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The Legend of Saint Aūr and the monastery of Naqlūn : the Copto-Arabic texts

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THE LEGEND OF SAINT AŪR
AND
THE MONASTERY OF NAQLŪN
The Copto-Arabic texts

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Introduction to the present study: aims, methods, outline.

In a country in the East a certain king kept a famous magician called Abrašīt at his court. This magician fell in love with the king's daughter. She bore him an illegitimate son whom she named Aūr. When the king discovered his identity, Abrašīt was forced to take two elder sons of his and Aūr with him and flee from the court. They set out for Jerusalem, but the archangel Gabriel guided them to the Fayyūm in Egypt, where the family settled in the desert of Naqlūn and grew prosperous by practising the arts of magic. The father Abrašīt died some five months after their arrival. Following miraculous appearances of the Virgin Mary and the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the three young men were converted to Christianity and Aūr started building a church in the name of Gabriel.

In the meantime the king of the country in the East had been succeeded by his son, who yielded to his mother's request for the return of her grandson Aūr. Messengers were sent in search of Aūr and after some time they found him at the mountain of Naqlūn. Reassured by the archangel Gabriel that this matter was from God, Aūr went with them. With great joy Aūr was welcomed at the court and he stayed with the royal family in the palace. After one month Aūr wished to return the Fayyūm to continue the building of the church. Loaded with gifts Aūr returned to the mountain of Naqlūn, where he restarted building the church, as the queen-mother, his grandmother, had told him to do. The archangel Gabriel defended its construction against attempts by Satan to frustrate the building operations. On 26 Ba'ūna the bishop of the Fayyūm, Anbā Isaac, consecrated the new church, and at the same time ordained Aūr priest. On the death of this bishop, the patriarch of Alexandria made Aūr his successor. Aūr built cells for the monks and houses for the pilgrims at the mountain of Naqlūn and he took care of the poor.

As his death drew near, Aūr called the anchorite John to him and told him the story of his life. This John, speaking in the first person, reports these last moments of Aūr's life and informs us that he is recording the story of Saint Aūr for the use and benefit of the monks and to glorify the archangel Gabriel.

So far a summary of the legendary story about St. Aūr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn. The principal text containing this legend, indicated in the following as the *Naqlūn homily*, is the main subject of this study. Previously, the text was only known in a French translation by E. Amélineau published in 1888, in a

volume composed of several tales and romances originating from Christian Egypt.¹ Apart from the French translation, the text was also known in an English translation, made by Sir Ernest Wallis Budge and published in 1935, that was most probably based on Amélineau's earlier translation.² Budge included his version of the legend similarly in a volume consisting of Egyptian tales and romances, originating not only from a Christian environment, but from a pagan and Muslim background as well.³

The principal aim of the present study is to make the *Naqlūn homily* available for a scholarly audience in the form of a critical edition accompanied by an annotated translation in English. In addition to this philological work, the contents of the text are studied from a literary, historical, and hagiographic point of view and commented upon, in order to do justice to the importance of the text in particular for the (literary) history of the monastery of Naqlūn and in general for the Coptic hagiographic tradition to which field it belongs.⁴ The text is also investigated for its particular linguistic features. In the following a few explanatory remarks are made on these various aspects and on the organization of the present study.

The first step in my research was to collect the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*. I searched the catalogues of libraries and undertook several journeys to Egypt and Paris and a virtual journey to Chicago to trace the relevant manuscripts. The surprising result of these journeys was the discovery of a number of twenty-three manuscripts related to the monastery of Naqlūn.⁵ In addition to the *Naqlūn homily*, four other homiletic texts and a hymn were identified, each related to the monastery of Naqlūn in a different way. The five homiletic texts and the hymn are part of the subject matter of the present book.

The majority of the twenty-three discovered manuscripts, more precisely seventeen, contain the *Naqlūn homily*, and a description of each is presented (chapter I). The *Naqlūn homily* appears to be represented in four different versions, here called recensions.⁶ The four recensions are represented in a varying number of manuscripts and the relations between these

¹ Amélineau translated the legend from a manuscript that had been copied for him on his request. This manuscript is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris under number Paris Ar. 4796-2, f. 82v-106v, see the description of ms. E below in chapter I, 2. *Presentation and description of the manuscripts*. Amélineau adds to this text the following title: *Histoire d'Aour*. See Amélineau 1888, 1:109-143.

² Budge 1935, 247-263. Budge adds to this text the following title: *The History of Aur, the son of the magician Abrashūt by a queen*. Budge does not mention from which text he translated this story, but its similarity with the story as given by Amélineau is remarkable.

³ Budge 1935.

⁴ The term Coptic in this respect refers to Egyptian Christianity in general, implying literature written in Coptic as well as in Arabic.

⁵ The number of 23 manuscripts concerns the available manuscripts solely. To my knowledge there is an unknown number of manuscripts related to the legend kept in the monastery of St. Paul at the Red Sea (and perhaps at other places too), but these were not available for this study.

⁶ For the term recension, see Macé 2015, 336, 340.

manuscripts have been unravelled and made visible in a stemma, a hypothetical reconstruction of the textual history of the *Naqlūn homily*. Concerning the edition, one of the manuscripts has been selected as the base manuscript that can serve as a starting point. From the remaining manuscripts those have been selected that appear to contain valuable variants with respect to the base text (chapter II). The complete text of the *Naqlūn homily* is presented, accompanied with a translation into English and the variants are noted in the critical apparatus (chapter III).

The *Naqlūn homily* is written in Arabic. Until now no text in Coptic has been found, although Budge gives the impression of the existence of a Coptic original in the introduction of his book, by which other scholars were misled.⁷ The *Naqlūn homily* is written in the characteristic language of this type of Christian Arabic literature, the so-called Middle Arabic language. Actually, all six texts are written in this language variety, including the hymn that is bilingual, written both in Middle Arabic and in Bohairic Coptic. The specific linguistic characteristics of the *Naqlūn homily* have been studied and the results are presented in chapter IV.

In addition to the central work concerning the text edition, the *Naqlūn homily* is studied and commented upon from a literary and a historical point of view. Apart from its literary genre, namely a homily, several other features attract the attention, such as the aspect of magic and the important role of the archangel Gabriel. The names of persons and places and other indications contained in the text may provide historical information. The author wrote the text down with a specific aim in mind, at a specific moment in the history of the monastery. Study of all these aspects give this text a particular and unique place in the broader field of Coptic hagiographic literature (chapter V).

The first five chapters concern the edition and study of the *Naqlūn homily* in all its aspects and they form the first and the core part of the book (part 1). The five other texts that are related to the monastery of Naqlūn in different ways, are dealt with in the second part of the book (part 2), in chapters VI-IX and appendix 1. The texts themselves, insofar as accessible, are presented, accompanied with a translation, and in each case followed by a comprehensive commentary. The second text, indicated as *The Journey of St. Aūr*, describes two episodes of St. Aūr's life in a very detailed way (chapter VI). The third text, *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, underlines the historically well known relation between St. Antony and the Fayyūm (chapter VII). The fourth text, *The origins of monasticism at the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, reveals a special view on the origins

⁷ See Budge 1935, 11-12; 28-29.

of monasticism at these mountains, two monastic sites that were situated in each other's vicinity and maintained close relations in history (chapter VIII).

Apart from the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily* as a whole, two manuscripts were discovered that contain a homily in which a part of the *Naqlūn homily* is inserted. The homily concerns the consecration of a sanctuary of the archangel Gabriel in a church in al-Ḥandaq⁸ in Cairo, performed by Patriarch John XI of Alexandria in the fifteenth century. On this occasion a homily had been composed in which a passage about the building of the church of the angel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn was included. The text is referred to in this study as the Ḥandaq homily (chapter IX).

Moreover, in one of the two codices containing the Ḥandaq homily, a hymn on the archangel Gabriel is included, in which mention is made of the monastery of Naqlūn and St. Aūr. The codex is dated to AD 1470-1473 and the hymn is written in Bohairic Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns. This hymn is briefly discussed in appendix 1 and an edition and translation are presented.

In addition to the manuscripts written in Arabic, a large number of manuscripts in Ge'ez, *i.e.* Classical Ethiopic, dealing with the legend of St. Aūr and the monastery of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn were identified. A survey of these Ethiopic manuscripts is presented in appendix 2.

The abovegiven outline of the present study concerns the texts themselves. For a better understanding of the material, first some information about the context of these texts is provided, from a historical, literary and geographical point of view.

⁸ For the village al-Ḥandaq, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1082-1087.

Context

1. Introduction

All texts studied in this book are related to the monastery of Naqlūn. First some information about the monastery itself is presented, based on the results of the archaeological investigations carried out on site. This short historical sketch is followed by a study of the secondary literary and liturgical sources. References to the *Naqlūn homily* occurring in other literary sources form external indications for its popularity and may help to establish the date of its composition. The manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*, or referring to it, originate from various places in Egypt. The geographical distribution of the manuscripts gives an idea of the diffusion of the text itself and consequently of its popularity. The history of the monastery, the secondary sources, and the diffusion of the *Naqlūn homily* provide the context for the study of this text in particular, and situates it in its historical, literary and geographical background. Insight into the context is also important for the study of the other texts that are similarly related to the monastery of Naqlūn. This study of the context as a prologue to the actual study ends with a short conclusion.

2. The monastery of Naqlūn

The *Naqlūn homily* has as its central theme the building of the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn. The church still exists today as part of a monastic complex, that is known in history under three different names: Dayr al-Naqlūn (the monastery of Naqlūn, in Coptic: ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲛⲓ), Dayr al-Malāk Ġubriyāl (the monastery of the angel Gabriel), and Dayr al-Ḥašaba (the monastery of the Beam) (in Coptic: ⲛⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲏⲁⲱⲉ).⁹ This monastery, repopulated since the 1980s, is situated in the south eastern region of the Fayyūm province in Egypt, at the foot of a ridge of desert hills that belong to the mountain of Naqlūn.¹⁰ It lies about 136 km southwest of Cairo and 16 km southeast of the city of Fayyūm, the capital of the province, and 3 km to the east of the village Qalamša. Its distance to the canal Baḥr al-Ġaraq, which flows round the Fayyūm oasis, is about 1.300 m.

⁹ The monastery is sometimes also named Dayr Abū Kašaba; thus it occurs on a map of the Fayyūm province, first published in Egypt in 1957, and as Dayr Abū Schaschab on a map by Schweinfurth 1886, map 2. For a discussion of the name of the monastery, see chapter V, 10. *History and religious landscape* (with references). See also below, about al-Maqrīzī's work mentioning the three names of the monastery.

¹⁰ For a map of the region and plans of the site and excavations, see Derda 1995a, vol. 2 (Plates); see also an updated map of the site made in 2007 by W. Małkowski, in Godlewski 2010, 231, fig. 1.

Since 1986 archaeological investigations have been carried out at the site.¹¹ A Polish team under the direction of W. Godlewski started excavations, following the rediscovery by papyrologist E. Wipszycka of the monastic *Rule* attributed to St. Antony that was purportedly written for the monks of the monastery of *Nacalon*, that is, Naqlūn.¹² According to the reports regularly published by the Polish team,¹³ the origins of the monastic community go back to the fifth century, when the first hermitages were cut in the slopes of the desert mountain of Naqlūn. These hermitages were used by monks practising a semi-anachoretic style of life. At present a number of eighty-nine caves has been discovered in this mountain. The majority of these rock-cut complexes, altogether eighty-one, are located in the mountain hills to the east of the modern monastery. A smaller group of eight hermitages is located to the west, near the canal. The caves were in use in different phases from the second half of the fifth century up till probably the fourteenth century, when the last hermitage was abandoned.

Apart from the hermitages the monastery consisted of a number of central buildings representing the coenobitic type of monastic life. Two ancient cemeteries have been unearthed, located to the west of the modern monastery, and are dated to around the sixth century.¹⁴ Near the present-day monastery, at the east side of it, the ruins of the former central monastic complex have been found. The structures include monastic architecture from the end of the fifth and the sixth centuries, and later buildings, including the (presumed) church of the archangel Michael, dating from the tenth-eleventh century. Shortly later, in the eleventh century, a large cemetery developed in the ruins of the ancient monastery around the (presumed) church of the archangel Michael and remained in use until the fourteenth century.¹⁵ Central in the present-day monastery stands the church of the archangel Gabriel. This church had been erected in the eighth century and after its destruction, probably due to a great fire, it had been refurbished.¹⁶ The walls of the church were (re-)decorated with paintings, and inscriptions were added to several of them. As these inscriptions include names of persons and places and dates, they form an important source for the history of the

¹¹ For literature on the monastery of Naqlūn before the start of the excavations in 1986, see especially Timm 1984-1992, 2:762-767. See also Johann Georg 1930, 19, fig. 41-43; Abbott 1937; Martin 1966, 187, 188, 190; Meinardus 1967.

¹² See Wipszycka 1990.

¹³ Modern (not exhaustive) bibliography: the yearly reports of the excavations at Naqlūn published in *PAM* since 1990; for a general overview, see Godlewski 1997; see also Derda 1995a, 19-40; Godlewski 2005a. For further information see also: Godlewski, Herbich and Wipszycka 1990; Dobrowolski 1990; Godlewski, Derda and Górecki 1994; Derda 1994; 1995a; 1995b; Godlewski 1997; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2005a; 2005b; Godlewski and Łajtar 2006; Wipszycka 1996; 2009, 128-138.

¹⁴ See Godlewski 2011, 468-472.

¹⁵ See Godlewski 2011, 472-477.

¹⁶ For the date of the construction of the church, see Godlewski 2002, 169, and 2010, 230. See also Grossmann 1982, 118, 120 and Dobrowolski 1990, 201.

monastery itself and its relation to the environment.¹⁷ Among these is the foundation inscription found in the apse, which mentions the name of Patriarch Zakharias, who was miaphysite patriarch of Alexandria in the period 1004-1032. This information makes it possible to situate the (re-)building of the church in the first half of the eleventh century.¹⁸ The renovation of the church took place under the direction of the archimandrite Papnoute, the head of the monastery, whose name also occurs in the foundation inscription. Among the inscriptions is a prayer for the local bishop and another records the visit of a bishop of Aṭṭīḥ round the year 1033. A bilingual (Coptic and Arabic) inscription, dated to AD 1183, commemorates the death of a bishop, and his burial 'at this holy place', which suggests that bishops may have resided in this monastery.¹⁹ Several inscriptions made by the painters and by visitors mention their places of origin, including Aṭṭīḥ and Aqfahs, and also the monastery of St. Antony (most probably not the famous one situated at the Red Sea, but the one located close to the Fayyūm),²⁰ which suggests that there were relations between the monastery of Naqlūn and these other sites. The inscriptions show that in the period of renovation of the church of the archangel Gabriel, in the eleventh century, the church and probably the monastery as a whole were flourishing.

After this period, the monastery slowly declined and in the fourteenth century only the Church of the archangel Gabriel and the area around it were left over.²¹ For the following centuries a few reports of travelers confirm this situation. The first European²² who visited this site in the seventeenth century was J.M. Wansleben, and he reported that, what at the time was known as the Monastery of the Beam, was quite old and nearly totally ruined, except for the church of the archangel Gabriel, which he describes as very beautiful.²³ He found that there was another church that he could not enter because it was used for the storage of the provisions of the monastery. Wansleben also visited a few hermitages in the mountain behind the monastery, but they were deserted.

¹⁷ J. van der Vliet, who recorded the inscriptions in the church, kindly gave me a copy of his (not yet published) edition of the inscriptions discovered in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn.

¹⁸ See Godlewski 2000b, 91.

¹⁹ One of the Coptic letters excavated in the central area at Naqlūn is addressed to a bishop, see Van der Vliet 2005, 191. Bishops often chose monasteries as their dwelling place, see Derda 1995a, 154; and more generally, Giorda 2009.

²⁰ This monastery founded by St. Antony was located probably near Aṭṭīḥ, but its exact location is still uncertain, see Timm 1984, 2:742-749; Wipszycka 2004, 141; Wipszycka 2009, 251-259.

²¹ Godlewski 1997, 133.

²² Vansleb, Johann Michael Wansleben, a German Orientalist and monk of the Dominican order, visited Egypt in 1672-73 and bought several manuscripts for the Royal Library of Paris. About his stay in Egypt, see his report, Vansleb [1678] 1972. About Vansleb, see Hamilton [2006] 2009, 142-151; Horn 1992, 2:1-6, with further literature in nt. 1.

²³ Vansleb [1678] 1972, 166-167.

Later visitors, like Johann Georg Duke of Saxony in the first half of the twentieth century and the scholar O. Meinardus in more recent times, wrote in their reports also about the presence of the church of the archangel Gabriel.²⁴ The monastery had been abandoned at a certain moment, but most probably the church remained continuously in use. In the second half of the twentieth century, a monk called Father ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, who started his monastic life in the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea, came to live at the monastery of Naqlūn and other monks followed. At present the monastery is experiencing a revival and is inhabited by about twenty monks; new buildings have been erected and the central church of the archangel Gabriel has recently been renovated.²⁵ The archaeological investigations are still being continued and especially W. Godlewski of Warsaw University, the director of the excavations, has frequently published reports on this monastic site.²⁶ The textual material that has come to light in the central area as well as in the hermitages comprise documents in Greek, Coptic, Arabic and even Latin. A number of the Greek papyri have been published by T. Derda in two volumes.²⁷ Chr. Gaubert and J-M. Mouton studied an archive written in Arabic that once belonged to a Coptic family, Banū Bifām, living in a nearby village and dating around the year 1000.²⁸ The Coptic texts are mostly documentary and a few are private letters, the majority dating from the tenth-eleventh centuries. After several preliminary publications, the late K. Urbaniak-Walczak has published part of them²⁹ and J. van der Vliet is preparing a publication of the remaining Coptic texts.³⁰ A codex containing the Gospel of John in Sahidic Coptic (dated to AD 1099/1100) discovered in a coffin buried in the central cemetery is also in the process of publication.³¹ A relatively large number of the discovered texts is related to the period of the tenth-twelfth centuries, when the monastery appears to have been flourishing.

When I visited the monastery in 1999 I met the abovementioned monk Father ‘Abd al-Masīḥ and he told me the legend of St. Aūr as it is known from the manuscripts.³²

According to the *Naqlūn homily* the church of the archangel Gabriel and other monastic buildings have been founded by St. Aūr. However, no archaeological or documentary

²⁴ Johann Georg 1930, 19, fig. 41-43; Meinardus 1967; Meinardus [1969, 1989] 1992, 186-188; see also Viaud 1979, 13-14.

²⁵ See Godlewski 2010, 230; Godlewski 1997, 123; see also Godlewski and Łajtar 2006, 43-62.

²⁶ See his yearly reports in *PAM*.

²⁷ See Derda 1995a; Derda 2008.

²⁸ See Gaubert and Mouton 2014; see also Gaubert and Mouton 2004; Mouton 2002.

²⁹ See Urbaniak-Walczak 1999.

³⁰ See Van der Vliet 2000 and 2005 and 2015; and Van der Vliet's publication of the Coptic inscriptions (forthcoming).

³¹ See for a preliminary report on the codex, Van der Vliet 2003.

³² Father ‘Abd al-Masīḥ died in March 2007.

evidence that would refer to the existence of a holy monk and bishop named Aūr at any moment in the long history of the monastery of Naqlūn has been found up till now.

3. Secondary literary and liturgical sources

3.a. The early sources

Various other literary and liturgical sources, in addition to the main texts studied in this monograph, may shed light upon the veneration of Saint Aūr and the monastery of Naqlūn. The abovementioned *Rule* attributed to St. Antony reminds one of St. Antony's visit to the Fayyūm province as reported in this saint's Life.³³ St. Antony, who lived in the third-fourth centuries, is generally regarded as the founder of monasticism. Historical and monastic literature composed in the centuries after the saint's death contain numerous references to him. S. Rubenson made a study of the Letters of St. Antony and related literature, revealing the saint's great popularity.³⁴ According to the title of the *Rule*, it is St. Antony himself who addresses here the monks of the monastery of Naqlūn.³⁵ However, a study of the *Rule* shows that St. Antony's authorship is very unlikely and that it was almost certainly composed after the saint's death.³⁶ From a literary point of view, however, the existence of the *Rule* and its attribution to St. Antony is of great importance for the monastery of Naqlūn.³⁷

Another early text referring to Naqlūn is the Coptic Life of Samuel of Qalamūn,³⁸ written by one Isaac the presbyter probably in the ninth century.³⁹ The latter writes that the monk Samuel was forced to flee Scetis in the year 631 in fear of repressions. He went to Naqlūn and spent there three years and a half, living in a remote hermitage and coming to the monastery on Saturdays and Sundays. This Life mentions one hundred and twenty monks and two hundred lay people living at the monastery of Naqlūn.⁴⁰ This statement demonstrates that in the ninth century the monastery at Naqlūn was quite famous. However, no name of a monk

³³ See Garitte 1949a, 21 (Coptic text); 1949b, 12 (Latin transl.); Bartelink 1994, 176 (Greek text), 177 (French transl.).

³⁴ See Rubenson 1990; see also Rubenson 1990-1991, 40-45.

³⁵ For an edition of the Arabic text with a translation in French, see Mokbel 1966; see also the articles about the *Rule* written by Wipszycka 1996, 363-371; Breydy 1996; an edition in Arabic is made in Cairo in 1899 by the monk Andraos under supervision of bishop and abbot Mark of the monastery of St. Antony, entitled: *Kitāb rauḍat al-nufūs fī rasā'il al-qiddīs Anṭūniyūs* (*Book of the Garden of the Souls in the Letters of St. Antony*), see Graf 1944-1953, 1:457-458; Mokbel 1966, 215; Breydy 1996, 398; Rubenson 1990, 20 (Breydy corrected Mokbel and Graf, who both assumed erroneously that the editor was bishop Mark of the monastery of St. Antony, who was actually the supervisor of the edition made by the monk Andraos); see also Rubenson 1990, 46; Rubenson 1990-1991, 43.

³⁶ See Rubenson 1990-1991, 43.

³⁷ See chapter VII in which the relation between St. Antony and Naqlūn is discussed.

³⁸ See Amélineau 1888-1895, 2:775-778; Alcock 1983, 8-11 (text), 82-85 (translation).

³⁹ See Alcock 1983, 38 nt. 7.

⁴⁰ See Alcock 1983, 9 (text), 84 (translation) (lay people: Alcock was not sure about this translation of the Coptic word: κοσμήκον, see in the edition his nt. 102).

or a bishop Aūr who would have played a role in the history of the monastery of Naqlūn is mentioned in this Coptic hagiographic text.

Apart from the Sahidic Coptic version of the Life of Samuel of Qalamūn, this text has also been preserved in Ethiopic and in Arabic, the latter in a very late copy, of unknown provenance and anonymous, dating from 1945.⁴¹ In the introduction to the Arabic version, the editor, A. Alcock, suggests that the process of transmission of the text is from Coptic to Arabic to Ethiopic.⁴² This Arabic version states that at the time of Samuel more than a thousand monks lived in the mountain of Naqlūn, but again, there is no mention of the name of a saint Aūr.⁴³

For the early ages of the existence of the monastery the names of Aūr and Isaac as bishops of the Fayyūm are not attested in documentary texts either, although it must be admitted that for this early period no complete list of bishops is available.⁴⁴

3.b. The Copto-Arabic Synaxarium

An important liturgical source in which the names of many bishops and saints of the Coptic church are mentioned, is the Synaxarium.⁴⁵ The Copto-Arabic Synaxarium consists in two different recensions, one of Upper Egypt and another of Lower Egypt; the latter is also called the Alexandrine version.⁴⁶ The recension of Upper Egypt, of which only the first six months of the year have been preserved, has probably been composed in the period between 1111 and 1241.⁴⁷ The Alexandrine version has been composed in two parts in different periods. The first part, which covers the first six months of the Coptic year, has been composed most probably around 1200. The second part has been composed much later, in the first half of the fourteenth century, assumingly between 1317 and 1354.⁴⁸ The celebration day of St. Aūr and the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel is on 26 Ba'ūna. This date falls within the second half of the Coptic liturgical year. Hence, only the Alexandrine version of the Coptic Synaxarium can be used for this study.

⁴¹ Alcock 1996, 321-345; 1998, 377-404.

⁴² Alcock 1996, 322.

⁴³ See Alcock 1996, 339.

⁴⁴ Abbott 1937, 32-34. For the names of attested bishops for the period 325-750, see Worp 1994; see also David 1930; Munier 1943.

⁴⁵ Coquin 1991b; Atiya 1991c.

⁴⁶ Papaconstantinou 2001, 28-29, and the references; see also Graf 1940; Coquin 1995.

⁴⁷ Garcin 1976, 31 nt. 1. For the dates Garcin refers to an oral communication held by Coquin on 3 June 1971 at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo. See also Colin 1988, 283, nt. 41. Colin refers in this article also to the work of Garcin, wondering on what information Coquin based the date of AD 1111. Coquin's later articles do not clarify this question, see Coquin 1978 and 1995.

⁴⁸ Coquin 1995, 82.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, two editions of the Synaxarium have seen the light,⁴⁹ one with a translation in French, published in the *Patrologia Orientalis*,⁵⁰ and the other with a translation in Latin, published in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.⁵¹ In Cairo, in 1935-1936, an edition in Arabic of the Synaxarium appeared in two volumes.⁵² A revised second edition was published in 1972 by the Coptic Patriarchate.⁵³ The third edition of this modern Arabic Synaxarium appeared in 1978 (first volume) and 1979 (second volume).⁵⁴ According to the preface, this edition was based on several Egyptian manuscripts, dating from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, and on the Paris edition of the *Patrologia Orientalis*.⁵⁵ The composers used manuscripts unknown in Europe, suppressing what they considered inappropriate, which makes this edition untrustworthy.⁵⁶ Below, the commemorations concerning 26 Ba'ūna, as found in the abovementioned editions of the Synaxarium, are put together in a table⁵⁷:

PO (ms. 16 th c.) ⁵⁸	PO (ms. 14 th c.) ⁵⁹	CSCO (ms. date?) ⁶⁰	Cairo (mss. 14 th -18 th c.) ⁶¹
وفيه ايضا تكريز كنيسة الملاك الجليل غبريال المبشر شفاعة تحملنا امين	وفيه ايضا نعيد لتكريز كنيسة الملاك الجليل غبريال رئيس الملائكة وظهور عجائبه شفاعة معنا امين	وفيه ايضا نعيد لتكريز كنيسة على اسم الملاك غبريال رئيس الملائكة وظهور عجائبه . شفاعة معنا امين	وفيه ايضا تذكار تكريز كنيسة باسم الملاك الجليل جبرائيل المبشر ، بجبل النفلون بالقيوم . شفاعته تكون معنا . ولربنا المجد دائما . آمين
On this day also the consecration of the church of the glorious angel Gabriel, the messenger.	And on this day also we celebrate the consecration of the church of the glorious angel Gabriel, the archangel and the	And on this day also we celebrate the consecration of a church with the name of the angel Gabriel, the archangel, and the	And on this day also the commemoration of the consecration of a church with the name of the glorious angel Gabriel, the messenger, on the

⁴⁹ For an older edition of the synaxarium with translation in German concerning the first half of the year, see Wüstenfeld 1879. The unedited second part is kept in Göttingen, see the remark in Coquin 1995, 75, nt. 2; and Graf 1944-1953, 2:418, nt. 1.

⁵⁰ Basset [1924] 1994, 17³: [1142] 600.

⁵¹ Forget 1912, 19:189-190.

⁵² Edited by the archpriests 'Abd al-Masīḥ Mikhā'īl and Armānīyūs Ḥabaṣī Šattā al-Birmāwī; see also Graf 1944-1953, 2:418; Coquin 1995, 77.

⁵³ The name of the authors are not given in this second edition, see Coquin 1995, 77.

⁵⁴ Edited by Butrus al-Ḡamīl, bishop of Malīḡ, Mikhā'īl, bishop of Atrīb, Yuḥanna, bishop of al-Barallos, and others.

⁵⁵ See p. 6 of the third edition.

⁵⁶ Coquin 1995, 77.

⁵⁷ In general in this study, existing translations are quoted without changes, including in their transcriptions.

⁵⁸ Based on ms. A, Par. ar. 256, dated 16th c., see Basset [1924] 1994, 17³: [1142] 600.

⁵⁹ Based on ms. B, Par. ar. 4869-4870, dated 14th c., see Basset [1924] 1994, 17³: [1142] 600.

⁶⁰ Forget 1912, 19:189-190. The manuscripts in which the mention occurs originate from very different periods, ranging from 14th to 18th century, which makes it difficult to attach an exact date to it.

⁶¹ See p. 274 in vol. 2 of this third edition in Arabic.

May his intercession support us. Amen.	manifestation of his miracles. May his intercession be with us. Amen.	manifestation of his miracles. May his intercession be with us. Amen.	mountain of Naqlūn in the Fayyūm. May his intercession be with us. And glory be to our Lord for ever. Amen.

Apparently, the name of saint Aūr occurs nowhere in the published versions of the Arabic Synaxarium of the Coptic Church. All four versions state that the consecration of the church of the angel Gabriel is commemorated on this day. Both the *PO* and the *CSCO* editions, with the exception of the 16th century manuscript of the *PO*, add to this the manifestation of the archangel's miracles. The Cairo Synaxarium has a different addition, namely the mention of the location of the church, that is on the mountain of Naqlūn in the Fayyūm. From this it can be concluded that at the time of the origin of the second part of the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium, the first half of the fourteenth century, the church of the archangel Gabriel on the mountain of Naqlūn in the Fayyūm was known, but a saint Aūr from Naqlūn was unknown to or ignored by the compiler(s) of the Synaxarium.

3.c. *The Calendar of Abū I-Barakāt*

Another literary source in which one would expect the mention of saint Aūr, is the encyclopedic work of Coptic religious knowledge compiled by Abū I-Barakāt (died 1324). This work consists of twenty-four sections, of which the twenty-second section deals with the calendar.⁶² This calendar gives for 26 Ba'ūna the following text:⁶³

شهر بونة 26 وقوف الشمس ليشوع ابن نون وتذكار غبريال بمدينة فيوم

"Month of Ba'ūna 26

The stand-still of the sun for Joshua, son of Nun, and the commemoration of Gabriel in the city of Fayyūm."

The text mentions the city of Fayyūm, which may refer in an imprecise way to Naqlūn. The edition of this calendar is based on a manuscript dating from the fourteenth century, very close to the period in which its author lived. In the critical apparatus the editor, E. Tisserant, gives a variant found in two other manuscripts, one dating from the fifteenth-sixteenth century and the other from 1718:

شهر بونة 26 وقوف الشمس ليشوع ابن نون وتذكار غبريال

"Month of Ba'ūna 26

⁶² Tisserant 1915.

⁶³ See Tisserant 1915, 274.

The stand-still of the sun for Joshua, son of Nun, and the commemoration of Gabriel.”

Apparently, these later manuscripts kept the name of the archangel but they left out the location where the celebration should be held. Moreover, all the versions remain silent on saint Aūr. Possibly Abū l-Barakāt used the same source as the compilers of the Synaxarium or he quoted from the Synaxarium itself for this calendar. Clearly, the *Calendar*, too, does not give any evidence about the existence of a saint Aūr of Naqlūn.

3.d. The Ethiopic Synaxarium

Although the Ethiopic Synaxarium is based on the Arabic version, it contains additions which are taken from other sources and for this reason it is worth to be quoted here.

The Ethiopic Synaxarium has been translated from the edition of Lower Egypt of the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium at the end of the fourteenth century in the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea.⁶⁴ The revised second recension became the final one, probably in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ The revision consisted for the greater part of additions, like excerpts from the apocryphal acts of the apostles and commemorations of Ethiopian and non-Ethiopian saints, martyrs and biblical persons.⁶⁶ The edition of the Ethiopic Synaxarium, made by several scholars, is published in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, and it is based on manuscripts containing either the first or the second recension.⁶⁷ Another edition, made by Budge, is based on manuscripts that contain the second recension only.⁶⁸

On 26 Sanê, which is the Ethiopic name for the month of Ba'ūna, the Synaxarium published in the *Patrologia Orientalis* gives the following text according to the French translation:⁶⁹

“Le 26 de Sanê (20 juin)

*En ce jour, mémoire de l'ange glorieux, Gabriel, archange, de la dédicace de l'église
du couvent de Naqlôn, dans le désert de Fayum, et des miracles qui s'y produisent,*

⁶⁴ Colin 1988; see also Coquin 1984, 50; and 1991c.

⁶⁵ Colin 1988, 308.

⁶⁶ Colin 1988, 310-314.

⁶⁷ For the edition and French translation, see Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999. For a description of the available manuscripts, see Colin 1988, 288-299; for the mss. used for the edition, see Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999, 1⁵: 523, of which the ms. Paris, B.N. d'Abbadie 66-66^{bis}, dated to the end of the 15th century, the only manuscript containing the complete first recension, is used as the base ms., (for information on this ms. see Coquin 1984); Colin continued the work using the same mss. with the addition of one ms., dated to 1581, the oldest ms. of the second recension, see Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999, 43³: 323.

⁶⁸ For the edition and English translation, see Budge [1928] 1976. Budge based his edition on mss. 232 and 233 (ms. Oriental 660 and 661) kept in the British Museum, dating 1654-1655, see Budge [1928] 1976, 1:xxix.

⁶⁹ See Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999, 1⁵:675-676. The text of the month of Sanê is almost completely translated by M. Desnoyers, see the introduction to the edition in Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999, 1⁵:525. The translation is here quoted without changes, including transcription.

opérés par lui. C'est dans le bois du toit de son église que se produit l'annonce [de la crue]⁷⁰ du fleuve de l'Égypte. Car au temps [anniversaire] de la dédicace, de l'eau apparaît dans ce [bois] comme de la sueur ; s'il doit y avoir abondance, cette année-là, il en tombe des gouttes d'eau [abondantes], mais s'il doit y avoir famine, l'eau y apparaît comme [des gouttes] de sueur. Nombreux sont les miracles de cet ange glorieux Gabriel, archange. Que Dieu nous fasse miséricorde par sa prière, et que sa bénédiction et son intercession soient avec nous dans les siècles des siècles. Amen."

The above given passage is found in all three manuscripts on which the edition is based. The following addition, a so-called salutation, occurs only in the two later manuscripts, both from the eighteenth century:⁷¹

"Salut pour la dédicace de ton église, Gabriel, l'égal des chérubins, elle qui, au couvent de Naqlôn, fut construite avec art ; pour chaque [anniversaire de la] dédicace, elle fait couler [de l'eau] du bois du toit ; par les nombreuses gouttes on connaît [qu'il y aura] l'abondance, et par une eau [peu abondante, comme] d'un peu de sueur, l'on connaît [qu'il y aura] famine."

The edition and English translation made by Budge, gives the following text for this date:⁷²

"26 Sanê. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God. On this day is celebrated the commemorative festival of the glorious angel Gabriel, (fol. 94 a 3) the archangel, and of the consecration of his church, in Dabra Naqlôn, in the desert of the Fayyûm, and of the manifestation of his miracles therein. And the wood of the roof inside the church [gave] indications concerning the rise of the river of Egypt, for during the Offering water used to appear upon it like sweat. If there was to be abundance that year, many drops of water would drop from it, but if there was to be hunger, the water would appear on it only in the form of sweat. And the glorious angel, the Archangel Michael, performed many miracles. Salutation to the consecration of thy house, O Gabriel."

The passages are almost identical, except for the reference to the archangel Michael occurring in Budge's text only. Indeed, archaeological investigations show that in the past the monastery of Naqlûn possessed two churches, one dedicated to the archangel Michael and the

⁷⁰ The words in rectangular brackets in the translation have been added by the translator M. Desnoyers in order to make the text easier to understand and are not found in the original text, see Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999, 1⁵:525.

⁷¹ See Colin and Guidi [1905-1945] 1986-1999, 1⁵:523-525; Colin 1988, 286. The translation is here quoted without changes, including transcription.

⁷² See Budge 1928, 4:1035.

second to the archangel Gabriel.⁷³ However, this reference may also be considered a writing error, because it occurs without any relation to its context. Comparing the Ethiopic Synaxarium with the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium, it appears that the first is more specific about the location than the latter by indicating that the concerned church belongs to a monastery situated in the desert of the Fayyūm. But again, neither here nor in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium a saint Aūr from the Naqlūn is mentioned.

The wood in the roof of the church, giving indications about the rise of the river Nile, does not have much in common with the *Naqlūn homily*, but it does present some similarity with the text entitled as *The Journey of St. Aūr*,⁷⁴ in which timber plays an important role. No reference to the wood or the timber occurs in the passages of the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium, presented above, which served as the main source for the first recension of the Ethiopic Synaxarium. Possibly, the composer(s) of the Ethiopic Synaxarium used a different, as yet unknown, source, which was available in the monastery of St. Antony at that time.

3.e. *The History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*

The abovementioned sources do not contain any reference to saint Aūr, but they refer in various ways to the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn. Another important literary work, which calls for interest in this respect, is *The History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, compiled most probably in Cairo by (among others) Abū l-Makārim in the twelfth-thirteenth century.⁷⁵ This work, referred to in this study as *HCME*, survives in a manuscript dated to AD 1338. About the monastery of Naqlūn is written:⁷⁶

“*The monastery of An-Naqlūn.*

The monastery called the monastery of An-Naqlūn lies to the east of the district called Nawasā.⁷⁷ This monastery contains a church named after the angel Michael, in which there is a pillar of marble, which sweats as if water were flowing from it; and also possesses a large keep, which overlooks a mountain on which there is a boulder. It is said that the foundations of this church were laid on the 13th of Hatūr, and that it was consecrated by the Lord Christ and his Apostles on the 18th of Abīb. Adjacent to the monastery there is a church named after the angel Gabriel, enclosed within a wall

⁷³ See above, in 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

⁷⁴ This text is studied in chapter VII below.

⁷⁵ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001. For more information about this work, which is a multilayered text, see Den Heijer 1993; 1994; 1996, 77-81; Zanetti 1995a; 1996, 77-80; Ten Hacken 2006.

⁷⁶ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 90 (text), 205-206 (transl.), see also the edition in Arabic by Samuel al-Suryani [1984] 1999-2000, 2:91. Evetts' translation is quoted here without changes.

⁷⁷ Nawasā: see Timm 1984-1992, 4:1754. Timm and Samuel al-Suryani (see note above) situate the place close to Qalamšā.

which was erected before the church on the 13th of Amshîr and was finished in this short time; and the building of the church was begun on the 26th of the same month, and finished on the 13th of Ba'ûnah, on the 20th of which month it was consecrated. It is said that the mountain called An-Naqlûn is that which contained the place where Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, enjoyed the shade, and worshipped; and sacrifices were offered to God there in the days of Joseph, the son of Jacob, when Joseph superintended the building of the Fayyûm and the Hajar al-Lâhûn. The church in the mountains of An-Naqlûn was consecrated, in the episcopate of Anbâ Isaac, by Aurâ, son of the queen's daughter and of Abrâshît, the magician, whom she hid away from him (Abrâshît?) and from her parents.”

Apparently, the *HCME* is up till now the only source, apart from the works mentioned below, containing a reference to St. Aūr, in the form of Aurâ. This name is, in the manuscripts studied here, only twice attested in this way, namely in the title of two of them.⁷⁸ In addition, the *HCME* reports about the existence of the two churches in the monastery, which is also attested by archaeological evidence.⁷⁹ In the third place the passage mentions a series of dates, partly different from the *Naqlûn homily*, which are discussed below.⁸⁰ Finally, the *HCME* reports on a pillar of marble that sweats water. This feature has a parallel in a different homily on the archangel Gabriel, attributed to bishop Archelaus of Neapolis.⁸¹ In one of the miracles performed by the archangel in the latter's church, a pillar miraculously has a fissure which gives off large quantities of oil with a fragrant odour holding healing power.⁸² Another parallel is found in the abovementioned Ethiopic Synaxarium, which refers to the wood in the roof of the church at Naqlûn that is told to secrete water drops.⁸³

3.f. *Antiphonaria*

A Coptic Antiphonarium (difnâr) for the month of Ba'ûna contains two hymns for the archangel Gabriel for 13 and 26 Ba'ûna.⁸⁴ The hymns are written in Bohairic and the date

⁷⁸ In H (f. 103r) and L (f. 104r). The name Aūr is discussed in chapter V, 9. *The Naqlûn homily in its context*.

⁷⁹ See the discussion above in 2. *The monastery of Naqlûn*.

⁸⁰ See chapter V, 8. *The liturgical calendar of Naqlûn*.

⁸¹ The Archelaus homily is used in this study as a comparison, see below in chapter V, *Introduction*. For an edition and French translation of the Bohairic Coptic text, see De Vis [1929] 1990, 242-291.

⁸² See De Vis [1929] 1990, 269.

⁸³ The *HCME* reports in the passage about Qift, f. 103a, on a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel situated at the top of a mountain and a pillar in the middle of the town indicating the rise of the river Nile at the date of 26 Ba'ûna. This report has much in common with the passage on the monastery of Naqlûn contained in the Ethiopic Synaxarium, see Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 130 (text), 280-281 (transl.).

⁸⁴ See the edition by O'Leary 1926-1930, 3:17-18, 23; see also Van Lantschoot 1947, 416, 418-419 (at 13 and 26 Ba'ûna); and Müller 1959, 136-137.

entries in Arabic. The entry of the hymn for 26 Ba'ūna refers to the consecration of a church of the angel Gabriel at a monastery named Dayr al-Muntālūn, which is almost certainly an error of the copyist, and can easily be corrected in Arabic script into Dayr al-Naqlūn, which is very much alike Dayr al-Naqlūn.⁸⁵ The codex containing this antiphonarium is dated to 1475 AM (= AD 1758), and copied by the priest Peter from Aḥmīm, at that time resident at Cairo, in St. Menas Church at Ra's al-Ḥalīg, who copied it from a manuscript dated to 1101 AM (= AD 1385) that was kept in St. Mary's Church in Ḥārat Zuwayla in Cairo.⁸⁶ Although the difnār appears to commemorate the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn, the hymns themselves do not refer in any way to a St. Aūr or to the monastery of Naqlūn.

3.g. *Scholars and travellers*

Reports written by scholars and travellers who visited the monastery of Naqlūn, form another possible source of information about St. Aūr or Naqlūn. One of the oldest reports is written in the thirteenth century by al-Nāblusī, a Syrian official who was appointed governor of the Fayyūm by the Ayyubid sultan Naḡm al-Dīn. Al-Nāblusī, having been charged with writing a detailed report about the situation of the Fayyūm province, mentions the presence of thirteen monasteries, among which is Dayr al-Naqlūn. He tells us that it is situated on the mountain in the neighbourhood of Qambaša, at the east side of it.⁸⁷ Qambaša, also known as Qalamša, is a village situated at a distance of 3 km from the monastery of Naqlūn.⁸⁸

Al-Maqrīzī,⁸⁹ born in Cairo in 1364 and died in 1442, a Muslim historian and topographer, composed important works on Coptic history and topography.⁹⁰ His famous work, known as the *Ḥiṭaṭ*, dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, contains the following passage:⁹¹

“Dayr al-Naqlūn: is called Dayr al-Ḥašaba and Dayr Ġubriyāl al-Malāk and it is under a cave in the mountain, which is called Ṭārīf al-Fayyūm,⁹² and this cave is

⁸⁵ In the title is written دير المتالون, possibly a misreading of دير النقالون, which is almost similar to دير النقلون.

⁸⁶ See the colophon in Van Lantschoot 1947, 420-421.

⁸⁷ See the edition by Moritz 1899, 22.

⁸⁸ See Salmon 1901, 71-72; Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-3:85-86; see also Moritz 1899, 141-143.

⁸⁹ His full name is: Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī. For information about this author, see Rabbat 2003.

⁹⁰ About his work, see Bauden 2003 and 2006.

⁹¹ The translation is mine, for the text in Arabic, see Sayyid 2002, 2:505; see also the appendix in Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 313-314, nr. 33.

⁹² According to Abbott (1937, 40) it is situated at the western foot of Gabal Sidmant (Sadmant). The word *Ṭārīf* is probably related to the noun *ṭaraf* (derived from the root طرف - *ṭarafa*) meaning: utmost part, but its exact meaning is unknown.

known among them as the shelter of Jacob. They believe that Jacob, peace be with him, when he came to Egypt, sought shade within it.⁹³ This mountain rises above two cities; which are called Itfih Šallā⁹⁴ and Šallā.⁹⁵ The water for this monastery is drawn from the canal of al-Manhī,⁹⁶ and [it is] below Dayr al-Sadmant.⁹⁷ And this monastery has a celebration on which the Christians of the Fayyūm and other places assemble; and it lies on the road that goes down to the Fayyūm, but only a few travellers follow it.”

Al-Maqrīzī is the first to mention the three names of the monastery. One of these names, Dayr al-Ḥašaba (meaning Monastery of the Beam) underlines the importance of timber for the monastery, which became apparent also from the Ethiopic Synaxarium, discussed above.⁹⁸ Al-Maqrīzī mentions the cave, or the shelter, of Jacob, like the *HCME* did earlier. A similar reference to the Biblical Jacob occurs in the *Naqlūn homily*.⁹⁹ However, the name of Saint Aūr is not found in this source.

In later periods also European travelers came to the monastery and wrote about it. Wansleben, already mentioned above, writes that the church had been build by ‘Ur’ (*i.e.* Aūr), who was the son of ‘Ibrascit’ (*i.e.* Abrašīt), a famous magician.¹⁰⁰ However, he adds that he drew this information from a manuscript that he had brought with him from Egypt and was kept at the Royal Library (*i.e.* the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris).¹⁰¹ Therefore this reference cannot be considered an independent attestation for local traditions about St. Aūr. Similarly, the scholar Meinardus gives a summary of what he calls ‘the legendary story of Aūr’.¹⁰² Nor do reports of other travelers, like Johann Georg Duke of Saxony, contain independent information on a St. Aūr of Naqlūn.¹⁰³

4. Popularity of the legend of St. Aūr

⁹³ According to the Bible, Jacob has lived in the region Gosen, situated in the north-eastern Delta, which is north of the province of Fayyūm, see Gn 46-47. See also Viaud 1979, 63-69.

⁹⁴ Itfih Šallā: a village located in the Fayyūm; according to al-Nābluṣī, the village was located close to Tuṭūn, see the edition by Moritz 1899, 86, 87, 176 (the index of al-Nābluṣī’s book refers to the wrong lines for p. 87); Salmon seemed to have overlooked the reference to this village, see Salmon 1901, 73.

⁹⁵ Šallā: a village located in the Fayyūm, and it is mentioned in an Arabic document dated 947, see Abbott 1937, 10-11 (text), 18-21 (transl.); see also Timm 1984-1992, 5:2250; this village was already abandoned in the time of al-Nābluṣī as has been noticed by Salmon 1901, 31; it was situated according to al-Nābluṣī south of the river Tanabṭawayh, see Moritz 1899, 17.

⁹⁶ The canal of al-Manhī (Baḥr al-Manhī) forms the lower part of the Baḥr Yūsūf.

⁹⁷ For Dayr al-Sadmant, see Sadamant in Timm 1984-1992, 5:2222-2225.

⁹⁸ The timber forms a central theme in chapter VI, 6.e. *The timber*.

⁹⁹ See chapter V, 10. *History and religious landscape*.

¹⁰⁰ Vansleb [1678] 1972, 166-167.

¹⁰¹ This is ms. Arabe 148-4, which is ms. A, see below chapter I-A.

¹⁰² Meinardus [1967, 1989] 1992, 186-187.

¹⁰³ Johann Georg 1930, 19.

From the above it appeared that apart from the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*, only the *HCME* composed by (among others) Abū l-Makārim mentions St. Aūr. The *HCME* was written in Arabic in the twelfth-thirteenth century and it is unknown which sources its compiler(s) used for the passage about Naqlūn. The passage immediately following deals with the monastery of Qalamūn and refers to the year AD 1178, implying that this latter passage was written (shortly) after this year.¹⁰⁴ So, towards the end of the twelfth century, information about Naqlūn and St. Aūr may have been known in Cairo. The end of the twelfth century is therefore a probable date *ante quem* for the composition of the legend of St. Aūr.

This single explicit reference to the legend of St. Aūr in the *HCME* could suggest that the legend was little known. The opposite appears to be true, however. The large number of manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*, of which the legend is a part, are evidence of its popularity. In this paragraph it will be demonstrated that after its composition, the text became known, not only in the near vicinity of the south eastern region of the Fayyūm province, but outside the Fayyūm as well.

The *Naqlūn homily* contains a prophecy about the site, spoken by the archangel Gabriel to saint Aūr after the construction of the church had been completed, which predicts its fame:

§182 ... its (the church) fame shall spread to all the regions of the earth...

§183 ... (this mountain) shall be like dovecots because of the great number of crowds that come to it from all places...

And further in the text the prophecy is fulfilled when many people come to visit the church (§201). The fame of the church at Naqlūn is also reflected in the diffusion of the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*. Indeed, the text has been copied many times, and the copies were kept in bookcases and libraries of churches and monasteries at various places. An indication for the diffusion of the legend of St. Aūr, and consequently for its popularity, may be inferred from the colophons of the codices. They often contain the name of the place where the manuscript was kept or copied, or the church or monastery to which it had been donated. Assumingly, at these places and in these churches and monasteries, the text was known. Moreover, the dates of the codices (if these are given) reflect in which period the legend was known. Apart from the *Naqlūn homily*, three of the other texts discussed in this study (in chapters VI, VII, IX) contain references to the legend of St. Aūr, implying that the legend of

¹⁰⁴ See Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 90-92 (text), 206-208 (transl.).

St. Aūr was known, at least to the author of these texts.¹⁰⁵ For the study of the diffusion of the legend, the information found in the colophons of the manuscripts of these three texts and the *Naqlūn homily* is taken into consideration. Below, first a survey of all discovered Arabic manuscripts is presented in tables in order to show in concise form the complete material that forms the basis of this study. Then the diffusion of the legend is studied from a chronological and a geographical point of view.

4.a. Survey

As already mentioned above, a number of twenty-three manuscripts, all written in Arabic, were accessible for this study. Each of these literary witnesses reveals a certain relationship with the literary tradition about the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn. This collection of twenty-three manuscripts comprises five homiletic texts, entitled: *The Naqlūn homily* itself, then *The Journey of St. Aūr*, *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, *The origins of monasticism at the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, *The Ḥandaq homily*, and, in addition, a bilingual (Bohairic and Arabic) hymn on the archangel Gabriel. In the survey below, the manuscripts containing a similar text, or recension of a text, are grouped together in one table in the order of their (presumed) dates. The sigla, the date of the codex, and the information found in the colophons are noted in separate columns. The number of manuscript units, indicated in the first column, counts up to twenty-five, but is actually twenty-three. In one case three texts (nrs. 22, 23, 25) were copied in one and the same codex. In two other cases the scattered folios of one text were bound in two different codices during restoration (nrs. 1 and 18). The sigla are attributed in a rather arbitrary way: whenever a ‘new’ manuscript came available for study, in the form of a microfilm, photos, photocopies or digital photos, it received the next letter of the alphabet.

Text 1. The Naqlūn homily.

Recension α-1

nr.	siglum	catalogue	date	particulars
1	B	Cairo Coptic Museum 98 (Hist. 476)	1380	Cairo – al-Mu’allaqa church
	I (B)	Cairo Coptic Museum 6438b	1380	
2	T	ms. 101	1565?	Formerly kept in St. Menas Church at Mīt Ġamr

¹⁰⁵ These three texts deal with: the Journey of St. Aūr to his homecountry and back; a prophecy of St. Antony about St. Aūr; the consecration of a sanctuary of the archangel Gabriel at the village of al-Ḥandaq for which a text passage of the *Naqlūn homily* has been borrowed.

				(province of al-Daqahliya, north of Cairo); at present kept in the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria
3	L	Cloister of St. Menas 134-18	1655	Undated <i>waqf</i> ¹⁰⁶ to the monastery of St. Menas at Cairo; at present kept in the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria.
4	O	Monastery of St. Antony 98	1693	
5	Q	Monastery of St. Antony 76	1702	
6	C	Paris 6985-1	1720?	
7	R	Monastery of St. Paul 110 / hist. (53 Vitae of Saints)	1738	
8	D	Cairo Coptic Patriarchate 615 (Hist. 28)	1755	
9	E	Paris 4796-2	between 1854-1887	Copied from a manuscript (E*) that was a <i>waqf</i> by bishop Michael of Esna and Luxor to the Church (or monastery) of St. Antony at Luxor

Recension α-2

10	J	Chicago A 12063	1552	Donation to the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn

Recension α-3

11	S	ms. 28	<1702	Formerly kept in the church of the Holy Virgin in Ḥārat Zuwayla in Cairo. At present kept in the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria
12	A	Paris 148-4	1654-1655	A note (f. 331) indicates that the manuscript has been read in Manfalūt, in the year AD 1657.
13	P	Monastery of St. Antony 68	1702	Donation to the monastery of St. Antony

Recension β

14	F	Paris 154–11	±1607	Copyist Yūsuf ibn Mīchāʾīl, known as Ibn Fabīq, in the time of Anbā Buṭrus Suwaydān al-Miṣrī, bishop of the Fayyūm.
15	G	Cairo Coptic Patriarchate 649 (Hist. 78)	1727	In the colophon is mentioned Dayr al-Qiddīs Abū Yūḥannā al-Qaṣīr, which is most likely to be identified as Dayr Abū Ḥinnis al-Qaṣīr, near the town of Mallawī.
16	U	Monastery of St. Paul 297 General-76 –Hist. (new nr: 78 Vitae of Saints)	1739	
17	H	Paris 4888-2	1886-1888	The provider of the manuscript is the teacher Bāsiliyūs Ġirġis from Naqqāda.

Text 2. The Journey of St. Aūr.

18	M	Cairo Coptic Museum 6417	undated (14 th c.?)	
		Cairo Coptic Museum 6421		

¹⁰⁶ A *waqf* is an endowment of property to be held in trust and used for a charitable or religious purpose, see Bestawros 1991.

Text 3. The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil.

19	X	Monastery of St. Antony Hist. 97	undated	Donation to the monastery of St. Antony
20	Y	Monastery of St. Antony Hist. 112	1824	Copied in the village Munša'a Ḥalbūṣ in the Fayyūm
21	Z	Monastery of St. Antony Hist. 117	1750	Donation to the monastery of St. Antony

Text 4. The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn.

22	W	General 98-Hist. 23	1470	Church of St. Mary in Ḥārat al-Rūm at Cairo

Text 5. Ḥandaq homily.

23	W	General 98-Hist. 23	1470	Church of St. Mary in Ḥārat al-Rūm at Cairo
24	N	Cairo Coptic Museum 160-1 (Lit. 48)	?	

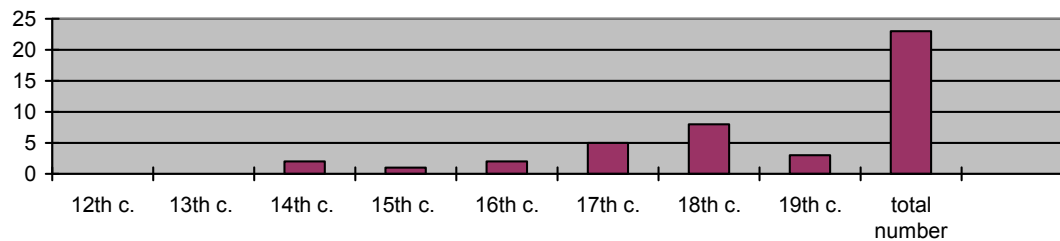
Text 6. Hymn.

25	W	General 98-Hist. 23	1473	Church of St. Mary in Ḥārat al-Rūm at Cairo

4.b. Popularity through time

Above, I have suggested that the legend of St. Aūr was composed before the end of the twelfth century. The survey shows that the (presumable) dates of the twenty-three codices range from 1380 (B) up till around 1880 (E and H), and two are undated (N and X).

Apparently, after its composition the text has been used and copied without interruption during the following centuries up till the end of the nineteenth century, with a peak in the eighteenth century. Below this result is presented in a diagram that shows the number of manuscripts per century.

**Diagram 1 Number of ms. copies by century**

4.c. *Popularity through place*

A picture of the geographical diffusion of the legend of St. Aūr can be obtained from the names of the places mentioned in the colophons. The names of libraries to which the codices were brought in a later stage for conservation or restoration, like the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria, the Coptic Patriarchate and the Coptic Museum, are not taken into account. The text has spread to regions far outside the Fayyūm province, in all directions, all over Egypt: northward to different churches in Cairo (4 mss.), and further northward to al-Ḥandaq (1 ms.) and Mīt Ġamr (1 ms.); in the northwestern direction to the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn (1 ms.); to the eastern desert to the monasteries of St. Paul (2 mss.) and St. Antony (5 mss.); to the south beyond al-Minyā near Mallawī (1 ms.); Manfalūt to the north of Asyūt (1 ms.); further south near Naqqāda (1 ms.); the southern most place being Luxor (1 ms.). The provenance of three manuscripts, C (kept in Paris), D (kept in the Coptic Patriarchate) and M (kept in Coptic Museum) could not be traced. Two manuscripts come from the region in the neighbourhood of the Fayyūm. The first of these (Y in the survey below) has been copied in the village Munša'a Ḥalbūṣ. According to a geographical dictionary published at the end of the nineteenth century in Egypt, this village is situated at the west bank of the river Nile, in the district of al-Wāsiṭā¹⁰⁷ in the province of Banī Suīf.¹⁰⁸ However, the codex, dated to 1824, is at present kept in the monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea. On the last folio a remark is written indicating that the scribe was present in the "monastery" in the year 1649. The name of the monastery is not given. The scribe of ms. Y of 1824, working in the village Munša'a Ḥalbūṣ, copied this remark.

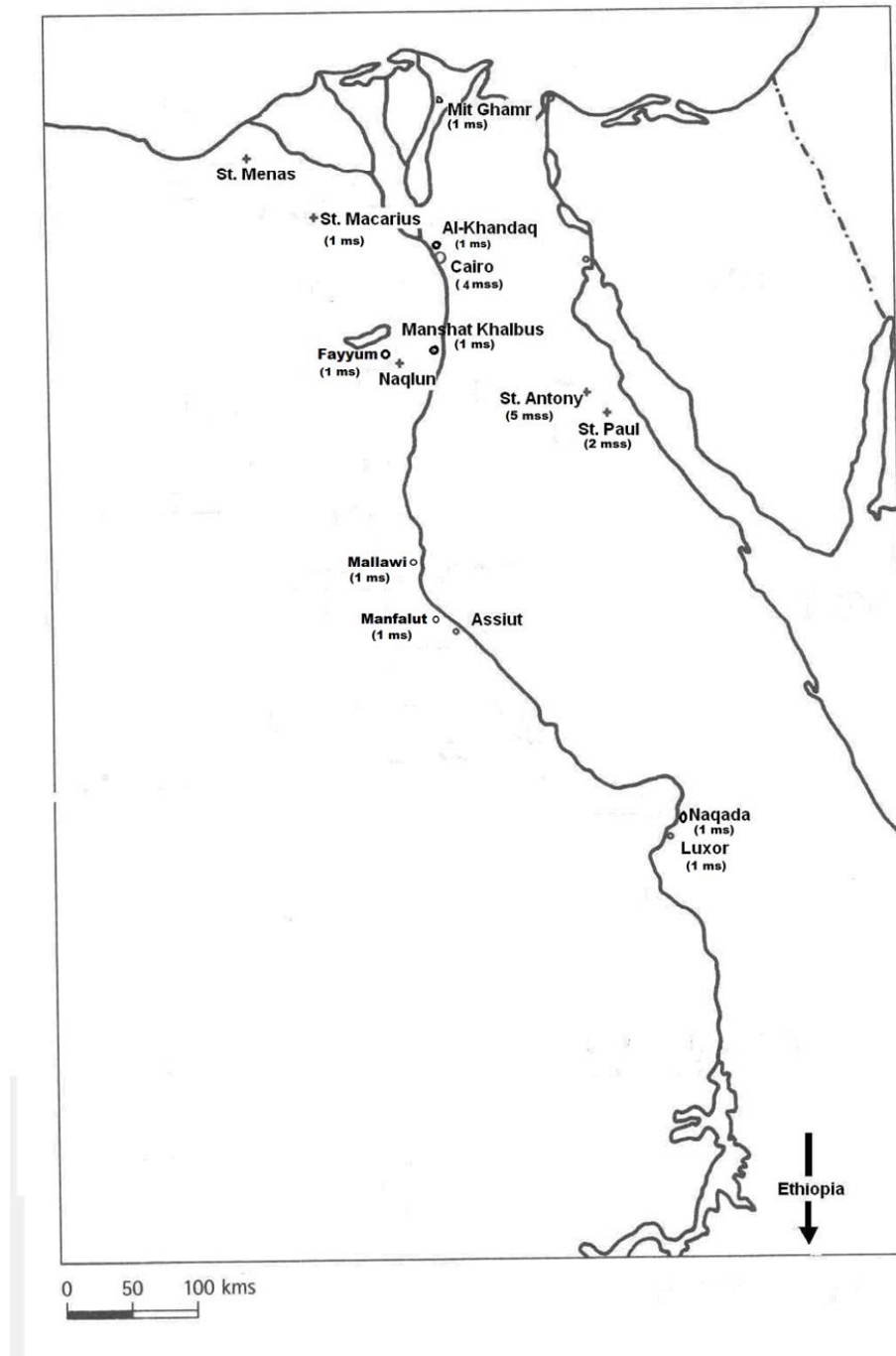
The second manuscript that has a certain relation to the Fayyūm (F in the survey), contains interesting information about the copyist, who was 'Yūsuf ibn Mīḥā'il, known as Ibn Fabīq in the time of Anbā Buṭrus Suwaydān al-Miṣrī, bishop of the Fayyūm.' The manuscript is dated to 1604-1607, implying that Anbā Buṭrus Suwaydān al-Miṣrī was bishop in this period in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Further information on the existence of a bishop Peter of the Fayyūm for this period has not been found.¹⁰⁹ The copyist is identified by linking him to a more famous contemporary person from his social or clerical environment. The copyist was almost certainly at work in the diocese of the Fayyūm, from which it follows that the manuscript originates from this same diocese.

¹⁰⁷ For al-Wāsiṭā, see Timm 1984-1992, 6:2993.

¹⁰⁸ Nizārat al-Māliya, 'Idārat al-Ta'dād (Ministry of Finance (of Egypt), Department of Census and Statistics) 1899, 757, 905.

¹⁰⁹ A bishop Peter of the Fayyūm is mentioned in the *History of the Patriarchs* for the beginning of the 13th century, see Atiya *et al.* 1943-1974, 4: 4 (text in Arabic); 7 (trans.).

Obviously, then, the legendary story of St. Aūr and the monastery of Naqlūn was read and copied all over Egypt. The greatest number of manuscripts are found in and around Cairo and in the monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea. This may be explained by the fact that Cairo is the capital city of Egypt, and for St. Antony's monastery, apart from its expertise in copying manuscripts, the historical relation between St. Antony and the Fayyūm may also have played a role. For al-Ḥandaq the local presence of a sanctuary or church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel provides a link. Three of the four manuscripts belonging to recension β (GUH) come from southern Egypt. The fourth ms. (F) of this recension originates from the Fayyūm. Possibly this was the route followed by this recension of the text. Apart from recension β , recension α -1 is also found in the south (ms. E*). Below on a map the places are indicated where the legend of St. Aūr was known according to the manuscripts, and the density is expressed in the number of manuscripts present at that place.



Diffusion of Legend of St. Aûr

From the moment the legendary story of St. Aūr was composed, some time before 1200, it was copied uninterruptedly, resulting in a large number of manuscripts. The legend, at first sight of little importance, has been (and still is) very popular in the Coptic Church and is therefore a significant witness to the reputation of St. Aūr and the monastery of Naqlūn. When the monastery of Naqlūn fell into decline, presumably after the twelfth-thirteenth century,¹¹⁰ the text remained popular, with a peak in the eighteenth century, which is evidence for its independent value. In modern times new publications containing the legend of St. Aūr have appeared in Egypt, with the aim to strengthen the faith of the members of the Coptic Orthodox church and the reputation of the newly refounded monastery.¹¹¹ These publications, all written in Arabic, demonstrate the revival of the cult of St. Aūr in modern times, which is similarly reflected in the newly painted icon decorating the wall of the church and the mosaic above the entrance to the monastery, both representing ‘Anbā Aūr’, that is as the saint bishop of the Fayyūm.

4.d. Popularity outside of Egypt, in Ethiopia

Apart from the Arabic manuscripts related to the monastery of Naqlūn, there is a large number of manuscripts in Ge‘ez, *i.e.* Classical Ethiopic, dealing with the legend of St. Aūr and the monastery of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn. The history of the Ethiopian Church is strongly connected with the Coptic Church. The close relation between both churches was based especially on the tradition started in the fourth century by bishop Athanasius when he appointed a Coptic monk as head of the Ethiopian church. This tradition continued until the middle of the twentieth century. The history of Ethiopic literature has been influenced significantly by the translation of texts that arrived from Egypt.¹¹² The translation process comprised several literary works in Greek, a few texts in Coptic,¹¹³ and a large quantity of texts in Arabic that were all translated into Ethiopic. From the thirteenth century onwards, when Arabic had become the primary language even within the Coptic Church, numerous texts belonging to Coptic religious literature were translated from Arabic into Ge‘ez. One important person in this respect, was Abbā Salāmā, a Coptic monk who was metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church from his arrival in Ethiopia in 1348 until his death in 1388. His

¹¹⁰ See Godlewski 1997, 133.

¹¹¹ Among the popular publications are two editions in Arabic of the legend, based on the *Naqlūn homily* in its recension α-1, see Ṣalīb Ġubrān and Ġūrġī Ġirġis 1902, 123-141; and Murqus Ġirġis 1926, 190-220. Especially after 2004 the number of publications has increased, the majority composed at the monastery of Naqlūn itself.

¹¹² For the influence of Coptic literature on the Ethiopian Christian literature, see Kaplan 2008.

¹¹³ An example of an Ethiopic text that had been translated from a Coptic Sahidic original is given by Zanetti 2009.

enormous activity in the domain of translation awarded Abbā Salāmā the epithet ‘the Translator’.¹¹⁴ The works that were translated concerned all kinds of religious texts and many of them were not only translated but also revised and enlarged, like the Synaxarium and lives of saints. Going through the available catalogues of libraries holding Ethiopic manuscripts,¹¹⁵ studying the titles and the accompanying information, no less than forty-six manuscripts dealing with the legend of St. Aūr were identified.¹¹⁶ The majority of these manuscripts, thirty-eight, appear to be present in Ethiopia itself, in libraries of churches and monasteries and in private collections. A smaller number of manuscripts has been brought out of Ethiopia and these are kept nowadays in libraries in Rome, at the Vatican (3 mss.) and the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (2 mss.), in London in the British Museum (1 ms.), in Berlin in the Staatsbibliothek (1 ms.) and in Dublin in the Chester Beatty Library (1 ms.).¹¹⁷ The dates of the manuscripts range from 1434 up till the twentieth century. The information provided in the consulted catalogues shows that all these texts are liturgical in character and related to the celebration of the archangel Gabriel. The exact date of the celebration is in some cases at the nineteenth day of the month, which is the usual celebration date in the Ethiopian Church for the archangel Gabriel, in other cases at 26 Ba’ūna, and in the remaining cases the date is not specified or could not be found. The rather large number of Ethiopic manuscripts that resulted already from this preliminary search in the limited number of available catalogues, suggests that the actual number of Ethiopic manuscripts dealing with the legend may be much larger. Below in a table the number of manuscripts is presented, arranged according to their dates.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ About Abbā Salāmā, see Van Lantschoot 1960; Colin 2002, 6.

¹¹⁵ For a survey of libraries and catalogues holding Ethiopic manuscripts, see Beylot and Rodinson 1995.

¹¹⁶ See the appendix 2 for a survey of the Ethiopic manuscripts.

¹¹⁷ According to the following catalogues: Wright 1877; Grébaut and Tisserant 1935-1936, 2 vols.; Cerulli 1965; Strelcyn 1976; Dillmann, 1978; Macomber and Haile 1975-1993, 10 vols.; Cerulli 2004.

¹¹⁸ The manuscripts dated in 17th-18th c. are ordered in the table under 17th c., those dated 18th-19th c. are put in the column under 18th c. and those of the 19th-20th c. are put in the column under 19th c.

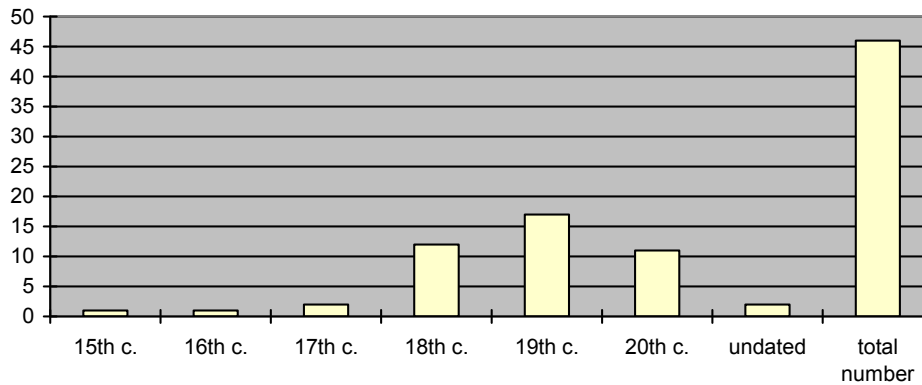


Diagram 2 Number of Ethiopic mss. by century.

Apparently, the legend of St. Aūr was (and still is) very popular in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian version of the legend has been read and copied, uninterruptedly from the fifteenth century onwards till present times and has been diffused all over Ethiopia. The reason for its popularity is possibly the veneration of the archangel Gabriel, because all texts are related to the commemoration of this archangel. The route the legend has followed from Egypt to Ethiopia is still to be investigated, but possible locations for the translation of the text into Ethiopic are the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea, where also the Ethiopic Synaxarium came into being,¹¹⁹ and the monastery of al-Muḥarraḡ, to the northwest of Asyūt, which has been maintaining close relations with the Ethiopian church since the thirteenth century.¹²⁰ The legend had been translated already before 1434, the date of the oldest Ethiopic manuscript, which underlines once more the popularity of the text from a relatively early date. In a broader perspective, the legend being translated and transferred from Egypt to Ethiopia, provides extra evidence for the close ties between both regions from a literary as well as a religious perspective.

5. Conclusion

Right from the start the research on the legend of St. Aūr of Naqlūn produced unexpected results. The search for manuscripts resulted in the discovery of a much greater number of manuscripts than had been foreseen, and lead to the identification of five additional

¹¹⁹ Coquin 1984, 50; Colin 1988, 300; Coquin 1991c.

¹²⁰ For Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ, see Timm 1984-1992, 2:751-756; Coquin and Martin 1991d; for the relations between the monastery and Ethiopia, see Crawford 1958, 129; Coquin 1991c.

texts related to Naqlūn. Apparently, the textual tradition related to the monastery of Naqlūn is extensive and complex. The state of the archaeological investigations carried out on the site has been presented including a few characteristics of the long history of the monastery of Naqlūn, the monastery that occupies a central place in this study. The scarce references to St. Aūr of Naqlūn found in other literary and liturgical sources are in marked contrast with the large number of manuscripts containing the legend of St. Aūr, kept in libraries in all regions of Egypt up to Ethiopia. The popularity of the legend was widespread and after its composition, before the end of the twelfth century, it remained in circulation through all the following centuries until it received renewed attention after its discovery by Western scholars in modern times, which contributed to a new cult of St. Aūr at Naqlūn.

The following chapters comprise a study in the first place of the *Naqlūn homily*, and in the second place of the five additional texts related to the monastery of Naqlūn. In chapter I the focus is on the *Naqlūn homily* by giving a detailed description of the manuscripts containing this text. Step by step the study provides the reader with a colorful picture of the rich literary tradition that developed round the monastery of Naqlūn.

PART 1: THE NAQLŪN HOMILY

Chapter I

The Manuscripts

1. Introduction

For this study a number of twenty-three manuscripts, all written in Arabic, became accessible. Seventeen of these manuscripts contain the *Naqlūn homily*, their dates ranging from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. This is the text that was spread all over Egypt and to Ethiopia and was first made known by the scholar Amélineau. Even at present the text is available in modernized popular editions published under the authority of the Coptic Church. This text is the principal object of the present study. The seventeen manuscripts are contained in eighteen codices (in one case the homily is divided over two different codices: B+I). In this chapter a description of these seventeen manuscripts is presented.

In this group of manuscripts it proved possible to identify two recensions, α and β , based on a few distinguishing elements. One of the most obvious differences concerns the name attributed to the monastery. Recension α uses the name *Aqlū* (or written in a few cases as *Aflū*) to indicate the monastery, whereas recension β gives the monastery the name *Coldness and Fire*. A second significant difference consists in an additional passage found in recension β , dealing with the find of a book in Jerusalem including a reference to a church dedicated to the archangel Michael at the mountain of Naqlūn, in addition to the church of the archangel Gabriel. Furthermore, recension β differs considerably from recension α in phrasing. Apart from the division of the manuscript tradition into recensions α and β , a subdivision could be made of recension α into three (sub)recensions: α -1, α -2, α -3, which are almost identical, apart from phrasing. A study of the differences between the recensions and the relations between the manuscripts will be dealt with in the next chapter.

2. Presentation and description of the manuscripts

Below, a description is presented of each of the seventeen manuscripts (actually, the eighteen codices) containing the *Naqlūn homily*. The information includes the physical aspects of the codex, like its measures, number of folios, contents, copyist, provider,¹²¹ date,

¹²¹ Provider: the person who pays the costs of copying, see Samir 1982, 48.

handwriting, the use of catchwords,¹²² drawings, pagination, its place of preservation, and other characteristics. The information is obtained from catalogues and from the manuscripts themselves that came available in the form of photocopies, photographs, CD, or microfilm. Some manuscripts are available in its totality, others only partially in a limited number of folios. Moreover, a survey of the contents of the manuscript is given, as far as could be inferred from the manuscript by personal inspection or from the catalogues. The survey of contents includes the titles of the texts, the number of the first folio or page of the text concerned, and, in some cases, the liturgical date for which it was composed, followed by a reference to Graf's *GCAL* noted between brackets. Several of the manuscripts available for this study were unknown to Graf, completely or partially. Thus, the manuscripts with the sigla IJLOPQRSTU are not mentioned in *GCAL* and the contents of the manuscripts B and E were only partially known to Graf.¹²³ The *Naqlūn homily* occurs in the different codices under various titles and is therefore marked in this survey in bold font. Other information additional to that provided by the catalogues, such as the reference to Graf's *GCAL* and the specific recension of the *Naqlūn homily*, are given between brackets.

A

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nr. Arabe 148.

The description is based on the information provided by Troupeau 1972-1974, 1:113-115.¹²⁴ The manuscript is dated to 1654-1655 on several folios (f.80r, 108v, 214v, 270v, 294v). The copyist is anonymous. Titles are written in red ink and the copyist used catchwords. The codex contains several drawings in red and black ink representing: St. George on his horse (f. 200), a rosette (f. 200v) and a cross (f. 294v). The text is written on occidental paper. The codex contains 331 folios, of which a few are left blank (f. 24r, 24v, 80v, 109r, 152r-153v). The codex measures 210 x 145 mm. The writing surface measures 155 x 100 mm and consists of 12-13 lines per page. Folio numbers are in Coptic cursive numerals,¹²⁵ and also written according to the Arabic numerical system in a later hand. The manuscript was bought by the

¹²² A catchword is a word placed at the foot of a folio that is meant to be bound along with other folios to a codex. The word anticipates the first word of the following folio. It was meant to help the bookbinder make sure that the folios were bound in the right order.

¹²³ Graf does not refer to these specific manuscripts with respect to the texts: nr. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8 of B and nr. 3 of E.

¹²⁴ See also the online catalogue: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/search-form.html>.

¹²⁵ For numbers in Coptic, two writing systems exist: uncial and cursive numerical systems, the latter is also called 'numerals of the Epakt' or 'zimām numerals'. Both systems are based on the principle of attaching a numerical value to the letters of the alphabet; a line above them denotes units, tens, hundreds, a line underneath denotes thousands, see Abd el-Shaheed 1993; Chrisomalis 2010, 148-152.

17th century traveler Wansleben.¹²⁶ On personal inspection a note was discovered on f. 331r telling that ‘Abd as-Sayyid ibn Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd as-Sayyid (al-Mu‘aqqar?) had read the book in the year AH 1068 (AD 1657-1658) in Manfalūt in the house of the teacher Ġirġis (al-Musar‘ī ? or al-Mušarri‘ ?). The colophon of f. 80r. says that the homily dealing with the holy bishop Anbā Aūr, son of Abrāšīt, the magician, is completed on Monday 2 Abīb 1370 AM (= 6 July AD 1654).

The contents of the codex are, according to Troupeau:

1. f. 1v-19v. Severus of Antioch. Homily on Saint Michael and the story of the scribe Matthias and his family (12 Ba’ūna) (*GCAL* I, 543, f).
2. f. 20r-33v. Collection of eleven miracles performed by Saint Michael (for the twelfth of every month) (*GCAL* I, 543, k).
3. f. 34r-56v. Homily by Archelaus of ‘Irā¹²⁷ on Saint Gabriel and the dedication of his church, for 22 Kiyahk¹²⁸ (*GCAL* I, 544, b).¹²⁹
4. **f. 57r-80r. Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm. Homily on Saint Gabriel and the dedication of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (26 Ba’ūna) (recension α-3) (*GCAL* I, 544, c; II, 507).**
5. f. 81r-108v. Homily by John Chrysostom on the Four Animals of the Apocalypse (8 Hātūr) (*GCAL* I, 545, 5).¹³⁰
6. f. 109v-201r. Panegyric by Theodosius, bishop of Gangra, on St. George (23 Barmūda) (*GCAL* I, 502, 504).
7. f. 201r-214v. Collection of twelve miracles performed by St. George (*GCAL* I, 502).¹³¹
8. f. 215r-270v. Panegyric by Theodore of Antioch on St. Theodore the Oriental (12 Ṭūba) (*GCAL* I, 514).
9. f. 271r-294r. Martyrdom of St. Cyriacus and St. Julitta (15 Abīb) (*GCAL* I, 500).
10. f. 295r-330v. Life of St. Anbā Harmīna by Abba Hūr (2 Abīb, 2 Kiyahk) (*GCAL* I, 533).

B

Cairo, Coptic Museum, nr. 98 (Hist. 476).

¹²⁶ See above in Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

¹²⁷ See De Vis [1929] 1990, 244-245; see also chapter V, 1. *Introduction*.

¹²⁸ According to the catalogue the homily is composed for both 22 Kiyahk and 26 Ba’ūna.

¹²⁹ Graf gives ms. nr. 147 instead of 148.

¹³⁰ Graf gives for this homily f. 81r-119v, instead of f. 81r-108v as given by Troupeau.

¹³¹ Graf seems to combine the two homilies nr. 6 and 7 as one homily on St. George and gives f. 119v-215r.

The description is based on the information provided by Simaika 1939-1942, 1:51-52, nr. 98 (Hist. 476); and Graf 1934, 278-279, nr. 719 (Hist. 476).

The colophon on 148r¹³² gives the following information: copied by [A]bū l-Barakāt ibn Rizqallāh, provided for by the priest Faragallāh, servant of the Church of the Holy Virgin al-Mu‘allaqa, situated in Fustāt Miṣr, on 2 Abīb 1096 AM (= 20 June AD 1380).¹³³

The manuscript is incomplete, all folios are detached, some are restored. The codex contained 156 folios of which the following 105 folios are left over: 20, 30-31, 39-53, 68-88, 90-97, 107-121, 123-130, 132-147, 148-166. The codex measures 25 x 18 cm. The writing surface measures 20.5 x 15 cm and consists of 16 lines per page. Some folios are left blank. Original folio numbers are in Coptic cursive numerals, and numbers according to the Arabic numerical system have been added later. The f. 108v, 136r and 147v contain a note of the priest As‘ad ibn Ġubriyāl.¹³⁴ Below, the contents are presented according to the index found on f. 147r-v, based on personal inspection and checked with the information supplied by Graf’s catalogue.¹³⁵ Graf’s *GCAL* refers to this manuscript with respect to the homilies nrs. 4, 5, 7, 9-13. The texts of the homilies nrs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8 as such are mentioned by Graf, but he does not refer to this specific manuscript in the description of these texts.

1. f. 2r. Homily on the archangel Michael for 12 Ba’ūna and the story of Euphemia (possibly by Eustathius (Anastasius) bishop of Thracia, see *GCAL* I, 543, e).
2. f. 22r Homily on the archangel Michael, read on 12 Hātūr, which contains the story of the child Thalassion (Ṭālāṣūn) and the lazy (man) (possibly by Athanasius of Alexandria, see *GCAL* I, 542, b, 2).¹³⁶
3. f. 34r. Homily on the archangel Michael, read on 12 Hātūr, which contains the story of the archon Dorotheus and his wife Theopiste (possibly by Theodosius of Alexandria, see *GCAL* I, 542, a).
4. f. 44r. Homily on the archangel Michael, which contains some of his miracles. Read on the celebration days dedicated to him (*GCAL* I, 543, k).

¹³² Graf gives erroneously f. 147r, Simaika gives f. 148r.

¹³³ Graf noticed that the handwriting of this manuscript 719 is identical with that of mss. 712, 713, 718 (nrs. according to Graf’s *Catalogue*). The copyist of ms. 712 is Ġirġīs abū l-Barakāt ibn Rizqallāh, son of the priest Yūhannā, son of the priest and teacher Abū l-Barakāt ibn Yūhannā. The copyists of mss. 713 and 718 are not mentioned. The names of the copyists of B (719) and 712 are nearly identical, also the dates of copying are very close, so probably these mss. have been copied by the same copyist.

¹³⁴ The name of this priest occurs also in ms. 718, p. 274 in Graf’s *Catalogue*.

¹³⁵ The recto and verso side of the starting folios of the homilies are not given in the index of the manuscript itself, but these are according to Graf’s catalogue, see Graf 1934, 278-279. (The survey of contents according to Simaika is more concise, considering homilies 1-3 as one homily, and homily 6 is not mentioned).

¹³⁶ Possibly this homily contains two miracles of the archangel Michael, one on the rich and lazy man and the other on the child Thalassion and the rich man, as these are indicated by Graf (1944-1953, 1:542, b, 1+2) and edited by Murqus Ġirġīs [1902] 1926, 123-133, 133-146.

5. f. 52r. Homily on the archangel Gabriel, for 22 Kiyahk, which contains some of his miracles and the building of his church (possibly by bishop Archelaus, see *GCAL* I, 544, 2b).
6. **f. 65r. Homily on the archangel Gabriel, read on 26 Ba'ūna, contains the story of Anbā Aūr, the bishop, and the building and consecration of the church dedicated to him on the mountain of Naqlūn (recension α-1) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
7. f. 79v. Homily on the archangel Raphael, leader of the heavenly hosts, and the building and consecration of his church on 3 al-Nasī, and his miracles (possibly by John Chrysostom, see *GCAL* I, 544, 3a).
8. f. 94r. Homily by Cyril of Alexandria on the archangel Raphael and the dedication of his church by patriarch Theophilus on 13 Kiyahk (*GCAL* I, 544, 3b).¹³⁷
9. f. 109r. Homily by John Chrysostom on the archangel Suriel al-Sāfūrī (the Trumpeter), leader of the armies of lights and the building and the consecration of his church on 27 Tūba¹³⁸ (*GCAL* I, 544-545, 4).
10. f. 119v. The Four Bodiless Spiritual Animals and the commemoration of their installation on 8 Hātūr (by John Chrysostom) (*GCAL* I, 545, 5).
11. f. 128r. The Twenty-Four Spiritual Elders, priests of the Truth and the commemoration of their installation on 24 Hātūr (by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem) (*GCAL* I, 545, 6a).
12. f. 136v. Homily on the archangel Michael, read on 12 Hātūr, containing the life of the scribe Matthias and the building of his church (by Severus, patriarch of Antioch) (*GCAL* I, 543, f).
13. f. 148v-156r. Homily on the building of the church of the angel Suriel on 29 Abīb¹³⁹ (by John Chrysostom) (*GCAL* I, 544-545, 4).

C

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nr. Arabe 6985.

The description is based on the information provided by Sauvan, Balty-Guesdon, and Tamari 1987, 43, 53, and from (unpublished) handwritten notes in a notebook kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁴⁰

The manuscript is anonymous and undated, but the catalogue situates its date in the 18th century. This is in agreement with an investigation of the watermark in the paper that situates

¹³⁷ This homily is not noted in the index of the codex itself, as already noticed by Graf, see Graf 1934, 279.

¹³⁸ The contents as given on f. 147v of the codex itself give here erroneously the date of 17 Tūba.

¹³⁹ The contents as given on f. 147v of the codex itself give here erroneously the date of 19 Abīb.

¹⁴⁰ See also the online catalogue: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/search-form.html>.

it close to about 1720.¹⁴¹ Titles are written in red ink. The codex contains 128 folios, of which the folios 19v-22v are left blank. The codex measures 320 x 225 mm and the writing surface measures 250 x 145 mm, consisting of 19 lines on a page. The folio numbers are written in Coptic cursive numerals and later numbers are indicated according to the Western numerical system. The copyist used catchwords.

The contents of this manuscript according to the notebook:

1. f. 1-19.¹⁴² **Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, Homily on St. Gabriel and the dedication of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (26 Ba'ūna) (recension α-1) (GCAL I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
2. f. 23-39v. Archelaus of 'Īrā, Homily on St. Gabriel and the dedication of his church (22 Kiyahk) (GCAL I, 544, 2b).
3. f. 40-54v. John Chrysostom, Homily on St. Raphael and the dedication of his church (23 Kiyahk) (GCAL I, 544, 3a).
4. f. 55-64. John Chrysostom, Homily on St. Suriel (20 Ṭūba) and the dedication of his church (27 Abīb) (GCAL I, 544-545, 4).
5. f. 64v-77. History of the transportation of the mountain of Muqaṭṭam by Anbā Abram,¹⁴³ patriarch of Alexandria, and Sim'ān the Tanner, during the caliphate of al-Ḥākim (GCAL II, 306).¹⁴⁴
6. f. 77v-82v. Life of Saint Bartānūbā (6 Kiyahk) (GCAL I, 532; II, 504).
7. f. 83-87. Story of a monk called Sulaymān.
8. f. 88-102v. Būlus (Paul) al-Būšī, Homily on the annunciation (GCAL II, 357).
9. f. 103-117. Būlus (Paul) al-Būšī, Homily on the birth of our Lord (GCAL II, 357).
10. f. 117v-128v. Būlus (Paul) al-Būšī, Homily on the baptism of our Lord (GCAL II, 357).

D

Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, nr. 615 (Hist. 28).

The description is based on the information provided by Simaika 1939-1942, 2:277, nr. 615 (Hist. 28); and Graf 1934, 166-167, nr. 447 (765).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ The watermark in the paper resembles most nr. 590 dated to 1723, see Velkov and Andreev 1983, nr. 590.

¹⁴² The homily covers f. 3-21 according to the Coptic numbers and covers f. 1-19 according to Western numbers.

¹⁴³ The notebook gives erroneously Ephrem as the name of the patriarch, but the online catalogue gives the correct name, see

http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000021006&c=FRBNFEAD000021006_e0000015&qid=eas1428950064792. For a discussion on the confusion of these names, see Den Heijer 2004, 54-57. For an article on this miracle, see Makhoul 2015 (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁴ For an article on this legendary story and its meaning, see Shenoda 2007.

The date is found on the last folio 1471 AM (AD 1755).¹⁴⁶ The cover is polished and embossed. The codex measures 32 x 22 cm and contains 217 folios. Folio numbers are in Coptic cursive numerals, and the numbers written in Arabic in a later hand are one number in advance. The writing surface consists of 15 lines per page and the scribe made use of catchwords. The incipits are written in red ink. The contents of this codex reveal great similarity with the contents of codex B. Below a survey of the contents of this manuscript (f. 1r), according to my own study of the manuscript:

1. f. 3. Homily on the great angel¹⁴⁷ Michael and the miracle he performed with Euphemia for 12 Ba'ūna (*GCAL* I, 543, e).
2. f. 36. Homily on the angel Michael and the miracle he performed with the lazy and rich man and other miracles (*GCAL* I, 542, b, 1).
3. f. 44. Homily on the great angel Michael and the miracle he performed with the child Ṭālāṣūn and the rich (man) (*GCAL* I, 542, b, 2).¹⁴⁸
4. f. 54. Homily on the great angel Michael and the miracle he performed with Dorotheus and his wife Theopiste for 12 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 542, 1a).
5. f. 69v. Homily and also the miracles of the great angel Michael to be read on every twelfth of the month during the whole year (*GCAL* I, 543, k).
6. f. 83. Homily by Archelaus, bishop of 'Īrā, on the archangel Gabriel and the building and the consecration of his church for 22 Kiyahk and ten miracles (*GCAL* I, 544, 2b).¹⁴⁹
7. **f. 104r. Homily on the archangel Gabriel and the building and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn for 26 Ba'ūna and his miracles (recension α-1) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**¹⁵⁰
8. f. 124. Homily by John Chrysostom on the archangel Raphael and the commemoration of his installation and his miracles, on 3 al-Nasī (*GCAL* I, 544, 3a).
9. f. 145. Homily on the archangel Raphael and the consecration of his church by patriarch Theophilus, on 3 al-Nasī (*GCAL* I, 544, 3b).¹⁵¹
10. f. 169. Homily on the angel Suriel and the commemoration of his installation on 27 Ṭūba and the building of his church on 27 Abīb (*GCAL* I, 544-545, 4).¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ As Graf mentions in his catalogue, these homilies have been edited in a different order in Arabic, see Murqus Ġirġis [1902] 1926.

¹⁴⁶ Graf gives 20 Ṭūba 1471 AM, but Simaika writes 22 Ṭūba 1471 AM.

¹⁴⁷ 'Great angel' is a synonym for 'archangel'. The archangels are also indicated as 'angel' or 'saint'.

¹⁴⁸ These two homilies, nr. 2 and 3, are most probably considered as one homily in ms. B nr. 2, see above.

¹⁴⁹ In this homily the days of installation of the archangels Michael and Gabriel are mentioned on f. 87. In the margin of the index this is erroneously referred to as a separate homily on the great angel Michael for 12 Kiyahk.

¹⁵⁰ This seventh homily is indicated by Graf as homily number 8.

¹⁵¹ This ninth homily is indicated by Graf as homily number 1.

11. f. 182. Homily on the Four Bodiless Animals on 8 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 545, 5).¹⁵³
12. f. 196. Homily on the Twenty-Four Priests, the blessed Elders, on 24 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 545, 6).
13. f. 207. Homily on the creation of Michael the archangel by Palladius, bishop of Ephesus (*GCAL* I, 543, g).¹⁵⁴

E

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nr. Arabe 4796.

The description is based on the information provided by Troupeau 1972-1974, 2:47-48.¹⁵⁵

The manuscript is anonymous, but it was copied for Amélineau,¹⁵⁶ who donated his volume to the Bibliothèque Nationale in May 1887,¹⁵⁷ which situates its date (shortly) before or in 1887.

Amélineau himself published his French translation in 1888.¹⁵⁸ The copyist copied the text including the colophon, in which is mentioned that the manuscript was an undated *waqf* donated by Michael, bishop of Esna and Luxor, to the benefit of the monastery (or church?) of St. Antony in Luxor (f. 172r). A bishop Michael of Esna is attested round the year 1854,¹⁵⁹

which situates the date of Amélineau's copy in the period from about 1854 to 1887 and the date of the 'original' copy (E*) round 1854. The manuscript is copied on occidental paper. It contains 172 folios and measures 255 x 175 mm. The writing surface measures 140 x 100 mm and consists of 14-15 lines per page. From f. 99r onwards the text is written in a different handwriting. The copyist used catchwords and wrote the titles in red ink. In the beginning some folios are missing. Folios are numbered according to the Western numerical system.

The contents according to Troupeau's catalogue:

1. f. 1-82. Collection of 27 sermons by Shenute (*GCAL* I, 461-464; II, 499).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² This tenth homily is indicated by Graf as homily number 11.

¹⁵³ This eleventh homily is indicated by Graf as homily number 10.

¹⁵⁴ Graf identifies this homily as anonymous and situates it under p. 543, i. Simaika attributes this homily to Plautianus instead of Palladius, which is probably a misinterpretation of the Arabic name Abladyanus. This homily is not mentioned in the index of the book.

¹⁵⁵ See also the online catalogue: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/search-form.html>.

¹⁵⁶ Information about the name of the copyist has not been found, but possibly, the copyist is Muhammad 'Izzat, who copied several manuscripts for Amélineau, see Troupeau 1972-1974, 2:21-27, and the index.

¹⁵⁷ Blochet 1925, see first page of the introduction. Thanks to my colleague Renate Dekker who showed me this book so that I could define the date of the manuscript more precisely.

¹⁵⁸ In 1887 the scholar E. Amélineau deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris 28 volumes written in Arabic, containing numerous Christian homilies, see Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri 2001, 202.

¹⁵⁹ See Timm 1984-1992, 3:1186; Graf 1934, 80-81.

¹⁶⁰ By personal inspection of the manuscript, it became clear that the first sermon is missing, the text starts somewhere in the second sermon and on f. 3r is indicated the beginning of the third sermon.

2. f. 82v-111v. Homily on Saint Gabriel and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (26 Ba'ūna) (recension α-1) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).¹⁶¹
3. f. 112-118v. Miracle performed by Saint Michael in the city of Abṣāy (unknown miracle, belongs possibly to *GCAL* I, 542-543).
4. f. 119-169v. Life of Saint Pṣoi (Bīṣāy) by John the Little (8 Abīb) (*GCAL* I, 539).
5. f. 170-171v. Anonymous homily on Epiphany.

F

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nr. Arabe 154.

The description is based on the information provided by Troupeau 1972-1974, 1:127-129.¹⁶²

The manuscript dates from the 17th century (1604 and 1607). The copyist is Yūsuf ibn Mīḥā'īl, known as Ibn Fabīq, who completed the folios 1-105 on 10 Ṭūba 1320 AM, corresponding with 19 Ramadan AH 1035, corresponding with 16 January AD 1604 (f. 64), and the folios 106-178 on 5 al-Nasī 1323 AM, corresponding with 7 September AD 1607 (f. 178) in the time of Anbā Buṭrus Suwaydān al-Miṣrī, bishop of the Fayyūm (f. 178). Actually, the date of completion of the last folios, 179-201, is unknown, but most probably these were added to the codex (shortly) after the completion of the preceding folios, so (shortly) after 7 September 1607. The codex originally belonged to the library of P. Séguier, chancellor of France from 1635-1672, who collected manuscripts from the Middle East. His collection was inherited by his grandson H.-C. de Coislin (1664-1732), bishop of Metz, who donated the manuscripts to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. In 1795, following a governmental decree concerning the nationalization of religious possessions, this institution deposited the collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it has been kept till present times.¹⁶³ The folio numbering is in Coptic, starting anew several times. The codex consists of occidental paper and contains 201 folios (f. 164v and 178v are left blank). A few folios are missing. The codex measures 210 x 150 mm; the writing surface measures 150 x 100 mm and contains 14-16 lines per page. The titles are written in red ink and the copyist used catchwords.

Concerning the last homily covering f. 179-201: folio numbers are in Coptic cursive numerals (f. 2-25), and differently in Arabic in a later hand (f. 179-201); folio number 5 in Coptic appears two times, and two folios, numbers 11 and 20 in Coptic, are missing; the text of this

¹⁶¹ Graf identifies this homily as anonymous and situates it under 2d.

¹⁶² See also the online catalogue: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/search-form.html>.

¹⁶³ See Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri 2001, 202.

homily lacks two passages contained in the two missing folios 11 and 20; the numbers according to the Arabic numerical system are continuous, which shows that these are added after the loss of the two folios.

Contents according to Troupeau's catalogue:

1. f. 1-28. Homily on St. Psoti and 13 miracles, by Elias, bishop of Abšāy (27 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 539).
2. f. 29-37. Life of St. Maraš of Dağwah (28 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 536).
3. f. 38-52v. Eight miracles performed by the saints Cosmas, Damien, Anthimus, Leontius, Euprepis and their mother Theodote, in their church (22 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 508; II, 501).
4. f. 53-64. Life of St. Abbā Nūb, martyr (23 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 537).
5. f. 64v-78v. Life of St. Moses, man of God (24 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 498).
6. f. 79-93. Martyrdom of St. Moses the Black (24 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 511; II, 502).
7. f. 93v-105v. Homily on St. Banfā, the dedication of his church and his miracles, by Victor, bishop of Anšinā (24 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 532).
8. f. 106-144v. Homily on the building and the dedication of the church of the Virgin Mary (21 Ba'ūna) and her miracles, by St. Basil (*GCAL* I, 323).
9. f. 145-164. Miracle performed by the Virgin Mary at Bartus¹⁶⁴ for the apostle Matthias, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (21 Ba'ūna) (*GCAL* I, 253-255).
10. f. 165-178. Miracle performed by the Virgin Mary at Aṭrīb (*GCAL* I, 255; II, 489).
- 11. f. 179-201. Homily on St. Gabriel and the dedication of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn by Anbā (sic) Yuḥannis,¹⁶⁵ monk of this mountain (26 Ba'ūna) (recension β) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**

G

Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, nr. History 78

The description is based on the information provided by Simaika 1939-1942, 2:296, nr. 649 (Hist. 78), and available photographs.

The cover is embossed. The codex contains 226 folios,¹⁶⁶ and measures 20 x 15 cm. The writing surface contains 14 lines per page. The date is found on the last folio (226r): 23 Hātūr 1444 AM (corresponding with 1 December AD 1727). On the front cover and the back is written: 'Homily on the birth of the Virgin and a homily on her death and a homily on the

¹⁶⁴ Bartus: also named Tartūs, see Graf 1944-1953, 1:254 and nt. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Anbā (sic) Yuḥannis: this title assumes the monk John was a bishop, which is not in conformity with the text. see the commentary in chapter V.

¹⁶⁶ Simaika gives here 266 folios.

angel Michael and his miracles and a homily on the angel Gabriel'. On the backside of the cover is written: 'Homilies on the Virgin and the angels Michael and Gabriel'. On the last folio is written a colophon with the following information: 'the provider of this blessed book is the reverent deacon Šālīb Ibn Yūḥannā Ibn Šālīb Rašīd living in Dayr al-Qiddīs Abū Yūḥannā al-Qašīr'. This monastery is most likely to be identified as Dayr Abū Ḥinnis al-Qašīr, near the town of Mallawī, in the province of al-Minyā.¹⁶⁷

The titles of the homilies are written in red ink. The folio numbers are indicated in Coptic cursive numerals. The copyist used catchwords.

The contents are represented on f. 2v. Here follows a translation based on personal inspection of the manuscript:

Contents of this blessed book in order to help the searcher:

1. f. 3. Homily on the nativity of our Lady, the Virgin (*GCAL* I, 247; II, 489).
2. f. 33. Homily on the death of our Lady, the Virgin (*GCAL* I, 249-251; II, 489).
3. f. 73. Homily on the angel Michael, 12 Ba'ūna (*GCAL* I, 543; II, 506).¹⁶⁸
4. f. 105. Homily on the angel Michael, 12 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 542-543; II, 506).
5. f. 141. Homily on the angel Michael, 12 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 542-543; II, 506) (the title is identical with the previous homily).
6. f. 162. Also a miracle of the angel Michael (*GCAL* I, 542-543; II, 506).
7. f. 167. And also the miracles of the angel Michael, on every twelfth of the month (*GCAL* I, 543, k; II, 506).
8. f. 192. Homily on the angel Michael, 12 Ba'ūna (*GCAL* I, 543; II, 506) (same title but different contents than the above mentioned third homily).
- 9. f. 203v-226r Homily on the angel Gabriel, 26 Ba'ūna (recension β) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).¹⁶⁹**

H

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nr. Arabe 4888.

The description is based on the information provided by Troupeau 1972-1974, 2:63-64.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:577-585. Other less probable identifications are: the Dayr Yuhannis al-Qašīr at Asyūt, but this monastery had been destroyed in the 15th century, and since the 19th century it bears the name of Dayr al-I'zām, see Timm 1984-1992, 2:829-833; and one of the monasteries of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn was dedicated to a Yuhannis al-Qašīr, but this monastery had been deserted most probably at the end of the 15th century, see White [1932] 1973, 2:408.

¹⁶⁸ Graf describes this third homily as consisting of several homilies, by which he probably refers to the following homilies 4-7.

¹⁶⁹ The survey of contents of the manuscript written on f. 2v gives as the first folio of this homily f. 204.

The copyist of the first part (f. 2-101) is anonymous and, according to personal inspection, the provider of the manuscript is the teacher Bāsīliyūs Ğirġis from Naqqāda (f. 100v); it has been completed on 1 Tūt 1603 AM corresponding with 10 September AD 1886 (f. 100v-101); the copy of the second part (f. 103-205) is anonymous and undated. The manuscript belonged to a number of 33 manuscripts that had been acquired in 1888 by the archaeological mission at Cairo, under the direction of U. Bouriant (1849-1903), a French Egyptologist.¹⁷¹ The manuscript is written on occidental paper and contains 205 folios (f. 1r-1v, 95v-96r, 101v-102v, 137v-138v are left blank). The page numbering of the first part is written in Arabic, the second part contains numbers according to the Western numerical system. The copyist used catchwords. The manuscript measures 235 x 165 mm; the writing surface of the first part measures 180 x 130 mm and contains 15 lines per page. The writing surface of the second part measures 180 x 120 mm and contains 11 lines per page. In the title of the second homily the name of *Aūr* is written as *Aūrā* (in Arabic اورا).

Contents according to the catalogue by Troupeau:

1. f. 2-100v. Sermon on St. Shenute and his miracles, by his disciple Anbā Wīṣā (Besa) (7 Abīb) (*GCAL* I, 463).
2. **f. 103-137. Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm. Homily on Gabriel and the building of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (26 Ba'ūna) (recension β) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
3. f. 139-175. Life of St. Apollo (5 Amšīr) and St. Abīb (25 Bāba) (*GCAL* I, 531).
4. f. 175v-205v. Life of St. Abraham (9 Tūba) and St. George (18 Bašans) by Zacharias, bishop of Saḥā (*GCAL* I, 473, 2).

I

Cairo Coptic Museum, nr. 6438 (a+b) (old number 543).

The description is based on the information provided by Abd el-Shaheed 1998, 87.

A collection of homilies in two parts. Part one (6438 a) is incomplete at the beginning and in the middle. Part two (6438 b) is incomplete in the middle and at the end. Many folios are fragmentary. Actually, the codex consists of a collection of 42 loose folios that originally belonged to other codices. According to the information in the catalogue this collection dates back to the 14th century. The codex measures 26.5 x 18 cm. The writing surface contains 16 lines per page. The homilies are bound in cardboard.

¹⁷⁰ See also the online catalogue: <http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/search-form.html>.

¹⁷¹ See Troupeau 1972-1974, 2:5.

Contents of part one (6438 a):

1. The life of St. John the Baptist (only one side of a folio) (*GCAL* I, 348, 652; III, 113).
2. The martyrdom of the saints Agathon, Peter, John, Amun, Amuna and their mother Rebekah (*GCAL* I, 531).
3. The life of Anbā Pisura (Bisūra) (*GCAL* I, 538).
4. The life of St. Basil (*GCAL* I, 329).
5. The life of Anbā Abraham (*GCAL* I, 531).
6. The life of St. Theodore the Oriental (*GCAL* I, 514).

Contents of part two (6438 b):

1. The life of the martyr Philotheus (1 folio) (*GCAL* I, 521).
2. The life of Anbā Psoti (1 folio) (*GCAL* I, 539).
3. The miracles of the angel Michael (1 folio) (*GCAL* I, 542-543).
4. Part of the miracles of the angel Gabriel (*GCAL* I, 544; II, 507).
5. **A homily of Anbā Aūr (one side of a folio) (recension α-1) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c) (belongs to ms. B).**
6. The miracles of the angel Raphael in the church consecrated by Anbā Theophilus (2 folios) (*GCAL* I, 544, 3) (belongs to B).
7. The life of Apater (Abādir) and his sister Irai (Irene) (28 Tūt) (absent in Graf).
8. A sermon by Ammonios (*GCAL* I, 531).
9. A homily of St. Timothy (*GCAL* I, 464-465).
10. The life and miracles of Anbā Phoebamon (Bifām) the soldier (*GCAL* I, 538).
11. The life of Anbā Paul of Tammuh (Thmoui) (*GCAL* I, 315, 512; II, 502).¹⁷²

J

Chicago, Oriental Institute, nr. A 12063 (Moritz collection: Arab. 54).

The description is based on the information provided by Krek 1961, 15-17, nr. 40.

According to the colophon written on the first folio, the manuscript has been copied in 1268 AM (= AD 1552) for the priest Gabriel, who had been appointed chief of the monks (of the monastery) of Saint Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, and donated it to this monastery. The copyists are two monks, Gabriel and Abraham.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Also known as Paul the Hermit.

¹⁷³ According to Abbott, these two monks are possibly the same Gabriel and his nephew Abraham who were working in the library of the Syrian monastery of Scetis (Wādī al-Naṭrūn) in 1493 (Abbott 1937, 28). In a

The codex consists of a collection of homilies, and contains 265 folios. It measures 24.5 x 17.6 cm; the writing surface measures 20 x 14 cm and contains 15-17 lines per page. The original folio numbers are written in Coptic cursive numerals, and the folio numbers according to the Arabic numerical system have been added in a later hand. Titles are written in red ink. The copyist used catchwords. The script changes on f. 218. The codex consists of strong and partly glazed paper. The paper becomes brittle and damaged by humidity after f. 218. The last folios, f. 259 to the end, are partly glued together. F. 264 is partly missing and f. 265 is completely missing. The paper used on the inside of the covers of the binding shows fragments of New Testament texts, 1 Peter 4:14-16, and Acts 3:17-18, and other texts in Coptic with coloured initials. The codex is bound in a blind stamped leather binding; half of one cover is missing. The manuscript was a *waqf* to the monastery of St. Macarius. For the present study photographs were made of the folios 25r-46r.¹⁷⁴ It appeared that the folio numbers in Coptic are one number ahead of those written in Arabic, at least in the available folios. With respect to the third homily, the catalogue by Krek gives as the title: ‘Sermon by Bishop Aūr of Fayyūm in which he explains the miracles of Gabriel and the building of his church on Mt. Naqlūn, to be read on the 22nd of Kīhak.’¹⁷⁵ In the introductory title to this homily the date 22nd is indeed mentioned, but the name of the month of Ba’ūna is written through the name Kīhak (Kiyahk), which is probably a later correction. According to the text itself, the central date of the homily is 26 Ba’ūna.

The contents according to the catalogue by Krek:

1. f. 2r. A sermon by bishop Gregory of Atrīb, to be read on the feast of archangel Gabriel, 26 Ba’ūna (*GCAL* II, 507).¹⁷⁶
2. f. 10r. Sermon by bishop Archelaus of ’Irā on the reason for remembrance of archangel Gabriel, to be read on 22 Kiyahk (*GCAL* I, 544, b).
3. **f. 25r. Homily on Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn (recension α-2) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
4. f. 46v. Sermon by Mārī Ya’qūb about the death of Aaron and his robe, to be read on 1 Barmūda (*GCAL* I, 208).

footnote Abbott refers to Wright 1872, 1199-1200, and to the description of the Library of the Syrian Monastery in White [1926-1933] 1973, 2:451.

¹⁷⁴ I am very grateful to Dr. Willemijn Waal, who had been so kind as to make the photographs during her stay in Chicago.

¹⁷⁵ See Krek 1961, 15.

¹⁷⁶ See also Troupeau 1972-1974, 1:242, nr. 275-21.

5. f. 60r. Sermon by Patriarch Cyril, archbishop of Jerusalem, about what was made known by Anbā Shenūdāh (Shenute), to be read on 14 Abīb (*GCAL* I, 365).
6. f. 71r. Sermon by Cyriacus, bishop of Bahnasā, in which he explains the miracles performed by Jesus and His mother during their stay in Egypt and particularly in the monastery, by its Coptic name, Pēi Iēsūs.¹⁷⁷ To be read on 25 Bašans (*GCAL* I, 232-233).
7. f. 89. Missing.
8. f. 90r. A transcript of the martyrdom of Mārī Ya‘qūb al-Muqaṭṭa‘ in Persia. To be read on 27 Hātūr¹⁷⁸ (*GCAL* I, 504).
9. f. 100r. Sermon by Zacharias, bishop of Saḥā about the Holy Family and Salome and their arrival in Egypt. To be read on 24 Bašans (*GCAL* I, 228, 1).
10. f. 117v. Story about the piety of Moses, the man of God, known as son of Euphemianus of Rome. To be read on 23 Ba’ūna (*GCAL* I, 498, 4).
11. f. 129. Missing.
12. f. 130r. A sermon about the Holy Cross of our Lord. To be read on 17 Tūt (*GCAL* I, 426).
13. f. 137r. A story of what happened to Maron (Xenophon), his wife, and his children. To be read on 17 Tūt (*GCAL* I, 515).
14. f. 151v. A story of Archelides, son of John,¹⁷⁹ to be read on 24 Tūba (*GCAL* I, 498-499).
15. f. 160r. An explanation of the sermon by St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, dealing with the grace and miracle of the Cross, which was found on 10 Baramhāt (*GCAL* I, 336, b).
16. f. 169r. A story of Helen, the mother of Emperor Constantin. To be read on 9 Bašans (*GCAL* I, 519).
17. f. 182r. Sermon by Cyriacus of Bahnasā, in which he comments on the miracles of our Lady and her divine Son and the holy place Qūṣiyya called today the Muḥarraḡ Monastery. To be read on 7 Barmūda (*GCAL* I, 234).
18. f. 189v. The martyrdom of Abū Mīnā (St. Menas), to be read on 15 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 510, b).
19. f. 198r. Sermon of Rufinus, bishop of Abšā’ī (Psoi), concerning the life and martyrdom of Abšādī (Psoti), bishop of the same diocese, to be read on 27 Kiyahk (*GCAL* I, 539).

¹⁷⁷ Monastery Pēi Iēsūs: in Arabic ‘Dayr Bait ’Iṣūs’, its modern name is: Dayr al-Jarnūs, situated near Iṣnīn al-Našārā, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1194-1197; see also Boud’hors and Boutros 2001, 121, nt. 48.

¹⁷⁸ Krek gives: 27 Tišrīn II.

¹⁷⁹ Krek gives Archelides ibn Yuhanna.

20. f. 218r. Sermon of Ephraim the Syrian concerning the transfiguration of the Messiah on Mt. Tabor, to be read on 13 Misrā (two folios are missing 219, 220 or 222) (*GCAL* I, 425).
21. f. 223r. A story about Joseph and what happened to him through his brothers (f. 245-248 are missing) (*GCAL* I, 205, 5; 426, 2).

L

Cairo, Cloister of St. Menas, nr. 134 Theol. 18

The manuscript was kept in the Cloister of St. Menas in Cairo, until it was brought for restoration to the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria. During the symposium 'Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis' held in February 2004,¹⁸⁰ His Holiness Pope Shenouda III (died 2012) gave me his personal permission to study this manuscript by writing his signature on the written request. With the help of this document, the relevant folios of the manuscript came available for this study in the form of a microfilm in 2005.

The description of the codex follows the catalogue by Khater and Burmester 1967, 56-57.

The codex consists of a collection of homilies, written in Arabic. The codex contains 226 folios and measures 20.7 x 14.7 cm. The writing surface measures 15.5 x 11 cm, and contains 15 lines per page. The titles and punctuation are written in red ink. On f. 189v the date is found: 1 Barmūda 1381 AM (corresponding with 6 April AD 1665). On f. 226r there is a note regarding the completion of the manuscript. The codex is bound in brown leather binding of which only one half remains. For this study, the folios 104r-126r (indicated according to the Western numerical system) are available on microfilm. The old folio numbers on these folios are given in Coptic cursive numerals, but only a few are visible (f. 119-141). These folios have also page numbers indicated according to the Arabic numerical system (p.207-251). More than half of the folios is partly illegible because the ink has run, probably from water damage. In the introductory title to this homily the name *Aūr* is written as *Aūrā* (أورا), like in manuscript G, see above.

The contents of the codex according to the catalogue:

1. f. 1r-4v. Homily on Michael the archangel (the first 15 folia of this homily are missing) (*GCAL* I, 542-543).
2. f. 4v. Note on an undated *waqf* to the monastery of St. Menas.
3. f. 5r-21r. Homily on Michael the archangel by St. Athanasius (*GCAL* I, 542, b).

¹⁸⁰ See the essays resulting from this symposium in Gabra 2005.

4. f. 21v-52v. Homily on Michael the archangel by St. Anastasius, bishop of Thrace (*GCAL* I, 543, e).
5. f. 53r-69v. Homily on Michael the archangel by St. Severus, patriarch of Antioch (*GCAL* I, 543, f).
6. f. 70r-81v. Homily on 10 miracles of Michael the archangel for the twelfth of every month (*GCAL* I, 543, k).
7. f. 81v. Undated *waqf*.
8. f. 82r-103v. Homily on Gabriel the archangel by Archelaus, bishop of 'Īrā (*GCAL* I, 544, 2b).
9. f. 103v. Undated *waqf*.
- 10. f. 104r-126r. Homily on Gabriel the archangel and Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm (recension α-1) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
11. f. 126r. Undated *waqf* to the monastery of St. Menas by the beloved Christian brother, the teacher, 'Abd al-Masīḥ the carpenter, and provided for by the priest Ḥasab Allah, servant of the church.
12. f. 126v. Blank
13. f. 127r. Petition to God.
14. f. 127v. Blank.
15. f. 128r-149v. Homily on Raphael the archangel by John Chrysostom (*GCAL* I, 544, 3a).
16. f. 149v. Undated *waqf*.
17. f. 150r-162v. Homily on Suriel the archangel by John Chrysostom (*GCAL* I, 544-545, 4).
18. f. 162v. Undated *waqf*.
19. f. 163r-179v. Homily on the Four Bodiless Creatures by John Chrysostom (*GCAL* I, 545, 5).
20. f. 180r-189v. Homily on the Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse by Cyril of Jerusalem (*GCAL* I, 545, 6).
21. f. 189v. Date of the manuscript: 1 Barmūda 1381 AM = 6 April AD 1665.
22. f. 190r. Note on the scribe and provider of the manuscript.
23. f. 190v-191r. Blank
24. f. 191v-199r. Homily on the Holy Trinity and Michael the archangel by Palladius, bishop of Ephesus, for 12 Kiyahk (*GCAL* I, 543, g).
25. f. 199v. Blank
26. f. 200r-225v. Homily on Gabriel the archangel by Stephen, archdeacon of Jerusalem.

27. f. 226r. Note regarding the completion of the manuscript.

OPQ

The following three manuscripts OPQ are kept in the monastery of St. Antony, situated near the Red Sea. Photocopies of these manuscripts are kept in the library of Dayr al-‘Azab in the Fayyūm. During my stay at this monastery at the occasion of the Fayyūm symposium, already referred to above, in February 2004, I received photocopies of these photocopies.

O

Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, nr. 98.

The description concerns only the folios dealing with the *Naqlūn homily*, which is the first homily contained in the codex. The original folio numbers are in Coptic cursive numerals (f. 21r-38r) (only some are visible on the copies). The page numbers are written according to the Arabic numerical system in a later hand (p. 1-35). The writing surface consists of 16 lines per page. The text is complete. The copyist used catchwords.

The colophon on p. 35 gives the date of the manuscript: Wednesday 3 Kiyahk 1410 AM, which is in conformity with 9 December AD 1693, and the copyist: the priest Gabriel of the monastery of St. Antony. The text is the *Naqlūn homily* according to recension α-1.

P

Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, nr. 68 (old nr. History 77).

Only photocopies of the first folio and the folios containing the *Naqlūn homily* are available, so that the description concerns only these folios. Original folio numbers are written in Coptic, new page numbers are written in Arabic. The *Naqlūn homily* is represented on the folios f. 127v-157v (indicated in Coptic cursive numerals). Page numbers (p. 63-126) are indicated according to Arabic numerical system and these are added later. The writing surface contains 13 lines per page. The copyist used catchwords.

On p. 124 a colophon is written with the following information:

The date is 20 Misrā 1418 AM = 14 August AD 1702, the copyist was the monk John, monk of the monastery of St. Antony, and the provider of the manuscript was the monk Sulaymān, also monk of the monastery of St. Antony (p. 125). The manuscript was a donation to the monastery of St. Antony (p. 126).

The contents of the manuscript as represented on the first folio.¹⁸¹

1. f. 6. Homily on the Feast of the Cross for 17 Tūt, by Anbā Kīrilluṣ (Cyril), archbishop of Jerusalem (*GCAL* I, 336, b).
2. f. 62. Homily on the Feast of the Cross for 10 Baramhāt (*GCAL* I, 336, b).
3. **f. 97. Homily on the archangel Gabriel (recension α-3) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
4. f. 127. A second homily on the archangel Gabriel (probably by Archelaus) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2b).

Q

Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, nr. 76.

Only photocopies of the first folio and the folios containing the *Naqlūn homily* are available, so that the description concerns only these folios.

The writing surface contains 15-16 lines on a page and the copyist used catchwords.

Original folio numbering is written in Coptic cursive numerals, page numbers are written according to the Arabic numerical system in a later hand.

The *Naqlūn homily* is written on p. 65-105, on Coptic folio numbers f. 110v-130v.

The date of the manuscript is found on p. 105: 2 Amšīr 1418 AM = 10 February AD 1702.

