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Aziz S. Atiya

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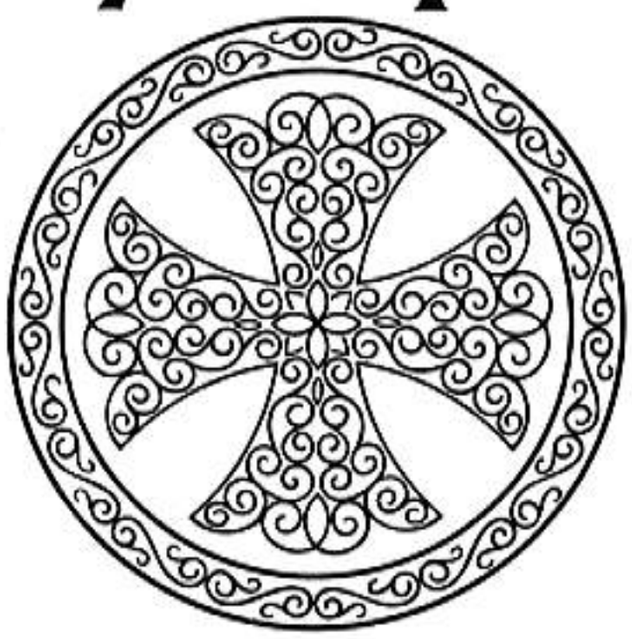
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(continued)

MUHADHDHAB AL-DĪN ABŪ SA'ĪD IBN ABĪ SULAYMĀN, physician son of Abī Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Abī al-Munā ibn Abī Fānah from whom, among others, he learned medicine, and brother of ABŪ AL-FAḌL IBN ABĪ SULAYMĀN and of Abu Shākir ibn Abī Sulaymān, to whom he taught the art of medicine.

He was a skilled doctor, respected and with a good position at court. The sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil (1200–1218), for whom he worked, appointed him to the service of his son al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam. He also worked as physician for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He moved to Egypt and remained there until his death in 1216. He was buried at Dār al-Khandaq in Cairo.

While in Damascus he also taught his nephew Rashīd al-Dīn ABŪ ḤULAYQAH.

PENELOPE JOHNSTONE

MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ, VICEROY. *See* Muḥammad 'Alī Dynasty.

MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ DYNASTY, a family that ruled Egypt for about a century and a half (1805–1952). The following is a brief survey of the line of succession, with particular reference to the role played by the Copts during the time of each ruler. Dates refer to the years of their accession and demise or abdication.

Muḥammad 'Alī, Viceroy (1805–1849)

An outstanding soldier and statesman, Muḥammad 'Alī was the founder of modern Egypt and of the dynasty that ruled the country until the 1952 revolution.

Following the French invasion of Egypt (1798), the sultan sent an expeditionary force, including a contingent of Macedonian Albanians, of whom Muḥammad 'Alī was an officer. After the defeat of the French and their departure in 1801, Muḥammad 'Alī stayed on and watched the ensuing confusion and struggle for power between the Mamluks, the Ottoman governor, and the Egyptian people, which he exploited for his own benefit.

In 1805, having won the confidence of the inhabitants, he was asked by the *'ulemas* (the Muslim) to become their ruler, and the sultan had to confirm him as governor (*wālī*). Muḥammad 'Alī was subsequently able to get rid of his rivals and become the unchallenged master of the country. He

now set out to transform Egypt into a powerful state self-sufficient economically, industrially, and agriculturally. He rebuilt the army and the navy, with which he achieved resounding successes and victories all around Egypt. He extended his influence into Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Crete, and Anatolia, upsetting the political balance in the area.

With their interests seriously threatened, the foreign powers intervened, and in 1840, Muḥammad ʿAlī's vast empire was reduced to Egypt and the Sudan. He was also given hereditary rule of Egypt.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's physical and mental faculties deteriorated toward the end of his life, and he died in 1849, his son Ibrahim having predeceased him in 1848.

Among the influential Copts who served under Muḥammad ʿAlī, supplying him with huge amounts of money from their private sources to finance his projects, was Muʿallim JIRJIS AL-JAWHARĪ (d. 1810), and Muʿallim GHĀLĪ. Muḥammad ʿAlī also employed some Copts in key administrative positions as governors of provinces: Rizk Aghā in Sharqiyyah, Makram Aghā in Atfīḥ, Mikhāʾīl Aghā in Fashn, and Buṭruṣ Aghā in Bardīs (Riyāḍ Suryāl, 1984, pp. 49–50).

It is said that when Muḥammad ʿAlī was approached by Europeans seeking to form a company to finance the building of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, Muʿallim Ghālī pointed out to him the inherent danger of such a company to the sovereignty of Egypt.

ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I, Khedive (1813–1854)

From the beginning of his reign, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī aimed at setting rules and policies contrary to those of his predecessors. He wanted to relieve the Egyptian economy of foreign pressure and influence by liquidating all projects of economic growth inaugurated by his grandfather, Muḥammad ʿAlī, which, in his opinion, rendered the economy of Egypt subservient to Europe. As a result, he closed all modern factories and all higher schools, and decreased the forces of both the army and the navy. He believed that his grandfather had opened the door wide for European influence and weakened the Ottoman empire by the destruction of its military power in Egypt. Because of his Ottoman education and upbringing, he tended to oppose the policies of both Muḥammad ʿAli and Ibrāhīm. Consequently, he deviated from their policies and started persecuting all their former assistants in the European projects. In this way, ʿAbbās thought to return Egypt to its Islamic and Oriental character and to free it from Western ambitions. But soon time proved his gross misjudgment.

In fact, even his relationship with the Supreme Porte of Constantinople deteriorated later because of his attempt to suppress some of its administrative privileges granted under an 1846 treaty. Owing to Britain's favorable position with Turkey, ʿAbbās thought to ask the English authorities to negotiate on his behalf with the Supreme Porte and in return offered the British a project of constructing a railway line from Alexandria to Suez via Cairo. In the meantime, he insisted that this project should be regarded as an Egyptian one to avoid the infiltration of English influence into the country.

This situation was indirectly affected by the outbreak of the Crimean War between Russia and Turkey. The czar offered Britain the opportunity to occupy Egypt in return for giving him a free hand to seize certain parts of Ottoman territory. Accordingly, ʿAbbās hastened to accept the Turkish sultan's proposal to enter the Crimean War, by reinforcing the Egyptian army and the fortification of his own coasts against any possible incursions by the British navy. In the long run, Egypt was able to escape all hazards precipitated by this Oriental crisis.

Internally, the viceroy entertained the idea of transporting the Coptic community from Egypt to the Sudan and Ethiopia, thereby giving Egypt an unmixed Islamic color. This strange project was communicated to the Islamic religious authority for comment, and a clear *fatwā* (religious opinion) was issued refuting this idea and informing the viceroy that the Copts were the original inhabitants of the land of Egypt and that their extermination would be both wrong and impractical.

On 14 July 1854, ʿAbbās was assassinated by a group of conspirators from his own family in his own palace at Banhā. At the time of his death, the railway line had reached Kafr al-Zayyāt; it was completed in the reign of his successor, Saʿīd Pasha.

Saʿīd, Khedive (1854–1863)

Unlike his predecessor, ʿAbbās Hilmī I, Saʿīd encouraged foreign participation in the Egyptian economy and administration, thus facilitating European infiltration. He gave various concessions to foreign companies for the development of the country, the most important being the construction of the Suez Canal. Consequently, by the end of Saʿīd's reign, Egypt had contracted huge debts.

Sa'īd had great esteem for the Coptic patriarch, CYRIL IV (1854–1861), father of reform. He gave him permission to build a church in the Ḥārit al-Saqqayīn quarter of Cairo. He also relied on the patriarch to negotiate with Emperor Theodorus of Ethiopia an end to the dispute between the two countries over the Sudanese frontiers.

Ismā'īl, Khedive (1863–1879)

Through his Western education and his connections in important European capitals at the time, Ismā'īl acquired substantial political experience. He ruled Egypt during a critical stage of its history, through which European pressure exerted itself throughout the country.

To carry out the reforms that he had in mind, he had to have recourse to foreign aid and contracted several loans. He was therefore forced to usher the foreign presence and influence into Egypt, since he relied on European monetary sources to finance his economic and political projects.

Nevertheless, Ismā'īl's reign was one of cultural enlightenment. As he was intent upon setting up a modern administrative system, Copts proved of great importance during his reign. He appointed several of them to the Ministry of Finance and other administrative branches of the government.

During his reign, American missionaries started their campaign in Upper Egypt to convert Copts to Protestantism. They succeeded in annexing two well-known families of Asyūṭ, the Wīṣās and the Khayyāṭs, to the Evangelical church. The Copts fought against proselytization. They had the full support of the khedive, who sponsored a tour for Pope Demitrius (1862–1870) in Upper Egypt to confront the missionary activity there.

Al-Jam'īyyah al-Khayriyyah (Coptic Benevolent Society) was established in 1871 to provide educational and social services to Copts. It was that society that later set up the Coptic Hospital.

When Ismā'īl founded the first Egyptian Parliament (1866), a number of Copts were elected members as representatives of some rural constituencies.

Tawfīq, Khedive (1879–1892)

Tawfīq succeeded his father, Ismā'īl, after his deposition in 1879. His reign was beset by various political crises that he was too weak to deal with, giving rise to 'Urābī's revolt (1881) and the British occupation (1882).

Lord Cromer, the High Commissioner, ran the country without any opposition from the khedive. He filled government posts with Europeans and preferred Syrian Christians to Copts, as he felt that the British were hated by Copts no less than by the Muslims. However, some Copts who had been appointed prior to the occupation rose to high rank, such as BOUṬROS GHĀLĪ, who won the title Pasha.

Solidarity between Muslims and Copts was manifest during the 'Urābī revolt. When the khedive ordered the dismissal of 'Urābī as minister of war, over five hundred Egyptian representatives, including the two religious leaders, the *shaykh* of al-Azhar Mosque and the patriarch of Alexandria, CYRIL V (1874–1927), on 22 July 1882 signed a declaration of support of 'Urābī and a condemnation of the khedive's surrender to foreign powers. Among the other signatories were Boutros Ghālī and other Copts (Al-Rāfi'ī, 1966, pp. 439–448).

'Abbās Ḥilmī II, Khedive (1892–1914)

The fifth member of the Muḥammad 'Alī dynasty to rule Egypt, 'Abbas Ḥilmī acceded to the throne at the age of eighteen. His reign was eventful because of the role he played in the national movement and his policy in relation to the British occupation of Egypt. Unlike his father, Khedive Tawfīq, he resented the idea of being a puppet in British hands. He therefore dismissed Muṣṭafā Fahmī Pasha on 15 January 1893. This was the first cabinet to include Boutros Ghālī Pasha as a minister, who was to become prime minister in November 1908.

At the outset of 'Abbās Ḥilmī II's reign, there was disagreement between the members of the COMMUNITY COUNCIL, on the one hand, and Pope Cyril V, on the other, over the methods of reform. The council asked for the removal of the pope to DAYR AL-BARAMŪS, where he stayed for approximately one year before returning to his seat in Cairo through the intervention of some Copts opposed to the council.

During 'Abbās Ḥilmī's reign, a group of Coptic intellectuals started to mobilize Coptic public opinion in support of certain sectarian requirements that were opposed by Boutros Ghālī, thus leading to radical trends in the political movement. This reached its climax with the assassination of Boutros Ghālī by a Muslim fundamentalist and triggered sectarian riots.

In 1911 the Copts held a congress at Asyūṭ (see COPTIC CONGRESS OF ASYŪṬ) to discuss their sectarian demands. Another congress, known as the EGYPTIAN CONFERENCE OF HELIOPOLIS, organized by Muslim

personalities and some Copts, was held in Cairo. It sought a solution to the sectarian crisis and put an end to the riots.

The British occupation forces took the opportunity to muzzle the press, ban political meetings, and liquidate the nationalist movement.

Ḥussein Kamil, Sultan (1914–1917)

When World War I broke out in 1914, 'Abbās Ḥilmī II was on a visit to the sultan in Constantinople. The British seized the opportunity to depose him, on the grounds of his loyalty to their enemy. They installed his uncle Ḥussein Kamel with the title Sultan, the first Egyptian ruler to carry this title. Egypt was declared a British protectorate, and martial law was imposed. The economic resources of the country were put in the service of the British army, as Egypt became a military base. This inflamed public feelings against the British, culminating in the eruption of the 1919 revolt.

Ḥussein Kamel died in October 1917, after a reign of three years. His son declined to succeed him to the throne, which was therefore offered to his brother, Fouad.

Fouad I, King (1917–1936)

Following the death of Ḥussein Kamel, his brother, Fouad, occupied the throne from 1917 to 1936. As a young man, Fouad had accompanied his father, Ismā'īl, in his exile to Italy, where he finished his education at the military academy, after which he was appointed artillery officer in the army and later military attaché at the Turkish embassy in Vienna.

Fouad's reign was characterized by his autocratic approach to parliamentary life. After the promulgation of the 1923 constitution, he retained the right to dismiss the government, suspend the constitution, and dissolve Parliament. The WAFD government was replaced by various authoritarian cabinets. When the constitution was restored, negotiations with Britain were resumed to pave the way for the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

Two major positive achievements were fulfilled during King Fouad's reign: the establishment of the first Egyptian university, which revitalized the intellectual life of the country; and the foundation of the Miṣr Bank in 1920, which helped to counterbalance the excessive domination of foreign capital.

In addition to playing a prominent part in the 1919 revolution under Sa'd Zaghlūl, the Copts were active in the political and parliamentary life of the country, with such well-known names as MAKRAM EBEID and WISSA WASSEF. They found conditions favorable for pursuing social and cultural activities by setting up benevolent societies and educational organizations.

Farouk I, King (1936–1952)

The last monarch of the Muḥammad 'Alī dynasty, Farouk succeeded his father, Fouad, in May 1936, as a young man straight back from school in England. Farouk's reign coincided with various political and social movements that eventually led to the 1952 revolution. Among these may be mentioned Young Egypt (*Miṣr al-Fatāh*) and the Muslim Brethren (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*), both of which adopted fascist ideologies within an Islamic framework. The reaction to these movements was manifest in the formation of the short-lived Coptic Nation Association (Jamā'at al-Ummah al-Qibṭiyyah).

The search for a true Egyptian identity polarized two distinct tendencies: to consider Egypt as part of the Mediterranean world, with its roots in ancient Egyptian civilization, and to emphasize Egypt's Islamic past. In addition, a new current of Arab nationalism led to the foundation of the Arab League in March 1945.

In 1948 the outcome of the Palestine war damaged Farouk's standing, and the country was seething with the rumors of corruption in high places. The Cairo fire of 26 January 1952 was the beginning of a series of events that culminated in Farouk's abdication and the proclamation of the Egyptian republic.

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RA'ŪF 'ABBAS HAMED

MUḤAMMAD RAMZĪ (1871–1945), Egyptian scholar. He was born and educated at the town of al-Manṣūrah in the Delta and later at the School of Law in Cairo. In 1892 he joined the Ministry of Finance as a clerical employee, and by 1930 he had been promoted to the position of inspector general of land taxation. During his long career, he visited every region of the country, making extensive surveys of every town, village, hamlet, and farm. He was keenly interested in the names, history, and background of every area, which he checked and revised in the light of information given mainly by al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ* (Land Survey) and 'Alī Mubarak's *Al-Khitat al-Tawfīqiyyah,* as well as many medieval and modern geographers, including such French geographers as Emile Amélineau, Jean Maspero, E.-M. Quatremère, and G. Daressy. He thus became the leading authority on Egyptian toponymy.

In 1941 he published *Al-Dalīl al-Jughrafī* (Geographical Guide), but his most valuable work, *Al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfī lil-Bilād al-Miṣrīyyah* (Geographical Dictionary, 2 vols.), was posthumously published. Its importance lies in the fact that it is fully comprehensive, covering Egyptian toponymy from ancient times to the present.

FUAD MEGALLY

MUHDĪ, MUḤAMMAD AL-, Muslim scholar, born as a Copt about 1737 and died a Muslim in 1815. Muhdī became one of the leading Egyptian *'ulamā'* (Muslim scholars) of his time. As a child of Coptic parents, he was originally named Hibat-Allāh. About 1750 his father, Abu Fānyūs (Epiphanios) Faḍlallah, became intendant-comptroller under Sulaymān al-Kāshif, who employed the young Copt on condition of conversion to Islam. Eventually, he enrolled him for study at al-Azhar. When he left his family as a young boy of barely thirteen years and adopted Islam by the new name Muḥammad al-Muhdī, the famous *shaykh* al-Ḥifni became his tutor and foster father. After his education by the leading teachers of al-Azhar, he received the qualification to teach in 1776, and two years later he occupied a vacant chair at this mosque school. He was a proponent of the Shāfi'ite school of law.

Earlier in his career, besides being a Muslim scholar, he undertook administrative tasks in the government. Because of his good contact with Sulaymān al-Kāshif, he got a post as secretary in the Dīwān al-'Umūmī, the council of the supreme dignitaries in Ottoman-Mamluk Egypt, in 1763. In 1766 'Alī Bey appointed him secretary general in his office, a position that he lost upon the overthrow of 'Ali Bey (1772); he regained it after the death of Muḥammad Bey (1775). During the following period he maintained good relations with the beys dominant at the time, especially Isma'īl Bey (1786–1791), who also gave him duties in the mint, the slaughterhouse, as well as the administration of the pensions.

Muhdī made use of his insight into the methods of the dominant caste to accumulate an enormous fortune for himself through his administrative activities. In the course of the political crisis and the plague of the year 1791, he was able to procure numerous leases of tax farms and management of

foundations. He also participated in trading companies. When Bonaparte conquered Egypt in 1798, he was, with his private businesses and the pensions he obtained from the Ottoman state, one of the wealthiest '*ulamā*' in the country.

Muḥammad al-Muhdī immediately began to collaborate with the French and was appointed in the post of secretary general in the newly formed general council. He soon became an important, if not the most important, support of the French rule in Egypt. He edited the Arabic proclamations of the commanding generals in cooperation with the French interpreters and Orientalists. He willingly placed his experience in governmental administration at the disposal of the French generals and administrators, and he made many personal friendships with them. Muhdī used his position of confidence in many critical situations to moderate the policy of the French against the Muslim population. His reputation and his influence on his fellow believers often allowed him to calm the overheated mood and to subdue attempts at rebellion at the very beginning. Even after the failure of the French military venture, he remained in written contact with some of the French, especially with Jean Joseph Marcel, the former director of the "Imprimerie Nationale" at Cairo. Later Marcel published a translation of Muhdī's works. Among them there are some poems that reflect a view of religious toleration unusual for a Muslim scholar of the eighteenth century, possibly caused partly by his contact with the French.

In spite of his collaboration with the French, the return of Egypt to Ottoman sovereignty did not cause him any difficulties. He succeeded quickly in making himself liked and indispensable, thereby saving his posts and benefices. In the following years of internal struggle for power between the Mamluk beys and the Ottoman pashas, he behaved as neutrally as he could, but he justified, along with other leading '*ulamā*', the seizure of power by MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ in July 1805. After this event, he withdrew a little from politics and devoted himself to the administration of his tax farms and his businesses. He gave lectures at al-Azhar and occupied himself privately with scientific-technical experiments. When in 1809 the leader of the Ashrīf sect, 'Umar Makram, fell into disgrace with Muḥammad 'Alī, Muhdī made use of the situation at the expense of the exiled Makram to secure again more political influence and more profitable offices.

After the death of the *shaykh* al-Azhar al-Sharqāwī in 1812, Muḥammad al-Muhdī was elected as his successor in the office of the director of al-Azhar and head of all scholars in Egypt. For somewhat mysterious reasons, however, Muḥammad 'Alī substituted him shortly afterward by another person. He died in January 1815.

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HARALD MOTZKI

MUHTASIB, AL-. *See* Hisbah, al-.

MUI, SAINT, martyr in fourth-century Egypt. Mui is known only by some fragments of an Encomium in his honor, by an unknown author, published by W. E. Crum. The fragments report some miracles performed by him when he was in prison in Alexandria, his confrontation with the prefect in the lawcourt, and the tortures inflicted upon him. The beginning and the part dealing with the martyrdom are missing.

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TITO ORLANDI

MUMMIFICATION. There is evidence for mummification in Egypt from the beginning of historical times. Herodotus and Diodorus report on the different ways of mummifying. The practice arose from the idea that preservation of bodily integrity is the presupposition for life after death. This idea is evidently also the reason for statements in martyr legends of the "Coptic consensus" (Baumeister, 1972, pp. 146ff.). After the torture but before the death of the martyr, an archangel comes down from heaven and removes any bodily mutilations arising from the martyrdom, so it can be affirmed that "there was no kind of injury to his body, and no damage was done to him at all."

As late as 450 SHENUTE, in a sermon on the resurrection, came to terms with such ideas: "Even if your eyes are torn out, you will not arise in the resurrection without eyes. . . . Even if your head is taken off, you will rise again with it on you. Even if every member is cut off, you will not only arise without having the little finger of your hand cut off, or [the little toe] of your foot, but you will also arise as a spiritual body." Hence it is not surprising that no criticism of mummification was voiced by the church. Only Arsenius, who lived in the fifth century, was, according to the opinion of H. G. Evelyn-White (1932, Vol. 2, p. 163 n. 7), against mummification. For Augustine (*sermo* 361, *De resurrectione mortuorum*) mummification is proof that the ancient Egyptians believed in the resurrection of the dead. In the story of Joseph, deriving from the fourth century, Jesus is brought into association with mummification. After the death of his father, Joseph, he lays his hands on the body like a magus and says, "The stench of death shall not be master over thee, nor shall thine ears decay, nor shall the festering matter ever flow from thy body, nor shall thy burial-cloth pass into the earth nor thy flesh which I have laid upon thee, but it shall remain fast to thy body until the day of the thousand-year banquet." This is the literary parallel to mummification in practice. It is further reported that when the Jews came to lay Joseph to rest after their manner of burial, they found him already prepared for burial, "with the burial [cloth] clinging to his body as if it had been attached with iron clasps" (chap. 27, 1f.; Morenz, 1951, p. 23). This is intended to demonstrate that Joseph had been mummified by Jesus' utterance.

Although so far only a few Coptic cemeteries have been systematically excavated, mummies of Christians have been authenticated beyond dispute, particularly in Karara, Antinoopolis, Akhmīm, Thebes, and Aswan. From the funerary equipment in the graves, these cemeteries are to be dated from the fifth to the eighth century.

The examination of Coptic mummies (Dawson and Smith, 1924, pp. 127ff.) showed that down to the sixth century the usual method of mummifying in the Greco-Roman period was retained. The skin and internal and external organs were generally preserved, and could be investigated. The mummies of the seventh and eighth centuries excavated at Thebes, on the other hand, were poorly preserved, which can probably be traced back to a change in mummification: no incision was made in the body, nor was it embedded in soda; rather, it was surrounded with large quantities of coarse salt, wrapped in cloths, and swathed with mummy bands. In addition salt was scattered in the mummy bands. The use of juniper berries was also established (Dawson and Smith, 1924, pp. 130ff.).

Mummies were depicted in book illustrations. In the Alexandrian Chronicle the patriarch TIMOTHY I (d. 385) is represented as a mummy (*Koptische Kunst*, p. 450, no. 623). This illustration does not, however, prove that he was mummified, for Lazarus also is represented as a mummy in early Christian and medieval art, although he was not mummified (Hermann, 1962).

On the evidence of his testament (in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, I.77.57ff. [London, 1893]), bishop ABRAHAM OF HERMONTHIS (beginning of the seventh century) was to be mummified. He also promoted the mummifying of Christians of his diocese; on the evidence of his correspondence (Crum, 1902, no. 68), he arranged for the provision of mummy bands and shrouds for the faithful of his see. In several monasteries under his jurisdiction on the west side of Thebes mummified monks were exhumed—for instance, in Dayr al-Madīnah, in the monastery of DAYR EPIPHANIUS, and in those of Phoibammon and of Mark. In the monasteries of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn and in churches in Middle Egypt, well-preserved mummies are in safekeeping. They are said to be Coptic martyrs and patriarchs of the Middle Ages (Schmitz, 1930, 11 and lit.).

On the evidence of papyri, it appears that as early as about 300 the priest Apollo kept the mummy of a Christian woman, who was sent there for burial, in the township of Dūsh, situated in the Khargah Oasis.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

MUMMY LABELS, tablets, mostly made of wood, on which are stated the names of the deceased, his parents, and his grandfather, and information about age, date of death, and the place to which he belonged (sometimes also his occupation). The majority are in Demotic and Greek (Coptic tablets are also known). The mummy labels were hung round the deceased's neck by a cord after MUMMIFICATION and the wrapping of the mummy in bandages, for identification and transport to the place of burial.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

MUNIER, ADOLPHE HENRI (1884–1945), French Coptologist and bibliographer. He was born in Meursault, Côte-d'Or. He was librarian of the Cairo Museum (1908–1925) and succeeded Adolphe Cattaui as secretary of the Société royale de Géographie de l'Egypte (1924–1945). He published many articles in journals, most of them devoted to Coptic texts and the subject of early Christianity in Egypt. He died in Cairo.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

MUQAWQAS, AL-. *See* Cyrus.

MURAD KAMIL (1907–1975), Egyptian scholar and educator in ancient and modern languages. He studied under Enno Littman and had a brillant academic career in Egypt and Germany. He specialized in Semitic languages, ancient and modern, those of the Middle East as well as those of Ethiopia. A master of Greek, Latin, and classical Arabic, he was also well acquainted with many Western languages, including German, French, English, Spanish, and Italian. He taught at Cairo University, the Coptic CLERICAL COLLEGE, in the Institute of Coptic Studies, the University of Freiburg, and the Institute of Arabic Studies at the League of Arab States. Murad headed the education mission delegated to Ethiopia by the Egyptian government and was for two years (1943–1945) undersecretary of state at the Ethiopian Ministry of Education. He founded and directed the Higher School of Languages in Cairo. He was a member of the Academy of Arabic Language and many other scholarly institutions. Always deeply concerned with the problems of the Coptic church, Murad took part in several of the protracted negotiations between the Coptic and the Ethio-

pian churches. He bequeathed his library, comprising about 20,000 volumes, to the Coptic patriarchate.

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MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

MURQUS. *See* Mark or Marqos.

MURQUS AL-ANTŪNĪ, saint mentioned as a hermit of the Monastery of Saint Antony during the reign of the Mamluk sultans (fourteenth century). We do not know the date of his birth, or who his parents were and what their attitude to the ruling power was, nor at what date he entered the Monastery of Saint Antony. We know only that renunciations of the Christian faith were numerous down to the accession of the Patriarch MATTHEW I (in 1378). The greatest persecution the Coptic community had undergone raged from about 1351, greatly diminishing the number of Christians. Matthew's accession marked a spiritual and nationalist renewal of the Copts in the face of the alien Mamluk power.

G. Graf, in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Vol. 2, p. 475), gives the date of his death as 1386. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage and quickly became known through the miracles that took place there. A chapel containing his relics was built at the Monastery of Saint Antony, a chapel mentioned by J. M. Vansleb in 1672. C. Sicard also mentions it (Vol. 1, p. 25) in the journey he made to the monastery in 1716. After Sicard's visit, the chapel was reconstructed in 1766 (Fedden, 1937, p. 56). It was in this chapel that the Franciscans were authorized to celebrate the mass in the seventeenth century. They resided at the Monastery of Saint Antony to have their young missionaries taught Arabic.

At present this church serves the monks for the period of Lent, but pilgrimage appears to have fallen out of use, for Viaud does not mention it in his book on the Coptic pilgrimages.

Mark's feast day is 8 Abīb.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

MURQUS IBN QANBAR, late-twelfth-century reformer. He worked to reintroduce the secret confession and for the more frequent administration of communion, even outside liturgical services. These and other innovations, such as the abolition of circumcision before baptism for the Copts and changes in the rules of fasting and the use of the sign of the cross, were strongly opposed by the official defenders of Coptic morals and customs, but he had a great following for a time. His elevation to the status of priest and monk under Patriarch JOHN V (1147–1167) had been seen as a serious mistake and as immoral and illegal. He was repeatedly disciplined and drew closer to the Melchites, eventually joining them formally. After his temporary return to the Coptic church, the Melchite patriarch banished him to DAYR AL-QUṢAYR, southeast of Cairo. Here he spent the last twenty years of his life as an administrator. He wrote prolifically to implement his reforms, but his works have been lost for the most part and are known only through writings opposing him, especially those by MĪKHĀ'ĪL OF DAMIETTA. There is a commentary on the Pentateuch (see OLD TESTAMENT, ARABIC VERSIONS) that is probably his, as judged by style and subject, that is, interpre-

tations are made on the basis of symbolic rather historical or dictionary meanings of words and actions, with an emphasis on the confession and penance.

VINCENT FREDERICK

MURQUS IBN ZAR'AH. *See* Mark III, Saint.

MURQUS AL-MASHRIQĪ AL-MALLĀWANĪ, eighteenth-century Copt. Three letters are associated with this name. A Jirjis al-Qibṭī (George the Copt) who had taken up the Roman Catholic faith sent two letters to Murqus with arguments for the Roman Catholic doctrine, a refutation of the Monophysite errors, and an invitation to conversion. Murqus' letter in reply declined the invitation, and its polemical message apparently had the effect that Jirjis returned to the Coptic faith and accepted the penance that the bishop of ABŪ TĪJ, Christodoulus, laid on him. The extant manuscript of the letters dates to 1795–1796.

VINCENT FREDERICK

MURQUS SIMAYKAH (1864–1944), public servant and founder of the COPTIC MUSEUM in Cairo. Born to an old Coptic family of clerks and magistrates, he had a distinguished career in the government service, but this was not enough to occupy his time after he reached middle age. He then devoted himself to public affairs in the Legislative Assembly, the Higher Education Council, and the Coptic Community Council, (AL-MAJLIS AL-MILLĪ), where he was an active and a vocal member. He was awarded the title of pasha for his public service.

From early youth, he was attracted by the numerous and varied remains of the Egyptian heritage, but he was particularly partial to the monuments and objects of the Christian period, which then tended to be neglected for the more grandiose remains of other periods.

In his memoirs, not yet published, he describes how he was influenced by reading Butler, Strzygowsky, and Somers Clarke. The first two of these were to become personal friends, as well as most of the scholars who studied the art and the language of Christian Egypt during his lifetime.

Thanks to his efforts, the ancient Coptic churches were placed under the administration directed by the Commission for the Preservation of Arab Monuments. This commission was established in 1881 and Murqus Simaykah, a member since 1906, later became chairman of its permanent committee; he spared neither time nor effort to ensure the continuity and the high standard of excellence in its work.

The greatest achievement of his life was the creation of the Coptic Museum. This was founded by him in 1908, in a room next to the Church of the Virgin in Old Cairo (al-MU'ALLAQAH) in order to collect art objects and other remains of Christian Egypt. He was able to interest the enlightened public of Egypt in his enterprise; an imposing list of private subscriptions preceded an annual subvention from the state. The museum was systematically developed through the untiring efforts of its founder and it slowly took on its present form. In 1931, it was put under the control of the ministry of education, without prejudice to the rights of the patriarchate and the churches on its contents. The constant development of the museum required the building of an important new wing. A significant step was the transfer to the Coptic Museum of the imposing Christian collection from the Egyptian Museum. This collection had been started by G. MASPERO, who was one of the first to call attention to the archaeological and cultural importance of the Christian era of Egypt. In 1983 and 1984, the Antiquities Department completed an important renovation and modernization of the museum.

Murqus Simaykah also devoted much attention to recording and cataloging the Coptic and Christian-Arabic manuscripts in Egypt, with the collaboration of the museum's librarian, YASSA 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ. These are preserved in the libraries of the Coptic Museum and of the patriarchates in Cairo and Alexandria, as well as in monasteries and churches. Some institutions, including the SOCIETY OF COPTIC ARCHAEOLOGY, sporadically continued this enterprise, but much remains to be done.

His effigy in bronze stands at the entrance to the museum that was his life's work.

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MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

MURRAY, MARGARET ALICE (1863–1963), English Egyptologist and Coptologist. She was born

in Calcutta. At first, she intended to have a nursing career, but she abandoned this goal when she did not qualify in England. She was the first woman to become a full-time Egyptologist. She entered University College, London, in 1894 and studied under J. H. Walker, F. L. Griffith, and Flinders Petrie, becoming a junior lecturer in 1898. She published mainly in the field of Egyptology, but also issued a limited number of works in the field of Coptic studies. She died at Welwyn, Hertfordshire.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

MUSA AL-ASWAD. *See* Moses the Black, Saint.

MUSEUMS, COPTIC COLLECTIONS IN.

Not all ancient Coptic artifacts—whether the most commonplace items, those to be classified as art, or fragments of architectural sculptures and mural paintings—have remained in situ. A great number have disappeared, and of the objects that have survived, most have been placed in private or public collections in Egypt and elsewhere throughout the world. These items merit study, for though some offer but a sampling, the majority—via the various techniques employed in their creation—serve to fill out one's picture of Coptic culture and enable one to trace the evolution of its art and crafts according to the stages of its history and its characteristics.

Therefore, it is necessary to present a survey of the artifacts in these collections. Emphasis is placed on those open to the general public, of which the greatest number belong to museums or are connected to university centers, but a few private collections are included because of their size and/or importance.

Obviously it is impossible to give detailed information about these items (e.g., chronological, descriptive, and artistic, according to their provenance in Egypt). Therefore a simple yet adequate description is given by category; it includes a numerical estimate of the items in each collection and a note as to their state of preservation. From such succinct lists, anyone needing more precise information can then go on to consult the various museums and collections. However, even in such condensed form, these lists are very informative, if only for showing the range and variety of Coptic work.

The survey is arranged in alphabetical order according to (1) country; (2) cities within each country; (3) museums or collections within each city, and (4) the categories represented in each museum and the state of preservation of the various items ("c" stands for "complete"; "nc," for "not complete"; "fr," for "fragments"). Some of the numbers shown are necessarily approximate.

Apart from the general schema described above, three public collections deserve special mention, for in each one the principal aspects of Coptic art and technique are sufficiently well represented to allow one to perceive a coherent and complete whole.

First, and without equal, is the COPTIC MUSEUM in Cairo.

Only two other collections—which as a whole cannot be placed on the same level as the Cairo collections, although in some domains they are more representative—have the aspect of a Coptic museum outside of Egypt, even to the point of being "ambassadors" for the Coptic Museum in Cairo, for their range is complete as well as abundantly stocked in the diverse categories of ancient Coptic work. These are the STATE MUSEUM OF BERLIN in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and the LOUVRE MUSEUM in Paris.

ARGENTINA

La Plata

Universidad National de la Plata

Sculpture in stone: architectural capitals (c: 1)

Ceramics: decorated vase (fr: 6)

AUSTRALIA

Melbourne

Museum of Victoria

Ceramics: lamps (c: 2); Saint Menas phials (c: 2)

National Gallery of Victoria

Textiles: outer garments (c: 1), (nc: 1), (fr: 34)

Queens College

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 47)

Sydney

Macquarie University, Ancient History Teaching Collections

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 25)

Ceramics: lamps (c: 3); Saint Menas phials (c: 1)

Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 35); handbags (nc: 1)

Power House Museum

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 2)

AUSTRIA

Kunsthistorisches Museum
Paintings: relief of Saint Menas (1); mummy portraits (8)

Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst
Textiles: various (1,600), most uncovered near a cemetery near Saqqara

Papyrus-Sammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek
Paintings: mummy portraits (2)

BELGIUM

Antwerp
Museum Mayer Van Den Bergh
Textiles: various (fr: 3)

Museum Vleeshuis–Oudheidkundige Musea
Textiles: various (fr: a few)
Ceramics: various (fr: a few)
Ivory and bone: statuettes (c: 2)

Bruges
Gruuthusmuseum
Textiles: various (fr: 11)

Brussels
Musées royaux d'Art de l'Histoire du Cinquantenaire
Section—Art chrétien d'Orient
Textiles: various (fr: a few)
Ceramics: dolls (1)
Bronzes: cross, cauldron

Département egyptien
Sculpture in stone: friezes (fr: 11); large relief (c: 1); capitals (c: 5); statuary (c: 3); stelae (c: 5)
Sculpture in wood: (c: 1)
Ivory and bone: sculptures (8); games (1)
Painting on wood: (c: 1)
Ceramics: goblets and dishes (c: 10); Saint Menas phials (c: 10); lamps (c: 50), (fr: 40); various (c: 20)
Glass: vases and bottles (c: 3)

Ghent
Museum
Sculpture in wood: combs (1)
Leather: sandals (c: 1), (fr: a few)

Kortrijk (Courtrai)
Museum voor Oudheidkunde en Sierkunsten
Textiles: outer garment (fr: 1); liturgical vestment (fr: 1); various (fr: 9)

Leuven (Louvain)
Musée de l'Université
Ceramics: lamps (c: a few); Saint Menas phials (c: a few)

Liège
Musée Curtius
Glass: glasses (a few)

Louvain-la-Neuve
Musée de l'Université
Ceramics: various (a few)

Mons
Musée Puissant
Textiles: various (fr: indeterminate)

Morlanweiz
Musée Royal de Mariemont
Sculpture in stone: stelae (a few)
Ceramics: lamps (a few)
Textiles: various (a few)

Namur
Cathedral of Namur, Musée Diocésain
Textiles: various (c: 1)

Scheldewindeke
Museum
Sculpture in wood: combs (c: 1)
Textiles: (fr: 15)

CANADA

Montreal
Museum of Fine Arts
Bone: (fr: 56)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 434); bonnets and handbags (c: 9); hangings (fr: 4)
Bronzes: various (c: 14)
Leather: boots (c: 50), (nc: 6)

Toronto
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Malcove Collection
Sculpture in stone: relief (c: 16); other elements (c: 2)
Sculpture in wood: spoon (c: 1)
Paintings: mural (fr: 20); on wood (fr. 1)
Ivory: various (c: 4)
Bone: various (c: 11)
Textiles: various (45), including outer garments (nc: 1), (fr: 40)
Ceramics: various (c: 5)
Bronzes: various (c: 25)
Metals: lead flask (c: 1); gold earring (c: 1)

Royal Ontario Museum, Greco-Roman Department
Sculpture in stone: decorated stelae (c: 4), (nc: 1); statuary (nc: 1); figurative reliefs (nc: 3); vases (c: 2)
Sculpture in wood: various (c: 13), (nc: 7)
Ivory and bone: various (c: 45), (nc: 36)
Paintings: mural portraits (c: 2)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 25), (nc: 5), (pc: 5) (fr: 1); cups (c: 4), (fr: 1); lamps (c: 35), (nc: 25),

(fr: 10); Saint Menas phials (c: 3), (nc: 6), (fr: 1); various (c: 7), (fr: 4)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 19), (nc: 1), (fr: 1); lamps (c: 10), (nc: 6); lamp feet (c: 4); decorated vases (c: 3); weights (c: 2)
Glass: vases (c: 12), (nc: 1), (fr: 6); mirrors (nc: 1)
Royal Ontario Museum, Textile Department
Textiles: various (798), including outer garments (c: 19), (fr: 135); hangings (c: 3), (fr: 61)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Brno
Moravská Galerie
Textiles: various (30)
Vlastivedný Ústav
Textiles: (1)
Ceska Skalice
Museum Bozeny Nemcové a Textilní Muzeum
Textiles: various (25).
Chotebor
Mestské Muzeum
Textiles: various (20)
Krnov
Mestské Muzeum
Textiles: various (22)
Liberec
Severoceské Muzeum
Textiles: various (40)
Lomnice Nad Popelkou
Mestské Muzeum
Textiles: various (a few)
Opava
Slezské Muzeum
Textiles: various (10)
Plzen
Západoceské Muzeum
Textiles: various (15)
Prague
Náprstkovo Muzeum Asijských, Afrických a Americkych Kultur
Textiles: various (50)
Sculpture in stone: various (a few)
Sbírka Univerzity Karlovy, Katedra ved o Antichém Staroveku
Textiles: various (1)
Umeleckoprumyslové Muzeum
Textiles: various (90)

DENMARK

Copenhagen
Museum of Decorative Art
Textiles: outer garments (c: 1), (nc: 2), (fr: 80)
Nationalmuseet (National Museum of Denmark)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 12)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 9); Saint Menas phials (c: 3)

EGYPT

Cairo
Coptic Museum
See separate entry.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (West Germany)

Aachen
Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum
Textiles: various (26)
Berlin-Dahlem
Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz
Sculpture in stone: statuary (c: 2); reliefs (c: about 10)
Sculpture in wood: statuary (c: 10)
Painting on wood: caskets (c: 2)
Textiles: various (10)
Ceramics: busts (c: 5); various (fr: 100)
Glass: various
Cologne
Schnütgen-Museum
Textiles: various (numerous)
Darmstadt
Hessisches Landesmuseum
Textiles: various (several)
Ceramics: oil lamps (fr: 3); various (several)
Bronzes: various (several)
Düsseldorf
Kunstmuseum
Textiles: bonnets (c: 7); various (550)
Leather: sandals (several)
Erlangen
Archäologischer Institut der Universität
Textiles: various (several)
Essen
Folkwang-Museum
Textiles: various (several)
Frankfurt am Main
Museum für Kunsthandwerke
Textiles: various (fr: 130)
Städtische Galerie Liebighaus
Sculpture in stone: architectural (fr: several)
Textiles: various (fr: 20)
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials and various (1,000)
Freiburg im Breisgau
Institut für christliche Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte der Universität

Sculpture in stone: statuary (1)
Museum für Völkerkunde
Sculpture in wood: furniture (several pieces); combs (several)
Textiles: various (several)
Ceramics: lamps (several)
Bronzes: various (several)
Leather: sandals (several)
Basketry: various

Hamburg
Museum für Kunst und Gewerke
Textiles: tunics (several); various (fr: 180)

Hamm
Städtisches Gustav-Lübcke-Museum
Sculpture in stone: reliefs (c: 4)
Textiles: various (60)
Ceramics: lamps (several); amulets (25)

Hannover
Kestner Museum
Sculpture in stone: statuary (several); decorative reliefs (several)
Sculpture in wood: combs (several); castanets (several)
Ivory: various
Textiles: various (several)
Bronzes: various

Heidelberg
Institüt der Universität
Sculpture in stone: statuary (several); reliefs (several); sarcophagus (1)
Sculpture in wood: utensils, combs, and various (several)
Textiles: various
Ceramics: various
Leather: various
Metals: various
Glass: various
Basketry: various

Hildesheim
Röme- und Pelizaeus-Museum
Sculpture in stone: reliefs (3)
Textiles: various (300)

Karlsruhe
Badisches Landesmuseum
Sculpture in stone: statuary (1); relief (1)
Textiles: various (263)

Krefeld
Deutsches Textilmuseum
Textiles: various (numerous)

Mainz
Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität
Textiles: various (fr: 18).
Römisch-germanisches Zentral Museum
Sculpture in stone: reliefs (several)
Sculpture in wood: combs (several); various utensils
Textiles: various
Ceramics: lamps (several)

Mönchengladbach
Schloss Reydt Museum
Textiles: various (25)

Munich
Staatliche Sammlung ägyptische Kunst
Sculpture in stone: statuary (several); reliefs (several).
Ivory: various
Textiles: various

Offenbach
Deutsches Ledermuseum
Leather: shoes (several)

Oldenburg
Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte
Sculpture in wood: mask (1)
Textiles: various (fr: 3)

Recklinghausen
Ikonen Museum
Sculpture in stone: architectural reliefs, niches, capital (several)
Ceramics: various
Textiles: various
Glass: various

Trier
Trier Museum
Textiles: displayed and in storage (200), including pillows; blankets; tapestries; tunics for adults and children, with paintings, drawings, and sketches of various mythological, biblical, and other subjects on some of the tunics, on some medallions, and on other objects; and, among the rarities, a stocking, a satchel, and a bonnet
Ceramics: Greek vases (mostly from Egypt in late antiquity); terra-cottas (some)
Sculpture in stone: Coptic limestone reliefs (some); friezes (some)
Paintings: portraits (some)
Jewelry: (some)
Other items: mummy masks, candlesticks, incense stands, urns
Most of the objects are from the early and middle Coptic periods; few are from the late period.

Tübingen
Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität (Egyptian Collection of the University)
Sculpture in stone: stelae (several)

Ulm
Museum der Stadt Ulm (Ulmer Museum)
Textiles: various (50)

Wiesbaden
Sammlung nassauischer Altertümer
Textiles: various (87); tunic (1)

Würzburg
Wagner Museum der Universität
Textiles: various (57)

FINLAND

Helsinki
Finnish National Museum
Textiles: various (160)

FRANCE

Amiens
Musée de Picardie
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 2)

Angers
Musée Pincé
Textiles: bands (fr: 23)
Ceramics: vases (c: 2)
Metals: cruciform ornament of a lamp (fr: 1)

Auch
Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie
Sculpture in wood: frieze (c: 1); figurative reliefs (nc: 1); decorative reliefs (c: 2); various (c: 2), (fr: 1)
Ivory and bone: statuary (c: 1)
Paintings: murals (fr: 1); portraits (c: 2)
Textiles: shawls (fr: 4)
Ceramics: various (c: 1)
Plasters: architectural elements (fr: 1)

Avignon
Musée Calvet
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 7)

Besançon
Musèe des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie
Sculpture in stone: capital (c: 1); base of decorated vases (c: 1)
Textiles: undergarments (fr: 40)
Ceramics: decorated vase (c: 1); undecorated amphora (c: 1); lamps (c: 3), (nc: 2); Saint Menas phial (c: 1)

Bordeaux
Musée d'Aquitaine
Textiles: tunics (c: 2), (nc: 10), (fr: 750)

Boulogne-sur-Mer
Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie
Sculpture in wood: various (fr: 6)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 13)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 3)
Leather: pair of sandals (c: 1)

Cahors
Musée Ancien Palais Episcopal
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 40)
Leather: shoes (c: 1); pairs of boots (c: 1)

Calais
Musée des Beaux Arts et de la Dentelle
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 1)

Chalon-sur-Saône
Musée Denon
Ceramics: amphora (c: 1), (fr: several)

Châteaudun
Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Histoire Naturelle
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials (c: 4)

Châteauroux
Musée Bertrand
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 4)

Colmar
Museum d'Histoire Naturelle
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 90)

Compiègne
Musée Vivenel, l'Hotel de Sougeons
Textiles: tunics (nc: 1), (fr: several), shawls (c: 1); pillow covers (fr: several)

Dijon
Palais des Etats de Bourgogne
Sculpture in wood: weaving tools (c: 19); dolls (c: 2)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 150)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 22); vases (c: 28); goblets (fr: several); dishes (c: 1)
Glass: bottles (c: 4), (fr: several)

Grenoble
Musée de Grenoble
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 21); bonnets and bags (c: 1), (fr: 4); hangings (fr: 12)

Guéret
Musée Ancien, l'Hôtel de la Sénatorerie
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 155)

La Roche-sur-Yon
Musée Municipal
Ceramics: vases (c: 3); goblets (c: 4)

Laval
Musée du Vieux Château
Ceramics: vases (c: 2)

Lille
Université de Lille III, U.E.R. d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie
Ceramics: decorated potsherds (several)
Metals: silver cross (1)

Limoges
Musée Municipal
Sculpture in wood: double comb (c: 1); rectangular block ornamented with a cross (c: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 14)
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials (c: 2); decorated vases (c. 2)
Bronzes: lamps (c: 9); human head (c: 1); animals (c: several); bracelets (c: 2); pyx (c: 1); small bell (c: 1); sheep bell (c: 1); head of gazelle (c: 2); ornamented wand (c: 1)

Lons-le-Saunier
Musée de l'Hotel de Ville
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 18)

Lunéville
Musée Municipal, Château
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 17)

Lyons
Musée des Beaux Arts
Sculpture in stone: friezes (fr: 5); capitals (nc: 1); broken pediments (fr: 1); figurative reliefs (c: 2); decorative reliefs (c: 5); sculpted table holding jars (c: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 200)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 6), (nc: 3); Saint Menas phials (c: 7), (nc: 4)
Bronzes: braziers (nc: 1); lamps (c: 2); lamp base (nc: 2); ornamental finery (nc: 1)
Glass: magic intaglios (c: 2)
Musée Historique des Tissus
Textiles: outer garments (c: 4), (nc: 7), (fr: 850); weavings (nc: 30); hangings (fr: 5, often of importance); pillow covers (fr: 6)

Marseilles
Musée d'Archéologie, Chateau Borély
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 76)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 5); Saint Menas phials (c: 11), (nc: 10)
Bronzes: dancer with crotalum (c: 1)
Leather: sandals (c: 1), (nc: 1)

Montbéliard
Musée du Chateau
Bronzes: frying pan (c: 1)

Nantes
Musée Départemental de la Loire Atlantique
Sculpture in wood: comb (c: 1); weaving implements (c: several)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 39)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 16); Saint Menas phials (c: 1)

Orléans
Musée des Beaux Arts
Decorated fabrics: outer garments (fr: 2); hangings (fr: 26)
Ceramics: vases, with or without decoration (c: 8), (nc: 2), (fr: 2); lamps (fr: 1); Saint Menas phials (c: 1), (nc: 2); various stamps, corks, etc. (c: 2), (pc: 2), (fr: 7)

Paris
Administration Générale du Mobilier National et des Manufactures Nationales des Gobelins et de Beauvais
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 470); liturgical garments (c: 30)
Bibliothèque Nationale
Painting: illuminated manuscript (nc: 1), an evangeliary containing pictures of three of the four Evangelists and seventy-four scenes; some leaves with figurative subjects (fr)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée des Médailles et Antiques
Painting on wood: various (c: 2)
Institut Catholique de Paris
Painting: illuminated manuscript (c: 1)
Louvre Museum
See separate entry.
Musée Auguste Rodin
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 74); underclothes (fr: 1); shawls (fr: 21); hangings (fr: 18); pillow covers (fr: 12)
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Pavillon de Marsan
Textiles: outer garments (c: 1), (nc: 41), (fr: 47); liturgical vestments (fr: 38); hangings (fr: 20)
Musée de l'Homme
Textiles: 500 items, including outer garments (fr: 63); shawls (fr: 9); bonnets and bags (fr: 7); hangings (fr: 15); cushions and pillow covers (fr: 2)
Musée des Thermes et de l'Hotel de Cluny
Sculpture in wood: combs (fr: 2)
Ivory and bone: statuary amulet (nc: 1); figurative reliefs on combs (fr: 2); decorative reliefs (fr: 1)
Textiles: tunic (nc: 1), (fr: 2); hair-nets (fr: 5); hangings (fr: 180)
Leather: sandals (c: 1) (nc: 5)

Périgueux
Musée du Périgord

Textiles: outer garments (c: 1 tunic), (fr: 155); undershirt (c: 1)

Rennes
Musée des Beaux Arts
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 67)

Roanne
Musée Joseph Déchelette
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 25); undergarments (nc: 2); liturgical vestments (fr: 1); pillow covers (nc: 1), (fr: 2)

Romans-sur-Isère
Musée de la Chaussure et d'Ethnographie Régionale
Leather: sandals (c: 4); boots (c: 1); shoes (c: 9)

Rouen
Musée Départemental des Antiquités de la Seine Maritime
Sculpture in wood: weaver's comb (c: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (nc: 1), (fr: 68); hangings (fr: 3)
Bronzes: libation goblets decorated with a cross (c: 1); insignia of a horseman's lance (c: 1)

Saint-Just, Saint-Rambert-sur-Loire
Musée Municipal, le Prieuré
Sculpture in wood: statuette (c: 1)
Textiles: various (fr: 7)

Toulouse
Musées Georges Labit
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 19)

Tournus
Musée Greuze
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 73)

Troyes
Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie
Textiles: vairous (fr: 77)

Verdun
Musée Municipal, Cloître de la Trinité
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 15)

Vienne
Musée d'Art Chrétien
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 2)

GREAT BRITAIN

Batley
East Kirklees-Bagshaw Museum
Textiles: various (fr: 34); trimmings (many); tapestry trimmings (many)
Leather: sandals (nc: 4)

Belfast
Ulster Museum
Sculpture in stone: stela (nc: 1)
Ivory and bone: bone cross (c: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 6)
Bronzes: figurine (c: 1)

Birmingham
City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
Sculpture in stone: window sill (fr: 1); statuary (c: 1); stela (nc: 1); other elements, vases (c: 1), (nc: 1)
Sculpture in wood: various elements (c: 2), (nc: 5)
Ivory and bone: various elements (c: 4)
Textiles: various (nc: 7), (fr: 26)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 1), (nc: 1), (fr: 1); Saint Menas phials (c: 19); plain vessels (c: 27); various (nc: 4)
Glass: vases (c: 1)
Basketry: various (c: 6)

Bolton
Lancashire-Bolton Museum and Art Gallery
Sculpture in stone: capitals (fr: 2); broken pediments (fr: 2); decorated stelae (c: 2); figurative statuary (c: 2)
Sculpture in wood: various (c: 7)
Ivory and bone: various (c: 7)
Textiles: outer garments (c: 1), (nc: 2); bonnets (c: 16); shawls (c: 1); undergarments (c: 4), (nc: 8); tunics, hangings (fr: 700)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 2), (fr: 2); cups (c: 5); lamps (c: 4); various (c: 2)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 3); ornaments (c: 38)
Leather: sandals (c: 2); boots (c: 3), (fr: 10)
Metals: iron (c: 10), (fr: 2)
Glass: vases (fr: 31)

Brighton
Art Gallery and Museums of the Royal Pavilion
Textiles: piece (fr: 1)

Bristol
City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery
Sculpture in stone: stelae (c: 2)
Sculpture in wood: antelope heads (nc: 2); other elements (c: 1); figurative friezes (nc: 1)
Paintings: illuminations (c: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (nc: 7); bonnets and handbags (c: 1); tapestries (fr: 22); undergarments (nc: 2)
Bronzes: cross (nc: 1); inscribed cross (c: 1); censer (c: 1)
Leather: cushions (nc: 1?); piece of cut leather (fr: 1)
Metals: iron (c: 3), (nc: 2)

Cambridge
Fitzwilliam Museum
Sculpture in stone: friezes (c: 1), (nc: 1); capitals

(c: 2), (nc: 1); decorated stelae (c: 1); decorated reliefs (c: 1)
Sculpture in wood: elements (c: 8), (nc: 3), (fr: 1)
Ivory and bone: statuary (c: 1), (nc: 1); figurative reliefs (c: 1), (nc: 2), (fr: 3); decorative reliefs (c: 1), (nc: 1), (fr: 10); other elements (c: 8), (nc: 3), (fr: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (c: 4), (nc: 1), (fr: 172); bonnets and handbags (c: 1)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 15), (nc: 3), (fr: 23); lamps (fr: 2), Saint Menas phials (c: 2), (nc: 8); various (c: 7), (nc: 32), (fr: 31)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 6); lamps (c: 2); plain vases (c: 2); ornaments (c: 8)
Leather: sandals (c: 2); boots (nc: 1)
Metals: silver (c: 3); various (c: 1)
Glass: vases (c: 2)
Exceptional items: ivory diptych showing the four Evangelists, sixth century; capitals from the basilica at Hawwara

Cardiff National Museum of Wales
See Swansea, below.

Chelmsford, Essex-Chelmsford, and Essex Museum
See London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Colchester
Colchester and Essex Museum
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials (c: 1)

Dundee
Dundee Museums and Art Galleries
Sculpture in wood: kohl stick and lid (c: 2), (nc: 1)
Ivory and bone: ivory bracelet (fr: 2); bone pin (c: 2)
Metals: copper ring (c: 1); copper bracelet (c: 1); bronze crosses (c: 2)
Textiles: decorated (c: 24)
Glass: vases (fr: 6); beads (c: 6)
Leather: sandal (c: 1)

Durham
Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle
Textiles: tapestries (fr: 2)

Edinburgh
Royal Museum of Scotland
Sculpture in stone: stelae (c: 6), (fr: 1); statuary (c: 1)
Ivory and bone: figurative reliefs (fr: 2); decorative reliefs (fr: 2)
Textiles: outer garments (c: 4), (fr: 120); bonnets (c: 2)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 1); bronze censers (c: 1)
Metals: gold (nc: 1)

Glasgow
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Burrell Collection
Textiles: tapestry (fr: 23)
Hunterian Museum
Textiles: various (fr: 3), ostraca (c: 24)

Greenock
McClean Museum and Art Gallery
Textiles: various (few)

Halifax
Bankfield Museum, Calderdale Museums Service
Textiles: various (fr: 86)

Hereford
City Museum and Art Gallery
Bronzes: lamps (c: 2)

Ipswich
Ipswich Museum
Ceramics: Saint Menas phial (c: 1)
Painting: stucco painted with a crude figure of a saint (c: 1)
Kendal-Cumbria-Abbot Art Gallery
Textiles: decorated fabrics (fr: several)

Leicester
Jewry Lane Museum
Textiles: sock (c: 2); infant's shirt (c: 2), (fr: 1); shirt sleeve (c: 1); woolen ball (c: 1); decorated fabrics (fr: 8)

Liverpool
Liverpool Museum
Sculpture in stone: friezes (nc: 2); decorated stelae (c: 2), (nc: 1)
Sculpture in wood: figurative reliefs (c: 2), (nc: 1); decorative reliefs (c: 5), (nc: 50); other elements (c: 16), (nc: 3), (fr: 5)
Ivory and bone: statuary (c: 3); figurative reliefs (c: 1); decorative reliefs (c: 10); other elements (c: 6), (nc: 3)
Textiles: garments (fr: 300)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 1); cups (c: 2); lamps (c: 4); Saint Menas phials (c: 100); various (c: 6), (nc: 3)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 5); braziers (c: 1); lamps (c: 1); plain vase (c: 1); ornaments (c: 3)
Leather: codex cover (c: 1)
Glass: vase (c: 1)

London
British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities
Sculpture in stone: friezes (nc: 180); stone capitals (c: 21); broken pediments (c: 4); decorated stelae (c: 195); statuary (c: 4); figurative reliefs (c: 3), (nc: 10); decorative reliefs (nc: 5)

Sculpture in wood: friezes (nc: 10); other elements (c: 35), (nc: 10), (fr: 5)
Ivory and bone: statuary (c: 1), (nc: 12), (fr: 5); figurative reliefs (c: 4), (nc: 8), (fr: 3); decorative reliefs (c: 7), (nc: 6), (fr: 7); other elements (c: 100), (nc: 50), (fr: 50)
Painting: murals (nc: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (c: 2), (nc: 3), (fr: 165); bonnets and handbags (c: 1), (fr: 1); liturgical vestments (nc: 1); tapestries (c: 1), (nc: 2), (fr: 2)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 4), (nc: 1), (fr: 33); lamps (c: 129); Saint Menas phials (c: 7), (nc: 8); various (c: 23), (nc: 2)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 4); lamps (c: 4); lamp feet (nc: 3); ornaments (c: 15)
Leather: sandals (fr: 1); codex covers (nc: 1), (fr: 2)
Metals: gold (c: 1); silver (c: 2); iron (fr: 5)
Glass: vases (c: 3); mirrors (nc: 3)

British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities

Sculpture in stone: (fr: 2); bread stamps (c: 3); crosses (c: 3); seals (c: 7)
Sculpture in wood: door panels (c: 10); cross (c: 2); bread stamps (c: 2); pectoral (c: 1); comb (c: 1); pin (c: 2)
Textiles: various (fr: 29)
Ivory and bone: figures (c: 15); bone cruciform pendants (c: 12)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 42); Saint Menas phials (c: 12); pilgrim medallion (c: 1); bread stamps (c: 4); dishes (c: 4), (fr: 4); doll (c: 1)
Metals: gold rings (c: 2); breast chain (c: 1); earrings (c: 2); iron rings (?); bracelets (c: 2)
Bronzes: rings (c: 7); weights (c: 55); lamps (c: 10); lamp fittings (c: 1); peacock (c: 1); goose (c: 1); patera (c: 1); dish (c: 1); ewer (c: 1); bucket (c: 1); amphora (c: 1) pedestal (c: 1); medallion (c: 1); crosses (c: 16); brooches (c: 3); buckle (c: 1); earrings (c: 12); bracelets (c: 3); pins (c: 1); crosses (c: 2)
Glass: coin weights (c: 2); pendants (c: 2); bottle seals (c: 2)
From Wādī Sarjah: stucco mural painting (1); 650 complete and incomplete pottery vessels and lamps; approximately 80 assorted textile, wood, bone, iron, bronze, lead objects; approximately 410 glass fragments

Victoria and Albert Museum

Textiles: tapestries (fr: 64); tunic (fr: 2); gilt leather strap (fr: 1); basket (fr: 1).
To be added from Chelmsford, Essex-Chelmsford, and Essex Museum: various elements: (fr: 20) donated
To be added from London-South Kensington Museum (Textile Machinery Collection): the whole Coptic collection on long-term loan

Maidstone

Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery

Textiles: (fr: 3)

Newbury

Newbury District Museum, Berkshire

Ceramics: decorated vases (fr: 3); cups (fr: 4); Saint Menas phials (c: 1), (nc: 1), (fr: 5); various objects, shards (fr: 12)

Northampton

Central Museum

Leather: shoes (nc: 2); sandals (nc: 3)

Norwich

Castle Museum

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 13); tapestries (fr: 6)

Nottingham

City of Nottingham Arts Department, Museum of Costume and Textiles

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 38)

Oxford

Ashmolean Museum

Sculpture in stone: altar slab (c: 1); capital (c: 1); bust (c: 1); stelae (c: 4); cross (c: 1)
Sculpture in wood: cross (c: 1); altar board (c: 1); combs (c: 3), (nc: 2), (fr: 1); triptych (nc: 1)
Leather: headband (c: 1); decorated piece (fr: 1); shoes (c: 5), (nc: 2), (fr: 1); sandals (nc: 1), (fr: 1)
Ivory and bone: comb (c: 1); spindle whorls (c: 6), (nc: 1)
Ceramics: lamp (c: 7), (nc: 2); pots (c: 3), (nc: 6), (fr: 1 with *chi-rho* symbol on base); Saint Menas phials (c: 14), (nc: 39), (fr: 2); incense burner or lamp stand (nc: 1); eucharistic loaves (c: 5)
Glass: flasks (c: 19), (nc: 1), (fr: 3); vases (fr: 1); bowls (fr: 6); jars (c: 8)
Bronzes: tripod stand (c: 1); bucket (c: 1), vase (c: 1); cruet and stand (nc: 1); lamp (c: 1), (nc: 2); bowl with spout (nc: 1); pyx (fr: 1); censer and thurible (fr: 1); statuette of dove (?) (c: 1); cross (c: 1)
Metals: iron knife blade (c: 1); iron cross (nc: 1); silver processional cross (c: 2); silver cross and sacramental spoon with Arabic inscription (c: 1); silver fan (c: 1); silver-gilt bridal gown (c: 1); steel knife or cleaver blade engraved with doves and crosses (c: 1)
Textiles: decorated fabrics (fr: 444)
Reed: whistle (nc: 1)

Pitt Rivers Museum and Department of Ethnology and Prehistory

Sculpture in wood: doll (c: 3); combs (c: 2); keys (c: 2)
Ivory and bone: statuary (c: 1)
Paintings: panels (c: 2); ornamented ostrich egg
Bronzes: lamp (c: 1); cross (c: 1); rings (c: 4); bracelets (c: 2); lock (c: 1); keys (c: 2) bolts (c: 2)
Metals: brass bracelets (c: 2); bronze and iron rings (c: 4); iron padlock (c: 1); keys (c: 10)
Reed: pipes (c: 1), (nc: 1)
Note also ostrich egg, ornamented with incised pictures of public buildings, probably in Cairo, signed by the artist, Hasan Fahmī, length, 6 in., and max. width, c. 4.3 in.; four bronze and iron finger rings (?); bronze bolt from lock; two wooden pin-lock keys; iron padlock.

Reading
Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology, Reading University
Textiles: decorated fabrics (fr: 18).

Rochdale
Rochdale Museum, Lancashire
Textiles: outer garments (c: 1), (fr: 25); shawls (fr: 2)

Salford
Salford Museums and Art Galleries
Textiles: tapestries (fr: 10)

Swansea
Swansea University College, Wellcome Collection
Sculpture in stone: frieze (c: 1); decorated stelae (c: 1), (nc: 1), (fr: 3)
Ivory and bone: weaver's implements (c: 3)
Textiles: outer garments (nc: 1), (fr: 1); bonnets (nc: 3), (fr: 1)
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials (c: 1); stamps (c: 1)
Bronzes: ornaments (c: 3)

Swindon
Swindon Museum and Art Gallery, Wiltshire
Ceramics: lamp (c: 1)

Torquay, Devon
Torquay Museum
Textiles: tapestries (fr: 2)
Ceramics: decorated flask (nc: 1); figurine (c: 1)

GREECE

Athens
Benaki Museum
Sculpture in stone: capitals (c: 2); figurative reliefs (c: 1); decorative reliefs (c: 1); various (c: 4), (nc: 35)
Sculpture in wood: statuary (c: 7), (fr: 22); figurative reliefs (c: 2); decorative reliefs (c: 2); various (c: 6), (nc: 40)
Ivories and bone: figurative reliefs (nc: 6); decorative reliefs (c: 16), (nc: 7); various (c: 4), (nc: 8)
Paintings: portraits on cloth (c: 2)
Textiles: garments (c: 4), (nc: 6), (fr: 337); bonnets and bags (nc: 3); hangings (nc: 3), (fr: 46); pillow covers (fr: 15)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 29), (fr: 22); lamps (nc: 3); Saint Menas phials (c: 16), (nc: 11); various (c: 17)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 7), (nc: 1); inscribed crosses (c: 2); censers (c: 12), (fr: 1); braziers (c: 1); candelabra (c: 3), (nc: 1), (fr: 5); lamps (c: 10), (nc: 3), (fr: 9); lamp bases (c: 5), (nc: 1); plain vases (c: 1), (fr: 1); ewers (c: 3); ornamental finery (c: 12), (nc: 1)
Leather: sandals (c: 2)
Metals: silver (c: 17); iron (c: 8)

HUNGARY

Budapest
Szépmüvészeti Muzeum (Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts)
Sculpture in stone: capitals (c: 2); relief (fr: 1)
Bone: figurines (c: 20), (fr: 5); weaving tools (c: 16); tools (c: 15); figurative reliefs (fr: 2); various (c: 2)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 60)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 5), (fr: 1); lamps (c: 25); Saint Menas phials (c: 15), (fr: 4); vases (c: 8), (fr: 7); figurines (c: 18), (fr: 80); stamps (c: 15)
Bronzes: candelabra (fr: 2); lamps (fr: 2); ornamental finery (c: 5); jewelry (c: 5)
Glass: stamps (c: 1)
Gems: soapstone steatite figurines (c: 1); jewelry (c: 3)
Iparmüvészeti Muzeum (Museum of Decorative Arts)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 173)

Debrecen
Dére Muzeum
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 5)

ISRAEL

Jerusalem
Istall Museum
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 7); tapestries (c: 1), (nc: 5), (fr: 30)

ITALY

Rome
Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica del Vaticano (Private Collection)

Textiles: various pieces from Akhmīm-Panopolis, dating from fourth–fifteenth centuries (19), multicolored silks (collection) from the treasure of the Santa Sanctorum, which combine Sassanian, Christian Syrian, and Byzantine elements

Vatican Museums (Private Collection)

Textiles: various pieces of Antinoopolitan provenance from third to ninth centuries, including one third-century painted mummy wrapping (99)

JAPAN

Osaka

Kanebo, Ltd. Collection of Coptic Textiles

Decorated fabrics: large altar pieces; clothing; hangings; curtains; covers; pillows; belts; bags; other objects (more than 5,000 items, many of which are fragments)

NETHERLANDS, THE

Amsterdam

Allard Pierson Museum

Sculpture in stone: friezes (fr: 13); capitals (c: 3), (nc: 1), (fr: 1); decorated stelae (c: 8), (nc: 4); statuary (c: 2), (nc: 4), (fr: 2)
Sculpture in wood: friezes (fr: 1); panels (c: 1); reliefs (c: 4)
Ivory and bone: various (c: 2), (nc: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (c: 1), (nc: 5), (fr: 75); liturgical vestments (nc: 11), (fr: 12); bonnets and bags (fr: 1)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 2); goblets (nc: 1); lamps (c: 2); Saint Menas phials (c: 2), (nc: 7); various (c: 7), (nc: 1), (fr: 1)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 1), (nc: 1); cauldron (c: 1); lamps (c: 1); decorated vases (c: 4); ornaments (c: 10)
Leather: sandals (c: 3), (nc: 1); boots (c: 1); belts (nc: 1), (fr: 1)
Metals: iron (c: 1)
Glass: mirror (c: 1)

Leiden

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

Sculpture in stone: friezes (nc: 7); decorated stelae (c: 6); figurative reliefs (nc: 3)
Sculpture in wood: various (nc: 13)
Ivory and bone: statuary (nc: 27); figurative reliefs (nc: 23); decorative reliefs (nc: 9); various (nc: 19)
Painting: manuscript illuminations (c: about 25)
Textiles: tapestries (nc: 1); pillow covers (nc: 8); various (fr: about 110)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 15); lamps (c: 38); Saint Menas phials (c: 15); various (c: 6)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 4); ornaments (c: 22)
Leather: sandals (nc: 5); codex covers (c: 1)
Metals: iron bracelet and buckles (c: 8)

POLAND

Kraków

Jagellonian University, Department of Mediterranean Archaeology

Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 1); plates (fr: 1)

Museum of Archaeology

Sculpture in stone: stelae (c: several)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: several)
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials (c: several)

National Museum

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 70); figurines (c: several)

National Museum, Czartoryski Collection

Sculpture in stone: panels (c: 1); stelae (c: 1), (nc: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 9); pillow covers (c: 2)
Ceramics: goblet (c: 1)

Warsaw

National Museum

Sculpture in stone: figurative reliefs (fr: 1); decorative reliefs (fr: 7); incised stamps (c: 4)
Textiles: outer garments (nc: 1), (fr: 52); bonnets and bags (c: 1); liturgical vestments (fr: 1?)
Ceramics: decorated vases (c: 5), (nc: 13), (fr: 308); Saint Menas phials (c: 5); figurines (nc: 3), (fr: 49)

PORTUGAL

Lisbon

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga

Textiles: outer garments (fr: 26)

SWITZERLAND

Basel

Gewerbemuseum, Museum für Gestaltung

Textiles: outer garments (c: 2), (nc: 1), (fr: 54); bonnets and bags (c: 1); various (fr: 74)

Museum für Völkerkunde

Ivory and bone: various (c: 20)
Textiles: various (fr: 1,200)

Bern

Bernisches historisches Museum

Sculpture in wood: decorated reliefs, diptych (c: 1); beads (c: 17), (fr: 2)
Paintings: on linen (nc: 2)
Textiles: various (fr: 60)
Ceramics: statuette (c: 1)
Metals: brass eucharistic chalice (c: 1); processional crosses (c: 5)

Books: various (c: 2)

Geneva
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
Sculpture in stone: friezes (fr: 1); capitals (c: 1); statuary (nc: 1); figurative reliefs (c: 1), (fr: 1); various (c: 5), (nc: 1), (fr: 1)
Sculpture in wood: combs (fr: 3); stamps (nc: 1), button (c: 1)
Ivory and bone: crosses (c: 2); spoons (c: 1), (nc: 1); combs (fr: 1); straight pins (c: 2), (nc: 2), (fr: 2); bracelets (c: 2), (nc: 1); buttons (c: 8), (nc: 4); various (c: 1), (nc: 6), (fr: 2)
Textiles: tunics (nc: 2), (fr: 4); bonnets and bags (fr: 4); scarves (fr: 8); cloak (nc: 1); hangings (nc: 2); pillow covers (nc: 2); various (fr: 430)
Ceramics: lamps (c: 9), (nc: 1); phials (c: 1), (nc: 1); Saint Menas phials (nc: 3); various (c: 4), (nc: 8), (fr: 1)
Bronzes: crosses (c: 8), (nc: 1); bells (nc: 2), (fr: 1); ornamental finery (c: 43), (nc: 7), (fr: 9); spoons, spatulas, styli (c: 9), (nc: 2), (fr: 1); disks (c: 2)
Metals: gold (c: 3), (nc: 4), (fr: 1); silver (c: 1), (nc: 1), (fr: 1); iron (c: 4), (nc: 2), (fr: 2)
Glass: ornamental finery (c: 16), (pc: 1)

Zurich
Archäologishes Institut der Universität Zürich
Sculpture in stone: figurative reliefs (c: 3)
Textiles: outer garments (fr: 3); hangings (fr: 1)
Ceramics: Saint Menas phials (nc: 10); various (fr: 10)
Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich
Textiles: outer garments (c: 1); various (nc: 11)

TURKEY

Istanbul
Archaeological Museums of Istanbul
Textiles: tapestries (c: 30)
Ceramics: various (fr: 5)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Ivanovo
Museum of Fine Arts
Textiles: various

Kaunas
Museum of Fine Arts
Textiles: various

Kiev
Museum of Occidental and Oriental Art
Textiles: various (fr: 30)

Leningrad
Hermitage Museum
Sculpture in stone: capitals (c: 1); stelae (fr: 40)
Sculpture in wood: figurative reliefs (c: 6); decorative reliefs (c: 2)
Ivory: figurative reliefs, crosses (fr: 25); decorative reliefs (fr: 4)
Paintings: portraits (c: 1), (fr: 1)
Textiles: outer garments (c: more than 100); bonnets (c: 12); hangings, veils (c: 50)
Ceramics: decorated vases (fr: more than 100)
Leather: pair of sandals (c: 1); belts (c: 1); cushions (c: 1)
Metals: various (fr: 450)
Glass: vases (fr: more than 30)

Lvov
Museum of Ethnography
Textiles: various (fr: 16)

Minsk
National University
Textiles: various (fr: 4)

Moscow
Museum of Fine Arts
Textiles: various (fr: 300)

Tallinn
Museum of Fine Arts
Textiles: various

Tbilisi
Museum of Georgian Arts
Textiles: various (fr: 10)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Amherst, Massachusetts
Mead Art Museum, Amherst College
Sculpture: (1)
Textiles: various (11)

Ann Arbor, Michigan
Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan
Sculpture in stone: reliefs (198); other (5).
Sculpture in wood: various (30)
Bone: various (400–500)
Ceramics: painted pottery (5); stamp seals (20)
Glass: (1)

Baltimore, Maryland
Baltimore Museum of Art
Textiles: various (few)
Walters Art Gallery
Sculpture: reliefs (many); other (many)
Metals: jewelry (few)
Mosaic: (1)
Minor arts: various (12)

Birmingham, Alabama
Birmingham Museum of Art

Bone: statuary (1)

Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
Cranbrook Academy of Art Museum
Textiles: various (35)

Bloomington, Indiana
Indiana University Art Museum
Sculpture in stone: sepulchral marble stela with male and female orants (1)
Sculpture in wood: carved panel (1)
Textiles: various (many)

Brooklyn, New York
Brooklyn Museum
Sculpture: various (10)
Reliefs: various (220)
Textiles: various (220)
Minor arts: various (50)

Buffalo, New York
Albright-Knox Art Gallery
Sculpture in stone: relief of a Nereid (1)

Cambridge, Massachusetts
Fogg Art Museum
Sculpture in stone: architectural limestone fragments, engaged arches, pilaster capitals, ornamental friezes and bands, lintels, colonnettes (214); lion head of fifth–seventh centuries (1)
Textiles: linen, wool, tapestry, tunic appliques, fragments of large hangings, borders, loop-pile coverlet, silk twill, resist-dye from fifth–ninth centuries (106)
Metal: brass lamp (1); bronze lamp (2); polycandela (1); small lidded toilet box (1); open-work censer dome from sixth–tenth century (1)
Bone: stylized dolls in bone; fragments of liturgical manuscripts on paper

Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina
Textiles: fragments (5)
Ceramics: terra-cotta lamp (1)

Chicago, Illinois
Art Institute of Chicago, Department of Textiles
Textiles: various (many)
Field Museum of Natural History
Textiles: various (700–800)
Metals: bronze containers; jewelry
Minor arts: various (100)
Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
Sculpture: (few)
Reliefs: (few)
Minor arts: (many)

Cincinnati, Ohio
Cincinnati Art Museum
Sculpture in stone: capitals (4); pediment (1)
Textiles: (13)
Minor arts: (105)

Claremont, California
Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate School
Minor arts: (few)

Cleveland, Ohio
Cleveland Museum of Art
Textiles: (many)

Columbia, Missouri
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri—Columbia
Sculpture: (1)
Reliefs: (2)
Textiles: (35)
Minor arts: (6)

Coral Gables, Florida
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Textiles: (10)

Dayton, Ohio
Dayton Art Institute
Textiles: (fr: 9)

Denver, Colorado
Denver Art Museum
Sculpture in stone: polychromed limestone figure (1); sarcophagus relief of Pan with three goats (1)

Detroit, Michigan
Detroit Institute of Arts
Textiles: (40)

Durham, North Carolina
Duke University Museum of Art
Paintings on wood: (fr: 4); wine jar (1)

Hanover, New Hampshire
Dartmouth College Museum and Galleries
Sculpture in stone: stelae (2)
Textiles: (fr: 1)

Hartford, Connecticut
Wadsworth Atheneum
Sculpture in stone: reliefs (2)
Textiles: various (80)
Metals: bronze lamps and vessels

Honolulu, Hawaii
Honolulu Academy of Arts
Textiles: various (36)

Indianapolis, Indiana
Indianapolis Museum of Art
Textiles: various (fr: 200)

Lawrence, Kansas
Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art
Relief: (1)
Textiles: various (fr: many)

Los Angeles, California
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Sculpture: architectural reliefs (few)
Textiles: tunic (c: 1); various (34)

Memphis, Tennessee
Brooks Memorial Art Gallery
Textiles: (fr: 1)

Minneapolis, Minnesota
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Sculpture: (3)
Textiles: large woven panel portraying a jeweled cross standing in front of a wreath (c: 1); various (6)

New Brunswick, New Jersey
New Brunswick Theological Seminary
Textiles: (19)

New Haven, Connecticut
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Papyrus Collection, Yale University
Ceramics: stamp seals (3)
Yale University Art Gallery
Sculpture in stone: statuary (3); reliefs (15)
Ivory and bone: inlay (few)
Paintings on wood: (1)
Textiles: (200)

New York, New York
Cooper-Hewitt Museum
Textiles: (175)
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian and Islamic Departments
Sculpture in stone: (many)
Sculpture in wood: grave monuments
Reliefs: (many)
Textiles: (many)
Minor arts: (many)

Newark, Delaware
University of Delaware Gallery
Ceramics: terra-cotta lamp (1)

Newark, New Jersey
Newark Museum
Sculpture in stone: reliefs (2)
Sculpture in wood: relief (1)
Paintings on wood: (1)
Textiles: (46)
Ceramics: painted vases (c: 2), (fr: 1); lamps and flasks (7)
Bronzes: large crosses (5); small crosses (14)
Minor arts: bone and wood objects (31); scale and box (1)

Northampton, Massachusetts
Smith College Museum of Art
Textiles: various (fr: 5)

Oberlin, Ohio
Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College
Sculpture: (1)
Relief: (1)
Textiles: various (fr: 28)

Omaha, Nebraska
Joslyn Art Museum
Sculpture: (1)
Relief: (4)
Textiles: (7)

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Drexel Museum Collection, Drexel University
Textiles: (3)
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Textiles: various (fr: 88)

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Carnegie Institute
Textiles: (475)
Minor arts: (24)
Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute
Textiles: (9)

Princeton, New Jersey
Art Museum, Princeton University
Sculpture: (1)
Textiles: various (fr: 46)
Minor arts: (23)
Scheide Library, Princeton University
Textiles: various (fr: 8)

Providence, Rhode Island
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design
Sculpture: various (few)
Textiles: various (250)
Jewelry: various (few)

Richmond, Virginia
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Sculpture in stone: statuettes (few)
Textiles: various (fr: 7)
Ivory: statuettes (few)
Ceramics: various (fr: few)

San Jose, California
Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum
Sculpture in stone: cross (1)
Textiles: various (many)
Bronzes: lamp (1)

Santa Barbara, California
Santa Barbara Museum of Art
Textiles: various (9)
Santa Monica, California
J. Paul Getty Museum
Grave relief: (1)
Elaborately painted sarcophagus: (1)
Textiles: various (fr: 2)
Sarasota, Florida
John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art
Minor arts: a few
Seattle, Washington
Seattle Art Museum
Sculpture in stone: relief (1)
Sculpture in wood: relief (fr: 1)
Textiles: various (14)
Stanford, California
Stanford University Museum of Art
Textiles: various (125)
Urbana, Illinois
World Heritage Museum, University of Illinois
Textiles: various (28)
Washington, D.C.
Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection
Sculpture: various (12)
Textiles: various (160)
Minor arts: (many)
Institute of Christian Oriental Research, Catholic University of America
Ceramics: lamps (few); Saint Menas phials (few).
Textile Museum
Textiles: various, including large hangings (450)
Williamstown, Massachusetts
Williams College Museum of Art
Sculpture: various (fr: 4)
Textiles: various (fr: 18)
Worcester, Massachusetts
Worcester Art Museum
Textiles: (116)
Bronzes: (3)

PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

MUSIC, ANTECEDENTS OF COPTIC. *See* Music, Coptic: History.

MUSIC, COPTIC. [*This entry consists of the following articles:*

Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice
Canticles
Oral Tradition
Melody, Its Relation to Different Languages
History
Cantors
Musical Instruments
Musicologists
Transcriptions in Western Notation
Nonliturgical Music]

Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice

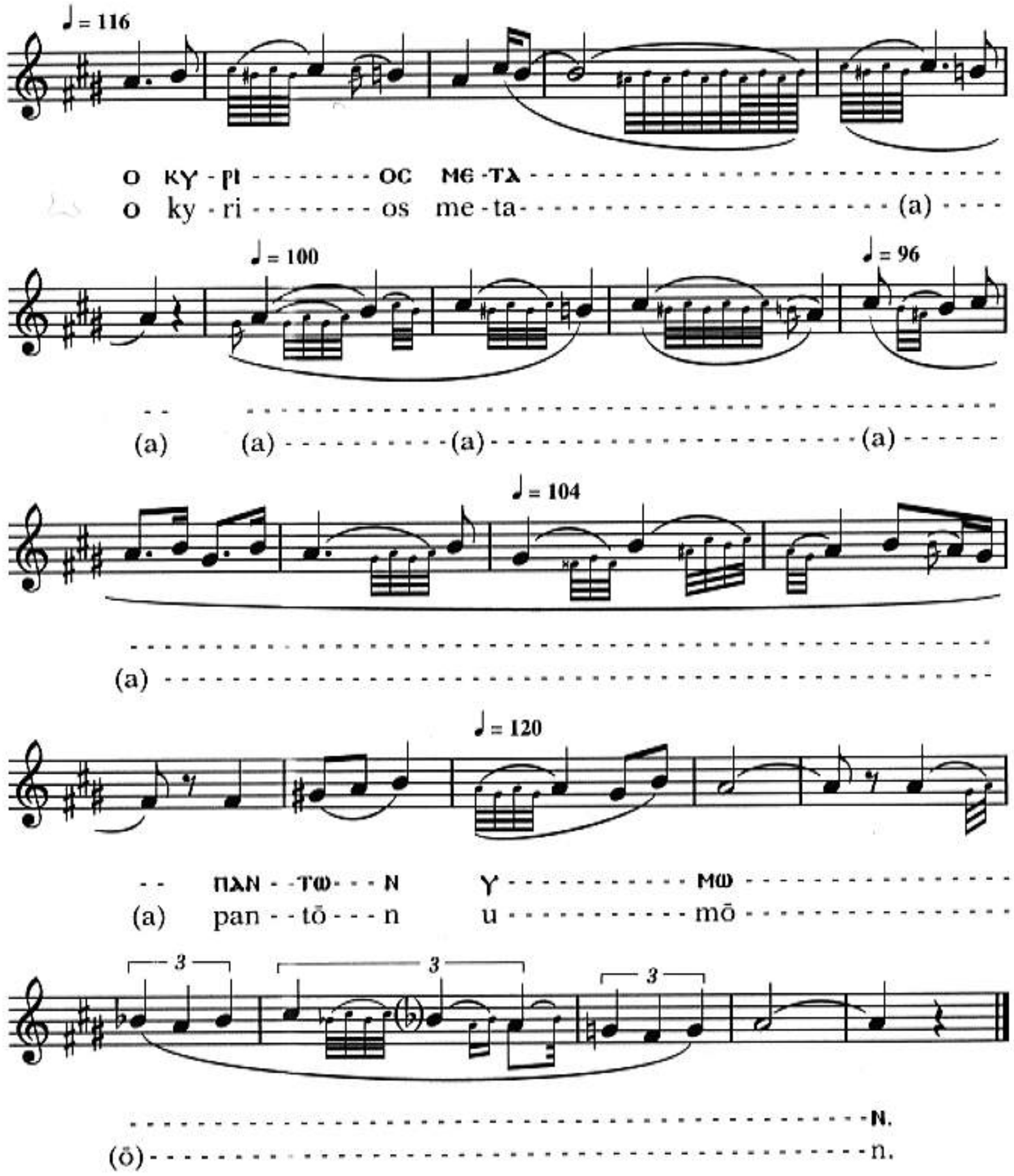
The following remarks pertain only to the music of the Coptic Orthodox Church. Other Christian churches in Egypt (Greek Orthodox, Coptic Catholic, Protestant, etc.) have their own musical practices.
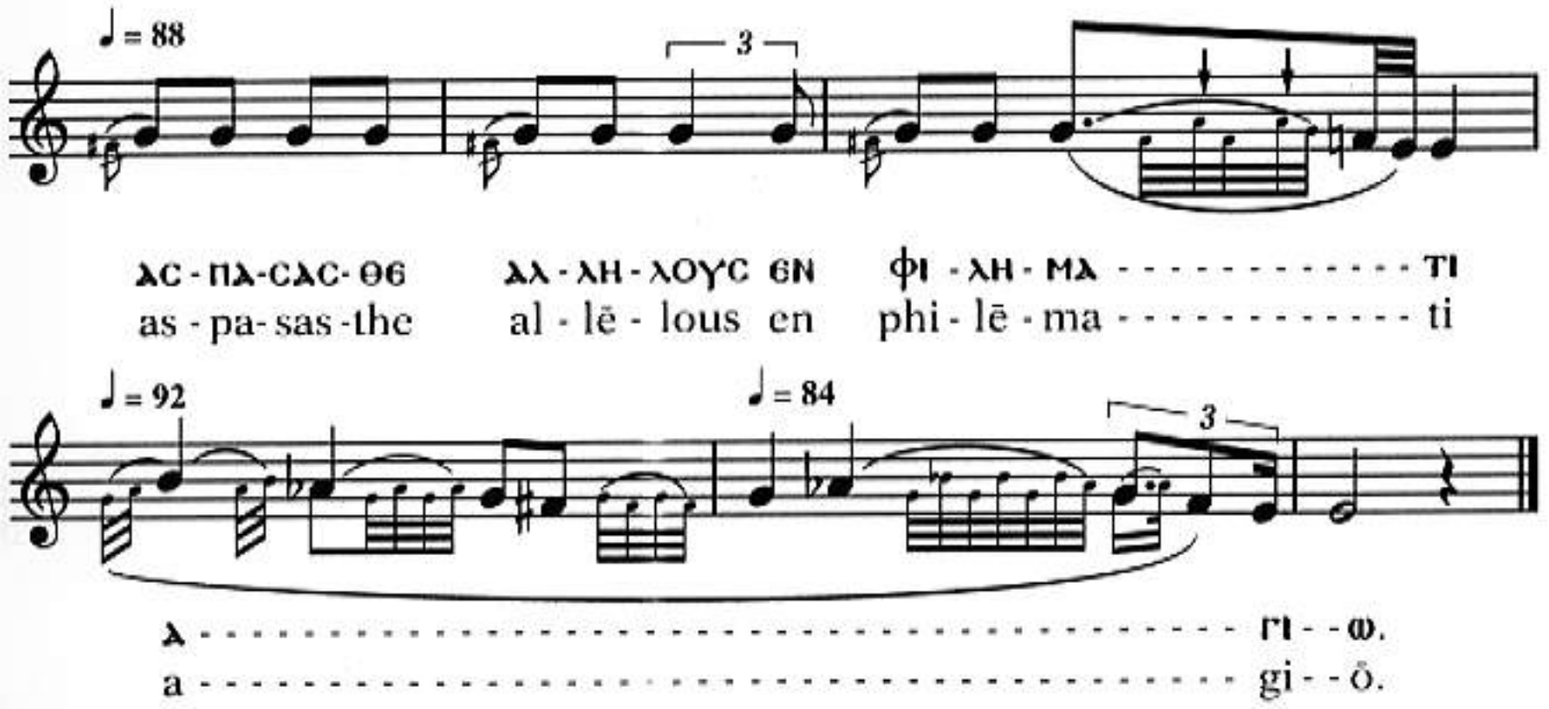
Coptic music, an expression of a proud and constant faith, still lives today among the Copts as a vestige of an age-old tradition. It is monodic, vocal, and sung a cappella solely by men, with the exception of some responses assigned to the whole congregation. Small hand cymbals and the triangle are employed with specified pieces during certain services (see Musical Instruments, below).
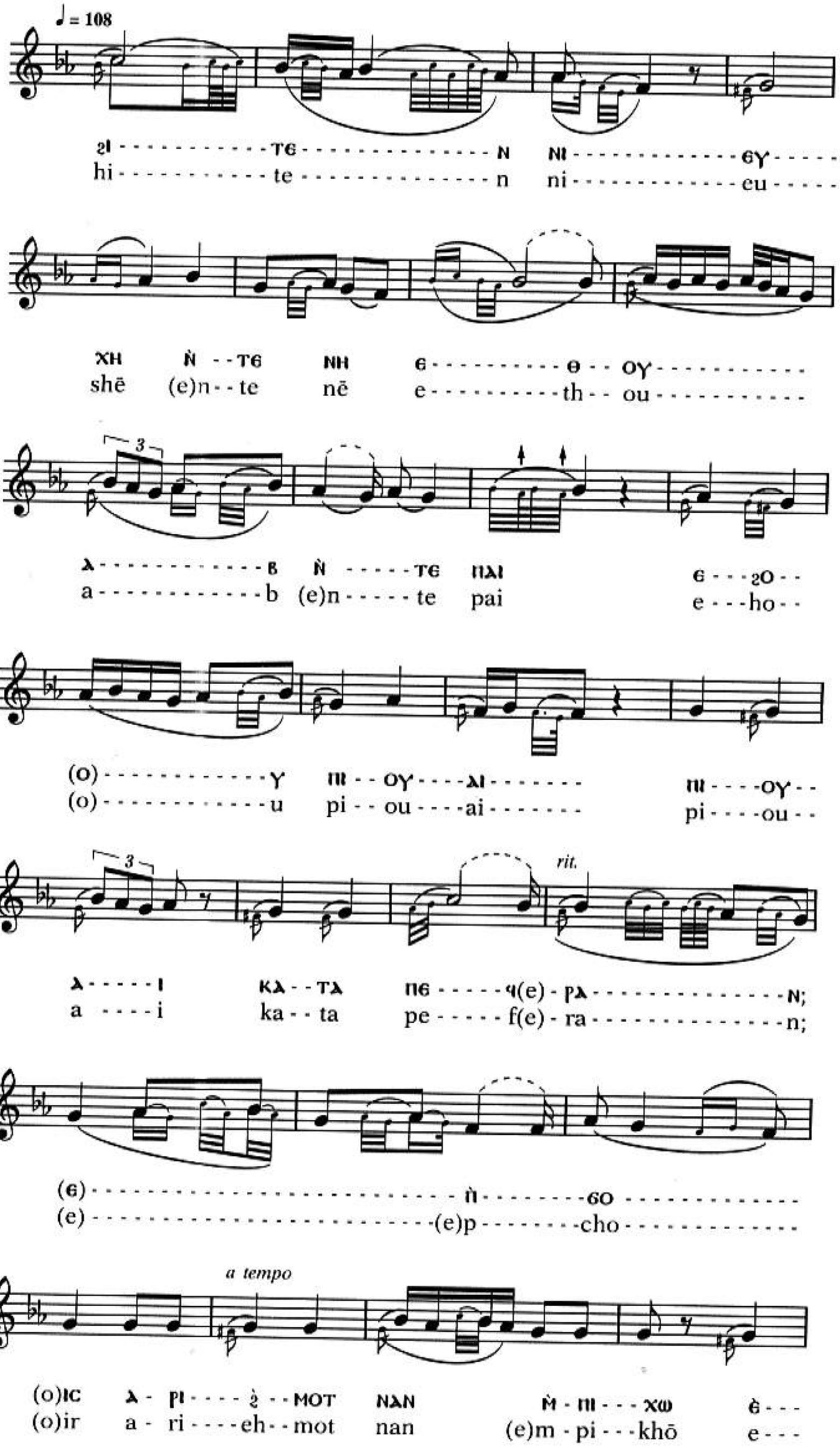
The Divine Liturgy and Offerings of Incense
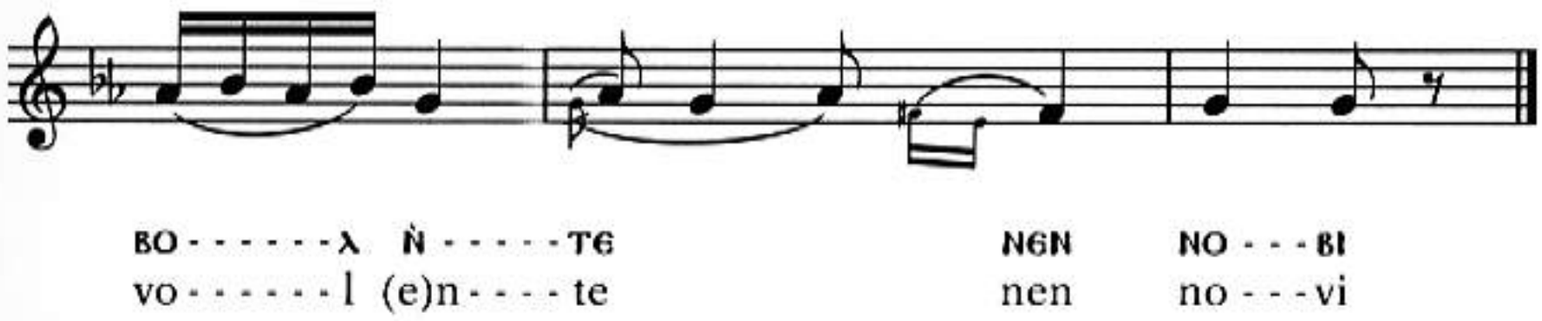
The core of Coptic music lies in the Divine Liturgy (Arabic: *quddās*), whose texts are all meant to be sung, excepting the Creed and the Dismissal. In the liturgy the most familiar hymns and chants are heard. It is basically a great music drama, consisting of three parts: (1) the Preparation; (2) the Liturgy of the Word, also called the Liturgy of the Catechumens, which comprises the PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING, the scriptural readings, various intercessions and responses, the recitation of the Creed, and the Prayer of Peace; and (3) the anaphora, that is, the eucharistic ritual (see EUCHARIST). The entire service may require some three hours of singing, and during Holy Week, the special services may last six or seven hours.

Three liturgies (see History, below) have been established in the Coptic church: (1) the Liturgy of Saint Basil is celebrated throughout the year except for the four major feasts of Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Pentecost; also, it is used daily in the monasteries whether there is a fast day or not; (2) the Liturgy of Saint Gregory is used today in the celebration of the four major feasts mentioned


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(a) - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -


♩= 88
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♩ = 108
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Facing page and above: Example of choral unison singing. Strophe Six ("Through the prayers of the saints . . .") from the Response to Censing, from the Liturgy of St. Basil. *Transcription by Tóth.*

priests in Upper Egypt who remembered his manner of celebrating the anaphora. Abūnā Pachomius al-Muḥarraqī, vice-rector of the CLERICAL COLLEGE, also performed it on various occasions. According to BURMESTER, only two chants have survived: the conclusion of the Commemoration of the Saints ("Not that we are worthy, Master . . ."), and an extract from the Commemoration of the Faithful Departed ("And these and everyone, Lord . . .").

The celebration of the liturgy is preceded by two special services unique to the Coptic church, of which one is observed in the morning just before the liturgy and the other the previous evening. They are known as the Morning (or Evening) Offering of Incense (Arabic: *Raf' Bukhūr Bākir* and *Raf' Bukhūr 'Ashiyyah*). Today, in actual practice, the Morning Offering of Incense is often incorporated into the liturgy itself. Like the liturgy, these two services are cantillated. They include the well-known Hymn of the Angels (Coptic: ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛϩⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ . . . , marenhōs nem niangelos, "Let us sing praises with the angels . . ."), the Prayer of Thanksgiving (Coptic: ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛϣⲉⲛϩ̀ⲙⲟⲧ . . . , marenshep(e)hmot . . .), various prayers and responses, and other pre-anaphoral material.

The texts and rubrics for the three liturgies and the Offering of Incense are to be found in the EUCHOLOGION (Arabic: *al-khūlājī*), which prescribes the order of the various prayers, hymns, lections, versicles, biddings, and responses. Today these are sung in Greco-Coptic, Coptic, and Arabic. The texts are written in the Bohairic dialect (in Upper Egypt the Sahidic dialect may be heard), and are accompanied by a line-by-line translation in Arabic, with the rubrics all being in Arabic as well. The last section of the *Euchologion* contains the texts of many chants and hymns proper to the various liturgical seasons.
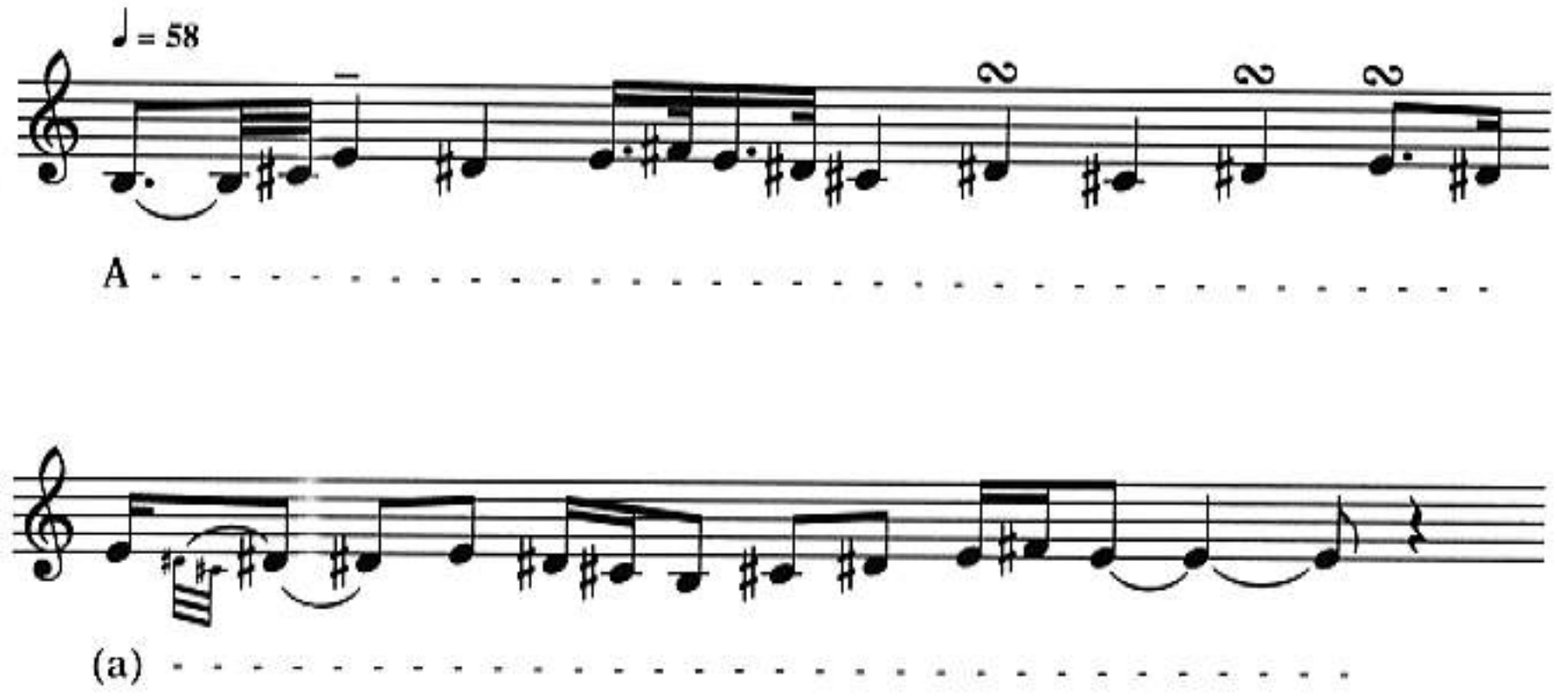
The participants in the celebration of the liturgy and Offering of Incense are:
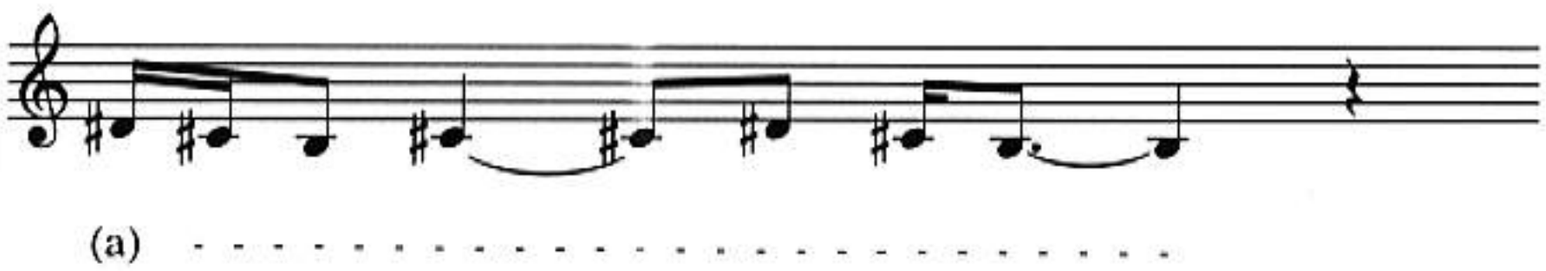
1. The officiant, that is, the priest (Arabic: *al-Kāhin*), and/or other high members of the clergy who happen to be present and wish to participate. It is the role of the officiant to offer the prayers (Arabic: *awshiyyah*, pl. *awāshī*), which may be recited silently or sung aloud, according to the traditional melodies adjusted to the festal and seasonal requirements. These prayers are constructed on recurring psalmodic formulas, some beginning with simple, unadorned statements, and others having an extended melisma from the outset. Since they become more and more elaborate as they continue, and conclude with a formula comprised of the richest of melismata, they may be rather lengthy. They are intoned in free rhythm that generally follows the textual accents and meters.

2. The DEACON (Arabic: *al-shammās*) whose duties include relaying the biddings (Arabic: *al-ubrūsāt*, from Greco-Coptic: ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ, derived from Greek *προσευχή*, proseukhē) of the officiant, reading the lessons, and leading the set responses and singing of the congregational hymns. Like the officiant, he cantillates in free rhythm, and his melodic line may be both rhapsodic and/or chanting. His melodies are generally more rhythmic than those of the officiant, with duple and triple metres alternating according to the textual accents. Vocalises and melismata are common, but they in no way change the basic structure of the melody.

Because the melodies of the officiant and deacon are rendered solo, there is greater opportunity here for improvisation and vocal embellishment than in the choir pieces.

3. The choir and/or people (Arabic: *al-sha'b*) sing certain responses (Arabic: *maraddāt*) and portions of the hymns. In the early centuries, these sections were assigned to the people as a whole, but as the liturgy developed, they became so complicated that those who were not musically inclined could not sing them. Thus the choir of deacons, trained in


♩ = 58
A
(a)
(a)
(a)
(a)
(a)



Facing page and above: Example of choral vocalise. Beginning of the *Trisagion* Hymn, as sung on Good Friday. *Transcription by Robertson.*

singing, replaced the congregation. In the larger congregations this choir may number about twelve. The deacons involved stand by the iconostasis at right angles to the sanctuary in two lines facing each other, with one line known as the *baḥrī* ("northern"), and the other as the *qiblī* ("southern"). According to the rubrication of "B" or "Q" marked in the margin of the text, the choir may sing antiphonally, strophe about, or two strophes about. The singers alternate according to the form of the musical phrase. They may also sing in unison.

Among many familiar choir pieces, three may be cited: (1) the hymn "We worship the Father . . ." (Coptic: ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲱⲧ, tenouōsht(e)m(e)phiōt), which is sung Wednesday through Saturday at the beginning of the Morning Offering of Incense; (2) the TRISAGION ("Holy God! Holy and Mighty! Holy and Immortal! . . ."; Greco-Coptic: ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲟ ⲑⲉⲟⲥ: ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲥⲭⲩⲣⲟⲥ: ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲥ . . . , agios o theos: agios isshyros: agios athanatos . . .), which, according to legend, comes from a hymn sung by Nicodemus and Joseph at the Lord's entombment; and (3) the LORD'S PRAYER (Coptic: ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ . . . , je penīōt . . .), which is chanted on one note.

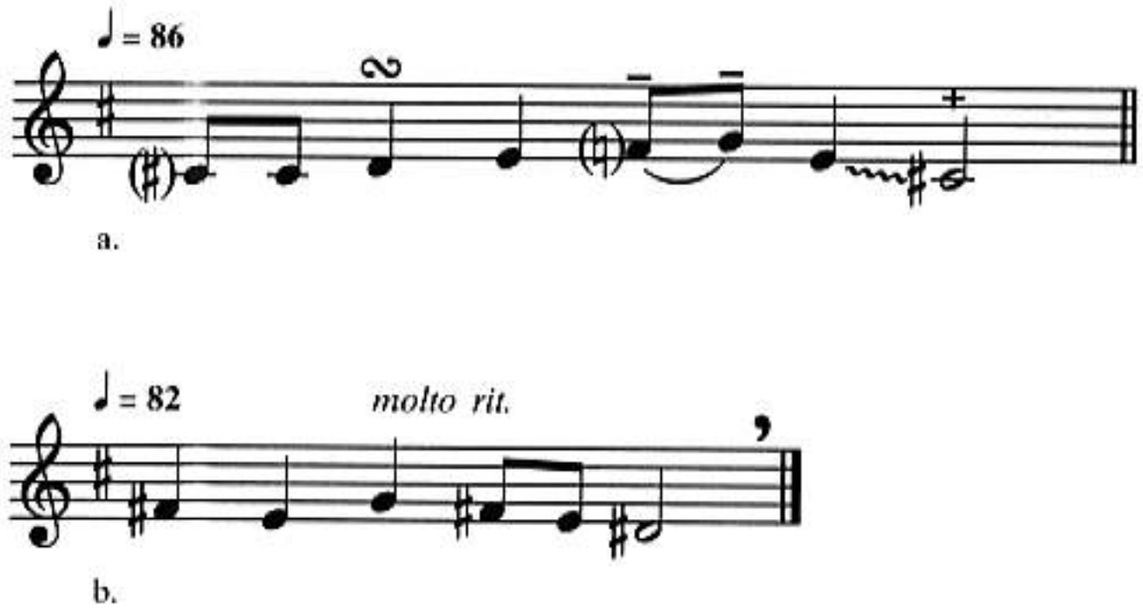
The melodies for the people and/or choir are quite simple, with little embellishment. However, certain hymns are complicated by some rudimentary, rhythmic ornamentation integral to the composition.

As has been stated, this choral singing is monodic, and should any harmonic elements appear, they are only occasional overlappings of the incipits of one part with the finalis of another. Also, the unison chant may not always be perfect, for some singers, wishing to participate in the acts of praise but not having good musical ears, do not listen to each other. Such lack of precision may be rather prevalent today, for in many churches the people, led and supported by the choir of deacons, are again actively rendering the hymns and responses, once again fulfilling the role originally assigned to them. A very wide vibrato characterizes all the singing.

Although the melodies of the participants are distinctive, as described above, there are many traits common to all. One of the most obvious characteristics of Coptic music, and one that probably derives from ancient times, is the prolongation of a single vowel over many phrases of music that vary in length and complication. This phenomenon may take two forms identified by scholars as *vocalise*, when the vowel is prolonged with a definite rhythmic pulse, and *melisma* (pl. *melismata*), when the vowel is prolonged in a free, undefined rhythm. A melisma generally lasts from ten to twenty seconds, but some vocalises may continue for a full minute. Because of these many vocalises and melismata, a study of the text alone does not always indicate the form of the music.

The music may further show its independence from the text in that musical and textual phrases do not always correspond. For example, in the Liturgy of Saint Basil, there is considerable enjambment in the solos of the priest and in the hymns sung preceding the anaphora; in some hymns a musical cadence may occur even in the middle of a word ("Judas, Judas," heard during Holy Week on Maundy Thursday, is a case in point). In addition, the music may distort the stress and length of the syllables, especially if the text being sung is Greek.

Other traits are also prevalent. Melodies tend to proceed diatonically, usually within a range of five tones, with a characteristic progression of a half-step, whole step, and half-step, both descending and ascending. There may be intervals of thirds in the melodic line, although the distinction between the major and minor third is not always recognized as clearly as in Western music; the augmented second is rare; the diminished fourth occurs rather often. Throughout, there are numerous microtones, and, therefore, many intervals can never be accurately reproduced on a keyboard instrument. Indeed, by



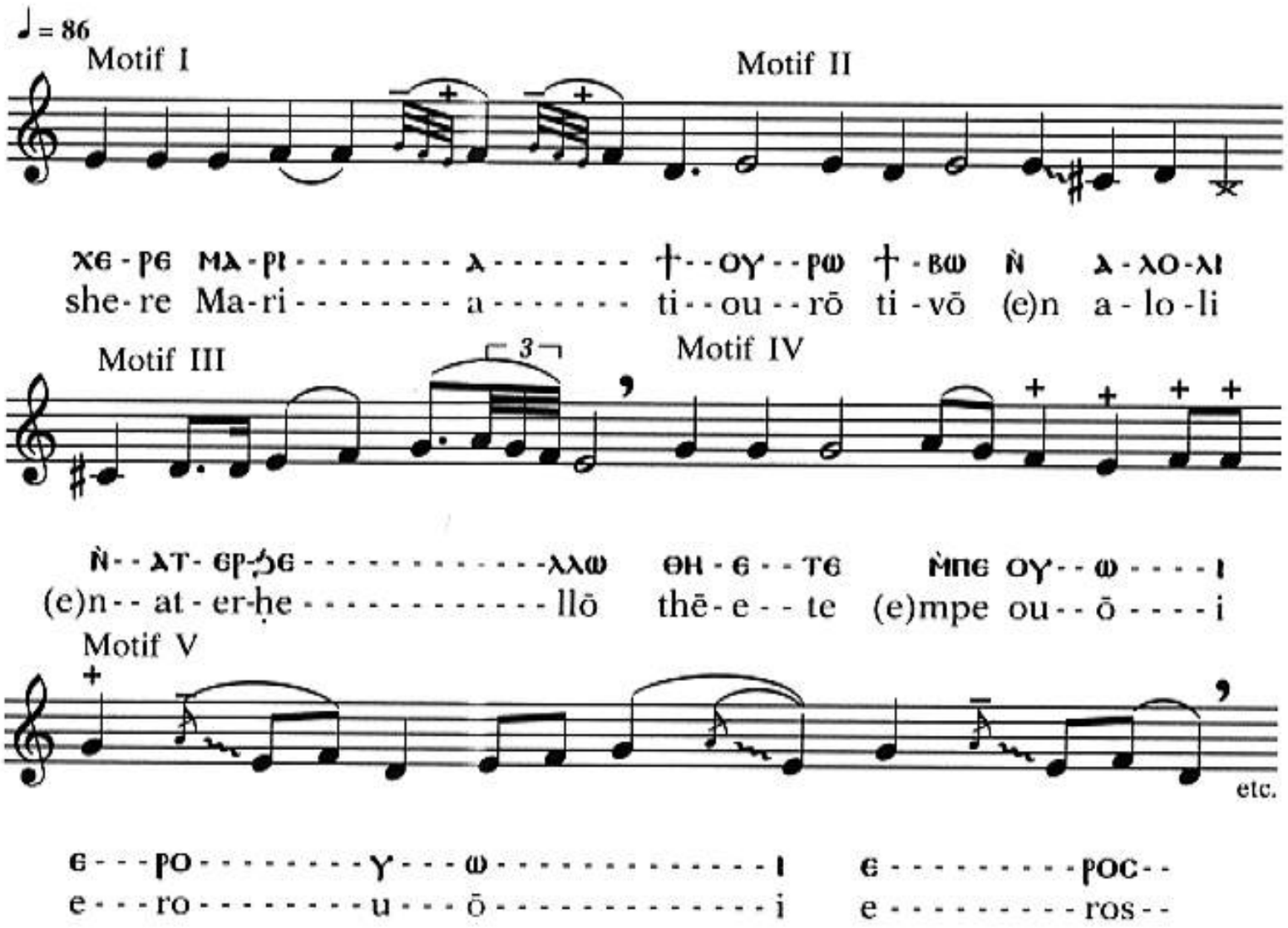
Example of characteristic interval progressions. a. From the Hymn *Shere Maria* ("Hail Mary"), preparatory to the Liturgy of St. Basil. b. Typical Cadence (from Psalm 150, sung as a Communion Hymn). *Transcriptions by Robertson.*

means of these microtones, the implied tonal centre of a given tune may shift imperceptibly, sometimes by as much as a minor third or more.

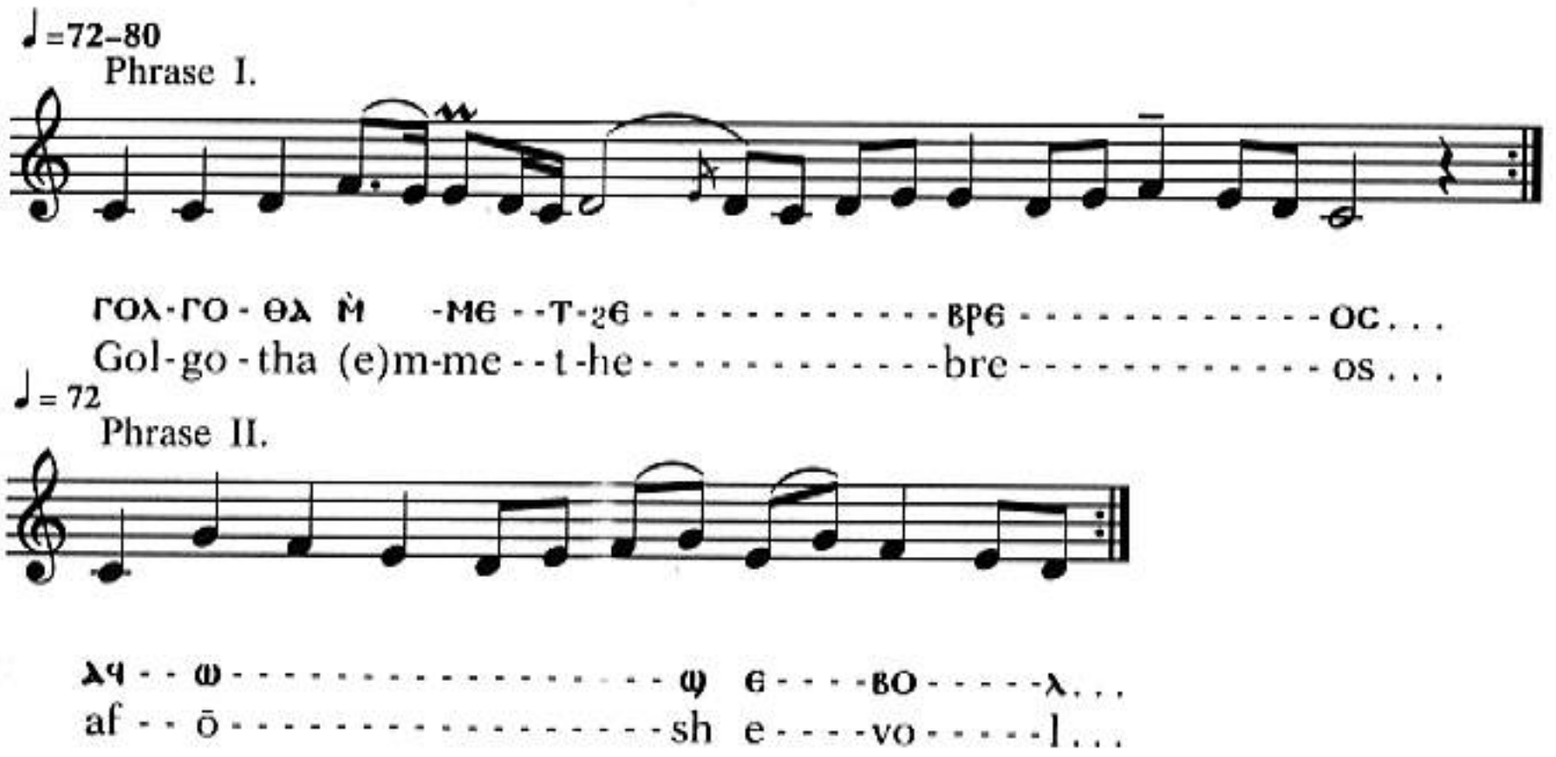
Many scholars have felt that Coptic melodies seem to unfold in spontaneous and endless improvisation. However, analyses reveal that this music has been constructed according to definite forms, three of which may be described. (1) Some songs are made up of various brief phrases, which are woven together so as to form clearly identifiable sections (usually three or four) and repeated with slight variation; the piece ends with a prescribed cadential formula. Concerning these compositions, Newlandsmith (see Musicologists, below) isolated ten musical phrases which he termed "typical." The extended vocalises and melismata described above are found most often in this kind of piece. (2) Other melodies are composed of longer, individual phrases, complete in themselves, so that one or two such phrases, repeated as strophes and/or refrains, are sufficient for the construction of an entire hymn. (3) Some songs are made up of melodic line and rhythm that are simplified to fit the inflection and rhythm of the text. Such melodies tend to be syllabic and often have an ambitus of only two or three tones.

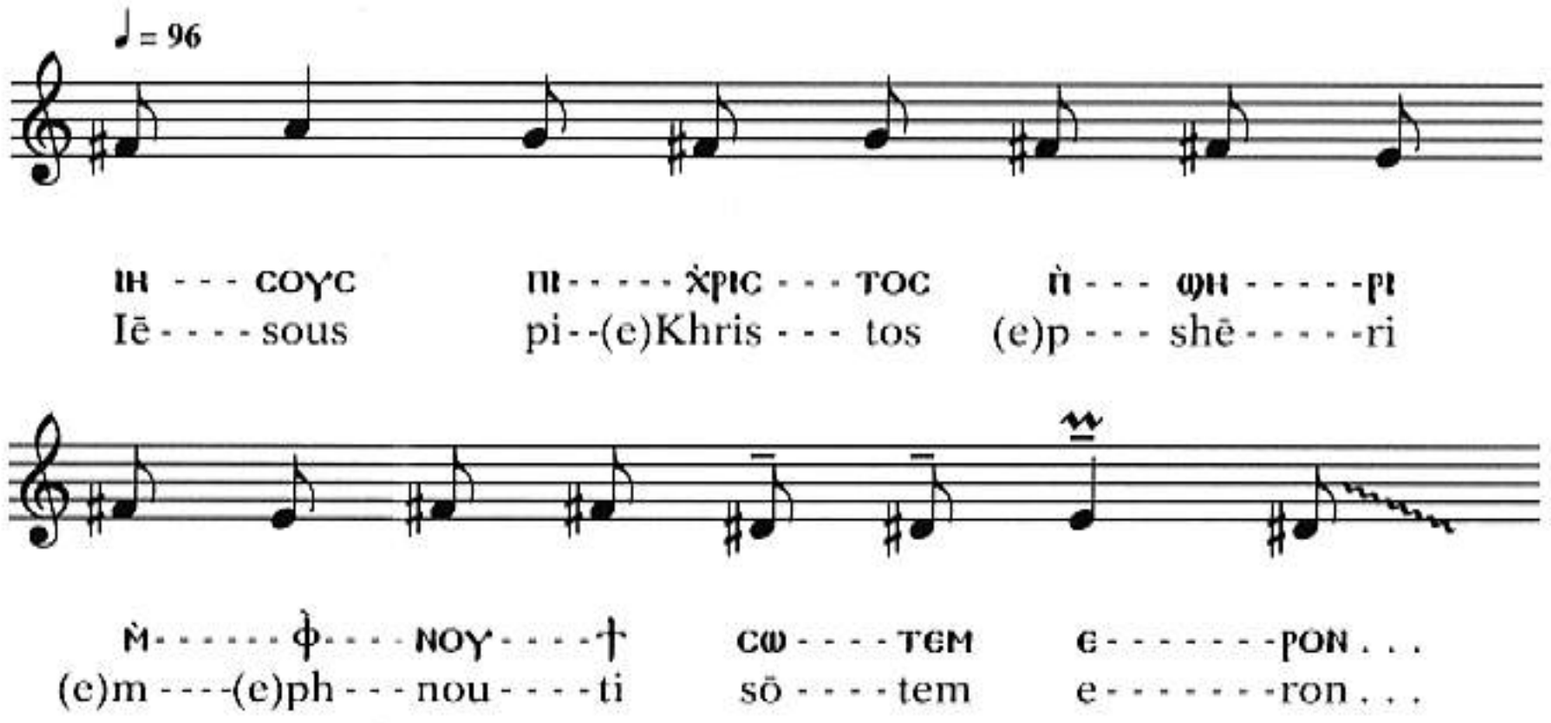
Some important terms, which appear in liturgical books and manuscripts to specify the music to be sung with a given text, are the Coptic ⲏⲭⲟⲥ, adopted from Greek ἦχος (*echos*); the Coptic ⲃⲟϩⲉⲙ (Bohem) or ⲟⲩⲟϩⲉⲙ (ouohem), meaning "response"; and the Arabic LAḤN (pl. *alḥān*). Ibn Birrī (1106–1187), as quoted in *Lisān al-'Arab* (compiled by Ibn Manẓūr, 1232–1311), assigned to *laḥn* six meanings, among which are "song" and "psalmodizing" or "intoning." Western scholars have translated *laḥn* as "tone," "air," and/or "melody," but none of these words conveys its full meaning. Although the term may have some affinities with the Arabic *maqām* and the Byzantine *echos*, in Coptic music it refers basically to a certain melody or melody-type which is readily recognized by the people and known by a specific, often descriptive name, such as *laḥn al-ḥuzn* (". . . of grief"), *laḥn al-farah* (". . . of joy"), *laḥn al-tajnīz* (". . . for the dead"), *al-laḥn al-ma'rūf* ("familiar"), etc. Writing in the fourteenth century, IBN KABAR named some twenty-six *alḥān*, most of which are still known today. Some, designated *sanawiyyah* (annual), are sung throughout the year, whereas others may be reserved for one occasion only. The same text may be sung to different *alḥān*, and conversely, the same *laḥn* may have different texts. Furthermore, the same *laḥn* may have three forms: short (*qaṣīr*), abridged (*mukhtaṣar*), and long (*ṭawīl*). Among many beautiful *alḥān*, the sorrowful *laḥn Idrībī* may be cited as one of the most eloquent. Performed on Good Friday, during the Sixth Hour, it expresses vividly the tragedy of the Crucifixion. Its text being the Psalm versicle preceding the Gospel lection, it is also called *Mazmūr Idrībī* (Psalm Idrībī). This name may derive from the ancient village Atribi, which once stood near present-day Suhāj, or it may stem from Coptic ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲏⲃⲓ (one causing grief). Another *laḥn* whose name shows the antiquity of its music is *Laḥn Sinjārī*, named after SINJĀR, an ancient village near Rosetta.

The two melody types most frequently named are *Adam* and *Batos* (Arabic: ADĀM and WĀṬUS). Hymns labeled *Adam* are to be sung Sunday through Tues-



Example of composition type 1. Beginning of the Hymn *Shere Maria* ("Hail Mary"), preparatory to the Liturgy of St. Basil. *Transcription by Robertson.*


♩=72–80
Phrase I.
ⲅⲟⲗ - ⲅⲟ - ⲑⲁ ⲙ̀ - - - - - - - - - - - - - -



Example of composition type 3. Near the ending of Psalm 150, sung as a Communion Hymn. *Transcription by Robertson.*

day, and also on certain specified days, while hymns labeled *Batos* are reserved for Wednesday through Saturday, for the evening service, and for Holy Week. The two names derive from the Theotokia for Kiyahk (see below), in which *Adam* is the first word of the Theotokia for Monday, ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲉⲇⲓⲉϥⲟⲓ : ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲁϩⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ . . . [*sic*] (Adam ediefoi : nem kahnhēt . . . , "When Adam became of contrite spirit . . . "), and *Batos* is the first word of the Theotokia for Thursday, ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ : ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ . . . (pibatos eta mōusēs : nau erof . . . , "The bush which Moses saw . . ."). Although they are distinct from each other in verse structure, length, and mood, their music differs little in contemporary practice, and both may be heard in the same service.

The foregoing descriptions of the music and terminology used in the services of the Divine Liturgy and Offering of Incense also apply to the rest of the corpus, discussed below.

The Canonical Hours

A great wealth of Coptic hymnology may be heard in the canonical hours, which are prayers performed by lay people in the city churches and by monks in the monasteries. There are seven: First Hour, or Morning Prayer; Third Hour; Sixth Hour; Ninth Hour; Eleventh Hour, or Hour of Sunset; Hour of Sleep, with its three Nocturns; and Midnight Hour. In the monasteries, the Prayer of the Veil (Arabic: *ṣalāt al-sitār*) is added. The book containing these prayers is the *Book of the Hours* or HOROLOGION (Coptic: ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲡⲓⲁ, piajpia, from ⲁⲭⲡ, ajp, "Hour"; Arabic: *al-ajbiyyah*, or *ṣalawāt al-sawā'ī*).

The canonical hours consist of the reading of the Psalms assigned for each hour, followed by the cantillation of the Gospel, two short hymns written in strophic form, known as *troparia* (Greek: *τροπάριον*, tropárion, pl. *τροπάρια*, tropária), plus two more *troparia* called Theotokia, which are an invocation to the Virgin Mary (see below). The *troparia* and Theotokia are separated from one another by the Lesser Doxology, which is also cantillated. Then follow the Kyrie, the Prayer of Absolution, and throughout, responses to each part. Although *troparia* and Theotokia are also heard in the canonical offices of the Greek Orthodox church, their order of performance is different from that of the Copts. The Greek and Coptic melodies differ as well.

Since the hours are not dependent on priestly direction, in the towns and cities, the musical parts of each hour are led by the cantor (see Cantors, below). Formerly, in the monasteries, the monks, not being musically educated, could not intone the hours; moreover, during the early years of their development, the monastic communities rejected singing and chanting as not conducive to the reverence and piety required of their strict discipline. Today, however, many of the monks are former deacons well acquainted with the melodies of the church rites, and they cantillate the hymnic portions of the hours as prescribed. In general, the hours are in Arabic only, but in some monasteries, the monks are beginning to recite them in Coptic.

The Service of Psalmodia

In addition to the canonical hours, there is a special choral service known as *Psalmodia* (Greek: *Ψαλμῳδία*, Psalmōdía, Arabic: *al-absalmudiyyah* or *al-tasbiḥah*) (see PSALMODIA), which is performed immediately before the Evening Offering of Incense, at the conclusion of the Prayers of the Midnight Hour, and between the Office of Morning Prayer and the Morning Offering of Incense. In the monasteries, *Psalmodia* is performed daily, but in the city churches, it has become customary to perform it only on Sunday eve, that is, Saturday night.

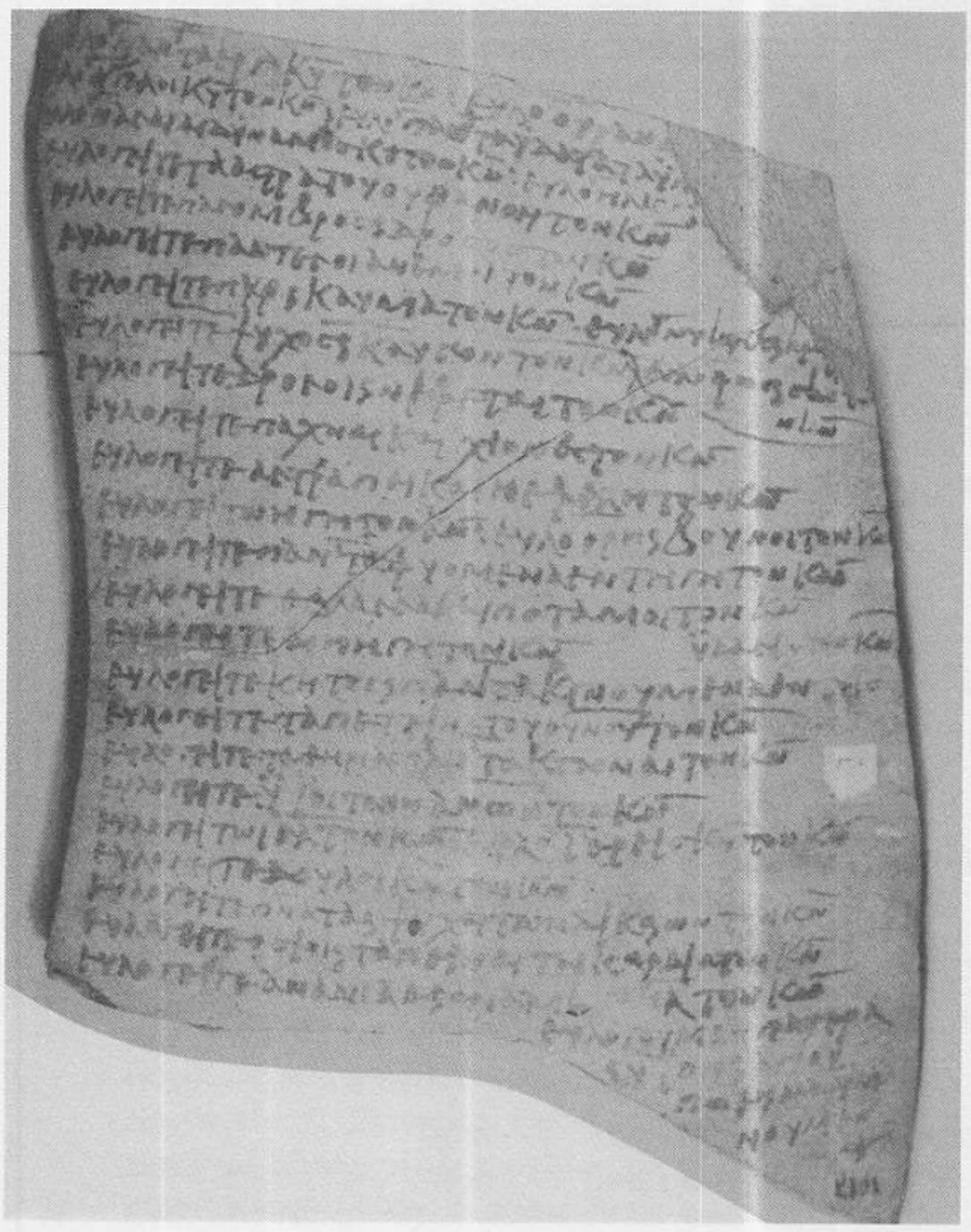
The texts and order of the prayers, the hymns, and the lections are to be found in the book, *al-Absalmudiyyah al-Sanawiyyah*. Also, a special book, *al-Absalmudiyyah al-Kiyahkiyyah*, contains the hymns to be sung for Advent, that is, during the month of Kiyahk. In both books, the basic hymn forms of this service are given as follows:

1. The *hōs* (Coptic: ϩⲱⲥ, derived from Egyptian h-s-j, "to sing, to praise" (Arabic: *hās*, pl. *hāsāt*), are four special songs of praise. Burmester refers to them as odes. They comprise two biblical canticles (see Canticles, below) from the Old Testament (*Hōs* One and *Hōs* Three) and two Psalm selections (*Hōs* Two and *Hōs* Four). They are strophic, with their strophes following the versification given in the Coptic biblical text. Unrhymed, they are sung to a definite rhythmic pattern, in duple meter. They are Hōs One, Song of Moses (Ex. 15:1–21, Coptic: ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥϩⲱⲥ . . . , tote afhōs . . . , "Then sang Moses . . ."); *Hōs* Two, Psalm 136 (Coptic: ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ . . . , ouōnh évol . . . , "Give thanks unto the Lord,") with

Extract from *Hōs* Two. Strophes two and three with Refrain from *Hōs* Two (Psalm 136), from the Service of *Psalmodia*. *Transcription by Tóth.*

an Alleluia refrain in each strophe; *Hōs* Three, the Song of the Three Holy Children (Apocrypha, Dn. 1–67; Coptic ⲕⲥⲙⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ . . . , (e)k(e)smarōout . . . , "Blessed art Thou, O Lord"), and *Hōs* Four, Psalm 148 (Coptic: ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ . . . (e)smou epchois evol . . .), Psalm 149 (Coptic: ϫⲱ ⲙⲛⲛⲟⲧ . . . gō (e)m(e)pchois . . .), and Psalm 150 (Coptic: ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϕϯ . . . (e)smou e(e)phnouti . . .); all three Psalms of *Hōs* Four may be translated as "Praise ye the Lord . . . ." In addition, two other *hōs* are sung for the feasts of Nativity and Resurrection, each consisting of a cento of Psalm verses.

Deriving from the ancient synagogal rites, the *hōs* are very old. Indeed, according to Anton BAUMSTARK, *Hōs* One and *Hōs* Three were the first canticles to be used in the Christian liturgy. A fragment of papyrus, brought from the Fayyūm by W. A. F. PETRIE, published by W. E. CRUM, and identified as a leaf from an ancient Egyptian office book, contains pieces of these two hymns. Further, part of the Greek text of *Hōs* Three has been found on an ostracon dating probably from the fifth century. From *Hōs* Three has grown the canticle known in the West as Benedicite. Descriptions of the four *hōs* dating from the fourteenth century, early twentieth century, and mid-twentieth century all concur, a fact that confirms the unchanged tradition of their usage. Each *hōs* is framed by its proper PSALI, LŌBSH, and ṬARḤ (see below).



Ostracon showing text of *Hōs* Three ("The Three Holy Children"). *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo. Photo by S. K. Brown.*

2. The Theotokia: As mentioned above, the Theotokia are hymns dedicated to the Virgin Mary. There is one set for each day of the week, with each set presenting one aspect of Old Testament typology as it applies to Mary, the Mother of God (Greek: ἡ θεοτόκος, hē theotókos). The Theotokia for Saturday, Monday, and Thursday have nine sets of hymns each; those for Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday have seven; the Sunday Theotokia (performed Saturday night) has eighteen. The strophes for all the sets of these seven Theotokia are nonrhyming quatrains, whose textual accents prescribe the rhythmic and melodic formulae. Each set has a common refrain of one to three strophes that acts as a link to unite the set. Along with each Theotokia, there are interpolations, which enlarge upon the text (Coptic: ⲃⲱⲗ, Bōl; Greek: ἑρμηνεία, hermēneía, "interpretation"), and every set ends with a paraphrase called *lōbsh* (see below). In actual practice, not all the sets of hymns in a Theotokia are performed in a single *Psalmodia* service because one hymn may suffice to represent the complete set.

There is a special collection of Theotokia meant to be performed only during the month of Kiyahk for Advent. De Lacy O'Leary has determined that although many of their texts resemble those of the Greek Orthodox church—especially those Greek hymns attributed to Saint John Damascene and Arsenius the Monk (see ARSENIUS OF SCETIS AND ṬURAH, SAINT)—the Coptic Theotokia are not translations, but, rather, original poems composed on the Greek model. De Lacy O'Leary's translation and editions of the Theotokia for Kiyahk provide ample material for analyzing the texts and comparing manuscripts. A succinct summary of their contents has been outlined by both Martha Roy and Ilona Borsai (see Musicologists, below). As was mentioned above, two of these Theotokia have given their names to the melody types most commonly used throughout the liturgy and offices, namely, *Adam* and *Batos*.

Legend attributes the texts of the Theotokia to both Saint Athanasius (see ATHANASIUS I, APOSTOLIC SAINT), and Saint EPHRAEM SYRUS while ascribing the melodies to a saintly and virtuous man, a potter by

trade, who became a monk in the desert of Scetis. Euringer has identified him as Simeon the Potter of Geshir (a village in the land of Antioch); he is also known as a poet and protégé of the hymnist Jacob of Sarugh, who died in 521. This date indicates that the Coptic Theotokia were composed in the early part of the sixth century.

Mallon, however, asserts that these works are of neither the same author nor the same period. He would date them no earlier than the fifth century, but before the Arab conquest of Egypt (642–643). In the fourteenth century, Abū al-Barakāt wrote that the Theotokia for Kiyakh were not used in Upper Egypt, but were passed around among the churches of Miṣr, Cairo, and the northern part of the country.

3. The *lōbsh* (Coptic: ⲗⲱⲃϣ, lōbsh, "crown," "consummation"; Arabic: *lubsh* and/or *tafsīr*, pl. TAFĀSĪR, "explanation, interpretation") immediately follows a *hōs* or a Theotokia; it is a nonbiblical text on a biblical theme. In hymn form, consisting of four-line strophes and usually unrhymed, the *lōbsh* is recited rather than sung. However, its title designates the appropriate *laḥn*, either *Adam* or *Batos*, which would seem to indicate that at one time it was sung.

4. The Psalis (Coptic: ⲯⲁⲗⲓ, Psali; Arabic: ABṢALIYYAH, or *madīḥ*, pl. *madā'iḥ*, "praise, laudation") are metrical hymns that accompany either a Theotokia or *hōs*. Muyser and YASSA 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ have published detailed editions of certain Psalis, using manuscripts dating from the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Their articles serve to demonstrate the high level of technique in handling Coptic rhymes and rhythms attained by Psali authors. Every Psali has from twenty-six to forty-six strophes, each of which is a rhymed quatrain; the rhyming schemes may vary. The strophes are often arranged in acrostic order according to the Coptic or Greek alphabet by the first letter of each strophe. Some are even in double acrostic, and others in reverse acrostic. Such patterns serve as mnemonic devices, enabling the singers to perform the hymns in their entirety with no omissions.

One feature which makes the Psalis very popular is the refrain, an element rarely found in the ritual pieces of the liturgies and canonical hours, or in the *hōs* and Theotokia of the service of *Psalmodia*. Usually the refrain is made by repeating only the fourth line of the strophe, but sometimes both the third and fourth lines are repeated.
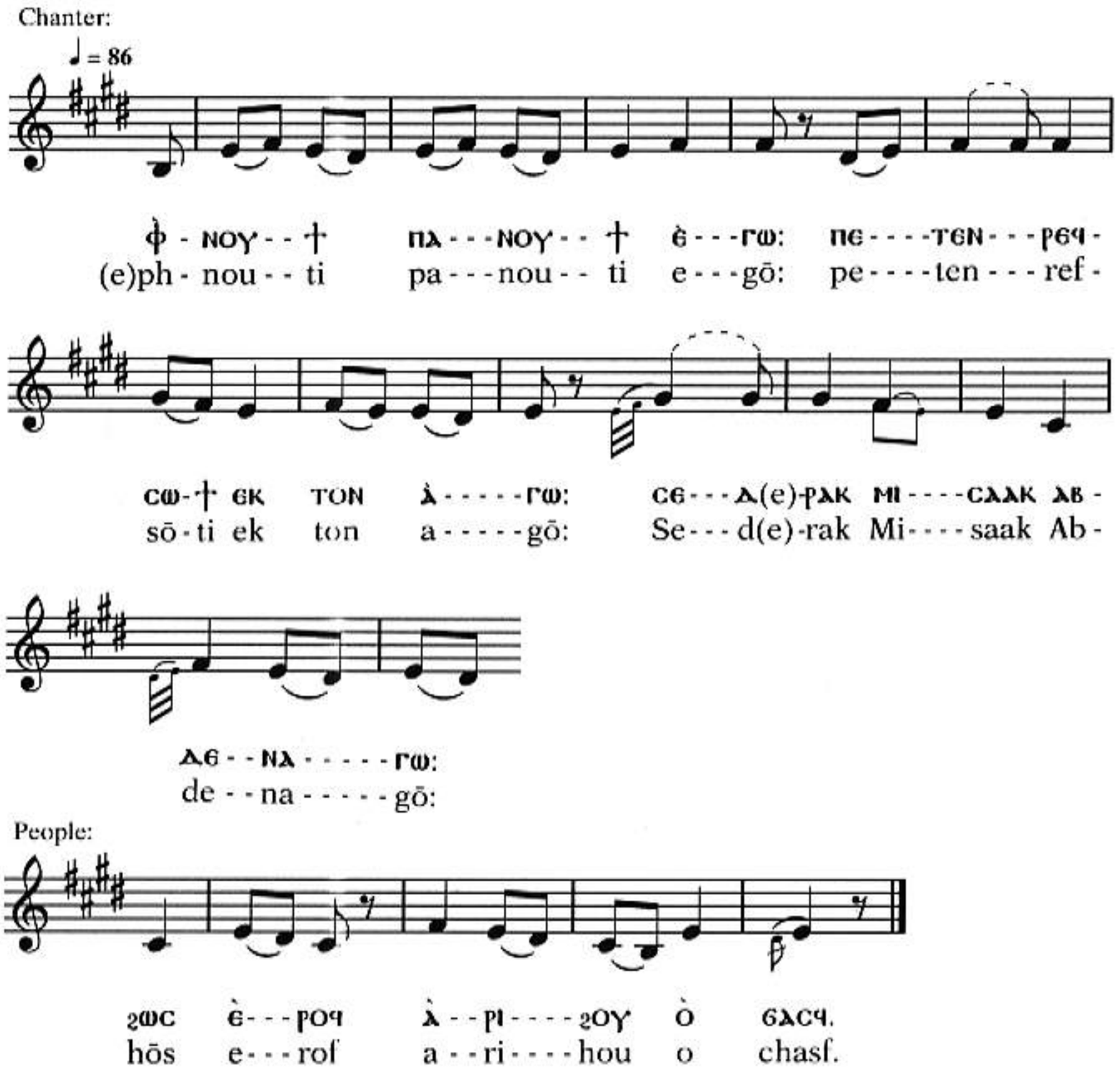
Another unusual aspect of the Psalis is that, except for a few paraphrases reserved for Kiyahk, these are the only pieces of Coptic music whose authors are identified in the texts. The writer's name may be found embedded in a strophe, with a plea for mercy and pardon from sin, and with mention of him as "the poor servant" or "a poor sinner." In the paraphrases, the author's name may be given in acrostic form as the first letter of each strophe of the hymn, or as the initial letter of each of a set of hymns arranged seriatim.

Most Psalis are to be sung either to the melody-type *Adam* or *Batos*, depending on the day of the week, and are thus designated as Psali *Adam* or Psali *Batos*. However, certain ones specify the title of another familiar Psali or hymn to whose melody they may be sung. These melodies are rhythmic and syllabic, that is, the notes match the texts with little trace of melisma or improvisation; their range usually covers four, or at most, five tones; they swing along in quasi-parlando style, and emphasis on textual and melodic accents makes them easy to sing, all of which encourages congregational participation. The very simplicity of these hymns leads the listener to speculate that herein lies the oldest core of ancient Egyptian melody.

A few Psalis are written in both Coptic and Greek, some in both Coptic and Arabic, and others in Arabic alone. Only one manuscript entirely in Greek has been discovered (Church of Saint Barbara, Old Cairo, History 8, 1385). Most Psalis, however, are in the Bohairic dialect, and the date of their composition is unknown. It is probable that some are no earlier than the thirteenth century. On the other hand, certain Psalis in the Sahidic dialect have been assigned to the ninth and tenth centuries (Morgan Collection, vol. XIII). These latter are in acrostic order, according to the letters of the alphabet, and they are unrhymed.

5. The ṬARḤ (pl. *ṭurūḥāt*) usually denotes a paraphrase used to explain a preceding *hōs*, Theotokia, or Gospel reading. It differs from the *lōbsh* or *psali* in that it is introduced with two unrhymed strophes in Coptic, which are followed by an Arabic prose text. In general, it is recited, not sung. Sometimes the same hymn is termed both Psali (Coptic) and *ṭarḥ* (Arabic), but, technically speaking, it may be considered a *ṭarḥ* when it follows the Coptic hymn of the Gospel lections. A *ṭarḥ* dating from the ninth century has been edited by Maria CRAMER. Written in Sahidic for Palm Sunday, it was supposed to be sung. Abū al-Barakāt referred to the *ṭarḥ* as a hymn, which further testifies to its once musical character.

6. The doxologies are hymns of praise sung during the service of *Psalmodia* in honor of the season,



Extract from a *Psali.* Strophe twenty-one with Refrain from *Psali Aripsalin . . .*, from the Service of *Psalmodia. Transcription by Tóth.*

the Virgin Mary, the angels, the apostles, the saint of a particular church, or other Coptic saints, as time may allow. Their texts are similar in structure to those of the Psali and *ṭarḥ*, having short strophes of four lines each and concluding with the last strophe of the Theotokia for the day. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ has published detailed studies of the doxologies.

In addition to the foregoing, other special hymns are sung by the Copts in commemoration of their saints and martyrs. These are to be found in the DIFNĀR or *Antiphonarium* (Greek: *ἀντιφωνάριον*, antiphōnárion, from *ἀντιφωνέω*, antiphōnéō, "to answer, to reply"), a book containing biographies of the Coptic saints written in hymnic form. This volume also includes hymns for the fasts and feasts. The texts are arranged in strophes of rhymed quatrains, and two hymns are given for the same saint, their use being dependent on the day of the week, that is, one for the days of *Adam*, and another for the days of *Batos*. Because these hymns are quite long, only two or three strophes may be sung during the service of *Psalmodia* to commemorate the saint of the day. Further, if the SYNAXARION is read as a commemoration, the singing of the *difnār* hymn may be omitted completely.

The compilation of the *difnār* is ascribed to the seventieth patriarch, GABRIEL II (1131–1145). However, the oldest known manuscript with *difnār* material dates from 893 (Morgan Library, New York, manuscript 575). Another unpublished *difnār* from the fourteenth century, found in the library of the Monastery of St. Antony (see DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS), has been described by A. Piankoff and photographed by T. Whittemore.

Mention should also be made of the numerous ritual books that contain further repertoire to be

sung for particular liturgical occasions such as the rite of holy BAPTISM and the rite for MARRIAGE. Each of these many rituals has its own book detailing the specifics of the rite, which of course include the use of music. Other rituals with their special books containing hymns for the specific occasions are those for the feasts and fasts of the liturgical calendar, such as the ritual for the feast of the Nativity, for the feast of Epiphany, for the feast of the Resurrection, for the feast of Pentecost, for the fast of Holy Week, the fast of the Virgin Mary, and others too numerous to mention here (see FEASTS, MAJOR; FEASTS, MINOR; FASTING).

There is one other book very important in the description of the corpus, *The Services of the Deacon* (Arabic: *Khidmat al-Shammās*), which was assembled by Abūnā Taklā and first published in 1859. This work was compiled from the various books and collections of hymns already in existence in order to assist the deacon, who, along with the cantor, has the responsibility for the proper selection and order of the hymns and responses for each liturgy and office. This book outlines the hymns and responses in Coptic and Arabic for the liturgies and canonical offices throughout the year—according to the various seasons and the calendar of feasts and fasts—and for the various rites such as weddings, funerals, baptisms, and so on.

Its rubrics are all in Arabic, but the hymns and responses are in both Coptic and Arabic. Musical terms are employed in directing the singers. The name of the *laḥn* for each hymn and response is specified, and the rubric for the use of instruments (Arabic: *bi-al-nāqūs*, "with cymbals") is also indicated where necessary. Since its first printing, *The Services of the Deacon* has appeared in four editions.

RAGHEB MOFTAH
MARIAN ROBERTSON
MARTHA ROY
MARGIT TÓTH

Canticles

In addition to the Psalms, some of the early Christian churches adopted into their system of canonical offices certain Old Testament praises and prayers which are known today as *canticles*. The Coptic church recognizes twenty-one in all, eighteen from the Old Testament and three from the New Testament. Two of the Old Testament canticles are also sung as *hōs* during the office of *Psalmodia* (*Hōs* One, the Song of Moses, and *Hōs* Three, the Song of the Three Holy Children). The three from the New Testament are embedded as Gospel lections in six of the hymns of the Sunday Theotokia for Kiyakh (see Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice above). These are: the Song of Mary (Lk. 1:46–55, known in the West as the Magnificat); the Song of Simeon (Lk. 2: 29–32, known as the Nunc Dimittis); and the Prayer of Zacharias (Lk. 2: 69–79, known as the Benedictus).

