as Coptic representative to the council.

In October 1440, Albertus, Andreas, and Peter arrived in Florence. Eugenius appointed a negotiating commission consisting of three cardinals: Giuliano Cesarini, Johannes de Turrecremata (Juan de Torquemada), and Johannes Gallicus Marinesis. The assistants were the papal secretary, Biondo Flavio, and a team of theologians including Vespasiano da Bistizzi, Tommaso Parentucelli (later Pope Nicholas V), and Albertus a Sarthiano. The commission used pressure tactics and inquisitorial procedures in collecting "errors" of the Copts and Ethiopians —for example, they did not know about confirmation and "extreme unction"; they omitted the FILIOQUE; they venerated Dioscorus as a saint; they allowed divorce in case of serious crime or leprosy; and they permitted child marriage.

On 31 August 1441 Andreas spoke to the council praising Eugenius IV as the true successor of Saint Peter and the head and teacher of the universal church. The deacon Peter spoke 2 September, informing Eugenius and the council about his native Ethiopia and about the emperor's intention to reunite with the Roman church. On 4 February 1442, the bull of reunion with the Jacobites of Egypt, *Cantate Domino*, was solemnly promulgated in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. It was signed by Eugenius, twenty cardinals, and fifty-one prelates, and by Andreas "in the name of the Jacobites and his patriarch." This bull explained the Latin doctrine of the Trinity, enumerated the books of the Old and New Testament, anathematized heresiarchs, and warned against the above-mentioned errors of the Copts and Ethiopians. These were actually legitimate cultural, liturgical, canonical, and theological differences, incomprehensible at the time to the Latin mind. Furthermore, the bull contained the list of seven ecumenical councils and the heresies they combated, and of the other legitimate councils.

Attached to the bull were two other bulls, *Laetentur coeli* (on reunion with the Greeks; 6 July 1439) and *Exultate Deo* (on reunion with the Armenians; 22 November 1439). The document ended with an additional declaration concerning the sacraments. The bull demanded of Andreas and the Copts "true obedience, to obey always and faithfully the order and commands of the Apostolic See."

This one-sided union had no roots and was doomed to failure, for theological formulas were interpreted differently by both parties. The Romans understood it as a true submission of the Copts and Ethiopians to the Roman church, whereas the Copts and Ethiopians at first understood it as a reunion of equal partners and in the course of time rejected it along with its Latin interpretation.

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PETRO B. T. BILANIUK

FOGG ART MUSEUM. *See* Museums, Coptic Collections in.

FOOT WASHING. *See* Feasts, Minor: Maundy Thursday.

FORTESCUE, ADRIAN (1874–1923), Roman Catholic clergyman, liturgist, and ecclesiastical historian. Fortescue was educated at the Scots College at Rome and at Innsbruck University in Austria. He was ordained a priest at Letchworth in 1907. Despite his pastoral duties, he was able to travel in the Middle East, where he became interested in the Eastern Christian communities and their local churches. Consequently he devoted a great deal of his time to composing the history of Eastern liturgies.

As a historian, he wrote *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (1907), *The Lesser Eastern Churches* (London, 1913), and *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (1923), in which he made use of the original sources. Although he always made his statements from the Roman Catholic perspective, he never concealed his sympathy for these ancient churches and his appreciation for their past glories. In concluding the story of the Copts, he declared that "for the sake of these glorious memories, for the sake, too, of the long line of their martyrs under Islam, we can feel nothing but respect, wish nothing but good to the people of Christ in Egypt. They have stood for His name so faithfully during the long, dark centuries now past. May they stand for it always in happier ages to come."

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

FORTY-NINE MARTYRS OF SCETIS. The martyrdom of the forty-nine elders of the desert of SCETIS, which took place in the year 444, is commemorated in the SYNAXARION under 26 Ṭūbah. Reference is also made to them in the liturgy with the rest of the host of saints, martyrs, and holy fathers: "Graciously, O Lord, remember all the saints who have pleased Thee since the beginning, our holy Fathers the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Preachers, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessors, . . . and the forty-nine martyrs, the elders of Shiheet."

The story of their martyrdom, which is associated with the Berber raid of 444 on the monasteries of Scetis, began when Emperor Theodosius II, son of Arcadius, desirous of having a male heir, sent to the elders of Scetis a request to intercede on his behalf that God might bless him with a son. One of the monks, a devout elder named Isidhurus, wrote to the emperor to the effect that God refused him a son lest the child associate with heretics. Some time later it was recommended to the emperor that he marry a second wife, and again he sent a messenger to the desert monks, this time asking if his offspring from the new wife would include a male child.

In the meantime, Isidhurus had died, so the monks took the imperial letter to the place where he had been buried and placed it on his corpse. Thereupon the answer came that even if Theodosius had taken for himself ten wives, he would never have a male heir. Accordingly this response was included in a letter written by the monks and given the messenger. As the latter (whose name was Artemius and who had brought his son, Dios, to Scetis with him to be blessed by the elders) prepared to start the journey back, the Berbers came down upon them in one of their recurrent attacks on the monastery. An elderly monk, Apa John, *hegumenos* of Scetis, called on his brethren to take refuge in the nearby fort of Piamoun, unless they preferred to join him in martyrdom. Forty-eight monks, besides John, were massacred by the Berbers.

Meanwhile, Artemius and Dios were fast riding away, but Dios saw a vision in which angels were conducting the souls of the martyrs to paradise and placing the crowns of martyrdom on their heads. He begged his father to allow him to obtain a similar crown for himself, so both father and son rode back and shared the martyrdom of the monks.

When the Berbers had gone away, the other monks came down from the fort, collected the remains of the massacred martyrs, and buried them in a cave. In 538, during the patriarchate of THEODOSIUS I, their relics were removed to a new cave, and a chapel was built on the top. In the following century, when Pope BENJAMIN I was restored to his throne following the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT, he visited Scetis and the cave where the forty-nine were buried and instituted a feast day to commemorate their reinterment, to fall on 5 Amshīr.

When the chapel was dilapidated, the monks removed their relics once again to a cell opposite the fort, where they remained till 1773, when IBRAHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ, a charitable Copt, built a new church in DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR, where their relics still rest.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

FOUAD I. *See* Muḥammad 'Alī Dynasty.

FOUR LIVING CREATURES IN COPTIC ART. *See* Christ, Triumph of.

FRACTION, the ceremonial breaking of the consecrated bread in the eucharistic service. As a basic part of the liturgy, it follows the teaching and actions of Jesus Christ at the Last Supper: "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to the disciples and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body'" (Mt. 26:26; see also Mk. 14:22; Lk. 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:23, 24).

Fraction is performed in two stages during the celebration of the Liturgy:

Immediately after the prayers of crossing the gifts, known also as the recitation of the words of institution, the officiating priest takes the Oblation and slightly divides it into one-third and two-thirds sections, without actually separating them. Using his thumbs, and taking care not to touch the *spadikon* (the central part), he holds the one-third section in his right hand, and the two-thirds section in his left hand, saying, "He broke it; He gave it to His own saintly disciples and pure Apostles saying, 'Take, eat ye all of it, for this is my Body.'" At this point the celebrant slightly breaks the top part of the Oblation with the tips of his fingers, and places it on the paten, carefully removing any loose particles off his fingers on the paten, and continues quoting Christ's words, "Which shall be broken for you and for many, and be given for the remission of sin. Do this in remembrance of me."

The second stage follows the EPICLESIS section of the Liturgy, and is accompanied with special prayers known as fraction prayers.

The rite of fraction consists of the following elements:

In the introductory prayer of thanksgiving for God's saving graces, the priest prays, "Again let us give thanks to God Almighty, the Father of our Lord and our God and our Savior, Jesus Christ, for He has made us worthy to stand in this holy place, and lift up our hands and to minister to His holy name. Let us again pray Him that He accounts us worthy of the fellowship and participation of His divine and immortal mysteries."

At the consignation, the celebrant takes the pure Body in his left hand and places his right forefinger next to the *spadikon*, saying: "The Holy Body." Then he dips the point of his finger in the chalice and makes a sign of the cross on the Blood, saying, "And the Precious Blood," to which the congregation responds by saying, "We worship Thine Holy Body" and "And Thy Precious Blood," respectively.

The celebrant then crosses the Body twice with the Blood, once on the surface and once on the lower side, saying, "Which belong to His Christ, the almighty Lord our God?" The congregation respond by saying, "Kyrie, eleison." These actions are a symbolic reference to Christ's suffering on the cross and the flow of blood from His side (Jn. 19:34).

The fraction prayers accompany the actual process of dividing the Body. Each of the three liturgies in common use (according to Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, and Saint Cyril) has its fraction prayer.

The purpose of fraction prayers is primarily to serve as a prelude toward attaining the proper state of purification commensurate with partaking of the Holy Body and Precious Blood of Christ.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

FRANCISCANS IN EGYPT. The history of the Franciscans in Egypt goes back to 1219 when Saint Francis met Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–1238) near the city of Damietta. Francis had gone to Damietta with the Crusaders, but with the aim of spreading the message of peace proclaimed by Jesus

Christ. For a few years he had been thinking of a Franciscan presence in the Muslim world, which he conceived as a peaceful coexistence with the native population. Franciscans' life of ardent prayer, of brotherly love, of poverty and meekness would be a testimony to the Gospel. In that same year, Saint Francis inaugurated the Order Province of the Orient to encompass Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, later to become the Custody of the Holy Land.

Not much is known about the first four hundred years of Franciscan presence in Egypt. Certainly it was not a continuous one. Around 1630 two groups of Franciscans started their life and activity in the land of the Nile and established a presence that has not since been interrupted. Even now, there are two distinct groups: one formed by the friars of the Custody of the Holy Land, and the other sent directly by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide and at present forming the Vice-province of the Holy Family.

When in 1926 the apostolic vicariate of Suez (later called vicariate of Port Said) was established, the friars living there came under the jurisdiction of the Province of Saint Bernardine in France, but since 1957 they have become again part of the Custody of the Holy Land.

As already stated, Francis founded a friary at Damietta in 1219, but the brothers had to leave two years later. They came back in 1249–1250, and in 1283, some friars suffered martyrdom in that city. In 1307 their presence was attested in Cairo, where, in 1345, Livinus obtained the crown of martyrdom. In 1320 a group of friars lived in Alexandria at the *funduq* (hotel) of the merchants of Marseilles. The Franciscans returned again and again to Egypt. Their activity consisted in providing spiritual care to Catholic foreigners in Egypt and assistance to pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Land, and establishing contacts with Europeans who for one reason or another ended up in local prisons.

Around 1600, several friars lived in Egypt and set up their private chapels. About thirty baptisms were administered in Cairo between 1611 and 1630, as appears from an index of the baptismal files at the Franciscan Center for Christian Oriental Studies at Muskī, Cairo. During the same time eight marriages were registered.

In 1630, Friar Paolo da Lodi was nominated the first *prefectus missionis Aegypti*. He arrived, via Jerusalem, in Cairo with a letter from Pope Urbanus VIII to the Coptic patriarch John XV (1619–1634), but the latter had died before the letter was handed over. Friar Paolo took up residence in the Venetian embassy and succeeded in setting up residence for the friars in a house just outside the diplomatic compound. Father Paolo was appointed custos of the Holy Land on 22 August 1631. In the same year, friaries were founded in Alexandria and Rosetta, both of which still exist. The friary of Cairo became the seat of the prefect, and at the end of the century, an institute for the study of Oriental languages was opened there.

In 1632 the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide established a Franciscan prefecture in Ethiopia, which was entrusted to Friar Antonio da Virguletta. Upon their arrival in Egypt, they approached the Coptic patriarchate and visited the monasteries of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) and of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR) to perfect their knowledge of Arabic while waiting for the caravan from Jirjā to Suakin, organized by the pasha of Suakin. Between 1633 and 1669 the friars made three expeditions to Ethiopia, each lasting a few years, during which most of the friars died through martyrdom or illness. They did not fully succeed in establishing themselves in Ethiopia.

In 1671 the prefecture of Egypt was united with that of Ethiopia, and at the end of 1680 the custos of the Holy Land obtained the title of prefect of Egypt. He exercised his duties through a vice-prefect residing in Cairo.

In 1697 the prefecture was divided into two parts: the prefecture of Egypt, which remained under the custos and included Lower Egypt, and the New Prefecture of Akhmīm-Fungi-Ethiopia, entirely independent of the custos. In 1716 the jurisdiction of the New Prefecture was limited to Upper Egypt, where the friars already had houses at Jirjā and Akhmīm. Many documents regarding the period 1633–1703 kept in the archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide were published in the two volumes of *Etiopia francescana* (Somigli and Montano, 1928–1948). Notwithstanding its title, this publication gives much information about the Franciscans in Egypt.

As the attempts to establish a mission in Ethiopia failed, the friars of the New Prefecture concentrated their individual approach among the Copts of Upper Egypt. The first adult convert to the Catholic faith was a certain Ṣahyūn Wālid, at Akhmīm in 1715. The first two Copts ordained as Catholic priests were Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī and Yustus Marāghī, who were sent to Rome by the Franciscans for studies and were ordained there in 1735. The former later returned to Rome, where he worked on

an edition of the Coptic liturgical books based on the manuscripts kept at the Vatican. Both priests were later consecrated bishops.

In 1746 the Copts who were united with Rome had their first ecclesiastical superior. The Franciscan New Prefecture was designated *in auxilium coptorum* (in aid of the Copts) and the jurisdiction of the prefect was confined to his own friars and non-Coptic Catholics, except for three short periods in which he resumed the authority of the Coptic Catholic Church. The Franciscan superior resided at Cairo in the small convent next to the greater friary of the Holy Land, but the Holy Land friars' activity was carried out mainly in the regions from Jirjā to Akhmīm. They set up houses in Old Cairo, the Fayyūm, Fidīmīn, Alexandria, and Rosetta.

Among the numerous foreigners who were encouraged by Muḥammad ʿAlī to come to Egypt were many Catholics, for whose spiritual care the Franciscans opened chapels and churches in many towns of Lower Egypt.

With the establishment of the apostolic vicariate of Alexandria for the Latins in 1839, the prefecture of the custos of the Holy Land over Lower Egypt came to an end. But the vicar apostolic has always been a Franciscan, and, four times, a former custos.

When the construction of the Suez Canal started, the Franciscans established themselves in that region as early as 1862.

The Franciscans of Upper Egypt continued their cooperation with the Copts in Banī Suef, Asyūṭ, Qinā, and Luxor; the friary of the Fayyūm was taken over from the Holy Land friars in exchange for the hospice of Suez. They rebuilt Saint Catherine's Church in Alexandria and that of Our Lady's Assumption in the Muskī district of Cairo.

In 1893 seven of their twelve churches and residences were ceded to the Coptic Catholic church. The prefecture, on that occasion, was given the name of the Franciscan Mission of Upper Egypt.

The first half of the twentieth century saw continued growth of the Franciscan presence in Egypt. When, in 1921, the responsibility for the Franciscan Mission was entrusted to the Order Province of Toscana, the friars of Upper Egypt had nine churches and soon added a tenth. From these centers they deployed their activity in surrounding villages. In the 1930s the first Coptic Franciscans were formally established, and at that time a major Franciscan seminary was opened at GIZA.

In 1909 the Church of Saint Joseph was inaugurated in Cairo, but the presence of the Holy Land fathers there goes back to 1880. After World War I the same fathers built new churches: two in Alexandria and one in Bulāq (Cairo), Suez, Ismāʿīliyyah, Abū Qīr, and Damietta. That these large constructions were necessary can be deduced from the baptismal files of Our Lady's Assumption parish, where in 1909 no less than 503 infant baptisms were registered.

With World War II and the proclamation of the Egyptian Republic, many developments took place. The foreign communities rapidly decreased in number, and in a short time the majority of the parishioners had left the country. Continuing their spiritual care for the remaining faithful, the Holy Land friars directed their activities after the war toward the apostolate of the Copts and established the Franciscan Center for Christian Oriental Studies. On 16 September 1954, President Muḥammad Naguib inaugurated the center. The aim of this institute is the promotion of knowledge of the various Christian communities of the Near East. It publishes a yearbook and the monograph series Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea and Studia Orientalia Monographs. In Kafr al-Dawwār and in the suburbs of Alexandria the Holy Land friars started schools and dispensaries, and organized regular visits to the Coptic families that came in great numbers from the south to the developing industrial and urban regions in the Delta.

Immediately after the war, some churches were built, as in Maʿādī, a southern suburb of Cairo where a constantly changing group of foreigners lived. In Kafr al-Dawwār a church was erected for the Coptic Catholic community in the 1960s and was enlarged in the 1980s. But the friars retired from Manṣūrah, Damietta, and some other minor towns. The vicar apostolic of Alexandria ceded the cathedral of Port Said to the Coptic Orthodox community, and the Franciscans ceded their church in Ismāʿīliyyah to the Coptic Catholic church.

On the other hand, the Franciscan Mission of Upper Egypt increased its activities. Within the framework of the legislation for the order, it successively became a commissariate, a custody, a vicariate, and, in 1987, a vice-province, or self-governing part of the Franciscan Order. Two of its members became bishops, one of Asyūṭ, the other of Suhāj. In order to promote community life, they then ceded several churches to the Coptic clergy.

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LADISLAUS VAN ZEELST, O.F.M.

FRENCH EXPEDITION. *See* Ya'qūb, General.

FRIENDS OF THE BIBLE, Coptic association founded in 1908 by Basīlī Buṭrus who was its first president until his death in 1921. The main aims of the society were to inspire service in the Coptic Orthodox Church and active membership in it and to urge members to pray and study the Holy Scripture.

The society paid special attention to young people living in the capital away from home and in particular took care of girl students, for whom a special branch was founded in 1939.

SULAYMĀN NĀSĪM

FRIEZES. *See* Woodwork, Coptic.

FRUMENTIUS. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

FUNERAL MASKS. *See* Portraiture and Funerary Masks.

FUNERARY CUSTOMS. Funerary customs have been observed mostly unchanged through the ages by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, especially in rural areas. Nonetheless, the middle and upper classes of the population have curtailed excessive demonstrations of affliction and have also eliminated some rituals that have become incompatible with modern life, especially in the cities.

When someone is near death, the family and friends gather to keep vigil around the dying person. A priest is called to dispense the last rites. When death occurs in the morning, burial takes place that afternoon; otherwise the body lies in state at home overnight. The body is bathed and perfumed. The preference is to clothe women in white linen; men are dressed either in their everyday apparel or in special formal apparel. People who have made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land sometimes keep for burial those clothes worn when they bathed in the Jordan River in commemoration of Christ's baptism by John the Baptist. The body is then put in a wooden casket surrounded by flowers. Two floor candles burn at the head and feet.

The news of the death is conveyed through newspapers and other news media. In rural areas news can be conveyed orally. In villages a woman leading five others, all wearing black, wanders through the area; the six call out the name of the deceased in their wailing.

Black dress and headcovers are the customary apparel of female mourners. Unshaved members of the family receive men who come to pay condolences in the home or in an outside tent erected especially for the occasion. Inside the women gather around the casket. Before entering the room, some mourners wail and utter special shrieks called *ṣuwat* and then take a seat or sit on cushioned floors, depending upon local customs. But no greeting or talking is allowed in the presence of the dead. Neither coffee nor cigarettes, which are required after the burial, are offered at this time.

The ancient customs are still practiced in the rural areas, such as the wailing, the rhythmic beating of cheeks with one's hands, and the dyeing of face and hands with indigo. The hiring of professional mourners using drums and chanting eulogies in praise of the dead is still to be found. These demonstrations of emotion, which are considered an honor due to the deceased, reach their height when the deceased is about to be taken from the home. Members of the clergy (the greater the number the higher the status of the deceased), dressed in mourning garb, recite the absolution prayers. In rural areas, a procession led by the clergy, followed by the men, and finally by the women, follows the casket, which is carried on men's shoulders, on a cart, or in a hearse. In city funerals, however, women until recently were not allowed to leave the house to attend the church service or the burial.

The lavishness of a funeral depends on the social status of the individual to be buried and of his family. The hearse used to be pulled by a trace of

horses, and the greater their number the more affluent the individual they carried. A band of musicians playing funerary marches and men carrying huge arrangements of flowers were put at the head of the procession, followed by young orphan girls dressed in white, especially when the deceased was a benefactor of their orphanage (a custom now discontinued). Footmen, dressed in white bouffant pants and shirts, ran by the side of the hearse. Then came the deacon holding the processional cross, followed by the church dignitaries. The pall bearers followed. Relatives, friends, and mourners came last. The procession was generally made on foot to the church, but after the service different means of transportation were used to reach the cemeteries. These paraphernalia have now been replaced by motorized transportation to the church and the cemetery.

Family and friends converge after the burial at the home of the deceased to break the fast that has been observed since the death. The food is generally provided by family, friends, and neighbors, a custom especially observed in the rural areas.

For the first three days people call on the family of the deceased—the women in the morning and the men at night. Now, however, with women working and other demands of modern life, the newspaper announcement of the death indicates that condolences are restricted to the church service. Still, an important religious service must take place in the house of the deceased on the third day. In memory of Christ's resurrection this ceremony is called "the release of the soul." In popular beliefs the soul roams in the house until a priest performs the ceremony of release. He arrives the third day around noon, accompanied by a deacon. He enters the room of the defunct and recites certain prayers while incensing a basin of water in which a bunch of parsley or other green plant is soaking. He then uses the bunch of parsley to sprinkle the bed on which the deceased died and everyone present in the room.

Other commemorations are less and less observed for the once customary seventh day (when Christ appeared to the Apostles) and for the fifteenth day (when Thomas was also present). The fortieth day commemorating the Ascension of Christ was strictly observed with an afternoon church service until it was recently banned by Patriarch SHENOUDA III. In popular beliefs it was the day when the archangel Michael weighed the good and the bad deeds of the deceased, a substitute for purgatory, which does not exist in Coptic beliefs.

Mourning periods are long and rigorously observed. Abstaining from festivities lasts at least for one year. The visits to the cemeteries are made on the fortieth day and on the eve of Christmas, on Easter, on Ascension Day, and on the Coptic New Year. Offerings for the soul of the deceased are given to the needy who gather on these occasions in the cemeteries. These consist of bread, sweets, and fruits. In villages the custom is to lay palm fronds or lemon tree branches on the tombs and to sprinkle the tombs with water, which is believed to quench the thirst of the dead.

All these customs have striking similarities with some customs practiced in ancient times as far back as the Old Kingdom in ancient Egypt, such as the judgment of the dead by weighing their hearts, the offering of bread loaves, the libation of fresh water, the burning of incense, the sacrifice on tombs of beasts to be later distributed to the poor, the use of palm fronds, the presence of professional mourners, and the use of indigo (blue was the color for mourning in antiquity). Through the centuries these customs have been handed down from generation to generation while those who practice them remain hardly aware of their origin.

[*See also:* Burial Rites; Mourning in Early Christian Times.]

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CÉRÈS WISSA WASSEF

FUWWAH, city located in the Delta in the Gharbiyyah province about 14 miles (22.5 km) northeast of Damanhūr.

A version of the SYNAXARION for 3 Bashans lists the commemoration of Eudaimon from Fuwwah. But it is uncertain whether this Fuwwah is identical with the Fuwwah in the northwestern Delta. It is similarly uncertain whether the Paua mentioned in a fourth-century papyrus (Sorbonne, Paris, papyrus inv. no. 113) and the Phoua given as the home of the monks addressed in a letter of the patriarch CYRIL (*Epistula* 81) are to be identified with the modern city Fuwwah.

The earliest certain attestation of Christianity in Fuwwah is also the earliest evidence that the city

was the seat of a bishop. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS reports that Bishop Christodoulos from Fuwwah was one of those who supported the cause of a particular party in its quest for the patriarchate after the death of Patriarch GABRIEL II (1131–1145).

The most important of the bishops of Fuwwah was Joseph, who appears to have become bishop around 1239. As a contemporary of Patriarch CYRIL III (1235–1243) he became embroiled in various church controversies. Together with John, the bishop of Madīnat al-Fayyūm, he spent time in jail with Cyril during the patriarch's second imprisonment.

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RANDALL STEWART

G

GABR'EL. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

GABRIEL I. *See* Jerusalem, Coptic See of.

GABRIEL I, SAINT, fifty-seventh patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (909–920). Gabriel was from the village of Ilmāy (Amélineau, 1893, pp. 162–63), in the Minūfiyyah province in Lower Egypt. He decided to become a monk in the monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR) at a rather early age. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS reviews his life succinctly from the time of his consecration, but it tells us nothing about his secular career before he took the monastic vow.

In the monastery, however, he is said to have had a tendency toward solitude. Nevertheless, a prophecy was made for him by a saintly elder named Dorotheus, to whom the brethren congregated for blessings. All sat around this saintly man to hear his lessons except Gabriel, who usually withdrew for solitary contemplation. Once Dorotheus held his hand and, smiling, said to him that a time would come when he (Gabriel) would have to commune with a great multitude of men and women. So, when he was seized by the bishops and the clergy for consecration as patriarch, Gabriel recalled the prophecy of the holy Dorotheus.

His only trouble at the outset of his patriarchate was with the custom of reimbursing the thousand dinar annuity to the people of Alexandria to take care of their religious institutions; he had nothing to give. Consequently he was forced to impose the payment of a gold carat a year from every episcopal diocese, which he used for paying the Alexandrians and for charitable causes. Presumably, however, a considerable part of that money was also used in paying the state taxes of the annual KHARĀJ.

It is said that Gabriel spent most of his time as patriarch in the monasteries of WĀDĪ HABĪB, and that whenever he went to Alexandria or wandered in the countryside he felt like a stranger. It is also stated that he was troubled by his youthful instincts and that he was advised by his elders to spend his energy in prolonged fasting. He even spent nights, concealed and unobserved, roaming around the monastic cells of the brethren cleaning and performing other physical chores in the service of others. In this way, and in all humility, he spent his eleven years as patriarch. He died in peace at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, where he was buried on 11 Amshīr. He was a contemporary of the caliph al-Muqtadir (908–932), a late Abbasid, but it is doubtful whether he had any encounters with the Islamic administration of Egypt beyond the payment of the *kharāj* and the poll tax (JIZYAH) levied on the Copts.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

GABRIEL II ibn Turayk, seventieth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1131–1145) (feast day: 10 Baramūdah). Gabriel ibn Turayk was one of three laymen selected to occupy the Coptic patriarchate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the late Fatimid caliphate and the early Ayyubid sulta-

nate. He had the rather anomalous name of Abū al-'Alā', which could be applied equally to a Copt as well as a Muslim; however, its use is known to have been more frequent in Islamic communities. Nevertheless, he is known to have descended from an old and noble Coptic family of scribes in the new Egyptian capital of Cairo. He was brought up and educated in the Christian tradition and, owing to his strict religious temperament, he became a deacon in the ancient Church of Saint Mercurius (ABŪ SAYFAYN) in Old Cairo, where he spent time in ardent prayer during his youth.

As a mature man, he lived a celibate life of chastity and devoted himself to helping the needy, the sick, and the poor widows and orphans of his community. In his forties, he worked as a scribe with a dual function divided between the office of state correspondence (*diwān al-Mukātabāt*) and the important department of taxation *(Bayt al-Māl)*, an unusual combination that points to his significant skill.

In spite of his heavy involvement in the state administration, he found time to concentrate on the study of religious literature, and he became an accomplished copyist of biblical books. He was an active participant in most religious offices during the patriarchate of MACARIUS II (1102–1128). After Macarius' death, the patriarchal seat remained vacant for three years. Finally, a leading Coptic archon by the name of Shaykh Abū-al-Barakāt ibn al-Mabatt discovered a solution to this national problem by promoting Abū-al-'Alā' to the position of patriarch; and since no one had anything against the candidate, the archons of Alexandria, to whom the selection had fallen this time, decided to accept him. Consequently, he was taken to the ancient AL-MU'ALLAQAH church in Old Cairo where he was anointed. Afterward, he was taken to the traditional religious capital of Alexandria for formal consecration on 9 Amshīr A.M. 847/A.D. 1130 (*History of the Patriarchs*, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 26). In the following year (A.D. 1131) at the age of forty-seven, he was finally confirmed as the seventieth patriarch of the Coptic church, even before consulting with the monks of DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR in WĀDĪ AL-NAṬRŪN.

These formalities were accomplished during the governorship of Egypt by the famous Aḥmad ibn al-Afḍal Shāhinshāh, the son of the mighty military head of the armies of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–1149), according to his biographer, Marcus ibn Zar'ah.

The monks of Dayr Anbā Maqār gathered to consider the consecration of the new patriarch and decided to seek the opinion of a saintly recluse by the name of Yūsuf the Syrian, who appeased their feelings about the election of Gabriel ibn Turayk. The new patriarch, in conformity with established tradition, went to Dayr Anbā Maqār. There he celebrated a pontifical mass where he seems to have had an argument with the monks over the literal pronouncement of the union of the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ at the consecration of the holy bread for communion. The argument was soon settled by the incorporation of the additional phrase "without mixing and without confusion," which became part of the Coptic liturgy.

With the solution of this theological difference with the conservative monks, the new patriarch became universally recognized, and his reign lasted fourteen years and six months until his death in 1145.

Gabriel instituted the policy of forbidding the burial of the faithful within the churches. The church of HĀRIT ZUWAYLAH was closed for a time because a priest by the name of Psūs had been buried there, contrary to the pontifical command. The patriarch withdrew the body of his predecessor, Macarius II, from al-Mu'allaqah church and sent it to Dayr Anbā Maqār in Wādī al-Naṭrūn for an honorable burial.

The most important decision in his internal policy, however, proved to be the suppression of the simoniacal practice that his predecessors had used to levy funds from newly consecrated episcopal candidates in exchange for their nomination. He nominated the extraordinary number of fifty-three bishops without receiving any funds from his appointees.

The general state of the country under Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ was rather confused and full of conflicts. Nevertheless, the church enjoyed an undisturbed period of security and independence when the vizierate of al-Ḥāfiẓ fell to an Armenian Christian named Bahrām, who had previously come to Egypt in the entourage of another famous Islamized Armenian, BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ. During Bahrām's rule, the Christians, including both Armenians and Copts, fared extremely well. The Armenians held numerous governorships of the provinces, and the Copts monopolized the highest posts in the administration, notably the offices of both finances and taxation. In fact, there was a complete reversal of the formal policies of Coptic persecution that had existed during the harsh reign of al-ḤĀKIM (996–1021). In fact, some authorities began to fear that Islamized Copts might be tempted to abjure their new faith and return wholesale to their Coptic Christian beliefs. This, indeed, may have been one of the

factors that precipitated the rebellion of Ḥasan, al-Ḥāfiẓ's son, against his father, which led to the temporary deposition of the caliph and the application of restrictive measures on the Copts. It was during this interlude that Ḥasan arrested and incarcerated Gabriel. Gabriel was released after paying an impost of a thousand dinars that had been raised by the Coptic archons and rich merchants.

The gravity of the internal situation within the country was intensified by conflicts between the Sudanese and the Turkish batallions within the military forces of the caliphate. This led to the ousting of Ḥasan and the return of al-Ḥāfiẓ to his throne. A new leader by the name of Rudwān ibn Walkhasī seized ministerial power. Under these circumstances, Bahrām became uneasy and, with his Armenians, decided to withdraw completely from Egypt. Rudwān reversed the former lenient policy toward all Christians, Armenians and Copts alike. Legislation was enacted to forbid the employment of Christians in the administration, although this rule was not literally applied to the Copts for practical reasons. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS (Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 31) records the appointment of Abū Zikrī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Būlus, the Copt, as chief scribe together with twelve other Christian assistant scribes, while there were only two Muslims in the government administrations at a later date. Nevertheless, Christian institutions in Cairo and al-Khandaq were exposed to mob violence, and the Armenian monastery of al-Zuhrī was destroyed. Vestment restrictions on Christians were renewed, and they were prohibited from riding horses. What probably was worse was the doubling of the poll tax (JIZYAH) on all Christians and Jews, without exception.

Muslims all over the country became more aggressive and some fanatical mobs attacked the churches, although the caliph himself regarded their actions with disfavor. The *History of the Patriarchs* records that a Muslim mob attacked a church that had been restored by the bishop of Ṣahrajt in the city of Minyat-Ziftā and turned it into a mosque. The bishop complained to the administration authorities, and a writ was issued promptly for its restoration as a church and an explicit order was given for its preservation and security.

In the realm of foreign policy, Gabriel II watched over the interest of the church in his relations with Ethiopia. The Ethiopian emperor wanted the patriarch to consecrate numerous bishops for his country, but Gabriel insisted on the preservation of old established traditions of nominating the usual Coptic ABUN. The Abyssinian emperor wrote to the caliph to bring pressure to bear upon the patriarch to respond favorably to his request. Gabriel explained to the caliph that such a measure might lead the Ethiopians to consecrate their own Catholicus, or patriarch, and become separated from the mother church in Egypt, which would also be a loss of Egyptian influence over the Abyssinian Muslims. Apparently this argument convinced the caliph and the matter was closed.

In the literary field, Gabriel distinguished himself, not merely as a highly skilled copyist of biblical and other religious texts but also as a compiler and translator of works by the fathers of the church. Apparently he commanded considerable knowledge of Coptic, although it is doubtful whether he knew Greek. On the practical side of his career, he is known to have compiled three important series of canons (Graf, 1947, p. 325) and two liturgical books and a Nomocanon in seventy-four chapters. This was long thought to have been lost, but according to Simaykah's catalogue (1939–1942, *cf.* no. 570), it was recently rediscovered in the library of the patriarchate in Cairo though incomplete. Some of his collection of canons, however, has been preserved in the important Nomocanon left by MĪKHĀ'ĪL, bishop of Damietta, during the patriarchate of MARK III (1167–1189).

On the whole, the patriarchate of Gabriel II proved to be relatively peaceful and, if we overlook a number of occasional incidents and the interlude of the oppressive rules of Ḥasan, son of al-Ḥāfiẓ, and Rudwān ibn Walkhasī, the Copts lived in relative security and enjoyed considerable collaboration with the late Fatimid administration of the country. Gabriel II concluded his reign peacefully in 1145.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

GABRIEL IV, eighty-sixth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1370–1378). Gabriel's biography appears in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS in a matter of a few lines. He was a monk of the Monastery of

Our Lady known as DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ in Middle Egypt. There is no information about his secular or monastic life beyond the usual statement that he was a learned man, virtuous, and a strict ascetic. He was a contemporary of the Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Sha'bān (1363–1377), and he died in the early years of the reign of his successor 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī (1377–1381). His tenure lasted eight years and four months, and we must assume it was uneventful.

SUBHY Y. LABIB

GABRIEL V, eighty-eighth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1409–1427). Born probably in the province of GIZA, south of Cairo, Gabriel became a government functionary charged with collecting taxes. At an unknown age, he abandoned his official responsibilities in his province in order to become a monk. He entered the monastery of Anbā SAMUEL OF QALAMŪN in the Fayyūm (*History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church,* Vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 158 [Arabic]; p. 272 [English]). While there, he was ordained a priest.

His election to the patriarchate was facilitated by a prophecy of his predecessor, MATTHEW I (1378–1409). The story is told thus in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS (Vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 271):

> Matthew had indicated to his disciples, before his death, that the Father Anbā Gabriel would be patriarch after him. And some of the people did not believe him, until this Father appeared to them on the day on which they called Gabriel to be ordained HEGUMENOS. At the time when the people were assembled in the CHURCH OF AL-MU'ALLAQAH, one of the saintly elders who were assembled on that day saw this Father in the spirit standing at the side of the altar, and he was laying his hand with the hand of the Fathers the bishops on the head of Anbā Gabriel. And when the elder saw this, he marvelled, and he resolved to be blessed by him before he vanished from him, and Matthew blessed him.

Gabriel was consequently made HEGUMENOS of the Church of the Virgin, al-Mu'allaqah, in Old Cairo. On 21 April 1409, he was consecrated patriarch.

Gabriel V faced a difficult period for the church. Politically, Egypt was unstable. Assassinations and revolts were frequent. In 1421 alone, four sultans held successive rule. Incessant wars made Egypt economically weak. In a period of thirty years, four plagues ravaged the country.

More than any other group, with the possible exception of the Jews, the Copts suffered under these conditions. The Muslim historian of that period, Aḥmad Darrāj, wrote:

> The persecutions are the result of government directives. . . . These directives can be classified in several categories: (1) prohibition against employing [Christians and Jews] in government offices; (2) confiscations, contributions imposed on the community, various types of financial obligation; (3) humiliating measures regarding dress and manners; (4) demolition of religious edifices.
>
> These multiple harassments, which are periodically renewed, explain the frequent conversions of Christians and Jews who desire to maintain their positions in government; Abū al-Maḥāsin's forceful comment on the situation is telling: "The Qāḍī of the ruler is a recently converted Muslim, his Shaykh is a Christian, and his pilgrim is a spy" (1961, p. 141–42).

One can compare Darrāj's observations with other evidence of the persecution of the Copts under the Baḥrite Mamluks. Samir (1979) offers an analysis of four studies and mentions five others.

In 1412, in the presence of Muslim leaders, Sultan al-Mu'ayyad gathered Jews and Copts in the mosque of the caliph al-ḤĀKIM and there demanded that non-Muslims pay double the current tax (JIZYAH). In 1413 measures became even more stringent. In 1414 and 1419, al-Mu'ayyad forbade the Copts access to his offices and those of his emirs. In 1419, he increased restrictions regarding vestments and their usage (see Darrāj, 1961, 142–43).

Persecutions continued under the rule of Barsbay (1422–1438). On 1 May 1422, a new directive was issued prohibiting the employment of Copts in public offices. A heavy price had to be paid to abolish this interdiction (Darrāj, 1961, p. 143).

Because Catalans and Genoese pirates were harassing Egypt, in 1422 Barsbay forbade Christian pilgrims access to the Holy Sepulcher. In answer to this, the negus Yeshaq attacked the Muslims of Ethiopia in 1423 and ravaged the Islamic kingdom of Jabart. In return, Barsbay took vengeance on the Copts. Only through the intervention of Eric VII, king of Denmark, was the Holy Sepulcher reopened in 1426 (Darrāj, 1961, p. 338; see also Cerulli, 1943a).

To add to Gabriel's problems, he and the negus of Ethiopia were not on good terms. In fact, Yeshaq ceased to send the traditional contribution of the kings of Ethiopia to the Egyptian church.

In both Coptic and Ethiopian traditions, the name of Gabriel V remained linked with a miracle report-

ed to have taken place at the time of the transfer of the relics of Saint George to the church in Old Cairo that bears his name ('Abdallāh, 1962, p. 34, fn. 32). Ethiopian tradition mentions Gabriel V in connection with Isaac, the superior at the monastery of Miṭmāq, who refused to obey his bishop. It is reported that Gabriel restored good relations between them (Cerulli, 1943b).

Coptic tradition reports that in 1412 Mār Basile Bahnām was chosen patriarch of the Syrians at Mardīn. Bearing the name Ignatius IX, he came to Egypt via Jerusalem (Ephrem, 1976). Gabriel convened a synod that charged three bishops with his consecration: Michael al-Ghamrī, bishop of Samannūd and dean of the Episcopal College; Gabriel ibn Kātib al-Qūḍiyyah, bishop of Asyūṭ and superior of the monastery of Saint Macarius; and Cyril the Syrian, bishop of Jerusalem. In addition, Al-As'ad Abū al-Faraj (later to succeed Gabriel V under the name of JOHN XI), parish priest of the church of Saint Mercurius (ABŪ SAYFAYN) in Old Cairo, helped with the ordination. After his consecration in the church of Saint Mercurius, Ignatius IX then returned to Jerusalem. These events have been registered in two manuscripts of Cairo dealing with the preparation of the holy chrism, one in the Coptic Patriarchal Library (Liturgy 286) and the other in the Coptic Museum Library (Liturgy 128).

In general, the consecration of Ignatius IX illustrates that relations between the Coptic and Syrian churches were strong during this period. In the event of internal troubles the Syrians could depend on the Copts for help.

The notable Muslim historian al-MAQRĪZĪ (1364–1441), a contemporary of Gabriel V, summarized the life of the patriarch:

> After having spent some time as one of the many functionaries he rose in the ranks until he reached the patriarchal seat. The Christians were never so unhappy as during his reign.
>
> He himself was subjected, on several occasions, to prejudicial treatment and humiliation. He had to go in the streets on foot. When he presented himself for an audience with the Sultan or his emirs, he was left standing. He was so impoverished that, on more than one occasion, he was obliged to go from village to village imploring the generosity of the Christian population. He was unable to obtain aid from them since they themselves were in a state of poverty and distress.
>
> In days gone by, the Abyssinian kings sent annually considerable amounts of money to the patriarch of Alexandria. During Gabriel's reign, however, they renounced this custom. They had very little consideration for this prelate who had once been a functionary and had thus, in their opinion, contributed to the vexations exercised against his own people.
>
> In short, I have never seen any patriarch who was less esteemed than this one and whose pontificate was less honoured.

Here then is the opinion of an outsider. Coptic tradition will have it that this patriarch was ascetic, choosing travel on foot and leading an austere and simple life (Kāmil Ṣaliḥ Nakhlah, 1954, p. 8, no. 6).

It is apparent that Gabriel had a difficult reign. It was during this period that the Venetians stole the Copts' chief relic of the head of Saint MARK, an act that deeply affected the Coptic community. On the religious front, Gabriel distinguished himself by his liturgical reforms in the Coptic church, comparable to those made by Pius V for the Western Latin Church.

Gabriel V left only one written work, the *Ordo* (Arabic, *Kitāb Tartīb*). He thereby reorganized the liturgy of the church, giving it the definitive form that it currently retains. Without creating or modifying anything in the body of the liturgy, he assembled all its elements and traditions with minute precision and indicated all gestures and prayers of the liturgical offices.

Gabriel's method is instructive, being set forth identically in the two manuscripts that contain parts of the *Ordo* ('Abdallāh, 1962, pp. 113, 290 [Arabic text]; pp. 319, 440 [Italian trans.]): He studied a number of extant older *ordos*, lists of daily offices and feasts, comparing them and collating a single *ordo* that integrated the maximum substance of their original elements. On Sunday, 3 May 1411, at the Church of ABŪ SAYFAYN in Old Cairo, he assembled the priests, notables, and deacons of the entire Christian community and submitted the new *Ordo* to them. The assembly gave its unanimous approval to this *Ordo* and the patriarch consequently decreed its exclusive use in all Coptic churches.

The main part of the *Ordo* is contained in a Paris manuscript, arabe 98, transcribed at the beginning of the seventeenth century according to A. 'Abdallāh, or in the fifteenth century according to G. Troupeau. Only folios 1a–136a contain the *Ordo*. The rest of the manuscript contains materials pertaining to other authors.

The manuscript, Coptic Vatican 46, transcribed in Egypt at the beginning of the seventeenth century, contains in folios 136a–143a a single piece, the *Ordo of the Consecration of New Sanctuaries*. This

particular *ordo* is missing in the Paris manuscript. A detailed analysis of the whole Vatican manuscript was done by A. Hebbelynck and A. van Lantschoot (1937).

The Arabic and Coptic texts of the *Ordo* were edited by 'Abdallāh (1962, pp. 113–267, 290–315) along with an Italian translation (pp. 319–433, 440–59). Between pages 50–51 and 66–67 are photographic plates reproducing Paris arabe 98, folios la, 45a, 134a, and Vatican Coptic 46, folio 136a. Note that pages 268–89 of the Arabic text (pp. 434–39 of the Italian trans.) are not by Gabriel V ('Abdallāh, 1962, p. 51, §3).

The contents of Gabriel's *Ordo* are as follows (page numbers refer to 'Abdallāh's work):

1. *Ordo* of baptism (ed., pp. 113–27; trans. pp. 319–30); for the poem on baptism that follows it, see below.
2. *Ordo* of marriage (ed., pp. 130–48; trans., pp. 333–44).
3. *Ordo* on the anointing of the sick (ed., pp. 149–51; trans., pp. 345–47).
4. *Ordo* of Saint Abū Ṭarbū (ed., pp. 152–55; trans., pp. 348–50). This liturgical rite is practiced against dog bites, still one of the most popular ceremonies performed in the Coptic church.
5. *Ordo* of the vesperal and matinal office for the incense (ed., pp. 156–70; trans., pp. 351–60).
6. *Ordo* of the Mass of Saint Basil (ed., pp. 171–200; trans., pp. 361–83).
7. Rites concerning clerics (ed., pp. 201–29; trans., pp. 384–404):
   a. Enthronement of a new bishop (ed., pp. 201–15; trans., pp. 384–94);
   b. Ordination of *hegumenoi* and priests (ed., pp. 216–19; trans. pp. 395–97);
   c. *Ordo* of the Acclamation (*zaffah*) of a new priest (ed., pp. 202–203; trans., pp. 398–400);
   d. *Ordo* of the ordination of ministers: readers, subdeacons, and deacons (ed., pp. 224–29; trans., pp. 401–40).
8. Rites concerning monks (text, pp., 230–40; trans., pp. 405–14):
   a. *Ordo* on the clothing of monks;
   b. Service of the holy *Schema* (monastic habit);
   c. *Ordo* of the vestments used universally.
9. Funerary rites (ed., pp. 241–59; trans., pp. 414–29):
   a. Funerals of patriarchs and bishops (ed., pp. 241–52; trans., pp. 415–23);
   b. Funerals of *hegumenoi*, priests, and faithful (ed., pp. 253–58; trans., pp. 424–27);
   c. Commemoration of the dead (ed., 258f.; trans. 428f.).
10. *Ordo* to fill the chalice, if pouring the wine during mass has been inadvertently omitted or if the wine has turned to vinegar; based on a manuscript found in the Monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR) (ed., pp. 260–67; trans., pp. 430–33).
11. *Ordo* of the consecration of the sacred vessels (ed., pp. 268–88; trans., pp. 434–38). As already noted, this *Ordo* did not derive from Gabriel V; it was added here because of its appearance in the Paris manuscript and owing to the similarity of contents.
12. *Ordo* of the consecration of new sanctuaries (ed., pp. 290–315; trans., pp. 449–59).

A poem on baptism occurs on pages 128–30 (trans., pp. 331f.). Contrary to 'Abdallah's opinion, this poem was not composed by Gabriel V but by Athanasius, bishop of Qūṣ. According to G. Graf (1951, pp. 128, 129, §a), this Athanasius belongs to the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries and should be distinguished from another ATHANASIUS, bishop of Qūṣ, who lived in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries and authored the *Qilādat al-Taḥrīr* (Graf, 1934, p. 445; 1947). This distinction, however, is far from certain. It is likely, in fact, that he is one and the same bishop who lived in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

GABRIEL VI, ninety-first patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1466–1475). Gabriel was born at al-'Arābah al-Madfūnah and consequently was called al-'Arabāwī. He was surnamed Ibn Qaṭṭā' al-'Uṣfūr. He became a monk in the DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS and later was its superior. After MATTHEW II died Gabriel was chosen to be the pope of Alexandria on 9 February 1466. He then settled himself at the Church of Our Lady at ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH in Cairo, which had been the patriarchal seat from the reign of JOHN IX (1320) until about 1670.

Little is known of his life. He died on 15 December 1475 and was buried at DAYR AL-KHANDAQ, in the Church of ANBĀ RUWAYS in Cairo. According to O. Meinardus (1965), he was one of four patriarchs buried in that church (cf. Kāmil, 1943, 1954).

No work by him is mentioned by G. Graf. However, one must consider two manuscripts in the library of the Coptic patriarchate of Cairo. These record canonical answers on marriage and the service of the altar to questions asked by various people, probably bishops. The questions were "collected in the cell of the patriarch Ghubriyāl al-Farbāwī" (Graf, 1934). This last name should no doubt be read al-'Arabāwī. The two Cairene manuscripts are: *Theology 294* (Egypt, eighteenth century), fols. 50b–86b (Simaykah, 1942, no. 541/1; Graf, 1934, no. 439/10); *Theology 295*, dated 22 Abīb A.M. 1549 16/27 July A.D. 1743, approximately fols. 54–90 (Simaykah, 1942, no. 394/1; Graf, 1934, no. 443/1).

These canonical answers are mentioned by Graf (1951, Vol. 4) but are mistakenly attributed to Gabriel VII (1525–1568) by Murqus Simaykah and Yassa 'Abd al-Masīḥ.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

GABRIEL VII, ninety-fifth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1525–1568). Gabriel VII was born about 1476 in Minshāh or Manshiyyat Abū 'Ā'ishah, near DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ, west of Al-Qūṣiyyah in the province of Asyūṭ. He was known by the name of Ibn Muhannā.

His father, the *hegumenos* Jirjis ibn Rufā'īl, was the parish priest of the famous church of Saint Mercurius (ABŪ SAYFAYN) in Old Cairo. At an unknown date, Ibn Muhannā entered DAYR AL-SURYĀN in the desert of Scetis and took the name Rufā'īl, like his grandfather. Shortly after he became a priest, then a HEGUMENOS.

A note in the manuscript of Saint Antony, numbered *Theology 209*, describes Gabriel VII as a tall, quiet man, strongly inclined toward an asceticism that included fasts, long prayers, and stringent austerity.

On 5 February 1524, JOHN XIII, the ninety-fourth patriarch, died. After deliberations that lasted nearly twenty months, the bishops and ARCHONS of the community chose Rufā'īl as patriarch. He was consecrated on 1 October 1525.

One of the colophons in Coptic Vatican 9 notes that on 29 November 1525, just two months after his consecration, Gabriel acquired from master Barsūm ibn Mīkhā'īl Ṭayy Ibn Bisādah this manuscript, now in the Vatican, which contains the four gospels in Bohairic and Arabic (Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot, 1937).

Gabriel did much to restore a number of monasteries, especially those in the Eastern Desert near the Red Sea. They included Saint Antony's (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS), Saint Paul's (DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ), and

DAYR AL-MAYMŪN. He rebuilt entirely the monastery of Saint Antony, then called Dayr al-'Arabah, which, although it had been destroyed by the bedouins, thereafter began to bloom. Unfortunately, the refurbished monastery of Saint Paul was again destroyed by the bedouins during Gabriel's lifetime. To his credit, Gabriel also restored parts of Dayr al-Muḥarraq, the monastery near his native village.

These restorations required a great deal of money. Moreover, the taxes demanded by the state became increasingly heavy. For these two reasons, Gabriel sought to raise funds. But the faithful in Cairo subsequently accused him of being a materialist, a calumniation repudiated by the fact that at his death, his cell was found totally empty.

In 1561, Pope Paul IV (1559–1565) sent two Jesuits to Gabriel in the hope of reestablishing a union between the two churches. The two envoys, Fathers Christophore Rodriguez (Spanish) and GIAMBATTISTA ELIANO (a native of Egypt), were received by the patriarch in November 1561. Their ultimate goal was to join the Copts to the Church of Rome. In this connection, the pope was asking that the patriarch send a representative to the Council of Trent, that he delegate a group of young men to go to Rome to be instructed in the Catholic faith, and that he should write a letter of submission.

The idea for this mission had originated with a certain Ibrāhīm al-Suryānī (alias Abrām), who several years earlier had introduced himself in Rome as the envoy of Gabriel. He had submitted letters alleged to be from the patriarch, which indicated that Gabriel recognized the primacy of the Roman pope. It later became clear that the letter from the patriarch was nothing more than a letter of recommendation. The others had been forged by Abrām.

Initially, the Jesuit fathers appeared to be attaining their goal. The patriarch promised to send someone to the Council of Trent. He avoided sending a group of young Copts to Rome by saying that the Turks would view such a move negatively. At first, he seemed disposed to offer allegiance to the Roman pope, but in the end he changed his mind on the unfavorable advice of the Coptic bishop of Cyprus.

The patriarch charged Abrām and a certain George to discuss everything openly with the Jesuit fathers and to work out positions acceptable to both sides. When the patriarch was ready to sign, a young man named Gabriel, the future GABRIEL VIII (1586–1601), intervened, counseling the patriarch against signing a document he considered heretical. The young Gabriel, who exerted considerable influence on the eighty-five-year-old patriarch, was described by the two Latin delegates as being an intelligent but fanatically obstinate youth.

The patriarch was benevolently disposed toward the delegates. The proof is that he willingly allowed the two fathers to travel throughout the country, baptizing whomsoever they pleased among the faithful who, by and large, were much neglected by the native bishops and clergy. In fact, throughout their journey the two priests were astonished by the observation that baptismal fonts were empty and in disrepair.

Convinced of the uselessness of their efforts, the two delegates finally returned to Cairo and thence to Rome. According to them, the whole scheme was a mistake from the beginning, due not only to misinformation but also to the obstinate stand of the young Gabriel.

This first official Catholic mission to the Copts paved the way for a long series of pontifical missions to a number of successive patriarchs. All failed. Although at the beginning of the eighteenth century Rome renounced its attempts at global unions, some dialogue was established with small groups of Copts, thus giving birth to the Coptic Catholic community of today.

In 1568 the sultan taxed both Christians and Jews very heavily in order to defray costs of the army sent to conquer Yemen under the leadership of Sinān Pasha. Unable to gather the required sum, Gabriel decided to retire to his favorite monastery of Saint Antony. On arrival, however, he died surrounded by his monks, on 26 October 1568. He was transported to Cairo on 25 November and in the presence of eighty-five bishops and priests was buried in the Church of Saint Mercurius (Abū Sayfayn) in Old Cairo. These events are attested by two inscriptions: one, an inscription on the wall of the Chapel of Saint Antony; and another, the manuscript *Liturgy 391* at the same monastery.

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GABRIEL VIII, ninety-seventh patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1586–1601). His name before taking the monastic vow was Shinūdah and he came from the town of Meir in the province of Asyūṭ. This is all we can extract from the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, which in a matter of three lines erroneously records his town as al-Manbīr. He was a monk in the wilderness of Shihāt, but there is no indication to which of its monasteries he belonged, although it has been suggested that he was a monk of DAYR ANBĀ BISHOI.

This is, of course, an obscure period in the history of the Egyptian nation and especially the Coptic sector. Gabriel was a contemporary of two Ottoman sultans, Murād III (1574–1595) and Muḥammad III (1595–1603). He is said to have died in 1603 in the wilderness of Shihāt, where he was buried, without mention of any specific monastery. He was patriarch for fifteen years.

[*See also:* Gabriel VII.]

SUBHY Y. LABIB

GABRIEL, ARCHANGEL. Gabriel can mean "man of God" or "strength of God" or "God reveals himself in strength." In a Coptic exorcism text it is interpreted as "man of God" (cf. Kropp, 1930–1931, Vol. 2, p. 165). In the Old Testament book of Daniel, Gabriel appears to the prophet in the semblance of a man (Dn. 8:15–16) and is imagined as having the power to fly, a symbol of spirituality (Dn. 9:21). His mission is to interpret for Daniel the apocalyptic vision of the ram and the he-goat and to clarify the messianic meaning of the prophecy of the seventy weeks.

In the New Testament he is given the title of "angel" (Lk. 1:11, 26). He appears to Zechariah in the Temple to announce the birth of the forerunner of the Messiah, John the Baptist, and he identifies himself as "Gabriel, who stands in the presence of God" (Lk. 1:19). Six months later he appears to the Virgin Mary in Nazareth and announces that she is to be the mother of the Messiah (Lk. 1:26–38). Although his name is not mentioned, he is supposed to be the angel who appears in Revelation 10:1–11, since he brings a message of good tidings.

In Jewish extrabiblical literature, Gabriel is given the title of "archangel" (2 Enoch 21:3) and is considered to be one of the four main angelic princes together with Michael, Uriel (Sariel), and Raphael or one of the seven archangels (1 Enoch 20:7; cf. Zec. 4:10b).

It is said that Gabriel is seated at the left hand of God—with Michael at the right—and that he has Enoch for an acolyte (1 Enoch 24:1). As his name indicates, Gabriel has authority over all the powers (1 Enoch 40:9). He has several missions, such as to watch over Paradise, the serpents, and the cherubim (1 Enoch 20:7), to intercede for the just (1 Enoch 40:9), to be present at the hour of death (4 Esd. 6:1f.; *Apocalyse of Moses* 40), to take part in the Last Judgment (1 Enoch 54:5), and to punish the impious (1 Enoch 20:9f.).

In postbiblical Jewish literature these same characteristics are maintained, and he is also considered to be the angel of the harvest. This literature stresses the interventions of Gabriel with the patriarchs. With Michael and Raphael, he visits Abraham (Gn. 18:2), and with Michael he destroys Sodom and Gomorrah. He instructs Joseph in Egypt; on the death of Moses he helps Michael to protect his soul, which Sama'el wishes to snatch away. He saves the three young men in the fiery furnace.

In Gnostic literature Gabriel is shown as the angel of justice, armed with a sword and bow, and he is invoked against the demons. He is identified with Christ talking to Mary and taking flesh in her womb.

In Christian literature many of the characteristics mentioned are included, others are developed, and yet others are introduced for the first time. Gabriel is still considered one of the archangels, and it is also said that he was created before the other an-

gels, together with Satanael, who was later transformed into the devil, and with Michael, and that he leads the heavenly hosts. He is said to have special power over Satan, whom he torments constantly with the help of other angels. Since he is the angel of powers, he has authority over wars (Origen *De principiis* 1. 8. 1). At the end of time Gabriel will blow the heavenly trumpet, at the sound of which the dead will rise. Gabriel is also credited with saving Daniel from the den of lions (Dn. 6:23), and it is thought that he is the angel in Daniel 10 (Theodoretus 10.20). Since Gabriel was sent to Mary to announce the forthcoming birth of Christ, he is thought also to have been sent to announce the death of Mary (Tischendorf, 1866, pp. 95–112).

In Coptic literature Gabriel frequently appears in works dedicated directly to him but also in those dealing with the birth of Jesus and in others of a different nature. He always takes second place behind Michael. There are several encomia dedicated to the archangel Gabriel. One is attributed to ATHANASIUS, patriarch of Alexandria, in honor of Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel, and is included in a codex in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Hyvernat, 1922, Vol. 25). The *Encomium in Gabrielem Archangelum* of Archelaus of Neapolis is also preserved in the Morgan Library (Hyvernat, 1922, Vol. 41), and in a codex of DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH (the White Monastery), which is in the process of being reconstructed. This same encomium is also found in Bohairic in two codices from DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR (Saint Macarius) (Vis, 1922, pp. 246–91). It was composed for the feast of 22 Kiyahk, and it tells of the appearance of the archangel to Bishop Abba Nikolaus, who was initially reluctant to build a church in his honor, and of other apparitions while the church was being built. Gabriel appears as an eighteen-year-old youth, an old doctor, and a royal soldier. In this encomium he is also considered to be the guarantor of contracts, demanding that they be adhered to.

There is also the *Encomium in Gabrielem Archangelum* attributed to Celestine I of Rome and preserved in a Sahidic codex shared between the British Museum and the Freer Collection (Worrel, 1923 pt. 2, sec. 1). Here Gabriel appears as the defender of the just in their struggle in this world against the devil and is held to be the angel of peace.

The *Installatio of the Archangel Gabriel,* preserved in the Morgan Library (Hyvernat, 1922, Vol. 23; Müller, 1962), is secondary to an *Installatio* of Michael and is a poor imitation of it. But it adds data concerning Gabriel. He is called the bringer of good tidings of the eons of the light. The Installatio includes legends: with Michael Gabriel appeared to Adam in the waters of the Jordan to preach the good news of repentance and forgiveness of sins; he appeared to Abraham to announce the birth of a son (Müller, 1962, n. 7); and he appeared to the Virgin Sibylla, sister of Enoch, to save her from the attacks of the devil (Müller, 1962, n. 8). It is Gabriel who consoles the martyrs in their trials (Müller, 1962, n. 8). His authority in heaven is shown by his having being placed by God at the head of 240,000 angels (Müller, 1962, n. 4).

Gabriel also plays an important role in the homilies on the birth of Christ as, for example, in the Sermon of Damianus preserved in Sahidic (Crum, 1913). Some fragments in Paris and London appear to belong to a homily of this kind (Lucchesi, 1979). The editor attributes it to SEVERIAN OF GABALA. There is also a Bohairic homily attributed to Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM dealing with the annunciation by the angel Gabriel to Mary (Vatican Library, Coptic 57; cf. Hebbelynck and Lantschoot, 1937). Some dozen homilies in Arabic on the subject of Gabriel have also been preserved. They recall his appearances and miracles. The most important is one attributed to John Chrysostom (Graf, 1944–1953, Vol. 1, p. 544).

We find references to Gabriel in other Coptic works, especially in those in which Michael appears. Thus in the *Installatio Michaelis Archangeli* (Müller, 1962, n.3) it is stated that Gabriel was the third archangel to be created after Saklataboth and Michael. He appears with Michael in the *Martyrium of the Apostle Simon* (Zoëga, 1810, p. 137), accompanying Christ, who leads Simon to the Mount of Olives. With Michael he is responsible for receiving the souls of the just at the moment of death, according to *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Zoëga, 1810, no. 169). In this role he appears in the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (Lagarde, 1883). In this Coptic apocryphal work, Gabriel is the "archangel of joy," who appears to Joseph to announce the Incarnation of the Word. With Michael he also protects souls against the terrifying powers that attack them after death, and in particular he accompanies the soul of Saint Joseph until it has passed the seventh aeon of darkness. In the Latin version of this work the two archangels wrap the soul of Joseph in a cloak of light; in the Coptic text they place it in a delicate silk tissue.

In the *Martyrium of Paese and Thecla,* Gabriel

attends the two martyrs before their death and leads them safely to heaven (Till, 1935–1936, p. 99). In a Sahidic *Encomium to the Archangel Raphael* (Budge, 1915, pp. 526–35), the name of Gabriel is given the meaning of "God and man," and it is stated that this is why he is the messenger of the Incarnation. As in all Coptic literature and especially in the Coptic *Gospel of Bartholomew*, Gabriel is the bringer of good tidings. It is thought that Gabriel is also the angel who revealed to Enoch the mysteries of the judgment, according to the "Coptic Fragments of Enoch" (Pearson, 1976, p. 223). In the Coptic *Apokalypse des Elias* (Steindorf, 1899), Gabriel appears leading the just to the Holy Land (to Paradise) at the head of the angels. In the *Testament of Jacob*, it is stated that he comes with Michael and many angels to bear the soul of Jacob to the tabernacles of light. Gabriel also plays a part in the magic Coptic texts, in which he is invoked to awake the love of a certain person, to deliver people from serpents, and to cure fevers. He is closer and more approachable than Michael, and his name frequently appears on amulets.

In the Coptic liturgy, the archangel Gabriel is celebrated on 30 Baramūdah, feast of the Annunciation; 22 Kiyahk, day of the consecration of the church of Gabriel in Caesarea; and 26 Ba'ūnah, feast of the dedication of the church. More than twenty doxologies and hymns in honor of Gabriel are known. They recall that he is the bearer of good tidings and the protector. He is credited with revealing the dream of Nebuchadnezzar to the prophet Daniel (Dn. 2:19). Particularly celebrated is his appearance to the Virgin Mary, and the care he took not to trouble her. As with the other angels, he is represented with a sword of fire in his hand.

The churches dedicated to Gabriel were few in number, particularly when compared to those dedicated to Michael. There is a shrine on the mountain of al-Naqlūn south of the Fayyūm, and a church in the city of Isnā. Coptic tradition preserves several appearances of Gabriel to certain saints—for example, to encourage Apa Hamoi (Kahle, 1954, pp. 433–35), to Diocorus and Aesculapius, to Hezechiel of Armant, et cetera. The case of Poebarumon (27 Ṭūbah) is unique: he had a vision of Christ with the Holy Virgin, Saint Michael, and Gabriel.

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GONZALO ARANDA PÉREZ

GAIANITES. *See* Gaianus.

GAIANUS, rival patriarch of Alexandria in 537. When THEODOSIUS I, the official candidate for the patriarchate, appeared for his enthronement, a popular movement of all classes in the city swept Gaianus, who had been an archdeacon under TIMOTHY III, into his place. Against the Severianism (see SEVERIAN OF JABALAH) of Theodosius, Gaianus represented the more extreme Julianist doctrine that the flesh of Christ was incorruptible by nature. He had been in power for 104 days when Theodosius was restored by military force. Gaianus was exiled to Sardinia, where he later died. The Theodosian party gradually prevailed in Egypt, but the Gaianites continued with their own episcopal succession through the seventh century and perhaps even later.

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GALACTOTROPHOUSA. *See* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.

GALLERY. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

GALTIER, EMILE JOSEPH (1864–1908), French Orientalist. He studied at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and was a member of the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale in Cairo. He succeeded Léon Barry as librarian of the Cairo Museum. His bibliography can be found in *A Coptic Bibliography* (Kammerer, 1950, 1969).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

GANGRA, COUNCIL OF, fourth-century council that opposed extreme asceticism. The traditional date is about 340, although the ecclesiastical historian Socrates Scholasticus (1864, 2.43) indicates about 360, under the presidency of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. The fourteen bishops present condemned the views and practices of Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, and his followers, which tended to be extremely rigorous and ascetic. They included contempt for marriage, holding that no married person "had hope with God"; refusal to eat animal flesh; refusal to pray in the houses of married people; rejection of church worship in favor of worship in private conventicles; belief that the rich could not be saved; and encouragement of slaves to desert their duties on the pretext of taking up an ascetic life.

Though the canons of the council had no direct bearing on Egyptian monasticism, they show the increasing distrust among many clergy of the monastic movement and especially the cenobitic form that was developing then in Egypt under the influence of Saint PACHOMIUS and Saint AMUN.

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W. H. C. FREND

GASELEE, STEPHEN (1882–1943), librarian, Coptologist, and connoisseur. He lectured on Coptic dialects, cataloged the Coptic manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, and published articles, mainly on Coptic bibliography and literature (Kammerer, 1950, p. 178). In 1916 he entered the Foreign Office, was made librarian and keeper of the manuscripts in 1920, and in 1932 became president of the Bibliographical Society.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

GAYET, ALBERT JEAN MARIE PHILIPPE (1856–1916), French Egyptologist and Coptologist. He was born at Dijon and studied un-

der G. MASPERO in Paris. His works touching on the field of Coptology can be found listed in *A Coptic Bibliography* (Kammerer, 1950, 1969) and *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (Dawson and Uphill, 1972). His collection of antiquities was left to the city of Dijon, which ceded it to the Louvre Museum.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

GEMINATION, VOCALIC. *See Appendix.*

GENUFLECTION, the act of kneeling in prayer as a sign of reverence and veneration. It was a common practice in the Old Testament (Ex. 12:27; 1 Sm. 1:19; I Kgs. 18:39; 1 Chr. 19:20). Likewise, in the New Testament we learn that Jesus knelt down and prayed at the Mount of Olives (Mt. 26:35; Lk. 22:41). The Acts of the Apostles relates various instances of kneeling in worship (Acts 9:40; 22:36; 21:5).

The following postures of genuflection are observed in worship: (1) standing upright with the head and back bent slightly forward, when the deacon says, "Bow your heads before the Lord" and the priest says the prayers of inclination and of absolution; (2) kneeling on both knees, during the morning service of the liturgy in the great fast of Lent and the fast of Jonah, and at the end of the prayers of the canonical hours during Holy Week. The service of genuflection on Whitsunday consists of three sections each including a solemn prayer during which the whole congregation kneels; and (3) kneeling with the head touching the floor, during the prayer of the descent of the Holy Spirit, when the deacon says, "Worship God in awe and trembling."

In the *Institutes* of John CASSIAN (c. 360–435), in which he describes "the canonical system of the nocturnal prayers and psalms, observed by the servants of God throughout the whole of Egypt," he pays special tribute to the distinctive custom of the desert monks in practicing genuflection: ". . . before they bend their knees they pray for a few moments, and while they are standing up spend the greater part of the time in prayer. And so, after this, for the briefest space of time, they prostrate themselves to the ground, as if but adoring the divine mercy, and as soon as possible rise up, and again standing erect with outspread hands—just as they had been standing to pray before—remain with thoughts intent upon their prayers."

Some early fathers attached special symbolical significance to the act of genuflection in its relationship to man's fall prior to his redemption. Thus Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–200) states, "Since it behooved us always to remember both our own fall into sins and the grace of our Christ through which we have arisen from the fall, therefore our kneeling on the six days is a sign of our fall into sins, but our not kneeling on the Lord's Day is a sign of the rising again, through which, by the grace of Christ, we have been delivered from our sins and from death."

John Cassian refers to this tradition as observed by the Egyptian monks, "This, too, we ought to know, that from the evening of Saturday which precedes the Sunday, up to the following evening, among the Egyptians they never kneel, nor from Easter to Whitsuntide."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

GEOGRAPHY, DIALECTAL. *See Appendix.*

GEORGE, SAINT. There are various accounts of the history of Saint George, known in Arabic as Mār Jirjis, who is held in great veneration by Copts as an efficacious intercessor. Many stories were handed down by tradition, and are popularly accepted as historical.

According to the Coptic SYNAXARION, Saint George was born in Cappadocia to Anastasius and Theopista. His father, who was a governor, died when George was twenty years of age. He therefore betook himself to Emperor DIOCLETIAN (284–305) to claim his father's position. He was distressed by the emperor's paganism and his persecution of Christians, and determined to devote his life as one of Christ's warriors. He gave his possessions to the poor and discharged his servants.

As George was incensed to see the imperial edicts against those who professed Christianity, he tore

them down. He was taken to the emperor's court, where he proclaimed that he was a Christian, crying out in anger, "When will you stop torturing innocent Christians and forcing them to recant their religion? If you do not wish to embrace their faith, at least do not persecute them."

Magnentius, one of the emperor's courtiers, tried to placate him, but to no avail. The emperor intervened, and reminded George of the favors he bestowed upon him, promising him more if he were to renounce his Christ. George declined the emperor's offers with disdain, and was therefore subjected to torture that he endured without wavering.

A sorcerer named Athanasius was asked to administer him a poisoned drink on which he uttered some magical incantation. George made the sign of the cross on the cup and drank it without being harmed. Thereupon the sorcerer accepted the Christian belief, and was consequently put to death, receiving the crown of martyrdom.

The emperor was deeply infuriated and ordered George to be crushed under heavy rollers, until he gave up the ghost. He was cast outside the city. But Christ restored him to life, and he returned to the city where over 3,000 people saw him and embraced Christianity. They were all beheaded, willingly seeking the crown of martyrdom.

After further miracles accomplished by Saint George, his torture was intensified by Diocletian. Finally, the emperor tried to coax him by offering him his daughter in marriage if he would burn incense for the gods. George pretended to accept, and was allowed into the palace. While he was praying and reciting the Psalms, he was overheard by the empress who asked him to explain the meaning of his prayers. When he did, she believed in Christ, and eventually the emperor had her beheaded.

Finally, Saint George's head was cut off and he won the crown of martyrdom. The Coptic *Synaxarion* gives A.D. 307 as the year of his martyrdom.

Though not a native Egyptian, Saint George is one of the most beloved and revered saints of the Coptic church. His feast day is 23 Baramūdah. The churches that have been dedicated to his name all over Egypt are too numerous to count. Besides, there is hardly a church in the country that does not contain one or more icons of this great martyr. On the anniversary of his martyrdom, and on other dates, celebrations and *mūlids* (religious festivals) attract many thousands of pilgrims and patients from far and wide. Among the most famous churches are the two at Mīt Damsīs, north of Mīt Ghamr, in the Delta, where celebrations are held annually between 22 and 28 August.

A particular event connected with Saint George is the commemoration on 3 Ba'ūnah of the consecration of the first church in Egypt to be dedicated to his name. According to the Coptic Synaxarion that church was at the town of Birmā in the Baḥariyyah oasis. The saint's decapitated body was brought from Lydda in Palestine to the Bahnasā. Another church at Birmā near Ṭanṭā in the Delta was also consecrated to Saint George on a similar date. The Synaxarion gives an interesting story that throws some light on the similarity of the names of the two towns.

A young man lived near a well, in the area of present-day Birmā, together with a community of Christian soldiers. He had heard of the miracles wrought by God at the hands of Saint George, so he collected details of the saint's life story, wrote them down, and found great spiritual enjoyment in reading them. On the eve of 24 Bashans, while he was praying, he saw a group of saintly men singing and praising God around the well. One of the group, in military dress, stepped forward and told him that he was George and that he was martyred by Diocletian, and commanded him to build a church on that spot. The youth kept wondering how he could afford to do so. But Saint George appeared to him again, pointed out to him the exact spot where the church was to be built, and explained to him where he could find the necessary money. In the morning the young man went to that place, where he dug up a pot full of gold and silver coins. The church was soon built, and was consecrated by the patriarch on 3 Ba'ūnah. Afterward many houses were built in the vicinity of the church, which acquired the name Bīr mā' (i.e., water well), after the well near which the church was built.

The Synaxarion goes on to say that the relics of Saint George were later translated from his church at the town of Bīr mā' in the oases to the Monastery of Anbā Ṣāmū'īl during the patriarchate of MATTHEW I (1378–1409). Later, during the patriarchate of GABRIEL V (1409–1427), the saint's relics were translated, once again, to the church dedicated to his name in Old Cairo.

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FUAD MEGALLY

GHĀLĪ, finance minister for MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ. Born in the late eighteenth century, Ghālī was employed by Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī, a leading figure among the Mamluks. He was a contemporary of the French Expedition (see YA'QŪB, GENERAL), during which the Jawharī brothers rose to eminence. When Muḥammad 'Alī became Khedive, Ghālī inherited the position in the finance administration formerly held by JIRJIS AL-JAWHARĪ. Apparently Ghālī's method of raising funds for the khedive was more conciliatory than that of Jirjis, who was forced to flee his new master and his competitor to take refuge in Upper Egypt. In 1805, the khedive entrusted Ghālī with the total administration of the finances of Egypt. He reorganized the finances on a firm basis by taking a complete survey of the country and partitioning the arable soil into taxable segments—thus establishing a precise budget, which increased considerably as a result. He also divided the country into provinces and districts with a governor, titled *agha*, responsible for each district.

In the meantime, Muḥammad 'Alī was eager to secure armaments from Europe but found the cost too high. When he consulted his generals, they still recommended European military hardware. Ghālī made the counterproposition that armaments be manufactured locally, explaining that this would bolster the economy and provide the people with opportunities for work. The khedive accepted Ghālī's proposal.

During Ghālī's administration the French ambassador proposed to the khedive that he order the Copts of Egypt to join Rome under the papacy. Muḥammad 'Alī ordered Mu'allim Ghālī, who was a Copt, to tell the Coptic patriarch to accede to the French ambassador's request. Ghālī, who knew well that the patriarch would never do so, told the khedive that the best way to attract the Copts to Catholicism was simply to adopt the Roman faith himself. The khedive accepted the suggestion, which proved to be the beginning of the very small Catholic congregation in Egypt. This is probably the only surviving legacy from the Ghālī family, who became Catholic on that occasion.

Apparently Ghālī's success in discharging his duties created jealousy, and his competition began to foment trouble behind his back at court. For his failure to meet the khedive's request for extraordinary funds, he was incarcerated and ultimately was killed by IBRĀHĪM PASHA in the town of Ziftā in May 1822, although the immediate causes for this act remain a mystery.

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MOUNIR SHOUCRI

GIRGIS MATTHA (1905–1967), Coptic Egyptologist, papyrologist, and a specialist in ancient Egyptian philology. He was one of the early graduates of the newly established Institute of Egyptology in Fouad I University in Cairo. In 1928, he was sent to complete his higher education at the Institut catholique in Paris. Later he studied in England at Queen's College, Oxford, under the famous Egyptologist and Coptologist Francis L. GRIFFITH, who supervised his doctoral thesis on the editing of the Bodleian collection of demotic ostraca.

On his return to Cairo University in 1937, he was appointed lecturer, then assistant professor of philology. He was nominated vice-dean of the Faculty of Letters in 1949–1950, and became director of the Institute of Archaeology in the University from 1950 to 1965.

Mattha's productivity in the field of Egyptology was enormous in quantity and quality. He collaborated with other scholars in the publication of demotic ostraca, notably with Griffith, who spoke highly of him in the preface to his *Catalogue of Demotic Graffiti.* In Cairo, Mattha made a great number of contributions to the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale,* the *Annales du Service des Antiquités,* the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters,* and the *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte,* mainly on legal and economic subjects from original demotic sources.

Apart from his collaboration with his mentor, Griffith, in the production of the *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti* in Oxford, Mattha wrote many journal articles.

MUNIR BASTA

GIYORGIS. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

GIZA (al-Jīzah), city just outside and across the Nile from Cairo and perhaps best known as a pagan site with its three pyramids and the Sphinx. The city has some significance in the history of Christian Egypt as well.

Although the many monasteries and churches in the vicinity of Giza argue that Christianity gained an

early foothold in the area, the region is not mentioned in the Coptic martyrological literature for the pre-Arabic period, and the first bishop of Giza whose name is recorded in historical sources did not live until the eleventh century. It appears that Giza lay for centuries in the shadow of Memphis and Wasīm.

The record of bishops in Giza begins with Bishop Hezekiah, who attended a synod in Cairo in 1086 as the bishop of Wasīm and Giza. Bishop Mark, Hezekiah's successor, is known for a trip he made to Abyssinia under patriarchal commission. In 1299, 1305, and 1320 another bishop Mark of Wasīm and Giza attended the consecration of chrism (see CHRISM, CONSECRATION OF THE) in Cairo. This bishop Mark is also known as the copyist of various manuscripts. In a colophon from a manuscript that he wrote in 1335, he calls himself the bishop of Awsīm and Giza.

ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN said that there were fifty monasteries at the foot of the mountain at Giza (Jabal al-Giza), all of which had been destroyed by the Berbers.

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RANDALL STEWART

GLASS, COPTIC. The glass of the Coptic period —third to twelfth centuries—was the heir to a long tradition of glassmaking in Egypt. While Coptic glass exhibited some regional variations, it did not differ substantially from glass in neighboring areas.

Glass was manufactured in Egypt from about 1500 B.C.; it reached its acme of beauty in the luxury glassware made at Alexandria in the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods (300 B.C.–A.D. 100). Sand, soda, and lime, the ingredients of glass, were readily available in the deserts of Egypt. These components were heated over wood fires until they were molten and were worked while viscous. Early glass, laboriously made, was rare and expensive. By the first century B.C., however, glassworkers had discovered the technique of picking up a blob of molten glass on the end of a hollow tube and blowing air into it. This glassblowing technique revolutionized glassmaking, since glass vessels could be manufactured much more speedily and therefore became a common and inexpensive item. Although this change came slowly to Egypt, by the Coptic period glass was found in abundance.

Technique

The glass furnaces of this era have not been found; nevertheless, the quantity and simplicity of most glass used in Egypt suggest that a number of small factories produced glass articles for local use. Evidence from other areas around the Mediterranean shows that glass factories could be quite small and simple. For example, the scanty remains of a third-century glass furnace at present-day Salona, Yugoslavia, comprise a rectangular melting tank about 2.5 by 5 feet (0.80 by 1.50 m) within a small furnace structure. Glassmaking installations in Galilee also used built-in rectangular melting tanks, while in other areas separate clay pots have been found.

Since early glass furnaces do not survive above the foundation level, we must depend on descriptions and illustrations in medieval manuscripts for the appearance of complete furnaces. Those of the southern and eastern Mediterranean seem usually to have been circular structures with the fire at the lowest level, the melting pots and work area at the middle level, and the annealing space for gradual cooling of the finished glass at the top.

Ordinary ancient blown glass was blue-green, yellow-green, pale blue, or amber in color. Added decorative elements were often in darker blue or green. These colors were easily obtainable from the batch materials. Impurities in glass sand, for example, imparted the characteristic greenish tone to ancient glass. Truly colorless glass, achieved by the addition of manganese or antimony, was rarer and more expensive.

The blowing process imparted both thinness and translucency to glass, qualities that made it usable not only for vessels but also for windows, jewelry, and lamps. To make a vessel, the glassblower would pick up a gather of molten glass on the blowpipe and shape it with simple metal and wood tools while constantly reheating it to working temperature. A second, solid metal pipe, the pontil rod, was attached to the base of the vessel, and the rim of the vessel was knocked off the blowpipe when handles and decoration were completed.

Decorative effects were achieved by adding trails or blobs of hot glass, by pinching and pulling the

vessel to form indentations or ribs, by blowing the glass into a mold, and by engraving. Glass was often blown into a mold to impart, for example, a ribbed design, then withdrawn and further inflated, softening and sometimes twisting the original pattern. Glass decorated with cut facets or engraved with elaborate figural and floral motifs was a specialty of the early Roman glassmakers of Alexandria. This tradition continued in somewhat diminished form for several centuries. Horizontal wheel-cut lines and facet cutting decorated beakers and bowls, while geometric patterns of a shallower cut ornamented jugs and bottles.

By the ninth century, after the Islamic conquest, new uses, shapes, and decorative techniques changed Egyptian glass into something distinctively different from earlier work. Techniques such as painting in luster (metallic glaze) were used at first for Coptic motifs and subsequently for the Islamic repertoire. Pincered designs were applied to small vessels with patterned tongs, and white marvered-in threads decorated glassware of purple, red, and gray. In the ninth and tenth centuries, glass was deeply cut from blanks in imitation of rock crystal. New uses for glass included coin weights and medical utensils such as cupping glasses.

The most important archaeological evidence of Coptic glass comes from the Greco-Roman town of Karanis in the Fayyūm, excavated from 1924 to 1935 by the University of Michigan; information on the glass was published by D. B. Harden. Listed but not fully presented is the glass from the 1905–1909 excavations of the Monastery of DAYR APA JEREMIAH at Saqqara. Between them these sites span the periods of the second through fifth centuries and the sixth through mid-ninth centuries. More recent excavations at Cairo continue the history of glassmaking after the Islamic conquest. Apart from these sites, the evidence consists of scattered references to finds, museum glass with probable Egyptian provenance, and brief mentions of glass and glassmakers in papyri and manuscripts.

Tableware and Storage Vessels

Karanis provides the best evidence for the types of domestic table glass used in Roman and Coptic Egypt; similar examples come from other sites. Among the most common shapes in use were plain, blown, shallow and deep bowls on high foot rings, made in a wide range of sizes. The bowls were often oval, a characteristic of Egyptian glass not found elsewhere in plain blown glass. Another distinguishing feature of bowls and other footed



Group of glass and household objects found together on window ledge of House BC 61, Karanis. Fifth century. *Courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.*

shapes is the clearly visible crisscross marks of the tool used to pull out and shape the base rings.

The common form of late antique drinking vessels in Egypt, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, was a deep-bowled goblet on a stem, similar to the modern wine glass. The Egyptian version was distinguished by the thin walls of the bowl and the foot-shaping technique mentioned above. Storage vessels included tall cylindrical bottles, generally dark olive-green, sometimes decorated with shallowly engraved geometric patterns—ovals, diamonds, and lines. Handleless flasks were also in use, a typical form having a globular body, long narrow neck with constriction at the base, and flaring folded rim. This shape was often decorated with an added crimped collar of darker glass. The bodies were sometimes shaped in a mold to produce a swirling ribbed pattern. Small jars were often decorated with *à jour* (open-work) threads trailed from rim to shoulder and with vertical trails below the side handles. Although these features are also seen on eastern Mediterranean glass, Egyptian examples were distinguished by their thin fabric and crimped base rings. As at other sites, large numbers of *unguentaria* (perfume bottles) were found. The earliest shapes are similar to long-necked types in both East and West. The small, squat bottles most common at Karanis, are, however, quite different from those made elsewhere.

Some finer glass, probably made at Alexandria, was found at Karanis and at other Egyptian sites and was widely exported as well. From the second and earlier third centuries come small rounded bowls of colorless glass, engraved either with mythological designs and Greek inscriptions or with overall facet-cut patterns. Two facet-cut beakers from an even earlier period were carefully preserved as heirlooms in a Karanis household. Facet-cut "dolphin bottles" with globular bodies and two small handles were made in the third century,



Jug with engraved designs. Karanis. Fourth century. *Courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.*

while in the fourth century tall cylindrical bottles were decorated with shallowly scratched facets, diamonds, and other patterns. The relatively rare appearance of such glass on Egyptian sites suggests that they were an expensive item destined more for the export trade than for common domestic use.

Groups of glass vessels stored in the Karanis houses suggest how glassware was used in the average household. In one instance a group of six oval dishes and six shallow bowls found together with other shapes indicates a complete glass table service. More frequently one or two examples of each shape were found along with glass lamps (discussed later) and small flasks. That this plainer blown glass was considered the finer tableware is suggested by its storage along with pieces of imported redware pottery.

The glassware found at the Saqqara monastery corresponds to glass of early Islamic type from elsewhere in Egypt. Prominent are small bowls with raised designs applied with patterned tongs to the hot glass. Flasks have globular bodies and tall, very narrow necks, while other glasses exhibit the characteristic Islamic decoration of marvered-in white threads in a brilliantly colored matrix. There are also glass coin weights stamped with dates ranging from the early eighth to the mid-ninth century.

The recent excavations at al-Fusṭāṭ revealed similar types of glass in such quantity as to indicate local manufacture there. Given the proximity of Saqqara to al-Fusṭāṭ, it seems likely that the monastery obtained its glassware from this nearby source, since the highly skilled glassmaking craft was not carried on in the monasteries themselves.

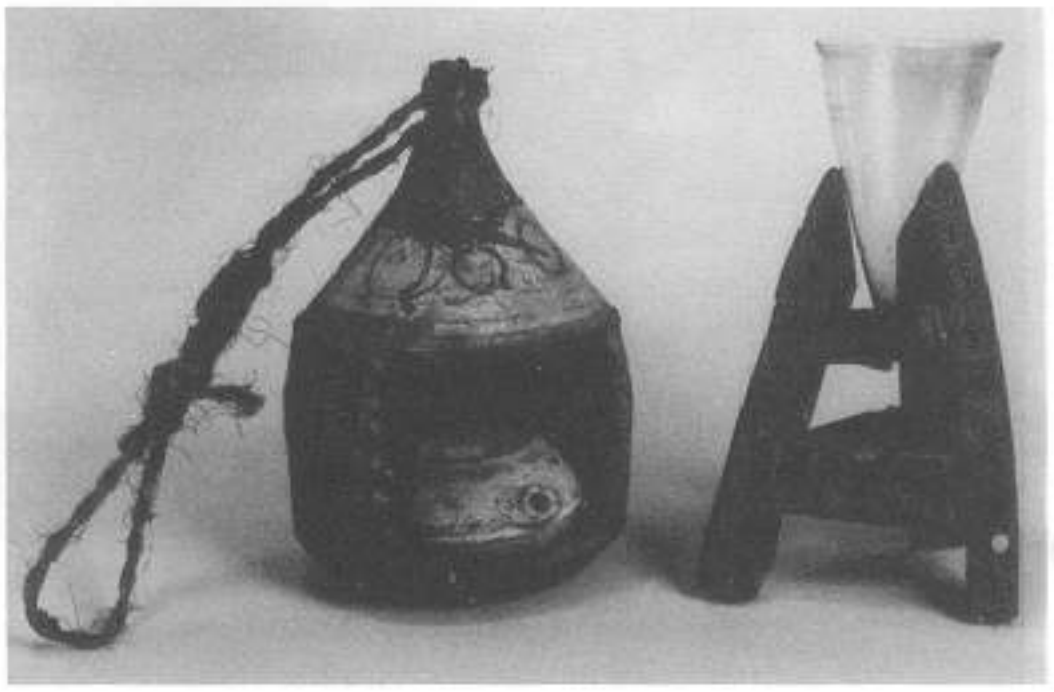
Lamps

From the fourth century on, lamps of glass were in wide use. The earliest type in Egypt, as elsewhere, is a long, conical shape with a knocked-off or fire-polished rim, pointed or knob base, and dec-



Polycandelon with six glass lamps. Sixth–eighth centuries. *Courtesy Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.*

oration of horizontal wheel-cut lines, zigzag threads, or applied blue glass blobs. At Karanis small versions about 4 to 5 inches (10–13 cm) in height were in use, probably supported in low wooden tripod stands. Larger examples, about 8 inches (20 cm) and over in height, were generally suspended from the ceiling in groups by means of metal holders. These holders consisted of metal disks with multiple openings for the insertion of several lamps. They were hung horizontally and suspended from chains. Descriptions of early churches include mention of such chandeliers. The shapes of the glass lamps evolved through time. Some were deep bowls with three handles, used free-standing or hung, while the type most often hung in chandeliers had a wide bowl and heavy stem.



Clay lantern and glass lamp in wooden holder. Karanis. Fourth century. *Courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.*

Windows and Wall Decoration

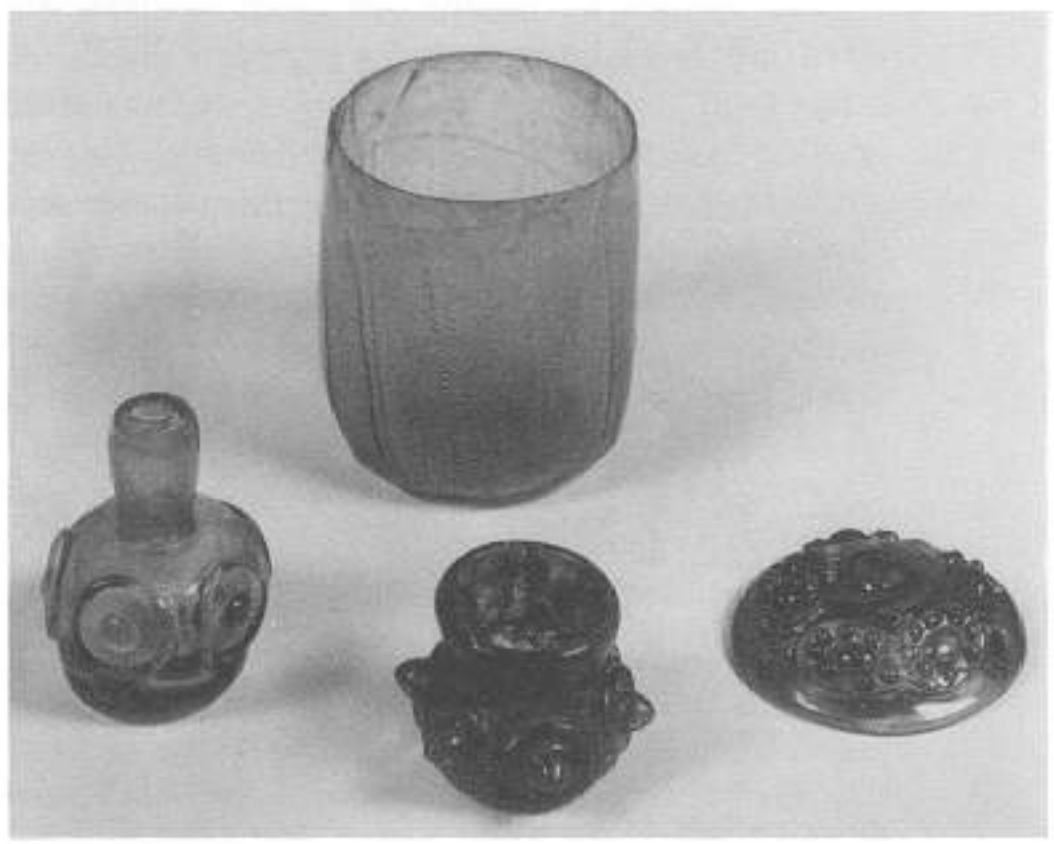
Glass in windows in Egypt is not definitely attested before the sixth century. From this time it has been found in the Saint Jeremiah Monastery at Saqqara in the form of small panes of circular crown glass, colorless, purple, or blue, cut into small pieces and fastened with clay into circular- or rectangular-patterned limestone window frames.

Also at the Saqqara monastery, mosaic glass cubes were found fallen from the vaulted dome of the church. Among the variegated opaque and translucent colors, the most important were clear glass cubes encasing gold leaf, the same technique used in the Christian gold glassware of the catacombs.

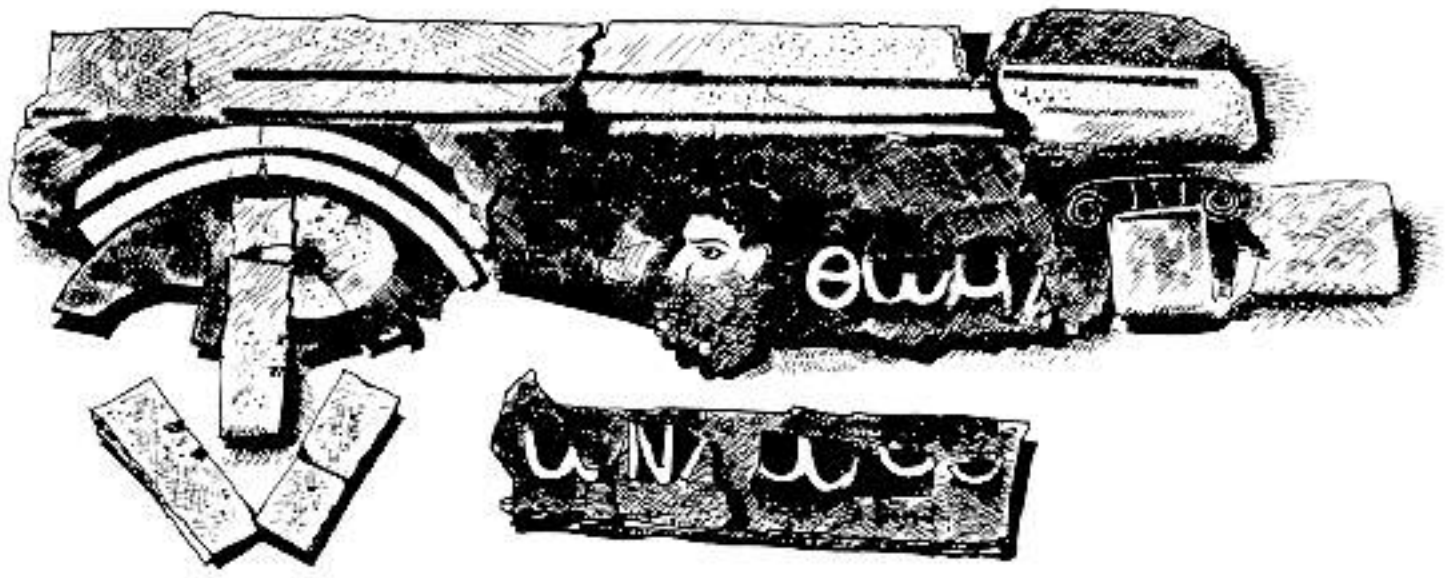
Glass wall decoration is seen from an earlier period in two fragmentary Coptic-style figures found at Antinoë (ANTINOOPOLIS). These were made of glass intarsia, that is, large, shaped pieces of glass glued



Glass intarsia picture of young man. Antinoë. *Courtesy State Collection of Egyptian Art, Munich.*



Group of Islamic glasses from the Fayyūm. Eighth–tenth centuries. *Courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.*

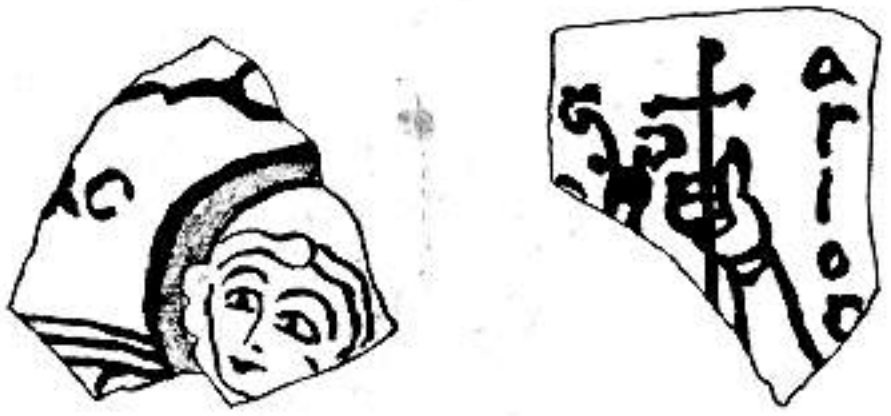


Fragmentary glass mosaic in opus sectile. Bearded man observing monogram of Christ with partial inscription of St. Thomas. Reputedly found in the Fayyūm, Egypt. Probably the second half of the fourth century. Length: 79.5 cm. *Courtesy The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York.* Rene Oghia's drawing after a photograph taken before restoration.

to a backing. Outside of Egypt, at Kenchreai in Greece, many large glass wall panels in this technique have been found; these were undoubtedly imported from Egypt. A fragmentary glass intarsia picture of Saint Thomas with a cross uses this technique for a Christian subject.