The contents, written in a later hand on the first folio of the photocopies, are as follows:

1. p. 1-21. Miracles of the angel Michael for the twelfth of every month (*GCAL* I, 543, k).¹⁸²
2. p. 22-64. Homily by Archelaus (*GCAL* I, 544, 2b).
3. **p. 65-105. Homily on the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (recension α-1) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
4. p. 106. Homily by John Chrysostom on the archangel Raphael for 3 al-Nasī and the building of his church on 13 Kiyahk (*GCAL* I, 544, 3a).

R

Monastery of St. Paul near the Red Sea, nr. 110 - Hist. (old nr.: 53 Vitae of Saints).¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ On the cover (or on the first page) of the photocopies bound in cardboard kept in the monastery of Bishop Abraham in the Fayyūm is written in Arabic in recent handwriting: Ms. nr. 68: p. 2-62 Homily by St. Archelaus; p. 63-126 Homily by the holy father Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm.

¹⁸² The homily of the archangel Michael starts on Coptic folionumber f. 58r.

¹⁸³ I am very grateful to Mme Samiha Abd el-Shaheed Abd el-Nour, the late librarian of the Coptic Museum, who gave me photocopies of this manuscript in February 2004 in Cairo, after she had returned from a visit to the monastery of St. Paul at the Red Sea where she had been working on an inventory of the manuscripts kept there

The description of the manuscripts concerns only the folios containing the *Naqlūn homily*. The writing surface contains 15 lines on a page. The copyist used catchwords. Original folio numbers are written in Coptic cursive numerals. Identical numbers in Arabic numerals are added later. The date of the manuscript is 15 Bašans 1454 AM = 21 May AD 1738.¹⁸⁴ A survey of the contents of the manuscript is not available for this study.

F. 6r-27r. Homily on the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (recension α-1) (GCAL I, 544, 2c; II, 507).

S

Cairo, Church of the Holy Virgin in Ḥārat Zuwayla, nr. 28.

The manuscript was kept in the church of the Holy Virgin in Ḥārat Zuwayla in Cairo, until recently when it was brought for restoration to the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria.¹⁸⁵ The description is based on photographs of the folios dealing with the *Naqlūn homily*, available on CD.

The original folio numbers are written in Coptic cursive numerals (f. 143v-170v). The page numbers in Arabic numerals are written in a later hand (p. 206-260). The copyist used catchwords. The title is written in red ink. The writing surface contains several dots in red ink, in groups of three dots or only one single dot. In some cases these dots fall together with the end of a sentence, but more often they seem to serve decorative purposes. The writing surface contains 13 lines per page. No colophon is found in the available folios. The date and the copyist are unknown. However, its date is most probably before 1702, which is explained in the next chapter. The clear and regular script supposes a scholarly hand. The contents are not known apart from the *Naqlūn homily*, which is presented as: **the homily on the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn on p. 206-260 (recension α-3) (GCAL I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**

T

Mīt Ġamr, Church of Mārī Ġirġis, nr. 101.

in the library. Also my sincere thanks to Mr Nabih Kamel Daoud, the late librarian of the Coptic Patriarchate, who provided the information about the old nr.

¹⁸⁴ The date is according to Mme Samiha Abd el-Shaheed Abd el-Nour.

¹⁸⁵ When I visited this monastery in February 2004 the manuscript had already been photographed with a digital camera and put on CD. I am very grateful to the librarian of this monastery Abūna (father) Polykarpus, who brought this manuscript to my attention and made a copy of the CD for me.

This manuscript was originally kept in Mīt Ġamr, a town belonging to the province al-Daqahlīya to the north of Cairo, but for reasons of restoration it has been transferred to the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt near Alexandria, where it was given the number 101.¹⁸⁶ Only the photographs of the folios containing the *Naqlūn homily* are available (on CD). The description is based on these photographs. The manuscript is incomplete, because several folios of the *Naqlūn homily* are missing. The text at the margins of several folios is partly lost due to damage. The written space is damaged by holes. The original folio numbers are written in Coptic cursive numerals of which a few are left. New page numbers are written in Arabic numerals in a later hand. The writing surface contains 13 lines per page. The copyist used catchwords. The contents, as far as these can be inferred from the available photographs, are as follows:

- p. 41-85. **Homily on the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (recension α-1) (GCAL I, 544, 2c; II, 507).** The text is incomplete; an unknown number of folios in the beginning and f. 46 are missing; the page numbering in Arabic numerals is continuous.
- p. 85 contains a colophon, which is only partially legible and includes a date: Tuesday 19 Bāba, but the year is unknown because of damage.
- p. 86-147. Homily on the archangel Raphael for 3 al-Nasī and the building of his church on 13 Kiyahk, by John Chrysostom (GCAL I, 544, 3a).
- p. 147 contains a colophon, including the date, which is difficult to read: Friday 6 Hātūr 1282 (?) AM = 12 November AD 1565.¹⁸⁷ On p. 148 a note is written by the deacon ‘Abd al-Masīḥ.

U

Monastery of St. Paul at the Red Sea, nr. 76 – History / Homilies of the angels.

The description of the manuscript is based on information supplied by the late Mme Samiha Abd el-Shaheed Abd el-Nour, the late librarian of the Coptic Museum, who gave me photocopies of the folios containing the *Naqlūn homily*.¹⁸⁸ The manuscript was copied by the monk Dawūd al-Uksūrī (David of Luxor), monk of the monastery of St. Paul. Most folios are unnumbered. The date of the manuscript is written on the last folio (f. 142v): Monday 18

¹⁸⁶ I am very grateful to the same Abūna Polykarpus of the monastery of St. Menas at Maryūt, for bringing this manuscript to my attention and for giving me a copy of this manuscript on CD during my visit in February 2004.

¹⁸⁷ Nabih Kamel Daoud read here 1209 AM, that is 1492 AD.

¹⁸⁸ I am very grateful to Madame Samiha Abd el-Shaheed Abd el-Nour for giving me these photocopies also at the same occasion in February 2004 in Cairo.

Bāba 1456 AM = 27 October AD 1739. Nabih Kamel Daoud provided me with the following extra information about this manuscript: ‘Manuscript 297 general – 76 hist. (new nr.: 78 Vitae of Saints); the *Naqlūn homily* is the second homily contained in the codex.’

By personal inspection, the following information could be drawn from the available folios. The copyist used catchwords. The writing surface contains 13-14 lines per page. The original folio numbers are lost, except for two folios that have a number in Arabic numerals: f. 40, which contains the beginning of the homily of St. Aūr, and f. 44 is also recognizable. One side of a folio (f. 42v in the original numbering) is left blank, but the text is continuous. New folio numbers have been written by Mme Samiha on the photocopies: numbers 1-32 for the folios dealing with the *Naqlūn homily*, and number 33 on the folio containing the date, which is actually f. 142v, the last folio of the Life of Anbā Cyrus. Based on the abovegiven information, (a part of) the contents of the codex can be presented as follows:

1. ?- f. 39v. A homily on the archangel Michael and the miracle he performed with Dorotheus and Teopiste (*GCAL I*, 542, 1a). (This is not necessarily the very first homily contained in the codex).
2. **f. 40r-71r. Homily on the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn (recension β) (*GCAL I*, 544, 2c).**
3. ?- f. 142v. A homily on St. Cyrus (Anbā Kārās) (*GCAL I*, 532).

3. Conclusion

So far for the description of the seventeen manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*. The surveys of the contents of the codices show that the *Naqlūn homily* is often surrounded by other homilies on archangels in addition to homilies on saints, and in two cases, the manuscripts J and P, the *Naqlūn homily* is part of a collection of homilies composed for a specific celebration like the feast of the Cross. Closer inspection of the lists of the homilies revealed that in the codices containing F and H, the *Naqlūn homily* is the only homily concerning an archangel whereas the other homilies deal with saints. Both these manuscripts represent recension β. The codex containing F is characterized by a list of homilies for the month Ba’ūna, from the 21st to 28th day of this month. The contents of G and U, the two other manuscripts of recension β, seem to be similar in nature to those of the majority of the manuscripts, and deal with St. Mary, the archangels and various saints.

The survey of the contents of the manuscripts B, D and L show great similarities. This fact may be helpful in determining the relations between the manuscripts.

Moreover, the three loose folios contained in codex I (nrs. 5 and 6 of the survey of contents in the description of I, see above) could be identified as originally belonging to codex B. One folio concerns the *Naqlūn homily* (nr. 5 in the survey) and two folios concern the homily on the archangel Raphael (nr. 6). The one folio (actually only the verso side of this folio, because the recto of this folio contains the end of another homily) contains the title and the beginning of the introduction of the *Naqlūn homily*. The handwritings of this folio and of the text of B are similar and share the same characteristics: both are defective in writing the diacritical dots; the dot of the ⲁ is placed in the middle above the upper stroke; the ⲕ is written without the upper stroke. The folio bears the number 65 written in Coptic in the upper left corner of the recto. According to the table of contents of B the *Naqlūn homily* starts at folio 65. These facts are enough evidence to prove that this folio, now part of ms. I, forms the first of the missing folios of B. In the following this folio will always be included when B is indicated. The remaining available folios of B start with Coptic folio number 68. This means that two folios, 66 and 67, are missing.

With respect to the two folios dealing with the homily on the archangel Raphael, the Coptic folio number 101 is visible on one of these two folios and this number corresponds exactly to the missing folios of the homily number 8 in the list of contents of B: the homily on the archangel Raphael by Cyril of Alexandria.

The above given information is the basis for the following step in this study: to present a description of the (textual) history of the *Naqlūn homily* by unraveling the relations between the manuscripts, which will result in a stemma.

Chapter II

Textual history

1. Introduction

For the following pages the *Naqlūn homily* will be studied on the basis of the seventeen available manuscripts. In the Context a survey has been given, in which these manuscripts are organized according to the division into the two main recensions α and β , and the subrecensions α -1, α -2, and α -3, followed by a description of each of the manuscripts. The present chapter focuses on the relations between these recensions and the individual manuscripts, with the aim to present a description of the textual history of the *Naqlūn homily*. First the differences between the (sub)recensions will be explored and the distinctive characteristics of each (sub)recension described. Going into more detail, the relations between the manuscripts, as the reflection of the recensions, will be unraveled and made visible in a stemma. Based on this stemma, which involves a hypothetical reconstruction of the textual history of the *Naqlūn homily*, one of the manuscripts will be selected as the base manuscript to serve as the starting point for the edition of the text. A last aim of this chapter entails the selection of those manuscripts that contain relevant variant readings with respect to the text of the base manuscript. The variant readings are noted in the critical apparatus that accompanies the edition.

By comparing the recensions with each other, and on a smaller scale the individual manuscripts, differences and individual characteristics will become clear. Examples consisting of short passages from the Arabic text, used to illustrate and clarify the relations between the manuscripts, are followed by a translation into English. The Arabic text is rendered faithfully according to the manuscripts with only a few orthographical adaptations that are similarly applied in the text edition and accounted for in the introduction to the edition. It should be noted that the present chapter focuses on differences in phrasing, which means that morphological and orthographical differences are not taken in consideration.

With respect to the translation, it is attempted to remain as close as possible to the Arabic text, so that the differences in the Arabic are reflected in the English translation. This makes the English text inevitably awkward in some cases. In a few cases the English translation may be slightly different from the translation accompanying the text edition. The extent to which the passages in Arabic differ among themselves could not always be rendered in the same measure in the English language. For example, the word order in the

corresponding sentences of two manuscripts is different in Arabic, but the English translation is nevertheless identical, for example in B §203 *قد اقتربت ايامي* which is rendered in J as *ايامي قد اقتربت*. Both are translated similarly as ‘my days have come near’ (see the table at the end of the following section). Another example is that the word *كل* may be translated in English as: all (§21 all times *كل حين*), every (§21 every place *كل مكان*), whoever (§22 whoever *كل من*), entire (§11 for the entire world *كله للعالم*); and *كل* is also a synonym of the word *جميع* which is often translated similarly, see in the table below in G in §202: ‘... he said to me *all* (*كل*) that had happened to him, ...’ and: ‘*all* (*جميع*) the goods’, and ‘to the brothers, *all* of them (*جميعهم*)’. The translation follows the text with respect to the division in chapters and paragraphs. Punctuation marks, which are completely absent in the Arabic, have been added in the translation.

2. Recensions α and β : differences and characteristics

The manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily* all tell a more or less similar story of the life of St. Aūr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn. However, a first reading of the texts made it clear that four of the manuscripts were different to such an extent, in phrasing as well as in contents, that this text should better be characterized as a different recension. Comparison of the mainstream recension α and this second recension, indicated as recension β , resulted in the discovery of some eleven significant differences that are presented below in the table. In the second column of the table these features are noted together with the references to the chapter of this study in which they are discussed. In the third column the occurrence in recension α is noted with a reference to the paragraph of the text edition. The fourth column gives the occurrence in recension β , represented by G, that appear to contain the best text of this recension, as will be explained later.¹⁸⁹ The presence of a feature is indicated by + and its absence by -.

	feature	recension α	recension β
1	the name of the author according to the title (see chapter V, 3. <i>Structure</i> ; and 4. <i>The title</i>)	Anbā Aūr (§1)	John the ascetic ¹⁹⁰ (G 203v)
2	the painting of the archangel Gabriel (see chapter VI, 6.b. <i>The Journey of St. Aūr and recension β of the Naqlūn homily</i>)	- (§4)	+ (G 204r) ¹⁹¹
3	Aūr is begotten by means of magical tricks	- (only α -1) ¹⁹²	+

¹⁸⁹ See further in this chapter in 8. *The relations of the manuscripts of recension β* .

¹⁹⁰ Ms. H gives Aūr (in the form of Aūra) as the assumed author, like recension α , but the text of H misses here (and in many other instances) several words, which makes the text of this manuscript uncertain.

¹⁹¹ Not mentioned in F, that lacks a few sentences here.

	(see chapter V, 9. <i>The Naqlūn homily in its context</i>)	(§32) + (present in subrecensions α-2 and α-3)	(G 207r)
4	the name of the monastery (see chapter V, 10. <i>History and religious landscape</i>)	Dayr Aqlū (§50)	Bardan wa Nāran (Coldness and Fire) (G 209r)
5	the journey made by St. Aūr back from his home country to the Fayyūm, travelling on ships that were loaded with timber and pitch and iron and many presents, given to him by the king and the queen in his home country, meant for the building of the church. (see chapter VI, 5.i. <i>The itinerary of the journey</i>)	- (§134, §136)	+ (G 216r+v) ¹⁹³
6	the brothers stopped the building during Aūr's absence and went to the south in search of him (see chapter VI, 6.b. <i>The Journey of St. Aūr and recension β of the Naqlūn homily</i>)	- (§137)	+ (G 216v-217r)
7	the wall around the church (see chapter VI, 5.f. <i>The wall</i>)	- (§175)	+ (G 221r-v) ¹⁹⁴
8	the name of the general (several versions) : Idhiyūs / Uhiyūs (?) ¹⁹⁵ (this name is not discussed, because it lacks in recension α-1)	- (§176)	+ (G 221v) ¹⁹⁶
9	the celebration of the archangel Gabriel at every thirteenth day of the month (see chapter V, 8. <i>The liturgical calendar of Naqlūn</i>)	- (§182)	+ (G 222r-v)
10	the archangel Gabriel tells in an appearance to Aūr that his brothers will go to al-Fašn, a small town in the south (see chapter V, 10. <i>History and religious landscape</i> ; chapter VI, 6.b. <i>The Journey of St. Aūr and recension β of the Naqlūn homily</i>)	al-Fašn (§187) (except for ms. S that gives: al-Qays)	al-Qays (G 223r)
11	an additional passage at the end of the text, in which Aūr tells about his journey to Jerusalem where he met the priest Samuel and found the book dealing with the church of the archangel Michael (see chapter VI, 5.c. <i>The building and consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel</i>)	- (§202)	+ (G 224v) ¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² For ms. B, my base manuscript, it is unknown whether it mentions this event or not, because the manuscript misses two folios, in which this event should be described. All other manuscripts of subrecension α-1 indeed do not mention this fact.

¹⁹³ Missing in F that lacks one complete folio here. see F f. 188v-189r.

¹⁹⁴ Missing in F that lacks one complete folio here again. see F f. 196v-197r.

¹⁹⁵ The name Idhiyūs occurs in ms. G and the name Uhiyūs occurs in ms. U. The transcription is not certain.

¹⁹⁶ Missing in F that lacks one complete folio here.

¹⁹⁷ See the parallel passage in F f.199r, and H f.135r-v.

The survey shows that features 1, 4, and 10 are present in both recensions, but each in a different way. The remaining eight features are absent in recension α , and present in recension β . The names by which the monastery is called (feature 4), ‘Dayr Aqlū’ in recension α , and ‘Coldness and Fire’ in recension β , form a striking difference. The name Dayr Aqlū is easier to bring into relation with the monastery of Naqlūn than the obscure name ‘Coldness and Fire’, showing the superiority of recension α as the mainstream recension.

The most distinctive difference consists of the additional passage at the end of the text of recension β , number 11 in the table. This passage deals with an event that takes place just before Aūr’s death, when he tells his life story to John the ascetic, who writes everything down. On his deathbed, Aūr tells about his journey to Jerusalem, where he met the priest Samuel and found a book dealing with the church of the archangel Michael at the monastery of Naqlūn. This passage appears rather unexpectedly and interrupts the story-line by suddenly introducing a new subject, the presence of a second church at the site. Also, the name of St. Aūr does not occur in this passage except once, and that in a corrupt form.¹⁹⁸ This passage and the parallel text of recension α , followed by a translation, are presented in the table below as an illustration of the difference in contents between the two recensions.

recension α : B §202-§203	recension β : G 224v-225r
²⁰² وانا يوحنا الاسكيدس العابد بهذا الجبل شرح لي هذا الاب القديس الاسقف انبا اور كل ما اتفق له من حين مولده والي يوم تكريزه اسقفا علي الفيوم	²⁰² وقال لي كلما كان منه انا يحنس الخاطي قال لي في ذلك الزمان الذي ابعت وراي الملك فمضيت اليه ولما دخلت الي يروشلیم بالتقيت¹⁹⁹ برجل قسيس يقال له صمويل واقمت عنده فقال لي انت من اي الموضع فقلت له انا من اهل ارض مصر وانا مقيم بموضع يقال له جبل النقلون من اعمال الفيوم فقال سيرت كنيسة ميخائيل الذي داخل الموضع عندي فوجدت المخلص وتلاميذه وميخائيل وعبريال اتوا واقاموا فيها وهم الدين كزوا البيعه علي اسم ميخائيل وهذه السيره وجدتها في سير التلاميذ واني اناور (انا اور) استحلقت فدفعتها لي ففرحت بها بالاكتر افضل من جميع الاموال الذي اعطاها لي الملك والان قد دفعت لك السيره انت يا يوحنا واحفظها انت ايضا واقراها علي الاخوه جميعهم منجل ظهور مجد كنيسة رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل

¹⁹⁸ The name of Aūr occurs in this passage in FU as : انا هور ; in G as : اناور ; and is missing in H.

¹⁹⁹ بالتقيت] This form is a so-called ‘bi-Imperfect’, see Woidich 2006, 280-282.

²⁰³ وكان لما اقتربت ايام القديس الاسقف انبا اور ليتيتج دعاني انا يحنس وقال لي انا اسلك يا ابي القديس ان تصلي على لان قد اقتربت ايامي لكي امضي في طريق اباي كلهم وذلك ان ربيس الملائكة غبريال ظهر لي وقال لي استعد فانه لم يبق لك في العالم سوا تلتة ايام	²⁰³ وكان لما اقتربت ايامه ان يمضي الي الرب وقد مرض ودعاني وقال لي يا ابي يحنس اسالك لاني داهب في الطريق التي تسلكها كل الناس لان غبريال ربيس الملائكة ظهر لي وقال لي تهيا انما بقي لك الا تلتة ايام تقيم في هذه الدنيا
²⁰² And to me, John the ascetic, worshipping on this mountain, this holy father, the bishop, Anbā Aūr explained all that had happened to him from the time of his birth until the day of his ordination as bishop over the Fayyūm.	²⁰² And he said to me all that had happened to him, to me, John the sinner, he said to me: "At that time, when the king sent after me, then I went to him. And when I entered into Jerusalem, I met a man, a priest, who is called Samuel, and I stayed with him and he said to me: "From which place are you?" And I said to him: "I belong to the people of the land of Egypt and I live in a place that is called the mountain of Naqlūn, belonging to the province of the Fayyūm." And he said: "The story of the church of Michael that is inside the place, is with me." And I found the Saviour and His disciples and Michael and Gabriel came and they resided in it [the church] and they were the ones who consecrated the church to the name of Michael, and this story, I found it in the lives of the disciples and I, Aūr, asked it from him. And he gave it to me and I was happy with it, (it was to me) even more preferable than all the goods the king had given to me. And now I have given the story to you, o John, and keep it, you too. And read it to the brothers, all of them, because of the appearance of the glory of the church of the archangel Michael."
²⁰³ When the days of the holy man, the bishop Anbā Aūr approached that he would pass away, he sent for me, John, and said to me: 'I ask you, o my holy father, to pray for me because my days have come near so that I will leave on the path of all my fathers. That is so because the archangel Gabriel appeared to me and said to me: "Prepare, because only three days are left for you in the world."	²⁰³ And when his days approached that he would depart for the Lord, and he fell ill, he sent for me and said to me: 'O my father John, I ask you, because I will go on the path that all people [have to] follow, because Gabriel the archangel appeared to me and said to me: "Prepare, because only three days are left for you to stay in this world."

In addition to the differences in contents, the two recensions vary widely in phrasing. Below an example is given of two parallel passages that are similar in contents but different in phrasing.

recension α : B §93	recension β : G 212r
وان اراخنة مدينه الفيوم لما سمعوا ببنا البيعه باسم ريس الملايكة غبريال المبشر اتوا وصحبته الهدايا والندور وعملوا في البيعه وكان ريس الملايكة مساعدا لهم	وانتوا باراخنة الفيوم وكبارها لما ان سمعوا جاوا بالهدايا الي الكنيسة وعملوا معهم بفرح وكان ريس الملايكة غبريال عون لهم في كل شغل ويطرد عنهم الشياطين وكافة الاعداء المناصبين
When the notables of the city of Fayyūm heard about the building of the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel, the Messenger, they came and (they had) with them gifts and votive offerings and they worked on (building) the church and the archangel was a helper for them.	And they brought the notables of the Fayyūm and when the leaders heard (about it) they brought their gifts to the church and they worked with them with joy and the archangel Gabriel was an aid for them in every work and he drove away from them the devils and all the hostile enemies.

The comparison of these two passages shows that recension β is more elaborate, resulting in a list of thirteen differences. Thus, including manuscript G in the text edition would demand the notation of a similar number of variant readings for this passage only. Including the complete text would overload the critical apparatus. Obviously, the text contained in the four manuscripts FGUH is different to such an extent, in contents as well as in phrasing, that its identification as a different recension can hardly be denied.

The rather clear inconsistency caused by the assumedly inserted passage about the church of the archangel Michael and the more verbose style mark recension β as less original and less suitable for the edition of the text. It is the decisive factor to consider recension β secondary with respect to recension α . Consequently, it confirms the assumption that recension α as a whole is the mainstream recension.

3. Subrecensions: α -1, α -2, α -3

Recension α is represented in a relatively large number of thirteen manuscripts, which could further be divided into three subrecensions: α -1, α -2, and α -3, that differ considerably, but almost exclusively in phrasing. Subrecension α -1 comprises the majority of the manuscripts (BCDELOQRT). Subrecension α -2 comprises only one manuscript (J) and subrecension α -3 is represented by three manuscripts (APS). In order to illustrate the extent of the differences in phrasing, the paragraphs §134-§135 of B are compared with the parallel passages in J, representing subrecension α -2, and S, representing subrecension α -3, in the table below. The selection of J and S as representatives for these two subrecensions will be clarified later in this chapter.

subrecension α-1: B §134- §135	subrecension α-2: J f. 37v	subrecension α-3: S p. 238- 239
وبعد ذلك استدعت الملكة أور واعطته جميع ما يحتاج اليه لبنيان البيعه واعطته ايضا ذهباً كثيراً واوصته ان يهدم ما بناه بالطين ويجدد البناء بالطوب الأجر والجير والجبس	تم بعد ذلك استدعا الملك والملكة الفتى اور واعطوه كلما يحتاجه برسم عمارة البيعه واعطته الملكة ذهبا وفضه كثيرا من غير علم الملك ابنها واوصته وقالت له ادا وصلت فى امن الله تعالى الي تلك البيعه فاهدم ما بني بالطوب وجدد بالطوب الاحمر والجير والجبس	وان الملكة استدعة اور واعطته ذهبا كثير واوصته ان يهدم البناء بالطين ويجدد البناء بالطوب الاحمر والجير والجبس
وقالت له اذا كملت البيعه ابني داخلها اماكن للغربا وقلالي للرهبان واخدمهم بما اعطيتك من المال	وقالت له ادا انت كملت البيعه فابني داخلها اماكن للغربا وقلالي للرهبان للسكن فيهم واجعلهم يستريحوا داخلهم واخدمهم جيذا وانفق عليهم واطعمهم من تلك المال الذى دفعته لك وتكون خادما جيذا لكل من ياتي اليك	وقالت له اذا كملت بنيان البيعه ابني داخلها اماكن للغربا وقلالي للرهبان واخدمهم بما اعطيتك من المال
After that, the queen sent for Aūr and she gave him everything he needed for the building of the church. She gave him also a lot of gold and she advised him to pull down what he had built with clay and to renew the building with baked bricks and lime mortar and plaster.	Then after that, the king and the queen sent for the boy Aūr and they gave him all he needed intended for the construction of the church. The queen gave him also a lot of gold and silver without the knowledge of the king, her son, and she advised him and she said to him: 'When you arrive in the safety of God, the Sublime, at that church, pull down what has been built with bricks and renew it with red bricks and lime mortar and plaster.	And the queen sent for Aūr and she gave him a lot of gold and she advised him to pull down the building of clay and to renew the building with red bricks and lime mortar and plaster.
She said to him: 'When you have finished the church, build inside it places for the strangers and cells for the monks and serve them with	She said to him: 'When you have finished the church, build inside it places for the strangers and cells for the monks to live in and let them	She said to him: 'When you have finished the building of the church, build inside it places for the strangers and cells for the monks and serve

the money that I have given to you.'	rest inside these and serve them well and provide for them and nourish them with that money that I have paid to you and you will be a good servant for all who come to you.'	them with the money that I have given to you.'

The comparison leads to the discovery of all kinds of differences, omissions, synonyms, additions, variations in word order, resulting in a list of twenty five variant readings for J (α -2) and fourteen for S (α -3). Including the manuscripts J and S in the text edition would not contribute to clarity. On the whole, J is more elaborate in phrasing and the character of the additional words is in almost every case confirming, repeating and emphasizing preceding words. Therefore these additions may be considered redundant. In S, the number of words comes close to that in B, and the character of the majority of the variant readings may be labelled as differences in word order or vocabulary synonyms. This example illustrates the similarity in contents and the rather great difference in phrasing between the three subrecensions α -1, α -2 and α -3, and confirms the division into the three subrecensions.

Above the differences between the recensions and the subrecensions and their respective characteristics have been made clear. Going into more detail, two examples are presented in order to illustrate the similarities between the manuscripts themselves of each of the three subrecensions. At the same time, the examples will give a first impression of the relations between the manuscripts within each (sub)recension. Then these relations will be studied thoroughly, manuscript after manuscript.

For the comparison the following method has been applied. The text of the homily has been divided into chapters and paragraphs, following manuscript B (subrecension α -1). The paragraphs are further divided into sentences or parts thereof. Each of these (components of) sentences is copied in the first row of a table, word after word in a separate column. The parallel passages of each of the other manuscripts are copied in a similar way in the tables, each manuscript in a separate row below the base text, word after word in the columns. However, it should be observed that only differences are noted. Identical words are not copied, and in these cases the cell in the table remains empty. So in one glance at the table one perceives the differences between the texts of the manuscripts. This method is used not only in this chapter, but also in the preparatory stage of this study making the collation in its entirety. The passages in the tables are followed by a translation into English. The differences

appearing in the text are made clear in italics in the translation. An omission in the text is indicated in the table as -, and in the translation as (-).

Below two examples, in which two parts of sentences taken from manuscript B are compared with the parallel passages of each of the manuscripts of recension α .

Example 1

قايلا	فيقيمنى	مرعوبا	امامه	اسقط	اليه	نظرت	اذا	وانا	recension α -1	B§45
									α -1	DELOQR ²⁰⁰
								+ايضا	α -1	C
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	α -1	T
							اذا	واما انا يا ابي	α -2	J
وقال لي	فاقامني	جدا من ساعتي	سقطت				فلما	-	α -3	A
وقال لي	فاقامني	من ساعتي	سقطت				فلما	-	α -3	PS

Translation:

(BDELOQR) α -1: And I, when I see him, I fall down before him, terrified, but he raises me up, saying: ...

(C) α -1: And I, *too*, when I see him, I fall down before him, terrified, but he raises me up, saying: ...

(T) α -1: (-)

(J) α -2: *And with respect to me, o my father*, when I see him, I fall down before him, terrified, but he raises me up, saying: ...

(A) α -3: *And when I saw him, I fell down very much immediately, but he raised me up, and he said to me: ...*

(PS) α -3: *And when I saw him, I fell down immediately, but he raised me up, and he said to me: ...*

In the example above, the division into the three subrecensions is clearly visible in the similarities between the manuscripts of each of these. All the manuscripts of subrecension α -1 are similar, except T that cannot be judged, because it lacks this sentence, and C, which contains one extra word. Manuscript J, representing subrecension α -2, differs from B (and from the first subrecension as a whole) in the form of a few additional words, which do not change the message conveyed by the text. The lower two rows represent subrecension α -3, of which manuscript A is slightly different, the difference consisting of one extra word, with an emphasizing function. The three manuscripts APS forming subrecension α -3 as a whole have contents similar to the manuscripts of subrecension α -1, but they put it in different words.

²⁰⁰ In the following when the text of a ms. is similar to that of another ms, their sigla are put together in the same row.

Example 2²⁰¹

كلهم	اباي	طريق	في	امضي	لكي	ايامي	اقتربت	قد	لان	recension α -1	B §203 ^c
السالفين									لاني	α -1	COQR
السالفين						ايام وفاتي	[اق]ترب		لانني	α -1	T
السالفين					كي		ايامي قد اقتربت			α -1	DEL
المسيح ملكي والاهي في طريق اباي الذين سلفوا كلهم اليه			الي				ايامي قد اقتربت			α -2	J
المسيح			الي	انتقل					لانه	α -3	APS

Translation:

(B) α -1: ... because my days have come near so that I will leave on the path of all my fathers.
(COQR) α -1: ... because *me*, my days have come near so that I will leave on the path of *my fathers, who preceded*.

(T) α -1: ... because *me, the days of my death* have come near so that I will leave on the path of *my fathers, who preceded*.

(DEL) α -1: ... because my days have come near so that I will leave on the path of *my fathers, who preceded*.

(J) α -2: ... because my days have come near so that I will go *to the Christ, my King and my God, on the path of my fathers, who all went earlier to Him*.

(APS) α -3: ... because my days have come near so that *I will travel to the Christ*.

This example shows again the similarities among the manuscripts of each of the various subrecensions, especially in the latter half of the sentence. Within subrecension α -1, a few small differences are noticeable, consisting of an inversion of the word order (DEL), a small addition (COQR), one additional word (T), and the use of a different word (CDELOQRT). These differences, which in other instances may also consist of omissions, are limited in number and of minor importance for the contents of the text. The single manuscript J of subrecension α -2 is characterized in this example by a difference in word order and by a rather extensive addition, which is for the greatest part redundant when compared to the text of subrecension α -1. The manuscripts APS of subrecension α -3 are identical with each other and appear to be only slightly different in phrasing, but not in contents, with respect to manuscript B.

Concluding, subrecension α -1 comprises the greatest number of manuscripts, their dates cover a long period and the oldest (dated) manuscript is among them, as has already been observed in the survey in Context. Based on these observations, subrecension α -1 is considered the mainstream recension. Within this subrecension two groups seem to take shape

²⁰¹ In some cases the sentences are rather long and cut into several parts, as in this example B §203^c: the c in superscript indicates that it is the third part of the sentence.

consisting of COQR and DEL. Subrecension α -2, represented in a single manuscript, contains redundant additions. The three manuscripts of subrecension α -3 are different from subrecension α -1 in the choice of synonyms, and a preliminary division of them can be made into A and PS. The subrecensions α -2 and α -3 are considered secondary, because the first contains redundant additions, the manuscripts of the second cover only one or two centuries, and both comprise a much smaller number of manuscripts compared to subrecension α -1.

In the following the selection of the base manuscript as the starting point for the edition of the *Naqlūn homily* will be argued.

4. Selection of the base manuscript

As argued above, subrecension α -1 is considered the mainstream recension, and as such it forms the basis for the edition of the text. One of the manuscripts (BCDELOQRT) has been chosen as a starting point for the edition. First the manuscripts were judged roughly on completeness, legibility, state of the text and date: the handwriting of C is often difficult to read; L is severely damaged, large parts of the text are completely illegible; T turned out to be very incomplete, a considerable number of folios are missing, covering about one third of the text. About E it is known that it has been copied for a European scholar, Amélineau, at the end of the nineteenth century from another, unknown, manuscript, which makes E less trustworthy.²⁰² These four manuscripts CELT are considered unsuitable to serve as the base text.

The remaining manuscripts, BDOQR, were investigated and compared with each other. The texts of all five are very close to each other with only slight differences: D appears to be very close to B, although sometimes more elaborate in phrasing; the three OQR appear to be almost identical with each other and also very similar to B. Below a few examples showing these features:

Example 3

المحال	الشيطان	عبادة	تركنا	غبريال	الملايكة	رئيس	يا	اليوم	B§70 OQR
			+ عنا						D

Translation:

BOQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have left²⁰³ worshipping the insidious Satan.

²⁰² See Troupeau 1972-1974, 2:47-48.

²⁰³ Left: here the translation is different from the edition (in which it is translated as : renounced) in order to show the difference with ms. D.

D: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have *left behind us* worshipping the insidious Satan.

The example above shows an addition in D with respect to BOQR

Example 4

الزمرّد	من	تاج	راسه	وعلي	B§44 ^c OQR
+ الاخضر					D

Translation:

BOQR: ... and on his head a crown made of emerald

D: ... and on his head a crown made of *green* emerald

This example above shows another addition in D with respect to BOQR.

Example 5

الانسان	كل	من	انجس	نحن	ان	غيريال	الملايكة	رييس	يا	لك	اقول	B§76
الانجاس												OQR
الانجاس + عن الخلايق كلها					انا						انا اقول	D

Translation:

B: I say to you, o archangel Gabriel, that we are impurer than all the unclean

OQR: I say to you, o archangel Gabriel, that we are impurer than all the *impure*

D: *Me*, I say to you, o archangel Gabriel, that we, *us*, are impurer than *all* the impure of *all* creatures

In this example D has three additions in comparison with BOQR. It appears that these additions in D may be judged in most cases to be redundant, having no or little effect on the contents. This observation makes it clear that D is less suitable to function as the base text. From the remaining four manuscripts BOQR, the three OQR are almost identical, dating from the same period, round about 1700, and kept in the same region, the monasteries of St. Paul and St. Antony near the Red Sea. Manuscript B is much older, dating from 1380. Careful study of the texts of these four manuscripts finally led to the selection of B as the best manuscript to provide the base text for the edition. The selection is based on the following grounds: OQR have a few omissions with respect to B; and OQR (and also CEL) do not mention an essential element, found only in B (and D), namely the sanctuary of Jacob (see chapter V, 10. *History and religious landscape*.).

Below an example of an omission in OQR with respect to B. One complete sentence, namely §154, is missing in OQR. Below the sentence is presented in its context of §153-§155.

Example 6

وانه تباعد عن البيعة قليلا وصرخ قايلا يا آور بن ابراشيت انا اعلم انهم ولدوك بالزنا ويوم مولدك طرحت عليك الكرسي لكي اقتلك فخلصك رئيس الملائكة غبريال لكن انا راجع اليك واصنع قوتي فيك	B§153 OQR
ولما قال هذا صار مثل سهام النار ومضي مفتضح بخزي عظيم	B§154
وان آور اخبر الجمع بجميع ما اتفق له وانه بن ابنه ملك المشرق ببلاد مطلع الشمس	B§155 OQR

Translation:

B§153+OQR: He moved away a little from the church and he cried out saying: ‘O Aūr, son of Abrāšīt, I know that they gave you birth by adultery and the day of your birth I threw the chair on you to kill you, but the archangel Gabriel saved you, but I will come back to you and I will use my power against you.’

B§154 (- OQR): *When he said this he became like arrows of fire and went away, put to great disgrace.*

B§155+OQR: Aūr told the crowd all that had happened to him and that he was the son of the daughter of the king of the East in the Land of the Sunrise.

Below the paragraph in which the sanctuary of Jacob does (or does not) occur.

Example 7

في	وسكنوا	جوسق	هناك	فينوا	يعقوب	اسكنا	مكان	فارا هم	B§54
				وينوا	بالسكن فيه	وامرهم			OR
				وينوا	بالسكن فيه	وامرهم		واراهم	Q

Translation:

B: Then he showed them the place of the sanctuary of Jacob and they built there a mansion and lived in it.

OR: Then he showed them a place *and ordered them to live in it* and they built there a mansion and lived in it.

Q: *And* he showed them a place *and ordered them to live in it* and they built there a mansion and lived in it.

Both the examples 6 and 7 illustrate the superiority of manuscript B over OQR: B is more complete and contains a reference to a local site. The mention of this once famous site in the near vicinity of the monastery suggests that the text of B may be closely related to the original composition. An additional reason for the selection of B is its date, which is 1380. It is actually the oldest (dated) manuscript, falling just within the period in which Copto-Arabic literature was greatly flourishing. This fact increases the possibility that the text of manuscript B is a good representative of the original text and forms a trustworthy starting point for the edition. The text seems consistent and continuous, containing only a few writing errors and no

apparent redundancies. The handwriting is clear and legible, although many diacritical dots are missing. The only problem is that in the beginning two folios are lacking. This missing part of the text has to be reconstructed with the information contained in one (or more) of the other manuscripts of this subrecension. Which of the manuscripts has been selected for this role, will be explained below.

5. The relations of the manuscripts of subrecension α -1.

Using the text of manuscript B as a starting point, the remaining manuscripts of subrecension α -1, comprising CDELOQRT, were studied again, with a threefold aim: in the first place in order to clear up the relations among them, which is ultimately made visible in the stemma; in the second place in order to select those manuscripts that contain significant variant readings, which are noted in the critical apparatus of the text edition; in the third place in order to choose one manuscript that can replace the base manuscript for the missing folios in the beginning of B. These three aims have been envisaged simultaneously. In the following each of these manuscripts, in alphabetical order, is compared selectively with B and, if necessary, with one or more of the other manuscripts.

The first manuscript that will be discussed is C. In general, the text of C contains several writing errors, words are crossed out or have become illegible by inkblots and the handwriting is quite careless. Its text appears to be closely related to OQR.

Example 8

والعنبر	المسك	من	اذكا	طيبه	بخور	روايح	مكانه	من	ويفوح	B §40
				ذكيه						OQR
				ذكيه	-			في		C

Translation:

B: And diffused from out of his place odours of fine incense, more delicious than musk and amber.

OQR: And diffused from out of his place odours of *delicious* incense, more delicious than musk and amber.

C: And diffused *in* his place delicious odours (-), more delicious than musk and amber.

The example above shows one different word and an omission of one word in C with respect to OQR.

Example 9

ابوه	لايراشيت	قالت	دفع	عده	هدا	رات	فلما	B §41
			+ كثيره					OQR
	لايروشيت	قال	دفع كثيره	هده	راات			C

Translation:

B: And when she saw this a number of times, she said to Abrāšīt, his father ...

OQR: And when she saw this a *great* number of times, she said to Abrāšīt, his father ...

C: And when she saw *many times this*, he said to Abrāšīt, his father ...

The example above shows a clear writing error in C.

Example 10

الحي	الله	يدي	في	الروح	واسلم	فاه	فتح	هذا	ولما	قال	B§206
							وفتح	+رشم على داته تمثال الصليب المقدس			OR
							وفتح	+رشم على داته بعلامة الصليب المقدس	+ لي		CQ

Translation:

B: And when he had said this, he opened his mouth, and yielded up his soul in the hands of the living God.

OR: And when he had said this, *he made over himself the symbol of the holy cross, and* he opened his mouth, and yielded up his soul in the hands of the living God.

CQ: And when he had said *to me* this, *he made over himself the sign of the holy cross, and* he opened his mouth, and yielded up his soul in the hands of the living God.

This example shows the similarity of C with Q. How is the exact relation between C and Q?

Assuming the assessed date of C is correct, then, C dating from 1720, is somewhat later than Q dating from 1702. Although the text of C is very close to Q, it could not have been copied from Q, because several words that are missing in Q are present in C. Below an example of this feature.

Example 11

ويخيفوه	ولدي	عند	الي	يتقدموا	الجان	تدع	شي	لاي	B §41
				يتقدمون					COR
				-					Q

Translation:

BCOR: Why do you let the demons come close to my boy and frighten him?

Q: Why do you let the demons (-) to my boy and frighten him?

In the example above, B and COR are similar in phrasing, the difference between them consisting of the verbal ending only. Q misses a verb that is present in C (and BOR), which, as argued above, shows that C can not have been copied from Q. If we assume the date of C is earlier than 1702, the date of Q, we might consider whether Q could have been copied from C.

Example 12

O	من	يقدر	ينطق	بيسير	من	العجايب	والقوات	التي	صنعهم	ربيس	الملايكة	غبريال	في	هده	البيعه

																	\$8
									والعجايب	القوات							R
				الطاهر+					والعجايب	القوة							Q
																	C

Translation:

OR: Who is able to pronounce a little of the miracles and the mighty works that the archangel Gabriel performed in this church ...

Q: Who is able to pronounce a little of *the mighty works and the miracles* that the archangel Gabriel performed in this church ...

C: Who is able to pronounce a little of *the mighty works and the miracles* that the *pure* archangel Gabriel performed in this church ...

The example shows, apart from an inversion of words in both C and Q, that C adds الطاهر (pure) to the name of the archangel Gabriel, which is not found in Q. This feature of adding one or several epithets to the names of holy persons occurs more often in C, but not in Q. It appears that the additions found in C are not reproduced in Q, which makes clear that Q has not been copied from C. Their great similarity makes it very likely that both CQ have a similar *Vorlage*. R is unlikely to be this *Vorlage*, because of its later date. Could it be O?

Example 13:

																	O\$13
																	CQ

Translation:

O: Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel

CQ: Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel, o Servant, burning with fire. Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel.

The example above shows that CQ have a sentence that is missing in O. This makes it unlikely that C (or Q) have been copied from O directly. Another more likely possibility is that C (and Q) and O go back to a similar earlier copy that is indicated in the stemma as 'coq', which term is fabricated from the three sigla to which it refers, and written in lower-case because its existence is hypothetical. The relations between O and Q and R will be dealt with below.

Concluding the above, the similarity of C with OQR, the writing errors and the redundant additions make this manuscript a less valuable witness for the text edition.

The following manuscript that has to be investigated is D. The codex to which D belongs, contains a series of homilies that is almost identical with the contents of the codex to

which B belongs. This great similarity of the contents brings up the question whether D (dated to AD 1755) is possibly related to B (dated to AD 1380) in a direct line, copied from B directly or with one or more manuscripts in between. As already noticed above, D is not identical with B, but differs slightly in phrasing. Example 2 shows an inversion of word order and the examples 3-5 show that D has some additions.

Example 14

الدفعه	هذه	في	تقتلنا	لا	ان	اسلك	انا	B §74
			تهلكنا			اسالك	وانا	D

Translation:

B: I ask you, not to kill us this time ...

D: *And* I ask you, not to *destroy us* this time, ...

This example shows again a small addition and a different word with a similar meaning in D with respect to B.

Example 15

اليهم	أور	بوصول	والملكه	الملك	اعلموا	ايام	بعد	كان	فلما	B §119
						+السفر قبل وصولهم				D

Translation:

B: After (several) days, the king and the queen were informed about Aūr's arrival at them...

D: After the days *of the journey*, *before their arrival*, the king and the queen were informed about Aūr's arrival at them ...

The above example shows another addition in D. It appears that the differences of D with respect to B consist in most cases of additions and sometimes of synonymous words. This observation does not exclude the possibility of a direct relation between D and B. Probably, the scribe of D having before his eyes the text of B, copied most of the text and added a few words or made a few changes. The mention of the sanctuary of Jacob, which has been used above as one of the reasons to choose B as the base manuscript, see example 7, appears to occur in this subrecension only in B and D,²⁰⁴ by which the close relation between D and B is confirmed.

Example 16

فيه	وسكنوا	جوسق	هناك	فبنوا	يعقوب	اسكنا	مكان	فأراهم	B §54
				وبنوا	بالسكن فيه	وامرهم			D
									ELOR

²⁰⁴ Note that the sanctuary of Jacob is also mentioned in (sub)recensions α -2, α -3, and β .

				وبنوا	بالمسكن فيه	وامرهم	واراهم	CQ

Translation:

BD: Then he showed them the place of the sanctuary of Jacob and they built there a mansion and lived in it.

ELOR: Then he showed them a place *and ordered them to live in it* and they built there a mansion and lived in it.

CQ: *And* he showed them a place *and ordered them to live in it* and they built there a mansion and lived in it.

The assumed direct relation between D and B becomes even more probable in the following case: the abovementioned example 6 demonstrates that B contains a sentence that is missing in OQR. It appeared that D contains also this sentence while the remaining manuscripts of this subrecension don't. This case highlights the direct relation between D and B. Below example 6 is repeated, here indicating all manuscripts of subrecension α -1 (LT are illegible).

Example 6 (more extensive):

وانه تباعد عن البيعة قليلا وصرخ قايلا يا أور بن ابراشيت انا اعلم انهم ولدوك بالزنا ويوم مولدك طرحت عليك الكرسي لكي اقتلك فخلصك رئيس الملائكة غبريل لكن انا راجع اليك واصنع قوتي فيك	B§153 CDEOQR
ولما قال هذا صار مثل سهام النار ومضي مفتضح بخزي عظيم	BD§154
وان أور اخبر الجمع بجميع ما اتفق له وانه بن ابنه ملك المشرق ببلاد مطلع الشمس	B§155 CDEOQR

Translation:

B+CDEOQR: He moved away a little from the church and he cried out saying: 'O Aūr, son of Abrāšīt, I know that they gave you birth by adultery and the day of your birth I threw the chair on you to kill you, but the archangel Gabriel saved you, but I will come back to you and I will use my power against you.'

B+D: *When he said this he became like arrows of fire and went away, put to great disgrace.*

B+CDEOQR: Aūr told the crowd all that had happened to him and that he was the son of the daughter of the king of the East in the Land of the Sunrise.

The probable direct relation between B and D makes the latter an interesting manuscript for the critical edition. D may be used in order to check the text of B. Moreover, with respect to the missing part of the text, D is an invaluable witness for the reconstruction of this part.

Therefore, D is selected to take part in the text edition and its variants have been noted in the critical apparatus. In the stemma D can be found in a direct line linked to B, separately from the other manuscripts.

The following manuscript to be studied is E. As already made clear above, it shows features of classical Arabic, like the writing of the *hamza*. For example in the words رئيس

ريس or ريس الملائكة (the archangel) which is written in all the other manuscripts as ريس الملائكة. Also the ذ in the demonstrative pronoun هذا (this) is consequently written correctly according to classical orthography, whereas in the other manuscripts this word is written mostly irregularly with a dot or without a dot, or even written systematically without a dot. The more classical style of writing may be explained by the fact that the text has been copied on order of a Western scholar, Amélineau, showing the copyist's knowledge of 'correct' orthography. The partial collation shows that the text of E is very close to the manuscripts COQR, showing often similar differences with respect to the base text. However, in a few cases E differs from COQR. The example below shows that E misses a sentence that is present in BCOQR. The sentence (§65) is given in its context (§64-§66). Moreover, E shows a writing error in the form of a dittography, an unintentional repetition of words.

Example 17

B §64	اليوم	يا	رييس	الملايكة	غبريال	عرفنا	ان	الله	اتا	ليخلص	الخطاه
COQR								الرب			
E								الرب	+ عرفت ان الرب اتي		

B §65	اليوم	يا	رييس	الملايكة	غبريال	نعترف	بالمسيح	انه	بن	الله	الحى
COQR											
E											

B§66	اليوم	يا	رييس	الملايكة	غبريال	نسالك	ان	تخلصنا	من	الخطيه
CEOQR										

Translation:

B§64: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have come to know that God has come to save the sinners.

COQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have come to know that *the Lord* has come to save the sinners.

E: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have come to know that *the Lord*, *I have come to know that the Lord* has come to save²⁰⁵ the sinners.

B§65 COQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we confess that Christ is the Son of the living God.

B§66 CEOQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we ask you to save us from sin.

The following sentence is also missing in E and present in BCOQR (see also above in example 3). The sentence (§70) is given in its context (§69-§71).

Example 18

²⁰⁵ Save: the word is written in Arabic incorrectly in ms. E, as : ليخلص.

للملكوت	بنينا	صرنا	غبريال	الملايكة	رئيس	يا	اليوم	B§69
+ السماويه								COQR
+ السماويه	عبيدا							E

المحّال	الشيطان	عبادة	تركنا	غبريال	الملايكة	رئيس	يا	اليوم	B§70 COQR
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	E

الخطيه	موت	من	خلصنا	غبريال	الملايكة	رئيس	يا	اليوم	B§71 CEOQR

Translation:

B§69: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become children of the Kingdom.

COQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become children of the *heavenly* Kingdom.

E: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become *servants* of the *heavenly* Kingdom.

B§70 COQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have renounced worshipping the insidious Satan.

B§71 CEOQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have been saved from the death of sin.

The following example shows a slight difference in phrasing in E.

Example 19

الهايج	البحر	كامواج	كلامه	وصوت	جدا	مخوف	ومنظره	انسان	وجه	ووجهه	B §44 ^c COQR
						منير					E

Translation:

BCOQR: ... and his face is the face of a human being; and his appearance is very frightening and the sound of his voice is like the waves of the rough sea.

E: ... and his face is the face of a human being; and his appearance is very *luminous* and the sound of his voice is like the waves of the rough sea.

The following example shows another slight difference in phrasing found in E.

Example 20

حزينه	الملكة	وكانت	B §39 COQR
	امها		E

Translation:

BCOQR: And the queen was sad.

E: And *her mother* was sad.

The missing sentences may be considered errors of the scribe, but the different words found in E are not synonymous with the words in B, and convey a different meaning. This gives E a

separate place in the stemma, but close to COQR with which it has much in common. E has been copied from another, unknown, manuscript that is indicated in the stemma as e*. Its late date, the omissions, and its orthography that is probably intentionally adapted by the copyist to the rules of Classical Arabic, are all reasons to leave manuscript E out of the critical edition.

Now manuscript L will be discussed. As already noted above, L is severely damaged by humidity and large parts of the text are illegible, which makes it unsuitable for use in the critical edition. Study of the legible parts made clear that the text of L is in a few cases different from B in a similar way as DE, see above in example 2, and the example below shows its close similarity with E.

Example 21

ايامنا	آخر	الى	عبيدا	لك	صرنا	غيريال	الملايكة	رئيس	يا	اليوم	B §67
حياتنا											CDOQR
وفاتنا	يوم					-					E
وفاتنا	يوم										L

Translation:

B: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become servants for you until the last of our days.

CDOQR: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become servants for you until the last of *our life*.

E: Today, o archangel (-), we have become servants for you until *the day of our decease*.

L: Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become servants for you until *the day of our decease*.

In the study of D it became clear that only D is related to B directly, consequently the remaining manuscripts are related to B with one or more copies in between. This intermediate stage is indicated in the stemma as ‘let’, referring to the sigla of the related manuscripts L, E and T (T will be discussed below). With respect to L, based on its closeness to, on the one hand COQR, and on the other hand to E, L has been situated in the stemma between this group and E in a separate line related to B via ‘let’.

Now the three manuscripts OQR are investigated further, keeping in mind the three abovementioned aims. As already noticed above, these three are very close to B (examples 1, 3, 4); they are almost identical with each other in phrasing (examples 6, 8, 9, 17-21); they originate from about the same period (round about 1700); C is very similar to Q (examples 10, 13, 16-21); and COQ are assumed to have a similar *Vorlage* ‘coq’.

The above given examples 7, 10-13, 16, show that Q is sometimes a little at variance with respect to OR. Below a few other examples are presented to underline this observation.

In these examples only BOQR are represented, because the issue concerns the relations among these four manuscripts themselves.

Example 22

مجدك	محل	وموضع	بيتك	بها	رب	يا	احببت	ايضا	وقال	B §2
					-	-				OR
قدسك					-	-				Q

Translation:

B: And he (David) said also: ‘I have loved, o Lord, the beauty of your house and the place where your glory dwells.

OR: And he (David) said also: ‘I have loved (-) the beauty of your house and the place where your glory dwells.

Q: And he (David) said also: ‘I have loved (-) the beauty of your house and the place where your *holiness* dwells.

In the example above, Q uses a synonymous word. The example below shows two writing errors in Q: the article in the word اليوم (the day) is lacking and in the words لم يطيعني (he obeyed me) the verb contains erroneously an extra *yā*.²⁰⁶

Example 23

الجان	من	شيا	يطيعني	لم	ابنتك	فيه	عرفت	الذي	اليوم	من	ان	B §42
			يطيعني + فيه									OR
			يطيعيني + فيه						يوم			Q

Translation:

B: ... since the day I knew your daughter none of the demons has obeyed me.

OR: ... since the day I knew your daughter none of the demons has obeyed me *in that*.

Q: ... since *a day* I knew your daughter none of the demons has obeyed me *in that*.

Because of these differences and errors, Q is less suitable to be selected for the edition. We have already observed that Q and O may have a common *Vorlage*, called ‘coq’. In all the abovementioned examples O and R are identical. O, which is dated to 1693, is older than R, which is dated to 1738. Based on their great similarity and these dates, it is very well possible that R has been copied directly from O. This is made even more likely by the fact that these manuscripts are kept, and most probably copied, in the monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul, which lie in close proximity to each other. On the whole, O is complete and very well legible. Therefore this manuscript O, together with D, has been chosen for the text edition. In order to decide whether O is also suitable to fill in the missing part of the text, the following

²⁰⁶ لم يطيعني : spelling is common in Middle Arabic, in which the preservation of the long medial vowel in the jussive is one of the characteristics, see chapter IV, 3. *Morphology*, Hb §52. However, according to Classical Arabic rules, it should be : لم يطعني .

calculation was made. As already demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the *Naqlūn homily* contained in manuscript B misses two folios, folio numbers 66 and 67. The amount of text of O covering the missing part counts 687 words. The average number of words written on one side of a folio of B is about 172 words, so two folios contain about 688 words, which is almost exactly the same amount as the counted words of O. This confirms that the passage of O fits very well as a replacement for the missing two folios in B. Therefore this manuscript O together with D has been chosen for the text edition and O shall be used to fill in the missing text part of B.

Finally, the incomplete manuscript T is to be investigated. The missing passages of T cover the following paragraphs in B: §1-§66 and §130-§136. With respect to phrasing, T is in a few cases slightly different (see example 2), but on the whole T is very similar to CELOQR. Below another example.

Example 24

غبريال	ملايكته	ورييس	الله	مجدوا	هذا	سمعوا	لما	الجمع	وان	B §156
	الملايكة									ELOQR
	الملايكة الطاهر									C
+المبشر لنا بالخلاص	+ميكائيل و									D
الاطهار و علموا من ذلك الوقت انه ابن ابنة ملك المشرق	الملايكة							كل الجمع		T

Translation:

B: And the crowd when they heard this, they praised God and His archangel Gabriel.

EOQR: And the crowd when they heard this, they praised God and *the* archangel Gabriel.

C: And the crowd when they heard this, they praised God and *the pure* archangel Gabriel.

D: And the crowd when they heard this, they praised God and His archangel *Michael and Gabriel, the Messenger of Salvation unto us.*

T: And the *whole* crowd when they heard this, they praised God and *the pure archangel Gabriel and they knew from that moment that he was the son of the daughter of the king of the east.*

The above example shows two additions in T which are not found in any of the other manuscripts, and for the remaining words T is similar to ELOQR. Below another example of an addition in T.

Example 25²⁰⁷

يحنس	انا	دعاني	ليتنح	اور	انبا	الاسقف	القديس	ايام	اقترب	لما	وكان	B §203 ^a
يوحنا												COQR
						الاب القديس انبا اور الاسقف			اقتربت			D

²⁰⁷ In this example the name John, in the last column, is written in two different ways: in BD as Yuḥannis (which confirms their close relation) and in the other manuscripts as Yūḥanna.

يوحنا		دعائي		الاب القديس اور					E
يوحنا				الاب القديس اور			ان +		L
يوحنا			+ من هذا العالم						T

Translation:

B COQR: When the days of the holy (man) the bishop Anbā Aūr approached that he would pass away, he sent for me, John ...

D: When the days of *the holy father Anbā Aūr the bishop* approached that he would pass away, he sent for me, John ...

EL: When the days of *the holy father Aūr* approached that he would pass away, he sent for me, John ...

T: When the days of the holy (man) the bishop Anbā Aūr approached that he would pass away *out of this world*, he sent for me, John ...

In the example above, T is similar to COQR, apart from the addition. So on the whole T has a separate position, but is most close to COQR which is reflected in the stemma below.

Concluding the above, using B as the starting point for the text edition the relations between all manuscripts of this subrecension could be unravelled. The variants of the two manuscripts D and O have been judged valuable enough to be noted in the critical apparatus: D because of its direct relation with B, and O because of its close similarity with B. Moreover, O has been used to function as base manuscript for the missing part of the text, because of its close similarity with B. This role cannot be taken by D, although D appears to be the only manuscript having a direct relation with B, since the great number of additions in D makes it impossible to distinguish what would belong to the original text and what would be an addition. However, D is very useful in the first place to check the edition of the base manuscript B, and in the second place to check the reconstructed part of the text based on O. Apart from D, which has almost certainly been copied directly from B, the manuscripts CELOQRT have not been copied directly from B, but with one or more copies in between, which is indicated in the stemma as ‘let’, referring to the communal *Vorlage* of L, E/e* and T. ‘let’ is also related to ‘coq’, the *Vorlage* of COQ, and O is the *Vorlage* of R. These relations have been clarified above and the results are presented in the stemma further below.

In the following, the manuscripts of the two other subrecensions α -2 and α -3 are studied in order to determine their positions with respect to the manuscripts of subrecension α -1.

6. The relations of the single manuscript of subrecension α -2

Here manuscript J, the single manuscript representing subrecension α -2, will be put under investigation. The codex dating from the sixteenth century, is one of the older manuscripts available for this study. In the comparison with B, J often proves to be different. Actually, J is often different from all other manuscripts. The above given examples 1 and 2, and the examples below illustrate the deviant character of J.

Example 26

الرسل	صحبه	للسفر	وتجهز	اخوته	علي	السر	اعاد	باكرا	كان	ولما	recension α -1	B§118 CEOR
							عاد				α -1	Q
				+ واعلمهم بذلك							α -1	D
رسل الملك	وصحبه		تم بعد ذلك تجهز الفتى اور	قام وجا الي عند اخوته وقص عليهم الرويا وعاد عليهم السر				باكر الصباح			α -2	J

Translation:

BCEOR: And when it was in the morning he told the secret to his brothers and prepared for the journey, accompanied by the messengers.

Q: And when it was in the morning he *related* the secret to his brothers and prepared for the journey, accompanied by the messengers.

D: And when it was in the morning he told the secret to his brothers *and informed them about that* and prepared for the journey, accompanied by the messengers.

J: And when it was *early in the morning he got up and went to his brothers and narrated them the vision and related to them the secret. Then after this the young man Aūr prepared for the journey, and the messengers of the king accompanied him.*

The example above shows that subrecension α -2 is more elaborate than subrecension α -1. On the level of the manuscripts, J is more elaborate and different from all manuscripts of the first subrecension. The additional words found in J, do not change the purport of the text.

Example 27

جدا	حزينا	أور	وكان	يمضى	يدعه	لم	الملك	وان	recension α -1	B §123 CEOQR
				+ الي بلده					α -1	D
+ لاجل هذه الامر ولاجل اعاقته عن تكميل بنيان بيعه الملاك الجليل غبريال				+ عنها	تدعه		الملكه لما سمعت منه هذه القول		α -2	J

Translation:

BCEOQR: And the king did not let him depart and Aūr was very sad.

D: And the king did not let him depart *to his country* and Aūr was very sad.

J: And the queen, when she heard from him these words, she did not let him depart from her and Aūr was very sad about this matter and about the fact that he was hindered from completing the building of the church of the great angel Gabriel.

The example above shows again that J is more elaborate in phrasing. The extra words seem to consist of additions to the text of subrecension α -1 and they have often an explanatory character, as if the scribe wanted to explain in his own words more clearly the text that was in front of him. The text of the manuscript that he had before his eyes was most probably very similar to the text of subrecension α -1, and both might have the same manuscript as their *Vorlage*. This situates manuscript J in the stemma close to the cluster of subrecension α -1, and both subrecensions go back to one and the same original text witness, indicated in the stemma as α .

7. The relations of the manuscripts of subrecension α -3

The next group of manuscripts that has been studied belong to the third subrecension and consist of A, P and S. Here the relations between these three manuscripts and their position with respect to the manuscripts of the subrecensions α -1 and α -2 are discussed. In the beginning of this chapter the difference in phrasing between this cluster of manuscripts and subrecension α -1 has been described and illustrated in a table. Below a few other examples are presented.

Example 28

recension	B	فقال	له	لا	يا	سيدي	فقال	له	ان	كنت	انت	الهنا	فاعلمني
α -1	§126												
α -2	J	فاجاب الملك قايل						-	-			الاها	
α -3	APS					+ وقد انحل جسدي من الخوف		-	-			فاعلمني من انت الاله	

recension	B	لاني	لم	ابصر	مثل	شبه	هدا	النور	ابدا	لان	جسدي	انحل	من	خوفك
α -1	§126													
α -2	J			انظر			هده		جدا ²⁰⁸ ولا عظم لميعه		+ يا سيدي			+ وهيبك
α -3	APS													

Translation:

²⁰⁸ ابدأ is probably a writing error and the scribe meant

B: Then he (the king) said to him: ‘No, o my lord’, and he said to him: ‘If you are our god, let me know, because I have never seen a light like this, because my body has become weak out of fear of you.’

J: *And the king answered, saying:* ‘No, o my lord, if you are a god, then let me know, because I have never *observed* a light like this *nor its great brightness*, because my body, *o my lord*, has become weak out of fear of you *and of awe for you*.’

APS: Then he (the king) said to him: ‘No, o my lord *and my body has become weak out of fear*. So let me know whether you are the god?’

The tables above present a somewhat longer sentence cut in two parts. The differences between the subrecensions are visible, the manuscripts APS are identical in this case. The character of the differences of subrecension α -3 with respect to subrecension α -1 consists of leaving out some words and a few additions and putting the remaining words in a different order. The differences occurring in α -3 cannot be traced back to α -2, nor vice versa, demonstrating that both are not directly related to each other.

Example 29

اليهم	آور	بوصول	والملكة	الملك	اعلموا	ايام	بعد	كان	فلما	recension α -1	B §119
					وصلوا الي عند الملك والملكة					α -2	J
للمدينه		بوصوله								α -3	A
المدينه		بوصوله	والملك	الملكة						α -3	P
الي المدينه		بوصوله								α -3	S

Translation:

B: And when it was after days, the king and the queen were informed about Aūr’s arrival at them...

J: And when it was after days, *they arrived at the king and the queen ...*

A: And when it was after days, the king and the queen were informed about *his* arrival *at the city ...*

P: And when it was after days, *the queen and the king* were informed about *his* arrival (-) *the city ...*

S: And when it was after days, the king and the queen were informed about *his* arrival *to the city ...*

In the example above the differences in phrasing between the subrecensions are again clearly visible and confirm the above mentioned observations that all three subrecensions are very similar in contents, but different in phrasing. So they might go back to one and the same *Vorlage* (α), each via a separate line (see the stemma at the end). Moreover, this example shows that within the subrecension α -3, A and S differ from each other in the use of a preposition only, and P contains an inversion and an omission, probably a writing error.

Example 30

B §43	وان	ابراشيت	تكلم	مع	الطفل	ايضاً	قايلا	ماذا	الدي	يُصبيك	يا	ولدي
AS			قال	-	للطفل	-	-					يا ولدي ما الذي يصيبك
P			قال	-	للطفل	-	-					الدي يصيبك

Translation:

B: And Abrāšīt spoke with the child also, saying: What is it that happens to you, o my boy,

AS: And Abrāšīt said to the child: ‘O my boy, what is it that happens to you?’

P: And Abrāšīt said to the child: ‘(-) that happens to you?’

The example above shows that A and S are identical and P has left out some words. In examples 31 and 32 below, P is put in the last row in order to make its relation to A and S more apparent.

Example 31

B §41	لاي	شي	تدع	الجان	يتقدموا	الي	عند	ولدي	ويخيفوه
A			-	-			-	ابن ابنتي	
S			-	-	+ هذه الخيالات		-	ابن ابنتي	
P			-	-	+ هذا		-	-	-

B §41	العلك	تريد	تقتله	كما	قتلت	امه
AS						
P	-	-	-			

Translation:

B: Why do you let the demons come close to my boy and frighten him? Perhaps you want to kill him like you killed his mother?

A: Why do (-) they come close to *the son of my daughter* and frighten him? Perhaps you want to kill him like you killed his mother?

S: Why do (-) *these ghosts* come close to *the son of my daughter* and frighten him? Perhaps you want to kill him like you killed his mother?

P: Why do (-) *this* come close (-) like you killed his mother?

The example above shows that P is erroneous by omitting several words and S contains two more words than A.

Example 32

O §35	وان	الملكه	خافت	جدا	وتكلمت	مع	ابراشيت	قايلاه	ماذا	تفعل	حتي	تخلصنا	كانا
A										نفعل		نخلص	
S										نفعل		نخلص	
P					-					-	-	-	-

Translation:

O: The queen was very frightened and she spoke with Abrāšīt, saying: ‘What will you do to save us, all of us?’

A: The queen was very frightened and *she said to Abrāšīt*: ‘What will *we* do to save *all of us*?’

S: The queen was very frightened and *she said to the magician*: ‘What will we do to save *all of us*?’

P: The queen was very frightened (-).

Here P omits again several words, and A and S differ in one word only. Actually P misses a number of lines, covering in the base text §35-§39. On the whole, P contains many writing errors. The example 1 above shows that P has more in common with S than with A. It might be possible that P has been copied from S, implying that S, which is undated, is earlier than P, dated to AD 1702. The few small additions found in P with respect to S may have been added by the scribe of P.

Example 33

المحرق	النجاس	يشبهون	ورجلية	النار	كمتل	وجسده	B §44 ^d
المحمي		مثل		وعلى راسه قضيب صليب	ساطع جدا	ووجهه يضي بنورا	A
المحمي		مثل				وعلى راس القضيب صليب	S
المحمي		مثل				وعلى راس القضيب صليب	P

جدا	مخوف	ومنظره	انسان	وجه	ووجهه	B §44 ^d
-	-	-	-	-	-	A
-	-	-	بهي بنورا	ساطع جدا		S
-	-	-	يضي نور	ساطع جدا		P

Translation:

B: ... and his body is like fire; his legs resemble reddish copper and his face is the face of a human being; his appearance is very frightening

A: ... and *his face shines with a very brilliant light and on his head is a solid staff*; his legs are like glowing copper.

S: ... and *on the head of the staff is a cross*; his legs are like glowing copper; and his face is radiant with a very brilliant light.

P: ... and *on the head of the staff is a cross*; his legs are like glowing copper; and his face shines a very brilliant light.

The example above shows that P and S are almost identical, while A has more words in the beginning and misses a few words in the end. The differences between A and S show that it is unlikely that the one has been copied from the other.

Example 34

العالم	كل	في	الملايكة	رئيس	باسم	كثيره	بيع	بنيت	B §4
			الملاك غبريال	-					A
			الملاك الطاهر غبريال	-	تم ابتيدي اقصد عليكم من بعض قوات الملاك الطاهر غبريال المبشر بالخلاص لكل الخليقه قال بنيت بيع كثير باسم				S
			الطاهر غبريال	-	قال نبتيدي ونقص عليكم من بعض قوات وعجايب الملاك الجليل ورئيس الملايكة المبشر ----				P

Translation:

B: Many churches have been built in the name of the archangel all over the world, ...

A: Many churches have been built in the name of the *angel Gabriel* all over the world, ...

S: *Then I begin to tell you of a few of the powers of the pure angel Gabriel, the Messenger of Salvation for all creation. He said:* Many churches have been built in the name of the *pure angel Gabriel* all over the world, ...

P: *He said: We begin to tell you of a few of the powers and the miracles of the great angel Gabriel and the archangel the pure Messenger (-) Gabriel* all over the world, ...

This example shows that P has a few additional words followed by an omission of a number of words which are contained in S. This omission appears to cover exactly two lines in the manuscript S. Possibly the scribe of P added the extra words (various epithets honouring the archangel Gabriel) and then, turning back to S, the manuscript in front of him, he overlooked the two lines. This observation confirms the assumption that P has been copied from S.

Moreover, this example shows that the beginning sentence of S is absent in A, confirming that S has not been copied from A. On the whole of the text however, the differences between A and S are of minor importance and the greater similarity of both demonstrate that both go back to a similar *Vorlage*, an earlier copy of subrecension α -3. Both A and S are complete, containing few (different) omissions and very few writing errors. Finally, S has been chosen as representative for this subrecension, because of its regular handwriting and its most probably earlier date, assumingly before 1702. The result of the relations among the three manuscripts has been made visible in the stemma at the end.

At this point, the relations of all text witnesses belonging to recension α have been clarified and we will turn our attention to the manuscripts of recension β .

8. The relations of the manuscripts of recension β

What follows is an investigation of the relations between the two recensions as a whole and between the four manuscripts FGUH of recension β themselves. In the beginning of this chapter, the differences in contents between the two main recensions have been clarified, presented in the survey, and the great difference in phrasing, illustrated above in the table comparing the recensions and by the examples 1 and 2. The similarity in contents indicates that they have a similar origin, indicated in the stemma as the archetype. F, dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century, is the oldest of the manuscripts of recension β .

However, it misses two folios. The missing text passages cover the following paragraphs in B: §113-§119 and §175-§181. Moreover, in several cases F misses one word or a series of words that are present in GUH. This means that although these manuscripts are later than F, they

have not been copied from it. Manuscript U dating from 1739 is nearly identical with G, dating from 1727. However, a few tiny differences show that most probably U has not been copied from G, but possibly both have a common *Vorlage*. The fourth manuscript of this recension, H, assumingly from the nineteenth century, contains several writing errors. Although H appears to be very similar to both G and U, it is not related directly to these two, but goes probably back to the same *Vorlage* as both G and U, indicated in the stemma as ‘hug’. Here follow a few examples to illustrate these findings. The four manuscripts of recension β are compared with the base manuscript B (or O, where O is used to fill in the missing passages of B) of subrecension α -1.

Example 35

قايلا	وخاطبهم	غبريال	الرب	ملك	لهم	ظهر	كذلك	هم	وفيما	recension α -1	B§52
وقال لهم		واذا برئيس الملائكة غبريال ظهر لهم					يمشون في الطريق		وبينما	β	F
وقال لهم	وكلمهم	واذا برئيس الملائكة غبريال ظهر لهم					يمشون في الطريق عند غياب الشمس رقدوا		فبينما	β	GU
وقالوا	وكلمهم	واذا برئيس الملائكة غبريال ظهر لهم					يمشون في الطريق عند غياب الشمس رقدوا		وفيما	β	H

Translation:

B: And while they were like that, the angel of the Lord, Gabriel, appeared to them and spoke to them, saying: ...

F: And *while they were walking on the road, behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to them and said to them: ...*

GU: *Then while they were walking on the road, at sunset they rested, and behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to them and spoke with them and said to them: ...*

H: And *while they were walking on the road, at sunset they rested, and behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to them and spoke with them and they said: ...*

The example above shows the great difference in phrasing between the two recensions α and β , and illustrates that within recension β , manuscript F is more concise, and GUH are more elaborate and almost identical with each other, and H has an apparent error (*‘they said’*).

Example 36

سيده	امام	كلبا	يقتل	ان	الملك	لجندي	يجب	لا	غبريال	الملائكة	رئيس	يا	B §75
ملكه	قدام	كلب						ولا	-	-	-	-	F
ملكه	قدام	كلب			للك	للجندي + الدي							G
ملكه	قدام	كلب											U
ملكه	قدام	كلب		-									H

Translation:

B: O archangel Gabriel, the king’s soldier should not kill a dog in the presence of his master.

F: (-) *and the king’s soldier should not kill a dog in front of his king.*

G: O archangel Gabriel, *the soldier who belongs to the king* should not kill a dog *in front of his king*.

U: O archangel Gabriel, the king's soldier should not kill a dog *in front of his king*.

H: O archangel Gabriel, the king's soldier should not (-)²⁰⁹ kill a dog *in front of his king*.

This example shows an omission in F of a few words, that are present in GUH, illustrating that GUH have not been copied from F. The small addition in G is not found back in U nor in H, showing that the latter two are not copied from G. Moreover, H misses one word, probably due to a writing error.

Example 37

O §6	هذا	الموضع	ليس هو	جسداني	بل	روحاني
F	فان هذه		غير		-	-
G			هو غريب		-	-
U			هو غير		-	-
H	هذا هو		هو غير		-	-

Translation:

O: This place is not bodily, but spiritual.

F: *And* this place is *unbodily*

G: This place is *strange bodily*

U: This place is *unbodily*

H: This *is* the place, *he is unbodily*.

The example above shows another tiny difference between G and U, most probably a writing error in G that is not found in U, confirming that U is not copied from G.

Example 38

O§22	recension α -1	اليوم	داخل	هذه	البية	شبه	فردوس	الحياه
F	β	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	β	-	في وسط	هذه	الكنيسة	في		+ التي شجرة في وسطها
U	β	-	في وسط	هذا	الكنيسة	في		+ التي غرس شجره فيها في وسطها
H	β	-	في وسط	هذا	الكنيسة	هي		+ التي شجره فيها في وسطها

Translation:

O: ... today inside this church, which is similar to the Paradise of Life; ...

G: ... *in the middle of this church* in the Paradise of Life, *which is a tree in the middle of it*.

U: ... *in the middle of this church* in the Paradise of Life, *in which a tree is planted in the middle of it*.

H: ... *in the middle of this church that is* the Paradise of Life, *in which is a tree in the middle of it*.

²⁰⁹ The omission in the Arabic text cannot be transferred into the translation.

The example above shows in the first place the great difference in phrasing between recension α , represented here by O, and recension β ; in the second place that GUH have not been copied from F, that omits this sentence; and in the third place it confirms again that UH have probably not been copied from G, because G lacks one or more words that are present in H and G.

Example 39

الدفعه	هذه	في	تقتلنا	لا	ان	اسلك	انا	recension α -1	B §74
ممانتا	هذه	المره	لا	تقتلنا	فنكون	لك	عبداً	الى	يوم
ممانتا	هذه	المره	لا	تقتلنا	فنكون	عبداً	الي	يوم	ممانتا

Translation:

B: I ask you, not to kill us this time

FHU: *And now, this time do not kill us and we will be for you servants until the day of our death.*

G: *And now, this time do not kill us and we will be servants until the day of our death.*

The above example illustrates the great difference between the recensions. It shows also that G lacks one word that is present in FUH, hereby confirming that most probably UH have not been copied from G.

Example 40

الهايج	البحر	كامواج	كلامه	وصوت	جدا	مخوف	ومنظره	انسان	وجه	ووجهه	B §44
مخوف	جدا	واسمع	صوت	مهيّب	جدا	+	مهيّب				F
مهيّب	جدا	-	واسمع	صوت	-	مهيّب					GU
مهيّب	جدا	كلام	واسمع	صوت	-	مهيّب					H

Translation:

B: ... and his face is the face of a human being and his appearance is very frightening and the sound of his voice is like the waves of the turbulent sea.

F: ... and his face is the face of a human being and his appearance is *very awesome, very awesome, and I hear the sound* of his voice is *very frightening*.

GU: ... and his face is the face of a human being and his appearance is *awesome* and *I hear a very awesome sound*.

H: ... and his face is the face of a human being and his appearance is *awesome* and *I hear the sound of speaking is very awesome*.

The above example shows a writing error in F, a dittography, and GUH differ in one word from F, confirming that GUH have not been copied from F; moreover H contains one word that is absent in GU, confirming that it has not been copied from one of these two.

In conclusion, the above examples confirm the division into two main recensions, assumed earlier. The relations between the four manuscripts FGUH of recension β may be described as follows: each of the three GUH goes back to one and the same source ‘hug’; both *hug* and F go back to one *Vorlage* representing recension β . The two main recensions α and β both derive from a single archetype (see the stemma at the end). As a representative of this recension, manuscript G, containing the oldest complete text, has been chosen.

9. Conclusion

In the above, all the available manuscripts dealing with the *Naqlūn homily* have been scrutinized, first in broad lines, as groups of manuscripts forming the recensions and the subrecensions, followed by a more detailed study of the individual manuscripts. The comparison of the two main recensions α and β resulted in the discovery of eleven distinctive elements, confirming the division into two recensions. Each of these elements holds a certain significance for the story of the life of St. Aūr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel. The inconsistency in the text of recension β , resulting from the assumedly inserted passage dealing with the church of the archangel Michael at Naqlūn, together with the relatively small number of manuscripts representing this recension, are the two major reasons to characterize this recension as secondary with respect to recension α . Apart from a difference in contents, the two recensions vary widely in phrasing. Parallel passages with more or less similar contents appear to be very differently phrased. Further study of recension α , the mainstream recension, cleared up the characteristics of the three subrecensions α -1, α -2 and α -3 that differ almost only in phrasing, each in its own specific way: with respect to subrecension α -1, subrecension α -2 is more elaborate in a redundant way; subrecension α -3 is slightly more concise. These results were obtained by comparing parallel text passages word for word from those manuscripts that were chosen as representatives of the (sub)recensions, while using manuscript B, actually the oldest (dated) manuscript, as a starting point. These clear results verify and confirm the selection of B as the manuscript representing the base text. The selective comparison of the manuscripts, each separately with the base text as well as with each other, made clear the relations between them, which is reflected in the stemma at the end. Moreover, based on the results of this partial collation, the two manuscripts O and D have been selected for the critical edition of the text: O provides the missing part of B, because of its great similarity with B; and D, having a direct relation with the base manuscript B, may serve as a check, in the first place for B as a whole, and in the second place for the

reconstruction of the missing part of B. These two, O and D, have been compared completely with the base text in the collation, using the method as explained above,²¹⁰ and in this preparatory stage before the actual edition, the variants found in O and D were noted in the tables. The results of the collation have been transferred to the critical apparatus of the text edition.

This thorough study of the manuscripts dealing with the *Naqlūn homily*, first concentrating on the broad lines, then going into details, results in a clear insight in the relations of the manuscripts, depicted in the stemma below. Moreover, this study provides a reliable starting point for the text edition.

10. Stemma

The stemma below visualizes the relations between all available manuscripts dealing with the *Naqlūn homily* as these have been unravelled above. The stemma as a whole gives an idea of the transmission history of the *Naqlūn homily*.

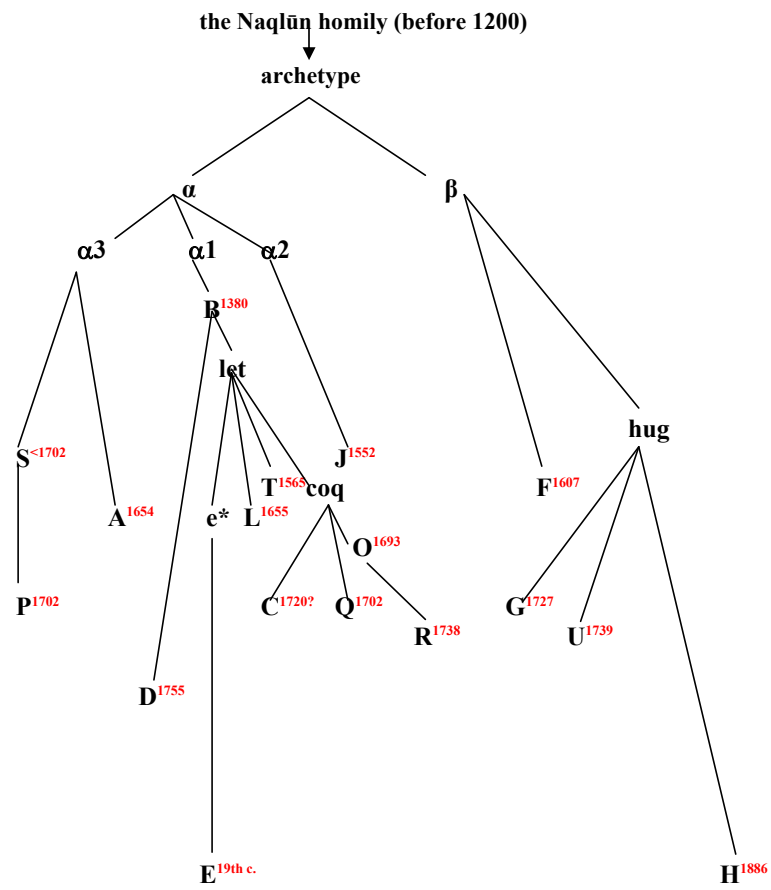
At a certain moment in the history of the monastery of the *Naqlūn* the *Naqlūn homily* was composed, most probably just before 1200 (see Context, 4. *Popularity of the legend of St. Aūr*). From this original text, designated as the archetype, two recensions originated, recension α and recension β . Recension α , the mainstream recension, developed further into three subrecensions, indicated as α -1, α -2, and α -3. Subrecension α -1 represents the largest group of manuscripts of which B is the oldest one. Assumedly, D has been copied directly from B. The remaining manuscripts of this recension have been copied from B indirectly, via a *Vorlage*, indicated as ‘let’. The two L and T are related directly to *let*; E is a later version of an earlier copy indicated as e*, which is also related to *let*. C and O and Q go back to a similar *Vorlage* ‘coq’, which is related to *let* as well. O forms the basis for a later copy of the homily, namely R. The manuscripts BCDELOQRT of recension α -1 cover a period from 1380 until the end of the nineteenth century. The subrecension α -2 is represented in a single manuscript, J. Subrecension α -3 is found in three manuscripts, ASP, of which P is possibly a direct copy of S. Recension β comprises four manuscripts, FGUH, of which F is the oldest one. GUH all three go possibly back to a similar origin, indicated as ‘hug’.

Stemma

(stemma)

²¹⁰ For explanation of the method, see above in 3. *Subrecensions: α -1, α -2, α -3*.

Stemma of the manuscripts of the *Naqlūn homily*



Chapter III

The Edition of the *Naqlūn homily*

1. Introduction

The partial collation of the manuscripts resulted in the selection of manuscript B as the starting point for the text edition of the *Naqlūn homily*. The text edition, actually the core of this study, is dealt with in the present chapter. It comprises a critical presentation of the text itself provided with a critical apparatus and accompanied by an English translation.

The *Naqlūn homily* can be characterized as a hagiographic text belonging to the Coptic tradition. As has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters, it was almost certainly composed in Arabic, some time before 1200. The language of the text of manuscript B, and actually of all available manuscripts, may be characterized as Middle Arabic. A text written in Middle Arabic requires a specific edition technique, different from the methods developed for Classical Arabic texts.²¹¹ Actually, the editor of a text written in Middle Arabic is faced by two difficulties resulting from the particular character of the language. The first problem consists of how to define Middle Arabic, as this language variety shows a low degree of standardization. The second problem for the editor results from and is related to the first. As Middle Arabic is weakly standardized, methods and rules for the edition of texts written in Middle Arabic can not be established either. These two problems are first dealt with shortly below, in order to put the method applied for the edition of the *Naqlūn homily* in a clear perspective and justify the chosen method.

2. Definition(s) of Middle Arabic

In the course of time the meaning of the term ‘Middle Arabic’ has undergone an evolution. The scholar J. Blau, very much concerned with the study of Middle Arabic, gave several definitions of the term and defined it in his *Handbook*, published in 2002, as “*the language of mediaeval Arabic texts in which classical, post-classical, and often also Neo-Arabic and pseudo-correct elements alternate quite freely.*”²¹² According to Blau, pseudo-correct elements reflect the intention of a scribe to write in Classical Arabic (or what he considered to be Classical Arabic), but since his knowledge was deficient, he coined forms that do not fit the rules of Classical Arabic nor those of the spoken language. Pseudo-correct

²¹¹ La Spisa 2015.

²¹² Blau 2002, 14.

elements are neither Classical nor colloquial. They are divided into hyper-correct and hypo-correct forms.²¹³

Other scholars in this field are more inclined to regard Middle Arabic as a variant of Arabic that continued to exist from before the standardization of Classical Arabic in the eighth century all through the ages up till modern times. This is reflected in the definition given by W. Fischer: “*Middle Arabic is the language of all those texts written by authors who are not able to reach the high standard of educated Classical Arabic or do not intend this.*”²¹⁴ Fischer notices that as a result of this sociolinguistic definition, “*Middle Arabic texts were not only produced in former times, they are written in our times as well.*” Another scholar in this field, K. Versteegh, confirms this view, writing: “*In modern studies of Arabic, the collective name for all texts with deviations from Classical grammar is Middle Arabic [...]. In contemporary texts, mistakes may occur just as easily as in the Classical period, and it would therefore be a mistake to assign any chronological connotation to the term ‘Middle Arabic’.*”²¹⁵ P. Larcher gives a clear survey of how the discussion about the definition of Middle Arabic has developed.²¹⁶ He notes that Middle Arabic has always been compared with Classical Arabic, which, since its emergence, has been considered the norm and reference for all Arabic language categories.²¹⁷ In this respect, Classical Arabic may be defined as a timeless and permanent norm and reference. Larcher ends with the conclusion that Middle Arabic, as a consequence of its being compared with the permanent norm, should also be regarded as a timeless variant of Arabic.²¹⁸

In recent times, the study of Middle Arabic intensified and the first symposium on the subject held in 2004 in Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium), organised by J. Lentin and J. Grand’Henry, resulted in the creation of the ‘Association internationale pour l’étude du moyen arabe et des variétés mixtes de l’arabe’ (International Association for the Study of Middle and Mixed Arabic – AIMA).²¹⁹ Since its foundation, the association organizes triennial conferences, and already the fourth AIMA conference has taken place recently.²²⁰ At

²¹³ See Blau 1966-1967, 1:50-51; Blau 2002, 19; Versteegh [1997] 2004, 115; Hary 2007, 275-279.

²¹⁴ Fischer 1991, 432-433.

²¹⁵ Versteegh [1997] 2004, 114.

²¹⁶ Larcher 2001, 578-609.

²¹⁷ Larcher 2001, 605.

²¹⁸ He illustrates this view of the timeless concept of Middle Arabic with a representation in a diagram, see Larcher 2001, 605, diagram 7.

²¹⁹ For the acts of the first symposium, see Lentin and Grand’Henry 2008. The term ‘Mixed Arabic’ concerns the spoken variant of Arabic, see Mejdell 2008; Den Heijer 2012a, 3, 8.

²²⁰ For the acts of the second symposium, see Zack and Schippers 2012. The acts of the third symposium are in publication. The fourth international symposium was held at Emory University, Atlanta, USA, in the period 12–15 October 2013.

the first symposium the attending scholars agreed almost unanimously in abandoning the chronological definition of Middle Arabic, and they showed preference in characterizing it as a typological variant of the language, as a continuum, between Standard or Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic.²²¹ At this same symposium, S. Hopkins gave a clear summary of the discussion, by explaining it in two different senses: “*In a chronological (‘vertical’) sense, [...] Middle Arabic is held to represent a historical intermediate stage in the linear development of Old Arabic into Neo-Arabic. In its stylistic (‘horizontal’) sense Middle Arabic means any kind of Arabic which combines classical and vernacular elements, but is itself neither the one nor the other – such Middle Arabic is neither old nor young; it simply occupies a stylistic register, [...].*”²²² At present, this ‘stylistic’ characterization of Middle Arabic seems generally accepted although the discussion still goes on. In his introduction to the acts of the second AIMA congress held at Amsterdam in 2007,²²³ Den Heijer presents a survey of the state of research in the field of Middle Arabic (and Mixed Arabic). Den Heijer explains the situation of the Arabic language in terms of the co-existence of two different varieties, namely the H (‘high’) variety (Classical Arabic, also Literary or Standard Arabic) and the L (‘low’) variety (Spoken or Colloquial Arabic).²²⁴ In this view, Middle Arabic covers the field between these two varieties, as a mix of a varying amount of features belonging to one of the two varieties. Den Heijer confirms the general agreement of scholars in the field to leave behind the exclusively chronological connotation of the term Middle Arabic and consider it a continuum between the H and L varieties,²²⁵ or, in terms of a typological characterisation, as the written form of Arabic of a mixed variety, irrespective of time.²²⁶ Based on this typological distinction between Middle Arabic for written texts and Mixed Arabic for the spoken texts, G. Mejdell took the first step to compare studies in these two fields which hold a number of shared features.²²⁷ At present, most scholars agree in the notion that the occurrence of dialectal features in a written text (or in speech) is not necessarily due to a lack of knowledge of Classical Arabic of the author (or the speaker), but sometimes authors intentionally used mixed language.²²⁸ In line with this view, Lentin rejects the notion of pseudo-correct

²²¹ See the introduction to the acts of the first symposium, Lentin and Grand’Henry 2008, p. XVII-XXIII.

²²² Hopkins 2008, 231.

²²³ Den Heijer 2012a.

²²⁴ Den Heijer 2012a, 1-2; see also Mejdell and Edzard 2012, dealing with High and Low varieties, diglossia and language contact.

²²⁵ Den Heijer 2012a, 6.

²²⁶ Den Heijer 2012a, 7-8.

²²⁷ See Mejdell 2008; and Mejdell 2012a.

²²⁸ See Mejdell 2008, 358-361; Lentin 2012a, 44, who refers to Blau in nt. 44; Mejdell 2012a, 236.

features²²⁹ in Blau's definition of Middle Arabic and prefers to point to these as hybrid forms, which characterize Middle Arabic more accurately as a separate variety.²³⁰ Lentin defined Middle Arabic as "*an intermediate, multiform variety, product of the interference of the two polar varieties on the continuum they bound, a variety that, for this very reason, has its own distinctive characteristics.*"²³¹

From its early beginnings, the discussion about the definition of Middle Arabic has always had a religious aspect. Although it is generally assumed that, because of their religious affiliation with Classical Arabic, Muslims took greater care to write Classical Arabic than Christians and Jews, this view is an oversimplification.²³² In this respect Blau's study should be mentioned, entitled *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, in which he described the features of Middle Arabic.²³³ The title gives the impression that there exists an Arabic language that is specific for the Christians in the Arab world. This assumption is severely criticised by Khalil Samir, noting that the Middle Arabic features described by Blau not only occur in texts of Christian origin but also in texts of Muslim origin.²³⁴ According to J. Grand'Henry the language of Arabic texts from Christian environments has distinctive characteristics which would allow for calling it 'Christian Arabic'.²³⁵ However, inferring from the introduction of Blau's *Grammar* and other publications of Blau, it is obvious that his main objective was not to give a description of a specific Christian Arabic language, but the study of Middle Arabic as a linguistic entity. The term Christian Arabic he employs refers to the sources that he used for his study.²³⁶ Moreover, Blau's numerous publications show that he drew on Judeo-Arabic (and Muslim-Arabic) sources as well.²³⁷

In 1984 the results of the study of early Arabic papyri carried out by Hopkins were published in his '*Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic. Based upon papyri datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.*'²³⁸ Hopkins writes in the introduction that he based his study mainly on sources of Muslim provenance.²³⁹ He comes to the conclusion that: "[...] *in almost*

²²⁹ See above, and Blau 1966-1967, 1:50-51; Hary 2007, 275-279.

²³⁰ Lentin 2008a, 217; see also Den Heijer 2012a, 7; Mejdell 2012a, 237.

²³¹ Lentin 2008a, 216; see also Lentin 2012a.

²³² See for example Worrell 1923, 346-347, where he states: "The Copts, unlike the Syrians, never cared for the Arabic which replaced their older language; and to this day Christian Egyptians are sadly to speak, as they are sadly to write, in the language of the Prophet. This is all the worse, since they have no knowledge of and no interest in Coptic either"; see also Blau 1966-1967, 1:19; Blau 2002, 19, §6; Versteegh [1997] 2004, 117.

²³³ Blau 1966-1967, 3 vols.

²³⁴ Samir 1982, 52-59; see also Samir 2001, 39-40.

²³⁵ Grand'Henry 1983, cf. the summary of the debate in den Heijer 2008, 116-118.

²³⁶ See Blau 1966-1967, 1:19; see also the review of Samir's article by Grand'Henry 1983.

²³⁷ See the list of publications of Blau in the bibliography made by Lentin 2008b, xxxv-xli.

²³⁸ Hopkins 1984.

²³⁹ Hopkins 1984, xlii, xlvi-xlvii.

every case in which the language of the Arabic papyri deviates from CA (Classical Arabic), it deviates unmistakably in the direction of Middle Arabic, typologically akin to most of the modern colloquials.”²⁴⁰

It may be concluded from the studies by Blau and Hopkins, the one based on sources written in a Christian environment, the other on sources of Muslim provenance, that Middle Arabic features occur in writings from all religious groups.²⁴¹ This is confirmed by the abovementioned *Handbook* compiled by Blau, consisting of a survey of Middle Arabic features, a study which he based on texts that are related to all three religions.²⁴²

On the other hand, in several periods in the history of Arabic literature, there have been authors from all religious groups who wrote in a very correct Classical Arabic, like, for example, the works written by the brothers al-‘Assāl, famous Coptic authors of the thirteenth century.²⁴³

Although in recent times the generally accepted definition of Middle Arabic seems to be ‘deconfessionalised’, *i.e.* described irrespective of religion, it is still very common to divide Middle Arabic into Christian, Jewish and Muslim Middle Arabic,²⁴⁴ based mainly on differences in vocabulary related to each specific religion or on other than linguistic factors.²⁴⁵ However, the aspect of confession in the study of Middle Arabic needs further attention and Den Heijer stresses the importance of the study of Middle Arabic in relation with the three religious communities.²⁴⁶ Den Heijer contributes to this study by discussing the main aspects in a general way illustrated by a few text samples, focussing on Christian Middle Arabic, and presenting an analysis for further study.²⁴⁷ Moreover, the AIMA congresses have an important role in this, because they bring together specialists of all three religious traditions and give them the opportunity to exchange ideas and research results.

As already mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the fact that Middle Arabic is weakly standardized added to its mixed character has consequences for the edition of texts

²⁴⁰ Hopkins 1984, xlvii.

²⁴¹ Hopkins writes on p. xlii, nt. 8: ‘I have not noted any linguistic features which can with certainty be interpreted as indices of confessional affiliation.’ See also Blau 2001, in which Blau studies the language of two texts, a medieval Judeo-Arabic text and a 19th century Muslim text, in which the authors blame their opponents for deviating from Classical Arabic although they themselves make similar mistakes.

²⁴² See the survey of contents in Blau 2002, 7-8.

²⁴³ About these brothers, see Graf 1944-1953, 2:387-403. Graf writes on p. 389 about one of the brothers that: “*Aṣ-Ṣaḥbī’s Sprache ist klassisch und durchwegs fachkundlich-wissenschaftlich....*”. See also Sidarus 1993.

²⁴⁴ See for example Grand’Henry 2006-2009, 1:383-387, dividing Christian Middle Arabic into an early branch (9th and 10th centuries) and a late branch (after the year 1000); see also Versteegh [1997] 2004, 117-125, 128.

²⁴⁵ For example, an important characteristic of Judaeo-Arabic texts is that they are often written in Hebrew characters, see Blau 2002, 20. See also Hopkins 2008, 231-249, dealing with ‘Judaeo-Middle Arabic’.

²⁴⁶ See Den Heijer 2012a, 15-17; and his article in the same volume Den Heijer 2012b.

²⁴⁷ See Den Heijer 2008 and 2012c.

written in this language variant.²⁴⁸ Before starting with the edition of the *Naqlūn homily*, several other editions of Middle Arabic texts in the same field of hagiography have been examined. In the course of this preparatory work, it became clear that the editors of a Middle Arabic text mostly follow their own conventions, based on their personal views of the Middle Arabic traits of the text they edit. In the following the underlying reasons for the differences in the method of edition are discussed and the method applied for the edition of the *Naqlūn homily* is expounded.²⁴⁹

3. Methodological problems in editing Middle Arabic texts

For the edition of texts written in Classical Arabic certain sets of standards have been developed in the 1950s.²⁵⁰ These publications gave rise to a discussion, which is still going on, about the method that should be followed in editing Middle Arabic texts.²⁵¹ R. Draguet developed a method for the edition of Syriac texts which has been taken over by some scholars in the field of Middle Arabic texts. His method involves the selection of a base manuscript, which is edited as it is, including errors, *i.e.* without any intervention of the editor in the text itself, but with all editorial remarks included in the critical apparatus.²⁵² Recently, Mengozzi studied Draguet's method critically and presented a survey of the recent developments in the field of the edition of Syriac texts.²⁵³

A quite different method was presented by Khalil Samir. In an elaborate article published in 1982, he proposed some principles based upon his view of the aim of editing a text written in Arabic originated in a Christian environment.²⁵⁴ According to Samir the aim of a text edition is 1. to present accurately the author's text, 2. to render faithfully the author's thought, and 3. to allow the reader to check the editor's reconstruction of the author's text.²⁵⁵ In practice, Samir's method involves the edition of a text, not a manuscript, in the form of a readable and correct text with a clear structure: numbered chapters and paragraphs being introduced as well as punctuation marks, in a way that respects the author's purpose; correcting writing errors, adapting the orthography to modern usage, correcting and

²⁴⁸ For a general survey of studies in oriental manuscripts to which this study belongs, see Bausi 2015. Also available via <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/handbook.html>.

²⁴⁹ See also Pilette's methodological discussion in chapter 5 of her thesis on the edition of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, which is related to hagiography (publication forthcoming).

²⁵⁰ See for example Blachère and Sauvaget 1953, 12-22; al-Munajjed 1956.

²⁵¹ Draguet 1977, 13-18.

²⁵² Draguet 1977, 13-18.

²⁵³ See Mengozzi 2015. He discusses also the concept of the base manuscript, see below.

²⁵⁴ See Samir 1982.

²⁵⁵ Samir 1982, 68-73, 74-85.

normalising case endings, respecting and explaining forms and syntax deviant from Classical Arabic, and clarifying specific vocabulary.

In a reaction to Samir in 1983, J. Grand’Henry remarks that in addition to the aims mentioned by Samir a critical text edition should also involve the study of the language of the text, which would result in contributing to the knowledge of the historical development of the Arabic language.²⁵⁶

In two more recent publications, published in 2012 and 2015, P. La Spisa gives an overview of the discussion and describes the different points of view for the edition of texts written in Middle Arabic.²⁵⁷ La Spisa underlines that the editor has to take into consideration two closely related and often opposing requirements: making an edition as faithful as possible (to the author, to the manuscripts, to the original text), and making an edition that is comprehensible for the reader.²⁵⁸ Wishing to fulfil the first condition, the editor keeps the text of the manuscript almost intact, including writing errors, which brings the edition close to the edition of a manuscript.²⁵⁹ For the second condition, the editor takes the liberty to adapt the contents as well as the linguistic character of the text. In short, at the one extreme end of the spectrum the edition is similar to a photographic reproduction of the manuscript and at the other end of the spectrum, the edition consists of a new text, composed by the editor, based on his interpretation of the available manuscript(s). This is in particular relevant for a text written in Middle Arabic, with its mixed character and its weakly standardized form. La Spisa emphasizes that the editor of a Middle Arabic text should neither blindly copy nor correct his written source. Instead, he should interpret the information enclosed in it, keeping in mind his final aim of the reconstruction of a text.²⁶⁰ In his latter article of 2015, La Spisa uses the terms ‘criticism of variants’ and ‘criticism of forms’ to refer to the difficulty of the two often opposing requirements layed upon the editor, explaining the difference in aim of these two kinds of criticism as follows: “*criticism of variants has the aim of retrieving the archetype of a given tradition, and the aim of criticism of forms is to retrieve as far as possible the original linguistic features of the text.*”²⁶¹ And he proposes to use this methodological distinction

²⁵⁶ See the review of Samir’s article by Grand’Henry 1983.

²⁵⁷ La Spisa 2012; and La Spisa 2015.

²⁵⁸ La Spisa 2012, 192-194.

²⁵⁹ An example of this method is the edition of Arabic versions of the life of Saint Menas, see Jaritz 1993; for a book review on Jaritz’ study, see Coquin 1994b, and Haarmann 1994.

²⁶⁰ La Spisa 2012, 205-206; and La Spisa 2015, 415-418. Two examples of an edition fulfilling both conditions in a satisfactory way is the Arabic life of John of Scetis, see Zanetti 1996; the Arabic miracles of St. Kolouthos, also by Zanetti 2004.

²⁶¹ La Spisa and Macé 2015, 346, 417.

between the two kinds of criticism, which are borrowed from Romance philology, as a helpful means for the editor of written Middle Arabic texts.²⁶²

The recently (in 2015) published *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, the so-called COMSt-Handbook, containing among others La Spisa's article referred to above, devotes an elaborate chapter on text editing of oriental manuscripts and presents an overview of all kinds of insights, problems and techniques, written by several authors and illustrated by a number of examples.²⁶³

4. Edition of the *Naqlūn* homily

Based on this preparatory investigation, the method that should best fit the edition of the *Naqlūn* homily had to be chosen. The principal aim of this study, as formulated in the Introduction, is to make an edition of the *Naqlūn* homily, i.e. a text and not a manuscript. The author is unknown and there is no autograph. The text is found in several manuscripts. The relation between these manuscripts is presented in a stemma. Manuscript B is situated at the base, or the top, of the most extensive branch of the stemma, and is actually the oldest witness.²⁶⁴ This significant position of manuscript B in the stemma is an important reason to choose it as a starting point for the edition. During editing it was kept in mind that the text of manuscript B represents in a certain way, directly or indirectly, the original composition of the author. The method applied attempts to respect and convey the author's idea in a way that is comprehensible for the reader.

The second important aspect to be conscious of for the edition is the present author's view on the Middle Arabic language of manuscript B. It may be considered an important variant of Arabic, containing interesting information which contributes to our knowledge of the development of the language. Its weakly standardized form, the irregular occurrence of features of the various registers, such as Classical, dialect, and hybrid forms, give the language a lively character and make its study not only a useful but even a fascinating enterprise. A subsidiary aim of this study is to give a description of these Middle Arabic features of the text, which are dealt with in the following chapter. Therefore the edition method applied in this book attempts to preserve the linguistic character of the text of this particular manuscript.

²⁶² La Spisa and Macé 2015, 346.

²⁶³ See Macé *et al.* 2015, 321-466, or via <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/handbook.html>. Unfortunately, the COMSt-handbook appeared after this chapter had been written, and could not be used, but a few references to this publication have been added later.

²⁶⁴ About faithfulness to the manuscript that is chosen as a base text, see Mengozzi 2015 (COMSt-handbook).

Summarizing the above, for the purpose of making an edition of the text that is readable and comprehensible, while keeping at the same time the linguistic information intact as much as possible, it was necessary to respect the manuscript as much as possible, in order to preserve all information contained in it. However, in order to provide the reader with a readable and comprehensible text a number of adaptations had to be made that concern mostly orthography. These general adaptations, which are not noted in the critical apparatus, are explained in further detail below.

4.a. Adaptations applied in the edition of the Naqlūn homily

As already remarked in the preceding chapters, the base manuscript B supplemented with the text passage taken from manuscript O covering p. 2-7, does not contain any indication of a text division, and it completely lacks punctuation marks. For the edition, the text has been divided into numbered paragraphs, in order to facilitate references. In order to check easily text and translation numbered paragraphs have been introduced in the translation parallel with the text.²⁶⁵ In addition, the translation contains a division into chapters with titles added.

Manuscript O uses page numbers and manuscript B uses folio numbers. The indication of page or folio numbers is put between brackets inside the text, for example: (65r). In the text passage that is missing in B and for which O is used, the pagenumbers are supplemented with the siglum of manuscript O, for example: (O p. 4). The text is reproduced as close as possible to its original form with a limited number of adaptations, which were applied generally and are listed below. These adaptations, all belonging to orthography, are not noted in the critical apparatus in order to limit the amount of information represented in it. For this same reason, the critical apparatus does not contain the variants in orthography belonging to this list if these occur in the two manuscripts O and D that were selected for the edition. The remaining variants, almost all concerning morphology, syntax and lexicography, are mentioned.

4.b. What is not noted in the critical apparatus

- In general the orthography of manuscript B is characterized by a great number of missing diacritical dots and an irregular vocalization deviating from the rules of Classical Arabic. Manuscript O is more accurate in this respect, since most of the diacritics are present. All remarks made here concern in the first place the text of

²⁶⁵ Samir explains the advantages of this division in numbered paragraphs, see Samir 1982, 80-85; see also COMSt-handbook p. 344-345.

manuscript B, and in the second place the text passage of manuscript O covering p. 2-7, which is used to replace the missing passage of manuscript B.

- The missing dots on the ب ت ج خ ز ش ض ظ غ ف ق ن are supplied.
- The *hamza* is rarely written, in both B and O. All occurrences are reproduced in the edition. In those cases where classical orthography demands *hamza* 'alā kursī, the scribe wrote yā' irregularly with and without dots, which makes it impossible to reconstruct the scribe's intention. Therefore, this is always presented in the edition as ي (yā' with dots). Sometimes *hamza* is written where its function is unclear, possibly serving mere decorative purposes. These occurrences are not represented in the edition. For example in §110: القوم الذي حضروا where the *hamza* is written above the lam of the word الذي.
- ي / ي The final yā' is mostly written with two dots (377 times) and in a few cases without two dots (37 times), as in, for example, §50 في and §51 في. Instead of 'alif *maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā'* we often find 'alif in this manuscript. All cases are represented as such in the edition.
- ت / ت (tā' / t̃ā') The ت does not occur in B, but it is always written as ت and it is presented similarly in the edition. In O, ت occurs in two instances: مثّل (§22); ثم (§32). These are given in the edition. In ten other instances where classical orthography would give ت it is written as ت, for example مراتا (§19); كثير (§§25, 26, 31, 32, 37); حيث (§31). These instances are reproduced in the edition similarly as ت.
- ة / ة Tā' *marbūṭa* is irregularly written with and without dots in both B and O, and it is represented in the edition as such. For example: شجرة طاهره (§22); حزينه (§39); مغروشه (§41). طيبه (§40); عده (§41).
- د / د (dāl / dāl) are used indiscriminately except for the relative pronoun الذي, which is always written with a د, either as الذي or as الذي. The ذ occurs irregularly in B, in the words اذكا ذهب اذا اذن هوذا نخاير خذل ذلك ذاك ذات ذوي لماذا ماذا اخذ ذكر. In the folios of manuscript O where O functions as the base text, ذ occurs three times, once

in each of the words: هذا , هذه , and ذكر , which are reproduced in the edition. Wherever د is written where Classical Arabic demands ذ , this is kept in the edition as د . In a few cases in B ذ is written instead of the usual د and these cases are corrected into د . For example: تولد occurs once as تولد (§49); تولد occurs once as تولد (§50).

- ش / س (*sīn* / *šīn*) In B, the diacritical dots of the ش are written either as three dots in one horizontal row or they are completely absent. In order to discern the ش from the س , in both B and O, the س is often characterised by a small ‘v’ above the س , but this is not a regular feature in this manuscript. This ‘v’ is a well known mark, named علامة الإهمال (*alāmat al-ihmāl*) used to distinguish an unpointed letter from its pointed counterpart.²⁶⁶ In O, the ش is written as such, as ش . In the edition س and ش are represented in these latter forms.
- ظ / ط (*ṭā* / *zā*) Whenever ط is written instead of ظ , this is corrected, because it appeared that similar words are written irregularly with or without the dot, and it is therefore considered not intended. For example in B, the word عظيم with a dot on the ط occurs 27 times (in different declensions) and from these 27 cases it is written as عظيم in nine cases. In one case ط is written where Classical rules demands ظ , in §128 in الله ضابط الكل . In this special case the ط is corrected in ظ and noted in the critical apparatus.
- Vowel signs occur incidentally and irregularly. For example the vowel *ḍamma* (-u-) is often written above the possessive suffix of the third person masculine singular, irrespective of case. In general, vowel signs are not reproduced, because of their irregular occurrence and in many cases it is not clear to which letter the sign belongs. The *madda* (sign over alif - َ - denoting initial long *a* : َأ) and the *šadda* (doubling sign - ّ - over a consonant) are also written irregularly, for example the *madda* occurs often on the ‘*alif*’ in the name Aūr, and also in the word العدر (according to classical

²⁶⁶ See Gacek 2001, 147; see also Wright [1859-1862] 2005, 1:4.

orthography: العذراء) where it is written above the ع (in §128). Examples of the occurrence of the *šadda* are فقصت in §132 and, unexpectedly, يصنعوا in §98 where it is placed on the *yā'*, and in the word الحجاره in §107, it is placed on the *tā' marbūṭa*.

The *madda* and the *šadda* are only reproduced in the edition in those cases where they are in conformity with the rules of the grammar of Classical Arabic.

- The name of God الله is written in two ways in the manuscript: with vowel signs الله and without vowel signs الله. Both forms are reproduced in the edition.

4.c. Abbreviations and signs used in the critical apparatus

+ : added

- : absent or missing

~ : metathesis (transposition of two phonemes in a word)

> : correction (the original word has been corrected into > the corrected reading)

[] : addition made by the editor in order to make the translation easier to understand

() : explanation of preceding word made by the editor in the translation

{ } : writing error in the text

mg. : in margine (in the margin)

sup. : superscript

s.p. : sine punctibus (sans points; without dots)

ditt. : dittography (unintentional repetition of words)

4.d. General remarks concerning the translation

The translation tries to preserve the character of the text and is therefore as literal as possible.²⁶⁷ As already pointed out above, the translation follows the edited text in numbered paragraphs. In addition, the translation contains a division into chapters with added titles that refer to the contents. The translation is accompanied by footnotes, which provide explanatory remarks, references to parallel themes in other literature and references to (possible) used literary sources. References to the Old Testament of the Bible follow the Septuagint version.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ See also in COMSt-handbook p. 359-360 (chapter 3, section 2.6.3).

²⁶⁸ For a recent English translation of the Septuagint, see the Electronic edition as published by Oxford University Press in 2009, see <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/>.