The full set of canticles is performed at the vigil service on the night of Good Friday (the eve of Saturday). For this service, the officiant and his deacons are seated around a low table upon which are placed three lighted candles, and they read the Biblical prayers and hymns, each deacon taking his turn at reading one canticle. The Song of Moses and the Song of the Three Holy Children are performed in Coptic. All the rest are recited in Arabic. The full set includes:

OLD TESTAMENT (LXX)
1. Song of Moses (Ex. 15:1–21).
2. Second Song of Moses (Dt. 32:1–43).
3. Prayer of Hannah (I Sm. 2: 1–11).
4. Prayer of Habakkuk (Hb. 3:2–19).
5. Prayer of Jonah (Jon. 2: 2–10).
6. Prayer of Hezekiah (Is. 38: 10–20).

APOCRYPHA
7. Prayer of Manasses (Man. 1–15).

OLD TESTAMENT (LXX)
8. Prayer of Isaiah (1) (Is. 26: 9–20).
9. Praise of Isaiah (2) (Is. 25: 1–12).
10. Praise of Isaiah (3) (Is. 26: 1–9).
11. Praise of Jeremiah (Lam. 5:16–22).

APOCRYPHA
12. Praise of Baruch (Bar. 2:11–16).

OLD TESTAMENT (LXX)
13. Praise of Elijah (I Kgs. 18:26–39).
14. Prayer of David (II Kgs. 29:10–13).
15. Prayer of King Solomon (I Kgs. 8:22–30).
16. Prayer of Daniel (Dn. 9:4–19).
17. Vision of Daniel (Dn. 3:1–23).

APOCRYPHA
18. Song of the Three Holy Children (Dn. 1–67).

NEW TESTAMENT
19. Song of Mary (Lk. 1:46–55).
20. Song of Simeon (Lk. 2: 29–32).
21. Prayer of Zachariah (Lk. 1:68–79).

RAGHEB MOFTAH
MARTHA ROY

The Oral Tradition

All the manuscripts discovered and books compiled to date record only texts and rubrics. There is no known notation now in existence designed specifically for Coptic music, though manuscripts bearing ancient Greek notation have been found in Egypt (see History, below). From the beginnings of the church, the music has passed from one person to another, from one generation to the next, by oral teaching and rote learning. Thus Coptic music has always depended on a continuous oral tradition.

Because the Copts have tended to be fiercely conservative about the many rituals of their religion, it is reasonable to suppose that they must also have been meticulous in regard to the music. According to Hans Hickmann (see Musicologists, below), this music was held as a sacred trust by those who learned it, and indeed, was purposely not transcribed lest it fall into the wrong hands. For the most part, the instruction must have been very strict and rigid, as it is today (see Cantors, below).

To study the reliability of this tradition, Marian Robertson has compared transcriptions of the same piece of music written decades apart by different scholars. These studies indicate that the simpler melodies may have remained intact for centuries. Other comparisons of recordings made years apart at the Institute of Coptic Studies also show that the basic melodies have remained unchanged, and that even the embellishments, though varying slightly, occur in the same places throughout the melody in question. This is especially true for those compositions sung by the choir. In the case of solo performers, variation and improvisation are to be found, particularly in the embellishments and melismata, as may be expected.

In view of the abundance and complexity of Coptic music, one might well wonder if any mnemonic devices were used to aid in transmitting it. Hickmann maintained that a system of chironomy that dates from the Fourth Dynasty (2723–2563 B.C.) is still employed. However, not all scholars have shared this opinion. Indeed, Ragheb Moftah, head of the Music Department at the Institute of Coptic Studies, affirms that although a cantor may use his hands in directing other singers, his system is strictly individual and not consciously adopted from anyone. The chironomic gestures used in Coptic singing seem to relate more to setting the rhythm than to delineating the pitches of a given melody.

Scholars do not agree concerning the antiquity and purity of the Coptic musical tradition. Admittedly, without notated manuscripts, it is virtually impossible to unravel the sources of the many melodies. Nevertheless, specialists who have studied, transcribed, and analyzed this music concur that, at the very least, it does reflect an extremely ancient practice. Ernest Newlandsmith (see Musicologists, below) traced it to pharaonic Egypt, whereas René Ménard, a bit more cautious, proposed that those melodies sung in Coptic descended from the pre-Islamic era. In all probability, various sections of the music, like the numerous texts, were introduced into the rites during different stages of the early Coptic church, and the music as a whole does not date from any single era or region. It is clear, however, that the musical tradition has continued unbroken from its beginnings to the present day. Hickmann considered it a living link between the past and the present.

RAGHEB MOFTAH
MARIAN ROBERTSON
MARTHA ROY

Melody, Its Relation to Different Languages

The relation of various languages to Coptic melody is a study still in its infancy. Comparison of pieces sung interchangeably in different languages could help identify the nature of change as well as indicate roughly the age of certain hymns whose texts have been identified in ancient manuscripts.

The titles and rubrics for many hymns designate various linguistic origins (for the texts at least), with most being noted as *Rūmī*, that is, from Byzantium, or "the New Rome," as it was once known. Burmester referred to a number of Greek troparia from the Byzantine offices which are also used in the Coptic office. Further, as has been mentioned, several Psalis show affinities to Greek (see Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice, above). Other hymns are designated as *Beḥeirī*, from northern Egypt, *Sa'īdī*, from southern Egypt, or *Maṣrī*, from the central part of the country. Each region has its own distinctive dialect.

Initial investigations have revealed that when texts are sung interchangeably in different tongues, the melodies remain essentially intact. For example, in the Easter hymn, "Remember me, O Lord" (performed on Good Friday during the Sixth Hour), which is sung first in Coptic (ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲑⲩⲓ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅,

aripamevi ō pachois) and then in Greek, (*μνήσθητί μου κύριε*, mnésthetí mou kýrie), the music does not change with the language. Other examples could be cited.

Scholars have observed that, with the translation of the liturgies and numerous hymns into Arabic, those melodies put to an Arabic text have tended to become simpler, shorter, and less ornamented than the original Coptic version. Fear has been expressed that the Coptic melodies sung in Arabic may lose their genius and character, especially where extensive vocalise is concerned. However, the few studies made of pieces sung interchangeably in Coptic (or Greek) and Arabic seem to show that the basic melodic lines and rhythms are kept intact, and that even the ornamentation is maintained to a remarkable degree. The Easter song reserved for Maundy Thursday, "Judas, Judas . . ." (Greek: *Ἰούδας, Ἰούδας . . .*, Ioúdas, Ioúdas . . . ; Arabic: *Yahūdhā, Yahūdhā . . .*), may be cited as an example. Nonetheless, conclusions must await much further comparison.

Other hymns written originally in Arabic (*madā'iḥ*) have been introduced into the liturgy in relatively recent times. Those well acquainted with the age-old traditions aver that despite the popularity of the attractive melodies and rhythms of the *madā'iḥ*, these newer hymns contain little of theological or spiritual value.

Further, Copts now maintaining residence in foreign lands have begun to perform their liturgies in French, English, and German. Experts once again express fear that, with this trend, the unique style and flavor of the true Coptic melodies will be absorbed into new expressions unable to reflect their distinctive heritage. They feel that Coptic music must be sung in the Coptic language if it is to express the spirituality of the ancient church.

MARIAN ROBERTSON

History

Possible Sources and Antecedents

There are three primary traditions from which Coptic music very likely absorbed elements in varying proportions: the Jewish, the Greek, and the ancient Egyptian.

Possible Jewish Influence. Many aspects of the Jewish services were adopted by the Christian church in Egypt. As elsewhere in the primitive church, the whole of the Old Testament was probably adopted, with the Psalter being the oldest and most venerated song book. The ALLELUIA (Ps. 105–150) and Sanctus (Coptic: ϫⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϫⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϫⲟⲩⲁⲃ . . . , (e)Khouab, (e)Khouab, (e)Khouab . . . , "Holy, Holy, Holy . . .") (Is. 6:3) are two notable hymn texts that have become an integral part of the Coptic rites. According to John Gillespie, the benediction, *Baruh Ahtah Adonai* ("Thanks be to Thee, O Lord"), was also adopted by the Copts. However, how much Jewish liturgical music came into the Coptic church, either from Jerusalem or Alexandria, must remain a matter of speculation at this point. To date, no specific melodies have been identified as belonging to both traditions. Hans Hickmann even postulated that although the music from the synagogue played an important role in the development of the Syrian and Byzantine liturgies, in Egypt the case might have been reversed, that is, Jewish music in Egypt could itself have been influenced by the pagan Egyptian liturgies.

Possible Greek Influence. The Greek koiné (*κοινή*), which was the *lingua franca* of the eastern Mediterranean, became the language of the primitive Christian church. The Hellenized centers of Egypt—Alexandria in particular—produced notable Greco-Egyptian music theorists and teachers such as the grammarian Didymus of Alexandria (first century A.D.), for whom the "Didymian Comma" (an interval between a major and minor tone) is named; Pseudo-Demetrius of Phaleron (first century A.D.), who wrote the first composition manual known in music history; Claudius Ptolemy (second century A.D.), whose *Harmonics* became the standard mathematical treatise on music; Alypios of Alexandria (c. 360 A.D.), whose comprehensive survey of Greek notation made the deciphering of Greek music possible; the poet-teacher DIOSCORUS OF APHRODITO (fourth century); the Gnostic VALENTINUS (fourth century); and Proclus (421–485).

Two manuscripts containing early Greek musical notation have been found in Egypt. The first one is pre-Christian; it dates from about the middle of the third century B.C. and is one of the most ancient pieces of musical notation yet discovered (Zenon, Cairo Museum, no. 59532). The second is a hymn fragment dating from the middle of the third century A.D. (from the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1786, ed. Grenfell and Hunt). Recognized as the earliest example of notated Christian hymnody, it was probably once part of the Coptic repertoire, although it is not known to the church today. A study of these two manuscripts, as they have been transcribed by modern scholars, shows that both contain an

ambitus and intervals much larger than those normally heard in Coptic music; nor are the interval progressions similar. However, there may be some cadential likenesses. Another manuscript discovered in Egypt is a hymn fragment, *Hymn of the Savior,* ascribed to CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–220), which, however, may date from an earlier period. Only the text is given. Three more papyri from Egypt, edited by Jourdan-Hemmerdinger, contain a system of dots related to letters of the text, which may perhaps indicate a type of musical notation. Two of these date from the third century B.C., but one of them (British Museum, Inv. 230), found in the Fayyūm and dating from the third or fourth century A.D., appears to be from a Psalter written in Greek. None of these has yet been deciphered into musical form. One other manuscript of Egyptian provenance, dating from the fifth or sixth century A.D., is controversial. Covered with circles of varied sizes and colors, it was considered by A. Gulezyan of New York to represent musical notation, which he transcribed into Western notation and subsequently published. Jourdan-Hemmerdinger, viewing it as a possible development from the system of dots, has tentatively identified it as an elementary manual of practical music. Eric Werner and René Ménard, on the other hand, do not consider it to be any kind of musical notation.

Although it is obvious that many texts are common to both the Coptic and Greek Churches, it does not necessarily seem to follow that the melodies have been held in common as well. For example, the great hymns *The Only-Begotten* (Greek: *ὁ μονογενής*, ho monogenēs) and the TRISAGION have the same text in both traditions, but the Greek and Coptic melodies for them are entirely different. In view of this fact and other supporting observations, one might tentatively propose that both the melodic style and individual melodies of the Coptic church appear to have remained distinct. However, since the relation of Greek and Coptic music is a study still in its infancy, no comprehensive or definitive statement can be made about this problem at present.

Possible Egyptian Influence. Despite Greek influences in the urban centers, in the pharaonic temples and throughout the rural areas in general, ancient Egyptian music continued to be performed. "The people thought, felt, and sang 'Egyptian'" (Hickmann, 1961, p. 17). Horudsha, a harpist, and 'Ankh-hep, a temple musician and cymbal player (both first century A.D.), are two professionals whose names indicate their Egyptian roots.

Hickmann proposed a connection between the Kyrie and the ancient Egyptian rites of the sun-god, and according to Baumstark, a litanic form of the Isis prayer is found in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1380; even the invocations of the saints in the Roman formulary are closely related to this ancient cult. In the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys* (Middle Kingdom texts, trans. both Faulkner and Schott), evidence exists of antiphonal singing, which still remains today as a basic feature of Coptic music (see ANTIPHON and Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice, above). This practice was also known among the Therapeutae, an ascetic sect of Alexandria (c. 100 B.C.). Another Coptic musical characteristic that might have existed in pharaonic Egypt is the vocalise and/or melisma (see Description of the Corpus, above). After research into Middle Kingdom texts, Hickmann suggested that certain repeated syllables (transliterated by him as *χε, χε, χε* . . . , khe, khe, khe . . .) might be interpreted as such. Further, some Gnostic texts contain vocalises said to be built on the seven "magic vowels." Pseudo-Demetrius of Phaleron referred to this phenomenon as well, calling it "kalophony." Other holdovers from ancient Egypt could be the use of professional blind singers in the performance of the liturgical services (see Cantors, below), and the use of percussion instruments in certain rituals (see Musical Instruments, below). Hickmann and Borsai felt that the folk songs of Egyptian villagers have melodies and rhythms similar to those of Coptic chant. Much more research needs to be done, however.

From the Beginning of the Church to the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.)

Like other Christian churches in the early centuries, the Coptic church was a national one. It used the musical style and perhaps even some melodies familiar to the people. According to Baumstark, the primitive liturgical texts were, for the most part, improvisations. The rites developed gradually, and varied from region to region. But there was throughout the church a common font of texts meant to be sung. The Coptic *hôs* might possibly be assigned to this first period (see Description of the Corpus, above). De Lacy O'Leary, maintaining that the earliest hymns were composed in imitation of the Psalms, suggested that such works should be dated before the second half of the third century. In this regard, he cited three hymns from Coptic services that appear to have derived from the Syrian rite or "its Byzantine daughter," the GLORIA IN EXCELSIS (Luke 2:14), the *Trisagion,* and the Prayer

of Esaias (excerpts from Is. 8 and 9, not to be confused with the canticles; see Canticles, above). This last hymn is no longer found in recent Coptic liturgical books. For its part, the Coptic church probably influenced the rites of the Syrian church, for by 350, public observance of the daily office (the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours) had begun in Syria, and it is reasonable to suppose that the general plans of psalm chanting and lessons were suggested by the already existing monastic practices of Lower Egypt. However, the outline of the Coptic *Horologion* (see CANONICAL HOURS, BOOK OF) might not really have taken shape until the fifth century.

The Copts adopted Saint Paul's classification of songs suitable for worship (Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16), Psalms (Greek: *ψαλμοί*, psalmoí; Coptic: ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ, Psalmos), hymns (Greek: *ὕμνοι*, hymnoi; Coptic: ϩⲙⲟⲩ, (e)smoú), and spiritual songs (Greek: *ᾠδαί*, ōdaí; Coptic: ϩⲱⲇⲏ, hōdē). Some experts feel that these terms refer to the texts to be used, whereas others propose that they relate to the style of singing. According to Werner, the psalms, hymns, and canticles were established as three distinct forms in the fourth century.

As to the three divine liturgies, their texts must have been set in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the church at Alexandria played a very active role throughout the Mediterranean. Although the authors of the liturgies came from Cappodocia, each had close ties with Egypt. Saint BASIL THE GREAT (c. 330–379) served an apprenticeship in a Pachomian monastery before introducing monasticism into Byzantium; Saint GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (c. 257–337) was a pupil of DIDYMUS THE BLIND in the renowned CATHECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA; and Saint CYRIL I THE GREAT (412–444), as patriarch of Alexandria, stood at the head of the Coptic church.

In these early centuries, the church expressed varying attitudes toward music. At its inception, the church used music as a means of attracting proselytes; an example is the story of Philemon, "the disciple of Saint Peter," who is credited with converting many souls by means of his beautiful singing.

The church fathers had various attitudes toward music. Clement of Alexandria (see above) did not approve of instruments, but accepted singing. He did, nonetheless, seek to ban chromatic and nondiatonic scales from church music as being too voluptuous. ORIGEN (c. 185–254), that controversial figure in Coptic church history, attested the wide use of singing in many languages throughout the church. Saint ATHANASIUS I (326–373), patriarch of Alexandria, sought to keep psalm singing from becoming overelaborate; the Copts have ascribed to him the hymn *The Only-Begotten* (the Greek church ascribes it to the Emperor JUSTINIAN I, who is said to have written it in 528; the Syrian church ascribes it to SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH, c. 465–538). Saint Basil, the author of the liturgy bearing his name, defended the singing of psalms both antiphonally and responsorially, a practice popular in many lands including Egypt, Libya, Palestine, and Syria. According to De Lacy O'Leary, it was Saint Basil who introduced this more melodious, antiphonal type of singing into the Byzantine church to supplement an older, more severe style known as "Alexandrian." Although this scholar describes the new style as "Syrian," if one considers Saint Basil's own remarks, the antiphonal style must have already been known in Egypt and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. Though not a church father, ARIUS (c. 250–336), author of the Arian heresy, should also be mentioned, for he versified his theology in a collection of hymns known as *Thalia* (Feast), composing them on models of popular folk songs in an effort to win the people to his cause.

In the monastic communities, attitudes toward music varied as well. PALLADIUS' *Lausiac History* relates that in the days of Saint ANTONY, "the habitations of the monks were accepted as tabernacles of praises, and Psalms, and hymns . . . ," and it was expected that the monks "should pray continually and be ready [to sing] Psalms and [to recite] the Office before they went to sleep." It is also told that when Saint Antony and Saint Paul met, "they said together the Psalms twelve times . . . , and then they sang and prayed until morning." However, as the monasteries developed, the monks, in their extreme asceticism, condemned music. An anecdote from JOHN OF MAYUMA tells of Abbot SILVANUS (fourth century) who, as a monk first at Scetis, then at Sinai, and finally in Palestine, felt that singing hardened the heart, was a primary act of pride, and that as such, was not for the monks but rather for those outside the monasteries. Abbot PAMBO (c. 320–373) was another to deplore any use of music.

In these early centuries of Christianity, the influence of the Coptic church and its liturgical services was felt not only throughout the eastern Mediterranean, but beyond. Through the efforts of Coptic missionaries, who spread the Gospel even as far as Ireland, and through traces left by the Theban Legion in northern Italy, Switzerland, and down the Rhine Valley, remnants of the Coptic faith were left throughout western Europe. Music probably followed closely upon this trail. Stanley Lane-Poole, as

quoted by Atiya, has called Irish Christianity "the child of the Egyptian Church" (Atiya, 1968, p. 54), and one is tempted to wonder if those early Coptic missionaries brought a bit of their own highly developed music with them to this distant land and left it along with their names. According to O'Curry, the famous Irish harp may have come from Egypt. In Ireland are found three representations of a harp without a forepillar. The first such items hitherto discovered outside of Egypt, they are an ornamental cover of an Irish manuscript dating from at least 1064; a drawing taken from one of the ornamental compartments of a sculptured cross at Monasterboice set up before 830; and a similar monument at the old church of Ullard, County Kilkenny, which appears to be even older than the Monasterboice item. O'Curry also felt that the quadrangular harp of the ancient Tuathe Dé Danaan people, though not exactly the same, could have been modeled upon the early Greco-Egyptian harp of this same form. How these harps were introduced into Ireland is unknown at present.

As well as missionaries, Coptic monasteries influenced ritual in Europe. To cite one example, the established Coptic recitation of twelve psalms was almost certainly the basis of the similar twelve-psalm series in the Gallic and Roman churches. As yet, no melodies have been discovered that are identical to any specific Coptic hymns or chants, but there is a similarity of style (intervals, ambitus, rhythms), particularly in the simpler Coptic syllabic chanting. Baumstark, in discussing the Roman hymn of the Cross, "We adore Thy Cross" (Latin: *Crucem tuam adoramus*), opined that the original ideas and even certain expressions (which came into Roman usage via a Byzantine troparion) go back, as some papyrus fragments show, to extreme antiquity, and seem to derive from Christian Egypt. Also, two ancient formularies in the Roman rite have special kinship with Alexandrian usage; for the original combination of "Let us bend our knees" and "Arise" (Latin: *Flectamus genua* and *Levate*), ancient Egypt alone offers corresponding phrases, still used by the Copts during Lent (Greco-Coptic: ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲱⲙⲉⲛ: ⲕⲗⲓⲛⲱⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲁ ⲅⲟⲛⲁⲧⲁ, anastōmen: klinōmen ta gonata).

After the Council of Chalcedon (451) to the Arab Conquest (642/643)

After the Council of Chalcedon, the Copts severed ties with the Byzantine and Roman churches, and purposely withdrew unto themselves, vowing to keep their traditions uncontaminated. What exactly happened regarding music is unknown. However, there is some indication that the Copts kept their music distinct and apart from Byzantine influence. Specific mention is made in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS of the people rejoicing when Patriarch ISAAC (686–689, see ISAAC, SAINT) had the liturgies restored in the churches of the Orthodox (Coptic) which had been prohibited due to Melchite (Byzantine) domination. Elsewhere in the same *History* there is a description of the monks going forth from their monastery, DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR, singing their traditional sacred songs to greet the patriarch, who had been exiled from Alexandria to this desert retreat. This work further states that long after the Arab conquest, during the reigns of Patriarchs Christodoulus (1046–1077, see JERUSALEM, COPTIC SEE OF), CYRIL II (1078–1092), and MICHAEL IV (1092–1102), the Copts worshiped separately from all other Christians and kept their own rituals.

Despite their self-imposed separation from Byzantium and Rome, the Copts continued to maintain contact with the Syrian church and its music. During the fifth and sixth centuries, there was a flourishing music school at the Syrian Monastery of Saint Sābas near the Dead Sea where Coptic monks came to study. Here, they were probably acquainted with the form known as *kanon* (Greek: *κανών*), which, in Coptic usage, became a hymn with strophes of five lines, distinguished by a refrain of two lines. A Coptic melody type bears its name (Arabic: *laḥn qanūn*).

After the Arab Conquest (642/643)

When the Arabs entered Egypt, they brought a new religion and language, but this made no change in the Coptic rituals. Coptic still remained in general use among the Christians even as late as the reign of Patriarch ZACHARIAS (1004–1032) and though the Gospels and other church books had been put into Arabic under the rule of Patriarch PHILOTHEUS (979–1003), Cyril II continued to conduct the Divine Liturgy entirely in Coptic. Manuscripts dating from the seventh through the nineteenth centuries show that the texts of the ancient hymns—the Theotokia, Psalis, *ṭurūḥāt*, and so on (see Description of the Corpus, above)—were kept in Greek, Greco-Coptic, and Coptic with little or no alteration. It seems logical to assume that the music also remained essentially intact. As has been indicated above, even after Arabic was introduced into parts of the rites for those who no longer understood Coptic, this did not seem to change the basic elements of the music (rhythms and melodic lines)

(see Melody, Its Relation to Different Languages, above).

Coptic manuscripts, probably dating from the tenth or eleventh centuries (Rylands Library at Manchester; Insinger Collection, Leiden Museum of Antiquities) contain unusual signs as yet undeciphered. Some scholars have tentatively suggested that they may be a sort of ekphonetic notation (a system of symbols placed above the syllables in a text) that fell into disuse. At the MOUNT SINAI MONASTERY OF SAINT CATHERINE, many ancient manuscripts of hymn and psalm texts have been discovered. None is in Coptic, but there are several in Arabic, with the earliest dating from 977. A study of these Arabic manuscripts could be very useful, for although Saint Catherine's is Greek Orthodox, it has a complicated history connected to Egypt yet to be fully elucidated.

During the Middle Ages, three authors described the rites and musical practices of the church. The first, Isḥāq al-Mu'taman Abū IBN AL-'ASSĀL (thirteenth century), devoted a chapter from his *Kitāb* MAJMŪ' UṢŪL AL-DĪN (The Foundations of Religion) to a discussion about the growth of music in the church, citing Scripture and historical events (this chapter has been edited and translated by Georg GRAF as "Der kirchliche Gesang nach Abū Isḥāq . . . ibn al-'Assāl," Vocal Church Music According to Abū Isḥāq . . .). The second, Yuḥānnā ibn Abī Zakāriyyā IBN SIBĀ' (late thirteenth century) detailed contemporary usages of liturgical music in his opus, *Al-*JAWHARAH AL-NAFĪSAH *fī 'Ulūm al-Kanīsah* (The Precious Essence . . . , ed. and trans. Jean Périer as *La Perle précieuse*). The third author, Shams al-Ri'āsah Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR (early fourteenth century), penned MISBĀḤ AL-ẒULMAH *fī Idāḥ al-Khidmah* (The Lamp of Darkness, ed. and trans. Louis VILLECOURT as *La Lampe des ténèbres*), in which he listed and specified the use of the many melodies (Arabic: *alḥān*, see Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice, above) known to the church in Egypt. Although he reported certain local variations in the order and choice of *alḥān*, the names of the songs and practices he discussed are virtually the same today.

These three authors also outlined the Coptic schema of the *oktoechos*, which had been developing for many centuries in Egypt, Syria, and Byzantium. A term of several meanings in the early church, *oktoechos* eventually came to refer to a group of eight adaptable melody-types (*echoi*) used in the Byzantine church in a cycle of eight Sundays to correspond with an eight-week liturgical cycle. Their invention is attributed to Saint John Damascene (d. 754), but his contribution was probably one of organization since they were already in existence long before his time. His classification of the *echoi* into four authentic (*κύριοι*, kúrioi, i.e., "lords"), to be paired with four plagal (*πλᾶγος*, plāgos, "side," or perhaps *πλάξ*, pláx, "flat and broad"), was likely based on some symbolic principle rather than any purely musical reason.

The expression *oktoechos* first appeared in the *Plerophoria* by John of Mayuma (c. 515) in an anecdote indicating that this word referred both to a kind of prayerbook and to a collection of songs arranged from a musical standpoint. According to E. Werner, the term may originally have derived from the Gnostic term *Ogdoas*, which, as the number eight, was identified with the creator and the essence of music in an apocryphal hymn of Jesus that probably originated in Egypt or southern Palestine in the middle of the second century. The philosophic ideas of the Ogdoas, the Gnostic magic vowels as they related to the tones of a cosmic octave, the four essential elements (air, water, fire, and earth), and the four essential qualities (dry, humid, hot, and cold)—all indiscriminately mixed with more or less biblical concepts, and arising in Egypt and southern Palestine during the second and early third centuries—further contributed to the formation of the *oktoechos*. The alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis (now Akhmīm) (c. 300) is credited with a brief passage about *echoi* found in a treatise that basically concerns alchemy. However, the work is likely Byzantine, dating from the late eighth or early ninth century. Herein, Pseudo-Zosimos established a system of *echoi* based on six series of four elements (represented by the Greek symbols for the numbers 1 to 4) to produce twenty-four entities that were to serve as the foundation for the composition of all the hymns and other religious melodies.

In the Byzantine and Syrian churches, the *oktoechos* was systematized only in the eleventh century. Two centuries later, Ibn al-'Assāl, following this lead, quoted the priest Ya'qūb al-Māridānī, who stated that the sense of hearing has eight levels of feeling (temperaments), and that therefore songs must be based on eight kinds of *echoi* (Arabic: *alḥān*); these he then classified and described. In the early fourteenth century, Abū al-Barakāt embraced this same classification and described its usage in Egypt as follows: The first (ΠΡΩΤΟC) and fifth (ΠΛΑΝΗΡΟΘΟΥ, planērothou, or ΠΛΑΝΠΡΩΤΟΥ, planprōtou) *echoi* excite joy, and are used for pure and glorious feasts; their temperament is hot and humid. The second (ΤΕΥΤΕΡΟC, teuteros) and sixth (ΠΛΑΝΤΕΥΤΕΡΟC, planteuteros) humble us, and

are used for times of humility and humiliation like Holy Week; their temperament is cold and humid. The third (ⲧⲣⲓⲧⲟⲥ, tritos) and seventh (ⲃⲁⲣⲓⲥ, baris, from Greek *βαρύς*, barús, "heavy"), make us sad, and are therefore most frequently used for funerals and burials; their temperament is hot and dry. The fourth (ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ, tetartos) and eighth (ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ, plantetratou) encourage bravery, lift the heart, and are meant to encourage the listeners, not put fear into their souls; their temperament is cold and dry.

In all other descriptions of the Coptic *alḥān* and their usage, Abū al-Barakāt made no further reference to these eight *echoi*, nor are they known or mentioned elsewhere in Coptic church music. Thus, whether the schema of the *oktoechos* was merely theoretical or actually put into practice by Coptic musicians is an open question.

Regarding a possible Arabic influence on Coptic music over the years, it has been observed that there are some traces of similarity between Coptic incantillation and Qur'ān chanting. However, at this writing, it would be impossible to say who borrowed and who lent. The Arabs may have had some effect on the singing style of certain individuals, but for the traditional manner of singing transmitted by the cantors as a whole, it would be difficult to pinpoint anything as specifically Arabic. The ultimate provenance of the improvisational style heard in both Coptic and Arabic cantillation, as well as in other Middle Eastern musical systems, is unknown at present. This entire problem is yet awaiting much-needed comparative study.

In conclusion, some remarks about authors should be made. Although Coptic artists, composers, and writers have largely remained anonymous by tradition, the authors of a few hymns have been identified. Mention has been made of how some left their names in the Psalis (see Description of the Corpus, above). Other ascriptions have been noted in their historical context. In the currently used *al-Absalmudiyyah al-Kiyahkiyyah* (see Description of the Corpus, above), the following are some of the more prominent authors named as having contributed hymns to the collection, some more prolifically than others: for Psalis Mu'allim Yu'annis (six Coptic paraphrases), Sarkis (nine Greek paraphrases), and Nicodemus (nine Coptic Psalis); for *madā'iḥ* and paraphrases in Arabic 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Masū'dī from DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ, al-Baramūdah of Bahnasā, and Faḍl Allāh al-Ibyārī; and for hymns in Arabic with frequent Coptic terms and phrases interpolated, Patriarch MARK VIII (1796–1809), Mu'allim Ghubriyāl of Qāy, Abū Sa'd al-Abūtījī, and Jirjis al-Shinrāwī.

RAGHEB MOFTAH
MARIAN ROBERTSON
MARTHA ROY

Cantors, Their Role and Musical Training

Because members of the clergy were not equally talented as singers, it became and has remained the tradition to entrust performance of the music to a professional cantor (Arabic: *'arīf*, "one who knows," or *mu'allim*, "teacher"), who is employed and trained by the church to be responsible for the correct delivery of the hymns and responses in all the services. He is usually blind, due to the popular belief dating from ancient times that the sensitivity of eyesight was transferred from the eyes of a blind person to his ears, and that such transference enhanced musical skills. He is expected to be at the church to perform and sing all the rites at their proper times and is thereby assured his living.

The cantor is not an ordained member of the clerical orders, but in times past, a prayer used to be said for him as the appointed singer in the church. This prayer, entitled A Prayer Over One Who Shall Be Made a Singer (Coptic: ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲭⲉ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ ⲙ̀ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲱⲇⲟⲥ, oueukhe ejen ouai eunaaif (e)mpsalmōdos), is as follows:

> Master, Lord God, the Almighty, . . . This Thy servant, who stands before Thee and hath hastened to Thy Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, do Thou illumine him for rendering sweetly Thy holy words, and give grace to him to chant unto Thee, with understanding, the spiritual hymns.

Little is known about the cantors prior to 1850. However, at that time, it became apparent that the music and texts had often been rendered incorrectly by untrained and/or careless cantors. Patriarch CYRIL IV (1853–1861), concerned about this situation, made the training of cantors a matter of prime importance to the church. He felt that a specialist, trained and highly skilled in singing the rituals, could help solve the problem, for such a professional could then teach others and thus be responsible for the improvement of the music. With this in mind, the pope found a blind young man who was teaching in the school adjacent to the patriarchal Church of Saint Mark, and perceiving him to be gifted with a good voice and keen ear, he appointed

him to be teacher of melodies. Later, this teacher was ordained a deacon, Abūnā Taklā by name.

As part of his task, Abūnā Taklā corrected the pronunciation of the language, demanding proper enunciation and delivery of the hymns. In 1859, at the order of Pope Cyril IV, he published the first edition of the book *The Services of the Deacon* (see Description of the Corpus, above), with the help of Deacon IRYĀN JIRJIS MUFTĀḤ, teacher of Coptic in the Patriarchal College. Also at the direction of the pope, Abūnā Taklā included therein four Greek hymns, which he translated into Coptic, and which are sung yet today for the feasts of the Nativity and Resurrection. They have kept their Greek melodies and are designated as *Yunānī* (Greek). Further, Abūnā Taklā sang Coptic songs of his own composition in the homes of outstanding families, and because of a patriotic song that he composed and presented to the Khedive, he was granted the title of *Bey*.

Abūnā Taklā had seven students to whom he transmitted his knowledge and skills. Among these were two cantors, Abūnā Murqus of Maṭāy, and Mu'allim Armanyus.

In the generation following, one of their students was the blind cantor Mu'allim MIKHĀ'ĪL JIRJIS al-Batanūnī, who was blessed with an excellent, very clear voice and a prodigious memory. As a youth, he was sent to visit churches in many towns of Egypt to learn and collect hymns. A faithful teacher at the Institute of Saint Didymus, he was the cantor chosen by Ragheb Moftah to sing to the English musicologist, Ernest Newlandsmith, who, from 1928 to 1936, notated the complete Liturgy of Saint Basil and many hymns reserved for Advent and Lent (see Transcriptions in Western Notation, below). Thereby, Mu'allim Mikhā'īl became the means through which many of the great treasures of Coptic hymnology have been preserved in writing. He died in 1957, over seventy-five years old.

Cantors and deacons of today who were taught by Mu'allim Mikhā'īl include Mu'allim Tawfīq Yūssuf of the Monastery DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ, Mu'allim Sāḍiq Attallāh, Dr. Yūssuf Manṣūr, and many others in the churches of Cairo and the provinces. These men are acknowledged today as the experts for the liturgical services and correct rendering of hymns. They have also assisted in the recordings of the liturgies and offices now being made by Ragheb Moftah.

In 1893, at Mahmashah, Cairo, Patriarch CYRIL V (1874–1927) opened the Theological Seminary, of which one branch was the Saint Didymus Institute for the Blind. It was only natural for the blind



Mu'allim Mikhā'īl. *Courtesy Egyptian Antiquities Organization. Photo by H. Hickmann.*

cantors to come here for their training. This institute is now located in Shubrā, under the direction of Mu'allim Faraj.

Today, the HIGHER INSTITUTE OF COPTIC STUDIES has a music department where the music of the church rites is also taught. Ragheb Moftah has headed this department since its beginning in 1954 and has been responsible for the training of those wishing to master the myriad hymns and melodies necessary to Coptic ritual. Mr. Moftah has also been in charge of the teaching of the hymns and responses to the students in the Coptic Clerical College adjacent to the Institute. These latter students are not cantors, but rather will become priests. Each summer, Mr. Moftah takes a group of talented pupils to summer camp in Alexandria for additional training. Here, they review what they have been taught, correct their intoning and language, and study new repertoire. In all this work, Mr. Moftah is assisted

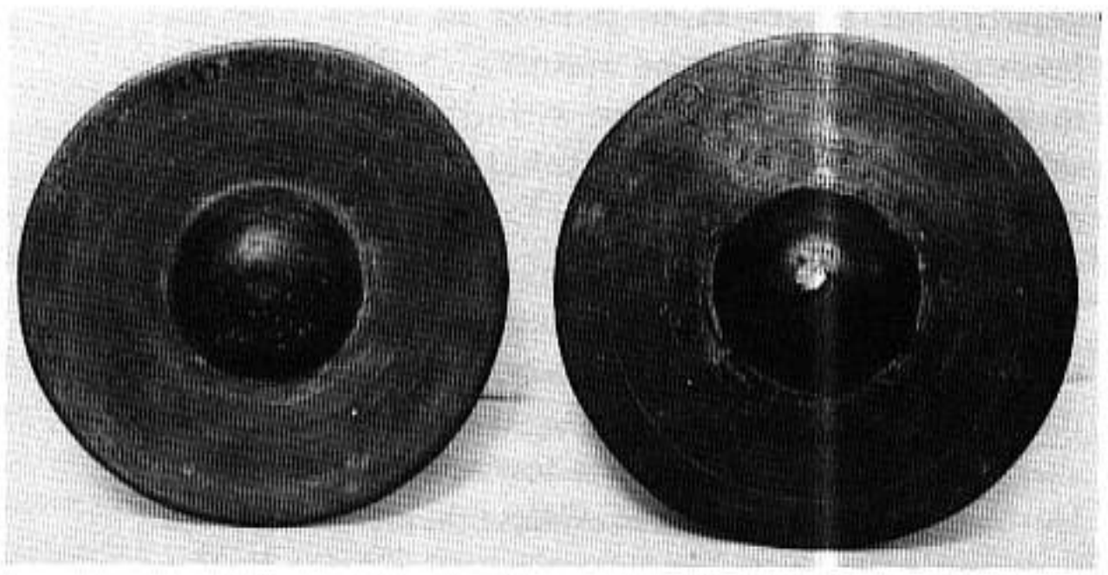
by priests having good ears and strong voices. All instruction is done by rote, with the students repeating the melodies until they become note perfect. Thereby, music, which perhaps was in danger of being lost and forgotten, is now being preserved for a new generation.

RAGHEB MOFTAH
MARTHA ROY

Musical Instruments

When Christianity was established in Egypt, many musical instruments of diverse forms and origins were known. However, they were, in the main, frowned upon by the church and the early fathers wrote strict injunctions forbidding their use. Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–220) inveighed against playing the psaltery, the trumpet, the timbrel or tympanon, and the pipe. However, he seems to have tolerated the *lyra* and *kithara,* because of King David's alleged use of them. Origen (c. 185–254) attributed definite spiritual qualities to the sound of certain instruments, with the trumpet representing the power of God's word, the tympanon depicting the destruction of lust, and the cymbals expressing the eager soul enamored of Christ. Saint ATHANASIUS I (326–373) also gave instruments symbolic meanings (Reese, pp. 61–62). For his part, Saint CYRIL I (412–444) characterized a psalm as "a musical utterance for which the instrument is played rhythmically according to harmonic notes" (Werner, 1959, p. 318), thereby recalling the Greek definition of this ancient form as a song sung to the accompaniment of a harp, or *kithara,* or *lyra.*

Three Arabic manuscripts from Saint Catherine's Monastery (no. 30, 977; no. 21, eleventh century; no. 22, twelfth century) quote hymn and Psalm texts that name many different instruments suitable for praising the Lord: cymbals (*ṣanj*), small drum (*daff*), two different chordophones, whose sound is produced by a vibrating string, either bowed or plucked (*awtār* and *ma'āzif*), drums (*ṭubūl*), and rattles (*ṣalāṣil*), all of which indicate the variety of instruments known at this time (Atiya, 1970, pp. 77, 21 and 25).



Hand cymbals. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

Today, two percussion instruments are used in the rites of many of the Coptic churches: the small hand cymbals (Arabic: *ṣanj,* or colloquially *ṣajjāt*), and the metal triangle (Arabic: *muthallath,* or colloquially *turianta*), each played by one of the deacons and/or the cantor. Providing a rhythmic accompaniment to specified hymns and responses sung by the choir and/or congregation, they signal the congregation to participate and unify the singing.

The hand cymbals are mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments (Ps. 150; I Cor. 13:1), which might be considered as a sanction for their use in the Coptic services. They were probably brought into Egypt from the Near East, but when they were introduced into the church is as yet unknown. They are a pair of slightly concave metal disks (usually silver) about 7 inches (18 cm) in diameter, with a cupped center 1¼ inch (3 cm) in depth. A hole in the center of each disk permits the passage of a string held in place by a wooden pin that acts as a handle for manipulating the cymbals. Throughout the hymn which they accompany, two movements of the cymbals characterize the beat: a diagonal sliding of the two disks against each other, and a circular motion of the two rims alternately against each other. Both movements produce a varied depth in tone. A trill of the rims with a final clap completes the rendition of the hymn.

The Arabic word *daff* is a controversial term popularly used by some Copts to refer either to the cymbals or sometimes to the triangle, but this is a misnomer since the *daff* is a membranophone constructed of a circular wooden frame over one side of which a fish or goat skin is stretched taut; such instruments are considered unsuitable for use in church services.

The Arabic word *nāqūs* (pl. *nawāqīs*) is the only term mentioned in the rubrics of the liturgical books (notably the *Khidmat al-Shammās;* see Description of the Corpus, and Melody, Its Relation to Different Languages, above) to indicate the need for instrumental accompaniment. An ancient kind of bell, sounded by striking the outside with a rod, it gradually disappeared over the centuries from Coptic ceremonies and is not generally known today. It

came into the early church perhaps via Alexandria, where it replaced the small wooden clappers used in antiquity as an instrument to signal the beginning of worship services. Writing in the fourteenth century, Abū al-Barakāt (see Description of the Corpus, and History, above) referred to the *nāqūs* in his description of the rite of consecration of the altar in the church: "The bishop proceeds around the altar and beats the *nāqūs* three times, after which the ministers holding many *nawāqīs* strike them." However, the exact form of the *nāqūs* mentioned by Abū al-Barakāt is a matter of conjecture, for it is not known when the bell fell into disuse among the Copts (see the discussion of the bell below). In the seventeenth century, J. Vansleb did note that small bells and ebony bars were used in Coptic services.

The metal triangle is suspended by a string held in the left hand, and is struck on two or three of its sides by a small metal rod held in the right hand. It is never mentioned in the rubrics, either in Coptic or Arabic, but when accompaniment by the *nāqūs* is specified, the triangle automatically joins in. Its light tinkling beats might be described as resembling the light jangling of the ancient sistrum (see below).

When the hand cymbals and triangle are played simultaneously, intricate rhythmic patterns emerge, and as these instruments accompany the varied meters of the vocal music, a complex and quite distinct polyrhythm is produced.

Although the liturgical books definitely specify the occasions, hymns, and responses requiring instrumental accompaniment, the use of instruments is somewhat haphazard, for those playing instruments do not always follow directions and often play when no instruments are called for in the rubrics.

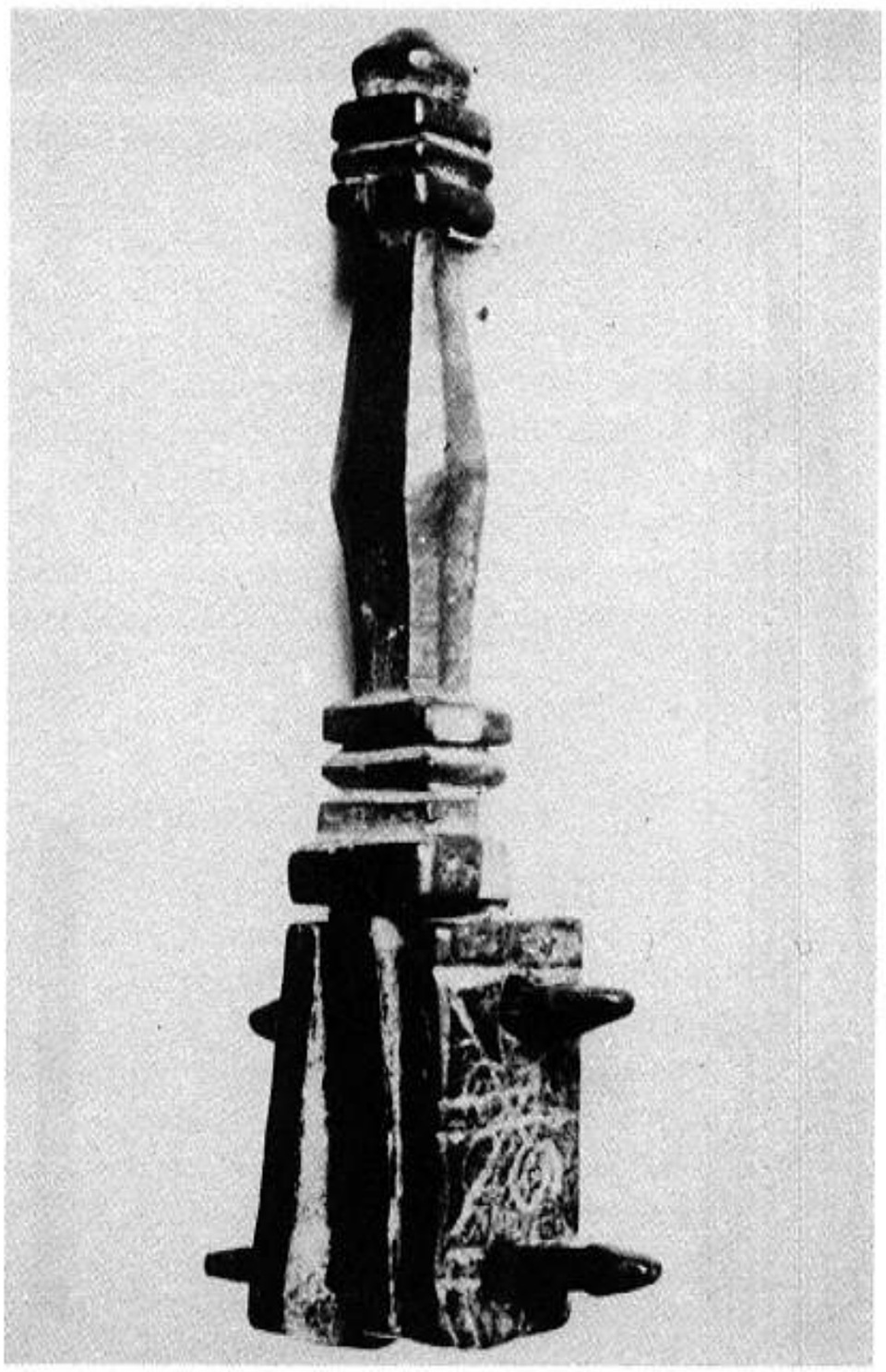
Among the hymns rubricated for instruments are, in the Morning Offering of Incense, "We worship the Father . . ." (Coptic: ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲱⲧ . . . , tenouōsht (e)m(e)phiōt . . .), and "O Come, let us worship . . ." (Coptic: ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ . . . amōini marenouōsht); in the Divine Liturgy the Hymn of the Aspasmos (variable); in the Evening Offering of Incense, the people's response to the Kyrie; on Good Friday, the Kyrie of the Sixth and Twelfth Hours; in the *Tasbiḥah* of the Saturday of Joy, the Psali of *Hōs* One; during the feast of the Resurrection, the ϫⲉⲣⲉ . . . (shere . . .), after the Psali of Hōs One; and the quatrains of the *Tasbiḥah*, when it is performed.

Many instruments known in pharaonic Egypt also existed among the Copts. The following information about them is based mainly on research published by Hans Hickmann.

Idiophones

1. *Clapper.* A kind of castanet, the clapper consists of two small boards that strike against a third, central board which also forms the handle. Although nothing can be affirmed as to its use in the early church, many clappers dating from the third to sixth centuries have been conserved. These have been found at Saqqara (DAYR APA JEREMIAH), the Fayyūm, and elsewhere in Egypt.

2. *Castanet.* Made of concave shells of ivory or hard wood which are struck one against the other, the castanet existed in ancient Egypt, but it probably took its definitive form only in the second century A.D. In the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo there

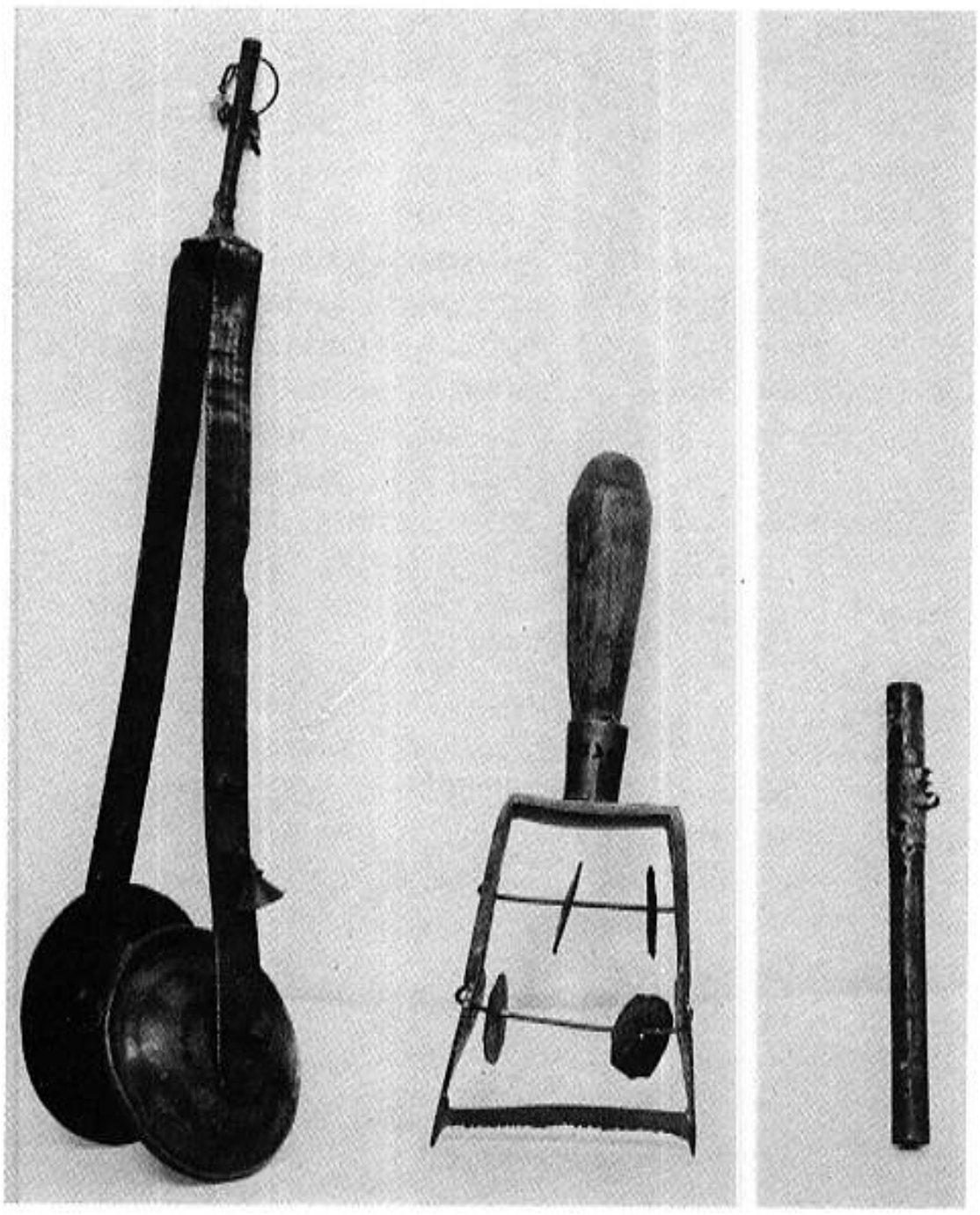


Clappers. *Courtesy Ellen Hickmann. Photo by H. Hickmann.*

are a number of them dating from the Coptic era, found at Akhmīm and Elephantine. It is thought that they descended from the hand-shaped clappers of pharaonic times.

3. *Crotalum.* Composed of two small cymbals attached to the ends of a sort of elastic fork that strike against each other when the fork is shaken, the crotalum was invented by Egyptian musicians of the Lower Epoch. Examples dating from the Coptic Epoch have been found at Thebes.

4. *Sistrum.* Consisting of bars fitted loosely into a metal frame that rattle when the handle is shaken, the sistrum was the instrument sacred to Hathor and other goddesses such as Isis and Bastet. From Egypt it spread to Greece, Rome, and wherever else the cults of these Egyptian goddesses penetrated. In Western Europe, Isidor of Seville (560–636) mentioned its use (*Sententiae de musica*), as did Pseudo-Odo (Odo of Cluny, 879–942). According to Hickmann, the sistrum was also used by the Copts for many centuries.



Crotalum, sistrum, and flute (from left to right). *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

5. *Bell.* Not found in Egypt until the Late Kingdom, most of the bells recovered from ancient times stem from the third to sixth centuries A.D. Ancient Coptic bells, which may be decorated with the sign of the cross, have been found mostly in the Fayyūm or other centers of early Coptic life. Hickmann felt that the use of Coptic bells might be the origin for the sounding of bells during the Roman Catholic mass, and that these instruments appeared in Rome following the cult of Saint Antony.

Aerophones

1. *Flute.* The long flute, which is held vertically when played, is the most ancient wind instrument of Egypt, having existed in prehistoric times. Examples made of bone dating from the third to sixth centuries A.D. have been found at Saqqara (near Dayr Apa Jeremiah). Known in Arabic as the *nāy*, its descendent is still heard today in Egyptian folk music.

2. *Clarinet.* Like the flute, the Egyptian clarinet descends from very ancient times. The double clarinet, which has two pipes linked together, dates from the Fifth Dynasty. Similar instruments dating from the Coptic era have been found at Saqqara (near Dayr Apa Jeremiah). These are the prototype for the modern Egyptian *zummārah.*

3. *Hydraulis.* According to Athenaius, the hydraulis (water organ) was invented by Ctesibus of Alexandria, surnamed "the Egyptian" (c. 246 B.C.). It was described first by Philo of Alexandria (second century B.C.), and later, in more detail, by Hero of Alexandria (c. 150 A.D.) and Vitruvius. A favorite instrument at gladiatorial shows, it became very popular with the Romans. Although the organ later became the main instrument for the rites of the Latin church, it has never been accepted in the Coptic church.

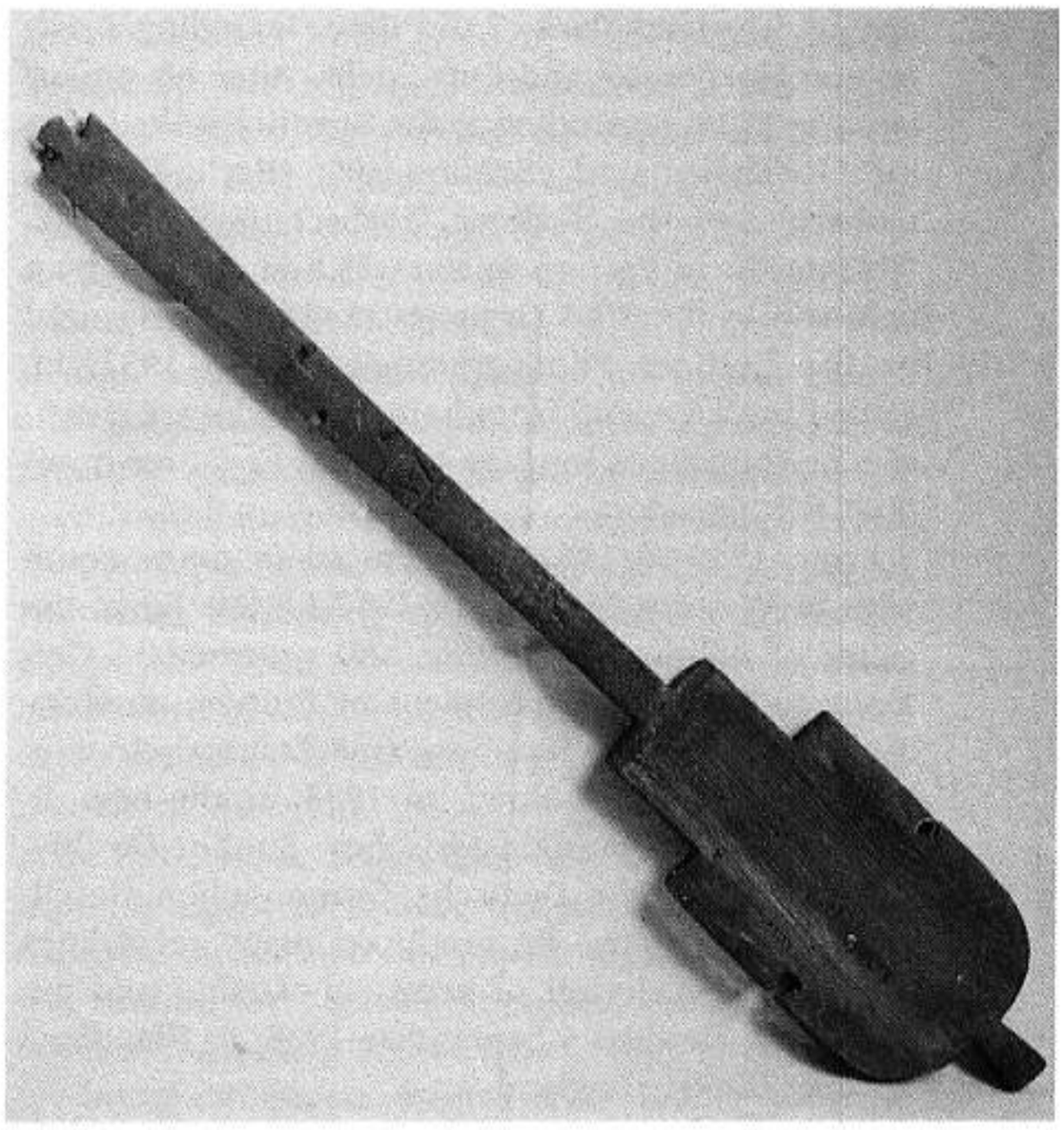
Chordophones

1. *Harp.* The harp is probably of Egyptian origin, and during its long history, it has assumed many forms which have been amply described elsewhere. The Copts did not use the harp in sacred services, but it might have been popular among the people. O'Curry maintained that the Egyptian harp may have served as the prototype for the Irish harp (see History, above), which spread from Ireland into Italy.

2. *Lute.* A lute found at Dayr Apa Jeremiah, dating probably from the seventh or eighth century, is

important because it represents a transition from the long lutes of antiquity (both Egyptian and Asiatic) and the short lutes of Arabic, Iranian, and Indian origin (Arabic: *al-'ūd*). Described by many scholars, it is characterized by two crescent-shaped notches, that is, it is *doublement échancré*. There are examples in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Hickmann suggested that it might be the forerunner of the guitar, especially the *guitarro morisco*. Further, he felt that such lutes indicate the role Egypt played in musical history between antiquity and the Middle Ages, a role not confined to the development of the liturgy, but also important in the history of musical instruments (see METALWORK, COPTIC; WOODWORK, COPTIC).

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Coptic lute. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

Musicologists

Borsai, Ilona (1925–1982)

After graduating from the University of Kolozsvar, in her native city of Cluj, Rumania, qualified to teach Greek and French languages, Ilona Borsai attended the Academy of Music in Budapest, Hungary, where she received the Diploma of Music Education. Completing further studies in the field of musicology under Bence Szalolcsi, she began to work in research in folk music under the direction of Zoltán Kodály at the Academy of Science. Having retired in 1978, she died in Budapest on July 8, 1982.

Her research led into musicological studies of Egyptian music, pharaonic, folk, and Coptic. During three visits to Egypt, she made many recordings of folk and Coptic music in 1967–1968 to collect recordings for transcriptions and analyses, in 1969 to attend the Second Conference of Arab Music where she presented a paper, and in 1970 to follow up on the studies and recordings of Coptic music. As a result of these visits she produced a number of transcriptions in collaboration with Margit Tóth and publications describing the results of her research (see bibliography).

She was a member of the Coptic Archeological Society, the Hungarian Ethnolographical Society, the Association of Hungarian Musicians, the Hungarian Society of Studies of Antiquities, the International Association of Hungarian Studies, the Hungarian Kodály Society, and the International Association of Coptic Studies.

Her pioneering research into the details of the historical, analytical, and liturgical significance of Coptic music opened the field of Coptic musicology and defined its direction. Her contribution has had an impact not only on Coptic studies but also on all research concerning music whose historical roots have been transmitted through the centuries by oral tradition.

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Hickmann, Hans (1908–1968)

Hickmann, a German musicologist, was known primarily as an authority on the musical instruments of ancient Egypt. He devoted much study to the music of the Coptic church, which he felt was a living link between the past and the present (for more details of his research into the Coptic musical tradition, see Oral Tradition, History, and Musical Instruments, above, and Transcriptions in Western Notation, below).

Born 19 May, 1908, in Rosslau bei Dessau, Germany, he received his early education in Halle and continued his studies in musicology at the University of Berlin under the direction of some of the most

distinguished scholars of the time, including Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs. After his graduation in 1934, he studied at the Staatliche Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik (Berlin-Charlottenberg) and the Berliner Hochschule für Musik. His interest in Eastern music was first aroused by a field trip to the Sīwā Oasis (1932–1933), sponsored by the Berliner Phonogrammarchiv. In 1933, he settled in Cairo, and from here he conducted extensive investigations into the music of Egypt for more than two decades.

From 1949 to 1952, he lectured in many countries of Western Europe. In 1957 he left Egypt because of political conditions and returned to Germany to head the department of Ethnomusicology at the University of Hamburg (see Transcriptions in Western Notation, below). In 1958, as the new director of the Musikhistorisches Studio (Archiv-Produktion) of the Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft in Hamburg, he produced many recordings of ancient music, all of great scholarship and authenticity. He died 4 September 1968, in Blandford Forum, Dorset, England.

His published works cover more than three decades (1934–1968, plus articles published posthumously). A comprehensive bibliography, comprising some 198 entries, is listed in the *Journal of the Society of Ethnomusicology*, vol. IX, no. 1 (January 1965), pp. 45–53, and vol. XII, no. 2 (May 1969), pp. 317–19.

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Newlandsmith, Ernest (1875–? [after 1936])

British violinist, composer, and writer, best known for his extensive transcriptions of Coptic liturgical music.

The son of a clergyman, he was born 10 April, 1875. Having shown a talent for music, he entered the Royal Academy of Music in 1893, from which he graduated with distinction in 1899, earning the A.R.A.M. (Associate of Royal Academy of Music). Disillusioned as a music teacher and concert violinist, he turned his back on music as a profession (1908) and became a "pilgrim" or "minstrel friar." Henceforth, he traveled through the countryside presenting musical religious services and living by the generosity of others.

In 1926 he undertook a musical pilgrimage to the Holy Land. En route, he stopped at Cairo where he met Ragheb Moftah (see Cantors, above), who arranged for him to compile a book of liturgical music of the ancient Coptic church. Newlandsmith continued his journey to the Holy Land (Mount Carmel), but soon returned to Cairo. Here, as the guest of Mr. Moftah, he lived in a houseboat on the Nile, notating the music as chanters—among them the great master chanter Mu'allim MIKHĀ'ĪL JIRJIS (see Cantors, above)—sang their time-honored melodies hour after hour, day after day (1926–1931). He also spent some time at Abū al-Shuqūq working with Mr. Moftah on the transcriptions (1929).

The complete project lasted about ten years (1926–1936), and during this time, Newlandsmith transcribed some sixteen folio volumes of music, including the Liturgy of Saint Basil (vol. 1), numerous other special songs for the various feasts and fasts, and special songs reserved for high church officials.

Impressed by the dignity and beauty of this music, Newlandsmith used certain melodies in his own violin compositions, and upon return trips to England (1928, 1931), he played these works as part of his music services. He also gave enthusiastic lectures about the antiquity of the Coptic musical tradition.

During his life Newlandsmith founded various musical-religious societies, the most significant being "The New Life Movement." A prolific writer, he penned several pamphlets and books wherein he expounded his ideas about music.

A bibliography of his early musical compositions is listed in the *Universal Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker* (Vienna, n. d.), vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 124. He based his later works on Coptic melodies, of which two, dating from 1929, remain significant: his *Oriental Suite* for violin and piano, and the *Carmelite Rhapsody* for solo violin.

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Transcriptions in Western Notation

Although there may be some evidences of a notation system using dots and a primitive ekphonetic notation for Coptic music, the Copts have preserved their music over the centuries essentially by means of an oral tradition (see Oral Tradition, above). Only in the nineteenth century did scholars begin to transcribe Coptic melodies using the notation system established for Western music. Guillaume André Villoteau, a French scholar who was part of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, was the first to attempt such a transcription when he devoted some five pages of his *Description de l'Egypte* (1809) to an Alleluia from the Divine Liturgy. Later, near the end of the nineteenth century, other transcriptions

were made by Jules Blin (*Chants liturgiques coptes*, 1888) and Louis Badet (*Chants liturgiques des Coptes*, 1899). Whereas Blin's transcriptions are unreliable, those of Badet are fairly accurate as to the general scheme of the melodies.

In the twentieth century, Kāmil Ibrāhīm Ghubriyāl published a small volume of transcriptions of hymns and responsoria, *Al-Tawqīʿāt al-Mūsīqiyyah li-Maraddāt al-Kanīsah al-Murqusiyyah* (1916). Unlike previous transcribers, Ghubriyāl, a lieutenant in the Egyptian army, was a Copt, and deeply steeped in the musical tradition of his church. He designed his transcriptions for Coptic youth, and in an effort to make them more attractive to his audience, he adapted them for piano, adding a rhythmic accompaniment (no harmony, notes at the octave only) and making certain changes in the pitch and rhythm of the vocal melodies. Notwithstanding such obvious alterations, the basic melodic line was kept intact, and Ghubriyāl is to be recognized for his pioneering efforts as a Copt seeking to notate the music of his people.

Nearly one generation later, one of the most ambitious efforts in this regard was undertaken by the English musicologist Ernest Newlandsmith (see Musicologists, above), who came to Egypt at the invitation and sponsorship of Ragheb Moftah for the express purpose of transcribing the music of the Coptic services. From 1926 to 1936 he compiled, from listening to the best Coptic cantors, some sixteen folio volumes of music, which include the entire Liturgy of Saint Basil, and other important hymns, responsoria, and so on, reserved for special feasts (vol. 1 alone comprises more than 100 pages). Because he felt that the abundant ornamentation in Coptic music was primarily "Arabic debris," Newlandsmith tended to ignore most of the embellishments. Thus, his transcriptions depict simple melodic lines, adapted to the rhythms and key signatures of the West. Nevertheless, for that part of Coptic music which is devoid of embellishment, these transcriptions compare favorably with the work of recent scholars, and his vast corpus of notation offers much material for comparative study and analysis.

All the foregoing transcribers, not having the advantage of recording equipment, had no way to compare what they heard with what they had notated. Hence, many intricacies of rhythm and intonation were neither perceived nor indicated accurately. Fortunately, when, in the 1950s, interested musicologists began to work with tapes, they were able to produce transcriptions of much greater detail and accuracy. Among these scholars were Hans Hickmann and René Ménard, who, working both separately and together, transcribed a few short pieces. Ménard, by slowing the tape, was able to hear, and thus notate, the embellishments with more exactitude than had been possible before. In so doing, he observed that the Western notation system cannot really indicate all the nuances of rhythm and expression inherent in Coptic music, and suggested that certain ancient signs used in notating Gregorian chant might be useful.

Following directives of Hickmann, scholars in the Ethnomusicology Laboratory at the University of Hamburg, employing the most modern acoustical equipment which allowed them to record the exact oscillations of the sound waves, notated the complicated variances of intonation in Coptic music to the nearest quarter-tone.

In 1967, Ilona Borsai (see Musicologists, above) went to Egypt to collect materials for study and analysis. During her short span of ethnomusicological studies, she was able to publish some seventeen articles containing transcriptions and observations on facets of Coptic music never before touched upon.

In 1969, Margit Tóth, also of Hungary, came to Cairo to study Coptic music. Working with Ragheb Moftah and the recordings he had made, she, like Newlandsmith, notated the entire Liturgy of Saint Basil. By using the new methods for recording and playback, she has completed transcriptions of enormous detail, wherein not only the audible embellishments are transcribed, but also auxiliary tones discernable only at a slow tempo. This project will enable scholars to make many comparative studies and analyses.

In the late 1970s, Marian Robertson, of the United States, also working with tapes, began transcribing excerpts from the Liturgy of Saint Basil and Holy Week services. Having specialized thus far in music sung by the choir, in which the embellishments are somewhat blurred by the individuality of each singer, Robertson has not transcribed the ornamentation with the same detail as Tóth. Explanations in accompanying texts serve to describe the phenomenon produced by the varying vibratos and embellishments of the performers.

In 1976, Nabīl Kamāl Būtros, violin teacher in the Faculty of Music Education at Helwan University and a member of the Arabic Classical Music Ensemble, completed a master's thesis, "Coptic Music and Its Relation to Pharaonic Music," in which he made a comparative transcription and analysis of one hymn as sung by several different choirs.

Although Western notation was not designed for

transcribing Coptic music, it may be the form in which this ancient music from the Near East will at last be written. By comparing the various transcriptions of dedicated scholars, one may at least glimpse the complexity and variety of the Coptic musical tradition.

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Nonliturgical Music

In recent years, strictly nonliturgical songs have been developed for use in the Sunday schools. They bear the general title *alḥān,* but thirteen, composed especially in honor of the Virgin Mary, are designated *tarānīm* (sing. *tarnīmah*). Both the *alḥān* and *tarānīm* have texts of praise and worship, strophic in form. Sung antiphonally or in unison by both men and women, they are monophonic. Quite distinct in style from both Arabic chanting of the Qur'ān and Coptic liturgical melody, they betray much Western influence, for example, the singing is always accompanied by the violin, piano, and/or organ; this instrumental accompaniment has rudimentary harmony; and some songs borrow phrases from well-known Western melodies such as Handel's "Joy to the World" and Mendelssohn's "Hark! The Herald Angels Sing." They may be described as light-hearted, charming, and attractive to youth. However, Coptic purists decry their existence and maintain that they have neither the dignity nor the spirituality of the ancient liturgical tradition.

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MUSIC, CORPUS OF. *See* Music, Coptic: Description.

MUSIC, HISTORY OF. *See* Music, Coptic: History.

MUSIC, NONLITURGICAL. *See* Music, Coptic: Nonliturgical Music.

MUSIC, ORAL TRADITION OF. *See* Music, Coptic: Oral Tradition.

MUSIC, RELATIONSHIP TO LANGUAGES. *See* Music, Coptic: Melody.

MUSIC, WESTERN TRANSCRIPTION OF COPTIC. *See* Music, Coptic: Transcriptions.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. *See* Music, Coptic: Musical Instruments; Metalwork, Coptic: Woodwork, Coptic.

MUSIC AND CHURCH FATHERS. *See* Music, Coptic: History; Music, Coptic: Musical Instruments.

MUSICOLOGISTS. *See* Music, Coptic: Musicologists.

MUSṬAFĀ KĀMIL (1874–1908), Nationalist party leader. He studied law at the Khedivial School of Law and later at Toulouse in France, where he

received a degree in 1894. His political interests and his intention to fight the British occupation started at an early age. In 1890 he founded a nationalist literary society and followed that by publishing his articles in the prominent Egyptian newspapers of that time.

Muṣṭafā Kāmil's political career may be divided into three stages. The first stage covered the period between 1894 and 1900, during which he founded the clandestine Nationalist party and issued his famous paper *Al-Liwa'*.

The second stage was between the years 1900 and 1904, when he concentrated on making the Egyptian question an international one, in order to maneuver the European powers, mainly France, to put pressure on England to force it to withdraw from Egypt.

During the third stage he concentrated on escalating internal resistance to Britain as revealed by the crisis that arose between the Ottoman and British empires in 1906 over Ṭābā on the Gulf of 'Aqaba. He incited Islamic reactions in Egypt against the British occupation and to the Dinshwāy incident, when the British resorted to particularly brutal measures in dealing with the fellahin of that village. He exploited the occasion to inflame Egyptian and European feelings regarding these measures. This stage ended with the formation of the Nationalist Party on 22 October 1907. Muṣṭafā Kāmil died shortly afterward, in February 1908.

Most Copts refused to join the political movement initiated by Muṣṭafā Kāmil because they resented its religious aspect and the call to Pan-Islamism adopted by Muṣṭafā Kāmil. The small number of Copts who joined his party is evident from the fact that of the thirty members who constituted the administrative committee, only one was a Copt, WISSA WASSEF, while out of the 113 founders of the other big party, Hizb al-Ummah (Nation's Party), fourteen were Copts.

However, toward the end of his life, Muṣṭafā Kāmil tried to create a society uniting Copts and Muslims, based on pure Egyptian sentiment. The motto of its adherents was Egyptians First of All. Even so, the Copts hesitated to join the Nationalist party, on account of the reasons mentioned and on account of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's connection with the Ottoman empire.

YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

MUSTURUD. *See* Pilgrimages.

MU'TAMAN ABŪ ISḤĀQ IBRĀHĪM IBN AL-'ASSĀL (Mu'taman al-Dawlah), apparently the third and youngest brother of al-As'ad Abū al-Faraj Hibat-Allāh ibn al-'Assāl, the second being al-Ṣafi Abū al Faḍā'il ibn al-'Assal (Safī al-Dawlah). He lived in the first half of the thirteenth century, though no precise date could be assigned to him from the sources.

Mallon (1907) ascribes to him two works that appear under al-As'ad in Kaḥḥāla's dictionary based on Cheikho's catalog of Christian Arabic manuscripts. They are *Majmū Uṣūl al-Dīn wa-Masmū' Maḥṣal al-Yaqīn* (Records of Foundations of Religion), and *Al-Tabṣirah al-Mukhtaṣarah* (Abridged Contemplation).

Other works by Abū Isḥāq quoted by Mallon include *Adāb al-Kanīsah* (ecclesiastical usages) and *Khuṭab al-A'yād al-Sayyidiyyah* (festal homilies).

But his major and enduring contribution lies in the field of philological studies, specifically his famous *scala* under the Arabic title *Al-Sullam al-Muqaffā wa-al-Dhahab al-Muṣaffā*. Several attempts were made before Abū Isḥāq to present a lexical compilation of Coptic vocabulary into Arabic, but most of them were confused and hardly usable except perhaps the work of Anbā Yu'annis, bishop of Samannūd, who made his selection from liturgical works, the Gospels, and Theotokia. Abū Isḥāq used the work of Anbā Yu'annis and improved on it by filling lacunae and by alphabetizing entries. He also profited from the knowledge of eminent contemporaries, notably the priest Abū-al-'Izz Mukhallis, al-Wajīh Yuḥannā of Qalyūb, and the *shaykh* al-Tuqā ibn al-Dahīrī. For the first time, it could be said that a definitive and reliable Coptic *sullam* was achieved; this was the text that Kircher presented in his famous *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*.

Apart from the three Awlād al-'Assāl already cited in this article, two others are worthy of mention. One was their father, Abū al-Faḍl ibn Isḥāq ibn Abī Sahl ibn Abī Yūsr Yuḥannā ibn al-'Assāl, known as Fakr al-Dawlah (al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, the Egyptian scribe). The other personality is that of al-Amjad Abū al-Majd ibn al-'Assāl, a prominent Ayyubid functionary who lacked the literary glamor of the three older brothers, but who served as the eminent financier of the distinguished family.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

MUWAFFAQ AL-DĪN ABŪ SHĀKIR IBN ABĪ SULAYMĀN DĀWŪD (d. 1216), a skilled physician, one of three brothers, the other two being ABŪ AL-FAḌL IBN ABI SULAYMĀN and Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī Sulaymān. From the latter, Abū Shākir learned his medical skills. The sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil (1200–1218) appointed him to the service of his son al-Malik al-Kāmil.

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PENELOPE JOHNSTONE

MUWAFFAW AL-DIN IBN SA'ID AL-DAWLAH. *See* Hibat Allāh 'Abd-allāh Ibn Sa'īd al-Dawlah al-Qibṭī.

MUYSER, JACOB LOUIS LAMBERT (1896–1956), Dutch Coptologist. He was born in the Hague and studied theology and Egyptology at Fribourg in Switzerland with Eugène Devaud and went to Egypt in 1920 as a missionary for the African Mission Society. In February 1921 he was ordained a priest in the Coptic Catholic church and was assigned to the city of Zagazīg. He built a typical Coptic church named after Saint Pachomius in the city of Fāqūs.

He contributed extensively to research in the history of the church, Bible studies, biographies of church fathers, and related materials. He wrote in English, French, German, and Spanish. In addition, he mastered Coptic, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic.

He published numerous articles in both Arabic and European languages. One of his important contributions to Coptic studies is "Les Pèlerinages coptes en Egypte" (ed. Gérard Viaud, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 1979).

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M. L. BIERBRIER
SULAYMĀN NĀSĪM

MYRON. *See* Chrism.

MYSTERIES OF GREEK LETTERS, a mystic treatise on the symbolical interpretation of the letters of the Greek alphabet possibly written by an Egyptian or Palestinian monk in the fifth or sixth century.

The complete title of the work is given in Arabic: *Sharḥ Iḥtijāj qālahu al-qass anbā Sābā al-Sā'iḥ fī sirr falsafat Allāh al-maknūn fī ḥurūf alfā wīṭā* ("Explanation of a defense pronounced by the priest Anbā Saba the Hermit concerning the mystery of the philosophy of God hidden in the letters of the Greek alphabet").

This work is still very little known. E. Revillout mentioned it in 1873 in connection with the Gnostic literature of the first centuries. A. Hebbelynck gave rather more precise details in a brief account published in 1896. It was not until 1900–1901 that his edition of the Sahidic text was finally published, accompanied by a short study and a translation in French. This text is known from a bilingual Sahidic Coptic and Arabic manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Huntington 396). It contains 119 folios and was described by John Uri in 1787, as number 55 of the Coptic manuscripts.

The Sahidic text is certainly translated from the Greek. In 1989 Joseph Paramelle, S.J., who had discovered the original Greek version of this text, was preparing its publication. The Sahidic text comes to a halt on folio 113. What follows (15 pages, fols. 113v–119v) is exclusively in Arabic. This Arabic version was made by the copyist of the manuscript himself, who does not give his name but who records that he completed his work on 14 Bashans 1109 A.M./9 May 1393. The Arabic version is as yet unpublished, as is the fifteen-page supplement that would seem to have been composed by the translator himself. G. Graf limits himself to mentioning the text in passing (*Geschichte der christlichen-arabischen Literatur*, p. 662, lines 30–32).

The author of the treatise wrote in Greek, but he knew Syriac and Hebrew. He lived after Epiphanius of Cyprus, from whom he quotes the following authors (according to Hebbelynck 1900-01): CLEMENT OF ROME, Dionysus the Areopagite, Irenaeus of Lyons, Epiphanius of Cyprus, the HEXAPLA, and also the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

The author's name is given several times in the Arabic version (e.g., fol. 114a) as being the hiero-

monk Sābā. The fact that he knew Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew suggests that he lived in Palestine. He may have been the person, born in 439 and died in 531, who founded several Palestinian monasteries.

This is not a Gnostic or magic work but belongs to a branch of Egyptian literature concerned with the hidden meanings of letters. "From the fourth century onward," writes Hebbelynck, "Egypt offers remarkable examples of the branch of literature. The writings, of which St. Jerome has given us a Latin version entitled *Monita S. Pachomii, SS. Pachomii et Theodori Epistolae, Verba mystica* (S. Pachomii), contain a series of admonitions and pronouncements, each one more enigmatic than the other, based on the occult significance of the alphabet" (Hebbelynck, 1900, pp. 9–10; cf. Patrologia Latina 23, cols. 61–100). Hebbelynck gives other examples (pp. 10–11) of this kind of literature as well. This view leads to a different hypothesis concerning the identity of the author. Sābā might have been an Egyptian hieromonk trained in Alexandria, who composed his treatise directly in Greek.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS IN COPTIC ART.

[*This entry consists of a brief introduction and a number of short articles by various authors:*

Amazons
Aphrodite
Apollo and Daphne
Bellerophon and the Chimera
Dancers
Daphne
Dionysus
Hercules
Horus
Jason
Leda
Nereids
The Nile God
Nilotic Scenes
Pastoral Scenes
The Seasons
Thetis
The Three Graces]

The ancient civilizations of the Middle East abounded in myths, which expressed sacred truths in words. Mythological subjects were a fertile source of inspiration for artists. As one civilization succeeded another in the same area, the newer mythology gradually superseded the old, and the iconography changed accordingly. But elements of the older faith often blended with or were assimilated to the newer one or continued to exist alongside it. Thus in Roman Egypt, elements of pharaonic mythology and iconography were absorbed into Greco-Roman mythology and iconography. And in the Christian and early Muslim periods, from the mid-fifth century to the twelfth century, a great many pagan themes persisted in Coptic art.

In some instances a pagan theme, such as rebirth, was assimilated to a Christian theme. In other instances, the pagan symbol was so often repeated that all its original religious significance was lost and it became merely a decorative device. In still other situations, the pagan symbol was retained for its magic value, reflecting the ancient Egyptian belief in the efficacy of magic, which was deemed to prevail over the new faith.

Amazons

In Greek tradition, the Amazons are a nation of women warriors ruled by a queen, said to live in northern Asia Minor. Descendants of the Greek war god, Ares, they are associated with combat in such events as the Trojan War; the battle against the hero Hercules (Greek, Herakles), their enemy par excellence because he killed their queen, Hippolyta; and the invasion of Attica in vengeance against an expedition by the hero Theseus. In addition they are linked with funeral divinities and with the cortege of the wine god, Dionysus, probably as an expression of the forces of change. A cult was devoted

to them. In Egypt a demotic papyrus mentions the Amazons and their queen as allies of Petekhons (P;-ti-Hrsw) in a military expedition to India (Volten, 1962).

In Coptic art the Amazons appear chiefly in relation to the labors of Hercules and the Dionysiac world. They are most clearly depicted in textiles; their identification remains doubtful in other media such as a small ivory carving in the State Collection of Egyptian Art, Munich. As warriors they wear a light chiton, long or short, sometimes speckled with small circles, leaving one or both breasts bare so they can wield weapons more freely. They also wear the cap of the Phrygian archers and the trousers (*anaksyrides*) worn by Eastern peoples. When on horseback, they are armed, either drawing a bow with an arrow fitted to it or brandishing a two-edged hatchet. The shield is on the ground, between the horse's hoofs.

The Amazons generally appear in scenes of violence—occasionally in war, more often dueling with a hero or hunting. Representations of warfare, Amazonomachy, are, in fact, rather rare. In a textile in Jerusalem (Baginski and Tidhar, 1980, no. 13), Amazons and Greek warriors face each other belligerently, with three Amazons on horseback and two others fallen conquered. An unusual textile, from the excavations of A. Gayet at Antinoopolis (Rutschowscaya, 1984) and dating from the fourth to fifth centuries, depicts a scene with two Amazons kneeling beside a male figure who is subduing them. A textile in the Museum of Ancient Art, Milan, from the sixth to seventh centuries (D'Andria, 1968) preserves the figure of a hero grasping a kneeling Amazon by the hair, while another figure bearing a shield advances on the opposite side. This composition goes back to the shield of the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, which also served as the model for the schema of the kneeling Amazon held by the hero—when this is an isolated subject.

Far more common are the themes of the Amazon dueling with the hero and the Amazon hunting. The theme of the Amazon dueling is attested in two iconographical schemas. In the first, the Amazon riding her horse brandishes an ax while the warrior pursues her, seizes her by the wrist or by the hair, and is about to pierce her with his sword. In the second theme, the unhorsed Amazon has fallen to her knees disarmed, with her arms behind her body. The hero, seizing her by the hair, pulls her head back and prepares to stab her.

The first schema has been identified in a textile from the Benaki Museum, Athens (du Bourguet, 1964, no. 242) and in a textile from the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Shurinova, 1967, no. 7). Several other examples that have remained unidentified or have been wrongly interpreted may be cited, such as, for example, a piece from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Kendrick, 1920, no. 100), and another from the Museum of Fine Arts, Dijon, France (Cauderlier, 1986, no. 158). The ax brandished by the Amazon, who is always in the same position, seems transformed into a cross, a portrayal that has given much food for thought (perhaps too much) to those who have studied it.

The second schema may be recognized in many examples, ranging from very legible representations (Kendrick, 1920, no. 56; Akashi, 1953, no. 12), through a progressive stylization (Shurinova, 1967, no. 86; du Bourguet, 1964, no. 177; Forrer, 1893, P IX, 8), to an almost total disaggregation of the figures (du Bourguet, 1964, F 223; Kendrick, 1920, no. 57). A subcategory constitutes those renderings that appear to be divided horizontally by the hero's cloak. In late examples (seventh century) of this schema, the figures are no longer in contact. In the London textile mentioned by Kendrick, it is the Amazon herself who brings her hand to her head, which recalls the original formula. The hero, here clearly Hercules, leans on his club, while a cupid in flight holds the crown of victory above his head. Although it is not easy to identify definitely the two protagonists of the scene, it seems that the Coptic artist usually tended to adopt, fix, and repeat a schema, chosen from among the great variety of material in the traditional repertoire. In this textile the artist apparently wanted to memorialize the duel between Hercules and Hippolyta, the ninth of his twelve labors, in which Hercules wrests from her the precious girdle that was a gift from Ares. Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that in other textiles this representation figures among the labors of Hercules. Moreover, the hero is recognizable beyond a doubt in both the Athens and London textiles.

The theme of the Amazon hunting, which seems most widespread in the seventh century, can be seen on textiles notably in the medallions—often in silk—that enclose two Amazons, each astride a rearing horse and symmetrically separated in relation to a central axis (von Falke, 1913, nos. 45 and 47; Wessel, 1964, no. 126; Kendrick, 1922, nos. 810–16). Wearing short chitons and long, flowing scarves, they hold their bows ready to shoot the felines pictured in the lower part of the medallion.

Two dogs also appear on occasion (Kendrick, 1922, no. 821). On other textiles, women pictured on horseback wearing Phrygian caps and accompanied by animals of the hunt should probably be recognized as Amazons (Wulff and Volbach, 1926, p. 46). The medallions, which are also found on textiles from Byzantium and Syria, are often admirable pieces of work. Probably executed at the request of a cultivated and refined clientele in those cities most imbued with Hellenized culture such as Alexandria and Panopolis (AKHMĪM), they circulated throughout the entire Mediterranean basin.

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LORETTA DEL FRANCIA

Aphrodite

Aphrodite was the Greek goddess of love and beauty, who probably originated in Asia or Cyprus. She was the most popular of all the Greek divinities whose worship had spread to Egypt. The Egyptians probably found the family links between Aphrodite, her lover, the war god Ares, and her son, Eros, familiar because of the relations between their own beloved divine family—the goddess Isis, her husband, Osiris, and their son, Horus. Aphrodite was identified with Isis, who had already fused with the horned sky goddess Hathor, and incorporated some of the Egyptian divinity's attributes in her own appearance. Terra-cotta figurines honored in Alexandrian temples up to the third century A.D. have the arms close-set to the body in the Egyptian style and bear on their head the disk of the sun between cow's horns characteristic of Hathor.

In another version of Aphrodite's story, she was



Conch shell representing Aphrodite. Third–fourth century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Aphrodite Anadyomene between a Triton and a Nereid. Limestone. Sixth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

believed to be born of the foam of the sea and was blown to land, possibly in Cyprus in a conch shell. As Aphrodite Anadyomene ("rising from the waters"), under the influence of the Platonic concept of ideas, she became the symbol of spiritual love.

A new influence, this time Christian, affected the myth of Aphrodite. According to a Syrian legend, Nonnos, a fifth-century bishop of Heliopolis, was present at the Council of Antioch. There he played a decisive role in the conversion of the celebrated courtesan Pelagia, who was dedicated to Aphrodite Anadyomene. Pelagia is said to have withdrawn to Gethsemane in solitude as Pelagia the anchorite. Thus the pagan sea-born goddess Aphrodite Anadyomene seems to have become associated with the rebirth of the soul in the water of Christian baptism. As much Platonic as Christian in inspiration, she appeared with remarkable frequency in Coptic art, especially in Middle Egypt, as late as the Muslim period. She is represented as a woman, a conch shell, or a cross in reliefs in stone as at the monastery of DAYR APA JEREMIAH at Saqqara or in wood in the monastery at Bāwīṭ. She also appears in tapestries, now in the Louvre, Paris.

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

Apollo and Daphne

In Greek mythology Apollo was the god of the sun, archery, soothsaying, medicine, and music. He had many amorous escapades, including the vain pursuit of the nymph Daphne (see below), who was changed by the earth goddess into a laurel tree to avoid capture. Coptic artists occasionally depicted the story of Apollo and Daphne in various pieces of sculpture and textiles.

A beautiful ivory carving of the fifth to sixth century in the National Museum of Ravenna bears a scene in which a nude Apollo is playing his lyre in an effort to charm the unhappy Daphne, entrapped in the tree. The figures are separated by a swan, a bird sacred to Apollo. The same theme is found in two textiles in the Louvre. It magnificently decorates one of the tapestry squares of a hanging



Aphrodite. Limestone carved relief. Ahnāsiyah. Third century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



The Shawl of Sabine. Detail: A square depicting the myth of Apollo and Daphne. Fragment of a tapestry. Antinoë. Sixth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

known as the Shawl of Sabine (fifth to sixth century). Here the god is depicted as a hunter holding his bow in one hand and taking an arrow from his quiver with the other. He is nude under the cloak thrown over his shoulder. His lyre leans against a column entwined by two garlands in a sign of consecration. Daphne appears in the laurel tree, unclothed but bedecked with earrings, bracelets, and a necklace. At the instant of her metamorphosis, she offers Apollo a flower in the shape of a cross, which gives a Christian significance to the scene. The other textile, a medallion of the ninth century, shows the same subject but is poor in style and difficult to identify.

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CLÉMENCE NEYRET

Ariadne

Ariadne was a Minoan princess and vegetation goddess who was the spouse of Dionysus, Greek god of the vine (see below). According to one version of the myth, Ariadne escaped from Crete with the Greek hero Theseus but was left by him on Naxos, the island of Dionysus. Her elevation to divinity through the god's love symbolized the ascent of the soul to the divine light and immortality.

Dionysus and his retinue—the shepherd god Pan, satyrs and sileni (woodland spirits), maenads or bacchantes (female devotees), grape-gathering cupids, and Ariadne—were frequently depicted in Coptic art. Nevertheless, the only certain representation of Ariadne is in a tapestry square in the Museum of Fine Arts, Vienna. Within the square, framed by a scroll of acanthus leaves with fruit, flowers, and birds, is her bust surmounted by her name in Greek. Ariadne, seen full-face with her eyes turned toward the left, has on her head a jeweled diadem and wears a necklace with a bulla (hollow pendant) and earrings. Her head stands out against an aureole, an attribute of the ancient solar deities and a symbol of immortality. This square is the counterpart of an identical square in the museum representing Dionysus' head and shoulders in the same attitude. The fact that they match suggests that if a tapestry square in the Louvre that presents a masculine bust crowned with ivy is indeed Dionysus, then we must recognize Ariadne in a similar square also in the Louvre. In this piece her finery consists of a diadem, earrings, and a necklace adorned with pendant pomegranates. All these squares show the same style of round face with large ringed eyes and are marked by a slight shading of colors, reminiscent of bas-relief, that is characteristic of the fifth century.

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MARIE-HÉLÈNE RUTSCHOWSCAYA

Bellerophon and the Chimera

Bellerophon was a Greek hero from Corinth who rode the divine winged horse Pegasus and slew the fire-breathing, lion-headed Chimera. The two figures symbolize the triumph of good over evil, a parallel to the ancient Egyptian myth of the sun god Horus who conquers the evil god Seth, represented as a monster, or various victorious Christian saints:

Sisinnios, conqueror of Alabastria; George, slayer of the dragons; Michael, conqueror of Lucifer; and other saints on horseback.

Bellerophon and the Chimera appear only once in Coptic art, in a tapestry medallion in the sixth-century Shawl of Sabine in the Louvre. They may be given a Christian interpretation, as appears in the nearby small panel of Daphne, holding out a cruciform flower to the pursuing Apollo, perhaps to keep him at a distance.



Ariadne. Tapestry, Fifth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

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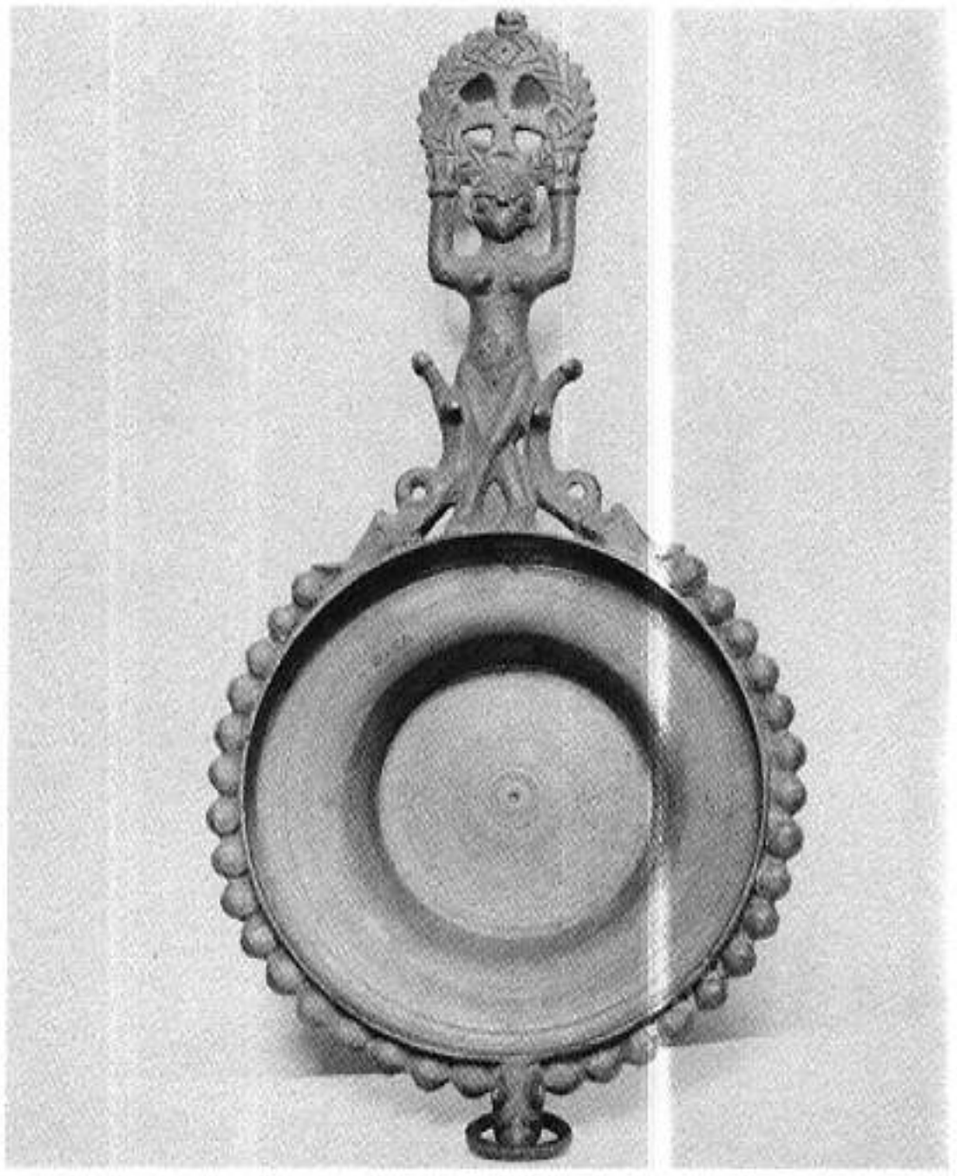
PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

Dancers

In ancient Egypt, dance was closely linked with many aspects of life—religious ceremonies, funeral rites, and agricultural festivals. Dancers, therefore, are among the oldest and most frequently represented subjects in pharaonic art. In the period of



The Shawl of Sabine. Detail: Bellerophon and the Chimera. Tapestry. Antinoë. Sixth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*



Patera with the handle shaped like a dancer carrying a cross. Bronze. Eighth century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

the Ptolemies, dancing was associated with the bacchantes, who took part in Dionysiac rites of Greek origin, which probably blended with older Egyptian rites. In Christian times, dance did not vanish. It continued to be part of seasonal festivals such as saints' birthdays, which still exist, or was an element of pilgrimages, often confused with festivals, or was simply an expression of joy in an African country. The fruit of vine of the Gospels was substituted without scruple for the exaltation of wine in Dionysiac celebrations.

Thus dancing is one of the most favored themes in Coptic art from the second or third century to its disappearance in the twelfth century. Its long life is explained by the changing symbolism attached to it. A notable example of the Christianization of the Egyptian dancing girl or Greek bacchante is on the handle of an eighth-century bronze saucer (patera). The upright figure has her legs crossed and holds a composite cross above her head.

On stonework, bronze vases, or molded clay forms, the dancer, male or female, is an isolated figure in relief. A bronze figure of a dancing girl in the Louvre from the sixth century has straight legs and raised arms and holds a sistrum (instrument like a tambourine). Generally, however, these dancers are recognized by their crossed legs, which become rigid like crossed sticks after the Muslim conquest in the seventh century, when Coptic art declined. An example is a stone relief in the Coptic Museum, Cairo.

Dancers are found especially in textiles. They evolve in style, pose, and costume in three stages. At first, by means of hatching (fine criss-crossed lines) achieved with the flying shuttle, the figures present the illusion of modeling in the round, and a great variety of poses unfolds freely and endlessly. The dancer, male or female, is easily confused with the putto (cupid), especially when the dancer is holding a winged creature. Male and female couples are often found. The man usually wears a loincloth. The woman often wears only a long necklace



Dancer with a sistrum. Stone relief. Seventh century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

and a scarf on one arm. Occasionally she wears a loose robe leaving one breast bare.

In the second stage, the poses stiffen and the body is tending toward a silhouette with limbs out of proportion. In the third stage, after the Muslim conquest, the figure becomes nothing but a full-face, stiff silhouette, which becomes progressively more disproportionate, until in the Fatimid period (10th–12th century) the head rests on the legs. The couples give way to isolated individuals, usually girls. The dominant posture is both arms raised, with or without castanets, and the legs parallel instead of crossed. If she is not holding castanets, the girl dancer may have on one arm a scarf, wreath, plant, or shepherd's crook. A male dancer usually has one arm raised or both arms bent with each hand holding an implement that might be a trident or a plant. By this time both the male and female dancer are fully clothed in a long robe falling from the shoulders.



Two dancers in a square, with floweret decorations. Tapestry. Ninth century. Height: 25 cm; width: 24 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

Daphne

In Greek mythology, the nymph Daphne is the daughter of the river god, Peneus, and the beloved of Leucippus, son of Oenomeus. She is pursued by the god Apollo, whose love she rejects, and when he is about to seize her, the nymph begs help from the earth goddess, who immediately causes her to disappear by transforming her into a laurel tree.

In sculpture, according to well-known examples, the nymph alone seems to have found preference over the double representation of Apollo and Daphne that appears in other media. A group of reliefs based on mythological themes has been discovered at Ahnas al-Madīnah in Middle Egypt, but it cannot be determined whether they came from a pagan temple or a Christian church. Two of these reliefs, from the fifth century, in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, depict Daphne, unclothed and bereft of her jewels, clinging with both arms to the tree branches. In a relief (from the fifth to sixth century) from Shaykh 'Abādah, now in the Louvre, Daphne is shown nude, her legs vanishing into the tree and her neck ornamented with a necklace of heavy bullae in the form of flowers. She is holding the laurel tree with a gesture analagous to that of Aphrodite Anadyomene, rising from the sea twisting her long hair.

Whether these three reliefs bear any Christian significance remains obscure, but the interpretation



Niche representing the goddess Daphne. Limestone. Ahnāsiyah. Third century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Daphne as an orant emerging from the tree. Limestone. Shaykh 'Abādah. Fifth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*



Funerary stela in the name of Tebika, decorated with the theme of Daphne. Painted limestone. Eighth–ninth century. Height: 38 cm; width: 28 cm; thickness: 8 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

of an arched stela of the late period, in the Louvre, is clear. Daphne is depicted in an attitude of prayer within a beaded medallion, which is placed on a column flanked by two dolphins. A funerary inscription starting with a cross runs around the border. Thus the Christianization of Daphne is accomplished. The nymph in the medallion derives from funerary portraits in medallions on Roman sarcophagi, and the dolphins are symbolic of Christ. It seems clear that the resurrection of Daphne in the form of a laurel tree must be assimilated to a second and more important birth—that of the soul into eternal life.

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CLÉMENCE NEYRET

Dionysus

The Greek wine god Dionysus was the focus of a mystery religion introduced into Egypt at the time of its conquest by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. In fact, Alexander justified his claim to govern Egypt by declaring himself to be a descendent of Zeus-Amon and Dionysus. That claim was appropriated by his successors, the Ptolemies, who developed the Dionysiac cult. It flourished widely during the Ptolemaic period and the first three centuries of the Christian era. Dionysus and his retinue was the pagan subject most frequently depicted by Coptic artists. His popularity was probably due to the Egyptians' interest in mystery religions and especially to the emphasis given his cult by the Ptolemies.

Dionysus was the son of Zeus and a mortal, Semele. She, pregnant with Dionysus, was destroyed by the god's lightning when he appeared in his divine splendor. Zeus then had to carry the baby to term

in his thigh—hence the baby's name "Twice-born." Hera's vengeance against her husband's child constantly pursued him. She drove insane those to whom he had been entrusted, and Dionysus, transformed by Zeus into a kid, was reared by nymphs. As an adult, he discovered the vine and its use. Himself driven mad by Hera, he wandered through the world until the mother goddess Cybele-Rhea cured him, whereupon he departed on a path of conquest, mounted on his chariot drawn by panthers and adorned with vine tendrils and ivy leaves. A cortege of sileni, bacchantes, and satyrs attended him in his travels. Eventually Dionysus descended into the underworld to ask Hades to release his mother, Semele. Triumphant, he was welcomed into heaven.

Celebrated by Nonnos of Panopolis in his epic poem the *Dionysiacs* in the fourth century A.D., he appears as the envoy from the gods sent to comfort distressed mankind and bring to them the vine, which is a symbol of rebirth.

Dionysus is generally depicted as a guide, holding a thyrsus, a long staff decorated with ivy and tipped with a pine cone or a bunch of grapes. Most often nude, he has the chlamys, a cloak of Macedonian origin, thrown over his shoulder, and is shod with *embades* ("felt shoes"), a souvenir of his sojourn in India. He is pictured as blond, at least wherever color plays a role, and his curly locks are crowned with flowers, ivy, and vines. He is widely represented by sculptures in stone, wood, and ivory, and in the textiles of Coptic Egypt. The Louvre conserves a relief in limestone dating from the fourth century, whose provenance is probably Antinoopolis (Shaykh 'Abādah) wherein Dionysus is shown emerging from vine branches. He is easily recognized by his *embades*. His pose is extremely dynamic; his hair is curly, and he is nude, not even wearing a chlamys. His attendants, particularly the grape-picking cupids, are portrayed the same way and are full of motion, unlike the stiff, hieratic gods, according to M.-H. Rutschowscaya.

Dionysus is also pictured leaning against a pillar, with his legs crossed and his right hand placed on a sort of vegetal diadem, in a limestone relief in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, coming perhaps from Ahnas al-Madīnah and attributed to the sixth century. He is similarly portrayed in a fifth-century textile called Dionysus and His Attendant, in the Louvre. The symbolism of this pose has been demonstrated at length by M. T. Picard-Schmitter, who saw therein a blending of the pharaonic myth of Osiris and



Niche depicting Dionysus and his followers. Limestone fragment from Ahnāsiyah. Third century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

the myth of Dionysus. The god, holding a vegetal diadem similar to Osiris' crown of justification, is shown in his triumphant resurrection from the world of the dead as a guide for mankind toward life after death.

Remembering that Dionysus was the originator of viticulture and that wine was already, during the pharaonic epoch, a source of eternity, Coptic weavers frequently pictured Dionysus as emerging from a vine coming out from a two-handled vase. The vine's branches are also inhabited by goats, hares, and birds. The most representative textile bearing this motif is in the Austrian Museum of Applied Art in Vienna, wherein Dionysus appears nude, nonchalantly leaning upon his thyrsus, holding the chlamys over his shoulder, and shod with *embades*. His left hand caresses his favorite animal, the panther.

The iconography of Dionysus would be incom-



Dionysus caught in the vine. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Dionysus scene. Sixth century. *Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.*

plete without mentioning the existence of his "official" portraits. There are, in fact, many textiles wherein his name is inscribed in complete letters alongside his half-length portrait, for example, a textile in the Vienna Art Museum. Such portraits have their counterparts picturing his wife Ariadne. Dionysus is also pictured afoot, as on a ribbon fragment in the Art Museum in Düsseldorf. These portrayals give an irrefutable identity to the personage represented, and thereby permit one to identify as Dionysus all pieces of textiles or sculptures in wood, stone, or ivory that are iconographically similar.



Dionysiac personage. Limestone relief from Shaykh ʿAbādah. Fourth century. Height: 61 cm; width: 60 cm; Thickness: Niche, 7 cm; personage in relief, 14 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars wondered if the cult of Dionysus had not been important in the origins of Christianity in Egypt, notably because of the dual role of victim and savior played by both Dionysus and Christ and the importance of wine in Dionysiac ritual and in the Eucharist. It is true that the vine appears frequently in both catacomb paintings and Coptic art. It does not seem, however, that the personage of Dionysus was ever assimilated to that of the Christ crucified at Golgotha, though the Greek god was a figure of great human and religious significance. Nonetheless, owing to its frequency, the theme of the vine must have been imperceptibly blended with that of the true vine of the Christians mentioned in Jn. 15:1 without any reference to the pagan god.

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CATHERINE BONCENNE

Hercules

Hercules was a Greek hero noted for his great bravery, strength, and good humor. The son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmene, he was driven mad by Zeus' vengeful wife, Hera, and killed his own wife and children. After performing twelve labors as penance, he became immortal. In Egypt Hercules was assimilated to Horus, and two towns were named Herakleopolis in his honor, but there are few representations of him in Coptic art. A stela from the Roman period now in the Louvre shows him in a niche of Egyptian inspiration. His long chase of the hind of Cerynea, one of his twelve labors, can be recognized in a third-century tapestry preserved in the Benaki Museum. In another tapestry from that museum, the Amazon queen Hippolyte, killed by Hercules in one of his labors, is surrounded by the figures of Hercules, his second wife, Dēianira, and the centaur Nessus. Hercules appears on four reliefs of the fifth or sixth century in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. Two of them, from Ahnas al-Madīnah or Herakleopolis, show his head and shoulders only, surrounded by ornamental foliage. In the third relief, he is bearded, wears only a draped mantle, and holds his club as he fights the Nemean lion, one of his labors. This dynamic composition includes a second character, wearing a feline skin, which no doubt represents Hercules after his victory. In the fourth relief, he stands in heroic nudity between the lion and his club, crowned by two Victories. On a piece of tapestry in the Coptic Museum, the lion leaps upon the hero, who is armed with his club. Numerous Coptic tapestry decorations and sculptures show a man at grips with a feline beast. This iconography perhaps derives from the feat of Hercules but has been applied to simple hunting or circus scenes.

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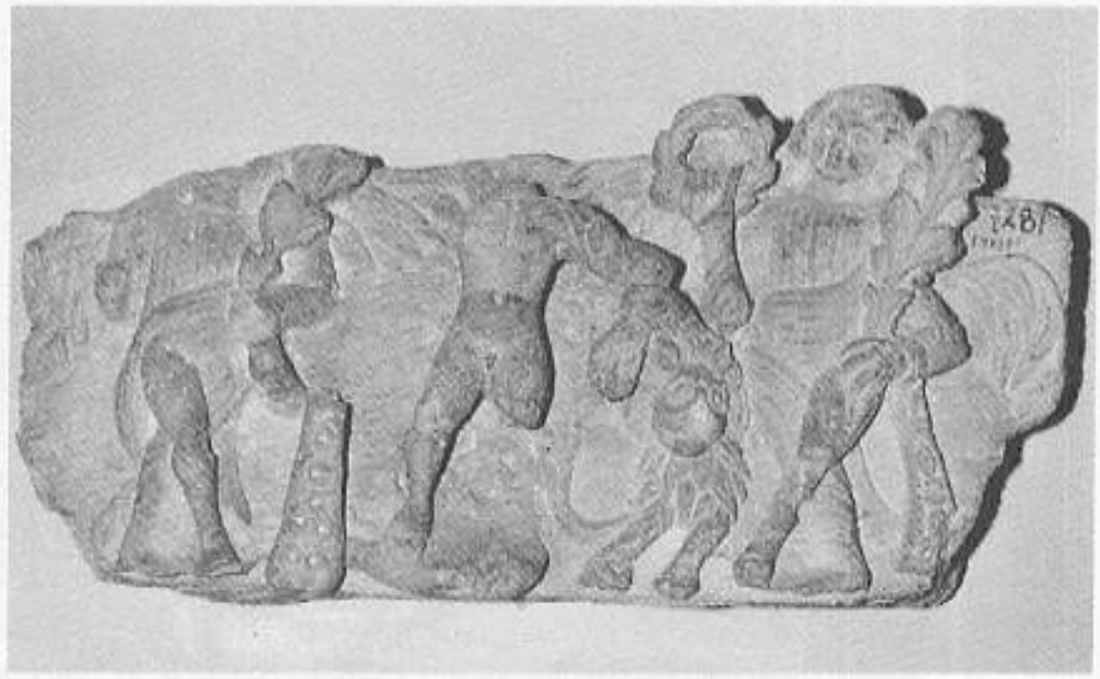
Frieze showing Hercules. Fifth-sixth centuries. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

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DOMINIQUE BENAZETH

Horus

Horus was the Egyptian sun god who avenged the death of his father, Osiris, by killing Osiris' brother and murderer, the god Seth. Osiris, who is frequently represented with a falcon's head, symbolizes good. Seth, in the form of a monster, symbolizes evil. The myth of Horus, traditional in pharaonic literature and iconography, was emphasized just before the Ptolemaic period, when a temple was built



Hercules. Relief from Ahnāsiyah. Third century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Hercules pursuing a feminine personnage. Tapestry, from the yoke of a tunic containing this detail. Height 15 cm; length: 35 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

to him in Khargah, and in the Ptolemaic period, as evidenced by his temple in Idfū. In the Roman and even the early Coptic period, the god, still falcon-headed, is shown as a foot soldier in a Roman legion.

An equestrian representation of Horus as a legion auxiliary, though remaining pagan, appears in relief on a late sixth-century fragment of an ornamental openwork sandstone window now in the Louvre. Probably the original window showed the whole story. In the fragment the mounted Horus appears in profile, still with a falcon's head, transfixing the Sethian crocodile with his lance. The pagan subject and the realistically rounded forms of the horse originally suggested a date in the third century. But the equestrian rank accorded to the god, at a period when it was denied to Copts, and the foreshortening of the horse to flatten out the relief forms make the sixth-century date more plausible. The fragment may be compared with the mounted emperor Justinian in the Barberini ivory of the middle or late sixth century now in the Louvre, which is more refined in material and more skillfully modeled, although showing a slightly mechanical classicism characteristic of Constantinopolitan work of that time. The significance of the fragment, the triumph of good over evil, was inspired by the victorious emperor. The fragment bears witness, as do other Coptic sculptures in different techniques, to the survival of some pagan Coptic centers in a largely Christian country. It probably came from a sanctuary of Horus in a small town, such as Jirjā or Abū Qurqās, whose name was the origin of Jirjis, the Coptic form of "George." Thus the pharaonic myth of Horus was assimilated into Christianity with the creation of the legend of Saint GEORGE, a martyr who rides on a horse and fights with a dragon.

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S. J.

Jason

Jason was a legendary Greek hero who sailed in the *Argo* with the Argonauts to Colchis and brought the Golden Fleece and the witch princess Medea back to Greece. Three rectangular limestone panels are the only known examples of Coptic art devoted to the story of Jason. The most complete is in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. The other two, fragmentary, are known from photographs at Princeton University. According to M. Bell, the borders of florets or knotted ribbons and traces of detachment on one side indicate that these panels were originally in pairs and must have been attached to some surface, perhaps a wall. The figures, sculpted in low relief, form a lattice. Since the subject was widely used in funerary art, the panels may have adorned the screen of a shrine sheltering a tomb.

On the Kansas City panel, Jason tries to lay hold of the Golden Fleece, which is hanging from an oak. Near him, Medea, sitting on a throne, holds a branch of juniper in one hand and in the other the cup from which the serpent who guards the Fleece comes to drink, as described in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautika*. Jason is accompanied by an Argonaut holding a javelin, while two soldiers asleep in the lower part of the panel illustrate in

sculpture the narrative as told by Diodorus Siculus (4. 48, 1–5). The right upper corner is occupied by the *Argo* waiting on the tide for the return of the Argonauts, while the left corner presents a bust, perhaps of the muse Calliope, veiled, reading a scroll. The same iconography appears on vases from Italy of the fourth century B.C. and, in the Roman period, on sarcophagi, gems, and a Campanian plaque in terra-cotta (in the British Museum, London) to which this panel is most closely similar.

The second panel, of which only the upper half is preserved, presents the goddess Victory crowning some personage (lost) and a horseman, possibly Jason.

The third panel illustrates the flight of Jason and Medea presumably after the capture of the Golden Fleece. Only the busts of Jason and Medea remain, as well as the Argo in the upper right-hand corner and two guards in the left corner.

The loss of classic proportions and the treatment of space without illusionist effect have led some scholars to compare these panels with the sculptures of Ahnas al-Madīnah and Oxyrhynchus in the late fourth or early fifth century and to consider them as being of Egyptian manufacture. Their originality rests in their narrative character, rare on sculptures in stone but more frequent in fabrics or ivories, which may have served as models.

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MARIE-HÉLÈNE RUTSCHOWSCAYA

Leda

In Greek mythology Leda was a queen of Sparta who, beloved of Zeus in the form of a swan, became the mother of Helen of Troy. The theme of Leda and the swan appears on various relief sculptures from Ahnas al-Madīnah or the Nilometer of Rodah. They are all assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries because their crude appearance resembles the style of other works of the period. The coarse treatment of a pagan subject at such a late date is surprising in a period that we think of as predominantly Christian. Because the subject does not admit of Christian symbolism and is not found after the sixth century, these reliefs probably belonged to local pagan temples, where since the days of the Ptolemies the pharaonic gods were gradually replaced by Greco-Roman divinities. Such temples were swept clear by Christianity in the sixth century or abandoned in the seventh century after the Muslim conquest.

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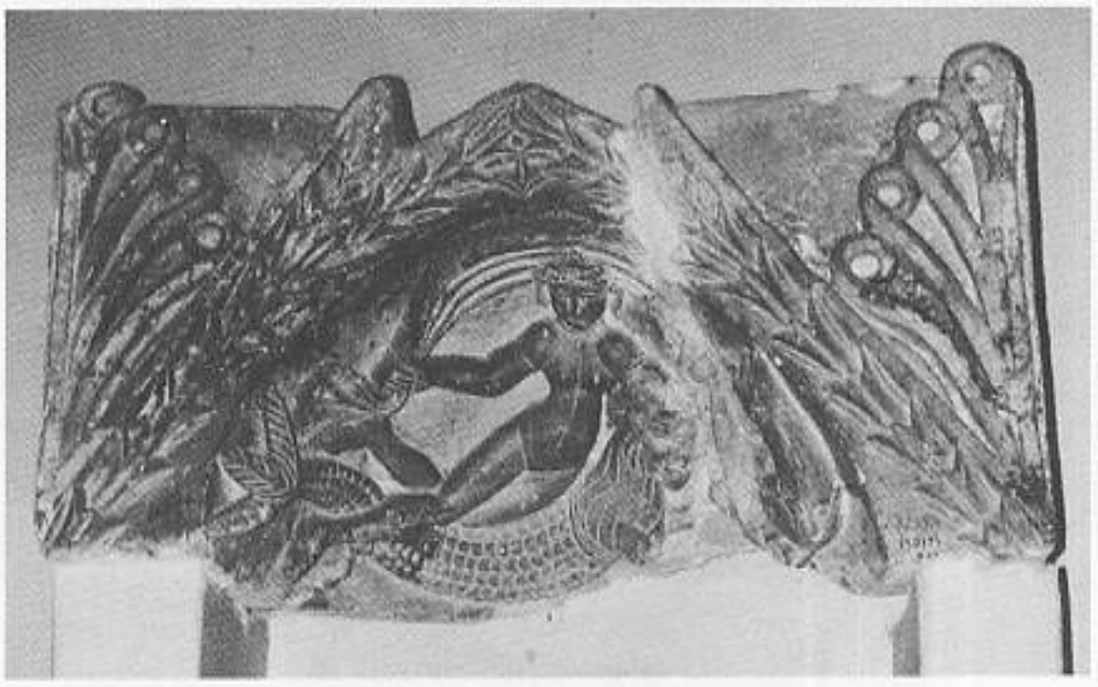
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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

Nereids

Nereids, in Greek mythology, were the daughters of Nereus, a sea god. As maidens associated with water, they supply a lively motif in Coptic art. The cultural, political, and economic exchanges between Rome and Alexandria and the common element of water in the Nile River and the seas around Greece certainly favored the popularity of the theme in Egypt. The Nereids appeared originally in mosaic floors in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Later they are found in Coptic stone reliefs and in decorative tapestry *orbicula* (circles) and bands on tunics and hangings. They may be part of sea cycles involving Poseidon, lord of the sea; the Nereid Thetis; or Aphrodite Anadyomene; or of river cycles



Niche with décor representing a Nereid lying on the back of a sea creature. Third–fourth century. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*



Nereid. Greco-Roman-style wool and linen tapestry. Third–fifth centuries. *Courtesy The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 53.18.*

centering on the Nile or the Tiber. In the Nile cycles they are often confused with putti. Sometimes they appear on their own and may offer a cup, suggesting a religious implication.

As a pagan motif, Nereids survived in little pagan pockets right down to the last manifestations of Coptic art in the twelfth century. An especially fine tapestry panel from the seventh century is in the Cleveland Museum of Art. As a Christian motif, from the fifth to the twelfth century, Nereids are sometimes accompanied by a cross or are shown with a nimbus supporting a cross. Even if such an emblem is absent, it does not mean the motif is secular. Its Christian meaning remains implicit because its reference to Aphrodite rising from the sea suggests the internal transformation of the soul in the water of baptism.

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The Nile god. Tapestry. End of second century. Diameter: 25.5 cm. *Courtesy Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Photo by M. Seidel.*

The Nile God

The Egyptians have always seen a supernatural power in their life-giving river. Myths, legends, and festivals engendered by its yearly flooding have survived the civilizations and religions adopted successively by the country. During the pharaonic period, the Nile, the source of prosperity, was represented as plump tutelary spirits laden with gifts. Greco-Roman art depicted it in the image of its river gods: as an old man, bearded, half-reclining, crowned with lotus, and holding a horn of plenty, an ear of corn, or a water plant. The goddess Euthenia and putti were associated with him.

Coptic art, inspired by Greco-Roman iconography, has continued to use the Nile as a theme. Sometimes it is personified as an old man in a Nilotic setting. He may be a bust, a full figure, or indolently lying down with a mantle draped over his legs and his nude torso emerging from it; he is crowned with aquatic plants, holds a horn of plenty, and may be accompanied by putti or a goddess. A few examples in various media survive. One is a tapestry medallion of the late second century in the

Pushkin Museum. A carved capital of the third or fourth century from Ahnas al-Madīnah is a landmark in the transition of the iconography from Greco-Roman to Coptic. The figure is still of an old man crowned with plants, holding a napkin, and flanked by putti, but its style, influenced by Palmyran art, is Coptic in its frontal pose, decorative appearance of the diadem, and wide-open eyes in a disproportionate face. Another architectural sculpture of two centuries later, in the Brooklyn Museum, presents the Nile as an old man lying nonchalantly among lotus blossoms. Folds of flesh underline his chest, and his drapery evokes the course of the river. The decorative treatment of his crown recalls the earlier Nile on the capital, but the whole figure belongs to Coptic art.

On an ivory pyx of the fourth or fifth century in the Wiesbaden Museum, the iconography is identical, but the workmanship is finer because the material is softer. In two tapestry *orbicula* in the Louvre, the Nile is executed in the style of sixth-century Coptic fabrics. Finally, a seventh-century wall painting discovered at Kellia shows a man half-lying on an overturned amphora; the inscription suggests that he may be a new allegory of the Nile. Thus the image of the Nile god, having become a simple allegory of the prosperity dispensed by the flood, was kept for its decorative value by artists who wished to enrich the Nilotic evocations so highly prized by Coptic art.



The Nile god. Limestone relief. Fourth century. *Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Brooklyn.*

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DOMINIQUE BENAZETH

Nilotic Scenes

In contrast to the sun, a permanent and unchanging source of light and heat in Egypt, the Nile from the beginning has dispensed benefits only through human collaboration. The Ptolemaic and Roman governments in turn recognized the river god and took careful account of the seasonal rise and fall of the river measured on a Nilometer. The Copts were no less aware of the importance of the river and its god and, like the pagans, paid him their respects. This interest in the river naturally passed into Egyptian art.

During the Roman period when Greco-Roman themes generally replaced pharaonic themes, the range of subjects involving the Nile continued to appear in art. Alexandria profoundly influenced the art of the Mediterranean basin, and Roman art influenced that of Alexandria. For example, Nilotic scenes notably provide the subject matter for a famous mosaic in Palestrina, Italy. The river god is pictured with Romanized features. An expanse of water represents his Egyptian domain and is crossed by putti guiding small boats. Other putti ride marine animals and chase aquatic birds in the intense abundance of life that enlivens the river and the vegetation it creates far beyond its banks.

Coptic art does not conceive whole panoramas of this kind. It is satisfied either to borrow isolated details, such as one or several Nereids in a specific scene, or to use Nereids and putti for decoration to accompany a portrait or a mythological scene used as a central motif. The putti often mingle with the Nereids, taking on feminine characteristics. The greatest variety prevails, outdoing Pompeiian frescoes in inventive capacity. Such treatment of the theme may be seen in Coptic carved reliefs and in tapestry or bouclé decorations on shawls, tunics, or cushion covers, where the narrow shapes of the *orbicula*, squares, and bands required restrained subjects.

The stylistic treatment of the figures evolved from the picturesque realism of Hellenistic Alexandria to a deformed schematization from the sixth to the twelfth century. The loss of realism may be due to carelessness or the routine repetition required by a



Square ornamented with *putti* swimming or boating. Tapestry. Antinoë (?). Sixth century. Length: 30 cm; width: 28 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

craft, but it is most often the result of the search for imaginative ornamentation that is peculiar to Coptic art. The figures may be used purely decoratively, without thought of their former mythological significance, or they may convey some sense of ancient magic power, or they may have taken on Christian symbolism. The processions of Nereids and putti may be linked with Aphrodite Anadyomene, symbolizing rebirth of the soul in the waters of baptism, or with Dionysus, patron of the vine, who was assimilated to the Christ as the True Vine.

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PIERRE du BOURGUET, S.J.

Pastoral Scenes

Bucolic or pastoral poetry was a creation of the Hellenistic age, beginning in Greek with Theocritus and then Longus, and in Latin, with Virgil. The taste in Hellenistic art for genre figures, such as market women, foreigners, and cripples, and for individualized portraits expresses this literary tradition by showing the same new interest in nature. Roman art, particularly North African mosaics, continued to draw subject matter from it.

Although pagan iconography in Coptic art consists chiefly of Dionysian motifs, a few representations reflect the pastoral literary tradition. Pastoral images are related to representations of specific mythological events or personages.

A silver dish from Thebes, which may have been made at Alexandria (dated to the fifth or sixth century but possibly a little earlier), exemplifies bucolic scenes in Coptic art. On it a shepherdess with her child on her back and carrying a basket of fruit directs a flock of sheep led by a goat, in a landscape with simple buildings and a sheepdog. A similar expression of Alexandrian style is seen on a fragmentary ivory carving from Ramlah showing carpenters at work, which expresses the interest in nature and everyday life that accompanies the development of the literary pastoral tradition.

The Coptic continuation of bucolic iconography is better represented in textiles. Notable is an incomplete set of tapestry ornaments in muted colors, cut from a wool fabric, one of which belongs to the Cluny Museum in Paris, the others to the Brooklyn Museum. They depict scenes of shepherds, old and young, caring for sheep and cattle, preparing food, and drawing water in the company of women and children (one a Nubian boy), dogs, and flute players. These ornaments are an astonishing witness to the influence of book illustrations of the period in this classicizing tradition. They are datable to the fifth to sixth centuries on the basis of comparisons with other objects. A large linen-and-wool tapestry square in the St. Louis Art Museum showing an old man milking a goat in a vine arbor, though influenced by Dionysian iconography in its use of the vine, is another bucolic scene. It may date from the fifth century. A small number of tapestry tunic ornaments of the fifth century and later show scenes of peasant life, including a mother and child, flute players, a peasant bearing a yoke, a milking scene, and women feeding chickens. The iconography of even these tunic ornaments is not always purely bucolic. The influence of mythology can be seen in the man striking the serpent, a motif inspired by the labor of Hercules in which he killed the serpent guarding the golden apples of the Hesperides.

On many more common textiles, the representations of musicians have been so much influenced by Dionysian iconography that even flute players cannot be taken as having bucolic significance. In

the same way, putti with ducks or animals are usually comparable in pose to putti in marine scenes. Even the rare representations of shepherds carrying sheep may have been influenced by Orphic mythology.

It is clear, therefore, that pastoral scenes with an undoubted claim to being in the true Hellenistic literary tradition are very rare in Coptic art in all media.

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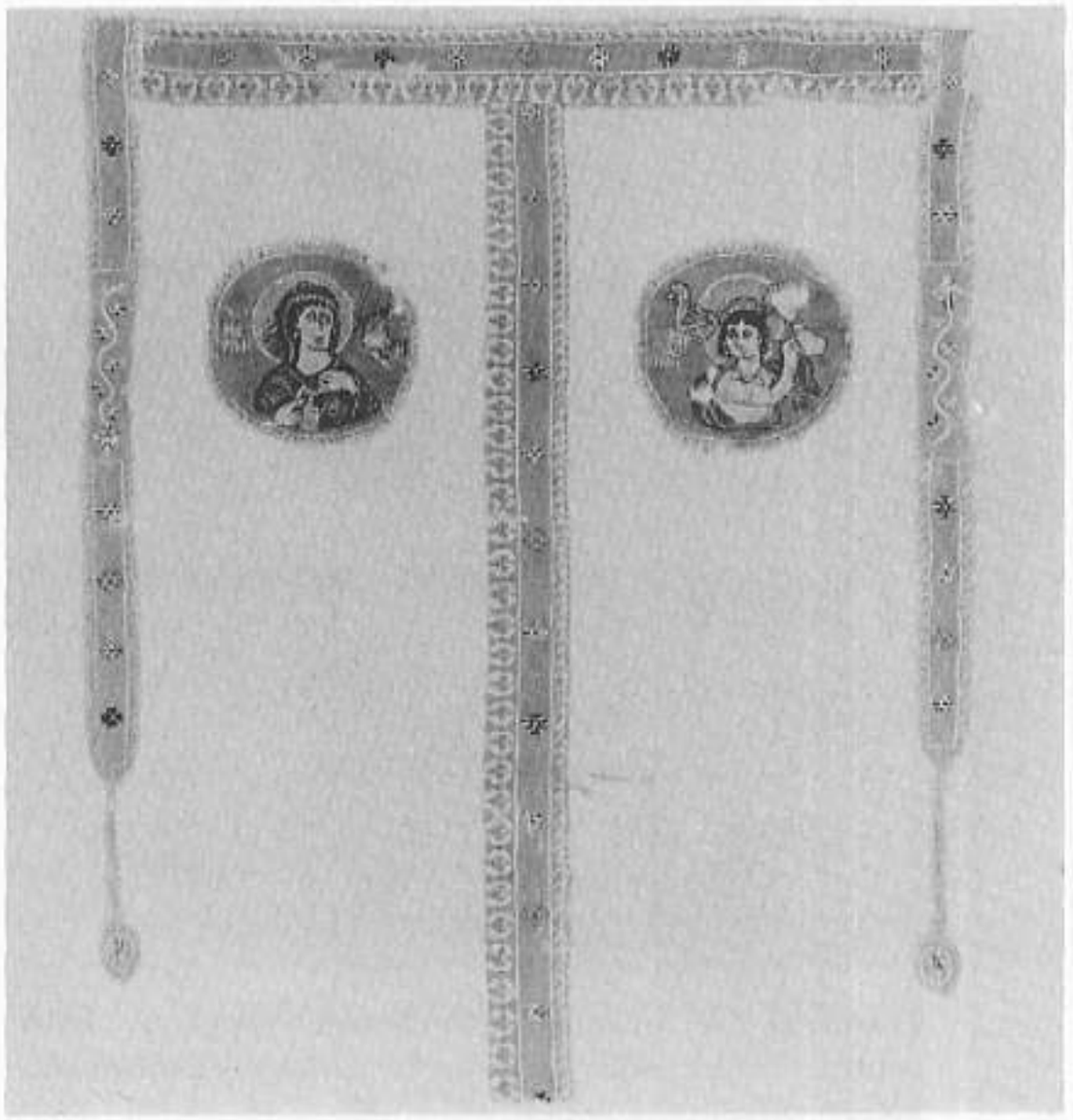
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DEBORAH THOMPSON

The Seasons

The theme of the seasons suggested the cosmic cycle of the year and soon became symbolic of eternity. It appears in Greco-Roman art in busts in Pompeii in the first century. Christians later used the theme to evoke eternity in its fullest, spiritual sense. The theme appears in the form of a putto or his head often surrounded by plants in wall paintings in the Roman catacombs of the Early Christian period. The Copts used the theme in two variants. The more common is heads of putti inspired by the catacomb putti woven in bouclé (looped pile) medallions of the fourth century in the Louvre and the Museum of the Arts, Lyons. The heads are full-face or three-quarter view in colors, unlike the mosaics of the period.

The second variant, of which there is only one example, is found in two tapestry fragments in the Louvre that formed part of a set of decorations on the front and back of a tunic. They consist of two haloed allegorical figures representing winter and spring. Winter, warmly clad in a mantle with a hood, holds a small bottle and a rod. Near its head is a duck, head downward, no doubt symbolizing hunting. The second figure has arms and shoulders bare and is lifting up its headdress with the aid of a blossoming branch. These fragments are noteworthy because each figure is accompanied by a Coptic inscription "winter" and "spring." Thus they can be placed in a series of representations of the seasons.



Fragment of a tunic decoration. Ornamented bands and *orbicula* depicting winter and spring in the form of a bust of a woman. Tapestry. Fifth century. Diameter of the medallions: 8 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

Their cast of countenance and the form of their eye sockets suggests a fifth-century date.

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

Thetis

In Greek mythology, Thetis was a Nereid who was the mother of the hero Achilles. Although Nereids appear frequently in Coptic sculpture and textiles, Thetis is a rare subject. The only figure that may be securely identified as Thetis exists in a small Coptic textile, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Woven in purple wool on linen, the panel is close in style and format to a roundel of Iphigenia



Thetis in the forge of Hephaestus. Tapestry. Sixth century. Each side: 12.5 cm. *Courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

in the State Museum, Frankfurt, and probably dates from the sixth century. The London textile represents Thetis at the forge of the blacksmith god Hephaestus, as he makes new armor for Achilles, an episode in Book 18 of Homer's *Iliad*. The figures of Thetis and Hephaestus are drawn from familiar Hellenistic types, known through Roman replicas in Pompeian frescoes. The inclusion of the nude figure of Achilles is conflated from another version represented on Roman sarcophagi and wall paintings in the Casa dei Dioscuri in Pompeii. The Homeric image, however, has been transformed into a Coptic expression of eschatological belief appropriate to its function as an ornament on a burial tunic or a shroud. Based on the *Aetheiopis*, an ancient epic cycle, the portrait in a medallion suspended from a tree introduces a symbolic allusion to the immortality of Achilles by representing the helmeted hero apotheosized on his shield after death. In this typical sixth-century pastiche, elements of the Homeric epic have been transformed into a Coptic allegory of heroic immortality assured by the Nereid Thetis for her son.

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SUZANNE LEWIS

The Three Graces

In Greek mythology, the Three Graces are daughters of Zeus who personify beauty in its inward and outward form. They are often attendants on the goddess Aphrodite. Their name in Greek, *Kharites* ("graces"), is a word rich in Christian meaning. The subject could have been adopted by Christian Copts but seems only to have been used by pagan Copts.

A wooden casket covered with a thin sheet of embossed bronze now in the Coptic Museum depicts three personages associated with Aphrodite, along with gorgon heads, Isis suckling Horus, and Aphrodite standing beneath an arcade. J. Strzygowski (1904) considers this a Coptic work from Akhmīm. Although the casket is akin to similar examples in the Egyptian Museum, Berlin; the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; and the Capitoline Museum in Rome, it is typically Alexandrian in style. The proportions of the bodies remain normal, even if there is less respect for the modeling of the limbs, characteristic of a period of decadence. There are none of the conscious deformations characteristic of Coptic art. The casket must consequently date from the seventh century.

A tapestry *orbiculum*, possibly from the same period as the casket, presents the Three Graces in carmine red on a vermilion background between carmine borders. Here they are crowned with a diadem and the heads and legs are turned to the opposite side from that on the embossed bronze casket in Cairo. The features of the faces in profile, through the use of the flying shuttle, are a little twisted; the waists are low and the legs are short. The treatment is not elegant or pretentious. Although no doubt this was not intended, it attracts one's attention and even provokes some amusement. These are all characteristics of Coptic art.

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

N

NABARŪH, town in the Egyptian Delta located about 5 miles (8 km) northwest of al-Manṣūrah in the Gharbiyyah province.

Nabarūh first took on importance for Christians during the patriarchate of MARK II (799–819) when a certain Macarius who administered the district of Sakhā urged 'Abd al-Azīz to write to Patriarch Mark bidding him to establish his residence in Nabarūh. The letter was written and Mark acceded to Macarius' wishes. Nabarūh received the patriarch with due respect and Mark resided there in the church dedicated to Macarius from Wādī Habīb until his death. Other attestations of Christianity in Nabarūh are lacking, but there is still a Coptic church in the town.

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RANDALL STEWART

NABDŪNAH, Coptic woman known from a single manuscript (National Library, Paris, Arabe 4887, fols. 41v–48r). The daughter of a king Ya'qūb, she wore masculine garments and became a monk in the monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR). We do not know at what period she lived.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

NABIS, fourth–fifth-century bishop of 'Aydhāb. The commemoration of Bishop Nabis in the Arabic Synaxarion of the Copts on 22 Kiyahk provides the only piece of evidence of an episcopate situated on the coast of the Red Sea. This Arabic text bears all the indications of a translation from the Coptic. The "scala copte 44" identifies 'Aydhāb with Berenice in Nubia (Munier, 1930).

J. Muyser was inclined to believe that Bishop Nabis lived between the seventh and tenth centuries (Muyser, 1944). Nabis was born in a village near Coptos (Qift) and became a monk at an early age. The compiler of the Synaxarion tells us that he was found worthy of the episcopal dignity over the churches of 'Aydhāb, "for our fathers held this seat from the beginning, so that merchants and sailors who voyaged over the Red Sea could receive communion there." Bishop Nabis did not reside in 'Aydhāb but in a small church at Coptos. He sent one priest and one deacon to 'Aydhāb. When it was necessary for the bishop to go there himself, the BEJA, a tribe that lived in Nubia and the Eastern Desert in Upper Egypt, carried him and the church ornaments on their camels, receiving a price for the hire of their beasts.

Three bishops are mentioned in the Synaxarion as contemporaries of Nabis: "The fathers, the bishops who lived during his time, asked him often to gather with them in the Cathedral. Those were Anbā Phoibammon, who is indeed worthy of mention, Anbā John, and Anbā Papnoute." Since the residence of Bishop Nabis was in Coptos, the episcopates of these three bishops must have been located in that same part of southern Upper Egypt. A certain bishop of Hermonthis (Armant) named John

was consecrated by Patriarch THEOPHILUS (385–412); Papnoute, bishop of Qūṣ, also lived at that time (Gabra, 1983, 1986). The third bishop, Phoibammon, is among the bishops who participated in the Council of EPHESUS in 431 (Munier, 1943). Thus Nabis must have lived in the fourth/fifth century. According to the Synaxarion, his episcopal ministry lasted forty years, and he died when he was ninety years of age.

The commemoration of Nabis in the Synaxarion is important in that it provides evidence concerning a bishop who had to deal with different groups of people having varying interests. The first were the Beja (Blemmyes), who often attacked Egypt and made the flow of trade between the Red Sea and Coptos unsafe. Significantly, Bishop Nabis had considerable contact with them long before the spread of Christianity throughout Nubia. The second group were the military representatives of the late Roman Empire. The third group consisted of merchants and sailors. Moreover, the bishop took care of the congregation of his own diocese. The relatively long text about Nabis differs from other texts of the Synaxarion in that it preserves the characteristics of an encomium (Gabra, 1986).

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GAWDAT GABRA

NABRAHA, SAINT, a fourth-century confessor who was tortured under DIOCLETIAN but survived, was sent into exile, and became an ascetic (feast day: 8 Abīb). He is not in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION, and his Passion has survived only in a damaged Sahidic codex of the ninth century in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Hamuli E.), published by H. Munier (1918). He is one of the very few confessors who survived until the reign of CONSTANTINE.

The text opens with the edict of Diocletian sent to the prefect ARIANUS in Egypt instructing him to force the Christians to sacrifice to the pagan gods. Nabraha comes forward confessing his faith and refusing to sacrifice; he is therefore sentenced to death. The devil appears and tries to discourage him. Then follows his confrontation with the prefect and subsequent tortures. Both heavenly apparitions (Raphael, Jesus) and diabolical ones appear during his tortures. At a certain moment Arianus has to leave for the south, and he decides to take Nabraha with him to Antinoopolis. During the journey Nabraha performs a miracle aboard the ship they are traveling on. In prison at Antinoopolis, he cures the warden's son of an ailment. In the law court, in the course of renewed tortures, once again he has the vision of Jesus, who makes it clear to him that a sanctuary will be erected in his name. This seems to be the main reason for which the text was written. At last Arianus decides to send Nabraha to exile. The text ends with the death of Diocletian and Maximianus and the accession of Constantine to the throne, leading to the release of Nabraha from prison. Thereafter he becomes an ascetic until his death.

The writing of the text is very careless and it must be dated toward the end of the original Coptic hagiographic activity (eighth century; see HAGIOGRAPHY). Moreover it must have been conceived in a suburban area, since it does not belong to any cycle and, as we said before, it has not been accepted in the Synaxarion.

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TITO ORLANDI

NAG HAMMADI, town in Upper Egypt in the province of Qinā that has become famous for the discovery there in 1945 of the Coptic-Gnostic codices that launched a new era in Coptic studies (see NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY). The town, situated on the

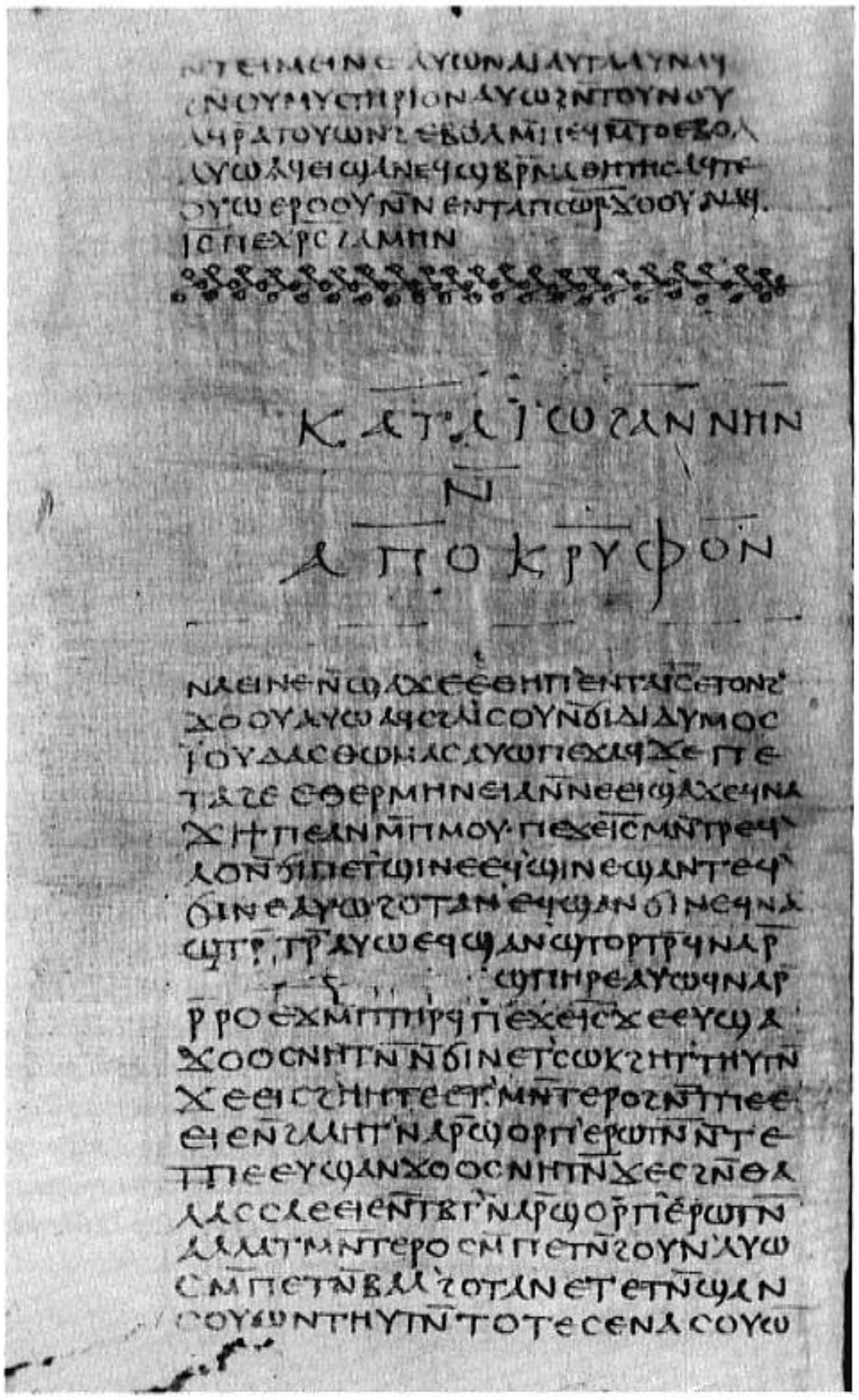
west bank of the Nile some 50 miles (80 km) southeast of Suhāj, has no Christian tradition apart from its relatively recent fame.

RANDALL STEWART

NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, thirteen ancient papyrus codices translated from Greek into Coptic, accidentally discovered in December 1945 by farmers in Upper Egypt. They contain forty-five distinct works, including our chief sources of first-hand knowledge of GNOSTICISM. Although the details of the discovery have remained unverified, despite archaeological investigation, there is little reason to doubt the eyewitness reports that the books were found in a ceramic jar hidden at the Jabal al-Ṭārif, a section of the eastern wall of the Nile Valley near the modern village of Ḥamrah Dūm. There are no traces of ancient habitation in the immediate vicinity of this site, except for about 150 pharaonic tombs cut into the cliff face. Some of these tombs contain evidence of use during the Greco-Roman period and later. It is not known who originally owned the codices or why they were thus hidden. Hence, whether or not they should be regarded as an ancient "library" is also a matter of dispute.

Chenoboskeion (Chenoboskia), the town nearest the burial site at the time the codices were written, has been used by some scholars and bibliographers to name the collection. But it is standard now to refer to the codices by the name of the largest modern city in the area, Nag Hammadi. The individual codices are referred to with the abbreviations NHC (Nag Hammadi Codex) or simply NH or, less commonly, CG (Cairensis Gnosticus). The standard numeration of the codices is that established by the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition*, though several other numbering systems have also been used.

The Nag Hammadi codices are currently the property of three institutions. The bulk of the collection is kept at the Coptic Museum in Cairo (Nos. 4851, 10544–55, 10589, 10590, 11597, and 11640), which began to acquire them in 1946. For a time, part of Codex I was the property of the psychologist C. G. Jung, and it is also known as the Jung Codex. Jung's heirs returned his portion to Egypt, where it joined the rest of the collection in the Coptic Museum. The leather cover of Codex I, together with the scrap papyrus (cartonnage) that lined it, is owned by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, California. Part of one leaf of Codex III (pp. 145–46) is owned by the Beinecke Library,



Nag Hammadi Library. Codex II. Upper part: End of the Apocrypha of John. Lower part: Beginning of the Gospel of Thomas. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

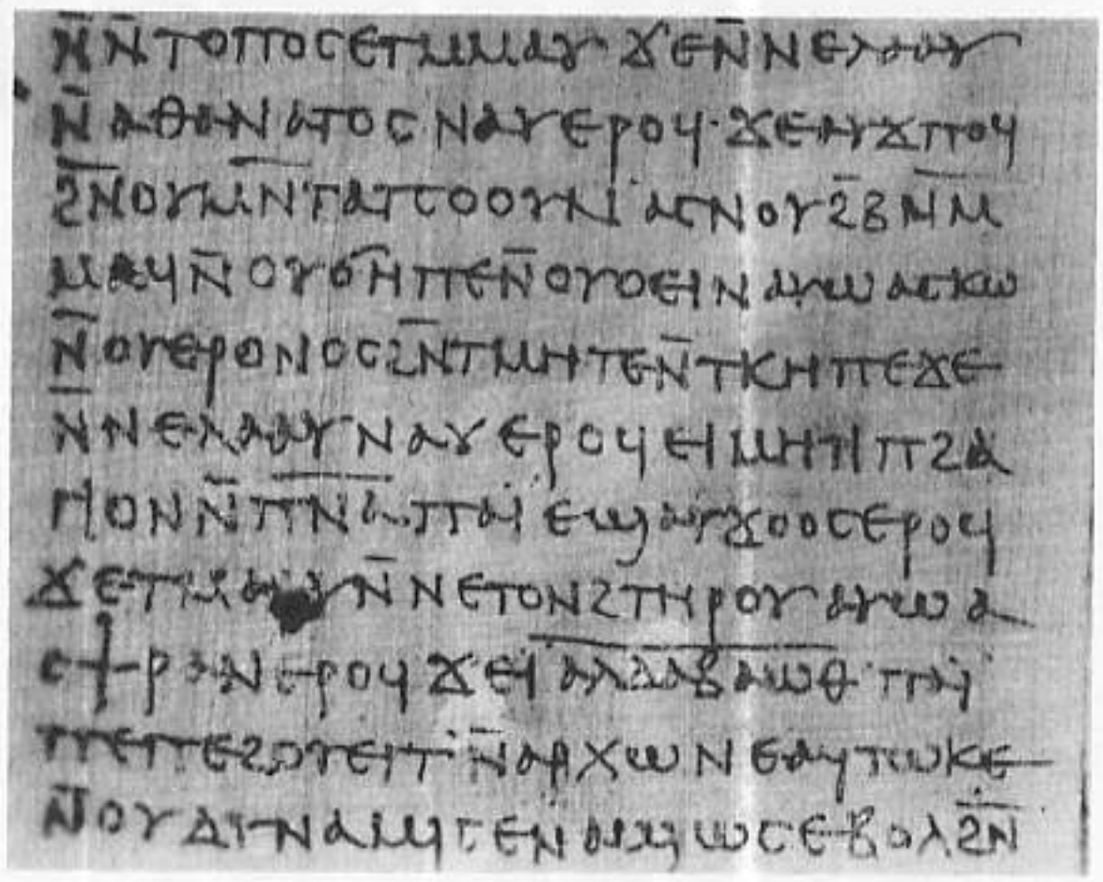
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (Yale 1784). It is possible that other parts of the collection survive elsewhere, awaiting identification.

Beginning in the late 1950s, the Coptic Museum, with the help of the German Institute of Archeology in Cairo, undertook to conserve the manuscripts by taking apart each codex and placing the leaves and fragments between panes of acrylic plastic. During the following decade, these acrylic frames were photographed, under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with a view toward publishing a complete photographic facsimile edition. During

the 1970s a UNESCO International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices was formed to oversee the work on the manuscripts. James M. Robinson, secretary of the UNESCO committee, also organized and directed two other projects that facilitated the committee's work: the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity and the Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project of the American Research Center in Egypt. The latter project was designed primarily to conserve the manuscripts, a painstaking task that it successfully concluded in 1978.

The original sequence of the pages in each codex was determined with only a few uncertainties, and hundreds of fragments were restored to their proper positions. Seven hundred and thirteen inscribed fragments remain unplaced, but most of these are very small. Robinson's team also reconserved the manuscripts, mounting the carefully repaired sheets between panes of acrylic plastic of a uniform size. These frames are now stored in two specially designed cabinets. The unplaced fragments, cartonnage, and leather covers were included in the conservation. This reconstruction is recorded in the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition*.

The manuscripts had suffered a good deal of deterioration, both before or during their interment and after their discovery. What survive are extensive remains of eleven papyrus books in codex form with leather covers (Codices I–XI); eight leaves (as well as two large fragments that probably represent two further leaves) of a twelfth codex, the bulk and leather cover of which are assumed to have been lost since the discovery (Codex XII); and eight leaves (Codex XIII) that had been removed in antiquity from a thirteenth codex and laid inside the front cover of Codex VI.