Luster Painting on Glass

The decorative technique of luster painting on glass seems to have begun in pre-Islamic Coptic Egypt and was later adapted to Islamic taste with new motifs. In luster painting, metal salts of silver and copper were painted onto the glass and kiln-fired at low temperatures to produce translucent colored designs. Eventually this Egyptian glassmaking technique was adapted for luster painting on pottery. The crucial evidence comes primarily from glass fragments, notably from Saqqara. An important fragment shows the head and arm of a saint holding a cross with the inscription *"agios"* to one side. This must have been one of a procession of saints such as are found so often in Coptic painting. A complete beaker in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, represents in luster the tree of life growing from an urn, a frequent textile motif. Further fragments with Coptic figural and floral designs in the Benaki Museum, Athens, the Louvre Museum, Paris, and elsewhere suggest that this technique was known to glassmakers in Egypt as early as the sixth century or, as the glass scholar C. J. Lamm surmised, even earlier.



Lustre-painted glass fragments. Left: head of saint; right: arm of saint holding cross. Dayr Apa Jeremiah, Saqqara. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Drawing after C. J. Lamm, *Oriental Glass of Mediaeval Date Found in Sweden and the Early History of Lustre-Painting*, pls. VI, I and VII, I. *Courtesy The Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.*

Religious Uses of Glass

The small pendant crosses worn by the Christians of Egypt often had colored glass inlays, a religious adaptation of the widespread use of glass in secular jewelry.

The Coptic *Acta martyrum*, written about A.D. 300, records testimony from one Apa EPIMA, who when ordered by the magistrates at al-Bahnasā to bring in his presbyters, deacons, and altar vessels replied that "our communion vessels are of glass, for we are poor men who live in a small village." These vessels probably resembled contemporary glass tableware or imitated the silver vessels used in wealthier congregations. The colored glass windows, glass lamps, and glass mosaics that lit the dim interiors of the churches undoubtedly en-



Beaker with lustre-painted tree of life. Height: 14 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Drawing after W. B. Honey, *Victoria and Albert Museum, Glass: A Handbook*, pl. 16 D. *Courtesy The Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.*

hanced the religious experiences of these early Christian worshipers.

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GLASS RESTORATION. *See* Art Preservation.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS, opening words of the Latin version of the angelic announcement of the birth of Christ, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased" (Lk. 2:14).

Known also as the greater doxology, it was incorporated into the eucharistic service since the early days of the church, as attested by the Divine Liturgy of James the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord and by Saint ATHANASIUS (326–373) as part of prayers to be said at dawn. Extensive use is made of the angelic doxology in Coptic worship: in the Divine Liturgy, where, in the prayer of reconciliation, the celebrant addresses God, "Thou hast filled the earth with peace from heaven, for which the hosts of angels glorify Thee, saying; 'Glory to God in the highest, etc.'"

In the office of morning incense, the Gloria is said before the celebration of the Liturgy and following the intercession for the sick and for the travelers. On Saturdays, this doxology follows after the intercession for the departed, which replaces the other two intercessions.

In the canonical hours, it appears as part of the morning prayer: "Let us sing with the angels saying: 'Glory be to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men.'"

ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

GNOSIS, a Greek word, derived from the Indo-European root *gnō,* also preserved in English "know" and Sanskrit *jñānā,* "knowledge." "Gnostic" comes from the adjective *gnōstikos* (scientific), which in classical times was never used as a substantive. The only ones who called themselves Gnostics were members of the Jewish, later superficially Christianized, group of the Gnostikoi, which abandoned the personal God of the Old Testament to find the Unknown God. According to Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* I.11.1), Valentinus took the principles of this "heresy" of the Gnostics and adapted them to his own brand of teaching. Neither Valentinus, Basilides, Marcion, nor Mani ever called himself a Gnostic; gnosticism is a modern invention.

Gnosis was used in Greek to indicate self-awareness. The inscription on the temple in Delphi reads *gnōthi seauton* (know yourself). This could be explained in different ways. The Platonists interpreted

it as meaning that man, by turning his attention inward, could abstract from sense perception and passion to uncover pure reason, which could know Being. Against them the Stoics argued that man could only know himself by looking outward to the providence and harmony of the cosmos and so discover that man is part of a whole (the Stoa is holistic). Against both schools the undogmatic skeptics proved that man could not know anything with certainty, especially about God, and therefore should humbly acknowledge his limitations. Under their influence the Platonists admitted that the One God of Parmenides, who is Being itself, cannot possibly be known and therefore is invisible, unutterable, unknowable. The only gnosis of this Agnostos Theos (Unknown God) is the awareness that He cannot be known. In Greek: *estin autou Gnosis hē agnōstia.*

This in turn led many at the beginning of our era to the realization that the God or gods must reveal Himself or themselves in order to be perceived. Gnosis thus became an intuitive knowledge of immediate revelation or of an esoteric tradition of such revelation for the elect.

This view is found in the Oriental mystery religions of the Roman Empire and magical papyri, and also, with the equivalent *da'ut* for *gnōsis*, in the Dead Sea Scrolls of the Essenes. Man there knows God directly, but through the letter of the Law, as with the later rabbis. "I know Thee, o my God, by the spirit which Thou hast given to men, and by Thy Holy Spirit I have faithfully hearkened to Thy marvellous counsel" (Hymn 19, col. 12, Vermes, 1974).

The same concept is found in the Gospel of John 17:3: "This is (not: will be) eternal life, that they know Thee (not: believe in Thee) and know Jesus Christ [here and now], whom Thou hast sent." Also, in the Jewish Merkabah mysticism of the first centuries man is permitted to behold directly the Glory of God in the form like the appearance of man (Ezekiel 1:26).

This was the grounding upon which the "Gnostics" of Alexandria built their system, which was known to and Christianized by Valentinus. The conference on the origins of gnosis in Messina (1966) distinguished between gnosis, an esoteric knowledge for the elect, and gnosticism, which is characterized by a split within the Deity; the fall of a spiritual being, called Anthropos or Sophia; and the identity of the human spirit with the Deity. Valentinus, in his *Gospel of Truth* (32, 38, Attridge and MacRae, 1988) calls his followers "children of the Knowledge of the heart." "He who thus possesses the gnosis [Coptic: *saune*], knows whence he is come and whither he is going" (22.13–15). Such gnosis does not abolish the sacrament but completes it, according to a Valentinian quoted by Clement of Alexandria in *Excerpts from Theodotus* (7, 8, 2, Sagnard, 1970): "Not only the bath of baptism delivers from Fate, but also the *Gnosis*, who we were, what we have become, where we were, in what sort of a world we have been thrown down, what is birth, what is rebirth."

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GNOSTICISM, a modern term invented by scholars to indicate arbitrarily all sorts of currents of late antiquity that stressed gnosis, an intuitive knowledge of revealed mysteries. It should be limited to writings of the group that called themselves Gnostics (e.g., the *Apocryphon* of John) and products of thinkers like Basilides (Alexandria, c. 120), Valentinus (c. 150, Alexandria and Rome), and Marcion (Sinope and Rome, c. 150), who were familiar with the concepts of the "Gnostics" and Christianized them.

Original works rightly attributed to gnosticism are all in Coptic, with the exception of the second-century Greek *Letter to Flora*, by a certain Ptolemaeus, preserved in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius. The oldest of them are the Codex Askewianus (containing the two Books of Jeu) and the Codex Brucianus (with four books of the *Pistis Sophia*). Both are written in Sahidic, the dialect of Luxor; were probably acquired there in the eighteenth century by the Scottish traveler James Bruce; and were not translated but written directly in Coptic. The *Pistis Sophia* tells, among other things, how Mary Magda-

lene interprets the Psalms authoritatively, as if she were an early Christian prophetess, and is criticized for that by Peter. This may reflect tensions in the local congregation of Luxor between a Gnostic faction that had preserved the primitive office of prophet(ess) and a Catholic faction, inspired by Rome, that favored an episcopal church order.

In 1896 the German scholar Carl Schmidt announced the acquisition of a Coptic codex, Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, whose writings were not published until 1955. It contains the following:

1. The pivotal writing of the rightly so-called Gnostics, the *Apocryphon* of John, which, notwithstanding its Christian name, is originally a Jewish writing of Alexandrian origin and describes the Unknown God and the spiritual world. It then continues to tell the story of the creation of the world and the history of mankind as a constant struggle between Wisdom, which bestows freedom of the spirit and consciousness, and a foolish demiurge called Jaldabaoth, who forbids eating fruit of the tree of knowledge.
2. The *Gospel of Mary*, in which Mary Magdalene tells her visionary experience of the risen Christ and again is criticized by Peter.
3. The *Sophia of Jesus*, a Christianized revision of the non-Christian letter of Eugnostos the Blessed.
4. A fragment of the *Acts of Peter*, which are not gnostic at all but only ascetic and miraculous, and beloved by the Catholics. For that reason it is just possible that Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 was written in the scriptorium of a Catholic monastery.

In the second half of the third century, the great Gnostic Mani (216–277) sent his missionaries Papos and Thomas to Egypt, where they settled in Lycopolis, on the Nile above the Thebaid in Middle Egypt. There they proselytized among the pupils of the Platonic philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, who wrote a preserved treatise against them. There they seem also to have translated, or to have had translated, the Manichaean writings found at Madīnat Madi in 1930–1931 (*kephalaia*, Psalms, homilies, etc.) from East Aramaic into sub-Akmimic, the Coptic dialect of Lycopolis and surroundings.

In 1945, Muḥammad Ali al-Samman, an Egyptian farmer of the Nag Hammadi region, found a jar containing a collection of about thirteen codices, fifty-two writings in Coptic, that is incorrectly called a Gnostic library. Codex II ends with the typically monkish invocation "Remember me, my brethren, in your prayers." This alone is sufficient to suggest that these manuscripts were copied in one of the nearby, recently founded Pachomian monasteries. And it is thinkable that some old-fashioned monks valued these pious books and indignantly left the monastery when archbishop Athanasius stressed the importance of the canon (367) and the abbot urged them to surrender their precious treasures. Later, when pressure increased, they did not destroy the books because they had an inherent quality of holiness, but buried them carefully, just as Jews put devalued manuscripts in a hidden place, called the *geniza*. All further stories about the discovery are untrustworthy.

Nor are all the writings Gnostic. Rather, they reflect the situation of the second-century Alexandrian church and can be used to illustrate the history of gnosticism, which is largely an Alexandrian phenomenon. Just as Athens is a symbol of *logos* (reason) and Jerusalem of faith, so Alexandria is the cradle of the third component of the Western cultural tradition, gnosis: inner experience and imaginative thinking. It lived on in Manichaeism, was transmitted to the Cathars of southern France through the intermediary of Armenian Paulicians and Messalians, revived in 1600 with the experience of the shoemaker Jacob Boehme, and survives in the ideas of Johann Goethe and George Hegel, Rudolf Steiner and Carl Jung, William Blake and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

At the beginning of our era, Alexandria was a crucible of Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish lore. There the Platonic philosopher Eudorus (first century B.C.) had given a religious, optimistic interpretation of the Master that cannot be reconciled with the tragic overtones of Plotinus (third century): God is Mind (not beyond Mind and thought); God brings forth matter out of Himself (matter is no lower emanation, is not evil); Ideas are thoughts of God (not to be found in Plato). One of these Ideas is Man (which Plato curiously denies in his *Parmenides* 130ᶜ). All this is relevant for subsequent gnosticism. Especially the theme that the shining figure of Man is manifested as a prototype to the angels, who fashion the body of Adam, occurs again and again. It is not without reason that a fragment of Plato's *Republic* was found among the writings from Nag Hammadi (VI, 5).

Of the approximately 10 million Jews then living in the world (of whom 6 million were in the diaspo-

ra of the Roman Empire and only 500,000 in Palestine), hundreds of thousands lived in Alexandria. Most of them were very different from their law-abiding Palestinian counterparts, more liberal even than their compatriot Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher. Their religiosity can be found in the *Sophia Salmonis,* in the Roman Catholic Bible, and in the Nag Hammadi writing VI, 2, *Thunder, Perfect Mind* or *Bronté,* in which a godless goddess, Sophia, reveals her paradoxical nature.

In fact, Alexandrian Jews reveled in speculations about Sophia, whose relationship with the wanton Astarte is thinly veiled. Moreover, the fragments of the Alexandrian Jewish poet Ezekiel Tragicus reveal that by the second century B.C. there were certain circles in Alexandria that meditated about the "likeness like the appearance of a Man" of Ezekiel 1:26, which to this day remains the main theme of Jewish mysticism. Some identified this "Glory of God" with the Idea of Man.

Gnostic Anthropos and gnostic Sophia are of Jewish origin. There were also Egyptian Copts in Alexandria at the time. They, too, contributed to the rise of gnosticism. According to Egyptian religion, the Nile originated from the tears of the sun god Ra. In other words, matter is an emanation of the deity. So Valentinus can say that the world came into being from the tears and the smile of creative Wisdom, Sophia. The Egyptians spoke with incredible freedom about the sexual lives of their gods. So did the Gnostics. According to the theology of Hermopolis, a Nile goose (the Great Cackler) laid her egg in the moor; from it was born the sun god, who functions as a demiurge who arranges the world. In the same way, the Orphics of Alexandria taught that their demiurge, Phanes, was born from the cosmic egg formed in chaos, and Basilides taught that the great archon, Abraxas, came forth from the chaotic world seed. According to the Egyptians, the Godhead was androgynous: Father and Mother at the same time. The Gnostics, Valentinians, and Manichaeans had no different opinion.

Very much the same is found in the seventeen hermetic writings, the products of a mystery community in Alexandria, a sort of Masonic lodge, of which Greeks, Jews, and Copts were members. In the Prayer of Thanksgiving, at last understandable owing to a fragment from Nag Hammadi (VI, 7), the female half of the androgynous God is invoked with the words "We know Thee, womb conceiving through the phallus of the Father." Much of the Egyptian influence on Gnosticism seems to have been exercised through the intermediate channel of the hermetic lodge. This encourages us to seek the origin of gnosticism in this Alexandrian congregation at the beginning of the Christian era.

According to the thirteenth treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum, the Anthropos is born from the womb of spiritual Wisdom in silence, begotten by the sperm of God. This Anthropos, of course, is also a personal figure, the likeness as the appearance of Adam of Ezekiel 1:26, and the Idea of Man. According to the *Poimandres,* the first treatise of the Corpus Hermeticum, this Anthropos is brought forth by God in a process of parturition. This god Man desired to act as a demiurge, but fell in love with lower Nature and took his indwelling in a body that Nature had brought forth after the beautiful form of Man. We must suppose that some Jews of Alexandria had formed a lodge of their own, a sort of B'nai B'rith, for in Nag Hammadi have been found purely Jewish and completely un-Christian writings like the *Letter of Eugnostos the Blessed* (III, 3, and V, 1) in which the concept is amplified that the eternal Son of God is Man. In the three *Steles of Seth* (VII, 4) this divine Son of Father and Mother is called Geradamus (Ceraios Adamas or Primordial Man), none other than the Adam Qadmon of medieval cabalism. This is the basic myth of the "Gnostics," who produced the *Apocryphon* of John, the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (II, 4), *On the Origin of the World* (II, 5), and many similar writings of Nag Hammadi. It lived on in the Manichaean Trinity of Father, Mother, and Archetypal Man.

The Christian church of Alexandria of the first two centuries was pluriform and tolerant. According to a trustworthy tradition contained in the pseudo-Clementine homilies, "a Hebrew man called Barnabas," a Judaic-Christian missionary from Jerusalem, had been the first to preach the Gospel there. The legend that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, came from Rome to Alexandria proves that Rome later tried to cover up these heterodox origins and to impose its authoritarian, episcopal order. The Jewish-Christian Gospel of the Hebrews was still discussed with some sympathy by Clement of Alexandria and by Origen. The *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles,* about the City of God (Nag Hammadi VI, 1), reveals the religiosity of this Jewish-Christian faction. Moreover, there were Encratites, sexual teetotalers (as it were) who abolished marriage and whose views can be found in the *Gospel of Thomas* (II, 2), *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (II, 7) and *Exegesis on the Soul* (II, 6). Gentile-Hellenistic Christianity is evidenced by the *Sentences of Sextus* (XII, 1) and the *Teachings of*

Silvanus (VII, 4). Catholicism characterized by the confession of faith, the canon, and the monarchic episcopacy was a latecomer in Alexandria. Until it took over, Gnostic teachers like Basilides, Carpocrates, and Valentinus could easily remain members of the church. The first two taught reincarnation (like the "Gnostics" of the *Pistis Sophia*). All three were very free about sex (that was the influence of Egyptian religion and the local Hermetists), and the last two held that Christ had come to make man, spiritual man, conscious of his deepest self. This is most impressively described in the *Gospel of Truth* (I, 3), a sermon given by Valentinus in Rome (c. 140) and developed in a complicated, very "heretical" myth about Sophia, who tries unsuccessfully to penetrate to the depth of the Godhead, falls, and brings forth the world but is brought back to her origin by Christ, the divine Savior. The implication was that only spiritual men could be saved.

The leaders of the Western school of Valentinianism, Ptolemaeus and Heracleon in Rome, took a more favorable view of rising Catholicism and the ordinary churchgoer, whom they called "psychic" because he had a soul but no spirit. They thoroughly modified the system and even introduced the novel concept that evil is not a tragic concomitant of evolution but a consequence of free will. Their views are attested in *The Tripartite Treatise* (I, 5) from the school of Heracleon, which describes at great length how the Logos (Sophia) has to pass through the inferno of matter and paganism, via the purgatory of (Jewish) religion and ethics, to achieve the freedom of the spirit and complete consciousness owing to the coming of Christ. It thus prepares the way for Origen, who also stressed gnosis for the elect and faith for the believers.

Gnosticism seems to have much in common with Neoplatonism and Catholicism: it preaches an unknown and unknowable God, rejects the world, and aims at salvation. In fact, it is not more pessimistic than Neoplatonism as far as matter and the visible world are concerned, and like Catholicism rejects anthropomorphism. But when one looks more closely, its distinctive feature is its concept of God. According to Valentinus, every man has a guardian angel or Self who gives gnosis to his counterpart, but also needs the man or woman to whom he belongs because he cannot enter the pleroma, the spiritual world, without his other half. Mani teaches that every Manichaean has a twin, who inspires him and leads him to the light, but at the same time Mani holds that the eternal Jesus suffers in matter and is to be redeemed by the Gnostic. And Jacob Boehme says that God is an ocean of light and darkness, love and ire, who wants to become conscious in man.

The God of gnosticism is Being in movement.

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GOBIDLAHA, DADO, AND CAXO, SAINTS, three early Christian martyrs in fourth-century Persia. They belong to a minor tradition, so it is remarkable to find a Coptic testimony to their death. The only Sahidic codex is very fragmentary, but it allows a useful comparison with the other versions that exist in Greek (*Acta Sanctorum,* September, pp. 129–34) and in Syriac (Bedjan, 1890–1897, Vol. 4, p. 163, with the parallel Passion of Dado, pp. 210–21), which allows reconstruction of the events, along with an abstract in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION.

Dado, governor of a Persian province, is acknowledged to be Christian. He is denounced by the Persian king Shāpūr II, who sends a legate to kill him. Shāpūr's son, Gobidlaha, who is Dado's friend, goes to warn him and converts to Christianity himself. When Shāpūr discovers this, he summons Dado and Gobidlaha to his court. The king tries to persuade Gobidlaha by means of his sister Caxo, but she also converts to Christianity. All three are then martyred.

As can be seen in the remaining fragments, the Syriac and the Coptic versions perfectly agree, while the Greek redaction shows some differences. In the Greek version Dado is a senator, whereas the other versions specify that he is the governor of Media. In the Greek version the martyrdom of Dado is dated before the martyrdom of Gobidlaha and Caxo; in the other versions the three are killed together. The Syriac version gives a separate text for Dado, which agrees almost completely with the part concerning the passion of Gobidlaha. Possibly the original language was Syriac with the differing Greek version appearing prior to the Coptic. Per-

haps the Greek served as an intermediary, even though the two texts differ.

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GOBLETS, BOTTLES, JUGS. *See* Metalwork, Coptic.

GOOD FRIDAY, the Friday preceding Easter, observed as a day of mourning in commemoration of Christ's passion and crucifixion to accomplish the miracle of redemption.

This day has been kept with due solemnity ever since the apostolic age. "It is therefore your duty, brethren, who are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, to observe the days of the Passover exactly, with all care, after the vernal equinox, lest ye be obligated to keep the memorial of the one passion twice in a year. Keep it once only in a year for Him that died but once" (Apostolical Constitutions, Vol. 7, p. 446).

Good Friday is a day of total absention from food and drink. In early times this fast extended through Holy Saturday until dawn on Easter day, a practice referred to by Irenaeus (c. 130–200). According to Eusebius, quoting Irenaeus, ". . . Some think that they should fast one day, others two, yet others more; some moreover, count their day as consisting of forty hours day and night. And this variety in its observance has not originated in our time; but long before, in that of our ancestors." The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles enjoin a restricted diet throughout Holy Week: "Do you therefore fast on the days of the Passover, beginning from the second day of the week until the preparation, and the Sabbath, six days, making use of only bread, and salt, and herbs, and water for your drink . . . Do ye who are able fast the day of the preparation and the Sabbath-day entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; but if anyone is not able to join them both together, at least let him observe the Sabbath-day."

Highlights of the Coptic Service of Good Friday

Following morning prayer, the church is decked with crosses draped with black material. The icon of the Crucifixion is placed on a raised stand in the nave of the church, surrounded by crosses, candles, censers, and the New Testament. The priests conduct the service in black vestments as a symbol of mourning.

The lections and prayers, which are all directly related to the theme of the Crucifixion, are delivered in a mournful tone. At the end of the Prayer of the Twelfth Hour, the senior priest (or the patriarch, metropolitan, or bishop, if present) lifts up the cross, and all the clergy and the congregation repeat the KYRIE ELEISON a hundred times, in each direction successively, first facing east, then west, north, and south, each time bowing their heads and making the sign of the cross. Finally, they turn again to the east and chant the *Kyrie eleison* twelve times to the accompaniment of cymbals.

Then the priests and the deacons make three circuits round the altar, descend from the sanctuary, and go around the church in procession three times. They enter the sanctuary again and go around it once, chanting the *Kyrie eleison*. This is followed by the Service of the Burial of Christ. The senior priest takes the icon of the burial, places it in a white linen veil on the altar, with roses and aromatic spices spread around it, while the deacons sing the Hymn of Golgotha. The icon is then covered with the *ibrūsfārīn* veil (a rectangular red or white silk cloth with an embroidered cross in the center). Two candles are placed on the altar, one at the north and the other at the south side, representing the two angels who sat, one at the head and one at the feet of Jesus' body (Jn. 20:12).

Next follows the reading of the entire Book of Psalms, with one noteworthy feature in the course of the reading: after the first two Psalms have been read by two different priests, the first five verses of Psalm 3 are read, stopping at "I lie down and sleep." Here the priests and the deacons descend from the sanctuary, and the curtain is drawn. The reading of the rest of the Psalms is then resumed outside the sanctuary.

By way of further reminiscence of the agony of

Christ on the cross, many people break their fast by drinking a mixture of vinegar and myrrh (Mt. 27:48; Mk. 15:36; Jn. 19:29).

Good Friday Celebrations in Jerusalem

The Coptic celebration of Good Friday at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem is conducted in three distinct stages:

1. Morning prayer and the Prayer of the Third Hour are performed between 4:30 and 7:30 A.M.

2. A procession led by the Coptic metropolitan starts at about eleven o'clock in the morning from the Coptic patriarchate. On the way, it stops briefly at the Stone of Anointing and the Holy Sepulcher and then resumes its route toward the Coptic chapel in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher. There, the prayers of the Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Hours are said. At about 4:30 in the afternoon, they return to the patriarchate.

3. At five o'clock in the evening, the burial procession starts from the Coptic chapel, stopping en route at the chapels of Saint Mary Magdalene, the Prison of Christ, Saint Longinus, the Division of the Raiment, the Mocking, Calvary (southern and northern parts), the Stone of Anointing, the Holy Sepulcher, and back to the Coptic chapel. At each stop a priest says the Intercession of the Gospel; the metropolitan reads the Gospel in Coptic inside the chapel, followed by the Arabic version read by a deacon at the entrance; and finally a short sermon is delivered. The procession ends about seven o'clock in the evening and returns to the patriarchate following the same itinerary.

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GOSPEL BOOK. *See* Liturgical Instruments.

GOSPEL CASKET, a rectangular box used to house the Gospel manuscript on the altar inside the church sanctuary. The Gospel is removed from its casket only for reading, when it is placed on a lectern in the choir area, and is returned to its casket immediately after the reading is completed. Though the use of such receptacles is known to date from remote Christian antiquity, ancient samples do not exist, and the oldest such items preserved in the Coptic Museum are from the fifteenth century.

Gospel caskets are made of solid wood and covered with embossed sheets of silver, bronze, or brass. Generally the metal sheet on the top of a casket bears an embossed inscription in Coptic with the Greek characters *alpha* and *omega*. One sample preserved in the Coptic Museum (no. 1526) bears the opening verse of the Gospel of Saint Mark on the upper sheet. On the bottom sheet, it bears the opening verse of the Gospel of Saint John. On the sides of the casket, there is an Arabic inscription to the effect that this object is bequeathed in perpetuity to the Church of Saint Barbara in Old Cairo, coupled with a prayerful phrase for the soul of the donor.

Another sample in the Coptic Museum (no. 1527) has similar embossed Coptic inscriptions on both faces, an Arabic inscription on the sides, the name of the donor, and a bequest in perpetuity to the Church of Saint Sergius in Old Cairo, coupled with the usual prayerful phrase for the soul of the giver.

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GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS. Two rather fragmentary versions of the Gospel of the Egyptians are found in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, the one appearing as the second tractate in Codex III and the other as the second piece in Codex IV. In their present form, they derive from the same Greek original of the document, each version possibly depending on an earlier, variant Coptic translation.

Both copies are written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, with some orthographic and syntactic variations in the text of Codex III that have been explained as either preclassical features of the dialect (Bohlig and Wisse, 1975) or influences from the Mesokemic dialect (Bellet, 1978, pp. 44–65). These Coptic versions of the Gospel of the Egyptians exhibit no discernible connection with the text of the same name that is known reliably only from references and quotations preserved by Clement of Alexandria (Schneemelcher, 1963–1965, Vol. 1, pp. 166–78).

The proper title of the work is The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit, an indicator that the work originated outside of Christian circles. In fact, it has been argued persuasively that because of the way Christian colorations are introduced in the text, they are to be thought of as additions made by an editor with Christian interests (Hedrick, 1981).

While the Christian touches are light and late, the strength of the connections with Seth is solid. Indeed, it is possible that the association of names between Seth, son of Adam, and the Egyptian god Seth has led to the naming of the work The Gospel of the Egyptians, since, as Bohlig and Wisse have noted, during the Hellenistic age considerable efforts were made to improve the image of the deity Seth in Egypt. Moreover, the use of the term "gospel" in the colophon probably does not refer to its added Christian features but rather to the fact that the treatise chronicles Seth's role in the drama of salvation, much as the New Testament Gospels speak of the ministry of Jesus (Bohlig and Wisse, 1975). For instance, the work relates Seth's premortal origin as son of Adamas, his stature as an important celestial personality, the origin of his posterity, their preservation by heavenly powers appointed for this purpose, and his descent into the world as the living Jesus.

The work itself divides rather neatly into four main sections, a fact that may illustrate the separate origin of the traditions embedded within them. The first and longest has to do with the origin of the celestial realm that begins in the silent world of light, with the "Great Invisible Spirit," who is the "incorruptible Father" and the "Mother, the virginal Barbelon," emanating from themselves a trinity of powers, namely, "the Father, the Mother (and) the Son." By the end of the creative process, some forty aeons or emanations have come forth, not the least of whom is "the great incorruptible Seth, the son of the incorruptible man Adamas." The second segment treats the need for Seth's salvific activity, which is to counteract the evil efforts of Saklas, the god of this world, who seeks to enslave the divine seed of Seth. The third division consists apparently of two hymns of five strophes each, thus presumably exhibiting an origin independent of that of the rest of the tractate (Bohlig and Wisse, 1975). The last portion consists of the notation that Seth authored the work and was responsible for hiding it on the mountain named Charaxio and the colophon, which provides not only the titles assigned to the tractate but also the name of the scribe (Bellet, 1978).

The document clearly comes from the world of so-called Sethian gnosticism, possibly exhibiting an earlier form of that movement than is represented, for instance, in the THREE STELES OF SETH or in the SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH. While one may be tempted to postulate that this text was composed outside of Egypt, there seems no compelling reason to hold such a view, even when it is understood that the title Gospel of the Egyptians is secondary.

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GOSPEL OF MARY, an apocryphal Gnostic gospel originally written in Greek, probably during the second century A.D. Two pages (John Rylands Library, Manchester, England, Papyrus 463, 21r and 22v; this papyrus, from Oxyrhynchus, was acquired in 1917) of the Greek text survive from the third century. Part of the text is preserved as well in a Coptic (Sahidic) translation at the beginning of the Papyrus Berolinensis 8502. The translation differs in places from the original Greek and may be a somewhat condensed version. The Coptic manuscript consists of eighteen pages, of which ten (pp. 1–6 and 11–14) are lost. The title of the work is given in a colophon at the end of each version.

From the extant pages of the text it is apparent that the original gospel consisted of two discrete parts: a conversation between the risen Savior and His disciples and Mary Magdalene's account of her vision of the Lord.

Dialogues between the risen Savior and His disciples are common in early Christian literature, beginning with the post-Resurrection accounts in the Gospels. Little of the dialogue in the first part of the *Gospel of Mary* remains, only a discussion of the nature of matter and the limited reality of sin. At the close of the dialogue, the Savior warns His disciples against false prophets, forbids them to create new laws, charges them to preach the gospel, and departs.

At this point, a transition has been created to connect the two otherwise unrelated sections. It consists of a few words of consolation, in which Mary reminds the other disciples that the grace of the Savior will continue to be with them, protecting them. Peter then asks her to share with the others her secret *gnosis* ("knowledge").

The second part of the *Gospel of Mary* presents in terms of a vision a revelation about the *Himmelsreise der Seele* ("the soul's heavenly ascent"). Similar accounts are known from the Hellenistic period in both Christian and non-Christian writings. According to Mary, the soul leaves the body and encounters hostile powers that include, among others, Desire and Ignorance. These must be overcome before the soul can proceed, transcend the cosmos, and find its place of rest.

The other disciples' reception of this revelation is not completely positive. Peter's reaction is outright hostile: "Did [the Savior] really speak privately with a woman and not openly with us? . . . Did He prefer her to us?" Peter's repudiation of Mary's spiritual leadership is not uncommon in Gnostic writings; it is found, for example, in *Pistis Sophia*, where Mary is the major character in dialogue with Jesus despite Peter's complaints, and in the concluding logion of the GOSPEL OF THOMAS, where Peter—having tried to have Mary sent away as unworthy of salvation—is overruled by Jesus, who promises to make her male so that she can enter the Kingdom.

More unusual is the presence in the gospel of a contradictory view of Peter; in the transitional paragraph, he acknowledges Mary's authority and asks her to share her secret knowledge. Possibly, this is the work of an editor who did not share the belief in a conflict between Mary and Peter but who did not dare alter the original text and so softened the effect by presenting a milder picture in the connecting lines.

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GOSPEL OF PHILIP, title apparently of two separate and independent Gnostic texts of the second or third century. The first is mentioned only by Epiphanius, who also provides the only known extract, a clearly Gnostic passage dealing with the ascent of the soul to heaven and how it must answer each of the archontic powers it meets on the

way. This passage does not appear at all in the second text, contained in Codex II, Tractate 3 of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY and first made available in P. Labib's photographic edition in 1956. The first translation, in German, was published by H. M. Schenke in 1959, and independent English translations by C. J. de Catanzaro and R. McL. Wilson appeared in 1962. The absence from this text of the passage quoted by Epiphanius has led most scholars to think of two separate works, but Schenke has suggested that there was in fact only one. The Nag Hammadi text is so unique in character that it is difficult to imagine another beside it with the same title. In addition, the theme of the quotation occurs frequently in the Nag Hammadi document. The quotation itself could well be an insertion, such as is not uncommon in Gnostic literature, singled out by Epiphanius as a particularly telling illustration of the content of the work. The issue is not so clearcut as might at first appear.

The Nag Hammadi text is extant in full in Coptic, apart from lacunae at the foot of nearly every page. The title is appended at the end but may be secondary. In all the other documents in this codex, the title is centered and well spaced off from the text, whereas here it is squeezed in as if it were an afterthought. Ascription to Philip could have been suggested by the fact that he is the only disciple mentioned (Gospel of Philip, sec. 91), but there is also the fact noted by H. C. Puech (1963, 1973, pp. 271f.) that in the *Pistis Sophia* (chap. 42) Philip, Thomas, and Matthew are the three disciples appointed to write down all that Jesus was to say or do. Puech (p. 277) thinks it may be assumed that this was the document mentioned as being in use among the Manichees. In some sources it is associated with the *Gospel of Thomas,* which, in fact, immediately precedes in Nag Hammadi II.

Schenke in his original translation, possibly influenced by the example of the *Gospel of Thomas,* divided the text into 127 "sayings," but he subsequently modified this term to "paragraphs." (In further refinements he reckons with no fewer than 175 units.) The original division is commonly retained for convenience of reference, but the work is not a collection of sayings. Nor is it a gospel in the ordinary sense of the term. Rather it is a rambling and disjointed treatise. Schenke speaks of a florilegium, spiraling around a number of themes, to which it returns again and again. Some continuity of thought is maintained by means of association of ideas or through catchwords, but attempts to trace such continuity throughout break down. There is no clearly organized structure, which makes it impossible to summarize or outline the contents. All that can be done in brief compass is to indicate some of the leading themes.

One such theme is the consistent disparagement of the world and the flesh (cf. secs. 62, 112). The world came into being through a transgression (sec. 99) and is dominated by archons, who wish to deceive mankind (sec. 13). They think they do everything of their own will, but in fact the Holy Spirit is working through them (secs. 16, 34; cf. Sophia in Valentinianism [see VALENTINUS]). The very names used in this world are deceptive (sec. 11); its good is not good, and its evil is not evil (secs. 10, 63). The only true realities are those of the other world, the "kingdom of heaven" (sec. 24) or "the aeon" (sec. 11).

In this world the soul is captive to the "robbers" (sec. 9). Like a pearl dropped in the mud, however, it does not lose its value (sec. 48), even though it is imprisoned in "a despised body" (sec. 22). The condition of natural man is bestial (sec. 84, cf. sec. 119) or is described in terms of slavery. In contrast, he who has the knowledge of the truth is free (sec. 110). With the coming of the light, the slaves are set free and the captives delivered (sec. 125), but if a man does not receive the light in this world he will not receive it in the other (sec. 127).

A significant place is given to Christ, the perfect man (sec. 15), whom the Gnostic must put on (sec. 101). But the fundamental evil in the human situation is not sin but ignorance. Deliverance comes through knowledge (*gnosis*) (cf. sec. 110) not through the cross (although there are references, cf. secs. 72, 91). Christ comes not to give His life but to restore things to their proper places (sec. 70) and become the father of a redeemed progeny (secs. 74, 120). Death is not the wages of sin but the result of the separation of the sexes (secs. 71, 78, cf. sec. 61); hence Christ came to restore the primal unity.

A notable feature is the frequent reference to sacraments, apparently five in number (sec. 68: baptism, chrism, Eucharist, redemption, and bridal chamber; cf. Gaffron, 1969). The highest of these, the bridal chamber, must be interpreted in the light of Valentinian theory (Irenaeus, 1957, 1. 7. 1): at the consummation, Achamoth is to enter into the Pleroma as bride of the Savior, while the "spiritual" beings who derive from her become brides of the Savior's angels. This cosmic event is in some way symbolized or prefigured in the sacrament, although no details of its nature are given.

The document is clearly Valentinian, and a knowledge of the Valentinian system is sometimes essential for understanding certain allusions (Schenke, p. 153). It is not yet possible to identify it with any particular branch of the school, but the closest affinities appear to be with the Marcosians and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*. Knowledge of the New Testament is clear but difficult to assess, since the evidence ranges from unmistakable quotations to possible echoes and allusions.

One final point is the glimpse that this text affords of what *gnosis* meant to a Gnostic: the sense of release and liberation, even a sense of exhilaration, which is particularly clear in the closing lines.

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GOSPELS, SYNOPTIC, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The similarity of considerable segments of their subject matter and even their phraseology may be explained by one of two theories. The Gospel of Saint Mark is supposed to be the earliest of the three Gospels and could have been utilized by the other two. This interdependence and the pooling of knowledge in that era is a common trait of that age. Saint Mark was the most highly educated of the evangelists. Another possibility advanced by some theological scholars is that the three Gospels drew upon a fourth source, one lost and unknown.

In the meantime, one must bear in mind that Matthew and Luke used some material peculiar to each and without parallel in Mark's Gospel. Whether each evangelist had his own independent source on certain matters, in addition to their common knowledge, is debatable. In this situation of uncertainties and multiple probabilities, the Coptic theologians insist on the seniority and superiority of the Gospel according to Saint Mark the Evangelist, the founder of Egyptian Christianity and the first pope and patriarch of their church.

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GOSPEL OF SAINT MARK, felt by many to be the most cohesive, the best written, and the most eloquent of the four Gospels. Mark's narrative style is simple and unadorned, yet compelling and vivid.

Although Mark's work was the least appreciated of the four Gospels in early Christianity, there is a much greater amount of ancient testimony concerning its authorship, origin, and date of composition than for any of the other three Gospels. The earliest extant reference to the Gospel of Mark was written by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in a lost treatise from around 140 and is preserved as a quotation by Eusebius:

> This also the Elder said: Mark, who became Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately, though not in order, all that he remembered of the things said and done by the Lord. For he had neither heard the Lord nor been one of his followers, but afterward, as I said, he had followed Peter, who used to compose his discourses with a view to the needs (of his hearers), but not as if he were composing a systematic account of the Lord's sayings. So Mark did nothing blameworthy in thus writing some things just as he remembered them; for he was careful of this one thing, to omit none of the things he had heard and to state no untruth therein [*Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.39].

The anti-Marcionite prologue to Mark, dated by many to the period 160–180, constitutes the next witness:

> . . . Mark declared, who is called "stump-fingered," because he had rather small fingers in comparison with the stature of the rest of his body. He was the interpreter of Peter. After the death of Peter himself he wrote down this same gospel in the regions of Italy [quoted in Lane, 1974, p. 9].

Irenaeus, writing around 175, conveyed the following information about the Gospels:

> Matthew composed his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul proclaimed the Gospel in Rome and founded the community. After their death [*hexodon*] Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, transmitted his preaching to us in written form. And Luke, who was Paul's follower, set down in a book the gospel which he preached. Then John, the Lord's disciple, who had reclined on his breast, himself produced the Gospel when he was staying at Ephesus, in the province of Asia [*Against Heresies* 3.1.1].

The Muratorian Canon (probably written in the period 170–190), in a badly mutilated section that, as indicated by the context, must refer to Mark, states that "at some things he was present, and so he recorded them" (quoted in Lane, 1974, p. 9).

Three somewhat contradictory statements are found in CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (late second–early third century):

> When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and by the Spirit had proclaimed the Gospel, that those present, who were many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what had been spoken, to make a record of what was said; and that he did this, and distributed the Gospel among those that asked him. And that when the matter came to Peter's knowledge he neither strongly forbade it nor urged it forward [quoted in Eusebius, 2.15.2].

> So brilliant was the light of piety that shone upon the minds of Peter's hearers [in Rome], that they were not content to be satisfied with hearing him once and no more, nor with the unwritten teaching of the divine message; but besought with all kinds of entreaties Mark, whose Gospel is extant, a follower of Peter, that he would leave them in writing also a memoir of the teaching they had received by word of mouth; nor did they relax their efforts until they had prevailed upon the man; and thus they became the originators of the book of the Gospel according to Mark, as it is called. Now it is said that when the apostle learnt, by revelation of the Spirit, what was done, he was pleased with the men's zeal, and authorized the book to be read in the churches [Eusebius, 2.15.1f, quoting Clement, *Hypotyposeis* 6].

> Mark, the follower of Peter, while Peter was preaching publicly the gospel at Rome in the presence of certain of Caesar's knights and was putting forward many testimonies concerning Christ, being requested by them that they might be able to commit to memory the things which were being spoken, wrote from the things which were spoken by Peter the Gospel which is called according to Mark [Clement, *Adumbrationes in priorem* 5:13].

The ancient tradition is unanimous in its explicit attribution of the second Gospel to Mark. This testimony gains credibility from the fact that it originated in an era that valued apostolic authorship of the Gospels, and cannot, therefore, be lightly dismissed as either convenient or apologetic. Thus, there is little, if any, reason to doubt that the author of the second Gospel is John Mark, the associate of Peter, the Mark of the Pauline epistles and of Acts.

Any attempt to date the Gospel of Saint Mark must begin with the relative wealth of ancient testimony. These sources unanimously report that Mark was with Peter in Rome and heard the apostle preach about the sayings and deeds of Jesus and that it was on the basis of this exposure to Peter's teaching that Mark wrote his Gospel. However, the tradition is divided on whether the work was composed before or after the death of Peter. Scholars who accept the testimony of the anti-Marcionite prologue and Irenaeus, as well as the implication in Papias that Mark penned the Gospel after the martyrdom of Peter, tend to date the work to the period 65–70. Tented in this camp are such scholars as Lane (1974), Hengel (1985), and Cranfield (1959). In support of the terminus post quem, they cited the tradition that Peter was killed during the Neronian persecution of 64–65. As further evidence for the view that the Gospel was composed after the death of Peter, Cranfield (1959, p. 8) argued that Mark's description of Peter's failures could only have been written after the apostle had died a martyr's death, for the frankness that would have seemed malicious during Peter's lifetime was welcomed after his martyrdom as affording encouragement to weak disciples.

To buttress the terminus ante quem, they argued that use of Mark by the later synoptists makes a date after 70 unlikely and that Mark's complete silence on the events that took place at the end of the Jewish Revolt is explicable only if the work was completed prior to 69–70. Cranfield (p. 8) thought the Gospel was completed in 65 or 66 before the war began. Hengel's interpretation of Mark 13:6–13 as a response to the Roman political upheaval of 68–69 and to rumors that the hated Nero would return to life led him to conclude that the Gospel was written within the narrow period between the winter of 68–69 and the winter of 69–70 (1985, pp. 1–28). Lane (1974, pp. 12–18) adduced Marcan references to trials and tribulation as evidence that the Gospel was written between 65 and 70 as a product of the Neronian persecution, its purpose being to strengthen the Roman church against outside aggression.

Those who believe the Gospel was written before the death of Peter either ignore as erroneous the witness of Irenaeus and the anti-Marcionite prologue or obviate the difficulty they pose by interpreting them to mean the Gospel was written after the "departure" of Peter (i.e., from Rome), not after his death. Among the proponents of a date prior to the death of Peter are Robinson (1976), Zuntz (1984), Reicke (1972), and Allen (1915). Robinson leveled some of the inconsistencies in the ancient testimony by explaining that (1) the "nonchronological" record to which Papias referred cannot be the cohesive, well-constructed Gospel of Mark known today, but must have been merely a compilation of Jesus' sayings and deeds, a compilation that he dates to about 45; (2) in the mid-fifties, Mark may have composed a proto-Gospel; and (3) the formal Gospel that was later accepted into the canon and that has survived to the present was written in the late fifties or early sixties.

Allen (1915, pp. 2, 4–6), maintaining that the Gospel of Saint Luke was written around 50 and that it was dependent on Mark's Gospel, suggested that Mark may have been written between 44 and 49. Reicke (1972, pp. 121–34) argued that the passages in the synoptic Gospels that are commonly accepted by modern scholars as *ex eventu* prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem have been misinterpreted. He found no hint in the synoptists of any knowledge of the Jewish Revolt. Accordingly, he concluded that these Gospels must have been written before the war. Then arguing that the abrupt ending of Acts with the events of 62 indicates that the work was completed in that year, he deduced that the three synoptic Gospels, since they antedate Acts, were written prior to 62. Zuntz interpreted Mark 13:14 as a reference to the emperor Caligula's threat to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem and dated the Gospel to 40.

If the best solution to the synoptic problem (see below) is the theory that the three synoptic Gospels developed over a period of time, the attempt to establish a fixed date for the composition of each is an endeavor doomed to error. Robinson's theory does much to harmonize the essential elements of the ancient tradition with the evidence that some portions of the Gospel of Saint Mark were written long before Peter's death. As Robinson suggested, the Gospel probably began assuming its rudimentary shape in the early forties as a collection of the sayings and deeds of Jesus. After Peter's death, Mark, realizing that the eyewitnesses of Jesus' ministry would soon be gone, may have formalized his Gospel and preserved the preaching of Peter for the world. Thus, the Gospel would have reached its final form around the mid-sixties and it would be this form that is mentioned in Irenaeus and in the anti-Marcionite prologue.

On the issue of provenance the tradition speaks clearly. With the single exception of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (d. 407), who averred that Mark wrote his Gospel in Egypt (*in Matthaeum homiliae* 1.3), every ancient source that states the provenance of the Gospel names Rome as its birthplace. Chrysostom's assertion of Egyptian provenance has garnered little support, since it is believed to have arisen from a misunderstanding of Eusebius' statement that Mark was in Egypt "preaching the gospel of which he is a compiler" (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.16). Though Jerusalem (Allen, 1915, pp. 4–6), Galilee (Marxsen, 1969, pp. 54–95), and Syria (Kee, 1977, pp. 100–105, 176) have all been put forward as the possible provenance of the Gospel, no other theory has been able to discredit the ancient testimony and win a large body of followers. The tradition and the internal suggestions of a Roman origin are simply too convincing. In addition to the evidence adduced by Lane, Cranfield, Zuntz, and Hengel that the Gospel, or significant parts of it, may address various political and social situations in Rome, there is linguistic evidence that it was written for a Roman audience and a theological-historical argument that it had its birth in Rome.

The Gospel contains a great number of Latin technical terms such as *legio* (5:9), *speculator* (6:27), *denarius* (12:15), *quadrans* (12:42), *flagellare* (15:15), *praetorium* (15:16), and *centurio* (15:39).

While it is true that such terminology was in use throughout the Roman empire, the fact that Mark twice uses a Latin word to explain a commonplace Greek expression is telltale. At 12:42 he gives *quadrans* (a quarter of an *as*) as a gloss for the widow's mite (*lepta duo*) and at 15:16 he offers *praetorium* as an explanation of "inside the hall" (*eso tes aules*). These lexical aids would be more descriptive than the Greek phrases that they elucidate only to a speaker of Latin and, since the *quadrans* was not in circulation in the eastern empire, only to a Latin speaker in the western empire. Use of such words points toward a Roman provenance.

B. W. Bacon (1919, pp. 34–43) went beyond these linguistic considerations to reason as follows: Mark's Gospel, since it possesses so little pretense of authority, could not have gained the high standing and wide currency that it must have obtained to be so respected by the later synoptists, Matthew and Luke, and it could not have maintained this respect after the larger Gospel of Matthew, with its higher claims of apostolic authority, came into wide circulation, if it had emanated from some obscure region undistinguished as the seat of an "apostolic" church. Its association with Peter would not have been sufficient to secure for it such eminence. Instead, the cause of its high standing must be sought in its provenance. There is no ancient tradition to link the Gospel to either Antioch or Ephesus, which, in any case, had their own gospels, and a Palestinian provenance is unlikely because a gospel with such small pretensions to apostolicity could not have won in Palestine the place that Mark came to occupy. These arguments, he says, lend support to the established tradition of a Roman provenance for the Gospel.

While the ancient tradition is fairly consistent in its tendency to give the canonical order of the Gospels as their order of composition, a volatile debate rages among modern scholars on the question of priority. Historically, the view that Mark was written first and was a source for Matthew and Luke has been dominant. But opponents have fired numerous destructive, if not crippling, volleys against the bulwark of this "Marcan hypothesis." At present, if one is to judge from the ferocity of the ongoing debate, no satisfactory solution to the synoptic problem has been proffered.

Those who maintain that the Gospel of Mark was written first employ the following arguments to show that it was copied by the other synoptic Gospels, particularly by Matthew, whose account is most often advanced as Mark's rival for priority (see Kee, pp. 14–16; Cranfield, pp. 6–7): (1) The respective accounts of Jesus in Matthew and Luke are completely divergent until they reach the first point of parallel in Mark (Mk. 1:2; Mt. 3:2; Lk. 3:4), and they diverge again after the best text of Mark ends (16:8). (2) Of 855 sentences in Mark, 709 are reproduced in Matthew and 565 in Luke, and of these, Matthew agrees verbatim with Mark in 136 sentences. (3) Mark's style is simple and vivid, but often crude and awkward, while Matthew's Greek shows a much higher degree of sophistication. (4) Doublets (passages or sayings that occur twice in the same Gospel) in Matthew and Luke result from the combined use of Mark and another collection of sayings as sources. (5) Mark contains theological difficulties and stylistic flaws not found in Matthew and Luke. (6) In Mark the theological affirmations are weaker and the indications of fulfillment of Scripture are less explicit than in Matthew. (7) Possibly offensive or perplexing passages in Mark are either omitted or given in a less provocative form in Matthew and/or Luke. (8) Mark's Gospel is much shorter and less inclusive than Matthew's. It does not have the Sermon on the Mount, the birth and infancy stories, the post-Resurrection narrative (if 16:9–20 are non-Marcan), and much of the discourse material found in Matthew.

Opponents of the Marcan hypothesis, most of whom believe Mark to be a conflation of Matthew and Luke, with Matthew being the first written, argue in the following manner (see Farmer, 1976, pp. 159–69): (1) The Gospel of Saint Mark does not appear in either of the other two Gospels as an intact and continuous narrative. There is no "thread of narration" that is common to the synoptists. (2) When one Gospel accompanies another, it cannot be determined which accompanies and which is accompanied. (3) The passages that have been adduced as evidence that Matthew and/or Luke soften or omit offensive Marcan material prove upon closer examination to be capable of other, equally compelling interpretations. (4) The fact that the Gospel of Saint Mark provides the most unified and consistent account of the three synoptic Gospels proves not that it was written first but that it represents a later development, since Matthew and Luke, if copying Mark, would not have chopped up their source and added disparate material to create a less cohesive whole. (5) The vividness and freshness of Mark's account is not proof of its priority, since there is no established principle in literary or intellectual history that clarity of presentation is a measure of the sequence in which literary ac-

counts originated. (6) Doublets in Matthew and Luke do not indicate Marcan priority, since such doublets occur even in Mark's Gospel. Furthermore, one of the doublets in Matthew (15:24, 10:5–6) has a textual equivalent in neither Mark nor Luke. (7) The Petrine origin of Mark's Gospel—and, hence, its authenticity as a primary historical source for the life of Jesus—is subject to serious doubt, since the work of Mark described by Papias (quoted above) cannot be the Gospel of Saint Mark known today and Peter is not more prominent in Mark than in Matthew or Luke. (8) One must resort to psychological reasoning that is subjective and unconvincing to show that each time the synoptists diverge it is Matthew and/or Luke who altered the material. (9) The Marcan hypothesis cannot explain why Matthew and Luke in 180 cases omit extra material found in Mark, why in 35 cases they add exactly the same word to the text of Mark, why in another 35 cases they replace the text of Mark with the same alternate wording, and why in 22 cases they undertake the same small modification of the very same word that they and Mark use.

The proposed solutions to the synoptic problem seem to share the fault of being too simple to resolve adequately the convoluted riddle. The difficulty may lie in the fact that the theories tend to view the writing of each Gospel and its possible use of any other Gospel(s) as a synchronic phenomenon rather than as a diachronic process. It is probably the case that each of the three synoptic Gospels as now known represents the final stage of a developmental process that may have spanned a period of as many as forty years in the middle of the first century. That period began with an oral tradition of the sayings and deeds of Jesus and it ended with the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke as now known. The development of each was parallel to, but not independent of, the others. Along the way, each account may have played both the role of borrower and the role of source. Strictly speaking, none of the Gospels in its present form can properly be said to be prior to any other, though it may be the case that one preserves the underlying oral tradition more faithfully than the others.

In the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus, as well as in some manuscripts of the Sinaitic Syriac, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions, the Gospel of Saint Mark ends with the eighth verse of chapter 16. In many other manuscripts, verses 9–20 are marked with asterisks, obeli, or critical notes explaining that their authenticity is suspect. On the basis of its poor manuscript support, Eusebius and Jerome believed this ending to be a later addition to the Gospel. No references to these verses occur in the works of Clement of Alexandria, ORIGEN, Cyprian, and CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. Internal considerations not only cast doubt on Marcan authorship of this ending but also run counter to the theory that it was written later specifically as an addition to Mark's Gospel. Verse 9 does not continue the narrative of verse 8, but rather introduces a list of Jesus' post-Resurrection narratives in Matthew, Luke, and John. Concomitant with this rather abrupt change in the story line are a jarring change of subject and a sudden formality in referring to Mary of Magdala. Whereas the subject of verse 8 is the women, verse 9 has Jesus as its understood subject, and when Mary is mentioned later in the verse, she is introduced as if for the first time in this narrative, despite the fact that she has been a major participant in the tomb encounter described in the previous eight verses. This stylistically anomalous change of subject and the unnecessarily formal introduction to Mary lead to a suspicion that verses 9–20 were borrowed from another account (perhaps a catechetical summary of Resurrection events) in which Jesus had already been explicitly named as subject and in which Mary had not yet been mentioned. However, the citation of verse 16 in Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 3.10.6) and the inclusion of the longer ending in Tatian's *Diatessaron* show that these verses had been appended to the Gospel by the middle of the second century.

There is also a shorter ending for the Gospel, which is found in the Codex Bobiensis (fourth–fifth century) and which appears in combination with the longer addition in some uncial manuscripts of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries and in some manuscripts of the Harclean Syriac (as a marginal reading), Sahidic, Bohairic, and Ethiopic versions. It can be translated as follows: "But all of the things that had been announced they reported concisely to those in Peter's circle. Afterward Jesus himself sent out through them from east to west the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation. Amen."

The diction, syntax, and content of this passage mark it as patently spurious. Its obvious intent is to provide a rounder, more complete ending for the Gospel and to show that the women carried out the angelic instruction to report to Peter and the disciples that Jesus would come to them.

If neither of these two endings can legitimately claim to be an original part of Mark's Gospel, one must assume that Mark intended his account to end

with verse 8, that the conclusion of the Gospel has been lost, or that the work was never completed. The second assumption is problematic. For such a loss to have gone unrectified, it must have occurred very early in the transmission of the text, before other copies were in circulation from which the lost material could be restored. But if the mutilation occurred so early, one must ask why Mark himself did not rewrite the lost ending.

The abruptness with which the account would end if verse 8 were Mark's final statement militates against the theory that the Gospel was intentionally concluded at that point. Attempts to show that verse 8 is not only a satisfactory, but a powerful and effective, ending are not persuasive (e.g., Lane, 1974, pp. 591–92). The theory that Mark never completed his Gospel appears to be the simplest explanation of the facts.

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RANDALL STEWART

GOSPEL OF THOMAS, an apocryphal gospel of Gnostic origin, possibly from the late second century. The most "popular" of the Coptic texts of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (II. 2), the *Gospel of Thomas* has been translated into several languages and circulated widely in learned circles among specialists both in gnosticism and in New Testament studies, as well as among the general public. It has even been considered a fifth canonical Gospel.

An infancy gospel under this name was known before the discovery of the texts in Nag Hammadi in 1945. Preserved in its original Greek version and in various translations (Latin, Syriac, Georgian, and Slavonic), this gospel has nothing to do with the Nag Hammadi text, which consists of a collection of "sayings" of Jesus. Hippolytus (*Refutation* 5. 7. 20) mentions a "Gospel according to Thomas" used by the sect of the Nassenes (Ophites). A phrase quoted by Hippolytus may derive from the Coptic collection, although the ascription is uncertain. It has been argued that it may instead have come from the infancy gospel just mentioned, which was also perhaps used by the Manichees (see MANICHAEISM). In any event, the quotation does not follow word for word, and the identification remains problematic.

It is certain, however, that three Greek papyrus pieces discovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1897 and 1903 are related to the Coptic version. The Coptic text appears to be a witness to a late redaction, representing the end of a literary evolution. More "gnosticizing" than the Greek fragments from Oxyrhynchus, of which it is not a direct translation, the Coptic text may date from the end of the second century.

Among the known Gnostic works, the *Gospel of Thomas* approaches the canonical Gospels most closely. According to modern editions, it contains 114 "sayings" of Jesus, which are neither numbered nor separated by any special punctuation in the manuscript. After some vacillation in the earlier publications, scholars now generally adhere to the numbering of the *editio princeps* (Guillaumont et al., 1959). These sayings—logia, as they are commonly called—are introduced for the most part by the simple formula "Jesus said." There are no narrative elements as in the canonical Gospels, although there is an occasional hint of such (e.g., logia 13 and 22). In other instances, a question—generally posed by the disciples—leads to the saying of Jesus, passages that tend to take on the appearance of a dialogue. It was precisely the literary

feature of the sayings that attracted so much attention to this text. New Testament exegetes have postulated that underlying the canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke was a source, Q, which consisted solely of sayings of Jesus. The *Gospel of Thomas* offers for the first time a representative of this literary genre. As it has come down to us, it is not in itself the hypothetical source Q; but it could derive from such a collection.

Some sayings of Jesus in the *Gospel of Thomas* are found in similar form in the New Testament. This is true, for example, with the parables concerning the Kingdom of Heaven: the grain of mustard seed, the tares, the pearl of great price, the leaven, the lost sheep, the treasure hidden in a field. But the Coptic text almost never corresponds word for word with that of the canonical Gospels. And where the Synoptics differ, this author preserves the reading that can most easily be interpreted in a Gnostic sense. If he has perhaps preserved here and there an authentic saying of Jesus—unknown through the canonical tradition—we must always take into account the nuances that the author may have introduced in the interest of his own views.

The Gnostic character of the *Gospel of Thomas* is generally recognized. The center of interest is *gnosis*, a profound knowledge that depends on the interpretation of the secret words (logion 1) and begins with knowledge of oneself (logion 3). The person of the Revealer is himself a mystery. To know him will make Thomas the equal of Jesus (logion 13). It is this *gnosis* that Jesus brings, "that which eye has not seen, and ear has not heard" (logion 17). The disciples already possess the beginning of the truth (logion 18), but they will have to "work" in order that *gnosis* may produce its fruits in them (logion 20). They will be watchful with regard to the evil powers, those "robbers" who threaten them (logion 21). Let there be among them "a man forewarned," that is to say, a Gnostic sage.

The question of the relation between the Coptic text and the canonical Gospels is not yet entirely resolved. The new document possesses some points in common with other apocryphal gospels, for example, the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (quoted by Saint CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA). Moreover, the presence of Semitisms and some striking contacts with Syriac literature—especially the *Liber graduum* and the *Diatessaron* (a thesis defended principally by G. Quispel)—have led scholars to think of a Syrian origin, perhaps in Edessa. As a whole, the *Gospel of Thomas* may belong to the milieu of New Testament apocrypha, which depended upon the canonical Gospels and which came to the Coptic translator in a Syriac version. But the problem remains complex and opinion is divided.

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YVONNE JANSSENS

GOSPEL OF TRUTH, an apocryphal work probably of the second century. The *Gospel of Truth*

survives in two versions from the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY: a well-preserved copy (I. 3) and a very fragmentary piece (XII. 2). While the original title remains unknown, the initial phrase ("The gospel of truth") may have served as an incipit title and certainly has been adopted as its title by modern investigators. One might even hazard a guess that the meaning of this text is elaborated elsewhere within the first paragraph: "the name [of] the gospel is the revelation of hope" (I. 17. 1–3). Whether this document has any literary connection with the "Gospel of Truth" mentioned by Irenaeus (*Adversus omnes haereses* 3. 11. 9) cannot be demonstrated in a decisive way, although it would not be surprising if the two were related.

Naturally, since this text was one of the first to be published from the Nag Hammadi collection, it has been widely studied, as the specialized bibliography gathered by H. W. Attridge and G. W. MacRae (1985) attests. Further, its language consists of the sub-Akhmimic dialect, and its text is to be regarded as a translation from a Greek original. This estimate is not altered by either a few traces of Latin influence or arguments that it exhibits characteristics best understood as deriving from a Semitic (Nagel, 1966) or Coptic (Fecht, 1961) original.

In spite of its title, it is not a gospel in the New Testament sense, describing the life of Jesus or rendering his words. It is, in fact, a charming, sophisticated meditation or homily about Jesus, "the eternal and divine Son, the Word who reveals the Father and passes on knowledge, particularly self-knowledge" (MacRae, 1977). As a revealer of the Father, Jesus is seen imparting answers to the basic questions about the nature of man, his origin, and his destiny. This gospel, or good news, which involves revealing the divine character of those who are able to receive Jesus' message, gives joy, or, as the opening words affirm, "the gospel of truth is joy."

At first glance, the teaching about Jesus seems closer to the tradition of the great church than the view commonly expressed in Christian Gnostic texts. But a closer examination reveals clear if subtle connections with the Gnostic theological world. In a related vein, if VALENTINUS himself is the author of the document, as some have suggested, its teaching does not seem fully to agree with Valentinian sources. But the discrepancies may be due simply to the fact that the text's author was not interested in spelling out the full dimensions of his own belief (Attridge and MacRae, 1985). In this connection, whether or not one maintains that Valentinus wrote the document, the date of composition is likely to be in the middle or late second century. In fact, its thought fits rather well into what is known of that time. One thinks, for instance, of the debate of Irenaeus with Gnostic dualists concerning whether their deity encompassed all things (*Adversus omnes haereses* 2. 1. 2–3). The gospel text clearly holds that the Father included all spaces and emanations within Himself, specifically speaking of Him as "the one who encircles all spaces while there is none that encircles him" (I. 22. 25–7).

In the text there are no clear quotations from the Old or New Testaments. Even so, a number of references and allusions to New Testament passages exist, which have been collected by J. E. Ménard (1972, pp. 3–9) and W. C. van Unnik (1955). However, one should not postulate that the author of this treatise somehow depended directly on one or another of the New Testament documents for his inspiration (but see Tuckett, 1984). Further, there seem to be allusions in the text to the initiation rites of baptism and chrism but hardly to the "higher" rites known from, say, the GOSPEL OF PHILIP.

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ERIC SEGELBERG
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GRAF, GEORG (1875–1955), German theologian and Orientalist. In 1898 he became a priest, and in 1930, honorary professor of Christian-Oriental literature at the University of Munich. An eminent authority on Christian-Arabic literature, he was editor of the journal *Oriens Christianus*, editor of the Arabic section of the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium from 1933 to 1955, and the author of *Geschichte der christlich-arabischen Literatur* (5 vols., Vatican City, 1944–1953).

MARTIN KRAUSE

GRAFFIN, RENÉ (1858–1941), French prelate and Orientalist. He was born at Pontvallain, Sarthe. He gave a decisive impetus to the study and editing of Eastern Christian languages and literatures. He studied at the French Seminary in Rome and then completed this work at Innsbruck. In charge of Syriac studies at the Institut catholique in Paris, he conceived the project of an "Oriental Migne," which was at first confined to Syriac with the Patrologia Syriaca series, consisting of three volumes only: *Aphraate* (1897), *Bardesane* (1907), and *Livre des degrés* (1927; *Book of Steps*), with vocalized texts and Latin translations. Beginning in 1903, in the Patrologia Orientalis series, he published texts in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Greek, Georgian, Slavonic, and Syriac, with translations on the facing page (usually French). From 1896 to 1940 he edited *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* (29 volumes), which unfortunately terminated with Volume 30 in 1946. His indefatigable and principal collaborator was Abbot François NAU, followed by Abbot M. Brière. The Patrologia Orientalis was continued by his nephew, François Graffin, S.J., and as of 1984, it comprised some 191 fascicles.

FRANÇOIS GRAFFIN, S.J.

GRAFFITI, inscriptions that are scratched, particularly on walls but also on vessels and clay shards. We find them alongside inscriptions that were written with different colored inks on the walls of monasteries and settlements or worked into rocks or stelae. Since the older publications mostly do not distinguish between graffiti and inscriptions, both are dealt with under INSCRIPTIONS, especially since they are not distinct from one another in terms of content.

MARTIN KRAUSE

GRAPOW, HERMANN (1885–1967), German Egyptologist. He was a pupil of Adolf Erman and Georg Steindorff, a collaborator with Erman in the *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, and successor of K. Sethe at Berlin University. He worked also on ancient Egyptian medicine and medical texts. His interest in Coptic led to *Vom Hieroglyphisch-Demotischen zum Koptischen* (Berlin, 1938) and "Untersuchungen über Stil und Sprache des koptischen Kambysesromans" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 74, 1938, pp. 55–68).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

GREEK LANGUAGE. Between Greeks and Egyptians, contacts of essentially commercial nature are attested for the Mycenaean period (c. 1580–1100 B.C.) and the ninth-eighth century B.C. Unambiguous evidence for Greek presence in Egypt is available from the seventh century B.C. on.

Psammetichos I (664–610 B.C.) gave the Ionian and Carian mercenaries (the "bronze men" of Herodotus II.152, 3ff.), who had helped him come into power, settlements in the Eastern Delta (Stratopeda). He entrusted them with teaching the Greek language to Egyptian children. Herodotus considers those who informed him about Egyptian traditions to be the descendants of their pupils (II.154). The Greek mercenaries took part in the Nubian expedi-

tion of Psammetichos II (593 B.C.) as members of a separate contingent (*alloglōssoi*, the foreign speakers) led by Potasimto (see, e.g., R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* [Oxford, 1969], no. 7). Shortly before 570 B.C., when they numbered about 30,000, they were defeated by the native soldiers under the command of Amasis. Subsequent measures of Amasis improved the relations between Greeks and Egyptians. The Greek mercenaries were withdrawn from the Stratopeda and stationed at Memphis, where they would soon mix with the native population. Naucratis, founded by Greek—mainly Milesian—merchants about 650 B.C., was destined to become the only Greek trading point in Egypt. The polis consequently grew as a center of Greek civilization.

By the time Herodotus visited Egypt (c. 449/430 B.C.), the Greeks had established a series of focal points for trade along the Nile (e.g., Neapolis in the Akhmīm area, a kind of early prototype of the Hellenistic *politeuma*). Herodotus acquired his information about Egypt from Greek inhabitants as well as from lower priests at Memphis and, to a lesser extent, at Sais and Heliopolis, who must therefore have been able to speak Greek. Among educated Egyptians, the Greek language had aroused some interest very early. A striking proof is offered by demotic literary productions such as the Petubastis Romance, an adaptation of Homer's *Iliad* to an Egyptian milieu, of which the extant versions date from the Hellenistic and Roman period but whose oldest components go back to the seventh century B.C.

Before Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 B.C., Greek had certainly been used among native traders and administrators, especially professional scribes. On the other hand, parts of the Greek population, like the mercenaries at Memphis (Karomemphites, Hellenomemphites), were already thoroughly Egyptianized. Marriages between Greek soldiers and Egyptian women promoted the process of cultural and linguistic assimilation. Still, Egyptian society on the whole remained unaffected by the Greek presence, for natives as well as foreigners kept their ancestral identities.

After the Macedonian conquest, the country was overlaid with a dominating Greek-speaking elite, which gradually assimilated with its surroundings. The Greek language that spread throughout the Hellenistic world is designated as Koine. Its basic component, the Attic dialect, was enriched with (mainly lexical) Ionic and a few Doric elements (Eolic influences were extremely rare). In Egypt, Koine Greek remained the language of the administration for more than 1,000 years.

One has to distinguish between literary and colloquial Koine. The former—the Koine of the literary texts and of the official documents redacted at the higher echelons of bureaucracy—remained more or less faithful to classical models. The colloquial or popular Koine, however—used for internal official, administrative, and private matters—was essentially practical, and thus adaptable to the changing political, economic, social, cultural, religious, and technical realities. The continuous development of this form of Greek in Egypt is abundantly testified, especially by some 40,000 pieces of papyrological evidence (papyri, ostraca, mummy labels, etc.). The orthographic variants occurring in these documents mark the evolution of phonology toward Modern Greek (e.g., itacism). The careless spelling, grammar, and syntax (particularly obvious in ostraca) reflect the linguistic habits of the lower classes, whereas mistakes like the confusion between lambda and rho inform us about the way Greek was pronounced by Egyptians. In the subsequent paragraphs, the evidence will be considered from the following points of view: (1) diachronically—when and how did the Greek language spread in Egypt? (2) linguistically—the influence of Greek on Egyptian (demotic and Coptic); the influence of Egyptian and other languages spoken in Egypt on the Greek used there.

The Spread of the Greek Language in Egypt

During the Ptolemaic period, Greek remained the appanage of the ruling class, whereas the majority of the population spoke (and wrote) Egyptian. With the exception of Cleopatra VII, the Ptolemies were unacquainted with the Egyptian language. When, for practical reasons, decrees had to be published in hieroglyphic and/or demotic versions as well as in Greek, a translation was drawn up by members of the native priesthood. Since Greek—and Greek only—was the language of the king's entourage and the higher official positions as a whole, those members of the native (military and sacerdotal) aristocracy who wished to rise into the ruling class had to learn Greek. Thus, the first move toward bilingualism was achieved by educated Egyptians (e.g., the priest Manetho, who wrote a history of Egypt in Greek).

From the second century B.C., on, the higher bureaucratic echelons became increasingly permeable

to the native population. After about 150 B.C., Egyptians infiltrated even the Mouseion at Alexandria, the stronghold of Greek scholarship founded by Ptolemy I.

Among the Greeks and Macedonians who lived in Egypt, the lower social classes tended to adapt themselves to their surroundings. The process of assimilation started in those areas where the first Ptolemies had given plots of land in tenure to members of the Greek/Macedonian army and civil officials (e.g., the Fayyūm area). As these domains and the neighboring—sometimes recently founded—villages (e.g., Philadelphia) attracted Greek and Egyptian workmen and inhabitants, they formed a new, mixed population class. Egyptianized Greeks were eager to adopt the native deities, often identifying them with their own gods and calling their children after them, but they rarely renounced their own language. Hellenized Egyptians, on the other hand, remained faithful to their religious roots while learning Greek (see, e.g., the numerous bilingual, demotic-Greek contracts) and reading Greek literature (see, e.g., the Egyptian mythological texts composed at Idfū in the second century B.C., which display Homeric influence).

As far as language is concerned, the Jewish population in Egypt hellenized even more readily. Under Persian rule they had written their documents in Aramaic (see, e.g., B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968]). From the Ptolemaic period, when a great number of them settled in Egypt, the Jews generally used Greek and took Greek names (see *Corpus papyrorum judaicarum*, ed. V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, 3 vols. [Cambridge, Mass., 1957–1964]). It was on behalf of these Jewish circles, particularly those at Alexandria, that the Greek version of the Old Testament (Septuagint) was composed (under Ptolemy II, according to the legend in the Letter of Aristeas; but see, e.g., E. Van 't Dack, "La Date de la lettre d'Aristée," in *Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum*, pp. 263–78, Studia Hellenistica 16 [Louvain, 1968]).

The politics of the Roman emperors in Egypt intentionally emphasized the distinction between the Egyptian and the Greek/Jewish inhabitants, for instance, by granting the latter fiscal privileges and curtailing the political and economic power of the native priesthood.

Though part of an empire of which the official language was Latin, Egypt—as the eastern provinces in general—continued to handle its official affairs in Greek, the more so since most of the provincial prefects originated from the hellenized East. The ratio of Latin to Greek papyrological documents from Egypt is less than 1 to 100.

During the first three centuries of Roman rule, the use of Latin in Egypt was confined to correspondence between Roman magistrates or individuals, the army, the court—as far as *ius civile* was concerned—and edicts or decrees of the central government—when dealing with the categories mentioned above. Greek, moreover, preserved its supremacy as the language of the educated. Alexandria, with the Mouseion, remained the unrivaled center of Hellenistic culture, but the nome capitals such as Oxyrhynchus gradually developed their own institutions for Greek education and the tradition of Greek (and, to a much lesser extent, Latin) literature. In educated milieus of the second century, Attic literature (lyrics and tragedies) once more aroused interest and, accordingly, "archaic" terminology revived in the Greek language they used.

Paradoxically, the Roman conquest of Egypt reinforced the rapprochement between the Egyptian- and the Greek-speaking populations, both groups being henceforth treated as subjects of a foreign ruler. The popularity of double names such as "Dionysios [Greek] also known as Petosiris [Egyptian]" marks the increasing hellenization of the native inhabitants of the nome capitals, especially of the educated and official strata. Demotic-Greek bilingualism was more than ever current among members of the middle class (see, e.g., J. Quaegebeur, "Mummy-Labels: An Orientation," in *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, ed. E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman, pp. 244–47, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 19 [Leiden, 1978]).

The interaction between Greek and Egyptian is particularly revealed by the fact that Egyptian writing adopted Greek characters, thus resulting in Coptic. After an unsuccessful attempt to use the Greek alphabet for Egyptian (mainly magical) texts about A.D. 100 (Old Coptic), Coptic proper was developed in the course of the second century. Though Christianity had gained its first converts in Egypt among the Greek-speaking inhabitants (e.g., the Jews at Alexandria), Coptic—first employed for translation of the Holy Scriptures from the Greek—became the chosen medium for the Christianization of the native population of the chora from the end of the second century.

The third century and the reign of DIOCLETIAN, introducing the Byzantine period in Egypt, witnessed fundamental linguistic transformations. The

spread of Christianity and socioeconomic changes, such as the agricultural crisis in the first half of the fourth century, brought about semantic evolutions in Greek language. Thus, for example, *anachōrēsis* used for withdrawal (in order to evade tax payment) acquired the particular meaning "withdrawal from the world" (in order to devote one's life to God)—thence the designation *anachoretes* for monks; and *geouchos* (landowner) acquired the specifically social connotation "possessor" about 340–350.

Literacy (the ability to read and write Greek) gradually receded with the impoverishment of the middle classes, caused above all by the Roman liturgic system. The decline had set in at the end of the second century, as shown by, for instance, the case of Petaus, who learned to write Greek after having been nominated as village scribe of Ptolemais Hormou about 185 (see *Das Archiv des Petaus*, ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn, L. C. Youtie, and H. C. Youtie, Papyrologica Colonensia 4 [Cologne and Opladen, 1969]).

Diocletian's attempts to latinize the administration had little influence on official practice in Egypt. Latinisms intruded into the Greek vocabulary but did not necessarily supplant the existing Greek equivalents, and Greek writing increasingly followed a Latin course. Still, these phenomena prove that the Greek language kept its vitality. There even was a revival of some classical Greek literary words (e.g., *hē threpsamenē*, the nourishing [soil]) and Ptolemaic terminology (e.g., *programma*, *prostagma* instead of the Roman term *diatagma* for ordinance, edict). As an expression of the Byzantine mentality, petitions of private persons to officials assumed a tone of pronounced submissiveness and a flowery wordiness. The latter may be considered evidence for the writers' extensive knowledge of Greek vocabulary, but it also indicates a kind of inflation and devaluation of the Greek words (see, e.g., the frequent use of superlatives and the long lists of honorary titles in the addresses). The grammar of Koine Greek was simplified more than ever before (e.g., the disappearance of irregular tenses and of the dative case).

Though Greek remained the official language until well into the Arab period, it was gradually supplanted by Coptic in administrative, private, and—above all—religious affairs of the chora. The expansion of Egyptian monasticism, organized by PACHOMIUS (d. 346), the first known author of original Coptic works, played a major part in the diffusion of the Coptic language and the denigration of Hellenistic culture (e.g., SHENUTE, abbot of Dayr al-Abyad [c. 385–451], who used the term *Hellēn* as synonym for pagan: J. Barnes, "Shenute as a Historical Source," in *Actes du X^e Congrès international de papyrologie, Varsovie-Cracovie, 3–9 septembre 1961*, pp. 151–59 [Warsaw, 1964]).

Yet, the study of Greek language and literature prospered in Egypt until the end of the fifth century. Many scholars of the fourth-fifth century were recruited from Greek-speaking enclaves in the metropolises and surrounding villages of Upper Egypt. These groups organized the last counterattack of Hellenistic (i.e., pagan) culture, comprising Greek and Egyptian elements (see, e.g., the Greek treatise on the interpretation of hieroglyphs [*Hieroglyphika*] by HORAPOLLON of Phenebytis [end of the fifth century]), against the Coptic (Christian) trend. The members of this Greek/hellenized intelligentsia traveled widely in the Byzantine empire, temporarily gaining influence at the imperial court (e.g., PAMPREPIUS OF PANOPOLIS, who supported the revolt of Illous against Emperor Zeno in 484). But this flare-up of the Greek language in Egypt was confined to a minority; in ordinary social milieus the knowledge of Greek had gradually faded. Many lower officials were said to be *agrammatoi* (illiterates, in Greek). From the age of Justinian on, more and more official documents had to be published in Coptic as well as in Greek, in order to be understood by the population.

The exception proves the rule: the papyrological archive of DIOSCORUS OF APHRODITO shows a contemporary of Emperor Justinian writing Coptic as well as Greek documents. This bilingual notary, who owned copies of Greek literary texts, is the last inhabitant of the chora known so far who composed—however poorly—Greek poems.

The ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT (641) caused no sudden change in the use of Greek as the official language (see, e.g., the archive of Qurrah ibn-Sharīk [698–722]). But, as Coptic had introduced the decay of Greek in Egypt, so Arabic completed the process. With the Abbasids in the tenth century, Arabic became the predominant language in government administration (the last Arabic-Greek papyrus dates from 996).

Mutual Influences of Greek and Other Languages in Egypt (332 B.C.–A.D. 641)

Since Greek was the language of the rulers, government officials, and magistrates, it naturally exer-

cised more influence on the native language than vice versa. Nevertheless, there are some mainly lexical foreign contributions to the development of Greek Koine in Egypt. Among these the latest, Latin, was the most important.

Greek Influence on the Egyptian (Demotic, Coptic) Language. Demotic writing (current in the seventh century B.C.–third century A.D.; latest attestation, A.D. 452) always remained quite resistant to Greek influence. The Greek-speaking administration under the Ptolemies inevitably caused the intrusion of technical Greek terms into the professional language of demotic scribes (e.g., official titles and legal terms). In the private sphere, however, Greek loanwords were rare and generally referred to habits, animals, and objects that were known to the Egyptians only through Greek import or literature. On the other hand, Greek commercial terminology had probably entered into spoken demotic from the seventh century B.C. on. The change of gender of some demotic words presumably occurred under Greek influence. Apart from demotic versions (translations) of Greek decrees, there is no evidence for stylistic influence.

Coptic—using Greek characters and first used for translations of the Bible from the Greek—was perfectly suited to adopt Greek words. The latter constituted about one-fifth of the standard Coptic vocabulary and were related to all spheres of life. It may be assumed that many of them were already used in everyday conversation before written Coptic emerged with the spread of Christianity. The naturalization of Greek words did not exclude the use of their Coptic equivalents, as attested, for instance, in the Psalms and—mainly—Bohairic translations of the scriptures with their marked preference for native words. Greek influence led to minor syntactical changes but did not affect the basic features of Egyptian/Coptic grammar.

Foreign Influences on Greek in Egypt. Prior to the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, the Greek language had adopted a few Oriental words, most of which belonged to the agricultural and commercial sphere. Some Semitic and Persian loanwords probably entered the Greek language through the intermediary of demotic.

During the Greco-Roman period, the number of Egyptian loanwords naturally increased (e.g., weights and measures, topographical and personal names—which were either transcribed or translated—and months). Except for the latter category, most loanwords were naturalized by taking a Greek ending and following Greek declension. Greek writing, moreover, adopted some symbols that were current in demotic documents.

On the whole, Egyptian influence on Greek was very limited. Yet, the Greeks took over Egyptian literary taste. The Greek romance owed its origin at least partly to Egypt: the *Dream of Nectanebo,* the first piece of prose fiction in Greek (second century B.C.) was translated from demotic. Another popular genre in Egyptian literature, the prophecies, also inspired Greek writers in Greco-Roman times—see, e.g., the *Potter's Oracle,* composed in demotic between the fourth and the end of the second century B.C., and known from Greek extant versions of the second–third century A.D.; there is a strong presumption that the thirteenth book of the *Oracula sibyllina* (between 241 and 265) was written by a contemporary author (Jew or Christian?) at Alexandria (W. Scott, "The Last Sibylline Oracle of Alexandria," *Classical Quarterly* 9 [1915]:144).

Latin had a greater impact on the Greek language in Egypt. About one-fourth of the Latin terms attested in Greek papyri made their first appearance at the end of the third/beginning of the fourth century. They were particularly numerous in military vocabulary, but also embraced the spheres of administration, fiscal matters, law, agriculture, and textile manufacture. The adoption of Latin words followed several patterns: (1) transcription; (2) translation; (3) metaphorical use. When transcribed, the Latin words generally underwent phonetic and morphological transformations in order to adapt to Greek declensions and conjugations. Others were used as part of new bilingual composites. Through Greek and Coptic, some Latin words intruded into the Arab vocabulary (e.g., *castrum, kastron, qaṣr;* cf. the toponyms Qaṣr Qarūn [i.e., Dionysias]; Luxor [Arabic *al-Uqṣur,* the camps]).

To a lesser extent, Latin influenced Greek morphology (e.g., the increasing popularity of the suffixes *-tōr* and *-arios*). Syntactical influence was practically nonexistent. Latin literature played a minor role in Egypt (about 100 extant Latin literary papyri).

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BÉNÉDICTE VERBEECK

GREEK LANGUAGE IN CHRISTIAN NUBIA. Of the territory in which the three Christian Nubian kingdoms emerged in the sixth century, only the Dodekaschoenus had a tradition of the use of the Greek language, the most eloquent remains being the *proskynēmata* left by soldiers of the Roman imperial army garrisoned in this frontier zone (e.g., Preisigke, 1915, 8462–8509, 8514–8533; Bernand, 1983, nos. 1330–73). The Meroitic Kingdom, in spite of its Hellenization (Desanges, 1983), used its own language and developed its own writing

system. There is no evidence even for a parallel use of Greek alongside the native language for monumental inscriptions, as was the practice in Axum (e.g., Preisigke, 6947–6949, 8546; Bernard, 1982, pp. 105–114). Accordingly, the two fragmentary fourth-century Greek inscriptions discovered at Meroë (*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* 24, 1246; Hägg, 1984a) are remnants of victory monuments set up by Axumite kings.

Proto-Christian Period

In this so-called X-Group or Ballana period (c. 300–550), evidence for the use of Greek is still confined to the Dodekaschoenus. Lacking written languages of their own, the Blemmyes and Nobadae used Greek for monumental inscriptions as well as for communication both between themselves and, no doubt, with their neighbors of Byzantine Egypt. In the former category, the most important item historically is the fifth-century Silko inscription in the Mandulis temple at Kalabsha, proclaiming in bombastic language the victories of the Nobatian king Silko over the Blemmyes. Silko's Greek (or, rather, that of his scribe) has been very differently judged: according to Lepsius (1876) and his followers, it is Copticizing all through. According to others (most radically Kapsomenos, 1953, pp. 251ff.) it is pure Greek vernacular. Two further inscriptions, in rather ungrammatical Greek, concern cult associations in Tafa and Kalabsha, and four others at Kalabsha seem to record some royal dispositions. Among the late antique adoration inscriptions from Philae, there are several carved by, or for, Nubians.

The use of Greek as a lingua franca is exemplified by the fifth-century letter from the Blemmyan king Phonen to his Nobatian colleague Aburni (best edition by Rea, 1979), remarkable both for its linguistic form (a kind of "Pidgin Greek"; cf. Hägg, 1981, 1986) and for the insights granted into the relations between the two peoples. Thirteen leather documents were found at Gebelēn in Upper Egypt (Satzinger, 1968).

Some documents were written in Greek and some in Coptic and Greek, and they show that Greek was used in the sixth century by a Blemmyan tribe apparently living within Egypt. They recorded both internal economic transactions and royal dispositions.

Finally, mention should be made of the Greek titles and honorific epithets consistently applied to Nobatian and Blemmyan officials in both documentary and literary sources, for instance, *basileus* or *basiliskos* for "king," *phylarchos* for "tribal chief," *hypotyrannos* for "subdespot," *prophētēs* for "priest," *klinarchos* for "head of cult association," and *epiphanestatos* for "most noble" (see Hägg, 1990).

Christian Period

The most important category of texts is the inscriptions, now amounting to approximately 300 published items, dating from the sixth through the twelfth century. In the absence of a comprehensive corpus, these are the principal collections: Lefebvre, *Recueil* (1978, comprising only one-fifth of the inscriptions now known); Firth, *Survey* (1912, pp. 45–50, inscriptions from Ginari); Mina, *Inscriptions* (1942, inscriptions from Sakinya); Shinnie and Chittick, *Ghazali* (1961); Tibiletti Bruno, *Iscrizioni* (1964, selection of inscriptions); Kubińska, *Faras IV* (1974). See further the topographically arranged bibliographical list in Žabkar, "Grave Stelas" (1967, pp. 16ff.). More than 200 of the inscriptions derive from Nobatia (approximately 20 different places), fully 60 from Makouria (a dozen places), and about 25 are of unknown or disputed provenance. The soil of 'Alwā is only beginning to yield Greek texts. Few of the Nubian Greek inscriptions bear dates. Most of the dated ones belong to the eleventh or twelfth century. Besides a few foundation or building inscriptions (e.g., Preisigke, 10074, from Ikhmindi, sixth century), the majority are epitaphs (for the formulas, see Junker, *Grabsteine*, which is fundamental but in need of updating; cf. Krause, 1975; see also Tibiletti Bruno, 1963, pp. 492–517).

The most conspicuous type, at present represented by nearly forty specimens (list of eighteen in Oates, 1963, supplemented by Hägg, 1981) distributed all over Nobatia and Makouria, and even 'Alwā, displays a long text based on the Byzantine prayer for the dead of the *Euchologion Mega*, beginning "God of spirits and of all flesh" (Bruni, 1972, pp. 146–58). The use of this prayer on tombstones seems to be specific to Nubia. The oldest dated instances are late eighth-century (Jakobielski and Ostrasz, 1967–1968, p. 133), the latest ones twelfth-century. The persons honored with this elaborate formula are mostly bishops or high officials.

Other textual categories include legends for wall paintings, notably from the cathedral at Faras (eighth to thirteenth century; Jakobielski, 1972); numerous, mostly unpublished, graffiti on church, monastery, and house walls (see, e.g., Jakobielski, 1972; Bernand, 1969, Vol. 2, nos. 205ff.); and some

texts on papyrus, parchment, or paper of a liturgical, administrative, commercial, or private character. This last category, though still rather modest in size, has been substantially increased through the excavations at Qaṣr Ibrīm. The "barbaric" character of Nubian Greek has often been exaggerated. Much of this impression is due to phonetic-orthographic phenomena well documented in contemporary texts of the same categories from the Byzantine world. Certain peculiarities remain, however, on both the phonetic and the syntactic level (e.g., nominative or accusative for genitive in certain positions; for a preliminary analysis, see Tibiletti Bruno, 1963, pp. 517–29). It remains to be shown to what extent any of these peculiarities, some of which occur in the proto-Christian texts, may be due to bilingual interference from Coptic or Old Nubian and whether the language is merely "conserved" in the Christian Nubian kingdoms, in comparative isolation after the Islamization and gradual arabization of their northern neighbors, or whether there are vestiges of later direct contacts with Byzantium (or with Jerusalem or Sinai; cf. Donadoni, 1986, p. 228). The series of *Euchologion Mega* epitaphs is instructive, in that late specimens (e.g., stela of Bishop Martyrophoros, A.D. 1159) are not necessarily more erratic than earlier ones (e.g., the stela of Mariēo, 1032). Rather than witnessing a gradual "debasement" of Nubian Greek through the centuries, we probably have to reckon, on the one hand, with a rather conservative written tradition of this prayer formula and, on the other, with isolated instances in which the text carved on the stone was based on the recitation of the prayer for the dead, with ensuing phonetic spellings and misunderstandings (cf. the discussion in Oates, 1963).

Medieval Nubia was a multilingual society. As a written language, Greek competed first with Coptic, then with Old Nubian, and later with Arabic. The competition with Coptic is witnessed, for instance, by the find of double foundation stones for the cathedral at Faras (707) and the subsequent alternative use of the two languages for bishops' tombstones, by the intermingling of Greek and Coptic epitaphs in the cemeteries of Sakinya and Ghazālī, and by Coptic liturgic formulas in other Greek inscriptions. Clearly, Coptic had its strongholds in the monasteries, some of whose inhabitants no doubt were refugees from Egypt. Old Nubian, written with the Greek-Coptic alphabet (extended by three extra letters), is inserted in Greek inscriptions from the eighth century on (e.g., stela of Stephanos, 797), juxtaposed with Greek in the memorial "tray" of King Georgios from Wādī al-Naṭrūn (1158) and mixed with Greek in the legends to the Faras wall paintings in the last phase of decoration. All three languages, written with the same palaeography, meet in the graffiti. Out of 250 registered graffiti from the cathedral at Faras, 23 are apparently Greek, 26 Coptic, and 62 Old Nubian; many, often consisting just of a name and perhaps a title, defy such classification. On the walls of the tenth-century church at Sonqi Tino, Greek and Old Nubian dominate.

For administrative, legal, and commercial purposes, Greek seems to have yielded to Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic, at least to judge from earlier published documents (see Griffith, 1928) and from what is known at this point about the rich textual finds from Qaṣr Ibrīm. However, it is worth noting that Greek was sometimes used for the outside address of dispatches that were themselves written in Coptic or Old Nubian, an indication that Greek may still have been in some use as a lingua franca in the Nile Valley, as it was in the proto-Christian period. The continued use of Greek titles for higher officials, such as *eparchos, exarchos, nauarchos, meizōn, (prōto)meizoteros* and *(prōto)domestikos* certainly shows a Byzantine influence, but we are hardly entitled to conclude from that evidence alone that the Greek language actually remained in other than ceremonial use at the courts of the Christian Nubian kingdoms.

What is clearly evident, on the other hand, is the continued use of Greek for ecclesiastical purposes throughout the Middle Ages, at least as far as the United Northern Kingdom (Nobatia/Makouria) is concerned. The application of the whole set of ecclesiastical titles is a matter of course, but more important, the Greek epitaphs, supplemented by the legends and graffiti, cover the whole time span from the sixth through the twelfth century. Greek manuscripts (biblical, patristic, and liturgical texts) found in Nubia confirm what we already knew from Oriental literary sources about the use of Greek in the Nubian church. Compare the information about 'Alwā deriving from Selim al-Aswani (tenth century) that "their books are in Greek and they translate these into their own language" with the reported discovery of bilingual Greek-Nubian liturgical texts at Qaṣr Ibrīm (cf. also the tenth-century bilingual graffito from Qaṣr el-Wizz). There also survive, in fragmentary form, translations from Greek into Old Nubian of biblical books, homilies, and other whole works (see Browne, 1987). The last indication that Greek was, in a sense, a "living" language in the Nubian church dates as late as 1372. The letter testimonial sent by the Coptic patriarch of Alexan-

dria in connection with the consecration of a Nubian, Timotheos, as bishop of Faras, although written in Coptic and Arabic, begins with an address in Greek directed to the Nubian congregation (Plumley, 1975b); apparently, Greek was then still regarded as Nubia's ecclesiastical language of choice.

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GREEKS IN EGYPT. Greek contacts with Egypt had been frequent and varied before Alexander the Great conquered the country in 332 B.C., inaugurating the Hellenistic period of Egyptian history. As early as the times of the Sea Peoples and the Dark Ages of Greece, Egypt experienced Greek invaders and raiders, but the country was not accessible to large-scale colonization when Greeks began, in the eighth century B.C., to spread their settlements and trading stations over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

However, with the consent of the pharaohs of the twenty-sixth Dynasty, Greeks were able to establish, perhaps around 650, a colony at Naucratis in the Delta. Milesians were prominent among the founders of that settlement, which was destined to facilitate and channel commercial activities, but other Greeks also had access to this town and its sanctuaries. Equipped with the typical set of Greek city-state institutions, Naucratis was able to preserve its Hellenic character well down into the Greco-Roman period. It was even selected as a model, partially at least, for ANTINOOPOLIS when that Greek city was founded in Egypt by Hadrian in A.D. 130. Egyptian relations with Greeks, sometimes tense, more often friendly, were especially strong under the rulers of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 B.C.), who used Greeks and Carians (the latter from southwestern Asia Minor) as mercenaries, for example, at Pelusium on Egypt's eastern border. Later, Amasis established these mercenaries at Memphis in quarters of their own (Hellenomemphites, Caromemphites).

Another aspect of these contacts was the lore exercised by Egyptian religion, wisdom, and institutions on Greek philosophy and science. Herodotus, speaking of "Egyptian *logos*" in book 2, stands out as a unique and intriguing testimony of Greek interest in things Egyptian, and it still is, though limited, a precious contribution of a fifth-century Greek to our knowledge of Egypt, its history and its life.

The conquest of Egypt by King Cambyses of the Achaemenid Dynasty in 525 B.C. made the country a satrapy of the Persian empire, but that did not end Greek contacts with Egypt, since many Greeks of Asia Minor had become subjects of the Achaemenids and Egypt was still open even to Greeks from outside the Persian realm (witness the visit of Herodotus). The struggle of the Greeks against the Persians in the fifth century led to Greek military cooperation, with Egyptian dynasts revolting against their Achaemenid overlords. The fight for Egyptian independence was finally successful in the very last years of the fifth century (without Greek military aid, according to Salmon, 1965, p. 239). But in 343, Egypt came again under Persian domination. The Achaemenid restoration was, however, a short-lived affair; in 334, the Macedonian king, Alexander the Great, invaded the territories of the Persian Darius III and conquered Egypt in 332 B.C. Though leading to liberation from the Persians, this conquest was also, in a certain sense at least, the start of a new foreign domination.

In Egypt, Alexander posed as pharaoh and was perhaps crowned in Memphis according to the Egyptian ritual. He also sought confirmation of his divinity by consulting the oracle of the god Amon in Siwa Oasis. Nevertheless, he still was a foreigner, ruling Egypt from outside. In 331, he founded ALEXANDRIA to commemorate his name and to open Egypt to the Mediterranean Sea and to his nascent empire. The former Egyptian village of Rhakotis

now being one of the quarters of the new town, its local population became inhabitants of Alexandria, but was excluded from the rights of Alexandrian citizens.

After the death of Alexander in 323, the satrapy of Egypt was attributed to the Macedonian general Ptolemy who, after the extinction of Alexander's family, liberated himself from what remained of the Macedonian imperial authority. After he assumed the title and position of a king in 305, Egypt was ruled for nearly three hundred years (305–30 B.C.) by the Ptolemies, a "Greek" dynasty (Macedonians then being considered, though somewhat reluctantly in some quarters, as Greeks). But at least it was a dynasty firmly anchored in Egypt and keeping Egypt at the center of the Ptolemaic empire, which extended, in the third century, over regions of the eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Cyrene, parts of the Syro-Phoenician coast, and territories in southern and western Asia Minor). Rather soon after his installation in Egypt, Ptolemy I abandoned Egyptian Memphis and chose Alexandria as his capital. But besides being Hellenistic kings in the Macedonian and Greek traditions, the Ptolemies were viewed and represented as pharaohs by their Egyptian subjects. Whereas Egyptians had still played leading roles under Alexander and Ptolemy I (d. 283–282), Greeks occupied, under Ptolemy II and his successors in the third century, nearly all top-level positions at the court, in the army, and in the civil administration. Immigration of Greeks and Hellenized inhabitants of Thrace and Asia Minor was particularly substantial in the third century B.C. Alexandria thus became the most populous center of the Mediterranean world. Notwithstanding the Egyptian settlers of Rhakotis and a fast-growing community of Jews, Alexandria was and remained a Greek city, reserving full citizen rights to a core of Greco-Macedonian residents only, but spreading the Greek language to most of its inhabitants (the linguistical Hellenization of Alexandrian Jews prompted the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, the Septuagint).