5. Text of the Naqlūn homily

- 1 (65r) بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس الآله¹ الواحد² ميمر³ وضعه الآب القديس الاسكندس⁴ انبا اور اسقف⁵ الفيوم يشرح فيه كرامه الملاك الجليل رئيس قوات السموات⁶ غبريال المبشر وبنيان كنيسته وتكريزها بجبل النفلون⁷ في مثل هذا اليوم الذي هو السادس والعشرون من شهر بوونه شفاعته المقدسه⁸ تكون معنا امين
- 2 حسنا⁹ تنبا¹⁰ داوود¹¹ المرتل قايل احيبت ان اسكن في بيت الرب الي الابد وقال ايضا احيبت يا رب¹² بها بيتك وموضع محل مجدك¹³ احيبت ان اسكن في بيت الرب¹⁴ هذا هو مآ¹⁵ واسكن فيه¹⁶ لاني احيبته
- 3 ببركه¹⁷ ابارك¹⁸ في ارامله واشبع فقراه¹⁹ خبزا وكهنته يلبسون²⁰ المجد²¹ والوقار²² وقديسيه يفرحون ويتهللون²³

¹ O اله [الآله

² D والواحد له المجد دائما | O واحد [الواحد

³ D نبتدي بمعونة الرب سبحانه بشرح ميمر [ميمر

⁴ D الاسكندس [الاسكندس

⁵ D مدينة + [اسقف

⁶ D – [رئيس قوات السموات

⁷ O قبلي مدينة الفيوم الكائنه الي يومنا هذا + [النفلون

⁸ D – [المقدسه

⁹ D قال حسنا ما [حسنا

¹⁰ D به + [تنبا

¹¹ D النبي + [داوود

¹² OD – [يا رب

¹³ D قدسك [مجدك

¹⁴ O – [احيبت ان اسكن في بيت الرب

¹⁵ D ما وآي الي الابد | O ما وآي [مآ

¹⁶ D – [واسكن فيه

¹⁷ D – | O بالبركه [ببركه

¹⁸ D وبارك [ابارك

¹⁹ OD مساكينه [فقراه

²⁰ D والبس كهنته [وكهنته يلبسون

²¹ D خلاصا | O بالمجد [المجد

²² D – [والوقار

²³ D وابراره وقديسيه بسرورا ومجدا [وقديسيه يفرحون ويتهللون

- 4 بنيت بيع كثيره¹ باسم رئيس الملائكة² في كل³ العالم وليس لهم⁴ مثل مجد⁵ هذا البيت
هذا هو⁶ الموضع الذي اوعده به الرب إلى دهر الداهرين⁷ وبركته⁸ ورحمة (O p. 2) سيده
يكونا فيه إلى الابد
- 5 حسنا⁹ انا الينا يا¹⁰ رئيس الملائكة الطاهر¹¹ غبريال الخادم الملتهب ناراً في وسط هولاء
الابا القديسين المجتمعين في هذا المجمع الطاهر¹²
- 6 هذا الموضع ليس هو جسداني بل¹³ روحاني ليس¹⁴ مسكن الارضيين بل محلاً لملك المجد
مع جماعة السمايين
- 7 من¹⁵ انا قط الي هذه البيعه¹⁶ وبه مرض من الامراض ولم يشفي
8 من يقدر ينطق ببسير من العجايب والقوات¹⁷ التي صنعهم¹⁸ رئيس الملائكة غبريال في
هذه البيعه وكل¹⁹ موضع²⁰
- 9 بالحقيقه²¹ استحققت مجدا عظيم ايها الجبل الطاهر الذي هو جبل النقلون لان الملائكة
وروساء الملائكة سكنوا فيك

¹ O كثير [كثيره]

² D غبريال + O الطاهر غبريال [الملائكة]

³ D جميع [كل]

⁴ D مجدا + [لهم]

⁵ D - [مجد]

⁶ D لان هذا [هذا هو]

⁷ D امين + [الداهرين]

⁸ D وبركة [وبركته]

⁹ D قال حسنا [حسنا]

¹⁰ D - O | sup. [يا]

¹¹ D - [الطاهر]

¹² D المقدس اليوم [الطاهر]

¹³ D هو + [بل]

¹⁴ D هو + [ليس]

¹⁵ D مين [من]

¹⁶ D المقدسه + [البيعه]

¹⁷ D القوات والعجايب [العجايب والقوات]

¹⁸ D يصنعهم [صنعهم]

¹⁹ D بل وفي كل [وكل]

²⁰ D يكون اسمك فيه لكن هذا الموضع تكون فيه بركتك إلى الابد + [موضع]

²¹ D لانك بالحقيقه [بالحقيقه]

- 10 يا سيدي ربييس الملايكة غبريال¹ لم ياجد الاب² افضل منك³ فاثمنك علي هذا السرّ العظيم العالي علي العقول البشريه
- 11 جيذا اتيت الينا اليوم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال حامل (O p. 3) البشاره المملوه حياه وخلص للعالم كلّ
- 12 جيذا اتيت الينا اليوم ايّها الطير⁴ الروحاني الذي اجنحته مملوه بخورا⁵ دكي⁶
- 13 جيذا اتيت الينا اليوم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال⁷ الذي يخلص النفوس البشريه بطلباته امام الله كل حين
- 14 جيذا اتيت الينا اليوم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال الذي معناه الاله وانسان
- 15 جيذا اتيت الينا اليوم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال الوكيل الامين بالحقيقه⁸
- 16 لان ذكرك الطاهر يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال⁹ ملاّ قلوبنا فرحا وسرورا وبهجه
- 17 أي لسان جسداني يستطيع ينطق بالمجد والقوّه الذي¹⁰ اعطاك الله اياهم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال
- 18 لان الرب¹¹ احبك¹² واطلعك¹³ علي سرّ تجسد ابنه¹⁴ الازلي من العدري الطاهره¹⁵ مريم ابنة داوود

D ايها الجبل المقدس [يا سيدي ربييس الملايكة غبريال¹

D لان الله الاب لم يجد [لم ياجد الاب²

D في اجناد السمايين + [منك³

D النسر [الطير⁴

D طيبا [بخورا⁵

D مختارا [دكي⁶

D الخادم الملهب نارا جيذا اتيت الينا اليوم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال + [غبريال⁷

D يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال + [بالحقيقه⁸

D - [يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال⁹

D التي [الذي¹⁰

D الله الاب [الرب¹¹

D - [احبك¹²

D اوتمنك [واطلعك¹³

D تجسده [تجسد ابنه¹⁴

D - [الطاهره¹⁵

- 19 وكيف تستطيع الالسن الترابيه¹ النطق² بمجذك اليوم وسيدك³ في وسط هذه البيعه لانه⁴
الموضع الذي اعطاك⁵ الي الابد ميراثا⁶ ليمجذك فيه مع اصحابك وشركائك الملايكه
20 يا احباي قد (O p. 4) حان الوقت لنحرك البخور ليمتلى الموضع جميعه بخورا لان
اسمك يا ربيس الملايكه غبريال هو بخورا نقيا
21 ودكرك كل حين يفوح كريخ شجرة الحياه الذي⁷ في وسط الفردوس لان اصلها اليوم قد
غرس في هذا الجبل المقدس وشاع ذكر هذه البيعه وبلغ خبرها الي كل مكان
22 شجرة الحياه طاهره⁸ مثل⁹ جسد ابن الله¹⁰ الذي يرفع قرابين طاهره¹¹ علي هذه الهياكل
المقدسه اليوم داخل هذه البيعه¹² شبه فردوس الحياه¹³ وجميع القديسين تاكل منها والذي
ياخذ منها¹⁴ يعيش الي الابد كما قال السيد من فاه¹⁵ الالهى ان كل¹⁶ من ياكل جسدي
ويشرب دمي فله الحياه الدايمة

¹ D الجسدانيه [الترابيه

² D تنطق [النطق

³ D المسيح + [وسيدك

⁴ D لان [لانه

⁵ D سيدك اياه + [اعطاك

⁶ D ميراثا لك الي الابد [الي الابد ميراثا || mg. O [ميراثا

⁷ D التي [الذي

⁸ D مقدسه محبيه [طاهره

⁹ D تشبه [مثل

¹⁰ D الحي + [الله

¹¹ D - [طاهره

¹² D التي صارت + [البيعه

¹³ D شجرة الحياه + [الحياه

¹⁴ D منه [منها

¹⁵ D فمه [فاه

¹⁶ D - [ان كل

- 23 اسمعوا لاعلمكم مجد هذه الكنيسة المقدسة وكيف¹ اقام الرب² اناس خطاه وفي اخر وقتهم³ صاروا ابرار⁴ يعني الذي⁵ بنوا هذه البيعة المقدسة مجدا لله ولربيس الملايكة المقدسين⁶ غبريال المبشر
- 24 اقول لكم⁷ انه لما كان في ذلك الوقت الذي⁸ يكمل فيه قوله⁹ الصادق (O p. 5) من¹⁰ بنا¹¹ هذه البيعة المقدسة باسم ربيس الملايكة غبريال¹²
- 25 كان¹³ رجلا ملكا في بلاد مطلع الشمس وكان عنده ساحرا كبير اسمه ابراشيت مكمل بكل اعمال السحر وكان كثير الخبره بهذه الصناعة
- 26 ومرار¹⁴ كثيره سجد للشيطان واعتدا من تعاليمه¹⁵ وكانت الشياطين تطيعه ويسمعون منه ومرارا¹⁶ كثيره كان¹⁷ الجان تحمله¹⁸ ويصعدوا به¹⁹ الي علو السماء ويسمع تسبحة الملايكة واوقات شتي ينزلوا به الي اسفل الارض ويعرفوه اسرارا عظيمه وهذه كانت صناعته وصناعة اهله

¹ D كيف [وكيف

² D الآله + [الرب

³ D ايامهم [وقتهم

⁴ D قديسين ابرار [ابرار

⁵ D الدين [الذي

⁶ D - [المقدسين

⁷ D ايها الشعب المسيحيين + [لكم

⁸ D اراد الله تعالى وحان الوقت ان [كان في ذلك الوقت الذي

⁹ O قول [قوله

¹⁰ D في [من

¹¹ D بنيان [بنا

¹² D قال المتكلم بهذا الميمر + [غبريال

¹³ D انه كان [كان

¹⁴ D ودفعوا [ومرار

¹⁵ D الرديه + [تعاليمه

¹⁶ D مرارا [ومرارا

¹⁷ D كانوا [كان

¹⁸ D يحملوه [تحمله

¹⁹ D ويصعدوه [ويصعدوا به

- 27 ومن اليوم الذي¹ تحبل فيه امراته ليس يقربها الي حين تولد² ولا يتزوجون امراء حتى يكمل³ عمرهم⁴ اربعون سنه ولا يدخلون⁵ اليها⁶ حتي يتم⁷ لهم⁸ اربعون يوما
- 28 ولا يدقوا⁹ طعاما والشمس ظاهره¹⁰ ولا ياكلوا¹¹ شيئا يخرج منه دم
- 29 وكانت¹² الارواح النجسه تطيعهم لاجل¹³ هذه الافعال
- 30 وهذا ابراشيت كان¹⁴ عزيز¹⁵ عند الملك وكل اهل بيته¹⁶ (O p. 6) وكان له ولدين اطفال¹⁷ وبعد يسير من عمرهما¹⁸ ماتت امهما زوجة ابراشيت الساحر وانه مضي وجلس في القيطون عند الملك والملكه

D كانت + [الذي]¹

D تلد الذي في بطنها [تولد]²

D من + [يكمل]³

D عمره [عمرهم]⁴

D يدخل [يدخلون]⁵

D عليها [اليها]⁶

D يكمل [يتم]⁷

D له [لهم]⁸

D يدقون [يدقوا]⁹

D على الدنيا + [ظاهره]¹⁰

D ياكلون [ياكلوا]¹¹

D فكانت [وكانت]¹²

D منجل [لاجل]¹³

D وكان هذا ابراشيت [وهذا ابراشيت كان]¹⁴

D مكرماء + [عزيز]¹⁵

D لاجل اشغاله الذي كان يفعلها للملك واهل المملكه [وكل اهل بيته]¹⁶

D فرياهم وعلمهم صنعتهم [اطفال]¹⁷

D هذه [يسير من عمرهما]¹⁸

- 31 وكانوا ولديه¹ قد تعلموا صناعة السحر² وفاقوا ابيهم في اشيا كثيرة وكانوا يقضوا حوايج الملك ولم يرجع³ يفتكر⁴ ابيهم⁵ مرة⁶ اخري والملك كان يعرف ان اشغالهم كلها بالطهر⁷ والعفه ولهدا كان يدعهم⁸ داخل قصره حيث زوجته واولاده وجميع نسايه⁹
- 32 وان ابراشيت الساحر¹⁰ ثم¹¹ جالس داخل قصر الملك¹² وكان¹³ للملك ابنه بكر حسنة الصورة جدًا وان¹⁴ ابراشيت تطلع اليها واحبها كثيرا ولم يزل في اترها الي ان حبلت منه وان ذلك¹⁵ بدأ¹⁶ بظهر منها¹⁷
- 33 وكانت الملكة امها¹⁸ تنظر اليها في¹⁹ كل يوم وقد تغير لونها وكانت حزينه لذلك فزعا²⁰ من الملك وخايفه من²¹ الساحر فاخفت²² سرّ ابنتها الي كمال تسعة شهور

D اولاده الاثنان [ولديه¹

D من ابوهم + [السحر²

D الملك ان + [يرجع³

D يسال [يفتكر⁴

D في شيا + [ابيهم⁵

D دفعة [مرة⁶

D بالطهارة [بالطهر⁷

D هو + [يدعهم⁸

D ونسايه واولاده [واولاده وجميع نسايه⁹

D – [الساحر¹⁰

D لما تركه الملك [ثم¹¹

D قصره [قصر الملك¹²

D كان [وكان¹³

D الساحر + [وان¹⁴

D الحبل [ذلك¹⁵

D بدأ *lege* [بدأ¹⁶

D فيها [منها¹⁷

D وكانت امها الملكة كانت [وكانت الملكة امها¹⁸

D – [في¹⁹

D خايفه [فزعا²⁰

D و [وخايفه من²¹

D وانها اخفت [فاخفت²²

- 34 فولدت ابنا¹ حسنا واسمته اور آي انها رزقته² سرا وسرقه³ (O p. 7) ومعناه ايضا⁴ عار اباهم⁵ وكان ذلك في اليوم الثاني والعشرين من شهر كيهك
- 35 وان الملكة خافت⁶ جدا وتكلمت مع ابراشيت قايله⁷ مادا تفعل حتي تخلصنا⁸ كلنا
- 36 وانه قال لها انا اكلم الملك واساله⁹ ان يدفعها¹⁰ لي امراه
- 37 فحزنت¹¹ الملكة كثيرا وقالت له موت ابنتي اصلح¹² من عارها¹³
- 38 جيد ان¹⁴ (68r) اكتم¹⁵ هذا السر الي زمان
- 39 فلما كان بعد ثلثه سنين من ميلاد الطفل آور ماتت امه ابنة الملك وكانت الملكة حزينة
- خافت¹⁶ الملك¹⁷ جدا¹⁸ وانها اخفت الطفل داخل القصر وكانت تحبه وتعزه جدا
- 40 وفي بعض الاوقات عندما كانت تدخل الي الطفل وهو راقدا علي سريره¹⁹ تنتظر
- كاروبيمين نورانيين واجنحتهم مفروشه علي الطفل آور وكان وجهه يضي جدا اكثر من²⁰
- الشمس ويفوح من مكانه روايح بخور طيبه²¹ اذكا من المسك والعنبر

¹ D غلاما] ابنا

² D حبلت به] رزقته

³ D ~] سرا وسرقه

⁴ D -] ايضا

⁵ D اتاهم] اباهم

⁶ O sup.] خافت

⁷ D وقالت لابراشيت انظر] وتكلمت مع ابراشيت قايله

⁸ D نخلص] تخلصنا

⁹ D -] واساله

¹⁰ D يعطيها] يدفعها

¹¹ D فاغتمت] فحزنت

¹² D لها +] اصلح

¹³ D العار لها] عارها

¹⁴ D بل نحن] جيد ان

¹⁵ OD نكتم] اكتم

¹⁶ OD - B خا mg.] خافت

¹⁷ OD -] الملك

¹⁸ D + علي بنتها] جدا

¹⁹ D كانت +] سريره

²⁰ D مثل] جدا اكثر من

²¹ O ذكيه] طيبه

- 41 فلما رات¹ هذا² عده دفعو³ قالت لابراشيت ابوه⁴ لاي شي تدع الجان يتقدموا⁵ الي عند ولدي ويخيفوه⁶ العلك تريد⁷ تقتله كما قتلت امه
- 42 وان ابراشيت قال لها اسمعي يا⁸ ايته الملكه ان من اليوم الذي عرفت فيه ابنتك لم⁹ يطيعني¹⁰ شيا من الجان
- 43 وان ابراشيت تكلم مع الطفل¹¹ ايضا¹² قايل ماذا¹³ الذي يصيبك يا ولدي¹⁴ لان من اليوم الذي رزقتك فيه ضعفت منى روجي¹⁵
- 44 وان الطفل قال لابييه ان من اليوم الذي ولدت¹⁶ فيه في كل اتنا¹⁷ وعشرون يوما¹⁸ من الشهر ياتي الي عند¹⁹ اوان الصبح طايرا ووجهه²⁰ يضي مثل الشمس ووسطه مشدود بمنطقه ذهب وعلي راسه تاج من الزمرد²¹ وفي يده قضيب من الذهب الاحمر وجسده كمثل النار ورجليه يشبهون²² النحاس المحرق²³ ووجهه وجه انسان²⁴ ومنظره مخوف جدا (68v) وصوت كلامه كامواج البحر الهايج

D نظرت الملكة [رات]¹
D هذه [هذا]²
O كثيره + [دفعو]³
D قالت له بحمق وغضب + [ابوه]⁴
O يتقدمون [يتقدموا]⁵
D ويخيفوه [ويخيفوه]⁶
O ان + [تريد]⁷
OD - [يا]⁸
D فلم [لم]⁹
O فيه + [يطيعني]¹⁰
D ابنه الطفل اور [الطفل]¹¹
D - [ايضا]¹²
D ما [ماذا]¹³
D ابني [ولدي]¹⁴
D قوتي مني [منى روجي]¹⁵
O mg. [ولدت]¹⁶
OD اتنين [اتنا]¹⁷
O - [يوما]¹⁸
D في [عند]¹⁹
O وجهه [ووجهه]²⁰
D الاخضر + [الزمرد]²¹
D مثل | O كمثل [يشبهون]²²
OD المبرق [المحرق]²³
D وله اجنحه طوال + [انسان]²⁴

- 45 وانا اذا نظرت اليه اسقط امامه مرعوبا فيقيمني قايل لا تخف انا هو غبريال رئيس
الملايكة الواقف امام الله¹ هوذا انا كايين معك من يوم مولدك والي الان ولا اتخلا عنك
الي اخر الدهور كلها واسم عظيم يكون لك
- 46 فلما سمع هذا الكلام اعني ابراشيت الساحر² والملكة تعجبوا كثيرا³ ووقعت⁴ عليهم رعبه⁵
عظيمه
- 47 وبعد ذلك كبر الصبي وانتشا وصار⁶ له من⁷ العمر ثمانيه سنين
- 48 ولما كان في⁸ بعض الايام نظر اليه الملك فسال ابن من⁹ هذا¹⁰ فعرفوه¹¹ السر¹² وان¹³
ابراشيت الساحر رزقه من ابنته¹⁴ فغضب¹⁵ جدا واراد قتله
- 49 فقام¹⁶ ذاك¹⁷ مسرعا واخذ اولاده الاثنان¹⁸ وآور¹⁹ الذي رزقه من ابنة الملك¹⁹ ودفعت له
الملكة ذهبا كثير²⁰ واموال شتي²¹ وخرج ماضيا الى اورشليم²²

¹ D كل حين + [الله]

² O ابراشيت الساحر هذا الكلام هو [هذا ... الساحر]

³ D عجا عظيما [كثيرا]

⁴ D ووقع [وقعت]

⁵ D خوف ورعبه [رعبه]

⁶ D وكمل [وصار]

⁷ D في [من]

⁸ O - [في]

⁹ D مين [من]

¹⁰ O هو [هذا]

¹¹ D فاعلمته الملكة [فعرفوه]

¹² D بالسر [السر]

¹³ D ان [وان]

¹⁴ OD ابنتك [ابنته]

¹⁵ D الملك + [فغضب]

¹⁶ D فلما سمع ابراشيت فخاف وقام [فقام]

¹⁷ D - [ذاك]

¹⁸ O - [الاثنان]

¹⁹ D وابنه ابن بنت الملك اور [وآور الذي رزقه من ابنة الملك]

²⁰ D جدا + [كثير]

²¹ D جزيلة [شتي]

²² D مدينة اورشليم [اورشليم]

- 50 وكانت الملكة تودع الفتى¹ بن² ابنتها³ ببكا عظيم حزينه جدًا على فراقه قايله له⁴ يا ولدي المكان الذي تمضي اليه وتسكن فيه يسمى دير اقلو⁵ لاجل⁶ انك⁷ جعلت في قلبي نارا عظيمه من اجل موت امك ولجل فراقك ايضا ومن ذلك الوقت كانوا اخوته⁸ يسموه بن⁹ الباردة
- 51 وبعد ذلك ودعتهم الملكة وساروا في طريقهم
- 52 وفيما هم كذلك ظهر لهم ملاك الرب غبريال وخاطبهم قايلًا¹⁰ قوموا من هاهنا وامضوا¹¹ الي ارض مصر (69r) واسكنوا في مدينه الفيوم
- 53 وانهم قاموا مسرعين ورئيس الملائكه غبريال المبشر¹² يصحبهم¹³ الي حيث وصلوا الي مدينه الفيوم
- 54 فاراهم مكان اسكنا¹⁴ يعقوب¹⁵ فبنوا¹⁶ هناك جوسق¹⁷ وسكنوا فيه
- 55 وكانوا يصنعوا سحرهم ويقضوا حوايج كل من ياتيهم

OD – [الفتى¹

OD ابن [بن²

D بنتها [ابنتها³

O – [له⁴

D اقلوا | O اقلوا [اقلو⁵

O لانك [لاجل⁶

O انت [انك⁷

D الالتان + [اخوته⁸

OD ابن [بن⁹

O وقال لهم [وخاطبهم قايلًا¹⁰

O قامضوا [وامضوا¹¹

D – [المبشر¹²

O يصحبهم [يصحبهم¹³

O وامرهم [اسكنا¹⁴

D ليعقوب | O بالسكن فيه [يعقوب¹⁵

D وانهم بنوا | O وبنوا [فبنوا¹⁶

D ~ [هناك جوسق¹⁷

- 56 وكان يجتمع اليهم اناس كثير¹ لان صيتهم خرج في كل الاقليم² وكانوا الذي³ ياتوا اليهم يسالوهم⁴ من اين انتم فيقولوا⁵ نحن اولاد الباردة⁶
- 57 فلما كان بعد⁷ وصولهم الي هذا الجبل الذي هو النقلون بخمسه شهور وستة ايام مات ابوهم ابراشيت الساحر وقبل خروجه من العالم⁸ ادّعا باولاده الاتتان وقال للكبير⁹ احتفظوا بهذا الصبي¹⁰ فانه¹¹ اخوكم والمجد يكون لكم منجله
- 58 وبعد ذلك اهتموا بجسده وكفنوه¹² ولأزموا ما كانوا فيه من اعمال¹³ السحر
- 59 وكانوا مرارا¹⁴ كثيره¹⁵ يستدعوا الملائكه ويستحلفوهم باقسام عظيمه فياتوا اليهم ويكملوا اشغالهم ويقضوا حوايجهم
- 60 فلما كان ذات يوما وهم جلوس غربي الجوسق يصنعوا اعمال السحر كعادتهم واذا ربيس الملائكه غبريال ورييس قوات السموات¹⁶ ميخائيل وستنا السيده العدري والده الاله القدسيه البنول¹⁷ قد حضروا اليهم وقالوا لهم ماذا تطلبون

¹ O كثيرين [كثير

² OD الاقاليم [الاقليم

³ OD الدين [الذي

⁴ D ويسالوهم [يسالوهم

⁵ D لهم + [فيقولوا

⁶ (mg. رذ [ها] B البارد[ها] [الباردة

⁷ D من بعد [بعد

⁸ D هذا العالم | B للعالم [العالم

⁹ OD لهم [للكبير

¹⁰ D اور + [الصبي

¹¹ OD فهو [فانه

¹² D وكفنوه + [وكفنوه

¹³ O - [اعمال

¹⁴ D دفعوا [مرارا

¹⁵ D جدا + [كثيره

¹⁶ O الملائكه [قوات السموات

¹⁷ D والده الاله البنول الزكيه مرتيريم | O البنول الطاهره والده الاله مرتيريم [والده الاله القدسيه البنول

- 61 فاجابوا¹ قايلين² لوالدة الآله³ بقله عقولهم⁴ نحن نريد⁵ يا سيدتنا⁶ ان تعطينا قليلا من لبن
تديك لنشربه (69v) كيلا⁷ نموت ابدا لان لنا ذخاير كثيره⁸ واموال شتي⁹ وليس لنا
احد¹⁰ يرثهم¹¹
- 62 وان العدري¹² لما سمعت هذا اشارت الي ربيس الملايكة غبريال ان¹³ يهلكهم
- 63 وان الفتى¹⁴ اور¹⁵ لما نظر الي الهلاك الذي يحل باخوته تأمل¹⁶ ربيس الملايكة غبريال
فعرفه فمضي¹⁷ وسجد تحت رجله¹⁸ قايل انا¹⁹ اسلك يا شفيعي²⁰ ان²¹ لا²² تواخذنا²³
فان²⁴ نحن²⁵ قليلي²⁶ المعرفه
- 64 اليوم يا ربيس الملايكة غبريال²⁷ عرفنا ان الله²⁸ اتا ليخلص الخطاه

¹ O – [فاجابوا]

² O فقالوا [قايلين]

³ O بقلة عقولهم [لوالده الآله]

⁴ D بعدم عقولهم | O لوالدة الآله [بقله عقولهم]

⁵ D منك + [نريد]

⁶ D العدري مريم + [سيدتنا]

⁷ D لكي لا [كيلا]

⁸ O كثير [كثيره]

⁹ D جزيله [شتي]

¹⁰ OD احدا [احد]

¹¹ D من بعدنا + [يرثهم]

¹² O الطاهره + [العدري]

¹³ O – [ان]

¹⁴ D الصبي [الفتى]

¹⁵ D اخيهم + [اور]

¹⁶ D فنظر + [تأمل]

¹⁷ D مسرعا اليه + [فمضي]

¹⁸ D اقدامه [رجله]

¹⁹ O – [انا]

²⁰ D وسيدي + [شفيعي]

²¹ OD – [ان]

²² D فلا [لا]

²³ D تواخذني انا واخوتي [تواخذنا]

²⁴ D فانا [فان]

²⁵ D – [نحن]

²⁶ D جهال وقليلين [قليلي]

²⁷ D قد + [غبريال]

²⁸ D ابن الله | O الرب [الله]

- 65 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال نعترف بالمسيح انه بن¹ الله الحي
- 66 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال نسالك² ان³ تخلصنا⁴ من الخطيه
- 67 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال⁵ صرنا لك عبيدا⁶ الي اخر ايامنا⁷
- 68 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال عتقنا⁸ من عبوديه الشيطان
- 69 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال صرنا بنينا للملكوت⁹
- 70 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال¹⁰ تركنا¹¹ عبادة الشيطان المحال
- 71 اليوم يا رئيس¹² الملائكة غبريال خلصنا من موت الخطيه¹³
- 72 اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال طهرنا من نجاسات العالم الدنس¹⁴
- 73 انا اعترف لك يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال ان نحن نصير لك عبيدا يا سيدي اليس انت كنت تحرسني¹⁵ مند صغري والي الان
- 74 انا¹⁶ اسلك ان لا تقتلنا¹⁷ في هذه الدفعه يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال (70r) لا يجوز لل سبع ان يجعل الخنزير فريسته ليلا ينجسه دمه¹⁸
- 75 يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال لا¹⁹ يجب لجندي الملك ان يقتل كلبا امام سيده

¹ OD ابن] بن

² B (n.s.p.) انسالك] نسالك

³ D تسال الله المتحنن انه +] ان

⁴ D يخلصنا] تخلصنا

⁵ O ditt.] اليوم يا رئيس الملائكة غبريال

⁶ B عبيدا] عبيدا

⁷ OD حياتنا] ايامنا

⁸ D انعتقنا | O عتقنا] عتقنا

⁹ O للمكوت السماويه] للملكوت

¹⁰ D -] غبريال

¹¹ D عنا +] تركنا

¹² D قوات +] رئيس

¹³ D المهلكة +] الخطيه

¹⁴ O -] الدنس

¹⁵ D حارسا لي] تحرسني

¹⁶ D وانا] انا

¹⁷ D تهلكنا] تقتلنا

¹⁸ D دمها] دمه

¹⁹ D فلا] لا

- 76 اقول¹ لك يا ربيس الملايكه غبريال ان² نحن انجس من كل الادناس³ لان الخلايق⁴
كلها⁵ الانسان⁶ والحيوان عرفوا⁷ ربهم وخالقهم وانا⁸ واخوتي تركناه وعبدنا الشياطين
وصنعنا ارادتهم
- 77 لا⁹ يا ربيس الملايكه غبريال لا تدع حريتك الطاهره في جسدنا الدنس النابع نتنا كمثل
الموتا من اجل خطايانا وعدم معرفتنا بخالقنا وصنعتنا الغير مستقيمه¹⁰
- 78 يا¹¹ ليت بطن امي كان لي مقبره وليت¹² لم اولد¹³ وانظر¹⁴ الى¹⁵ نور الشمس حتي لا¹⁶
يلتصق¹⁷ بي هذه الخطيه العظيمه ويحل بي¹⁸ الهلاك مع اخوتي¹⁹
- 79 وها نحن الان²⁰ نموت ولم²¹ نفعل شيا من الصلاح
- 80 هذا كله كان الطفل اور يقوله وهو ساجدا علي الارض امام احد²² رروسا²³ الملايكه
غبريال²⁴

D انا اقول [اقول¹

D انا [ان²

D الاتجاس عن الخلايق كلها | O الاتجاس [الادناس³

D – [الخلايق⁴

D – [كلها⁵

D الناس [الانسان⁶

D الله + [عرفوا⁷

D الشقي + [وانا⁸

O – [لا⁹

D الرديه النجسه [الغير مستقيمه¹⁰

D فيا [يا¹¹

D انني + | O ويا ليت [وليت¹²

D في هذه الدنيا + [اولد¹³

D ولا انظر [وانظر¹⁴

OD – [الى¹⁵

D – [لا¹⁶

D التصق [يلتصق¹⁷

D هذه + [بي¹⁸

D انا واخوتي [مع اخوتي¹⁹

D – [الان²⁰

D ولا [ولم²¹

O – [احد²²

O ربيس [رروسا²³

D المبشر + [غبريال²⁴

- 81 وان سنتنا¹ السيده ام الرحمه والدة الآله مرتمريم البتول القديسه² تحننت عليهم وامرت³
رييس الملايكه⁴ فاقامهم وازال عنهم الخوف
- 82 فخاطبوه قائلين يا رييس الملايكه غبريال ادا ما وجدنا رحمه امام الرب الهنا فنحن نكون
لك عبيدا⁵ الي يوم وفاتنا⁶
- 83 اليوم فرغنا⁷ من عبوديه الشيطان
- 84 اليوم صرنا احرارا
- 85 اليوم دخلنا في زمرة المومنين بالسيد المسيح
- 86 اليوم خلصنا من موت (70v) الخطيه وصرنا احرارا وعبيدا⁸ مومنين بالسيد المسيح الآله
الحق
- 87 اقول لك يا رييس الملايكه غبريال ان كل ما⁹ اكتسبناه من بلادنا وهاهنا ايضا¹⁰ من¹¹
صنعنا¹² السحر وغير ذلك نحن ندفع لك الجميع كرامه لعظمتك لان رحمتك ورافتك
ادركتنا وخلصتنا من موت الخطيه

¹ OD الست [سنتنا]

² D البتول مرتمريم [والدة الآله مرتمريم البتول القديسه]

³ D وإشارة الي | damaged B [وامرت]

⁴ OD غبريال + [الملايكه]

⁵ D عبيدا لك [لك عبيدا]

⁶ O ممانتا [وفاتنا]

⁷ D عتقنا [فرغنا]

⁸ D عبيدا [احرارا وعبيدا]

⁹ O - [كل ما]

¹⁰ D - [ايضا]

¹¹ D ومن [من]

¹² D صنعتنا | O صنعة [صنعنا]

- 88 فاجاب ربيس الملايكة غبريال وقال ليس انا¹ من جند ملك ارضي حتى² اكون محتاجا الي اموالكم وهداياكم ولكن ابنوا لي هاهنا كنيسة علي هذه الصخرة³ ليكون تذكاري دائما في هذا الموضع لا⁴ ينقطع ابدا وانا اعطيكم كلما تحتاجوا اليه واسل⁵ ملكي السيد المسيح يغفر⁶ لكم خطاياكم
- 89 وانهم قالوا له كلما تقوله⁷ يا سيدنا نحن فاعلوه بسرعه⁸
- 90 وان ربيس الملايكة⁹ غبريال مشي¹⁰ امامهم وحدد لهم موضع البيعه والست السيده علمت¹¹ لهم اساس المذبح وربيس¹² الملايكة ميخائيل حدد لهم الاسكنه وبقية المجمع بالقضيب¹³ الذي كان¹⁴ في يده¹⁵
- 91 وبعد ذلك باركهم وعزوهم وقووهم وصعدوا الي السما بمجد عظيم وآور¹⁶ ينظر اليهم وكان ذلك في اليوم الثالث عشر من شهر امشير
- 92 فلما كان بعد تمنيه¹⁷ ايام ابتدوا بوضع اساس البيعه واهتموا بجميع ما يحتاجوا¹⁸ اليه للبنيان¹⁹ وكان فرحا عظيما لجميع الناس والاجرا والعمالين

D انا ليس [ليس انا]¹

انا + [حتى]²

D في هذا الجبل + [الصخرة]³

D فلا [لا]⁴

D وانا اسال [واسل]⁵

OD ليغفر [يغفر]⁶

B يقوله [تقوله]⁷

D نحن فاعلوه بسرعه يا سيدنا ربيس الملايكة غبريال [يا ... بسرعه]⁸

D الملاك الجليل [ربيس الملايكة]⁹

D قام ومشى [مشى]¹⁰

B عملت [علمت]¹¹

O ووربيس [وربيس]¹²

D الذهب + [بالقضيب]¹³

OD - كان [كان]¹⁴

D وعلاه علامة الصليب + O بيده [في يده]¹⁵

D وكان اور هو [وآور]¹⁶

O ثلاثة [تمنيه]¹⁷

O يحتاج [يحتاجوا]¹⁸

O البنيان [للبنيان]¹⁹

- 93 وان¹ اراخنه (71r) مدينه الفيوم² لما سمعوا ببنا³ البيعه باسم ربيس الملايكة غبريال المبشر اتوا وصحبتهم الهدايا والندور⁴ وعملوا في البيعه وكان ربيس الملايكة مساعدا⁵ لهم⁶
- 94 هذا ما كان من امر آور بن⁷ ابراشيت الساحر
- 95 واما الملكة لما⁸ ان⁹ خرجوا من عندها لم تعلم¹⁰ الى اين مضوا فارسلت¹¹ إلي ارض مصر تفتش عليهم فلم تجدهم
- 96 فحزنت من اجل الطفل حزنا كثيرا¹² وكانت لا¹³ تفارق¹⁴ البكاء والنوح ساعه واحده وهي¹⁵ تقول هكدا ليت يا ولدي¹⁶ قتلك¹⁷ الملك وجعلت جسدك في قيطوني¹⁸ اتعزا برويته مثلما¹⁹ فعلت بامك²⁰

D كل +] وان¹

O mg.] الفيوم²

D بينان] ببنا³

D من الندور] والندور⁴

D يعينهم] مساعدا⁵

D ويقويهم] لهم⁶

OD ابن] بن⁷

D فلما] لما⁸

OD -] ان⁹

D بهم +] تعلم¹⁰

O وارسلت] فارسلت¹¹

D عظيما] كثيرا¹²

D لم] لا¹³

D تبطل] تفارق¹⁴

D وكانت] وهي¹⁵

D لو +] ولدي¹⁶

D اقتلك] قتلك¹⁷

D فكننت +] قيطوني¹⁸

D مثل] مثلما¹⁹

D جسد امك] فعلت بامك²⁰

- 97 فلما كان بعد زمان كبير وهي حزينه القلب لاجل¹ الطفل آور مات² الملك زوجها وجعلوا ولده في³ المملكه⁴ عوض منه⁵
- 98 وان والدته حصل لها حزن⁶ كثير⁷ ومن شدة الالم حصل لها⁸ ضعف الي ان قاربت الموت وكان الملك⁹ ابنها يقول¹⁰ ما بالك هكذا¹¹ يا والدتي عرفيني مرضك لادع الاطباء يصنعوا لك ما تستشفي¹² به من علتك
- 99 وانها قالت له يا ولدي انك اذا عاهدتني انك تفعل لي كلما اقول¹³ لك انا اعرفك¹⁴ ضعفي¹⁵
- 100 وانه عاهدها علي ذلك فاخبرته بالسر جميعه وانها تشتهي¹⁶ النظر الى وجه الطفل¹⁷ آور دفعه اخري قبل الموت
- 101 فاجابها الملك¹⁸ قايل يا والدتي¹⁹ كيف يعرفوه الرسل الذي²⁰ ادعهم يمشوا²¹ اليه وهو في ارض غريبه

¹ D علي [لاجل]

² D فمات [مات]

³ D - [في]

⁴ D ملكا [المملكه]

⁵ D عن ابيه | O ابيه [منه]

⁶ D من كثرة الحزن [حزن]

⁷ D - | O كبير [كثير]

⁸ D - [ومن شدة الالم حصل لها]

⁹ O - [الملك]

¹⁰ D وان الملك ابنها لما نظرها بهذا الحال قال لها [وكان الملك ابنها يقول]

¹¹ D - [ما بالك هكذا]

¹² D تشفي [تستشفي]

¹³ D اقله [اقول]

¹⁴ D اعلمك [اعرفك]

¹⁵ D بمرضي [ضعفي]

¹⁶ O تشهي [تشتهي]

¹⁷ D ابن ابنتها + [الطفل]

¹⁸ O - [الملك]

¹⁹ D اذا ارسلت اطلبه + [والدتي]

²⁰ D الدين [الذي]

²¹ D ارسلهم [ادعهم يمشوا]

- 102 فقالت له يا ابني ان في جبهته¹ علامه وهي² عندما³ لحق امه (71v) التي هي اختك
مخاض الطلق ولدته بخوف عظيم من الملك ابوك⁴ وفيما⁵ ارادت⁶ تقوم من علي
الكرسي وقعت منه⁷ رمانه⁸ ذهب فصادفت⁹ جبهة الطفل وصارت¹⁰ علامه في وجهه
103 وان الملك لما سمع هذا من والدته ارسل¹¹ رسلا الي كل ارض مصر وقال لهم اذا¹²
وجدتموه امسكوه¹³ واتوا به الي هاهنا ان شاء¹⁴ او اباء وتلك المدينه التي¹⁵ تجدوه فيها
ان كانت تحت مملكتنا والا¹⁶ فانا¹⁷ امركم ان تحرقوها بالنار
104 وان الاعوان خرجوا من عنده ومضوا في طريقهم ولم يزلوا سايرين الي ارض مصر
وبارادة الله وصلوا الي¹⁸ الفيوم بعد خمسه اشهر وكان ربيس الملايكه غبريال¹⁹
يصحبهم الي حيث وصلوا سالمين
105 فاتوا الي جبل النقلون عند غروب الشمس وكان لاور شهر²⁰ من الزمان²¹ منذ ابتدا في
بنيان البيعه باسم ربيس الملايكه غبريال

O وجهه [جبهته¹

O وهو [وهي²

O sup. ما [عندما³

D ~ [الملك ابوك⁴

D ولما [وفيما⁵

D ان + [ارادت⁶

O - [منه⁷

BD زمانه [رمانه⁸

O صادفت [فصادفت⁹

D فصارت | O صارت | mg. B صارت [وصارت¹⁰

D فارسل [ارسل¹¹

D انتم + [اذا¹²

D فامسكوه [امسكوه¹³

D ياتي معكم + [شاء¹⁴

D الذي [التي¹⁵

O - [والا¹⁶

OD انا [فانا¹⁷

D مدينه + [الي¹⁸

O - B ميخائيل [غبريال¹⁹

D شهرا واحدا [شهر²⁰

D - [من الزمان²¹

- 106 فلما وصلوا رسل الملك ونظروا¹ الي الاجرا والعمالين سالوا² هذا البنيان لمن³ فقيل⁴ لهم
لانسان يسمى⁵ آور
- 107 وانهم تطلعو فراهو يحمل الحجاره كمثل احد الفعله
- 108 فقاموا مسرعين واتوا الي عنده وتاملوا⁶ العلامه التي قيلت لهم انها في وجهه فراهو⁷
صحيحه والاسم ايضا⁸ آور⁹ كما قيل لهم
- 109 وانهم لما تحققوه جيدا¹⁰ سلموا عليه وجلسوا الي ان¹¹ دنا المسا وهم¹² متعجبين منه
- 110 فلما فرغوا الآجرا¹³ من شغلهم اعزل لهم¹⁴ مكان وحدهم (72r) ووضع لهم شيا
للاكل¹⁵ وعلم ان القوم الذي¹⁶ حضروا¹⁷ من كورته¹⁸
- 111 وانهم قالوا¹⁹ له ان الملكه والمالك²⁰ ارسلونا اليك لتاتي²¹ الي عندهم

¹ sup. B و [ونظروا]

² OD فسالوا [سالوا]

³ D لمين [لمن]

⁴ D فقالوا [فقيل]

⁵ OD اسمه [يسمى]

⁶ D في + [وتاملوا]

⁷ D فنظروها فيه [فراهو]

⁸ D هو [ايضا]

⁹ O صحيح [آور]

¹⁰ O جدا [جيدا]

¹¹ sup. B [ان]

¹² D كانوا + [وهم]

¹³ D الفعله [الآجرا]

¹⁴ D فاعزلهم [اعزل لهم]

¹⁵ O من الاكل [للاكل]

¹⁶ D الدين [الذي]

¹⁷ D اليه + [حضروا]

¹⁸ D وبلده + [كورته]

¹⁹ D فقالوا [وانهم قالوا]

²⁰ OD ~ [الملكه والمالك]

²¹ D معنا + [لتاتي]

- 112 تم عرفوه السر¹ جميعه وقالوا له ايضا ان الملك اليوم هو خالك اخو امك² عوضا عن³ جدك ابيه⁴
- 113 وان اور لما سمع هذا الكلام حزن حزنا⁵ كثيرا⁶ وبكا بكى مرًا⁷ وسالهم ان⁸ يمشوا ويدعوه ويعتدروا⁹ له عند الملك
- 114 فقالوا له هذا لا يكون ابدا ولا سبيل ان نحن¹⁰ نمضي إلي عند¹¹ الملك الا بك¹² ليلا بقتلنا
- 115 فلما سمع أور هذا الكلام حزن حزنا عظيما¹³ وصار¹⁴ باطنه كالامواج الكثيره¹⁵ من كثره الافكار ولم يدري ما يصنع وكان يقول ان الشيطان حسدني لاجل بنيان البيعه باسم رئيس الملائكه غبريال
- 116 وانه في تلك الليله لم ياكل ولم يشرب ونام كيبيا¹⁶ لا¹⁷ يدري ما يفعل واقام الليل جميعه¹⁸ يصلي ببكا عظيم¹⁹ يسأل²⁰ الله ورئيس²¹ الملائكه غبريال كي²² يعلمه ما يصنع

¹ D اعلموه بالسر [عرفوه السر

² D اقاموه ملكا + [امك

³ O من [عن

⁴ OD – [ابيه

⁵ D حزنتا [حزنا

⁶ D – [كثيرا

⁷ D شديدا [مرًا

⁸ mg. D | B وان [ان

⁹ D ويعتدروا [ويعتدروا

¹⁰ D – [نحن

¹¹ D – [عند

¹² D انت + [بك

¹³ O – [حزن حزنا عظيما

¹⁴ O صار [وصار

¹⁵ D كمثل امواج البحر [كالامواج الكثيره

¹⁶ D حزينا [كيبيا

¹⁷ D ما [لا

¹⁸ D – [الليل جميعه

¹⁹ D – [ببكا عظيم

²⁰ D ويسال [يسال

²¹ D رئيس [الله ورئيس

²² D لكي [كي

- 117 فلما كان النصف من الليل ظهر له ملاك الرب¹ غبريال بوجه يضي² وخاطبه قائلا
افرح يا أور³ مختار الله لماذا تقوم⁴ تغلق قم وامضي مسرعا مع⁵ الرسل الي الملك⁶ فان
هذا الامر من قبل الله وانا اعطيك قبولاً ومجداً ورفعته⁷ امامه الي ان تعود الي مكانك
سالماً وانا اكون⁸ معك واصحبك الي ساير المواضع التي تمضي اليها وسوف يعطيك
(72v) أشياء⁹ كثيره لاجل بنيان البيعه وكل شيا تحتاج اليه انا¹⁰ ادعه يرسله صحبتك
إلى هاهنا
- 118 وان أور لما سمع هذا الكلام من ربيس الملائكه غبريال فرح جداً ومجد¹¹ الله¹² ولما
كان باكراً اعاد السر علي اخوته¹³ وتجهز للسفر صحبه الرسل وكان الله يهديه وملاك
الرب غبريال يصحبه¹⁴ في جميع طرقه

¹ D الملاك الجليل [ملاك الرب

² D بالنور + [يضي

³ O ياور [يا أور

⁴ OD – [تقوم

⁵ sup. B و + [مع

⁶ OD رسل الملك | mg. B الرس (ل الي) [الرسل الي الملك

⁷ D – [ورفعته

⁸ O الان [اكون

⁹ D واموالاً + [أشياء

¹⁰ D وانا [انا

¹¹ D وسبح [ومجد

¹² D تعالي له المجد + [الله

¹³ D واعلمهم بذلك + [اخوته

¹⁴ D معه [يصحبه

- 119 فلما كان بعد ايام¹ اعلمو الملك والملكة بوصول آور اليهم فخرجوا للقاياه وسلموا عليه
وادخلوه الي القصر باكرام عظيم²
- 120 وكان³ الناس ينظروا⁴ الي⁵ الملكة وهي تقبل فاه⁶ ولم يكن احد يعلم بالسر
- 121 وان الملك اجلسه معه⁷ علي الكرسي⁸ لشان انه بن⁹ اخته
- 122 فلما كان بعد شهر¹⁰ وهو مقيم عندهم تحدث¹¹ مع الملكة بسبب بنيان البيعه قايلًا لها
اريد ان تسالي خالي¹² يعطيني اذن ان¹³ اسافر الي¹⁴ بلدي لاجل بنيان كنيسة رئيس
الملايكة غبريال
- 123 وان الملك لم يدعه يمضي¹⁵ وكان آور حزينا جدًا
- 124 فلما كان في تلك الليلة ظهر رئيس الملايكة غبريال للملك وهو لابس¹⁶ مجد¹⁷ عظيم
فلما نظر اليه سقط جدًا¹⁸
- 125 وان رئيس الملايكة اقامه ونزع عنه الخوف وقال له اتعرفني¹⁹
- 126 فقال له لا يا سيدي²⁰ ان كنت انت الهنا فاعلمني لاني لم ابصر مثل شبه²¹ هذا النور
ابدا لان جسدي انحلّ من (73r) خوفك

¹ D السفر قبل وصولهم +] ايام

² D بكرامة عظيمة جدا] باكرام عظيم

³ OD وكانوا] وكان

⁴ D ينظرون] ينظروا

⁵ OD –] الي

⁶ D وتعنقه +] فاه

⁷ D –] معه

⁸ D الي جنبه +] الكرسي

⁹ OD ابن] بن

¹⁰ D من الزمان +] شهر

¹¹ D فتكلم] تحدث

¹² D الملك ان +] خالي

¹³ OD –] ان

¹⁴ O –] الي

¹⁵ D الي بلده +] يمضي

¹⁶ D خلعه ملوكيه +] لابس

¹⁷ D بمجدا] مجد

¹⁸ OD علي وجهه] جدًا

¹⁹ D من انا +] اتعرفني

²⁰ BD فقال له +] سيدي

²¹ D –] شبه

- 127 فقال له ربييس الملايكة غبريال ليس¹ انا آله ايها الملك بل عبد وخادم للاله الحقيقي ملك الملوك وربّ الارباب خالق السما والارض² الذي بيده نفس كل احد
- 128 واسمي انا غبريال³ الواقف امام الله ضابط⁴ الكل كل حين⁵ المبشر الخليقه بالخلاص⁶ من قبل تجسد بن⁷ الله من العدر الطاهره⁸ مالك كل مملكات الارض⁹ والملوك كلها تحت سلطانه يرفع من يشا ويضع من يشا وانا اقول لك¹⁰ ان لم تسمع مني والا قتلتك¹¹
- 129 فقال له الملك¹² بخوف ورعده تكلم يا سيدي فان¹³ عبدك يسمع كلما تامرني به عظمتك
- 130 فقال له ربييس الملايكة غبريال اذا انت¹⁴ قمت باكرا قول¹⁵ للملكه¹⁶ كلما¹⁷ رايته¹⁸ ودعها¹⁹ ترسل آور الي مدينته وصحبته كلما يحتاج اليه²⁰ لبنيان كنيسي واذا فعلت الذي اقوله لك²¹ انا احفظك²² وملكك ولا ادع شيئا من الحروب ياتي²³ في ايامك

¹ D ليس [ليس]

² D يسوع المسيح + [والارض]

³ D المبشر + [غبريال]

⁴ D الضابط | B ضابط [ضابط]

⁵ O - [كل حين]

⁶ D للخليقه بالخلاص | O بالخلاص للخليقه [الخليقه بالخلاص]

⁷ OD ابن [بن]

⁸ D مرتريم + [الطاهره]

⁹ D العالم [الارض]

¹⁰ O sup. [لك]

¹¹ D اكون خصك وابيد مملكتك [قتلتك]

¹² B الملك [الملك]

¹³ D و [فان]

¹⁴ D - [انت]

¹⁵ D اعلم | O قل [قول]

¹⁶ D الملكة [للملكه]

¹⁷ D بكما [كلما]

¹⁸ O in upper margin [رايته]

¹⁹ D ان + [ودعها]

²⁰ O - [اليه]

²¹ D اكون + [لك]

²² D حافظا لك [احفظك]

²³ OD - [ياتي]

- 131 وان رئيس الملايكه غبريال لما قال له هذا¹ خفي² عنه ومضي الي الملكه وقال لها مثل ذلك الكلام³
- 132 فلما كان قبل اشراق النور استدعا الملك والدته واخبرها بكلما رآه⁴ فقصّت هي ايضا عليه مثل ذلك
- 133 تم قالت له ان في زمان⁵ كان⁶ آور صغيرا كنت اراه⁷ عدّه⁸ مرار⁹ داخل القصر واجنحته¹⁰ مفروشه عليه لكني لم اعرفه والان يا ولدي ارسل آور الي مصر¹¹ (73v) ولا تكلفه الاقامه¹² هاهنا واعطيه كلما يحتاج اليه لبنيان البيعه لكي يتبّت ملكك لانه ليس يقدر ملك ارضي ان يقاوم الله
- 134 وبعد¹³ ذلك استدعت الملكه آور¹⁴ واعطته جميع ما يحتاج اليه لبنيان¹⁵ البيعه¹⁶ واعطته¹⁷ ايضا¹⁸ ذهباً كثيراً¹⁹ واوصته²⁰ ان يهدم ما بناه بالطين ويجدد البنا²¹ بالطوب الآجر²² والجير والجبس²³

¹ B قال هذا لاور [قال له هذا

² D غاب [خفي

³ D الذي قاله للملك + [الكلام

⁴ OD راي [رآه

⁵ D الزمان الذي [زمان

⁶ O فيه + [كان

⁷ D انظره [اراه

⁸ O عنده [عدّه

⁹ D دفعوع [مرار

¹⁰ D وارا اجنحته | O وواجنحته [واجنحته

¹¹ D الى ارض مصر | O - [الي مصر

¹² D للمقام | O لاقامه [الاقامه

¹³ D تم بعد [وبعد

¹⁴ D ابن ابنتها + [آور

¹⁵ D - | O البنيان [لبنيان

¹⁶ D - [البيعه

¹⁷ D - [واعطته

¹⁸ D - [ايضا

¹⁹ D من الذهب والاموال الجزيله [ذهباً كثيراً

²⁰ D تم اوصته [واوصته

²¹ D البنيان [البنا

²² OD الاحمر [الآجر

²³ D والجبس والجير والحجاره [والجير والجبس

- 135 وقالت له اذا كملت¹ البيعه ابني داخلها اماكن للغربا وقلالي للرهبان واخدمهم بما اعطيتك² من المال³
- 136 وبعد ذلك ودعهم⁴ وخرج من عندهم متوجها الي ارض الفيوم⁵ ولم⁶ يزل سايرا في طريقه⁷ ورييس الملائكه غبريال⁸ يصحبه⁹ الي حيت وصل الي جبل النفلون
- 137 فسلم علي اخوته واخبرهم بكلما اتفق له ففرحوا بسلامته كثيرا
- 138 وانه قام وهدم¹⁰ ما كان بناه¹¹ وابندا بيني¹² البيعه دفعه ثانيه بالطوب الآجر¹³ كما اعلمته¹⁴ الملكه
- 139 وان اهل الفيوم لما سمعوا بقدم آور اتوا¹⁵ بهداياهم الي بيعه¹⁶ ربيس الملائكه غبريال¹⁷ وكانوا يعملوا فيها بفرح عظيم
- 140 وان الشيطان¹⁸ لم يحتمل ذلك
- 141 فلما كان بعض الايام تشبه برجل شيخ وانا الي آور فقال له¹⁹ انت من اين

¹ D اكملت بنيان [كملت

² ditt. B [بما اعطيتك || O اعطيتك [اعطيتك

³ D وقم لهم بما اعطيتك واخدمهم [واخدمهم بما اعطيتك من المال

⁴ O ودعوه [ودعهم

⁵ OD مصر | sup. B [الفيوم

⁶ D فهو لم [ولم

⁷ O كل طريقه [طريقه

⁸ D – [غبريال

⁹ O بصحبته [يصحبه

¹⁰ D قام مسرعا وهدم | O هدم [قام وهدم

¹¹ D او لا + [بناء

¹² D بنيان | O بيني [بيني

¹³ D الاحمر والخير والجبس | O الاحمر [الآجر

¹⁴ D اوصته [اعلمته

¹⁵ D اليه + [اتوا

¹⁶ OD البيعة [بيعه

¹⁷ D – O المقدسه [ربيس الملائكه غبريال

¹⁸ D العدو + [الشيطان

¹⁹ sup. O [له

- 142 فقال له انا من كورتك وعارفا¹ بابيك وامك وهذا المال الذي اتيت به معك انما² انت سرقته من (74r) قصر³ الملك وهربت إلي هاهنا لعلك⁴ تتجوا⁵ وايضا انك⁶ مولودا بالزنا⁷ وكنت ساحرا مع ابوك ابراشيت
- 143 وانت تعلم ان الذي قتلته لك صحيح⁸ وهآ⁹ الان قد¹⁰ اعلمتك به سر بيني وبينك وشيخ متلي ما يكذب وانا ما¹¹ اريد فساد لاحد
- 144 وان سمعت مني سوف يكون لك الخير مع¹² اخوتك لانك انت من كورتي
- 145 فقوم الان مسرعا واهدم هذا المكان الذي¹³ ابنتيته¹⁴ وانطلق في¹⁵ حال سبيلك ليلا¹⁶ يرسل الملك فيقتلك

D وانا عارفا [وعارفا¹

D – [انما²

B [ق] صر [قصر³

D العلك [لعلك⁴

D به + [تتجوا⁵

O انت [انك⁶

D من زنا [بالزنا⁷

D هو حق [صحيح⁸

D انا + [وهآ⁹

D – [قد¹⁰

D لم [ما¹¹

D انت و [مع¹²

D التي [الذي¹³

O بنيته [ابنتيته¹⁴

OD الي [في¹⁵

D كيلا [ليلا¹⁶

- 146 وان اور لما سمع هذا الكلام من الرجل الشيخ قام¹ مسرعا² وبسط³ يديه وصلي امام الرب⁴ وطلب⁵ هكدا⁶ يا ربييس الملايكه غبريال خلصني اسلك⁷ ايها⁸ الرب ان لا تنساني⁹ ولا تخلأ¹⁰ عني فاننا¹¹ اعلم¹² اني رجل خاطي نجس منذ صباي اسلك¹³ ان لا تسلمني إلى الشيطان¹⁴ ولا تاخذني¹⁵ حتي اتم هذه البيعه واكملها وابعد عني قوات العدو¹⁶ لان¹⁷ لك المجد الي الابد امين
- 147 فلما قال هذا اتا اليه ملاك الرب غبريال المبشر وقال له افرح يا آور مختار الله لان هوذا الرب قد كمل لك سواالك ولكن اذا اتا¹⁸ غدا هذا الشيخ السوء¹⁹ تقدم اليه واربطه بسلسله حديد وانت تعلم من²⁰ هو

¹ D فقام [قام

² OD - [مسرعا

³ D بسط [وبسط

⁴ O وقال [وطلب

⁵ D قايلأ يا ربي يسوع المسيح و + [هكدا

⁶ D انا اسالك | O واسال [اسلك

⁷ O - [ايها

⁸ O ينساني [تنساني

⁹ D تتخلا | O يتخلا [تخلأ

¹⁰ D فانت [فاننا

¹¹ D تعلم [اعلم

¹² D فاسالك [اسلك

¹³ O يا الله [ان

¹⁴ OD للشيطان [الي الشيطان

¹⁵ D تدعه يجريني [تاخذني

¹⁶ D وابطل قوة العدو عني [وابعد عني قوات العدو

¹⁷ D فان [لان

¹⁸ OD اليك + [اتا

¹⁹ D هذا الشيخ السو | O هذا الشيخ السو غدا [غدا هذا الشيخ السوء

²⁰ D مين [من

- 148 وان آور فعل كذلك¹ وعلق الشيطان مربوطا علي باب البيعه وكل احد ينظر اليه وهو
(74v) يصرخ قايل استحلفك بالله ورييس ملايكته غبريال² يا قديس الرب³ آور ان
تطلقني⁴ اقول لك ان ابوك ابراشيت سجد امامي دفعات⁵ كثيره كالاله⁶ واسمى⁷
اسماناوس⁸
- 149 اسلك ان لا تقضحني بين⁹ هذا الجمع¹⁰ فانه ليس لي استطاعه ان اصنع بك شرا
لاجل خوف¹¹ ربييس الملايكة غبريال الذي بيده سيفا مجردا يريد¹² يقتلني به لكن¹³
رحمه الله منعه¹⁴ من ذلك ان يصنع بنا¹⁵ كشرورنا¹⁶
- 150 الويل لي اليوم الويل لي¹⁷ الذي اتيت¹⁸ الي هاهنا لان¹⁹ ليس لي قوه اظهرها ولا
استطيع²⁰ آتم القضية التي ارسلت بسببها²¹
- 151 اقول لك انك اذا تركتني انا²² لا اعود الي هاهنا دفعه اخري استحلفك²³ بالقضيب الذي
بيد ربييس الملايكة غبريال لا تعدبني الويل لي اليوم بهذا الخزي العظيم

¹ D ذلك [كذلك]

² O – [بالله ورييس ملايكته غبريال]

³ OD الله [الرب]

⁴ O تسال الملاك غبريال يطلقني [تطلقني]

⁵ OD دفع [دفعات]

⁶ O كاله [كاله]

⁷ D وانا اسمى [واسمى]

⁸ D اسماناورس | O اسمانوس [اسماناوس]

⁹ O يدي + [بين]

¹⁰ D العظيم + [الجمع]

¹¹ O – [خوف]

¹² D ان + [يريد]

¹³ D لكي [لكن]

¹⁴ OD تمنعه [منعه]

¹⁵ D معنا [بنا]

¹⁶ D كمثل شرورنا [كشرورنا]

¹⁷ O – [اليوم الويل لي]

¹⁸ D فيه + [اتيت]

¹⁹ D فانه [لان]

²⁰ D ان + [استطيع]

²¹ OD فيها [بسببها]

²² OD – [انا]

²³ D انا استحلفك [استحلفك]

- 152 وان القديس اور لما سمع هذا الكلام حل وتاق الشيطان واطلقه
- 153 وانه تباعد عن البيعة قليلا وصرخ قابلا يا آور بن¹ ابراشيت انا اعلم انهم ولدوك بالزنا ويوم² مولدك طرح³ عليك الكرسي لكي اقتلك فخلصك ريبس⁴ الملايكة غبريال لكن انا راجع⁵ اليك واصنع قوتي فيك
- 154 ولما قال هذا صار مثل سهام النار ومضي مفتضح بخزي عظيم⁶
- 155 وان آور اخبر (75r) الجمع بجميع ما اتفق له وانه بن⁷ ابنه ملك المشرق ببلاد مطلع الشمس
- 156 وان الجمع لما سمعوا هذا مجدوا الله وريبس ملايكته⁸ غبريال⁹
- 157 فلما كان بعد ذلك اقاموا العمدة داخل البيعة
- 158 وان الشيطان¹⁰ تشبه بشيخ¹¹ راهب يكون عمره مايه سنه فاتا¹² الي حيث¹³ العمالين¹⁴ وسالهم من¹⁵ هو¹⁶ ريبس هذا الموضع فقالوا له آور
- 159 فقام واتا اليه وفيما¹⁷ كان يمشي وقع علي وجهه يزعم انه رجل شيخ¹⁸

¹ O يا ابن [بن]

² D وفي يوم [ويوم]

³ D فطرح³ [طرح]

⁴ D قوات + [ريبس]

⁵ OD ارجع [راجع]

⁶ O - [ولما ... عظيم]

⁷ OD ابن [بن]

⁸ D مخاييل + | O الملايكة [ملايكته]

⁹ D وغبريال المبشر لنا بالخلاص [غبريال]

¹⁰ D العدو + [الشيطان]

¹¹ D برجل شيخ [بشيخ]

¹² O واتا [فاتا]

¹³ D ناحية [حيث]

¹⁴ D والفعلة + [العمالين]

¹⁵ D مين [من]

¹⁶ O - [هو]

¹⁷ D هو + [وفيما]

¹⁸ D بطلان [شيخ]

- 160 فلما تقدم الي اور قال له انظر يا ولدي الي شيخوختي وكبري¹ وضعف بصري واجعلني
في² شغل كاحد³ هولا الاجراء
- 161 وان آور حزن عليه كثيرا وقال له اجلس انت هاهنا⁴ وانا اخدمك⁵ بما⁶ تحتاج اليه
- 162 وان الشيطان المتشبه بالرجل الشيخ قال لآور ليس ينبغي هذا يا ولدي ان اجلس بلا
شغل واكل خبزي بغير استعداد ليلا يغضب الله علي
- 163 وهوذا انت⁷ الان تنتظر الي ضعفي ولم اتخلا من⁸ الشغل يوما واحدا بل اعمل⁹ واعطي
الصعاليك والضعفا والمحتاجين¹⁰ واقتات بالباقي لان الواجب علي الراهب¹¹ ان لا
يحتاج شيا بالكتر¹²
- 164 وان الجمع تعجبوا من كلامه وسالوا آور ان يقبله
- 165 وانه قال¹³ له امضى واملا الماء للعمالين علي دواب البيعه

D ~ [شيخوختي وكبري¹

B في > الي [في²

D كمثل [كاحد³

D – [هاهنا⁴

D اقوم لك [اخدمك⁵

D بكلما [بما⁶

O وهودانت [وهوذا انت⁷

OD عن [من⁸

D بيدي + [اعمل⁹

D الضعفاء والمحتاجين والصعاليك | O الضعفا والصعاليك والمحتاجين [الصعاليك والضعفا والمحتاجين¹⁰

D بالراهب [علي الراهب¹¹

O يعمل شغل يديه [لا يحتاج شيا بالكتر¹²

D وانه قبله وقال [وانه قال¹³

- 166 وان الشيطان¹ كان يمضى يملا² الماء فلم³ يزال ماشيا بهم⁴ الي حيث يقرب من باب البيعه يسيرا فيكسر الاوعية⁵ (75v) ويقول في نفسه لا⁶ أكسرهم علي البحر ليلا ياتوا الدواب مخفّين⁷ لكني⁸ اتعب الدواب⁹ وابطل البنائين¹⁰ لان الماء كان بعيدا من الدير
- 167 وان الاجرا والبنائين تقمّموا ومنعوه ان¹¹ يملا¹² الماء وجعلوه¹³ يناول الطوب فكان يرميه علي الفعله يقتلهم¹⁴ وانه تناول حجرا كبيرا لا يقدر اثنان¹⁵ يحمله¹⁶ ورماه علي احد العمالين فقتله واعطب اثنين آخر
- 168 وان الشيطان المتشبه بالشيخ لما رآ ان¹⁷ الرجل مات صاح¹⁸ فايلا يا لهذا الظلم¹⁹ الذي كان اليوم الاصلح²⁰ ان لا تبنا هاهنا كنيسة ابدا افضل من²¹ يقتلوا خليفه الله

D وان العدو الشيطان المتشبه بالراهب [وان الشيطان¹

D ويملا [يملا²

O ولم [فلم³

O – [بهم⁴

D الماء + [الاوعية⁵

D فلا [لا⁶

D مخفّين [مخفّين⁷

OD لكن [لكني⁸

D وايدد الماء + [الدواب⁹

O العمالين [البنائين¹⁰

D لا + | O من [ان¹¹

O املا [يملا¹²

D ويجعلوه [وجعلوه¹³

D ليقتلهم | O يريد يقتلهم [يقتلهم¹⁴

OD انسان [اثنان¹⁵

OD يحمله [يحمله¹⁶

O راي | B را أن إرا ان¹⁷

D صرخ [صاح¹⁸

D العظيم + [الظلم¹⁹

D انه الاصلح [الاصلح²⁰

OD ان + [من²¹

- 169 ولما كان يقول هذا اذ اجتاز¹ بهم اسباسلار² الملك وكان معه جند كثير³ فمضي⁴ الشيطان المتشبه بالشيخ مسرعا⁵ اليه⁶ وسجد امامه هكذا قايل⁷ اسلك يا سيدي⁸ الاسباسلار⁹ ان تتصف اليوم¹⁰ فانه كان هاهنا ظلم عظيم وذلك انهم قاموا علي رجل ضعيف وقتلوه بحجر عظيم وهاهوذا هو مطروح ميت لان الله لم يجعل¹¹ علي الارض الملوك والاسباسلار¹² الا ياخذوا¹³ حق المساكين والضعفا من الدين يتقون عليهم¹⁴ اقول لك يا سيدي الاسباسلار¹⁵ ان تركت هؤلاء الناس بينوا هذه البيعه فسوف يموت¹⁶ خلقا كثير داخلها
- 170 وان الاسباسلار¹⁷ مشي مع (76r) الشيطان المتشبه بالشيخ¹⁸ لينظر¹⁹ الي الرجل الميت فلما رآه²⁰ مسك²⁰ اور ليمضي به الي الملك
- 171 وان شيوخ الدير سالوه ان يجلس²¹ عندهم لكي يستريح قليلا
- 172 وان اور كان حزينا جدا يسال²² الله ان يخلصه من هذه التجربة العظيمة

¹ O جاز [اجتاز]

² D اسفهلار [اسباسلار]

³ D كثيرين | s.p. B ت [كثير]

⁴ D اليه + [فمضي]

⁵ D بسرعه [مسرعا]

⁶ D - [اليه]

⁷ OD قايل هكذا [هكذا قايل]

⁸ D وملكي + [سيدي]

⁹ D الاسفهلار [الاسباسلار]

¹⁰ D ان تحكم اليوم وتتصف [ان تتصف اليوم]

¹¹ D جعل [يجعل]

¹² O الملوك والامرا على الارض [علي الارض الملوك والاسباسلار || D والحكام] والاسباسلار

¹³ OD لياخذوا [ياخذوا]

¹⁴ D يظلمونهم [يتقون عليهم]

¹⁵ D الامير [الاسباسلار]

¹⁶ D يموتون [يموت]

¹⁷ D الاسفهلار [الاسباسلار]

¹⁸ D الرجل الشيخ المتشبه بالشيطان | O الشيخ الذي هو الشيطان [الشيطان المتشبه بالشيخ]

¹⁹ D لكي ينظر [لينظر]

²⁰ D نظره [رآه]

²¹ O يقيم [يجلس]

²² D ويسال [يسال]

- 173 وفيما هو كذلك ظهر له رئيس الملائكة غبريال وقال له افرح يا آور مختار الله لا¹
 تحزن لاجل هذا الامر ولا يضعف قلبك امض² مسرعا وامسك³ الشيخ لتعلم من⁴ هو
 174 وان رئيس الملائكة غبريال ربط الشيطان وسلمه لاور فعلقه داخل البيعه وعاقبه عقوبه
 عظيمه⁵ وكان يصرخ قايلًا انا هو الذي اتيت في الاول⁶ وانا⁷ الذي قتل الرجل
 175 وكان يسال⁸ الاسفهلار⁹ ان يطلب الي اور كي¹⁰ يطلقه وان آور اطلقه بخزي عظيم
 176 والرجل الذي مات ادركته نعمه الله وشفاعه رئيس الملائكة غبريال وعاش¹¹ دفعه
 اخري ودفع هدايا كثيره لبيعه¹² رئيس الملائكة غبريال¹³
 177 ولم يزل مقيما في جبل النقلون اعني¹⁴ الاسفهلار¹⁵ حتي كملوا بنا¹⁶ بيعه¹⁷ رئيس
 الملائكة¹⁸ غبريال في اليوم الثالث عشر من شهر بوونه وزينوها بكل الاشيا الحسنه
 وان اور فرح كثيرا ومجد الله
 178 وفيما هو راقدا في تلك الليله اذ¹⁹ اشرق عليه نورا عظيما وظهر له ملاك الرب²⁰
 غبريال رئيس الملائكة (76v) المبشر غبريال²¹ وقال له بوجه مملو بهجه وفرح

¹ D فلا | O ولا | لا

² D قم | امض

³ D الرجل + | وامسك

⁴ D مين | من

⁵ D صعبه | عظيمه

⁶ O وكنت اكسر الجرار + | الاول

⁷ O انا هو | وانا

⁸ O يطلب الي | يسال

⁹ O الاسفهلار | الاسفهلار

¹⁰ D لكي | كي

¹¹ D للوقت + | فعاش | وعاش

¹² OD للبيعه | لبيعه

¹³ D - | O واما الاسفهلار لما راي هذه الاعجوبه العظيمه مجد الله | رئيس الملائكة غبريال

¹⁴ D الامير + | O - | اعني

¹⁵ O - | الاسفهلار

¹⁶ D بنيان | O - | بنا

¹⁷ D البيعه باسم | بيعه

¹⁸ O الملاك الجليل | رئيس الملائكة

¹⁹ D - | اذ

²⁰ D ظهر له رئيس الملائكة غبريال واشرق عليه نورا عظيما | اشرق عليه نورا عظيما وظهر له ملاك الرب غبريال

²¹ D - | O المبشر | رئيس الملائكة المبشر غبريال

- 179 السلام لك يا آور حبيب الله اقول لك إني¹ مسرور² بفعلك³ الحسن وهذا الان قد⁴
فرغت ان اسال الربّ من اجلك لكي يبني⁵ لك مسكنا في السموات لم تصنعه الايدي
180 اقول⁶ لك ان هذا الموضع قفر وكل الدين ياتوا اليه يريدوا ما يقوم بحاجتهم فلا ترد احد
ممن ياتي إلي هاهنا فقيرا كان او غني لان هذه⁷ ارادتي⁸ وكل موضع لا يكون فيه
محبه ليس⁹ فيه بركه الربّ¹⁰
181 اقول¹¹ لك يا آور ان كل من ياتي الي هاهنا وبه مرض من ساير¹² الامراض الصعبة
فانه لا¹³ يخرج من هاهنا حتي ينال الشفا بقوه ملكي¹⁴ الحقيقي يسوع¹⁵ المسيح¹⁶
182 وسوف يظهر¹⁷ في هذه البيعه عجايبا كثيره ويبيع خبرها في كل اقطار الارض¹⁸ وانا
اتي واسكن فيها لاني احببتها جدا والرب¹⁹ اعطاها لي كرامه وهبه²⁰

¹ O انا [اني

² D وفرحا + [مسرور

³ D هذا + [بفعلك

⁴ O – [قد

⁵ D ان يبني | O لبنيني [لكي يبني

⁶ D انا اقول [اقول

⁷ O هذا [هذه

⁸ D ومشية الله الالهى + [ارادتي

⁹ D فليس [ليس

¹⁰ D الله [الربّ

¹¹ D انا اقول [اقول

¹² O – [ساير

¹³ OD لم [لا

¹⁴ D الرب + [ملكي

¹⁵ D ~ [الحقيقي يسوع

¹⁶ D ابن الله الحي + [المسيح

¹⁷ D تظهر | s.p. B ظ [يظهر

¹⁸ D كلها + [الارض

¹⁹ D الاله + [والرب

²⁰ D ووهبه [وهبه

- 183 وسوف يعمر هذا الجبل¹ ويكون مثل² أبراج الحمام من كثرة الجموع التي³ تأتي⁴ إليه⁵
 من سائر الأماكن وتصعد صلواتهم أمام الله⁶ وأمر⁷ الذي⁸ يأتوا إلي هاهنا أن يكونوا
 أطهارا في نفوسهم وأجسادهم ويحفظوا الوصايا التي تسلموها من أبائهم القديسين
 184 وأنهم إذا مشوا في طريق الله وحفظوا أوامره فانا ورفيقي رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل وقوه⁹
 الله نحرسهم (77r) من كل قوات العدو والبربر¹⁰ السوء
 185 والآن قم مسرعا وارسل إلي أنبا إيساك اسقف الفيوم لكي يحضر ويكرز البيعة في اليوم
 السادس والعشرون من شهر بوونه وهو يوم¹¹ أقامني¹² الرب راسا¹³ لطغيمات¹⁴
 الملائكة¹⁵ النورانيين¹⁶
 186 ومن بعد نياحه أنبا إيساك اسقف الفيوم المذكور¹⁷ يكرزوك أنت¹⁸ يا أور¹⁹ مكانه علي
 كرسيه²⁰ فلا تحزن ولا تخاف

D المقدس + [الجبل]¹

D كمثل [مثل]²

D الدين | O الذي [التي]³

OD يأتوا [تأتي]⁴

D إليها [إليه]⁵

D دكرا طيبا + [الله]⁶

D أنت + [وأمر]⁷

D الدين [الذي]⁸

O بقوة [وقوه]⁹

O البربر [والبربر]¹⁰

D اليوم الذي | sup. O [يوم]¹¹

D فيه + [أقامني]¹²

D ريسا [راسا]¹³

D علي الطغيمات [لطغيمات]¹⁴

D الملائكة [الملائكة]¹⁵

D النورانيه [النورانيين]¹⁶

OD – [المذكور]¹⁷

OD – [أنت]¹⁸

O – [يا أور]¹⁹

D اسقف علي كرسيه مكانه | O اسقفا عوضه علي كرسيه [مكانه علي كرسيه]²⁰

- 187 واخوتك سوف¹ يخرجوا من هاهنا ويمضوا² الي³ مدينه صغيره اسمها الفشن فيكونوا
هناك الي ان يتتيحوا فاحضر اجسادهم⁴ وادفنهم هاهنا
- 188 واشرح كلما كان منك من حين⁵ مولدك والي الان ليوحنا الاسكيدس العابد بهذا الجبل
المقدس⁶ لاني فرغت ان اعلمه من اجلك
- 189 وهوذا انا معك الي يوم وفاتك واخلصك من جميع شدايدك
- 190 ولما⁷ قال له هذا غاب عنه فتعجب⁸ كثيرا ومجد الله الذي خصه بهذه النعمه العظيمه
- 191 فلما كان باكرا ارسل الي انبا ايساك اسقف الفيوم فحضر وصحبته الكهنه والاراخنه وكل
الشعب المسيحي وابتدوا بالصلاه كجاري العاده
- 192 وهكذا كرر البيعه⁹ باسم الثالوث المقدس ورشمها باسم ربييس الملائكه¹⁰ غبريال في
اليوم السادس والعشرون من شهر بوونه وكان يوم الاحد المقدس
- 193 وان الاسقف قسم أور قسا¹¹ (77v) واقاموا¹² سبعة ايام¹³ بفرح عظيم يسبحون الله¹⁴
- 194 وكانت عجائب كثيره تظهر في¹⁵ ذلك المكان¹⁶ المقدس الذي هو بيعه ربييس الملائكه¹⁷
غبريال

O – [سوف¹

D ويسكنوا +] ويمضوا²

D في] الي³

D واهتم بهم +] اجسادهم⁴

D يوم] حين⁵

O – [المقدس⁶

D فلما] ولما⁷

B +] فتعجب⁸

O الكنيسه] البيعه⁹

D ربييس ملايكته | O الملاك الجليل] ربييس الملائكه¹⁰

D قسيسا] قسا¹¹

D تم اقاموا] واقاموا¹²

D (in sup. and mg.)] ايام¹³

OD يسبحون الله بفرح عظيم] بفرح عظيم يسبحون الله¹⁴

O من] في¹⁵

OD الموضع] المكان¹⁶

O الملاك الجليل] ربييس الملائكه¹⁷

- 195 فلما كان بعد¹ ايام² تتيح انبا ايساك اسقف الفيوم³ فاجتمعوا اراخنه المدينه وكل الشعب المسيحي واخذوا⁴ آور⁵ ومضوا الي الاسكندريه⁶ حيث⁷ الاب البطريك وسالوه ان يكرز لهم اسقفا
- 196 فقال لهم من⁸ تختاروا فقالوا له ايها الاب القديس⁹ ليس تحتاج ان نعلمك لكن روح القدس الحال¹⁰ عليك¹¹ يعلمك ذلك
- 197 وانه تركهم عنده اياما¹² فلما كان¹³ بعض الليالي اذ ظهر¹⁴ ربيس الملايكه غبريال للبطريك وقال له اذا قمت باكرا اسال عن آور القس¹⁵ بجبل النقلون فكرزه اسقفا علي مدينه الفيوم واعمالها فان الرب اختاره لهذه الرتبة العاليه ليرعا شعبه بالعدل والاستقامه ويقطع بكلمة الحق افعل هذا ولا تتوانا
- 198 ولما قال له هذا غاب عنه
- 199 وان البطريك اعلم الكهنه بهذا الامر¹⁶ فارضا جميعهم ذلك وفرحوا ومجدوا الله الذي اقام لهم راعيا صالحا
- 200 وان البطريك وضع اليد عليه¹⁷ وكرزه¹⁸ اسقفا علي مدينه الفيوم وكل اعمالها

¹ D بعض] بعد

² D قليله +] ايام

³ D فمن بعد نياحته +] الفيوم

⁴ D القس +] واخذوا

⁵ O معهم +] آور

⁶ OD مدينة الاسكندريه] الاسكندريه

⁷ D الي عند] حيث

⁸ D لمن] من

⁹ O -] القديس

¹⁰ D الحال | O -] الحال

¹¹ D فيك فهو | O -] عليك

¹² D قليله +] اياما

¹³ D في +] كان

¹⁴ D له +] ظهر

¹⁵ D القس اور] آور القس

¹⁶ D الذي ظهر له +] الامر

¹⁷ O ~] اليد عليه

¹⁸ O وكرزوه] وكرزه

- 201 وبعد ذلك انا الي جبل النفلون وبنا هناك قلالي¹ واماكن كثير² لسكن³ (78r) الاخوه
والغريا الذي⁴ كانوا ياتوا اليه من كل موضع واخذ بقيه المال الذي فضل معه ودفعه⁵
للفقرا⁶ والمساكين والمحتاجين والبيع⁷ والاديره والصعاليك والارامل⁸ وكل ذوي الفاقه
202 وانا⁹ يوحنا الاسكيدس العابد بهذا الجبل شرح لي هذا الالب القديس¹⁰ الاسقف انبا اور
كل ما اتفق له من حين مولده والي¹¹ يوم تكريزه اسقفا علي الفيوم¹²
203 وكان لما اقترب¹³ ايام القديس الاسقف انبا اور¹⁴ ليتتبع دعاني انا يحنس¹⁵ وقال لي انا
اسلك يا ابي القديس ان تصلي على لان¹⁶ قد اقتربت ايامي¹⁷ لكي امضي في طريق
اباي كلهم¹⁸ وذلك ان ربيس الملائكه غبريال ظهر لي وقال لي استعد فانه لم يبق لك
في العالم سوا¹⁹ ثلثه ايام
204 فاذا انا²⁰ تتحت يا ابي القديس لا²¹ تجعل علي ثيابا فاخره ولا تجعل جسدي في تابوت
بل ادفنه في التراب²² غربي هذه²³ الكنيسه لاني رجل خاطي

D للرهبان +] قلالي¹

OD كثيره] كثير²

D ليسكنوا فيهم] لسكن³

D الدين] الذي⁴

D فصدق به] ودفعه⁵

D علي الفقرا] للفقرا⁶

D والكنائس] والبيع⁷

D والايام +] O - والارامل⁸

O انا] وانا⁹

OD -] القديس¹⁰

O الي] والي¹¹

B الفيوم] الفيوم¹²

D اقتربت] اقترب¹³

D الالب القديس انبا اور الاسقف] القديس الاسقف انبا اور¹⁴

O يوحنا] يحنس¹⁵

O لاني] لان¹⁶

D ايامي قد اقتربت] قد اقتربت ايامي¹⁷

OD السالفين] كلهم¹⁸

O غير] سوا¹⁹

OD -] انا²⁰

D فلا] لا²¹

D من +] التراب²²

OD -] هذه²³

- 205 ولما كان عند¹ انفجار الصبح في اليوم التاسع² من شهر ابيب طلبني ايضا انا يوحنا³
وقال لي اذكرني⁴ فهذا⁵ هو اليوم الذي فيه⁶ اخرج من⁷ العالم وانا خايفا من اجل
خطاياي الذي⁸ صنعتهم والاسقفيه⁹ التي¹⁰ لم ادبرها جيدا وقطيع الله الناطق الذي لم
احرسه من الدياب الابليسيه¹¹
- 206 ولما قال هذا¹² فتح فاه¹³ واسلم الروح في يدي¹⁴ (78v) الله الحي¹⁵
- 207 فبكينا¹⁶ عليه بحزن كثير¹⁷ واهتمينا بجسده ودفناه في الموضع الذي قال لنا عنه¹⁸
- 208 وانا الحقير يوحنا اسرعت وكتبت جميع ما قاله لي الاب القديس الاسقف انبا¹⁹ اور²⁰
ووضعت داخل هذه²¹ البيعه تذكارا للاثنتين²² بعدنا ولربيس²³ الملايكة غبريال²⁴

¹ O -] عند

² D السابع] التاسع

³ D انا يوحنا ايضا | O انا يوحنا قايل] ايضا انا يوحنا

⁴ D يا ابني +] اذكرني

⁵ O هذا] فهذا

⁶ D انا +] O -] فيه

⁷ D هذا +] من

⁸ O التي] الذي

⁹ B والاسقفيه] والاسقفيه

¹⁰ O الذي] التي

¹¹ O الخاطفه] الابليسيه

¹² O رشم علي داته تمتال الصليب المقدس و +] هذا

¹³ D mg.] فتح فاه

¹⁴ D يد] يدي

¹⁵ D الازلي +] الحي

¹⁶ D تم بكينا] فبكينا

¹⁷ OD عظيم] كثير

¹⁸ OD عليه] عنه

¹⁹ O -] انبا

²⁰ D انبا اور الاسقف] الاسقف انبا اور

²¹ O -] هذه

²² D من +] للاثنتين

²³ O ومجدا لربيس] ولربيس

²⁴ D -] ولربيس الملايكة غبريال

- 209 فينبغي¹ علينا الان ان² نصنع تذكاره³ حسنا بكل الطهارة⁴ وخوف الله ونرحم الفقراء
والمساكين ليشفع فينا رئيس الملائكة⁵ ويسال الله في غفران خطايانا
- 210 فلنقدم الان لله⁶ في هذه البيعة المقدسة⁷ تسابيح وتراتيل واصوات وتهليل وصلوات⁸
واغاني روحانية للتالوت المقدس⁹ لكي بشفاعه هذا الملاك الجليل رئيس الطغمت
السمائية¹⁰ غبريال المبشر¹¹ يغفر خطاياكم ويسامحكم باتامكم ويستتر عيوبكم
وهفواتكم¹² ويمحي سيئاتكم¹³ ويجعلكم ممن¹⁴ فاز بصالح الاعمال قبل فروغ الاجال
وان يربي اولادكم وينمي بالبركات ارزاقكم ويقوي مشايخكم¹⁵ ويهب الصحة لكهولكم
والقوه لمشايخكم¹⁶ والنساء¹⁷ الصالحة لاطفالكم¹⁸
- 212 وان يصونكم من الشقاق والمكاره¹⁹ ويبعد عنكم اسباب الضوايق والافتراق ويعلو نيلكم
ويرخص اسعاركم²⁰ (79r) ويجعل باب بيعته مفتوحا في وجوهكم علي ممر الازمان
والدهور²¹

D ونحن فليجب [فينبغي]¹

D لا نبتل تذكاري رئيس الملائكة غبريال بل + [ان]²

D نصنعه [نصنع تذكاره || O تذكارا] تذكاره³

D طهاره [الطهارة]⁴

D - [رئيس الملائكة]⁵

D للرب الاله | O - [لله]⁶

OD - [في هذه البيعة المقدسة]⁷

D - [وصلوات]⁸

D في هذه البيعة + | O في هذه البيعة المقدسة + [المقدس]⁹

D النورانيه [السماويه]¹⁰

OD ان + | O غبريال المبشر رئيس الطغمت النورانيه [رئيس الطغمت السماويه غبريال المبشر]¹¹

O - [وهفواتكم]¹²

OD - [ويمحي سيئاتكم]¹³

O قد + [ممن]¹⁴

O - [وان يربي اولادكم وينمي بالبركات ارزاقكم ويقوي مشايخكم]¹⁵

D - [والقوه لمشايخكم]¹⁶

D وينشي بالنساء [والنساء]¹⁷

O - [ويهب الصحة لكهولكم والقوه لمشايخكم والنساء الصالحة لاطفالكم]¹⁸

D المكاره والشقاق [الشقاق والمكاره || O - [وان يصونكم من الشقاق والمكاره]¹⁹

O - [ويعلو نيلكم ويرخص اسعاركم]²⁰

O - [ويجعل باب بيعته مفتوحا في وجوهكم علي ممر الازمان والدهور]²¹

- 213 وان¹ يحفظكم من التجارب² ويرزقكم عدل السلطان ويخزل عنكم³ ويكسر⁴ قوه الشيطان⁵
ويجعل حظكم ونصيبكم مع شهدايه وقديسيه بشفاعه هذا⁶ الملاك الجليل غبريال
المبشر⁷ بالخلاص الذي نحن الان مجتمعين نعيد⁸ له⁹
- 214 ويسمعكم الصوت الفرح القايل تعالوا الي يا مباركي ابي رتوا¹⁰ الملك المعد لكم من¹¹
قبل انشا العالم ما لم يره¹² عين ولم يسمع¹³ به اذن ولم يخطر علي قلب بشر¹⁴
- 215 بشفاعه سيدتنا كلنا العذرا الطاهره والده الاله¹⁵ القديسه البتول مرتريم¹⁶ وسائر الشهدا
والقديسين بنعمه ورافه ومحبه البشر الذي لسيدنا يسوع المسيح ابن الله الحي¹⁷
- 216 هذا الذي له ينبغي¹⁸ المجد والاكرام والسلطان والسجود والعظمه¹⁹ مع ابيه الصالح
والروح القدس المحيي المساوي معه²⁰ الان²¹ وكل اوان والي دهر الداهرين امين امين²²
امين²²

D و [وان¹

D الشيطانيه + [التجارب²

D - B ويخزل عنكم [ويخزل عنكم³

D عنكم + [ويكسر⁴

O - [ويرزقكم عدل السلطان ويخزل عنكم ويكسر قوه الشيطان⁵

O - [هذا⁶

D لنا + [المبشر⁷

D لنعيد [نعيد⁸

O - [الذي نحن الان مجتمعين نعيد له⁹

D ارتوا انتم [رتوا¹⁰

O - [من¹¹

D تراه [يره¹²

D تسمع [يسمع¹³

O - [ما لم يره عين ولم يسمع به اذن ولم يخطر علي قلب بشر¹⁴

D - [الطاهره والده الاله¹⁵

D مرتريم القديسه البتول والشهيد الكريم ماري مرقس الرسول الانجيلي | O مرتريم القديسه البتول [القديسه البتول مرتريم¹⁶

D الازلي + [الحي¹⁷

D يجب له | O ~ [له ينبغي¹⁸

D والسجود | O والعظمه والسلطان والسجود [والسلطان والسجود والعظمه¹⁹

D - [مع ابيه الصالح والروح القدس المحيي المساوي معه²⁰

D من الان [الان²¹

كملت ميامر وعجايب الملاك الجليل غبريال المبشر بالخلاص بسلام من الرب القدوس يشمل | O والسيح لله دايمًا | OD - [امين امين²²

D كافة نفوس المومنين امين

5. Translation of the Naqlūn homily

5.a. Title

- 1 (B f. 65r) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God.
A homily written by the holy father, the ascetic, Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, in which he describes the honour of the glorious angel, leader of the heavenly hosts, Gabriel, the Messenger, and the building and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn on the like of this day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. May his holy intercession be with us, amen.

5.b. Prologue

- 2 Rightly prophesied the psalmist David, saying: 'I have loved to dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.'¹ And he (David) said also: 'I have loved, o Lord, the beauty of your house and the place where your glory dwells. I have loved to dwell in the house of the Lord. This is a shelter and I dwell in it, because I have loved it.'²
3 'With a blessing I bless his widows and I feed his poor with bread³ and his priests are clothed with glory and dignity and his saints rejoice and jubilate.'⁴
4 Many churches have been built in the name of the archangel all over the world, but they do not have a glory like this house. This is the place which the Lord had promised for ever and ever and his blessing and the mercy (O p. 2) of his Lord may be in it for ever.
5 Rightly he came unto us, o pure archangel Gabriel, the servant burning with fire in the midst of these holy fathers, who are gathered in this pure congregation.
6 This place is not bodily, but spiritual; it is not the habitation of the earthly people, but a dwelling for the King of Glory with the assembly of the heavenly hosts.
7 Who ever came to this church suffering from any disease and has not been healed?
8 Who is able to pronounce [even] a little of the miracles and the mighty works that the archangel Gabriel performed in this church and every place?
9 Truly, you deserved great glory, o pure Mountain, which is the mountain of Naqlūn, because the angels and the archangels dwelled on you.
10 O my lord the archangel Gabriel, the Father did not find any one more excellent than you, therefore He entrusted to you this great mystery, which is exalted high above the

¹ Cf. Ps 25:8; 84:1.

² Cf. Ps 25:8; 26:4-5; 60:5; 83:1-5, 11; 131:14.

³ Cf. Ps 145:7-9.

⁴ Cf. Ps 131:9, 15, 16.

human minds.⁵

- 11 Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel, bringer (O p.3) of the message filled with life and salvation for the entire world.⁶
- 12 Well you came unto us today, o spiritual bird, whose wings are filled with delicious incense.
- 13 Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel, who saves the human souls by his prayers before God all times.
- 14 Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel, whose meaning is god and man.
- 15 Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel, the faithful agent of the truth.
- 16 Because your pure remembrance, o archangel Gabriel, filled our hearts with joy, happiness and delight.
- 17 Which bodily tongue is able to pronounce the glory and the power that God granted you, o archangel Gabriel?
- 18 Because the Lord loved you and revealed to you the secret of the incarnation of His eternal Son, who was incarnate of the pure Virgin Mary, daughter of David.⁷
- 19 How are the earthly tongues able to pronounce your glory, today, while your Lord is in the midst of this church, because it is the place He has given to you for ever as a heritage in order to glorify you in it, together with your comrades and your companions the angels?
- 20 O my beloved [ones], (O p. 4) the time has come to swing the censer⁸ in order to fill the entire place with incense, because your name, o archangel Gabriel, is pure incense.
- 21 Your remembrance diffuses all times like the scent of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of Paradise,⁹ because its root has been planted today on this holy mountain, and the remembrance of this church has spread and her fame has reached every place.
- 22 The Tree of Life is pure like the body of the Son of God, who raises pure offerings on these holy altars, today inside this church, which is similar to the Paradise of Life; and all the saints have eaten from these; and he who takes from it, lives for ever, as the Lord said with His godly mouth: 'Whoever eats my body and drinks my blood has eternal life.'¹⁰

⁵ Cf. Lk 1:26-38.

⁶ Cf. Lk 1:26-38.

⁷ Cf. Lk 1:26; Jn 1:14.

⁸ Censer: lit. *incense*.

⁹ Cf. Gn 2:9; Rv 22:2.

¹⁰ See Rv 2:7; Jn 6:54a. It is a literary quotation according to the Egyptian Vulgate, ed. De Lagarde, 1864; cf. also 1 Cor 11:23-26.

5.c. *Introductory words*

- 23 Listen, because I will tell you of the glory of this sanctified church and how the Lord raised sinful people,¹¹ and at the end of their time they became righteous, that is, those who built this sanctified church, for the glory of God and the leader of the holy angels, Gabriel the Messenger.

5.d. *The country in the East*

- 24 I say to you, at a certain time,¹² when His truthful word was going to be accomplished¹³ (O p. 5) concerning the building of this sanctified church in the name of the archangel Gabriel,
- 25 there was a man, a king, in the Land of the Sunrise. And with him there was a great magician called Abrāšīt, perfect in all works of magic and he was very experienced in this craft.
- 26 Very often he bowed down for Satan and he was fed by his teachings and the devils obeyed him and listened to him. Many times the demons carried him and brought him up into the height of heaven where he heard the song of praise of the angels. At other moments they brought him down into the depth of the earth where they informed him of great mysteries. This was his craft and the craft of his family.
- 27 From the day one's wife becomes pregnant, one does not approach her until the moment she gives birth. They¹⁴ do not marry a woman until they reach the age of forty years and they do not enter to her until forty days have passed for them.
- 28 They do not taste food while the sun is visible and they do not eat anything out of which comes blood.
- 29 The impure spirits obeyed them, because of these practices.

5.e. *Aūr's birth in secret*

- 30 This Abrāšīt was respected by the king and all the people of his house. (O p. 6) He had two little boys,¹⁵ and when they were still young,¹⁶ their mother, the wife of Abrāšīt the magician, died. He went to settle in the palace¹⁷ with the king and the queen.

¹¹ Sinful people: lit. *people, sinners*.

¹² At a certain time: lit. *when it was in that time*.

¹³ Cf. 2 Chr 36:22; 1 Ezr 2:1; Lk 1:45.

¹⁴ They: this plural occurring in the lines 27-29 refers most probably to 'his family' that is the family of magicians, mentioned in line 26.

¹⁵ Two little boys: lit. *two boys, children*.

¹⁶ When they were still young: lit. *after a short (time) of their life*.

- 31 His two boys learned the art of magic and they surpassed their father in many things. They fulfilled the needs of the king and he did not think of their father any more. The king knew that all their works were pure and decent.¹⁸ Therefore he allowed them to live inside his palace where his wife and his children and all his women lived.
- 32 Thereupon Abrāšīt the magician was living inside the palace of the king and the king had a very beautiful¹⁹ virgin daughter. Abrāšīt looked at her and loved her very much. He did not stop pursuing her until she became pregnant of him and that became visible²⁰ in her.
- 33 The queen, her mother, looked at her every day while her colour changed and she was sad about that, frightened of the king and afraid of the magician. So she hid her daughter's secret until nine months had passed.
- 34 Then she gave birth to a handsome son and she called him Aūr, that is to say that she has conceived him secretly and furtively (O p. 7) and the explanation of it is also: the shame of their fathers.²¹ This happened on the twenty-second day of the month of Kiyahk.
- 35 The queen was very frightened and she spoke with Abrāšīt, saying: 'What will you do to save all of us?'
- 36 He said to her: 'I shall speak to the king and ask him to give her to me in marriage.'
- 37 But the queen became very sad and she said to him: 'The death of my daughter is better than her shame.'
- 38 It is better²² for me (B 68r) to hide this secret as long as possible.'²³

5.f. *Appearance of the archangel Gabriel*

- 39 Three years after²⁴ the birth of the child Aūr, his mother, the king's daughter, died. The queen was sad, she feared the king very much and she kept the child hidden inside the palace.²⁵ She loved and cherished him very much.
- 40 At a certain time, when she entered the child's room²⁶ while he was asleep in his bed,

¹⁷ Palace: the Arabic word قبطون (quyṭūn) is derived from the Greek κοῖτων, see Boud'hors and Boutros 2001, 115.

¹⁸ Pure and descent: lit. *[done] in purity and chastity*.

¹⁹ Beautiful: lit. *beautiful of appearance*.

²⁰ That became visible : lit. *that started to appear*.

²¹ The shame of their fathers: translation of variant reading: *the shame of their rejection*.

²² Better: lit. *good*.

²³ As long as possible: lit. *until a time; until fate; for a [long] time*.

²⁴ Three years after: lit. *And when it was after three years from*.

²⁵ Cf. 2 Kgs 11:2-3.

she saw two shining cherubs with their wings stretched out over the child Aūr. His face was shining very much, more than the sun. From out of his place odours of fine incense diffused, more delicious than musk and amber.

- 41 When she saw this several times, she said to Abrāšīt, his father: ‘Why do you let the demons come close to my boy and frighten him? Perhaps you want to kill him like you killed his mother?’
- 42 Abrāšīt said to her: ‘Listen to me, o queen, since the day I knew your daughter, none²⁷ of the demons has obeyed me.’
- 43 Abrāšīt spoke with the child as well, saying: ‘What is happening to you, o my boy, because since the day when you were given to me, my soul has become weak.’
- 44 The child said to his father: ‘Since the day I have been born, on every twenty-second day of the month there comes to me at morning time a bird with his face shining like the sun; his waist fastened with a golden girdle and on his head a crown made of emerald; in his hand is a staff made of red gold and his body is like fire; his legs resemble reddish copper and his face is the face of a human being; his appearance is very frightening (68v) and the sound of his voice is like the waves of the turbulent sea.²⁸
- 45 And I, when I see him, I fall down before him, terrified, but he raises me up, saying: “Fear not, I am Gabriel, the archangel, standing before God.²⁹ Behold, I have been with you since the day of your birth up till now and I will not leave you until the end of all times³⁰ and a great name will be for you.”³¹
- 46 When they heard these words, I mean Abrāšīt the magician and the queen, they were very amazed and a great terror fell upon them.
- 47 After that, the boy became older and grew up and he became eight years old.

5.g. *Aūr’s discovery and his flight*

- 48 On a certain day, the king saw him and asked: ‘Whose son is he?’ And they informed him of the secret and that he was the son of Abrāšīt, the magician, born from his daughter. Thereupon he became very furious and he wanted to kill him.

²⁶ When she entered the child’s room: lit. *when she entered to the child*.

²⁷ None: lit. *nothing*.

²⁸ Cf. Dn 10:5-6.

²⁹ Cf. Dn 10:8-12.

³⁰ Cf. Gn 28:15 ; Mt 28:20b.

³¹ Cf. Gn 12:2.

- 49 But the latter rose up hastily and took his two children and Aūr, who was his son born from the daughter of the king. The queen gave him a lot of gold and all kinds of property³² and he departed, going to Jerusalem.
- 50 The queen bade farewell to the boy, the son of her daughter, with severe crying, very sad about his departure, saying to him: ‘O my boy, the place where you will go and dwell, will be called Dayr Aqlū, because of [the fact] that you brought about in my heart a great fire because of the death of your mother and also because of your departure.’³³ From that moment his brothers called him ‘son of the cold one.’³⁴
- 51 After that, the queen said farewell to them and they set out on their way.

5.h. *Arrival at Naqlūn*

- 52 While they were going,³⁵ the angel of the Lord, Gabriel, appeared to them and spoke to them, saying: ‘Rise up from here and go to the land of Egypt³⁶ (69r) and settle in the city of the Fayyūm.’
- 53 They rose up hastily and the archangel Gabriel, the Messenger, accompanied them until³⁷ they arrived at the city of the Fayyūm.
- 54 Then he showed them the place of the sanctuary of Jacob and they built there a mansion and lived in it.
- 55 They practised their magic and fulfilled the needs of all who came to them.
- 56 Many people gathered at them, because their fame spread all over the country and those who came to them asked them: ‘Where do you come from?’ And they said: ‘We are the sons of the cold one.’³⁸
- 57 Five months and six days after³⁹ their arrival at this mountain, which is Naqlūn, their father, Abrāšīt the magician, died. Before his departure from the world, he called for his two sons and said to the eldest: ‘Protect this lad, because he is your brother and there will be glory for you because of him.’

³² Property: the Arabic word *māl*, pl. ‘*amwāl*’ has several meanings: property, possessions, wealth, money etc.

³³ Cf. Lk 2:35.

³⁴ The cold one: in the feminine form, referring to a woman (possibly his mother).

³⁵ While they were going: lit. *While they were like that*.

³⁶ Cf. Mt 2:13.

³⁷ Until: lit. *to where*. See also chapter IV, Hb §71-72.

³⁸ The cold one: see nt. 34.

³⁹ Five ... Naqlūn: lit. *And when it was after their arrival at this mountain, which is Naqlūn, five months and six days*.

- 58 After this they took care of his body and shrouded him and they continued in doing their works of magic like before.⁴⁰
- 59 Many times they invoked the angels and they adjured them with great oaths. Then they came to them and they carried out their works and they fulfilled their needs.

5.i. *Appearance of the Holy Virgin and the archangels Michael and Gabriel*

- 60 On a certain day while they were sitting at the west side of the mansion performing their works of magic as usual, behold, the archangel Gabriel, and the leader of the heavenly hosts Michael and Our Lady, the Mistress, the Immaculate, the holy Mother of God, the Virgin came to them and they said to them: 'What do you want?'
- 61 They answered, saying to the Mother of God in their lack of understanding: 'We want, o our blessed Lady, that you give us a little milk from your breasts so that we might drink it, (69v) so that we will never die, because we have many treasures and all kinds of property⁴¹ and we have no one to inherit these.'
- 62 When the Virgin heard this, she made a sign to the archangel Gabriel to make them perish.

5.j. *Aūr's prayer*

- 63 When the boy Aūr saw the perdition that was about to descend upon his brothers, he looked attentively at the archangel Gabriel and recognized him. Then he went and bowed before him,⁴² saying: 'I beg you, o my intercessor, not to blame us, because we are of little knowledge.
- 64 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have come to know that God has come to save the sinners.
- 65 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we confess that Christ is the Son of the living God.⁴³
- 66 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we ask you to save us from sin.
- 67 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become servants for you until the last of our days.
- 68 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have been released from the slavery of Satan.
- 69 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have become children of the Kingdom.
- 70 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have renounced worshipping the insidious Satan.

⁴⁰ They continued in doing their works of magic like before: lit. *they continued [doing] that in which they were from the works of magic.*

⁴¹ Property: see nt. 32.

⁴² Before him: lit. *under his feet.*

⁴³ Cf. 1 Jn 4:1-4.

- 71 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have been saved from the death of sin.
- 72 Today, o archangel Gabriel, we have been cleansed from the impurities of the unclean world.
- 73 I confess to you, o archangel Gabriel, that we become servants for you. O my lord, is it not so that you have protected me from my childhood onwards till now?
- 74 I ask you, not to kill us this time, o archangel Gabriel (70r). The lion⁴⁴ is not allowed to make the pig his prey so that his blood would not make him unclean.⁴⁵
- 75 O archangel Gabriel, the king's soldier should not kill a dog in front of his master.⁴⁶
- 76 I say to you, o archangel Gabriel, that we are impurer than all the unclean [creatures], because all creatures, men and animals, have acknowledged their Lord and Creator, and me and my brothers, we have left Him and worshipped the devils and carried out their will.
- 77 No, o archangel Gabriel, do not put your pure lance⁴⁷ in our defiled body, which sends forth a stench like the dead, because of our sins and our ignorance⁴⁸ of our Creator and our improper⁴⁹ craft.
- 78 If only my mother's womb had been a grave for me and if only I had never been born and never looked at the light of the sun,⁵⁰ so that this great sin would not cling to me and perdition would not fall upon me with my brothers.
- 79 And behold, now we will die without having done anything of righteousness.'

5.k. *Confession of the Christian faith*

- 80 The child Aūr said all this bowing down on the ground before one of the archangels, Gabriel.
- 81 Our Lady, the Mistress, Mother of Mercy, Mother of God, Saint Mary, the holy Virgin, had pity on them and she commanded the archangel, and he raised them up and took the fear away from them.
- 82 Then they spoke to him, saying: 'O archangel Gabriel, since we have found mercy before the Lord our God, we will be servants for you until the day of our decease.

⁴⁴ Lion: in a more general sense: predatory animal, beast of prey. Lion symbolizes nobility, see Badawi and Hinds 1986, 396.

⁴⁵ The Bible gives some information about clean and unclean animals, see Lv 11; Dt 14:3-21.

⁴⁶ The pig and the dog belong to the unclean animals, cf. Lv 11; Dt 14:3-21.

⁴⁷ Angels carrying a staff or a sword, cf. Nm 22:23; Jos 5:13-14; Jgs 6:21; 1 Chr 21:16, 27.

⁴⁸ Ignorance: lit. *absence of knowledge*.

⁴⁹ Improper: lit. *other than upright*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Jer 20:14-17; Jb 3:3, 11-12; 10:18-19.

- 83 Today we have finished with the slavery of Satan.
- 84 Today we have become free.
- 85 Today we have entered the number of those who believe in the Lord Christ.
- 86 Today we have been liberated from the death (70v) of sin and have become free and servants believing in the Lord Christ, the true God.
- 87 I say to you, o archangel Gabriel, that everything we earned from our country and also from here from our practising of magic and other things, we give all to you as an honour to your majesty, because your mercy and compassion came upon us and saved us from the death of sin.’
- 88 Then the archangel Gabriel answered and said: ‘I do not belong to the army of an earthly king to need your property and your gifts, but build for me here a church on this rock,⁵¹ so that my remembrance may always remain in this place and never be interrupted, and I will give you everything you need and I will ask my King, the Lord Christ, to forgive you your sins.’
- 89 They said to him: ‘Everything you say, o our lord, we will do promptly.’

5.1. *Start of the building of the church*

- 90 The archangel Gabriel went before them and marked off for them the place of the church, and the Lady the Mistress designated for them the fundament of the altar, and the archangel Michael marked off for them the sanctuary and the rest of the compound with the staff that was in his hand.⁵²
- 91 After that they blessed and comforted and strengthened them, and they ascended into heaven with great glory while Aūr watched them. This happened on the thirteenth day of the month of Amšīr.
- 92 After eight days⁵³ they began to lay down the fundament of the church and they took care of all they needed for the building. It was a great joy for all the people and the hirelings and the workmen.
- 93 When the notables (71r) of the city of the Fayyūm heard about the building of the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel, the Messenger, they came and with them were gifts and votive offerings and they worked on [building] the church and the

⁵¹ Cf. Mt 16:18.

⁵² Cf. 1 Ezr 40-43.

⁵³ After eight days: lit. *And when it was after eight days*.

archangel was a helper for them.⁵⁴

94 This is what happened with Aūr, the son of Abrāšīt the magician.

5.m. *The Search for Aūr*

95 As to the queen, when they departed from her, she did not know where they went, and she sent [messengers] to the land of Egypt to search for them, but she did not find them.

96 Then she became very sad because of the child and she did not cease weeping and lamenting one hour, while she spoke like this: ‘If only, o my boy, had the king killed you, then I would have placed your body in my palace to console myself by looking at it, like I did with your mother.’

97 After a long time⁵⁵ while she was sad about the child Aūr, the king, her husband, died and they placed his son in the kingship in his place.

98 Great sadness came upon his mother and because of the severity of suffering, such a weakness came upon her that she was about to die. The king, her son, said to her: ‘What is bothering you so much? O, my mother, let me know your disease, so that I may let the doctors make for you something by which you shall be healed from your illness.’

99 She said to him: ‘O my boy, if you promise me that you shall do for me everything I say to you, I will inform you of my weakness.’

100 He promised her that and she told him the whole secret and that she longed to look at the face of the child Aūr once more before death.

101 The king answered her, saying: ‘O my mother, how will the messengers, whom I will let go for him, know him while he is in a foreign country?’

102 She said to him: ‘O my son, on his forehead there is a mark and this happened when the labour pains overcame his mother, (71v) who is your sister, she gave birth to him in great fear of the king your father. And when she wanted to get up off her seat a golden pomegranate fell down from it and this struck the child’s forehead and it became a mark on his face.’

103 When the king heard this from his mother, he sent messengers to all the land of Egypt and said to them: ‘When you find him, seize him and bring him here, whether he wants or refuses. If that city, in which you find him, belongs to our kingdom, [good], and if not, I order you to set it on fire.’

104 His servants departed from him and went on their way. They continued travelling to the

⁵⁴ Cf. the (re)building of the temple in Jerusalem, see 1 Ezr 1-7.

⁵⁵ After a long time: lit. *And when it was after a long time*.

- land of Egypt and by the will of God, they arrived at the Fayyūm after five months and the archangel Gabriel accompanied them until⁵⁶ they arrived safely.
- 105 They reached the mountain of Naqlūn at sunset and one month had passed since Aūr had begun to build the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel.
- 106 When the messengers of the king arrived and looked at the hirelings and the workmen, they asked: 'To whom does this building belong?' They said to them: 'To a person called Aūr.'
- 107 They looked around and they saw him carrying stones like one of the workers.
- 108 They stood up hastily and went near to him and they looked attentively at the mark about which had been said to them that it was on his face, and they saw [that] it [was] right and the name was also Aūr, like it had been said to them.
- 109 When they were well convinced he was the one,⁵⁷ they greeted him and they sat down until the evening fell and they were amazed about him.

5.n. *Aūr's journey back to his home country*

- 110 When the hirelings finished their work, he set aside for them a place for them alone, (72r) and he placed for them something to eat. He came to know that the people who had come were from his country.
- 111 They said to him: 'The queen and the king sent us to you to bring you to them.'⁵⁸
- 112 Then they informed him of the whole secret and they said also to him: 'The king today is your uncle, the brother of your mother, in the place of your grandfather, his father.'
- 113 When Aūr heard these words, he became very sad and wept bitterly, and he asked them to go and leave him behind and apologize for him to⁵⁹ the king.
- 114 But they said to him: 'This will never happen and it is not possible that we go to the king without you, otherwise he will kill us.'⁶⁰
- 115 When Aūr heard these words, he became enormously sad and his interior was like many waves because of the many thoughts, and he did not know what to do and he said: 'Satan is envious of me because of the building of the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel.'
- 116 During that night he neither ate nor drank and lay down⁶¹ dejectedly, not knowing what

⁵⁶ Until: lit. *to where*. See nt. 37.

⁵⁷ He was the one: lit. *of him*.

⁵⁸ To bring you to them: lit. *so that you will come to them*.

⁵⁹ To: lit. *at*.

⁶⁰ Otherwise he will kill us: lit. *so that he will not kill us*.

to do. He spent the whole night praying with severe crying, asking God and the archangel Gabriel to let him know what he should do.

- 117 In the middle of the night,⁶² the angel of the Lord, Gabriel, appeared to him, with a shining face and he spoke to him, saying: ‘Rejoice, o Aūr, chosen of God. Why are you troubled? Rise up and go hastily with the messengers to the king, because this matter is from God. And I will give you a welcome and glory and honour before him, until you return to your place safely. And I will be with you and accompany you to all the places where you will go. And he will give you (72v) many things for the building of the church, and everything you need, I will let him send it with you hither.’
- 118 And Aūr, when he heard these words from the archangel Gabriel, rejoiced greatly and praised God. And in the morning⁶³ he told the secret to his brothers and prepared for the journey, accompanied by the messengers. God guided him and the angel of the Lord, Gabriel, accompanied him on all his ways.
- 119 After [several] days,⁶⁴ the king and the queen were informed about Aūr’s arrival at them and then they went out to meet him and they greeted him and they made him enter the palace with great honour.
- 120 The people looked at the queen when she kissed his mouth and nobody knew about the secret.
- 121 The king made him sit down with him on the throne, because of the fact that he was the son of his sister.

5.o. Aūr’s return to the mountain of Naqlūn

- 122 After he had stayed with them for a month,⁶⁵ he spoke with the queen because of the building of the church, saying to her: ‘I beg you to ask my uncle that he gives me permission to travel to my country for the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel.’
- 123 The king did not let him depart and Aūr was very sad.
- 124 In that night,⁶⁶ the archangel Gabriel appeared to the king while he was dressed in great glory. When he (the king) saw him, he fell down deeply.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Lay down: lit. *slept*.

⁶² In the middle of the night: lit. *And when it was the middle of the night*.

⁶³ And in the morning: lit. *And when it was in the morning / And when it was early*.

⁶⁴ After [several] days: lit. *And when it was after days*.

⁶⁵ After he had stayed with them for a month: lit. *And when it was after a month while he had stayed with them*.

⁶⁶ In that night: lit. *And when it was in that night*.

⁶⁷ Cf. Dn 10:5-9.

- 125 The archangel raised him up and took the fear away from him and said to him: ‘Do you know who I am?’⁶⁸
- 126 Then he (the king) said to him: ‘No, o my lord. If you are our god, let me know, because I have never seen a light like this, because my body has become weak out of (73r) fear of you.’⁶⁹
- 127 Then the archangel Gabriel said to him: ‘I am not a god, o king, but a servant and helper of the true God, King of kings, Lord of lords,⁷⁰ creator of heaven and earth who (holds) in His hand the soul of every one.’⁷¹
- 128 My name is Gabriel, who stands before God, the Almighty, for ever, the Messenger of salvation for the creation by the incarnation of the Son of God from the pure Virgin, Ruler of all the kingdoms of the earth and all the kings are under His power, He lifts up whom He wants and He brings down whom He wants.⁷² I say to you, if you do not listen to me, I will kill you.’
- 129 Then the king said to him with fear and trembling: ‘Speak o my lord, and truly your servant will listen to everything that you, your Magnificence, orders me.’
- 130 Then the archangel Gabriel said to him: ‘When you rise up in the morning, tell the queen everything you have seen and let her send Aūr to his city and with him everything he needs for the building of my church. If you do what I say, I will protect you and your kingdom and I will not let any war happen in your days.’
- 131 When the archangel Gabriel had said this to him, he disappeared and went to the queen and said to her something similar.
- 132 Before the light shone,⁷³ the king sent for his mother and informed her about everything he had seen and then she also narrated to him a similar story.
- 133 After that she said to him: ‘In the time Aūr was small, I saw him several times inside the palace with his wings spread over him, but I did not know him. And now, o my boy, send Aūr to Egypt (73v) and do not bother him with staying here and give him everything he needs for the building of the church, so that your kingdom will stand firm, because an earthly king is not able to resist God.’
- 134 After that the queen sent for Aūr and she gave him everything he needed for the

⁶⁸ Who I am: lit. *me*. Cf. Dn 10:10-12.

⁶⁹ Cf. Dn 10:8-9.

⁷⁰ Cf. 1 Tm 6:15; Rv 19:16.

⁷¹ Cf. Jb 12:9-10.

⁷² Cf. Lk 1:26-38, 52.

⁷³ Before the light shone: lit. *And when it was before the shining of the light*.

building of the church. She gave him also a lot of gold, and she advised him to pull down what he had built with clay and to renew the building with baked bricks and lime mortar and plaster.

- 135 She said to him: ‘When you have finished building the church, build inside it⁷⁴ places for the strangers and cells for the monks and serve them with the money I have given to you.’
- 136 After that he bade them farewell and he departed from them, wending his way to the land of the Fayyūm and he continued travelling on his way while the archangel Gabriel accompanied him, until⁷⁵ he arrived at the mountain of Naqlūn.
- 137 Then he greeted his brothers and he told them everything that had happened to him and they rejoiced very much at his safety.
- 138 He stood up and pulled down what he had built and started to rebuild⁷⁶ the church with baked bricks, as the queen had told him.⁷⁷
- 139 When the people of the Fayyūm heard about Aūr’s arrival, they brought their gifts⁷⁸ to the church of the archangel Gabriel and they worked in it with great joy.

5.p. Satan’s first counteraction

- 140 Satan did not endure that.
- 141 On a certain day,⁷⁹ he took the form of an old man and he came to Aūr and then he (Aūr) said to him: ‘Where do you come from?’
- 142 Then he (Satan) said to him: ‘I am from your country and I know your father and your mother. And this money that you have brought with you, you have stolen it from (74r) the palace of the king and you fled hither, hoping to escape. Also, you have been born from adultery and you were a magician with your father Abrāšīt.
- 143 You know that what I told you is true. And behold, now I have told it to you as a secret between me and you. An old man like me does not lie and I do not want evil for anyone.⁸⁰
- 144 If you listen to me, good things will happen to you and your brothers, because you are from my country.

⁷⁴ Inside it: this may be interpreted as ‘belonging to it’ or ‘adjacent to it’.

⁷⁵ Until: lit. *to where*. See nt. 37.

⁷⁶ Rebuild: lit. *build a second time*.

⁷⁷ Cf. the (re)building of the temple in Jerusalem, see 1 Ezr 2:1-14.

⁷⁸ Cf. Acts 4:32, 34-35.

⁷⁹ On a certain day: lit. *And when it was one of the days*.

⁸⁰ Satan pretends he does not lie, but actually he is a great liar, see Jn 8:44.

- 145 So get up hastily and pull down this place that you have built and leave on your own way, so that the king will not send [someone] to kill you.’
- 146 When Aūr heard these words from the old man he rose up hastily and spread his hands and prayed before the Lord and asked this way: ‘O archangel Gabriel, save me, I ask you, o Lord, do not forget me and do not leave me, because I know that I am a sinful man, impure since my youth. I ask you, do not deliver me to Satan and do not blame me, so that I [may] complete this church and finish it. And keep away from me the powers of the enemy, because glory be to you for ever, amen.’
- 147 When he said this, the angel of the Lord, Gabriel the Messenger, came to him and said to him: ‘Rejoice, o Aūr, chosen of God, because behold, the Lord fulfilled for you your question. But if this evil old man comes tomorrow, approach him and bind him with an iron chain and you will know who he is.’
- 148 Aūr did so and he hung Satan tied up at the door of the church and everybody looked at him while (74v) he screamed, saying: ‘I adjure you by God and His archangel Gabriel, o holy man of the Lord, Aūr, that you will release me. I say to you that your father Abrāšīt bowed down many times before me as a god and my name is Asmānā’us.’⁸¹
- 149 I ask you, do not bring shame upon me among this crowd, because I have not the ability to do evil to you, because of the fear for the archangel Gabriel who holds in his hands an unsheathed sword with which he wants to kill me, but the mercy of God keeps him from that, to do unto us according to our evil deeds.
- 150 Woe to me, today, woe to me who came here, because I do not have power that I can show and I am not able to accomplish the matter for which I have been sent.’⁸²
- 151 I say to you that if you let me be, I will not return hither another time. I adjure you by the staff that is in the hand of the archangel Gabriel, do not punish me. Woe to me today by this great disgrace.’
- 152 When the holy man Aūr heard these words, he untied the chain of Satan and released him.
- 153 He moved away a little from the church and he cried out saying: ‘O Aūr, son of Abrāšīt, I know that they gave you birth by adultery and on the day of your birth, I threw the chair on you to kill you, but the archangel Gabriel saved you, but I will come back to you and I will use my power against you.’

⁸¹ Asmānā’us: this name for the devil is most probably an Arabic corruption of Asmodeus, which occurs in the Bible in Tb 3:8.

⁸² Cf. Lk 10:18.

- 154 When he said this he became like arrows of fire and went away, put to great disgrace.
 155 Aūr told (75r) the crowd everything that had happened to him and that he was the son of
 the daughter of the king of the East in the Land of the Sunrise.
 156 And the crowd, when they heard this, they praised God and His archangel Gabriel.
 157 After that,⁸³ they set up the pillars inside the church.

5.q. *Satan's second counteraction*

- 158 And Satan took the form of an old man, a monk, whose age was hundred years and he
 came to the workmen⁸⁴ and asked them: 'Who is the master of this place?' And then
 they said to him: 'Aūr.'
 159 Then he stood up and he went to him and while he was walking he fell on his face
 pretending that he was an old man.
 160 When he came close to Aūr, he said to him: 'Look, o my boy, at my seniorhood and my
 old age and the weakness of my sight. Put me to work like one of these hirelings.'
 161 Aūr was very sad about him and said to him: 'Sit down here and I will serve you in
 what you need.'
 162 Satan, in the form of⁸⁵ the old man, said to Aūr: 'This should not be, o my boy, that I sit
 down without work and eat my bread without preparation,⁸⁶ so that God will not be
 angry with me.
 163 You there, now you see my weakness and I did not give up work for one day, but I work
 and give to the beggars and the weak and the needy, and I live on what is left over,
 because it is a duty for the monk not to want something in abundance.'
 164 The crowd was amazed about his words and they asked Aūr to accept him.
 165 He said to him: 'Go and draw⁸⁷ water for the workmen, on the animals of the church.'
 166 Satan went to draw⁸⁸ water, and he did not stop walking with them (the animals) until⁸⁹
 he got close to the door of the church on a short distance, then he broke the vessels
 (75v) and he said to himself: 'I do not break these at the pool so that the animals do not
 return relieved, but I tire the animals and thwart the workmen.' Because the water was
 far from the monastery.

⁸³ After that: lit. *And when it was after that*.

⁸⁴ To the workmen: lit. *to where the workmen [were]*. See nt. 37.

⁸⁵ In the form of: lit. *imitating*.

⁸⁶ Cf. 2 Thes 3:10-12.

⁸⁷ Lit. *fill*.

⁸⁸ Lit. *fill*.

⁸⁹ Until: lit. *to where*. See nt. 37.

- 167 The hirelings and the bricklayers complained and stopped him from drawing⁹⁰ water and they let him hand over the bricks. Then he threw these on the workers in order to kill them. He took a big stone which two men cannot carry and he threw it on one of the workmen and killed him and wounded two others.
- 168 When Satan, in the form of⁹¹ the old man, saw that the man was dead, he cried out, saying: ‘O what injustice that happened today. It is better not to build a church here ever, better than that they kill a creature of God.’
- 169 When he said this, behold, the general of the king passed by and with him many soldiers. Then Satan, in the form of⁹² the old man, went to him hastily and bowed before him, saying as follows: ‘I ask you, o my lord the general, to see that justice is done, because there happened great injustice here. Namely, they turned against a weak man and killed him with a huge stone. And there he is, thrown down dead. God did not appoint kings and the general on the earth except for protecting the right of the poor and the weak against those who are superior to them. I say to you, o my lord the general, if you let these people build this church, many creatures shall die inside it.’
- 170 The general walked with (76r) Satan, in the form of⁹³ the old man, in order to look at the dead man and when he saw him, he seized Aūr in order to bring him to the king.
- 171 The elders of the monastery asked him to sit down with them in order to take a little rest.
- 172 Aūr was very sad and asked God to save him from this great trial.
- 173 While he was in this state, the archangel Gabriel appeared to him and said to him: ‘Rejoice, o Aūr, chosen of God, do not be sad because of this matter and may your heart not be weak. Go quickly and seize the old man and you will know who he is.’
- 174 The archangel Gabriel bound Satan and handed him over to Aūr and he hung him up inside the church and punished⁹⁴ him severely. He cried out, saying: ‘I am the one who came in the beginning and it is me who killed the man.’
- 175 He asked the general to demand Aūr to release him. And Aūr released him in great disgrace.
- 176 And the man who had died, there came upon him the mercy of God and the intercession of the archangel Gabriel and he came to life again and he gave many gifts to the church

⁹⁰ Lit. *filling*.

⁹¹ In the form of: lit. *imitating*.

⁹² In the form of: lit. *imitating*.

⁹³ In the form of: lit. *imitating*.

⁹⁴ Punished: possibly is meant tortured.

of the archangel Gabriel.⁹⁵

- 177 He remained on the mountain of Naqlūn, I mean the general, until they finished the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel on the thirteenth day of the month of Ba'ūna and they adorned it with every beautiful thing. Aūr was very happy and praised God.