Nag Hammadi Library. From Codex III. *Courtesy Coptic Museum, Cairo.*

The original extent of the collection may be calculated at a minimum of 1,240 inscribed pages. Of these pages 1,156 are currently represented by at least a fragment. The major loss (estimated at at least 51 pages) is from Codex XII alone. While Codices I–III, VI, VII, and XIII contain many complete or nearly complete leaves, Codices IV, V, and VIII–XII are fragmentary enough that comprehension of the texts contained in them is severely hampered. Throughout the collection there are some passages of text that are now preserved only, or sometimes preserved best, in photographs.

The Nag Hammadi codices contain fifty-one texts. Some of these are copies or variant versions of other texts in the collection, so that there are actually only forty-five distinct works, thirty-six of which were previously unknown in any form. In addition, traces of at least two further texts are recognizable in Codices I and XII. The number of texts per codex varies from one (Codex X) to eight (Codex VI). All the texts were originally composed in Greek, at different times (mostly during the first four centuries of the Christian era) and in various parts of the Mediterranean world. They were translated into Coptic, presumably during the fourth century or slightly earlier. Although some of the texts were translated into a variety of the Lycopolitan dialect (Codices I, X, and the first two texts in XI), most were translated into the Sahidic dialect, with varying degrees of deviation from what is generally recognized as the classical standard. None of the Nag Hammadi Codices contains the first Coptic copy of a text. Rather they are a compilation of later copies, the work of as many as fourteen or possibly as few as eight scribes. The quality of the copies varies, as does the quality of the original translations, so far as this can be judged.

Each of the Nag Hammadi Codices, except Codex I (and possibly also Codices XII and XIII, where the surviving codicological evidence is inconclusive), was made up of a single quire. A single stack of papyrus sheets was folded down the middle and then sewn at the fold to a leather cover. In detail, however, the method of manufacture varies from codex to codex. Codex I stands apart in that it consists of three quires. The front and back covers of each codex were lined with scrap papyrus glued together to form a kind of cardboard. When re-

moved, much of this cartonnage was found to be inscribed in both Coptic and Greek. One of several dated texts used in the cover of Codex VII indicates that it was manufactured sometime after A.D. 348. Various documents used in the covers of Codices I, V, VII, and XI mention places in the Nag Hammadi region. It is generally assumed that all of the Nag Hammadi Codices were produced in the latter half of the fourth century, somewhere in the area surrounding the site of their discovery. They are among the oldest well-preserved books in codex form to have survived the centuries.

[*See also:* Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles; Allogenes; Apocalypse of Adam; Apocalypse of James, First; Apocalypse of James, Second; Apocalypse of Paul; Apocalypse of Peter; Apocryphon of James; Apocryphon of John; Asclepius 21–29; Authentikos Logos; Book of Thomas the Contender; Concept of Our Great Power; Dialogue of the Savior; Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth; Eugnostos the Blessed and the Sophia of Jesus Christ; Exegesis on the Soul; Gospel of Philip; Gospel of the Egyptians; Gospel of Thomas; Gospel of Truth; Hypostasis of the Archons; Hypsiphrone; Interpretation of Knowledge; Letter of Peter to Philip; Melchizedek; On the Origin of the World; Paraphrase of Shem; Plato's Republic; Prayer of Thanksgiving; Prayer of the Apostle Paul; Second Treatise of the Great Seth; Sentences of Sextus; Teachings of Silvanus; Three Steles of Seth; Thunder, Perfect Mind; Treatise on the Resurrection; Trimorphic Protennoia; Tripartite Tractate; Valentinian Exposition; Zostrianus.]

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STEPHEN EMMEL

NAGUIB MAHFOUZ (1882–1972), pioneer of gynecology and obstetrics. He was born at al-Manṣūrah, Egypt, the youngest son of a family of eight. At the age of sixteen he entered the Egyptian School of Medicine at Qaṣr al-ʿAynī, from which he graduated four years later in 1902. Appointed anaesthetist in his early career, he later decided to specialize in obstetrics. An exchange of visits between him and surgeons in Europe brought him to the limelight. He headed several departments of gynecology in Cairo's major hospitals. In 1914 he was appointed head surgeon in the Qaṣr al-ʿAynī hospital. Later he was entrusted with the establishment of the first outpatient gynecological clinic in that hospital as well as a child welfare section. To him is also attributed the establishment of the school of nursing. During his long years of teaching and research he collected a vast number of disease specimens that he presented to his school in 1929 on the occasion of its centenary. They became the Mahfouz Obstetric and Gynecological Museum. He received many honorary degrees from Europe and America. In 1942 the honorary fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons was awarded to him along with Sir Alexander Fleming, the discoverer of penicillin.

His principal works are *The Life of an Egyptian Doctor* (Edinburgh and London, 1966); *The History of Medical Education in Egypt* (Cairo, 1935); *Atlas of Mahfouz's Obstetric and Gynaecological Museum* (3 vols., London, 1949); *Art of Midwifery* (in Arabic, Cairo, 1933); *Elementary Gynaecology* (in Arabic, Cairo, 1927); and *Practical Gynaecology* (in Arabic, Cairo, 1927).

SOPHY AL-BAYADI

NAJʿ AL-DAYR. *See* Dayr al-Shahīd Phīlūthāwaus.

NAJʿ AL-ḤAJAR, site on the east bank of the Nile about 10 miles (15 km) north of Aswan. A few years ago in the course of excavations carried out by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in the area between the edge of the town and the bank of the

Nile, ruins of a Roman camp were discovered. They can be dated, on the basis of a few inscribed blocks of stone found on the site, to the first century A.D., the period of the emperor Vespasian. On the west side there came to light a fine gate flanked by semicircular towers and decorated with engaged columns.

In the early Christian period, after the abandonment of the camp, a small basilica was erected. A section of the apse and a number of column bases were found in situ in the southwest corner. The walls were constructed first of fired bricks but later of hewn stone. In front of the apse was the presbytery, which probably accommodated the altar. It extended to the first (eastern) pair of columns, and was surrounded by lateral walls, with cancelli at the front. A small annex building on the northwest corner with a crux monogrammatica in the floor presumably contained a tomb.

PETER GROSSMANN

NAOS. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

NAQĀDAH. [*This city in Upper Egypt is situated on the west bank of the Nile opposite Qūṣ in the province of Qinā. This entry discusses the geography and the scant archaeological remains.*]

Geography

Although ample attestation exists to show that Naqādah was the seat of a bishop, it is not known when the city first became a bishopric. The SYNAXARION commemorates a Bishop Michael from Naqādah on 22 Baramhāt, but it gives no indication when this bishop lived. The next bishop of Naqādah attested in extant sources did not live until the sixteenth century. However, the evidence for this bishop is ambiguous. In a list of bishops from the year 1508 we find a Bishop Basilius of Qūṣ and Naqādah as well as a Bishop Gabriel of the same cities (Muyser, 1944, pp. 162–63). It is not clear why the list names two bishops of the same area.

In the fifteenth century al-MAQRĪZĪ listed four churches for Naqādah without specifying whether they were located in Naqādah itself or simply within the environs of the city: a church of the Virgin, a church of John the Baptist, a church of Gabriel, and a church of John the Compassionate (1845, p. 141).

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RANDALL STEWART

Architecture

No medieval churches have been preserved in Naqādah. On the edge of the desert there are three monasteries—Dayr al-Gizāz, Dayr al-Majma', Dayr al-Ṣalīb—in which some medieval remains of buildings are still contained, at least in part, or were visible to earlier travelers.

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PETER GROSSMANN

NAQĪZAH, town in the province of Gharbiyyah. ABŪ AL-MAKĀRIM, in his description of the churches and monasteries of Lower Egypt, situates at Naqīzah a monastery, the lofty buildings of which could be seen from Damietta. He indicates its position as "near the salt sea, to the east of Nastarāwah [al-Burullus]." He adds that a monk named CHRISTODOULUS lived there secluded in a cell, and in it was the body of Saint THECLA, the disciple of the apostle Paul. This recluse became the sixty-sixth patriarch of Alexandria (1047–1077). This last remark is certainly borrowed from the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS where we read it almost word for word. However, Abū al-Makārim's testimony is important, for it allows us here to correct the text of the *History of the Patriarchs,* where Nafwah is written in place of Naqīzah. The author of this biography of the Patriarch Christodoulus, Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij, adds that during the patriarchate of Christodoulus the body of Saint Thecla was transferred to Sinjār, seat of the patriarch. This information is also found in the notice of Saint Thecla in the SYNAXARION at 25 Abīb, "at Sinjār, in the hermitage."

The geographical situation is explained by Maspero and Wiet (1919, pp. 212–13): Naqīzah is situated on the peninsula of Burullus, which separates Lake Burullus from the Mediterranean. These au-

thors think that the Arabic Naqīzah derives from the Coptic Nikejōu.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN
MAURICE MARTIN, S.J.

NARTHEX. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

NASH PAPYRUS, papyrus named after the buyer, W. L. Nash, now in the Cambridge University Library (Or. 233; facsimile in Albright, p. 11). The papyrus contains the Decalogue (Ex. 20:2–17) and the Sh'ma (Dt. 6:1–5) in Hebrew. Its date is debated. While Albright dates it in the second century B.C., most Old Testament scholars place it in the first century before or after Christ. It is to be interpreted not as a papyrus but as a phylactery.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

NASĪM ABŪ SA'D IBN 'ABD AL-SAYYID, eighteenth-century deacon, archon, *shaykh,* and *mu'allim.* He had some liturgical manuscripts copied by the deacon ABĪB IBN NAṢR in Coptic and in Arabic for the Church of the Mu'allaqah in Old Cairo.

The first of the two manuscripts is a lectionary in Coptic (Liturgy 317) for the second trimester of the Coptic year (Kiyahk, Ṭūbah, and Amshīr), of which, however, only the month of Amshīr survives (fols. 241–363). This manuscript was completed on 1 Bashans A.M. 1472/7 May A.D. 1756, and given to the Church of the Mu'allaqah in Old Cairo. It is a large-sized manuscript (32 × 21 cm).

The second manuscript is a lectionary in Arabic (Liturgy 320) for the weekdays of the first three months of the Coptic year, Tūt, Bābah, and Hātūr (fols. 4–246). This manuscript was completed on 20 Ṭūbah A.M. 1474/26 January A.D. 1758, and also given to the Church of the Mu'allaqah. It is a large-sized manuscript (29.5 × 21 cm).

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

NASTARUH (Nastarāwah), town in Egypt that seems to have been located in the northern Delta along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea on Lake Bashmur (Maspero, 1919, p. 211). The fact that the repeated onslaughts of the Greeks against Dumyāṭ in the middle of the ninth century prompted the citizens of Rashīd, Alexandria, and Nastaruh to strengthen their walls is an indication of Nastaruh's proximity to the sea and consequent vulnerability to attack. Nastaruh's position in medieval Coptic-Arabic scales and lists of Egyptian bishoprics, as well as the evidence of medieval Muslim authors, points to Kom Mastaruh west of Nisf Gharb al-Burullus as the probable site of the old town.

Nastaruh is attested in the sources as a bishopric since the tenth century. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS relates that around 960 the bishopric of Nastaruh had to be combined with neighboring bishoprics because starvation and poor harvests had severely diminished the population of the cities in the region.

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RANDALL STEWART

NASṬĀS IBN JURAYJ, tenth-century Christian physician of Egypt. The Arabic sources do not make it clear whether he was a Copt or a Melchite. However, Schacht and Meyerhof (1937, p. 137, 12) and M. Ullmann (1970, p. 138) state that he was a Copt. P. Sbath (1940) calls him a "Coptic monk," which is impossible unless he became a monk after becoming a widower, since he had a famous grandson, Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nasṭās.

Nasṭās lived at the time of al-Ikhshīd Muḥammad

ibn Ṭughj (A.H. 935–946), just before the arrival of the Fatimids. He was primarily famous for his knowledge of urology. He passed on the medical tradition to his family, and his grandson ISḤĀQ IBN IBRĀHĪM IBN NASṬĀS became the personal doctor of al-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ILLĀH (996–1021).

Nasṭās corresponded about medical matters with the famous Christian physician of Cordoba, Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Rūmān al-Naṣrānī. Concerning this physician, see the history of physicians by Ibn Juljul (1955, p. 96), a work composed in 987. Nasṭās's *Risālah fī kayfiyyat al-istidlāl bi-al-bawl 'alā aḥwāl al-shakhṣ wa-amrāḍih* (Epistle on How to Know the Situation and Sicknesses of a Person, on the Basis of his Urine) is preserved at Cairo in two manuscripts (Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr, Riyāḍiyyāt 139, seventeenth century, fols. 1b–4a; and a manuscript belonging to Dimitri Qandalaft, a Greek Orthodox shopkeeper, dated 1347, Sbath, 1940, p. 32, no. 2695).

Nasṭās also composed a *Collection of Drugs* that is preserved in a manuscript dated 1347 belonging to Dimitri Qandalaft (Sbath, 1940, p. 31, no. 2694).

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

NATIONALIST PARTY. *See* Political Parties.

NATIONAL LIBRARY, PARIS, ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS OF COPTIC PROVENANCE IN. The principal source for knowledge of the Coptic culture of the Middle Ages is the Arabic Christian manuscript tradition. It is, however, very difficult to distinguish which of these manuscripts originate from Coptic unless an examination is made on the basis of experience with Arabic paleography. In order to facilitate research work in this domain, this article contains a listing of Arabic manuscripts in the National Library, Paris, that were copied by Copts or diffused among them.

Disregarding the content of the manuscript, certain Coptic texts have been excluded because they were in circulation outside the Coptic world, for example, the *History* of al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd copied by the Tunisian Muslim Muḥammad Mahdī ibn Amīn al-Tūnisī (Arabe 295), or the *Life of Saint Pachomius and His Disciple Theodorus,* copied by a Melchite (Arabe 261). However, the *History* of the Melchite Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq copied by Copts (Arabe 288, 289, and 290) and that of the West Syrian Ibn al-'Ibrī (Arabe 296) qualify for inclusion.

The manuscripts are in the National Library's Arabic series. In the following list, the date (A.D.) or the presumed period appears in parentheses. For the collections, the dominant genre (hagiography, patristics, homiletics, etc.) is given. For further information, reference should be made to the manuscript catalogs for this library. Arabic Muslim manuscripts are excluded although these could be studied in order to discover which were copied by Copts. This task remains to be done.

1 (1585):	Bible: Old Testament
4 (thirteenth century):	Bible: Pentateuch
5 (fifteenth century):	Bible: Samaritan Pentateuch
6 (1433):	Bible: Samaritan Pentateuch
8 (sixteenth century):	Bible: Pentateuch
9 (1284):	Bible: Pentateuch
10 (1330):	Bible: Pentateuch with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
11 (1331):	Bible: Pentateuch with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
12 (1353):	Bible: Pentateuch
13 (fifteenth century):	Bible: Pentateuch
14 (fourteenth century):	Bible: Pentateuch
15 (fourteenth century):	Bible: Pentateuch

16 (1238):	Bible: Pentateuch with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
17 (1661):	Bible: Pentateuch with patristic commentary, plus Leviticus with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
18 (fourteenth century):	Bible: Genesis with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
19 (sixteenth century):	Bible: Genesis with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
20 (1590):	Bible: Genesis with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
21 (1596):	Bible: Genesis with the Commentary of Mark ibn Qanbar
22 (1344):	Bible: Historical books
24 (fourteenth century):	Bible: Chronicles
25 (1586):	Bible: The prophets
40 (1292):	Varia
41 (fifteenth century):	Collection of the Psalms
42 (1433):	Collection of the Psalms
43 (fifteenth century):	Collection of the Psalms
44 (1635):	Bible: Psalms
45 (seventeenth century):	Psalms and Canticles (copied from a Coptic manuscript dated 1386)
49 (fifteenth century):	Wisdom collection
50 (fifteenth century):	Bible: Wisdom books
51 (1412):	Bible: Gospels
54 (1619):	Bible: Gospels
55 (1619):	Commentary on the Gospels by the fathers
56 (seventeenth century):	Bible: Gospels
57 (1656):	Bible: Gospels
59 (fifteenth century):	Commentary on the synoptic Gospels by the fathers
61 (1665):	Bible: Gospel of John
62 (sixteenth century):	Bible: Gospel of John
63 (1340):	Bible: Paul, Catholicon, and Acts
64 (fifteenth century):	Bible: Paul, Catholicon, and Acts
65 (1614):	Bible: Paul, Catholicon, and Acts
66 (1651):	Bible: Paul, Catholicon, and Acts
67 (fifteenth century):	Bible: Commentary on Revelation by Ibn Kātib Qayṣar
69 (1343):	Varia
72 (1358):	Varia
73 (fifteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
74 (fifteenth century):	Homiletic collection
75 (fifteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
76 (1337):	Book of the Rolls of Pseudo-Clement of Rome
77 (1665):	Book of the Rolls of Pseudo-Clement of Rome
78 (fourteenth century):	Book of the Rolls of Pseudo-Clement of Rome
81 (sixteenth century):	Apocryphal texts on the apostles
82 (fourteenth century):	Theological apologetic collection
85 (thirteenth century):	Commentary on the Gospels of Luke and John by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib
86 (1247):	Commentary on the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib
87 (fourteenth century):	Commentary on the Gospels for Sundays and feasts, according to the Coptic liturgy

88 (fourteenth century):	Commentary on the Gospels for Sundays and feasts, according to the Coptic liturgy
89 (1595):	Commentary on the Gospels and Epistles of Great Week
90 (fifteenth century):	Commentary on the Gospels and Epistles for the Sundays and feasts of the first six months, according to Coptic liturgy
91 (fifteenth century):	Commentary on the Gospels and Epistles for the Sundays and feasts of the last six months, according to the Coptic liturgy
92 (fifteenth century):	Commentary on Matthew (homilies 76–90) by John Chrysostom
93 (fourteenth century):	Commentary on John drawn from the fathers
94 (1236):	Homilies of John Chrysostom on the Epistles to the Corinthians and on Matthew
95 (1218):	Homilies of John Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews
98 (fifteenth century):	Ritual of Gabriel V
100 (fourteenth century):	Collection on holy chrism
112 (sixteenth century):	Key to the pericopes for the offices of the Coptic year
113 (1312):	Lectionary for Great Week
114 (fifteenth century):	Collection of prayers and *theotokia*
131 (1440):	Predominantly hagiographical collection
132 (1629):	Varia
133 (fifteenth century):	26 Homilies of Basil, including seventeen on the Psalms
134 (fifteenth century):	Homilies on the Hexaemeron by Basil and Gregory of Nyssa
135 (thirteenth century):	Collection of the 52 homilies of Ephrem
136 (thirteenth century):	Collection of the 52 homilies of Ephrem
137 (fourteenth century):	Collection of the 52 homilies of Ephrem
138 (fourteenth century):	Collection of the 52 homilies of Ephrem
139 (fourteenth century):	Collection of the 52 homilies of Ephrem
140 (1689):	Collection of the 52 homilies of Ephrem
141 (fifteenth century):	Marian homiletic collection
143 (fourteenth century):	Coptic and Melchite homilary
144 (1617):	Ascetic homilies and four Gospels
145 (1641):	Homiletic collection on the Annunciation and Saint Michael
146 (sixteenth century):	87 homilies of John Chrysostom for Sundays and Lent
147 (thirteenth century):	Varia
148 (1645):	Homiletic and hagiographical collection
149 (thirteenth century):	Ascetic works of Simon and Stylite and Issac of Nineveh
150 (1606):	Patristic collection
151 (fourteenth century):	Patristic collection
152 (sixteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
153 (seventeenth century):	Hagiographical collection
154 (1604):	Coptic hagiographical collection
155 (1486):	Collection on the Virgin Mary

157 (fourteenth century): Ascetical collection: Evagrius, John Climacus, John of Carpathus, Issac of Nineveh, John Sabas

158 (fourteenth century): John Chrysostom: moral theology and Christ's divinity

159 (1314): John Sabas

160 (fifteenth century): John Sabas

161 (fourteenth century): John Climacus

166 (1222/3): Exegetical apologetical replies by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Awn

167 (1227): Refutation of Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Warrāq by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī

168 (fourteenth century): Refutation of al-Warrāq by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī

169 (1654): Apologetical treatises of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī and Abū Rā'iṭah al-Takrītī

170 (thirteenth century): *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* (twelve chapters) of Severus of al-Ashmūnayn

171 (1618): Two theological works of Severus of al-Ashmūnayn

172 (1291): Severus of al-Ashmūnayn (*Book of the Councils*) and *Refutation of the Jews* by Abū al-Fakhr al-Mashīḥī

173 (fourteenth century): Apologetical and spiritual collection

174 (fourteenth century): Apologetical treatises of 'Īsā ibn Zur'ah

175 (1299): The *Daf' al-Hamm* of Elias of Nisibis

176 (sixteenth century): The *Daf' al-Hamm* by Elias of Nisibis; and the *Politics* of Pseudo-Aristotle

177 (fourteenth century): Theological varia and apocrypha

178 (1452): Al-Rashīd Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib (Coptic Manuscript of Syria)

179 (1642): Al-Rashīd Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib

180 (1664): Al-Rashīd Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib

183 (thirteenth century): The *Confessio Patrum* (dogmatic patristic anthology)

184 (1214): The *Kitāb al-Ru'ūs* (large work on spiritual direction and confession)

185 (thirteenth century): *Kitāb al-Ru'ūs*

191 (fourteenth century): *Book of the Tower* by Mārī ibn Sulaymān (Part I)

192 (fourteenth century): *Book of the Tower* by Mārī ibn Sulaymān (Part II)

193 (1584): Sim'ān ibn Kalīl ibn Maqāra (large theological and spiritual work)

197 (1278): *Kitāb al-Shifā'* by Buṭrus ibn al-Rāhib

198 (sixteenth century): Controversy between Abū Qurrah and various Muslims

199 (thirteenth century): Theological varia

200 (sixteenth century): *Summa Theologiae* by Abū Isḥāq ibn al-'Assāl

201 (thirteenth century): *Summa Theologiae* by Abū Isḥāq ibn al-'Assāl (chap. 1–19)

202 (thirteenth–fourteenth century): Collection of four predominantly theological manuscripts

203 (fourteenth century): Encyclopedia of Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar

205 (fourteenth century): Varia

207 (fourteenth century): Predominantly liturgical encyclopedia by Ibn Sabbā'

208 (fourteenth century): *Encyclopedia by Ibn Sabbā'*

209 (1552): *Theological patristic anthology of Severus of al-Ashmūnayn*

210 (1634): *Theological patristic anthology by Severus of al-*Ashmūnayn

212 (1601):	Varia
213 (1601):	Varia: canonical, theological, and spiritual
214 (1538):	Apologetical collection
215 (1590):	Apologetical collection
225 (1671):	Profession of faith by Patriarch Matthew IV (scroll)
226 (1671):	Profession of faith by Patriarch Matthew IV (scroll) concerning the Eucharist
227 (1671):	Profession of faith by Patriarch Matthew IV (scroll) concerning the Eucharist
238 (fourteenth century):	Coptic canonical collection
239 (fifteenth century):	Coptic canonical collection
240 (fourteenth century):	Coptic canonical collection
241 (fourteenth century):	Coptic canonical collection
243 (1641):	Coptic canonical collection
244 (fourteenth century):	Coptic canonical collection
245 (thirteenth century):	Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl
246 (fourteenth century):	Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl
247 (fifteenth century):	Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl
248 (fourteenth century):	Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl
249 (fifteenth century):	Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl
250 (1356):	Nomocanon of Farajallāh al-Akhmīmī
251 (1352):	Canonical collection of Macarius
252 (1663):	Canonical collection of Macarius
253 (fourteenth century):	Apothegmata and ascetical collection
256 (sixteenth century):	Synaxarion for the whole year
263 (fifteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
264 (fifteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
267 (1344):	Hagiographical collection
271 (fourteenth century):	Story of Barlaam and Yuwāṣāf
272 (1643):	Story of Barlaam and Yuwāṣāf
273 (1752):	Story of Barlaam and Yuwāṣāf
274 (1778):	Story of Barlaam and Yuwāṣāf
275 (1685):	Varia
277 (1524):	Collection of four martyrs
278 (1294):	Histories of monks
279 (fourteenth century):	Histories of monks
280 (1605):	Histories of monks and ascetical fragments
282 (1649):	Hagiographical collection (Barsūm the Naked and Furayj Ruways)
283 (thirteenth century):	Abridged ascetical works by al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl
284 (1591):	Life of Saint Taklā Haymanūt
285 (1656):	Epistle on chastity by Elias of Nisibis
287 (thirteenth century):	Varia
288 (fourteenth century):	History of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq
289 (fourteenth century):	History of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq
290 (sixteenth century):	History of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq
294 (fourteenth century):	History of al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd
296 (fourteenth century):	History of Abū al-Faraj ibn al-ʿIbrī
299 (1693):	History of Abū al-Faraj ibn al-ʿIbrī

300 (fourteenth century):	Anonymous universal history
301 (fifteenth century):	*History of the Patriarchs* (biographies 1–20) by Severus of al-Ashmūnayn
302 (fifteenth century):	*History of the Patriarchs* (biographies 21–27) by Severus of al-Ashmūnayn
303 (fourteenth century):	*History of the Patriarchs* (biographies 18–25) by Severus of al-Ashmūnayn
305 (1609):	*History of the Patriarchs* by Severus; lives of saints
307 (1338):	History of the churches and monasteries by Abū Ṣāliḥ
309 (fifteenth century):	Collection of philosophical sententiae; theological texts
310 (seventeenth century):	Collection of philosophical sententiae
311 (sixteenth century):	Collection of prayers
314 (sixteenth century):	Calculation of the Christian feasts by Khidr al-Burullusī
316 (1550):	Ordination diploma of two deacons by Gabriel VII
317 (1550):	Diploma to the pastor of the church of Saint Mercurius in Cairo by Gabriel VII
318 (1548):	Diploma of Gabriel VII to three deacons
319 (1638):	Diploma to Ṣalīb ibn Abī al-Faraj
320 (1636):	Diploma to Mīnā ibn Abī al-Faraj al-Birmāwī
321 (1702):	Letter of the Emperor Adyām-Sagad to Clement XI
780 (1520):	Panegyrics of martyrs by John of Asyūṭ
4523 (1641):	*Daf' al-Hamm* by Elias of Nisibis (and Pseudo-Plato)
4524 (1672):	*History* of al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd
4525 (1358):	*History* of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il (autograph)
4702 (1785):	*History* of Yūḥannā ibn Ḥādhiq
4711 (eighteenth century):	The 27 *Maqālāt* of Yūsāb of Jirjā and Akhmīm
4728 (1886):	Nomocanon by Michael of Damietta
4729 (nineteenth century):	*History* of al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd
4734 (eighteenth century):	*Muzīl al-Khaṭāyā wa-al-'ukūs* (anonymous)
4755 (eighteenth century):	Lectionaries of the New Testament pericopes for certain feasts
4756 (1866):	Lectionary of the New Testament from Lent to Pentecost
4759 (seventeenth century):	Bible: fragments of the Old Testament
4760 (seventeenth century):	30 homilies by James of Sarūj
4761 (seventeenth century):	Sermons of Shenoudah for the 7 Sundays of Lent
4762 (seventeenth century):	Psalms
4770 (nineteenth century):	Collection of apocrypha on the apostles
4771 (nineteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
4772 (nineteenth century):	*History of the Patriarchs* by Severus of al-Ashmūnayn
4773 (nineteenth century):	*History of the Patriarchs* by Severus of al-Ashmūnayn
4774 (nineteenth century):	History of monks and hagiographical accounts
4775 (nineteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
4776 (1866):	Hagiographical collection
4777 (nineteenth century):	Hagiographical collection
4779 (1867):	Synaxarion for the first six months
4780 (nineteenth century):	Synaxarion for the last six months

4781 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4782 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection (on Saints Mercurius and Victor)
4783 (1886): Life of Saint Pachomius (638 pages)
4784 (1839): Life of Saint Pachomius and the 20 letters of Anthony
4785 (nineteenth century): Homiletic, hagiographical, and apocalyptic collection
4786 (nineteenth century): Theological collection
4787 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection (Shenoudah, etc.)
4788 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4789 (nineteenth century): Histories of monks
4790 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4791 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4792 (nineteenth century): History of Barlaam and Yuwāṣāf
4793 (seventeenth century): Hagiographical collection
4794 (1784): Homiletic collection
4795 (1885): *Muzīl al-Khaṭāyā wa-al-'ukūs* (anonymous)
4796 (nineteenth century): The 26 homilies of Shenoudah; hagiographical varia
4811 (1724): Collection of philosophical sententiae
4869 (seventeenth century): Synaxarion of the first six months (Sahidic recension)
4870 (eighteenth century): Synaxarion of the last six months
4871 (eighteenth century): Homiletic and hagiographical collection
4872 (eighteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4873 (nineteenth century): History of monks
4874 (nineteenth century): *Apocalypse of Paul; Martyrdom of Pilate*
4875 (nineteenth century): *Apocalypse of Paul*
4876 (nineteenth century): Cycle of Saint George
4877 (nineteenth century): Panegyric of Saint Victor by Demetrius of Antioch
4878 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4879 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4880 (nineteenth century): Cycle of Saint Mercurius
4881 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4882 (nineteenth century): Life and miracles of Saint Andrew; homily on fasting
4883 (eighteenth century): Life and miracles of Saint Anthony
4884 (nineteenth century): Life and miracles of Saint Anthony
4885 (nineteenth century): Hagiography: Macarius the Egyptian; Maximus and Dometius; Barsūm the Naked
4886 (1885): Life of Pachomius
4887 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4888 (1885): Hagiographical collection (especially Shenoudah)
4889 (seventeenth century): *Panegyric of Saint Michael* by Theophilus of Alexandria
4890 (nineteenth century): Monastic collection
4891 (1864): Story of Barlaam and Yuwāṣāf
4892 (nineteenth century): Life of Saint Taklā Haymānūt
4893 (nineteenth century): Hagiographical collection
4894 (seventeenth century): *Hexameron* of Pseudo-Epiphanius of Cyprus; *Combat of Adam and Eve*

4895 (fifteenth to sixteenth century): Varia (three distinct manuscripts)
4896 (sixteenth century): Homiletic collection
4897 (eighteenth century): 30 homilies of James of Sarūj
4898 (eighteenth century): Collection of wisdom and moral theology
4899 (nineteenth century): 19 miracles of Saint Simon the Mad
4900 (fourteenth century): Bible: Gospel of Luke (1:68–4:14)
4902 (nineteenth century): Collection of magic prayers
5015 (fifteenth century): Book of the Rolls of Pseudo-Clement of Rome
5253 (sixteenth century): Fragments of liturgical pericopes with commentaries
5969 (sixteenth century): Liturgy of Saint Gregory; ritual of the anointing of the sick
6125 (eighteenth century): The way of the cross
6147 (1832): Varia (especially Revelation)
6280 (eighteenth century): Gospels
6502 (eighteenth century): Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl
6855 (1816): Letter of the Grand Master of the Confraternity of the Knights of Mercy
6932 (1784): 16 homilies of James of Sarūj
6933 (seventeenth century): Theological collection

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

NATIONAL LIBRARY, VIENNA. *See* Papyrus Collections.

NATION'S PARTY. *See* Political Parties.

NATIVITY. *See* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.

NATIVITY, FAST OF THE. *See* Fasts.

NATIVITY, FEAST OF THE. *See* Feasts, Major.

NAU, FRANÇOIS-NICOLAS (1864–1931), French priest and Orientalist. He was born at Thil, Meurthe-et-Moselle. He studied at the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, was ordained in 1887, and received his doctorate in 1897. He was professor of mathematics at the Institut catholique of Paris from 1890 to 1931, becoming dean of the School of Sciences in 1928. Curious to understand Oriental literatures, he studied Syriac. He wrote his thesis, *Book of the Ascension and Spirit of Barhebraeus*, at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. He cofounded the Patrologia Orientalis series with R. Graffin; in it he published twelve fascicles, numbers 11, 19, 36, 45, 46, 47, 51, 63, and 113 (1905–1931). He was secretary (1905–1911) and then director of the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* (1911–1919), for which he wrote more than a hundred articles (1896–1931). Among his books, the following are to be noted: *Histoire et Sagesse d'Aḥiqar l'Assyrien* (1909), *Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas*, about Nestorius (1910), and *La Didascalie des apôtres*. The catalog of his works comprises some 248 titles, without counting articles for the *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique, Journal asiatique*, and other such works.

FRANÇOIS GRAFFIN, S.J.

NAUCRATIS, city in Egypt located in the western Delta. As a major center of Greek trade, Naucratis

experienced its high point in the seventh to fourth centuries B.C. In Coptic-Arabic literature, the city is first mentioned as one of the stopping places of Apa Epimachus (Rossi, 1887, pp. 41–42, 68–69). This account, however, makes no mention of Christians in Naucratis. Our earliest record of a bishop in the city is of Isaias, who held office in the middle of the fifth century (Munier, 1943, p. 23).

There are no definite attestations of Christianity in Naucratis in the Arabic period.

In 1884, Sir Flinders Petrie began excavation of the ruins of Naucratis, which are located in the province of Beheira north of Ityāy al-Barūd in the modern village of al-Niqrāsh.

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RANDALL STEWART

NAVE. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

NAWAHA. *See* Monasteries of the Province of Daqahliyyah.

NAWAY. *See* Monasteries of the Middle Ṣa'īd.

NAWRŪZ, thought to be of Persian origin on the assumption of its traditional use in Iran, word originally derived from an ancient Egyptian equivalent adopted by the Persians during their occupation of Egypt. It denotes Coptic New Year's Day, commemorated in the Coptic church liturgy but also celebrated as one of the great popular feasts by the whole Egyptian nation. It falls on 1 Tūt (11 September), which is the first month of the Coptic year and takes its name from the Egyptian god Thoth. In ancient Egypt, it was a day of celebration, ceremonies, and processions in which the golden statuette of Hathor, the goddess of plenty, was taken out of its temple at Dandarah at the break of dawn amid music and chanting to inaugurate the New Year. This same day is still a day of tremendous celebrations among all the people of Egypt. The fourteenth-century Arab historian al-MAQRĪZĪ devoted space in his work to a description of the popular festivities associated with that day in medieval times. Dressed in their best attire, people exchanged visits and fruits of the season, notably dates. The festivities continued throughout the night, and the populace took to drinking and debauchery until the Mamluk state decided to suppress Nawrūz as an approved public holiday in the year 1378–1379. In the church, however, its celebration continued. The Coptic New Year still figures in the Synaxarion as a day of healing by water.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

NEALE, JOHN MASON (1818–1866), British historian. He received his higher education at Trinity College, Cambridge. He spent most of his years divided between England and the island of Madeira, where he wrote prodigiously. The *Dictionary of National Biography* lists his works in four categories. Among the twenty items listed under the first category, Theological and Ecclesiastical, is his *History of the Holy Eastern Church* (5 vols., London, 1847–1873), including a volume on the patriarchate of Alexandria. Other writings are *Selections From the Writings of John Mason Neale* (London, 1884); *John Mason Neale's Letters* (London, 1910); and *Collected Hymns, Sequences and Carols* (ed. Mary S. Lawson; London, 1914).

AZIZ S. ATIYA

NEANDER, JOHANN AUGUST WILHELM (1789–1850), German church historian. Jewish by birth, his original name was David Mendel. He was baptized as a Protestant in 1806 and changed his name to Neander. He taught ecclesiastical history at Berlin from 1813 until he died. Apart from his famous *General History of the Chris-*

tian Church (6 vols., 1826–1852), he wrote a number of monographs, including one on the subject of Gnosticism (1818). As a confirmed Protestant, he held to primitive Christian simplicity. His oeuvre appeared posthumously as *Collected Works* (14 vols., Gotha, 1862–1867).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

NEHEMIAH. *See* Old Testament, Arabic Versions of the.

NEOCAESAREA, COUNCIL OF, synod held during the period of toleration for the Christians (313–c. 321) in the reign of Licinius. The council's canons deal mainly with moral questions and indicate the ecclesiastical concern with sexual issues at this time. Other canons deal with the catechumenate, with the age for ordination to the priesthood (not below thirty), and with the status of the *chorepiscopi* (country bishops). Though none of the canons refers specifically to Egypt, their prescriptions passed into the general canon law of the East, and demonstrate the underlying ascetic temper of the church in the East at the time the monastic movement emerged in Egypt.

W. H. C. FREND

NEREIDS. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

NERO, TITUS CLAUDIUS, Roman emperor from 54 to 68. From the point of view of the history of Christianity, Nero is important for the ferocious persecution that he unleashed in the late summer of A.D. 64 against the Christians in Rome. The account given by Tacitus (*The Annals* 15.44), writing some fifty years after the event but recalling vivid memories of the time, indicates that Nero, finding himself suspected of causing the destructive fire that on 19 July 64 destroyed two entire quarters of the city of Rome, fixed on the Christians as welcome scapegoats. Large numbers of suspected Christians were rounded up. Those who confessed to being Christians were cruelly done to death "in the Circus of Gaius and Nero on the Vatican" (Pliny the Elder's location; *Naturalis historia* 36.74). Church tradition includes Peter and Paul among the victims.

Nero committed suicide in June 68, and the persecution did not spread outside Rome. However, the horrific nature of the deed imprinted itself on Christian tradition. Nero became associated with Antichrist. A legend also grew up among the populace as a whole that he would return with armies from Parthia to regain the empire. Among Christians in the third and later centuries, the two ideas were combined. In the savage persecution under VALERIAN, that emperor may have become identified with Nero in the mind of Dionysius of Alexandria and Egyptian Christians. The "seventh year of Valerian" (A.D. 259), bringing persecution to its climax, paralleled the then proverbial "seventh year of the divine Nero" (A.D. 60), which presaged the onset of the Neronian years of tyranny. The association Nero–Antichrist did not die out with the end of the persecution, but for a long time continued to find its place in Coptic mythology.

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W. H. C. FREND

NESTORIANS AND COPTS. The first theological-Christological clash between the Nestorian doctrines and Alexandrian orthodoxy took place at the Council of EPHESUS (431). CYRIL I (412–444) faced a new phase in Christology as preached by the scholar NESTORIUS, patriarch of Constantinople. The Alexandrian theologians, led by Saint Cyril, taught that Jesus Christ was the Eternal Logos under the condition of humanity. All the actions predicated to Jesus as a man were predicated to the Divine Logos as well; His mother, therefore, is the THEOTOKOS, mother of God. According to Nestorius, Mary was only the mother of the man. This led to the doctrine of the dual nature of Jesus. Saint Cyril addressed himself to the pope of Rome, Celestine, in order to attract Roman attention to the irregularity of Nestorian doctrine. Saint Cyril hurled twelve

anathemas against Nestorius from Alexandria, the center of the orthodox Christian world. This preeminent position and the Nestorian struggle led to the division of the church after the Council of Chalcedon (451).

DIOSCORUS I (444–458) recognized nothing but the Cyrillian formula for Christology. Politics under the cover of religion did the rest. Thus the Alexandrian orthodoxy was (because of dishonesty or ignorance) labeled as Eutychianism (see EUTYCHES). The Copts energetically protested against the basic elements of Eutychianism, as they refused the doctrines of Nestorianism. Their traditional hostility to Nestorianism and Nestorians, even from 616 to 642, when the Copts lived under Persian domination, as well as their unwillingness to discard their ecclesiastical and national independence, were deciding factors in favor of the establishment of a "Coptic church." The strict resistance to Nestorianism and Eutychianism has preserved the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Coptic church until today. This is illustrated by the statement on Christology drawn up by the Roman Catholic church and the Coptic church which was signed at the Anbā Bishoi Monastery near Cairo on 12 February 1988, "We believe that our Lord, God and Savior, Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Word, is perfect in His divinity and perfect in His humanity, that His humanity is One with His divinity, without mixture or confusion, unchanging and unaltered, and that His divinity at no time was separate from His humanity. At the same time we anathemize simultaneously the doctrines of Nestorius, and of Eutyches" (John Paul II and Shenouda III).

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MARTINIANO P. RONCAGLIA

NESTORIUS. Nestorius was born at Germanicia in Syria Euphratensis sometime before 381, and became patriarch of Constantinople in 428. After his condemnation for heresy and deposition by the First Council of EPHESUS in 431, he was allowed by Emperor Theodosius II to retire to his former monastery a short distance from the gates of Antioch. Because Nestorius continued to agitate on behalf of his condemned teachings, Archbishop JOHN OF ANTIOCH complained to Theodosius, who ordered the final banishment of Nestorius to the Great Oasis (Khargah) in Egypt on 3 August 435. Nestorius remained in Egypt until his death (sometime after 451).

The most reliable, and the only detailed, source for Nestorius' exile in Egypt is found in Book I, chapter 7, of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus (c. 536–600). Evagrius claims that he was able to consult Nestorius' own writings, and quotes from the *Tragoedia* and the *Bazaar of Heracleides*, works written by Nestorius to defend his position, and a letter addressed to the governor of the Thebaid. Sometime after Nestorius arrived at the Great Oasis, it was overrun by a Nubian tribe. Evagrius calls them Blemmyes, while Nestorius is quoted as calling them Noubades. Both names, as used by these writers, are probably generic words used to refer to the inhabitants of Lower Nubia, who made frequent incursions into Egypt in the fifth century (see BEJA TRIBES). The tribes plundered the Great Oasis and left it in ruins. They then freed Nestorius and an unspecified number of other people with the warning that they should flee because the Mazices, a Libyan tribe, were on the way to attack the oasis. The refugees had to make their way across the desert to the Thebaid as best they could. The date of this invasion is unknown. Nestorius was still at the oasis when Socrates Scholasticus wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in 439.

Perhaps the invasion of the Mazices coincided with their devastation of the monasteries of Scetis in 444. Upon his arrival at Panopolis (Akhmīm), Nestorius made himself conspicuous in order to avoid being branded a fugitive. He appealed to the governor of the Thebaid for clemency, but was instead transported under military escort to Elephantine Island, on the southern border of Egypt. No sooner had he arrived than he was recalled to Panopolis. Nestorius complained about having to make the trip, saying that he was aged (he must have been over sixty by this time) and ill, suffered from the hazards of travel, and that his hand and side had been mangled. The latter affliction may have been the result of the fall to which Evagrius attributes his eventual death.

After returning to Panopolis, Nestorius was sent to a place near it, probably the fortress of Psinblje (Shard Heap) mentioned in the Coptic sources. While he was there, another order for deportation

to an unspecified place was issued, but whether Nestorius was moved again is not known. The exact date of his death is unknown. In the *Bazaar of Heracleides* he shows a knowledge of DIOSCORUS' deposition and exile by the Council of CHALCEDON, which would place his death sometime after 451.

The Coptic tradition concerning Nestorius preserves stories about his exile most of which are not found elsewhere. According to the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS, Nestorius was being escorted to the Great Oasis when his guard learned that the Mazices had sacked it, and so he was taken immediately to Panopolis and incarcerated at Psinblje. This contradicts Evagrius' evidence and probably represents a badly informed summary of events. *The History of the Church in Twelve Books* tells of a confrontation between Nestorius and SHENUTE of Atrībe. Nestorius asks Shenute to distribute his goods to the poor, and Shenute demands that he acknowledge that Mary is the Mother of God. When Nestorius refuses, Shenute declines to distribute his goods. The same story appears in other works (e.g., the Arabic Life of Shenute) where Shenute calls down an angel who beats Nestorius to death. Some scholars have seen this episode as a possible indication that Shenute had a hand in Nestorius' murder. But Nestorius' death as a result of a fall, as related by Evagrius, is the more plausible explanation.

Coptic sources also relate an earlier confrontation between Nestorius and Shenute at the Council of Ephesus (431), when Nestorius allegedly threw the Gospel book from its throne and seated himself in its place. Shenute in turn unseated Nestorius and restored the Gospel. The Coptic *History of the Church* mentions a petition sent by Nestorius to Caesarius at Antinoopolis, because Caesarius was a friend of Shenute who might be able to persuade the latter not to harass Nestorius. Caesarius is well known from Shenute's own letters and from an inscription found at the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH). Such a petition would fit the picture of Nestorius as portrayed by Evagrius.

The confrontation between Nestorius and Shenute was certainly possible, but it is not corroborated by any account outside the Coptic tradition. While the details of Nestorius' exile in Egypt are sketchy in the Coptic accounts, and probably not reliable for the most part, the impact of Nestorius as a symbol of everything that Egyptian orthodoxy opposed after the Council of Chalcedon was profound. The adjective "Nestorian" was used indiscriminately in Egypt to describe all forms of the two-nature Christology.

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DAVID W. JOHNSON

NEWARK MUSEUM. *See* Museums, Coptic Collections in.

NEWLANDSMITH, E. *See* Music, Coptic: Musicologists.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS. *See* Press, Coptic.

NEW TESTAMENT, COPTIC VERSIONS OF THE. Topographical conditions along the Nile were such as to foster the growth and differentiation of similar but distinct dialects of the common parent language. During the early Christian period the old Egyptian language had assumed half a dozen dialectal forms, differing from one another chiefly in phonetics, but also to some extent in vocabulary and syntax.

The earliest Christians in Egypt used Greek, but soon the new faith found adherents outside the Hellenized portion of the population. Exactly when translations of the scriptures were first made into one or another of the several Coptic dialects is not known, but the earliest version must precede about A.D. 270, the date at which Saint ANTONY was converted after hearing Matthew 19:16ff. read in Coptic in a village church in southern Egypt. The earliest extant biblical manuscripts date from the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century.

Sahidic Version

Of the surviving Coptic documents from the fifth century or earlier, those in Sahidic are more than twice as numerous as those in all the other dialects. The manuscripts attest to more than one Sahidic translation of certain biblical books. These were conflated in subsequent transmission, as well as revised against the Greek. The edition of the New Testament in Sahidic, prepared by George W. Horner (7 vols., 1911–1924; reprinted 1969), lacks homogeneity, having been edited of necessity from diverse texts with quite disparate dates and prove-

nance. The textual affinities of the Sahidic version are mixed. Alexandrian readings predominate, but there is also a strong "Western" element.

Bohairic Version

About the eleventh century, Bohairic replaced Sahidic as the liturgical language of the church. Although a few early manuscripts in Bohairic have survived, the majority are late. The standard edition is that of George W. Horner (4 vols., 1898–1905; reprinted 1969), who made use of forty-six manuscripts for the Gospels, twenty-four for the Epistles and the Acts (the latter regularly follows the Epistles), and eleven for Revelation. The textual affinities of the Bohairic version are chiefly with the Alexandrian type of text, with some revision toward the Byzantine text.

Other Versions

Besides the Sahidic and the Bohairic, versions were made also in several other dialects used at different localities stretching from north to south along the Nile River. Except for Fayyumic, these dialects died out as literary languages by about the seventh century.

Fayyumic is well preserved in fragmentary manuscripts dating from the fourth to the eleventh centuries, a few of which have been edited (e.g., Husselman, 1962).

Akhmimic texts of the scriptures are quite fragmentary and few in number; perhaps only several biblical books were translated into this dialect.

Sub-Akhmimic, which stands between the Akhmimic and Middle Egyptian (Oxyrhynchite) dialects, flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries. An important manuscript is a fourth-century copy of the Gospel according to John (edited by Sir Herbert Thompson, 1924). Most of the other extant literature in this dialect is Manichaean and/or Gnostic (including several Nag Hammadi treatises).

Middle Egyptian (Oxyrhynchite) is represented by several important manuscripts dating from about the fifth century; one parchment manuscript contains the complete text of the Gospel of Matthew (edited by H. M. Schenke, Berlin, 1981), another (on parchment leaves of exactly the same dimension as those of the Matthew codex) contains the text of Acts 1:1–15:3 in a form that presents many so-called Western readings. A fifth-century papyrus codex containing portions of ten epistles of Paul in the Middle Egyptian dialect has been edited by Tito Orlandi (Milan, 1974).

Problems Concerning Coptic Versions

The study of the textual affinities of the several Coptic versions is still far from being complete and many problems remain to be solved. Particularly perplexing are questions concerning the nature and degree of the interrelationship of the several translations, as well as the possibility of stages of revision within a given version.

The limitations of Coptic in representing Greek arise in part from its being a language of strict word order. Coptic does not possess any grammatical construction comparable with *oratio obliqua;* consequently, recourse is made to direct speech. Nor can Coptic truly represent the Greek passive voice, since it possesses only the active voice. Nevertheless, despite these and other limitations, the textual critic is grateful for the evidence from the Coptic versions in investigating the history of the transmission of the New Testament text in Egypt. Among noteworthy variant readings in Sahidic is the name "Nineve" given to the rich man who refused to help Lazarus (Lk. 16:19). The doxology at the close of the Matthean form of the Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6:13) is binary, "For thine is the power and the glory forever."

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BRUCE M. METZGER

NICAEA, ARABIC CANONS OF, name applied to several series of canons that are missing in the Greek or Latin canonical collections. They appear to have been reworked from the Syriac, at least in part. In the latter language the texts attributed to the Council of NICAEA in 325 are said to have come from the pen of the bishop Marūtā of Maipherkat (in Arabic Mayyafāraqīn, today a town in Turkey). At all events, who the translator, or rather the adapter, was is not known, nor at what date the canons were adopted by the Copts. It will be noted—this is not a proof that they were previously unknown—that in his Nomocanon the twelfth-century patriarch GABRIEL II IBN TURAYK knew only the twenty canons counted in the Greek collections, while MĪKHĀ'IL, bishop of Damietta, cited two series of canons of Nicaea, one of twenty canons and one of eighty-four. Given that the grouping of these texts diverges greatly in the manuscripts, it has seemed better to follow the exposition given by Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR in his religious encyclopedia *Misbāḥ al-Ẓulmah.* This passage was translated into French in J. M. Vansleb's *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie* (1677, pp. 265ff.).

Ibn Kabar divides the documents attributed to the Council of Nicaea into three books. In the first book (according to him, it is the second in the Greek collections) he groups a history of CONSTANTINE I and his mother, Helena, as well as a presentation of his incentives for the convocation of the council, which forms a kind of introduction. The collection of Macarius, a monk of Dayr Abū Maqār in the fourteenth century, adds at this point a list of heresies and sects and a list of the 318 bishops who participated. Then comes the series of twenty authentic canons, according to the Melchite recension, followed by the Coptic series of thirty (sometimes thirty-three) canons concerning anchorites, monks, and the clergy. W. Riedel (1968, pp. 38, 1791) asked if this was not a reworking of the *Syntagma ad monachos* attributed to Saint Athanasius.

As to the second book, Ibn Kabar tells us, "The Melchites and the Nestorians have translated [the second book] and the Jacobites have adopted it." It is a series of eighty-four (sometimes eighty) canons. This division would perhaps indicate that the original text was continuous.

The third book contains the "Books of the Kings," which are themselves divided into four books and also exist independently. This is a collection of the legislation enacted by the Byzantine emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Leo. Here these canons are attributed to the Council of Nicaea. It appears that the Christians of the Orient adopted these texts in defiance of the Muslims, who referred to the *Sharī'ah,* or Muslim sacred law, for guidance in purely civil matters such as marriages, inheritances, and the like.

These texts provide numerous translations. The first book gives a history of the emperor Constantine and his mother and relates the story of the council, as well as the reasons for the convocation of the bishops. It includes the twenty authentic canons followed by the thirty canons called Arabic and gives the history, or prehistory, of the Council of Nicaea in a rather free Latin translation by Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī), a celebrated Maronite deacon. The "Thirty Canons Relative to the Monks and Clergy" are given in Latin by the same author in a paraphrase rather than a true translation. The list of heresies is given in German translation by A. Harnack (1899, pp. 14–71). The list of the bishops according to the Coptic texts is examined by, among others, F. Haase (1920, pp. 81–92). As for the eighty-four canons, they will be found in a paraphrase by Abraham Ecchellensis in J. D. Mansi (cols. 1029–1049).

The enormous mass of the documents relating, rightly or wrongly, to the first council, which played a considerable role in the East more than anywhere else, is organized in the collection of Macarius into four books. The difference between his division and that of Ibn Kabar is that Macarius' second book comprises not all the eighty-four canons but only the first thirty-two. Canons forty-eight to seventy-three, combined with the thirty concerning anchorites, monks, and clergy, form the third book, the fourth containing only the Coptic recension of the twenty official canons. The "Four Books of the Kings" have with him a place apart.

The *Arabic Canons of Nicaea* are, in the strict sense, the eighty-four canons adapted from the Syriac by the Melchites and borrowed by the Copts. In addition to this series of eighty-four canons in Arabic literature, the literature in the Coptic language contains a series that has not survived in Arabic translation, called *Gnômès.* It is credited to the

Council of Nicaea and gives moral exhortations, which probably reflect the discipline in force in the fourth century in the church of Alexandria. It was published and translated into French by E. Revillout (1873, pp. 210–88; and 1875, pp. 5–77, 209–266).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

NICAEA, COUNCIL OF (325). During the third century, the Christian churches had evolved organizational structures parallel in many respects to those of the Roman empire. Episcopal authority over congregations paralleled in some ways imperial authority; episcopal courts adjudicated for Christians the same matters as civil courts did; city councils and provincial governments provided models for ecclesiastical organization. The synod represented a familiar political process for resolving disputes on matters of doctrine and church order with its prototype in the Roman senate and city councils of the empire. The fact that the church had evolved an ecclesiastical organization that borrowed heavily from Roman political organization prepared the way for an effective integration of church and empire, of which the Council of Nicaea is the first and most sterling example. On the other hand, the effective ecclesiastical organization of the churches made the bishops potentially powerful figures in imperial politics, which the failure of the Council of Nicaea in the succeeding decades demonstrates.

The controversy that led to the convening of the Council of Nicaea began in Egypt in 318. In its early stages it was a contest between episcopal authority and the authority of the intellectuals, that is, the authority of the theological schools. ARIUS preached in his congregation at Baucalis a theological understanding of the relationship between the Logos and the Father that he shared with others trained under LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH at the school in Antioch. A number of the Egyptian clergy, consecrated virgins, and the laity espoused Arius' views. Patriarch ALEXANDER I of Alexandria (312–326), whose episcopal jurisdiction extended throughout the entire province of Egypt, called for a theological discussion between Arius and those who opposed him and eventually ordered Arius not to expound his views. When Arius refused to comply, Alexander excommunicated him and his supporters.

It was Arius who carried the controversy beyond the boundaries of Egypt. Refusing the theological authority of Alexander of Alexandria, he wrote to and gained the support of Eusebius of Nicomedia, a fellow student of Lucian of Antioch. In response Alexander buttressed his authority by convening a synod of Egyptian bishops in 319 who collectively excommunicated Arius and his companions. Alexander then communicated the deliberations and actions of this synod to all bishops in the form of an encyclical. In support of Arius a Bithynian synod was convened in 320, which issued an encyclical calling for Alexander to restore the excommunicated Arians.

Alexander extended the controversy yet further by writing over seventy letters in which he solicited and gained the support of bishops in Thessalonica, Asia Minor, Greece, the Balkan peninsula, and Rome. By 324, most of Christendom had been drawn into the controversy, which was debated among the theologians and clergy by letter and treatise, and among the laity by song and verse. The inner Christian conflict had become so widespread that it was parodied in the pagan theater.

The theological point at issue was both subtle and abstract. It had to do with a critique of Alexandrian theology. ORIGEN, the most influential of the Alexandrian theologians, conceived of the Logos of God—God's mind or reason—as a distinct hypostasis (essence). In Arius' view this led to the equivalent of two first principles. Arius, following the Antiochene school, rejected this view as positing two Gods and therefore tending toward pagan polytheism. God alone can be ungenerated (*agenetos*) and without beginning (*anarchos*), eternal and unchanging. The divine substance of the hypostasis of the Father is utterly simple and cannot be divided and thereby changed, so the Son cannot be the same substance as the Father. To affirm that the Son is of the same

substance as the Father would imply that God was changeable.

According to Arius, the Son belonged to the realm of the created because the Son had a beginning and was generated through an act of the Father's will, out of nothing. Arius did, however, grant the pre-existence of the Son before the creation of the world; in this sense the priority of the Father over the Son was really a logical rather than a temporal priority. The Son was called Logos in a derivative sense because in Arius' understanding God's Logos or mind remains immanent with Him and is not a separate hypostasis.

The involvement of the emperor CONSTANTINE I in this controversy derived from the Roman tradition that the emperor is *pontifex maximus* (chief priest), responsible for the religious activities of the state, which secured the benevolence of the gods and thus the welfare of the empire. As emperor of the Western empire Constantine had already convened two councils in an attempt to resolve the Donatist controversy. He had also experimented with persecution and confiscation in an attempt to impose unity. During this period Constantine had selected Ossius of Cordova as his adviser in religious affairs.

Constantine's first attempt to resolve the controversy involved sending Ossius to Alexandria to meet with the two parties that had precipitated the conflict. This effort failed since the controversy had long since left the confines of northern Egypt. In 325, in connection with the planned lavish celebration of the twentieth year of his reign, Constantine convened a council of bishops.

The site of the ecumenical council, originally planned for Ancyra, was changed to Nicaea in order to allow the emperor, whose residence was in nearby Nicomedia, to participate in the sessions. Constantine's political objective was a religious unity that would ensure the prosperity of the state. His concept of how that religious unity should be obtained was the creation of a compromise document that would be signed by all the bishops. His objective was not the resolution of theological problems but the reconciliation of opposing parties.

The emperor opened the council with a solemn speech and a symbolic act. He delivered in Latin, the language of imperial affairs, a passionate exhortation to unity. By burning in a brazier the petitions of the bishops accusing one another of personal scandal and political disloyalty, he demonstrated his commitment to nonpartisanship.

In the absence of acts of the council we are dependent on historians of the next generation for the highlights of the proceedings. The Arian party seized the initiative by presenting a creed that articulated their understanding. The Arian creed was signed by some eighteen bishops. At the same time the assembly was introduced to the catchy tunes of Arius' *Thaleia*. An uproar ensued and anti-Arian bishops expressed their disapproval by tearing up the document. EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, an Arian moderate and court chaplain, a favorite of the emperor, presented as a compromise creed the baptismal creed of Caesarea.

In the ensuing debate it became clear that the anti-Arian party felt that existing baptismal creeds were not formulated sharply enough to exclude Arian Christology. "Begotten not made" was added to the baptismal formula, "Begotten of the father." "Only begotten from the Father" was sharpened with the phrase "that is, from the substance of the Father," which included the term HOMOOUSION.

The anti-Arian party pressed for the acceptance of the term *homoousios* to describe the relationship of the Father and the Son. It was a term without a clear history of meaning and made several parties uneasy. The Arian objection to the term was that it was unscriptural and materialistic (as if Father and Son were of the same substance or material). To others, to say that the Son was *homoousios* with the Father seemed to deny the Son's separate existence. In its brief theological history, the term had not acquired a stable set of meanings. The political spectrum ranged from the extreme Arianism of the Bithynian bishops, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Meris, to the extreme anti-Arian position of Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Syria, MARCELLUS of Ancyra, and Macarius of Jerusalem. The moderate Arians were represented by Eusebius of Caesarea and Paulinus of Tyre. The moderate anti-Arian party was represented by the Westerners under Ossius of Cordova.

When the creed, after much debate, received its final formulation, Constantine pressed all the bishops to sign it. Anti-Arian anathemas were appended to the end of the creed. The appendix read, "Whoever says 'there was a time when he was not,' 'he was created out of nothing,' 'the Son of God is another substance or another being,'" were anathematized. Only three of the Arian party refused to sign under penalty of exile: Arius, Secundus, and Theonas. (Constantine himself provided an interpretation of *homoousion* that was intended to ease the Arians' conscience, that *homoousios* did not mean the same substance in a material sense.)

Constantine's concern for Christian unity included not only doctrine but also ritual. By the time of the Nicene council, the Quartodeciman controversy

was over a century old. The Eastern churches celebrated the Christian Passover (Easter) on the same day as the Jewish Passover. The churches of the West, Egypt, Greece, Palestine, and Pontus, celebrated the Christian Passover on the Sunday following the Jewish Passover. The council ratified the practice that was dominant in the West and imposed this uniformity. About twenty years after the council, the Sunday observance of the Christian Passover was nearly universal. The council assigned the astronomical and mathematical task of determining the date of the Christian Passover for each year to the Alexandrian bishop in recognition of Alexandria's prominence as an intellectual center.

Another Egyptian controversy was settled by the council, that of the MELITIAN SCHISM. MELITIUS, bishop of Lycopolis, broke with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, over the treatment of the lapsed, Melitius taking the stricter view. The outcome was that Melitius set up his own church and succession of bishops. The council allowed Melitius to retain his see and required that all bishops and clergy ordained by him be restored to the church through the imposition of hands. The bishop of Alexandria was given right of consent for all appointments to Egyptian sees.

The council also passed twenty canons on matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Canon 18 preserves episcopal power against the encroachment of deacons; canons 4 and 6 establish the rights of the metropolitans to approve the appointment of bishops in their provinces. The right of jurisdiction of Alexandria is mentioned in this canon. Canons 1, 2, 3, and 17 regulate the morality of the clergy; canons 1, 2, and 3 are concerned specifically with sexual morality.

In the decade that followed the Council of Nicaea, the exiled bishops, Eusebius and Theogonis, were returned and Eusebius of Nicomedia supplanted Ossius as adviser on religious policy. The anti-Arian bishops, Eustathius and Athanasius, were deposed. In 334, the Synod of Jerusalem reinstated Arius. When Constantine's sons succeeded him, imperial policy changed once again. Under Constans, the anti-Arian ATHANASIUS (bishop of Alexandria, 326–373) was returned from exile and reinstated. But Constantius, the Eastern emperor, supported the Arian bishops. The political power and diplomatic skills of the Arian bishops succeeded in persuading Constantius to allow the exiled bishops to return. The relative fortunes of both the Arian and the anti-Arian parties waxed and waned with imperial politics, depending on whether or not imperial politics and episcopal politics converged.

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KAREN TORJESEN

NICENE CREED, creed formulated and defined at the Council of NICAEA in 325, representing the faith of the church as understood by the 300 or so bishops who, on the summons of the Emperor CONSTANTINE I, deliberated the orthodoxy of the Arian interpretation of Christology. The predecessors of the Nicene Creed were local baptismal creeds that also served as the basis for catechetical instruction. These baptismal creeds expressed in summary form the faith of the congregation. The Nicene Creed not only epitomized the faith of the bishops present, it also functioned as a test of orthodoxy for bishops. It therefore represented the basis for a new kind of unity of the church, one that rested on imperial sanctions; the three bishops who refused to sign were exiled.

Several baptismal creeds have been proposed as the prototype for the Nicene Creed. Those formulas of the Nicene Creed not found in the earlier creeds reveal a strong anti-Arian revision of the baptismal creed. The "Only Begotten from the Father" of the baptismal creeds was clarified with the phrase "that is, from the substance [*ousia*] of the Father." To the baptismal formula "begotten of the Father," the Nicene Creed adds "begotten not made." The insertion of the term HOMOOUSION (same substance) into the Nicene Creed introduced into the confession of faith a philosophical term with a very limited history in theological discussions, one that was intended by the emperor to be a formula for concord. The anathemas appended to the Nicene Creed condemn the Arian views that the Son was a different hypostasis (essence) from the Father, or a different *ousia* (being) from the Father, or that the Son was made or changeable.

The Nicene Creed did not immediately supplant the local baptismal creeds and become the universal confession of the church. According to tradition the Nicene Creed was expanded at the First Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 381; it was modified again and adopted at the Council of CHALCEDON in 451, in which form it became a confession of faith that could be called ecumenical.

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KAREN TORJESEN

NICHE. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

NIKIOU, Greek name of a city in the Egyptian Delta in the area of Minūf. Traditionally, the city was named after the governor who founded it. Nikiou was known in Coptic as ⲡⲥⲁϯ (Pshati) and in Arabic literature it was called Niqyūs or Ibshādī.

The location of Nikiou is a matter of some debate. There is today a town called Ibshādī in the province of Minūfiyyah, located about 5 miles (8 km) northwest of Sirsinā and about 12.5 miles (20 km) northwest of Minūf. E. Amélineau considered this town to be Nikiou (1893, p. 283), but the ruins of Zawyat Razīn, situated about 5.5 miles (9 km) southwest of Minūf, match the ancient testimony about the city much more closely (Butcher, 1897, Vol. 1, p. 390, n. 1). Thus it appears that Nikiou was situated on the east side of the Nile arm opposite Terenouthis.

The history of Christianity in Nikiou is very old. Tradition holds that the family of Jesus stayed in the city for seven days during its FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. While there Jesus healed a man who was possessed (Mingana, 1929, pp. 405, 444). According to some accounts, the parents of MENAS THE MIRACLE MAKER were from Nikiou, and the city was said to have had a church in their day.

Nikiou is mentioned often in Coptic martyrological literature. Among the city's martyrs were several bishops, including Macrobius and Sarapamon, who died during the persecutions of DIOCLETIAN. The SYNAXARION records that Sarapamon, who had been ordained bishop of Nikiou by the patriarch PETER I (300–311), was interred in a church in the city after his death and that Macrobius, a contemporary of Julius of Aqfahṣ (see MARTYRS, COPTIC) whom he healed of an illness, served as bishop for thirty-nine years.

Our knowledge of other bishops of Nikiou comes piecemeal from a number of various sources. ATHANASIUS I reported that in 325 a Melitian bishop named Heracleides was in residence in Nikiou (*Apologia Secunda* 71.16). In a letter of Athanasius we read that Triadelphus succeeded Sarapamon as bishop of Prosopites, the district of which Nikiou was the chief city. That this Triadelphus was a staunch supporter of orthodoxy is evidenced by the fact that he was a member of the delegation led by Bishop SERAPION OF TMUIS that went to Constantinople in support of Athanasius (Munier, 1943, p. 7). Patriarch THEOPHILUS (385–412) announced in his paschal letter of 404 that he had ordained Theopemptus as the successor of Theodosius in the bishopric of Nikiou (cited in Munier, 1943, p. 12). In 454, Bishop Piusammon of Nikiou appealed to Pope Leo in Rome concerning his removal from office by

Patriarch DIOSCORUS I and in 459 this Plusammon joined in the condemnation of Eutyches (Munier, 1943, pp. 22–23). The name of Bishop Macarius of Nikiou comes up in the account of Saint Theopista. Macarius had blessed Theopista and introduced her into monasticism, but after she had spent a year alone in a room, he forgot about her. Then after seeing Theopista in a vision, he went to her room and found her dead. The historian JOHN OF NIKIOU mentions a man named John as bishop of the city at the beginning of the seventh century. In 645 or 646, not long after the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT, Bishop Basil of Nikiou, a man described as great and learned, was present at the dedication of a memorial in the Monastery of Macarius (Coquin, 1975, pp. 128–29). The successor of Basil appears to have been the chronicler John of Nikiou. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS reports that John was present at the death of Patriarch JOHN III in 686. Patriarch SIMON I (689–701) made John supervisor of monasteries and then when John punished an errant monk so severely that he died ten days later, Simon removed John from office and ordained Menas as bishop of Nikiou. The history of Nikiou's bishops ends sometime around 960 when the population of the city had decreased to the point that Nikiou had to be joined with surrounding towns and villages to form a single bishopric.

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RANDALL STEWART

NILE DEITY. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

NILOMETER, a number gauge for measuring the rise in the waters of the Nile at its annual flood. In Coptic times it had the shape of a graduated column divided into cubits. It is built of stone in the middle of a well alongside the river. On Coptic textiles the Nilometer is represented surmounted by a cone with a child, symbol of the cubit in Greco-Roman and Coptic statuary, standing near the column. On Alexandrian coins the child pointed out the favorable number of cubits. In Coptic art his gesture is amplified. Holding a chisel in his left hand and a mallet in his right, he carves the proper number of cubits for the place where the Nilometer is located. A good example is a medallion in the Louvre (fifth–sixth century), worked in two colors, with a blue-green staircase and a red column. The blue-green color recalls the green waters of the initial rise (June), and red the flood itself (July–September). The two Greek and Coptic figures indicate the best flood level at Hermopolis.

In visual form, this conjunction of symbolism and realism presents the pharaonic significance of the Nilometer as an instrument of economic foresight and a witness to divine benevolence toward Egypt. Greek papyri of the Coptic period (sixth century) tell us that the Nile flood rises by the power of Christ, and that the Nilometer depends on the church. The Nilometer is part of the Egyptian landscape, like the lotus and the thickets of water plants.

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DANIELLE BONNEAU

NILOTIC SCENES. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

NIMBUS. *See* Symbols in Coptic Art.

NITRIA, with SCETIS and the KELLIA, one of the principal monastic habitations, founded about 325–330 by AMUN. The site, long confused with the present Wādī al-Naṭrūn, was finally identified by H. G.



Nile deity, Euthenia and the Nilometer in an *orbiculum*. Tapestry. Seventh century. Diameter: 13 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

Evelyn-White. It is located in the western part of the Delta, about 10 miles (15 km) south of Damanhūr, where the village of al-Barnūjī stands today. The name of this village is none other than the name of Pernouj that the Coptic documents give to the site called by Greek and Latin authors Nitria or "the mountain of Nitria," because of the presence in this region of lakes from which natron was extracted (as in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn). Monastic tradition interpreted this name in symbolic fashion: it denotes the place where the sins of men were washed, like soiled garments. In fact natron served, among other uses, for the washing of linen (cf. HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO 21; the same interpretation in Saint Jerome *Letter* 22). The Coptic documents also employ the expression "the mountain of the natron" (ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ₂ⲟⲥⲙ, petoou mpihosm); in this expression as in the preceding one, the word "mountain" is explained either by some slight elevation of the terrain at this spot, or more probably by the use, frequent in monastiac times, of this word to designate the site in which the monks lived.

Among the earliest disciples of Amun who lived at Nitria in the fourth century, we know especially Theodorus, Or, Pior, and above all PAMBO, the most celebrated of the monks of this desert. After the foundation of the Kellia, numerous monks from Nitria went to establish themselves in this new site, where they enjoyed a greater solitude than at Nitria. Thereafter the custom became established, fairly generally as it seems, for those who aspired to the

monastic life to make first a more or less lengthy stay at Nitria, and then to go and live in greater solitude at the Kellia. Thus Evagrius, coming from Palestine, first spent two years at Nitria before going to settle finally at the Kellia.

The monks of Nitria in fact quickly became very numerous, and it was their large numbers that brought about the foundation of the Kellia, only a dozen years after Amun's arrival at Nitria. According to Saint Jerome, who stopped there about 386 on his way to Palestine with Paula, there were then 5,000 monks in this desert (*Letter* 22, to Eustochium). This very high figure is also the one given twice by PALLADIUS (*Historia lausiaca* 7 and 13), who lived there for a year in 390 before reaching the Kellia; but it is difficult to reconcile with what RUFINUS says in his adaptation of the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO (21). He too had gone to Nitria, about 374, at the time when the monks of this desert were undergoing the Arian persecution. He says, in fact, that the monks of Nitria lived in some fifty houses ("tabernacula"). His testimony and that of Palladius agree that some of these houses were occupied by a single monk, others by two or more monks.

The most complete description of Nitria at the end of the fourth century is given by Palladius. There were then among the monks of this desert eight priests, one of whom had preeminence over the others during his life. He it was who on Saturdays and Sundays celebrated the liturgy in the church. Adjoining the church there was a hostelry where passing guests were lodged. There were various shops, among them seven bakeries that supplied the bread not only for the monks of Nitria but also for those of the Kellia. The monks spent the week alone in their cells, working mainly on the weaving of linen, and assembled solely for the weekly liturgy.

The "mountain of Nitria" seems to have known its greatest prosperity at the end of the fourth century. The number of monks there diminished rather quickly, probably because it was more and more difficult to lead a solitary life in a region too close to the inhabited and cultivated lands. In 645 or 646 when the Patriarch BENJAMIN went from Alexandria to the Wādī al-Naṭrūn to consecrate the new church of the DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR, he was accompanied by the priest Agatho, who has left a detailed account of the journey. Benjamin went directly to al-Munā, that is, the Kellia, "near the mountain of Pernouj," without stopping at "the mountain of Pernouj" itself, Nitria, a probable indication that the site was no longer then inhabited by monks (cf. R.-G. Coquin, 1975, pp. 98–99).

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

NOB, APA, third-century saint mentioned in the SYNAXARION of the Copts at 23 Ba'ūnah. A more complete Life is given by several Arabic manuscripts (Coptic Museum, Cairo, History 469, fols. 348r, 353r; National Library, Paris, Arabe 154, fols. 53r–64r; Arabe 263, fols. 128r–38r; Leipzig University, Orientale 1067, fols. 202r–4v).

Nob was a native of a village called al-Bilād (Bilānās according to Forget's edition of the Synaxarion). He lived in a monastery in Upper Egypt in the time of DIOCLETIAN (284–305). He was brought before Arianus, prefect of the Thebaid, and called upon to offer incense to Apollo. On his refusal he was subjected to torture and exiled to Pentapolis, where he was left in a pit for seven years, until the death of Diocletian (313).

The Synaxarion reports the following legend. When Constantine had liberated the confessors, he wished to see seventy-two of them and receive their blessing. Among the four most illustrious, the Synaxarion names Zachariah, a native of Ahnās, Maximian of the Fayyūm, Agābi of Dahnā, and Apa Nob of the town of Bilād. Apa Nob, however, on his return from Pentapolis had withdrawn to the mountain of Bishlā (*markaz* or district of Mīt Ghamr). He was ordained priest against his wishes. He went with the seventy-two before Emperor Constantine and accepted as presents only some vases and vestments for the church. Then he returned to his monastery, where he died.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

NOBA. In medieval Arabic texts the name Nūbah usually designates all of the Nubian-speaking inhabitants of the Nile Valley (see NUBIANS). In classical texts, where the name appears as Noba or Nubae, it refers more specifically to a Nubian-speaking tribe or tribes who occupied the area west of the Nile in the general vicinity of the city of Meroë (see KUSH). By the fourth century these people had moved eastward across the river and had occupied much of the territory of Kush, possibly including Meroë itself. They established a kingdom of their own, 'ALWĀ, with its capital at SOBA, near the site of modern Khartoum. 'Alwā was converted to Christianity in the sixth century (see NUBIA, EVANGELIZATION OF), and thereafter remained in the Christian fold for almost a thousand years. In the Middle Ages the people of 'Alwā (Greek and Coptic, Alodia) were referred to as Alodaei, and the name Noba ceased to refer specifically to this Nubian-speaking tribe.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NOBATIA, the name given in medieval times to the most northerly part of Nubia, immediately south of Egypt. Its territory is believed to have extended from about the First to the Third Cataract of the Nile, though there is some doubt about the location of the southern frontier. The region took its name from the Nubian-speaking Nobatae (Nobadae, Noubade) tribe. According to Procopius, they were formerly dwellers in the oases but were invited by Diocletian to settle in Lower Nubia when he withdrew the Roman legions, near the end of the third century. However, some scholars believe that the Nobatae settlement began at a considerably earlier date.

It is assumed that the Nobatae were originally subject to the empire of KUSH (Meroë). After the collapse of Kushite power in the fourth century, they became politically independent and were ruled by their own king. One of the early Nobatae kings, Silko, left an inscription in Greek in the temple of Kalabsha. Another, Aburnai, is mentioned in a letter found at QAṢR IBRĪM. Most scholars believe that the royal tombs at BALLANA and Quṣṭul, excavated in the 1930s, are those of the Nobatae kings, although there is no textual evidence to provide a certain identification. In pagan times the capital or principal royal residence was apparently at Qaṣr Ibrīm. Later, with the coming of Christianity, it may have shifted to FARAS.

The conversion of Nobatia to Christianity in the sixth century is recorded by John of Ephesus. According to him, the work of evangelization was begun by a Monophysite priest named JULIAN in 543 and was completed by LONGINUS, also a Monophysite, in 569–575. Ecclesiastical historians suggest that there was rival missionary activity in NUBIA by the Melchites, but the efforts of the Monophysites triumphed, at least in Nobatia. That the work of conversion was very rapid and complete is suggested by the archaeological evidence from Nubian cemeteries, where we find an abrupt and complete disappearance of pagan burial practices in the later sixth century.

Shortly after the coming of Christianity, Nobatia ceased to be an independent kingdom and became a dependency of the larger medieval kingdom of MAKOURIA, which bordered Nobatia on the south. The circumstances that led to this conquest or merger are not historically recorded. Thereafter Nobatia was ruled not by a king but by an eparch appointed by the king of Makouria. However, the northern region continued to carry the toponym Nobatia, and its ruler was designated as the eparch of Nobatia or the eparch of the Nobatians. In later medieval Coptic and Arabic sources the region is also sometimes designated as the province of al-Maris.

In the fourteenth century the kingdom of Makouria disintegrated, and Lower Nubia once again became politically independent. However, it came to be known at this time as the kingdom of DOTAWO, and the toponym Nobatia was no longer used.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NOBATIA, EPARCH OF. The Nubian kingdom of NOBATIA was subjugated by the larger kingdom of MAKOURIA in the seventh century. Nobatia thereafter lost its independence but not its name or separate identity. It was governed throughout the Middle Ages by a kind of viceroy, the eparch of Nobatia, who was appointed by the king of Makouria. In the earlier medieval period the eparch had his principal residence at FARAS. When the disturbed conditions of later medieval times demanded a more militarily secure base, the eparchal residence was transferred first to QAṢR IBRĪM and finally to JABAL 'ADDĀ. It is evident, however, that the eparchs, like the kings of Makouria, had residences in more than one place.

The eparchs of Nobatia are mentioned in a number of medieval Arabic texts, usually under the title Lord of the Mountain. The source of this epithet is obscure. It does not appear in documents written by the Nubians themselves, where the title "eparch" is always used. Since the Arabic texts are unpointed, Hinds (cited in Plumley, 1970, p. 14) has suggested a reading of the eparch's Arabic title as "Lord of the Horses" rather than as "Lord of the Mountain," but this suggestion is rejected by Vantini (1975, pp. 478–79, 602). It may be noted that at a later date the viziers of the Funj sultanate, in the central Sudan, bore the title Sīd al-Kom (Lord of the Heap), which might conceivably be a latter-day derivative of "Lord of the Mountain."

The eparch of Nobatia was evidently a true viceroy, to whom many of the king's traditional powers were delegated. Like the king, he could found churches and celebrate the mass. Among the medieval church murals preserved at Faras (see FARAS MURALS) and 'Abd al-Qādir there are a number of portraits of eparchs, who are typically shown in the same rich garb and in the same stylized poses as are the Nubian kings. They are, however, depicted wearing a distinctive double-horned headdress, which was evidently emblematic of their office. At 'Abd al-Qādir, one late medieval eparch is shown holding a model of the church in his hands.

Additional information about the eparchs has come from a great many letters, both official and private, found in the archaeological excavations at QAṢR IBRĪM. These make it clear that one of the eparch's chief responsibilities was the conduct of relations with Muslim Egypt, and with Muslims who traveled and traded in Nubia. According to IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ, Nobatia in the tenth century was a free trade zone in which Egyptians could trade freely, and where Egyptian money was in circulation. By contrast, the upriver territories of Makouria were closed to foreign traders. All cargoes destined for Makouria were delivered into the hands of the eparch, who then forwarded them to the king of Makouria.

One group of twelfth-century letters found at Qaṣr Ibrīm refers to commercial transactions between the eparch and a Fatimid palace official, who handled cargoes and sold slaves on behalf of the king of Makouria. Much of the other eparchal correspondence relates in one way or another to commerce. A command of the Arabic language must have been one of the qualifications for office, for many of the letters addressed to the eparch are in Arabic, although most of those written by him are in Old Nubian.

Some late medieval Arab writers apparently believed that the eparchal office was hereditary, but there is no good evidence to support this. Indeed, in one of the letters found at Qaṣr Ibrīm, a son congratulates his father on his appointment as eparch.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NOMOCANONS, COPTO-ARABIC. Canonical documents are preserved either in chronological collections, in which the texts appear in the order in which they were published, or in nomocanons, in which texts are grouped according to subject to facilitate consultation. It appears that the Greeks invented this method of presentation and were imitated by the Copts, not in the Coptic period, before the Arab conquest, but in the Islamic era.

It seems that the first author to compile a nomocanon was the patriarch GABRIEL II IBN TURAYK (1131–1145). This is known from the testimonies of MĪKHĀ'ĪL, bishop of Damietta, in his Nomocanon (chap. 34, principal article [National Library, Paris, Arab. 4728, fol. 74v], and chap. 72, title article [National Library, Paris, Arab. 4728, fol. 177v]); al-ṢAFĪ IBN AL-'ASSĀL in his Nomocanon (preface [Borg. Arab. 230, fols. 74v–75v]); and Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR in his religious encyclopedia *Misbāḥ al-Ẓulmah* (1971, pp. 203–204) that the patriarch had compiled a nomocanon. The manuscript was thought not to have survived, but R.-G. Coquin found this text among the manuscripts of the Patriarchal Library in Cairo. Ibn Kabar, however, preserved the table of the chapters, which allows one to compare it with that of the manuscript Canon 3 and thus discover in it the Nomocanon of Gabriel II. In addition, Mīkhā'īl of Damietta had reproduced in an appendix to his own Nomocanon the compendium that Gabriel II had composed of the four "Books of the Kings," thus saving the work of his predecessor from oblivion. The details were given, in a German translation, by W. Riedel (1900, pp. 114–15).

The second Coptic author to compose a canonical nomocanon was Mīkhā'īl of Damietta, under the patriarchs MARK III and John IV. Of this nomocanon he made two editions, the first of which was completed in 1188; both are extant. The date 1188, which he himself gave, is the only certain date in his life, for neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known.

The third nomocanon is the one that had the greatest success. It was translated into Ge'ez (Ethiopic) under the name of Fetḥā Nagast, becoming thus the code of civil and religious law in Ethiopia. This is the one by the eldest of the children of the Awlād al-'Assāl family, AL-ṢAFĪ IBN AL'ASSĀL. This person was the secretary and juridical counselor of the patriarch CYRIL III IBN LAQLAQ (1235–1243). His Nomocanon was probably written to order, and since the patriarch was not satisfied with a first composition, which is preserved in manuscript, he demanded a second, which has been edited by Murqus Jirjis as *Kitāb al-Qawānīn* (1927). Some idea of its content is found in the analysis given in German by Riedel (1900, pp. 65–66, 115–19). Al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl seems to have begun to write in 1235. He would have been dead before 1260. Even today it is still the Nomocanon of al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl that is quoted.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (b.c. 400), composer of the *Dionysiaka*, the longest epic in Greek literature, in forty-eight books. In it he depicts, in hexameters, the story of Dionysus from his birth to his apotheosis, dealing in particular detail with his expedition to India. He transforms the Callimachean form of the hexameter into the Nonnian, which can be found in other writers down to the seventh century. While the *Dionysiaka* shows Nonnos as a syncretistic pagan, his paraphrase of John's Gospel in Nonnian hexameters (*Clavis Patrologia Graeca* 5641) is probably to be regarded as a work of Nonnos' old age, after his conversion to Christianity. Nonnos is the most important epic poet not only of the fifth century but of the imperial period. He influenced a series of poets, not all of whom were born in his native town of Panopolis. Among his followers were PAMPREPIUS OF PANOPOLIS, Triphiodoros of Panopolis (probably from the second half of the fifth century), Colluthus of Lycopolis (in the time of Emperor Anastasius I [491–518]), and CHRISTODOROS OF COPTOS (cf. Krause, 1985, col. 46).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

NOVATIANISM. *See* Cyril I, Saint.

NUBIA. The region of Nubia, the land of the NUBIANS, is usually thought of today as comprising the Nile Valley from Aswan in Egypt to Debba in northern Sudan. However, the toponym has not had a consistent meaning for either medieval or modern writers. For some, it is a geographic term, designating a distinctive part of the Nile Valley where the river's course is broken by cataracts and rocky outcrops and where the floodplain is narrow and discontinuous. For others, it is an ethnic and linguistic term, designating the area occupied by speakers of the Nubian languages. In the latter sense Nubia does not have fixed boundaries, especially in the south, because the area occupied by Nubian speakers has shrunk considerably since the Middle Ages. The name is never used in a purely political sense, for Nubia in medieval and modern times was only once and briefly united under a single ruler.

Various Nubian-speaking peoples, such as the NOBA, Makkourai, and Nobadae, are mentioned by classical writers as living west of the Nile. However, the toponym Nubia does not appear before the early Middle Ages, when the Nubian speakers had migrated into the Nile Valley and had taken possession of the former territories of the empire of KUSH. In Arabic texts it is occasionally used as a synonym for the northern Nubian kingdom of NOBATIA, but more commonly it designates the whole area occupied by Nubian speakers, between Aswan and the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. The toponym Nubia appears also in some Coptic texts, but it was never employed by the Nubians themselves. They apparently had no sense of ethnic or linguistic unity, and always designated their separate kingdoms by their individual names.

At the beginning of the Middle Ages there were three Nubian-speaking kingdoms: Nobatia in the north, MAKOURIA in the middle, and 'ALWA in the south. All of them were converted to Monophysite Christianity in the sixth century. Shortly afterward Nobatia and Makouria were merged under one ruler, but like England and Scotland they kept their separate names and identities.

Most of the Christian Nubian kingdoms, protected from Islamic invasion by the BAQT treaty, persisted until late in the fifteenth century. At that time large parts of their territory were overrun by Arab nomads, the kingdoms broke up into warring principalities, and Christianity rapidly gave way to Islam. In time the separate principalities were brought under a loose hegemony, by the Funj sultanate in central Sudan and by the Ottoman pashas in Egypt. The whole of Nubia was temporarily reunited under a single ruler when Muḥammad 'Alī annexed the Sudan in 1821, but this reunion ended with the triumph of the Mahdist uprising in 1883. At that time the more southerly parts of Nubia fell under Mahdist control, while the north remained in Egyptian hands. Under the Anglo-Egyptian condominium agreement of 1899, the area north of latitude 22° was formally annexed to Egypt, while the remainder of Nubia became a part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which in turn became the Republic of the Sudan.

Geographical usage conventionally divides Nubia into two unequal parts: Lower Nubia, between the First and Second Nile Cataracts, and upper Nubia, beyond the Second Cataract. This distinction is based mainly on geographical rather than political or ethnic differences, for the frontier between the different medieval kingdoms and between different Nubian language groups did not coincide with the frontier between Lower and Upper Nubia. However, the current Egyptian-Sudanese political frontier is fairly close to the Second Cataract, with the result that most of Lower Nubia is in Egypt, while all of Upper Nubia is in the Sudan.

The whole of Lower Nubia, as well as a considerable part of Upper Nubia, was inundated by the building of the successive Aswan dams, resulting in a wholesale displacement of the indigenous population. As a result, only about half of the former territory of Nubia continues to be inhabited. However, some colonies of Nubians have recently reestablished themselves on the shores of Lake Nasser.

[*See also:* Nubian Languages and Literature.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIA, EVANGELIZATION OF. Nubia was not a part of the Roman empire, and thus did not follow Egypt into the Christian fold in the fourth century. The worship of the ancient Egyptian deities, and particularly of Isis, lived on for another two centuries, and Nubian votaries were permitted by the Roman authorities to worship in the Temple of Isis at PHILAE.

In the sixth century, Christian Egypt was rent by the dispute between Monophysites and Melchites, and it was apparently this dispute that prompted both parties to attempt the conversion of the Nubians to their respective causes. Both apparently had some initial success, but the final triumph went to the Monophysites, and Nubia became an integral part of the Coptic world.

Information about the conversion of Nubia to Christianity comes from two contemporary writers, John of Ephesus and John of Biclarum, and two later ones, Eutychius and Michael the Syrian. The fullest as well as the most entertaining account is that in the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus. According to this source, the idea of converting the Nubians was first put forward by a Monophysite priest named JULIAN. He sought and obtained from the Byzantine empress THEODORA a commission to undertake missionary work in the northern Nubian kingdom of NOBATIA. When Emperor Justinian was apprised of this, he ordered that a Melchite mission be sent to Nobatia instead. Theodora then secretly arranged that the Melchite missionaries be detained in Egypt, with the result that Julian arrived on the Nubian scene first, in 543. According to John of Ephesus, his mission was warmly received, and the conversion of the Nobatian king and his subjects soon followed. Julian remained in Nobatia for two years, and then was succeeded by a certain Theodore, bishop of Philae, who continued the work of evangelization until 551. After his departure there was an interruption of missionary activity until the arrival of LONGINUS in 569. According to John of Ephesus, it was Longinus who completed the conversion of the northern Nubian kingdom.

It is not entirely clear how rapidly the Christianization of Nobatia proceeded. All accounts agree in suggesting that the process of conversion began with the king, who welcomed and perhaps even invited the Monophysite missionaries, and that after his conversion, that of his subjects rapidly followed. This might be dismissed as reflecting the biased outlook of ardent Christian propagandists, but the cemeteries of Lower Nubia do suggest a very rapid replacement of pagan by Christian burial practices in the latter half of the sixth century (see NUBIAN MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY).

South of Nobatia lay the Nubian kingdom of MAKKOURAI, which in the sixth century was apparently on bad terms with its northern neighbor. Perhaps for this reason, neither Julian nor Theodore seems to have made any attempt to preach among the Makkourai. Nevertheless there is evidence, both direct and indirect, of the conversion of Makouria to Christianity before the end of the sixth century. What little direct information is available comes from a Spanish monk, John of Biclarum, who records that around 568 the people of Makouria received the faith of Christ. Five years later, according to the same source, a delegation of Makkourai arrived at Constantinople, bringing gifts to the emperor. This testimony, together with other textual allusions, has been taken as suggesting that the original conversion of the Makkourai was to the Melchite rather than to the Monophysite cause. EUTYCHIUS, writing at a much later date, states categorically that the "Nubians" (by whom he presumably meant the Makkourai) became Jacobites during the interval between 637 and 731, when there was no Melchite patriarch in Alexandria. However, the evidence on this issue is not incontrovertible, and some scholars argue that Makouria, like Nobatia, was Monophysite from the beginning. Certainly it was so after the seventh century.

The conversion of the southern Nubian kingdom of 'ALWÅ was undertaken by the same Longinus who had earlier worked for six years in Nobatia. The account of his work comes once again from John of Ephesus. According to John, as early as 575 the king of 'Alwā had sent a letter to Longinus, asking him to extend his missionary labors into the southern kingdom. However, the letter arrived in Nobatia after Longinus had left for Egypt, and because of a political dispute within the patriarchate he was

not able to return to Nubia for five years. In the meantime, according to John of Ephesus, Melchite missionaries had made an effort to convert the people of 'Alwā but were rebuffed by the Nubians, who would accept no one but Longinus.

In 580 Longinus reappeared in Nobatia, and almost immediately afterward set out for 'Alwā. Because of the hostility of the king of Makouria, he could not travel directly up the Nile, but had to take a roundabout route through the Eastern Desert in the company of a BEJA camel caravan. Eventually, after considerable privations along the way, he arrived in 'Alwā, where he was met by a royal welcoming party. The conversion of the king and his subjects immediately followed. This completed the conversion of the three main Nubian kingdoms, which thereafter remained faithfully in the Christian fold for nearly a thousand years.

The accounts given by John of Ephesus and John of Biclarum of the rapid and easy conversion of the Nubians are undoubtedly colored by the religious zeal of the authors. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the evangelists found a highly favorable climate for their work in the Nubian kingdoms. Egypt by then had already been in the Christian fold for more than 200 years, and Nubians traveling to Philae and other Egyptian towns had plenty of opportunity to observe the newly built churches, many of them made by the conversion of older temples, and to absorb some of the influences of the new faith. This latter development is reflected in the Christian paraphernalia found in late pagan graves in Nubia (see BALLANA KINGDOM AND CULTURE). There was, moreover, a colony of Egyptians resident within Nubia at QAṢR IBRĪM, and their conversion to Christianity may actually have preceded that of the Nobatian monarchy. There may also have been private missionary activity in Nubia prior to the royally sponsored missions of 543. AXUM, the Abyssinian kingdom that adjoined Nubia to the southeast, had, like Egypt, been Christian since the fourth century, so that the Nubians were subject to Christian influences both from the north and from the south. When Longinus arrived in 'Alwā in 580, he found Christian emissaries from Axum already on the scene.

The very rapid transformation of Nubian culture wrought by the acceptance of the new faith is evident in the archaeological remains of seventh-century town and village sites, as well as in the Nubian cemeteries.

[*See also:* Julian, Evangelist; Longinus, Evangelist.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIA, ISLAMIZATION OF. Throughout the Middle Ages, the peoples of Nubia adhered almost exclusively to the Coptic Christian faith. They had successfully resisted two Arab invasions, in 642 and 652, and subsequently concluded the BAQṬ TREATY, which ensured them against further Islamic incursions for several centuries. Muslim merchants from Egypt were allowed to travel and to settle in Lower Nubia, but there is no evidence that they sought or made any converts among their Nubian neighbors. Arab chroniclers described the Nubians as being mainly Christians in the fourteenth century, and recent textual finds have shown that parts of Lower Nubia were still Christian at the end of the fifteenth century. Yet, when J. L. Burckhardt, the first European visitor of modern times, passed through Nubia in 1811–1812, he found no surviving trace of the Christian faith. All of the Nubians professed a nominal allegiance to Islam, although Burckhardt also observed that "the only prayer known to [most of them] is the expression Allahu Akbar [God is great]" (1822, pp. 136–37).

The circumstances of Nubia's transition from Christianity to Islam are obscure, for it took place at a time for which historical records are almost entirely lacking. From the available evidence, how-

ever, it appears that the demise of Christianity and the adoption of Islam cannot be viewed as closely linked events. Christianity disappeared apparently very gradually after the loss of contact between the Nubian church and Alexandria, while Islam at a later date seeped into the void left by the disappearance of the earlier faith. Moreover, different factors seem to have contributed to the Islamization of the Nubians in different parts of the country.

As early as 1235 the patriarch of Alexandria had refused to send bishops into Nubia, because of disturbed political conditions in the country. This policy was not consistently followed by later patriarchs, and as late as 1372 a certain Bishop Timotheus was dispatched to Phrim (Qaṣr Ibrīm), in Lower Nubia. However, there is no record of any further contact between the Nubian church and Alexandria after that date. The apostolic succession was therefore weakened, if not broken, and knowledge of the Christian liturgy probably diminished with each passing generation. In 1540 a delegation of Nubians called on the emperor of Abyssinia, asking him to send priests and monks to teach them, but he responded that he had no authority to do so. Thus, it seems likely that in the absence of any renewal from abroad, the Nubian clergy gradually dwindled away.

At the same time, the Nubian church lost the support of the ruling monarchs. In 1323 the ruler of MAKOURIA, the largest Nubian kingdom, became a Muslim, although it is clear that the majority of his subjects did not immediately follow. Farther to the north, the smaller kingdom of DOTAWO remained under a Christian ruler until at least 1484, but a generation later its territories were overrun and annexed by the Ottomans. To the south of Makouria, the kingdom of 'Alwā remained under a Christian ruler until sometime around 1500, when it was defeated and absorbed by the Funj sultanate of Sennar. Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century, all of Nubia had passed under the control of Muslim rulers. There is no evidence that the new monarchs attempted forcibly to convert their subjects to their own faith, but it is nevertheless probable that the church as an organized entity lost much of its strength when it was no longer actively supported by the rulers.

Another factor contributing to the Islamization of Nubia was the wholesale migration of Arab bedouin tribes into the Sudan at the end of the Middle Ages, partly from Egypt and partly from the Arabian Peninsula. The immigrants overran most of the territory of 'Alwā and a part of that of Makouria, establishing a number of petty principalities ruled by tribal *shaykhs,* who in turn were subject to the sultan of Sennar. The newcomers intermarried extensively with the settled Nubian population and, in time, were absorbed into it. Their knowledge of Islamic doctrine was probably no more than minimal, but they nevertheless conferred a sense of Islamic identity on their offspring. This was specifically true in the case of the Kanuz, the most northerly of the Nubian peoples, who became converted to Islam through their amalgamation with the Arab-Beja tribe of the BANŪ AL-KANZ. They were probably the first of the Nubian groups to become Islamic. At a somewhat later date, the same phenomenon of conversion by intermarriage was noted by the historian Ibn Khaldūn among the Nubians of the DONGOLA area.

In spite of these developments, there are a number of references to the continued presence of Nubian Christians in the sixteenth century and even the seventeenth. The last known reference to them dates from the year 1742, when a missionary friar reported hearing of a small surviving colony of Christians living somewhere in the vicinity of the Third Cataract of the Nile. It was said, however, that there were neither priests nor monks among them.

Meanwhile, active propagation of Islam began in the central Sudan early in the sixteenth century, within the territories of the Funj sultanate. At the invitation of the Funj rulers, a number of learned religious mystics came to found schools at various places, mostly along the middle reaches of the White Nile, above the site of present-day Khartoum. Sudanese tradition attributes the Islamization of the country entirely to these pioneers, whose biographies are preserved in the extraordinary *Ṭabaqāt* (story) written by Wad Dayfallah, set down at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The missionaries were all schooled in the Sufi tradition and were either members or founders of *turuq* (orders). In traditional Sufi fashion, they did not travel around the country but settled in a single place and gathered disciples about them. The disciples later went forth to carry the teachings of their masters to other parts of the Sudan and Nubia; as often as not, they became *wālī* (founders of local orders) in their own right. It is therefore not surprising that Sudanese and Nubian Islam came to be dominated by the Sufic traditions of *ṭarīqah* and *wālī*. By modern times the faith of the Nubians had come to include a whole galaxy of local saints; indeed, more than 150 such saints were recognized

in the single Lower Nubian community of Dehmit in the 1960s. After the founding of the Mirghāniyyah or Khātmiyyah order in the last century, however, the majority of Nubians also became affiliated with this very widespread sect, which has branches both in the Sudan and in Saudi Arabia.

The formal teaching of Islam seems to have been confined largely to the Funj territories in the central Sudan, the areas where large numbers of Arab migrants had already settled. There is virtually no evidence of bedouin migrations to the driest parts of Nubia, comprising BAṬN AL-ḤAJAR and the more southerly parts of Lower Nubia, and there is also no evidence of formal religious schools in this area before the nineteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that the last surviving mention of Christians in Nubia comes from just this region or that Burckhardt (1822, pp. 136–37), at the beginning of the nineteenth century, found that the Nubians here had only the sketchiest knowledge of Islamic doctrine. Their nominal conversion to Islam can probably be attributed simply to the circumstance of Ottoman rule, which was established in Lower Nubia and Baṭn al-Ḥajar sometime in the sixteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, two factors contributed to the development of a fuller Islamic religious life among the Nubians. The first was the reestablishment of Egyptian administrative control over the Sudan, following the invasion of Ismail Pasha in 1821–1822. This led to the establishment of Egyptian colonies, and of mosques and schools in many of the towns of the Sudan. The second factor was the founding of the Mirghāniyyah or Khātmiyyah religious order by Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghanī, who resided for a time at Dongola and who married a Nubian woman. Nubian-speaking descendants of the Mirghanī family have continued to govern the order down to the present day, and so the Nubians can in some sense claim it as their own.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, under Egyptian and, later, British rule, the Nubian peoples came increasingly to rely on education as a means for social and economic advancement. They became, and remain today, by far the most highly educated population element in the Sudan, and their dedication to learning has included religious as well as secular learning. Thus has it come about that the Nubians, whose knowledge of Islam two hundred years ago was no more than minimal, have today a reputation for exceptional piety among their Sudanese and Egyptian neighbors.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, MEDIEVAL.

Although Nubia was a part of the world of Coptic Christendom throughout the Middle Ages, the region was very rarely visited, and still less often described, by Egyptians. Almost the only firsthand accounts of medieval NUBIA that survive are those of IBN ḤAWQAL and IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ, and both are preserved only in abbreviated form. The NUBIANS wrote little about themselves. As a result, knowledge of the art and the culture of medieval Nubia comes largely from archaeology.

The investigation of medieval Nubian remains was mostly neglected by the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia, which explored the region between Aswan and Wādī al-Sibu'ah in 1907–1911. This deficiency was partly offset by the pioneering excavations of F. L. GRIFFITH in the churches and cemeteries at FARAS, and by the early studies of Nubian church architecture made by G. S. Mileham and by Somers Clarke. During the Second Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1929–1934) there was again no attention to Christian remains by the principal investigators, but during the same period Ugo MONNERET DE VILLARD made a thorough inventory of churches and other medieval remains between Aswan and Khartoum. His four-volume *La Nubia medioevale* remains the most comprehensive survey work on medieval Nubian archaeology that has been published.

P. L. Shinnie, during his term as Sudanese commissioner for archaeology (1948–1955), did much to advance the study of medieval Nubian archaeology through his excavations in the townsite of SOBA and in the monastery at Ghazālī. These were the first field investigations to employ acceptable professional standards of excavation. The real break-

through in medieval Nubian archaeology came, however, in the decade between 1960 and 1970, as a result of the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. Excavations were carried out in more than fifty churches; in the major townsites of OAṢR IBRĪM, JABAL 'ADDĀ, and DONGOLA; in more than a dozen smaller towns and villages; in a number of large and small fortresses; and in monasteries, pottery workshops, and cemeteries. These excavations, now reported in more than fifty major publications, have provided a far more complete and more rounded picture of life in medieval Nubia than was formerly available.

The medieval Nubians, as revealed through archaeology, were primarily small farmers who dwelt in small and scattered villages along the Nile. There were only a few provincial towns in the country, and none of them approached in size the great urban centers of Egypt. The typical Nubian village, especially in the earlier Middle Ages, might comprise from twenty to fifty houses, and from one to three churches. There were usually no other buildings, and the settlements were unwalled. Houses were modest affairs of mud brick, usually comprising from three to five rooms plus, in a few cases, an open courtyard. Most of the churches were also of mud brick and were relatively small and simple in design, but there were a few more imposing buildings of rough or dressed stone. All of the churches, large and small, were elaborately decorated with brightly colored murals.

The disturbed political conditions of the later Middle Ages are reflected in a change in Nubian living patterns. Many smaller and outlying settlements were abandoned as the population drew together into larger and more defensible localities. There was a wholesale movement of settlers into the rugged and isolated BATN AL-ḤAJAR region, which previously had counted few inhabitants. Many of the late settlements, both in Batn al-Ḥajar and in Lower Nubia, had defensive walls. In the twelfth or thirteenth century there appeared a new type of two-story fortified dwelling, which over time evolved into a kind of miniature castle. Churches in the meantime became smaller and simpler, so that by the end of the Middle Ages the castle had replaced the church as the main architectural expression of Nubian civilization.

The most highly developed arts of the medieval Nubians were church decoration, pottery decoration, and weaving. Other important manufactures were ironwork, various kinds of ornamental as well as utilitarian woodwork, leatherwork, and basketry. Abundant examples of all these industries have been found in the well-preserved townsite of OAṢR IBRĪM. Bronzeware, glass, glazed pottery, and certain kinds of fine textiles were imported from Egypt, as were such luxury foodstuffs as olive oil and wine. In exchange the Nubians sent slaves, and possibly cotton goods and ivory, to their northern neighbors. Evidence of this trade is found both archaeologically and in the recorded texts of the BAQṬ treaty.

That the medieval Nubians were devout Christians is attested by many aspects of their everyday life and culture. Nearly every community of any size had its church or churches. The number of such buildings sometimes appears out of all proportion to the needs of the immediately surrounding settlements. Most of the surviving literature, in Coptic, Greek, and Old Nubian alike, is of a religious nature. Specifically religious motifs, such as decorative crosses, doves, and fishes, were employed in pottery decoration, and religious mottoes or cabalistic symbols were inscribed on house and church walls, on pottery vessels, and on the nearby cliffs and rocks. The archangel Michael evidently conferred especial protective power, for his name occurs in votive inscriptions far more often than does that of any other holy personage.

Every settlement had its cemetery, sometimes adjoining the church and sometimes removed from it. Medieval Nubian mortuary practices were austerely simple, especially in contrast with the elaborate mortuary cult of the immediate pre-Christian period. The corpse was wrapped in a shroud and was laid on its back in a plain rectangular pit, oriented toward the west. Usually there were no grave offerings, but a few of the Nubian bishops were gorgeously attired and were accompanied by crosses and staffs of office, and in one instance by pottery vessels.

Ostentation in mortuary practice is observable chiefly above ground. Many graves were marked only by a paving of bricks or stones, but others had more elaborate superstructures. An especially popular form of grave covering was a small brick mastaba about 24 inches (60 cm) high, with a cross in raised relief on the top. Still more elaborate superstructures were cruciform mastabas and small *qubbas* (dome-shaped edifices). Nearly all superstructures, whether elaborate or simple, had at the west end a small, rectangular brick-lined niche in which a votive lamp could burn. Some tombs, especially

of ecclesiastical officials, had attached to them an ornamental stela bearing the *euchologion mega* or some other popular funerary formula.

The study of medieval Nubian archaeology has made it possible to recognize developmental trends in house architecture, church architecture, pottery, and textiles. These trends have permitted a division of the thousand-year period of Nubian Christianity into early, classic, late, and terminal Christian periods, and sometimes into earlier and later subdivisions of the main periods. This chronological framework has in its turn been useful in suggesting the probable date of occupation for a great many Nubian archaeological sites for which no documentary evidence is available.

[*See also:* Nubian Ceramics; Nubian Christian Architecture; Nubian Church Art; Nubian Inscriptions, Medieval; Nubian Monasteries.]

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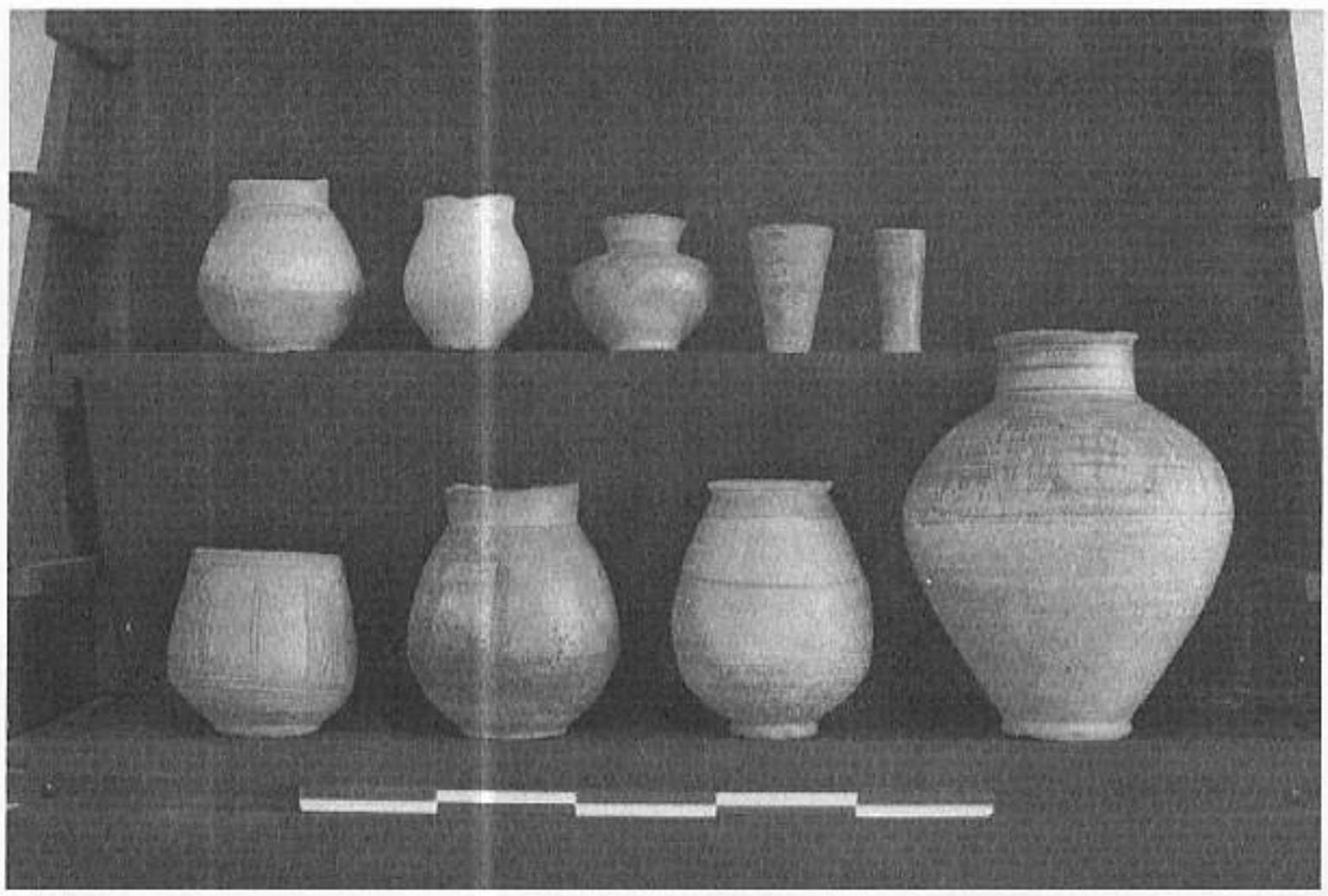
NUBIAN CERAMICS. The Nubians first learned the art of pottery making from their Egyptian neighbors, but almost from the beginning they followed traditions of their own in the use of color and decoration. Artistically, the best of the Nubian wares sometimes surpassed anything made in Egypt. This was true in the Nubian Meroitic period (c. 100–350), and again in the classic Christian period (c. 850–1100).

Meroitic pottery decoration made abundant use of ancient Egyptian motifs such as the *ankh*, *sa*, and *wadjet* eye. These were combined with Hellenistic floral patterns, various animal and bird representations, and geometric designs to produce an elaborate and highly distinctive Nubian style that was applied mostly to the exteriors of fine cups and bowls, as well as to some larger jars and jugs. The preferred colors were dark brown and red on a cream or buff background, although there was also some decoration in black and cream on red.

After the collapse of the empire of KUSH, around 350, the whole tradition of Meroitic pottery decoration disappeared. Both in NUBIA and in Egypt there was a preference for plain red vessels imitative of Roman forms. Over the centuries the Nubians once again developed increasingly distinctive canons of forms and decoration, although their preference in the early Middle Ages was for very plain and austere geometric designs.

Around 850 there appeared, quite abruptly, the classic Christian decorative style. It comprised elaborate combinations of floral, faunal, and curvilinear geometric designs, most of them inspired by Coptic and Byzantine manuscript illumination. The designs, as in Meroitic times, were most often executed in dark brown and red on a cream or yellow background. The most commonly decorated vessels were large vases and wide bowls. The classic Christian pottery wares were made at FARAS and at a factory at or near the Wādī Ghazālī monastery (see NUBIAN MONASTERIES). From these and probably other centers, they were widely traded all over Nubia and were evidently prized luxury possessions.

In the later Middle Ages Nubian pottery underwent a further process of stylistic transformation. Most floral and faunal elements disappeared, and geometric designs gradually became more rectilinear, more formal, and more ornate. This tendency reached its apogee in the late Christian style (c. 1200–1350), when the preference was for decoration in black on a red or bright orange background. In the last century of Nubian Christianity there was a rapid simplification of designs, and a return to rather plain and very boldly executed geometric patterns. With the fall of the Christian Nubian kingdoms, the decorated pottery industry came to an end. The Nubians reverted exclusively to the use of



Examples of Nubian ceramic vessels. *Courtesy William Y. Adams.*

undecorated utility vessels. In its heyday, however, decorated pottery represented one of the two most highly developed and distinctive art forms of the medieval Nubians, the other being church decoration.

[*See also:* Nubian Archaeology, Medieval.]

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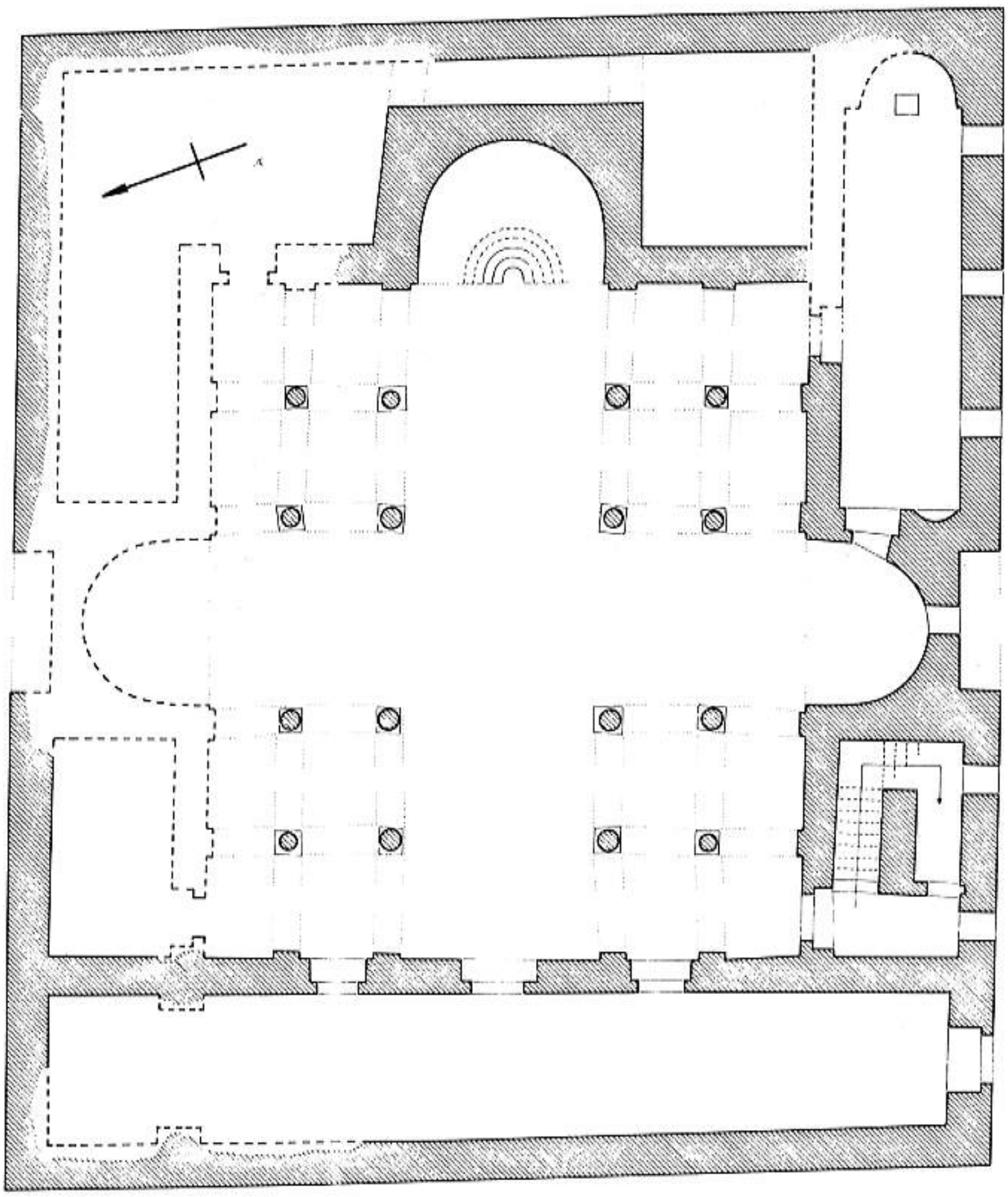
WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

According to the testimony of JOHN OF EPHESUS (507–586), Nubia was evangelized in the second quarter of the sixth century by Julian and Theodorus, bishop of Philae. Christianization quickly made great progress. From the end of the sixth century the country may accordingly be considered as essentially Christian. A monumental Christian architecture in Nubia can be reckoned with only from this period on. Individual hermits may indeed have conducted missionary campaigns even earlier, but this did not result in communities of a size capable of supporting and maintaining church buildings in the ordinary sense of the term.

The oldest church buildings of the early Christian period (i.e., sixth century) have been found in the chief towns of the country—FARAS (Pachoras, the capital of Nobatia) and Old DONGOLA (capital of MAKOURIA), as well as the fortress of QAṢR IBRĪM (Primis). From the southernmost capital SOBA in 'ALWĀ there are as yet no relevant results from excavations.

Since Nubia was evangelized from Egypt, the church architecture is substantially determined by Egyptian models. This means that for the early Christian period the basilica in particular must be considered the leading type of building, with the special features current in Egypt at that time. To these belong the side rooms of the apse, employed almost everywhere in Egypt since the fifth century, and also the return aisle. In addition to these, a feature special to Nubia was a connecting passage running along behind the apse, which was probably



Plan of the five-aisled basilica at Old Dongola. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

the result of a simplified development of the apse side-room plan, and has some representatives in Egypt also (Abū Mīnā, predecessor of the East Church; Grossmann, 1980, pp. 222ff., fig. 8). In some churches in Nubia it appears very early indeed. However, it becomes canonical in the proper sense in the high Middle Ages, and then consists of a small simple passage that merely connects two apse side rooms one with the other. The basilica is usually constructed with three aisles. Examples of five-aisled basilicas have been found at Old Dongola and Qaṣr Ibrīm. In Old Dongola there is in addition a kind of transept basilica, in which the central aisle is constructed normally. Only the outer side walls of the church turn outward in the eastern part of the naos, just before the sanctuary area, so that at this point the side aisles widen out.

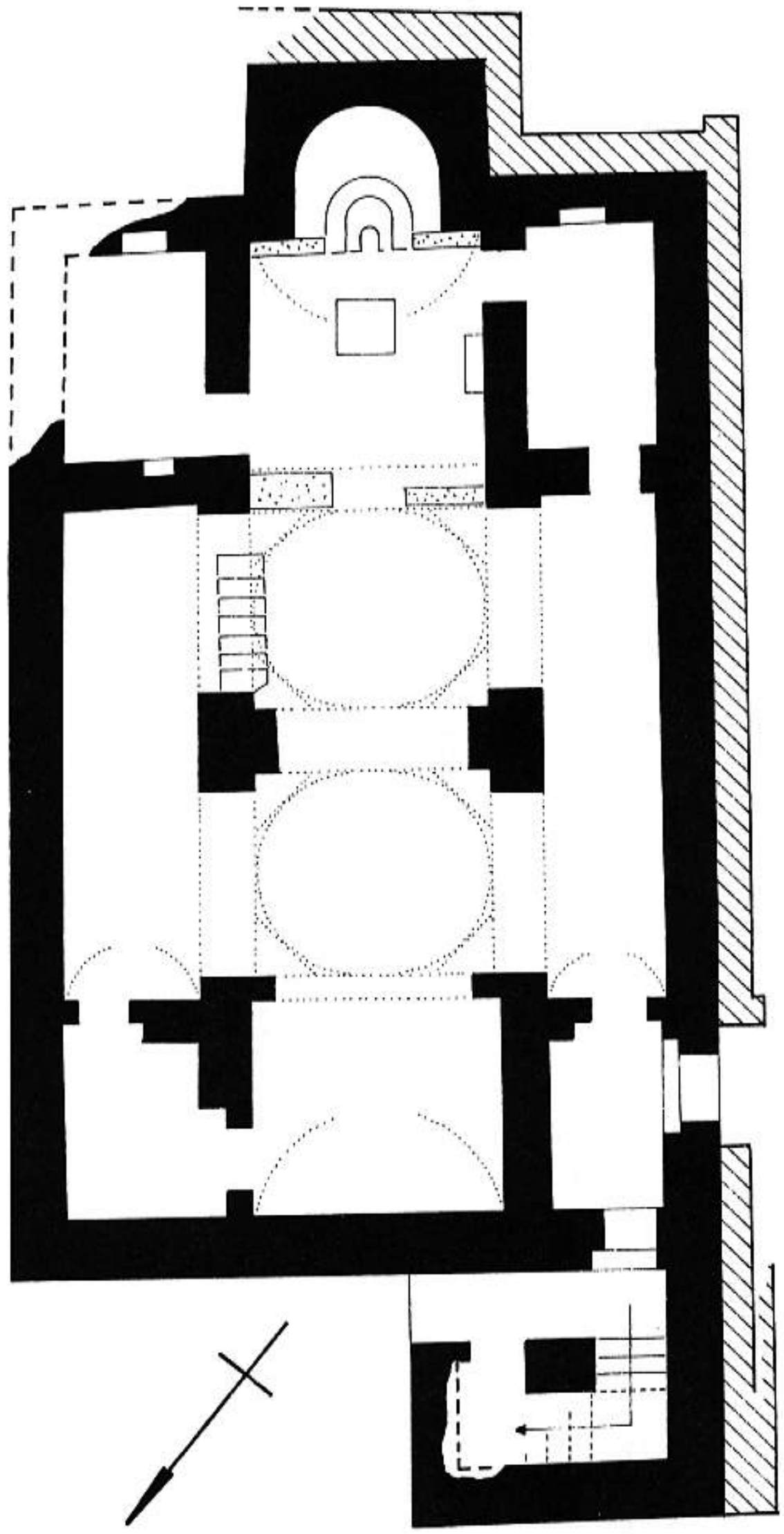
In the eighth century the building forms become richer. Both in Old Dongola and in Faras there were cruciform buildings with several aisles, which at the end of the transverse axis had exedras relating to the central zone. There is no information so far about buildings of this kind in Egypt, though they must certainly have existed (a reduced representation of this type may be seen in the church of al-Ḥāyz Oasis). However, there are examples in

North Africa, for example, in Damous al-Karita and Junca III. Alongside these churches there appears, from the seventh century on, a type of four-pillared building with an ambulatory, equipped with corner pillars. Presumably it too follows in the train of preceding development in Egypt, and it can be traced, with some changes and simplifications, practically down to the end of Christian architecture in Nubia.

From the early Middle Ages down to the beginning of the high Middle Ages the basilica remained to a large extent the leading form of building, alongside a modest development of buildings with a central core. Down to the tenth century, preference was given in particular to barrel-vaulted, pillared basilicas, of which several examples have been identified in the neighborhood of Faras. In front of the apse almost all examples contain a thick transverse wall with a wide central opening, which significantly extends only the breadth of the nave and thus clearly points to strong influence from Egypt. However, while in Egypt the area set apart in front of the apse was developed into the *khūrus,* in Nubia this motif was never employed.

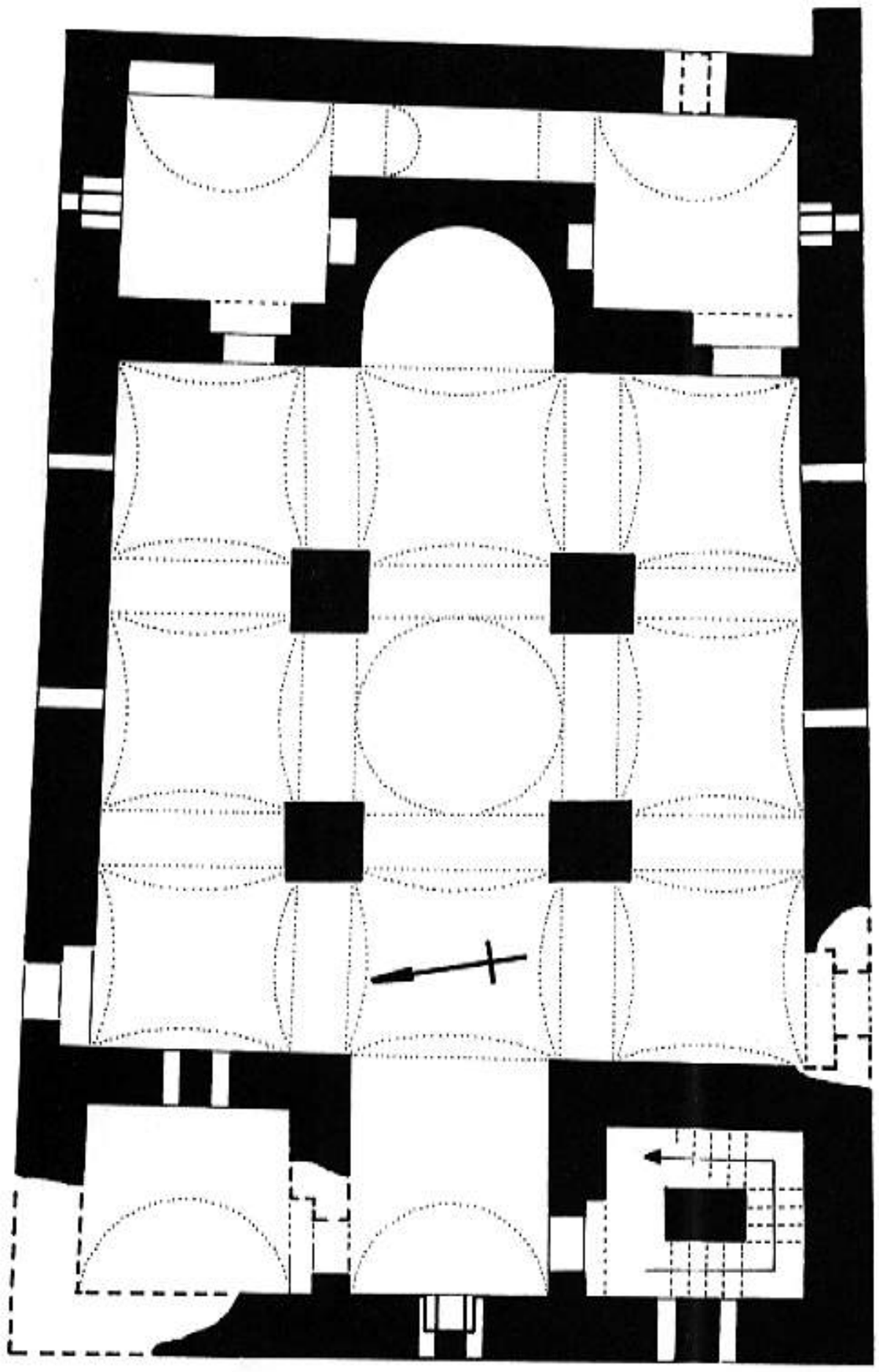
During the same period the western part of the Nubian churches also assumed its final form. The western return aisle, present as in Egypt in the early Christian phase, was remodeled and merged with the staircase and a further corner room to form a group of three rooms, of which only the middle one could be entered directly from the naos of the church. It was open to the naos for almost its entire breadth, and in this form represents the former western return aisle. Down to the thirteenth century this form of the western part remained canonical, and was employed both in the building of basilicas and in churches built around a central core. Only in the fourteenth century, when the dissolution of the canons of form in Nubian church building set in, did this form of room also begin to disappear.

From the high Middle Ages or the beginning of the eleventh century in Nubia as in Egypt, the domed structure took on increasing importance. Hence from this period on there were some longitudinal churches with domes, such as were built in Egypt. The increased building of domes promoted to a much greater extent the idea of centrally planned churches. An extraordinary number of examples have survived from the medieval architecture of Nubia in the form of four-pillared buildings with square or cruciform pillars. From these, small arches were thrown across on the four sides, which



Example of a barrel-vaulted, pillared basilica. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

in a way divided the whole area into nine smaller areas. While a high dome on squinches was usually erected over the center, the side areas were sometimes roofed with small barrel vaults relating to the center, or with shallower sail vaults. Frequently



Example of a four-pillar church. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

these were set at a different height in the several areas, the areas in the axes being given preferential treatment. In this way there came into being a form not unlike that of the Middle Byzantine cross-in-square churches, and there is therefore hardly any doubt that these buildings were influenced from there by way of Egypt.

In another case, the domed church at Kulb is a specimen of the Middle Byzantine octagon-domed church, which has its closest relatives in the area of Aswan. It has, however, no lateral link of rooms, which is the case also in the Saint Saba church of Dayr al-Quṣayr at Ṭurah (near Cairo) and stands thus close to the representatives of this architectural form in the Greek examples. It is distinguished from these by a certain emphasis on the transverse axis, which does not occur in the Greek buildings. For the rest, the church at Kulb contains all the peculiar features of Nubian church architecture, such as find expression in particular in the eastern cross-passage and the tripartite western group of rooms.

In this phase the building of basilicas gradually faded out. A characteristic feature was the gradual decline in the number of pillars. The buildings, which now show only two columns on each side, are in their ground plan scarcely to be distinguished from the four-pillared buildings arranged around a central core. In fact, there are also some cases in which the area circumscribed by the pillars is roofed with a dome. Here the only thing that remains to indicate their origin from the basilica is the absence of any subdivision of the side aisles. In contrast to the centrally oriented type they are roofed with a barrel vault running right through.

From the late Middle Ages or the beginning of the thirteenth century the buildings are further simplified. As in Egypt, there appears a hall church executed on the four-pillar system, in which the complicated changes involved in vaulting are replaced by the uniform use of sail vaults carried to the same height. It thus forms a simplification of the four-pillar buildings of the high Middle Ages. Only the middle still remained emphasized by a high towering dome. At the same time the bays became closer to one another in size. This type is hardly any different from the late medieval hall church such as appears in Egypt in the Mamluk period. The only thing it does not share is the increase in the number of sanctuaries characteristic of Egypt. In the churches of Nubia, right to the end, there is only a single sanctuary.

The last phase of Nubian church building is marked by a decline in the whole development. There was a reintroduction of barrel vaulting over all spatial areas, while the tripartite western group of rooms was renounced. In the same way the original tripartite sanctuary became a single wide chamber accessible only in the middle. This development clearly shows that Christianity had already entered into a phase of decline. People made do with small houses of prayer of an uncomplicated form.

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PETER GROSSMANN

NUBIAN CHRISTIAN SURVIVALS. The people of NUBIA adhered to the Coptic Christian faith from the time of their conversion in the sixth century (see NUBIA, EVANGELIZATION OF) until nearly the end of the fifteenth century. At that time the Christian Nubian kingdoms were destroyed through a combination of internal weakness, nomad Arab migrations, and Mamluk intervention. Effective political power passed to Arab tribal *shaykh*s, and at the same time contact between the Nubian Christian communities and the Coptic patriarchate was broken. Gradually the people adopted the Islamic faith of their new rulers, and the numerous churches of Nubia fell into ruin. There were reported to be surviving communities of Christians in Nubia as late as the eighteenth century, but there are none today. Nevertheless, traces of the earlier faith can still be observed in the folk religious practices of the Nubians. Among them are a form of baptism; an Easter ritual involving early morning ablution in the Nile, followed by marking the sign of the cross on house walls; and the frequent invocation of Mary and the angels by women in childbirth. In some areas the Latin term *angeles* is still in use. Christian survivals are reported also among Nubian tribal peoples in the western Sudan (see NUBIANS), though it is not certain that these people were ever officially converted.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN CHURCH ART. Decoration in the earliest Nubian churches seems to have been confined to the use of sculptured capitals, lintels, and cornices of stone and of wood. Very few of these have survived intact, for after the eighth century such features were generally discarded. The specimens that have been preserved are fairly typical of early Christian church decoration. They are wrought into elaborate floral patterns of Hellenistic derivation, with only an occasional decorative cross or bird of peace to signify Christian influence.

The sculptured capitals and lintels of the early Nubian churches were probably painted as well, but there is no suggestion of mural decoration as such. At the beginning of the eighth century, however, a new and purely Christian artistic canon made its appearance in the form of brightly colored wall paintings similar to those found in early churches in Egypt. These soon became, and remained throughout the Middle Ages, the highest artistic expression of Christian Nubian civilization. After their appearance, carved decoration declined rapidly in popularity.

The earliest significant discoveries of Nubian mural art were made by F. L. GRIFFITH at FARAS and 'Abd al-Qādir. Subsequently, many more fragmentary remnants of paintings were discovered by U. MONNERET DE VILLARD in the course of his comprehensive survey of Nubian churches in the 1930s. However, it was the finding of the spectacular murals in the buried Faras cathedral (see FARAS MURALS) that ultimately drew world attention to the high development of medieval Nubian religious art. Not long afterward, additional well-preserved murals were found in the buried churches of 'ABDALLĀH NIROĪ in Egyptian Nubia, and at Sonqi Tino in the Sudan.

The discoveries at Faras, 'Abdallāh Nirqī, and

Sonqi have made it possible to reconstruct the painted designs in a great many other churches, of which only small fragments were actually preserved. All of them corresponded closely in style and iconography, although the paintings in the smaller churches seldom matched the quality or the elaborateness of those at Faras. As a result, it is now possible to speak in general terms of a Nubian school of medieval church art.

The Nubian church does not seem to have had a rigidly prescribed program of mural decoration. However, the same or similar figures occurred in the same location in a large number of churches. The lower apse walls were generally occupied by a central figure of the Madonna and Child flanked on either side by the apostles, while the half-dome that crowned the apse in earlier Nubian churches was occupied by the colossal head and shoulders of Christ Pantocrator. There was often a nativity scene in the north aisle, a standing figure of the archangel Michael at the end of the south aisle, and a head of Christ flanked by the symbols of the four evangelists somewhere along the south wall. Cavalier saints, including the familiar figure of Saint George spearing the dragon, were another popular motif.

At least four periods of stylistic development were recognized in the painting at Faras. They were designated by Kazimierz MICHALOWSKI 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). These designations reflect changing color preferences, but there were also important changes in style and iconography. The two earlier styles were characterized by rather muted colors and a sparing use of decorative detail. The human figures were described by Weitzmann as having "straight outlines which tend to flatten the figures while at the same time their somewhat thickset proportions suggest the massive structure of their bodies, underlined by their large, almost clumsy feet and their heavy, square heads. Their faces are designed with thick and almost geometric lines and with enormously large eyes with a blank gaze" (1970, p. 327). The later periods are characterized by brilliant colors and lavishly ornate detail in the treatment of robes, wings, and other features. The facial features are considerably more humanized and animated than in the earlier styles.

The same sequence of stylistic development was apparently characteristic of all the Nubian churches, though the multicolored style seems to have been fully developed only at Faras. Elsewhere the red-yellow style continued in vogue until the end of the Christian period, late in the fifteenth century. Some of the very late Nubian churches, such as the one at 'Abd al-Qādir, exhibited a highly simplified and somewhat degenerate style that was not represented at Faras; apparently it developed after the Faras Cathedral had already been abandoned.

Coptic influence in the Nubian paintings is very evident. It is also noticeable that most of the inscriptions accompanying the paintings are in the Coptic language, suggesting the possibility that the painters were Egyptian artisans brought in for the purpose of decorating the Nubian churches. Presumably they worked from a copy book, since there is a close and detailed, though never exact, similarity among the paintings in different parts of the country. Even so, the mural art of Nubia is not purely an imitation of the contemporary Christian art of Egypt; it also betrays influences from Palestine, Syria, and Byzantium. A purely indigenous and realistic touch is added by the portrayal of native rulers and bishops with dark features, in contrast with the white faces of the Holy Family, saints, and archangels. In church art, as in church architecture, it appears that the Nubians assimilated and combined influences from a variety of sources, as well as adding touches of their own.

[*See also:* Nubian Christian Architecture; Nubian Archaeology, Medieval.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN CHURCH ORGANIZATION. The three Nubian kingdoms of NOBATIA, MAKOURIA, and 'ALWĀ were converted to Christianity at various times in the sixth century. There seems to have been rival missionary activity of Monophysites and Melchites in all three kingdoms, with differing results. Nobatia and 'Alwā were both converted by the Monophysites from the beginning, while Makouria may initially have favored the Melchites. After the seventh century, however, the Monophysite Coptic church was clearly ascendant throughout NUBIA, although the Melchites continued their efforts to win over the southern countries.

An eighth-century Egyptian commentator reported that the Nubian church was headed by a metropolitan appointed by the patriarch of Alexandria, and that he had the responsibility of ordaining priests and bishops throughout the Nubian kingdoms. However, this testimony does not accord well with other textual or with archaeological evidence. In their funerary stelae, none of the Nubian bishops claims primacy over the whole region, and we can recognize no eccelesiastical title comparable with that of the Abyssinian ABŪN. The evidence tends, rather, to suggest that the Nubian church was treated as integral with that of Egypt, under the direct governance of the Coptic patriarch. The appointment of bishops directly by the patriarch is attested in a number of documents. Notwithstanding this organizational unity, Greek rather than Coptic was always the preferred liturgical language in Nubia (see NUBIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE), and NUBIAN CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE developed its own distinctive traditions.

A late medieval source, of obscure origin, lists thirteen episcopal sees in Nubia: seven in the kingdom of Makouria, and six in the kingdom of 'Alwā. The existence of sees at TAFA, Qurta, QAṢR IBRĪM, FARAS, SAI ISLAND, and DONGOLA has been independently confirmed by textual or archaeological evidence. Of the six reported sees in 'Alwā, only that at SOBA can now be located.

Some information about the Nubian bishops has been gained from the study of mural representations and funerary inscriptions found in the cathedral at Faras. The bishops are shown richly attired in an inner gown and an outer chasuble, with an ornamental sash of office hanging from the shoulders. They either are bareheaded or have a fine white cloth draped over the head and shoulders. None is shown wearing a pectoral cross or carrying a staff, although both these items have been found in the bishops' tombs. In the Faras paintings the bishops are always shown holding the Bible in the left hand and making the sign of blessing with the right.

There are no representations of lesser clergy in the Nubian churches. From their tombstones it appears that they bore the title *presbyteros*. There are also many references to deacons, and a few to archdeacons, "epideacons," and "hypodeacons." The monastic orders apparently consisted of monks and archimandrites.

Linguistic evidence suggests that many of the bishops and monks in Nubia were Egyptians, although other bishops, as well as most of the lower clergy, were Nubians. The Egyptian prelates and monks used the Coptic language in funerary and mural inscriptions, and quite possibly also in the liturgy, while the indigenous clergy used Greek, later increasingly supplemented by Old Nubian. IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ reported of the kingdom of 'Alwā: "Their [sacred] books are in the Greek tongue, which they translate into their own language."

Bishop Timotheos of Ibrīm and Faras was consecrated at Cairo in 1372. He apparently died shortly after reaching his see in Nubia. His consecration documents, which were found buried beside him, provide the last definite evidence of a link between the Nubian church and the Coptic patriarch. Some Egyptian writers flatly assert that contact between the Nubian and Egyptian churches was broken at this time, and that the patriarch refused to send bishops into Nubia because of the disturbed state of the country. Bishops are still mentioned in a number of legal documents from the late medieval kingdom of DOTAWO, but there is a suggestion that they were appointed by the Nubian king himself and not by the patriarch in Alexandria. There is not, in fact, a clear distinction between civil and ecclesiastical offices in the late Dotawo documents. The last of these to mention a bishop bears the date 1484.

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN INSCRIPTIONS, MEDIEVAL.

Literary records of medieval Nubia are few and fragmentary, but archaeology has yielded a large number of short written texts, mostly of a religious nature, that were inscribed on house and church walls, on pottery vessels and fragments, and on tombstones. There are medieval texts in at least four different languages: Coptic, Greek, Old Nubian, and Arabic.

An enormously rich source of inscriptions was the buried cathedral at FARAS. On its walls, along with about 200 mural paintings, there were found over 400 inscriptions of varying length. These were tabulated and classified by S. Jakobielski as follows: sixty-one descriptive legends to mural paintings; thirteen inscriptions commemorating individuals who commissioned paintings; forty portions of prayers; six lists of names of clergy; eighty-one signatures of persons visiting the cathedral, sometimes preceded by a short invocation; sixty-four single names, mostly of saints; two portions of lists of movable feasts; nine single dates; six school exercises; thirty monograms; forty-four single letters; and ninety-two fragments of undeciphered graffiti. Some of these were painted on the walls and were part of the official program of NUBIAN CHURCH ART; others were the incised graffiti of visitors, made with or without permission. Similar inscriptions have been found on the walls of a great many other Nubian churches.

Another important source of inscriptional information, also at Faras, was an ancient Egyptian rock tomb that in the eighth century had served as the domicile of a solitary anchorite named Theophilus. He had adorned the walls of his makeshift dwelling with a rich assortment of texts in Coptic, painted in black on a white background. Among them were the Nicene Creed, texts relating edifying anecdotes and sayings of the early saints, amuletic texts comprising the beginnings of the four Gospels inscribed within contiguous circles, the apocryphal letter of Christ to King Abgarus of Edessa, the list of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, the names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and the familiar Latin palindrome *sator arepo tenet opera rotas* (meaning unclear), here rendered with several misspelling. In the midst of the other inscriptions was a short prayer for "Theophilus, this least of monks, who wrote these writings on my dwelling," with a date equivalent to A.D. 739.

Owners' names or monograms and cabalistic protective formulas were often incised on pottery vessels, and sometimes also on house and church walls. An especially popular formula involved the analysis of names into their constituent numerical equivalents (every letter in the Coptic, Greek, and Old Nubian alphabets stood for a number as well as for a sound), the summation of the individual numerical values for the letters in any given name, and the rendering of the final sum in letter form. In accordance with this formula the very popular name MIXAHΛ was analyzed as M = 40 + I = 10 + X = 600 + A = 1 + H = 8 + Λ = 30, making a total of 689, which was then written as XIIΘ. This combination of three letters occurs over and over again on pottery vessels and on house walls.

Ostraca (writings on potsherds) were another common form of inscription in medieval Nubia. Many of them were memoranda and receipts; others were school exercises. Still others were religious or magical formulas.

Hijābs (amulets) comprised of religious or magical texts on paper, tightly folded and then sewn into ornamental leather covers, were very common in medieval Nubia. They usually had tie thongs so that they could be worn for protection by individuals, or attached to valued objects or to the harnesses of animals. A great many of these have been found in the excavations at QAṢR IBRĪM, but the texts have not yet been systematically analyzed.

Nubian tombstone inscriptions were either in Coptic or in Greek. In the latter case they sometimes had a line or two of Old Nubian at the beginning or the end, or both. The texts were usually a dozen or more lines in length, and involved any of several popular literary formulas. The most common was the well-known Byzantine prayer formula known as the *euchologion mega:*

> Jesus Christ, Light of Life. Through the providence of God, the ruler of all, He that said unto Adam, the first man, "Earth thou art, to earth again shalt thou return"; even thus did [such-and-such person] on [such-and-such date]. And may God the good and benevolent give rest unto his soul in the heavenly kingdom, and place him in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the paradise of joy, whence weeping and grief and sighing do fly away; and may he cause the good Archangel Michael to watch over his bones; and cause him to hear the blessed voice which

shall say, "Come, ye blessed of my father, and inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you since the foundation of the world." For thou art the rest and the resurrection of thy servant [so-and-so], and unto thee we send up praise, unto the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[*See also:* Nubian Languages and Literature.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE.

According to the system of classification devised by Joseph Greenberg, the languages spoken by the Nubians belong to the Eastern Sudanic family of the Nilo-Saharan stock. They are fairly closely related to several of the tribal languages of southern Sudan and Uganda, and are more distantly related to many other indigenous languages of east-central Africa.

The Nubian languages are believed to have evolved originally in what today are the provinces of Kordofan and Darfur, in western Sudan. Subsequently most of the Nubian speakers migrated eastward to the Nile Valley, displacing or absorbing an older population of Meroitic speakers. In the Middle Ages the Nubian languages were dominant in the Nile Valley at least from Aswan to the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. They were spoken and written in the medieval kingdoms of NOBATIA, MAKOURIA, and 'ALWĀ. Since that time the Nubians in their turn have been partly absorbed into the Arabic-speaking population of central Sudan, and Nubian languages survive in the Nile Valley only in the far northern Sudan and in southern Egypt. There are also surviving pockets of Nubian speakers at several places in Kordofan and Darfur, although these languages are rapidly dying out.

Today there are three Nubian-speaking groups in the Nile Valley: the Kanūz (sing., Kenzi) in the north, between Aswan and Maḥarraqah; the Maḥās or Fadija in the middle, between Maḥarraqah and Karma; and the Danaglah (sing., Dongolawi), south of Karma. Kenzi and Dongolawi are actually dialects of the same language, while Maḥāsī is distinct and not intelligible to speakers of the other two. The Kanūz apparently migrated into their present, northern habitat in the late Middle Ages, but the linguistic frontier between the Maḥās and Danaglah was noted by the tenth-century Egyptian traveler IBN SALĪM AL-ASWĀNĪ. In addition to the languages that still survive, one or more additional Nubian languages were probably spoken in the kingdom of 'Alwā, around the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, where only Arabic is spoken today. There are also at least six surviving Nubian languages in Kordofan and Darfur. They are quite markedly distinct from the languages spoken along the Nile, and also from one another, suggesting a long period of separate existence.

Only one of the medieval Nubian languages was written down with any degree of regularity. It was the ancestor of modern Maḥāsī, although the medieval variant is usually designated as Old Nubian. It was written in a modified Coptic alphabet, with two added letters to represent sounds not found in Coptic. F. L. GRIFFITH believed that these characters were carried over from the old Meroitic alphabet, although no text in Old Nubian can be dated earlier than 795.

Surviving texts in Old Nubian are mostly of a religious nature. They include gospels, prayer books, lives of saints, descriptive legends for wall paintings, and a great many mortuary texts. In addition, much of the administrative and commercial correspondence found at QAṢR IBRĪM is in Old Nubian. The same form of written language appears to have been used both in the territory of Nobatia, where Maḥāsī was also the spoken language, and in Makouria, where the spoken language was Dongolawi. Griffith believed that the few Old Nubian texts recovered from the more southerly kingdom of 'Alwā might represent a different language or dialect.

Old Nubian was not the only written language in medieval Nubia; both Greek and Coptic were also in regular use. For obvious reasons Coptic was the preferred language of the numerous Egyptians who served in the Nubian priesthood and monastic orders. However, the liturgical language that was originally introduced when Nubia was converted to Christianity was Greek, and even after they accepted the discipline of Alexandria, the Nubians were reluctant to abandon it. In later centuries, when knowledge of Greek became increasingly imperfect, the tendency among the native clergy was to substitute Old Nubian rather than Coptic. Thus, according to Jakobielski's analysis, Coptic was the language only of the Egyptian clergy resident within Nubia, while Greek, increasingly augmented by Old Nubian, was used by the indigenous population. The surviving literature in Coptic and in Greek is almost exclusively religious, while Old Nubian was also used for administration and commerce. In the later Middle Ages there was much commercial correspondence in Arabic, since much of Nubia's trade was carried on by Egyptians.

It is not certain when the use of Coptic and Greek died out in Nubia; presumably it was when contact with Alexandria was broken in the fourteenth century. The latest known document in Coptic is the consecration scroll of Bishop Timotheos of Ibrīm and Faras, written in 1372. It was buried beside him in his tomb at Qaṣr Ibrīm. Old Nubian persisted for a century longer as the written language of the Christian splinter kingdom of DOTAWO, which came to an end late in the fifteenth century. The last known document in Old Nubian bears the date 1484. Since their conversion to Islam, the Nubians have used Arabic exclusively as an instrument of written communication, though they continue to speak their indigenous languages as well as Arabic.

[*See also:* Nubian Church Organization; Nubian Inscriptions, Medieval.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN LITURGY. Even at present Nubian liturgy remains obscure. It is evident, however, that Byzantine-Greek, Coptic, and native Nubian traditions all shared in the creation of a liturgical life of richness and intensity among the Nubian Christians of the Nile Valley between 500 and 1450.

Evidence comes from two main sources. The first is the magnificent frescoes from the cathederal at FARAS, excavated in the 1960s; the second is the manuscripts that may have formed part of a cathedral library from the fortress town of QAṢR IBRĪM. In addition, small liturgical fragments in the same style of handwriting as those from Qaṣr Ibrīm have been found in a church at Sunnarti; these appear to be from an amphora.

The frescoes from Faras indicate an intense religious life centered on the cult of the Christ and the Virgin, the Archangel Michael, and martyrs, especially the military martyrs Mercurius and Demetrius. Apart from the frescoes themselves, graffiti cut or painted on the plaster of the wall of the nave and aisle of the cathedral bear witness to similar trends in popular piety. Typical examples are "Lord Jesus [and] Mary, guard, bless, protect, strengthen (and) help thy servant Marianne, daughter of Mariata. So be it. Amen," and "Lord Jesus Christ [and] Michael, guard, bless, protect, strengthen [and] help thy servant . . ." (Michalowski, 1974, p. 299). An inscription by a deacon reads, "Lord Jesus Christ [and] Mary, guard, bless, protect, strengthen [and] help thy servant Joseph, the deacon, son of Mark [of the church] of Mary [in] Pachora. So be it. Amen" (ibid., pp. 298–99).

Qaṣr Ibrīm has no surviving frescoes, but documents from the charred and torn remains of what is

assumed to have been the cathedral library scattered on the floor of the great church confirm the evidence from Faras. The liturgy was sung apparently in Greek or Nubian, with some texts of the church fathers, such as John Chrysostom's "Homily on the Four Living Beasts," using Coptic. From insertions in some of the prayers and directions to the celebrant, it seems clear that Greek was as familiar as Nubian to the worshipers, at least until about 1100. Fragments of a eucharistic sequence that included an offertory prayer from a service book, the opening passage of an anaphora of Athanasius and the transition from the Mass of the Catechumens to the Mass of the Faithful, and a large fragment of the prayer of dismissal indicate that the Nubian liturgy was based on the liturgy of Saint Mark, although it was shorter and simpler. This suggests that the Nubians observed older forms of the liturgy, which underwent elaborations as time went on in other areas where it was used.