But Greeks in Egypt were by no means restricted to Alexandria. They settled in large numbers in the Egyptian hinterland, the chora, above all in the Fayyūm (Arsinoite nome), as well as in numerous places in the Delta and Upper Egypt. Among the latter, Ptolemais (modern al-Minshah; see PSOI), a foundation of Ptolemy I, stands out as the only Greek city in Upper Egypt provided with the full set of *polis* institutions. The Egyptian nome capitals—that is, metropoles like Memphis, Arsinoë, Heracleopolis Magna, etc.—were not organized as Greek cities, but were, in constitutional terms, mere "villages," though serving as the administrative and religious centers of their respective nomes. Many of these nome capitals attracted Greek settlers who lived there as soldiers (that is, veterans), artisans, businessmen, and landowners. They brought with them not only their language but also Greek religious, civic, and cultural institutions, among them the *gymnasium*. They mixed with the local population, many Egyptian women marrying Greek men. The Greek population may have had a surplus of males, partly as a consequence of immigration and also of female infanticide. Contrary to Egyptians and Jews, Greeks, wishing to keep their families small and their property undiminished, were not seldom inclined to neglect their children, especially daughters.

Egyptian women, even while adopting the Greek language and certain elements of the Greek way of life, would not generally have abandoned all Egyptian traditions, and least perhaps their religious convictions. On the other hand, numerous Egyptians, above all in the local administration, had to be acquainted with Greek, however imperfectly, in order to run their offices and to enhance their status. Greek was the dominant official language in Ptolemaic Egypt. Knowing Greek and adopting, in certain respects, a Greek way of life was a prerequisite for taking higher steps up the social ladder, at least as far as the Greek-dominated spheres of life were concerned (especially in government service, military and civilian). Hence the conviction of former generations of historians and papyrologists that Ptolemaic Egypt was characterized by a mixed civilization where Egyptian and Greek elements were thought to have largely blended. Since the end of the Second World War, this view has been strongly challenged and replaced by an approach stressing the fundamental and often irreconcilable differences between Egyptian and Greek traditions.

It is certainly true that Greeks in Egypt, a small minority convinced of its superiority, strove to maintain the uniqueness of their culture, whereas, on the other side, the mass of Egyptian peasants lacked opportunity and will to forsake their own traditions and to assimilate the ways of foreigners. But the reaction against the concept of mixed civilization, partly prompted by the experience of modern decolonization, may have gone too far. Recent progress in the study of Demotic papyri and of hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, as well as a new

awareness of the performance of Egyptian Late Period art, are creating conditions for a fresh look at the relations between Egyptians and Greeks in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt. The question of mixed civilization should be reexamined on a larger and more systematic scale including all aspects of life and carefully distinguishing places, periods, social strata, and ethnic groups.

It is evident that there is at least one group of Egyptians, occupying positions in the administration and the army, who tended to become partially hellenized. The same will apply to many Greeks and Egyptians mingling racially and sharing common values. Not all these cases need to be viewed as examples of unilateral Hellenization, that is, Egyptianization (the latter to a lesser degree), because some people, then as today, belonged at the same time to two cultures, for example, persons serving as Greek-speaking soldiers in the Ptolemaic army and officiating simultaneously as Egyptian-speaking priests in a native cult. This gradually and partially hellenized group certainly represented a minority only of autochthonous Egyptians, but it was a highly active, fairly propertied, and politically important segment of Ptolemaic society, becoming ever more visible and assertive after the third century B.C. Such persons often bore two names, one Greek, the other Egyptian. That means that names, above all from the second century B.C. onward, cannot be considered any more as reliable indications of ethnic origin. Anyway, after more than a hundred years of mixed marriages in Ptolemaic Egypt, the question of ethnic origin had ceased to make sense in the corresponding milieux. On the other hand, even outside these intermediary groups, Egyptian and Greek traditions were not totally impermeable to each other.

Instead of focusing the debate on ethnicity in terms of "native Egyptians" versus "foreign Greeks," it seems more rewarding to determine the respective strength of Egyptian and Greek traditions in Hellenistic as well as in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. That approach is of great relevance for a fair appraisal of both Greek civilization in Egypt and the part played in its development by native Egyptians. Comparison with modern colonialism will not do. One seems justified in saying that Greek civilization in Egypt is not only the mark of an occupying force, but also, and not at least, an achievement of hellenized Egyptians. Additionally and simultaneously, the activity of Egyptians is on record in native Egyptian religion, art, and literature in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Far from being one long intermediate period interrupting the continuity of Egyptian history, the centuries between Alexander and the Arab conquest truly belong to the heritage of Egypt's people and have made a great, but often underestimated, contribution to both Egyptian and classical civilization. Nevertheless, notwithstanding contacts and common performances, difference, even opposition, between Greeks and Egyptians did not disappear in the course of time, the dividing line being, however, not one of race, but one of culture and social class. As there was cooperation, there also was hostility, clearly evidenced, for instance, in prophecies foretelling, like the Potter's Oracle, the abandonment of Alexandria and the end of foreign rule in Egypt.

After the conquest of Egypt by the Romans in 30 B.C., the country entered the Roman empire as a province administered by a representative of the emperor, the *praefectus Aegypti*. Roman citizens, active in the administration and in the army, doing business and owning land, were henceforth the supreme class in Egypt, soon reinforced by Egyptian Greeks, that is, hellenized Egyptians who acquired Roman citizenship, especially through service in the Roman army. The rest, that is the majority, were "foreigners" (*peregrini*), at least in Roman juridical construction. In fact, Greek remained the ruling language, never replaced by Latin except in the highest echelons of government service, in legal procedures involving Roman citizens, and partially in official military use.

Analyzing the relevant texts of the Roman period, Montevecchi (1985, pp. 339–53) reached the conclusion that the term *Aigyptios* had a twofold meaning: (1) in highly official language, it designated both Greeks (including hellenized Egyptians) and nonhellenized natives as opposed to Roman citizens; (2) in everyday life, and even in court, *Aigyptios* could characterize the nonhellenized natives in contrast to the Greek, that is, hellenized Egyptians. That is not to say that the Romans established no official distinction between the Greek and the "truly" Egyptian inhabitants of the country. Both groups had to pay the poll tax (*laographia*), but the gymnasial elite (those "Greeks" whose status had been verified by ascertainment of Greek ancestry on both maternal and paternal sides and who had been given access to the *gymnasium*) was treated as a privileged class and so were, though to a lesser degree, the other citizens of the nome capitals as opposed to villagers. The members of the *gymnasium* as well as the metropolites paid lower rates of poll tax. These favored groups, partially a blend of

"pure" Greeks and hellenized Egyptians already on record in Ptolemaic Egypt, inserted themselves between the Roman citizens and the "true" Egyptians, that is, the peasant mass.

Under the influence of the metropolite "Greeks," the nome capitals evolved into Greek-style cities. It was a recognition of that development when, in c. 200, the emperor Septimius Severus granted a town council not only to Alexandria but also to the metropoles of the Egyptian chora. His son, Marcus Aurelius Antonius, popularly called Caracalla, went one step further when he accorded, in 212, Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of the Roman empire, except to a group designated as *dediticii* (literally "the capitulated"), whose precise identification is still debated; they are probably equivalent to *peregrini dediticii* who were excluded from the benefice of Roman citizenship as defeated rebels or enemies of the Romans. The category of *dediticii* must have been represented in Egypt and can perhaps be distinguished from the beneficiaries of Caracalla's grant by the lack of the imperial clan of Aurelius (on a further differentiation between *Aurelii* and more privileged *Marci Aurelii*, see Hagedorn, 1979).

The former distinction between Roman citizens and Greeks in Egypt had thus been abolished, but by the same token, the dividing line between the privileged groups and the Egyptian peasant mass had been drawn more sharply. This line, along with other divisions, became brutally visible in an order of the same Caracalla expelling from Alexandria, in 215, "all Egyptians . . . and particularly country folk . . . Among the linen weavers the true Egyptians can easily be recognized by their speech, which reveals that they are affecting the appearance and dress of others. What is more, in the way they live their manners, the opposite of urbane behaviour, reveal them to be Egyptian rustics" (extract from the translation cited by Lewis, 1986, p. 202).

These "Egyptian rustics" had no or only insufficient knowledge of Greek, so when the Christians began to bring them their message, the mission had to operate in the native tongue. The use of Coptic for the diffusion of the scriptures had nothing to do with an opposition to the Greeks, since it was, after all, from Greek that the gospel and liturgical texts had to be translated into Coptic. Thus, in a first phase lasting from the third to the middle of the fifth century, the new belief, far from dividing Greek- and Coptic-speaking Christians, provided common ground that separated them from their combined adversaries, whether they were Greek or Egyptian.

The same is true for MONASTICISM, which was, in the fourth century and beyond, a shared experience of Greek- and Coptic-speaking groups that held together under the common direction of the Alexandrian patriarch. The drifting apart, amidst the dogmatical and ecclesiastical conflicts of the Byzantine period, of Christian communities in Egypt, above all of Monophysites and Melchites, may not simply be equated to a division between Greeks and Copts. It is well known that not only Copts but also many Greeks, that is, Greek-speakers in Egypt (and elsewhere) adhered to the Monophysite church. But one may surmise that the Melchites had few supporters beyond the ranks of the Greeks in Alexandria and in the chora, the Christian Copts thus forming, together with Greek-speaking Monophysites in Egypt, an opposition to non-Monophysite authorities in Alexandria and Constantinople.

In other respects, too, the cultural diversity of late antique Egypt does not always correspond to a division between Greeks and Copts. This holds true, for instance, for GNOSTICISM and MANICHAEISM, both having had Greek- as well as Coptic-speaking adherents. With pagan "Hellenes" in Byzantine Egypt, some dividing lines are perhaps clearer, but again, they reveal no fundamental opposition in terms of Greeks versus Copts. These "Hellenes" still cherished the traditional Greek *paideia* (education) and were its active heralds. That is especially true for the astonishing number of Greek, often pagan, poets that Egypt brought forth in the Byzantine period, one of the most famous being, toward the end of the fourth century, the Alexandrian Claudianus, who wrote Greek verse before becoming a celebrated Latin poet (Cameron, 1970). Other Greek poets followed during the fifth century, many of them coming from Panopolis deep in Egypt. Establishing contact with the court at Constantinople and the leading men of the Byzantine empire, these poets bear witness to the profound and long-lasting Hellenization of the Egyptian chora throughout the Greco-Roman period.

But these "Hellenes" were by no means alien to Egyptian culture and religion. One can detect, in the works of these Greek-writing Egyptian poets, manifestations of an Egyptian patriotism that often tends to be overlooked but has nevertheless a long tradition reaching back to Ptolemaic and Roman times. Some of these poets show an interest in typically Egyptian cults. That is surely natural enough for Greek-speakers who were brought up, as their ancestors had been, in metropoles of the Egyptian chora. But the same interest for Egyptian cults may

be conjectured, a fortiori, for "true" Egyptians, that is, for Coptic-speakers. Egyptian pagan sanctuaries of the chora survived in fairly large numbers the fourth century, some of them still holding out in the fifth and a few, like PHILAE, even lasting well into the sixth century. It may be reasonably assumed that Coptic speakers were numbered among the adherents and the priests of these pagan Egyptian cults. Those Copts still clinging to their native paganism would thus have shared common religious convictions with pagan "Hellenes" still very active in fourth- and fifth-century Egypt and receptive to its traditions.

As already in Ptolemaic times, the phenomenon of Egyptians belonging to two cultures can be observed in the Byzantine period. But now as then it surely will have been limited to a rather small minority. ATHANASIUS' familiarity with Coptic seems to have been exceptional among Alexandrian patriarchs, but ecclesiastical as well as civil administration must have required bilingual officials. One of them was the sixth-century lawyer and poet Dioscorus of Aphrodito. Interaction of Greek and Coptic traditions is also discernible in Coptic art. The bicultural heritage of Greco-Roman Egypt survived the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT and so did, for a while, the Greek language in Egypt.

To view the history of Byzantine Egypt in terms of a struggle between Greeks and Copts would be utter simplification. But to say that cooperation prevailed would be a grave error, too, since indifference and even antagonism are evident on many occasions. The problem is one of balanced and informed judgment, but it is, above all, one of clear methodical approaches and of verifiable conceptions. Modern research has as yet not agreed upon a satisfactory definition of what exactly, other than the language, is to be considered Coptic in Egypt before the Arab conquest. To clarify that basic problem more work has to be done on late antique Egypt, work that would blend, more than was the case in the past, Greek and Coptic studies and would bring together the results of historical, theological, papyrological, and linguistic research. More than any other epoch of Egypt's ancient history, the Byzantine period is in need of a fresh approach and a thorough treatment.

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HEINZ HEINEN

GREEK TOWNS IN EGYPT. Long before the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greeks had come to Egypt as merchants, soldiers, and settlers during the era of the "Greek colonization" (seventh century B.C.). As a result, NAUCRATIS, in the Delta, was established under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty as a Greek town complete with the traditional set of *polis* (city) institutions and destined to focus and control Greek commercial activities in Egypt. It was to remain for a long time the only Hellenic town on Egyptian soil.

When Alexander conquered Egypt in 332 B.C., he founded the famous city bearing his name. Alexandria was to become, under Ptolemy I, the capital of Egypt (replacing Memphis), and the leading economic center of the eastern Mediterranean. Its organization included many of the characteristic features of a Greek *polis*, but as capital of the Ptolemies and, later on, as residence of the Roman prefect of Egypt, Alexandria was not free to develop full *polis* autonomy. Only in A.D. 200 did it recover its town council, probably abolished by Octavian (Augustus), but at that late stage the restitution of this body was no exceptional privilege because the nome metropoles were granted town councils at about the same time.

The Ptolemies, content to develop Egyptian resources and their own income along the lines of pharaonic traditions and Hellenistic planning, did nearly nothing to further the spread of *poleis* in Egypt. Ptolemy I founded only one Greek city commemorating his name, Ptolemais in Upper Egypt. His successors did not add a single Greek city, probably not wishing to establish more "autonomous" centers in a country where monarchic absolutism prevailed. After the conquest of Egypt by Octavian (Augustus) in 30 B.C., the Roman emperors maintained that tradition. While protecting the "Greeks" (i.e., both native Greeks and those Egyptians who had joined their ranks through marriage and Hellenization) and their institutions, Roman authorities refrained from creating new *poleis*, with the one exception of the philhellene emperor Hadrian. He founded the Greek city of ANTINOOPOLIS in Upper Egypt to honor the memory of his youthful companion Antinous, who had drowned in the Nile in A.D. 130. Except for these four *poleis* and for Paraetonium (but the latter's status is dubious; see below), there were no other Greek towns in Egypt.

This picture changed completely when, at the beginning of the third century, the emperor Septimius Severus accorded the privilege of the town council not only to Alexandria but also to the metropoles (nome capitals). In the past, the latter had gradually developed several features typical of Greek towns, such as magistracies and *gymnasia* (schools). In 200 they became *poleis* in the Hellenic sense, complete with a set of town institutions, but without proper autonomy. This evolution was taken one step further when the reforms of DIOCLETIAN, beginning about 296, transformed the metropoles into *poleis (civitates)* and established the nomes as the *enoria (territorium)* of these new cities. These measures definitively blurred the distinction between the old Greek towns of Egypt (which had long protected their privileged status, exerting a careful control on the bestowal of citizen rights) and the metropoles. In the past, the latter had been considered as mere villages *(komai)*, technically speaking, notwithstanding the central functions of the nome capitals in religious, administrative, and economic respects. At the same time, the overall establishment of *civitates* and *territoria* in Egypt by Diocletian contributed to the leveling of differences between that country and the other provinces of the later Roman Empire. But perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from the evolution of the Greek towns in Egypt is

the gradual dissolution of "pure" Hellenism in Roman Egypt, paralleled by the fading away of the old traditions of native Egypt and the rise of a new, late antique Egyptian civilization with its typical blend of Christian and pagan, of Greek and Egyptian elements.

Naucratis (modern Kom Gu'aif)

A colony of Ionian Miletus, founded perhaps in the mid seventh century in the Saite nome on the Canopic Branch, Naucratis was a flourishing center in the archaic and classical periods. It lived on as a Greek *polis* throughout Ptolemaic and Roman times but was overshadowed by the not-so-distant Alexandria. Naucratis preserved its purely Hellenic character, intermarriage with Egyptians being still considered illegal in the second century A.D.

Alexandria

The town was officially styled as a separate entity, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum. When Alexandria was conquered by Octavian in 30 B.C., its town council was abolished (or had already been abolished under the last Ptolemies). Notwithstanding the efforts of Alexandrian Greeks to recover that symbol of *polis* status, the Roman emperors, such as Claudius (A.D. 41–54), refused to cede on that point. But Alexandria did have a wide range of municipal institutions and magistracies, among which were the *exegetes*, *gymnasiarchos*, *kosmetes*, *eutheniarchos*, and *agoranomos*. A distinctive feature of *polis* organization was the subdivision of Alexandria's citizen corps into tribes *(phylai)* and demes *(demoi)*. As a privilege, the Alexandrians were exempted from the poll tax *(laographia)* and from liturgies in the Egyptian *chora* (on the Alexandrian *chora*, cf. Jähne, 1981). Besides its citizen population, Alexandria was inhabited by people of very different provenance. Apart from the native Egyptians, whose influx into the town was checked, sometimes brutally, by the Roman authorities, the largest segment of the non-Greek population was made up of Jews who had come, or had been brought, to Alexandria since the beginning of Ptolemaic times. Like other nationalities, the Alexandrian Jews had their own civic community *(politeuma)*, complete with a council of elders *(gerousia)*, presided over by an *ethnarch*, with tribunals and archives. The Jewish drive to obtain full parity with the Alexandrian Greeks led to severe tensions and occasionally to savage killing during the first and second centuries A.D. During his visit to Egypt in A.D. 200, the emperor Septimius Severus conceded a town council to the Alexandrians, thus satisfying their perennial request. Excavators have discovered a building with ranges of well-preserved seats (the so-called small theater), which may perhaps be identified as the hall of the town council (cf. Balty, 1983; see also ALEXANDRIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY).

Paraetonium (modern Marsa Maṭruḥ)

In the nome of Libya, Paraetonium was first mentioned in the period of Alexander the Great, and it ranked in Roman times as a privileged, perhaps Greek town (cf. Jones, 1971, pp. 305f.). One of the few harbors between Cyrenaica and Alexandria, Paraetonium served as the obvious starting place for the journey to the desert oracle of Zeus Ammonios in the oasis of Siwa, which was much frequented by Greeks from Greece and the Aegean. Hence the name of Ammonia equally can be attested for Paraetonium. The place had an important garrison, blocking the access to Egypt from the west. As a consequence of Diocletian's reforms, Paraetonium belonged to the newly created province of Libya Inferior and served as its capital. Under Justinian it was the residence of the *dux limitis Libyci* (general of the Libyan border). In 325, Paraetonium is mentioned as the see of a bishop (Roques, 1987, pp. 110f.).

Ptolemais he Hermeiou (modern al-Mansah)

Ptolemais was founded by Ptolemy I Soter, and as the southernmost Greek city in Egypt, it established Greek presence and Ptolemaic control (by way of the *strategos* [general] and other royal officials) in Upper Egypt, where native traditions and opposition to Alexandria and foreign domination were especially strong. Ptolemais had a town council, a board of *prytaneis* (leaders of tribes), and the usual set of municipal magistrates, but it stood, like the other Greek towns, under overall Roman supervision. There are some Greek inscriptions illustrating civic life and Hellenic culture at Ptolemais during the Ptolemaic period (Dittenberger, 1903, nos. 47–52), but the source material for Roman Ptolemais is rather meager, compared with that of Antinoopolis. We learn about the maintenance of civic and religious institutions, even detectable in the fact that in Roman times many people still gave their sons the name Ptolemaios or Soter, thus commemorating the Ptolemaic founder of their town. The carefully nurtured traditions of Greek paganism were certainly responsible for the resistance to Christianity

in later Roman Ptolemais. The town thus did not become the see of a bishop, this role being assumed by neighboring This. Ptolemais seems to have been destroyed in the course of the Arab conquest.

Antinoopolis (modern Anṣina)

In A.D. 130 Hadrian founded Antinoopolis on the east side of the Nile, facing Hermopolis Magna (modern al-Ashmūnayn), in Upper Egypt. The city was in most respects a purely Greek town. Antinoopolis had a Hellenistic layout, with streets intersecting at right angles, the main streets being adorned with colonnades still visible in the days of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition. The constitution was framed on that of Naucratis, a stark reminder of the longevity and strength of Greek civic institutions in the midst of the very different patterns of Egyptian traditions and of both Ptolemaic and Roman monarchic rule. The colonists were attracted from Ptolemais, but also from the Greek or Hellenized classes in the Arsinoites and from veterans of the Roman army. Many of these had long since mingled with the Egyptian population. It was easier to defend and spread Greek civilization than to preserve racial purity. As a consequence, and contrary to the laws of Naucratis, the citizens of Antinoopolis were given the right to marry Egyptians *(epigamia)*, many of whom lived in that town without being part of the citizen corps. The Greek community of Antinoopolis was divided into tribes and demes, and from their ranks were recruited the members of the town council and the municipal magistrates. As a consequence of Diocletian's reforms, the special status of Antinoopolis as a Greek town lost much of its significance, but the city perhaps increased its importance by becoming the seat of the *dux* of the Thebaid. The sixth-century advocate and poet DIOSCORUS OF APHRODITO, fluent in Greek and Coptic as well as Latin, was a remarkable exponent of the Greco-Coptic society of late antique Egypt.

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HEINZ HEINEN

GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS. *See Appendix.*

GREGORY II, fourteenth-century Melchite patriarch of Alexandria. Very little is known about Gregory II. V. Grumel and J. Nasrallah date his election around 1315. As soon as he was elected, he sent a synodal letter to his colleague of Constantinople, Patriarch John XIII Glykys, announcing his election. This letter was published by F. Miklosich and J. Müller along with a reply from John XIII, inviting him to come to Constantinople.

Nasrallah (1981, p. 56) states that the patriarchs of Alexandria during the period between 1250 and 1516 resided most of the time at Constantinople. However, it seems that Gregory II usually resided at Cairo, as is attested by the manuscript copied by the hierodeacon SĀBĀ YĀSĀ in 1320 at the patriarchal residence in Cairo (Sinai Arabic 102).

At an intermediate date, Gregory copied the large Greco-Arabic *euchologion* (Sinai Arabic 258; fols. 121b–27b are written exclusively in Arabic). He gave this manuscript as a legacy to the church of Mār Sābā, which is in the port of Alexandria.

Of particular note in this manuscript is the office of consecration of the waters of the Nile, performed on the Sunday before the feast of Pentecost (fols. 127b–75b). The Greek text of this office has been edited by A. Dmitrievskij (1901) and M. Black (1938). The Christian Palestinian Aramaic text has been edited by G. Margoliouth (1896). The Arabic text has not yet been edited.

Gregory was well versed in both Arabic and Greek, as Sinai Arabic 258 attests. But above all, he began to translate the *Typikon of Saint Saba* from Greek into Arabic, with an Arabic commentary on the part concerning the *agrypniai* (a night service before certain feasts, in the Eastern church) only, as he had no time to do more. This explains why, shortly afterward, in 1335, Abū al-Fatḥ QUSṬANṬĪN IBN ABĪ AL-MA'ĀLĪ IBN ABĪ AL-FATḤ redid the whole translation.

Furthermore, a note in a manuscript composed in 1594–1595 (Mār Eliās Shuwayya [Lebanon] Manuscript 30) records that Patriarch Gregory was known as Gregory al-Sīnāwītī (fols. 2a–2b). This indicates that he had been a monk at Sinai and explains why some of his manuscripts are found there today.

According to Grumel, Gregory II died before 1354, although Grumel adds a question mark. According to Nasrallah, he died before 1335.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, SAINT, or the Armenian (c. 240–332), bishop and patriarch of Armenia who is a "martyr without bloodshed" (feast days: 15 Kiyahk and 19 Tūt). His is venerated in the diptychs of the Coptic church, where his name is mentioned together with two other Gregorys, Thaumaturgus (c. 213–270) and the Theologian (c. 330–395). He is also called the "Apostle of Armenia" for having evangelized the country, although, historically, he was preceded in this mission by Saint Bartholomew, one of the twelve disciples of Christ.

According to an Armenian tradition, Gregory was the son of a Parthian nobleman, Amak, who assassinated King Chosroes I by order of Ardashir. The dying king commanded that Amak's whole family be put to death. But the infant Gregory was saved and secretly taken to Caesarea in Cappadocia, where he was brought up as a Christian by a foster mother; later he married a devout woman who bore him two sons. A few years afterward, the married couple chose to forgo their conjugal relationship, preferring to devote their lives to worship and prayer.

Upon his return to Armenia, he was attached to the court of King Tiridates, who succeeded his father, Chosroes, to the throne, thanks to the efforts of Emperor DIOCLETIAN. Not knowing his true identity, Tiridates ordered Gregory to offer incense to the idols, but the latter persistently refused, and was subjected to extreme acts of torture, which came to be known as "the twelve tortures of Saint Gregory," and he was finally thrown into a pit. Here he was secretly fed by an old Christian woman named Anna for a number of years.

The legendary life story of Gregory is interwoven with an episode about a community of nuns who had been living in Rome, but fled to escape from the designs of Diocletian upon one of them, Rhipsime. They took refuge in the capital of Armenia, but there they fell prey to the harassment of King Tiridates who, before returning Rhipsime to Diocletian, attempted to seduce her. However, she managed to escape, but was later caught by the king's men, who put her and her companions to death.

The story goes that, by divine retribution, Tiridates was transformed into a wild boar and his subjects were smitten with the plague. In a dream, his sister was told that only Gregory could bring about her brother's recovery. Gregory was therefore released from the pit, and his prayers produced the miraculous recovery of the king and his subjects, all of whom embraced Christianity. Gregory was thus able to preach in public, and was consecrated bishop of Armenia by Leontius, bishop of Caesarea.

Having reached an advanced age, Gregory consecrated his son bishop, and retired to a life of solitude and meditation. In 325, he was called upon to take part in the Council of NICAEA, but he delegated his son, Bishop Aristages, to go in his place.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, SAINT (329–389), known as the Theologian. Along with Saint BASIL THE GREAT and Saint GREGORY OF NYSSA, Gregory of Nazianzus is one of the three Cappadocian fathers. He was born in Nazianzus. For a few months he was bishop of Constantinople, but he then withdrew to private life. Among his principal works are a collection of forty-five homilies, including five theological homilies on the Holy Spirit; the *Philokalia*, a collection of passages from ORIGEN; a collection of 425 letters; and a collection of poems.

Although Gregory is a saint in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions, the Coptic church did not venerate him particularly. Indeed, he has no individual feast in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION; nevertheless, he is mentioned, for example, in the *Great Euchologion* of DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH (the White Monastery). The Coptic literary tradition attributes eight homilies to him; four are authentic, one is erroneously attributed, and three are later spurious works.

The authentic homilies (translated from the Greek) include Homily 14, *De charitate*, which survives in Bohairic in a complete codex (Vatican Library, Coptic 66. 12) and in some fragments from another codex (Lafontaine, 1979); Homily 21, *In Athanasium*, which survives in fragments of a codex of the White Monastery (Orlandi, 1970); a fragment of Homily 43, *In Basilium*, from a papyrus codex (Browne, 1979); and some unpublished fragments from Homily 45, *De Pascha*, in a codex of the White Monastery.

The erroneously attributed homily is in fact Gregory of Nyssa's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, partly reworked.

The three spurious homilies show all the signs of being the fruit of original Coptic production of about the seventh century, and are attributed to Gregory for reasons of convenience.

De Michaele Archangelo et de diabolo (Lafontaine, 1979, from the manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M592, fols. 8–16; a fragment in the British Museum, Or. 6782, fol. 9) is a refutation of a doctrine attributed to heretics and Manichaeans concerning the sin committed by Satan and the tasks subsequently taken on by Michael. According to the heretics, Satan was banished for having refused to adore man when the latter was created. Against this view, the author states that Satan, the first of the heavenly creatures, sinned by pride before the earth was even created, and it was then that he was replaced by Michael. The text then speaks of Michael's role as intercessor for men with God.

Some papyrus fragments (Pierpont Morgan Library, C7; Crum, 1913, no. 7) contain a commentary, *In Rom. 4:15*, that deals principally with baptism. Also concerning baptism, we have a homily that has survived in some unpublished fragments from the White Monastery.

Last, we should mention two liturgical passages (Pleyte and Boeser, 1897, pp. 441ff.), called "Prayer and Exorcism," of mysterious content. It is not certain, however, that the Gregory given as the author is to be identified as Gregory of Nazianzus.

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TITO ORLANDI

GREGORY OF NYSSA, SAINT (c. 330–395), a theologian. With Saint GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS and Saint BASIL THE GREAT, his older brother, he was one of the three Cappadocian fathers. He set out to become a rhetorician, but Gregory of Nazianzus convinced him to dedicate himself rather to the ecclesiastical life. Basil nominated him to be bishop of Nyssa, a small city in Cappadocia. He resided there only at irregular intervals, at first because of the Arian controversy and then because of his long voyages. He participated in the First Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 381.

As an opponent of ARIANISM, Gregory found favor in the Coptic Church, but was not regarded as a saint, although he is in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. He is best known in Coptic literature by a few translations of his philosophical works. These translations exist as follows:

1. *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* has survived in a Sahidic codex from DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH (the White Monastery), dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in a Bohairic codex by Saint MACARIUS of Scetis, dating from the ninth century. Both texts are in fragments.

2. *De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti* is a readaptation of the Greek text in a Bohairic codex by Macarius (Vatican Library, Coptic 61, 6), attributed in Coptic to Gregory of Nazianzus. The original text has been altered so as to employ only the part that is essentially exegetical and moral in character.

3. *De anima et resurrectione* is a dialogue found in a fragmentary Sahidic codex from the White Monastery.

4. *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* is comprised of eight homilies, found in a fragmentary Sahidic codex from the White Monastery.

These last two works, which are distinctly philosophical (particularly the dialogue), coming from a Platonic-Origenist school, seem to have been translated into Coptic and spread throughout Egypt during the period of the Origenist controversy (fourth–fifth century), a time when it might be supposed that Egypt should have sided with Patriarch THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA against the Origenists. It might have been possible, however, that one part of the monastic society had been and remained under Origenist influence, including those monasteries in Upper Egypt where some of the translations into Sahidic were made. These same groups might also have translated the collection of writings attributed to AGATHONICUS OF TARSUS.

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TITO ORLANDI

GREGORY OF NYSSA, SAINT, CANONS OF. *See* Canons of Gregory of Nyssa.

GRIFFITH, FRANCIS LLEWELLYN (1862–1934), British Egyptologist. As longtime professor of Egyptology at Oxford University, he was a pioneer in the study of medieval Nubian archaeology and philology. Between 1910 and 1912 he directed the excavation of several churches and other Christian archaeological remains at Faras in Lower Nubia. At Faras and at 'Abd al-Qādir he also made the first important discoveries of medieval Nubian wall paintings. This work produced "Oxford Excavations in Nubia" (*University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 13, 1926, pp. 50–93; 14, 1927, pp. 57–116; and 15, 1928, pp. 63–82) and "Christian Documents from Nubia" (*Proceedings of the British Academy* 14, 1928, pp. 117–46). Griffith was, in addition, one of the first students of the Old Nubian language, publishing a translation and commentary on three documents that he found in the British Museum and in the Royal Library in Berlin as *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1913, Philosophisch-historische Classe 8, Berlin, 1913).

Griffith was also a pioneer in the study of the Meroitic language and culture of the pre-Christian Sudan. He excavated a number of important Meroitic sites, chiefly at Faras, and published many articles on the Meroitic language.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

GROFF, WILLIAM N. (1857–1901), American Egyptologist. He studied Egyptology in Paris under G. MASPERO in 1878. He lived in Cairo from 1891 to 1899. A number of his published articles were later collected and edited by Maspero, with a biographical notice by his sister, Florence Groff.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

GROHMANN, ADOLF (1887–1977), Austrian Semitic scholar and philologist. In Vienna he studied Semitic philology and Egyptology. He took instruction in old South Arabic and Arabic papyrology from D. H. von Müller and J. von Karabacek. After his habilitation at Vienna in 1915, he became an editor of the texts in the Erzherzog Rainer Collection. He was professor of Semitic languages at the German University of Prague from 1921 to 1945 and at Innsbruck from 1949 to 1956. He was also professor of Muslim history and archaeology at the

University of Cairo from 1949 to 1956. His expansive editions of Arabic papyri in Vienna, Cairo, and Giessen, along with his works on Arabic paleography, are his primary contributions to scholarship. As regards Coptology, his work on SHENUTE is worthy of mention. His major works include "Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenutes von Atripe" (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 67, 1913, pp. 187–267, and 68, 1914, pp. 1–46); *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit,* with F. Bilabel (Heidelberg, 1934); *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* (Prague, 1954); *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten* (Vienna, 1959); *Arabische Chronologie, Arabische Papyruskunde* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband 2,* Leiden, 1966, pp. 63–90).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

GUARDIAN ANGEL, angel assigned to worship, glorify, and extol God continuously, and also to minister to saints and to protect, watch over, and intercede on behalf of people. As God's invisible creatures and messengers, guardian angels are called upon to carry the souls of the dead, to fight against the powers of Satan, and to accomplish various other errands, as we learn from innumerable instances in the Scriptures. We shall single out a few examples.

The belief that angels guard human beings seems to have been known to the Israelites. While blessing the two sons of Joseph, Jacob said, "The angel who has redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads" (Gn. 48:16). Also the Psalmist says, "The angel of the Lord encamps around those who fear him, and delivers them" (Ps. 34:7). In Ecclesiastes, Solomon says, "Let not your mouth lead you into sin, and do not say before the messenger that it was a mistake" (Eccl. 5:6). It was also a common belief among the ancient Greeks.

Jesus Christ confirmed the idea of the guardianship of angels in the case of children. "See that you do not despise one of these little ones; for I tell you that in heaven their angels always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven" (Mt. 18:10). Likewise, when Peter was released from prison, and knocked at the door of the house where the disciples were meeting, Rhoda, the maid who answered the door, announced the news to them. "You are mad," they told her; but she insisted that it was so. Then they said, "It is his angel" (Acts 12:15).

Many of the early fathers of the church spoke of the guardian angels, for example, (Pseudo) Clement in *Recognitions* (2.42, 1951, pp. 108–9) and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 7, 1956, p. 533). Previously HERMAS (c. 140) had indicated in *The Shepherd* that every human being is entrusted to an angel to protect him (Hermas, *Mandates* 6.2, 1934, 1–3). The subject was also discussed by medieval theologians, like Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274). The latter maintained that guardian angels belonged to the lowest order of angels, while Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308) held the belief that the task of guardianship could be carried out by any angel, regardless of rank (1975, pars. 9.1–53). Others went beyond this and were of the opinion that guardian angels were among the cherubim and the seraphim who witness the majesty of God all the time; hence the words of Christ referred to earlier.

Not only individuals but also whole countries and nations enjoy the protection of angels (cf. Ex. 14:19; Jos. 5:13, 14; and Dn. 10:12,13). So do churches, which are the houses of God. The Coptic church believes in the particular guardianship of a certain angel to the oblations offered in the liturgy. Accordingly, the last words said after washing the vessels and while sprinkling a little water on the altar are, "O angel of this oblation ascending unto the Highest with our praise: remember us in the presence of the Lord, that He may forgive us our sins."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

GUIDI, IGNAZIO, Italian Orientalist, born at Rome in 1844; died there in 1935. He worked first

in the Vatican Museums, and from 1876 he taught Hebrew and Semitic languages at the University of Rome. He published texts and monographs relating to the Arabo-Islamic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Hebrew literatures. His main contributions to Coptic studies are the following: "Frammenti copti," *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei* IV, 3.1 (1887):47–63, 3.2 (1887):19–35, 65–81, 177–190, 251–270, 368–384, 4.1 (1888):60–70; "Gli Atti Apocrifi degli Apostoli nei testi copti arabi ed etiopici," *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* **2** (1888):1–66; "Di alcune pergamene saidiche della collezione Borgiana," *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei* V 2 (1893):513–30; "Il testo copto del Testamento di Abramo," *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei*, V, 9 (1900):157–80; "Il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe," ibid., pp. 223–64; "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scete (VI siècle): III. Texte copte publié et traduit," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 5 (1900):535–64, 6 (1901):51–53.

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TITO ORLANDI

GUIMET, EMILE ETIENNE (1836–1918), French industrialist. Born in Lyons, he succeeded his father in the direction of his factory at Fleurien-sur-Saône. In 1879, he founded the Archaeological and Anthropological Museum at Lyons, which was handed over to the French government and transferred to Paris in 1885. Its contents are mainly from the Far East, with a fair amount of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian antiquities. It sponsored a fine series of publications, including a number on Egyptology and Coptology.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

H

HAASE, FELIX (1882–19??), German Catholic theologian. He was professor of middle and late church history at Breslau. He also worked on Coptic sources. His important works include "Zur Rekonstruktion des Bartholomäus-Evangeliums" (*Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 16, 1915, pp. 93–112); *Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur orientalisch-apokryphen Evangelienliteratur* (Leipzig, 1913); *Patriarch Dioskur I von Alexandria: Nach monophysitischen Quellen* (Breslau, 1909); *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach orientalischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1925); and *Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicäa* (Paderborn, 1920).

MARTIN KRAUSE

ḤABĪB JIRJIS (1876–1951), Coptic theologian. He was born at Azbakiyyah, Cairo, and joined the Coptic School at Ḥārit al-Saqqayīn. He was one of the earliest students enrolled in the CLERICAL COLLEGE after its inception in 1892. He graduated in 1898, became a teacher of theology at the College, and then dean in 1918.

He became an outstanding preacher and played a key role in the organization of the Sunday School movement. Until his death he acted as adviser to various patriarchs, particularly CYRIL V. He was the author of many compilations and meditations on the church service, and wrote hymns, books for children, and prayers suitable for all occasions. He founded the weekly periodical *al-Karmah* (1906–1923), which served as a channel for his teachings.

Because of his scholarship, his experience as archdeacon, and his long service as a member of the COMMUNITY COUNCIL, Cyril V invited Ḥabīb Jirjis to attend the Holy Synod sessions. All these factors helped to inspire his book, *al-Iṣlaḥāt al'Amaliyyah lil-Kanīsah al-Urthūdhuksiyyah* (Practical Reforms in the Orthodox Church). He succeeded in introducing the study of the Christian religion to Coptic students in government schools, and wrote a two-volume manual as a teacher's guidebook. He also was instrumental in persuading Cyril V to issue a special directive to metropolitans to limit the ordination of priests in their dioceses to graduates of the Clerical College.

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SULAYMĀN NĀSĪM

HADES, according to Orthodox teaching, the resting place for the souls of all those who died prior to Christ's redemption of humanity, where righteous and unrighteous alike awaited His resurrection and the Last Judgment. At the death of Christ, He descended into Hades to release the souls of the righteous and transfer them to paradise. Since then, the souls of the unrighteous alone have been restricted to Hades.

The Coptic church also teaches that there is only one final judgment on mankind, which will take place after the resurrection of the dead, to the exclusion of any immediate stage or so-called "particular" judgment. The souls of all the departed are

kept in waiting—the pious in paradise and the sinful in Hades. It is only after the Last Judgment that the former go to heaven and the latter to hell. Evidence of this is provided by the two following texts, the first applying to the unrighteous and the second to the righteous:

> Then the Lord knows how to rescue the godly from trial, and to keep the unrighteous under punishment until the day of judgment.
>
> (2 Pt. 2:9)

> When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne; they cried aloud with a loud voice, "O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before thou wilt judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth?" Then they were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number of their fellow servants and their brethren should be complete, who were to be killed as they themselves had been.
>
> (Rev. 6:9–11)

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HADRĀ OF ASWAN, SAINT, fifth-century hermit who became a bishop (feast day: 12 Kiyahk). Hadrā was the son of Christian parents, who brought him up in the fear of God. When he reached the age of eighteen, they married him to a young girl of their kindred. He decided to remain virgin. The day after his marriage after going early to the church, he met a funeral procession and said to himself, "O Hadrā, it is not this man who is dead today, but you." He did not return home, but joined the cortege that was conveying the deceased to the monastery, where he asked to be admitted. His parents and friends tried to persuade him not to forsake his wife, but he refused to return to the world. The SYNAXARION states precisely that Hadrā lived in the time of Saint Bīman (no doubt POEMEN), whose disciple he became. After eight years spent with him, he asked to live as a hermit in the desert. He lived in a cave and applied himself to the study of the life of Saint ANTONY. At the end of some time, he went off and lived as a recluse in a cell, the door of which was shut. The Synaxarion speaks of his miracles, and in particular of those people, possessed by demons in the first days of the crescent moon, whom he delivered; and the sick whom he cured, thanks to the oil blessed by him. Syrians consulted him on obscure points of scripture; the saint gave them explanations they had not obtained from numerous doctors and philosophers. When the bishop of Aswan died, the inhabitants and the neighboring monks took hold of Hadrā, opening his cell by force. They brought him to Alexandria, where he was consecrated by the patriarch THEOPHILUS (385–412).

Hadrā was an exemplary bishop, and at his death the angels accompanied his spirit. The present-day Monastery of Saint Symeon is in fact DAYR ANBĀ HADRĀ.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HADRĀ OF BENHADAB, SAINT, the first monk of the mountain of Benhadab, who effected many miraculous cures (feast day: 3 Amshīr). At this period, Benhadab, north of Luxor on the left bank of the Nile, was an arid and uncultivated desert, reserved for cemeteries. Another monk, perfect in virtue but simple, did not believe in the resurrection of the body; his name was Yahūdā. When he came to Anbā Hadrā, the latter asked him if he thought that the bones that lay in the vicinity could return to life again. Anbā Yahūdā answered, "You know better than I, Father." Understanding that doubt on this subject had insinuated itself into his heart, Anbā Hadrā placed his apron on one of the corpses and went back into his cell with Anbā Yahūdā. He pretended to have forgotten his apron, and sent Anbā Yahūdā to find it for him. Yahūdā then saw the dead man covered by the apron extend a hand to Yahūdā. He let out a great cry that brought Anbā Hadrā, who reproached him for lack of faith in the miracle he had seen, and confirmed him in the faith in Jesus Christ's pledge of the resurrection.

Anbā Yahūdā supervised the building of monas-

teries, and himself established two; Dayr Hamyūr is situated on the bank of the river, the monastery of Dandarah is located near that town. Pagans lived in a village not far from his monastery. One night they observed a great flame rising from the desert. They wished to go and see, but could not enter the monastery, since they were pinned to the spot. They implored the saint to deliver them. He did, and they went off praising God.

Toward the end of his life, Hadrā suffered violent headaches, but he did not relax his asceticism and his devotion. His cures were many, and he was as patient as Job.

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HAGIOGRAPHY, COPTIC. The discipline of hagiography originated in the activity of the Society of Bollandists, the group of Jesuit scholars who in the seventeenth century began work on the *Acta Sanctorum* (a compilation of literature pertaining to the saints included in the calendar of the Roman Catholic church). By extension, hagiography may be the study of literature relative to the characters venerated in any church. In this article we delineate the development of Coptic literature about the saints mentioned in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION and other saints to whom a day has been dedicated. Information on individual saints and the texts that mention them will be found in separate articles under each saint's name. The individual articles should be viewed in the perspective presented here.

Scholarship

The study of Coptic hagiography (Baumeister, 1972, pp. 27–30), or hagiology, began with E. C. Amélineau's *Actes des martyrs de l'église copte* (1890), which was based on the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion. He was determined above all to identify the localities in which the martyrdom of the individual saints occurred. However, as an expert on hagiography in the Coptic language, he recognized the standardized production of a good number of Passions, going back to the work of a literary school of the seventh and eighth centuries that devised a number of legendary CYCLES.

E. Galtier (1905) and E. O. Winstedt (1910) probed more deeply the texts in the Cycle of Basilides the General (see below), highlighting some of the major characteristics but without understanding the historical and literary context.

Delehaye. The fundamental work of Coptic hagiology (even if limited only to the martyrs) was H. Delehaye's "Les Martyrs d'Egypte," published in 1922. It first traces a history of the persecution in Egypt and of the development of the cult of the martyrs; then it analyzes the *Martirologium Hieronynianum*, the Greek Synaxarion, and the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion. The texts of the Passions in Greek, in Latin, and in Coptic are analyzed in the main chapter. Delehaye's main objective was historical, that of establishing within the limits of possibility the historicity of the saints in question and the originality of their Passions. Given this goal, one can comprehend the resigned or indignant tone with which Delehaye treats many of these texts, especially the Coptic ones. To this judgment T. Baumeister attributes, for good reason, the small interest drawn by an edition of the Coptic Passions published by I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat in 1908 (Acta Martyrum, 1955). Nevertheless, Delehaye must be given credit for having established some firm points for literary history. He recognized that the Coptic hagiographic texts were strictly dependent on the Greek ones, not only as a result of translation but also in their inspiring principles. According to the canons of a literary genre popular in the fourth century, Delehaye in *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1966) had distinguished in Greek hagiography the Passions based on original accounts, often modified but not distorted, from those simply constructed from a name or at most recollections of hardly reliable sources. Alexandria seems to have been the main center of this literature and Alexandrian influence remains vivid in its development.

Therefore the Passions of the epic genre, or the epic Passions, as Delehaye called them, were widespread in Egypt (coming directly from Alexandria) before the consolidation and diffusion of the nonbiblical literature in the Coptic language in the fifth century. The epic Passions are distinguished by their stereotyped construction built around characters or events in a certain predetermined way, which repeats itself almost identically in all the texts, except for changes in names or circumstances. Such features, in brief, include the character of the emperor and his edict of persecution; the judge, generally a prefect whose behavior is always the same, going from threats to flattery to cruelty; the long altercations between the judge and the martyr; the atrocious torture; the visions that comfort the martyr; and the miracles, which nevertheless do not alter the persecutor's verdict.

This Egyptian school of Greek language dedicated

itself to the composition not only of the Passions of the Egyptian martyrs but also of foreign martyrs who enjoyed some popularity in Egypt (Delehaye, 1922, pp. 152–53). In *Les martyrs d'Egypte*, Delehaye does not specify the period in which this work was accomplished, at least in its major portion, though he proposes the fourth century. He also sees the work of the Coptic schools as a natural continuation of the Greek school.

O'Leary and Baumeister. In 1937 a very useful listing was published by De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt*, in which he summarized the texts included in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion for each saint. He also made references in his work to the related texts known in Coptic. He arranged the saints in alphabetical order and preceded the work by a brief introduction concerning the martyrs and the lives of monks. O'Leary relied heavily on Delehaye's publications in outlining the development of the cult of the martyrs and the activity of the hagiographic schools in forming the Passion cycles. However, he took the opportunity to underline the ritual, and especially the geographic, continuity of the cult of the saints with pre-Christian customs (which were later continued in customs of the Arab period). Moreover, he expressed more clearly that most Passions of the Diocletianic martyrs were written in the same period by the same authors. Though this authorship appears to reduce the historical veracity of these accounts, it remains a good starting point for further investigation of the latest revisions of the texts.

To thoroughly examine, verify, and correct the analysis of Delehaye, two issues must be reconsidered: the specific literary question (especially of literature in the Coptic language) and the tradition of the Egyptian mentality. This is what T. Baumeister proposed in a book destined to become fundamental to the comprehension of Delehaye's work.

In his *Martyr invictus* (1972), Baumeister took up some of the ideas previously expounded by S. Morenz (1953, pp. 250–55). Baumeister described what he called *"koptischer Konsens,"* namely, the repetition through uniform events of the theme of the "indestructible life," which is unfolded in a great number of Coptic Passions. Apart from references to or derivations from previous Greek texts, this can be considered typically Egyptian. Baumeister avoided chronological questions, but it is possible to add that those Passions belong to a period later than the Greek passions, though they represent their continuation in a Coptic environment.

In order to trace the development of Coptic hagiography within the limits of current knowledge (there is still a great deal to accomplish in this area), two questions are especially important. First, it must be discovered if, even accepting the main results of Delehaye and Baumeister, it is possible to draw from the texts any further elements that illuminate the historical development of Coptic hagiographic schools. Second, scholars must take into account, together with the texts of the Passions considered by Delehaye and Baumeister, texts of the lives of other saints (especially monks) that also belong to Coptic hagiography.

According to Delehaye, whose position is to be accepted, Coptic hagiography was born as a tributary of Greek hagiography, especially the Alexandrian texts and later the Egyptian ones. This places the production of the Passions, including the epic and nonepic ones, and also some lives of monks and other material, around the fourth century. Their translation into Coptic followed soon after. From this, one may deduce that a work begun in the Coptic language would comprise rewritings or insertions in the older texts. But the position of Baumeister also is to be accepted. According to him, some Passions, though inspired by the Greek epic genre, were also influenced by typically Egyptian conceptions. This situation is also true of other original texts produced in the Coptic language in a later period.

Neither author, however, considered how these texts retained the aspect of the Cycles. The authors of the texts did not confine themselves to narrating specific events or the activities of specific saints; they also drew on the traditions of their literary genre as well as the mentality that produced it. Even if imaginary, these productions had to maintain a certain coherence to be so widely accepted, even apart from the events of ecclesiastical politics within Egypt and elsewhere.

Encomium of Claudius. It is these two last elements—literary genre and Egyptian mentality—that should provide some further historical data and some point of reference that will allow us to define the phases of Coptic hagiography. Fortunately we possess an *Encomium of Claudius* certainly written by CONSTANTINE, bishop of Asyūṭ, who is known to have lived in the second half of the sixth century. Claudius is known from other sources as one of the principal Diocletianic martyrs in the epic Passions and is also connected in some way to the Cycle of Basilides. In fact Constantine, too, places him in this context. He narrates the beginning of the persecution and also traces it back to its ante-

cedent events. After mentioning persecution by the emperor DECIUS, he cites a period of religious peace under Carus, and then under Carinus and Numerianus. After Numerianus, father of Claudius, was murdered, Diocletian ascended the throne on his return from Egypt. According to Constantine, Claudius saved Diocletian on the occasion of various wars against Persians and Armenians. Finally, Diocletian being troubled by the devil, Claudius was exiled to Egypt and there killed.

In this text there are several distinctive elements characteristic of the Basilides Cycle: the city of Antioch as a main theater of action; Egypt as the final place of martyrdom; the emperors in between Decius and Diocletian; the characters of Romanus and his son, Victor, Soterichus, and others mentioned; the character of PSOTE OF PSOI, who later on became very important; even the apparition of a "protomartyr" without any influence in the rest of the action (Horn, 1982).

But there is an absence of other important elements in the Cycle: the legend of Diocletian and Agrippida; the character of Basilides, otherwise essential; and the characters (less relevant but often present) of Theodore the Anatolian and Theodore the General.

It would seem that this legend contains the elements of its later development. Given what is known of Constantine, one can draw from his narrative some conclusions both literary and ecclesiastical. In this effort an *Encomium of Leontius of Tripoli* written by SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH is helpful. In it the character of the Greek epic Passion, originally placed in the time of Vespasian in the first century, was transported into the period of Diocletian, the late third century, and completely reinvented. This change helps clarify the meaning given to the character of Diocletian as a prototype of the wicked emperor who deviates from orthodoxy and to the character of "his" martyrs, who become at once the representatives of the fight against religious enemies and also against the imperial power.

The hagiographic work of the Coptic school followed this trend, adding elements specific to Egyptian literary taste and meanings more or less hidden in relation to political events. In fact, after the second half of the seventh century the war against the Chalcedonians was succeeded by the harsh fight against the Islamic conquerors. Once again religious and political motives were mixed, and the stories of the martyrs could rekindle feelings about historic events of a later period.

It is unnecessary here to enter into details of this trend, since it will be discussed below when the path of Coptic hagiography is reconstructed. It is convenient here to mention, as a point of reference, another text to be placed in the period between Severus and Constantine, which, because of its theological-literary character, became part of the homily (*In Petrum et Demetrium*) attributed to the nonexistent FLAVIAN. It narrates the history of a woman named Martyria, who is persecuted by Diocletian and who, with two children, escapes by sea to Alexandria, where she is protected by a certain Peter. She will not appear again in the Passions of the Basilides Cycle, in which her husband, Socrator, appears as a brother of Basilides. All this confirms that the "standard" texts of the Basilides Cycle are a reorganization and rearrangement of a more disorderly set of materials probably going back to the fifth century.

Literary Development

Writing about Coptic saints extends from the fourth century to the ninth.

Fourth and Fifth Centuries. Because Coptic hagiography started with translations from Greek, a study must first take into account the material from which the Copts had to choose, that is, the production of the Egyptian hagiographic schools. These schools had disseminated some texts that are considered the direct result of official actions, for example, the *Passion of Phileas of Thmui* (for which, however, no Coptic version is known), the *Passion of Colluthus*, and others that do not belong to the epic genre, for example, the *Passion of Peter of Alexandria* and the *Passion of Psote of Ptolemais* (Psoi).

The Greek schools later invented and increasingly (it can be reasonably assumed) perfected and standardized the epic genre, within which, however, there was already a tendency toward the creation of Cycles. One very early Cycle was constructed around the Roman perfect Saint ARIANUS. Even though this character (certainly historic) is the persecutor in many Passions, there are others that are connected and that make up a rather continuous history. In these Passions, Arianus is converted and also becomes a martyr. They are the Passions of APOLLONIUS AND PHILEMON, ASCLA, and Arianus. Another Cycle, which does not belong to the persecution of Diocletian but to a later date, is that of the martyrs under Julian, evidently conceived after the coming of JULIAN the Apostate in 362, and connected also to the rise of the legend of the birth of the

emperor Constantine and of the discovery of the cross. Mention may be made of the Passions of JUDAS CYRIACUS and of EUSIGNIUS, besides the miracle described in the Passion of MERCURIUS OF CAESAREA. There were also those that may be described as classical epic Passions, which were built around saints of various provenance, each with his own peculiarities: EPIMACHUS OF PELUSIUM, MENAS, JAMES INTERCISUS the Persian, LEONTIUS OF TRIPOLI, Mercurius, PANTALEON, EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH, Cyrus and John, PHILOTHEUS OF ANTIOCH, and the forty martyrs of Sebaste. Some of these are witnessed only in the Coptic texts and they probably had typical Egyptian connotations of a strictly internal nature, for example, those of JOORE of Jinjeb, of HERAI of Tammah, and of DIOS. The Passions of the martyr-monks deserve special consideration. They also derive from the epic genre; the monastic environment had a determining influence on them, so that they can be considered evidence of an epic hagiographic school in the monastic environment. They are the Passions of Paphnutius (maybe the first and the most important and widely witnessed personality), of PAMIN, of Pamun and Sarmata, and of PANINE AND PANEU.

In this same period, between the fourth and sixth centuries, other hagiographic texts were produced that the Copts would later accept and that became an integral part of more general patristic literature: the *Life of Antony* by Saint ATHANASIUS I, patriarch of Alexandria, the *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus* by Saint GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, the *Lives of Paul and of Hilarion* by Saint JEROME, the *Life of Epiphanius of Salamis* by Polybius, and the *Life of Simeon Stylite* by Antony. To these texts can be added the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM and, of exclusively Egyptian interest, the *Life of Phib* (Apollo) by Papohe and the anonymous *Life of Aphu*, bishop of Oxyrhynchus (Pemge).

The work of the Coptic hagiographic school dates to this period, as far as can be judged. As indicated above, those chosen texts and their translations from Greek originals in the Coptic manuscripts may have undergone a certain amount of reediting in the course of their transmission into Coptic.

Fifth and Sixth Centuries. In the meantime, literary activity in the Coptic language was growing and spreading, mainly due to Saint SHENUTE. At the climax of this progress came the Chalcedonian crisis (451), which severed the Coptic literary tradition from the international Greek literary tradition, an event that had consequences for hagiography as well.

The Lives of monks were modeled on the earlier examples of Lives (that is, the Life of Antony or of Saint PACHOMIUS), as well as on the *Apophthegmata* and the famous *Life of Shenute* (written by BESA probably around 460, in territory where the anti-Chalcedonian controversy had not yet arisen), and most of all on the Lives of the monks written in an anti-Chalcedonian vein: MANASSEH, LONGINUS OF ENATON, MATTHEW THE POOR, ABRAHAM, and Apollo. Later there was the *Life of Ṣamū'īl* of Qalamūn by Isaac Presbyter, in the eighth century. It is difficult to establish whether these texts had originally been written in Greek or Coptic, with the exception of the Life of Shenute, which was certainly written in Coptic. However, none of the other texts has come down in Greek. Nevertheless, the possibility of a lost Greek original cannot be excluded, for during this period Greek was still the predominant literary language of Egypt. Stylistic discrimination does not help in clarifying either Greek or Coptic origin, because the authors, it may be assumed, were bilingual.

It is probable that the period after Chalcedon saw the flowering of the redaction of the Coptic Passions following the forms that Baumeister calls *koptischer Konsens*. This supposition derives from the fact that in such Passions the Egyptian tradition predominated over the international Greek (including Alexandrian) that had given rise to the epic Passions. Moreover, the martyrs in question were all Egyptian. But it is essential to note that the composition of such Passions probably lasted until the later periods (probably the eighth century), when they became intertwined with the true cyclic Passions (Cycle of Basilides, Cycle of Julius of Aqfahṣ), which should be considered by themselves. To this period can also be attributed the transposition into the Egyptian style of some Passions of famous foreign saints—for example George, Victor, and Theodorus Stratelates—with the complete recasting of the text.

All this work possessed not only literary motivation (which has been emphasized) but also local ecclesiastic and political elements. It is reasonable to suppose that various Egyptian centers wanted to adorn themselves with famous martyrs to whom they could dedicate sanctuaries and pilgrimages and that they must have tried to furnish these martyrs with adequate literary witnesses. From the political point of view, the continuous argument in these texts against the imperial power was also due to the conflict between the anti-Chalcedonian Egyptian church and the Byzantine Empire.

Sixth to Eighth Centuries. It was in these circumstances that, toward the end of the sixth century, legends were born that were destined to enjoy great popularity in successive decades. They also served to unite the numerous Passions into a closely knit collection that focused on recurring personalities. The *Encomium of Claudius* by Constantine of Asyūṭ bears witness to the development of that stage. On the basis of this document as well as the internal evidence of each Passion, one can attempt to place these texts in the long historical framework in which the legends evolved from the end of the seventh century to the eighth. The main indication for fixing the chronology of these texts is not so much the legends and their characters as the way in which all this material is treated in each text.

If, for example, one considers the *Passion of Victor* (Budge, 1914), one can see that the Antiochene legend that developed around Basilides is briefly mentioned. Here Basilides is divided, on the one hand, as a martyr along with his family and, on the other, as an unconverted prince. The text itself consists of four martyrdoms, well numbered and distinct in the same codex. It is probable that this is an example of the *koptischer Konsens* prior to the development of the true cycles and relative to a character through whom the authors intended to establish a privileged relationship between Antioch and Egypt. Victor the Antiochene, martyred in Egypt, as well as Claudius and others, was later slightly readapted after the formation of the legend of Basilides.

A contrary example is provided by the *Encomium of Theodore the Anatolian*, attributed to Theodore, bishop of Antioch. Here the martyrdom is hardly mentioned at the end, while the text consists almost exclusively of an ample report of one of the Antiochene legends. It is strictly related to the one in the homily by Constantine of Asyūṭ, even if it encompasses a wider development. Basilides is not in it, and Romanus is introduced but not his son, Victor. The legend of Diocletian and Agrippida is given remarkable prominence in this story. Evidently the Encomium was written to bring up to date the Passion, which was supposed to be read immediately after it. One should take into consideration that the existing copy of the Passion (cf. Hyvernat, 1886, Vol. 1, pp. 34ff.) is the union of two parts, the first added later and the second (recognizable because it starts with a new prologue) briefly mentioning the Antiochene legend in an embryonic form and then consisting of the true Passion, of the pure *koptischer Konsens* type.

The *Passion of Eusebius* is a beautiful example of composite redaction, including a long report on the legend of Basilides together with the martyrdom, in the style and mentality of the *koptischer Konsens*. Yet it is to be noted that the legend of Diocletian and Agrippida is implied and that it has a small part in this scene. Romanus and Victor are given a very important part, while Claudius becomes a nephew of Basilides with very little importance; none of the Theodores is mentioned.

These elements, and more subjective ones, which would be too long to discuss at this point, illustrate the subdivision of the legends in different and substantially separate groups. These were variously treated and mixed in the existing texts. In fact, one can distinguish the legend of Claudius and Victor, connected mainly with the pretended Egyptian origin of Diocletian (Diocletian and Agrippida), that is, with the imperial succession of Decius-Carus-Carinus-Numerianus-Diocletian, and with the Persian wars. A legend of Basilides, which at the beginning appears extremely familiar, is soon joined to the legends of Diocletian and Agrippida and of the wars with the Persians (or other "barbarians"). A legend of Theodore is born from the importance of a purely epic text concerning Theodore, the general, and later variously intertwined with the Antiochene legend, especially with that of Claudius and Victor.

To these legends must be added that of Julius of Aqfahṣ, a character probably emerging in a more ancient period; this legend has now unfolded into a true cycle.

It seems that within this framework of different elements of religious mentality—both political-ecclesiastical and literary—each legend found adequate expression in the complexity of its varied connections and their development in time. In the post-Chalcedonian period, the type of epic passion of the Greek international literary school was exploited for the creation of characters—that is, of martyrs—that could be spread in an anti-Chalcedonian environment, with an implied argument against the official Byzantine regime, and in certain cases giving prominence to a privileged agreement between Alexandria and Antioch. From a literary point of view, the epic genre was elaborated and modified by the more intimately Egyptian theme of the *koptischer Konsens*.

Eighth and Ninth Centuries. New elements were accentuated in the eighth and ninth centuries. One was ecclesiastical politics through the development of the Antiochene legend, always more com-

plex and at the same time more standardized than earlier versions. Another element was the formation of literary Cycles around characters who tended to be more strictly connected to one another through family relations or increasingly fantastic and romantic events. The motif of religious controversy was accentuated as a means of protest against the dominant Arab political power, which overwhelmed Christian orthodoxy.

All this was achieved (especially at the beginning) either through the complete rewriting of the texts or through combining previously independent texts or (especially toward the end) through the interpolation of passages in texts already sufficiently oriented in the desired direction. Documentation consists mainly of manuscripts of the ninth to the eleventh century. However, they contain texts that were edited throughout the whole period under consideration. For this reason it is not possible (save in exceptional cases) to attribute a specific Passion to a certain stage of this development.

The Cycles. In conclusion, a more precise picture of the period can be given by listing the Passions considered to be linked more closely in different legendary Cycles, although one should be aware of the risks associated with such lists.

First are the Passions of the ancient Antiochene Cycle, which served as a prelude to the formation of other Cycles (those of the Theodores and of Basilides), though it never coincided with them. To this Cycle belong the Passions of Claudius and of Victor; the most recent editing of the Passions of Psote; and the Passions of COSMAS AND DAMIAN, EPIMA (not to be confused with Epimachus of Pelusium), and possibly that of Isidore.

Next are the Passions of the Cycle of the Theodores: the Passions of Theodore the Anatolian as well as those of ANATOLIUS, his father or uncle; that of Theodore the General (who was probably attached to the Cycle purely because of his name); and that of Elia (who appears in a much later period).

The Passions of the Cycle of Basilides include the Passions of EUSEBIUS, of TER AND ERAI, of Basilides himself, of MACARIUS (in second redaction), of JUSTUS, and of APOLL. BESAMON, mentioned only in fragments, formed part of a Passion of this Cycle that treats of a different martyr, unknown today.

The Passions linked to the Cycle of Julius of Aqfahṣ are those of Anub, Ari, Didius, Heraclides, John and Simon, Kiamul, Macarius (in first redactions), Macrobius, Nahrow, Nilus and Sarapion, Paese and Tecla, Panesneu, and Shenufe.

In addition, there are several late and genuinely Egyptian Passions, written according to the *koptischer Konsens*, which are not included in the Cycles. They are the Passions of Philotheus, Isaac of Tiphre, Iule and Ptolemy, Lacaron, Pekosh, Pirow and Athon, Pisura, Sarapamon of Scetis, Sarapion, Til, and Timotheus.

The latest Coptic hagiographic production under Arabic domination is the *Passion of John of Phanijoit*, martyred by the Arabs.

Encomia and Miracles. The whole development of hagiographic production, from the fifth to the eighth century, was accompanied by the production of Encomia, or Homilies, dedicated to individual saints. This production also, in Coptic literature, began with the translation of the texts of the great fathers of the fourth century, which later gave way to the production of original texts in the Coptic language.

Indeed, the genre of the Encomium appeared among the most neglected by the translators. However, there are some examples, such as the Encomia of the Patriarch Joseph and Susanna by Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and those of Athanasius and Basilius by Gregory of Nazianzus. They illustrate that this genre was also part of Coptic hagiography and provided models for later productions.

The most important period for the growth of Encomia among the Copts appears to be the post-Chalcedonian one, especially with Severus of Antioch; three of his Encomia were translated (probably very early): those for Romanus, for Leontius, and for Claudius. Following these examples, as well as the Lives of anti-Chalcedonian monks, were later Encomia, especially those of Matthew the Poor, attributed to his disciple Serapion, an anonymous one of Moses of Keft, two anonymous ones of Abraham of Pbow, one of Longinus of Enaton, by Basilios of Oxyrhynchus, and one of Apollo by Stephen of Hnēs.

The encomia were usually divided into a prologue (which discussed the sanctuary dedicated to the saint or in more general terms his holy day), followed by the narration of his Passion or Life, an exhortatory section on moral subjects, and finally an epilogue. It was possible, however, that the Life and Passion were only alluded to on the understanding that they were read before and after the ceremony.

It is possible to distinguish the Encomia written at the end of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century, a period in which the authors were relatively free to express themselves personally, from those written subsequently, which had to

be attributed for political reasons to personalities who were completely invented but were presumed to have lived in the patristic period in the fourth and fifth centuries.

To the earlier period should be assigned the Encomia by Saint Pisentius, bishop of Coptos, on ONOPHRIUS, by Constantine of Asyūṭ on Claudius and George, by JOHN OF SHMŪN on Antony and Saint Mark I the Evangelist, by John of Alexandria on Menas, by Menas of Pshati on Macrobius, by Phoibammon of Shmin on Colluthus, by Isaac of Antinoopolis on Colluthus, and by Moses of Tkow on Olympius.

To the later, clandestine period should be assigned the works of authors whose names are preceded by "pseudo": Demetrius on Philotheus, Basilius on Mercurius, Theodore on the Theodores, Anastasius on Theodore the General, John Chrysostom on Victor, Theodosius of Jerusalem on George, Theodotus on George, and an anonymous author on Psote.

To this same period is to be assigned the redaction of the various Miracles attributed to the saints or martyrs, which became important hagiographical texts in themselves. The usual dossier of a saint in this period thus consisted of his Life or Passion, his Encomium, and his Miracles. The texts of the Miracles of some saints are preserved: Phoibammon (Pierpont Morgan Library, Coptic codices XLVI), Menas (attributed to Theophilus), Leontius (Paris, National Library, Copte 129.16. 28–35), Mercurius (attributed to Acacius), Victor (attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem), and Victor (attributed to Celestinus of Rome).

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TITO ORLANDI

HAILE SELASSIE I (Khāyla Śellāsē I, 1892–1975). Held to be the elect of God, he became "King of Kings" of Ethiopia in 1930 and was emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 until his death. He was the last sovereign of the Solomonic dynasty. His reign lasted forty-four years and stands out as an epoch in Ethiopian history during which the country underwent significant changes. Tafari, as he was originally named, was born of Rās Makonnen, a cousin of Menelik II, and a woman of a lower social status called Yashimmebet (Yaši Emma Bēt), who died in Harar shortly after her son's birth in July 1892.

He received his education first under an Ethiopian religious tutor and then under the French Lazarist missionaries in Harar. Later, he attended the Menelik II School in Addis Ababa, which was run by a Coptic teaching staff, who probably left an indelible impression on him, for he retained Coptic instructors and advisers throughout his reign. One was the famous professor MURAD KAMIL, who headed a group of Coptic educators in Ethiopia during the period of reconstruction following the liberation of the country in 1941. He had, however, to discontinue his education in order to govern districts in Harar, Shewa, and Sidamo, successively, before he was nominated by the rebelling notables in 1916 to

assist Empress Zawditu Menelik in the running of state affairs.

Upon her death in 1930, he succeeded to the imperial throne under the name of Haile Selassie I. At his grandiose coronation, the patriarch of Alexandria was represented by Archbishop Yūsāb, who later became patriarch. The sovereign's religious policy was predominantly liberal and tolerant toward other religions and denominations, priorities being naturally reserved for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, whose patron he was. His relations with the See of Alexandria were generally cordial, though occasionally strained. The problems emanated from two historical developments: the question of the rights of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, which had engaged the Copts since the mid nineteenth century, and the question of autonomy for the Ethiopian church, which was repeatedly raised for several centuries.

During his visit to Jerusalem in 1924, Rās Tafari had reviewed the question of the Ethiopian cloister (see DAYR AL-SULṬĀN) with the Coptic archbishop TIMOTHEOS, but as the matter remained inconclusive, the crown prince went to Egypt to discuss it with the aging Patriarch Cyril V. The patriarch received him with pleasure and held a special mass at the Cathedral of Saint Mark in his honor. The prince, in turn, presented the patriarch with a golden crown, a golden cross, a golden staff, a silk tunic embroidered with gold, and a cape. He also visited the tomb of Saint Mark and some Coptic Christian schools in which a few Ethiopian students were enrolled. The patriarch nonetheless referred the Ethiopian request to the Coptic synod, and the regent plenipotentiary had to leave for home without a definite answer. The problem remained unsolved, despite numerous subsequent negotiations and court proceedings in the 1960s, mainly because national feelings and political complications prevailed on all sides.

The second problem could, however, be solved in stages. In 1928, JOHN XIX became Coptic patriarch, and the Ethiopian ruler used the opportunity to take up the matter of appointing several Ethiopian bishops at the same time on grounds of the size of the Ethiopian empire and the prevailing difficulties of communication. The patriarch was more understanding than his predecessors and agreed to ordain a few dignitaries at once, provided that the *abun* remained a Copt. Consequently, Abuna Qērelos (Cyril) III was consecrated for Ethiopia, and four Ethiopian church scholars, who were nominated by the Ethiopian authorities, were ordained bishops in 1929. They were Abraham, Pētros, Yesḥaq, and Mikā'ēl. A fifth one, Sāwiros, who could not travel to Egypt on account of illness, was consecrated in Addis Ababa when the patriarch visited the Ethiopian capital in early 1930 (see ETHIOPIAN CHURCH AUTOCEPHALY).

The relations between the emperor and the metropolitan were cordial until the Fascist occupation of Ethiopia (1936–1941), when the dignitary was more or less forced to leave his diocese. The Italians wanted to separate the Ethiopian church from Alexandria so as to bring it under their full control, and Metropolitan Qērelos was summoned to Rome for consultations, after which he returned to Egypt. The Italians appointed an Ethiopian metropolitan who ordained some bishops. This Italian policy was condemned by the See of Saint Mark.

Upon his return from exile, Emperor Haile Selassie questioned the integrity of the Coptic metropolitan, who allegedly deserted his congregation at the time of distress, and he demanded that an Ethiopian be consecrated in his stead. After an extensive correspondence, exchanges of delegations, and lengthy consultations, it was agreed upon that Metropolitan Qērelos was to be reinstated and that upon his death he would be succeeded by an Ethiopian dignitary, an agreement that was accordingly realized in 1951. The sovereign nonetheless continued negotiations with the aim of making the two sister churches equal in hierarchical status, and in 1959 he succeeded when he reached an agreement through which the first Ethiopian patriarch could be installed. The aim of the emperor's policy was not the complete separation of the two churches, but rather the attainment of equality and close cooperation.

During his reign, more Ethiopian students than ever were sent to Egypt to study at Coptic institutions of learning, and the establishment of the first Ethiopian theological seminary was entrusted to the Copts. He aimed at fostering understanding and collaboration not only between the churches of Ethiopia and Egypt but also among all five Eastern sister churches, the heads of which met for the first time at a conference summoned by the emperor in 1965. He also created within the church's central administrative organ a foreign relations office to intensify the church's contacts with the outside world. His dethronement in September 1974 was followed by an abrupt separation of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church from the state with which it had been closely linked for about sixteen hundred years, and the church was suddenly left to look

after its affairs under difficult circumstances.

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BAIRU TAFLA

HAIL MARY, traditional prayer based upon the words of the Annunciation. The salutation by the archangel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary in announcing the divine conception of Jesus Christ was, "Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you!" To this is added the salutation of Elizabeth when the Virgin Mary visited her: "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb" (Lk. 1:42).

This salutation, however, is no ordinary greeting, as the original Greek term for "hail," *chaire*, etymologically denotes the impartation of glad tidings to be received with joy and jubilation. It is used in this sense in various places in the Old Testament: "Sing aloud, O daughter of Zion, . . . rejoice and exult with all your heart, O daughter of Jerusalem" (Zep. 3:14) and "Rejoice greatly O daughter of Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem! Lo, your king comes to you . . . riding on an ass, on a colt the foal of an ass" (Zec. 9:9).

The angelic salutation occurs frequently in the offices of Coptic worship, as in the canonical hours. After the TRISAGION and the Lord's Prayer and before reciting the creed, the Prayer of the First Hour continues: "Hail Mary, we beseech you, holy one, full of glory, ever-virgin, Mother of God, holy one, full of glory, may you lift up our prayers to your Beloved Son, that He may pardon us our sins. Hail, holy Virgin, who brought forth the True Light, Christ our Lord. . . . Hail, Virgin, true Queen. Hail, honor of our race, who gave birth to Emmanuel."

In the psalmody, a daily *theotokion* is devoted to ascribing praise to the Mother of God. Notable are the following:

1. for Sunday: "Hail to thee, Mary, the mother of Emmanuel. . . . Hail Mary, the *Theotokos*."
2. for Tuesday: "Hail to the *Theotokos*. . . . Hail to the Immaculate. . . . Hail to thee, who hast found grace. The Lord is with thee. Hail to thee who received from the angel the joy of the world. Hail to thee who gave birth to the Creator."
3. for Wednesday: "Great is the honor which befell thee, O Gabriel, who carried the good news and announced it to the Virgin Mary."
4. for Friday: "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is thy Fruit, O Mary, the *Theotokos*."

Similar verses of praise also form part of the *Lobsh* (the explanatory commentary included in the psalmody), the doxology that follows the Psalms of the morning prayer, and the psalmody of the Coptic month of Kiyahk.

In the morning and evening raising of incense, the incense of the Pauline epistle and the praxis reading, when the priest offers incense toward the north, he says, "With the Angel Gabriel we salute thee, saying, 'Hail to thee who art full of grace, the Lord is with thee.'"

Before the creed and the offertory, the people sing the Intercession to the *Theotokos*, the Queen.

After the reading of the *Catholicon*, known as the Catholic epistles, the congregation sings the hymn to Mary, which varies according to the time of the year, for example:

1. on the Feast of the Virgin Mary and certain other days: "Hail to thee, O Mary, the Graceful Dove, who gave birth to God the Logos."
2. on the Feast of the Annunciation: "Hail to thee, who hast found grace. The Lord is with thee. Hail to thee who received from the angel the joy of the World."
3. during the month of Kiyahk: "Hail Mary, divine peace be unto thee. Hail to thee, Mother of the Holy One."

An ostracon found in Luxor in Upper Egypt bears evidence that the angelic salutation was popular as a common devotional prayer in the sixth century (Leclerq, 1912).

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ḤĀJIR IDFŪ, an important but little-known site lying about 2.5 miles (4 km) west of Idfū. Its importance for Egyptology has already been shown (Gabra, 1977). Moreover, it is not without interest for Coptology. The provenance of many Coptic manuscripts in the British Library, whose colophons bear dates from 981 to 1005, is known to be Idfū (Orlandi, 1976). The texts of the colophons show that the documents are dedicated to different Christian institutions in the district of Idfū (Lantschoot, 1929). These include the monastery of Holy Mercurius, the *topos* (sacred place) of Mercurius, the church of Mercurius, the *topos* of Apa Aaron, and the *topos* of the archangel Michael. The term "the mountain of Edfu" occurs often in the colophons, denoting the place where these Christian institutions were located. The story of the discovery of the manuscripts recounted by a "bedouin" to Rustafjaell (Rustafjaell, 1910, pp. 3ff., esp. p. 5, pl. 1) is thus confirmed by the information given in the colophons of many texts. "The mountain of Edfu" could be no place but Ḥājir Idfū.

Currently, the remains of only one monastery are visible in Ḥājir Idfū, a cloister assigned to Pachomius perhaps in later times. In 1907, Rustafjaell visited the remains of this monastery and was impressed by its older ruins, which indicate that a monastery must have existed there very early and have been of considerable importance. In 1941 a number of Greek and Coptic ostraca were found near the ruins. In 1980–1981, the inspector of the antiquities of Idfū conducted an initial excavation at Ḥājir Idfū. More than 110 Coptic and a few Greek ostraca were found outside the ruins of the northern wall of the monastery. In addition, the lower parts of some buildings made of mud bricks were uncovered and studied.

Ḥājir Idfū is a very promising archaeological site, and further systematic scientific fieldwork is necessary. Such an effort will buttress what is known about monasticism as well as the history both of the episcopate of Idfū and of the Christian movement there.

[*See also:* Dayr Al-Malāk Mīkhā'īl (Idfū).]

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GAWDAT GABRA

ḤĀKIM BI-AMR-ILLĀH ABŪ 'ALĪ MANṢŪR, AL-. This son of Caliph al-'Azīz came to the throne on the last day of Ramaḍān 386/October 996. At first, one of his brothers, Muḥammad, had been chosen as heir, but he died before his father. Since the new caliph was so young (born in 986), the Berber Kutāmah chief, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ammār, acted as regent. But the Turks, who represented an equally strong section of the army, were dissatisfied with the preferment given to the Berbers. Hence fighting broke out between the different factions, which resulted in the removal of Ibn 'Ammār and his replacement by the Turk Barjawān in 997.

From the year 1000 onward, al-Ḥākim himself exercised power, inaugurating his government by killing Ibn 'Ammār and, a few months later, Barjawān. For the next twenty years, his immediate collaborators, outstanding personalities of the kingdom, and the Egyptian people in general were at the mercy of al-Ḥākim's changing moods. A series of orders and unexpected, often contradictory, prohibitions came from the palace and had to be carried out without delay or question. High officials, suddenly promoted in rank and loaded with honors

and gifts, were disgraced and beheaded a few weeks later. Here we can only give a brief list of these tyrannical measures, treating the caliph's behavior toward the Christians separately.

In 1004 came prohibition against eating certain green vegetables, such as *mulūkhiyyah* (because Caliph Mu'āwiya liked it); *jirjīr* or rocket salad (perhaps in memory of 'Ā'isha, the wife of the prophet Muḥammad); *mutawakkiliyyah* (because Caliph al-Mutawakkil was a Sunnī and al-Ḥākim was a Shiite Muslim); and fish without scales. It was likewise forbidden to drink *fuqqā'* (a drink made of barley that 'Alī detested). It was prohibited to go out after sunset. An order was given to kill all the dogs in Cairo. The traditional celebrations for the Feast of Sacrifices were forbidden. Mourning observed on the day of 'Āshūrā' was forbidden. It was also forbidden to kiss the ground or the caliph's hand, because this gesture implied *shirk* (blasphemy) and formed part of Byzantine ceremonial.

It was prohibited to practice astrology.

Some decisions were part of Fatimid propaganda, such as the multiplication of insulting inscriptions against the first caliphs inside and outside mosques and in other public places. Two years later al-Ḥākim put an end to this activity and supervised the suppression of these offensive posters himself.

It seems, however, that certain orders were not obeyed, or that they were carried out for short periods only, since they were often repeated. Examples are the prohibition for women to go out and the obligation to wear a *mi'zar* (wrapper) in public baths.

Such behavior sometimes produced tragicomic situations, but often real nightmares, and created around the caliph an atmosphere of terror mentioned by the historians. It is certain that the master with a single word exercised the power of life and death over his subjects. Although it is difficult to give the precise number of executions ordered by al-Ḥākim, it is possible to state that they were numerous. Historians have mentioned mainly those of important persons. For one year Maqrīzī has an incomplete list of twenty-four names and for the following year he speaks of the "execution of more than a hundred persons." Thus, most of the viziers and chief *qāḍīs* as well as a large number of other officials were assassinated. Others lost one hand or both hands, as happened to 'Alī al-Jarjarā'ī.

Besides his odd behavior, what were the outstanding events of the caliph's reign? Strange to say, al-Ḥākim's tyrannical rule does not seem to have been threatened seriously, except for the undertaking of the Andalusian prince al-Walīd ibn Hishām, called Abū Rakwah, who allied with the Zanāta and the Banū Qurrah of Barqah to attempt the conquest of Egypt. After threatening the population, he was finally overcome, taken prisoner and executed amidst popular rejoicing (1007). Likewise, the pretentions of the *Sharīf* of Mecca, al-Ḥasan ibn Ja'far, allied to the powerful tribe of the Banū al-Jarrāḥ, never endangered al-Ḥākim's authority.

From 1017 onward, an idea spread that the caliph was divine. This idea could have originated with al-Ḥākim himself or he could have left those who preached his divinity at liberty to do so. It is certain that several persons appeared in Cairo at this time announcing a new era, among them Ḥasan ibn Ḥaydarah al-Akhram, who was killed but was buried wrapped in the palace shroud. Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Darazī and Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī al-Zawzanī, whose conduct caused an insurrection in a district of Old Cairo and among the Turkish soldiers, managed to escape under al-Ḥākim's protection. Then the caliph took revenge by loosing his bodyguard on Old Cairo, where they looted, pillaged, and burned as they liked.

Al-Ḥākim's sister, Sitt al-Mulk, realized that her brother's excesses risked bringing the Fatimid family to ruin. Already disturbed by the naming of a distant cousin, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ilyās, as heir to the throne, she decided to take action when the caliph menaced her personally on the basis of suspicions about her private life. Sources here are contradictory, but it seems likely that Sitt al-Mulk conspired with the chief of the Kutāmah to bring about the murder of her brother. He disappeared during one of his customary night walks in the Muqaṭṭam hills in 1021.

It is not easy to understand al-Ḥākim's personality or to explain his behavior. It would be too simple to suppose he was insane. His varying moods, his change of tastes, sometimes for luxury and then for asceticism, his frequent night walks and his insomnia, all seem to point to a nervous temperament. Perhaps in his adolescence this had been exacerbated by the contemptuous way he was treated by his tutors, Ibn 'Ammār and above all Barjawān. Our sources for the study of this caliph are almost exclusively Sunnī or non-Muslim. Even these authors are often nuanced in their judgment of al-Ḥākim, noting his generosity, care for justice, disinterestedness, and the favorable way he received complaints. But these attitudes, worthy of a model monarch, were succeeded by fits of incomprehensible cruelty. Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' compares him to a "rearing

lion in search of a prey," echoing Ibn Ẓāfir's judgment that he "was in the midst of men like a savage lion." Ibn Ẓāfir also notes that "he was very careful to find out details on the life of each person: nothing that any of his servants or his subjects did, whether men or women, was ignored."

In his more anxious periods, al-Ḥākim had resorted to astrologers. It is well known that he favored certain extremists such as Ḥamza al-Zawzanī and Muḥammad al-Darazī, who openly preached his divinity. This attitude is not as novel as it would seem, since it was fully within the framework of the Ismailī doctrine professed by the Fatimids. In the Ismailī system, the imam is the incarnation of the universal intellect, which receives attributes that, in Sunnī Islam, are reserved to God alone; for the Ismailīs, however, God has no attributes. The first Fatimid caliph, 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdī, let the poet proclaim when speaking of the caliph's residence in Raqqādah, "There the divinity resides, decorated with his high attributes." And al-Mu'izz even accepted Ibn Hāni' al-Andalusī's bold verses, "Thou art the light and all other light is darkness . . . . What thou wilt happens . . . . Thou art the unique, the irresistible."

Without wishing to exculpate al-Ḥākim of his tragic and undeniable excesses, we have to recognize that hyperbole was common in the Fatimid entourage, which made its significance relative.

We have relatively precise information on the relationship between the caliph and the Christians, especially the Copts. In this matter we must distinguish different groups.

Palace officials and more or less close collaborators of the caliph. The chroniclers have recorded the names of a number of Copts who often held very important posts in the central administration, especially at the head of the divans. It is likely that there were many more, since the head of a divan tended to choose his subordinates and colleagues among his fellow religionists. These important functionaries do not seem to have been treated otherwise than their Muslim colleagues. They too had to put up with al-Ḥākim's moods. 'Īsā ibn Nasṭūrus, who had acted as vizier under al-'Azīz, continued for a few months under the new caliph, but he was removed from office and beheaded in 997. A few months later the post was given to another Christian, ABŪ AL-'ALĀ' FAHD IBN IBRĀHĪM, who died by assassination. A short time afterward the same fate befell his brother, Abū al-Ghālib, who was head of *Dīwān al-Nafaqāt*. One of 'Īsā ibn Nasṭūrus' sons, Abū al-Khayr Zur'ah, acted as vizier for two years, from August 1010 to September 1012. He died a natural death while still in office, and it is said that al-Ḥākim regretted being unable to put him to death as he had planned. Another of 'Īsā's sons, Ṣā'id, was also vizier for a short period. He was appointed in 1018 and dismissed four months later and executed. Three of Zur'ah's brothers also occupied important positions in the *diwans*. Abū Manṣūr Bishr ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Sūrīn, secretary to the *Dīwān al-Inshā'*, who transcribed the caliph's orders, seems to have given complete satisfaction, since he remained in office until his natural death in October 1009. We also know of two of al-Ḥākim's doctors who were Christians: Ya'qūb ibn Nasṭās and Abū al-Fatḥ Manṣūr ibn Sahlān, who intervened with the caliph to obtain the liberation of the Coptic officials who had been imprisoned after the assassination of the vizier Fahd ibn Ibrāhīm.

Security measures. Many security measures decreed by al-Ḥākim concerned Jews and Christians and were particularly irksome. In October 1004, an edict was read in the mosques obliging Jews and Christians to wear black clothes and to carry special badges (particularly the *zunnār*, a servant's belt). Later, Christians were obliged to wear a wooden cross around their necks, and they were forbidden to ride horseback, having to be satisfied with mules or donkeys. They were to use undecorated wooden saddles. In addition, they were not allowed to have a Muslim as servant. It seems that these discriminatory measures caused many Copts to become Muslims.

The Christians were ordered to keep their cross on even in the *ḥammām* or public bath (the Jews wore a small bell). Al-Ḥākim allowed those Christians who wished to do so to leave Egypt for a Byzantine territory or Nubia. It seems that many Christians preferred to go into exile rather than put up with these annoyances.

Christian worship. In 1007, the Copts were prevented from decorating and illuminating their churches for Palm Sunday. There were imprisonments and many crosses were burned in front of the mosques. Three years later, it was forbidden to celebrate the Ghiṭās (Epiphany), a feast that included illuminating the streets and bathing in the Nile at nightfall. This prohibition had already been made by the caliph al-'Azīz, who forbade celebrations on that day. In 1011 the feast of the Holy Cross (17 Tūt) was forbidden.

Taken separately, these decisions do not necessarily mean an anti-Christian attitude on the part of

the caliph, for at the same time he had forbidden public festivities for the feast of Sacrifices and the mourning of 'Ashūrā'. Other measures, however, were clearly directed against Christians, for example, the destroying of churches and replacing them with mosques. In 1005 the Rāshida mosque was built in place of a new church that had been built without the caliph's permission. The year 1008 was marked by the destruction of many churches, beginning with that of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which al-Ḥākim ordered to be completely destroyed. In 1010 the Melchite monastery of al-Qaṣīr (near Cairo) was destroyed and its cemetery profaned. Finally, in 1013–1014, numerous convents and churches met with the same fate. It would be difficult to make an even approximate guess as to the number of buildings destroyed, but it seems there were many. The caliph ordered the confiscation of church property and the transfer of their administration to the financial divan.

One disconcerting point in al-Ḥākim's treatment of the Copts was that his own mother was a Christian. This woman was not without influence on the caliph al-'Azīz, since she had two of her brothers appointed to high positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy: one, Arīsṭīs, patriarch of Jerusalem; the other, Arsenius, metropolitan of Alexandria. Arsenius was one of al-Ḥākim's victims, while Arīsṭīs was imprisoned.

From 1014 on, the anti-Christian persecution slackened. According to some sources, it ceased completely.

Generally speaking, Muslim historians condemn these anti-Christian decrees, above all because they caused many Copts to become Muslims without being truly converted. When the authorities became more favorable to non-Muslims, many of these Copts reverted to Christianity, and were considered by the Muslims to be guilty of apostasy.

Relations with the Byzantines. Relations with the Byzantines remained tense as in the times of al-'Azīz. Early in the reign, Barjawān obtained a few military successes, such as the victory of Tyre and the taking of Apame. He then sent an embassy to the emperor Basil II, in which Arīsṭīs of Jerusalem took part. The exchanges produced a truce in 1001 that was supposed to last ten years. The treaty required greater liberty for Christians in the Fatimid territories, especially the permission to rebuild their churches, and to supply wheat for Egypt. But very soon the treaty was broken on account of al-Ḥākim's persecution and above all the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

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HALL, HENRY REGINALD HOLLAND

(1873–1930), English Egyptologist and historian. Hall was born in London and educated at Saint John's College, Oxford, supplementing his classical studies with Egyptian language and history under F. L. Griffith's guidance. He joined the British Museum as an assistant to E. A. Wallis Budge in 1896 and later became keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities (1924–1930). He assisted Henri Edouard Naville in the excavations at Dayr al-Bahri (1903–1907) and dug for the Egypt Exploration Fund at Abydos (1910, 1925). Coptic studies were marginal to his immense output. In that field, he published *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period in the British Museum* (London, 1905). He died in London.

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HALO. *See* Symbolism in Coptic Art: Nimbus.

HAMAI OF KAHYOR, SAINT, a fifth-century monk who was martyred (feast day: 11 Amshīr). His cult is attested by some Coptic documents, in par-

ticular some *typika* (books containing rules and rubrics for divine service) from Dayr Anbā Shinūdah, but his life has been preserved only by a fairly long notice in a single manuscript of the recension from Upper Egypt of the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION. In his youth, Hamai became a monk in the Pachomian monastery of Qahyūr. It was founded by THEODORUS OF TABENNĒSĒ with the assent of HORSIESIOS after the death of PACHOMIUS, and was located not far from Shmūn (Hermopolis Magna, or al-Ashmūnayn). He was in the service of the brothers in the *diaconia*, a term here designating no doubt the function that assured the daily supplies for the monastery. The patriarch of Alexandria was then the great CYRIL I. He wrote to Anbā Pachomius the Younger, archimandrite of Pbow and hence superior of the Pachomian congregation, asking him to come to Alexandria to discuss with him the difficulties the Arians were causing the church.

We cannot say precisely what heretics or dissidents he meant, for the term "Arians" remains vague in the medieval Arabic vocabulary and may designate the Melitians as well as the true Arians. Pachomius the Younger embarked on a journey on the Nile with two other old men, Yūnās (Jonas) of Bakhānīs-Tmoushons (a foundation of Pachomius himself, a little to the north of Pbow in the diocese of Hiw) and Nībūs of Luxor, as well as other brethren. They made a stop at Qahyūr. Hamai, impelled by the desire for martyrdom, persuaded the superior of the Pachomian congregation to take him in his train to Alexandria. In the course of the journey, Yūnās, at the request of Pachomius, relates a vision or rather double vision he has had, of the ark of the covenant and the two houses destined in the other world for the sons of Pachomius, one in hell, constructed of pitch and sulfur and filled with fire, reserved for the faithless monks; the other in heaven, made of pure gold with a high surrounding wall near the tree of life, permeated with an exquisite fragrance on which the brethren feed. There Pachomius and his faithful brethren dwell. They have access to God before all the other inhabitants of paradise and without the mediation of the archangel Michael, who serves as chamberlain. The text speaks briefly of their arrival in Alexandria and the visit to the archbishop Cyril. The story describes the prefect of the city as boastful, conceited, and of evil conduct. This is evidently the prefect Orestes (412–415), whose quarrels with the patriarch Cyril and the monks of Nitria are related by the historians (Socrates *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.14). One of the monks, Ammonius, is said to have injured the prefect, who had him arrested and tortured to death. Cyril ordered Ammonius to be given the honors due to martyrs. In our story, which seems parallel to that of the historian Socrates, the Pachomian monks are received by the prefect, and Hamai inveighs against him. In a rage, the prefect has the young monk crucified, then orders him beheaded. The text of the upper Egyptian Synaxarion then describes Hamai's ascent to heaven, his burial at Alexandria, and the fervent veneration rendered to him by the monks and laity.

In contrast to the Coptic martyrdoms, there are here no interrogations interspersed with tortures between the prefect and the monk; the prefect does not attempt to make the candidate for martyrdom renounce his faith, and Hamai only reproaches the prefect for his pride and hardness of heart. This story resembles much more a monk's life, and Pachomian characteristics are numerous: names of the monasteries, the place of the superior at Pbow, the devotion of the monks to the patriarch's cause, the distribution of the souls into different houses, as in the Pachomian monasteries. On the other hand the text reflects well the climate of the relations between the prefect Orestes and the Egyptian clerical and monastic world at the beginning of Cyril's pontificate. Finally, this notice in the Synaxarion has certainly been translated and summarized on the basis of a Coptic life. It is, then, a witness to the Coptic hagiographic literature.

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HAMBURG PAPYRUS (State and University Library of Hamburg, inventory no. Papyrus bilinguis 1 [Pap. bil. 1]; no. 998, according to the list of Greek manuscripts in the Göttingen Septuagint project), papyrus consisting of twenty-eight leaves (fifty-six pages) of an originally extensive codex. In the first part fragments of a previously unknown version of the Greek *Acta Pauli* are preserved on eleven pages. This text was published in 1936 by C. Schmidt and W. Schubart. The second part contains forty-five pages of fragments of Old Testament writings in the Coptic and Greek languages: Song of Songs in Coptic (seven pages), Lamentations of Jeremiah in Coptic (ten pages), as well as Ecclesiastes

in Greek (fourteen pages) and Coptic (fourteen pages).

The place where the papyrus was found has not been determined with certainty, and the same can be said of the time of discovery. The papyrus scroll came into the possession of the State and University Library of Hamburg in 1927. The leaves of the codex measure about 10.5 inches (26 cm) long and 8 inches (20 cm) wide. The length and breadth of the space covered by writing on the separate pages amounts to about 8.5 inches by 6.2 inches (22 cm by 15.5 cm). The pages of the Greek sections of the text have an average of thirty-five lines; those of the Coptic part, an average of thirty-two lines of text. The script is in at least two different hands and can be dated to about A.D. 400. The conservation work by H. Ibscher revealed that the surviving fragmentary codex was made up of four quaternions (gatherings of four double leaves [eight leaves or sixteen pages]), preserved only in parts.

The dialect of the papyrus was designated Old Fayyumic by C. Schmidt. Accordingly it was given the *siglum* "Fo" in R. Kasser (1964, p. xvii). Kasser now classifies it as Fayyumic subdialect *F 7* in his system.

It is possible that Pap. bil. 1 was not a codex destined for liturgical usage in the church but a school exercise. Various criteria indicate this, such as the nature and character of the writing, mistakes made in the hand of the pupil scribe, and corrections by the teacher. The composition of the writings preserved in the fragmentary codex allows one to suppose that the original from which it was copied was an ecclesiastical book of devotion or a lectionary.

A comparison between the Greek Ecclesiastes and the Coptic Ecclesiastes of Pap. bil. 1 and of both texts with Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209 (B), as well as other great Septuagint codices, points to a closer affinity of the Greek *Vorlage* of Coptic Ecclesiastes to B than can be observed in Greek Ecclesiastes transmitted in the same codex. At all events, Greek Ecclesiastes is not the *Vorlage* of the Coptic version of Ecclesiastes in the Hamburg papyrus (on this see B. J. Diebner).

The Coptic versions of Pap. bil. 1 of Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes are important in the investigation of early Coptic dialects. They also have significance for the history of the text of the Old Testament and not least for the history of interpretation, since the examination of the technique of the Coptic translators offers a glimpse of the interpretation of Old Testament texts in the Coptic church of the third and fourth centuries.

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ḤAMĪDĀT, AL-, a convent of nuns situated on an island opposite Qinā. According to ABŪ ṢALIḤ THE ARMENIAN (beginning of thirteenth century), at the time when Marwān II (744–750) was fleeing before the general of the Abbasids and had summoned the Bashmurites to his aid, they came to attack this convent. A nun who had entered the convent very young and was of great beauty saved her sisters from dishonor by a stratagem. She pretended to possess an unguent that rendered her invulnerable, and proposed to give it to the chief of the Bashmurites to try on her, but she perished by the sword. This story was inserted in the biography of the patriarch MICHAEL I (744–767), and was credited to the deacon John but without topographical mention of the monastery of al-Ḥamīdāt.