5.r. Consecration of the church

- 178 While he was asleep in that night, behold, a great light shone upon him and the angel of the Lord, Gabriel the archangel, (76v) the Messenger Gabriel appeared to him and said to him with a face full of splendour and joy:
- 179 'Peace be to you, o Aūr, beloved of God, I say to you that I am delighted with your good work and behold, now I have just asked the Lord on your behalf that He may build for you in the heavens a dwelling that is not made by hands.⁹⁶
- 180 I say to you that this place is desolate and all those who come here wish for what provides in their need, so do not send back any of those who come hither, whether he is poor or rich, because this is my will. In every place in which there is no love, there will not be the blessing of the Lord.
- 181 I say to you, o Aūr, that whoever comes hither with some serious disease, shall not depart from here until he obtains healing by the power of my true King, Jesus Christ.
- 182 Many miracles shall become manifest in this church and its fame shall spread to all the regions of the earth. And I shall come and dwell in it, because I love it very much⁹⁷ and the Lord gave it to me as an honour and a gift.
- 183 This mountain shall prosper and shall be like dovecots because of the great number of crowds that come to it from all places. And their prayers shall ascend up before God. Command those who come hither that they shall be pure in their souls and their bodies and that they shall keep the commandments they have received from their holy fathers.
- 184 If they follow the path of God and keep His orders, then me and my companion the archangel Michael and the power of God will protect them (77r) against all powers of the enemy and the evil Berbers.
- 185 Now rise up quickly and send for Anbā Isaac, bishop of the Fayyūm, so that he will come and consecrate the church on the twenty-sixth day of the month of Ba'ūna, which

⁹⁵ Cf. Acts 4:34-35.

⁹⁶ Cf. Jn 14:2; 2 Cor 5:1.

⁹⁷ Cf. Ps 25:8.

is the day on which the Lord appointed me as the head of the hierarchies of the luminous angels.

- 186 After the passing away of the aforementioned Anbā Isaac, bishop of the Fayyūm, they will ordain you, o Aūr, in his place on his see, so do not be sad and fear not.
- 187 Your brothers shall depart from here and go to a little town called al-Fašn⁹⁸ and they will stay there until they pass away. Then bring their bodies and bury them here.
- 188 Explain everything that happened to you from the time of your birth until now to John the ascetic who worships on this holy mountain, because I have just⁹⁹ informed him about you.
- 189 And behold, I will be with you until the day of your decease and I will save you from all your calamities.’
- 190 When he had said this to him, he disappeared from him and he (Aūr) was very amazed and praised God who bestowed upon him this great favour.
- 191 In the morning¹⁰⁰ he sent for Anbā Isaac, bishop of the Fayyūm, and he came accompanied by the priests and the notables and all the Christian people. They started praying as customary.
- 192 And so he consecrated the church in the name of the Holy Trinity and dedicated it to the name of the archangel Gabriel on the twenty-sixth day of the month of Ba’ūna and it was a holy Sunday.
- 193 The bishop ordained Aūr priest (77v) and they spent seven days in great joy glorifying God.
- 194 Many miracles appeared in that holy place, which is the church of the archangel Gabriel.

5.s. *Aūr’s ordination as bishop*

- 195 After [several] days,¹⁰¹ Anbā Isaac, bishop of the Fayyūm, passed away. The notables of the city and all the Christian people gathered and they took Aūr and went to Alexandria where the father the patriarch¹⁰² resided and they asked him to ordain a bishop for them.
- 196 He (the patriarch) said to them: ‘Whom do you choose?’ And they said to him: ‘O holy father, you do not need to be informed by us, but the Holy Spirit coming down upon

⁹⁸ Al-Fašn: see chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*, and references.

⁹⁹ I have just: lit. *I was vacant with; I finished*.

¹⁰⁰ In the morning: lit. *And when it was in the morning / And when it was early*.

¹⁰¹ After [several] days: lit. *And when it was after days*.

¹⁰² See chapter V, 11. *Conclusion*.

you, will let you know.’

- 197 He made them stay¹⁰³ with him for [several] days. In a certain night, behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to the patriarch and said to him: ‘When you get up in the morning, ask about Aūr, the priest on the mountain of Naqlūn and ordain him bishop over the city of Fayyūm and its districts. The Lord chose him for this high rank in order to look after His people with justice and rightness and take decisions with the word of truth.¹⁰⁴ Do this and do not hesitate.’
- 198 When he had said this, he disappeared from him.
- 199 The patriarch told the priests about this matter. It pleased all of them and they rejoiced and praised God who appointed for them a good shepherd.
- 200 The patriarch laid his hand upon him and ordained him bishop over the city of Fayyūm and all its districts.
- 201 After that he returned to the mountain of Naqlūn and built there cells and many places as habitation (78r) for the brothers and the strangers, who came to him from all places. And he took the rest of the money that was redundant with him and gave it to the poor and the miserable and the needy and the churches and the monasteries and the paupers and the widows and all those in poverty.

5.1. *Aūr’s death*

- 202 And to me, John the ascetic, worshipping on this mountain, this holy father, the bishop, Anbā Aūr explained everything that had happened to him from the time of his birth until the day of his ordination as bishop over the Fayyūm.
- 203 When the days of the holy man, the bishop Anbā Aūr approached that he would pass away, he sent for me, John, and he said to me: ‘I ask you, o my holy father, to pray for me, because my days have come near so that I will leave on the path of all my fathers.¹⁰⁵ That is so because the archangel Gabriel appeared to me and said to me: “Prepare, because only three days are left for you in the world.”¹⁰⁶
- 204 So when I have passed away, o my holy father, do not put on me beautiful garments and do not place my body in a coffin, but bury it in the ground at the west side of this church, because I am a sinful man.’

¹⁰³ He made them stay: lit. *he left them*.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Jas 1:18.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Jos 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:2.

¹⁰⁶ Because only three days are left for you in the world: lit. *Because there are not left for you in the world except three days*.

- 205 At the break of dawn¹⁰⁷ on the ninth day of the month of Abīb, he asked for me again,¹⁰⁸
me John, and he said to me: ‘Remember me, because this is the day on which I shall
depart from the world and I am afraid because of my sins that I have committed and the
bishopric that I did not manage well and the rational flock of God that I did not protect
against the devilish wolves.’¹⁰⁹
- 206 When he had said this, he opened his mouth, and yielded up his soul in the hands (78v)
of the living God.
- 207 We cried over him with great sadness and we took care of his body and buried him in
the place about which he has told us.
- 208 And I, the miserable, John, hastened myself to write down everything the holy father,
the bishop, Anbā Aūr told me and I placed it inside this church as a remembrance for
those who come after us and for the archangel Gabriel.

5.u. *Epilogue*

- 209 And it befits to us now to make his commemoration properly, in all purity and fear of
God and have mercy upon the poor and the miserable, so that the archangel will
intercede for us and ask God to forgive our sins.
- 210 Let us offer now to God in this sanctified church songs of praise and hymns and
melodies and jubilation and prayers and spiritual songs to the Holy Trinity,¹¹⁰ so that by
the intercession of this glorious angel, leader of the heavenly hierarchies, Gabriel, the
Messenger, He shall forgive your sins and shall forgive you your misdeeds and cover
your faults and your mistakes and wipe out your sins and place you among those who
were victorious by good works, before the end of times;
- 211 and that He shall bring up your children and increase your daily bread with blessings
and strengthen your old men and give health to your middle-aged men and strength to
your old men and good women for your children;
- 212 and that He shall protect you against troubles and adversities and take away from you
the causes for difficulties and separation and raise your Nile and make your prices low
(79r) and keep the door of His church open in front of you in the course of times and
ages;

¹⁰⁷ At the break of dawn: lit. *And when it was at the outbreak of the morning.*

¹⁰⁸ Again: lit. *also*.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Jn 10:12.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Eph 5:19; Col 3:16.

- 213 and that He shall guard you from tribulations and grant you justice of the ruler, and hold back from you and break the power of Satan, and make your share and your fortune among His martyrs and His saints by the intercession of this glorious angel Gabriel, the Messenger of salvation, for whom we are gathered now to celebrate for him;
- 214 and that He shall let you hear the joyful voice, saying: 'Come to me, o blessed people of my Father, inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you before the foundation of the world,¹¹¹ what no eye has seen and no ear has heard and has not occurred to the heart of a human being.'¹¹²
- 215 Through the intercession of our Lady of all of us, the pure Immaculate, the holy Mother of God, the Virgin, saint Mary and all the martyrs and the saints by the grace and the mercy and the charity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God.¹¹³
- 216 He, to whom is due the glory and honour and power and worship and majesty, with His good Father and the Holy life-giving Spirit, who is consubstantial with Him.¹¹⁴ Now and all times and for ever and ever. Amen, amen, amen.

¹¹¹ Cf. Mt 25:34.

¹¹² Cf. Is 64:4; 1 Cor 2:9.

¹¹³ Cf. 1 Tm 1:2, 14; 2 Jn 3.

¹¹⁴ Cf. 2 Cor 13:13.

Chapter IV

Middle-Arabic features of the *Naqlūn homily*

1. Introduction

As already indicated in the beginning of this study, the language of the *Naqlūn homily* may be characterized as Middle Arabic.¹ The problems of the definition and the weak standardization of this language variety have been discussed above.² This chapter focuses on the Middle Arabic language of the text and its linguistic characteristics. Blau's more recent work, entitled *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, is used as a guide.³ This *Handbook* provides a clear and concise list of the main features of Middle Arabic. All these features have been looked for in the *Naqlūn homily*. Attention has also been paid to the occurrence of hybrid forms, one of the specific characteristics of Middle Arabic, also named pseudo-correct elements.⁴ In the survey below, reference is made also to Blau's *Grammar* and to Hopkins' study, two different studies based on sources from different periods and environments,⁵ in order to present a clear picture of the Middle Arabic character of the *Naqlūn homily*. In addition, some features needed to be looked up in a grammar of Classical Arabic, for which Wright's and Fischer's grammars are consulted, and in a few cases is referred to K.C. Ryding's reference grammar of Modern Standard Arabic.⁶ As mentioned in the preceding chapter, texts written in Middle Arabic contain features belonging to H variety as well as L variety, and they are considered a mix of a varying amount of the two varieties.⁷ For those features in the *Naqlūn homily* that might betray certain traces of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt, the description of modern Egyptian colloquial by Woidich and the dictionary of Egyptian Arabic by Badawi and Hinds are used as reference works.⁸

The inventory of the features of the Middle Arabic language of the *Naqlūn homily* gives an idea of its linguistic character, or in other words, to what extent this specific text can be called 'Middle Arabic'. The inventory is organised, similar to Blau's *Handbook*, in the following

¹ See the *Introduction to the present study: aims, methods, outline*.

² See chapter III, 2. *Definition(s) of Middle Arabic*, and references.

³ Blau 2002. For a review on this book, see Baasten 2004.

⁴ See above chapter III, 2. *Definition(s) of Middle Arabic*, in which these terms have been explained.

⁵ Blau used manuscripts dating from 9th-10th centuries from a Christian environment, see Blau 1966-1967, 1:§1.4; Hopkins used Arabic papyri, mainly of Muslim provenance, datable to before the year 912, see Hopkins 1984, xlii, xlvi-xlvii.

⁶ Wright [1859-1862] 2005; Fischer [1972] 1987; Ryding 2005.

⁷ See chapter III, 2. *Definition(s) of Middle Arabic*.

⁸ Woidich 2006; Badawi and Hinds 1986.

chapters: orthography and phonetics; morphology; syntax; and the order of paragraphs given by Blau is followed. The references to other studies and grammars are given between brackets or in footnotes. At the end of this chapter, attention is paid to specific vocabulary occurring in the *Naqlūn homily*. Finally, the text is investigated for any possible influence of the Coptic language.

2. Orthography and phonetics⁹

Hb §3 Absence of case and mood distinctions suggesting accordingly the absence of final short vowels is a feature that is characteristic for texts written in Middle Arabic. In the *Naqlūn homily* too, this feature is amply attested, which is made especially clear in the paragraphs below about the absence of case (Hb §74) and mood distinctions (Hb §77). Here two examples:

ومرار كثيره سجد للشيطان §26 ; من فاه §22

Hb §6 The feature of a long vowel in a final closed syllable described by Blau as characteristic for Middle Arabic, is attested in this text in forms of verbs II *w/y* (Blau I §6.2, §8.9.5; Hopkins §9, see also below in §52). It should be added that this feature is not uncommon in Classical Arabic, where it occurs in words (nouns and verbs) placed in pausal position.¹⁰ Therefore this feature may only be defined as characteristic for Middle Arabic with respect to occurrences in a position different than in pausa. Two examples occurring in the *Naqlūn homily*:

فلم يزال ماشيا بهم §166 ; فقوم الان مسرعا §145

Hb §14 Several words that should be spelt with *medial ā* according to Classical Arabic, are written without an 'alif (*scriptio defectiva* of *medial ā*, see Blau I §9.1; Hopkins §9c, §10).

Examples:

تلتته ايام §203 ; بعد تمنيه ايام §92 ; اسلك §146 ; اسل §88¹¹

⁹ The paragraphs mentioned in Blau's *Handbook* dealing with features of which no traces are found in the *Naqlūn homily* have been left out in this inventory. The following abbreviations are used: Hb – Blau's *Handbook* (Blau 2002); Blau's work, above referred to as Blau 1966-1967, 3 vols., is in this inventory referred to as Blau followed by the volume number, I or II or III.

¹⁰ See Wright [1859-1862] 2005, 2:368; Fischer [1972] 1987, 30-32.

¹¹ According to Hopkins this feature is quite rare for verbs, see Hopkins §10c. See also below Hb §47.

Hb §16 Final *yā*’ in Classical Arabic written as *’alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā*’ often shows up as *’alif* in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau I §10.1; Hopkins §12).

Occurrences: §5 and §7 انا ; اذكا §40 ; ادعا §57 ; الموت §77 ; اتعرا §96 ; بكا §113 ; استدعا §132 ; §141, 147, 158, 159 انا ; تخلا §146 ; اتخلا §163 ; رأ §168 ; تبنا §168 ; ليرعا §197 ; نتوانا §197 ; فارضا §199 ; اتا... وينا §201 ; سوا §203 .

However, *’alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā*’ does occur, namely in §50 يسمى and further exclusively in the prepositions: الى \ على \ حتى . In these cases it is irregularly written with or without two dots below the *yā*’, whereby the presence of the two dots should be considered a hybrid form. See for example in one and the same paragraph: حتى \ حتى §27 .

Hb §17 In general, the *hamza* is rarely written in Middle Arabic texts (Blau I §11; Hopkins §19, §20). The absence of the *hamza* is to a certain extent a reflection of the absence of the *glottal stop* in spoken language (Woidich p. 35-38). In the *Naqlūn homily* the *hamza* is often absent. Nevertheless, *hamza* does occur, but mostly inconsistently or contrary to the rules of Classical Arabic. Sometimes *hamza* is written where its function is totally unclear, perhaps serving decorative purposes.¹² In the edition of the text, these latter cases of obscure writing of the *hamza* are left out. In all other cases whenever *hamza* occurs in the text, it is represented as such in the edition.

a) Below all occurrences of *hamza* in the *Naqlūn homily* are given, according to and contrary to the rules of Classical Arabic:¹³

البكاء §96 ; الي علوا السماء §26 ; وروساء §9 ; هولاء §5 ; الي §185 , 180 , 146 , 142 , 117 , 114 , 104 , 95 , §4 ; الماء §165 ; هولاء الاجراء §160 ; السوء §147 العنوء §146 ; بالزناء §142 ; الآجراء §110 ; ان شاء او اباء §103 الفقراء §209 ; السوء , العنوء §184 ; الماء §167

¹² See for a few examples above in chapter III, 4.b. *What is not noted in the critical apparatus*. See also Den Heijer 2012b, 160; Lentin 2012b, 227-228.

¹³ See Lentin 2008a, 220.

Several of the above given words are also written without *hamza*, for example *الى / الي*, which occur more often than *إلي*; both *هولا* and *هولاء* occur in the text. These examples confirm that the *hamza* is written inconsistently. The *hamza* in the *Naqlūn homily* is attested most often in the word *إلى* and at the end of a word as a *hamza* without a *kursī*.

b) *Hamza* is absent in for example:

§1 شهر بوونه (Hopkins §24d)

§2 تنبا (Blau I §11.3.8; Hopkins §23)

§10 فائمنك (Blau I §11.3.7; Hopkins §22)¹⁴

§11 البشارة المملوه حياه (Blau I §11.3.5; §11.4.1.3; Hopkins §24d)

§20 يا احباي (Blau I §11.4.1.1; Hopkins §24a)

§40 يضي (Blau I §78.3; Hopkins §20b, §79a, §82e)

§41 رات (Blau I §76; Hopkins §25a, §78b)¹⁵

§42 شيا (Blau I §11.5.2; Hopkins §19)¹⁶

§50 لاجل and §57 منجله (Blau I §11.6.1.1)¹⁷

§63 اسلك (Blau I §11.5.1; Hopkins §25a, §26)¹⁸

§178 وقال له بوجه مملو بهجه وفرح (Blau I §11.3.5; Hopkins §20b,c)

c) In those cases in which Classical Arabic demands *hamza* on *kursī-yā'*, i.e. without dots, the *Naqlūn homily* never writes the *hamza*, but writes *yā'* with dots or in some cases without dots (Blau I §11.4.1.1; §11.4.1.2; §11.6.3.3; Hopkins §19 nt. 1; §24a).

Examples of this feature:

¹⁴ See also below in Hb §46.

¹⁵ See also below in Hb §48.

¹⁶ See also below Hb §76.

¹⁷ See also below in Hb §26.

¹⁸ See also below in Hb §47.

§40 رويح (the first *yā* ' of the word رويح is written without dots)¹⁹

§101 الوصايا الذي تسلموها من ابايهم القديسين §183 ; ²¹ ونام كييبا §116 ; ²⁰ قايل §101

ويمحي سياكم §203 ; في طريق اباي كلهم §203

d) Hybrid forms (or pseudo-correct use) of the *hamza*

In the *Naqlūn homily*, *hamza* is sometimes inserted where its function is unclear. See for example:

§26 الي علوا السماء

§103 ان شاء او ابي (according to Classical Arabic: ان شاء او ابي) (the spelling of ابي is probably influenced by the preceding شاء , and rhyme could also have played a role).

§146 العدو

§184 نحرسم من كل قوات العدو والبربر السوء (the spelling of العدو is probable influenced by the preceding السوء , and here, too, rhyme could have played a role).

Hb §23 *tā' marbūṭa* as feminine ending seems to be irregularly written with or without dots. Several scholars suggested that there might be a distinction between *tā' marbūṭa* without two dots as *-hā'* used in absolute state and *tā' marbūṭa* with two dots used in the construct state (Blau I §24; Hopkins §47).²² In the *Naqlūn homily* *tā' marbūṭa* with two dots occurs 27 times, of which 19 cases are in construct state. As the *Naqlūn homily* is in general very deficient in writing the dots, the *tā' marbūṭa* without two dots is much more frequent, occurring more than hundred times. For example the word الملايكة occurs 77 times and is consequently written without two dots; the word بيعه occurs 34 times without dots and only two times with dots. So it is difficult to detect

¹⁹ This feature cannot be represented in this research because of lacking computer abilities.

²⁰ All 15 occurrences of قايل in the *Naqlūn homily* are consequently written with *yā* ' with two dots, whereas the plural form قايلين that occurs twice in the *Naqlūn homily* (see §61, §82), is written without dots.

²¹ كييبا is written without dots on the first *yā* '. For the omission of the *hamza* in a derivative of the root كنب see Hopkins §26.

²² The standard of marking the construct state by means of the writing of the two dots of the *tā' marbūṭa* has been suggested and discussed by Fischer 1982, 83; Lentin 2008, 220; Den Heijer 2012b, 162-163.

a system in the writing of this letter. However, the above made suggestion seems to be confirmed in another text studied here, namely *The Journey of St. Aūr*, dealt with in chapter VI.²³

Examples from the *Naqlūn homily*:

وانه بن ابنه ملك المشرق §155 - فلما كان بعد ثلثة سنين من ميلاد الطفل أور ماتت امه ابنة الملك §39

والدة الآله §61 - والده الآله §60

ودكر كل حين يفوح كريح شجرة الحياة §21 - شجرة الحياة طاهره §22

لاجل بنيان كنيسه ربيس الملايكة غبريال §122 - هذه الكنيسة المقدسه §23

فلما كان بعد ذلك اقاموا العمود داخل البيعه §157 - وانه تباعد عن البيعه §153

Hb §24 *Hamza coniunctionis* ('*alif al-waṣl*) is sometimes absent, where Classical Arabic orthography demands '*alif*'. For example the word *ibn* 'son' is spelt with '*alif*' or without '*alif*', even in the expression 'Son of God'. The form *bn* occurs eight times, all in construct, and *ibn* occurs nine times, of which two times in absolute state (Blau I §27.2; Hopkins §49b).

Examples of 'Son of God' :

بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس الآله الواحد §1

نعترف بالمسيح انه بن الله الحي §65

قبل تجسد بن الله من العذرا الطاهره §128

يسوع المسيح ابن الله الحي §215

Examples of 'son':

أور بن ابراشيت الساحر §94 ; كانوا اخوته يسموه بن البارده ; بن ابنتها §50 ; ابن من هذا §48

وانه بن ابنه ملك المشرق §155 ; انه بن اخته §121 ; يا ابني §102 ; ابنها §98

Hb §25 One occurrence is attested of an '*alif fāṣila*' ('*alif otiosum* or '*alif al-wiqāya*') occurring after a final *w*, where it would not be written according to Classical Arabic (Blau I §28; Hopkins §50a.i.).²⁴

²³ See chapter VI, 5.a. *A note on the Middle Arabic language*.

§ 142 تتجو , where Classical Arabic demands: تتجو .

Hb §26 The following expressions consisting of two words are written irregularly joined together as one word or separately as two words (Blau I §29.1-4; Hopkins §51):

كلما in §§88, 89, 99, 129, 130, 132, 133, 137, 188

من اجل in §57 - من اجله in §§50, 77, 96, 179, 188, 205

كل من in §181 - كل من in §55

3. Morphology

Hb §30 In the *Naqlūn homily* in §41 the interrogative pronoun اي شي ('*ayy šay*) is used, where Classical Arabic would use ماذا (*māḏā*). According to Blau the use of اي شي ('*ayy šay*) may be explained by the fact that ما (*mā*) has become the standard negative particle, causing the interrogative pronoun ما to be replaced by أي شي (Blau I §33.2; see also Hb §88). Hopkins, however, has found in the papyri that the interrogative ايش ('*ayš* - derivation of اي شي) is quite widely attested in Classical Arabic next to the frequent occurrence of interrogative ما (Hopkins §154 nt. 1).

لاي شي تدع الجان يتقدموا الي عند ولدي §41

The interrogative pronoun ماذا occurs also in the *Naqlūn homily*:

ماذا تطلبون §60

The interrogative pronoun من is generally used in the *Naqlūn homily*, and the colloquial form مين does not occur.²⁵

²⁴ See also Lentin 2012b, 224-225.

²⁵ However, the colloquial form مين does occur in several cases in D, see §48, §147 §158, §173 (and §7), where it occurs next to من, see §8, §22, §128, §141. This latter form seems to occur in a context that is more formal, like expressions. The feature of the occurrence of both forms in the same text but in different contexts may be explained as 'code switching', see Den Heijer 2012c, 56, 74-75.

Hb §34 In the *Naqlūn homily* the masculine plural of verbs in the imperfect occurs mostly without final *n*; only a few endings with *n* are found. This is most probably due to the absence of the final short vowels that reflects the absence of the moods, resulting in indifferent use of imperfect endings with and without *n*. See below in §77.

Here two examples:

مادا تطلبون §60 ; لاي شي تدع الجان يتقدموا الي عند ولدي §41

Hb §36 Blau noticed that the internal passive forms are not frequently used in spoken language. As Middle Arabic texts are usually influenced by the spoken language, these texts are characterised by the great restriction of the use of the internal passive. In the *Naqlūn homily* a few internal passive forms are present, but there are no reflexive verbal forms nor pseudo-correct forms apparent that would replace the internal passive as described by Blau. Hopkins found that in the papyri the internal passive is very much present (Blau I §47; Hopkins §69).

Examples of the use of the internal passive, (here for the reader supplied with the vocal sign of the passive *ḍamma* (-u-)):

بُنيت بيع كثيره §4

من اليوم الذي وُلدت فيه §44

المكان الذي تمضي اليه وتسكن فيه يُسمى دير اقلو §50

اليوم يا ربييس الملايكة غبريال طُهرنا من نجاسات العالم الدنس §72

وليت لم أولد §78

ولا استطيع آتم القضية التي أرسلت بسببها §150

اليوم الاصلح ان لا تُبنا هاهنا كنيسة ابدا §168

In the following example it is unclear whether the verb, printed in bold, is a passive form. It is therefore better designated as *neuter*.²⁶

يا ليت بطن امي كان لي مقبره وليت لم أولد وانظر الى نور الشمس حتي لا **يلتصق** بي هذه الخطيه العظيمه §78

²⁶ See Wright [1859-1862] 2005, 1:50-51. The term *neuter* is indicated in modern linguistics as ‘middle voice’, see Bussmann 1996, 306.

Hb §45 Blau noticed a tendency in early Middle Arabic that verb II *geminata* (such as رَدَّ) before suffixes beginning with a consonant were formed according to the pattern of verb II *w/y* (for example رَدَّت and according to CA رَدَّت).

However, in general in the *Naqlūn homily*, these verbs are formed according to the regular Classical Arabic pattern (رَدَّت) (Hopkins §76b). See for example in the *Naqlūn homily* the verb اَحَبَّ :

اَحَبَّتْهَا §182 ; اَحَبَّتْهُ §2

Blau remarks that in early Middle Arabic these verbs were formed after the pattern of verbs II *w/y*, and in later Middle Arabic according to the pattern of verbs III *y* (رَدَّت) (Blau I §71),²⁷ but

Hopkins states that so far no example of this latter feature has been recorded.²⁸ In the *Naqlūn homily* this feature is attested in two cases:

وَاهْتَمِينَا §205 ; اسْتَحْقِيت §9

Hb §46 The second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and eighth verbal forms of verbs I *hamza*, as these are classified according to Classical Arabic, are formed according to the pattern of verbs I *w* (Blau I §72; Hopkins §77a,b).²⁹ In the *Naqlūn homily* two examples of this feature (an eighth and a sixth verbal form) are found.

وَلَا تَتَوَانَا §197 ; فَاتَمَذَك §10

Hb §47 The assumed shift, at least partially, of the verbs II *hamza* into the category of verbs II *w/y* is illustrated amply in the *Naqlūn homily* by derivatives of the verb سَأَلَ (in the *Naqlūn homily* always represented as سَال)³⁰ (Blau I §75; Hopkins §78a).

²⁷ See Blau I §71 nt. 124; and Blau 1982, 105; and Fischer [1972] 1987, §234, Anm. 2.

²⁸ See Hopkins §76 nt. 8. Hopkins noticed (see §76 nt. 7) that some of the examples given by Blau *may* illustrate this phenomenon, but could also be interpreted differently (see also §76 nt. 6). See also Fischer [1972] 1987, §234.

²⁹ See also Blau I §11.3.7 and Hopkins §22 in which this feature for the eighth verbal form is described as total assimilation of the *hamza* to the consonant immediately following it, although Hopkins in nt. 1 expresses his doubts about this explanation. See also above in Hb §17.

³⁰ The number of derivatives of the verb سَأَلَ written as سَال is 16. See also above in Hb §17.

يسال §172 ; اريد ان تسالى خالى §122 ; سالوا §106 ; نسالك §66 ; يسالوهم §56 ; فسال §48

Besides these forms, other forms of the verb سال are present, which illustrate the feature of *scriptio defectiva* of medial *ā*, which is, according to Hopkins, in general quite rare for verbal forms, but rather common for derivatives of the verb سأل (Blau I §9; Hopkins §10c; §26).³¹ All occurrences of this feature found in the *Naqlūn homily* are:

اسلك in §§63, 74, 146, 149, 169, 203; اسل in §88

Hb §48 Blau noticed that the verb رأى is often written as را , which suggests the absence of the *hamza* (Blau I §76; Hopkins §25a, §78b). In the *Naqlūn homily* all occurrences of this verb are written without a *hamza*. Actually it is unknown whether the scribe forgot to write the *hamza* or deliberately left it out. This makes the orthography of the derivatives of this verb ambiguous and may be interpreted as Classical as well as dialectal, or in other words, as belonging to H and L varieties.³² See for example:

; كنت اراه §133 ; قول للملكه كلما رايته §130 ; فلما رات هذا عده دفعو قالت لابراشيت ابوه §41

فلما رآه مسك آور §170

Only one example of را can be given:

لما رآ ان الرجل مات صاح قايل §168

Blau noticed the shift of the verb جاء into جا,³³ but this verb does not occur in the *Naqlūn homily*.

Instead of جاء the more Classical verb أتى (mostly written as اتى) is used, which, apart from not writing the *hamza*, seems to be formed according to the rules of Classical Arabic.

واتوا به الي هاهنا §103 ; ياتيهم §55 ; ياتي الي §44

³¹ See also above in Hb §14.

³² This ambiguity has earlier been noticed by Den Heijer 2012c, 69; Lentin 2012a, 41-42 and Mejdell 2012b, 14.

³³ For the use of *gih*, *yīgi* in colloquial see Woidich 2006, 247, 328, 331.

Hb §49 The feature of forming the verbs III *hamza* according to the pattern of verbs III *y* is also present in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau I §77; Hopkins §79). A few examples:

ابتدوا بوضع اساس البيعه §92 ; وجهه يضئ مثل الشمس §44

Hb §50 The formation of the verbs I *w* do not show hybrid forms or colloquial forms in the *Naqlūn homily*, with exception of the form in §10 of the verb وجد as لم ياجد . This form is described by Blau as either a scribal error or a feature that occurs in both Classical Arabic and the modern dialects (Blau I §80).

Hb §52 Contrary to the rules of Classical Arabic, most of the verbs II *w/y* that occur in the *Naqlūn homily* preserve their long medial vowel in the imperative and the jussive. This feature betrays the influence of the spoken language, in which the imperative of verbs *w/y* retains the long medial vowel and the apocopate is absent (Blau I §86, see also nt. 198; Hopkins §81a; Woidich p. 77).³⁴

لم يطيعنى §42

ولم يزلوا سايرين §104

اذا انت قمت باكرا قول للملكه كلما رايتنه §130

فقوم الان مسرعا §145

فلم يزل ماشيا بهم §166

ولا تخاف §186

Nevertheless, in the *Naqlūn homily* the apocopate of verbs II *w/y* is attested a few times:

لا تخف §45

ولم يزل §177

A specific hybrid form is found in §28 ولا يدقوا whereas the Classical form is ولا يذوقون .

³⁴ See also above in Hb §6.

Hb §54 Like the verbs II *w/y* as mentioned above in §52, the verbs III *w/y* preserve their long end vowel in the imperative, and the apocopate seems to be absent in many cases in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau I §98.1; see also nt. 236). Likewise, Hopkins found more occurrences of these verbal forms with a long vowel than a short vowel (Hopkins §82.d).

Some examples found in the *Naqlūn homily*:

§7 ولم يشفي

§133 واعطيه كلما يحتاج اليه لبنان البيعه

§146 لا تنساني ولا تخلا عني

§163 ولم اتخلا من الشغل

§165 وانه قال له امضى واملا الماء

§197 ولا نتوانا

Nevertheless, the apocopate of verbs III *w/y* is attested in the *Naqlūn homily*:

§203 فانه لم يبق لك فى العالم سوا ثلثه ايام

§214 ما لم يره عين

Hb §59 The dual (of verbs) occurs three times in the *Naqlūn homily*:

§4 يكونا

§30 وكان له ولدين اطفال وبعد يسير من عمرهما ماتت امهما زوجة ابراشيت الساحر

§31 وكانوا ولديه

Blau mentioned the fact that the dual of verbs has often been supplanted by the plural (Blau I §106; II §177.3). This feature occurs already in the early papyri, as demonstrated by Hopkins (§84a). Below an example of this feature found in the *Naqlūn homily*, showing that the verbal form is in the usual plural whereas Classical Arabic would demand the dualis:

§44 ورجليه يشبهون النحاس المحرق

In Middle Arabic (emphasis of) the number ‘two’ for persons is sometimes represented by adding *’itnayn* (in the *Naqlūn homily*: انتين / اثنان) to the plural (Blau I §107.2). Hopkins did not find evidence of this feature in the papyri (Hopkins §84d).

Examples from the *Naqlūn homily*:

واخذ اولاده الاتتان §49³⁵

ادعا باولاده الاتتان §57³⁶

وانه تناول حجرا كبيرا لا يقدر اثنان يحمله §167

واعطب اثنان آخر §167

Hb §70 Numerals are also formed irregularly, some are according to Classical Arabic and others are different from Classical Arabic as hybrid forms (Blau I §129-§137; Hopkins §92-§105).

a) Numerals that are spelt differently than in Classical Arabic:

ثمانيه سنين §47

وكان ذلك في اليوم الثالث عشر من شهر امشير §91

بعد تمنيه ايام §92

في اليوم السادس والعشرون §185

فانه لم يبق لك في العالم سوا ثلثه ايام §203

b) Numerals spelt according to rules of Classical Arabic (the missing dots on the *tā' marbūṭa* are not taken into consideration):

اليوم الذي هو السادس والعشرون من شهر بوونه 1 §

بخمسه شهور وستة ايام §57

بعد خمسه اشهر §104

واقاموا سبعة ايام §193

في اليوم التاسع من شهر ابيب §205

c) Hybrid forms of numerals:

في كل اتنا وعشرون يوما من الشهر §44

³⁵ The form الاتتان is itself a hybrid form, see also below in Hb §70.

³⁶ See preceding note.

Hb §71-72 A few remarks should be made about the prepositions used in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau I §138-161; Hopkins §106-§131, see also Blau II §300-§311; Hopkins §227-§236).

- a) The preposition من اجل is mostly written as two words, and without *hamza*, see §§50, 77, 96, 179, 188, 205. It occurs as منجله only once in the *Naqlūn homily*, see §57 (Blau I §11.6.1.1.).³⁷
- b) The preposition لاجل is mostly written without *hamza* in the *Naqlūn homily*.³⁸ In general the *hamza* is rarely written in Middle Arabic texts, but in this specific case its absence might also be due to the absence of the *glottal stop* reflecting the influence of the spoken language (namely as *lagl*, see Woidich, p. 153).
- c) The preposition مثل occurs nine times (§§1, 4, 22 (مثل), 44, 131, 132, 143, 154, 183); the preposition كمثل occurs three times (§44, §77, §107). According to Blau (I §154.1) this feature, in which simple ك (*ka*) is supplanted by كمثل (*ka-miṭl*, here: *ka-miṭl*), is quite frequent in Classical Arabic as well (see nt. 32 and Wright II p. 177), but according to Hopkins (§129) this is not a common feature. The preposition in the form of مثما occurs once (§126).
- d) According to Blau the accidental succession of two (different) prepositions is rare in Classical Arabic as well as in Middle Arabic (Blau II §311). In the *Naqlūn homily* few examples can be given of the succession of two prepositions with a similar meaning, a feature that is common in the spoken language (Woidich, p. 140, 141). Here two examples are given:

§53 الي حيث (also in §104, §136, §158, §166) (occurs in H as well as in L varieties).

§126 لاني لم ابصر مثل شبه هذا النور ابدا

³⁷ See also above in Hb §17.

³⁸ See also above in Hb §17.

- e) The preposition - صحبت (*ṣuḥbat*-) occurs in §93, §117, §130, §191. Blau does not mention this preposition. According to Hopkins this preposition is not common and he did not find occurrences of it in earlier (Muslim) documents (Hopkins §118). However, Hopkins noted that the preposition occurred in a Christian text dated to about AD 1100 and is frequently used in the Judaeo-Arabic documents of the Cairo Geniza, of which the majority dates from the tenth to thirteenth centuries (Hopkins §118 nt. 1). Its occurrence in the *Naqlūn homily*, most probably composed in the same period, namely before the end of the twelfth century,³⁹ is in conformity with Hopkins' observation. Its occurrence made Hopkins wonder whether its use is perhaps influenced by religion.
- f) The combination الى عند is characteristic of the later language, not according to Classical Arabic, and typically vernacular, according to Hopkins (§121). It occurs in the *Naqlūn homily* in §§41, 44, 108, 111, 114.
- g) One example can be given of the feature that غير and its *nomen rectum* are considered to be one word (Blau II §234.1; Hopkins §122):⁴⁰ §77 وصنعتنا الغير مستقيمه

4. Syntax

Hb §74 The rather free variation in presence of case endings (according to Classical Arabic) and absence of case endings (as in colloquial language) is characteristic for Middle Arabic texts and is demonstrated in the *Naqlūn homily* by the features mentioned below. The variation is apparent in the fact that none of these features is consequently applied in the *Naqlūn homily*, but their occurrence alternates with forms that are according to Classical Arabic.⁴¹

a) Absence of accusative 'alif

Accusative 'alif is absent in direct object and/or its adjective (Blau II §221.3.2; Hopkins §167d):

§9 بالحقيقه استحققت مجدا عظيم

وها الان قد اعلمتك به سر بيني وبينك §143

³⁹ See Context, 4. *Popularity of the legend of St. Aūr*.

⁴⁰ The two other cases in which غير is used, do not show any peculiarities: §87 واكل خبزي §162 ; صنعنا السحر وغير ذلك §77 . بغير استعداد

⁴¹ See Lentin 2008a, 216, 219.

وانا ما اريد فساد لاحد §143

Accusative 'alif is absent in adverbs (Blau §221.3.1; Hopkins §167a):

ومرار كثيره سجد للشيطان §26

وجعلوا ولده في المملكه عوض منه §97

ومضى مفتضح بخزى عظيم §154

Accusative 'alif is absent after كان and its sisters (Blau II §221.3.3; Hopkins §167f):

وهذا ابراشيت كان عزيز عند الملك §30

فقيرا كان او غني §180

The above example illustrates the characteristic variation in case ending: the first adjective is written with accusative 'alif and the second without it.

b) *Masculine plural* :

For the sound masculine plural the ending *-īn* is considered the common ending and may be used irrespective of case⁴² (Blau I §112.1; Hopkins §86a⁴³). Hereby some examples:

وقديسيه يفرحون ويتهللون §3

وهم متعجبين منه §109

فاتا الي حيث العمالين §158

c) *Prevalence of the ending -ū in 'abū*.

- 'abū where Classical Arabic demands 'abī (Blau II §215, §219.1.1.1; Hopkins §162.a.i)

قالت لايراشيت ابوه §41

ولدته بخوف عظيم من الملك ابوك §102

(بابيك §142) (cf. correct form of 'abī in same paragraph: §142)

- 'abū where Classical Arabic demands 'abā (Blau II §219.1.1.2; Hopkins §162.a.ii)

⁴² This is a very common feature in Middle Arabic texts, see Lentin 2008a, 220; see also online: Ratcliffe 2015, 3:0237 (online: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/number-EALL_COM_vol3_0237).

⁴³ Hopkins adds that this feature is one of the most important differences between the language of the papyri (and all other varieties of vernacular Arabic) and Classical Arabic.

اقول لك ان ابوك ابراشيت سجد امامي §148

The use of 'abī / 'abā contrary to Classical Arabic can be interpreted as a hybrid (pseudo-correct) form:

- 'abī where Classical Arabic demands 'abā (Blau II §219.1.2.2)

وفاقوا ابهم §31

يفتكر ابهم §31

- 'abā where Classical Arabic demands 'abī

عار اباهم §34 (Blau II §219.1.2.4)

d) The word فم (*fam* “mouth”) occurs in the *Naqlūn homily* only in *status pronominalis*, as

- فا (*fā*-) irrespective of case, by which an invariable فا (*fā*) may be assumed (Blau II §220.1):

من فاه §22

وهي تقيل فاه §120 (used according to Classical Arabic)

فتح فاه §206 (used according to Classical Arabic)

e) The feature of the *addition of 'alif tanwīn* in a way that is different from Classical usage.

This feature is interpreted in various ways by different scholars.⁴⁴ In the *Naqlūn homily* some hybrid forms occur (Blau II §221-§226; Hopkins §170):

ياتي الي عند اوان الصبح طايرا §44

صرنا بنينا للملكوت §69

وهو ساجدا علي الارض §80

وكان فرحا عظيما §92

وايضا انك مولودا بالزناء §142 ; انا من كورتك وعارفا بابيك وامك §142

⁴⁴ See for the interpretation of the ending -ā / -an : Owens 2006, 102-106; Edzard 2006, 190 (also online article : http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/article-indefinite-EALL_COM_0027; Lentin 2008a, 220; see also Den Heijer 2012a, 9 and 2012c, 75. Owens considers its primary function as ‘marking an adnominal relationship between an indefinite noun + modifier.’ Edzard refers to this feature as ‘reflexes of nunation’. Lentin describes this feature as marking the ‘emphatic state of the noun’, as ‘possibly historically related to *tanwīn*’, and as a ‘connective element.’

رئيس الملائكة غيريال الذي بيده سيفا مجردا §149

وفيما هو راقدا في تلك الليلة اذ اشرق عليه نورا عظيما §178

Hb §75 The use of ending *-an* in adverbs irrespective of case is a Middle Arabic feature that occurs also in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau II §221.1.1; Hopkins §168).⁴⁵ Two examples:

خيرا لى ان اكنتم هذا السر الى زمان §38 ; حسنا تنبا داوود المرتل قايلًا §2

Hb §76 Addition of ending *-an* to short words irrespective of case can be illustrated in the *Naqlūn homily* with the word شيا , and may be considered invariable. It does not occur with the word احد as is suggested by Blau (Blau II §223; Hopkins §169).⁴⁶ Two examples:

وكل شيا §117 ; لم يطيعنى شيا من الجان §42

Hb §77 Absence of moods: in the *Naqlūn homily* most verbal forms in the second and third person plural in the imperfect end without ن- (*nūn*), irrespective of mood (Blau II §171; Hopkins §65b, §138a).

لاي شي تدع الجان يتقدموا الي عند ولدي §41

وكانوا يصنعوا سحرهم ويقضوا حوايج كل من ياتيهم §55

فيأتوا اليهم ويكملوا اشغالهم ويقضوا حوايجهم §59

واهتموا بجميع ما يحتاجوا اليه للبنيان §92

واخوتك سوف يخرجوا من هاهنا ويمضوا الي مدينه صغيره اسمها الفشن فيكونوا هناك الي ان ينتهيوا §187

فقال لهم من تختاروا §196

Nevertheless imperfect ending with *-n* occurs a few times in the *Naqlūn homily*:

يسبحون §193 ; ماذا تطلبون §60

⁴⁵ This feature occurs very often in the fragment where ms. O replaces ms. B, see the edition §11-§15.

⁴⁶ احد occurs in the *Naqlūn homily* according to Classical Arabic. Hopkins is not quite certain of an ending *-an* irrespective of case with respect to احد , see Hopkins §169, nt. 3-4.

The general use of long forms in the verbs II *w/y* and verbs III *w/y* reflects also the absence of the apocopate. Likewise, this feature is not consequently applied in all occurrences in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau I §86, §§91-102; Hopkins §65 b, §81a-b, §82d-f, §138). See the examples above in Hb §52 and Hb §54.

Hb §78 Wishes are expressed by the perfect followed by its subject in Classical Arabic, but in §1 of the *Naqlūn homily* a wish is expressed by the imperfect preceded by its subject (Blau II §174; Hopkins §137c, §138c).

شفاعته المقدسه تكون معنا امين §1

Hb §79 Concord in number between a verb and its following plural subject is a Middle Arabic feature that occurs several times in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau II §177.1-2). This feature is attested much more rarely by Hopkins in the early Arabic papyri (Hopkins §139).

كيف يعرفوه الرسل §101

فلما وصلوا رسل الملك §106

فلما فرغوا الآجراء من شغلهم §110

The classical rule in which the verb in the singular precedes a plural subject is rarely found in the *Naqlūn homily*. The following example has a subject designating two persons and the preceding verb is singular:

فلما سمع هذا الكلام اعني ابراشيت الساحر والملكه §46

Hb §80

- a) The concord between the subject and the verb is in the *Naqlūn homily* different from the rules of Classical Arabic, and sometimes irregular.

The subject in broken plural is first followed by a verb in feminine singular, then by a verb in plural (Blau II §177.2).⁴⁷ The broken plural is at first referred to as feminine singular (i.e. according to its form), then as plural (i.e. according to its sense). Below two examples:

وكانت الشياطين تطيعه ويسمعون منه §26

كان الجان تحمله ويصعدوا به §26

The first verb is in singular and the second verb is in plural, but both verbs refer to the same subject which is in plural (this feature may also be characteristic of a careless style, see Blau I p. 47ff.).⁴⁸ Below two examples:

ليس يقربها الي حين تولد ولا يتزوجون امرأه §27

فلما سمع هذا الكلام اعني ابراشيت الساحر والملكه تعجبوا كثيرا §46

- b) The concord between a pronominal suffix and the noun to which it refers, is also often different from the rules of Classical Arabic. For example, the pronominal suffix referring to a noun in plural not designating persons, which stands in feminine singular according to Classical Arabic, stands in this text in plural in several cases (Blau II §184, III §455; Hopkins §147, §299).

العجايب والقوات التي صنعهم §8

أي لسان جسداني يستطيع ينطق بالمجد والقوة الذي اعطاك الله اياهم يا ربيس الملايكة غبريال §17

لان لنا ذخاير كثيرة واموال شتي وليس لنا احد يرثهم §61

In the following example a group of persons is referred to by a feminine pronominal suffix:

والملوك كلها §128

- c) Concord between a noun and its adjective is also irregular (Blau §180; Hopkins §145b):

واماكن كثير §201

⁴⁷ This feature may be considered similar with the following, which is explained by Blau as follows: 'As a rule, the more remote a word referring to a collective noun be from the noun, the more likely it is to stand in the plural.', see Blau II §177.2; see also Blau II §184, §186.

⁴⁸ A probable example of hypercorrection with respect to concord between subject and verb is found in ms. O: §22 , وجميع القديسين تاكل منها , in which the subject in plural masculine precedes the verb which is in singular and feminine, but this could also be interpreted as a writing error (Blau II §186) !

The above example could give the impression of an invariable كَثير, as attested by Blau (Blau II §180.1: Hopkins §143c), but in the *Naqlūn homily* the feminine form is also found,⁴⁹ for example: §148 دفعات كثيره .

ورماه علي احد العمالين فقتله واعطب اتنين آخر §167

This above example could also give the impression of the existence of an invariable آخر (Blau II §180; Hopkins §143e) but the *Naqlūn homily* contains also the feminine form, see §100 دفعه اخري .

Hb §83

In Middle Arabic the pronominal copula agrees more often with the predicate than with the subject. Two examples are found in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau II §188.2; Hopkins §146; see also Blau II §183 and below in Hb §104):

انا هو الذي اتيت في الاول §174 ; انا هو غيريال §45

Hb §85 In the *Naqlūn homily* the interrogative أ (here written as ا) is used twice and it is placed at the beginning of the sentence, as in Classical Arabic. According to Blau it occurs mainly in negative questions, which is also the case below in the second example (Blau II §193; Wright I 282, II 306).

العلك تريد تقتله §41

اليس انت كنت تحرسني مند صغري والي الان §73

Hb §88

a) Negation ما – لا (*lā – mā*)

In the *Naqlūn homily* negation of the verb in the imperfect or imperative is expressed mainly by means of لا (*lā*). Negation of a verb in the imperfect by means of ما (*mā*) occurs twice in one and the same line:

وشيخ مثلي ما يكذب وانا ما اريد فساد لاحد §143

⁴⁹ A similar situation is found in the modern dialect of Cairo, in which the invariable form exists side to side with the form in concord with the noun, see Woidich 2006, 197.

The use of لا (*lā*) in the *Naqlūn homily* seems to be mainly conform the rules of Classical Arabic.

This is contrary to the findings of Blau, who argues that لا (*lā*) has been replaced by ما (*mā*) in most cases, which is a feature that is characteristic for the historical development of the Arabic language (Blau II §201, §202). Although Hopkins agrees with Blau in this respect, he has very little material to illustrate this development (Hopkins §154a).

b) *Negation لم (lam)*

The negation for verbs in the perfect expressed by the use of لم is quite frequent in the *Naqlūn homily*. According to Classical Arabic, لم should be followed by a verb in the apocopate.

However, due to deficient writing of vocal signs, apocopate forms can not always be discerned, as in the following examples:

ولم يرجع §31

ولم نفعل §79

وان الملك لم يدعه يمضى §123

لم ابصر §126

لم تسمع §128

لم يحتمل §140

In most of the cases in which the verbs II *w/y* and III *w/y* are negated with لم, the verb has retained the long vowel, which reflects the absence of the apocopate. Only in a few cases apocopate forms of these verbs are found in the *Naqlūn homily* (see the examples above in Hb §52, §54; see also Hb §77)

Hb §89 Invariable *laysa*

laysa in the *Naqlūn homily* seems to be invariable (Blau II §204; Hopkins §156a). The following examples are found.

a) preceding an imperfect/perfect (Blau §204.1.1; Hopkins §156a.i.)

اليس انت كنت تحرسني §73

لأنه ليس يقدر ملك ارضي ان يقاوم الله §133

ليس تحتاج ان نعلمك §196

b) in a nominal sentence (Blau §204.1.2; Hopkins §156a.ii.)

ليس انا من جند ملك ارضي §88

ليس انا آله §127

فانه ليس لي استطاعه ان اصنع بك شرا §149

ليس لي قوه §150

وكل موضع لا يكون فيه محبه ليس فيه بركة الرب §180

c) preceding a personal pronoun (Blau II §204.1.3), see the above mentioned examples of §§73, 88, 127.

Hb §93 The forming of a construct in the *Naqlūn homily* differs in some cases from Classical rules. For example, two or more *nomina regentia* precede one *nomen rectum* (Blau II §229.1; Hopkins §176⁵⁰)

بنعمه ورافه ومحبه البشر الذي لسيدنا يسوع المسيح §215

The expression for ‘the Holy Spirit’ is represented in two different forms, which reflects the confusion about proper and improper annexation (Blau II §233) and indicates the forming of a common expression into a compound (Blau II §234.2; Hopkins §181):

والروح القدس §1

روح القدس §196

Another example of this feature:

الله ضابط الكل §128

Hb §94 كل (*kull*)

⁵⁰ Hopkins noticed this feature mostly in numerical expressions.

Often *kull* is used independently in the meaning of ‘everyone’ and ‘everything’, different from Classical Arabic, as in the above mentioned expression for ‘the Almighty’ ضابط الكل (litt. ‘master of everything’) (Blau II §236.1.1-2).

ضابط الكل §128

وكل الدين ياتوا اليه §180

Hb §104

In the *Naqlūn homily* two examples are found in which an independent personal pronoun⁵¹ of the 3rd person used as a copula refers to a subject personal pronoun in the 1st person (Blau III §370; see also above in Hb §83).

انا هو غبريال §45

انا هو الذي اتيت في الاول §174

Hb §105

Several cases are found in the *Naqlūn homily* in which an independent personal pronoun is employed without any discernable emphasis (Blau II §274, 274.1, §275.2; Hopkins §215). It appears that all the examples belong to direct speech.

ان نحن انجس من كل الادناس §76

فنحن نكون لك عبدا الي يوم وفاتنا §82

اذا عاهدتني انك تفعل لي كلما اقول لك انا اعرفك ضعفي §99

اذا انت قمت باكرا قول للملكه كلما رايتك §130

انما انت سرقتك §142

لانك انت من كورتني §144

وانت تعلم من هو §147

⁵¹ Independent personal pronoun is indicated in Wright as ‘separate personal pronoun’, see Wright [1859-1862] 2005, 1:53; for the name and its use in present times, see Ryding 2005, 298-301.

إذا تركتني أنا لا أعود إلي ها هنا دفعه أخرى §151

أنا أعلم أنهم ولدوك بالزنا §153

لكن أنا راجع إليك §153

أجلس أنت ها هنا §161

فإذا أنا تتيحت يا أبي القديس لا تجعل علي ثيابا فاخرة §204

Hb §115

The construction (أما ... ف) (*'ammā ... fa*) (here written as: ف ... ف), is used once in the *Naqlūn* homily, namely in §95, where the sentence opens with وأما الملكة, but the expected ف (*fa*) is absent, as happens often in Middle Arabic (Blau III §377; Hopkins §266 did not find examples of the absent ف (*fa*)).⁵²

وأما الملكة لما أن خرجوا من عندها لم تعلم إلى أين مضوا §95

Hb §116 In Middle Arabic ف (*fa*) is also often absent from the beginning of the apodosis of conditional clauses introduced by إذا / إن (*'in/'idā*, here as إن / إذا or إذا) (Blau II §341, §342; Hopkins §252 a-b; see also Hopkins §308⁵³ and Wright II 345-347).

a) In the following examples ف (*fa*) is absent:

إذا وجدتموه أمسكوه §103

إذا أنت قمت باكرا قول للملكة كلما رأيته §130

إذا كملت البيعة ابني داخلها أماكن للغربا وقلالي للرهبان §135

وإن سمعت مني سوف يكون لك الخير §144

⁵² Actually, ف (*fa*) does occur, even twice, but it occurs further in the sentence, where it functions as a normal conjunction: وأما الملكة لما أن خرجوا من عندها لم تعلم إلى أين مضوا فارسلت إلى أرض مصر تقتش عليهم فلم تجدهم §95.

⁵³ Hopkins notes (§308) that in Classical Arabic it is difficult to distinguish between conditional and temporal إذا, as is the case in the *Naqlūn* homily.

إذا أنا غدا هذا الشيخ السوء تقدم اليه § 147

إذا قمت باكرا اسال عن أور القس بجبل النفلون § 197

فاذا أنا تتيحت يا ابي القديس لا تجعل علي ثيابا فاخره § 204

b) In a few other cases ف (*fā*) is present at the beginning of the apodosis of ادا / ان , which is in accordance with Classical Arabic:

ادا ما وجدنا رحمه امام الرب الهنا فنحن نكون لك عبدا الي يوم وفاتنا § 82

ان تركت هؤلاء الناس بينوا هذه البيعه فسوف يموت خلقا كثير داخلها § 169

وانهم اذا مشوا في طريق الله وحفظوا اوامره فانا ورفيقي ربيس الملايكه ميخائيل وقوه الله نحرسهم § 184

c) In the following examples ف (*fā*) is absent, but this is not contrary to the rules of Classical Arabic:⁵⁴

إذا عاهدتني انك تفعل لي كلما اقول لك انا اعرفك ضعفي § 99

وإذا فعلت الذي اقله لك انا احفظك وملكتك § 130

إذا تركتني انا لا اعود الي هاهنا دفعه اخري § 151

d) Blau and Hopkins found that ف (*fā*-) may introduce the apodosis of لما (*lammā*), which is different from Classical Arabic (Blau II § 344; Hopkins § 253). However, in the *Naqlūn homily*, whenever لما (*lammā*) is used, the apodosis is not introduced by ف (*fā*-).

A few examples from the *Naqlūn homily*:

فلما كان بعد تمنيه ايام ابتدوا بوضع اساس البيعه § 92

لما سمعوا ببنا البيعه باسم ربيس الملايكه غريال المبشر اتوا § 93

فلما كان بعد زمان كبير... مات الملك § 97⁵⁵

ولما قال هذا صار مثل سهام النار § 154

فلما تقدم الي اور قال له § 160

⁵⁴ Cf. Wright [1859-1862] 2005, 2:9-10.

⁵⁵ Note that D is here according to the rules of Classical Arabic: فلما كان بعد زمان كبير... فمات الملك .

Hb §119 In Middle Arabic هوذا (*huwadā*) may refer to other persons than the 3rd person masculine singular; moreover, it seems to be invariable (Blau III §365.2)⁵⁶:

هوذا انا كايين معك §45

وهوذا انت §163

وهوذا الان قد فرغت ان اسال الرب من اجلك §179

وهوذا انا معك الي يوم وفائك §189

Examples of هوذا referring to the 3rd person masculine singular:

هوذا الرب قد كمل لك سؤالك §147

وهاهوذا هو مطروح ميت §169

Hb §123 Both Blau and Hopkins note the absence of قد before the perfect in the sense of ‘already’ in (most) modern dialects (Blau II §312; Hopkins §237). In the *Naqlūn homily* it occurs five times, each time before a verb in the perfect, but it is more often absent before a verb in the perfect.

يا احباي قد حان الوقت لنحرك البخور §20

لان اصلها اليوم قد غرس في هذا الجبل المقدس §21

واذا ... غيريال و... ميخاييل و... العدري قد حضروا اليهم §60

الرب قد كمل لك سؤالك §147

لان قد اقتربت ايامي §203

Hb §128 Asyndetic clauses.

- a) Asyndetic object clauses are very frequent in Middle Arabic and also in the *Naqlūn homily* (Blau III §390-§394; Hopkins §269). Examples:

⁵⁶ No reference of this feature is found in Hopkins.

§41 العلك تريد تقتله

§117 انا ادعه يرسله

§122 تسالى خالى يعطينى اذن

§123 وان الملك لم يدعه يمضى

§130 ودعها ترسل آور الى مدينته

§130 ولا ادع شيا من الحروب ياتي في ايامك

§138 وابندا بيني البيعه

§166 وان الشيطان كان يمضى يملا المآ

§167 وانه تناول حجرا كبيرا لا يقدر اتان يحملوه

- b) Asyndetic circumstantial clauses (*Hāl*-clauses) (Blau III §399-401; Hopkins §278 (syndetic *Hāl*-clauses); see also Woidich p. 397):

§107 فراوه يحمل الحجاره

§128 والملوك كلها تحت سلطانه يرفع من يشا ويضع من يشا

§159 وفيما كان يمشي وقع علي وجهه يزعم انه رجل شيخ

§193 واقاموا سبعة ايام بفرح عظيم يسبحون الله

- c) Final asyndetic clauses:⁵⁷

§167 فكان يرميه علي الفعله يقتلهم

- d) Consecutive asyndetic clauses:

§172 وان آور كان حزينا جدا يسال الله ان يخلصه من هذه التجربه العظيمه

- e) Although asyndetic clauses are frequent, syndetic clauses occur also in the *Naqlūn homily*.

See for example:

§122 اريد ان تسالى خالى يعطينى اذن ان اسافر الي بلدي

§148 وان آور فعل كذلك وعلق الشيطان مربوطا علي باب البيعه وكل احد ينظر اليه وهو يصرخ

⁵⁷ Blau uses the term 'final clause', but in English grammar the term 'purpose clause' is more common.

Hb §130 *'an/'anna/'inna* (the conjunction: 'that')

Vocalisation and diacritics are scarcely and obscurely written in the *Naqlūn homily*, which makes it difficult to discern between *'an/'anna/'inna*. The assumption of one common ان is possible, but can not be demonstrated with certainty (Blau III §402; Hopkins §173 and §279). An example: §102

فَقَالَتْ لَهُ يَا ابْنِي اَنْ فِي جِبْهَتِهِ عَلَامَةٌ

Hb §132 Prepositions preceding *'an* may be absent.

In Middle Arabic, but also in Classical Arabic, it occurs that the preposition preceding *'an* is absent. This feature is also attested in the *Naqlūn homily* where in a few cases ان is used in the sense of 'in that' or 'because' etc. , instead of بَنْ or لَنْ (Blau III §406; Hopkins §280).

لَكِنْ رَحِمَهُ اللهُ مَنْعَتَهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ اَنْ يَصْنَعَ بَنًا كَشُرُورِنَا §149

وَذَلِكَ اَنْ رَئِيسَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ غَيْرِيَالٍ ظَهَرَ لِي §203

Hb §134 The relative pronoun الذى (in the *Naqlūn homily* mostly represented as الذي) is

sometimes used without an antecedent where Classical Arabic uses مَنْ / مَا (Blau III §409, §436; Hopkins §283, §291).

وَإِذَا فَعَلْتُ الَّذِي أَقُولُ لَكَ أَنَا أَحْفَظُكَ §130

وَأَنْتَ تَعْلَمُ اَنْ الَّذِي قُلْتَهُ لَكَ صَحِيحٌ §143

وَأَمْرَ الَّذِي يَأْتُوا إِلَيَّ هَاهُنَا اَنْ يَكُونُوا أَطْهَارًا §183

Hb §139 Invariable relative pronoun الذى

- a) The relative pronoun الذى (mostly represented in the *Naqlūn homily* as الذي) seems to be invariable (Blau III §426, §431; Hopkins §289).

وَكَانُوا الَّذِي يَأْتُوا إِلَيْهِمْ بِسَالُوهِمْ مِنْ أَيْنَ أَنْتُمْ §56

كيف يعرفوه الرسل الذي ادعهم يمشوا اليه § 101

القوم الذي حضروا § 110

وامر الذي ياتوا الي هاهنا ان يكونوا اطهارا في نفوسهم واجسادهم § 183

ويحفظوا الوصايا الذي تسلموها من ابايهم القديسين § 183

الاخوه والغربا الذي كانوا ياتوا اليه من كل موضع § 201

خطاياي الذي صنعتهم § 205

بنعمه ورافه ومحبه البشر الذي لسيدنا يسوع المسيح § 215

b) Nevertheless, the plural form الدين is attested twice in the *Naqlūn homily*:

الدين يتقون عليهم § 169

وكل الدين ياتوا اليه § 180

c) The feminine التي is attested in the following paragraphs:

امه التي هي اختك § 102

وتلك المدينة التي تجدوه فيها § 103

العلامه التي § 108

المواضع التي تمضي اليها § 117

القضيه التي § 150

كثره الجموع التي § 183

والاسقفية التي § 205

Hb §142 In the *Naqlūn homily* it occurs twice that an independent personal pronoun as the subject stands between اذا and the verb, which is a common feature in Middle Arabic but occurs also in Classical Arabic (Blau III §461; Hopkins §301).⁵⁸

§130 اذا انت قمت باكرا قول للملكه كلما رايتنه

فاذا انا تنبحت يا ابي القديس لا تجعل علي ثيابا فاخره §204

Hb §150⁵⁹ Word order

- a) Concerning the word order in the *Naqlūn homily*, it appears to be mostly similar as in Classical Arabic. In a few cases that belong to direct speech, the subject precedes the verb, as this is common in the spoken language (Blau III §510; Hopkins §330):

§143 وانت تعلم ان الذي قلته لك صحيح وها الان قد اعلمتك به سر بيني وبينك وشيخ مثلي ما يكذب وانا ما اريد فساد لاحد

§147 وانت تعلم من هو

§187 واخوتك سوف يخرجوا من هاهنا

- b) A prepositional phrase is placed between subject and verb (Blau III §519.2; Hopkins §333⁶⁰):

§205 فهذا هو اليوم الذي فيه اخرج من العالم

- c) The word order – verb-object-subject – occurs also (Blau III §515; Hopkins §332):

§102 عندما لحق امه التي هي اختك مخاض الطلق ولدته

§199 فارضا جميعهم ذلك

- d) With respect to questions, in the *Naqlūn homily* two occurrences in which an interrogative is placed in final position are attested (Hopkins §331). This feature is very common in Coptic, in which the interrogative is allowed in all nominal positions.⁶¹ Therefore it might be considered to betray Coptic influence, but this is not necessarily so, as the final

⁵⁸ This same feature with respect to a conditional clause introduced by ان is not attested in the *Naqlūn homily*, see Blau III §477; Hopkins §309.

⁵⁹ Blau's *Handbook* does not deal with word order in a general sense separately, but focuses on a few specific features of word order.

⁶⁰ Hopkins does not deal with this specific feature, but with related features of the position of prepositional elements.

⁶¹ Reintges 2004, 146.

position of interrogatives is also common in Egyptian colloquial (Woidich, p. 180, 358-367). The two occurrences:

انت من اين §141 ; هذا البنيان لمن §106

Hb §152 The adverb ايضا (=also) is used frequently and in a few cases it precedes the word to which it refers, which is contrary to Classical Arabic (Blau III §521.2; Hopkins §334).

واعطته ايضا ذهباً كثيراً §134

وايضاً انك مولوداً بالزنا §142

It may also be used in the sense of ‘again’ (Blau III §521.3.2.-remark):

طلبني ايضا انا يوحنا §205

5. Vocabulary

The vocabulary used in the *Naqlūn homily* contains a few rare words and idiomatic expressions:

- a) §54, §90 اسكنا : this word belongs to the specifically Christian vocabulary and is derived from the Greek σκηνή. Its meaning is: sanctuary, chapel.⁶²
- b) §169, §170 اسباسلار , also written as الاسفهلار (§175, §177): meaning ‘general’ and is derived from the Persian language.⁶³
- c) the verb قام : its concrete meaning is ‘to stand up’, but in this text this verb is sometimes followed asyndetically by a second verb and in these cases its meaning is inchoative, ‘to begin’. See for example: §117 لماذا تقوم نقلق which should be translated as: ‘*Why do you start to be troubled?*’, (in the edition it is translated as: ‘*Why are you troubled?*’). A similar feature occurs also in Coptic, Sahidic as well as Bohairic, in the verb τωογν, meaning ‘to arise’. If this verb is followed by another verb in an identical grammatical construction, it expresses the sense of ‘to start’.⁶⁴ This feature is also attested in the

⁶² See Graf 1954, 9; Coquin 1975, 151, 157, 159.

⁶³ Kazimirski 1860, 1:33; see also the Persian word sipah-sālār in Steingass [1892] 1970, 653 who translates it as: commander-in-chief.

⁶⁴ See Dembska 1988.

modern spoken dialect of Egypt (specifically in Cairo).⁶⁵ In most cases in this text, however, the verb قام is combined with a second verb by means of و (wi ‘and’) and there it has preserved its original meaning.⁶⁶ See for example: §138 وانه قام وهدم ما كان بناءه §159 ; وانه قام وهدم ما كان بناءه . فقام واتا اليه .

- d) the verb مضى : this verb appears to be used in the same way as the preceding verb قام . It is followed asyndetically by a second verb in §166 وان الشيطان كان يمضى يملا الماء combined with a second verb by means of و (wi ‘and’) in §165 وانه قال له امضى واملا الماء . للعمالين علي دواب البيعه .
- e) §8 قوه : here translated as ‘wonder’, ‘miracle’ or ‘mighty work’. The word is quite likely a loan translation, a calque, from the Greek word δόναμις possibly via the Coptic ⲥⲟⲙⲓ, such as it is used in for example Mc 6:5. It may be considered an example of the language characteristic for the Christians.
- f) §165 وانه قال له امضى واملا الماء : the expression *malā al-mā*’ is not uncommon in written texts (*malā* may be translated as: ‘to fill with’ see Wehr 1994, 1078; Hava 1982, 731) as well as in the spoken language (Badawi and Hinds 1986, 833b) and should be translated as ‘to fill with water’. It is attested twice in the New Testament, in the version of the Egyptian Vulgate (see Jn 2:7, 9),⁶⁷ and once in the modern Arabic translation (see Jn 2:7). The Coptic ⲙⲟϥⲗ (to fill) is used in a similar way.⁶⁸
- g) A specific remark concerns the translation of the word: جبل (*gabal*) . The word is translated as ‘mountain’, but refers actually to a desert site, often a desert monastery, and corresponds more or less to the Greek term ὄρος and the Coptic word ⲣⲟⲟϥ in its range of

⁶⁵ See the study on this topic by Woidich 2006, 328-330; see also Woidich 2002, 140-149.

⁶⁶ See especially the remark on p. 144 in Woidich 2002.

⁶⁷ See the edition by De Lagarde 1864, 111 (Jn 2:1-11); see also Graf 1944-1953, 1:159.

⁶⁸ See Crum 1939, 209b.

meanings.⁶⁹ In modern times, the Egyptians still use the word جبل in both its meanings, because the mountains situated at the border of the Nile Valley actually are identical with the desert.⁷⁰

- h) Another specific remark should be made about the word: طاهر, which means literally ‘pure’. According to Zanetti, the word may be considered a Copticism because of its use in a similar way as the Coptic word ⲡⲩⲁⲣⲏ, which means ‘pure’ as well as ‘holy’.⁷¹ However, in the translation the literal meaning of ‘pure’ has been maintained to distinguish it from the word قدیس, which also means ‘holy’.⁷²

6. Traces of the Coptic language?

The *Naqlūn homily* is written in the Arabic language in a Coptic Christian environment. Possibly, the language of the *Naqlūn homily* contains traces of the Coptic language.⁷³

- a) The Arabic particle: يعني (he means) or اعني (I mean) may be interpreted as imitating the Coptic particle: =n{ i (namely) in Sahidic and =nj e in Bohairic.⁷⁴ However, explaining its presence as an indication for a Coptic original is too spurious and therefore very unlikely. The particle occurs in texts translated from Coptic as well as in texts originally written in Arabic. Its presence in the *Naqlūn homily* might be interpreted as a reflection of the bilingual situation of Coptic – Arabic in the period the *Naqlūn homily* was written.⁷⁵ But even this interpretation is doubtful, because the particle occurs in all dialects of Arabic.⁷⁶ Three examples of the particle are found in the *Naqlūn homily*:

§23 صاروا ابرار يعني الدي بنوا هذه البيعه

§46 فلما سمع هذا الكلام اعني ابراشيت الساحر والملكه

⁶⁹ See Cadell and Rémondon 1967, see also Derda 1995, 26, nt. 27. In contrast to this, Wipszycka refers to the Coptic *zopoc* instead of *rooy* and she argues that the Arabic term *gabal* never indicates the monastic community, which is not confirmed by the texts studied here, however, see Wipszycka 2009, 110-111.

⁷⁰ See Badawi and Hinds 1986, 148.

⁷¹ ⲡⲩⲁⲣⲏ: *holy, pure*, see Crum 1939, 487b. See Zanetti 2004, 60.

⁷² This feature has also been attested in the other texts contained in this study. The translation is similar in all cases.

⁷³ For a general article on Coptic loanwords and bibliographical references, see Behnstedt 2006, 1:501-505; for a more culturally oriented reflection, see Den Heijer 2008, 132-134; and Den Heijer 2012c, 76-78.

⁷⁴ See Crum 1939, 252.

⁷⁵ See Den Heijer 1989, 50-52; and Den Heijer 2008, 136.

⁷⁶ See Wehr [1961] 1994, 762.

ولم يزل مقيما في جبل النفلون اعني الاسفهلار § 177

- b) As already mentioned above in Hb §150, the interrogative in final position might be, but is not necessarily due to Coptic influence. Other possible linguistic features of this kind have not been discovered.

7. Conclusion

The above given survey lists about fifty features, almost one third of the Middle Arabic features described by Blau in his *Handbook*. In general, what is most striking in this survey is the inconsistency of the language of the *Naqlūn homily*: all the abovementioned features are never completely applied throughout the text. Clearly Middle Arabic features alternate with features more akin to Classical Arabic, in always varying frequencies. This inconsistency is in itself an important characteristic of Middle Arabic. Moreover, the occurrence of hybrid forms makes the language of the *Naqlūn homily* even more conform to Middle Arabic.

Concerning orthography, the features that are common to Middle Arabic, like the absence of the short vowels in ending position, writing 'alif instead of 'alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā', the absence of the glottal stop, these are clearly present in the *Naqlūn homily*.

The most important characteristics for Middle Arabic morphology, the masculine plural of verbs in imperfect indicative without final -n, the presence of the long medial vowel in forms of verbs II w/y, and the presence of the long end vowel in forms of verbs III w/y, are likewise amply attested in the *Naqlūn homily*.

With respect to syntax, the language used in the *Naqlūn homily* is marked by the use of the sound masculine plural ending – īn irrespective of case, the absence of the dualis and apocopate and cases, more concord between a verb and its subject, invariable *laysa*, *huwaḍā* and *alladī*, (and a possible invariable *fā*, *ṣay*, *kitīr*, 'āḥar), the mentioning of personal pronouns without any discernable emphasis, the frequent occurrence of asyndetic object clauses.

The features listed above confirm the specific Middle Arabic character of the text. In addition to that, the manuscript contains several features belonging to Classical Arabic, such as the internal passive and the negation with *lā* and *lam*. Moreover, about two-thirds of the Middle Arabic features described in Blau's *Handbook* do not occur in the *Naqlūn homily*.⁷⁷ In many of these cases the language of the text follows the rules of Classical Arabic. This fact underlines the

⁷⁷ Blau includes about six features characteristic for Judeo-Arabic, which are certainly not attested here.

Middle Arabic character of the text as a mix of the H variety (Classical or Standard Arabic) and the L variety (colloquial Arabic), and takes a position in between these two varieties.

The results of Blau and Hopkins' studies are sometimes different. This may be explained by the fact that they used sources different in kind, place and date of origin. Hopkins used papyri, mostly discovered in Egypt, from the time before the year 912.⁷⁸ Blau studied mostly manuscripts, copied in the monasteries near Jerusalem and in the Sinai, and dating from the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁹ The *Naqlūn homily* takes a position somewhere in the middle between the findings of Hopkins and those of Blau.⁸⁰ The fact that some of the features found in this study could (also) be explained by referring to the grammar of the modern spoken language, demonstrates that these features were already in use in the fourteenth century, the date of the manuscript on which the edition of the *Naqlūn homily* is based.

By way of conclusion, the *Naqlūn homily* has its origin in a Coptic Christian environment, the style and contents being characteristic for the Copto-Arabic hagiographic literature of the Middle Ages. The scarcity of vocabulary specific for the (Coptic) Christian religion and the lack of evidence for a significant influence of the Coptic language underline the assumption that the *Naqlūn homily* was almost certainly originally composed in Arabic.

⁷⁸ Hopkins xli.

⁷⁹ Blau I §1.4; Hb p. 19 and the introductions to the texts.

⁸⁰ See the abovementioned paragraphs Hb §§30, 36, 45, 47, 59, 71-72, 79, 88, 115, 123.

Chapter V

A commentary on the Naqlūn homily

1. Introduction

Following the edition of the *Naqlūn homily*, its translation and the investigation of its linguistic aspects, the focus of this chapter is on the text as a textual artefact, with specific attention to its literary characteristics and, from a broader point of view, its meaning for the history of the monastery of Naqlūn. First a summary of the text is presented, followed by a narratological analysis forming the basis for further clarification of the narrative structure of the text, the different levels of narration and the role of the narrator(s). The title, usually added later as an independent unity in this genre, is treated separately. The prologue and the epilogue, forming the framework of the central story, are studied subsequently. Then the literary aspects of the text are studied: first its genre as a homily for the archangel Gabriel and his church on the mountain of Naqlūn, which includes a hagiographic narrative of the life of a saint, while particular attention is given to its liturgical use; then the main literary characteristics of the Aūr story and its legendary features, specifically the role of magic.

For the study of the literary characteristics of the homily use has been made of the concept of intertextuality,¹ searching for parallels in other texts belonging to related fields of literature, such as Biblical stories, Copto-Arabic hagiography, angelology, texts in which magic plays a role, and folk tales. As a homily on the archangel Gabriel, the *Naqlūn homily* is compared in particular with two other (Coptic) homilies on this archangel of which an edition and a translation are available: the homily attributed to bishop Archelaus of Neapolis,² whose identity remains obscure,³ and the homily attributed to archbishop Celestinus of Rome (422-432).⁴ In the comparison similarities and differences, and the specific characteristics of the genre come to light. The results help to determine the place of the homily in Copto-Arabic hagiographic literature and shed light on its liturgical meaning. For the study of the

¹ For literature on intertextuality, see for example Mertens 1990, 1-24; Allen 2000.

² Archelaus homily: edition and French translation of the Bohairic Coptic text, see De Vis [1929] 1990, 242-291; for parallels in Sahidic, see Depuydt 1993, 325-326 and his references. The oldest (Sahidic) ms. dates from AD 884. The homily is also known in an Arabic version edited in Arabic, see Murqus Ġirġis 1926, 220-250 (this is the second edition, the first edition was published by Ṣalīb Ġubrān and Ġūrġi Ġirġis in 1902). For a book review on the edition of De Vis and further information on this homily, see Polotsky 1930.

³ Archelaus of Neapolis: so called according to the Coptic texts, but the Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic Synaxaria indicate his bishopric with the name Dānāh or Caesarea, and the Arabic version of the homily gives 'Irā, see De Vis [1929] 1990, 244-245.

⁴ Celestinus homily: edition and English translation of the Sahidic Coptic text, see Worrell 1923, 129-247 (text), 327-358 (transl.); for an earlier edition and translation of the same homily, see Budge 1915, 300-320, 1193-1199 (text); 872-892, 1199-1206 (translation). Other homilies on the archangel Gabriel, see Müller 1959, 218-239; for the Arabic versions of several of these homilies, see also Graf 1944-1953, 1:544.

hagiographical aspects of the *Naqlūn homily*, use has been made of the list of hagiographic topoi composed by Pratsch.⁵ The great merit of this work lies in its elaborate description of topoi occurring in hagiographic literature from the middle Byzantine period, the 7th-10/11th centuries, in which hagiography flourished. Although this work is based on Greek hagiographic sources, its clear presentation makes it equally useful for hagiographic works from a Copto-Arabic environment, like the *Naqlūn homily*. Moreover, in a general way the results of this investigation may give an idea about the proximity of both (more or less contemporary) hagiographic environments. The description of St. Aūr's life seems to be on the interface between hagiography and folk literature. For the identification of the folk motifs found in the *Naqlūn homily*, El-Shamy's classification of folk traditions in the Arab world has been used as a guide.⁶ This index presents a survey of motifs occurring in folk literature characteristic for the Arab countries throughout history. As the composer of the index wrote in his introduction: "Since a folk narrative is a description of life, real or fictitious, contents of narrative and related folkloric materials deal, in essence, with 'life' and 'living' in the broadest sense."⁷

2. *Summary of the text*

The text starts with an invocation addressed to the Holy Trinity, in which God is called on for help. Then the actual title, a rather long one, presents the text as a homily and describes the subject. The title is followed by a prologue in honour of the archangel Gabriel and his church at the mountain of Naqlūn. After the prologue, the narrative, the story of Aūr's life, is introduced by urging the audience to listen and the subject of the homily is partly restated. Then the actual story starts with a description of the beginning situation.

The opening scenery shows a family of magicians living at the royal court in a country in the East. In this setting the central character, Aūr, is presented as the illegitimate son of a magician and the king's daughter. In a vivid style his birth and youth in secrecy are described; the archangel Gabriel as his protector; his flight to the Fayyūm; his conversion from a pagan magician to a Christian; his building the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel; his journey back to his home country; his return to the Naqlūn and the restart of the building of the church and the monastery; the help of the archangel Gabriel who defended its construction against the attempts by Satan to frustrate building operations; the consecration of the church

⁵ See Pratsch 2005. See also the review on this book, Constantinou 2006, 476-481.

⁶ See El-Shamy 1995, 2 vols.

⁷ See El-Shamy 1995, 1:xiii.

by bishop Isaac of the Fayyūm; Aūr's ordination as priest and later as bishop. When his death was nearby, Aūr told the story of his life to the anchorite John, who wrote it down.

Here the story comes to its end and the narrator calls upon the congregation assembled in the church to celebrate the archangel's commemoration in a proper way. He proceeds with a prayer and concludes with praise to the Holy Trinity.

3. *Structure*

Narratology may help to get insight into the structure of the text and in its relation with the other texts studied in this book. The complete text, except for the title that is dealt with separately, has been investigated on its narrative structure. The narratological approach and terminology as used in M. Bal's work are applied here.⁸

In the prologue honour is given to the archangel Gabriel and especially to the archangel's church at the mountain of Naqlūn. The first paragraphs are told by a still unknown person, but in §5 (and also in §11-§16) this unknown narrator uses the words *us* and *our*, showing that he is the spokesman of a group of people. From the text (§4-§7, §19-§20) it may be inferred that this group consists of the congregation gathered inside a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel. The location of this church is not indicated. The narrator speaks of the glory of the mountain of Naqlūn (§9), and of the church on this mountain (§§4-8, 19, 21), but does not refer to this location as the place where the community is gathered (§20). In §9 the narrator addresses himself to the mountain of Naqlūn and in the following paragraphs of this prologue to the archangel Gabriel. In §20 the narrator turns for a moment to his audience, then he returns to the archangel Gabriel, up till the end of the prologue in §21. He concludes the prologue with a quotation from the Bible (§22), and in §23, speaking in the first person singular, he calls upon his audience to listen. In §24 he starts telling the story. Throughout the prologue, the exact identity of the narrator remains in the dark. It is only known that he is a member of the congregation to whom he tells the story that follows. He may therefore be indicated as the 'character bound narrator' of the prologue.⁹

In the greater part of the Aūr story the narrator does not seem to play a role. He refers to himself only twice (§§ 46, 177) when explaining some preceding words. At first sight, he seems to be an anonymous external narrator. However, towards the end of the text (§202), the narrator speaks suddenly in the first person and makes himself known as 'John the ascetic, worshipping on this mountain'. From here onwards, he appears to play himself a role in the

⁸ See Bal [1985] 1997.

⁹ See Bal [1985] 1997, 22.

story, which makes him a character bound narrator.¹⁰ In the following paragraphs (§202-§208), this structure is maintained and confirmed by the occurrence of the words *me* and *we*, implying that the narrator belongs to a group of people associated to the church. Apparently, the monk John is not the only monk living at Naqlūn, but he seems to be a member of a monastic community. This may also be inferred from §118 and §137 in which St. Aūr is mentioned in relation with other brothers. The narrator John has the task of writing down the story of Aūr's life (§208). The text in §188 already alluded to this fact, telling that the archangel Gabriel orders St. Aūr in a vision to tell the story of his (Aūr's) life to the monk John. Apparently, in the latter part of the story, the monk John is the character bound narrator as well as the author of the story of Aūr's life.¹¹ Moreover, the monk John reveals in this paragraph the aim of his task: to preserve the story of St. Aūr's life for the coming generations and to honour the archangel Gabriel.

Actually, at this point in the text the story about the life of St. Aūr ends. The text moves to the epilogue, consisting of a short exhortation, admonishing the congregation to commemorate the archangel Gabriel in a proper way. The exhortation is concluded with a prayer. The congregation is assembled in a church, clearly dedicated to the archangel Gabriel, but at an otherwise unspecified location. The epilogue is told by an anonymous narrator who appears to be a member of the assembled congregation, as the word *we* indicates in several paragraphs (for example in §209 and §213). A similar situation has been found above for the prologue. From this it follows that the beginning of the text, the prologue, and the last part, the epilogue, form a unity. Both presuppose a homily held to a congregation assembled in a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel at the occasion of a celebration in honour of this archangel. The story following the prologue and preceding the epilogue, should be considered a different part of the text to judge by structure and contents, as it deals with the process of the construction of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the specific location of the mountain of Naqlūn. Apparently, the prologue and the epilogue form together the homiletic frame told by an unidentified character bound narrator, in which the story of St. Aūr's *Life* is embedded as a narration on the second level. The first part, the greatest part, of this embedded narration is told by an anonymous external narrator. The latter part, comprising §§202-208, is narrated by

¹⁰ A similar inconsistency in the role of the narrator appears in the Bible, in Acts 16:10, where the narrator changes from third person to first person, and another example is found in the *Life of Euphemia*, see Campagnano, Maresca and Orlandi 1977, 160-163. In this latter work, the narrator appears just before the death of the saint, at a similar moment in the story of Aūr's life.

¹¹ A similar situation of a monk-author living at the monastic site that is central in his text is found in the *Life of John the Hegumen of Scetis of the seventh century*, see Zanetti 1996, 286, 367-368; see also White [1932] 1973, 2:275-286.

John the ascetic, the character bound narrator and assumed author of the embedded narration as a whole. Below the narrative structure of the *Naqlūn homily* is presented in a table:

division	title §1	prologue §§2-22 (23)	narration §§24-201	narration §§202-208	epilogue §§209-216
level of narration	separate part added as a label, indicating genre subject and date	homiletic frame	embedded story		homiletic frame
told by	spokesman belonging to congregation in church	character bound narrator-1 belonging to congregation in church	anonymous external narrator-1	character bound narrator-2 John the ascetic	character bound narrator-1 belonging to congregation in church

Concluding the above, the narrative structure leads to a division of the text into several parts: the title, the homiletic frame consisting of the prologue in the beginning and the concluding epilogue, and the embedded story telling the life of St. Aūr.

This division is confirmed by the contents, in particular by the view on the composition of the monastic complex revealed by the different text parts. The prologue speaks about a church only (§§ 7, 8, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24) and presupposes a similar situation for the text that follows, by indicating that the text is used at the occasion of the (annual) celebration of the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel, at the mountain of Naqlūn (§§19-24). There is no reference to any other building or a monastic complex of which the church of the archangel Gabriel would be a part.

In the embedded part of the text, first the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel is constructed (§§90-93, §138, §157, §177) and consecrated (§§178-192), then the building of the monks' cells and the guesthouses takes place (§135, §201). Moreover, the text mentions the presence of brothers living at the site. Whether these are to be understood as Aūr's two brothers in the flesh or as monks, being his spiritual brothers, is unclear at first (§§118, 137, 144, 187), but in the last occurrence (§201) it should best be interpreted as spiritual brothers, *i.e.* monks. There are also 'the elders of the monastery' (§171), who were already present during the process of the construction of the new church. At the end of the text, John the ascetic is mentioned, which indicates the existence of at least one hermitage (§202). Moreover, the building process is considered important not only for the monks living at the site, but it is a matter of concern for the Christian population of this region including the capital of the province, the city of Fayyūm. Indeed, the inhabitants of the near environment are involved in the building activities at the site of Naqlūn (§ 139); the notables of the city of

Fayyūm come and give offerings (§93); labourers and workmen and hirelings are involved in the construction (§§92, 106, 107, 160, 165-167). Obviously, the story represents an existing monastic complex that is in the process of being enlarged with the church of the archangel Gabriel and with habitations for monks and pilgrims.

In the epilogue, the narrator refers to a church only. This means that the epilogue is indeed in conformity with the prologue.

At the level of the language, the use of the words دير (*dayr*), بيعة (*bē'a*), كنيسة (*kenēsa*) may also be of importance for the interpretation whether the text deals with a church only or with a monastic complex. In general the word دير (*dayr*) is used to indicate a monastery, but it may also refer to a church formerly belonging to a monastic complex.¹² The words بيعة (*bē'a*) and كنيسة (*kenēsa*) refer to a church as an independent building, not connected, actually or in former times, to a monastery. In the *Naqlūn homily* as a whole, all three terms occur, which makes the translation of دير (*dayr*) as 'monastery' preferable in order to distinguish it from the two other terms.

In the prologue, the words بيعة (*bē'a*) (§§7, 8, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24) and كنيسة (*kenēsa*) (§§1, 23) are used indiscriminately indicating the church. The word دير (*dayr*) does not occur here. This should be considered an *argumentum ex silentio*, meaning that the text remains silent about the existence of a monastery, neither proving its presence nor its absence. The use of the words indicating the church does not contradict the view revealed by the contents of the prologue, saying that a church is present. In the story, all three words occur: دير (*dayr*) – monastery (§§50, 166, 171) and بيعة (*bē'a*) – church (§§90, 92, 93, 105, 115, 117, 122, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 146, 148, 153, 157, 165, 166, 169, 174, 176, 177, 182, 185, 192, 194, 208) and كنيسة (*kenēsa*) – church (§§88, 122, 130, 168, 204). Clearly, the interpretation of the word *dayr* in its context indicates a monastery that should have existed before the start of the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel. In the epilogue solely the word بيعة (*bē'a*) (§§210, 212) occurs. Thus the abovementioned view inferred by the contents of the story is confirmed linguistically by the use of the words دير (*dayr*), بيعة (*bē'a*), and كنيسة (*kenēsa*).

In conclusion, the division of the text based on narratological evidence is strengthened by the difference in view on the outer appearance of the (monastic) site. The text of the homiletic frame is focused on the building of a church only. The story on the other hand,

¹² The term *dayr* usually indicates a monastery, but after a monastery had fallen in ruin and only the church remained, the name *dayr* continued to be in use to indicate the remaining church. See for example chapter IX, dealing with the Ḥandaq homily, in which the church of al-Ḥandaq is indicated as *Dayr al-Ḥandaq*, referring to the former monastery at the site. The term *dayr* is also found in names of places and villages, reminding that in earlier times there had been a monastery, for example the village named: *Dayr Abu Hennes*, see Wipszycka 2009, 151-155. About the use of the term *dēr/dayr* (or *deir/dair*) see Somers Clarke 1912, 192; Abbott 1937, 49.

represents a monastic community consisting of a group of brothers, and at least one hermit (John). The buildings belonging to this monastic complex consist (at least) of the newly built church of the archangel Gabriel, enlarged with cells and habitations for pilgrims. Moreover, this division of the text into the two levels and the inconsistency with respect to the role of the narrator in the story, raise questions about the status of this text: does the present text represent the original text form? Or is it a secondary redaction of another text? The importance of this question is stressed further in this chapter by the finding of more inconsistencies.

4. The title

The very beginning of the text is an invocation, addressed to the Holy Trinity, praying for the help of God. Then the actual title follows. In the table below, the title is compared with those of the two other homilies on the archangel Gabriel:

Comparison of the titles of the three homilies on the archangel Gabriel		
<i>Naqlūn homily</i>¹³	<i>Archelaus homily</i>¹⁴	<i>Celestinus homily</i>¹⁵
In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. A homily written by the holy father, the ascetic, Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, in which he describes the honour of the glorious angel, leader of the heavenly hosts, Gabriel, the Messenger, and the building and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn on the like of this day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. May his holy intercession be with us, amen.	A homily held by the one who is great in the matters of the Lord, the holy Archelaus, bishop of Neapolis, on the holy archangel Gabriel, when some notables of the city came to him, asking him: 'We want you to teach us about the day of the holy archangel Gabriel.' He explained the matter through the dialogue found in old compositions revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ to our fathers the holy Apostles in Jerusalem. The twenty-second of Kiyahk. In the peace of the Lord, amen.	A homily of the honored patriarch who became the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit, Apa Celestinus, archbishop of the great city of Rome, which he delivered concerning the great honour of the messenger of good tidings of the eons of the light, the archangel Gabriel, on the day of his holy feast which is the twenty-first (<i>sic</i>) of the month of Choiahk. ¹⁶ And he spake concerning the mighty works and wonders which had taken place in his holy shrine which was built to him in the city of Rome; and also concerning the word which is written in the Law: That

¹³ See chapter III, text and translation §1.

¹⁴ See De Vis [1929] 1990, 246.

¹⁵ The translation in English is copied from the editor, Worrell, see Worrell 1923, 129 (text), 327-328 (transl.), except for the word 'homily', in Worrell's translation 'discourse', which is adapted in order to show that both the Archelaus homily and the Celestinus homily use the same word in the original text in Coptic: οὐλογοc.

¹⁶ The text gives 21 Kiyahk which is most probably a writing error, because 22 Kiyahk is the feast day of the archangel Gabriel.

		which thou wouldest not that it happen unto thee do it not unto any one; and also that lying is a great sin, especially with them that confirm the lie with a false oath; and also that prayer helpeth a man and saveth him from the snares of Satan. With the peace of God. Bless us. Amen.

As a whole, the text of the title may be regarded a concise summary of the contents of the text to which it is added. The title of the *Naqlūn homily* presents in one sentence the literary genre of the text, the (assumed) author, the main character, the epithets of the (assumed) author and main character, the topic, the occasion (the date), and a blessing formula. Based on the classification of titles of literary works in the Coptic Christian tradition,¹⁷ these elements characterize this title as an expanded simple-structure title.¹⁸ The title of the Archelaus homily provides in addition some details about the topic. However, as such it contains almost the same elements and is therefore identified similarly as an expanded simple-structure title.¹⁹ The homily by Celestinus is longer and more complicated, listing several topics and giving more details about these topics. This title may be characterized as a complex-structure title.²⁰

All three titles indicate the genre of the text as a homily, which implies a liturgical use of the text. This is studied further below.

Bishop Aūr of the Fayyūm is presented as the author of the homily. However, the above study of the narrative structure has shown that according to the story the (pretended) author is the monk John, an ascetic living at the monastery of Naqlūn. Apparently, the title and the text differ with respect to the author. In homilies, and in general in hagiography, it is quite common to attribute a text to a famous person in order to give it more authority and importance.²¹ However, the title of the *Naqlūn homily* does not present a famous person, but the main character as the author. Similarly, the title of the Archelaus homily presents bishop Archelaus, who plays an important role in the text, as its author. In contrast with the *Naqlūn*

¹⁷ Buzi 2005. This study is based on works written in the Coptic language: homiletic and hagiographic works, Biblical, Gnostic, and Manichean works, and works of the church father Shenute.

¹⁸ Buzi 2005, 32, 33-34, 107-108.

¹⁹ Buzi situates it also in this category, see Buzi 2005, 107.

²⁰ Buzi situates it also in this category, see Buzi 2005, 109.

²¹ See Buzi 2005, 32; see also Sheridan 2007, 28; Speyer 1971, 274, 294, 300, 309.

homily, the text of the Archelaus homily gives the same author as presented in the title, and these are in this respect in agreement with each other. In the homily held by Celestinus, the name of the (assumed) author Celestinus does not occur except in the title.

The title of the *Naqlūn homily* describes the aim of the text as twofold. In the first place this homily is written in order to give honour to the archangel Gabriel and in the second place it provides a report about the building and the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn. Both aims are clearly related to each other. The honour for the archangel Gabriel finds its concrete expression in the building of the church, specifically localized on the mountain of Naqlūn. The title of the Archelaus homily is limited to one single aim, namely providing justification for the very commemoration of the archangel Gabriel. In addition, it mentions the reason that has led to the composition of the homily, namely the request by the notables for information, and it mentions the theme of the book found in Jerusalem.²² The aim of the Celestinus homily as presented in the title may be considered much more complex, consisting of one primary aim and several secondary aims. The main theme is the commemoration of the archangel Gabriel, for a specific date, 21 (22) Kiyahk, illustrated by the miracles performed by this archangel at a specific location, the shrine in Rome. Additional themes concern a verse from the Bible, the fact that lying is a great sin, and the helpfulness of prayer.

The title of the *Naqlūn homily* provides also the occasion, the date for which the homily had been composed, for ‘a day like this’, the commemoration of the consecration of the church on 26 Ba’ūna. A year is not given, which, just like the genre, implies a liturgical use of the text. Both the Archelaus homily and the Celestinus homily are centered on 22 Kiyahk.

The title of the *Naqlūn homily* is concluded with the expression ‘*may his holy intercession be with us, amen.*’, which is often used in hagiographic and liturgical works as a kind of blessing formula.²³ The use of the word ‘*us*’ indicates that the composer of the title belongs to a group of people. Both the Archelaus homily and the Celestinus homily end with a conclusive formula of peace.²⁴

Summarizing the above, the title of the *Naqlūn homily* shows the characteristic elements generally occurring in titles of manuscripts belonging to the Coptic tradition.

²² The theme of the find of a book in Jerusalem occurs in recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*, see Context; and chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β: differences and characteristics.*

²³ See for example Buzi 2005, 32; and at the end of antiphonaria, see Cramer and Krause 2008, and also often used in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium.

²⁴ Buzi 2005, 32-34.

Although the homily is written in Arabic, it appears to fit very well in this Coptic manuscript tradition, including the discrepancy between the title and the text regarding the (pretended) author, which points out that the title was most probably added to the text at a later stage.²⁵ The title of the *Naqlūn homily* is specific and unique in the fact that it attributes the text, albeit wrongly, to the main character of the story, implying that St. Aūr was considered a famous or important personality. As a homily on the archangel Gabriel, the *Naqlūn homily* is remarkable with respect to the central date, 26 Ba'ūna, and with respect to its twofold aim: the honour of the archangel Gabriel and the report of the building of his church at Naqlūn.

The text tradition of the *Naqlūn homily* has been divided into four recensions.²⁶ Below in the table the respective titles of these four recensions are compared with each other.

recension α-1	recension α-2	recension α-3	recension β
(B65r) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. A homily written by the holy father, the ascetic, Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, in which he describes the honour of the glorious angel, leader of the heavenly hosts, Gabriel, the Messenger, and the building and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn on the like of this day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. May his holy intercession be with us, amen.	(J 1r) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. We begin with the help of God and the goodness of His prosperity with setting forth a homily composed by the saint Anbā Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, in which he sets forth the nobility of the glorious angel, leader of the hosts of heaven, Gabriel, the Messenger, and the building and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn on the like of this day, which is the twenty-second of the month of Kiyahk / Ba'ūna. ²⁷ May his intercession be with us, amen.	(S206) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. A homily said by the holy father, Anbā Aūr, bishop of the city of Fayyūm, in which he describes the honour of the archangel Gabriel, the Messenger, and the building and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn on the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. May his intercession be with us, amen.	(G203v) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. We begin with the help of God, Most High, and His good providence, with setting forth a homily about the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel on the mountain of Naqlūn, and the powers and miracles which the archangel made visible by the hand of saint Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm. Said this homily the pious devoted reverend priest Anbā John, and he is one of the monks of this holy mountain, which is the mountain of Naqlūn and he mentioned in it that

²⁵ Buzi 2005, 32-34.

²⁶ See *Introduction to the present study: aims, methods, outline*; and see Context, 4.a. Survey; and Chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*.

²⁷ Kiyahk / Ba'ūna: these two words are written through each other, probably the word Ba'ūna is a later correction, see the description of ms. J in chapter I.

			the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel was on this day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. With peace of the Lord. May the blessing of its sayer be with us and the scribe and the owner and the provider, amen.

A quick glance shows the differences in length of the titles and seems to confirm the division into four recensions. A closer look makes clear that only recension β presents the title in conformity with the contents presenting John the ascetic as the (pretended) author. All three α -recensions point to St. Aūr as the author of the homily, thereby confirming the close relationship among themselves. The title of recension α -2 is marked by presenting 22 Kiyahk erroneously as its central date, which is partly corrected by overwriting the name of the wrong month of Kiyahk with the correct month of Ba'ūna. The three α -recensions mention the honouring of the archangel Gabriel and the building and consecration of the church as the aims of the homily. Recension β gives additional information stating that the homily reports about the miracles performed by the archangel Gabriel through St. Aūr. Apparently, the division of the text into the three α -recensions and the β -recension is similarly reflected in the titles. Moreover, the discrepancy between the title and the text regarding the (pretended) author, as this occurs in the α -recensions, makes the question about the status of the *Naqlūn homily* more pressing.

5. Prologue

The text immediately following the title forms the prologue. In general, the prologue of a homily on an angel leads the attention of the audience to the angel and attempts to arouse the public's interest for the subject.²⁸ The text of the prologue of the *Naqlūn homily* may be divided into three parts. The opening paragraphs consist of several Psalm verses dealing with 'the house of the Lord', clearly referring to the main theme of the homily, the building of the church, but without being restricted to this specific church only. The subsequent remark,

²⁸ Sheridan 2007, 31; Müller 1954, 240.

stating that the building of this church and its fame and glory are considered part of God's plan (§4), may also be interpreted in a more general way, being applicable to any church.

The central part of the prologue is like a song of praise, first praising the mountain of Naqlūn as the place where the church is going to be built, and then the archangel Gabriel by an enumeration of his glorious characteristics and his laudatory deeds. The sequence of 'O'-exclamations, one addressed to the mountain of Naqlūn and the rest to the archangel Gabriel, is a well known rhetorical device, described as 'O'-anaphora.²⁹ The prologue contains a second anaphora in the form of the repetition of the words: 'Well you came unto us today, o archangel Gabriel' or 'o spiritual bird,' followed by a certain characteristic of the archangel. The general effect of an anaphora is to lend emphasis, in this case to the greatness of the archangel Gabriel. Once (§20), the preacher addresses himself directly to the audience with the words 'o my beloved [ones]', as an attempt to create a warm, personal and lively relationship.³⁰ Approaching the end of the prologue, in §20, the narrator addresses himself to his audience urging them to swing the censer in honour of the archangel. Apparently, the text is meant to be read aloud in front of a congregation assembled in a church, thereby confirming its liturgical use. The prologue ends in a similar way as it started, namely with a quotation from the Bible, situating it firmly in a Christian literary environment.

In contrast to the title, the prologue does in no way refer to St. Aūr nor to the other characters that play a role in the text that follows. The reference made to the mountain of Naqlūn is the only specific link, apart from the honour it imparts to the archangel Gabriel, that connects the prologue with the central part of the text.

The two other homilies on the archangel Gabriel have in common with the *Naqlūn homily* that all three prologues contain references to specific Bible verses and direct speech of the preacher to his audience.³¹ The 'O'-anaphora of the *Naqlūn homily* has a parallel in Celestinus homily only.³² An important difference between the three is noticeable in the length of the prologues: the Archelaus prologue is very concise, consisting only, apart from the Bible quotations, of a statement about the reason for the composition of the homily, which is immediately followed by the central story.³³ The Celestinus prologue is much more

²⁹ For anaphora, see Blasberg 1992, 542-545; for another example of an anaphora, see Sheridan 2007, 31-33.

³⁰ See Müller 1954, 256.

³¹ See De Vis [1929] 1990, 246-247; Worrell 1923, 129-159 (text), 328-335 (transl.).

³² See Worrell 1923, 136-153 (text), 330-334 (transl.).

³³ De Vis [1929] 1990, 246-247.

elaborate, containing several summaries of Biblical stories in which the archangel Gabriel (assumably) plays a role.³⁴

Another difference is that the prologue of the *Naqlūn homily* is unique in awarding honour to the archangel Gabriel as well as to the location for which the homily is composed, the mountain of Naqlūn. Both the prologues of the Archelaus homily and the Celestinus homily remain concentrated on the archangel Gabriel solely, without mentioning a location.

Concluding, the prologue of the *Naqlūn homily* may be characterized as a prologue for a homily on the archangel Gabriel and his church at a specific location. The sole mention of the location, the mountain of Naqlūn, linking the prologue with the story, characterizes the relation between these text parts as rather thin and at the same time precisely defined. The fact that the prologue remains silent about the main character St. Aūr, confirms the difference on the level of narration between the prologue and the story and it stresses the question about the relation between the two.

6. Epilogue

The above made study of the narrative structure of the *Naqlūn homily* shows that the prologue (§2-§23) and the epilogue (§209-§216) together form a unity, the homiletic frame. Further study of the epilogue may confirm this picture, implying that the epilogue shows similar features as found in the prologue. The epilogue starts with an exhortation, urging the congregation assembled in ‘this’ church to praise God and ask the archangel Gabriel to intercede for them. Which church is meant, is not specified. In the following paragraphs (§210-§214) the archangel is asked to intercede in several aspects of life: to obtain forgiveness, for the children to grow up, for bread and health, for protection against troubles, for the water of the Nile to rise, for low prices, for the door of the church to remain open, to break the power of the evil one, and to obtain a place in heaven. Reference is made to Bible verses from the New Testament as well as the Old Testament. The epilogue concludes with mentioning the intercession of the Holy Virgin St. Mary and all the martyrs and saints. The final sentence contains a doxology to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The name of St. Aūr does not occur in the prologue, nor in the epilogue. Moreover, any reference to the mountain of Naqlūn is likewise absent. The only link between the epilogue and the preceding story is the mention of the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel in which the congregation is assembled. The location of the church remains

³⁴ Worrell 1923, 129-159 (text), 328-335 (transl.).

unmentioned in the epilogue, which makes this text part applicable to any church dedicated to this archangel. Actually, the epilogue may be interpreted entirely in a general way, even more than the prologue that contains still one reference to the mountain of Naqlūn. On the whole, the textual characteristics of the epilogue are in agreement with those of the prologue, thereby confirming their structural unity.

The epilogues of the Archelaus homily³⁵ and the Celestinus homily³⁶ contain a series of exhortations and prayers asking for the intercession of the archangel Gabriel, just like the *Naqlūn homily*. The Archelaus homily is also similar with the *Naqlūn homily* in the fact that it lacks any reference to the location for which the homily is composed. The Celestinus homily is a bit more specific by mentioning the city of Rome. On the level of the narrative structure, each one of the three epilogues may be considered to form a unity with its prologue.

7. Genre: a homily on the archangel Gabriel

According to the title the genre of the *Naqlūn homily* is a homily.³⁷ The text itself confirms this classification, by its division, characteristic for homilies, into the prologue, the narration (the embedded story), and the epilogue. Based on the central role attributed to the archangel Gabriel, the *Naqlūn homily* has further been classified as a homily on an angel.³⁸ In the central part of the homily, the story, the works and the miracles performed by the angel are described; the aim of the homily is to convince the public of the greatness of the specific angel.³⁹

As a homily on the archangel Gabriel, the central text part of the *Naqlūn homily* is rather unexpected, describing the origins of St. Aūr. He is the illegitimate son of a famous magician and a princess living at the court in some eastern country (§24-§38). Aūr is born at 22 Kiyahk, which is a well known celebration date for the archangel Gabriel (§34). The mention of this date is the first indication that the homily deals with the archangel Gabriel and it turns the attention of the audience indirectly to the archangel. Then the story continues describing Aūr's youth. His mother dies when he is only three years old and he grows up at the court hidden away from the king. The queen mother is witness of the presence of two shining cherubs protecting the child while he is sleeping in his bed (§40). The appearance is

³⁵ De Vis [1929] 1990, 286-291.

³⁶ Worrell 1923, 239-247 (text), 356-358 (transl.).

³⁷ For more information on the genre, see Sheridan 2007; Müller 1954.

³⁸ As a preliminary attempt to analyse the literary and rhetorical aspects of Coptic homilies, four groups of Coptic homilies have been distinguished based on their central theme: homilies on Biblical themes, on the angels, on the Virgin Mary and on the saints, see Müller 1954, 232-254; see also Sheridan 2007, 26.

³⁹ Müller 1954, 240.

first interpreted by the queen mother as coming from the demons (§41). The boy reports about it as a bird with a shining face and a frightening appearance (§44). Finally the appearing figure presents itself as the archangel Gabriel (§45). The archangel reveals not only his own identity, but he presents also his task, namely to be Aūr's protector during his whole life. Apparently, the text reveals the greatness of the archangel Gabriel in relation to St. Aūr. His greatness is shown through the miracles the archangel performs in St. Aūr's life. The purpose of the description of St. Aūr's life is to give honour to the archangel Gabriel, which is made concrete in the building of the church. Apparently, the story of the *Naqlūn homily* has a double focus, its main theme being the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church at Naqlūn, its subsidiary theme the life of the saint. The secondary character of the description of the saint's life becomes evident from the purpose of all his actions that ultimately aim at the completion of the construction of the archangel Gabriel's church. In other words, St. Aūr's life serves to add to the benefit and the glory of the archangel Gabriel expressed in the building of his church. This also becomes evident in Aūr's prayer addressed to the archangel Gabriel containing an anaphora consisting of the repetition of the words: 'Today, o archangel Gabriel', each time followed by words conveying in various ways Aūr's conversion (§64-§72). This prayer reveals Aūr's close relation with the archangel and ends in the start of the construction of the church. This makes it possible to consider the *Naqlūn homily* in the second place as a homily on a saint.⁴⁰ In general the homily on a saint has a more literary character, in which exhortations and direct speech addressed to the audience occur less often.⁴¹ This is indeed the case with the central part of the *Naqlūn homily*, which completely lacks exhortations or words to the public. Also transitions, words spoken by the narrator, sometimes addressed to the audience, in order to link one miracle to another and to hold the attention of the audience, do not occur. The report of the saint's life forms one complete whole.⁴²

The two other homilies on the archangel Gabriel are quite different in this respect. The Archelaus homily describes a series of miracles. First it gives a report of four miracles happening during the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel in the city of Neapolis, then one miracle taking place after the consecration of this church, and this is followed by a series of (about five) miracles occurring through the icon of the archangel Gabriel situated in this church.⁴³ The series of miracles are linked to each other by transitions consisting of

⁴⁰ Müller 1954, 248-255; Sheridan 2007, 29.

⁴¹ See Müller 1954, 248, 257.

⁴² See Müller 1954, 255.

⁴³ De Vis states in the introduction to the edition that the homily consists of eight miracles, but the story about Philosphron and the icon of the archangel Gabriel, which is the seventh miracle, consists itself of a number of

formulae. The Celestinus homily reports on five miracles occurring in relation to the shrine dedicated to this archangel and situated in Rome. Here, the transitions between the descriptions of the miracles are complex, consisting of an address to the audience, an exhortation, an exclamation about the greatness of the archangel and ending in expressing the wish to proceed with reporting the miracles.

As a homily on the archangel Gabriel, the archangel himself plays a central role. The way the three homilies look upon the archangel is for the greater part in conformity with the way he is usually portrayed in Coptic literary sources.⁴⁴ The name of the archangel Gabriel is explained as ‘God and man’ in the *Naqlūn homily* as well as in the Celestinus homily. The meaning refers to his role as messenger to the Virgin St. Mary announcing her the birth of Jesus the Saviour, who is God and man at the same time.⁴⁵ The archangel’s activity is multi-coloured in all three homilies: he acts as a messenger, he intercedes, he performs all kinds of miracles for the benefit of the people, he saves from Satan, he stands before God. The archangel appears as very powerful. However, each of the three homilies is also specific in a certain way about its representation of the archangel Gabriel. The homily by Archelaus contains the largest number of miracles, performed by the archangel in the church dedicated to him in the city of Neapolis.⁴⁶ It reveals especially the blessedness and venerability of this church through the clear and active presence of the archangel Gabriel. The homily by Celestinus appears to attribute many titles of honour to the archangel and contains several references to Biblical stories (assumably) related to the archangel. It may be characterized as a homily with specific attention for the greatness of the archangel Gabriel. The *Naqlūn homily* is marked by its elaborate and detailed description of the archangel’s outer appearance. Very specific is the representation of the archangel as a spiritual bird, with wings filled with delicious incense and a face shining like the sun (§12, §44). In a Coptic Antiphonarium the archangel Gabriel is described twice similarly as a spiritual bird.⁴⁷ In addition to that, it is a well known motif in folk literature.⁴⁸ The crown of emerald and the staff of red gold, with which the archangel Gabriel is depicted, are generally known in descriptions of the archangel

miracles happening through the icon, and it is not clear where the eighth miracle starts, see De Vis [1929] 1990, 243, 281-286.

⁴⁴ See Kropp 1930, 3:81-83; Müller 1959, 36-47; see also Michl 1962, 5:239-243, including references to the Old and New Testaments of the Bible; and see also Pérez 1991.

⁴⁵ See Lk 1:26-38. In the same meaning the name occurs also in Coptic magical texts, see Kropp 1930-1931, 2:165; 3:74.

⁴⁶ The name of the city varies in the different versions of the text, see De Vis [1929] 1990, 245.

⁴⁷ Cramer and Krause 2008, 98-99, 178-179.

⁴⁸ See Hasan El-Shamy 1995, 1:381, nr. V231.1; and also 127, nr. F401.3.7.

Michael, but occur less often in the descriptions of the second archangel,⁴⁹ except in Coptic art.⁵⁰ For example, a wall painting in the Church of St. Antony in the monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea depicts the archangel with a gold-coloured staff in his right hand and a crown on his head.⁵¹ However, a wall painting in the church at Naqlūn represents the archangel Gabriel differently, with a sword in his right hand and a globe in his left hand.⁵²

Moreover, the appearances of the archangel always take place in undisguised form in the *Naqlūn homily*. In his first appearance to St. Aūr, the archangel Gabriel makes himself known and reassures him (§44-§45), and he does likewise when he appears to the king and the queen mother (§124-§131). In all the appearances he is recognized, either immediately (§§52-54, 93, 117, 118, 147, 173-174, 178-190, 197-198, 203) or after a short while (§60-§91). In a few events the archangel seems to play a role as if his presence is a common affair, as if his presence is part of everyday life (§§93, 118, 147). In the twelve appearances that are described, the archangel Gabriel appears openly and never in disguise. The two other homilies are different in this respect and they present the archangel in disguise in a few cases.⁵³

Summarizing the above, in the *Naqlūn homily* the archangel is portrayed in all aspects, his outer appearance, his character, his role, his function, presenting an almost complete picture of the archangel to the audience. The inclusive characterization of the archangel Gabriel rendered by this text underlines the honourable and central position awarded to the archangel and makes this text a unique homily in the field of Coptic angelology. By contrast, *Naqlūn homily* shows less attention for the archangel as a Biblical character.⁵⁴

8. The liturgical calendar of Naqlūn

The genre of the homily implies a liturgical use of the text. The celebration days of the archangel Gabriel as these are generally known in Coptic and Arabic literary sources are: 13 Hātūr, 22 Kiyahk, 30 Baramhāt, 13 Ba'ūna, 26 Ba'ūna, and probably the thirteenth day of

⁴⁹ The description of the archangel Gabriel, see Müller 1959, 36-47; compare it with the more detailed description of the archangel Michael, see Müller 1959, 10, 18.

⁵⁰ For a 13th century icon, see Skalova [2003] 2006, 112 (plate III. 37c), 118; and see 168-169, for a 6th c. icon of the archangel Gabriel.

⁵¹ See Bolman 2002, 128-129, 136-140

⁵² See Godlewski 2000b, 98-99, mentioning that the paintings in the church can be dated almost certainly to the period AD 1025-1030.

⁵³ For the homily attributed to Archelaus, see the edition and translation of the Coptic text, De Vis [1929] 1990, 257, 263-266 (the archangel Gabriel in disguise), 253, 256, 258, 260 (the archangel Gabriel undisguised); for the homily attributed to Celestinus, see Worrell 1923, 343, 353 (the archangel in disguise), 344, 348, 350 (undisguised).

⁵⁴ See Lk 1:11-20, 26-38.

every month.⁵⁵ The *Naqlūn homily* refers likewise to a few of these, but contains in addition several other dates, as presented in the table further below.

Aūr's birth took place on 22 Kiyahk (§34). Actually, this is the most important commemoration day of the archangel Gabriel in the Coptic liturgical calendar.⁵⁶ Both the Archelaus and the Celestinus homilies are composed for this date.⁵⁷ From his birth onwards St. Aūr is told to have an appearance of the archangel Gabriel at the twenty-second day of every month (§44). This may imply a monthly celebration in honour of this archangel at this day.⁵⁸ A similar reference to this monthly commemoration occurs in the Arabic version of the Archelaus homily.⁵⁹ This version differs from the Bohairic Coptic text by presenting an extra miracle, which contains the reference.⁶⁰ The reference in the Archelaus homily shows that the monthly celebration was known in regions outside the Fayyūm. It is still known in modern times, witness the fact that it is mentioned in two popular booklets written in Arabic, the one published in Cairo in 1985 and the other in 1995.⁶¹

Two dates found in the *Naqlūn homily*, fall both on the thirteenth day of a Coptic month. The first is 13 Amšīr, on which date the Virgin Mary and the archangels Michael and Gabriel show where to build the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel (§90-§91); and the second is 13 Ba'ūna, the day on which the construction of the church is completed (§177). The two dates encompass the process of the construction of the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel. Of these two dates, 13 Ba'ūna is a generally well known celebration day in honour of the archangel Gabriel. It is mentioned in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium as the commemoration day for the archangel Gabriel as the Messenger of God, the bringer of good tidings,⁶² and it is also mentioned in two Antiphonaria for the month of Ba'ūna, containing

⁵⁵ See Müller 1959, 136, 137, 151, 218-239; Zanetti 1985, 44-45; Zanetti 1994; Papaconstantinou 2001, 68-69. Zanetti found one attestation for 27 Abīb, see Zanetti 1994, 348; for information on the ms. containing this attestation, ms. L 767 kept in the British Library London, dated to 14th century, see Zanetti 1985, 302.

⁵⁶ See Müller 1959, 218-239; Zanetti 1985, 44-45; Meinardus 1992, 224, nt. 18; Zanetti 1994; Papaconstantinou 2001, 68-69.

⁵⁷ See Worrell 1923, 327; De Vis [1929] 1990, 246.

⁵⁸ The monthly celebration at Naqlūn has already been suggested by Meinardus 1992, 224, nt. 18.

⁵⁹ See Murqus Ġirġis 1926, 220-250. Graf refers to this edition of the Arabic version, see Graf 1934, 167; and also in Graf 1927, 170-171. This Arabic version presents Archelaus as bishop of a city named 'Īrā, whereas in the Coptic texts he is bishop of the city Neapolis.

⁶⁰ See Murqus Ġirġis 1926, 222, 227.

⁶¹ The titles of the booklets are as follows (in English translation): *The Miracle. Martyrs of the Fayyūm*, edited by the priest Michael Daoud of the Church of the Holy Virgin at Rod al-Farag in Cairo, in 1995. See p. 70 for the mention of the monthly celebration. And: *The Angel Gabriel*, edited by the Sunday Schools, and published by the Church of the Angel Gabriel in Abdeen in 1985, which contains the Legend of St. Aūr and (a popular edition of) the Archelaus homily, in which the monthly celebration is mentioned on p. 47.

⁶² See Basset [1924] 1994, 17³:563-564; see also the Ethiopian Synaxarium mentioning at 13 Sanê, that the Christians of Egypt celebrate on this day a festival for the archangel Gabriel, see Guidi 1905, 88; Budge [1928] 1976, 4:998.

hymns in honour of this archangel.⁶³ Besides 13 Amšīr and 13 Ba'ūna mentioned in the *Naqlūn homily*, 13 Hātūr frequently occurs in other literary sources as a celebration for the archangel Gabriel.⁶⁴ These three celebrations on the thirteenth day of a month might suppose a monthly celebration for the archangel Gabriel at this date, in addition to the abovementioned on the 22nd day. This supposition is in conformity with the archangel Gabriel's position as the second archangel, coming after the archangel Michael in the heavenly hierarchies, who has his monthly celebration at the twelfth day.⁶⁵ The existence of this monthly celebration at Naqlūn is confirmed in recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*, in which the archangel Gabriel is told to appear in his church at every thirteenth day of the month.⁶⁶ The recension α of the *Naqlūn homily* underlines the significance of the thirteenth day of the month as a celebration day for the archangel Gabriel by situating the beginning and the completion of the construction of his church at this day of a Coptic month. However, the *HCME*, already referred to in the beginning of this book,⁶⁷ mentions a celebration for the archangel Michael at 13 Hātūr in the passage on Naqlūn, see the table below.⁶⁸

The *Naqlūn homily* mentions that eight days after laying the fundamentals, which happened on 13 Amšīr, the building operations started, that is on 21 Amšīr.⁶⁹ No other sources mention a celebration related to the monastery of Naqlūn on this date. Possibly, it marked a local celebration limited to this region of the Fayyūm.