The fervent character of the cult of military martyrs also can be proved from the fragments of the *Acta S. Mercurii* and *Acta S. Georgii* found in the cathedral of Qaṣr Ibrīm. These confirm the evidence from the frescoes at 'ABDALLAH NIRQĪ as well as at Faras.

The liturgy of the Nubian churches would appear to have been Monophysite, using a slightly modified form of the liturgy of Saint Mark throughout the lifetime of the church there. In the eleventh century, however, the use of the Euchologion Mega indicates Melchite influence in the church of Faras. This development, associated perhaps with the episcopate of Bishop Marianos (1005–1037), whose tomb was at Qaṣr Ibrīm and not Faras, needs further research. Otherwise, the Nubian church remained true to its Monophysite origins throughout its history.

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W. H. C. FREND

NUBIAN MONASTERIES. ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN, in his *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*, speaks of numerous and imposing monasteries in Nubia. Archaeology suggests, however, that the monastic movement was never as important in Nubia as it was in Egypt. Fewer than a dozen Nubian monasteries have been identified archaeologically, and none of these can compare in size or splendor with the great establishments at Suhāj and in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The largest of the Nubian monasteries might perhaps have accommodated fifty or sixty monks, but many were considerably smaller.

Most of the known Nubian monasteries seem to date from the period between 900 and 1200. Only two of them, at Qaṣr al-Wizz near FARAS and in the Wādī Ghazālī, have been investigated with any thoroughness. In both places a central church was enclosed within a compact cluster of adjoining buildings, and the whole was surrounded by a girdle wall. At Qaṣr al-Wizz it is possible specifically to recognize a cluster of monks' cells, a central kitchen and refectory, and workshops. Some of the earlier Nubian monasteries, like the one at Wādī Ghazālī, stood slightly removed from settled areas, but none was truly isolated (as were many Egyptian monasteries).

Nubian monasticism seems to have declined rapidly after the eleventh century, probably as a result of unsettled political conditions. Detached settlements like those of Qaṣr al-Wizz and Wādī Ghazālī were abandoned, and colonies of monks apparently attached themselves for protection to already existing communities. In the late Middle Ages there was one such colony at MENARTI, where the monks shared the village church with the lay inhabitants of the community. Similar accommodations may have taken place at some of the island sites in the BATN AL-ḤAJAR region. All Nubian monastic communities seem to have come to an end before the fifteenth

century, though the Christian faith itself persisted for another hundred years.

There are neither surviving records nor firsthand descriptions to suggest how the Nubian monasteries were organized and governed. The abundance of Coptic tombstones at Wādī Ghazālī, Faras, and Qaṣr al-Wizz suggests that many, perhaps even most, of the monks at these places were Egyptians rather than Nubians. However, the style of church architecture exhibited at all the Nubian monasteries is distinctly indigenous and not Egyptian. In addition to cenobitic monks, there were isolated hermits living in caves and ancient tombs in various part of Nubia. One such anchorite, a certain Theophilus, decorated the walls of his tomb home with a remarkable series of Coptic liturgical and magical inscriptions, dated to 739 (see NUBIAN INSCRIPTIONS, MEDIEVAL).

[*See also:* Nubian Archaeology, Medieval; Nubian Christian Architecture; Nubian Church Organization; Nubian Languages and Literature.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIANS. The term "Nubians" has sometimes been used to designate all of the inhabitants of the region called NUBIA. Even more loosely, it sometimes designates all of the dark-skinned neighboring peoples who dwell to the south of Egypt. To be technically accurate, however, the name should be applied only to speakers of the Nubian family of languages. Today they are found principally in the Nile Valley between Aswan in Egypt and Debba in Sudan, but they once occupied a much wider territory.

The Nubian family of languages is believed to have originated in western Sudan, in the provinces today designated as Kordofan and Darfur. From this ancestral homeland, Nubian speakers migrated eastward into the Nile Valley, although a few remnant groups are still found in western Sudan. Nubian groups such as the NOBA and Makkourai are mentioned in classical texts as occupying the west bank of the Nile, but the main part of the river valley at that time was still in the power of the empire of KUSH. The official language of the empire, called Meroitic, is not believed to have been related to Nubian. However, after the empire's collapse the Nubians continued to move both eastward and northward, eventually occupying all of the old territories of Kush and absorbing the previously resident population.

In the Middle Ages, Nubians were the main, and perhaps the only, occupants of the Nile Valley between Aswan and the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. However, after the fourteenth century, groups of Arab nomads overran the more southerly Nubian-speaking territories, and political power passed to the newcomers. Under their influence the Nubian languages were gradually displaced by Arabic. Today they survive only in the northern part of what was once Nubian territory, between Aswan and Debba, as well as in a few surviving pockets in Kordofan and Darfur. The Arabic-speaking groups in the Nile Valley between Debba and Khartoum are descendants of former Nubian tribes, but they have lost their ancestral speech and no longer acknowledge a Nubian origin.

When the Nubians first came to the Nile Valley, they adopted the worship of the ancient Egyptian deities, particularly of Isis. In the sixth century they were converted to Christianity and became members of the Egyptian Coptic church. Christianity eventually gave way to Islam after the Arab migrations and the breakup of the medieval Nubian kingdoms in the fourteenth century. Although united in their faith, the Nubian speakers were never unified either politically or linguistically. In the Nile Valley they were divided into two principal kingdoms, MAKOURIA and ʿALWĀ, and they spoke at least two separate but related languages. For these reasons the Nubian peoples never had a strong sense of common identity and did not designate themselves by a common term, even though their Arab neighbors designated them all as Nubians. The disastrous

inundations and population removals occasioned by the Aswan dams have only belatedly aroused in the Nubian-speaking peoples of Egypt and Sudan a sense of ethnic nationalism.

There has been virtually no archaeology in western Sudan, and nothing is known of the earliest culture of the Nubians. It is presumed that they were mostly pastoral nomads. After arriving in the Nile Valley, they soon adopted the culture and the arts, as well as the religion, of the already settled population, remaining distinct only in language. As a result, the general lifestyle of Nubians in medieval and modern times has differed little from that of Egyptian fellahin. The Nubians were always recognized by their neighbors as being Egyptianized and therefore civilized, in contrast with most of the other dark-skinned peoples of Africa.

Because of the scanty agrarian resources of Nubia, many Nubians have always sought the wider opportunities offered in Egypt. In many ages they served as mercenaries in the Egyptian armies, where they were especially famed for their bowmanship. In the earliest times many of the Nubians in Egypt were slaves, but in the Middle Ages they became instead primarily slave dealers, obtaining their supplies from the more primitive tribal peoples farther to the south. In the seventeenth century Nubians were said to dominate the guilds of slave dealers, watchmen, and construction workers in Cairo, and they have also been employed in large numbers as cart and carriage drivers and as domestic servants. The process of labor migration, already well developed, was vastly accelerated when successively larger portions of Nubia were inundated by the Aswan dams built between 1898 and 1968. Whole villages of Nubians were relocated to new settings both in Egypt and in Sudan. In Egypt the largest area of Nubian resettlement, designated New Nubia, is around Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt. In Sudan the Nubians were mainly resettled in an area called New Ḥalfa, along the ʿAṭbara River east of Khartoum. However, many individuals and families in both countries preferred to migrate to urban centers such as Cairo, Alexandria, Khartoum, and ʿAṭbara rather than cultivate agricultural allotments in the resettled Nubian colonies. A few groups have reestablished themselves within their old territory, along the shores of the newly filled Lake Nasser.

Those Nubians who remain within the ancestral homeland continue to lead a life that has changed little since the Middle Ages, and that is also little different from that of Upper Egyptian fellahin. However, those Nubians who have resettled in the towns and cities are much more likely to follow trades. In Egypt they are heavily concentrated in service occupations and in local commerce. In Sudan, where they have always been the most educated group, they play a large role in the learned professions and in the government bureaucracy.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Nubians were devout Christians, and their support was often helpful to their Coptic brethren in Egypt. Contact with Alexandria was broken after the fourteenth century, and the majority of Nubians gradually converted to Islam. As late as the eighteenth century, however, there were still reported to be some isolated pockets of professing Christians among the Nubians. Today there are no Christian Nubians, but traces of their earlier faith can be observed in many of the folk rituals that survive in rural areas of Sudan (see Nubia, Christian survivals in). The publicity generated by the Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, and more particularly by the discovery of the great FARAS MURALS, has given the current generation of Nubian youth a new appreciation for their medieval culture and faith.

[*See also:* Nubian Archaeology, Medieval; Nubian Languages and Literature.]

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

NUBIAN TEXTILES. The famous Coptic textiles of Egypt, with their elaborate woven patterns taken from Christian and classical themes, were not made in Nubia. In the earliest part of the medieval period, when Egypt was still weaving with flax and wool, the Nubians were using cotton almost exclusively. Cotton made its appearance in Nubia sometime in the first century of the Christian era, and most probably came from Meroë, the Kushite capital farther south in the Sudan.

The Meroites were expert weavers who continued the traditions of pharaonic Egypt in the new fiber of cotton. In addition to the plain white cloth used for

most clothing, they produced very fine complex patterns in tapestry weave with geometric designs and motifs from pharaonic iconography. Long and shaggy, and short and furlike pile weaves also were made. Embroidery and appliqué were used to decorate garments. Shades of blue, and very occasionally red, were the only colors used in addition to the natural color of the undyed cotton.

The clothing style of the Kushites was derived from that of the ancient Egyptians. Kilts with long, pendant aprons in front were worn by the men; women wore long or short skirts, and are shown on temple reliefs wearing long, close-fitting dresses, though none of these has been found by archaeologists. In addition to tapestry weave, pile weaves, and applied decoration, elaborate borders of wrapped openwork and fringe were made for the lower edges of skirts and other garments. These lattice borders are strictly Nubian and have not been found in Egypt.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the use of cotton decreased markedly, and wool took its place. There were many reasons for the change, but one important factor must have been the collapse of Meroë, which interrupted well-established trade networks. Also, the coming of Christianity brought many changes, including standards of personal dress. The new styles seem generally to have covered more of the body than did pharaonic clothing. The tunic, popular in Coptic and medieval Egypt, was worn by the elite Nubians, but most of the people wore a rectangular length of cloth draped or fastened around the body. Much of the material had brightly colored stripes in red, green, yellow, blue, or purple, as well as the natural color of the white wool and many shades of brown and tan.

The use of linen and cotton gradually increased, so that by 1000, 40 percent of the Nubians' textiles were cotton, 20 percent were linen, and approximately 35 percent were wool—only half as much wool as had been used 200 years earlier. Cotton fabrics were often embroidered with geometric designs and Christian symbols in brightly colored wool yarn. Silk was rare, but was imported by the wealthy. Goat hair was made into bags, rugs, tents, cords, and straps. The weaving techniques for the latter were often complex, producing different patterns on the two sides in several different colors.

By the late Middle Ages, Nubian textiles were numerous and varied. The *jallabiyyah* seems to have been the basic garment. It was dark blue or white, made of linen or cotton. In style, it was little different from the modern *jallabiyyah*, which is an ankle-length, shirtlike garment with long, wide sleeves and a front neck opening that closes with string ties. The neck opening was often decorated with small circles or flowers worked in silk embroidery. Checks and stripes in blue and white were also used.

Wall paintings found in Nubian churches provide detailed pictures of ecclesiastical and royal dress. The overall impression is one of great richness—voluminous garments in several layers, elegant braids decorating hems and cuffs, a profusion of pearls sewn in rows of rosettes on sumptuous fabrics. Although there is no way of identifying the material from which these luxury fabrics were made, it is reasonable to assume that some, at least, were of silk. Among the patterned fabrics, stripes are most commonly seen, but small and larger repeating patterns are also present. There are many ways in which these patterns could have been produced: by printing or painting, by applied decoration such as embroidery or appliqué, or by the weaving process itself. All of these techniques have been found archaeologically from the medieval period, and it is clear that garments similar to those represented on the wall paintings did, in fact, exist. Much of this luxury fabric was imported from the great textile centers of the Middle East and serves as an eloquent indication of the wealth of medieval Christian Nubia.

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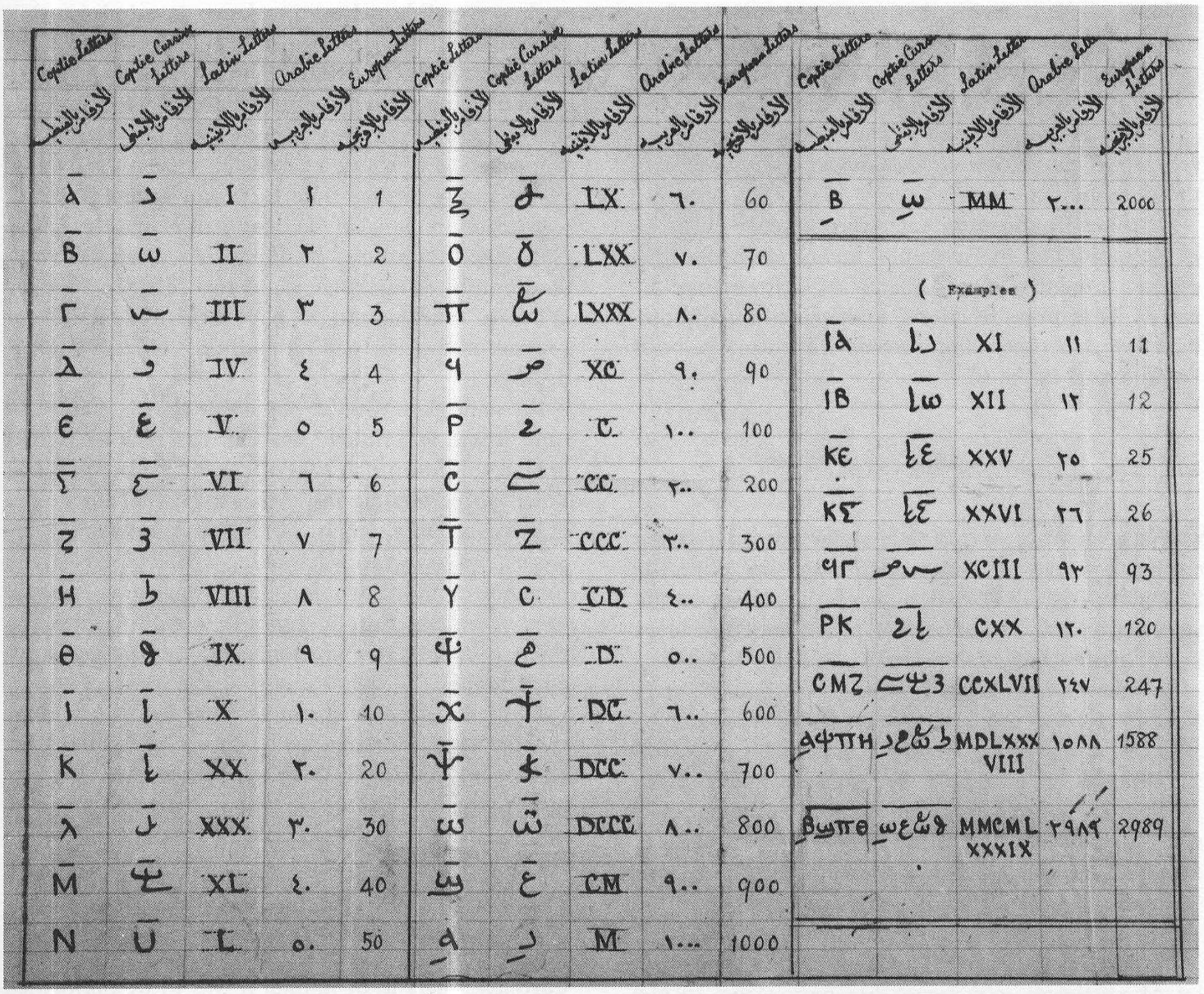
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NETTIE K. ADAMS

NUMERICAL SYSTEM, COPTIC. When Copts adopted, at an early date, the Greek alphabet, they also abandoned the demotic numerals for the Greek system based on the principle of attaching a numerical value to letters of the alphabet. Thus in



Coptic Letters الأرقام بالقبطي	Coptic Cursive Letters الأرقام بالقبطي	Latin Letters الأرقام اللاتينية	Arabic Letters الأرقام بالعربية	European Letters الأرقام بالأوربية
Ⲁ	ⲁ	I	١	1
Ⲃ	ⲃ	II	٢	2
Ⲅ	ⲅ	III	٣	3
Ⲇ	ⲇ	IV	٤	4
Ⲉ	ⲉ	V	٥	5
Ⲋ	ⲋ	VI	٦	6
Ⲍ	ⲍ	VII	٧	7
Ⲏ	ⲏ	VIII	٨	8
Ⲑ	ⲑ	IX	٩	9
Ⲓ	ⲓ	X	١٠	10
Ⲕ	ⲕ	XX	٢٠	20
Ⲗ	ⲗ	XXX	٣٠	30
Ⲙ	ⲙ	XL	٤٠	40
Ⲛ	ⲛ	L	٥٠	50
Ⲝ	ⲝ	LX	٦٠	60
Ⲟ	ⲟ	LXX	٧٠	70
Ⲡ	ⲡ	LXXX	٨٠	80
Ⲣ	ⲣ	XC	٩٠	90
Ⲥ	ⲥ	C	١٠٠	100
Ⲧ	ⲧ	CC	٢٠٠	200
Ⲩ	ⲩ	CCC	٣٠٠	300
Ⲫ	ⲫ	CD	٤٠٠	400
Ⲭ	ⲭ	D	٥٠٠	500
Ⲯ	ⲯ	DC	٦٠٠	600
Ⲱ	ⲱ	DCC	٧٠٠	700
Ϣ	ϣ	DCCC	٨٠٠	800
Ϥ	ϥ	CM	٩٠٠	900
Ϧ	ϧ	M	١٠٠٠	1000
Ⲃ	ⲃ	MM	٢٠٠٠	2000

(Examples)

ⲓⲁ	ⲓⲁ	XI	١١	11
ⲓⲃ	ⲓⲃ	XII	١٢	12
ⲕⲉ	ⲕⲉ	XXV	٢٥	25
ⲕⲋ	ⲕⲋ	XXVI	٢٦	26
ϥⲅ	ϥⲅ	XCIII	٩٣	93
ⲣⲕ	ⲣⲕ	CXX	١٢٠	120
ⲥⲙⲍ	ⲥⲫⲍ	CCXLVII	٢٤٧	247
ϡⲫⲡⲏ	ϡⲫⲡⲏ	MDLXXX VIII	١٥٨٨	1588
ϧⲱⲡⲑ	ϧⲱⲡⲑ	MMCMLXXXIX	٢٩٨٩	2989

Comparative table showing Coptic cardinal numbers and other standard systems of cardinal numbers. Subdivided from left to right, the three main columns show Coptic printed numbers, Coptic cursive numbers, Roman numerals, "Arabic" numerals as they appear in Arabic, and "Arabic" numerals as adapted by Europeans. *Photo of a manuscript dated 1937, found among the papers of Aziz S. Atiya.*

Coptic, numbers could be represented by the ordinary Greek alphabet together with additional letters which the Greeks had already borrowed from the archaic Phoenician alphabet and inserted in their own namely, the *digamma* (from Semitic *wāw*) for 6, the *koppa* (from Semitic *qōf*) for 90, and the *san* (from Semitic *sadé*) for 900. These twenty-seven letters represented the three series of nine numerals, the units, the tens, and the hundreds, and enabled the scribe to write the numbers from 1 to 999. The Greek supralinear diacritical mark was rendered in the regular Coptic script by a horizontal supralinear stroke.

The same letters marked with two parallel supralinear strokes were used as numerals for the thousands. This laborious detail seems to have been the reason for other forms in which the two supralinear strokes were replaced by one sublinear stroke, and also why all strokes were abandoned in several other examples.

Nonetheless, if these regular numerals suited quite a few Coptic manuscripts written in uncials, they were in fact less practical for rapid notations than the tailed Greek forms. This is why Greek numerals were often used in Coptic accounts rather than Coptic ones.

These regular numerals underwent a process of graphic transformation, observed in other scripts and in particular in hieratic and in demotic, yielding many paleographical variations, which are yet

to be studied. It seems that at a later stage scribes tried to assimilate the three Semitic letters to Coptic characters, which were drawn from demotic. The *koppa* was finally standardized as a *fay* (ϥ), the *sadé* as a *shay* (ϣ) or as the barred Greek letter *rho* (ⲣ), while the *digamma* was never assimilated by the demotic sign for 6.

All these Coptic numerals were extensively used in Bohairic, less in Fayyumic, but rarely in Sahidic where numbers were normally written out in words. To express fractions, multiplication, and distributive concepts, Coptic terms were used in both Sahidic and Bohairic.

FUAD MEGALLY

NUN, a member of a female religious order living under vows of chastity and asceticism. With the dissemination of Christian ideals in the apostolic age, many widows and virgins separated themselves from society to worship God, initially in seclusion and later in communal groups (cf. 1 Tm. 5:9–10). Cenobitic conventual monasticism can therefore be said to antedate its male counterpart by several generations, as evidenced by several instances from the history of the Coptic church. For example, upon his consecration as patriarch in 199, DEMETRIUS I, twelfth patriarch of Alexandria, entrusted his wife, with whom he had lived in total abstinence, to the care of a community of devout women. Likewise, Saint ANTONY (c. 251–356), rightly called the Father of Monasticism, consigned his only sister to the care of a pious sisterhood before he devoted his life to solitary worship in the desert. Again, after Saint PACHOMIUS (c. 290–346) had established cenobitic Christian monasticism, his sister Mary is said to have visited him asking for guidance to lead a life of similar austerity and devotion. The cell that he built for her in the hills of Tabennēsē later developed into a convent near Dandarah in Upper Egypt, of which his sister became the superior. This was followed by another near Akhmīm. When Pachomius died, Theodorus, his favorite disciple, established another convent at Faw in the vicinity of modern Qenā.

Besides being the spiritual father of thousands of monks living under his supervision, Apa SHENUTE the Archimandrite (343–425) founded a convent that accommodated about eighteen hundred nuns. When Palladius (c. 365–425) visited Egypt, twelve convents had already been established in Antinoopolis alone. He recorded lengthy accounts of the saintliness of inmates of these convents. One such was Talida, whose prudence in administering her community was proverbial. Sixty nuns lived with her in real Christian fellowship and devotion, without once thinking of deserting the community, whose gate was never locked. Another was Taor, who lived in absolute self-negation for thirty years, consecrating all her time to prayer and worship.

Mention must also be made of Saint Theodora (295–412), an ascetic of Alexandria, who was initiated nun by Saint Athanasius. According to De Lacy O'Leary, "she is said to have been the author of several useful treatises on spiritual subjects" (1937, p. 261).

No candidate would be admitted to a convent until it was ascertained whether she had a real and unshakable desire to take the veil. Pachomius laid down strict regulations to organize the devotional activity of nuns, their fasting and prayers. They were given the task of making articles of clothing for monks in return for provisions and essential food supplies. But he forbade visitation between them except in the presence of the abbess or an aged monk.

As to the minimum age of admission, it appears that no standard rules were enforced. While BASIL THE GREAT stipulated sixteen or seventeen years of age, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, regarded maturity of character as the basic consideration. Again while the third Council of Carthage (397) agreed upon the age of twenty-five, that of Saragossa (381) raised it to forty.

According to Canon 3 of the third Council of Carthage, the rite of initiation was to be performed only by a bishop or a priest authorized by him. In his commentary on *The Rudder,* Cummings (1908, p. 606) says of this canon, "Note that some say that the consecration of their virgins by means of prayers can be performed only by a bishop, and not also by a priest. But as for sponsoring these girls with the monachal habit, and reading to them the rite of bestowing the habit and tonsuring them, these things may be done by a priest by permission of the bishop. In fact some declare that even the consecration of virgins may be performed by a priest with permission of the bishop."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

O

OBICINI, THOMAS (1585–1632), Italian Franciscan and Orientalist. In 1616 and 1619 he took part in the discussions with the Nestorians (Chaldeans) at the Synod of Diarbekr as papal delegate and was a member of the committee that produced the Arabic translation of the Bible for the Congregatio de propaganda fide. He was the first European scholar to study a scala (dictionary; Arabic, *sullam*) brought from Egypt by Pietro della Valle. When he died, the manuscript was published by A. Kircher. The result of Obicini's studies (HS Borgiani Lat. 769) was published by A. van Lantschoot as *Un précurseur d'Athanasius Kircher: Thomas Obicini et la scala vaticana copte 71* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 22, Louvain, 1948).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

OBJECTS AND INSTRUMENTS. *See* Metalwork, Coptic.

OCTAGON-DOMED CHURCH, type of church building that first makes its appearance in the first half of the eleventh century. Outside of Egypt it is to be found in Greece, and from the twelfth century, in Islamic architecture. In this type of building the whole naos area is roofed over by a single dome, carried by eight supports arranged in the shape of an octagon. In single-aisled designs of this building type, the four side supports are developed as simple pilasters. Greece is the original domain of the octagon-domed churches, with examples to be found especially in the island of Chios and Cyprus. If these churches are surrounded by an ambulatory and side chapels—as is the case in the examples scattered predominantly over the Greek mainland—the space between the pillars carrying the load is naturally left open. In the development of the other elements, such as the narthex and the sanctuary, these churches agree with the other building types of the same period.

The oldest examples of the octagon-domed church are found in Greece. The churches of Nea Moni (on Chios), Hosios Lukas, Daphne, and the church of Saint Nicodemus in Athens, today in Russian ownership, were particularly important. All the churches mentioned were erected before the middle of the eleventh century. The remaining examples are of later date. They were built down to the fifteenth century.

Apart from the evidence known only from the literature brought together in P. Grossmann (1985, p. 348), six examples have so far been identified in the Nile Valley, three of them in close proximity to Aswan: the churches of Dayr Anbā Hadrā, Dayr Qubbat al-Hāwā, and Dayr al-Shaykhah. All three examples are provided with an ambulatory. In the church of Dayr Anbā Hadrā two octagonal domes are in addition set one behind the other. The three remaining examples are single-aisled, and are located at Bayt al-Wālī and Kulb (both in Nubia) and at Dayr al-Quṣāyr at Ṭurah to the south of Cairo.

Moreover, Dayr al-Quṣāyr is a monastery that is in Greek (Melchite) hands, and there is scarcely any doubt that knowledge of this type of building came to Egypt through Melchite circles. These octagon-domed churches are not, therefore, a type of building indigenous to Egypt. However, it was so widely assimilated that the remaining elements, such as, for example, the development of the sanctuary, are typically Egyptian. An octagon-domed building belonging to Islamic architecture is the Mashhad of Yaḥyā al-Shabīh in Cairo, deriving from the twelfth century.

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PETER GROSSMANN

OCTATEUCH OF CLEMENT, title, signifying an arrangement into eight books, given to a canonical composition attributed to Clement, bishop of Rome, who is supposed to have received it from the apostle Peter. The true author is unknown, and it is assumed that the work was first composed in Greek. It is said to have been translated by one James, probably James of Edessa, in 687, but this date is without doubt valid only for the first two books of the Syriac recension, which form what is customarily called the *Testamentum Domini*. The content of the Coptic-Arabic recension is different from that of the Syriac, and it is not known who its author was.

The text has been transmitted in two chronological collections (i.e., collections in which the canons are arranged chronologically rather than systematically or thematically): that of the anonymous manuscript in East Berlin (MS Collection Diez qu. 107) and that of the monk Macarius of DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR, preserved more or less completely by several manuscripts (Graf, 1944, Vol. 1, pp. 560–63). It is missing from the various systematic collections, probably because their authors had perceived that the texts of the Octateuch of Clement were already transmitted in other documents.

The contents of the Octateuch of Clement in the Coptic-Arabic recension are as follows:

Book 1: *Testamentum Domini*. There are two Arabic recensions; the Syriac text was edited and translated by I. E. Raḥmānī (1899).
Book 2: Canons 1–20 of the first book of the *127 Canons of the Apostles*.
Book 3: Canons 21–24, 26, 25, 26b and d, 27–47 of the first book of the *127 Canons*.
Book 4: Canons 48–51 of the *127 Canons*.
Book 5: Canons 51b–56 of the *127 Canons*.
Book 6: Canons 57–60 and 64–71 of the *127 Canons*.
Book 7: Canons 61–63 of the *127 Canons*.
Book 8: 56 canons from the second book of the *127 Canons*.

The collection of the monk Macarius follows books 2–8 of the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS more exactly. The brothers Périer (PO 8, pp. 557–59) give the text with a translation of Canons 45–59.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

OFFERTORY. In the early church, donations of bread and wine were made by the laity to be consecrated in the eucharistic service, and the term "offertory" came also to mean the prayers said by the priest during this part of the Divine Liturgy.

In his epistle to the Corinthians, Saint Clement of Rome (fl. c. 90–100) wrote, "It behoves us to do all things in [their proper] order, which the Lord has commanded us to perform at stated times. He has enjoined offerings [to be presented] and service to be performed [to Him]. . . . Those, therefore, who present their offerings at the appointed times, are accepted and blessed."

According to the APOSTOLIC TRADITION (Hippolytus, 1934, 20.10), those who were to be baptized and confirmed were required to bring their oblations to be offered at the Easter Communion following their baptism. Al-ṢAFĪ IBN AL-'ASSĀL made reference to the preparation of oblations either from the church's own provisions or from donations made by the faithful, with the proviso that they should not be accepted from blasphemers, adulterers, or other wrongdoers and lawbreakers, quoting Solomon's proverb that a wicked man's sacrifice is abominable to the Lord.

Although this practice has been discontinued in modern times, and churches now prepare their own eucharistic bread, the Coptic liturgy still preserves this tradition in its prayers. Thus, in the morning offering of incense the priest says, "We pray and entreat Thy goodness, O Thou, Lover-of-Man. Remember, O Lord, the sacrifices, the oblations, and the thanksgiving of all those that have offered them, unto the honor and glory of Thy holy name."

The deacon responds, "Pray for them who attend to the sacrifices, the oblations . . . that Christ our God may reward them in the heavenly Jerusalem, and forgive us our sins." Also, after choosing the most perfect of the loaves offered to be the Lamb in the Divine Liturgy, the priest says, "Remember, O Lord, those who offered unto Thee these oblations, them for whom they were offered and by whom they were offered. Give them all their heavenly recompense." The deacon responds, "Pray for these holy and honored offerings, our sacrifices and those who offered them." A similar prayer is said by the priest on two further occasions: once, inaudibly, while the Arabic Gospel is being read by the deacon, and again toward the end of the minor intercessions. Furthermore, there is the Prayer of Oblation, inaudibly said by the priest following the Prayer of Thanksgiving and prior to the Absolution of the Minister: "We pray and entreat Thy goodness, O Lover-of-man, [pointing to the bread] cause Thy face to shine upon this bread, and [pointing to the chalice] upon this cup, which we have placed on this priestly table [pointing to the altar], which is Thine."

The offertory is a vehicle for a total sharing with Christ and a means of entering into full communion with Him. Such consummate union could not find better or more poignant expression than the words of Saint Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (c. 35–107), when he was faced with imminent martyrdom. "I beseech you not to show an unseasonable good-will towards me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts. . . . Entreat Christ for me, that by these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God" (1956, p. 75).

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

OIKONOMOS, a term of Greek origin denoting an ecclesiastical or monastic functionary who is involved in economic activity, a steward. As a rule, although not necessarily, he was a presbyter or deacon.

In churches the *oikonomos* is well attested already by the fourth century. Mention is made of an *oikonomos* in the episcopal church in Tentyra; such functionaries appear also in literary texts and documents (Wipszycka, 1972). In the middle of the fifth century, the Council of CHALCEDON, sanctioning an already existing practice, made it obligatory for the bishop to have an *oikonomos*. The existence of an *oikonomos* in lower-ranking churches depended upon the local conditions—the composition of clergy, the church property that had to be administered, et cetera. The *oikonomos* was always nominated by a bishop also for the nonepiscopal churches. He was responsible to the bishop, and his personal belongings served as a guarantee for repaying eventual losses. The *oikonomos* of episcopal churches was considerably independent; this was inevitable in view of the enormous scale of his functions and the size of church property. J. Gascou proved (see MONASTERIES, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF) that the organization of tax collecting in a given area was sometimes part of the tasks of the *oikonomos* of the episcopal church. The church was able to retain some of the collected sums, although this was by no means the rule. An *oikonomos* of an episcopal church was helped by numerous personnel, whose functions and titles we know but scantily.

The *oikonomos* is found in all monastic communities regardless of their size and type. The need to establish such a function was dictated by life itself:

by handing over to one particular monk all the work necessary for the existence of the community and demanding contacts with the world, the other monks could withdraw from worldly matters. Hence the very institution of the *oikonomos*, although not necessarily the title itself, dates back to the beginnings of Egyptian monasticism.

The title *oikonomos* occurs in the oldest Pachomian monasteries during the life of their founder, that is, in the first half of the fourth century. In monastic centers of a complex structure there were usually *oikonomoi* of various levels—one must also take into account the possibility of different titles. This was the case in the Pachomian congregation, in Nitria, the Kellia, the Apa Apollo monastery in Bāwīṭ, and in Enaton. It is worth noting that the small group of ascetics gathered around the Pambo mentioned by Palladius (*Historia lausiaca* 10.1) had an *oikonomos* slightly before 370. There were also *oikonomoi* who organized the economic existence of the laura in Balayzah and Wādī Sarjah. Monasteries were able to have simultaneously more than one *oikonomos*.

There is no information on how the *oikonomos* was nominated in the monasteries, with the exception of the Pachomian communities, where the decision was made by the superior of the whole congregation. We must therefore presume that this was one of the privileges of the superior. We also do not know to what extent the *oikonomos* had the right to independent decision. The fact that there is a great number of documents signed by him is not satisfactory proof, since such signatures could have been the result of special delegation from the superior. In larger communities, with well-developed economic services, the *oikonomos* headed the DIACONIA.

Another special case concerns a Pachomian monastery in Tabennēsē, where the monks employed in the kitchen and refectory were called "small *oikonomoi*," in contrast to the *oikonomos* who administered the monastery, or "the great *oikonomos*," whose functions were concerned with the whole congregation.

An ensemble of documents pertaining to DAYR APA PHOIBAMMON in Dayr al-Bahri reflects a shift in the meaning of the term. *Oikonomos* is used here interchangeably with PROESTOS, in order to describe the superior. This process is attested also in other places, and indubitably proves the growing importance of economic matters in monastic life since the introduction of capitation taxes for the monks at the beginning of the eighth century. The existence of the monasteries began to depend primarily upon the ability to collect appropriate sums, and this presented a problem for the smaller and poorer communities. The new meaning of the term survived later on, as is shown, for example, by the colophons of manuscripts dating from the ninth and tenth centuries (van Lantschoot, 1929).

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EWA WIPSZYCKA

OKTOKAIDEKATON, one of the monasteries of the coastal strip that separates the sea from the western tongue of Lake Mareotis to the west of Alexandria. The Oktokaidekaton is so called from its location in the neighborhood of the eighteenth milestone from Alexandria.

Its site has not been located, but the Life of Saint THEODORA characterizes it picturesquely as a desert place, the haunt of wild beasts, a lakeside harbor, with shepherds in the neighborhood—probably nomads or seminomads like those bedouins who are still present near the main Egyptian monasteries. These shepherds were sometimes the source of wool and of milk. Gardens painstakingly irrigated by wells or cisterns produced vegetables, but grain and oil were sometimes lacking. It was then necessary for the monks to go to nearby Alexandria to look for these, taking their camels. The two-way journey could be done in a day. Alternatively they could sleep, together with their animals, at the rest house of the ENATON, halfway to Alexandria.

The origins of the Oktokaidekaton are obscure, and its history is sparsely documented. The monastery makes its first appearance in 457. At that time its monks were participating with those of the ENATON and the EIKOSTON in the election of the "Coptic" successor of Archbishop Dioscorus, TIMOTHY AELURUS (458–460 and 475–480). In the reign of Zeno (474–491) the Oktokaidekaton was the setting for the edifying life of Theodora of Alexandria, who disguised herself as a man (see in addition to Wessely's edition, Metaphrastes, cols. 665–89; note

that Nicephorus, col. 232, locates this life at the Enaton). A little later, Plousianos, who was a former official of the prefect of Egypt and who was a friend of Zacharias the Scholastic, became a monk at the Oktokaidekaton. Judging from a scholium of the *Viae Dux* of Anastasius the Sinaite, it is possible that Saint SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH withdrew to the Oktokaidekaton in 518, in the company of Gaianus. But more dependable sources state that this occurred at the Enaton, and in the company of Julian of Halicarnassus. Andronicus, a goldsmith of Antioch, and his wife were monastics at the Oktokaidekaton. The Life of DANIEL OF SCETIS tells in this connection of a dispute between the Scetiotes and those from the Oktokaidekaton, the object of which was the possession of the relics of Andronicus. Daniel settled the suit in favor of the Oktokaidekaton. In the same collection there can be found the edifying story of Thomaïs, the wife of a fisherman from the Oktokaidekaton. She was assassinated by her father-in-law, seemingly a monk from this establishment, and was buried subsequently in the monastery's cemetery. The historical value of these tales is very slight: there are other traditions placing the life of Andronicus in the reign of Theodosius I, whereas Daniel of Scetis would have lived under JUSTINIAN (cf. van Cauwenbergh, 1914, pp. 20ff.).

The latest references to the LAURA of the Oktokaidekaton are provided by John Moschus, at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, who there visited a holy man, and by Anastasius of Sinai. The latter had a theological controversy at Alexandria with two Monophysites, one of them John "of Zygas," a monk from the Oktokaidekaton, around 635–640.

The organization of the laura must have been similar to that of the Enaton: an agglomeration of autonomous *koinobia* rather than a single monastery. However, the Oktokaidekaton as described in Wessely's life of Theodora does appear to be a single establishment (like the Enaton). The place is, it appears, enclosed, with a solid masonry entrance and a doorman. Penitent monks lived outside in a hut. An ARCHIMANDRITE or HEGUMENOS presided over the establishment; he tested vocational purity. The group of priors would pass on to him the wishes of the other brethren.

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JEAN GASCOU

OLD COPTIC. *See Appendix.*

OLD TESTAMENT, ARABIC VERSIONS OF THE. The earliest Arabic translations of books of the Old Testament date to the Middle Ages. There are extant medieval manuscripts of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Joshua, Judges, Nehemiah, the Pentateuch, and Ruth.

Books of Chronicles

The Arabic versions of the two books of Chronicles have not been the object of special study. G. Graf does not give a list of the manuscripts, but simply mentions some of them in passing when speaking of the books of Kings. At the present stage of research, classification is provisional.

In the sixth chapter of the *Lamp of the Darkness*, composed by Abū al-Barakāt IBN KABAR between 1300 and 1320, there are two mentions of these books. They are called *Kitāb Faḍalāt al-Mulūk*, which renders the Greek *paralipomena* well, and they are divided into two books.

The brief descriptions given in the manuscript catalogs suggest that the Copts were acquainted with at least six different Arabic versions of Chronicles.

Version of the Polyglot Bibles. The oldest manuscript of this version (National Library, Paris, Arabe 23) was copied in Egypt at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Folios 168v–87v give the text of 1 Chronicles and 2 Chronicles 1:1–35:11. The end of the manuscript—2 Chronicles 35:12–36:23—was found at Copenhagen (Arabic 76, fols. 3r–4r).

Three other manuscripts appear to contain this same version. In chronological order, they are: (1) National Library, Paris, Arabe 1 (A.D. 1585), fols. 168v–195v; (2) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 38 (fols. 168r–218v, Graf, no. 244; Simaykah, no. 49). In this manuscript, 1 Chronicles is entitled "Sixth Book of Kings," and is divided into six chapters; 2

Chronicles is entitled "Book of Solomon, Son of David, drawn from the Books of Kings," and is not divided into chapters; and (3) Bodleian Library, Oxford, 270, (fols. 183v–end; Nicoll, *Christian Arabic* 2, end of seventeenth century); the manuscript is mutilated and stops at 2 Chronicles 17:17; 1 Chronicles in this manuscript is entitled "Sixth Book of Kings."

Version Prior to the Fourteenth Century (perhaps from the Syriac). The oldest known manuscript of this version is Bodleian 493 (fols. 200r–62v; Nicoll, *Christian Arabic* 5, A.D. 1321; mutilated text). The superscription to the first book reads: "First book of the *Sifr d* [sic] *Yūmīn* [*Debr yāmān*], which being translated is the son of the right hand, and it is the fifth part of the books of Kings."

Two other manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate of Cairo probably belong to this version: (1) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 32 (fols. 100–125; Graf, no. 235; Simaykah, no. 23, A.D. 1585), called "Book of Bar Yūmīn"; and (2) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 37 (fols. 215v–86v; Graf, no. 236; Simaykah, no. 94, A.D. 1760); the first book in this manuscript is entitled "First part of the book of Debr Yāmīn, which means the son of the right hand, which is the relics of the Kings, which is the Chronicles which is the fifth book of the books of Kings."

None of the catalogs gives an incipit, and identification is therefore hypothetical, being based on certain common elements. These manuscripts give the Hebrew title (*dibrē hayyạmīn*), along with a wrong but identical translation of the title, "the son of the right hand," which must have its origin in the Syriac *sfar dbar yomīn*.

Reworked Version of Version Prior to the Fourteenth Century. A recast version appears to be close to the pre-fourteenth-century version. It gives the Syriac title *dbr yāmīn* with the translation "the son of the right hand." However, here the division is different. The two books of Chronicles are considered as constituting the third part of the books of Kings, but the first book contains 1 Chronicles and chapters 1–5 of 2 Chronicles. The second book begins at chapter 6 of 2 Chronicles. Nevertheless, the text of this version might be identical to the foregoing, for about a manuscript in the Coptic Patriarchate (Bible 44), Graf writes (1934, p. 96): "The same books of the Old Testament as in 236 [Bible 37] with the same text, but a different division." Unfortunately, no catalog gives an incipit.

Three manuscripts give this version: (1) Vatican Library, Arabic 399 (fols. 181r–240v; fifteenth century according to Assemani; 1523 according to Graf); the last six chapters of 2 Chronicles are lacking through mutilation of the manuscript; (2) Coptic Museum, Cairo, Bible 102 (fols. 156v–209v; seventeenth century; Graf, no. 674; Simaykah, no. 29); the last folio, containing 2 Chronicles 36:9–23, is lacking; and (3) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 44 (fols. 175v–237v; A.D. 1782; Graf, no. 237; Simaykah, no. 107).

Three Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts Not Identified as to Their Versions. A manuscript in the National Library, Paris (Arabe 24, copied in Egypt in the fifteenth century), is a small manuscript of 68 folios that contains only the two books of Chronicles. However, between folios 38 and 39 there is a lacuna corresponding to 1 Chronicles 29:3 to 2 Chronicles 16:2. We calculate that this corresponds to two quinions (twenty folios). This manuscript is not mentioned by Graf.

A manuscript in Florence (Palatina Mediceae Orientalium 9 [olim 4], copied in Egypt in A.D. 1496) contains the two books of Chronicles, but the folios have been shuffled and should be reordered as follows: 93r–101v (1 Chronicles), 65v–79r (2 Chronicles 1–9), and 102r–109v (2 Chronicles 10–36). No incipit is given.

In a manuscript in the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo (Bible 50; Graf, no. 257; Simaykah, no. 44; fifteenth-century Egyptian) folios 252r–83r contain 1 and 2 Chronicles. The former is divided into five chapters, while the latter is not divided.

The 1671 Propaganda Edition. From the second half of the eighteenth century onward, probably under the influence of the European missionaries, the 1671 Roman translation became diffused within the Coptic church. We know of seven manuscripts kept at the Coptic Patriarchate of Cairo, and an eighth at the Coptic Museum. In chronological order, the manuscripts are: (1) Coptic Museum, Cairo, Bible 87 (fols. 157v–200v [mutilated manuscript]; eighteenth century; Graf, no. 670; Simaykah, no. 41); the text ends at 2 Chronicles 29:1; (2) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 31 (fols. 289v–335v; 1778; Graf, no. 254; Simaykah, no. 101); (3) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 35 (fols. 123v–72v; 1779; Graf, no. 231; Simaykah, no. 103); (4) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 42 (fols. 177r–233v; 1782; Graf, no. 221; Simaykah, no. 106); (5) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 48 (fols. 303v–47v; 1784; Graf, no. 218; Simaykah, no. 115); (6) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 43 (fols. 183r–252r; 1786; Graf, no. 215; Simaykah, no. 117); (7) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 33 (fols. 136r–201v; 1833; Graf, no. 223; Simaykah, no. 186); and (8) Coptic Patriar-

chate, Cairo, Bible 36 (fols. 134v–93v; nineteenth century; Graf, no. 224; Simaykah, no. 167); Graf states (1934, p. 92), "following the text of the Roman edition [of 1671], but with several stylistic modifications."

Raphael Tukhī's Edition (1752). In 1752, Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī, a Coptic Catholic who had settled in Rome, published an Arabic Bible which was influenced by the Latin Vulgate. It is not known to what extent his version made its way into the Coptic Church of Egypt.

Ezra

Ezra among the Copts, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. In the Copts' Arabic manuscript tradition, the book of Ezra is always called the "Second Book of Esdras," as in the Septuagint. Most frequently, it also includes the book of Nehemiah, as in Hebrew. The "First Book of Esdras" is, depending on the manuscripts, one of two apocrypha, either *3 Esdras* of the Vulgate or *4 Esdras* (*Apocalypse of Esdras*). These two apocrypha are studied in the context of the Old Testament apocrypha.

Canon 55 of the 56 *Canons of the Apostles*, the Arabic version of which could be from the tenth century, mentions "the first and second book of Esdras, which form a single book," after the book of Ruth the Moabite. This might correspond to Ezra and Nehemiah, or else to one of the apocrypha followed by Ezra–Nehemiah.

Around 1320, Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar completed the redaction of his religious encyclopedia, *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulmah* (Lamp of Darkness). In chapter 6 he deals with Holy Scripture, and mentions Esdras twice. The first time is in the list of the books of the Old Testament (inspired by Canon 55). At no. 17 he writes: "The book of Esdras: two books" (cf. Samir, 1971, p. 210). The second time, in his analysis of the work, he mentions at no. 14 only the canonical book of 2 Esdras of the Septuagint or 1 Esdras of the Vulgate (Samir, 1971, p. 225). He does not mention Nehemiah, which is probably included in Esdras.

An echo of the debate surrounding the canonical status of the two books of Esdras appears in a manuscript in the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo (Theology 286; Graf, no. 338; Simaykah, no. 366). This theological manuscript is concluded by the *Apocalypse of Esdras* (fols. 286r–321v), here called the "book of the scribe of the law 'Azrā the prophet, called al-'Uzayr . . . ; this is the first book." This is followed by the canonical book of Ezra (fols. 322r–54r), which begins with the following note: "Translation of the book of 'Azrah, the scribe of the law, [written] after the return from the captivity of Babylon, as is the belief of the Christians. However, according to the opinion of the Jews, this book was not written by him, as he is not mentioned in any way in the first book. The church is not in agreement with this, since there is a consensus concerning these two books in the church: they belong to the books numbered by the church, but no others [i.e., books of Esdras]" (Graf, 1934, p. 127). This manuscript, copied by a Copt in the eighteenth century, has in fact a far earlier origin; the text of Esdras it gives is very similar to that of a manuscript (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 251) copied in Egypt in 1335.

Eliminating the modern versions of the Bible, it is possible to identify four separate Arabic versions of the book of Esdras translated by the Copts or well known to them.

The Ancient Version. The first version, which is not only the earliest attested, but stylistically the most archaic, is found in two manuscripts, one copied in Cairo in 1335 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 251); and the other, from Egypt at the end of the sixteenth century (Vatican Library, Arabic 3), which seems to have been copied from the former manuscript when it was still in Egypt.

In these manuscripts the text is entitled: "This is the second book of 'Azrā, which contains the account of the return of the children of Israel from the captivity of Babylon, the construction of the temple, and the renewal of Jerusalem."

A recasting of this version appears in two manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo (Bible 75, fols. 29r–55r, Graf, no. 219, Simaykah, no. 51, Egypt, 1691; and Theology 286, fols. 322r–354r, Graf, no. 338; Simaykah, no. 366, Egypt, eighteenth century). Although this is not stated in the catalogs, they most probably also contain the book of Nehemiah.

In these four manuscripts, the first book of Esdras, which precedes the canonical text, is the *Apocalypse of Esdras* (*4 Esdras* in the Vulgate), while in the manuscripts of the following version it is *3 Esdras* in the Vulgate. Furthermore, in these four manuscripts, the "second book of Esdras" contains Ezra and Nehemiah or 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras in the Vulgate, while in the other version it contains only 1 Esdras in the Vulgate, without Nehemiah.

The Version of the Polyglot Bibles. A second Arabic version used among the Copts was the text

of the polyglot Bibles of Paris (1629–1645) and London (1657). This text is completely different from the first version and its revision. This version is considerably more literary than the preceding one. According to Emil Roediger, cited by Graf (1944, vol. 1, p. 112, l. 26), this text seems to have been translated from the Syriac of the Peshitta.

It is usually stated that the two polyglot Bibles were based on a manuscript (Paris, Arabe 1) copied in Egypt in 1585. This information is not verified. The same incipit occurs in a manuscript copied in Cairo in 1585–1586 (British Library, London, Or. 1326). In this manuscript, the "first book of Esdras" (fols. 50v–57r) corresponds to *3 Esdras* in the Vulgate, whereas the second (fols. 58r–63r) corresponds only to 1 Esdras.

Two manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, probably give the same Arabic text (Bible 34, fols. 20v–32v, copied c. 1578, Graf, no. 246, Simaykah, no. 36; and Bible 86, fols. 257r–67v, copied in 1741, Graf, no. 245, Simaykah, no. 80). In both these manuscripts, the canonical text is preceded by *3 Esdras* of the Vulgate.

The 1671 Propaganda Version. A third Arabic version, totally independent of the two foregoing ones, is found in the text published by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide at Rome in 1671. Although this text is extraneous to the Coptic tradition, it was the most widespread among the Copts. According to Graf (1944, Vol. 1, p. 112 sec.), there are no less than eleven manuscripts of this text kept at the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, copied between 1691 and 1833.

Version by Raphael Ṭūkhī. In 1752, the Copt Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī published the whole of the Bible in two volumes in Rome at the press of Angelo (Malāk) Rutili. This version was intended for diffusion among the Christians of Egypt; Graf lists no manuscripts of this version, but it is possible that some of the eleven manuscripts attributed to the Propaganda version are based on this one. In point of fact, Ṭūkhī's version is actually a revision of the Propaganda version: he drew his inspiration from it and improved its style (it is also customarily stated that he revised the text to bring it closer to the Vulgate).

Joshua

The medieval and later Coptic tradition was acquainted with at least four different Arabic versions of the book of Joshua. The principal source of the following information is the manuscript catalogs.

The first version derives from the Syriac text of the Peshitta. When or how this version made its appearance among the Copts is uncertain; the oldest known manuscript is dated 1321. Strangely, this version is practically unknown among the Syrians or other Christian communities. By way of the Paris manuscript, this version was used for the two polyglot Bible editions of Paris and London, thereby acquiring a certain official character, at least in the West.

The principal manuscripts in chronological order are:

(1) Bodleian Library, Oxford, 493 (fols. 3r–31v, 20 Baramhāt A.M. 1037/16 Ṣafar A.H. 721/17 March A.D. 1321); (2) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 57 (fols. 1r–20v, 41r–44v, fourteenth or fifteenth century; Graf, no. 273; Simaykah, no. 61); (3) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 50 (fols. 1v–30v [in 18 chapters]; a gloss adds: "It is said that there exists a work in Coptic which complements and completes this work"; fifteenth century; Graf, no. 257; Simaykah, no. 44); (4) Palatina Mediceae, Florence, Orientalium 9 (olim 4; fols. 1v–12r; 1496–1497); (5) National Library, Paris, Arabe 1 (fols. 86v–96v; 1585); and (6) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 21 (fols. 147v–167v, 1587; Graf, no. 242; Simaykah, no. 25).

A second Arabic version from the Syriac is attested in a manuscript in the Coptic Patriarchate (Bible 32; fols. 74vff.; 1585; Graf, no. 235; Simaykah, no. 23).

A third Arabic version attested among the Copts is to be found in the original portion of a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Arabic 449; fols. 18r–29r; 1335) that gives the text of chaps. 16–24 (numbered in the manuscript as 12–17). This Arabic text is translated from the Greek of the Septuagint, perhaps through the intermediary of a Coptic version (cf. Vaccari, p. 102, sec. 2, who studied a *garshūnī* (a special script) copy of this text contained in the manuscript no. 2108 of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome).

A fourth Arabic version that was greatly diffused among the Copts from the eighteenth century onward was translated from the Latin text of the Vulgate. These are copies made from the 1671 Roman edition. They are to be found in an eighteenth-century manuscript of Joshua 10:4–24:33 (Coptic Museum, Cairo, Bible 87; folios 11r–25v; Graf, no. 670; Simaykah, no. 41), and in at least five manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo (Bible 31, fols. 152vff., 1778, Graf, no. 254, Simaykah, no. 101; Bible 42, fols. 2r–25v, 1782, Graf, no. 221; Simaykah, no. 106; Bible 48, fols. 164r–81v, 1784, Graf,

no. 218; Simaykah, no. 115; Bible 43, fols. 1r–27r, A.D. 1786, Graf, no. 215, Simaykah, no. 117; Bible 41, fols. 138vff., 1872, Graf, no. 233; Simaykah, no. 187).

Once more, it is surprising that the Arabic versions of the Bible diffused among the Copts are of very diverse origins, and that those of Coptic origin are extremely rare if not nonexistent.

Judges

The lines published by G. Graf (1944, Vol. 1, p. 110, 11. 5–30) on the Arabic versions of the book of Judges have been superseded by the work of Bengt Knutsson. Certain additional details are contained in the article by Samir (1981) on the date and especially the origin of the manuscripts and also the connection between some of them. These observations are important for the present article. A correction must, however, be made to what is stated concerning Vatican Library, Arabic 468 (Samir, pp. 91–92—MS e): it is of Melchite, not Coptic, origin.

The Copts have been acquainted with at least seven different Arabic versions of the book of Judges.

The Version of the Polyglot Bibles. The first of these, which was certainly the more widely diffused, was translated from the Syriac text of the Peshitta with later influences deriving from the Septuagint. This version was published in the two polyglot Bibles, of Paris (1645) and London (1657). A critical edition of chapters 1, 6, 11, and 21 is given by Knutsson (1974, pp. 238–68).

The author of this version is unknown, as is the date it was made. The oldest known manuscript would appear to be from the end of the thirteenth century and of Iraqi provenance. Neither is the date known when it made its appearance in the Coptic church; the oldest Coptic manuscript is dated 1344.

This version is attested today by at least fifteen manuscripts, twelve of which are of Coptic provenance. These are listed below for the first time, in chronological order and with precise references: (1) National Library, Paris, Arabe 22 (1344); (2) Cambridge Add. 3044 (1355; catalog by Browne, no. 1298); (3) National Library, Paris, Arabe 23 (P) and Copenhagen, Arabic 76 (C); a fourteenth-century manuscript, now divided, to be reassembled as follows (cf. Samir, 1981, p. 97): P 1–23, C 1–2, P 24–187, C 3–20; (4) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 57 (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries; Graf, no. 273; Simaykah, no. 61); (5) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 50 (fifteenth century; Graf, no. 257; Simaykah, no. 44); (6) Medicea Laurentiana, Florence, Orientalium 9 (olim Or. 4; 1496); (7) Vatican Library, Arabe 399 (1523); (8) National Library, Paris, Arabe 1 (1584–1585); (9) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 32 (1585, by the same—Muslim—copyist as the foregoing; cf. Samir pp. 99–101; Graf, no. 235; Simaykah, no. 23); (10) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 38 (1686; Graf, no. 244; Simaykah, no. 49); (11) Bodleian Library, Oxford, 270 (end of seventeenth century, cf. Samir, 1981, p. 92, no. 4; catalog: Nicoll, no. 2); (12) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 44 (1782; Graf, no. 237; Simaykah, no. 107).

Syro-Egyptian Version. The second version is known from only two manuscripts, both of Coptic origin. Here, too, no information is available concerning the translator or the date at which this version made its appearance in the Coptic church, other than that it was prior to 1321, the date at which the earlier of the two manuscripts was copied. These two manuscripts are (1) Bodleian Library, Oxford, 493 (1321; catalog: Nicoll, no. 5) and (2) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 37 (1760; Graf, no. 236, Simaykah, no. 94).

The text would appear to be (according to Knutsson, pp. 225–27) more faithful to the model of the Peshitta than that of the foregoing version. However, Knutsson states that the Oxford manuscript shows signs of Greek influence (however, these may be Coptic influences). Knutsson (pp. 270–87) gives an edition of chaps. 1, 6, 11, and 22.

Coptic Version. The third version is known only from a single manuscript of Coptic origin (Vatican Library, Arabic 449, dated 1335). Contrary to Graf (1944, Vol. 1, p. 110, ll. 24–26) and Knutsson (1974, cf. pp. 5–6, 17–18), this text was not translated directly from the Septuagint but from the Coptic (probably Bohairic), which derived, in turn, from the Septuagint (cf. Vaccari, 1923, p. 102, sec. 2). The manuscript contains two lacunae: Judges 6:13–32 and 18:30–19:24 (cf. Knutsson, 1923, p. 17).

This manuscript was used as a model (only for the historical books; otherwise the model was Vatican Library, Arabic 445) for the manuscript in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome (no. 2108), as has been shown by Vaccari (1923, pp. 102–103). This manuscript in Syriac characters was the work of the Maronite bishop of Damascus, Sarkīs al-Ruzzī (Sergio Risi), who copied it during his stay in Rome between 1622 and 1638 for the Propaganda edition of the Arabic Bible. Here too, the lacunae reappear.

Propaganda Mixed Version. The fourth version is the Propaganda edition (Rome, 1671). It is based principally on the Vatican Library, Arabic 468, based on the Peshitta, with minor revisions taken

from the Casanatense manuscript and others based on the Latin Vulgate. This version was reedited, with correction of the typographical errors, at London in 1857. Knutsson gives (1974, pp. 302–313) chapters 1, 6, 11, and 22 according to the Roman edition, noting the slight London variants.

The Roman edition was widely diffused in Egypt by Latin missionaries, as can be seen from the numerous manuscripts of Coptic origin that derive from it. Of eleven identified Arabic manuscripts of this version, one (Paris, Arabic 2) comes from Iran, another is of unknown provenance (London, Or. 8745), and nine come from Egypt. The oldest of these was copied in 1754. These manuscripts are: (1) Mingana, Birmingham, Christ. Arab. 5 [103] (1754); (2) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 31 (1778; Graf, no. 254; Simaykah, no. 101); (3) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 42 (1782; Graf, no. 221; Simaykah, no. 106); (4) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 48 (1784; Graf, no. 218; Simaykah, no. 115); (5) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 43 (1786; Graf, no. 215; Simaykah, no. 117); (6) Coptic Museum, Cairo, Bible 87 (eighteenth century; Graf, no. 670; Simaykah, no. 41); (7) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 41 (1872; Graf, no. 233; Simaykah, no. 187); (8) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 36 (nineteenth century; Graf, no. 224; Simaykah, no. 167); and (9) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 29 (nineteenth century; Graf, no. 239; Simaykah, no. 35).

Version by Raphael Ṭūkhī. The fifth version was made by Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī.

It is commonly stated that his translation was made from the Latin Vulgate (see, e.g., Graf, 1944, Vol. 1, pp. 97–98, and the accompanying bibliography). However, a careful examination of his translation shows that it is a revision of the 1671 Roman edition; he improved the language and style of this edition and made slight modifications in order to bring the text into line with the Vulgate when divergences arose.

Graf and Knutsson mention no manuscripts of this version. However, it is quite probable that some of the manuscripts mentioned above belong to this version on account of the resemblance of the two texts.

Modern Versions. In the modern period, the 1864 version of the American Protestant Mission of Beirut, made by Cornelius van Dyck and his collaborators, has been widely diffused among the Coptic Orthodox. The 1876 Beirut edition of the Jesuits was less widely diffused, and was known primarily in Coptic Catholic circles. These two editions are translated from the Hebrew text. At present there is no edition proper to the Copts themselves.

Nehemiah

The book of Nehemiah is not always found in the Arabic manuscripts of the Copts. What is more, when it is found, it is most frequently an integral part of the canonical book of Ezra (Esdras), to which it forms a kind of appendix introduced by the words: "Discourse of Nehemiah son of Ḥalaqiyyā," as is also the case in Hebrew. Thus, manuscript catalogs often omit it.

For the same reason, it is not mentioned explicitly in the list of the canon of the Bible found in the fifty-fifth of the fifty-six *Canons of the Apostles,* translated into Arabic by the Copts around the tenth century, nor in chapter 6 of the *Lamp of the Darkness* by Ibn Kabar, composed around 1320.

Ignoring the editions that appeared after the beginning of the nineteenth century, which were diffused among the Copts, only three different versions of this book are in use among the Copts.

The Version of the Polyglot Bibles. The text of the polyglot Bibles of Paris (1629–1645) and of London (1647) would appear to derive from a manuscript in the National Library, Paris (Arabic 1, fols. 205v–209v Egypt, 1585; Troupeau's catalog poses a problem here). Unlike the book of Ezra, the text here is identical with that of the manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (251; fols. 82r–105r copied in Cairo in 1335).

The two manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, already mentioned for the book of Ezra (Bible 75, Egypt, 1691, and Theology 286, Egypt, eighteenth century) also contain the text of Nehemiah, probably in the same version, unless here, too, we find a revision of this version. By contrast, a manuscript in the British Library, London (Or. 1326) does not seem to contain the text of Nehemiah.

According to Emil Roediger (1829, pp. 106–110), the text of Nehemiah was translated from two different sources: Nehemiah 1:1–9:27, or the Arabic versions, appear to have been translated from the Hebrew by a Jew between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, and subsequently interpolated by a Christian on the basis of the Syriac of the Peshitta; the translation of the sections from Nehemiah 9:28 to the end appears to come from the Syriac around the fourteenth century. However, the existence of this text in the Oxford manuscript, as copied in Cairo in 1335, suggests an earlier date mainly because of copyist errors.

The 1671 Propaganda Edition. After Albert Vaccari's study, it is generally accepted that the Arabic text of the Bible published at Rome in 1671 by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide was based princi-

pally (for the Old Testament) on Vatican Arabic 468. This manuscript was completed by the Melchite priest Dāwūd, son of the priest Tādurus, son of the priest Wahbah, of the village of Bṭurrān in the province of Tripoli in Syria, in 1578–1579. The commission came from Giambattista Eliano, who was planning the publication of an Arabic Bible (see the colophons of fols. 489v–90r given on pl. V of Vaccari's article).

When speaking of the text of Ezra and Nehemiah contained in this manuscript, Vaccari (1925, p. 89, last sec.) states it is "identical to the Polyglot version." In actual fact, if the Propaganda text follows the Vatican Arabic 468 at this point, Vaccari's statement must be corrected, since the text differs considerably from the polyglot version.

According to Graf (1944, Vol. 1, p. 112, sec. 6), this text would appear to be found in ten manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, copied between 1691 and 1833.

Version of Raphael Ṭūkhī (1752). As concerns this version and its use among the Copts, all the remarks made concerning Ezra can also be applied to Nehemiah.

Pentateuch

It is very difficult to find out which Arabic versions of the Pentateuch were circulated among the Copts, because the catalogs almost never indicate where the manuscripts came from, and because studies on the versions of the Bible do not discuss this question. The present section is limited strictly to those manuscripts that are of Coptic provenance; they constitute the source of information here.

The Coptic church has been conversant with at least eight different Arabic translations of the Pentateuch. Almost all of these came from other communities, and have received varying degrees of Coptic influence. These versions are translations from Hebrew, Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Latin.

Version from the Hebrew. The first version was made directly from the Hebrew Masoretic text, by Sa'īd ibn Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, an Egyptian Jew (b. c. 892 and d. at Surah, Iraq, in 942). He is considered to be the founder of medieval Jewish exegesis. He is sometimes referred to in the West as the Gaon Saadia.

His translation occasionally has the character of a paraphrase, as he employed certain periphrastic expressions in order to clarify the text; he also retranslated the geographical names, transposed certain expressions, and avoided anthropomorphisms. This permitted him to avoid composing a commentary on the text. He himself explained his method in the introduction to the Pentateuch, published in 1893 by J. Dérenbourg (Vol. 1, pp. 1–4), translated into German and discussed by W. Engelkemper in 1897 and 1901.

This version was first published in Hebrew characters, as was Dérenbourg's edition, at Constantinople in 1546. It was republished in the two polyglot Bibles of Paris and London. In 1867, P. de Lagarde published a new edition of the text of Genesis and Exodus, based on the oldest known manuscript, that of Warner, Leiden, 377 (1239–1240).

The Copt Faḍlallāh ibn Tādrus ibn Yūsuf ibn Faḍlallāh revised the text in the sixteenth century in order to integrate it into the Coptic tradition; he also composed a new introduction. Nevertheless, this version did not acquire a really official character in the Coptic church, although it was the most widely diffused. It is, however, to be found in the margins of certain Coptic-Arabic liturgical manuscripts, as was shown by Joseph Francis Rhode (1921, pp. 94–97).

Manuscripts of this version are numerous and all of Coptic origin. They are listed unsystematically in Graf (1944, Vol. 1, pp. 102–103; here the manuscript of the Coptic Patriarchate dated 1332 should be deleted, as it is not of this version). The oldest manuscripts (thirteenth to fourteenth century) are, in chronological order: (1) Warner, Leiden, 377 (Oriental 2365; 1239–1240; contains only Genesis and Exodus); (2) Laurentiana, Florence, Oriental 112 (1245–1246); (3) National Library, Paris, Arabe 4 (thirteenth century); (4) private collection, Cairo (1355; manuscript mentioned by Louis Cheikho, *Mashriq* 21 [1923]: 141–42); (5) Vatican Library, Borgia Arabic 129 (fourteenth century); (6) British Library, London, Christian Arabic 1 (fourteenth century); (7) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 22 (fourteenth century; Graf, no. 234, Simaykah, no. 2); (8) Vatican Library, Arabic 2 (fifteenth century); (9) National Library, Paris, Arabe 1 (1584–1585; by the Muslim 'Abd Rabbih ibn Muḥammad al-Sha'rānī; this manuscript was the basis for the Paris polyglot Bible edition of the Arabic version [1629–1645]); and (10) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 32 (1585, by the same Muslim copyist; Graf, no. 235; Simaykah, no. 23; concerning the identity of the copyist, see Samir, 1981, pp. 99–101).

Versions from the Septuagint. Several Arabic versions in use among the Copts derive directly from the Septuagint.

The first version was made on an ancient parchment written in characters called γραφη (*graphē*). This text is attested in the Coptic Patriarchate,

Cairo (Bible 17; transcribed in 1381; Graf, no. 241; Simaykah, no. 17).

A second version is contained in a manuscript in the National Library, Paris (Arabic 15; transcribed in Egypt in the fourteenth century [and not in the eleventh century, as in Slane, Rhode, Graf, etc.]; Graf, 1944, Vol. 1, p. 103, no. 2a).

A third version, also based on the Septuagint, is attested from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Huntington 424; catalog: Uri, *Christian Arabic*, no. 8) in its more recent part (fols. 1–14 and 403–08; Gn. 1–5 and Dt. 32:43–34:12). This text of Genesis is reproduced in Rhode (pp. 50*–57*; Graf, 1944, vol. 1, p. 103, no. 2b).

A fourth version from the Greek, without an intermediate version, is widely attested in the manuscripts of Coptic origin, including bilingual Coptic and Arabic manuscripts (Graf 1944, vol. 1, pp. 103–104). Among them are the following: (1) Vatican Library, Coptic 1 (Coptic, tenth-eleventh century Arabic, thirteenth-fourteenth century); (2) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud Oriental 272 (catalog: Uri, *Christian Arabic*, no. 1; copied by the monk TŪMĀ IBN AL-ṢĀ'IGH in 1347); (3) National Library, Paris, Arabe 12 (1353); (4) Paris, Coptic 1 (bilingual: Bohairic and Arabic; copied in 1356–1358); (5) British Library, London, Or. 422 (Crum, *Coptic*, no. 712; 1393); (6) Vatican Library, Coptic 2–4 (bilingual: Bohairic and Arabic; fourteenth century; Arabic text revised on the basis of the Coptic); and (7) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Huntington 33 (Uri, *Coptic*, no. 1; 1674, probably copied from the Paris Coptic 1).

Version from the Bohairic Coptic. Curiously enough, this version, the only one made from the Coptic (as far as one can state with certainty), is unknown, and is difficult to distinguish from the fourth version from the Greek. The oldest manuscript would appear to be in Cambridge (Add. 3289, dated 1337–1338; Graf, 1944, p. 104, sec. 2).

Versions from the Syriac. The most diffused version of those based on the Syriac is based on the text of the Peshitta. It was originally in use among the Melchites of Egypt. It would seem that it was the philo-Melchite Marqus ibn Qanbar, the blind priest of Damietta at the end of the twelfth century, who introduced it into the usage of the Coptic church. This version is generally connected with his commentary on the Pentateuch (Graf, 1947, pp. 329–32). We know a large number of manuscripts of this version, including some in *garshūnī* (special script). The oldest of them are of Coptic origin. The manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Graf, 1944, pp. 105–106) in chronological order are: (1) National Library, Paris, Arabe 16 (1238); (2) Vatican Library, Arabic 33 (late thirteenth century); (3) Paris, Arabe 10 (1330); (4) Paris, Arabe 11 (1331); (5) Vatican Library, Arabic 606 (1344); and (6) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Pococke 219 (Uri, *Christian Arabic* 4; fourteenth century?).

Another version of Syriac origin, based on the tenth-century Syro-Hexapla and translated by the Melchite al-Ḥārith ibn Sinan ibn Sunbāṭ, was well-known among the Copts. It made its appearance in the Coptic church no later than the beginning of the thirteenth century probably by way of the Melchites. Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d. 1324) mentions it in chap. 6 of his *Lamp of Darkness*. We know about ten manuscripts of this version (Graf, 1944, Vol. 1, pp. 107–108), including four old manuscripts copied by Copts: (1) Sinai Arabic 10 (manuscript transcribed at the Dayr Anbā Būlā [Coptic monastery] in 1233–1234; of note is fol. 205v, an addition to the Decalogue [Dt. 5:1–22], following the Samaritan Torah); (2) Vatican Library, Arabic 1 (thirteenth century, completed in 1329); (3) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 27 (Graf, no. 274; Simaykah, no. 111; 1330); and (4) National Library, Paris, Arabe 14 (fourteenth century, though Graf attributes it to the sixteenth century).

Version from the Latin Vulgate. Last and much later—in the eighteenth century—an Arabic version based on the Latin Vulgate appeared among the Coptic community. This follows the Roman (Arabic) edition of 1671. It is probable that Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī was responsible for this, for two of the Vatican manuscripts are written in his hand. The manuscripts of Coptic origin are: (1) Vatican Library, Borgia, Arabic 48 (eighteenth century; by Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī); (2) Vatican Library, Borgia, Arabic 154 (1776; by Rūfā'īl al-Ṭūkhī); (3) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 48 (Graf, no. 218; Simaykah, no. 115; 1784); (4) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 31 (Graf no. 254; Simaykah, no. 101; eighteenth century); and (5) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 41 (Graf, no. 233; Simaykah, no. 187; 1872).

Unidentified Versions. Other manuscripts of Coptic origin present a text that has not been sufficiently described. Of interest in particular is the oldest of these, National Library, Paris, Arabic 15 (fourteenth—not eleventh—century). Two others are held by the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo: Bible 30 (Graf, no. 253; Simaykah, no. 15; fourteenth century, pre-1378) and Bible 21 (Graf, no. 242; Simaykah, no. 25; 1587; giving the text side-by-side with the original Hebrew).

This attempt to compile an inventory throws into strong relief the characteristic features of translated Arabic literature of the Copts: its considerable richness, owing principally to the Copts' openness to all the traditions of the Christian East (and even of the West), and evidence of a certain eclectic tendency.

Ruth

The small book of Ruth has not been much studied, and the ten lines Graf devotes to it (1944) are teeming with errors. In the absence of a thorough study, at least a specimen of each of the versions known should be published, by which the manuscripts can be classified.

The book of Ruth apparently has not always been in use among the Copts. A manuscript copied in Egypt in 1584–1585 (Paris, Arabe 1), the usual model of the polyglot Bibles, omits it, despite Graf's affirmation to the contrary. He also states that a Coptic manuscript from the end of the seventeenth century (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 270; Nicole, *Christian Arabic* 2) contains Ruth; it does not.

However, the oldest known manuscripts—those of the fourteenth century—do give the text. Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar, in chapter 6 of *Lamp of Darkness*, mentions it twice, once according to the list in the fifty-fifth of the fifty-six *Canons of the Apostles* (ed. Samir, 1971, p. 210), and on another occasion (p. 226).

The place of the book of Ruth in the Bible also varies. Sometimes it follows Judges, as in the Septuagint, and sometimes it is found after the books of Kings. This explains why the text is not found in some sources, such as in the National Library, Paris, Arabe 22 (Egypt, 1344), the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, Bible 57 (Egypt, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries; Graf, no. 273; Simaykah, no. 61), or the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 270 (Egypt, end of the seventeenth century). These three manuscripts end with the books of Kings.

It is not known whether the text of Ruth published in the polyglot Bibles is of Coptic origin, as is the case for the other biblical books.

The Copts were familiar with at least four different Arabic versions of the book of Ruth, apart from those made after the second half of the nineteenth century. The first version appears to be translated from the Syriac. The most ancient witness is in the Vatican Library, Arabic 449 (fols. 57r–60v; Egypt; 1335). In this manuscript, Ruth follows Judges. The second version appears to be translated from the Septuagint, either directly from the Greek, or through a Coptic intermediary. It is found in the National Library, Paris, Arabic 23 (fols. 132r–34r; Egypt, fourteenth century), in which it follows the "Second Book of Kings," which corresponds to the two books of Kings, and precedes the book of Esther. The third version is that attested in the 1671 Roman edition. It gives a mixed text, based principally on the Vatican Library, Arabic 468 (of Syrian provenance, translated from the Peshitta, with Greek influences, but revised on the basis of the Roman Casanatense 2108). At this point Roma Casanatense 2108 was copied from the Vatican Library, Arabic 449, the manuscript of the first version, and of the Latin Vulgate. Graf gives a list of numerous manuscripts in Cairo that appear to have been copied from this edition. The fourth version is that made by Rūfā'īl al-Tūkhī and published in Rome in 1752. According to Graf, this is a recasting of the third version. However, the incipit shows it is considerably different, and also that it differs from the text of the polyglot Bibles. Scholars do not know if it was used as a model for Coptic manuscripts. The incipit reads: *"Lammā kānat tatawallā al-quḍāt, fa-kāna fī ayyām aḥad al-quḍāt jū' alā al-arḍ, fa-inṭalaqa min Bayt Laḥm Yahūdā rajul wa-imra'atuh wa-ibnayh* [sic] *li-yatagharrab fī balad Muwāb"* (vol. 1, p. 336).

Finally, many manuscripts are still completely unknown. Other versions may emerge, as was the case for the book of Judges.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

OLD TESTAMENT, COPTIC TRANSLATIONS OF. The earliest of the Coptic translations of the Old Testament, like those of the New Testament, remain obscure. Christianity first took root in Alexandria, a city predominantly inhabited by Greeks, who had no need of a translation of the Greek Bible (the Old Testament in the form of the Septuagint). It was only when the Christian mission extended inland, and thus to the lower levels of the population, outside the world of Greek language and education, that the need arose for a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the native Egyptian language. No information, and no manuscript evidence, has survived from this period, which began at the latest at the start of the second century. The oldest indirect witness, Athanasius' Life of Antony, brings us to the period about 270. During the church service, the young Antony heard readings from the Gospel of Matthew, which caused him to give up his possessions and devote himself to the ascetic following of Jesus. Since Antony, as the Life frequently emphasizes, knew only Coptic and no Greek, we may conclude that by the second half of the third century the Gospels had been translated into Coptic. There is nothing to suggest a merely oral translation of the passages read (after the fashion of the Targums). It is legitimate to deduce from the Gospels the existence of the Old Testament in Coptic or at least parts of it (the Psalter and the Prophets), since the Coptic church from the beginning considered both Old and New Testaments as a unity and accordingly translated them for use in public worship. The oldest extant Coptic Bible manuscript, from the end of the third century, is an archaic translation of Proverbs in the dialect designated as Proto-Sahidic (Papyrus Bodmer VI).

The fourth century saw the flowering of the Coptic Bible translations, first in Sahidic, the classical literary language of Coptic. The translation of the Old Testament was largely or even entirely completed. We have to assume this process took several decades; so enormous a task could not be accomplished at one stroke, especially since there were no forerunners or convenient aids. The following books of the Old Testament are attested in fourth-century manuscripts: Genesis (fragments in the boarding of Nag Hammadi Codex VII), Exodus (Papyrus Bodmer XVI), Deuteronomy (Papyrus Bodmer XVIII and British Library, Or. 7594, in the last-named papyrus with Jonah and Acts), Joshua (Papyrus Bodmer XXI), Jeremiah with Baruch (Papyrus Bodmer XXII), Isaiah (Papyrus Bodmer XXIII). Curiously, the oldest codex of the most-used book in the Coptic Bible, the Psalter, is no earlier than about 400 (Berlin Psalter, ed. A. Rahlfs). The manuscript tradition is supplemented by the Old Testament citations in the original Coptic literature (Pachomius and his disciples), which extend over practically the whole Old Testament.

The increase in translation activity is closely connected with the development of the Coptic monasteries. In accordance with the rules of Pachomius, a knowledge of reading (and presumably also of writing) as well as the learning by heart of portions of scripture was already obligatory for candidates and novices, and all the more for the monks (*Praecepta.* 49, 130, 139, 140). Thus the monasteries became places for the fostering of Coptic literature, including the biblical texts, as is shown by the remains of the once extensive monastery libraries (e.g., the White Monastery at Suhāj in Upper Egypt, the Ḥamūlī monastery in the Fayyūm, the monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara, and the monastery of Macarius in the Nitrian Desert).

The Coptic translation of the Bible is no more uniform than Coptic itself; it is characterized by a variety of dialects, the examples of which vary in their age, and in origin in terms of both the place and the textual basis of the translation. Among the literary dialects of Coptic—Akhmimic, Lycopolitan (also called Subakhmimic), Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic, Sahidic, and Bohairic (we may here disregard the further specification that is gaining ground in the study of the Coptic dialects)—only the Lycopolitan dialect has (so far) yielded no Old Testament translations. Only the Sahidic (or, simplified, the Upper Egyptian) and the Bohairic (simplified, the Lower Egyptian) attained more than regional diffusion. In the regional or local dialects only individual books are attested (often only fragmentarily), but it is not known how much of the stock that once existed has been lost. There was a complete Old Testament translation only in Sahidic, but it has not survived in its entirety. The tradition varies from book to book, and ranges from multiple attestation of the same document to mere fragments. There is no standard edition comparable with Horner's New Testament.

From the other literary dialects the following Old Testament books have survived: Akhmimic—Genesis (frag.), Exodus (frag.), Proverbs (complete), Minor Prophets (almost complete), Sirach (frag.), Daniel (frag.), 2 Maccabees (frag.), Psalms (a fragment is extant that presents problems with regard to dialectal classification, representing perhaps a preliminary stage of Lycopolitan); Middle Egyptian—Genesis (frag.), Psalter (unpublished manuscript in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo), Job (frag.), Ecclesiastes (fragmentary codex Papyrus Michigan 3520, unpublished), indirectly Hosea and Amos through a Greco-Coptic glossary (ed. Thompson and Bell, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11 [1925]: 241–46); Fayyumic—Exodus, Numbers, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel with Susanna (all in fragments); Song of Solomon, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes in the bilingual Papyrus Hamburg I (Greek and Old Fayyumic). It should be noted that in the older literature the designations for the Fayyumic and Middle Egyptian dialects (and Bible translations) were used indiscriminately; these are, however, clearly distinct dialects.

Although from the eleventh century on, Bohairic replaced Sahidic as the literary language and the official language of the church throughout Egypt, the Old Testament was not completely translated into this dialect. The following books were completely translated into Bohairic: the Pentateuch, Psalms, Job, the Minor Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah (including Lamentations, Baruch, and Epistle of Jeremiah), Ezekiel, and Daniel. Proverbs was partly translated. The following are extant only in the form of liturgical pericopes: Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach. Not attested are Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and 1–2 Maccabees.

The utilization of the Coptic versions for the textual history and textual criticism of the Old Testament presents two major problems: (1) the relation to the Greek original; and (2) the relationships within the Coptic. Evaluation is considerably hindered by the fact that there is no critical edition and no concordance for any dialect.

There is agreement on three points. First, the Coptic Bible translation is not based on the Hebrew Old Testament (like the Peshitta or the Vulgate) but on Greek models that largely represent the Septuagint text (though not throughout). The range of the Coptic Old Testament follows the Alexandrian canon, not the Masoretic Hebrew. Second, the Sahidic and Bohairic versions are separate translations from the Greek, independent of one another. Third, the Akhmimic translation is a daughter or interlinear version of the Sahidic. Inasmuch as it is based on a Coptic original, it has only indirect testimony value for the Greek text to be presupposed.

The Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic Old Testament fragments have not yet been investigated from the standpoint of text history.

The Sahidic texts, notwithstanding all the variants, show a remarkable stability from the fourth to the twelfth century. They were revised over time but never achieved a normative standard version. The two main types are represented by the texts of the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) in Upper Egypt and the Ḥamūlī monastery in the Fayyūm. So far as there is agreement between these

two main types, we can speak of a Sahidic consensus.

The main body of the Bohairic Old Testament manuscripts begins in the ninth century, but there are also some earlier fragments. The origin of the Bohairic version is closely bound up with the dominant role of the Nitrian monasteries from the middle of the sixth century, especially that of the monastery of Macarius as the seat of the Coptic patriarch. Papyrus Bodmer III (fourth century), which in addition to the Gospel of John contains the opening chapters of Genesis (1:1–4:2), is a special case in terms both of the history of the text and of dialectal history. At a series of places that deviate from the Bohairic standard, this text reflects Sahidic readings deriving from the Sahidic translation model. Papyrus Bodmer III therefore cannot (at least for the Old Testament) be assessed as a witness to the original Bohairic text of the Bible (*contra* M. K. Peters, 1984).

The Upper Egyptian version (Sahidic and Akhmimic) of the Minor Prophets is more closely related to the Hebrew than to the Septuagint text. This "hebraizing" tendency is not, as earlier assumed, to be traced back to a revision according to the Hebrew text but goes back to a special Greek version, possibly the fifth column (Quinta) of Origen's *Hexapla;* the oldest witness of this textual tradition is the leather scroll with the Greek Minor Prophets from the Wādī Murabba'at (50 B.C.–A.D. 50).

The discoveries of texts in recent decades offer no support to confirm the theory of Paul Kahle (1954, Vol. 1) that in pre-Christian times the Sahidic dialect had already spread throughout Egypt as an "official language," and that its point of departure was Alexandria. In the beginning there were various dialects and a plurality of Bible translations, which from about the seventh century were supplanted or absorbed by the two main dialects, Sahidic and Bohairic.

The texts were transmitted in Bible manuscripts, lectionaries or horologies, excerpts, and quotations. The Bible manuscripts contain, according to their size, one or more books of the Old Testament, occasionally only parts of a book (e.g., Papyrus Bodmer XVI, XVIII), or even Old and New Testament writings in one and the same codex (e.g., Papyrus Bodmer III; British Library, Or. 7594). There is no evidence for the whole Old Testament in a single codex (and likewise no "complete Bible"). Among the lectionaries, mixed books (with pericopes from the Old Testament and the New Testament) predominate over those with only the Old Testament. The Coptic pericope system has not been investigated, nor has the textual history of the lectionary pericopes. For excerpts, clay or limestone shards were used, in addition to leaves of papyrus or parchment (later also of paper). These served for the most varied purposes, from writing exercises to amulets. The quotations, which are found in all kinds of Coptic literature, form an important supplement to the manuscript and lectionary tradition, but here variants conditioned by the context must be carefully distinguished from genuine textual variants. In Bible quotations in the Coptic translation literature, we have to consider whether the form of text in the original has influenced the citation in question or whether the Coptic biblical text already in existence was inserted. This relates both to translations from Greek into Coptic and to translations within Coptic (Bohairic transpositions of Sahidic originals).

A special form of textual tradition is represented by the bilinguals, which appear in all forms of the transmission except for quotations. In the first millennium this relates particularly to Greco-Sahidic bilinguals, and after about 1000 to Bohairic-Arabic texts.

In general the editing and explication of the Coptic Old Testament (in all the dialects) lags behind in comparison with the New Testament. The main tasks and problems for investigation are (1) collection, arrangement, and classification of the textual witnesses; (2) critical editions of the texts and concordances based upon them; (3) the relations of the Coptic versions to the Septuagint; (4) textual relationships within Coptic; (5) collection and examination of the citations in the Coptic original and translation literature. Investigations into comparative philology in Greek and Coptic, and into the objective evaluation of the textual variants, are still in their beginnings; such questions can be brought nearer to a solution only within the context of the Greco-Coptic translation literature as a whole, including the New Testament.

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PETER NAGEL

O'LEARY, DE LACY EVANS (1872–1957), British Coptologist. He was a lecturer at Bristol University and published a number of Coptic liturgical manuscripts, including *The Coptic Theotokia* (London, 1923), *Fragmentary Coptic Hymns from the Wadi n'Natrun* (London, 1924), and *The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church* (2 vols., London, 1926–1928); *The Arabic Life of St. Pisentius* (PO 22, 1930); books about Christian and Coptic literature, among them *Studies in the Apocryphal Gospels of Christ's Infancy* (London, 1912) and *The Saints of Egypt* (London, 1937); and books about Egypt in the Arabic period, such as *Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate* (London and New York, 1923) and *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs* (London, 1949).

MARTIN KRAUSE

OLYMPIODORUS OF THEBES, fifth-century historian who wrote a work comprising twenty-two books that was dedicated to Emperor Theodosius II. It deals with the years 407–435 and is based on his own experiences (e.g., with the Blemmyes in Nubia).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

OLYMPIUS, SAINT, a physician of Nicomedia (modern Izmir, Turkey), who was martyred in Egypt under DIOCLETIAN. His name is not found in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION, and since the Coptic texts that mention him are also fragmentary, the day he was commemorated is not known. Two Coptic texts concern him: his Passion, now in six fragments originating from the same codex, and an Encomium attributed to Moses of Tkow, now in three fragments originating from the same codex. All these fragments have been published by L. Lefort (1950).

A more or less complete reconstruction of the text of the Passion is possible because it is based on the text of the Passion of Saint PANTALEON, with a sole, although important, change in the final section. According to the Passion, Olympius was particularly gifted at his studies in his youth; unknown to his father, he embraced Christianity at an early age. He became a physician and through the miraculous cure of a blind man he converted his father, who then died. Olympius used all his inheritance to help the martyrs in the prisons. These charitable deeds led to his being reported by jealous colleagues to the emperor Diocletian, who summoned him. The customary scene follows of altercation between the martyr and his persecutor, with various miracles and tortures. At that point (here the text departs from that of Pantaleon), Olympius is sent to Egypt to be killed at the hands of the prefect ARIANUS.

This is certainly a late composition, which may be attributed to the period of the CYCLES (seventh or eighth century). Although it cannot be directly assigned to any particular cycle, there are points of contact between it and the Antiochene cycle of the General.

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TITO ORLANDI

OMAR TOUSSOUN (1872–1944), prince of the Egyptian royal family, scholar, and philanthropist. There were few aspects of Egyptian progress that did not benefit from his support and his practical encouragement. He was particularly devoted to the interests of agriculture and agricultural workers. He was deeply interested in the history and the geography of Egypt in the nineteenth century, with special reference to the army and the fleet, as well as in relations with the Sudan. Moreover, he devoted much of his energy to Coptic history and archaeology, especially to Coptic monasteries in the region of Alexandria and Wādī al-Naṭrūn. His writings in this area include *Etude sur le Wadi Natroun, ses moines et ses couvents* (Alexandria, 1931) and "Cellia et ses couvents" (*Mémoires de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie*, 1935). He was honorary president of the SOCIETY OF COPTIC ARCHAEOLOGY. In 1935 he and the Coptic patriarch chaired the committee to support Ethiopia in its fight against Italian aggression by sending it a medical mission.

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MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

OMOPHORION. *See* Liturgical Vestments.

ONOPHRIUS, SAINT, anchorite (feast day: 16 Ba'ūnah). The figure of Saint Onophrius (in Arabic Abū Nūfar) enjoyed the widest diffusion among the Egyptian desert fathers both in religious literature and in worship and art, both in Egypt and outside. His life was not transmitted independently, but inserted with others into a pilgrimage narrative destined for edification, attributed to a certain Paphnutius. Sometimes his text is preceded by a title presenting it as the life of Onophrius; this was certainly added later. The life of Onophrius occupies only half of the story of Paphnutius.

The Coptic recension is preserved in three complete manuscripts (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M580, pp. 1–36, from al-Hāmūlī in the Fayyūm, dated to A.D. 889–890, unpublished; British Library, London, Oriental 7027, fols. 1–21v, from Idfū, 1004; and a Bohairic manuscript [the others are in Sahidic], Vatican Library, Coptic 65, fols. 99–120v, dated 978–979). Several fragments of codices have been preserved, among them two papyrus leaves, one of the seventh century, formerly at Louvain but destroyed in a fire in 1940 (ed. Lefort, 1945, pp. 97–100), the other of the sixth (?) century in Vienna (ed. Orlandi, 1974, pp. 158–61); the agreement in text between these two papyrus leaves and the other witnesses provides assurance of the antiquity of the story of Paphnutius. The White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) at Suhāj possessed a codex containing this life; two leaves were published by Till (1935, Vol. 1, pp. 14–19); and the National Library, Paris, preserves several unpublished fragments of it.

In Greek, the manuscripts are numerous but unpublished except for the part of the Paphnutius story concerning Onophrius (*Acta sanctorum*, 1969, pp. 527–33). A reworking is found in some collections of APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. A summary is inserted in the Greek SYNAXARION at 12 June, sometimes at 10 or 11 June.

In Latin several editions have been listed, of which three have been published. One makes Onophrius the son of a king of Persia, and adds several novelistic episodes. A notice was inserted in the Roman martyrology by Baronius in 1584.

Paphnutius' place of origin is not indicated, but he entered very young into a *cenobium* near Hermopolis. Onophrius is struck by the talk of the elders of this monastery, which presents the hermit life as much superior to the cenobitic. Desiring to follow this more perfect way, he leaves his cell by night and goes off into the desert where he is guided by an angel. At the end of six or seven miles, he finds a cave occupied by a hermit, who retains him for some days to instruct him, then leads him, after four days walking, to a hut near a date palm. The hermit remains with him at this spot for a month to initiate him, then leaves him alone. Every year, however, they meet again, until the day of the old man's death.

Onophrius describes to Paphnutius his sufferings and his struggles, his sustenance miraculously brought by angels or supplied by the date palm, the communion that an angel gives him each Saturday and Sunday, and his visions. The story does not speak of any particular combats with the demons. At the beginning of his meeting with Paphnutius, Onophrius describes his life "walking in the mountains like wild beasts and living from the plants and the trees." In fact, Paphnutius first finds Onophrius two or three miles from his hut. They go there together, and after a spiritual conversation, bread and water are mysteriously placed near them. The

following morning, on 16 Ba'ūnah, Onophrius expresses his last wishes for his body and for his annual commemoration that is to be marked by an offering in his name and an agape. To those who shall take care of it he promises that the Lord "will lead them to the first hour of the thousand years."

Paphnutius expresses the desire to remain there after the death of Onophrius, but the latter replies that his vocation is to make known the life of the desert hermits. Onophrius dies, and his soul is carried away by angels. Paphnutius lays his body in a cavity in the cliff and covers it with stones. At this moment the hut and the date palm crumble away, thus showing Paphnutius that it was not the will of God for him to stay in that place. At the end of his journey in the desert, he meets some monks, who transcribe his story and send it to Scetis to be deposited in the church.

This life is characteristic of a certain wandering hermitism, the witnesses to which are fairly numerous in Middle Egypt. It is significant that Onophrius should say to Paphnutius "return to Egypt," for this indicates that he considered himself in exile in the desert, probably near the oasis of Oxyrhynchus.

Saint Onophrius was venerated from very early times in Egypt, for papyri of the sixth and seventh centuries attest the existence of churches dedicated to his name at Lycopolis.

It is very probably he who is represented on a fresco of DAYR APA JEREMIAH at Saqqara, beside a palm tree and clothed only in his long hair and beard, although the name is obliterated, along with MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, Apollo of Bāwīṭ, and probably Phib. At DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR he is also portrayed in the north side chapel. At Faras in the Sudan a fresco from the end of the tenth century presents him near an oratory and a palm tree.

In Byzantium, two oratories were consecrated to him, and his head was preserved in the church of Saint Akindinos. He appears in a painting from around the year 1100 in Cyprus. Several pictures in Italy, two of them from the fourteenth century, testify to his popularity. The icons representing him are numerous throughout the entire Christian East.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, Gnostic scripture, handed down in several copies (Nag Hammadi Codex II, 5; 97.24–127.17; NHC XIII, 2, 50. 25–34 [fragm.]; British Library, Or. 4926 [1] [fragm.]) and by comparison with other texts quite well preserved. In spite of its parallels, for instance, to Irenaeus (*Adversus omnes haereses* 1.30), to testimonies of the Sethian and Valentinian *gnosis*, as well as to Manichaeism, it represents none of these known systems. Neither does it offer its own system. It is a compendium of significant Gnostic thoughts, particularly about cosmogony, anthropogeny, and eschatology, based on various sources and traditions and partly presented in quasi-scientific style with numerous etiologies and etymologies, making it appear outright encyclopedic. In addition, with a view to appealing to the public, it employs the style of an apologetic treatise. Yet the story of the earth as well as the representation of the upper world and its development are largely excluded. Based on the initially stated and then realized intent of the author, whose name is not noted or known, the title *On the Origin of the World* was given to this writing by its investigators.

Starting from the assumption that the work is a conscious and planned composition without extensive secondary alterations and is not a work that grew from long tradition and the historical process, the *terminus a quo* may be given as the beginning of the influence of Manichaeism in Egypt, that is, at the end of the third century. As for the *terminus ad*

quem, the time between the Greek prototype of the document, its written transmission and translation into Coptic, and the transmittal subsequent to the copying of Codex II from Nag Hammadi suggests the middle of the fourth century. Thus the time of its composition is possibly the early part of the fourth century. The text joins Jewish notions of different character—among them clear parallels to literary testimonies of the early Jewish apocalypses—with Manichaean elements, with Christian ideas, with Greek philosophical concepts, and with figures of Greek or Hellenistic mythology. The practice of magic and astrology and a clearly accented emphasis of an Egyptian body of thought are incorporated as well. All point to Alexandria as the presumed place of origin of the Greek form of the document.

The author goes back in his work to sources of varying character, both Gnostic and non-Gnostic, without the reader being able to identify them precisely, or even to reconstruct them in the literary critical sense. In so doing, the author at times creates tensions, imbalances, and contradictions, because some of his sources presuppose a specific and different viewpoint. The working method of the writer shows especially in direct and indirect quotations, references, summaries, etymologies, explanations, and systematized summaries that are in noticeable contrast to his otherwise prevailing narrative style. Employing this system, the author presents an objective and convincing argument and attempts to strengthen his opinion by appealing to and referring to other works.

Owing to a remarkable number of parallels and similar style, even down to details, a relationship undoubtedly exists between the HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS (NHC 11, 4) and *On the Origin of the World*. But because of the unequal character of both documents, their differing concepts of the world, and variations in details, one can hardly prove direct literary connections. However, both documents might be based on the same source material.

On the Origin of the World opens with a philosophical discussion about primeval chaos, but moves at once to a description of primeval events, reviewing at first the establishment of the boundary between the upper and lower world, as well as the formation by Pistis Sophia of Yaldabaoth, the first created and the main protagonist of the upper world. The cosmogony, and later the anthropogeny, are partly oriented to the early chapters of Genesis, but also to ideas known from several writings of the pseudepigraphic literature of Judaism (e.g., Jubilees, I Enoch). Indeed, Jewish influences and background also surface in the author's angelology, demonology, and eschatology, as well as in his etymologies. However, the Gnostic interpretation of the materials at hand is different in that it ranges from a complete reassessment of the arrogance of the demiurge or creator god—integrating Isaiah 45:5 and 46:9—and events of Genesis 3, to a relatively unbroken integration of existing Jewish thoughts and motifs, as found in the description of paradise.

The high point of primeval events is the creation of earthly man, which must be seen in connection with the doctrine of the primeval man in *On the Origin of the World*. This teaching is difficult to understand because it utilizes different motifs and heterogeneous ideas. Borrowing from Genesis 1:26 and 2:7, early man is said to be created by the archons or rulers according to the image of the archons and in the likeness of the Light-Adam, a heavenly primeval man who corresponds in a certain way to the Third Messenger in Manichaeism or to the "Anthropos of Poimandres." In a countercampaign in the light world, the Sophia (Zoê), who functions in our document as savior and who also completes the archons' unfinished creation of man, fashions a "spiritual" man who is manifested in different ways as the bringer of the gnosis: as the spiritual wife of Adam, as the serpent ("the beast"), and as the instructor in paradise who is viewed favorably. Fundamentally, all of these beings are the Sophia (Zoê) herself.

In spite of the detailed account of primeval events, *On the Origin of the World* has overall an eschatological orientation that is universal in character. This is seen in frequent references to the end of time as well as in a broad description of final events, along with a large number of thoughts, motifs, concepts, and terms from apocalypses. The final state, which is brought about by the upper world with the redemption of the Gnostics—in differing degrees—and the destruction of the creation of the archons, qualitatively surpasses the primeval state and makes impossible a recurrence of events described in the text, even similar events.

In many respects, *On the Origin of the World* is a significant Gnostic work. Through this rather extensive writing, we gain insight into an educated author's thinking, working methods, and logic regarding a fundamental theme. This document also shows the high degree of liberality and indepen-

dence with which a Gnostic writer assimilates foreign, even non-Gnostic and heterogeneous bodies of thought, in an effort to demonstrate the primacy of his position about existence and the world, for example, in the face of its mythological fashioning. Moreover, it can help us understand why and how the Gnostic view of reality persisted, and frequently even prevailed, in its interaction with other religious and intellectual currents.

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HANS-GEBHARD BETHGE

ORANT. *See* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.

ORARION. *See* Liturgical Vestments.

ORDINATION, CLERICAL. The right of a bishop to ordain Christians of his diocese as deacons and priests is so generally recognized that the canons of the Coptic church (see CANONS, ECCLESIASTICAL) relate only to abuses: for instance, the ordination of Christians from another diocese or the acceptance of a gift for the ordination. The bishop's right is somewhat restricted through the prescriptions of the canons regarding the ordination of persons as priests and deacons. For ordination to the clergy, the minimum age is twenty-five for a deacon, thirty for a priest. Before ordination, the candidate is to be instructed (see CLERICAL INSTRUCTION) and examined. Since the Council of CHALCEDON (451), ordinations may be only for a definite church office or title, and therefore only at the same time as the installation. The carrying out of the ordination is also described in the canons.

Whether the prescriptions of the canons were followed to the letter can be tested from primary sources, texts about ordination in the correspondence of bishop ABRAHAM of Hermonthis in the period around 600. In the texts about the ordination of deacons and priests, the petition for the ordination of a particular person for a particular office is presented by a third party. In Coptic ostracon 36 the bishop is to ordain Isaac as priest at the Church of Saint Mary in Piohe "because the place needs him." At the same time the petitioners (a priest, a scribe, and a reader of the same village) offer security that the ordinand will fulfill his office correctly. The texts contain no statements as to whether the candidate satisfies the conditions contained in the canons, for example, in regard to the minimum age (Krause, 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 42ff.). After the bishop has granted the petition and ordained the candidate, the ordained man himself or other persons on his behalf pledge to the bishop that he will fulfill the duties arising out of his office: the observance or fulfillment of the commandments, the church canons, and professional knowledge; care for the altar or the church; obedience to the bishop and superiors; the learning by heart of a particular Gospel within an appointed time, with a corresponding examination by the bishop. Among the further obligations of the ordained man are the observance of the forty-day fast and of vigils at his sleeping place and on Communion days, the duty of residence, the reciting of prayers, and refraining from trade and the taking of interest. The number of persons who pledge their security before the bishop for the ordained man's observance of the obligations named varies between one and four, and is thus smaller than the number prescribed in the canons. Clergy are frequently punished for offenses against their official duties, according to the sources, by excommunication or expulsion from the clergy.

Two documents of appointment have survived from the fourteenth century (Bilabel and Grohmann, 1935). Both were drawn up by Philotheus, bishop of Panopolis and Lycopolis. In the older, dated 2 May 1361, he ordains John, son of Phoibammon, as deacon of the Church of Saint Theodorus of Lycopolis; in the second, dated 12 May 1363, he ordains Gabriel, the son of Misael, as deacon of the Church of Theodorus Stratelates. The documents are written in the Bohairic dialect with an Arabic translation.

From the year 1256 a certificate of character has survived in Arabic that concerns a priest and monk named John, who was probably to be named as

titular of a church. A document of consecration to the episcopate, dated 16 November 1371, was found in 1964 under the body of a bishop in Qaṣr Ibrīm and published in 1975. In the document the patriarch of Alexandria, GABRIEL IV, makes it known that he has consecrated the former priest Timotheus as bishop of Faras and Nubia. This document bears the names of four bishops as witnesses, two of whom, the bishops of Atrīb and Hermopolis, were present at the ceremonial consecration in the "suspended" CHURCH OF AL-MU'ALLAQAH in Old Cairo, and two (the bishops of Qift and Qūs) were present at the enthronement. The enthronement took place on 15 February 1372 in the Church of Saint Victor, west of Qamūlah. The document was drawn up both in Bohairic and in Arabic. The Arabic original text has often been circulated, for instance, by Abū al-Barakāt (Coquin, 1977, p. 142, with references).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

ORIENS CHRISTIANUS, the technical Latin term for the scholarly study of the Christian Orient. In its examination of the cultures of the Christian East this study encompasses seven languages: Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, Christian Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Old Nubian. Scholars in this discipline study works of literature originally composed in these languages as well as works translated into them. The extant texts are combed for information on such topics as paleography, codicology, chronology, church history, the history of dogma, historical geography, the science of liturgy, church law, church music, archaeology, and the history of art.

The study of the Christian Orient does not begin with the first Christian mission to the relevant countries; rather, it investigates the relationship between the pre-Christian and Christian eras, paying special attention to continuity and discontinuity. The study also looks at the relationship of the Christian countries to one another.

Although this discipline is represented so far at only a few universities (e.g., in Germany in the Philosophical Faculties), its scope in terms of both space and time, as well as the abundance of the extant sources, has led to increasing specialization. Some representatives of the subject teach only a few of the languages and limit their research to certain areas, such as philology and literature. This leads to such designations of the discipline as "Philology of the Christian Orient" (Munich) and "Languages and Cultures of the Christian Orient" (Tübingen). Other scholars in the field, such as those at the Institut catholique in Paris, specialize in only one of the seven languages and its corresponding culture. This specialization has given rise to the formation of new scholarly disciplines, such as Coptology and Syriology.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES, the appellation chosen for the 1965 Addis Ababa conference of the non-Chalcedonian churches, in order to distinguish them from the Eastern Orthodox churches, which are Chalcedonian. The participating churches were the Coptic, the Ethiopian, the Syrian, the Armenian, and the Indian, the five churches that rejected the decisions of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451. They were represented by delegations composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, headed by their patriarchs, except for the Armenians, who were represented by their two catholicoses, those of Echmiadzin and Cilicia.

The conference, which was held on the initiative, and at the invitation, of Emperor HAILE SELASSIE, was an important event in church history. The

heads of these churches had not met in person since the Council of EPHESUS in 431, over fifteen centuries earlier. The conference, held on 15–21 January 1965, was preceded by a period of consultation (9–14 January). The conference adopted decisions embodied in three resolutions and a long declaration, comprising a preamble and six chapters: "The Modern World and the Churches," "Cooperation on Church Education," "Cooperation on Evangelism," "Relations with Other Churches," "Machinery for the Maintenance of Permanent Relations Among the Churches," and "Statement on Peace and Justice in the World." A standing committee, with an interim secretariat, was appointed by the conference and held several meetings in the following years.

MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

ORIENTATION TOWARD THE EAST. Since the early days of Christianity, the east has been the point designated to be faced during prayers, both by the officiating priest and by the congregation. This has to be taken into account in building a church, so the altar must be placed in the eastern end, with the longer axis of the church running east to west. The APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS prescribe that "all rise up with one consent and, looking toward the east . . . , pray to God eastward." Al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl, the thirteenth-century compiler of Coptic canon law, stated that "the congregation stand with their hands lifted up towards Heaven, and their faces directed towards the east."

The theological significance of the orientation toward the east is stressed at the beginning of the liturgy where the deacon directs the congregation to stand up and look toward the east, "to witness the Body and Blood of Emmanuel, our Lord, placed on the altar." The east is also associated with the sun of righteousness "arising from the east with healing in his wings" (Mal. 4:2) and with the Second Coming of Christ in glory to judge the living and the dead. This was described by Christ in the following terms: "For as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be" (Mt. 24:27). When worshipers face the east, they affirm their anticipation of the last advent, in accordance with the words of the two angels to the disciples of Jesus at the time of His ascension, "This same Jesus, Who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as you have seen Him go into Heaven" (Acts 1:11).

The same subject has been treated by various church authorities throughout the ages. Saint BASIL THE GREAT links it with the ancient homeland of man in Paradise, "It is according to an unwritten tradition that we turn to the East to pray. But little do we know that we are thus seeking the ancient homeland, the Paradise that God planted in Eden, towards the East" (*De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 27). Saint EPHRAEM the Syrian (306–373) writes that "The Jews looked to Jerusalem in their prayers, for it was their holy country. As for us, the Paradise is our country which was in the East. Therefore we are ordered to look towards the East during our prayers." Saint GREGORY OF NYSSA (c. 330–395) considers the matter from a particular angle: "Such motion of orientation helps the soul to repent and seek the kingdom of God in her worship."

If the East stands for righteousness and light, the West is associated with ungodliness and darkness. Consequently, at the moment of the renunciation of Satan during baptism in the Coptic Church, the person to be baptized is required to look toward the West, and stretch out his right hand and say, "I renounce thee, Satan." Then he turns toward the East and, stretching both hands, says, "I join myself to Thee, Christ."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

ORIGEN. [*This entry consists of three articles:* General History, Origen in the Copto-Arabic Tradition, *and* Origen's Writings.]

General History

Origen (185–255) was one of the greatest Christians who ever lived, and certainly among the greatest of Egyptian Christians. Only ATHANASIUS can rival him in stature among the sons of Christian Egypt. He was born of Christian parents at Alexandria and probably died at Tyre. In 202 his father, Leonidas, was martyred in the persecution under Emperor Septimius Severus. Various details and anecdotes of his youth have been recorded by the ecclesiastical historian EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, not all of which may be authentic; but it is likely that

about 204 Origen, in a fit of ascetical self-mortification, castrated himself, and that at a very early age he was put in charge of the CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA (though the exact nature of that school is uncertain). He must have known the works of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, though he never mentions him.

His early poverty, which was at least in part voluntary, was relieved by a rich official called Ambrosius, whom Origen had persuaded to abandon GNOSTICISM for Catholic Christianity and who subsidized Origen's publications. Origen mentions his patron more than once and wrote one of his works, *The Exhortation to Martyrdom*, for his benefit.

By 231 Origen had visited Rome, Arabia, and Palestine briefly, and had begun collecting translations of the Old Testament. He had already made a name for himself as a Christian theologian and had produced his first important work. In that year he found himself in conflict with DEMETRIUS I (189–231), the bishop of Alexandria, who apparently resented his growing fame as a teacher. He visited Athens and then, probably in 232, went to Antioch, where he was summoned, as a leading Christian philosopher, to an interview with Julia Mamaea, the mother of Emperor Alexander Severus. He probably returned to Alexandria briefly but then left it forever, pursued by the enmity of Demetrius, who succeeded in having Origen condemned by a synod at Rome as well as one at Alexandria. The main charge must have been that during his recent travels he had been ordained presbyter by a bishop in Palestine, without his own bishop being consulted and in spite of his self-mutilation. Demetrius' successor, HERACLAS (231– 247), continued the feud. The Eastern church, however, took no notice of these synods, and for the rest of his life Origen remained a *persona grata* among the churches of Asia, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. He settled in Palestinian Caesarea, where he spent most of the rest of his life, making visits to Athens and Arabia and, during the reign of the persecuting emperor Maximinus (235–238), remaining for a considerable time in Cappadocian Caesarea with its bishop, Firmillian. In 249 he is said to have been imprisoned and tortured as a confessor during the persecution of Emperor DECIUS. He probably moved to Tyre about two years before his death.

Though Origen started writing late in his life, his output was enormous. Much of it survives in the original Greek, and even more in Latin translations made during the two centuries after his death, some by Rufinus and Jerome. Though most of his work took the form of commentary or sermon on biblical texts, the first major work, and the earliest that has come down to us, is one that he called *Peri archōn* (Concerning First Principles), usually known by its Latin title *De principiis*. It is an attempt to show the common ground possessed by Christianity and certain forms of contemporary Greek philosophy, notably Middle Platonism (the eclectic, developed form of Platonism popular in the third century). It contains some of Origen's most daring thought, and is more concerned to push speculation beyond the limits of the Rule of Faith (though mostly without contravening it) than to interpret Scripture. It exists in a Latin translation and in fragments of the Greek, some quite long. It should be dated about 225. But Origen had already begun an extremely long *Commentary on Saint John's Gospel*, of which nine books and several fragments survive in Greek. By the thirty-second and last book he had reached only John 13:33.

This work contains a great deal of Origen's thought on the doctrine of the Trinity and on Christology; he wrote it gradually over a number of years. Next in order (between 232 and 234) we should probably place *Commentaries on Corinthians* and *On Ephesians*, and his homilies on Saint Luke's Gospel, as well as his remarkable book *On Prayer*, the first Christian work to contain a commentary on the Lord's Prayer. In 235 his *Exhortation to Martyrdom* appeared, designed to support Ambrosius, who had been arrested during the persecution of Maximinus (though he was later freed). He then wrote a longer *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (he had written a shorter one earlier), a *Commentary on Romans*, a vast *Commentary on Saint Matthew's Gospel, Homilies on Leviticus, Homilies on the Psalms*, and, his crowning work, *Against Celsus*, extant in the original eight books.

CELSUS, a philosopher, had written an attack on the Christian religion about fifty years before. At Ambrosius' request, because it was troubling the mind of many Christians, Origen undertook to refute it, and did so thoroughly, taking it paragraph by paragraph, so as to make his book virtually an apology for Christianity; it can be dated to 248. We also have, in a manuscript discovered in the 1940s at Ṭurah, near Cairo, a fragmentary account by an anonymous person of a conference between Origen and some clergy in a town in Arabia (modern Jordan) on points of controversy or uncertainty in doctrine, known as the *Dialogue with Heracleides*, in which what might be called the sweet reasonableness of Origen in discussion is very evident.

There also survive a large number of works by

Origen that cannot be so accurately dated: *Homilies on 1 Samuel 28* (the witch of Endor), and on Judges, Exodus, Genesis, Numbers, Ezekiel, and Joshua, some of them sermons taken down in shorthand as he delivered them, as well as several fragments of other works and a few letters. Origen also, after spending a large part of his life collecting copies of the Old Testament in Greek, about 243 produced a work known as the *Hexapla*, the Old Testament in parallel—the Hebrew text, its transcription into Greek letters, the Septuagint, and three (and sometimes more) other Greek translations of the text. It was long preserved in the library of the bishop of Palestinian Caesarea; some parts of it are extant.

Educated in Alexandria, which was then the cultural capital of the Roman empire, Origen had absorbed the intellectual heritage of Greek philosophy, which included what we would now call science in most of its branches, history, and theology. Only in imaginative power is he lacking; when he comes to face the literary forms, sometimes poetic and dramatic, of the Bible, he fails to realize their significance; shows no appreciation of poetry or drama; rarely quotes either; and writes a prose that seldom rises above the pedestrian. But his thought represents a grand and sophisticated synthesis of Christian doctrine and Greek philosophy. His pupil Gregory Theodorus, whose *Eulogy of Origen* is extant, wrote of him that he did not indiscriminately accept all philosophy; that he owed most of all to Middle Platonism; that his ethics and psychology were largely Stoic; and that Aristotle supplied only his cosmology and his logic. But Origen's thought, which can be reconstructed with confidence in its main lines and in most of its details, is the most able, brilliant, and sophisticated production the Christian Church had hitherto seen or was yet to see until another great African, Augustine, made his appearance.

For Origen, God is One and Simple, pure, immutable Spirit, the original source of all existence and all goodness; he is One in contrast with the manifold, but the One to whom the manifold is moving, striving to return. To this superessential Essence (so abstract that we can scarcely predicate being of Him) Origen attributed self-consciousness and will; to Origen, God was always living and personal; here the biblical tradition made its impression on him. God is omniscient and omnipotent, but he is not the predestining God of Old Testament and New Testament. He foreknows and foresees but does not foreordain. In Origen's view God's goodness and His justice are not contrasted or even kept in balance, but are identical. God, of course, punishes those who deserve punishment, but his punishment is never purely retributive; it is always remedial. Origen rejects altogether the notion of God's wrath; God is never angry. At one point he says that the worst thing that God can do to anybody is simply to leave him alone.

In this respect Origen carried the liberal theology of Clement much further. Origen's doctrine of God is firmly trinitarian. God's nature is to communicate and reveal Himself; and because He cannot change, He must always have been communicating Himself, from eternity. In order to communicate Himself, however, the One and Simple must become manifold, and He can do this only by abandoning His absolute immunity to change or experience (impassibility, *apatheia*) and assuming a form in which He can act and be an organ for acting. This is the Word (Logos) or Son. The Logos is the perfect image of God, really and truly God; in fact, Origen can call him "Second God" (not "a second god"), echoing a Middle Platonist term. The Logos/Son has a distinct existence, an individual reality (Origen uses both *hypostasis* and *ousia* for this), from that of the Father, and this, too, is divine: "The Savior," he says, "is God not merely by participation (*metousia*) but in His own right (*kat'ousian*)." The Logos/Son has always been with the Father, and has always been distinct from Him. The generation or production of the Son is an act lasting from eternity. "There never was a time when He did not exist," says Origen, and elsewhere, "The Savior is eternally generated by the Father."

In this doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son, Origen has broken through the trinitarian scheme that had held in Christian theology before his day and had taught that for purposes of creation, revelation, and redemption, God had at one point unfolded Himself into a Trinity ("economic trinitarianism"). The Logos/Son is a distinctly existing entity, the second reality (*hypostasis*) within the godhead. He is not absolutely simple, like the Father, but complex; in relation to the world He can be called a creature (*demiourgema, ktisma*). Above all, the Son is a mediator by constitution, as part of the godhead, in his preexistent eternal state independently of the Incarnation. In spite of parting from economic trinitarianism, then, Origen's doctrine of the Son is necessarily subordinationist.

In certain important respects the Son is less than the Father. Origen's speculations did not require a Holy Spirit, but the Rule of Faith insisted upon the Spirit's being included in his trinitarian doctrine. Therefore Origen postulated the Spirit as the third reality (*hypostasis*) within the godhead and as part

of the divine essence. He becomes the Holy Spirit through the Son and is the first creation of the Father through the Son. Origen uses the word *trias* of the Trinity. All Persons are equal in divinity and dignity, and the substance that they possess is one. The evidence that Origen applied the word *homoousios* (consubstantial) to the Son is unsatisfactory and cannot be trusted. As the Son constitutes a stage of transition from the One to the manifold, so the Spirit represents a further stage of this process. Origen's Trinity is therefore (like Karl Barth's) a Trinity of eternal revelation, but it has degrees in it; it is an internally graded Trinity.

Origen's doctrine of salvation (soteriology) is ingenious and unusual. God must always have had recipients of His eternal self-revelation. Therefore free rational spirits (souls) must have existed from eternity. All forms of Platonism always insisted that the soul is eternal and indestructible; being spiritual (*noetoi*) and rational (*logikoi*) is what constitutes all souls, whether angelic or human. All souls have from eternity been created to be obedient to God; and, to preserve God's changelessness, they must all in the end return to free obedience, no matter what may have happened in the past. Consequently, on philosophical, not humanitarian, grounds, Origen is an universalist; that is, he believes that everybody must in the end be saved. His account of how any souls came to fall from obedience to God is not clear, but he apparently believed that all created spirits must develop, and in the course of development sin; thus disobedience to God occurred. It occurred among souls before the world was created; Origen teaches, therefore, a premundane Fall. The story of Adam and Eve is only an allegory or parabolic account of what happened before the world began.

It was in order to cope with the situation brought about by the Fall that God created the world. The physical universe is the machinery for starting all men and women on their journey back to God after the premundane Fall. Every soul is ultimately born into the world either as a human being or (if very evil) as a devil. The world becomes a vast reformatory run by God. Note that Origen does not believe in reincarnation; in his *Commentary on Matthew* he explicitly rejects this doctrine more than once. Note, too, that Origen's conception of the world is not Gnostic. For him the world is good, a state not of punishment but of purification. Physical matter, once it has served its purpose of enabling fallen souls to pass through this world, will disappear; it lacks ultimate reality. Evil, too, is unreal; it is the absence of good. Origen's anthropology envisages human beings as rational spirits united with physical bodies and possessing "animal" souls (roughly speaking, nervous systems). Whoever conquers the temptations and passions that reach him through his "animal" soul gradually achieves likeness to God (*homoiōsis*). All men already possess, as free immortal souls, the indestructible image (*eikon*) of God.

Into this ingeniously devised framework Origen fits a no less ingenious account of the Incarnation. The Logos/Son in His preexistent state had always been helping angels and human beings in their struggle toward purification and union with God. For this purpose he chose his people Israel and sent the prophets. But in order to lead people back to God, the Logos Himself had to appear and to become incarnate. His activity when incarnate was complex and varied. For the duller and rougher souls He had to demonstrate a real victory over sin, to make a sacrifice, to offer a ransom to the devil, to bring obvious and easily intelligible salvation. For the more cultured and intelligent souls, he had to impart in addition new depths of knowledge as teacher and hierophant, and thereby to impart divine life and initiate the process of *homoiōsis* and divinization for men.

Origen accepted that everyone must begin by believing in the historical Jesus. But for intellectuals this was only a beginning; they were to transcend this stage as quickly as possible and reach a state of mystical contemplation of the postincarnate Logos (the Logos no longer incarnate after the ascension), and nourish themselves on the eternal Gospel. In fact, though, Origen reproduces all the traditional language of atonement—conquest of demons, expiation of sin, ransom paid to the devil, sacrifice. All these things were, in his view, subsidiary to the main purpose of God, which was to educate men and women into salvation. E. De Faye rightly said that Origen's atonement doctrine was that of "Dieu éducateur."

Origen's account of how the Son of God became incarnate was as carefully worked out as the rest of his doctrine. The preexistent Logos/Son united Himself with a pure, unfallen, created spirit who had always cleaved steadfastly to Him; to this spirit or soul the Logos was united more closely than to any other, because of the soul's unceasing effort of will to cleave to Him; it was a fellowship, a union, but not a fusion. At the Incarnation this spirit/soul took to itself a human body and an "animal" soul. The Logos preserved His impassibility; all the human experiences—hunger, sleep, suffering, emotions—were endured by the spirit. The Logos was

able to cause the body to assume all qualities necessary for His activity, varied and different as they were. That is why Jesus was not easy to recognize and why Judas had to identify him with a kiss. Even during the Incarnation the Logos united with all souls everywhere who would open themselves to Him, and acted independently of the human Jesus. At the death on the cross the "animal" soul of Jesus went to the underworld, the body to the tomb, and the spirit to God. After the Ascension the human Jesus was transformed into a spirit and the human nature disappeared, completely absorbed into the godhead. The Incarnation was therefore a closed incident.

As the human spirit of Jesus united itself with the Logos, so the soul of each of us can be united to Him, beginning necessarily with faith, first in the human Jesus of Galilee, then in the Crucified, then in the risen and glorified Christ, and so on up a scale of enlightenment, the Logos assisting at every step, until the "contemplative life" is reached, the pure spirit clinging in love to the deity. Origen was able virtually to dispense with traditional eschatology by allegorizing it. Picturesque imagery is dissolved into morality; hell becomes the gnawing of conscience; the Second Coming can be anticipated in contemplation (*theoria*). The resurrection of the flesh is rejected: "A certain principle is inherent in the body; this is not corrupted and it is from this that the [nonphysical] body is raised in incorruption." But this is only the beginning of the progress of each soul beyond this life. We must experience a series of different purgative processes in a series of different spiritual or intellectual worlds or existences (but never again as incarnate) before achieving our final destiny in return to God. Even the devil must eventually capitulate and freely obey.

Such is a rough sketch of Origen's remarkable fusion of Christianity and Platonism. He was able to distill it from the Bible to his own satisfaction by the use of allegory. This was a system of biblical interpretation that drew its thought partly from pre-Christian Judaism, reflected occasionally in the New Testament, but more from the exegetical method of PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA, a Jewish theologian writing in Greek and a contemporary of Saint Paul, who was deeply influenced by Greek philosophy and contributed much to the thought of both Clement and Origen. A flexible and uncritical use of Philo's allegorizing (i.e., reading into the text a second meaning supposed to be latent within or beneath the ordinary surface meaning) enabled Origen to manipulate the text of the Bible so as to yield virtually whatever meaning he needed for his argument. This technique meant that his thought could be, and to some extent undoubtedly was, independent of scriptural control (or as independent as he chose). In consequence, Origen may be regarded as a great theologian, but he can hardly be described as a great biblical scholar, in spite of his immense exegetical labors and his popularizing the commentary form, which in fact he borrowed (as he borrowed the practice of allegorizing eschatology) from the Gnostics.

Origen was a devout churchman all his life; he championed the Christian church in his books, encouraged its martyrs, instructed its prayer, conducted its services, preached to its congregations, and on more than one occasion was called in to reconcile heretics or to convert the misled. In his own day he was regarded by most of his friends and followers as a great Christian teacher and philosopher, and this deserved reputation lasted long after his death. It would be quite wrong to call him a heretic. By the standards of his own day he was not only orthodox but a defender and upholder of orthodoxy. It was only long after his death that serious accusations of heresy were brought against him, culminating in his condemnation at the Second Council of Constantinople of (553). But the charges brought there against Origen were caused partly by misunderstanding and misrepresentation, partly by complete lack of historical sense, and partly by the demand of contemporary pressures.

Origen's influence upon the Greek-speaking theologians of the Eastern church extended for well over a century after his death. His contribution to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity was a permanent gain and enabled the defenders of the Nicene Creed to overcome the influence of ARIANISM, even though certain other traits in his thought may have tended in the opposite direction. His tradition of interpreting the Bible in the interests of the spiritual development of the individual soul, especially displayed in his work on the Song of Songs and on the book of Numbers, extended its influence well into the Middle Ages in both East and West. Origen has always appealed to individuals of intellect and insight through the ages—for instance, to John Scotus Erigena and to Erasmus—and probably always will. Indeed, international scholarship has seen a great revival in the study of Origen since the end of World War II, and an international Colloquium Origenianum has been founded to further this interest.

Perhaps Origen's greatest and most enduring achievement was to compel the church to recognize the necessity of coming to terms with contem-

porary non-Christian thought. So thoroughly did he achieve this that the church's attitude to philosophy was permanently altered by his work. Never again could it afford to ignore secular thought. Distant though he is from us in time, and distant in culture owing to his living in a late Greco-Roman civilization, and distant in thought because of his preoccupation with late Platonism, we can salute this great Christian Egyptian and recognize in him a kindred spirit as we in our generation struggle to express the Christian message in the language and thought of our day.

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R. P. C. HANSON

Origen in the Copto-Arabic Tradition

There can be no doubt that the condemnation of Origen in 231 and again in 232, and his deposition from the priesthood by Demetrius, the twelfth patriarch of Alexandria (189–231), disqualified Origen in the Coptic church. It is possible that his condemnation by Justinian in 543 as a heretic, as confirmed by the Second Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 553, also was known to some medieval Copts, thus reinforcing their rejection of him.

No work by Origen was translated into Arabic during the Middle Ages—or even in the modern period. Furthermore, no trace of him can be found even in the patristic series on the Bible, in the dogmatic anthologies, or in the original works composed by the Copts in the Middle Ages.

The only mention of him is made in the context of the history of the church, when speaking of Demetrius or Dionysius of Alexandria. Even then, Origen always figures among heretics. Two particular Arabic medieval works make mention of him, the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS and the Coptic Arabic SYNAXARION.

The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, composed by SĀWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA', bishop of al-Ashmūnayn, in the mid-tenth century, speaks at some length of Origen in the biography of Demetrius:

> There was a man [Evetts's correction "among them was the father of a man" cannot be justified] named Origen, who learned the sciences of the heathen, and abandoned the books of God, and began to speak blasphemously of them. So when the Father Demetrius heard of this man, and saw that some of the people had gone astray after his lies, he removed him from the church.
>
> (*History of the Patriarchs*, Vol. 1, part 1)

The account of the battle against Origen goes on for several pages and occupies the major part of the biography of Demetrius. It is borrowed faithfully from book VI of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea.

The Arabic Synaxarion, composed during the first half of the thirteenth century, mentions Origen twice. The first mention is in the biography of Saint Demetrius, on 12 Bābah, where the following is written: "During his time heretics appeared; here are the names of some of them: Clement, Origen, Arius and others. They composed deceitful books, such that Demetrius cursed them and excommunicated them."

The second account is in the bibliography of Saint Dionysius (246–266), on 13 Baramhāt, where we read:

During his time, numerous heresies appeared in religion. Thus in the districts of Arabia people were seen stating, in the error of their spirit, that the soul dies with the body and that it rises again with it at the resurrection. He called a synod against them and excommunicated them. Others followed the heresy of Origen and of Sabellius.

During the modern period, a timid rehabilitation of Origen has been slowly under way in the Coptic church, and certain of his works have recently been translated into Arabic.

KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

Origen's Writings

Origen is decidedly the most prolific author of all time, since he has been accredited by his pupil, Saint Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, with the authorship of at least 6,000 works, a number unsurpassed in the history of literary annals. Saint Jerome contests this estimate and reduces it to 2,000, which is still a majestic figure. Some baffled commentators conjecture that Eusebius of Caesarea, in whose *Life of Pamphilus* this estimate is revealed, could have added a zero to a more acceptable figure of 600, which is an unauthorized statement. Whatever the truth of that monumental figure may be, we must assume that in those days, the totality of all scholars in the CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA pooled their literary products under the name of their great mentor who presided over that institution, and Origen happened to be that leading personality. There is no authorized edition extant of this giant's multitudinous writings, and it has been suggested that an institution or learned society should undertake the task of assembling his works in a monumental series.

Though a great many of Origen's works are lost, and some are fragmentary, the residue thereof, together with such major items as the *Hexapla*, could furnish the world of religious scholarship with one of its most extended collections. In 1882 Brooke Foss Westcott, canon of Westminster and Regius professor of divinity at Cambridge University, attempted to make a chronological and topical survey of Origen's works in a worthy study published in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

Chronologically speaking, the works of Origen are divisible into two groups. The first group belongs to the period of his presidency of the Catechetical School before his flight to Caesarea in 231. This first category included the following titles:

Hexapla begun
Commentaries on the Chronicles, Psalms, Genesis, and John, in several independent books
Two books on the Resurrection
Five books of commentary on Lamentations
On Prayer
Ten books of a miscellaneous character
De principiis
On Free Will

These are mentioned explicitly by Eusebius in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, the last two items belonging to the discipline of philosophy. After Origen's flight to Caesarea and his settlement in that city, his mind became free from the struggles in Alexandria, and his productivity multiplied. According to Eusebius, this order and content may be the consensus of this category starting in 231 and culminating in 249. It is known that Pamphilus collected most of this category for the library of Caesarea, even transcribing a major part thereof in his own hand. Falling into decay, this library was again restored by Eusinius, bishop of Caesarea, and later suffered dissipation like all antique collections. This category, based on the work of Eusebius, mainly consisted of the following items:

231–238: Commentaries on I Corinthians, Luke, Deuteronomy, and John; probably more than eight books

235–236: Letter to Gregory of Neo-Caesarea
Commentaries on Genesis, books 9–12
Mystical homilies on Genesis
Exhortation to Martyrdom
Nine homilies on Judges
Nine homilies on Isaiah
Thirty books of commentary on Isaiah

238–240: Twenty-five books of commentaries on the prophets

240: Letter to Julius Africanus on the Greek additions to Daniel
Five books of commentary on Chronicles completed at Athens, and five more completed at Caesarea

241: Homilies on Psalms 26–38
Commentaries on Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, the minor prophets, and Numbers
Homilies and separate historical treatises

	Completion of commentaries on Psalms
244–:	Four books of homilies on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel
	Fifteen books of commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans
	Hexapla completed
	Commentaries on Matthew
	Epistles to Fabianus and others on miscellaneous items
	Three books of commentaries on I Thessalonians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Hebrews
249:	*Contra Celsum*

Topically, Origen's works may be classified into the following categories: exegetical, dogmatic, apologetic, practical, epistles, and *philocalia* (literally, pastoral and episcopal chronography).

In his extensive article, Westcott meticulously records all details connected with each of these categories and follows the whereabouts of every fragment.

We must remember, however, that most of Origen's original writings in Greek and Coptic have been lost. We depend on the Latin translation of sections of his works by Rufinus essentially, and partly by Saint Jerome. It is through their labors that we can really become acquainted with Origen's massive contributions.

The first category of Origen's work, biblical studies and exegetical commentaries, is the most extensive among his contributions. He was conversant with Hebrew as much as Greek, and this throws much light on his treatment of the Old Testament books. According to Eusebius, Origen wrote twelve books of commentary on Genesis, eight of which were completed at Alexandria and the rest at Caesarea. Jerome states that these books were thirteen in number, including two of mystical homilies. The majority of these homilies survived in a Latin translation by Rufinus, though they fall short in details about Exodus and Leviticus. Cassiodorus mentions four homilies on Deuteronomy. Twenty-six homilies on Joshua were composed by Origen later in his life. Numerous other homilies on Judges, Kings, Samuel, and Job appear in Rufinus' Latin translation. The homilies on Psalms and Proverbs, partly written before leaving Alexandria, were elaborated and completed in Caesarea. Origen wrote a small treatise on Song of Solomon. Cassiodorus enumerates forty-five homilies on Jeremiah. Ezekiel emerges in twenty-nine books comprising twelve homilies. Jerome has preserved some of Origen's notes on Daniel, and extensive commentaries on the minor prophets have survived in twenty-five books cited by Eusebius. These homilies consisted largely of the intrinsic interpretation of each book.

The cumulative studies of the Old Testament are exemplified in Origen's monumental compilation the *Hexapla*, the Greek term for "sixfold." For the first time in the history of the Bible, this fabulous edition of the Old Testament comprised the Hebrew text in Hebrew and Greek letters and the Greek texts of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion reproduced in six parallel columns. In certain sections three further Greek texts were quoted in three additional columns, making the whole in nine columns. Saint Jerome states that he used the original of this enormous work in Caesarea, though only fragments have survived to modern times.

On the New Testament, it may be deduced from the fragmentary evidence available in Eusebius and elsewhere that much was accomplished by Origen, though concrete remains are sparse. On Matthew, Eusebius informs us that Origen completed twenty-five books, probably around 245–246, and this is confirmed by Saint Jerome. Fifteen books containing thirty-nine homilies appear on Mark, four books on Luke, and thirty-two books on John. On Acts, seventeen homilies are known to have survived in Greek, and the commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans figured in fifteen books. On Corinthians I and II, Origen's commentaries are recorded in eleven homilies, Galatians in seven homilies of fifteen books, and Ephesians in three books. For the rest, one book appears on Philippians, two on Colossians, one on Titus, and one on Philemon. Thessalonians is represented in three books of two homilies, while Hebrews is the subject of eighteen homilies; but the treatment on the Catholic Epistles as well as the Apocalypse is uncertain and may not have been fulfilled by Origen as the end of his life approached.

On the second category, Origen's dogmatic writings, he treats the subject of the Resurrection in two books and a dialogue in two other books preceded by his philosophical treatise *On First Principles*, which seems to have excited opposition from writers such as Methodius and Saint Jerome. Written while he was still in Alexandria, the *First Principles* represents the most complete of Origen's philosophical opinions, intended for scholars rather than simple believers, for those who were familiar with the doctrines of Gnosticism and the teachings

of Platonism. This treatise, intended as a system of Christian doctrine or a philosophy of Christian faith, consists of four books. The first treats the final elements of religious philosophy, God, the world, and rational creatures. In the second book Origen elaborates the view that the visible world is a place of discipline and preparation. In the third book, he discusses the moral basis of his system. The fourth deals with its dogmatic basis.

In the subsequent categories, before leaving Alexandria, Origen wrote ten books of a miscellaneous character in which he discussed a variety of subjects in the light of Holy Scripture and of ancient philosophy. Included in its extant fragments are commentaries on the history of Susanna and Bel.

Of Origen's epistles and letters, known to number more than 100, though most are lost, the one addressed to Julius Africanus, written from Nicomedia around 240, appears to be of some significance because it contributes a reply to Julius' objections to the authenticity of the story of Susanna. Most of his letters, addressed to bishops, to scholars, and even to one emperor and his queen, all lost, would have enriched our knowledge of his life and his defense of orthodoxy.

Perhaps the most important of this miscellany is a series of eight books written against Celsus. In his opposition to Christianity, Celsus puts his argument in the mouth of a Jew. Origen simply follows the arguments of Celsus systematically, in three parts: the controversy of the history of Christianity (books I and II), the controversy on the general character as well as the idea of Christianity (books III–V), and the controversy of the relations of Christianity to philosophy, popular religion, and national life (books VI–VIII). Origen refutes Celsus's thesis point by point, working his way toward the establishment of the moral power of Christianity, its universality, and its fitness for mankind.

In the category of Origen's practical writings, his prayer addressed to Ambrosius and Tatiana speaks of the efficacy of praying. Here his statements abound in beautiful thoughts. Prayers are to be rendered only to the Father and through Jesus to the Father.

Of Origen's miscellaneous works, his book *Exhortation to Martyrdom* is the most pathetic. Addressing Ambrosius and Theoctitus, a presbyter of Caesarea, incarcerated during the persecution of Maximinus (235–238), Origen reminisces on his experiences as a boy with his father's martyrdom and as a man with the multitude of Christians led to the gallows. His agonizing statements are meant to strengthen the believers who pledged to endurance. The blood of the martyrs is not spilled in vain; it is destined to gain others for the true faith.

Finally there is the *Philocalia*, a book of extracts of "choice thoughts" of Origen, compiled by GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS and Basil and addressed to Theodosius, bishop of Tyrana, around 382. The interest of this work, apart from the intrinsic excellence of its quotations, lies in the exposition of the place of the Catholic saints in Origen's teaching. Moreover, the *Philocalia* deals with subjects such as the inspiration of divine Scripture, Scripture as a perfect instrument of God, the special character of the persons in Scripture, the clarification of inaccuracies or obscurities in some scriptural phrases, the passages of Scripture that trouble heretics with ill-advised difficulties, the dark riddles and parables of the Scriptures, a reply to the Greek philosophers who disparage the poverty of style in the Scriptures, free will and fate, and a host of other questions and selections from Origen's vast heritage.

It is not easy to make a full evaluation of Origen's writings, for the simple reason that what survives from them is an infinitesimal fraction of the total. Nevertheless, even from the fragmentary remains of his works, in addition to the surviving translations of a limited number of his lost treatises by great and historic personalities such as Rufinus, Saint Jerome, and others, the modern scholar stands in awe and bewilderment at Origen's accomplishments. In the field of biblical studies alone, he is accredited with more contributions than any other man in history. Among other major contributions, he is known to have been the founder of a school of interpretation as well as the textual editor of the Old Testament in Hebrew and Greek. His many books on the New Testament, in the form of commentaries or homiletics, are beyond all recognition. This article gives a mere bird's-eye view of what is traceable from his monumental writings. It is easy for any scholar to apply the canons of modern research to minor points of his work and to issue a critique of some of his detailed pronouncements. Whereas this is to be expected in the incalculable mass of writing left by him, the fact remains that he has done more than any other person for practically all departments of religious studies. Controversies have arisen from his writings, as have numerous schools of thought for and against his thought. Even in his lifetime, he was assailed by ecclesiastical authorities for some of his doctrines that the church repudiated. But this should not minimize the immensity of his contributions or reduce his

place as the greatest mentor of the Christian faith in classical antiquity. We must remember that Origen the theologian lived in a transitional age, in the formative centuries of theological science. Thus it would be a grave error to judge his labors on the basis of developed theological systems of the modern age. The reader has to remember that Origen was the greatest builder of Christian letters at a time when religious scholarship was still in its infancy.

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ORIGENIST CONTROVERSIES. The controversies that flared up around certain doctrines propagated by, or attributed to, ORIGEN in his vast written heritage—most of which survives only in fragmentary form—must be studied as a minor aspect of his work rather than as central to the whole of it. Even though condemned by certain synods and general councils, his errors constitute but an infinitesimal part of the life and work of the greatest religious mentor of all time. It is surprising to read THEOPHILUS, patriarch of Alexandria from 385 to 412, who was originally a firm adherent of Origen but later wrote in one of his festal letters that Origen was the "hydra of heresies." This occurred after the condemnation of Origenism by the Council of Alexandria in 400. Notwithstanding the opposition of his erstwhile supporters and pupils, such as Jerome and Theophilus, Origen was not repudiated by many in the Coptic hierarchy, such as the Tall Brothers, who took refuge in Constantinople with so eminent a personality as Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Among his other formidable supporters were Saints Pamphylius, ATHANASIUS, BASIL, and GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, as well as the great DIDYMUS THE BLIND, who attempted to show that Origen was an orthodox trinitarian.

It must be noted, however, that the hostility of the reigning pope at Alexandria, DEMETRIUS I (189–231), was incurred by Origen's acquisition of priesthood from the Palestinian bishops in a manner contrary to the established tradition of Alexandria. Another reason was his doctrinal differences with the church authorities. He suffered exile from Egypt to Palestine, where he established his own school and concentrated on the writing of his monumental literary output. The points raised by his opponents came into focus in the Latin translation of his *De principiis*, translated by Rufinus. One of the first points raised by the anti-Origenists was Origen's teaching that the scriptures should be interpreted only allegorically. His trinitarian doctrine also aroused opposition by its apparent subordinationism. In his *Treatise on Prayer*, he preached that prayer should be addressed only to the Father, who is the total and absolute truth, whereas the Son and the Holy Ghost are only relative truths. He also contended that all spirits are created equal and that, through the exercise of their free will, they become incarcerated in the human body, which, by falling into sin, may turn into a demon. Nevertheless, all will be mystically saved in the end. Origen's philosophical speculations and theological concepts appear to be in a continuous state of flux, and his mystical thinking is often obscured by the fragmentary nature of his pronouncements. His doctrine of the preexistence of the soul and the dual nature (corporal and spiritual) of all beings aroused much controversy.

Much of Origen's mysticism and theological speculation became the subject of controversy in a number of formal councils held in his lifetime, but the Origenist controversies outlived his time, and in 542 the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE enumerated what the bishops regarded as Origen's aberrations. His opponents succeeded in obtaining an imperial

edict from Justinian, commanding the convening of a second Council of Constantinople in 543, where again an imperial letter of refutation of Origenist errors was condoned by Pope Vigilius. All the bishops approved its contents except Alexander of Abila, who was deposed. The Origenist controversies became a closed chapter for all time, and Origen could be examined in a more sympathetic spirit in the light of his immense role as one of the greatest mentors in the development of Egyptian and world Christianity.

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OSTRACINE. *See* Khirbat al-Filūsiyyah.

OSTRACON, in the Hellenic period a shard or an animal's shoulder blade. It was employed in a city-state's assembly when a vote of ostracism was taken, and was customarily the writing material for nonliterary documents, particularly those of an economic character. In the later Roman and Byzantine eras, in Egypt the ostracon came to be utilized in a far wider range of recording functions. The types of substances used became more numerous, including smooth limestone chips (especially in Upper Egypt, where they were abundant). Most published and known Coptic ostraca date from 500 to 800.

The wide variety of functions that ostraca served, as well as their significance, can be amply documented by citing a few brief examples. Of the biblical texts on ostraca, more than half of the published pieces are quoted from the Psalter, a clear illustration of the importance of worship, enriched by song, among Copts in the late Byzantine era. Homilies and sermons, whose most frequent form of address was hortatory, concerned social and theological subjects. For example, one ostracon exhorted unity in a congregation riven with schism (Crum, 1902, no. 14). The lists and accounts inventory a broad variety of items: money paid, goods sold or delivered, names of persons and places, books, churches, months, names of animals, and glossaries of Greek and Coptic terms (e.g., Crum, 1902, nos. 434, 469; Galling, 1966). Personal letters, frequently in almost illegible handwriting, discuss anything from marriage, divorce, and family-related issues to situations that involved civil magistrates, ecclesiastical officials, and others. A common focus of such letters was concern for the welfare of the poor (e.g., Crum and Evelyn-White, 1926, no. 165).

Since the scriptures were often cited in such works urging the recipient to action, one can visualize how the Bible and religious sentiment were employed in contacts between people, whether of high or low station. Legal and commercial texts, distinguished by the appearance of the names of witnesses at the bottom, include tax receipts, acknowledgments of loans, wills, rental agreements, and even guarantees of local safety for travelers (e.g., Crum, 1902, nos. 108, 145, 147, 160–63, 166, 206; Crum and Evelyn-White, 1926, nos. 87, 93). Ecclesiastical documents, encompassing fines levied by clerics, liturgical calendars, episcopal edicts, homilies, and circular letters, portray the relationships of ecclesiastical officials with others and serve to underscore the significant influence of church officials in Egyptian society.

Shards also were utilized as sketch pads on which artisans drew designs to be employed on the walls and floors of ecclesiastical buildings.

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OTTOMANS, COPTS UNDER THE. With the lapse of Mamluk rule in Egypt and the conquest of the country by the Turks under Sultan Selīm I in 1517, the Copts entered a new chapter in their his-

tory of painful survival. Their community had been depleted by recurrent persecutions, during which a considerable number perished. Many others converted to Islam because of great pressure from the authorities and the desire to continue earning a respectable livelihood. It is said that their total number around the end of the eighteenth century sank to a mere 150,000 out of a total Egyptian population of 3 million. While 600,000 had paid their tithe to the Coptic patriarch immediately after the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT, at this period only 15,000 are known to have done this. According to the European travelers visiting the country in the seventeenth century (Tājir, 1951, pp. 202–203), the number of bishops had dropped from seventy in the seventh century to twelve, mainly posted in Upper Egypt, in 1671. Coptic monks were limited to four monasteries, of which the most important were DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR in Wādī al-Naṭrūn and DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS in the Eastern Desert. Though extremely pious, their religion was restricted to the reiteration of the liturgies; the high theological scholarship of the fathers of the church had disappeared.

Nonetheless, in general, the Copts retained their scribal skills and their acumen in matters of finance and taxation, which rendered their services necessary for the Mamluk beys remaining under an Ottoman governor, whose title was *pasha*. It is doubtful whether the sultan's court at Constantinople was even aware of the existence of the Coptic minority in so distant a colony as Egypt. All the governors of the country cared about was sending the land and poll taxes to Constantinople and filling their own pockets with substantial additional taxes forcibly levied on the helpless subjects, of whom the Christians were an easy prey. On the whole, however, the neglect of the reduced Coptic community had a positive aspect, for it enabled the Copts to lead a relatively peaceful life within their churches, unobserved and unimpaired in the period extending from 1517 to 1798—that is, from the Ottoman invasion to the advent of the French expedition under Napoleon.

It should be noted that the Copts were deeply rooted in their native country and hated emigration or even temporary absence from their birthplaces. Thus, when, in September 1699, the consul general of France, M. de Maillet, offered scholarships for three Coptic youngsters to go to France for their education, he found it most difficult to find candidates, even among the poorest families.

During this period, the relations of the Copts with Europe centered on the advent of Catholic missions to work on attracting the Coptic church to Roman obedience. Though it looked at times as if the project of reunion could succeed, in the end it failed. Perhaps the only positive outcome from this movement was the establishment of mission schools, which offered young Copts European education long before the reform movement of CYRIL IV (1854–1861).

In the early years of Ottoman rule, one finds no illustrious names of Copts who occupied significant positions in the administration. Nevertheless, prior to the French expedition, a few names of great eminence emerged among the Copts and were reported by Muslim chroniclers. Most significant among these was IBRĀHĪM AL-JAWHARĪ, who became head of the administration of the offices of the powerful Mamluk amir Ibrāhīm Bey, who depended on Jawharī in expediting all his finances and grieved for his death; al-Jabartī (1941, Vol. 2, p. 262) said that the amir condescended to attend his funeral at Qaṣr al-'Aynī in 1797.

In fact, the Copts, who were restricted to the routine scribal functions in the secondary offices of the surviving Mamluk beys, began once more to shine under the French occupation on account of their education and proficiency in the French language.

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OXYRHYNCHITE DIALECT. *See Appendix.*

OXYRHYNCHUS. *See* Monasteries of the Lower Ṣa'īd.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI. Oxyrhynchus is the name of the chief town of an ancient district in

Middle Egypt, on the west bank of the Baḥr Yūsuf west of the Nile, at modern Bahnasā. So called by the Greeks after a fish worshiped there, it became famous particularly through the excavations for papyri carried out by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in the winter of 1896–1897 and in the years 1903–1907. The excavations were so productive that this site is first in Egypt for its yields of papyrus. The papyri are chiefly Greek documents and literary texts from the time of Augustus down to the eighth century, which are currently being published in the series *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The literary finds are of particular importance. In addition to the Greek texts, there are texts in Hebrew and Syriac, but only a few in Coptic have become known (Crum, 1927; Kahle, 1954; Quecke, 1974).

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GÜNTER POETHKE

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PACHOMIUS, SAINT (292–346), founder of cenobitic monasticism (feast day: 14 Bashans). He was born of pagan parents in Upper Egypt. His first contact with Christianity occurred in 312, when he was a conscript in the Roman army. As a soldier, he experienced great acts of charity from a local community of Christians whose members brought him relief while he was taken prisoner during that time. This forever marked his understanding of Christianity. From that time he committed himself to serve mankind. The notion of service to God and to all his brothers was a capital feature of his spirituality for the rest of his life.

As soon as he was released from the army, Pachomius settled in a small village called Shenesēt (Chenoboskion), where there was a Christian community into which he was baptized. He devoted himself to the service of others in several ways. He was a born community builder, and every time he settled somewhere, his personality attracted people who availed themselves of his goodness and came closer to him.

After three years of this life of service, Pachomius became one of the disciples of PALAMON, an old man who lived as an ascetic some distance from Shenesēt. From him he learned the forms of asceticism that Palamon himself had inherited from an older tradition: the practice of fasting, vigils, continuous prayer, manual work, and alms.

Seven years later Pachomius felt called to settle in an abandoned village called Tabennēsē, a call that was recognized as authentic by Palamon. Nothing in the Life of Pachomius causes us to think that Pachomius then thought of founding a new form of monasticism, and still less that he had perceived the dangers of eremitism that could be avoided by the new rule of cenobitic life. He went to Tabennēsē simply to pursue his ascetic way of life. But, as in Shenesēt, several men and women congregated around him in the village that had been abandoned when Pachomius arrived.

The idea of elaborating a new form of spiritual fatherhood did not occur to Pachomius. He simply put himself at the service of all his companions, taking care of their needs until he found it necessary to organize the emerging community into a sort of cooperative brotherhood. After several years Pachomius started laying down rules of common work, common meals, and common prayers in the image of the primitive church in Jerusalem. These rules were unpopular with his followers, so they rebelled against him and were expelled. This represented a failure, and Pachomius thus learned a lesson. Consequently, when other disciples came, he did not become their servant, but decided to organize them into a community of service in which each would be responsible for all the others. That ideal of mutual service is at the root of the nascent Pachomian *koinonia* (community) and constitutes the essence of his spirituality.

When he set up his new *koinonia*, Pachomius was not aware that he was founding a new form of monastic life. Nevertheless, it was clear to his contemporaries, as well as to his biographers, that he gave to the monastic phenomenon an absolutely original expression that would be a resounding success, and that was destined to influence the evolution of monastic religious life until modern times.