This is a well-known theme of folklore found in Coptic histories like that of al-Makin (1625, p. 99) and Muslim histories like al-MAQRĪZĪ's. The origin of this common theme is not known.

The place called al-Ḥamīdāt is still in existence. Another place also called al-Ḥamīdāt is in the district of Isnā, but apart from the fact that this homonym is recent, it is not very probable that Marwān II could have been carried so far.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN
MAURICE MARTIN, S.J.

HANDBAGS. *See* Costume, Civil.

HANDS, LAYING-ON OF. *See* Laying-on of Hands.

HANNA HERKEL. *See* Haraglī, Jean.

ḤANNĀ ṢALĪB SA'D (1880–1928), Egyptian educator. He was delegated in 1904 by the Egyptian government to study the needs of modern education in Ethiopia. He went to Ethiopia in 1906 at the head of an educational mission and stayed there until his death in 1928. Emperor Menelik II offered to grant him Ethiopian citizenship, which he declined. He was appointed director of education of Ethiopia and also became a personal adviser to Emperor Menelik. With the help of Abuna Mātēwos (see ETHIOPIAN PRELATES), Ḥannā Ṣalīb was able to obtain funds from the Ethiopian government and from Egypt to build the Menelik II school in 1909. It became an established tradition that the teachers should be Copts from Egypt, but this was broken with the Italian occupation in 1935. Following the return of the emperor in 1941, the tradition was resumed under the directorship of MURAD KAMIL.

MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

HARAGLĪ, JEAN (1776–1815), a Copt who became an officer in Napoleon's armies. Haraglī was born 15 May 1776 at Manfalūt, Upper Egypt, the son of Ghubrīyāl Haraglī and Malakiyet. He obtained a fair education from the town priest, who nominated him as deacon of his church and continued to instruct him in the Coptic language, which was then nearly defunct. As a young man, on the orders of his cousin Colonel Gabriel SĪDĀRŪS, he joined the Coptic Legion, newly founded by General Ya'qūb (see YA'QŪB, GENERAL) in Cairo, and served as an officer.

Apparently Haraglī left Egypt with the retreating French army of Napoleon Buonaparte. He continued his military career as an officer in the French army, joining the Bataillon des Chasseurs d'Orient at its formation in Marseilles in 1802. With his cousin, who had also left Egypt, he participated in most of the Napoleonic wars. He was a member of the regiment that fought in Dalmatia (Yugoslavia), the Ionian islands, and Italy until its dissolution in 1813.

Haraglī was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1806 and achieved the rank of colonel in 1808. He was then placed on reserve for a while but later resumed active service. He was killed at the Battle of Waterloo, 18 June 1815.

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ANOUAR LOUCA

HARDY, EDWARD R. (1908–1981), American theologian who wrote extensively on the early church in Egypt. He was educated at Columbia University (1923–1931) and a number of noted theological seminaries (1929–1934). Hardy's academic career started as instructor in Hebrew at General Theological Seminary (1929–1944). He then became associate professor and professor of church history in the Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut (1944–1969). Afterward he accepted a lectureship at the divinity school of the University of Cambridge (1969–1975). Concurrently he was dean of chapel at Jesus College (1972–1975).

He published *Militant in Earth, Twenty Centuries of the Spread of Christianity* (Oxford, 1940) and *Christian Egypt, Church and People in the Patriarchate of Alexandria* (Oxford 1952); translated *First Apology of Justin Martyr* (Library of Christian Classics 1 [Westminster, 1954]); edited *Christology of the Latin Fathers* (with C. C. Richardson, Library of Christian Classics 3); and edited and translated *Faithful Witnesses, Acts of Early Christian Martyrs* (New York and London, 1960) and *Egypt Under Justinian* (Washington, D.C., 1969).

AZIZ S. ATIYA

ḤĀRIT AL-RŪM, Coptic quarter in old Cairo and the residence of the Coptic patriarchs from John XVI (1676–1718) to Cyril IV (1854–1861), who moved the patriarchal seat to the Azbakiyyah quarter in modern Cairo. The name Ḥārit al-Rūm means "alley of the Greeks."

The district of Ḥārit al-Rūm could be reached from the Sukkariyyah district by the Sibīl (drinking font) of Muḥammad Alī, which had an old gate to lock the entire quarter for security. The gate eventually became stuck in the accumulated Nile silt and could be closed no more. The churches within this quarter are the Church of the Virgin and the Church of Saint George.

The Church of the Virgin lies 10 feet below the street level and is reached by a stairway. The most striking feature of this church is the twelve domes that surmount its buildings. Inside, these domes rest on six piers connected by round arches, of which two are inside the sanctuary space. The dome directly above the altar has an aperture serving as a window with stained glass; other domes have similar windows that admit a kind of dim lighting into the church. Small in dimensions, the church has a nave and a choir that are continuous at ground level with no partition. Within the nave, a beam stretching between two piers carries a cruciform painting of Jesus hanging from the cross, a skull and bones below His feet signifying the approaching entombment of the Lord. On each side of the picture, there also is a carved wooden eagle strangling a serpent. Each of the two eagles carries on its head a tablet on which an angel is painted. The canopy surmounting the altar is adorned with paintings of Christ and angels.

The body of the church is adorned with icons. These include one of Takla Hāymānot, the Abyssinian saint, in patriarchal vestment, as well as Saint Marina trampling Satan.

The old Church of Saint George fell into ruins and a new one is being built on its foundation. In 1981–1982 these foundations showed remains of two churches and numerous tombs dating from the Middle Ages.

The area has been associated with many events in Coptic history, both major and minor. Patriarchal and episcopal consecrations were often confirmed in Ḥārit al-Rūm. Church councils were also held here, such as the episcopal synod that repudiated the simoniacal behavior of CYRIL III IBN LAQLAQ (1235–1243). No precise date can be fixed for this church.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH, together with ḤĀRIT AL-RŪM, probably the oldest quarter in Cairo that was inhabited by a Coptic community. Ḥārit Zuwaylah is situated in the district of al-Jammāliyyah or Khurunfish. The concentration of Copts in this area during the Middle Ages led to the foundation of some of the most ancient churches in Cairo. Of these, three have survived to the present day: the Church of the Virgin (Sitt al-'Adhrā'), the Church of Saint Mercurius (Abū Sayfayn), and the Church of Saint George (Mār Jirjis).

The first two were probably originally built at the street level. At present they have sunk to a subterranean depth of about 18 feet (6.5 meters) on account of the accumulation of Nile silt through the centuries. The third, smaller in dimension, was constructed at a later date above the other two at the modern street level.

Apparently this area was marked as one of the spots where the Holy Family stopped during its FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, immediately after their previous resting-place, with its traditional sycamore tree, at al-MAṬARIYYAH. At the time of the construction of the first of these churches, that section of the area may have been still relatively open ground utilized by the Copts as a *dayr*, in the sense of a cemetery rather than a regular monastery inhabited by monks.

The Church of the Virgin (al-'Adhrā') is the oldest of the three in Ḥārit Zuwaylah. It is accessible from the southwest and the southeast by two entrances, one for women and the other for men. The church is dedicated to the Virgin, known to the native Copts by the title of "Ḥallat al-Ḥadīd," that is, she who melts the iron fetters of Matthias, the disciple who replaced Judas Iscariot. Though it is difficult to give a precise date for its foundation, the historian al-Maqrīzī says it was built 270 years prior to the Arab conquest of Egypt, that is, approximately in A.D. 350. After the advent of Islam, it suffered numerous destructions and subsequent restorations. It was attacked in 1131, in Fatimid times, and repeatedly in the following centuries, notably under the Mamluks and the beginning of Ottoman rule around 1559.

In the year 1303, the church became the patriarchal seat that had previously been transferred from Alexandria to the Church of al-Mu'allaqah and then to the Church of Abū Sayfayn in Old Cairo. It remained in Ḥārit Zuwaylah for almost three centuries amid the greater security of a Coptic community. The first pope to reside in Ḥārit Zuwaylah was JOHN VIII (1300–1320), the eightieth patriarch; the last was the 102nd patriarch, MATTHEW IV (1660–1675). Subsequent popes moved to the neighboring Ḥārit al-Rūm.

Abū al-Makārim, the twelfth-century historian of the Coptic churches and monasteries, cites this church as the center of ecclesiastical activities and the place of celebration of major feasts such as the feast of the Sunday of Olives (Palm Sunday), when the faithful held a procession with the olive branch, the Gospel, crosses, censers, and candles. After the Gospel reading and praying for the caliph and vizier, they returned to the church for the completion of the offices. This function was repeated twice annually on the third day of Easter and the feast of the Cross on 17 Tūt. However, these celebrations were suppressed under the rule of the Kurds in 1169.

The architectural components of the church are interesting. Besides the narthex, the nave comprises five rows of marble columns and a sixth in red granite to signify the teaching of Judas Iscariot and the blood of Christ. The nave is flanked by two aisles with two rows of twelve grayish marble columns surmounted by Corinthian and Byzantine capitals adorned with crosses among foliage. The marble ambo rests on four columns shaped like torsades.

The choir aligns with the nave on an elevated platform, and this again is followed by the principal sanctuary (*haykal*), another few steps higher than the choir. The sanctuary and the nave are separated by a twelfth-century iconostasis constructed of old ebony divided into panels inlaid with ivory and sculptured with geometrical designs and animal figures. This is surmounted by a row of thirteen icons of the twelve disciples with the Virgin in their midst, a great cross above her head.

The sanctuary itself, at the east end, contains the rectangular altar with a wooden canopy overhead. This is adorned with a painting of Jesus surrounded by angels. Farther east and behind the altar is the apse, decorated with mosaics in the form of a semicircular tribune. It is reached by seven steps signifying the seven grades of the clergy. The dome above the sanctuary is decorated with stained glass windows.

On the north and south sides of the main sanctuary, beyond the central colonnade, the southern sanctuary is dedicated to Saint Gabriel. In front of it there is a well containing water presumably of a miraculous healing power. To the right stands a chapel dedicated to the miracle-working Virgin Mary. The north aisle has another chapel dedicated to the archangel Michael. To the left of it, there is a sanctuary dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. This aisle contains the relics of four unidentified saints.

In the Chapel of Our Lady stands a wooden icon, supposedly dating from the thirteenth century, representing the genealogy of Jesus Christ. In general, the church is richly supplied by numerous historic icons dated from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Other icons represent the baptism, crucifixion, and Resurrection of the Lord. Saint Mercurius, Saint Shenute, Saint George, the archangel Michael, and Saint Helena and Emperor Constantine appear in icons distributed over many parts of the church.

Since the construction of the Aswan Dam, the rising water table has begun to endanger this structure.

Contiguous to the subterranean Church of the Virgin is the Church of Saint Mercurius, better known among the Copts as Abū Sayfayn, literally he who is in possession of the two swords. In Cairo alone, two other churches are dedicated to the saint: one in QAṢR AL-SHAM' in Old Cairo, dating from the sixth century, and another associated with a convent known as Dayr al-Banāt (Monastery of the Virgins). The present chapel at Ḥārit Zuwaylah was added in 1774 by Mu'allim IBRĀHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ, an important Coptic archon. The structure was completed approximately 15 feet (6 m) below street level. It is reached from the main Church of the Virgin through its northeastern wall. It is built in traditional Coptic style with a nave and two aisles separated by two rows of columns and surmounted by a dome lined with icons. The finely carved wooden ambo in the nave stands on six slender columns, also made of wood. The iconostasis is constructed of wood carved in geometrical panels inlaid with ivory. The sanctuary (*haykal*) beyond is slightly elevated above the floor of the nave with the altar surmounted by a canopy standing on four wooden columns. A series of icons of Coptic saints adorn the walls of the church, including Saint Sophia (dated 1837).

The Church of Saint George, originally known as the Upper Church because it was built over the other subterranean Churches of the Virgin and Saint Mercurius, is a small church south of the

Church of the Virgin. Above it is a convent by the name of Saint George that has direct access to the church. The church has lost many features of its antiquity on account of the numerous modern restorations. It contains four sanctuaries, two of them surrounded by domes.

This church is highly revered by Copts, who throng its building as pilgrims on the commemoration day of Saint George (7 Hatūr).

The date of the foundation of this church is unknown, but the oldest part of the building is its medieval iconostasis. It contains a multitude of icons, of which one representing Saint George is dated 1782. Its library comprises a number of interesting manuscripts. Some of them are the Life of Saint Cyprian (1391) and the Life of Saint Bartholomew (1438). More dated manuscripts include Saints' Miracles (1342) and the Liturgies of Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, and Saint Cyril (1344).

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MYRIAM WISSA

HARMĪNĀ, SAINT, a wondering monk (feast-day: 2 Kiyakh). Harmīnā was a native of the province of OXYRHYNCHUS (al-Bahnasā), and the son of Christian parents. When he was an adolescent and watching his parents' flocks, the apostles John and Peter appeared to him to invite him to embrace the monastic life. Following them, he went up to the monastery of Saint James, situated no doubt in the nome of Oxyrhynchus, although the notice about him in the SYNAXARION does not say so. The abbot of this monastery was Saint James, not otherwise known, who clothed him in the monk's habit. The ceremony took place with the active participation of a cherub, the psalmist David, and the apostles Paul, John, and Peter, who entrusted Harmīnā to this abbot James.

Some time after, the apostle John appeared to Harmīnā to enjoin him to go to the south. There he met Anbā Hūr (Hor), from Preht, with whom he went to the mountain (i.e., the desert) to the north of the town of Tkow.

His life is preserved by several Arabic manuscripts: Coptic Museum, Historical 475; Paris, Arabic 148, folios 295r–331v; 4787, folios 158v–195v; Saint ANTONY, History 130, 2 and 140, 2; Muyser, 1943, pp. 159–236 (translation of the Coptic Museum MS incomplete at the end).

This Life is interesting because it describes a form of itinerant monasticism like the Life of PAUL OF ṬAMMAH.

Harmīnā died at Tkow and was buried near the church of this town, although he had asked his companions Anbā Hūr, Anbā Yusāb, and others to bury his body in a secret place.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HARRANIYYAH. *See* Ramses Wissa Wassef.

ḤASABALLĀH, Bishop of Shanshā (thirteenth century). On 28 June 1240 a confrontation between the bishops of Upper and Lower Egypt took place in Cairo in the presence of the Coptic patriarch CYRIL III IBN. LAQLAQ in order to settle questions of precedence. The text of this meeting has survived in a sole manuscript (Vatican Library, Arabic 162, copied in 1365; ed., trans., and commentary by G. Graf, 1927). In the appendix added to the text between 1300 and 1365, Ḥasaballāh is mentioned four times. However, Graf did not realize this was a proper name, and therefore translated it as "in Gemäheit Gottes," sometimes modifying the rest of the sentence accordingly (cf. Graf, 1927, pp. 318–21; concerning this text, see also Graf, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 363, no. 6).

Ḥasaballāh was consecrated bishop in October or November 1268 by the seventy-eighth patriarch, GABRIEL III. He took the name Anbā Buṭrus and received the see of Shanshā (which is today pronounced SHANASHĀ according to Muyser, p. 157; cf. Graf, 1927, p. 318). On 4 July 1294 Ḥasaballāh was the senior bishop from Lower Egypt, and as such consecrated the seventy-ninth patriarch THEODOSIUS II, known as Ibn Rawīl al-Ifranjiyyah, in spite of the fact that YŪSĀB, bishop of Akhmīm, preceded him in seniority during the reign of the three previous patriarchs (Graf, 1927, p. 320).

During the concoction of the chrism performed by Theodosius II on 12 April 1299, Anbā Buṭrus was concurrently bishop of Shanshā, Sandūb, Ṭandatā, and Samannūd. It is not stated that he was the senior bishop of Lower Egypt, but he is mentioned at the head of the list.

On 14 February 1300, it was again Ḥasaballāh who consecrated the eighth patriarch, JOHN VIII, despite the presence of Anbā Yūsāb of Akhmīm and Anbā Mīkhā'īl, the metropolitan of Jerusalem (cf. Graf, 1927, p. 320).

During the concoction of the chrism performed by John VIII on 12 April 1305, Anbā Buṭrus Ḥasaballāh was concurrently bishop of Shanshā, Sandūb, Ṭandatā, and Samannūd, and was, of course, the senior bishop of Lower Egypt (cf. Munier, p. 37; and Samir, 1971, pp. 358–59, where he is referred to as bishop of Sandūb and Shanshā).

At Hasaballāh's death, his see was divided into at least two separate sees, that of Ṭandatā with Anbā Akhristādulū as bishop, and that of Samannūd with Anbā Yu'annis as bishop.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

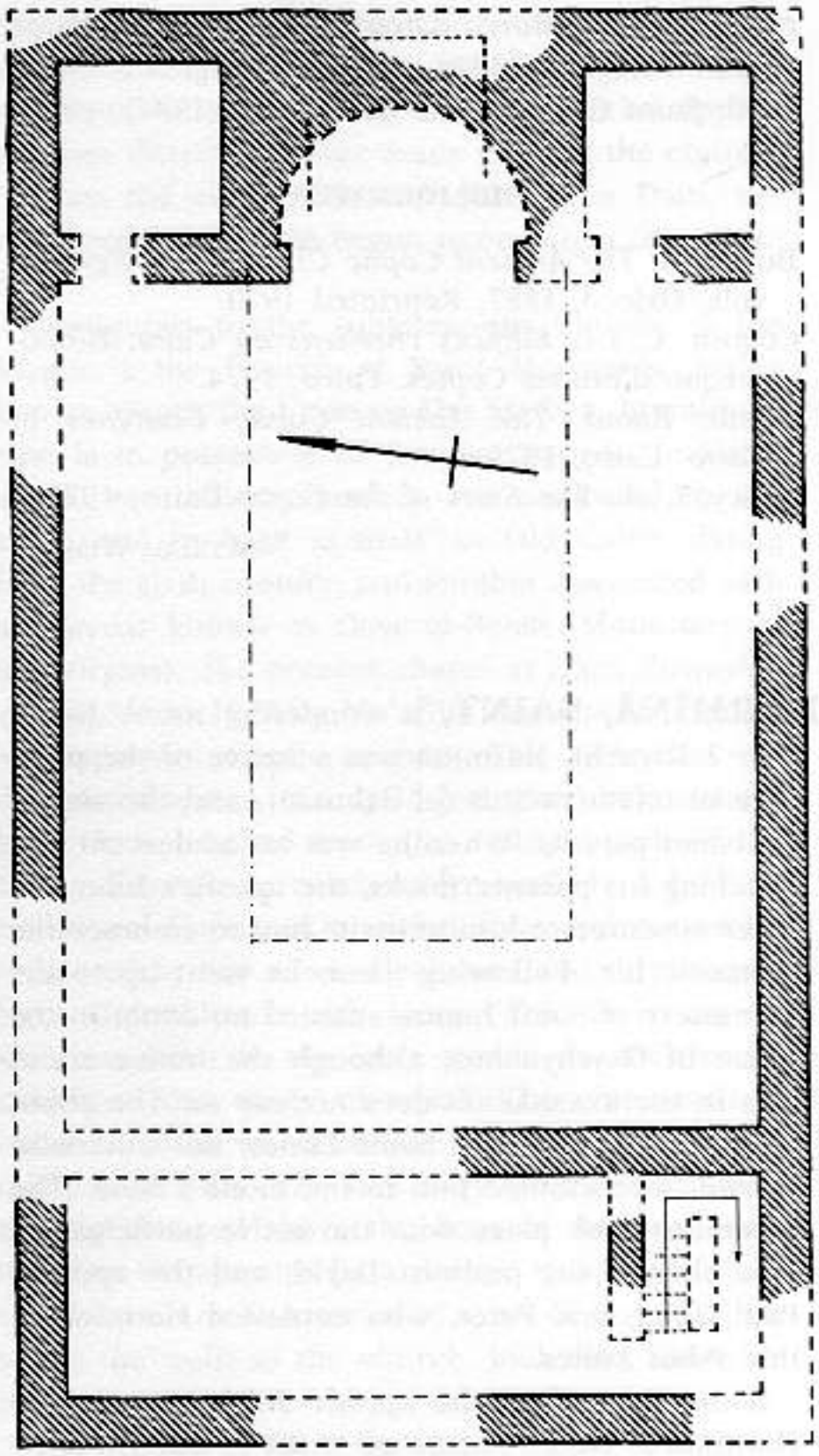
HAUSER, WALTER (1893–1960), American archaeologist and architect. He was born at Middlefield, Massachusetts, and was trained as an architect at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He joined the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of New York's Egyptian expedition, working mainly on the excavations of the dynastic period at DAYR APA PHOIBAMMON and of the early Coptic period at Khargah Oasis. He remained with the Metropolitan Museum for nearly forty years as librarian and curator of Near Eastern archaeology. He contributed several articles to the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, of which the most relevant is "The Christian Necropolis in Kharga Oasis" (*Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* 27, 1932, pp. 38–50).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

HAWWĀRAH, location of the brick pyramid of Amenemhet III (Twelfth Dynasty, 1842–1797 B.C.). The gigantic and magnificently furnished temple district that goes with it is to be identified (Lloyd, 1970, pp. 81ff.) with the labyrinth of the classical



Plan of the church located near the pyramid at Hawwārah. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

authors (above all Herodotus, *Histories* 2.148, and Pliny, *Natural History* 36.13). However, only a small part of the temple remains, because the area served as a necropolis up to the late Roman period. The famous mummy portraits, which were found in even greater numbers in Hawwārah (Parlasca, 1966, pp. 32–34), come from the Roman tombs of the first to the fourth centuries A.D.

In the early Christian period, a small settlement arose to the northwest of the pyramid, the character of which has not yet been fully identified. It is possible that the inhabitants worked in the service of the necropolis. The settlement had a small church that had already been laid bare by W. M. Flinders Petrie (Petrie, 1890, p. 21, pl. 4).

Today the church is in a badly ruined state, although to some extent its ground structure can still reliably be made out. The almost square naos was once subdivided by inserted columns to form three aisles. In front and to the west was a narthex. In addition to the central apse, the sanctuary contained two approximately square side rooms. No trace remains of the side passageway, recorded by Petrie, leading from the apse into the south side room, and it is also doubtful whether such a one existed. Perhaps it was, after all, only a wall niche. Two pilaster capitals of limestone, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (nos. 176, 177) in Cambridge, were part of the church furnishings. One of these (no. 177) could have served as a support for the apse opening. Since both pieces were spoils from the sixth century and had probably been used originally in the necropolis, the church could have been built at the earliest in the middle of the seventh century.

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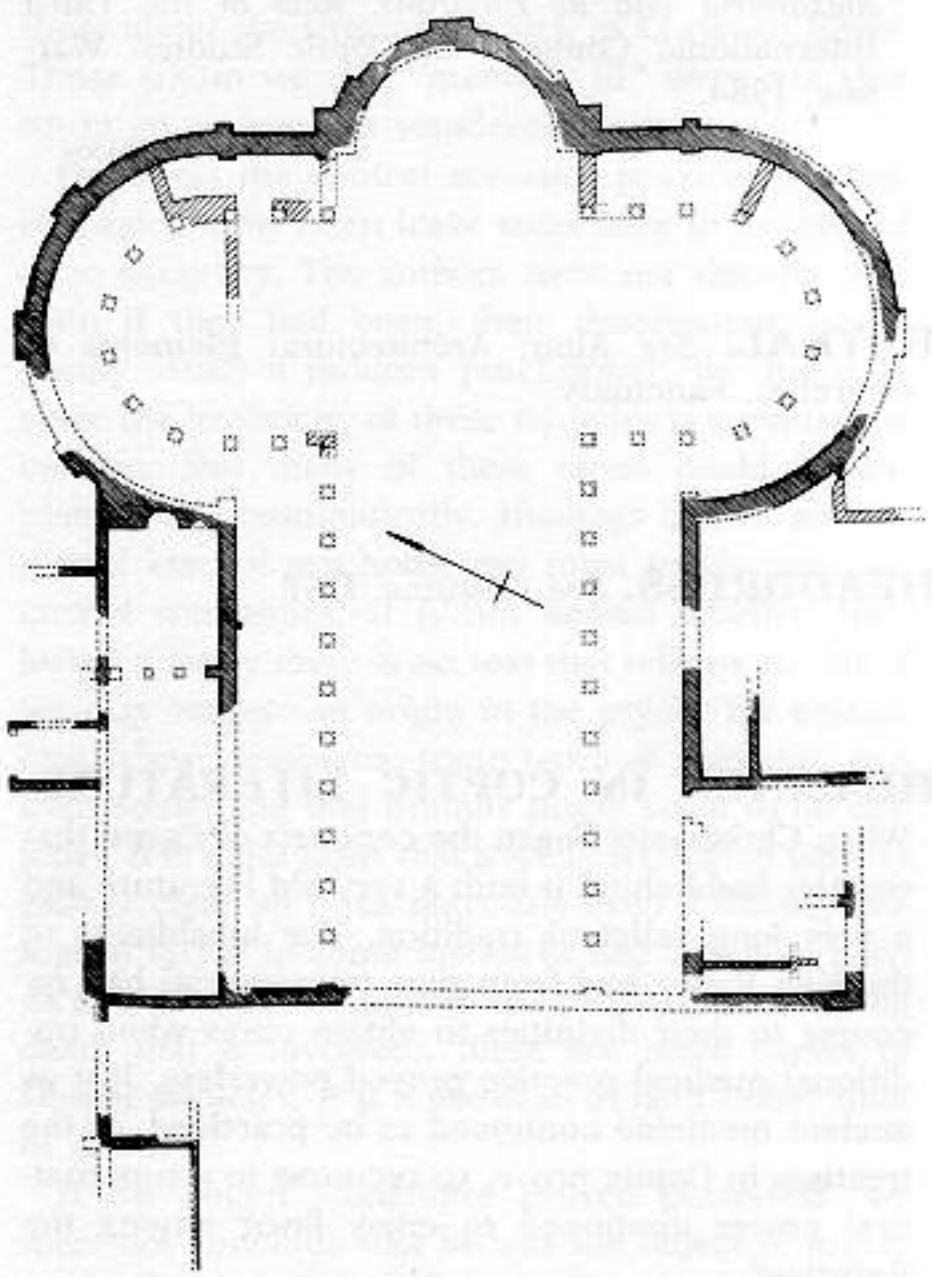
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PETER GROSSMANN

HAWWĀRIYYAH. The ruins now in the domain of the present village of Hawwāriyyah (west of 'Amriyyah) are frequently identified with the ancient Marea. The excavations undertaken there for some years by the University of Alexandria have, however, so far brought to light only the remains of late antique buildings of the fourth century and later. Remains of the harbor, today become marshy, and several moles were always visible.

A new discovery was a wide paved street on the bank, with a covered portico on the landward side. Behind it stood some granary buildings, as well as a large, two-part bathhouse with two communal rooms (*apodyteria*), each built as a double-apse hall. The actual bath chambers have so far not been cleared. This bathhouse may belong to the fourth or early fifth century. Farther to the east, on a projecting peninsula, a public latrine, a mill, and at the eastern border of this peninsula a large transept basilica have come to light, the last so far only partly excavated. The transept of this church had



Plan of the basilica that has been partially excavated near the village of Hawwāriyyah. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

three aisles like the other examples of this kind in Egypt (ABŪ MĪNĀ, al-ASHMŪNAYN), and the ends of it were half-rounded. Inland, finally, were discovered a wine press and a simply constructed building, probably to be regarded as an inn or traveler's halting place. It contains two courtyards developed as peristyles through simple arrangements of columns, around which the guest rooms are distributed. In addition, the building contains a large latrine, as well as a small chapel with an unusually rich *opus sectile* (mosaic) floor on the east side. It is placed between two peristyles.

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PETER GROSSMANN

HAYKAL. *See* Altar; Architectural Elements of Churches: Sanctuary.

HEADDRESS. *See* Costume, Civil.

HEALINGS IN COPTIC LITERATURE. When Christianity began the conquest of Egypt, that country had behind it both a very old literature and a very long religious tradition. The inhabitants of the Nile Valley had from time immemorial had recourse to their divinities to obtain cures when traditional medical practice proved powerless. Just as ancient medicine continued to be practiced, as the treatises in Coptic prove, so recourse to a supernatural power continued to enjoy favor among the Egyptians.

But if a well-established paganism maintained itself when it had no competitors, Christianity found itself altogether differently placed, obliged as it was for many generations to struggle to annihilate those fallen gods which had been degraded to the rank of evil demons. Thus into the accounts of miraculous healings there enters an avowed missionary purpose.

According to the ancient idea, both pagan and Christian, illness came from a god or a demon, as a punishment from a god or as the vengeance of an evil spirit. Thus God or the divinity concerned could heal and restore health.

We should not cultivate too many illusions about the sentiments that motivated pious Copts in Egypt to seek shelter in their faith. They are no different from people of other religions who turn to God for help either through true faith or because other means failed. The powerlessness of the doctors is sometimes described in the texts, which even portray them as being aided by magicians and enchanters. What this means is that the list of illnesses cured miraculously coincides more or less with that of the afflictions the doctors could not cure or relieve.

In listing some 120 miraculous cures from Coptic texts, we find a wide range of illnesses. To compare such a list with that of diseases treated by medical means and duly enumerated by W. Till in his work on Coptic medicine would be very instructive. However, most diseases classified by Till are not found among those with miraculous cures. Thus no mention is made of trichiasis, blepharitis, xerophthalmia, sclerophthalmia, amblyopia, diseases of the ear (other than deafness), diseases of the mouth, haemoptysis, stomach trouble, diseases of the bladder, and smallpox. On the other hand, lists of miraculous cures include diseases not in medical books. Such diseases, except, perhaps, for blindness in one eye, can be explained as stemming from psychosomatic causes. Those mentioned are catalepsy, blindness at birth, acquired blindness, blindness in one eye, deaf-muteness, dumbness, dropsy, delayed childbirth, sterility, paralysis, even some instances of resurrection (on the borderline of medicine).

The majority of the diseases miraculously cured and also medically treated could be rarely diagnosed by a modern doctor using present-day terminology, for they are not characterized by what causes them but are described only as symptoms, in view of the still rudimentary state of the science of that age. Cases of demon possession provide the largest group. The medical texts are silent on these, for they were perhaps not regarded as true diseases. For them, illness came from God. Although it was very often a punishment from heaven, it remains

nonetheless true that between divinity and man there was an intermediate entity, a catalyst, as we would say today, in the shape of the illness itself, on which the doctors could sometimes act. Being possessed was the direct intrusion of an infernal power into the victim's body. Properly speaking, it did not belong to the field of medicine and (like epilepsy) has only recently—in the nineteenth century—been included in the latter. Here is the list of the other diseases that are common to the two fields of medicine and miracles: migraine, acute painful mastitis, hepatitis, pains in the side, abdominal pains, three instances of persons with hemorrhoids cured of their trouble, pains in the lower limbs, nine instances of crippled persons, lame and infirm, fractures, dislocations, one case of gout, skin diseases (but it is difficult to define 'cutaneous'), cases of leprosy (but we cannot be absolutely sure it is the disease caused by Hansen's bacillus), one case of fever, and a snakebite.

Such, then, is the picture obtained from Coptic accounts. There is no lack of interest, but many inaccuracies frequently prevent positive identifications. As to the veracity of these accounts, only an exhaustive study going into the tiniest details would enable us (if even then) to decide what is properly historical and what is sheer imagination in the lives of some Coptic saints. For there is every likelihood that many of these persons are sheer inventions, and some of the others have had their biographies expanded by invented episodes, to the extent that if these apocryphal sections are eliminated, one risks reducing them to mere names. The Coptic record could not be taken into account for a scientific study of the phenomenon of miracles (whether one believes in them or not) such as is carried on at Lourdes today. But it might be appropriate to be less skeptical regarding the cures effected on the tombs of the saints: We know of "miracles" elsewhere, obtained from saints who never existed.

Of greater religious interest is the comparison that can be made, and that cannot fail to be particularly instructive, between these texts and the miracles related in the New Testament. Apart from a blind and deaf person who was possessed, a hunchback, and a case of dysentery, all the other diseases or infirmities miraculously cured in the New Testament are cured, on one occasion or another, in one or more Coptic texts. And such parallels are not at all arbitrary, since several times the Coptic texts clearly refer to such cures effected by Jesus or by certain apostles, to indicate more effectively that saints, following in Jesus' footsteps, were his intermediaries and that God was effecting the healing through them.

These extraordinary healings could be produced in various circumstances and by various means: the presence of the saint, a slap he gives, the use of water or of the oil of the lamp burning before the altar, a prayer of the saint's, an order he gives, his breath, touching his clothes, the blood of a martyr; in one instance someone who was the victim of demon possession was hung up by Saint Menas. Miracles likewise occurred at the tomb, and sometimes while the sick person was asleep. The cure may have been asked for by the sick person, by a third party, or not asked for at all.

Most of the saints to whom these miracles are attributed suffered martyrdom, actual or legendary, under DIOCLETIAN, but we also find some who experienced it under DECIUS (Macarius of Tkow); two others lived later, PETER I of Alexandria (end of the fourth century) and Hilaria (end of the fifth century).

It is possible to glean other information here and there about the lives of the sick in Christian Egypt. Those whom we call "mentally ill" were not shut up in an asylum but wandered freely.

Doubtless the clinical accounts provided in Coptic hagiography often leave something to be desired as to accuracy. The authors were not doctors, and even if they had been, their descriptions would hardly satisfy a modern practitioner, the more so since the historicity of these miracles is a matter for caution. But many of these cures could be explained psychosomatically. Healings due to an empirical kind of psychotherapy must surely have occurred sometimes. It is not known whether they lasted. Clearly there is no text that tells us so, but if we may suspect an origin in the psyche for certain headaches, dumbness, some types of paralysis, and even something that initially might seem to be epilepsy, it is quite clear that a well-established leprosy cannot clear up instantaneously even if the psychological factor in some instances had a part to play. As to resurrections (if it is not catalepsy or seeming death that is involved), these are mere copies of Gospel miracles. It is a question of faith rather than of science.

If the doctor sometimes proved powerless, we must not conclude that he was the object of mockery or derision. Luke the evangelist was a doctor, as were Colluthus the Coptic martyr and Saints COSMAS AND DAMIAN, who, though not Egyptian, were held in honor in Egypt. If the Egyptian of pharaonic days prized first and foremost ancient rather than new

remedies, and perhaps because of that attitude abstained from medical research, we must, nevertheless, note that the hope of cures by other (supernatural) means left the door open for progress. Without having a clear idea of what they were actually doing, the Copts, by reading and hearing these pious stories, maintained the hope of improved medicine.

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GÉRARD GODRON

HEAVEN, term used in the Holy Scriptures to indicate the sky overhead created by God (Gn. 1:1) and the dwelling place of God (Ps. 2:4; 11:4; 103:19; 123:1; 129:7–8).

The Jewish mystics adopted the concept of the plurality of heavens rising above one another: the first as the expanse of space surrounding the earth; the second as the firmament containing the sun, moon, and stars; and the third (or heaven of heavens) as the abode of God. The concept held by the Coptic Orthodox Church differs as far as the third heaven is concerned and is based on the teachings of Saint Paul, where he tells the Corinthians (2 Cor. 12:2–4) of his vision and revelations: "I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows. And I know that this man was caught up into Paradise—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows—and he heard things that cannot be told, which man may not utter." Here the third heaven is paradise, the resting place of the souls of the righteous awaiting the day of judgment. Thus, heaven and paradise are quite distinct.

This view is supported by evidence from the New Testament. Heaven is the place from which Christ came down and to which He was raised. He said to Nicodemus, "No one has ascended into heaven but he who descended from heaven, Son of Man, who is in heaven" (Jn. 3:13). Again, at His ascension, as the disciples were watching steadfastly into heaven as He was lifted up, "behold, two men stood beside them in white robes, and said, 'Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven'" (Acts 1:10–11).

The Revelation to John (21:1–23) draws a symbolical representation of heaven. The new Jerusalem is a realm that knows no hunger or thirst, no scorching heat. "For the Lamb in the midst of the throne will be their shepherd, and he will guide them to springs of living water; and God will wipe away every tear from their eyes" (7:17). "There shall no more be anything accursed, but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his servants shall worship him; they shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads. And night shall be no more; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they shall reign for ever and ever" (22:3–5).

Many of the early fathers described their impressions of heaven and the beatific vision; Clement of Rome (*Epistola I ad Corinthios*, PG 1, col. 218); Athenagoras of Athens ("Supplication for the Christians" 31, 1970); Irenaeus (*Adversus omnes haereses*, 1857, 1.10.1 and 4.20.5). The following excerpt from Saint Augustine deserves quotation in this respect:

> How great will be that happiness . . . where there will be leisure for the praises of God, who shall be all in all! . . . There the reward of virtue shall be God Himself, the Author of virtue; and He promised Himself, than whom there can be nothing better or greater. . . . For thus too is that to be rightly understood which the Apostle says, "That God may be all in all." He Himself will be the end of our desires. He shall be seen without end. He shall be loved without surfeit. He shall be praised without weariness. . . . There we shall rest and we shall behold, we shall behold and we shall love, we shall love and we shall praise. This is what shall be in the end without end.
>
> (1979, p. 108)

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HEBBELYNCK, ADOLPHE (1859–1939), Belgian scholar and rector of the Université catholique of Louvain. He was a student of C. de Harlez and J. B. Abbeloos, G. Maspero, and E. Revillout. As a Coptologist, he studied the Coptic translations of the Bible and Coptic codicology (Coptic manuscripts of the Vatican Library).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HEFELE, KARL JOSEPH (1809–1893), German churchman, educator, and ecclesiastical historian. He taught at Tübingen from 1836, became full professor in 1840, and was elected bishop of Rothenburg in 1869. He visited Rome just before his election, and owing to his vast knowledge in the field of church councils, was chosen by the Vatican as consultant on the organization of the forthcoming Vatican Council of 1870. In the world of scholarship, however, he became better known for his classic work on the history of the ecclesiastical councils, *Conciliengeschichte* (7 vols., Fribourg, 1855–1874). This work was continued by Cardinal J. A. G. Hergenröther, who published Volumes 8 and 9 (1887–1890). The final work was translated into English by W. R. Clark as *A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents* (5 vols., Edinburgh, 1883–1896). It was translated into French with additions by H. Leclercq as *Histoire des conciles* (8 vols., Paris, 1907–1921). The French edition has been recognized as the standard work of reference on the subject.

AZIZ S. ATIYA

HEGUMENOS, a title given to some presbyters, as a rule used together with the title *presbyteros*. The term derives from the Greek *hegoumenos*, whose primary meaning was "ruler," well known in pagan Greek and also used by Christian authors to denote a bishop. In late Greek texts from Egypt and in Coptic texts, this title referred to clerics and monks and was given to whoever played the leading role in the group.

The clerical usage of *hegumenos* was the result of the need to find a title that would emphasize the position of that presbyter who headed the episcopal or parish church. Hence, *hegumenos* actually corresponded to *archipresbyteros*, a term rarely used in Egypt, or to the even rarer *protopresbyteros*. A Coptic document from the first half of the eighth century (Crum and Steindorff, 1912, pp. 66–76) mentions an *archipresbyteros* and a *hegumenos* of the same church; this indicates that the two titles could be differentiated.

In those sources where *hegumenos* is one of the titles of an ARCHIMANDRITE, it should be treated as a church title and not a monastic one. In other words, such an archimandrite had a higher church rank than ordinary priests (Till, 1958, nos. 20–21 from Saqqara). Similarly, one of the superiors of the Saint Phoibammon Monastery in Dayr al-Bahri was a priest, *hegumenos*, and PROESTOS (Crum and Steindorff, 1912, p. 13).

In the monastic context, *hegumenos* can denote the superior and was used in communities of various types and sizes. One cannot exclude the possibility that originally *hegumenos* described a monk who enjoyed higher authority, an elder who played the role of informal leader in a semi-anachoretic community. An excellent example is furnished by the HISTORIA MONACHORUM (Festugière, 1964), where some monks are described as "fathers of many monasteries," although here "monastery" has a different meaning from the one given to it later on. However, Palladius, who was in Egypt at the same time as the author of the *Historia monachorum* at the end of the fourth century, used *hegumenos* with the technical meaning that was to become usual later on, such as in a passage where PACHOMIUS is mentioned.

P. Kahle was of the opinion that the application of the term with a monastic connotation was limited to the regions of Thebes and Aphrodito. This hypothesis does not seem to be correct, since the title appears in DAYR APA JEREMIAH at Saqqara and in literary texts that refer to ENATON, near Alexandria. It also occurs in the Life of ṢAMŪ'ĪL OF QALAMŪN, which was written in the Fayyūm (see Alcock, 1984, index).

The borderline between the meanings mentioned could be obliterated. It is, for example, difficult to determine the sense of *hegumenos* in reference to priests of KELLIA who played a leading role in this semi-anachoretic center, since the role of those monastic officials was strictly connected with the fact that they headed a church that served ascetics.

Today *hegumenos* means "abbot," or the head of a monastery. The *hegumenos* is usually chosen by the monks from their own community and approved by the patriarch, metropolitan, or bishop within whose jurisdiction the monastery lies.

The hegumenate is the highest rank of the priesthood to which priests, married or celibate, serving in cathedrals or large parishes, may be raised. The Arabic equivalent term for *hegumenos* is *qummuṣ* (protopriest).

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HEGUMENOS, ORDINATION OF A. The service of promoting a priest to the hegumenate is similar to that of ordination to the priesthood, except that in the prayers said by the bishop and the archdeacon, the word "priesthood" is replaced by "hegumenate" and the bishop recites the following prayer of *Epiclesis*, that is, the descent of the Holy Spirit, inaudibly:

> Master, Lord God almighty, Father of our Lord and our God and our Savior Jesus Christ, who knowest all things before they exist: Thou hast chosen Thy servant [Name] to be a father and hegumenos to Thy servants his fellow-presbyters, working together in full accord for Thy name's sake. We therefore ask Thee, O Lover of mankind, to protect him, bless him and purify him by the descent of Thy Holy Spirit on him. Do Thou support him in every good work, granting him wisdom and power through Thy Holy Spirit, to serve Thee day and night without blame. Bestow the spirit of good leadership upon him, together with humility, love, forbearance, and righteousness, that he may please Thee through his good works, providing the right example to those under him, and teaching them the commandments of Thy law, looking after them in purity and love, that they may become blameless and worthy to be offered as a living, pure and acceptable sacrifice to Jesus Christ the heavenly bridegroom, fulfilling Thy words: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Through the grace and compassion of Thy only-begotten Son, our God and Savior Jesus Christ, with whom and with the Holy Spirit Thou art blessed now and forever. Amen.

The third modification comes in the catechesis speech read by the bishop, where great emphasis is laid on the importance of the hegumenos' role as teacher to his people for whom he is held responsible before God. "Watch over them, direct them to good deeds. Admonish the sinners with kindness and compassion in accordance with the apostolic law. Strive to draw them towards repentance, knowing that they are part of thee, and that you have become their guide. Beware lest the wolf come near the flock. Fulfill the words of the Scripture: 'We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves' [Rom. 15:1], so that you, too, may be told: 'Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter into the joy of thy lord' [Mt. 25:23]."

The bishop then continues the celebration of the liturgy, without insufflating the *hegumenos*, as he already received the breath of the Holy Spirit when he was ordained priest.

[*See also*: Ordination, Clerical.]

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HELWAN. *See* Ḥilwān.

HENEIN MAKARIOUS. *See* Makārus Ḥunayn.

HENGSTENBERG, WILHELM (1885–1963), professor of Eastern Christianity at the University of Munich. He taught the languages of Eastern Christianity, including Coptic. Among his pupils were J. Assfalg and A. Böhlig. His doctoral thesis, "Koptische Urkunden und Briefe" (University of Munich, 1921), was not published, but he did publish important articles about monasticism in Egypt, notably "Pachomiana, mit einem Anhang über die Liturgie von Alexandrien" (in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der byzantinischen Literatur: Festgabe Albert Ehrhard*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922, pp. 228–52) and "Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums" (in *Acts of the 4th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 1934, Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 9, 1935, pp. 355–62). His other writings include "Die griechisch-koptischen ΜΟΥΧΟΝ-Ostraka" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66, 1931, pp. 51–68) and "Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodor" (*Oriens Christianus* n.s. 2, 1912, pp. 78–106, 241–80, and n.s. 3, 1913, pp. 135–37). His book reviews (W. Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950, p. 181, under Hengstenberg, Critical Review) contain much additional material and are therefore important.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

HENOTICON, fifth-century imperial edict that was one of the basic statements of imperial theology and ecclesiastical policy of the early Byzantine period. It is the name given to the instrument of union addressed by Emperor ZENO to the "bishops, clergy, monks and laity throughout Alexandria and Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis" in 482. Its immediate aim was the reconciliation of the sees of Constantinople and Alexandria, which had been in a state of hostility since the murder of the Chalcedonian patriarch, Proterius, on Maundy Thursday 457.

The timing of the edict was the result of the decision by the emperor and ACACIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, in the spring of 482, to recognize the anti-Chalcedonian (see CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF) patriarch of Alexandria, PETER III MONGUS, as true patriarch. Zeno withdrew recognition from Peter's rival, John Talaia, who fled to Italy in June 482. In the background, however, was the strength of anti-Chalcedonian sentiment in Antioch and Jerusalem as well as Alexandria, which in 479 had resulted in the murder of Stephen, patriarch of Antioch, by anti-Chalcedonians. Though addressed to the church in Alexandria, the edict was designed to apply to the whole empire.

The edict opens with what had become the traditional avowal that the safety of the empire depended on its orthodoxy: "Considering the source and constitution of our power and the invincible shield of our empire as the only right and true faith, which through divine intervention the 318 Holy Fathers assembled in Nicaea expounded, and the 150 Holy Fathers convened similarly in Constantinople confirmed. . . ." Faithful observance of this faith and praise of God, the Savior Jesus Christ, and the Virgin THEOTOKOS will enable the enemies of the empire to be destroyed and the fruits of the earth to be brought forth abundantly.

The emperor goes on to state that he has received many heartfelt petitions from "archimandrites, hermits and other holy men" to knit the churches together once more in unity. Because of disagreements within the church, sacraments have not been dispensed, and as a result there have been riots and bloodshed. Therefore those to whom the edict is addressed should know that "we and the churches everywhere" hold no creed other than Nicaea confirmed by the councils of CONSTANTINOPLE and EPHESUS, "where the impious Nestorius and those who were later of that one's mind" are condemned. NESTORIUS and EUTYCHES are anathematized, but the Twelve Anathemas of Saint CYRIL I are to be accepted as canonical. The edict concludes with a statement of Christological belief: that Jesus Christ is consubstantial with both God and man and is "incarnate from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin,

Theotokos, is one and not two, for we say that both his miracles and his sufferings which he underwent by [act of] will in the flesh are of one person." Anyone who "has thought or thinks anything else now or at any time either in Chalcedon or in any other synod whatever, we anathematize." These were the foundations on which all were enjoined to unite in the embrace of the church.

The Henoticon, a masterstroke of diplomacy by Acacius, also says something for the statesmanship of Zeno. It came as near as any other attempt before or since to uniting the theologies of the major churches in the East. The basis chosen was the decision of the first three general councils and the theology of Cyril. Though no see was mentioned by name, orthodoxy was deemed to lie in the theological ideas represented by Constantinople and Alexandria. The *Tome* of Pope LEO I and the see of Rome were passed over in silence. Chalcedon was not denounced but was reduced to the status of a disciplinary council concerned with the condemnation of Eutyches' and Nestorius' supporters. This aim was confirmed by the statement of Zeno to a delegation of Egyptian monks led by Nephalius. The monks demanded the denunciation of the *Tome* of Leo and Chalcedon; Zeno said that he was not prepared to do so (Evagrius *Historia ecclesiastica* 3. 22).

In Egypt the Henoticon had a mixed reception; the bishop of Antinoë, two "great archimandrites," and numerous monks joined in rejecting it (Zacharias Rhetor *Historia ecclesiastica* 6. 2; Michael the Syrian *Chronicon* 9. 6; and Liberatus *Breviarium* 9). These dissenters became known as ACEPHALOI ("the headless"), having rejected the emperor and patriarch of Alexandria as their heads. Peter III Mongus, however, and Peter of Iberia, the doyen of ascetics, accepted the Henoticon. The document was also accepted generally, though with degrees of reluctance, throughout the East, not least by the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller, in 484.

In the West, however, the situation was different. Pope Leo had branded all who rejected his *Tome* as "Eutychians" (*Letters* 111 and 112, written in 453), and his views were accepted by his successors. In 482, Pope Simplicius was already angry with Acacius for the latter's alleged "double dealing" in accepting Peter Mongus as patriarch of Alexandria (Simplicius, letter 18 of 15 July 482, *miramur pariter; Collectio Avellana,* no. 68). Rome, however, remained out of touch with the situation, and it was not until after Simplicius had been succeeded by Felix III in 483 that the significance of the Henoticon became apparent there. Felix had to be alerted by opponents of Acacius in Constantinople, the Sleepless Monks, before he acted. He then accused the patriarch of asserting that he was "head of the whole church" (Felix, to Acacius, in *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma,* p. 73). A papal delegation to Constantinople was deceived into taking communion with Acacius during a service at which the names of both Peter Mongus and DIOSCORUS I, patriarch of Alexandria, were commemorated by being read from the diptychs. In angry retaliation a council held by Felix at Rome on 28 July 484 solemnly excommunicated Acacius but more for "hypocrisy" than for heresy. Peter Mongus rather than the Henoticon remained the source of offense (thus, Felix, to Zeno, in *Publizistische Sammlungen,* p. 248). Only when the schism hardened did the Henoticon itself become a major issue.

The Henoticon was a state act, a pronouncement by the reigning emperor on a matter of doctrine. It went further than the decree of Theodosius I on 27 February 380 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16. 1. 2), for Theodosius declared only that the trinitarian teaching of Rome and Alexandria was canonical, without mentioning his own views. Zeno, however, does not refer to the views of any see but states what he himself believes. Thus, he foreshadows Justinian's religious decrees and documents, the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius I, and the *Typos* of Constans II. The Henoticon, therefore, was a long step toward Byzantine caesaropapism. The Henoticon also provided a doctrinal basis for the ACACIAN SCHISM, which lasted from 484 to 519. It highlighted the unbridgeable differences between the theologies and ecclesiastical outlooks of Old and New Rome. At the same time, it aided the essential unity of Eastern Christendom, consolidating it around the theology of Cyril and the leadership of Constantinople and Alexandria. The period of the schism with Old Rome was a time of relative religious peace in the east Roman provinces, and this contributed toward an internal prosperity that made possible the age of Byzantine greatness under JUSTINIAN.

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HERACLAS, SAINT, thirteenth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (231–247) (feast day: 8 Kiyahk). He studied theology at the CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA under ORIGEN, who selected him as his assistant to teach beginning students (Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 6. 15). When Origen had difficulties with the authorities, Heraclas succeeded him as head of the school; he taught the advanced classes. He retained his veneration for his mentor, though he differed with him on many theological issues and supported the decisions of the synods convened by DEMETRIUS I in condemning Origen's teachings and doctrines. He was elected to succeed Demetrius as patriarch. Heraclas maintained the principles of his predecessor but attempted in vain to bring Origen back from Palestine. He nominated DIONYSIUS THE GREAT (later patriarch of Alexandria) to take his place at the Catechetical School. A new convert from paganism, Dionysius attained tremendous knowledge of the scriptures and orthodox doctrines and assisted Heraclas in the discharge of his episcopal duties.

Persecution of Christians intensified under Emperor Maximinus, who issued special orders to concentrate on killing the church leaders responsible for combating paganism and spreading Christianity. It was on this occasion that Origen wrote his treatise on martyrdom, which he dedicated to Ambrosius and Protecticus, two presbyters from Caesarea who suffered excruciating tortures at the hands of imperial agents.

The personality and vast religious knowledge of Heraclas attracted many notable figures to Alexandria, among whom Africanus the historian and annalist stands out. The status of metropolitan Alexandria and the Coptic church rose to great heights in the Christian world, and with it the stature of the patriarchate of Heraclas, who presumably was the first head of the church to bear the title of POPE. He remained at the helm of the Coptic church for sixteen years.

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HERACLEON, Gnostic teacher in Alexandria about 170–180, who had great influence on Saint CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN. Clement described him as "the most esteemed [*dokimatotos*]" disciple of VALENTINUS (Clement *Stromateis* 4. 9. 71. 1).

Heracleon is the first known commentator on the

New Testament after BASILIDES, and fragments of his commentaries on Luke and, in particular, John have survived. He seems to have made a large contribution to ORIGEN's great *Commentary on John* (started c. 227), which sought to explain the Fourth Gospel within the framework of orthodox teaching.

Heracleon believed that there was significance in every single word in the Gospels. The Gospels, especially the Fourth Gospel, were the message of the Divine Logos, proper understanding of which provided the means of spiritual salvation to the believer. Thus, the interpreter must look at every word and understand why that, and not some other, expression had been used.

In the fragment of his commentary on Luke 12:8 ("Whosoever confesses in me before men, in him also will the Son of Man confess before the angels of God. But whoever denies me before men will also be denied before the angels of God"), Heracleon makes much of the fact that Luke writes "confesses in me" and not "confesses me." He points out that simple confession of Jesus could be verbal only, while the force of "in me" was the implication of a right attitude of mind, for "whoever lives in him can never deny him" (Clement 4. 9. 72. 4). The passages preserved by Origen from Heracleon's *Commentary on John,* chapters 1, 2, 4, and 8, show a concern for the equation of moral with spiritual values. This underlies an often fanciful allegorization of what he is interpreting. There is also attention to the exact wording of each text, as in his work on Luke. Thus, he points out that Jesus spoke of salvation being "of" the Jews and not "in" them (Origen *Commentary on John* 13. 52), and emphasizes that Jesus "went up" to Jerusalem (Origen 10. 33), meaning that he "ascended from the realm of the material to the psychic place which is an image of Jerusalem."

The whole tenor of Heracleon's interpretation of John shows that its message was that the true Christian must progress from the material or pagan view of the world, through the "psychic" Jewish or orthodox understanding of scripture and liturgy, to the real and spiritual apprehension of divine truth. Thus his interpretation of John 4:22 includes the injunction quoted from *The Preaching of Peter,* that we must not worship as the Greeks do, who believe in material things and worship wood and stone, nor worship the divine as the Jews do, for they who think they alone know God do not know Him but worship angels, the month, and the moon. "Orthodox" Christians also "worshiped, in flesh and in error, him who is not the Father: they worshiped the creation and not the true creator" (cited in Origen *Commentary on John* 13. 17, 19). Spiritual beings "comprehended the Passion of the Savior as the symbol of their restoration to the Father" (Origen 10. 19.). Similarly, "psychic" (i.e., orthodox) baptism was only bodily and imperfect, "the baptism of John," whereas baptism by the Gnostics was "for perfection" and was "spiritual."

Origen dismissed some of Heracleon's interpretations as speculative, but others he was prepared to accept. "Not improbably," he writes concerning Heracleon's exegesis of John 4:12–15, "the springing up" (verse 14) refers to those "who receive what is richly supplied from above and who themselves pour forth for the eternal life of others that which has been supplied to them."

The commendation of this and other fragments of Heracleon's exegesis shows how indebted Origen was to his Gnostic predecessor. Heracleon's commentaries on the New Testament prepared the ground for those of the Christian Platonists of Alexandria. They also saw the Word speaking through scripture and therefore requiring a spiritual and allegorical interpretation. Clement and Origen may both be seen in this respect as the theological descendants of Heracleon.

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HERACLEOPOLIS MAGNA. *See* Ahnās.

HERACLES. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

HERACLIDES, SAINT, martyr in fourth-century Egypt. Heraclides is known only from the fragmentary text of a Sahidic Passion and fragments of a codex from DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH (the White Monastery). (For a complete list, see Till, 1935, pp. 33ff.; and Von Lemm, 1913, no. 4.) He is not mentioned in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION, and the

Heraclides mentioned in the Passion of Didymus along with four other martyrs appears to be quite a different person.

The Passion belongs to those of the Cycle of Julius of Aqfahṣ, and the scene takes place in Alexandria under the Roman prefect Armenius. We now possess only an initial apparition of Jesus, who predicts that Heraclides will be martyred; the mention of the witness of Julius of Aqfahṣ; some scenes of terrible tortures followed by miraculous cures; and finally the death sentence pronounced by Armenius. Before dying, Heraclides prays that the land where he is buried may proliferate with fruit and animals. This prayer is an indication of the close relationship between piety and cultic devotion to the martyr in hope of benefits.

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HERACLIUS, FAST OF. *See* Fasts.

HERAI, SAINT, fourth-century virgin martyr in Egypt (feast day: 14 Ṭūbah); she is briefly mentioned also in the Greek calendar (5 and 23 September). The legendary Passion of Herai survives in a single Sahidic manuscript (Egyptian Museum, Turin, cat. 63000, III. 65–72), which is now incomplete. The missing portions can be reconstructed from the brief summary in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION ("Theban" redaction; cf. Coquin, 1978).

Herai, we are told, was an outstandingly beautiful twelve-year-old virgin, arrested as a Christian along with a group of other virgins, while they were going to draw water in their native village of Ṭammah in Middle Egypt. Herai foresaw that she would soon be a martyr and made a long farewell speech to her companions.

They were all taken by boat to Antinoopolis and brought before the prefect Culcianus, who was struck by Herai's beauty and desired to save her by having her offer a sacrifice. Culcianus was also struck by the fact—interesting for us in the framework of the legend—that Herai understood Greek.

In accordance with the usual structure of these Passions, there follows a scene of altercation between Culcianus and Herai, interspersed with threats of torture. There is also a divine intervention, just before the execution of Herai, which concludes the Coptic text.

The legend of Herai must have been known locally in and around Ṭammah, since it was inserted into the Synaxarion of Upper Egypt but not in that of Lower Egypt (cf. Coquin, 1978), which eventually prevailed. Furthermore, as far as can be judged from the surviving text, it does not belong to one of the major hagiographical CYCLES, although the figure of Culcianus is well known from other Passions.

It is possible, however, that the Passion of Herai may be the basis for the later Passion of the martyrs TER AND ERAI, composed as part of the cycle of BASILIDES the General. Herai is mentioned in this latter Passion as a martyr venerated in an important shrine at Ṭammah, to which the "second" Erai made a pilgrimage.

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HERAISCUS, an Alexandrian Neoplatonic philosopher of the late fifth century and a pagan priest. He came from an Egyptian family that owned an ancestral estate at Phenebythis in the nome Panopolis. Three primary sources mention him: Damascius' Life of Isidore, composed in the early sixth century, offers fragmentary information about Heraiscus' role as a pagan religious figure; the Syriac Life of Severus, written by Zachariah of Mitylene, numbers him as one of six Neoplatonists connected with an outbreak of religious violence near Alexandria in 485; a papyrus letter composed in Greek by Flavius HORAPOLLON and found at Kom Ishqāw has been translated and studied by J. Maspero (1914), who demonstrated that Heraiscus, although not named in the letter, was both the uncle and the

father-in-law of Horapollon and the brother of ASCLEPIADES, two famous professors at the Alexandrian Museon.

What interested Damascius about Heraiscus was that he, along with his older brother Asclepiades, was using native religious concepts to address philosophical issues. In his commentary *On First Principles* (ed. Ruelle, chap. 125), Damascius claimed that they found truths hidden in Egyptian myths, such as the tradition that Unknown Darkness was the beginning of all creation. In an exegetical tract composed by Heraiscus and sent to Proclus, head of the Athenian philosophical school, the brothers' views were found to diverge concerning the nature of the intelligible cosmos. The conflict of opinion prompted Damascius to remark that even Egyptians disputed over concepts and to acknowledge a distinction between Coptic and Greek philosophers.

A few fragments from the Life of Isidore allude to Heraiscus' priestly activity. He spent much of his time in temples tending to the paternal cult in Egypt and elsewhere. By simple observation, while approaching a sacred image, he was said to sense whether it was divinely animated, for he would experience a leaping sensation in his soul as if possessed by a god. At Heraiscus' death, his brother Asclepiades tended to the funeral rites and prepared to hand over to the priests the customary funerary objects, which included the bandages of Osiris in which the body was to be wrapped. It is noteworthy that Heraiscus' religious behavior conforms to the principles of theurgy as explained by the fourth-century Syrian Neoplatonist Iamblichus in his tract *On the Egyptian Mysteries.*

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HERESY, transliteration of the Greek *hairesis,* which denoted either a set of principles or those who adhered to such principles as a sect or school. Especially among Christians and Jews, the term came to refer to those holding false doctrines or teachings, obviously so designated by those who professed to have the true doctrines and to belong to the correct party or sect (Lampe, 1961, p. 51). Early Egyptian Christianity is not characterized by an easily identified organization or a set body of beliefs, and some scholars have argued that all Christianity in Egypt prior to the episcopacy of DEMETRIUS, bishop of Alexandria in 189–231, was heretical. For them, Demetrius is the "second founder of Christianity," who brought the orthodox version of the faith to Egypt. Many Christians in the Nile Valley, both contemporary with Demetrius and subsequent to that time, argued that the newly arrived Catholic faith was itself heretical, and charges and countercharges of heresy continued for centuries. Even before the time of Demetrius, there were some who have become known as heretics and founders of heretical movements. Such designations are meaningful primarily for those who were perceived as having established beliefs or practices not acceptable to others claiming leadership in the Christian churches. While most so-called heretics of early Egyptian Christianity are also included under the generic term "Gnostic," there is little justification for considering them to be anything other than distinct and disparate subgroups within the larger Christian community. Some of the more famous early heretics associated with Christian Egypt were Basilides, CARPOCRATES, CERINTHUS, and VALENTINUS. Heretical groups with no specifically identified founder included the Ophites and the Sethians, among others.

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HERMAS, second-century Roman author of *The Shepherd,* an apocalyptic work that is a call to repentance. He is included among the apostolic fathers.

The Greek original has not come down complete. Alongside relatively small papyrus fragments, mention should be made of the CODEX SINAITICUS, an Athos Codex, and a papyrus at the University of Michigan (there is a survey of the transmission of the Greek text and of the translations in the editions of M. Whittaker, 1956, pp. ix–xxvi, and R. Joly, 1968, pp. 58–68). There are two complete Latin translations and one complete Ethiopic translation, portions in Coptic, and remnants in Middle Persian. The Coptic fragments were collected or first published by L.-T. Lefort (1952).

In addition, there is the Paris folio (National Library, Paris, Copte 130.2 ["Schenoudi 2"], fol. 114), recently discovered by E. Lucchesi. In particular, there are eight folios of a papyrus codex in Akhmimic and the remnants of two parchment manuscripts in Sahidic, which Lefort calls, respectively, A and B. B consists of just a single folio (Louvain, no. 26, burned in the library fire of 1940). The new Paris folio belongs to codex A, so that we now have fourteen folios of this manuscript of the "Shepherd of Hermas" (Lucchesi, 1981, pp. 400–404). The Akhmimic text may have been part of a biblical manuscript. Probably the Akhmimic "Shepherd" and that of the Sahidic codex A did not include visions 1 to 4 but only began at vision 5 as an introduction to the *mandata* and the *similitudines.* This can be regarded as a support for the hypothesis that visions 1 to 4 and vision 5 to similitude 8 came into existence independently of each other. Similitudes 9 and 10 may have been added when the two books were joined. Both books and the linking of them very likely go back to the same author (Vielhauer, 1975, pp. 516f.).

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HERMES TRISMEGISTUS ("Thrice-greatest Hermes"). This name is a Greek adaptation of an Egyptian title, Thoth the Very Great, the Egyptian god-name Thoth being translated from at least the time of Herodotus to the Greek Hermes. The literature associated with Hermes Trismegistus is known as the Corpus Hermeticum and comprises some seventeen writings of diverse origin and authorship. There are also a discourse of Hermes to Asclepius, Hermetic writings in the anthology of Stobaeus, and miscellaneous fragments. This literature is generally thought to have originated in Egypt between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D. Scholars have attempted to show connections with Egyptian religion, Hellenistic mystery religions, gnosticism, Christianity, and even Iranian and Far Eastern religions. There is no consensus regarding such relationships, although most agree that there was some type of Hermetic community and cultic activity associated with the literature. The theology of the Corpus Hermeticum is diverse and not easily subjected to systematic analysis.

The first tractate, "Poimandres," is an apocalyptic theogony, including the creation of the world and a Gnostic account of salvation. Most of the following tractates are discourses or dialogues with two disciples, Asclepius and Tat, concerning metaphysics, ethics, salvation, and related themes. Tractate 13 is a dialogue on rebirth, and some have seen Christian influences in that particular writing. The

last tractate is an essay on music and musicians, emphasizing their role in praising God.

The Latin Asclepius text contains a book of Hermes Trismegistus given to Asclepius, Tat, and Ammon. The setting is a sanctuary in which the four men were inspired and Hermes discoursed on various theological matters, including creation, the cosmos, man, salvation, and immortality.

The Hermetic excerpts in the anthology of Stobaeus likewise contain dialogues between Hermes and Tat and between Hermes and Ammon on the subjects noted above, together with miscellaneous teachings of Hermes. There are lengthy passages recorded by Hermes as discourses of Isis to Horus, and they are cast into apocalyptic dialogues relating to heavenly councils, creation, reincarnation, and the salvation of the souls of men.

Throughout the Corpus Hermeticum, elements of the pre-Socratics, Plato, and Aristotle mingle with Gnostic, Jewish, and Christian ideas prevalent at the time of the composition of the tractates. No undisputed connection exists between the Hermetic literature and Egyptian Christianity during its first three centuries, but Egyptian Christian leaders quoted widely from these documents from the fourth century onward.

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HERMIT. *See* Anchorite.

HERMITAGE, the lodging or dwelling house of a hermit, "one living in the desert," or anchorite, "one living far removed." They were probably at first only single-roomed huts that were built, according to geographical circumstances, of stone, wood, or bricks; but at an early time they had already developed into houses with several rooms. Early descriptions are those of Palladius (*Historia Lausiaca* 8, hermitage of Amun; 18, of Macarius of Alexandria; 35, of John of Lycopolis), and the *Historia monachorum* (20.9, hermitage of Ammonius). Many anchorites settled in tombs (*Historia Lausiaca* 5, 45, 49) or caves in abandoned quarries. In the neighborhood of Isnā, furthermore, some monks dug subterranean caves for themselves. If several hermitages became linked together in a loose association, with due regard for more or less intervening space between them, we speak of a laura. Famous lauras are those of SCETIS (today Wādī al-Naṭrūn), NITRIA, KELLIA, and ENATON. Other lauras have been identified at ABŪ MĪNĀ, in KOM NAMRŪD, and on Sinai, in the neighborhood of Saint Catherine's monastery (see MOUNT SINAI MONASTERY OF SAINT CATHERINE).

The oldest hermitages so far, belonging to the beginning of the fifth century, were excavated in the Kellia. These are brick buildings half sunk in the ground and containing several small rooms, but they do not yet allow us to recognize any definite system in the arrangement of the individual rooms. Only in the course of the sixth century does a certain regularity in the form of the ground plan begin to prevail. The buildings developed into large rectangular courtyards with living quarters usually accommodated in the northwest corner. These quarters were in each case intended for two hermits, an old father and his disciple, and contained a sleeping room with cupboard rooms for each, as well as a common devotional room for both, or *oratorium*. This oratory was equipped with a bench in front of the west wall and a prayer niche set into the east wall. To the east in front of this group of rooms, on a somewhat wider basis, there was a kitchen with a storeroom and also a visiting room. Finally, there are in the courtyard a small garden, a washing place, and a toilet. With increased need for space owing to the arrival of more monks, or even just occasional visitors, further rooms were added. Some of these hermitages grew into stately buildings, several of which even possessed churches of their own.

Very similar complexes, although divergent in their detailed arrangement, have been excavated in Kom Namrūd (northwest of Samālūṭ). The main building in each case consists of a wide room furnished with niches, to which are attached two smaller rooms as well as a staircase on the east

side. Later a courtyard was added on the south side, with several single rooms arranged on the side lying opposite.

The hermitages of Scetis may have had a different appearance, but these have not so far been investigated. From the rubbish heaps that can be seen, they were built of quarried stone instead of bricks, and had flat roofs of wood.

Substantially simpler are the hermitages that have been identified in the laura in the east of Abū Mīnā. They have two rooms, of which the larger front room served as a reception room and workroom, while the smaller back room was for sleeping and for prayer. In several cases the latter room was divided yet again, in order to make space for a staircase for an upper story.

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HERMITAGES, THEBAN. Many Christian sites on the left bank of the Nile opposite Luxor cannot be definitely labeled genuine monasteries, although the local inhabitants use the name *dayr* (monastery). What we know of these hermitages follows.

In the Valley of the Kings, several celebrated tombs preserve vestiges of their occupation by hermits. We may cite the tombs of Ramses IV, that destined for Ramses III, and also that of Ramses VI. They are summarily described by O. Meinardus (1st ed., 1965, p. 315; 2nd ed., 1977, p. 429).

Several tombs situated at SHAYKH 'ABD AL-QURNAH still preserve traces of Christian occupation. The tombs were fitted up, and several Greek or Coptic inscriptions bearing witness to their last occupants are noted by A. Badawy (1953, pp. 69–89) and U. Monneret de Villard (Baedeker, 1929, 1974, p. 187).

The hermitages to the north of MADĪNAT HĀBŪ and as far as beyond the Valley of the Kings, which are of the seventh or eighth century, are briefly described by H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum (1926, Vol. 1, pp. 16–24), J. E. Quibell (1906, pp. 8–10), and R. Mond and W. B. Emery (1929, pp. 49–74).

To the west of the DAYR AL-SHALWĪT (in the hill called al-Kulah al-Ḥamrā) a hermitage has been excavated (Doresse, 1949, pp. 327–49, esp. p. 343).

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HERMONTHIS. *See* Armant.

HERMOPOLIS MAGNA. *See* Ashmūnayn, al-.

HERMOPOLIS PARVA. *See* Damānhur.

HERPAESE AND JULIANUS, SAINTS, two martyrs of fourth-century Egypt. Two Sahidic fragments (*Berliner Papyrussammlung*, P22122; ed. Satzinger, 1967–1968, n. 324) are all that remain of a *Passio* of the martyrs Herpaese and Julianus, who are named nowhere else in Coptic tradition and who are not even included in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION.

The text is clearly part of the Cycle of ARIANUS, perhaps from the fifth or sixth century, but must belong to a minor, local tradition that was not included in later works. The style is that typical of *koptischer Konsens*, the recurring theme of "indestructible life" (see HAGIOGRAPHY).

The preserved part of the text begins with GABRIEL intervening between the martyrs and an unknown opponent. He later reassembles the scattered limbs of Julianus; then the two martyrs are brought to the perfect Arianus and placed in a boiling cauldron. Jesus himself appears and saves them, and then delivers a long speech. The two martyrs are brought back to Arianus.

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TITO ORLANDI

HESYCHIAN BIBLE, the text of the Septuagint revised by Hesychius, Egyptian bishop of an unspecified diocese in the third century. He was a native of Alexandria, often wrongly identified with his namesake the lexicographer of the second century, who was a pagan. Hesychius the bishop is credited with the revision not only of the Septuagint but also of the New Testament or at least the four Gospels in circulation in Egypt. This recension is mentioned by Jerome as the work of Hesychius with the collaboration of Lucian of Antioch. According to Eusebius, Hesychius was martyred under DIOCLETIAN with three contemporaries: Pachomius, Phileas, and Theodorus. The four martyrs had written a letter dated A.D. 296, now available in a Latin version, to the schismatic Melitius, Bishop of Lycopolis in Upper Egypt, reprimanding him for irregular ordinations.

Criticisms have been made of the Hesychian text for undue additions to the Gospels that render them more apocryphal than truthful.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

HESYCHIUS, a bishop in late third- and early fourth-century Egypt and a biblical scholar. The name "Hesychius," familiar in late antiquity, appears twenty-seven times in W. Smith's and H. Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. One reference states that five bishops of that name attended the Council of NICAEA in 325. The most famous is the Hesychius who was bishop of an unknown Egyptian diocese probably during the patriarchate of PETER I. He is known in biblical studies as an exegete who revised the text of the Septuagint on the basis of the Hebrew original and compiled the Gospels. His recension was widely used in the churches of Egypt and Alexandria instead of the text of ORIGEN, but it was severely criticized in the West. Jerome speaks of interpolations and false additions to the Hesychian recension of the Bible. The *Decretum Gelasianum* (c. A.D. 500) described the work of Hesychius as "apocryphal." Modern criticism of the labors of Hesychius, however, appears to be less severe.

As a churchman, Hesychius participated in the condemnation of the MELITIAN SCHISM. About 296 he, Phileas, Theodorus, and Pachomius wrote a letter addressed to MELITIUS, schismatic bishop of Lycopolis, repudiating his errors and his irregular ordinations outside his diocese. Later Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* 8.13) states that Hesychius and his three companions were martyred at Alexandria during the persecutions by DIOCLETIAN.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

HESYCHIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, Alexandrian Greek lexicographer probably of the fourth or fifth century. Little is known about his background.

He is sometimes described in later sources as a pagan. To the world of scholarship, he is known solely through his monumental Greek dictionary, in which he dealt with the varied Greek dialects and incorporated a vocabulary of patristic letters, notably that of Saint CYRIL I, patriarch of Alexandria. However, his work is based on the second-century Greek dictionary of Diogenianus of Heraclea as well as the work of a number of other Greek lexicographers. His compilation has survived in a mutilated fifteenth-century manuscript preserved at Venice (National Marcan Library, no. 622) and edited by J. Alberti in the eighteenth century and M. Schmidt in the nineteenth century.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

HEUSER, GUSTAV (1892–1937), German Coptologist. After studying theology at Heidelberg, he published two important Coptic studies, *Die Personennamen der Kopten* (1929) and *Prosopographie von Ägypten* (1938).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

HEXAPLA AND TETRAPLA, two editions of the Old Testament by ORIGEN. The Bible was the center of Origen's religion, and no church father lived more in it than he did. The foundation, however, of all study of the Bible was the establishment of an accurate text. Fairly early in his career (c. 220) Origen was confronted with the fact that Jews disputed whether some Christian proof texts were to be found in scripture, while Christians accused the Jews of removing embarrassing texts from scripture.

It was not, however, until his long exile in Caesarea (232–254) that Origen had the opportunity to undertake his major work of textual criticism. EUSEBIUS (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6. 16) tells us that "he even made a thorough study of the Hebrew language," an exaggeration; but with the help of a Jewish teacher he learned enough Hebrew to be able to compare the various Jewish and Jewish-Christian versions of the Old Testament that were extant in the third century. Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 54) adds that knowledge of Hebrew was "contrary to the spirit of his period and his race," an interesting sidelight on how Greeks and Jews remained in their separate communities even though they might live in the same towns in the Greco-Roman East.

Origen started with the Septuagint, and then, according to Eusebius (6. 16), turned first to "the original writings in the actual Hebrew characters" and then to the versions of the Jews Aquila and Theodotion and the Jewish-Christian Symmachus.

There is a problem, however, about the next stage in Origen's critical work. Eusebius mentions two separate editions: the Tetrapla ("Fourfold"), in which Origen set out in parallel columns four versions of scripture—the Septuagint with the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus—and the Hexapla ("Sixfold"), which included a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew and a fifth translation that Eusebius does not identify. To these were added, for the Psalms, a sixth and seventh translation, one of which Origen identified while at Nicopolis in Epirus and the other from a jar discovered near Jericho during the reign of Caracalla (211–217)—an early anticipation of the Dead Sea Scrolls! Epiphanius (*Panarion* 64. 3) indicates that about 370 the Hexapla included a column in Hebrew alongside the Greek transliteration. The most recent critic, P. Nautin, has argued, however, that the term "Hexapla" referred to six translations or versions: the Septuagint, the versions of the three named authors (Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus), and the "fifth" and "sixth" unnamed, added later (1977, chap. 9).

Whatever the precise arrangement of the columns of text, the objective was clear. Origen had found that the Septuagint was outdated, superseded by the Greek versions of Aquila and Theodotion by the end of the second century, and now by that of his contemporary Symmachus. He was determined to rectify this situation for the benefit of the church. He explains about 247 in his Commentary on Matthew (15. 14):

> By the grace of God, we have sought to remedy the divergences which are to be found in copies of the Old Testament, by using other editions as a

means of control. In places where there has been a lack of certainty in the copies of LXX because of differences in the text of these copies, we have used other editions [of the Greek Old Testament] in harmonizing the LXX with these. We have marked with an Obelus (+) passages which are not to be found in the Hebrew, not daring to suppress these completely. Elsewhere, we have added an asterisk, so that it is made clear where we have added passages which are not to be found in the LXX in agreement with the Hebrew text, in taking these passages from other versions.

Origen thus applied the critical methods of his time to establish an updated version of the Septuagint, which was the text authorized by the church. It was a bold step, and it is interesting that Origen never attempted to treat the New Testament in the same way.

Though the Tetrapla and Hexapla were huge and unwieldy productions, copies were retained in the library at Caesarea, where Jerome used them for his commentaries on the Psalms. Not surprisingly, only fragments have survived, the most important being derived from a Syriac translation of the Septuagint text by Paul, Monophysite bishop of Tella in Mesopotamia, about 616.

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W. H. C. FREND

HIBAT-ALLĀH ʿABD-ALLĀH IBN SAʿĪD AL-DAWLAH AL-QIBṬĪ, fourteenth-century Copt who converted to Islam. The sources do not give us any clear details about his acceptance of Islam. His career in government took him from the post of *naẓar al-dawāwīn* (secretary of finance) at the end of the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥummad ibn Qalāwūn to that of *naẓar al-dawlah* (secretary of state). He then filled the office of *naẓar al-khāṣṣ* (secretary of war) after the dismissal of Jamāl al-Kufah, another Copt turned Muslim. On the dismissal of Ibn Zunbūr, likewise a Copt who had embraced Islam, he occupied the post of vizier together with Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-Muḥassinī, who bore the title *mushīr* (councillor).

He was a noted Arabic calligrapher. In private life, he took care of the poor and needy. The sources indicate that he distinguished himself for his incorruptibility and high moral standards. He married a concubine of Sultan al-Sāliḥ Ismāʿīl, a black woman called Ittifāq. His friends told of his great love for this woman. He died in April or May 1354.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

HIBAT ALLĀH IBN ʿASSAL, AL-. *See* Awlād al-ʿAssāl.

HICKMANN, HANS. *See* Music, Coptic: Musicologists.

HIERACAS OF LEONTOPOLIS, third-century heresiarch. Hieracas and his teachings are chiefly known from the notice devoted to the "Hieracites" by Epiphanius of Salamis in his *Panarion* (PG 42, chap. 67). It is very doubtful that Epiphanius ever met Hieracas himself, as reported by the Life of Epiphanius (PG 41, col. 57), the authenticity of which is debatable, but he probably knew some of his disciples, and his information is drawn from good sources. In addition we have available two documents in Coptic: a "Letter to Virgins" of Saint ATHANASIUS published by L. T. Lefort, who considered the Coptic text to be authentic (1929, pp. 197–264), and the report of a discussion between MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN and a disciple of Hieracas, published by M. Chaine (1925–1926, pp. 232–75).

The dates of his life are impossible to determine with precision, but he must have lived in the last third of the third century and the first half of the fourth. According to Epiphanius, he resided at Leontopolis, and died at the age of ninety; he was well

instructed in the knowledge of the Greeks and the Egyptians, and particularly versed in the exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, which he had memorized. He professed heterodox opinions, which he claimed to base upon Holy Scripture; he denied the resurrection of the flesh, affirming that only the soul revives, an opinion also reported by the story concerning Macarius, which adds that his disciples also denied the reality of the incarnation of Christ. He rejected marriage, holding that though legitimate under the Old Covenant it had been abolished by the Gospel, an opinion also reported by Saint Athanasius. He admitted as disciples only those who were celibate or had renounced marriage. He believed that asceticism is necessary for salvation, and for this reason he excluded from the Kingdom those who died at an early age. He affirmed that paradise is purely spiritual. His theology, according to Epiphanius, was orthodox, but he identified the Holy Spirit with MELCHIZEDEK, basing this opinion on the letter to the Hebrews. To this the story about Macarius adds that his disciples affirmed the existence of three principles: God, matter, and evil.

It is impossible to verify the correctness of these allegations. Of the numerous books, commentaries on scripture, and psalms which, according to Epiphanius, Hieracas composed in Greek and Coptic, nothing has survived. E. Peterson (1947, pp. 257–60) thought to recognize a fragment of one of his psalms in a Coptic text, in the Akhmimic dialect, but this identification is very doubtful.

His opinions spread as far as the region of Arsinoë and in the Fayyūm. Epiphanius asserts that Hieracas made numerous disciples, especially among the monks. Those disciples not only renounced marriage but led an ascetic life, abstaining from meat and wine. Nevertheless Epiphanius reproaches them for living each in cohabitation with a woman, in conformity with the practice of the *subintroductae* (virgins who live under the same roof as the monastics) current in the church of the early centuries. This allows one to think that Hieracas and his disciples did not live in a monastery, as K. Heussi thought (1936, pp. 58–65), in reliance on the Life of Epiphanius, but according to the way of life of the ascetics of the premonastic period.

Historians, it seems, have had a tendency to exaggerate the role of Hieracas in history. In the eighteenth century I. de Beausobre, still followed by some modern historians although this opinion is without solid foundation, made of Hieracas a disciple of Mani, thus establishing a bond between MANICHAEISM and monasticism. A. Harnack (1931, Vol. 1, p. 777) saw in him "the intermediate link between Origen and Coptic monasticism." More recently F. Wisse (1978, pp. 431–40) has advanced the thesis that one of the books discovered at NAG HAMMADI, the *Testimonium veritatis* (Nag Hammadi Codex 9.3) may have been authored by Hieracas or one of his disciples, which would allow us to forge a link between GNOSTICISM and monasticism. See a critical examination of this thesis by A. Guillaumont (1980–1981, pp. 411–13).

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

HIERARCHY, CHURCH, the collective body of organized ecclesiastical ranks, in successive order, one above another. The pyramidal structure consists of a hierarch, the pope as the head of the church, in subordination to whom are the episcopacy composed of METROPOLITANS, ARCHBISHOPS, and BISHOPS as well as the presbytery of *protopriests* (see HEGUMENOS), PRIESTS, and MONKS. Nowadays, they can perform the liturgy in the absence of a priest.

The hierarchy also includes the diaconate composed of ARCHDEACONS, DEACONS, SUBDEACONS, and READERS, whose members, although originally intended to "serve tables" (Acts 6:2), soon developed into a definite rank performing an indispensable task in the liturgy and other church services.

Prayers on behalf of the hierarchy are offered as part of the greater intercessions in the course of the celebration of the Divine Liturgy.

ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HIGHER INSTITUTE OF COPTIC STUDIES. Founded with a modest budget by the COMMUNITY COUNCIL on 21 January 1954, this institute was expected to become an important factor in the revival of Coptic studies in Egypt. Its restricted means were supplemented by meager donations from private, individual sources, which enabled its initial administration to launch a study program in Coptology. This program was facilitated by the volunteer services of its president, Aziz S. Atiya, and two vice-presidents, MURAD KAMIL and SAMI GABRA, who in turn recruited volunteers among noted scholars and specialists to serve as a teaching body and to constitute the Institute Council. The idea of the institute was universally acclaimed, and a number of eminent professors at the universities of Oxford, Liverpool, Michigan, Princeton, and Hartford, among others, accepted honorary fellowships in the new foundation.

The initial sections of the institute included theology, Coptic language and literature, Coptic history, archaeology, sociology, Coptic law, Coptic music, and Coptic art. A library was started, and several collections were assembled in it from various organizations and individuals. Besides the collections of the CLERICAL COLLEGE and the Library of the Committee of Coptic History, private collections included those of KĀMIL MĪKHĀ'ĪL 'ABD AL-SAYYID, Mikhā'il Ṣalīb, Sami Gabra, and others, which formed a solid basis of a specialized working research library in the field of Coptology.

The beginning classes of the institute included mainly Coptic enthusiasts, together with a number of Muslim and Jewish scholars, which signified the general interest in this new venture.

Requirements for admission included a bachelor's degree from a recognized university or the diploma of the Clerical College. Publication of a journal was contemplated, but was abandoned for lack of funds. The institute continues to function in a modest way, with severely limited financial resources. Voluntary academic services are rendered by supporters, and its library, together with the collections of the Society of Coptic Archaeology and the Patriarchal Library, offers admirable research opportunities in the field of Coptic studies. The Patriarchal Library has been enriched by the monumental collection willed to it by Murad Kamil. The Coptic collection of Aziz S. Atiya is also deposited at this library.

The two sections that have flourished on their own self-sustaining resources are the Section of Coptic Music, under Ragheb Moftāḥ, and the Section of Coptic Art, under Isaac Fanous, whose icons have filled most of the new churches in Egypt and some foreign countries. The institute has served as a center for visiting Coptologists from other parts of the world. It has awarded doctoral degrees to specialized researchers, under the patronage of Pope Shenouda III and the presidency of Anbā Gregorios, bishop in Cairo for higher theological studies, Coptic culture, and scientific research.

AZIZ S. ATIYA

HIJĀB. *See* Iconostasis.

HIJAZAH. *See* Pilgrimages.

HILARIA, SAINT, elder daughter of the fourth-century emperor Zeno, who according to legend became a monk (feast day: 21 Tūbah).

Zeno had two daughters. The legend is as follows. The elder, Hilaria, seeks the monastic life but Theopiste, the younger, does not entertain such desires. Hilaria secretly, in male attire, travels to Alexandria, where she prays in the churches of Saint Peter the Martyr and Saint Mark the Evangelist. The apostles answer her in the affirmative through the words of scripture. She then entrusts herself to Theodorus the deacon, who accompanies her to the monastery. She goes first to Saint MENAS, then to SCETIS to Saint PAMBO. The ascetic does not recognize her as a woman, for she is only eighteen, and he advises her to go to ENATON, where life is less strict. But she insists on staying, and earns the monastic habit. Together they discuss scripture with Anbā Martyrius, the philosopher.

Three years later, Pambo learns through revelation that Hilaria is a woman and asks her not to reveal herself, in order to avoid any scandal. Nine years later, still being beardless, she becomes known as Hilarion, the eunuch.

A demon enters her young sister, who is at Constantinople. The emperor Zeno, not knowing what to do, leaves the matter to the monks of Scetis. As a

consequence, Theopiste is brought before Saint Pambo. To everyone's astonishment, the eunuch Hilarion's reaction is extreme; she drenches the ground with a flood of tears. Touched by such compassion, Pambo entrusts the afflicted young woman to Hilarion. For a week the latter prays—consoling and finally curing her young sister, who does not recognize her. Once cured, Theopiste receives the sacraments and returns to her father in the palace. She tells the emperor that, to comfort her, Hilarion the monk kissed her on the mouth and slept in the same bed with her.

Shocked, the emperor Zeno summons the healing monk to come to him on the pretext that there is another cure to be done at Constantinople itself. Taking Hilarion aside, Zeno discloses that his mind is troubled. To avoid any scandal, Hilarion unveils herself to the emperor alone, provided he lets her go back in peace to her monastery. For an hour the emperor Zeno remains stupefied. Only the empress and the younger sister are informed. The recognition results in tender tears.

Hilaria again becomes the eunuch Hilarion in the monastery of Scetis, and twelve years later she dies. Pambo then writes the life of the saint, who is buried fully clothed.

This account raised questions, first of all, in O. von Lemm's mind. On the basis of the Coptic fragments from Paris and Leiden, edited in 1888 by A. AMÉLINEAU, he recognized the story as a derivative of an Egyptian romance, the Story of Bent-Resh, the "daughter of joy," of which "Hilaria" is an exact translation. Nevertheless the differences are numerous, for Bent-Resh is possessed of a demon and is the elder sister of Nefrure, wife of the pharoah; she is cured by Khonsu, the builder of Thebes. In 1913, A. J. Wensinck collected all the Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic versions of the legend, before coming to know of the complete Coptic text. He produced the family-tree of the legend from the Egyptian to the Coptic.

In the penetrating study attached by J. Drescher to his complete edition of the Coptic text, the English scholar shows that, perhaps apart from the name Hilaria itself, dependence on the pharaonic legend is more than improbable. The literary genre to which this account belongs is very well represented in Greek hagiography, for example, Eugenia Pélagia, Euphrosyne, and above all Apolinaria, whose life reproduces the antithesis between the two sisters. At the same time, he notes that Apolinaria is not known anywhere in the Orient, while Hilaria is not known anywhere in Greece. The two subjects are thus apportioned to match the theological predilections of the churches concerned.

It is possible to take this analysis much further. Zeno reigned from 474 to 491 and published his HENOTICON in 482. Nine years were to pass before the Edict of Peace, which Saint Pambo warmly praises at the beginning of his account. No more than about ten years passed until the death of Zeno. Looking at a series of legends of holy women such as Irene, Barbara, Christine of Tyre, and many others, it is obvious that these princesses correspond exactly to the communities of which the monarchs concerned received the crown. Israel is likewise called the daughter of Zion in the Old Testament. When Zeno assumes power, one of his daughters is ill, the one who continues to apply the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, after Leo and Marcian. The other has fled to the monastery. When Zeno finds his elder daughter again, he begs her, "Pray the Lord for me to keep me in the faith of my fathers." What is more, the day of Hilaria's death, 21 Ṭūbah, is the Feast of the DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN, a symbol of the resistance at Jerusalem to the Council of Chalcedon. There is a legend about SOPHIA OF JERUSALEM, which is entirely parallel, and which explains the same political and religious development in a romanticized form, but this time as between Constantinople and Jerusalem. This legend has been preserved only in Arabic. The point of the story of Hilaria is no different. It not only takes from the Greek church the old theme of the woman who becomes a monk but integrates it in a symbolic account. The abbot Pambo is a fictional character, borrowed from the fourth century. In the prologue of the story itself, the author appears to be very much aware of the literary genre that he is tackling. God had provided believers not only with preachers but also with authors, intended for their guidance.

The legend of Hilaria, daughter of ZENO, was published by Drescher in 1947, based on the following sources: MS Pierpont-Morgan 583 dated A.D. 848 (Vol. 37 of the photographic edition); four parchments from the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester; and three parchments of another manuscript now at Paris, Coptic MS 132[1], fols. 19–21; a leaf of the same manuscript from the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden; an isolated leaf from Paris MS 78, fol. 39; and finally a papyrus fragment from the British Museum. Only the text for 848 is complete. A Greek original is not probable; moreover, the legend does not exist in Greek.

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MICHEL VAN ESBROECK

HILARION, SAINT, fourth-century monk of Palestine (feast day: 24 Baramhāt). Almost our only source of information about Saint Hilarion is the *Vita Hilarionis* written in Latin by Saint JEROME shortly after 390, in Bethlehem. This is a narrative of a fairly romantic character, the historical value of which has often been contested. He was born about 293 at Thavatha in the neighborhood of Gaza, and at the age of fifteen was sent by his pagan parents to study at Alexandria. Hilarion became converted to Christianity and, having heard talk of Saint ANTONY, went to stay with him and was clothed by him in the monastic habit. At the end of two months, he returned to Palestine.

His parents being dead, he distributed his goods to the poor and went off to live in solitude in a hut, which he built for himself in the marshy region on the edge of the sea in the neighborhood of Majuma, the port of Gaza. According to his biographer, he there had to undergo violent assaults by demons, similar to those related in the Life of Saint Antony. Soon disciples came to join him. Harassed by the crowds attracted by his miracles, he resolved to leave his homeland. Accompanied by a few disciples, he arrived in Egypt and went to visit the places where Saint Antony had lived (he had died a year earlier, in 356). But even in Egypt the crowds flocked to him as to a new Antony. Then follows, in Jerome's narrative, a most imaginative series of journeys around the Mediterranean, Hilarion being unable to find any place where he could live secluded and unknown. He went first to Libya, shortly after the death of Julian (363), then to Sicily, where he was rejoined by his disciple Hesychius, but everywhere his miracles and his renown for sanctity led to his detection. Later he went to Epirus, and finally to Cyprus, where he died at the age of eighty, hence about 373. His disciple Hesychius secretly conveyed his body to Majuma. At this period Saint EPIPHANIUS was bishop of Cyprus, and it is probably from him that Saint Jerome heard of Hilarion.

In writing the *Vita Hilarionis* Jerome has the clear intention of presenting his hero as a disciple and emulator of Saint Antony, as the founder of the monastic life in Palestine, just as Antony had been in Egypt. He says expressly (§14) that before Hilarion there had not yet been any monks in the whole of Syria. But that is incorrect. We know now that the anchorite life had already been practiced, independently it appears of any Egyptian influence, in the desert of Judah, to the east of Jerusalem, as is attested notably by the Life of Saint Chariton (Chitty, 1966, pp. 13–14).

There is a Coptic version of the Life of Hilarion, which has been published with an Italian translation by F. Rossi. This was probably made from a Greek version, which has also been preserved. The SYNAXARION devotes a notice to Saint Hilarion on 24 Bābah. The author has manifestly used the Life written by Saint Jerome but, a remarkable thing, he makes no mention of the relations Hilarion is supposed to have had with Saint Antony.

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ḤILWĀN. [*This article consists of two parts, one section on the history and one on Christian buildings in the small town of Ḥilwān. This town is on the east bank of the Nile 14 miles (20 km) south of Cairo. It has always been known for its curative sulfuric waters.*]

History

According to the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, the governor of Egypt 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān (seventh–eighth century) built Ḥilwān and commanded the bishops to build two churches. However, it seems that Ḥilwān already possessed a bishop before the arrival of the Arabs.

The monastery of Ḥilwān existed during the patriarchate of ALEXANDER II (705–730).

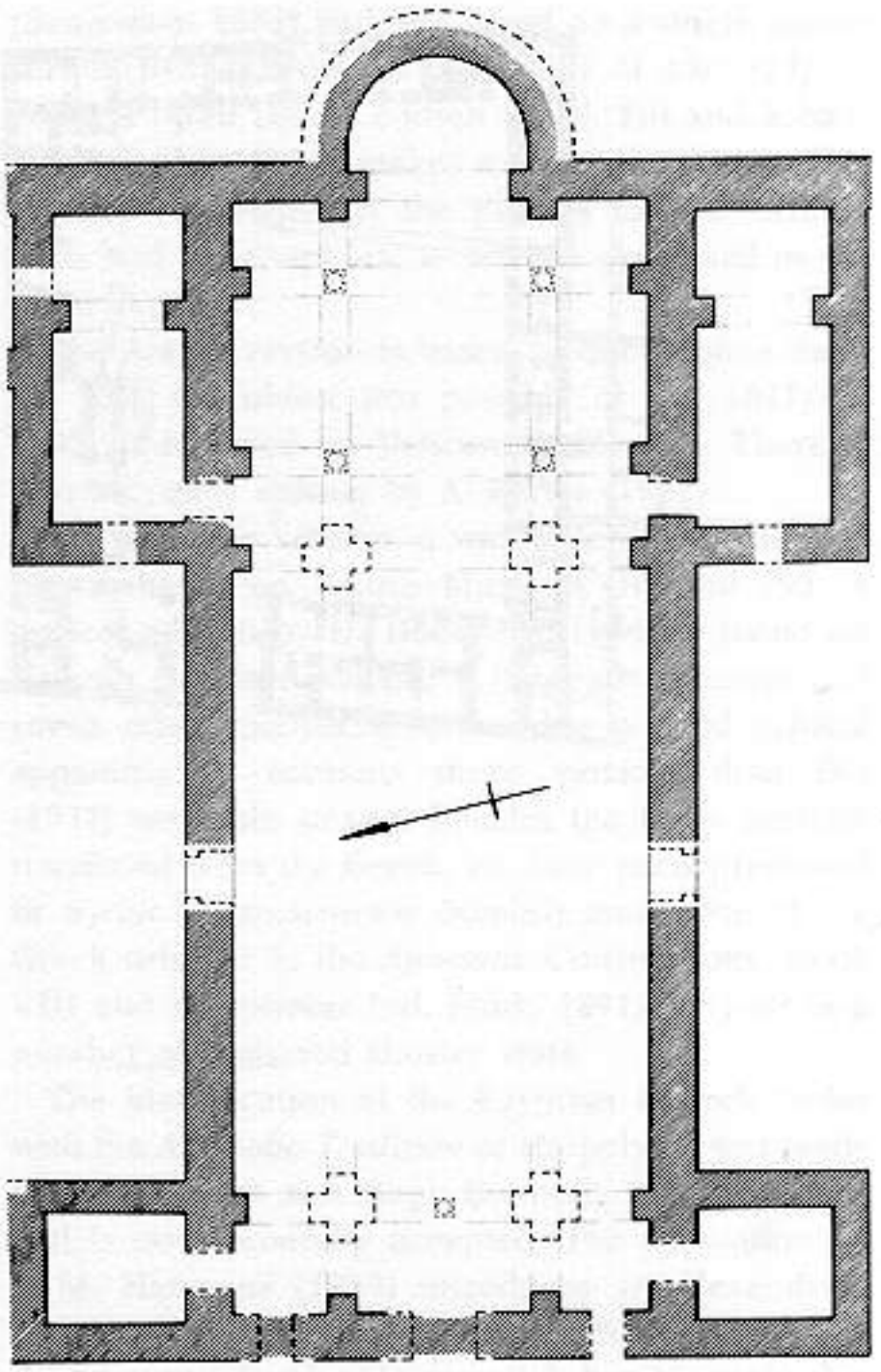
According to the Life of Patriarch ISAAC (686–689), written at the beginning of the eighth century by Menas, bishop of Pshati, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān made Ḥilwān his capital because the doctors had recommended the water of Ḥilwān to him, and the air of this place was more favorable than that of al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo).

Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian (beginning of thirteenth century) mentions a monastery at Ḥilwān dedicated to the Holy Virgin. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, this monastery was founded at the expense of the bishops under the patriarchates of Isaac and Simon I (689–701) and under the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān. It is called the monastery of Abū Qarqūrah.

Abū Ṣāliḥ also records the restoration of a second monastery, according to the decree of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān and by the care of his Melchite majordomos, under the patronage of Saint George.

Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1441) does not speak of it, nor does any author after him. Whatever its origins, excavations in 1945–1947 have brought to light a monastery at Ḥilwān.

The monk BŪLUS AL-ḤABĪS, a recluse martyred by Baybars, lived in the monastery of Ḥilwān in the thirteenth century (Labib, 1982). This saint is also mentioned by Ibn al-Suqāʿī.



Plan of the basilica situated in the front section of complex A, Ḥilwān. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

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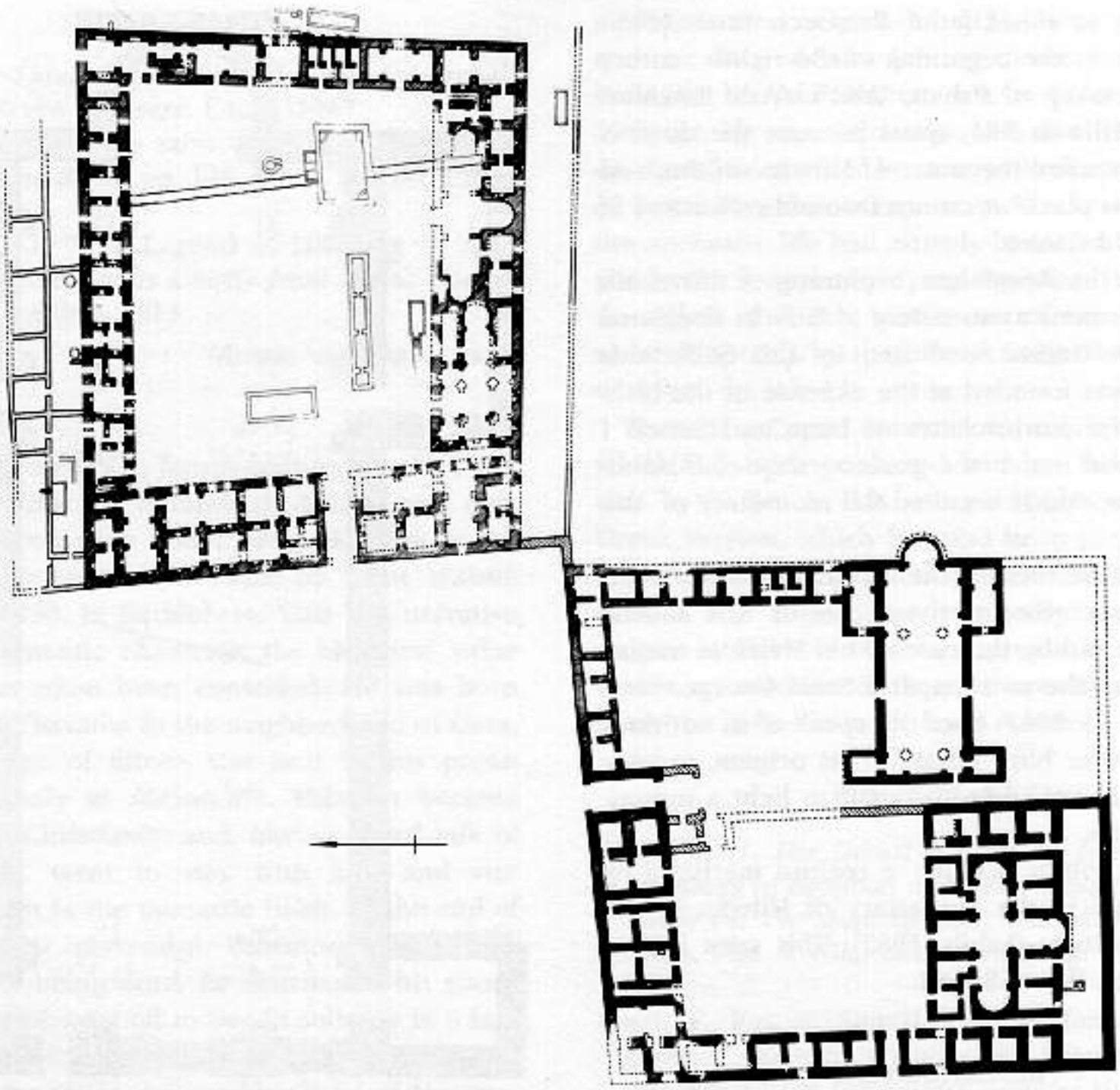
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Christian Buildings

Of the Christian buildings that were erected in Ḥilwān by the order of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān, the remains of two buildings located close together on the west side of the town had remained standing, but they were destroyed during the course of forcible land reclamation for new buildings in 1983. They consisted of two rather large and more or less square structures, the inner courtyards of which were surrounded on all sides by interconnected rows of rooms. Both buildings appear to have been erected during a single building operation and revealed only a few later alterations. In both cases the entrances had the design of large gate structures. Inside, besides numerous accommodation units and toilets, each of the buildings had a church and next to the church a dining room (triclinium) in the shape of a triconch.

In the somewhat more substantial complex A, the originally unified courtyard was divided into two sections by a later transverse wall. The church situated in the front-facing section was a basilica with its eastern part subdivided by four central pillars, side chambers, and a projecting apse. The large dining room lay in the west courtyard. It was a regularly shaped triconch with each conch having



Plan of the monastic complex at Ḥilwān. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

what appears to be a barrel-vaulted bay in front. Consequently, it was close in type to the triclinia of late antiquity (Grossmann, 1982, p. 84, n. 372).

In the building complex B, which had a somewhat clearer arrangement, the church and the triclinium were fully integrated into the building arrangement on the south side of the courtyard. The church was a four-columned building with sturdy cruciform piers and a deep three-roomed sanctuary. In the triconch attached to the church in the east, which is here also regarded as a triclinium, only the two conchs situated in the transverse axis were provided with bays, while in the principal axis they were missing because the building was slight in depth.

The remaining rooms corresponded in both complexes. In both there were several accommodation units each comprising four rooms. Complex A had, in addition, a number of two-room types of houses. In complex B the ground plan of smaller houses had greater variation. Several installations were also found in the courtyard, among which was a fish pond provided with numerous pipes for breeding.

Complex B generally gave a more developed impression. It appeared to be the later of the two. The fact that numerous wall niches were found in its walls is simply due, however, to its relatively better state of preservation. We can assume that they were also part of complex A.

Later installations and alterations were very few. Complex B contained a series of buildings on the north side that might have served as stalls for cattle.

The purpose of the two buildings is also unclear. In style they resembled the great hermitages found in KELLIA (Kasser, 1972). They were, however, in comparison to these, far too lavish, and, if one is prepared to regard them as monastic living quarters, provided room for very few monks. One might have expected to find at least a number of smaller

buildings of the same kind in the neighborhood, but this is not the case.

The idea that we are dealing here with palace installations for senior clergy is scarcely justified, even though the existence of such buildings is reported in documentary sources. It is just possible that the two complexes were Christian guesthouses for the visitors to the baths at Ḥilwān. In any event, a spa resort like Ḥilwān could certainly have used several guesthouses.

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HIPPOLYTUS (c. 170–c. 236), a presbyter and probably a schismatic bishop of Rome, who wrote numerous works in Greek on theological and ecclesiastical subjects. Some of their titles are listed on the basis of an early statue of him, found in Rome in 1551, now in the Vatican Library. Two of the most important are *Philosophoumena*, written against gnosticism and other heresies, and the *Apostolic Tradition*, one of the most helpful sources for the student of early canon law, liturgy, and church customs. Hippolytus is a saint in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches but not in the Coptic church.

The original Greek text of the *Apostolic Tradition* is known only through substantial quotations in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and a number of scattered texts. Because the text was known from sources with Egyptian connections, it acquired the name of Egyptian Church Order, preserved in the canonical collection *Sinodos* of the Coptic patriarchate. The Bohairic version of a manuscript formerly in Berlin (now at Tübingen University Library, not in the British Museum, as B. Botte said in 1963), written in 1804, is a translation of a Sahidic text rendered with some Arabic influence. The earliest Coptic text of a prayer from the *Apostolic Tradition* is found in the Coptic Euchologion of the DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH (*PO* 28. 2, pp. 393ff.). The Sahidic text, translated from a Greek text, was edited by P. de Lagarde (*Aegyptiaca* 1883) and was based on a single manuscript (British Museum Or. 1320) of A.M. 722/A.D. 1006. A more recent edition by W. Till and Johannes Leipoldt (1954) makes a few corrections. This Sahidic version omits the prayers for the ordinations and the anaphora, which are preserved in the Latin version.

The Arabic version is based on a complete Sahidic text, the oldest text possibly of A.M. 1011/A.D. 1295. It is based on Vatican Arabic 149. There is also a critical edition by A. Périer (1912).

The Ethiopic version, a translation from the Arabic, is based on British Museum Oriental 793. A critical edition by H. Duensing (1946) is based on Vatican Borgia Aethiopic 2 (fifteenth century) and seven other manuscripts, and has a good critical apparatus. It contains more variants than Dix (1937) was able to use. Besides the Latin version, translated from the Greek, we have parts preserved in Syriac (*Testamentum Domini*) and parts of the Greek original in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book VIII and its epitome (ed. Funk, 1891), as well as a number of scattered shorter texts.

The identification of the Egyptian Church Order with the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus was made by E. Schwartz and Hugh Connolly independently, and is now generally accepted. The opposition by J. M. Hanssens (1959) introduces an Alexandrian Josipe in the place of Hippolytus. His learned study contains much valuable material, but his main thesis has not proved convincing.

Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* is extremely important for our understanding of the church at the beginning of the third century. For establishing the original text, the Sahidic and derived versions are of great importance. The influence of the *Apostolic Tradition* in the area of the Alexandrian patriarchate is considerable. Its eucharistic rites are among the many anaphoras of the Ethiopic church.

The *Canons of Hippolytus* are a collection of canon law statutes from Egypt, dated to the fourth century by Botte (fifth–sixth century by Dix), preserved only in Arabic translation from a lost Sahidic version of a lost Greek original attributed to Hippolytus. H. Achelis (1891–1904) thought the *Canons* were the original of the whole group of Church Orders that contain Hippolytan matter. They are now regarded as the last in the group. In fact, they are a drastic rewriting of the *Apostolic Tradition*, but remain mainly a secondary witness.

The *Epitome* may be regarded as more an extract than an epitome of Book VIII, but it has its peculiarities, sometimes preserving a text older than *Ap-*

ostolic Constitutions VIII (ordinations of a bishop). It contains five chapters, of which the title "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles Through Hippolytus Concerning Ordinations" belongs to Chapter 2. Some scholars have extended the title to the whole of the *Epitome*. The *Epitome* is of some value for the reconstruction of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Traditions* and it is the only source of the Greek text of two passages.

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HIPPOLYTUS, CANONS OF. *See* Canons of Hippolytus.

HISAB DOBIA. *See* Accounts and Accounting, History of Coptic.

ḤISBAH, or *iḥtisāb*, the "promotion of good and the forbidding of evil" as one of the principal religious duties of every Muslim and as the duty of a specially appointed person in each town, particularly in regard to the supervision of markets, artisans, and moral behavior in public. This person, called the *muḥtasib*, was concerned with such matters as fraud in the manufacture of goods and swindling in their sale. In that respect he supervised the conduct of both Muslims and the AHL AL-DHIMMAH ("People of the Covenant"), or Dhimmis. His supervision had two aspects, one religious, one legislative.

The religious aspect was the injunction on all Muslims to "promote good and forbid evil." There is a strong historical connection between this formula and Christianity in Islamic tradition, for Christ, according to Islam, was the first person to enforce "what is legally right and prevent illegality," which he did on Palm Sunday.

The legislative aspect is that the coveted status of *Dhimmi* was authorized only by the imam or his representative and was granted only to those non-Muslims who had a religion revealed in scripture, that is, Jews, Copts and other Christians, and Magians. Polytheists, idolators, apostates, and atheists were not entitled to such status and therefore had no stable social rank in *Dār al-Islam* (the "Land of Islam") unless they converted to Islam.

In addition to supervising commerce, the *muḥtasib* also saw that the Copts and other Dhimmis observed the religious obligations of their status as laid down by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the seventh century. These obligations included payment of the JIZYAH (poll tax), wearing a girdle around the waist, wearing a cross around the neck, and strictly adhering to discriminatory rules in dealing with Muslims—rules meant to humiliate the Dhimmi and exalt the Muslim.

Despite the fact that the terms *ḥisbah*, *iḥtisāb*, and *muḥtasib* rarely appeared in Coptic books—particularly the *History of the Patriarchs*—in the Middle Ages, they reveal the object of the call to Islam in a different mode. This object is made clear in the *ḥisbah* register, established by the *qāḍī* ("supreme judge") al-Fāṣil in the twelfth century, as shown in the following quotation: "Know the Copts and Jews, the transgressors, by their discriminating dress, by their girdle, this is proof enough of the

glory of Islam and the humility of the transgressors. It is a preparatory stage for them to proceed to hellfire, and it is discrimination between believers and atheists."

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ḤIṢN, a rampart or defensive wall. The word is also used in this sense for the fortification walls of towns. In the Egyptian cenobite monasteries the *ḥiṣn* has the significance of a protective wall and is equally important as a defense against hostile assaults and to prevent uncontrolled intercourse between the inhabitants of the monastery and the outside world (Palladius *Historia lausiaca* 59).

In the Coptic monasteries of today, the *ḥiṣn* is as a rule very high and is also always provided with a high parapet in which various lookout holes have been let in. The walk on the crown of the wall is accessible by several staircases, but is itself so narrow that any large number of men cannot move along it. To increase stability, there are frequently towers at the corners and in the middle of the curtain walls.

Despite these consolidation measures, apart from a few exceptions, the value of these monastery walls as fortifications is small. They were not suited to active defense against a hostile attack. Indeed, such an active defense was no part of the customary behavior of the monks. Determined attackers could easily surmount the *ḥiṣn*. In case of a strong assault, it offered only the possibility of gaining time, in order that all the inhabitants might promptly withdraw with their possessions and the church's objects of value into the keep.

The circumvallation of cenobite monasteries came into practice at an early date. By the fourth century PACHOMIUS provided for the walling of the different monasteries of his society. In this he certainly had in view not only the securing of the cohesion of his monastic communities and their shielding from the outside world but also defense against hostile attacks. During the inroads of the Blemmyes into Upper Egypt, thousands of the families living round about withdrew behind the *ḥiṣn* of Dayr Anbā Shinūdah at Suhāj. There is, however, no information as to whether the monastery walls had to sustain an actual attack. The lauras of the anchorites followed later. The first of these was a monastery precinct surrounded by a strong defensive wall, the present monastery of Saint Catherine, built for the monks on Sinai by the emperor Justinian. It was intended only for cases of danger, and down to the tenth century was never permanently inhabited. The walling of the monastery DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR in Wādī al-Naṭrūn was first taken in hand by SHENUTE I (858–880).

The monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai has two entrances of different sizes. Dayr Anbā Hadrā at Aswan also has two gates on different sides. According to the excavation finds, each of the small hermitages in the Kellia had an approach at ground level in the fifth and sixth centuries. Later, however, they were closed up and access was by surmounting the wall. The provision of transport baskets is quite modern. These were in use until the mid-twentieth century at Saint Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, in the monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS), and in some monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn. In them, visitors were drawn up individually in baskets to the top of the wall.

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HISTORIA LAUSIACA. *See* Palladius.

HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO, the story of a visit made to the monks of Egypt during the winter of 394–395 by a group of seven persons, among them the writer of the book. The story exists in two recensions: one in Greek (editions by Preuschen and Festugière), the other in Latin, the work of Rufinus of Aquileia. The connec-

tion between these two recensions has long been the subject of discussion. E. Preuschen thought that the Greek text was a translation of the Latin text of Rufinus, whom he regarded as the real author of the book. R. Reitzenstein also considered the Greek text a translation of the text of Rufinus, but he thought that Rufinus had himself translated a Greek text different from the one that has come down to us. C. Butler (1898, Vol. 1, pp. 10–15, 257–64) demonstrated that the Greek text is the original and Rufinus a translator; this view, confirmed by the comparative study of the two texts made by A. J. Festugière (1955), is now generally accepted. Rufinus, according to his habits, translated rather freely, sometimes adding to the Greek text, which he perhaps knew in a form slightly different from the one we know.

Sozomen's assertion (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6. 29) that the author was "Timothy, bishop of Alexandria," who died some ten years before the journey took place, cannot be maintained. Butler's conjecture (1898, pp. 276–77), still accepted in some handbooks, that the author was one Timothy, deacon of Alexandria in 412, whom Sozomen confused with the bishop of the same name, also remains unconfirmed. In the prologue the author says he wrote at the request of the members of "the pious fraternity established on the Mount of Olives," an expression that certainly indicates the monastic community of Rufinus and Melania. The travelers, who are shown by certain passages in the text to be of Latin speech, probably themselves belonged to this community, and among them the author. They seem to have gone directly by the Nile to Asyūṭ. The first chapter relates their visit to JOHN OF LYCOPOLIS, but they do not seem to have gone any farther. They visited numerous monks in the Thebaid, notably those in the region of Oxyrhynchus. Then they came back down the Nile as far as the desert of Diolcos, close to the sea. It is not certain that they went to NITRIA, which the narrator does not distinguish from the KELLIA. Rufinus gives a much more accurate description of these places, which he knew, for he had stopped there on his way to Palestine about 373–374. The book belongs to a traditional genre, that of the travel narrative, in which the author describes not only what he has seen but also what he knows by hearsay, mingling the marvelous with reality. The imaginative tale, which the narrator tells in the epilogue, of the perils of all kinds that he and his companions had to face in the course of their journey, resumes a theme habitual in this kind of work.

The *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* contributed largely to the spreading of the fame of the monks of Egypt, both in the East and in the West. From this point of view the book played a role comparable to that of the *Historia lausiaca* of PALLADIUS, with which it was often closely associated in the manuscript tradition. Several ancient versions in Syriac or in Armenian have been preserved. In Coptic five leaves have come down from a Sahidic codex containing fragments of the first chapter, devoted to John of Lycopolis (ed. Devos, 1969). There are several translations into modern languages; a recent English translation can be found in *The Lives of the Desert Fathers.*

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HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA, the title commonly used for the principal text of Coptic historiography, which actually bears the title *Siyar al-Bī'ah al-Muqaddasah,* "Biographies of the Holy Church."

It is important to emphasize that this text, which can be considered the official history of the Coptic Orthodox Church, should be defined not as one book representing a structural unity but rather as a tradition of historical writing. In various epochs, Coptic authors have recorded the history of their church and their country, each one of them continuing the work of his predecessor. The early historians in this series wrote in Coptic, and their successors from the eleventh century on wrote in Arabic. The text as we know it today consists thus partly of Arabic translations of Coptic originals and partly of

original Arabic works, and as a whole it covers the history from the first to the thirteenth centuries. Moreover, there are brief continuations of the *History of the Patriarchs* that deal with the fourteenth to the early twentieth century. As for the contents, most lives of the *History of the Patriarchs* are much more than a biography of a patriarch. The authors endeavored to record all kinds of events, including those belonging to political or social history. But there is no uniformity on this point. Some of the authors concentrated on the patriarch's personality, whereas others limited themselves to using the patriarch's reign as a general framework in which other events are dealt with. At any rate, the *History of the Patriarchs* constitutes our main literary source for Coptic history, and, if used with some caution, an important complementary source for Egyptian history in general.

Traditionally, the name of SĀWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA' has been attached to the text of the *History of the Patriarchs*, but the exact nature of his contribution to it has been uncertain for a long time. Most scholars regard him as the redactor of the earlier series of biographies written in Coptic, which he collected in order to have them translated into Arabic. Subsequent authors, starting with MIKHĀ'ĪL, bishop of Tinnis, are considered Sāwīrus' successors. However, some doubt has been expressed concerning the role ascribed to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa'. In particular, more attention has been paid to the redactional activity of the Alexandrian deacon MAWHŪB IBN MANṢŪR IBN MUFARRIJ. D. W. Johnson discusses the puzzling similarities in the descriptions of editorial work given in the prefaces and redactional notes ascribed to Sāwīrus and to Mawhūb, respectively (1977, pp. 108–116). Jęn dHeijer suggests ascribing all redactional work to Mawhūb, thus denying any contribution of Sāwīrus (1984, cols. 346–347, 1989, pp. 81–116). The latter conclusion is mainly based on a study of the relation between the two recensions of the *History of the Patriarchs*, the "primitive" recension, extant in the Hamburg manuscript edited by C. F. Seybold (1912) with unpublished continuations in a Paris and a Cairo manuscript, and the "Vulgate," which is the version of all other known manuscripts edited by Seybold (1904–1910) and by B. T. A. Evetts (1904–1915), continued by the Société d'archéologie copte (1943–1974).

The Authors

What follows is a mere enumeration of the authors who wrote the various series of patriarch lives, including the Coptic-writing authors, whose texts are known only (with some exceptions for which Coptic originals have been found) through the Arabic redaction ascribed to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' or to Mawhūb. No account is taken here of three texts appearing at the beginning of the *History of the Patriarchs*, but not entirely belonging to it, the treatise on the *Priesthood of Christ*, the *Life of Saint Mark*, and the *Martyrdom of Saint Mark* (fragments of a Bohairic original published by Evelyn-White, 1926, pp. 46–47; cf. the remarks by Johnson, 1973, pp. 68–70).

The identification of the biographers of the patriarchs is based on a number of editorial notes in which those authors describe their work and that of their predecessors, as well as on (mostly scant) autobiographical data they provide in their lives. A brief analysis of those notes was made, rather inaccurately, by Gutschmid (1890, pp. 401–403). The most detailed study on this subject is by Kāmil (1943, pp. 9–45), who not only studied the abovementioned notes but also examined all Coptic potential sources for the *History of the Patriarchs*. With regard to some of them, however, Johnson demonstrates that they have at the most been used as indirect sources (1973, pp. 67–74). His study on the authors and their contributions is limited to those included in Mawhūb's redaction (1973, pp. 6–26; 1977), as are the additional remarks by den Heijer (1984, 1989).

As for the first series of biographies, those of Anianus to Cyril I (numbers 2–24), much attention has been given to them by Coptologists, since some fragments of the Coptic (Sahidic) original, known as the *History of the Church*, have been identified. Certain studies, particularly by O. von Lemm (1888) and by W. E. Crum (1902), demonstrate this text's dependence on Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia ecclesiastica*. All fragments known are now published in the editions made by T. Orlandi (1968–1970) and by Johnson (1973 and 1976; cf. also Brakmann, 1974, and Farag, 1973). Although Crum considered the possibility of regarding TIMOTHY II (458–480) as the author of this series, most authors now tend to agree on ascribing these lives, though with some hesitation, to the otherwise unknown scribe Menas, who may have been a monk of the Dayr Anbā Shinūdah (Johnson, 1973, pp. 53–56; cf. also Kāmil, 1943, p. 10; Johnson, 1977, pp. 114–115; den Heijer, 1984, 1989).

The second Coptic text used as a source for the *History of the Patriarchs* must have included the lives starting from Cyril I (412–444)—thus overlapping with the first series—to the life of Simon I (692–700). From this lost Coptic source, the *History*

of the Patriarchs fails to borrow the life of Dioscorus I, which is strikingly absent in the Arabic text. The author of these Coptic lives is one Jirjā (George) the Archdeacon, spiritual son of the 40th patriarch, JOHN III (677–686), scribe of the 42nd, SIMON I (689–701), and himself the spiritual father of Cosmas, who became the 44th patriarch (730–731). In one of the lives by Jirjā the Archdeacon, the *History of the Patriarchs* proves to make use of an additional source. The latter part of the biography of Benjamin I (622–661) contains an abridged version of the *Book of the Consecration of the Sanctuary of Benjamin*, as demonstrated extensively by Coquin (1975, esp. pp. 24–25).

The third author in this list is John, called John I by Johnson (1973). He was the spiritual son of MOSES, bishop of Awsīm, and a close companion of KHĀ'ĪL I (744–767). From some passages toward the end of the life of this patriarch, it can be inferred that John, a native of Giza, was a monk and a deacon, and that he must later have been a bishop himself, although we do not know of which see. John I wrote the lives 43–46, covering the period from 705 to 768. Besides John, an editorial note mentions two persons both called Maqārah (Macarius), in relation to this same series of patriarch lives. It is so far unclear what their contribution may have been.

The fourth author was a monk also called John. He wrote the lives 47–55 (Mīnā I, 767–774, to Shenute I, 858–880), and he describes in two fairly lengthy notes how his spiritual father Ammon (Ammūnah) bade him write those lives. John was very close to the last three patriarchs whose biographies he wrote, and it is quite probable that he served all three of them as a scribe. Since he wrote his lives in the years 865–866, the conclusion of his biography of Shenute I (d. 880), which is missing in the "primitive" recension of the *History of the Patriarchs*, must be a later addition.

Michael, bishop of Tinnis, wrote the fifth series, which comprised the Lives 56–65 (Khā'īl II to Shenoute II, 880–1046), in the year 1051 or 1058. It appears to be merely because of this date and the relatively good Arabic style of these biographies that most scholars have so far assumed that Mīkhā'īl wrote in Arabic. Nevertheless, den Heijer (1984, 1989) has pointed out that they were composed in Coptic and subsequently translated for Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij, who also added a few passages of his own to Mīkhā'īl's text. Mīkhā'īl's identification as the author of the Lives 56–65 is also important in that it eliminates Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' as a biographer of patriarchs (cf. Johnson, 1977, pp. 115–116), and, according to den Heijer, as compiler of the Coptic Lives and editor of their Arabic translation. The latter author thus discerns a clear boundary between the first five series of Lives (1–65) collected and translated from the Coptic in a single campaign led by Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij, and the subsequent Lives, written directly in Arabic by Mawhūb and his successors.

Having completed his Arabic redaction of the earlier Coptic Lives, between 1088 and 1094, Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr Mufarrij wrote the Lives of the 65th and 66th patriarchs, CHRISTODOULUS (1047–1077) and CYRIL II (1078–1092). The fact that his predecessor, Michael of Tinnis, wrote in Coptic makes Mawhūb emerge as the first biographer in this series to write in Arabic, and probably even as the first Coptic historian who expressed himself in Arabic. At the same time, Mawhūb is the first layman among the authors of the *History of the Patriarchs*, an indication of the transformation the Coptic community underwent in his times (cf. Martin, 1985, p. 26).

Although Mawhūb's authorship of the two patriarch lives is obvious, G. Graf, in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, erroneously ascribed only the 66th life to him and the 67th one to his successor, Yūḥannā ibn Ṣā'id (1947, p. 301, perhaps inspired by the same mistake in Gutschmid, 1890, p. 402). Yūḥannā does occur in the latter life, but only in his capacity of scribe, who, while copying Mawhūb's text, added a few personal remarks (den Heijer, 1983, pp. 114–119, and 1989, p. 113).

Yūḥannā ibn Ṣā'id ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mīnā, known as Ibn al-Qulzumī al-Kātib (the scribe), also a layman and a high official from Cairo, copied and rearranged the lives edited by Mawhūb, and then went on to write down the biographies of the patriarchs of his own times, MICHAEL IV (1092–1102) and MACARIUS II (1102–1128).

The 73rd patriarch, Mark III ibn Zur'ah (1167–1189), wrote the biographies of his predecessors, the patriarchs 70, 71, and 72 (1131–1167). Before his consecration he was a layman, called Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī al-Sa'd ibn Zur'ah.

Whereas Graf calls the author of the Lives 73 and 74 anonymous, Kāmil (1943, pp. 40–42) refers to him as Ma'ānī Abū al-Makārim ibn Barakāt ibn Abī al-'Alā', and points out that he was a native and resident of al-Maḥallah. Pursuing the tradition of some of his forebears, this author first copied the lives already written and then added the biographies of the two aforementioned patriarchs, who reigned from 1166 to 1189 and from 1189 to 1216,

respectively, as well as a separate account of the events taking place after 1216, when a nineteen-year vacancy of the patriarchate began. Some notes in his text seem to indicate that he wrote in several stages, over a long period of time. He wrote his first biography in 1207, started his account of the vacancy of the patriarchate in 1221, and appears to have completed it in 1229 (Kāmil, 1943, pp. 40–42).

Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhlah (1943, p. 42) tends to regard the contributions of the nine authors treated above as constituting the *History of the Patriarchs* properly speaking, and the subsequent biographies of patriarchs as a continuation of it. This demarcation is certainly corroborated by many manuscripts of the *History of the Patriarchs*, which are limited to the first 74 lives, and by the fact that for the remaining patriarchs, we have generally anonymous and very brief biographies—while a separate, elaborate, life of the 75th patriarch exists (see below). Of those very abridged lives (patriarchs 76–113, period of 1250–1942), original, longer versions may have existed in the past, but the text presently available is often limited to the main dates (consecration, death) of the patriarch. There are some exceptions. The life of the 87th patriarch, Matthew I (1378–1409), is lengthy and resumes the tradition of the earlier lives. Kāmil (1943, pp. 43–45) has been able to identify its author as the bishop of the monastery of DAYR AL-KHANDAQ, who must have written it shortly after the patriarch's death. The Lives 88–97 are extremely brief again, and in this form they may have been written by the patriarchal scribes. The biographies of the patriarchs 98–109 (1409–1852) are somewhat longer and anonymous, although with regard to the life of the 103rd patriarch, John XVI (1676–1718), a patriarchal scribe, the priest ʿAbd al-Masīḥ of Minyat Ṣard, is mentioned. The recent lives 110–113 are due to the keeper of the Patriarchal Library, the hegumenos ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Masʿūdī of DAYR AL-BARAMŪS (Kāmil, 1943, p. 45).

Apart from the series of abridged biographies, there is a lengthy life of the 75th patriarch, CYRIL III ibn Laqlaq (1235–1243), including the long vacancy preceding his consecration, by his contemporary, Yūṣāb, bishop of Fuwwah. This biography appears in a *Patriarchal History* by Yūṣāb, which Graf (1947, p. 369) calls a completion and a continuation of the *History of the Patriarchs*. It is extant in a manuscript of the DAYR AL-SURYĀN, of which the Coptic Museum holds a copy. On the other hand, the edition of the Société d'archéologie copte contains a separate, elaborate life of the same patriarch, in which two persons are quoted: a certain Yūḥannā ibn Wahb ibn Yūḥannā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Būlus and a *shaykh* called ʿAlam al-Mulk ibn al-Ḥājj Shams al-Riyāsah. The editors appear to regard the former as a co-author and the latter as the compiler. A collation of this text with the Dayr al-Suryān manuscript, done by Nabīh Kāmil Dāwūd, however, has established that both texts are in fact identical, which implies that the life of Cyril ibn Laqlaq as edited in *History of the Patriarchs* was written by Yūsāb of Fuwwah.

From this overview of the various authors who contributed to the *History of the Patriarchs*, it is clear that the rather complex structure of this text necessitates much further research. About its sources and their use, the last word has not yet been said, despite the important studies done in this field. As for its secondary tradition or its influence on later texts, only some scattered remarks have been made (Levi Della Vida, 1940–1941; Cerulli, 1946; Kubiak, 1976). Studies of its language, particularly its vocabulary, exist but are based on only part of the text (Farag, 1969–1973, 1976, and 1979).

An evaluation of the historiographical methods and attitudes is also still a desideratum, since we have only the critical remarks by E. Amélineau (1914) on John I (494–503) and the interesting but incomplete analysis by Farag. The numerous quotations of the text ever since E. Renaudot's partial translation (1713) in many studies on Coptic history suffice to illustrate its importance as a source for many aspects of that history, a fact underlining the necessity of its further textual investigation.

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JOHANNES DEN HEIJER

HIW, a city in Upper Egypt, located on the west bank of the Nile some 4 miles (about 6.5 km) southeast of Nag Hammadi. In Greek the city was known as Upper Diospolis or Diospolis Mikra. In Coptic sources the city is called Hou or Ho.

Hiw was a bishopric before 325, as evidenced by frequent mention in the life of PACHOMIUS of an unnamed bishop of Diospolis (Zoega, 1810, pp. 71, 75).

Al-MAQRĪZĪ wrote that in his day (the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) there was a church of the

Virgin and a church of ABŪ MĪNĀ in Hiw (1845, p. 141). The Abū Mīnā church later became a monastery (see DAYR MĀR MĪNĀ [Hiw-Nag Hammadi]).

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RANDALL STEWART

HOLY CROSS DAY. The Coptic Church annually commemorates two events related to the Holy Cross on which Jesus was crucified: the finding of the cross at Jerusalem by the empress Helena, mother of Constantine, in A.D. 326, the feast day being 17 Tūt; and the restoration of the cross in 628 from the hands of the Persians, whose King Chosroes II had carried it off fifteen years earlier. Emperor Heraclius (575–642) brought it back to Jerusalem where Patriarch Zechariah recognized his own unbroken seals on the case containing the greatest and most sacred relic of Christianity. This event is commemorated on 10 Baramhāt.

As 10 Baramhāt invariably falls during the Great Lent, the celebration of Holy Cross Day takes place on 17 Tūt, which is the day that follows the consecration day of the church on the sites of the Holy Sepulcher and Calvary.

The earliest mention of the glorious event of the finding of the Holy Cross in patristic writings is in the *Catechetical Lectures* of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–386). In a sermon based on 1 Corinthians 8:5–6 and delivered in the Church of the Resurrection in 348, that is, twenty-two years after the discovery of the Holy Cross, Saint Cyril speaks about the witnesses and testimonies concerning Christ, and adds, "The holy wood of the Cross bears witness, seen among us to this day, and from this place now almost filling the whole world, by means of those who in faith take portions from it" (*Catechetical Lectures* 10.19). In another sermon on the theme of the crucifixion (based on Is. 53:17), Saint Cyril declares, "He was crucified, and we deny it not, nay, I rather glory to speak of it. For though I should now deny it, here is Golgotha to confute me, near which we are now assembled; the wood of the Cross confutes me, which was afterwards distributed piecemeal from hence to all the world" (*Lecture* 13.4).

Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (c. 347–407) testifies to the manifestation of the Holy Cross in the following words, "For since the wood of the cross was buried, because no one was careful to take it up, inasmuch as fear was pressing, and the believers were hurrying to their urgent matters; and since it was in after times to be sought for, and it was likely that three crosses would lie together, in order that the Lord's might not be unknown, it was made manifest to all, first by its lying in the middle, and then by the title" (*Homily on Saint John* 85).

Ambrose, bishop of Milan (c. 339–397), refers to the discovery of the Holy Cross in the course of a sermon delivered at a memorial service in 395 for Emperor Theodosius, in the presence of Emperor Honorius.

Socrates (c. 380–450) kept a record of relevant reports he heard from various sources of how the empress Helena was directed by a divine dream to go to Jerusalem and start searching for the cross. She found that a temple to Venus had been erected on the site of the Holy Sepulcher to mislead pilgrims. She had the ground cleared and searched until three crosses were eventually found, as well as the tablet of Pilate. The doubt as to which of the three was the Holy Cross was dispelled by applying each cross in turn to the body of a dying woman in the neighborhood. When the third, which was the true cross, touched her, she was immediately healed. Thus the genuine cross was discovered.

The story of the discovery of the Cross was also mentioned by the historian Theodoret (c. 393–c. 458).

There are also three notable apparitions of the sign of the cross. The first was to Constantine the Great, as he prepared to fight Maxentius. This was recorded by various historians, such as Socrates, Lactantius, and Sozomen. The details are given in full by Eusebius of Caesarea.

> . . . while he [Constantine] was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvellous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious Emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honoured with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimo-

ny of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, "Conquer By This." At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.

(*The Life of Constantine* 1.27)

The second was to Gallus Caesar. According to Socrates, "the Emperor Constantius having created Gallus his kinsman Caesar and given him his own name, sent him to Antioch in Syria, providing thus for the guarding of the eastern parts. When Gallus was entering this city, the Saviour's sign appeared in the East: for a pillar in the form of a cross seen in the heavens gave occasion of great amazement to the spectators" (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.28).

Third, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem was an eyewitness to the apparition of the sign of the cross in the sky at Jerusalem on 7 May 351, particulars of which he sent in a letter to Emperor Constantius: "During the blessed days of Pentecost, and, to be precise, on 7 May 351 A.D., about 3 o'clock [in the afternoon] a huge cross appeared in the sky over Golgotha, reaching as far as the Mount of Olives. It was seen, not by one or two people, but by all the inhabitants of the city, with the utmost clarity. Rather than fade away as we expected it would soon do, it continued to shine for many hours, in a most resplendent brightness, more brilliant than the sun itself . . . . All the city hurried to a man in awe and wonder, but also in joy to see this celestial sight. They flocked, young and old, men and women of all ages, and all praising Christ Jesus our Lord" (From the Latin text in PG 33, col. 1165).

This apparition was also chronicled by various other historians, such as Sozomen and Philostorgius. It is commemorated by the Coptic church on 12 Bashans.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HOLY HORSEMAN. *See* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.

HOLY LAND, COPTIC CHURCHES IN THE. There are five Coptic churches in the Holy Land in addition to the churches in Jerusalem.

The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem

This is one of the oldest Christian churches in the Holy Land, built by Constantine the Great in A.D. 326. A pilgrim from Bordeaux writing in 333 said that the tomb of Rachel is two kilometers from Bethlehem, where Christ was born and where a church was built at the orders of Constantine (Crowfoot, 1971, pp. 11, 17, 22, 30; Stewart, 1887, p. 27). The church was rebuilt by Justinian in 529 after the revolt of the Samaritans. It survived the Persian invasion of 614 and avoided the destruction that befell other churches in the reign of al-Ḥākim. When the Crusaders seized the Holy Land in 1099, they found the church intact. An anonymous pilgrim writing in the twelfth century said, "At Bethlehem there is a church built with pillars of marble, wherein is the place where Christ was born. Not far from hence, on the right hand, is the Lord's manger" (Stewart, 1894, pp. 4–5). In 1167 the church was renovated, and many other renovations have taken place since.

The entrance to the church is through a small door in the courtyard of the manger in front of the church. This door leads to the church's gallery, from where another door leads to the church itself. In the body of the church are forty-four columns. Portions of the early mosaic floor have been found. Beyond the columns the building is divided into three. The middle section, higher than the other two, is Catholic, and this is where the Greek Orthodox pray. The Armenians, the Copts, and the Syrians hold their prayers at altars in the section on the left.

E. T. Richmond, writing about the Nativity Church, commented that pilgrims to the Nativity Church continued to come in the fourteenth century, particularly during Christmas (Harvey, 1935, pp. 11–12). Writing in August 1335, Jacques de Vérone participated in the feast held in memory of the Virgin's visit to the cave three days before her ascent to heaven. He describes the event thus: "In the morning each sect went to the altar specified for them. The main altar in the upper church was for the Romans, while the Franks had the altar in the vault near the manger. To the left of the church [in the northern wing] are three altars and a water

reservoir. On each of these altars the Indians, Nubians and Nestorians hold their mass. In the south aisle is an altar where twenty-four children killed by Herod are buried (Mt. 16:2). At this altar the Jacobites [Copts] hold their mass."

Morisini in 1514 reported that the Armenians held their mass at the altar of the Three Magi, while the Jacobites held their mass at a nearby altar (Cerulli, 1943, p. 374).

The Copts go to the Church of the Nativity in a formal procession in June of every year. They visit the Cave of the Nativity and return in procession. Later they hold the evening prayers. On the feast of Baramūn they celebrate mass at the altar of the three Magi, then go out to receive the procession of the archbishop of the see of Jerusalem, which arrives at Bethlehem in January. The archbishop then visits the manger and at sunset prayer, the Copts descend to the Cave of the Nativity, where they pray before returning to resume the sunset prayers. On Christmas Eve they celebrate mass in the same place and then return in formal procession to the patriarchate in Jerusalem.

Anbā Yacobos, archbishop of the see of Jerusalem from 1946 to 1956, bought four houses facing the Church of the Nativity where he planned to build a Coptic church and monastery, but he died before accomplishing this task. Archbishop Basilios turned one of the houses into a monastery and established a small church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, where prayers are held every Sunday. Some Coptic monks now live permanently in the monastery.

Saint Andrew's Church in Jericho

In the days of Anbā Timotheos, archbishop of the see of Jerusalem from 1899 to 1925, a church and monastery were built in Jericho for Coptic pilgrims on their way to the Jordan. The church was inaugurated in 1924, and the patriarchate in Jerusalem sent some of its monks to live at the monastery. The patriarchate looked for more property, and in 1935 a piece of land was purchased in the place that was believed to be the site of the house of Zacchaeus, in which he received Jesus (Lk. 19:2). When the place was cleared, the remains of a Byzantine church of Saint Andrew were discovered.

The Church of Saint Andrew lies in the southwest of Jericho, on the north bank of al-Qalt valley. On arriving at Jericho from Jerusalem, one reaches the remains of the church by walking along the first street to the west after crossing the bridge of the Al-Qalt valley. At the southern end of the street, there is a small monastery of five rooms set in the middle of an orchard, where usually one or more Coptic monks live. Among the Roman monuments there is a pool that was apparently once used for fishing. There is also a water reservoir and two others to the west.

Saint Andrew's Church was built sometime between the fourth and sixth centuries, like all the Byzantine churches in the area. The antiquity of this church is proved by the mosaic that covers its floor, this being of the black and white unrefined kind used in the first centuries of Christianity. The church was damaged by the Persians in 614. It seems that it was one of the first churches reached by pilgrims, monks, and hermits who spread into the al-Qalt valley at this time. Today there are still monasteries and hermit caves in the area.

Mosaic covers the floors of the building that was constructed over the ruins of Saint Andrew's Church. It seems that Saint Andrew's Church was built over a cemetery, for many ancient tombs can be seen in the vicinity.

The mosaic contains two Greek inscriptions. The first consists of six lines, while the second contains ten lines. The first reads: "Magnianos the soldier thanks Saint Andrew. The mosaic is made with the help of the priest Heraclios and Constantinos the deacon and Polikhronios."

Polikhronios is probably the name of the artist who made the mosaic. Presumably Magnianos caused the church to be built after his prayers had been answered by Saint Andrew.

The second inscription is on a tombstone and reads, "Here rests the blessed Triphon, the servant of Jesus, who died on 20 February, on the fifth day of the tenth decade." The date given would be Thursday, 20 February 592.

There are some Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic antiquities from the church preserved in one of the rooms of the monastery. These include columns, capitals, and some old jars.

Prayers are now conducted over a mobile altar, which is put in one of the rooms before prayers. In view of the religious and archaeological importance of the church, the patriarch of the see of Jerusalem and the Near East decided to establish a large church on the top floor of the same building dedicated to Saint Andrew, and to maintain and preserve the mosaics in the floor of the original church.

The Church and Monastery of John the Baptist near the River Jordan

Coptic pilgrims who go to the Holy Land visit the River Jordan, where Jesus was baptized. C. L. Irby, who visited the Holy Land in 1818, said that he saw Christians at the River Jordan numbering around five thousand, including Greeks, Copts, and Ethiopians (1868, p. 100).

This holy spot not only attracts pilgrims but also monks and hermits who dedicate their lives to worship in the Jordanian desert. One of the first of these hermits was Saint Mary the Egyptian, who spent forty years there after her pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher in 382.

As time went on some of the Coptic monks who went to the Holy Land stayed to worship in the desert. Among those who went there at the beginning of the twentieth century were Shinūdah al-Anṭūnī and the archpriest Phīlubbus al-Maqārī.

The Copts have a monastery by the Jordan called after John the Baptist. Here Anbā Theophilos, archbishop of the see of Jerusalem from 1935 to 1945, laid the foundation stone of the Church of Saint John the Baptist, but this church is still not completed. Anba Yacobos, archbishop from 1946 to 1956, added some rooms to the monastery, the largest of which is used as a church. The other rooms are for the residence of Coptic pilgrims visiting the River Jordan. Next to the monastery is some land which the patriarchate in Jerusalem leased from the government and which is used for the growing of vegetables, fruit, and palm and olive trees.

In order to secure the comfort of pilgrims visiting the monastery, the patriarchate in Jerusalem planted trees on the banks of the River Jordan and provided seating for five hundred people.

The patriarchate conducts annual prayers and celebrations on the feast of Baramun and Epiphany at the monastery. Usually on this occasion a big procession takes place, with the clergy and deacons preceded by Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts playing instruments. They proceed from the monastery to the river and there conduct prayers before returning to the monastery.

Since the war of June 1967, this has been a military area and the monks have been forbidden to live at the monastery.

The Church and Monastery of Anbā Anṭūniyūs in Jericho

During the days of Jesus Christ, Jericho was the first city in the Holy Land after Jerusalem. It was here that Christ made the blind see and that He was a guest in the house of Zacchaeus. In its fortress, Simeon the Macchabee was murdered, and Herod the Great died there, when the population was 100,000. In the Christian era it became the headquarters of the diocese. Under the Crusaders the city became the property of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher. It was they who built the present citadel, and the houses surrounding the citadel formed the nucleus of the present city. The old city of Jericho lies about 3 miles (5 km) to the west of the present city. The nearby mountain was the setting for Christ's sojourn in the wilderness when he was tempted by Satan.

Coptic pilgrims visited the holy places from the earliest times, and probably spent the night in Jericho on their way to the River Jordan, and also rested there on their way back to Jerusalem.

The present Coptic church in Jericho is named after Anbā Anṭūniyūs. The land upon which the church and monastery are built was bought by Anbā Basilios II (1856–1899). The building of the church was begun in 1922 and was completed in 1924 under Anbā Timotheos (1899–1925). The monastery was built in the time of Anbā Basilios III (1925–1935).

The church was renovated in 1962. The icons on the iconostasis were restored and new seats were introduced. Prayers are performed every Sunday. The church and monastery are surrounded by a large orchard and are visited by Coptic and other pilgrims.

The Church and Monastery of Anbā Anṭūniyūs in Jaffa

In 1856, the newly consecrated archbishop of the see of Jerusalem, Anbā Basilios II, stopped at Jaffa on his way to Jerusalem. While waiting for arrangements to be made for his trip to Jerusalem, he was taken to an Armenian monastery, there being no Coptic institution in the area. He was so moved at seeing numbers of Copts gathered outside the monastery that he started immediately to look for another place where he could stay with his fellow Copts. A rich Greek Orthodox offered to sell the archbishop a big garden containing a small empty house. The archbishop accepted immediately, and thus, on the very day of his arrival in Jaffa, secured a permanent place for the Coptic pilgrims.

When he returned to Egypt, he collected generous donations from his large diocese, which comprised most of the governorates of northern Egypt,

and with these donations he not only purchased the property in Jaffa but also built there the church and monastery of Anbā Anṭūniyūs. The church, completed in 1858, has one sanctuary and its iconostasis and icons are in the Byzantine style. Prayers are performed weekly at the altar. Anbā Basilios II and Anbā Basilios III are buried in a shrine within the church.

The monastery consists of two stories with six large rooms on each story. Each floor is surrounded by a terrace. There is a big pool that was used for irrigating the orchard. Anbā Theophilos built a residence on part of the orchard beside the church. The rest of the land was used as an orchard until the Israeli authorities occupied the city in 1947 and all the trees were cut down. In 1977 some necessary renovations were carried out.

For churches in Jerusalem, see: Jerusalem, Coptic See of.

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HOLY SATURDAY, the Saturday between Good Friday and Easter Sunday. It is also referred to as Great Saturday, as in the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles (1951, p. 447) and in al-SAFĪ ibn al-'Assal's *Kitāb al-Qawānīn* (1927, p. 140). Also, in spite of the fact that it commemorates the resting of Christ's body in the tomb, it is designated the Saturday of Joy because it heralds the Resurrection of Christ, which He had proclaimed to His disciples. Christ also promised them that they would see Him again, "and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy from you" (Jn. 16:22). It is a day of joy not only for the living but also for the dead who died in Christ (Is. 56:1–4; Lk. 4:18–21; Pt. 3:19), for on Holy Saturday Christ's spirit descended into HADES, the resting place of the souls of the dead.

As Good Friday draws to a close, the church prepares to celebrate the rising of the Savior from the dead, by abandoning the emblems of mourning put up throughout Holy Week, particularly on Good Friday.

Events of the Day

According to Matthew 27:62–66, the chief priests and the Pharisees went to Pilate and told him that while Jesus was still alive, He said that He would be raised from the dead after three days. They asked Pilate to give orders for the grave to be made secure until the third day, lest the disciples steal Christ's body and tell the people that He had been raised from the dead, "and the last deception would be worse than the first." Pilate granted them their request: the stone was sealed over the grave, and a guard was posted.

Day of Fasting

Holy Saturday is the only Saturday of the year on which total abstention from food is recommended:

> Not that the Sabbath-day is a day of fasting, being the rest from the creation, but because we ought to fast on this one Sabbath only, while on this day the Creator was under the earth. . . . Do you therefore fast on the days of the Passover, beginning from the second day of the week until the preparation, and the Sabbath, six days. . . . Do you who are able fast at the day of the preparation and the Sabbath-day entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; but if anyone is not able to join them both together, at least let him observe the Sabbath-day; for the Lord says somewhere, speaking of Himself: "When the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, in those days shall they fast." In these days, therefore, He was taken from us by the Jews . . . and fastened to the Cross, and "was numbered among transgressors." Wherefore we exhort you to fast on these days . . . but from the even of the fifth day till cock-crowing break your fast when it is daybreak of the first day of the week, which is the Lord's Day.
> (Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, 1951, pp. 445–47).

The Apostolical Canons stress this prohibition by referring to the counterprohibition applying to the other fifty-one Saturdays: "If any of the clergy be found fasting on the Lord's Day or on the Sabbath, excepting the one only, let him be deposed. If a layman, let him be excommunicated" (Apostolical Canons, 1956, p. 598; cf. Cummings, 1908, p. 110).

The Ceremony of the Holy Light

Every year on Holy Saturday, the eve of Easter, the four Orthodox churches in the Holy Land (Greek, Armenian, Coptic, and Syrian) participate in the celebration of the Apparition of the Holy Light. A large number of people join in, each holding thirty-three candles, symbolic of the thirty-three years of Christ's life on earth. Clergy representing the hierarchy of the said four churches, all robed and carrying crosses, flags, censers, and Gospels, conduct processions before and after the Apparition of the Holy Light, chanting hymns relevant to the occasion.

Early in the morning all sanctuary lamps inside the Holy Sepulcher are extinguished and refilled with new oil and new wicks. At about eleven o'clock, the entrance to the Holy Sepulcher is closed and sealed. Half an hour later the Coptic procession starts from the Coptic patriarchate, with the Coptic Orthodox metropolitan at its head, and proceed to the Church of the Resurrection, passing by the Coptic monastery DAYR AL-SULṬĀN and the two chapels of the Four Living Creatures (see CHRIST, TRIUMPH OF) and of the archangel Michael. At half past twelve, the Greek Orthodox procession makes three circuits around the rotunda, after which the Greek patriarch or his representative, who presides over the celebration, enters the aedicula after undoing its seals.

At about one o'clock, following the celebration of the Apparition of the Holy Light, a Coptic priest and a Coptic layman take the light from the aedicula to the Coptic chapel adjacent to the Holy Sepulcher via the southern portion of the rotunda. At the same time, another member of the Coptic community receives the light from the southern oval window of the aedicula and proceeds via the same route to the Coptic chapel, where the candle lamps are lit from the Holy Light and the congregation light their own candles.

The Coptic procession starts immediately, making three circuits around the rotunda, followed by the Syrian Orthodox, all chanting. At the third circuit, they stop opposite the Holy Sepulcher, where a Coptic priest recites the Intercession of the Gospel. Then the Coptic metropolitan reads the lection from the Gospel in Coptic inside the Holy Sepulcher and is followed by a deacon who reads it in Arabic at the entrance to the Sepulcher. The procession then moves toward the Coptic chapel at the Church of the Resurrection. Here again a priest reads the Intercession, and the metropolitan reads the Gospel in Coptic, followed by a deacon in Arabic. Finally, the metropolitan gives the blessing, and the procession to the patriarchate resumes via Dayr al-Sulṭān.

An event of particular interest in the modern history of Egypt is especially relevant here. Following the success of his Syrian campaign in 1832, Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, desired to ascertain for himself the truth of the Apparition of the Holy Light. He sent for Pope PETER VII (Buṭrus al-Jāwlī) and disclosed his intention to him. Accordingly the Church of the Resurrection was vacated, and the congregation was replaced by Ibrahim's soldiers, while other guards were stationed outside. The Holy Sepulcher was thoroughly searched, and so were the Coptic and Greek Orthodox patriarchs, who, incidentally, had been fasting and praying for three consecutive days. Prayers commenced as usual when, at the appointed time, the light suddenly burst into the Sepulcher and, passing through the pillars, appeared outside the church. Ibrahim Pasha

was exceedingly amazed. The Coptic patriarch returned to his see in peace.

The Service of Holy Saturday

Starting on Saturday eve, this service comprises the following main parts:

The Psalmody. Wearing white vestments and facing east, the chief priest reads the Coptic version of Psalm 151 (Muses, 1954), "I was small among my brethren, and a youth in the house of my Father." Then, with the psalter book wrapped in white silk and holding lighted candles, the rest of the clergy and deacons make a procession around the church, singing in Coptic, "Let us give thanks to Christ and God." They then sit down facing each other in two rows.

Then the following passages from the Scriptures are read: the first ode of Moses (Ex. 15:1–18); the second ode of Moses (Dt. 32:1–43); the prayer of Hannah, mother of Samuel (1 Sm. 2:1–10); the prayer of Habakkuk (Hb. 3:2–19); the prayer of Jonah (Jon. 2:2–9); the prayer of Hezekiah (Is. 38:10–20); the prayer of Manasseh (2 Chr. 33:13); the first prayer of Isaiah (Is. 26:9–20); the second ode of Isaiah (Is. 25:1–12); the third ode of Isaiah (Is. 26:1–9); the ode of Jeremiah (Lam. 5:16–22); the ode of Baruch (Bar. 2:11–26); the ode of Elijah (1 Kgs. 16:16–39); the prayer of David (1 Chr. 29:10–13); the prayer of Solomon (I Kgs. 8:22–30); the prayer of Daniel (Dn. 9:4–19); the vision of Daniel (Dn. 3:1–23); the prayer of Azarias (Dn. 3:30–51); the ode of the three youths (Dn. 3:52–100; 3:24–30); the ode of the Virgin Mary (Lk. 1:46–55); the prayer of Zechariah (Lk. 1:67–79); the prayer of Simeon the Elder (Lk. 2:29–32); and the story of Susannah ([apoc.] Dn. 13:1–65).

The Morning Offering of Incense. The morning offering of incense is conducted in the usual manner, followed by the Prayer of the Third Hour and the Prayer of the Ninth Hour. In reciting the creed, it must be remembered here that the section referring to the resurrection and ascension of Christ should be withheld.

The Revelation to John. A bowl is filled with pure olive oil and surrounded by seven floating wicks. Seven candles are lit, and a cross is placed in the middle. Then the book of Revelation is read, first in Coptic and then in Arabic. Afterward, the Prayer of the Ninth Hour is said.

The Divine Liturgy. In the celebration of the liturgy of Holy Saturday, a special procedure must be followed in reading the Pauline epistle, the Psalm versicle, and the Gospel, namely, that the first half must be read in a certain mourning tone, while the remainder is read in the usual festal tone. This is to reflect mourning while Christ is still buried, whereas the latter section, in a joyful tone, reflects anticipation of the Resurrection.

It is essential that the partaking of Holy Communion on Holy Saturday be completed in time to allow for the prescribed minimum period of nine hours of fasting prior to the communion of Easter Sunday.

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HOLY SPIRIT, COPTIC DOCTRINE OF THE.

The Coptic doctrine of the Holy Spirit is the doctrine of the undivided church of the first three ecumenical councils. The Egyptian anachoretic and cenobitic monastic tradition has always strongly emphasized asceticism and mysticism closely related to the activity, gifts, and fruits of the Holy Spirit. Saint ANTONY of Egypt was the first saint called "the carrier of the Spirit" (Greek, *pneumatophoros;* see *Apophthegmata Patrum*, under "Antony the Great," 1960).

The church of Alexandria participated in the fight against an offshoot of the Arian heresy (see ARIANISM), Pneumatomachianism, which denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit and His consubstantiality with the Father and the Son. In his *Four Letters to Serapion*, bishop of Tmuis, in 359–360, Saint ATHA-

NASIUS set forth his doctrine on the divinity and procession of the Holy Spirit. He argued that the Holy Spirit must have the divine nature in order to divinize and sanctify human beings. The church of Alexandria was fully represented at the second ecumenical council, CONSTANTINOPLE I (381), and adopted its official credal formula concerning the Holy Spirit, which today in a modified form reads: "Truly we believe in the Holy Spirit and in the Lord, Giver of life, Who forthly proceedeth from the Father; we worship and glorify Him with the Father, being the Son who was spoken of by the Prophets . . ." (Ishak, 1973, p. 84; Greek original in Denzinger, 33d ed., 1965, no. 150).

The Coptic church also teaches that the Holy Spirit is the Third Person of the most holy Trinity, and, therefore, He is consubstantial, coeternal, coequal, and coadorable with the Father and the Son. Due to the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT (639–641) the Coptic church did not participate in the struggles over the FILIOQUE between Eastern and Western Christianity, and did not insert the *Filioque* into the Creed. Today, with all Eastern churches not in communion with Rome, it rejects the *Filioque* for scriptural, canonical, and dogmatic reasons as an illegitimate change of the profession of faith. In 1898 the latinizing Synod of Alexandria of the Coptic Catholic church (in communion with Rome) adopted the *Filioque* into the Creed and theological teaching.

The awareness of the Holy Spirit is quite intense in the Coptic church. This awareness is expressed in triadic doxologies in which "the consubstantial and life-giving 'Holy Spirit'" is frequently mentioned. Other formulas read: ". . . wholly blessed with the grace of the Holy Spirit," "pure according to the gift of the Holy Spirit" and ". . . a congregation that is sanctified by His Holy Spirit." The eucharistic EPICLESIS is directed to God the Father: "We beg Thee, O Lord . . . that Thine Holy Spirit may descend upon us and upon these oblations; purify, transubstantiate and manifest them in sanctity unto Thine holy people" (Ishak, 1973, p. 96).

The sacrament of chrismation (confirmation) is understood as an anointing with the Holy Spirit accompanied by anointing with the holy chrism consecrated by the Coptic pope of Alexandria. The rite of chrismation includes an epiclesis asking the Father for the pouring out of the Holy Spirit. It is also described as an impartition of Him, and sealing by Him and His grace for the angelic, eternal, and immortal life. The rite of the sacrament of the unction of the sick (see ANOINTING) contains also an epiclesis: "We pray to Thee, O Lord, for Thine servant [name], that the grace of the Holy Spirit may descend upon him [her]. . . ." The Coptic rites of ordination contain different formulas of epiclesis entreating God the Father to send or pour out the Holy Spirit on the ordained, to bless, purify, and fill him with the Holy Spirit, or with His power, grace, gifts, or virtues. The feast of PENTECOST is celebrated very solemnly with processions, a special prayer to the Holy Spirit taken from the third hour of the book of CANONICAL HOURS, the office of genuflection, and distribution of watermelons to the poor in commemoration of the deceased.

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HOLY WEEK, the week immediately preceding the feast of the Resurrection (see FEASTS, MAJOR), a period rich in reminiscences of the ultimate stage of salvation. Following the celebration of the Divine Liturgy on Palm Sunday, the faithful worshipers reenact, step by step, the last scenes of the life of Christ, with observances gradually rising in solemnity to Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.

To enter more fully into the proper spirit of suffering and self-mortification, the early Christians endured strict practices in keeping the paschal fast (see FASTING). Some abstained completely from eating or drinking throughout the whole six days; others observed an uninterrupted fast for two, three, or four days, according to their individual power of physical endurance. The *Constitutions of the Holy Fathers*, however, recommended a simple diet of bread, salt, and herbs: "Do ye therefore fast on the days of the Passover, beginning from the second day of the week until the preparation and the Sabbath six days, making use of only bread and salt and herbs, and water for your drink" (*Constitutions* 5.18 and 19, 1951, p. 447).

In the early days of the church, it was customary to read both the Old and the New Testaments in their entirety during the course of the Holy Week prayers. This practice continued until the time of Pope GABRIEL II (1131–1145), also known as Ibn Turayk, who, with the help of a number of ecclesiastical and biblical scholars, rearranged the readings in a more systematic form. The new lectionary, called *qatamarus*, consisted of a selection of relevant Old Testament prophecies, Psalms, and corresponding passages from the New Testament, arranged in the light of the events that took place during the last week of the life of Jesus Christ on earth. A few generations later, this compilation underwent a meticulous recasting at the hands of Butrus, bishop of BAHNASAH, for the purpose of making the readings of individual days more evenly distributed over the various CANONICAL HOURS.

Into these lections were incorporated homilies and sermons from the early fathers, together with a commentary or exposition on the events of each particular day. The prayers also included a nighttime and a daytime litany, each composed of about twenty-four supplications read by a priest with the congregation responding each time, "Lord, have mercy."

Worship during Holy Week, with the exception of Maundy Thursday, is characterized by the following distinctive features:

1. It is a period of deep mourning in commemoration of the suffering of Christ. As soon as the church has celebrated Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem on PALM SUNDAY, the presbyters and deacons remove their colorful vestments, and all pillars and lecterns are decked with black ribbons. Henceforth all prayers, readings, and chants are delivered in a mournful, subdued tone called *idrībī* (see MUSIC: Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice).

2. The sanctuary (*haykal*) curtains are drawn, and worship is performed in the main body of the church. The symbolic significance of this practice is threefold. It refers to Christ's crucifixion at Golgotha outside Jerusalem. "So Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood. Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him" (Heb. 13:12–13). Just as in Old Testament ritual the sin offerings, the blood of which was brought within the veil to make expiation in the sanctuary, were taken outside the camp and destroyed, so Christ suffered outside the gate and fulfilled the original ritual outside Jerusalem.

Also according to the Old Testament, a man suffering from leprosy had to stay outside his tent for seven days before he was pronounced ritually clean (Lev. 14:8, 9). Likewise, Holy Week is a means of self-purification after which fallen man becomes worthy of being accepted into the presence of God.

3. Memorial services for the dead are not allowed to be celebrated during Holy Week. A collective office for the deceased is therefore conducted, in advance, at the end of the Liturgy of Palm Sunday for the souls of those who might depart this life during this week. All solemnities of worship can thus be directed toward one objective only, the passion of our Savior.

4. The Psalms of the canonical hours are replaced by the paschal doxology. As each hour includes twelve Psalms, this doxology is chanted twelve times antiphonally, each time followed with the Lord's Prayer said inaudibly. The words of the doxology are taken from the concluding verse of the Lord's Prayer, and from Revelation 5:12–13: "Thine is the power, the glory, the blessing, and the majesty forever, Amen; Emmanuel our God and our King. Thine is the power, the glory, the blessing and the majesty forever, Amen; my Lord Jesus Christ. Thine is the power, the glory, the blessing and the majesty forever, Amen. Our Father who art in Heaven, etc."

To the above words is added the following section as from the eleventh hour of Tuesday: "O my Lord Jesus Christ, my Good Savior."

A further section is added to this, beginning on the first hour of Friday eve, until the last hour of that day: "The Lord is my strength, my praise, and has become my salvation."

5. On Maundy Thursday, the Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the sanctuary, and holy communion is administered as usual, following the service of foot-washing (LAQQĀN) after the ninth hour of the day.

6. The entire Gospel of Saint Matthew is read on Tuesday, Saint Mark on Wednesday, Saint Luke on Thursday, Saint John on the eve of Resurrection Sunday. On Holy Saturday after the sixth hour, the entire book of Revelation is read, and, following the ninth hour, the Divine Liturgy is celebrated.

At the conclusion of the twelfth hour of Good Friday, the congregation repeats "KYRIE ELEISON" a hundred times toward the east, west, north, and south, and ends with twelve times toward the east. Then the deacons and clergy go in a procession around the altar three times, and three times around the church, followed by one more time around the altar.

Finally, the crucifix icon is wrapped in white linen, and placed on the altar, covered with the cross, rose petals, and spices. The chalice and paten veil (see EUCHARISTIC VEILS) is spread over them, and two candelabras are placed one at the head and the other at the feet, representing the two angels who stood inside Christ's sepulcher. Then the priests, in turn, start reading the entire book of Psalms. At Psalm 3:5, "I lie down and sleep," the sanctuary curtain is drawn, and the reading is resumed.

ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HOMILETIC CYCLES. *See* Cycles.

HOMOEANS, a group forming the middle ground of the anti-Nicene and anti-Athanasian party in the last decade of the reign of Emperor Constantius II (337–361); their views came closest to those of the emperor. Under their leader, ACACIUS OF CAESAREA, they held that Christ was "like God." They repudiated all reference to *ousia* ("substance") in the creed as being unscriptural but attracted a large proportion of clergy in both East and West, who by 355 were wearying of the seemingly perpetual controversy over the meaning of *ousia*. This had been enshrined as the surest way of proclaiming the Son as *Homoousion to Patri* (of the same substance as the Father) in the Nicene Creed.

The term *homoios* first occurs in 345 in the Creed of the Long Lines (the *Macrostichos)*. It is not mentioned specifically in the Second Creed of Sirmium in 357 (the "Blasphemy" of Sirmium), which left the Son subordinate to the Father and banned the use of *ousia* with reference to Him. Two years later, however, in the Dated Creed or Fourth Creed of Sirmium (22 May 359), it had become a test word (thus, Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* II.37.18–24; Athanasius, *Epistula de synodis* 8). By this time Constantius had come around to the view that the best hope of securing universal agreement on the faith was through a formula that was less vague than "the Blasphemy of Sirmium" but did not contain the term *ousia*. To say that the Son was "like the Father" would enable the largest measure of agreement possible.

Accordingly, in the summer of 359 councils were held at Ariminum (Rimini) in Italy and Seleucia in Isauria almost simultaneously, to represent the western and eastern halves of the empire. After a mixture of persuasion and coercion, and being plagued by the hot Italian summer, the 400 or so Western bishops accepted a formula that declared the "Son was like the Father." The Council of Seleucia met for a much shorter time (27 September–1 October 359) with 160 bishops present. The conclusion was indecisive, with arguments raging over a definition that would include the words "like in all things," referring to the Son's relationship to the Father. In January 360, the Homoean formula was adopted by the East at a council held in Constantinople. It was these councils that elicited Jerome's verdict, that "The whole world groaned to find itself Arian" (*Dialogus adversus Luciferianos* 19). In the spring of 360 a Western delegation accepted the Homoean formula at a council held at Nike in Thrace, presided over by Constantius himself (Sozomen *Historia ecclesiastica* IV.23.5–7).

The death of Constantius on 3 November 361 ended the triumph of the Homoeans. After the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–363), Emperor Valens (364–378) attempted to maintain the orthodoxy of the Creed of Ariminum, containing the Homoean formula, against increasingly successful pressure, first by Athanasius and then by Basil of Caesarea and his friends. It was also unacceptable to more extreme opponents of the Nicene Creed,

whose views were represented by the opposition of Eunomius of Cyzicus (bishop c. 360; deposed 364; d. c. 390). The Homoean position lost ground and was rejected finally in the Creed of Constantinople (381), when the *homoousion* was reinstated as the belief of Christendom. In Alexandria and Egypt the Homoeans never won popular support. Their position appears to have been the belief, however, of the unlucky supplanter of Athanasius, George of Cappadocia, who was lynched by a mob on 24 December 361.

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W. H. C. FREND

HOMOIOUSION, term meaning "of like substance" and used by many who were caught between the extremes of the Nicene party (HOMOOUSION, "of the same substance") and the radical Arians who had emerged about 355. The great majority of moderates rallied under Basil of Ancyra around the compromise *homoiousion*, among them Melitius of Antioch and CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. Through the statesmanship of such orthodox leaders as Athanasius and Hilary of Poitiers, the Homoiousions, who were not far removed from the orthodox position and were increasingly apprehensive of the threat of ARIANISM, were brought into the camp of the Homoousions by the Council of Constantinople in 381. Earlier concerns about the Nicene party, which had to be overcome in the process, were a dislike of the term *homoousion* and distrust of some of its advocates. Once their fears that the Nicene party was really Sabellian ("modalist" MONARCHIANISM) had been calmed, fear of increasingly radical Arianism made the Homoousions more acceptable to the Homoiousions.

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C. WILFRED GRIGGS

HOMOOUSION, a word with a century-long history in early Christianity before it became celebrated when employed in the Nicene Creed (325) and applied to the Son of God to define His relation to the Father (*homoousion to patri*). In English translations it has usually been rendered "of one substance with," or "consubstantial," or "one in being with." Its use before 325 is obscure, but certain moments in its history stand out. The Gnostics sometimes used it to describe some souls as "consubstantial with the devil"; ORIGEN used it occasionally, but the evidence that he applied it to the Son is doubtful. Paul of Samosata apparently used it in defending himself against a charge of heresy between 264 and 268, although his use of the word is difficult to determine. A little before this, Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and DIONYSIUS, bishop of Alexandria, came into an amicable controversy in which the former reproached the latter for not accepting *homoousios* as applied to the Son. The bishop of Alexandria finally accepted the term, though with some reluctance.

The exact meaning of *homoousion* in the Nicene Creed has been much debated. The theory was widely accepted by Harnack and by Loofs that the main influence must have been that of Ossius, bishop of Córdoba, who was president of the Council of NICAEA and whose theological tradition, like that of virtually all Western theologians of the time, stemmed from Tertullian. Tertullian had declared that the Son was "of one substance" (*unius substantiae*) or "of the same substance" (*eiusdem substantiae*) with the Father, and at first sight this seems to settle the problem. But study of the subject by C. Stead has seen reason to revise this judgment. In the first place, Tertullian's consubstantiality is in fact very different from fourth-century concepts of the word, being based on a Stoic conception of God as a substance. In the second place, it has been shown that the term was used in a much less precise way than had been thought, and it is a word of Greek, not of Latin, origin. Its very imprecision, according to E. Schwartz, was its value for Emperor CONSTANTINE I, who dominated the council. Others have thought that the chief reason for its inclusion was that in his *Thaleia*, ARIUS had rejected it, and it would therefore serve as a specific point of doctrine against ARIANISM.

Shortly after 325 the word drops out of the controversy, even in the writings of ATHANASIUS. But Athanasius, after his decisive break with Emperor Constantius (356), returns to it; and the chief object of his struggle thereafter becomes the attempt, ulti-

mately successful, to persuade all opponents of Arianism to adopt it as their watchword. The Western pro-Nicenes—Hilary, Marius Victorinus, Lucifer, and the others—steadily championed it against Arianism and also, when necessary, against the alternative *homoiousion* ("of similar substance") beloved of some Eastern anti-Arians, especially Basil of Ancyra. Between 368 and 380 the great Cappadocian theologians defended and expounded *homoousion* as predicated both of the Son and of the Spirit, with the result that the term was incorporated—applied to the Son, though not to the Spirit—in the Creed of Constantinople (381) to denote identity of Being without contradicting distinction of Persons.

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R. P. C. HANSON

HOP OF ṬŪKH, APA, or Hūb, a saint who was a holy monk of Upper Egypt (feast day: 16 Hātūr). The Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION says very little except that he lived in a cave of the mountain of Ṭūkh. It certainly meant the rocky area opposite QŪṢ, for the recension of the Synaxarion from Upper Egypt was drawn up in the neighborhood of Qūṣ. He was buried in the Church of Peter the Great or the Elder, a personage mentioned several times in this Synaxarion. This church was at Qift. The Synaxarion recounts especially the miracle of a hyena's cub, which was born lame and which the mother brought to the feet of the saint, who healed it by rubbing its paw. This recalls a similar miracle attributed to MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN in chapter 21 of the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO (ed. Festugière, 1971, p. 121) and to MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN by Palladius, *Historia lausiaca,* chapter 18 (1904, p. 57).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HOR, obscure fifth–sixth-century holy person who was the companion of Ambrosius (feast day: 23 Tūbah). Several Coptic inscriptions from DAYR APA JEREMIAH at Saqqara mention him, always in the company of Ambrosius, a person of whom we know nothing at all (Quibell, 1907–1908, Vol. 3, inscriptions nos. 26, 36, 76; 1908–1910, Vol. 4, inscription no. 95). H. G. EVELYN-WHITE thinks that he was contemporary with Saint JEREMIAH of Saqqara, who lived in the reign of the emperor Anastasius (491–518), if we are to believe what the *Chronicle* of JOHN OF NIKIOU says (89, §4).

The University Library in Leipzig and the Coptic Museum in Cairo preserve two leaves published by Evelyn-White from the beginning—the title is intact—of a Life of an Apa Hor who wrote to Saint Jeremiah and was the companion of Ambrosius (1926, pp. 168–70). Evelyn-White, as W. E. CRUM and J. Muyser later, sets this Hor in relation to Saint Jeremiah of Saqqara (Crum, 1913, p. 164, n. 1; Muyser, 1944, p. 187). Crum sees in the spelling Badāsiyūs in the SYNAXARION from Upper Egypt a corruption of Ambrosius, and even indeed the name of Epiphanius, which seems quite gratuitous (1926, Vol. 1, p. 216). Muyser (1944, p. 187) thinks that he is the same as Apa Hor of Abraḥat, because the days of commemoration indicated on the one hand in the recension of the SYNAXARION of the Copts from Upper Egypt (23 Ṭūbah) and on the other in the Cairo leaf published by Evelyn-White are the same; but he does not explain why the one is a companion of Ambrosius and not the other.

According to these sources Apa Hor wrote to Saint Jeremiah, the one of Saqqara, and was the companion of Ambrosius, whose name is of Western origin and rare among Egyptian proper names. He seems to have lived in the desert of Pisôben, which we can identify with the "Psôoun" of the nome of AKHMĪM, named in the Life of Shenute (CSCO 41, p. 11, l. 27), and with the village of Abṣūnah, which still exists.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HOR, APA, a saint who was a hermit (feast day: 4 Ba'ūnah). He is mentioned in the Calendar of Abū al-Barakāt (1913, p. 272). He is also mentioned in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION. There is a further mention in the Life of Abū Phis (unpublished MS Lit. 23 of the library of the church of ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH; Muyser, 1943, p. 187). His Life is also preserved in two manuscripts in the National Library, Paris (Arabe 212, fol. 276r; 477, fol. 250r).

Apa Hor was a native of Bahjūrah, but the location of "the mountain with the column, to the east" where he established his hermitage is not known.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HOR OF ABRAḤAT, SAINT, fifth–sixth-century monk (feast day: 2 Kiyahk). Information on this monk is supplied by some Coptic fragments (Evelyn-White, 1926, pp. 168–70); the SYNAXARION in the two recensions of Upper and Lower Egypt; and the Life of Anbā HARMĪNĀ (Muyser, 1943, pp. 159ff.).

Hor was a native of Preht (in Arabic, Abraḥat or Qaṣr Abraḥat), a military post situated near al-Shaykh 'Abādah. Muḥammad Ramzī (1953–1954, Vol. 1, pt. 2) identifies it with DAYR AL-BARSHAH. The majority of the manuscripts of the Synaxarion of the Copts from Lower Egypt wrongly name it "Atrīb in Upper Egypt" in place of Abraḥat.

Hor became a monk and retired into the desert. In order to tempt him, a demon suggested that he should go to ALEXANDRIA, which he did. He gave drink to the prisoners and by the simple sign of the cross restored to life a child who had been killed by the horse of a rider passing through the town. Later he retired into a monastery to escape those who wished to honor him. He seems to have gathered disciples. He became the friend and biographer of Anbā Harmīnā, and traveled with him to visit the Christian sanctuaries of Egypt. He seems to have resided at Psoun (Absūnah, on the west bank of Akhmīm), and no doubt lived under the emperor Anastasius (491–518).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

HORAPOLLON, an intellectual active during the late fifth century. He came from an Egyptian family who owned an ancestral estate at Phenebythis in the nome Panopolis. He was a leading Neoplatonic philosopher and religious figure in Alexandria. Three primary sources provide information about him: Damascius' *Life of Isidore,* composed in the early sixth century, preserves a description of Horapollon's cultural environment; the Syriac *Life of Severus,* written by Zachariah of Mitylene (also known as Zacharia Scholasticus), narrates an outbreak of religious violence around Alexandria in 485 in which Horapollon was a key figure; the third document is a papyrus letter, composed in Greek by Horapollon and found at Kom Ishqāw, which has been translated and studied by J. Maspero (1914).

Horapollon came from a family of long-standing philosophical tradition. He claimed in the Kom Ishqāw letter both that he inherited his profession

from his ancestors and that his own father, ASCLEPIADES, who spent a lifetime teaching at the Museon, was his teacher. He called himself a "clarissimus," a rank that would place him among the elite of late Roman society. Zachariah confirmed that Horapollon, whom he calls a grammarian, was known as an outstanding teacher who knew his profession remarkably well. But these virtues, he added, were offset by his admiration for demons and magic. In the *Life of Severus*, Horapollon appears as the most important personality in a group of six Alexandrian Neoplatonists: Horapollon, Heraiscus, Asclepiades, Ammonius, Asclepiodotus, and Isidorus. They were affiliated with the paganism still secretly practiced in outlying communities such as Menouthis, Canopus, and Astu.

Horapollon married his cousin in order to keep the ancestral estate at Phenebythis intact. According to the commentary of Damascius' *On First Principles*, Asclepiades, his father, and Heraiscus, his uncle and father-in-law, were Egyptians who employed Egyptian mythology as a medium for philosophical speculation. Horapollon's grandfather may have been the Horapollon named in the *Suda Lexicon* who also came from Phenebythis and taught grammar in Alexandria as well as Constantinople under Emperor Theodosius. Regrettably, the *Suda* does not say whether the Theodosius in question was Theodosius I (379–395) or Theodosius II (408–450).

Horapollon may be the author of a work, originally written in Coptic and later translated into Greek, that attempted to interpret Egyptian hieroglyphics by an allegorical rendering of the ideograms. Its title gives the author's name as Horapollo of the Nile. A few fragments from Damascius' *Life of Isidore* show that Horapollon's circle of Alexandrian Neoplatonists employed the type of allegorical interpretation of hieroglyphics that appears in the *Hieroglyphica*, ideas that Heraiscus, Asclepiades, and probably Horapollon were teaching Isidore. One statement so closely parallels a passage from the *Hieroglyphica* that a common source is unquestionable. "The hippopotamus," wrote Damascius, "is a lawless animal, a fact made plain in hieroglyphic symbols, for it kills its own father and violates its mother" (ed. Zintzen, fr. 98, p. 140). Horapollon's statement is essentially the same: the unjust and the ungrateful are represented by two hippopotamus claws turned down. This is so because the hippopotamus will kill its own father if not permitted to mate with its mother (*Hieroglyphica* I.56).

It is evident from this that the author of the *Hieroglyphica* and Horapollon lived in the same intellectual and cultural milieu. Several reasons persuaded Maspero (1914) that the Horapollon of the Alexandrian circle wrote the *Hieroglyphica*: the name is the same; when his circle was studying hieroglyphics, Horapollon was a pagan writing sympathetically on pagan antiquities; he came from a family of grammarians that produced literature on both Greek and Egyptian culture; and the cultural milieu of Egypt in the late fifth century was conducive to a work like the *Hieroglyphica*. While these arguments do not prove that Horapollon was the author, they strongly suggest that he and the author were at least directly related. In the Kom Ishqâw letter, Horapollon spoke of his forefathers, from whom he obtained his inheritance and education. The author of the *Hieroglyphica* could have been one of them, if not Horapollon himself.

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HORNER, GEORGE W. (1849–1930), English theologian and Coptologist. He studied with Georg STEINDORFF and published studies on Coptic theological texts (*Didache, Pistis Sophia*). His main publication is a critical edition of the New Testament, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic* (4 vols., London, 1898–1905) and *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic* (7 vols., Oxford, 1911–1924).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

HOROLOGION. *See* Canonical Hours, Book of.

HORSESHOE ARCH. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

HORSIESIOS, SAINT, fourth-century monk who was head of the Pachomian *Koinonia* and author of the *Liber Orsiesii*. On his deathbed PACHOMIUS asked one of his disciples, Horsiesios, to go around and to ask the brothers whom they wished to become their father. The ancient brothers certainly wanted his disciple THEODORUS OF TABENNĒSĒ, but they did not want to give any name, and Pachomius appointed PETRONIUS (the Life of Pachomius known through the Bohairic version and several fragmentary Sahidic manuscripts; hereafter listed as SBo, 121; the first Greek Life of Pachomius, hereafter listed as G^1, 114). Petronius, however, was a sick man, and when he died a few months later, he appointed Horsiesios as his successor (SBo 130; G^1, 117).

Horsiesios' nomination as the head of the whole *Koinonia* (the congregation of all monasteries founded by Pachomius) certainly did not please the ancient brothers. Although he was a relatively young member of the *Koinonia*, Pachomius had appointed him superior of the Monastery of Shenesēt (Qaṣr al-Ṣayyād, near Nag Hammadi) a few years before, and that appointment had met some protest from the brothers.

Horsiesios was not a charismatic speaker like Pachomius and Theodorus, but he was a very humble and holy man, and he was able to win the acceptance of the brothers. Things went well enough for a few years, but after five years there was a strong movement of revolt fomented by a certain Apollonius, superior of Tmoushons (SBo 139; G^1 128). Horsiesios, who had accepted his office only out of obedience, did not hesitate to step down for fear that souls might be lost because of him, for he had the unity of the *Koinonia* very much at heart. After spending a whole night in prayer, he called the ancient brothers and told them that Theodorus—at long last—would be their superior. Then he retired to the Monastery of Shenesēt.

Toward the end of his eighteen years at the head of the *Koinonia* Theodorus, tired and somewhat discouraged, brought Horsiesios back to share his responsibilities with him (SBo 204; G^1 145). And after the death of Theodorus in 368, Horsiesios was again in possession of "his" rank, to use the expression of the Life. He was a very good superior for several more years, until his death at some unknown date after 387 (SBo 208; G^1 149).

Throughout the centuries the name of Horsiesios has been associated mostly with his most important work, his spiritual "Testament," known through Saint JEROME's translation under the title of *Liber Orsiesii*. Four letters of Horsiesios are also extant in Coptic, as are a few fragments of various instructions given to the monks.

The *Liber Orsiesii* is extant only in the translation made by Saint Jerome in 404. The book was written on the occasion of an internal crisis within the Pachomian Congregation, perhaps the one that led to the resignation of Horsiesios. The crisis had to do with the increasing wealth of the communities and its appropriation by individual monasteries or individual monks. Horsiesios reacted very strongly to the tendency, which appeared to him to undermine the whole reality of the community itself.

The *Liber Orsiesii* contains long enumerations of the duties and obligations of all the superiors at various levels, and because of that it has been called a "mirror of the superior." Among the Pachomian literature, it is certainly the one writing in which we find the most complete and most articulate presentation of the Pachomian ideal of *ascesis* and community life.

Holy Scripture was very dear to Horsiesios, and his "Testament" contains a long series of quotations from almost all the books of the Old and New Testaments.

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ARMAND VEILLEUX

HORUS, THE AVENGING HORSEMAN. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

HŌS. *See* Music, Coptic: Description.

HOSANNA, a Hebrew term signifying "Save us, we beseech Thee," which occurs in Psalm 118:25. During the Feast of the Tabernacles it formed part of the refrain sung by the people of Jerusalem while waving palms and olive branches. When Christ entered Jerusalem, the joyous multitudes saluted him with the words "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed be He Who comes in the name of the Lord" (Mt. 21:9, 15; Mk. 11:9–10, Jn. 12:13).

The term was incorporated into Christian worship at an early date, and appears in the post-Communion prayer in the DIDACHE: "Remember, Lord, Thy church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in Thy love. . . . Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God (Son) of David" (Teachings of the Twelve Apostles, 1951, p. 380). It is mentioned in the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles (1951, pp. 470, 490): "After the participation, give thanks in this manner: 'We thank Thee, O God. . . . Let this Thy Kingdom come. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord.'"

On Palm Sunday, Hosanna comes into prominence during the prayers of the evening and morning offerings of incense, the processional hymn, doxologies, and the Divine Liturgy.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

HUNTING IN COPTIC ART. The hunt is a frequent theme in Coptic art. Hunters on foot and on horseback are often depicted in paintings, reliefs, and textiles. Two examples from the monastery of BĀWĪṬ are particularly noteworthy. One, on a sanctuary wall in a chapel, illustrates a passage from the scriptures. The other, in chapel 12, a lion hunt, probably with bow and arrow, also depicts prophets in a standing position. Among them is Zechariah (Clédat, 1904, p. 62, pl. 37). It probably alludes to Zechariah 11:3: "Hark the roaring of the young lions."

Other examples of the hunting theme include gazelle hunts. One, detached from a wall and preserved in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, shows a lion stalking and gazelles bounding. Another, in chapel 8 at Bāwīṭ, depicts two gazelles in flight (Clédat, 1904, pp. 49–52, pl. 30). A third, in chapel 37 at Bāwīṭ, shows a hunt in a forest; some of the hunters, wearing swords at their sides, are in Persian

costume (Clédat, 1916, pp. 38–39). This seems to illustrate the words: "then like a hunted gazelle" (Is. 13:14).

In a sketch (p. 40) of a scene at Bāwīṭ, linked with a scene of gazelle hunting, Clédat has captured the essential elements of a hippopotamus hunt. The hunters are depicted as *putti* (cherubs) among water lilies. The meaning of this scene is questionable in so far as Christian iconography is concerned, since the hippopotamus does not appear in the fauna mentioned in the Bible. However, as the hippopotamus was part of the ancient Egyptian fauna, it was one of the naturalistic motifs frequently used in pharaonic times in tomb paintings and reliefs and in temples, particularly the Temple of Idfū. In the Alexandrian period the theme of the hippopotamus hunt passed into Hellenistic iconography; one of the best-known examples of *putti* among water lilies is that of the mosaic of Palestrina in Italy dating from the first century A.D.

The presence of such a scene in Bāwīṭ betrays links with Greek iconography but derives most probably from themes in the Temple of Idfū: Horus, God of Good, vanquishes Seth, God of Evil and the desert, represented as a hippopotamus, symbol of evil and by extension, the devil (see BIBLICAL SUBJECTS IN ART). The representation of the hippopotamus gives further significance to the gazelles mentioned earlier when we think that, for example, on the cippi of Horus (votive stelae for magical use) of the late pharaonic period, the gazelle is depicted among the malignant animals of the retinue of Seth. This detail is further alluded to in the very iconography of Bāwīṭ, namely the fresco representing Saint Sisinnios piercing the demoness Alabastria with his lance. He is surrounded by malign animals and emblems that include a gazelle.

These considerations form the transition to other hunting scenes that are no longer simple illustrations, borrowed from profane life, of passages of scripture and participate only outwardly in the sacred character of these texts. They depict rather a theme in itself sacred, or more properly funerary, that, among the Mesopotamians as among many other peoples, symbolizes the victory of good over evil in the guise of a hunter on foot or on horseback in pursuit of game, whether large or small. This symbolism, as has been noted, existed in Egypt in the representation of the struggle between the god Horus and the god Seth, often represented under their animal guises borrowed from the Egyptian fauna. Egyptians who remained pagan after the triumph of Christianity exploited it in a celebrated relief showing the victorious Horus (see MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS) piercing a Typhonian animal from the back of his horse. But the piece must date from the seventh century, and despite the Greco-Roman uniform and the harness, the presentation of Horus with a falcon's head presupposes the use of this relief in a sanctuary of belated adherents to the pharaonic gods. The borrowing of the Mesopotamian theme, the use of Greco-Roman garments, and the survival of the pharaonic theme to a late date bear witness to the blendings of cultures and the neighborly relations between them that had been established. The rarity of the pharaonic theme, however, and its almost complete disappearance contrasted with the abundance of examples of the Mesopotamian theme that were less directly symbolic; the head of the huntsman, for example, remained a human head and emphasized the acceptance by the Christian Copts, as by the Christian artists of the catacombs (du Bourguet, 1970, pp. 48–51), of themes with a universally spiritual value without feeling any need to add any specifically Christian mark (see ICONOGRAPHY, CHRISTIAN).

From this perspective we may consider, in addition to the hunts of the hippopotamus or the gazelle, hunting scenes of large or small game. These must, however, be distinguished from the theme of the Parthian horseman, who is recognized by his gesture of benediction with the right hand. Such scenes may be grouped in three categories: (1) hunters on foot, no doubt taken from Roman domestic decoration (du Bourguet, 1964, no. C 22 and passim), particularly in the fabrics but also in the paintings; (2) hunters on horseback, often wearing the Phrygian cap, which marks an Oriental origin (du Bourguet, 1964, nos. C 20, D 91, 96, and passim), very frequent in fabrics; and (3) the pursuit of wild animals in the bushes by lions or dogs, no doubt deriving from the preceding category but reduced to this significant detail without the need for any human presence, according to a typically Coptic procedure, and present in paintings (Clédat, 1904), reliefs (Chassinat, 1911) and fabrics (du Bourguet, 1964, nos. C 70 and D 117).

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

HUNTINGTON, ROBERT (1637–1701), British Orientalist. He went to the Levant in 1671 and spent more than ten years there. From Aleppo, he visited Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt. In Egypt he bought rare manuscripts, among which were some Coptic texts. These manuscripts eventually made their way into the collections of Merton College and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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HUSEIN KAMEL. *See* Muḥammad 'Alī Dynasty.

HYMNS, AUTHORS OF. *See* Music, Coptic: History.

HYMNS, MELODIES OF. *See* Music, Coptic: Description.

HYMNS, MONASTIC USE OF. *See* Music, Coptic: History.

HYMNS, SAINTS' AND MARTYRS' COMMEMORATIVE. *See* Music, Coptic: Description.

HYMNS, TEXTS OF. *See* Music, Coptic: Description.

HYPOSTASIS, a word destined to play a large and complicated part in Christian theology from the late third century on. It does not appear in classical Greek in a philosophical sense but became an important word in Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism. It could mean "that which underlies" (hence it can be used to mean "substance") or "that which gives support" (hence it can be used to mean "individual reality"). At Wisdom 16:12 (the only significant occurrence in the Greek Old Testament) it denotes God's nature, and this meaning reappears in the expression "impression of [God's] nature" (Heb. 1:3). Elsewhere in the New Testament it means "confidence, assurance, guarantee" (2 Cor. 9:4; 11:17; Heb. 3:14; 11:11).

Until the appearance of the Cappadocian fathers, the word was used indiscriminately to mean "substance" or "individual entity." It was often taken to be a synonym of *ousia* (substance), apparently in the anathema of the Nicene Creed (325), which condemns the doctrine that the Son is of an *ousia* or hypostasis different from the Father. This equivalence caused endless confusion during the Arian controversy. Eastern theologians were accustomed (following ORIGEN'S usage) to speak of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three hypostases. Western theologians tended to think that this meant three diverse substances. The Western bishops at the Council of Sardica (343) declared that God had only one hypostasis. The Easterns consequently suspected the Westerns of SABELLIANISM, while the Westerns in their turn suspected the Easterns of ARIANISM. Athanasius almost always avoided the word hypostasis in trinitarian contexts before 362. In 362 the Council of Alexandria allowed that it was orthodox to think of God as three hypostases, provided this was not intended in an Arian sense, that is, God was not three substances but three "persons." The Cappadocians stereotyped the usage that hypostasis expresses what God is as Three, and *ousia* what He is as One.

The participants in the disputes concerning the Incarnation, which came to a head in the Chalcedonian formula of 451, also used "hypostasis" extensively to mean "actually existing individual reality" (not "personality"). The Antiochene school (e.g., Nestorius and the more percipient Theodoret of Cyrrhus) tended to hold that in Jesus Christ two different hypostases, the human and the divine, were joined in a moral union, but they found difficulty in explaining what that union produced. The Alexandrian school, notably CYRIL himself, held to a single hypostasis that expressed a single divine-human nature; his term "hypostatic union" meant that the Son of God incarnate represented a single reality in whom the human and the divine were

constitutionally, ontologically united. The Chalcedonian formula stated that in Jesus Christ two distinct natures, divine and human, combined, without confusion, in a single *prosopon* (visible impression) and a single hypostasis (reality), and this union was hypostatic, not merely moral.

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HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS. This, the fourth tractate of Codex II of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, is a Gnostic exposition of the origin, nature, and function of angelic powers like those mentioned in the New Testament at Ephesians 6:12 and Colossians 1:13. In the cosmology of the document, the universe is divided by a veil into two mutually exclusive realms. The primary, incorruptible, and invisible realm above the dividing veil is contrasted with its shadow, the corruptible and visible realm of physical matter and of ignorance beneath the veil. At the instigation of a heavenly and incorruptible being called Pistis Sophia (Faith, Wisdom), the ignorant, inferior, and malevolent god of the lower realm, Ialdabaoth, organizes his offspring into a hierarchy corresponding to that found in the upper world. So organized, this angelic offspring of Ialdabaoth constitutes the archons (rulers) mentioned in Ephesians and Colossians. Thus, the corruptible archons of the lower realm correspond to the incorruptible angels (or aeons) of the upper.

When the archons of the lower world see the image of the incorruptibility that dwells above the veil reflected in the waters of their lower realm, they lust after the beautiful image and attempt to capture it by creating a copy of it out of physical matter to act as a decoy. This physical decoy is Adam. At first, Adam is unable to rise from the ground out of which he was created, for while the archons can give him physical life, mere animation, they cannot give him what is found only in the upper world, an incorruptible soul. However, when the incorruptible Spirit above sees Adam below, it descends to the lower realm and inhabits his physical body. Exactly why the decoy Adam is successful in luring the Spirit from above is not explained.

The archons then put Adam into the Garden, and while he sleeps, they take Eve from his side. In this division, the incorruptible Spirit that dwelt in Adam remains with the part that becomes Eve. The archons, in their lust for this spiritual entity, rape Eve and beget Cain, but before they do, the Spirit passes from Eve into a serpent and so remains undefiled. It is this spiritual serpent that then teaches Adam and Eve to defy the evil archons, to partake of the fruit of the Garden, and to gain knowledge. The Spirit then passes from the serpent into Norea, the daughter of Adam and Eve. When the archons attempt to rape Norea, as they had her mother, Eve, she resists and calls upon the god of the upper realm, who sends the angel Eleleth to rescue her.

Eleleth teaches Norea how the first archon, Ialdabaoth, was created out of the incorruptible Sophia, and how Ialdabaoth subsequently created the physical universe and begot the other archons. For blasphemy against the upper realm, Ialdabaoth is finally consigned to Tartarus, and one of his offspring, the repentant archon Sabaoth, is installed in his father's place over all the lower realms. Eleleth finally reveals to Norea that she and her offspring, who possess Spirit, rightly belong to the upper realm and will be saved from the lower world and its archons when the true Man comes into the world at a future time. The treatise ends with an eschatological hymn describing the salvation of the spiritual beings and the final destruction of the archons.

The *Hypostasis of the Archons* was written in Greek before A.D. 350, and the many puns on Semitic names indicate a Jewish or Jewish-Christian connection (Layton, 1987). The cosmogonic myth in this document is presented in an abbreviated form and must be fleshed out by comparison with other instances of the same myth, particularly with that in the fifth tractate of Codex II, *On the Origin of the World*, with which *Hypostasis of the Archons* has many close parallels.