The central date in the *Naqlūn homily* is 26 Ba'ūna. It is the day on which the church dedicated to Gabriel was consecrated (§1, §192) and the day on which the Lord appointed the archangel Gabriel as the head of the hierarchies of the luminous angels (§185), in other words, the day of the installation of the archangel Gabriel. In general in the Coptic liturgical calendar, the date of his installation is on 22 Kiyahk.⁷⁰ Both the Archelaus and the Celestinus homilies are composed for this date and mention this celebration.⁷¹ However, the *Naqlūn homily* situates the archangel's feast on 26 Ba'ūna (§185). All other texts studied here are also

⁶³ See the edition by O'Leary 1926-1930, 3:17-18; and Van Lantschoot 1947, 416; see also Müller 1959, 136.

⁶⁴ See Müller 1959, 151; Meinardus 1992, 224, nt. 18; Zanetti 1994, 345-346; Papaconstantinou 2001, 68-69.

⁶⁵ For the celebration of the archangel Michael on the 12th day of each Coptic month, see Simon 1934, 225, 234 (text); and 1935, 228 (translation); Zanetti 1994, 346; Papaconstantinou 2001, 158-159.

⁶⁶ See the manuscripts F f. 197r; U f. 27v; G f. 222v; H f. 131v.

⁶⁷ See Context, 3.e. *The History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*.

⁶⁸ See Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206. Another exception is the commemoration of the archangel Michael at 12 and 13 Hātūr, mentioned in the Greek papyrus dating from 535-536 containing the liturgical calendar of the city Oxyrhynchos and in a few lectionaries written in Sahidic Coptic dating from 7th-9th centuries. This celebration taking place at two subsequent days may be considered a 'biduum', see Zanetti 1994, 344-345. For publications of the calendar of Oxyrhynchos, see Delehay 1924; Papaconstantinou 1996.

⁶⁹ Most of the manuscripts give eight days, but some (OQR) give three days.

⁷⁰ See Müller 1959, 218-239; Zanetti 1985, 44-45; Meinardus 1992, 224, nt. 18; Zanetti 1994; Papaconstantinou 2001, 68-69.

⁷¹ See Worrell 1923, 327; De Vis [1929] 1990, 246.

centered on a celebration of the archangel Gabriel at 26 Ba'ūna,⁷² except for the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, which has as its central date 25 Bašans, the day of death of the saint.⁷³ Moreover, the importance of this date is revealed by its occurrence in secondary literary and liturgical sources related to Naqlūn, already discussed above.⁷⁴ Apparently, the literary tradition related to Naqlūn has as its central date 26 Ba'ūna.

The abovementioned Arabic version of the homily attributed to Archelaus mentions in the title that the homily deals with the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel in the city of 'Īrā at 22 Kiyahk and that the homily should be read on 26 Ba'ūna.⁷⁵ The central date of the homily itself is actually 22 Kiyahk. The reference to 26 Ba'ūna, although erroneously, indicates that the date was known as a celebration day for the archangel Gabriel, at least for the copyist.

A last date explicitly mentioned in the text is 9 Abīb (3 July) as the day on which St. Aūr died. The mentioning of this date and the very existence of the text itself, are evidence of the existence of a cult for St. Aūr at the church at Naqlūn and this fact makes him a real saint. Apart from the *Naqlūn homily*, other traces of the existence of a cult for St. Aūr have not (yet) been found.⁷⁶

Apart from the *Naqlūn homily*, the passage dealing with Naqlūn contained in the *HCME* mentions also a series of dates.⁷⁷ The table below presents the dates of both sources.

date	Naqlūn homily	HCME
13 Hātūr	-	foundation of Michael church
22 Kiyahk	Aūr's birth	-
13 Amšīr	plan for Gabriel church	wall around Gabriel church
21 / 26 Amšīr	start building Gabriel church	start building Gabriel church

⁷² In addition, there is a homily by bishop Gregory of Atripe for the archangel Gabriel at 26 Ba'ūna, see first homily contained in ms. J, see description of this ms. J in chapter I, which is probably similar to Troupeau 1972-1974, 1:242, nr. 275-21.

⁷³ See chapter VII.

⁷⁴ See Context, 3. *Secondary literary and liturgical sources*.

⁷⁵ Murqus Ġirġis 1926, 220. Another copy of the Arabic version of the Archelaus homily shows a similar mention of the two dates in the title, see ms. 62 kept in monastery of St. Antony. The confusion of the two dates seems to occur more often, for example in the title of ms. Arabe nr. 148 – 3, kept in de Bibliothèque Nationale, see Troupeau 1972, 113. Troupeau adds that this homily is identical with nr. 145-13, but the latter refers only to 22 Kiyahk in the title. One of the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily* shows in the title also a confusion of both dates, see the description of ms. J in chapter I.

⁷⁶ The Copto-Arabic Synaxarium gives for 9 Abīb the following commemorations: The martyrdom of the apostle Simon, son of Cleopas; and the death of Celadion, patriarch of Alexandria (AD 157-167), see Basset [1924] 1994, 641. The Ethiopian Synaxarium gives at this date, which is 9 Hamlê in Ethiopic, these two similar celebrations and adds to it the death of Abba Besenda (Pisentios), see Guidi 1911, 7³:297-299.

⁷⁷ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206. The available ms. is dated to AD 1338 and the work was actually composed earlier, assumingly in 12th-13th centuries, see also Context, 3.e. *The History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*.

13 Ba'ūna	completion of building Gabriel church	completion of building Gabriel church
26 / 20 Ba'ūna	consecration of Gabriel church	consecration of Gabriel church
9 Abīb	Aūr's death	-
18 Abīb	-	consecration of Michael church
22 nd each month	appearance of Gabriel to Aūr	-

It appears that four dates mentioned by the *HCME* are (almost) similar to those occurring in the *Naqlūn homily*. These four dates all concern the church of the archangel Gabriel. Moreover, two of these dates fall on the thirteenth day of a month, stressing the assumption of a monthly celebration. The differences between the series of dates concern three dates related to St. Aūr occurring in the *Naqlūn homily* only, and two dates commemorating the foundation and the consecration of the church of the archangel Michael that are only mentioned in the *HCME*. Apparently, the liturgical dates for the celebration of the two churches at Naqlūn, dedicated to the archangels Gabriel and Michael, were known outside the Fayyūm in the time of the composition of the *HCME*, that is in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. However, the dates related to St. Aūr seemed to be restricted to Naqlūn, as these were apparently unknown to the author(s) of the *HCME*.

The *Naqlūn homily* appears to be unique as a homily composed not for one single occasion, but for a series of dates consisting of liturgical celebrations. Most probably these dates reflect a liturgical calendar current particularly at this monastic site in a specific period. The double focus of the *Naqlūn homily* becomes apparent in these dates that are related either to the archangel and his church, or to St. Aūr. The four dates related to the church of the archangel Gabriel underline the main theme of the *Naqlūn homily*, the building and consecration of the church. The date of 26 Ba'ūna, the central date of this text on which the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel took place, and on which the installation of the archangel Gabriel is commemorated, should have been of great importance at Naqlūn. The construction of this church, being the central theme of the text, is inserted in a probably generally accepted tradition of a monthly celebration at the thirteenth day by situating its beginning and its completion at the thirteenth day of a month. The secondary character of the hagiographic story contained in the *Naqlūn homily* becomes also apparent in the dates that are related to St. Aūr's life. Aūr's birth takes place on 22 Kiyahk, which is the well known celebration day of the archangel Gabriel, and this date is further expanded into a monthly celebration at the twenty-second day of every month, based on the monthly appearances of the archangel. The date of 9 Abīb, the day of the death of the assumed founder of the church,

the only date solely related to St. Aūr, should have had also an honourable place in the liturgical calendar for Naqlūn.

Apparently, the author composed his text on the basis of a probably existing liturgical calendar in use at Naqlūn by situating the celebration of significant events at the dates of this calendar that encompasses an annual cycle. In doing so, the author gave renewed significance to this liturgical calendar at Naqlūn. The dates related to St. Aūr remained only locally known, the dates concerning the church of the archangel Gabriel were known outside the Fayyūm in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries as may be inferred from the *HCME*, and the central date of this text, 26 Ba'ūna, gave rise to the composition of other hagiographic and liturgical texts related to Naqlūn that were spread outside the Fayyūm and further even to Ethiopia, and this central date found and kept a place in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium up till modern times.

9. The Naqlūn homily in its context

The *Naqlūn homily*, characterized as essentially a homily on the archangel Gabriel including a narration of the life of St. Aūr, contains features characteristic of on the one hand the field of Coptic angelology and on the other hand of Copto-Arabic hagiography.⁷⁸ In this section the literary characteristics of the *Naqlūn homily* are studied by using the concept of intertextuality.⁷⁹ The characteristic features found in the *Naqlūn homily* are compared with similar aspects in other texts. These parallels make the relations apparent that possibly exist between the *Naqlūn homily* and various kinds of texts that may have been known to the author and his audience. This study, which is limited to the embedded narration, the central part of the text, situates the *Naqlūn homily* in a literary background specific for the Fayyūm region in the period of the composition of the text. First a short analysis of the characterization of the *Naqlūn homily* as a hagiographic text is presented, using the hagiographic topoi as studied by Pratsch.⁸⁰

The *Naqlūn homily* as a vita of a saint presents Aūr as a holy person. The first years of Aūr's life spent in secret contain already signs of his holiness, namely the monthly appearances of the archangel Gabriel (§44). Aūr's character has the following features: humility (§107), obedience (§89, §§117-118, §138, §191), signs of holiness in childhood (§§40-45, §80, §133), faith and hope (§§63-79, §§82-87, §116), sleeplessness (§116), abstinence (§87), prayer (§§63-79, §§82-87, §116, §146, §172), devotion (§87, §116, §146,

⁷⁸ For another example of a commentary on a hagiographic text and how it functioned as a work of edification, see Swanson 2001.

⁷⁹ See above in the introduction for literature.

⁸⁰ See Pratsch 2005.

§178), and hospitality (§110, §161).⁸¹ He is surrounded by supporters and followed by his disciples in his work of the building of the church (§92, §139).⁸² His later holiness becomes likewise apparent from the appearances (§117, §147, §178, §203) and he is guided on his ways by the archangel Gabriel (§53, §118, §136).⁸³ After Aūr's conversion he is addressed as 'chosen of God' (§147, §173), 'holy man of the Lord' (§148, §152), 'beloved of God' (§179), by several persons: the archangel, Satan, John, the narrator etc. At the end of his life he expresses his wish to be buried without beautiful garments or a coffin, but only in the ground at an unknown place, indicated as 'the west side of the church' (§204), which is another sign of his humility.⁸⁴ All these characteristics are listed by Pratsch. Obviously, Aūr is described as a holy person. However, according to Pratsch, the gift of performing miracles is one of the criteria that make a person into a saint.⁸⁵ Aūr's life story does not report any miracle performed by him, but his holiness consists in his particular relation with the archangel Gabriel: his birth on 22 Kiyahk, the monthly appearances, he is protected and guided by the archangel; his vocation, to build a church for the archangel Gabriel, is announced by the archangel himself (§88); he is ordained priest (§193) and later bishop of the Fayyūm (§186, §200) on the order of the archangel Gabriel; his coming death is announced by the archangel (§203).⁸⁶ The miracles that happen take place through the archangel Gabriel and Aūr's holiness seems to be dependent on him. This observation is strengthened in the motif of temptation (by evil force), usually occurring in the life of a saint.⁸⁷ In the *Naqlūn homily* twice the enemy Satan appears and tries to frustrate the building of the church (§140-§175). Satan uses his tricks of disguising himself,⁸⁸ lying, thwarting the workmen, wounding people and even killing a person. As the construction of the church takes place on the order of the archangel Gabriel, in his honour and with his help, Satan is made powerless through the aid of

⁸¹ See Pratsch 2005, 203-212.

⁸² See Pratsch 2005, 184-191.

⁸³ See Pratsch 2005, 294-297.

⁸⁴ Aūr's wish to be buried at an unknown place is a motif that occurs often in hagiographic, in particular monastic, literature, see for example the Life of St. Antony, chapters 90-92, Bartelink 1994, 364-373; see also vita Pachomii, Lefort [1943] 1966, 49-50.

⁸⁵ See Pratsch 2005, 225-227. Pratsch distinguishes seven groups of miracles: 1. healing; 2. exorcism; 3. miraculous multiplication; 4. saving from dangers; 5. miraculous punishment; 6. power over nature; 7. prophecies and visions. Some of the archangel Gabriel's appearances to Aūr could also be classified in the seventh group, which would make Aūr a traditional saint according to Pratsch's definition.

⁸⁶ The motif of knowing the moment of death, see Pratsch, 2005, 320-322.

⁸⁷ The motif of temptation has much in common with the motif of opposition (*adversarius*). Actually in the *Naqlūn homily* Satan's role is more in conformity with the motif of temptation, see Pratsch 2005, 160-162, 162-163, 170-171.

⁸⁸ Satan appearing disguised as an old man is a motif occurring more often in other literary sources, for example in the *Life of Samuel of Kalamun*, see Alcock 1983, 17-18 (text), 92 (transl.); for the Arabic version, see Alcock 1998, 386; another example is found in the Bohairic Vita Pachomii, see Lefort [1925] 1953, 3 (text); [1943] 1966, 81 (transl.).

this archangel (§154-§175).⁸⁹ Apparently, Satan's opposition is not directed to St. Aūr personally, but targeted on the holy work performed by the saint. The motif of temptation played out in the role of the enemy in the *Naqlūn homily* underlines in the first place the importance of the main theme, the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel. The holiness of the saint becomes apparent as an extra result following from the temptation. The presentation of Aūr's holiness being dependent on the archangel Gabriel confirms the characterization of the text as a homily on the archangel Gabriel including the vita of a saint.

In general in hagiography the name of a saint is often significant.⁹⁰ The name Aūr is given to the boy by his mother at his birth (§34), and the text gives two explanations for it: 'she has conceived him secretly and furtively' and 'the shame of his parents'. Both clarifications refer to his illegitimate birth.⁹¹ The motif of a name in its meaning of being reminiscent of one's birth has many parallels in the Bible, for example the naming of Isaac⁹² and Samuel.⁹³ The origin of the name Aūr is unknown and several possibilities have been suggested.⁹⁴ Traditionally the name is regarded as a derivation of the Egyptian name (here rendered in Coptic) ⲭⲟⲣ (Hōr), which is originally the name of the ancient Egyptian divinity Horus, but was also borne by various saints.⁹⁵ More recently the name has been regarded as a derivation from the Bohairic ⲟⲩⲣⲟ (Ourō) meaning: king (or queen)⁹⁶ referring to Aūr's royal origin as the son of the king's daughter.⁹⁷ Both possibilities are unlikely, because of

⁸⁹ The passage contains an inconsistency: Aūr is arrested by the general, but the archangel Gabriel orders him to seize the old man. How would St. Aūr possibly carry out this order when he is arrested? But apparently, the archangel Gabriel himself seizes the old man.

⁹⁰ See Pratsch 2005, 126.

⁹¹ In terms of motif classification, the name Aūr, in its meaning of being reminiscent of his birth, may be identified as the motif of a 'child named after a certain happening', see El-Shamy, 1995, vol. 1, motif nr. Z183.2. In terms of motifs, the name Aūr, in its meaning of being reminiscent of his birth, occurs also in the Bible, see for example the naming of Samuel in 1 Sm 1:20;

⁹² See Gn 17:17.

⁹³ See 1 Sm 1:20.

⁹⁴ The name Aūr is usually written as ⲁⲟⲩ in the manuscripts available for this study, but occurs in a few cases as ⲭⲟⲩ (in manuscripts F and U). This latter spelling would be more acceptable to be interpreted as a derivation of the name Horus (see below).

⁹⁵ Several scholars classified the Arabic name Aūr in the list with Coptic saints named Hor / Hōr. Crum found seven Coptic saints with the name Hōr, the seventh of these appears to be Aūr of the Naqlūn, see Crum 1913, 164-165; O'Leary mentions eight persons with the name Hor (Hour), the eighth is Aūr of the Naqlūn, see O'Leary [1937] 1974, 155-156. See also Muyser who described ten different persons named Hōr, and the tenth person is Aūr of the Naqlūn, see Muyser 1943, 187-191 (190 C Bishop (10)); see also the Synaxarium, see Basset [1904 -1929] 1982-1994, 110 (1:324); 294-295, 296-297, 376 (Bahour) (3:370-371, 372-373, 452); 583 (Bahourah) (3:617); 1150, 1190 (5:608, 648). See also Abbott 1937, 30-31, who gave already several possibilities for an explanation of the name: as a derivation from the Egyptian Horus, a derivation from the Semitic name Hur (in Arabic as well as in Hebrew and Ethiopic), or a corruption from an Iranian name.

⁹⁶ See Crum 1939, 299a, under the root ppo (Sahidic), the Bohairic ⲟⲩⲣⲟ is another form for ppo.

⁹⁷ See the booklet (written in Arabic): The great saint bishop Aūr, published in 2004 in the monastery of Naqlūn, p. 48-49. The explanations for the name Aūr suggested in this booklet: 1. Biblical: derived from the Hebrew, meaning light or flame; 2. Biblical: derived from the city Ur of the Chaldees (cf. Gn 11:28); 3. Persian: meaning : shame; 4. Coptic: meaning: king or lord. In another modern popular booklet in Arabic, entitled (in translation):

orthographical reasons⁹⁸ and Aūr himself was neither a god nor a king. The Arabic language offers two explanations that come close to that given by the text. The name أūr may be interpreted as a (corruptive) derivation of the word عار (‘ār), from the root عير (‘ y r) and meaning ‘shame’, referring to his illegitimate birth.⁹⁹ Another explanation interprets the name as belonging to the root أار (آ ر) (‘ ā r) meaning ‘1. to force a woman, 2. to enflame’, and derived from the noun أوار (‘uwār) with the plural form أور (‘ūr),¹⁰⁰ and means: heat of fire,¹⁰¹ which is exactly the opposite of the new name ‘son of the cold one’. The latter name may refer to Aūr’s mother who ‘is the cold one’, *i.e.* she has died, or: she has behaved shameless.¹⁰² Another possibility is that the latter name is related to the expression in Egyptian dialect: *‘ayny ‘aleek barda* (‘my eye on you is cold’), used to ward off the evil eye of fire, which indicates jealousy and danger.¹⁰³ Here in this context, the danger threatening the child Aūr consists of the anger of the king directed to Abrāšīt, his father, but by implication also to Aūr and his two brothers. The text itself links Aūr’s new name ‘son of the cold one’ to the name of his new dwelling place, Dayr Aqlū, on its turn brought into relation with fire (§50).¹⁰⁴ He receives his new name at the moment of his flight from the court. Later, when they have arrived at the mountain of Naqlūn, all three brothers present themselves with this name (§56). In terms of hagiographic motifs, a new name attributed to a person symbolises a new stage in one’s life,¹⁰⁵ which is in the case of Aūr (and his two brothers) introduced by his flight or his emigration from that mysterious eastern country, and further expressed by his journey to his new dwelling place at the mountain of Naqlūn in the Fayyūm. His new life is established at a later moment spiritually by his conversion to Christianity and finds its

‘Bishop Aūr, the founder of the monastery’, (p. 29, year of publication is not given) the Arabic name Aūr is supposed to be either a derivation from the Bohairic ⲟⲩⲣⲱ or from the Hebrew, meaning light or flame (the Hebrew word itself is not given, but see Brown-Driver-Briggs [1906] 1999, 21-b; see also Abbott 1937, 30-31).

⁹⁸ Deriving the Arabic name Aūr (أور) from the Coptic name ⲟⲩⲣⲱ cannot explain the loss of the first consonant ⲟ. If derived from the Bohairic ⲟⲩⲣⲱ, the loss of the long open end vowel is unlikely. Moreover, the people of this region would have used the Fayyūmic dialect. The name Aūr in the form of Aūrā, attested only three times (in the title of ms. H (f. 103r.) and L (f. 104r) and in the *HCME* (f. 71b) as Aurā), is more acceptable as a probable derivation of the Coptic word for king, because of its ending in a long ā.

⁹⁹ Blachère 1964-1988, 1:293. A similar explanation derived from this root is found in the Persian language, although a Persian origin of the word is rather unlikely, see Steingass [1892] 1970, 829. See also Abbott who also mentions the possibility of an Iranian origin of the name Aūr, namely as a derivation from Hōrmazd, see Abbott 1937, 30-31.

¹⁰⁰ Kazimirski 1860, 1:68. According to Blachère 1964-1988, 1:292, ‘awr – means: cold wind of the North.

¹⁰¹ Kazimirski 1860, 1:68, see also Belot 1920, 16; and Hava 1947, 16. Other dictionaries like Blachère and Wehr only mention the word in the singular, see Blachère 1964-1988, 1:292-293; and Wehr [1952, 1960, 1979] 1994, 43. Moreover, Belot, Hava, and Wehr do not mention the root and its derivatives, but only the word أوار. Perhaps, the verb أار has nearly disappeared, except for its derived noun أوار in the modern written language.

¹⁰² Badawi and Hinds 1986, 62.

¹⁰³ Badawi and Hinds 1986, 614.

¹⁰⁴ See below in 10. *History and religious landscape*.

¹⁰⁵ See Pratsch 2005, 126.

physical and final concretisation in the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel and the monastic complex. Apparently, Aūr's new life is regarded in the first place in a geographical sense. This increases the importance of the location, the mountain of Naqlūn, and it underlines the main theme of the text: the building of the church at this site.

In this respect, the name of Aūr's father, Abrāšīt, should also be explained.¹⁰⁶ A possibility already proposed by other scholars, is to consider this name a corruption of the Arabic name Abū l-Rašīd, a typically Muslim name.¹⁰⁷ Its meaning: 'father of the rightly guided one' refers to his son Aūr, who is indeed portrayed throughout the story as rightly guided by the archangel Gabriel during his whole life, including his conversion to Christianity and his life work, the building of the church. Abrāšīt himself owes his importance mostly to his role as Aūr's father, likewise reflected in the meaning of this Arabic name. This kind of naming, as 'father-of...' is also a well known motif in folk narratives.¹⁰⁸

After the analysis of the hagiographic topoi, the *Naqlūn homily* is studied from an intertextual perspective, linking it with various kind of texts by means of parallels and similar motifs, as already announced in the introduction. The opening paragraph (§24) contains a reference to a prophecy telling that God had planned the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel. The prophecy, already stated earlier (§4), may remind the audience of the words of the Gospel spoken by St. Elisabeth to St. Mary before the birth of Jesus: '*And blessed is she that believed; for there shall be a fulfilment of those things which were told her from the Lord.*'¹⁰⁹ The prophecy puts the story that follows immediately in a religious perspective, and makes this church a site with specific religious significance.

¹⁰⁶ In al-Nāblusī's description of the Fayyūm occurs a settlement named : منشأة اولاد أبراشه (Munšāt Awlād Abrāšah), that contains a name very similar to Abrāšīt, situated in the southwestern region of the Fayyūm province, see Moritz 1899, 175; see also Salmon 1901, 68-69. However, the name of this village is not found in the geographical dictionary published in 1899, see Nizārat al-Māliya, 'Idārat al-Ta'dād (Ministry of Finance (of Egypt), Department of Census and Statistics) 1899, neither in Timm 1984-1992, nor in Ramzī, [1952-1960] 1993-1994.

¹⁰⁷ This explanation has been suggested by other scholars, see Abbott 1937, 31; for the translation see Wehr 1979, 395. It could also have been derived from 'Abd al-Rašīd, meaning: servant of the rightly guided, suggested by Budge, see Budge 1935, 247; but this meaning is not in conformity with the text. Abbott also mentions the possibility of an Iranian origin of the name, derived from Afrasiab, see Abbott, 1937, 30-31. Another possible explanation found in the Persian language is to consider the name as a corruption of the two Persian words *ابر* (*abar*) and *شت* (*shat*). *ابر* (*abar*) is the superlative form from *بر* (*bar*) and means: better, more righteous, see Steingass, (first edition 1892), new edition 1970, 166. The word *شت* (*shat*) means (*i.a.*): worship, see Steingass [1892] 1970, 733. The two words together may give the meaning of 'a worshipper of the better (*i.e.* God)'. A second explanation in Persian could be that it is a corruption of the word: *بترست* (*but-parast*) meaning: an idolater, see Steingass [1892] 1970, 155. But all these explanations in Persian are farfetched and rather unlikely.

¹⁰⁸ See El-Shamy, 1995, vol. 1, motif nr. Z183.5.1.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lk 1:45; see also 2 Chr 36:22; Ezr 1:1.

In addition to the preceding prophecy, Aūr's birth story (§24-§38) shows several other parallels with the story of the birth of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁰ The archangel Gabriel plays an important role in St. Aūr's life, from his birth onwards, just like the archangel Gabriel announced Jesus' birth to St. Mary. Aūr is the son of the king's virgin daughter and Jesus is the Son of the Holy Virgin St. Mary. Aūr is born at a mysterious court, Jesus belongs to the heavenly Kingdom. Aūr is born in secret, Jesus is born almost unnoticed, only revealed by the angels to the shepherds. Not much is told about Aūr's youth, as not much is known about Jesus' childhood. As a child, Aūr is foretold to have a great name (§45), as is told about Jesus when He was presented to God in the temple.¹¹¹

The flight of St. Aūr, his father and his two brothers, (§48-§54), has a parallel in the journey of the three Wise Men described in the Gospel of St. Matthew.¹¹² The three Wise Men, pagans, coming from the east, travel to Jerusalem. On their way home after their visit to the newborn king Jesus, they were warned by God in a dream that they should not return to Jerusalem, but go back to their country by another way. In this passage of the Bible the Greek term *μάγοι*, meaning 'wise men', is rendered in the Egyptian Vulgate¹¹³ as *مجوس* (Maḡūs), meaning 'adherents of Mazdaism', an eastern, more precisely a Persian, religion.¹¹⁴ The term *مجوس* (Maḡūs) links the three Wise Men from the Biblical story with the family of magicians in the story of Aūr's life, who are similarly pagans, coming from an eastern (Persian) country, and a kind of wise men, although they are not explicitly called *مجوس* (Maḡūs). Actually, the relation between both stories has a third aspect, namely after the family of magicians had settled at Naqlūn, they had an appearance which led to their conversion to Christianity. So their journey resulted ultimately in their confession of Jesus as their King and Saviour (§65, §69, §85, §86), which may be compared with the aim of the journey of the three Wise Men, that is the adoration of the newborn King Jesus.¹¹⁵

In another way, the family's flight (§§48-52) reminds the audience of the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt when King Herod wanted to kill the newborn baby Jesus.¹¹⁶ Aūr and his family start their flight in the direction of Jerusalem, but while they were going the archangel Gabriel appeared to them and ordered them to change their way to Egypt, to the Fayyūm. In particular the words of the archangel Gabriel: 'Rise up from here and go to the

¹¹⁰ Mt 1:18-25; Lk 1:26-2:21.

¹¹¹ See Lk 2:22-39. Also Abram was foretold to have a great name, see Gn 12:20.

¹¹² Cf. Mt 2:1-12.

¹¹³ For the Egyptian Vulgate, see De Lagarde 1864.

¹¹⁴ For the Persian '*μάγοι*', see Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2 vols.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Mt 2:2.

¹¹⁶ See Mt 2:13-15.

land of Egypt' (§52) are reminiscent of the appearance of the archangel Gabriel to Joseph in the Biblical story.¹¹⁷

Again another parallel may be pointed at between St. Aur's life story and the biblical story of the birth of Jesus. Later in Aūr's life, the king at the eastern court dies, and his son succeeds him on the throne (§97). This new king does not know about the existence of Aūr, and the danger of death, expressed by the former king towards Aūr, was over (§100). And Aūr is searched for and asked to return to his home country, and in an appearance the archangel Gabriel reassures Aūr that he can safely return to his home country (§§117-121). A similar event is described in the Gospel. After king Herod had died, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph and told him that he could return to Israel, his home country, because those who wanted to kill the child were dead.¹¹⁸

There are also parallels with other Biblical stories. After the death of Aūr's mother, his grandmother keeps him with her hidden in the palace (§39). In the Old Testament Book of the Kings a similar situation is described: a young boy, a prince named Joas, is kept hidden in the temple of the Lord to be saved from murder, after the death of his father, until he is crowned king.¹¹⁹ This event has also a parallel in the last book of the Bible, the Book of Revelation, in which is told about a woman giving birth to a boy, who is threatened to be killed by a dragon, but immediately after his birth the boy is safely brought to God.¹²⁰

Another Biblical parallel is related to Aūr's vocation and his task consisting of the building of the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel. This work is considered part of God's plan (§24); Aūr and his brothers come from an Eastern country to the place where the church would be built (§25); people from the environments brought their gifts for the building of the church (§§93,139); the king and the queen gave a lot of gold and many presents for the building of the church (§§49,134); there is opposition against the building operations (§§140-177); they are saved from the opposition by heavenly support (§§147, 173-174); the celebration of the consecration of the church takes place during seven days (§193). Similar themes are found in the Old Testament book of Ezra dealing with the building of the temple of Jerusalem.¹²¹

Heavenly creatures indicating the place for the building of a sanctuary (§50) has a parallel in the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel, in which an angel measures the walls and

¹¹⁷ See Mt 2:13.

¹¹⁸ See Mt 2:19-23.

¹¹⁹ See 2 Kgs 11:2-3.

¹²⁰ See Rv 12:1-5.

¹²¹ See Ezr 1-6.

gates and all parts of the new temple to be built for God.¹²² The feature is a hagiographic topos and occurs more often in hagiography. For example in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, in which the Holy Virgin St. Mary with a golden reed in her right hand measures the sides of the church that is to be built.¹²³

About Aūr's outer appearance it is told that he could be recognized by a mark on his forehead, a scar from a wound caused by a golden pomegranate falling on his head at his birth (§102).¹²⁴ Pomegranates in the Old Testament of the Bible were considered one of the special fruits of the promised land.¹²⁵ The meaning of the pomegranate in the passage of Aūr's life remains unclear,¹²⁶ but the scar as a mark for identification is a well known motif¹²⁷ and carries with it the significance of being chosen. In the Apocalypse of the Bible, the servants of God are signed with a mark on their foreheads, that is the name of God.¹²⁸ At present, the modern icon of St. Aūr decorating a wall in the church at Naqlūn depicts bishop Aūr indeed with a mark on his forehead.

In several aspects the *Naqlūn homily* shows resemblance with the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, contained in the *Kebra Nagast*, the Glory of the Kings, a famous literary work extant in Ethiopic dealing with the legendary succession of the kings of Ethiopia.¹²⁹ The *Kebra Nagast* appeared most probably in the Ethiopian language in the fourteenth century, translated from the Arabic, which assumingly was based on a Coptic original.¹³⁰ The story of the Queen's visit to King Solomon is built upon a passage of the Old

¹²² See Ez 40-43.

¹²³ See Alcock 1983, 24 (text), 100 (transl.).

¹²⁴ It should be noted that the text is inconsistent in this aspect, because further in the text the scar on Aūr's forehead is explained to have been caused by Satan who threw a chair on him in an attempt to kill him (§153).

¹²⁵ See Nm 13:23; Dt 8:8; 1 Sm 14:2; Jl 1:12. Pomegranates occur also in a passage contained in the tradition developed on the book of Jannes and Jambres, (see below) see Pietersma 1994, 32, §38. In this passage it is told that St. Macarius of Alexandria, visited the funerary garden of Jannes and Jambres in the desert, where he found pomegranates dried by the sun. For Macarius of Alexandria, a fourth century monk of Kellia, see Evelyn White [1932] 1973, vol. 2; he should not to be confused with his contemporary Macarius the Great, or the Egyptian, a fourth century anchorite in the desert of Scetis, see Toda 2012; see also Evelyn White [1932] 1973, vol. 2; and Guillaumont 1991a.

¹²⁶ Samples of plant material of pomegranates were rather frequently discovered in the burials of the medieval cemetery at Naqlūn that had been in use in the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, see Zieliński 2012.

¹²⁷ See the motif index El-Shamy 1995, 1: motif H51.1 Recognition by birthmark.

¹²⁸ See Rv. 3:12; 7:3; 14:1. The Apocalypse of Elijah, a third century Coptic text, refers likewise to those belonging to God being marked on their foreheads, see Frankfurter 1993, 37, 303.

¹²⁹ For an edition and translation (in German), see Bezold 1905; for an English translation based on Bezold's edition, see Budge [1922] 1932; for a more recent French translation of the Ethiopian text, see Colin 2002.

¹³⁰ See Budge [1922] 1932, xxxviii-xl; Colin 2002, 7; Bezold supposes the end of the 13th century as probable date of the appearance of the work in Ethiopic, see Bezold 1905, xxxviii. According to the colophon of the Arabic text, the supposed original text in Coptic, kept at the patriarchate in Alexandria, had most probably been translated in (Egyptian) Arabic in AD 1224-1225 in Ethiopia, see Bezold 1905, 138; Budge [1922] 1932, xxxix; Colin 2002, 7.

Testament, which is referred to in the New Testament.¹³¹ The story, forming part of the Ethiopic *Kebra Nagast*, is available in an (Egyptian) Arabic version, which is used for the present analysis.¹³² The manuscript containing this story in Arabic is dated to 16th century.¹³³ The story tells that the queen of Sheba became pregnant by Solomon, when he took her by cunning. When the queen returned home, king Solomon gave her his ring as a mark for the identification of the child she would bore him. Back home in Ethiopia, the queen bore a son, actually an illegitimate son. Later, the son returned to the court of Solomon, which is the country of his origin and he sat with his father on the throne. The son, carrying the arch to Ethiopia, performed a very significant religious deed. All these aspects form parallels for similar events occurring in Aūr's life.

Here a remark should be made concerning Aūr's birth, or more precisely, the way he was conceived. Recension α -1 remains in the dark about the way the boy is begotten (§32). In the manuscripts of this recension one does not find any information on this event or, in the case of manuscript B, the concerned folios are missing. However, the other recensions (recensions α -2, α -3, and β) report that the magician used magical tricks in order to make the princess pregnant. It remains obscure whether recension α -1 of the text originally mentioned the magical influence on the origin of Aūr's life, and if so, whether these missing folios have been lost or willingly torn out considering the mention of this event inappropriate. This brings up the question whether, with respect to Aūr's origin, this recension α -1 is actually a purged version of the text. The fact itself strengthens the similarity with the story of the Queen of Sheba who became pregnant by Solomon's cunning.

On the whole a large number of motifs occurring in Aūr's life are reminiscent of Biblical stories. Most striking is the great resemblance with in the first place the story of the birth of Jesus Christ and in the second place the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon.

A conspicuous characteristic of the *Naqlūn homily* is the role of magic. With respect to this aspect, the *Naqlūn homily* may be compared with a fairy tale. In the following the text is searched for motifs typical for folk narratives. References are made to El-Shamy's

¹³¹ See 1 Kgs 10:1-13; 2 Chr 9:1-12; Mt 12:42; Lk 11:31. Reference to the visit of the Queen of Sheba to king Solomon is also made in Coptic poetry dating from about the 10th century, see Junker [1908-1911] 1977, 14-27.

¹³² For an edition and translation (in German) of the Arabic version of the text, see Bezold 1905, xlv-li (text); lii-lxi (transl.). For an English translation based on Bezold's edition, see Budge [1922] 1932, xlvi-lxiii. A French paraphrase of the Arabic version was printed by Amélineau 1888, 1:144-164.

¹³³ See Bezold 1905, xliii; see also Troupeau 1972-1974, 1:232 (ms. Arabe 264) (online: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/search-form.html>).

classification of motifs in Arabic folk traditions.¹³⁴ Already in the beginning of the story, in the initial situation, the theme of magic appears in the role of the famous magician Abrāšīt, the father of Aūr (§25). Abrāšīt belongs to a family of magicians with special customs with respect to marriage (§27)¹³⁵ and food (§28).¹³⁶ Abrāšīt is told ‘to be fed by Satan’s teachings’ (§26)¹³⁷ and he has close relations with the demons who often carry him into the heavens as well as into the depth of the earth, the hell (§26).¹³⁸ The impure spirits obey these magicians (§29).¹³⁹ Abrāšīt is told to have bowed before Satan as a god (§148). After Aūr’s birth, the magical power of his father Abrāšīt decreases (§§42-43).¹⁴⁰ After their flight to the mountain of Naqlūn, the family take up their magical craft and they fulfil the needs of all their clients (§59).¹⁴¹ When the father Abrāšīt has died, the sons continue their magical practises and even the angels obey them (§59).¹⁴² Their magical tricks are so strong that they have the power to make appear the most holy heavenly persons, the Holy Virgin and the two archangels Michael and Gabriel (§60).¹⁴³ They ask the Holy Virgin to let them drink milk from her breast in order to obtain eternal life (§61).¹⁴⁴ On hearing this request the Holy Virgin signals to the archangel Gabriel to make the brothers perish (§62).¹⁴⁵ The danger of death brings them to leave their magical practises behind and ask for forgiveness, and confess Christ as the Son of the living God (§§63-87).¹⁴⁶ At this point, the role of magic in the text comes to an end.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁴ In this paragraph references are made to the motifs classified in El-Shamy 1995, vol. 1.

¹³⁵ D1030.1; D1810.2.

¹³⁶ Customs connected with eating and food: P634.0.1.

¹³⁷ D1030.1; D1810.2.

¹³⁸ There are several motifs related to a magic journey: man carried by spirit or devil, D2121.5; journey into heaven, F10; journey to the lower world, F80, F100.

¹³⁹ This may be classified as the motif of magic control over spirits: D2198.

¹⁴⁰ Decrease (or loss) of magic power, D1741; see also the motive of a magician overpowered in contest with saint, V351.3.

¹⁴¹ Advise from a magician, D1814.1.

¹⁴² Magic control over spirits (angels), D2198.

¹⁴³ Mortal visited by angel in a vision, V225.0.2; and the Virgin Mary, V250.

¹⁴⁴ Quest for immortality, H1376.7.

¹⁴⁵ Death as a punishment, Q411.

¹⁴⁶ Confession of sins, V20; forgiveness as divine, V445; conversion to Christianity, V331.

¹⁴⁷ Recent archaeological research lead to the discovery of a number of magical texts in an old hermitage at Naqlūn as well as in the ruins of the library of the ancient monastic complex, see Urbaniak-Walczak 1997, 102; Van der Vliet 2000, 143-144. The date of these magical texts is determined in the period from the 6th-11th century. The texts are written in Coptic and may be characterized as Christian magical texts based on the Christian divine personages mentioned in the formulas contained in these texts. The presence of these texts in the ancient monastic library gives the impression that the art of magic was practised in the monastery itself and consequently was considered an acceptable or at least a tolerable science for the monks of the monastery of Naqlūn. This is in contrast with the negative way the *Naqlūn homily* regards the art of magic. For a study on the attitude towards magic in Christianity in the Greco-Roman world in the period from the second to the sixth century, see Roukema 2007, 367-378; a study on the concept of magic, see Meyer and Mirecki 1995, especially the chapters 1, 2, 3, 8; see also the introduction in Meyer, Smith and Kelsey 1994.

Indeed, the characteristics of magic presented in the *Naqlūn homily* show great similarity with a fairy tale and its representation would fit very well in folk narratives.¹⁴⁸ However, the theme of magic occurs more often in Coptic hagiographic literature.¹⁴⁹ In specific St. Aūr's life story may be compared with the legendary story of the saint Cyprian of Antioch, likewise a converted magician.¹⁵⁰ This legend tells that Cyprian is a famous experienced magician having a close relation with the devil. Cyprian is told even to have kissed the devil on his mouth.¹⁵¹ After he experienced that the name of Jesus Christ and the sign of the Cross made the devil powerless, he converted to Christianity, confessed his sins and was baptised. He became a holy bishop and died as a martyr.

Both Cyprian and Aūr combine the personality of a great magician and a holy bishop in one person, but the central themes of their legendary life stories are different. In the legend of Cyprian, the rejection of magic and Cyprian's conversion to Christianity are the central themes, worked out in his baptism and his further career as a devote Christian. In St. Aūr's life story the building of the church is the central theme. The rejection of magic and the conversion to Christianity are secondary themes, both serving the final aim of Aūr's life, the construction of the church. Moreover, after Aūr's conversion one might expect his baptism, but the text does not report on his baptism. Here a remark must be made with respect to Aūr's involvement in the magical practises. Nowhere in the text Aūr is told to have taken part himself actively in the craft of magic.¹⁵² However, the fact that he is a member of this family of magicians associates him implicitly with the art of magic. From his youth onwards, Aūr had been under the protection of the archangel Gabriel. His conversion to Christianity is not a conversion in the strict sense, but a logical step in a gradual process, and is better defined as his openly confession of the Christian faith, being one of a series of steps leading to the building of the church, the central theme. On the whole, the legendary stories of St. Aūr and St. Cyprian show many parallels, but they differ in their main focus, the first deals with the construction of a church and the second is a story of conversion.

In addition to the resemblance to the legend of St. Cyprian, St. Aūr's life story has aspects in common with other texts likewise related to the theme of magic. These parallels

¹⁴⁸ One whole chapter is dedicated to the motif of magic, see El-Shamy 1995, 1:82-110.

¹⁴⁹ Magic is condemned in the Bible, see Acts 8:9-13; 13:6-8; 19:13-19; and also in the Coptic Church, see Viaud 1978, 38; see also Roukema 2007.

¹⁵⁰ See Krestan and Hermann 1957; Van der Vliet 1995a, 84-94. The fictive Cyprian of Antioch should not be confused with bishop Cyprian of Carthage, who suffered martyrdom in AD 258, see Delehaye 1921.

¹⁵¹ See Van der Vliet 1995a, 86, 88.

¹⁵² This becomes especially clear in §63: When the youth Aūr saw the perdition that was about to descend upon *his brothers*. Apparently, the perdition is threatening only his brothers. However, recensions α-2 and α-3 include Aūr: ... the perdition that was about to descend upon *him and his brothers*.

consist of smaller features or only details. One of these concerns the appearance of heavenly creatures, who often play a role in Coptic magical texts, especially in their function as messengers and mediators between God and men.¹⁵³ The brothers' request addressed to the Holy Virgin to let them drink a little milk from her breast is in fact a request for eternal life (§61). Actually, by this request the brothers show their desire to partake in a privilege only enjoyed by Jesus. Their impudence caused by pride should be punished by death.¹⁵⁴ Drinking milk from the breast of the Holy Virgin is the opposite parallel of the magician Abrāšīt drinking from Satan's milk, as this is mentioned in three manuscripts of recension β.¹⁵⁵ Another parallel is found in a magical text used to win the love of a woman, in which (pseudo-) Cyprian is told to drink the milk of the right breast of Satan, a proof of Cyprian's close relationship with the devil. The milk symbolises Satan's wisdom. This text is part of the so-called Prayer of Cyprian and belongs to a Coptic (and Ethiopic) literary tradition using the character of the great magician Cyprian and parts of the legend for magical purposes.¹⁵⁶ The theme of drinking milk from the breast of the Holy Virgin is related to the well known theme of the Holy Virgin giving her breast to the Child Jesus occurring in Coptic literature¹⁵⁷ and iconography.¹⁵⁸

The family of magicians has special customs concerning marriage and married life (§27). This aspect and the fact that the magicians live at the court (§30-§31), links the *Naqlūn homily* with the legend of Jannes and Jambres.¹⁵⁹ According to this legend, Jannes and Jambres were famous magicians living at the court of Pharaoh in Memphis.¹⁶⁰ The Bible and later literary tradition identify Jannes and Jambres with the magicians who opposed the

¹⁵³ See for example a magical prayer in which the Holy Virgin St. Mary is called upon, see Kropp 1930-1931, 2: nr. 39. For the role of angels and archangels in magical texts, see Meyer, Smith and Kelsey 1994, 31, 40-41. See also Kropp 1930-1931, 2:31, 59-60, 67, 90-91, 104-105, etc.; and Müller 1959, 72-74, 285-316.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Gn 3: Adam and Eve were misled by Satan and they ate from the tree in their wish to be like God, whereupon they were expelled from Paradise. See also Mt 23:12: pride shall be punished with humiliation. A parallel of this theme of arrogance may be found in the legendary stories dealing with Satan's fall from heaven. Satan is punished for his wish to be like God by repulsion from heaven. These legendary stories about the Fall of Satan, originated in the early Jewish literature, were of great popularity in several languages, and also in Coptic. See Rosenstiehl 1983; Stichel 1989; Stone 1993, 144-148; Van der Vliet 1995b. The stories are developed upon a few verses in the Bible, see Is 14:13-15.

¹⁵⁵ See the manuscripts GUH of recension β, in ms F this sentence is absent.

¹⁵⁶ See Van der Vliet 1995a, 88-94.

¹⁵⁷ For a study on the theme of *Maria lactans* (*Galaktotrophousa*), see Grillmeier 1990; see also Sheridan 2004, 398-400.

¹⁵⁸ For a wall painting of *Maria lactans* (*Galaktotrophousa*) in the Red Monastery, see Bolman 2006, 1-24 (2); about the meaning of the Coptic *Galaktotrophousa*, see Bolman 2004, 1173-1184: "The *Galaktotrophousa* deals with life after death and shows the principal means of attaining this state – drinking the *logos*. The *galaktotrophousa* functioned principally as a metaphor for the Eucharist."; drinking God's milk occurs in the apocryphal Odes of Solomon, see Charlesworth 1985, 727, 752; for an interpretation of God's milk in the Odes of Solomon, see Engelbrecht 1999.

¹⁵⁹ For an edition, translation and commentary of the text, see Pietersma 1994.

¹⁶⁰ Pietersma 1994, 51-52.

Biblical Moses at Pharaoh's court.¹⁶¹ Their names are explicitly mentioned in one of the letters contained in the New Testament.¹⁶² In a certain passage of the legend, Jannes and Jambres discuss marital fidelity.¹⁶³ In another passage, Jannes speaks to his friends about marriage and wedding celebrations.¹⁶⁴

As a hagiographical story the *Naqlūn homily* has relations with other saints' lives and in this context the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* should be mentioned.¹⁶⁵ This *Life* is in particular important because it is related to a site, the mountain of Qalamūn, that is situated in close proximity of the mountain of Naqlūn.¹⁶⁶ Both the lives of Aūr and of Samuel report about the close relationship between the holy person and an angel. This relationship is expressed in various ways in the role of the archangel: in taking the fear away,¹⁶⁷ the building of a church after an appearance of the angel,¹⁶⁸ the archangel's guidance,¹⁶⁹ and the appearances of the angel to the saint.¹⁷⁰ There is a difference as well: in Samuel's *Life* the angel's outer appearance is never described nor is the angel's name given, which makes his role less distinct and less personal than in the *Naqlūn homily*.

Summarizing the above, the analysis of the *Naqlūn homily* as a hagiographic text confirms the primary theme of the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel and the secondary status of the description of life of St. Aūr. Especially significant in this respect is that Aūr's holiness is completely dependent on the archangel Gabriel. The description of Aūr's life has several parallels with Biblical stories, in the first place with the story of the birth of Jesus Christ and the visit of the three Wise Men, but also with stories found in the Old Testament, like the building of the temple. The *Naqlūn homily* is strongly rooted in a Biblical background, and its main theme, the building of the church, is considered part of God's plan. With respect to the theme of magic, the *Naqlūn homily* may be brought into relation with the story of the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon, on its turn built upon a Biblical story, and with the legends of St. Cyprian and Jannes and Jambres, of which the latter refers also to the Bible. The role of the archangel as a guide for the saint links the text with the *Life of Samuel*

¹⁶¹ For the story, see Ex 7:11 – 8:15; for the development of the traditions, see Pietersma 1994, 24-35.

¹⁶² See 2 Tm 3:8; about the names of these two magicians, see Pietersma 1994, 36-42.

¹⁶³ See Pietersma 1994, 52, 129, 131.

¹⁶⁴ See Pietersma 1994, 52.

¹⁶⁵ For the edition and translation of the Sahidic text, see Alcock 1983; for the edition of the Arabic text, see Alcock 1996, 321-345; and Alcock 1998, 377-404; see also Zanetti 1997; Vecoli 2007. For an edition of the text in Ethiopic, see Pereira 1894. Zanetti suggests that the Ethiopic has been translated from the Arabic, see Zanetti 1997, 152.

¹⁶⁶ See also chapter VIII.

¹⁶⁷ Alcock 1983, 3, 12 (text); 76, 87 (transl.).

¹⁶⁸ Alcock 1983, 3, 26 (text); 76, 104 (transl.).

¹⁶⁹ Alcock 1983, 3, 19 (text); 76-77, 95 (transl.).

¹⁷⁰ Alcock 1983, 3, 12-14 (text); 76, 87-89 (transl.).

of *Qalamūn*, another hagiographic text related to the same region. Apparently, the *Naqlūn homily* is situated in a literary background of Biblical stories including in specific the central story of the birth of Jesus Christ, as well as stories characterized by the miraculous and the mysterious, represented in particular by the themes of magic and the country in the east.

10. History and religious landscape

The route of the flight of Aūr and his family to their new dwelling place contains a number of place names. The significance of these places, geographically, historically and religiously, and their relation with the monastery needs some further comments. Before the family departs, the queen announces that they will go and dwell at a place called Dayr Aqlū (§50). As a kind of (literary) prophecy the place is indicated with a name very much alike the real name, with the effect of arising the attention of the audience. The name is obviously a derivation of the name Dayr al-Naqlūn, one of the well-known names with which the monastery is usually indicated.¹⁷¹ The origin of the word Aqlū is unknown, but it could have been known in the time of the composition of the text. The text itself brings it into relation with fire, the fire in the queen's heart, caused by deep sadness.¹⁷² In Coptic, the word Aqlū may be related with the Fayyūmic κλωμ = fire (in Bohairic χρωμ),¹⁷³ which agrees well with the explanation given by the text itself. In Arabic, the word Aqlū may have been derived from the root قَلَو (q l w), meaning: to fry, to bake, to roast, which is also indirectly related to fire.¹⁷⁴

At first the family is told to flee in the direction of Jerusalem (§49).¹⁷⁵ But on the order of the archangel Gabriel, they change their way in the direction of the city of Fayyūm (§52). A parallel of this event is found in the Bible, in the journey of the three Wise Men, already

¹⁷¹ For a possible explanation of the name Naqlūn as deriving from the Greek noun κέλλα see Derda 2008, 93-94. In the latter work, the author corrects and improves his own hypothesis presented in his earlier work, see Derda 1995, 23-27. For the forms of the Coptic names of the monastery, see Godlewski 1992, 180-182; Van der Vliet 2000, 242; Van der Vliet 2005, 193 (illustration). The Greek name of the monastery (νεκλονιον) is attested recently in a letter dated to the 6th century, see Derda and Dzierbicka 2012, 217. For the names of the monastery in Arabic given by al-Maqrīzī (Dayr al-Naqlūn, Dayr al-Ḥašaba (Monastery of the Beam) and Dayr Ġubriyāl al-Malāk (Monastery of Gabriel the Angel) see Sayyid 2002, 2:505 (text); Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 313-314, nr. 33 (transl.); see also Context – nt. 7 for the name Dayr Abū Ḥašaba as it occurs on a map.

¹⁷² The recensions α-1,2,3 of the text give the name Dayr Aqlū, but the recension-β indicates the monastery as 'Bardan wa Nārān', which is in translation: 'Coldness and Fire'.

¹⁷³ Crum 1939, 115b – in Sahidic: κρωμ.

¹⁷⁴ Could the reference to fire in relation to the name of the monastery as it is given by the text, be linked with the conflagration that had destroyed the monastery in the ninth-tenth century as has been discovered by archaeological investigations? For the conflagration in the monastery, see Godlewski 2000b, 91; Godlewski 2002, 169.

¹⁷⁵ The text contains here an inconsistency. In §49 it is told that they fled away in the direction of Jerusalem. But in §50 it appears that they had not yet left the palace and they were saying goodbye to the queen. In §51 it is again told that they said farewell and only then they actually set out on their way.

referred to in the preceding section.¹⁷⁶ Apparently, Jerusalem was not the final destination for the Wise Men, nor for Aūr and his family. The reference to the city and the link with the Biblical story add to the prestige of the monastery of Naqlūn and makes the story part of a divine plan.

The second place visited by the family on their flight is the city of Fayyūm, the capital of the Fayyūm province (§52-§53). The reference to this city provides the audience with clear geographical information about the route to their final destination at the mountain of Naqlūn. When they have arrived, they build their house near a site called the sanctuary of Jacob (§54). This commemorative place refers to the legendary tradition built upon the Old Testament story about Joseph, who became king of Egypt,¹⁷⁷ and his father Jacob, who stayed in Egypt during the last years of his life.¹⁷⁸ Other literary sources, like the *HCME*¹⁷⁹ and al-Maqrīzī,¹⁸⁰ also mention the sanctuary of Jacob in relation with the monastery of Naqlūn.¹⁸¹ According to this legendary tradition, Muslim as well as Christian, Joseph rebuilt the city of Fayyūm when it had fallen into ruin. Joseph dug the canal to Ḥaḡar al-Lāhūn, the entrance to the Fayyūm province, and he designed the system for the water supply for the province.¹⁸² The exact location of the sanctuary of Jacob, described as a hollow in the mountain, remains unknown.¹⁸³ The reference to this traditionally famous location characterizes the family's final destination, the mountain of Naqlūn (§57), as a place of great reputation, historically as well as religiously.

Apart from the places passed by on the journey, the text mentions a town called al-Fašn (§187). Aūr's brothers are told to leave Naqlūn and live in al-Fašn until they pass away. After their death, Aūr should bring their bodies back to the mountain of Naqlūn to bury them there. The still existing town is situated in the province Banī Suīf, south east of the Fayyūm

¹⁷⁶ See Mt 2:1-12.

¹⁷⁷ Gn 37, 39-41.

¹⁷⁸ According to Gn 45:10, Jacob has lived in the region Gosen, located to the north east of the province of Fayyūm, see also Gn 46-47; and Viaud 1979, 63-69.

¹⁷⁹ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206.

¹⁸⁰ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 313.

¹⁸¹ Viaud and Timm refer also to the *HCME* and al-Maqrīzī, see Viaud 1979, 13, and Timm 1984-1992, 2:764. In Timm's work a 'topos des Apa Jakob' is mentioned, but this is almost certainly another 'Jacob'. This 'Apa Jakob' is assumingly the founder of a monastery near Aphrodito / Kom Ishqaw, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1451; and 6:2743, 2794. Timm based his information on Barison 1938, 107 (nr. XIII-17). (Timm made a writing error in his reference on p. 2743: nr. XII – 17 should be nr. XIII – 17).

¹⁸² See Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 202-203.

¹⁸³ In a modern popular edition about the monastery of Naqlūn, a picture of the assumed cave of Jacob is presented. This booklet, which does not contain a colophon, is entitled (in English translation:) '*The angel Gabriel in the Holy Bible and in the books of the Church and a glance on monasticism and the saints at the mountain of Naqlun.*' For the meaning of hollows or caves in the Coptic tradition, see Meinardus 2002, 99-112.

province. Historical information about this small town is scarce.¹⁸⁴ The abovementioned *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* may offer a possible explanation for the relation between the monastery at Naqlūn and al-Fašn. This *Life* reports that Samuel, fleeing from persecution, travels with four disciples to the monastery of Naqlūn.¹⁸⁵ After a stay of three and a half years he was driven away from the monastery of Naqlūn and he went with his four disciples to the mountain of Takinaš.¹⁸⁶ Both the mountain (or monastery)¹⁸⁷ of Takinaš and the town Takinaš, in Arabic Daqanāš, have disappeared, but the name has survived in the present Hūd Diqnāš, situated in the district al-Fašn.¹⁸⁸ Here the ruins of two old settlements have been discovered, one of which is possibly the ancient Takinaš. Under this assumption, the route followed by Samuel from the monastery of Naqlūn to Takinaš is identical with the journey made by Aūr's brothers from the monastery of Naqlūn to al-Fašn. Moreover, the *Life of Samuel* reports that Samuel brought his disciples and a few others from the mountain of Takinaš to his monastery at Qalamūn.¹⁸⁹ Apparently, the monastery of Takinaš had close relations with both the monasteries of Qalamūn and Naqlūn. Both analogous reports attest to traditional links between the al-Fašn region and the Fayyūm.

The reference to al-Fašn occurs in the recensions α -1 and α -2, and in two manuscripts of recension α -3.¹⁹⁰ But recension β and one manuscript of recension α -3 give al-Qays instead.¹⁹¹ Like al-Fašn, al-Qays is still existing, but it is situated more southwardly near the present Banī Mazār. Christian historical sources refer to al-Qays already for the period of the Diocletian persecution.¹⁹² Here again, the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* provides a hint for a possible explanation. In the seventh-eighth centuries, bishop Gregory of al-Qays, who built

¹⁸⁴ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:946-947. Both Amélineau and the *HCME* only refer to al-Fašn (spelled respectively as 'Feschn' and 'al-Fashn') as a marker to indicate the location of two other towns, Aqfahs and Schenero (Shinarā), which contained a number of churches and had a certain fame historically, see Amélineau [1893] 1973, 56-58 (Aqfahs); 429-430 (Schenero); for the *HCME*, see Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 254-256 (Aqfahs and Shinarā). Al-Maqrīzī does not give any further information in this respect, see Sayyid 2002-2003, 1:194, line 9.

¹⁸⁵ See Alcock 1983, 7-9 (text); 82-84 (transl.).

¹⁸⁶ See Alcock 1983, 11 (text); 85 (transl.). In the Arabic version of the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, probably a later version than the Coptic text, the site Takinaš occurs in the form of Daḡinās (دغناس), see Alcock 1996, 342-343; Zanetti 1997, 152.

¹⁸⁷ For the interpretation of 'mountain' as 'monastery', see in this study, chapter IV, 5. *Vocabulary*, and the references.

¹⁸⁸ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:558-559 (Daqanāš). The monastery at the mountain of Takinaš should have been situated in the mountains nearby.

¹⁸⁹ See Alcock 1983, 24 (text); 101 (transl.).

¹⁹⁰ Al-Fašn is mentioned in mss. AP of recension α -3, see chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β : differences and characteristics*.

¹⁹¹ The town al-Qays is mentioned in ms. S of recension α -3. The confusion between these two names exists in other texts as well, cf. Den Heijer 1989, 34; and Den Heijer 1992, 154-155.

¹⁹² For al-Qays (written as al-Qēs), see Timm 1984-1992, 5:2132-2140, and see the references mentioned there. Already in the fourth century the district of this city contained a monastery that is called Phathor, see Timm 1984-1992, 4:1922.

several churches and monasteries and became Patriarch of Alexandria at the end of his life for about three years,¹⁹³ should have visited Samuel in his monastery at Qalamūn for a period of four days and he would have been healed from an illness by Samuel.¹⁹⁴ However, any clear indication of a possible relation between this town and the monastery of Naqlūn in the history of this monastery has not (yet) been found.¹⁹⁵ This difference between the recensions may be explained orthographically. In Arabic it is possible to confuse both names in case the diacritical dots are omitted. Possibly, after the monastery at Takinaš had been left deserted and fell in oblivion, the copyist read and wrote the better known al-Qays instead of al-Fašn.

Concluding, the description of the journey leads the audience in a figurative sense along traditionally famous places related with or located in the Fayyūm, finding its destination at the mountain of Naqlūn. Assumingly, by linking the story of Aūr with several well-known traditions, the author wished to add to the venerability of the site and to give the religious landscape of Naqlūn more importance.¹⁹⁶ The mention of al-Fašn (and al-Qays) may point at a historical relationship between the monasteries of the southeastern Fayyūm and a monastic site situated further southward in the district of this town.

11. Conclusion

The above study shows that the *Naqlūn homily* contains many features characteristic of Coptic hagiography, so that it may be situated within the Coptic and Copto-Arabic hagiographic tradition. However, the *Naqlūn homily* as a textual artefact is inconsistent, giving rise to several questions about its coherence and its transmission. The inconsistency becomes especially evident from the narrative structure, but can also be recognized in the contents, as the role of the narrator. The text appears to consist of two parts, the homiletic frame formed by the prologue and the epilogue, and the embedded narration. The prologue is the introduction to, in this case, a homily on the archangel Gabriel for his church at the mountain of Naqlūn. The epilogue, forming the concluding part of the homily, is less specific than the prologue and might apply to any church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel. The title, most probably added later, attributes the homily erroneously to St. Aūr, bishop of the Fayyūm, the main character of the embedded narration. The central part deals with the construction of a specific church at the mountain of Naqlūn, but in addition to that with the

¹⁹³ See Timm 1984-1992, 5:2136.

¹⁹⁴ See Alcock 1983, 25 (text), 101 (transl.)

¹⁹⁵ According to the *HCME* there was a church in the town al-Qays containing the body of the martyr Isaac, whose exact identity remains obscure, see Evetts [1969] 2001, 253.

¹⁹⁶ On the function of Egyptian hagiography as a historical source in the construction of a Christian landscape, see Van der Vliet 2006; and Van der Vliet 2009.

story of the life of St. Aūr, the (assumed) founder of the church. Consequently, the text may be characterized in the first place as a homily on the archangel Gabriel and his church at the mountain of Naqlūn and is therefore indicated as the *Naqlūn homily*. In the second place, this text may be considered a hagiographic story of the life of St. Aūr.

As a homily on the archangel Gabriel the *Naqlūn homily* has been compared with two other (Coptic) homilies on the archangel Gabriel, the homily attributed to bishop Archelaus of Neapolis and the homily attributed to bishop Celestinus of Rome, both similarly concerning a specific church or shrine. The comparison has shown that the *Naqlūn homily* is unique in the complete and detailed description of the archangel Gabriel. The hagiographic story of the life of St. Aūr is remarkable in explaining the saint's holiness in his particular relation with the archangel Gabriel and in his vocation, the building of the church in the name of the archangel. The fact that Aūr's life is devoted entirely to the realization of this task underlines the main theme of the homily, the building of the church, and demonstrates the secondary character of the vita in relation to the homily. The very presence of Aūr's life story, in addition to the mentioning of the date of his death (at 9 Abīb), are evidence for the existence of a cult for this saint, at a certain period, which was probably restricted to the region of Naqlūn only.

The *Naqlūn homily* is unique in the occurrence of a series of dates, most probably reflecting the liturgical calendar in use at this site in a certain period. The dates concern either the church of the archangel Gabriel or St. Aūr. The central date, 26 Ba'ūna, was spread further outside the Fayyūm region and kept a place in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium.

The four main characteristics of the *Naqlūn homily*, the archangel Gabriel, the church dedicated to this archangel, the vita, the theme of magic, link the text with a variety of literary sources. The parallels are found in homilies on the archangel Gabriel, like the Archelaus and Celestinus homilies, in the legend of St. Cyprian, a former magician and later bishop and martyr, in magical stories, in hagiographic vita as the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, and especially in Biblical stories, most apparently in the story of the birth of Jesus Christ, and also in stories related to the Bible as the legend of the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon. Presumably these literary sources were known to a contemporary audience and were used by the author who aimed at attributing special religious significance to the site.

The significance of the monastery in its geographical environment is reflected in the journey made by St. Aūr and his family along traditionally famous places, related with or located in the Fayyūm. The monastery maintained strong relations not only with the people living in the near environments, who were involved in the construction of the church, but also with the inhabitants of the capital city of the province, who came to bring their gifts for the

church. Moreover, the monastery stood in a certain relation with al-Fašn or al-Qays, two towns both situated outside the Fayyūm province at a certain distance southward. The homily emphasizes in this way that the fame of the monastery was not limited to the southeastern region of the Fayyūm, but spread further to outside this province.

A last remark should be made about the possible date of the composition of the *Naqlūn homily*. As it appears from the above, the text itself does not contain any explicit dating criteria. The reference to the patriarch, whose name is not rendered, residing in Alexandria situates the events as told in the text in the period before the last quarter of the eleventh century, when the patriarchal see had been transferred from Alexandria to Cairo.¹⁹⁷ However, this reference may not be considered as an indication for the period in which the text was actually composed. The name of the assumed author of the text, John the ascetic, is rather common and difficult to identify. All texts related to the monastery of Naqlūn and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel are written in Arabic. According to archaeological investigations, the church has been constructed most probably in the eighth century.¹⁹⁸ Based on the inscriptions preserved in the apse, W. Godlewski has determined the date of the renovation and redecoration of the church in the first half of the eleventh century.¹⁹⁹ No picture of a saint named Aūr has been identified among the wall paintings in the church.²⁰⁰ The first literary reference to a St. Aūr of Naqlūn is made in the *HCME* in the twelfth-thirteenth century. All these indications point at a probable date of the composition of the *Naqlūn homily* to in or around the eleventh century. The *Naqlūn homily* as a hagiographical text composed simultaneously with a religious revival in the southeastern region of the Fayyūm, gives renewed significance to the religious landscape by linking the monastery of Naqlūn with several traditionally famous places related to Coptic Christianity and by creating a legendary history that adds to its prestige.²⁰¹

The inconsistent structure of the *Naqlūn homily*, revealed most obviously by its narrative structure, actually pervades its entire contents. The inconsistency of the text leads to the question about its status. Throughout this study, it has been considered the standard text, representing the main tradition of this homily, in other studies often called the *Life of St. Aūr*. The study of its structure and its contents revealed its main theme, that is the construction of

¹⁹⁷ The patriarchal see had been transferred most probably during the patriarchate of Cyril II (1078-1092), see Den Heijer 2002, 84-85.

¹⁹⁸ For the date of the construction of the church, see Godlewski 2002, 169 and 2010, 230. See also Grossmann 1982, 118, 120; Dobrowolski 1990, 201.

¹⁹⁹ See Godlewski 2000b, 91. See also Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

²⁰⁰ See Godlewski 2000b, 100-101.

²⁰¹ On the function of Egyptian hagiography as a historical source in the construction of a Christian landscape, as already referred to above, see Van der Vliet 2006; and Van der Vliet 2009.

the church at Naqlūn. The homiletic frame focuses on the venerability of this specific church, and the embedded story is actually a report of the construction and completion of this church. It is rather unlikely that the text indicated as the *Naqlūn homily* represents the original *Life of St. Aūr*. It is more probable that the composer of the *Naqlūn homily* used a kind of summary of an (original) *Life of St. Aūr*, as yet unknown, in order to fascinate the audience with the aim to demonstrate the importance and venerability of this specific church at Naqlūn.

Although the main character Aūr remains rather obscure as a saint, the story of his life in its widely varying literary context situates the building of the church in a historical perspective that is religiously significant and characterized on the one hand by divine election, which becomes apparent in the guidance of the archangel Gabriel himself, on the other hand by the miraculous and the exotic expressed in the themes of magic and the mysterious country in the east.

PART 2: RELATED TEXTS

Chapter VI

The Journey of St. Aūr

1. Introduction

The *Naqlūn homily* deals with the story of St. Aūr's life in which the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn is the central theme. The seventeen manuscripts presenting this homily tell the events in more or less the same manner and differ only in a few aspects. However, there is also a quite different text found in manuscript M, similarly written in the Middle Arabic language as all texts dealt with in this study are written in this variant of Arabic. Unfortunately, it is very incomplete and at present only fifteen folios of it have come to light. The loose folios contain the description of two events: the journey of Aūr to his home country in the East and back to the Fayyūm, during which several miracles happen through the archangel Gabriel; and a heavenly vision during the consecration of the church dedicated to this archangel. Both episodes do not occur in the *Naqlūn homily*. The present chapter discusses the contents of this exceptional, but incompletely preserved text, its characteristics, and its relation to the *Naqlūn homily*. This second text is referred to as *The Journey of St. Aūr*.

2. Description of the manuscript: M (Coptic Museum History 6417 and 6421)

The description is based on the information obtained from photographs of the concerned folios and on the information provided by the catalogue.¹ The surviving fifteen folios containing *The Journey of St. Aūr* are kept in the Coptic Museum in two different codices: thirteen folios belong to codex 6417, and two folios belong to codex 6421. Codex 6417 consists of the remaining folios of three hagiographical texts that seem to have previously belonged to two different manuscripts. The codex contains 21 folios,² which measure 25.5 x 18 cm.³ The written surface contains 16-18 lines per page. The first folio has a coloured drawing of the Cross. The texts are written in Arabic in different handwritings and on different kinds of paper. The copyist(s) used catchwords. There is no rubrication. The author(s) and the copyist(s) are unknown. According to the catalogue the first part of the codex dates from the fourteenth century and the latter part dates from the eighteenth century,

¹ See Abd el-Shaheed 1997, 150-153.

² The catalogue gives 14 x 17 folios as the number of folios contained in the codex.

³ The catalogue does not specify which folios have these measures.

but a justification for these dates is not given and they are unverifiable. The codex is bound in cardboard. The original folio numbers of the first part are no longer visible on the photographs. After binding new folio numbers (f. 2r-14v) were given in Arabic numerals. The folios of the second text are severely damaged and partly restored and they still have the original folio numbers in Coptic cursive numerals: f. 222r-224r, the new numbers in Arabic are f. 15r-17v. Photographs of the third text are not available. The contents according to the catalogue:

1. f. 2r-14v. Part of the life of Anbā Aūr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel (GCAL I, 544, 2c; II, 507).

2. f. 15r-17v. Homily on the Virgin Mary (f. 17v mentions al-Mu‘allaqa church in Cairo).

3. f. 18r-21v. The miracles of Bartholomew the Apostle (GCAL I, 259-5; 260-13,14; 261a; 263-4; 264-8).

Codex 6421 holds the remaining folios of a number of texts that seem to have previously belonged to several different manuscripts. The codex contains 69 folios and is bound in cardboard. The written surface measures 21 x 15 to 24 x 16 cm and contains 18 lines per page. The contents are written in Arabic in various handwritings and on various kinds of paper. According to the catalogue this collection dates from the 18th-20th centuries, without giving evidence for this dating. Contents according to the catalogue:

1. Parts of two manuscripts of the Lectionary (4 folios).
2. The miracles of the Virgin Mary (1 folio).
3. A sermon (3 folios)
4. From the Gospel according to St. Luke, chapter 24 (2 folios).
5. From a Lectionary (3 folios).
6. From the Lectionary for the Fifty Days (1 folio).
7. From an astronomical text (1 folio).
8. On the necessity of confession before communion (9 folios).
9. A life of Christ (2 folios).
10. A sermon (1 folio).
11. A panegyric on Job, by John Chrysostom (4 folios) (GCAL I, 346).
12. A text on the inheritance laws in the Islamic shari‘ah (6 folios).
13. From a lectionary (8 folios).
14. A homily on the Feast of the Annunciation (2 folios) (GCAL I, 342, 378).
15. The life of Anbā Barsūm (1 folio) (GCAL I, 523-524).
16. A life of Christ (2 folios).

17. From the Gospel according to St. Luke (1 folio).
18. The raising of the son of Emperor Tiberius (*GCAL* I, 239-240).
19. Folios from the Acts and from the Epistles.
- 20. The miracles of the angel Gabriel (2 folios, dealing with a part of St. Aūr's life) (*GCAL* I, 544, 2c; II, 507).**
21. The life of St. Bartholomew (*GCAL* I, 259-5; 260-13,14; 261a; 263-4; 264-8).
22. The miracles of St. George (*GCAL* I, 502-503).
23. Prayers.

The two folios of text number 20 in the above list, are related to the story of St. Aūr's life. The original foliation is too vague to be deciphered. In this study these folios have been attributed the folionumbers 15 and 16, following the folionumbering 2-14 of the available folios contained in the other codex.

The Journey of St. Aūr, available in photographs of the discovered fifteen folios, thirteen folios of codex 6417 and two folios of codex 6421, could be divided into two parts based on their contents. The first part consists of twelve folios dealing with the journey of Aūr (folios nrs. 2-12 from codex 6417 and folio nr 15 from codex 6421). Then there is a gap of an unknown number of folios. The second part takes up three folios (codex 6417 folios nr. 14 and 13 – *sic* in this order – and folio nr. 16 from codex 6421) and describes the heavenly vision during the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel. The end of the text is also missing. The last words of the upper four lines of f. 2r are partly illegible because of a shadow on the photograph. Many folios have black ink spots. The handwriting is irregular. The diacritical dots are mostly written, but few are lacking. Even some vowel signs are present, and these are represented in the edition. For the rest, the method applied for the edition follows the principles as discussed in chapter III for the *Naqlūn homily*. The word الشيطان - (*Satan / the devil*) which is consequently written with the final *nūn* upside down, which is a well-known feature in Copto-Arabic hagiography.⁴

Below the text and translation of *The Journey of St. Aūr* are presented. The text is divided into paragraphs and the translation follows this division. The folio numbers are indicated within brackets and the reference to the concerned manuscript is indicated as CM (Coptic Museum) followed by the number of the codex.

⁴ A similar feature is found for example in the mss. A, S, G and U.

3. Text and translation

- 1 (CM 6417 2r) تخوم الفيوم وهم يسالون ويستخبرون فوصلوا هذا [الجبل] وقت التاسعه من النهار
في يوم الكمال لسته اشهر مند [شرع] في اساس البيعه
- 2 فلما راي قصاد الملك الى كثره الناس والبهائم وهم يعملون سالوا الفعله قايلين من هو [كبير] القوم
الذي لهذا المكان وما اسمه
- 3 فقالوا لهم هو هذا الذي غربي هذا الحايط واسمه اور
- 4 فذهبوا مسرعين وتفقدوه وكانوا متعجبين منه لانه كان يعمل مثل جميع الفعله
- 5 تم انهم تفرسوا فراؤ العلامة التى قالت لهم الملكة امارتها
- 6 ولما عرفوه بايقان قالوا له ان الملك والملكه ارسلونا فى طلبك وان خالك اليوم هو الملك عوض ابيه
وهودا سته اشهر مند خرجنا من بلادنا وقد تعبنا فى الطريق تعبًا كثيرًا لا لكنك استعد للمسير معنا
بلا عاقه
- 7 فلما قري كتب الملك وعلم عظم الكآبه والحزن الذي الملكه فيه بسببه حزن جدًا وقال ان الشيطان
بالحقيقه هو الذي حسدني لاجل بنيان هذه البيعه وتعب وهو سالهم ويلاينهم فى الكلام وخادعهم لكى
يتركوه
- 8 فقالوا له انا قد حلفنا ايمان عظيمه (2v) للملك انا ادا ما وجدناه ما نتركه وانت ايضا تعلم انه ليس
ينبغى الحلف باسم الملك زورًا وان كنت لا تجى معنا فبعضنا ينطلق الى الملك وبعضنا يجلس عندك
هاهنا والملك يرسل ياخذك بغير رايك
- 9 فاقام ليلة تلك كلها حزينا متألماً القلب وهو يسال الله ورييس الملايكة غبريال قايلًا يا الله دبر عمري
بحسب مسيرتك الطاهره والهمنى منفعة نفسى انا اعلم يا سيدى ريبس الملايكة غبريال انى لا استحق
ان تظهر لى من اجل كثره خطاياى⁵ لكن اكشف لي ما ينبغى ان افعله ولا تدع العدو يفرح بنا ويقول
انى ابطلت عملهم بل قف معى حتى اقدر على كمال ما هممت به لانك انت الذي امرتني ببنا هذه
البيعه وقلت لي انا اعضدك في كل شيء حتى تكملها والان يا ريبس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال لا تبعد
عنى لانك عوني عند الاله الذى له المجد الى ابد الابد امين

⁵ sup. [خطاياى]

- 10 فلما فرغ اور يصلی جآ الیه ربیس الملائکة غبریل بمجد عظیم وقال له السلام لك یا اور صفی الله السلام لك ایها الرجل الی اختاره لی یسوع ملکی الحقیقی خادماً صالحاً لبنیان بیعتی لمادا انت متوجع القلب هكذا جداً لاجل تودیتهم ایاك الی كوره المشرق لا تحزن (3r) ولا تقلق قم وادهب معهم لان هذا الامر هو من الله وانا اسیر امامك
- 11 وانا اجذب الیّ ایضاً من اربع اقصى الارض کل انسان خاطی فیصیرون لی ولخیلی ربیس الملائکة میخایل ابنآ مختارین مقدسین یسبحون الله ملکی نهائراً ولیللاً بتسابیح وتماجید وتراتیل روحانیة وانا ومیخایل نكون لهم حصناً حصیئاً ولا یتمکن جوع ولا وبأ فی هذا الجبل ولا یمکت احد ممن تاب الینا فی العذاب الی الغایة لكننا نشفع فیهم ونحرسهم من کل الشرور وان اراد احد من ولایة هذا العالم او رؤسائه او احدا علی الجملة من المعاندين الدین لهذا العالم ان یظلمهم فی کدایدهم⁶ او فی تعبهم انا انتقم منهم
- 12 فالان یا اور رجل الله لا تکاسر بل قم وامض معهم وهودا انا اسبقك الی كوره المشرق وانا امنحك مجدا ونعمة امام الملك والملکة ویدفع لك ما تحتاج الیه لبنأ بیعتی وها انا کاین معک حتی ترجع بسلام
- 13 فلما کان النهار جا اور الی واخبرنی بما صار الیه من امر قصاد الملك وکیف قال له ربیس الملائکة غبریل اذهب معهم
- 14 اما اور فانه نهض بشجاعه (3v) وتها واستبارک من القديسين والمشايع وودعهم وسار مع رسل الملك
- 15 وكنا نودعه وكان یقول یا اباي القديسين لا تقفروا من الصلاة عني وادکروني حتی یشفع فی الملائکة الطاهر غبریل امام الله⁷ لارد الیکم دفعه اخري سالما
- 16 وهكذا انصرف من عندنا⁸ ونحن متعلقون به ونصلی علیه
- 17 وان الجماعة الدین یعملون انصرفوا الی بیوتهم واخوته ایضاً خافوا ومضوا مصعدين الی قریه تدعی کام وسکنوها
- 18 وانا الاخر عدت الی خدمه کنیستی کالعاده الاولي ولكنی كنت موجوع القلب والاخوه وجميع الدین حولنا لاجل بطاله عمارة البیعه
- 19 ولیللاً یطیل الکلام جدا ومن بعد تمام سنه وشهرین جآ الینا اور الرجل البطل بالحقیقه وهو فرحان قوی القلب لان الله وربیس الملائکة غبریل دبره ورجعه الینا سالما

⁶ کدایدهم M] کدایدهم

⁷ M ditt.] امام الله

⁸ عندنا M] عندنا

- 20 ففرحت معه انا وجميع الاخوه وعزيناہ بان الله رده الينا سالماً وسالناہ قايلين يا ولدنا الحبيب اخبرنا ما جري لك فى الطريق وفي لقاءك للملك وفى عودتك الينا وان كنت ابصرت فى الطريق قوة من قبل ربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال فعرفنا الجميع لكى نتذكر ذلك ونمجد الله لانك ان اخفيت ذلك يا ابني كان وزراً عليك لانه قيل جيد هو كتمان سر الملك واعمال الله جيد هو اظهارها (4r) بالمجد
- 21 قال لنا اور رجل الله بالحقيقه يا اباي القديسين لو اقمتم زمانى كله معلقا بهذب عيناى لست اقدر احصى القوات والنعم التى صنعهم معى ربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال انا الخاطي لانه منحنى نعمه امام الملك والملكه
- 22 فاسمعوا لى يا اباي الاطهار لاقصص عليكم يسيراً مما رايتہ بعينى من قوات ربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال كما يستحضر عقلى الكلام مجدداً لله ولربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال الى ابد الابدین
- 23 اتفق لى يا اباي القديسين لما استاذن لى القصاد السايدين بى للملك قام وجميع اكابر الملكه والملكه وخرجوا للقاءى وقبلوني ولما دخلنا البلاط اجلسنى الملك معى على الكرسي
- 24 ولما رانى الاكبار جالساً مع الملك على الكرسي تعجبوا لانهم لم يعلموا السر المتقدم اولاً
- 25 وكانت الملكه تجى الى البلاط دفعتين فى كل يوم تتفقندى بشوق وانسحاق قلب وقصد الملك ان يصيرنى خليفه الملك الثانى منه
- 26 فلم ارد انا بل كنت اسال الرب وربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال نهاراً وليلاً بان يوجدنى سبيلاً لرجوعى الى هاهنا والى هذا الدير حتى اتم ما كنت هممت به الذى هى بيعة ربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال⁹
- 27 وبعد تمام شهر من الايام قلت للملك والملكه بقوه قلب اننى هممت ببنى بيعه باسم ربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال فى تخوم كورة مصر على جبل عال فى ارض حسنه تعرف بالفيوم من اجل هذا انا اسالك¹⁰ (4v) ان تدعونى لاكملها ليلاً يتواعدنى ربيس الملائكة غبريال لانى تهاونت فى عمله
- 28 فرفع الملك والملكه صوتهما باعلا نفس قايلين لا يكون منا هذا ان تفارقنا دفعة اخري بل تجلس معنا كل ايامنا
- 29 ومن بعد اسبوع وانا اسالهم واخادعهم فلم يطلقوني فتذكرت كلام ربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال انه قال لى فى يوم خرجت من هذا الجبل مع قصاد الملك وبالاكثر قوله انى اسبقك الى حيث الملك
- 30 فصليت الى الله قايلاً مستخيراً بربيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال يا ربيس الملائكة غبريال لا تتخلا ولا تنسنى لانك قلت لى امض الى الملك وانا كاين معك وانى اضع فى قلب الملك والملكه ان يعطوك كلما تحتاج اليه لبنيان بيعتى والان يا سيدي يا ربيس الملائكة غبريال لا تبعدنى حتى اتم الامر الذى هممت به كما دعوتنى اليه بغير استحقاقى
- 31 ولما كان نصف الليل سمعت صوتاً يقول لى قوى قلبك جيداً يا اور الرجل المختار ها انا كاين

mg. [نهاراً ... غبريال⁹

mg. [اسالك¹⁰

- معك في كل مكان ومجد ملكي يسوع يظهر لك وتنتظره في هذه الليلة وفي سفر الطريق وستمضي الي ديرك قبل ان يكون بطا
- 32 فلما كان الصبح قوي قلبى جدا فقامت ودخلت الي الملكة وقلت لها يا امى لا تدعي اخي يمسنى في هذه المدينه ولا يعوقنى لان مملكه هدا العالم ليست همتى لانها تقسد لكن اهتمامى كله (5r) نهارا وليلا الرجوع الي كورة مصر لكمال الامر الذي بدأت به وانا اريد ان تصنعى معي عند اخي ان تقولى له يطلقنى ليلا يغضب علي ريبس الملايكة غبريال ويغضب عليه لانه ابطل بيعته وهوذا انا اعرف ريبس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال انه نار ملتهبه لا يسمح لاحدا من الناس ان يصنع له شرا
- 33 فخافت الملكة وقامت وقت المساء ومضت الي ابنها وقصت اليه جميع الكلام الذي اوعزته اليها
- 34 فلما سمع هدا من امه ان غبريال هو نار قهقهه ضاحكا وقال لي وانا جالس يا اور يا اخي من هو هدا غبريال اخاف انا منه واطلقك او من هو اله اخر اقوي من الهنا وسيدنا الشمس الذي يشرق فيضى علينا وينير العالم كله ويحمينا بحارته وفي وقت يشا ايضا يذهب من عندنا الي غده
- 35 وبينما الملك راقد في نصف الليل وادا ريبس الملايكة غبريال ظهر له بمجد عظيم وسيفه مجرد بيده وقال للملك بوعيد عرفت من انا
- 36 فقال له الملك بقلق وخوف عظيم لا يا سيدي لم اعرفك لكنى اسالك بتواضع يا سيدي لا تقتلنى بهذا السيف الذي بيدك لان جسدي ارتعب لما رايتك وكادت نفسى تخرج من خوفك لاني لم أر احدا قط يشبهك في شكلك المملوا مجدا انا اسالك يا سيدي لتعلمني من انت من الالهة التى للعالم جميعا لاني لما رايتك بهذا المجد العظيم (5v) المحيط بك خفت وانحلت عنى قوتي وعن قليل كادت روحي تخرج مني انا اتضرع اليك ان لا تقتلنى لكن ادا انت تركتني واعلمتني من انت الذي تامرنى به انا افعله بقلب طيب وفرح يا سيدي
- 37 فقال له ريس الملايكة غبريال ليس انا اله كما تظن بي لكنى عبدا للملك العظيم الذي نفس كل احدا بيديه الطاهره هدا الذي يعطى الملك لمن يشاء ويقيم الملوك في كل زمان فان كنت الان تريد تعيش ولا تموت ادا قمت باكر الغد ارسل اور الي كورة مصر واعطه خشبا لا يسوس واعطه هذه الخشبه العظيمه التى في بلاط ابيك واعطه حجارة كريمه وكل شى يحتاج اليه لبنيان بيعتى وادا ما صنعت ما امرتك به تثبتت مملكتك وقامت انا هو غبريال ريبس الملايكة واعلم انك متى توانيت ولم ترسله ليكمل بيعتى انا بالموت اميتك لكن ارسله عاجلا
- 38 وخرج ريبس الملايكة من عنده فدخل الي الملكة وقال لها جميع هدا الكلام
- 39 فلما كان الصبح قام الملك ودخل الي الملكة بسرعه واعلمها كيف جاء اليه ريبس الملايكة غبريال واقلقه من اجل اور
- 40 فقالت الملكة لابنها بالحقيقه يا ابني جا اليّ انا ايضا بهذا الشكل الواحد واوصانى انا ايضا بهذا

- الكلام فلنرسل الان اور يا ابني الي كورة مصر ونعطيه كلما يختار لانه ليس (6r) يقدر ملك ارضي يقاوم ملك السماء لانه رب الارباب وملك جميع ملوك الارض وادا كان هذا عبده هذا الذي ظهر لنا وقد ملأنا خوفا بهذا المقدار فمن يستطيع ينظر مجد ذلك فيعيش فلا يعوقه لكنا نرسله سرعه بفرح
- 41 ولما قاموا باكرا اعنى الملك والملكه يا ابي انبا يوحنا صنعوا كما امرهم ربييس الملايكة غبريال واعطوني اخشابا كثيره جدا وحديدا
- 42 ولما رايت الخشبه العظيم التى فى البلاط دُفعت الي علمت ان ذلك لمخافه ربييس الملايكة غبريال اعطوها فاسرعت انا للوقت وكتبت عليها اسم ربييس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال وامرت ان يوجد عملها ويصلح¹¹ جيداً
- 43 واما الملكه فانها اعطتني ذهباً كثيراً وقالت لي كيف تبني يا ولدي وما يكون وسع البيعه فى بنيانها
- 44 فاجبتها قايلاً بحسب خط الوسع الذي عمله ربييس الملايكة غبريال بالقضيب الذي بيده فقلت لها ابني بالطوب اللين والطين فقط
- 45 فقالت لي لا يا ابني بل خذ لك ذهباً كثيراً واحرق الطوب واين بالجير واتقنها جيداً كاستحقاق الرجل الذي رايته لان المجد المحيط به عظيم
- 46 تم يا ابي القديس استاجرت مركبين وحملت فيها كل شيء دفعوه لي وان ذو الوجه الفايز فرحاً ربييس الملايكة غبريال سهل طريقى ودبرنى فى البحر والامواج الصعبه
- 47 غبريال ايضاً نجانى¹² (6v) من شرور كثيره وخلصنى من جميع مكاييد ابليس لانه عونى
- 48 انا اشهد لك الله علي يا ابي انى شاهدت بعينى الخاطيين ربييس الملايكة غبريال راكب السفن معنا ليخلصنا من لجج المياه ومن الرياح الصعبه حتى وصلت الى حدود ديار مصر
- 49 ولما ارسينا الي ساحل مصر لم اجد مراكباً استاجرهم فصرت قلقاً من كل ناحيه ومن بعد اسبوع من الايام ولم اجد سفينه وان واحد من الملاحين الدين جاؤ معنا ضجر وارمى الخشب البر وانطلقوا الي بلادهم
- 50 اما انا فانى خفت جداً من اجل الاموال التى معي ليلا ياتى¹³ السراق علي فيقتلوننى سببها وياخدوهم

¹¹ وتصلح M] ويصلح

¹² mg.] نجانى

¹³ تاتى M] ياتى

- 51 تم اني قمت ومشيت وحدي على ساحل البحر لعلني اجد مركباً فاستخبرت فنظرت رئيس الملايكة
غبريال سايراً قدامي وينجيني في مسير الطريق المقفره الخربه ونجاني من مكاييد اللصوص . غبريال
ايضاً حباً¹⁴ لي سفن فاستاجرتهم وحملت فيهم الخشب والحجاره
- 52 ولما صعدنا مقدار يومين مسيراً في البحر تأر¹⁵ علينا عاصف عظيم وقاربت السفن الغرق فلما
دكرت رئيس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال وصرخت اليه فنجاني
- 53 من الذي يقدر يصف القوات والعجايب التي صنعها معي والاشفيه التي (7r) ابري بها المرضى في
الطريق اعني عظيم رؤسا الملايكة الطاهر غبريال
- 54 هذه التي شاهدتها بعيني وانا اشهد بها قدام الله
- 55 كان لما ارسينا علي ساحل مدينه المملكه المدعوه مصر وبلغه اليوناني بابلون مكتنا هناك اسبوعاً
والملاحون ينتظرون الريح
- 56 وادا واحد من اكابر امراً الملك جآ عابرا علي الساحل فتطلع ورأي الخشب العظمى التي اسم رئيس
الملايكة الطاهر غبريال ملوناً عليها التي دفعها اليّ الملك
- 57 فقال الامير للنواني¹⁶ ارموا الخشب البر يريد ياخذها الي بيته لاجل حسننها فخاف الملاحون وارموا
الخشب البر وقام الامير بجعله وقساوته وجمع كثيراً من الرجال وحملوها وودوها الي بيته وان عبيده
وكلمن كان في بيته اجتمعوا جميعاً لينظروا حسن الخشب وعلوها
- 58 وكان له ابنه وعمرها يوميد عشره سنين وهي وحيدته له لم يرزق قط غيرها فجأت هي ايضاً لتتظر
الخشب وكانت فرحه بها مثل اور
- 59 كما هو مكتوب في الكتب المقدسه كما الأمر كذلك
- 60 الابنه ابوها اموراني وامها كدآبيه وبينما النسوان قايمات مع بعضهن ينظرن الخشب وان الله دو
الاحكام العادله جعل شيطاننا دخل الصبيه فصرعها فسقطت علي الارض (7v) وازيدت للوقت من
فيها
- 61 وان اهلها وعبيدها خرقوا اتياهم وحملوا التراب علي رويسهم واما ابوها وامها بكيا بمراره وصرخا لما
نظرا الخزي الذي حصل بابنتهما وامها عريانه طايفه في الشوارع وفي اسواق المدينه وخلق كثير
تتبعها وهم يشاهدون عورتها وفضيحتها
- 62 فامر ابوها عبيده فأتوا الي مسرعاً قبضوني وسجنوني في الحبس قايلين انت سحرتها وتركت
الشيطان يصرعها
- 63 فكنت انا اقول لهم لست انا الفاعل لهذا الامر بهذه الفتاه ايها الرجال الجهال بل هو رئيس الملايكة

¹⁴ حباً or حباً M] حباً

¹⁵ تار M] تار

¹⁶ (نواني , نوتية pl. , نوتي sg. hypercorrection: M] للنواني

- غبريال صاحب هذه الخشبه هو الذي جعل الشيطان دخل الصبيه عوض الشر والجهل الذي فعله ابوها
- 64 فلم يتأملوا ولا التفتوا الي كلامي البته بل ضربوني ضرباً كثيراً
- 65 فحزنت انا جداً وقلت وانا باكي يا آله عظيم رووسا الملايكه الطاهر غبريال لا تبعدني ولا تنسني تغفلاً ليلا اموت هاهنا ويقول الشيطان في ضميره اني قد قويت عليه كقول المرتل الحسن داوود ويبطل الامر اليسير الذي هممت به
- 66 انت تعلم يا سيدي يا ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال اننى لم امض برأى من تلقا نفسى الي كورة المشرق بل انت امرتني قايلأ امض انا كأين معك¹⁷
- 67 (8r) والآن يا سيدي وشفيعي الصالح يا ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال بشير دهور النور اخرج هذا الشيطان من هذه الفتاه ونقيها¹⁸ من هذا الروح النجس لكى يشيع اسمك ويتمجد في هذه المدينه كلها
- 68 وبينما انا اقول هذا وانا باكي سمعت صوتا يقول لي تق وتقوي يا صفي اور لا يصغر قلبك لان بصبركم تقتنون انفسكم وانك باضرار كثيره تدخل ملكوت السموات من اجل شرورك وخطاياك الاولى واما الفتاه تخلص ويتمجد اسم سيدي وملكى الحقيقي واسمي في هذه المدينه وتمجداك ساير الناس انت ايضا منجل اسم ملكى واسمى الذي عليك وتصير معروفاً دا صبت¹⁹ عند كل احداً
- 69 وللوقت صرخ الشيطان الذي في الفتاه وكل الجموع يسمعونوه وهو يقول وحق قوه ربيس الملايكه غبريال العظيم اد لم تردوا الخشبه الي موضعها سرعه انا اخنق هذه الصبيه واقتلها وأدب بها اباهها وامها حتى يموتان لانهما يستحقا ما صار اليهم لاجل قله ايمانهم في ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال
- 70 فلما سمع ابوها وامها وسايرا نساياها هذا القول من الشيطان خافوا جدا وقاموا كلهم وجأوا لى السجن وفتحوا الباب للوقت واخرجوني

¹⁷ mg.] معك

¹⁸ ونقيها M] ونقيها

¹⁹ صبت M] صبت

- 71 فقال ابوها لي انا اسلك (8v) ان لا تواخذني بجهلي لاني سمعت الكتاب يقول لا تهلك امة جاهله
انا اقول لك يا ابي القديس انك ادا ما سالت رئيس الملائكه غبريال عنى ويشفي ابنتي الضعيفه
ويخرج منها هذا الشيطان وينزع هذه الفضيحه العظيمه من قدام وجهي انا ارد الخشب الى مكانها
واعطى ايضا خمسين دينار لك واعطى عبيدين لخدمه رئيس الملائكه الطاهر غبريال ليخدماه كل
ايامهما واكون شاكر لك ولرئيس الملائكه الطاهر غبريال طول زماني
- 72 وللوقت قويت قلبي واخذت قليل زيتا ورشمته باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس اله واحد وسالت
رئيس الملائكه غبريال ان يشفي الصبيه لكى يشيع اسمه بكل مكان
- 73 ولما دهنت الفتاه بالزيت نظرت بعينى الروح الشرير قد صرع الصبيه علي الارض يريد يقتلها
وخرج منها وكل احد ينظره وكانوا يسبحون الله قائلين نمجداك يا الله اله رئيس الملائكه الطاهر
غبريال لقد داع اسمك الطاهر بكل موضع
- 74 فلما راي الرجل عظم النعمه التى ادركت ابنته فرح واسرع وامر بحمل الخشب ورجوعها الى
المركب دفعة اخري ودفع الي العبيدين وخمسين دينار
- 75 واخذتها²⁰ ورجع الي الملاحين وهو فرحان و فتشت²¹ السفينه فوجدت²² المال الذي دفعته لي
الملك[ة]²³ (9r) سالماً بحاله وختمه مختوماً عليه
- 76 ولما تهيينا للمسير مصعد وقت المساء سمعنا الشاويش ينادي قابلاً لا تسافر شئ من السفن الي
مكان بغير اذن الملك ومن يوجد مخالفا ويمضى تنهب مركبه وكل ماله الى خزانه المملكه ويعتقل
في السجن حتى يموت جوعاً وعطشاً
- 77 فلما سمع الملاحون ذلك خافوا جداً فقالوا لي يا اخانا الحبيب ما نقدر نصعد الى قبلي
- 78 فصعب علي الامر وصرت متوجع القلب من كل ناحيه وفيما انا مضطجع فى نصف الليل نظرت
روياً²⁴ كأن نسران نورانيه قيام واجنحتهما مملوه ريح ندا وتذهب فى المركبين فسارتا مصعدا
- 79 فتبسمت وانا فى الرويا وقلت ليت هذا لو كان حقاً فلما استيقظت من الرويا وقت باكر كنت فرحا
واردت اعلم النواتي²⁵ بالرويا التى رايتها
- 80 فلما رفعنا عيوننا لننظر النور كنا نظن انا فى موضع مرسا المراكب كما نحن فى مدينه المملكه
فنظرنا السفينتين سايرين وحودهما بغير ريح وبغير قلع
- 81 فتعجب الملاحون ويطلعوا ليعرفوا المكان الذي بلغنا اليه وحدتنا داتنا قد بلغنا قبلى حلوان بمقدار

²⁰ واخذها M] واخذتها

²¹ فتشت M] فتشت

²² فوجد M] فوجدت

²³ mg.] الملك[ة]

²⁴ روي crossed out] روي

²⁵ النواتي M] النواتي (hypercorrection, see nt. 16)

- سته اميال وان جميع الناس الركاب فى السفينتين تعجبوا قائلين واحد هو الله الاب الضابط الكل وقوه شفاعه (9v) ربيس ملايكته الطاهر غبريال له المجد الي ابد الابدن امين
- 82 من يقدر يصف القوات والاعجاب²⁶ التى لربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال الا واحداً يكون الروح القدس ارعنا له فى كل حين كيف اكرمك كما تستحق يا ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال بلسانى اللحم
- 83 اسمعوا ايضاً يا احباي هذه الاعحوبه العظيمه التى كانت من قبل ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال
- 84 كان احد النواتي²⁷ الذين يعملون فى المركب الذي نحن ركاب فيها يده يابسه ولاجل قلة قدرته كان رفقته الملاحون يغيرونه ويبيكتونه دفوع كثيره ويقولون لماذا لم تعمل وانت تاخذ الاجره كواحد منا ولكنه لاجل فقره وضيقته والاطفال والعاليه فلشقاوته وحقارته قال الصبر علي تبكيتهم اعنى رفقته النواتي²⁸ بما يبيكتونه حتى ينكسب قوت اولاده بتعب
- 85 تم ان الله تراف على مسكنته ومع ذلك يريد تمجيد لعظيم رووسا ملايكته²⁹ الطاهر غبريال وليشيع اسمه بكل مكان
- 86 فقال لي الرجل الذي يده يابسه يا ابى اريد تعلمنى هذا الخشب وهذا الحجاره المنتخبه التى اتيت بها معك من هذه المسافه حتى انك حملتها من كورة المشرق الي كورة مصر وهودا انا اراك تعبت بها (10r) كثيراً ماذا تعمل بها والي اي مكان تودبها انا اريد تعلمنى ايضاً
- 87 فقلت انا له انى موصلهم الى جبل النقلون المقدس لاكمل بنا بيعة ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال لانه نجانى من الموت دفوعاً كثيره وانا ارجوا من الله وربيس ملايكته الطاهر غبريال انه يعضدني حتى اكمل ما هممت به بفرح
- 88 وذلك الرجل الذي يده يابسه كانت مشية الرب فى شفاه فقال لي ان كان ربيس الملايكه غبريال معك فى كل مكان وفى كل شئ انا ايضاً او من انه لا يردنى في مسكنتى
- 89 تم اتخد له امانة عظيمه وصلى هكذا قايلاً يا اله ربيس الملايكه الطاهر غبريال انظر الي والي دلي والي باسى والي اطفالي واشفنى من هذا المرض الذي بى وانزع عنى عار رفقتى وجيراني فانى بايس اكثر من جميع الناس وحق عظمة قوتك يا سيدي يا ربيس الملايكه غبريال ادا ما تراأفت علي وتدركني رحمتك وتشفيني من وجع هذه اليد اليابسه انا اتى الي بيعتك دفعتين فى كل سنه والذي ييسره لي الرب بحسب مسكنتى انا اعطيه كرامه لبيعتك عن النعمه التى تصنعها معى والاطفال

²⁶ والاعجاب M] والاعجاب

²⁷ النواتي M] النواتي

²⁸ النواتي M] النواتي

²⁹ تمجيد عظيم لرووسا ملايكته M] تمجيد لعظيم رووسا ملايكته

- 90 وللوقت قام الرجل واحتضن الخشب العظيم الذي اسم ربيس الملايكة غبريال مكتوباً عليها وترك
(10v) يده اليا بسة علي الكتابه وقال بامانه انا اومن من كل قلبى يا سيدي يا ربيس الملايكة
الطاهر غبريال انك قادر على كل شي بقوة الرب
- 91 وقال انا اعلم انى غير مستحق النظر الى شخصك والى تضيتك³⁰ الطاهره لاجل كثره خطاياي
الكثيره ولكنى اومن ان بوضع يدي علي هذه الخشب هده الذي اسمك الطاهر مكتوباً عليها
فالصح تدركني من قبلك لكن يا سيدي يا ربيس الملايكة غبريال لا تغفل عنى ولا تنسنى لانى قد
القيت عليك همى باجمعه ولك الشفاعه ولله المجد الى ابد الابدين امين
- 92 وللوقت اعطت الخشب صوتا عظيما حتى قال كل احداً ان دراع الرجل صار اتنين .
- 93 ثم ان الرجل حس بالنعمة التى ادركته فمد يده وهى قد شفيت فراينا كلنا وقد استوت مثل الاخرى
كانها لم تكن يابسه البتة
- 94 اما الرجل الذي بري فانه شكر الله وربيس ملايكته الطاهر غبريال لانه اكمل له سؤاله وعمل جيداً
كمثل رفقته بغير عثره وبغير تدمر³¹ وان جماعة الركاب معنا فى السفينه اربعوا جداً وتعجبوا فى
نفوسهم على ما كان
- 95 اما انا فكنت فرحاً بالاكتر وكنت اقول بضميري ان الله دكرنى وسهل طريقى واهلنى لنظر قوات
ربيس الملايكة الطاهر (11r) غبريال
- 96 عظيمه هي جدا القوات والعجايب التى نظرتها بعينى يا اباي الاطهار صنعها ربيس الملايكة
غبريال مع ساير المرضى الذين يسالونه من كل قلوبهم
- 97 بالحقيقه استحقينا نعمة عظيمه ايها الشعب المبارك لان ربيس الملايكة غبريال اهلنا ان نكون له
اولاداً روحانيين علي الارض وفى السماء لان النعمة التى ادركتنا نحن الخطاه
- 98 عظيمه هي لانا استحقينا ان نُدعى من كل احداً اولاداً لعظيمي رؤسا الملايكة ميخائيل وغبريال
- 99 وانا اومن انهما يشفعان فينا عند الله الاب ضابط الكل ليصنع معنا رحمه فى يوم الحكم الاعظم
- 100 اسمعوا ايضاً هذه الأعجوبة التى كانت من قبل ربيس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال المعظم المكرم
- 101 كان رجل ايضاً راكب فى السفينه الاخرى التى تسير معنا وكان ربيساً علي المركبين الدين فيهما
خشب البيعه محمولاً وهو بعين واحده من صغره وكان وجع القلب جدا لاجل الفضيحه من الدين
ينظرونه وكان غنيا جدا

³⁰ يضيتك M] تضيتك

³¹ تدمر lege] تدمر

- 102 هذا لما ابصر النعمة التي ادركت خليله الملاح قال هو ايضاً بامانة تابته ادا ما تحنن الله علي
(11v) بشفاعه ربيس ملايكته الطاهر غبريال يدكر مسكنتى وضعفى ويهب النور لعيني هذه العميا
وانظر قوته مثل صاحبي انا اعطى خمسه وعشرين ديناراً لبيعتته واترك ايضاً اجرة هاتين المركبين
عوضاً عن الخير الذي يصنعه معى
- 103 تم نهض واخذ له امانة تابته عظيمه وترك وجهه الى اسفل علي الخشب وقال انا ايضاً او من انه
كما صار البروء³² لصاحبي من هذه الخشب الذي اسمك الطاهر مكتوباً عليها يا سيدي ربيس
الملايكة الطاهر غبريال لك القدره ان تهب لي انا ايضاً النور لا تردني يا سيدي ولا تتسانى فانى قد
القيت اليك همى كله والى الله واسمع لي انا ايضاً اليوم يا ربيس الملايكة غبريال انا صارخاً اليك
فلتدركنى نعمتك ورحمتك انا الآخر كما ادركت صاحبي وامنح النور لعينى دفعة اخرى لانه لا
شى عسير عندك بسيدك الذي له المجد والتعظيم الي ابد الابد امين
- 104 وفيما الرجل يقول هذا حس بنعمة الشفا التي تسعى اليه قليلاً قليلاً فوتب للوقت وهو فرحاً مسروراً
وعينه³³ مملوه نوراً مثل الاخرى وللوقت صرخ بصوتٍ عظيم مجدداً لله (12r) ولعظيم رويسا
ملايكته الطاهر غبريال
- 105 فساله الناس ماذا جري لك قال رايت رجلاً شجاعاً وهو منتطق بحياصه من ذهب ويده مرءاه
روحانيه نورانيه عليها احرف مكتوبه تركها علي وجهي وعلي عيني قايلأ بسم الاب والابن والروح
القدس اله واحد الذي فتح عيني الاعمى المولود ذلك الزمان وهو فى العالم هكذا ايضاً لتفتح
عينيك انت الآخر وللوقت ابصرت وها انتم تنظرونني وانا انظر نعمة الله وشفاعة ربيس ملايكته
الطاهر غبريال كأن تلك العين لم تمرض البتة
- 106 فلما نظر القوم الى الرجل وعينه مملوه نوراً مثل الاخرى وهو قايماً يشهد لجميع الناس ان غبريال
وهب النور لعينى فتعجبوا هم ايضاً وقالوا بالحقيقه عظيمه هى كرامتك يا ربيس الملايكة الطاهر
غبريال لان بخشبه يابسه اسمك مكتوب عليها يعمل بها جميع هذه القوات وادا كانت كتابة اسمك
الطاهر فقط يُعمل به هذه الايات وهذه العجايب فلا قياس علي ما يجرى في بيعتك الطاهره التي
تُبنى باسمك ولا أُحصى لكثرة البروء³⁴ والاشفيه (12v) التي تكون فيها نحن ايضاً نسالك بدله يا
حامل بشاره دهور النور اسال السيد المسيح فينا يصنع معنا رحمة في يوم الحكم العدل

³² البرؤ M] البروء

³³ وعينه M] وعينه

³⁴ البرؤ M] البروء

- 107 فلما رايت انا الى الجماعه كلها وهم متعجبون من الاعجوبه التي كانت فنظرت الرجل الذي ابصر وهو يقول اننى ابصرت يداً وعليها كتابة مكتوبه وضعت على عيني فابصرت علمت حقاً ان تلك السطور المكتوبه هي اسم ربييس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال وفرحت وتهللت عند سماع اسم سيدي ربييس الملايكة غبريال
- 108 وقد شُهر بكل مكان وقد صار علي افواه جميع الناس الكبار والصغار ويقولون المجد لك يا الله الاب ضابط الكل ولابنك الوحيد يسوع المسيح والروح القدس المعزي المساوي والكرامه لربييس ملايكتك الطاهر غبريال صانع العجايب بقدرتك ويشفاغته عندك
- 109 تم انى صليت من عمق قلبي قايلًا يا اله ربييس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال اسمع صوت طلبتي ادا دعوت اليك وانت ايضا تعلم يا سيدي يا ربييس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال اننى لصقت اليك من كل قلبي انا اريد يا سيدي تظهر لي سر هذه الخشبه هذه التي اسمك الطاهر (CM 6421 15r) مكتوباً عليها وفي اي مكان تختار اصنعها في بيعتك الطاهره لاني فرحت جدا عند نظري الي جميع هذه القوي تعمل بها الان يا شفيعى لا تغفل عني
- 110 فلما كان نصف الليل اتاني ربييس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال في الرؤيا وقال لى السلام لك يا اور رجل الله الشجاع حقاً لقد علمت انك تعبت اكثر من جميع اخوتك ولكن سالت ملكي الحقيقي يسوع عنك وقد غفر لك جميع خطاياك وانك تكون كاهناً لبيعتي وليس بيعتي فقط بل علي بيع كثيره للمسيح
- 111 لماذا انت مفكر في قلبك عن القوات التي رايتهم ظهوروا من هذا الخشبه التي اسمي مكتوب عليها لا تتعجب لهذا يا اور بل اعجب بالاكتر اني اجعل علامه عظيمه في هذا الخشبه الى الابد كل انسان ياتي الي بيعتي وان كان مسلطاً او ربييساً او وزيراً او غنياً او فقيراً وعلي الحمله كلمن ياتي في خيراً او شراً انا اجعل هذه الخشبه يكون صوتها ايهً للدين لا يؤمنون الى منتهي اجيال الارض وكل انسان ياتي الي بيعتي بامامه انا اهب لهم الشفا بالاكتر الدين بهم الشياطين
- 112 وهذه الخشبه اقسامها (CM 6421 15v) اربعة اجزا تعملهم يحملون البيعه والجزو الذي اسمي مكتوباً عليه يحمل الرواق البحري لان تمثال صورتي يكون هناك يشفي المرضى وهذه الخشبه لا تبرح تصوت الي الابد تخوف الشياطين وتخرجهم فضيحه لابليس وجنوده ومجدا لله ملكي
- 113 هذا لما قاله لي ربييس الملايكة غبريال انصرف من عندي وهو يوصيني على كمال ما امرني به وبعد ذلك سهل الله طريقى وارسل لنا الريح الطياب ولم يزل الي اللاهون الذي عمله يوسف
- 114 وان الملاحين اطلقوا³⁵ الخشب والحجاره البر واعطاني ربييس المركبين خمسه وعشرين ديناراً
- 115 واطلق لنا ايضا اجرة المركبين ومضوا بسلام

³⁵ اطلقوا M] اطلقوا

- 116 والرجل ايضا الذي كانت يده يابسه وبيري اعطاني الاخر دينارين وانطلقوا وهم يمجدون الله
شاكرين لرئيس الملائكة الطاهر غبريال على النعمة التي صارت لهما الاثنتين
- 117 فاما انا فامرت العبيدين الذي دفعهم لي الامير ان يقيموا في ذلك المكان يحرسون³⁶ الذهب
والحجاره وجيت الي ابوتك بجبل النقلون
- 118 وهذا ما رايت به عيني وما جري لي في الطريق جميعا قد اخبرتك به بغير تحريف البته
- 119 اما انا اخوكم يوحنا لما سمعت هذا من [...]]
- 120 (CM 6417 14r) ورشمهم بالميرون وكان الجمع كله يرتلون بمزامير وتسايح
- 121 ولما قري الانجيل بعد جميع الفصول اللايقه بالتكريز وافاض الميرون علي المذبح انا يوحنا كنت
واقفا باهتا ومتعجبا للنعمة العظيمة التي ورتتها بخلاف اباي ورفعت عينايا شاكرا ومعظما لله
ولعظيم رويساء ملايكته غبريال الذي اهلني لنظر كمال بيعته المقدسه ويوم تكريزها بغير استحقاقي
- 122 وبينما عينايا مرفوعتان وانا اقول في قلبي انا اشكرك يا سيدي يسوع المسيح مع ابيك الصالح
والروح القدس لانك اهلتي لنظر استبشار بيعة رئيس الملائكة غبريال وخلص شعبك وعمارة جبل
النقلون الطاهر وبينما انا اضرع من عمق قلبي نظرت بعينايا الخاطيتان سيدنا يسوع المسيح وامه
العذري وميخائيل وغبريال وجمعا لا يحصى رويساء الملائكة ومخلصنا جالس على كرسي مجيد
في وسط الاسكني والشاروبيم والسارافيم حول كرسيه في موضع القدس
- 123 واحدقت ايضا في الملائكة فرايت جمعا من الجسدانيين لا يقدر احدا يصف ملبوسهم والمجد
العظيم المحيط بهم وهم ايضا قياما (14v) حول المذبح في مكان القدس
- 124 واني طفقت انقرس في القديسين لعلي اعرف احدا ومن اجل الفرح الذي في قلبي تأملت جيدا
فرايت واحدا منهم يشبه ابينا الروحاني انبا ابرآم هذا الذي كان لي مُرشدا الي الله والى السيرة
العفيفة التي هي الرهبنة
- 125 فلم استطيع انا ان اتكلم معه لاجل كثرة المجد العظيم المحيط به وكنت اقول³⁷ لاجل كثرة
خطاياي الجمه لم ياهلني للكلام معه ولم اتبت قلبي³⁸ نحوه جيدا انه هو ابي ابرآم ولكني كنت
مفكرا اني حقا اعرف هذا الرجل هكدي في المسيح لكن بالجسد لا اعلم لكن الله اعلم
- 126 وفيما انا مفكرا في هذا واذا صوت جاء الي من الرجل النوراني قايل طوباك انت يا يوحنا ابني
لانك استحقيت النظر الي ايناع كرمه الرب الصاباوت التي غرست في ارض الميعاد وفردوس
ارض مصر الذي هو جبل النقلون وانه في هذا اليوم يا يوحنا كُملت نبوة اباينا عليك في هذا
الجبل التي تنبوا بها عليك دفوعا شتي وعلي هذه البيعه التي لرئيس الملائكة غبريال وها هوذا قد

³⁶ يحرسون M] يحرسون

³⁷ mg.] وكنت اقول

³⁸ قلبه M] قلبي

- رايت تمام كل شي
- 127 فقلت انا له من انت يا سيدي في هذه الكرامه العظيمه (CM 6417 13r) وانت لابس هذا المجد العظيم وهؤلاء الاخوين القيام معك هؤلاء الدين لم اقدر اتكلم معهم
- 128 فقال لي بفرح ما عرفتني يا يوحنا من انا فقلت لا يا سيدي لم اعرفك
- 129 فقال لي انا هو ابرآم ابوك وهؤلاء الاخوين الدين تتظروهم وهذا المجد العظيم حولهم هؤلاء القديسين الدين سكنوا هذا الجبل هذان الشيوخان الدين حللهم بيضا وهم قيام حول الكرسي الذي هو المذبح المقدس وعليهم هذه البراجيج البيض فهما الشيخين المغبوطين ساكني هذا الجبل انبا جوارجي وانبا ايسيدرس ابوه هذان اللدان لبساء الاسكيم الطاهر من يد الكوكب العظيم اللابس المسيح العظيم انطونيوس هذا الذي وضع لنا ايضا جميع قوانين الرهبنة
- 130 وهؤلاء الاخوين ايضا الدين انت تراهم بهذا المجد العظيم هم الشهداء الدين سفكوا دماهم علي اسم السيد المسيح في هذا الجبل
- 131 وهذا الامير الاخر المتمنطق بهذا الحياصة الذهب هذا هو اورابيوس الذي جا مصعدا وباراده الله راي المجد العظيم المحيط بالقديسين³⁹ فاشتهي ان يصير مثلهم فاسرع واعترف بالسيد المسيح قدام الوالي انه ابن الله فامسكه ولم يدعه يصعد بل قضى عليه مع جميع القديسين وكانوا نحو ثلثمائه اربعة وعشرين نفسا (13v) فلهدا جعله المسيح راسا علي جميعهم واعطاه السيد المسيح السلطان ان يكون مع ربيسي الملائكه العظيمين يحوطون بهذا الجبل كله ويحرسونه وجميع السكان فيه نهارا وليلا
- 132 واعلم اليك يا يوحنا هذا انه كما سمعت المخلص اوعد ربيسي الملائكه العظما الاطهار ميخائيل وغبريال انه لا غلا ولا وباء ولا شدة ولا قحط ولا جوع ولا عطش ولا حرب ولا بلا لا يتمكن من هذا الجبل الي الابد ولا من سكانه بطلبات ربيسي الملائكه ميخائيل و غبريال التي يرفعونها عنا ليلا ونهارا وعظام هولاي القديسين الشهداء السكان فيه وصلواتهم واتارهم وبركه العظيم انطونيوس⁴⁰ وبالاكثر البركات التي قالها مخلصنا من فمه الالهي عليه في يوم تكريز بيعة ربيس الملائكه غبريال والرسل يمشون معه
- 133 تم يا ولدي يوحنا تق بكل كلام قلته لك فانه حق واوص اولادك يتبتوا جميعهم فان بركة الرب وقديسيه لا تبرح من هذا الجبل ولا تزول منه الي انقضا الدهور
- 134 ولأجل انك رايتنا اليوم هاهنا فان ابن الله دعانا وملايكته لتكريز بيعة ربيس الملائكه غبريال ليس نحن وحدنا فقط بل سيدنا يسوع المسيح ووالدته العدرى
- (CM 6421 16r) والوف ملايكه وروساء ملايكه وشاروبيم وسارافيم اتي بهم معه لتكريز بيعه

³⁹ partly mg.] بالقديسين

⁴⁰ partly mg.] انطونيوس

- حامل بشاره دهور النور غبريال
- 135 وهوذا قد شاهدت ربنا يسوع المسيح جالسا علي كرسي مجده في وسط القبه وهذا الجمع كله محيطا به يمجّدونه مع ابيه الصالح والروح القدس
- 136 وهوذا قد كرّزها اولا في السر والاب الاسقف هو ايضا كرّزها في الظاهر وورخ هذا اليوم تذكارا لك ولبنيك الي الابد يكونوا يعيدون⁴¹ فيه بتسابيح وتماجيد روحانيه وسهر الليالي بمزامير ويسبحون ويمجدون الله وعظيم روساء ملايكته غبريال
- 137 ولا تدع احداً يتوانا عن الحضور الي البيعه في السادس والعشرين من شهر بوونه لان ميخائيل وكل الملائكه ياتون يعيدون مع خليلهم غبريال لكرامة بيعته وتكريزها الطاهر وبيبارك علي اولاده الروحانيين⁴² وعلى كل من يجي الي بيعته الطاهره
- 138 تم ان الاب الاسقف انبا اسحق كرّز البيعه ببهاء عظيم وضياء ومجد لا ينطق به وجماعة القسوس والشمامسه يعاونوه وسيدنا المسيح هو ايضا كرّزها سرا وميخائيل و غبريال وصفوف القديسين جميعا الدين اتوا معه يسبحون ويقدسون ويمجدون لاهوته
- 139 (CM 6421 16v) تم قدم الاب الاسقف القريان وقرب الشعب كله ووعظهم بكلامه المعزي واعطاهم السلام وانصرف كل احد الي بيته وهم متعجبين في نفوسهم من عظم كرامة بيعه ربيس الملائكه غبريال وقواته الباهره وقرب سيدنا يسوع المسيح القديسين والشهداء وابابنا الروحانيين الدين هم انبا ابرآم وجاورجي
- 140 هذا الذي وضع لنا تمام كل شيء هو مستحق الذكر اعني هذا الشيخ المغبوط وبالاكثر في يوم نياحته الذي هو الرابع من شهر برموده وانبا ايسيدرس ابوه ذلك الشيخ ايضا مغبوط في سيرته
- 141 تم صعد سيدنا يسوع المسيح الي السموات وجميع القديسين وجعل في البيعه قوة عظيمه نورانيه تبري من ساير الامراض ووعد الرب ربيس الملائكه غبريال قايل كل انسان يحضر الي هذه البيعه بامانه وهم موجوعين بكل الامراض انا اهبهم العافيه والدين بهم الشياطين وهذه النعمه تتفاضل في هذه البيعه اكثر من بيع كثيره في كوره مصر
- 142 ومن بعد كمال سنه منذ كرّزت البيعه افتقد الرب ابي انبا اسحق ففتيح بشيخوخة حسنه مرضيه لله جيدا
- 143 فاجتمع جميع اراخنة المدينه والاكابر بكل مكان واخذوا معهم القس اور ومضوا الي الاسكندريه الي البطريرك القديس اللابس المسيح بالحقيقه انبا طيماتاوس الذي جاء من بعد

Translation of ms. M – Coptic Museum 6417 / 6421

⁴¹ mg. [يعيدون]

⁴² partly mg. [الروحانيين]

- 1 (CM 6417 2r)⁴³ ... the borders of the Fayyūm while they asked and inquired. They arrived at this [mountain] at the ninth hour of the day, six months after the start of the foundation of the church.⁴⁴
- 2 When the envoys of the king looked at the great number of people and animals while they were working, they asked the workers: 'Who is the head of the people that belong to this place and what is his name?'
- 3 They said to them: 'He is the one who is to the west from this wall and his name is Aūr.'
- 4 They went quickly and searched for him and they were amazed at him, because he worked just like all the workers.
- 5 Then they scrutinized him and they saw the sign about which the queen had told them what it looked like.⁴⁵
- 6 When they knew him with certainty, they said to him: 'The king and the queen sent us to search for you. Today, your uncle is king instead of his father. Behold, six months [have passed] since we left our country and we have become very tired on the way. Now, you,⁴⁶ prepare yourself to travel with us without delay.'
- 7 When he (Aūr) read the letters of the king and came to know the greatness of the sorrow and the sadness in which the queen was because of him, he became very sad and said: 'The devil is truly envious of me because of the building of this church!' He became weary and asked them, while he was gentle in speaking and tried to persuade them, that they would leave him behind.
- 8 But they said to him: 'We have sworn great oaths (2v) to the king that when we would find him, we would not leave him behind. And you too know that the swearing in the name of the king should not be a lie. If you do not go with us, some of us will go to the king and some others of us will sit here with you, and the king will send [someone] out to fetch you against your opinion.'
- 9 He spent that entire night in sadness⁴⁷ with a painful heart, while he asked God and the archangel Gabriel, saying: 'Oh God, guide my life according to Your pure path⁴⁸ and inspire me to the benefit of my soul. I know, my lord the archangel Gabriel, that I do

⁴³ Narrator of the text is John, a monk living at the monastery of Naqlūn, see the commentary below.