Gradually, without Pachomius' planning it, a style of life, a *politeia*, emerged. It was inspired to a great extent, especially from the point of view of the material setup of the community, by the organization of the contemporary Coptic villages. Gradually a distinction was made between those who ac-

cepted the life of integral sharing and mutual service under a monastic rule, and the other men and women who had come to live in the village of Shenesēt and now constituted a secular Christian community. Such a Christian community probably had not existed at Tabennēsē before, and Pachomius built a church that served both segments of the whole Christian population, as long as the monks were not so numerous as to require a separate church within the precincts of the monastery. A separate church came at a later stage in the evolution of the community, and then another had to be constructed for the convent of nuns assembled in the same village around the sister of Pachomius.

After these difficult beginnings, the growth and the evolution of the *koinonia* accelerated. Soon the monks were so numerous that a new foundation had to be made at PBOW. The new system had so much appeal that some spiritual fathers who had disciples living around them began to ask Pachomius to organize their communities according to the form of life taught him by the Lord. Some bishops asked Pachomius to introduce this way of life into their dioceses.

Pachomius felt a pastoral responsibility toward all these communities, a responsibility he decided to share with several assistants, on both the spiritual and the material level.

In 346, when Pachomius died, there were some 5,000 monks in nine monasteries (plus the nuns in their two convents) to mourn him and to continue the life of the *koinonia*. He was a man of prayer who knew scripture practically by heart and commented on it indefatigably to his disciples. Though very demanding in his way of life, he had a great understanding of human weakness and a very keen pastoral sense. He was not a theoretician of monastic life but a man of praxis. The living community that he left behind him taught many generations of monks and nuns much more than all the books of spirituality he could have written. His disciples left a very detailed description of his spiritual journey and of his activity as a founder.

Biographies of Saint Pachomius

Shortly after the death of Pachomius, his Life was written by brothers who had known him and had learned about the beginnings of the *koinonia* through the accounts of THEODORUS OF TABENNĒSĒ and of the founder's other early disciples. Collections of his instructions to the brothers and various short narratives probably had been assembled even earlier.

That Life of Pachomius was often copied, translated, rearranged, and combined with other sources in various types of compilations. It has been transmitted in many forms, in Sahidic, Bohairic, Greek, and Arabic. We must also include in the corpus of the Life a document called the *Paralipomena*, which was composed in Greek and is known to exist in a Syriac version as well.

The Coptic Lives. The whole Coptic corpus was published by L. T. LEFORT, who also made a French translation of it. It comprises fragments of several versions or copies of the Sahidic Life and an almost complete Bohairic Life (Bo). The Coptic Life of Pachomius was evidently written in Sahidic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, but it is in the Bohairic version that the most popular and "standard" Coptic Life has been preserved in its most complete form. This is a rendering of the recension represented by the fragments S^4, S^5, and S^{14} (SBo). The Arabic Life in the Vatican (Av) is an acceptable translation of that original Coptic recension. The fragments S^{3b}, S^6, and S^7 belong to the same group, although they have their own characteristics.

Fragments of a few other Coptic Lives are extant in the Sahidic dialect, some of which appear to be very old. Through the first Sahidic Life (S^1) we probably have the most primitive Pachomian tradition. It contains more vivid and original data than the corresponding narratives in other recensions. In particular, it tells in detail about Pachomius' initial project of founding a cenobitic community with the people who had joined him at Tabennēsē, and about the failure of his first attempt. The third Sahidic Life (S^3) seems to have been a large compilation integrating sections of S^1 along with sections of SBo, and it is possible to use it to restore some missing passages of S^1. The two other fragmentary Lives, S^2 and S^{10}, are too mutilated to incorporate into the Pachomian corpus.

The Greek Lives. Of the eight Greek Lives extant, the most important is obviously the first Greek Life (G^1), which has a great deal in common with the Coptic Life of the SBo recension. Of great importance is another document called the *Paralipomena*, comprising a collection of stories about Pachomius and Theodorus. All the other Greek Lives are in one way or another a fresh elaboration of the material found in G^1 and the *Paralipomena*. In 1932 Halkin published the six Lives known at that time. In 1982 he published two more Lives, which complete the Greek corpus although they add little substance to the others. In 1932, for his publication of G^1 and *Paralipomena*, he used both the Florence manuscript and a few fragments existing at the Biblioteca

Ambrosiana. He was unable to use the Athens manuscript that gives the full text of G^1, *Paralipomena*, and *Epistula Ammonis*. Halkin later produced a splendid edition of the Athens manuscript, the text of which slightly modifies that of the Florence manuscript from a stylistic point of view, without altering its content.

The Latin Life of Pachomius translated by Dionysius Exiguus at the beginning of the sixth century must be mentioned in connection with the Greek corpus because of its close relationship to G^2. It is still disputed among scholars whether the Greek text used by him was a source of G^2 or a text having G^2 as its source.

The Arabic Lives. There are several manuscripts of the Life of Pachomius in Arabic, but none of them has yet been the object of a critical edition. It is obvious that all the Lives of Pachomius in Arabic are late translations, but some of them may have preserved texts lost in the original Coptic. They may be classified in three categories:

1. Translation from Coptic. This applies to AV (Vatican Library, Arabic codex no. 172), which appears to be the true version of a Sahidic Life of the SBo recension, and to Ag (Göttingen, University Library, MS no. 116).

2. Translation from Greek. There are many such manuscripts, the most important being Paris, National Library, MS 261 (Ap). An edition printed at Cairo in 1891 (Ac) was probably based on a very similar manuscript. This Arabic category was derived from the third Greek life.

3. Arabic compilation. One of these compilations, published by E. Amélineau in 1889, consists of an Arabic Life similar to Ag, complemented by an Arabic rendering of parts of G^8.

For well nigh half a century, the scholarly dialogue concentrated on the argument over whether the priority in these Lives belongs to the Coptic originals or the Greek recensions. Comparing Bo and G^1, it was easy for the editors of G^1 to find good reasons to believe in its priority over the Coptic Lives, and vice versa. Nowadays it is accepted that SBo cannot be considered a translation of G^1, and vice versa. In fact, both these documents retain their particular value and importance. However, it is obvious that they have many points in common, a fact that indicates that probably they were derived from a common source. On the other hand, each retained its own characteristic mode of using the same material.

It is our belief that a close comparison of SBo, G^1, and Ag could throw new light on the existing problem. Ag has practically all the stories found in SBo and G^1, up to the time of the death of Pachomius, where it stops. But these stories are presented in different orders. The points of contact are such (sometimes SBo agreeing with Ag against G^1 and sometimes G^1 agreeing with Ag against SBo) that Ag cannot be considered a translation or a fresh elaboration of either SBo or G^1. Our conviction is that when the definitive critical edition of Ag has been compiled, it will be easy to demonstrate that Ag is possibly the translation of a Sahidic original text that could have served as a common source for both SBo and G^1. That source probably stopped at the death of Pachomius. In the long part that follows the death of Pachomius, covering the development of the *koinonia* up to the death of Theodorus, the parallelism of the data offered by SBo and G^1 begins to disappear and the various Coptic versions become much less homogeneous.

Despite the complexity of the documents, which must be taken into account, the Life of Pachomius remains the main source of information not only for the early evolution of Pachomian cenobitism but also for Pachomian spirituality. Even from this point of view it is more reliable than the Rules we possess in a form that witnesses to a later evolution of the *koinonia*, which are simply lists of practical regulations rather than a spiritual program.

Rules of Saint Pachomius

When Pachomius wanted to transform into a community the group of men who had come to live with him at Tabennēsē and whom he had served for a few years, he drew up a series of rules that he took from the scriptures (S^1, 11 and 17). Later, when his sister decided to live the monastic life and was joined by other women, he sent them the rules he had written for the brothers (SBo, 27; G^1, 32). When he founded new monasteries or adopted existing communities into the *koinonia*, Pachomius established in the new foundations the same rules as in the monastery of Tabennēsē (SBo, 49ff.; G^1, 54.81). These rules were certainly not a set text. They constantly evolved with the evolution of the *koinonia*, during the lifetime of Pachomius as well as under his successors.

In 404 Saint JEROME translated into Latin four series of precepts that he called the "Rule of Pachomius" and that, along with other documents attributed to Pachomius and his disciples Theodorus and HORSIESIOS, came from the monastery of METANOIA (Canopus) near Alexandria, where Pachomian monks had been brought by Patriarch THEOPHILUS. The books were in Coptic, but Jerome translated

them from a Greek translation made for him. Very important sections of the Coptic texts of these rules have been discovered and published during the twentieth century. A Greek version probably existed very early for the use of the Greek-speaking monks who did not know Coptic. Unfortunately, no manuscript of that version has survived, but we have a collection of Greek excerpts that, like the short recension of Jerome's Latin version, represents an adaptation of the Pachomian Rule to a monastic organization different from that of the Pachomian monasteries. The Rule of Pachomius is also found in several Ethiopian manuscripts, but these usually give three distinct documents: a translation of the famous "Rule of the Angel" from the *Lausiac History*, a translation of the Greek excerpts, and a late Ethiopian compilation devoid of real value.

The "Rule of the Angel" given by PALLADIUS in his *Lausiac History*, perhaps the best-known "Pachomian" document in the manuscript tradition, has nothing in common with the authentic Pachomian rule, and cannot be considered a reliable source for the knowledge of Pachomian practices.

In the complete text found in Jerome's translation, the Rule of Pachomius is composed of four distinct collections called *Praecepta*, *Praecepta et instituta*, *Praecepta atque judicia*, and *Praecepta ac leges*. The *Praecepta atque judicia* is a kind of penitential, measuring out the penances for various types of offenses. The *Praecepta ac leges* regulates the schedules in the individual houses or wards for every evening and deals with the responsibilities of the housemaster. The *Praecepta et instituta* is addressed to the housemaster, who, with the monks of his house, was in charge of the weekly service in the general assembly of all the brothers. The *Praecepta* is by far the longest of these texts and the most composite in character. The repetitions and the various conclusions indicating different blocks of rules show that the series was periodically complemented and expanded according to the new circumstances of the *koinonia*.

Attempts have been made to establish a chronological order for the four sections of the Rule, and it has been claimed that the *Praecepta et instituta* is the most ancient collection and the *Praecepta* the latest. The whole argument, which remains unconvincing, starts from the postulate that one of these four collections must have been composed before the others, and that each should represent the state of Pachomian legislation at some specific point in history. Since they have different purposes, it seems much more natural to assume that they were parallel texts that evolved at one and the same time in different contexts, along with the development of the *koinonia*. Against the theory that the *Praecepta et instituta* was the first collection is the very strong argument that it refers very explicitly to existing sets of rules, one of them being in all probability the *Praecepta*—although perhaps an earlier and shorter version of it.

Concerning the authenticity of these Rules this much can be said: Pachomius and Horsiesios wrote some groups of rules, and probably Theodorus did the same. In 404, about sixty years after the death of Pachomius, and probably more than ten to fifteen years after that of Horsiesios, Jerome received the text of a Pachomian "Rule" to be translated into Latin. The text came from a monastery near Alexandria where some Tabennesiotes (Pachomian monks) had lived since about 390. These texts are therefore Pachomian in a broad sense of the word. How much and what part of them can claim Pachomius as their author, we do not know for certain, and none of the recent studies have brought any decisive light to the problem. We can assume that a small group of precepts was composed by Pachomius himself and that this core has been supplemented by others over the years. But we have no means of knowing for sure which precepts are the most original. We also cannot rule out the possibility that the text transmitted to Jerome from the Monastery of the Metanoia had undergone some modifications under the influence of the surrounding monastic communities of Lower Egypt. As a whole these rules seem to suppose a state of evolution later and more complex than that described in the Life of Pachomius in its early Coptic and even Greek versions.

Instructions of Saint Pachomius

Catechesis, instruction on the Holy Scriptures, was a very important feature of Pachomian cenobitism. The housemaster delivered it to the monks of his house or ward twice a week, on the days of fast, and to the superior of the local monastery three times a week, on Saturday evening and twice on Sunday. Pachomius and his successors at the head of the *koinonia* also gave other instructions, either when they were visiting the brothers of the various monasteries or on special occasions like the celebration of the Passover at Pbow, or the general gathering of all the brothers at the end of the year. Several of the instructions of Pachomius have been inserted into the Life by the biographers. The manuscript tradition also has preserved some of them as separate documents. In his *Oeuvres de Pachôme*

et de ses premiers successeurs, L. T. Lefort published a complete text of one of these instructions and the fragments of another. The latter was given to the brothers on the occasion of the Passover celebration. The first is a very long text into which a large quotation from a homily by SAINT ATHANASIUS has been integrated. These two documents, as well as all the catecheses found in the Life, demonstrate a very great knowledge of scripture on the part of Pachomius and a great pastoral experience.

Letters of Saint Pachomius

The corpus of Pachomian material translated into Latin by Jerome in 404 contained eleven letters, some of them making a cryptic or "spiritual" use of the symbols of the Coptic alphabet. Until very recently these letters were known only in the Latin version, but now the Greek and Coptic originals of the majority of them have been discovered and published. We possess the Coptic text of letters 8, 9a and 9b, 10, and 11a and 11b (letters 9 and 11 in the translation of Jerome correspond to two different letters in the Coptic manuscripts). We also have a very old Greek translation of letters 1, 2, 3, 7, and 10 from a manuscript of the Chester Beatty Library. After several preliminary studies, Hans Quecke published all these Coptic and Greek documents in 1975, with a long technical introduction.

One of the important questions concerning these letters is their Pachomian authenticity. They certainly existed in Coptic at a very early stage, since we have a Greek translation preserved on a fourth-century parchment. From a comparison of Jerome's version and the Coptic and Greek texts, it appears that Jerome had before him a Greek text very similar to the one preserved in the Chester Beatty Library. Jerome attributed the letters explicitly to Pachomius, and Quecke does not find any positive reason to doubt that attribution. However, none of the letters, either in Greek or in Coptic, bears a title attributing it to Pachomius. A few passages from these letters are quoted by Horsiesios and SHENUTE without any explicit reference to Pachomius. This seems to leave a certain margin of doubt concerning the attribution of the corpus to Pachomius himself, although there is no question concerning their provenance from a Pachomian milieu.

One of the letters (no. 5) is about the annual meeting of all the brothers for the Easter celebration, and another (no. 7) about the other annual meeting in the month of Misrā. The last three letters (9, 10, and 11) are about the things to come, and hence have a prophetic character. The rest seem to be spiritual exhortations. But none of them is easy to interpret, least of all those (nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 11) that use a cryptic type of language. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given, and even Quecke, who has studied the question very thoroughly, was unable to find a clear answer. No demonstrable connection can be established with a similar use of the alphabet in various documents of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY. The Pachomian practice probably has something to do with the traditional love of the Egyptians for cryptograms, to which old Egyptian hieroglyphs lent themselves so well.

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ARMAND VEILLEUX

PACHOMIUS BASILICA. *See* Pbow.

PACHOMIUS THE YOUNGER, one of the second group of five brothers who came to Pachomius at Tabennēsē about A.D. 324 (SBo, 24; G^1, 26—the life of Pachomius known through the Bohairic version and several Sahidic fragments, and the first Greek life of Pachomius, respectively). He is mentioned among the ancient brothers at the time of Pachomius' appointment of Theodorus as steward of Tabennēsē (c. 336–337). He was still alive in 368, at the time of the death of Theodorus, and was one of the ancient brothers who then urged HORSIESIOS to speak some words of comfort to the brothers (SBo, 208).

The monk named Pachomius mentioned in the fragment of a Coptic papyrus from Codex VII of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY could be this Pachomius or any other monk with that name, either "Pachomian" or not.

[*See also:* Monasticism, Pachomian.]

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ARMAND VEILLEUX

PAESE AND TECLA, SAINTS, brother and sister who were martyrs under Diocletian (feast day: 8 Kiyahk). The text of their Passion has survived in one complete manuscript in Sahidic and in other fragments (Reymond-Barnes, 1973; cf. Browne, 1974).

Paese was a rich property owner from Pousire, near Shmun; Tecla was his widowed sister. When the persecutions begin, they both visit the prisons to help the martyrs. On the invitation of Paul, a merchant friend, Paese goes to Alexandria, where he also helps the martyrs in prison. During this period Victor is brought to Alexandria. Seeing Victor's torture, Paese confesses to the prefect Armenius that he too is a Christian and he is imprisoned. There follow scenes of courtroom argument, torture, and miracles.

Receiving no news of Paese, Tecla goes to Alexandria to look for him. She is miraculously accompanied on her journey by the Virgin Mary and angels. When she reaches Alexandria, she finds Paese in prison and comforts him and the other martyrs. Then she confesses her faith in court. After various other forms of torture, the two saints are handed over to Eutichian and taken to suffer martyrdom in Tepot. In the conclusion Julius of Aqfahs claims authorship of the text.

This is a typical fictitious account from the late period of the Cycles, particularly of the type constructed around the figure of Julius of Aqfahs.

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TITO ORLANDI

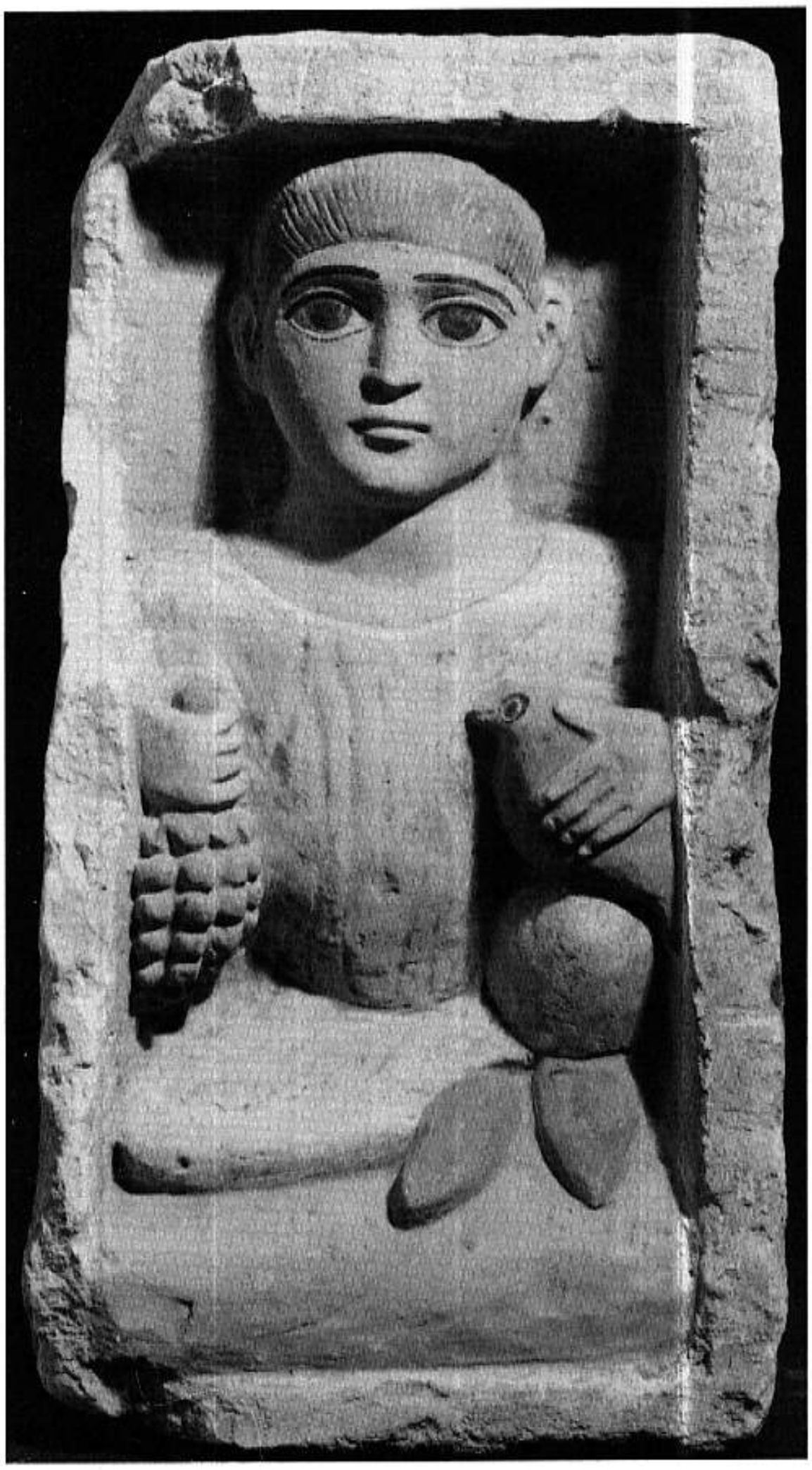
PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT. During the Roman era the religious life of Egypt was characterized by great diversity. First, there was the traditional religion inherited from the pharaonic age. The theology and the rituals of the past were preserved by the priests in a number of pharaonic-style temples, such as those in Dandarah, Isnā, Idfū, Kom Ombo, Philae, and Nubia, which had been reconstructed under the Ptolemies. Karnak and Luxor substantially retained their original form. Besides reliefs, the temples were decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions written in a system that varied from temple to temple. These texts appeared to the ordinary Egyptians and Greeks to contain a mysterious wisdom, since for a long time only priests could read hieroglyphs. Indeed, it was in these temples that traditional theology found a last refuge. Astronomy, chemistry, alchemy, medicine, philology, and history also were pursued in the temples.

While these temples were respected by the state authorities and the people, they had a limited effect on the development of beliefs during the Roman rule. They represented isolated fortresses of the past in a transformed world.

Second, the original form of Greek religion was in decline. Outside Alexandria the cult of Homeric gods retained importance in Naucratis, Oxyrhynchus, the Fayyūm, and Ptolemais. The cult of the Dioscuri constituted a remarkable element. Since they did not have Egyptian counterparts, they remained untouched by any local influence. One of the last products of Greek epic, the *Dionysiaca,* a compendium of mythology, was composed by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS.

Third, since Herodotus, the Greeks had discovered common features in Greek and Egyptian deities and had linked them with each other, for instance, Osiris-Dionysus, Isis-Demeter, Isis-Aphrodite, Horus-Apollo, Ammon-Zeus, Mut-Hera, Chonsu-Heracles, Thoth-Hermes. After Alexander the Great, the long coexistence of the two ethnic communities made these equations popular with the masses and led to the formation of numerous syncretistic Greco-Egyptian cults. It was Serapis (Osiris-Apis) amalgamated with Zeus, Helius, Hades, Poseidon, and other deities, as well as Isis, who had the greatest appeal to the Greco-Roman world. Greeks living in Egypt were attracted to Egyptian funerary cults and gradually adopted mummification.

Fourth, the Jewish communities in Alexandria and in other places constituted an important religious factor. The Septuagint and the religious treatises of Philo rendered their faith accessible to members of other ethnic groups. They had a temple



Follower of the goddess Isis. Sheikh Ibada (Upper Egypt), ca. 325 A.D. Limestone with traces of paint. Height 17 in. *Courtesy D. & J. de Menil Collection.*

in Leontopolis from the time of Ptolemay VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.). It was erected by the high priest Onias (Josephus Flavius *Antiquitates* 13.3) within the building of a deserted temple of the goddess Bast. After the capture of Jerusalem by Titus (A.D. 70), it was closed.

The suppression of the Jewish revolt in A.D. 115 temporarily broke the power of the Jews in Egypt. Enmity between them and the Greeks in Alexandria was a recurring element. A grave conflict between Christians and Jews in the time of Cyril ended with the sacking of the Jewish quarter.

Fifth, the rest of the cults did not play any prominent part. Among them the cults of Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoë, of the goddess Roma, and of the emperors received support from the state, though some pagan monuments were dedicated by soldiers stationed in Egypt.

Oriental deities were worshiped in smaller circles. We have a vivid early Ptolemaic description of the Adonis festival in Alexandria in the *Adoniazusai* of Theocritus, and there is evidence for this cult also from the Roman period, when Adonis was identified with Osiris and Aion. Astarte had her cult in Egypt from the time of the New Kingdom. Atargatis also was adopted in Egypt. Mithra had a sanctuary in Alexandria and was venerated in other places. There was a Nanaion in Alexandria built in honor of the semitic goddess Nanaia.

Christianity

According to Eusebius, Christianity was introduced into Alexandria by Saint Mark, though earlier sources do not mention this mission. Scanty evidence hinders the reconstruction of the history of early Christianity in Egypt. The earliest record is a fragmentary papyrus of the Gospel according to Saint John. It is a matter of debate how strongly the early Christian communities were connected with the Jews, and it is far from clear how they were influenced by gnosticism. At any rate, the strong presence of gnosticism in second-century Alexandria is evident in the works of Basilides and Valentinus.

Also, the heritage of Hellenism was an important element in the development of Alexandrian theology. The history of the Alexandrian church can be traced from Patriarch DEMETRIUS I (189–231) on. During the third century, the church made considerable progress throughout the country. There were bishops in Alexandria and in Nilopolis and Hermopolis (Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6.42, 6.46). By the end of the third century the church achieved respectability among different classes and ethnic groups. In some districts a considerable part of the population may have belonged to the Christian community.

Conflict with Other Religions

From its very beginning Christianity was in opposition to all other contemporary religions. The refu-

sal to take part in the cult of the emperors and in other religious rites was a source of conflict with the authorities. Until the time of CONSTANTINE the church had no choice but to struggle against paganism on the ideological plane, in preaching, and in literature. The existence of heathen gods was not explicitly denied; rather, they were declared to be evil spirits or demons: ". . . all the gods of the nations are demons" (Psalms 96:5). This meaning was given to the sentence in the Septuagint, while the Hebrew original has a somewhat different sense. The New Testament (1 Cor. 10:20) and the fathers of the church (e.g., Lactantius *Divinae institutiones*, 4.27) also regarded the gods as demons.

Two passages of the Old Testament were interpreted as prophecies predicting the triumph of Christianity in Egypt: Isaiah 19:19, "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt . . ."; Isaiah 19:1, ". . . Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall be melted in the midst of it." In Coptic and Greek hagiography many legends about the destruction of idols by saints and martyrs were based on Matthew 8:29, in which the demons cry out, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before time?"

The negative attitude of the Old Testament toward Egypt was accepted by the church. Nevertheless, the words of Paul (Romans 1:19–23) were interpreted to mean that God revealed His qualities to the Gentiles—including the Egyptians—through His created works, but the Gentiles failed to offer the right kind of worship to him. The passage induced Augustine to form a more favorable opinion:

> There may be others to be found who perceived and taught this truth among those who were esteemed as sages or philosophers in the other nations: Libyans of Atlas, Egyptians, Indians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards. Whoever they may have been, we rank such thinkers above all others and acknowledge them as representing the closest approximation to our Christian position [Saint Augustine *De civitate Dei* 8.9, trans. H. Bettensen, Harmondsworth, 1972].

Animal worship, mentioned in Romans 1:23, was an object of ridicule in the works of the fathers of the church. One of the first to speak of it is Justinus (*Apology* 1.24). The Catechetical School of Alexandria was interested in both Greek and Egyptian religion. It was CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA who first discussed some aspects of Egyptian religion. He appears deeply impressed by the splendor of the temples but finds it absurd that animal gods were worshiped there (*Paedagogus* 2.4.2ff.). Nevertheless, when making a comparison with the gods of the Greeks, he shows, remarkably, more indulgence for the animal worship than for the "adulterous" Greek gods (*Protrepticus* 2.39.4ff.).

Origen, too, condemned the religion of the Egyptians. He learned, however, from the work of Celsus and probably from other sources that there was a deeper meaning behind the cult of the sacred animals.

Euhemerism was one of the weapons used against ancient mythology. Athenagoras used the testimony of Egyptian priests and sages in claiming that originally the gods had been men who came to be deified later.

By the words of inspired nonbiblical poets and prophets, the Christian authors endeavored to support their claim that the victory of Christianity was inevitable. This constituted a remarkable element in the religious conflict. Besides Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, supposedly predicting the birth of Jesus, the *Sibylline Oracles*, in reality reflecting Christian and Jewish ideas, were also in high esteem as pagan prophecies. They contain several passages relating to the decline of the gods in Egypt. Clement of Alexandria quoted the *Sibylline Oracules'* prophecy that the temple of Isis and Serapis would be overthrown (*Protrepticus* 4.50.3). In another passage, a priest clad in linen cloth summons his compatriots, the Egyptians, to build a splendid sanctuary to the true God and to repudiate the idolatry of the ancestors (5.493–96). Sibylla enjoyed a high reputation with the Copts as the sister of Henoch, her position being something like that of a saint.

Saint Augustine wanted to make HERMES TRISMEGISTUS-Thoth into the prophet of the decline of Egyptian religion. In a Hermetic literary work of unknown authorship, the highly emotional description of the plagues predicted to befall Egypt (*Asclepius* 24–26) was considered by Augustine (*De civitate Dei* 8.23) to be a prophecy lamenting the destruction of Egyptian religion by Christianity. In actual fact, it belongs to an ancient Egyptian literary genre of apocalyptic predictions. The prophecy also survived in a Coptic version (Nag Hammadi Codex VI; Krause and Labib, 1971). The widespread interest in such predictions is also demonstrated by a Coptic manuscript containing three pseudo prophecies attributed to Ulysses, Pythagoras, and Porphyrius. Their original language was probably Greek. Ulysses and Porphyrius foretell the destruction of the temples, while Pythagoras speaks of the production of

idols as foolishness. According to Rufinus (*Historia ecclesiastica* 11.29), when the Serapeum in Alexandria was occupied by the Christians, the pagan priests recalled a tradition that their religion would flourish until the sign of life—the cross, identified with the hieroglyph ankh—appeared.

The tone of Christian polemic literature grew more and more harsh in the course of time. Apologetic and philosophical debate gave way to triumphant and scornful invectives against polytheism and idolatry. The last two eminent personalities of the Egyptian church who had to deal seriously with paganism were CYRIL THE GREAT and SHENUTE.

After the second century, those who adhered to ancient cults came to realize the need to reject Christian doctrines through philosophical and religious arguments. Of the three most important authors—Celsus, Porphyrius, and the emperor JULIAN—Celsus wrote significant passages on the religious situation in Roman Egypt, although he was unable to make a clear distinction between orthodox Christianity and gnosticism. The person of Jesus Christ was variously valued in pagan literature, for instance, he was held to have been a magician who accomplished his miracles by secret magical arts of Egyptian sanctuaries and by powerful names of angels (Arnobius *Adversus nationes* 1.43). On the other hand, his exceptional piety was acknowledged, and it was his followers who were blamed for making him into God (Augustine *De civitate Dei* 19.23).

The polytheistic religions in antiquity were generally tolerant of one another, so it is no wonder pagans were ready to compromise with Judaism and Christianity. This tendency fitted in well with Jewish intentions to present heathen deities as biblical personalities. Hermes-Thoth was said to have been identical with Moses. An equation was made between Isis and Eve, though more importance was attached to the derivation of Serapis from the biblical history of Joseph. This also was favorably accepted in ancient Christian literature (Melito Sardianus *Apology* 5). Since Joseph was the great-grandson of Sarah, Firmicus Maternus saw her name in that of Serapis (*De errore profanarum religionum,* 13); the calathus of Serapis was regarded as an allusion to the granaries of Joseph.

By means of these identifications, Christians thought to unmask the gods. In pagan circles they were not perceived as insulting, since the apotheosis of prominent men was widespread. Numenius, a Syrian forerunner of Neoplatonism in the second century, placed the religions of the Greeks, the Brahmins, the Jews, the Persian magi, and the Egyptians on the same level (frag. 9; Eusebius *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.7). In another passage, Genesis 1:2 is paralleled with the Egyptian cosmogonical notion of the Primeval Water (frag. 46; Porphyrius *De antro nympharum* 10) that has been a part of the great religions. In the *lararium* of Emperor Alexander Severus the images of Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana were admitted. We find a similar attitude held by the Gnostic Carpocratians (Irenaeus *Adversus omnes haereses* 1.25.6).

While the masses adopted the Christian faith, many pagan intellectuals, mainly Greeks, converted to philosophy, first of all to Neoplatonism. The chief representatives of Neoplatonism had a keen interest in the sacred wisdom of the Egyptians. It was an Egyptian priest who evoked the spirit of Plotinus in the Iseum in Rome and demonstrated its divine nature (Porphyrius *Vita Plotini* 10). The last compendium of Greco-Oriental mysticism with many Egyptian elements was composed by Iamblichus in the fourth century.

However, the end of the gods was imminent. One of them, Antoninus, who devoted himself to the cult of the gods in Kanobos, predicted to his disciples that the temple there and also the Serapeum would cease to exist (Eunapius *Vitae sophistarum,* p. 471c). What he feared soon came true, but the philosophers did not give up the cult of the Egyptian gods. Even as late as the fifth century Proclus composed hymns in honor of Isis at Philae (Marinus *Vita Procli* 19), and HERAISCUS was buried according to the Osirian ritual (see MUMMIFICATION).

The Political Struggle

Political conflict with the state was imminent after the rise of Christianity. In Egypt, if we disregard anti-Christian riots of smaller dimensions, Eusebius recorded three great persecutions. During the first one, about A.D. 200 under Septimius Severus (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6.1–6), the Alexandrian community in particular was gravely afflicted. While contemporary data for the oppression under Septimius Severus are missing, there is ample evidence for the large-scale systematic persecution under Decius between 249 and 251. An imperial decree ordered sacrifice and libation to the gods, and certificates (*libelli*) that these had been performed were required. Many of these documents are known from Egypt. Decius' death did not put an end to the persecutions, which continued intermittently until 260.

A change came after the capture of Valerianus by the Persians. Then the religious politics of Gallienus brought about a change, and the church lived under relatively peaceful circumstances until 303, when the cruelest of persecutions began under DIOCLETIAN (284–305). The oppression was especially bloody in the Orient, and many Egyptian Christians were victimized for their faith. In the Coptic calendar, the Era of the Martyrs has as its starting point Diocletian's year of accession, 284. The persecution continued under Galerius (305–313). The patriarch of Alexandria, Peter I, was beheaded at the end of Galerius' reign, although accounts erroneously name Diocletian as emperor. A Christian tradition attributed a baneful role to Egyptian magicians, who allegedly instigated the persecutions. Also Licinius (311–324), who again became a supporter of paganism in his last years, is said to have had Egyptian soothsayers and magicians in his entourage (Eusebius *Vita Constantini* 2.4).

A new chapter commenced in the history of the Egyptian church when Constantine won control of Egypt in 324. The hatred stemming from the bloodshed under Diocletian made a peaceful coexistence between the Christian and pagan parties virtually impossible. Constantine gradually went over to the side of the Christians and began to take measures to reduce the power of the ancient cults. It was certainly a heavy blow to the worshipers of Serapis, the supreme god in Alexandria, that Constantine ordered the Nile cubit, the symbol of the god as lord of the flood, to be transferred from the Serapeum into a church (Socrates Scholasticus *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.18). The participation of androgynous, or eunuch, priests in the cult of the Nile was forbidden. Although the decree of 331 was not enforced—that is, the temples were not destroyed—the cult of the gods reached a critical situation. In spite of the hostile religious policies of the state, the ancient religions actually survived the reign of Constantine. The antipagan attitude of the emperor was somewhat exaggerated in the later tradition: a Coptic text presents him as a ruler who ordered the destruction of the images of the gods and the execution of the pagan priests.

Also, Coptic literature adapted the legend of the emperor's conversion before the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. It says that during the night before the battle, Constantine saw the stars lined up in the form of a cross, which was identified by a Christian soldier as the sign of Christ.

The situation grew even worse under Constantius II (337–361). While the decree of 341 prohibiting sacrifices to the gods was certainly not enforced, it was a sign of the general tendency. Two events in Egypt made it clear that the state was ready to resort to the most brutal measures. In Abydos an oracle of Bes became a fashionable cult center consulted even by men of rank living outside Egypt in the late Roman period (Ammianus Marcellinus 19.12.3ff.). Some of the answers of the god were sent to the emperor. Since the god obviously was consulted occasionally on the question of succession to the imperial power, the denunciation led to a wave of persecutions of hysterical severity. Any magical practices and divination were considered by the emperors of the fourth century as mortal threats to their safety.

The target of another attack was the Serapeum in Alexandria. Artemius, the *strategos* of Egypt, stormed the temple with his soldiers and plundered it, taking away statues of the gods and offerings (Julianus *Epistle* 10). There was obviously no more effective legal protection available to the temples. Then, a sudden change in the political situation gave a new lease on life to the pagan cults. The accession of JULIAN THE APOSTATE (361–363) brought about a new religious policy favoring paganism. The temporary victory of the pagan party led to the uprising of the mob in Alexandria against the Arian bishop Georgius, and he was killed by the pagans. Artemius was condemned to death by the emperor. Julian redressed an old grievance of the pagans by restoring the Nile cubit to the Serapeum (Sozomen *Ecclesiastica historia* 5.3). The discovery of a new Apis bull may have been taken as a good omen for a religious renaissance. In the Egyptian pantheon it was Serapis, with his rich syncretistic associations, who matched the best of the abstract philosophical religion of Julian (cf. Julian *Orationes* 4.35 S.).

With the death of Julian the pagan party lost its dominance. While the attempt to revitalize the moribund ancient religions failed, it appears that the pagan cults survived in Egypt in relative peace until the reign of Theodosius (379–395). The conflict grew intense again in 391, when a full-scale civil war broke out in Alexandria. Although it is hard, because of controversial sources, to obtain a clear picture of the course of events, it emerges unequivocally that the pagans rose up in arms against the patriarch THEOPHILUS (385–412) and used the Serapeum as a stronghold from which to launch attacks against the Christians. The crisis was caused by the desecration of the cultic objects of a pagan temple by Theophilus. In SOZOMEN'S narrative it was a temple of Dionysus. Socrates speaks of Methra-

eum (*Ecclesiastica historia* 17.15ff.). In the same year Emperor Theodosius issued a decree prohibiting sacrifices and visits to the temples in Rome. When informed of the situation in Alexandria, he promulgated a similar decree for that city. The rebels were given amnesty, but the Serapeum had to be abandoned to the Christians, who destroyed the statue of the god. The temple was converted into the Church of Arcadius (Calderini, 1935, p. 145). There is also evidence for a Church of Saint John the Baptist there.

With the abolition of the cult of Serapis—in an open religious debate the name of Serapis was not mentioned at all—there was an end to the institutional form of ancient religion in Alexandria, though the teaching of philosophy and sciences continued for a long time with pagan masters. A new outbreak of religious fanaticism, culminating in the murder of the philosopher Hypatia by a mob in 415, did not alter the situation. The cult of the gods continued, more or less in secret, even in the neighborhood of Alexandria. Patriarch Cyril had to transport the relics of two martyrs, Cyrus and John, to Menuthis in order to counteract the influence of Isis as a healing goddess. In spite of this, paganism lingered on in Menuthis, and in 484 a great number of images representing gods and sacred animals were discovered in a house. The worshipers consisted mostly of the members of Alexandrian academic circles. The statues were transported to Alexandria and publicly burned.

In the rest of the country the disappearance of paganism took place at various dates. In Memphis the cults were probably abolished at the end of the fourth century. In the eleventh Upper Egyptian nome, in Tkow, the god Kothos was worshipped in the first half of the fifth century. The pagans were accused of murdering Christian children, and the temple was burned. In the district of Akhmīm, Shenute led the struggle against the pagan communities. The surviving temples in Atripe, Plewit, and Kronus in Akhmīm were occupied or destroyed. The god Bes haunted as an evil spirit in Abydos. Apa Moses fought against a corporation of pagan priests until his prayer caused the temple to collapse.

In Thebes the cults probably ended at an earlier date. There is evidence for a high priest of Amon in A.D. 180 (Quaegebeur, 1974, p. 43). About 300 a Roman camp was built in the temple of Luxor. The *sacellum*, the sanctuary of the camp, was the place of the imperial cult under the Tetrarchy. A number of Coptic churches were erected beside the temple, one in the court itself (now beneath the Abū al-Ḥajjāj mosque). In Karnak, the Festival Hall of Thutmosis III was transformed into a church, and the remains of monasteries have been found in various places. On the west side of Thebes numerous ancient tombs were converted into dwellings or used for cultic purposes by the Christians. There were Christian buildings in a number of temples, and temples were used for the Christian cult.

The last of the temples where the cult survived until the reign of Emperor JUSTINIAN (527–565) was the temple of Isis at Philae. This was tolerated for political reasons, since the majority of the Nobadae and Blemmyes accepted Christianity as late as the sixth century. They were permitted to visit the island regularly. Although it was a pagan religious center, a Christian community lived there from the fourth century. The exact date of the closing of the temple cannot be established beyond 535/537. It was part of the religious policy that put an end to the Academy in Athens in 529. The priests were arrested and the images of the gods sent to Constantinople (Procopius *De bello Persico*, 1.19–37). The temple was converted into the Church of Saint Stephen.

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L. KÁKOSY

PAGARCH (Greek, *pagarchos* or *pagarchēs*), word of obscure origin because of the comparative lack of papyri from the fifth century. G. Rouillard (1928) dates it to 460/470, while W. Liebeschuetz (1973) connects the rise of the pagarch with the reforms of Emperor Anastasius I (491–518), whose aim was to revive civic institutions. By the sixth century the pagarch was the most powerful representative of the principle of local autonomy in the civil administration of Egypt. Under Arab administration, after 642, the pagarch (also known as *epikeimenos, amiras, dioikētēs, archōn*) formed the main link between the Arab governor and the subject population. From the end of the seventh century, the office was increasingly held by Muslims.

The pagarch was chosen, probably by provincial authorities, from among wealthy ex-officials and major landowners; an example is the Apion family, who held the post for several generations at Oxyrhynchus (Gascou, 1985, pp. 61–75). His appointment by the pretorian prefect was subject to ratification by the emperor. Rather than being an office in the strict sense, the function of the pagarch seems to have been a *munus patrimonii* (patrimonial office); it also could be held by women (Gascou, 1972, pp. 68–70). Though the pagarch received his instructions from the provincial governor, he was directly responsible to, and could only be dismissed by, the emperor (see the regulations of Justinian's Edict, XIII.12; 25).

From the end of the sixth century, the district administered by a pagarch was called a *pagarchia.* The same word is attested in the fourth century with the meaning "office of the *praepositus pagi*" (P. Oxyrhynchus 17.2110, A.D. 370). Hence the assumption that the pagarch supplanted the *praepositus pagi,* who is attested from 307/308 until the second half of the fifth century, as chief officer of a *pagus.* The pagarchy has accordingly been considered to be a conglomerate of *pagi:* the *pagus* (created in 307/308 to replace the toparchy) being the rural area surrounding a city, the administrative district of the pagarch would have been equivalent to the nome with the exception of the metropolis (Gelzer, 1909). This suggestion has been convincingly rejected in favor of the assumption that the pagarchy was coextensive with the nome in its entirety (e.g., Bell, 1908, pp. 101–103). A single pagarchy could be headed by two, sometimes three, pagarchs. This did not imply a topographical division, at least not in the Byzantine period, but a division of responsibilities (Gascou, 1972; Wipszycka, 1971).

As "director of taxation," the pagarch probably supplanted the *exactor civitatis,* himself a successor of the *strategos* of the nome, whose office was reduced to that of a tax collector after 307/308. The pagarch, however, exerted greater coercive power and enjoyed more autonomy toward the city council than the *exactor* ever did. He was responsible for forwarding and enforcing the financial orders of the central and the provincial governments on the local level, a delicate task because it involved direct contact with the often unruly taxpayers. In rural areas, the pagarch's authority to make assessments and collect imperial tribute was confined to the villages and estates that were not granted the privilege of *autopragia* (the right to collect their own taxes and to deliver them directly at the provincial

bureau, the *epichōrios taxis)*. Besides his financial duties, the pagarch exerted some judicial functions, for instance, ensuring that the decisions of the provincial courts were executed.

The pagarch held his office for several years, perhaps for life. Some pagarchs combined their office with that of a *topotērētēs*, a provincial governor's deputy, or of a *tribunus (stratēlatēs)*, a garrison commander, thus increasing their authority to a degree rarely conceded to local functionaries in earlier Roman provincial administration (Liebeschuetz, 1974).

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BÉNÉDICTE VERBEECK

PAINTING, COPTIC MURAL. This article discusses painting on the walls of houses, Roman camps, tombs and funerary chapels, monasteries, and churches in Egypt from the third century to the thirteenth. For painting on panels see ICONS; PORTRAITURE.

Mural painting had a long tradition in the pharaonic period. It continued in the Coptic period, generally in the same techniques. In subject matter and style, murals in houses and palaces, as far as they are known, followed Greco-Roman traditions. Funerary murals displayed the iconography common to early Christianity everywhere. In the churches and great monastic establishments, the originality of Coptic painting was clearly evident.

Techniques

Twentieth-century excavations at Isnā and Kellia have provided a more precise idea of the mural-painting techniques of Coptic artists, professional and nonprofessional, than was hitherto available. In most instances the paint consisted of pigment mixed in whitewash (lime and water) or with a binder such as egg or casein. It was applied to dry or slightly moistened plaster (a mixture of lime, water, and sand), which partially fused with the paint. In extremely rare instances the paint was applied while the plaster was still wet, in accordance with the true fresco technique described by the Roman architect Vitruvius. With the information available at present, it is not possible to determine whether these paintings were true frescos on intentionally wet plaster or whether they were the result of the painter's impatience for the plaster to dry.

The plaster surface supporting the paint may have been simply brushed on the wall or carefully boffeted in place. It is not known whether these two techniques date from different periods or depend on the dimensions or condition of the wall to be covered. The painters were well acquainted with the characteristics of their materials, such as their resistance to the acid in lime and the atmosphere and the reaction of compounds with each other. They used brushes and pens of varying thickness and quality: fine brushes and pens for contour lines and sketches, thicker ones for continuous strokes, and dense brushes for filling in stencil designs or large surfaces.

In many nonrepresentational murals it has been determined that the artist began by drawing vertical, horizontal, and oblique lines with the aid of a string probably dipped in red (or rarely black) dye. Around them he painted vague yellow, brown, and black shapes to suggest the veins in marble. In other murals, of complex figural subjects, the artist made a sinopia (a preliminary drawing in reddish pigment) indicating the pose of a figure or the

placement of the principal elements in the composition. In most cases the strokes are clear, swift, and sure, with no sign of the artist changing his mind.

In some nonfigural murals the preparatory design was incised with a pointed instrument, as for example at Kellia, where circles were marked by a light groove and a center dot, suggesting the use of a compass. Other murals at Kellia are friezes consisting of simple motifs repeated along the whole length of the wall, suggesting the use of a stencil.

In the Roman period, murals of important subjects and in important places were carefully finished. According to Pliny they were smoothed with a flat instrument to hide the dividing lines between sections of plaster and to remove all roughness. This technique was no longer used in the Byzantine period, when, for the most part, the plaster was quickly smoothed over and then painted.

Finally, in some instances, painting and relief sculpture were combined. The plaster was worked in relief before it dried in order to create moldings, pilasters, columns, and striking profiles. The color completed the illusions of stone architecture: vertical or oblique lines evoked flutings and torsades; acanthus leaves decorated the capitals; curved ridges painted in dark colors against a lighter background gave the impression of carved conch shells. Sometimes the combination is such that the truly sculpted elements supported others that were stuccoed and painted, or vice versa. This technique was especially frequent at Saqqara.

Murals in Secular Buildings

Little is known about the paintings that adorned the private homes in Egyptian cities during the Byzantine era: Tanis, Bubastis, Karanis, Hermopolis Magna, Thebes, Elephantine, and al-Kab, to cite but a few examples. It is likely, however, that there, as at Antinoopolis, the styles and subjects adopted during the Greco-Roman period persisted: friezes of panels painted in imitation of marble or alabaster slabs, geometric motifs, scrolling floral elements.

In the Roman camps, which were still active in the Byzantine period, there existed a Roman provincial art that belonged to the pagan world. A few examples have been discovered at Qaṣr-Qarūn, (ancient Dionysias), which are marked by a strong influence from Palmyra, and Luxor, where the paintings of the "Imperial Temple," long considered to be Christian, have been proven to be portrayals of diverse aspects of the Roman imperial cult and military life.

Funerary Murals

Little more is known about funerary murals. Knowledge of the Christian catacombs and chapels of Alexandria, now destroyed, has been transmitted only through ancient descriptions. In the catacomb of Karmūz, two or three layers of paintings, accumulated through the third to fifth centuries, cover the walls. They depicted episodes from the life of Christ, His miracles such as the wedding at Cana, and the multiplying of the loaves of bread, and diverse saints, apostles, and prophets.

The necropolis of al-Bagawāt, containing some 260 tombs, was used by both Christians and pagans. Two chapels are particularly renowned: the Chapel of the Exodus, dating from the fourth century, and the Chapel of Peace, dating from the sixth century, where scenes from the Old and New Testaments predominate, but they are not distinctively Coptic.

Similar subjects decorated certain tombs in Antinoopolis: crosses, symbolic peacocks and doves, women praying (e.g., a famous painting of a deceased woman between Saint Colluthus and the Virgin Mary), and Christ in Majesty adored by angels; there are also vegetal and geometric motifs directly influenced by Roman art. The Good Shepherd and praying figures, peacocks, doves, and vines are also found in the tombs of the nearby mountain as well as at Qarārah.

This brief survey of necropolis painting permits the generalization that the themes pictured are those that appear in other Christian necropolises of the period such as those in Rome and Naples. Alongside a few subjects from the pagan world, allegories, for example, and geometric and vegetal motifs, scenes drawn from the Old and New Testaments predominate. But, as will be noted subsequently, these biblical scenes became less frequent in monastic necropolises.

Murals in Monasteries

The decoration of monasteries is an entirely different matter. At Kellia, Abū Jirjah 'Alam Shaltūt, Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saqqara, Bāwīṭ, and Isnā, it may be noted that the monks' oratories were decorated with particular care and housed the greatest number of paintings. In each oratory the vestibule, its walls covered with inscriptions, introduces this avalanche of decoration. Whereas in other monastic buildings the lower level of the walls is uniformly covered with Pompeian red, occasionally interrupted by a decorated panel, in the oratory the lower level is a succession of panels decorated with geo-

metric and floral motifs and shapes evoking shafts or pillars of prized stone, such as marble, prophyry, or alabaster. Above this level there is a succession of monks, local saints, and, more rarely, biblical scenes such as the three children in the furnace, the sacrifice of Isaac, episodes from the lives of the Virgin and of Christ, and at Bāwīṭ, various episodes of the story of David.

The eastern wall of the oratory is the most important from a religious point of view, and as a consequence its décor is amplified. Two small niches—usually undecorated and meant to hold liturgical objects—frame the large, principal niche, which is enhanced by columns or pillars and an archivolte sculpted in stone, or molded in stucco and painted in imitation of real sculpture. Sculpture and painting are often found closely related, as in Saqqara, where in some places earthen columns covered with a layer of painted stucco, support a stone arch. In other places the walls of the niche rest on a base sometimes made of a stone slab without decoration, as at Saqqara and Bāwīṭ, or else on a simple geometric area of dark red, as at Kellia. The oratory walls and principal niche are decorated with paintings. At Bāwīṭ and Saqqara there are murals of Christ in Majesty, the Virgin and Child framed by archangels, saints, and apostles; at Isnā there are a few saints, but above all, crosses or pecking birds; at Kellia there are crosses of varied forms, or, as an exception, a symbolic boat.

Finally there are small murals in various monasteries that have all too rarely caught the attention of excavators. Located in one secondary room or another, they portray the monks in their daily activities. Quick sketches, sometimes scribblings, painted in dark red, or graffiti, they have little artistic value, but they are not without interest, for they attest the life and material preoccupations of those who inhabited the great monasteries.

Murals in Churches

Very little is known today about murals in the most ancient Coptic churches because few examples survive. Many evidences of Egyptian Christianity disappeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Information from secondary sources is often uncertain. The Arabic writers al-Maqrīzi and Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian mention an impressive number of churches and monasteries containing murals and icons, but they do not name the subjects depicted. Likewise, most of the descriptions by European travelers from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century are brief and give little useful information. Doubtless, as in other Christian areas, there were scenes illustrating the life of Christ and representations of local saints, but whether they were on walls or apses is unknown. The most that can be said is that the iconography followed the plans of the murals in oratories of the monks' cells and prepared the way for the vast iconographic programs of the churches in the Middle Ages.

Murals in Early Churches. Only a few murals of saints remain in the churches at Philae built in the temples of Imhotep, Isis, and Hathor, where they overlaid pharaonic decoration. There are also a few such murals in the churches constructed in the temples of Seti I at Abydos, Hatshepsut at Dayr al-Bahri, and Hathor in Dandarah and in the rough brick sanctuaries erected at Hermopolis Magna, Thebes, Luxor, and Karnak, and the monastery installed in a pagan temple at Dayr al-Madīnah. Their context remains unknown.

The paintings of certain structures in the environs of Alexandria and Antinoopolis in the region of Lake Mareotis are somewhat better known. At Abū Jirjah, 'Alam Shaltūt, and the monastic complex of Abū Mīnā, geometric and floral motifs decorate the lower walls of rooms. Christ, the Virgin, a great number of saints, including Saint Menas the Miracle Maker between his camels, and a few New Testament scenes, such as an Annunciation at Abū Jirjah, appear in other areas.

Biblical scenes are also depicted at Dayr Abū Ḥinnis, which houses the oldest portrayal known in Egypt of the Christological cycle. It attests great care for historical grouping, for here are united the massacre of the innocents, the appearance of Gabriel to Joseph, the Flight into Egypt, plus the miracles of Christ (such as the wedding at Cana and the resurrection of Lazarus), and scenes from the life of Zacharias. Similar subjects are also depicted in the Church of Saint Colluthus near Antinoopolis.

Among other extant murals that date before the tenth century, those of Dayr Anbā Hadrā at Aswan must be mentioned. In the monastery church, rows of stiff hieratic saints are portrayed on the walls. In the narthex, there is a Virgin and Child, before whom the archangels Michael and Gabriel are prostrate. The demi-cupola of the main concha (curved recess) of the apse is occupied by a Christ in Majesty giving benediction with one hand and holding the Holy Book in the other. His throne is surrounded by a mandorla (almond-shaped aureole), and he is worshiped by archangels and saints. Christ Triumphant is also pictured in the central apse of

the Church of Shenute in Cairo, with a more unusual scene depicted in the right apse: a draped cross within a mandorla, between saints on foot. A similar motif is found in Dayr Anbā Bishoi at Suhāj.

Murals from the Tenth Century or Later. Where the churches have been continuously occupied, only the most recent paintings are visible. Therefore, the churches of Cairo have kept but meager traces of any decoration preceding the tenth century. It is known, for example, that paintings of saints adorned the columns and pillars of the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (Church of the Nativity) dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, but the paintings were destroyed when the church was pillaged in the twelfth century. It was subsequently covered with a new series of paintings that were also destroyed in turn, and then later redone.

The same may be said for the churches in the monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Dayr Anbā Būlā in the desert by the Red Sea, as well as Dayr Anbā Shinūdah and Dayr Anbā Bishoi at Suhāj, and Dayr al-Shuhadā' and Dayr al-Fakhūrī at Isnā. Most of the murals preserved scarcely date before the tenth century. They present a vast iconographical array that unfolds all along the walls, apses, and columns. Scenes from the Old Testament such as Daniel in the lions' den, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the three children in the furnace decorate the walls. The walls also show scenes from the life of Mary, such as the Annunciation, Nativity, Dormition, and Assumption, and of Christ, in the Adoration of the Magi and miracles, notably the wedding at Cana. Prophets, saints, especially mounted ones, monks, and founders of monasteries appear on the walls, and male and female saints decorate the columns. The cross is less frequent and is always triumphant, carried or venerated by angels. Archangels mount guard on the triumphal arch leading to the apse.

Christ is usually portrayed in the principal apse as the Pantocrator (ruler of the universe), Christ triumphant, Christ in Glory, or Christ in Majesty seated on a throne, holding the Holy Bible in one hand and giving benediction with the other. He is surrounded by a mandorla and is generally supported by the Tetramorph (four apocalyptic creatures symbolizing the evangelists) for which the Copts have a particular devotion. This is also the iconography of the Middle Ages in Egypt. One apse varied from another according to the presence or absence of the moon and the sun, the archangels Gabriel and Michael, and occasionally one saint or another. All of them included the tetramorph placed around the mandorla. At Dayr Anbā Shinūdah the four evangelists are depicted seated and writing, each one beside his symbolic animal. The unusual portrayal of these animals must also be noted at Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Chapel of the Four Animals, where the *zōdia* (small animals) have the bodies of cherubim.

Often in monastic churches the Virgin is pictured beneath the Christ in Majesty, where she is framed by Michael and Gabriel, at Dayr al-Shuhadā', or the apostles, at Dayr Abū Sayfayn. The association of these two themes of Mary and the apostles was already found in the oratory niches of the monastic cells, for example, at Dayr Apa Apollo and Dayr Apa Jeremiah. Mary is pictured as the *Theotokos* with her child on her lap in the monasteries, for example in Chapel 28 of Dayr Apa Apollo and Cells D and 1723 of Dayr Apa Jeremiah, and in the later churches of Dayr al-Abyaḍ and Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs. The picture of the Virgin praying in the midst of the apostles, as at Dayr Abū Sayfayn, also finds its origins in the apses of the monasteries, such as Chapels 17 and 20 of Dayr Apa Apollo. At Kellia, no true painting has yet been found in the basilicas, though there may perhaps be remains of an image of Christ at al-Rubā'iyyāt. At Dayr Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara, in the main church, the cupola was covered with mosaics; on the columns there were saints afoot, draperies, and friezes, but no painted wall decoration has yet been discovered, the other great structures being ornamented with slabs of marble. The paintings of the two churches at Dayr Apa Apollo are somewhat better known. In the northern church, there were numerous personages portrayed on the columns, among whom were Saint George as a warrior, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, King David, plus a Virgin and Child, as well as Christ. The walls were covered with panels of personages, but their identities are unknown. In the southern church, at the back of the sanctuary there is a Christ enthroned in the midst of the apostles; elsewhere there are a cross carried by angels, a Virgin and Child, and numerous unidentifiable fragments.

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MARGUERITE RASSART-DEBERGH

PALAEMON, SAINT, hermit. Palaemon must be carefully distinguished from his namesake, the master of PACHOMIUS. The SYNAXARION says only that he was a hermit in the eastern mountains. Since all the notices peculiar to this recension were compiled in the region of Qift, it is more than probable that he lived in that region; however, the time at which he lived cannot be specified. Palaemon wished at first to go to the countryside of Egypt, but it is not known if the countryside was the Delta or the Nile Valley. He met Apa Talāṣūn/LATSON, became his friend, and confessed his sins to him. Palaemon relates that, having wished to sell the work of his hands at a place near Miṣr, he was tempted by the devil in the guise of a woman, who proposed that he should marry her. Finally he recognized that this was a temptation, and at last received the gift of healing.

His feast day is 30 Ṭūbah.

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PALAMON, SAINT, fourth-century hermit who was the teacher of Saint PACHOMIUS. He is known only through the Life of Pachomius. He is important for having transmitted to young Pachomius the ascetic traditions of early Christian monasticism.

When Pachomius decided to become a monk, he went to the anchorite Palamon, who had become a model for many monks near the village of Shenesēt (Chenoboskion), and asked him for the grace to become a monk in his company. Palamon explained to Pachomius "the rule of monastic life, according to what we have learned from those who went before us." Pachomius lived for seven years with him, until he settled at Tabennēsē. Palamon died shortly afterward.

Palamon was a typical charismatic father of the Egyptian desert: A man of frightfully severe asceticism, dedicated to vigils, fasting, and manual work, he was first of all a man of continuous prayer. Although he did not try to set up some form of community, he nevertheless accepted the task of leading in the paths of ascetic life all those who were disposed to take upon themselves the cross of Christ. "Abrupt in speech," he could also love his disciples with great tenderness, and was very sad when Pachomius left him to follow his own calling. Nevertheless, he said, "May the will of God be done."

ARMAND VEILLEUX

PALANQUE, (HENRI AMEDÉE) CHARLES (1865–1909), French Egyptologist. He was born at Auch and studied at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (Paris). He was attached to the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale in Cairo from November 1900 to November 1902, during which time he excavated Coptic ruins near Abū Rawash at Bāwīṭ and at Asyūṭ. On his return to France, he became an archivist at Auch.

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M. L. BIERBRIER

PALEOGRAPHY. *See Appendix.*

PALLADIUS (363–431), author of the *Historia lausiaca,* one of the principal documents that inform us about Egyptian monasticism in the fourth century. Born in Galatia, he became a monk. After spending some time in Palestine at the Mount of Olives, when Rufinus and Melania the Elder were living there, he came to Egypt. He stayed for about three years near Alexandria, where he associated with the priest Isidorus, *xenodochos* of the church of Alexandria, and the learned DIDYMUS THE BLIND, then moved to NITRIA, where there were still some monks who had lived during the period of ANTONY and AMUN. A year later, in 390, he reached the desert of the KELLIA, where he came to know MACARIUS ALEXANDRINUS, then priest of this desert, and became a disciple of EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, in the heart of the community of the monks whom their adversaries called Origenists. He remained at the Kellia for nine years. From there he went to visit the celebrated recluse JOHN OF LYCOPOLIS.

Palladius probably left Egypt in 399 or at the beginning of 400, shortly after the death of Evagrius and about the time the attack of the patriarch THEOPHILUS against the Origenist monks was raging. Consecrated bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, he took up the defense of Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM at the Synod of the Oak in 403, and was exiled by Emperor Arcadius to Syene in Upper Egypt, then to Antinoopolis, at which time he visited the monasteries of this region. On his return from exile, after the death of Theophilus (412), he went back to Galatia, and was then, according to the historian Socrates (PG 67, 821A) translated from the see of Helenopolis to that of Aspona. It was there that, about 419/420, a dozen years before his death, he wrote the *Historia lausiaca*, so called because it was dedicated to Lausus, the chamberlain of Patriarch THEODOSIUS II.

The work takes the form of a series of monographs devoted to the principal monks of this period, especially those of Egypt. Its historical value seems assured. Palladius speaks for the most part of monks he knew personally, or about whom he was able to collect the testimony of people who had known them, particularly in the deserts of Nitria, the Kellia, or SCETIS; for his information about the Pachomian monasteries of Upper Egypt, according to R. Draguet, he used a document of Coptic origin. However, with the information that he gathered at first hand, he mixed some stories of more or less marvelous character that were circulating in monastic circles or were drawn, according to R. Reitzenstein, from imaginative literary sources. These elements, according to some modern critics (Bousset, Reitzenstein), have sometimes damaged the historical value of his work. It early enjoyed a very wide diffusion, in the course of which the text was modified, so that it has come down to us in several recensions. E. C. Butler's edition reproduces one of them, probably the closest to the original text. Numerous translations were made into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Some fragments of a long recension have been preserved in Coptic, and were published by E. Amélineau and by M. Chaîne. The relations between this long recension and the original text of Palladius—and in consequence the value to be attributed to this Coptic text—remain obscure. In its vocabulary and in certain ideas used in it, the work bears evidence of the influence of Evagrius, but this evidence of the influence of a master whose orthodoxy was in dispute does not seem to have been detrimental to its success.

There are numerous translations of the *Historia lausiaca* into modern languages. Special attention is called to the English translation by R. T. Meyer (1965).

In addition to the *Historia lausiaca*, two other works have been preserved under the name of Palladius, one concerning the defense of Saint John Chrysostom, *The Dialogue of Palladius of the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, the other a curious work entitled *On the Peoples of India and the Brahmins*, the second part of which is drawn from a lost work of Arrian.

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

PALM SUNDAY. *See* Feasts, Major.

PAMBO, SAINT, or Pamo, fourth-century anchorite who was one of the first settlers in NITRIA (feast day: 1 July in the West, 18 July in the East). In chapter 10 of the *Lausiac History*, PALLADIUS tells of the death of Pambo in 373 in the presence of Melania the elder. At that time he was seventy years old. Thus he was born around 303. He was one of the first companions of Saint AMMON in the desert of

Nitria. When he was ordained a priest, Saint MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN came from SCETIS to take part in his celebration of the Eucharist. Saint ATHANASIUS held him in high regard and invited him to Alexandria. He was also in contact with Saint ANTONY, who praised him highly. It was said that he was unlettered, but, according to Palladius, he was master of the *fratres longi* (tall brothers), renowned Origenist monks who were persecuted by Saint THEOPHILUS, patriarch of Alexandria. His posthumous fame suffered no harm from this, and the tradition of the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM surrounded him with a glory all his own.

Particular note was made of the strictness of Pambo's daily fast, his silence, his zeal for manual work, and the poverty of his garb. When he was asked questions, he often reflected for days and weeks before replying, and so was able to say that he had never regretted a word he had spoken. He died while weaving a basket that he bequeathed to Melania. Several apothegms inserted in the alphabetical collection are extracts from the *Lausiac History*. He does not appear in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION.

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LUCIEN REGNAULT

PAMIN, SAINT, anchorite (also known as Bimīn; feast day: 9 Kiyahk). Pamin appears to have been a native of Minyat Khaṣīb, near Tirsā, in the nome of al-Ashmūnayn. However, the Coptic fragments and the Arabic version say that he was a native of Ibsūnah, to the west of Akhmīm. He was in the service of a noble, whom he left to become a monk. Desiring martyrdom, he went to ANTINOOPOLIS, where he saw some Christians enduring torture and confessing Christ. He was himself subjected to numerous torments, but an edict came from Constantine that ordered the liberation of all those who were in prison. Christ appeared to Constantine and commanded him to reckon all those who had been imprisoned as martyrs, and to call them confessors. Constantine ordered seventy-two to be brought to him, among whom was Apa NOB, the confessor.

Saint Pamin, endowed by God with the gift of healing, withdrew to a monastery outside the town of al-Ashmūnayn. In particular he cured a noble matron, wife of the Roman prefect. He refused her presents except for the vessels to be used in the church, a paten, a chalice, and a cross of gold.

The SYNAXARION speaks of Arians, who had their pseudo-bishops and their pseudo-martyrs, and seduced many of the faithful, but the Coptic fragments speak of the Melitians. The assimilation of the latter with the Arians goes back to ATHANASIUS himself (Barnard, pp. 181–89). It should be noted that the church of the Melitians called itself the church of the martyrs, which explains the expression "these pseudo-martyrs." Pamin drove them out, and they did not return.

Pamin's tomb was the site of a cult and of healing. Numerous inscriptions prove that Pamin was celebrated in Egypt.

He was honored at the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH), as is shown by four typika (Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Coptic, no pagination; Leiden, Insinger 33, in Pleyte and Boeser, 1897, p. 445; Wessely, 1917, no. 265; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, K9737). The majority of the fragments of Pamin's Life have been edited by E. Amélineau. The recension of the Synaxarion of the Copts from Upper Egypt gives an ample summary at 9 Kiyahk. His Life is also in an Arabic manuscript from the Coptic Museum (Hist. 475, fols. 87r–109).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PAMPHILUS, SAINT (c. 240–310), philosopher, teacher, and supporter of ORIGEN, who was martyred in Palestine (feast day: 16 February in the East, 1 June in the West). He was a friend of EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, who wrote a biography of him, now lost.

Pamphilus is known through references in surviving works of EUSEBIUS, JEROME, and Photius. Born in Beirut, he studied in Alexandria and then went to Caesarea, Palestine, where he was ordained presbyter. He established a great library there and reopened the school that Origen had founded. He gathered texts and commentaries of Scripture: Origen's *Hexapla*, *Tetrapla*, and commentaries on the minor prophets are mentioned by Jerome. After two years' imprisonment, he died as a martyr in February 310. With the help of Eusebius, he had written a defense of Origen in five books. Eusebius added a sixth book after Pamphilus' death, adopted his name as a surname, and spoke of him as a holy martyr (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6.32), a most eloquent man, a true philosopher (*Historia ecclesiastica* 7.32), and "the most wonderful man of our time" (*Historia ecclesiastica* 8.13). A brief account of his life and death is given by Eusebius in *On the Martyrs of Palestine*.

An outline of the chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles* was confidently attributed to Pamphilus and published by Montfaucon. Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen* was directed to an influential group of Origenist confessors, condemned to the copper mines at Phaeno in southern Palestine, who were critical of any philosophical tendencies and of those who avoided martyrdom.

The first book of the *Apology* survives in the Latin translation of RUFINUS. However, it has been argued that the work is described anonymously by Photius in sufficient detail for reconstruction. Fifteen objections include Origen's claim that one should not pray to the Son, that the Son does not know the Father as the Father knows Himself, that souls transmigrate into other bodies, that there is no eternal punishment or resurrection of the flesh. Pamphilus attacks the critics of Origen: some have not read him, some have read selectively, some have received strength from him and then turned against him; all have done great harm. Origen's own words must be the basis of understanding and judgment. He is shown to profess all essential doctrines. Further, many Egyptian bishops did not agree with Demetrius' condemnation of Origen. Pamphilus lists the achievements of Origen for the word of God, drawing on the traditions he had learned in Alexandria. Origen is defended by showing either that the doubtful doctrine was hypothetical or that other respected teachers had held the same beliefs. The final book reports the martyrdom of Pamphilus and of the principal confessors to whom the apology had been addressed.

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ERIC FRANCIS OSBORN

PAMPREPIOS OF PANOPOLIS (440–484), poet. He was born in Panopolis (AKHMÎM), and studied philosophy in Alexandria and Athens with the avowedly pagan disciples who gathered around the philosophers of the day (Rémondon, 1952). After a stay in Byzantium, where he perhaps rose as high as consul (Asmus, 1913; von Haehling, 1980), he went in 483–484 to Egypt, to win the heathen for the rebel Illus. At the end of November or beginning of December 484 he died with the rebel. He ranks as the last pagan poet, influenced by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. According to the *Suda* (Adler, 1967–1971, 4.13.26f.), he wrote *Etymologion apodosis* and *Isaurika Katalogaden*. Both works are lost. Fragments have survived of a description of a late autumn day and of an Encomium on the patrician Theagenes (Livrea, in Krause, 1979) in hexameters modeled on those of Nonnos.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PANELS. *See* Woodwork, Coptic.

PANEPHYSIS. *See* Monasteries in the Daqahliyyah Province.

PANESNEU, SAINT, a martyr whose story is typical of the legends of the martyrs that predominated in Egypt. The surviving text begins with the trial before Culcianus in which Panesneu presents himself as a deacon from Pakierkie near Pemche (Oxyrhynchus). A folio (now in Vienna) ends with the martyr declaring his readiness to make a sacrifice to the gods; this declaration is part of a simulated sacrifice in which a martyr behaves as if he were going to sacrifice but in reality is acting to the detriment of paganism. After a lacuna, the text recounts a rescue by Michael from the furnace of the bath. There follow two miraculous healings in prison, using oil that Panesneu consecrates with prayers and with which he heals the prison overseer, BESAMON, and Dionysius, the brother of Julius of Aqfahs, the friend of martyrs, who is well known from many legends.

W. Till (1936) has reprinted an improved version of the text initially published by A. A. Giorgi and has augmented it by a Vienna folio.

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THEOFRIED BAUMEISTER

PANINE AND PANEU, legendary saints and objects of a ninth-century cult. The surviving portions of this attractive legend were edited from the remains of two codices of the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) by G. Zoega (1810), C. Wessely (1917), W. Till (1935), and T. Orlandi (1978). To his edition Till added a German translation, in which he also translates the folios edited by Wessely. Orlandi provides a complete edition of the items already published and those initially edited by him with an Italian translation. To an extent, the lacunae can be filled in from the Arabic *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* (Forget, 1953, pp. 183–86; 1954, pp. 316–19).

According to Orlandi, we can divide the legend into three parts. The first deals with the school days of the two saints and contains an episode that may well have been developed from the name Panine (W. E. Crum, 1939, p. 81). Alexander, the elder contemporary of Symphronius at school and a relation of the HEGUMENOS Arianus, smashes the young Symphronius' thumbs in annoyance at the latter's progress in writing. After they are miraculously healed, the teacher asks, "Are you not the boy with the broken thumbs?" Thereafter Symphronius is called Panine (the person with the "broken" thumbs). The second part deals with the monastic life of the two friends in the valley of al-Qalamūn (southeast of the Fayyūm) and then on Mount Ebot near Psoi (AL-MINSHĀH). This brings them into contact with the famous martyr bishop, PSOTE OF PSOI, who consecrates a newly constructed church. From the SYNAXARION we learn that at the same time he ordains Panine as a priest and Paneu as a deacon. The bishop predicts martyrdom for both the saints. From this section it is clear that the legend of the martyrdom of Arianus was already known to the author (see the articles APOLLONIUS AND PHILEMON and ARIANUS). The third part contains the martyrdom described in simple terms in which we do not find the scenes of restoration that are so popular elsewhere.

The founding of the cult is, however, important for this legend. According to the Synaxarion an angel appears to both the saints before their death and promises a blessing to those who venerate them. They are beheaded at a lake near Idfū. After the soldiers wash their swords in the lake, its water gains salutary powers. When the persecution has ended, a church is built in the neighborhood of the lake above their graves, where according to the Synaxarion, miracles and healings continue to oc-

cur. The many placenames suggest that the legend was written by someone with a good knowledge of the geography of Upper Egypt. The writer is familiar with ANTINOOPOLIS and its traditions (the school days of both martyrs are there; there are also connections to Alexander, a relative of Arianus, and to the martyrdom of Arianus). As the story of the martyrdom of Arianus is presupposed, the legend of Panine and Paneu might well belong to the final layer of Coptic literature on martyrs. The *terminus ante quem* is the ninth century, from which both manuscripts probably come. The association of monasticism, ecclesiastical office, and martyrdom is intended to emphasize the importance of the saints as the object of a cult (on the monastic martyrs, cf. T. Baumeister, 1979, pp. 218–20).

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THEOFRIED BAUMEISTER

PANOPOLIS. *See* Akhmīm.

PANTAENUS, according to Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* V.10.4), master of a school in Alexandria (c. A.D. 180). Pantaenus had been a Stoic philosopher who displayed love and zeal for the divine word. He took the gospel to the nations of the East, traveling even to India. In his day there were many apostolic evangelists, and in India he found the Gospel of Matthew already existing in Hebrew (Aramaic), taken there by Bartholomew. Eusebius cites a letter of Alexander of Jerusalem in which the writer claims that both he and ORIGEN were pupils of Pantaenus. This is difficult to accept because of the relative ages of the three concerned. More certain is his influence on CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromateis* I.11.2). Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 36) claims that Pantaenus was sent to India by Bishop DEMETRIUS I of Alexandria (189–231), and that he brought back a copy of Matthew in Hebrew. However, since Pantaenus became head of the school in Alexandria around 180 after returning from his trip to India, but Demetrius was not ordained bishop until 189, it is unlikely that it was Demetrius who sent Pantaenus on this expedition. Two passages from Pantaenus are preserved. The first claims that God knows existing things as acts of His will and not by sense or reason (Maximus the Confessor, *Scholia to Saint Gregory of Nazianzen*). The second declares that in prophecy tenses are indefinite; a present tense may refer to any time. Pantaenus has been considered a possible author of *To Diognetus.*

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ERIC FRANCIS OSBORN

PANTALEON, SAINT, a fourth-century martyr of Nicomedia under Maximinus (feast day: 15 Bābah) (cf. Forget, 1954, p. 69). His Passion is preserved in a Greek version and a Coptic version. The latter exists in two manuscripts, one in the Egyptian Museum, Turin (cat. 63000, 15; ed. Rossi, 1887–1892) and one at Utrecht University (only fragments of two sheets, ed. Quispel and Zandee, 1962). There are certain discrepancies between the two Coptic manuscripts, but on the whole their version is close to the Greek.

Pantaleon is the son of Eustorgius, a magistrate of Nicomedia. He learns the art of medicine from Euphrosinus, and the emperor wants him to be the

successor to Euphrosinus. In the meantime, Pantaleon is converted by the old man Hermolaus, who teaches him to cure the sick by invoking Christ. He revives a boy who has been bitten by a viper. He tries to convert his father and heals a blind man in his presence. However, envious colleagues bring accusations against him to Maximinus. Pantaleon's trial takes place with the usual account of arguments, miracles, visions, and tortures. After a last vision of Christ, he is martyred, and an ensuing conversion of the inhabitants of Nicomedia takes place.

The text seems to be a translation from the Greek and would have been made in the "classical" period (cf. HAGIOGRAPHY). It should be noted that it is the source of the text of the Passion of a martyr named OLYMPIUS unknown in other traditions.

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TITO ORLANDI

PAPHNUTIUS, fifth-century archimandrite of Tabennēsē. Paphnutius succeeded Victor as abbot general of the Tabennesiotes (van Lantschoot, p. 20, n.24), and preceded Martyrius. He visited Patriarch Dioscorus, exiled in Gangra (Nau, 1903, p. 297), and obtained a miracle from the patriarch, who healed a paralytic. Paphnutius' tenure of office must have been fairly short. The community of the Pachomians appears to have been unsettled during the reign of Marcian (450–457), and the great church of Pachomius at PBOW, begun under Victor, was completed only under Martyrius.

Paphnutius was celebrated at the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH), as the extant typika show (London, British Library, Or. 3580A–3, frag. A, ed. Crum, 1905, no. 146; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, K9726^{b}, ed. Wessely, 1917, vol. 18, no. 266^{c}; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, K9734). He also is mentioned in the *History of Dioscorus,* preserved in Syriac and in Coptic (see Crum, 1903; and Nau, 1903).

There is reference to Paphnutius in the panegyric, attributed to the patriarch DIOSCORUS, on MACARIUS OF TKOW (edited from the Bohairic version by Amélineau, 1888, pp. 92–164, and from the Sahidic by Johnson, 1980). His feast day is 6 Ba'ūnah.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PAPHNUTIUS, SAINT, tenth-century monk and bishop (feast day: 11 Bashans). From his youth Paphnutius was a monk in the Monastery of Macarius (Wādī al-Naṭrūn), where he remained for thirty-five years. The patriarch PHILOTHEUS (979–1003) consecrated him bishop (the SYNAXARION does not mention the see). He continued to wear monk's clothing except when celebrating the holy liturgy. He was bishop for thirty-two years. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS makes no reference to Paphnutius in the notice devoted to Patriarch Philotheus.

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PAPHNUTIUS THE HERMIT, SAINT, or the Ascetic or Bab Nuda, an anchorite in the Western Desert (feast day: 15 Amshīr). The Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION briefly summarizes a Coptic text in which one Paphnutius tells of a journey he made in the inner desert, that is, the desert farthest from the Nile, in search of hermits living in this perfect solitude. The narration is preserved in Coptic, Greek, and Latin, as well as various Eastern languages (see Saint ONOPHRIUS for details of manuscripts and editions).

After a journey of four days and four nights, Paphnutius found a cave, the occupant of which had been dead for some time. He saw to his burial and then, a little farther on, met a hermit called Timotheus, who was living among the antelopes but had a box at his disposal and was close to a spring and a date palm. This man, a monk from a monastery in the Thebaid, had become a hermit near his monastery, and after cohabiting for six months with a nun, went into the heart of the desert to expiate his sin. After leaving him, Paphnutius went "into the inner desert of the Oasis," "where the Mazices live," says a Greek text (ed. F. N. Nau, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 10 [1905]:412), which may indicate the oasis of OXYRHYNCHUS, today called al-Bahnasā, for the Mazices lived in the desert southwest of Scetis. This passage in the text could correspond to a second journey by Paphnutius. He took bread and water for four days, but had to walk for another four days without food or drink. He thought he was going to die, but a man of light came to rescue him. Four more days passed, and he was still assisted by the man of light. Finally, at the end of seventeen days, he observed a man of fire, covered by long hair and resembling a leopard. This was Onophrius, who recounted his life to Paphnutius and died after dictating his last wishes.

Paphnutius buried him, then had to continue his journey, for the date palm and the hut of Onophrius crumbled immediately after he died. After three days and three nights, he came across a small cell and a hermit clothed in palm leaves. The hermit had lived with three other brothers in this part of the desert for sixty years like Onophrius, but they lived on loaves miraculously brought to them. They refused to tell him their names—in contrast with the other hermits he met—but asked him to make their way of life known in Egypt. Paphnutius stayed with them for one day, then went on his way.

He came to a spring with date palms and all kinds of fruit trees, and thought he had arrived in Paradise. Four young men clothed in sheepskins in the form of aprons came to him. These were sons of councillors from Oxyrhynchus who, after attending the schools in the town, had decided together to embrace the hermit life. After four days' walking, they had been led to this place by a man of light. There they found an old man who taught them the rules of the hermit life and died a year later. They had been living there for six years as semianchorites, meeting on Saturday and Sunday for Divine Liturgy; an angel brought the Eucharist to them. Paphnutius remained with them for seven days, and on Saturday participated with them in the miraculous Communion brought by the angel, which was repeated on Sunday morning. The names of these hermits were John, Andrew, Heraclamon, and Theophilus. After their refusal to keep him with them, Paphnutius left, and at the end of seven days' walking, met some monks from Scetis, who transcribed his story and took it to their monastery, to deposit it in the church.

The work attributed to ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN 1985 relates that Paphnutius, the one who visited Onophrius, lived at DAYR AL-SHAM', also called Dayr al-Shayyāṭīn, situated on the left bank of the Nile in the district of Giza. After his journey into the desert, he is said to have become a disciple of Saint MACARIUS THE GREAT at Scetis, then to have lived at Dayr al-Sham', where he died and where his body was buried. The author of the text adds that, "according to his biography," he died on 15 Amshīr, which presupposes a source different from that for the journey in the desert.

Should we identify the author of the narrative about Timotheus, Onophrius, and the other hermits with Saint PAPHNUTIUS OF SCETIS, the disciple and successor of Macarius the Great, as is done by the document attributed to Abū Ṣalīḥ? That Paphnutius, surnamed Kephalas, was born between 301 and 311, and had the reputation of loving solitude. Some authors, such as De Lacy O'Leary (pp. 219–20), do not hesitate to make this identification. However that may be, no other document, to our knowledge, affirms that the disciple of Macarius died at Dayr al-Sham'. Curiously, the Synaxarion has no notice about Paphnutius of Scetis, alluding to him only as a disciple of Macarius in the passage devoted to the latter at 27 Baramhāt.

A *History of the Monks of the Desert*, in fact of the hermits living in Upper Egypt and on the islands of the First Cataract, is attributed to a certain Paphnutius. It seems that this is another person.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PAPHNUTIUS OF PBOW, SAINT, a fourth-century monk who was steward of the *koinonia* (community) established by Saint PACHOMIUS. A younger brother of Saint THEODORUS OF TABENNĒSĒ, Paphnutius came to the monastery of Tabennēsē a few years after his brother. When Pachomius estab-

lished the general administration of the *koinonia* at PBOW, he appointed Paphnutius as the first great steward of the *koinonia*, with the responsibility of receiving the fruits of the labor of all the brothers and providing for all their needs. Paphnutius died during the plague of 346, as did Pachomius and many of the older brothers.

ARMAND VEILLEUX

PAPHNUTIUS OF SCETIS, SAINT, "the one who belongs to God," name borne, particularly in the fourth century, by several monks among whom it is sometimes difficult to distinguish.

John CASSIAN, during his sojourn in Egypt between 385 and 400, knew an Abbā Paphnutius who was then priest of SCETIS and to whom he ascribes his third conference, "On the Three Renunciations." Paphnutius was renowned for his taste for seclusion. He had established his cell several miles from the church, where he was seen only on Saturdays and Sundays; on the other days it was very difficult to see him. For this reason he was nicknamed "Bubal," from the name of the desert antelope. According to John Cassian, Paphnutius was then over ninety years old. He was still alive in 399, since, according to Cassian (X, 2–3), in that year he was the only priest of Scetis to welcome the letter of Patriarch THEOPHILUS denouncing anthropomorphite errors. In the Life of Saints Maximus and Domitius (Amélineau, 1894, p. 312) he is called "a disciple of Macarius" (the Egyptian) and "father of Scetis" after him. However, according to Cassian (XVIII, 15) he succeeded Isidorus in this function.

On the other hand, in chapter 47 of his *Historia lausiaca*, PALLADIUS speaks of a Paphnutius surnamed Kephalas and reports a long discourse that he delivered before Palladius himself—hence after 390—on the reasons virtuous monks fall away. This Paphnutius, it seems, lived at NITRIA or the KELLIA, if he is to be identified with the disciple of MACARIUS ALEXANDRINUS who bore the name and is mentioned by Palladius in chapter 18. He also is mentioned in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, once with the surname Kephalas. Among the apothegms in the alphabetical collection that are placed under the name of Paphnutius, it is difficult to know which ones should be attributed to him.

In the opinion of E. C. Butler (1904, Vol. 2, pp. 224–25) and H. G. Evelyn-White (1932, p. 121), among others, Paphnutius the Bubal and Paphnutius Kephalas are the same person. In favor of this identification, Butler puts forward some literal correspondences that he has noted in the discourse of the Bubal in Cassian, and that of Kephalas in Palladius. The latter mentions, among the monks whom Melania the Elder met at Nitria when she visited the desert about 373 and whom she followed during their exile in Palestine, a "Paphnutius of Scetis." Perhaps this is another person; the identification remains uncertain. Normally the surnames served to distinguish people of the same name.

On the other hand, it is certain that the anchorite Paphnutius who appears in the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO must be distinguished from the preceding two. He lived in the Thebaid, in the region of Herakleopolis, where he died shortly before the travelers passed through that region in 394–395. Perhaps this Paphnutius is the one to whom is attributed the Life of ONOPHRIUS edited by E. A. W. Budge (1914, pp. 205–224) and by E. Amélineau (1885, pp. 166–94).

Several Greek papyri in the British Museum (P Lond. 1923–1929), published by H. I. Bell (pp. 103–120) preserve a series of letters addressed to a monk Paphnutius by various people who ask for the help of his prayers. They are dated by their editor in the middle of the fourth century. There is, however, nothing to identify this Paphnutius with any of the preceding ones.

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

PAPOHÉ OF BĀWĪṬ. *See* Phib, Saint.

PAPYRI, COPTIC LITERARY. The Coptic literary papyri are written, depending on their age, on

papyrus, parchment, or paper. P. E. Kahle (1954, pp. 269–78) has published a list of earlier Coptic literary manuscripts, known down to 1954, with information on the writing material (papyrus or parchment) and the writing format (one or two columns). It comprises manuscripts from the third to the fifth century, arranged according to the Coptic dialects. To these must be added the early papyrus codices published since 1954, above all the Sahidic manuscripts of books of the Old Testament and New Testament from the Bodmer collection, edited by R. Kasser (see BODMER PAPYRI).

From the Chester Beatty collection the manuscript of Joshua, dated to the fourth century and edited by A. F. Shore, should be mentioned. The second part of it is in the Bodmer collection (Bodmer XXI). Among New Testament manuscripts, reference should be made to the three parchment manuscripts of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, written in the first half of the fifth century (P. Palau Rib. 181–83, published by H. Quecke), as well as the Berlin Acts published by F. Hintze and H. M. Schenke. Papyrus Bodmer VI, a manuscript of Proverbs written in the Proto-Sahidic dialect and published in 1960 by Kasser, also belongs with the Sahidic.

In the Middle Egyptian dialect four Bible manuscripts have been found: three of the New Testament (Matthew, Acts, and letters of Paul) and one of the Old Testament (Psalter). Of these, two have been published: the Gospel of Matthew (Schenke) and the letters of Paul (Quecke and Orlandi).

An early Bohairic manuscript is Papyrus Bodmer III, published by Kasser in 1971. Not mentioned by Kahle is a manuscript of the Gospel of John from the University of Michigan collection (P. Mich 3521), which was published in 1962 by Husselman.

So far there is no such list of the manuscripts from the sixth century on. Only some of the Sahidic manuscripts of this period are included in van Lantschoot's work (1929) on the colophons of Coptic manuscripts.

While the early manuscripts have for the most part preserved writings of the Old and New Testaments, intertestamental literature, apocryphal writings of the Old Testament and the New Testament, the apostolic fathers, apologists, and original writings of the Gnostics and Manichaeans, the later manuscripts contain, in addition to the biblical literature, especially hagiographical and homiletic works (see LITERATURE, COPTIC), as well as profane literature (see PAPYRI, COPTIC MEDICAL).

The state of preservation of the manuscripts is varied. The dry climate of Egypt is favorable to their preservation, so far as the manuscripts were found in the dry desert soil, whether in the ruins of Coptic monasteries or in graves. Actually, many manuscripts have survived in very good condition, such as the Papyrus Palau biblical manuscripts mentioned above. Others, such as the Manichaean papyri (see PAPYRUS DISCOVERIES), are more poorly preserved. Despite the large number of extant manuscripts from Egypt in comparison with those from other countries, the number is small in comparison with the number of the literary manuscripts written in Egypt. Many Christian manuscripts were destroyed in the PERSECUTIONS, or in the attacks by nomads on the Coptic monasteries situated on the edge of the desert (e.g., in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn). The Egyptian state church attempted to destroy manuscripts of Christian sects or non-Christian religious communities (e.g., Manichaeans and Gnostics), or those of Christian authors whose orthodoxy came under suspicion (e.g., ORIGEN and DIDYMUS THE BLIND).

Even after their discovery in modern times the manuscripts—so far as they were not found in a scientific undertaking—were threatened by further danger. Finders, who generally did not know the value of their discovery, to some extent heedlessly destroyed them, or destroyed parts in the division of the find into several lots. Through the antiquities trade these passed into various collections. Relatively few of the manuscripts recognized as belonging together have been reassembled through exchange between the collections (see PAPYRUS COLLECTIONS). In most cases it remains a matter of knowing which pages in different collections once belonged to a single codex. This work, which belongs to the realm of codicology, is the presupposition for the publication of literary manuscripts. In the case of biblical manuscripts (Schmitz and Mink, 1986, pp. 29ff.), such reconstruction of codices is still relatively easy but time-consuming; and since there are concordances for these texts, it demands good knowledge of the literature for other groups of texts. Indexes of works of literature preserved complete are also important.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PAPYRI, COPTIC MEDICAL. Of the voluminous Coptic medical literature, only remnants have survived, as is shown by the high numbers of the extant numbered pages. These remnants have come down to us on parchment, on papyrus, on ostraca, on paper, and on walls (as graffiti). Except for the second parchment manuscript (see below) the texts have been translated and edited by W. Till in *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten* (Berlin, 1951). Only a part is dated. The copies range from the sixth to the twelfth century. From the library catalog of the monastery of Elias in West Thebes (see below, ostracon 7), as well as from the graffiti (see below, graffiti 1 and 2) and the ostraca deriving from monasteries (see below, ostraca 4 and 5), it is clear that at least these texts came from Coptic monasteries. In addition, the seventh-century document from Idfū (British Museum, Oriental 8903, published by W. E. Crum, in "Koptische Zünfte und das Pfeffermonopol," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 60 [1925]:103–111) shows that there was a guild of doctors there (ll. 107ff.). In the middle of the fifth century SHENUTE appointed seven doctors to give medical treatment to men wounded in the invasion by the Kushites (J. Leipoldt, "Ein Kloster lindert Kriegsnot. Schenutes Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Weissen Klosters bei Sohag während eines Einfalls der Kuschiten," in *Festschrift für Ernst Barnikol zum 70. Geburtstag*, pp. 52–56 [Berlin, 1964]). A group of Coptic doctors is known to us by name (K. S. Kolta, "Namen christlicher Ärzte der koptischen Zeit in Ägypten," *Die Welt des Orients* 14 [1983]:189–95).

Remains of Parchment Manuscripts

1. A parchment leaf with the page numbers 214–15 (siglum BA); published by U. Bouriant, "Fragment d'un livre de médecine en copte thébain," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus* ser. 4, 15 (1887):319–20, 374–79; German trans. in W. C. Till, *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten*, p. 112 (Berlin, 1951). To this same manuscript belong two parchment leaves with the page numbers 241–44 (siglum ZB), published by G. Zoega in *Catalogus codicorum copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, pp. 626–30 (Leipzig, 1903; reprint of Rome, 1810); see also J. F. Champollion, "Recettes médicales pour les maladies cutanées, traduites d'un fragment égyptien, en dialecte thébain," *Revue archéologique* 11 (1854): 333–42 (edited by E. Poitevin after the death of Champollion); E. Delaurier, "Fragment d'un traité de médecine copte faisant partie de la collection des manuscrits du cardinal Borgia publiée par Zoega," *Journal asiatique* 4 (1843):433–52 (translation with notes), German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, pp. 135–37.

2. Six parchment leaves from the sixth century with the page numbers 103–106, 111–14, and 135–36 in the Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen, bought in Cairo at the beginning of the 1930s by C. Schmidt and perhaps deriving from the Jeremiah monastery at Saqqara; published by W. Erichsen, "Aus einem koptischen Arzneibuch," in *Acta Orientalia* 27 (1963):23–45.

3. Beginning of a parchment codex with magical and medical texts of the fifth–sixth centuries in Michigan (MS 136), with the page numbers 2–14 (siglum WM); published by W. H. Worrell, "Coptic Magical and Medical Texts," *Orientalia* n.s. 4 (1935):17–37; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, pp. 132–34.

4. Remains of a codex with the page numbers 167 and 168 in the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, inv. no. 593b, probably from the fifth-sixth centuries; published by Worrell, "Coptic Magical and Medical Texts," *Orientalia* n.s. 4 (1935):187–92; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 134.

5. Two parchment fragments in the Rylands Library, Manchester (siglum Ryl); published by W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, nos. 107 and 108 (p. 59)

(Manchester, 1909); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 132.

6. Leaf of a parchment manuscript in the papyrus collection in East Berlin, inv. no. P 8109 (siglum BKU); published in *Berliner Koptische Urkunden. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Koptische Urkunden 1. Band*, no. 25 (Berlin, 1904); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, pp. 112–13.

Papyri

1. A papyrus roll of the ninth century, now in the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo, found at Meshaikh (siglum Ch); published by E. Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical copte*, Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 32 (Cairo, 1921); see also A. Deiber, "Le papyrus médical copte de Meschaich," *Revue égyptologique* 14 (1914):117–21; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, pp. 113–29.

2. Remains of a Coptic papyrus from Wâdī Sarga (siglum WS); published by W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga. Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavation Undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account* (Coptica III), pp. 51–52 (no. 20) (Copenhagen, 1922); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 134.

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4. Remains of a Coptic papyrus in the John Rylands Library, no. 109 (siglum Ryl); published by W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library*, p. 59 (Manchester, 1909); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 132.

5. Two papyrus fragments in the Vienna papyrus collection, inv. nos. K5504 and K5506 (siglum KW); published by Till, "Koptische Rezepte," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 12 (1949):43–49; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, pp. 129–30 (nos. 1–3; the Coptic text of nos. 4–21 is so far unpublished).

Ostraca (Seventh Century)

1. Limestone ostracon in the papyrus collection in East Berlin, inv. no. P4984 (siglum BKU 27); published in *Berliner koptische Urkunden*, no. 27 (Berlin, 1904); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 113.

2. Limestone ostracon in the British Museum, from the excavation of the Egypt Exploration Society in Dayr al-Baḥrī (siglum CO 487); published by W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others*, no. 487 (London, 1902); English trans., p. 82b; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 129.

3. Limestone ostracon in the East Berlin papyrus collection, inv. no. P 880, bought in Thebes in 1859 (siglum BKU 28); published in *Berliner Koptische Urkunden*, no. 28 (Berlin, 1904); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 113.

4. Potsherd in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 12,180.79, found among the heaps of sherds at the monastery of Epiphanius in West Thebes (siglum Ep 574); published by W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, Pt. 2, p. 177, no. 574 (New York 1926); English trans. p. 298; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 129.

5. Potsherd in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, inv. no. 44674.130, now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, found in the monastery of Epiphanius in West Thebes (siglum Ep 574); published by W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, Pt. 2, p. 117, no. 575; English trans., p. 298; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 129.

6. Limestone ostracon in the British Museum, inv. no. 27422, from Thebes (siglum Hall); published by H. R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraca, Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, pp. 64–66, p. 49 (London, 1905); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 129.

7. Limestone ostracon in the Institut Français D'archéologie Orientale in Cairo, inv. no. 13315, from the Elias monastery in West Thebes. This is a catalog of the library of this monastery, in which a "medicine book" is mentioned in line 36 of the verso. Of this book only remnants are extant; published by R. G. Coquin, "Le catalogue de la bibliothèque du Couvent de St. Elie 'du Rocher' (Ostrakon IFAO 13315)," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* 75 (1975):207–239.

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2. Paper strip with medicinal texts (siglum MK); published by H. Munier, "Deux recettes médicales coptes," *Annales du Service des antiquités* 18 (1918):284–86; E. Chassinat, "Deux formules phar-

maceutiques coptes," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* 49 (1949):9–22; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 130.

3. Paper manuscript in the John Rylands Library, no. 104, sec. 3 (siglum Ryl); published by W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, no. 104,3 (Manchester, 1909); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 131.

4. Leaf of a manuscript (siglum Ryl 106); published by W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, no. 106 (Manchester, 1909); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, pp. 131–32.

5. Paper leaf (siglum TM); published by B. A. Turajew, *Materialy po archeologii christianskavo Egipta*, no. 9 (Moscow, 1902); W. Till, "Koptische Rezepte," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 12 (1949):49–54; German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 132.

Graffiti

During excavation, a graffito with a medicinal text was found on the plaster of the walls in each of two monasteries:

1. In Wadi Sarga no. 21 (siglum WS); published by W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga*, no. 21 (Copenhagen, 1922); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 134.

2. In the Jeremiah monastery at Saqqara on wall 700 D (siglum Saq); published by H. Thompson, "The Coptic Inscriptions," in J. E. Quibell, ed., *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)*, p. 57, no. 103 (Cairo, 1909); German trans. in Till, *Arzneikunde*, p. 132.

On the content of the Coptic medical papyri, see MEDICINE, COPTIC.

MARTIN KRAUSE

PAPYROLOGY, the study of papyri chiefly from Egypt. This relatively new discipline is called Greek papyrology for the sake of clarity, although it tacitly includes the small number of Latin papyri also. The texts derive from the period from the second half of the fourth century B.C. to about the ninth century A.D. Because they essentially belong together, texts from this period on other writing materials, except for inscriptions on stone, fall within the field of papyrology. Since the papyri form the largest part of the sources, they have given the name to the discipline, although the papyri in other languages are excluded because they fall to the province of Egyptology or of Oriental studies. Naturally we should not think of this delimitation, which has grown up in practical work, as rigid. On the contrary, the papyrologist who sets out from knowledge of the Greek language must take the history of Egypt into consideration and seek the collaboration of specialists in contemporary demotic and Coptic sources. A small group of Greek and Latin papyri and parchments of non-Egyptian origin, particularly from Dura-Europos and Palestine, belongs to the field of papyrology. On the other hand, the literary papyri from Herculaneum have not become the concern of papyrology proper.

Texts are divided according to form and content into literary and documentary categories. Compositions in verse and prose as well as the works of the special sciences count among the literary texts. To the documents are assigned the private letters, extant in large number, which do not pursue any literary aim. One problem is the classification of school exercises, although a limited literary interest is not lacking in these. Along with the magical texts they are assigned to a subliterary area. If a literary text is published, it is more a subject for philological research.

The survival of the written evidence in Egypt is due to the dry climate, which is favorable to it. The great mass of the papyri derives from rubbish heaps in towns, from burial grounds, and from papyrus boards, which are separated out to recover the texts. For memoranda, receipts, accounts, or information, and sometimes also for literary texts, potsherds (ostraca) and limestone splinters were used, indeed practically anything smooth and suitable for writing. Lead tablets were in the main reserved for magical texts. Other writing materials were animal skin, leather, parchment, wood and wax tablets, and finally paper, which the Arabs introduced into the Mediterranean world in the eighth century.

The earliest find of papyri in Egypt with consequences for scientific research occurred in 1778. About 100 years later villagers found papyri in hitherto unsuspected quantity in rubbish heaps, so that plans were made for a systematic search. Archaeologists from different nations began extensive excavations.

The importance of the papyri as historical sources lies in their immediacy. Our knowledge of antiquity is based for the most part on presentations founded on the choice and the selective view of their authors. Since the papyri embrace the whole of cultural life, papyrology furnishes source material for numerous special disciplines. From the docu-

ments historians have obtained archival material to an extent that was previously available only to medievalists and modern historians. A cultural and economic history and a history of law in the Hellenistic and imperial period have become possible only through them. The documents have made an essential contribution to the expansion of our knowledge of the Greek language and of paleography, and to the investigation of theology and of the history of book production.

Among the published literary texts the greater part consists of works already known from medieval codices, for which the papyri in some cases offer older readings. However, the significance of the literary papyri lies in the fact that the number of the texts that have become known for the first time through them is considerable. So far as the extent of the literary tradition is concerned, Homer with the *Iliad* stands first. Then follow Demosthenes and Euripides. While the works of many authors experienced enlargement, Bacchylides, for example, only comes alive for us through the papyri, and only they convey to us a comprehensive insight into Menander's dramatic art. The *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs* shows the aversion of the Greeks against imperial despotism and its anti-Semitic attitude. Greek professional literature is represented just as much as pagan religious or Christian literature.

The content of the documents provides evidence for political, public, and legal relationships, and for economic and social conditions. The state authorities are the originators of many documents. Edicts, official journals, judicial records, and petitions by private persons to officials are numerous; private contracts, accounts, and letters have survived in great quantity.

Greek remained the language of commerce even after the incorporation of Egypt into the Roman empire. Apart from a few high administrative officials, it was almost only the Roman legionaries who spoke Latin. Thus documents from the army, the administration, and the law and private letters form the bulk of the Latin papyri from Egypt. Among literary works, we find texts of classical authors (Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Virgil), among juridical texts parts of the works of Ulpian and Papinian, the CODEX THEODOSIANUS, and the CODEX JUSTINIANUS.

After preservative treatment of the material, two tasks present themselves to the specialist: the editing of unpublished texts and the evaluation of those already published, according to appointed criteria. Here the main concern is to understand the documents in terms of where they belong, geographically and factually. Something similar holds for the literary field, to make more precise statements, for example, about content, manufacture, writing, book ornamentation, and chronological questions.

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GÜNTER POETHKE

PAPYRUS. *See* Bookbinding.

PAPYRUS COLLECTIONS. [*The section of this entry on the National Library in Vienna was written by H. Loebenstein. The introduction and the remaining sections were prepared by Martin Krause.*]

Since the seventeenth century scholars and travelers to Egypt have brought manuscripts to Europe. The papyri, whether they came to light in spectacular finds or as individual discoveries, whether they were uncovered in scientific excavations or through the diggings of thieves, went into papyrus collections, either directly or through dealers (see PAPYRUS DISCOVERIES). Not only papyrus but also parchment, limestone, pottery shards (see OSTRACON), and other materials, such as leather and wood, served as writing surfaces.

The sources for the Coptic period are in Greek, Coptic, Arabic, and, to a lesser extent, Latin. They are housed in papyrus collections all over the world. It is the function of these collections not only to restore and preserve the writing materials but also to disclose their contents scientifically. While the conservation of papyri has kept pace with the new finds—thanks to the techniques developed by restorers such as H. Ibscher, R. Ibscher, and A. Fackelmann—the scientific disclosure of most papyrus collections in catalogs and publications is still deficient.

Progress has been greatest on the Greek and Latin papyri because there is a large number of classical philologists trained in papyrology to work on the texts in these languages (for an overview, see Mähler, 1965). Not as much headway has been made on the Arabic papyri. However, because their number is smaller and because of the efforts of A. Grohmann, N. Abbot, G. Frantz-Murphy, and others, their state of publication is relatively good. The least progress has been achieved with the Coptic papyri in the collections. The problem in this area is twofold: (1) there is only a small number of Coptologists with papyrological training; and (2) there is a dearth of posts in papyrus collections for those Coptologists who are capable of editing papyri. Because Greek papyri are the most numerous, the academic staff of most papyrus collections is comprised almost exclusively of Greek papyrologists. Therefore, even catalogs that merely list the Coptic holdings of the papyrus collections are lacking for the most part. Old catalogs, where available, are no longer up to date. The same situation obtains for publications of Coptic papyri. The publications that appeared prior to the beginning of the twentieth century need to be redone. In many cases they include only a small portion of a collection's holdings, usually only those pieces best preserved. The biggest task, therefore, is to record the Coptic holdings of the papyrus collections. The International Association for Coptic Studies has set this task for itself. The second priority is to publish the texts.

The Coptic holdings of the collections are divided into literary (see PAPYRI, COPTIC LITERARY) and nonliterary texts. While there is still no list of the pub-

lished literary texts, A. Schiller (1975) has prepared a checklist of the nonliterary pieces. This list, however, is now in need of supplementation. A preliminary, incomplete list, arranged according to nation, of the collections with Coptic texts, literary and nonliterary, follows below.

Austria

Graz, University Library The collection contains some Coptic papyri.

Vienna, Art History Museum The Coptic holdings have been published by H. Satzinger.

Vienna, National Library In addition to tens of thousands of texts in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, Egyptian, and Hebrew, the library has about 26,000 Coptic objects, the great majority of which are papyri. There are also parchments, paper manuscripts, textiles, 768 ostraca, and a text inscribed on leather. More than 2,300 of the texts have been edited. This is a considerable number, given the fact that many of the pieces are not worthy of publication.

Most of the papyri come from the Fayyūm. The group from al-Ashmūnayn, though smaller in number, is better preserved and offers a greater percentage of literary texts. There are also some papyri from Akhmīm. Most of the parchment texts are from Akhmīm, specifically from the White Monastery. Almost all of these texts are literary. The paper manuscripts are from al-Ashmūnayn. The collection has texts in the Akhmimic, Subakhmimic, Bohairic, Fayyumic, and Sahidic dialects. The texts in Sahidic and Fayyumic are by far the most numerous. Most of the Coptic texts are nonliterary, and approximately 80 percent of these nonliterary texts are letters. There are also accounts, lists, and legal documents such as tax bills and receipts, ownership transfers, delivery contracts, debt documents, lease and rent agreements, wills, and work contracts. Among the literary texts are numerous biblical fragments on papyrus and parchment, tales of saints and martyrs, prayers, liturgical texts—some with an Arabic translation—homilies, amulets, magic texts, vocabularies, and writing exercises. Especially worthy of note are 262 pages from a parchment codex of the twelve minor prophets in Akhmimic, eighteen pages of a papyrus codex with a Sahidic Psalter, and eight pages, poorly preserved, of the Manichaean book *Kephalaia,* the major portion of which is in Berlin.

After the death of Jakob Krall in 1905, the Coptic holdings were largely ignored until Walter Till began his work on the collection in 1930. During the next twenty years Till organized the material in generic groups and keyed the objects in the collection to an inventory list. He produced a catalog of the publications and he published a number of the pieces himself.

Belgium

Louvain, University Library The Coptic manuscripts of the University Library were lost to fire in World War II. Therefore their publication by L. T. Lefort is of irreplaceable value.

Canada

Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology The Coptic ostraca from the area of Thebes have been published by H. Thompson.

Czechoslovakia

Prague, Collection of Professor T. Hopfner The earlier papyrus collection of Carl Wessely contains among its 8,182 pieces—most of which are Greek texts from Soknopaiou Nesos—56 well-preserved Coptic texts and 71 smaller Coptic pieces, as well as a number of fragments.

Egypt

Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum The collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum contains Coptic papyri and ostraca.

Cairo, Collection of the Society of Coptic Archaeology The collection contains, in addition to papyri from the excavation of the DAYR APA PHOIBAMMON, a number of Coptic documents, which have been published by L. S. B. MacCoull. Among the literary papyri are two codex pages of the Sahidic version of Job, another with the only known Sahidic translation of Ezekiel 45, and yet another with an unusual translation of a portion of Psalms. These texts will be published by Randall Stewart.

Cairo, Egyptian Museum The Egyptian Museum contains one of the largest papyrus collections, and in particular one of the largest collections of Greek manuscripts and papyri, among which are the Byzantine papyri edited by J. MASPERO (bibliography in Preisendanz). Not all of the Coptic papyri were transferred to the COPTIC MUSEUM after its establishment. Some Coptic literary texts and documents

(e.g., Koptische Rechtsurkunden 75, 93, 89, and 99) remained in the Egyptian Museum.

Cairo, Institut français d'Archéologie orientale The Institute contains a papyrus collection that includes important Greek and Coptic texts. The catalog of the Coptic manuscripts is the work of R.-G. Coquin, who had already published a series of the texts of this collection.

Cairo, Coptic Museum The Coptic Museum, founded in 1910 by Murqus Simaykah (Pasha), houses a papyrus collection in addition to other artifacts. Murqus Simaykah had collected manuscripts from old churches and monasteries and had described them in a catalog. In the 1940s additional papyri, manuscripts, and ostraca, which W. E. Crum and H. Munier had described, were transferred to the Coptic Museum from the Egyptian Museum. In addition, the codices of gnostic writings found near Nag Hammadi, which an international committee published in facsimile volumes, came to the museum. The holdings continue to grow as a result of new excavation finds, such as the papyri unearthed at Qaṣr Ibrīm and Nakhlah.

Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate In addition to Christian-Arabic manuscripts, the library of the Coptic patriarchate has a number of Coptic-Arabic manuscripts, only a portion of which have been listed in catalogs.

Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Egypt The Coptic, Copto-Arabic, and Christian-Arabic manuscripts housed in Coptic churches and monasteries have only recently begun to be listed in catalogs. This work must be furthered. Worthy of mention are the catalogs being prepared by the Société d'archéologie copte in Cairo, four of which have appeared since 1967, as well as the catalogs of the monasteries of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) and Saint Paul (DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ) being prepared by R.-G. Coquin and the catalog of the Monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR).

Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery In addition to the famous CODEX SINAITICUS, which was discovered by K. von TISCHENDORF and made its way via Russia to the British Museum in London, the monastery library possesses other valuable manuscripts, which are listed in catalogs. Additional manuscripts were discovered in the monastery in 1975.

France

Paris, National Library The manuscripts that J. M. Vansleb purchased in Egypt for the French Royal Library constitute the foundation of the Coptic holdings of the National Library. After the royal library became the National Library, an additional 1,883 fragments of manuscripts from the library of the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) in Suhāj were acquired. Other fragments of these manuscripts have come to the library from Cairo, Leiden, and London. The manuscripts (i.e., the manuscript fragments) run the gamut of Coptic literature: Old Testament, New Testament, lives of monks, councils and church history, acts of martyrs, apocrypha, liturgical manuscripts, large katameros, Shenute, homilies, miscellaneous, unidentified fragments, and medicine and astronomy.

Chabot's short summary of the library's holdings was followed by the detailed but incomplete summaries of J. Delaporte and E. Porcher. The most extensive catalog of the Sahidic manuscripts, which lists the publications of the texts, was prepared by E. Lucchesi.

Paris, Louvre Museum Among the nonliterary texts the *dialysis* document from Djeme (E.5134) and the correspondence of Bishop PISENTIUS OF COPTOS are worthy of mention. The publications of E. Revillout need to be redone. W. E. Crum published some of the documents in 1912 (KRU 40 and 43) and others in 1921.

Strasbourg, University Library Among the copious holdings are some Coptic and Coptic-Arabic texts.

Germany, Federal Republic of

Berlin, State Library The manuscript collection contains eighty-four Coptic manuscripts.

Berlin, Egyptian Museum The Egyptian Museum has 2 papyrus, 1 parchment, and 2 paper manuscripts, 220 papyri, innumerable unidentified fragments, and 2 ostraca.

Cologne, Papyrus collection at Institute for Antiquity, University der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie of Cologne The collection has about 100 Coptic papyri.

Cologne, Department of Egyptology, University of Cologne The department houses Coptic papyri.

Freiburg im Breisgau, University Library The collection contains twenty-five Coptic papyri (some very small) and two Coptic manuscripts: Manuscript 615 (fragment of a Greek-Sahidic text of the Gospels, which is from Manuscript M615 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) and Manuscript 699 (from Manuscript M587 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

Giessen, University Library The collection contains about seventy-five Coptic papyri.

Göttingen, State and University Library of Lower Saxony In 1877, the Göttingen University Library acquired thirty-four Coptic manuscripts from H. Brugsch. These texts have been described by F. Wüstenfeld and P. de Lagarde.

Hamburg, State and University Library The collection contains ten Coptic papyri and one Coptic-Greek bilingual papyrus of the Old Testament (see HAMBURG PAPYRUS).

Heidelberg, University Library The collection contains three Coptic manuscripts: Cod. Heid. Or. 63, 97, and 113.

Heidelberg, Institute for Papyrology The Institute has 390 Coptic papyri, 51 parchment manuscripts, 68 paper manuscripts, and 33 ostraca.

Munich, Bavarian State Library The collection contains Coptic and Greek papyri as well as twenty-two Coptic and Greek-Arabic papyri.

Würzburg, University Library The collection has three Coptic papyri.

German Democratic Republic

Berlin, State Museums of Berlin The holdings of the papyrus collection, built up over a period of more than 150 years, exceed 20,000 in number, of which about 2,500 are Coptic texts. Of these Coptic pieces about 681 are papyri, 153 are parchment, 69 are paper, and 1,549 are ostraca. As part of a research effort of the Oriental and Ancient Studies Section of Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg, W. Beltz has divided the Coptic texts into the following eleven groups: (a) letters; (b) documents, contracts, lists, accounts; (c) natural science and medicine; (d) magic texts; (e) literary texts; (f) biblical texts; (g) homiletic texts; (h) apocrypha; (j) Gnostic texts; (k) school exercises and analecta. Among the best-known texts are the Gnostic manuscript P. 8502, which contains texts parallel to those in the Nag Hammadi Library, and the papyrus (P. 15, 926) of the Acts of the Apostles. At the beginning of the twentieth century, A. Erman, J. Leipoldt, and others started to publish the Coptic documents. After a fifty-year interlude, F. Hintze has taken up the task of publishing these documents.

Berlin, German State Library As a result of the division of the holdings for protective storage during World War II, some of the Coptic manuscripts and papyri from this collection are still in West Berlin at the State Library of Prussian Art. Among the Coptic texts in East Berlin is an important Akhmimic manuscript of Proverbs (MS Or. 987).

Jena, Friedrich Schiller University The collection contains a number of Coptic papyri and ostraca.

Leipzig, Library of Karl Marx University The collection contains Coptic papyri and ostraca, including Bohairic manuscripts and manuscript fragments from Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The fragments, which were brought to Leipzig by K. von Tischendorf, belong to manuscripts now preserved in the Vatican Library and in the Coptic Museum, Cairo.

Great Britain

Cambridge, Cambridge University, Gonville and Caius College The college houses fragments of Bohairic Coptic liturgical manuscripts.

Cheltenham, Philipps Library Among the holdings is a sixth- or seventh-century papyrus codex published by W. E. Crum.

London, British Library The British Museum houses one of the largest and most important collections of papyri and Coptic texts. Inasmuch as W. E. Crum's catalog edits and describes only those texts acquired prior to the turn of the century and B. Layton's catalog is limited to literary texts, there is need for a new, comprehensive catalog of the documents. In addition to the documents from Djeme published by Crum, there are large holdings from Hermopolis that have not yet been published.

London, British Museum, Egyptian Department Among the many texts housed in the Egyptian department of the British Museum is a large collection of Coptic ostraca from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society. W. E. Crum has published the majority of the texts from the area of Thebes (Djeme), but many of these texts, especially those in *Coptic Ostraca*, must be edited anew.

London, University College The collection contains, among other texts, some Coptic ostraca, most of which have been published by W. E. Crum.

Manchester, John Rylands Library The texts purchased by the earl of Crowford in 1901 form the basis of the collection. Other purchases, such as those of H. Tattam, R. Lieder, and J. Lee, as well as those made from dealers in Giza, have enhanced the holdings. Some of the Sahidic texts come from the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH). Many of the Bohairic texts on parchment and paper are from the monasteries of Nitria. The collection, 467

pieces in all, encompasses biblical manuscripts, lectionaries, liturgical texts, homilies, acts of martyrs, lives of saints, magic and medical texts, grammars, scales, letters, and a large number of documents. The holdings have been well cataloged by W. E. Crum and W. C. Till.

Oxford, Bodleian Library The first Coptic texts acquired by the Bodleian Library were purchased by Huntington. Later, pages of manuscripts from the White Monastery, purchased by C. G. Woide, were added to the collection. Among the significant nonliterary texts are the sales documents (MS Copt. e, 8P) published by W. E. Crum in 1912, the ostraca and papyri published by Crum in 1921 and 1939, and the documents from Bala'izah published by P. E. Kahle.

Ireland

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library This collection, which next to the BODMER PAPYRI is the largest and most important private collection with Greek biblical texts (see CHESTER BEATTY BIBLICAL PAPYRI), also contains significant Coptic texts (see CHESTER BEATTY COPTIC PAPYRI). Among these Coptic texts are the Manichaean papyri, which were discovered in 1930 and divided between Dublin and Berlin. The publication of these texts has been taken up anew by S. Giversen and others after an interruption of several decades.

Among the Old Testament texts the Joshua manuscript is worthy of mention. The second part of this text is in the Bodmer collection (P. Bodmer XXI). In 1984, H. Quecke noted in his edition of the Gospel of John the variant readings of manuscripts 813 and 814, which contain the gospel. Manuscript 815, which contains the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew as well as Psalms, has not yet been published. Also unpublished are twelve pages of a Subakhmimic manuscript of the Gospel of John. An unpublished parchment manuscript in fragmentary condition contains various patristic works. Other important texts include a Greek manuscript of the letters of Pachomius and a Coptic parchment and papyrus rolls with the letters of Pachomius, Theodorus, and Horsiesios. Quecke has edited the Greek and Coptic letters of Pachomius. T. Orlandi is preparing an edition of the letters of Theodorus and Horsiesios.

Italy

Many of the Coptic manuscripts in various Italian collections are listed by G. Gabrieli in an appendix.

Florence, Papyrus Institute of the University and Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana These collections have a number of Coptic pieces among their rich papyrological holdings. In 1984, G. M. Browne edited portions of a collection of documents and letters purchased by G. Vitelli in 1904.

Naples, National Library The Coptic manuscripts in the collection of Cardinal Borgia (described in Zoëga's catalog) were divided into two parts after his death in 1804. One eventually was acquired by the Vatican Library in 1902. The other went to the Bibliotheca Reale Borbonica, now known as the Naples National Library. We are indebted to J.-M. Sauget for an important catalog that gives the current location of the manuscripts as well as a bibliography extending to the 1970s.

Pisa, National Museum The National Museum collection contains, among other things, fragments of a Copto-Arabic manuscript, which has been published by S. Pernigotti and D. Amaldi.

Turin, Egyptian Museum, Papyrus Collection The papyrus collection contains fragments of seventeen papyrus codices in a good state of preservation and some individual manuscript pages. These texts were acquired by the museum in 1820 along with other antiquities that B. Drovetti had purchased. F. Rossi has published the majority of the texts, but these works must be edited anew. The codices contain primarily apocryphal texts, acts of martyrs, lives of saints, and homilies, but they also preserve the Canons of Basil and fragments of the book of Job (for a detailed list, see Orlandi, 1974, pp. 120–27).

Turin, University Library A fire destroyed the Coptic manuscripts and papyri in this collection on 25–26 January 1904.

Vatican City, Vatican Library The Coptic manuscripts were purchased from Pietro della Valle and the Assemani, who had traveled and acquired antiquities in Egypt. A portion of the collection of the Assemani came directly to the Vatican Library. The other part went to the private library of Cardinal Borgia, who in large part had financed the Assemani's journeys. In 1805, one year after the death of Cardinal Borgia, his Coptic manuscripts were divided between the Collegium de Propaganda Fide and the Bibliotheca Reale Borbonica (today the National Library) in Naples. After Cardinal Ciasca's death in 1902, the manuscripts in the Collegium de Propaganda Fide were transferred to the Vatican Library. The manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments; of the apocrypha; of patristic, hagiographic, and liturgical texts; as well as those of grammars

and scales have been described in the detailed catalogs of A. Hebbelynck and A. van Lantschoot. The library also has a collection of nonliterary papyri, which were acquired from J. Doresse in 1961.

Venice, National Marcan Library This library houses Sahidic manuscripts that had passed through the hands of various dealers. Some of the texts are from the White Monastery (Dayr Anbā Shinūdah). A. Mingarelli has cataloged the collection.

The Netherlands

Leiden, National Antiquities Museum An impressive collection of Coptic literary and nonliterary papyri and ostraca is preserved in this museum. In addition to the catalog of W. Pleyte and P. A. A. Boeser, the publication by M. Green of a private archive dated to the eleventh century from the region of Hermonthis, which also contains an Arabic letter, is worthy of mention.

Soviet Union

Leningrad, Hermitage The Coptic papyri and ostraca of this collection have been reedited by P. V. Jernstedt.

Moscow, Pushkin Museum The Coptic papyri and ostraca of this collection have been reedited by P. V. Jernstedt.

Spain

Barcelona, Palau-Ribes Collection Through its purchase of early Coptic manuscripts of the New Testament (Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John), which have been published by H. Quecke, this collection, which also contains other Coptic papyri and ostraca, has moved into the ranks of important Coptic manuscript collections.

Switzerland

Geneva, Bodmer Collection See the separate entry on BODMER PAPYRI in the Appendix.

United States

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library After B. P. Grenfell and F. W. Kelsey bought the first papyri for this collection in 1920, W. H. Worrell purchased in the following years (until 1935) other pieces, among which were a number of well-preserved documents and letters. The Coptic collection, which consists almost entirely of pieces bought from antiquities dealers, had in 1942 about 750 pieces cataloged under 460 inventory numbers. In addition to 150 literary texts (not including some 200 fragments), there are 400 documents and letters. Among the literary texts are manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments in several dialects, apocryphal writings, liturgical works, homilies, and accounts of martyrs. The documents come in part from Hermopolis, Thebes, and the Fayyūm. A portion of the collection has been published.

Durham, Duke University Collection L. S. B. MacCoull has published three Coptic papyri from the holdings of Duke University.

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Among the holdings of the Beinecke Library are Coptic documents and letters. A. E. Samuel has described these texts, and L. S. B. MacCoull has published many of the documents.

New York, Brooklyn Museum, Department of Egyptian and Classical Art Since 1937 the collection of the New-York Historical Society has been in the Brooklyn Museum. Among the papyrus holdings are thirty-six Coptic ostraca, three inscribed wood tablets, one parchment, and twenty-two papyri. With the exception of nine texts (W. M. Müller and A. A. Schiller) the holdings are unpublished.

New York, Columbia University The collection (Schiller, 1959, pp. 21–23) was significantly enlarged in 1959–1960 by the purchase of some 3,500 Coptic ostraca from the Metropolitan Museum. Most of these ostraca, which are mainly from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations in the region of Djeme, are unpublished.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art The Metropolitan Museum's large collection of Coptic papyri and ostraca was reduced by the sale of approximately 3,500 ostraca to Columbia University. Worthy of mention are the Coptic ostraca and papyrus documents from the area of Djeme that have been published by W. E. Crum and A. A. Schiller.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library The acquisition of the manuscripts of a monastery library in the Fayyūm has made the Pierpont Morgan Library the holder of one of the most important collections of Coptic manuscripts. These texts have been made accessible through facsimile editions. Many of them have also been edited and published. In addition to these manuscripts, the collection contains Coptic documents that were purchased in 1920 from the dealer M. Nahman in Cairo. In 1982 L. S. B. MacCoull published some 147 of these documents.

Washington, D.C., Freer Collection The Freer Collection contains a number of early Greek and Coptic manuscripts of Old and New Testament books. H. A. Sanders and W. H. Worrell have pub-

lished these texts (bibliography in Preisendanz). The nonliterary texts (Greek and Coptic) were published in 1973 by L. S. B. MacCoull.

Washington, D.C., Library of the Institute of Christian Oriental Research The Institute of Christian Oriental Research, which was founded by H. Hyvernat, houses a number of Coptic papyri. L. S. B. MacCoull has published fifty-seven fragments of these texts dating for the most part from the sixth or seventh century.

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H. LOEBENSTEIN
MARTIN KRAUSE

PAPYRUS DISCOVERIES. The dry climate of Egypt is responsible for the preservation of the many literary memorials of the country, the ostraca as well as the sources written on papyrus, parchment, and (later) paper, which may be subdivided into literary and nonliterary. They were and are found either by chance, mostly by fellahin digging for manure in the remains of old settlements, but also through systematic licensed excavations by archaeologists since the end of the nineteenth century. An example of such scientific excavations for papyri is those of OXYRHYNCHUS, which were undertaken between 1896 and 1907 by the Englishmen Grenfell and Hunt, and thereafter by the Italians Pistelli (1910, 1913–1914) and Brecchia (1927–1928). The publication of the rich finds of papyrus is not yet complete.

Chance discoveries made by local inhabitants greatly outnumber papyrus discoveries made by scientific excavators. Dealers who have sold papyri to libraries and museums have related stories about the circumstances surrounding their discoveries that have led scholars to discern the following pattern. The fellahin sold their finds to dealers in the neighborhood. From there the papyri came to dealers in Cairo who had connections with the international antiquities trade. Because of the risk, the dealers often divided large finds into several lots. Scholars are interested in the circumstances of a discovery, since these may be of importance for a number of reasons. The place of discovery (tomb, hiding place, or building) shows whether the papyrus was the property of an individual, who in accordance with a custom that can be traced back to early Egyptian times, had Holy Scriptures laid beside him in the grave (in earlier ages it was books of the dead). Thus, for example, the *Apocalypse of Peter* is said to have been found along with the *Gospel of Peter* and the Greek *Book of Enoch* at Akhmīm in the grave of a monk (Hennecke and Schneemelcher, 1964, p. 468). In a scientific excavation at the Coptic cemetery of al-Muḍill, about 28 miles (45 km) from al-Bahnasā, a Coptic Psalter in the dialect of Oxyrhynchus was found in a grave under the head of a twelve-year-old girl (Gabra, 1986). Discovery in a hiding place at a spot of difficult access shows that some danger threatened the manuscripts, which had to be brought to a place of safety. This danger may have come from external or internal enemies, from hostile troops, from the state (when Christianity was not yet recognized as a *religio licita*), or, in the case of a library containing writings that did not conform to the doctrinal views of the church, from the state church. Papyri discovered in the ruins of a building may have belonged to the library of a community that was not endangered. It must be made clear how large the library was, and whether it was divided. The place of discovery of Coptic manuscripts is of further importance for the localizing of Coptic dialects.

The interests of the finders and dealers are at variance with those of the scholars. The former have to reckon with penalties for failure to report the discovery, and with subsequent excavation by archaeologists, which would mean the loss of their "gold mine." Hence caution is advisable with regard to their statements, not so much about the time of the discovery as about its precise location. Their information must be checked, preferably by an excavation at the site named. If an excavation is not possible, as happens in most cases, the statements of the manuscripts themselves must be set against those of the finders regarding the place of discovery. Among these statements in Coptic manuscripts are, for one thing, the dialect. It allows an

approximate localization by indicating the part of the country in which the dialect was spoken. In the case of manuscripts with covers, one must investigate whether old papyri, especially documents, were pasted into the binding. They often name persons and places that may have been connected with the codex. The checking of the information from the finders is simpler with later manuscripts, which contain a COLOPHON with information about the scribe and the place of writing.

Let us now deal with the most important discoveries, first of Greek, then of Coptic manuscripts. The place of discovery of the great find at Ṭurah is certain, since it was found in August 1941 in the caves under the monastery of Arsenius, by Egyptian workers who were clearing rubbish from a cave. The majority of the manuscripts were put in a place of safety after the discovery and brought to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The pages that were not handed over by the workers, but came to the antiquities dealers, are today scattered over several countries and several collections (Australia, South Africa, Switzerland, France, England, Germany, and the United States; cf. Mackay and Griggs, 1985). Found were writings of ORIGEN and DIDYMUS THE BLIND, in Greek, extending to eight codices and at least 2,016 papyrus pages (Koenen and Müller-Wiener, 1968; Koenen and Doutreleau, 1967). The copying is dated to the sixth century.

On the other hand, the place of discovery of the Cologne Mani Codex with a biography of Mani in Greek is not certain. It was written on parchment in the fifth century in pocket-size format (1.67 inches [4.25 cm] high, 1.25 inches [3.5 cm] wide) and is so far the smallest known codex. From information given by the dealer, its place of origin had been assumed to be a grave in Oxyrhynchus, but further investigation by the editors proved that this statement was false. Rather, the codex had been for many years (supposedly fifty years) in the possession of a private owner in Luxor, and perhaps derives from the center of MANICHAEISM in Egypt, the region of Asyūṭ (Koenen, 1973).

The origin of two Coptic manuscript discoveries is assured through the colophons contained in the manuscripts: first, the fifty-six codices from the monastery of the archangel Michael at Sopehes in the Fayyūm, which are for the most part in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and the codices bought in 1907 by Rustafjaell, which came from monasteries of Hajir Idfū and are preserved in the British Library.

The place of discovery of the library found in 1945 near Nag Hammadi, consisting of thirteen codices with mainly Gnostic writings, is assumed to be Ḥamra Dum, below the cliffs of the Jabal al-Ṭārif (see NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY). The statements of the finder about the exact place of discovery were tested through excavations in 1975 by the Claremont Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, but at the places indicated no archaeological evidence for the origin of the library could be found (Elderen, 1979, p. 226). We therefore do not know whether the manuscripts were found in an earthenware jar, as the finders affirmed, and as is frequently the case (cf. Preisendanz, 1933, p. 113), or what the exact place of discovery was, a cemetery or a hiding place. On the other hand, the story after the discovery of the library down to the making of an inventory in the Coptic Museum has been investigated by J. M. Robinson. Papyri pasted into the bindings of single volumes to strengthen the covers name persons and places in the region of the ancient Diospolis as well as dates. They are in agreement with the place of finding, ascertained in 1950 by J. Doresse (p. 133), who, like Robinson, relies on the reports of local inhabitants.

According to the statements of dealers, the place of discovery of the nine Manichaean codices in Subakhmimic, found in 1930, was Madīnat Māḍī in the Fayyūm. The dialect of the manuscripts indicates a location farther to the south, in the region of Asyūṭ. C. Schmidt (Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933, pp. 6ff.), who for decades bought papyri for European collections and was regarded by the dealers as a reliable partner, instituted his own inquiries, as a result of which Madīnat Māḍī was assumed to be the place. The place of discovery is probably not the place where the codices were copied. Three dealers divided the find among themselves. Sales were made to the Chester Beatty collection and to the State Museum in Berlin, and a small part went to the papyrus collection in Vienna.

The last great manuscript discovery was made in 1952, a few miles from where the Nag Hammadi codices were found, in the region of Dishnā in Upper Egypt. The manuscripts went to the Bodmer Library (see BODMER PAPYRI), the Chester Beatty Library (see CHESTER BEATTY BIBLICAL PAPYRI, COPTIC PAPYRI), and the University of Mississippi. This discovery contains not only documents in Greek and Coptic but also Greco-Latin writings from the pre-Christian period (e.g., works of Menander, Thucydides, Cicero) and Christian writings from the Old and New Testaments, apocrypha, and early Christian literature in Greek and Coptic. The early bibli-

cal manuscripts found are especially important for the text of the Bible. The combination in this discovery of pagan and Christian writings presents problems in deciding about the character of the earlier library or libraries.

Finally, reference should be made also to the old manuscripts found in monasteries in Egypt by European travelers and scholars. For the Old Testament only the CODEX SINAITICUS found by K. von TISCHENDORF in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai need be named; for Coptic literature, there is the library found by G. Maspero in Shenute's White Monastery (see DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH) at Suhāj and the books found in the monasteries of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, most of which were brought to European libraries. In most cases the colophons give us information about their origin.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PARADISE, term used in the Septuagint to describe the Garden of Eden and the abode of Adam and Eve (Gn. 2–3). It also occurs in Nehemiah 2:8, Ecclesiastes 2:5, and the Song of Solomon 4:13. In the New Testament it occurs in Luke 23:43, 2 Corinthians 12:4, and the Revelation to John 2:7.

In Orthodox eschatological teaching, paradise is an intermediate place where the souls of the righteous who die in Christ await in expectation of resurrection and the Last Judgment. Prior to Christ's redemption of humanity, the abode of all the dead, righteous and unrighteous alike, was in HADES, the lower world. At the death of Christ on the cross, He descended into Hades, from which He conveyed the souls of the righteous to paradise. "For Christ also died for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit; in which he went and preached to the spirits in prison" (1 Pt. 3:18–19).

It is worthy of note that the first human being to

obtain the promise of admission into paradise was the thief who hung on the cross at the right of Christ. His faith and fearless confession made him the first to inherit the glorious destiny of all who acknowledged Jesus as their Lord: "And he said to him, 'Truly, I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise'" (Lk. 23:43).

In the Second Letter of Paul to the Corinthians, Saint Paul spoke of paradise: "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" (2 Cor. 12:2–4).

Part of the funerary rite of the Coptic church includes the following prayer, which is said by the priest over the departed: "Give rest, O Lord, in the Kingdom of heaven, to this soul on whose account we are gathered here. Open unto it, O Lord, the gate of Paradise, as Thou opened it for the faithful thief."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

PARALLOS. *See* Burullus, al-.

PARAMONE, a Greek term meaning watch, vigil, especially on the eve of a festival. Its Arabic equivalent, *barāmūn,* is a term generally used for the vigils of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Epiphany. It is a fast requiring abstention from the eating of fish, meat, eggs, milk, butter, and cheese. If the day before the feast happens to be SATURDAY or SUNDAY, then the *paramone* begins on Friday because it is not permitted to fast on Saturday or Sunday. However, the eating of foods listed is prohibited on the two or three days of the *paramone.* Also the readings of the *paramone* day are repeated if the *paramone* occurs on more than one day.

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EMIL MAHER ISHAQ

PARAPHRASE OF SHEM (NHC VII, 1), one of the longer and best preserved tractates of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY. This text is part of a small, selective group of Gnostic texts that show no evidence of having been influenced by Christianity (cf. APOCALYPSE OF ADAM, THREE STELES OF SETH, and EUGNOSTOS). Attributed pseudonymously to Shem, the son of Noah and the ancestor of Abraham (Gn. 10:1, 21–31; 11:10–26), the Paraphrase of Shem is a revelation delivered by the Gnostic redeemer Derdekeas (Aramaic for child, boy) to Shem.

The revelation begins with Shem being elevated "to the top of the world close to the Light," that is, to the Supreme Being (1.10–11). Shem's mind is separated from his body, and he learns about cosmogony, soteriology, and eschatology. Three principles, "Light, Darkness and Spirit *[pneuma]* between them" are introduced (1.26–29). The Light knows of "the abasement of the Darkness" (2.11–13), but the Darkness is ignorant of the Light (2.16–18). So begins the cosmic drama. Darkness frightens Spirit (2.21) and becomes aware that "his likeness is dark compared with the Spirit" (3.6–7). Ignorant of the Light, Darkness directs his attention to Spirit to claim equality. From the mind of Darkness, evil is born; and from "the likeness of the Light" a son, Derdekeas, appears, whose task it is to carry up to the Light, the light of the Spirit shut up in Darkness (3.35–4.19).

The bulk of the tractate hereafter describes a cosmogony involving the struggle among the different powers, Derdekeas' effort to liberate Light, and the events leading up to the time of consummation when "the forms of Nature will be destroyed" (45.16–17). Similar to other Gnostic eschatological writings, world history and evolution terminate with the consummation, and the particles of light return to the Supreme Being and no longer possess a (material) form. Derdekeas ends the Paraphrase of Shem by telling Shem of his role; he also tells him that salvation will only be given "to worthy ones" (49.6).

The Paraphrase of Shem is of particular importance for the religious history of late antiquity, postbiblical Judaism, and early Christianity. Its allusions and the biblical exegesis of the creation story of Genesis present an interesting comparison to other Jewish pseudepigraphic and apocryphal literature of the period of postbiblical Judaism. For example, the destruction of Sodom (28.34–29.34), the flood (25.13; 28.6), and the Tower of Babel (25.18 and 26; 28.10) show clear dependence on the Old Testament. The lack of Christian influence in the Paraphrase of Shem and evidence of a pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer also draws attention to the mythological and historical background of the New Testament. This combination of a heterodox Jewish background with an absence of Christology has led Wisse (1970) to suggest that the polemic against baptism by water in this tractate is addressed to some Jewish baptismal sect and not against Christians. Others view this ritual as unveiling Christian traces and Elchasaite involvement (Sevrin, 1975). Affinities to the Paraphrase of Seth of Hippolytus are also a topic of debate (*Refutatio*, 19–22). The Paraphrase of Shem has been viewed as a source for the Paraphrase of Seth and the basis for the doctrine of the Sethians of Hippolytus.

Finally, the list of names (31.4–32.6 and 46.4–47.6) in the tractate indicate some form of ritual to be recited at one's final ascent. It also supports a process where novices are socialized and instructed through different stages of Gnostic teaching.

The *terminus ad quem* is the first part of the third century with the middle of the second century or earlier, as plausible for the final redaction in Egypt.

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HENRY A. GREEN

PARCHMENT, a writing surface made from the skin of sheep or goats. Lexicographically the term is distinct from vellum, which, by convention, denotes pages made from the skin of calves or kids. In the manufacture of both vellum and parchment the skins were soaked for several days in a lime solution, cleansed of flesh and hair, limed, dried, stretched, polished with pumice, and dusted with sifting chalk. Like papyrus, individual sheets of parchment were bound together at the sides to form rolls, or folded and stitched into codices (see BOOKBINDING).

Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* xiii.11), quoting the Latin scholar Varro, maintained that parchment was invented in Pergamum (modern Bergama, in western Turkey) by a certain Eumenes of the Attalid dynasty (presumably Eumenes II, 197–159 B.C.) when an embargo was placed on the export of papyrus by the king of Egypt. Although this tradition appears to gain credence from the fact that the word "parchment" comes from a Greek adjectival form of Pergamum (*pergamēnē* or *pergamenon*), there is no attestation of this adjective applied to the writing material until A.D. 301. Consequently, many believe its application to parchment argues only for the widespread acceptance of the account preserved in Pliny, not for the actual invention of parchment in Pergamum. The earlier Greek word for parchment is *diphthera*. The earlier Latin term is *membrana*.

The oldest extant parchments are from Dura-Europos and date to the second century B.C. About A.D. 300 parchment began to supplant papyrus as the preferred writing material of the ancient world, though papyrus continued to be used for centuries thereafter.

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RANDALL STEWART

PAREKKLESIA, a description in use especially in Greek-speaking areas for a subsidiary church attached to a larger church and closely connected with it. Examples of such subsidiary churches are, however, just as frequent in Egyptian church building. The parekklesia could have been erected at the same time as the main church or at a later date. To be recognized as a parekklesia, it must present a closed church area, be exclusively intended for liturgical use, and also contain all the furnishings necessary for the liturgy. In particular to the latter belong an altar and an apse, or at least a niche representing it. The parekklesia, accordingly, is fundamentally distinct from all other side rooms in the church. An oratories, which serves only for prayer or personal devotions, is not a parekklesia, even if it is equipped with a large prayer niche.

The church of the MOUNT SINAI MONASTERY OF SAINT CATHERINE originally possessed only two parekklesia on the two sides of the apse. The Chapel of the Burning Bush to the east of the main apse is later. At a later date, the side rooms on the side aisles were also given a new function as parekklesia (Forsyth, 1968, pp. 11–14). In the same way a parekklesia was subsequently added to the north basilica of ABŪ MĪNĀ. This actually presents three altars, and was chiefly intended for the carrying out of the baptismal ceremony (Jaritz, 1970, p. 74). Further, all the larger churches at SCETIS are equipped with parekklesia. The larger secondary churches, which as a rule are actually spatially separate, must be considered independent churches. From the late Fatimid period, with a view to increasing the frequency of masses, small parekklesia were set up in many Cairo churches in the side rooms and the galleries. They were in each case provided with an altar and an iconostasis shutting off the altar area. It was only after sanctuaries with several altars were introduced, well into the Mamluk period, that the designation parekklesia for the side altars lost its justification.

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PETER GROSSMANN

PARTHEY, GUSTAV FRIEDRICH CONSTANTIN (1798–1872), German Coptologist and classical scholar. He was educated at Berlin and Heidelberg. He published a number of Greek and Coptic texts and several books.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PARTHIAN HORSEMAN. *See* Christian Subjects in Coptic Art.

PASCHA, a Jewish feast rooted in the seminomadic religious practices of the ancient Near East, attached to memories of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt by the historicizing interpretation of Exodus 12:12–13, 23–27, and Deuteronomy 16:1–6, and adapted to the celebration of the Christian mystery of salvation by the early Christians.

Despite modern philological proposals, the etymology and original meaning of the Hebrew word *pesaḥ,* from which the Greek *pascha* is derived, remain obscure. Exodus 12:13, 23, and 27 provide a popular etymology by relating *pesaḥ* to the Hebrew verb *pāsaḥ,* to limp, to skip or jump over. God, prepared to strike down the firstborn in Egypt, would limp past, or skip over, the houses of the Israelites who had performed the paschal rite. In Hellenistic Judaism, the word *pascha* was explained either as *hyperbasia* or *hyperbasis,* a passing-over, with reference to God's passing over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt, or as *diabasis* or *diabateria,* a passing-through, with reference to the Israelites passing through the Red Sea.

Of these two Hellenistic Jewish explanations, the

first was not easily transferable to the Christian *pascha,* but Christians used the second by taking the passage through the Red Sea as a type of Christ's passage from death to life or of the Christian's passage to new life in baptism (ideally at the time of the paschal celebration), or even by taking the passage through the Red Sea as an allegory of the Christian's passage from sin, ignorance, and falsehood to virtue, knowledge, and truth. In a specifically Christian etymology popular in early Christian centuries but infrequently used by learned writers, *pascha* was taken as a word related to *paschein,* to suffer, and thus referred to Christ's suffering and death.

In the earliest years of Christianity, Jews, in celebrating Passover on the night of the full moon, the fourteenth–fifteenth of the lunar month of Nisan, joyfully and thankfully commemorated the past deliverance of their people from bondage in Egypt, looked upon that deliverance as represented in the present, and to some extent looked forward to a new liberation in a future age. Until the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed in A.D. 70, the killing and eating of the paschal lamb and the blood rites performed with the lamb's blood were important parts of the celebration, as they are to this day in the paschal observance of the Samaritans.

In nascent Christianity, the passion and resurrection of Jesus at the time of the Jewish Pasch (Passover) determined the nature of the Christian Pasch. The paschal lamb was taken as a type of Christ (1 Cor. 5:7; Jn. 1:29, 36; 19:33, 36; 1 Pt. 1:19; Rev. 5:6, 9, 12; 12:11), although its killing and eating were quickly replaced by the Christian *agape* and Eucharist in the early morning, after a vigil and a fast. The earliest Christians observed their Pasch on the date of the Jewish Passover, in the night of 14–15 Nisan, a practice continued in the Quartodeciman observance in Asia Minor into the late second century and among heterodox Christian groups as late as the fourth. Their interpretation depended above all on the dating of the Passion and death of Jesus on 14 Nisan, evident in the chronology of the Gospel According to John (Jn. 19:14). The passion and death of Jesus were at the center of the earliest Christians' understanding of their Pasch. This by no means necessarily excluded His Resurrection as motive for the joy and hope that characterized the paschal celebration, but from the extant sources, it is impossible to reconstruct with certitude a complete and authentic Quartodeciman interpretation of the early Christian Pasch.

The practice of celebrating the Christian Pasch not in the night of 14–15 Nisan but in the vigil leading into the Sunday following 14–15 Nisan arose early, perhaps in the church of Jerusalem, and spread rapidly, so that by the end of the second century it was the common practice throughout Christendom. The choice was made in view of Christ's Resurrection on the Sunday following the Jewish Pasch, and it entailed a shift of emphasis from his passion and death to his Resurrection in Christians' interpretation of their Pasch. In the early centuries of the Christian era, however, Christ's passion, death, Resurrection, and Ascension were seen as integral moments of a single paschal mystery. Christian use of typology and allegory to adapt elements inherited from the Jewish Pasch (the killing and eating of the paschal lamb, the propitiatory value of its blood, commemoration of the deliverance of the firstborn in a new age) to those various moments of Christ's saving action, in a single paschal celebration, satisfied the needs of the occasion. Roughly in the course of the fourth century, as the development of the Christian calendar reflected an increasing concern with temporal distinctions, the sense of unity in the aspects of the Christian Pasch was weakened. The commemoration of Christ's passion and death was concentrated on Good Friday, that of His Ascension was moved to a new feast forty days after Easter, in accordance with the chronology of Acts 1:3, and Easter Sunday became more exclusively the commemoration of His Resurrection. It was Easter Sunday, not Good Friday, that retained the name *pascha* in Greek-speaking Christendom, but the concept of Holy Thursday and Good Friday as days of the Christian paschal meal and of the immolation of the "Paschal Lamb" was not lost. The East and West Syrian and Maronite churches continue to use the Syriac form of *pascha* to designate Holy Thursday, and the East Syrian church, to designate Good Friday as well. In the Coptic church all of Holy Week is often called the Week of *pascha.*

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AELRED CODY, O.S.B.

PASCHAL CONTROVERSY, any controversy arising from differences in the way of establishing the date of Easter. By the second century, the practice of celebrating the major day of the Christian Pascha on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the Jewish lunar month of Nisan, the date of the Jewish Passover, became the established practice throughout Christendom, except in the churches of western Asia Minor, where the practice of ending the fast and celebrating the Pascha every year on 14 Nisan itself (Quartodecimanism) continued.

Disagreement on this point was noticed in Rome around 120, when POLYCARP, bishop of Smyrna, visited there in the reign of Anicetus, but no issue was made of the matter until around 190, when Victor of Rome tried to persuade Polycrates of Ephesus and other bishops of his region to adopt the common practice as the one required by apostolic tradition. When Polycrates consulted his fellow bishops and sent to Victor their refusal to abandon the Quartodeciman practice, which he defended as equally apostolic and traditional, Victor excommunicated the churches of the Province of Asia and adjacent areas, a step that led Irenaeus of Lyons and other bishops to write to Victor, urging him to prefer the cause of peace, unity, and charity to that of uniformity. In reporting this controversy, Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* 5.23–25) did not mention the Church of Alexandria in his list of regional councils that at that time insisted that Easter should be observed on Sunday alone; but he did report a document in which the Palestinian bishops, who did hold such a council, said that they exchanged letters with the Alexandrians, so that the churches in both regions observed the holy day together.

Basic agreement on the requirement of celebrating Easter on Sunday did little, however, to settle the determination of the precise date from year to year. Easter tables showing the date in consecutive years differed, mainly because of the different lunar cycles used in reconciling synodical twelve-month lunar years of 354.3672 days with the civil calendar's solar years of 365.2422 days and because of the different Easter limits set. When controversy arose, the issue was one of Easter limits, which were of two kinds: lunar days, on one of which Easter had to be observed, and dates in the civil calendar, with or without specific solar reference.

In Alexandria, at least by the time of Bishop DIONYSIUS (c. 248–265), Easter was not to be celebrated until after the vernal equinox, whose Alexandrian date was probably the Ptolemaic 26 Phamenoth/Julian 22 March, until the beginning of the fourth century, when it was fixed on the Julian 21 March. The 14 Nisan could not be observed on a *luna xiv* (the fourteenth, calendar full-moon, day of any lunar month) occurring earlier than the equinoctial day itself. In third-century Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia, Christians, in determining their own Easter date, depended on the date of 14 Nisan, as it was established by Jewish computists, who at that time were taking no account of the equinox. The Alexandrian principle that 14 Nisan should be no earlier than the equinox was introduced, but as late as during the time of Saint ATHANASIUS, some Christians of those regions were still following the Jewish calculation. One cannot be sure that Alexandria and the rest of the East before the Council of Nicaea (see NICAEA, COUNCIL OF) avoided Easter on *luna xiv* itself when the day was a Sunday. After the

council, they consistently observed as lunar limits *lunae xv–xxi.*

Rome and the West fluctuated. At times the Roman lunar limits seem to have been *lunae xiv–xx,* but *lunae xvi–xxii,* appearing already in Hippolytus' table in the early third century, remained the usual Roman lunar limits until the sixth century. In the third century, Rome took no account of the equinox. Even when Romans had accepted an equinoctial limit, they long took the equinox as the earliest day for Easter itself, while the Alexandrians took it as the earliest day for 14 Nisan. In the first half of the fourth century, further confusion resulted from the conflict between the traditional Roman equinoctial date (25 March) and the Alexandrian one, by then 21 March. Peculiar to Rome was 21 April as limit *ad quem,* evident already in the third century and retained in the fourth and fifth. That is the anniversary of the founding of Rome, whose worldly festivities, moved into Holy Week if Easter was celebrated later, would be unseemly.