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HYPOSTATIC UNION, the orthodox doctrine on the relation of the divine and human in Christ. *Henōsis kath' hypostasin* was the term used by Saint CYRIL I, patriarch of Alexandria in the fifth century, to make clear beyond all argument the complete unity of the Divine Word and the flesh in Christ. For Cyril the Word is the only HYPOSTASIS ("substance"), and it "assumed flesh" (John 1:14) without ceasing to be the Word. The "Word made flesh" was not a compound of two independent natures, manhood and godhead, but one nature, that of the Word "inside man and enfleshed."

Cyril's Christology was based on that of Saint ATHANASIUS I, patriarch of Alexandria in the fourth century. However, in addition to the genuine works of Athanasius, Cyril had studied and been influenced by a group of extremely well-written Apollinarian forgeries of works purporting to have been written by authorities as reputable as Gregory the Wonderworker, Pope Julius, and Athanasius (see APOLLINARIANISM). Thus Cyril used the same phrases and arguments that Apollinaris had used to assert the composite unity of Christ's person while strenuously opposing Apollinarianism.

This is the key to understanding Cyril's peculiar terminology. The manhood of Christ is made real only by recourse to a doctrine of *kenosis* ("self-emptying"), by which the Word permits His human soul and body assumed at the Incarnation to experience human needs and feelings and finally to suffer and die on the cross. The Word, as he says, "abased himself by submitting to the limitations of the human condition." The union of godhead and manhood could be explained only in mystical terms. As Cyril wrote to NESTORIUS, bishop of Constantinople (428–431), in his third letter (430), Christ "suffered impassibly." In his second letter (429), he attempted to explain how "the Word having united to Himself in His own hypostasis, in an ineffable and inconceivable manner, flesh animated with a rational soul, became Man and was called Son of Man." Union *kath' hypostasin* appears in the Twelve Anathemas appended to Cyril's third letter to Nestorius (Anathema 2). The Anathemas were accepted as canonical at the Second Council of EPHESUS in 449; and while they were passed over at the Council of CHALCEDON (451), Cyril's affirmation that the union of natures was *kath' hypostasin* was not condemned. It was reaffirmed at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 (Anathema 5).

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HYPSIPHRONE, a Gnostic work in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY. It occupies the final four pages of Codex XI (XI.4.69.21–72.33), with the missing conclusion most likely at the bottom of page 72). A titular superscript, HYPSIPH[RONE], is given at 69.21, restored with confidence on the basis of the use of this name at XI.4.69.23–24, 70.22–23, and 72.21; the tractate also presents itself in the incipit as "the book [about the things] which were seen [by] Hypsiphrone, being [revealed] in the place of [her] virginity" (XI.4.69.22–26). Hypsiphrone, "she of high mind," is described in the company of her brothers, and she proceeds to deliver a revelatory discourse concerning her descent from the place of her virginity into the world (XI.4.70.20–21) and her conversations with Phainops, the "bright-eyed one." Unfortunately, because of the deteriorated condition of the text, the precise contents of the discourse are impossible to determine.

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HYVERNAT, HENRI EUGÈNE XAVIER LOUIS (1858–1941), French Orientalist. He was born in Saint-Julien-en-Jarret, Loire. He was educated at the Séminaire de Saint Jean at Lyons and the University of Lyons. He then studied theology in Paris (1882) and served as doctor of theology at the Pontifical University in Rome (1882–1885). He became professor of Oriental archaeology and languages at Catholic University in Washington, D.C. (1889). He published many works, some of the most important being *Acta Martyrum*, with G. Balestri (Paris, 1907–1924); *Album de paléographie copte* (Paris, 1888); *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan Codices Coptici Photographice Expressi* (56 vols. in 63 [facsimile], Rome, 1922). He died in Washington.

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I

IAMBLICHUS (c. 250–325). Born in Chalcis in Coele-Syria, Iamblichus was a successor of Porphyry in the Neoplatonist tradition. Whereas Plotinus and Porphyry were skeptical and disapproved of magic, he is reported to have defended theurgy, as it was called. Tradition also includes his performing acts of levitation and conjuring spirits. Among his extant writings are "On the Pythagorean Life," "Exhortation to Philosophy," three treatises on mathematics, and a lengthy defense of ritualistic magic, "De Mysteriis." Modern evaluation of his works runs from "superficial" to "worthless," but he did advance the theory that evil has its origin in the will, and he disputed Plotinus' doctrine of the soul's divinity. He placed great emphasis on the mysticism of numbers, sanctified myths, and speculated on an infinitely increased number of Divine Beings, expanding and glorifying the Olympic religion of the Greeks.

Lost writings include a treatise "On the Soul" (excerpts preserved in the anthology of Stobaeus), "On the Gods," and commentaries on Plato and Aristotle (quoted by Proclus).

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IBN AL-ʿAMID. *See* Makīn Ibn al ʿAmīd, al-.

IBN AL-BATRĪQ, ʿISA. *See* Ibn al-Biṭrīq, ʿĪsā.

IBN AL-BATRĪQ, SAʿĪD. *See* Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Saʿīd.

IBN AL-BIṬRĪQ, ʿĪSĀ, a Christian physician of Old Cairo and the brother of Saʿīd IBN AL-BIṬRĪQ the physician, patriarch, and historian, who dedicated to him his historical work *Naẓm al-Jawhar* (Cheikho, 1909, p. 488).

ʿĪsā ibn al-Biṭrīq was knowledgeable in all branches of medicine, especially medicaments and treatment. He remained in Old Cairo until his death, the year of which is not given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah.

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PENELOPE JOHNSTONE

IBN AL-BIṬRĪQ, SAʿĪD, a Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, known in his ecclesiastical capacity as Eutychius. He was born in A.D. 877 in the old capital of Egypt, al-Fusṭāṭ, was elected to the Melchite patriarchate in 933, and died in 940. His original vocation as a layman was the practice of medicine, in which he, in collaboration with his physician brother ISĀ IBN AL-BIṬRĪQ, wrote several

medical treatises. After his election to the patriarchate, however, he distinguished himself as a historian, and, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, his eleventh-century biographer, wrote a voluminous work entitled *Naẓm al-Jawhar,* a universal history from Adam to his own day in the reign of Abbasid Caliph al-Rāḍi (934–940). Apart from the detailed annals of the caliphate, he incorporated into his text the story of the Melchite patriarchs and details of their feasts and fasts. His reign was rather turbulent; he also wrote a treatise of disputation between him and his adversaries in an attempt to establish the Melchite over the orthodox rule of the Coptic church.

It was his chronicle, however, that brought him special attention. Its text was first edited with a Latin translation by the famous English Orientalist Edward Pococke in 1654. Since then, the authorized Arabic text of his annals has been compiled from the available manuscripts and edited by L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, and H. Zayyat under a new title, *Kitāb al-Tārikh al-Majmū' 'alā al-Taḥqīq wa-al-Taṣdīq.* The work was addressed, or perhaps rather dedicated, by the patriarch to his brother 'Īsā.

It was further continued in a massive supplement by Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, whose annals cover the period of the late Abbasid caliphs from al-Rāḍī to the accession of the Fatimid dynasty up to the rule of al-Ẓāhir (1020–1035). This supplement appeared in the same series as the original history; its text was compiled by Cheikho and his colleagues from manuscripts in Paris, Saint Petersburg, Damascus, and Beirut. Previously, portions of this work were published with a Russian translation by Baron von Rosen in 1883. The author of the supplement tried to classify his material into secular and religious categories, though in the main he tried to follow the general scheme established by his predecessor, the Melchite patriarch Eutychius.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

IBN AL-DAHĪRĪ, a thirteenth-century bishop of Damietta who wrote a grammar called *Muqaddimat ibn al-Dahīrī.* G. Graf lists him under the name al-Thiqah ibn al-Duhayrī and as one who exchanged dictionaries with the grammarian al-MU'TAMAN IBN AL-'ASSAL. The latter requested from al-Dahīrī a copy of *al-Kifāyāh* by the Coptic grammarian al-Wajīh al-Qalyūbī, who had lived in the thirteenth century (Simaykah, 1939, p. 38). Ibn al-'Assal declared that grammar to be erroneous in parts and incomplete, and told al-Dahīrī of the work of IBN KĀTIB QAYṢAR. Al-Dahīrī recognized that the grammars of both men depended on that of Yuḥannā al-Dahīrī, bishop of Samannūd. Al-Dahīrī then wrote his own grammar, trying to avoid the errors and omissions of the others. He used the established divisions into nouns, verbs, and particles, and gave numerous examples (Kircher, 1648, pp. 273–495).

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VINCENT FREDERICK

IBN ḤAWQAL. Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Ḥawqal al-Nasībī (d. 988) was an Arab traveler who seems to have visited Nubia and the Sudan in 955. He later wrote a book based on his travels, of which two versions survive: an earlier version called *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* (Book of Ideologies and Countries), and a revised version called *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* (Book of the Image of the Earth). His description of the Christian Nubian kingdoms is relatively brief, and on that account is of less value than is the work of IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ. However, Ibn Ḥawqal is unique among medieval writers in having visited the kingdom of 'ALWĀ in person. His most valuable and detailed information pertains to the BEJA TRIBES of the Sudan, in whose territory he apparently traveled extensively.

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IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ. *See* Bar Hebraeus.

IBN KABAR (al-Shaykh al-Muʾtaman Shams al-Riyāsah ibn al-Shaykh al-Asʿad Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar), scholar born to a wealthy Coptic family toward the end of the thirteenth century; he lived to the early decades of the fourteenth. His parents' palatial residence in Old Cairo was frequented by state dignitaries. Ibn Kabar received his early education in the Coptic schools, where under the best teachers of his day he mastered both the Arabic and Coptic tongues. He emerged as a great scholar at the end of the golden age of Coptic literary accomplishment.

Like many literate Copts of his time, after the completion of his education he joined the government service as a scribe and soon rose to the position of chief scribe of Prince Baybars Rukn al-Dīn al-Dawadār al-Manṣūrī (d. 1323). Ibn Kabar aided al-Manṣūrī in the composition of a historical work entitled *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, as certified by the historians al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1372–1449). In the meantime, he continued his immense studies of all available religious and secular literature both in Coptic and in Arabic, where his competence is revealed in subsequent literary products. The height of his eloquence is clearly demonstrated in his preserved orations, and his great Coptic dictionary is one of the most comprehensive lexical records of that language ever known. In addition, the encyclopedic tendency of his mind led him to learning other classical languages such as Greek, Hebrew, and most probably Syriac.

In spite of the high position Ibn Kabar occupied in the civil service, he decided to retire in 1293 during a wave of Mamluk persecution against the Copts. At that time, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290–1292) issued a decree ordering the dismissal of all Coptic functionaries from public service unless they apostatized to Islam. Ibn Kabar devoted all his time to his monumental studies and literary productivity in the fields of theology, history, and linguistics. Around the year 1300, his fame as a man of religion spread among the Coptic community, and its archons prevailed upon him to become their presbyter in charge of the historic Church of the Virgin known as al-Muʿallaqah in Old Cairo, which was the seat of the patriarchate and the most important religious center in Egypt. He must have been older than thirty at the time of his nomination, and he continued to occupy this ecclesiastical position until his death. He was a contemporary of several popes and patriarchs of the church including JOHN VII (1262–1268, 1271–1293), THEODOSIUS II (1294–1300), JOHN VIII (1300–1320) and JOHN IX (1320–1327). All revered him for his profound theological knowledge and piety.

In the year 1321, another wave of Islamic persecutions swept the Copts. The Muslim mob sought Ibn Kabar, who disappeared from sight; it is said that the Mamluk prince Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūri, his old sponsor, extended his protection to the great scholar, keeping him hidden until his death on 10 May 1324. We must assume that in the seclusion of these last three or four years of his life, he was able to edit and finalize his monumental works; these may be classified in several categories.

The first and most important category is theological studies. He produced the most comprehensive —and still unsurpassed—encyclopedia of Coptic religious knowledge in twenty-four sections, with numerous supplements, under the title of *Misbāḥ al-Zulmah, fī Iḍāḥ al-Khidmah*. Several manuscripts of this work have been found in varied repositories; the most ancient is the Vatican manuscript dated A.M. 1049/A.D. 1333. Another manuscript dated ten years later (A.M. 1059/A.D. 1343) was published in Cairo in 1930. Other works in this field ascribed to Ibn Kabar include a book entitled *Jalāʾ al-ʿUqūl fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, a critical analysis of Christian doctrines; this work could be spurious, since a work of almost the same title in the patriarchal library appears under the authorship of Ibn al-ʿAssāl. Other polemical works comprise a discussion with the Jews and a philosophical treatise on predestination.

In the field of linguistics, Ibn Kabar left one of the most important Coptic lexical works, *Al-Sullam al-Kabir*, better known to western scholarship as *Scala Magna*. Here he assembled all available Coptic terms with their Arabic equivalents in ten sections. It consists of thirty-two chapters published for the first time in Rome in 1648 by the early Western Coptologist Athanasius Kircher, with a Latin translation under the title *Lingua aegyptiaca restituta: Scala Magna, hoc est nomenclator aegyptiaco-arabicus*.

The last category comprises his miscellaneous orations, epistles, and obituaries, of which fifty-one have been preserved in very elaborate classical Arabic style. Ibn Kabar's obituaries included one that he composed about himself during his declining years in his retirement from the Mamluk persecutions; this was presumably read at his funeral in

1324. He was probably buried in the al-Mu'allaqah Church in Old Cairo.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

IBN KĀTIB QAYṢAR (c. 1260), according to G. Graf, a thirteenth-century Coptic philologist and scriptural commentator. He came from a respected and influential family. AL-MU'TAMAN ABŪ ISHĀQ IBN AL-'ASSĀL, who had connections with all the learned people of his time, rated him highly because of his extraordinary knowledge and judged his book on Coptic grammar outstanding. This work was the basis for his being appreciated as a philologist, but his importance as a writer is rather as a commentator on the scriptures.

Among his works, Graf lists a grammar with the title *Al-Tabṣirah* (Source of Insight), a reworking of the grammar of Yuḥannā, bishop of Samannūd. There is an edition with a Latin translation by Athanasius Kircher (*Lingua aegyptiaca restituta,* Rome, 1648). One tradition makes Ibn Kātib Qayṣar the author of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse;* another ascribes it to AL-MU'TAMAN ABŪ ISHĀQ IBN AL-'ASSĀL. The commentary itself does not have a unified order of the books commented on nor does it attempt a conceptual synopsis of their content and meaning. Instead, it mostly strings together comments on particular words, expressions, and sentences, and interprets these according to their direct association. The meanings of the words are taken into account when the allegorical and prophetic character of the text does not allow any other (Shatā, 1939). An anonymous, comprehensive commentary on the Pauline works, on the Catholic epistles (Peter, James, Jude, and 2 Peter), and on Acts of the Apostles is also ascribed to Ibn Kātib Qayṣar.

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IBN LAQLAQ. *See* Cyril III Ibn Laqlaq.

IBN MAMMĀTĪ, surname of a celebrated Coptic dynasty from Asyūṭ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries under the later Fatimids and early Ayyubids. Three successive members of that dynasty stand out.

The founder, Abū al-Malīḥ, became secretary and general intendent of the *diwan* under the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī in the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (1035–1094). He was a popular administrator and was eulogized by the poets of his age. He was able to retain his Coptic faith side by side with his official position in the Islamic state until his death some time toward the end of the eleventh century.

The second in the line was al-Malīḥ's son, al-Muhadhdhab Abū al-Malīḥ Zakariyyā, who succeeded his father in the important position of secretary of the *diwan* during the waning of Fatimid rule in the Shi'ite caliphate of al-'Aḍid (1160–1171). During this critical period of transition from Fatimid to Ayyubid rule in Egypt the Sunnite Shirkuh occupied the vizierate of the Shi'ite caliphate, bringing in his retinue his own nephew of later renown, Sālaḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Saladin). His anomalous position was precipitated by the greater peril of an invasion of Egypt by the crusader King Amalric of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem about 1167. One of the immediate results of the crusade was the kindling of antagonism toward all Christians, the Copts included. A new wave of persecutions fanned by Shirkuh against the Copts and their administration of the state threatened al-Muhadhdhab, who escaped by embracing Islam; he thereby kept his position until his death, probably in the year 1182.

Whether al-Muhadhdhab apostasized to Islam in good faith or merely feigned conversion to save himself, the family appeared to remain within the new fold, and his son again inherited his position of secretary of the *diwan* and was even promoted later to the secretaryship of all the *diwans* of the government machinery during the reigns of both Saladin (1169–1192) and al-'Azīz (1193–1198) of the Ayyubid dynasty.

The third in the line was the most renowned of the family. AL-MAQRĪZĪ, the fifteenth-century Arab historian, quotes his full name as al-As'ad ibn Muhadhdhab ibn Zakariyyā ibn Mīnā Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ibn Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Malīḥ ibn Mammātī. His fame was not based merely on his lofty position in the administration of the country as head of all the *diwans* but also on his literary accomplishments in Arabic and his productivity as a writer and as a poet who left his mark on that age. The sources

have recorded at least twenty-three works under the name of al-As'ad, though most of them have been lost. His poetic skill was put to use in the versification of the *Life of Saladin* and the classic *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*. Al-Qādī al-Fāḍil Abd al-Rahīm al-Baysanī, a towering personality of that age and the supreme judge of the sultanate, described him as the "nightingale of assemblies" on account of his eloquence and the sweetness of his style.

After the death of al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, al-As'ad's colleague and rival Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Shukr, head of the *Dīwān al-Jaysh*, was elevated to the vizierate with disastrous consequences to Ibn Mammātī. Ibn Shukr conspired against him at the sultan's court, bringing about the confiscation of all his property and stripping him of his position in the state. In these untoward circumstances, al-As'ad decided to flee to Aleppo, where he found refuge at the court of al-Ẓāhir (1186–1216), a son of Saladin. There he remained until his death in exile and obscurity in 1209 at the age of sixty-two. He was interred in Damascus, according to Ibn Khallikān, at the cemetery of Bāb al-Ḥakam by the roadside near the mausoleum of al-Shaykh 'Alī al-Harawī.

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IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYAH (al-Salafī Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Sa'd ibn Ḥariz al-Zar'ī al-Dimashqī), fourteenth-century encyclopedia author. He was known as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah since his father was the curator of the Jawziyyah School in Damascus. He was a Hanbalite. Though he received his training from numerous teachers, the greatest master, who left an indelible impression on him, was *Shaykh al-Islam al-Imām* Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyyah, who remained with Ibn Qayyim for nearly forty years from his return from Egypt in 1311 until his death. During this long companionship Ibn Qayyim benefited so much from Ibn Taymiyyah's learning that their names became associated.

Ibn Qayyim produced a comprehensive two-volume encyclopedia (*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*) of Islamic law pertaining to the AHL AL-DHIMMAH (people of the covenant). The author stressed important facts relevant to the COVENANT OF 'UMAR, on which he commented exhaustively, quoting as reference the Quranic texts, the traditions, proverbs, and historical traditions.

One of the most important characteristics of this encyclopedia is that the author linked legislation and admonition in the style of the *mutakallimīn* (polemicists) as perfected by the Salafī school, whose basic foundations were laid down by Ibn Taymiyyah.

Though the book is divided into numerous chapters, its contents may be reduced to six topics: (1) sale conditions of churches and hermitages; (2) evils in the deeds of the Dhimmis disavowed by Islam; (3) the Dhimmis' gear, which distinguishes them from the Muslims, whether in riding (beasts), or in clothing, or in any other respect; (4) dealings between the Muslims and the Dhimmis in mutual trade transactions and so forth; (5) hospitality of the Dhimmis toward the Muslims; and (6) the penalty legally imposed on Dhimmis for harming Muslims and the Dhimmis' adherence to the protection contract granted by Islam as long as they pay the JIZYAH (poll tax).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah stresses the question of the *jizyah* in the first part, and the similarities and dissimilarities between the *jizyah* and the *kharāj* (land tax). In the same section he also deals with the various kinds of taxes and other fiscal matters. He further discusses the status of the Dhimmis in the state administration; he believes that the Dhimmis should be banned from directing the state policies, and he warns that they should not be entrusted with Muslim properties. He then deals with the financial relations between the Dhimmis and the Muslims. He discusses the regulations binding the Dhimmis in their own financial affairs, the regulations relevant to their waqfs (religious property) and the waqfs endowed upon them by the Muslims, the laws of inheritance applying to the Dhimmis among themselves, and whether transmission by inheritance between Muslims and Dhimmis is legal. Ibn Qayyim also considers the status of the Dhimmis' marriages and their dowries, the maintenance they receive from their relatives, the conditions binding their sacrifices, the conditions of hiring them or of hiring a Muslim to work for them, the decorum that should be adopted when meeting them, the treatment of their sick, participation in their funerals, and how to condole them on these occasions. Indeed, when discussing their children, he does not fail to stipulate the conditions binding these children in this world as in the world to come.

It can thus be concluded that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah considered 'Umar's Covenant as law that should be enforced, and that it was not optional. This covenant is a legal act, so that whoever breaks any part of it violates his own status as Dhimmi.

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IBN AL-ṢĀ'IGH, nickname, meaning "son of the goldsmith," given to two Copts in references of the fourteenth century. They are probably the same person.

In 1325–1326 the monk Tūmā ibn al-Ṣā'igh copied a manuscript of the four Gospels translated from the Greek. This manuscript was in Jerusalem in 1903, at the Copts' Dayr Mār Jirjis, and was described by Ḥannā Martā (Meistermann, 1904, p. 125). L. Cheikho (1903) identified it with another Egyptian manuscript dated 1227. But in 1915 when G. Graf cataloged the library, it had disappeared.

In October 1340 the monk Tūmā, nicknamed Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, is mentioned at Damascus. In the company of Anbā Butṛus, metropolitan of the Copts in Jerusalem and Syria, he was collating a manuscript of the four Gospels that had just been copied by the Coptic priest Jirjis Abū al-Faḍl ibn Luṭfallāh (to be read as: Jirjis ibn Abī al-Mufaḍḍal) from the original manuscript of al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl. This is now the famous manuscript in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (Bible 90; Graf, no. 180; Simaykah no. 13).

On 26 November 1347 the monk Tūmā ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-Mutarahhib is again mentioned (Uri, 1787, p. 29, n. a), finishing the transcription of the text of Genesis (see the colophon on fol. 58r in Rhode, p. 81). This manuscript of 235 folia, described by J. Uri as being "splendidissime exaratum" and by J. F. Rhode (1921, p. 80) as "magnificent," is the Laud. Or. 272 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (olim Laud. A 182; Uri, 1787, p. 1). It contains an Arabic version of the entire Pentateuch, translated directly from the Greek of the Septuagint (and not from the Hebrew, as Uri states). It has interlinear and marginal notes written in blue, red, and black ink (Rhode, 1921, p. 80). This manuscript "was used by Holmes and Parsons in their famous edition of the Greek Old Testament" (Rhode, p. 80), where it is cited as Arabic 3. In 1789, H. E. G. Paulus (1789, pp. 69–70) used it in his critical notes and reproduced extracts from it (Gn. 1:1–5; 4:6–8; 49:1–36; and Nm. 24:7–9). Rhode (pp. 18–35) collated this manuscript (code E) in order to edit the text of Genesis 1–6, 18, and 50 (Group 2).

At this date the monk Tūmā was a priest. He copied this manuscript on a commission for the *shaykh* al-Ṣafī Arsānī ibn al-Qass Dāwūd ibn al-Qass al-Amjad Hibatallāh (Uri, 1787, p. 29, n. b).

On 14 Ba'ūnah A.M. 1071 8 June 1355, JIRJIS IBN AL-QASS ABĪ AL-MUFAḌḌAL completed in Cairo his copy of the large NOMOCANON attributed to Ibn al-'Assāl. In Damascus he had begun the copy from the original manuscript up to folio 238 (Coptic numbering; 233 present numbering). He writes that folios 234–79 in the present numbering were copied from a manuscript copied by Anbā Kīrillus, bishop of Asyūṭ, nicknamed Ibn al-Sā'igh.

According to a manuscript at Cambridge University (Add. 3283), copied at Mossul by the hieromonk Rabbān Isḥāq ibn al-Shammās 'Abd al-Ḥayy on 21 March 1678, this manuscript of Anbā Kīrillus was copied at the Monastery of Saint John Kama, which was his monastery of origin (cf. fol. 15 two notes). Now it is known that "after the destruction of the Monastery of Saint John Kama between 1330 and 1442, the monks of that monastery migrated to the Syrian Monastery, at the same time transferring the relics of their Patron Saint" (Meinardus, 1965, p. 159; Evelyn-White gives us no further details of this period). This explains how the Syrian Orthodox obtained the manuscript. However, the copyist in Mossul, who did not know Anbā Kīrillus personally, does not mention his nickname of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh.

In short, if these persons are one and the same, Tūmā known as Ibn al-Ṣā'igh was a monk of the monastery of Saint John Kama. He was subsequently sent to the dioceses of Jerusalem and all of Syria to help the emigrant Copts. If the destruction of the monastery took place about 1330, this could be the approximate date at which he was sent. He took with him his manuscript of the four Gospels, copied in 1325, and later left it at Jerusalem. In 1340, he was in Damascus. In 1347, when he was a hieromonk, he copied a very fine manuscript of the Pentateuch for the library of a prominent Copt (Bodleian Library, Oxford. Laud. or. 272). He later became bishop of Asyūṭ and took the name Kīrillus. He

copied a manuscript of the large *Nomocanon*, which was used in 1355 by Jirjis ibn Abī al-Mufaḍḍal, who copied it in Cairo (British Library, London, Or. 1331), and it was again used in 1678 by the rabbān Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, who copied it in Mossul (now Cambridge Add. 3283).

This also neatly fills a small lacuna in the lists of the episcopal see of Asyūṭ. The last known bishop, Anbā Philūthāwus, was there in 1330 (Munier, 1943, p. 40, no. 18). There is no further information concerning any other bishop of this see until Anbā Yūḥannā in 1703 (Munier, 1943, p. 42).

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IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ. ʿAbdallah ibn Aḥmad ibn Salīm, familiarly known to historians as Ibn Salīm al-Aswānī, lived in the latter half of the tenth century. Almost nothing is known of his life or his career, except that at some time between 969 and 973 he undertook a diplomatic mission to the Nubian kingdom of MAKOURIA. The account of his travels, preserved in extracts by al-MAQRĪZĪ and al-Minūfi, is the only surviving eyewitness description of medieval Nubia, other than the very brief account of IBN ḤAWQAL.

When the Fatimids took possession of Egypt in 969, one of their first concerns was to secure their southern frontier by normalizing relations with the kingdom of Makouria, which controlled the territory to the south of Aswan. Jawhar, the Fatimid governor, was well aware that the Nubians had previously resisted the advance of Islam, but he was apparently led to believe that they might accept the Shīʿah version and join him in a campaign against the Abbasid dominions in the Levant. This was the background of Ibn Salīm's diplomatic mission. Presumably he was selected because, as a resident of Aswan, he had some previous familiarity with Nubia or at least with its people.

Ibn Salīm evidently traveled with a considerable retinue. At one point he speaks of performing the *ʿId al-Aḍḥā* (Feast of Sacrifice) with about sixty other Muslims, who must have been his own followers. When he arrived at the Nubian capital of DONGOLA, he was courteously received by the reigning King George of Makouria. Ibn Salīm read to the king a letter from Jawhar, which invited him to embrace Islam and to forward the payment of slaves that was due under the BAQṬ. King George then summoned his principal ministers and, after consultation with them, drafted a reply to Jawhar. Far from embracing Islam, he invited the Fatimid general to embrace Christianity. He asserted his complete willingness to continue the *Baqṭ* payment, as his father and grandfather had done, but at the same time hinted that Nubia was quite ready to withstand any military incursion from Egypt. There is no record of how the negotiations proceeded beyond this point, but Ibn Salīm evidently remained in Dongola for a considerable further period of time and had several more audiences with the king. He also accompanied the king on a visit to a neighboring province to the north of Dongola. Whatever agreement was ultimately reached, it seems to have laid the foundation for a period of exceptionally cordial relations between Fatimid Egypt and Christian Nubia. Nubians were recruited in large numbers into the Fatimid armies and were influential at court as well.

On his return from Nubia, Ibn Salīm wrote an account of his travels which he titled *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūbah wa-al-Muqurrah wa ʿAlwā wa-al-Būjah wa-al-Nīl* (Reports on Nubia, Makouria, ʿAlwā, Beja,

and the Nile). This work must at one time have been fairly well known, for it is quoted directly by at least three later authors, and it evidently furnished information for others as well. Most of the Nubian information contained in the *Churches and Monasteries* of ABU ṢĀLIH THE ARMENIAN evidently came from Ibn Salīm. All copies of the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūbah* have subsequently disappeared, but lengthy extracts are preserved in the *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* (The Great Chronicle of Egypt) and the *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ* (The Book of Wisdom) of al- (The Book of Wisdom) of al-Maqrīzī. Some passages are also preserved in the *Kitāb al- Fayd* (The Book of Greatness) of Minūfī. The only full English translation of Ibn Salīm's text, as reported by al-Maqrīzī, is that made by J. L. Burckhardt more than 150 years ago. A French translation was made by G. Troupeau (1954).

Ibn Salīm was a tolerant and sympathetic writer as well as a fairly observant one, and he has left a word picture of life in Nubia that is without parallel in ancient or medieval literature. In addition to describing the kingdom of Makouria, which he observed at first hand, he also gives much information about the more southerly kingdom of ʿALWĀ. This information was evidently gained at second hand, since Ibn Salīm had no official business with ʿAlwā, but it is almost the only descriptive information possessed about this little-known Christian kingdom of the central Sudan. Other passages, also based on hearsay information, deal with the sources of the Nile and with the BEJA TRIBES.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

IBN SIBĀʿ, YUḤANNĀ IBN ABĪ ZAKARIYYĀ,

a noted Coptic theologian of the thirteenth century, whose life may have extended into the fourteenth. Ibn Sibāʿ was a contemporary of the famous Coptic church encyclopedist IBN KABAR, whose work *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulmah* is noted for its treatment of the organization and the liturgy of the Coptic church. In his own right, Ibn Sibāʿ authored an important work on the traditions and rituals of the Coptic church, a near approach to Ibn Kabar's, although it falls short of the theological expanse of the *Miṣbāḥ*.

Ibn Sibāʿ's comprehensive work, *Al-Jawharah al-Nafīsah fī ʿUlum al-Kanīsah*, consists of 113 chapters. First are several chapters on the Old Testament, which review the period of the creation to the period of Jesus Christ. The next section deals with the rise and spread of Christianity. But the bulk of the material concentrates on Coptic church organization and traditions, as well as on a meticulous review of its liturgies. The Coptic mass is analyzed and Coptic fasts and feasts enumerated, with special attention devoted to major feasts such as those of Holy Week and Easter.

Accurate details are presented on the church hierarchy from deacon to priest, *hegumenos* (archpriest) to bishop and the patriarch. One chapter discusses the patriarchal duty to assemble the entire priesthood every week in order to instruct them on their moral duties. The patriarch is requested to care for his flock in general, as well. Another special chapter treats the burial offices and the offerings for the souls of the departed.

The final chapter explains the significance of the ringing of church bells during the celebration of church offices.

Manuscripts of *Al-Jawharah al-Nafīsah fī ʿUlum al-Kanīsah* are deposited in many collections. V. Mistrīḥ, editor of the latest critical edition, used eighteen manuscripts in his research, manuscripts that are scattered throughout different world centers of Arabic collections. His principal source is the oldest known version, dated A.M. 20 Ṭūbah 1164/A.D. 1448, housed in the Egyptian Public Library. Mistrīḥ's text and translation appear in Latin under the title *Pretiosa Margarita de Scientiis Ecclesiasticis*. It was published in *Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegyptiaca*, under the auspices of his own Centrum Franciscanum Studiorum Orientalium Christianorum (Cairo, 1966), with an extended introduction in Latin.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

IBRĀHĪM IBN 'AWN, THE NESTORIAN, name associated with a composition for resolving questions called *Ḥall al-Shukūk wa-al-Rādd alā al-Yahūdī al-Muhkālif* (The Resolution of Doubts and Refutation of a Jewish Opponent). By employing literal interpretation and by using other scriptural passages, it explains New Testament events and sayings of Jesus and the apostles that seem objectionable to Jews and refutes incorrect conceptions relating to them.

The book and author appear in the author catalog of Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR, where he is given the nickname al-Iskāfī (the shoemaker).

VINCENT FREDERICK

IBRĀHĪM IBN 'ĪSĀ, physician who studied under and worked with Yuḥanna ibn Māsāwayh in Baghdad. Ibrāhīm was, after coming to Egypt, a personal physician to the amir Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (868–884), whom he used to accompany on his journeys. He remained in the amir's service and continued to reside in al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) until his death, around 874. He may be the same Ibrāhīm ibn 'Īsā mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm as author of two works, *Akhbār al-Khawārij* (History of the Kharijites) and *Kitāb al-Rasā'il* (Book of Epistles). Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, who gives this brief account of his life, does not mention to which Christian community he belonged.

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PENELOPE JOHNSTONE

IBRĀHĪM IBN SULAYMĀN AL-NAJJĀR AL-MĪRĪ, eighteenth-century copier of manuscripts. Ibrāhīm is mentioned nowhere, but certain elements of his life and literary activity can be reconstructed from the manuscripts he copied. These are now found in Cairo, at the Coptic Museum and the Coptic Patriarchate.

His ethnic surname shows that he came from Mīr, a place probably situated between al-Qūṣiyyah and Manfalūṭ. He was probably a carpenter by trade, but he abandoned this name once he was ordained a priest. It seems he soon settled in Cairo, if indeed he was not born there. He wrote both Arabic and Coptic equally well.

At the request of the 103rd patriarch, JOHN XVI (1676–1718), in 1702 he copied a manuscript of the consecration of CHRISM and holy oil in Coptic and Arabic, a liturgical poem for the patriarch in Arabic, and an account of how the chrism should be placed in the vessels. At this date he was still a layman.

At the request of Mu'allim 'Awaḍ al-Maḥallāwī, in 1709 he copied a collection of 149 poems in simple literary Arabic, composed by Anbā Bistawrah known as al-Ḥarīrī (Coptic Patriarchate, *Theology 290;* Graf, no. 533; Simaykah, no. 333).

In 1720 he copied a lectionary in Coptic for the Sundays from Easter to Pentecost and for certain feasts. By this time he had been ordained a priest and was the parish priest of Sitt Barbārah in Old Cairo (Coptic Museum, Cairo, *Liturgy 318;* Simaykah, no. 210; Graf, no. 690).

At the request of the archon al-Mu'allim Bishārah Abū Yūḥannā al-Ṭūkhī, in 1729 he copied a lectionary for the Sundays of the first six months of the year in Arabic only. This manuscript was given as a bequest by the archon to the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Old Cairo. At this date, Ibrāhīm was a HEGUMENOS still serving at the Church of Sitt Barbārah at Old Cairo (Coptic Museum, *Liturgy 287;* Simaykah, no. 212; Graf, no. 687).

In 1743, he copied the 151 Psalms and the Canticles in two columns, Coptic and Arabic. He donated this manuscript to the Church of Sitt Barbārah (Coptic Patriarchate, Bible 7; Simaykah, no. 82; Graf, no. 275).

Last, in December 1749, *Hegumenos* Ibrāhīm copied, at the request of Manqāriyūs Abū Bishārah, a collection in Arabic of an essentially canonical character, containing the DIDASCALIA of the Apostles, the CANONS OF CLEMENT, the eighty-one Apostolic Canons, and two homilies for 3 Nasī in honor of the Archangels Michael and Raphael (Coptic Patriarchate, *Canon 28;* Graf, no. 553; Simaykah, no. 573). This manuscript was given as a bequest to the Church of the Virgin of Ḥārit al-Rūm in Cairo, by Anbā Athanasius, who was probably bishop of Abū Tīj.

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IBRĀHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ (d. 1795), minister of finance in Ottoman Egypt who was the most important Coptic political figure and personality in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. His father, Yūsuf al-Jawharī, was, according to oral tradition, a cotton weaver. Ibrāhīm learned the profession of secretary and worked for some time in the service of a Mamluk amir, then for the Coptic patriarch MARK VII and his successor, JOHN XVIII. He was probably an apprentice and protégé of Mu'allim Rizq, the Coptic secretary and administrator of finances of 'Alī Bey. The basis of his career and his reputation was established in this period.

After the overthrow of 'Alī Bey and Mu'allim Rizq, Ibrāhīm's social rise began under Muḥammad Bey. The peak of his influence and fame came after 1775, under the joint reign of Ibrāhīm Bey and Murād Bey. Ibrāhīm Bey especially favored him and made him a sort of minister of finance. He controlled and managed not only the private properties of the bey, which consisted mostly of tax farms, but also the public income and expenditure. He was, so to speak, the de facto chief of the supreme revenue office in Ottoman Egypt. He was also the director of the corporation of tax collectors and state scribes, who administered the finances of the whole country. These positions were held almost exclusively by Copts at the end of the eighteenth century.

A. al-Jabartī (1879–1880) describes Ibrāhīm al-Jawharī as one of the most influential and capable personalities of his time, a person who dealt with everyone properly and who acquired sympathy on all sides through his charity and generosity. His deferential attitude toward the political leaders and his presentation of gifts to people in power earned him their friendship and support. His influence among the dominant class was so great that he was able to construct, restore, and maintain Coptic churches and monasteries, and his actions were supported by juristic opinions of famous *'ulamā'* (religious chief justices). Muslim resistance against this renaissance of Coptic self-confidence was stirred only during the Ottoman expedition of Ḥasan Pasha to punish the obstinate beys in 1786. Throughout this time and during the following rule of Ismā'īl Bey in Cairo, Ibrāhīm stayed in safety in Upper Egypt under Ibrāhīm Bey, Murād Bey, and their followers. His possessions in Lower Egypt were confiscated by Ḥasan Pasha. After the death of Ismā'īl Bey, he returned with his protectors to Cairo in 1791 and resumed his former functions.

When Ibrāhīm al-Jawharī died on 31 May 1795, Ibrāhīm Bey was deeply afflicted by the loss of his friend. Even though it was improper for a Muslim to do so, he did not refrain from giving him the last farewell and accompanying his mortal remains to the cemetery. Al-Jawharī left the Coptic patriarchate some real estate in the al-Azbakiyyah quarter of Cairo, and he also was able to obtain official permission to start building a church there, which his brother JIRJIS AL-JAWHARĪ later completed. The Coptic patriarch MARK VIII transferred his residence to that place. On the literary side, al-Jawharī left a commentary on the prophets. In the course of the nineteenth century several legends arose about his piety and his care of the poor.

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HARALD MOTZKI

IBRĀHĪM AL-TŪKHĪ. *See* John XVI.

IBSCHER, HUGO (1874–1943), German technician and restorer of manuscripts and papyri. He was trained as a bookbinder, but entered the service of the State Museum of Berlin in 1891, where he was entrusted with the mounting and restoring of papyri. While on the staff of the museum, he was permitted to undertake work elsewhere, and many important papyri were restored and mounted by him in the collections of Turin, London, Oxford, Brussels, Paris, Prague, Copenhagen, Cairo, Rome, and many others. For his work on the restoration of parchments and other manuscripts in the Vatican, he was awarded the Order of Saint Gregory and received an honorary doctorate from Strasbourg. He received the Leibnitz Medal of the Prussian Academy and the medal of the Bavarian Academy. Though he was responsible for the restoration of

most of the important Coptic papyri, his literary work was rather limited: "Bucheinbände aus Ägypten" (*Berliner Museen* 33, 1911–1912, pp. 46–52) and "Koptische Bucheinbände aus Ägypten" (ibid., 49, 1928, pp. 86–90).

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IBṬŪ, according to S. Timm (1984), the Arabic name of the city that was known in Greek as *βουτος* (Boutos) and in Coptic as ⲃⲟⲩⲧⲟ or ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲟ (Bouto, Pouto). The city, which no longer exists, was located in the northwest part of the Egyptian Delta in what is now the Gharbiyyah province, about 6 miles (10 km) northeast of Disūq.

Although it is not known when Christianity first gained a foothold in Bouto/Ibṭū, the city was a bishopric by the early fifth century as evidenced by the signature of Bishop Ammon of Bouto on the acts of the Council of EPHESUS in 431 (Munier, 1943, p. 17). It is uncertain whether a Christian community was still to be found in the city in the Arabic period. A medieval list of Egyptian bishoprics presents puzzling evidence on the question. The list offers the following equivalent: Bouto Theros (Greek); Pouto ke thres (Coptic); Naṭwa and Tirsā (Arabic) (Munier, 1943, pp. 45, 53). While the Greek and Coptic names given here could refer to Ibṭū, there is no satisfactory explanation for the Arabic equivalents Naṭwā and Tirsā. With the exception of this enigmatic witness, the sources are silent on the status of Christianity in medieval Ibṭū.

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IBYAR. *See* Abyar.

ICONOCLASM, destruction of images. The great Iconoclastic Controversy over the nature and function of religious images convulsed Byzantine Christianity from the 720s until 843. It accentuated the division between the Eastern and Western halves of Christendom and contributed to a deterioration of relations with the papacy that led ultimately to the alliance of the papacy with the Franks and the secession of Italy from Byzantium.

During the period of 550 to 700 the cult of images had been infiltrated by abuses, the tendency of some believers to venerate icons of saints more than the saints themselves. In 726 Emperor Leo III issued the first edict against the use of images. According to the ninth-century historian Theophanes, Leo combined iconoclasm with a disbelief in the intercession of the Virgin and saints and a hatred of martyrs' relics.

Iconoclasm reached its peak in the middle of the eighth century. Emperor Constantine V was a noted theologian, who was inclined toward MONOPHYSITISM. He won resounding victories over the Arabs and Bulgars and left a dynasty firmly established on the Byzantine throne. In 754 he summoned a synod at the Hieria palace, which pronounced itself against images. Consequently Constantine moved vigorously against image worshipers, destroying religious art and replacing it with imperial art. The monks were a special target and were persecuted without mercy—one of the most notable of the martyrs was Saint Stephen the Younger, whose body was mutilated by a mob. In 775, Constantine was succeeded by his son Leo IV the Khazar, who, although more favorable toward the monks, continued to support iconoclastic measures.

The cult of images was reestablished by Leo's successor, Empress Irene, and sanctioned by the Seventh Ecumenical Council, held at Nicaea in 787. Irene's reign benefited the monks and the monasteries. After many intrigues, in 797 Irene blinded and deposed her son, Constantine VI, who was in league with iconoclasts in the army.

In 802 Irene was overthrown by Nicephorus, who gave only a lukewarm support for images. The controversy continued fitfully until the death of Emperor Leo V the Armenian in 820. Orthodoxy was restored in 843 at a formal council held in Constantinople, which "confirmed the seven ecumenical councils and restored the sacred images to the veneration that was formerly their due." This event was formally celebrated on the first Sunday in Lent, 11 March 843, and is still observed in the Orthodox world. Iconoclasm was never again an issue within Byzantine Christianity.

Iconoclasm, like most great issues in history, was

exceedingly complex. It involved the whole Byzantine population—emperors, bishops, monks, theologians, court officials, civil servants—as well as the populace of the great cities of the Byzantine world.

The precise reasons for the outbreak of iconoclasm are obscure. The following have been suggested: (1) Islamic influence, which was opposed to images of living things, mediated through a circle close to Leo III; (2) a desire on the part of the iconoclast emperors to purify the people morally and intellectually after the disastrous encounters with the Muslims in the seventh century; (3) a reaction against abuses of the cult of images; (4) a desire to enforce the power of the state over the church, that is, caesaropapism; (5) the influence of monophysitism, which had long been opposed to the rulings of the Council of CHALCEDON; (6) the sullen hostility of a provincial culture toward an alien iconodule piety of Constantinople; and (7) the influence of various Christian sects. It seems probable that the main influences were internal to Byzantine Christianity. The position of the emperor was important in Byzantium, and it may be that Leo III associated the military weakness of the empire in the seventh century with idolatry. In opening a campaign against images he may have been returning to a traditional view of the dominant place of the emperor in the Christian schema, which went back to the fourth century. Other groups involved in the controversy no doubt had other motives—the doctrinal issue was important for ecclesiastics. Yet in the last resort neither side in the controversy clung to its religious opinions with the pertinacity shown earlier by the Monophysites. The iconoclast emperors throughout underestimated the hold of the icons on the Byzantine population and, in particular, the deep-seated belief that the Virgin Mary, THEOTOKOS, was the guardian, savior, and protector of the imperial city of Constantinople.

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ICONOGRAPHY. *See* Biblical Subjects in Coptic Art; Christian Subjects in Coptic Art; Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art; Symbols in Coptic Art.

ICONOSTASIS. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

ICONS, COPTIC, holy panel paintings of Christ, the Virgin Mary, saints, or subjects from the Old and New Testaments. The word *icon* is derived from the Greek word *eikōn*, meaning "image" or "portrait." Icons are symbols of the invisible presence of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. They are the connection between the church on earth and the church in heaven. There is a direct contact between the believer and the saint, who is visible through the conventional style in which the icon is painted. Icon painters avoided realism and three-dimensionality in order to create a metaphysical reality. The veneration shown by believers in touching and kissing icons and kneeling before them is directed to the saint depicted on the icon. The believer asks the saint to exercise his beneficent power or act as an intermediary between the believer and God.

In Coptic churches, icons are placed on top of or hung on the iconostasis, the wall that separates the nave from the sanctuary. They play an important role during the service, especially on festal days.

Icons are generally painted on flat pieces of wood covered by a layer of gesso. The first icons were painted in either encaustic (hot wax) or egg tempera, but later tempera became customary.

Early History

Although it has often been suggested that the mummy portraits of Egypt, also painted in encaustic and tempera, influenced icon painting, other objects are more likely to have influenced icon painting, for example, painted panels of the pagan gods Isis and Sarapis or soldier-deities, dating to the second and third centuries A.D. Other possible influences are ancestor portraits belonging to rich citizens and images of famous mortals honored by religious sects. The second-century church father Irenaeus described a custom of the Carpocratians, a

Gnostic sect: they venerated the portraits of Christ, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and Simon Magus (Irenaeus *Adversus omnes Haereses* 1. 25. 6; 123, 4). In the Roman Empire, portraits of the emperor were hung in public buildings and were, even in Christian times, a legal object of veneration. Consuls obtained the right to have their portraits made at their inauguration; newly appointed abbots and bishops also had this right. The bishops' portraits were hung in their diocese and at the end of their episcopate were destroyed. *Eulogia* (loaves of bread that are blessed but not consecrated), with a representation of a saint depicted on them, were taken home by returning pilgrims; these also might have influenced icon painting.

No written sources about icons are known from the apostolic period. The first source, dated to the middle of the second century, is an apocryphal story about the life of John the Evangelist (*Acts of John* 26–29).

Early sources speaking about the veneration of images condemn this custom. The Synod of Elvira in Spain in 306 issued a prohibition against placing icons in churches. During the third and fourth centuries the arguments for and against the use of icons were more accurately formulated, which gave rise to heated controversy. Two parties can be distinguished: The adversaries of icons feared that icons themselves would be venerated instead of the saints depicted on them; they thought that only the Lamb and the cross were permissible symbols. The advocates of icons denied that people venerated the icons themselves; they venerated only the person. They emphasized the didactic value of the icons for those who were unable to read.

From the sixth century onward, references to icons become more frequent. Sources mention that icons hung in the houses of believers and in churches and that they were taken on journeys for protection. *Akheiropoiēta*, icons said not to have been made by human hands, appeared in the Byzantine world, and believers maintained that their divine origin made their existence legitimate. The debates between the adversaries (iconoclasts) and the advocates (iconodules) about the use of icons became more violent and resulted in Emperor Leo III issuing an edict in 726 that caused all images to be destroyed. Two periods of iconoclasm (726–787 and 815–843) in the Byzantine empire followed. As Egypt and the Sinai peninsula were not under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine emperor, they escaped the devastating consequences of this edict. After the iconoclastic period, a strict system of icon painting was introduced in the Byzantine world; icons were to be painted according to certain stylistic rules. Countries outside the borders of the empire, like Egypt, however, maintained their freedom in icon painting. Their iconography was not bound to certain rules.

Icons of the Fifth to Seventh Centuries

No icons from the apostolic period or the immediately succeeding centuries are preserved. The oldest icons are from the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, from Egypt, and from Rome. A number of icons exist from the fifth to seventh centuries. They are all on small panels and are painted in encaustic or tempera, sometimes on a stucco ground. The figures are in a more or less frontal position and are heavily outlined, avoiding realism. Several, notably Bishop Abraham in the State Museum of Berlin and Christ and the abbot Saint Menas the Miracle Maker in the Louvre, Paris, show Coptic characteristics: the figures are squat with large heads in proportion to the body and wide open, staring eyes. They resemble figures in murals of the period in Dayr Apa Jeremiah, Saqqara, and Dayr Apa Apollo, Bāwīṭ.

There are two icons of Christ, one on a small tondo (a circular medallion) and a Christ Em-



Icon of Apa Abraham of Luxor. Panel. A.D. 590–600. *Courtesy State Museum of Berlin.*



Eighteenth-century icon. Saint Julitta and her son, Saint Kyriakos. A.M. 1462/A.D. 1746. Artist: Ibrāhīm al-Nāsikh. Height (including frame): 61 cm; width: 45 cm; thickness: 3 cm. Cairo, Coptic Museum (Inv. 3785). *Courtesy Hans Hondelink.*

manuel on a fragment, probably from the Fayyūm (Strzygowski, 1901, pp. 195–97, pl. 34).

Icons of archangels are in the National Library, Paris, in the Froehner Collection; on a tondo in the Coptic Museum; on part of a two-sided panel probably from Bāwīṭ in the Coptic Museum; and on a fragment from Antinoopolis (Roberts, 1938, pp. 188–91, pl. 2). An angel, probably part of a triptych, is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a flying angel holding part of a garland is in the Coptic Museum.

An icon of Saint Theodorus and a female saint, probably from the Fayyūm, was in the State Museum of Berlin but is now lost. Saint Theodorus the Oriental, part of a two-sided panel, probably from Bāwīṭ, is in the Coptic Museum. A saint from a church near Wadi Halfa is in the National Museum, Khartoum. Seven saints from a necropolis near Antinoopolis are in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, and in the Archaeological Museum, Florence. Dayr Apa Apollo has yielded a fragment showing Apa Hor.

A panel of the abbot and bishop Abraham of Luxor, in the State Museum of Berlin, can be accurately dated 590–600. Christ and Saint Menas in the Louvre is the largest icon at about 26 × 26 inches (57 × 57 cm). A scene of the birth and baptism of Christ is in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

Later History

Although no icons from the period between the seventh and the seventeenth centuries have withstood the ravages of time, the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS makes reference to the existence of icons in this period. Most stories refer to appearances of the saints depicted on the icons to the benefit of the believers. Apart from the deliberate destruction of churches and their contents, there are other reasons for the lack of icons in this period. Icons, when they were old and broken and therefore valueless, were used as fuel in the fire to prepare the holy chrism. Also, there might have been occasional outbreaks of iconoclasm during which icons were destroyed. (In a relatively recent case, in 1854, Patriarch CYRIL IV gathered many icons and publicly burned them because too much veneration was given to them.)



Eighteenth-century icon. *Maiestas Domini.* A.M. 1464/A.D. 1748. Artists: Ibrāhīm al-Nāsikh and Yuhanna al-Armānī al-Qudsī. Height (including frame): 70 cm; width: 60 cm; thickness: 4.5 cm. Cairo, Coptic Museum (Inv. 3362). *Courtesy Hans Hondelink.*



Eighteenth-century icon. Virgin and Child surrounded by four angels. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

Few icons from the seventeenth century remain. The eighteenth century, by contrast, witnessed an enormous production of icon painting. Large quantities of eighteenth-century icons can be found in the churches throughout Egypt. The majority are signed by Ibrāhīm al-Nāsikh and Yuḥannā al-Armanī al-Qudsī, and many painters were influenced by their style. The figures depicted on the icons are heavily outlined and have oval faces with large, almond-shaped eyes. Because of some differences in style and quality among the icons signed by these two painters and because of the enormous production, it is likely that Ibrāhīm and Yuḥannā were the leading painters of an icon workshop. Inscriptions in Arabic and Coptic give information about the theme depicted or the identity of the saint and occasionally reveal the place of origin of the icon and the name of the person who commissioned it. A formula of intercession is often present: "Lord recompense in Your Kingdom of Heaven him who toiled." The Coptic and Islamic dates on the icons correspond with the second half of the eighteenth century.

The painter ASṬĀSĪ AL-RŪMĪ al-Qudsī was responsible for the larger part of the icon production in the middle of the nineteenth century. Characteristic of his work are vivid colors and round faces with features resembling those painted by Ibrāhīm and Yuḥannā. The inscriptions are limited to Arabic but give the same information as earlier. Favorite subjects are the Virgin Mary with Child, *hodigitria* (guides), and soldier-saints, as well as biblical themes and local saints. Although the icons were probably painted in Egypt and were meant for Coptic churches, the question arises if these icons can be called Coptic, since many of them show similarities with Melchite icon painting. Others were brought from the Levant or painted by Levantine artists in Egypt. Yuḥannā al-Armanī al-Qudsī was probably an Armenian from Jerusalem, as his name suggests. Icon painting in Egypt has to be studied in relation with Levantine painting.

Nowadays icon painting is widely practiced. Well known painters are Isaac Fanous, Yusuf Nasīf, and his wife, Budūr Laṭīf. Many monks paint icons for Coptic churches.



Eighteenth-century Icon. Saint Dimyānah. Church of al-Mu'allaqah (Old Cairo). *Courtesy Arab Republic of Egypt.*

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IDELER, JULIUS LUDWIG (1809–1842), German scholar who published many works on Egypt. His contribution to Coptic studies was the publication of the *Psalterium Coptice, ad Codicum Fidem Recensuit, Lectionis Varietatem et Psalmos Apocryphos Sahidica Dialecto Conscriptos ac Primum a Woidio Editos Adjecit.* (Berlin, 1837).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

IDFĀ, city in the district of Suhāj. Called Iteb in the pharaonic period, and then in Hellenistic times Iton or Itos, Idfā is mentioned in the Christian period only in the summary that the recension of the SYNAXARION of the Copts from Upper Egypt devotes to the martyr hermits PANINE AND PANEU at 7 Kiyahk. Part of their Life is preserved in Coptic, but not the mention of this small town. After leading a wandering life in the Fayyūm in the valley of Qalamūn, they returned near to Idfā, in the desert of Adrībah, where later Shenute was to found his famous monastery. It was at Idfā, near a pool that has disappeared, that they were beheaded.

In the fifteenth century the Muslim historian al-MAQRĪZĪ names this town several times. In his catalog of the names of the monasteries of Egypt, he speaks of the DAYR ANBĀ BISĀDAH, and places it "in the district of Iṭfā, opposite Minshāt Akhmīm, to the west." In his list of the Christian churches, he mentions that of Pachomius "in the district of Iṭfā, and this is the last church, on the east side."

This church is also named, perhaps following the passage from al-Maqrīzī mentioned above, by 'Alī Mubārak in his *Khiṭaṭ al-Jadīdah.* There remains one difficulty: al-Maqrīzī places this church to the east, and 'Alī Mubārak writes that it is the church of the town. The latter is situated on the left bank of the river, hence to the west.

The spelling of the name has to some extent been modified. Al-Maqrīzī and also Ibn Duqmāq write "Iṭfā," which with the "t" recalls the spelling of ancient Egyptian or of Greek, while the modern name is "Idfā."

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

IDIOLECT. *See Appendix.*

IDKŪ, city located in the northern Delta of Egypt about 10 miles (16 km) southwest of Rashīd in the Beheirah province.

The first certain attestation of Christianity in Idkū comes from the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, where it is recorded that when the churches of the Melchites and Copts in Alexandria were closed by order of al-Yāzurī during the patriarchate of CHRISTODOULUS (1047–1077), the *wālī* (governor) of Alexandria saw to it that a church was reopened in Alexandria and collected 200 dinars from the Christians in Rashīd, Idkū, al-Jadīdiyyah, and Maḥallat al-Amīr, which he gave to the Coptic patriarch. The account suggests that the Christian community in Idkū in the eleventh century was relatively well-to-do.

In medieval lists of Egyptian bishoprics the following equivalence of names is given: Meneliatou

(Greek); Thbashor (Coptic); Idkū (Arabic) (Munier, 1943, pp. 45, 52). The absence of independent corroborating evidence renders this equation suspect and suggests that three different cities are referred to, a Meneliatou whose Coptic and Arabic names were unknown, a Thbashor whose Greek and Arabic names were not known, and Idkū. Nonetheless, the appearance of Idkū in such a list argues that the city was home to a significant Coptic community in the Middle Ages.

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IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, SAINT (c. 35–107), bishop of Antioch who wrote important letters to other churchmen on his way to martyrdom in Rome (feast day: 17 October in the West, 20 December in the East). Eusebius reports in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (III.36, 2–11) that Bishop Ignatius of Antioch was brought to Rome from Syria as a prisoner in the time of Trajan (98–117) and was there delivered to the wild beasts because of his faith in Christ. While staying in Smyrna on his way to Rome, he wrote letters to Ephesus, Magnesia on the Meander, Tralles, and Rome, and then from Troas to Philadelphia, to the church in Smyrna, and in particular to its bishop, POLYCARP. Eusebius quotes sections from the letters. Finally he draws attention to evidence in Irenaeus of Lyons and Polycarp of Smyrna regarding Ignatius (III.36, 12–15). Among other things, he quotes the following passage from the epistle of Polycarp to the church at Philippi, through which Ignatius had passed as a prisoner: "The letters of Ignatius, which he has sent us, and all the others in our possession, we are sending to you in accordance with your desire. They are enclosed with this letter" (Eusebius, III.36, 15; Polycarp, *To the Philippians* 13.2). Thus, shortly after they were written, the epistles of Ignatius began to be collected.

More letters in the name of Ignatius have come down to us in manuscript form than Eusebius mentions. This raises the so-called Ignatian question, about the authenticity of the letters. There are three forms of transmission: a long, a medium, and a short. The so-called Longer Recension, transmitted in Greek and in an eighth (?)-century Latin translation, contains in a long version the seven letters mentioned in Eusebius together with six other letters (only five in Latin). The Medium Recension, the so-called mixed collection, transmitted in Greek, Armenian, Coptic, and in a thirteenth-century Latin translation, includes a shorter text of the seven letters mentioned in Eusebius and five or six of the letters not found there. There is a Short Recension, preserved only in Syriac, of the three letters to the Ephesians, the Romans, and Polycarp of Smyrna. It was recognized at the end of the nineteenth century as an excerpt from the mixed collection. Since then the consensus has held that the seven letters mentioned in Eusebius in the mixed version are authentic letters of Ignatius. These seven letters were expanded by additions around A.D. 380. The interpolator added the six inauthentic letters.

In 1952, L.-T. Lefort edited the Coptic fragments of two codices, A and B, with letters of Ignatius. E. Lucchesi discovered a further folio belonging to Codex B: Cod. Paris Copt. 129^{19}, fol. 79. As the parts in double transmission show, Codex A and Codex B represent two independent translations. The inferred or transmitted sequence of the letters in Codex A is as follows: [1.] to Hero, [2.] to the Smyrnans, [3.] to Polycarp, [4.] to the Ephesians, [5.]?, [6.] to the Trallians, [7.] to the Philadelphians, [8.] to the Romans. As numbers 2–4 and 6–8 correspond precisely to the Armenian collection, but the letter to the Magnesians stands between the letters to the Ephesians and to the Trallians, Lefort supposes the same sequence for Codex A. Thus in the gap for number 5 the letter to the Magnesians must once have stood.

The Coptic collection of Codex A begins with the inauthentic epistle to Hero. Then come the seven authentic letters. The Armenian collection has these seven letters first, followed by the six inauthentic ones, with that to Hero in the penultimate position. Since Codex A breaks off in the middle of the epistle to the Romans, we can only speculate as to what more was in it. Lefort has inferred the following as the sequence for the part of Codex B that can be checked: Polycarp, the Antiochenes, Hero, Ephesians, Romans. This is the order of Recension G^2 L^2 (cf. F. X. Funk and F. Diekamp, *Patres apostolici* [2nd ed., Tübingen, 1913], Vol. 2, xvii). Following this sequence the epistle to the Philadelphians (3,3–

6,1 on the folio edited by Lucchesi) might have stood in the seventh position, followed by the letters to the Smyrnans and to Polycarp. Both Coptic translations are testimonies to the mixed version (called the short version by Lefort).

Lefort adds to his edition of the epistles of Ignatius the Sahidic and Bohairic versions of the "Roman Martyrdom" of Ignatius (as opposed to the "Antiochene Martyrdom" or *Martyrium Colbertinum*). The Greek original could have come into existence in the fifth century (cf. Bardenhewer, 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 143–145). The appended *Laus* or *Oratio Heronis* is a eulogistic and petitionary prayer addressed to Ignatius (cf. Bardenhewer, 1902, p. 126).

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THEOFRIED BAUMEISTER

IHNASIYYAH AL-MADINAH. *See* Ahnās.

IKHSHIDIDS. *See* Tulunids and Ikhshids, Copts Under the.

ILLUMINATION, COPTIC. The painted decoration, or illumination, of Coptic books appears to have had its origin in pharaonic Egypt. Numerous examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward grace funerary texts and the papyri that accompanied mummies in their sarcophagi. Though one might think that the tradition would have been prolonged right down to the Coptic period, it was not. The Copts were too much suppressed by the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine occupations of their country to continue to produce decorated books.

The art languished until the sixth century, when tentative efforts at book decoration reappeared. They were limited, however, on the one hand to embellishment in the form of spirals, plants, and birds, and on the other hand to the transformation of certain punctuation marks borrowed from Greek writing. The dependence on the Greek is clear



Copto-Arabic illuminated manuscript. Parchment. Fayyūm. Tenth century. Left side: End of the first text of the martyrdom of Elias. Author unknown. Right side: Beginning of the second text of the martyrdom and encomium about the martyr Elias. Written by Bishop Stephanos of Ahnāsyah. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Copto-Arabic illuminated manuscript. A.D. 1620. Upper section: Psalm 54. Lower section: Quotation from the Gospel of Luke. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

enough in that the Copts cut away from pharaonic tradition by adopting the Greek alphabet, but they linked up again with that tradition through the inventive use of decoration. Such decoration persisted for the next two centuries, using ink without additional color and rarely employing the human figure. Gradually, however, color crept in, along with the outlines of heads and small human forms.

From the eighth century on, Coptic book illumination flourished unobtrusively, principally on biblical and other religious works. Color and figurative motifs increased and were often combined with rectangular cartouches (ornamental frames) usually filled with decorative interlacing. These cartouches sometimes were at the top of a page and carried a title or continued on one or both sides of a page, sometimes completely framing it. They gave prominence to either the text or a figurative scene. Sometimes, however, scenes without any frame were inserted into the text, which filled the rest of the page. An example is the Copto-Arabic Tetraevangelium in the National Library, Paris, in regard to seventy-four gospel scenes out of seventy-seven illuminations. Often the entire page was divided into six compartments arranged two by two on three registers, as in the Copto-Arabic Tetraevangelium of the Catholic Institute in Paris.

Isolated figures or scenes may fill a whole page as in the majority of the evangelists of the two Tetraevangelia. In biblical works from the New Testament these single figures may include, in addition to the evangelists, the authors of epistles, such as Paul, Peter, James, Jude, and John. Illustrating the Old Testament we find scarcely more than Moses and Job with his family represented full face, side by side. In collections of hymns or the lives of saints and martyrs, the Virgin Mary or the person written about is represented, alone or with companions. Angels were often depicted, especially Michael and Gabriel and those accompanying Mary or Saint Stephen. Especially popular among the martyrs and other saints were the saints on horseback (Menas the Miracle Worker, Mercurius, Ptolemy, and Theodorus, but not George, although he was perhaps of Egyptian origin), Stephen, John and Simeon, Cyril I, Epiphanius, and the abbots Moses the Black and Shenute.



Copto-Arabic illuminated manuscript. A.D. 1620. Lower section (lower two-thirds) contains a quotation from the Prophet Isaiah. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Dayr Anba Maqār. Church of St. Michael. Manuscript with figures of saints. *Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

Another important subject was the cross, either the *crux ansata* (looped cross, or *ankh*) or the cross enlarged at its extremities, which was decorated with interlacing or various smaller crosses.

The style of these illuminations is in conformity with the general evolution of Coptic style, the stages of which have been traced elsewhere (see ART, COPTIC). In the thirteenth century, if the style of the Copto-Arabic Tetraevangelium in the Vatican (Copt. 9, figs. 12, 13, 98) is Byzantine, it is an isolated instance. It was rather the Muslim influence that infiltrated the Copto-Arabic Tetraevangelium of the Catholic Institute, and it predominated in Coptic book decoration as in other genres, down to the nineteenth century.

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ILYĀS BUQṬUR (1784–1821), learned Copt associated with Napoleon Bonaparte's French Expedition to Egypt, who produced the first Arabic-French dictionary. Ilyās Buqṭur, known in French sources as Ellious Bochtor, was born into a highly respected family in Asyūt on 12 April 1784. His parents noticed his intellectual tendencies and provided a good early education. In 1801 he followed General YA'QŪB, his uncle, to the city of Banī Suef and ultimately to Cairo, where the French Expedition had arrived. He studied French language and literature to prepare himself for service in the French army, first as interpreter and later as Bonaparte's private secretary.

When the French departed from Egypt, Ilyās left with them in the company of General Ya'qūb. After landing at Marseilles, he lived on the pittance he earned as interpreter for the Egyptian refugees. Afterward he moved to Paris, where he had an introduction to the councillor of state and director of public instruction for a position in the National Library as translator of Arabic manuscripts. His life in Paris, however, was intolerable, and he decided to return to Marseilles. Apparently this is where he started compiling an Arabic–French dictionary, which became famous as the first of its kind. In 1812 he was recruited by the Ministry of War to translate important military documents from Egypt that were extremely difficult to decipher. While performing this task, he became acquainted with Edmé François Jomard, Napoleon's engineer-geographer in Egypt and member of the Institut d'Egypte founded during the French occupation. Jomard was commissioned to supervise the publication of the extensive *Description de l'Egypte.* In 1818, his collaboration with Jomard offered him a stipend, which enabled him to continue compilation of his dictionary. In 1819 he was named professor at the Ecole Royale des Langues Orientales, where he developed advanced courses in Arabic, notably the spoken Arabic of Egypt. He became acquainted with some of the leaders of French literary circles, such as Chateaubriand, and he wrote articles for French literary publications. He was elected a member of the Institut d'Egypte.

During this time, Ilyās concentrated on the compilation of his Arabic-French dictionary and collected a stipend of 2,000 francs to encourage completion of that work. He finished it in 1821. In September of the same year, he died, at the age of forty-seven, before his work was published.

The Marquis Amédée de Clermont-Tonnerre, who took an interest in Oriental studies, decided that such an important work as Ilyās' dictionary must be published. He commissioned a professor of colloquial Arabic at the Ecole Royale, A. Caussin de Perceval, who had learned Arabic in Syria, to undertake the editing of the dictionary. De Perceval's edition (with some additions it was more than 800 pages) was reproduced several times. It must be remembered, however, that the dictionary specialized mainly in colloquial rather than literary Arabic. It is still in use.

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IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, doctrine held by the Roman Catholic church that from the very first moment of her conception, the Virgin Mary was free from the stain of original sin, and that, unlike the rest of mankind, she inherited human nature in an unsullied condition to make her worthy of being the Mother of Christ. A feast in honor of the Immaculate Conception (8 December) was established by Pope Sixtus IV of Rome in 1476. Pope Pius IX promulgated the dogma in his act *Ineffabilis Deus* on 8 December 1854.

This dogma had had many opponents as well as proponents. The Orthodox church, however, repudiates it on the grounds that salvation of all human beings was effected only through the incarnation and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and that, in the words of Paul the apostle, "Therefore as sin came into the world through one man . . . , as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all men, so one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men" (Rom. 5:12, 18). The apostle Peter also states: "There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12). Again, the Virgin Mary's words "My spirit rejoices in God my Savior" (Lk. 1:46) confirm her need, like all human beings, for God's salvation.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

IMMERSION. It was ordained by Jesus Christ that water represents the visible sign of baptism: "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God" (Jn. 3:5). In conformity with Christ's teachings, the apostles used water in administering the sacrament through complete immersion. This practice has since been followed by the church, as stipulated in the DIDACHE (7.1–4): "Baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living [i.e., running] water. If you have no living water, then baptize in other water; and if you are not able in cold, then in warm" (Jurgens, 1970–1979, Vol. 1, p. 2).

The following points provide further confirmation of this practice:

1. Matthew 3:16 says that after baptism, Jesus came up out of the river Jordan, a clear indication that He had been completely immersed in water.

2. Had the sprinkling of water been considered proper, it would have been superfluous on the part of John the Baptist and the apostles to take the persons desirous of baptism to the river (Mt. 3:6; Mk. 1:5; Lk. 3:3; Jn. 1:28). Acts 8:36–39 makes clear that Philip and the high official of Kandake, Queen of Ethiopia, went down in the water.

3. Baptism symbolizes the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ: "Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead" (Col. 2:12). It is, therefore, a form of ritual death, where the believer becomes incorporated with Christ in a death similar to His and is united with Him in a resurrection like His.

4. Through complete immersion the early fathers practiced what they preached regarding baptism, a point they stressed in their writings. Saint Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165), the first to mention this practice as an essential step toward regeneration, said, "Whoever is convinced and believes that what they are taught and told by us is the truth, and professes to be able to live accordingly, is instructed to pray and to beseech God in fasting for the remission of their former sins, while we pray and fast with them. Then they are led by us to a place where there is water; and there they are reborn in the same kind of rebirth in which we ourselves were reborn" ("First Apology," in Jurgens, 1970–1979, Vol. 1, p. 54). Likewise, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–386) wrote, "When you go down into the water, then regard not simply the water, but look for salvation through the power of the Holy Spirit. For without both you cannot attain to perfection. It is not I who say this, but the Lord Jesus Christ, who has the power in this matter" ("Catechetical Lectures," in Jurgens, 1970–1979, Vol. 1, p. 349).

A further excerpt from Saint Augustine sums up the point distinctly: "What is the Baptism of Christ? 'The washing with water, in the word.' Take away water, and it is not Baptism. Take away the word, and it is not Baptism" ("Homilies on the Gospel of John," in Jurgens, 1970–1971, Vol. 2, p. 117).

Various equally clear testimonies abound in the writings of Hermas (fl. c. 140–155), Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220), GREGORY OF NYSSA (c. 330–c. 395), JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (c. 347–407), and other early fathers.

5. Etymologically, the term "baptism," derived from the Greek verb *baptizo* (dip in water), signifies full immersion. Appropriately the epithet qualifying John the Baptist as used in the diptychs of the Coptic liturgy is the word *ṣābigh*, which originally meant "dyer."

Nevertheless, the Coptic church recommends aspersion (i.e., sprinkling of water) as an exceptional dispensation allowed in cases of baptizing the handicapped, crippled, or sick infants who may be on the verge of death.

A person receiving baptism is immersed three times in water, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (Mt. 28), in accordance with the Didache, canon 7, and the teachings of the early fathers. At times, these teachings were disobeyed by some heretical sects. For example, Eunomias (d. 395), who held extreme, unorthodox views, advocated the discontinuation of baptism in the name of the Trinity, and used words that made it a baptism in the name of the Creator and into the death of Christ (see also Marriott, 1908, p. 161).

The Apostolical Canons were explicit in condemning such views: canon 49 stipulates that if any bishop or presbyter baptizes anyone not into the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in accordance with the Lord's ordinance, but into three beginningless beings or into three sons or into three comforters, let him be deposed. According to canon 50, if any bishop or presbyter does not perform three immersions in making one baptism, but a single immersion, that given into the death of the Lord, let him be deposed (Percival, 1956, p. 597). Canon 7 of the second Council of Constantinople (see CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCIL OF) reflects the importance attached to the three-immersion baptism: "Eunomians, who are baptized with only one immersion, and Montanists, who are here called Phrygians, and Sabellians, who teach the identity of Father and Son, and do sundry other mischievous things, and [the partisans of] all other heresies—for there are many such here, particularly among those who come from the country of the Galatians, all these, when they desire to turn to orthodoxy, we receive as heathen. On the first day we make them Christians; on the second, catechumens; on the third, we exorcise them by breathing thrice in their face and ears; and thus we instruct them and oblige them to spend some time in the Church, and to hear the Scriptures; and then we baptize them" (Percival, 1956, p. 185).

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IMPERIAL CULT. *See* Persecutions.

INCARNATION, a central doctrine of Christian theology affirming that the eternal Son of God, who is the Divine Logos and second HYPOSTASIS of the Holy Trinity, took human flesh from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary in order to accomplish the work of our salvation.

The doctrine is held to be a mystery difficult to understand by unaided human reason. It is revealed in the New Testament: "The Word became flesh" (John 1:14) and "Great indeed, we confess, is the mystery of our religion: He was manifested in the flesh" (1 Tm. 3:16). As a basic principle of the Christian faith, it forms part of the NICENE CREED (A.D. 325): "We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, . . . who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven; He was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary; and He became man."

References to the Incarnation appear in two early liturgies. The Liturgy of Saint James refers to the Word, ". . . who, having descended from heaven, and become flesh of the Holy Spirit and Virgin Godmother Mary, and having sojourned among men . . ." (*Early Liturgies*, p. 544). The liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* contains the following prayer: "Holy also is Thy only-begotten Son our Lord and God, Jesus Christ. . . . He was pleased by Thy good will to become man, who was man's Creator, . . . and was made of a virgin, and was in flesh, being God the Word, the beloved Son, the first-born of the whole creation, and was, according to the prophecies which were foretold concerning Him by Himself, of the seed of David and Abraham, of the tribe of Judah. And He was made in the womb of a virgin, who formed all mankind that are born into the world; He took flesh, who was without flesh; He who was begotten before time, was born in time" (*Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 8.12, 1951, p. 489).

Patristic writings also contain numerous texts on the Incarnation. According to Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, "There is one Physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born and not born, who is God in man, true life in death, both from Mary and from God . . . Jesus Christ our Lord" (*Ephesians* 7.2, in Jurgens, 1970, Vol. 1, p. 18). Aristides of Athens says that "Christians trace their origin to the Lord Jesus Christ. He that came down from heaven in the Holy Spirit for the salvation of men is confessed to be the Son of the Most High God. He was born of a holy Virgin without seed of man, and took flesh without defilement" (*Apology* 15, in Jurgens, 1970, Vol. 1, p. 49). For Tertullian, "This Word is called His Son; and in the name of God He was seen at various times by the patriarchs, and has always been heard in the Prophets; and at last He was brought down from the Spirit and Power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, and was made flesh in her womb; and having been born from her, came forth as Jesus Christ" (*The Demurrer Against the Heretics* 13.1, in Jurgens, 1970, Vol. 1, p. 120).

Saint Athanasius the Apostolic writes: "In the beginning, indeed, was the Word; but at the consummation of the ages the Virgin conceived in the womb and the Lord was made man. And He that is indicated by both statements is indeed but one; for the Word was made flesh" (*Letter on the Opinion of Dionysius* 9, in Jurgens, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 325–36). And according to CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, "We confess therefore that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man, having a rational soul and a body; according to His divinity, born of the Father before the ages, and in these last days, according to His humanity, born of the Virgin Mary for us and for our salvation" (*The Celebrated Creed of Union* 39, in Jurgens, 1979, Vol. 3, p. 207).

The question of the necessity of the Incarnation, that is, why the second hypostasis of the Holy Trinity had to become man, is closely linked with the doctrine of the ATONEMENT. Besides being the only possible channel to provide proper satisfaction to God the Father and propitiation for man's original sin, Christ's incarnation was also a unique opportunity in the history of mankind to learn from Him at first hand. This was a miraculous event, which left the deepest impact upon Christ's followers. Hence the overflowing joy and exultation in the words of the Apostle John: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and touched with our hands concerning the word of life" (1 Jn. 1:1).

Hence also the deep sense of conviction conveyed by Saint Peter's words: "For we do not follow cleverly devised myths when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus

Christ, but were eyewitnesses of his majesty" (2 Pt. 1:16).

In view of the inability of man, with his finite nature, to give satisfaction to the infinite Creator against Whom he sinned, the Incarnation was the only adequate means of reconciliation between God's mercy and justice: "But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared, he saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness but in virtue of his own mercy" (Ti. 3:4,5).

No other mode of satisfaction could have been as efficacious as the Incarnation of the Logos in bringing about full restoration of man to his earlier state of grace.

The Incarnation elevated mankind to a more honorable and dignified position, and entitled human beings to receive the divine graces and sacramental blessings: "By which he has granted to us his precious and very great promises, that through these you may escape from the corruption that is in the world because of passion, and become partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pt. 1:4).

The unfathomable suffering undergone by the incarnate Son of God is in itself evidence to man of the magnitude of his sin, which necessitated such an immense sacrifice. In the words of the apostle Paul, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us—for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree'" (Gal. 3:13). Furthermore, the Incarnation is a clear indication to man of the inestimable merit and sublime value of the end to which the Incarnation was the means, namely, salvation, which no one less than the incarnate Son of God could achieve: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life" (Jn. 3:16).

The incomprehensibility of the mystery of the Incarnation to many unaided minds led to various misconceptions during the early centuries of Christianity. These misconceptions can be summed up in two main groups:

1. Those who denied the divinity of Christ and His miraculous birth from the Virgin Mary, among them the EBIONITES, a Jewish-Christian sect that flourished in the late first century; CERINTHUS, a Gnostic heretic of the first century in Palestine who held that the Logos had been created, not born; Artemas (or Atemon), a Roman heretic of the third century; and Paul of Samosata, a Syrian heretic who became the bishop of Antioch (260–268) before he was excommunicated.

2. The Phantasiasts, on the other hand, held that Christ had an ethereal body, thus denying His manhood. Valentinus, Saturninus, Marcion, Tatian, Bardaisan (or Bardesanis), Mani (or Manis), Apollinarius, EUTYCHES, and Julian were all Phantasiasts. These heretics were condemned by the fathers of the church and anathematized for their unorthodox teachings.

No study of the Incarnation can be complete without reference to the subtle perception of this mystery as displayed in *On the Incarnation of the Word (De incarnatione Verbi)*, a treatise written by Athanasius I before 318, while he was still in his twenties. According to J. A. Möhler (1796–1838), the German historian and theologian, it was "the first attempt that had been made to present Christianity and the chief circumstances of the life of Jesus Christ under a scientific aspect" (Bright, 1974, p. 181).

Athanasius opens his discussion of the mystery of the Incarnation "which Jews traduce and Greeks laugh to scorn, but we worship" (1.1), by stressing the fact that the sole remedy for corrupt human nature was its complete renewal by the Divine Word. The salvation of man necessitated the appearance of the Creator, the selfsame Word who made man in the beginning. To elucidate the point, Athanasius refutes the erroneous views of the Epicureans (who held that the creation was a fortuitous act), the Platonists (who taught the pre-existence of matter), and the Gnostics (who drew a distinction between the Demiurge and the Divine Being).

The following seven main points are significant in the course of Athanasius' argument. In discussing each point, he employs an analogy to illustrate his concept of the Incarnation of the Logos.

1. As a result of the fall of man and his loss of God's graces, the human race was wasting. The Creator, in His divine mercy, could not tolerate this state of affairs for long. The dilemma could be resolved only by the Word: "He takes to Himself a body capable of death, that it, by partaking of the Word Who is above all, might be worthy to die in the stead of all, and might, because of the Word which was come to dwell in it, remain incorruptible, and that henceforth corruption might be stayed from all by the Grace of the Resurrection" (9.1).

A twofold purpose has thus been fulfilled: the Word gave His flesh as an offering for our souls and, by taking a human nature, He imparted immortality to us, "like as when a great king has entered into some large city and taken up his abode in one of the houses there, such city is at all events

held worthy of high honour, nor does any enemy or bandit any longer descend upon it and subject it; but, on the contrary, it is thought entitled to all care, because of the king's having taken up his residence in a single house there: so, too, has it been with the Monarch of all" (9.3).

2. Making use of the same monarch-subject analogy, Athanasius shows how this great work of redemption was particularly suited to God's goodness: "For if a king, having founded a house or city, if it be beset by bandits from the carelessness of its inmates, does not by any means neglect it, but avenges and reclaims it as his own work, having regard not to the carelessness of the inhabitants, but to what beseems himself; much more did God the Word of the all-good Father, not neglect the race of men, His work, going to corruption: but, while He blotted out the death which had ensued by the offering of His own body, He corrected their neglect by His own teaching, restoring all that was man's by His own power" (10.1).

3. In deviating from God's way, humanity fell prey to various forms of lust, superstition, and mental degradation. "Once again, a merely human king does not let the lands he has colonized pass to others to serve them, nor go over to other men; but he warns them by letters, and often sends to them by friends, or, if need be, he comes in person, to put them to rebuke in the last resort by his presence, only that they may not serve others and his own work be spent for nought. Shall not God much more spare His own creatures, that they be not led astray from Him and serve things of nought?" (13.5–6).

4. Another consequence of man's fall from grace was the obliteration of God's image in which he had originally been created. The proper restoration of an effaced portrait must be from the original, hence the Creator took human flesh to renew man's Godlike image. "For as, when the likeness painted on a panel has been effaced by stains from without, he whose likeness it is must needs come once more to enable the portrait to be renewed on the same wood . . . ; in the same way also the most holy Son of the Father, being the Image of the Father, came to our region to renew man once made in His likeness, and find him, as one lost, by the remission of sins" (14.1–2).

5. Throughout Christ's life on earth, there never was any incompatibility between His divine, limitless, all-pervading nature and His human nature, as the Incarnation did not limit the omnipresence of the Word, nor did it lessen His sanctity. "Word as He was, so far from being contained by anything, He rather contained all things Himself" (17.1). To illustrate this point Athanasius uses an analogy based on the ubiquity and purity of the sun: "For if the sun too, which was made by Him, and which we see, as it revolves in the heaven, is not defiled by touching the bodies upon earth, nor is it put out by darkness, but on the contrary itself illuminates and cleanses them also, much less was the all-holy Word of God, Maker and Lord also of the sun, defiled by being made known in the body" (17.7).

6. Athanasius devotes a considerable section of his treatise to the anticipation of possible objections raised by nonbelievers regarding the Incarnation and the crucifixion, such as, if Christ's death was inevitable, why did He not choose a more honorable and less ignominious death? Why did He not withdraw His body from the Jews? Why did He choose a public death? Why the cross, of all deaths? These and other objections Athanasius refutes with deep insight into the mystery of the Incarnation. "Just as a noble wrestler, great in skill and courage, does not pick out his antagonists for himself, lest he should raise a suspicion of his being afraid of some of them, but puts it in the choice of the onlookers, and especially so if they happen to be his enemies, so that against whomsoever they match him, him he may throw, and be believed superior to them all; so also the Life of all, our Lord and Saviour, even Christ, did not devise a death for His own body . . . ; but He accepted on the Cross, and endured, a death inflicted by others, and above all by His enemies, which they thought dreadful and ignominious and not to be faced; so that this also being destroyed, both He Himself might be believed to be the Life, and the power of death be brought entirely to nought" (24.3).

7. Another significant theme in Athanasius' treatise is that of the radical change the Logos has effected in the very nature of man, namely, endowing man with immortality, without which he would have remained, like Adam, subject to death. The analogy Athanasius draws here is that of straw and fire: "Just as, whereas stubble is naturally destructible by fire, supposing (firstly) a man keeps fire away from the stubble, though it is not burned, yet the stubble remains, for all that, merely stubble, fearing the threat of the fire—for fire has the natural property of consuming it; while if a man (secondly) encloses it with a quantity of asbestos, the substance said to be an antidote to fire, the stubble no longer dreads the fire, being secured by its enclosure in incombustible matter; in this very way, one

may say with regard to the body and death, that if death had been kept from the body by a mere command on His part, it would none the less have been mortal and corruptible, according to the nature of bodies; but, that this should not be, it put on the incorporeal Word of God, and thus no longer fears either death or corruption, for it has life as a garment, and corruption is done away in it" (44.7–8).

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INCENSE, substance producing a pleasant odor when burned. Ibn Sibā', the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century writer, mentions *ṣandarūs* (Latin, *sandrax*), a resin obtained from a small coniferous tree *Callitris quadrivalis,* from Java or Sumatra, which is said never to have been offered to idols; *libān jāwī* (Latin, *tus iavense);* and *ḥaṣa libān* (Latin, *olibanum*), that is, frankincense.

Ibn Sibā' states that *libān* was the incense offered by the Magi to Our Lord. It is not permitted to offer ambergris (Arabic *'anbar*), because it is extracted from a sea animal.

MĪKHĀ'ĪL, bishop of Damietta, mentions among exclusively Coptic observances incensing with *sandarah* alone, and argues against using *libān* or *mi'ah* (styrax) because they were used in the offering of incense to the devils; as regards aloeswood and mastic, he says that the fathers did not permit these to be offered as incense to God, but they permitted them only because they are supposed to repel devils and destroy the works of the magicians.

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EMILE MAHER ISHAQ

INCENSE BOX. *See* Liturgical Instruments

INSCRIPTIONS, writing on long-lasting materials. Inscriptions, like texts written on papyrus (see PAPYROLOGY), are important primary sources of information about a society. In Egypt they appear on stone, plaster, clay, wood, metal, and textiles. They may be scratched, carved, engraved, stamped, painted or inked, or woven. Those written on clay sherds or limestone fragments are called OSTRACA. Those written on coins belong to the study of numismatics. Inscriptions on buildings and tombs, which are the majority of Coptic inscriptions, are dealt with in separate sections later in this article.

Inscriptions are found in all parts of Egypt, from Alexandria in the north to Aswan and Nubia in the south, and also in the Egyptian oases (see BAGAWĀT). They are often in the open air, on rocks and buildings visible to all, but they are also in the interior of buildings, especially monasteries and chapels.

The inscriptions date from the fourth to the eighteenth century and are couched in many languages. In the early centuries they are in Greek; later some are in Greek, most are in Coptic, and some are in both languages. From the beginning of the Arabic period, there are also Arabic or bilingual Coptic-Arabic inscriptions. There are isolated cases in monasteries of inscriptions in Syriac, at DAYR AL-SURYĀN, and Armenian, at DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH.

Content and Value

The vast majority of inscriptions deal with religious matters—theology, church history, and monastic devotion. Of these the preponderant number consist of memorials to the dead. As in the pharaonic period, the readers of these inscriptions are called upon to remember the dead (Thompson,

1912, no. 335; cf. Krause, 1983, p. 91). A group of these memorial inscriptions on the walls of monasteries are identical with tomb inscriptions (see below) and are called "prayers in litany form." These memorials give us the name and date of death of the deceased. Often, as in KELLIA, only these inscriptions have survived, not the tombstones themselves.

In DAYR EPIPHANIUS at Thebes there are several important long dogmatic inscriptions of the sixth-century patriarch Damian and Severus of Antioch, and also Syriac inscriptions. Also interesting are statements about the life of the evangelist Luke and about the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in the chapel of a monastic settlement in Asyūṭ (Clédat, 1908, p. 221).

A large number of inscriptions are in the form of lists. Examples are lists of the commemoration days of the disciples at ISNĀ (Sauneron et al., 1972, no. 67), the patriarchs of Alexandria (Thompson, 1912, no. 265), monks (at AYN MURAH), abbots of DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH (the White Monastery) at Suhāj in Karnak (Coquin, 1972, pp. 174–76). A list of the bishops of Hermonthis (ARMANT) is preserved on a diptych (Crum, 1908). A catalog of the books preserved in the library of Dayr Anbā Shinūdah has also come down to us (Crum, 1904, pp. 564–67), as has the beginning of Psalms 51–93, found in a cave at Nag Hammadi (Bucher, 1931). A wine list has survived from DAYR APA JEREMIAH, which shows how much wine was drunk on the feast days of the saint (Thompson, 1912, no. 226). A festal calendar has also been handed down in fragmentary condition from DAYR APA APOLLO, BĀWĪṬ (Clédat, 1904, p. 5).

Inscriptions also attest visits to monasteries and chapels by pilgrims, especially in Bāwīṭ and al-BAGAWĀT. They often name the place from which the pilgrims traveled (Maspero, 1931, no. 222; beginning of eighth century). The pilgrims' homeland can also often be deduced from the dialect of their inscriptions (Roquet, 1976, p. 45).

A large number of inscriptions are legends to wall paintings, for example, the names of the persons portrayed (e.g. Munier and Pillet, 1928, pp. 67–74).

Only sporadically do inscriptions give information of secular events, such as the extension of roads (Bouriant, 1893), the capture of Ibrīm by the Turks in 1173 (Bouriant, 1886), or the foundation of buildings (see below). The value of inscriptions as primary sources is great. For example, we learn the age of Christianity at individual places in Egypt, especially in the oases. From building inscriptions we learn the age of churches and the date of the transformation of pagan temples into Christian churches. A large number of clergy are named, especially bishops, of whom there is no other evidence. The same holds for functionaries in Egyptian monasteries. We learn their titles and their names, can draw conclusions about the organization of the monasteries, and obtain material for historical accounts. Inscriptions are also important for PROSOPOGRAPHY. We learn what names (Egyptian, Christian, or Old Testament) the monks and laity of Egypt bore. From grave inscriptions, we can determine, in addition to the name, the date of death, and sometimes the age of the deceased. Dated memorial inscriptions in monasteries set up alongside paintings sometimes help with dating the wall paintings (cf. Krause, 1966, 570).

Frequently we learn the names of the craftsmen and artists at work on a building; and from a few inscriptions, in addition to the name, we learn the period at which artists worked. For example, the artist Mercurius from the Monastery of Shenute, who also worked in DAYR ANBĀ HADRĀ at Aswan, was painting in DAYR ANBĀ BISHOI, Suhāj, in the year 1301. In 1124 the Armenian artist Theodore had already worked in Dayr Anbā Shinūdah at Suhāj (Crum, 1904, pp. 556f.). The artist's financial sponsor is also named.

Sources

There is no collective edition of inscriptions in Coptic. The situation is better for inscriptions in Greek through the works of G. Lefebvre, partly replaced by the more recent work of E. Bernand. Groups of local inscriptions are variously treated. Of those in Dayr Apa Apollo, for example, only those discovered by J. Maspero and edited by E. Drioton (Maspero, 1931) meet modern standards of publication. The publications of J. Clédat offer no translation of the inscriptions, and the Coptic text must be checked for accuracy. The Coptic inscriptions from the necropolis of al-Bagawāt, published by the Egyptologist A. Fakhry in succession to W. de Bock, have been revised and edited by G. Roquet. The digest published by A. Mallon in 1914 is based on old material and has in part been superseded by inscriptions discovered later or restudied.

The Greek inscriptions were collected and published by Lefebvre in 1903 and 1907. Later other inscriptions were published by Lefebvre (1908, 1910, 1911, and 1915) and other scholars: E. Breccchia (1919), H. I. Bell (1932), H. Munier (1949), S. Donadoni (1957), R. G. Coquin and G. Wagner

(1970), G. Wagner (1972), and J. Jarry (1973). A Copto-Arabic memorial inscription in DAYR ABŪ HINNIS was edited by Lefebvre in 1907 (no. 222) and afresh by M. de Fenoyl in 1964.

Until the 1940s only a few late gravestones, from 912 and 917, in the Bohairic sphere were known (Mina, 1939). Since then, two gravestones showing a semi-Bohairic influence have been discovered. One, from 887 or 927, is in Vienna (Till, 1955, pp. 177ff.). One, from 913, is in the Louvre, Paris, no. E 27.220 (Coquin, 1983, pp. 103f); it names a local bishop, Victor, alongside Gabriel I, patriarch of Alexandria. A greater number of inscriptions in Bohairic have been found on monastery walls such as in Kellia.

The number of gravestones with Fayyumic inscriptions is larger (Zuntz, 1932, pp. 23f. and 27–33; Leclant, 1962). Meanwhile, further gravestones have become known (Jarry, 1969). One was purchased by the State Museum of Berlin.

Building Inscriptions

Inscriptions appear on religious and secular buildings in both Egypt and Nubia. Some buildings are inscribed in Greek, others in Coptic. Some are in both languages, but the text varies so considerably that the Coptic cannot simply be a translation of the Greek (cf. Kubinska, 1974, pp. 18ff. with Jakobielski, 1972, pp. 40ff).

Ecclesiastical inscriptions may be on churches, such as one dated 710 on the church in Tafah, Nubia (Preisigke, 1913, no. 1594). Some may refer to the reconstruction or renovation of a church, such as an inscription of 707 in Faras (Kubinska, 1974, pp. 14f.; Jakobielski, 1972, pp. 40f., where the reference to the renovation is missing). The Coptic inscriptions are in the Sahidic dialect. A fifth- or sixth-century inscription from Nazlah in the Fayyūm, in Greek, describes the marble enhancement of a church dedicated to Saint Menas in the time of Bishop Peter (Lefebvre, 1911). A much later Coptic inscription of 1713 in the Bohairic dialect notes the restoration of Dayr Anbā Būlā in the Eastern Desert; it is written under the dome. Because these inscriptions name both the secular ruler of the time and the bishop or priest, they are of great value for dating.

Above the entrance to Dayr Anbā Shinūdah at Su-hāj is carved a Greek inscription, in which the *comes* (attendant) Caesarius names himself as founder. In Lefebvre's opinion (1920, p. 251), the inscription dates from the first half of the fifth century.

It can be noted from inscriptions that Egyptian temples were transformed into Christian churches. This is indicated by several inscriptions in the Temple of Isis in PHILAE, which under Bishop Theodore of Philae was rebuilt into a church dedicated to Saint Stephen (Lefebvre, 1907, no. 587).

A Coptic inscription in PHILAE dated 753 attests the foundation of a workshop given by a layman for the Monastery of Saint Mary in Philae (cf. Wreszinski, 1902, p. 64; the same inscription was published by Mallon in 1905, with divergent readings). This was the second year of the episcopacy of Bishop Severus of Philae.

In different monasteries, notably at Dayr Apa Apollo at Bāwīṭ, individual complexes consisting of a chapel and several dwelling rooms were built within the enclosure walls (cf. Torp, 1981, plan I). Above the entrances to these submonasteries were fitted lintel beams of stone or wood, which are inscribed among other things with the names of the inhabitants and their offices (Krause, 1988). Often the abbots named in the inscriptions can be precisely dated.

The chapels were decorated with paintings that were given legends in Greek and Coptic (cf. e.g., Clédat, 1904, pp. 54–61 and pls. 31 and 34). Occasionally the painters give their names, for example, Phoibammon and Abraham in Saqqara (Thompson, 1909–1912, nos. 92, 319.14). In Saqqara also appear the names of copyists (γραφεῖς) (Thompson, 1909–1912, nos. 13.7 and 203.31). In Bāwīṭ copyists (Maspero, 1931, nos. 149.5, 354, 452.20) and painters (nos. 58.1, 60.2, 81.1) give their names.

Two secular inscriptions in Greek attest the building of a tetrapylon in Athribis (ATRĪB) in the year 374 (Lefebvre, 1907, no. 64; Boyaval, 1966, pp. 361f.). Inscriptions note the renovation (Lefebvre, 1907, no. 43 and 561) of a series of secular buildings in various other places in Egypt. Building inscriptions are particularly numerous on the island of Philae. In addition to those already mentioned, other inscriptions report the renovation or repair of walls (Lefebvre, 1907, no. 584 from the year 577; nos. 592 and 593 from the time of Bishop Daniel; no. 594 without date; no. 596 from 796; nos. 597–603 undated).

Inscriptions on wooden lintels from secular houses in the Fayyūm mention not only the names of the inhabitants but also the name of the builder and the date of construction: in the years 942–943 (Roquet, 1978, p. 342, no. 4), 958–959 (Roquet, p. 342, no. 3), and 959–960 (Roquet, p. 341, no. 2).

Inscriptions give the names of a number of crafts-

men who were active in the building, above all in Dayr Apa Apollo and Dayr Apa Jeremiah in Saqqara. Named in the inscriptions are builders (ϵκωτ, *ekōt*) in Bāwīṭ (Maspero, 1931, nos. 100, 348.2, 548.2) and in Saqqara (Thompson, 1909–1912, nos. 89, 177, 294), carpenters (ϩλμωϣ, *hamshe*) in Bāwīṭ (Maspero, 1931, nos. 96, 108, 124, 149.21, 203.4) and in SAQQARA (Thompson, 1909–1912, nos. 6, 78, 89, 145, 146, 157, 177, 182, 192, 198, 202, 224), and stone-cutters (λάξος) in Bāwīṭ (Chassinat, 1911, plate 36) and in Saqqara (Thompson, 1909–1912, nos. 13, 106, 192, 232).