⁴⁴ They ... church: lit. *They arrived at this [mountain?...] at the ninth hour of the day on the day of completion of the six months since the start of the foundation of the church.*

⁴⁵ What it looked like: lit. *its sign/mark.*

⁴⁶ Now, you: lit. *No, but you.*

⁴⁷ In sadness: lit. *sad.*

⁴⁸ Cf. Ps 25:4.

not deserve that you appear to me because of the plenitude of my sins. But reveal to me what I should do and do not let the enemy rejoice because of us and say: 'I stopped their work', but stay with me, so that I may be able to accomplish that with which I concerned myself, because it is you who ordered me to build this church and you said to me 'I will support you in everything so that you will finish it'. And now, o pure archangel Gabriel, do not leave me, because you are my helper before God, to whom is the glory forever, amen!'

- 10 And when Aūr finished his prayer, the archangel Gabriel came to him with great glory and said to him: 'Peace be with you, o Aūr, friend of God, peace be with you, o man whom Jesus, my true King, has chosen for me as a virtuous servant to build my church. Why do you have pain in your heart so much because they want to bring you to the country of the East? Do not be sad (3r) and do not be troubled. Stand up and go with them, because this matter is from God and I will go before you.
- 11 And I will also draw to me from the four remotest parts of the earth all sinful people and they will become for me and for my companion the archangel Michael, holy chosen sons who glorify God, my King, day and night, with songs of praise and glorifications and spiritual hymns. And me and Michael, we will be for them a strong fortress and neither hunger nor disease will take over on this mountain. No one from those who have turned to us in repentance will remain in punishment to the utmost limit, but we will intercede for them and we will protect them against all evil. And if one of the rulers of this world or its leaders or one, in short, of the stubborn ones who belong to this world, wants to treat them unjustly in their hard work or in their weariness, I will take revenge on them.
- 12 And now, o Aūr, man of God, do not resist, but stand up and go with them. Behold, I will precede you to the country of the East and I will bestow upon you glory and grace in front of the king and the queen, and he (the king) will give you what you need for the building of my church. Behold, here I am, I am with you until you will return in safety.'
- 13 When it was daytime, Aūr came to me and told me what happened to him with respect to the matter of the envoys of the king and how the archangel Gabriel had said to him: 'Go with them!'.

- 14 As to Aūr, he got up with courage (3v) and he prepared himself and received a blessing⁴⁹ from the holy men and the elders. He left them and set out with the messengers of the king.
- 15 We bade him farewell and he said: ‘O my holy fathers, do not slacken in praying for me and remember me, so that the pure angel Gabriel will intercede for me before God, so that I will return safely to you again.’
- 16 Thus he went away from us while we were attached to him and prayed for him.
- 17 The group of people who were working left for their houses and his brothers, too, were afraid and went upstream to a village called Kām⁵⁰ and lived there.
- 18 And me in turn, I returned to the service of my church, as it was usual earlier, but I had pain in my heart and so had the brothers and all those who were around us, because the building of the church was stopped.
- 19 In order not to speak too long, after one year and two months had passed, Aūr, the heroic man in truth, came [back] to us, happy [and] strong hearted, because God and the archangel Gabriel had guided him and brought him back to us safely.
- 20 And I rejoiced with him, me and all the brothers, and we were comforted over him because of the fact that God had given him back to us safely. And we asked him, saying: ‘O, our beloved son, tell us what happened to you on the way and when you met the king and on your way back to us. If you saw on the way a mighty work⁵¹ from the pure archangel Gabriel, inform us about all, so that we will remember that and glorify God. Because if you keep that secret, o my son, it will be a burden on you, because it is said: “Good is it to hide the secret of the king, and the works of God, good is it to make these known (4r) with glory.”’⁵²
- 21 Aūr, the man of God, said to us: ‘Truly, o my holy fathers, even if I would spend all of my time keeping my eyes open,⁵³ I would not be able to count the mighty works and the graces which the pure archangel Gabriel has done for me, the sinner, because he bestowed upon me a grace in front of the king and the queen.
- 22 So, listen to me, o my pure fathers, so that I may tell you a little of what I saw with my eyes of the mighty works of the pure archangel Gabriel, as my mind offers up the words as a praise to God and to the pure archangel Gabriel forever.

⁴⁹ He received a blessing (استبارك): well known form in Egyptian dialect, see Badawi and Hinds 1986, 68.

⁵⁰ Kām: unknown, possibly a writing error and the copyist meant *Qāw*, see Timm 1984-1992, 5:2120-2132.

⁵¹ Mighty work: see chapter IV, 5. *Vocabulary*, e) ‘wonder’.

⁵² Cf. Tb 12:7 (this book is not contained in LXX); see also Dn 4:2.

⁵³ Keeping my eyes open: lit. *hanging at the lashes of my eyes*.

- 23 It happened to me, o my holy fathers, when the envoys who led me to the king announced me, he (the king) rose up and all the grandees of the kingdom and the queen and they went out to meet me and they welcomed me. When we entered the palace, the king made me sit with him on the throne.
- 24 When the grandees saw me sitting with the king on the throne, they were amazed, because they did not know the secret that had preceded earlier.
- 25 The queen came to the palace twice every day seeking me with longing and contrition. The king intended to make me his successor,⁵⁴ the second, after him.
- 26 But I did not want [that] but I asked the Lord and the pure archangel Gabriel day and night that he would find for me a way to return hither and to this monastery so that I would complete that with which I concerned myself, that is the church of the pure archangel Gabriel.
- 27 After the days of one month had passed, I said to the king and the queen with strength of heart: 'I concerned myself with the building of a church dedicated to the pure archangel Gabriel within the borders of the country of Egypt on a high mountain on good land that is known as the Fayyūm. Because of this, I ask you (4v) to let me go so that I can finish it, so that the archangel Gabriel will not be angry with me for the fact that I neglected his work.'
- 28 But the king and the queen raised their voice[s] with [their] deepest breath, saying: 'This is for us out of the question,⁵⁵ that you leave us another time. No, rather you will sit with us all our days.'
- 29 After one week while asking them and trying to persuade them, but they would not let me go, I remembered the words of the pure archangel Gabriel, that he said to me on the day I left this mountain with the envoys of the king, and most of all his words 'I will go before you to where the king is.'
- 30 So I prayed to God, seeking from the pure archangel Gabriel what is good to do, saying: 'O archangel Gabriel, do not leave me and do not forget me, because you have said to me: 'Go to the king and I will be with you. And I will put [it] in the heart[s] of the king and the queen to give you everything you need for the building of my church.' And now, o my lord, o archangel Gabriel, do not dismiss me so that I may complete what I started with, as you have demanded me to do without being worthy of it.'
- 31 When it was midnight, I heard a voice say to me: 'Strengthen your heart well, o Aūr, the

⁵⁴ His successor: lit. *the successor of the king*.

⁵⁵ This is for us out of the question: lit. *This will not be from us*.

chosen man. Behold, I will be with you in every place and the glory of my King Jesus will appear to you and you will see it in this night and on [your] journey. You will go to your monastery before it will be [too] late.'

- 32 When it was morning my heart became very strong and I stood up and entered the queen's [chamber] and said to her: 'O my mother, do not let my brother hold me in this city nor detain me, because the kingdom of this world is not of interest to me, because it is vain.⁵⁶ But my entire concern is (5r) day and night, to return to the country of Egypt in order to complete the matter that I have begun, and I wish you to do me [a favour] concerning my brother, that you say to him to let me go, so that the archangel Gabriel will not be angry with me and will be angry with him, because he thwarted his church. Behold, I know the pure archangel Gabriel, that he is a burning fire that would not allow any human to do evil to him.'
- 33 The queen was afraid and she rose up at the time of the evening and she went to her son and she told him every word that I had pointed out to her.
- 34 When he heard this from his mother that Gabriel is a fire, he roared with laughter and he said to me while I was sitting: 'O Aūr, o my brother, who is this Gabriel for whom I should be afraid and I would let you go? Or who is [this] other god that would be more powerful than our god and lord the sun, that shines and sheds light over us and illuminates the whole world, and warms us with his heat and on a time that he wishes, he goes away from us until the following day.'
- 35 When the king was lying down in the middle of the night, behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to him in great glory with his sword unsheathed in his hand and he said to the king, threatening: 'Have you recognized me?'
- 36 Then the king said to him with anxiety and great fear: 'No, o my lord I did not recognize you, but I ask you humbly, o my lord, do not put me to death with this sword that is in your hand, because my body became frightened when I saw you, and my spirit almost left, out of fear for you, because I have never seen anybody that looks like you in your appearance full of glory. I ask you, o my lord, that you tell me who you are amongst the gods that belong to the entire earth, because when I saw you with the great glory (5v) that surrounds you, I was frightened and my strength fled away from me and it was very close that my soul almost departed from me. I beg you that you will not put me to death, but if you leave me and tell me who you are, whatever you order me, I will

⁵⁶ Cf. 1 Jn 2:15-17.

do with a kind and joyful heart, o my lord.'

- 37 Then the archangel Gabriel said to him: 'I am not a god as you think about me, but I am a servant of the great King, in whose pure hands lies the soul of everyone. He who gives the kingship to whom He wants and appoints kings at every time.⁵⁷ If you want to live now and not die, then, when you wake up early in the morning, send Aūr to the country of Egypt and give him timber that does not become rotten. Give him this magnificent timber, which is in the palace of your father, and give him precious stones and everything he needs for the building of my church. If you do what I order you, your kingdom will remain and stand. I am Gabriel the archangel; and know that you, when you become slack and you do not send him to finish my church, I will certainly put you to death. But send him immediately.'
- 38 The archangel went out of his chamber⁵⁸ and entered into the queen's chamber⁵⁹ and he said to her all these words.
- 39 The following morning the king woke up and entered quickly the queen's [chamber] and told her how the archangel Gabriel had come to him and made him feel anxious because of Aūr.
- 40 Then the queen said to her son: 'Truly, o my son, he came also to me in this very appearance and he ordered me also with these words. So let us send Aūr now, o my son, to the country of Egypt and give him everything he chooses, because (6r) an earthly king is not able to oppose the King of Heaven, because he is the Lord of Lords and the King of all the earthly kings. And if this is His servant, he who appeared to us and filled us with fear to such an extent, then who is able to see the glory of His, and live.⁶⁰ So do not detain him but let us send him quickly with joy.'
- 41 When they woke up early, I mean the king and the queen, o my father Anbā John, they did as the archangel Gabriel had ordered them and they gave me a great quantity of timber and iron.
- 42 When I saw the magnificent timber that was in the palace given to me, I understood that the fear for the archangel Gabriel was the reason that it was given [to me], and at once I hastened my self to write on it the name of the pure archangel Gabriel and I ordered that working with it should be good and thoroughly right.

⁵⁷ Cf. Dn 2:21; Rom 13:1.

⁵⁸ Went out of his chamber: lit. *went out away from him*.

⁵⁹ Entered into the queen's chamber: lit. *entered into the queen*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ex 33:20.

- 43 As to the queen, she gave me much gold and said to me: ‘How do you build, o my son?
And what will be the width of the church in its construction?’
- 44 Then I answered her, saying: ‘In accordance with the line of the width that the
archangel Gabriel made with his staff, which he holds in his hand.’ Then I said to her: ‘I
build with soft bricks and clay only.’
- 45 Then she said to me: ‘No, o my son, rather take with you a lot of gold and burn the
bricks and build with plaster. And bring it well to perfection as the man whom I saw
deserves, because the glory that surrounds him is magnificent.’
- 46 After this, o my holy father, I rented two ships and carried aboard everything that they
had given to me and truly, the one with the face overflowing with joy, the archangel
Gabriel, smoothed my way and led me on the sea and the dangerous⁶¹ waves.
- 47 Gabriel also saved me (6v) from many evil things and rescued me from all the tricks of
the devil, because he is my helper.
- 48 I call to you upon God as witness for me, o my father, that I saw with my [own] sinful
eyes the archangel Gabriel embarking the ship with us in order to rescue us from the
depths of the waters and from the dangerous⁶² winds, until we arrived at the borders of
the land of Egypt.
- 49 When we anchored at the harbour of Egypt, I did not find ships that I could rent, so I
became troubled from all sides. After one week and not having found a ship, one of the
sailors who had come with us, became annoyed, and he threw the timber on land, and
they⁶³ left for their country.
- 50 But I, I was very afraid because of the goods that were with me, [hoping] that not a thief
would ruin me and that they would kill me, because of these [goods] and take these
[goods] away.
- 51 Then I rose up and walked alone along the coast of the sea, [hoping] that I would
perhaps find a ship, so I inquired and I saw the archangel Gabriel walking in front of me
to save me while I was moving on the wasted deserted road. And Gabriel saved me
from the tricks of thieves. Gabriel, too, presented to me ships, and I rented these and
carried the timber and the stones aboard.
- 52 When we went upstream a distance of two days travelling on the river, a huge storm
struck us and the ships almost sank. When I remembered the pure archangel Gabriel and

⁶¹ Dangerous: lit. *difficult*.

⁶² Dangerous: lit. *difficult*.

⁶³ They: possibly the crew.

I cried out to him, he saved me.

- 53 Who is able to describe the mighty works and the miracles that he performed with me and the healing (7r) he gave to the sick on the way, I mean the greatest of the archangels, the pure Gabriel?
- 54 This is what I have seen with my [own] eyes and I witness this with my [own] eyes in front of God.
- 55 It happened when we anchored at the harbour of the city of the kingdom, which is called Miṣr⁶⁴ and in the language of the Greek Babylon, we stayed there one week while the sailors waited for the wind.
- 56 And then, a great prince of the king came passing by the harbour and he looked and saw the most magnificent timber, on which the name of the pure archangel Gabriel was painted [and] which the king had given to me.
- 57 The prince said to the sailors: 'Throw the timber on land', he wanted to take it to his house because of its beauty. And the sailors were afraid and they threw the timber on land. The prince stood up in his ignorance and his harshness and he assembled many of the men, and they carried it and took it to his house. And his servants and everybody who was in his house assembled all together to see the beauty of the timber and its sublimity.
- 58 He had a daughter and her age was then ten years and she was his only one, he was not blessed with children except her. So she came also to see the timber and she was glad with it like Aūr was.
- 59 Like it was written in the holy books, so it was the case.
- 60 The father of the daughter was Amūrānī and her mother was Kadāyibah. While the women stood with each other looking at the timber, God, He of the righteous judgments,⁶⁵ let the devil enter the girl, and he threw her down and she fell on the ground (7v) and she foamed immediately from her mouth.
- 61 Her family and her servants tore their clothes and carried dust on their heads.⁶⁶ As to her father and her mother, they wept bitterly and cried, when they saw the disgrace that happened to their daughter, and her mother wandered naked in the streets and the markets of the city, and many people followed her witnessing her nakedness and her

⁶⁴ Miṣr: *i.e.* Old Cairo or Babylon, see Gabra 1997, 80; actually, it comprised the quarters constructed before the Fatimid period, see Den Heijer 2011, 952; see also Zaborowski 2005, 65 nt. 70. About Cairo, see Raymond 1993.

⁶⁵ *Cf.* Rom 2:1-16.

⁶⁶ *Cf.* 2 Sm 13:19, 31; Jon 3:6, 8.

shame.

- 62 Then her father ordered his servants and they came hastily to me and arrested me and they jailed me in prison, saying: ‘You bewitched her and let the devil throw her down.’
- 63 Then I said to them: ‘It is not me, who is the performer of this matter to this girl, o ignorant men, but he, the archangel Gabriel, the owner of this timber, he let the devil enter the girl as a compensation for the evil and the ignorance that her father did.’
- 64 But they did not think about nor pay attention to my words at all, but they beat me very much.
- 65 Then I became very sad and said, while I was weeping: ‘O God of the greatest of the archangels, the pure Gabriel, do not dismiss me and do not forget me by inadvertence, in order not to die here and now, while the devil would say in himself: ‘I have already been superior to him’, like the beautiful word of the psalmist David,⁶⁷ and he would put a stop to the insignificant work I had in mind.
- 66 You know, o my lord, o pure archangel Gabriel, that I did not go by my initiative and of my own accord to the country of the East, but you ordered me, saying: ‘Go, I am with you.’
- 67 (8r) And now, o my lord and my good intercessor, o pure archangel Gabriel, Messenger of the ages of light, drive this devil out of this girl and cleanse her from this evil spirit, so that your name will spread and will be glorified in this entire city.’
- 68 And while I said⁶⁸ this, weeping, I heard a voice, saying to me: ‘Be firm and be strong, my sincere friend Aūr, do not be discouraged,⁶⁹ because by holding fast you will gain your lives.⁷⁰ And you, by many troubles⁷¹ will enter the Kingdom of Heavens,⁷² because of your former iniquities and your sins. As to the girl, she will be freed, and the name of my Lord and my true King, and my name, will be glorified in this city. And all the people will glorify you too, because of the name of my King and my name that is upon you. And you will become well-known, of good repute, by everyone.’
- 69 And immediately the devil who was in the girl, screamed while everybody heard him saying: ‘By the truth of the power of the great archangel Gabriel. If you do not return the timber to its place quickly, I will strangle this girl and I will kill her. And through

⁶⁷ Cf. Ps 13:4.

⁶⁸ Said: lit. *say*.

⁶⁹ Do not be discouraged: lit. *May your heart not be small*. Compare with Greek ὀλιγόφρονος and Coptic ⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲧ.

⁷⁰ By holding fast you will gain your lives: lit. *in your patience you possess your souls*, cf. Lk 21:19.

⁷¹ Troubles: lit. *damages*.

⁷² Cf. Acts 14:22.

- her, I will punish her father and her mother so that they die, because they deserve what has befallen them, because of their lack of faith in the pure archangel Gabriel.’
- 70 When her father and her mother and the rest of her women heard these words from the devil, they became very frightened; and all stood up and came to me in prison and they opened the door immediately and they let me out.
- 71 Then her father said to me: ‘I ask you (8v) do not blame me for my ignorance because I heard the book say: “An ignorant nation does not perish.”⁷³ I say to you, o my holy father, if you ask the archangel Gabriel on my behalf and he will heal my sick⁷⁴ daughter and drive this devil out of her and take away from before my face this great humiliation, I will return the timber to its place and I will give also fifty dinars to you and I will offer you two servants for the service of the pure archangel Gabriel to serve him all the days of their lives⁷⁵ and I will be grateful to you and to the pure archangel Gabriel all my life.⁷⁶
- 72 And immediately I made my heart strong and I took a little oil and I made the sign of the cross on it in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God, and I asked the archangel Gabriel to heal the girl, so that his name would spread over every place.
- 73 When I anointed the girl with oil, I saw with my [own] eyes that the evil spirit threw the girl down on the ground, wanting to kill her and he went out of her.⁷⁷ And everybody saw it and they praised God, saying: ‘We glorify you, o God, God of the pure archangel Gabriel, your pure name has spread to every place.’
- 74 When the man saw the greatness of the grace that came upon his daughter, he rejoiced and he hurried and ordered to carry the timber and bring it back to the ship again and he offered the two servants and the fifty dinars.
- 75 I accepted these and he sent the sailors back to me, being happy, and I searched the ship and I found the money that the queen had given to me (9r) safely in its place and its seal stamped on it.
- 76 When we prepared for the journey upstream at evening time, we heard the police-sergeant shout, saying: ‘Not one of the ships will travel to a place without the permission of the king. He who will be found violating and will leave, his ship and all

⁷³ Cf. Gn 20:4-7.

⁷⁴ Sick: lit. *weak*

⁷⁵ All the days of their lives: lit. *all their days*.

⁷⁶ All my life: lit. *for the length of my time*.

⁷⁷ Cf. Mt 17:14-18; Lk 9:42.

his possessions will be taken by force to the treasury of the kingdom, and he will be put in prison until he dies from hunger and thirst.'

- 77 When the sailors heard that, they became very frightened and they said to me: 'O our beloved brother, we are not able to go upstream to the south.'
- 78 The matter was difficult for me and my heart became painful from all sides. While I was lying down at midnight, I saw a vision like two luminous eagles standing with their wings full of incense⁷⁸ and they went on the ships and they traveled upstream.
- 79 I smiled while I was in the vision and I said: 'If only this were true.' When I woke up from the vision early, I was happy and wished to tell the seamen about the vision I had seen.
- 80 When we raised our eyes to see the light, we thought that we were at the place of the anchorage of the ships, as if we were in the city of the kingdom. But we saw the two ships sailing by themselves without wind and without sail.
- 81 The seamen were amazed and they looked around to know the place at which we had arrived on our own, by ourselves. We had already reached south of Helwan on a distance of six miles, and all the passengers on the two ships were amazed, saying: 'God is one, the Almighty Father, and the power of the intercession (9v) of his pure archangel Gabriel, to Him be glory for ever and ever, amen.'
- 82 Who is able to describe the mighty works and the miracles which are [those] of the pure archangel Gabriel except one, namely the Holy Spirit. Let us be attentive to him always. How should I honour you as you deserve, o pure archangel Gabriel, with my tongue of flesh.
- 83 Listen also, o my beloved [ones], to this great miracle that happened from the side of the pure archangel Gabriel.
- 84 One of the seamen who worked on the ship on which we were passengers, had a stiff hand. And because of the lack of his ability, his fellow seamen were jealous of him and reproached him many times and they said: 'Why are you not working⁷⁹ while you get the wage as one of us?' But he, because of his poverty and his anguish and [thinking of] his children and his family, and because of his misfortune and his wretchedness, he said [to himself]: 'Have patience with their reproach', I mean his fellow seamen who reproached him, so that he would win the livelihood of his children, with difficulty.

⁷⁸ The Arabic *nadd* or *nidd* is a kind of incense of aloes wood, with ambergris, musk and frankincense, see Wehr 1994, 1115.

⁷⁹ Why are you not working: lit. *why did you not work*.

- 85 Then God showed mercy on his misery and at the same time He wishes a glorification to the greatest of His archangels, the pure Gabriel, and that his name would spread to every place.
- 86 Then the man whose hand was stiff, said to me: ‘O my father, I want you to tell me about this timber and these stones that you brought with you over this distance, so that you carried it from the country of the East to the country of Egypt. Behold, I see that you made (10r) very much an effort for it. What will you do with it and to which place will you bring it, I want you to tell me that also.’
- 87 Then I said to him: ‘I am carrying it to the holy mountain of Naqlūn in order to finish the building of the church of the pure archangel Gabriel, because he saved me from death many times and I ask God and His pure archangel Gabriel to help me, so that I may finish what I have started with, with joy.’
- 88 That man, whose hand was stiff, it was God’s will to heal him, he (the man) said to me: ‘If the archangel Gabriel was with you on every place and in everything, I too believe that he will not send me back into my misery.’⁸⁰
- 89 After that, he took up for himself great faith and he prayed as follows, saying: ‘O God of the pure archangel Gabriel, look at me and at my humiliation and at my misery and at my children, and heal me from this illness that is with me, and take away from me my shame toward my companions and my neighbours, because I am miserable more than all the people. By the truth of⁸¹ the greatness of your power, o my lord, o archangel Gabriel, if you show mercy upon me and your mercy comes upon me and you heal me from the pain of this stiff hand, I will come to your church twice every year, and that which the Lord makes possible for me because of my misery, I will give it to Him as an honour to your church as a recompense for the grace you performed for me and the children.’
- 90 Immediately the man rose up and embraced the magnificent timber on which the name of the archangel Gabriel was written, and he kept (10v) his stiff hand on the writing and he said with faith: ‘I believe with all my heart, o my lord, o pure archangel Gabriel, that you possess the strength to do all, by the power of the Lord.’
- 91 And he said: ‘I know that I am unworthy to see your person and your pure brightness because of the plenitude of my many sins, but I believe that by putting my hand on this timber, this on which your pure name is written, that health will come upon me through

⁸⁰ Cf. Mk 3:1-5.

⁸¹ The expression *وحي* (by the truth of) usually introduces an oath.

you. But o my lord, o archangel Gabriel, do not disregard me nor forget me, because I have just thrown my entire sorrow on you. And to you is the intercession and to God be the glory for ever, amen.’

- 92 And immediately the timber produced an enormous sound, so that everyone said that the arm of the man was broken.⁸²
- 93 Then the man felt the grace that came upon him and he stretched his hand and it was just healed. And we all saw and it had become straight like the other, as if it had not been stiff at all.
- 94 As to the man who had been cured, he thanked God and his pure archangel Gabriel, because he fulfilled for him his request. And he worked well, like his fellows, without a slip and without complaint. And the group of passengers with us on the ship was very much frightened and they wondered by themselves about what had happened.
- 95 As to me, I was most of all happy and I said in my heart that God remembered me and smoothened my way and enabled me to see the mighty works of his pure archangel (11r) Gabriel.
- 96 Very great are the mighty works and the miracles that I saw with my eyes, o my pure fathers. The archangel Gabriel performed these for all the sick who asked him with all their hearts.
- 97 Truly, we have been worthy of great grace, o blessed people, because the archangel Gabriel qualified us to be his spiritual children on earth and in heaven, because [of] the grace that came upon us, sinners.
- 98 Great is it, because we have been worthy to be called out of everyone as children of the two greatest of the archangels, Michael and Gabriel.
- 99 And I believe that they both intercede for us with God the Almighty Father, so that He will be merciful for us on the great⁸³ day of the judgment.⁸⁴
- 100 Listen also to this miracle that happened through the pure archangel Gabriel, the glorified and honoured.
- 101 There was also a man aboard the other ship that was going with us. He was captain over the two ships on which the timber of the church was carried while he could see with one

⁸² The arm of the man was broken: lit. *the arm of the man became two*.

⁸³ Great: lit. *greatest*.

⁸⁴ Cf. Mt 12:36; Rom 2:5; 2 Cor 5:10; Rv 20:12.

eye only⁸⁵ from his youth onwards. He had much pain in his heart because of the humiliation from those who looked at him and he was very rich.

- 102 This man, when he saw the grace that came upon his companion the sailor, said also with firm confidence: 'If God feels compassion for me (11v) by the intercession of his pure archangel Gabriel, He remembers my misery and my weakness, and He gives light to my eye, this blind one, and I see his power like my comrade, I will give twenty five dinars for His church, and I will drop also the fare of these two ships as a recompense for the good that He will do to me.'
- 103 Then he stood up and he took up for himself a great firm faith and he laid his face down on the timber and he said: 'Me too, I believe, that, like recovery was given to my friend from this timber on which your pure name is written, o my lord the pure archangel Gabriel, that you have the power to give me also the light. Do not decline me, o my lord, and do not forget me. Because I have just thrown upon you all my sorrow and upon God. Listen also to me today, o archangel Gabriel, while I am shouting to you, may your grace and your mercy come upon me, me too, like it came upon my friend, and grant me light to my eye again, because nothing is difficult for you through your Lord to whom is the glory and the exaltation for ever and ever, amen.
- 104 While the man was saying this, he felt the grace of the healing that moved little by little to him. He jumped immediately, being happy [and] joyful, and his eye was filled with light like the other. And immediately he shouted with a loud voice praising God (12r) and the greatest of his archangels, the pure Gabriel.
- 105 The people asked him: 'What happened to you?' He said: 'I saw a heroic man girded with a golden belt and in his hand a luminous spiritual mirror on which letters were written. He laid it on my face and on my eye saying: 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God, who opened the eyes of the born blind in that time in which He was in the world.⁸⁶ Like this, may your eyes also be opened, you too.' And immediately I could see,⁸⁷ and behold, you see me and I see the grace of God and the intercession of his pure archangel Gabriel, like that eye has not been ill at all.'
- 106 When the crowd looked at the man whose eye was filled with light like the other and he was standing testifying to all the people that Gabriel [had] granted light to his eye, they were amazed, they also and they said: 'Truly, great is your dignity, o pure archangel

⁸⁵ He could see with one eye only: lit. *he was with one eye*.

⁸⁶ Cf. Mc 8:22-25; Jn 9.

⁸⁷ I could see: lit. *I saw*.

Gabriel, because through dry timber on which your name is written, you perform all these mighty works. If it were the writing of your name only by which these signs and these miracles were performed, then there is no measure for what will happen in your pure church that will be built in your name and they will be innumerable, because of the great number of recoveries and healings (12v) that will happen in it. We too, we ask you with humility, o bearer of the message of the ages of light, ask the Lord Christ for us, that He may do unto us mercy on the day of the righteous judgment.'

- 107 When I looked at the entire group of people that was amazed about the miracle that had happened, I watched the man who could see and he said: 'I perceived a hand on which were written some words that were laid on my eye. Then I could see. I knew truly that those written lines were the name of the pure archangel Gabriel.' So I rejoiced and jubilated when I heard the name of my lord the archangel Gabriel.
- 108 It was spread to every place and it was on the tongues of all the people, old and young, and they said: 'Glory to you, o God the Almighty Father and to your only Son, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, the Consubstantial, and dignity to your pure archangel Gabriel, performer of the miracles through your power and through his intercession to you.'
- 109 Then I prayed from the bottom of my heart, saying: 'O God of the pure archangel Gabriel, listen to the sound of my request when I call you. You too know, o my lord, o pure archangel Gabriel, that I was adhering to you with all my heart. I wish, o my lord, that you show me the secret of this timber, this on which your pure name (CM 6421 15r) is written, and any place you choose I shall build it in your pure church, because I rejoiced very much when I saw all these mighty works that you are performing now. O my intercessor, do not disregard me.'
- 110 When it was midnight the pure archangel Gabriel came to me in a vision and he said to me: 'Peace be with you, o Aūr, man of God, the truly brave one, I just came to know that you laboured more than all your brothers. But I asked my true King Jesus on your behalf and He already has forgiven you all your sins. And you shall be priest for my church and not only my church, but over many churches [that belong] to Christ.
- 111 Why do you ponder in your heart about the mighty works that you have seen happen by this timber on which my name is written? Don't be amazed about this, o Aūr, but rather be amazed that I make a great sign in this timber for ever: every man who comes to my church whether he is an authority, a governor or a vizier, rich or poor, or as carriers,

- everyone who comes in a good or bad [situation], I will make the sound of this timber a sign for those who do not believe, until the end of the generations of the earth. And everyone who comes to my church with faith, I will give them healing, most of all those who are possessed by the devils.⁸⁸
- 112 This timber, divide it (CM 6421 15v) into four pieces and make these carry the church. The piece on which my name is written should carry the northern gallery, because the representation of my picture will be there and will heal the sick. This timber will continue to make a sound for ever [and] it will frighten the devils and it will drive these out as a humiliation for Satan⁸⁹ and his armies and as a glory to God my King.’
- 113 When he said this to me, the archangel Gabriel went away from me while he bade me to fulfill what he ordered me.
- 114 After that God smoothened my way and sent to us the north wind and it remained until al-Lāhūn, which was made by Joseph.⁹⁰
- 115 The sailors took the timber and the stones out on shore, and the captain of the two ships gave me twenty five dinars and exempted us also from the fare of the two ships and they went in peace.
- 116 Also the man whose hand was stiff and who had been healed, gave me on his turn two dinars and they left, while they glorified God, thanking the pure archangel Gabriel for the grace that befell the two of them.
- 117 As to me, I ordered the two servants that the prince had given to me, to stay on that place in order to guard the gold and the stones, and I came to your fatherhood on the mountain of Naqlūn.
- 118 This is what I have seen with my eyes, and all that happened to me on the way, I have told you without any alteration whatsoever.’
- 119 As to me, your brother John, when I heard this from [...]
- 120 (CM 6417 14r) [...] and he made the sign of the cross with the myron⁹¹ and the entire congregation chanted psalms and songs of praise.
- 121 When he read the Gospel after all the parts proper for the consecration and poured out

⁸⁸ Who are possessed by the devils: lit. *in whom the devils are*.

⁸⁹ Satan: here the Arabic word *Iblīs* is used, which is one of the names for Satan. It is likely a corruption of the Greek word δίαβολος, see Rippin 2002. In this study the Arabic word *Ṣayṭān* is generally used to refer to Satan.

⁹⁰ Al-Lāhūn: village situated at the entrance of the Fayyūm. The water supply is regulated at al-Lāhūn by a system of locks and sluices, called *Haḡar al-Lāhūn*, built according to tradition by Joseph, son of Jacob. See Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206; Timm 1984-1992, 3:1485-1486.

⁹¹ Myron: chrism, holy oil used in Coptic church for anointing new Christians, at the Baptism, Confirmation and consecration of the church, the altar and other liturgical objects.

the myron over the altar, I, John, was standing astonished and amazed about the enormous grace that I had inherited unlike my fathers, and I lifted up my eyes thanking and praising God and the greatest of His archangels Gabriel who enabled me to see the completion of his holy church and the day of its consecration without me being worthy of it.

- 122 While my eyes were lifted and I was saying in my heart: ‘I thank You, o my Lord Jesus Christ, with Your Good Father and the Holy Spirit, because You have enabled me to see the happiness of the church of the archangel Gabriel and the salvation of your people and the habitation of the pure mountain of Naqlūn;’ and while I begged from the bottom of my heart, I saw with my [own] sinful eyes our Lord Jesus Christ and His Mother the Virgin and Michael and Gabriel and an innumerable gathering of archangels; and our Saviour sitting on the glorious throne in the middle of the sanctuary and the cherubim and the seraphim around His throne at the place of holiness.
- 123 And I looked also at the angels, and I saw a crowd of bodily [creatures], nobody could describe their garments and the great glory that surrounded them while they too were standing (14v) around the altar at the place of holiness.⁹²
- 124 Immediately I regarded searchingly at the saints, [to see if] perhaps I would recognize one; and because of the joy that was in my heart I looked very attentively and I saw one of them who looked like our spiritual father Anbā Abraham, he who had been to me a guide unto God and to the virtuous life which is monasticism.
- 125 I was not able to speak to him because of the plenitude of great glory that surrounded him and I said [to myself] that because of the plenitude of my numerous sins he did not make it possible for me to speak with him, and my heart was not very certain towards him⁹³ that he was my father Abraham, but I was thinking that I truly knew this man, like this in Christ, but in the body I do not know, but God knows best.
- 126 While I was thinking about this, behold, a voice came to me from the luminous man, saying: ‘Blessed are you, o John, my son, because you were worthy to see the ripening of the vine of the Lord Sabaoth, which was planted in the Land of Promise and the paradise of the land of Egypt, which is the mountain of Naqlūn. On this day, o John, the prophecy of our fathers about you is fulfilled on this mountain, which they prophesied many times about you and about this church that belongs to the archangel Gabriel and behold, I saw the accomplishment of everything.’

⁹² Cf. Rv 7:13-15.

⁹³ My heart was not very certain towards him: meaning possibly that he was not sure of the saint’s identity.

- 127 Then I said to him: ‘Who are you, o my lord, in this great honour (13r) dressed in this great glory and these two brothers who are standing with you, these to whom I am not able to speak?’⁹⁴
- 128 And he said to me with joy: ‘You did not recognize me, o John, who I am?’ And I said: ‘No, o my lord, I did not recognize you.’
- 129 Then he said to me: ‘I am Abraham, your father, and these others whom you see with this great glory surrounding them, these are the saints who have lived on this mountain. These two old men whose vestments are white while they are standing around the throne, which is the holy altar, and on them these white headdresses,⁹⁵ they are the two blessed elders living on this mountain, Anbā George and Anbā Isidore, his father, the two who are dressed in the pure habit by the great star clothed with Christ,⁹⁶ the great Antony, he who laid upon us also all the monastic rules.
- 130 And these others again whom you see in this great glory, they are the martyrs who shed their blood in the name of Christ the Lord on this mountain.’⁹⁷
- 131 And this other prince girded with this golden belt, that is Urabius who came upstream and by the will of God saw the great glory that surrounded the saints, whereupon he wished to become like them, so he hastened to confess Christ the Lord⁹⁸ in front of the governor, that He is the Son of God. Then he seized him and he did not let him go upstream, but he condemned him together with all the saints, and they were approximately three hundred twenty four souls (13v). Because of this, Christ made him head over all of them and Christ the Lord gave him the power to be with the two great archangels who surround this entire mountain and guard it and all the inhabitants on it, day and night.
- 132 I let you know this, o John, that likewise I heard the Saviour promise to the two pure great archangels Michael and Gabriel that no crisis, no epidemic, no calamity, no want

⁹⁴ Cf. Rv 7:13-14.

⁹⁵ Headdresses: the text gives البراجيج which is the plural of البرجوج, a Copto-Arabic word, most probably derived from the Coptic ⲙⲁⲣⲭⲱⲭⲉ, which is probably a kind of scarf worn by monks, see Crum 1939, 184 (see also under πορκ 268a). See also Innemée 1992, 101, 121, who explains ⲙⲁⲣⲭⲱⲭⲉ as a headdress and πορκ as scapular. For an article and a bookreview on Innemée, see Coquin 1992 and 1994a. The word البرجوج also occurs in the *Life of Pachom*, see Amélineau 1889, 630. (Note that the editor interpretes البرجوج as a writing error (see nt. 1) and corrects it in البرجود, explaining it as: usually a streaky garment, and in his text as a simple loincloth.) (For برجد - a streaky woolen garment, see Hava [1951] 1982).

⁹⁶ Cf. Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27.

⁹⁷ Cf. Rv 7:14-15

⁹⁸ Cf. Mt 10:32-33; Rom 10:9-10.

of rain, no hunger, no thirst, no war, no plague will have power over this mountain for ever, nor over its inhabitants, by the prayers of the two archangels Michael and Gabriel, who offer these up on our behalf night and day; and the bones of these holy martyrs who dwelled on it, and their prayers and their relics; and the blessing of the great Antony; and most of all the blessings that spoke our Saviour with His divine mouth over it (the mountain) on the day of the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel and the disciples who walked with Him.

- 133 Further, o my son John, trust in all the words I have spoken to you, because this is true. Order your sons to be firm, all of them, because the blessing of the Lord and His saints will not leave this mountain and will not go away from it until the end of times.
- 134 And because you saw us today here, the Son of God called us and His angels to consecrate the church of the archangel Gabriel. Not only us alone, but our Lord Jesus Christ and His Mother the Virgin (CM 6421 16r) and thousands of angels and archangels and cherubim and seraphim whom He brought with Him in order to consecrate the church of the Bringer of the glad tidings of the ages of light, Gabriel.
- 135 And behold, I already witnessed our Lord Jesus Christ sitting on the throne of His glory in the middle of the dome while this whole crowd surrounding Him glorifies Him with His good Father and the Holy Spirit.
- 136 And behold, He has already consecrated it first in secret⁹⁹ and the father the bishop also consecrated it visibly, and he appointed this day as a commemoration for you and for your sons for ever, on which they will celebrate with spiritual songs of praise and glorifications and passing the nights awake with psalms, and praise and glorify God¹⁰⁰ and the greatest of His archangels, Gabriel.
- 137 And don't let anyone hesitate to come to the church on the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna, because Michael and all the angels will come to celebrate with their companion Gabriel, because of the honour of his church and its pure consecration, and he will bless his spiritual sons and everyone who comes to his pure church.'
- 138 Then the father the bishop Anbā Isaac consecrated the church in great splendor and brightness and indescribable glory while the group of the priests and the deacons assisted him and our Lord Christ also consecrated it in secret and Michael and Gabriel

⁹⁹ He consecrated in secret: this should be interpreted as follows: the consecration performed by Jesus Christ Himself takes place in the vision as a heavenly ceremony, and is by its nature invisible except for chosen ones, like the monk John.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16.

and the ranks of the saints, all who came with Him praised and sanctified and glorified His godliness.

- 139 (CM 6421 16v) Then the father the bishop offered the Eucharist and he administered communion to all the people and he preached to them with his comforting words and he gave them peace and everybody left for his home while they were amazed in their hearts about the greatness of the honour of the church of the archangel Gabriel and his overwhelming mighty works. And our Lord Jesus Christ administered Communion to the saints and the martyrs and our spiritual fathers, who are Anbā Abraham and George.
- 140 This one,¹⁰¹ who was a perfect example for us in every thing,¹⁰² he is worthy to be mentioned, I mean, this blessed elder, and most of all on the day of his death which is the fourth of the month of Barmūda, and Anbā Isidore, his father, that elder is also blessed in his conduct of life.
- 141 Then our Lord Jesus Christ ascended to the heavens with all the saints, and He performed in the church a great luminous miracle, which healed from all diseases, and the Lord promised the archangel Gabriel, saying: ‘Every person who comes to this church with faith, while they suffer from all [kinds of] diseases, I will give them health, and those with evil spirits. And this grace will be in abundance in this church, more than many churches in the land of Egypt.’
- 142 And a year after¹⁰³ the consecration of the church, the Lord visited my father Anbā Isaac, whereupon he died in good old age, pleasing to God very much.
- 143 So all the notables of the city and the grandees of all places assembled and they took with them the priest Aūr and they went to Alexandria to the holy patriarch truly clothed with Christ¹⁰⁴ Anbā Timothy who came after ... (end of second folio CM 6421)

Here the text breaks off.

4. Narrative structure

The abovegiven text appears to be quite different from the story of St. Aūr’s life as represented in the *Naqlūn homily*. The difference concerns not only contents and style, but the structure as well. In order to find out to what extent and in what way both texts differ, use has been made of narratology, the theory of narratives, that helps to understand, analyse and

¹⁰¹ This one: refers to George, see §129.

¹⁰² Who was a perfect example for us in every thing: lit. *who put for us the perfection of every thing*.

¹⁰³ And a year after: lit. *and after the completion of a year since*.

¹⁰⁴ Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27.

evaluate narratives.¹⁰⁵ The narrative structure of *The Journey of St. Aūr* becomes especially clear through the role of the narrator who speaks in the first person throughout this text and who appears for the first time in §13. Few lines further, in §18, the narrator speaks about himself, telling that he serves in the church. Apparently, he plays a role in the story, which makes him a character bound narrator.¹⁰⁶ A few lines further the narrator tells the story in a vivid way by making Aūr himself speak in direct speech about his journey to his homeland and back to the Fayyūm (§21-§118). In §21 Aūr speaks to *us*, he tells his adventures to a group of people including the narrator. The words *o my holy fathers* in §21 and *o my pure fathers* in §22 show that the public consists of a group of monks. Apparently, the character bound narrator is also a monk. The adventures told by Aūr form itself a complete story. It is a story on a second level, a so-called embedded story in the framework of the primary story,¹⁰⁷ told by the monk, thus far indicated as ‘me’ or included within the ‘us’. Aūr plays himself a role in this embedded story, he is the character bound narrator on the second level.

A few lines further in the text the identity of the narrator of the primary story is revealed, when Aūr addresses him by his name John (§41). This John tells the story in which Aūr as the character bound narrator reports about his adventures. When Aūr has finished relating his adventures (§118), the narrator John turns up once more and resumes the story, again speaking in the first person, thereby demonstrating that actually it was he who has been telling the foregoing story (§119). Unfortunately at this point in the text the manuscript lacks an unknown number of folios. After this gap, the story is resumed by a person ‘I’ whose identity is revealed as the same monk John in the following line (§121). He is now telling about the consecration of the church, during which he sees a vision (§122), in which several holy persons appear to him (§124-§137). In the last line John mentions again Aūr, who meanwhile has been ordained priest.

Summarizing the above, *The Journey of St. Aūr* as far as it is available, contains a story told by the monk John as the character bound narrator of the first level. In this primary story another story is embedded that is told by Aūr as the character bound narrator on the second level. Due to its incompleteness, the narrative structure of the entire text, including the prologue and the epilogue, remains in the dark.

Comparison of the narrative structure of *The Journey of St. Aūr* with that of the *Naqlūn homily*, shows important differences. The narrative structure of the *Naqlūn homily* is

¹⁰⁵ See Bal [1985] 1997, 3.

¹⁰⁶ See Bal [1985] 1997, 22.

¹⁰⁷ See Bal [1985] 1997, 52-53.

inconsistent and the role of Aūr as a character bound narrator in the embedded story on a second level is very limited.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to this, *The Journey of St. Aūr* has a consistent narrative structure, the story is told by the character bound narrator John right from the beginning, and within this narration the embedded narrator Aūr has a significant role. The relation between both texts will be discussed later in this chapter.

5. Characteristics of the text

Below the characteristics of *The Journey of St. Aūr* will be discussed, put in contrast with the *Naqlūn homily*. The following topics will be presented:

- a. *A note on the Middle Arabic language*
- b. *The archangel Gabriel*
- c. *The building and consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel*
- d. *The mountain of Naqlūn*
- e. *The timber*
- f. *The wall*
- g. *Construction of history: the names*
- h. *The aspect of time in the story of The Journey of St. Aūr*
- i. *The journey – geographical information*
- j. *Aūr's relations with the monks and his family*

5.a. A note on the Middle Arabic language

The features of the Middle Arabic language of the *Naqlūn homily* have been discussed elaborately in chapter IV. With respect to *The Journey of St. Aūr*, this linguistic study is limited to one remarkable fact only. The suggestion made by several scholars that the writing of the *tā' marbūṭa* without two dots as *-hā'* is used in absolute state and the writing of the *tā' marbūṭa* with two dots is used in construct state is attested in this text in the writing of the word *بيعة* (*bee'a*) (church).¹⁰⁹ The word *بيعه* without two dots on the *tā' marbūṭa* occurs 16 times which are all in absolute state. The word *بيعة* with two dots on the *tā' marbūṭa* occurs 6 times, which are all in construct state, namely in the expression *بيعة رئيس الملائكة غبريال* (the church of the archangel Gabriel).

¹⁰⁸ See chapter V, 3. *Structure*.

¹⁰⁹ See the discussion in chapter IV, Hb §23.

5.b. *The archangel Gabriel*

In this text, the archangel Gabriel plays an important role. A church is built and dedicated to him. This work is accomplished by Aūr, who was given the task by the archangel Gabriel himself (see §9, §10, §12, §27, §30, §37). The greatness and the nobility of the archangel Gabriel are demonstrated and made clear through the events that take place in the life of Aūr, especially during the journey he makes from his home country back to the mountain of Naqlūn, and through the task of building the church. Obviously, the text is written in honour of the archangel Gabriel. In this respect, *The Journey of St. Aūr* is similar to the *Naqlūn homily*. However, the difference is that in several instances in *The Journey of St. Aūr* the archangel Gabriel is put next to his companion the archangel Michael (§11), honouring them both, whereas the *Naqlūn homily* seems to limit the honour to the archangel Gabriel solely. Also in the middle of the text, in §97, Aūr calls himself and his audience the spiritual children of the archangel Gabriel, and in the following paragraph, they are the children of both the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Note that in §98 the archangel Michael is mentioned first. At the end of the text, in the vision seen by the monk John, the archangels are told to protect the mountain of Naqlūn (§131) and they are both presented as mediators (§11, §132) for the prayers of the inhabitants of the mountain of Naqlūn. Towards the end of the text (§137), when the consecration of the church is described, the monk John hears in the vision that the archangel Michael and all angels come to celebrate with the archangel Gabriel on 26 Ba'ūna. These lines give the impression that the archangel Michael has a certain role at the mountain of Naqlūn together with the archangel Gabriel.

The *Naqlūn homily* speaks also about the archangel Michael, but not exclusively in combination with the archangel Gabriel. He is mentioned in an appearance together with the Holy Virgin St. Mary and the archangel Gabriel (§60), and is called upon as a protector together with again the archangel Gabriel and the power of God (§184). These instances do not point at a particularly close relation between the archangel Michael and the mountain of Naqlūn. Yet, the *Naqlūn homily* does not exclude this idea either, but may be considered to be neutral in this respect.

5.c. *The building and consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel*

The central theme of *The Journey of St. Aūr* is the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel (§1). The archangel Gabriel himself gave Aūr the order to build this church (§9), which is confirmed several times (§10, §12, §27, §30, §37). When Aūr departs for his journey, he receives a blessing from the elders (§14). Then Aūr bids farewell to his brothers

and father John, who returns to his service in the church (§18). After his journey Aūr speaks to his brothers (§117) using the term ‘his fatherhood on the mountain of Naqlūn.’ Apparently, Aūr had been living as a monk together with his fellow-brothers in a monastic community. This situation is confirmed linguistically by the use of the words دیر (*dayr*: monastery or church of a former monastery), بيعة (*bē’a*: church), and كنيسة (*kenēsa*: church).¹¹⁰ The word دیر (*dayr*) (§26, §31) occurs next to بيعة (*bē’a*) (§1, §7, §9 etc.) and كنيسة (*kenēsa*) (§18) which makes its interpretation as ‘monastery’ preferable.

Moreover, the expression in §18 ‘his service in the church’, indicates that the brothers of this monastic community already had a church at their disposal. In this view, the construction of the church of the archangel Gabriel may be considered an enlargement of an existing monastic complex and the already present church was possibly dedicated to the archangel Michael, as may be inferred from §11 and §132 and §137, in which the two archangels are mentioned in relation to the mountain of Naqlūn.

The people living in the near vicinity were helping with the construction of the church (§17) and twice a year pilgrims visited the site on the occasion of a celebration most likely held in honour of the archangel Gabriel (§89). Apparently, the monastic settlement at the mountain of Naqlūn was a centre with a certain fame for the local people.¹¹¹

At the end of the text the church appears to be completed and is consecrated. The existence of a monastic community at Naqlūn is confirmed in this passage by referring to the habitation of the mountain of Naqlūn and to the holy monks and martyrs who had lived here in earlier times (§122, §129-§132).

A few external literary sources, already studied in the first chapter Context, confirm the existence of a monastic settlement at the mountain of Naqlūn in different periods, from about the ninth century to the fourteenth century.¹¹²

Comparing *The Journey of St. Aūr* with the *Naqlūn homily*, it appears that both texts agree in the central theme and in the fact that Aūr receives the task for the construction of the church. The *Naqlūn homily* does not explicitly refer to the presence of a monastic community, but its existence may be inferred from the text in the reference to Aūr’s (spiritual) brothers (§201) and the elders of the monastery (§171) and the construction of cells and other structures (§201).

¹¹⁰ See for the use of these words chapter V, 3. *Structure*, and nt. 8.

¹¹¹ In the early years of the twentieth century pilgrims came to the church only once a year for a celebration, see Van der Vliet 2009, 440-441; Meinardus 1977, 155, 455; Viaud 1979, 4, 43. Meinardus and Viaud mention the festival of saint Ishāq (Isaac) al-Hūrīnī on 22 Barmūda at this monastery, which is unknown at present.

¹¹² See Context, 3.a. *The early sources*.

Likewise, the *Naqlūn homily* is unclear about how it conceives the construction of the church: is the building of the church a starting point for the settlement of a monastic community at the mountain of Naqlūn, or is it considered an enlargement of an already existing complex at this mountain? In §88 the *Naqlūn homily* speaks about the church of the archangel Gabriel to be built on ‘this rock’ as if it was the first building on the mountain of Naqlūn. A few lines further, the text gives a similar impression, that the founding of the complex had been started at the moment the construction of the church was begun, when the Holy Virgin St. Mary and the archangels Michael and Gabriel are told to mark off the exact places of the structures to be built (§90). However, the abovementioned elders of the monastery (§171) seem to refer to a group of monks already living in an existing community. And further on in the text, it is told that a monastic community came into being only *after* the building of the church had been completed and the consecration had taken place, and even *after* the ordination of Aūr as bishop of the Fayyūm (§201). With respect to the people helping with the building of the church, the *Naqlūn homily* writes that they came from the city of Fayyūm (§93, §139), which is at a considerable distance from the monastic site at the mountain of Naqlūn.

The passage about the consecration of the church is described in the *Naqlūn homily* in a few words without any reference to a vision seen by John (§191, §192). In this respect it may be interesting to draw attention to recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*, in which at the end of the text the church of the archangel Michael is mentioned explicitly.¹¹³ In this passage Aūr speaks with John about his journey to Jerusalem, where he met a priest named Samuel. This priest gives Aūr as a present a book dealing with the church of the archangel Michael. This raises the question whether there is a relation between *The Journey of St. Aūr* and recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*.

5.d. The mountain of Naqlūn

In John’s vision the mountain of Naqlūn is called the Land of Promise and the paradise of Egypt (§126). A few lines further, a prophecy is told about the mountain of Naqlūn (§132, §133) stressing its holiness brought about by the intercession of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the relics and prayers of the martyrs, the blessing of St. Antony and the Saviour and his disciples.

¹¹³ See chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*.

A nearly identical title and prophecy about this site are found in another text discussed in this study, namely *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn text*.¹¹⁴ In this text it is only the archangel Gabriel together with the Holy Virgin St. Mary who are regarded as mediators for the prayers. With respect to the *Naqlūn homily*, there is less similarity but a vague parallel may be found in the prophecy uttered by the archangel Gabriel to Aūr concerning the mountain of Naqlūn, when the construction of the church is completed, foretelling that many miracles shall appear in this church and many people shall visit this mountain (§182-§183). As mediators for the prayers of the visitors of the church, the *Naqlūn homily* ascribes this task to the archangel Gabriel (§178-§182), and further in the text (§184), it is again the archangel Gabriel, but here together with the archangel Michael.

5.e. *The timber*

The Journey of St. Aūr differs from the *Naqlūn homily* also in the importance given to timber. The timber, with which Aūr planned to build the church of the archangel Gabriel, plays a central role in the story. Apparently, it is of superior quality, given by the king and the queen from the palace in the country in the East (§37, §41-§42, §56-§57). When Aūr receives it, he immediately writes the name of the archangel Gabriel on it (§42). From that moment onwards miracles happen through this timber, directly or indirectly: a girl is freed from an evil spirit (§56-§73) and two men, one with a stiff hand and another with a blind eye, are healed (§90-§93; §103-§105). Moreover, the timber makes a sound when someone is healed by it (§92), as a sign for the unbelievers (§111) and with the aim of expelling the evil spirits (§112). Shortly before Aūr's arrival at the Fayyūm, the archangel Gabriel appears to him and orders him to divide the timber into four pieces, and to place these in the four corners of the church to support the building (§112). The piece of timber on which the archangel's name is written should be placed in the northern gallery of the church where the archangel's picture is represented (§112).

Apparently, timber plays a major role in *The Journey of St. Aūr*. In the Context, several literary sources are mentioned that report about some miraculous phenomenon happening in the monastery of Naqlūn or giving evidence of a certain relation between this monastery and the timber.¹¹⁵ In the *HCME* is referred to a pillar of marble, not wood, that sweats water.¹¹⁶ The Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, a slightly later source, writes that the timber in the roof of the

¹¹⁴ See chapter VIII, text and translation §13, §15 and §18.

¹¹⁵ See Context, 3. *Secondary literary and liturgical sources*.

¹¹⁶ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206.

church secretes water drops as an indication of the rise of the river Nile.¹¹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī reports that the monastery of Naqlūn is also called by the name ‘Dayr al-Ḥašaba’, which means ‘the monastery of the Beam’, but no explanation for this name is provided.¹¹⁸ In modern times the name ‘Dayr al-Ḥašaba’, or also ‘Dayr Abū Ḥašaba’, is still in use as one of the names attributed to this monastery.¹¹⁹ Besides this, at present a story is told about a piece of wood of the Cross of Jesus Christ that would be hidden somewhere in the church inside this monastery.¹²⁰

Summarizing, all external witnesses, although scarce in number, report about one or another striking feature by which the monastery of Naqlūn is characterized. The most obvious feature is the timber, appearing for the first time in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* and its importance for the monastery seemed to have remained during the following ages till present times.

A literary parallel may be found in the Biblical story about King Solomon who built a temple for the Lord God, for which he used lots of precious timber, brought from the Lebanon by ships.¹²¹ In this same book of the Bible it is told that a special amount of timber is brought on ships by the Queen of Sheba when she pays a visit to King Solomon, who used it also for the temple of God.¹²² The healing power of the timber may also be traced back to the Bible, in casu the healing power of the Cross of Jesus Christ, especially in a spiritual sense.¹²³ A passage contained in the legendary tradition developed around the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon,¹²⁴ lists several Biblical stories, in which wood plays an important role: God visited Abraham at the oak tree of Mambre,¹²⁵ God saved Isaac by means of the ram that was caught in the wooden twigs of a bush,¹²⁶ God made Jacob rich by means of wooden rods,¹²⁷

¹¹⁷ See Guidi 1907, 1⁵:523, 675-676. In the abovementioned *HCME*, the passage about Qift, p. 280-281, contains striking similarities with the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*: a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel situated at the top of a mountain and a pillar indicating the rise of the river Nile at the date of 26 Ba’ūna.

¹¹⁸ For the text in Arabic, see Sayyid 2002, 2:505; see also the appendix in Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 313-314, nr. 33.

¹¹⁹ Modern studies indicate that the roof and the ceiling of the church are made of timber, see for example Godlewski 2000a, 81. For wooden finds at Naqlūn, see Zieliński and Zych 2012. For the names of the monastery, see chapter V, 10. *History and religious landscape*; and Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

¹²⁰ At the occasion of my first visit to the monastery in the year 2000, the monk named Father ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, living in this monastery, knew a story about a beam of wood hidden in the church which would be a part of the Cross of Jesus Christ. A group of pilgrims was also visiting this monastery and the monk received the guests in a room and started telling about the history of the monastery. Unfortunately his words have not been recorded and he died in March 2007.

¹²¹ See 1 Kgs 5; 2 Chr 2.

¹²² See 1 Kgs 10:1-13; 2 Chr 9:1-12; Mt 12:42.

¹²³ See for example 1 Pt 2:24.

¹²⁴ See Colin 2002, 96-97; see also Budge [1922] 1932, 196-200.

¹²⁵ Cf. Gn 18:1.

¹²⁶ Cf. Gn 22:13.

¹²⁷ Cf. Gn 30:37.

God ordered to make the Ark of the Covenant of precious wood.¹²⁸ The miraculous power contained in the timber has a parallel in the homily on the archangel Gabriel attributed to bishop Archelaus, in which a pillar supporting the sanctuary secretes perfumed oil possessing healing power.¹²⁹ The timber does not play a role in the *Naqlūn homily* except for a single reference in recension β.¹³⁰ Below the reference as found in G is presented in translation:¹³¹

(G f. 216r-v) Then the queen approached and she gave him the beautiful timber and pitch and iron and many presents which they were to carry in the ships to the borders of the land of Egypt.

Apart from the timber, this passage mentions the ships by which Aūr would transport the timber to his monastery. This mention forms the third link with *The Journey of St. Aūr*, in which the ships have the role of transporting the timber and being the location for several miracles.

As has been shown above, the contents of *The Journey of St. Aūr* are quite different from the *Naqlūn homily*. However, both elements, the timber and the ships, in addition to the mention of the church of the archangel Michael already noticed above, are indications of a probable relation between recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* and *The Journey of St. Aūr*.

5.f. The wall

The Journey of St. Aūr also mentions a wall (§3). According to the text, the construction of the church is situated west of a wall that had been built there before the church. The exact location and function of this wall are not indicated. It could surround the monastic complex as a whole or it could be meant to protect the church only. The *HCME* also informs us about a wall that had been erected prior to the church belonging to the monastery of Naqlūn, and that the wall surrounds the church.¹³² Other external literary references to a wall in relation to this monastery have not been found, which does not mean that there *is* no wall, but only that there is no further evidence for its existence.¹³³

¹²⁸ Cf. Ex 25:10.

¹²⁹ De Vis [1929] 1990, 269.

¹³⁰ The reference occurs in mss. GUH, but is absent in ms. F f. 190v. See chapter II, 2. *The recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*.

¹³¹ The parallel passages in U f.19r; H f. 122v.

¹³² Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206. See also Context, 3. *Secondary literary and liturgical sources*.

¹³³ See for archaeological evidence for the presence of a wall: Godlewski 1993, 183.

The mention of a wall is absent from the *Naqlūn homily* in recension α, but it does occur in recension β, although in a different context.¹³⁴ Below the statement in question as found in recension β runs as follows:¹³⁵

(G f. 221r) And he (Satan) said: 'I am the one who threw the builder down from above the wall and killed him and I did all that in order to obstruct the building of the church.'

The explicit mentioning of a wall in recension β may be interpreted as another indication of a certain relation between this recension of the *Naqlūn homily* and *The Journey of St. Aūr*, in addition to the references to the church of the archangel Michael, the timber and the ships, as shown above.

5.g. Constructing history: the names

The Journey of St. Aūr is very explicit in the characters that play a role in the story and it contains a number of names of famous, less famous and unknown persons. The prince and his wife, whose daughter is freed from an evil spirit, are called Amūrānī and Kadāyibah (§60). Amūrānī is possibly derived from the Arabic root أمر (a m r) – one of its meanings is 'to become an emir (a prince)' and another meaning is 'to conspire'. Kadāyibah is possibly derived from the Arabic root كذب (k d b) – to lie. Both characters are depicted as opponents of the main character Aūr, which makes these explanations of their names very well possible. However, the exact origin and meaning of these names are unknown and they do not occur in any recension of the *Naqlūn homily*.

The name of the monk John appears for the first time in §41, where Aūr addresses him as 'my father John'. This John is the narrator, speaking in the first person (§13), a monk living on the mountain of Naqlūn together with other monks, serving in the church (§18), having the task of telling and recording the story (§118-§119). In §122-§141, John receives a vision in which several holy persons appear to him. One of them addresses him and refers to a prophecy spoken about John and the church, that is fulfilled (§126). Apparently, John is an important person for this monastery. Moreover, the prophecy puts John in direct relation with the construction of the church of the archangel Gabriel. According to the first episode of the text, Aūr is given the order to build the church (§9), but in this prophecy it seems as if it was John who had ultimately been responsible for this task. This finds a parallel in the text *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, in which an archon named

¹³⁴ See chapter II, 2. *The recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*. The edition (recension α-1) of the *Naqlūn homily* describes this situation without mentioning the wall in §167 and §175.

¹³⁵ The wall is mentioned in mss. GUH of recension β, see the reference in U f. 25v-26r; and H f. 130r. Ms. F misses here a folio (Coptic nr. 20, in between the Arabic folio numbers f. 196v and 197r).

John plays an important role in the development of the monastic settlement at Naqlūn and is requested to build a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel.¹³⁶ Further in the text of *The Journey of St. Aūr* the important position of John is confirmed by attributing to him the power to give orders to the monks who are ‘his sons’ (§133). John appears to have been a leading figure in the monastery. The role of the monk John in the *Naqlūn homily* is much less developed. He appears only at the end of the story as the narrator and the author of St. Aūr’s lifestory. He is described as ‘John the ascetic who is worshipping on the mountain of Naqlūn’ (§188, §202). Historically, it is difficult to identify a person named John from the Naqlūn. The name is very common. Probably, he was a monk of great fame living in the monastery of Naqlūn in a certain time. The text itself makes him a contemporary of St. Aūr.

According to the text, John is not the first monk who has been living in this monastery, but before him there were several other monks with a leading role, who may be called his predecessors (§126, §129, §139-§140). Abraham, George and Isidore are presented as fathers who had been living on the mountain of Naqlūn in former times (§129).¹³⁷ A monk named Abraham also occurs in *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, in the form of *Afrām*, which is derived from the name Abraham.¹³⁸ George’s celebration day at 4 Barmūda (§140) is not mentioned in the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium*.¹³⁹ Probably it was a celebration held locally in this monastery only. Both George and Isidore¹⁴⁰ had been dressed in the habit by the great St. Antony (§129). A parallel of the set of these two names occurs in *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, discussed in chapter VII. This *Life* reports that Isidore and George belonged to a group of hermits living at the mountain named al-Šarika,¹⁴¹ i.e. assumingly the mountain of Naqlūn,¹⁴² who had been dressed in the habit by their spiritual father St. Antony during his visit to this mountain.¹⁴³

In *The Journey of St. Aūr* St. Antony is told to have given the rules of monastic life to the monks of Naqlūn (§129). This is clearly a reference to the *Rule*, an undated document

¹³⁶ See chapter VIII, text and translation §15-§17, and the accompanying commentary.

¹³⁷ Graf (1944-1953, 1:473, nr. 2) mentions a life of Abraham and Georg composed by bishop Zacharia. These two were monks living during bishop Zacharia’s life time in the same monastery in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. According to Graf (1944-1953, 1:472), bishop Zacharia is probably identical with the Zacharia who is mentioned together with the 42nd patriarch Simon (693-700) in the History of the Patriarchs. This means that Zacharia, and also Abraham and George, lived in the 7th-8th century. There is no indication of a relation between these Abraham and George and the Naqlūn community.

¹³⁸ See chapter VIII, text and translation §8, §11. For a discussion of the variants of this name, see Den Heijer 2004, 54-57.

¹³⁹ For the date 4 Barmūda in the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium*, see Basset [1922] 1985, 284.

¹⁴⁰ The name Isidore occurs often, see for example Hasitzka 2007, 43.

¹⁴¹ See Anbā Abrām, bishop of the Fayyūm 2004, 137-140. Vocalisation of the name of the mountain is not certain. A mountain with this name does not occur in Timm.

¹⁴² See Anbā Abrām, bishop of the Fayyūm 2004, 137, nt. 60.

¹⁴³ See Anbā Abrām, bishop of the Fayyūm 2004, 138.

attributed to St. Antony that is addressed to the monks of the monastery of Naqlūn and contains rules and prescriptions concerning monastic life.¹⁴⁴ A similar reference to St. Antony and the *Rule* occurs in the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*.¹⁴⁵

In the *Naqlūn homily* only the names of Aūr and John occur. Names of other monks are not given. A mere general reference in the *Naqlūn homily* to monks who would have lived before Aūr's lifetime, may be found in Aūr's last words addressed to John (§203). He uses the term 'all my fathers', which is actually a very vague expression and does not necessarily point to monks of the local community at Naqlūn. The phrase 'leave on the path of all my fathers' in the same line may also be interpreted as a general expression used by any Christian on his deathbed.

In the heavenly vision is referred to a martyr named Urabius and a number of 324 martyrs who had shed their blood in the name of Christ on the mountain of Naqlūn (§130-§132).¹⁴⁶ Up till now, no other references to a martyr named Urabius and this specific number of 324 martyrs at Naqlūn have been discovered. The *Naqlūn homily* does not speak at all about any martyr who would have died at this monastery.¹⁴⁷

The available text ends with the name of Patriarch Timothy, the patriarch who would have ordained Aūr as bishop of the Fayyūm (§143). Here the text breaks off and forms the end of the last available folio dealing with *The Journey of St. Aūr*. The name of patriarch Timothy is the key to the period in which the *Life* of St. Aūr has been situated by the author. The text tells us that he came *after* something, *i.e.* after a person or an event (§143). The explicit mention of this person or event implies that it is considered to be of historical importance, confirming, stressing or clarifying the identity of Patriarch Timothy. In the history of the Coptic Church there have been three patriarchs with the name Timothy, all three

¹⁴⁴ See *Introduction to the present study*. 3.a. *The early sources*, and references.

¹⁴⁵ See chapter VII, 4.a. *St. Antony's vision on St. Aūr and Naqlūn*, §16 (text); 4.b. *St. Antony's vision on St. Aūr and Naqlūn*, §16 (trans.); and the commentary in 5.b. *St. Antony as spiritual father*; 5.c. *St. Antony's vision*.

¹⁴⁶ Graf's *GCAL* nor the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium* mention a holy monk Urabius of Naqlūn.

¹⁴⁷ The monastery of Naqlūn suffered persecution in several periods in its history. For martyrs of the Fayyūm who died under Diocletian and in 4th century, in particular St. Colluthus who is venerated as the patron saint of the city of Fayyūm, see Timm 1984-1992, 1:112-115. A martyr Naharua/Nahroou, commemorated at 7 Hātūr, originated from Pouēd in Fayyūm, and was martyred in Antioch by Diocletian, see O'Leary [1937] 1974, 207-208; Timm 1984-1992, 1:474-475. The *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* reports about persecution in the Fayyūm in the 7th century, see Alcock 1983, 9-10 (text), 83-84 (trans.). A note written by a deacon Joseph son of Macarius, dated to AD 1014 in a manuscript derived from the monastery of St. Macarius now kept in the Vatican, reports on the destruction of churches and monasteries in the Fayyūm on the order of al-Hākīm (died AD 1021), see White [1932] 1973, 2:345. The interior of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn is decorated with mural paintings representing several saints, among these seven warrior saints, such as St. Pichos, St. Mercurius, St. Claude, St. Theodore, and probably St. Georges, see Godlewski 2000b, 96-98. Their presence points at opposition and an enemy. Recently, during excavations several bodies were discovered showing marks of torture, but their identification is still uncertain, see Meinardus 2002, 53-56.

of them living before the sixth century.¹⁴⁸ The first Timothy, the twenty-second patriarch, occupied the See of St. Mark during the years 380-385 and he came after patriarch Peter II.¹⁴⁹ This Timothy was a great supporter of monastic orders and he is known to have recorded the lives of eminent monks, parts of which have survived through the work of the Byzantine historian Sozomen, who used these as literary sources.

The second patriarch with this name, Patriarch Timothy II, also called Aelurus, was the twenty-sixth patriarch of the See of St. Mark (457-460 and 475-477).¹⁵⁰ He was the successor to patriarch Dioscorus I and a fervent opponent of the conciliar decisions of Chalcedon.¹⁵¹ His literary activity was considerable and numerous works have been attributed to him.¹⁵²

Timothy III, the thirty-second patriarch of the See of St. Mark (517-535), is less famous in the Coptic Church.¹⁵³ He succeeded patriarch Dioscorus II.

This text refers most likely to Patriarch Timothy II, because of his great fame. The final line of the last folio of *The Journey of St. Aūr* could then be completed in the following two ways:

... who came after the holy patriarch Dioscorus.

or

... who came after the council of Chalcedon.

This assumption situates the story in the period of Timothy II's patriarchate, that is in the second half of the fifth century.¹⁵⁴

5.h. Aspects of time

The aspect of time is an essential element in the development of a story. In *The Journey of St. Aūr*, the public is informed three times explicitly about the duration of an event. At the arrival of the messengers, Aūr had been building at the church for a period of six months (§1). The *Naqlūn homily* speaks about only one month for this occasion (§104-§105).

A second indication of time is the period of Aūr's absence, which lasted one year and two months (§19). In the *Naqlūn homily* it is not stated how long Aūr has been absent, but the

¹⁴⁸ See the *History of the Patriarchs*, Evetts [1904] 1947, 1:424-425, 445, 451-455; see also Atiya 1991b: 1914-1915.

¹⁴⁹ Atiya 1991d.

¹⁵⁰ Spanel 1991.

¹⁵¹ See Blaudeau 1996.

¹⁵² See for example Boud'hors and Boutros 2001.

¹⁵³ Hardy 1991.

¹⁵⁴ According to archaeological investigations the period of foundation of the monastery would have taken place in the fifth century, see Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

text gives only unspecified information about this fact, like ‘after several days’ (§119), and ‘until he arrived’ (§136).

The third mentioning of time in *The Journey of St. Aūr* concerns the death of bishop Isaac, which happens one year after the consecration of the church (§142). The *Naqlūn homily* speaks again in vague terms about this event (§195).

Apparently, in all indications *The Journey of St. Aūr* differs from the *Naqlūn homily*, and in two indications *The Journey of St. Aūr* is more exact than the *Naqlūn homily*.

5.i. *The itinerary of the journey*

Aūr’s journey to the king and the queen mother in the country in the East is not specified (§16), but the description of the journey back to the mountain of Naqlūn contains exact information about the route he followed. He and his companions travelled by ship over the sea (§46) until they arrived at the harbour of Egypt (§48) where they anchored (§49). They continued their journey by sailing upstream a distance of two days (§52) and they anchored at the capital of Egypt (§55). They reached south of Helwan at a distance of six miles (§81) and they sailed further south to al-Lāhūn (§114). After they had anchored, they disembarked and went on land to the mountain of Naqlūn (§117).

The capital is indicated with its name in Arabic as well as in Greek, in Arabic *Miṣr* and in Greek *Babylon*. The Arabic name for the capital was in use since its foundation by the Arabs shortly after 642, and the name became more generally used from the thirteenth century when the city had expanded.¹⁵⁵ Because of the general use of this term from the Arab conquest onwards, it is hardly possible to attach any indication to it in assessing the date of the composition of the text.

The harbour of Egypt is situated according to the text at a distance of two days travelling by ship from Cairo (§49, §52, §55). This distance of two days makes it possible to identify the harbour as either one of the harbours located at the Red Sea or as Alexandria, of which the latter is more likely, because it is the well-known harbour of Egypt.

The journey led from north to south, upstream on the river Nile via Cairo and Helwan, to al-Lāhūn, the entrance of the Fayyūm.¹⁵⁶

The *Naqlūn homily* describes the journey in more general terms (§136). However, as already indicated in the section about the timber, recension β contains a passage in which is

¹⁵⁵ See Raymond 1993, 8, 111. See also Casanova 1901, 141-154.

¹⁵⁶ For al-Lāhūn, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1485-1486.

referred to the journey by ships to the borders of Egypt. A few lines further the journey by ships is mentioned a second time:¹⁵⁷

(G f. 216v) And so he (Aūr) departed from them (the king and the queen) and he carried everything he needed in the ships until he came to the borders of the land of Egypt. Then he carried these and brought these to the mountain of Naqlūn while the Lord protected him.

Although the reference to the journey is very brief, it may be taken as another indication of the above supposed relation between both the *The Journey of St. Aūr* and recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*, based on their communal features of the church of the archangel Michael, the timber, the wall and the journey by ships.

5.j. Aūr's relations with the monks and his family

As proposed above, the monk John seems to have had a leading function in the monastic community of Naqlūn, according to *The Journey of St. Aūr*. The relation between John (and the rest of the community) and Aūr may be inferred from the way they address each other (§20-§22, §41, §46, §48, §96, §117). John (and the other monks) address Aūr as 'our beloved son' (§20). Aūr addresses John as 'my father John' and the other brothers the monks as 'my fathers'. Apparently, Aūr considers himself the spiritual son of the community of monks living at the mountain of Naqlūn.

The *Naqlūn homily* gives only information about the relation between Aūr and John at the end of the text (§202-§204). Both Aūr and John address each other as 'my holy father'.

In *The Journey* the king is indicated as Aūr's uncle (§6), which implies that the queen mother is Aūr's grandmother. This situation is depicted in a similar way in the *Naqlūn homily* (§112, §122). Here a remark should be made about the fact that in *The Journey of St. Aūr* (§32, §34) Aūr and the king call each other 'my brother' and Aūr addresses the queen as 'my mother'. This is best explained as an example of the custom of addressing each other in any family relation with brother and mother, and also sister and father, a custom that is widespread in this region.

6. The Journey of St. Aūr and the Naqlūn homily

Both *The Journey of St. Aūr* and the *Naqlūn homily* deal with St. Aūr and the construction of the church at the mountain of Naqlūn, but the texts are very different in the

¹⁵⁷ See the parallel passage in U f. 19v; H 122v-123r. The mentioning is missing in F that lacks one folio here, see F f. 188v-189r, see also chapter II, 2. *The recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*.

way they report the facts. Below, the relation between both texts is studied from the point of view of textual history.

6.a. *The Journey of St. Aūr and recension α of the Naqlūn homily*

The divergent character of the two texts makes it unlikely that the folios containing *The Journey of St. Aūr* once belonged to one of the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily*. Moreover, none of the available manuscripts of the *Naqlūn homily* shows a gap of twelve folios, the number of folios containing the first episode.

For the same reason it is unlikely that the text of *The Journey of St. Aūr* fills a textual gap in the *Naqlūn homily*. This is demonstrated below by comparing *The Journey of St. Aūr* with the parallel passages of the *Naqlūn homily*. In the left column of the table the titles of the chapters of the *Naqlūn homily* are presented accompanied with the concerned numbers of the paragraphs. In the right column *The Journey of St. Aūr* is divided into a few passages of which the contents are summarized in one sentence, similarly accompanied with the paragraph numbers of the passages. The comparison begins where *The Journey of St. Aūr* starts, which is parallel to §105 of the *Naqlūn homily*, dealing with the arrival of the king's messengers at Naqlūn. The text of §1-§48 from *The Journey* runs parallel with §105-§139 of the *Naqlūn homily*. After this passage both texts seem to follow their own path. *The Journey* (§49-§119) gives a report of the miracles performed by the archangel Gabriel during Aūr's journey, whereas the *Naqlūn homily* (§140-§177) speaks about the opposition of satan against the building operations for the church. After §119 *The Journey* shows a gap of an unknown number of folios. The text restarts with the description of the vision of John that takes place after the completion of the church of the archangel Gabriel (§120-§137), a passage that is not found in the *Naqlūn homily*. Both texts approach each other again at the very end of *The Journey of St. Aūr*, after the description of the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel and the Eucharist (§138-§141), starting with the death of bishop Isaac (§142) followed by Aūr's ordination as bishop (§143), all of which is more or less parallel to §195-§201 in the *Naqlūn homily*. The sign - indicates a missing passage, the sign Ø indicates that this passage is absent and does not belong to the text.

Synoptic comparison of the Naqlūn homily (recension α) and The Journey of St. Aūr

§	<i>Naqlūn homily</i> (recension α)	§	<i>The Journey of St. Aūr</i>
1	Title		(An unknown number of folios in the beginning is missing) -

2-22	Prologue with eulogy on the archangel Gabriel		-
23	Introductory words		-
24-29	The country in the East		-
30-38	Aūr's birth in secret		-
39-47	Appearance of the archangel Gabriel		-
48-51	Aūr's discovery and his flight		-
52-59	Arrival at Naqlūn		-
60-62	Appearance of the Holy Virgin and the archangels Michael and Gabriel		-
63-79	Aūr's prayer		-
80-89	Confession of the Christian faith		-
90-94	Start of the building of the church		-
95-109	Searching for Aūr	1-5	... arrival of the messengers at the mountain of Naqlūn.
110-121	Aūr's journey back to his home country	6-26	Aūr's journey back to his home country
122-139	Aūr's return to the mountain of Naqlūn	27-48	Aūr's return to the mountain of Naqlūn
	Ø	49-117	Description of the miracles performed by the archangel Gabriel during the journey of Aūr back to the mountain of Naqlūn.
	Ø	118-119	End of Aūr's report told to John, and John starts speaking ... (<i>unknown number of folios is missing</i>)
140-157	Satan's first counteraction		-
158-177	Satan's second counteraction		-
178-194	Consecration of the church	120-126	... during the ceremony of the consecration of the church.
	Ø	122-137	Vision seen by John
	Ø	138-141	Consecration of the church and Eucharist
195-201	Aūr's ordination as bishop	142-143	Beginning of the passage on Aūr's ordination as bishop ... (<i>rest is missing</i>)
202-208	Aūr's death		-
209-216	Epilogue		-

As noted above, the character and the size of the two episodes of *The Journey of St. Aūr* and the large amount of overlap between both texts make clear that it is unlikely and actually

impossible to insert *The Journey of St. Aūr* at a certain place in (this recension of) the *Naqlūn homily*. It is more probable that *The Journey of St. Aūr* represents an independent development in the transmission of the narrative about St. Aūr and the building of the church at Naqlūn.

6.b. *The Journey of St. Aūr* and recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*

As already pointed out above, in recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* a series of motifs occur that suggest a certain relation between this recension and *The Journey of St. Aūr*. These motifs concern the second church, the timber, the ships on which the timber is transported, the journey and the wall, all discussed above. A few additional textual parallels have been attested. One of these is the fact that after Aūr's departure, his brothers became sad, whereupon they stopped the building of the church and left the monastery for another village, named Kām (§17-§18). Recension β refers also to this fact, at a later moment in the text, namely after Aūr's return, but the event actually occurs at the same moment in the story, namely immediately after Aūr's departure.¹⁵⁸ Recension β does not mention the name of the village here. In a different context, however, the *Naqlūn homily* in all its recensions mentions the name of another village, although with a different name, namely al-Fašn (recension α) and al-Qays (recension β) where Aūr's brothers will go to live until they pass away (§187).¹⁵⁹

A second additional parallel between *The Journey of St. Aūr* and recension β consists of the reference to a mural painting representing the archangel Gabriel on the wall in the church. *The Journey of St. Aūr* reports that the painting is located on the northern wall (§112). Recension β makes mention of a wall painting in the prologue of the homily, although its location is not explicitly indicated:¹⁶⁰

(G f.204r) They painted the picture of the archangel Gabriel at many places and decorated it with pure gold and precious silver, but not like the glory of this house.

Summarizing the above, there are several indications of the existence of a particular relation between *The Journey of St. Aūr* and recension β of the *Naqlūn homily*, based on their shared references to the timber, the ships, the journey, the wall, the second church, the village in the south, and the mural painting. The exact relation is difficult to define, because of the

¹⁵⁸ See the folios in F f.190v-191r; U f.20r; G f.217r; H f.123r. This passage falls together with §137 in the edition (recension α) of the *Naqlūn homily*, which lacks this mentioning.

¹⁵⁹ See chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*.

¹⁶⁰ See also U f.2r; this passage corresponds with §4 in the edition (recension α) of the *Naqlūn homily*, which lacks this mentioning. Mss. F and H of recension β lack this mention, see F f.179v; H f. 103v.

incomplete state of *The Journey of St. Aūr*, but may be a case of the interference of parallel traditions, a kind of textual contamination.

7. Conclusion

As has been shown above, *The Journey of St. Aūr* is quite different from the *Naqlūn homily* especially because of its elaborate and lively style of writing and its detailed information. The text deals plainly with the Aūr of Naqlūn and speaks about the same topic, the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel. The description of two episodes of St. Aūr's life contained in *The Journey of St. Aūr*, which are presented in a few lines in the *Naqlūn homily*, covers a number of fifteen folios that remain of a, probably much larger, original manuscript that was lost at a certain moment. Above, the characteristics of the text have been discussed, especially in its relation to the *Naqlūn homily*. A narratological approach made clear that the layering of both episodes is consistent: the narrator John, whose identity could easily be determined from the text, plays his role evidently and consequently from the beginning until the end of the story. Study of the central theme, the construction of the church of the archangel Gabriel, has shown that according to the text the church is part of a larger monastic complex, including another church, probably dedicated to the archangel Michael. *The Journey of St. Aūr* situates the monastery of Naqlūn in a clearly defined historical background, citing a number of holy monks and martyrs, most probably locally venerated persons. They are referred to explicitly by their names accompanied with some additional information, like their role in the monastery or their date of commemoration. The mention of these names provides the monastery with a significant history that leads back to the great St. Antony in the early ages of monasticism. The author situates the story in a specific period, namely in the patriarchate of Patriarch Timothy, which is most probably the fifth century. Both the detailed description of the route of the last part of Aūr's journey inside the Fayyūm and the phrase telling about people from the nearby environments helping with the construction of the church are indications of the local character of the text. In all these aspects *The Journey of St. Aūr* differs from the *Naqlūn homily*, and the connection between both texts seems to consist only of the central theme and the main characters that play a role in the story. However, recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* shows a stronger relation with *The Journey of St. Aūr* as is apparent from a number of common motifs: the second church, the wall, the timber, the journey, the ships, the village in the south and the painting of the archangel Gabriel.

Furthermore, *The Journey of St. Aūr* is characterised by the particular attention it pays to the timber used for the construction of the church, especially because of the miraculous

power attributed to it. Similar miraculous characteristics ascribed to the timber used in the monastery are found in a various secondary sources, namely the *HCME* (twelfth-thirteenth century) and al-Maqrīzī's work (fifteenth century), the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, and modern oral tradition.

In addition to the abovementioned thematic relations between on the one hand *The Journey of St. Aūr* and on the other hand recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* and the secondary sources, *The Journey of St. Aūr* appears to contain parallels with *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn* and with the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, both hagiographic texts also related to the mountain of Naqlūn.

Apparently, *The Journey of St. Aūr* shows relations with all (available) texts dealing with or referring to the monastery at the mountain of Naqlūn and seems to occupy a central position in the literary history of this site. In this respect, the dating of *The Journey of St. Aūr* may be an important factor. As already mentioned above, the date of the manuscript containing this text, is unknown. The catalogue mentions the fourteenth and the eighteenth century for the two codices containing the folios of *The Journey of St. Aūr*, without any explanation or evidence. No traces of a date or references to a possible author or copyist have been discovered on the available photographs of the folios. The unknown author situates the events in the fifth century, based on the reference to Patriarch Timothy, probably the well-known Timothy II. However, the date of the fifth century is very unlikely to be considered as the period in which the text was actually composed. The text contains a few other indications for a plausible date: a group of monks were living in the monastery at the mountain of Naqlūn; this monastic complex contained a church; and a church of the archangel Gabriel was under construction. This description of the monastic complex conveyed by the text assumes the presence of a monastic community including two churches, on the whole a flourishing monastery. Archaeological investigations at the site brought to light such a situation for the period of the tenth-eleventh centuries, when the church of the archangel Gabriel had been rebuilt and renovated.¹⁶¹ Shortly after this, in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, this monastic site was experiencing a revival. The *HCME*, dating from about the same period, confirms the existence of two churches in this monastery. From these facts it may be inferred that *The Journey of St. Aūr* was most probably composed around the eleventh century. This same period has also been proposed for the composition of the *Naqlūn homily*. The suggested date together with the overall relationship of *The Journey of St. Aūr* with the other texts related to

¹⁶¹ For a short history of the monastery, see Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

Naqlūn leads to the question whether *The Journey of St. Aūr* stands at the origin of the development of this specific and local hagiographic literature coming into existence at the time of the rebuilding of the church of the archangel Gabriel. Or, in other words, is *The Journey of St. Aūr* a representative of an original *Life of St. Aūr*?

There are various arguments in favour of and against this characterization of *The Journey of St. Aūr*. An argument against is the fact that apart from the fifteen folios kept in the Coptic Museum, no other traces of this text have been discovered up till now. It is strange that, if the text was of major significance for the monastery, it got lost for the greatest part rather soon after its composition. The loss of a great part of the text is even more puzzling, because it has most likely been composed in a period of revival and great literary activity for the monastery, which would understandably generate a strong attention for this text. People with interest in the history of the monastery would have taken care of this valuable text and they would have made every effort for its preservation. But apparently, this did not happen and the text received little attention. However, the actual reason of the loss of the text remains obscure and it is possible that in the future more folios of the text will be discovered.

The style of the *Journey of St. Aūr* should also be considered and weighed out. At the one hand, the detailed and elaborate style seems to be in line with the custom of elaborating and beautifying an already existing literary composition which is widespread in Coptic-Arabic hagiography in general.¹⁶² Possibly, the *Journey of St. Aūr* is a different and somewhat later re-writing of the *Naqlūn homily*, built upon, most probably, the recension β. On the other hand, its flowery style may also be interpreted as characteristic of an original composition.

A decisive argument in favour is to be found in the difference in narrative structure of both texts. The *Naqlūn homily* is inconsistent in various aspects, in particular in structure, focus, contents, and in the role of the narrator.¹⁶³ In contrast to that, *The Journey of St. Aūr* has a clear consistent structure, in particular the role of the narrator is constant and unambiguous, the description of the events is coherent and without irregularities. In addition to that, the (most probably fictitious) historical perspective of *The Journey of St. Aūr* and its hint to a probable dating strongly support the assumption and are in agreement with the overall relationship of this text with all other texts related to Naqlūn.

Considering *The Journey of St. Aūr* a representative of an original *Life of St. Aūr*, has implications for the way we envisage the entire complex of the literary tradition surrounding

¹⁶² See for example the *Life of Macrobius*, where the oldest version in Coptic is reworked and gradually more and more elaborated and beautified in the subsequent later Arabic versions, see the two articles (part of an MA-thesis) by Ten Hacken 1999a; and 1999b.

¹⁶³ See chapter V, 3. *Structure*, and 11. *Conclusion*.

the monastery of Naqlūn. The assumption makes all texts related to this *Life* dependent on it, in some way or another, directly or indirectly. The authors of *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn* and the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil* may have borrowed material from the *Life of St. Aūr* for the composition of their literary work. The composer of the *Naqlūn homily* used probably only parts of the (original) *Life*, making a kind of abstract of it, which would explain the inconsistencies in particular in the narration. The reason for this procedure could be his wish to make the text suitable for its use in the liturgy. The different recensions of the *Naqlūn homily* may be considered secondary and may have been built upon possibly *The Journey of St. Aūr* itself, each in a specific way. This holds in particular for the recension β that is closely related to *The Journey of St. Aūr* on the basis of a number of shared motifs, whereas the three α -recensions are related to *The Journey of St. Aūr* in a more distant way. The relations between the manuscripts among each other as these have been reconstructed in the stemma, remain as they are, because they have been established independently of *The Journey of St. Aūr*.

If this assumption is correct, the value of *The Journey of St. Aūr* may be considered the central witness to the literary activity that accompanied the renovation of the monastery in the eleventh-twelfth centuries. The reason why most of this text has been lost remains obscure. The *Naqlūn homily* took over and kept the dominant position in the literary history related to Naqlūn and became popular all over Egypt.

Chapter VII

The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil

1. Introduction

The Life of Saint Antony reports that Saint Antony, generally regarded as the father of monasticism, visited the province of the Fayyūm.¹ Other literary sources, like the Letters of St. Antony² and the Rule that is attributed to him,³ refer to this visit as well.⁴ Numerous references to St. Antony are found in historical and monastic literature during all the centuries after his death, demonstrating his great popularity.⁵ In addition to these well known works, there is a passage in a text contained in three Arabic manuscripts kept at the monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, that develop the theme of the relation between St. Antony and the Fayyūm. The passage deals with St. Antony's visit at the mountain of Naqlūn and contains a prophecy about the coming of St. Aūr. These two facts determine its importance for the present study. The passage occurs in a homily entitled 'The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil,' attributed to Serapion of Thmuis,⁶ a famous fourth-century bishop and author, and a disciple of St. Antony.⁷ Serapion wrote numerous works, letters, polemic Biblical argumentations, prayers and theological treatises, and a letter addressed to the disciples of St. Antony, soon after the saint's death.⁸ He is also assumed to have written a *Life* of St. Antony⁹ and a *Life* of Macarius of Scetis.¹⁰ Many other literary works have been attributed to Serapion,¹¹ and among these is the *Life of Anbā Isaac*,¹² the text that is subject of this chapter.

Unfortunately, the study on the *Life of Anbā Isaac* is by necessity limited, because only the folios containing the passage dealing with St. Antony's visit at Naqlūn were available. In

¹ In chapter 15 of St. Antony's life, see Bartelink 1994, 176-177.

² See for a study on the letters: Rubenson 1990; for the authenticity of the seven letters, see Rubenson 1990, 35-42; Rubenson 1989.

³ This so-called *Rule* is mentioned above in Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

⁴ One of the seven most probably authentic letters is addressed to 'all the beloved who are in Arsinoë (Fayyūm) and those who are with them.', see the Latin translation of the Georgian version of this letter, in this version the fourth letter, Garitte 1955, 11.

⁵ For an extensive list of these references, see Rubenson 1990, 163-184.

⁶ Thmuis is at present Tell Timai, see Timm 1984-1992, 6:2670-2678; see also Fitschen 1992, 117-118.

⁷ Serapion, bishop of Thmuis from c. 339 to 365, see Fitschen 1992, 117-149; see also Rubenson 1990, 164-165.

⁸ See Fitschen 1992, 57-64; and Rubenson 1990, 164-165.

⁹ See Fitschen 1992, 106-116. For Arabic mss. dealing with the Life of St. Antony by Serapion, see Graf 1934, 170, 224; and same in Simaika 1939-1942, 2:198, 286.

¹⁰ See Toda 2012, 500; Fitschen 1992, 98-103.

¹¹ See Fitschen 1992, 115-116 and Graf 1944-1953, 1:275, 395, 459, 506.

¹² According to Bishop Abrām the name of Serapion as the author of the Life is mentioned on pp. 135, 171 of manuscript Y, see Bishop Abrām 2004, 137, nt. 61.

this chapter first a description of the manuscripts is presented. Then a summary of the *Life of Anbā Isaac* is given, followed by an edition and translation of the passage that is written in Middle Arabic. After that a commentary on the text is given. The places occurring in the text are indicated on a map. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

2. Description of the manuscripts.

The homily entitled ‘The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil’ is contained in three manuscripts, kept in the monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea. The description of these manuscripts is based on the information given to me by Abūna Shenouda, the librarian of the monastery of St. Antony, during my visit in April 2007.¹³ The manuscripts are indicated with the sigla X, Y, and Z.

Manuscript X

Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, nr. History 97.

The manuscript consists of a collection of eight homilies, written in Arabic. The codex contains 202 folios, two of which are unnumbered, and four folios are left blank. The text is written in two different handwritings. The codex measures 21 x 15 x 4.5 cm. The titles are written in red ink. The written surface contains 14 lines per page. The manuscript is undated and anonymous. It was a donation to the monastery (f. 18, 200). Only photocopies of the first folio (f. 81v-82r in Coptic numerals) and two folios containing the reference to St. Aūr (f. 93v-95r in Coptic numerals) were available. These folios contain several different Arabic numerals that are added later. According to the catalogue, the contents of the manuscript are written on f. 19:

1. f.1. Story of Anbā Paul, the Simple, disciple of St. Antony.¹⁴
2. f. 8. Story of Anbā Pachom, who was at the mountain of Scetis.¹⁵
3. f. 12. Story of Anbā Pachom, disciple of Palamon (*GCAL* I, 459-461; II, 499).
4. f. 19. Life of the holy Anbā Antony the Great (*GCAL* I, 456-459, 498).
5. f. 82. Life of Anbā Paul, the First Hermit (*GCAL* I, 512; II, 502).
- 6. f. 95. Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil.**
7. f. 130. Life of St. Anbā Murqus (Mark) al-Antony (*GCAL* I, 536).

¹³ All manuscripts and books contained in the library of this monastery had been photographed and digitized at the time of my visit. Study of the manuscripts should be done in the library in the monastery. It was not permitted to obtain a copy of the complete text for study outside the monastery.

¹⁴ There is no reference to this saint in Graf's *GCAL*. For other literature on this saint, see Festugière 1961, 131-133 (text), Festugière 1964, 125-127 (transl.); Guillaumont 1991b.

¹⁵ There is no reference to this saint in Graf's *GCAL*.

8. f. 171. Miracles of St. Anbā Murqus (Mark) al-Antony (*GCAL* I, 536).

Manuscript Y

Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, nr. History 112.

The manuscript consists of a collection of eight homilies written in Arabic. The codex contains 197 folios, of which two are unnumbered. It is incomplete in the beginning and at the end and needs new binding. The eighth homily is written in a different hand. The codex measures 19 x 14 x 3.5 cm. The titles are written in red ink. The written surface contains 12, 14, or 16 lines per page. The manuscript was copied in the village Munša'a Ḥalbūš. The manuscript is dated on f. 132: 2 Misrā 1540 AM (= 7 August AD 1824). On the last folio (f. 197) a remark is written indicating the date of the presence of the copyist at 'the monastery' on Tuesday 19 Misrā 1366 AM (= 22 August AD 1650). So far the information provided by the catalogue. Apparently, the present manuscript dating from 1824 had been copied from an earlier copy made in 1650. At which monastery the copyist was present is not further specified. The village Munša'a Ḥalbūš is situated on the west bank of the river Nile, and belongs to the district al-Wāsiṭā in the province of Banī Suīf.¹⁶ The manuscript was not available for the present study. The contents of the manuscript, according to the catalogue:

1. f. 1. Survey of the contents.
2. f. 2. Life of St. Justus, disciple of Anbā Samuel (*GCAL* II, 505).
3. f. 69. Life of St. Anbā Piḡīmi (*GCAL* I, 538; II, 506).
4. f. 81. Life of St. Anbā Iwaḡrī (Evagrius) from Constantinople (*GCAL* I, 397-399; II, 497).
5. **f. 95. Life of St. Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil.**
6. f. 133. Homily on the 49 Martyrs of Scetis (commemoration according to the Copto-Arabic Synaxar on 26 Ṭūba).¹⁷
7. f. 149. Life of St. Anbā Pachom and his sister Ḍālūšām.¹⁸
8. f. 173. Another homily of St. Anbā Pachom and his sister Ḍālūšām.
9. f. 185. Life of St. Anbā Lāṭšūn, the Hermit (*GCAL* I, 535).

¹⁶ See Nizārat al-Māliya, 'Idārat al-Ta'dād (Ministry of Finance (of Egypt), Department of Census and Statistics) 1899, 757, 905. Older geographical works, like al-Nāblusī and al-Maqrīzī, do not mention it. Perhaps the village was founded or received its name after the composition of these latter sources and had disappeared before the publication of Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994 who neither mentions it.

¹⁷ There is no reference to these martyrs in Graf's *GCAL*; for literature, see O'Leary [1937] 1974, 245-247; Archbishop Basilios 1991, 4:1120-1121.

¹⁸ There is no reference to these saints in Graf's *GCAL*.

Manuscript Z

Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, nr. History 117.

The codex consists of a collection of seven homilies. It contains 224 folios, of which one is unnumbered. The codex needs new binding. It measures 22 x 16 x 6 cm. The titles are written in red ink. The written surface contains 17-18 lines per page. It is dated (f. 222): 23 Ṭūba 1466 AM (= 29 January AD 1750). The copyist is the priest Ḥasab Allāh al-Anṭūnī and he also paid the costs for it (f. 222). The manuscript was a donation to the monastery (f. 223). Only one folio is available, f. 209v-210r, numbered in Coptic cursive numerals, and also indicated in Arabic numerals in a later hand as f. 187v-188r.

The contents of the manuscript:

1. f.1. Life of the great martyr St. Victor, son of Romanus (*GCAL* I, 540; II, 506).
2. f. 84. Life of the great martyr Claudius, son of the emperor Ptolemy (*GCAL* I, 535; II, 505).
3. f. 138. Life of St. Anbā Piḡīmi (*GCAL* I, 538; II, 506).
4. f. 148. The martyrdom of St. Marina (*GCAL* I, 509; II, 502).
5. f. 170. Homily on the priesthood of Our Lord Jesus Christ and His entering into the altar (*GCAL* I, 245-246; II, 488).
6. **f. 179. Life of St. Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil.**
7. f. 207. Life of the holy martyrs Pachom and his sister Ḍālūšām.¹⁹

As noted above, only the passage dealing with St. Antony and Naqlūn is available for the present study through the photographs of a few folios from the manuscripts X and Z. Although the exact text of the *Life of Anbā Isaac* is not available, its contents could be inferred from Bishop Abrām's doctoral thesis on the history of the bishopric of the Fayyūm, published in 2004, in which a summary is presented of this *Life* based on manuscript Y.²⁰ The information found in this summary makes it possible to put the passage dealing with St. Antony and Naqlūn in its context. Two other scholars, O. Meinardus²¹ and a monk²² of the

¹⁹ There is no reference to these martyrs in Graf's *GCAL*.

²⁰ Bishop Abrām 2004, 137-140, see p. 137, nt. 61 in which is referred to ms. 112 Monastery of St. Antony.

²¹ Meinardus [1961] 1992, 189, 224, see nt. 19, in which is referred to ms. 112 Monastery of St. Antony.

²² The colophon of the booklet refers to the composer as: a monk of the desert of Naqlūn writing under the supervision of Bishop Abrām of the Fayyūm. It is very likely that he is Abūna Aūr, whom I met in the bookshop during my visit to the monastery in 2007 and who told me that he was studying the manuscripts dealing with his patron saint. Two booklets, written in Arabic, published in 2004, contain the passage dealing with St. Antony's visit to Naqlūn. One booklet is entitled (in English translation): *The great Saint Anbā Aūr, Bishop of the Fayyūm and Abbot of the Monastery of the glorious angel Gabriel*. See p. 50-51, where the author refers to his source being ms. 113, which is identified as ms. Y and most probably received later the number ms. 112. The second

monastery of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn, also used manuscript Y as one of their sources and the information provided by these three works is compared with the texts of the manuscripts X and Z.

3. Summary of the Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil (based on Bishop Abrām 2004, 137-140).

3.a. Isaac and St. Antony at the mountain of al-Šarika

Isaac, the protagonist of the Life, was born in the village of Ibwīt, in the district of Manf (= Memphis, former capital of Egypt, since Arab times named Manf), at the end of the third century. He started his ascetic life on the mountain of al-Šarika, in the east of the Fayyūm, and lived there together with other hermits. In an apparition the angel of the Lord asked St. Antony to travel to the mountain of al-Šarika: “Go to the mountain of al-Šarika in the province of Fayyūm, because there will be disciples, monks for you. Some of them will become priests and leaders of the priests, if they will keep your commandments.” When St. Antony arrived at the river he had to cross it to enter the Fayyūm, and he walked on the water like on soil, until he reached the other side and his feet did not become afflicted.²³

3.b. St. Antony as spiritual father

St. Antony found the group of hermits at the mountain in the Fayyūm. One of them, named Isidore²⁴ the Confessor, explained to him that he had been living at this site for seventeen years. Caused by the persecution of Christians under Diocletian, he had been imprisoned in the city of Ihnās. He had come to this place after his release. Many others had been released together with him, on the order of the emperor Constantine. Some of them had died because of their wounds, others had become hermits in this desert. Isidore told St. Antony that two brothers came from Nimištus, a village in the surroundings of the city of Naqālīfa in the Fayyūm, and he presented Isaac to him. St. Antony’s visit had been announced to them by an angel. Thereupon St. Antony dressed them in the habit of monasticism in a small church dedicated to the archangel Michael, which according to tradition in former times, was a place of rest for the Biblical Jacob.

booklet is entitled (in English translation): *The glorious archangel Gabriel, and his flourishing monastery in the desert of Naqlūn - Fayyūm*. See p. 90-91, containing the same passage.

²³ Cf. Bishop Abrām 2004, 137; Bartelink 1994, 176-177; Garitte 1949a, 21 (text); 1949b, 12 (trans.).

²⁴ Isidore: the name is spelled in Arabic in two different ways in the summary by Bishop Abrām, see Bishop Abrām 2004, 137, 138.

3.c. *St. Antony's vision* (see the passage §1-§6 of the edition below)

In this church the Holy Virgin appeared to St. Antony and she revealed future events to him with regard to this mountain. The Holy Virgin would take two monks, Kālābiyūn and Samuel, one from the Wādī al-Naṭrūn and the other from the mountain of al-Šarika, and leave them under the protection of the archangels Michael and Gabriel. She intended to lay 'the fundamentals of her keep on her holy mountain'. This mountain is considered to be the place where the building of the monasteries had begun, and she would make it prosperous. The Holy Virgin also showed St. Antony a lower church, dedicated by St. Antony's disciples to his name and situated to the west of a hermitage. The Holy Virgin explained to him that in his church and through his prayer sick people would receive healing.

3.d. *A prophecy about St. Aūr* (see the passage §7-§17 of the edition below)

The Holy Virgin announced him the coming of a descendant of the Persian kings, named Aūr, indicated as 'the Maḡūsī': he would build 'a garden for Her Son'. He would turn the resting place of Jacob into a church dedicated to the archangel Michael, and he would build a large church for the archangel Gabriel. One of the disciples of St. Antony, named Naklāna, would give his name to this mountain and this same person would appoint Aūr as head over 1500 monks. Later, Aūr would become bishop over the city Fayyūm, but he would keep dwelling at the mountain. After his death, the people would argue about the place of his grave, whether to bury him at the monastic site of Scetis near the famous St. Macarius; or in the episcopal city of Fayyūm; or at the monastery of Naqlūn. Finally he would be buried at Naqlūn according to his will. If the monks living at this mountain persevere in prayer and praise, and keep to pureness and love, the Lord will bless them and their blessing will spread to the houses of the laypeople visited by them. Moreover, if the monks will obey St. Antony's commandments and follow him in humility and love, the people of the Fayyūm will bury their dead at this mountain. St. Antony's disciples should not take the trouble to dig a well at this site, because the water is here..... [here the text as presented in ms. X breaks off and the other sources do not speak of the water].

3.e. *A prophecy about St. Isaac*

The Holy Virgin ended her vision with a prophecy about three monks, mentioned by their names, who belonged to the group of the first hermits at the site. They are Isaac, a disciple of St. Antony, characterized as 'the Courageous', whose name will be second in fame after Macarius, and who will dispel the demons and the pagans, the Greeks, from the

mountain of al-Barambil; and Isidore and George who will settle at the mountain of al-Šarika at Qambaša.

3.f. *Dayr al-Ḥammām*

After the vision, St. Antony accompanied Isaac to the mountain of al-Barambil, where he instructed him and encouraged him. After that he returned to his monastery. Isaac dispelled the demons and converted a group of idolaters from the region of al-Mifasaṭ to Christianity. He sent them to the bishop of the Fayyūm who baptized them. They returned to their home and continued living there. In this way the monastery of the famous Anbā Isaac, also called Dayr al-Ḥammām, would have been founded.²⁵

3.g. *Isaac at mountain of al-Ḥazā'in*

Anbā Peter, the 21st patriarch, who succeeded Patriarch Athanasius the Apostolic,²⁶ sent Isaac with a few brothers to the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in near Alexandria, where he became the spiritual leader of this group of monks. The patriarch ordained him priest and permitted him to visit his disciples in the region of the Fayyūm. The patriarch wrote to bishop Agathon of the Fayyūm assigning him to dedicate the 'qaṣr' (keep)²⁷ which contained a church to Anbā Isaac.²⁸ And Anbā Isaac visited the brothers at the mountain of al-Mifasaṭ and returned back to the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in near Alexandria.

3.h. *Isaac's death and his commemoration*

Two months before his death, Isaac heard the voice of Jesus, telling him to instruct his spiritual sons, just like St. Antony, that they should not rush in clothing young men in the monastic habit, and also to inform his disciples at the mountain of al-Mifasaṭ about this. Isaac died on 25 Bašans (2 June), at the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in and his body was buried in a hermitage blocked with a great stone. Some of his disciples went to the mountain of al-Mifasaṭ and others went to the mountain of al-Barambil. On the date of his death all the brothers make a yearly commemoration at the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in.

²⁵ This information is given in Bishop Abrām 2004, 139, but it is unclear whether it belongs to the original text. Bishop Abrām indicates here Anbā Isaac as Abū Isaac.

²⁶ The summary indicates these patriarchs with names and titles in this way, see Bishop Abrām 2004, 139, but it is unclear whether this is presented similarly in the original text.

²⁷ Qaṣr: usually referring to the 'keep', the tower built as the most protected part of the monastery, and explained by Bishop Abrām as a building belonging to the bishop, see Bishop Abrām 2004, 140.

²⁸ In this case the name Isaac in its Arabic form is spelled as Īsāk, different from all other occurrences of this name as Ishaq as presented in the summary by Bishop Abrām 2004, 140. This gives the impression that perhaps a different Isaac is meant.

4.a. Text of the passage from *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*:

St. Antony's vision on St. Aūr and Naqlūn

Below the text of the passage as represented in the manuscripts X and Z is given. The passage covers the sections 4.c. and 4.d. of the summary given below. The first few lines, which are not available in manuscript X, are taken from manuscript Z. The rest of the text is taken from X, of which a greater part of the text is available. The folio numbers are indicated between brackets. The text is written in a clear and regular handwriting, and diacritical dots are mostly present, only few are lacking. The *hamza* is absent generally. The differences found in Z have been noted in the critical apparatus. The text is divided in numbered paragraphs indicated between rectangular brackets. The method applied for the edition follows the principles as discussed in chapter III for the *Naqlūn homily*.

(Z 187v) [1]... وفي تلك الايام ساخذ جزو من وادي النطرون وجزو من جبل الشركه يعني انبا كالابيون وانبا صمويل واضع اساس قصري واعمر جبلي المقدس واترك هولاي الشيخين هاهنا لهولاً الجنديين القيام معي وهم (X 107) ميخاييل وغيرال مقدمي الرتب السماويه [2] فان هذا الجبل هو بدو عمارة الدياره وسياتي انسانا نوراني منتخب من بطن امه يقال له اور وهو من سلالة ملوك الفرس وينصب فيه بستان لابني²⁹ [3] ولا يسكن في هذا البستان الا الفعله الابرار ويكون راهب هذا الجبل الواحد ملجا لكل قاصد [4] وسيظهر اسم ولدك نكلانه³⁰ ويصير رئيسا بعد هذه الايام علي هذا الجبل الواحد [5] فان ولدي وسيدي يسوع المسيح حضر ومعه جماعه من الرسل والانبيا وقديسين في هذه البيعه السفلانيه التي غربي هذه المغاره التي هي هذه البيعه التي دعوا اولادك اسمك عليها وحسنا صنعوا [6] وهاندا اسال ابني يسوع المسيح ان يجعلها (X 108) شفا لكلمن ياتي اليها ويصلي فيها بامانه ويقول بصلاة³¹ انطونيوس فانه ينال مطلوبه [7] وسوف يحضر هذا الشاب الذي جنسه مجوسي ويبنى هذه القبه التي سكنها يعقوب ابو المسيح بالجسد علي اسم ميخاييل الملاك ويبنى ايضا بيعه عظيمه علي اسم الملاك³² غيرال حامل البشاره [8] وبعد هولاي الشيخين يقوم من اولادك قديس عظيم اسمه نكلانه ويدعي اسمه³³ علي هذا الجبل ويقدم اور ابن ملك الفرس المجوسي الذي ذكرته لك رئيسا علي الف وخمسمائت راهب [9] تم عندما يتجر ويربح في الوزنه يسلم اليه خمس الوزنات التي هي رياسة

²⁹ Z. لابني بستان [بستان لابني]

³⁰ X. نكلانه [نكلانه]

³¹ Z. + البار [بصلاة]

³² Z. - [ميخاييل الملاك ويبنى ايضا بيعه عظيمه علي اسم الملاك]

³³ X. امسي [اسمه]

الكهنوة ويصير اسقفا علي هذه المدينة التي³⁴ انت تراها بعينك [10] واخذته واصعدته الي اعلا جبل الفيوم الشرقي (X 109) بقبله واورته مدينة الفيوم ولا يكون له مسكن في مدينة اسقفية الا في هذا الدير [11] وادا اتم خدمته يحضر اليه ساير اولاده بكرسي الفيوم قبل نياحته بيومين ويختلفوا علي حمله الي مدينة الفيوم [12] فمنهم من يقول نحمله بتنيح في مدينته لتكون بركته فيها ومنهم من يقول بل يكون اذا تنيح احملوا جسده الي³⁵ جبل شيهات ويكون عند جسد مقاريوس النوراني ومنهم من يقول بل يكون في هذا الجبل الذي عمره السيد المسيح علي يديه [13] فادا خرجت نفسه من جسده تاخذه اهل مدينة الفيوم باليد القوية فيخرج من جسده صوة في تلك الساعة قابلة لا تفرقوني من اولادي بل يكون جسدي عندهم في هذا الجبل المقدس (X 110) [14] واعلم يا انطونيوس ان اولادك السكان بهذا الجبل ادا لبسوا الاسكيم الطاهر وواضبوا علي الصلاة والترتيل والابصلمديه وحفظوا الطهارة والمحبة فاني اسال ابني الحبيب ان يحل بركته عندهم [15] وادا دخلوا الي بيت العلمانيين وصلوا فيه واكلوا فيه خبزه فان بركة ابني الحبيب تقيم في ذلك البيت بصلاتهم الي الابد [16] وادا سلخوا اولادك في وصاياك وتواضعك ومحبتك فان اهل الفيوم يحملوا اليهم امواتهم ويدفنوها عندهم لاجل صلواتهم المقبولة [17] ويكون كل شي يظن انه حقير يسير من الغلال والما المحمول اليه لبعده الما عنه فان بركت ابني تحل فيه ولا تدع احد من اولادك يتعب نفسه ويحفر هاهنا بير فان المياه هاهنا ... (end of available text)

4.b. Translation of the passage from *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil: St. Antony's vision on St. Aūr and Naqlūn*

Below a translation into English of the passage is given. In addition to the differences found in Z, those that are assumed to occur in Y, based on the three works of Meinardus, Bishop Abrām and the monk of the monastery of the archangel Gabriel, as mentioned above, have also been noted in the critical apparatus of the translation.³⁶ The translation follows the division into numbered paragraphs of the text.

(Z 187v) [1] '... And in those days I (the Holy Virgin) will take a part of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn and a part of the mountain of al-Šarika, that means, Anbā Kālābiyūn and Anbā Šamu'īl, and I will lay the fundamentals of my 'keep' and I will make my holy mountain prosperous.³⁷ And I will leave these two old men here to the two soldiers that are standing by my side, (X p. 107) Michael and Gabriel, leaders of the heavenly ranks. [2] Because this mountain is the

³⁴ X. الذي [التي

³⁵ end of available text of Z. [الي

³⁶ These three works are referred to as follows: the booklet by the monk as 'monk's booklet 2004', the work by Meinardus as 'Meinardus 1992' and the doctoral thesis by Bishop Abrām as 'Bishop Abrām'.

³⁷ [واعمّر] this is translated as: *I will make prosperous*, but may also be translated as: *I will make inhabited*.

beginning of the building of the monasteries. And there shall come³⁸ a shining person, chosen from the womb of his mother, who is called Aūr, and he is a descendant of the kings of the Persians³⁹ and he will plant in it⁴⁰ a garden for my Son.⁴¹ [3] There will live in this garden only the righteous workers and he will be a monk of this lone mountain, a refuge for every visitor. [4] And the name of your (St. Antony) son Naklāna⁴² will appear and he will become a leader after these days over this lone mountain. [5] And my Son and my Lord Jesus Christ has come, and with him a group of apostles and prophets and saints, in this lower church situated to the west of this hermitage, this church that your sons have dedicated to your name and they made (it)⁴³ beautifully. [6] And now, I ask my Son Jesus Christ that He shall make it (X p. 108) a healing for everybody who will come to it and pray in it with faith and speak through the prayer of⁴⁴ Antony; then he will receive what he has asked for. [7] And this young man will come whose origin is Mağūsī,⁴⁵ and he will build this dome⁴⁶ in which has dwelled Jacob,⁴⁷ the father of Christ in the flesh, in the name of Michael, the angel, and he will also build a large church in the name of the angel⁴⁸ Gabriel, the Bringer of Glad Tidings. [8] And after these two old men, a great saint called Naklāna⁴⁹ will stand up from your sons and he will give his⁵⁰ name to this mountain⁵¹ and he will appoint Aūr, the son of the king of the Persians, the Mağūsī, whom I have mentioned to you, as head over thousand and five hundred monks.⁵² [9] Then, when he will trade and make profit in the talent, he will be granted five talents,⁵³ that is the leader of priesthood, and he will become bishop over this city, which you see with your eyes. [10] And I have taken him and I have made him ascend to the highest mountain of the Eastern Fayyūm (X p. 109) in the south,⁵⁴ and I have shown him the city of Fayyūm. And he will not have a dwelling place in the city of his bishopric except in this

³⁸ And there shall come] This is the beginning of the passage contained in the monk's booklet.