In the early fourth century, conciliar efforts were made to promote uniformity of Easter date. The Council of Arles (314) prescribed that the bishop of Rome should send out paschal letters so that Easter would be observed on the same day everywhere in the world. The Western world must have been meant, for that council was entirely Western, and there is no evidence that the bishop of Rome ever sent paschal letters to Eastern churches. At the Council of Nicaea (325), the Quartodecimans were anathematized, and uniformity of the Easter date was prescribed for all of Christendom. The text of the decree has been lost, but it is clear from a letter of Constantine in Eusebius (3. 18–19) that Easter was prohibited on 14 Nisan, even if the day was Sunday; that it should never be celebrated twice in the same year (the reason for Alexandrian insistence on the equinoctial limit); and that all churches should observe it on the same day. How such uniformity was to be achieved is not clear.

After the Council of Nicaea, paschal nonconformity in the East was almost entirely limited to heterodox groups. Rome seems generally to have followed the Alexandrian Easter dates, even when they exceeded Roman lunar limits, but to have been unwilling to do so when they exceeded Roman calendar limits. In such years Alexandria was at first willing to avoid controversy by yielding to Rome. In 333 the Alexandrian tables prescribed 22 April (too late for the Roman limit of 21 April), but a Syriac chronicle now in the British Library shows that the Alexandrians that year actually observed 15 April, which the Roman chronograph of 354 shows to have been the Roman date for 333. In 346 the Alexandrians observed 30 March instead of 23 March (too early for the traditional Roman equinoctial date, 25 March), and in 349 they observed 26 March instead of 23 April (too late for the Roman 21 April).

By the fifth century, Rome was inclined to follow Alexandria, even when the Roman limit of 21 April was exceeded. It did so in 444, in the pontificate of Leo the Great, but Leo, informed that Roman tables indicated 17 April for 455 while the Alexandrian table gave 24 April, wrote to the Emperor Marcian in 453, protesting and asking him to investigate. The holy fathers, he wrote, entrusted care for the common date to the bishop of Alexandria, who should send the date to the Apostolic See, whence written announcement should be sent to more distant churches. Later writers understood the holy fathers to be those of Nicaea, but Leo's expression is not specific. The "more distant churches" must be those of the West, for when Proterius of Alexandria sent Leo assurance that 24 April was correct, Leo wrote again to Marcian in March 455, saying that he had communicated the Alexandrian date for that year to all the "priests of Western parts," and Proterius, in his letter to Leo, said that the date would be celebrated not only in Egypt but in all the East, which suggests that the major churches of the East received notice of the Easter date not from Rome but from Alexandria. A Latin text ascribed to CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA in which mention is made of the Roman church's annual communication of the Easter date to "the universal church throughout the world" is held by most scholars today to be spurious. Controversy broke out once more when Pope Symmachus refused to observe Easter in Rome on 22 April 501. The adherence of Rome to the table drawn up around 525 by Dionysius Exiguus precluded any further controversy between Rome and the East, for Dionysius used the nineteen-year lunar cycle and Easter limits of the Alexandrian. Later controversies were limited to the Latin West.

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AELRED CODY, O.S.B.

PASTOPHORION. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

PASTORAL SCENES. *See* Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art.

PATAPE or Bidaba (c. 244–312), an anchorite who became bishop of Coptos (Qift) and was martyred (feast day: 19 Abīb). He was born to Christian parents from Hermonthis (Armant) and was brought up by Andrew, his cousin. When, at the age of fifteen, he became an anchorite, he and Andrew went to the same district where PACHOMIUS founded his monasteries some decades later.

The Arabic text tells us that Patape was an anchorite for forty-nine and a half years. He was ordained a priest and went to church with his cousin Andrew every forty days to receive Holy Communion.

Patape was consecrated bishop of Coptos about 309, in the tenth year of PETER, seventeenth patriarch of Alexandria. Under the governor Arianus, operating in the name of DIOCLETIAN, he was martyred about 312 at Coptos, where he had been bishop for three and a half years.

The Life of Patape, attributed to Theophilus, who probably was his immediate successor as bishop of Coptos, is important because it represents a biography or Encomium whose origin likely goes back to a Coptic text written before 325 in the southern part of Upper Egypt, decades before ATHANASIUS of Alexandria wrote his Life of Antony. The texts on Patape include illuminating information about the state of the church, life among anchorites, and the relationship between the church and the anchorites in the district where Pachomius was soon to settle. The account of Patape also refers to many persons honored by the Coptic church, among them bishops from that relatively early time (Gabra, 1986).

Many monuments indicate that Patape was an important man. A monastery situated near Bahjūrah (near Hiw) that bears his name (Lefort, 1939; Adli, 1980) is mentioned on the day of its dedication, 13 Kiyahk, by the Luxor manuscript (Coquin, 1978). One of the churches of the monastery of Mercurius in Ḥijāzah bears his name (Meinardus, 1965). His name is preserved with that of his companion Andrew on a diptych (Crum and Winlock, 1926).

According to Crum and Winlock (p. 117), this Patape, bishop of Coptos, should not be confused with his namesake who was a native and ascetic in Thebes (Upper Egypt), celebrated by the SYNAXARION of Constantinople on 8 December (Delehaye, col. 287).

The feast of Patape (19 Abīb) is mentioned only by a single manuscript in Paris (National Library, Arabe, no. 4780; CSCO 67, p. 232, and 90, p. 227 [transl.]) and by the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION.

His Life is preserved in two Arabic manuscripts. One, in the Coptic Museum, dates from the fifteenth

century (Graf, no. 138; Simaykah, 1939). The other belongs to the library of the monastery of Saint Antony. This text is a homily of Theophilus, bishop of Coptos, in honor of the holy bishop and martyr Anbā Bidābā (Patape).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN
GAWDAT GABRA

PATĀSIUS, SAINT, a hermit credited with many miracles (feast day: 23 Ṭūbah). He is mentioned in the recension of the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION from Upper Egypt.

The parents of Patāsius were natives of Fāw. The family lived with a devout Christian called Pegōsh and his only son, Joseph. The two children were brought up together. They often went to the monastery of Saint PACHOMIUS and admired the monks who lived there. When they grew up, they asked to be admitted to the community. One day Patāsius asked the renowned monk Anbā Paul how he could be saved. Anbā Paul answered: "Know that there are two commandments which our Savior has given in the Gospel: You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul, and you shall love your neighbor as yourself."

Patāsius lived as a recluse near Fāw. After some time he healed a lame man and a blind man. Because of these cures he was much sought after by the monks, so he took refuge in the house of a widow at Fāw whose name was Basidiyyah. On the third day of Easter, he left the widow and returned to his hermitage. The monks wished to clothe him in the monastic cowl, but he was unwilling, out of humility. He also healed Arsinoë, the wife of the chief magistrate of Fāw. He left his hermitage shortly afterward with Anbā Joseph for the region of Qift.

Patāsius wrought still further miracles. He prophesied to Anbā Joseph that his death was near, asking him to remember him unremittingly in his prayers, "that I may cross the river of fire which flows before the throne of the Judge, and pass by the demons of various countenance who are on the road." Anbā Joseph asked, "What will happen after your death?" Patāsius replied, "When I go to find the Lord, I shall ask Him not to give the Berbers the means to come as far as this monastery."

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PATEN. *See* Eucharistic Vessels.

PATEN VEIL. *See* Eucharistic Veils.

PATERAE. *See* Metalwork, Coptic.

PATERMUTHIUS, SAINT, or Dermatāwūs, a desert father (feast day: 7 Kiyahk). Patermuthius was a native of Oxyrhynchus (Pemdje, or al-Bahnasā). It is not known where he lived as a monk. He had a group of disciples, whom he exhorted to purity, fear of God, abstention from jealousy, and love of one another. Because of the similarity between the first syllable of Pathermuthius' name and the title Apa, his name has been abridged to Termoute in the recension of the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION from Upper Egypt. He was celebrated at DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH), as several typika show (Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Coptic, n.p.; Paris, National Library, Copt. 129^{20}, fols. 166r and 171v). He also was celebrated by the monks of Dayr Apa Apollo at BĀWĪṬ, at Saqqara, and in the hermitages of Isnā.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PATRIARCH, head of the Coptic church. The word is a composite term originating from Latin and Greek words: *pater* (father) or *patria* (lineage, race, people, nation) and *archos* (leader or chief). In the Coptic church the term signifies the head of the entire church organization with archbishops, bishops, and priests under his ecclesiastical authority. In the earliest times the head of the church was the bishop of Alexandria, who came to be identified as *pappas*, or POPE, in the third century during the episcopate of Heraclas. Gradually both "patriarch" and "pope" were used interchangeably to describe the head of the Egyptian church. The term then spread to other Eastern churches—Armenian, Jacobite, Nestorian. In the Armenian church the term appears as "patriarch-catholicos." In the Roman Catholic church, the patriarch is a rank above bishop but under the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman pope. Hence it has several patriarchs, each the head of a region of the general church.

In Ethiopia, from the time of FRUMENTIUS in the fourth century, the church was headed by a bishop or archbishop chosen from among the Coptic clergy until 1959, when Emperor HAILE SELASSIE pleaded for the elevation of a native to head his church as patriarch. An agreement was reached between the Ethiopian and Egyptian delegations under CYRIL VI. It was suggested in the deliberations of the conference that the Western method of multiple patriarchs under the pope of Alexandria might be applied. But the Egyptian delegation could not accept that system owing to the long-standing connotation of the term "patriarch" in Egyptian history, which has always signified the sole head of the church and the equivalent of pope. Thus the Ethiopian prelate became the only patriarch or patriarch-catholicos branching from the Coptic patriarchate.

[*See also:* Ethiopian Church Autocephaly.]

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PATRIARCH, CONSECRATION OF. The consecration of a POPE of Alexandria and patriarch of the See of Saint MARK takes place on a SUNDAY in the course of the celebration of Divine Liturgy at Saint Mark's Cathedral in Cairo. After the appointed lections from the Acts of the Apostles and the SYNAXARION have been read, the presbyters and deacons, carrying crosses, censers, and candles, leave in a procession to bring the pope-elect from the nearby papal residence. The door of the cathedral is then locked, and the key is held by an ARCHDEACON who stands there awaiting the return of the procession.

The procession starts from the papal residence toward the cathedral: first the DEACONS, then the presbyters, the BISHOPS in order of seniority, followed by the pope-elect. An archdeacon carries the Book of the Gospel in front of the senior bishop, and the following hymn is chanted in Coptic: "The Only-begotten Son, the Eternal Logos, Who for our salvation was incarnate from the THEOTOKOS, the ever-Virgin Mary, and became man, and was crucified. . . ."

Upon reaching the cathedral door, the archdeacon presents the key to the pope-elect, who opens the door, reciting words from the Psalms: "Open to me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter through them and give thanks to the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter through it. I thank thee that thou hast answered me and hast become my salvation" (Ps. 118:19–21). Here the cathedral bells ring to proclaim the arrival of the new pope.

Inside the cathedral at the sanctuary steps, all make an obeisance, and the pope-elect stands between two bishops, while the senior bishop reads the second prayer to the Gospel and then hands the deed of election to an archdeacon or a priest to read it from the pulpit.

While the pope-elect kneels in front of the *haykal* (sanctuary), the senior bishop offers INCENSE and says the Prayer of Incense, followed by another prayer to the Almighty to pour forth the grace of high priesthood on the pope-elect.

The archdeacon says the following petitions, to each of which the deacons respond by saying KYRIE ELEISON:

Let us all say, Listen to us, O God, and have mercy upon us.

Pray for the peace of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church and the salvation of God's people.

Pray for the forgiveness of our sins and deliverance from all tribulation, all uprising of enemies.

Pray to God to bless His inheritance, have mercy upon all people, give help to all Christians through the power of the life-giving Cross, to blot our transgressions through the intercession of the Theotokos, of Saint Mark the Evangelist, and all the Saints.

We beseech Thee, Lord, send Thine Holy Spirit upon Thy servant [name], whom Thou hast chosen to be the High Priest of Thy people.

The senior bishop invokes the Holy Spirit to fill the pope-elect with grace and wisdom to shepherd the church flock in purity and justice.

Next, the senior bishop says the prayer of investiture. This prayer is accompanied by the LAYING ON OF HANDS only when the pope-elect is a monk who has not been consecrated bishop before.

Turning his face toward the pope-elect, the senior bishop then says to him, "We pronounce thee Anbā [name], Pope and Patriarch, Master and Archbishop of the See of Saint Mark, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

Here the new pope is clothed with a sticharion (see LITURGICAL VESTMENTS) while the choir sings Saint Mark's Doxology. The senior bishop hands him the deed of investiture as the choir sings, "May thou be granted the grace of Moses, the priesthood of Melchizedek, the old age of Jacob, the longevity of Methuselah, the sagacity of David, the wisdom of Solomon, and the Paraclete who descended upon the Apostles."

Some petitions are then said by the archdeacon, each followed by the *Kyrie eleison* response from the deacons. The *axios* (worthy) hymn is then chanted, and the senior bishop holds the Book of the Gospels over the new pope's head, while the deacons again sing *axios*. At this point, if he has not previously been consecrated to the episcopacy, all the bishops lay their hands upon his head, while the senior bishop says, "We lay our hands upon [or "pray for"] the elect servant of God, Anbā [name], for the prosperity and peace of the One, Holy, Orthodox, Apostolic Church of God, that which He purchased with His Precious Blood." The deacons again sing the *axios* hymn.

Here begins the robing of the new pope with the insignia of his office. Each item is accompanied by versicles from the Psalms of Isaiah and is followed by this response from the deacons: "Now and forever, and to the ages of ages, Amen." First comes the main apparel (Ps. 132:9); then the *sudrah*, or epitrachelion (Ps. 133:2–3); then the girdle (Is. 11:5); then the right sleeve (Ps. 118:15); then the left sleeve (Ps. 119:73); then the kerchiefs (Ps. 45:3–4); then the *burnus*, or phelonion (Is. 61:10); and lastly the miter (Ps. 92:1; 21:3–4; see LITURGICAL VESTMENTS).

He is then led to the sanctuary, where the cross and pastoral staff have been laid on the altar. The senior bishop calls upon him to "receive the Pastoral Staff from the hand of the Shepherd of shepherds, Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God." Here again the deacons sing the *axios* hymn.

The incense box is then presented to him. He makes the sign of the cross over it and puts some incense into the censer. The other bishops do the same, and the senior bishop, looking toward the east, says a prayer of thanksgiving to God: "We glorify Thy Holy Name, for Thou hast done great things to us, and poured Thy rich gifts over thy servant the Pope and Patriarch Anbā [name] by the descent of Thy Holy Spirit upon him."

Here the new pope is taken to the patriarchal seat, the *synthronos*, for his formal enthronement. At the first stair the senior bishop proclaims, "We seat Anbā [name] Archbishop upon the Apostolic Throne of Saint Mark the Evangelist, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen."

At the second stair he proclaims, "We enthrone the chief shepherd, chosen by God, Anbā [name] Patriarch upon the Throne of Saint Mark. . . ."

The deacons then sing the *axios* hymn, and the new pope is presented with the Gospel of Saint Mark, which he kisses. The deacons here sing the Coptic hymn of the Golden Censer, followed by the hymn of the traditional honorifics of the pope of Alexandria.

Then follow a number of lections all relevant to the occasion of the choice of the high priest (Heb. 4:14, 5:1–6; Ps. 73:23–24, 28, 107:32, 41–42, 110:4–5). After the Intercession of the Gospel, the pope reads John 10:1–16, in which Christ speaks of the Good Shepherd. Every time these two words are mentioned, the deacons sing the *axios* hymn. Finally, they sing the hymn of the Descent of the Holy Spirit. The celebration of the Divine Liturgy is resumed. At the conclusion, the new pope is taken to the cathedral crypt, where he prays for the blessing of Saint Mark's relics. He is then led in a procession back to the papal residence.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

PATRIARCHAL DEPUTY, known in Arabic as *wakīl al-baṭriyarkiyyah*, a position similar to that of vicar general in the Western church.

This deputy may be a priest, monk, or bishop, and is chosen by the patriarch to assist him in the administration of his diocese. The Coptic patriarchate has two deputies, one in Alexandria and another in Cairo, who deputize for the Pope in these two cities. Both of them are ex officio members of the HOLY SYNOD.

The post of patriarchal deputy is the highest ecclesiastical position a married priest can attain.

FUAD MEGALLY

PATRIARCHAL ELECTION. The Coptic Orthodox church is an apostolic church, and its first patriarchs were selected from a limited number of priests of whom the first group of twelve were appointed to help ANIANUS (68–85), who succeeded Saint Mark as second bishop of Alexandria. According to Sa'īd IBN AL-BIṬRĪQ, the tenth-century Melchite patriarch also known as Eutychius, and the thirteenth-century Coptic historian ABŪ AL-MAKĀRIM, it was decreed that when a bishop died, the twelve priests selected a successor from among themselves, and the other eleven laid hands on their choice while selecting a new patriarch. Later, this gave birth to the established tradition of the selection of a simple monk of great sanctity and considerable learning for the patriarchate. Other bishops were barred from this selection, since a bishop was supposed to be espoused to his eparchy and could not be moved from his seat. EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, the father of church history, made this clear in his life of Constantine (3.62.3). This rule was strictly applied through the Middle Ages and was further confirmed by the Holy Synod convened in 1873, which elected Bishop Mark (Murqus) of the Beheirah province only *locum tenens* for handling church affairs after the decease of Pope DEMETRIUS II (1862–1870), the 111th successor of Saint Mark. The same synod comprising nine bishops enacted that the bishop who sought elevation of himself to the patriarchal dignity should be excommunicated.

The Holy Synod that was convened on 18 July 1928 with eleven bishops present, departed from the rule of excommunication and opened the door for the elevation of a bishop to the patriarchate. It was on this basis that Pope JOHN XIX (1928–1942), formerly bishop of Beheirah province, was the first to be elected patriarch, and this caused a great protest in the Coptic community. Jirjis Phīlūthāwus 'Awaḍ published a painful brochure under the title "Pitfall of the Coptic Church in the Twentieth Century." Others such as Yassā 'Abd al-Masīḥ, Naẓīr Jayyid (SHENOUDA III), and Wahīb 'Atallāh (Bishop Gregorius) joined the protesters, and the eminent jurist Albert Barsūm Salāmah wrote in support of the old tradition. Nevertheless, Pope John XIX was succeeded by the bishop of Asyūṭ as MACARIUS III (1944–1945) and again YŪSĀB II (1946–1956), bishop of Jirjā.

After the death of Pope CYRIL VI (1959–1971), a former solitary monk, the Coptic patriarchal seat was claimed again by six bishops of whom three bore the title of bishops suffragan or general (otherwise bishops without a fixed eparchy). This was a novelty to promote their case without breach of the established tradition that a bishop could not leave the eparchy to which he is married for life. But this innovation was criticized as contrary to church usage, for a bishop should always be identified with an eparchy, and the bishop without one is like a head without a body. Nevertheless, Bishop Shenouda, as suffragan entrusted with the supervision of theological education, was a candidate for the patriarchal seat to which he was elected as Shenouda III, the 117th patriarch.

But the fact remains that the patriarch must legally be selected from the community of monks. This was made explicitly clear during the tenure of Pope Cyril VI on the occasion of granting the Ethiopian church the privilege of selecting its own patriarch. This document laid down the condition that the Ethiopian clergy must select their candidate from among their monastic community in unison with the established tradition of the mother church in Egypt.

Since the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT (640), confirmation of the election of the patriarch by the ruler has been a matter of official formality. During the twentieth century, this confirmation was granted by virtue of a royal decree, and, after the 1952 revolution, by virtue of a presidential decree, pursuant to the presidential act of 2 November 1957, which is currently in force and also allows both orders of monks and bishops to be candidates in the patriarchal election.

Today the patriarch is chosen by means of casting lots or *al-Qur'ah al-Haykaliyyah* (the choice of God from the altar). The names of three candidates are placed in a sealed box by the patriarch's representative. Before the Sunday liturgy following the choices, the box is placed upon the altar of the patriarchal Church (see PATRIARCHAL RESIDENCES). Following the liturgy and communion, the priest selects a very young boy from the audience. He is blindfolded, the box is opened, and he picks one of the three cards. The first name picked is that of the new patriarch. The other two names must also be shown to the congregation.

The liturgy of consecrations takes place one or two weeks later on a Sunday (see PATRIARCH, CONSECRATION OF).

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MOUNIR SHOUCRI

PATRIARCHAL RESIDENCES. From the time of Saint MARK, the first patriarch of the Egyptian church, the Coptic patriarchs resided at Alexandria, the cradle of Egyptian Christianity. This was the first patriarchal seat in Egypt, but there were also others, depending on historical circumstances.

Eutychius (877–940), Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, in his masterwork, the *Annales* (PG 111, cols. 1068–70), placed the seat of the Coptic patriarch at DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR. Certainly Evelyn-White (1932, pp. 236ff.) gave no credence to this isolated testimony. However, it would give a basis for the medieval custom, otherwise unwarranted, according to which patriarchs had to be enthroned not only at Alexandria or Cairo but also at Dayr Anbā Maqār. According to that custom, the patriarch had to spend Lent, or at least the week preceding Easter, at Dayr Anbā Maqār, during which period he often solemnly consecrated the chrism, surrounded by numerous bishops. These reports attest the number and localization of these Egyptian bishops. This was in all probability the second seat of the Coptic patriarch.

For the decade 965–975, the patriarchal seat was at the village of Maḥallat Dānyāl in the district of Tīdah, probably with some interludes at Alexandria. The village has now disappeared, and today the district is known as Kafr al-Shaykh, so it is difficult to specify the dates of the patriarch's sojourn. A good judge of the history of the vicissitudes of these patriarchal residences, Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhlah (1943, pp. 89ff.), vaguely indicates these different residences: MĪNĀ II (956–974) resided in the Delta and then at Maḥallat Dānyāl. His successor, ABRAHAM (975–978), lived at the CHURCH OF AL-MU'ALLAQAH in Old Cairo, but his successor, Philotheus (979–1003), is said to have resided at Damrū. Philotheus was persuaded to establish the seat of the patriarchate there by Macarius, secretary of the synod, who had a brother living there, as was Menas, the bishop of Ṭanah. This patriarchal seat at Damrū began with him and lasted until the departure for Old Cairo around 1061. There were, however, exchanges with al-Mu'allaqah of Miṣr (Old Cairo), the first capital of the Muslim occupation. The small town of Damrū in the Delta (about 10 miles north of al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā) remained the seat for nearly a hundred years.

If, as seems likely, the patriarchs had left their residence in Alexandria for different towns in the Delta because of a severe famine, they probably chose to establish themselves at Miṣr to be closer to the political heads of the country. One may consider Miṣr as a whole, even if the patriarch resided now in al-Mu'allaqah, now in the Church of Abū Sayfayn (Saint Mercurius), although one cannot set a term to such residence in each of them. The Church of Saint Sergius (Abū Sarjah), without being regarded as the residence of the patriarch, had the privilege of being the site of certain solemn ceremonies (such as patriarchal consecrations), which created animosity between the clergy of al-Mu'allaqah and Abū Sarjah. Nakhlah conjectures that the residence at al-Mu'allaqah began under the patriarch KHĀ'ĪL III (880–907), with sojourns at the Dayr Anbā Maqār and in the Delta. But it was the patriarch CHRISTODOULOS (1047–1077) who definitively transferred the patriarchal residence to Old Cairo. Despite the difficulty in stating the limits of each patriarchal residence in al-Mu'allaqah and Abū al-Sayfayn, Nakhlah dates the seat at al-Mu'allaqah from Christodoulos (about 1061) to Michael V (1145–1146), who also resided at Abū Sayfayn. His successor, John V (1147–1167), is said to have resided at Abū Sayfayn, while his successor Mark III (1167–1189) once again chose al-Mu'allaqah as the patriarch's place of residence, which it remained down to Theodosius II (1294–1300), who resided

first at al-Mu'allaqah, then at Abū Sayfayn, although at what date the transfer took place is uncertain. The following patriarch, John VIII (1300–1320), moved the patriarchal residence to ḤĀRIT ZUWAYLAH.

In Greater Cairo are Ḥārit Zuwaylah and Ḥārit al-Rūm. It appears that the desire to be nearer to the civil power led to the move to the new capital, Cairo, founded in A.D. 969 by Jawhar al-Siqillī. At first the residence was at Ḥārit Zuwaylah, adopted by the patriarch JOHN VIII (1300–1320) at a date impossible to determine, a decision adhered to by his successors down to MATTHEW IV (1660–1675), who began (at an unknown date) to reside at Ḥārit al-Rum. The residencies in Ḥārit Zuwaylah and Ḥārit al-Rūm were briefly interrupted by the sojourn of the patriarch MATTHEW III (1634–1649) at ṬŪKH, of which he was a native.

The Murqusiyyah Church was the sixth location of the patriarchal residence. The patriarch MARK VIII (1796–1809) transferred the patriarchal seat from Ḥārit al-Rūm to the Murqusiyyah.

The present residence is within the compound of the new Saint Mark's Cathedral at Anbā Ruways in the quarters of Abbasiyyah in Cairo. This residence is on the site of the ancient DAYR AL-KHANDAQ, which included several churches in the Middle Ages.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PATRIARCHS, DATES AND SUCCESSION OF. Significant dates in the lives of notable persons from the past, particularly from the ancient past, are often a matter of conjecture. In some cases a paucity of historical source material makes it impossible to determine when particular events took place, and in other instances discrepancies in the sources that are extant make such a determination frustratingly tenuous. Since such uncertainty is a feature of the biographical data available for many of the Coptic patriarchs, the following list can give only the approximate dates for some of these leaders. For the period up to 1243 the table relies solely on the *History of the Patriarchs* compiled by Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa'. Supplementary sections of subsequent writers and editors provide the dates for the remaining patriarchs.

Writers following other sources will give dates for some of the patriarchs that vary slightly from those listed below. Thus, some discrepancy in patriarchs' dates may be found within *The Coptic Encyclopedia.*

In the list below the provenance of each patriarch has been designated in a separate column, and the rulers of Egypt during each patriarchal reign have been listed in another column. The list has been classified into sections representing the main historical periods: Greco-Roman and Byzantine, medieval Arab, modern, and contemporary. Full bi-

NO.	NAME	YEARS	PROVENANCE	RULER	YEARS
Greco-Roman and Byzantine Period					
1.	Mark	43–68	Alexandria	Nero	54–68
2.	Anianus	68–85	Alexandria	Nero	54–68
				Galba	68–69
				Otho	69
				Vitellius	69
				Vespasian	69–79
				Titus	79–81
				Domitian	81–96
3.	Abilius	85–98	Alexandria	Domitian	81–96
4.	Cerdon	98–109	Alexandria	Nerva	96–98
				Trajan	98–117
5.	Primus	109–122	unknown	Trajan	98–117
6.	Justus	122–130	unknown	Hadrian	117–138

No.	Name	Years	Provenance	Ruler	Years
7.	Eumenius	130–142	unknown	Hadrian	117–138
				Antonius Pius	138–161
8.	Marcianus	143–154	unknown	Antonius Pius	138–161
9.	Celadion	157–167	unknown	Antonius Pius	138–161
10.	Agrippinus	167–180	unknown	Marcus Aurelius	161–180
11.	Julian	180–189	unknown	Marcus Aurelius	161–180
				Commodus	180–192
12.	Demetrius I	189–231	unknown	Commodus	180–192
				Pertinax	193
				Didius Julianus	193
				Septimius Severus	193–211
				Caracalla	211–217
				Marcinus	217–218
				Heliogabalus	218–222
				Alexander Severus	222–235
13.	Heraclas	231–247	unknown	Alexander Severus	222–235
				Maximinus	235–238
				Bulbinus and Pupienus	238
				Gordianus III	238–244
				Philippus	244–249
14.	Dionysius	247–264	unknown	Philippus	244–249
				Decius	249–251
				Gallus	251–253
				Valerianus	253–260
				Gallienus	260–268
15.	Maximus	264–282	unknown	Gallienus	260–268
				Claudius II	268–270
				Aurelianus	270–275
				Tacitus	275–276
				Florianus	276
				Probus	276–282
16.	Theonas	282–300	unknown	Carus	282–283
				Numerianus	283–284
				Diocletian	284–305
17.	Peter I	300–311	unknown	Diocletian	284–305
				Galerius	305–310
18.	Achillas	311–312	unknown	Galerius	305–310
				Licinius	308–324
19.	Alexander I	312–326	unknown	Licinius	308–324
				Constantine I	306–337
20.	Athanasius I	326–373	unknown	Constantine I	306–337
				Constantius II	337–361
				Julian	361–363
				Jovian	363–364
				Valens	364–378
21.	Peter II	373–380	unknown	Valens	364–378
				Gratian	375–383
				Valentinian II	375–392
22.	Timothy I	380–385	unknown	Theodosius	379–395
23.	Theophilus	385–412	unknown	Theodosius	379–395
				Arcadius	395–408
				Theodosius II	408–450

No.	Name	Years	Provenance	Ruler	Years
24.	Cyril I	412–444	Anbā Maqār	Theodosius II	408–450
25.	Dioscorus I	444–458	unknown	Theodosius II	408–450
				Marcian	450–457
26.	Timothy Aelurus II "The Cat"	458–480	unknown	Marcian	450–457
				Leo I	457–474
				Zeno	474–491
27.	Peter III (Mongus)	480–488	unknown	Zeno	474–491
28.	Athanasius II	488–494	unknown	Zeno	474–491
				Anastasius	491–518
29.	John I	494–503	Anbā Maqār	Anastasius	491–518
30.	John II	503–515	al-Zujāj (Enaton)	Anastasius	491–518
31.	Dioscorus II	515–517	unknown	Anastasius	491–518
				Justin I	518–527
32.	Timothy III	517–535	unknown	Justin I	518–527
				Justinian	527–565
33.	Theodosius I	535–567		Justinian	527–565
				Justin II	565–578
34.	Peter IV	567–569	al-Zujāj (Enaton)	Justin II	565–578
35.	Damian	569–605	Ṭābūr	Justin II	565–578
			Abū Yuḥannis	Tiberius II	578–582
				Maurice	582–602
				Phocas	602–610
36.	Anastasius	605–616	unknown	Phocas	602–610
				Heraclius	610–634
37.	Andronicus	616–622	unknown	Heraclius	610–634
Medieval Arab Period					
38.	Benjamin I	622–661	Qibriyūs	Heraclius	610–634
				'Umar	634–644
				'Uthmān	644–656
				'Alī	656–661
				al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī	661
				Mu'āwiyah I	661–681
39.	Agathon	661–677	Alexandria	Mu'āwiyah I	661–681
40.	John III	677–686	Anbā Maqār	Yazīd I	680–683
				Mu'āwiyah II	683
				Marwān I	684–685
				'Abd-al-Malik	685–705
41.	Isaac	686–689	Anbā Maqār	'Abd-al-Malik	685–705
42.	Simon I	689–701	al-Zujāj (Enaton)	'Abd al-Malik	685–705
43.	Alexander II	705–730	al-Zujāj (Enaton)	'Abd al-Malik	685–705
				al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik	705–715
				Sulaymān	715–717
				'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz	717–720
				Yazīd II	720–724
				Hishām	724–743
44.	Cosmas I	730–731	Anbā Maqār	Hishām	724–743
45.	Theodorus	731–743	Tamnūrah (Mareotis)	Hishām	724–743
46.	Khā'īl I	744–767	Anbā Maqār	al-Walīd ibn Yazīd	743–744
				Yazīd III	744

No.	Name	Years	Provenance	Ruler	Years
				Ibrāhīm	744
				Marwān II	744–750
				al-Saffāḥ	750–754
				al-Manṣūr	754–775
47.	Mīnā I	767–774	Anbā Maqār	al-Manṣūr	754–775
				al-Mahdī	775–785
48.	John IV	775–799	Anbā Maqār	al-Mahdī	775–785
				al-Hādī	785–786
				Hārūn al-Rashīd	786–809
49.	Mark II	799–819	Anbā Maqār	Hārūn al-Rashīd	786–809
				al-Amīn	809–813
				al-Ma'mūn	813–833
50.	Jacob	819–830	Anbā Maqār	al-Ma'mūn	813–833
51.	Simon II	830	Anbā Maqār	al-Ma'mūn	813–833
52.	Yūsāb I	830–849	Anbā Maqār	al-Ma'mūn	813–833
				al-Mu'taṣim	833–842
				al-Wāthiq	842–847
				al-Mutawakkil	847–861
53.	Khā'īl II	849–851	Abū Yuhannis	al-Mutawakkil	847–861
54.	Cosmas II	851–858	Anbā Maqār	al-Mutawakkil	847–861
55.	Shenute I	858–880	Anbā Maqār	al-Mutawakkil	847–861
				al-Muntaṣir	861–862
				al-Musta'īn	862–866
				al-Mu'tazz	866–869
				al-Muhtadī	869–870
				Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn	870–884
56.	Khā'īl III	880–907	Anbā Maqār	Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn	870–884
				Khumārawayh	884–896
				Jaysh ibn Khumārawayh	896
				Hārūn ibn Khumārawayh	896–904
				Shaybān ibn Aḥmad	904
				al-Muktafī	904–908
				al-Muqtadir	908–932
57.	Gabriel I	909–920	Anbā Maqār	al-Muqtadir	908–932
58.	Cosmas III	920–932	unknown	al-Muqtadir	908–932
59.	Macarius I	932–952	Anbā Maqār	al-Muhtadī	932–934
				al-Rādī	935
				al-Ikhshīd	936–946
				Abū al-Qāsim Ūnūjūr	946–960
60.	Theophanes	952–956	Anbā Maqār	Abū al-Qāsim Ūnūjūr	946–960
61.	Mīnā II	956–974	Anbā Maqār	Abū al-Qāsim Ūnūjūr	946–960
				Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī	960–966
				Kāfūr	966–968
				Abū al-Fawāris ibn 'Alī	968–969
				al-Mu'izz	972–975
62.	Abraham	975–978	Layman	al-Mu'izz	972–975
				al-'Azīz	975–996
63.	Philotheus	979–1003	Anbā Maqār	al-'Azīz	975–996
				al-Ḥākim	996–1021
64.	Zacharias	1004–1032	unknown	al-Ḥākim	996–1021
				al-Ẓāhir	1021–1035

No.	Name	Years	Provenance	Ruler	Years
65.	Shenute II	1032–1046	Anbā Maqār	al-Ẓāhir	1021–1035
				al-Mustanṣir Abū Tamīm	1035–1094
66.	Christodoulus	1047–1077	al-Barāmūs	al-Mustanṣir	1035–1094
67.	Cyril II	1078–1092	Anbā Maqār	al-Mustanṣir	1035–1094
68.	Mīkhā'īl IV	1092–1102	Anbā Maqār	al-Mustanṣir	1035–1094
			Sinjar	al-Musta'lī	1094–1101
				al-'Āmir	1101–1130
69.	Macarius II	1102–1128	Anbā Maqār	al-'Āmir	1101–1130
70.	Gabriel II	1131–1145	Layman	al-Ḥāfiẓ	1130–1149
71.	Mīkhā'īl V	1145–1146	Anbā Maqār	al-Ḥāfiẓ	1130–1149
72.	John V	1147–1167	Abū Yuḥannis	al-Ḥāfiẓ	1130–1149
				al-Ẓāfir	1149–1154
				al-Fā'iz	1154–1160
				al-'Āḍid	1160–1171
73.	Mark III	1167–1189	Layman	al-'Āḍid	1160–1171
				Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn	1171–1193
74.	John VI	1189–1216	Layman	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn	1171–1193
				al-'Azīz 'Imād al-Dīn	1193–1198
				al-Manṣūr Muḥammad	1198–1200
				al-'Ādil	1200–1218
75.	Cyril ibn Laqlaq III	1235–1243	unknown	al-Kāmil	1218–1238
				al-'Ādil II	1238–1239
				al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn	1239–1249
76.	Athanasius III	1250–1261	Anbā Maqār	Shajarat al-Durr	1250–1252
				'Izz al-Dīn Aybak	1252–1257
				al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī	1257–1259
				Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz	1259–1260
				al-Ẓāhir Baybars	1260–1277
77.	John VII	1262–1268	unknown	al-Ẓāhir Baybars	1260–1277
		1271–1293	unknown		
78.	Gabriel III	1268–1271	unknown	al-Ẓāhir Baybars	1260–1277
				Barakah Khān	1277–1279
				Salāmish	1279
				Qalāwūn	1279–1290
				al-Ashraf Khalīl	1290–1293
79.	Theodosius II	1294–1300	Abū Fānah	al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1294
				al-'Ādil Kitbughā	1294–1926
				Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn	1296–1299
				al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1299–1309
80.	John VIII	1300–1320	Shahrān	al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1299–1309
				Baybars-Jashankīr	1309–1310
				al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1310–1341
81.	John IX	1320–1327	unknown	al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1310–1341
82.	Benjamin II	1327–1339	Jabal Ṭurah	al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1310–1341
83.	Peter V	1304–1348	Anbā Maqār	Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr	1341
				al-Ashraf Kujuk	1342
				al-Nāṣir Aḥmad	1342
				al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl	1342–1345
				al-Kāmil Sha'bān	1346
				al-Muẓaffar Ḥajjī	1347
				al-Nāṣir Ḥasan	1347–1351

No.	Name	Years	Provenance	Ruler	Years
84.	Mark IV	1349–1363	Shahrān	al-Nāṣir Ḥasan	1347–1351
				Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn	1351–1354
				al-Nāṣir Ḥasan	1354–1361
				al-Mansūr Muḥammad	1361–1363
85.	John X	1363–1369	unknown	al-Ashraf Sha'bān	1363–1377
86.	Gabriel IV	1370–1378	al-Muḥarraq	al-Ashraf Sha'bān	1363–1377
				'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī	1377–1381
87.	Matthew I	1378–1409	al-Muḥarraq	al-Manṣūr	1377–1381
				al-Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn Hājjī	1382
				Barqūq	1383–1389
				Salāḥ Ḥajji	1389–1390
				Barqūq	1390–1398
				al-Nāṣir Faraj	1398–1405
				al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-'Azīz	1405
				al-Nāṣir Faraj	1406–1412
88.	Gabriel V	1409–1427	Qalamūn	al-Nāṣir Faraj	1406–1412
				al-'Adil Musta'īn al-Mu'ayyad	1412
				Shaykh al-Muẓaffar	1412–1421
				Aḥmad	1421
				Sayf al-Dīn Tatar	1421
				Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad	1421–1422
				al-Ashraf Barsbay	1422–1438
89.	John XI	1427–1452	unknown	al-Ashraf Barsbay	1422–1438
				Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf	1438
				Jaqmaq	1438–1453
90.	Matthew II	1452–1465	al-Muḥarraq	Jaqmaq	1438–1453
				Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān	1453
				Sayf al-Dīn Īnāl	1453–1460
				Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad	1460
				Sayf al-din Khushqadam	1460–1467
91.	Gabriel VI	1466–1475	Anṭūniyūs	Sayf al-Dīn Khushqadam	1460–1467
				Sayf al-Dīn Yalbay	1467
				Timurbugha	1467
				Qā'itbāy	1468–1495
92.	Mīkhā'īl VI	1476–1478	unknown	Qā'itbāy	1468–1495
93.	John XII	1479–1482	al-Muḥarraq	Qā'itbāy	1468–1495
Modern Period (1500–1798)					
94.	John XIII	1484–1524	al-Muḥarraq	Qā'itbāy	1468–1495
				al-Nāṣir Muḥammad	1495–1498
				al-Ẓāhir Qanṣūh	1498–1499
				al-Ashraf Janbalāṭ	1499–1500
				Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī	1500–1516
				Ṭūmān-bay	1516–1517
				Selīm I	1512–1520
				Sulaymān I	1520–1566
95.	Gabriel VII	1525–1568	Suryan	Sulaymān I	1522–1566
				Selīm II	1566–1574
96.	John XIV	1570–1585	al-Barāmūs	Selīm II	1566–1574
				Murād III	1574–1595
97.	Gabriel VIII	1586–1601	Bishoi	Murād III	1574–1595
				Muḥammad III	1595–1603

No.	Name	Years	Provenance	Ruler	Years
98.	Mark V	1602–1618	Anbā Maqār	Aḥmad I	1603–1617
				Muṣṭafā I	1617–1618
				'Uthmān II	1618–1620
99.	John XV	1619–1634	Anṭūniyūs	'Uthmān II	1618–1620
				Muṣṭafā I	1620–1623
				Murād IV	1623–1640
100.	Matthew III	1634–1649	al-Barāmūs	Murād IV	1623–1640
			Anbā Maqār	Ibrāhīm I	1640–1648
101.	Mark VI	1650–1660	Anṭūniyūs	Ibrāhīm I	1640–1648
				Muḥammad IV	1648–1687
102.	Matthew IV	1660–1675	al-Barāmūs	Muḥammad IV	1648–1687
103.	John XVI	1676–1718	Anṭūniyūs	Muḥammad IV	1648–1687
				Sulaymān II	1687–1691
				Aḥmad II	1691–1695
				Muṣṭafā II	1695–1703
				Aḥmad III	1703–1730
104.	Peter VI	1718–1726	Anṭūniyūs	Aḥmad III	1703–1730
105.	John XVII	1726–1745	Anṭūniyūs-Būlā	Aḥmad III	1703–1730
				Maḥmūd I	1730–1754
106.	Mark VII	1745–1769	Anṭūniyūs	Maḥmūd I	1730–1754
				'Uthmān III	1754–1757
				Muṣṭafā III	1757–1774
107.	John XVIII	1769–1796	Anṭūniyūs	Muṣṭāfā III	1757–1774
				'Abd al-Ḥamīd I	1774–1789
				Salīm III	1789–1805
Contemporary Period (1798 to the present)					
108.	Mark VIII	1796–1809	Anṭūniyūs	Salīm III	1789–1805
				Muḥammad 'Alī	1805–1848
109.	Peter VII	1809–1852	Anṭūniyūs	Muḥammad 'Alī	1805–1848
				Ibrāhīm	1848
				'Abbās I	1848–1854
110.	Cyril IV	1854–1861	Anṭūniyūs	'Abbās I	1848–1854
				Sa'īd	1854–1863
111.	Demetrius II	1862–1870	Anbā Maqār	Sa'īd	1854–1863
				Ismā'īl	1863–1882
112.	Cyril V	1874–1927	al-Barāmūs	Ismā'īl	1863–1882
				Tawfīq	1882–1892
				'Abbās II	1892–1914
				Ḥusayn Kāmil	1914–1917
				Fouad	1917–1936
113.	John XIX	1928–1942	al-Barāmūs	Fouad	1917–1936
				Farouk	1936–1952
114.	Macarius III	1944–1945	Bishoi	Farouk	1936–1952
115.	Yūsāb II	1946–1956	Anṭūniyūs	Farouk	1936–1952
				Muḥammad Najīb	1952–1954
				Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣer	1954–1970
116.	Cyril VI	1959–1971	al-Barāmūs	Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣer	1954–1970
				Anwar al-Sadāt	1970–1981
117.	Shenouda III	1971–	Suryān	Anwar al-Sadāt	1970–1981
				Ḥusnī Mubārak	1981–

ographies of all patriarchs have been included in the body of our alphabetized text, save in the case of the present patriarch, whose dates are recorded but whose life critique has to be deferred until after the end of his tenure for an objective evaluation of his total work and service.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PATRISTICS, history of Christian literature that deals with the theological authors of Christian antiquity. The title of father can be applied to the leading church writers down to the thirteenth century (after which the title of Schoolman is used), but it is usually limited to the fathers and doctors of the church from the end of the first century through the eighth century. The collection or study of theological writings began as early as EUSEBIUS, whose *Ecclesiastical History* is an attempt to record the writers and writings of his predecessors in the faith. JEROME wrote a history of Christian theological literature entitled *De viris illustribus* in 392, and numerous others have followed in this tradition down to the present time.

In order to bring a sense of order and manageability to such a large corpus of material, many different categories are often imposed upon it. None is entirely satisfactory, and there is often considerable overlap, but the reader is advised to become familiar with some of the designations to facilitate studying Christian church history. Although the subject comprises both orthodox and heretical authors, overwhelming preference is given in the collections to those whose writings represent the traditional theology of the church.

Below are some of the major categories of patristic writings.

Language

The earliest fathers wrote in Greek and so are called the Greek fathers, among them POLYCARP, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, and Eusebius. Later authors who wrote in Latin are thus called the Latin fathers, such as Tertullian, JEROME, BASIL, and Ambrose. Those writing in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and other Eastern languages are called the Oriental fathers.

Time

The fathers who immediately succeeded the apostles (to the middle of the second century) and the New Testament era are called the apostolic fathers, including CLEMENT OF ROME, IGNATIUS, HERMAS, and Polycarp. They also fit into a larger category of those who preceded the Nicene Council and are called the ante-Nicene fathers, such as Clement of Alexandria, ORIGEN, and Dionysius of Rome; they are distinguished from those who flourished during and after Nicaea, the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers, exemplified by Eusebius, Jerome, ATHANASIUS, and Augustine.

Purpose

Within the framework of the composition of theological treatises are specialized types of writings, such as that done by the apologists (e.g., Aristides,

Justin Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian), most of whom lived in the second century and sought to present a defense of their faith to the world. Another group, called hagiographers, desired to keep alive the memory of Christian martyrs and saints by writing collections of lives of the saints. Eusebius likely wrote one such collection of the acts of martyrs, as did Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and others. Others took upon themselves the task of attacking those who were seen as apostates and threats to Christianity; they are called heresiologists (e.g., Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, EPIPHANIUS, and Augustine).

Geography

There are a few instances of the fathers being grouped by geographic areas, such as the Cappadocian fathers (Basil, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, and GREGORY OF NYSSA) or Alexandrine fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and CYRIL).

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C. WILFRED GRIGGS

PATROLOGIA ORIENTALIS. Beginning in 1886, René Graffin (1858–1941), professor at the Institut catholique in Paris, conceived the idea of adjoining to the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Patrologia Graeca* of J. P. Migne a collection comprising the texts of the Eastern church fathers, which were to be printed in their original languages with a translation on the facing page in either Latin or a modern language. He began with the *Patrologia Syriaca,* following a chronological order. However, at the Orientalist Congress of Paris in 1897, it was decided to publish a *Patrologia Orientalis* consisting of texts not only in Syriac but also in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Greek, Georgian, and Slavonic. At first, interest was concentrated on liturgical books, especially those treating hagiography, such as synaxaria and menologia in Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian; the Coptic *Euchologion* of the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH); and the Coptic lectionary for Holy Week. Critical editions of the Holy Scriptures (Coptic Book of Job) and some apocrypha, notably in Ethiopic and Coptic were published. Mention should also be made of important books of history about the Coptic patriarchs of Alexandria and the patriarchs of Antioch. Works on theology, the homilies, and the letters of the first fathers of the Eastern churches published in the *Patrologia Orientalis* permit a better understanding of the heresies and controversies of the period. From 1903 to 1984, some 191 fascicles were published.

FRANÇOIS GRAFFIN, S.J.

PATROLOGY. The term *patrologia* was first used by the Lutheran theologian Johannes Gebhard (d. 1637), and his work under that title appeared in 1653. Eventually "patrology" became synonymous with the science of patristics, especially as it relates to questions of doctrine and dogma. Patrology embraces all the church authors of antiquity beginning with Saint JEROME, whose *De viris illustribis* may be regarded as the first document in the field of patristics. Other notable authors in antiquity are Gregory the Great, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, all described in the sources as *doctores defensoresque ecclesiae.* These are classified Western and Eastern. In most of the works on patrology, the great Coptic fathers such as ATHANASIUS and CYRIL I are included under the Eastern category but are wrongly designated Greek fathers because their major works were written in Greek. It is known that most Coptic fathers knew Greek as well as Coptic, while the Greeks knew only their own tongue. Athanasius spent two years with the illiterate Saint Antony the Great in the Eastern Desert, and surely they communicated with each other only in Coptic. Cyril's elaborate liturgy, currently used only in the desert monasteries because of its great length, is a Coptic liturgy. Nevertheless, both Athanasius and Cyril wrongly appear in patristic literature as Greek fathers. Most eminent among modern authors on patrology are Adolf von Harnack, Otto Bardenhewer, Johannes Quasten, and B. Altaner. There is still room for a purely Coptic patrology, a field that requires highly specialized knowledge and would accord Coptic patristics its rightful place in the framework of early Christianity. In this context, it is possible to begin with the monumental *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church,* the compilation of which was begun in the tenth century.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PAUL, fourteenth-century bishop of Bahnasā. He is the author of a recitation for the consecration of the LAQQĀN (basin) for the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, written in Coptic and Arabic. The oldest manuscript is dated 1374.

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VINCENT FREDERICK

PAUL OF AIGINA, famous physician of Alexandria who lived in the mid-seventh century. While he was still a student in 641, Alexandria was taken by the Arabs. He is known to the Arabs as Būlus, or Fūlūṣ, al-Ajānīṭī or al-Qawābilī (the obstetrician).

His principal work is a large medical collection in seven books entitled *Memoirs* that was translated into Arabic by the famous Nestorian physician and translator of Baghdad, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873) with the title *al-Kunnāsh* or *Kunnāsh al-Thurayyā* (collection of the Pleiades). In the eighth century another Nestorian, Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' ibn Jūrjīs, a physician of Baghdad, composed glosses (*ḥawāshī*) to the collection, which had not yet been translated.

This work had a considerable influence on Arab medicine, particularly ophthalmology. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq quotes it several times in his treatise on ophthalmology. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (865?–925?), the most famous Muslim physician of his age, quotes it approximately one hundred times in his medical encyclopaedia, the *Continens* of the Latins. It was subsequently employed by many others in the Middle Ages; for example, Abū al-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī of Cordoba (c. 950), 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī (c. 960), the great Avicenna (980–1037), al-Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār the Jew (in 1260), and Najm Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār the Jew (in 1260), and Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī (d. 1330).

Six works have survived in Arabic under the name of Paul of Aigina: *al-Kunnāsh; Tadbīr al-Ḥawāmil* (Concerning the Correct Treatment of Pregnant Women); *Tahzīl al-Simān* (Slimming Cure for the Obese); *'Ilāl al-Nisā'* (Concerning Women's Illnesses); *Tadbīr al-Ṣabī wa-'ilājuh* (Concerning the Correct Treatment and Care of the Infant); and a manual of toxicology, extant in Hebrew.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

PAUL OF BENHADAB, SAINT, a monk and abbot who was a visionary (feast day: 17 Hātūr). He is commemorated in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION of Upper Egypt (Basset, p. 301; Forget, text, p. 299; trans., p. 30).

Paul was a native of a village called Danfīq, which still exists. His parents were peasants, and he learned the trade of carpenter. He became a monk on the mountain of Benhadab (west bank of the Nile, opposite Qūṣ), making himself the disciple of the elders who dwelled there. Later he was chosen as superior and ordained priest. He lived in the cave of Anbā Peter the Elder, a person known to us only from a number of allusions, in particular in the notice about Saint ḤADRĀ OF BENHADAB. Paul was stricken by a disease of the leg bones and became lame. He appears to have been a visionary: The angels showed him the trees of Paradise adorned with good fruits. He died after exhorting the brethren to keep the canons of the monastic life. He was buried in the presence of the bishop and the people at Qift, in the church of Anbā Peter the Elder.

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PAUL THE BLACK, sixth-century Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. Paul the Black was a Copt born in Alexandria. He moved to Syria, where he took his monastic vows in one of its monasteries.

He was ultimately consecrated patriarch of Antioch by Bar Hebraeus, with whom he shared the Monophysite profession against CHALCEDON. His career was rather stormy and, being a Monophysite, he was pursued by the Byzantine authorities and had to take refuge from his persecutors at the court of the Christian Ghassanid king al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah and his successor, al-Mundhir, before the emergence of Muḥammad and Islam. On other occasions he fled to the Mareotis Desert southwest of Alexandria in Egypt. To deceive his persecutors, he apparently feigned conciliation toward Chalcedon and was warmly welcomed at the imperial court in Constantinople, where he spent a few years and where he died after a checkered career of oscillation and schisms within his Antiochene church. He was even accused of the heresy of tritheism. He was deposed by Pope PETER IV of Alexandria, and a new menace of a split between the two sister churches loomed on the horizon. To mend this rift, JACOB BARADAEUS had to accept Paul's deposition and prepare a delegation of bishops to go to Egypt to reestablish the unity between Antioch and Alexandria.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PAUL THE SIMPLE, SAINT, a peasant who became a monk in old age and a disciple of Saint ANTONY. He is known from chapter 22 of the *Historia lausiaca* of PALLADIUS, chapter 24 of the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO, chapter 31 of the Latin adaptation of the latter book by Rufinus, and from a long apothegm included in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. These various accounts present divergences that have been examined by R. Reitzenstein. The most important is the one that Palladius puts in the mouth of Kronius as he relates his memories of the time when he lived close to Antony.

Paul was a simple and honest peasant who had a very beautiful but unfaithful wife. One day, on returning from the fields, he found her with a lover. Far from being angry, he rejoiced, and, leaving his wife and children to his rival, went off to become a monk. He made his way to Saint Antony's hermitage. Seeing that Paul was old, and thinking that he would be incapable of sustaining the rigors of asceticism, Antony at first refused to receive him and left him for several days outside his door. Having witnessed his endurance, however, he ended by welcoming him. He submitted Paul to the severest trials, imposing on him labors, fasts, and long prayers, which Paul bore without complaint. Then Antony admitted him as a monk, and installed him in a hermitage some distance from his own.

Through his asceticism and extreme simplicity (whence the surname that was given him) Paul obtained the grace to triumph over demons, to the point that Antony sent him the demoniacs he could not cure. While Palladius insists on Paul's asceticism and endurance, the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* praises his spirit of obedience, and the *Apophthegmata patrum*, the gift he received of reading consciences.

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

PAUL OF TAMMA, SAINT, fourth-century hermit. Paul was born at Tamma (written Tammah in the inscriptions of Bāwīṭ) in the nome of Koeis (Kynopotis/al-Qays) in the neighborhood of Dahrūṭ, on the left bank of the Nile opposite Sharūnah. This village no longer exists, at least under this name. It should not be confused with Ṭamwayh, the location of DAYR ABŪ SAYFAYN, south of Cairo opposite Ḥilwān.

At the age of eighteen Paul withdrew as a hermit to the mountain of Touho (Theodosiopolis/Ṭaḥā al-A'mīdah); there he was molded to the hermit life by a monk called Hyperichus. Fifty-four years later Ezekiel joined him—sent by the archangel MICHAEL from his native village of Tkoui Nerōt, near Tamma—and was instructed by Paul. One Saturday three monks visited Paul: Isidorus, the priest of the church at SCETIS; Agathonicus, from the mountain of Touji; and Victor, from the mountain of Thersa. Shortly after, the apostles Peter, Paul, and John appeared. Paul shaved Ezekiel's head and gave him the monastic habit, then the apostles celebrated the

eucharistic synaxis, each of the necessary elements —table, chalice, bread, wine, incense—coming down from heaven at the prayer of the participants, speaking in turn. Each part of the liturgy was performed by one of the apostles or the monks. Then they took a meal together, with bread miraculously brought from heaven. The apostles disappeared, and the visitors—Isidorus, Agathonicus, and Victor —left Paul and Ezekiel to return to Scetis.

The sequel in the life of Paul of Tamma is the story of his wandering from Touho as far as the neighborhood of Shmin (Panopolis/Akhmīm), during which he died six times (seven in the Arabic text) from the excesses of his ascetic practices, and each time was resuscitated by Jesus. The first death occurred when he suspended himself head downward on a tamarisk; the second, when he buried himself in the sand; the third, after he had remained immersed in the water of a spring (the Synaxarion speaks of the Nile and of crocodiles); the fourth, when he flung himself from the top of a cliff onto jagged rocks; the fifth, when he remained without stirring, his head between his feet, for forty days; the sixth, after he had remained face to the ground for eight days (this appears to be added in the Arabic versions); and in the seventh, after he had thrown himself on a stone sharp as a sword.

At the same time, in the course of this journey to the south, Paul and Ezekiel met a number of hermits more or less known to us from other sources. They included Pamun of the Many-hued Habit, who received the Eucharist from "John the Virgin"; Noc (Cyrus in an Arabic version), who fled the world in disgust at the corruption of both clergy and laity; Apollo and Papohe, no doubt at Bāwīṭ, for the text says simply "to the south of Daljah." At Terōt Ashans, to the south of Qūṣ (Koussai/al-Qūṣiyyah), they found Aphu, who lived among the bubals (large antelopes); at Peshcepohe, Phib, a native of Percoush in the nome of Touho (and hence different from the friend of Apollo, born at Psinemoun in the nome of Shmūn).

Once again they set off toward the south, to the mountain of Meroeit, a place today unknown, where the demon set a trap for Ezekiel during Paul's absence in the desert. He passed himself off as a seeker of limestone in the desert, where he had found Paul tied up by thieves. Paul, he said, asked Ezekiel to find him. Ezekiel went with the demon, who wished to kill him. Ezekiel called upon his father, Paul, who immobilized the demon by a magic charm (a circle traced on the ground), then bound him and sent him rolling to the bottom of a valley.

Paul of Tamma and his disciple next came to Siout (Lycopolis/Asyūṭ), but the text, curiously, does not speak of the celebrated recluse JOHN OF LYCOPOLIS, who died shortly after 395. Pshoi of Jeremiah, that is, from the monastery of Jeremiah at Tkoou on the eastern bank, joined Paul. Together they restored to life six hundred men and fifty-four women, whom Jesus himself then came to baptize and give communion. Pshoi separated from Paul opposite Sbeht (Apollinopolis Parva/Kom Isfaḥt), to the south of Siout.

Paul and Ezekiel then went, on Jesus' orders, to Banawāt (perhaps Pneuit) in the nome of Shmin (Panopolis/Akhmīm), where they met an ascetic called Abū Isḥāq, with whom they were to destroy a sanctuary of the old religion. The text describes at length a curious rite in which the faithful brought and poured wine into a marble basin, over which the pagan priests uttered incantations, then each came to draw some wine. Paul and Abū Isḥāq overturned the basin, a fire spurted from the ground and burned the priests, and the two hermits ordered the demons bound to this temple to transport the basin to Atrīb, where SHENUTE was building a church. Then Abū Isḥāq went off toward the mountain of al-Qūṣīyyah. The Lord appeared to Paul and ordered him to go back north to the mountain of Sbeht, to die there for a last time. There Paul dictated his commandments to Ezekiel, and recounted to him his youth at Tamma. The saint died on 7 Bābah, and was buried at Sbeht by his disciples. The text names three in addition to Ezekiel, which may indicate that Paul had grouped a small community around him.

The notice in the Synaxarion is rather different. It indicates that Paul lived on the mountain of ANTINOOPOLIS, or on the eastern bank of the Nile, and does not speak of the journey of Paul and Ezekiel from Touho to the neighborhood of Shmin, nor of the visits to the hermits established on the west bank in this region, but only of Paul's six deaths. On the other hand, it confuses Pshoi of Scetis and Pshoi of Jeremiah into a single person when speaking of the meeting of Paul and Pshoi, which in addition it places on the mountain of Antinoopolis. Later, the bodies of these two saints are said to have been transferred to DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR, in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. In the Life, on the contrary, Paul of Tamma lived on the mountain of Touho, and it is near Siout that he met Pshoi of Jeremiah. In the Arabic

versions of the Life, in the course of a prophecy made to Paul, Jesus announces to him only that his body will be transferred to Antinoopolis with that of Pshoi of Jeremiah, but the end of the Life does not speak of a translation. Only the Arabic life of Pshoi of Scetis speaks of his relations with Paul of Tamma (Evelyn-White, 1926–1933, pp. 158–60).

In addition to the rather brief notice in the Arabic SYNAXARION of the Copts, the life of Paul of Tamma is preserved in eleven Coptic leaves from the same manuscript of the library of the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH). Some have been published by E. Amélineau (pp. 759–69, 835–36), as have some papyrus fragments (Orlandi, 1974, pp. 155–58). Fortunately some Arabic manuscripts (ten, to our knowledge) provide three versions of the Coptic life, sometimes quite divergent. The most faithful appears to be that of the manuscript of DAYR ANBĀ MAOAR (Hag. 19, fols. 110–31, dating from 1536) and of two leaves in the Coptic Museum (Inv. no. 6438, fourteenth century). The eight other manuscripts—three at Dayr Anbā Maqār, three at DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS, one at the Coptic Museum and one at the National Library in Paris (Arabe 4787, fols. 196–229)—give a mutilated text of an episode at the beginning of the story. We may rely on these Arabic versions, for where we have the Coptic, we can establish the agreement between the two texts, except for the proper names that sometimes have been rather distorted by the Arabic copyists.

The successive deaths and resurrections of Paul of Tamma are a unique case, at least in Coptic HAGIOGRAPHY. The Life does not attribute any particular intention to Paul for his ascetic attitude, but the Synaxarion states precisely: "Because of his great love for Christ and the excess of his asceticism, he killed himself seven times."

It does not seem that this story is literary fiction meant to present to the reader the hermits living in this region of Middle Egypt at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, in the style of the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO or the *Historia lausiaca* of PALLADIUS. Rather, this is a genuine life of Paul, and the hermits he meets on his journey pay homage to the sanctity of their visitor. The narrator, his disciple Ezekiel, does not seek to throw into relief the asceticism of the anchorites visited but only that of his master. It therefore seems that even on the literary level, this life of Paul of Tamma is very different from a "history of the monks."

Two manuscripts preserve the Rules, or letters, of Paul of Tamma (Orlandi, 1988).

His feast day is 7 Bābah.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PAUL OF THEBES, SAINT, hermit known from the *Life of Saint Paul the First Hermit,* a small work composed in Latin by Saint JEROME, probably in 375/376, according to current opinion. According to his biographer, Paul, a native of the Lower Thebaid, withdrew into the Arabian desert at the time of the persecution by Decius, about 250. He was then fifteen years old. He settled not far from the Red Sea at the place, according to tradition, where the monastery that bears his name stands today (DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ). There Paul is said to have spent almost ninety years in a cave that served as a hermitage, not seeing a single person and himself unknown to all. It was only a little before his death, about 340/341, that he was discovered by Saint ANTONY. Being miraculously informed of Paul's presence in a hermitage quite near his own, Antony went to visit him, just in time to provide for his burial.

The imaginative character of this story, in which life in the desert is highly idealized and adorned with marvelous features, such as two lions that come to help Antony dig Paul's grave, has long led to doubts of its historical value, if not of the historicity of Paul himself. In writing this work almost twenty years after Athanasius' Life of Antony, Jerome intended to present his hero as superior to Antony: as the true inaugurator of the anchorite

life, which Antony subsequently adorned. Retiring into the desert much earlier, Paul lived there a longer time, even more solitary than Antony, who buried him, a rite normally performed by a disciple.

Jerome's work is the only historical document concerning Paul. Mention of him in other ancient authors (John Cassian *Collationes* XVIII.6; Sulpicius Severus *Dialogi* I.17) is dependent on Jerome. *A Life of Abba Paul, the Holy Anchorite,* published by E. Amélineau, has been preserved in Coptic. Amélineau thought that this Coptic Life was an original text that Jerome had simply adapted into Latin. In reality, it is clear that the Coptic text, the explicit of which bears the signature of Jerome, is a free translation of the Latin text. Nevertheless, the notes in two recensions, which the Arabic-Jacobite SYNAXARION devotes at 2 Amshīr to Paul of Thebes, present a few peculiarities. Paul is said not to be of Theban origin but a native of Alexandria, and the circumstances of his conversion are slightly different; but in substance this text appears to be dependent on the Coptic version of Jerome's book.

The attempt made by H. Delehaye to give greater historical credit to Jerome's hero by identifying him with a Paul of Oxyrhynchus, known elsewhere, has scarcely withstood the criticisms of F. Cavallera. In addition to the Latin and Coptic texts, there are two Greek versions of the Life of Paul, edited by J. Bidez. F. Nau ("Le texte original") thought that the older of them could be an original text that Jerome had adapted into Latin. According to the same author ("Le chapitre"), it is appropriate to see the source of the Life of Paul in the Egyptian stories that, like the Life of ONOPHRIUS and other tales reported in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, relate the journey of a monk into the desert in order to discover the greatest anchorites.

A summary of Jerome's *Vita Pauli* follows. Jerome illustrates the sufferings that Christians had to endure. At that time Paul and his married sister, both of whom lived in the Thebaid, lost their parents. In order to obtain Paul's inheritance, his brother-in-law sought to betray him to the persecutors. Paul fled into the desert and took up his abode in a cave that was shaded by a palm tree and furnished with a spring. The palm afforded him food and clothing; the spring, fresh water.

Paul had reached the age of 113 years when it was revealed to Saint Antony, who was then 90 years old, that he ought to visit a monk more perfect than he, who lived in the inner desert. Accordingly, he set out on his journey, a centaur showing him the way. Another mythological beast, a satyr, brought him food and spoke with him. Finally, following a she-wolf that disappeared into a cave, he arrived at Paul's abode and was welcomed by him. They conversed and were miraculously fed by a raven. After spending the night in vigil, Paul informed Antony that he was about to die and that Antony should bury him. Antony was to fetch the cloak that Athanasius had given him to wrap Paul's body. So Antony returned for the cloak, and once more undertook the arduous journey to Paul's cave. Even before reaching his destination, he had a vision of Paul's ascension to heaven, and arrived to find his body in the attitude of prayer. Two lions arrived to help dig the grave, and Antony buried Paul. Taking Paul's tunic, he returned to his hermitage.

Jerome ends his story with an Encomium on Paul and with exhortations to his readers to follow his example.

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ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT
K. H. KUHN

PBOW. [*This entry consists of two articles: one on the history of Pbow, and one on its archaeology.*]

History

Pbow is the Coptic name of the second and most important monastery of Saint PACHOMIUS. For cen-

turies the superior of the whole Pachomian congregation resided at Pbow. The site is now considered equivalent to the town of Fāw al-Qiblī (Fāw of the South, in contrast with the neighboring village Fāw al-Baḥarī, Fāw of the North). PACHOMIUS established a community there, his first foundation at TABENNĒSĒ seeming to him to have become too restricted. He built a small church, and it was there that he died in 346. His successor was PETRONIUS, who died some months later and was followed by HORSIESIOS. Following a revolt against him, Horsiesios had to give up the direction of Pbow and the Pachomian congregation to Theodorus in 351. He recovered control upon Theodorus' death in 368, and remained superior until about 380.

Of the other successors of Pachomius we know only the names: Bessarion, Victor, Paphnutius, Jonas Pakerius (perhaps the upright), PACHOMIUS THE YOUNGER, Cornelius, Peshentbahse, Martyrius, and Abraham. Abraham, driven from Pbow because of his attachment to Monophysite doctrines, founded his own community at Farshūṭ, his birthplace. In the fifth century a basilica dedicated to Saint Pachomius is said to have been begun by the abbot Victor, and completed and consecrated by Martyrius, according to a sermon that contains some legendary aspects but without doubt has historical elements, according to van Lantschoot. (1934, pp. 13–56).

The further course of the history of Pbow is lost in the mists of time. ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN in early thirteenth century states that the great basilica (it was, he says, 150 cubits long) was demolished by al-Ḥākim, no doubt in the great persecution of the Christians of Egypt at the beginning of the eleventh century. The Muslim historian Yāqūt (d. 1229) mentions it, perhaps from hearsay. In the fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī speaks of a church of Pachomius at Idfā, which he no doubt confuses with Fāw. 'Alī Mubārak reproduces the information drawn from al-Maqrīzī's book (see the translation of the latter in Sauneron, p. 56). Not until 1720 is it mentioned by a European traveler, C. Sicard (1982, Vol. 2, pp. 146–47).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, M. JULLIEN gave an exact description with a photograph (pp. 243–48). Lefort mentions it among the sites of the first Pachomian monasteries (1959, pp. 387–93).

The recension of the SYNAXARION of the Copts from Upper Egypt cites the monastery of Anbā Bākhūm at Faw several times, but it probably is summarizing lost Coptic texts. Its evidence can be valid only for the documents used by the redactor: at 13 Hātūr and 23 Ṭūbah. Meinardus describes it (1965, pp. 305–306; 1977, 2nd ed., pp. 418–19).

Since 1968, excavations have made possible the rediscovery both of the small church of the fourth century and the great basilica of the fifth (Debono, 1971, pp. 191–220).

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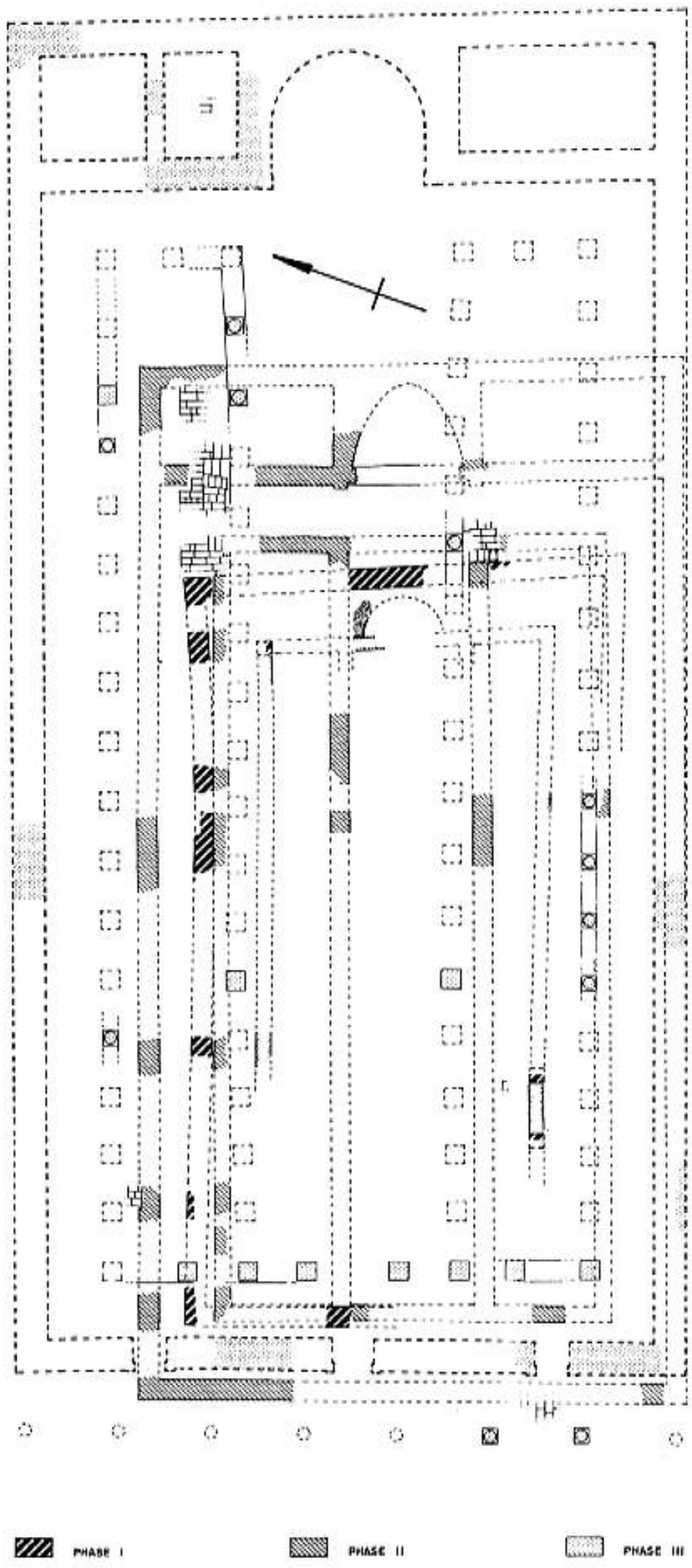
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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN
MAURICE MARTIN, S.J.

Archaeology

Of the former major monastery of the cenobites of Pachomius, only a few remains of the church have so far been brought to light by excavations. The church was built of stone and fired bricks, and its position was always clearly defined by the once tall granite columns that were part of it and that now lie together on the ground. Most of the remaining monastery buildings were probably built of sun-dried mud bricks. Because they were situated in what is today fertile farming land, we may be almost certain that they were plowed into the



Plan of the remains of the church at Pbow, showing three successive building stages. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

ground centuries ago. However, farmers cultivating the neighboring fields occasionally find building remains of fired bricks and when a new canal was dug in the northwest of the actual village, ruins of brick buildings were exposed. Some of them are still visible today.

In the precincts of the church, three successive building phases can be distinguished. Of the oldest one, which is also the smallest, only a few sections of the northern and eastern walls could be made visible. Traces of stylobates indicate that this church had several aisles, probably five. There was, however, no original apse at the eastern end. The existing apse is obviously a later addition and was simply built of crude bricks. On the basis of pottery finds and its low position this church can be identified with the monastery of Pachomius (before A.D. 346), mentioned in the Coptic Lives of Pachomius.

At the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century a new church was built whose ground plan has been established as a five-aisled basilica. It has a remarkably narrow nave in relation to the inner side aisles. Another unusual feature is the way in which the outer aisles and the return aisles at the eastern and western ends form a kind of ambulatory surrounding the three inner aisles on four sides. The sanctuary consists of a slightly pointed semicircular apse with rooms arranged on both sides.

Again, after more than half a century the existing church was replaced by a much larger new building. It has the same five-aisle ground plan, with an apse and several side chambers. The tall granite column shafts covering the ground belong to this church. They are remnants reused from Roman buildings of the third and early fourth centuries. Only the capitals, of which two examples were found in 1989, were newly manufactured for this. This church, like the preceding one, has only a relatively narrow nave and very narrow outer aisles forming on four sides a kind of ambulatory around the three inner aisles. This particular layout enhances the character of the church as a spectacular example of a great hall church supporting a large community of monks. The sanctuary is covered by modern houses. Only the two side chambers to the north of the apse could be made visible through excavation. In front of the western entrances to the church there was a narrow colonnaded portica. The large church could have been built in the second half of the fifth century. The ceremonial dedication of a church on 11 November 459 in the monastery of Pbow is referred to in a text (ed. Lantschoot, 1934, pp. 13–56) known as a sermon of TIMOTHY II of Alexandria and with some justification may be connected with this building.

With the decline in the monastery's importance from the sixth century onward, the great church fell slowly into disrepair. In the front section of the northern side aisle, several additional structures have been found, which may point to the loss of the roof. Based on a statement by ABŪ AL-MAKĀRIM, it is

generally accepted that al-Ḥākim (996–1021) destroyed the building. It is highly questionable, however, that the building remained in use for so long. If there is a historical core to this note, it is more likely to be that al-Ḥākim plundered a building that was already in a ruined state.

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PETER GROSSMANN

PEETERS, PAUL (1870–1950), Jesuit and Orientalist. He became a Bollandist in 1905, and in 1941 was made chairman of the Société des Bollandistes. He produced numerous editions, commentaries, and studies in the field of Oriental hagiography and its relationship to Byzantine hagiography as well as on the history of the Bollandists.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PEIRESC, NICOLAS CLAUDE DE FABRI, SEIGNEUR DE (1580–1637), French humanist, patron of the arts, and instigator of Coptic studies in Europe. He collected Coptic manuscripts now conserved at the National Library, Paris; the School of Medicine at Montpellier; and the Vatican Library.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PELAGIANISM, the first great purely Latin heresy, based on the belief that man was capable, in theological terms, of taking the first essential steps toward salvation by correct use of his free will. Socially it was a movement of protest and reform against abuses by articulate members of the literate classes in the western part of the Roman empire.

The teaching was first formulated in Rome by Pelagius, possibly of British origin, who had settled in the city by 390 (if not before) and had become chaplain to the noble Christian house of the Anicii. In the first years of the fifth century Augustine's *Confessiones* began to circulate in Rome, and Pelagius read the somewhat careless phrase used by Augustine (*Confessiones* 10.33), "Give what thou commandest and command what thou wilt." This seemed to him a stark and fatalistic injunction from a contemporary whose works he otherwise admired. For Pelagius, in any moral action there were three distinct elements: first, one must be able to do it; second, one must be willing to do it; and third, the action must be carried out (Pelagius, cited in Augustine, *De gratia Christi* 4.5). Pelagius taught that the first of these, the possibility (*posse*), was part of man's natural endowment derived from God; the second and third, will (*velle*) and effect (*esse in effectu*), were of man, the result of his free choice. Thus every person's sin was his own, not derived from Adam's fall but the result of his weakness and lack of will. Moreover, God did not command the impossible. Pelagius wrote to one noble correspondent, Demetrias, about 414, "No one knows better the measure of our strength, and no one has better understanding of the resources within our power [than God]" (*Letters to Demetrias* 16). There was no "great sin" (sexual activity) behind the misery of the human condition. Adam's responsibility was confined to setting humanity a bad example.

Outside North Africa, most of the contemporaries of Pelagius would have agreed with him. Pelagius

was on terms of friendship with Paulinus of Nola and other influential south Italian bishops. His social teaching that wealth and power were hindrances to the Christian life was accepted with enthusiasm in Sicily, Gaul, and perhaps in Britain. To Augustine, Pelagius was known as a "holy man" who had made no small progress in the Christian life (*De peccatorum meritis* 3.1). Had it not been for the sack of Rome by Alaric and his Goths on 24 August 410, which forced Pelagius into exile, his teaching might well have escaped condemnation.

Pelagius and his immediate associates arrived as refugees in North Africa in the autumn of 410. He had a brief contact with Augustine before passing on to Palestine. His disciple Celestius stayed behind, and in 411 applied to the church in Carthage for ordination. Unfortunately his views, outlined in the course of an examination before Bishop Aurelius, proved unsatisfactory to his hearers: Adam was made mortal and would have died in any event. Eve's sin affected only herself. Infants were born in exactly the same state as Adam had been before he had sinned. They needed baptism in order to share in humanity's regeneration, but this had nothing to do with original sin transmitted from Adam. Law and Gospel were of equal value as guides toward salvation. There were sinless persons before Christ. The rich, unless they gave their goods to the poor, could not obtain salvation. These beliefs seemed to deny the value of Christ's resurrection in reversing the effects of Adam's sin, and the need for divine grace in every moral act. Celestius was refused ordination and condemned.

Augustine's *De spiritu et littera,* written for a friend, the tribune Marcellinus, answered the Pelagian assertion that it was possible, with grace, for men to live in a sinless state, and that law and Gospel were of equal value. He pointed out that the Holy Spirit of the Gospel gave life, while the Mosaic Law, though stating what man ought to do, had no power of itself to do this. Later, on 27 June 413, he proclaimed in a sermon (*Sermo* 294) preached at Carthage that infants must be baptized as soon as possible to "free them from the infection of the ancient death drawn from their first birth" (Adam's) and quoted Cyprian (*Letter* 64.5) in justification.

It was the arrival of Pelagius in Palestine that stirred the Pelagian controversy. There he quarreled with Jerome, not on the question of grace but on whether individuals (e.g., monks following an ascetic life) could attain a state of sinlessness. By coincidence, at this moment, in 415, an emissary of Augustine, the Spanish presbyter Paulus Orosius, arrived in Palestine on a mission to Jerome. The two allied against Pelagius, but the latter defended himself ably and was formally acquitted of charges of heresy at the Synod of Diospolis (Lydda) held by Bishop John of Jerusalem on 20 December 415.

It was at this stage that the church in Egypt became involved. Augustine heard the news of Pelagius' acquittal on Paulus Orosius' return to North Africa in the summer of 416. He immediately wrote to Atticus, archbishop of Constantinople, and CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. These two letters, discovered by Johannes Divjak in the 1970s among thirty hitherto unrecognized letters and memoranda of Augustine, show that Augustine went to great pains to convince the leaders of the Eastern churches of the dangers of Pelagius' teaching.

Augustine thereby revived the contacts between Carthage and Alexandria that had existed in Cyprian's time during the Baptismal Controversy of 255–256 (see Conybeare, 1910). While no reply from Cyril survives, it is clear that Augustine gained at least the benevolent neutrality of Alexandria in the struggle with Pelagius that developed. Pelagius was condemned by Pope Innocent I in January 417 and, after considerable hesitation, by his successor, Zosimus, in the summer of 418. His supporters in south Italy were deprived of their sees and were exiled. In the East, Pelagianism was finally condemned at the Council of EPHESUS in 431. It may be that Augustine's invitation to that council was a result of the links he had been able to establish with the major Eastern sees, including Alexandria, fifteen years before.

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W. H. C. FREND

PELLEGRINI, ASTORRE (1844–1908), Italian Egyptologist. He was educated at Pisa and at Florence. He published many short articles, chiefly in *Bessarione*.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PELUSIUM. *See* Faramā, al-.

PEMDJE. *See* Bahnasā, al-.

PEMPTON, monastic agglomeration located, as its name indicates, near the fifth milestone, to the west of Alexandria in all probability, and on the coastal strip separating the sea from Lake Mareotis, where several other religious establishments were similarly located in the Later Empire. The region of the Pempton was also called the Eremika, more by way of allusion to the nature of the landscape—"a desert by the sea"—than to its dedication to the hermit's life. According to John Moschus, it was an unprepossessing spot: the gallows of Alexandria. Not far from it was a ruined temple of Kronos. The precise situation of the Pempton is hard to determine, but there is reason to believe that it coincided more or less with the present village of Dikhaylah (Dekheila), in the neighborhood of which there were excavated at the beginning of the twentieth century and in 1966 some monastic funerary stelae and the remains of some religious buildings (von Wöss, 1923, pp. 258–60).

The Pempton is attested for the first time between 374 and 376 by Epiphanius who tells of a visionary ascetic from a monastery of the Eremika who took himself to be a bishop and acted accordingly. Around 338, PALLADIUS, the author of the *Lausiac History*, tried his hand there at the monastic life, under the direction of the Theban ascetic Dorotheus. This holy man had been living in a cave there for sixty years, building with his own hands cells for the brethren and earning his livelihood, as many other Egyptian monks did, by weaving palms. Sozomen and Xanthopolus state in this connection that the Eremika and the other monasteries on the borders of Libya and in the Mareotis had something like 2,000 monks at this period.

The further history of the Pempton is sparsely documented. An anti-Nestorian imperial edict was read on 18 April 448 at the church of the monks of the Eremika, along with the prefectoral decree promulgating it. The Alexandrian monk Mark the Mad, who lived in the reign of JUSTINIAN, had formerly belonged to the Pempton, according to L. Clugnet (p. 61). In the reign of the same emperor and while Empress THEODORA (d. 548) was still alive, Anastasia, the patrician friend of Saint Severus of Antioch, is said to have founded the so-called Patrician Monastery, according to the Greek versions of her life. But her Syriac Life locates this foundation at the ENATON.

Our last attestation of the Pempton, from the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, is given by John Moschus, but only indirectly and without any reference to its religious communities.

[*See also:* Enaton, The.]

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JEAN GASCOU

PENALIZATION. As observed in the AUDIENTIA EPISCOPALIS, the bishop can punish in two ways, either by imposing a fine or a flogging, the execution of which falls to the *lashane* (lictors), or by inflicting an ecclesiastical punishment, which only he himself can lift. On the evidence of the Coptic sources, the ecclesiastical punishments consisted of EXCOMMUNICATION, DEFROCKING OF PRIESTS, and the imposing of an INTERDICT.

To these punitive measures we may add the punishments mentioned in circular letters from bishops in various regions of Egypt after the ninth century. In these letters, various curses are called down upon the persons to be punished. For example, they may be said to be "under the curse of the Law and the Prophets" or "of the 318 bishops who assembled in Nicaea." In a letter of John, bishop of Hermopolis, published by G. Steindorff (1892), such punishments were invoked against those who broke into a house in Hermopolis and stole provisions and utensils. In a letter from another bishop of Hermopolis, whose name has not survived, similar punishments were described for the theft of various provisions from a house. This text was published by W. E. Crum (1909, no. 267). Bishop Daniel of the

Fayyūm wrote a letter, edited by Yassa 'Abd al-Masih (1941), in which such curses are invoked against those who pluck a particular plant of the Virgin Mary and Apa Paphnutius.

Fragments of another letter that mentions penalties like these are preserved in the British Museum (Or. 4720 [72], cat. no. 633). Crum (1909, p. 126) states that pieces of additional such letters were in the possession of de Ricci, and at least one is preserved in Vienna (see Krall, 1892, 33). K. Reinhardt has edited Arabic-Coptic documents of a similar nature.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PENANCE, the performance of specific expiatory acts assigned by a priest. The severity of a penance is proportional to the gravity of the sin committed. It is given as remedial discipline to the penitent for the purpose of healing his soul and helping him resist any relapse into similar kinds of wrongdoing at a later stage. Penance, following sacramental confession, may take the form of additional fastings, prayers, genuflections, almsgiving, or temporary exclusion from Communion, to generate within the penitent a genuine sense of contrition, sorrow, and detestation for his sin.

The authority to give absolution from sin is part of the power of binding and loosing conferred by Jesus Christ on His disciples (Mt. 16:19, 18:18; Jn. 20:23) and passed on, in succession, to the priesthood. Various ecclesiastical councils, such as those of Ancyra (314), Nicaea (325), and Laodicea (343–381) discussed the ways and means of administering penances, and promulgated relevant canons, recorded by the early fathers.

During the early centuries of Christianity, the church apparently adopted a rigorous penitential procedure by which penitents had to pass through four stages or stations of penance before they were readmitted to full membership in the church:

1. Mourners. Mourner-penitents were forced to stand at the porch in the open area in front of the church door and appeal to other members of the congregation as they entered. It is likely that reference is made to these penitents in particular when, toward the end of the liturgy and just before Holy Communion is administered to the faithful, the deacon says, "Pray for all Christians who have asked us to remember them in the House of the Lord."

2. Listeners. These penitents were allowed within the door in the narthex of the church so that they could listen to the Scriptures and the sermon, but were obliged to depart before the Divine Liturgy commenced.

3. Kneelers. At this stage, penitents were allowed within the walls of the church in the part below the pulpit (or AMBO), but had to kneel down while the congregation stood during prayers. Before going out, they had to prostrate themselves in obeisance to the bishop who would lay his hands on their heads. Together with the CATECHUMENS, they left before the commencement of the Liturgy of the Faithful.

4. Costanders. This is the most advanced class of penitents; they were allowed to attend the whole of the Divine Liturgy, standing with the rest of the congregation, hearing the prayers, but not allowed to partake of Holy Communion.

Certain non-Orthodox churches appear to hold a different concept of penance and interpret it as a form of reconciliation between God and one who has, through sin, offended divine justice and hence must appease the Creator. This is contrary to the Orthodox belief that Christ Jesus has once and for all repaid God's debt through His blood, which He shed on the cross to ransom humanity. Penance is an individual effort with a twofold effect: it heals the sinner's bruised soul, and it makes sin appear all the more detestable in his eyes.

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

PEN CASES. Coptic scribes arranged their thick calami (pens), made from cut reeds, in leather cases. Some have come down to us and are preserved in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, the State Museum of Berlin, and in the Louvre, Paris; some come from the tombs of ANTINOOPOLIS.

These pen cases, in the form of an extended triangle about 8 inches (20 cm) long, are made from two pieces of leather, one of which is flat and the other corrugated from one end to the other. The two pieces are stitched together in the grooves thus obtained and around the edge. The number of tubules into which the calami were slipped varies from two to five. More sophisticated designs are restricted to elaborate cases. Some have, in addition, a small flap cut in the leather showing traces of sewing. It served to fasten the object or to fix an inkwell to it. A specimen from the Cairo Museum still shows this combination. The fragment of a case in the Louvre includes a bronze fragment riveted to this flap.

The finest examples are decorated with pictures and texts. Some mention the scribe's name, invoke a saint, or quote obscure litanies. This work is executed by incising the leather or else, as on the case of Theodoros in the State Museum of Berlin, painting on a wooden panel fixed to the case. Three decorated pen cases are preserved in the Louvre. At the widest part of each case, a picture is incised within a trapezium. Inscriptions emphasize the upper edge and fill the lower triangle. On one of them, geometrical borders decorate the sides and separate the "metopes" where Mary is enthroned between the archangels Michael and Gabriel, while lower down an orant's bust between two palms is designated as Saint Thomas. On the other two, a saint armed with a powerful lance fells a demon. One of these pictures is badly damaged, but the second specifies that it represents Saint Philotheus; the monster he subdues has a serpent's body and a human head.

[*See also:* Leatherwork, Coptic.]

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DOMINIQUE BENAZETH

PENTAPOLIS. This area derives its name from the five Greek cities of Cyrenaica: Berenice-Eusperides/Benghazi, Arsinoe-Taucheira (Teucheria)/Tūkrah, Ptolemaïs/Tulmaythah, Apollonia/Sozousa/Marsā Sūsah, and Cyrene/'Ayn Shaḥḥāt. The history of the Pentapolis was dominated by three centers of attraction and potential peril: the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the desert hinterland populated by Berber tribes having strong relations, often peaceful but not seldom hostile, with the Greek maritime towns and the fertile, Greek-dominated plateau overlooking the coastal zone. In northern Africa the Pentapolis was the westernmost link of the Greco-Oriental world. Beyond the border at Philaenorum Arae/Ra's al-'Alī, separating Libya Pentapolis from Tripolitania, the Latin West began.

Ptolemaic Cyrenaica became a Roman province in 74 B.C. It was united, at the latest, under Augustus in 27 B.C., to Creta, with which it formed one province. During the principate the eastern part of Cyrenaica was detached and joined to the province of Egypt as the nome Marmarice (called Libya Inferior in late antiquity). As a separate province, Cyrenaica, designated as Libya Superior or Libya Pentapolis, was a creation of the reforms of DIOCLETIAN. It was separated from Creta between 293 and 305 and formed part of the *dioecesis* Oriens, whose administrative head, the *vicarius*, had his residence in Syrian Antioch on the Orontes. There are no ancient sources giving a comprehensive treatment of late antique Pentapolis. Information is relatively rare and must be assembled from various authors, except for the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, a period covered by the works of SYNESIUS, bishop of Ptolemaïs and metropolitan of Pentapolis since 412 (Lacombrade, 1951; Bregman, 1982; Roques, 1987).

Toward the end of the fourth century, Ammianus (XXII.16.4) describes Cyrene as *urbs antiqua sed deserta*, (ancient but deserted city) and Synesius draws a dramatic picture of the conditions in the contemporary Pentapolis, ruined by the incursions of the desert tribes of the Ausuriani and the Ma-

zices. Insecurity appears to prevail; the collapse of Greek city life and civilization seems to be imminent. But the notice of Ammianus is possibly anachronistic and the statements of Synesius may be overdrawn according to the rules of rhetoric and for the sake of eliciting benefits and relief from the imperial administration (Roques, 1987, pp. 27–40).

To judge from the archaeological and epigraphical evidence, political and military conditions seem to have improved after the time of Synesius. The administrative and military headquarters of Libya Pentapolis were moved, perhaps between 440 and 450 (Roques, 1987, pp. 94f., 226), from Ptolemaïs to Apollonia, which meanwhile had received the Christian name Sozousa. It served henceforth as the metropolis of the province. Notwithstanding economic difficulties and disruptions caused by tribal raids, the fabric of city life and agricultural activity in the hinterland did not crumble. But the pressures were felt, making necessary the restoration of vital defenses and city installations by JUSTINIAN (Kraeling, 1962, pp. 27f.).

The Arab conquest of the Pentapolis in 642 by the troops of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ inaugurated a new epoch. However, the Greek towns did not disappear suddenly. Ptolemaïs/Tulmaythah, for instance, continued to serve as port for the highly productive region of nearby Barqah. But gradually the old structures fell apart and the Berbers became predominant. Barqah, the urban center around which they were established, came to lend its name to the whole region formerly styled as the Pentapolis or Cyrenaica (Goodchild, 1967). That is a remarkable shift and a clear indication that the "five cities" had lost their leading role.

When, between 293 and 305, Cyrenaica became a separate province (Libya Superior, Libya Pentapolis), a *praeses* (governor) residing at Ptolemaïs (at least at the time of Synesius) took charge of the civil administration. Military authority lay with the *dux Aegypti et Thebaidos utrarumque Libyarum* (Roques, 1987, pp. 123–213, 215–95). But toward the end of the fourth century the Pentapolis, whose center was about 465 miles (745 km) from Alexandria, was separated from the Egyptian diocese and received a *dux* (general) of its own who resided in Ptolemaïs and perhaps was responsible for Libya Inferior as well. In the middle of the fifth century, the Libyan provinces together formed one military region, but now each had a *dux*. In any case, a *dux Pentapoleos* is attested in 472 (*Codex Iustinianus* XII.59.10); his post may have been created to check the incursions of the Ausuriani.

An edict of the emperor Anastasius I (491–518) provides detailed information on the office of the *dux Pentapoleos* and the military organization of his province (*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, Vol. 9 [1938], no 356; for corrections cf. Reynolds, 1978). We learn about two types of troops: the *kastresianoi* (*castrensiani*), stationed in camps (*castra*) and defending the access to Pentapolis, and the *arithmoi* (*numeri*), garrisoning the towns. Important reforms took place under Justinian (527–565). His edict XIII (538/539 or, less probably, 553–554) is especially concerned with Egypt and the Libyan provinces. Unfortunately, the regulations for Libya Superior (the Pentapolis) are missing from the extant text, but we can surmise that, as elsewhere, supreme authority in the province passed to the *dux* with a civil governor, a *praeses*, under his orders. The *dux* was directly responsible to Constantinople. We know from Procopius (*De aedificiis*, VI.2) that Justinian not only reorganized the administration but also took practical steps by building or repairing city walls (at Teucheira, Berenice, Boreion) and erecting fortifications (in the monasteries Agriolode and Dinarthison).

According to the rules established by the Council of NICAEA in 325, authority to confirm newly elected bishops lay with the bishop of the metropolis of each province (canon 4). In certain cases, however, older traditions prevailed. The Council of Nicaea thus recognized a series of exceptions to the general arrangement and enacted in canon 6 that "the ancient practice should be preserved in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, such that the Alexandrian bishop may have control of all of these, since this is also the custom for the bishop of Rome." This traditional authority of the Alexandrian bishop in ecclesiastical matters of the Pentapolis is put in evidence by the rulings of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (246–264), in the controversy with SABELLIANISM, which was particularly strong in Cyrenaica. In the fourth century, the Christian communities of that region were torn by the conflicts between orthodoxy and ARIANISM. According to the church historian Philostorgius (I.8.a; ed. J. Bidez, p. 9), five bishops of the Pentapolis (of Boreion, Berenice, Teucheira, Barqah, and Ptolemaïs) sided with Arius. Around 360, Arianism was still a dominant force in the Pentapolis. But toward the end of ATHANASIUS' life (r. 326–373) and under the rule of the emperor Theodosius (379–395), orthodoxy, which was strongly defended both by the patriarch in Alexandria and by the imperial court in Constantinople, triumphed over its "heretical" adversaries, and paganism, in decline since the beginning of the century, virtually disappeared.

Synesius, metropolitan since 412 (residing in Ptolemaïs), draws a vivid picture of the strength of Christian life in contemporary Pentapolis. The numerous "village" bishoprics (besides those in the "five cities") attest the spread of Christian communities in the hinterland of Cyrenaica: Boreion, Barqah, Dysthis, Erythron, Limnias, Olbia, Palaibiska, Theodorias (following the list of Roques, 1987, p. 340), to which Tesila may be added. Later on, monophysitism prevailed in Egypt and seems also to have been dominant in the Pentapolis. This dissent with Constantinopolitan orthodoxy ought to have facilitated the conquest of the Pentapolis by the troops of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in 642 (Goodchild, 1967). Teucheira/Tūkrah was the last Byzantine stronghold to succumb when ʿAmr launched a second attack in 644–645 with the help of the naval commander Sanutius, an Egyptian Christian in the service of the Arab cause.

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HEINZ HEINEN

PENTATEUCH. *See* Old Testament, Arabic Versions of the.

PENTECOST. *See* Feasts, Major.

PEOPLE'S PARTY. *See* Political Parties.

PERSECUTIONS. The persecution of Christians in Egypt has to be considered in connection with the religious policy and the ruler cult of the Roman emperors. Right from the start the Christians, being the followers of what was largely perceived as a Jewish sectarian executed by order of a Roman government representative, looked suspicious to both Romans and orthodox Jews (Vittinghoff, 1984). Notwithstanding their efforts to present themselves as loyal subjects of the Roman state, Christians had been occasionally persecuted since the time of Nero (A.D. 64). But only in the third century did large-scale persecutions become a feature of Roman religious policy. They generally aimed at destroying Christian belief and church organization rather than the Christians themselves (if the latter could be avoided). State authorities would try to bring Christians to apostasy and would spare their lives when the defendants sacrificed to the gods of the empire as a gesture of respect to the person of the emperor. State pressure to secure political loyalty through applying the instrument of the ruler cult was often successful, and thus created for the church the problem of how to deal later on with those *lapsi* and apostates wishing to return to the community of the Christian church.

The dissensions on disciplinary measures within the Christian communities led in some cases to serious and long-lasting schisms such as the MELITIAN SCHISM in Egypt, and that of the Donatists in the Latin-speaking provinces of northern Africa. On the other hand, the extraordinary endurance of Christian confessors facing torture and death made a deep impression not only on believers but also on the noncommitted and the persecutors. The literary genre of the *Acta martyrum* and the *Passio* kept alive and enhanced the memory of the confrontation between Christian confessor and pagan judge, as well as the ordeals of the Christians sentenced, after torture, to the mines or to death (Frend, 1965; Musurillo, 1972). The tombs of the martyrs gave rise to memorial buildings and churches outside the city walls, thereby making a strong impact on the urban features of cities like Rome, Alexandria

(Boukolia), and Carthage, and even leading to the development of new centers complete with churches, city dwellings, and accommodations for pilgrims, as was the case at Karm Abū Mena (Krause, 1978).

Ruler Cult and Persecutions of Christians in Egypt

As the emperors pursued a policy of growing autocracy and religious exaltation of their majesty, Christianity in Egypt took root first in Alexandria, home to a large Jewish community, and later in the Egyptian *chora* (rural area). There it made converts both in the Greek-speaking "towns" (e.g., the nome capitals) and in the traditional Egyptian milieu. But the spread of the new belief met with growing resistance, because the Christians, being fiercely monotheistic and rejecting any form of compromise with pagan polytheism, secluded themselves from all public activities involving sacrifice to pagan gods and Roman emperors. This must have been particularly resented in Alexandria, being as it were (and as Philo *Legatio ad Gaium* 338 states) a real paradigm of ruler cult. The Christians practiced a highly secretive religious life, which gave rise to suspicions that they were culpable of ritual murder and incestuous relations.

While there had already been sporadic actions against Christians in Rome and the provinces (e.g., under Nero, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius), we learn for the first time of persecutions in Egypt under the emperor Septimius Severus in 202. Origen's father, Leonides, was one of the victims. The sojourn of Severus in the East (200 in Egypt) and his special veneration for Serapis may have contributed to this outbreak of anti-Christian feeling, but "the story in the Augustan History that he issued an edict prohibiting the Jews to proselytize and the Christians to make converts is a piece of fiction" (Birley, 1971, p. 209, referring to *Scriptores historiae Augustae, vita Severi,* 17.1).

Still wider ranging actions against Christians followed under Decius (249–251). First measures had driven Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, into flight and hiding. In 250, Decius issued a universal order to sacrifice to the gods, to pour a libation, and to taste sacrificial meat. The penalty for refusal was imprisonment, torture, and death. Those who complied received certificates for the accomplishment of the sacrifices (*libelli,* well known from Egypt, especially from the Fayyūm). In the face of coercion, many capitulated, among them leaders of the church. But others withstood and endured. The names of seventeen Egyptian martyrs are on record (Frend, 1965, p. 411). After the short reign of Decius and a pause of a few years, persecutions resumed in 257 under Valerianus (253–260). Dionysius and members of the Alexandrian clergy were deported to Libya. Others, including Christian laymen, suffered worse fates. But these actions came to a halt in 260, when Valerianus was defeated and captured by the Sassanids of Persia. His son and successor, Gallienus, permitted Christianity to survive unmolested, a policy largely followed until the end of the third century.

During this period, the Egyptian national religion began to decline, the rural areas of the country turning progressively to Christianity but also witnessing the advance of Manichaeism, especially in Upper Egypt. This was also the period that saw the rise of Coptic and the decline of Greek in the *chora.* However, with the sources at our disposal, we are not able to give a clear picture of the advance of Christianity in the Egyptian hinterland. It has been argued in a forceful and brilliant manner that by 330 half of the Egyptian population had joined the Christian religion and that by the end of the fourth century, "the figure must have been at least ninety percent" (Bagnall, 1982, p. 123). E. Wipszycka (1986), however, has challenged that view with some good arguments. But nobody has ever contested that at least a small percentage of pagans survived into the fifth century. In fact, we hear of monks still fighting paganism in the *chora* in that century.

Things changed again when Diocletian (284–305) undertook the ideological and political restructuring of the Roman empire. For the sake of discipline and the strengthening of the majority, the emperor and his colleagues in the tetrarchy took measures against Manichaeism (297) and against some recalcitrant Christians in the army. But the martyrdom that the so-called Theban Legion is said to have suffered on Maximian's orders when about to begin operations against the Bagauds of Gaul, in 286 most probably is not historical, since the specifics of the story cannot confirm the participation of a legionary force from the Thebaid (van Berchem, 1956; Dupraz, 1961).

The tradition regarding Saint Menas, a Roman soldier first, then a hermit in Asia Minor, and finally a martyr there in the time of Diocletian, also is largely legendary. His body is believed to have been brought to Egypt and have come to rest in what was later called Karm Abū Mena. That place be-

came a famous religious center for several centuries, until the remains of Saint Menas were transferred to Cairo.

The prelude to the Great Persecution began with the triumph of Caesar Galerius over the Persians in 297. His pressure, more than anything else, seems to have determined Diocletian to take action, first on 23 February 303, the pagan feast of the Terminalia. In a crescendo of edicts from 24 February 303 to the fourth edict in January/February 304, ever growing repression was applied to the Christians, leaders and flock alike. In Egypt it was the prefect Clodius Culcianus (301–307) who was responsible for the application of the tetrarchic edicts. The persecution left such a mark on Egyptian Christians that in their time reckoning they used the Era of the Martyrs, starting with the accession of Diocletian to the throne in 284. The *Acta* of Phileas, bishop of Tmuis, and his *Letter* refer to Culcianus' period of office, giving a vivid description of the sufferings of the martyrs at Alexandria (Musurillo, 1972, pp. xlvi–xlviii, 320–53). Phileas was executed probably on 4 February 307.

Neither the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305 nor Galerius' edict of toleration on 30 April 311 brought lasting relief for the Christians in Egypt. Maximinus Daia (caesar, 305–310; augustus, 310–313) continued the persecution until Constantine and Licinius met at Milan in 313 and pronounced themselves in favor of the toleration and restoration of the Christian church. Only with Maximinus' defeat at the hands of Licinius in 313 did the Great Persecution finally come to a halt. In Egypt, Sossianus Hierocles, prefect in 310/311 (Barnes, 1982, p. 150) is on record as a particularly active persecutor. During his term of office, PETER I, bishop of Alexandria, was executed (25 November 311), and in the Thebaid, Christian eagerness for martyrdom led to fierce antagonism and persecution, of which the bishop and church historian Eusebius gives a chilling report (*Historia ecclesiastica* 8.9). We do not have any reliable data on the number of victims. Frend (1965, p. 537) estimates the number of martyrs in the entire East at between 2,500 and 3,000 in the period of the Great Persecution (303–313).

In 322–323, Licinius, preparing for his struggle with Constantine, resumed the persecution of Christians, but without much success, since he was defeated by 324. Constantine's victory inaugurated for the whole Roman Empire a new epoch, the "Peace of the Church," only briefly interrupted by the countermeasures of JULIAN THE APOSTATE (361–363). But peace from persecution did not mean peace within the church. The persecutions left a quite varied heritage: on the one side, the memory of the martyrs, on the other, a divided community rife with disciplinary, doctrinal, and personal conflicts.

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HEINZ HEINEN

PERSIANS IN EGYPT (619–629). The last great clash between the Eastern Roman empire and the Sassanid empire (603–628), begun by Chosroes II Parvēz (590–628) against Phocas (602–610) and continued against Heraclius (610–641), at first brought brilliant successes to the Sassanids. The culmination was the conquest of Egypt with its Byzantine administrative districts: Aegyptos, Augustamnikē, Arkadia, and the Thebaid. Never before had the Sassanids, as heirs of Achaemenid rule, been so close to emulating their great ancestors in territorial expansion.

But thrust was followed by counterthrust. After intensive military preparations, Heraclius launched a counteroffensive in 622 that the Sassanids, weakened by years of offensive campaigns, could not resist for long. The fall of Chosroes II and a peace treaty dictated by the conquerors brought the war to an end. The decisive event that had ensured the success of the Persians was the capture of Alexandria. A Syrian chronicle assigns it to June 619 (*Chronica minora*, II, ed. Brooks, p. 146, ll. 25–27). This date agrees with the evidence of a Greek papyrus document from Oxyrhynchus that, by the statement of the Byzantine imperial year, points to 5 July 619 as a terminus post quem for the arrival of the Persians there (*Papyri Iandanae* 3.49). The conquest of Alexandria or those of Alexandria and the whole chora are dated too early in the following sources: al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, ser. 1, p. 1002, ll. 9–12; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, Vol. 1, p. 301, ll. 8–11; Agapius, *Historia universalis*, ed. Cheikho, p. 331, ll. 16–17; Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, Vol. 4, p. 404, center col., ll. 13–19; Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, p. 94, ll. 25–27.

The conquest of Alexandria was preceded by military ventures into Lower Egypt that aimed at securing areas of strategic importance. Nikiou and Babylon were conquered (Theodorus of Paphos, ed. van den Ven, 1953, p. 81, ll. 10–14; cf. p. 103*). The conquest also acted as a deterrent and served to acquire booty. The beginning of these actions should be placed probably in 619 or even 618. Already in Pēlusion (Arabic al-Frm'; see Amélineau, 1893, pp. 317–18), the "key to Egypt," churches and monasteries had been destroyed by the invading Persians (*Churches* . . . 1895, p. 71, l. 22–p. 72, l. 4). Not far from Alexandria, Sassanid troops attacked a group of prosperous monasteries, murdered the monks (save a few who could save themselves), carried off goods and chattels as spoil, and reduced the monastic buildings to rubble and ashes. Other sites in the Delta region were laid waste as the Persian conquerors plundered, destroyed, and murdered (Sāwīrus, 2. 485–87). The "monastery of Canopus" (Canopus is the conjecture of Evetts) escaped only because of its special location.

Alexandria was taken by treachery. A Christian Arab in the city who came from the Sassanid-controlled northeast coast of Arabia advised the Persians, who were encamped to the west, in front of the city, to resort to a ruse. The conquerors followed his advice. Dressed as native fishermen, a few Persians made their way at dawn from the great harbor on the canal that flowed through the eastern section of the city and so gained entry. They disembarked and hastened along the main street, which ran from east to west, and took the sentries at the west gate of the city by surprise. Thus the Sassanids became masters of the city. The booty was immense, particularly as great numbers of ships laden with treasure belonging to the church and to the city dignitaries had set off in flight, only to be blown back by an unfavorable wind. Along with the keys of the city, the treasure was sent to Yazdēn, the minister of finance responsible for such matters, and through him to the king of kings.

The Persian army commander (his name unknown) triumphantly erected a palace, which was

still standing in the time of SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA' (the tenth century). The memory of its origin was kept strikingly alive by the Alexandrians, who called it Qaṣr Fārisī (Persian Castle). To secure what had been won, but even more to prevent at the outset any uprising by the Alexandrians, the army commander resorted to brutal methods. Under the proclamation of an allocation of money, he contrived to assemble in front of the city every man between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, in order that their names might be recorded. When they were all present, they were surrounded by Persian soldiers and massacred.

Among the notable personalities who managed to flee Alexandria were the two most important representatives of the emperor: the *praefectus augustalis* and *dux*, Nicetas, the civil and military head of the administrative district of Aegyptos, and the acting patriarch of the Chalcedonian church of Egypt, John III Eleēmōn, who had been in office since 610. Both fled by boat and arrived in Rhodes. From there John went to Cyprus and died in his native city, Amathus, on 11 November 619. (Leontios of Neapolis, ed. Festugière, p. 402, l. 22–p. 405, l. 14; ed. Gelzer, p. 90, l. 25–p. 103, l. 7; for the date of death see Grumel, 1958, p. 443).

After the capture of Alexandria the Sassanids advanced farther into the country. Egypt was taken possession of by the Persians as far as the southern border of the Thebaid, which separated Byzantine territory from the most northerly of the three Nubian kingdoms. They may have gone beyond these boundaries. A terminus ante quem for the arrival of the Persian troops in the region of Oxyrhynchus is provided by a Greek papyrus document from that site. Entries on supplies "on account of the Persians" in March/April 621 indicate that at this time Persian rule can be considered established (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* Vol. 16. 1921).

As the Persians advanced, the bloody actions that demonstrated their power continued, particularly against prosperous monasteries. Utilizing information he had received in Nikiou that familiarized him with certain localities, the army commander ordered his Sassanid troops to surround an eremite settlement protected by fortified buildings and to murder all the monks attached to it. The sorrow of a particular family is brought to light by a Greek papyrus. The father of a family who had fled before the Persians to Arsinoë (Krokodilōnpolis) in the Fayyūm writes to his master that the Persians had abducted him from his home, subjected him to torture that rendered him unconscious, and in his defenseless condition had robbed him of his children. He had escaped only by the skin of his teeth (*Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen,* Vol. 4, pp. 99–105).

The news of what the Sassanid army was perpetrating sped ahead of it. Impressed by what he had heard, PISENTIUS, bishop of Coptos, resolved not to await the arrival of the conquerors. With his disciple (and biographer) John he abandoned his bishop's seat, sought refuge in Djeme, and later joined the community of Epiphanius in western Thebes. A Coptic papyrus letter from the monastery of Epiphanius in western Thebes, which expressly names the Persians, was written by a woman to a "revered but unnamed personage." She asked for "instruction in the matter of the Persians, for they will be coming south" (Crum in Winlock, 1926, Vol. 2, no. 433).

The completed occupation of Thebes (Nē) is presupposed in another Coptic letter written on a potsherd from the monastery of Epiphanius (Crum in Winlock, no. 324). The writer of this letter refers to someone called "(the) Persian that is in Nē," presumably "the chief official installed by the Persians at Thebes." One can read of the sorrow of a widow from the area of Djeme in a Coptic letter written on a fragment of sandstone, which the widow had directed to Pisentius, bishop of Hermonthis. The Persians had murdered her son; they had robbed her of well-nigh all her livestock. Now she is unable to pay her taxes, and as a result is in serious danger of being evicted from her home. She earnestly beseeches the bishop to help her (Drescher, 1946). In a Coptic papyrus from the Hermopolite several villagers addressed their lord, whose name is obviously Persian, promising to deliver a fixed quantity of flax after fourteen days and swearing to fulfill their promise "by God and the well-being of the king of kings." The date corresponds to 8 November 625. A Coptic letter on a potsherd from Thebes shows that a man and his family were fleeing before the Persians.

There are more witnesses of the same kind. A Greek papyrus document from a later period concerns the arrival of the Persians in Apollonopolis Magalē, Idfū. The numerous Middle Persian papyrus documents from Egypt, by their language and script, as well as their use of the Zoroastrian calendar, testify to the presence of Persian occupying forces. One of these Middle Persian texts enumerates the places that had Persian military installa-

tions (and presumably were army recruitment centers): Elephantine, Hērakleia, Oxyrhynchus, Kynōn, Theodosiopolis, Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, Kossōn, Lykos, Diospolis, and Maximianopolis.

It is not clear how the affairs of the Coptic church were conducted during the Persian incursion and in the period of occupation. It is reported of the Coptic patriarch Andronicus that by the time he died (626), he had experienced and witnessed great suffering as a result of the Persian invasion. His successor was Benjamin I, whose period of office lasted throughout the Persian occupation and extended well beyond it (Sāwīrus, 2. 486–487).

The conquerors evidently meddled in the administrative affairs of the Coptic church. The vacant bishopric of Latopolis (Isnā) was taken over by the bishop of Hermonthis on the order of the Coptic patriarch, because the Persians did not permit the ordination of new bishops. It appears that after the initial phase of the country's conquest and possession, which was characterized by the lust for spoils as well as the endeavor to counter violently the forces of resistance, the Sassanids changed their policy to one of moderation and diplomacy, and to a certain extent arrived at a working arrangement with the population and the established customs of the land. One of the conditions of the peace treaty concluded by the victorious Heraclius with Chosroes' successor, Kavād II Šērōē, was the withdrawal of the Persian occupation forces from Egypt. Kavād's period of reign was 25 February 628–September 628. The Persian troops left Alexandria probably in June 629. After more than a decade of the presence of Persian troops, Egypt once more became part of the Eastern Roman empire.

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RUTH ALTHEIM-STIEHL

PERSONAL STATUS COURTS. *See* Personal Status Law.

PERSONAL STATUS LAW. The term "personal status" was adopted during the period of Egyptian legal reform in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to categorize certain laws governing the personal, not property, matters of individuals in accordance with their own respective religions. This concept became an established part of Egyptian legislation.

Historical Background

The earliest official recognition by the state of the right of Christians to invoke the provisions of their faith was in 318, when Emperor Constantine promulgated a decree whereby Christians were allowed to resort to ecclesiastical courts to settle their personal disputes in accordance with canon law rather than Roman law.

Following the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT in 641, the judicial powers of Christian authorities over their subjects were maintained in all personal matters except those related to inheritance. Ḥanafite Muslim theologians regarded marriage as a purely religious issue and left it to the jurisprudence of Dhimmis, the non-Muslim communities tolerated within Islam.

Similarly, with the Ottoman conquest of 1517, the religious aspect of personal status law was preserved. It further acquired universal recognition when Constantinople issued *al-Khaṭṭ al-Hamayūnī* (the imperial decree) of 1856, which was appended to the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Crimean War. Article 9 of this treaty confirmed the jurisdiction of patriarchs and spiritual leaders over their own subjects in all cases of personal status.

After World War I the status quo was maintained. When religious courts were abolished in 1955, religious legislation relating to non-Muslim personal status was not affected. This official recognition was confirmed in 1980 when, in the course of amending Article 2 of the Egyptian Constitution on the stipulation that Islamic law should be the principal source of legislation, a National Assembly commission stressed that in certain matters of personal status, non-Muslims should abide by the provisions of their own religious affiliation's jurisdiction.

However, the scope of personal status law suffered certain restrictions. Whereas it had formerly embraced all issues relevant to marriage, divorce, separation, alimony, inheritance, financial rights, guardianship, tutelage, and custody of children, it now became restricted to matters of betrothal, marriage, and the dissolution of marriage through divorce or separation. The provisions of personal status law became applicable only in cases where the litigants were of the same faith and denomination. Thus, in the event of either spouse being converted to Islam, Islamic law has to be enforced. This undermines the principle of the sanctity of Christian marriage, which is of supreme importance to the Coptic church.

Personal Status Courts

The concept of the participation of laymen with the clergy in conducting church affairs is based upon the teachings of the apostles: "Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word" (Acts 6:3–4).

The Imperial Decree recommended that "the administration of community interests of Christians and other non-Muslim subjects be referred to councils formed of elected monks [i.e., clergy] and laymen." The said decree also provided that private suits, such as those relating to inheritance, between Christians and other non-Muslim subjects be referred to the patriarch or prelates and the councils if the parties concerned so desired.

The first Coptic COMMUNITY COUNCIL was accordingly formed in February 1874 by khedivial decree and authorized to consider personal status cases. Its bylaws were amended in 1883 and in 1927. They were in force until its legal jurisdiction was abolished by law number 462 of 1955 and transferred to the civil courts. The bylaws provided for the establishment of one or two courts formed of the president (in this case, the patriarch) or the vice-president, and five members, no less than four of

whom were to be elected. Each court had the appellate jurisdiction to decide divorce cases previously considered by the provincial laity councils, even if their judgments were not appealed, validation by the Community Council being essential for them to take force (Article 8 of the bylaws). The Imperial Decree stipulated the establishment of provincial community councils in every province, to be presided over by the metropolitan and to consist of five members.

The personal status courts were accordingly courts that issued judicial, not administrative, decisions. Enforcement of their judgments was carried out, as in the case of other courts, through official administrative channels.

As of January 1956, all personal status cases, of Muslims and non-Muslims, were referred to civil courts: summary, first-instance, and appellate courts. The Court of Cassation, also, has a division for personal status cases. In view of the fact that such cases affect the very core of society, approval by the attorney general has been made optional for summary courts, but mandatory for higher courts, before any judgment passed may become valid.

Coptic Family Law

The sources of Coptic family law are the Old and New Testaments, the writings of the church fathers, and the resolutions agreed to by various ecumenical, regional, and local councils. The authority of the church rests upon Christ's words to his apostles: "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Mt. 18:18). Patriarch CYRIL IBN LAQLAQ III (d. 1234) treated this verse as the basis of the laws he established for the church. He also entrusted a Coptic scholar, al-ṢAFĪ IBN AL-'ASSĀL, with the task of compiling a compendium of church laws, texts, and edicts.

In 1896, in reply to an inquiry by the Egyptian Ministry of Justice, Hegumenos JIRJIS PHĪLŪTĀWUS 'AWAḌ of the Church of Saint Mark in Cairo produced *Al-Khulāṣah al-Qānūniyyah fī al-Aḥwāl al-Shakhṣiyyah* (the Legal Compendium of Personal Status), which was adopted by the Community Council committee.

In 1938 the Community Council approved a codification of personal status. When personal status courts were abolished in 1955, the Community Council and the Holy Synod approved a draft law, but it was not officially adopted. In 1962, Pope CYRIL VI submitted to the minister of justice a memorandum incorporating the church views on the subject. He demanded a stipulation in the personal status law for Christian Egyptians that no Christian marriage shall be attested by the notary public without prior compliance with religious requirements. More recently Pope SHENOUDA III published *Sharī'at al-Zawjah al-Waḥīdah* (The Religious Law of Monogamy).

The Catholic Coptic Community follows the provisions of the encyclical issued by Pope Pius XII in 1949 under the name *The Marriage Sacrament in the Eastern Church*.

As to the Evangelical community, it applies the law of personal status approved in 1902.

A unified draft law for personal status applying to all Christian Egyptians has been approved by the council of each community. But it is still under consideration by the Egyptian authorities.

Marriage

Article 3 of law number 629 of the year 1955 gives Coptic clergymen the official capacity of mandatory notaries where the married people are of the same faith and denomination (i.e., Coptic Orthodox). Otherwise, marriages must be registered at the Public Notary Office.

A husband is required to provide a place of dwelling where he and his wife can live together. Coptic canon law does not allow a husband to force his wife to live with him. In Islamic marriages, too, a wife can no longer be coerced to live with her husband (law number 44 of 1979).

The marriage partners are instructed to live together in love, fidelity, and mutual respect. A husband is responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of his wife, and while financial independence of both husband and wife of sufficient means is safeguarded, a wife may be enjoined to maintain an impoverished husband if she can afford to do so.

Marriage confers legal rights upon the offspring, even those born illegitimately but who become legitimate upon the marriage of their parents. Adoption, contrary to Islamic legal practices, is recognized by Coptic canon law.

According to the nineteenth-century personal status compendium of Phīlūtāwus 'Awaḍ, a Coptic marriage can be dissolved for one of two reasons: adultery, and actual or virtual death. By virtual death was meant conversion to another religion

(not to another denomination), exile for life, life imprisonment, a death sentence, or willful insubordination.

The 1938 and 1955 codes allowed the following as justification for divorce: adultery; relinquishment of the Christian religion; unaccountable five-year absence of either spouse; a sentence of no less than seven years' imprisonment or hard labor; a husband's impotence or a spouse's insanity; and a criminal attempt of either spouse.

The 1938 code adds incorrigible behavior of either spouse, incompatibility, a three-year period of separation, and the embracing of monastic vows by either spouse. In 1945, Pope MACARIUS III denounced this liberal attitude on the part of the Community Council in matters of divorce, and then the Holy Synod restricted divorce for adultery only "in accordance with the Gospels." This attitude of the church was confirmed by Pope CYRIL VI in 1962 and by Pope Shenouda III on 18 November 1971, five days after his enthronement. A month later he issued a papal decree prohibiting the remarriage of a woman who had been divorced for adultery. The Unified Draft Law of Egyptian Christian Communities (Articles 128–130) adopted this view.

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ISKANDAR GHATTAS

PETER I, seventeenth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (300–311). Peter succeeded THEONAS (282–300) and, according to tradition, he was the last or the "seal" of the martyrs. The accounts of his turbulent and tragic archiepiscopate comprise a fascinating and important source for early Church history. Peter not only defended the orthodox faith against schism but also opposed the edicts of the emperors DIOCLETIAN and Maximin Daia proscribing Christian services, and further expounded upon his theological position while in prison awaiting execution. MELITIUS, bishop of Lycopolis (Asyūṭ), figures prominently in the many ancient references to Peter. As an advocate of leniency and terms of penance for those Christians who paid homage to the pagan gods after Diocletian's edict of 303 (the *lapsi*), Peter ran afoul of the more stringent Melitius, who favored excluding them from communion with the church. Peter went into hiding to escape persecution, but finally came to trial and was executed on 25 November 311, during the reign of Maximin Daia.

Almost nothing is known of Peter's early life, including his date of birth, but it is probable that he was from Alexandria. Peter's life, including the account of his incarceration and his execution, a section known as the *Passio,* is the subject of an Encomium attributed to ALEXANDER (312–326), his second successor. The Encomium, highly hagiographical and legendary in nature, survives in Sahidic (Orlandi, 1970, pp. 247–62), in Bohairic (Hyvernat, 1882; Vivian, 1988, pp. 78–84), and in a considerably different Arabic version written by the tenth-century Coptic bishop of al-Ashmūnayn, SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA' (*History of the Patriarchs,* Vol. 2). Various other texts in several languages have more detailed accounts of the *Passio* (Telfer, 1952; Spanel, 1979–1982, pp. 97–99; Haile, 1980).

The Bohairic version of the Encomium is the most informative. Several blatantly contrived statements render its historical value suspect; nonetheless, it remains the sole source of Peter's childhood and early career. It begins with Alexander's comparison of Peter's virtues to those of John the Baptist, Aaron, the apostles Peter and Paul, and others, and goes on to praise Peter as "the one who closed the mouth of the heretics" (Hyvernat, 1882, pp. 247–48). Peter was allegedly the son of Theodosius, first presbyter of Alexandria, and Sophia. Through the intervention of saints Peter and Paul, the infant Peter was born to the barren Sophia and was named after the first apostle by the archbishop, who predicted that he would be a "mighty foundation of the orthodox faith and a protector for all Christians," thus recalling the Lord's pun on the apostle Peter's name (Mt. 16:18; Jn. 1:42). The narrative continues with the education of the young Peter in

Alexandria under the tutelage of the archbishop. His first important encounter ostensibly came when he was sent by the patriarch to repulse the heretic Sabellius, who, according to Alexander, was "a transgressor who confined the Deity to a single hypostasis and to a single person" (Hyvernat, 1882, pp. 248–53). This anachronistic passage exemplifies the Encomium's limited value as a historical document. Sabellius was active in the mid-third century, considerably before Peter's time.

In a fragment of the Sahidic Encomium (Orlandi, 1970, p. 163; Spanel, 1979–1982, pp. 88–90), Peter's promotion to the rank of presbyter came about as a result of his successful contending with the Sophist "philosopher" Diogenes. On his deathbed, Theonas urged the assembled clergy and populace to accept Peter as his successor, a selection, he said, that was ordained by God Himself in a dream (Hyvernat, 1882, pp. 255–57). Although these accounts are probably fanciful, church tradition does indeed connect Peter very closely with Theonas, who is often referred to as Peter's "father" and as "the one who raised him." In the Arabic version, the assembled presbyters approved the choice by a laying on of hands (*History of the Patriarchs*, Vol. 2, p. 383). This passage has been cited as evidence for papal election by the presbyters of Alexandria up to the election of Alexander, whom the bishops chose (Telfer, 1949; Kemp, 1955, pp. 133, 138–40; Stevenson, 1957, pp. 378–79).

Almost from the beginning of his office, Peter was beset with difficulties. In 303, Diocletian issued his first edict of persecution, which contained orders for destruction of churches and the scriptures. Not long thereafter, the heads of the churches were imprisoned and made to sacrifice at risk of torture. The fourth edict, issued by Galerius in 304, required all Christians to pay homage to the pagan gods, failure to comply being punished by death. A passage of highly questionable historicity in the Bohairic Encomium has a confrontation between Peter and the heretic ARIUS, who claimed that the Son was inferior to the Father. According to Arius, Christ was created by God and therefore was not consubstantial with Him (Hyvernat, 1882, pp. 260–61). Although the Encomium states explicitly that Peter excommunicated Arius, no independent and unequivocal confirmation exists for a meeting between the two, much less the excommunication. Arius was surely a nuisance only after Peter's death, during the archiepiscopates of ACHILLAS and ALEXANDER I (Bell, 1924; Gregg and Groh, 1981).

What Peter most certainly faced was the Melitian schism. Melitius, bishop of Lycopolis, refused to accept Peter's schedule for the readmission of the *lapsi* as promulgated in the *Canonical Letter* issued in the third year and after the fourth Easter since Diocletian's edict. This remarkable document, extant in Greek (PG 18, pp. 467–508) and in two Syriac fragments (Schwartz, 1904, pp. 164–87; Lagarde, 1856, pp. 46–54, 63–73, 99–117), is a splendid witness to Peter's humanity. Peter set the following terms for the various types of Christians who had deferred to Diocletian's order (Vivian, 1988, pp. 185–92):

1. Those who lapsed after incarceration and torture were given forty days' penance because "they have not come to their present condition by choice, but because they were betrayed by weakness of the flesh, and . . . some of them now show on their bodies the marks of Jesus."
2. Those who lapsed after incarceration but were not tortured had to spend one more year in atonement. "This time of penance suffices because, actually, they too gave themselves to be punished for the name of Christ, even if they did have in prison the great benefit of aid and comfort from their brothers."
3. Those who lapsed but were neither incarcerated nor tortured and then repented also had to spend a year in penance; thereafter, readmission would be discussed.
4. Those who lapsed and had not repented were banished. "What is crooked cannot be adorned, and what is lacking cannot be numbered."
5. Those who lied or ignored services to escape persecution or sent non-Christians to pay homage instead had to spend six months in penance.
6. Those who were slaves and made to sacrifice had to spend a year in penance.
7. Those who were free and forced Christian slaves to sacrifice in their place had to spend three more years in atonement under scrutiny.
8. Those who lapsed after arrest and then repented and were tortured were to be received immediately.
9. Those who neither hid (nor confessed) were to enjoy immediate readmission.
10. Those clergymen who lapsed and then repented were to be kept from the priesthood because they were the most shameful of all. They had showed themselves to be "like the one who laid the foundation and was not able to finish it." Nonetheless, they were to be readmitted to the

communion of the church so that they would have no excuse for "violent departure" nor reason "to slacken once more from the faith."

11. Those who lapsed during incarceration or punishment for their sympathy with the martyrs were to be readmitted, although no schedule was set.
12. Those who avoided persecution by payment incurred no punishment.
13. Those who "gave up everything for the safety of their lives and withdrew, even if others were detained because of them," also incurred no punishment.
14. Those who lapsed only after severe torture "and no longer had the strength to speak or even to utter a sound or to make any movement of resistance" were to be received immediately.
15. The fourth and sixth days of the week were set as times of fasting.

Peter's charity is perhaps best illustrated by a statement in the eleventh canon: "we are mindful of the many miseries and troubles they have undergone in the name of Christ; not only have they repented, but they also mourn for what they did when they were betrayed by the weakness and mortality of the flesh. Furthermore, they testify that they, as it were, have been disenfranchised from the faith. Let us pray with them and plead together for their reconciliation and for other proper things, through Him who is our Advocate with the Father." The *Canonical Letter* raises the question whether a penitential system such as that known to Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus and Saint Basil existed in Alexandria in Peter's day (PG 10, p. 1048; Basil, *Epistle* 199).

Although one can trace the slow development of a penitential system in the letters of saints Cyprian and Dionysius and through the canons of the pre-Nicene councils of Elvira and Ancyra, it is not clear that Peter knew of such a system. ORIGEN (*Homily on Leviticus* and *Numbers*) knew of sacerdotal absolution and penance, which shows that the institution of penance at Alexandria goes back to the early second century. Peter, along with Cyprian and Dionysius, shows the bishops' insistence on episcopal authority. All three insisted that only the bishop (and not the "confessors," those who had confessed the faith under persecution) had the right to forgive sins and to set terms of penance.

When Peter fled to escape persecution, Melitius went to Alexandria and usurped his office. Upon his return, Peter excommunicated Melitius, who, nonetheless, plagued the Alexandrian church for years to come (Hyvernat, 1882, p. 260; Bell, 1924, pp. 38–99; Stevenson, 1957, pp. 379–81, 385–86; Barnard, 1973). Shortly thereafter, Peter was apprehended and sentenced to death.

The different versions of the *Passio* vary in their accounts of Peter's execution (Telfer, 1949). In the "short" Latin version by F. Laurentius Surius, Peter is beheaded in his cell. In another "short" version contained in the Arabic translation, Peter is decapitated in the street outside the prison. The Arabic edition of the *Passio* also contains the single extant "long" version, in which Peter is taken from his cell, allowed to pray at Saint Mark's tomb, and then executed.

One partially published collection of letters in Sahidic (Orlandi, 1975) and two unpublished homilies in Sahidic and Bohairic have been attributed to Peter. Fragments of works perhaps written by Peter and others about him are numerous (Orlandi, 1970, pp. 155–56; Orlandi, 1975, p. 129). In addition to his *Canonical Letter*, several other excerpts of Greek translations of works attributed to Peter survive (PG 18, pp. 509–522). Although the authenticity of these writings has been questioned, some may be genuine, and the existence of additional texts in Greek, Latin, Coptic, and other languages remains possible. It is probable that most of the fragments come from one of two works by Peter, *On the Godhead* and *On the Soul and the Body*. Most of these fragments were preserved by later anti-Origenists (among them the emperor JUSTINIAN), which has led most scholars to conclude that Peter was also an anti-Origenist. This is difficult to prove, but at least Peter appears to have been correcting certain Origenist teachings, such as that of the preexistence of the soul.

All the letters were written during Peter's archiepiscopate. The second and third have special value because they indicate a correspondence with Diocletian over the edicts. Unfortunately, these letters are quite fragmentary. A broken passage in the Sahidic translation of Alexander's Encomium on Peter may derive from these letters. Neither the authenticity nor the historicity of these letters has been established.

One of Peter's unpublished homilies, preserved only in the Sahidic text of the manuscript (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 611), concerns the baptism of Jesus, that is, it is an epiphany homily. The other, a long work in Sahidic and Bohairic editions and in several Sahidic fragments, is gener-

ally known as the *Encomium on the Archangel Michael,* although the passages pertaining to the namesake are not in a majority and may be interpolations. The homily is in all likelihood an address on riches, with the Michael material making up an Encomium that was added later. This homily addresses three topics: teaching, resurrection, and the archangel. The work is well crafted; Peter moves smoothly from one subject to the next. It is not a mere florilegium of miscellaneous sermonettes. If the autobiographical material goes back to Peter, the original homily was written during his period of hiding. "I am hidden [on account of] the severity of the persecution of the emperors who have [risen] against the church" (§9). This passage recalls the thirteenth canon, in which Peter sets no punishment for those who fled the persecutions.

Several other passages in the homily corroborate the charitable spirit manifest in the *Canonical Letter.* Peter tempers his stern admonitions with hopes for the welfare of his congregation. In the introduction, he addresses a theme very much on his mind, the absolution of the sins of the *lapsi:* "Correct [the sinner], rebuke [him], [that] he might be reproved in [the presence] of everyone and be saved" (§3); "Comfort him [the sinner who despairs of forgiveness], saying, 'There is repentance.' Speak to him of the oath that the Lord swore to Ezekiel the prophet, 'I have sworn . . . ,' says the Lord Almighty, 'that I do not wish the death of the sinner as [much as I wish] him to turn away from his evil way and live'" (§4). After rebuking wealthy persons and encouraging them toward charity, he writes, "I tell you these things [because] I want . . . your sweet smell to travel far on account of your good works" (§47).

Two fine statements succinctly summarize Peter's humility and pragmatism: "there is a greater [responsibility] for the one who teaches than [for] the one who learns" (§12) and "I will not teach anyone 'Have mercy on the one who is in need' while forgetting myself as the one who is in need; otherwise, will I be able to exhort anyone 'Love your fellow as yourself' while I myself am an enemy to my fellow and to my brother?" (§71). The first passage underscores Peter's disappointment, expressed in the tenth canon, with the lapsed clergy, who set bad examples for their congregations.

Peter's works show that he was one of the great moderates of the church, like Cyprian and Dionysius before him, who, although living in times of great turmoil and danger, nevertheless advocated forgiveness and leniency. He, as they, opposed the rigorists in and out of the church who insisted that the faithful be perfect and unstained. As such, he reflects the spirit of philanthropy (Canon 11 of NICAEA) found among the majority of the early fathers of the church.

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DONALD B. SPANEL
TIM VIVIAN

PETER I (archbishop of Jerusalem). *See* Jerusalem, Coptic See of.

PETER II, saint and twenty-first patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (373–380). Peter was designated by his formidable predecessor ATHANASIUS to succeed him on the throne of Alexandria. At the time of Athanasius' death, Peter was already an old man, known for his piety and loyalty to the principles of Athanasian theology. However, it must be assumed that his succession provided the silenced enemies of Athanasius with a breathing space. Athanasius had been so great an occupant of the archiepiscopal throne that he triumphantly withstood Arian conspiracies and Arian theological aberrations.

After Peter's accession, the remaining Arian loyalists under Lucius, an Arian presbyter, joined hands with the oppressed Jewish population and the Egyptian pagans of Alexandria to form a united front. They hoped to recover ground they had lost during the reign of Athanasius. At the time, Valens (364–378) was too involved in arguments with his brother, Valentinian I (364–375), coemperor of the Western empire, to devote his attention to what was happening in Alexandria. The moment proved propitious for the uprising. The forces hostile to orthodoxy found a strong leader in Palladius, the pagan prefect. He assembled a crowd of pagans, Jews, and Arians to storm the church of Saint Theonas, where Syrians had almost arrested Athanasius in 356. Peter resisted surrendering to his enemies, who finally forced the doors of the church open and committed unspeakable orgies within its sanctuary while Peter fled. (According to some stories, he was seized and incarcerated, a claim that cannot be authenticated, since he reappeared shortly afterward. He was supported by Damasus, bishop of Rome, whose delegate to Alexandria was arrested by the hostile crowds and dispatched to the mines of Phenne. Peter remained in concealment and afterward, following the example of his predecessor, he made his way to safety by fleeing to Rome, where he is said to have taken refuge in a self-inflicted exile for about five years, during which time he propogated the Egyptian monastic rule in the West. Peter also participated in a Roman council probably in 377, where Apollinarianism was condemned, particularly in relation to Antioch.

The death of Valens in 378 and the succession of Theodosius I (375–395) altered the situation within the empire and paved the way toward settling matters in Alexandria. In 378 Peter returned to his achiepiscopal throne undisturbed. On his arrival, the Arian Lucius, had to step down. Theodosius issued an edict of Thessalonica (380) reinstating both Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria as the true confessors of standard orthodoxy, not knowing that Peter had already died.

AZIZ S. ATIYA

PETER III MONGUS, twenty-seventh patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (480–488). Peter III, surnamed Mongus (the Greek term for stammerer), was elected Monophysite head of the Coptic Church in succession to TIMOTHY II AELURUS, against rivals who upheld the diophysite dictates of the Council of CHALCEDON (451), notably Timothy Salofaciolus, the Chalcedonian patriarch. In his early years, Peter was made deacon by DIOSCORUS I, whom he had followed to the Latrocinium (or Robber Council), the second COUNCIL OF EPHESUS held in August 449.

There, Peter joined an attack on Flavian, the archbishop of Constantinople, which led to Flavian's deposition and his replacement by Proterius. Peter was one of Dioscorus' supporters at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 where Dioscorus was victimized and the Monophysite split occurred. Peter was also a supporter of monophysitism during the reign of Timothy Aelurus.

Subsequently, Peter was enthroned in the Alexandrian diocese. However, Emperor Zeno refused to ratify his election until he accepted the HENOTICON, which was Zeno's formula, devised in 482, to bridge the gap between monophysitism and the Orthodox profession of Chalcedon. Peter's acceptance of Zeno's doctrine displeased the extremist monophysites among the Coptic monks and clergy. Peter's attempt to placate both parties by interpreting the Henoticon to suit each side, irked Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople. Acacius erased Peter's name from the Greek diptych as a preliminary measure to his deposition, a step averted only by Peter's death.

AZIZ S. ATIYA

PETER IV, thirty-fourth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark. Although the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS gives the dates of 567–569 for Peter's patriarchy, some sources begin his term at 575 (see Maspero, 1923, p. 212). The death of the patriarch THEODOSIUS I in 567 was followed by nine years of confusion, during which several claimants, including the Gaianite Christopher and the tritheist Athanasius tried in vain to secure possession of the see. The hierarchy was threatened with extinction. In response to an appeal from Alexandria, in 575 Bishop LONGINUS came down from Nubia to Mareotis. Assuming that the choice was left to him, he selected one Theodorus, abbot of a desert monastery, and with two Syrian bishops consecrated him. The Alexandrian clergy protested, and selected Peter, an old monk from the ENATON monastery near the capital. They recruited an Egyptian bishop of somewhat dubious status (John "of the Cells") and two visitors for his consecration. Views still differ as to which choice was the more irregular, but the question was solved practically by the general acceptance of Peter in Egypt. According to critics, he was a feeble old deacon who chose seventy bishops more quickly than one could have found seventy plowmen. But he seems in fact to have been of some distinction—deacon in the household of Theodosius at Constantinople and later priest at Alexandria—and there need have been no shortage of suitable candidates for the vacant dioceses. In any case, Peter's vigorous action secured the episcopal succession. Theodorus was willing to retire to an Alexandrian monastery, although Longinus tried for some years to secure his recognition at Constantinople and elsewhere.

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E. R. HARDY

PETER V, eighty-third patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1340–1348). Peter (Buṭrus) ibn Dawūd was originally a monk of the Monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR); then he was chosen as abbot of DAYR SHAHRĀN. He was unanimously nominated for the patriarchate one year after the decease of BENJAMIN II, his predecessor. Nothing is known about his secular life before he joined Saint Macarius, but he distinguished himself in his monastic life with all the qualities that fitted him for this high ecclesiastical office. In 1340, therefore, his election and consecration at the ancient church of ḤĀRAT ZUWAYLAH, which was the seat of the patriarchate at the time, met with no opposition. He acceded to the throne of Saint Mark during the third tenure of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawūn (1310–1341), when the earlier wave of Coptic persecutions had begun to subside. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS briefly states that his times were relatively peaceful and secure; but the Islamic sources have a fair amount of information on details pertaining to his patriarchate.

Peter was also a contemporary of Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr (1341), al-Ashraf Kujuk (1342), al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (1342), al-Ṣālih Ismā'īl (1342–1345), al-Kāmil Sha'bān (1346), al-Muẓaffar Hajjī (1347), and al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1347–1350). The frequent succession of sultans is indicative of the unsettled state of the

government in Egypt. Al-MAQRĪZĪ, the eminent fifteenth-century Islamic chronicler, records that some Coptic churches in the capital were pillaged by the mob, while a number of Copts were arrested for unspecified crimes and crucified under the citadel, although some survived and were freed in the end. Another incident took place at the predominantly Coptic district known as Minyat al-Sīrij. There, a group of fanatic dervishes forbade the use of wine by the Copts and attacked a member of their congregation before going to a mosque for the Friday prayers. The infuriated Copts waited for the dervishes outside the mosque and gave them a severe beating, which resulted in a serious fight between Muslims and Christians. The viceroy hastened to the scene and seized a number of the troublemakers, among whom were found regular soldiers whose wages were suspended. Al-Maqrīzī states that such incidents became frequent and were prevalent in Upper Egypt and the Sharqiyyah Province, where the marauding Arabs from the Eastern Desert intensified the strife. The economic conditions of the country also worsened the situation with the failure of agriculture and the doubling of the price of cereals.

In 1346, during the reign of al-Kāmil Sha'bān, al-Maqrīzī again mentions the arrest and crucifixion of a group of culprits including a Coptic monk. In fact, the times as a whole were marked by corruption and bribery, in addition to profligacy within the sultan's court, which led to the neglect of the serious business of governance. Matters both in the country and in the church were continuously sliding from bad to worse. The only hope of salvation for this confused administration rested with the lower classes of scribes and tax collectors, who had been the Copts. But with their dismissal from the administration, many of them apostatized to Islam in order to retain their positions.

The Coptic sources are silent on this phase of their history, but the Islamic sources provide us with a multitude of names of those Islamized Copts, who consequently reached the highest posts in the administration. Al-Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dīn Amīn al-Mulk Tāj al-Riyāsah ibn al-Ghannām was thrice a vizier under Sultan al-Ashraf and occupied high positions, not only in Cairo but also at Damascus and Tripoli. His illustrious career was ended by his execution, which was punishment for financial meddling. Another Copt, Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Khaṭīr, married the daughter of the famous al-Nushu' and became a Muslim under the name Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nushu'.

In times of respite, the patriarch was able to prepare the CHRISM at the monastery of Saint Macarius in the presence of a dozen bishops and a number of clergy. After occupying the throne of Saint Mark for six years, six months, and six days, Peter died peacefully, and his body was interred in DAYR AL-ḤABASH in Cairo.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

PETER VI, 104th patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1718–1726). A native of Asyūṭ, Peter decided in his early youth to retire to the ancient monastery of Saint Paul (DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ) in the Eastern Desert. There he took the monastic vow and remained as an ascetic for some years, after which his predecessor made him a presbyter, and then elevated him to the rank of abbot of his monastery. At the death of JOHN XVI, the fame of his sanctity reached the valley where one archon by the name of Luṭfallāh, the husband of the late patriarch's niece, was instrumental in the promotion of his cause for succession to the throne of Saint Mark. Consequently, a delegation from Būsh was commissioned to go to Saint Paul's monastery to inform Peter VI of his selection as patriarch.

Due to his reticence in accepting this honor, Peter was brought to Cairo in chains, where he was consecrated patriarch in the church of Saint Mercurius (ABŪ SAYFAYN). It was a year of plenty owing to the inundation of the Nile, and the community of Copts feasted on the occasion, for it was a period of relative peace and security from the Mamluk tyranny that had prevailed in the valley. At the time, the patriarch appointed Athanasius I to the diocese of Jerusalem. His predecessor, Christodoulos I, was named archbishop of Ethiopia in response to a request of the king of that country.

In the meantime, Peter's plan to visit Alexandria was interrupted by fighting between a governor named Ismā'īl ibn Iwāz and another named Muḥammad (Bey) Jarkas. Peter returned to his headquarters in Cairo, which was under the governorate of Rajab Pasha. Apparently Luṭfallāh, an archon of considerable wealth, had clandestinely reconstructed the delapidated churches of Saint Michael and Saint Menas, without express permission from Rajab Pasha. This precipitated the governor's wrath.

However, friends of Luṭfallāh managed to appease the governor, and the good work was approved. Luṭfallāh was even able to add a number of cells to these constructions for poor people.

On the whole, we must assume that the reign of Peter VI was a period of relative calm during which the Copts enjoyed a fair measure of security, in contrast to the tempestuous and tyrannical Mamluk rule of other patriarchal reigns. In this atmosphere of peace, the patriarch was able to realize his visit to Alexandria and deposit a silver candelabra on the sanctuary of the Church of Saint Mark where he stayed for sixty days of celebration. The patriarch could do many good deeds with the help and support of Coptic archons such as Jirjis Abū Shiḥātah, a wealthy immigrant from the city of Abnūb in Upper Egypt. It is known that Peter consecrated many presbyters and deacons without interference from the authorities. He died in a pestilence, after occupying the See of Saint Mark for more than eight years. He was buried in the Church of Saint Mercurius in Cairo.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PETER VII, 109th patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (1809–1852). He was born at al-Jawlī, a small town near Manfalūṭ in the province of Asyūṭ, hence his cognomen al-Jawlī. He entered Saint Antony's monastery (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) at an early age, and was later selected to become the metropolitan in Ethiopia. For some reason his formal consecration was postponed and, instead, he was raised to the rank of bishop general and remained in Cairo to assist MARK VIII (1796–1809). When the latter died shortly afterward, Peter was immediately chosen to succeed him, and was enthroned. He was endowed with the qualities of a true man of God. Often likened to John the Baptist, he was humble, patient, self-denying, simple in attire, and frugal in meals. He led a life of total renunciation, concentrating on the study of theology and church history. He wrote a number of tracts expounding the position of the Coptic church on the subjects of Holy Communion, the nature of Christ, and other treatises where he admonished those who sought conversion to other creeds or faiths mainly for material gains.

Peter's reign was marked by a number of interesting miraculous episodes that have been accepted by the Coptic community of the faithful as true occurrences in spite of their ostensibly legendary nature. A few of these episodes are worthy of enumerating to indicate the depth of the religious temperament of the Coptic faithful.

1. The Nile flood failed for one year, and people asked the patriarch to pray for the resumption of the inundation. Consequently, after celebrating Holy Communion, Peter washed the sacramental utensils and sprinkled that water into the river, whereupon the Nile water speedily began to rise. A similar episode is recorded in the eighth century during the reign of KHĀ'ĪL I (744–767).

2. During the reign of the first khedive, MUḤAMMAD 'ALI, his son Ibrāhīm Pasha was governor of Syria, and he is said to have summoned Peter to Jerusalem and challenged him to prove that a heavenly spark illuminates the Holy Sepulcher at Easter. After a three-day fast and prayer, the Coptic patriarch celebrated Holy Communion in the presence of Ibrāhīm Pasha and the Greek Orthodox patriarch, when a powerful light flooded the tomb of Christ.

3. An envoy from the Imperial Russian Court paid Peter a visit for the purpose of offering the czar's protection to the Coptic community. With Peter's intuitive acumen, he retorted that the Copts would rather be protected not by an earthly power but by the Immortal One. This episode brought him great favor with the reigning khedive.

4. The HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS relates the story of a daughter of Muḥammad 'Alī, Zuhrah Hānim, who was married to Aḥmad Bey the Defterdar. She is said to have been possessed by an unclean spirit and suffered from fits of convulsion that the physicians failed to treat. Finally, Muḥammad 'Alī resorted to Peter, who summoned the saintly bishop of Minufiyyah, Anbā Sarapamon. The bishop went to the palace, prayed on a basin of water, sprinkled it on the face of the sick lady while commanding the evil spirit in the name of Jesus to depart from her, and she at once recovered. The khedive, in recognition of that feat, offered the bishop a reward of 4,000 gold pieces, which the bishop refused to accept. When the khedive insisted, the bishop took only a few gold coins that he distributed to the guards as he left. However, his request of reinstating Coptic state employees was granted.

Peter was praised in the *History of the Patriarchs:* "he was a lover of studying in the Divine Books and assiduous in teaching the people; not a lover of coveting things, long-suffering, self-abused, humble, wise, a possessor of great sagicity and lofty intelligence and eminent direction of his flock."

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MOUNIR SHOUCRI

PETER, ACT OF. *See* Act of Peter.

PETER MONGUS. *See* Peter III Mongus.

PETER THE PRESBYTER, SAINT, a holy man of Upper Egypt (feast day: 5 Baramhāf). He is known only from the notice in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION from Upper Egypt (Basset, p. 201; Forget, text, p. 10, trans., p. 10), which gives no chronological or geographical information. The notice is very commonplace, although it appears to be ancient, for it speaks of healing by water and oil blessed specially for this purpose. Perhaps the person in question is Peter the Elder, whose tomb is at the church of Qift and who was the initiator of the hermit life in this region at an unknown period.

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PETER AL-SADAMANTI. *See* Buṭrus al-Sidmantī.

PETER OF SCETIS, SAINT, a sixth-century tax collector who became a monk at Scetis (feast day: 25 Ṭūbah). The notice in the Coptic SYNAXARION does not indicate Peter's place of origin, but only his function as a tax collector and the hardness of his character, to the point that he was nicknamed "Without Pity." After a dream that showed him the judgment of God, he gave everything to the poor and fled to Scetis, where he became a monk and lived with great devoutness.

According to the Greek Synaxarion, Peter was named a tax collector under Justinian (527–565) and was created a patrician. According to the Greek Life (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 3, no. 2366), he fled to the Thebaid.

This is perhaps the same person who is described at length by E. Stein (pp. 723–29).