Tomb Inscriptions

Gravestones, or STELAE, were provided with inscriptions that gave the name of the deceased, often the date, and a prayer in a more or less set formula. On most tombstones the inscriptions are in Greek or Coptic. Occasionally stones have inscriptions in both Greek and Coptic, especially in Nubia. Stones bearing inscriptions in Coptic and Arabic are rare. The majority of the Coptic inscriptions are in the Sahidic dialect. There are also some in Fayyumic, Akhmimic, and Bohairic.

There is an unpublished Akhmimic gravestone inscription in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (no. 17727, cf. Lüddeckens, 1978, p. 201 and n. 28).

In addition to a series of gravestones with elements from neighboring dialects, the greater part of the known Coptic tombstones from Saqqara as far as Nubia is composed in Sahidic.

The essays of A. Mallon (1914) reflect the state of work at the beginning of the twentieth century (Brown, 1986). There is so far no catalog of the inscribed gravestones in the larger museum collections, particularly the Coptic Museum in Cairo. W. E. Crum's catalog of 1902 needs to be supplemented, not only by information regarding origin given by G. Daressy (1914), but also by the works of G. Biondi (1907), Lefebvre (1903, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1915), Munier, R. Engelbach (1937, 1939), and others. In the meantime these stelae have been transferred from the Egyptian Museum to the Coptic Museum and have been given new inventory numbers. Numbers of the Coptic Museum are given in the publications by T. Mina (1939, 1941) and Raouf Ḥabib (1955). The works of H. Hall (1905) and E. Revillout (1885) should be replaced and completed by new ones. The ultimate aim is a corpus of the Coptic and Greek tombstones.

In the same way, local set forms must be treated, as was done for Aswan by Munier (1930–1931). We may also compare the investigations of the laments for the dead from ANTINOOPOLIS by M. Cramer (1941), the Fayyumic gravestones by J. Leclant (1962), that from Saqinya by M. Krause (1975), and that from ISNÂ by S. Sauneron and Coquin (1980). Only at the end can we come to a comprehensive work such as H. Junker (1925) proposed for the Nubian tombstones. His work, however, is in need of supplementing, owing to the many new discoveries in Nubia. Here the set forms of the Greek tombstones must be finally compared with those of the Coptic (for Saqinya, cf. Krause, 1975, pp. 78f). Until then any work on tombstones is provisional.

Dating. Munier's research on the gravestones of Dayr Anbā Hadrā is important. He identified three distinct long redactions of the set form of inscriptions. The first runs, "The day of commemoration of the blessed brother." Then follow the name of the deceased and the date of his death (month, day, and indiction year, a fifteen-year cycle). In the second redaction, these data appear before the date of death, with the addition "on which he laid himself down to rest." The third redaction expands the text after the date of death by a prayer. In this, entreaty is made for rest for the soul in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

While the tombstones carrying inscriptions of the first redaction are dated only according to indiction years, those of the second and third also mention the years of the era of the martyrs, beginning with the year 284 (after Diocletian). From this it follows that the three redactions can be dated to different periods. Munier sets the first in the sixth century, and the second in the seventh, and the third in the eighth to ninth. A further check (Krause, 1975, p. 79) has led to a shift in these dates; the second redaction is dated in the years 716 to 768—that is, the eighth century—and the third in the years 786 to 792. The application of Munier's methods of investigation to the large Nubian cemetery of Saqinya, containing 314 tombstones (66 Greek and 248 Coptic), has fully confirmed these methods. Only the datings of the third redaction are somewhat later in Nubia than in Egypt (Krause). Hence Munier's methods must be applied to the investigation of all Coptic and Greek gravestones in Egypt. Here the tombstones must be investigated separately according to location, since we have to reckon with the possibility that the several redactions may sometimes shift in period, as is shown by a chronological comparison of the redactions on the tombstones from Dayr Anbā Hadrā and those of Saqinya.

Many gravestones (both Greek and Coptic) carry only the indiction year (from 312–313 there is an

indiction cycle) and thus cannot be more precisely dated. It is, however, to be assumed that many belong to the first redaction. The oldest Greek gravestones so far dated according to the martyr era come from the necropolis of Alexandria, al-Dikhaylah. They are dated from 524 to 590. "The blessed singer Abba Dorotheos fell asleep in the Lord on 16 Pharmouthi of the eighth indiction, in the year of Diocletian 246." On some tombstones even the hour of death is given (Bell, 1932). The oldest Coptic tombstone dated with certainty so far derives from the necropolis of ANTINOOPOLIS and is dated 620 (Lefebvre, 1915, pp. 118ff.). Some tombstones are dated both according to the era of the martyrs and also according to the Hegira of Muḥammad, for example, a Greek gravestone from Isnā of the year 890 (Lefebvre, 1907, no. 541).

Formulas. Some prayer formulas are found all over Egypt. Others are characteristic of a particular location. A very frequent formulary attested throughout Egypt gives the quoted formulary of al-Dikhaylah expanded by a prayer at the end. Frequently it is matched by the formula "God is one" or "One is God, who helps."

Less frequently attested on Greek tombstones are the formulas "God [Lord or Christ] grant rest to the soul," "God be mindful," and "Lord, God, have mercy on the soul" (Lefebvre, 1907, XXXI).

Typical for gravestones from AKHMĪM is the formula in the first redaction "Stela of the blessed [name]. He lived [. . .] years [and date of death]." In the second redaction "be not sorrowful, no one is immortal" is added.

In stones from Hermonthis it is noted after the name of the deceased that he "ended his life" (*ἐτελεύτησεν*), and the date of death is given (Lefebvre, 1907, no. 413). In the second redaction "be not sorrowful, none is immortal in this world" is added. On the formulas in Nubia, see Krause (1975, pp. 78f.).

The Copts, like their Egyptian forerunners, avoid the use of the verb "to die" (Krause, 1983, p. 92 with references; exceptions: Munier, 1926, and the tombstones with lamentations for the dead). Instead, they speak of "going out of the body," "laying aside the body," and above all "laying oneself to rest." The last description is known also on the Greek tombstones of Egypt, on which the expression "to end (one's life)" (*ἐτελεύτησεν*) is employed.

One group of inscriptions, attested both as tomb inscriptions and also as memorial inscriptions—especially in monasteries—are described by Junker (1925, p. 143) as "prayers in litany form." Characteristic of these are invocations of saints, in which their number may be of varying size, so that the length of the inscription also may vary considerably: one of the longest litanies is Saqqara no. 203 (Thompson, 1912, pp. 60f.). This inscription invokes the Trinity, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, Mary, the four-and-twenty elders, the powers of the Spirit, our father Adam, our mother Eve, our fathers the patriarchs, our fathers the prophets, the judges, the righteous kings, our holy fathers the Apostles; the Evangelists; the archbishops; the martyrs (sixteen names); and monks (twenty names). They are all to pray for the soul of the deceased, whose date of death is given as 25 October 775. At this time, we learn, Menas was archbishop of Alexandria and George was bishop of Memphis.

This inscription formula is attested in Egypt, from Saqqara as far as Isnā, in monasteries and hermitages. It seems that it was predominantly, if not exclusively, used in monastic circles. While this inscription in Saqqara was chiseled in limestone, we find it in other places, for example, in Isnā, written on the walls of chapels (Sauneron, et al., 1972, no. 89 and often).

Tombstones from Antinoopolis and its surroundings from the middle and second half of the eighth century form a special group because of their phraseology. The deceased is not referred to in the third person but rather speaks himself in the first person. He does not, as is usual elsewhere, avoid the use of the words "death" or "dying." He laments the "shortness of his life," "the sudden coming of death," or of "the messenger of death," and emphasizes that the relatives will be "left behind in great sorrow." We find these terms as early as the pharaonic period in the tomb inscriptions of this region (Krause, 1983, p. 92) and also in Coptic texts (Cramer, 1941; Lüddeckens, 1984). The texts are often enriched with biblical citations. In outward appearance some of the funeral stelae, which are wrought in the form of an Egyptian offering table, are different from the customary stela forms.

The prayer formula in litany form of varying length, already mentioned, is particularly characteristic of tombstones in Saqqara. Beside it is found the invocation of God as "God of spirits and Lord of all flesh" (Num. 16:22) and the prayer that He may have mercy on the soul of the deceased. Both formulas are, however, also attested in other regions. For Middle Egypt the invocation of God as "good God" is typical, for Antinoopolis the invocation as "God of Colluthus," for Upper Egypt (Hermonthis-Isnā) the affirmation "One is God, who helps." The formula from ASWAN investigated by Munier is also attested at other places in Egypt and Nubia.

It is striking that in Egypt—in contrast to Nubia (Jakobielski, 1972, and Kubinska, 1974)—no tombstone of a bishop has so far become known. The stone described as the "gravestone" of Bishop Pusi of PHILAE (Mallon, 1914, 2880 and ill. 3283) does not contain any date of death and is therefore to be interpreted as a memorial stone, unless the date of death has been broken off. Bishops are indeed named on other, incompletely preserved, tombstones from Aswan (Munier, 1930–1931, nos. 121 and 145), but these are not the tombstones of bishops. Clergy of the rank below the bishop are, however, represented, as are all the offices in monasticism from abbot of a monastery down to monk and hermit. Among secular occupations, doctors and a large number of craftsmen are named.

Tombstones with No Date or Known Place of Origin. Most tombstones are neither localized nor dated. Although cemeteries of the Christian period with the gravestones in situ were found during the excavations in Nubia and published by scholars such as Junker, the larger part of the tombstones of the Christian period in Egypt does not derive from excavations that meet modern requirements for scientific study and publication. Rather, tombstones either were found by people who were digging for manure, and then reached the museums through the antiquities trade, or else they derive from nineteenth-century excavations, of which only brief communications were published, but no complete excavation reports (for the tombstones of Dayr Anbā Hadrā at Aswan, cf. Munier, 1930–1931, pp. 257ff.). Only later did it become known where the museum tombstones came from. Thus, for example, one must read Daressy's essay to learn the place of discovery of the stelae that were in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, since the volume of Crum's *Catalogue général* (Crum, 1902) often does not contain this information. The gravestones from Dayr Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara were not excavated in the cemetery of the monastery but were built in inside the monastery. The tombstones from Wādī Sarjah were not found in the cemetery but "in various chambers on the hillside, quite apart from the cemetery" (Crum and Bell, 1922, p. 57).

For the stelae with no information about their derivation and dating there is, therefore, the problem of finding such information. As aids to localizing we may use the material of the tombstones, their form, their decoration, the form of the letters, the language (dialect), and the wording of the inscription. Since the gravestones, as a rule, were wrought from local stone, investigation of the material is important. The tombstones in the neighborhood of Cairo come from the nearby stone quarries of Ṭurah. In the Fayyūm, hard white limestone, which is light gray on the upper surface, was used alongside nummulitic limestone. In Luxor people used the local limestone; in Hermonthis, sandstone, of a light to dark ochre or reddish-yellow to reddish-brown; and in Isnā and Idfū, light, soft limestone. In Aswan and Nubia, gravestones were made from sandstone. In addition there are isolated gravestones of terra-cotta.

The form and size of the tombstones also varies. The majority of the gravestones are rectangular, but there are also stelae, especially in Isnā, which are small and rounded on top (cf. Zuntz, 1932, pp. 27ff.; Sauneron and Coquin, 1980).

For the Fayyūm tall, rectangular gravestones are characteristic. They are often developed through round arches and columns or pillars with architrave and gable into a niche, in which the deceased stands or sits, often as an orant (figure in prayer) or a woman with a child (cf. Effenberger, 1977). A cross may also appear in place of the deceased.

The numerous stelae from Hermonthis appear in several variations. There are rectangular to trapezium-shaped stelae with a gable top, in the middle of which stands a cross surrounded by a garland of leaves. Other stelae are longer, gaining space at the lower end for an eagle, which now bears the cross in the garland of leaves. In some stelae the cross in the garland is replaced by a monogram with palm branches, and alpha and omega can be written above the cross bars. Finally, the monogram may be supplemented by an ankh sign. These symbols may be combined in various ways.

Characteristic for the tombstones from Isnā (Sauneron and Coquin, 1980) is their rounding at the top, their adornment with the eagle, and their architectonic shaping (Badawy, 1947). Most of the tombstones from Dayr Anbā Hadrā, which are characteristic for Upper Egypt, are small and quadrangular, often square.

The form of the letters has not yet been correlated to the localizing and dating of tombstones, since there is as yet no palaeography of the Coptic inscriptions. The form is naturally dependent on the material (whether it is hard or soft and therefore difficult or easy to work) and on the ability of the stone cutters. Alongside well-executed inscriptions as in Saqqara, where there were craftsmen in the monastery, there were also inscriptions by less well-trained workmen whose chiseling was not so good.

The assignment of Coptic tombstones with a non-

Sahidic inscription to the area in which the dialect of the inscription was spoken presents no problems, since the sphere of influence of the several Coptic dialects is known. But the localization of Sahidic stelae presents great difficulties, because Sahidic can be traced throughout all Egypt and Nubia. The formula of the Sahidic tombstones can be employed for the localization of the stelae only with reservations, since at almost all sites not only one formula but several were utilized—whether contemporaneously or in succession. For the localization and dating of these tombstones, therefore, all the aids mentioned must be brought into play.

[*See also:* Hayz, al-; Dūsh; Jabal al-Ṭarīf; Jabal Tafnīs; Nubian Inscriptions, Medieval; Qaṣr Nisīmah; Shams al-Dīn; Umm Dabadīb; Wādī Shaykh ʿAlī.]

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MARTIN KRAUSE

INTERDICT, prohibition against administering the sacraments in a village or a monastery. In the correspondence of Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis from around 600, we learn of a case in which the doing of things that were not fitting either for monks or for the laity in a monastery (we are not told anything more precise), and their toleration by the abbot, led to the pronouncement of the interdict by the bishop. It was limited in time, up to the point at which the wrongdoer came to the bishop. In addition, the abbot was threatened with excommunication if he contravened the prohibition and held a service of communion in the monastery.

In a second case, we see in a letter from the bishop to the village officials of a locality that the interdict was decreed against the place because a man had been unlawfully arrested. Baptism and the conduct of public worship were expressly placed under penalty. Anyone acting in contravention of the prohibition was to be excluded from communion.

The imposition of the interdict is threatened in a further incomplete letter, after the inhabitants of a township declared the bishop's canons void and threw the clergy into the river. When the bishop called the inhabitants to account because of this, they snorted at him. In all the cases the punishment has a time limit: until the wrongdoers come to the bishop, or until the wrong has been removed.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR COPTIC STUDIES, founded in Cairo in 1976, under the auspices of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, on the occasion of the First INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COPTIC STUDIES.

From its inception, Mirrit B. Ghali served as honorary president and Tito Orlandi as honorary secretary. The International Association for Coptic Studies (IAC) is a nonprofit organization designed to promote Coptic studies, inviting scholars from all over the world to contribute to a field hitherto almost neglected. The IAC issues a newsletter that gives information on new publications and discoveries. It also makes available a list of scholars involved in Coptic studies. During the first International Congress of Coptic Studies, the rules and regulations of the association were established.

One of its functions is also to announce in the

newsletter the date and place of upcoming meetings of the Congress of Coptic Studies, which usually convenes every four years. The newsletter appears periodically at least twice a year.

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MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF COPTIC STUDIES. The International Committee for the publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices founded in 1970 and responsible for the preparation and edition of a facsimile edition of the codices envisaged a greater activity in Coptic studies than entailed by their work alone.

Under the sponsorship of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization and UNESCO, the First International Congress of Coptology was held in Cairo, 8–18 December, 1976. About one hundred scholars from sixteen countries attended the congress. Most of the papers read were published in three volumes. The main papers appeared in *The Future of Coptic Studies* (ed. R. McL. Wilson, Coptic Studies 1, Leiden, 1978). The papers about Nag Hammadi and gnosis were printed in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis. Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)* (ed. R. McL. Wilson, Nag Hammadi Studies 14, Leiden, 1978), and papers about philology and linguistics as "1. Internationaler Kongress für Koptologie Kairo 08.–18. Dezember 1976," in *Enchoria. Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie* (Sonderband [1978]:1*[47]–125*[171]).

At the end of the congress an International Association for Coptic Studies (I.A.C.S.) was launched, statutes were adopted by the participants, a board was elected, and it was agreed to publish a newsletter. According to the statutes (published in *Newsletter* 1, March 1977, changed in *Newsletter* 24, June 1988), the I.A.C.S. would have close relations with the Société d'archéologie copte and would hold congresses at four-year intervals.

The Second International Congress of Coptic Studies was held in Rome, 22–26 September 1980. Again, about one hundred scholars from twenty countries attended the congress. Thirty papers of the congress were published in *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, 22–26 September 1980* (ed. T. Orlandi and F. Wisse, Rome, 1985).

The Third International Congress of Coptic Studies was held in Warsaw, 20–25 August, 1984. About 150 scholars and students from more than twenty countries attended the conference.

The Fourth International Congress of Coptic Studies was held in Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 September, 1988. The congress was attended by about 200 scholars and students from about twenty countries.

Beside the international congresses of the I.A.C.S., the French section regularly holds national congresses. The first such conference met in Strasbourg on 28 May 1982 and the papers were published in *Ecritures et traditions dans la littérature copte (Journée d'Etudes Coptes - Strasbourg 28 mai 1982)* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 1, Louvain, 1983). The second conference was held in Strasbourg on 25 May, 1984; the fifteen papers were published in *Deuxième Journée d'Etudes coptes Strasbourg 25 mai 1984* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 3, Louvain, 1986). The third conference was held in Paris on 23 May 1986. The fourth conference met in Strasbourg on 27 May 1988.

In addition, at the Martin-Luther-University, Halle, six congresses have been organized since 1964, and their acts have been published. The first was held on 14–15 December, 1964 (*Koptologische Studien in der DDR*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1965, Sonderheft). The second was held on 12–13 December 1966 and was devoted to problems of Coptic literature (*Probleme der koptischen Literatur*, ed. P. Nagel, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1968). The next congress was held on 22–24 February, 1971 (*Studia Coptica*, ed. Nagel, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 45, Berlin, 1974). The fourth symposium in 1976 (25–27 November) was devoted to studies about man in gnosis and Manichaeism (*Studien zum Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus*, ed. Nagel, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1979). The fifth symposium in 1983 (25–27 May) was devoted to studies of Greeks and Copts in Egypt during the Byzantine period (*Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten*, ed. Nagel, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1984). The sixth conference was held in 1988 (27–29 April) and was devoted to the scientific work of Carl Schmidt

(1868–1938), whose studies were concentrated on the Coptic Period of Egypt. Twenty-nine papers were read by scholars of eleven different countries.

[*See also:* International Association of Coptic Studies.]

MARTIN KRAUSE

INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE.

The *Interpretation of Knowledge* (NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, XI.1) is a homily with polemical content probably delivered before a Gnostic community. It is a good demonstration of the internal dissensions that upset Gnostic communities in the first centuries A.D. This treatise is not the only one to attack this problem. Comparison with other texts from Nag Hammadi, such as the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (see EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED) or the TESTIMONY OF TRUTH (Koschorke, 1978), may throw some light on this complicated piece of writing.

In his discourse the author of the *Interpretation of Knowledge* emphasizes the negativity of the world and the body. He describes the former as "the place of unfaith and death" (XI.1. 37) and the latter as "a temporary dwelling which the rulers and authorities have as an abode; the man within, after being imprisoned in the vessel, fell into suffering and they compelled him to serve them and they constrained him to serve the energies" (XI.6. 31–38). The author mentions the slavery of the body as well as the slavery of the soul (XI.6. 20, 21); both body and soul are desired by the archons (hostile heavenly rulers), who oblige man to serve them. This passage recalls the AUTHENTIKOS LOGOS and the EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL. There could be sketched here behind these heavenly powers, as in the *Authentikos Logos*, the phantasm of earthly powers, ecclesiastical or secular.

Furthermore, the body is compared to a pit or a hole into which men have fallen. From this place below, a dark place, and from the body, a carcass, only Christ will be able to deliver those who wish deliverance: "I became very small so that through my humility I might take you up to the great height whence you had fallen. You were taken to this pit. If now you believe in me, it is I who shall take you above through this shape that you see. It is I who shall bear you upon my shoulders." The means offered to man to escape from the negativeness of the world is a holy and pure faith that will oppose the "unfaith" of the world. Christ is, therefore, a Savior. The author presents him as a being clothed in humility, bearing humanity on His shoulders. After being crucified, says the text, He looked down toward hell so that those who were down there looked upward (XI.13. 25–30). Finally, He proclaimed the Father: "when the great Son was sent after his small brothers, he spread abroad the edict of the Father and proclaimed it, opposing the All and he removed the old bond of debt, the one of condemnation."

Christ also communicates a teaching: "Do not call out to a Father upon the earth. Your Father who is in heaven is one. You are the light of the world. They are my brothers and my fellow companions who do the will of the Father. For what use if you gain the world and you forfeit your soul? For when we were in the dark, we used to call many 'father' since we were ignorant of the true Father. And this is the great conception of all the sins."

The Gnostic must imitate Christ and with regard to his neighbor behave according to the example of Christ. The latter "answered her with humiliation since in this way he bore the suffering which he had suffered." He also made himself very small in order to help humanity. From this injunction to imitation is derived a series of teachings concerning the conduct required of the Gnostic in the midst of his community. He must not know jealousy; he must share with the brethren the spiritual and prophetic gifts he possesses; he must rejoice, give thanks, and lift up his prayer to God. The Gnostic who is humble, who avoids all discord, and who has humility shows that he is attentive to the *nous* (mind), not to the world. Besides, the persecution of which the Gnostics are the object is pointless, for it is exercised against those who already have the Word. The LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP runs in the same sense, proclaiming that persecution is apparent, as was Christ's suffering on the cross.

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MADELEINE SCOPELLO

IQD AL-MADHBAH. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

IQLĀDIYŪS LABĪB (1873–1918), Egyptian Coptologist. He was born in the Coptic village of Mīr in the province of Asyūṭ in Upper Egypt within reach of the ancient monastery of Our Lady known as DAYR AL-MUHARRAQ. He was accustomed from his early youth to accompany his family in attending weekly services at that monastery. After the completion of the liturgy, he used to linger with the monks and discuss the Coptic language with them. His interest in the language probably began here. With his departure to live in Cairo, this interest was accelerated, and he began to study Coptic systematically and scientifically from all available manuscripts in the patriarchal library, which Pope CYRIL V ordered to be placed at his disposal. In the meantime, he learned modern foreign languages and is said to have become proficient in English and French, as well as in Arabic and Coptic.

At home, he insisted on the use of Coptic as the only language of communication. Although the use of Coptic had long been limited to churches as a liturgical language, he urged other Coptic families to use it as a spoken and living language. This implied the teaching of Coptic to Arabic-speaking Copts, so he hastened to open classes for Coptic language instruction in Cairo. Though these classes were enthusiastically received and widely frequented, apparently very few families were able to implement his scheme of rendering Coptic their daily means of communication.

He established a special periodical entitled *Majallat 'Ayn Shams* for the promotion of his ideas. Further, he imported a special printing press from Germany, with hieroglyphic as well as Coptic letter sets for the publication of his sources. It is said that this was the second specialized press brought into Egypt, the first being the printing press of the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale in Cairo. With it, he was able to publish his own Coptic grammars and most of the liturgical books hitherto available only in manuscript in churches. Throughout his life, he assumed the post of professor of Coptic in the newly established CLERICAL COLLEGE. One of his main contributions was his attempt to compile the first Copto-Arabic dictionary, of which he completed five parts before the work was interrupted by his death.

His other publications include *Majmū' al-Alfaẓ al-Qibṭiyyah* (Cairo, 1901), a collection of Coptic words that had passed into Arabic; *Al-Durūs al-Naḥwiyyah fī Ma'rifat al-Lughah al-Qibṭiyyah* (Coptic Grammar; 2 pts., Cairo, 1894); *Al-Kutub al-Ibtidā'iyyah fī Ta'līm al-Lughah al-Qibṭiyyah* (Coptic Language; 1st ser. Cairo, 1897); The Psalms (in Coptic), followed by Biblical canticles and prayers, accompanied by an Arabic translation, revised and corrected by Hegumenos 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ ṢALĪB AL-MASŪ'DĪ and edited by Macarius, archbishop of Asyūṭ, and Labīb (Cairo, 1897); *Kitāb al-Abṣalmūdiyyah al-Sanawiyyah al-Muqaddasah* (Cairo, 1908–1911); The Burial Rite (Coptic; Cairo, 1905); The Rite of Extreme Unction and the Prayer of Abbā Stherpon (Cairo, 1909); Liturgical Texts in Coptic and Arabic (5 vols., Cairo, 1900–1902); *Les Théotokies*, Vols. 1–2 (Cairo, 1911); and *Al-Jawharah al-Nafīsah fī 'Ulūm al-Kanīsah* (Encyclopedia of Coptic Church Doctrine, Usage, etc.) by Yuḥannā ibn Zakariyyā, known as Ibn al-Sabbā', edited with Coptic equivalents by Labīb (Cairo, 1902).

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MUNIR BASTA

IRELAND. *See* British Isles and Ireland, Coptic Influences in the.

'IRYĀN JIRJIS MUFTĀḤ (d. 1888), Coptic language specialist. He was appointed teacher of Coptic in the newly established Coptic College founded by the father of Coptic reform, CYRIL IV (1854–1861), who aimed at modernizing the Coptic church. 'Iryān is known to have written manuals and grammar books for teaching the Coptic language in a reformed modern style. This probably occurred under the influence of the ecumenical spirit of his superior, Cyril IV, who aimed at bringing the Greek and Coptic churches closer together.

It is known that 'Iryān, as he was called, departed from the old Bohairic system in the church offices and tried to introduce the rules of modern Greek pronunciation into the antiquated style of the traditional church. This found opposition amid the clergy of Upper Egypt who clung to the old Bohairic, now wrongly described as Sahidic. Through 'Iryān's influence and his teaching of the Coptic tongue on the modern Greek model, his system spread rapidly

in Lower Egypt and the metropolitan cities of Cairo and Alexandria.

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MOUNIR SHOUCRI

ISAAC, forty-first patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (686–689). Isaac was a native of the district of Shubrā, now part of modern Cairo, before he took the monastic vow at DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR. Little is known about his early secular life. In his monastery, however, he became the spiritual son of a bishop by the name of Zacharias, who was known for his Christian virtues, his dignity, his theological learning, and his humility. Following his mentor in his qualities, Isaac also concentrated on the literary activity of the monastery and became a noted scribe of religious and biblical works. When JOHN III, his predecessor, came to know of him, he invited him to join him in Alexandria, where he actively assisted the patriarch in combating a three-year famine and participated in the discharge of all the rest of the patriarchal responsibilities.

John III willed his succession to Isaac, his admirable assistant. Soon after his death, a council of bishops met to elect the new patriarch. This council consisted of Gregorius, bishop of al-Qays; Jacob, bishop of Arwāt; JOHN OF NIKIOU; and a number of other unnamed bishops, together with the clergy and the archons of Alexandria. To the amazement of the congregation, their choice fell, not on Isaac, John's nominee, but on a deacon from Sakhā by the name of Jirjā. The election was made on a weekday without consulting 'Abd al Azīz ibn Marwān, the Arab governor of Egypt, for his advance approval. The archdeacon of the city of Alexandria protested, as the clergy were taking rapid steps to consecrate their nominee. He insisted that the election should be made on a Sunday in agreement with established tradition and that the late patriarch's recommendation must be respected. At this moment the governor's delegates reached Alexandria and stopped the preparatory measures taken for consecrating Jirjā. On reporting to the governor, 'Abd al-Azīz decided in favor of the late patriarch's nominee, and so Isaac was formally invested. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS comments on the event as being the will of the Lord.

In spite of the brevity of Isaac's reign, for he remained on the throne of Saint Mark only three years, his days were pregnant with major events, both locally and internationally. First, on the local scene, he restored the crumbling walks of Saint Mark's Cathedral and renovated the patriarchal residence. Second, he celebrated the Coptic liturgies in many churches previously dominated by the Chalcedonians. Third, he built a church and founded a monastery of Our Lady in Ḥilwān; at the same time he encouraged the Coptic archons of the country to build dwellings at Ḥilwān in the neighborhood of the palace of 'Abd al-Azīz, who favored living there. On the international scene, without consulting the Arab governor of Egypt, Isaac mediated between the emperor of Ethiopia and the Christian king of Nubia, who were in conflict at the time. Apparently, this infuriated 'Abd al-Azīz, who put the patriarch under house arrest in Alexandria to prevent him from crossing the frontier to the African potentates with whom Egypt was not in harmony. But curiously his fury went beyond the patriarch to the whole of the Coptic church, and the governor ordered all crosses, even gold and silver ones, to be broken from churches. Furthermore, he issued an order that posters should be fixed on the gates of all churches bearing the inscription that Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh and that Jesus is only the prophet of God and not his son, for Allah is neither born nor bearing.

At this unhappy juncture, Isaac died in 689 and was quietly buried in the Cathedral of Saint Mark in a tomb that he had prepared for himself next to that of his predecessor.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

ISAAC, COPTIC TESTAMENT OF. *See* Coptic Testament of Isaac.

ISAAC, SAINT, or Īsaac of al-Qalāli, fourth-to-fifth-century monk of Kellia (feast day: 19 Bashans). He had been a disciple of Cronius, then of Theodorus. After having fled to escape the priesthood, he had nonetheless allowed himself to be ordained. In his *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, PALLADIUS praises him as "a man exceptionally versed in the Scriptures and very hospitable" (PG 47, pp. 59–60). Himself very strict in his asceticism, he bitterly deplored the laxity that was being introduced among the monks. Isaac, priest of the Kellia, is mentioned in both recensions of the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION. He is not to be confused with Saint Isaac of Scetis, another monk. Both are often named in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM.

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LUCIEN REGNAULT

ISAAC THE DEACON, seventh-century biographer of the fortieth patriarch of Alexandria, JOHN III. He was born in Samannūd (Sebennytus), a city dating from dynastic times that still exists on the left bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile in Gharbiyyah Province. Isaac appears in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS by Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' as the secretary and close disciple of Patriarch John III, his spiritual father. Isaac is described as "a wise man, loving of his fellows, learned in the Scriptures, and virtuous." Toward the end of the biography, it is said that the dying patriarch sailed to Alexandria, "and the writer of this history [Isaac the Deacon] was with him, for he was his spiritual son." The biography, which must have been written in Coptic, includes details concerning the Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians in Egypt as well as the relations between the church and the Umayyad caliphs Yazīd I, Mu'awiyah II, Marwān I, and 'Abd al-Malik.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

ISAAC, DISCIPLE OF APOLLO, known to us only through the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. It is likely that Apollo is the one to whom the HISTORIA MONACHORUM devotes a long notice in Chapter 8 (Festugièrer, 1971, pp. 46–71). If this identification is correct, Isaac would have been a monk at the end of the fourth century in the Thebaid, where he founded a large community of monks. The most prominent feature of his personality, according to the apothegm, appears to be his intense love for stillness.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

ISAAC OF QALAMŪN. Two personages are recorded by the name of Isaac and in relation with the DAYR ANBĀ ṢAMŪ'ĪL at al-Qalamūn. They are perhaps one and the same person. The first calls himself priest and ascetic of the monastery in the Life of Samuel (Alcock, 1983, pp. 1, lines 4 and 5 [text], and 74, lines 5 and 6 [trans.]).

The second is revealed by a passage in the recension of the SYNAXARION of the Copts from Lower Egypt, at 13 Kiyahk, which recalls the consecration of the church called that of Miṣā'īl. This story is placed in the mouth of an abbot of the monastery of Anbā Samuel of al-Qalamūn, called Isaac.

If the first can be dated approximately to the first half of the ninth century, the second story offers the reader no indication that gives any possible dating.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

ISAAC OF TIPHRE, SAINT, martyr in fourth-century Egypt (feast day: 6 Bashans). Isaac is commemorated in the Coptic Church but is unknown in the tradition of other churches. His *Passion* is preserved in Bohairic in three manuscripts: one in the British Museum (Or. 8799), and two in the Vatican Library (Coptic 66f. and 69f.).

As far as can be deduced from the style of the text, this Passion belongs to the late period (seventh and eighth centuries) in which the texts making up the various CYCLES were composed, although it does not in fact belong to any of these. It was probably simply composed around a locally venerated name.

The text opens with the anti-Christian edicts of DIOCLETIAN, promulgated at Antioch and brought to Alexandria by the prefect Culcianus, who then sets out for the south. In the village of Tiphre (Difrah), near Panau in the Delta, lives a twenty-five-year-old Christian, Isaac. An angel appears to him and exhorts him to confess his faith. He therefore presents himself to Culcianus, who is passing through the city on his way to Damietta. Culcianus hands him over to the soldier Dionysius, who tries to persuade Isaac to sacrifice to Roman deities when Culcianus comes back to Panau.

On his return, however, Culcianus finds that Isaac has converted Dionysius by means of a miracle, and he kills Dionysius. Then Isaac's torture begins, after which he is entrusted to the governor Arianus, who takes him south. Here some Christians care for him. His trial follows, with the usual episodes: argument, torture, visions, miracles. Finally Isaac is beheaded. At the end of the text, a certain Christopher is presented as the author.

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TITO ORLANDI

ISAIAH OF SCETIS, SAINT, or Isaiah the Hermit, fifth-century anchorite whose spiritual advice to other monks greatly influenced the Eastern churches (feast day: 11 Abīb). Of all the Isaiahs mentioned in Egyptian monastic sources of the fourth and fifth centuries, the most renowned is the author of the ascetic treatises that had a wide vogue in the Christian Orient. Unfortunately, we do not find in these treatises much in the way of autobiographical information. We learn merely that Isaiah had begun his life as a monk in Egypt, probably at SCETIS, where he was in contact with several personalities mentioned in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM: John, Anub, Poemen, Paphnutius, Amun, Peter, Lot, Agathon, Abraham, Sisoes, Or, and Athraeus. Had he perhaps been a disciple of Ammoes and of Achillas? When he in turn had become an old man, he was surrounded by numerous disciples, among whom there stands out one called Peter, who carefully collected Isaiah's teachings to pass them on to his own disciples. From Egypt, where he still was in 431, Isaiah went to live in Palestine and died a recluse in a monastery near Gaza on 11 August 491, without ever having adhered to the Council of CHALCEDON. Such at least is the thesis put forward in 1899 by G. Krüger and commonly accepted today, despite the objections put forward by R. Draguet.

Isaiah's writings occur in sections or chapters entitled *logoi,* the number and order of which greatly vary in the different manuscripts and editions. Often, too, the content of each *logos* differs from one collection to another. This is attributable to the fact that most of the *logoi* are compilations of disparate pieces in which maxims, apothegms, oral exhortations, or letters sent to a disciple or a group of monks can be recognized. *Logos* VI of the Syriac Asceticon is simply a collection of apothegms that has subsequently been used by the compiler of the large alphabetical collection. The probability is that the Isaianic corpus as we now have it was collected and arranged by Peter at the end of his master's life or after his death.

Draguet had noted in Isaiah's work numerous Copticisms, but if some of the master's sayings were made in Coptic, it is almost certain that the writings as an entirety were compiled in Greek. In any event, the Coptic Asceticon we know was certainly translated from the Greek just as the Syriac Asceticon was.

Closely linked with the apothegmatic literature and related to it, Isaiah's work is interesting in the first place for the faithful echo it transmits to us of the teaching of the great Egyptian monks, but with a more didactic and synthetic character. Through the various recommendations of the old man, we can constantly discern, like filigree work, the motif that inspires them and the fundamental preoccupation of the desert anchorite. How is *hesychia,* that blissful quietude essential for the monk, to be found and constantly maintained? The struggle against one's thoughts, reading and meditation from the Scriptures, manual labor and austerities, all the observances and tasks prescribed, are so regulated and measured out as to guarantee to the recluse the most favorable conditions for the true

freedom of the heart. Isaiah does not disdain to enter into the most minute details of everyday life, but neither is he afraid to tackle the deepest realities of the spiritual life. He is constantly stressing interior frames of mind: everything has to be done "with knowledge," that is, with discernment, with rectitude, and with pureness of intention. Humility, the prime virtue, is mentioned fairly frequently, but more often is indicated by its effects, in particular by "counting oneself as of no reputation" and by circumscribing one's own will. All this was already there in the teaching of the desert fathers, but we find it again in Isaiah in an original form and with a personal accent that reveal a faithful disciple who in his turn has become an eminent master of spirituality. In particular, we admire his discretion and his balance, whether in the relations between the physical and the spiritual, or in the respective demands of solitude and the communal life.

Finally we may note the central place of Christ in asceticism regarded as the faithful imitation of Jesus in his life, his Passion, and his death. The theme of the "ascent of the Cross"—seemingly Isaiah's brainchild, for before him we find it nowhere—is tied up with Paul's teaching on baptism, which identifies us with the crucified Christ. All asceticism led to a liberation from the passion that in Isaiah has nothing of the Stoic about it, for it is simply the full blossoming of the life of the Spirit in one who loves the Lord Jesus "with a total love."

Isaiah's work is the fruit of rich meditation on the Scriptures with frequent resort to allegorical interpretations. In addition to the predominant influence of the desert fathers, we may note also that of EVAGRIUS, which cannot be denied. Isaiah had a great influence in all the churches of the Orient. He had friends among Chalcedonians as well as non-Chalcedonians. For all Christians he remains a master of genuine spirituality.

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LUCIEN REGNAULT

ISḤĀQ IBN IBRĀHĪM IBN NASṬĀS, Abū Ya'qūb, tenth–eleventh-century physician and grandson of NASṬĀS IBN JURAYJ, also a physician. He was born in Old Cairo (Miṣr) at an unknown date.

He entered the service of the Fatimid caliph al-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH (966–1021) and became his personal physician about 1004.

The Melchite historian Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, in his Appendix to the *Annals* of Sa'īd ibn Biṭrīq (composed before the year 1015 and revised and completed by 1028), informs us that when Abū Ya'qūb became the private physician to al-Ḥākim, "he advised him to drink wine, telling him of its beneficial effects. Al-Ḥākim listened to his advice, and lifted the ban he had imposed concerning wine. He then invited a team of singers and musicians to his court, and took to drinking among their songs, losing all shame in their company and piling favours upon them. Thus people returned to their former way of living. Some time later, the physician Abū Ya'qūb [ibn Isḥaq ibn Ibrahim] ibn Nasṭās died, and al-Ḥākim gave up wine and imposed a vigorous ban on drinking it" (from the translation by Kratchkovsky, 1932, p. 480). After this, Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd relates an event that occurred during Lent 1007. Therefore Abū Ya'qūb probably died around 1006 or at the beginning of 1007, and while al-Ḥākim was still living.

Abū Ya'qūb appears to have left no written works.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

ISHNIN AL-NASARA. *See* Pilgrimages.

ISIDHŪRUS (1867–1942), bishop and abbot who wrote a history of the Coptic church. Isidhūrus was born at Ḥomṣ, Syria, into a pious Christian family named Na'ūm. In 1880 he emigrated to Alexandria at the age of thirteen in the company of a relative, Hegumenos Isaiah, who was the resident priest in charge of the Coptic community at Alexandria.

After completing his education in the newly established Coptic School in Cairo, Isidhūrus was selected to teach Arabic, Coptic, and the rudiments of French in Cairo. At the same time, he continued the study of advanced French with a monk from the Collège des Frères. In 1885 he took monastic vows from Pope CYRIL V, who sent him to his own former monastery, DAYR AL-BARAMŪS, in Wādī al-Naṭrūn. There he became the pupil of the eminent literary monk 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ ṢALĪB AL-MASŪ'DĪ.

Returning to Cairo in 1887, Isidhūrus was made deacon at Saint Mark's Cathedral in al-Azbakiyyah, then priest at Mār Mīnā's church at Fumm al-Khalīj. Meanwhile, he became a close disciple to both Pope Cyril V and Anbā Macarius, bishop of Asyūṭ. He was put in charge of the religious properties of DAYR AL-BARAMŪS and DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ, but decided to leave these worldly obligations to devote himself to spiritual research and writing. Then he was nominated for a bishopric but escaped consecration. In the end, he was made abbot of DAYR AL-SURYĀN with the rank of bishop while heading the monastic school at Darb al-Ibrāhīmī. As abbot, he decided to elevate a number of monks to the rank of archpriest without first consulting Cyril V. This placed him in an awkward position with the patriarch, who removed him from office. When the Roman Catholic church offered to adopt him, he refused. Ultimately Wadī' Sa'īd (later Dawūd al-Maqārī) mediated for him with Pope JOHN XIX, who granted him pardon on 4 October 1941. He died on 19 January 1942.

Isidhūrus used all his time to write. He left behind him a massive bibliography consisting of two periodicals, which he edited for more than forty years, three historical tales, a number of exegetic works, and a few moralistic tracts. His major work remains a detailed history of the Coptic church in two volumes entitled *Al-Kharrīdah al-Nafīsah fi Tarīkh al-Kanīsah* (Precious Gems in the History of the Church).

AZIZ S. ATIYA

ISIDORUS, SAINT, or Isidore of Antioch, a martyr under DIOCLETIAN (feast day: 19 Bashans). He is known in both the Greek and the Coptic tradition, but his legend in the Coptic tradition has been completely refurbished. The text of the Coptic Passion is preserved in Sahidic in a complete codex in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (Munier, 1918, pp. 97–190) and in fragments from another codex (Till, 1935; von Lemm, 1913).

The Coptic Passion claims to be composed by an eyewitness named Sotericus, who is named only at the end of the text. The opening scene is in Antioch, where Diocletian promulgates his famous edict demanding worship of pagan gods. The governor, Pantaleon, with his wife, Sophia, and his son, Isidorus, remains faithful to Christianity. CONSTANTINE, the future emperor, takes refuge with them. At this point Basilides the general and Victor, two characters from the cycle of Basilides, are also named.

The archangel MICHAEL appears to Isidorus to announce his forthcoming martyrdom, which will take place after he has been killed and brought back to life five times. Then follows a lengthy description of the six martyrdoms, in which Diocletian plays a direct part as judge. The devil appears frequently, and there are accounts of every type of miracle being performed by the saint and of visions of angels and of Jesus.

At a certain point the scene moves to Seleucia and then to Rhodes, but from there the saint returns to Antioch, where he suffers final martyrdom. The last part of the text describes the end of Diocletian and the advent of Constantine, and the translation of the relics of Isidorus to Constantinople.

The redaction of this Passion seems to be very late, even compared to others of the cycle type. In particular, it presupposes the Passion of Philotheus, as well as those of George and Victor.

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TITO ORLANDI

ISIDORUS OF PELUSIUM, SAINT, fifth-century monk, priest, and scholar, who wrote a large number of letters on church affairs (PG 78). Trustworthy documents informing us of the life of Isidorus are relatively few. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH, exiled to Egypt from 518 to 520, was led to inquire there as to the identity of the man from Pelusium and possessed a letter from an ascetic that had the following comment: "greetings from the venerable priest Isidorus, an altar of Christ and vessel of the ministry in the Churches, a treasury of the Scriptures, the father of words (writer), a cistern of virtues and a temple of peace" (*Contra impium Grammaticum* 3. 39, CSCO 102, p. 182). For Severus, who quotes some of Isidorus' letters, the latter was a priest at Pelusium in the time of the bishops CYRIL I of Alexandria, Eusebius of Pelusium, and Hermogenes of Rhinokorua.

The few references accompanying the Christological anthologies or florilegia that are quoted in the sixth century by Ephraem, Leontius of Byzantium, Facundus of Hermiana, Pelagius, Rusticus, and Stephanus Gobar merely indicate that this priest of Pelusium (called also "abbas" by Rusticus) blamed Theophilus and Cyril on account of their hostility toward JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. EVAGRIUS the Scholastic (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.15) recalls that Isidorus, who was renowned for his ascetic monastic life and for his writings, lived in the time of THEODOSIUS II and Cyril.

The hagiographical accounts vary perceptibly among themselves. According to the oldest Life, Isidorus, after being trained in the Scriptures and in Greek studies, is said to have been a monk at Nitria and then to have been ordained a priest by Athanasius, before banishment at the hands of Theophilus and returning to the desert from which he exhorted his contemporaries by his letters. The recent Lives often confuse him with Isidorus of Alexandria, and would have it that he was an Origenist refugee with John Chrysostom. According to the Alexandrian Synaxarion (CSCO 78, p. 489) and the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarion (Coptic version: PO 56, p.814), Isidorus of al-Faramā or Pelusium (feast day: 10 Amshīr) was a relative of Theophilus and Cyril; to avoid becoming "patriarch" of Alexandria, he fled as far as Pelusium, where he became a monk.

Reading the Isidorus corpus and studying the correspondence provide us initially with some useful markers. The oldest are surely a letter to GREGORY OF NYSSA (no. 125) and, perhaps, another to Evagrius (no. 251). Though he had not heard Chrysostom, as has been believed, he was an admirer of the latter and was able to tell the story of his tragedy (no. 152). He knew Ammonius, bishop of Pelusium, and condemned the exactions of his successor, Eusebius. In two "civil" cases, Isidorus called into question two iniquitous *correctores* (governors of the province of Augustamnica prima, at Pelusium), Cyrenius and Gigantius. He addressed his complaints to high imperial functionaries, whose names have come down in history (Florentius, Synesios, Isidorus, Seleucus). In particular this was true of Rufinus, prefect of the praetorium at Constantinople in 431–432 (to be distinguished from the Rufinus assassinated in 395). Several of Isidorus' letters relate to preparations for the COUNCIL OF EPHESUS (431) and its aftermath. Also when we compare the names of the bishops who corresponded with the Pelusiot and the lists of the bishops who were signatories at the Council of Ephesus, the "Robber" Council of Ephesus (449), and then the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (451), we can see that most of those who were bishops in Augustamnica prima around 431 received letters from Isidorus.

On these assured foundations, and taking into account various indications scattered about the correspondence, it is possible to retrace Isidorus' itinerary (though with a degree of uncertainty). Born around 355 in the region of Pelusium, his initial studies were undergone by him in that city. He pursued his education at Alexandria, where he was perhaps together with Synesios, a disciple of Hypatia, the female philosopher. Returning to Pelusium, Isidorus pursued the profession of master of rhetoric and sophistry. Then this expert in the art of speech embraced silence by choice, and retired to the desert of Nitria where he investigated scripture, drawing on the knowledge of the Cappadocian masters. Coming back to Pelusium he was ordained as

a priest (doubtless by Ammonius) and fulfilled the duties of a *didaskalos*—expounding and commenting on the sacred texts. But when around 408 Eusebius succeeded Bishop Ammonius, Isidorus could not abide the way in which the Word he taught was out of gear with the disorders that were increasing in the church at Pelusium. So once again he chose the desert and withdrew into a monastery of the cenobitic or semi-anchorite type, some distance to the east of Pelusium (perhaps near Aphnaion). From that spot he wrote the majority of the letters that have come down to us; and it was there that he was visited by a number of his former disciples who were attracted by his eloquence, his knowledge of scripture, and his experience of the monastic life. There, too, he died at a very old age, about 435–440.

The works of Isidorus of Pelusium have come down to us in the form of a corpus of letters numbering some 2,000 items. Severus of Antioch counted nearly 3,000 letters distributed through several books, but noted that in a single book some letters had been copied twice or thrice and the original numerical order had no longer been followed. After successive editions, it has been possible to reconstitute a numbered collection of 2,000 items that has every chance of being very old, if not original.

It was long thought that Isidorus had also composed three treatises, and that there existed certain unpublished letters. Actually these three treatises constitute an integral part of the corpus. They are a little treatise on the nonexistence of destiny (no. 954), a treatise against the Greeks (no. 1470), and a eulogy of virtue (no. 646). As to the items claimed in the past to have been unpublished, tests show that either they are in the corpus or are not by Isidorus.

Questions are often raised on the authenticity and the form of these letters. Many of them lack the customary introductions or conclusions; others are split into several fragments; others again are quotations or paraphrases from classical or patristic works. We may suspect that some were school exercises addressed to fictitious correspondents. Nevertheless, the consistency of the prosopography, both geographical and historical, argues in favor of the authenticity of these letters. All the correspondents (and their titles and occupations) are contemporary with Isidorus. (There are more than 420, among whom 104 belong to the authorities, 34 to the township of Pelusium, 171 to the church, 64 to the monastic scene, and for the most part they lived in the region of Pelusium or elsewhere in Egypt).

The gaps or defects in the corpus are certainly attributable to those who compiled it shortly after the death of the Pelusiot. These compilers were very probably monks from the region of Pelusium (Peter the archimandrite, and the monks Nilus, Paul, Orion, Quintianus, etc.) who around 440–450 collected the "letters" of Isidorus and numbered them without much discernment. Very soon this collection, or selections (florilegia) derived from it, spread throughout the Eastern empire. Thus it was that from the second half of the fifth century Isidorian extracts appear in the first collection of apothegms of Palestinian origin.

The correspondence of Isidorus mirrors an era. This monk, who lived in isolation from the world, remained interested in all the problems confronting the men of his day. As was the wish of John Chrysostom, he had a sense of solidarity with those Christians who remained "in the world." Hence he intervenes to expound and comment and exhort, to encourage, to admonish, to censure or to threaten. With an untrammeled freedom of speech, here was one who could condemn the injustices of governors or judges and the exactions of the soldiery, or urge bishops and clergy to lead a life more in accordance with the Gospel or, simply, to be more moral. His varied experience permitted him both to advise in matters pertaining to education or to rhetoric, and to explain with precision difficult passages of scripture or liturgical usages, and to throw light on the narrow way of the ascetic life. Himself a priest, he reminded other members of the clergy (particularly around Pelusium) of the duties of the church's ministry, and urged the faithful to respect the priesthood.

If the reputation of Isidorus is primarily that of a moralist (doubtless because of the large number of letters addressed to a group of simoniacal and depraved clergy—Eusebius, Zosimus, Maro, Martinianos, Chaeremon, Eustathius) he merits our interest and admiration on other scores. For a start, this fine rhetorician writes an admirable Greek (he was later held up as a model alongside GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, BASIL THE GREAT, and LIBANIUS). He was an excellent exegete, nourished on the reading of John Chrysostom, and was constantly expounding and commenting on the Old and New Testaments, most frequently in reply to questions that had been raised on passages of a ticklish nature. If his predilection was for allegorical commentaries, he nevertheless often rested content with a literal explanation (his philological knowledge was a help to him here) that his correspondents could grasp. The exe-

getical catenae in which his remarks frequently appear indicate the greatness of his fame in this field.

The numerous pieces of advice pertaining to asceticism that he lavished on his disciples make him a source of knowledge for a type of ascetic life in which influences from Egypt and from Cappadocia were mingled. The semi-anchoritic Egyptian tendency, in which the role of the spiritual master is conspicuous, is linked with a cenobitism of Basilian type, the rules of which are well-known (no. 1). Scripture is not just to be "digested" and memorized, but is also the starting point for a form of contemplation that is linked with a "practice." Following John Chrysostom's advice, Isidorus, though separated from the world, remained available to it, and contributed by his example and by his interventions to the purification and edification of the church.

In the sixth century the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians made certain of the "Christological" letters of Isidorus their own as evidence on their behalf (nos. 23, 303, 323, 405). A. Schmid has shown what interpolations this involved. But was the Pelusiot a theologian? We can say yes, to the extent that in the struggle against the Arians, Eunomians, Sabellians, and others he showed his faithfulness to Nicaea and to Athanasius in so far as he defended the unity of Christ and rejected any change or admixture in the Incarnation at the time of the Council of Ephesus (431) and the Act of Union (433). He certainly did not take part in the Eutychian controversy, but a formula such as "the divinity and the humanity in Christ have become a single 'prosopon,' a single hypostasis, the object of adoration" (no. 360) is not without an intimation of the Chalcedonian formula.

Isidorus, however, was not a theologian in the technical sense. For him, God was not the object of discourse but of contemplation. In retirement into the desert and in meditation on scripture Isidorus the sophist gave up games of rhetoric so that he could enter into the silence of the divine Word.

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PIERRE EVIEUX

ISIDORUS OF SCETIS, SAINT, fourth-century monk and priest. The alphabetical collection of the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM devotes two distinct chapters to Isidorus and to Isidorus the priest, but apart from some extracts from ISIDORUS OF PELUSIUM it appears that all the items relate to the same person: Isidorus "the great," priest of Scetis, of whom Cassian also speaks in his Conferences. A strenuous ascetic and a man of prayer, he was known for his gentleness and patience. From the time he became a monk, he never burst into anger, and this mastery of himself won for him an extraordinary authority over the demons, and also miracle-working powers. One day he restored sight to a blind man. Above all, he had the gift of healing souls, and was successful in the most difficult cases. Without remission he labored with all his might because, he said, "the Son of God has come here for us."

No special notice is devoted to him in the SYNAXARION, but he is described as a saint in an apothegm taken up in the notice in the Alexandrian Synaxarion devoted to Zacharias.

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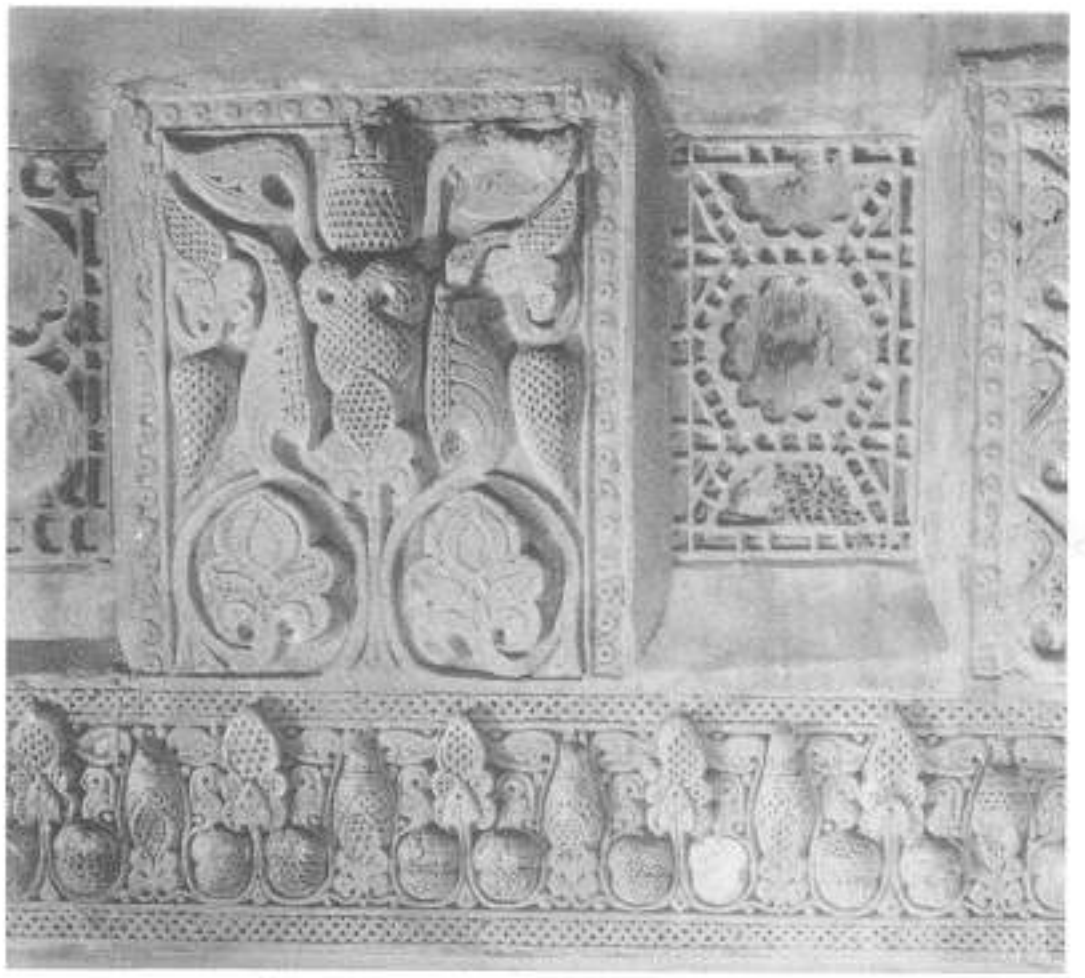
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LUCIEN REGNAULT

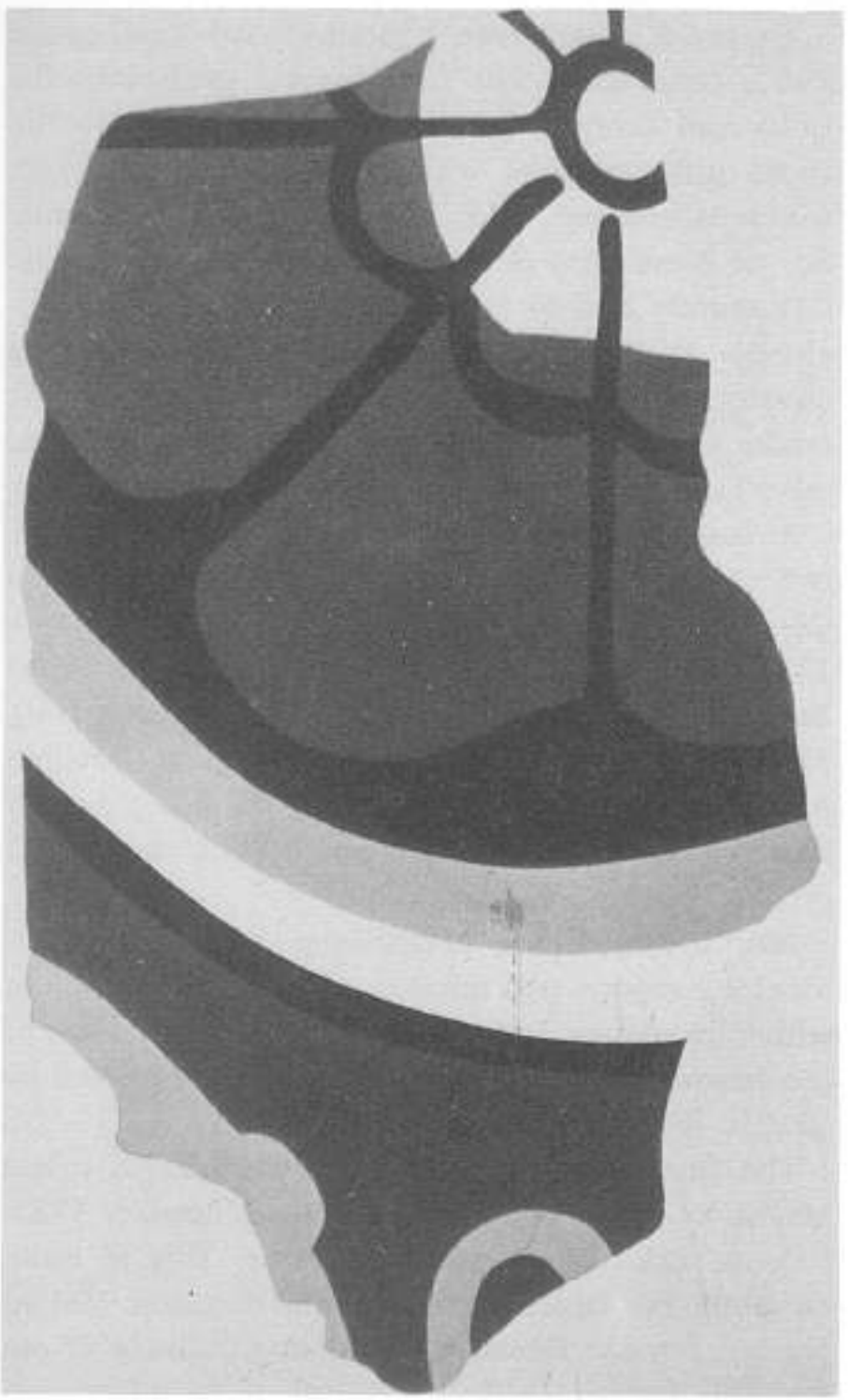
ISLAMIC INFLUENCES ON COPTIC ART, the effects of Islam on Coptic art from the Muslim conquest of Egypt onward. There can be no absolute appraisal of such one-sided artistic development, for ever since the conquest, there has been

an interaction of Muslim and Coptic art. Techniques developed by Muslim craftsmen, such as luster painting in metallic oxide over glass, were adopted by Coptic artists, and eventually art objects were manufactured by Muslims for a Christian clientele. At the same time, there were fields in which the Copts traditionally excelled, such as in textile weaving or woodcarving, in which they continued to produce under Muslim rule, not only for the Copts but for the Muslims as well. This situation created a new term, "Copto-Muslim" art, according to P. de Bourguet. This term particularly reflects the rich artistic Coptic production typical of the Fatimid period (tenth–twelfth centuries).

However, Islamic influences on Coptic art can be detected even before the tenth century. Both woodcarvings and ivory provide several examples of parallels between Coptic art and the contemporary



Panel from a *haykal*. Stucco. Dayr al-Suryān (Wādī al-Naṭrūn). Tenth century. *Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*



Fragments of a fresco with circular motifs. Umayyad period. *Courtesy M. Rosen-Ayalon.*

Umayyad art, both in style and in motifs. Interaction between various media may be seen in some of the common Coptic textiles, which use geometrical patterns with intertwined motifs and recall some comparable motifs in Umayyad mosaics. Details of Muslim frescoes such as those in Qasr 'Amra or in the mosaics of Khirbat al-Mafjar, both Umayyad monuments from the eighth century, could have influenced frescoes in the monastery of Apa Apollo at BĀWĪṬ. One painted relief decoration was based on an overall pattern of lozenges made of buds of flowers (Clédat, 1904, pl. 12).

The very material of the carved stucco decoration of DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR (Monastery of Saint Macarius) and of DAYR AL-SURYĀN (Monastery of the Syrians) in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, attributed to the years around A.D. 900, echoes the influence of Islamic art. Indeed Coptic art has been traditionally known to use stone for carving and architectural decoration, whereas stucco is an evident import from the Muslim East, especially Iran and Mesopotamia. The style of schematized half-palmettes recalling their Sassanid ancestors is in perfect accordance with a somewhat earlier decoration of the Abbasid capital of Samarra of the ninth century.

Doubtless the widest range of interaction in Coptic and Muslim art was to be found during the peak of the Fatimid period. The typical Persian arch, pointed and with both ends terminated in parallel

arms, characterized both Muslim and Coptic architecture. Woodcarving, abundantly manufactured by both Copts and Muslims, was very close in style, and can sometimes be distinguished only by its Christian emblems. The same can be said for numerous examples of luster pottery, when a Christ or other obvious Christian subjects distinguish a particular Coptic piece from Muslim ceramics of the same period. Glass, mainly luster-painted glass, which by its fragile nature has been preserved in lesser quantities, displays characteristics similar to those of pottery. In any of these crafts it is not even clear whether the craftsmen were the same, producing their wares for both clienteles.

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ISMA'IL. *See* Muḥammad 'Alī Dynasty.

ISNĀ, the Arabic name of a city in Upper Egypt that was known in Greek as Latopolis and in Coptic as CNE or CNH (Sne). The city is situated on the west bank of the Nile some 30 miles (48 km) southwest of Luxor in the province of Qinā.

Isnā has a long and rich Christian tradition. Even before the Council of NICAEA, in 325, Latopolis was a bishopric under Ammonius, who had been ordained by Patriarch PETER I (300–311). Bishop Masis succeeded Ammonius in 347.

The SYNAXARION commemorates a number of martyrs from Latopolis, including Bishop Ammonius, on 14 Kiyahk and 19 Ṭūbah. Both the Sahidic and the Bohairic Lives of Saint PACHOMIUS give Sne as the birthplace of the famous father of monks. The same texts relate that Theodorus, the successor of Pachomius, was born of aristocratic parents from Sne/Latopolis.

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ISTIFHĀM BA'D AL-ISTIBHĀM, AL-, an anonymous work whose title could be translated as "Book of Asking Questions after Being in Doubt." It was written by a Coptic Catholic layman in 1771, although A. Mingana and G. Graf speak of 1772. The author wishes to demonstrate the falsity of the belief of the Coptic Orthodox called Jacobites, especially as concerns Christology. He says of himself that the book is by "a Coptic layman, attached to the holy Orthodox Catholic faith, addressed to every lay Coptic brother attached to the recent Jacobite belief."

The work is extensive, containing twenty chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter deals with the Unity and Trinity of God. The others are not indicated in the catalogs, with the exception of the last, which is entitled "The Reason Why the Apostolic See of Rome Has Sent Missionaries to This Coptic Community and to Other Communities." The conclusion is intended to summarize the foregoing chapters and to give some advice to permit the reader to return to the truth so as to attain eternal salvation.

At least three manuscripts of the work are extant, two at Birmingham (Selly Oak Colleges, *Mingana Christian Arabic 32* [Catalog 69], A.M. 1534/A.H. 1233/June 1817, on commission from the priest Buṭrus, son of the priest Isḥāq Ibshāy al-Raqīṭ [*sic*], 122 fols., the first being lost; and Mingana Christian Arabic 33 [Catalog 70], c. 1850, 89 fols.) and at Faytrūn (Dayr Mār Ḍūmiṭ, no. 46 [no date], 222 pp.).

After *al-Istifām ba'd al-Istibham*, the Faytrūn manuscript contains two questions put to the author to which he replies. Unfortunately nothing is known of the answers. These treatises were not mentioned by Graf in his brief description.

The first query was posed by the parish priest Mas'ad of Miṣr al-Qāhirah (sic) on 2 January 1783; it is a series of questions on sins. This is quite certainly the Greek Orthodox parish priest Mas'ad Nushū', born in Damascus but living in Cairo. (Note that this formula Miṣr al-Qāhirah is found several times in his writings.) This author's speciality was refuting the Latins; thus he wrote a refutation of the infallibility of the Roman pope in 1740 (Graf, 1951,

pp. 140–41), of unleavened bread in 1747 (Graf, p. 141, no. 2), and of the Council of Florence (p. 143, no. 6). See especially his little polemics, often in the form of letters, contained in two manuscripts (Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Theology 119; Graf, no. 619; Simaykah, no. 464; and Birmingham Mingana Christian Arabic 38 [Catalog 50]).

Two other questions were put to him in Cairo in 1783 by the famous IBRĀHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ (d. 31 May 1795; cf. Graf IV, p. 136, no. 10) on faith.

These questions and answers show that the author of this work was in Cairo at the beginning of 1783 and that he was well known among the Coptic Orthodox and the Greek Orthodox circles of his time.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

IṬFĪḤ, a city on the east bank of the Nile some 25 miles (40 km) northeast of BANĪSUEF. In Greek, Iṭfīḥ was known as Aphroditopolis or Aphrodito, and in Coptic as ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲉϩ or ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲏϩ.

In 339 ATHANASIUS recorded in his nineteenth paschal letter to Serapion that Serenus was the successor of Theodorus as bishop of Aphroditon, indicating that the city was a bishopric by the first third of the fourth century at the latest.

ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN (twelfth–thirteenth century) wrote that there were more than twenty churches in and around Iṭfīḥ, but only ten of them were still intact. Among these churches were a church of the Disciples in the district of Balūjah, a church of Mercurius, two churches of the Virgin Mary, one of the martyr Theodorus, one of Cosmas, one of Apa Jul, and two Menas churches, one of which was called the Church of the Column. Under the rubric Iṭfīḥ, Abū Ṣāliḥ also mentions a monastery of the Mule, which he says was the home of many monks.

See also: Dayr al-Qaṣriyyah.

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RANDALL STEWART

IZBAWIYYAH, AL-. *See* Pilgrimages.

J

JABAL ʿADDĀ, a hilltop fortress in Lower Nubia, across the river and slightly upstream from the famous temple of Abu Simbel. It was, along with QAṢR IBRĪM and FARAS, one of the three most important administrative centers in Lower Nubia in the medieval period.

Because only limited excavation was done in the fortress of Jabal ʿAddā prior to its flooding by the waters of Lake Nasser, many details of its history are obscure. The original fortifications may date from the Ptolemaic age, as do the similar fortifications of Qaṣr Ibrīm. At a slightly later date, Jabal ʿAddā became a major administrative center in Meroitic times; it appears in Méroitic texts under the name Ado. The place may have suffered a temporary eclipse under the post-Meroitic kingdom of NOBATIA, but the large cemetery found nearby shows that it continued to be occupied.

Jabal ʿAddā is named by IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ as one of the three main towns in Lower Nubia at the end of the tenth century. It is not identified by him or by any other Arab author as an episcopal see, but the main Jabal ʿAddā church was certainly far larger than most others in Lower Nubia. There were also at least three other churches in the immediate vicinity.

Jabal ʿAddā evidently attained its greatest importance in the late medieval period, when its fortified hilltop setting assumed a new strategic significance. The place is mentioned repeatedly by Arab chroniclers after the twelfth century, usually under the name Ḍaww (see DOTAWO). From these sources we learn that the eparch of Nobatia, or "Lord of the Mountain," had his main headquarters at Ḍaww in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though his name is associated also with Qaṣr Ibrīm and with MENARTI. The fortress was temporarily seized by Mamluk invaders in 1275; in 1365 the rulers of the crumbling Nubian kingdom of MAKOURIA attempted to establish their own capital there. After the breakup of Makouria, Jabal ʿAddā evidently became the center of the splinter kingdom of Dotawo, to which it gave its name. Here a Christian monarchy survived for another century or more, finally disappearing near the end of the fifteenth century.

When the Ottomans annexed Nubia in the sixteenth century, a small garrison force was stationed at Jabal ʿAddā. Apparently it occupied Jabal ʿAddā until some time in the eighteenth century. There is no indication as to exactly when or why the settlement was finally abandoned, but it was evidently before the visit of J. L. Burckhardt in 1813.

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JABAL BISHWAW. *See* Dayr Mār Buqṭur (Qamūlah).

JABAL KHASHM AL-QUʿŪD, mountainous site about 20 miles to the west of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, that is to say, from the salty lake farthest to the west, excavated in 1932 by Prince OMAR TOUS-

SOUN, who interpreted it as being the KELLIA (Omar Toussoun, 1933, pp. 106–7; and above all his publication *Cellia et ses couvents,* 1935).

But H. EVELYN-WHITE's study *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun* (above all Vol. 2, the history of the monasteries) was to show that this identification was incorrect. Evelyn-White's demonstration was adopted by all. But what could the hermitages discovered by Omar Toussoun be?

It has been proposed to see here the site called "Petra" in several apothegms, which would correspond well enough with the site, for the apothegms speak of a pit of Petra (Regnault, 1981, Sisoes, no. 33, p. 292). This interpretation appears to be followed by L. Regnault in the map that he gives of the monastic sites (1976, p. 318).

A. de Cosson (1935) also proposed to see in it Petra or the Bijij, of which different texts speak with regard to SCETIS (1935, pp. 144–45).

One might also identify this place with the Pherme mentioned by PALLADIUS (*Historia lausiaca,* chap. 20). Mention of this site will also be found in the Greek historian SOZOMEN (*Historia ecclesiastica,* 6.29) and also the later historian Nicephorus Callistus (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.36). One will see this identification with Pherme proposed in D. G. Chitty (1966, p. 68).

The site could also be the Calamus of which John CASSIAN speaks, as F. DAUMAS has suggested (1968, pp. 407–408).

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JABAL QUSQĀM. *See* Pilgrimages.

JABAL AL-SILSILAH (mountain of the chain, so called because the Nile at this place presents a narrow defile and was formally closed, it is said, by a chain), site of the ruins of a Coptic monastery. A Roman and Christian cemetery is situated between the ruins of the Coptic monastery and the village of Fāris. Greek Christian graffiti in the tombs and quarries of the Jabal al-Silsilah perhaps betray the presence of hermits who found refuge there.

These remains of Christian occupation were pointed out as early as Bonaparte's campaign by M. M. Chabrol and E. F. Jomard. Two archaeologists have explored the site: F. L. Griffith (1889, pp. 93–95) and A. H. Sayce (1907, p. 99). G. Lefebvre has published a Greek inscription from a tomb (1907, p. 102, no. 560). O. Meinardus mentions these ruins and the Christian traces (1965, p. 327; 2nd ed., 1977, p. 442).

Unfortunately we do not know the primitive name of this monastery, of which no ancient literary text speaks.

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JABAL TAFNĪS. The hermitages of the Jabal Tafnīs, a mountain chain that owes its name to the fact that it is on the latitude of Tabennēsē, in the valley of the Nile, are about 5 miles (8 km) northeast of Shams al-Dīn, almost at the summit of the rocky plateau. At the site are some small caves, which served as cells, and a spring. There are some drawings (stars of David, candlesticks), and some red graffiti among which we may recognize the names ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ, ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ, iōsēph paulos presb, the initials ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ, is chs, and the sequence ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ

ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟC ΠΙ6CΤΡΑΑΗΛΑΤΗC, paulos theōdōros pestradēlatēs, which must be understood as "St. Paul, Theodore the commander."

GUY WAGNER

JABAL AL-ṬĀRIF (Nag Hammadi), mountainous mass on the right bank of the Nile, facing the town of Nag Hammadi on the opposite bank and forming part of the Arabian chain. It is pierced by caves and ancient tombs that were occupied by hermits and still preserve traces of them. These have been carefully noted by P. Bucher (1931, pp. 157–60).

The search for the precise place where the famous Nag Hammadi Coptic papyri were found has been the cause of some archaeological prospecting in the region. Coins have been found that show that the sites were occupied in the fifth and sixth centuries.

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JABAL AL-ṬAYR (Khargah). A few miles to the north of the cemetery of Bagawāt on the height of a steep path clambering up the massif of the Jabal al-Ṭayr, a shelter under the rock opens elliptically, its entrance facing south. The cave narrows to a depth of 13 to 16 feet (4 or 5 m). Its ceiling forms a corbeling above a terrace of small stones, which overhangs the bed of the wadi (valley). This is a choice place for the abode of an anchorite.

In addition to some signatures of Western travelers in the nineteenth century, as well as some rudimentary paintings and several inscribed crosses, the sides and projecting ledges of the shelter are covered with Coptic graffiti, painted or incised, rough or well finished. There are at least twenty texts, ranging from signatures to elaborate invocations, all legible since they are well shaded. Some that open to the exterior have suffered from the weather and the sunshine, which have eaten away the painted letters.

W. De Bock (1901) visited the site and published some scraps of texts (see the repetition of these in Mallon, 1914, col. 2864). Fakhry (1951) published the majority of them. His readings are open to emendation and improvement. Except for a brief painted graffito in Fayyumic (Roquet, 1976, p. 45), these short texts, allowing for the inevitable mistakes of the writers, are in Sahidic. An inscription of sixteen lines—a litanic prayer of a known type with minor variants—shows careful workmanship. From one line to the next, brown ink alternates with yellow. In addition, the entrance to the western side of the shelter reveals an inscription of twelve very faded lines painted in red. The only certain line is the first, which begins with ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC (Mēna episcopos). Another painted inscription, flanked by an inscribed cross, mentions the oasis. Fakhry does not note these two inscriptions. The most significant graffito was pointed out as such by H. E. Winlock. Datable between 734 and 883, the inscription attests the presence of a "*lashane* [magistrate, official] of Hibis," a personage who also signed two graffiti at Bagawāt.

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G. ROQUET

JABAL AL-ṬAYR (Samālūt). *See* Pilgrimages.

JABLONSKI, PAUL ERNST (1693–1757), German theologian and Orientalist. He studied at the University of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder. He continued his studies at Berlin, where he learned Coptic under the supervision of La Croze. During his travels from 1717 to 1720, he copied Coptic manuscripts at Paris, Leiden, and Oxford, which he gave to La Croze. In 1721 he became professor of theology at the University of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder; later he was chosen member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Besides his published studies, he left unpublished studies that were issued posthumously by W. te Water: *Pauli Ernesti Jablonskii Opuscula Quibus Lingua et Antiquitas Aegyptiorum, Difficilia Librorum Sacrorum Loca et Historiae Ecclesiasticae Capita Illustrantur Edidit atque Animadversiones Adiecit Jona Guilielmus Te Water* (4 vols., Leiden, 1804–1813).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

JACOB, SAINT, fiftieth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (819–830). Jacob (Ya'qūb) is known to have been a monk of the monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR) at a time when the bedouins from the Western Desert raided WĀDĪ HABĪB and pillaged its monasteries and destroyed many of its churches. This occurred during the latter part of the reign of MARK II, his predecessor. Apparently Jacob fled to the security of the distant monasteries of Upper Egypt, where he remained until the marauding bedouins left Wādī Habīb, so that he was able to return to his old abode in Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Evidently he was known to Mark II during their stay in the Monastery of Saint Macarius. Jacob's sanctity was well known to him, and on his deathbed he mentioned Jacob's name to the bishops present as a worthy successor to the throne of Saint Mark. Thus, when Mark died, the bishops immediately went to Wādī Habīb and brought back with them the monk Jacob for consecration.

Jacob was a contemporary of the famous Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–833) at a time when war between the Andalusians and the Lakhmids was still rampant round Alexandria. The caliph appointed one of his generals as governor of Egypt, 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir, who in turn nominated Ilyās ibn Yazīd as his deputy in Alexandria, with the mission to pursue the patriarch for payment of the annual KHARAJ tax. But the patriarch was impecunious because of the devastation that had befallen Alexandria as the result of the fighting in the city, and he had to produce all available sacramental utensils of gold and silver as a substitute in kind for the requested cash. In this difficulty, he was supported by a rich archon named Maqārah (Macarius) al-Nabarāwī. Maqārah is said to have gone to the caliph to appeal for the relief of the beleaguered patriarch, who was on a visitation tour in Upper Egypt. If we believe the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, Maqārah did not return empty-handed, for the caliph granted him his wishes. But it is more reasonable to interpret the patriarchal visit to Upper Egypt as a means of raising funds to meet his liabilities. In fact, the *History* provides us with nothing concrete on the events that took place in Jacob's times, beyond the usual tales of healing the sick and raising the dying.

SUBHI Y. LABIB

JACOB BARADAEUS (c. 500–578), the apostle of Monophysite Christianity in the church of Antioch (see MONOPHYSITISM). Through his efforts to preserve the Antiochene church from persecution he is known as the founder of the Syrian Orthodox church, or Jacobite church, which regards him as a saint.

Jacob Baradaeus was born in the village of Gamāwā north of Tellā (Constantina), in the upper reaches of the Euphrates. He took holy orders at the Monastery of Phasilthā (the Quarry) on Mount Izala and received his religious education at the nearby college of Nisibis, where he resided for about fifteen years. Jacob was a rigorous ascetic who chose to live in dire poverty and dressed himself in a mule's saddle, from which he earned the title *Baradaeus* (Arabic al-Barad'ī, "saddle man"). He was consecrated bishop of Edessa in 542. Afterward he went to Constantinople with a monk named Sergius, whom he later consecrated as patriarch of Antioch, possibly in 543.

At the time of Jacob's emergence into prominence, the Monophysite churches, especially in Antioch, were being persecuted by the armies of the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN, who aimed at ecclesiastical as well as political unity. Under his heavy hand, the church of Antioch was near collapse, and its salvation was largely due to the efforts of Jacob. He seems to have been clandestinely supported by Justinian's empress, THEODORA, who was said to have been the daughter of a Syrian priest and who had concealed leanings toward the church of her birthplace. Jacob's untiring and continuous travels through Syria dodging his imperial pursuers, fortifying his flock, and confirming them in the Monophysite profession saved the church, which ultimately bore his name as the Jacobite church. He tried to keep it in line with its sister church of Alexandria.

Jacob's life as a great saint in an ancient church was wrapped in apocryphal tales of his vast and indefatigable travels, mainly on foot, in Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, Lycia, Phrygia, Cairo, Asia, and the "islands of the sea" (Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, and Mytilene [Lesbos]). These were in addition to the capital cities of Constantinople and Alexandria, as well as the whole of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia, Sinai, and Egypt—all instrumental in the survival of Monophysite Antiochene Christianity. These great travels are reminiscent of the apostolic journeys of Saint Paul in the defense of the faith. Probably no cleric in history ordained as many bishops and patriarchs as Jacob, though he himself never aspired to attain the patriarchal dignity. According to the authors of his apocryphal biographies, he consecrated 120,000 priests. These same accounts mention among this enormous number eighty-seven or eighty-nine bishops, though the confirmed records mention only twenty-seven—which is still considerable. These included two patriarchs of Antioch: Sergius and PAUL THE BLACK, an Egyptian by birth.

In Arabia, Jacob once took refuge from his imperial persecutors at the court of the Ghassanid Christian king al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah and his successor, al-Mundhir. In Persia he is said to have visited the court of Chosroes I (known in Arabic as Kisrā Anū-Sharwān) at Seleucia in 559 to gain tolerance for the Jacobite Christians. While on this mission, he consecrated a bishop of Beth Arabaye named Aḥudemmah, and raised him to the dignity of metropolitan of the East, thereby laying the foundation of the maphrianate of Persia. The new metropolitan was active in the preaching of Christianity and succeeded in converting a number of Chosroes' family, thereby incurring the wrath of that emperor, who eventually martyred the bishop. Nevertheless, both the Jacobite and the Nestorian churches were tolerated in Persia, where they survived side by side until the coming of the Arabs.

Jacob's later years are enveloped in obscurity. One of his last efforts is known to have been his visit to Alexandria with a delegation of Syrian bishops in an attempt to cement the union between the Jacobite and the Coptic churches. However, he and three other members of his delegation mysteriously died toward the end of July 578 at the Monastery of Saint Romanos on Mount Casion, near the eastern frontier of Egypt. On this occasion, the Coptic patriarch DAMIAN sent a warm letter of condolence to the clergy of the East. Jacob's remains were transferred for burial at his former monastery of Phasilthā. Thanks to his mighty efforts, the Jacobite church had an assured survival with closer relations to Alexandria.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

JACOBITES. *See* Jacob Baradaeus.

JACOB OF SARŪJ (Ya'qub al-Sarūjī, 451–521), Monophysite Syrian writer. He was born at Kurtam on the Euphrates and was probably educated at Edessa. He became a priest and served at Ḥawrā in the Sarūj district of Mesopotamia. During the time of Persian domination of parts of Mesopotamia, he rallied the Christian population with his letters. He became bishop at Baṭnae (Batnan) at the age of sixty-seven. He was called "the Flute of the Holy Spirit and the Harp of the Believing Faith." An incessant, voluminous writer, he is said to have composed 760 metrical homilies, as well as other prose works, letters, and hymns. The verse works are largely in the Jacobite twelve-syllable meter. His writing does not emphasize his own Monophy-

site religious affiliation, and translated into Arabic from Syriac, it makes up an important part of the nonbiblical reading lessons for Jacobites and Copts.

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VINCENT FREDERICK

JAHSHIYĀRĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, AL-, Iraqi man of letters and native of Kūfah who settled in Baghdad. He succeeded his father in the service of the vizier 'Alī ibn 'Īsā, whose personal guards he commanded in 918. He died in Baghdad in 942/943.

Al-Jahshiyārī is known for his *Book of the Viziers and Secretaries*, the first great work of its kind in Arabic literature. This history proceeds to the year 908, even though the second part has been lost. The only known manuscript is preserved at the National Library, Vienna (Cod. Mixt. 916). It contains the first part, ending at the reign of al-Ma'mūn (d. 833).

This unique manuscript was copied by an anonymous Copt in 1151–1152 (see fol. 204b), the folios being numbered with Coptic numerals from 1 to 204. This fact illustrates the interest that Islamic culture had for the Copts. The manuscript was transcribed in a very skilled script and was entirely vocalized. Besides the facsimile edition by H. von Mžik (1926), a printed edition of the text was published in Cairo in 1938 by Muṣṭafa al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, and Abd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

JAMES, SAINT, ascetic (feast day: 3 Amshīr). It is not known from what family James the Ascetic came nor from what country. The story in the SYNAXARION begins with his ANACHORESIS in a cave during a period of fifteen years (all the sources give this figure). The Greek Synaxarion, and it alone, specifies that this cave was near the town of Samaria, very probably the one in Palestine, called Sebaste in honor of the emperor Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14), which has become the modern Sebastiyya in Israel. We shall not be sure if he was an Egyptian who withdrew to Samaria or a Palestinian so long as the source of the Greek Synaxarion is not known.

All sources mention the fervor of his asceticism and his gift for driving out demons. The Coptic Synaxarion adds that this won for him the hostility of the disciples of the devil, who sent to him a woman of evil life to make him fall, without success. Then the demon made use of another stratagem. He took possession of the body of the daughter of a rich notable, and suggested to her father that only James the Ascetic could deliver her. This came about, and the father, fearing that the devil might recover possession, resolved to leave his daughter in the care of the hermit. What might have been foreseen came to pass. The hermit dishonored the girl and, fearing discovery, slew her. Full of remorse, he multiplied his penances, hoping that God would pardon his crime.

Some time after that, a severe drought overwhelmed the people of the region. Not knowing what to do, they thought that only the prayers of James the Ascetic could obtain for them the rain they awaited. So they went in search of the bishop to get him to intervene. James confessed his crime, but the bishop persuaded him that God could pardon everything, on condition that the guilty one repented of his crime and did penance. Finally James agreed to supplicate God; a heavy rainfall came to relieve the people of the region. He died at a ripe old age. The Greek Synaxarion states that he was then seventy-five years old.

This "edifying story" has but one aim, to show the mercy of God and the power of the penances of the ascetic. If the description of the crimes is accomplished with realism to the point of shocking

us, it is to bring out more clearly the divine goodness and the efficacy of the hermit's asceticism.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

JAMES INTERCISUS, SAINT, or Jacob the Sawn or al-Muqaṭṭa', a Persian martyr of the third century (feast day: 27 Hātūr). He is fully documented in Syriac, Greek, Arabic, and other sources. The basic text concerning him is a Passion extant in several redactions. The redaction closest to the original, according to P. Devos, is the Syriac (Bedjan, 1968). One of the four Greek redactions apparently derives from this one (the other three seem to be reworkings), and the other Oriental versions would appear to derive, directly or indirectly, from the Greek. In Coptic we possess fragments of the Passion in Sahidic (British Museum, Or. 7561.120–21, ed. Winstedt, 1911; Vatican Library, Borgia 109, 145a; National Library, Paris, Copte 129.16.78 and 78 *bis*). In Bohairic we possess the complete text (Vatican Library, Coptic 59f. 1–29, ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, 1908) and fragments of another codex (cf. Evelyn-White, 1926, p. 14). These texts seem to be in substantial agreement. However, it is important to note that the complete text of the Passion has a historically interesting appendix, which is a long passage describing Peter the Iberian's moving of the relics of James from Jerusalem to a site near Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. This passage should be attributed to the end of the fifth century.

A summary of the complete Bohairic redaction of the Passion follows. Under the Persian king Iskarat, son of Shāpūr I, a great persecution was unleashed against the Christians. James was a nobleman, and a member of the king's council. Although he was a Christian, at first he did not react. His mother and wife urged him in a long letter to hold fast to the faith. James repented his silence, was reported to the authorities, and brought before the king. There follow the scenes of tortures and various disputes usual in accounts of martyrs and also James' vision of Jesus and healing.

James was eventually condemned to death and carried to the place of execution. The execution scene is the principal part of the *Passio*, which consists of a description of the martyr's limbs being cut off and his pronouncing a long prayer at the loss of each piece. He is then decapitated. Some believers recover his body, and his mother, sister, and wife build a martyrium. However, the king gives the order for all martyria to be burned. The martyr's remains are then rescued and taken to Jerusalem.

The appendix concerns the translation of the remains to Egypt. Peter the Iberian, who was from the Georgian royal family, was a monk and bishop of Mayuma near Gaza. He was persecuted for being anti-Chalcedonian and fled to Alexandria, where two of his disciples joined him with the relics of James. However, at Alexandria he was persecuted again and he fled to Bishop Moses at Oxyrhynchus. At Paim near Oxyrhynchus he and his disciples built a shrine where James's relics could finally rest in peace.

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TITO ORLANDI

JAMES OF SCETIS, SAINT (feast day: 5 al-Nasī'). The notice that the SYNAXARION devotes to this saint is very deceptive through its banality. We do not know at what age he died, and hence we cannot fix the date of his birth. We do not know the place of his origin. He lived in the eleventh century.

He dedicated himself very young to the monastic life, having reached the Monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR) in Scetis. He withdrew into one of the cells of JOHN COLOBOS. He was named archdeacon of the church of the monastery

of Saint John. His renown reached the town of Miṣr, and he was chosen to be its bishop. His promotion only caused his humility and his zeal to become even greater. He reprimanded the negligent priests at the moment of sacrifice of the divine mysteries. He knew two patriarchs, Anbā CHRISTODOULUS (1047–1077) and CYRIL II (1078–1092).

We know from the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS that James died in 1088 after occupying his episcopal seat for twenty-four years.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

JAM'IYYAH AL-KHAYRIYYAH AL-QIBTIYYAH, AL-. *See* Benevolent Societies, Coptic.

JAM'IYYAT ASDIQA' AL-KITAB AL-MUQADDAS. *See* Friends of the Bible, Society of the.

JAM'IYYAT AL-ISLAH AL-QIBTI. *See* Coptic Reform Society.

JAMMA, AL-. *See* Madīnat Hābū; Memnonia.

JASON. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

JAWHARAH AL-NAFISAH, AL-. *See* Ibn Siba' Yuḥannā Ibn Abī Zakariyyā.

JAWSAQ. *See* Keep.

JAZIRAT AL-DAYR. *See* Dayr al-Rūmāniyyah.

JEME. *See* Madīnat Hābū; Memnonia.

JEREMIAH, APOCRYPHON OF. *See* Apocryphon of Jeremiah.

JEREMIAH, SAINT. Very little is known about this saint. It is plausible that the monastery at Saqqara had been placed under the patronage of a Jeremiah, to whom a particular holiness was attributed, whether or not he was its first superior. The chronicle of the bishop JOHN OF NIKIOU seems to speak of him, which makes him a contemporary of the emperor Anastasius, the dates of whose reign we know precisely (491–518). Before becoming emperor, Anastasius is said to have been banished by the emperor ZENO (474–491), no doubt for his MONOPHYSITE opinions. John of Nikiou's text appears fairly certain, for he mentions the island of Saint Herai and indicates that it was at Memphis. He reports that Anastasius visited Saint Jeremiah and built a church dedicated to Saint Herai. It is curious that John of Nikiou calls Saint Jeremiah "of Alexandria"; did he thus wish to show his place of birth or the place of his monastery? He seems to say that his monastery was near Memphis. In any case, his evidence assures us of the period when Jeremiah lived, the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth.

The inscriptions found at Saqqara—in the absence of a Coptic life or a summary in Arabic in the SYNAXARION—supply little information. We learn that the anniversary of his birth was celebrated on 4 Hātūr, and that the day on which he was tonsured—a day commemorated—was the first of Bashans. He was ordained a priest in the month of Ba'ūnah, and he died on 22 Ṭūbah. In each case the year is not indicated. The last date appears to have been commemorated. Particular veneration was paid to the cell that he had occupied as the place where he had prayed for the entire world.

Two inscriptions seem to allude to a persecution, but given that these texts are not dated, we cannot know whether these events were contemporary with the saint. The whole, at least, shows that the veneration of the monks toward Saint Jeremiah was great, by reason of the frequency of the invocations, considering that his name is often invoked immediately after those of the three divine Persons.

We may add that a pilgrim, an archdeacon named Theodosius, mentions two monasteries at Memphis: "unum est religionis Vandalorum sancti Ieremiae." This traveler wrote his itinerary around 530.

The excavations at Saqqara have revealed a fresco representing Jeremiah, but this is perhaps only a

painting indicating how the monks of the monastery imagined their saint, rather than a true portrait; J. E. Quibell reproduces a watercolor (1908, Vol. 2, pl. 60).

[*See also:* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.]

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

JERNSTEDT, PETER VIKTOROVICH

(1890–1966), Russian linguist, papyrologist, and Coptologist. He published Greek texts such as *Die Kome-Aphrodito Papyri der Sammlung Lichacov* (Tbilisi, 1927); and *Spätrömische und byzantinische Texte*, with Zereteli (Tbilisi, 1930), in Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen 3–4. He published Coptic texts such as *Koptische Texte aus dem Puschkin-Museum Moskau* and *Koptische Texte aus der Eremitage* (both Moscow and Leningrad, 1959). He also worked on Coptic philology, mainly syntax.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

JEROME, SAINT

(c. 347–419/420), a father of the church who was one of the greatest biblical scholars of all time. His foremost accomplishment was translating the Bible from its original languages into Latin.

Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus in Latin) was born in Stridon at the head of the Adriatic. His advanced education began in Rome and was continued during many years of travel to cities of the East, including Antioch, Laodicea, and Constantinople. In Chalcis, as a hermit in the Syrian desert, he learned Hebrew and Greek. In Alexandria he attended classes under ORIGEN in the CATECHETICAL SCHOOL. In 382–385 Jerome returned to Rome, where he was secretary to Pope Damasus I, began his biblical translation at the pope's request, and taught Paula and other Roman noblewomen, who were his disciples.

After the death of Damasus, Jerome, accompanied by his disciples, returned to the East, where he visited Egypt and Palestine before settling down in Bethlehem to devote the remaining three decades of his life to a vast literary production. Throughout his life he practiced a strict asceticism that he must have encountered in the East, especially in his visits to Coptic monasteries in Egypt. He may have been made a cardinal by Damasus, although the only evidence is a late thirteenth-century image of him in a cardinal's red hat. He is one of the four doctors of the Roman Catholic church, which celebrates his feast day on 30 September. He is not in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion.

Jerome's translation of the Bible is notable in that he based it on original texts in Hebrew and Greek, creating a more accurate version than the Old Latin version then in use. The Vulgate, controversial at first, eventually became the official version of the Roman Catholic church. Jerome also produced many biblical commentaries, wherein he excelled in covering a wide range of linguistic and topographical topics concerned with interpretation of scripture. He continued the great *Historia ecclesiastica* of EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA on church history and wrote *De illustribus*, an account of Christian authors, including the Coptic church fathers, that was the first great work on patristics. He translated many works of such Coptic fathers as Origen and DIDYMUS THE BLIND. Jerome also combated prevailing heresies, notably ARIANISM and PELAGIANISM, and he turned against Origen as a result of the rising tide of Origenist controversy.

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JERUSALEM, COPTIC SEE OF. From the beginning of the Christian era, Egypt and Egyptians have had a privileged status in Jerusalem. In the Acts of the Apostles it is mentioned that Egyptians were among those who witnessed the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. It is also mentioned (Acts 6:9) that Alexandrians, with others, had their own synagogue in Jerusalem.

The ancestors of Saint Mark were Jews who went to Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I. They were sent to live in Cyrene, which at that time belonged to Egypt. When the bedouins invaded Cyrene, the family of Mark left for Jerusalem.

After Pentecost, a nucleus of Egyptian Christians was formed in the Holy Land. They were later joined by others who traveled to Jerusalem and settled there. Egyptians went to Jerusalem after it had been destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70 and rebuilt by Hadrian. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA took refuge there during the persecution of Septimius Severus, and ORIGEN also went there and was ordained priest by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, bishop of Caesarea. He often preached at the church in Jerusalem, and he founded the school of theology in Caesarea.

In the reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT the place of the holy cross and other holy places were rediscovered, and churches were built on the sites. ATHANASIUS I the Alexandrian visited the holy places in 343 and was well received by the bishop, Maximus, who convened a local council in 346, at which the vindication of Athanasius against the charges directed at him by the Arians was upheld. From then on, many Coptic monks began to visit the holy places. Almost half a century after the inauguration of the Church of the Resurrection, Coptic monks had an independent identity in Jerusalem, as was confirmed by Paula, who visited Jerusalem in 386. The pilgrim Atria, who was in Jerusalem at the same time, also commented on the presence of Egyptian monks. Around 384, four Coptic monks known as the Tall Brothers went to Jerusalem as a result of a dispute between them and their bishop, THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA. They were followed by nearly fifty monks from Wādī al-Naṭrūn.

Many other Copts also went to Jerusalem, some on pilgrimage, some to visit, and some to live there. A small church was constructed near the Church of the Resurrection at the very spot where MARY THE EGYPTIAN is said to have repented in 382. The number of Copts visiting the city increased steadily. Copts are mentioned among the sects represented in the Church of the Resurrection in the letter of dispensation that the caliph 'Umar ibn al'-Khaṭṭāb gave to the patriarch Sophronius after he took over the leadership of the city.