³⁹ the kings of the Persians] Z the Persian kings.

⁴⁰ in it] monk's booklet 2004: on this place (mountain of Naqlūn).

⁴¹ a garden for my Son] Z for my Son a garden.

⁴² Naklāna] X Taklāna.

⁴³ it] missing in Z, present in X.

⁴⁴ prayer of] Z + the reverend.

⁴⁵ Mağūsī: see commentary chapter V, 9. *The Naqlūn homily in its context*.

⁴⁶ This dome (هذه القبة)] monk's booklet 2004: this doorstep (هذه العتبة).

⁴⁷ Cf. Gn 45:10.

⁴⁸ Michael ... the angel] missing in Z, but present in X, Bishop Abrām and the monk's booklet 2004.

⁴⁹ Naklāna] X: Taklāna.

⁵⁰ his name] X: my name.

⁵¹ And after these two old men ... this mountain] missing in the monk's booklet 2004.

⁵² See the Arabic Life of Samuel of Qalamūn, which speaks about more than a thousand monks at Naqlūn, see Alcock 1996, 339.

⁵³ See Mt 25:14-23 and Lk 19:12-19.

⁵⁴ in the south] missing in the monk's booklet 2004.

monastery.⁵⁵ [11] And⁵⁶ when he will have completed his service, all his sons in the See of the Fayyūm will come to him, two days before his death, and they will disagree on whether they will carry him to the city of Fayyūm.⁵⁷ [12] Some of them will say: “We shall carry him and let him pass away in his city so that his blessing will be in it.”⁵⁸ Others will say: “No this is better, when he shall die, carry his body to⁵⁹ the mountain of Scetis⁶⁰ and he shall be with the body of the shining Macarius.”⁶¹ Others will say: “No, he shall be on this mountain, which the Lord Jesus Christ made flourishing⁶² through him.” [13] When his soul will have left his body,⁶³ the people of the city of Fayyūm will take him by force. Then a voice will come out of his body on that moment, saying: “Don’t separate me from my sons, but my body shall be with them on this holy mountain.”⁶⁴ (X p. 110) [14] And know, o Antony, that your sons who live on this mountain, when they wear the pure habit and persevere in prayer and songs and psalms and they preserve the purity and the love, then I will ask my Beloved Son that He shall bring down His blessing to them. [15] And when they enter the house of the laypeople and pray in it and eat bread in it, the blessing of my Beloved Son will remain in that house by their prayers for ever. [16] And when your sons follow the path of your prescriptions and your humility and your love, the people of the Fayyūm will carry their dead to them and bury them near to them,⁶⁵ because of their prayers that are accepted. [17] And every thing will be provided. Whenever one thinks he is poor, having few crops, and the water is brought to him because of the great distance of the water, then the blessing of My Son will come down there. And don’t let anyone of your sons make himself tired by digging here a well, because the waters here (X p.111)...(end of available text).

5. Commentary

⁵⁵ in this monastery] the monk’s booklet 2004: + (the monastery of the angel Gabriel) (written between brackets).

⁵⁶ And] the monk’s booklet 2004: And the Lady the Virgin said to him: ‘And ...

⁵⁷ whether they shall carry him to the city of Fayyūm.] the monk’s booklet: about the place on which his body shall be buried.

⁵⁸ We shall carry him and let him die in his city so that his blessing will be in it] the monk’s booklet 2004: In the city of Fayyūm, the centre of the bishopric.

⁵⁹ end of Z.

⁶⁰ Scetis: earlier in the text the name Wādī al-Naṭrūn occurs, both names indicate the same monastic site. Scetis was used in the early ages of monasticism, during the Byzantine period, whereas the name Wādī al-Naṭrūn is of later date, in Arabic times. In between these periods the name Wādī Ḥabīb had been used for this site.

⁶¹ No this is better, ... Macarius.] the monk’s booklet 2004: he shall be buried on the mountain of Scetis next to the shining Macarius.

⁶² Made flourishing (عمر)] may also be translated as: made inhabited.

⁶³ When his soul has left his body] the monk’s booklet 2004: When.

⁶⁴ End of the passage in the monk’s booklet 2004.

⁶⁵ This may refer to a cemetery for the laypeople, the inhabitants of the Fayyūm.

5.a. Isaac and St. Antony at the mountain of al-Šarika

Isaac's birth place is the village of Ibwīt.⁶⁶ Ibwīt is the Arabic name for the Greek Pouēd (Πουηδ), and the Coptic Pouaeid (ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲁ - ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲣⲓ), a village that is situated *ca.* 7.5 km north of Abū-Šīr al-Malaq, and *ca.* 7.5 km southwest of al-Wāsiṭā.⁶⁷ Although officially belonging to the province of Banī Suīf, it has in former times been included with the Fayyūm, because of its location on the route to the entrance of this province.⁶⁸ In a Coptic manuscript originating from the Fayyūm, the village of Pouaeid is mentioned together with Pōne (ⲡⲟⲛⲉ), Toutōn (ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲛ) and [P]simistous (ⲡⲓⲙⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩⲥ),⁶⁹ all three belonging to the Fayyūm. In the text of the *Passion of Epima* it is also mentioned as the place of origin of a Christian man, who had been arrested together with St. Epima and others in the persecutions under Diocletian.⁷⁰ The place is further famous for its role during the Arab conquest as described in the Chronicle of John, bishop of Nikiu.⁷¹ As noted earlier, Manf, the district to which Ibwīt belongs, is the Arabic name for Memphis, the former capital city of Egypt.⁷² In the early centuries of Christianity this city was famous for its pagan cults,⁷³ a theme that plays a role further in this text.

Isaac starts his monastic life at a mountain called al-Šarika.⁷⁴ There is no clear information about its identity. This name for a mountain in the Fayyūm is not mentioned in any of the literary sources dealing with this region.⁷⁵ In Bishop Abrām's thesis the mountain is identified without further proof as the mountain of Naqlūn, also called the mountain of the Fayyūm, situated in the east of the Fayyūm, and identical with the mountain on which the monastery of the angel Gabriel is situated.⁷⁶ In the context of the *Life of Anbā Isaac*, this identification is likely, but not certain. The word 'šarika' means in translation 'partnership, confraternity, community'.⁷⁷ In monastic literature written in Arabic, the word usually refers

⁶⁶ See Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-3:125.

⁶⁷ See Buwēt in Timm 1984-1992, 1:474-478. According to Timm, other variants of the Arabic name Ibwīt are: Buwait, Abwīt. For possible meaning of ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲣⲓ - pillar, see Crum 1939, 493a.

⁶⁸ See Timm 1984-1992, 1:476.

⁶⁹ See Crum 1893, 63; for Pōne see Timm 1984-1992, 4:1997-1998; for Toutōn see Timm 1984-1992, 6:2887-2892; for (P)simistous see Timm 1984-1992, 5:2346-2348. See also below 5.b. *St. Antony as spiritual father*.

⁷⁰ Mina 1937, XXVII and 78.

⁷¹ See Charles 1916, about the conquest of the Fayyūm, see chapters 111-112.

⁷² See Timm 1984-1992, 4:1549-1558.

⁷³ See Timm 1984-1992, 4:1550.

⁷⁴ Al-Šarika : the vocalisation of the word is uncertain, al-Širka is also possible.

⁷⁵ Ramzī mentions a place named al-Šarika, but this place belongs to the district of Bilqās to the north of Cairo, see Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-2:30. A place with this name is not mentioned in al-Maqrīzī.

⁷⁶ See Bishop Abrām 2004, 137, nt. 60.

⁷⁷ See Hava [1951] 1982, 362; Badawi and Hinds 1986, 462.

to the cenobitic kind of monastic life. This word could indeed refer to the mountain of Naqlūn, based on its characterization as a monastic community consisting of 1500 monks.⁷⁸

Another possible explanation for the use of this word is that it refers to the historically close relationship between the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn, as this is also presented in the text *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*.⁷⁹ In the latter source the histories of the two monastic sites of Naqlūn and Qalamūn are combined into one and the same text, representing the two sites as located in each other's vicinity and having a common history. It is possible that the author of the *Life of Anbā Isaac* had a similar view on this region of the Fayyūm when attributing the name al-Šarika to the site. This is even more probable because the monastery of Qalamūn is also characterized as a cenobitic complex. Moreover, this identification would also explain the names of the two monks, Kālābiyūn and Samuel, who are mentioned in direct relation with the mountain of al-Šarika and have both a close relation to the name of Qalamūn.⁸⁰

St. Antony receives from an angel the heavenly order to go to the mountain of al-Šarika in the province of Fayyūm with the aim of making disciples there. The theme of St. Antony's visit to the Fayyūm occurs more often, but this text elaborates on the theme by mentioning a specific location in the Fayyūm, namely the mountain of al-Šarika. The Arabic *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*⁸¹ not only refers to the specific site of the mountain of Naqlūn for St. Antony's visit,⁸² but also brings the foundation of the monastery of Qalamūn in relation to St. Antony.⁸³ This strengthens the identification of the mountain of al-Šarika as the region comprising both the mountains of Naqlūn and Qalamūn.

An angel ordering a human being to undertake a journey is a known theme occurring frequently in the Bible,⁸⁴ and in hagiographic texts, like the *Naqlūn homily*, in which St. Aūr is guided by the archangel Gabriel on all his journeys.⁸⁵ Another parallel may be found in *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, where the archangel Gabriel likewise gives the order to the three newly converted magicians to visit the archon John with the request to build a church.⁸⁶ Again another literary parallel is contained in the

⁷⁸ See text and translation §8; and summary 3.d. *A prophecy about St. Aūr*.

⁷⁹ See chapter VIII.

⁸⁰ See below in 5.c. *St. Antony's vision*.

⁸¹ Alcock suggests that the Arabic version of the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* is ultimately based on the original Coptic version, see Alcock 1996, 322.

⁸² See Alcock 1996, 336. This reference to St. Antony is not mentioned in the Coptic *Life*.

⁸³ See Alcock 1998, 378. This reference to St. Antony is not mentioned in the Coptic *Life*.

⁸⁴ See for example in OT Num 20:16; and in NT see Acts 8:26.

⁸⁵ See *Naqlūn homily*: §55-§56, §104, §117-§118, §136.

⁸⁶ See chapter VIII, text and translation §15-§17.

Coptic *Life of Panine and Panew*,⁸⁷ telling that these two are guided by the archangel Michael to the mountain of Qalamūn where they are dressed in the monastic habit by three anchorites who were living there in caves.⁸⁸ A fourth literary parallel may be found in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, in which an angel accompanies Samuel to the monastic site of Scetis,⁸⁹ where he wishes to become a monk. In this respect it is very interesting to make mention of a wall painting representing an angel showing Samuel the way to go to Qalamūn. The wall painting belongs to a Christian building almost certainly forming part of a monastic complex located at the archaeological site at Umm al-Buraigāt in the southern Fayyūm, in ancient times named Tebtunis or Toutōn.⁹⁰ The site has even been suggested to be the original monastery of Samuel of Qalamūn, but this appears to be unlikely.⁹¹

When St. Antony approaches the Fayyūm, according to the abstract made by Bishop Abrām: ‘*he walked on the water like on the soil, until he arrived at the other land and his feet did not become afflicted.*’⁹² This sentence appears to be borrowed directly from the *Life of St. Antony*, but it is uncertain by whom it is borrowed, either by Bishop Abrām or his source.⁹³

5.b. St. Antony as spiritual father

The *Life of Anbā Isaac* mentions a hermit named Isidore the Confessor. He had suffered persecution by Diocletian and he had been in prison in the city of Ihnās. Historically, the city of Ihnās played indeed a role in the Diocletian persecution and is mentioned in several martyr acts.⁹⁴ Isidore’s characterization as ‘the Confessor’⁹⁵ would refer to his unshakable faith during persecution, which he survived. However, a holy monk Isidore from Ihnās is unknown in historical and literary sources.⁹⁶ Actually, there is another Isidore, surnamed the Confessor, who entered monasticism at the mountain of Nitria,⁹⁷ and who later, at the end of the fourth century, became bishop of Hermopolis.⁹⁸ This second Isidore was admired for his strong faith. He lived after the Diocletian era and in this case the term the Confessor concerns his clear

⁸⁷ Till 1935, 55-71.

⁸⁸ Till 1935, 60 (text), 68 (transl.).

⁸⁹ See for the Coptic *Life* Alcock 1983, 3 (text), 77 (transl.); for the Arabic *Life*, see Alcock 1996, 327.

⁹⁰ See Walters 1989, 204, 207-208.

⁹¹ See Walters 1989, 207-208; see also Depuydt 1993, CXI.

⁹² See Bishop Abrām 2004, 137.

⁹³ Cf. Bartelink 1994, 176-177; Garitte 1949a, 21 (text); 1949b, 12 (trans.).

⁹⁴ See Timm 1984-1992, 3:1161-1172.

⁹⁵ Isidore the Confessor: he is presented in this way in the summary made by Bishop Abrām 2004, 137-140.

⁹⁶ A person Isidore from Ihnās in the period of Diocletian persecution is mentioned neither in Timm’s *CKA*, nor in Papaconstantinou 2001, 110-112.

⁹⁷ Nitria: see Ġabal Barnūġ in Timm 1984-1992, 3:978-985 (979).

⁹⁸ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chapter 1, see the edition by Wellhausen 2003, 494-495. See also White [1932] 1973, 2:128-130. For Hermopolis see Damanhūr (I) in Timm 1984-1992, 2:507-515 (509).

theological views and his prominent role in the religious discussions during the fourth century. This Isidore, however, does not seem to have any relation with the city of Ihnās nor with Naqlūn. Below, the identification of Isidore will become more clear.⁹⁹

The localization of a place named Nimiṣtus as the native place of some hermits also is problematic.¹⁰⁰ The text situates it in the neighbourhood of the city of Naqālīfā,¹⁰¹ a place still existing north of Fayyūm City. Nimiṣtus is not mentioned in Timm, nor in any other study dealing with the geography of the Fayyūm.¹⁰² However, there is a possible solution to this. The first letter, the Arabic *nūn*, could be a writing error or a misreading and the copyist meant to write a *sīn*. In this case the name of the city would be Simiṣtus, which is identical with the Coptic Psimistous (ⲡⲥⲙⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩⲥ), including the definite article. As already indicated above, this Coptic name occurs a few times in Greek papyri from the Fayyūm dating from the seventh-eighth centuries¹⁰³ and it is mentioned in a Coptic manuscript together with, among others, Pouaeid (ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲉⲓⲁ), the Coptic name of Isaac's birth place Ibwt. ¹⁰⁴ Al-Maqrīzī mentions a canal of Simiṣtus (Ḥalīḡ Simiṣtus) that is situated in the Fayyūm and supplied the village of Simiṣtus with water.¹⁰⁵ The Arabic name Simiṣtus is mentioned by al-Nāblusī in his description of the Fayyūm, and he assumes its location to be in the north east of the Fayyūm.¹⁰⁶ All this is in conformity with the *Life of Anbā Isaac*, which makes this solution very likely to be correct.

St. Antony's picture as a spiritual father is borne out by his act of dressing the hermits living at the mountain of al-Šarika in the habit of monasticism and in the vision of the Holy Virgin in which she refers four times to St. Antony's sons on this mountain (§5, §8, §14, §16). In *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*¹⁰⁷ as well as in *The Journey of St. Aūr*¹⁰⁸ the hermits living on the mountain of Naqlūn are also said to have been dressed in the habit by St. Antony, and they are likewise called St. Antony's spiritual sons. A similar parallel is found in the Arabic *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, already referred to

⁹⁹ See below, in 5.e. *A prophecy about St. Isaac*.

¹⁰⁰ Nimiṣtus : the vocalisation of the word is uncertain.

¹⁰¹ According to Ramzī this city belongs to the district of Sinnouris, see Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-3:116.

¹⁰² Calderini found in the Greek papyri one attestation of a city Νεμεισητ(.). Although the name shows slight similarity with the Arabic Nimiṣtus, its incompleteness and its assumed location in the far west region of the Fayyūm make it unlikely to be identical with the Arabic Nimiṣtus. See Calderini 1980, vol. 3, fasc. 3, 331.

¹⁰³ See Timm 1984-1992, 5:2346-2348.

¹⁰⁴ See Crum 1893, 63-68; see also Timm 1984-1992, 1:477.

¹⁰⁵ See Maqrīzī (ed. Sayyid) 2002, vol. 1, 672-673.

¹⁰⁶ See Sauneron [1974] 1983, 174-176; Moritz 1899, 18; Salmon 1901, 32; Wessely 1904, 104, 166.

¹⁰⁷ See chapter VIII, text and translation §18.

¹⁰⁸ See chapter VI, text and translation §130.

above,¹⁰⁹ in which is reported on: ‘*the mountain community which belongs to Abūna Anṭūniyūs in the land of the Fayyūm, known as Naqlūn.*’¹¹⁰

The ceremony of the monastic investiture takes place in a small church, described as a cavity in the mountain, dedicated to the archangel Michael that is said to have been a place of rest for Jacob, the Biblical patriarch.¹¹¹ A similar reference to this cave in the mountain occurs in the *Naqlūn homily*,¹¹² and in the *HCME*,¹¹³ demonstrating a close relation between these three works.

In the *Life of Anbā Isaac* this cave church is dedicated to the archangel Michael. The *Naqlūn homily* remains silent about the dedication of this sanctuary of Jacob. However, the four manuscripts belonging to recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* speak of a church of the archangel Michael, although this church seems to have been part of the central buildings of the monastery and was not a cave in the mountain. A similar situation may be assumed in the *Journey of St. Aūr*, in which the presence of a second church, probably dedicated to the archangel Michael, inside the monastic complex, is not mentioned explicitly, but may be inferred from the contents.¹¹⁴

5.c. *St. Antony’s vision*

As already appeared above, it is often difficult to find out to which location the text, or rather the abstract, of the *Life of Anbā Isaac* refers. This is even more complicated in the following paragraphs. Nevertheless, I will try to find a plausible solution for the identification of churches and places.

St. Antony’s view of the flourishing future of, most probably, the mountain of Naqlūn has a parallel in *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*.¹¹⁵ Here it is the archon John to whom the future is revealed by the saints Antony and Paul in an apparition. The fact that in the *Life of Anbā Isaac* the reader is informed about the religious importance of the mountain through the eyes of St. Antony, stresses even more the picture of St. Antony as the spiritual father of monasticism at the mountain of Naqlūn.

¹⁰⁹ See above in 5.a. *Isaac and St. Antony at the mountain of al-Šarika*.

¹¹⁰ See Alcock 1996, 336. This sentence does not occur in the Coptic (and Ethiopic) versions of this *Life*.

¹¹¹ See Gn 45:10.

¹¹² See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §54, and the commentary in chapter V, 10. *History and religious landscape*.

¹¹³ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206.

¹¹⁴ See chapter VI, 6.c. *The building and consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel*.

¹¹⁵ See chapter VIII, text and translation §18.

The *Life of Anbā Isaac* links the mountain of al-Šarika to the famous monastic centre, the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, in its Greek form Scetis.¹¹⁶ Two monks, named Kālābiyūn and Šamu’īl, each coming from one of these monastic sites, are brought together on ‘my (the Holy Virgin’s) holy mountain’ under the protection of the two archangels Michael and Gabriel. The name of Kālābiyūn obviously brings the attention of the audience to the mountain of Qalamūn. A similar kind of prophetic name occurs in the *Naqlūn homily*, in the name Dayr Aqlū,¹¹⁷ and in *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, in the change of the monk’s name from Bālāmūn via Kālāmūn into Qalamūn.¹¹⁸ The name Šamu’īl, the Arabic form for Samuel, obviously refers to Samuel of Qalamūn, who started his monastic life at the mountain of Scetis,¹¹⁹ and lived at the monastery of Naqlūn for a few years,¹²⁰ and settled at Qalamūn. Samuel also plays a role in *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*.¹²¹ This strengthens the possible relation between the latter and the *Life of Anbā Isaac*. *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn* for its part shows many parallels with the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*. In this view, the identification of the mountain of al-Šarika as the combination of both the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn becomes even more probable. Kālābiyūn would then have come from the mountain of al-Šarika and Samūīl from the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. About these two monks it is said that they are placed under the heavenly protection of the archangels Michael and Gabriel. A similar role with respect to this mountain is attributed to the two archangels in *The Journey of St. Aūr*.¹²²

The ‘keep’ of the Holy Virgin (§1) gives the impression of the presence of a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin in the keep, which is usually the tower inside a monastery. However, none of the texts studied here contains a reference to a church of the Holy Virgin at the mountain of Naqlūn. Nor did archaeological investigations find a trace of a church of the Holy Virgin at Naqlūn. However, the monastery of Qalamūn does contain a church of the Holy Virgin.¹²³ This explanation is plausible and strengthens the assumption of the identification of the mountain of al-Šarika as the combination of both the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn. The Coptic *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* presents the community living

¹¹⁶ Scetis or Wādī al-Naṭrūn, see for literature on the site Mikhail and Moussa 2009.

¹¹⁷ See chapter V, text and translation §50.

¹¹⁸ See chapter VIII, text and translation §7, §10.

¹¹⁹ See Alcock 1983, 3 (text), 77 (transl.).

¹²⁰ See Alcock 1983, 8 (text), 82 (transl.).

¹²¹ See chapter VIII, text and translation §11 and the accompanying commentary.

¹²² See chapter VI, text and translation §11, §97, §98, §132, and the accompanying commentary.

¹²³ See Timm 1984-1992, 3:1001, 1004. According to Meinardus 1992, 189, Dayr al-Ḥammām is also named the monastery of the Holy Virgin and it contains also a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin.

on the mountain of Qalamūn as ‘the holy community of the Virgin’, i.e. the Virgin Mary.¹²⁴ Moreover, this *Life* contains a passage telling that Samuel, praying in a small church, gets a vision of the Holy Virgin.¹²⁵ The Holy Virgin appears to him, accompanied by the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel. She tells Samuel that she will dwell on ‘this mountain’. Further in the text the newly built church is dedicated to the Holy Virgin.¹²⁶ This description is very similar to the passage contained in the *Life of Anbā Isaac* (§1) and suggests a relation between both texts.

The mountain of al-Šarika is considered to be the place where ‘the building of the monasteries’ has started (§2). The characterization as the place of origin of monasticism is the central theme in *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn* and is another indication of a relation between both texts.

At this point in the text (§5) a church is mentioned that is described as a ‘lower church’,¹²⁷ dedicated to St. Antony by his disciples and situated to the west of a hermitage. A church dedicated to St. Antony does not occur in the *Naqlūn homily* nor in any of the subsidiary texts, nor has it been discovered by archaeological investigations at the mountain of Naqlūn. Nevertheless, at a certain distance from the Fayyūm at the east side of the Nile the monastery called Dayr al-Maymūn is found,¹²⁸ which does contain a church dedicated to St. Antony.¹²⁹ This identification is possible and is studied in 5.g. below.

Another hypothetical explanation, which cannot be confirmed, is that the church of St. Antony forms one of the units of a complex hermitage. A hermitage of this kind has been discovered by archaeological investigations at the site of Naqlūn, although the name of this small church is unknown.¹³⁰

The great respect with which St. Antony is regarded is demonstrated in particular by the healing power attributed to the church of St. Antony when the visitors pray with faith and ask for the intercession of St. Antony (§6). Moreover, St. Antony’s commandments are regarded as important prescriptions for spiritual life and development, guiding the monks to priesthood

¹²⁴ See Alcock 1983, 1+nt. 2 (text), 74+nt.1 (transl.). The Arabic version of the *Life* uses a similar expression, see Alcock 1996, 323.

¹²⁵ For the Coptic version, see Alcock 1983, 24 (text), 100 (transl.); for the Arabic *Life*, see Alcock 1998, 396.

¹²⁶ For the Coptic version, see Alcock 1983, 27 (text), 105 (transl.); for the Arabic *Life*, see Alcock 1998, 401.

¹²⁷ Vansleb reports about a church below the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel, see Vansleb 1972, 166.

¹²⁸ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:742-748; see also Coquin and Martin 1991c.

¹²⁹ See Grossmann 1991b; Timm 1984-1992, 2:746.

¹³⁰ This hermitage is indicated as hermitage 85, see Godlewski 2008a, 198-205; 2008b.

and religious leaders (§14-§16, and the summary 3.a.), which may be brought into relation with the *Rule* attributed to St. Antony, already discussed earlier.¹³¹

5.d. A prophecy about St. Aūr

The coming of St. Aūr is announced in the vision by the Holy Virgin to St. Antony (§8). Aūr is characterized as a descendant of the Persian kings, which is a further specification of the expressions used in the *Naqlūn homily* ‘a country in the East’, and ‘the country in which the sun rises’. He is called *the Mağūsī*, which immediately reminds the audience of the Biblical story about the three Wise Men.¹³² In the *Naqlūn homily* the relation with this Biblical story is indicated in an indirect way.¹³³

St. Aūr is told to build a church in the name of the archangel Gabriel (§7), which is the central theme in the *Naqlūn homily*. The church is characterized as a large church. St. Aūr is also told to transform the resting place of Jacob into the church of the archangel Michael, which will be a small church. There is no other text related to this study referring to the size of any of these two churches. The small church of St. Michael has already been discussed in the preceding section.

The origin of the name Naqlūn for the mountain site is another fact brought in relation to St. Antony. The name is derived from one of St. Antony’s disciples called Naklāna, a holy person with a leading role at the mountain (§8). The theme of a prophetic name is discussed above (see 5.e.).

Naklāna is said to have appointed Aūr as leader over 1500 monks at Naqlūn (§8). This large number of monks living at Naqlūn has a parallel in the Arabic *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* which speaks about a number of more than a thousand monks.¹³⁴

The prediction that St. Aūr would become bishop of the Fayyūm and would not live at the episcopal city of the Fayyūm (§9-§10), but keep his dwelling place at Naqlūn, is likewise present in the *Naqlūn homily* (§186, §200, §204).

The *Life of Anbā Isaac* is unique in reporting about the quarrel concerning the location of St. Aūr’s mortal remains (§11-§13). The three possibilities for his burial place offered by the text, namely the monastic site of Scetis near the burial place of the famous St. Macarius; the episcopal city of Fayyūm; and the monastery of Naqlūn, suggest a certain relation

¹³¹ See Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlun*; 3.a. *The early sources*; chapter VI, 5.g. *Constructing history: the names*.

¹³² Mt 2:1-12.

¹³³ See chapter V, 9. *The Naqlūn homily in its context*.

¹³⁴ See Alcock 1996, 339.

between St. Aūr and each of these sites. The relation between the monastery of Naqlūn and the episcopal city is evident, as St. Aūr is the assumed founder of the monastery and later a bishop of the Fayyūm. The monastery of Scetis, with its Greek name, is mentioned together with St. Macarius, living there in the early times of this monastery. This mention gives St. Aūr a fame and authority at a level comparable to that of St. Macarius of Scetis. Apparently the author wanted to stress the importance of the monastic site at Naqlūn by mentioning it together with Scetis. Although Scetis, or in Arabic the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, and St. Macarius do not have a parallel in any other text studied here,¹³⁵ in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* both the site of Scetis and the example of St. Macarius play an important role in the beginning period of Samuel's life as a monk.¹³⁶ Apparently, the author of the *Life of Anbā Isaac* was acquainted with the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* and he could have used it as a source. Moreover, this implies that in the author's view the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn were closely related and it makes the interpretation of the mountain of al-Šarika as the combination of the two mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn even more probable. St. Aūr is buried according to his wish at the mountain of Naqlūn, which is in conformity with the *Naqlūn homily* (§204, §207).

According to the *Life of Anbā Isaac* the people of the Fayyūm are supposed to bury their dead at this monastic site at Naqlūn (§16). This fact assumes the presence of a cemetery most probably for the local laypeople at the mountain of Naqlūn. None of the other hagiographic texts related to St. Aūr of the Naqlūn speaks about a cemetery. However, archaeological investigations attest the presence of a cemetery used also by the local people dating from the sixth-seventh century and another cemetery of the same kind dating from the eleventh-fourteenth centuries.¹³⁷ The date of the text, which is discussed below, is assessed in the eleventh-twelfth century, which makes it more probable that the text refers to the later cemetery.

The available text breaks off with a remark about the water supply, telling that digging a well is not necessary (§17). Apparently, the water supply is in some way specific that it is worth mentioning.

5.e. A prophecy about St. Isaac

¹³⁵ Actually, there is one reference to both names: in the colophon of ms. J is written that this ms. was a donation to the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, see above in chapter I, 2. *Presentation and description of the manuscripts*, ms. J.

¹³⁶ For the Coptic *Life*, see Alcock 1983, 4 (text), 77-78 (transl); for the Arabic *Life*, see Alcock 1996, 327-331.

¹³⁷ A cemetery at Naqlūn dated to the 6th-7th centuries: Godlewski 2011, 467-482; and 2005a, 161; see also Godlewski and Lajtar 2006; Godlewski 2008a, 198, Zych 2008; Godlewski 2005c, 185-186; another cemetery at Naqlūn has been dated to the 11th-14th centuries, see Godlewski 2011, 467-482; and 2005b; see also Godlewski 2005c, 183.

Isaac, originating from Ibawīt and being a disciple of St. Antony, is furthermore characterized as courageous, demonstrated by his achievement in dispelling the demons and the destruction of the temples on the mountain of al-Barambil, his new dwelling place.

Isidore's identity, already discussed above in 5.b., becomes more clear at this point in the summary of Bishop Abrām, by linking him with the hermit George. A nearly identical description of the pair of these two monks and, strikingly also in the form of a vision, occurs in the *Journey of St. Aūr*.¹³⁸ Both have been dressed in the habit by St. Antony and are considered the spiritual fathers of the monks at Naqlūn. This clear parallel found in the *Journey of St. Aūr*, assumes a certain relation with the *Life of Anbā Isaac*. Isidore's characterization as the Confessor and surviving martyr of the Diocletian persecution gives the monastery more fame.

The mountain of al-Šarika is specified as situated near a place called Qambaša. It is identified in geographic sources as identical with Qalamša, situated in the south of the Fayyūm.¹³⁹ On a recent map¹⁴⁰ of the region, however, both places are indicated separately: 'Izbat Qambaša, a recently founded settlement situated indeed very close west of the monastery of Naqlūn, and the place Qalamša, situated at short distance more to the south. Apparently, both names are still used side by side in modern times. Nevertheless, the location of the present monastery of Naqlūn near the village of Qalamša¹⁴¹ confirms the identification of the mountain of al-Šarika as the mountain of Naqlūn (but does not exclude Qalamūn).

5.f. *Dayr al-Ḥammām*

The summary by bishop Abrām reports that Isaac is accompanied by St. Antony from the mountain of al-Šarika to his new dwelling place at the mountain of al-Barambil.¹⁴² In this context one should expect the site to be located in or close to the Fayyūm. The name al-Barambil is most probably a derivation of the Greek Parembolē (παρεμβολή – military camp), a common name for a village or settlement.¹⁴³ The group of idolaters from Mifasaṭ, who are converted to Christianity by the preaching of Isaac, cannot have been living very far

¹³⁸ See chapter VI, text and translation §130, §140, §141.

¹³⁹ See Moritz 1899, 141-143; Salmon 1901, 71, 72, 73 (map); Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-3:85-86.

¹⁴⁰ Map published by the EGSA (Egyptian General Survey Authority) printed in 1996, map Ihnāsyā al-Madīna, nr. NH36-E2b. 'Izbat Qambaša is indicated as Ezbat Qalamshah on a small map in Meinardus 1977, 449; and on a map drawn by Dobrowolski in Derda 1995 – plate 1.

¹⁴¹ See Godlewski, Herbich and Wipszycka 1990, 171.

¹⁴² Al-Barambil: the vocalisation is uncertain.

¹⁴³ Calderini mentions six different sites named Parembolē, see Calderini 1987, 5:53-54; see also Worp 1991, 294; Timm 1984-1992, 4:1843, 6:2840; Wessely 1904, 117; Amélineau [1893] 1973, 306, see also Niẓārat al-Mālīya, 'Idārat al-Ta'dād (Ministry of Finance (of Egypt), Department of Census and Statistics) 1899, 126 who mentions three different sites with the name Burumbul.

from Isaac's dwelling place. Geographical sources indicate that Mifasaṭ is most probably identical with the present Infasaṭ, situated in the district of al-Wāsiṭā.¹⁴⁴ These converted idolaters founded a new monastery, identified as Dayr al-Ḥammām, most probably previously called the monastery of Abū Isaac.¹⁴⁵ A similar identification is found in the *HCME* that was composed in the twelfth-thirteenth century.¹⁴⁶ Al-Nābluṣī,¹⁴⁷ a Syrian official who wrote a report on the Fayyūm in the thirteenth century, mentions the monks of the monastery of Abū Ishāq in the passage on the town of al-Ḥammām.¹⁴⁸ According to al-Nābluṣī, this monastery is one of the thirteen monasteries situated in the Fayyūm and located near to al-Lāhūn.¹⁴⁹ His information is in agreement with the suggested identification. Al-Maqrīzī's work dating from after this period does not mention it.¹⁵⁰ Dayr al-Ḥammām, although situated in the mountain region 5 km to the north of the town of al-Lāhūn and just outside the Fayyūm,¹⁵¹ belonged to the diocese of the Fayyūm in earlier times.¹⁵² Based on these facts, Isaac's dwelling place al-Barambil is supposed to have had its location somewhere in the neighbourhood of both al-Mifasaṭ and Dayr al-Ḥammām.

This location becomes even more probable if the mountain region of al-Barambil is presumed to be identical with the location of the modern town named al-Burumbul, previously named al-Barnīl and situated east of the Nile about 10 km to the south of Aṭfīḥ¹⁵³ and 10 km to the north of Dayr al-Maymūn.¹⁵⁴ This monastery is considered to be one of the possible locations for the former monastery of Pispir founded by St. Antony.¹⁵⁵ But recently the present al-Burumbul has been suggested as a more probable location for it, because it is

¹⁴⁴ Mifasaṭ might be identical with Minfasaṭ, which is the previous name for Infasaṭ, see Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-3:129. These names are not mentioned in Timm. In the summary made by Bishop Abrām, Mifasaṭ is identified as the present Infasaṭ in the district of al-Wāsiṭā, and next to it to the west side is situated the mountain of Mifasaṭ, see Bishop Abrām 2004, 139, nt. 64.

¹⁴⁵ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:585-587, and Meinardus 1977, 457-458, the latter makes the remark that the identification of the monastery of St. Isaac as Dayr al-Ḥammām is probable but all but proven. See also Bishop Abrām 2004, 139, and nt. 64, in the text is mentioned Dayr Abī Ishāq and in the footnote the monastery is named as Dayr al-qiddīs al-Anbā Ishāq (the monastery of the saint bishop Isaac).

¹⁴⁶ See Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 210. According to the *HCME* Dayr al-Ḥammām is situated at a mountain site called Barniyūda. Barniyūda is not mentioned in al-Maqrīzī. The identification of al-Barambil as Barniyūda seems unlikely.

¹⁴⁷ See Introduction, 3.g. *Scholars and travellers*.

¹⁴⁸ See the edition by Moritz 1899, 54.

¹⁴⁹ See the edition by Moritz 1899, 22.

¹⁵⁰ See Context, 3.g. *Scholars and travellers*.

¹⁵¹ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:585-587.

¹⁵² See Meinardus 1992, 189.

¹⁵³ See Timm 1984-1992, 1:347-348; see also Ramzī [1952-1960] 1993-1994, II-3:27-28 ; and Daressy 1917, 186; Niẓārat al-Mālīya, 'Idārat al-Ta'dād (Ministry of Finance (of Egypt), Department of Census and Statistics) 1899, 126; for a legend about this site see Sauneron [1974] 1983, 128-129 and same legend also in Sauneron 1969, 120-121; for a parallel of the legend by al-Maqrīzī, see Sayyid 2002-2003, 1:558.

¹⁵⁴ Bishop Abrām 2004, 138, nt. 62, situates the mountain al-Barambil further north in the district of al-Ṣaff in the province al-Gizah.

¹⁵⁵ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:742-749.

situated on the border of the desert and has in its centre a tower on top of which is the tomb of a saint, facts that are in conformity with the description in St. Antony's *Life*¹⁵⁶ and in agreement with the *Life of Anbā Isaac*.

The fact that St. Antony accompanies Isaac to his new dwelling place and encourages him in his task of dispelling the demons from this site, is another illustration of St. Antony's role as a spiritual father. Moreover, as St. Antony's disciple, Isaac converts pagans to Christianity, whereupon these new Christians start founding a new monastery, namely Dayr al-Ḥammām. Isaac, as their spiritual father, may be considered the actual founder of this monastery, and St. Antony may be regarded as their spiritual father.

The opposition against idolatry and the struggle with demons is a well known theme in hagiography. St. Antony himself is known to have been attacked by the demons.¹⁵⁷ Also St. Aūr has to deal with Satan's opposition during the building of the church, as reported in the *Naqlūn homily*.¹⁵⁸ With respect to Isaac, he may be assumed to have been experienced in this task due to his origin from the region of Memphis, historically notorious for its pagan cults.¹⁵⁹

5.g. Isaac at the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in

In the summary by Bishop Abram reference is made to St. Antony and two patriarchs Athanasius (326-373)¹⁶⁰ and his successor Peter II (373-380),¹⁶¹ by which the story is situated firmly in the fourth century. Both patriarchs were strong opponents of the Arian heresy and supported Egyptian monasticism. Both themes, the strive for a pure faith and propagation of monasticism, are prominent in the *Life of Anbā Isaac*. Especially the spread of monasticism is made distinct by the abovegiven description of the foundation of two monasteries, the one of Naqlūn and the monastery founded by Isaac, identified as Dayr al-Ḥammām. According to the summary made by Bishop Abrām, probably even a third monastic site is founded, at the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in, assumingly located near Alexandria. However, this name has not been found in geographical and historical sources and there are no mountains near Alexandria!¹⁶² Apparently, the name of Ḡazā'ir al-Dayr (in translation: islands of the

¹⁵⁶ Martin made this suggestion in an article (non vidi) published in 1986. The tomb, at present venerated by muslims, could have been earlier the place where St. Antony founded his first monastery. Later Wipszycka based her information on Martin. See Wipszycka 2004, 135-148; Wipszycka 2009, 248-261. For the article written by Martin, see Wipszycka 2004, 141, nt. 19; or Wipszycka 2009, 259, nt. 46.

¹⁵⁷ See Bartelink 1994, for example the chapters 5,6,8,9,13,38,53.

¹⁵⁸ See chapter V, text and translation §140-§177.

¹⁵⁹ See Timm 1984-1992, 4:1550.

¹⁶⁰ See Atiya 1991e.

¹⁶¹ See Atiya 1991f.

¹⁶² Timm, Ramzi, and al-Maqrīzī do not mention a site al-Ḥazā'in.

monastery), has been used for Dayr al-Maymūn,¹⁶³ during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime and later, and Ġazā'ir (جزائر) is easily confused in Arabic script with Ḥazā'in (حزائن). This explanation implies that the information about its supposed location near Alexandria does not belong to the original text, but is an interpretation made by Bishop Abrām.¹⁶⁴ The identification as Ġazā'ir al-Dayr is quite acceptable, the site laying in close proximity of Isaac's dwelling place al-Barambil, which is above identified with great plausibility as the modern al-Burumbul, and it explains the presence of the church of St. Antony contained in this monastery. Moreover, it situates the scenery of the story in a clearly marked out piece of land in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Naqlūn.¹⁶⁵

The *Life of Anbā Isaac* mentions a bishop Agathon of the Fayyūm, whose identity can not be established.¹⁶⁶ On request of Patriarch Peter II bishop Agathon would have dedicated a church situated in the 'keep', the tower of a monastery, to Isaac. The name Isaac, spelled consequently as Ishaq in the summary made by Bishop Abrām, is in this case spelled differently, as Īsāk. The term 'keep', used in a similar way above,¹⁶⁷ assumingly belongs to a monastery situated in or near the Fayyūm. The *HCME* mentions the presence of a church of 'the martyr' St. Isaac inside Dayr al-Ḥammām.¹⁶⁸ This martyr Isaac is best identified as Isaac of Tiphre, a fourth-century martyr under Diocletian,¹⁶⁹ hereby confirming that the two Isaac's of this text are indeed two different persons both related to this same monastery.¹⁷⁰

5.h. Isaac's death and his commemoration

The role of St. Antony is further emphasized even at the deathbed of Isaac. Sensing his death approaching, Isaac summons his disciples and gives them instructions, and, the text

¹⁶³ See Timm 1984-1992, 2:745-746. Timm adds that the name Gazā'ir ad-Dayr is no longer in use, but is possibly the predecessor of the island east of the town al-Maymūn.

¹⁶⁴ See Bishop Abrām 2004, 139.

¹⁶⁵ An inscription in Coptic (Fayyūmi-Sahidic), nr. A.11, on the wall of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn records the visit of a priest originating from a monastery of St. Antony, most probably Dayr al-Maymūn. The inscription indicates that there was a relation between the two monasteries. (The inscriptions, as yet unpublished, are kindly brought to my attention by prof. J. van der Vliet.)

¹⁶⁶ Timm and Worp do not mention a bishop Agathon of the Fayyūm.

¹⁶⁷ See 3.g. *Isaac at mountain of al-Ḥazā'in*; text and translation §1; and 5.c. *St. Antony's vision*.

¹⁶⁸ See Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 209-210.

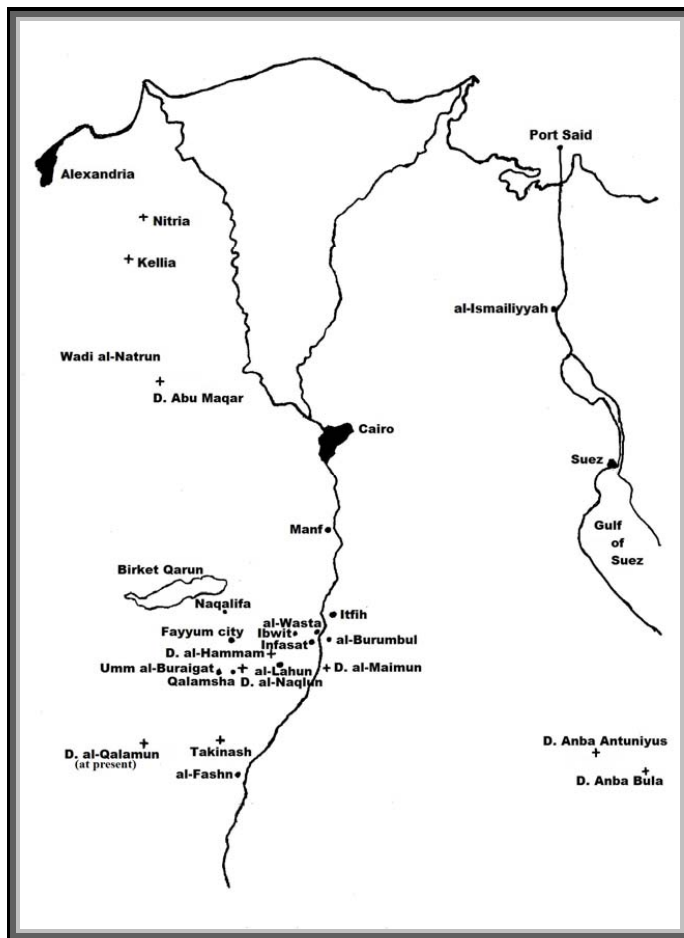
¹⁶⁹ About Isaac of Tiphre see: Baumeister 1972, 115-116; Orlandi 1991, 4:1304-1305. The identification as Isaac of Tiphre is suggested by Meinardus 1977, 458. In this work he is not certain, but he assumes Dayr al-Ḥammām to be identical with the monastery of St. Isaac, but in his later work he seems to be certain about this identification, see Meinardus 1992, 189. See also Timm 1984-1992, 2:585-587 who based his information on the earlier work of Meinardus; and see Coquin and Martin 1991a.

¹⁷⁰ Timm 1984-1992, 2:586 already posed the question after which Isaac the monastery has been named.

adds, he gives them instructions just like St. Antony. Here again St. Antony is put forward as a spiritual father and example for monastic life.¹⁷¹

On the date of Isaac's death, 25 Bašans (2 June), his disciples are told to hold an annual commemoration at the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in, mentioned above (5.g). The Copto-Arabic Synaxar does not mention a holy monk Isaac (of the Fayyūm) for this date.¹⁷² Probably, it has been a local celebration that lasted a limited period of time.¹⁷³

Below on a map the towns and sites occurring in the *Life of Anbā Isaac* are indicated.



Map Life of Anbā Isaac

¹⁷¹ St. Antony as example for monastic life is depicted similarly in the Coptic Life of Samuel of Qalamūn, see Alcock 1983, 1, 12, 32, 34 (in translation: 75, 87, 111, 115).

¹⁷² Several holy persons named Isaac are known in the history of the Coptic Church, see for example Papaconstantinou 2001, 109; O'Leary [1937] 1974, 157-160.

¹⁷³ As already remarked by Van der Vliet 2009, 440-441, nt. 5, both Meinardus 1977, 155, and Viaud 1979, 43, make mention of a celebration in honour of St. Isaac, most probably Isaac al-Hūrīnī, at Naqlūn at the date of 22 Barmūda (30 April).

6. Conclusion

The central theme of the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil* appears to be the foundation of several monastic sites, starting with the mountain of al-Šarika, which has been identified as most likely the mountain region containing both monastic sites of Naqlūn and Qalamūn. First the foundation of the monastic settlement at Naqlūn (in combination with Qalamūn) is explained. Departing from this site Dayr al-Ḥammām is founded, followed by the monastery of al-Ḥazā'in, which may be identified as Ḡazā'ir al-Dayr, situated east of the city of al-Maymūn and west of Dayr al-Maymūn, all monastic sites in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Naqlūn. The foundation of these monastic sites has been brought about by the main character Isaac of Barambil, whose identity remains obscure. He originates from the village Ibwīt, and is dressed in the habit by his spiritual father St. Antony at the mountain of al-Šarika. He is ordained priest by Patriarch Peter II and he is indicated with the name 'the Courageous', probably because of his struggle against demons and idolatry. In the history of the Coptic Church several holy persons named Isaac are known, but none of these fits the description of Isaac of Barambil. Among the texts studied here, a bishop Isaac of the Fayyūm plays a role in the *Naqlūn homily* (§185-§192) and in *The journey of St. Aūr* (§139, §140, §143). In both texts, he is the bishop who consecrates the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn and is succeeded by St. Aūr. In the *Life of Anbā Isaac*, Aūr plays a certain role although the relation between Isaac of Barambil and Aūr is not elaborated. Isaac's identification as bishop Isaac of the Fayyūm, the predecessor of St. Aūr is possible, but remains uncertain.

The role of St. Antony in the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil* is very important. Obviously, St. Antony is regarded as the spiritual father of the early monks in the south eastern region of the Fayyūm and its near environment. St. Antony is also presented as a great example for monastic life. This is mirrored by the words of the Holy Virgin in the vision saying that his spiritual sons should keep his commandments, which is probably a reference to the Rule attributed to St. Antony. The exemplary role of St. Antony is further stressed in the religious deeds performed by his disciples. They follow St. Antony's footsteps in the foundation and the enlargement of several monasteries. His two disciples Isidore and George settle at the mountain of al-Šarika. This site includes at least the monastery of Naqlūn and most probably also the monastery of Qalamūn. St. Antony's disciple Isaac becomes the founder of Dayr al-Ḥammām near the Fayyūm and the spiritual father of the brothers at the mountain of al-Ḥazā'in. Another spiritual son of St. Antony, Naklāna, gives his name to the

mountain of Naqlūn (certainly a legendary explanation for the origin of the name Naqlūn) and appoints Aūr as leader of a large number of monks living at this site. Aūr builds the churches of the archangel Michael and Gabriel. All these religious works may ultimately be traced back to St. Antony.¹⁷⁴ St. Antony is regarded with great respect. The origins of these monastic settlements in or near the Fayyūm are considered to have been encouraged and supervised by St. Antony himself. Moreover, the date of their origins is situated in or shortly after St. Antony's lifetime.

The date of the composition of the *Life of Anbā Isaac* is difficult to determine. The manuscript X is undated, manuscripts Y and Z are dated to AD 1824 and 1750 respectively. Manuscript Y has been copied from an earlier manuscript dated to AD 1650. This date may be considered the terminus ante quem for the composition of the text. The mention of the construction of the large church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn is an indication for a date after the tenth century when the church, according to the archaeological record, had been reconstructed after a great fire¹⁷⁵ or after the eleventh century when the church had been refurbished and redecorated.¹⁷⁶ The presence of the church of the archangel Michael at Naqlūn is attested in the twelfth-thirteenth century by its mention in the *HCME*.¹⁷⁷ The presence of a cemetery for the local people at this site has been determined in the period of the eleventh-fourteenth centuries. The monastery of Qalamūn has also been reconstructed round the eleventh century¹⁷⁸ and was flourishing by the twelfth century.¹⁷⁹ However, these facts do not allow to attach a date to the text more precise than the period from after the twelfth century to before 1650. The large number of monks recorded in the text gives the impression of a flourishing monastic community at Naqlūn, but it cannot be used as an indication for the date of the text. The reference to St. Aūr and his important role for the monastery of Naqlūn revealed by the text indicate that his life was known, at least to the author of the *Life of Anbā Isaac*. Possibly, he composed it in a period when the monasteries of the southeastern region of the Fayyūm were declining, with the aim to preserve the memory

¹⁷⁴ The role attributed to St. Antony in Copto-Arabic hagiography dealing with this region of the Fayyūm appears to become more important in Arab times. See for example the Arabic version of the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, Alcock 1996, 336: '... the mountain community which belongs to Abūnā Antūnūs in the land of the Fayyūm, known as Naqlūn.' This sentence does not occur in the Coptic and Ethiopic versions. Obviously, in later times the relation between the monastery of Naqlūn and St. Antony became more vivid.

¹⁷⁵ See Godlewski 2003, 165.

¹⁷⁶ See Godlewski 2003, 165.

¹⁷⁷ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 205-206.

¹⁷⁸ Timm 1984-1992, 3:1002.

¹⁷⁹ See Timm 1984-1992, 3:1003; Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 206-208.

of its fame or even restore its former fame by referring back to the great St. Antony as the spiritual father of the monks living in these monasteries.

The location of the origin of the text is very likely to be found in or near to the Fayyūm. Manuscript Y contains a note that it is copied (or written?) in the village Munša'a Ḥalbūṣ, situated close to the Fayyūm at the west bank of the river Nile, in the district al-Wāsiṭā in the province of Banī Suīf. Possibly its composition may be brought into relation with the monastery at Pispir founded by St. Antony, of which the possible location is at a short distance from the village Munša'a Ḥalbūṣ. At a certain time, when the monasteries in and near the Fayyūm declined, this manuscript may have been transferred to the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea.

The homily on Anbā Isaac of Barambil is attributed to Serapion, the famous fourth-century bishop and disciple of St. Antony. The attribution to this historically well-known author and devoted church leader gives the text more authority and underlines the important role of St. Antony.

The *Life of Anbā Isaac* is related to several other texts dealt with in this book. Most obvious are the parallels found in the text *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, but there are also clear similarities with the *Journey of St. Aūr* and a few with the *Naqlūn homily*. An important relation with the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* is also evident.

Concluding the above, the *Life of Anbā Isaac* forms another example of the literary tradition developed round the theme of St. Antony's connections with the Fayyūm, found also in the *Rule*. The *Life of Anbā Isaac* depicts St. Antony not only as the spiritual father of the group of monks living in the south-eastern region of the Fayyūm, including most probably both Naqlūn and Qalamūn, but also of the monasteries al-Ḥammām and assumingly al-Maymūn, in the region east of the borders of the Fayyūm. The *Life of Anbā Isaac* brings together the histories of these monasteries in and near the south-eastern region of the Fayyūm into one new composition, hereby writing a new history of these sites, referring to famous periods and persons, especially to St. Antony, in the early ages of these monastic sites. The rich geographical information contained in this text, makes it a unique example of rewriting the hagiographical landscape of this specific region in the period between the twelfth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ On the function of Egyptian hagiography as a historical source in the construction of a Christian landscape, already referred to above, see Van der Vliet 2006; and Van der Vliet 2009.

Chapter VIII

The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn

1. Introduction

The codex 98 – Hist. 23 Ḥārat al-Rūm contains four homilies and a hymn and belongs to a collection of manuscripts kept in the library of the Church of the Lady the Virgin at Ḥārat al-Rūm in Cairo. For a long time the codex went unnoticed. Only recently it has been listed in the bibliography of a study of the history of the Northern Church of the Angel Michael in Cairo, written by Nabih Kamel Daoud, a former librarian of the Coptic Patriarchate, and published in 2003.¹ In the bibliography of this book the author gives a survey of the manuscript collections kept in several churches in Cairo. On my visit to Cairo in April 2007, the author brought this manuscript to my notice. The priest of the Church of the Lady the Virgin, Abūnā Antonius, allowed me to make photocopies, not only of the first homily dealing with St. Aūr and the church at Naqlūn, the Ḥandaq homily,² but of the complete codex. The second homily turned out to be related to the mountain of Naqlūn and the archangel Gabriel in a very specific way. The survey of contents on f. 2r of the codex presents the second homily as a homily devoted to the two great archangels Michael and Gabriel for 26 Ba'ūna. This is true for the prologue, but the central part of the text reveals how the origins of monasticism on both mountains, Qalamūn and Naqlūn, are intertwined with one another. Therefore in the present study, the text is given the title: *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*.³ In this chapter this homily is studied and commented on. First a description of the manuscript containing this homily is presented, followed by an edition of the text accompanied by a translation. Then a commentary on the text is given and the chapter ends in a conclusion.

2. Description of the manuscript

Manuscript W: manuscript nr. General 98 – History 23, Homilies on the angel Gabriel, kept at the Church of the Lady the Virgin at Ḥārat al-Rūm in Cairo. The codex is dated to 1187 AM (= AD 1470) (f. 74r), and 1190 AM (= AD 1473) (f. 108r). The copyist of the larger

¹ The book is written in Arabic: تاريخ كنيسة الملاك ميخائيل البحري بدقائق القبة. Ms. W is mentioned on p. 5, 14, 32-34, 121. On p. 5 the author writes that in 1981 he discovered this manuscript together with Samiha Abd el-Shaheed, a former librarian of the Coptic Museum. For a review on this book, see Youssef 2006b.

² See chapter IX.

³ See also Context, 4.a. *Survey*, in which the homily is indicated with the siglum K.

part of the manuscript is the priest Gabriel, known as Ibn al-Šaraḩī,⁴ priest⁵ of the church of St. George in Tiḩḩa-lane in Qašr al-Ġam'a in Old-Cairo (f. 74r and f. 108v), which is still existing today.⁶ The copyist of the third homily, the homily on the Four Animals, is the priest Yūḩannā Naġīb Baršūm (f. 95r), who is indicated on f. 108v as the brother of the priest Gabriel. The date of donation to the church of the Lady of Perpetual Help, which church is situated in Ḩārat al-Rūm,⁷ is: 10 Misrā 1209 AM (3 August AD 1493) (f. 74v). The author of the first homily is purportedly a bishop called John of Asyūṭ (f. 26v), whose identification is discussed in chapter IX,⁸ and who might also be the author of the second homily, which is explained below.

The codex consists of 107 folios, written in Arabic, including a hymn that is written in Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns.⁹ Folio numbers are in Coptic cursive numerals. Folio number 18 in Coptic is missing. Coptic numbers 55-60 are not noted down. Possibly during binding the Coptic folios 51 and 52 have been put by accident between Coptic folios 58 and 59. Coptic folio numbers 105 and 104 have changed places, but here the text is continuous. The folio numbering in Arabic in a later hand is continuous, but on several folios the numbers are not noted or too vague to be deciphered. After Coptic number 17 and the missing Coptic number 18, the Arabic numbers are one number behind the Coptic numbers. There are 12-14 lines on a folio and there is a coloured drawing on f. 2v. A few catchwords are attested, and the titles are written in red ink. Many diacritical dots are missing. The survey of the contents, written on f. 2r, contains a few mistakes, and is as follows (folio numbers are indicated in Coptic):

1. f. 3r-43v. Homily on the archangel Gabriel for 26 Ba'ūna¹⁰ (the Ḩandaq homily) (*GCAL* I, 544, c; II, 507).¹¹
2. f. 43v. Contains a note, written in the lower margin but difficult to read.
3. **f. 44r-70r. Homily on the origins of monasticism at the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn, for 26 Ba'ūna.**

⁴ Transcription is not certain.

⁵ The priest Gabriel: he is referred to as *kāhin* (priest), *qiss* (priest), and also as hegumen and archpriest.

⁶ The church is also mentioned in Amélineau [1893] 1973, 550, 577; Timm 1979, 28; and in al-Maqrīzī, under *darb al-tiḩḩa*, see Sayyid 2002-2003, 4:1064. In these sources the church is indicated with the addition: at Qašr al-Šam'a (*sic*). See also Youssef 2005, 93.

⁷ See Timm 1979, 28.

⁸ See chapter IX, 5. *Commentary*.

⁹ The hymn is discussed in Appendix 1.

¹⁰ The survey of the contents indicates erroneously for this homily the date of 22 Kiyahk, probably due to the fact that this date occurs in the introduction to the homily.

¹¹ See chapter IX.

4. f. 70r-74r. Words of praise to the archangels Michael and Gabriel.
5. f. 74r-v. Colophon including the date, the names of the copyist and the provider, and the donation.
6. f. 75r-80r. Hymn (*Tarḥ Wāṭus* and *Adām*) on the archangel Gabriel for 26 Ba'ūna, in Bohairic Coptic and Arabic.¹²
7. f. 80v-95r. Homily on the Four Animals for 8 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 545, 5).
8. f. 95r. Another colophon, including the name of the copyist and a few notes that are difficult to read.
9. f. 95v-108r.¹³ Homily on the Twenty Four Priests by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, for 24 Hātūr (*GCAL* I, 545, 6a).
10. f. 108r-109r. Colophon including the name of the copyist and a recent note, dated 1977, of the priest Antony of the church of the Holy Virgin in Ḥārat al-Rūm, and a few other notes that are difficult to read.

3. Text and translation of the homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn

Here below the text and the translation are presented. However, the prologue and the epilogue have been summarized and rendered in translation only. These text parts are rather lengthy and their contents do not have information that would be important for an understanding of the central text, nor for the specific literary tradition related to the monastery of Naqlūn, the main theme of this study. The method applied for the edition follows the principles as discussed in chapter III for the *Naqlūn homily*.

3. Text of the homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn

- 1 (44r) بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد
 - 2 ميمر قاله احد الآباء الاساقفه معلمى البيعه الارتدكسيه بمدح فيه كرامه الجنديين السمايين والاميرين الروحانيين الكوكبيين المضيين والملاكين العظيمين ميخائيل ربيس الملايكه وغبريال المبشر
 - 3 يظهر¹⁴ فى هذا الميمر شيا مما وجد من اخبارهما الطاهره بجبل النفلون وجبل القلمون وكوره الفيوم
- وفتح بحر يوسف الصديق ودخوله الي اقليم كوره الفيوم

¹² The text of the hymn starts actually on f. 80r and should be read backwards to f. 75r. The hymn is dealt with in appendix 1.

¹³ According to the survey of contents presented on f. 2r, this fifth homily would start at f. 105.

¹⁴ يظهر فيه + W [يظهر] crossed out

- 4 ويظهر ايضا في هذا الميمر انه يجب ان يعيدوا لرئيس الملائكة ميخائيل ايضا مع صديقه رئيس الملائكة غبريال في مثل هذا اليوم الذي هو السادس والعشرين من شهر بؤونه بسلام من الرب امين [Prologue] (44v-53r)
- 5 6 ... (53r) تم نعود الان بقوه الرب وتاييده وهدايه وارشاده وتوفيجه ونعرف محبتكم ايضا ايها الشعب المحب لسيد يسوع المسيح بخبر عجيب عن جبل القلمون وجدته انا الحقيير (53v) مسطور بالقلم الاغراقا بالصعدي في خزانة الكتب بدير القلمون والخبر المذكور عجيب جدا لا نحب ان نتجاوزوه وهو منسوب الى الملاك الجليل غبريال يرحمنا الرب بشفاعته امين
- 7 وذلك ان في بدايه ظهور جبل القلمون يسمى جبل جلعاد واول من سكنه رجالان قديسان الاول منهما يدعى بالامون ودعي في الاخر كالامون وصار اسمه على هذا الجبل المذكور الى الابد اعني القلمون والثاني كان رجل قسيس من اهل الواحات يدعى بلهاو
- 8 وكانا يعبدان الله بكل مخافه فظهر في ايام هذين الابوين المذكورين ثلثه رجال (54r) سحره الواحد يسمى بمين والثاني يسمى كاروس والثالث يسمى افرام وكان ظهور المذكورين في ايام تاوضوسيوس الملك وكانوا يضلوا¹⁵ الناس بسحرهم وكانوا يحضروا الي الملك في كل عام ويعلموه بما يكون في احوال المملكة
- 9 فاتفق لهولاي السحره الثلثه ما اتفق للثلاثه مجوس الدين اتوا لميلاد مخلصنا وهو ان ادركتهم نعمه الله واسبع المسيح نعمته عليهم وهو انهم رجعوا عن صناعه السحر وصاروا متعادلين مع الملائكه فلما ادركتهم رحمه¹⁶ الله قصدوا الطلوع الى جبل جلعاد الى عند الشيخين انبا بالامون وانبا بلهاو ليسمعوا تعاليمهم فلما نظروهما اشتاقوا (54v) للاقامه عندهم حتي ينالوا بركتهما
- 10 وفي انقضي شهر من الزمان وادا برئيس الملائكه غبريال قد ظهر للقديس انبا بالامون وقال له السلام لك يا كالامون خذ لك الان هذا الاسم الجديد من عند الرب الذي هو كالامون كمثل يعقوب لما سمي بالاسم الجديد في البريه الذي هو اسراييل ولست انت وحدك يكون لك هذا الاسم لكني اقول لك ان هذا الاسم يكون موافقا لهذا الجبل الي الابد وكما ان اول هديه قدمت للسيد المسيح في يوم ميلاده على يد ثلثه رجال مجوس سحره من بلاد الشرق هكذا ايضا قدم هذا الاسم الجديد هديه¹⁷ لهذا الجبل من هولاي الثلثه رجال السحره انا هو غبريال الملاك الحارس لهذا الجبل الطاهر لا بد ان يخرج اناس كثير بفرح الي هذا الجبل ويسكنوه برجا عظيم ولما قال غبريال لرئيس الملائكه هذا الكلام لانبا كالامون اختفي عنه
- 11 واما الثلثه رجال السحره بمين وكاروس وافرام الذين صاروا قديسين هم الذين ظهرت لهم العين الما

¹⁵ بطلوا W [يضلوا

¹⁶ رحمته W [رحمه

¹⁷ The folio numbering is absent or illegible, on this folio and the following five folios.

- الذي بقي¹⁸ الى اليوم بدير القلمون وهم الدين زرعوا النخيل في الوادي وهم باقين الى يوم الناس هذا وهم الدين ابتوا البيعه اللطيفه على اسم انبا كالامون الذي كان انبا صمويل وجدها في الوادي لما (55v) حضر وسكن فيه وصاروا هولاي الثلثه رجال سكان فيه فعملوا عباداتهم
- 12 فاتفق لهم دات دفعه انهم نزلوا الي مصر ورجعوا الي الفيوم وكان ذلك بتدبير من الرب فلما اتوا من الفيوم تجهزوا للطلوع الي بريه القلمون موضع سكنهم على العين التي ظهرت لهم واخذتهم الطريق الي جبل النفلون الذي على الصخره وكانوا¹⁹ يطلبون المسير الي جبلهم المقدس فغابت الشمس عنهم فناموا على الصخره
- 13 وفيما هم نياما وادا برييس الملايكة غبريال ظهر لهم في الرويا على تلك الصخره وقال لهم يا ايها القوم الدين عرفوا الله ورجعوا عن الطريق الضلاله (56r) الي طريق الاستقامه اعرفوا من انا انا هو غبريال الذي ظهر للمجوس في ذلك الزمان اوليك الدين وافوا من ارض المشرق في ايام ميلاد الملك المسيح واوحيت اليهم بسر النجم الذي اشرق عليهم فسبقوا اولاً وقدموا قرايبتهم ورجعت بهم الي بلادهم وهم قديسين والان فليكن هذا علامه لكم باسمي علي هذه الصخره الي انقضي اجيال العالم لان البركه التي لا تزول ولا ينقضي يكون في هذا الموضع الي الابد وتكون البركه ايضا في مغارتكم التي في جبل جلعاد الذي هو جبل القلمون وفي العين الما التي نبعت لكم فيه ويجتمع الي ذلك المكان رهبان كثير قديسين
- 14 (56v) قالوا يا سيدنا انا غير عارفين بالطريق التي توصلنا الي جبل جلعاد وقد ضللنا²⁰ عنها وهذا الموضع بريه وصخره مقفره معطشه ولا طاقه لنا على السكن فيه ليلا نموت عطشا
- 15 فاجاب رييس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال وقال لهم ان قوه الهي وبركته يكونان في هذا الموضع الذي هو النفلون ويكمل عليه المكتوب ان الارض الذي ليس فيها ماء صارت مجاريا وعيونا العلکم انتم الدين ارويتم قوم موسي²¹ رييس الانبياء في ذلك الزمان عند عطشهم في البريه ليس انما هو الله وهذه علامه لكم²² ادا قمتم باكر بالغدا امضوا الي الارض الذي لبلاد الفيوم المدعوا يوحنا وقولوا له قال لك رييس الملايكة غبريال الذي طلب من الله (57r) لاجلك حتى جعلك ملكا ورفع العقوريه من بيتك ومن قطعان مواشيك وصاروا يلدون لك وزوجتك ولدت لك ولدين بسوالي انا هو غبريال انه من نسلك رهبان في جبل النفلون

¹⁸ W in left margin [بقي

¹⁹ W + [وكانوا يطبون

²⁰ W [ضللنا

²¹ W in right margin [موسي

²² double crossed out [لكم

- 16 هذا لما قاله ربيس الملايكة غبريال لاوليك الرجال واختفي عنهم واما هم فقاموا ومضوا الى القرية التي كان الارخن ساكنا بها وتقصصوا²³ عن منزله وعن اسمه فاعلموهم بذلك فمضوا اليه وخرجوا له علي الارض ساجدين وسلموا عليه
- 17 اما هو فقال لهم من اين انتم ومادا تطلبون هكذا فاجابوه قايلين نحن اناسا غربا اتينا اليك نسالك في بركه يسيره باسم ربيس الملايكة غبريال (57v) لتبني لنا بيعة على اسمه بجبل النفلون لانه هو الذي كشف لنا هذا السر وامر لنا به
- 18 فاما الارخن فترك الامر عن باله تلتة ايام ولما كان في اليوم الثالث وهو منضجع لينام قليل ويستريح فنظر القديسين العظيمين انطونيوس وانبا بولا وهما وقفا به يقترعان على ولديه الاتنين ويلبسانهما الاسكيم المقدس والزونيا فاخذوا القديسين الارخن في الرويا الي الجبل واعلماه باسرار كثيره تكون في الاجيال الاتيا من بعده وقالوا للقديس يوحنا الارخن لا بد ان هذا الجبل يكون لنسلك ميراثا الي الابد ويكون جبل جلعاد كمثل فردوس الله اعنى جبل القلمون وجبل النفلون كمثل ارض الميعاد²⁴ الجديد من اجل
- (58r) سيدتنا العدري الطاهره ماره مريم ومبشرها الطاهر ربيس الملايكة غبريال واما قرايين جبل جلعاد اعنى القلمون وصلواته ورايحه بخوره وكذلك صلوات وقرايين ارض الميعاد الذي هو النفلون ان غبريال ربيس الملايكة هو الذي يقدمهم لسيدتنا²⁵ لستنا السیده العدري الطاهره ماره مريم بفرح عظيم والست السیده العدري هي التي تقدمهم لابنها الحبيب سيدنا يسوع المسيح لذكره السجود وتقول له يا ابني الحبيب اقبل اليك تمار ارض الميعاد وبركه جبل²⁶ جلعاد الذي اسماء ملاكك جبل القلمون
- 19 هذا لما راه الارخن يوحنا في الرويا من الاب انطونيوس والاب انبا بولاء (58v) وللوقت انتبه من النوم وهو مطروب جدا واقام ذلك النهار وهو مدهوش العقل
- 20 تم بعد هذا جمع اليه اراخنه كورته وقص عليهم الرويا الذي نظرها فتعجبوا جدا وهيووا للوقت دوابا يركبوههم واناسا لهم²⁷ خبره ومعرفه بالطريق وركب القديس يوحنا واخذ صحبتته التلتة رجال القديسين الي جبل النفلون
- 21 فوجدوا الموضع²⁸ هاديا موافقا لكنه قليل الماء وكثيرين من الناس قالوا ان هذه بريه قفره وشظفه بسبب العطش ولا يقدر احدا يسكنه الا بالتعب والنصب
- 22 وان الارخن لما سمع كلامهم وخر الامر في العمل مده شهر من الزمان لكنه لما نظر الى كرامه

²³ وتقصصوا W] وتقصصوا

²⁴ double crossed out الجيد + W] الميعاد

²⁵ لسيدتنا W] لسيدتنا

²⁶ crossed out جعل + W] جبل

²⁷ double crossed out خبرا + W] لهم

²⁸ crossed out حاليا + W] الموضع

الثلاثة رجال الدين كانوا سحره ²⁹(59r) الذين صاروا قديسين ينالهم مغاره لطيفه ليسكنوا فيها وسكنوا
 فى ذلك الموضع بهدوء وكرامه عظيمه وكانوا ياتون دفعه واحده فى كل اسبوع الى مغارتهم التى
 فى جبل جلعاد ليسقوا نخيلهم الذين زرعوهم واقاموا مده سنه كامله واسبوعين وهم ساكنين فى هذا
 الجبل وكانوا هولآي الثلاثة رجال القديسين مهمين بامور الجبلين جبل النفلون وجبل القلمون
 23 وبعد هذا لما اراد الرب الاله ان يغرس لنا فى هذا الموضع فردوسا مقدسا وارض الميعاد الذي هو
 دير النفلون وذكر يوحنا الارخن ان يكون نسله ساكنا فى هذين الجبلين وذكر الرب ولدين يوحنا
 (59v) الذين كانوا البربر سبواهما الي ³⁰بلادهم
 24 ولم نذكر لمحبتكم خبر سببهم قصدا فى التلخيص والانجاز فكمل للصبيان المذكورين اتنى عشر
 سنه وهي الايام رسمت عليهم فى السبي كما كملت سنين شعب اسرائيل فى ايام ارميا لما اكملوا
 سببهم ورجعوا الى ارضهم ³¹هكذا ايضا ³²ولدي يوحنا كانا {...} ³³مقيمان ³⁴فى البريه مع البربر
 ببكا وحزن عظيم الي ان كمل لهم اتنى عشر سنه
 25 ولما كملت السنين المذكوره وادا برييس الملائكه الطاهر غبريال ظهر للبربر الذين كانوا مستعبدين
 ولدي يوحنا وتراء للكبير الذي فيهم فى الحلم وهو نائم فى الليل فى شكل رييس محاربين وسيفه
 مجرد (60r) بيده كالنار المتقدده وهو مستعدا ان يحرقه ومدينته كلها
 26 فقال له البربري من انت يا سيدي ³⁵هكذا فى الهه المغرب هل انت الشمس او القمر وانت مستعد
 ان تجلب غضبك علي
 27 فقال له انا هو غبريال رييس الملائكه وعميد الجيوش السماويه اتيت اليك اقاتلك بالسيف النار الذى
 بيدي وادا جرده عليك تقنا مدينتك كلها الناس والبهايم وجميع التمار
 28 فقال له البربري فى الرويا يا سيدي انى لست اعرف رييس السمايين ولست اعرف الاها غير
 الشمس والقمر لاننا نحن اقوام بربر وكورتنا جميعها لآكن عرفنى من انت هكذا وما هو اسمك
 وعرفنى بالخطيه التى تغضب (60v) على بسببه
 29 فقال له انا هو غبريال رييس الملائكه الاطهار الواقف امام الله كل حين قد اتيت اليك بسبب ولدي
 يوحنا اللدان استعبدتهم لانى خطيتهم من طفوليتهم لاقدمهما عبيدا للسيد المسيح فى المنزل الذي
 هبوه لى فى البريه والآن فقم سريعا وابعدهم الى مصر ليلا اجلب عليك الشر بسببهم وكورتك كلها

²⁹ In the codex here the folios with Coptic number 51 and 52 are put between these two folios that are not numbered but should bear the numbers in Coptic 58 and 59. Also the pagination in Arabic is missing.

³⁰ double crossed out W + لي [الي]

³¹ W 2 x [ارضهم]

³² crossed out W + ولدين [ايضا]

³³ . مدة or مرة or منذ . Illegible word: possibly

³⁴ مقيمان [W]

³⁵ W in left margin [يا سيدي]

- 30 هذا ما قاله رئيس الملائكة غبريال للبربري واختفي عنه فلما كان باكر بالغداء³⁶ قام البربري وجمع اليه البربر كلهم واعلمهم بالرويا التي راها واوصاهم ان لا يعودوا الي مصر ولا يخطفوا منها انسان الى الابد واعلمهم بحميه رئيس الملائكة غبريال وحرارة وجهه
- 31 فاما (61r) البربر فقالوا لعلاريون البربري انا لا نعرف شيا هكذا انت كبير مديننتا كلها تم اقاموا خمسه ايام ولم يعلموا احدا بهذا الامر وتوانا علاريون البربري عن هذه الامر خمسه اسابيع وولدي يوحنا يخدمه كالعبيد
- 32 وكانت مده اقامتهما في ذلك الموضع اتنى عشر سنه والبربري يرسلهما الى حقله لعملا له الشغل ولم يلتقت اليهما يوما واحدا ولا كلفهما لعباده³⁷ الشمس سوا انه البسهما لباسه فقط كمثل بولس في ذلك الزمان لما دخل الى مدينته الجاهليه وكتب على كناشه اني منافق عند الناس وليس عند المسيح وهولاي الولدين فلم يكلفهم البربري الى امر من الامور (61v) هكذا ونسي امرهم خمس شهور والصبيين عنده يرعى الجمال والغنم والجدا في البريه
- 33 ولما وصلوا الي الشهر الذي اراد البربري ان يزوجهما فيه لابنته جلب الله مرض الضارب والارتعاش على ذلك البربري فكان يصرخ الليل والنهار وزوجته ايضا قد مرضت بهذا المرض بعينه هكذا
- 34 وقيل ايضا عن هذا البربري المذكور ان كان عنده كرمه نابته في بيته تكفا خدمه منزله في كل عام من تمرتها فيبست الكرمه مع عنبها جميعا وزاد هذا الحزن ايضا على علاريون البربري وبعد هذا ايضا (62r) اتوا بربر اخرون من كورة اخري واختطفوا جميع جمال علاريون كلهم فاتوا الرعاه فاخبروه³⁸ بذلك فزاد ايضا حزنا على حزنه واشتد مرضه
- 35 فارسل للوقت واحضر رجلا بربري يسمي³⁹ زارا واقامه وكيلا علي جميع قناياة وامواله فان علاريون كان يظن انه يموت ولم يكن له ولدا ذكر واعطا بهائم كثير من بهايمة ليذبجوهم⁴⁰ في البريا وقت عبادتهم للشمس واقاموا ايام كثير وهم يدحبو للشمس من المعزي والغنم والجمال لكيما يستريحوا ولم يدركهما شفا البته
- 36 ولما نزلت به هذا البلايا جميعهم هو وزوجته فحركته حواسه (62v) ان ذلك من اجل ولدي يوحنا المصري وقال البربري لزوجه يا اختي انا اظن ان هذا البلايا انما نزلت بنا من اجل عاقنتا لهولاي الصبيين عندنا فاني مند يوم نظرت الهتهم في منزلي وقد ظهر لي بذلك الغضب لم يصيبني قط خير في بيتي ولا في حقلي ولا في بهايمي

³⁶ بلغداء W] بالغداء

³⁷ لعباده W] لعباده

³⁸ in left margin W وه فاخبروه

³⁹ in superscript W + يسمي

⁴⁰ in left margin W] ليذبجوهم

- 37 وارسل للوقت واحضر ولدي يوحنا المصري وقال لهما يا ايها الرجلان المصريان اللذان صيرتكما لى عبيدا وهما احرارا لاني في مبتدأ ما اخذتكما حلت البركات فى بيتى واتسعت اموالي اكثر من جميع البربر وها اليوم من مند سته شهور (63r) نظرت رجلا نوراني وبيده سيفا من نار وهو مستعد ان يقتلني بسببكما ولم اعلمكما هذا السر الي الان فعرفاني الان ان كان هو الالهكم ام لا فانه بالحقيقه هو الذي اولانى هذا الشرور هكذا وانا اريد ان تصلحوه علي ليرد من غضبه واطلقكما تمضوا الى كورتكم بمجد وكرامه
- 38 فاما الشاب الكبير فقال له انا اعلمك بسيرتي من طفوليتي انا واخي جميعا نحن عبيدا ونذرا للاله السماء والذي نظرتة هو ملاكه الذي يرشدنا وابينا نذر انه يجعلنا رهبان فى منزل ذلك الرئيس واما انا فلم توافق ابينا على هذا الامر فقدم ابينا نفسه نذرا عنا فى جبل يدعى جلعده (63v) وخرجت انا واخي سايرين جميعا فى الجبل نريد المضى الي ابينا لنرده براى انا فسيبنا الى هذا الموضع الى يومنا هذا ونحن لا نعلم ان كانوا ابهاتنا بالحياة او ماتوا ومن تلك الايام الى هذا⁴¹ ونحن نخدمك كالعبيد بسبب خطيه انا
- 39 فقال لهم البربري ان اوهبني الالهكم الشفا انا وزوجتي فانا اعطيكم كرامه عظيمه ولا ادع اسم الالهكم ينقطع من بيتى الى الابد
- 40 فقالوا للبربري ادا اراد فله الاستطاعه على كل الاعمال الصالحه والخير من عنده وادا غضب فلا يستطيع ربوات⁴² من الشعوب يقفوا قدام غضبه
- 41 واقاما عند البربري (64r) ذلك النهار اجمع يتحدثان مع بعضهم بعضا وانصرفا الي الحقل الى صناعتهما علي جاري عادتتهما وللوقت وادا ربيس الملايكه غبريال ظهر للصبيين فى الحقل في شكل ارجن تاجر وقال لهما ارجعا الي طريق مصر لاني قبلتكما من طفوليتكما
- 42 فقالا له يا سيدنا لسنا نعرف طريق مصر ونحن نخاف من تهديد هذا البربري المنافق الذي نحن له عبيدا لكيلا يقتلنا بالسيف لانا نعلم انه وحش رديا
- 43 وللوقت اظهر داته لهما قايل انا هو غبريال ربيس اجناد السموات الذي سالت عنكما حتي اعطوكما نذر الله باسمي انا هو غبريال ربيس الملايكه الفرح المبشر بالحياه
- (64v) انا هو غبريال ربيس الملايكه الاطهار انا هو الذي ضربت البربري الذي استعبدكما بالمرض الردي انا هو الذي افسدت كرمته يبست مع عنبها جميعا لكن من اجل مراحمي فارجعوا الى البربري وعرفاه وقولا له قال لك الرجل الذي نظرتة يشبه النار وبيده سيف من نار اطلقنا نمضى الي كورتنا وهو يطلقكما بسلام ولا يهددكما دفعه اخرى وينفذكما الى مصر باسمي هذا لما قاله ربيس الملايكه

⁴¹ هلم W] هذا

⁴² ربواب W] ربوات

- غبريال للصبيين⁴³ فاخنتي عنهم بسلام من الرب امين
- 44 وللوقت قاما الصبيان بفرح عظيم واتيا الى بيت البربري وقالا له (65r) ان سيدنا قد عتقنا اليوم ومدا ايدهما اليه ليسلما عليه وللوقت قام سالما من مرضه وزوجته معه وكانا شاكرين لله وامسكا الصبيين وقبلا ايديهما وارجلهما⁴⁴ ورووسهما
- 45 وامسك البربري بايديهما ودار بهما في قطيع بهايمة وهو يقول لهما باركا باسم الالهكما وفيما هما سايران نحو البهايم اجتازوا بالكرمه التي كانت يبست وان الصبي الصغير امسكها قايلما باسم سيدتنا كلنا العدري ماره مريم الكرمه الحقانيه التي من بيت داوود تورقي ايتها الكرمه علامه لعتقنا من العبوديه وبقوه الله انبعت الكرمه للوقت واوسقت ثمره
- 46 وعندما (65v) اتفقت هذا الاعجوبه في بيت ذلك البربري فلم يتوانا⁴⁵ البته عنهم من اجل كثره ما كانوا يعملوا به البربر ومن بعد هذا اخرج لهما اتى عشر جملا واعطاهما كرامه كرامات عظيمه واعتق عبدا كثيرين من عبيده واعطاهما هديه من الذهب ومشى معهما في الطريق ثلثه ايام حتي وصلا الى درمونيكيا المدينه المعروفه بمدينه العقاب بجانب الواحات واقاما ثلثه ايام في اوطانهم
- 47 وباراده الله اتيا الي مقل وادي القس انبا بلهاو وكانا تايهين لا يعلما اين يتوجها وكان الشيخ القديس قد خرج من قلايته يريد النزول الى الكنيسه ليقرب مع (66r) الاخوه لانه كان يوم سبت فوق بهما تحت الصخره ولم يعلم من اين هم فخاف جدا لان الرب كتم امرهم عنه وظن انهما مختفيين يسبون الناس فاراد ان يرجع الي ورايه فان كلامهم كان يشبه كلام البربر ولفظهم وسمعهم يتحدثون بلغتهم
- 48 وان الصبيين ولدا يوحنا للوقت نزلا من على الجمال وتوجها الي القديس انبا بلهاو وسجدا قدامه وضربا له المطانوه واما القديس انبا بلهاو فظن انهما البربر يجربوه لما سمعهما يتكلما فقالا له لا تخف ايها الشيخ القديس نحن كلنا عبيد الله جايلين في هذه البريه لاجل خطايانا فاما الصبيين فامسكا (66v) يد الشيخ القديس انبا بلهاو الالواحي⁴⁶ ووضعاها على رويسهما قايلين بارك علينا يا ابينا القديس لاننا نحن لسنا نجريك كما تظن بنا لكن لنا قرايه ونسبا في هذا الجبل
- 49 فقال لهما الشيخ من هو قريكم وما هو نسبكم في هذا الجبل فاجاب الاخوين قايلين للشيخ القديس انبا بلهاو ان لنا ابا راهبا يدعي يوحنا وهو من رووسا هذا الجبل ونحن اولاد له وكانوا البربر قد سبونا لاجل خطايانا ولنا اليوم اتى عشر سنه ونحن عبيدا للبربري الذي سبانا الى كورته والله عتقنا مره اخرى ودعانا⁴⁷ الى ارضنا يا تري يا ابينا القديس والدنا الحبيب يوحنا في الحياه في هذه الجبل (67r) الطاهر ساكننا ولعل سكن في هذا الجبل اناسا كثير في هذا الزمان

⁴³ W 2 x] للصبيين

⁴⁴ in left margin] ورجلها

⁴⁵ crossed out] يتوانا W +

⁴⁶ §7. see اهل الواحات] possibly similar with الالواحي

⁴⁷] ودعانا W

- 50 فقال لهما الشيخ نعم يا اولادي باراده الله قد كثرت اليوم البيعه اللطيفه⁴⁸ وزادت في هذا الجبل وايضا لا بد ان يكون مثل باب السماء المفتوح قدام كل من يتوب لاجل ايمان ابائنا القديسين
- 51 وكان ابينا القديس انبا بلهاوء يتميز اشكالهم وكلامهم فيجده يشبه البربر وكانوا الولدين يقولوا نشكر الله الاله الضابط الكل الذي صنع معنا هذا الانعام⁴⁹ وجعل الغفلة في قلب البربري فلم يكلفنا العباد⁵⁰ المرذوله لكن رعيه البهايم فقط واعلموه كيف اطلقهم البربري وكيف انه اعطاهما الجمال وكرامات كثيره (67v) علامة لعنقهم
- 52 هذا ما كانوا يقولوه لبعضهما وهما سايران صحبه القديس انبا بلهاوء حتى تتأصف النهار فوصلوا الي هذا الدير القديس فاما الاخوه الساكنين في هذا الدير لما نظروهم فخافوا جدا وقصدوا ان يهربوا من اجل الخوف وكانوا يظنوا انهم بربر اتوا ليسبوهما واما الشيخ القديس انبا بلهاوء الواحي⁵¹ فاستدعاهم قايلا لا تخافوا يا اخوتي فان هولاي ليس يسبوا الناس كما تظنوا لكن هولاي اولاد صهيون رجعوا الي ارضهم وهذا نسل اسرائيل قد عتق اليوم والله نظر الي تواضع يوحنا وانسحاقه ورد حزنه الي فرح في بيعتنا اللطيفه (68r) وسمع طلبه عبيده مره اخري واعادهم الي ارضهم سالمين
- 53 ولما سمعوا الاخوه الرهبان هذا فخرجوا للوقت وسجدوا للاخوين فتقصوا⁵² من الاخوه عن خبر ابائهم لينظروهم فعرفوهم ان له خمس ايام منذ دخل الي البريه ينتسك في السيره الملايكيه ويعمل عليكما حزنا ومناحه لكن اغدا يوم الاحد فهو يحضر الي ها هنا يتقرب مع الاخوه بالحقيقه عندما ينظركما فانه يفرح جدا ويتهلل
- 54 فلما سمعا هذا الكلام اقاما ذلك النهار كله وهما يفتشان في الدير ويسبحان الله من اجل الموهبه التي ادركتهم ولما كان وقت الظهيره (68v) يوم الاحد والاخوه الرهبان مجتمعين في البيعه اللطيفه وان ابائهما اتا من مسكنه الذي في البريه لينتقرب وكان يمشي وهو يتلوا في المزمور ويقر في حفظه
- 55 واما ولديه⁵³ لما نظراه فاستقبلاه وعانقاه وقبلاه فمه وراسه فقال لهما من اين انتما هكذا فقالا له نحن اولادك الذي اندرت بنا وسبونا البربر واخذونا الي كورثهم واديانا وجعلنا عبيدا لاجل خطايانا وخطايا منا ايضا
- 56 واما ابائهما لما نظر شكلهما قد تغير امام عينيه فقال لهما ان كان انتما حقا اولادي الاحبا فصرت اليوم كانني في الفردوس فرحانا بتماره وتجددت ايامي دفعه اخري
- (69r) اد نظرت وجوهكما يا اولادي فطالت سنين عمري اليوم يا اولادي عندما نظرت وجوهكما دفعه

⁴⁸ الطيفه W] اللطيفه

⁴⁹ هذا الانعام W] هذا الانعام

⁵⁰ لعياده W] العباد

⁵¹ الالواحي W] الواحي

⁵² فتقصوا W] فتقصوا

⁵³ ولديه W ditt.] ولديه

اخرى وكف عني الحزن والتعب دفعه اخرى وشبعت من الحياه عندما نظرتكما وصارت شيخوختي
اليوم مثل قوه الشباب السابق عندما نظرت الى وجوهكما دفعه اخرى وعلمت اليوم يا اولادي ان الله
لم يغفل عن طلبتي ولم ينس صلاتي لكنه اختار لي النصيب الصالح وانعم علي بكم يا اولادي
معافيين دفعه اخرى وصرت اليوم مثل يعقوب اسراييل في ذلك الزمان لما نظر الى وجه يوسف ولده
وخلصت نفسه من الحزن والكآبه وانبع اليوم (69v) غصني الطاوي وعودي الخاوي وازهر واتمر
عندما نظرتكم يا اولادي الاحبا

57 وهذا ما قاله يوحنا لولديه القديسين وعانقهما وقبل رووسهما وصدورهما وصرخ قايلا تعالوا الي ايها
الاخوه وافرحوا معي لان الله سمع تنهدي ودموعي ورد حزني الى فرح ووهب لي اولادي اصحا دفعه
اخرى

58 فحضروا الاخوه كلهم اليه وكانوا يفرحون معه ويتقصوا من ولديه عن خبرهما وكانا يقصا عليهما
كلما اتفق لهما في كوره البربر وما فعله ربييس الملائكه الطاهر غبريال مع الرجل البربري وزوجته وما
انزله الله بمواشيه وامواله حتى اطلقهما غصبا

59 هذا ما (70r) نظرتة انا الحقيير مكتوبا من عجائب الملاك الجليل غبريال في خزانة الكتب بدير انبا
صمويل المعروف بدير القلمون فاهتممت باخراج ذلك من اللغة القبطيه الصعيديه الى اللغة العربيه
ودونته في البيعه تذكارا للاجيال الاتيه لينتفع به السامعون ويمجدوا الله تعالى صانع العجايب وحده
ويكرموا رووساء ملايكته الاطهار ميخاييل وغبريال شفاعتهما تكون معنا امين

3. Translation of the homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn

3.a. Introduction

- 1 (44r) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God.
- 2 Homily said by one of the fathers the bishops, teachers of the Orthodox Church, in which he praised the nobility of the two heavenly soldiers and spiritual princes, the two shining stars, the two great angels, Michael, the leader of the angels and Gabriel, the messenger.
- 3 In this homily appears something of what was found of their pure reports on the mountain of Naqlūn and the mountain of Qalamūn and the province of Fayyūm and the opening of the canal of Joseph the Righteous and its entrance to the region of the province of Fayyūm.
- 4 And also appears in this homily that it is proper to celebrate to the honour of the archangel Michael also, together with his companion the archangel Gabriel, on the like of this day, which is 26 Ba'ūna. In the peace of the Lord. Amen.
- 5 (44v-53r) [*Summary of the prologue.*]

First praise and thanks are offered to God (44v-45v) and to the two archangels Michael and Gabriel (45v). Passages of the Old and New Testament are presented that are assumed to refer to these angels (46r-53r). After a quotation of the Psalm verses 148:1-2 and 103:20-21, the passage of the Gospel is presented that deals with the presence of the angels sitting at the empty tomb of Jesus after His resurrection.⁵⁴ The angel Michael is told to have helped Adam, the first man, and Eve, after they had fallen into sin and were dispelled from the garden of Eden.⁵⁵ The angel Gabriel announced the glad tidings of the coming of Jesus, the second Adam, to Saint Mary, who freed Eve from the sin of disobedience.⁵⁶ This is further explained with a verse from the letter of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians saying that the first man is of the earth, and is earthy, but the second man is the Lord from heaven.⁵⁷ The angel Michael is told to have been with Abel⁵⁸ and the angel Gabriel appeared to Zacharias.⁵⁹ The angel

⁵⁴ Cf. Lk 24:1-6; Jn 20:11-13.

⁵⁵ Cf. Gn 3.

⁵⁶ Cf. Lk 1:26-38.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1 Cor 15:47.

⁵⁸ Cf. Mt 23:35; Lk 11:51; Gn 4:1-8; 2 Chr 24:20-22.

⁵⁹ Lk 1:11-20.

Michael should have raised Seth⁶⁰ and lifted Enoch into heaven.⁶¹ The angel Gabriel brought the prophet Habakkuk to Daniel.⁶² The angel Michael is supposed to have come to Noah who built the ark to be saved from the flood,⁶³ and the angel Gabriel came to the ‘rational ark’, the Virgin Mary, who saved humanity from the flood of the devil.⁶⁴ The angel Michael is supposed to have visited Abraham in the plains of Mamre⁶⁵ and the angel Gabriel should have been one of his two companions when he appeared to Abraham.⁶⁶ The archangel Michael is supposed to have brought a ram to Abraham to offer it up as a burnt offering in stead of his son Isaac⁶⁷ and he is supposed to have been with Jacob from his youth onwards.⁶⁸

- 6 (53r) ... Then let us return now by the power of the Lord and His support and His leading and His guidance and His providence and let us inform you, beloved [ones], also, o people who love the Lord Jesus Christ, of a wonderful story about the mountain of Naqlūn, that I, the poor, found (53v) written in Greek script in Sahidic in the library of the monastery of Qalamūn.⁶⁹ And the aforementioned story is very wonderful, we do not want to pass by it while it is concerning the glorious angel Gabriel. May the Lord have mercy upon us through his intercession, amen.

3.b. *First settlement at Qalamūn*

- 7 This is that in the beginning of the appearance of the mountain of Qalamūn it was called mountain of Ġil’ād⁷⁰ and the first who lived on it were two holy men. The first of the two is called Bālāmūn and he was called at the end Kālāmūn and his name became according to this aforementioned mountain for ever, I mean, Qalamūn. The second was a man, a priest of the people of the oases, called Bilihāw.

⁶⁰ Cf. Gn 4:25-26; 5:6-8.

⁶¹ Cf. Gn 5:24 The Bible says that Enoch walked with God, and he disappeared because God took him. In this text it is written that Enoch is lifted up into heavens on a chariot of fire, but according to the Bible it was Elijah who had been taken to heaven in this manner, see 2 Kgs 2:1-11.

⁶² Cf. Dn 14:33-39.

⁶³ Cf. Gn 6-9.

⁶⁴ Cf. Lk 1:26-38.

⁶⁵ Cf. Gn 18:1.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gn 18:2.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gn 22:13.

⁶⁸ Cf. Gn 27-35.

⁶⁹ See also below in §59.

⁷⁰ Ġil’ād: Arabic transcription of a Biblical name and in English rendered as Gilead. As a personal name, see Nm 26:28-37; as the name of the region at the east side of the river Jordan in Israel, see Gn 31:21. It is the place where Jacob and his uncle Laban made a covenant, see Gn 31:44-55. The region was famous for its balsam, see Gn 37: 25; Jer 8:22; 46:11.

- 8 The two worshipped God in all fear and there appeared in the days of these two
aforementioned fathers, three men, (54r) magicians. The first is called Bamīn⁷¹ and the
second is called Kārūs⁷² and the third is called Afrām.⁷³ And the appearance of the
aforementioned [ones] was in the days of Theodosius, the king.⁷⁴ And they led astray
the people by their magic and they came to the king every year and they informed him
about what would be with regard to the situations of the kingdom.
- 9 And to these three magicians happened what happened to the three Magi who came to
the birth of our Saviour,⁷⁵ and it was that the grace of God came upon them and Christ
bestowed His grace amply on them and it is that they turned away from their work of
magic and they became equal to the angels. And when the mercy of God came upon
them, they betook themselves to climb the mountain of Ġil'ād unto the two old men
Anbā Bālāmūn and Anbā Bilihāw to listen to their teaching. And when they saw the two
they longed (54v) to abide with them in order to receive their blessing.
- 10 And at the end of a month of time, behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to the holy
man Anbā Bālāmūn and said to him: 'Peace be with you, o, Kālāmūn, take for yourself
now this new name from the Lord, which is Kālāmūn, like Jacob, when he was called
by the new name in the desert, which is Israel.⁷⁶ And it is not you alone who will have
this name, but I say to you, that this name will be suitable to this mountain for ever.
And like the first gift was given to the Lord Christ on the day of His birth by the three
men, the Magi, magicians from the Land of the East,⁷⁷ so is this new name also given as
a gift (55r)⁷⁸ to this mountain from these three men, magicians. I am Gabriel, the
guardian angel for this pure mountain. It is inevitable that many people will go out with
joy to this mountain and dwell there in great hope.' When the archangel Gabriel said
these words to Anbā Kālāmūn, he disappeared from him.
- 11 With respect to the three men, the magicians, Bamīn and Kārūs and Afrām, who
became holy men, they were the ones to whom appeared the spring of water that
remained until today at the monastery of Qalamūn. They are the ones who planted the

⁷¹ Bamīn: spelling uncertain, also possible is Bimīn. Probably equal to the Coptic name Poemen or Poimen, see Graf 1944-1953, 1:532, 538 (although Graf writes here Bīman, which is probably a writing error).

⁷² Kārūs: probably equal to the Coptic name Cyrus, see Graf 1944-1953, 1:532.

⁷³ Afrām: probably a corruption of the name Abraham or Ephraim. For a discussion on the confusion of these names, see Den Heijer 2004, 54-57. In the Life of Samuel of Kalamun, reference is made to Abraham, the father of Isaak, see Alcock 1983, 2 (text), 75 (transl.); see in the Bible: Gn 12-25.

⁷⁴ The king: actually the emperor. Theodosius reigned from AD 379-395, see Atiya 1991b, 6:1914.

⁷⁵ Mt 2:1-12.

⁷⁶ Gn 32:27-29.

⁷⁷ Mt 2:11.

⁷⁸ The folio numbering is absent or illegible, on this folio and the following five folios.

palm trees in the valley, while they will remain until this Day of the People.⁷⁹ And they are the ones who built the fine church dedicated to Anbā Kālāmūn, which Anbā Samuel had found in the valley when (55v) he arrived and lived in it.⁸⁰ And those three men became inhabitants in it performing their adorations.

3.c. *First settlement at Naqlūn*

- 12 And it happened to them at one time that they went down to Miṣr⁸¹ and they returned to Fayyūm. And this was by the planning from the Lord. So when they came from Fayyūm, they prepared to go up to the desert of Qalamūn, the place of their habitation at the spring that had appeared to them. And the road led them to the mountain of Naqlūn, which is on the rock. And they were searching for the way to their holy mountain. But the sun went down, away from them, so they slept on the rock.
- 13 And while they were sleeping, behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to them in a vision on that rock and he said to them: ‘O, people that came to know God and returned from the road of error (56r) to the road of rectitude.⁸² Know who I am. I am Gabriel, who appeared to the Magi in that time, those who came from the Land of the East in the days of the birth of the King the Christ, and I revealed to them the secret of the star that shone upon them.⁸³ And they arrived as the first and presented their offerings.⁸⁴ And I returned with them to their country,⁸⁵ and these were holy men. And now, may this be for you a sign of my name on this rock until the end of the generations of the world, because the blessing that neither will cease nor come to an end will be on this place for ever. And the blessing will also be in your cave which is on the mountain of Ġil’ād, which is the mountain of Qalamūn, and in the spring of water that rose for you there, and there will come together to that place many holy monks.’
- 14 (56v) And they said to him: ‘O, our lord, we don’t know the road that will lead us to the mountain of Ġil’ād. We went astray away from it and this place is a desert and an empty rock, making thirsty, and we don’t have the ability to live in it, otherwise we will die from thirst.’

⁷⁹ Day of the people: possibly the Day of Judgment, see Mt 12:36, Rv 20:11-15.

⁸⁰ See Alcock 1983, 12 (text), 86-87 (transl.).

⁸¹ In Egyptian Arabic the word *Miṣr* can mean all of Egypt, Cairo, or the seat of power (the Citadel, the palace, Fustāt, or old Babylon), see Zaborowski 2005: 65, nt. 70. The context shows that in this case a translation with Cairo is preferred. In all other cases in this text, a translation with Egypt is more likely. See also Gabra 1997, 80; actually, Miṣr comprised the quarters constructed before the Fatimid period, see Den Heijer 2011, 952. About Cairo, see Raymond 1993.

⁸² Many verses in the Bible refer to this theme, for example Ez 18:21,23; 33:11; Ps 139:24.

⁸³ Mt 2:2,9-10.

⁸⁴ Mt 2:11.

⁸⁵ Mt 2:12.

- 15 Then the pure archangel Gabriel answered and said to them: ‘The power of my God and His blessing will be on this place, which is al-Naqlūn and what is written will be fulfilled on it: *The land in which there is no water has become streams and springs*.⁸⁶ Were perhaps you the ones who gave to drink the people of Moses, the leader of the prophets, in that time when they were thirsty in the desert?⁸⁷ Verily, it was not, but it was God and this is a sign for you: when you wake up early tomorrow morning, go to the land that belongs to the country of the Fayyūm, [to a man]⁸⁸ who is called John and say to him: ‘Said to you the archangel Gabriel, who asked from God (57r) on your behalf, so that He will make you possessor and will take away the barrenness from your house,⁸⁹ and from the flocks of your cattle, and they⁹⁰ will give birth for you, and your wife will give birth to two sons unto you by the request of me, Gabriel, so that there will be monks from your descent on the mountain of Naqlūn.’
- 16 This [was] when the archangel Gabriel said it to these men, and he disappeared from them. As for them, they stood up and went to the village in which the archon⁹¹ was living and they inquired about his house and his name. They were informed about that, so they went to him and they fell before him on the ground, bowing down and they saluted him.
- 17 As for him, he said to them: ‘Where do you come from? And what are you looking for like this?’ They answered him saying: ‘We are strangers, we have come to you to ask you for a small blessing in the name of the archangel Gabriel, (57v) so that you will build for us a church in his name on the mountain of Naqlūn, because it was he who revealed unto us this secret and he ordered us this.’
- 18 As for the archon, he left the matter away from his mind for three days. When it was on the third day and he laid down to sleep a little and rest, he saw the great saints Antony and Anbā Paul, standing still at him, selecting his two sons and they dressed them in the sacred habit and the belt.⁹² Then the two holy men in the vision took the archon to the mountain and informed him about many miracles that would happen in the generations

⁸⁶ Cf. Is 35:6b; 41:18; 44:3.

⁸⁷ Ex 17:1-7.

⁸⁸ To a man: something is missing in the text, therefore these words are added.

⁸⁹ The barrenness is taken away, cf. Rachel in Gn 30:1-24; the wife of Manoe (Manoach) in Jgs 13:2-5; Hannah in 1 Sm 1:1-28; Sara in Gn 17:16-17; Gn 21; Elisabeth in Lk 1:5-24, 57-80.

⁹⁰ They: *i.e.* the animals.

⁹¹ See Graf [1934] 1954, 6; another possible translation is ‘dignitary’, see Zanetti 2004, 60.

⁹² For the translation of الزونيا : cingulum = belt, see Graf [1934] 1954, 56 (ζώνη < زونية); see also Innemée 1992, 31, 104, 107, 113; Coquin 1992, 10, 16, 22, 23.

that would come after him. And they said to the holy man John the archon: 'It is inevitable that this mountain shall be for your descendants a heritage forever,⁹³ and the mountain of Ġil'ād shall be like the paradise of God, I mean, the mountain of Qalamūn, and the mountain of Naqlūn shall be like the new Land of Promise because of (58r) our Lady the pure Virgin, Saint Mary and her pure messenger, the archangel Gabriel. With respect to the offerings of the mountain of Ġil'ād, I mean, Qalamūn, and its prayers and the odour of its incense, and likewise the prayers and offerings of the Land of Promise, which is Naqlūn, Gabriel, the archangel, he is the one who shall present these to our Lady, our Mistress, the Lady, the pure Virgin, Saint Mary, with great joy. And the Mistress, the Lady, the Virgin, she is the one who shall present these to Her beloved Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, because of the commemoration [...]'⁹⁴ the worship, and she shall say to Him: 'O my beloved Son, accept unto You the fruits of the Land of Promise and the blessing of the mountain of Ġil'ād, which your angel called the mountain of Qalamūn.'

- 19 When the archon John had seen this in the vision from the father Antony and the father Anbā Paul, (58v) he immediately woke up from his⁹⁵ sleep, deeply moved, and he spent that day being perplexed of mind.
- 20 Then after this he gathered at his [house] the archons of his country and he told them the vision that he had seen. And they were very amazed and they prepared immediately animals to ride on these and people who had experience and knowledge about the road. And the holy man John mounted and took with him the three holy men to the mountain of Naqlūn.
- 21 And they found the place quiet and suitable, but there was little water and many people said: 'This is a desolate and rough desert because of the thirst and no one is able to live here unless with trouble and hardship.'
- 22 When the archon heard their words, he delayed the matter for the work for a period of a month of time, but when he looked at the nobility of the three men who had been magicians (59r)⁹⁶ who had become holy men, he gave them a fine cave to live in. And they lived in that place in quietness and great nobility and they came once every week to their cave that was on the mountain of Ġil'ād to water their palm trees that they had

⁹³ Cf. Gn 12:7.

⁹⁴ Possibly a corruption in the text.

⁹⁵ *His*: lit. *the*.

⁹⁶ In the codex here the folios with Coptic number 51 and 52 are put between these two folios that are not numbered but should bear the numbers in Coptic 58 and 59. The pagination in Arabic is absent.

planted, and they stayed for a period of a whole year and two weeks while they lived on this mountain and these three holy men took care of the matters of the two mountains, the mountain of Naqlūn and the mountain of Qalamūn.

3.d. *Captivation by Berbers*

- 23 And after this, when the Lord God wanted to plant for us in this place a sacred paradise and the Land of Promise, which is the monastery of Naqlūn, John the archon remembered that his descendants shall be living on these two mountains and the Lord remembered the two sons of John (59v) who had been captured by the Berbers [and taken] to their country.
- 24 And we did not mention to you, beloved [ones], the story of their capture, intending for making [it] short and complete. So twelve years came to an end for the abovementioned boys. These were the days that were prescribed to them in captivity, like were concluded the years of the people of Israel in the days of Jeremiah when they concluded their captivity and they returned to their land,⁹⁷ so also the two sons of John were staying in the desert with the Berbers in weeping and great sadness until were concluded for them twelve years.
- 25 When the abovementioned years were concluded, behold, the pure archangel Gabriel appeared to the Berbers who had enslaved the two sons of John. He showed himself to the eldest among them in a dream while he was asleep in the night, in the form of the leader of warriors and his sword unsheathed (60r) in his hand like burning fire. And he stood prepared to burn him and his whole city.
- 26 The Berber said to him: ‘Who are you, o my lord, like this among the gods of the west? Are you the sun or the moon while you stand prepared to bring your wrath upon me?’
- 27 And he said to him: ‘I am Gabriel, the archangel and the head of the heavenly armies. I have come to you to fight against you with the sword of fire that is in my hand. If I unsheathe it upon you, your city will be extinguished entirely, the people and the livestock and all the fruits.’
- 28 The Berber said to him in the vision: ‘O my lord, I do not know the leader of the heavenly creatures and I do not know a god other than the sun and the moon, because we are Berber tribes and [so is] our whole country, but let me know who you are and what is your name? And let me know the mistake because of which you are angry (60v) with me.’

⁹⁷ Cf. Jer 31.

- 29 And he said to him: 'I am Gabriel, leader of the pure angels, standing before God all time.'⁹⁸ I have come to you because of the sons of John, whom you have enslaved, because I have prescribed for them since their childhood to offer them as servants to the Lord Christ in the house that they prepared for me in the desert. And now, stand up quickly and send them away to Miṣr,⁹⁹ so that I shall not bring upon you evil because of them, and [upon] your whole country.'
- 30 This is what the archangel Gabriel said to the Berber and he disappeared from him. When it was early the following morning the Berber stood up and assembled at him all the Berbers and he told them about the vision that he had seen and he ordered them not to go back to Miṣr¹⁰⁰ and not to abduct from there a man for ever. And he told them about the ardour of the archangel Gabriel and the heat of his face.
- 31 As for (61r) the Berbers, they said to Hilarion the Berber: 'We do not know anything like this. You are the eldest of our whole city.' Then they spent five days while they did not tell any one about this matter. Hilarion the Berber hesitated about this matter for five weeks while the sons of John served him as slaves.
- 32 The period of their stay at that place was twelve years, while the Berber sent them to his field in order to do work for him and he did not pay attention to them any day and he did not charge them with worshiping the sun, except that he dressed them with his clothing only. Just like Paul, in that time when he entered his pagan¹⁰¹ city and wrote in his notebook: 'I am foolish for the people, but not for Christ.'¹⁰² And those two boys, the Berber did not charge them with a matter (61v) like this and he forgot their matter for five months and the two lads were with him tending the camels and the sheep and the goats in the desert.
- 33 When they came to the month in which the Berber wished to marry them to his daughter, God brought the disease of striking and trembling on that Berber. And he screamed night and day and his wife fell ill with the same disease alike.
- 34 And it was said also about this abovementioned Berber that he had a vine growing in his house that gave enough fruits for the service of his house in every year. But the vine became dry, with all its grapes. And this increased the sadness that had fallen on Hilarion the Berber. And also after this, (62r) other Berbers came from another country

⁹⁸ The archangel Gabriel standing before God is a known characteristic of this archangel, cf. Lk 1:19.

⁹⁹ *Miṣr* means here Egypt. See above in §12.

¹⁰⁰ *Miṣr*: see preceding note.

¹⁰¹ *Pagan*: lit. *ignorant*, meaning ignorant with respect to God.

¹⁰² Cf. 1 Cor 1:18-31; 3:18; 4:10.

and they seized all the camels of Hilarion, all of them. And the shepherds came and they reported that to him and that increased also sadness on his sadness and his illness became worse.¹⁰³

- 35 And he sent immediately a messenger to bring a Berber man, called Zara, and he appointed him as trustee of all his properties and possessions, because Hilarion thought he would die while he did not have a male child. And he gave many animals from his livestock to sacrifice them in the desert at the hour when they worship the sun. They spent many days while they offered goats and sheep and camels to the sun, so that the two¹⁰⁴ would be saved. But healing did not come upon them at all.
- 36 And when all these misfortunes came down upon him, he and his wife, he realized¹⁰⁵ (62v) that this happened because of the two sons of John, the Egyptian, and the Berber said to his wife: ‘O my sister, I think that these misfortunes indeed came down upon us because of our delay toward these two lads with us, because since the day I have seen their god in my house and he has appeared to me in that wrath, not any good has come upon me in my house nor on my field neither to my livestock.’
- 37 And he sent immediately [someone] to bring the two sons of John the Egyptian, and he said to them: ‘O, two Egyptian men, whom I have made for me slaves while they are free-born, because in the beginning when I had taken you, blessings came down in my house and my possessions expanded, more than all the Berbers. And look, today since six months (63r) I saw a luminous man with a sword of fire in his hand and he stood prepared to kill me because of you two. I did not tell you about this secret until now. So let me know now whether he is your god or not. Because verily it is he who brought upon me these evils in this way. And I want you to make him good towards me, so that he comes back from his wrath, and I will let you free to go to your country in glory and honour.’
- 38 As for the oldest young man, he said to him: ‘I will tell you about my life. Since my childhood, me and my brother, both, we are slaves and consecrated to the God of heaven. The one that you have seen, is His angel who guides us, and our father made a vow that he would make us monks in the house of that leader. But our mother, she did not agree with our father in this matter. So our father presented himself as consecrated in stead of us on a mountain that is called Ġil’ād. (63v) And I went out, me and my

¹⁰³ The calamities that struck the Berber have their parallel in the life of the Biblical Job, cf. Jb 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ *The two*: nl. Hilarion and his wife.

¹⁰⁵ *He realized*: lit. *his senses moved him*.

- brother, both going to the mountain, intending to go to our father in order to bring him back, according to our mother's view, but we were abducted to this place until this day, while we do not know whether our parents are alive or have died. Since those days until this [day] we have been serving you as slaves because of the sin of our mother.'
- 39 The Berber said to them: 'If your God will grant me healing, me and my wife, I shall give you great honour. And I shall not let the name of your God be cut off from my house for ever.'
- 40 They said to the Berber: 'If He wants, He has the ability for all good works and the good comes from Him,¹⁰⁶ but if He is angry, then ten thousands of people are not able to stand before His wrath.'¹⁰⁷
- 41 And they remained with the Berber (64r) that whole day talking with each other. And they went to the field to their occupation as it was their habit. And immediately, behold, the archangel Gabriel appeared to the lads in the field in the form of an archon, a merchant. And he said to them: 'Go back to the road to Miṣr,¹⁰⁸ because I accepted you since your childhood.'
- 42 And they said to him: 'O our lord, we do not know the road to Miṣr¹⁰⁹ and we are afraid of the threat of this foolish Berber, to whom we are slaves, hoping that he shall not kill us with the sword, because we know that he is savage [and] mean.'
- 43 And immediately he revealed himself to them, saying: 'I am Gabriel, the leader of the armies of the heavens, who asked on your behalf so that they would give you both as a vowed to God in my name. I am Gabriel, the archangel, the Joyful, the Messenger of Life, (64v) I am Gabriel, the leader of the pure angels, it is me who hit the Berber who has enslaved you, with the mean disease. It is me who ruined his vine so that it became dry together with all its grapes. But because of my compassions, go back to the Berber and let him know and say to him: 'The man whom you have seen like fire with a sword of fire in his hand, said to you: '*Set us free to go to our country*', and he shall set you free in peace and he shall not threaten you another time and he shall send you to Miṣr¹¹⁰ in my name.' When the archangel Gabriel said this to the lads, he disappeared from them in the peace of the Lord. Amen.
- 44 And immediately, the two lads stood up in great joy and went to the house of the Berber

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Mc 10:18; Lc 18:19; 1Tim 4:4.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Ps 3:6.

¹⁰⁸ Miṣr means here Egypt. See above in §12.

¹⁰⁹ Miṣr : see preceding note.

¹¹⁰ Miṣr means here Egypt. See above in §12.

and said to him (65r) : ‘Our Master has just set us free today’, and they stretched out their hands to him to greet him. And immediately he stood up healthy from his disease, and his wife with him, and they were grateful to God. And they held the two lads and kissed their hands and their feet and their heads.

45 And the Berber held their hands and went around with them among the flock of his livestock while he said to them: ‘Give blessing in the name of your God’, and while they were walking in the direction of the animals, they passed by the vine that had become dry. The youngest lad held it, saying: ‘In the name of the Mistress of all of us, the Virgin Saint Mary, the true Vine, which belongs to the House of David: Put forth leaves, o vine, as a sign of our release from slavery.’ And through the power of God, the vine sprouted immediately and was loaded with its fruits.

46 And when (65v) this miracle happened in the house of the Berber, he did not hesitate about them at all, because of the many things the Berbers used to carry out. And after that he took out for them twelve camels and gave them great gifts and he released many of his slaves. He gave the two a gift made of gold and he went with them on the road for three days until they arrived at Daramūnīkā,¹¹¹ the city that is known as the city of the steep roads near the oases. And they stayed there three days in their homelands.

3.e. *Enlargement of both monastic settlements*

47 And through the will of God they arrived at the entrance of the valley of the priest Anbā Bilihāw, and they were lost, not knowing where they were heading. And the holy old man had just left his cell intending to descend to the church to offer (66r) together with the brothers, because it was Saturday. And he fell upon them under the rock and he did not know where they came from and he was very much afraid, because the Lord kept their matter secret from him. And he thought they were hiding to abduct people, so he wanted to return backwards, because their talking was similar to the talking of the Berbers and their pronunciation and he heard them speak in their language.

48 The two lads, the sons of John, dismounted from their camels and went to the holy Anbā Bilihāw and bowed down before him and kneeled down on the ground for him. But the holy man Anbā Bilihāw thought that they were Berbers putting him to the test, when he heard them speaking. And they said to him: ‘Fear not, o holy old man, we are all servants of God wandering in this desert, because of our sins.’ But the two lads

¹¹¹ Daramūnīkā: most probably *ṭamūṇnākā* which is modern Siwa, see Alcock 1983, 23, nt. 196 (text), 100, nt. 146 (transl.).

seized (66v) the hand of the holy old man Anbā Bilihāw al-Wāḥī¹¹² and laid it on their heads saying: ‘Bless us, o our holy father, because we do not put you to the test as you think of us, but we have relatives and family on this mountain.’

- 49 And the old man said to them: ‘Who is your relative and who is your family on this mountain?’ The two brothers answered, saying to the holy old man Anbā Bilihāw: ‘We have a father, a monk, called John, and he belongs to the leaders of this mountain, and we are his sons. The Berbers had abducted us, because of our sins and today it is for us twelve years that we were slaves of the Berber who has abducted us to his country. God has released us again and called us back to our land. I wonder, o our holy father, is our beloved father John alive, on this pure (67r) mountain living? And perhaps there are living on this mountain many people in this time?’
- 50 The old man said to them: ‘Yes, o my sons, by the will of God the fine church has expanded today and it became greater on this mountain and also, it is inevitable that it shall be like the Gate of Heaven, opened for everyone who repents, because of the faith of our holy fathers.’
- 51 Our holy father Anbā Bilihāw recognized their appearance and their talking and he found it similar to the Berbers. The two boys said: ‘We thank God, the Almighty God, who has done to us this favour and made inadvertence in the heart of the Berber, so he did not charge us with the despicable worship, but with guarding the livestock only.’ And they told him how the Berber had released them and how he gave them the camels and many gifts (67v) as a sign of their liberation.
- 52 This they were saying to each other while they were walking with the holy Anbā Bilihāw until it became noon and they arrived at this sacred monastery. When the brothers living in this monastery saw them, they were very afraid and they wanted to flee because of fear and they were thinking that they were Berbers who came to abduct them. But the holy old man Anbā Bilihāw al-Wāḥī called for them, saying: ‘Do not be afraid, o my brothers, because these do not abduct people like you think, but these are sons of Zion who go back to their land. And these are descendants of Israel who were freed today. God looked upon the humility of John and his repentance and He turned his sadness into joy in our fine church (68r) and He heard the request of his servant again and He brought them back to their land, safe and sound.’
- 53 When the brothers the monks heard this, they went out immediately and bowed before

¹¹² *Al-Wāḥī* : meaning possibly : ‘of the oasis’, see §7. See also Muyser 1944, 122-123; Den Heijer 1992, 155.

the two brothers. They asked the brothers to tell about the news of their father so that they could see him. And they informed them: 'Five days ago he went into the desert to lead the angelic life while he makes about the two of you sadness and lamentation. But come back in the morning on Sunday, then he shall come hither to receive Communion with the brothers. Truly, when he shall see you, he shall be very happy and he shall rejoice.'