The recension of the Synaxarion of the Copts from Upper Egypt celebrates Peter the Devout at 25 Ṭūbah. This notice appears to be borrowed from the Greek Synaxarion at the same date. It also forms part of "Vitae patrum" in the Armenian recension.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PETERSEN, THEODORE (1883–1966), American scholar. He was associate professor at the Catholic University of America (1941–1948) and supervised the formal establishment of the Institute for Christian Oriental Research at the Catholic University. He taught Hebrew, Arabic, and Coptic. At Saint Paul's College he taught philosophy (1919–1925) and scripture (1932–1936). After his retirement, he published a number of Coptic studies, especially about Coptic manuscripts, among them "The Paragraph Mark in Coptic Illuminated Ornament" (*Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Green,* Princeton, 1954, pp. 295–330), "A Collection of Papyri, Egyptian, Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Showing the Development of Handwriting Mainly from the Second Century B. C. to the Eighth Century A.D." (Introduction to H. P. Kraus, Catalogue 105, New York, 1964), and "An Early Coptic Manuscript of Acts: An Unrevised Version of the Ancient So-called Western Text" (*Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26, 1964, pp. 225–41).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PETRA. *See* Jabal Khashm al-Qu'ud.

PETRAEUS, THEODOR (1624–1672), Danish Orientalist. He studied Oriental languages in Leiden (1650) and visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (1656), where he continued his linguistic studies, adding Coptic. From Egypt he brought Coptic manuscripts (among them scalae) to Europe, which are now in the Prussian State Library in Berlin. Petraeus published the first Psalm in Coptic with Arabic and Latin translation: *Psalterium Davidis in Lingua Coptica seu Aegyptiaca Una cum Versione Arabica nunc Primum in Latinum Versum et in Lucem Editum a M. Theodoro Petraeo* (Leiden, 1663).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PETRONIUS, SAINT, fourth-century monk who was a disciple of and briefly the successor of Saint Pachomius as head of the *koinonia*, the monastic community (feast day: 27 Abīb). Petronius was born of well-to-do parents in the city of Pjōj, in the diocese of Diospolis Parva (Hiw). Moved by the Spirit of God, he withdrew from the world and built a monastery on the property of his parents, where he gathered about him "anyone who wanted to live in Christ." The monastery, called Tbow, was situated on the west bank of the Nile, much farther north than Tmoushons, almost opposite Shmin. He also converted his father, Pshenthbō, and his brother, Pshenapalhi, "with all their household," to the monastic life. When he learned of the holy *koinonia*, he asked Pachomius to receive the monks of Tbow into it. Pachomius came with his brothers and established at Tbow the rules of the other monasteries of the *koinonia*.

Petronius was a man well qualified in every respect to lead a monastery. Because of his purity of heart, he was favored with revelations. When Pachomius founded a monastery in the area of Shmin, he transferred Petronius to that monastery, called Tesmine, and gave him as well responsibility over the other two monasteries of the region. When Pachomius was on his deathbed, he appointed Petronius as his successor, although he knew that Petronius also was ill. He died on 21 July 346, only a few months after Pachomius, having named HORSIESIOS to follow him. Various brief allusions to Petronius in the Life of Pachomius show that he was held in great esteem by Horsiesios and Saint Theodorus of Alexandria, as well as by Pachomius himself.

[*See also:* Monasticism, Pachomian; Pachomius, Saint.]

ARMAND VEILLEUX

PETROS I. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

PETROS II. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

PETROS III. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

PETROS IV. *See* Ethiopian Prelates.

PEYRON, AMEDEO ANGELO MARIA (1785–1870), Italian Coptologist and scholar. He studied at the University of Turin and was ordained a priest about 1810. He became a member of Turin Academy (1816) and the Institut de France (1854). His most important work is *Lexicon Linguae Copticae* (1835).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PHARAN (Fārān), oasis in the south of the Sinai Peninsula, a little to the north of the town of al-Ṭūr (RAITHOU) and to the west of the Greek monastery of Saint Catherine.

Netra or Nitira, a hermit in Sinai, became bishop of Pharan at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth.

According to Ammonius (Tillemont, 1732, Vol. 7, pp. 579–80), Moses, a native of Pharan, was among the solitaries of Raithou, and converted the Arabs of the country; this Moses is celebrated by the SYNAXARION of Constantinople at 27 November (Delehaye, 1902, p. 259).

The region of Pharan also is mentioned in the Life of Saint Pidjimi, which indicates that there were monastic establishments there at the beginning of the fifth century (Maspero and Wiet, p. 133).

Macarius is mentioned as bishop of Pharan in a letter of Emperor Marcian (d. 457).

Theonas, priest and chancellor of the church of Pharan and the laura of Raithou, subscribed to the acts of the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 536.

The valley of Pharan is certainly designated in the text of Eutychius, who cites the letter of the monks "scattered in the valleys of Sinai, near to the bush from which God spoke to Moses," in a letter addressed to Justinian (527–565) to ask him to construct a monastery where they would be protected from the raids of the Blemmyes and the bedouin of the desert.

We know from the narrative of John Moschus that at Easter 551 or 552 the bishop of Pharan was Photius. All the monks of Sinai were subject to his see, and he himself was dependent on the patriarch of Jerusalem.

About 570 the anonymous of Placentia, when he

passed through Pharan, was saluted in Egyptian, and he noted that troops kept watch over the security of the monasteries, which received their supplies from Egypt. This indicates both the origin of the anchorites and the close ties between Pharan and the valley of the Nile.

We also know of Theodorus monothelite bishop of Pharan, condemned by the Lateran Council in 649 and by the Sixth Council of Constantinople in 691–692.

The bishopric of Pharan appears to have disappeared in the seventh century, to the advantage of the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.

In 1512 Jean Thenaud noted the ruins of more than 2,000 cells on the mountain of Pharan, as well as caves and a church in their midst.

It is evident that Pharan was the center of anchorite life of the Egyptian type.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PHERME. *See* Jabal Khashm al-Qu'ud.

PHIB, SAINT, or Abīb, a monk associated with Saint APOLLO OF BĀWĪṬ and Papohé (feast day: 25 Bābah). A Coptic Life of Phib is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Manuscript M 633, original pp. 47–68). The codex, which also contains the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, has a colophon that gives its date as 994 (van Lantschoot, fasc. 1, no. 114, and fasc. 2, pp. 80–81). It was edited by T. Orlandi and A. Campagnano (1975).

A summary of this text, with several divergences, is given in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION. Papyrus fragments are in the A. C. Harris collection (British Library, Or. 7.561, pp. 135–48; cf. Galtier, 1906, pp. 88–91). An Arabic version made from a Coptic text differing from the one that has survived is in the National Library, Paris (Arab. 4787, fols. 126v–158, and 4888, fols. 139–75; cf. Troupeau, 1972–1974, pp. 38–63, and, in library of the Monastery of Saint Antony on the Red Sea, Hist. 67, 130 and 140).

The Coptic life speaks of three persons, Apollo; his friend Phib, who it seems died young; and Papohé, the steward. It appears that they are to be identified with the three monks of the same names mentioned in several Coptic inscriptions discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century at BĀWĪṬ. It is not known where Apollo and Papohé were born or at what age the three became monks. Indeed, this life of Phib teaches one more about Apollo than Phib.

The problem is complex, because other sources, such as the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO, speak at length of an Apollo, but the details are not the same.

According to the Coptic Life, Phib was a native of Psinemoun in the nome of Shmūn, probably Hermopolis Magna in Middle Egypt, for this town was near Bāwīṭ. It appears that Apollo and Phib were for five years disciples of a certain Petra (Peter) but then separated from him to set up residence in Titkooḥ, which seems to be the village attested by papyri since the second century under the name Titkois. In any case, the monastery of Titkooḥ could not have been founded by this Apollo.

It appears that at first these three monks led the life of itinerant monks, such as are testified to have existed by several documents from the fourth and fifth centuries. The character of Phib is underlined in this Life. He was a man who loved tranquillity, was peaceful, and desired solitude. One phrase remains enigmatic: "loving the image of God, as a man alone." This kind of itinerant life is characterized by the phrase "in all the mountains, like wild animals," a formulation also applied to the life of Saint ONOPHRIUS. The role of Papohé as the one who liberated Apollo and Phib from the material necessities of life in his capacity as steward, is clearly delineated.

According to a story placed on the lips of Phib, he had been a shepherd on behalf of his parents in his youth. Phib died, apparently while still young, at Titkooḥ on 25 Bābah. Thereafter, Apollo and Papohé continued to wander in the mountains until they received a command from the Lord to return to Titkooḥ and remain there. Apollo submitted to this order against his will. It is clear that the monks sometimes lived at a distance from the monastery and one another, each maintaining his independence. Phib's resting place became the site of a

curious rite of penitence: anyone who prostrated himself in faith on Phib's tomb on the anniversary of his death would receive the remission of his sins. Prostrating oneself at Phib's tomb thus became a "penance of salvation." A church was built over the tomb, and religious offices were celebrated there. Then came an order from God to construct a great church, no doubt a martyrium. It is affirmed several times that the gift of the remission of sins was given by God to Phib. Unfortunately, nowhere is it explained why this gift was bestowed.

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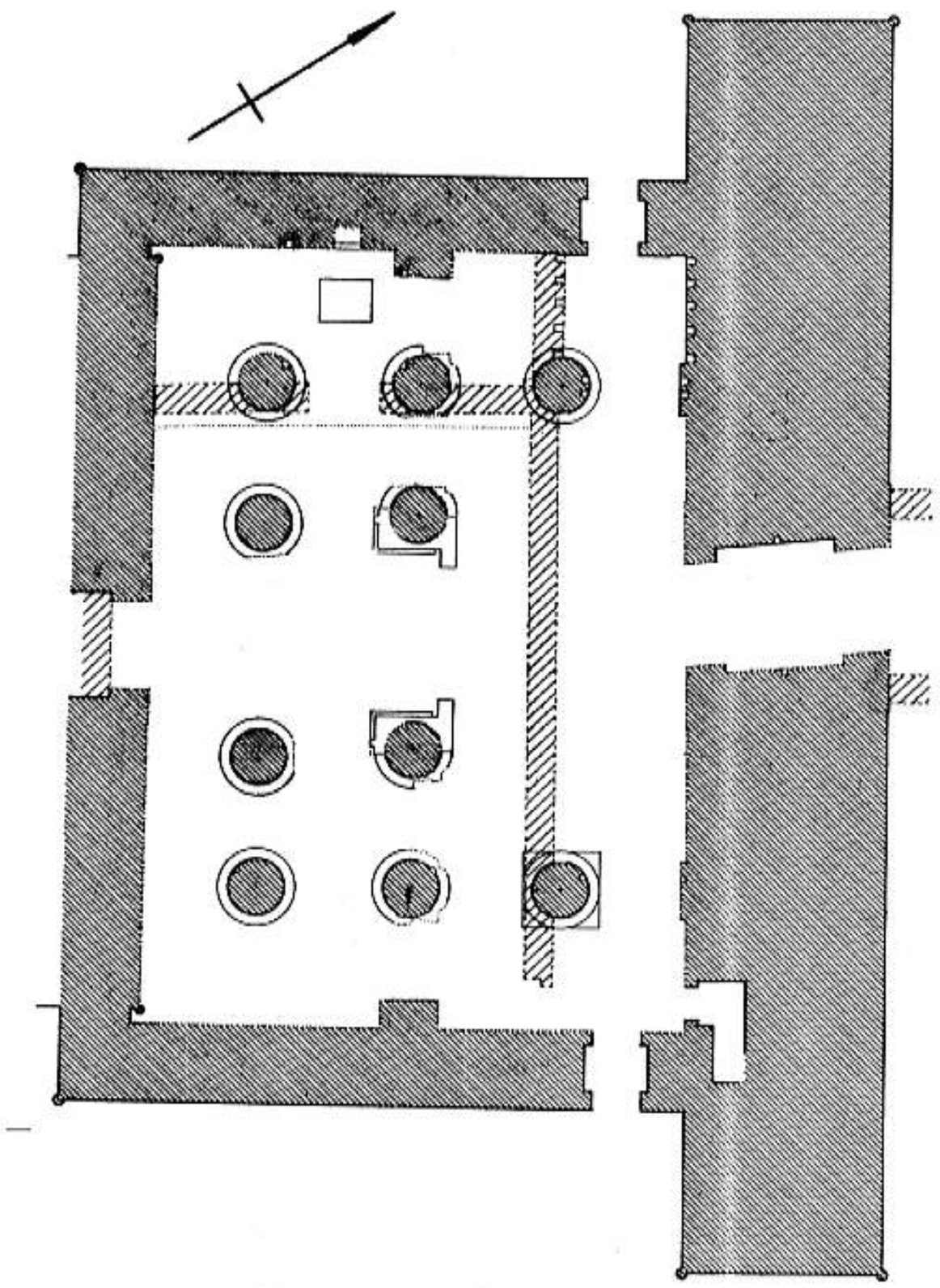
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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN



Plan of the temple of Isis at Philae. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

PHILAE. [*This entry consists of two articles: one on the* physical characteristics, *and one on* monasticism *on the island of Philae.*]

Physical Characteristics

The island of Philae, often called the Pearl of Egypt because of its lovely setting, was one of the innumerable granite outcrops that form the First Cataract of the Nile, just south of ASWAN. In late pharaonic times the place became the center of a local cult of Isis, and as her cult grew in popularity in Ptolemaic and Roman times, so did the importance of Philae. Eventually half a dozen large and small temples were built on the tiny island. The adjoining northern part of NUBIA, called in Ptolemaic and Roman times the Dodekaschoenus, was treated as an estate of the Isis cult, and its revenues were dedicated to the upkeep of the Philae temples.

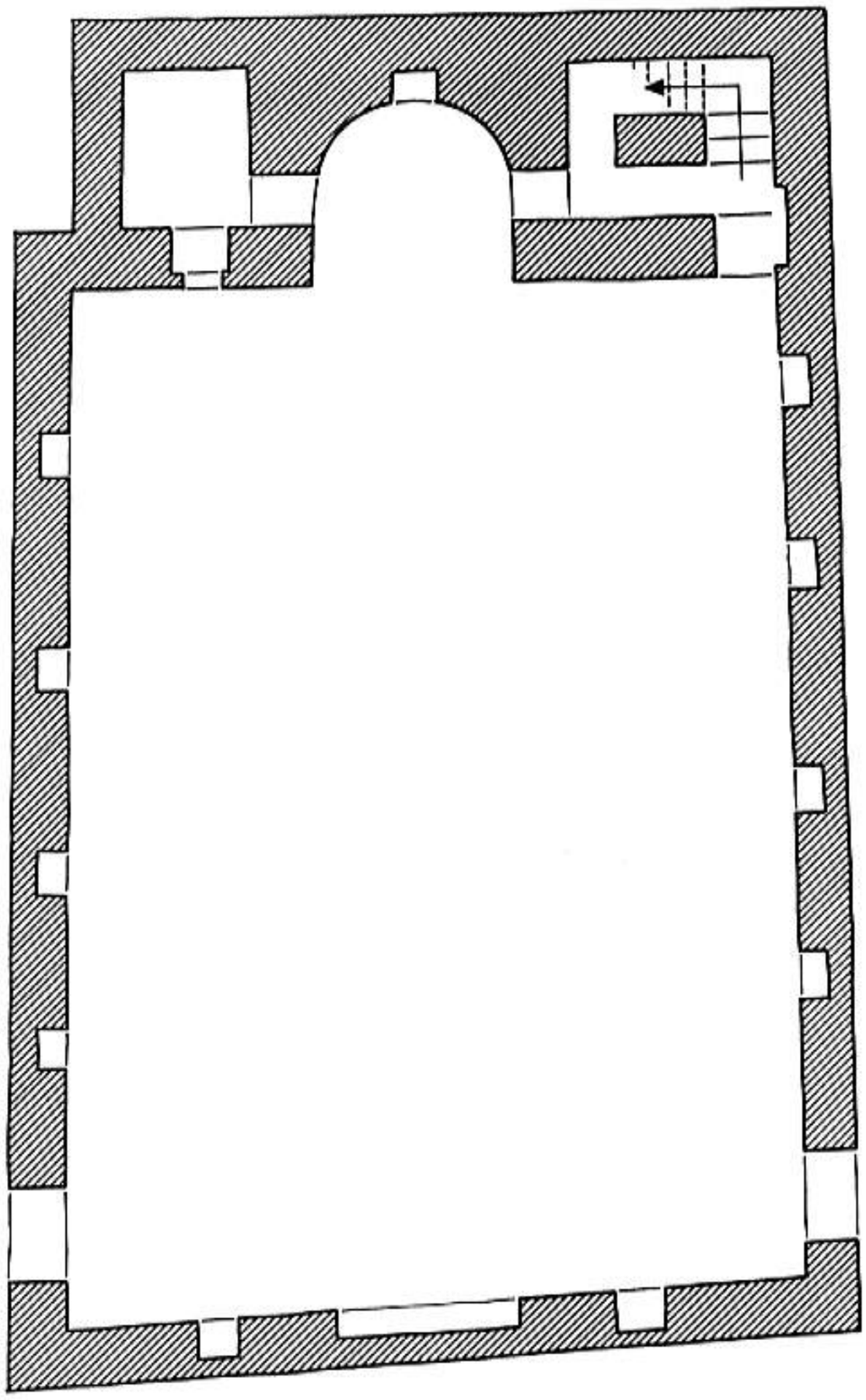
In the time of DIOCLETIAN the Roman legions were withdrawn from Nubia, and the imperial frontier was established at Philae. The Nubian inhabitants of the Dodekaschoenus nevertheless continued to worship at Philae, and Nubian rulers made gifts to the temples. As a concession to them, the Philae temples were exempted from the Edict of Theodosius, which resulted in the closing of most other pagan temples in Egypt in 390. It was not until the reign of JUSTINIAN, when the Nubians were converted to Christianity, that the cult of Isis was finally suppressed at Philae.

The importance of Philae as a cult center did not end with the coming of Christianity, for the place became an episcopal seat. At least five of the temples on the island were converted into churches, and two churches were built *ex novo.* The newly built Church of Saint Mary was exceptionally large, and in all probability served as the cathedral.

Comparatively little is known about the history of Philae in the later Middle Ages. The last known reference to a bishop is in 989. ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ THE ARMENIAN mentions two churches at Philae at the end of

the twelfth century, but he does not single them out for special notice among the various Christian establishments in and around Aswan. Evidently by this time Aswan had supplanted Philae as the main commercial and military center on the Nubian frontier, and the island had become something of a backwater. Shortly afterward the most northerly part of Nubia fell under the control of the predatory BANŪ AL-KANZ, and it was probably their depredations that put an end to Christian worship at Philae.

After the building of the original Aswan Dam in 1902, the island of Philae and its temples were periodically submerged. Extensive stabilization and reinforcement work protected the stone buildings from destruction during the periods of inundation, but the Christian constructions of mud brick were not preserved. After the completion of the Aswan High Dam, the discharge of water from its turbines was seen to pose a threat even to the stone temples at Philae. Consequently a nearby and more elevated island, formerly called Agilkia, was sculptured exactly to the contours of the original Philae, and the Philae temples were transferred stone by stone to the new setting. This operation, carried out over a period of several years in the 1970s, was planned and financed by an international campaign organized by UNESCO.



Plan of a small church at Philae. *Courtesy Peter Grossmann.*

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WILLIAM Y. ADAMS

Monasticism

A manuscript dating from 992 (British Library Or. 7029; published by Budge, 1915, pp. 432–502) relates the life of the first monk-bishops of Philae (fourth century). The account, in the form of a *historia monachorum*, is attributed to a certain Paphnutius. This story is without doubt somewhat legendary, but it preserves an element of historical truth. It speaks of the hermitage of Apa Aaron at Philae. This may have been the domicile of a monk-bishop who after his ordination as bishop continued to lead the hermit life he had formerly espoused. Examples of this state of affairs are numerous in Egypt, and there are proofs for it down to the seventh century. It thus remains possible that there was in Philae a bishop retaining his hermitage quite late, but we cannot date this fact more precisely.

An epitaph, now preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (no. 11.800), mentions a Pousei who was "bishop of Philae and first father of this monastery" (Bouriant, 1884, p. 69; Mallon, col. 288). Mallon dates the stela to the eighth or ninth century. This does not prove that the said monas-

tery was situated on the island of Philae, but it is plausible.

These evidences for monasticism at Philae are certainly meager, but they are sufficient to attest that it was not absent from the Pearl of Egypt.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN
MAURICE MARTIN, S.J.

PHILEMON, SAINT. *See* Apollonius and Philemon, Saints.

PHILIP OF ANATOLIA. The *Coptic History of the Church* contains the following story of Philip of Anatolia, a bishop (ed. Orlandi, 1970, Vol. 2, pp. 16–17). He observed that the soldiers in the command headquarters at Damascus were pagans and heretics, and that whenever they leveled taxes against the Christians, they persecuted the Christians unjustly. Therefore, he wrote to emperors Valens and Valentinianus to bring the matter to their attention and further explained that Christians could not become soldiers because of the apostles' commandments. As a result, the emperors took steps to alleviate the situation.

Philip of Anatolia is named nowhere else, neither in Coptic nor in Greek traditions. However, attributed to him is an *Encomium of the Virgin Mary* that has survived in two manuscripts, both fragmentary and unedited. A ninth-century manuscript comes from the White Monastery (DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH), and an eleventh-century manuscript is conserved in Dublin at the Chester Beatty Library (MS 819). In these fragments, which apparently form the beginning of the work, the author has composed a prologue of laudations to Mary, after which he explains the significance of each letter in her name. He then narrates the birth of Mary, describes the rivers of Paradise, traces the lineage of Joseph, recounts the marriage of Joseph and Mary, and tells of the birth of Jesus.

The content and style of this encomium indicate that it could be assigned to the homiletic production of the seventh to eighth centuries. As to the origin of the attribution, two hypotheses are proposed. (1) If the section from the *Coptic History of the Church* is authentic in the sense that it belongs to the redaction of the fifth century, the author of the homily appropriated Philip's name for undetermined reasons. (2) If this particular section from the history is an interpolation made in the seventh century, as is reasonable to believe because of the mention of Damascus, then both the history extract and the homily could possibly be the work of the same editor.

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TITO ORLANDI

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 20 B.C.–A.D. 50), Alexandrian Jewish statesman and philosopher. He was of priestly descent, but otherwise little is known of his career, except that he took part in the Alexandrian Jewish embassy to the emperor Caligula in A.D. 39–40, following the anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria in 38.

Philo's native language was Greek, and he probably knew little Hebrew. Despite his acceptance of current Platonic and Stoic philosophy as the medium through which he interpreted the scriptures, he was completely loyal to Judaism and, when opportunity arose, was a fervent missionary for his faith. Some of the inner characteristics of Philo come to the surface in his *De Legatione ad Gaium* (Embassy to Gaius) written immediately after the abortive Jewish embassy to that emperor. He regarded the Jews as representatives of the human race and as suppliants to God for the remainder of humanity. The Jews "saw God" and hence were of particular value to humanity as a whole. With this high view of the Jewish people, he warned the emperor that Jews would go cheerfully to martyrdom rather than see their temple desecrated. "A glorious death met in the defense of the Law is a kind of life," he urged. Far from being "barbaric," the Jews of Palestine were "mentally courageous, and prefer to die for their traditions in a spirit which some of their traducers would call barbaric but which in actual

fact is free and noble." In these and other similar statements Philo showed himself a Jew, in every way as patriotic and assured of the value of his people as Josephus and the author of the fourth book of Maccabees, his near contemporaries.

He combined this underlying dedication to the cause of his people with an equally intense concern to interpret that cause in a way intelligible to his Alexandrian contemporaries—namely, through current philosophy. He was, however, a mystic as well as a philosopher and interpreter of scripture, describing his soul as being "on fire," and his language at times vibrates with emotion. He saw the relation between Hellenism and Judaism as one of progress from an obscured appreciation to a clear appreciation of the truth. Like Jewish and Christian apologists, he believed that Plato had borrowed his best ideas from Moses, and reflected that in his work, *De opificio mundi,* On the Creation of the World. He felt similarly regarding Zeno, as expressed in *Quod omnis probus liber sit* (Every Good Man Is Free). Philo's conversion to Judaism was therefore a step toward a better way of life and a deeper understanding of the mystery of God, as indicated in *De specialibus legibus,* On Special Laws; *De praemiis et poemis,* On Rewards and Punishments. He compares unfavorably Greek interpretations of the ascetic ideal with the practical asceticism and social concern of the Essenes.

Philo's understanding of God, however, was not the tribal Jehovah of many of his Jewish contemporaries. God was "the prime Good, and Beautiful and Happy and Blessed," God described in Platonic terms, yet as Philo indicates, beyond description. God was the creator of the universe, its fashioner out of nonbeing, ordering formless and chaotic matter and imposing upon it the pattern of order and rationality, His Logos. God was both Fashioner (*Demiourgos*) and Creator (*Ktistes*) of the world, a unique creation created and dependent on its Creator.

Philo also understood the Logos in Platonic terms as "the Idea of Ideas"—that is, the absolute of truth, beauty, and goodness on which rational existence depended. He was the father and mediator of creation to its creatures, in fact, a "second God," the heavenly Adam and archetype of mankind holding together the essential hierarchy of the created order. Philo concentrated his thought and interpretation of scripture on the Pentateuch, in particular on Genesis. The commentary is allegorical, always portraying the soul as pilgrim and sojourner in this world. Just as Abraham migrated from Ur to the Promised Land, so the human soul would move toward perfection. The body held the soul in bondage, preventing it from achieving freedom from earthly passions. He saw Moses as the supreme example of the Logos dwelling in a person, not only a great leader but the recipient of the gift of deification and one with whom the Logos Himself conceived.

Even so, Philo was also loyal to the Roman emperor, accepting that the emperor had the capacity to rule as godly monarch, imitating the Divine Logos. He saw his ideal fulfilled by Augustus who had given peace to the war-torn peoples of the world and established the empire. "His every virtue outshone human nature," and his valor and the greatness of his imperial rule bestowed on him the title of Augustus. This concept of the "godly monarch," derived from Stoicism, was to have a long history in Christian thought, especially in the East, inspiring alike Justin Martyr, MELITO OF SARDIS, ORIGEN, and, above all, EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA.

In fact, Philo's importance lies less with Judaism than with Eastern, and especially Alexandrian, Christianity. In his hostility to the body and his contrast of the "vision of reason" with bodily "drunkenness and gluttony," the hallmarks of "the greatest evil of all, namely ignorance," he anticipated some of the ideas of the Alexandrian Gnostics. In other respects he "looks like a blueprint for Plotinus, Gregory of Nyssa and Dionysius the Areopagite" (Chadwick, 1967, p. 154). A century and a half after Philo's death, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA was greatly indebted to him. In Origen above all, one finds a Christian counterpart, one who, though penetrated through and through with Platonic philosophy, remained fundamentally a Christian. Philo's influence on his Jewish contemporaries was, however, cut short by the outbreak of the Jewish war with Rome of 66–74. Out of that, rabbinic, not philosophic, Judaism emerged as the guide and interpreter of Jehovah to the Jewish people. It is indicative, rather, of the towering influence of the philosophical schools of Alexandria that an Alexandrian Jew, Philo, should have become, despite himself, the founder of Christian philosophy.

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W. H. C. FREND

PHILOSOPHY. There are no philosophical writings in indigenous Coptic literature. The philosophical sayings and fables that have survived in Coptic literature are, it would appear, of Greek origin. In some cases they are attributed to Greek philosophers—for example, Anacharsis and Diogenes—and their Greek sources are well known. In others they are attributed to anonymous philosophers and their Greek origin can only be assumed. Only some of the material is edited; some is listed in various catalogues of Coptic manuscripts. The content of the material is not epistemological, but rather has affinities with the wisdom literature of the Bible and the Apocrypha. It teaches virtues and castigates vices. Sometimes a fable is told and its message is explicitly stated in the interpretation that follows the fable. One and the same collection may contain sayings attributed to philosophers and related material. Thus, for instance, the Vienna collection of philosophical sayings (ed. Till, 1934–1937) also contains the parable of the three friends from the Story of Barlaam and Josaphat, while in another manuscript (John Rylands Library, Manchester, 80), a saying attributed to an anonymous philosopher occurs in a collection of aphorisms taken from biblical and apocryphal wisdom writings.

Hardly any Greek patristic writings that have a philosophical content have as yet come to light in Coptic translation. Special mention may therefore be made of the fragmentary Coptic version of GREGORY OF NYSSA's *De anima et resurrectione,* which is philosophical in character and refers to philosophical schools and to philosophers such as Plato and to his dialogue *Phaedrus.* It is perhaps also noteworthy that the monk Saint SHENUTE refers in his writings to the teaching of Plato. Finally, reference must be made to the Coptic translation of an excerpt from Plato's *Republic,* which is to be found among the Gnostic writings from the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY; it should be noted that this is not a straightforward translation, but rather the work of an editor who reinterpreted Plato's thought in conformity with Gnostic thinking.

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K. H. KUHN

PHILOSTORGIUS, ecclesiastical historian, born about 368 in Cappadocia. He lived in Constantinople, where he wrote twelve books of ecclesiastical history covering the period about 300–425 (the

death of the usurping emperor John), probably between 425 and 433.

Philostorgius was a supporter of the semi-Arian leader Eunomius of Cyzicus, and wrote his history from that point of view. Little of the original has survived, but an epitome was preserved in the library of Photius.

From the point of view of Egyptian Christianity, Philostorgius was, not unexpectedly, hostile to ATHANASIUS (*Epitome* 2.11), whose election as bishop of Alexandria in 328 he regarded as fraudulent. He is interesting, in addition, because of the apparently accurate information he preserves concerning the mission of Theophilus the Indian, down the Red Sea from Alexandria to southern Arabia and the kingdom of Axum in Ethiopia.

Philostorgius describes how Theophilus was sent on his mission by Emperor Constantius II (337–361). He went first to the Homeritae (Himyarites) in southern Arabia, and after visiting the trading center of Adana (Aden), went on to Axum (*Epitome* 3.5–6). Axum had already received Christian preaching from Frumentius, a captive trader who had settled there and prospered. He was, however, loyal to Athanasius, and about 355 had returned to Alexandria to seek consecration as bishop (Rufinus *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.9). Theophilus was anti-Nicene and had the confidence of the emperor. Philostorgius claims that "he came to the Axumite kingdom and having ordered all things correctly there, began to return to the territory of the Romans" (*Epitome* 3.6). Constantius loaded him with honors. One of the surviving fragments of Philostorgius' *History* adds that Constantius gave Theophilus the title of bishop but without a specific see, probably in preparation for bestowing on him general oversight of the Christians in Axum and in southern Arabia. Meanwhile, Constantius wrote sharply to the princes of Axum to dissuade them from accepting Frumentius as bishop and from showing any support for Athanasius (Athanasius, *Apologia ad imperatorem Constantium* 31).

Elsewhere (*Epitome* 3.10), Philostorgius shows some knowledge of the Nile cataracts south of the Egyptian border. His source on Egyptian Christianity must have been good, and the loss of so much of his work is regrettable.

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W. H. C. FREND

PHILOTHEUS, sixty-third patriarch of the See of Saint Mark (979–1003). Philotheus was a monk of the Monastery of Saint Macarius (DAYR ANBĀ MAQĀR) and a disciple to an older saintly monk by the name of Yuḥannā. After the death of Pope Abraham ibn Zar'ah, there was an interregnum of six months, during which the bishops together with the clergy and the archons of the city of Miṣr (Cairo) deliberated on the subject of a new candidate for the patriarchate. They were informed about the suitability of a monk by the name of Yuḥannā and consequently called upon him to appear before them. When he came, accompanied by his disciple Philotheus, they found him a much older man than they had thought and not suitable for the heavy burdens of the office. But his disciple Philotheus seemed to be a suitable candidate. So they consecrated him patriarch, and that was during the reign of the Fatimid caliph Nizār Abū al-Manṣūr al-'Azīz Billāh (975–996). The peace and security established in the country during his predecessor's accession to power persisted in the time of al-'Azīz.

However, there was a Christian clan by the name of Banū al-Muṭī' that was disenchanted with the practice of nominating undeserving candidates for bishoprics in exchange for providing simony (CHEIROTONIA) to the patriarch. They seized the occasion of the accession of Philotheus to request an end to the sale of episcopal seats.

The patriarch lived in Maḥallat Dāniyāl after his election. At that time, the scribe of the Synod was Maqārah (Macarius), bishop of Upper Minūf. Maqārah's brother Mīnā was bishop of Ṭanah and probably of Damrū, as well. When Mīnā died, Maqārah advised the patriarch to appoint a new bishop of Ṭanah and to move the patriarch's seat to the rich bishopric of Damrū, to the residence of Mīnā.

The rest of the biography of Philotheus in the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS consists of a legendary story. It concerns the conversion of a certain Muslim, al-Wāḍiḥ ibn Abī al-Rajā', to Christianity. Apparently, Ibn Rajā' came from a religious Muslim family and was a bigot until he stumbled upon a group of soldiers building a great bonfire to burn the body of a decapitated Muslim convert to Christianity. When the fire subsided, Ibn Rajā' found the body un-

burned and intact. Having witnessed this miracle, he decided to become a Christian. His later baptism is woven into a lengthy episode of miraculous occurrences. Ultimately, Ibn Rajā' became a monk by the name of Paul (Bulus) in Scetis. Ibn Rajā' was acquainted with SĀWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA', bishop of al-Ashmūnayn, whose twenty works are mentioned in the *History of the Patriarchs*. It is stated that Ibn Rajā' himself wrote two books: one on confession, the other a commentary entitled "Rare Episodes of Exegetes." But neither of them has been identified in the manuscript repositories.

The patriarchate of Philotheus occurred during the reigns of al-'Azīz and al-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH (996–1021). Perhaps the most important international event during his papacy was the appointment of Dāniyāl, a monk of the monastery of Saint Macarius, as archbishop for the diocese of Ethiopia.

The archdeacon of Alexandria, Surūr ibn Jirjā, relates a story that the patriarch's tongue was benumbed during a liturgy owing to a vision which left him speechless. Anbā Murqus, bishop of Bahnasā, had to take his place while he was transported to the house of Abū Malīḥ ibn Qūṭīn, an archon of Alexandria, where he died on 12 Hātūr. This was after a reign of twenty-four years and eight months, during which he seems to have amassed immense wealth, which was divided among his four brothers, contrary to church tradition.

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SUBHI Y. LABIB

PHILOTHEUS OF ANTIOCH, SAINT, a boy who is martyred under DIOCLETIAN (feast day: 16 Ṭūbah). Few Passions other than that of Philotheus better personify the fate of pagans who turned Christian in a time of persecution. According to legend, Philotheus, whose name means "he who loves God," is the ten-year-old son of the pagan priest Valentinianus and his wife, Theodotia, in Antioch. The couple keep a grass-eating calf, called Smaragdos in Coptic, which they worship. The boy, however, cannot bring himself to believe that this animal is the creator of heaven and earth. So he questions the sun, who replies that he is not God either but a creature of God. The sun promises him fuller revelations. In fact, the boy, loving God, then has the vision of the *Markabah*, the chariot of Christ, borne by the cherubim, surrounded by all the heavenly hosts. Jesus announces to him that he will undergo martyrdom under Diocletian. The child begins to fast and pray on account of his misled parents. The calf gores the parents, who die and are buried. Three days later, Philotheus obtains their resurrection and baptizes them in church. The boy is then denounced to Diocletian by the demons, and he is summoned before the emperor. To the first arguments against Christ, Philotheus replies with unshakable faith. The idols brought by Diocletian are overthrown and destroyed when the boy prays. Then the emperor resorts to torture. The three soldiers who had fetched Philotheus are converted and also undergo martyrdom. Philotheus is cut in pieces but is healed. Finally, Diocletian orders him to be finished off with spear and fire, and the boy finally dies, not without a long prayer addressed to the Lord.

The legend just summarized is the one preserved in Georgian and published in 1960 by K. Kekelidze, then translated into French by M. van Esbroeck (1976, pp. 107–135). This account, relatively sober in Georgian, belongs to a series of texts lost among the Palestinian Greek originals.

The Coptic form of the legend is much longer. It seems difficult to maintain that the short text preserved in Georgian is dependent on a Greek model supposedly based on the Coptic version. Hence we have given the analysis of the Georgian Life first.

The Coptic legend, preserved in its entirety in the Pierpont Morgan Library (vol. 41 of the photographic edition, pp. 149–204), is attested by four other fragmentary codices. Some of them are also in the Pierpont Morgan collection but had previously been published by W. E. Crum in 1913. Others form part of the Munich Coptic Codex no. 3. A fragment in Vienna was published by W. Till in 1935. Finally, a Fayyumic fragment of a more condensed text was published in 1916 by H. Munier and in 1923 by L. Saint-Paul Girard. The references are given by J. Vergote (1935, pp. 281–82).

The Coptic Passion, still unpublished in the Pierpont Morgan codex, is related to the CYCLES of CLAUDIUS OF ANTIOCH and BASILIDES. It stresses to the utmost the epic features already in the Georgian version. The complete title of this Passion is "The Passion of the most holy Apa Philotheus, the holy martyr of Christ, who achieved his holy martyrdom on the sixteenth day of Ṭūbah and of all those who were martyred with him, and who number five thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine men in the

peace of God. Amen." The child is only nine years old. The calf receives three meals a day. The vision of Christ is strongly emphasized: The archangel MICHAEL comes down according to the sun's promise. Christ makes two speeches. The scene in which the child's parents force him to worship the calf is more dramatic. When the parents have been gored, Philotheus himself carves up the calf and burns it. The parents, once they are resuscitated after three days, give the account of what they saw down in Amente, where they had gone. The devils disguise themselves as angels to persuade the child, who resists. The three soldiers who come and look for Philotheus to take him to Diocletian become three generals, Christopher, Makellas, and Kaliopios. They are accompanied by nine hundred men. Diocletian accuses the child of magic. The martyr refuses to sacrifice to Apollo. Once Philotheus pretends to accept in order to confound Diocletian. The magus Pelementas calls up the angel of Tartarus and hell. The earth opens, and the abyss speaks. The torment follows. At the moment of the flagellation, Philotheus, instead of saying "Son of the devil" (Georgian version) says "Oh dragon in the abyss!"

This is illustrated very early in the imagery of the persecution: a jewel from the third to the fourth century, on which the saint is on horseback and transfixes the dragon, which bears Diocletian's head; in a Roman fibula of the fourth to the fifth century, where the spear ends in a cross; and in an Akhmimic Coptic fabric of the fourth century where the saint stands above a dragon (van Esbroeck, 1976, p. 121). A pen case, found in the cemetery at Antinoopolis, a town destroyed in 642, has a drawing of Saint Philotheus. He is standing and thrusting the spear into a dragon whose crowned head represents Diocletian. This scribe, Pamio, very probably transcribed the Passion in the fifth or sixth century (Omont, 1898, pp. 330–32). However, RAPHAEL comes down from heaven to heal Philotheus' wounds. The three generals and the nine hundred soldiers undergo martyrdom on 28 Kiyahk. Then Philotheus again pretends to accept, and Diocletian organizes a huge assembly in the theater at Antioch, summoning the other 69 idols and their 138 serving priests. But the idols kill their servants and are then swallowed up in the earth, which opens at their feet. Seeing this, the audience, numbering 936 people, are converted and executed in the martyrdom of 2 Ṭūbah. Then Philotheus is cut up into small pieces and burned, his ashes being scattered over the sea. But Christ on the *Markabah* recalls him to life. The tyrant then makes a last attempt by offering the child the luxury and charms of palace life with his favorites Firmus and Andronicus. The saint resists and this time is executed with spear and fire on 16 Ṭūbah.

The theme of the seventy idols is found again in the Coptic Passions of VICTOR, THEODORUS, ARI EPIMA, ANUB, BASILIDES, and CLAUDIUS. It seems to be inspired by a passage in the *Historia Augusta* about Diocletian.

There exists in Coptic a panegyric on Saint Philotheus attributed to Demetrianus, bishop of Antioch, of which only the first two columns have been preserved (published by J. Vergote, 1935, p. 288). Another panegyric, under the name of SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH, is preserved only in Arabic (MS 153, Clavis Patrum Graecorum 7055).

Whatever the symbolic character of the account may be, it had great success and the story certainly spread fairly early in Coptic literature. Georgian tradition has kept a whole *kontakion* (liturgical hymn) in memory of Saint Philotheus, on 11 January, in a context where the saint is confused with Philotheus of Samosata (van Esbroeck, 1976, pp. 125–30).

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MICHEL VAN ESBROECK

PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG (Hierapolis) (c. 440–c. 523), a great writer of Syriac prose and a champion of Monophysite doctrine. He was born of Aramean parents at Tahal in the Persian province of Beth-Garmai, east of the Tigris, in about 440. He had a brother named Addai, who may have been a teacher at the school of the Persians at Edessa, and he had a sister. He was educated at Edessa while

Ibas was bishop there. At that time the school of Edessa had two factions, one supporting the tradition of Theodorus and the other the tradition of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. Philoxenus sided with the Cyrillians but read the works of Cyril's opponents. He became a Monophysite spokesman. He then went to Antioch. Calandio, patriarch of Antioch, expelled him from the city for his Monophysite teachings and his support of the HENOTICON. In 485 he was made bishop of Hierapolis, which at that time was a center for the cult of the fertility goddess Atargatis. Peter the Fuller, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, consecrated him.

By 486, Philoxenus had succeeded in deposing many of his orthodox enemies from the neighboring sees. He persuaded his friend the emperor Anastasius I to depose Flavian and have Severus appointed in his stead. Philoxenus may have had a hand in the closing of the Persian school of Edessa in 489 for doctrinal reasons.

Since he opposed the doctrine of the Council of CHALCEDON, he was humiliated at the Council of Sidon in 511, but later he was responsible for having many of his enemies deposed. When, sometime between 513 and 515, the Synod of Tyre took place (it is likely that it was actually held at Antioch), it was presided over jointly by Philoxenus and Severus. The council decreed that the Henoticon was in contradiction to the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and Chalcedon was anathematized.

In 519, after Justin became emperor and Severus went into his exile in Egypt, Philoxenus was captured and taken into exile first in Gangra in Paphlagonia and then in Philippopolis in Thrace, where he died of suffocation, probably in 523. Philoxenus had been an ardent supporter not only of the Monophysite cause but also of Syriac language and culture. He wrote exclusively in Syriac.

Among his eighty major exegetical, dogmatic, homiletical, and ascetic writings, thirteen orations on the Christian life, five tracts on the Incarnation and the Trinity, and a collection of his letters have been edited. He also commissioned a Syriac version of the scriptures that was in use by Monophysites in the sixth century. This version of the scriptures was made at his direction by the chorepiscopus Polycarp around 505. It seems to have been a revision of the Peshitta (the official bible text of Syrian Christians) according to the Lucan version of the Septuagint. It is not known whether it extended to the whole Bible.

Philoxenus was a self-consciously Syrian theologian who saw himself as the man who must introduce authentic technical theological language into the Syrian tradition. He perceived that he must develop Syriac as a language in which theological inquiry could be conducted, as it was in Greek.

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LINDA KNEZEVICH

PHĪLŪTHĀWUS IBRĀHĪM AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (1837–1904), Egyptian clergyman. He was born in Ṭanṭā, capital of the Gharbiyyah Province in the Delta, and received his early education in Coptic schools. He then worked as a clerk while learning Italian, which was then the language of commerce. He joined public service for two years in the province of Rawḍat al-Baḥrayn, which comprised at that time the Gharbiyyah and Minūfiyyah provinces.

In 1855 he decided to move to Cairo, where Pope CYRIL IV recruited him for the study of Coptic language and theology within the patriarchate. Subsequent to graduation, Philūthāwus headed a Coptic school in al-Manṣūrah, where he taught Coptic until it was closed after the death of the pope. Consequently he returned to Cairo to teach Coptic in the school of Ḥārit al-Saqqāyīn while assisting 'IRYĀN JIRJIS MUFTĀḤ, who also taught in the Coptic College, founded by Cyril IV. Shortly afterward, he decided to join the Coptic priesthood and returned to officiate in his native Ṭanṭā in 1863. Here he was elevated to the rank of HEGUMENOS in 1865. In 1874 he was selected to preach in the Coptic cathedral in Cairo, where he ultimately became its chief priest.

In the meantime, he taught both Coptic and Coptic theology in the newly established CLERICAL COLLEGE, while fearlessly supporting the reform movement and the constitution of the Coptic COMMUNITY COUNCIL, even at the risk of incurring papal displeasure. Owing to his extraordinary eloquence as a preacher, he was solicited to extend his visit to Upper Egypt to combat the proselytizing movements of the Protestant missionaries.

In the matter of reform, he opposed the Holy Synod in the erroneous decision that the Community Council was contrary to the rule of faith and stood fast in the defense of all movements of reform. His literary productivity in the fields of theology, the defense of Coptic traditions, the personal status laws, and many other disciplines are well known.

He was respected by Copts and Muslims alike, and the authorities, with the approval of the khedive, decorated him with two Ottoman orders. The emperor of Ethiopia in 1902 decorated him with the Star of Ethiopia.

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MOUNIR SHOUCRI

PHIS, SAINT, a hermit on the east bank of the Nile. The Life of Phis is contained in several Arabic manuscripts, in particular in the library of the church of ḤĀRAT ZUWAYLAH.

Since the sources have not been published, we are not very well informed about Phis. He was a hermit south of Qaw. He is known as a disciple of APA HOR of the Column. It is notable that the town of Minyā was for a time distinguished from others of the same name by the cognomen of Abū Phīs.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PHOEBAMMON. *See* Phoibammon of Preht, Martyr.

PHOIBAMMON OF PREHT, MARTYR. A Christian sentry *(tēros)* stationed at the camp of Preht in the Thebaid during the prefecture of Culcianus (303–307/8), Phoibammon disobeyed DIOCLETIAN's edict requiring homage to the pagan gods and was put to death at Asyūṭ on 1 Ba'ūnah (26 May; see Forget, 1926, Vol. 2, p. 147). He is best known for his complete Sahidic martyrology and related fragments, his connection with several fellow soldier-martyrs, his confusion with another, identically named martyr, and his possible role as the tutelary saint of two Theban monasteries.

Martyrdom

An intact martyrology survives in an unpublished Coptic manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (582; codex 46; see Hyvernat, 1922), which was copied by the scribe Colluthus (fol. 30r., 9–12). At least three Coptic fragments belong to other copies of this hagiographical account (British Library, Or. 6012, ed. Crum, 1905, p. 414, no. 999; British Library, Or. 7561, fol. 67–69, ed. Crum, 1926, p. 205; Bavarian State Library, Munich, Handschrift koptisch 3, fol. 52–58, see Crum, 1905, p. 414, n. 1 on no. 999 [missing since 1970]). An unpublished Arabic version of the martyrology is in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (manuscript Hist. 275; see Khater and Burmester, 1981, p. 13).

Very little is known of Phoibammon's early life. In the *miracula* at the end of Morgan 582, Touho in Middle Egypt is said to have been Phoibammon's birthplace (fol. 21r., 39–45). Touho is the modern Ṭaḥā al-A'midah (Kessler, 1981, p. 42). Phoibammon was thirty at the time of his execution (fol. 2v., 45–46) and had been a Christian for four years (fol. 7r., 45–49). His Greek mother was named Sarah (fol. 2v., 46–49). His father's name is unknown. Cullianos [sic] was *hypatos* (highest official, fol. 1r., 13–15); Soterichus was *eparchos* (prefect of the city, fol. 1r., 15–17); Romanus was *stratelatēs* (general of the palace, fol. 1r., 17–19); Phillip was *sticholētikos* (leader of the regiment at Preht, fol. 1r., 20–22); Maximinian was the *comis* (count) or *dux* (duke) of the Thebaid (fol. 8v., 50–52; 11r., 33–35, 53); and Flavianus was *praepositus* (commander of the camp of Preht, fol. 1v., 51–52). The chronology and list of officials is rather garbled.

Although Phoibammon was allegedly martyred in Diocletian's first year (fol. 1r., 22–24), the emperor, who had come to the throne in 284, did not issue his edict proscribing Christian services until 303. Even then the penalties were aimed at church leaders, not at laypersons such as Phoibammon. The fourth edict, promulgated in 304, applied to all Christians. The penalty was death. That Phoibammon's martyrdom probably occurred not in Diocletian's first year but sometime between 304 and 308 is indicated by the reference to "Cullianos," surely Clodius Culcianus, who was prefect during the earlier part of Diocletian's great persecutions. An early-fourth-century date is also supported by his father's questioning the logic of worshiping a person

(Christ) who had died three hundred years earlier (fol. 7v., 9–11). The identity of the other officials is uncertain. They may be entirely fictitious characters or, in fact, genuine historical figures but not contemporary with Culcianus.

The exact location of Preht is also unknown. It was in Middle Egypt, north of both ASYŪṬ and ANTINOOPOLIS (modern Shaykh Abādah). Phoibammon and his captors sailed south from Preht and stopped first at Antinoopolis, then Asyūṭ, in which he was executed (fol. 9r., 36–37, fol. 10r., 43–45, 53–58; see also Amélineau, 1893, p. 12; Crum, 1926, p. 109).

The martyrology contains the standard repertoire of hideous tortures. Phoibammon met his death by decapitation. To the martyrology is appended an account of the miracles performed by Phoibammon and recorded by one Colluthus (fols. 21r–30r). These miracles began eighty years later in the reign of Theodosius I (379–395) at Phoibammon's shrine in Touho, which was known to the Greeks as Theodosioupolis (Kessler, 1981, pp. 42–47). Colluthus calls Theodosius the "exceedingly pious ruler" (fol. 21r., 26–29). The emperor was the beneficiary of Phoibammon's first miracle, whereby he was restored to his throne (fol. 21v., 18–24, 63–66). This incident no doubt refers to Theodosius' struggle with Magnus Maximus, who had deposed the emperor in 383 and was killed upon the latter's return in 388.

Relation to Other Soldier-Martyrs

Perhaps the most interesting part of the martyrology is the vignette about five other soldier-martyrs incarcerated and executed at Asyūṭ: Ischurion and Orsenuphis of Snē (Isnā) and Belphius, Origen, and Peter of Souan (Aswan; fol. 10v., 14–29). The martyrdom of Ischurion and his colleagues is described briefly in the Synaxarion under the entry for 7 Ba'ūnah (June 1) (Forget, 1926, Vol. 2, pp. 153–54). Several churches in modern Egypt are dedicated to an Ischurion (Timm, 1979, p. 154). These may have been built in honor of Phoibammon's colleague or another Ischurion, said by Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 6.42.1) to have been executed during the reign of Decius. Orsenuphis is known from a fragmentary Coptic text in the British Library (Or. 7561, fols. 52–53; see Crum, 1926, p. 204). Phoibammon's martyrology may have spawned a larger cycle of hagiographical texts or was itself part of a series.

Confusion with Another Martyr Phoibammon

At least four martyrs answered to the name of Phoibammon (Khater and Burmester, 1981, p. 11, n. 1). In an unpublished Arabic text (Vatican Library, Arabic manuscript 172) Phoibammon of Preht is conflated with an identically named person, who was born of a noble family in Awsīm (Letopolis, in the Memphite region) and martyred near Qau on 27 Ṭūbah (January 22) and buried near Giza (Forget, 1912, Vol. 1, pp. 419–30; Crum, 1926, pp. 109–110; Amélineau, 1890, p. 54–63). Several Coptic fragments in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, are similar to, but are not exactly like, passages in Morgan 582 and therefore represent either different editions or perhaps an otherwise unattested martyrology of the patrician. One fragment (2029), for example, has Phoibammon beholding the Lord "sitting on the chariot of the cherubim." In Morgan 582 (fol. 9r., 52–54) Phoibammon sings hymns to Jesus "who sits upon the chariots of the cherubim." The splendidly clad Phoibammon in a BĀWĪṬ fresco (Clédat, 1904/1916, pl. 53) is probably the nobleman (Crum, 1926, p. 109).

Possible Role as Tutelary Saint of the Monastery of Phoibammon at Thebes

Two monasteries at Thebes were dedicated to a martyr Phoibammon. One lay about 5 miles (8 km) from the west bank between Madīnat Hābū and Armant; the other was erected on the uppermost terrace of Hatshepsut's temple at Dayr al-Bahri (Timm, 1979, pp. 1378–94; Krause, 1985). Both are now in ruins. To which, if either, of these martyrs the two monasteries were dedicated is uncertain. A Theban text (Crum, 1902, pp. 41–42, n. 455) includes "the day of Apa Phoibammon" in a list of festivals in very close proximity to the Ascension and Pentecost, both of which are celebrated shortly before 26 May, which was Phoibammon of Preht's day of martyrdom. This is the only evidence for linking him with either monastery (Crum, 1926, p. 110). The patrician Phoibammon rates several pages in the Theban recension of the Synaxarion under 27 Ṭūbah (Forget, Vol. 1, pp. 419–30), but the soldier Phoibammon receives only one sentence (Vol. 2, p. 147). The prominence accorded the nobleman in the Theban version strongly suggests that he was the more important at Thebes, and hence, he may have been the tutelary saint of the Theban monastery (but cf. Crum, 1926, p. 110).

Unfortunately, the many Greek and Coptic ostraca mentioning a Phoibammon (Remondon et al., 1965, pp. 5–95; Timm, 1985, p. 1389, n. 2) do not solve the problem. One of these two martyrs may be the Phoibammon ranked with saints Victor, Menas, George, and others on two stelae in the British Museum, possibly from Bāwīṭ (Hall, 1905, pp. 143–44, nos. 673, 676). If Bāwīṭ is indeed the provenance, the Phoibammon fresco from Bāwīṭ may indicate that the patrician is the saint in question.

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DONALD B. SPANEL

PHONOLOGY. *See Appendix.*

PHONOLOGY OF THE GREEK OF EGYPT, INFLUENCE OF COPTIC ON THE. *See Appendix.*

PHYLOXENITE. *See* Bahij.

PHYSIOLOGOS. This Greek text was begun around 200 B.C. by Paul of Mendes (Augustamnika I), who confused the scientific study of nature with magical traditions. Others continued the work after 200 B.C., although the remote origin of the *Physiologos* could probably be placed before that date. It is composed of forty-eight short stories, relating to real as well as to legendary animals, such as the unicorn and the siren, and to trees and to stones. The stories contain elements of reality, tradition, and superstition, set in different climes reaching as far as India. Each story ends with an edifying moral. The structure and content of the work popularized the *Physiologos* for all time, making it a widely translated book, from which the medieval cathedrals of Europe drew ideas for their sculpture.

Coptic and other Oriental Christian literature drew upon the *Physiologos,* especially since it was composed in Egypt. Although no complete manuscript of the Coptic *Physiologos* exists, there are citations and allusions to it in contemporary writings. Though originally written in Greek in Egypt, the Coptic version of the *Physiologos* received a thorough study by A. van LANTSCHOOT, a study that was begun by Adolf Erman (1895). Lantschoot as-

sembled eighteen references to it, ten unpublished up to that time.

The Copts agreed with the premise that Solomon was the author of the *Physiologos*—even crediting him with the Jewish tradition that appeared in the first century before and after Christ in pseudo-Solomonic style. In the questions-and-answers literature (*erotapokriseis*) of the probably fictitious Presbyter Theodorus and the patriarch JOHN III (677–686), Solomon is called the *Physiologos* and cited on the stories about the pig (question 9) and the bee (question 15), the wolf, the serpent, and the peridexion tree (question 19).

The stories about the bee, the eagle, the allōé-bird, the amethyst, the impure animal, the hart, the charadrius (a type of plover), the raven, the hyena, the lion, the wolf, the peridexion tree, the pearl and the emerald and the agate-stone, the phoenix, the pig, the snake, the sycamore, and the turtledove can be found in a variety of Coptic texts. In addition to these nineteen stories, SHENUTE the Great of Atrīb probably used the *Physiologos* when speaking about the flies.

At present it is impossible to make a survey of the history of the Coptic *Physiologos*. What we do know indicates that it was popular among the Copts. Several recensions of it probably existed in Egypt.

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C. DETLEF G. MÜLLER

PIANKOFF, ALEXANDRE (1897–1966), Egyptologist of Russian origin. He studied Egyptian philology under A. Erman and K. H. Sethe (1920) and continued his classical studies at the Sorbonne (1927). He became attached to the Byzantine Institute as a specialist in Arabic and Coptic (1928–1939). Later, he lived in Cairo, where he worked for the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale and published a large number of articles and books on Egyptian religion. He also published works in the Coptic field, a list of which is available in *A Coptic Bibliography* (Kammerer, 1950, 1969).

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PIDJIMI, SAINT, a fifth-century ascetic and recluse who was visited by Saint SHENUTE (feast day: 11 Kiyahk). The only complete account of his life is a short notice in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION. Fragments in Coptic allow a more exact idea of the lost Life. A series of five leaves from the same manuscript was put together again by H. G. Evelyn-White in 1926: two fragments from Cairo, two from Leipzig, and one from the John Rylands Library, Manchester, that had been published by E. Amélineau in 1888 and by J. Leipoldt in 1906.

The following account comes from the Synaxarion. Pidjimi was a shepherd in the village of Fīshah in the diocese of Maṣīl or Malīj. When he was twelve, an angel took him away from his flock so that he could practice asceticism in the desert of Scetis. There he stayed until he was twenty-four. Demons attacked him in many animal forms, but he annihilated them through the power of God. Then he found a valley to which he withdrew for three years, living on dates and a little water each week, saying 2,400 prayers a day and as many at night, and fasting for forty and even eighty days. After twenty-four years, the Lord sent an angel to ask him to return to his own country, where he remained a recluse, consulted by the people. Then the angel took him to Pharan on the Red Sea (the Arabic wrongly has Euphrates), where the people had left the straight path. One day when he was carrying baskets of produce to sell in the country, he became so weary that an angel carried him. The great Saint SHENUTE one day saw a column of precious stones appear before him, while a voice declared, "This is the prophet Anbā Pidjimi." In the vision

Pidjimi asked Shenute to fetch water so that Pidjimi might receive him, and when Shenute reached the cell, the water was already boiling. The two hermits found the skull of a dead man from olden times. They revived him, and he told them of the fate of the dead in hell before the Savior's arrival. At the end of his life, Anbā Pidjimi predicted the day of his death to his intimate associates. He died at the age of seventy. As H. G. Evelyn-White validly concluded, he lived from about 380 to 450, since he appears as the predecessor of Shenute.

The Coptic fragments better illustrate certain parts of this Life. The first extract shows by what maxims Pidjimi educated himself as he went into the desert and specifies the different kinds of animals that he had to struggle against at the beginning. The text states precisely that his prayers involved 24,000 prostrations at night and 140 by day. The next passage relates the journey to Pharan, the name of which is surely correct here. In fact, the angel who takes him is preceded by a great apparition of Saint MICHAEL with the Lord and the twelve apostles. The last episode concerns the meeting with Shenute. The Coptic text says explicitly that by these miracles God intended to show to Pidjimi the election of which Shenute was the beneficiary in his eyes. The signs of this election are the welcome with the boiling water and the skull recalled to life by Shenute's staff tapped three times against the bones.

Evelyn-White rightly compares Pidjimi with Abbot Bitimios in the alphabetical apothegm *Macarius* 33, where Bitimios tells how Macarius received the two young "Romans" (Saints MAXIMUS AND DOMITIUS) at Scetis. The episode was already received from someone other than Pidjimi himself. It is possible that the apothegms of Benjamin must be considered to be from Pidjimi. Indeed, a very old Georgian collection of apothegms places a Pitimi at the letter P with the first apothegm of Benjamin (Esbroeck, 1975, p. 387). No Coptic text has ever listed a Benjamin among the desert fathers.

If one stands back from the text, one sees that this Life tends to justify Shenute's mission through the life of an earlier ascetic at Scetis who is not Saint MACARIUS, and who had moral authority over the monastic community of Pharan along the Red Sea. There is some chance that these communities may have become Chalcedonian. It is very probable that the Life of Pidjimi was intended to formulate the rights of anti-Chalcedonian monachism at Pharan long after the death of Shenute himself.

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MICHEL VAN ESBROECK

PIEHL, KARL FREDRIK (1853–1904), Swedish Egyptologist. He studied Egyptology privately and worked in various continental museums before joining J. Maspero in Paris in 1878. He was appointed professor of Egyptology at Uppsala in 1893; in 1889 he had founded there a museum of Egyptian antiquities, which from 1895 bore the name Victoria Museum. Piehl also founded the journal *Sphinx* in 1896. In the field of Coptic studies, he left behind several brief studies. He died at Sigtuna, near Uppsala.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PIER. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches: Pillar.

PIETRO DELLE VALLE (1586–1652), Italian traveler. He journeyed in Egypt and collected antiquities, including Coptic manuscripts. Among the texts that he acquired were grammatical works and Bohairic dictionaries, which were later of great use to A. Kircher in his work on the Coptic language. In 1718 four of the manuscripts that had been purchased by Pietro at the end of 1615, were acquired by the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. 6, 11, 71, 72).

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PILGRIMAGES. There are more than sixty centers of Coptic pilgrimage in Egypt, of which the main ones are those of the Virgin Mary at Musṭurud, Saint Menas at Maryūṭ, Saint George (Mār Jirjis) of Mīt Damsīs, Sitt Dimyānah near Bilqās, and Anbā Shinūdah at Dayr al-Abyāḍ, near Suhāj.

For the Copts, pilgrimage is a religious act of public worship of high spiritual and social value, consisting of an act of veneration offered directly to God and his saints, or to God through his saints. In contrast to abstinence, fasting, and almsgiving, which are simple acts of corporal asceticism or charity, pilgrimage is a complex event. It implies, in effect, bodily fatigue, asceticism, and often a vow, with an offering being made and the poor receiving their share of alms. In short, pilgrimage is a religious act, perfect and complete, and if made with pure and righteous intent, it is a means of sanctification and glorification of God and his saints.

While the private and public usefulness and the sanctity of pilgrimage are evident, yet at all times and in all countries, it has been abused. Such abuses have been denounced by responsible spiritual people, like the monk SHENUTE, who, in the fifth century, accused the pilgrimages of being commercial fairs and sites of fun and leisure.

The Length and Dates of the Pilgrimages

Most pilgrimages last seven days, unless they coincide with a liturgical season, such as the feast of Ascension or the Fast of the Virgin. The last day of the pilgrimage, that of the saint's feastday, is particularly celebrated. The last night, that of the vigil, is called "the Great Night," and on this night, no one sleeps and the pilgrims remain in the church where the ceremonies unfold or visit the many public tents erected around the church on the occasion for various activities.

Certain very popular pilgrimages are not held on the saint's liturgical feastday, as is the case with Saint George of Mīt Damsīs or the numerous pilgrimages concurrent with the Ascension.

The Seven Specific Aspects of a Pilgrimage

Seven specific activities manifest the religious aspect of the Coptic pilgrimage: special prayer, baptisms, vows, offerings, and gatherings of the poor, the sick, and the possessed.

1. *Special prayer.* During the pilgrimage, many pilgrims present themselves before the icon of the Virgin or before the tomb, relics, or icon of the venerated saint, where they perform a *tamjīd,* or song of praise, accompanied by the rhythmic clanging of cymbals.

2. *Baptisms.* There is great activity around the baptistry of the church during the pilgrimage, for many of the faithful have vowed to have their children baptized in this or that place in honor of a particular saint. Baptized and then confirmed, the children are carried in procession to the church, where they receive Holy Communion.

3. *Vows.* People often go on a pilgrimage as the result of a vow made during a sickness or other ordeal or to give thanks for a favor granted during the year.

4. *Offering.* It is often as a result of a vow that the faithful take offerings to the church that is the object of their pilgrimage: money, candles, oil, incense, icons, chandeliers, veils for the altar or the doors of the iconostasis, rugs, or the like. The most typical offering, however, is a sheep, which is slain near the church and divided into three parts—one for the church, one for the poor, and one for the family.

5. *Gathering of the poor.* Numerous poor people crowd into the centers of pilgrimage, where they receive part of the offerings of the slain sheep and alms. Among these poor, there are groups from orphanages that animate the activities by their boisterousness.

6. *Gathering of the sick.* Many of those who are sick or possessed by demons go to the centers of pilgrimage, hoping to be delivered from their sufferings. They spend the night in the church awaiting the apparition of the saint, who will cure them.

7. *Gathering of the possessed.* Within the church itself, or in a room specially reserved for this purpose, exorcisms take place in certain centers of pilgrimage. Here many curious, mysterious, and impressive events have been verified.

The Secular Aspect of the Pilgrimage

It is the secular aspect of the Coptic pilgrimage that is often the most striking. During the day, and particularly at night, crowds fill restaurants, cafes, and theaters that have all been erected for the occasion under immense tents of motley color and design around the church or monastery of pilgrimage. In the evening, this village of tents is illuminated by gas lamps, and here the pilgrim can find everything —bakers, grocers, sugarcane vendors, and peddlers

of religious objects and saints' images, with all kinds of *aḥjibahs* (singular *ḥijāb*, a protective talisman). Some specialists do tattoos, while other shopkeepers sell hummus and *ḥalāwah* (confections and sweetmeats), and cooks offer kabab or *fasīkh*, a small fermented fish that is one of the specialties of the pilgrimage.

The pilgrimage occupies an important place in the religious and social life of the Christians in Egypt. Places of pilgrimage are like oases of prayer and joy in the daily life of the Copts.

Famous Pilgrimages

24 January (*16 Ṭūbah*): Al-Amīr Tadrus (Saint Theodorus) of Madīnat Hābū, Luxor. The pilgrimage takes place in a church dedicated to the martyr Tadrus al-Muḥārib, the soldier.

29 January (*21 Ṭūbah*): The mother of the Savior at JABAL AL-ṬAYR. Rising over the eastern bank of the river Nile opposite the village of al-Bayahū in the neighborhood of the town of Samālūṭ, Jabal al-Ṭayr is associated with the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt, and the Virgin Mary is highly venerated in a church partly hewn in the mountainside. An inscription inside the church dated A.D. 328 confirms the fact that the church was constructed by order of Saint Helena, mother of Emperor CONSTANTINE I. In bygone days, a monastery of Our Lady stood on that mountain, and its monks welcomed the pilgrims who came to venerate the Virgin Mary. Its church was restored in 1938. Though the monastery is deserted at present, al-Maqrīzī wrote that in the fifteenth century the monastery was still flourishing, with numerous monks residing therein. He called the mountain Jabal al-Kahf (Mountain of the Cavern). Vansleb visited that monastery in February 1673 and called it Dair il Baccar (probably a corruption of *buqīr*, a migrating bird mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, which went to this mountain once every year).

Jabal al-Ṭayr has another church built in 1889, one dedicated to Saint MACARIUS the EGYPTIAN.

Pilgrims used to visit the mountain every year to venerate the mother of the Savior on the day of the anniversary of her death, according to Coptic tradition. The greater pilgrimage, however, was fixed for 16 Misrā (22 August), when all persons possessed by evil spirits there sought deliverance through intercession of the Virgin Mary.

2 April: The Virgin Mary at Zaytūn, Cairo (see VIRGIN, APPARITION OF THE).

20 May (*12 Bashans*): Sitt Dimyānah, near Bilqās, in the Monastery of al-Barārī is located in Za'farān, a few miles from Bilqās in Daqahliyyah Province in the Delta. Her father, a governor of Za'farān, built a convent for her in the area. She was followed there by forty other virgins (see DAYR SITT DIMYĀNAH). She and her forty companions were martyred under DIOCLETIAN. Her pilgrimage is one of the most important for the Copts.

30 May (*23 Ba'ūnah*): Apa Nob of Samannūd. Apa Nob came from Nahīsah in the Daqahliyyah Province. He embraced Christianity early and became a martyr under Diocletian in the town of Samannūd. Two celebrations take place in his honor, a pilgrimage on 30 May and a commemoration on 31 July.

19 June (*12 Ba'ūnah*): Al-Malāk Mīkā'īl of Sibirbāy. This pilgrimage is dedicated to the archangel Michael. It occurs in a little village called Sibirbāy, east of Tanta in the Delta.

22 June (*15 Ba'ūnah*): Mār Mīnā, Maryūt. A martyr under Diocletian, Saint Menas was miraculously buried at Maryūṭ (see ABŪ MĪNĀ). The site has been famous since the third century. Pilgrims flock there to collect water from its source. The water is believed to have curative powers. In the fifth century a large basilica and a large pilgrimage center was built at Maryūt.

28 June (*21 Ba'ūnah*): The Virgin Mary at DAYR AL-MUḤARRAQ. Jabal Qusqām is the ancient Apollinopolis Parva, situated about 8 miles (13 km) west of the town of al-Qūṣiyyah, the final station in the progress of the Holy Family into Upper Egypt. This is the site of Dayr Jabal Qusqām, better known as Dayr al-Muḥarraq, established in honor of the Virgin Mary and in commemoration of the flight of the Holy Family. It is said that the monastery was founded by Saint PACHOMIUS (d. 348) or one of his disciples. The Church of Our Lady within its precincts is presumably the earliest known Christian church in Egypt. It is said that in 390 the twenty-third patriarch of Alexandria, THEOPHILUS (385–412), went to this monastery to consecrate the church himself; the anniversary of that consecration is annually celebrated in the Coptic liturgy on 6 Hatūr (15 November).

14 July (*7 Abīb*): Saint SHENUTE, founder of the monastery bearing his name. DAYR ANBĀ SHINŪDAH, also known as the White Monastery, lies near the city of Suhāj on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Akhmīm. Anbā Shinūdah, who was born around 348, is said to have lived 118 years. He was a contemporary of Saint Paul the Theban, Saint Antony, Saint Pachomius, and many other famous men. He lived to see seven patriarchs, from ATHANASIUS the

Apostolic (326–373) to TIMOTHY II (458–480). His pilgrimage is one of the most popular in Upper Egypt.

15 July (*8 Abīb*): Anbā Bishoi at Wādī al-Natrūn. Many pilgrims return to Dayr Anbā Bishoi to venerate the great ascetic of the desert of SCETIS. Anbā Bishoi was born around 320 perhaps at the village of SHANASHĀ. He became a monk in 340 and died in the desert at ANTINOOPOLIS in 417, at the age of ninety-seven. He was buried at the monastery that bears his name.

7–22 August (*1–16 Misrā*): The Virgin Mary at Musṭurud. Musṭurud is a village situated north of Cairo on the road to Ismailia or Mit Ṣurad. It is known to have been on the route of the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, and from very early times, it had a church dedicated to Our Lady. Among its recorded features is a well with miraculous healing water and an ancient icon on gazelle hide representing the entry of the Holy Family in Egypt. The Dominican traveler and pilgrim J. M. VANSLEB visited it on 16 July 1671 and mentioned among its spiritual treasures a miraculous icon of the Holy Virgin. The church of Musṭurud has a crypt similar to that of Saint Sergius (see BABYLON), where the Holy Family took refuge during its flight. Annual pilgrimages to this church are performed on 7–8 Ba'ūnah/14–15 June. After spending the night in prayer at that church and celebrating the eucharistic liturgy in the morning, pilgrims proceed to the old sycamore tree at Maṭariyyah (see below), where the Holy Family rested to complete their pilgrimage cycle. The date of 8 Ba'ūnah was selected for the festive occasion because, according to the Coptic Synaxarion, the church was consecrated on that date in A.M. 901/A.D. 1185 by MARK III, seventy-third patriarch of Alexandria. As a rule, the pilgrimage to the Musṭurud church takes place during the fast of Our Lady (1–16 Misrā/7–22 August) before the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.

7–22 August (*1–16 Misrā*): the Virgin Mary at DAYR DURUNKAH, a center of concentrated religious activity for the Coptic community, situated about 6 miles (10 km) southwest of the city of Asyūṭ. It is better known for the monastery bearing that name. Dayr Durunkah is the residence of the Coptic archbishop of Asyūṭ. This is a highly frequented religious center, especially during the fifteen-day period of the Virgin's fast preceding the celebration of her feast on 16 Misrā (22 August). The Catholic Copts have constructed a special church of their own honoring Our Lady for their own pilgrims.

Al-MAQRĪZĪ, the fifteenth-century Arab historian of the Copts, enumerated several monasteries in the region of Adrunkah, as he called it. He described it as the most Christian area in Upper Egypt. He also noted that the population of that district still used the Coptic language in its daily life. The cluster of convents in the Durunkah region is a significant indication of the strength of the Coptic community in Asyūṭ and the adjacent regions, such as Abū Tīj and al-Badārī, among other cities of Upper Egypt.

20–22 August (*14–16 Misrā*): the Virgin Mary at Daqādūs, situated slightly north of the town of Mīt Ghamr in Daqahliyyah Province on the east bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile. This village has a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It is built on the site of a much older one, which is known to have existed in 1239. The antiquity of the older church is proved by citations in a manuscript of the church library (no. 27) dated A.M. 1048/A.D. 1332, and this has been confirmed by the excavations of 1970, which uncovered the foundations of the ancient structure under the modern choir. There is a tradition that the Holy Family in its flight into Egypt passed through that area. It is also known that the seventy-first patriarch, Anbā MICHAEL V (1145–1146), was born in Daqādūs. Its church appears in the medieval lists of churches and monasteries and is associated with the Virgin Mary, according to manuscript 174 of the National Library, Paris, where it is mentioned as ⲑⲉⲟⲧⲟⲕⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲟⲕⲟⲧⲟⲥ (i.e., the Mother of God at Daqādūs). That village has become an important place of pilgrimage. Apparently the dates of these festivities are coordinated with those of the neighboring Mīt Damsīs festivities and Our Lady's annual fast of fifteen days in the month of August.

23–29 August (*17–25 Misrā*): Mār Jirjis (Saint George) at Mīt Damsīs, which is situated about six miles north of the town of Mīt Ghamr on the eastern bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile in Daqahliyyah Province. Two churches dedicated to Saint George exist within a monastic establishment built on an attractive site on the Nile bank. The monastery was originally dedicated to the Virgin Mary when a barge, it is said, arrived with pilgrims from Jerusalem at that site and was unable to proceed further. The pilgrims were accorded hospitality by the monks, and during the night, their superior had a vision of Saint George, who revealed to him that the barge carried on it a relic of the saint and asked him to bring it ashore and build a church in his honor around it. The vision was confirmed the following morning by the discovery of a wooden reliquary containing the said relic, which

was deposited in the sanctuary of the new church. It was constructed by order of Saint Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, about the year 320. Until the end of the twelfth century, Mīt Damsīs was known to have been the seat of a bishop, and according to the chronicle of JOHN OF NIKIOU, that village played a distinctive role in the opposition to the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT in 642.

The modern church is known to date from 1880. As the INCENSE fills the church in the evenings during festivities, the image of Saint George on horseback is said to appear in the cupola. At that time, both Christian and Muslim pilgrims throng the church seeking the curing of diseases and especially the exorcism of evil spirits from possessed persons by prayers said by local priests.

23–29 August (*17–25 Misrā*): Sitt Rifqah at SUNBĀṬ, a small village situated on the west bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile Delta, north of the town of Zifta, facing Mīt Damsīs in Gharbiyyah Province. It has an ancient church containing the relics of a Coptic woman saint by the name of Sitt Rifqah and those of her five children, originally natives of QŪṢ in Upper Egypt, who were martyred at Shubrā, near Alexandria. Afterward, their relics were transported to Sunbāṭ, where they were deposited in its church.

Two other saints are also venerated at Sunbāṭ, two brothers by the names of Piroou and Athom (see MARTYRS), who, after collecting the relics of another saint and martyr called Anua, priest of Xois (the modern Sakhā), and depositing them in the same church at Sunbāṭ, went themselves to Alexandria in pursuit of the crown of martyrdom.

Usually pilgrims to Daqadūs and Mīt Damsīs cross the Nile to Sunbāṭ to pay homage to Sitt Rifqah and other saints.

Other Pilgrimages, According to Sites of Churches, Saints, and Martyrs

Abnūb. An important city in the midst of agricultural terrain in the valley of the Nile in Upper Egypt, it is situated within 5 miles (8 km) of a Coptic monastery dedicated to SAINT BUOṬUR (Victor) Shū. This saint was a Roman legionary and was martyred in the persecution of DIOCLETIAN. His pilgrimage takes place on 8–9 Bashans/16–17 May.

Abū Tīj. One of the noted Coptic districts in Upper Egypt, Abū Tīj has a very ancient church dedicated to Saint Macarius the Egyptian built in the midst of the city necropolis. It attracts numerous pilgrims to venerate the great saint on his feast day, 27 Baramhāt/5 April. The city appeared in the lists of episcopal dioceses of Upper Egypt and is still the seat of a bishop. Vansleb went there in the seventeenth century and visited the ruins of the ancient city near the bank of the Nile.

Al-Badāri. This is a city in the province of Asyūṭ in whose neighborhood a monastery existed by the name of DAYR AL-'AWANAH, dedicated to Saint George. It attracts a great many pilgrims seeking the miracle of his intercession. Al-'Awanah itself is a village that in ancient times had a population of Coptic origin. At present, it is a totally Muslim community. Another Pachomian monastery, deserted for centuries, existed at the village of Tāsā (see DAYR TĀSĀ). It is situated 3 miles (5 km) north of al-Badārī.

In the fifteenth century in his Coptic history, al-Maqrīzī stated that on the anniversary of the Virgin Mary, a dove descended on the church sanctuary and then disappeared, only to reappear at the following annual festival.

Banī Murr. A village situated on the east bank of the Nile in the region of the Abnūb district in Upper Egypt, Banī Murr has a church that is dedicated to Saint George and is a renowned center for exorcism. Sick pilgrims frequent it for their deliverance on the date of its anniversary, 23 Baramūdah/1 May.

In bygone days a monastery also dedicated to Saint George stood within the precincts of an adjacent village called al-Mu'ayṣirah, now called al-Ma'ṣarah. This monastery is now completely deserted, and in the fifteenth century the historian al-Maqrīzī included it in his list and added that it was already depleted of monks.

Banī Murr has been made famous in modern times as the native village of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Al-Batānūn. A small village situated to the northeast of Shibīn al-Kom, capital of Minūfiyyah Province, it has a church dedicated to Saint Sarabamūn built in 1897 and frequented by pilgrims on 28 Hatūr/7 December. The saint was bishop of Nikiou in the fourth century and earned the crown of martyrdom. From al-Batānūn came the fifty-fifth patriarch, Anbā Sanutius I (SHENUTE I, 858–880).

Bayaḍ al-Naṣārā. This is a small place situated on the eastern bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt facing the town of Banī Suef. It has a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and its modern church was consecrated in 1963. Pilgrims frequent it during the fifteen-day fast of the Virgin Mary, 1–16 Misrā/7–22 August.

Bayahū. A church dedicated to Saint Iskhiron in the village of Bayahū became the object of annual pilgrimages to venerate one of the most famous Coptic saints and martyrs. Saint Iskhiron came originally from the city of QALLĪN in the lower Delta, not far from Alexandria; hence, he is called in the Arabic annals Abiskharūn al-Qallīnī. Churches dedicated to him include a fourteenth-century one in the Dayr Anbā Maqār and Dayr Anbā Bishoi both in Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Apparently he was a legionary in a Roman battalion stationed at Antinoopolis (the Arabic Anṣinā) in Middle Egypt, but he is said to have been martyred at Asyūṭ. His martyrdom is recounted by EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (see Bk. 6, chap. 42). He was tortured by having his belly pierced with a sharp stake and then being decapitated. The Coptic church commemorates his martyrdom on 7 Ba'ūnah/14 June, and the consecreation of his church at Bayahū is celebrated on 10 Baramhāt/19 March.

Dimiqrāṭ. This is a village located between Luxor and Isnā. On the western side of it, there is DAYR MĀR JIRJIS, which is frequented by pilgrims for a week every year, 1–7 Hatūr/10–16 November.

Ḥijāzah. This village is situated to the southeast of Qūṣ. In its neighborhood there is a monastery known as DAYR ABŪ SAYFAYN, dedicated to Saint Mercurius. According to local tradition, the church inside that monastery was established by Saint Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine. Pilgrims frequent this monastery annually on 25 Abīb/1 August to venerate Saint Mercurius.

Isḥāq al-Hurīnī, Saint. Few specific facts are known about this saint, who, according to the citation in the Coptic Synaxarion, was born at a village called Hūrīn. After taking the monastic vow, he is said to have become a disciple of a certain Anbā Iliyyā. Afterward he went to the mountain of Barnūj on the edge of the Nitrian valley, and there he became the disciple of a certain Anbā Zacharias. When he died, his body was placed on a camel and carried to a spot between Hūrīn, his birthplace, and another by the name of Nashrat. As the camel refused to budge from that spot, the saint's body was removed and buried there. Over his tomb was erected a church that became a place of pilgrimage for the natives. He is also associated with DAYR AL-NAQLŪN in the Fayyūm.

Ishnīn al-Naṣārā. This is a village situated in the region of the district of Maghāgha in Minyā Province. The Holy Family passed into this region on its flight into Egypt. About 5 miles (8 km) west of Ishnīn or Ashnīn, DAYR AL-JARNŪS was built in honor of the Virgin Mary, whom people came to venerate on 24 Bashans/1 June every year. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned the name of a monastery of Isūs, which he identified as the Monastery of Argenus (probably a corruption of al-Jarnūs). He recorded that there was in that place a well whose cover was lifted at the sixth hour (i.e., at midday) to observe the rising water within it, which indicated the height of the future flood of the Nile. On June 1, pilgrims throng al-Jarnūs Monastery with their children for the purpose of blessing them with immunity against the sting of a scorpion or a snakebite.

Isnā. An important city in Qinā Province in Upper Egypt, this was known as Latopolis in the Coptic period. It is said that as early as the reign of Patriarch PETER I (302–311), Saint Ammonius was created bishop of the city by him. Tradition has it that as bishop, Saint Ammonius established the church of the martyrs of ISNĀ with the aid of Saint Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, in what was known as DAYR AL-SHUHADĀ' situated a couple of miles south of Isnā. Pilgrims frequent it on 14 Kiyahk/23 December. This monastery was visited in 1668 by a Capuchin named Father Portais, who reiterated the role of Saint Helena in the founding of the monastery.

'Izbāwiyyah. This church of Our Lady and some of its adjacent buildings located in Cairo belong to DAYR AL-SURYĀN in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, in Cairo. The church itself was built in the nineteenth century on the site of a well at which the Holy Family is supposed to have stopped on its flight into Egypt. This is in the heart of the Azbakiyyah area, within reach of the old Cathedral of Saint Mark. Visitors throng that church every day to venerate an ancient icon of the Virgin Mary, presumably painted by Saint Luke the Evangelist. J. Muyser suggested that this may be an eighteenth-century copy of an original preserved in Dayr al-Suryān; it may be the work of a certain Luke who was bishop of the Thebaid in the fourth century. Muyser stated that Luke left a treatise in which he referred to his icons of the Virgin Mary.

Kafr Ayyūb. This is a village in the neighborhood of Minyā al-Qamḥ in Sharqiyyah Province. Its church was established in 1900 and dedicated to Saint George, whose annual celebrations last a whole week every year, 18–25 July (Viaud, 1979, p. 74).

Kafr al-Dayr. This is a village in the neighborhood of the district of Minyā al-Qamḥ in Sharqiyyah Prov-

ince. It has one of the oldest churches surviving in Lower Egypt. Its iconostasis is dated A.M. 1247/A.D. 1531. It is dedicated to Saint Michael, and its annual pilgrimage is fixed on 12 Ba'ūnah/19 June. Though ancient and built in Byzantine-Oriental style, its belfry was constructed in 1935 on the model of the church existing in Jaffa.

Ma'ādī. Ma'ādi, a suburb south of Cairo on the Nile, has a church of Our Lady on the right bank of the river at the spot where tradition says that the Holy Family crossed to the other bank in its progress into Upper Egypt. This picturesque church, with its three granary-shaped cupolas, is an eighteenth-century structure on the site of a much older church. Usually pilgrims frequent it during the fifteen-day fast of the Virgin Mary before the feast of the Assumption on 16 Misrā/22 August every year.

Manyal Shīḥah. This place is situated southwest of Giza on the western bank of the Nile. Here, according to the Coptic Synaxarion, two saints by the name of COSMAS AND DAMIAN, presumably of Syrian origin, were martyred, together with five brothers and their mother during the persecutions of Diocletian. Those two saints are among the most popular ones throughout Christendom. The Copts celebrate their anniversary on three different dates of the Coptic calendar. The first date is 22 Hatūr/1 December, which is supposed to be that of their martyrdom. The second, 22 Ba'ūnah/29 May, and the third, 30 Hatūr/9 December, are thought to be the dates of the founding and the dedication of their church. The pilgrimage of Manyal Shīḥah is usually given as 20–22 Ba'ūnah/27–29 May, when visitors throng the church with their sick, seeking miraculous healing, mainly of epilepsy and nervous disorders. Both saints were physicians who treated patients with those conditions. According to al-Maqrīzī, a monastery known as Dayr Damwah at Giza was described as "dayr Laṭīf" (fine monastery).

Maṭariyyah. This suburb northeast of Cairo is perhaps the most celebrated station in the story of the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt. Here stands the sycamore tree which is supposed to have sheltered the Holy Family. It is said that a well existed in that region from which the Virgin drew water. Also the records indicate that a church stood on that site, but it disappeared in one of the recurrent popular upheavals against Christians and was replaced by a simple hall with an altar consisting of a stone table standing in front of a niche. In 1597 it became the property of the Franciscan friars, who restored the chapel, but in 1660 it was transformed into a mosque. VANSLEB indicated that when he visited Maṭariyyah on 12 July 1672, the oratory was no longer readily accessible to the Christians. In 1724, Paul Lucas offered witness that the oratory still existed. In the nineteenth century the building disappeared altogether and pilgrimages ceased to take place. A small chapel owned by the Jesuit fathers was consecrated in the adjoining garden on 6 December 1904, and the Catholics of Egypt organize a pilgrims progress to it every year on 8 December.

al-Minshāh. This is the modern name of the older village known in the Coptic period as Ptolemais-Hermiou. It is situated about 12 miles (19 km) south of the city of Suhāj. Its fame rests on its association with Anbā Bisādah, its bishop, and the monastery that carried his name. Tradition says that in his youth, Saint Bisadāh was a shepherd of a flock of goats with a certain Agrippides, who turned out later to be the emperor of Rome under the name of Diocletian. However, Anbā Bisādah was martyred by his old companion, Emperor Diocletian, and his relics were deposited in a small side chapel by the sanctuary of his church.

He is commemorated three times annually, and each time attracts pilgrims to his church. The dates are 27 Kiyahk/5 January, 24 Ṭūbah/1 February, and 27 Abīb/3 August.

Minyā al-Qamḥ. A church dedicated to Saint George was built at Minyā al-Qamḥ in 1916. Pilgrimage to it was started as late as 1968, but the natives claim numerous miracles performed by the intercession of Saint George, especially in exorcism, through the prayers of one of its deacons.

Qamūlah. This is a village situated south of the city of Qūṣ. Meinardus placed Dayr Abū Sayfayn in it, and Muyser stated that it had an ancient church dedicated to Saint Michael.

Qaṣr al-Sayyāḍ. This village is situated on the eastern bank of the Nile between Nag Hammadi and Faw or Pbow. The Monastery of Anbā Balamūn, or PALAEMON, is located in this area and is also known as the Monastery of Abū Sayfayn. It contains five churches, dedicated to Saint Mercurius, to the Virgin Mary, to Sitt Dimyānah, to Saint Michael, and to Anbā Balamūn. The last was constructed in 1925.

Anbā Balamūn was the spiritual father of Saint PACHOMIUS. In 323, Pachomius established his first cenobitic monastery of Tabennēse in Chenoboskion, which may be identified as the modern Qaṣr al-Sayyāḍ. Later his monasteries multiplied in that

area. A Pachomian cathedral in ruins is being excavated by an American expedition at the present time, and a search is being conducted for the exact site of the discovery of the Gnostic papyri of the Nag Hammadi library.

Pilgrimages are made annually by the faithful to the Monastery of Anbā Balamūn on 30 Ṭūbah/7 February and 25 Abīb/1 August to venerate the founder of cenobitic life.

Sadamant. This town is now known as Sadamant al-Jabal. It is situated about 17 miles (27 km) south of Madīnat al-Fayyūm within the frontier of the province of Banī Suef. It contained an ancient monastery, Dayr Mār Jirjis. It was well known in the thirteenth century, and its name was immortalized by the famous theologian BUTRUS AL-SIDMANTĪ, whose work was published around 1260. In the fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī said that it was almost deserted. However, it was restored in 1914 and monastic life was renewed there.

al-Salāmūnī. This is a village situated north of the better-known village of al-Ḥawāwīsh in the district of Akhmīm. It had in its neighborhood a monastery dedicated to the archangel Michael, DAYR AL-MALĀK MĪKHĀ'ĪL, which appeared in al-Maqrīzī's history in the fifteenth century as Dayr Ṣabrah, a word derived from an Arab tribe called Banī Ṣabrah that settled in this region. The church of that ancient monastery, which still exists, is the site of two pilgrimages, on 12 Hatūr/21 November and 12 Ba'ūnah/19 June. The natives usually congregate in the church for tendering wishes from the saint.

al-Sanqūriyyah. This village is situated approximately 14 miles (22 km) south of the town of Banī Mazār in Asyūṭ Province. It has a monastery, DAYR AL-SANQŪRIYYAH, dedicated to Saint Theodorus, or Tawadrūs, better known as al-Āmir Tadrus or Tadrus al-Shuṭbī from his native village of Shuṭbī in the neighborhood of the city of Asyūṭ. He was martyred at Alexandria sometime in the early years of the fourth century, and his body was carried back to his native village. The anniversary of his martyrdom is celebrated annually on 20 Abīb/27 July and the translation of his relics to Shuṭbī on 5 Hatūr/14 November.

Sawādah. This is a village situated at the foot of a mountain about a couple of miles to the south opposite al-Minyā on the eastern bank of the Nile. Here will be found the vestiges of a monastery known as Dayr Sawādah or DAYR APA HOR.

Apa Hor was born in Siryāqūs, a village near the town of Shibīn al-Qanāṭir in Qalyūbiyyah Province in Lower Egypt. He is said to have gone to Pelusium (al-Faramā) in the Sinai Peninsula to confess his faith before the authorities, who transported him to Antinoopolis, where he was tortured and ultimately decapitated.

Al-Maqrīzī mentioned this monastery in the fifteenth century and contended that it received the name Sawādah from an Arab tribe that became established in that area and ended by destroying it.

Pilgrims used to visit that monastery to venerate Apa Hor on 12 Abīb/19 July.

Shaqalqīl. Situated on the side of the mountain east of the Nile, opposite Umm al-Quṣūr, in the neighborhood of the town of Manfalūṭ in Upper Egypt, Shaqalqīl became the site of a monastery dedicated to Saint Menas. Its ancient church is partly hewn into the mountain rock. Vansleb, the seventeenth-century traveler, noted the existence of that monastery, but failed to identify it. Earlier, in the fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī recorded it as the Monastery of the Grotto of Shaqalqīl (Dayr Maghārat Shaqalqīl) and described it as a charming site on the flank of the mountain and hewn into the rock. It is inaccessible by normal foot travel; visitors can reach it only by scaling the mountainside with a rope. Owing to its rugged approach, few pilgrims made the journey to it to venerate Saint Menas on his anniversary date of 18 Ba'ūnah/22 June.

Ṣidfā. This is a village situated a little to the south of the important city of Abū Tīj. It attracts pilgrims to its church to honor Anbā Bishoi toward the end of the fast of the apostles. The saint's anniversary occurs on 12 Abīb/19 July. Anbā Bishoi appears in the Ṣidfā tradition as the uncle of Saint Shenute the Great. Actually his uncle is known to be Apa Pjol, the founder of the White Monastery in Suhāj. The fact that Apa Pjol was little known in that village accounts for the possible substitution of a more renowned saint in the person of Anbā Bishoi. In 1673, Vansleb visited what he described as "the ruins of the ancient town of Sitfe." The ninety-fourth patriarch of Alexandria, JOHN XIII (1484–1524) was a native of Ṣidfā.

Sanhirā. Situated a little to the southwest of the town of Ṭūkh in Qalyūbiyyah Province, Sanhirā had a church dedicated to an early saint and martyr by the name of Philotheus. His sanctuary became a place of pilgrimage for natives who were bitten by rabid dogs and used the water from a well within its precincts as a cure.

Siryāqūs. Occasionally called Saryaqūs, this village is situated a little to the southeast of al-Khankah in Qalyūbiyyah Province. Until some time

in the later Middle Ages, it had a monastery dedicated to an early Coptic saint and martyr by the name of Apa Hor. The sanctuary of the church that has survived from that vanished monastic institution has long been a place of pilgrimage for the natives of the region. As a rule, pilgrims thronged to his sanctuary for the saint's healing power over the disease known as scrofula.

Ṭukh al-Naṣārā. A small town in the neighborhood of Shibīn al-Kom, capital of Minūfiyyah Province. It has three churches, one of which is dedicated to Saint GEORGE, constructed in 770. Of the remaining two, the older church of Our Lady is known to have existed in 726; it was restored in 1872. The other church, also dedicated to the Virgin Mary and dating from 1876, is the seat of the superior of Dayr al-Baramūs in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, which owns property in this area. Two patriarchs of Alexandria came from this town, MATTHEW III, also known as Mattā al-Ṭūkhī, and JOHN XVI.

Ṭūkh Ṭanbishā. A village in the neighborhood of the town of Quisnā in Minūfiyyah Province, Ṭūkh Ṭanbishā has a church dedicated to the archangel Michael, which is frequented by pilgrims on 12 Ba'ūnah/19 June.

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The above compilation of pilgrimage sites and shrines has been based on the notes compiled by Hegumenos Jacob MUYSER during his residence of some thirty years among the Copts in Egypt. His love and esteem for the ancient Coptic church was coupled with a tremendous knowledge of its traditions, liturgies, hagiography, and literature. He was familiar with its churches, both ancient and modern, together with their patron saints, to whom the pious Copts rendered pilgrimages. After the death of Father Muyser on 16 April 1956, Gérard Viaud collected his unfinished notes, organized them, and edited them in a French treatise (Viaud, 1979).

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GÉRARD VIAUD

PILGRIMS AND TRAVELERS IN CHRISTIAN EGYPT.

Beginning in very early times, the holy places of the East attracted many pilgrims from abroad at the cost of a lengthy journey. They sought out those places where the history of salvation unfolded. The Egypt of Joseph and Moses, the land that later welcomed the Holy Family, appears rather as a complement to Palestine, visited only by those who had the desire or the leisure to see everything. Beyond that, Christian piety also venerated those other founders of the church and first witnesses of the faith, the martyrs and their successors, the holy monks. Egypt, land of the martyrs and birthplace of monasticism, possesses some shrines of international reputation, and still more, the deserts that border the valley have attracted a stream of foreign visitors. These pilgrimages, interrupted by the Persian occupation (618) and more or less restored at the beginnings of the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT, were to become gradually more rare with the progress of Islam in the East. In the time of the Crusades the proximity of the Frankish kingdom and the resumption of the practice of travel in the East brought a certain revival of pilgrimage to Egypt, but under an entirely new form of piety. This was soon replaced by another motiva-

tion, one introduced by the European Renaissance, the curiosity of the traveler who was party to the discovery of ancient Egypt, who wished to know and identify its monuments but only occasionally encountered Christian Egypt.

Biblical Egypt included first of all the itinerary of the Exodus to Sinai, generally reached from Jerusalem as starting point, and then in the Nile Valley some localities from the life of Joseph and of Moses. In Sinai itself the memory and the presence of holy monks, themselves pilgrims who had settled on the sites, at RAITHOU, at PHARAN, and especially at Jabal Mūsā, are a further motive for pilgrimage. It was the monks who constructed, or for whom were constructed, churches or chapels and then monasteries, for apart from the sites named, nō monument elsewhere recalls the events of the Exodus except for two small chapels at CLYSMA marking the entrance and the exit of the crossing of the Red Sea. In the Nile Valley, the houses of Potiphar and of Aseneth, wife of Joseph, were shown at Heliopolis, the granaries of Joseph at the Pyramids, his prison at Memphis, the plain where the Hebrews manufactured bricks, and finally the "thrones of Moses and Aaron." These were simply sites visited, without the presence of any places of worship.

In the sixth century a village near Memphis claimed to have given shelter to the Holy Family on its FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, and a temple transformed into a church contains a linen cloth on which is imprinted the face of Jesus. At Hermopolis (al-Ashmūnayn), from the end of the fourth century, an overthrown temple has been said to bear witness to the passing of the child Jesus, and a sycamore that sheltered him is reputed to possess healing properties. All the other places consecrated in tradition by the passing of the Holy Family are much later and scarcely appear in local piety before the twelfth century.

The most frequented martyrs' shrines are in Alexandria and its surroundings, such as those of Saint Mark and of John the Baptist, attested from the end of the fourth century, at Menouthis (Abūqīr); that of the saints Cyrus and John, whose cult in the fifth century drove out that of Isis; and, above all, the sanctuaries of Saint Menas (Abū Mīnā), with the famous waters, ampullae of which are found even in the north of Europe. Other regional capitals also have their shrines, such as those of Saint Ptolemy at Hermopolis; Colluthus at (Antinoopolis); Psote at Ptolemais; and, in the region of Lycopolis (Asyūṭ), the mounted saints and Syrian martyrs whose cult took root in Egypt at the time of the sojourn of SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH. These shrines are normally served by monks.

The great monastic sites of the desert attracted eminent personages, and some settled there as monks, including ARSENIUS and EVAGRIUS PONTICUS. These travelers were less eager for the marvelous, for miracles or healings, than for counsel and spiritual training, in which the destiny of a father of the church might find its source, as with JEROME, RUFINUS, and CASSIAN. From the end of the fourth century, people resorted to the ENATON, which was soon to shelter the venerated relics of Severus of Antioch; then they buried themselves deep in the desert on the track that linked Nitria to Scetis by way of Kellia. More rarely they went up the valley, and it was then monks above all who devoted themselves to a veritable quest, eager to see and hear everything about their great ancestors and to preserve it and hand it on. A halt was made at Saqqara, where the tomb of Jeremiah was venerated, and another in the community of Antony at Pispir on the bank of the Nile before reaching his inner mountain near the cave of Saint Paul. People also visited the laura of APOLLO at Bāwīṭ, the laura of JOHN OF LYCOPOLIS in the mountain of Asyūṭ, and finally the Pachomians of TABENNĒSĒ. From the HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO at end of the fourth century down to the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus at the beginning of the seventh century, a whole literature with the flavor not only of a geographical guide but also of a spiritual quest preserves the sayings and the exploits of the fathers of the desert of Egypt.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria was born and developed in Normandy, Flanders, and the Rhineland, where monks from Sinai came to beg for their monastery, soon bringing relics of the saint. From the thirteenth century, the extraordinary popularity of Catherine added to the traditional visit to the places of the Exodus a pilgrimage to the MOUNT SINAI MONASTERY OF SAINT CATHERINE, the more so when an order of chivalry was established there in the fifteenth century, complementary to that of the Holy Sepulcher. Since a dependency of the monastery had been established from the fifteenth century in Cairo, it was from there rather than from Jerusalem that the pilgrims set out. These pilgrims included knights, diplomats on missions, the faithful, and even merchants. Here are cited only the names of those who, having passed through Cairo, Alexandria, or the monasteries of Saint Antony (DAYR ANBĀ ANṬŪNIYŪS) and Saint Paul (DAYR ANBĀ BŪLĀ), brought back useful information: Thomas de Swin-

burne (1392), Baron d'Anglure (1395, at Saint Antony and Saint Paul as well as at DAYR AL-MAYMŪN), Ghillebert de Lanoy (1421), Breydenbach and Fabri (1485), Langherand (1486), Jean Thenaud (1512), and Greffin Affagart (1534). A change in the times and in outlook is evidenced by the visit of Belon du Mans (1548), who devoted himself primarily to a botanical collection, and by the sojourn of Carlier du Pinon (1579), who came equipped with Strabo's *Geography* and with maps for his itinerary.

Evidently people reached the point of seeking in Alexandria itself Saint Catherine's palace, her prison, and the column on which she was beheaded. (This column was transported to the Greek monastery of Saint Sabas.) Such seekers included Simon Simeionis (1323), Poggibonsi (1345), and Frescobaldi (1384).

In Cairo, since it was then out of the question to go further up the Nile, Western piety, henceforth marked by Franciscan devotion to the humanity of Jesus, led the pilgrim to the crypt of the Church of Abū Sarjah in Old Cairo, where, according to a local tradition begun only in the thirteenth century, the Holy Family lodged. From the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, no fewer than twenty-eight travelers from the West left descriptions of the sites. In the same period, people reached at Maṭariyyah the garden of the balsam and the spring at which the Holy Family stopped, to which were added in the fifteenth century the sycamore that had sheltered them, a counterpart to that of Hermopolis.

It is notable that from all these pilgrims one gleans only a few secondhand reports ("it is said . . .") about the monasteries of the desert. In 1657 the famous Thévenot spoke of Wādī al-Naṭrūn (Scetis) only by hearsay. It was not so much the monastic life that later provoked a revival of interest in the monasteries as the richness of their libraries. In 1633 the Capuchin Gilles de Loche told the French orientalist PEIRESC about these libraries, and in 1685 Robert Huntington, almoner of the Company of the Levant, noted the titles of several manuscripts. The scientific rediscovery of Christian Egypt begins with the Dominican J. M. Vansleb in 1672, although Coppin preceded him at Saint Antony and Saint Paul (1638).—He was followed by the Jesuit Sicard, who explored the whole country as far south as Aswan from 1712 to 1726. Among travelers in Egypt, it was the religious men, such as the theologian and future Anglican bishop R. Pococke (1736), who truly contributed to the knowledge of the Coptic community in its past and present forms. The laymen, like Paul Lucas (1715) or Granger (1731), are of little interest on this point when they are not purely and simply copying their predecessors. In contrast, the *Description de l'Egypte* by the scholars who accompanied Napoleon is replete with information about the monuments of Christian Egypt and the life of the Coptic village communities.

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MAURICE MARTIN, S.J.

PILLAR. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

PIMANDJOILI, a city named in the medieval list of Egyptian bishoprics as the seat of a bishop (Munier, 1943, pp. 49, 55). The list gives Xenedochou as the Greek name of the city and suggests, by the order of presentation, that the city was located in the northeastern part of the Egyptian Delta. However, no settlement with the name Pimandjoili or Xenedochou is to be found in the area today, nor can any town confidently claim to be the successor of the ancient city.

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RANDALL STEWART

PISENTIUS, SAINT, fourth-to-fifth century bishop of Hermonthis. The life of Saint Pisentius is preserved in one Arabic manuscript, now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo. Pisentius was born to pagan parents in Hermonthis (Armant), where he learned carpentry. Having witnessed a miracle, he went to the church and was baptized. Pisentius then went to the mountain of Hermonthis to be a monk. There he lived with a brother named Severus, who was the first monk of that "sacred" mountain and became the first bishop of that district. Pisentius heard a voice commanding that he build a church. After its construction, he appointed a priest and two deacons to serve there. An angel showed him the place on which he was to establish a monastery where as many as fifty-three monks would live. In addition, he built a convent for nuns.

According to the surviving Arabic text, Pisentius played a great role in the final Christianization of Hermonthis. The life of Pisentius also records that Patriarch THEOPHILUS (385–412) consecrated John, the younger brother of Pisentius, bishop of the diocese of Hermonthis. Further, it is known that HORSIESIOS, one of the disciples of PACHOMIUS OF TABENNĒSĒ and a contemporary of Patriarch Theophilus, visited Pisentius in Hermonthis.

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GAWDAT GABRA

PISENTIUS, SAINT, seventh-century monk and bishop of Armant (feast day: 20 Kiyahk). Pisentius was the nephew of the superior of the monastery of Ṭūd, probably the present DAYR ANBĀ ABSHĀY (Crum and Winlock, 1926). His birth was miraculously achieved through the prayers of his uncle. The monks of Ṭūd taught him Holy Scripture, and he devoted himself to the craft of copyist and to the trade of carpenter. His affability quickly made him popular, so much so that the monks chose him as successor to his uncle. On the death of the bishop of Armant, the people agreed on a monk from the mountain of Jeme, but the patriarch refused this selection. The choice of the people then fell on Pisentius, and he was announced to the governor of Ṭūd, who acquiesced. This choice had then to be confirmed by two bishops, one of them the patriarch's vicar for the South, Shenute, bishop of Antinoopolis. The ordination by the patriarch could not take place if these two bishops had not given their agreement.

Once he was ordained with two bishops as witnesses, Saint PISENTIUS of Qift and the bishop of Hiw, Pisentius returned to Armant from Alexandria, where the ceremony had taken place. The text mentions the occupation of Egypt by the Persians (619–629), which gives us an approximate date. Since the bishop of Isnā was deceased, and the occupying power did not wish new ordinations of bishops, the patriarch asked Pisentius to ensure the administration of the bishopric of Isnā. We know that this patriarch was ANDRONICUS (616–622). The text states that this filling of the vacancy lasted for seven years. The notice ends with the death of Pisentius, in his monastery of Ṭūd.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PISENTIUS, SAINT, seventh-century bishop of Qift who was noted as a preacher, letter writer, administrator, and servant of the poor (feast day: 13 Abīb). He is among the most outstanding personalities of the Coptic church.

Sources

Texts written about Pisentius date from the seventh to the eighteenth centuries. They include three Sahidic Coptic texts of the seventh (Crum, 1926; Abdel Sayed, 1984), ninth (Till, 1934; Abdel Sayed, 1984), and eleventh centuries (Budge, 1913; Abdel Sayed, 1984). Another document in Bohairic is dated in the tenth century (Amélineau, 1889). The oldest Arabic text on Pisentius is included in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION (Meinardus, 1963–1964). We also possess three Arabic versions of the life of the saint. The shortest Arabic version is from the

fourteenth century (Simaykah and 'Abd al-Masiḥ, 1939–1942, Vol. 2; Abdel Sayed, 1984). Copies from the eighteenth century preserve a longer recension, which goes back to an earlier medieval tradition (e.g., MS History 26, fols. 94–36r, of the Coptic Patriarchate [Simaykah and 'Abd al-Masiḥ, 1939–1942, Vol. 2], and MS Arabic 4794, fols. 122v–163v [Graf, 1944]). The longest text on the life of Pisentius was copied for E. C. Amélineau from an unknown source in the National Library, Paris (arabe 4785, fols. 97r–215r; see O'Leary, 1930). The Arabic Life of Pisentius has its origin partly in Coptic texts (Abdel Sayed, 1984).

Although the correspondence of Pisentius is scattered in various museums, the majority of it is preserved in the Louvre, Paris. E. Revillout published these Coptic letters (1900, 1902), but they should be republished. The life and correspondence of Pisentius are important for the light they throw on the background and activities of a bishop of the sixth and seventh centuries (Crum, 1926; Abdel Sayed, 1984).

Life

Pisentius was born in 569 in the district of Hermonthis (Armant) to a prosperous family. At the age of seven he entered DAYR APA PHOIBAMMON, where he stayed for sixteen years, during which time he became well versed in various disciplines.

Pisentius spent most of his monastic life at the Gebel al-Qaṣāṣ, north of Thebes on the western bank of the Nile, opposite the district of Coptos. He also was at the monastery of Epiphanius in western Thebes (Luxor). When he was thirty years old, he was consecrated bishop of Coptos by Saint DAMIAN, patriarch of Alexandria. He died in July 632, after thirty-three years of episcopal activity. It is probable that Pisentius met BENJAMIN I, a later patriarch of Alexandria, when the latter fled from Alexandria to Upper Egypt (Abdel Sayed, 1984).

We know from his Life that Pisentius memorized the Psalms, the Minor Prophets, and the Gospel according to John. Further, it was his habit to meditate on the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Some texts speak of his "knowledge and wisdom." It can also be deduced from accounts about Pisentius that he knew the canons of the church. In this connection, his correspondence shows that he had to deal with judicial affairs.

All of the Coptic and Arabic versions of his Life describe support and help to the poor as an important part of the activities of Pisentius. As bishop, he also sent letters to the communities of his diocese exhorting them to repent. He inspected the churches of his diocese and fulfilled the desires of the people during his tours of inspection—for example, he blessed the cow of a peasant. Also in his episcopal role, Pisentius observed the clergy celebrating the liturgy, and himself celebrated the commemoration of SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH. Many sick people came to the bishop to be healed. He also had the reputation of being able to release people from demons. Pisentius was obliged to deal with social problems, such as whether to allow a young man to marry the girl who had become pregnant by him. A certain Locianus sent a letter to the bishop asking him to send a notary to sign contracts. A clergyman named Antonius referred to the bishop in his letter to a woman whom he had forbidden to receive communion.

As an administrator and a man of good judgment, Pisentius organized his clergymen effectively. Together with all other Christian virtues and practices, he encouraged solemn observance of fasting periods throughout his diocese.

From time to time, Pisentius continued to practice the monastic way of his order by retiring to a secret place, where, as a recluse, he sought strength and guidance from God. At such times only his pupils knew his whereabouts.

Pisentius was famous as a preacher (Abdel Sayed, 1984). An Encomium of Saint ONOPHRIUS (London, British Library, MS Oriental 6800) has been assigned to him (Crum, 1916). Because a church dedicated to Onophrius stood not far from Qift, Pisentius wrote this homily for the celebration of his feast. In it he urges the emulation of the exemplary way of life of Saint Onophrius as the prototype for every Christian. This homily is considered one of the best of its kind, not only in Coptic letters but in the whole range of Christian literature.

A papyrus fragment (London, British Library, MS Oriental 7561, no. 60) contains the beginning of a homily attributed to Pisentius (Crum, 1926). A pseudepigraphic Arabic pastoral letter also has been assigned to him (Graf, 1944; Abdel Sayed, 1984).

In addition to his literary efforts, Pisentius was a prolific letter writer. Much of his correspondence still exists, although in fragments. In it he discusses the practical problems of his times. He relates difficulties encountered by the Egyptians during the Persian invasion of 619 to 629. He deals with the ageless problems of matrimony, inheritances, rape, and death. The letters also reveal the concern of the believers for their bishop. It is recorded that a certain Gennadius offered the bishop a plant pur-

ported to aid him in overcoming his difficulty with urination.

Many pieces of evidence testify to the strength of Pisentius in popular memory (Crum, 1926; Abdel Sayed, 1984). At one time monasteries in the districts of Hermonthis, Jeme, and Gebel al-Qasas bore his name. In Ḥājir Naqādah there is still a monastery of Anbā Bīsīntā'us. On a wooden cross from between the seventh and ninth centuries, the name of Pisentius is invoked directly after that of Pachomius and Shenute. Lamps inscribed with the name of Pisentius, probably dating to the ninth century, have been found in Upper Egypt and at Faras in Nubia. In the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* the name of Pisentius is mentioned in the context of the "Priesthood of Christ" (Seybold, 1904). Moreover, the Synaxarion and the Difnar, which are used in the current liturgy of the Coptic church, both commemorate him. It is no wonder that Pisentius came to be considered a saint.

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C. DETLEF G. MÜLLER
GAWDAT GABRA

PISENTIUS OF QIFṬ, PSEUDO-. *See* Pseudo-Pisentius of Qifṭ.

PISURA, SAINT, martyr under Diocletian (feast day: 9 Tūt). The text of his Passion is preserved in Bohairic (Vatican Library, Coptic 60, fols. 1–85, ed. Hyvernat, 1886–1887), which is mutilated at the beginning. The beginning, however, can be reconstructed from the summary found in the Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION.

According to the Synaxarion, Pisura was bishop of Masīl. About to face martyrdom, he gathers his people for a farewell discourse. The Coptic text begins at this point. The people are grieved at the news, and burst into tears. Pisura pronounces a last prayer, gives a blessing, and takes his leave. He joins three other bishops, who go to the regional capital to confess their faith to the tribunal of the governor Culcianus. An interesting altercation with the governor follows, involving some philosophical issues, but the text is from the Passion of IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH. This is followed by the customary scenes of torture, some miracles worked in prison, and last, after a prayer, the beheading of Pisura and the other three bishops.

The text is certainly a late compilation of the period of the CYCLES (see HAGIOGRAPHY and LITERATURE, COPTIC), but does not really belong to any of those known to us. The general structure reflects that of the famous Passion of PSOTE OF PSOI, while certain passages of the dispute with the governor are drawn from the Passion of Ignatius of Antioch.

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TITO ORLANDI

PJOL, the brother of Shenute's mother, a hermit on the mountain of Atrīb. When Shenute was a young boy, his father entrusted him to Pjol for his education. We do not know at what age Pjol died, or when Apa Shenute succeeded him, but it is easy to see that Shenute learned much from him.

Pjol is not known in the SYNAXARION of the Copts in the sense that he has no special notice, but he is named at the day of the feast of Pshoi (5 Amshīr).

A Sahidic panegyric (perhaps) has been published by E. AMÉLINEAU (pp. 229–36). A eulogy of Pjol that was to be read on the day of his feast is Leipoldt's edition of the works of Shenute (pp. 96–98). He does not seem to have a Life in Arabic.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PLATES AND DISHES. *See* Ceramics, Coptic; Metalwork, Coptic.

PLATO'S REPUBLIC. The only piece of its kind in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY, this short excerpt from Plato's corpus (588–589B[CGVI,50]) encompasses barely more than three pages of text (48.16–51.23). The Coptic translation exhibits inaccuracies, which may be due partly to tendencies found among apocryphal works: imitation and vulgarizing that frequently result in a literary product inferior to the original. The motives suggested for this text's translation and inclusion vary and remain beyond unqualified proof. However, its highly moralistic flavor, including concern for both righteousness and its opposite, plus the effects generated thereby, could certainly appeal to Gnostics. Interest in the "image[s] of the lion," presumably the baser human motives, finds parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas,* logion 7.

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S. KENT BROWN

PLOTINUS (205–270), philosopher and founder of Neoplatonism in Egypt. At the age of twenty-eight he became a pupil of Ammonius Saccas in Alexandria. In 242–243 he was a member of the emperor Gordianus III's expedition to the East. From 245 until his final illness, he taught philosophy in Rome, where his circle of influence included intellectuals and men of affairs. His writings were essays that grew out of his classes or discussions and that were collected and arranged by his pupil Porphyry in six groups of nine. They were therefore called *Enneads* (from Greek *ennea,* nine) and dealt, respectively, with the topics ethics and aesthetics, physics and cosmology, psychology, metaphysics, logic, and epistemology.

Plotinus links his metaphysics with Plato's *Parmenides,* putting forth the concepts of a One that is nothing but one and is beyond all language and logic, a One that is all things and to which no limit may be fixed, and a One that is also many. These three concepts point to the hypostases of the One, *nous* (mind), and soul. It is considered by many that this interpretation of Plato, while useful in understanding Neoplatonism, cannot be an accurate account of Plato's meaning. Plato was concerned with setting out logical distinctions and puzzles that are attached to the concept of unity. He was not describing metaphysical entities.

The problems of the ultimate One and man's way to it are elucidated in extended discourse. How can the One produce what it does not contain? How can the One be described positively? It has no common term with anything beyond itself (*Enneads,* 5.5.13). It can have no limiting condition (5.5.6 and 6.8.11). This means that it cannot be part of a hierarchy or a series.

Yet the One must produce plurality because plurality is inferior to it (5.3.15). The One is all things in a transcendental mode, and analogies can therefore be drawn. The One is "all things and none of them" (5.2.1 and 6.7.32). It is the power of all things (3.8.10, 5.1.7, 5.3.15).

The account of *nous* is more straightforward than that of the One. Plotinus, like the middle Platonists, distinguished between discursive thought, which he placed within the soul, and intuitive thought, which he placed within the mind. Discursive thought is

what moves from premise to conclusion or from one object to another; intuitive thought sees all things at once and is the special prerogative of *nous,* which shares the simultaneousness that is in the One (1.8.2). While soul moves (5.1.4) and divides the life of Nous, Nous itself is a unity that embraces all. Soul cannot achieve unity, but *nous* possesses unity of subject and object (3.8.8, 5.3.2). Soul deals with images and words (4.3.30), while *nous* deals with forms. These may be distinguished but never separated (5.9.6; 3.9.2). *Nous* is alive and contains individuals, intelligences, and forms within its unity. Plotinus identified *nous* with the perfect living creature of Plato's *Timaeus* 30C (5.9.9, 6.2.21, 6.6.7, 6.7.8). The forms are themselves living, conscious, intelligences (5.1.4, 5.9.8, 6.7.9). The intelligible world is "brimming over with its own vitality" (5.5.12). In the mind, subject and object are not separate, but the contents of vision are still plural, and therefore *nous* may be separate from the One (5.3.13). The One may have a self-apprehension, an awakening, or a superior kind of thought (6.7.38), but it remains a pure concept prior to the emergence of subject and object (6.7.37, 6.9.6). For Plotinus, a mystic experience of *nous* is possible, just as such an experience is possible with the One (5.8.10, 6.7.15). There is a way to the One through *nous* (6.9.3) and the highest level of *nous* is united to the One (6.7.35). This is described as "*nous* in love" or "*nous* drunk with nectar" (6.7.35).

The soul and *nous* are easily joined, since every soul contains the intelligible world. Spiritual entities are not cut off from one another. Just as the highest level of soul remains in union with *nous,* so the highest level of *nous* remains in contact with the One (6.7.35).

For Plotinus, the union of the individual soul with the One is the final goal of man. By turning from the world of sense, man comes to know himself and the One that is his source (6.9.7). This is, in the final exhortation of Plotinus, the flight of the alone to the alone through the stripping away of all things—that is, removing the multiplicity that is foreign to the One (6.9.8). The soul moves through the *nous* and beyond the forms. The division of subject and object is removed, and the soul reaches that high level of *nous* that is not distinguishable from the One. Here the soul waits calmly until the One appears (5.5.7, 6.7.34, 6.7.36). Contact with the One is made through the center of man's soul (2.2.2, 5.1.11). The One is the transcendent source of man's innermost self, and to this transcendent source man is joined from within. This experience takes man beyond knowing, because knowing involves plurality (6.9.3f). Although it is a union of the alone with the alone, it is also a joining in a chorus at the end of man's journey (6.9).

While in the Cappadocian fathers there are Plotinian echoes, there is no influence on their presentation of the trinitarian tradition that stemmed from Nicaea. The Greek fathers Justin, Athenagoras, and Clement of Alexandria were already influenced by Platonic thought before the time of Plotinus. The influence of Neoplatonism on Augustine is openly acknowledged in his *Confessions.* Two concepts were crucial to his rejection of materialism and dualism. The notion of spiritual being freed Augustine from the material deity of Manichaeism. The private theory of evil removed any ground for dualism, since evil was merely the absence of good.

Four factors have strengthened the affinity of Plotinus with Christian thought. First, he may be seen as a monist, bringing the three hypostases together, so that all are one ultimate first principle. Later Platonism, as in Iamblichus, developed more elaborate hierarchies on the false grounds that many rungs on a ladder make the summit more transcendent and more accessible. Second, Plotinus attacked the Gnostics vigorously for their denigration of the material world (2.9). Third, Plotinus gave less place to magic than did many of his successors, and insisted on the importance of reason and argument; he has been respected as a thinker who lived in a world where many had forgotten how to think. Fourth, the mysticism of Plotinus is finally directed to the One, not to the self, and is theistic. The unity of the soul with the One is more like the unity of lovers than the fulfillment of a self. Because of Plotinus and his followers, monism, respect for creation, rationality, and union with God have become elements of the Christian intellectual heritage.

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ERIC FRANCIS OSBORN

POCOCKE, RICHARD (1704–1765), English clergyman and traveler. He was born in Southampton and studied at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He visited Egypt in 1737–1738, ascending the Nile as far as Philae. Later he published an account of his eastern travels, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (2 vols., London, 1743–1745). This is a most important work as it gives detailed and comprehensive descriptions of many sites and places as they existed long before the later visitors made their full recordings of the monuments both Egyptian and Coptic. A manuscript journal of these travels still exists (British Museum Additions MSS 22995, 22997–8).

Pococke was a member of the first Egyptian Society and its secretary from 1742 to 1743. He died in Ireland and was buried in Christ Church, Oxford.

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M. L. BIERBRIER

POEMEN, SAINT, or Pamīn or Bīmīn, an anchorite of the fourth and fifth centuries who was noted for his spiritual counsel to other monks (feast day: 4 Nasī).

The Sources

Apa Poemen occupies by far the most important place in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, since roughly three hundred items report his words or mention him. It seems that the first collections of apothegms were compiled by his disciples. Poemen himself must have played a great part in passing on many apothegms, to judge from the frequency of the formula "Abba Poemen said that Abba so-and-so had said. . . ." In the collections as a whole appear some fifty names of fathers whom he knew directly or indirectly.

It is not easy to reconcile all the data in these documents, especially in terms of chronology. For this reason D. J. Chitty, following Tillemont, proposed to distinguish at least two men named Poemen. One, the elder, whom Rufinus met in 370 at Pispir, had contacts with Saints ANTONY OF EGYPT, AMMONAS, Pior, and PAMBO. The other, who came to SCETIS to become a monk there with his six brothers in the last quarter of the fourth century, became much more famous. Thus all the texts mentioning Poemen would have been attributed to him.

Enticing though this hypothesis of two Poemens may be, it does raise problems, so that it is preferable to maintain that we find one and the same Poemen everywhere in the collections of apothegms. Some data that seem irreconcilable are not always those with the best verification, and the difficulties they offer may be explained by the hazards of textual transmission. Certainly if Poemen was still alive when ARSENIUS died, shortly before 450 (Arsenius 41; PG 65, col. 105), it would have been hard for him to have conversed with Saint Antony (d. after 356); however, the apothegm in which the latter is reputed to have spoken to Poemen (Antony 4; PG 65, col. 76) can very well be understood as being a saying passed on indirectly, according to another version of the same apothegm (Poemen 125, PG 65, col. 354). It may also be noted that generally in the apothegms, homonyms are distinguished by a surname, especially in the case of such very well-known fathers as Macarius and Paphnutius. But we never find a qualifier attached to the name of Poemen.

Life of Poemen

The date and place of Poemen's birth are not known, but there is some knowledge of his family: his mother (Poemen 76, PG 65, cols. 339–42), his sister and his nephew (Poemen 5, PG 65, col. 319), and especially his six brothers, who came to Scetis to become monks along with him. The eldest was called ANUB; the youngest, Pesius. On the occasion of the first destruction of Scetis by the Mazices in 407, the seven brothers withdrew to Terenouthis (Anub 1, PG 65, col. 130). Apparently at that time Anub was still leader of the group; thus Poemen acquired his reputation only subsequently. At Scetis he proved himself an exemplary disciple of the "grand old men" and was zealous in revealing his thoughts to them and receiving their advice. It is hard to know which of the fathers contributed most to his training. Among them were Isidorus (Poemen 44, PG 65, col. 331; Isidore 5–6, PG 65, cols. 219–22), Pambo (Poemen 150, PG 65, col. 359), Joseph of Penepho (Joseph 2–3, PG 65, cols. 227–30), Moses (Moses 12–18, PG 65, cols. 286–90), AMMON (*Collectio monastica* 14,39; CSCO 238, p. 119), and Saint MACARIUS (*Collectio monastica* 13, 72; CSCO

238, p. 101). The Coptic collection of the *Virtues of Saint Macarius* quotes several answers given by Macarius to questions asked by Poemen. One of them suggests that the latter did not enjoy an unchallenged authority: "My Father, how is it that you want me to be with the brothers, for I speak in vain to them and they do not listen?" (Amélineau, 1894, p. 127).

Poemen does not appear to have returned to Scetis after his flight to Terenouthis. An apothegm records that he passed through the region of DIOLKOS in the company of Anub (Poemen 72, PG 65, col. 339). The Copto-Arabic SYNAXARION mentions him and gives the names of his six brothers, but in this list we find neither Anub nor Pesius, though they are well known from the apothegms.

The Spiritual Master

We know little of Poemen's personal behavior and spiritual life, for "the old man's practice was to do everything in secret" (Poemen 138, PG 65, col. 355). When he was young, he sometimes spent three or four days, and even an entire week, without eating, but later he thought it preferable to take a little food each day (Poemen 31, PG 65, col. 330). This is almost the only confidence the saint revealed regarding his austerities. One other gives insight into his mystical life: One day he was carried in the spirit to Calvary, beside Mary at the foot of the cross (Poemen 144, PG 65, col. 358). As for miracles performed by Poemen, the apothegms recount only one—the cure of a child whose face was turned backward (Poemen 7, PG 65, col. 322). Thus neither ascetic achievements nor visions nor prodigies gave Poemen his reputation; rather, was the extraordinary gifts he had received from God so that he could be the guide and "pastor" of his brothers, as the meaning of his name implies (Poemen 1, PG 65, col. 318).

Of the several hundred apothegms attributed to Poemen, nearly all reveal him exercising this role of counselor and spiritual father. The advice he gives assuredly reflects his own experience, for he was not in the habit of supposing that a master should teach what he did not himself practice (Poemen 25). Thus Poemen's teachings make it possible for us to discover certain salient features of his spiritual countenance.

Three trilogies list points of special importance. For Poemen the three prime concerns are "to fear the Lord, to pray, and to do good to one's neighbor" (Poemen 160, PG 65, col. 362). "Watchfulness, attention to oneself, and discernment are the soul's guides" (Poemen 35, PG 65, col. 331). "To fling oneself before God, not to esteem oneself highly, and to set aside one's own will are the tools of the soul" (Poemen 36, PG 65, col. 331).

From his predecessors Poemen had learned how to recognize and dismiss evil thoughts. In his turn, he taught his disciples that spiritual strategy in which prayer and the Eucharist occupy an essential place (Poemen 146, PG 65, col. 358; Poemen 30, PG 65, col. 330). The compunction of "mourning" (*penthos*) and the shedding of tears are also recommended (Poemen 26, PG 65, col. 327; 39, 331; 50, 334; 122, 354) as "the traditional way taught by Scripture and the Fathers" (Poemen 119, PG 65, col. 354). The concept of "being dead to one's neighbor" doubtless comes from Ammonas (Poemen 2, PG 65, col. 313), Moses (Moses 12, 14–18), and Anub (Anub 1). In no way is this indifference toward others; rather, it is the condition for not judging one's brothers and for exercising charity (*caritas*) toward all (*Collectio monastica* 13, 45, 48–49; CSCO 238, pp. 95–96). Poemen himself thus sometimes played "dead" (cf. Poemen 3, PG 65, col. 313) at the risk of shocking others. But customarily he showed himself to be kindly, gentle, and extremely gracious. Numerous apothegms can be cited to this effect, for example, "As for me, when I see a brother dozing during the Office, I put his head on my knees and let him take his rest" (Poemen 92, PG 65). Always tending to accuse himself and to take upon himself the shortcomings of others, Poemen showed himself to be indulgent and merciful toward sinners. He never reproached his neighbor who lived with a concubine, and when the woman gave birth to a child, he had a jug of wine sent to her. At once the neighbor repented and became a disciple of the old man, who "lit up for him the path that leads to God" (Paul Evergetinos, Vol. 3, chap. 2, B, no. 22, p. 46).

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LUCIEN REGNAULT

POETRY. Coptic poetry is essentially religious poetry. Its setting is the life of the Coptic church. Poetry enriches Coptic liturgy and plays a part at religious festivals, edifying, teaching, and exhorting the people. The poetry preserved for us in the manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries has been studied with great thoroughness. Its form has been analyzed and its content examined. The results are summarized in this article.

Coptic poetry knows no rhyme; the only exception to this rule will be discussed below. Its arrangement is strictly speaking not metrical but rhythmical. Each line of poetry has a certain number of accented syllables. Only the number of accented syllables is fixed, while the number of unaccented syllables varies. There are generally four lines to a strophe, but there are also strophes of three and five lines. A strophe is often followed by an antistrophe that balances form and content, thus completing a stanza. For instance, a symbol may be expressed in the strophe, while the antistrophe provides the interpretation. Similarly, a general proposition may be followed by a specific reference. Comparisons, contrasts, and questions and answers may be set out in this way.

Coptic poetry was not spoken but sung or chanted. Thus any unevenness of rhythm due to the varying number of unaccented syllables within the lines of a strophe could readily be accommodated. No actual tunes have come down to us, but in a number of cases the melody to which a poem was to be sung is indicated by the initial words of the tune quoted at the beginning of the poem. About fifty such tunes are quoted in the surviving corpus of Coptic poetry, and in a few cases the model that gave the tune its name has also been preserved. Some of the poems composed in the tenth century are semidramatic compositions, not unlike oratorios in character. The narrative part of the story may have been taken as recitative, direct speech by soloists, and a refrain by the people. Sometimes such a composition was preceded by an introduction. But the parts were not always allotted in the same way, and, as far as can be seen from the surviving examples, there was much freedom in the general arrangement of such works.

Although the content of the material surveyed here is uniformly religious, there is much variety. Biblical themes, both from the Old and the New Testament, abound. Often a biblical story is paraphrased in poetic form; sometimes it is elaborated and glossed. But it is not only the stories about famous biblical characters that attracted the poets' attention; they also paraphrased sayings from the Psalter and particularly from the Wisdom Literature, a literary genre that had already attained popularity in ancient Egypt. There is also a poem that has for its subject matter verses from the Song of Songs with a Christian interpretation. Similarly, many themes are taken from the New Testament, for instance, John the Baptist, the wedding feast in Cana of Galilee, and the archangel Gabriel's message to the Virgin Mary. There are poems on the passion of Jesus Christ and Easter hymns. In addition to poems on biblical characters, there are also poems on the saints and martyrs of the early church, including ATHANASIUS and SHENUTE. The semidramatic compositions have for their subjects King Solomon, the two workmen Theodosius and DIONYSIUS, who end up in the positions of emperor and archbishop, respectively, and ARCHELLIDES and his mother. This last piece is perhaps particularly impressive and dramatically effective. Archellides was sent by his mother to study abroad, but instead he entered the monastery of Apa Romanos without telling his mother. She heard of his whereabouts and went to visit him. He refused to see her in spite of all her entreaties, for he had vowed never again to look at a woman's face. In the end, he died rather than see his grief-stricken mother, who then mourned his death. The way in which the drama unfolds raises the question whether it was accompanied by some mimic action, for it contains only the speeches of the main characters. Alternatively, it must be assumed that the plot of the drama was so well known that the listeners were able to fill in the gaps. A Coptic prose version of the story of Archellides is also preserved.

All the material discussed so far is written in the Sahidic dialect, but with many grammatical irregularities, similar to those found in nonliterary texts. It is, of course, impossible to say whether these irregularities were present in the original poetic works, or whether they were introduced by later generations of scribes.

There is no doubt that Byzantine hymnography had some influence on Coptic poetry. This is shown by the references in some headings to the modes of the *Oktoechos* of Saint John of Damascus, an eight-week cycle of hymns performed in eight different modes. But although Greek models were, no doubt, studied, Byzantine hymnography was only the foundation on which the Coptic poets built; they created their own poetry, which differed substantially in form

and treatment of content from Byzantine hymnody.

Some hitherto unpublished material of considerable importance for the subject of Coptic poetry is contained in two manuscripts from the end of the ninth century belonging to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (M 574, published in part, and M 575, unpublished). M 574 contains thirteen hymns on Christ, the Virgin Mary, and a number of saints (pp. 150–76). They were probably intended to be sung on the appropriate days of the ecclesiastical year. Each of these hymns consists of twenty-four strophes; they are acrostics, each strophe beginning with the successive twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet. In one case the letters are arranged in reverse order. The language of these hymns is Sahidic with some Fayyumic admixture. It should be noted that the later Bohairic *Psali,* or hymns, were composed in the same way. They, too, are alphabetic acrostics. The majority are based on the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, the minority on the thirty-one (or in the case when the symbol for the numeral six is included, on the thirty-two) letters of the Coptic alphabet. It has been conjectured with some cogency that the earlier Sahidic hymns have preserved the original form on which the Bohairic *Psali* are modeled. M 575 contains the earliest Sahidic antiphonary. It includes hymns on Christ, the Virgin Mary, martyrs, saints, and famous monks. Some of the material has parallels in the later Bohairic *Difnar (antiphonarium)* and in the Bohairic *Theotokia.*

The later Bohairic collections of hymns, already mentioned incidentally, may be briefly enumerated. The *Difnar* contains hymns on the saints and is designed for liturgical use. There are two hymns for each day of the ecclesiastical year, sometimes in honor of one and the same saint, sometimes in honor of two different saints commemorated on the same day. Only two melody types, known as *Adam* and *Batos,* are used, for which the model is the text of the *Theotokia* for the second and the fifth days, respectively. The *Theotokia* contains hymns and paraphrases in honor of the Virgin Mary. They are arranged for the seven days of the week and were mostly used in the month Kiyahk, that is, in the season of Advent and Christmas. Again the two tunes mentioned above were used. There is also a collection of daily hymns in Bohairic, the so-called *Psali,* and there are other liturgical books containing poetic material.

Finally, mention must be made of a poem written in Sahidic in 1322, the so-called *Triadon.* It is a highly artificial product and was composed at a time when Arabic had become the language of the people and Coptic had fallen into disuse. There were originally 732 numbered strophes, each of four lines, of which 428 have survived. The poem's name is descriptive of its structure. Here, almost certainly under Arabic influence, we encounter for the first time the consistent use of rhyme. The first three lines end in the same rhyme, while the final line ends invariably in *-on, -ōn,* or *-an.* In order to achieve this unnatural uniformity, the poet did not shrink from distorting the endings of words. The lines have sometimes three, four, or five accented syllables. The Coptic text is accompanied by an Arabic translation. It is clearly the poet's intention to exalt the Coptic language and the Coptic heritage. Biblical characters, saints, martyrs, and ascetics are lauded, orthodoxy is recommended, and moral exhortations are offered. The *Triadon* is often considered to be the swansong of Coptic poetry.

[*See also:* Music, Coptic.]

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K. H. KUHN

POLITICAL PARTIES. [*This entry is a brief chronological survey of the Egyptian political parties, with the view of assessing the extent of Coptic participation in them, rather than giving a detailed*

analysis of the evolution and development of parliamentary life in modern Egypt.]

Republican Party

The Republican party was founded in 1907 by a group of intellectuals influenced by French culture, as was apparent from their adopting the slogan of the French Revolution, "Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité," and in sharing with the French community their celebrations of 14 July. They believed that the progress of the nation must undergo three stages. The first stage was the development of the constitution. Full independence was the second stage, although republicans differed over the nature of independence, which they defined as freedom from domination whether British or Ottoman. The third stage was for the nationalist movement to reach full maturity and declare a republic, which to the party members was the supreme demand and the dearest of national aspirations.

The republicans openly opposed the rule of the Muḥammad ʿAlī dynasty. They never hesitated to make violent attacks against it at a time when all other parties took care to keep their differences with the khedive under control.

The Republican party had no clearly defined plan. Only four or five of its members came to be known, and those were unable to organize the structure it required. In any case, the situation was natural for a party with such progressive views, which could materialize only half a century later under different circumstances.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Nation's Party (Ḥizb Al-Ummah)

On 20 September 1907 Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Rāziq Pasha announced the establishment of the *al-Ummah* party. Maḥmūd Sulaymān Pasha was elected president; Ḥasan Abd al-Rāziq Pasha and ʿAli Shaʿrāwī Pasha vice-presidents, and Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid permanent secretary.

The appearance of the *al-Ummah* party was coupled with the emergence of a moderate trend in Egyptian politics. The leaders felt that independence should have priority over the development of a constitution.

Al-Jarīdah, edited by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, was the organ of the party. It played an important role in educating Egyptian public opinion by publishing translations of major European works such as parts of Herbert Spencer's book on education, and several articles on socialism and other ideologies that were spreading all over the world at that time. It also dealt with social issues such as the emancipation of women.

Copts responded to the *al-Ummah* party more than to any of the others except the Egyptian party. Without doubt this response was due to the purely Egyptian character of the *al-Ummah* party as opposed to the Islamic trend of some of the other parties.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Nationalist Party (Ḥizb al-Watanī)

The Nationalist party was founded in October 1907 by Muṣṭafā Kāmil, a lawyer and journalist. He studied law at the French Law School in Cairo. Later he visited France twice and established close relations with French politicians and intellectuals who supported his aspirations for the independence of Egypt. He hoped that help from France or the Ottoman sultan would bring an end to the British occupation of Egypt. In 1900 he founded the newspaper *al-Liwāʾ,* which attracted students and educated young people. Muṣṭafā Kāmil introduced a new concept of nationalism for Egypt; it embraced both religion and national identity as interdependent, Islam being not only a religion but a culture as well, including non-Muslim members of that cultural community. But since he considered colonialism as a conflict between two cultures, Pan-Islamism became a necessity. Muṣṭafā Kāmil, though, did not deny his Egyptian identity. He thus opposed those nationalists who considered them-

selves as Arabs. His attitude toward the Christians was one of solidarity and equality rather than mere tolerance. Although he tried to find new forms of solidarity with the Copts, Muṣṭafā Kāmil did not gain the support of the Copts. Only a few of them joined the Nationalist party, one of them being WISSA WASSEF. Wissa Wassef was the first Copt to be convinced that it is possible to join a nationalist movement, based on an Islamic cultural identity, though being a Copt. As member of the administrative committee of the Nationalist party he strongly opposed the Coptic political attitude, that of resistance against the nationalist movement, which led a Coptic paper to call him "Judas Iscariot." After Muṣṭafā Kāmil's death in 1908 the Nationalist party took the direction of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Ottomanism, and this increased the gap between Muslims and Copts.

A journalistic war between the Christian and Muslim presses blew up, and the relations between Copts and Muslims were at their worst for many centuries. This led the Copts to hold the COPTIC CONGRESS OF ASYŪṬ in 1911, followed by the EGYPTIAN CONFERENCE OF HELIOPOLIS in May of the same year. The Nationalist party refused to support the Egyptian Congress, as it had refuted the Coptic Congress before, with the argument that this conflict could only help British interests.

It was only with the evolution of Egyptian liberal nationalism under the leadership of Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid that Coptic nationalism started to crystallize. By the time the *Wafd* party arose in 1919, the Copts were fully integrated into the Egyptian national movement.

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DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

Reform Party on Constitutional Principles (Ḥizb Al-Iṣlāḥ 'Alā Al-Mabādi' Al-Dustrūriyyah)

On 9 December 1907 *al-Mu'ayyad*, a leading newspaper in Cairo at that time, announced the formation of the Party of Reform according to Constitutional Principles, under the leadership of *shaykh* 'Alī Yūsuf, the proprietor and editor in chief of the paper.

It is possible to understand the circumstances that led to the foundation of this party and inspired its aims by following the political career of the ruler of Egypt at that time. Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī II presided over the secret society founded in 1894 from which the Nationalist party emanated. He had also patronized Muṣṭafā Kāmil and the group of nationalists that gathered around him. The khedive imagined he could thus exercise some sort of mandate over the party. However, relations between the khedive and Muṣṭafā Kāmil grew weaker during 1907 when the pages of *al-Mu'ayyad* were full of charges against Muṣṭafa Kāmil, accusing him of rashness and conceit.

In the light of these events, 'Alī Yūsuf formed the Reform party. The party laid down seven principles, foremost of which was to uphold the authority of the khedive, which revealed the policy of the party. The Copts abstained from joining it because of its Islamic orientation.

The party's Islamic bent became apparent when it placed news of the Islamic world and the Ottoman state in the newspaper section reserved for local events. There is no doubt that the Islamic current was one reason why the Copts abstained from joining the party of 'Alī Yūsuf. There is no evidence of their playing any role worth considering as members of the party, or of taking part in any of its activities.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZO

Egyptian Party (Al-Ḥizb Al-Miṣrī).

On 2 September 1908 Akhnūkh Fānūs issued a program for founding what he called the Egyptian party. The party was to be primarily an expression of the Coptic outlook. The Copts felt uneasy as a result of the sharp Islamic tendencies of the Nationalist party, particularly after the death of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, when 'Abd al-Azīz Jāwīsh offended the Copts by describing them as possessing "black skin." The Copts were disappointed that the *al-Ummah* party,

after it had shown promise of being truly more "Egyptian" than any of the larger parties, failed to support them against Jāwīsh's attacks. Consequently the Copts withdrew from the Nationalist party in August 1908, and Akhūkh Fānūs announced the formation of the Egyptian party in the following month.

The founders imagined that by emphasizing basic Egyptian values they would offset the Islamic bias that the Nationalist party had adopted. Objectives of the party were the independence of Egypt and the welfare and prosperity of all the Egyptian people.

This nationalistic attitude was coupled with a secular one, in the hope that it would counter the stark religious bias of the Nationalist party. Article 3 of the program stipulated complete separation of religion from politics, and guaranteed full equality in common rights to all inhabitants of Egypt, and equality in civic rights to all nationals without discrimination on the grounds of race or religion.

The Egyptian party was noted for its moderate attitude with regard to foreign occupation. Article 5 urged the conclusion of a treaty between England and Egypt which would, on the one hand, guarantee the freedom of British trade in Egypt, and, on the other, facilitate its communication with India in peace and war within the Egyptian boundaries, in return for which Britain would promise to protect Egyptian independence and oppose foreign aggression.

Despite the party's program, it lacked a proper framework, and it did not carry out any program by which one could judge its principles. The two Coptic newspapers at that time, *Miṣr* and *al-Waṭan*, declined to become the organ of the party.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Egyptian Democratic Party (Al-Ḥizb Al-Dīmūqrātī Al-Miṣrī)

This party came into being on 10 January 1919. The party's ten principles covered a number of areas: political, social, and economic. In the political area, the party called for Egypt's internal and external independence, the creation of a representative body deputized by the people, and the maintenance of equality between all Egyptians and assuring public liberties. In the social area, the party advocated free and compulsory primary education, and the betterment of the working classes. As to the economic area, the party dedicated itself to the growth of the country's wealth. Several of the political parties formed in the aftermath of the 1919 revolution absorbed members of the Egyptian Democratic Party and speeded up its liquidation; some joined the *Wafd* party, others the Yekenis. The last of its meetings was held on 4 May 1923.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Wafd Party

The *Wafd* party was the most important political party in Egypt in modern times. Its importance lay not so much in its size when compared to other parties but in the sweeping majority it managed to win every time free elections were held, while all other parties combined together won only a limited number of seats. The party also remained a large and integrated one despite various internal splits and external attacks to which it was subjected. In the twenty-five year period (1927–1952) of Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās's leadership he presided over seven cabinets, an achievement no other leader was able to match.

Because of the *Wafd*'s wide popular base the British were forced to concede, more than once, that it was the only genuine representative of the people. They refused, for instance, to conclude a treaty with any other party as in the negotiations of 1930 and 1936.

The *Wafdist* organization was not intended to be a political party at the start, but events made it develop into one. It would thus be true to say that the *Wafd* as an organization sparked off the uprising of 1919, and that the *Wafd* as a party was born of that uprising.

Since the *Wafd* organization was originally formed with the aim of ending the British protec-

torate and gaining independence, it was natural that the main objective of the *Wafd,* all through its existence, should be to work for that independence according to the evolution of that concept. Throughout that period the national cause had centered on two issues: military evacuation and union with the Sudan, or the "Unity of the Nile Valley." The *Wafd* led the greatest popular uprising against the British presence in Egypt, the 1919 revolution. It forced British politicians to abandon the policy of keeping Egypt a British protectorate.

In 1920 the *Wafd* took the lead in campaigning for the boycott of Lord Milner's commission of inquiry, which arrived in Cairo in December 1919 and proposed a treaty of alliance in which Egypt contracted certain obligations in return for the recognition of its independence. This showed the British the extent of the *Wafd*'s power, which in the end forced Lord Milner to accept negotiation with the *Wafd* alone. The British declaration of 28 February 1922 recognized Egypt as an independent sovereign state, subject to certain reservations.

This period also saw sharp clashes between the *Wafd* and the British forces of occupation, especially when the British used or threatened to use force. The best known incident was the ultimatum sent to Sa'd Zaghlūl upon the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, governor of the Sudan and commander of the Egyptian army, which brought the government down in 1924.

The first cabinet formed by the *Wafd* was that of SA'D ZAGHLŪL, called the people's cabinet, in 1924. For the first time in the history of Egyptian cabinets it was made up of ten ministers of whom two were Copts, Murquṣ Ḥannā and Wāṣif Buṭrus Ghālī. Sa'd Zaghlūl had insisted on their appointment despite King Fouad's objection that it was traditional to appoint only one, and that the people might take objection to deviating from this tradition. Sa'd replied that he did not discriminate between Muslim and Copt and that he was personally responsible for how Egyptians would feel. The "people's cabinet" was brought down by a British ultimatum when Sir Lee Stack was assassinated in 1924.

As a result of Britain's insistence not to allow Sa'd Zaghlūl to head any new cabinet, the *Wafd* agreed to share in coalition cabinets between June 1926 and July 1928, headed by 'Adlī Yeken, 'Abd al-Khalīq Tharwat, and Muṣtafā al-Naḥḥas, successively.

In 1930 Naḥḥas formed his second cabinet. He again appointed two Coptic Ministers: Wāṣif Buṭrus Ghālī and MAKRAM EBEID, who were in charge of two very important ministries, those for foreign affairs and finance, respectively. This cabinet lasted only six months.

In May 1936 the *Wafd* formed its third cabinet. It was reshuffled in August of the following year when King Farouk took over his constitutional powers. Coptic representation continued in both cabinets through the same two ministers. The *Wafd* remained in power until the king dismissed it on 30 December 1937.

On 4 February 1942 the *Wafd* returned to power during World War II as a result of the British ultimatum to the king. It lasted until 26 May when the quarrel between Muṣtafā al-Naḥḥas and Makram Ebeid took a critical turn and the latter was expelled.

The *Wafd* shared in Ḥusayn Sirri's cabinet formed on 26 July 1949, which prepared the way for the return of the *Wafd* for the last of its cabinets formed on 12 January 1950, where Coptic representation was reduced to one minister out of eight. This cabinet lasted until 27 January when King Farouk dismissed it following the great fire of Cairo the day before. This was the last of the *Wafd* governments in Egypt.

A great number of newspapers and periodicals were affiliated with the *Wafd* between the 1919 revolution until the party system came to an end in 1953. *Al-Akhbār* was issued by Amīn al-Rāfi'ī, and strongly supported Sa'd through the first few months of the revolution. *Wādī al-Nīl* was issued in Alexandria and remained one of the *Wafd*'s principal newspapers there for a considerable length of time. *Al-Niẓām,* issued by Sayyid 'Alī, a journalist of the old Nationalist party, became the leading paper of the *Wafd* in 1921. *Al-Ahālī,* which was issued by 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥamzah, turned *Wafdist* around the end of 1921, aided by *al-Minbar,* edited by Aḥmad Ḥāfiẓ 'Awaḍ. After *al-Ahālī* stopped, *al Balāgh* came out in 1923, edited also by 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥamzah. It remained the chief newspaper of the *Wafd* until the end of the 1930s when it turned against the party. It returned to the ranks of the *Wafd* however, in the early 1940s after part of its shares were bought by a rich member of the *Wafd.* At the same time other *Wafdist* papers appeared. *Kawkab al-Sharq* came out in 1924; it was edited by Aḥmad Ḥāfiẓ 'Awaḍ after *al-Minbar* ceased publication. *Al-Jihād,* edited by Tawfīq Diyāb, and *al-Wafd al-Miṣrī* were issued in 1938. The longest to survive was *al-Miṣrī,* which came out in 1936. Maḥmūd Abū al-Fatḥ became sole proprietor a short time after it appeared. It continued even after the party system was abolished but had to stop in 1954 under the political pressures Egypt suffered that year.

In addition there were a number of weeklies, the most famous of which were *Rose al-Youssef* that was begun in 1925 and *Ākhir Sā'ah* in 1934, published by Faṭmah al-Youssef and Muhammad al-Tab'ī, respectively.

For a quarter of a century (1953–1978) the activities of the *Wafd* were suspended as a result of the abolition of all political parties by the leaders of the 1952 revolution. During that time it lost many of its leaders, particularly Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās, who died in 1965.

Later, various political, social, and economic developments led to the restoration of the party system in November 1976. President Anwar al-Sadat's intention was to have the party system emanate from the single existing organization which was the Socialist Union. It began by the formation of platforms from within that organization. Gradually they took definite inclinations: the Right was represented by the Liberal Socialists Center, and the left was represented by the Unionist Progressive Party.

The only party capable of attracting a number of deputies from the People's Assembly and qualified to form a party without being affiliated to the Socialist Union was the New *Wafd* in 1978.

This party was in fact a continuation of the old *Wafd* party. Fu'ād Sirāj al-Dīn, who was its last secretary before its dissolution, became its leader. Leaders of the New *Wafd* were careful to include Copts in its leadership. Ibrāhīm Faraj was appointed secretary, and the Supreme Council included a number of Copts.

In view of the New *Wafd*'s successful achievements, President Sadat adopted measures that aimed at limiting its activities, the most serious of which was his attempt to deprive its leadership from exercising its political activities on the pretext that the members were still subject to the political isolation law issued in the 1960s. This induced the party to suspend its activities in November 1978. In September 1981, the party suffered from the curtailment of its liberties in the course of a campaign of arrests waged against various elements of the opposition.

After Sadat's assassination in October 1981 and the attempt at national conciliation initiated by his successor, President Ḥusnī Mubārak, hopes that the New *Wafd* would return to the political arena were revived. But the laws issued under Sadat stood in their way. The case was taken to court and they won the right to reform the party and to resume political activity.