Several Copts were appointed to high posts in Jerusalem and Palestine. Among these are Shaykh Abū al-Yumn Quzmān ibn Mīnā, the scribe, who was appointed minister in Palestine in 975 by the Fatimid caliph al-'Azīz, and Manṣūr al-Tilbānī, who became governor of Jerusalem in 1092. When the Crusaders entered the city, they removed some clergy from the Eastern churches, among them Copts. They also confiscated the sacred relics and prevented the Copts from visiting the holy places. However, it seems that they were later reconciled with the Copts and allowed them to return to Jerusalem. John of Würzburg, a pilgrim who visited Jerusalem in 1165 and left a record (Runciman, Vol. 2, 1952, pp. 294, 480), and Theodoric, who was there in 1172, mention that the Copts were among the Christian sects in the city at the time (Meinardus, 1960, pp. 15–16).

The Coptic historian ABŪ AL-MAKĀRIM Sa'dallah ibn Jirjis ibn Mas'ūd said that the Copts were not allowed to visit Jerusalem under the Crusaders until it was reconquered by Saladin in 1187. After him, his brother al-'Ādil reopened the Church of the Resurrection to Coptic pilgrims every year. In his campaign in Egypt, Saladin was accompanied by a large number of Copts, and after his victory he restored to them most of their properties, monasteries, and churches.

After the Ottoman conquest of Palestine, the status of the Copts was improved, so that Germanos, the Greek Orthodox patriarch in Jerusalem, writing to Ivan the Terrible in 1559, compared his own status and the condition of his sect unfavorably with that of the Armenians and Copts (Meinardus, 1960, p. 29).

The Copts in Jerusalem have preserved their sacred relics and their rights throughout the ages. They have bought property and built monasteries and churches in many towns in the region. In the second half of the twentieth century, the Coptic Orthodox patriarchate of the See of Jerusalem and the Near East and Sinai became active in rendering services and preaching in most countries of the

Near East. It now has monasteries, schools, and orphanages in most cities of the area and in Sinai.

Coptic Archbishops in Jerusalem

Since early in the Christian era, Copts have maintained visible status in the Holy Land. They acquired property, built churches, and looked after their religious and administrative affairs in Jerusalem through the Coptic archbishop of Damietta (Dumyāṭ), who went to Jerusalem each year before Christmas and remained until after Easter.

In 1236, Pope CYRIL III appointed Anbā BASILIOS I archbishop of the newly created diocese of the See of Jerusalem and All the East. He was granted authority to look after Coptic interests, churches, and sacred possessions in Jerusalem, other parts of Palestine, Syria, and along the Euphrates.

Since that time, the see of Jerusalem has been divided twice: once after the death of Archbishop TIMOTHEOS I in 1925 and again after the death of Archbishop THEOPHILOS I in 1945. Until 1925, the diocese consisted of Jerusalem, the rest of Palestine, the Orient, the Egyptian governorates of the Suez Canal, the provinces of Daqahliyyah, Sharqiyyah, and most of Gharbiyyah, as well as the city of Damietta and Sinai. However, these extensive regions were reduced in the middle of the twentieth century to Jerusalem, Palestine, Sinai, and the Orient, now being called the Diocese of the See of Jerusalem, the Near East, and Sinai. The spiritual leader of the see has been a metropolitan who, according to Coptic Orthodox tradition, stands first among the archbishops and follows the pope of Alexandria in seniority.

There exists no detailed history of the archbishops of the see of Jerusalem. The following list of the archbishops since Basilios I is derived from manuscripts preserved in the patriarchal archives in Cairo, the library of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, and the patriarchate in Jerusalem (some gaps remain to be filled):

1. Basilios I (1236–1260) was consecrated during the reign of Pope Cyril III.
2. Buṭrus I (1271–1306) was consecrated during the reign of Patriarch JOHN VII. He took up residence in the Church of the Virgin Mary at Damascus and was joined there by the historian Ibn al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd.
3. Mīkhā'īl I (1310–1324) was consecrated during the reign of JOHN VIII (1300–1320).
4. Buṭrus II (1331–1362) was consecrated in the reign of PETER V (1340–1348). His name is cited in the Annunciation Codex in the Coptic Museum manuscript of the Gospels (no. 90), dated 1341.
5. Zacharias I (1575–1600) was a contemporary of JOHN XIV (1570–1585) and GABRIEL VIII (1586–1601), in whose consecration he had the primary role.
6. Yacobos the Hegumenos (1604–1628) was a contemporary of Mark V (1602–1618). In a document dated A.M. 12 Ba'ūnah 1320/A.D. 16 June 1604, it is stated that Mark appointed Yacobos pastor of all Coptic possessions in the Holy Land—the Church of the Resurrection and the Holy Places, the shrines, the sanctuaries, and monasteries outside the Church of the Resurrection.
7. Christodoulos I (1631–1648) was a contemporary of MATTHEW III (1634–1649).
8. Gabriel I (1680–1705) was a contemporary of JOHN XVI (1676–1718).
9. Christodoulos II (1720–1725) was a contemporary of PETER VI (1718–1726).
10. Athanasius I (1725–1766) was a contemporary of Patriarch Peter VI, who, according to the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, appointed him to succeed Christodoulos, whom he transferred to Ethiopia.
11. Yūsāb I (1770–1796) was a contemporary of JOHN XVIII (1769–1796).
12. Christodoulos III (1797–1819) was a contemporary of MARK VIII (1796–1809) and PETER VII al-Jawlī (1809–1852).
13. Abraham I (1820–1854) was a contemporary of Peter VII. He participated with Anbā Sarabamūn, known as Abū Tarḥah, bishop of Minufiyyah, in promoting Dawūd al-Anṭūnī (later CYRIL IV) to the patriarchate.
14. BASILIOS II (1856–1899), called "the Great," was consecrated by Patriarch CYRIL IV (1854–1861) and survived into the reigns of DEMETRIUS II (1862–1870) and CYRIL V (1874–1927).
15. Timotheos I (1899–1925) was consecrated by Cyril V as bishop to aid Basilios II in 1896. He succeeded Basilios in 1899.
16. BASILIOS III (1925–1935) was a contemporary of Cyril V and JOHN XIX (1928–1942).
17. Theophilos I (1935–1945) was a contemporary of John XIX.
18. YACOBOS II (1946–1956) was consecrated by Patriarch YŪSĀB II.

19. Basilios IV (1959–) was consecrated in 1969 by CYRIL VI.

Churches

The Church of the Resurrection stands above the Holy Sepulcher. Some nearby properties are residences for the Coptic priests who conduct the religious rites. They also own icons and lamps that are used during services. The Copts' right of residence at the church dates back to 384 when the Tall Brothers lived there.

Many authors and pilgrims have written about the Christian groups in the church. In 1697, Maundrell (1810) observed that Greek, Latin, Armenian, and Coptic priests labored there. Noting payments imposed by the Turks and high salaries, he wrote that the only sects who were able to preserve their places were the Latins, Armenians, and Copts. Both Elzearius Horn (1738) and Borsum (1823) observed that the Latins, Greeks, and Copts were the only sects whose priests resided inside the church.

The Copts possess the following reserved areas:

1. A place that faces the Coptic church in the Church of the Resurrection. It has two doors and two stories, with two rooms on the first and three on the second. Coptic priests reside in these rooms.

2. Columns 10 and 11 under the dome, which bear two Coptic icons. In front are two Coptic lamps.

3. Three arches connecting columns 9, 10, and 11, on which hang Coptic icons and lamps.

4. A two-storied structure west of the main gate of the Church of the Resurrection. The first story has one room and the upper level one room and a balcony with windows overlooking the two porches of the Church of the Resurrection and Golgotha as well as the Stone of Unction. The rooms themselves serve as residences for Coptic priests.

5. A bell that is rung prior to the opening of the main door of the church. Only Latins, Greeks, Copts, and Armenians possess bells at the Church of the Resurrection.

Of the Christian sects represented in the Church of the Resurrection—Greek Orthodox, Latin, Armenian, Coptic Orthodox, and Syrian Orthodox—some have sole responsibility for certain relics in the church, whereas the Greeks, Latins, Armenians, and Copts share responsibility for others. According to Pélissié du Rausas (1902–1905, Vol. 2, pp. 148, 152, 154), this division was made to prevent disputes. The five groups jointly possess the passages, hallways, the lateral nave, the dome, the staircases leading to the chapel of the Invention of the Cross, the water cistern in the northwest corner of the church, and the passage that leads there. The two common possessions of the Latins, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Copts are the Stone of Unction and the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher.

The specific rights and revenues of Copts in the church are as follows:

1. They possess exclusive use and care of six candelabra inside the Holy Sepulcher and the Sanctuary of the Angel candelabra (four within the Holy Sepulcher, one in the Sanctuary of the Angel, and one above the Stone of Unction).

2. The Copts have a right to official entrances to the church, as do the other communities represented there. Through these entrances pass formal processions, such occasions customarily occurring on Saturdays and Sundays of Lent and on feast days.

3. The Copts have a permanent right to hold processions when holding services, especially on Good Friday, on Holy Saturday, at dawn on Easter Sunday, and on Whitsunday. Van Egmont said that he saw the Whitsunday procession, which involved Greeks and Armenians, followed by Copts and Syrians. On Good Friday, the Church of the Resurrection is opened in the name of the Copts.

4. The Copts have the right to cense before all the holy relics in the church twice daily, including feast days.

5. The Copts also have the right to celebrate the morning and evening prayers of the Holy Litany.

Within the Church of the Resurrection the Copts have a chapel named after the Virgin Mary, which is venerated as most sacred not only because it is situated behind the Holy Sepulcher but also because it is considered an integral part of the church's structure. Contemporary with the Church of the Resurrection, the chambers of this chapel have housed Coptic monks since the second half of the fourth century.

When Emperor Constantine Monomachos completed the rebuilding of the Church of the Resurrection in 1048, the Coptic sanctuary behind the Holy Sepulcher was left intact. The Crusaders, while persecuting the clergy of Oriental churches, preserved this Coptic sanctuary. When Saladin entered Jerusalem in 1187, he rewarded the loyalty of the Copts by restoring the places that had been taken from them.

When fire spread from the Armenian chapel on 30 September 1808, it destroyed the dome of the Church of the Resurrection and damaged the columns and marble floor. Only the dome of the Sep-

ulcher, the Latins' church, the Cave of the Cross, and the museum of the holy relics survived intact. By good fortune, the church chapel suffered only superficial damage. It was redecorated in 1901.

Above the chapel's altar is an icon of the Holy Virgin carrying Jesus; above it is an icon of the Resurrection. From the ceiling are suspended twenty-four silver lamps, some or all of which are lit at prayer times and during feasts. The archbishop of Jerusalem has a special throne, which is placed opposite the chapel, between columns 9 and 10 of the rotunda.

The Church of Saint Antony is the principal church in the Monastery of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, situated next to the Church of the Resurrection. The monastery was renovated and enlarged in 1875 and again in 1907. In 1912 it became the official headquarters of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate of the See of Jerusalem, and it has been mentioned by a number of travelers, including Luke (1922, p. 45) and Hanauer (1926, p. 97).

The church is on the first floor of the monastery. It was built before the days of Anbā Basilios II, archbishop from 1856 to 1899. It was renovated and decorated in 1913 by Anbā Timotheos, then archbishop. This is recorded on a marble plate fixed to the door of the church. There is one sanctuary in the church, which is one of the few Coptic churches whose main entrance opens to the east. Over the years, atmospheric conditions had affected the ceiling and walls, and extensive renovations were carried out in 1960, including the installation of a marble altar, a new door, and a new pulpit and a bishop's throne. All the icons were repainted, except for those on the iconostasis.

Mass and prayers are held in the church every Saturday and daily during pilgrimage and visiting seasons. Evening prayers are held every day, and mass is celebrated on feast days.

The Church of Queen Helena is on the ground floor of the Coptic Patriarchate in Jerusalem, close to the ninth station of the cross, where Christ fell for the third time. Opposite lies the Coptic monastery DAYR AL-SULṬĀN. The historical significance of the church lies in the water reservoir beneath it. This reservoir, called the Well of Queen Helena, can be reached from within the church. It is said that Queen Helena used water from the reservoir in the building of the Church of the Resurrection in the fourth century. Neophytos (1938) referred to its rediscovery by Copts in 1835.

The church, which has one sanctuary, was enlarged and completely renovated in the 1980s. The altar was replaced and a Coptic iconostasis inserted. A new chapel dedicated to Queen Helena was built. Mass is usually held every Tuesday and on feast days, but daily during the season of pilgrimage and visiting.

The Church of the Apparition of the Holy Virgin was built to commemorate the appearance of the Virgin in 1954 at that site. There is one sanctuary in the church and an icon above the altar depicting the Holy Virgin carrying the infant Jesus. There is also an image of the Holy Virgin on the ceiling of the church. Mass is celebrated every Monday morning.

The Church of Saint George is in the Coptic Orthodox Monastery of Saint George near the Hebron gate in Old Jerusalem. The exact date of its construction is unknown, though Tobler (1853–1854) mentioned that the monastery and the church were in the same place in 1720 and were visited by pilgrims and others. Ulrich Seetzen (1854–1869), who visited the Holy Land in 1806, mentioned the monastery and its church among the possessions of the Copts at the time.

In the Patriarchate in Jerusalem there are three official documents that refer to the monastery. The first is an inventory dated 1820; the second, from the same year, is an order by the Islamic court that includes a permit to repair a number of monasteries, including that of Saint George; and the third, dated 1821, records that the repaired parts of the monastery were examined and found to comply with the orders. Neophytos (1938) mentioned this monastery while writing about the houses bought by the Greek Catholic sect nearby. It was also mentioned by Robinson (1841), who said that it lay north of the pool of Hezekiah. Tobler (1853–1854) said that the monastery's budget depended largely upon the donations of pilgrims and ranged between 3,000 and 5,000 piasters annually. He also described the Church of Saint George inside the monastery, saying that the accessories were simple and that it contained some of the remains of Saint George kept in a red reliquary. Lorenzen (1859), Petermann (1860), and Gatt (1877) mentioned the monastery and said that a number of Coptic monks lived there permanently.

Anbā Basilios II renovated the monastery and the church. He also made a Byzantine iconostasis for the church. His successor, Anbā Timotheos, carried out further renovation in 1901. In 1961 and 1962, Anbā Basilios IV carried out a complete renovation of the church, including the installation of a new altar and new seats. There is one altar in the

church. Mass is held every Thursday during the season of pilgrimage and on feast days. Two annual masses are held, the first on Saint George's Day and the second on the Thursday before the end of Lent. Next to the Church of Saint George, on the grounds of the monastery, a Coptic college for women was established in 1953.

The Church of Michael the Archangel is one of two churches in Dayr al-Sulṭān in Jerusalem and is one of the oldest Coptic churches in the Holy Land. It was possibly built by Manṣūr al-Tilbānī, who was pastor in Jerusalem and other places during the second half of the eleventh century.

This church was so famous that its name was given to the monastery in which it is now housed, as evidenced by many documents in the Coptic Patriarchate in Jerusalem in which the monastery is called the "Monastery of the Angel."

The door of the church opens onto the yard of the Church of the Resurrection. It can also be reached from the Coptic Patriarchate. There is one altar in the church and an iconostasis of wood and ivory in the form of crosses in typical Coptic style. On the sanctuary door two lines in Arabic are inscribed. The first line reads, "Consecrated to the Archangel Michael in Holy Jerusalem," and the second, "O Lord, restore the weary."

The inscription tells us that the iconostasis was made in 1742. It has two side doors. On the right one is written, "He who enters through this door is redeemed, and who believes is saved." On the left door is written, "The Lord Jesus sat by the tabernacle in the sanctuary." On the iconostasis are icons of the twelve disciples, and in the middle is an icon of the Resurrection. Other icons in the church are of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, Anbā Būlā, Saint Theodorus (Tādrus), the Holy Virgin, the Crucifixion, Jesus, and the archangel Michael.

On the right of the sanctuary are three ancient chapels, each containing a Coptic icon. One of these, an icon of the archangel Michael, dates to 1479, and the others are probably of the same period.

The Church of the Four Beasts of the Revelation is the second Coptic church in Dayr al-Sulṭān in Jerusalem. Its name derives from the four creatures mentioned in the book of Revelation (4:2ff.). Churches have been built to commemorate these creatures, and their memory is celebrated by preachers on 8 Hatūr every year.

The church is situated above that of Michael the Archangel at the monastery. It can be reached from the Coptic Patriarchate through the monastery. It can also be reached through the Church of Saint Michael by means of a staircase.

The church is very old and has one sanctuary. Its iconostasis is made of wood and ivory in the old Coptic style. Upon the iconostasis are two inscriptions. The first consists of two lines: the first line reads, "Your dwellings are beloved, Lord God of Hosts," and the second, "Ye eternal gates open and let the Lord of Glory in." The second inscription is also of two lines: the first, written in Coptic and Arabic, reads, "Hail to the altar of God the Father," and the second, "Restore, O Lord, the weary in the Kingdom of Heaven." On the iconostasis there are three very old icons and on the southern wall are icons of the archangel Michael, Jesus, the four creatures, and the Holy Virgin. On the eastern wall, behind the altar, there is an icon representing Abraham and Isaac.

The church is surrounded by an iron fence. It has a door that leads to the Sanctuary of the Vault of the Cross.

The Church of the Sepulcher of the Holy Virgin in Gethsemane is in the valley of Kedron, near the foot of the Mount of Olives, where the sepulcher of the Holy Virgin lies. A small church was built above the sepulcher in the middle of the fourth century in the days of Theodosius the Great (379–395). In the fifth century a larger church was built, the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary. It was damaged during the Persian invasion in 614 but was soon rebuilt. It was damaged again during the reign of the Fatimid sultan al-Ḥākim and was rebuilt in its present form by the Crusaders in 1130.

Amico (1953) and Nau (1679) both mentioned an altar in the church used by the Copts. The altar where the Copts pray today lies west of the well, which is itself west of the Sepulcher of the Holy Virgin. Prayers are held at this altar on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year and every day during fasting and feasts of the Virgin. Masses are also celebrated at the church, and these are attended by the Coptic clergy and the people in a formal procession from the Coptic Patriarchate to the church across the Via Dolorosa.

Pierre Loti (1896), writing about his visit to the Holy Land, says about the Sepulcher of the Holy Virgin, "We stood by the Sepulcher of the Holy Virgin, an old church from the fourth century over which all the sects have disputed for many centuries. It now belongs jointly to the Greeks and Armenians, but the Copts have a special place for prayer."

According to Neophytos (1938) the Church of the Ascension "had a big dome upon which a large cross of bronze was fixed and covered with colored glass. At sunrise the rays of the sun reflected these

colors on the city of Jerusalem. After the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 640 the cross was removed. During the rule of the Crusaders this church was preserved, but it was demolished during Saladin's conquest of the city. Only a small dome remained covering the place where Christ ascended to heaven. Saladin preserved this dome due to the Moslems' respect for the spot. This could be the reason why they built a *mihrab* south of the dome."

The Copts have a permanent stone altar in the church, where they pray on the eve of Ascension Day itself. On Ascension Eve, prayers start at 2:30 P.M. The Copts enter the church in procession and, after visiting the place of the Ascension, perform their prayers, which end at about 5:00 P.M. The procession then returns to the patriarchate. On Ascension Day, mass is held at 7:30 A.M. The procession visits the place of the Ascension and then prayers are offered. During mass, deacons make a procession under the dome bearing incense, and after prayers they visit the place of the Ascension and return to the patriarchate.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

JESUITS AND THE COPTIC CHURCH.

Three stages mark the relations between the Jesuits (or Society of Jesus) and the Coptic church, as well as the Coptic community in general. At the outset, these relations were intermittent and may have even been limited to two tentative attempts at reunion of the sees of Alexandria and Rome by a Father Giambattista ELIANO, who was born into a Jewish family with ties in Egypt. He launched his project of reunion in 1561–1563, during the reign of Patriarch GABRIEL VII, with the assistance of Christophe Rodriguez, a Roman theologian. The second attempt took place in 1582–1584, in the reign of Patriarch

JOHN XIV (1570–1585). Here he was accompanied by another Jesuit named Father François Sasso. They met the patriarch in a holy synod summoned on 1 February 1584, but the results remained ambiguous and contested through mutual lack of understanding between the two parties. Then John XIV died in September, and Eliano was temporarily imprisoned by the Turks. Throughout the seventeenth century little of note occurred between the Jesuits and the Copts; however, the interest of Father Anastasius KIRCHER (d. 1680) in the Coptic language should be noted. He had a feeling that a study of Coptic could lead to the decipherment of hieroglyphics.

The second stage began in 1697, when the Jesuits established a small house in Cairo from which they could launch missionaries to Ethiopia. To facilitate this assignment, they courted the support of patriarch JOHN XVI (1676–1718), who accorded a favorable welcome to them and even commissioned one of them by the name of Father Dubernat to carry to Ethiopia the CHRISM consecrated in 1703. Father Dubernat, who died in 1711, recounted this incident to a Bollandist colleague by the name of Jean Baptiste Sollerius, who wrote a treatise on the patriarchate of Alexandria. His successor in Cairo was Claude Sicard, whose writings are a principal source of knowledge about Coptic monasticism in this period. Later the Jesuits opened a modest coeducational school, whose existence was rather precarious, and in 1773, the suppression of the decree permitting its establishment ended its activities altogether.

The third stage of the relationship between Jesuits and Copts began in 1879, when the Jesuits were called back to Cairo in order to found a seminary for the benefit of the Coptic Catholic community. Eventually this seminary became a college open to all. Since then, however, the Society of Jesus has continued to collaborate in the edification and preparation of Coptic Catholic clergy, a function they have occasionally assumed alone. Moreover, starting from their own house at Minyā, built in 1887, the Jesuits founded numerous schools in Upper Egypt, in the villages densely populated by Copts. These schools were eventually united in 1940 in the Association of Schools of Upper Egypt, founded by Father Habib Ayrout. Under his guidance the number of schools increased to 130, frequented mainly by Coptic Orthodox children.

In a more recent stage of the relationship, many Jesuits have made contributions to Coptic studies. Among others may be cited M. Jullien (*L'Egypte, souvenirs bibliques et chrétiens*, Lille, 1889), M. Chaîne (*Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Egypte et de l'Ethiopie*, Beirut, 1904), M. de Fenoyl (*Coutumes religieux des coptes*, Cairo, 1953), and *Le Sanctoral copte* (Beirut, 1960).

Like other religious orders of the Latin rite, the Jesuits integrated themselves with the local church, which they continued to serve both by swelling their numbers with new recruits and by adopting the Coptic rite. In these ways, their principal orientation became ecumenical in character.

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MAURICE MARTIN, S.J.

JESUS, BATH OF THE INFANT. *See* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.

JEWELRY. *See* Metalwork, Coptic.

JIRJĀ, town in Upper Egypt on the West Bank of the Nile some 20 miles (32 km) southeast of Suhāj.

A number of early Coptic gravestones come from Jirjā, which may indicate that the town had a Christian community at an early date, but the first definite witness for Christianity in the settlement is from the seventeenth century. A manuscript in the Vatican (MS copt Barberinianus 51) was copied from a manuscript dated to 1629 that was preserved in Jirjā (Hebbelynck and Lantschoot, 1937, no. 51, pp. 198ff.).

In 1714 C. Sicard reported that Jirjā formed a bishopric together with Naqādah, Abū Tīj, and Asyūṭ (see Munier, 1943, p. 65).

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RANDALL STEWART

JIRJĪ AL-SIMʿĀNĪ, Melchite monk (the name means that he was a monk of the monastery of Mār Simʿān al-Baḥrī near Suwaydiyyah, southwest of Antioch) engaged in a religious disputation with three Muslim *fuqahā'* during a two-day period in Aleppo in 1217 in the palace of the amir al-Ẓāfir, known as al-Malik al-Mushammar, son of Sālaḥ al-Dīn. The Muslim sages were Abū Ẓāhir al-Baghdādī, Abū Salāmah ibn Sa'd al-Mawṣilī, and Abū Faḍl al-Ḥalabī, whose place was taken on the following day by al-Rashīd ibn Mahdī.

At least ninety manuscripts of this debate are known, the earliest from the end of the sixteenth century, with the exception of a fragment two folios in length that dates from the fourteenth century. The text was translated into French in 1767 by Saint-Antoine Legrand, and into English in 1816 by E. B. Pusey, and it was published three times in Lebanon in 1932–1933.

The debate was known in the Coptic church by the seventeenth century at the latest, as can be seen from the manuscripts. Six are of Coptic origin: Oriental Library, Beirut, 677 (copied in 1887 by Yūsuf Mūsā Khuzām of Cairo from a manuscript dated 1883–1884); a manuscript belonging to the Cairo Greek Orthodox shopkeeper Dīmitrī Qandalaft; Coptic Museum, Cairo, History 547, Simaykah, no. 110, seventeenth century, sixth item [incomplete]; Coptic Museum, Theology 295 (Graf, no. 259, Simaykah, no. 73, eighteenth century); Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo (Theology 86, Graf, no. 469, Simaykah, no. 420, copied in 1790, commissioned by the Muʿallim Tūmās); and Aleppo, Sbath 1006 (copied in 1867–1869).

These six manuscripts originating in Cairo should be supplemented by the three manuscripts copied by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ṣaʿīdī al-ʿAdawī, an Egyptian Muslim convert to Christianity who settled in Rome under the name of Clement Caraccioli, and who copied these manuscripts between 1713 and 1715 (Vatican Library, Arabic 128, and the Oriental Library, Beirut, 672 and 676).

The style of the debate is lively and simple, embellished with parables recounted by the monk, who displays a streak of ironic humor. This explains the success of the debate among the Christians, as is evident from the numerous manuscripts.

The central idea of the debate is that Christianity is closer to God's spiritual nature, whereas Islam is a "dense" religion, lacking refinement and spirituality both in morals and doctrine.

Aside from the introduction and the conclusion (chaps. 26–27), the debate falls into three major sections according to the division into twenty-eight chapters established by the editor, Būlus Qarʿalī.

The first considers whether Muḥammad was a prophet. Unlike Christ's apostles, who worked miracles, spoke all languages, and preached throughout the known world, Muḥammad spread Islam by the sword and moral license. Jirjī refutes, in passing, the accusation of alteration of the Gospel.

The second argues that Christ is God incarnate. Speaking of the Qur'ān, Jirjī explains that Christ is word and spirit, having taken on the nature of Adam in the body of Mary; however, the divine and the human both preserve their properties integrally. Adoration rendered to Christ is explained by a parable. In any case, Christ is recognized by the Qur'ān (39:4) as the Son of God. His Passion does not contradict His divinity, but it was necessary, and this is why Christians venerate the Cross.

The third compares the four religions of the Book. These are the religions of the Sabaeans, the Jews, the Christians, and the Muslims. The true religion is that which corresponds most fully to the creative divine nature. The sublimeness of Christian life, according to the Gospel, contrasted with the "grossness" of the Muslim ideal, shows that Christianity is the true religion. There follows a parable of a sick king's son and four letters of attestation. The monk then proposes to prove the true religion by

means of ordeals, but the Muslims decline. In any case, says the monk, Christ proved his mission by miracles, whereas Muḥammad can offer no other proof than his military victories.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

JIRJIS IBN AL-QASS ABĪ AL-MUFAḌḌAL, son of the priest Abū al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Amīn al-Mulk Luṭfallāh and a famous copyist as well as a fine artist of the middle of the fourteenth century. His full name is mentioned in a manuscript in the National Library, Paris (Arabe 12, fol. 290b; cf. Rhode, p. 120).

His father, Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, was priest of the Church of the Virgin in Damascus in 1355 in the time of Bishop Buṭrus II of Jerusalem. His grandfather Amīn al-Mulk must have occupied an important position in the Mamluk administration as his title shows. Jirjis lived in Cairo and worked for the eighty-fourth patriarch, MARK IV (1348–1363), whose seat was at the Church of the Virgin in Ḥārit Zuwaylah in Cairo.

Two of his Arabic manuscripts of the Bible are famous. They are dated 1353 and 1355. The first (National Library, Paris Arabe 12) is a large quarto (38.5 × 26.5 cm) of 290 pages containing the text of the Pentateuch. This Arabic translation was made from the Greek version of the Septuagint, but revised according to Hebrew, Coptic, and ancient Arabic versions, as confirmed repeatedly. This first revision was probably made by Jirjis himself. He finished the revision of Genesis on 16 September 1355 (fol. 71b), but the whole manuscript had been entirely transcribed by 1353 (fol. 290a). One can find in Rhode (1921, pp. 6, 18, 35) the text of the Arabic chapters 1–6, 18, and 50 of that translation, as well as a plate reproducing folios 47b–48a and containing the text of Genesis 35:23 to 36:15. It shows how well Jirjis executed his work, both scientifically and aesthetically.

The manuscript is also beautifully decorated. In folios 1b–2a are found illuminations of geometric designs. At the beginning of each of the five books of the Pentateuch as well as at the end of the manuscript, titles appear in two pages in kufic letters in golden ornamentation on blue background. Those titles are retranscribed in Slane; verses are separated by colored florets and in the margins numerous commentaries containing critical notes of the text are written in Nasta'līq script. For all proper names an interlinear equivalent in Coptic characters is given. The whole manuscript was worked out from that of the priest and encyclopedist Shams al-Ri'āsah Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR (d. 1324).

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JIRJIS AL-JAWHARĪ, a noted Copt (d. 1810) who after the death of his brother IBRĀHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ (1795) replaced him as director of the Egyptian administration of taxes and finances, and also became an intimate confidant of the dominant Mamluk amirs. He was—like his predecessors in that position—a sort of gray eminence, in whose hands all threads of the Egyptian administration converged. The beys were aware of his services and esteemed them. Al-Jawharī lived in a splendid house situated next to the newly built palace of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī at Birkat al-Azbakiyyah, a region where several other beys and leading *'ulamā'* (religious chief justices) had their villas. He owned another palatial residence near Qantarat al-Dikkah. In addition, al-Jawharī owned houses and business buildings in other quarters of Cairo and in Bulaq, where French officers were billeted during the occupation.

Napoleon's conquest of Egypt and the expulsion of the beys in 1798 did not damage the position of Jirjis al-Jawharī. He immediately sought to gain Napoleon's favor, and he provided the furnishings of the palace of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī, which Napoleon had chosen as his headquarters, perhaps at al-Jawharī's suggestion. Napoleon reconfirmed him in his post as *al-mubāshir al-'-ām* (intendant gener-

al), and left the calculation and collection of the public revenue to his and his Coptic functionaries' management. Moreover, al-Jawharī had to inform the French provincial governors in writing concerning the administrative pecularities of their districts of command; he had to work out territorial reforms of the provinces; and he had to make regular reports to the commander in chief concerning revenue, cash holdings, arrears, and other financial matters. The French filled the provincial intendancies with people he proposed. Al-Jawharī computed the total amount that was to be paid by each province, and he informed the intendant of the province of the amount to be collected by him. All his employees in Cairo and in the provinces were paid from his central office.

Jirjis al-Jawharī was a factotum in the administration of French Egypt. In cooperation with the administrator general of finance, he took pains to satisfy the wishes of Napoleon and his generals. He looked after the maintenance of canals and dams, and saw to their protection against unauthorized use. He took care that the salaries were paid to the members of provincial *dawāwīn* (sing., *diwan*, council), their interpreters, and their secretaries, as well as the units of janissaries and the native police. It was his responsibility to see that food supplies from the estates of Mamluks who had fled or died were brought into the French storehouses. He satisfied the army's need for 3,000 horses by having them gathered in the provinces. In the province of Beheirah, in a short time he implemented a special tax in kind, as an advance on the taxes to be paid, in order to remedy the food shortage of the troops in that district.

At the end of August 1798, Napoleon demanded from Jirjis al-Jawharī the immediate collection of an amount between one-fifth and one-sixth of the *mīrī*, the public revenue from the land tax. He was charged with the task of exacting the punitive levies Napoleon had inflicted upon the villages, which had been hostile to the French. Under his supervision, two offices worked together on the editing and translating of a land register. He had to sell wheat and rice owned by France that could not be stored. He negotiated with the Muslim leaders of Cairo and the French on the accommodation of the great caravan of Muslim pilgrims from the Maghrib. He took care of the precious booty that the army had seized, and he procured the animals necessary for starting a camel corps.

Al-Jawharī's readiness to help the French was so strong that in some cases he personally went out into the provinces to secure what the French wanted. Whenever Napoleon went out into the country, al-Jawharī was with him. Jirjis al-Jawharī's position as an agent of French interests was so great that it rendered him a potential mediator between the leaders of the army and his coreligionists. He was also called to arbitrate between the French and the Muslims in cases of difficulties between them. In addition, he undertook the task of provisioning and feeding the army. He organized an intelligence service that spread to all the provinces. From among his rich coreligionists he was able to raise enormous loans that he placed at the disposal of the French.

For a long time Jirjis al-Jawharī was able to maintain his important position under Napoleon's successor, General Jean-Baptiste Kléber. But their relationship was overshadowed by Kléber's demands for subsidies and loans from the Coptic population, on the assumption that they would be repaid from future public revenues. Moreover, there was growing dissatisfaction among the French administrative agents with the Coptic methods of tax collection, which they regarded as inefficient and fraudulent. Although the French leaders did not doubt al-Jawharī's personal sincerity and unselfishness, they made him responsible for all irregularities of his tax collectors. In mid-January 1800, Kléber lost his patience and ordered the arrest of al-Jawharī, threatening to execute him if the money he had demanded was not immediately paid. But thanks to the intervention of the leading French officials in the administration, Kléber decided to set him free.

During the insurrection in Cairo that followed the failure of the Treaty of al-'Arīsh, Jirjis al-Jawharī asked the Muslim military leaders for a guarantee of security and got it by paying a large sum. Nevertheless, during the battle around the neighboring French headquarters, his house would have been set on fire, and he himself would have been killed, had it not been for the French troops who rescued him. After the reconquest of Cairo, his colleague, the Coptic general YA'QŪB, replaced him in the position of favor with the French commander in chief. With the reorganization of the financial administration, al-Jawharī was relieved of responsibility for the collection of public revenues, which was given to a Frenchman named Estève. However, he continued to work as one of the five leading provincial general intendants.

Al-Jawharī's willingness to support the French was motivated by the conviction that the Coptic community would have a better future under such

a government than under Muslim rule, be it Mamluk or Ottoman. During the first months of French rule in Egypt, he went to Napoleon on behalf of his community to ask for the suppression of discrimination against Dhimmis (people of the Covenant) and establishment of freedom of religion with no distinction. Napoleon granted some of his requests immediately, in anticipation of earning further Coptic support. Al-Jawharī's sympathy for the French remained unshaken even after their failure. When, more than a year later, one of Napoleon's envoys visited Egypt, he highly praised al-Jawharī. According to the French officer, al-Jawharī offered him regular reports on the Egyptian situation and a promise of Coptic support in case of any future plans in the Orient.

After the departure of the French in 1801 and the Ottoman takeover of the government, the Coptic intendants general of the provinces, of whom only General Ya'qūb had preferred to emigrate to France, were confirmed in their functions. Consequently, Jirjis al-Jawharī was able to gain favor with Muḥammad Pasha Khusraw, the first Ottoman governor after the French occupation, by splendidly furnishing the house he moved into. He then regained his former position as the leading figure in the collection of revenues. Al-Jawharī was treated like an Ottoman dignitary. His advice was taken seriously by the new Turkish leaders.

During the rebellion of the Ottoman military against Muḥammad Pasha Khusraw at the beginning of May 1803, Jirjis al-Jawharī narrowly escaped the murdering and plundering soldiers, but his house was devastated. However, the leader of the insurgents, Ṭāhir Pasha, promised to indemnify him for his losses and confirmed him in office. When Ṭāhir was murdered three weeks later and the Mamluk beys seized power in Cairo, Jirjis al-Jawharī became reconciled with his former master, Ibrāhīm Bey. At the beginning of December 1803 he nearly became the victim of a plot by some members of an Ottoman corps who were out to murder him and two other leading Coptic intendants. He escaped after payment of a heavy ransom to his attackers. In 1805, he was confirmed by MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ on his accession to power. In the meantime, Aḥmad Pasha Khurshid, the representative of the Sublime Porte, confirmed him in his post of *bāsh mubāshir* (intendant general).

Under Muḥammad 'Alī, who had finally seized power in Cairo in July 1805, al-Jawharī fell into disgrace because he resisted Muḥammad 'Alī's demands for money. He lost his leading position in the financial administration, which was given to Mu'allim GHĀLI, and was put under arrest for some time, along with other Coptic intendants. Once released, he fled to the Mamluk beys in Upper Egypt —after placing his property under the care of the Coptic patriarch MURQUS VIII, who paid a heavy indemnity to the viceroy. Al-Jawharī was pardoned only after four years of exile. He then returned to Cairo, where, al-Jabartī says, "Muslims as well as Christians, educated as well as uneducated men, came to greet him."

Jirjis al-Jawharī enjoyed the greatest esteem among the Mamluk amirs, the leading *'ulamā'*, the French military administrators, and the Ottoman officials. Like his brother Ibrāhīm, he always took great pains to preserve their favor with gifts and to find ways to satisfy their material wishes. The loss of his position and his exile undermined both his wealth and his health. Ten months after his return to Cairo, he became seriously ill, and he died in September 1810.

HARALD MOTZKI

JIRJIS AL-JAWHARĪ AL-KHANĀNĪ, eighteenth-century priest known from three manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo: Theology 90, Liturgy 102, and Theology 54.

In 1776 he was pastor of the Church of the Virgin at Ḥārit al-Rūm in Old Cairo. In 1777 he copied an Arabic manuscript of 207 large sheets (32 × 23 cm; Coptic Patriarchate, Liturgy 102). This contains two works. The first is a description of the consecration of CHRISM performed during the reign of the patriarch, JOHN XVI (1676–1718); it was composed in 1704 by 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ, pastor of the Church of the Virgin at Minyat Ṣurd (cf. Graf, Vol. 4, p. 134, no. 1). The second manuscript contains three accounts of miracles performed by the deacon and archon al-Makīn Jirjis Abū Manṣūr al-Ṭūkhī.

For the first work, Jirjis al-Khanānī probably used the autograph original by 'Abd al-Masīḥ, dated 27 Ba'ūnah A.M. 1420/3 July 1704, which the author had bequeathed to the Church of the Virgin of Ḥārit al-Rūm.

For the second work, Jirjis al-Khanānī probably took as his model the only other known manuscript (Coptic Museum, Cairo, Liturgy 128). The whole of this manuscript was copied by 'Abd al-Masīḥ of Minyat Ṣurd in 1710. It includes both works, as does the manuscript copied by Jirjis al-Khanānī.

Last, in 1778, Jirjis, now calling himself Jirjis Ib-

rāhīm Jawharī al-Khanānī, completed his copy of the first part of the epitome of the commentary by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM on the Gospel of John in forty-seven homilies, made by al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl in 1232. This is a large manuscript—33 × 23 cm—containing 152 sheets, copied from a manuscript dated 25 Misrā 1450/29 August 1734, which in turn was copied from a manuscript dated A.M. 1027/1310–1311 originating from al-Barārī. This is now the only known manuscript of the epitome of al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl (Coptic Patriarchate, Theology 54).

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JIRJIS MAKRAMALLĀH AL-BAHNASĀWĪ, eighteenth-century deacon known from two Arabic manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo (Bible 140 and Theology 295). He came from al-Bahnasā. It is possible that he was the son of MAKRAMALLĀH, who lived in Cairo as a priest in 1724 and was HEGUMENOS in 1737. The dates and locales of the two men correspond very well, and the name Makramallāh is infrequently found in Arabic.

On 22 Abīb A.M. 1459/16 July A.D. 1743 he finished copying a manuscript (Theology 295) of 196 sheets (19 × 14 cm), containing various collections of canonical consultation found in the patriarchal residence and written by the ninety-first, ninety-fourth, and ninety-fifth patriarchs, GABRIEL VI al-'Arabāwī (1466–1474), JOHN XIII ibn al-Miṣrī (1484–1524), and GABRIEL VII (1525–1568). This collection was also copied in the eighteenth century by an anonymous copyist (Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Theology 294). Folios 122a–96a contain three canonical works, including an anonymous *Spiritual Medicine* (*Ṭibb Rūḥānī*). The manuscript Jirjis copied was bequeathed to the patriarchal library by the patriarch JOHN XVIII (1769–1796).

In November 1752, Jirjis Makramallāh began copying a folio manuscript (42 × 28 cm) of 372 sheets containing the four Gospels in two columns, Bohairic and Arabic (Bible 140). He completed his work on 14 Abīb 1469/8 July 1753. This manuscript was bequeathed to the church of the priest Abkalūj (or perhaps Apa Jlūj), which is at al-Fant. This was probably a church in the region of al-Bahnasā, since we find another manuscript of the Coptic Patriarchate (Bible 146), copied in 1753/1754, that was bequeathed to this same church by the bishop of al-Bahnasā. The manuscript of Jirjis Makramallāh is at present at the Coptic Patriarchate.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

JIRJIS AL-MUZĀḤIM, SAINT, or George, a "new martyr" of the eighth century (feast day: 19 Ba'ūnah). He was the son of a Muslim by the name of Jum'ah al-'Aṭwī, who had married a Christian from Damīrah, a village in the Qalyūliyyah province. Muzāḥim used to go to church with his mother and very much wanted to partake of the Holy Eucharist. But his mother told him that this was not permitted except for those who were baptized. She gave him a morsel of the bread, and he felt it like honey in his mouth. Henceforth, he became confirmed in his desire to become a Christian. As he grew older, he married a Christian, to whom he revealed his intention to be baptized. But the local priests were apprehensive about baptizing him for fear of mob retaliation. So he went to Damietta, where he had his wish fulfilled, and he changed his name to Jirjis. On hearing this, the Muslims seized him and beat him, but he managed to escape and fled to Saft Abū Turāb, where he stayed for three years. Then he moved to Quṭūr, where he served in the church of Saint George. Afterward, he decided to return to his native village of Damīrah, where the Muslim population still remembered him, seized him, and delivered him to the governor to chastize him as an apostate from Islam. But the governor did not take immediate action against him, owing to the intercession of his wife, who was a Christian. He placed Jirjis in prison, but the infuriated mob broke into the prison and lynched Jirjis. On the following morning, Christians came to bury him, but found him still alive. On discovering this, the Muslims came back and took their prey to court with menaces for further violence, but their victim remained firm in his conviction. They dragged him, and after torturing him by tying him to a mast, returned him to prison, where the vision of an angel strengthened him and informed him that the end of his suffering was approaching. The Muslims went to the governor and demanded his execution in conformity with Islamic jurisprudence. Instead, the governor chose to hand him over to the crowd,

who took him and beheaded him before the church of Saint Michael in Damīrah. The date of his execution was 19 Ba'ūnah in the year A.M. 675/A.D. 959.

Afterward, the mob wanted to burn his body, which remained unscathed. So they bundled him in a sack and threw him in the river. The body was finally cast on the shore of an island and recovered by the martyr's mother. The Christians interred him with all religious honors and built a church over his tomb at the village of Ṭanabūra, a few miles west of Damīrah.

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EMILE MAHER ISHAQ

JIZAH. *See* Giza.

JIZYAH, a poll tax, or capitation tax, imposed on all able-bodied non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state. It was required of Dhimmis (see AHL AL-DHIMMAH), who were Christians, Jews, and other monotheistic non-Muslims with a protected status. They were barred from enlisting in Islamic armies, and their poll tax was supposed to pay for Muslims to take their place in fighting the battles of Islam. The *jizyah* was totally independent of the KHARĀJ, which was levied on land rather than individuals.

The *jizyah*, fixed in the seventh century by Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāt, originally amounted to forty-eight *dirhems* for the rich, twenty-four for the middle class, and twelve for the poor (Ye'or, 1985, p. 185). This estimate, however, was subject to greater increase by the imams, who did not hesitate to multiply it under later caliphs.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

JOHANN GEORG, Prince of Saxony (1869–1938). art historian and traveler. He was the son of Prince Georg and Maria of Portugal. He studied the history of art, national economy, and philosophy at Freiburg and Leipzig (1888–1891). Then, until 1918, he pursued a military career, becoming commander of a brigade. From the end of the nineteenth century he traveled to all the countries of Europe and many of the Near East and Egypt. In 1910 he visited Saint Catherine's Monastery at Sinai, the churches of Old Cairo, and the monasteries of Wadī al-Naṭrūn, accompanied by Murqus Simaykah. They traveled to the south as far as Nubia. During his travels to Egypt in 1927, 1928, and 1930, Johann Georg was accompanied by J. Sauer. He published reports (Kammerer, 1950, p. 183) and books, with plates, about his travels that are still useful: *Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1914); *Neue Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1930); *Neueste Streifzüge durch die Klöster Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1931); and *Koptische Klöster der Gegenwart* (Aachen, 1918). On his fiftieth birthday he received a festschrift, *Ehrengabe deutscher Wissenschaft dargeboten dem Prinzen Johann Georg Herzog zu Sachen zum 50. Geburtstag von katholischen Gelehrten* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1920). The bibliography compiled for his sixtieth birthday was reprinted in 1981. His collection, which includes a number of Coptic antiquities, is now at Mainz.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

JOHN I, surnamed Hemula, saint and twenty-ninth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (494–503). As a former monk from the monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR), he marks the beginning of the choice of patriarchs from the desert monasteries rather than from the learned clergy of Alexandria. According to the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, he is credited with securing gifts of wheat, wine, and oil for his old monastery of Saint Macarius from the Emperor Zeno (474–491). Though firmly anti-Chalcedonian himself, he remained in communion with those who accepted the HENOTICON of Zeno without imposing a formal anathema on CHALCEDON, and for this reason the schism of the ACEPHALOI continued. The Acephaloi as a group remained bitterly hostile to Chalcedon and opposed the conciliatory nature of Zeno's Henoticon. They were so named because they had no conspicuous leader.

JOHN II, surnamed Niciota, saint and thirtieth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (503–515). He was a relative of JOHN I, and formerly a hermit and monk of the ENATON monastery. He took a stronger line than his predecessor in expecting an anathema on CHALCEDON from those with whom he was in communion, although he was not successful in securing this decree from Constantinople, whose patriarch, Timothy, took one line at home and another through his representatives at Alexandria. John's tolerance of this double standard annoyed SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH, with whom he exchanged letters in 512. In a riot at Alexandria, John II's house was burned by the soldiers, and the people retaliated on the house of one of his suspected enemies. Perhaps in reparation, the citizens erected a statue of the emperor.

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E. R. HARDY

JOHN III, THE MERCIFUL, saint and fortieth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (677–686). John was born at Samannūd in Lower Egypt on the Damietta branch of the Nile. He was prepared for his position in the Coptic church by his education in ecclesiastical and secular matters, as well as by his purity of body and heart. It was during a pilgrimage in the desert that John became ill with a strange malady from which he was miraculously healed. At this time, when he was in the vicinity of the monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR), he experienced a dream, which further prepared him for his future duties.

After his healing, John and two disciples retired to the monastery of the Brothers (DAYR AL-IKHWAH) in the Fayyūm. Bishop Menas of the Fayyūm undoubtedly had ordained him as presbyter; and patriarch AGATHON, becoming aware of him, asked the bishop to send "Presbyter John" for an audience. The patriarch made him the first priest of his city, thus elevating him to a position of church seniority in Alexandria.

Despite some disputes with the magistrate and with the Chalcedonians, John became patriarch after the death of Agathon without much trouble. John needed Muslim help, however, to strengthen his position against the Chalcedonians, who were eager to control the Alexandrian churches. Survival depended upon collusion with the Muslim governor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿAṣ (684–703), since the patriarch perceived enemies within the ranks of his own church, as well as in other areas of the religious sector.

Although the Muslim authorities made heavy monetary demands and strict requirements of reverence toward ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and although John was imprisoned and barely escaped torture, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz proved in the long run to be his ally. Consequently the governor gave him support against those who sought to denigrate him.

John's death occurred as a result of illness with gout, and an ache in his side that caused him to return from al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) to Alexandria, where he died.

John's contributions during his ministry included the rebuilding and decorating of the Church of Saint Mark within a three-year period as well as the installation of practical establishments such as a flour mill and a linseed oil press. With the help of these establishments, John could provide aid to the poor during a three-year drought. He also convinced some Chalcedonians to return to the Coptic Orthodox Church, and he left an important literary legacy.

John's writings show that he was a fighter for the faith of the Coptic church. First in importance is a work of the so-called type of Ερωταποκρίσεις (Erotapokriseis; see PHYSIOLOGUS), in which an unknown presbyter named Theodorus, probably a man of letters, poses twenty-three questions concerning the exegesis of the Bible. The questions address Bible

passages that could have various interpretations, but the patriarch provides the accepted Coptic version. Some important aspects of this work are the use of allegory and the use of parts of the Physiologus, for the explanation of the Sacrament of Baptism as being the only key to Heaven and the major Orthodox Coptic Christian distinction from Islam and sectarianism. In the field of Christology, John defines the Coptic position concerning God and Man in One Body. He discusses the fall of Satan and the institution of Saint Michael, as well as most of the important problems of faith in Egypt at that time.

The text is extant in a Sahidic version, copied rather carelessly about 900 in the monastery of the archangel Michael (DAYR AL-MALĀK MĪKHĀ'ĪL) at Sōpehes (Hamūlī) in the Fayyūm. There are several Arabic versions that correspond to four Bohairic fragments of that work, and some Ethiopic versions, wrongly attributed to other authors. The Ethiopic versions, copied partially or completely, show the importance of theological questions and the responses considered to be canonical. The differences in patriarchal assertions provide hints about problems of theology in different places and times.

Another document about a controversy of the patriarch with a Jew and a Melchite exists in Bohairic and Arabic. The text deals with the issue of assets becoming state property when a Jew died without heirs. In one case, among the possessions of the deceased was found a precious vessel containing a piece of wood. The patriarch, being present in this audience with 'Abd al-'Azīz, perceived the wood to be part of the true cross of Our Lord. The wood was tested with fire and did not burn. Ultimately it was purchased for 3,000 dinars. The governor then initiated a dispute between the patriarch, a Jew named Aaron, and a Chalcedonian. Undaunted, John stood firm in his beliefs and succeeded in convincing his adversaries that with faith, bread and wine can be converted into the Flesh and Blood of the Heavenly One.

Another important work, an Encomium, treats Saint Apa Menas, the famous saint of Lower Egypt. Some disagreement exists about its authorship—whether it had been written by Saint John, archbishop of Alexandria, or John III or JOHN IV. Its editor, J. Drescher, tends to ascribe it to John the *oeconomos* of Saint Menas' church, while Tito Orlandi attributes the work to John III on the basis of the proximity of Saint Menas' church to the monastery of the Brother's where the patriarch resided.

The Encomium consists of five parts: an introduction from Luke 1:1, and an assurance that the stories of Saint Menas come from authentic sources; a discussion of three feats by the saint; the life of the saint including his descent from noble parentage and his martyrdom; the fate of his relics and their burial in a shrine where miracles were performed; and finally, an exhortation for people to visit the shrine of Saint Menas.

The reference to John as the author of the Encomium comes only at the conclusion. Whether this is John III, should not detract from his importance as a fierce fighter for orthodoxy and as a good writer and preacher whose work is only partly known to us.

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C. DETLEF G. MÜLLER

JOHN IV, saint and forty-eighth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (775–799). John is known from the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS to have been a monk of WĀDĪ HABĪB, without any specific mention of the monastery to which he belonged, though in all probability it was the monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR). After the death of Anbā MĪNĀ, his predecessor, the throne of Saint Mark remained vacant for nearly two years, because the bishops and the clergy of Alexandria could not reach unanimity on a suitable candidate for the patriarchate. They ultimately reached a compromise whereby they wrote the names of three possible candidates on three tickets, placed them on the altar, then spent the night in prayers and supplication to the Lord to guide them to the right person. They then had a child select the ticket. This process was repeated three times, and each time the name of John emerged as the winner. This left no doubt in their

minds that he was the one chosen by the Lord, and the usual procedure toward consecration followed.

According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, John was a monk of "perfect stature, inspired by God in all affairs. And everyone desired to behold his welcome form; and it was granted to him to be acceptable to all princes and governors" (Vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 383). During his patriarchate, the Copts seemed to fare well and live in security, and the patriarch's chief concern was to build or restore the churches in the capital without being disturbed by the Muslim rulers, to whom he rendered the just KHARĀJ, or annual tax, without trouble.

Perhaps the only disturbing element in the early years of his patriarchate was precipitated by a Chalcedonian named Julianus, who was a clever physician highly regarded by the Muslim rulers on account of his skill in his profession. He tried to poison the Muslim rulers' minds toward John, but apparently failed to rouse them against him.

John IV was aided in his building program by a deacon named Mark (Murqus), who became a close disciple and participated with the patriarch in the celebration of the Liturgy and read the Gospel with a beautiful voice, which attracted the congregation. He helped John to complete the majestic structure of Saint Michael's Cathedral in Alexandria in the span of five years. And when famine befell the country, Mark tirelessly stood by the patriarch in distributing provisions to the needy. Ultimately, the self-denying deacon decided to take the monastic vow, and the patriarch accompanied him to the monastery of Saint Macarius for this purpose. After he had been in the monastic garb for some time, his sanctity became known outside the confines of his monastery. A man of great piety named Jirjis, from the district of Burullus, nominated him for the bishopric of Miṣr (al-Fusṭaṭ), whose bishop, Anbā Jirjā, had just died. The patriarch readily summoned the deacon to consecrate him for the vacant bishopric. Though Mark responded to the patriarchal command by coming to Burullus, he utterly refused the elevation to the episcopate, and the faithful had to chain him in anticipation of his acceptance. But he persisted in his refusal and managed to escape his iron fetters and return to his convent. The patriarch's wrath for this disobedience and flight was appeased only when a man of great piety told him that Mark was not meant for the episcopate, but that a prophecy had designated him for succession to the throne of Saint Mark, even against his will.

The patriarch, in the company of Anbā Mīkhā'īl, bishop of Miṣr, and Anbā Jirjā, bishop of Memphis, went to the governor, al-Layth ibn al-Faḍl, who was sympathetic toward the Christians, to pay the annual *kharāj* tax, after which they sailed back to Alexandria. It was during their passage to the capital that John felt the end approaching. Before his death, he declared to the bishops that he regarded Mark as his worthy successor.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN IV THE FASTER, SAINT (d. 595), patriarch of Constantinople engaged in a controversy over a title with two popes. John, born in Cappadocia, was called the Faster (Jejunator in Greek) because of his extreme asceticism. As patriarch from 582 to 595 he took the title "Oecumenical [universal] Patriarch," which had been given to his predecessor by the emperor and had also been used in Rome. Pope Pelagius II and his successor, Gregory I the Great, protested, since it made Constantinople spiritually equal to Rome. Nevertheless, John and his successors continued to use the title, which was also used by later popes. John was canonized by the Orthodox Church (feast day: 2 September).

A text on penitence attributed to John in the Greek tradition must be considered the work of another writer, for it seems to have been redacted in the twelfth century. A second work bearing his name, however, might be genuine. This is a homily, translated from the original Greek into Coptic, on penitence and abstinence (Clavis patrum Graecorum 3. 7555; PG 88. 1937–77). It is a rather long text, mainly monastic in character and composed primarily of excerpts by Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (this is especially true of the central section, cf. De Aldama, 1965, no. 269). The Coptic translation has survived in its entirety in a papyrus codex of the seventh century (British Museum, London, Or. 6001) and also in some fragments from a papyrus codex dating from the eleventh century (National Library, Vienna, K 7602–7613). In the London codex, one part of the text has been changed in respect to both a Greek text in the Patrologia Graeca and the Vienna codex, but we might assume that this occurred simply because of a displacement of pages in some preceding manuscript. Otherwise the Coptic seems to match closely with the Greek.

In both codices, the author of this homily is named simply "John, archbishop of Constantinople." For the Copts, this attribution was probably meant to identify the author with John Chrysostom (even the Greek tradition names the author as John Chrysostom now and again). However, at the time when he made his translation, the Coptic translator must surely have known that he was dealing with a different and later "John of Constantinople." A modern critical edition of this homily should also take into account the Syriac translation (Baumstark, 1922, p. 81).

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TITO ORLANDI

JOHN V, seventy-second patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1147–1167). John was a monk in the Monastery of Saint John (Dayr Abū Yūḥannis). Tradition claims that his name was included among the three candidates from whom the name of his predecessor MICHAEL V was chosen. This time he was chosen outright because of his chastity and his deeply religious character. He was only a deacon in his monastery, and therefore he was made a presbyter, then elevated to the rank of HEGUMENOS in al-Mu'allaqah church. Yūnus ibn Kadrān, who previously sought the patriarchate for himself, was probably present at that ceremony. Later the pope offered Ibn Kadrān the bishopric of Samannūd, but he declined and returned to his monastery, unnamed by sources, where he remained until his death. John's selection was sanctioned not only by the Coptic archons of both Cairo and Alexandria but also by the leading Muslim authorities, including the viceroy and the chief judge who met in council during the caliphate of al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–1149). He was consecrated first in Alexandria and then in Cairo in the church of Saint Mercurius in Old Cairo. He was a contemporary of the last Fatimid caliphs, including al-Ḥāfiẓ, al-Ẓāfir, al-Fā'iz, and al-'Āḍid. This was the period of the decline of Fatimid rule and the final emergence of the Ayyubid dynasty, although the change of dynasties occurred after John's death.

Curiously, the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS (Vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 42 [text]; p. 68–9 [trans.]) dwells largely on the local Islamic history of that period, depicting its confusion rather eloquently. Nevertheless, cursory references are made to other subjects connected mainly with the history of the Crusades and partly on the status of the Copts in that period. The conquest of the city of 'Asqalan, the last of the Muslim-held Syrian towns, by the Latins is recorded during the vizierate of al-Afḍal. The *History of the Patriarchs* records (Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 44 [text]; p. 72 [trans.]) that Copts were ordered to wear distinguishing girdle (*zunnār*) and dark turbans, but this order was enforced only for three days, after which they were again released from such restrictions. The only dastardly act against the Copts was the destruction of the church of Saint George in Maṭariyyah and the construction of a Muslim mosque in its place.

John V's reign took place during the Second Crusade, which began in 1146. This was a time when the Muslim rulers of the Near East became used to the Frankish presence and, according to the Arabic chronicles of the period, such as those of Usāmah ibn Munquidh (1095–1188), instances of growing rapprochement between the Christian settlers and the native Arabs began to appear as an accepted occurrence. The Fatimid dynasty in Egypt was in the last phase of its decline, and its rulers contemplated a treaty with the crusader kingdom that would defend their Shi'ite territory against their Sunni neighbors, who were determined to annihilate them. In fact, the Fatimids had to choose between two hostile neighbors, the Sunni kingdom of Nūr al-Dīn and the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem. Apparently they chose the latter and in 1167 concluded a treaty that virtually placed Egypt under the protection of King Amalric, or Amaury (Atiya, 1962, p. 271) as he appears in a corrupted Arabic spelling. The position of Shāwār, the minister of Caliph al-'Āḍid, was endangered by the rise of a rival named Ḍirghām, while the Sunni general, Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh, was marauding in Egypt on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn, the Syrian. Amalric's treaty offered Shāwār the opportunity of defending himself against both Muslim contestants. Amalric was at the time besieging Alexandria, and he raced back to Cairo to relieve Shāwār. To save themselves from engaging in a battle of doubtful outcome, Shirkūh and Amalric agreed to leave the country to Shāwār.

But Amalric left behind him a Latin resident with a small garrison. However, on the way back to his Syrian headquarters, Amalric changed his mind and decided to break his agreement with Shirkūh and return to Egypt, this time as a conqueror. At Bilbeis in the Eastern Delta, he massacred the population, and his progress toward Cairo bewildered the impotent Shāwār, who decided to burn the capital to save it from falling into the hands of the Franks.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN VI, saint and seventy-fourth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1189–1216). John VI proved to be one of the most significant personalities to occupy the throne of Saint Mark since the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT. He was a layman by the name of Abū al-Majd ibn Abī Ghālib ibn Sāwīrus, and his original vocation was commerce, where he acquired tremendous wealth that he gave generously to charity and used for the development of his church. He was a man of great stature and virtuous character. He was an outspoken bachelor and was well acquainted with Biblical knowledge and with his church's doctrines and traditions.

He was probably the only Copt to occupy an eminent position in the membership of the Kārimī Guild of merchants, which remained predominantly Islamic in character. The Kārimī Guild traded in all the valuables of India and the Far East, and Abū al-Majd is said to have undertaken voyages in the Red Sea for the acquisition of trade items from Yemen and elsewhere. He was a member of one of the most important Kārimite companies, known as Awlād (sons of) al-Jabbāb. He was highly regarded by the company because he once saved their fortune by rescuing ships that were foundering in the Red Sea.

After the death of MARK III, the archons of the Coptic community in Miṣr nominated Abū al-Majd for the patriarchate despite the fact that he was not affiliated with any monastic institution nor did he have any past experience in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He was, of course, better known to the Coptic people through the generous distribution of his wealth. At first he was reluctant to accept the nomination, but curiously enough it was his Muslim partners who prevailed upon him to accept the nomination. It is said that the same Muslim party spared no effort or expense to see him elected, although, according to the Muslim historian al-MAQRĪZI, Abū al-Majd was trying to promote a monk from the monastery of al-Ṭīn at the village of al-'Adawiyyah south of al-Fusṭāṭ (Cairo). In the end, he gave way to the unanimous voice of the Coptic ARCHONS, and contrary to established custom, he was directly consecrated as patriarch on 11 Amshīr A.M. 905/A.D. 1188, one month and five days after the death of Mark III.

Although the date of his birth is unknown, it must be assumed that he was a middle-aged man when he acceded to the throne of Saint Mark, during the latter days of the sultanate of Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) (1171–1193). He was a contemporary of the early Ayyubid sultans. Consequently he witnessed one of the most critical periods in the history of the country including the tremendous contest between East and West in the Crusade movement. Even before his enthronement, he must have watched Saladin's progress toward the decisive battle of Ḥittīn (1187) and the fall of Jerusalem soon afterward. It is doubtful that he was aware of the details of subsequent crusades and Muslim counter-crusades; what mattered most to him was the opening of Jerusalem to Coptic pilgrims under Muslim rule. This was after years of Frankish domination when the Roman Catholic lords of the holy places forbade Copts, considered heretics, from approaching Jerusalem.

Failing to defend Jerusalem, the crusaders began harassing Egypt by attacking its cities situated on the Mediterranean littoral, including Damietta and Rosetta, and sometimes penetrating the Delta toward Cairo. They pillaged industrial centers where the best textiles were manufactured. This happened repeatedly during the sultanates of al-'Ādil down to that of al-Kāmil. The situation in Egypt itself was an unhappy one. The fall of the Nile and the failure in agricultural products led to famine; and crusader inroads took their toll. Yet it should be remembered that all this was of a temporary nature and bound to disappear. However, the wave of persecution of the Copts inaugurated by Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and intensified during the patriarchate of Mark III gradually began to subside in John VI's time, and

the Copts were relieved from past pressures and humiliating treatment. They began to recover and pursue their activities undisturbed.

One factor that must have helped the return to normalcy was the successive missions of the Ethiopian emperor, who sent substantial gifts to the sultans of Egypt. These were accompanied by epistles requesting the sultans to intercede with the patriarch for the consecration of a Coptic archbishop to his country, while pleading with them for fair and just treatment of their Coptic subjects. The Ethiopian gifts must have impressed the sultans tremendously. Once the Ethiopian monarch sent the patriarch a jeweled gold crown that he in turn ceded to the sultan. On another occasion the royal gift consisted of an elephant, a lion, a giraffe, and a zebra. The appearance of such strange items must have caused great commotion at the court. And both al-'Ādil and al-Kāmil could not but listen to the appeals of the Ethiopian sovereign.

John VI appointed as archbishop a lay bachelor like himself, a man who was knowledgeable in matters of religion and Coptic church traditions. His name was Kīl ibn al-Mulabbis and he came from the city of Ṭūkh in the Gharbiyyah Province. Kīl was well-received in the Abyssinian capital and remained there for four years, after which he found it necessary to return to Egypt. John VI sent a priest by the name of Mūsā, together with one of his assistants, to make an inquiry into the situation, and they found out that Kīl was involved in the murder of an Abyssinian priest of high standing. Consequently, the patriarch hastened to appoint a substitute to Kīl, this time a monk by the name of Isaac from the monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS), who was dispatched amidst celebration with his brother who was also a priest.

Evidently these celebrations, in which Muslims and Christians participated without distinction, ameliorated the position of the Copts and the patriarch with the Muslim rulers. Nevertheless, John's reign was marked by a number of local difficulties. In one instance, a monk named Yuḥannā, from Saint Macarius, converted to Islam, a most unusual occurrence. He was rewarded for his apostasy by al'Ādil, who appointed Yuḥannā as tax collector in the city of Mīt-Ghamr, a position that he held for three years. Then he changed his mind and later approached Sultan al-Kāmil with a shroud in his hand and asked permission to return to his Christian faith or otherwise suffer the usual execution for those who recanted. The benign sultan permitted his return and gave him a protective decree against abuse by Muslim fanatics. A similar case arose of an Islamized Upper Egyptian who wanted to recant and who approached the sultan for the same treatment as Yuḥannā. This plea was refused and the sultan sent an agent to DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR to offer Yuḥannā Islamization or decapitation. Yuḥannā chose Islamization and was returned to his previous position at Mīt-Ghamr.

A second crisis in John's reign was precipitated by the same Yuḥannā, who reported to the sultan that a treasure trove of gold and silver utensils was discovered in a pit at Dayr Anbā Maqār. The sultan hastened to lay his hand on the treasure, but found only the usual sacramental instruments that were identified for him by another Islamized Copt. The man who dug the pit exposed the fraudulent report of Yuḥannā. The Sultan took no further measures of confiscation, and the case was closed.

It is interesting to note that the Muslim historian al-Maqrīzī quoted Coptic sources on the reforms made by John VI, including suppression of the simoniacal practice known as CHEIROTONIA. He recorded that John was impervious to accepting gifts from his bishops and that he never laid hands on provisions from the members of his congregation. On the contrary, he gave away all the fortune he accumulated from commerce, amounting to 17,000 dinars, to charitable institutions throughout his patriarchate.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN VII, seventy-seventh patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1262–1268, 1271–1293). John had a rival in GABRIEL III, who replaced him by order of the sultan for a period, after which he recaptured the patriarchal seat for a second time. A native of Old Cairo, his full name was Yū'annis ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Sukkarī.

During the first period of his tenure, John VII was a contemporary of the Mamluk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (1260–1277). During al-Ẓāhir Baybars' reign, the number of Copts reached

the lowest level, owing to wholesale Islamization by pressure tactics and brutal persecution. Many Copts feigned conversion to save their lives. The Islamic sources indicate that Copts, who had been 40 percent of the population of Egypt, sank to a mere 10 percent under the Mamluks. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS contains little information on this subject and relates only that the Copts witnessed severe persecutions that were hard to describe. The Muslim historian of the Copts, al-MAQRĪZĪ, has enumerated these persecutions. He says that the sultan once ordered the digging of a wide pit in the neighborhood of the citadel, filling it with wood and dumping Copts into it to burn them. This insane idea was deferred through the intercession of some members of the royal court, and the sultan imposed a penalty of 50,000 dinars on the Coptic community instead.

This period was marked by the emergence of BŪLUS AL-ḤABĪS (Paul the Solitary), whose bewildering career is one of the problematic features of the time. A Coptic monk and a solitary, he is said to have discovered an immense treasure, presumably that of Caliph al-Ḥākim (996–1021), which he used to pay the said penalty and for the relief of many captives. He professed the principle of peaceful coexistence between Copts and Muslims, and he distributed immense charities to Copts and Muslims without distinction.

There is little information about the works of John VII, if any, in the Coptic sources. Presumably that age of great pressures and heavy persecutions left the patriarch no time to think of any reforms or to restore religious foundations. In his book *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, al-MAQRĪZĪ speaks of what he calls the "battle of the Christians" in the year 1283, the year during which the persecution and the humiliation of the Copts was most severe. Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's decrees that imposed certain dress requirements on the Copts and restricted them to donkey riding were resumed with brutal vehemence. Copts were dismissed, not only from the state offices, but also from the service of private princes. The Islamic sources, however, quote rare instances where an arrogant Copt invited such troubles. The example of a certain Copt named 'Ayn al-Ghazāl, who was in the service of a Khāsikī Mamluk and who abused a Muslim broker, is cited as a reason for stirring mob action against the Copts and the burning of churches. It was decreed that a Copt who refused to apostatize to Islam would be decapitated. It is unclear whether this brutal legislation was carried into effect, but it is clear that those who converted to Islam were honored and reinstated in public office as a reward. It is no wonder that many Copts feigned conversion to Islam and were later accused of persecuting other Muslims in return.

Historically speaking, the most epoch-making event during John's reign was the total extermination of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem with the fall of 'Akkā in 1291 to Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290–1293). John died shortly after that momentous event. After his death, the throne of Saint Mark fell vacant for a little more than a year.

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JOHN VIII, eightieth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1300–1320). John is better known in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS as the Son of a Saint, presumably pertaining to a saintly spiritual father, whose particulars are not identified. Even his monastic whereabouts are not clear from the few lines devoted to his reign in that history. However, his selection and consecration as patriarch during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1299–1309) were quietly performed without opposition. He was also a contemporary of Baybars-Jashankīr (1309–1310), who was followed by al-Nāṣir in his third reign (1310–1341).

The Copts suffered in that period from a setback in their freedom imposed by a Maghribī vizier, who passed through Cairo on his way to Mecca for a Muslim pilgrimage. While riding in Cairo, he noticed a well-dressed person on horseback, with poorer folks surrounding him and asking for favors. When he asked about the dignitary, he was told that he was a Coptic Christian, which infuriated him. He went to the citadel and consulted with al-Nāṣir and his viceroy Salār on the position of these infidel Christians. The result was the enforcement of old humiliating decrees on the Copts, who were ordered to wear blue turbans and girdles, and to ride donkeys instead of horses; Jews were required to wear yellow turbans. The patriarch and the grand rabbi were summoned to the court and both were commanded to apply these rules to their congregations. The Maghribī visitor tried to convince the authorities to destroy churches, but his attempts failed because the chief Muslim justice issued a special juridical verdict (*fatwā*) stating that the COVE-

NANT OF 'UMAR specified that only newly built churches could be eliminated, while the older foundations must be protected. The chief justice was Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Daqīq al-'Abd, a Muslim whose ancestors were Islamized Copts. However, this did not stop the Muslim mob from the abuse of Christians and their frequent attacks on the churches.

An alleviating factor in this abuse came to pass when the kings of Aragon sent a mission in 1303 to the Mamluk court with a substantial gift, accompanied by a written plea to the sultan to permit the opening of churches. Consequently the ancient Jacobite church of ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH was reopened, as was another church in Cairo.

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JOHN IX, eighty-first patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1320–1327). John IX succeeded his predecessor and namesake at one of the most critical moments in Coptic history. Little is known about his life before he took the monastic vow, nor do we know much about his life as a monk. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS does not indicate the monastery where he enrolled, and only states that he was a native of the village of Nahyā in the Minufiyyah Province. He was unanimously selected by the council of bishops, clergy, and ARCHONS shortly after the decease of JOHN VIII. It is not known whether he was consecrated in Cairo or Alexandria, but he is known to have resided at the Church of Our Lady at ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH, in the midst of a Coptic quarter where he could be safe from the intermittent inroads of Muslim mobs in the capital. John IX was a contemporary of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341), and his reign was marked by a series of tragic events that left him no time for attending to reform. He was hindered from the work of restoring any churches by continuous attacks on the Copts, and he was unable to prepare the CHRISM.

The *History of the Patriarchs* relates John's biography in a matter of a few lines, in which is recorded a general statement that the Copts underwent bitter hardships in his reign and that many of them were killed or burned or even crucified. They were led in humiliating processions on camel's backs, and they were required to wear dark robes with blue turbans and a girdle to distinguish them from the Muslim majority. The Islamic sources relate many details of the repression of the Coptic population. On 8 May 1321, many Coptic churches throughout the country were destroyed. This action was premeditated and highly organized by fanatic groups.

In the face of these events, the Copts, whether Jacobites or Melchites, did not stand motionless. Numbers of them stealthily found their ways to Muslim mosques and set them ablaze as a measure of retaliation, a fact that prompted Muslim counteractions. It is said that a group of Melchite monks from Ṭurah contemplated the burning of Cairo.

The *History of the Patriarchs* concludes its biography by saying that peace was restored by the time John died.

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JOHN X, eighty-fifth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1363–1369). The biography of John X occupies only three lines in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS. He is described as Father Yuḥannā al-Mu'taman al-Shāmī, which seems to denote his Syrian origin. He was a 'man of learning and great virtue. We know nothing of his monastic life or his affiliation with one of the recognized Coptic monasteries. He is known to have acceded to the throne of Saint Mark during the reign of the Baḥrī Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Sha'bān (1363–1377), and we must assume that his patriarchate was a peaceful one with no outstanding events connected with his life.

SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN XI, eighty-ninth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1427–1452). John's life before his selection is unknown. His biography in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS is restricted to the dates of his investiture and decease. In fact, the biographers of that period of the fourteenth century have refrained from dealing with the events of most patriarchal reigns, and we have to look for this material in the contemporary Islamic sources.

We do not know with which monastery John was

affiliated at the time of his election, which took place during the sultanate of the Mamluk al-Ashraf Barsbay (1422–1438). He was a contemporary of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (1438) and died in the latter years of the reign of Jaqmaq (1438–1453).

Perhaps the major event that occurred in the early years of John's patriarchate concerned the question of the inheritances of deceased Copts and Jews. According to al-MAQRĪZĪ, in his greed for collecting funds, al-Ashraf Barsbay appointed a person of "low character" to attend to this function. His name does not appear in any source, for all sources were disgusted with his policy of illegal appropriation of property on the death of the owner. Heirs were requested to provide official documents proving their ownership, otherwise they were dispossessed of their land, which went to the state. The property of a deceased person without heirs was immediately confiscated. This rule brought the state in conflict with the patriarch who was accused of acquiring such property. The patriarch defended his position by asserting that the church took the lands only if they were expressly bequeathed to the church by the deceased owners.

Another order that interfered with the sanctity of individual residences was the inspection of Coptic homes for confiscation of all wine receptacles, which were then spilled and destroyed.

Coptic religious institutions fared as badly as Coptic homes. In A.H. 840/A.D. 1436, a Mamluk emir riding through Shubra al-Khiyām (the modern Shubra al-Khaymah), a suburb of Cairo, destroyed a Coptic church. He then allowed the mob to pillage its stores while the sacred relics contained in its sanctuary were burned. In the following year, the ancient foundation of DAYR AL-MAGHṬIS by the Lake Burullus, a highly revered Coptic pilgrimage center, was also destroyed. In 1439, portions of the CHURCH OF AL-MU'ALLAQAH in Old Cairo were destroyed by government representatives on the pretext that they were modern restorations outside the terms of the COVENANT OF 'UMAR.

The state of confusion of the Mamluk administration spared neither Copts nor Muslims from encroachments on their possessions, nor were they protected from continuous searches of their homes. The situation of the people was worsened by an outbreak of the plague. In Upper Egypt, the marauding Hawwārah Arabs descended on the unprotected valley and looted both cattle and agricultural products, while a plague of rats exterminated what was left.

In 1440 Damietta, on the Mediterranean littoral, was the scene of occurrences of a different nature. A Frankish fleet attacked three Islamic ships in the waters of that city, and its Muslim sailors were either killed or drowned. A Christian native of Damietta, whose national identity is unclear, celebrated the sad news and infuriated the bereaved Muslim inhabitants, who seized him and wanted to kill him. His name was Jirjis, and the viceroy Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sallām came to his rescue and offered the application of justice to his case. Jirjis feigned apostasy to Islam, thinking that that would save his skin. But even this could not relieve him, and in the end he was condemned to death, and his body was burned. The mob then pillaged, but did not destroy, the Christian churches.

In Cairo, in 1441, a Copt by the name of al-'Afīf was arrested for a crime, was beaten, and was released only after he had espoused Islam, but his children were allowed to retain their Christianity.

Ibn Taghrī Bardī reports, in his work *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* (Vol. 15, p. 384), that the sultan issued a decree forbidding the Coptic physicians to treat sick Muslims. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, in his work *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi Abnā' al-'Umr* (1967–1976), gives examples of Copts converting to Islam and being punished when they changed their minds.

Although the Coptic sources have refrained from mentioning names of Copts who apostatized to Islam in the later Middle Ages, the Islamic annals of those times have listed a considerable number of them, especially those who occupied the highest positions in the administration, from secretarial to ministerial dignitaries as well as those in finances and in the high Islamic judicial system.

On the international scene, Egyptian relations with foreign countries in the fifteenth century were marred by the monopolistic policy of commerce imposed by the Mamluk sultans leading the European trade republics and Spain to seek a new route to the land of "Prester John" and the Far East. The same policy also affected the relations with Ethiopia, which was connected with Egypt through its religious dependence on the patriarchate of John XI. Thus in the end, its Abyssinian sovereigns decided to mend relations with the Mamluk sultans by dispatching a special embassy who carried a precious gift of gold and the rare medicinal products of the country. The embassy also submitted a royal brief asking the authorities in Egypt to refrain from harassing the Copts and to let them live in peace and security with their churches intact (al-Maqrīzī, 1956, Vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 1024). Neither the Coptic nor the Islamic sources provide any specific informa-

tion about the situation of the Coptic church in Nubia nor do they treat the relationship with the sister Monophysite church of Antioch.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN XII, ninety-third patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1479–1482). John acceded to the throne of Saint Mark after an interregnum of about two years, during which the bishops, the clergy, and the archons could not settle on a suitable candidate for this high ecclesiastical office.

John was a native of the city of Naqādah in Upper Egypt and was a monk of the Monastery of Our Lady, known as DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ, when his candidacy was approved. We do not know when he joined the monastery, nor do we know anything about his secular life before he took the monastic vow.

He was a contemporary of the Burjī Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Qā'itbāy (1468–1495), under whose rule the Copts lived in relative peace and security.

Perhaps the most significant event of John's reign was the receipt of an epistle from the pope of Rome, Sixtus IV (1471–1484), almost a quarter of a century after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS (Vol. 3, pt. 3, Arabic text p. 159; trans., p. 274) makes a special mention of this papal overture without detailing its contents, but states that the Coptic patriarchal response was a lengthy one in three brochures. John XII summarizes their purport in two major points: (1) the elimination of contradictory behavior in matters of doctrine; and (2) the establishment of peace and conciliation among all Christian sects. In this way, the patriarch preserved the old Coptic tradition of independent thinking.

On the international scene, the amicable relations with the Ethiopian empire were renewed when an Abyssinian embassy arrived with precious gifts for the Sultan, who met their delegations with all the honors accorded to friendly nations. Egypt needed to secure its trade routes in the Red Sea. The request by the Abyssinians for the appointment of a Coptic archbishop was granted, and the patriarch consecrated his ecclesiastical representative of Egypt at the Abyssinian court.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN XIII, ninety-fourth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1484–1524). John's life before joining the Monastery of Our Lady, known as DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ, is unknown.

After the death of JOHN XII, the bishops, the clergy, and the archons remained undecided about the selection of a candidate for patriarch for approximately two years. Finally they chose another monk of Dayr al-Muḥarraq whom they consecrated as John XIII. Perhaps the most memorable fact of his patriarchate was its length of forty years, eleven months, and twenty-six days. He acceded to the throne of Saint Mark during the reign of the Burjī Mamluk sultan Qā'itbāy (1468–1495), and he was a contemporary of the last five Mamluk sultans. After the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans, he lived through the sultanate of Selīm I (1512–1520) and Sulaymān I the Magnificent (1520–1566), during whose reign he died.

In 1517, after the battle of Marj Dābiq, the Ottoman dynasty ruled Egypt. Copts suffered during the latter days of Mamluk rule. The sultans, whose rule was endangered by the imminent encroachments of the Ottoman hosts, descended upon the country with excessive and extraordinary financial imposts, which bordered on outright pillage, under the pretext of the defense of their northern frontier. The Christians and the Jews, known as the people of the Covenant (AHL AL-DHIMMAH), suffered the most. The situation was worsened by the rise of famine and the outbreak of one plague after another. And for the first time a new, incurable plague appeared that the sources called the Frankish beans (*al-ḥabb al-afranjī*), which may be identified as smallpox. It is said that a considerable percent of the population and especially the labor corps in Egypt succumbed during these plagues.

At the advent of the Ottoman invaders and the change of regimes the misery of the population,

both Coptic and Muslim, was so complete that the change in dynasties could have caused little reaction. The Islamic sources estimate that the sixteen campaigns conducted by Qā'itbāy alone cost the country the enormous sum of 7,065,000 dinars, at a time when the resources of the country were depleted by the successive plagues that mowed down the working class everywhere. This situation recurred during the successive sultanates until the end of Mamluk rule.

John died in relative peace under Ottoman rule, which was conducted from the rather remote seat of power in Constantinople, unlike the Mamluks, who had preyed upon the people from neighboring Cairo.

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JOHN XIV, ninety-sixth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1570–1585). John was a native of the city of Manfalūṭ in Upper Egypt. He was selected for this high ecclesiastical office from the Monastery of Our Lady known as DAYR AL-BARAMŪS after an interregnum of approximately two years, during which the bishops and the clergy as well as the Coptic archons could not arrive at a decision for a suitable candidate. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS provides no details of his secular life or his life as a monk in the wilderness of Shihāt. But we must assume that his sanctity and his knowledge of Coptic church traditions were the decisive factors in his selection.

The *History of the Patriarchs* records that a new embassy from Rome arrived with an epistle from the pope of Rome bearing the same proposals as those received by JOHN XII half a century earlier. The Roman pontiff was seeking the submission of the Coptic Church (Fowler, 1901, p. 114). John XIV, like John XII, replied to it in the same essence, which indicates the independent place of the Coptic church. It is noteworthy, however, to point out that the secular Muslim regime of the country never interfered with these ecclesiastical missives between Rome and Alexandria.

John XIV was a contemporary of two Ottoman sultans, Selīm II (1566–1574) and Murād III (1574–1595). There is little to report on the relations between the court at Constantinople and the patriarchate in Cairo, which was too remote from the center of power to attract any special attention by the Turkish sultans, who acted through local foreign viceroys dispatched to Cairo from Istanbul. Beyond the payment of the annual tax to the viceroy's office, there is hardly any record of notable occurrences affecting the Copts.

After a relatively quiet reign of fifteen years, John XIV died and was interred in an unknown Coptic church, probably in Cairo.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

JOHN XV, ninety-ninth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1619–1634). John was a native of the city of Mallawī in Upper Egypt.

He was probably selected from the ancient Monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) in the Eastern Desert by the Red Sea. He was a contemporary of three Ottoman sultans, 'Uthman II (1618–1620), Muṣṭafā I (1620–1623), and Murād IV (1623–1640). Because he lived in one of the darkest ages in Egyptian history, it is difficult to uncover specific information about his activities beyond the conduct of the religious life of the community.

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JOHN XVI, 103rd patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1676–1718). He succeeded MATTHEW IV (1660–1675), originally a monk of DAYR AL-BARAMŪS.

As a native of the old city of Ṭūkh al-Naṣārā or Ṭūkh Dalakah his secular name before taking the monastic vow at DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS was Ibrāhīm al-Ṭūkhī. He was a man of vast theological knowledge and he was devoted to the service of his church during adverse internal events and external plotting that persisted throughout his reign of forty-two years.

He restored the use of unction with holy oil (CHRISM) at the office of baptism, which had been interrupted for two hundred years. He insisted that infant baptism should be carried out on the eighth day from the child's birth, though he permitted male baptism up to forty days to enable a mother to present herself at the altar. He opposed baptism in homes, as did the Latins.

In his days, the patriarchal residence was built in ḤĀRIT AL-RŪM, thus replacing the older one at ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH. He succeeded in lifting the tax impost imposed on the church through the meditation of Mu'allim Luṭfallāh, a notable Copt who approached the sultan with substantial gifts until he secured his wish.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the church witnessed severe hardships when an anti-Christian revolt broke out at Bairam one Friday, when Muslim rebels attacked Coptic homes and properties. Thousands died as a result of famine and the spread of plague. During these events, the pope stood by his people, infusing them with faith and fortitude. In 1710, war broke out between Turkey and Russia, necessitating the recruitment of Egyptians for the Turkish army. At the same time, the civil war that flared up in Egypt resulted in Christian persecutions abated only by the rise of the Mamluk amir Ismā'īl Bey, who established peace and order in the country.

Externally, the church suffered from the tide of foreign missionaries. Catholic missionaries invaded Upper Egypt and attempted to proselytize the native Copts. Pope John worked hard to recover converts who had been sent to Rome and tried to use them for the glory of the Orthodox faith.

The French commissioner M. de Maillet joined hands with Catholic missionaries by recruiting children of good Coptic families for Catholic schools and for educational missions to France. The Catholic patriarch, Cyril Maqār, also took an active part in these movements, which threatened the Coptic community with depletion of its intelligentsia. But thanks to John's unflinching determination and hard work among the community, the efforts of the Catholics were foiled.

On the Abyssinian front, Jesuit priests were active in the introduction of misunderstandings between the Ethiopian church and its mother Coptic church, in the hope of converting the Abyssinians to Catholicism and Roman obedience. Perhaps the last serious attempt to use the Jesuits in this pursuit came to pass during John's patriarchate. In 1706 Louis XIV sent a physician named du Roule to head an Abyssinian mission to Ethiopia via the Sudan, where it was intercepted at Sennar by the Muslim ruler. Members of the mission were seized and killed. Thus, paradoxically, Ethiopian orthodoxy was saved by a Muslim.

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RUSHDĪ AL-TUKHI

JOHN XVII, 105th patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1726–1745). He was a native of Mallawī in Upper Egypt. As a young man by the name of 'Abd-al-Sayyid, he retired to the monastery of Saint Paul (DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ) in the Eastern Desert for some years. He started by taking the monastic vow and was ultimately made presbyter by his predecessor PETER VI, who died in 1726. Consequently, he was escorted to Cairo in 1727 and consecrated as patriarch in the church of Saint Mercurius (ABŪ SAYFAYN).

During his reign, the Coptic community suffered greatly from the imposition of extraordinary taxation from which the hierarchy could not escape. In 1733, a *firman* (Turkish decree) was issued by the Ottoman sultan in Constantinople, whereby the kāshif (governor) of each district was ordered to fine every Christian and Jew. These fines were divided into three categories to cope with the financial ability of each individual, including the clergy. The first category was assessed at 420 *paras* (dry measures) a head, the second at 270, and the third at 100. Coupled with a general state of famine and the failure in the crops that caused the price of an *artep* (dry measure) of wheat to soar to six gold dinars, many poor Copts failed to meet the new impost and were saved from punishment only by the intercession of certain archons in the Coptic

society. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS mentions the names of Mu'allim Nayrūz, Mu'allim Rizq al-Badawī, Mu'allim Bānūb al-Ziftāwī, and others who came to the rescue of their poorer coreligionists and saved them from incarceration by paying their dues.

The hardships to which people were subjected were multiplied by the general atmosphere of insecurity, the tyrannical rule of the Mamluks, and the continuous strife and murder of the amirs themselves. In the year A.H. 1155 (1742), an episode of this kind occurred when an amir by the name of 'Uthmān Bey was nominated *sanjaq* (ruler) against the will of the armed forces. The soldiers consequently took arms to stop the appointment and attacked and pillaged 'Uthmān's residence, from whence he fled to Upper Egypt and finally made his escape to Turkey.

The patriarch coped with the internal imposition, famine, and pestilence, but he also struggled with the Roman Catholic missionary tide, which attempted to proselytize the Copts. In fact, this movement toward proselytization, which had begun earlier, persisted during this and subsequent patriarchates. Through education and the dispatch of Coptic children to Rome, the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries hoped to sow the seeds of Catholicism in Egypt. Roman delegates worked hard in fruitless negotiations with the patriarchs to bring them to Roman obedience.

In the end, Pope Benedict XIV gave up the idea of trying to unite the Coptic church with the Roman church. In 1741 he consecrated a Roman Catholic metropolitan in Egypt, a position parallel to the native patriarch. His nominee, Athanasius, was a Copt who resided in Jerusalem. Athanasius appointed a native priest by the name of Justus Maraylik as his vicar-general in Egypt. In 1745, Justus appeared to receive a long letter of instructions directly from Pope Benedict. It was at this time that RŪFĀ'ĪL AL-ṬŪKHĪ was appointed Catholic bishop of Arsinoë. He was a native of Jirjā, educated in Rome, and a convert with a great knowledge of Coptic. But he did not take residence for any length of time in his bishopric and instead returned to Rome, where he concentrated on the publication of a number of scholarly works pertaining to the Coptic church and Coptic language and literature. Facing these external difficulties, the Coptic patriarch had to work hard to keep his community intact.

After the death of abuna Krestodolu III (see ETHIOPIAN PRELATES) in 1743, the Abyssinian sovereign sent an embassy to the patriarch to ask for a new *abun* for the church of Ethiopia. The embassy consisted of three delegates, one Egyptian by the name of George and two Ethiopians named Likanios and Theodorus. The three were intercepted by the Muslim rulers at the port of Muṣawwa', and only Theodorus was able to make his escape after payment of a heavy ransom. He ultimately reached Cairo in 1745 when a new *abun* was soon nominated and dispatched with Theodorus to Abyssinia.

The spread of Roman Catholic activity in Egypt seems to have alarmed the sultan in Constantinople, who feared the increase of European influence within his realm. Sultan Maḥmūd I (1730–1754) consequently issued an order to the Greek patriarch to forbid his flock from attending foreign services on pain of a fine consisting of 1,000 purses. An Egyptian amir seized the occasion to arrest four Latin missionaries, who were freed only after payment of a heavy ransom.

An interesting episode occurred at this time, associated with a Coptic visionary who circulated a prophecy that the end of the world was coming in two days' time, on a Friday. Strangely, the prophecy was accepted by the Muslims, who said that the Copts were versed in astrology. With the approach of sunset on Friday, the fear-stricken people, apprehensive of the end of the world, were saved from perdition by one of the *'ulemas* (Muslim mentors) and a Muslim *shaykh* who solemnly announced that through the intercession of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī, Sidī Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī, and Sīdī al-Shāfi'ī—three leading Muslim saints—the Almighty Allāh granted their prayer and deferred the end of the world to a future date.

During John's patriarchate Richard POCOCKE made his famous journey to Egypt. Although he depended mainly on Muslim interpreters as well as the Roman Catholic missionaries, his accounts of the Copts and the Coptic churches are records of the highest interest. Foreign visitors were not mistreated by the natives, who found no purpose in abusing them. Thus, Pococke was able to travel around the country unharmed. He visited the city of al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā in the Delta, where he was told that 500 Copts constituted a fair number of its inhabitants. Afterward he ascended the Nile valley to the cities of Akhmīm and Suhāj, where he saw the White and Red monasteries of ANBĀ BISHOI and ANBĀ SHINŪDAH. Besides these impressive Coptic establishments, he went to Armant and there saw with admiration and astonishment its magnificent church, one of the oldest in Egypt. The country was relatively quiet during Pococke's visit. Another trav-

eler, a captain in the Dutch navy named Frederick Norden, also visited Egypt in the same period and wrote voluminous accounts of his visit, but they have little bearing on the Copts.

From 1736 to 1743, the most powerful man in Egypt was ʿUthmān (Bey) Zulfiqār, who displayed only one virtue by not accepting bribes, but was tyrannical in his treatment of his subjects, Christian and Muslim alike. Unlike the Mamluk amirs, however, he escaped assassination and made his way to Constantinople, although his house was pillaged and sacked by local rebels and unruly soldiers.

Toward the end of John's patriarchate, in 1745, the sultan Maḥmūd I issued a secret order to the pasha of Egypt, Muḥammad Rāghib, to exterminate the troublesome but very powerful Katāmish and Dimyāṭī families. The pasha seized the opportunity to try to massacre all the Mamluk beys in a general meeting at the *diwan*. Evidently all came prepared for treachery and were heavily armed for defense. Thus only three of their number were killed and the rest fled to Upper Egypt, where they mustered forces for a civil war in which the Christians, as usual, suffered more than the Muslims.

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JOHN XVIII, 107th patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1769–1796). A monk of the Monastery of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) in the Eastern Desert, he was selected by the community of the clergy and the Coptic archons to succeed MARK VII at his death in 1769. His patriarchate proved to be one of the most miserable periods in Coptic history. On several occasions the patriarch had to flee from the injustice and extortions imposed on the Christians.

The tyranny of the Mamluk amirs was relentless as Ibrāhīm Bey and Murād Bey decided to overthrow the yoke of the Supreme Porte in Constantinople and declare independence for Egypt. They imposed large taxes on the Christians. The sultan, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (1774–1784), sent an army under the command of a new viceroy named Ḥasan Pasha to quell the civil war; he inflicted a heavy defeat on the rebellious Mamluks. But this did not alleviate the suffering and persecution of the native population in general and the Copts in particular. On the contrary, the new master proved to be even more rapacious than the preceding Mamluk amirs. He gave a freer hand to his conquering soldiers to abuse the Christians, and by his order they pillaged their houses and sold their property in public auctions. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS reports that soldiers seized the wife of a notable Copt named IBRĀHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ, who had attained a high position under the rule of the Mamluks, and forced her to divulge the secret hiding places where her husband concealed his wealth. Consequently, all his property and money were confiscated.

The situation of the Christians was worsened by the outbreak of pestilence in 1773, and the rate of daily deaths in Cairo alone reached 1,000 souls. The ravages of this plague extended to the highest authorities, and the viceroy Ismāʿīl Bey succumbed to it. His successors ruled jointly during this national disaster. In these circumstances, the fugitive Mamluk beys, Ibrāhīm and Murād, returned to Cairo and resumed their ravages amongst the Copts on the eve of Napoleon's French Expedition to Egypt in 1798. According to the contemporary historian al-Jabartī, during the year of the return of Mamluk rule, the Nile inundation fell below its annual level, so that famine was added to the tyranny and injustice of the rulers of the land.

Under John XVIII, the Copts who rose to any heights in the administration of Murād and Ibrāhīm Bey became easy prey for their successors, and the sum of 75,000 gold pieces was extorted from them. The poll tax of a gold dinar per person was doubled for Copts and Jews alike. According to al-Jabartī, all business came to a standstill. The roads were destroyed, there was no security anywhere, and what remained after the ravages of the amirs fell prey to the bedouins who marauded the countryside. At the close of the eighteenth century, Egypt was perhaps in a worse condition than it had ever been since Roman rule with industries paralyzed, commerce ruined, and the country relapsed into semibarbarism and dire poverty. A new chapter had to be opened, and this was the task of Bonaparte and the French. This is how the patriarchate of John XVIII reached its unhappy conclusion in 1796.

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JOHN XIX, pope of Alexandria and 113th patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1928–1942). He was born at DAYR TĀSĀ in the province of Asyūṭ in 1855. It was there that he received his education. He entered DAYR AL-BARAMŪS monastery in the Western Desert and was chosen by Pope CYRIL V to be his personal assistant. Yet he preferred to go back to his own monastery of which he later became the abbot, a position he occupied for ten years.

At one time he was nominated for the post of metropolitan of Ethiopia, but he declined to accept it. Eventually he became metropolitan of the provinces of Beheirah and Minufiyyah, a position he held for forty years. In 1892 he was exiled to the DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ due to the conflict that developed between the COMMUNITY COUNCIL, on one side, and Cyril V and John on the other.

After Cyril V died in 1927, John was patriarchal deputy from 7 August 1927 to 7 December 1928. During this period he was instrumental in establishing a committee of two metropolitans and four members of the Community Council, to be held under the chairmanship of the patriarch or his deputy, in order to supervise the accounts of bequests, as a means toward putting an end to the dissent between the two sides.

Reformists seized the opportunity to call for the choice of a person most suited to the dignity of patriarch, even if he were a layman. To put an end to this dispute, the Holy Synod decided on 28 July 1928 to apply the existing procedure of choosing a metropolitan or bishop as the candidate for the vacant seat of patriarch. In the meantime, a royal decree designated an electoral college consisting of eighty-five members from the clergy, the Community Council, and noted Coptic personalities to handle the whole question of patriarchal election. In the secret ballot John obtained seventy votes, and he was consequently enthroned on 16 December 1928.

John XIX established a theological college for monks at Ḥilwān, south of Cairo, as part of his drive toward raising the standard of religious education of monks. He consecrated a metropolitan and four bishops for Ethiopia, and when he later visited that country, he ordained many priests and deacons for Eritrea.

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