Four months later the party entered the elections and won fifty-eight seats in the National Assembly and consequently came next in importance to the government party headed by the president himself, the National Democratic Party. It also became the main representative of the opposition as it was the only party to succeed through elections whereas all efforts by the three other opposition parties (the Socialist Action Party, the Unionist Progressive Party, and the Liberal Socialists) ended in failure. The most far-reaching step taken by the party at the time was the alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood, which made it lose its previous lay or secular character. On the other hand it weakened its image as a symbol of conciliation between the two elements of the nation. This was apparent from the fact that out of fifty-eight deputies of the *Wafd* who won the elections, not one was a Copt, while nine represented extremist religious movements.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Liberal Constitutional Party (Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyīn)

This party came into existence following the first split in the ranks of the *Wafd* Party, which occurred during the talks between 'Adlī Yeken and Lord Milner in the summer of 1920. The core of the dispute lay in the fact that Sa'd planned to reject the project and return to Egypt to continue the struggle, while Yeken, around whom old members of the *Ḥizb al-Ummah* had rallied, believed that the nation could no longer continue the struggle.

Wishing to counter the "radical" Sa'd Zaghlūl, and to restrain the king's ambition for power, the moderates set out to form the Liberal Constitutional party on 29 October 1922.

The party came to include a number of outstanding Egyptians, the majority of whom were members of the old *Ḥizb al-Ummah*, or their sons, who were joined by a group of liberal intellectuals.

Coptic members in the Liberal Constitutional party included the Doss brothers, Tawfīq, Wahīb, and Ḥabīb (the Doss Khillah family were big landowners in Asyūṭ and Minyā). There was also Ṣalīb Sāmī who belonged to one of the most respectable Coptic families, and became a member of the Council

in 1926. Yet none of them remained for long. No leading Copt was to be found in the ranks of the Liberal Constitutionals after 1930.

Despite the party's insistence on implementing Egyptian independence, upholding the constitution, and defending individual freedom, it met with great resentment from the public at large. In the end the party remained that of the elite of landowners and intellectuals, which was the cause of a good deal of wrangling that lasted as long as the party lasted. The most conspicuous reason was its inconsistent policies.

Until the end of World War II the Liberal Constitutional party remained the largest after the *Wafd*.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Union Party (Ḥizb Al Ittiḥād)

The ultimatum issued in November 1924 by Lord Allenby to Sa'd Zaghlūl's cabinet led to its resignation. This gave King Fouad a free hand to form a new cabinet and to take the necessary steps to weaken the *Wafd*, the large, nationalist party. A new royalist party came into being in 1925. The Union party believed that internal reform was the means by which to gain total independence for Egypt and the Sudan. From the old Nationalist party they took the notion of campaigning abroad to convince other nations of the justice of the Egyptian cause by claiming total independence for Egypt and the Sudan. They believed the national cause was still an international one. The Coptic representation in the Union Party was very weak.

The scant popularity of the party was manifested in the elections held in May 1925. It remained marginal in parliamentary affairs. It continued to decline until it disappeared altogether in the 1940s.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

People's Party (Ḥizb Al Sha'b)

On 17 November, 1930, Ismā'īl Ṣidqī Pasha, after laying down the constitution that bore his name and which gave the king widespread power, announced the founding of the People's party under his leadership.

Ṣidqī turned to rich Muslims and Copts from rural areas and succeeded in attracting many of them. The party's program consisted of generalities.

In 1933, Ṣidqī resigned from the premiership. That was followed by his dismissal from the presidency of the party; the new prime minister, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Yaḥyā, assumed that position. With the fall of Ṣidqī came the end of the People's party. Although the party entered the elections of 1936, it only got 10 seats out of 232, which drove it to merge, two years later, with the Union party.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Sa'dist Party (Ḥizb Al-Hay'ah al-Sa'Diyyah)

The appearance of the Sa'dists at the beginning of 1938 is closely linked with the break from the *Wafd* party at the end of 1937 of two of its main figures, Aḥmad Māhir and Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuqrāshī.

After King Farouk assumed his constitutional powers on 29 July 1937 the *Wafd* cabinet, which was then in power, was required, according to the constitution, to be formed again. Naḥḥās Pasha seized the opportunity to get rid of a number of ministers from his previous cabinet, particularly Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuqrāshī, minister of communications, an act which eventually led to the founding of the Sa'dist Party.

As a traditional enemy of the *Wafd*, the Palace seized the opportunity to widen the rift within the party. The matter ended when Nuqrāshī made a "political declaration" on 7 September 1937 announcing his withdrawal from the *Wafd*. The declaration was strongly critical of Naḥḥās's policy. In reply to this declaration, the *Wafd* officially dis-

missed Nuqrāshi on 13 September. Following his dismissal, Nuqrāshī began to negotiate with members of the *Wafd* who supported him, with a view to form the Sa'dist party.

The Sa'dist party came into being at the beginning of 1938 and consisted of a number of Wafdists who had broken with Naḥḥās. They chose Dr. Aḥmad Māhir as leader.

Unfortunately, the party did not lay down any specific program. The reason was clear; the break was the outcome of a personal feud, not an ideological one.

Nevertheless, the Sa'dists became the largest of the minority parties. They took care to include a few Copts to represent them in their cabinets. The best-known were Sābā Ḥabashī and Najīb Iskandar.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

Wafdist Block (Al-Kutlah Al-Wafdiyyah)

This party dissociated itself from the *Wafd* and was led by the Coptic party secretary, Makram Ebeid. The *Kutlah* came into being in 1944 as a result of the quarrel between Naḥḥās Pasha, the "venerable leader," and Makram Ebeid, the "great freedom-fighter."

When the *Kutlah* appeared during World War II, the *Wafd* government had been enjoying vast powers, and Naḥḥās had full authority as military governor. Yet, the *Kutlah* went on to defy the *Wafd*, particularly when they presented the king with the famous petition known as the "Black Book" which uncovered the violations committed by leaders of the *Wafd*. This drove the *Wafd* government to take repressive measures against the new group, culminating in the arrest of Makram Ebeid.

Makram's leaving the *Wafd* and the rise of the *Kutlah* weakened the Coptic presence in the *Wafd*. The new party did not represent the Copts for two reasons: the political situation did not permit the rise of a sectarian party, and Makram's striving to become prime minister was inconsistent with giving the party a sectarian character.

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YŪNĀN LABĪB RIZQ

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MODERN EGYPT.

The bases of Egyptian thought had remained fundamentally Arab-Islamic until its roots extended themselves into the modern soil of European culture throughout the nineteenth century. Eventually Egyptian political thought crystallized into modern concepts and terms. However, other influences also played an important role. Most sources agree that the French invasion of Egypt (1798–1801) opened the eyes of the Egyptian intelligentsia to political concepts they had never known.

Even though the Egyptians did not benefit immediately or directly, the French factor marked the beginnings of the modernizing of society in MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ's reign (1805–1848). Muḥammad Alī's educational missions to Europe were a potent factor in the development of Egyptian political thought and bridged some gaps between Egypt and the West. European academicians and experts brought into Egypt new ideas and principles. They also extended the wide and active translation movement, which had transplanted into Egypt, among other things, many new political ideas.

The press was also an important factor in promoting political consciousness, an influence of the French. During Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, the Bulāq printing press was built (1821) and the *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyyah* was issued (1828). Pope CYRIL IV gave orders for the purchase of a press to be established in 1860. This was followed by a great journalistic revival, and papers like *Al-Waṭan*, edited by 'Abdallāh Abū al-Su'ūd (1866), and *Al-Waṭan*, edited by Mīkhā'īl 'Abd al-Sayyid (1877), were issued. The newspapers helped form public opinion and established a base of readers with distinct political interests. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of cultural institutions, scientific societies, and literary salons where political ideas were exchanged. There appeared, for instance, the Knowledge Society (1868), the Geographic Society (1875), the Islamic Benevolent Society (1878), the Higher Institute for Arabic and Islamic Studies (1872), and the National Library (1870).

During the first half of the nineteenth century there were attempts to modernize some sectors of Egyptian society, notably the army and governmen-

tal administration, by utilizing European expertise. This began a flood of European ideas into Egypt that put the traditional political and social structure in jeopardy. Repercussions occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, with European political ideas being absorbed into the Arab-Islamic tradition along with Coptic reformism. Although some rejected the European intellectual influence and held to their traditional culture, others enthusiastically adopted Western ideas.

From this variety of attitudes emerged political thought based on certain specific attitudes, the most outstanding of which were the liberal trend, the democratic trend, the religious-political trend, and the socialist trend.

The National Liberal Trend

This represents a response, though limited at the beginning, to the flow of European thought into Egypt after the French invasion. Among the first Egyptians to accept this thinking was Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār (1766–1835), who greatly influenced Rifāʿah al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–1873), who was considered the real initiator of the modern renaissance. In his books Ḥasan recorded his observations in France and made valuable comments on the state, the constitution, the ruler's jurisdiction, and the citizens' rights. It was from such works that Egyptian liberals drew many of their ideas.

In his books al-Ṭaḥṭāwī presented the ideas of the French Enlightenment, including those of Voltaire, Condillac, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's new ideas inspired the next generation through his pupils, who established their liberal ideas in the press and in their literary works, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This movement was followed by the liberal ideas of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838–1897). Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī's *Epistle on the Eight Modes of Speech* (1881) also introduced new concepts of nationalism, politics, and social justice. Mīkhāʾīl ʿAbd al-Sayyid, a Copt, also established (1877) his daily newspaper *Al-Waṭan* where he reflected the nationalistic attitude before the British occupation (1882) and after. Adīb Isḥāq, a Syrian orthodox Christian living in Egypt (1882), issued the first organ named *Miṣr,* which dealt with nationalistic principles and advocated freedom of thought. Writing in a simple, popular style, ʿAbdallāh al-Nadīm (1845–1896) came forth with a campaign against autocracy and foreign interference, calling for national unity and the Egyptianization of new ideas. ʿAbdallāh Fikrī combined the idea of Egyptian patriotism with educational rather than political reform.

The generation that emerged after the British occupation included such names as Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872–1963), who advocated political democracy and a secular state based on national rather than religious laws (*Sharīʿah*). He influenced a whole generation through his newspaper *Al-Jarīdah* (1907). After World War I, his followers preached his ideas in varying forms and degrees. Qāsim Amīn, however, was preoccupied with the problem of modernizing society by reviving it intellectually and scientifically. He was a reader of Rousseau, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and others. Ultimately his studies led him to advocate a change in the status of women and in their freedom in society. His *Taḥrīr al-Marʾah* (Liberation of Women; 1899) and *Al-Marʾah al-Jadīdah* (The New Woman; 1900) express his philosophy.

Another contemporary was Aḥmad Fatḥī Zaghlūl, who espoused the cause of transplanting European culture to Egypt in certain fields and advocated political democracy, new methods of government, a free economy, and secularism in legislation. He meticulously translated some of the works of Jeremy Bentham, such as *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1892), part of Camille Desmoulins' *Oeuvres* (1900), and at least two of the treatises of André Lebon, including *Modern France* (*Story of the Nations*) (1913). Most of the Egyptian writers of this generation belonged to al-Ummah party, whose members enriched Egyptian political thought with liberal patriotism.

These writers were also contemporaries of such leaders and political thinkers as MUSṬAFĀ KĀMIL (1874–1908) and Muḥammad Farīd (1868–1919), who were not so much theorists as practical politicians. They patriotically played their roles in combating the British presence in Egypt. They stood for Islamic unity, in spite of the concept of secular patriotism detectable in their writings as members of the National party (established in 1907). SAʿD ZAGHLŪL emerged as a political leader after World War I. He led the 1919 revolution on a national basis—actually a continuation of the practical politics expounded by the National party. After the 1919 revolution, the political unity of the country was fragmented into parties such as the WAFD and the Constitutional Liberals, as well as the National party.

From the 1920s to the 1940s exponents of the liberal national trend dominated the scene. Some thinkers advocated the abolition of religious courts,

the modification of marital laws, and the dismantling of certain social institutions. They also championed the use of Western techniques in the field of literature, as expounded in Ṭahā Ḥusayn's *Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī* on pre-Islamic poetry (1926). The writings of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm and Ṭahā Ḥusayn, the sculptural works of Maḥmūd Mukhtār, the novels of Najīb Maḥfūẓ and Maḥmūd Taymūr, and the writings of Salāmā Mūsā (a Copt), Louis 'Awaḍ (another Copt), Maḥmūd 'Azmī, and others called for the Egyptianization of foreign ideas in all areas. In the 1930s some of those writers turned their thoughts to Oriental Islamic topics, as in the Islamic writings of Ṭahā Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal.

The Democratic Trend

It might be an overstatement to say that Egypt was acquainted with democratic thought before al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. It was not until the reign of Ismā'īl (1863–1879) that a parliamentary council, the Shūrā al-Nuwwāb, was established as the first representative body in Egypt. Sharīf Pasha's cabinet was made up of those loyal to the 1879 constitution. Recognizing the supremacy of the people, the cabinet tried to issue a basic code for the council and another for elections. During the same period, another revolution in thought occurred, promoting more freedom and more constitutional rights, in the writings of Adīb Isḥāq, a Copt who advocated the establishment of a senate house that would be a link between the Shūrā al-Nuwwāb and the government, while Mīkhā'īl 'Abd al-Sayyid, another Copt, launched a campaign to open the council members' eyes to matters of rule and politics.

The 'Urābī revolution (1881–1882) marked a new stage in Egyptian democratic thought. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī had played his part in paving the way for its advent through the old National party (see POLITICAL PARTIES); 'Abdallāh al-Nadīm played a distinguished role in this period. He made a social analysis of the nature of representative councils and advocated that their membership should represent all social classes. He often reiterated that democracy is a practice in which the people should be trained. Later on, Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) emphasized his claim that the representative-council manifesto should mention its part in helping the government and in sharing the rule of the country by supervising its activities and work.

After the British occupation, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid emerged as one of the political thinkers who linked the claim for independence to that of rule by the people through their representatives. He borrowed his ideas of political democracy from Rousseau, Locke, and Hobbes. Together with his disciples in the Ummah party, he succeeded in bringing about a democratic trend on a wide scale. This trend was manifest when Egypt obtained a limited degree of independence after the February 1922 declaration. At that time, a committee was set up to write the 1923 constitution, which marked the start of a constitutional monarchy in Egypt. That constitution played a part in creating parliamentary life from 1924, thus letting the common people participate in ruling the country. On that occasion a number of thinkers tried to deepen the democratic concepts and fight autocracy. Outstanding among those were Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Maḥmūd 'Azmī, and Salāmā Mūsā.

The Religious Political Trend

In spite of the rise of religious reform movements such as Wahhābism, Senūsism, and Mahdī'ism prior to the twentieth century, their supporters in Egypt never constituted a majority. Perhaps religious reform had a revolutionary political impression that was precipitated by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839–1897). His emergence represents a turning point in the history of religious reform. His disciples were acquainted with European political and administrative institutions, economic systems, and thought. Some of them advocated a compromise between the essence of the Islamic faith, on the one hand, and the sciences and Western concepts and institutions, on the other. Such views represented the Islamic reaction to Western hegemony. Though religion was a fundamental element in Afghānī's system, it treated the secular and religious elements equally. He was also known for his advocacy of Pan-Islamism.

Muḥammad 'Abduh clarified and analyzed his teacher's ideas and then developed them further. He called for a return to authentic Islam and to the freedom of religious thought from the shackles of tradition and conservatism. He launched an onslaught on the al-Azhar, the oldest Islamic university in Cairo, and he advocated an understanding of the religious guidelines expressed by the earliest Muslims before sectarian differences developed. He claimed that the spirit of modern civilization and Islam are not contradictory; indeed, one of his basic objectives was to prove the possibility of a compromise between Islam and modern thought. However, he did not deal with the relationship between

religion and the state as much as was later done by a number of his disciples.

Whereas al-Afghānī was associated with the Pan-Islamic movement, Muḥammad 'Abduh concentrated on the Islamic political revival and modernization of its legal theories. Some of his disciples assumed a secularizing attitude. Among them were Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Ṭahā Ḥusayn, and 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq. Others, led by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935) and his Manār school, interpreted his views on the basis of early Islamic thought. Rashīd Riḍā agreed with his mentors al-Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh that Islam could constitute a worthy national entity capable of opposing the secular tendencies of modern European thought. Immediately after his arrival in Egypt in 1898, in his articles in *Al-Manār*, his monthly journal, Riḍā issued a proclamation calling for the constitution of a Pan-Islamic society under the Ottoman caliph's flag. His main objective was the unification of all Muslims under one legal system based on *Sharī'ah*, the code derived directly from the Qur'ān under the leadership of the caliphate, as against the Western concept of nationalism promoted by Kemal Atatürk after his suppression of the Ottoman caliphate in 1924. This was followed in 1925 by 'Alī Abd al-Rāziq's (1888–1961) famous work *Islam and the Principles of Government*, in which he denied that the caliphate was a basic institution of Islam. He made it clear that the Prophet's leadership was religious and that it ended with his death, when his authority was taken over by lay political power.

Conservative thinkers objected to his ideas, and a reactionary religious movement flared up, ending with the rise of the Muslim Brethren, whose ultimate objective was the reconstruction of society on the basis of a modern Pan-Islamic front derived from the Qur'ān against secular European trends.

The Socialist Trend

Cultured Egyptians had read and heard about socialism from the middle of the nineteenth century in organs such as *Al-Muqtaṭaf* magazine. In fact, socialism did not come from a vacuum but was the outcome of social, economic, and cultural developments manifest in the development of Egyptian society during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī. The first group of socialist advocates was inspired by Saint-Simon, whom Muḥammad 'Alī invited to Egypt. Shiblī Shumayyil (1860–1917), a Christian Syrian who went to Egypt in 1885, engaged himself in writing literary commentaries instead of practicing medicine, and socialism was one of his chief topics. He was followed by another Syrian Christian, Nicola Ḥaddād, who was a prolific author in many fields, including socialism.

In the meantime, an Egyptian teacher by the name of Muṣṭafā Ḥasanayn al-Manṣūrī contributed a valuable study of socialism in his own writing or in translations from European literature. Together with the aforementioned writers, he aimed at carrying his theories into practice by the establishment of a socialist party in 1909. The project was doomed to failure until it was assumed by the real pioneer of socialism in Egypt, SALĀMAH MŪSĀ (1887–1958), who had studied in England and France and had become acquainted with Britain's Labour party. A prolific writer, he fell under the influence of socialist thinkers such as George Bernard Shaw, and his book on socialism may be considered the first consistent work on the subject to be published in the Arab world.

Generally, socialist thought was regarded as a European idea that had infiltrated into Egypt on a wide scale since the middle of the nineteenth century. With the outbreak of the Russian revolution of 1917 and the Third International in 1919, which marked the beginning of Russia's interest in the East, cultured Egyptians became acquainted with the new socialist trend.

Joseph Rosenthal, an Egyptian Jew, called for the establishment of an Egyptian socialist party that would speak for workers' unions, instead of being restricted to a membership consisting mainly of foreigners living in Alexandria. Rosenthal induced a group of progressive Egyptians to join him, Salāmah Mūsā, 'Alī al-'Inānī, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh 'Inān, and Maḥmūd Ḥusnī al-'Arabī being the outstanding figures in that group. They signed a manifesto establishing the Socialist party in 1921. Although successive governments tried to suppress the party, it carried on its activities and attracted hundreds of workers, who were very often encouraged to go on strike. On the political front, 'Azīz Mirhom led the labor movement for some time. However, the party ultimately splintered because of disagreements about ideological principles. In 1922 one of its factions that joined the Comintern called itself the Egyptian Communist party. It persisted through the 1930s and 1940s when Marxist circles became active in many secret ways, until the July 1952 revolution.

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AḤMAD ZAKARIYYĀ AL-SHILIO

POLYCARP, SAINT (c. 69–c. 156), bishop of Smyrna who was martyred (feast day: 29 Amshīr). This entry consists of two articles: Life of Polycarp and Letters of Polycarp.

Life of Polycarp

Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna (modern Izmir, Turkey) and defender of orthodox belief. According to Saint Irenaeus (c. 130–200), he was closely associated with Saint John, one of the twelve disciples, by whom he was consecrated bishop. He is therefore a vital link between the apostolic age and the generation of great Christian writers who flourished toward the end of the second century.

When Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was on his way to Rome, where he was martyred by order of Emperor Trajan, he visited Polycarp in Smyrna and, in chains, greeted and encouraged this staunch pillar of the true faith. Also, on reaching Troas, Ignatius dispatched letters to Polycarp, which the latter preserved and, with his own additions, made into an important document on orthodoxy.

He was also held in great esteem outside his own diocese, and other churches valued his teachings at a time of acute theological controversies that troubled the Christian church. At the age of eighty he traveled to Rome to participate in settling the dispute between Eastern and Western churches on the question of the date of Easter. Though no visible agreement could be reached on this topic, Bishop Anicetus of Rome requested that he celebrate the Orthodox Eucharist in his church as a mark of honor and esteem.

On his return to Smyrna, Polycarp was arrested by Roman authorities during a pagan festival. On trial he refused to recant his Christian faith, and consequently he was burned to death, while the gleeful mob shouted: "Let him be burned, he is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the destroyer of our gods." His martyrdom took place on Holy Saturday, the eve of Easter, probably in the year 156 or shortly afterward. He died happily, confessing Jesus Christ.

Polycarp is regarded as the "angel of the Church in Smyrna," and a special reference to Smyrna's martyrs is made in the book of Revelation: "I know thy works and tribulation, and poverty (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer . . . be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life" (Rev. 2:9–10).

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BISHOP GREGORIUS

Letters of Polycarp

Ignatius sent a letter from Troas to Polycarp, who was bishop of Smyrna, after he had spent quite a time previously in Smyrna on his prison journey. According to Irenaeus (in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.20.8), Polycarp wrote letters to neighboring congregations and to individual brethren. The letter to the Philippians has survived, and is probably composed of two different epistles sent to Philippi (1951, pp. 203–223). *Philippians* 13.2 shows that Polycarp is as yet unaware of the martyrdom of Ignatius, who was also in Philippi on his prison journey (or perhaps he cannot be aware of it because it has not yet taken place). "Tell me also anything more reliable that you can discover about Ignatius himself and about those who are with him." However, according to *Philippians* 9, Ignatius, together with others and with the Apostles, is in the place that is appropriate for them with the Lord, with whom they too have suffered. Here the martyrdom is presupposed. *Philippians* 13 (probably without chapter 14) is the short covering letter for the transmission of the letters of Ignatius, which were desired by Philippi directly after Ignatius's stay there. *Philippians* 1–12 and 14 would then be a later letter (chapter 14 is more appropriate as the conclusion to a relatively long letter).

The composite letter has come down in Greek and only partly in Latin. Coptic elements are to be found in the "Roman Martyrdom" of Ignatius, in Lefort (1952), pp. 102–103 (Sahidic and Bohairic); pp. 97–98 (French translation).

During a persecution of Christians in Smyrna, Polycarp died as a martyr on 23 February of uncertain year, at the age of 86. P. Brind'Amour (1980, pp. 456–62) argues for the year 167. Shortly after Polycarp's death the *Martyrium Policarpi* was composed in Smyrna as a letter from the congregation

in Smyrna to that of Philomelium. Discussion of it over the last few years has shown that it is basically authentic. The Coptic version has been published by I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat (1953), from the Vatican Library, Coptic Codex 58, fols. 79r–89v (Latin translation by Hyvernat in Balestri and Hyvernat, 1950, pp. 43–50; S.VIII reference to the previous edition by E. Amélineau). Here, however, we are dealing not with a translation of the whole text of the *Martyrium* but with one account from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which has been worked over particularly at the beginning and at the end (see Dehandschutter, 1979).

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THEOFRIED BAUMEISTER

POPE IN THE COPTIC CHURCH, from the Latin *papa* and the Greek *pappas*, diminutive for "father"; the Coptic *apa* is from the Aramaic *abba* (hence the Arabic *bābā* after the Arab conquest). In medieval Arabic literature, the term also appears as *al-Bāb*. The title "pope" has been in use in the Egyptian church from the beginning of the third century (Neale, Vol. 1, p. 113) for the highest Eastern prelates and patriarchs, suggesting their spiritual paternity. In Rome its use began in the second half of the fourth century. From the sixth century, it was reserved in the West for the bishop of Rome. Today it designates an ordinary priest among the Greeks (*pappas*). Remnants of it have been preserved among the Slavs (*pop, pip*).

In Alexandria and among the Copts, "pope" designates the head of the Coptic church; the full title is "pope and patriarch of the great city of Alexandria and of all Egypt, the Pentapolis and Pelousia, Nubia, the Sudan, Jerusalem, Libya, Ethiopia and all Africa, and all countries of the preaching of Saint Mark, archbishop of Cairo and Fusṭaṭ." From ancient times the Coptic church has been organized as a quasi-monarchical institution. Therefore the Council of NICAEA (325) stated: "Let the ancient custom prevail that was in vogue in Egypt and Libya and the Pentapolis, to allow the bishop of Alexandria to have authority over all these parts, since this is also the treatment usually accorded to the bishop of Rome" (canon VI).

Traditionally the popes of Alexandria were chosen from among the monks of the Coptic monasteries by a council composed of the chiefs of the clergy and the ARCHONS (chiefs of the Coptic laity). The election was then confirmed by a synod of bishops, and their choice was ratified by the civil authority. Immediately after the death of a pontiff, news of his decease was circulated by letters from Alexandria to all bishops, abbots, and archons. It called for an

assembly, first for the appointment of a senior archbishop to serve as patriarch after securing sanction from the temporal sovereign of the country. Subsequently the faithful prepared for the election by praying, fasting, and holding vigils. Habitually in olden times the problem was solved by the will and testament of the deceased pontiff, who recommended a specific person to follow him. In case of disagreement among the living, a protracted method of selection and elimination was pursued until a final decision was reached.

The nominee was required to fulfill certain conditions. He had to be a person of free birth, the son of a "crowned" mother, that is, of a woman in her first marriage (widows remarrying were never crowned at a second ceremony). He also had to be of sound body and mind, unmarried, over fifty years of age, never tarnished by bloodshed, a man of learning with a blameless life and pure doctrine, a dweller in the desert, but no bishop. This last limitation was enforced with unwavering rigor from the beginning until the reign of the seventy-fifth patriarch, CYRIL III, in 1235.

It is said that under Muhammadan rule in the eleventh century, a vizier recommended that the Copts use the Nestorian custom of elimination from a hundred candidates until they arrived at a list of three names that were inscribed on three slips of paper. These were to be placed with a fourth, bearing the name of Jesus Christ, in an envelope on the altar. After the celebration of the liturgical offices, an innocent child was asked to draw the winning name. If it happened to be Jesus, all three candidates were rejected as unworthy, and the procedure was repeated until a name was found. This method was first adopted by the Copts in the election of the sixty-fifth patriarch, Sanutius or SHENUTE II (1032–1046), and afterward was used only occasionally in doubtful cases until the election of the present pope, SHENOUDA III, in 1971. The only difference from the Nestorian system was that the Copts placed the names under rather than on the altar. Subsequently the acting archbishop proclaimed the selected name in church, and the congregation confirmed the selection by acclamation, shouting *agios, agios* (holy, holy).

At a later date, the rule insisting on a simple monastic recluse from the desert was waived, on the premise that such a candidate was not equipped with sufficient knowledge of the outside world to govern the church in times of great peril when secular diplomacy was inevitable. Occasionally in the past, laymen had been promoted for that high dignity. In 616, ANDRONICUS, a deacon of Alexandria, was elevated to the patriarchate as the thirty-seventh in the line of succession from Saint Mark. Similarly, others who were celibate but not regular monks were selected, and most of them proved to be excellent choices. Most prominent among them were AGATHON (661–677), the thirty-ninth patriarch and the second under Arab rule, and Ephraim or ABRAHAM (975–978), the sixty-second patriarch. More laymen were elected through the Middle Ages, but this practice has been avoided in the modern period.

With the reestablishment of the monastic rule, once a monk was selected, a deputation of bishops and archons went to his monastery and brought the candidate back from the desert in chains. The custom of chaining their choice must have started in remote antiquity, for pious monks were prone to refuse this preferment and often fled from the deputation, hiding from their pursuers. Perhaps the first example was the twelfth pope, DEMETRIUS I (189–231), who was no monk but an illiterate rustic in charge of a vineyard—and was married. His predecessor, Bishop JULIAN, the eleventh patriarch (180–189), had a vision while on his deathbed of a man bringing him a bunch of early grapes, and this man was marked by the angel of the Lord to succeed him. The following morning, when Demetrius came to the patriarch with a bunch of grapes, Julian told his companions that Demetrius was his successor. Demetrius protested in vain, citing his illiteracy and married state, but Julian's deacons enchained him and took him for enthronement. He proved to be one of the ablest patriarchs. The same story has recurred in the Middle Ages and modern times of monks who tried to escape preferment to the pontificate as a sign of humility, perhaps also for fear of the dangers besetting that position in ages of persecution.

As a simple monk, the chosen candidate had to go through the necessary preferments in successive days from priest to high priest (*qummuṣ*), but not bishop, before his final enthronement on a Sunday. In the case of a celibate layman, the candidate had first to take the monastic vow before going through the same procedure.

The ceremony of papal investiture was originally held in the Cathedral of Saint Mark in Alexandria, where the traditional seat of the papacy remained until it was moved to Cairo by Pope CHRISTODOULUS (1047–1077) in the eleventh century, so it would be within reach of the reigning Muhammadan authority. First, the pope resided at al-Mu'allaqah Church

in Old Cairo. Later he moved to the Church of the Virgin at ḤĀRIT AL-RŪM. In the nineteenth century CYRIL IV (1854–1861) constructed Saint Mark's Cathedral in the Azbakiyyah district, and built a new patriarchal residence and his school in the same area. During the pontificate of CYRIL VI (1959–1971), the new and majestic Cathedral of Saint Mark, together with the patriarchal palace and the various theological institutions, were established at ANBĀ RUWAYS, which was originally a Coptic cemetery. (The authorities moved the cemetery outside the city to the Red Mountain region, al-Jabal al-Aḥmar.)

The description of the ceremony of consecration of the pope has been preserved by Alfred J. Butler in his *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (Vol. 2, pp. 309–311). On the eve of his enthronement, the candidate, in chains, kept vigil by the tomb of Saint Mark; after the body of the evangelist was stolen, the vigil was by the remains of the candidate's predecessor. The following morning, after the matins service was sung, the solemn liturgical service was officiated by the senior bishop:

> After the reading of the lessons, the chains are loosed; and when the passage from the Acts is finished, a procession is formed to the altar. First come the deacons bearing uplifted crosses, burning tapers, and flabella; then a priest swinging a thurible, and behind him another priest bearing the silver or golden gospel; next the archdeacon; the senior bishop followed by the other prelates walking two by two; the patriarch elect, vested in dalmatic and amice, and moving with bowed head between two priests; and lastly all the other priests in due order. Thus they advance with music and chants to the *haykal,* where all salute the altar. After the first gospel the senior bishop sits on the throne, and all the bishops on the bench of the tribune beside him, facing westward; but the patriarch stands below between the altar and the throne, and faces eastward, a priest holding him on either side; and all the priests and deacons sit on the lower steps below the prelates. Then the senior bishop gives the decree or instrument of election to a deacon, who takes it to the ambo, and reads it aloud. All the bishops subscribe their consent; after which three priests and three deacons of Alexandria, and either the abbot of Dayr Anbā Maqār, or the ruler of Alexandria or Babylon, i.e. Cairo, sign the document.

After this impressive function, the bishops move toward the altar while hymns are sung and the senior bishop conducts prayers with incense, then in silence lays his right hand on the patriarch's head as the archdeacon reiterates the proclamation. The other bishops lay hands on the pope with their eyes lifted toward heaven. Then the senior bishop signs the patriarch with the cross, declares him "archbishop in the holy Church of God of the great city of Alexandria," and vests him with the *epitrachelion* and chasuble. Long prayers follow while the instrument of ordination is read by a deacon from the ambo. The bishop then proclaims the patriarch, and the congregation responds with the words *agios, agios* (holy, holy). The Gospel is placed on the patriarch's head and, after he receives the pallium, the cape, the crown, and the staff, he is led to the throne, as the bishops standing below doff their miters.

Finally, the patriarch conducts the full liturgy, and afterward he is led in a similar, impressive procession to his cell or residence, where homage is rendered to him by the clergy and the laity.

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PETRO BILANIUK

PORCH. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

PORCHER, ERNEST (1855–1939), French Coptologist. He was professor at the Collège

secondaire at Angers, Maine-et-Loire, and then at Paris. He was an editor of Coptic texts (Patrologia Orientalis) and catalogs (National Library, Paris).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PORTRAITURE, COPTIC. [*The tradition of portraiture that developed in pharaonic Egypt and in Rome continued in Coptic Egypt among many other elements of pharaonic and classical art. Portraits were created in stone, in textiles, and especially in paint—on wood panels, on fabric, and on walls. Most of these were associated with funerary art.*

This entry consists of two articles, one on the mummy portraits of the proto-Coptic period (third to early fifth centuries) and one on Coptic portraits in various media (late fifth to late seventh centuries).]

Portraiture of the Third and Fourth Centuries

The dry climate of Egypt preserved artistic work in perishable materials such as wood and textiles. Thus a great number of portraits on wood and cloth remain from the late Roman and proto-Coptic periods. They belong almost exclusively to funerary art, since they were attached to mummies. Mummies provided with portraits were discovered primarily in the Fayyūm and its environs and more rarely in Antinoopolis. Many of these "mummy portraits" were paintings done in tempera or encaustic on wooden panels or on a linen shroud. An extensive category consists of masks, carved or molded, divided into groups according to material and typology (Grimm, 1974). These portraits were placed over the face of the mummy in such a way that the deceased appeared to be alive and looking out of a window. This impression was enhanced by the custom of setting the mummies upright and presenting them for a long time in the house, perhaps in a kind of ancestor room. Frequently burial took place many years later.

In the first and second centuries these Romano-Egyptian portraits, some showing just a bust, some a full figure, had a naturalistic style, but in time they became marked by a certain stiffness. Strongly expressive physiognomies occur more and more rarely as in a portrait by a leading master painted about 300 now in Würzburg (Drerup, 1933, p. 62, no. 26, pl. 16; Parlasca, 1980, p. 23, no. 497, pl. 121, 1). Many portraits are of modest quality with no individual character. From the end of the third century the unquestionable expressiveness of many portraits is attained more and more through new stylistic means. The faces are generally typecast and have simplified linear contours. Above all they are dominated by unnaturally large, boldly emphasized eyes, as in a late fourth-century portrait of a boy in a private collection (Parlasca, 1980, p. 63, no. 655, pl. 155, 2). An example of a shroud portrait is Ammonios in the Louvre, Paris (Coche de la Ferté, 1952, pp. 16ff, ill. 17; Parlasca, 1977, no. 422, pl. 105, 2). Examples of fourth-century masks are a bust of a woman probably from near Thebes now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Grimm, 1974, pp.

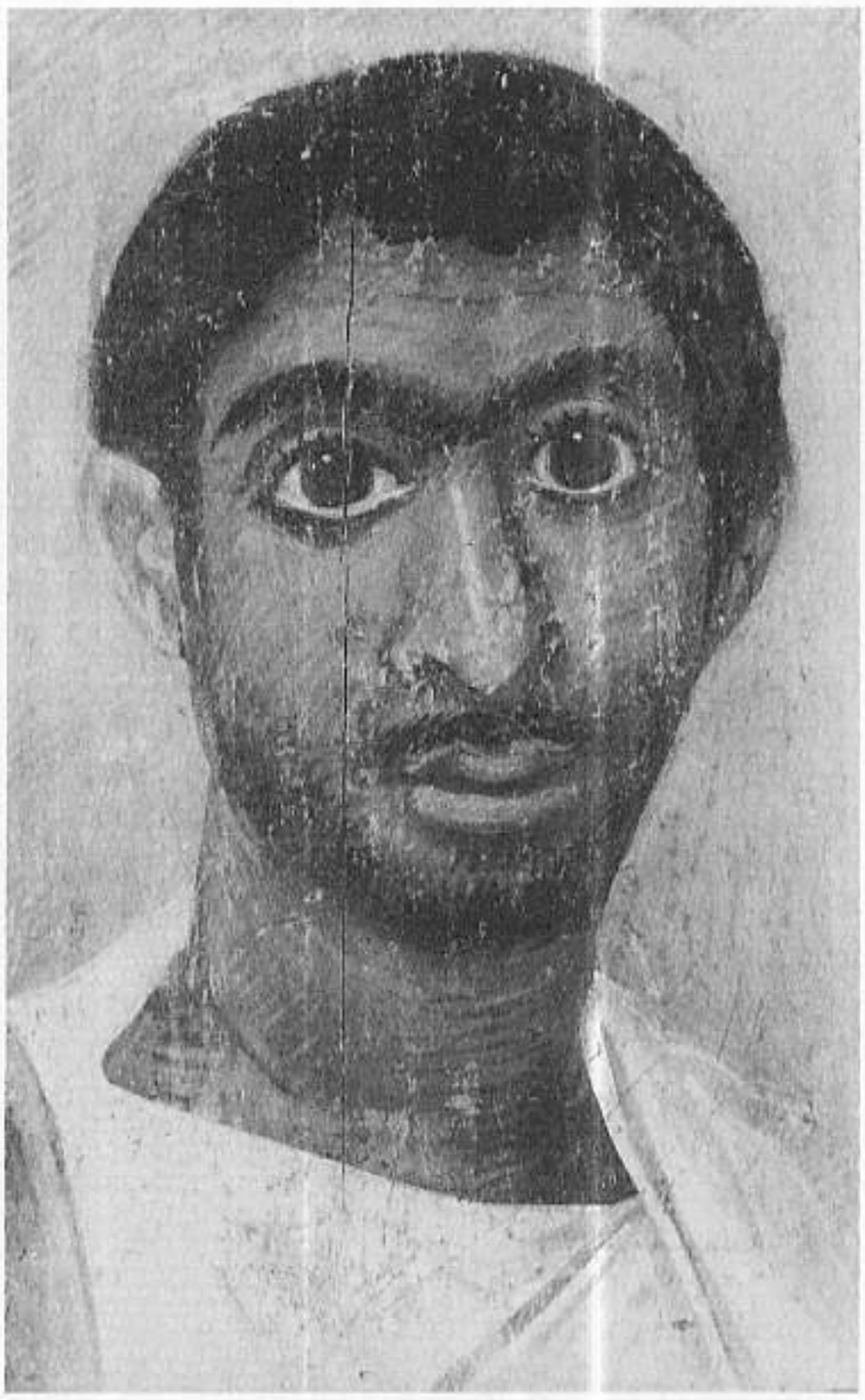


"The Lady from Fayyum." Romano-Egyptian. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

94ff, pl. 111, 4) and a shroud with a molded mask from Dayr al-Bahri in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Grimm, 1974, pp. 95ff, pl. 112, 2). Three (of a projected four) volumes of all known mummy portraits and fragments have been published (Parlasca, 1969, 1977, 1980).

The forerunners of all these mummy portraits are the anthropoid coffins and shrouds of pharaonic and Ptolemaic times, which were connected with the worship of Osiris. Egyptians believed that every dead man became the murdered Osiris, god of the underworld, and by virtue of that identity participated in Osiris' resurrection. It was evidently still known at the threshold of the Coptic period that mummies equipped with painted portraits or masks were connected with this pagan belief in resurrection (Parlasca, 1966, pp. 206ff). It is certainly no accident that there are no Christian portrait mummies. (The portrait of Ammonios in the Louvre is no longer thought to be Christian.) There was no natural continuity of these pagan beliefs into the Christian-Byzantine period, which is called Coptic. But these Romano-Egyptian portraits can be called proto-Coptic because they already show the unrealistic, expressive style of Coptic Christian art.

In this proto-Coptic period, there are only a few "adapted" Christian clay coffins. Possibly these exceptions arose even before the final prohibition of pagan cults, at the end of the fourth century. (Par-



Romano-Egyptian portrait (Egyptian type). Third-fourth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*



Portrait of a "sickly woman." Romano-Egyptian. *Museum of Berlin.*

lasca, 1966, pp. 210, 291). Only in recent times has a so far unique example of a Christian painted sarcophagus become known. The J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California, obtained parts of a simple wooden sarcophagus, on one long side of which the deceased—a six-year-old boy named Ammonios—is represented lying on a couch. On both sides appear four childlike pages. The complete absence of pagan symbols (wooden coffins in the imperial period always bear motifs from the world of the Egyptian cult of the dead) shows that the boy belonged to a Christian family. The upper part of the dead boy's body stands out clearly against the background. The field left open in the mattress-pattern has the effect of a rectangular nimbus. The style of the painting, especially the stylized portrait, suggests a late fourth-century date. It may be roughly contemporary with the late mummy portraits.



Portrait of an older woman. Romano-Egyptian. *Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*



Portrait of "Ammonios." Painting on wood. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

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KLAUS PARLASCA

Portraiture of the Fifth to Ninth Centuries

Coptic Christian portraits, like Byzantine portraits, showed the bust in a frontal position, which distinguished them from Romano-Egyptian portraits, almost always shown in three-quarters view. People attached to them the value of a presence of the deceased, but they were not icons to be venerated as channels to the spiritual world.

One of the best-known portraits in tempera on wood is that of an archangel, sometimes thought to be a woman (Coche de la Ferté, 1961, p. 26), in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. According to Weitzmann (1979, pp. 538–39), the basis for the identification of the personage as an archangel is, in addition to the military costume, the jewel placed on the fillet in the hair with ribbons falling to the back and the gesture of benediction of the hand in front of the chest. Generally dated to the sixth century by reason of its simple and very harmonious lines, it seems rather to belong to the beginning of the fifth century; the contrast with the following portraits is striking.

Another portrait in the Cabinet des Médailles is inscribed "Our father Mark the Evangelist." The absence of both a halo and the saint's title argue against the suggestion that the person portrayed is Saint Mark the Evangelist. According to his inscribed title, he is more likely to be the superior of a monastery, undoubtedly a bishop because of his specific vestment, and probably a former monk. The head is round, hardly elongated (which is common in Egypt), with straight hair, and he has a short beard that reaches from one ear to the other. The ordinary dating (Weitzmann, 1979, p. 553, no. 498) to the end of the sixth century does not take account of this relatively realistic aspect of the face, or of the form of the eye socket that, without being elongated, is somewhat reminiscent of pharaonic conventions. These would indicate another dating, namely, the first half of the sixth century.

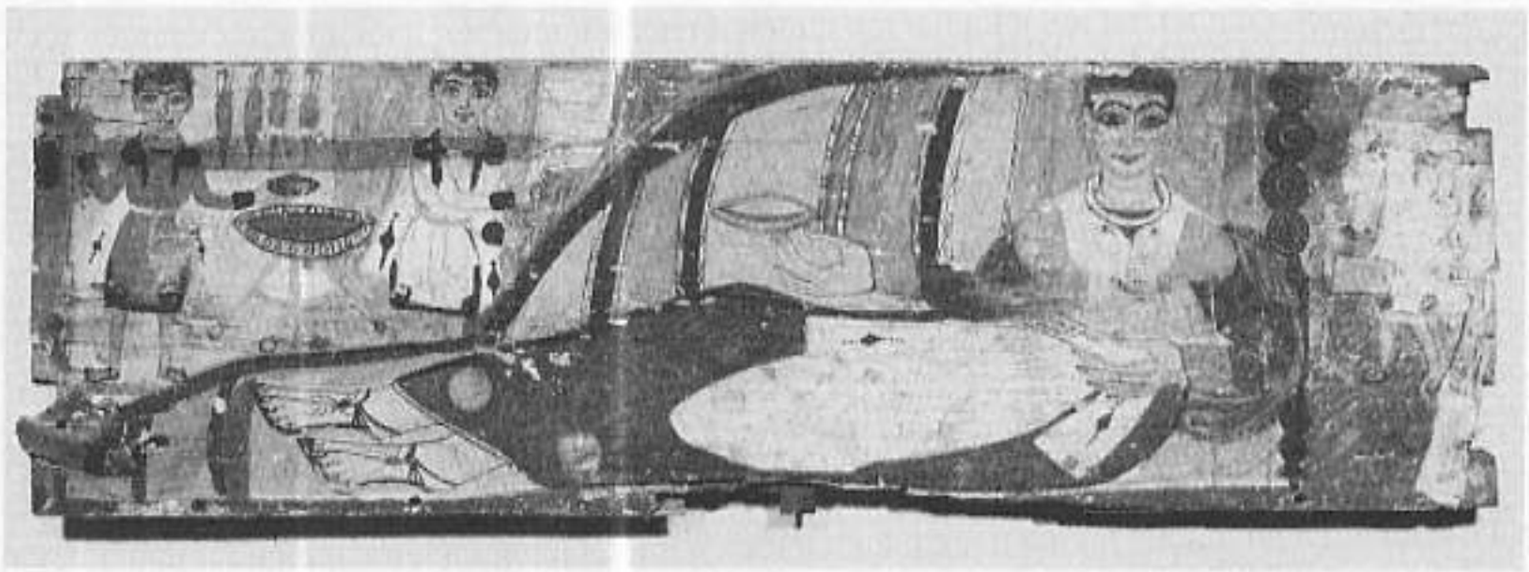
A third portrait is identified by the inscription "the holy abbot Abraham, bishop." The face is bearded; the top of the head is surrounded by a halo; the arm holds a Gospel of Byzantine decoration of the sixth or seventh century. The eyes are striking because of their shape and impressively majestic gaze. This may be the effect of a realistic style that, in emphasizing certain features, helps to date this portrait to the sixth or seventh century. This was confirmed by Martin Krause (1971) to be 590–600, with the place being Armant, where Abraham was bishop (see BISHOPS, PORTRAITS OF).

Closely related to these panel portraits are the busts of saints in mural paintings on the walls of monasteries. An example is the head-and-shoulders portrait of Saint Jeremiah at Dayr Apa Jeremiah, Saqqara (Quibell, 1905–1910). In Coptic Egypt, however, portraits of this kind were not common. But painted or sculpted busts, isolated or in pairs, but each in a medallion and always full-face, are found fairly often, such as at Dayr Apa Apollo at Bāwīṭ (Chassinat, 1911, pl. 7; Clédat, 1904–1916, pls. 56–57).

Worthy of mention is a wood panel painted in encaustic showing Christ and Saint Menas in full length. Conserved in the Louvre, it likely came from Dayr Apa Apollo. It is a unique example of

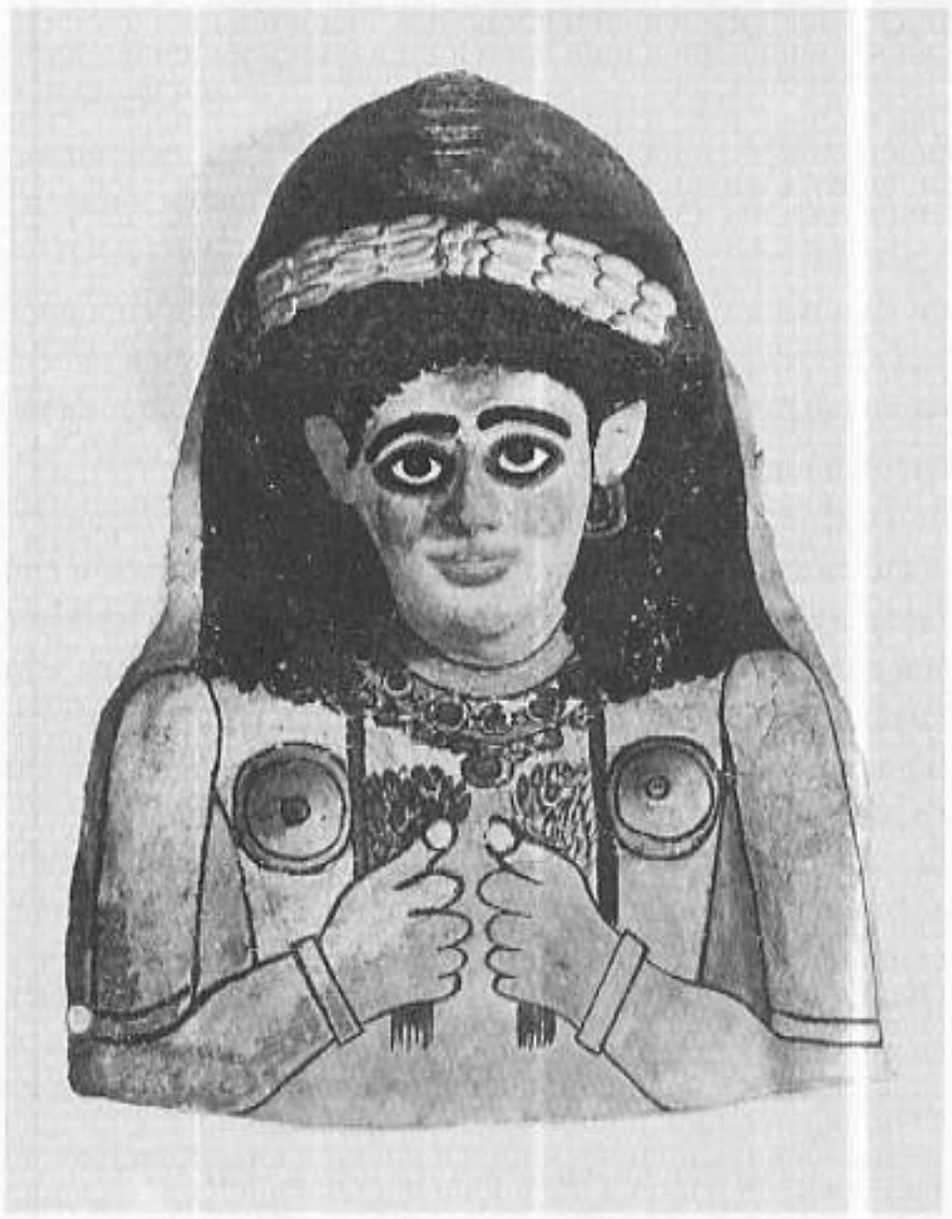


Stylized portrait of a boy. Painting on wood. *Private Collection, Erlangen. Courtesy Pierre du Bourguet.*

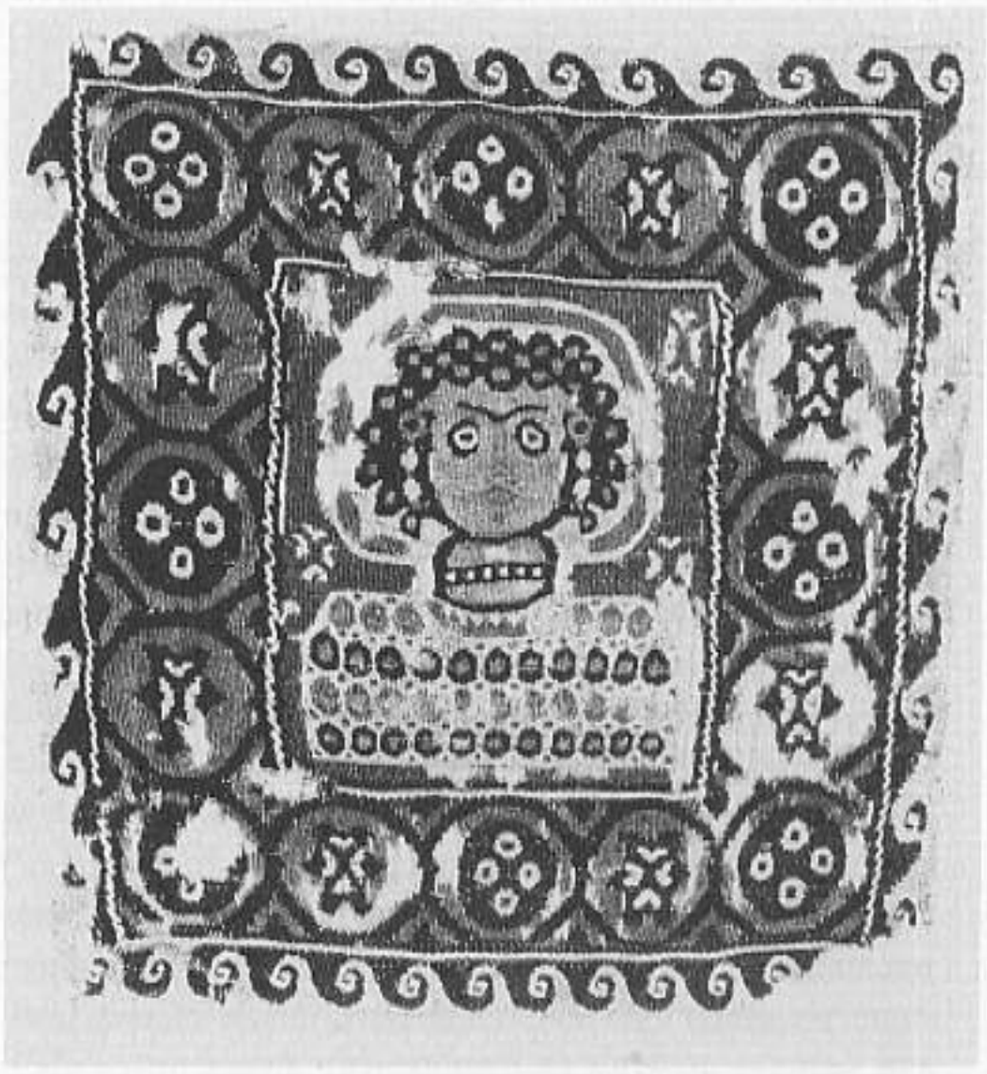


Painted sarcophagus. Fourth century. Wood covered with painted linen; approx. length: 160 cm. *Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.*

that style. The two personages, full-face and side by side, have a most penetrating gaze. But the attitude, which is very Coptic in defying the laws of the realistic style, links them closely together, magisterially making good the absence of depth. This is accomplished by Christ's gesture as he encircles Menas' shoulders with his right arm, and by the line of a mountain between them and closely attached to them, against which the halos surrounding each head blaze with light. The costume of each and the decoration of the book that Christ holds would incline some to see this portrait as a Byzantine work, but nothing could be further from the truth. The forms are short and thickset; each of the heads is disproportionately large in relation to the body; and Christ's head is more important than that of Menas. The long tunic and pallium that each wears do not



Bust of a woman. Painted plaster. Mask of a mummy. Fourth century. *Courtesy Museum of Ancient Egypt, Turin.*



Bust in a frame of interlacings. Tapestry. Ninth century. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*



Christ and Anbā Mīnā (Saint Menas). Painting in distemper on wood. Bāwīt. Seventh century. Height: 57 cm; width: 57 cm; thickness: 2 cm. *Courtesy Louvre Museum, Paris.*

have Byzantine elegance; nor do they divide into vertical folds, except at the bottom of Christ's robe. Instead, as they rise toward the shoulders, they trace a series of curves, which are echoed first in the curves of the faces, the short beard, and the pouches of the eyes, and are emphasized by the inverse movement of the mustaches and the eyebrows and culminate in those of the halos. The Coptic appearance is thus undeniable. It is accentuated not so much by the writing of the words, which could be Greek, as by the title Apa to designate Menas. His function is that of PROESTOS, which was adopted by some superiors of Coptic monasteries. Also, a Coptic rather than a Greek article is used.

Portraits in stone appear as busts in medallions on friezes on plant motifs or as full-length personages on stelae. An eighth-century stela in the Louvre bears a portrait of Daphne (du Bourguet, 1972). Another, showing a monk in an orant posture, of which only the upper part remains, is located in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, Washington, D.C., and is datable to the seventh century (Weitzmann, 1979, p. 553, no. 449).

Half-length portraits can be found in tapestry. One fifth-century work in the Louvre represents the seasons (du Bourguet, 1964, no. B 25); another fifth-century piece in the Louvre shows nereids (du Bourguet, 1964, no. C 77). A ninth-century representation of an evangelist is found in the Detroit Institute of Arts (du Bourguet, 1968, p. 164).

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PIERRE DU BOURGUET, S.J.

POTSTANDS. *See* Ceramics, Coptic.

POTTERY. *See* Ceramics, Coptic.

PRAYER OF ABSOLUTION. *See* Absolution.

PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL. This prayer forms part of the Jung Codex (Codex I of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY), to which it probably is an addition. It begins with a series of four attributes referring to the Redeemer, to whom the initiate applies to obtain certain graces: "you are my mind . . . you are my house . . . you are my fullness . . . you are my repose." Subsequently the initiate invokes God through the mediation of Christ. The divinity is addressed as the one who is and preexisted. This first part of the *Prayer* is worthy of comparison with the first Stele of the *Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII, 5) with which it shares many features. The expression "my Redeemer, redeem me for I am yours" recalls the first Stele 118.32, "for I am thine [own] Son," for "you are my mind" (cf. first Stele 119: "you are my mind, my Father"). The titles given to God in the *Prayer* are found in part in the first Stele: "I invoke you, the One who is and preexisted" recalls the first Stele 119.25, "you are he who is," and the second Stele 124.5: "the first preexistent One." The evocation of the treasure house, on the other hand, recalls the heavenly treasure and the storehouse of the soul in the *Authentikos Logos* (NHC VI, 2): "her enemies watch her as she rises towards heaven, in her treasure, where her *nous* is, and in safety in her storehouse" (28.22–27). The theme of treasure is also found in the Manichaean Psalms (cf. index to Allberry, 1938).

The initiate asks God for healing of the body as well as of the soul: "give healing for my body . . . and redeem my eternal light-soul and my spirit." This feature is also found in the Manichaean Psalter, where Jesus is the heavenly physician who cares for body and spirit (cf. index, Allberry, 1938).

This prayer, Gnostic in character, must be read in the light of the Jewish and Hermetic prayers and liturgies. Moreover, the formal structure of this text follows an exact schema, which is that of the prayers in the magic literature of Egypt between the second and third centuries A.D.

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MADELEINE SCOPELLO

PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING. This text fits among the Hermetic works of Codex VI of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY. Known in Greek and Latin versions, it preserves a prayer of thanksgiving for "mind, speech, knowledge" (64.9f.). The recitation itself preceded a (ritual) embrace and a communal meal consisting of flesh which, as in Jewish custom, had been drained of blood (65.2–7). Following this short petition in the codex there appears a scribal note stating that the copyist had at hand several other tractates that were not included (65.8–14).

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S. KENT BROWN

PREFECT (*praefectus Aegypti, eparchos Aigyptou*). After Diocletian's reforms, Egypt was divided into three provinces (c. A.D. 297), and the supreme command over the enlarged army forces in the country was concentrated in the hands of a single *dux*, "general" (in 308/309 at the latest). Consequently, the position of the prefect as a viceroy (Tacitus *Annales*, 2.59.1) was reduced to that of a civil gov-

ernor of a fraction of Egypt—the province Aegyptus—whereas the Thebaid and Libya were both governed by a *praeses* (superintendent).

Since Aegyptus included Alexandria, and thus the responsibility to forward the annual grain tribute to Rome (and later to Constantinople), the prefect may have retained certain prerogatives over the *praesides*, but the evidence is not unambiguous (cf. Lallemand, 1964, pp. 49–51; Hübner, 1952, pp. 2–3). The prefect was directly responsible to the *praefectus praetorio* and to the emperor, who controlled his activities directly or through officials attached to the prefectural bureau (*officium, taxis*).

The office of the prefect disappeared from January 314/December 315 until after the defeat of Licinius in September 324. In this decade, Aegyptus was divided into two provinces, each governed by a *praeses:* Aegyptus Herculia, Middle Egypt and a large portion of the Eastern Delta; and Aegyptus Iovia, the Western Delta with Alexandria. When the provinces were reunited, the prefect apparently attained a higher rank. From 326 on, he is addressed as *eparch* (no longer as *hēgemōn*), even by private persons. About 335 his rank order was raised from *perfectissimus* (most excellent; Greek, *diasēmotatos*) to *clarissimus* (most glorious; Greek, *lamprotatos*).

With the creation of the diocese of Egypt about 381, the prefect definitely assumed the epithet *spectabilis* (admirable; Greek, *peribleptos*) and the title (*praefectus*) *augustalis*, as an expression of his superiority over the *praesides*. He virtually replaced the *vicarius* as intermediary between the *praesides* and the central authority.

The area under direct control of the prefect was further reduced when Middle Egypt was detached from Augustamnica, which was created in 341 and probably covered the former Herculia, to become the separate province Arcadia in 386.

Justinian's reforms, laid down in Edict XIII (538/539 or, less probably, 533/534), emphasized compartmentalization within the diocese of Egypt, consolidating the authority in each division. The governors of the provinces were invested with military power. Accordingly, the prefect strengthened his position in Aegyptus, where he combined his office with that of *dux* and henceforth ruled as *dux augustalis*, but he lost his vicarial status (the supervision over the *praesides*) in favor of the *praefectus praetorio*. This step toward decentralization presumably facilitated the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs between 639 and 641, after which the prefect became the Arab governor of a fraction of the caliphate.

Qualifications, Appointment, and Term of Office

The prefect was appointed by the emperor from among persons of equestrian, later of senatorial, rank. Most of the prefects came from the eastern part of the empire. Several of them were familiar with the peculiarities of Egypt through origin (e.g., Johannes Laxarion [542]) or prior service (e.g., Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus [former *praeses* of the Thebaid, prefect in 367–370 and 375–376]). These antecedents, especially the prefect's relations with local notables, promoted corruption. From the fifth century on, magnates and clerical leaders exerted an increasing influence on the civil government of Egypt, installing their candidates as prefects.

From the sources available for the fourth century (especially the festal letters of Patriarch ATHANASIUS I, mentioning the prefects from 328 to 373), it seems that the prefect usually held the office for one year. Yet the term of office could arbitrarily be shortened or prolonged by the emperor. Second terms almost never occurred. The two second terms of office attested so far (Flavius Philagrius [335–337 and] 338–339; Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus [see above]) are probably special cases involving ecclesiastical politics.

Powers of the Prefect

Before the creation of the *dux* as supreme military commander for the whole country (responsible to a *magister militum* [commander of the soldiers]), each governor seems to have commanded the troops in his own province. The reunification of civil and military powers on a provincial level was occasionally used as a means to cope with foreign pressure; for instance, about 440 the *dux* of the Thebaid was given supervision of the civil administration—at least in the Upper Thebaid, affected by raids of Blemmyes and Nobadae—and was definitely reestablished by Justinian in Edict XIII. The prefect was thus deprived of military powers from about 308/309 until 538/539 (or 553/554).

Except for those duties directly connected with the financial administration of the country, the civil authority of the prefect was limited to his own province, Aegyptus. This appears from the fact that most of the edicts issued by the prefect were of a financial nature.

The prefect and the members of the financial department (*scrinium*) were responsible for the tax-

es to be raised annually in Egypt according to the assessment of the central government. This involved the distribution of the total amount of taxes prescribed in the emperor's *delegatio* over the provinces (that is, as far as Aegyptus is concerned, over the various communities); the supervision of the financial activities of the *praesides* and the tax collectors; and especially the organization of the *annona civica*, the collection of grain taxes for the support of Alexandria and the concentration at the port of the *aisia embolē*, the "happy" (grain) shipment for Constantinople. Edict XIII charged the prefect and his staff with the autonomous administration of the *annona militaris*.

The prefect's responsibility for the publication and enforcement of imperial edicts and for the preservation of the public order, which involved criminal justice and occasional inspection trips, also had a financial goal. The same was true of his supervision of public works, especially of those improving the irrigation of arable land, and his control of the municipal administration, mainly concerned with the appointment of liturgists.

Another branch of the *officium*, comprising the *scrinium* of the *commentariensis* (for criminal justice) and that of the *ab actis* (for civil affairs), assisted the prefect in his judicial functions. Relatively few petitions submitted to the prefect seem to have resulted in a hearing before his court, where he was assisted by legal advisers (*assessores*). Most civil and administrative cases were disposed of with a notation appended to the petition (*subscriptio;* Greek, *hypographē*). This reply settled the matter on the basis of judicial precedents or referred it to local officials (e.g., the *strategos* or the *defensor civitatis*), to a lower court (e.g., the *iudices pedanei* [petty judges]), or to a representative of the prefect (e.g., the *iudicus*). The agencies that did not have (or had not obtained by delegation of the prefect) the competence to pass judgments returned the case to the prefectural court with the results of their investigation.

Though the prefect retained full powers to administer civil and criminal justice, his judicial activities were gradually affected by the development of rival courts. His court (*conventus*) was abolished when Diocletian conferred jurisdiction upon the *praesides* in their own provinces. Until the creation of the diocese of Egypt, the jurisdiction of the *praesides* and that of the prefect were equivalent and mutually independent. After 381, the tribunal of the prefect (elevated to *iudex extraordinarius*) mainly functioned as a court of appeal against judgments made by the *praesides* (*iudices ordinarii*). The prefect's jurisdiction was further limited by the court of the *dux*, which arrogated the right to conduct civil proceedings, as well as by the ecclesiastical tribunals, formally recognized in 325 and gradually extending their competences.

Theoretically the prefect's right of decree (*ius edicendi*) involved the right to issue edicts, the validity of which extended beyond the boundaries of his province, a privilege recalling his former viceregal position. In actual practice, this seems to have been an accessory task of his financial administration of Egypt (e.g., the prefect's edicts about the apportionment of the taxes according to the order sent to him by the *praefectus praetorio*). The majority of the "prefectural" edicts consisted of imperial decrees, which the prefect had to publish and enforce, such as edicts dealing with religious affairs.

The prefect played an active role in the ecclesiastical politics of the emperors. Clodius Culcianus (301–307) and Sossianus Hierocles (307) persecuted the Christians; Flavius Philagrius enforced the deposition of Bishop Athanasius (339); Ecdicius Olympus supported the pagan policy of Julian (362–363); Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus executed the anti-orthodox measures ordered by Valens (375–376); Evagrius enforced Theodosius' edict prohibiting pagan cults (391); Florus supported the installation of the Monophysite patriarch Proterius (452).

In spite of the literary sources alleging that Cyrus was prefect and patriarch at the same time (631–640), the assumption that both offices could be combined remains doubtful.

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BÉNÉDICTE VERBEECK

PRESBYTERY. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN IN THE TEMPLE, FEAST OF THE. *See* Theotokos, Feast of the.

PRESS, COPTIC. [*This entry consists of two articles, one on* Major Organs, *the other on* Minor Organs.]

Major Organs

Copts began publishing religious, intellectual, and political periodicals in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some journals and newspapers were written to appeal to Muslims as well as Christians, while others focused more narrowly on communal and church affairs. The heyday of such publications was the seventy-five years between the founding of the newspaper *al-Waṭan* in 1877 and the close of the constitutional monarchy in 1952. The number of Coptic periodicals published during this period gives evidence not only of a lively and vigorous communal life but also of a substantial literate public for so small a community. The freedom that Coptic journalists felt in voicing views that many Muslims found highly controversial is one example of the considerable political tolerance of this era.

Coptic periodicals frequently defended their perception of Coptic interests in society at large. Their attempts to encourage communal cohesiveness, particularly in the face of perceived Muslim or government depredations, were in contrast to the extreme division of opinion on internal church matters, a favorite subject of all periodicals that counted their readership primarily among Copts. All were concerned with national issues. Two, *al-Waṭan* and *Miṣr*, were daily newspapers, while a third, *al-Manārah al-Miṣriyyah*, was a journal that sometimes appeared monthly and sometimes weekly.

Al-Waṭan was founded by Mīkhā'īl 'Abd al-Sayyid in 1877 as a forum for national issues. According to the Egyptian historian 'Abdal-Raḥmān Al-Rāfi'ī (1889–1966), the paper adopted a patriotic policy with a nonpartisan tone. In 1900, after a period of suspension, the paper was published under the editorship of Jindī Ibrāhīm. *Al-Waṭan* was again sold in 1924, and its new proprietor made the newspaper into an advocate of church reform.

The newspaper was a strong defender of Coptic interests in the years before World War I, when ethnic tensions ran high. It was warned on more than one occasion by the government for inciting religious fanaticism. *Al-Waṭan* supported the British Occupation and condemned the 1919 revolution and Sa'd Zaghlūl. In time, perhaps realizing how little support there was for the occupation, it came to support the cause of independence. It became a newspaper more concerned with national than communal affairs but retained a conservative color. It opposed the Zaghlulists and promoted cooperation with the British as the quickest route to independence. It also opposed the boycott of the Milner mission. The newspaper had a tendency to support whatever ministry was in power and was fervently

loyal to the throne, two sensible positions for a minority paper. With *al-Waṭan's* sale, the newspaper began supporting the *Wafd* party, but its conversion in 1924 came too late. The *Wafd* party had no real need to support two Coptic newspapers, and *Miṣr* had a prior and stronger claim to a nationalist readership. *Al-Waṭan's* error at this point may have been to look too much like its rival, *Miṣr*, with similar views on church and national matters. It began to appear sporadically in 1927 and disappeared in 1930.

Miṣr was the preeminent Coptic organ in the period of the constitutional monarchy. Throughout its life, it claimed to speak for the Copts, although it also served at times as a party newspaper and had Muslim and Coptic journalists and readers. The newspaper was founded in 1895 by Tadrus Shinudah al-Manqabādī, an Orthodox Copt. The newspaper presented reformist views and opposed the conservative and proclerical stance of *al-Waṭan*.

Miṣr paid close attention to communal matters and was steadfast in its anticlerical views. It supported any proposal that would increase lay participation in church affairs. *Miṣr* described its role as that of the watchdog of the community. The newspaper was very influential in promoting church reform, and its support for the COMMUNITY COUNCIL probably afforded that body some protection from government interference.

Miṣr began publication as a staunch defender of the British Occupation. It opposed the pan-Islamic nationalism of MUṢṬAFĀ KĀMIL and defended the Coptic community against the attacks of *al-Liwā'* and *al-Mu'ayyad* in 1908–1909. *Miṣr* also supported the COPTIC CONGRESS OF ASYŪṬ in 1911. It was in this troubled period a stronger advocate of Coptic rights than at any other time until the late 1940s.

As al-Manqabādī noted, there was no surer way to financial ruin in Egypt than to start a newspaper. In 1917, *Miṣr* disappeared for a short period owing to the owner's financial troubles. When it reappeared in 1918, it did so as a convert to the nationalist cause. By the time of the 1919 revolution, *Miṣr* was supporting the *Wafd* party and was vehemently anti-British. It even served for a short period as the chief Zaghlulist organ. For the most part, the newspaper continued to back the *Wafd*, although its enthusiasm for the party sometimes wavered. *Miṣr* was also a very strong supporter of the *Wafd* during the controversial 1938 election, but thereafter it was very subdued in its criticism of the victorious Mahmud government. After the Coptic politician MAKRAM EBEID left the *Wafd* in the 1940s, *Miṣr*'s support for the party ended. Following World War II, *Miṣr* assumed a more communal character and largely withdrew from the national political arena. It was clear in expressing its disappointment in the political system. Under SALĀMAH MŪSĀ, the newspaper intensified its defense of Coptic interests. Accusing the newspaper of religious fanaticism, the Ṣidqī government ceased publishing announcements in its pages.

Al-Manārah al-Miṣriyyah was founded in 1928 by the radical priest and famous orator, the *qummuṣ* Murqus Malaṭī SARJIYŪS. Sarjiyūs was a popular figure among Muslims and Copts and was an influential advocate of church reform. For most of his working life, he was the bane of the patriarchate. He expressed his views with so little tact in his journal that he was excommunicated twice.

When his friend Anbā MACARIUS III was elected patriarch on a reform platform in 1944, Sarjiyūs found himself, for the first time, backing the patriarchate. He became the patriarch's *wakīl* (vicar guard) and surprisingly, in a complete reversal, continued to support him, even when the latter failed to enact his promised reforms. Sarjiyūs also served as *wakīl* for Macarius' successor, YŪSĀB II. The latter also reneged on promises of reform and plunged the community into considerable chaos. By 1952, Sarjiyūs was attacking the patriarch, and was excommunicated as a result of these attacks, but was later reinstated.

Al-Manārah was primarily interested in internal matters, but it did deal with the wider area of Coptic-Muslim relations. It was not affiliated with any party, but did oppose the *Wafd* owing to its proprietor's break with that party in the 1920s. Sarjiyūs was inclined to address all subjects only in terms of how they would affect the Coptic community. *Al-Manārah* was diligent in reporting incidents of violence against Copts and complained about government interference in community affairs. The journal was more temperate when Sarjiyūs served as *wakīl*.

The weekly newspaper *Waṭanī* is the most important Coptic organ to appear in the post-1952 period. In early 1958, a group of Coptic notables decided that the community needed a vehicle to express its views and interests. After acquiring a government permit, the newspaper began to appear under the editorship of 'Azīz Mirzā, a former chief editor of *al-Ahrām*. The newspaper encountered serious financial difficulties, owing principally to the lack of advertising brought about by the 1961 nationalizations, but it has continued to publish. *Waṭanī* re-

ports on Orthodox church concerns and also discusses the affairs of other Egyptian Christian sects. The newspaper also publishes articles on matters of general national concern.

In 1981, *Waṭanī* was suspended for publishing articles that the government declared were inflammatory. These articles dealt with the Christian-Muslim violence that broke out in the district of al-Zāwiyah al-Ḥamrā'. *Waṭānī* protested the suspension and took its case to court. In June 1983, the court upheld *Waṭanī*'s position. Nonetheless, the suspension continued until December 1984. The newspaper continues to write on matters of specific concern to the Coptic community and consciously tries to promote good relations between Muslims and Copts.

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B. L. CARTER

Minor Organs

The following is an attempt at the compilation of as comprehensive a list of the Arabic Coptic organs, both periodicals and daily newspapers.

Al-'A'ilah al-Qibṭiyyah, published monthly by Jam'iyat al-Ittiḥād al-Qibṭiyyah al-Khayriyyah at Alexandria in 1909 and 1910.

'Ayn-Shams, published by Claudius Labīb in 1900 and ceased publication three years later; mainly for Coptic language and history.

Al-Anwār, founded by Rev. Dāwūd al-Maqārī in 1946, with the collaboration of Anṭūniyūs Mīkhā'īl. Ceased publication 1968. Mainly for Coptic language and theological studies.

Al-Fatah al-Qibṭī, published monthly by the Central al-Imān Benevolent Society at Cairo from 1905 to 1910.

Al-Fidā, published weekly, started by Mus'ad Sādiq in 1952. It was mainly interested in preserving national unity in an atmosphere of secularization. It was stopped by military decree in January 1953. It resumed publication in 1958.

Al-Fir'ūn, published bimonthly at Cairo by Tawfīq Ḥabīb from 1909 to 1920.

Al-Ḥaqq, published monthly by Yūsuf Manqariyus, director of the CLERICAL COLLEGE, in 1907 for a period of about five years. It reappeared under the *hegumenos* Yūsuf al-Dayrī in 1947 and stopped again in 1950. It was mainly devoted to news of the diocese of Qalyūbiyyah.

Al-Imān, published monthly, founded by the Coptic Benevolent Society, with the collaboration of the *hegumenos* Jirjis Buṭrus and preacher Ghaṭṭās Bishārah, mainly for religious subjects. It ceased publication in 1965.

Al-Kalimah, published by Labīb Kūsah in 1930; it ceased publication in 1933. Its main focus was religious subjects.

Al-Karmah, published in 1915 by ḤABĪB JIRJIS, director of the Clerical College, for biblical studies. It ceased publication in 1930.

Al-Kirāzah, a weekly founded by Anbā Shenouda (later Pope SHENOUDA III) in January 1965 when he was bishop for education; it ceased publication in December 1966. It was started again by the patriarch in October 1974. It ceased publication again by order of the authorities in September 1981 but resumed in 1988.

Al-Majallah al-Jadīdah, founded by Salāmah Mūsā in 1929 as a scientific and cultural journal. It also published articles on Coptic questions. It ceased publication in 1941.

Al-Majallah al-Qibṭiyyah, monthly published by Jirjis Phīlūthāwus 'Awaḍ from 1907 to 1930. Mainly devoted to Coptic history and to the call for clerics to concentrate their energy on spiritual matters.

Al-Manārah al-Murqusiyyah, weekly published at Cairo by Malaṭī Sarjiyūs from 1928 to 1935, then under the name of Al-Manārah al-Miṣriyyah from 1935 to 1953, when it was suspended with some other periodicals by a military order.

Al-Mustaqbal, started by Mus'ad Sādiq in August 1954, on the same lines as *Al-Fidā* and *Al-Nīl*. It ceased publication in February 1958, when replaced by *al-Fidā' al-Jadīd*.

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Al-Nahḍah al-Rūḥiyyah, monthly published at Cairo by Ḥilmī Ḥabīb al-Farshūṭī from 1925 to 1927.

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Bashīr al-Injīl, published monthly, first in the Fayyūm by Ghali Ibrāhīm from 1936 to 1938, then under the name of *Kanīsat al-Ni'mah* at Cairo from 1960 onward.

Būq al-Injīl, published monthly by the General Association of Churches in 1920, then moved to Cairo and still being published.

Būq al-Qadāsah, monthly, first published at Asyūṭ in 1902, then moved to Cairo. Still being published.

Majallat Madāris al-Aḥad, published by the Sunday School Association since 1947 for religious studies.

Mār Jirjis, published by the *hegumenos* Fū'ād Basīlī since 1949, mainly for editing the texts of predications.

MIRRIT BOUTROS GHALI

PRIEST, ORDINATION OF. When a person is chosen as a candidate for the priesthood, a document testifying to the candidate's aptitude and good character is drawn up by the clergy, deacons, and people of the church to be presented to the bishop. If he is not already a deacon, he must be ordained reader and deacon before the day of ordination.

The service of ordination of priests takes place during the Sunday celebration of the Divine Liturgy, immediately after the Prayer of Reconciliation, before the beginning of the anaphora. The candidate, wearing the vestments of the diaconate, is presented to the ordaining bishop, metropolitan, or patriarch before the altar, in the presence of the assembly of the faithful.

The bishop first ascertains from the congregation that no one has any objection to the candidate's being ordained a priest. Then he proceeds with the prayer of morning incense and, facing the altar, says:

> Lord, God of hosts, who has brought us unto the lot of this ministry, who searches all hearts and reins, listen to us according to Thy tender mercies, cleanse us of all sins of body and soul. Scatter like smoke the mist of our transgressions and fill us with Thy divine power, the grace of Thy only-begotten Son, and the efficacy of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may become worthy of this ministry which is unto the new covenant, to carry Thy Holy Name, to stand and minister to Thy divine mysteries. Suffer us not to be partakers of other men's sins, but blot our own sins, and grant us, O heavenly King, not to stray from the right path. Endow us with the true knowledge to say what is proper and to approach Thy sacred table. Accept the priesthood of Thy servant [name], who is here kneeling before Thee, awaiting Thy heavenly gifts. For Thou are righteous, full of compassion towards those who call upon Thee, and mighty is Thy dominion, together with Thy Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever, Amen.

The deacons respond by saying the *Kyrie eleison* three times. The archdeacon says:

> May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ which perfects our shortcomings through the good pleasure of God the Father and the Holy Spirit,

descend upon [name] who has come to the sacred altar with fear and trembling, kneeling and lifting the eyes of his heart to Thee, who dwellest in heaven, awaiting Thy heavenly gifts, to pass from the order of the diaconate to the rank of the presbytery in the Church of [name] and its pure altar. Pray that the gift of the Holy Spirit may descend upon him. Amen.

The deacons say *Kyrie eleison* thrice.

Facing east, the bishop prays, "Yes, Lord, make him worthy of the calling of the presbytery, that he may be worthy of Thy Holy Name, worshiping Thee and serving Thy holy altar, and may find mercy in front of Thee, for mercy and compassion are only from Thee, O God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and forever. Amen."

The deacons say *Kyrie eleison* thrice.

Facing west, the bishop lays his right hand upon the candidate's head and recites a prayer similar in content to the following original prayer stipulated by the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles (1951, pp. 491–92):

O Lord Almighty, our God, who hast created all things by Christ, and dost in like manner take care of the whole world by Him: for He who had power to make different creatures, has also power to take care of them, according to their different natures; on which account, O God, Thou takest care of immortal beings by bare preservation, but of those that are mortal by succession—of the soul by the provision of laws, of the body by the supply of its wants. Do Thou therefore now also look down upon Thy Holy Church, and increase the same, and multiply those that preside in it, and grant them power, that they may labor both in word and work for the edification of Thy people.

Do Thou now also look down upon Thy servant, who is put into the presbytery by the vote and determination of the whole clergy; and do Thou replenish him with the Spirit of grace and counsel, to assist and govern Thy people with a pure heart, in the same manner as Thou didst look down upon Thy chosen people, and didst command Moses to choose elders, whom Thou didst fill with Thy Spirit. Do Thou also now, O Lord, grant this, and preserve in us the Spirit of Thy grace, that this person, being filled with the gifts of healing and the word of teaching, may in meekness instruct Thy people, and sincerely serve Thee with a pure mind and a willing soul, and may fully discharge the holy ministrations for Thy people through Thy Christ, with a pure mind and a willing soul, and may fully discharge the holy ministrations for Thy people, through Thy Christ, with Whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee, and to the Holy Ghost, forever, Amen.

The bishop signs the candidate's forehead with his thumb, saying, "We ordain thee for the Holy Church of God, Amen." Here the archdeacon announces the ecclesiastical name of the candidate, and the bishop says, "We ordain thee [name] priest for the holy altar of the Orthodox, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen," and makes three signs of the cross on his forehead in the name of the Holy Trinity.

Clothing the new priest with his vestment, the bishop says, "Glory and honor unto the All-holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Peace and edification unto the Holy Church of God, Amen." Here the deacons chant the hymn of the descent of the Holy Spirit, beginning, "The Comforting Spirit who descended upon the Apostles on the Pentecost, when they spoke with many tongues."

Then the bishop (or a priest) reads the catechesis, which is an exhortation giving emphasis to the essential features of the priestly vocation:

Brother, it behoves you to realize the importance of the calling which you have merited, namely, priesthood, the great mysteries of the New Testament entrusted to thee, and edification. It is necessary that you should teach by means of good example more than by precept. Remember the words of Peter the Apostle [1 Pt. 5:1–4]: "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed. Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away?" Therefore turn to good use the talent entrusted to thee, that you may repay it multiplied and deserve the reward of the wise, honest steward [Mt. 24:45; Lk. 12:42].

In token of obedience, the newly ordained priest kisses the book of the ordination service and the cross in the hand of the bishop. He then enters into the sanctuary, kisses the altar, and stands at the right hand of the bishop, who proceeds with the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. The bishop invites him to take active part in the fraction of the Holy

Body and to repeat after him the words of the confession.

At the end of the Holy Communion, the bishop insufflates the newly ordained, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," to which he responds, "I opened my mouth and panted, for I longed for Thy commandments." The bishop also lays his hand on his head, saying *axios* (worthy) three times, to which the deacons and the congregation respond, "Axios."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

PRIESTHOOD. Christ, as head of the church and therefore the One on whom the whole body of the church depends (Eph. 4:15; Cor. 1:14) and as "high priest of the good things that have come" (Heb. 9:11), chose a number of men and named them apostles (Lk. 6:13; Jn. 15:16). By the full authority that was committed to Him, He commanded them to go forth and baptize people everywhere and teach them to observe His commandments (Mt. 28:18–20).

These men were thus solemnly set apart, invested with a certain authority, and entrusted with the task of spreading the Gospel of Jesus Christ and preaching the kingdom of God (Mt. 10:1–7). They alone were given the power of forgiving sins or withholding forgiveness (Jn. 20:21–23). For the proper fulfillment of His task throughout the ages, these apostles appointed bishops and priests in the same manner, according to the sacrament instituted by our Lord, and they, in turn, were succeeded by others in all the apostolic churches of Christendom.

Adherents of some nonapostolic churches tend to minimize the significance of this sacrament, arguing that all faithful members of the congregation can be considered ministers to the Lord. It is evident, however, that besides the above-mentioned facts of the divine institution of this mystery, it was essential to have an ecclesiastical structure whereby the spiritual welfare of the faithful, their protection against heresies and unsound teachings, and the administration of discipline could be consigned to certain trustworthy individuals after the apostles



A Coptic priest. *Courtesy Aziz S. Atiya collection.*

themselves had departed this life. Thus, the apostles created bishops, presbyters, and deacons in all the churches that they established. At Jerusalem they appointed seven deacons by praying and laying their hands on them (Acts 6:3–6); Paul and Barnabas appointed presbyters and committed them to the Lord (Acts 14:23); Paul set up Timothy as bishop at Ephesus, exhorting him not to neglect the spiritual gift that he was given under the guidance of prophecy, through the laying-on of hands of the presbytery (1 Tm. 4:14), and prompted him to confide his own teaching into the hands of other competent and trustworthy men. Likewise, having named Titus bishop in Crete, Paul instructed him to carry out his intention in so doing, that is, to set up presbyters in each town (Ti. 1:5).

The threefold structure of the priesthood is analogous to, and reflects that of, the angelic host, each also having its own three subdivisions. The latter consists of (1) the CHERUBIM (Ex. 10:18), the seraphim (Is. 6:2), and the thrones (Col. 1:16); (2) dominions, principalities, and authorities (Col. 1:16); and (3) powers (I Pt. 3:22), ARCHANGELS, and ANGELS (Rom. 8:38; 1 Thes. 4:16). The ecclesiastical hierarchy includes (1) Pope or patriarch, metropolitan, and bishop; (2) CHOREPISCOPUS, protopresbyter (he-

gumenos), and presbyter; and (3) Deacon, subdeacon, and reader.

Perhaps the first and earliest of the early fathers to dwell upon this analogy was CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–215): "In the Church the gradations of bishops, presbyters, and deacons happen to be imitations, in my opinion, of the angelic glory and of that arrangement which, the Scriptures say, awaits those who have followed in the footsteps of the Apostles, and who have lived in perfect righteousness according to the Gospel" (1970, p. 184).

In the writings of the early fathers there is ample evidence that ever since the apostolic age, the principle of an organized priesthood was closely followed. In the words of Clement of Rome (fl. c. 96), "The Apostles have preached the Gospel to us from the Lord Jesus Christ . . . they went forth proclaiming that the Kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits (of their labours), having first proved them by the Spirit to be bishops and deacons" (1956, p. 16).

IGNATIUS, bishop of Antioch (c. 35–107), wrote to the Ephesians, "I exhort you to study to do all the things with a divine harmony, while your bishop presides . . . and your presbyters . . . along with your deacons, who are most dear to me, and are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ."

To take holy orders is to become a member of the community that the Lord designated as the "salt of the earth" (Mt. 5:13) and "the light of the world" (Mt. 5:14). It is necessary, therefore, that candidates for the priesthood have a genuine and unmistakable vocation for it, with no motive other than to participate fully and wholeheartedly in the sublime "service of the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:8). It is because of this that Saint Paul warned Timothy against hastily ordaining unfit persons (1 Tm. 5:22).

Among the early fathers who dealt with the subject, Saint Jerome (c. 342–420) grasped the essence of priesthood: "A clergyman . . . must first understand what his name means; and then . . . must endeavour to be that which he is called. For since the Greek word [cleros] means 'lot,' or 'inheritance,' the clergy are so called either because they are the lot of the Lord, or else because the Lord Himself is their lot and portion."

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ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

PRIMUS, fifth patriarch (109–122) of the See of Saint MARK. His name was occasionally corrupted at a later date to Abrimus, Obrimius, and Barmius. Sometimes it was even erroneously confused with Ephraem. According to SĀWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA', bishop of al-Ashmūnayn, he "was among the Orthodox people of Christ," that is, a layman "who was chaste as the angels, and piously performed many good works." Thus he was chosen as patriarch and held the office for twelve years, one month, and twelve days during the reign of Emperor Trajan. The major event known to have occurred in Alexandria during his reign was a Jewish rebellion, during which the Jewish population of the city was massacred by the Roman authorities. This was different from the persecutions of Christians that continued during the period on a personal rather than a national basis. On his death, Primus was laid to rest on 3 Misrā near the remains of Saint Mark in the Church of Bucalis at Alexandria.

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AZIZ S. ATIYA

PROCLUS, SAINT, patriarch of Constantinople (434–446), who was a preacher and writer (feast day: 20 November in the East, 24 October in the West). According to the historian Socrates, Proclus was very young when he assumed the lector's robe. From 407, when he was eighteen, to 425, he served Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, as secretary. In 425, still according to Socrates, Proclus, along with Philip of Side, was already a candidate for the archiepiscopal throne at Constantinople. However, Sissinius, who held the see from 426 to 427, was elected. He immediately nominated Proclus to the see of Cyzicus. The inhabitants of Cyzicus, however, contested the nomination, so Proclus remained at

Constantinople. In 427, Theodosius II, in order to avoid heightening the rivalry between the partisans of Philip of Side and those of Proclus, parted them. NESTORIUS of Antioch was called to Constantinople and consecrated bishop of Cyzicus.

On the occasion of the festival of the Virgin shortly before Christmas 430, Proclus delivered the famous sermon on the THEOTOKOS, which Nestorius had forbidden (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5800). On 25 December of the same year he no doubt gave another homily (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5823), and on 28 February or 1 March he delivered the homily on the dogma of the Incarnation (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5822). The preciseness of this date is provided by the heading of the Coptic version (M. Richard, 1927, Vol. 2, art. 42, p. 47). In this homily Proclus affirmed that the economy of salvation unites the two natures in one hypostasis. After the deposition of Nestorius on 11 July because of the canonical objection to the passing from one bishopric (Cyzicus) to another, Maximius was elected bishop of Cyzicus. Finally in 434, in order the better to subdue the partisans of Nestorius, Theodosius II forced the synod to elect Proclus as patriarch. This event is recorded in the registers of the acts of the patriarchate, which are extracts from the synodal letter of enthronement sent to John of Antioch (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5907) and Maximius (PG 5908).

On 3 August 435 Proclus obtained condemnation of the works of Nestorius (*Codex Theodosian* 16.5.16). On 6 January 437, on the initiative of Melania the Younger, he succeeded in converting Volusianus, the ex-prefect of the town, and baptized him on his deathbed. According to Theophanes the Chronicler (1982), in September of the same year, following earthquakes, a vision appeared to him through the medium of a man carried up into the air. He is said to have revealed the liturgical prayer of the Trisagion (see MUSIC, COPTIC), which was then introduced by Proclus into the celebration of the Eucharist. On 27 January 438, he obtained from the emperor the solemn removal of the relics of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM from Comana to Constantinople. In the domain of the influence of the see of Constantinople, Proclus after his election sent the *Tome*, his exposition of the doctrine of the one Christ in two natures, to the Armenians, inviting them to keep their distance from the friends of Nestorius, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and Diodore of Tarsus. In 439 Proclus intervened in the election to the see of Caesarea in Cappadocia, laid hands on Thalassius, prefect of Illyricum, and participated in or approved the election of bishops at Smyrna, Ephesus, and Gangra. In 435 he had built at Zeugma near Constantinople the first Church of COSMAS AND DAMIAN, no doubt in opposition to the Nestorian assembly held at Pheremma, homeland of the *Anargyroi*. Proclus died in 446.

Proclus was early trained in rhetoric. Apostle and preacher, he left a great many homilies and some fragments of correspondence (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5893–5915). Already totaling twenty-five in Migne (1864, pp. 651–852), the collection of homilies was increased by ninety items by B. Marx in 1940. F. Leroy reduced this number in 1967 by publishing eight homilies and reevaluating the identifications of Marx. Coptic tradition has traces of six homilies, some of which are mutilated.

Coptic Tradition

Accessible only in its mutilated incipit (Paris, National Library, Coptic manuscript 1311, fol. 26), *Marian Homily* 1 is the most famous and most frequently translated of the homilies of Proclus (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5800, ed. E. Lucchesi, 1981). Today, only the Arabic version is missing. This discourse, a jewel of Marian dogma, shows at once the signs of consummate rhetorical art and a detailed knowledge of the Bible. At the time of Zeno, the Greek text received doctrinal retouching, which is reflected in the Latin and Georgian versions. Unfortunately it is impossible to verify here any retouching in Coptic.

The second Coptic homily, on the Nativity (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5822), is taken from the codex in the British Museum (Or. 5001, published by E. A. Wallis Budge, in 1910), "the homily which Proklus, Bishop of Cyzicus, pronounced in the Great Church of Constantinople when Nestorius the heretic was present, concerning his contemptible dogma, on the Sunday which preceded the holy forty days" (p. 241). Since then, one Christological passage in particular has often been quoted: "If God's blessing is to have much work and demands from every side through man's whole life, I am quite blessed by God."

The third Coptic homily, on Easter (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5812), presents a chronological precision in the title: "Likewise a homily pronounced by Proclos Bishop of Cyzicus in the Church of Anthimus of Constantinople, on the Sunday before Easter, where he was installed in the archiepiscopal seat, and Nestorius the Heretic was present" (Budge, 1910, p. 235).

The Church of Saint Anthimus was situated to the north of the Golden Horn in the district of Ta Pikridiou. Bishop Anthimus was the martyr of Nicomedia, executed in 302. The theoretical date of the title would be 12 April 431, if given in the presence of Nestorius and at the time when Proclus did not have the authority to deliver it. But it is quite likely that there is a fictional element in the title; the personality of Anthimus resembles that of the first bishop in the legend of John Chrysostom.

The fourth Coptic homily is a discourse on the Nativity, of which there remain only the title and the incipit. It has been impossible to find in another language (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5876). It is entitled: "Exegesis made by [Proclus] Bishop of Cyzicus in the Church of Constantinople on the day of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ the 29th of the month Khoiak, and the offering of Mary, the Virgin who gave birth to God" (Rossi, 1893, pt. p. 42). The beginning of this mutilated text corresponds exactly to the exordium of a homily that says: "Behold, today also I rejoice and exult with you, O well beloved, for I see the whole creation celebrating, for God has sent us a word full of joy. And so today we wish to caress your ears with the words of our mouth, words filled with benefit and happiness for your souls, O friends of the Logos, who desire always the best." The title of this text makes explicit the term *Theotokos*, a term forbidden by Nestorius. In the absence of Nestorius, then, its date would be 25 December 431. We can neither affirm nor invalidate the authenticity of this fragment.

The formal attribution of the discourse, in the fifth Coptic homily, on John the Baptist (Clavis Patrum Graecorum 5877) to Proclus prevents one from entirely challenging the following text: "The logos pronounced by Saint Proclus, Bishop of Cyzicus, on the day when John was beheaded which is the first day of Thoth, the morning of the second day. He gave it on the second day which included the celebration of the birth of Herod" (Rossi, 1893, p. 101, n. 1). The Coptic manuscript 61 in the Vatican contains the title on page 44. In 1887 Rossi had considered it an interpolation; H. Devis reinstated it in 1922. The narrative character of the whole homily contrasts with the style of Proclus in the other homilies.

The sixth Coptic homily (Clavis Patrum Graeca 5892) already aroused Bauer's curiosity in 1919 after W. E. Crum's catalogue of 1905 (pp. 139, n. 2, and p. 407, n. 1). The homily was published by A. Maresca and introduced by T. Orlandi (1977, pp. 40, 50–54, and 60–82). It is entitled "Eulogy given by the holy father Proclus, Bishop of Cyzicus, presenting the commemoration of the XXIV old men on the 24 Hathor." In the opinion of the editors, the homily should be attributed to Pseudo-Proclus. It claims, for example, to consider as universal the cult of twenty-four elders, known only to the Copts. It will be noted, however, that Proclus is celebrated on 20 November, ahead of Maximus, Anatolius, and Gennadius, bishops of Constantinople. The complete text is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (codex 591, dated 861). A folio containing this homily (British Museum, Or. 3581) was also described by Crum in 1905. The homily could be the result of a fusion of two independent sources, one on the elders, the other on the life of John Chrysostom. Orlandi has reassembled the fragments (at the beginning of *Quattro omelie copte*, 1977, pp. 11–44). A short summary of the details follows. Proclus speaks in the first person as he presents himself already on the throne of John Chrysostom. Following an illness, he goes to Tripoli to be cured by Saint Leontius. Leaving Cyzicus, he passes through Patmos and Hieropolis. A little to the south of Patmos, "at Ariforo, a town in Thrace," he meets an old man, Festus, who tells him of the conversion of Thrace during the exile of John Chrysostom. After Chrysostom has preached and prayed, Saint Peter and Saint John appear to him and reveal to him heavenly things, notably the twenty-four elders.

This mixture has its laws of transposition in the legend of John Chrysostom. In the *History of the Church in Alexandria*, the vision is known, as well as the conversion on the island of Thrace. Other transpositions from history, geography, sermons, and legends are made in this homily. "Chalkedon" was mentioned, of course, at the council of 451. Ariforo is placed near a river Ammotion in the eulogy of Claudius of Antioch by CONSTANTINE of Asyūṭ. E. Pereira has recognized the Argyropotamos of which John Malalas speaks in connection with Diocletian's campaign against the Persians, who have become Thracians and Armenians with the bishop of Asyūṭ. Crum indicates other possibilities; for example, the island of Galatia, becomes Atrike, of which Anthimus is the first bishop, according to the legend of Chrysostom.

Already in Pseudo-Codinus, Proclus is the disciple of Chrysostom. Proclus certainly had reasons for showing his sympathy for the Antiochenes in promoting the cult of Chrysostom. However, the legend has gone well past his discourse in finding in his person the most natural justifications for the Monophysite church, which created the era of the

martyrs. Anthimus (martyred in 302) and Chrysostom (died a century later) are opposed on the same front; at Nicomedia, in Thrace, and in Armenia they are threatened by the emperor.

Arabic Tradition

There are five extant Arabic homilies of Proclus.

Arabic Homily 1: On Christmas (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum,* 5823), in the homiliary of the Ambrosian Library of Milan, in the seventh position (Cf. Sauget, 1970, p. 427). The manuscript was written in the tenth century in Sinai. This is the only Arabic homily that coincides with one of the Coptic texts.

Arabic Homily 2: On Good Friday, preserved in a Sbath manuscript, (according to the Fihris 262, corresponding to *Clavis Patrum Graecorum,* 5809).

Arabic Homily 3: On Saint Stephen (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum,* 5816); this is also preserved in the homiliary of the Ambrosian Library (cf. Sauget, 1970, p. 428, in position 9; also in the Paris manuscript 151 [fourteenth century], no. 5).

Arabic Homily 4: On the Apostle Thomas (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum,* 5832), in Paris manuscript 143, 12 (fourteenth century) under the name of Chrysostom.

Arabic Homily 5: The homily on Good Friday (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum,* 5829), which has survived only in Arabic and Syriac. It has been translated by R. Lavenant in F. Leroy (1967, pp. 217–23). The manuscript which was used as a basis is in Strasbourg (codex 4426, of which the colophon is dated 885), but it also exists in the Ambrosian homiliary (no. 58, folios 149–55; cf. Sauget, 1970, p. 456).

Finally, there are two Arabic dogmatic florilegia, the *Precious Pearl,* composed about 995 apparently by Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', and the *Confessions of the Fathers,* composed about 1078 by an unknown member of the entourage of the patriarchate. Both have been analyzed by G. Graf (1937, pp. 75 and 375–76); there he collected five quotations from Proclus in the first collection, and eleven in the second.

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MICHEL VAN ESBROECK

PROCLUS OF CYZICUS. *See* Proclus, Saint.

PROCOPIUS, sixth-century Byzantine historian of the reign of JUSTINIAN. Procopius is the author of three works: the *Wars* (a history of Justinian's military policies up to 553/554); the *Secret History* (*Anecdota;* literally "Unpublished Things"), an "alternative" version of the early part of the *Wars,* combined with a vitriolic attack on Justinian and THEODORA, written in 550/551; and the *Buildings,* a panegyrical record of Justinian's building activity, written in 554/555 or about 560.

A native of Caesarea in Palestine, Procopius was trained as a lawyer. He became the secretary to the general Belisarius while the latter was in the East in 527. He accompanied him to Africa in 533, to Italy in 535, and after 540 back to Constantinople, where he witnessed the great plague of 542. He may have been briefly in the East and/or in Italy after this, or he may have stayed in Constantinople

to write his history, books 1–7, which were finished in 550/551, and the final book in 553/554. It is not very likely that he should be identified with the Procopius who was prefect of the city in 562, since the best sources (e.g., Agathias) refer to him simply as "Procopius the rhetor." The date of composition of the *Buildings* is uncertain. It may, however, be dated to 559/560 by the mention of the work on the Sangarios bridge (V. 3.10; cf. Theophanes, AM 6052), but since it makes no mention of the collapse of the dome of Saint Sophia in 558, nor of other significant events around that time, 554/555 seems more probable. If so, it is very possible that Procopius died soon afterward, leaving the end of the Gothic War to be recounted by Agathias.

The chief merit of Procopius is as a reporter, for he recorded military events with a lucidity and verve that are both detailed and unusual. He worked largely from his own notes, having been present at a fair proportion of the action described, or from the reports (mainly oral) of others. As a member of the entourage of Belisarius, he was well placed to obtain information, and was sometimes used for errands involving matters of supply or intelligence. The *Wars* is a voluminous record of Justinian's war policy. Thus, on the events of 527–554 we are very fully, and in the main reliably, informed. However, Procopius was not always so scrupulous, and there are many places where he obviously has distorted his material to produce a certain effect. Here his level of reliability is often much lower, since he will mix good observation or material from written sources with personal speculation or hearsay. There is relatively little in the *Wars* on internal affairs, but the account of the plague in Constantinople in 542 is memorable, as is that of the Nika Revolt in 532 (though not for its political insight).

The *Wars* is cast in the mold of classical historiography, concentrating on military affairs and avoiding direct discussion of the ecclesiastical, though permitting discussion of the intervention of God and fate in history. For this reason, there has been much speculation about Procopius' own religious views. He was, however, a conforming Christian, thinking it foolish to make a stand when persecution might follow; and though he disapproved of the doctrinal strife of his own day, he records miracles with credulity and approval.

The apparent contradictions among Procopius' three works has led to speculation about his motives for writing them, but we have no evidence for this apart from the works themselves. In fact, there is much in the later part of the *Wars*, especially *Bello Gothico* 3 and 4, that connects them with the critique of the *Secret History*. Procopius had become increasingly critical of the war policy and of Belisarius; and the tone of the final book of the *Wars* (*Bello Gothico* 4), written in 553/554, is far sadder and gives far more credit to the defeated Goths than would have been possible in the patriotic days of the victory in North Africa. Procopius set out to write a record of Byzantine victory. By the time he reached the end, he saw what the reconquest had cost. On the other hand, he had not lost his conception of what the Byzantine Empire ought to be, and this is what is expressed in the *Buildings* —the theory, and perhaps less of the actuality, of Justinian's achievement than is usually supposed. Many internal thematic and stylistic correspondences suggest that the three works appeared close together in time. (We do not know the circumstances that led Procopius to turn from criticism to panegyric.)

The strongly personal quality of Procopius' work is certainly a failing in the case of the *Wars*. He saw history in terms of personalities and judged issues in black and white. Thus criticism of the regime can only take the form of abuse of the emperor and empress, and the surprisingly explicit excesses of the *Secret History* are merely the reverse of the panegyrical tone of the *Buildings*. Procopius lived in a society in which free expression was limited, and this, too, made the *Secret History* necessary, for though the *Wars* is critical in the latter part, it could be so only obliquely. But it was also Procopius' own partisan views that caused him to write in so extreme a fashion.

All three of Procopius' works are written in a lucid and direct classical Greek. They were designed for readers of discernment and education. Procopius knew earlier historians well enough to copy them—Thucydides, Diodorus, Arrian, Priscus —and Agathias says he had read nearly all of them. He also employs a strict and idiosyncratic rhythmical prose, evidence of his high literary ambition. He was regarded as a standard author by EVAGRIUS (late sixth century) and Theophanes (early ninth century), but the *Secret History* was probably not generally known until the tenth century. It was not rediscovered until the seventeenth century and came as a shock to those who had taken the works of Procopius as evidence of the excellence of the rule of Justinian.

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AVERIL CAMERON

PROESTOS, perfect participle of Greek *proistēmi*, meaning "being at the head." In Christian texts dating from the second and third centuries, it could be used to denote a church leader or bishop. In late Greek and Coptic texts it described a superior of a monastic community. This was the most widely used of the terms to denote the superior, abbā, father, HEGUMENOS, ARCHIMANDRITE, and *noh nrōme*.

In the oldest (334) Greek document in which *proestos* occurs in a monastic context (P. Lond. 1913; see Bell), it is used not in its later meaning but describes a group of monks of a Melitian monastery with whom the superior, called "father," comes to an arrangement concerning his deputy and establishes the latter's prerogatives. This group clearly consisted of the "elders" of the community, who perhaps fulfilled certain functions in the monastery (similar, for instance, to the chiefs of the houses in the Pachomian congregation). It is possible, however, that they were simply brothers who enjoyed higher authority.

In texts from the second half of the fourth century, *proestos* has an established technical significance. In large communities that were composed of a number of smaller units, such as ENATON or APA JEREMIAH at Saqqara, *proestos* referred, as a rule, to the lower-ranking superior when the prior of the entire community was designated by another title, usually archimandrite. In the Pachomian congregation, the superior of a single monastery was called *proestos*. In communities of a looser structure, that title could have been used by more than one monk at the same time.

Usually the *proestos* was an ordained presbyter; more rarely, a deacon. At times he was also given the higher title of *hegumenos*, which was identical with *archipresbyteros*. The way in which the *proestos* was nominated varied not only according to the size and type of the community but also according to local traditions. He could be nominated by his dying predecessor; or he could be elected by the brothers, who sometimes entered into a formal agreement that defined his obligations and those of his subordinates. The range of the activities of the *proestos* and the degree to which his powers were limited by the convention of all the monks or the council of the "elders" varied.

It is not clear whether the local bishop could influence the nomination of a *proestos* and his work, since the sources contain no indications. One could say with great caution that the absence of information in the extremely copious documentation concerning the churches and monasteries in Egypt provides evidence for a considerable independence of the monastic groups.

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EWA WIPSZYCKA

PROJECT 1801. *See* Ya'qūb, General.

PROPYLON. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches: Prothyron.

PROSOPOGRAPHY, collection of biographical sketches. A prosopography of the persons named in the documents of Egypt, both Greek and Coptic, with information—so far as known—about their parents and their vocation, is a desideratum for various disciplines in the study of antiquity. It would serve for the dating and localizing of the texts so far as their origin is not known, and for the reconstruction of archives, which thereafter can be evaluated for the solution of many questions, including historical ones. A prosopography of Egypt from Ptolemaic times down to the Arab period, planned by F. Bilabel and other scholars, was not realized. In its stead there is *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire A.D. 260–640*, planned by A. M. H. Jones and others in three volumes, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1971 and

1980. It should be supplemented by the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* prepared by H. I. Marrou and others, of which the first volume, edited by A. Mandouze, appeared in 1982. However, it includes only Christian North Africa. In addition to these large works there are prosopographies of individual places. Older works, like the 1938 prosopography of Aphroditopolis by V. A. Girgis, based on the Greek documents, are superseded by the editions of papyri that have appeared since then.

Of more recent date is the *Prosopographia Arsinoitica* of J. M. Diethart (1980), which likewise is based on the Greek documents of the sixth to eighth centuries.

Of the prosopography of the Copts prepared by G. Heuser, only the first fascicle has appeared, extending to the beginning of the letter epsilon.

In 1962 W. Till provided a prosopography for the Coptic documents from Thebes, which unfortunately is not complete, since he did not evaluate the documents dug up at Madīnat Hābū and edited by E. Stefanski and M. Lichtheim. Many further discoveries of documents have become known since then (Krause, 1982, pp. 22ff.), to which must be added 1,400 ostraca in the monastery of Saint Mark at Qurnat Mar'ī, excavated by the French Archaeological Institute. In consequence some 3,000 documents found in Thebes must be worked into a new edition.

For other places in which many Coptic documents worthy of mention have been found (e.g., Hermopolis, Herakleopolis, and the Fayyūm), there are no prosopographical works. For the Coptic documents from Aphroditopolis a beginning has been made by L. S. B. MacCoull.

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MARTIN KRAUSE

PROTHESIS. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches: Cancelli.

PROTHYRON. *See* Architectural Elements of Churches.

PROTODIALECT. *See Appendix.*

PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION OF EGYPT. The crisis that affected the Roman empire in the second half of the third century did not spare Egypt, and it led to comprehensive reforms by Emperor DIOCLETIAN in the fields of government, economy, and ideology. Among other measures, the provinces were divided and their number thus considerably enlarged. These measures, accompanied by the separation of civil and military authority in the individual provinces, were taken to lessen the danger of usurpations, which had been a recurrent feature of the preceding decades. At the same time, the fragmentation of the provinces aimed at closer control and greater efficiency of financial administration and taxation, every province being placed under the civil authority of the provincial governor (*praeses, iudex*). These general principles applied also to the former province of Egypt, which was now subdivided into several provinces.

The exact date of Diocletian's provincial reform is still debated: 297/298 or, as suggested by Barnes, as early as 293 (1982, pp. 224f.). There is no ancient source giving the date and details of this reform.

The facts have to be reconstructed from later lists (see Eadie, 1967) and from isolated mentions in literary texts, inscriptions, and papyri. The number, designation, and area of the newly created provinces in Egypt underwent several changes in the course of the fourth century. These cannot be dealt with here in detail; only the main features will be mentioned. Thebais, corresponding to Upper Egypt, became a separate province. The other provinces of Egypt derived their names from the tutelary deities of the Tetrarchy: Aegyptus Iovia (with Alexandria) and Aegyptus Herculia, encompassing Middle Egypt and the eastern Delta. The existence of a province Nea Arabia in Egypt is disputed (cf. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 50, no. 3574, with the commentary of J. R. Rea). In 341, Aegyptus Herculia (perhaps at some time [partly?] identical with Aegyptus Mercuriana; see Thomas, 1984) was replaced by the province Augustamnica, from which Middle Egypt was detached as the province Arcadia about 386. Thebais was subdivided into two provinces (first at the end of the third, then again in the sixth century): Thebais Inferior and Thebais Superior.

At the head of Aegyptus Iovia was the *praefectus augustalis* in Alexandria (see PREFECT), whereas the other Egyptian provinces were administered by *praesides* (superintendents). Both the prefect and the *praesides* were purely civilian authorities; the military command rested with the *dux*, attested in 308/309 at the head of both Egypt and the provinces of Libya Inferior and Libya Superior, that is, Pentapolis (cf. Barnes, 1982, p. 211). It is interesting to note that the same area—Egypt and the two provinces of Libya—was under the authority of the Alexandrian bishop (cf. canon 6 of the Council of Nicaea). The military command structure was later reshaped with the nomination of a military commander (*comes rei militaris*) and two *duces*, of the Thebaid and of Libya.

As a consequence of Diocletian's reform, Egypt lacked a central civil authority of its own. With the two Libyas, the provinces into which Egypt was now subdivided formed part of the *dioecesis* Oriens and were administered by the civil head of this diocese, the *vicarius* in Antioch on the Orontes, who functioned as a deputy of the *praefectus praetorio* in Constantinople. About 381, or perhaps by 371 (cf. De Salvo, 1979), Egypt became a diocese comprehending all Egyptian and Libyan provinces under the central authority of the *praefectus augustalis* in Alexandria. The administrative unity of Egypt was thus restituted within the frame of the diocese. At the same time, canon 2 of the Council of Constantinople (381) confirmed the jurisdiction of the Alexandrian bishop over all bishops in the civil diocese of Egypt. The unity of Egypt on both the political and the ecclesiastical level was an important element in the evolution of Christian Egypt and in its troubled relations with Constantinople.

The fifth century, unfortunately, is marked by a serious paucity of papyri concerning the public administration. This period must have witnessed profound changes in the administration, economy, and society of Egypt, details of which we cannot specify but results of which become obvious in the sixth century with its abundance of papyri and legal texts. The reforms of Emperor Justinian (527–565) pertaining to Egypt resulted from the troubled state of affairs in that country, suffering both from raids by desert tribes and from unrest in Egypt proper, exacerbated by the pressure of taxation and by religious conflicts. Constantinople supported the Melchite patriarchs in Alexandria, whereas the majority of the Egyptian population had defended monophysitism since the Council of Chalcedon (451).

With Edict XIII (538/539 or, less probably, 553/554; cf. Rémondon, 1955), Justinian intended to put an end to the administrative chaos in the Aegyptiaca *dioecesis*, above all to secure the tax income and the grain supply from Egypt to Constantinople. In order to strengthen the efficiency of the administration, the *duces* were now invested with both civil and military authority, the *praesides* becoming their civil deputies. The Egyptian diocese was placed under the central authority of the *praefectus praetorio* in Constantinople and divided into a plurality of ducal territories (*chorai*), corresponding more or less to the old provinces: Aegyptus, Augustamnica, Arcadia, Thebais, Libya. The *dux augustalis* of Aegyptus, residing in Alexandria, was endowed with higher authority, since he was responsible for the transport of grain from Egypt to Constantinople. The ducal territories of Egypt sometimes comprehended several *eparchiae* (see EPARCHY), each with a *praeses* at its head; these were subdivided into *pagarchiae* administered by pagarchs (see PAGARCH).

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HEINZ HEINEN

PROVOST, senior monk in charge of the material needs of his fellow monks in a monastery. In earlier times it was the HEGUMENOS, or head of the monastery, who assumed responsibility for the spiritual and material well-being of his flock.

Later, however, it became necessary for every monastic community to have a provost who would relieve the abbot of such mundane obligations. Thus, the provost became the second in command in a monastery. Besides the day-to-day running of the monastery, he would collect his brethren's weekly output of handicrafts, make a record of it, and then hand it over to caravan merchants, from whom he would purchase the necessities required by each monk. On Sunday, after Holy Communion, they would all partake of a cooked meal, usually vegetables, prepared under his supervision. On this occasion, he would also distribute any gifts or donations received by the monastery, seeing to it that anchorites, who lived in secluded cells, and other monks who could not attend because of illness got their share of the meal and of fresh fruit given to the monastery.

John CASSIAN (d. 433), who made a close study of monastic organization in the Egyptian desert, related this incident: "When someone had brought to John, the steward in the desert of Scete . . . who had the management of the church in the days of the blessed Presbyter Paphnutius, . . . some figs from Mareotis, he at once sent them by the hands of two lads to an old man who was laid up in ill health in the further part of the desert, and who lived about eighteen miles from the church." Unfortunately, the story has an unhappy ending, for the two lads met their deaths in a sudden sandstorm.

Provosts of various monasteries still carry out these duties.

ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

PSALI. *See* Music, Coptic: Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice.

PSALMODIA, "singing to the harp" or "psalm-singing," an ecclesiastical term used in two senses: a special choral service, and the choirbook containing the hymns therefor.

The service of Psalmodia is part of the little synaxis, which consists of the recital of the Psalms of the canonical hours and the singing of hymns in preparation for the great synaxis, that is, the Divine Liturgy. The Psalmodia is usually sung antiphonally, but the responsorial style—wherein the chant is performed alternately by the soloist and the congregation—is sometimes used.

Originally the Psalmodia consisted only of the recitation of Psalms, but various hymns were later incorporated into the service. The order of singing the psalms and hymns is the same throughout the year, with there being certain modifications for Lent and the major feasts (a synopsis of this service is given in Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 1967, pp. 108ff.; see MUSIC: DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS).

Although technically speaking, the Psalmodia is a daily service, only in the monasteries is it performed every day. Elsewhere it is sung only when the Divine Liturgy is to be celebrated.

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EMILE MAHER ISHAQ

PSALMODIA, HYMNS OF THE OFFICE OF. *See* Music, Coptic: Description of the Corpus and Present Musical Practice.

PSEUDO-ATHANASIUS, CANONS OF. *See* Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius.

PSEUDO-CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, title of a homily written in Arabic and first published in the twentieth century. This homily appears to be unknown in Coptic. In the Arabic tradition, it is found only among the Copts, and it is given for 16 Misrā.

The text was published in the *Kitāb Mayāmir wa-'Ajā'ib al-Sayyidah al-'Adhrā' Maryam* in two parts: publication of the first part (pp. 169–76, Cairo, A.M. 1619/A.D. 1902) was subsidized by Jirjis Ḥunayn of al-Zagāzīq; publication of the second part (pp. 248–60; Cairo, 1927) was subsidized by 'Abd al-Masīḥ Sulaymān. In the printed edition as well as in content, the homily follows the homily on the Dormition attributed to the same saint. In the following detailed analysis, page and line references for each section are taken from the first edition.

Apart from the introduction and the epilogue, the homily falls into two parts: the first concerns the apostle Thomas; the second concentrates on the Virgin's heavenly vision.

Introduction (p. 169, l. 5, to p. 170, l. 13). The prologue in rhymed prose (p. 169, ll. 5–14) in Arabic varies from manuscript to manuscript. In the second part of the introduction, Cyril of Alexandria invites his hearers to listen to the account of the apostle John concerning the assumption (*ṣu'ūd*) of the body of the Virgin. This occurred on 16 Misrā, after which her body was discovered beneath the Tree of Life, which started to bloom at the order of the Holy Trinity (p. 169, l. 15, to p. 170, l. 2; concerning the locale of the Tree of Life in Paradise, see Ricciotti, 1932, p. 102).

The introduction ends by recalling the Dormition. The Virgin Mary had died on 21 Ṭūbah, at the third hour of the day, as a unique perfume exuded from her body, and a heavenly voice pronounced, "Blessed are you, o full of grace, the Lord is with you!" The apostles had then buried her at Gethsemane in the field of Yūshāfāṭ, or Josaphat, as the Holy Spirit had ordered. They went from time to time to pray before the door of the grotto, until 26 Misrā. On that day, a great light appeared before the door of the grotto, and they heard angelic songs. They did not know that the Lord had required the body of His mother to be carried away upon the wings of the angels (p. 170, ll. 3–13).

History of the Apostle Thomas (p. 170, l. 14, to p. 172, l. 9). On the day of the Dormition, Thomas was in India, and was not with the other apostles in Jerusalem. Sending a cloud to carry him, God told Thomas to go to Gethsemane to the field of Josaphat. While he was upon the cloud, Thomas saw a vision of the angels bearing the body of the Virgin Mary. They explained to him that Christ had ordered them to bear the body of the Virgin as far as the Paradise of Felicity, and Thomas rejoiced greatly because of this (p. 170, l. 14; p. 171, l. 2; concerning the locale of the Paradise of Felicity between "heaven" and "earth," see Ricciotti, pp. 96ff.). Thomas continued his voyage to Gethsemane. When the other apostles reproached him for being absent from the Dormition of the Virgin, he explained to them that at the time he was busy baptizing Claudia, the daughter of the king of India (p. 171, ll. 2–6). However in the *Transitus Mariae* (Coptic Arabic) and in a manuscript in the Vatican (Arabic 698, Egypt, 1371, fols. 51b–84b) Thomas baptizes Philodes, the child of the king's sister (cf. Wilmart, 1933, p. 359).

Thomas expressed his desire to see the Virgin's body, not revealing his vision. The apostles opened the tomb with great effort and found no body. All were astonished. Thomas then recounted to them his meeting with the angels, and informed them that the body was in the Paradise of Felicity (p. 171, ll. 6–19). The apostles were all amazed and went to the Mount of Olives where they prayed to the Lord to show them the place where His mother's body was to be found. A cloud appeared, and bore the apostles off to the Paradise of Felicity, where they

found Christ surrounded by the angels and the Virgin (p. 171, l. 20, to p. 172, l. 9).

The Virgin's heavenly vision (p. 172, l. 9, to p. 174, l. 12). Christ invited the Virgin to contemplate the eternal Kingdom of Heaven. She saw Enoch, Elijah, and Moses, the patriarchs, the prophets and the apostles, the just and the martyrs. Christ then led her to see the first three heavens (p. 172, ll. 9–19). The Virgin beheld twelve doors, bearing the names of the twelve apostles, and a large door bearing the name of the patriarchs from Adam on. She then passed through each of the twelve doors, where she encountered the angels who entrusted her with the thrice-holy hymn; the cherubim; the seraphim; the multitudes; the thunder and lightning; the fire; the rain and dew; the archangels Michael and Gabriel; the lights; the saints; and finally, the heavenly Jerusalem (p. 172, l. 19, to p. 173, l. 13).

Christ then showed her the hidden mysteries and all the things of the church. She looked upon the just in joy and the sinners in suffering (p. 173, l. 13, to p. 174, l. 3). Christ led the Virgin back to Paradise and put her down beneath the Tree of Life, which at once began to bloom. He then sealed the place with the seal of His cross, until the day of the Resurrection. He then kissed His mother's body, to everyone's surprise, and addressed a hymn to it: "Peace to you, o body in which I dwelt for nine months, until I renewed man a second time. Peace to you, o body, more than heaven and earth, for you are my tomb [*tābūtī*] in which I dwelt, until I saved Adam. Rest now, in the virgin land, beneath the Tree of Life, until the day of the Resurrection!" (p. 174, ll. 3–12).

Epilogue (p. 174, l. 13, to p. 176, l. 21). Pseudo-Cyril closes the homily in the voice of one of the apostles: "After this, the Lord spoke to me, John the beloved, who am witness of all this. He kissed each of the twelve, and we adored Him. The Holy Spirit then bore each of the twelve to his place of mission, and I, John, returned to Ephesus, where I wrote this all down [p. 174, l. 13, to p. 175, l. 1]. We then left for the place where Thomas had seen the body of the Virgin borne upon the wings of the angels, and there we built a monastery and a church. This is the Dayr al-'Ayn [Monastery of the Source] beside Akhmīm, in the Eastern mountain, where many miracles take place" (p. 175, ll. 1–15).

The homily concludes with a fine *theotokion* in honor of Mary, reminiscent of those sung today in the Coptic church. It begins "Rejoice, o full of grace, the Lord is with you! Peace to you, o Virgin, for you are to be preferred above all [beings] in heaven and on earth, for you bore Christ, the Savior who is with you!" (p. 175, l. 6, to p. 176, l. 21).

Technical information about this homily is provided by three Arabic manuscripts of Coptic origin and from the text of the edition based on a manuscript that differed considerably from the three known manuscripts, one in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (History 477, fols. 145a–154b; Egypt, 1686; Graf, no. 720; Simaykah, no. 105; incipit in Graf, p. 281), and two in the National Library, Paris (Arabe 155, fols. 64a–72b; Egypt, 1486; incipit in Troupeau, p. 130; and Arabe 263, fols. 91a–102b; Egypt, fifteenth century; incipit in Troupeau, p. 229).

Judging from the incipits, there are at least two recensions.

The prologue in rhymed prose, or no. 1 in the analysis, is missing in the Cairo manuscript. The other documents give two different prologues. The two Paris manuscripts give: *"Al-majd li-Allāh alladhī ṭahharana bi-mā' al-ma'mūdiyyah . . ."* (praised be God who purified us with baptism), while the first edition gives: *"Al-majd li-Allāh dhī al-munnah wa-al-iḥsān, wa-al-ni'mah wa-al-imtinān"* (glory to God of kindness, benevolence, grace, and gratitude).

Cyril's introduction, or no. 2 in the analysis, comes in two very distinct forms. The first edition reads: *"Ammā ba'd, fa-arjūkum yā ikhwatī al-aḥibbā' an tu'īrūnī ādhānan ṣāghiyah bi-qulūbin wā'iyah . . ."* (now then, I beg you my beloved brothers to listen to me carefully with open hearts), while in the three manuscripts we find texts that are totally different from the edition but similar to one another. The Cairo manuscript reads: *"Ta'ālaw ilayya al-yawma, yā aḥibbā'ī al-masīḥiyyīn al-muḥibbīn al-ilāh wa-muḥibbīn al-ta'līm"* (come to me today, my beloved Christians who love God and learning); the Paris Arabe 155 reads: *"Ta'ālaw al-āna, ayyuhā al-ikhwah al-aḥibbā . . ."* (come now, beloved brothers), and the Paris Arabe 263 reads: *"Ta'ālaw al-āna, ayyuhā al-aḥibbā' mubārak* [sic] *al-Rabb"* (come now, my beloved, blessed be God (al-Rabb).

Finally, the actual introduction, or no. 3 in the analysis, is similar in the two Paris manuscripts and in the edition (Graf gives no information for the Cairo manuscript): *"innahu, lammā kāna ba'd niyāḥ* [or *niyāḥat*] *al-Sayyidah al-Adhrā . . ."* (then, after the death of the Virgin Mary).

A serious study of this text would require a critical edition and translation from the Arabic as necessary preliminaries.

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KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

PSEUDO-MACARIUS, HOMILIES OF, a number of spiritual writings that had a great vogue under the name of Saint MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN. One should examine the author, the writings, the doctrine, and the collections that exist both in Coptic and in Arabic, since it concerns Egypt.

During the whole of the Middle Ages, and indeed, as Syriac manuscripts indicate, from as early as 534, several collections of works were attributed to Macarius the Egyptian, which reassured their numerous readers. But it has been known since the beginning of the twentieth century that this attribution is false and that the author is unknown. These writings speak frequently of the wars between Persians and Romans, which shows that the writer lived on the frontier between the two empires. He speaks only of a single river, the Euphrates, never of the Nile, which would be astonishing for an Egyptian. And finally, the significant traces of a Messalian tendency detected in these works indicates a Mesopotamian, rather than an Egyptian, author. Having ruled out Macarius the Egyptian as the author, one cannot attribute the authorship to any other writer more or less famous. The manuscript tradition attributes the homilies (the greater part of these writings) to one Symeon. It is customary to describe these homilies under the name Macarius/Symeon.

The works of Pseudo-Macarius include (1) a treatise called the Great Letter; (2) two letters; (3) some twenty pieces in the form of questions and answers (a well-known literary form); and (4) some fifty homilies and some thirty short pieces or collections of logia. It is appropriate to remark that the precise literary genre of each work is difficult to determine, for each of the pieces is transmitted differently in the different manuscripts, which are generally of late date (eleventh or twelfth century).

With regard to the versions in Greek, which seems to be the language of the original, the works divide into four collections. Collection one gives sixty-four logia, the first logion being the Great Letter (Berthold, 1973, p. 694). Collection two contains fifty spiritual homilies; this is the most widely diffused of the four collections (Dörries, Klostermann, and Kroeger, 1964). Collection three gives forty-three logia; it supplies twenty-eight pieces that are wanting in the preceding collection (Klostermann and Berthold, 1961–). Finally, collection four supplies twenty-six logia, but has not been published; all the same, its variants are given in editions of collection one. Two manuscripts contain in appendices seven pieces that were edited by Marriott (1918).

As noted, a hint of Messalianism has been detected in these writings, and that indeed very early, since they were condemned in part at the Council of EPHESUS in 431 and then indirectly, along with the doctrine of the Messalian movement, at the synods of Sidon in 380–393 and CONSTANTINOPLE in 426.

Four points need to be emphasized. First, the writings of Pseudo-Macarius are delivered within a monastic framework. This is important for one must take account of the fact that the author addressed himself to monks, not to simple Christians. If this author did not give concrete details, it is known that he spoke to cenobites, not to hermits or semihermits. Macarius the Egyptian lived a true eremetic life, unlike the cenobitic one observed by PACHOMIUS.

Second, he put the accent on spiritual conflict as a means of attaining perfection. This gave him occasion to underline the role of human freedom, to which he attributed the evil committed by humans. The author gave a list of virtues and vices, in conformity with those of the works of his time.

Third, since he has been judged to be largely influenced by the tendencies of the Messalian sect, the most efficacious means for him in this spiritual conflict is naturally prayer, which, according to him, is the first of the virtues.

Fourth, his spiritual theology is perhaps defined by the idea that grace, like human effort, must work for the salvation of each human being. For him, there is a balance between the influence of grace and the participation of each individual. He adopted the Messalian thesis that baptism does not totally

root out the evil in the human heart—hence, the necessity for constant struggle to attain perfection and the indispensability of the action of the Holy Spirit.

There must have been a Coptic version of these various writings but there survive only sparse leaves of it (Geerard, 1974–1987, Vol. 2, nos. 2415, 2422), from which it is impossible to know what the Coptic version represented.

It is quite otherwise with the Arabic collection, of which we have two recensions: the Melchite (of which nothing need be said here) and the Coptic. The number of Coptic texts varies according to the manuscripts: often thirty-six discourses (*maqālāt*) are counted, a part of which is found in the Greek collections; then forty-one questions and answers, the content of which blends what is transmitted by the Greek; and, finally, ten or twenty words (*aqwāl*), of which a part is lost in Greek.

It will be noted that the collection, the content of which varies, is placed under the name of Simeon the Stylite, as it was by IBN KABAR. The oldest manuscripts are of the thirteenth century. An analysis of one of these manuscripts (Vat. Arab. 80) will be found in L. Villecourt (1918–1919; it also analyzes Vat. Arab. 84, the Melchite recension).

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PSEUDO-PISENTIUS OF QIFṬ. An apocalypse falsely attributed to Pisentius was circulated as being the pastoral letter of a bishop caring for his flock and near death. One part admonishes his flock to be steadfast in the faith and live a life worthy of a Christian. The other part gives prophecies of a future moral decline and the horrors to follow. The misfortune of having foreign rule is given in great detail. The transmitted text is a translation of a Coptic original dating from after the ARAB CONQUEST OF EGYPT but before the tenth century.

In the historical part, the leader of the enemy of the Egyptians is Mumadamus, announced by the apocalyptic number 666 (Rev. 13:18). The new Babylon (Old Cairo) is occupied, and the land is plundered mercilessly. "Turks" come from the east and rule from Akko and Yemen to the limits of Abyssinia. God sends help to the Christians in the form of a king of the Romans, Constantine, and he makes the reconquered Babylon-Egypt his residence. But he himself is a "Chalcedonian," believing in the two natures of Christ, so the king and patriarch of Abyssinia attempt to convert him. This comes about through a miracle when, during a joint celebration by the patriarchs and Roman dignitaries, the Holy Spirit itself appears at the EPICLESIS at the altar of the Eastern patriarchs, showing the correct faith. The Romans convert and burn the Chalcedonian books. Ten Roman emperors succeed, and the tenth, the last legitimate king on earth, goes to Jerusalem with his army to worship the cross. The eleventh is the precursor of the Anti-Christ.

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VINCENT FREDERICK

PSHOI, SAINT, or Bishoi or Peter of Akhmīm, a monk who founded a monastery (feast day: 5 Amshir). Pshoi was a native of Bāṣūnah, a village in the district of Akhmīm. He was a shepherd, but left this

vocation to join Apa Pjol, maternal uncle of Apa Shenute, on the mountain of Atrīb (called Psōou in the Life of Shenute) to the west of the present town of Suhāj. Apa Pjol clothed him in the monastic habit at the same time as his nephew Shenute, then aged seven years. They constructed three cells and a church to which they gave the name of al-Raghāmah, which appears to mean "of the mountain." All three went to Asyūṭ to visit JOHN COLOBOS and heard a heavenly voice say, "Today I have chosen you, Shenute, as head and leader of all the monks."

This prophecy was an anachronism, for John Colobos did not go to Asyūṭ, and JOHN OF LYCOPOLIS had long been dead. Apa Pshoi was buried by Apa Shenute, and his body is in the monastery (no doubt DAYR ANBĀ BISHOI, Suhāj, or the Red Monastery) he had founded.

Pshoi was celebrated at Dayr Anbā Shinūdah (the White Monastery), as the typika attest (Leiden, Insinger 38[c-d]; Vienna, State Library K9731; Venice, Biblioteca Naniana, Nani XIX).

The SYNAXARION of the Copts in its recension from Upper Egypt devotes a fairly long notice to him.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PSHOI OF SCETIS, fourth–fifth-century monk (feast day: 8 Abīb).

Pshoi was born at Shansha, in the province of al-Daqahliyyah. There is another town of this name in the province of Beheira, and there thus remains some doubt on the precise location of his birthplace. His parents had seven children; and before his birth his mother had a dream in which an angel announced Pshoi's vocation to her. She protested, pleading that Pshoi was the most sickly of all her children, but the angel told her that such was the divine decision. Pshoi embraced the monastic life at SCETIS at an age that is not precisely stated, placing himself under the direction of an "elder" named Amoi. He bound himself in spiritual friendship to JOHN COLOBOS (the Greek Life calls his master Pambo; the Arabic calls him (A)pa Amoi, transmuted into Bamuyah). Sometime after Amoi's death, Pshoi and John Colobos decided to separate. John Colobos remained at Scetis, and Pshoi established himself two miles to the north, in a rock cave. The fame of his miracles spread, and a number of disciples gathered around him, no doubt forming the nucleus of the first DAYR ANBĀ BISHOI; but, as with Antony and Macarius, we must not imagine that Pshoi (or, to speak in modern terms, Anbā Bishoi) was a superior as that term is understood today. Pshoi's authority, more spiritual than temporal, was compatible with more or less lengthy sojourns in the remotest parts of the desert. This life included, we are told, visions of Jesus, Constantine, and others. Then came the first sack of Scetis by the Maziques (407) and the dispersion of the monks. John Colobos fled to CLYSMA (al-Qulzum), where he died sometime later. Pshoi took refuge in the mountain of Antinoopolis.

According to the Arabic life (neither the Greek nor the Syriac life says this), Pshoi's body, with that of his friend PAUL OF TAMMA, was transferred from the area of Antinoopolis to the monastery of Bishoi, in the present Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The date of this translation is not given, but we know from a list of the relics venerated in Egypt, drawn up by the deacon MAWHŪB, author of a part of the HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH, that these bodies were preserved in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn at the end of the eleventh century.

Since Pshoi was a younger contemporary of John Colobos, we may deduce that he lived mainly in the fourth century and, with Evelyn-White, fix his death in the first decades of the fifth century. (1932, pp. 159–160).

A Life is preserved in Greek under the name of Paisius. It is published without translation by Pomjalovski (pp. 1–61). Other Greek texts are listed in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca,* 1402–1403d. Their relation to the Life preserved in Arabic have not yet been determined. (Evelyn-White, pp. 111–12). A Life is transmitted in Syriac by Bedjan (vol. 3, pp. 572–620; see *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca* nos. 181–82). A third Life, in Arabic, is unpublished (Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe* 4796, fols. 119r–169v; see Troupeau, vol. 2, p. 47). Evelyn-White says he has used it, thanks to an unpublished translation by Evetts (p. 111, n. 4). A résumé of the Arabic Life is given in the recension of the SYNAXARION of the Copts from Lower Egypt at

8 Abīb; reference may be made to the editions of Basset (pp. 630–34) or Forget (text, p. 210, and trans., pp. 206–08). The ETHIOPIAN SYNAXARION gives a perceptibly identical version at 8 Hamle (Guidi, pp. 270–76). One may also refer to the English translation by Budge (Vol. 4, pp. 1083–87), although this is not a critical edition. There is an Ethiopian text that is without doubt a version of the Arabic life. It has not yet been edited, but Beylot gives a detailed analysis (pp. 172–79). The passage from the Ethiopian Synaxarion is perhaps a summary of this life.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PSHOI OF ṬŪD, SAINT, ascetic of Upper Egypt (feast day: 25 Kiyahk). He is known only from a brief notice in the recension of the SYNAXARION from Upper Egypt. The notice describes Pshoi as an ascetic who distinguished himself by an assiduous reading of the book of the prophet Jeremiah, to the point that Jeremiah revealed himself to him. This revelation was repeated for other authors of (holy) books, whom the Synaxarion does not name. Pshoi attracted notice through his prayers and his vigils, so much so that his death was regarded as that of a saint.

Pshoi was buried in a church—we are not told which one—that was then endowed with a miracle. Whoever washed with the water from its well was healed of sickness, especially those who suffered from tertian fever (a form of malaria).

In another notice, concerning Saint PISENTIUS, bishop of Armant, there is reference to a monastery "to the east of the *castrum* (camp) of Ṭūd." This monastery may or may not be the one still in existence, (DAYR) ANBĀ ABSHĀY of Ṭūd. We cannot say, for we do not know where this *castrum* was located. The present monastery has on its south side an enclosure, adjacent to the monastery fence, where a monk's tomb is situated; this could be the tomb of Pshoi. The text of the Synaxarion says only that he died "at the ford" (or at the crossroads, or at the watering place) of Ṭūd. If the notice of 20 Kiyahk (Pisentius of Armant) mentions the monastery built in his honor, Pshoi must have lived before the seventh century (since Pisentius lived at the time of the Persian invasion).

RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PSOÏ, the Coptic name of the town that was known in Greek as Ptolemais Hermiou (so named by the pharaoh Ptolemy I) and called al-Minshah today. The town is located on the west bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt some 7 miles (11 km) south of Akhmīm.

In the Roman and the Byzantine periods, this town grew rapidly, and its bishop seems to have played an important role, if we may judge from the story of the martyrdom, preserved in Latin and in Coptic, of one of its bishops named PSOTE. He died under the emperor DIOCLETIAN. His tomb, included in a monastery on the bank opposite the town, is still an important pilgrimage site; this is DAYR ANBĀ BISĀDAH. The writings of Saint ATHANASIUS in the fourth century testify to the importance of Ptolemais/Psoï as an episcopal seat. Ptolemais was the most populous town after Alexandria and after 450 became the residence of the *dux* (general) of the Thebaid.

It should be noted that Pachomius' disciple and successor Theodorus (c. 307–368) is said to have founded a monastery there, according to the famous "Letter of Ammon" (Halkin and Festugière, 1982, pp. 110, 160). The text specifies "near the town," but does not give the name of the monastery.

Unfortunately it is difficult to trace the history of the Christian community in Psoï because of a lack of documents. It appears that the episcopal see suffered the same vicissitudes as the town itself. At the consecration of the chrism in 1320 we do indeed read that a bishop of "Abṣāy" (Psoï) was present (Munier, 1943, p. 39), and the town is mentioned in

a seventeenth-century manuscript that must be a copy of a thirteenth-century manuscript (Vatican Library, Coptic manuscript 45; Munier, 1943, p. 64). It does seem that on the ecclesiastical level, which follows the civil evolution with some delay, the town gradually lost its importance, and hence at an uncertain date its bishopric was suppressed to the benefit of Jirjā, which became the metropolis of the province. It is only some 12.5 miles (20 km) to the north, also on the left bank. In fact, the traveler J. VANSLEB, who sojourned in Egypt in 1672 and 1673, makes no mention of "Abṣāy" in the list of "actual bishoprics" he drew up, although he does mention it in his register of ancient episcopal sees. He names "Girgah" as the present bishopric (1677, pp. 22 and 27; he calls it "Ibsai"). The Jesuit C. SICARD, who stayed in Egypt from 1712 to 1726, speaks of it as a small Christian community, but not as the seat of a bishop (1982, Vol. 3, p. 232). S. CLARKE, reproducing the official patriarchate list of the churches attaching to this or that bishopric, links the churches of "al-Minshaat" with the bishopric of Jirjā (1912, pp. 213–14).

O. Meinardus, who gives the list of the present bishoprics (that of 1964 in his first edition, that of 1971 in the second), indicates a bishop of Jirjā and not of Psoï. The name is not even coupled with that of Jirjā, proof that the title of Psoi/Ptolemais has long disappeared. At all events, that of Jirjā is joined to the bishopric of Nag Hammadi.

Likewise O. H. E. Burmester, in his book *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* (1967), in giving an account of the dioceses of the patriarchate of Alexandria, mentions the diocese of Jirjā, which includes that of Nag Hammadi, and not the ancient diocese of Psoï.

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RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN

PSOTE OF PSOI, SAINT, or Psate or Bisādah, martyr under DIOCLETIAN, about 305 (feast day: 27 Kiyahk). Information about him can be gleaned only from the account of his Passion, for which the Greek text, written perhaps near the end of the fourth century, is now lost. However, there is a Coptic translation, in a Sahidic codex from Hamuli, dating from the tenth century (Pierpont Morgan Library M583, fols. 17–23, ed. Orlandi, 1978), as well as a Latin (Delehaye, 1922) and an Ethiopic translation (Budge, 1915).

According to this work, the messenger of Diocletian comes to Psoi (Ptolemais) while Bishop Psote is in the midst of celebrating Saturday night services. After begging to be allowed to complete the services, Psote then discourses to the faithful, giving them his last recommendations and even predicting his own death. Next morning the messenger leads him before ARIANUS, the prefect, who vainly tries to persuade Psote to make pagan sacrifices. Upon failing in his efforts, Arianus locks Psote in a walled cell for several days, expecting him to die. When he finds his victim still alive, Arianus has Psote decapitated.

The text of this particular Passion strays rather far from the usual epic passions (see HAGIOGRAPHY) and is quite unlike other reliable accounts of trials. It appears to be not only very ancient but also based on someone's factual memory of the events at Psoi. Some of the circumstances herein are also verified in the Passion of PETER I, patriarch of Alexandria, and it is probable that both texts were produced in the same milieu. However, we cannot determine which one served as a model for the other.

Psote does enjoy great fame in the Coptic tradition, and many other texts of diverse origin, chronology, and significance have been composed around his personality. One Passion, much longer than the one just described (Orlandi, 1978), and an *Encomium of Psote,* whose author's name is in a lacuna of the text, belong to the source that produced so many homilies and hagiographies dating from the seventh and eighth centuries. Both these works testify to the creation of the legend that purports that Diocletian was born in Egypt—where he

was called Agrippida—and reared as a shepherd by Psote's parents. A pact with the devil is supposed to have carried him to the highest "burdens," that is, the highest positions in the empire.

Another work, enlarging upon this Psote tradition, is the *Encomium of Benjamin*, by AGATHON OF ALEXANDRIA (661–677), which relates that Benjamin reprimanded a Ḥilwān builder—a man who had disgraced himself by murdering another whose parents had cared for the builder as an orphaned child—as follows: "Truly thou hast behaved as did Diocletian with Bishop Psote. His parents [Psote's] only did good unto him [Diocletian], and he [Diocletian], after becoming king, killed him [Psote]" (Amélineau, 1888, p. 376).

The story of Psote's relation to Diocletian-Agrippida is also narrated in a late *Encomium of Theodorus Anatolius*, attributed to the fictitious Theodorus of Antioch. This work belongs to the legendary Cycle of Theodore, Claudius, and Victor.

Still another text adding to the Psote tradition is a late Passion concerning PANINE AND PANEU, in which these two holy men encounter Psote in the desert, where he has fled to escape persecution. Psote predicts to them future events, among which are his own martyrdom, that of Panine and Paneu, and likewise, that of Arianus.

From a much earlier era, we also have an *Oratio* attributed to Psote, but it is connected only indirectly to the rest of the Psote tradition. Its author seems to have known nothing other than the brief text of the first Passion mentioned above. However, this prayer can be related to an analogous *Oratio ante mortem*, attributed to ATHANASIUS I. The text has survived in a Sahidic codex from Idfū (British Library, Or. 7597, fols. 1–8, ed. Budge, 1915, and Orlandi, 1978), and it, like the Passion, contains a long series of recommendations and predictions by Psote of his own death.

In the Arabic tradition, the Arabic SYNAXARION summarizes the extended Passion (Forget, 1905, pp. 282–85). Also, in the commemoration of Abadion, it is told that Abadion revealed to Arianus the story of Diocletian-Agrippida, and that Psote confirmed it.

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TITO ORLANDI

PTOLEMAIS HERMIOU. *See* Psoi.

PUBLIC LAW. *See* Law, Coptic.

PUECH, HENRI-CHARLES (1902–1986), born at Montpellier (Hérault), France, chairman of the history of the early church and patristics in the section of religious sciences at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne) for forty-two years (1930–1972), and for twenty years (1952–1972) that of the history of religions at the Collège de France. Puech's contribution to Coptic studies relates essentially to Manichaeanism and *gnosis*, domains in which he was the undisputed master in his generation. His book *Le manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine* (Paris, 1949), remains a fundamental work. In it, in addition to the classical sources and the documents discovered in Central Asia, he used the Coptic Manichaean texts discovered about 1930 in the Fayyūm.

When it became known that a library of Coptic Gnostic writings had been discovered near Nag Hammadi in the winter of 1945–1946, Puech immediately realized its importance, and set out to make these new writings known and ensure their publication. In 1950, in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, he presented the first inventory of them and attempted to identify each of these texts ("Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute Egypte," pp. 91–154). Puech was a member of the international committee that, under the auspices of UNESCO, undertook the facsimile edition of the Nag Hammadi codices, and was also a member of the editorial board. He collaborated in the editing of the documents in Codex I, then called the Jung Codex, published by Rascher of Zurich: *Evangelium veritatis* (1956; *Supplementum*, 1961), *De resurrectione* (1963), *Epistula Iacobi apocrypha* (1968), and *Tractatus tripartitus* (1973, 1975).

Puech was involved in the edition of the *Gospel of Thomas*, a document from Codex II (Leiden, 1959). Of interest to Coptologists, since it concerns a number of writings preserved in Coptic, is his contribution to the third edition, edited by W.

Schneemelcher, of E. Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Vol. 1, Tübingen, 1959; English ed., ed. R. McL. Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 1963): the section "Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents" was drawn up by him (pp. 158–271; English ed., pp. 231–362).

Puech's principal articles relating to *gnosis* and Manichaeanism are collected in three volumes: *Enquête de la gnose* (2 vols.) and *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais* (Paris, 1978 and 1979).

ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT

PULCHERIA (399–453) (Aelia Pulcheria), Augusta, eldest daughter of Emperor Arcadius (383–408). She showed such a precocious ability that on 4 July 414 she was given the title of Augusta and became the regent for her brother, Theodosius II. Her strong, if self-willed, personality acted as a foil to the more sensitive yet not unstatesmanlike qualities of her brother. Deeply religious by nature, Pulcheria, who resolved to remain a virgin, was on excellent terms with Patriarch Atticus (406–427) of Constantinople.

While in no way opposed to the choice of NESTORIUS as patriarch in 428, she moved progressively toward support of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA during the crisis surrounding the Council of EPHESUS. She and Eudocia, Theodosius' wife, were recipients of a memorial by Cyril justifying his Christology, particularly by reference to the eucharistic sacrifice. This remained Pulcheria's position. From 430 on her influence on the court of Theodosius was supreme, and she gradually ousted Eudocia, her onetime protégée, from influence, until the latter withdrew in semiexile to Jerusalem in 444. About that time, however, Pulcheria's control was threatened by the emperor's grand chamberlain, Chrysaphius, who influenced the emperor in the more strongly Monophysite direction represented by DIOSCORUS I of Alexandria and the archimandrite EUTYCHES.

In the great crisis of 449–451 that led to the Council of CHALCEDON, Pulcheria gave consistent support to the anti-Monophysite cause. She supported Patriarch Flavian against Eutyches. The papal legates to Ephesus II (449) took with them letters from Pope Leo to Pulcheria (*Letters* 30 and 31) assuring her that a vital principle was at stake in what appeared to be an abstruse wrangle. After the victory of Dioscorus at the council, Pope Leo treated Pulcheria as his principal lifeline to the imperial court. In March 450 he corresponded with her, accepting her assurance of opposition to Ephesus II (*Letter* 60), and in July told her that he would recognize the choice of Dioscorus as patriarch of Constantinople if Anatolius would accept Cyril's second letter to Nestorius and Leo's *Tome* (*Letter* 70). The outcome of these proposals was never tested, for Theodosius died suddenly, after a hunting accident, on 28 July 450, before the pope's delegates could reach Constantinople.

Pulcheria immediately resumed the power she had been losing to Chrysaphius. The latter found himself arrested and was subsequently executed. An elderly, distinguished Thracian soldier, Marcian, was chosen as emperor, and Pulcheria married him to become his consort (24 August 450). During the next months she worked toward, first, the undoing of the decisions of Ephesus II, and second, for a new ecumenical council that would settle the Christological issue along the lines of the *Tome* of Leo and Cyril's doctrine as accepted in the formula of reunion of 433. The council, delayed first by the threat from the Huns, and then by change of location from Nicaea to Chalcedon, met on 10 October 451. Pulcheria accompanied her husband for the formal promulgation of the Christological definition on 25 October.

After the council Pulcheria received letters from Pope Leo thanking her for her steadfastness in the faith but also asserting his opposition to Canon 28 (*Letters* 105 and 106); however, there is no reason to think that she accepted the papal viewpoint regarding the ecclesiastical status of Constantinople. On the other hand, her commitment to the two-nature Christology made her a target for abuse from the anti-Chalcedonians. To John Rufus in his *Plerophoriae* (early sixth century), Pulcheria was a "false virgin," and her husband was denounced as "the new Assyrian." She died in 453, leaving her goods to the poor.

Like her kinswoman Galla Placidia, Pulcheria was extremely able, and shared responsibility for policies that enabled the eastern Roman provinces to survive practically unscathed the disasters that befell the West. Her influence over her brother's education and religion is not doubted. Her letters preserved in Pope Leo's correspondence suggest that she may have been more propapal than most other Latin-speaking artistocrats in Constantinople. Pulcheria was one of the principal architects of the Council of Chalcedon, and the results corresponded with her consistently held views. Not unnaturally, the anti-Chalcedonians regarded her as an opponent, while to the Latins she was a saint.

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W. H. C. FREND

PULPIT. *See* Ambo.