- 54 When they heard these words, they spent that whole day looking in the monastery and praising God because of the favour that had come upon them. When it was midday (68v) of Sunday the brothers the monks got assembled in the fine church and their father came from his dwelling which was in the desert, to receive Communion. And he used to walk saying aloud the Psalms and reciting by heart.¹¹³
- 55 As for his two sons, when they saw him, they went towards him and embraced him and kissed his mouth and his head. He said to them: 'Where do you come from like this?' They said to him: 'We are your sons whom were announced to you, and the Berbers abducted us and took us to their country and they harmed us and they made us slaves, because of our sins and the sins of our mother also.'
- 56 But their father, when he saw their appearance [that it] had changed before his eyes, he said to them: 'If you are truly my two beloved sons, I have become today like I am in Paradise, delighted about its fruits, and my days have become new again. (69r) When I saw your faces, o my sons, the years of my life have become long today. O my sons, when I saw your faces again, the sadness and the tiredness held back from me again and I have become satisfied with life. When I saw you, my old age has become today like the strength of the former youth. When I saw your faces again, I learned today, o my sons, that God did not disregard my request and he did not forget my prayer, but He chose for me the right share and bestowed upon me you, o my sons, healthy again. I have become today like Jacob Israel in that time, when he saw the face of Joseph his son and his soul was freed from sadness and sorrow.'¹¹⁴ I change today (69v) my starved twig and my empty branch and I blossom and bear fruit, when I saw you, o my beloved sons.'
- 57 This is what John said to his two holy sons and he embraced them and kissed their heads and their breasts and he cried out saying: 'Come to me, o brothers, and rejoice

¹¹³ *By heart: lit. from his memory.*

¹¹⁴ Gn 45-46.

with me, because God has heard my sighing and my tears¹¹⁵ and turned my sadness into joy¹¹⁶ and gave me my sons back healthy again.’

- 58 And all the brothers came to him and they rejoiced with him and they asked his sons about their news and they told them everything that had happened to them in the country of the Berbers and what the pure archangel Gabriel had done to the Berber man and his wife, and what God had inflicted upon his livestock and his possessions, until, forced to it, he had released them.

3.f. End

- 59 This is what (70r) I saw, me the poor, in writing, of the miracles of the glorious angel Gabriel in the library in the monastery of Anbā Samuel, known as the monastery of Qalamūn. And I took care of translating that from the Coptic Sahidic language into the Arabic language and I put it in the church as a remembrance for the coming generations, so that the listeners would benefit by it and praise God, the Highest, Maker of the miracles, He alone, and that they would honour His pure archangels Michael and Gabriel. May their intercession be with us, amen.¹¹⁷

Here the central part of the homily ends. In the epilogue the archangels Michael and Gabriel are praised (70r-74r). Then the text ends with a colophon (74r-74v).

4. Commentary

Below the supposed intertextual relations are clarified and parallels with other literary sources, like the Life of Samuel of Qalamūn the Life of Panine and Panew, the *Naqlūn homily*, and the Bible, may be detected.

4.a. Introduction

According to the title, the homily deals with the two archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the two mountains Naqlūn and Qalamūn, for the date of 26 Ba’ūna (§2-§4). This date and the archangel Gabriel connect this text with the *Naqlūn homily*. However, this text appears to be rather different in focus, which may explain the lack of any reference to St. Aūr in this text. The author, himself writing in Arabic, states that he found the text written in Coptic (§6). Whether this statement, that is repeated at the end of the homily (§59), is true or not is

¹¹⁵ Cf. Ps 6:10; 28:6; 31:23; 116:1.

¹¹⁶ Jer 31:13.

¹¹⁷ See also above in §6.

difficult to prove. Actually, it is more important that by making this statement, whether true or not, the author appeals to Christian identity and tradition.¹¹⁸ It occurs more often in Arabic texts related to Coptic Christianity in order to enhance the importance and reliability of a text for the Christian audience.¹¹⁹

The author proceeds by telling that he found the book in the library of the monastery of Qalamūn and that the story concerns the mountain of Naqlūn (§6). Apparently, there was some kind of relationship between both sites. The theme of the find of a book in a library in the monastery is a literary topos frequently used in Coptic religious literature,¹²⁰ as for example in the *Naqlūn homily* in recension β,¹²¹ and in the homily on the archangel Gabriel by bishop Archelaus, referred to in chapter V.¹²²

4.b. First settlement at Qalamūn¹²³

The story starts at the mountain of Qalamūn that is supposed to have previously been called mountain of Gilead, (in Arabic Ġil'ād) (§7).¹²⁴ The name Gilead is most probably borrowed from the Bible where it is associated with balm, possessing healing power and beneficial effects for both body and soul.¹²⁵

The first anchorites at this mountain are called Bālāmūn and Bilihāw. The name Bālāmūn may be an Arabic corruption of the Coptic name παλαemon (Palaemon). Several saints with the name Palaemon are known, as for example the spiritual father of Pachom.¹²⁶ The name Bilihāw, with the surname al-Wāhī meaning 'belonging to the people of the oases' (§7, §48), could be an Arabicized form of the Coptic name πιλῑηϣ (Piliḥēw), which occurs in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* where it indicates a small marsh at the west side of the

¹¹⁸ As Zaborowski wrote: '... repeatedly links the disuse of the Coptic language with the loss of Egyptian Christian religious identity.' and also: '... the Coptic language as an identity-bearing distinctive of Egyptian Christianity...'; see Zaborowski 2008:16-17.

¹¹⁹ See for example the colophon contained in the Arabic version of the Kebra Nagast, the Glory of the Kings, already referred to above in chapter V, 9. *The Naqlūn homily in its context*, see Colin 2002, 7, 110: 'Il est dit dans le texte arabe : « Nous avons traduit (cet ouvrage) d'un livre copte en arabe, ... »'.

¹²⁰ For more information on the subject see Hagen 2004, 349-367; Speyer 1970, 136-138.

¹²¹ See Chapter II, 2. *Recensions α and β: differences and characteristics*.

¹²² See De Vis 1990, 243, 249.

¹²³ For a survey of literary sources about the mountain of Qalamūn, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1000-1008.

¹²⁴ Cf. Gn 31:21. A nearly identical name Ġal'ad occurs in Yaḳūt's geographical work, as the name of a place, but without any further information, see Yaḳūt [1866-1870] 1984, 2:154. In Timm (1984-1992), a mountain of Gilead does not occur, but there had been a mountain of Ġarād, which name shows slight similarity with Gilead. The mountain of Ġarād should have had a certain reputation in the eighth century, but its location is unknown, and a relation with this text is very unlikely, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:992.

¹²⁵ See Gn 31:21; 37:25; Jer 8:22; 46:11.

¹²⁶ Palaemon or Palamon: his commemoration takes place at 16 Ba'ūna, see the edition of the Arabic Synaxar by Basset [1924] 1994, 5:1113; and Veilleux 1991, 6:1859. Another saint Palaemon is mentioned at 30 Tūba, see Basset [1916] 1989, 3:747-755. Near Dendera, at the Westside of the Nile, there had been a monastery of Anbā Balamūn, including a church, which still exists, also dedicated to this saint. See Timm 1984-1992, 2:657-658.

mountain of Qalamūn, a place where Samuel used to retire, after he had built the monastery.¹²⁷ As a personal name, it occurs as the name of a bishop of Ḥulwān in the seventh century.¹²⁸

The reference to Theodosius (§8), emperor in the period 379-395,¹²⁹ situates the beginnings of monastic life at the mountain of Gilead, *i.e.* Qalamūn, in the second half of the fourth century. The first two anchorites living their solitary life attracted other people, and three men visited them, converted to Christianity and stayed with them on this mountain. A similar development of a small community is represented in one of the earliest hagiographic sources related to the mountain of Qalamūn, the Coptic *Life* of Panine and Panew.¹³⁰ According to this *Life*, the two boys Panine and Panew, whose names show slight similarity with Bālāmūn and Biliḥāw, guided by the archangel Michael, visited the mountain of Qalamūn, where they were dressed in the monastic habit by three anchorites, who were living there in caves. Later, both saints were martyred by the emperor Maximinus, reigning in the period 235-238.¹³¹ This Coptic *Life*, which is only fragmentary preserved, supposes the presence of an early form of monastic life at the mountain of Qalamūn already in the third century. It might have been used by the author of the text studied here.

The names of the three visitors *Bamīn*, *Kārūs* and *Afrām* (§8) refer probably to three names commonly used among Coptic Christians: ποιμην (Poemen), κύρος (Cyrus) and ἀβραῶν (Abraham).¹³² Before their conversion to Christianity, they had been famous magicians, having good contacts with the court (§9). A similar situation is found in the *Naqlūn homily*.¹³³

¹²⁷ See Alcock 1983, 30 (text), 109 (transl.); Timm situates the marsh, which he calls a salt lake, in the Wādī ar-Rayyān, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1001 and 6:2922-2923.

¹²⁸ See Müller 1968, 19, 37; see also Müller 1956, 337, in which a bishop Piliḥēw (πλιχηῦ) of Ḥalouan (in Coptic ḡalloḡan), and in Arabic حُلْوَان Ḥulwān) is mentioned together with a bishop Apa Mena of Babylon; for other occurrences of the name see Heuser 1929, 1-2:23; Brunch 1985, 147; Crum 1939, 729b; πλιχηῦ or in the form of πλιχεῦ, see: Hasitzka 2007, 79; Hasitzka 1993-2012, 3: 59, nr. 1377.

¹²⁹ See Atiya 1991b, 6: 1914.

¹³⁰ Till 1935, 68, 70. The commemoration of these two saints is on 7 Kiyahk. In the Arabic Synaxar their names are represented as Anbā Bānīnā and Bānāw which has been interpreted erroneously by the editor as Anbā Nāw, see the edition by Basset [1907] 1982, 2:388. In the modern Arabic Synaxar their commemoration is left out.

¹³¹ See Atiya 1991b, 6: 1914.

¹³² Poemen as ποιμην see Hasitzka 2007, 82; Cyrus as κύρις, κύρες, κύρος, see Hasitzka 2007, 49; Cyrus as κύρης, see Hasitzka 2007, 51; Cyrus as κοῦρις, see Hasitzka 2007, 52; Cyrus as κύρος, see Hasitzka 2007, 53-54; Abraham as ἀβραῶν, see Hasitzka 2007, 6; Abraham as ἀβραῶν, see Hasitzka 2007, 19; see also Graf 1944-1953, 1:532, 538.

¹³³ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §30-§31; §80-§89; and the commentary in chapter V, 9. *The Naqlūn homily in its context*.

According to the text, the name Qalamūn¹³⁴ is derived from the name of the monk Bālāmūn via Kālāmūn on heavenly order (§10).¹³⁵ The change of the name is illustrated with the Old Testament story about Jacob, who received a new name, Israel, from God.¹³⁶ A parallel of Jacob receiving a new name is found in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*.¹³⁷ The name of Jacob is also mentioned in the *Naqlūn homily*, although in a different context, namely as the sanctuary of Jacob located in the near environment of the monastery.¹³⁸ The new name Qalamūn is considered a present to the mountain of Gilead given by the three converted magicians (§10). As such it is compared with the first gift presented to the Lord Jesus by the three Magi, as reported in the New Testament.¹³⁹

At this point (§11) the text refers explicitly to the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* by informing the reader that the spring and the palm trees and the church were found later by Samuel when he arrived at the mountain of Qalamūn.¹⁴⁰ The fine church, as it is characterized in this text, is dedicated to ‘Anbā Kālāmūn’, but in the *Life of Samuel* the name of the church is not given and here it is characterized as a small church.¹⁴¹

4.c. First settlement at Naqlūn

When the archangel Gabriel appears to the three converted magicians (§13), he presents himself as the angel who guided the three Magi by means of the star on their journey to the newborn Jesus in Bethlehem and back home, as described in the Gospel according to Matthew.¹⁴² The similarity with the Biblical passage is obvious: both groups consist of three persons, they are magicians or wise men, they are guided by the archangel Gabriel, and they all have an encounter, physically or spiritually, with Jesus Christ. A similar parallel of this

¹³⁴ The name Qalamūn is Greek in origin and means ‘reed bed’, referring to the reed plants growing at this site as reported in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, see Alcock 1983, 28 (text), 107 (transl.).

¹³⁵ Historically, the name Qalamūn seemed to be given to several sites, one of these is situated in Israel near the river Jordan. Two of the other sites named Qalamūn are situated in Egypt, one near Alexandria and the other in the Dahlah oasis. See Abbott 1937, 40, nt. 58. See also Timm 1984-1992, 5:2090-2094. As a personal name in the form of Kalamūn, it has been attested as the name of a scribe in several colophons of Coptic manuscripts dating from the 9th-10th centuries that have been written at the scriptorium at Touton in the Fayyūm, see Depuydt 1993, cxv-cxvi and 206 nr. 107.

¹³⁶ Gn 32:27-30; 35:10. This happened shortly after Jacob had made a covenant with his uncle Laban at, strikingly, the mountain of Gilead, located at the east side of the river Jordan, north of the site called Qalamūn, Gn 31:21, 25, 44-55.

¹³⁷ See Alcock 1983, 12 (text), 87 (transl.).

¹³⁸ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §54; and chapter V, 10. *History and religious landscape*.

¹³⁹ See Mt 2.

¹⁴⁰ See Alcock 1983, 12, 24 (text), 86, 101 (transl.); see also Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 206-208.

¹⁴¹ See Alcock 1983, 12, 23 (text), 86, 87, 90, 100 (transl.).

¹⁴² See Mt 2.

theme is detected in the *Naqlūn homily*, as already mentioned above, in which the family of magicians is guided by the archangel Gabriel and convert to Christianity.¹⁴³

The archangel Gabriel's prophecy about the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn (§14-§15) shows similarity with his prophecy to Aūr with respect to Naqlūn,¹⁴⁴ both revealing a flourishing future. In both texts is also spoken about the fulfilment of the divine prophecy about this mountain.¹⁴⁵

The archon John appears to have played an important role in the establishment of the monastic settlement at the mountain of Naqlūn (§15), which would have taken place towards the end of the fourth century (§8). A person named John, a monk or priest, occurs in several texts studied here. In the *Naqlūn homily* the monk John, characterized as an ascetic, is the narrator and the presumed author.¹⁴⁶ In *The Journey of St. Aūr*, the monk John is the narrator, one of the older monks in the monastery of Naqlūn, who seems to have been responsible for the building and completion of the church.¹⁴⁷ Probably, he was a monk of great fame living in the monastery of Naqlūn in a certain time. In the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* there is also a person named John, but he is clearly identified as the hegumen John of Scetis.¹⁴⁸

The order to build a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel is given by the archangel himself (§17). This fact links this text again with the *Naqlūn homily* in which the archangel makes the same request to Aūr.¹⁴⁹

In Christianity, and in particular in Coptic Christianity, St. Antony and St. Paul are both generally regarded as the earliest monks and they are important examples for monastic life. This text reflects a similar view on them: they appear to the archon John in a vision, dress his sons in the monastic habit and prophecy him about the divine blessing of both mountains (§18). St. Antony also plays a role in two other texts related to Naqlūn, namely *The Journey of St. Aūr*, discussed in chapter VI, and the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, discussed in chapter VII.¹⁵⁰ Likewise, the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* reports about Samuel of Qalamūn following the example of St. Antony in his way of life as an ascetic devoted to Christ.¹⁵¹ The words spoken by St. Antony and St. Paul to the archon John: 'This mountain shall be for your descendants a heritage forever' (§18) refer to the Biblical story about the

¹⁴³ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §52, §80-§89.

¹⁴⁴ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §182-§183.

¹⁴⁵ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §24.

¹⁴⁶ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §202-§208.

¹⁴⁷ See chapter VI, 6.g. *Constructing history: the names*.

¹⁴⁸ See Alcock 1983, 15 (text), 91 (transl.).

¹⁴⁹ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §88.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter VI, 3. *Text and translation*, §130.

¹⁵¹ See Alcock 1983, 1 (text), 75 (transl.).

people of Israel to whom God showed the promised land.¹⁵² A similar prophecy occurs in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, spoken by an angel to Samuel about the site of Qalamūn.¹⁵³

Here in this text, the archon John receives a vision (§18). In the *Naqlūn homily* it is St. Aūr,¹⁵⁴ and in the *Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, St. Antony is the visionary.¹⁵⁵ All three holy persons receive a vision about the mountain of Naqlūn.

The prophecy, the vision and the titles attributed to both mountains, such as ‘Paradise of God’ and the ‘Land of Promise’ (§18), and ‘the Gate of Heaven’ (§50), reveal that the foundation of the monasteries at these sites are considered part of God’s plan.

The three magicians took care of the matters of the two mountains (§22). Apparently, both sites were situated rather close to each other. Historically, there had been contacts between both sites. This fact is also demonstrated by the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, which contains a few references to the monastery of Naqlūn.¹⁵⁶ However, the exact location of the ancient monastery of Qalamūn is still uncertain.¹⁵⁷ Early literary sources dating from before the eleventh century give the impression that it was located at another site than the present monastery that is situated in the Wādī Mawāliḥ in the Southwestern part of the Fayyūm province.¹⁵⁸

4.d. Captivation by Berbers

The captivity and enslavement of John’s two sons by Berbers (§23-§24, §32) links this text with the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*. Samuel had also been abducted (twice) by Berbers and had to work as a slave for them (§31).¹⁵⁹ Several things that happened to the two boys bear resemblance with Samuel’s experiences during his captivity by the Berbers, like the theme of worshipping the sun in order to receive healing but without result (§35),¹⁶⁰ blessing came upon the Berber from the moment Samuel came in his house (§37),¹⁶¹ the apparition of an angel (§41-§43),¹⁶² the miraculous healing of sick persons through prayer (§44-§45),¹⁶³ the

¹⁵² Cf. Gn 12:7.

¹⁵³ See Alcock 1983, 12 (text), 87 (transl.).

¹⁵⁴ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §178-§190.

¹⁵⁵ See chapter VII, 3.c. *St. Antony’s vision*.

¹⁵⁶ Alcock 1983, 8, 10, 24 (text); 82, 84, 101 (transl.).

¹⁵⁷ The original location of the monastery of Samuel of Qalamūn could not yet be identified with certainty. See Depuydt 1993, 1:CXI; Rāḡib 1995, 28. See also Wādī al-Rayyān in Timm 1984-1992, 6:2922-2925.

¹⁵⁸ See references in Depuydt 1993, 1:CXI; and Timm 1984-1992, 4:1923-1924; see also the map in chapter VII.

¹⁵⁹ See Alcock 1983, 13-22 (text), 87-98 (transl.).

¹⁶⁰ See Alcock 1983, 21 (text), 98 (transl.).

¹⁶¹ See Alcock 1983, 21 (text), 98 (transl.).

¹⁶² See Alcock 1983, 19 (text), 95 (transl.), here the name of the angel is not given.

¹⁶³ See Alcock 1983, 20-23 (text), 96-99 (transl.).

danger of being given in marriage (§33),¹⁶⁴ the reassurance to those in captivity that their release is near (§43),¹⁶⁵ and finally, their return home loaded with gifts (§46).¹⁶⁶ On their journey back home the two boys passed by a city called Daramūnīkā (§46). The name of the city is clearly a corruption of the Coptic τΑΜΟΥΝΙΑΚΗ that occurs in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*.¹⁶⁷

The description of the archangel as a soldier with a sword of burning fire in his hand (§25, §27) is also found in the *Naqlūn homily*¹⁶⁸ and in the *Journey of St. Aūr*.¹⁶⁹

The captivity of the two sons by the Berbers is explained as a punishment for the disobedience of their mother (§23-§24, §38) and is illustrated by the Old Testament's story about the Babylonian Captivity of the people of Israel that took place because of their disobedience to God during Jeremiah's lifetime.¹⁷⁰

The strong faith of the apostle Paul during his visit to a pagan city is put forward to illustrate the faithfulness to God displayed by the two boys, because they did not worship the idols of the Berbers, who regarded the sun and the moon as their gods (§26, §28, §35), but the two boys remained Christians during their captivity (§32, §38, §51).¹⁷¹ A similar reference to the pagan veneration of the sun as a god occurs in the *Naqlūn homily*.¹⁷²

The liberation of the two boys is presented as God's will in view of the fact that they were destined to serve as monks in the monastery of Naqlūn that was planned to be build (§29). Likewise, as already mentioned above, the *Naqlūn homily* gives as the motivation for the construction of the church of the archangel Gabriel, that it was God's plan, God wanted to fulfil His word concerning the building of this church.¹⁷³

The Berber ordering the people of his village not to go to Egypt any more and not to abduct any man from there (§30), occurs also in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*.¹⁷⁴

4.e. Enlargement of both monastic settlements

¹⁶⁴ See Alcock 1983, 17-19 (text), 95-97 (transl.).

¹⁶⁵ See Alcock 1983, 23 (text), 99 (transl.).

¹⁶⁶ See Alcock 1983, 23 (text), 100 (transl.).

¹⁶⁷ See Alcock 1983, 23 (text), 100 (transl.). τΑΜΟΥΝΙΑΚΗ is the Coptic name for the Greek ἡ Ἀμμωνιακή meaning 'the oasis of Ammon', see Wagner 1987, 137-138. The place is identical with the modern Siwa.

¹⁶⁸ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §149.

¹⁶⁹ See chapter VI, 3. *Text and translation*, §35.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. 2 Kgs 17:7-23 and Jer 2-6 and 39.

¹⁷¹ Cf. 1 Cor 1:27; 3:18; 4:10.

¹⁷² See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §124-§128.

¹⁷³ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §24.

¹⁷⁴ See Alcock 1983, 20 (text), 97 (transl.).

After the first settlement by a few anchorites (§7), the church has expanded and the number of monks has increased at the mountain of Qalamūn (§47, §49, §50, §52, §54). Apparently, in the same period that the church had been built at the mountain of Naqlūn (§29), a flourishing monastic settlement had come into existence at the mountain of Qalamūn. The development of the two monastic sites is described as one event taking place at both mountain sites simultaneously. The growth of the monastic complex at the mountain of Qalamūn in this text may be compared with the building of a large church and a growing community of brothers at this site in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*.¹⁷⁵

The custom of an anchorite to live a solitary life in the desert and attend H. Mass once a week at Sunday at a central church to receive the Holy Communion (§53-§54) is also described in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, exactly in the passage dealing with Samuel's stay at the monastery of Naqlūn.¹⁷⁶

4.f. End

Here the author states for the second time explicitly that he had translated the abovementioned story from Coptic into Arabic (§59). By repeating this statement the author underlines the importance of the Coptic language as a marker of the Christian identity. Moreover, he indicates the aim of the text as threefold. In the first place the author wants to keep the literary religious inheritance accessible for the Christian people in the language that they could understand. In the second place he wants to inform the people about their own religion. And in the third place he performed this work to the end that the people would praise God and honour the archangels Michael and Gabriel. A nearly identical aim is found in the *Naqlūn homily*, in which the narrator John tells his audience that he wrote everything down and ‘...put it in the church as a remembrance for those who come after us and for the archangel Gabriel.’¹⁷⁷ Both texts refer to ‘the church’ as the location where the book containing the homily is preserved, but which church is meant remains unclear.

5. Conclusion

On the face of it, this hagiographic text about the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn contains little historical information. The reference to the emperor Theodosius situates the described events in the fourth century. The three converted magicians are told to have

¹⁷⁵ See Alcock 1983, 26 (text), 104 (transl.).

¹⁷⁶ See Alcock 1983, 8-9 (text), 83 (transl.).

¹⁷⁷ See chapter III, 5. *Text and translation*, §208.

discovered a spring, planted palm trees and built a fine, which is probably a small, church. The presence of these things at Qalamūn is confirmed in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*. The text indicates the presence of a rather large monastic settlement at Qalamūn including a library and a number of caves in the desert. With respect to the mountain of Naqlūn, the text speaks about the monastery of the archangel Gabriel with a few caves in the desert. These structures are also attested in the history of both sites, although their presence as early as in the fourth century, as assumed by the text, is rather unlikely. These historical facts may be considered the framework used by the author for this literary work.

It is remarkable that the author combined the history of the two monastic sites of Naqlūn and Qalamūn in one and the same text, representing the two sites as located in each other's vicinity and having a common history. The story starts with a description of the origins of monasticism at Qalamūn. The magicians who were converted at Qalamūn are the ones who started monastic life at Naqlūn. In this vision, monasticism at Naqlūn developed from Qalamūn. For his composition the author made use of hagiographic sources related separately to the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn. He combined the material contained in these literary sources into one new composition. The intertextual relations have been demonstrated above and most obvious is the relation with the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*. Other sources most probably used by the author consist of the *Life of Panine and Panew*, the Bible, and the *Naqlūn homily*. The relation with the *Naqlūn homily* is based mainly on the common motif of the archangel Gabriel and the date of 26 Ba'ūna, but the name of St. Aūr, the central character of the *Naqlūn homily*, does not occur. However, the text contains references to other holy men, famous since the early ages of Egyptian monasticism, St. Antony and St. Paul, references that are also found in *The Journey of St. Aūr* and *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, two other texts related to Naqlūn and studied here. The relations with a great variety of sources, written in Coptic as well as in Arabic, indicate that the text is firmly rooted in the hagiographic literature related to this region of the Fayyūm.

Apparently, the text is an attempt at retelling the history of the region, combining several literary sources recalling into memory great religious leaders as, among others, Samuel of Qalamūn. These sources were most probably available in Arabic, some originally written in Arabic, others had been translated from a Coptic original into Arabic. The author's statement that he translated the text from Coptic into Arabic should most likely not be interpreted literally, but considered as referring to the status of Coptic as a sacred language, the language of tradition. The author's concern with the preservation of the literary religious

inheritance for the coming generations is another well known topos. The author's concern implicitly demonstrates that in his lifetime, the knowledge of the Coptic language had nearly disappeared.¹⁷⁸ The text was most probably composed in Arabic, actually in the variant that is characterized as Middle Arabic.

The abovementioned interpretation may also be used as an indication for the dating of the composition of the text. It is certainly written *before* 1470, the date of the codex containing this homily, and *after* the early ninth century, the probable date of composition of the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*,¹⁷⁹ to which the text explicitly refers. The text reveals the presence of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn and a rather large monastic settlement at Qalamūn. As mentioned above, the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn had been refurbished and redecorated in the eleventh century.¹⁸⁰ After the twelfth century the monastery gradually fell into decline. The monastery of Samuel of Qalamūn had gone through a similar process of destruction in the ninth century and a reconstruction some time later.¹⁸¹ By the twelfth century this monastery was flourishing again.¹⁸² These facts situate the composition of the text most probably in the period between the twelfth century and 1470.

The author of the homily is not indicated, but it is conceivable that the author of the Ḥandaq homily, studied in chapter IX, composed also the second homily contained in the same codex. The author of the Ḥandaq homily is identified as bishop John of Asyūt,¹⁸³ who was ordained bishop in 1423-1424 by Patriarch Gabriel V, who had been a monk in the monastery of Qalamūn before his election as patriarch.¹⁸⁴ This means that the monastery of Qalamūn was still well known in the fifteenth century. John of Asyūt was still a bishop in 1458, according to a list of bishops attending the ceremony of the coction and consecration of the holy Myron in that year.¹⁸⁵ He is told to have visited the monks of the monastery of Qalamūn regularly when he was still a priest.¹⁸⁶ This would explain his familiarity with the site of Qalamūn and the priority he seems to have for this site above the monastery of Naqlūn. Moreover, two other homilies are attributed to this bishop, the *Life of the martyrs of Esna*¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁸ The text may be useful as an indication mark for the charting of the disuse of the Coptic language, see Zaborowski 2008, 15-40.

¹⁷⁹ See Alcock 1983, 38 nt. 7.

¹⁸⁰ See Context, 2. *The monastery of Naqlūn*.

¹⁸¹ Timm 1984-1992, 3:1002.

¹⁸² See Timm 1984-1992, 3:1003; Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 206-208.

¹⁸³ See chapter IX, 5. *Commentary*.

¹⁸⁴ See Samir 1991a.

¹⁸⁵ See Youssef 2006a, 12, 72-73, who based his information on an Arabic source, see Youssef 2003, 314 nt. 27.

¹⁸⁶ See Youssef 2006a, 76-77.

¹⁸⁷ See also Graf, who mentions also a bishop John of Asyūt as the author of a *Life on the martyrs of Esna* (one of the mss. containing this life is dated AD 1520), see Graf 1944-1953, 1:536.

and a homily on Severus of Antioch,¹⁸⁸ which both seem to be very similar in structure.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, both these homilies contain a hymn written in Bohairic Coptic and Arabic,¹⁹⁰ which is also the case with codex W. All these facts seem to point in the direction of this bishop John as the author of the Ḥandaq homily as well as the homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn and the hymn on the archangel Gabriel, all three contained in the same codex. This would situate the composition of all three texts, the two homilies and the hymn, in the same period, namely from about 1420 to 1470. This date falls in a period of decline of the monasteries in the southeastern region of the Fayyūm, although the monastery of Qalamūn had still a certain fame, and is in agreement with the author's wish of restoring the former fame of these combined monastic sites Qalamūn and Naqlūn.

Concluding the above, the text may be considered an attempt to restore the historical fame of the monasteries of the southeastern region of the Fayyūm, by giving them a new history. The author combined various literary sources related to these sites dating from earlier periods. By this, the sites obtained a common historical background, in which Naqlūn developed from Qalamūn. The text reveals a unique, in a double sense, view on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Naqlūn and Qalamūn.

¹⁸⁸ See Youssef 2006a; for the identification of the author, see p.12 in this work.

¹⁸⁹ See Youssef 2008, 189-192.

¹⁹⁰ See Youssef 2008, 192; and Youssef 2006a, 94-95.

Chapter IX

The Ḥandaq homily

1. Introduction

On 26 Ba'ūna the commemoration of the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn is celebrated. The celebration of the archangel Gabriel on this specific date was, and still is, a liturgical tradition, locally at Naqlūn and its surroundings, as well as in other regions of Egypt, as is demonstrated by the diffusion of the *Naqlūn homily*.¹ The popularity of the *Naqlūn homily* is further expressed and emphasized by a text in which a complete passage of the *Naqlūn homily* is incorporated. This text shares with the *Naqlūn homily* the theme of the consecration of a sanctuary (or church) dedicated to the archangel Gabriel at the date of 26 Ba'ūna, but differs in the location of the consecration, namely in the former village of al-Ḥandaq, now forming part of the city of Cairo. This text, indicated as the Ḥandaq homily, is the subject of the present chapter. Two manuscripts containing the Ḥandaq homily have been found. However, the title with which the homily is indicated in the table of contents, does not refer to the specific location of al-Ḥandaq. The lack of specific and essential information in the title may have mislead earlier scholars studying the text.² Several articles have been written on one of the manuscripts of the Ḥandaq homily,³ two by M. F. Khorshed (1992 and 2000), and one by G. Gabra (1997). In both his articles Khorshed wrongly assumes this text to deal with the consecration of a sanctuary in the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn. Gabra criticizes and corrects Khorshed's view by demonstrating that the text deals with the consecration of a sanctuary at al-Ḥandaq at which occasion the story of the building and the consecration of the church on the mountain of Naqlūn is told.

According to the text, Patriarch John XI performed the consecration at al-Ḥandaq, which situates the described event in the period of his patriarchate, in the period 1427-1452. The text is a homily about the nobility of the archangel Gabriel, demonstrated by an enumeration of his miracles and his appearances, and about the honour given to him by reporting the building of several churches dedicated to him, like the church on the mountain of Naqlūn.

¹ See Introduction, 4. *Popularity of the legend of St. Aūr*.

² Graf's *GCAL* does not differentiate between the *Naqlūn homily* and the Ḥandaq homily, see Graf 1944-1953, 1:544, c, 2:507.

³ The articles concern the ms. preserved in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, under serial nr. 160 - liturgy 48, in this study indicated with the siglum N, see description below.

Below, a description of the two concerned manuscripts is presented, then the relation between the manuscripts is studied, followed by the edition of the text and a translation. Then a short commentary is given on the text, and its relation with the *Naqlūn homily* is clarified. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

2. Description of the manuscripts

Manuscript W: The codex general 98 – Hist. 23 Ḥārat al-Rūm, dated to 1470-1473, is already described in chapter VIII, and here a few additional remarks are made.⁴ The Ḥandaq homily is the first homily contained in the codex and takes up the folios (in Coptic numerals) f. 3r-43v. The date of this first part of the codex is 1470. The text is written in a clear hand. Diacritical dots are often missing. Vowel signs are put scarcely and irregularly, mostly to indicate the *tanwīn 'alif*. Titles and phrases that are considered important are written in red ink. The original folio numbers in Coptic are placed in the left upper corner. The foliation in Arabic in the upper margin is added later. Coptic folio number 18 is missing, but the text is continuous. The table of contents (f. 2r) presents this homily erroneously for 22 Kiyahk. The error is probably due to the fact that this date occurs in the prologue of the homily. Actually, the homily concerns the date of 26 Ba'ūna, which is also the central date of the *Naqlūn homily*.

Manuscript N: The second manuscript containing the Ḥandaq homily is kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, under serial nr. 160 - liturgy 48.⁵ According to the catalogues of Graf and Simaika, the codex consists of 255-257 folios.⁶ The size of the folios measures 19x14 cm, the written surface is 16x9 cm, containing 13 lines. It is a collection of the remaining folios of two (or three) manuscripts. The folios of the first part are numbered f. 57-125 and those of the second part f. 120-189. For this study only the folios containing the first homily, the Ḥandaq homily, were available. The following information concerns these folios only: rubrication and punctuation marks are partly written in red ink; some folios have been restored; the text is written in a regular hand and diacritical dots are indicated normally; the scribe used catchwords; folio numbering is identical in Coptic and Arabic; folio number f. 97 is missing, but the text is continuous. Folio numbers in Arabic, starting from f. 1-41, have been added probably later. This text witness of the Ḥandaq homily is undated. Graf and

⁴ See also the survey of texts and manuscripts in Introduction, 4.a. Survey.

⁵ The number of the manuscript according to Khorshed: unpublished no. 48 – liturgy, serial no. 190; Gabra refers in his article in note 3 to the number of the ms. liturgy 38, which should be corrected in liturgy 48.

⁶ Graf gives 255 folios, see Graf 1934, 25-26; and Simaika gives 257 folios, see Simaika 1939-1942, 1:80.

Simaika assess its date in the 14th-15th century,⁷ Nabih Kamel Daoud, who used the manuscript for his study on the church of the archangel Michael at al-Ḥandaq, is more inclined to indicate the 17th-18th centuries as the period in which it has been written.⁸

The contents of the codex are summed up on the first folio, where also a stamp is found of which only the number 190 can be deciphered. The contents are as follows:

1. f. 57v-98r.⁹ **Homily by one of the fathers in which he praises the honour of the angel Gabriel and the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn.**
2. f. 98v-125v.¹⁰ Homily held by saint Archelaus, bishop of the city Ira, on the remembrance of the angel Gabriel on the day of his commemoration, 22 Kiyahk.
3. f. 120-189r.¹¹ Homily on saint Takla Haymanut from Abyssinia.

3. Relation between the manuscripts

According to the text Patriarch John XI (1427-1452) performed the consecration (§50). The date of the codex W, 1470-1473, is a few decades after the ceremony took place. This situates the composition of the text in the period 1427-1470. In the epilogue (f. 42r, 43v), the name of Patriarch Gabriel occurs twice. In both cases the name Gabriel is crossed out and corrected in John, rendered in Coptic in abridged form as ⲓⲃⲁ, the first three letters of ⲓⲃⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ. The corrections seem to have been made by another hand at a later moment. Which Patriarch Gabriel is meant is not specified. Possibly, the scribe refers to Patriarch Gabriel VI, who was at the patriarchal see in the period 1466-1475¹² and this period coincides (partly) with the date of the codex.

The scribe, the priest Gabriel, made several writing errors, that were corrected later by another hand.¹³ Neither these errors nor its corrections are reproduced in N. For example, in W, the name of the patriarch Gabriel is corrected twice into John, but N renders the name of patriarch Gabriel or keeps the name of the patriarch anonymous. Moreover, N differs from M in phrasing and N contains additions and omissions with respect to M. For example, the word

⁷ See Graf 1934, 25-26, nr. 66 (Lit. 48); Graf 1944-1953, 1:544, 2c: Cairo 66, 14-15th century; Simaika 1939-1942, 1:80 gives 15th century; see also Müller 1959, 220, nr. 119; 221, nr. 122 (1), 14th-15th century (dating based on Graf).

⁸ See Daoud 2003, 5, 34 nt. 51.

⁹ The survey of contents in the manuscript gives f. 58 as the beginning folio of this homily.

¹⁰ The survey of contents in the manuscript gives f. 98r. as the beginning folio of this homily.

¹¹ The survey of contents in the manuscript gives f. 2 as the beginning folio of this homily and adds: 'in the middle of the book', possibly indicating that only the last half of the homily is present.

¹² See Samir 1991b.

¹³ See for example the addition of the words أخرى on f. 25r and والهنا ومخلصنا on f. 43v that are both written in the margin in red ink. Other errors in W: missing word added in the margin (f. 19r, 25r, 41v) or added between the lines in superscript (f. 22v, 38r) or a word is crossed out (f. 38v).

أيضاً ‘also’ is used frequently in N, and to a lesser extent the term قد indicating the perfect tense. In W, the diacritical dots are often missing, whereas in N they are generally written. These observations give the impression that N is probably a later copy. Based on these observations, there seems to be no evidence of a direct relation between the manuscripts on the level of the texts themselves. Possibly, W is an early copy and N a later copy of the original version of the Ḥandaq homily.

4. Text and translation

Manuscript W is dated and its date is a few decades after the described event. This relatively early date is an important reason to select W as the base manuscript for the edition. Moreover, the manuscript is available in its entirety for the present study. These facts do not apply to manuscript N, which is undated, belongs to a codex consisting of the remaining folios of one or more other codices, and only photocopies of the first homily are available for the present study. Moreover, the text of N seems to be more elaborate, containing additional, in many cases superfluous, words that are not found in W. For these reasons, the text of manuscript W has been chosen as the base text for the edition of the Ḥandaq homily.

The method of edition is similar to that applied for the edition of the Naqlūn homily, as has been set forth in the introduction preceding its edition. Variants in phrasing occurring in N are noted in the critical apparatus.

4.a. The Ḥandaq homily - text

Here below the text of the Ḥandaq homily is presented. However, the prologue and the epilogue have been summarized and rendered in translation only. These text parts are rather lengthy and their contents do not have information that would clear up the relation of this text with the *Naqlūn homily*, the main purpose of this chapter, except for a short passage contained in the epilogue, which is therefore presented (§61-§64). The translation tries to preserve the character of the text and is therefore as literal as possible. Text and translation have been divided in parallel numbered paragraphs. Folio numbers according to Coptic numbering are indicated between brackets.

¹ (3r) ¹⁴ بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس اله ¹⁵ الواحد

¹⁴ From here onwards the text of ms. W is compared with the text of ms. N.

¹⁵ الاء] N اله

- 2 نبتدي بعون الله¹⁶ وحسن توفيقه¹⁷ بميمر¹⁸ وضعه¹⁹ احد الآباء القديسين المومنين برينا يسوع المسيح يمدح فيه كرامه الجندي السماي²⁰ ربيس الملايكة الطاهر غبريال الخادم المومتن حامل رساله الخلاص²¹ المبشر بظهور النور²²
- 3 يظهر²³ في هذا الميمر ان في²⁴ هذا اليوم كان تكريز بيعته بجبل النقلون
- 4 وفيه ايضا²⁵ كان تكريز هيكله المقدس بالخذق من يد السيد الاب البطريك القديس اللابس²⁶ الاله²⁷ انبا يونس²⁸ ربيس اساقفه (3v) المدينه العظما²⁹ الاسكندريه وكان³⁰ بحضور³¹ الاساقفه والكهنه³²
- 5 ويظهر³³ ايضا في هذا الميمر يوم تكريز بيعته بمدينه دانا في اليوم الثاني والعشرون من شهر كيهك وهو اليوم الذي اقامه الله فيه³⁴
- 6 ويظهر في هذا الميمر ايضا ان في مثل هذا اليوم كانت نياحه يشوع ابن نون تلميذ موسي بكر الانبياء
- 7 وتكلم³⁵ في هذا الميمر بمديح الملاكين³⁶ العظيمين ميخايل وغبريال وبالاكثر مديح سيدتنا³⁷ العدرى³⁸ ماره مريم³⁹

¹⁶ تعالى N + الله
¹⁷ ارشاده N] توفيقه
¹⁸ بشر ميمر N] بميمر
¹⁹ من قول القديس العظيم N] وضعه
²⁰ N -] الجندي السماي
²¹ و N +] الخلاص
²² و N +] النور
²³ ويظهر N] يظهر
²⁴ مثل N +] في
²⁵ N -] ايضا
²⁶ اللابس W] اللابس
²⁷ الالهيات N] الاله
²⁸ ابينا انبا يونس N] انبا يونس
²⁹ العظيمه N] العظما
³⁰ ذلك N +] وكان
³¹ اليا N +] بحضور
³² وكل الكهنه N] والكهنه
³³ وقد يظهر N] ويظهر
³⁴ فيه الله N] الله فيه
³⁵ وقد تكلم N] وتكلم
³⁶ الاطهار N +] الملاكين
³⁷ كنا N +] سيدتنا
³⁸ الطاهره الزكيه N +] العدرى

- 8 ويظهر ايضا القوات والعجايب⁴⁰ (4r) الذي اجزاهم الله علي يد⁴¹ ربيس الملايكه⁴² غبريال
- 9 وضع⁴³ هذا الميمر في بيعته الذي بالخندق بجانب بيعه صديقه ربيس الملايكه⁴⁴ ميخائيل ليقرأ على مسامع الشعب⁴⁵ المحب للمسيح⁴⁶ الدين⁴⁷ اجتمعوا⁴⁸ في يوم عيده المقدس الذي هو⁴⁹ السادس والعشرين من شهر بوونه⁵⁰ بركاته الطاهره وبركه قايله تكون مع جميعكم يا اخوه بسلام من الرب امين⁵¹
- 10 (20r) ... والان يا اخوتي واحباي قد⁵³ توهقت في الكلام الروحاني واستغرق⁵⁴ عقل⁵⁵ في كلام الانجيل والاقوال الروحانيه وانا اخشى⁵⁶ ان اشتغل عما اهتمت به وابتديت⁵⁷ بايراده لمحبتكم وهو تدكار الملاك الجليل غبريال المبشر بدهور النور فاعود الان وانجز ذلك لمحبتكم واطلب من الرب ان يكون لي مساعدا ومعينا في البدايه والتمام ويسهل لي الطريق الي كلام الخلاص
- 11 واخبر محبتكم بخبر بنيان كنيسه الملاك (20v) الجليل غبريال بجبل النقلون المنعوت⁵⁸ بارض الميعاد كما كتبوا الابا الاولين الدين كانوا قبلنا ان اقوام كانوا سحره وكانوا⁵⁹ مصادقين الشيطان وسالكون في طريقهم المعوجه
- 12 تم بعد ذلك ادركتهم معونه الله الرووف المتحنن على خليقته الذي لا يشا موت الخاطي ف جذبهم الي

³⁹ مرتمريم N] ماره مريم

⁴⁰ العجايب والقوات N] القوات والعجايب

⁴¹ يدي N] يد

⁴² الطاهر + N] الملايكه

⁴³ وضع N] وضع

⁴⁴ الطاهر + N] الملايكه

⁴⁵ - N] الشعب

⁴⁶ الله N] للمسيح

⁴⁷ الذي قد N] الدين

⁴⁸ ايضا + N] اجتمعوا

⁴⁹ اليوم + N] هو

⁵⁰ باوونه N] بوونه

⁵¹ بركاتهم وشفاعاتهم الطاهره تكون معنا يا اباي و اخوتي يا رب ارحم N | sup. من الرب امين W] بركاته الطاهره ... بسلام من الرب امين امين

⁵² See the summary of the prologue in the English translation below.

⁵³ قد] W + illegible word that is crossed out (not in N)

⁵⁴ W illegible by damage N |] واستغرق

⁵⁵ ايضا + N] عقل

⁵⁶ قد اخشي N] اخشى

⁵⁷ ايضا + N] وابتديت

⁵⁸ المشهور N] المنعوت

⁵⁹ ايضا + N] وكانوا

- التوبه فتابوا عنما سلف⁶⁰ من خطاياهم وكان⁶¹ ذلك بشفاعه الست السيده العديري ماره مريم⁶²
وبوساطه رئيس الملائكه⁶³ الطاهر غبريال
13 وانهم ابتداءً أو بوضع اساس البيعه في جبل النفلون واهتموا بجميع ما يحتاج (21r) اليه للبنيان وكان
فرح عظيم لجميع الناس والاجرا والعمالين
14 وان اراخنه⁶⁴ مدينه الفيوم لما⁶⁵ سمعوا ببنا البيعه علي اسم رئيس الملائكه غبريال المبشر⁶⁶ اتوا⁶⁷
وصحبتهم الهدايا والندور⁶⁸ وعملوا⁶⁹ في البيعه⁷⁰ بايديهم وكان رئيس الملائكه⁷¹ غبريال مساعدا لهم
في كل شي
15 وان الشيطان⁷² عدو⁷³ الخير لم يحتمل ذلك
16 فلما كان في بعض الايام⁷⁴ تشبه الشيطان برجل شيخ واتا الي احد الرجال المذكورين المتحدث على
البنيان وكان يسما اور فقال له⁷⁵ من اين انت
17 فقال له انا من كورتك وعارف بابيك وامك وهذا المال الذي⁷⁶ اتيت به معك انما سرقته من قصر
الملك (21v) واتيتم⁷⁷ به الي⁷⁸ هاهنا وكنتم سحره
18 وانت تعلم ان كلما قلته لك⁷⁹ صحيح فان شيخ متلي⁸⁰ ما يكذب ولا اريد لاحد فساد ولا ضرر
19 وان سمعت مني سوف يكون لك الخير لانك من بلادي⁸¹

⁶⁰ قد سلف N] سلف

⁶¹ وكان W ditt. and corrected by crossing out one of the two

⁶² N –] الست السيده العديري ماره مريم

⁶³ الملائكه W] الملائكه

⁶⁴ المدينه اعني + N] اراخنه

⁶⁵ انهم + N] لما

⁶⁶ ايضا بالافراح + N] المبشر

⁶⁷ اتوا W] اتوا

⁶⁸ وكل الندور N mg. | ور W] والندور

⁶⁹ ايضا + N] وعملوا

⁷⁰ المقدسه الطاهره مساعدا + N] البيعه

⁷¹ الطاهر + N] الملائكه

⁷² mg. ن W] الشيطان

⁷³ كل + N] عدو

⁷⁴ قد + N] الايام

⁷⁵ N –] له

⁷⁶ قد + N] الذي

⁷⁷ وقد اتيتم N] واتيتم

⁷⁸ N –] الي

⁷⁹ N –] لك

⁸⁰ فاني رجل شيخ ومتلي N] فان شيخ متلي

- 20 فقوم الآن مسرعا واهدم هذا المكان الذى ابتنيته⁸² وانطلق الي حال سبيلك ليلا يرسل الملك يقتلك⁸³
- 21 وان القديس اور لما⁸⁴ سمع هذا الكلام⁸⁵ من الرجل الشيخ قام⁸⁶ مسرعا ويسط يديه وصلى الي الرب وطلب⁸⁷ اليه تم طلب هكذا قايل⁸⁸ يا ربييس الملائكه غبريال خلصنى ولا تنساني ولا تخلا عنى فانى اعلم اني رجل خاطي مند صباي اسالك⁸⁹ (22r) ان لا تسلمنى الي الشيطان حتى اكمل هذا البيعه⁹⁰ وابعد عني قوات العدو والمجد للتالوت المقدس⁹¹ الى ابد الابدن امين
- 22 لما⁹² قال هذا اتا اليه ملاك الرب غبريال المبشر وقال له افرح اليوم يا اور رجل⁹³ الله المختار لان هو دا الرب قد كمل لك سواك ولكن ادا اتا اغدا⁹⁴ هذا الشيخ السو تقدم اليه واربطه بسلسله حديد وانت تعلم من هو
- 23 ففعل⁹⁵ كذلك وعلق الشيطان مربوطا على باب البيعه وكل احد ينظر اليه وهو يصرخ قايل استحلفك⁹⁶ بالله وربييس ملايكته⁹⁷ غبريال ان تطلقنى وادا تركتنى انا لا اعود الى هاهنا دفعه اخرى
- 24 (22v) وان القديس لما⁹⁸ سمع هذا الكلام حل وتاق الشيطان واطلقه فصار⁹⁹ مثل سهام النار ومضي مفتضح بخزي عظيم
- 25 تم بعد ذلك اقاموا العمد¹⁰⁰ داخل البيعه
- 26 وان الشيخ المذكور¹⁰¹ تشبه بشيخ راهب عمره تقدير مايه سنه واتا¹⁰² الى حيث العمالين وسالهم من هو¹⁰³ ربييس¹⁰⁴ هذا العمل فقالوا له ذلك الرجل

⁸¹ ايضا N +] بلادي

⁸² ابنيته N] ابنتيه

⁸³ ايضا ويقتلك N] يقتلك

⁸⁴ ان قد N +] لما

⁸⁵ ايضا N +] الكلام

⁸⁶ هو N +] قام

⁸⁷ هكدي N +] وطلب

⁸⁸ قايل ايضا N] تم طلب هكذا قايل

⁸⁹ انا اسالك N] اسالك

⁹⁰ الكنيسه N] البيعه

⁹¹ الي الابد و N +] المقدس

⁹² ولما ان N] لما

⁹³ يا رجل N] رجل

⁹⁴ غدا lege] اغدا

⁹⁵ هو N +] ففعل

⁹⁶ انا استحلفك N] استحلفك

⁹⁷ الملائكه الطاهر N] ملايكته

⁹⁸ ان قد N +] لما

⁹⁹ هو N +] فصار

¹⁰⁰ العمل N] العمد

- 27 فتمشى نحو القديس وفيما كان يمشى وقع¹⁰⁵ على وجهه يزعم انه رجل شيخ
- 28 فلما¹⁰⁶ تقدم الي القديس¹⁰⁷ قال له انظر¹⁰⁸ يا ولدي الى شيخوختي وكبري وضعف بصري واجعلني في شغل¹⁰⁹ كاحد الاجرى
- 29 وان القديس حزن عليه¹¹⁰ كثيرا وقال له (23r) اجلس¹¹¹ انت هاهنا¹¹² وانا اخدمك بما تحتاج¹¹³ اليه
- 30 وان الشيطان المتشبه بالرجل الشيخ قال¹¹⁴ لاور ليس ينبغي هذا يا ولدي ان اجلس¹¹⁵ بلا شغل واكل خبزي¹¹⁶ بغير استحقاق¹¹⁷ ليلا يغضب الله¹¹⁸ علي
- 31 وهودا انت الان تنتظر¹¹⁹ الي ضعفي¹²⁰ ولم اتخلي من¹²¹ الشغل يوما واحدا بل اعمل واعطي المساكين والضعفا والمحتاجين¹²² واقتات بالباقي لان الواجب علي الراهب¹²³ ان¹²⁴ لا¹²⁵ يرغب في شي بالاكتر
- 32 وان الجمع تعجبوا¹²⁶ من كلامه وسالوا القديس ان يقبله
- 33 وانه قال له امضي واملا¹²⁷ الما للعمالين على دواب البيعه

¹⁰¹ الشيطان N] الشيخ المذكور

¹⁰² وقد اتى N] وانا

¹⁰³ - N] هو

¹⁰⁴ which is crossed out الملائكة W +] رئيس

¹⁰⁵ قد وقع N +] وقع

¹⁰⁶ فلما N +] فلما

¹⁰⁷ ايضا قد N +] القديس

¹⁰⁸ انظر انت N] انظر

¹⁰⁹ ايضا N +] شغل

¹¹⁰ قد حزن هو عليه ايضا N] حزن عليه

¹¹¹ W ditt. (written as last word on preceding folio) اجلس

¹¹² الي هاهنا انت N] انت هاهنا

¹¹³ يحتاج N] تحتاج

¹¹⁴ فانه قال N] قال

¹¹⁵ انا اجلس اولاً N] اجلس

¹¹⁶ ايضا N +] خبزي

¹¹⁷ mg. ق W] استحقاق

¹¹⁸ الرب N] الله

¹¹⁹ قد تنتظر N] تنتظر

¹²⁰ انا N +] ضعفي

¹²¹ ولا اتخلا عن N] ولم اتخلي من

¹²² وكل المحتاجين N] والمحتاجين

¹²³ الراهب N] الراهب

¹²⁴ W ditt.] ان

¹²⁵ - N] لا

¹²⁶ قد تعجبوا ايضا N] تعجبوا

- 34 وكان¹²⁸ الشيطان يمضي يملا¹²⁹ الماء¹³⁰ ولا يزال¹³¹ ماشيا بالدواب الى حيث¹³² يقرب (23v) من باب البيعه يسيرا¹³³ يكسر الاوعية¹³⁴ وكان يقول في نفسه انني لا اكسرهم علي البحر ليلا ياتوا الدواب مخفين لكني اتعب الدواب وابطل الناس لان الماء كان¹³⁵ بعيدا من الدير
- 35 وان الاجرا¹³⁶ والبنايين تقمقمو¹³⁷ ومنعوه ان يملا¹³⁸ الماء¹³⁹ وجعلوه¹⁴⁰ ان يناول¹⁴¹ الطوب وكان يرمى الطوب على الفعلة¹⁴² ويجرحهم¹⁴³ وانه تناول¹⁴⁴ حجرا كبيرا ما¹⁴⁵ يقدر اثنان¹⁴⁶ يحملوه ورماه¹⁴⁷ على احد¹⁴⁸ العمالين فقتله¹⁴⁹ واعطب¹⁵⁰ اثنين اخر
- 36 وان الشيطان المتشبه بالشيخ لما¹⁵¹ راي ان الرجل مات صاح قايل يا لهذا (24r) الظلم الذي كان اليوم الاصلح ان لا يبني هاهنا كنيسة¹⁵² ابدا افضل من ان يقتلوا خليفه الله
- 37 ولما¹⁵³ كان يقول هذا اد اجتاز بهم اسفهلار البلاد¹⁵⁴ وكان معه جند كثير فمضى الشيطان المتشبه¹⁵⁵ بالشيخ مسرعا اليه وسجد امامه¹⁵⁶ هكذا¹⁵⁷ قايل¹⁵⁸ اسالك يا سيدي الاسفهلار ان

¹²⁷ ايضا] N +] الماء

¹²⁸ هو] N +] وكان

¹²⁹ ويملا] N] يملا

¹³⁰ الي العمالين] N +] الماء

¹³¹ ولم يزال] N] ولا يزال

¹³² ان] N +] حيث

¹³³ بيسيرا كان] N] يسيرا

¹³⁴ ايضا] N +] الاوعية

¹³⁵ هو] N +] كان

¹³⁶ ايضا] N +] الاجرا

¹³⁷ ايضا] N +] تقمقمو

¹³⁸ لا يملا] N] يملا

¹³⁹ للعمالين ولا يزال الي انهم] N +] الماء

¹⁴⁰ قد جعلوه] N] وجعلوه

¹⁴¹ لهم] N +] يناول

¹⁴² علي الفعلة الطوب] N] الطوب على الفعلة

¹⁴³ -] N] ويجرحهم

¹⁴⁴ قد تناول] N] تناول

¹⁴⁵ فلم] N] ما

¹⁴⁶ ان] N +] اثنان

¹⁴⁷ فرماه] N] ورماه

¹⁴⁸ رجل واحد من] N] احد

¹⁴⁹ قتله] N] فقتله

¹⁵⁰ وقد اعطب ايضا] N] واعطب

¹⁵¹ ان] N +] لما

¹⁵² كنيسة هنا] N] هاهنا كنيسة

¹⁵³ وانه لما ان] N] ولما

- تتصف اليوم فانه¹⁵⁹ كان هاهنا ظلم عظيم وذلك قاموا على رجل ضعيف وقتلوه بحجر عظيم
وهاهنا مطروح ميت لان الله لم يجعل على الارض الملوك والامرا الا لياخذوا حق المساكين
والضعفا من الدين يتقوون عليهم اقول¹⁶⁰ لك يا سيدي الامير ان تركت (24v) هؤلاء الناس بينوا هذه
البيعه¹⁶¹ فسوف¹⁶² يموت¹⁶³ خلق كثير داخلها
38 وان الامير مشى¹⁶⁴ مع الشيطان المتشبه بالشيخ لينظر الي الرجل الميت فلما¹⁶⁵ راه مسك اور
ليمضي به الي الملك
39 وان شيوخ الدير سالوه ان يجلس عندهم لكي يستريح¹⁶⁶ قليلا
40 وان اور كان¹⁶⁷ حزينا جدا يسال¹⁶⁸ الله ان يخلصه من هذه التجربه العظيمة
41 وفيما هو كذلك¹⁶⁹ ظهر له ربيس الملايكه¹⁷⁰ غبريال وقال له افرح يا اور مختار الله لا تحزن لاجل
هذا الامر ولا يضعف¹⁷¹ قلبك امض مسرعا وامسك الشيخ لتعلم من هو
42 وان ربيس الملايكه غبريال ربط¹⁷² الشيطان وسلمه لاور فعلقه¹⁷³ داخل (25r) البيعه وعاقبه عقوبه
عظيمه وكان يصرخ قايلا انا هو الذي اتيت¹⁷⁴ في الاول¹⁷⁵ وانا الذي قتلت الرجل
43 وكان يسال الامير ان يطلب الي اور كيما¹⁷⁶ يطلقه وان اور اطلقه بخزي عظيم

¹⁵⁴ الاسفهلار من بيت الملك N] اسفهلار البلاد

¹⁵⁵ ايضا + N] المتشبه

¹⁵⁶ له N] امامه

¹⁵⁷ - N] هكذا

¹⁵⁸ ايضا انا + N] قايلا

¹⁵⁹ ان N] فانه

¹⁶⁰ انا اقول N] اقول

¹⁶¹ هذا الكنيسه N] هذه البيعه

¹⁶² فانه سوف N] فسوف

¹⁶³ تموت W] يموت

¹⁶⁴ ايضا + N] مشى

¹⁶⁵ ان + N] فلما

¹⁶⁶ يستريح W] يستريح

¹⁶⁷ هو + N] كان

¹⁶⁸ ويسال N] يسال

¹⁶⁹ لذلك قد N] كذلك

¹⁷⁰ الطاهر + N] الملايكه

¹⁷¹ انت ايضا + N] يضعف

¹⁷² قد ربط N] ربط

¹⁷³ معلقه N] فعلقه

¹⁷⁴ قد اتيت N] اتيت

¹⁷⁵ اول N] في الاول

¹⁷⁶ كي N] كيما

- 44 والرجل¹⁷⁷ الذى مات ادركته¹⁷⁸ نعمه الله وشفاعه ربيس الملائكه¹⁷⁹ غبريال وعاش دفعه اخري¹⁸⁰
- 45 وان الامير لما¹⁸¹ نظر ذلك دفع¹⁸² هدايا كثيره لبيعه ربيس الملائكه غبريال ولم يزل مقيما فى جبل
النقلون اعنى الامير حتى كملوا بنيان¹⁸³ كنيسه¹⁸⁴ الملاك الجليل¹⁸⁵ غبريال¹⁸⁶ فى اليوم الثالث من
شهر بوونه¹⁸⁷ وزينوها بكل¹⁸⁸ الاشكال الحسنه
- 46 ولما كان في اليوم الخامس والعشرين (25v) من شهر بوونه ارسلوا خلف¹⁸⁹ انبا ايساك اسقف الفيوم
فحضر وصحبته¹⁹⁰ الكهنه والاراخنه وكل شعب المسيحي وابتدوا¹⁹¹ بالصلاه كجارى¹⁹² العاده
- 47 وهكذا كرز البيعه¹⁹³ باسم التالوت المقدس¹⁹⁴ ورشمها¹⁹⁵ باسم ربيس الملائكه غبريال¹⁹⁶ فى اليوم¹⁹⁷
السادس والعشرين من شهر بوونه وكان¹⁹⁸ يوم الاحد المقدس
- 48 واقاموا¹⁹⁹ سبعة ايام²⁰⁰ يسبحون الله بفرح عظيم
- 49 وكانت عجائب كثيره تظهر في ذلك المكان المقدس وهى الان باقيه الي يوم²⁰¹ الناس هذا²⁰²
- 50 واما تكرير²⁰³ هذا الهيكل المقدس علي اسم ربيس الملائكه غبريال فكان (26r) من يد الاب²⁰⁴

¹⁷⁷ وان الرجل N] والرجل

¹⁷⁸ قد ادركته N] ادركته

¹⁷⁹ الطاهر + N] الملائكه

¹⁸⁰ W mg. in red ink] اخري

¹⁸¹ ان + N] لما

¹⁸² قد دفع N] دفع

¹⁸³ W mg.] بنيان

¹⁸⁴ الكنيسه الذي ل N] كنيسه

¹⁸⁵ - N] الجليل

¹⁸⁶ وكان هذا + N] غبريال

¹⁸⁷ وكملوها + N] بوونه

¹⁸⁸ حسن من + N] بكل

¹⁸⁹ ابينا + N] خلف

¹⁹⁰ ويصحبته N] وصحبته

¹⁹¹ وقد ابتدوا ايضا N | وابتدوا W] وابتدوا

¹⁹² N illegible] كجارى

¹⁹³ ايضا + N] البيعه

¹⁹⁴ ريس الملائكه غبريال N] التالوت المقدس

¹⁹⁵ - N] رشمها

¹⁹⁶ التالوت المقدس الاب والابن والروح القدس ورشمها باسم ريس الملائكه N] ربيس الملائكه غبريال

¹⁹⁷ الذي هو + N] اليوم

¹⁹⁸ وقد كان N] وكان

¹⁹⁹ مدت + N] واقاموا

²⁰⁰ وهم + N] ايام

²⁰¹ ليوم N] الي يوم

²⁰² - N] هذا

- المكرم²⁰⁵ السيد البطريرك²⁰⁶ انبا يونس التاسع والتمانون من الابا البطاركه بمدينة الاسكندريه
- 51 وذلك ان خدام هذه²⁰⁷ البيعه المقدسه اشتمل²⁰⁸ رايعهم علي عماره هيكل للملاك²⁰⁹ الجليل غبريال في بيعه صديقه رئيس الملايكه²¹⁰ ميخائيل فاحدوا راي السيد الاب²¹¹ البطريرك المشار اليه في ذلك فادن لهم به²¹²
- 52 فاهتموا²¹³ باجتهاد²¹⁴ كثير وقلوب مستقيمه وابتنوا هذا²¹⁵ الهيكل المقدس الذي نحن مجتمعين فيه الان²¹⁶
- 53 ولما اكملوه²¹⁷ سالوا الاب البطريرك المشار اليه في الحضور لتكريزه²¹⁸ فحضر²¹⁹ وصحبته²²⁰ الاب الاسقف انبا ميخائيل بمدينة اطفيح (26v) واهناس المدينة وكذلك²²¹ انا الحقير المخاطب لمحبتكم²²² الان بهذا الميمر²²³ خادم الشعب المسيحي²²⁴ بمدينة²²⁵ اسيوط وجماعه الكهنه القسوس والشمامسه والرهبان وجمع الكثير²²⁶ من الشعوب المسيحيين²²⁷ رجال ونسوان²²⁸ من محروستي مصر والقاهره ومن كل البلاد المجاوره²²⁹ لهذا²³⁰ الدير

²⁰³ تكرر W] تكرر

²⁰⁴ القديس + N] الاب

²⁰⁵ هو + N] المكرم

²⁰⁶ ابينا N] البطريرك

²⁰⁷ - N] هذه

²⁰⁸ قد اشتمل N] اشتمل

²⁰⁹ الملاك N] للملاك

²¹⁰ القوي + N] الملايكه

²¹¹ المكرم + N] الاب

²¹² بذلك N] به

²¹³ بذلك + N] فاهتموا

²¹⁴ mg. W] باجتهاد

²¹⁵ وابنوا ايضا هذا هو N] وابتنوا هذا

²¹⁶ ايضا + N] الان

²¹⁷ ان اكملوه قد N] اكملوه

²¹⁸ ليكرزه N] لتكريزه

²¹⁹ هو ايضا + N] فحضر

²²⁰ وبصحبه N] وصحبته

²²¹ وكانت لذلك N] وكذلك

²²² لكم N] لمحبتكم

²²³ كان + N] الميمر

²²⁴ - N] المسيحي

²²⁵ بكريسي N] بمدينة

²²⁶ كبير N] الكثير

²²⁷ منهما + N] المسيحيين

²²⁸ ايضا + N] ونسوان

- 54 وكرز هذا الهيكل المقدس في مثل هذا اليوم الذي هو السادس والعشرون من شهر بوونه فصاروا²³¹
- يعملوا عيد الملاك الجليل غبريال²³² في بيعته التي²³³ بجانب بيعه صديقه رئيس الملائكة²³⁴ ميخائيل
- 55 وصار اتنيهما²³⁵ كوكبين²³⁶ مضيئين (27r) ومصباحين²³⁷ نيرين²³⁸ بجانب بعضهما معونه لكلمن
- يكون في شدة ولبية وايمن²³⁹ وقع في تجربه من تجارب الزمان ويحضر²⁴⁰ الي بيعتهما ويطلب من
- الله²⁴¹ وشفاعتهم²⁴² يجد الخلاص
- 56 والمرضى ادا²⁴³ طلبوا الشفا بامانه مستقيمه²⁴⁴ يدركهم الشفا سريعا والحزان²⁴⁵ ادا حضروا الي
- بيعتهم يحصل²⁴⁶ لهم العزا والسلوه لان في²⁴⁷ هذه البيعه روح العزا وروح²⁴⁸ الفرح وروح القداسه
- ومعونه الله محيطه بها²⁴⁹ من كل جانب تحفظها²⁵⁰ من ساير الاضرار والالام ويستتر علي²⁵¹
- المجتمعين فيها امين
- 57 وادا قد²⁵² عرفنا محبتكم ايها الشعب²⁵³ المحب للمسيح (27v) بخبر بنيان كنيسه الملاك²⁵⁴
- الجليل²⁵⁵ غبريال²⁵⁶ بجبل النقلون ويوم تكريزها وبخبر بنيان هذا الهيكل المقدس الذي نحن الان
- مجمعين فيه ويوم تكريزه على اسمه الطاهر انه في²⁵⁷ السادس والعشرين من شهر²⁵⁸ بوونه

²²⁹ ايضا + N] المجاوره

²³⁰ بهذا] لهذا

²³¹ هم + N | فصارو W] فصاروا

²³² ريس الملائكه الطاهر غبريال N] الملاك الجليل غبريال

²³³ اسمه + W] التي

²³⁴ الطاهر + N] الملائكه

²³⁵ ايضا + N] اتنيهما

²³⁶ عظيمين + N] كوكبين

²³⁷ مصابيح اتنين N | (crossed out) ومصباحين W] ومصباحين

²³⁸ نيروا N] نيرين

²³⁹ ولمن قد N] وايمن

²⁴⁰ ايضا + N] ويحضر

²⁴¹ منهما N] من الله

²⁴² ويشتفع بهما كان هو N] وشفاعتهم

²⁴³ هم + N] ادا

²⁴⁴ فكان + N] مستقيمه

²⁴⁵ ولما هم الحزان N] والحزان

²⁴⁶ كان قد يحصل N] يحصل

²⁴⁷ W mg.] في

²⁴⁸ روح N] وروح

²⁴⁹ ايضا + N] بها

²⁵⁰ من كل جانب + N] تحفظها

²⁵¹ كل + N] علي

²⁵² نحن + N] قد

- 58 فاعود الان واشرح لكم عجائب الملاك²⁵⁹ غبريال وما تهيأ من الايات بكل مكان وفي كل زمان فلنكن مومنين ومصدقين بما يتلا على مسامعنا من عجائبه وقواته وبراهينه وفضل معجزاته الشاهد بهم انبا باسيليوس اسقف قيساريه²⁶⁰ تم²⁶¹ ما اورده²⁶² بالصوره الواضحه الجليله ابينا (28r) ابينا²⁶³ القديس يوحنا فم الذهب بطريرك القسطنطينيه بسلام من الرب امين
- 59 (28r-30v) [A few miracles performed by the archangel Gabriel.]
- 60 (30v-33r) [Eulogy on the archangel Gabriel.]
- 61 (33r) ... غبريال رئيس الملائكه الواقف قدام الله هو الذي²⁶⁴ دعا اناس خطاه سحره من ضلاله²⁶⁵ عباده الاصنام الى الايمان المستقيم برينا يسوع المسيح²⁶⁶ وصيرهم²⁶⁷ ابرار وخدام وكهنة وبنوا²⁶⁸ له كنيسه بجبل النفلون
- 62 وهو الذي القي²⁶⁹ فى قلوب خدام هذه البيعه المقدسه الذي نحن مجتمعين فيها اليوم ان يهتموا له ببنيان هذا الهيكل المقدس علي اسمه الطاهر
- 63 غبريال رئيس الملائكه هو (33v) الذي حرك قلب انبا²⁷⁰ ارشلاوس في مديح تكريز بيعته بمدينة دانا
- 64 وهو الذي حرك²⁷¹ قلب الاب السيد البطريرك الراعي الصالح والطبيب الملاطف²⁷² انبا يوانس²⁷³ في تكريز هذه الهيكل المقدس وصار منه العزي لكل الدين يحضرون الى هذه البيعه²⁷⁴ في يوم تكريزه وتذكاره المحبوب عند الله

²⁵³ المسيحي + N] الشعب

²⁵⁴ الكنيسه الذي للملاك N] كنيسه الملاك

²⁵⁵ الطاهر + N] الجليل

²⁵⁶ الذي + N] غبريال

²⁵⁷ اليوم + N] في

²⁵⁸ - N] شهر

²⁵⁹ الجليل + N] الملاك

²⁶⁰ قساريه W] قيساريه

²⁶¹ - N] تم

²⁶² ايضا + N] اورده

²⁶³ W ditt.] ابينا

²⁶⁴ قد + N] الذي

²⁶⁵ ضلاله N] ضلاله

²⁶⁶ بالمسيح الذي له المجد دايمًا N] برينا يسوع المسيح

²⁶⁷ وقد صيرهما N] وصيرهم

²⁶⁸ وقد بنوا N] وبنوا

²⁶⁹ قد القا N] القي

²⁷⁰ - N] انبا

²⁷¹ قد حرك N] حرك

²⁷² المتلاطف N] الملاطف

²⁷³ يونس W] يوانس

(33v-36r) [Continuation of the eulogy on the archangel Gabriel.]	65
(36r-39r) [Eulogy on the holy Virgin Saint Mary.]	66
(39r-41v) [Homily on Joshua son of Nun ²⁷⁵ for 26 Ba'ūna.]	67
(41v-43v) [Concluding words and prayer.]	68

4.b. Translation of the *Ḥandaq* homily

- 1 (3r) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God.
- 2 We begin with the help of God and His good providence with a homily composed by one of the holy fathers who believe in Our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he gives praise to the nobility of the heavenly soldier, the pure archangel Gabriel the trustworthy servant, the Bringer of the message of Salvation, the Messenger of the appearance of Light.
- 3 It appears in this homily that on this day took place the consecration of his church on the mountain of Naqlūn.
- 4 And on it also took place the consecration of his (Gabriel's) holy sanctuary at al-Ḥandaq, performed by the lord the father the holy patriarch the godly dressed Anbā John, head of the bishops (3v) of the great city of Alexandria and this took place in the presence of the fathers the bishops and the priests.
- 5 And also appears in this homily the day of the consecration of his church in the city of Dānāh on 22 Kiyahk, and it is the day on which God appointed him.
- 6 And it appears in this homily also that on the like of this day was the decease of Joshua, son of Nun, disciple of Moses, the first of the prophets.
- 7 And he spoke in this homily about the praise of the two great archangels Michael and Gabriel, and even more the praise of our Lady the Virgin St. Mary.
- 8 And also appears the mighty works and the miracles (4r) that God performed through the archangel Gabriel.
- 9 This homily is placed in his church which is situated in al-Ḥandaq next to the church of his friend the archangel Michael in order to be read aloud in the hearing of the Christ loving people who are gathered on the day of his holy celebration, which is the twenty sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. May his pure blessings and the blessing of his spokesman be with all of you, o brothers, in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

²⁷⁴ المقدسه + N] البيعه

²⁷⁵ This homily is absent in N.

From here onwards the prologue starts, beginning with the word: *qāla* (he said). The prologue (f. 4r-19v) is presented here in a summary.

(4r-5v) The narrator begins with expressing his praise to God the Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, the Merciful and the Redeemer, and the archangel Gabriel (5v). He tells his audience that he presents today to them what the composer of this homily had said (5v) and starts quoting the words of the composer (6r). First he cites and explains Psalm verse 33:6, and he cites two verses from the letter of Paul to the Romans (Rom 16:25-26). Then he gives thanks to the Lord (6v-7r) who has made him and his audience worthy to gather in this church to celebrate in honour of the archangel Gabriel (7v-9v). The glory of the archangel Gabriel is great and even greater than the glory of the other three archangels, Michael, Raphael and Suriel (9v-11r). The celebration concerns a sanctuary which is dedicated to the archangel Gabriel on the day of his commemoration, which is 26 Ba'ūna (11v). The narrator announces that he will tell his audience about the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel on the mountain of Naqlūn and the nobility of this mountain and of the holy fathers who lived on it. After this he will speak about the miracles brought about by the archangel Gabriel and witnessed by holy fathers in other times (12r). He praises the appearances of the archangel Gabriel to the Holy Virgin Saint Mary and to the priest Zacharias and the interpretation of these events as these are recorded in the Gospel (12v-17v).²⁷⁶ Moreover, these passages are used as an argument to refute the doctrine of the Nestorians²⁷⁷ (17v-20r).

10 (20r) ... And now, o my brothers and my beloved [ones] I got lost in speaking about spiritual things and my mind got drowned in the words of the Gospel and spiritual sayings and I fear that I am distracted from what I took care of and with what I began to present to you, beloved [ones], that is the commemoration of the glorious angel Gabriel, the messenger of the tidings of light. So I return now and fulfil this for you, beloved, and I beg from the Lord that He will be for me a helper and a support in the beginning and the completion and to pave for me the way to the word of salvation.

11 And I tell you, beloved, the story of the building of the church of the glorious angel (B§23)²⁷⁸ (20v) Gabriel on the mountain of Naqlūn, characterized as the Land of Promise,

²⁷⁶ Cf. Lk 1:5-38.

²⁷⁷ A similar refutation of Nestorius is found in the homily on the archangel Gabriel by Celestine, see Worrell 1923, 329-330 en nt. 13.

²⁷⁸ The notation 11 (B §23) means: §11 of this edition corresponds with §23 in the edition of the *Naqlūn homily*.

like the forefathers, who were before us, wrote, that certain people were magicians and they were friends with Satan and followed their crooked path.

- 12 Then, after that, came upon them the help of the merciful God, who feels pity with His creation, who does not want the death of the sinner,²⁷⁹ but He pulled them to repentance, and they turned from their sins that were past. And this happened by the intercession of the Lady the Mistress the Virgin Saint Mary and through the pure archangel Gabriel.
- 13 (B§92) And they began laying down the foundation of the church on the mountain of Naqlūn and they took care of everything that was needed (21r) for the construction. There was great joy with all the people and the labourers and the workmen.
- 14 (B§93) And the notables of the city of Fayyūm, when they heard about the construction of the church in the name of the archangel Gabriel, the Messenger, they came and [they had] with them gifts and votive offerings, and they worked in the church with their hands and the archangel Gabriel was a helper for them in everything.
- 15 (B§140) Satan, the enemy of the good, did not endure that.
- 16 (B§141) When it was on a certain day, Satan took the form of an old man and he came to one of the men, mentioned when [I was] telling about the construction,²⁸⁰ and his name was Aūr. And he said to him: ‘Where do you come from?’
- 17 (B§142) And he said to him: ‘I am from your country and I know your father and your mother. And this money that you have brought with you, you have stolen it from the palace of the king (21v) and you brought it hither. And you were magicians.
- 18 (B§143) And you know that everything I said to you is true, because an old man like me does not lie and does not want for anyone evil or harm.
- 19 (B§144) If you listen to me, good [things] will happen to you, because you are from my country.
- 20 (B§145) So get up now quickly and pull down this place that you have built and get away from here so that the king will not send [someone] to kill you.’
- 21 (B§146) And the holy man Aūr, when he heard these words from the old man, he rose up quickly and he spread his hands and prayed to the Lord and asked Him. Then he asked this way, saying: ‘O archangel Gabriel, save me and do not forget me and do not leave me, because I know that I am a sinful man since my youth. I ask you, (22r) do not deliver me to Satan so that I will finish this church, and keep away

²⁷⁹ Cf. Ez 18:23; 33:11.

²⁸⁰ Mentioned ... construction: translation unsure, text seems corrupt here.

from me the mighty works of the enemy, and glory be to the Holy Trinity for ever, amen.’

- 22 (B§147) When he said this, the angel of the Lord, Gabriel the Messenger, came to him and said to him: ‘Rejoice today, o Aūr, chosen man of God, because behold, the Lord has fulfilled your question. But if this evil old man comes tomorrow, approach him and bind him with an iron chain and you will know who he is.’
- 23 (B§148, §151) And he did like that and he hung Satan tied up at the door of the church while everybody looked at him while he screamed, saying: ‘I entreat you by God and His archangel Gabriel, that you will release me. If you let me be, I will not return hither another time.’
- 24 (B§152, §154) (22v) And the holy man, when he heard these words he untied the chain of Satan and released him, and he became like arrows of fire²⁸¹ and went away, put to great disgrace.
- 25 (B§157) Then after that, they set up the pillars inside the church.
- 26 (B§158) And the aforementioned old man took the form of an old man, a monk, whose age was approximately hundred years and he came to where the workmen [were] and asked them: ‘Who is the leader of this work?’ And then they said to him: ‘That man.’
- 27 (B§159) Then he walked towards the holy man and while he was walking he fell on his face pretending that he was an old man.
- 28 (B§160) And when he approached the holy man, he said to him: ‘Look, o my boy, at my seniority and my old age and the weakness of my sight and put me to work like one of the labourers.’
- 29 The holy man was very sad about him and said to him: (23r) ‘Sit down, you, here and I will serve you with what you need.’
- 30 (B§162) Satan, resembling the old man, said to Aūr: ‘This should not be, o my boy, that I sit down without work and eat my bread without merit,²⁸² lest God be angry with me.
- 31 (B§163) You there, now you look at my weakness and I did not give up work for one day, but I work and give to the beggars and the weak and the needy and I live on what is left over, because it is a duty for the monk not to want something in abundance.’
- 32 (B§164) And the crowd was amazed about his words and they asked the holy man to accept

²⁸¹ Cf. Ps 37:20 in which is mentioned that the enemies of the Lord will disappear like smoke; a similar phenomenon is described in the *Life* of St. Antony, see Bartelink 1994, 244-245.

²⁸² Cf. 2 Thes 3:10-12.

him.

- 33 (B§165) And he said to him: ‘Go and draw²⁸³ the water for the workmen on the animals of the church.’
- 34 (B§166) Satan went to draw²⁸⁴ the water, and he continued²⁸⁵ walking with the animals to where he was near (23v) to the door of the church on a short [distance], [and there] he broke²⁸⁶ the water pots and he said in himself: ‘I do not break these at the river, so that the animals do not come relieved, but I tire the animals and thwart the people.’ Because the water was far from the monastery.
- 35 (B§167) And the labourers and the bricklayers complained and stopped him from drawing²⁸⁷ the water and they let him hand over the bricks. And he threw the bricks on the building workers and wounded them. He took a big stone which two [persons] cannot carry and threw it on one of the workmen and he killed him and wounded two others.
- 36 (B§168) And Satan, in the form of the old man, when he saw that the man was dead, he cried out, saying: ‘O what (24r) an injustice happened today. It is better not to build a church here ever, better than that they kill a creature of God.’
- 37 (B§169) When he said this, behold, the General of the country passed by and there were with him many soldiers. Then Satan, in the form of the old man, went to him hastily and bowed before him, saying as follows: ‘I ask you, o my lord the general, to see that justice is done today, because great injustice happened here. Namely, they turned against a weak man and killed him with a huge stone and there he is, thrown down dead. Because God did not appoint kings and princes on the earth except for protecting²⁸⁸ the right of the poor and the weak from those who have power over them. I say to you, o my lord the prince, if you let (24v) these people build this church, many creatures shall die inside it.’
- 38 (B§170) The prince walked with Satan, in the form of the old man, in order to look at the dead man and when he saw him, he seized Aūr to bring him to the king.
- 39 (B§171) The old men of the monastery asked him to sit down with them in order to take a little rest.

²⁸³ Draw: lit. *fill*.

²⁸⁴ Draw: see preceding note.

²⁸⁵ And he continued walking: lit. *and he does not stop walking*.

²⁸⁶ Broke: lit. *breaks*. The text seems corrupted here.

²⁸⁷ Drawing: lit. *filling*.

²⁸⁸ Protecting: lit. *taking*.

- 40 (B§172) Aūr was very sad [and] asked God to save him from this great trial.
- 41 (B§173) And while he was like this, the archangel Gabriel appeared to him and said to him: 'Rejoice, o Aūr, chosen of God, do not be sad because of this matter and may your heart not be weak. Go hastily and seize the old man so that you will know who he is.'
- 42 (B§174) The archangel Gabriel tied up Satan and handed him over to Aūr and he hung him up inside (25r) the church and chastised him severely. He cried out, saying: 'I am the one who came in the beginning and it is me who killed the man.'
- 43 (B§175) And he asked the prince to demand Aūr to release him. And Aūr released him in great disgrace.
- 44 (B§176) And the man who was dead, the mercy of God and the intercession of the archangel Gabriel came upon him and he came to life again.²⁸⁹
- 45 (B§177) And the prince, when he saw that, gave many gifts to the church of the archangel Gabriel and he remained on the mountain of Naqlūn, I mean the prince, until they finished the construction of the church of the glorious angel Gabriel on the third day of the month of Ba'ūna and they adorned it with all beautiful forms.
- 46 (B§191) When it was on the twenty fifth day (25v) of the month of Ba'ūna, he sent for Anbā Isaac, bishop of the Fayyūm, and he came accompanied by the priests and the notables and all the Christian people. They started praying as customary.
- 47 (B§192) In this manner he consecrated the church in the name of the Holy Trinity and dedicated it to the name of the archangel Gabriel on the twenty sixth day of the month of Ba'ūna and it was a sacred Sunday.
- 48 (B§193) And they spent seven days glorifying God in great joy.
- 49 (B§194) Many miracles appeared in that sacred place, and it is now remaining, until this day of the people.²⁹⁰
- 50 With respect to the consecration of this sacred sanctuary dedicated to the archangel Gabriel, this was (26r) from the hand of the honoured father the lord the patriarch Anbā John the eighty-ninth of the fathers, the patriarchs of the city of Alexandria.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Again: lit. *another time*.

²⁹⁰ Day of the people: may be interpreted as 'the present day' or as the 'Day of Judgment, see Mt 12:36, Rv 20:11-15. A similar expression in the latter meaning occurs in the text *The origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, see chapter VIII, text and translation §11.

²⁹¹ On Patriarch John XI, see Labib 1991, 4:1344-1346.

- 51 That is that the servants of this sacred church unanimously agreed²⁹² upon building a sanctuary for the glorious angel Gabriel in the church of his friend the archangel Michael, and they asked the opinion of the lord the father the patriarch to whom had been referred in that, and he permitted them that.
- 52 They took care of that, with great effort and upright hearts and they built this sacred sanctuary, in which we are gathered now.
- 53 When they completed it, they asked the father the patriarch, to whom had been referred, to come to consecrate it, and he came, accompanied by the father the bishop Anbā Michael²⁹³ of the city of Aṭṭīḥ²⁹⁴ (26v) and Ihnās al-Madīna,²⁹⁵ and also me, the poor, who speaks now to you in this homily, servant of the Christian people at the city of Asyūt, and a group of priests, clergymen, deacons, monks and many of the Christian people gathered, men as well as women from the two guarded [cities of] Miṣr and Cairo²⁹⁶ and from all the places in the neighbourhood of this monastery.
- 54 He consecrated this sacred sanctuary on the like of this day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. They came to make the festival of the glorious angel Gabriel in his church, which is next to the church of his friend the archangel Michael.
- 55 The two of them became two shining stars (27r) and two luminous lamps next to each other, as a help for everyone who is in distress and trial, and whoever has fallen in one of the tribulations of the time and comes to the church of these two [archangels] and asks God and the intercession of both, he will find salvation.
- 56 And the sick, when they ask for cure with honest faith, cure will come upon them soon. And the sad, when they come to the church of the two [archangels], comfort and consolation will befall them, because in this church the Spirit of Comfort and the Spirit of Joy and the Spirit of Holiness and the help of God surround it from all sides to protect it from all [kinds] of harm and suffering and to protect those who are assembled in it, amen.
- 57 And look, we have just presented to you, beloved ones, o Christ loving people

²⁹² Unanimously agreed: lit. *contained/comprised/enclosed their opinion*.

²⁹³ A bishop Michael of Aṭṭīḥ and Ihnās al-Madīna for this period is not mentioned in Timm 1984-1992.

²⁹⁴ For information on Aṭṭīḥ, see Timm 1984-1992, 1:251-256.

²⁹⁵ For information on Ihnās al-Madīna, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1161-1172.

²⁹⁶ Miṣr: *i.e.* Old Cairo or Babylon, see Gabra 1997, 80; actually, it comprised the quarters constructed before the Fatimid period, see Den Heijer 2011, 952; see also Zaborowski 2005, 65 nt. 70. About Cairo, see Raymond 1993.

(27v) the story of the building of the church of the glorious angel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn and the day of its consecration, and the story of the building of this sacred sanctuary in which we are gathered now, and the day of its consecration to its pure name, that is on the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna.

58 So I return now and I describe to you the miracles of the angel Gabriel and the signs that were prepared on every place and on every time. Let us be believing in and give credence to his miracles and his mighty works and his manifestations and the rest of his miracles that are read for our ears, witnessed by Anbā Basilius, bishop of Caesarea. Further, what (28r) our holy father John Chrysostomos, patriarch of Constantinople has presented in clear splendid form. In the peace of the Lord, amen.

59 (28r-30v) [A few miracles performed by the archangel Gabriel.]

60 (30v-33r) [Eulogy on the archangel Gabriel.]

61 (33r) ... Gabriel, the archangel standing before God, he who called sinful people, magicians, away from the error of venerating the idols, back to the right belief in our Lord Jesus Christ and he (Gabriel) made them devoted and servants and priests and they built for him a church on the mountain of Naqlūn.

62 And he is the one who put in the hearts of the servants of this sacred church in which we are gathered today to take care for him of the building of this sacred sanctuary dedicated to his pure name.

63 Gabriel, the archangel, he is the one (33v) who moved the heart of Anbā Archelaus to compose a eulogy on the consecration of his church in the city of Dānāh.²⁹⁷

64 And he is the one who moved the heart of the father the lord the patriarch the good shepherd and the benevolent healer, Anbā John, to consecrate this sacred sanctuary and comfort came from it for all those who come to this church on the day of its consecration and his beloved commemoration with God.

65 (33v-36r) [Continuation of the eulogy on the archangel Gabriel.]

66 (36r-39r) [Eulogy on the holy Virgin Saint Mary.]

67 (39r-41v) [Homily on Joshua, son of Nun for 26 Ba'ūna.²⁹⁸]

68 (41v-43v) [Concluding words and prayer.²⁹⁹]

²⁹⁷ See De Vis [1929] 1990. The name of the city varies in the different versions of the text, see De Vis [1929] 1990, 245.

²⁹⁸ This homily is absent in N.

²⁹⁹ In the lower margin of f. 43v a note is written, which is difficult to read. Ms. N ends also here.

5. Commentary

At 26 Ba'ūna a congregation is gathered in the church of the archangel Michael at al-Ḥandaq near Cairo for the consecration of a sanctuary located in this church and dedicated to the archangel Gabriel (§9, §51, §57). On this occasion a homily in honour of the archangel Gabriel is composed, the Ḥandaq homily. The homily is preserved in the church of the archangel Gabriel which is located next to the church of the archangel Michael (§9, §54). Apparently, at least two churches, each dedicated to an archangel, were present at al-Ḥandaq in the fifteenth century, the period to which the text explicitly refers (§9, §50). Among the congregation present at the ceremony there were Christian people from the environments of this 'monastery' (§52, §53, §57). The use of the word *الدير* (*dayr*) 'monastery' (§53) suggests that the two churches belong to a (former) monastery.³⁰⁰ Abū l-Makārim, as one of the authors of the *HCME*, composed an elaborate section about this monastery, in which he reports that he himself had been engaged in the construction of one its churches and had been present at the consecration of another.³⁰¹ In this section it is explained that Dayr al-Ḥandaq had been built to replace the monastery of St. George in Cairo, which had been destroyed in the tenth century to make room for the building of the palace of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz.³⁰² In agreement with this, al-Maqrīzī reports that a monastery was founded at the village of al-Ḥandaq,³⁰³ in the tenth century and he adds that it was destroyed in the beginning of the fourteenth century.³⁰⁴ Later it was rebuilt together with two churches, one of which was dedicated to the archangel Gabriel.³⁰⁵ The Ḥandaq homily confirms the presence of this church at al-Ḥandaq in the fifteenth century, based on the mention of the name of the Patriarch John XI (§9, §50). Only a few traces of this church were left in the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ See for the use of this word, chapter V, 3. *Structure*, and references.

³⁰¹ See Samuel al-Suryani [1984] 1999-2000, 1:16-21 (text in Arabic).

³⁰² See Samuel al-Suryani [1984] 1999-2000, 1:20-21 (text in Arabic); see also Grossmann 1991a; Coquin and Martin 1991b. Al-Mu'izz was the first Fatimid imam-caliph who ruled in Egypt. For information on this imam-caliph, see Dachraoui 1993. Apparently, the monastery of St. George was located in what later became Cairo, the new capital created in the Fatimid period. About Cairo, see Raymond 1993.

³⁰³ For the village of al-Ḥandaq, see Timm 1984-1992, 3:1082-1087.

³⁰⁴ Sayyid 2002-2003, 4:1048; Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 319, nr. 60.

³⁰⁵ Evetts [1895, 1969] 2001, 326, nr. 1; Graf 1944-1953, 2:475; Burmester 1955, 87-89; Meinardus 1977, 308-309. See also Amélineau [1893] 1973, 551-552, where he proposes to read Michael in stead of Gabriel for the one of these two churches, but Casanova 1901, 167, nt. 3, suggests that the name of the church of Michael corresponds to Dayr al-Ḥandaq, that would have been destroyed in the 14th century as reported by al-Maqrīzī.

³⁰⁶ See al-Baramūsī [1932] 1999, 130-131.

The church of the archangel Michael at al-Ḥandaq, which unlike the Gabriel church still exists, received the specific attention of Nabih Kamil Daoud, already mentioned earlier,³⁰⁷ who wrote a book on the history of this church.³⁰⁸ As already remarked in the introduction, nowadays, the former village of al-Ḥandaq is completely absorbed by the city of Cairo and it is located near the Demerdash railway station. The church has recently been renewed and the construction of a new church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel next to it has been started in 2002 and is completed at present.³⁰⁹

The homily has been composed and read aloud by a bishop of Asyūt (§53). His name is not mentioned, but he must have lived in the fifteenth century. As already mentioned in the preceding chapter, he may be identified as Anbā John, bishop of Asyūt, whose name occurs in the list of bishops who attended the ceremony of the Myron in the year 1458, and who has been consecrated bishop in the year 1423-1424 by Patriarch Gabriel V.³¹⁰ This bishop is supposed to be the author of several other homilies, like the Life of the martyrs of Esna³¹¹ and a homily on Severus of Antioch.³¹² According to the homily on Severus, this bishop of Asyūt used to visit the monks of the monastery of Qalamūn when he was still a priest.³¹³ Patriarch Gabriel V had been a monk in the monastery of Qalamūn before his election as patriarch. Only one work written by him has been preserved, the *Ordo*, concerning among others the liturgy of the consecration of new sanctuaries, which is the main subject of the Ḥandaq homily.³¹⁴ Apparently, there are (multifold) connections between the author, purportedly bishop John of Asyūt, the monastery of Qalamūn, Patriarch Gabriel V, the (former) village of al-Ḥandaq and the monastery of Naqlūn. The relations are further strengthened by the fact that, according to the colophon of manuscript W, the copyist, the priest Gabriel, served in the church of St. George in Old Cairo and during the reign of Patriarch Gabriel V, the relics of the

³⁰⁷ See chapter VIII, 1. *Introduction*.

³⁰⁸ See Daoud 2003; see also the review on this book by Youssef 2006b.

³⁰⁹ When I visited the Michael church in January 2003 the exterior of the new small Gabriel church was already finished, and the priest claimed that the new church is being built at the site of the former church. See also the website of this church: <http://elmalak-elbahary.com>.

³¹⁰ See Youssef 2006a, 12, 72-73, who based his information on an Arabic source, see Youssef 2003, 314 nt. 27. Nabih Kamil Daoud calls this bishop already with the name John, but he does not give any reference or information on which he based his knowledge, see Daoud 2003, 33 (nt. 50), 121. For patriarch Gabriel V, see Samir 1991a.

³¹¹ Graf mentions also a bishop John of Asyūt, who is the author of a Life on the martyrs of Esna (one of the mss. is dated AD 1520), see Graf 1944-1953, 1:536.

³¹² See Youssef 2006a; for the identification of the author, see p.12 in this work.

³¹³ See Youssef 2006a, 76-77.

³¹⁴ See Samir 1991, 4:1132; for an edition of the *Ordo* and Italian translation, see ‘Abdallah 1962.

martyr St. George had been brought from the monastery of Qalamūn to his church at Old Cairo.³¹⁵

6. The Ḥandaq homily and the Naqlūn homily

The Ḥandaq homily is composed on the occasion of the consecration of a sanctuary dedicated to the archangel Gabriel for 26 Ba'ūna. Both the archangel and the date play a central role in the text tradition of the *Naqlūn homily*, and the author of the Ḥandaq homily borrowed a passage from the *Naqlūn homily*. Apparently, the *Naqlūn homily* was known in Cairo and its near surroundings, at al-Ḥandaq, in the fifteenth century, the period in which the Ḥandaq homily was composed, and the passage dealing with the construction of the church at Naqlūn has been incorporated in the Ḥandaq homily. However, the role of Saint Aūr as the founder of the church at Naqlūn is of secondary importance in the Ḥandaq homily. This fact can be confirmed on the level of the text itself. Aūr's origin, his birth in secret, his particular relation with the archangel Gabriel, and his confession of the Christian faith as told in the *Naqlūn homily* (§25-§89), all these facts are not present in the Ḥandaq homily. Moreover, apart from indicating the holy man Aūr with his proper name, the text refers to him in an impersonal way as 'that man' (§26) and 'the holy man' (§32). Obviously, not the character of St. Aūr, but the construction of the church of the archangel Gabriel is the central theme for which the *Naqlūn homily* has been used.

On the level of phrasing, the Ḥandaq homily shows great similarity with the parallel text passages contained in the *Naqlūn homily*, recension α-1. It is therefore likely that the author of the Ḥandaq homily made use of this recension of the *Naqlūn homily* for his composition.

7. Conclusion

The Ḥandaq homily composed in the fifteenth century may be considered a witness of the diffusion of the *Naqlūn homily* to Cairo. The find of a second manuscript witness possibly of a later date, at present preserved in the Coptic Museum at Cairo, demonstrates that the popularity of the Ḥandaq homily continued to exist, and implicitly confirms and underlines the popularity of the *Naqlūn homily* through time. Moreover, the fact that the *Naqlūn homily* has been used as a model for the composition of a homily on the archangel Gabriel, in this case the Ḥandaq homily, stresses the importance of this text. The author of the Ḥandaq homily most probably used recension α-1 of the *Naqlūn homily* for his composition, which

³¹⁵ See Youssef 2005, 93.

confirms the authoritative status of this recension, at least for fifteenth-century Cairo. Assumingly, bishop John of Asyūt is the author of the first three texts contained in codex W, the Ḥandaq homily as well as the homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn and the hymn. His authorship reveals a strong and multifold relationship between Cairo and the southeastern region of the Fayyūm.

General conclusions

Studying the legend of St Aūr may be described as a journey, in a literal sense, because of the geographic dispersion of the manuscripts, and in a figurative sense through the tradition of the texts. A first outcome of this expedition was the discovery of twenty-three manuscripts that are all related to the monastery of Naqlūn, seventeen of them containing the *Naqlūn homily*. In the remaining manuscripts four different texts and a hymn related to the mountain of Naqlūn were identified.

The principal aim of this study was to make the *Naqlūn homily* available for a scholarly audience in the form of a critical edition accompanied by an annotated translation in English (chapter III). Study of the contents of the *Naqlūn homily* showed that the text has a double focus, its main theme being the archangel Gabriel and the building of his church at Naqlūn, its subsidiary theme the life of St. Aūr (chapter V). The most probably fictive saint Aūr, of exotic origin, born as the son of a famous magician and a princess at a court in a distant eastern country and the chosen protégé of the archangel Gabriel, is the builder of the church dedicated to the archangel. His life is completely devoted to this task. This identifies the *Naqlūn homily* in the first place as a homily on an angel, in the second place as the life of a saint. In general, a homily centers on a specific date, usually the commemoration of a saint or an event from sacred history. In agreement with this tradition, the *Naqlūn homily* has as its central date 26 Ba'ūna, on which the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel is celebrated. All events told in the homily culminate in the completion of the building and its consecration. Actually, this church still exists in the monastery of Naqlūn. A thorough renovation and redecoration took place in the eleventh century. It is likely that the composition of the *Naqlūn homily* took place around the eleventh century in order to provide the recently renovated church with a historical background and a place in the liturgical calendar.

For the edition of the text, first the seventeen manuscripts dealing with the *Naqlūn homily* have been divided into recension α , subdivided into α -1, α -2 and α -3, and recension β (chapters I and II). The three α recensions differ in phrasing only. The difference between recension α and recension β is apparent in particular in a number of eleven distinctive characteristics. The most important is the mention of a second church in the monastery of Naqlūn, the church of the archangel Michael, in recension β . Archaeological investigations confirm that in the past the monastery of Naqlūn possessed two churches, one presumably dedicated to the archangel Michael and the second to the archangel Gabriel. This situation

dates back most probably to the period from the tenth to twelfth centuries when the monastery was flourishing.

Apart from the mention of the church of the archangel Michael, recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* contains a few other elements, that are not found in recension α . Several of these motifs link recension β of the *Naqlūn homily* to a text called *The Journey of St. Aūr* (chapter VI). The detailed style of this latter text and its consistent structure are remarkable. Unfortunately, what remains of the text covers only two episodes from the life of St. Aūr. The important role of timber in the first episode is reminiscent of the name Dayr al-Ḥašaba (monastery of the Beam), one of the names with which the monastery of Naqlūn is also called. The second episode deals with a vision seen by the monk John during the consecration of the church. The reference to a Patriarch Timothy, most probably Timothy II, situates the events in the fifth century. Several saints and martyrs are mentioned situating the text in a (fictitious) historical perspective leading back to the great St. Antony, identified as the spiritual father of the monks at Naqlūn.

The reference to St. Antony links *The Journey of St. Aūr* to *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, in which the relation between the monastery of Naqlūn and St. Antony is further elaborated (chapter VII). In this text, the foundation of the monastery of Naqlūn and of several other monastic sites in the near neighbourhood is traced back to St. Antony. The coming of St. Aūr is revealed to St. Antony in a vision and St. Aūr is foretold to build the churches of the archangels Michael and Gabriel at Naqlūn.

The special vision of the origins of monasticism at Naqlūn conveyed by *The Life of Anbā Isaac* links this text to a text that deals with a similar theme, but in a different way. This text, called here *The origins of monasticism at the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, presents the two sites of Qalamūn and Naqlūn as located in each other's vicinity and sharing a common history (chapter VIII). Monasticism at Naqlūn developed from Qalamūn in about the fourth century. Qalamūn is presented as the oldest site and Naqlūn is viewed from the perspective of Qalamūn, which is confirmed explicitly by a reference to the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn* and implicitly by the abundant parallels between both texts.

The Ḥandaq homily, the last text studied here (chapter IX), brings us back to the main text, the *Naqlūn homily* in a specific way. The date of 26 Ba'ūna as a celebration day for the commemoration of the consecration of a church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel seems to have its origins at Naqlūn. From the Fayyūm it spread further to other regions. In the village of al-Ḥandaq, situated to the north of medieval Cairo, a sanctuary dedicated to the archangel Gabriel was consecrated in the fifteenth century at the same date of 26 Ba'ūna. On this

occasion a homily was composed in which the passage of the *Naqlūn homily* dealing with the construction of the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn has been incorporated. The text is a witness of the popularity of the *Naqlūn homily*, which served as a model for composing another homily on the archangel Gabriel dealing with the construction of a sanctuary dedicated to this angel at a different place.

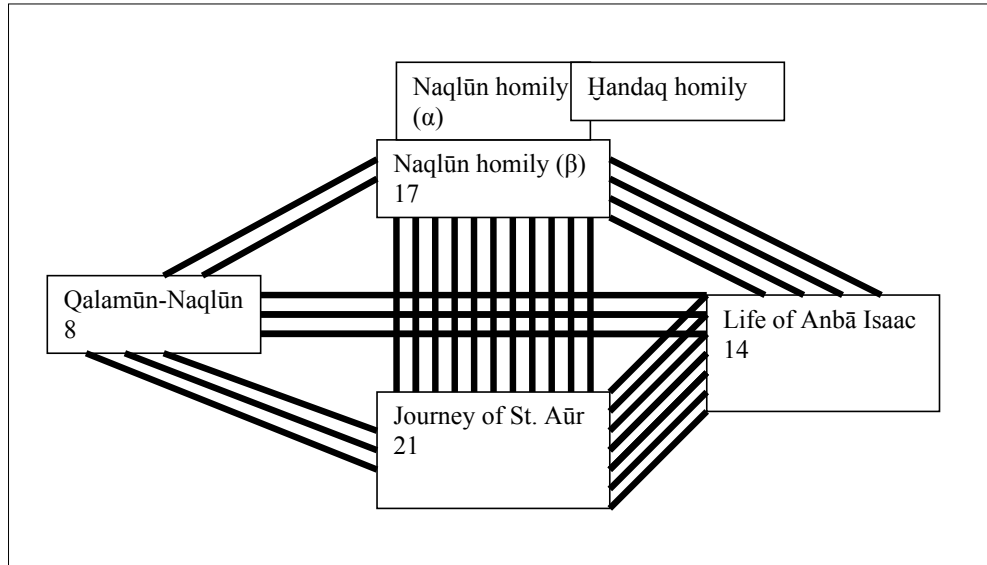
The Middle Arabic language of all five texts, but in particular of the *Naqlūn homily*, its style and its contents, are characteristic of Copto-Arabic hagiographic literature of the Middle Ages. The lack of evidence that would be indicative of influence of the Coptic language underlines the assumption that the *Naqlūn homily* was originally composed in Arabic. The Middle Arabic characteristics pointed out in the *Naqlūn homily* have been discussed against the background of other studies and contribute to our knowledge of a language variety that has recently been receiving more scholarly attention (chapter IV).

As mentioned above, the focus in the *Naqlūn homily* is on the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn. However, this theme does not occur exclusively in the *Naqlūn homily*. All texts here studied deal with or refer to the building of this church at Naqlūn. Therefore this theme may be considered the central element linking the entire literary tradition related to Naqlūn. Likewise, the liturgical date of 26 Ba'ūna plays a central role in all texts studied here except for *The Life of Anbā Isaac*, written for 25 Bašans, the day on which bishop Isaac died. The principal other characteristics that emerge from this literary tradition are the existence of a church of the archangel Michael, the significance of timber for the monastery, the role of St. Antony in its history, and finally its close relationship with the monastery of Qalamūn. The texts throw light on the history of the monastery of Naqlūn, each of them emphasizing a specific aspect. Apart from the abovementioned links connecting the texts with each other, more parallels and communal themes exist between them. The intertextual relations are multifold and complex. In the table below the most significant motifs that the texts have in common are presented.

	Gabriel church	date	Aūr	Rule	St. Antony	Michael church	timber	ships	journey	wall	village	icon	Qalamūn	Isaac	Isidore George
Naqlūn α	+	26 Ba'ūna	+						+		+			+	
Ḥandaq	+	26 Ba'ūna	+											+	
Naqlūn β	+	26 Ba'ūna	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
Journey	+	26 Ba'ūna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Life Isaac	+	25 Bašans	+	+	+	+							+	+	+

Qalamūn Naqlūn	+	26 Ba'ūna			+							+		

In the following diagram these links are represented in a graphical way.



In the diagram each of the five texts is represented by a square. The lines connecting the squares represent the motifs the texts have in common, listed in the above table. The numbers below the titles of the texts in the squares indicate the number of motifs connecting this particular text with the other texts. The Ḥandaq homily occupies a special position and shares a complete part of the text with the *Naqlūn homily*. Obviously, the *Journey of St. Aūr* has the largest number of lines connecting it with the other texts. From this diagram it appears, therefore, that the *Journey of St. Aūr* occupies a central position in the literary history of this site.

On the whole, the great variety of motifs reveals the complexity of the literary tradition. Moreover, each of these motifs holds a specific significance in the construction of the history of the monastery of Naqlūn, as part of the religious landscape of the Fayyūm during the medieval period. The literary construction of the history of the site is situated in a wider perspective by the great number of literary parallels in other literary sources, in particular the Biblical stories of the birth of Jesus Christ and the three Magi in search of the newborn King, the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, the *Kebra Nagast*, and some earlier sources in Coptic, like the *Life of Panine and Panew*. The total of these sources represents the literary

and historical background in which the monastery of Naqlūn and its literary tradition occupies the central place.

The origin of this specific literary tradition round the monastery of Naqlūn is assumed to coincide with the period in which this monastery experienced a revival, in and around the eleventh century. The revival, apparently, gave rise to a fairly extensive literary activity, of which the *Naqlūn homily* is the best known representative. The *Naqlūn homily* has been characterized as a homily on the archangel Gabriel including a *Life of St. Aūr*. The secondary character of this *Life* and the inconsistent structure of the text make it rather unlikely that *Naqlūn homily* is a representation of the original *Life of St. Aūr*. The *Journey of St. Aūr*, although only two passages of the text have survived, meets many more of the requirements needed to characterize it as a *vita*, such as its consistent structure, its detailed and elaborate style, its historical perspective and its hint to a (probably fictitious) date. Moreover, the great number of intertextual relations that link the *Journey of St. Aūr* to the other texts associated with Naqlūn appears to bring out its central importance within the Naqlūn tradition. Due to unknown reasons, at a certain moment this text sank into oblivion and the *Naqlūn homily* obtained its dominant position, apparent in a rich manuscript transmission.

The legend of St. Aūr spread outside the Fayyūm to other regions all over Egypt and Ethiopia in the form of the *Naqlūn homily*. The text was noticed by later authors and they borrowed elements of this legendary life and referred to it in compositions, such as the *Ḥandaq homily* and the *Life of Anbā Isaac*. The text remained popular through all the following centuries until its rediscovery in modern times, which contributed to a new cult of St. Aūr at Naqlūn and inspired the present author to write this book.

The great variety of texts related to the monastery of Naqlūn is evidence of the rich and complex literary tradition that developed from the eleventh century onwards. The legend of St. Aūr, at first sight a rather obscure legend with elements reminiscent of a fairy tale, turned out to be of central importance for the history of the monastery of Naqlūn, by giving the monastery renewed fame at the moment of its revival. Moreover, the literary tradition is not restricted to the monastic site of Naqlūn, but involves the larger environment of the southeastern region of the Fayyūm. The ensemble of the texts conveys a new view of the region, in which Naqlūn takes up the central position. The texts recall into memory the great saints from earlier periods, such as St. Antony, the father of monasticism, giving Naqlūn a place in the history of Egyptian monasticism. Originating in the community of the Naqlūn or its neighbourhood, the texts were read in the liturgy. The Christian inhabitants of the region gathered, and still do so, on 26 Ba'ūna, the date on which the church dedicated to the

archangel Gabriel was consecrated, and they listened to the legend of St. Aūr and the building and consecration of this church. As such the texts, and in particular the legend of St. Aūr, serve in this community as a unifying and edifying element, and inform the audience of their own religious history. In addition, the texts refer to other literary sources with historical significance for this region. Apparently, the authors used elements of these sources and composed new texts expressive of a new vision of the region with Naqlūn as its centre. In this way the texts gave the monasteries in this region renewed significance, or in other words, they rewrote the religious landscape of the Fayyūm.

APPENDIX 1

A Bilingual (Bohairic and Arabic) Hymn on the Archangel Gabriel

1. Introduction

The codex nr. General 98 – History 23, kept in the Church of St. Mary in Ḥārat al-Rūm at Cairo, contains in addition to the Ḥandaq homily and the *Homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, a hymn on the archangel Gabriel for 26 Ba'ūna. The description of the codex has already been presented in the chapters VIII and IX, in which these homilies are studied. Here a few additional remarks are given concerning solely the hymn. The hymn is written in Bohairic Coptic and Arabic.

The hymn was meant to be used in the liturgy, as is shown by the hymnological terminology (ṭarḥ, psali). The hymn, obviously written in honour of the archangel Gabriel, mentions the church at the mountain of Naqlūn and presents St. Aūr as bishop. These references show that this hymn was composed specifically for the church of the archangel Gabriel situated at Naqlūn. In the preceding text contained in this codex, the *Homily on the origins of monasticism on the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, no reference to St. Aūr is found. In the Ḥandaq homily, the first homily of the codex, St. Aūr is presented as the founder of the church only. Apparently, the hymn contains information that is not found in the two preceding homilies. The composer of the hymn may have used a source in which St. Aūr occurs as a bishop, almost certainly the *Naqlūn homily*.

The Coptic text contains several difficulties that are probably writing errors. These give rise to the suspicion that the text had been written originally in Arabic and was subsequently translated into Coptic. The two forms of the Coptic name of the mountain of Naqlūn, given as ⲛⲁⲕⲗⲟⲛ (§7) and ⲛⲁⲕⲗⲟⲛ (§12), both very close to the Arabic name and unlike the usual form of the name in Coptic, ⲛⲁⲕⲗⲟⲛ,¹ strengthen this impression. This is an important fact for the dating of the hymn, which lacks any further dating indications. The composition of the hymn probably took place in a period in which the knowledge of the Coptic language had nearly disappeared, after the twelfth century. The date of the codex containing the hymn is 1470-1473. Accordingly, the date of the composition falls in the period 1200-1470. As argued above, bishop John of Asyūt, the assumed author of the two preceding homilies in the same

¹ For the forms of the Coptic name of the monastery, see Godlewski 1992, 180-181.

codex,² may be the author of this hymn as well, which situates its composition in the same period, 1427-1470.

Several hymns on the archangel Gabriel have been composed in the history of the Coptic church. The earlier mentioned Coptic Antiphonarium³ contains a few fragments of hymns on the archangel Gabriel, but these are different from the present ‘Naqlūn’ hymn.⁴

The text of the hymn is arranged in an order that runs counter to the rest of the codex. The pagination however, is continuous with the preceding and the following text. Below, the text and the translation are presented according to the order of the text, so that the pagination counts backward from f. 80r to f. 75r. The text in Arabic differs slightly from the Coptic, which is reflected in the translation. The Coptic text and its translation are presented in the left column, the Arabic text and its translation in the right column. The text is divided into numbered paragraphs that correspond to the stanzas of the Coptic. The translation follows this division.

2. Text

	بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله واحد	¹ f. 80r
نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بكتب طرخ واطس من اجل بنيان بيعه ربيس الملائكه غبريال		²
بجبل النفلون وتكريزها فى اليوم السادس والعشرين من شهر بوونه		
بسلام من الرب امين		
ψαλι βατος	واطس	³
γαβριηλ παρχναγγελος	غبريال ربيس الملائكه	⁴
ετορι ερατq μεμεθο ιψ†	الواقف امام الله	
αqμδ† εροq ηqανρωμ	دعا اليه اناس	
ηρεqερποβι μεμ οqρικ		
	خطاه سحره ردوا	
ωα πιναq† ετcδτωωη ⁵	الى الايمان المستقيم	⁵
ητε πεη ι ηc πχc	الذي لرينا يسوع المسيح	f. 79v
οqοq αqαiq ηωδ ⁶ ηδιακωη		
μεμ qανοyηβ μεμ ηθμ ⁷		

² See chapter VIII, 5. *Conclusion*; chapter IX, 7. *Conclusion*.

³ The Coptic Antiphonarium is referred to in the Context, 3.f. *Antiphonaria*, and in the commentary on the *Naqlūn* homily, see chapter V, 7. *Genre: a homily on the archangel Gabriel*, and 8. *Liturgical calendar of Naqlūn*.

⁴ See O’Leary 1926-1930, 3:17-18; Van Lantschoot 1947, 416, 418-419; Müller 1959, 136-137.

⁵ ετcδτωωη] *lege* ετcδτωωη

⁶ αqαiq ηωδ] *lege* αqαιτοq

οὐορ ἀγκωτ παρ οὐεκκλῆσια nem μῆναστηριον ἡπρωτ θεν πτωθῆ ἡπακλον ἐχεν φραν ὑπιαρχναγγελοσ	صيرهم خدام وكهنه وابرار وينوا له ببيعه ودير عظيم بجبل النفلون	6
γαβρινλ πιραιογεννοϋρι αρωε παρ ψα ζαχαριασ οὐορ ερωι γενηθῆ παρ θεν πχιμμισι ἡωαηηησ	على اسم رئيس الملائكه غبريال المبشر مضى الى زكريا وبشره	7 f. 79r
γαβρινλ πιραιο ἡχωρμ ερωε ⁸ παρ ψα παρ[ενοσ] μαρια θμαγ ὑπενσωτηρ ἐβολ ριτεν φτ φιωτ	بميلاد يوحنا غبريال الملتهب نار مضي الى العدري مريم ام مخلصنا من عند الله	8
πεχαρ πασ θεν οὐραωι ὑπερερρροτ ω θη εθωαβ χε ⁹ φη ἐτοϋναμασρ ἡθνητ ρθαβ ψωτηρ ὑπικοςμοσ τηρρ	فقال لها لا تخافي ايها الطاهره لان المولود منك قدوس مخلص العالم باسره	9 f. 78v
γαβρινλ πιαγγελοσ αρωωπι nem οὐρ πιεπισκοποσ ωαητοϋχωκ ὑποϋβιοσ ¹⁰ θεν πκωτ ἡτκλῆσια	غبريال الملاك كان مع اور الاسقف حتى كمل سيرته في بنا البيعه	10
γαβρινλ πιαγγελοσ αρωωπι ὑπσαταηασ οϋμνω ἡσολ ἐταρωωτс ἡηκωτ nem ηιεργατηс	غبريال الملاك فضح وقهر الشيطان مرارا كثيره لما حارب ¹¹ البنايين والفعله	11 f. 78r
γαβρινλ πιαρχναγγελοσ αρι ἐπεсηт ἐβολ θεν тφε	غبريال الملاك	12

⁷ ηῶμμι] lege ραημμι

⁸ ερωε] lege αρωε

⁹ χε] ms. + πιε (which is crossed out)

¹⁰ ωαητοϋχωκ ὑποϋβιοσ] lege ωαητερωχωκ ὑπερωβιοс

¹¹ حارب] ms. حارت

θεν τμητ̃ μπτωδ̃ ἡνακλων
εθβε πκωτ̃ ἡταιεκκλνσια

نزل من السماء

فى وسط جبل النفلون

من اجل بنيان هذه الكنيسه

αϥθαμιο ἡδανηιϥτ̃ ἡϥφνηι
nem ρανμμηι εναϥωδ̃
θεν φραν̃ η̃νς π̃χς
πϥνηι μ̃φ̃τ̃ αλνηος

13 وصنع عجايبا عظيمه

وايات كثيره

باسم يسوع المسيح

ابن الله الحقيقي

ἡφρητ̃ ἡπαιε̃ροδ̃ ετςμαρωουτ̃
ἡπικα ἡπιαβοτ̃ πα̃ωνι
εταγεραγιαζιν̃ ἡμος
θενφραν̃ ἡτ̃τ̃ριας εθουαβ
τωβρ̃ επσε

14 في مثل هذا اليوم المبارك

f. 77v

الذي هو السادس والعشرين

من شهر بؤونه

لما كرزها

باسم التالوت المقدس

اطلب الى الرب عنا

ἡθοϥ on αλαμ

15 وله ايضا

αμωιηι τηρου̃ ἡφοδ̃
η̃λαος ἡτε̃ πκαρι
ρ̃ηα ἡτε̃τ̃ωου
μπαμϥτ̃ ἡαγε̃λος

16 تعالوا كلكم اليوم

يا جميع شعب الارض

لكى يمجّد

هذا الملاك العظيم

οουon ρανμμηι ἡταγμα
ἡποϥρανιον
γαβρινλ̃ π̃ηϥτ̃¹²
εροτηρωδ̃ τεροϥ¹³

17 فان تم طغّمات كثيره

f. 77r

سمائيّه

وغيرال اعظم

وافضل من جميعهم

γεγαρ̃¹³ αλνηος
ἡθοϥ πε̃ π̃ρεϥρ̃ηιϥ
ἡηιαγαθον̃ εθ̃ηαϥωπι̃ ιςχεν̃ρ̃η

18 فانه هو بالحقيقه

المبشر

بالخيرات التى منذ البدي

τερμενια ἡπεκραν̃
θενρωδ̃ ἡηισοφος
χε̃ η̃δ̃τ̃ ρ̃ιρωμ̃
εϥαγερμενεϥηι̃ ἡμος

19 تفسير اسمك

في افواه الحكماء

الاه وانسان

¹² εροτηρωδ̃ τεροϥ] lege εροτερωδ̃ τηρου̃

¹³ γεγαρ̃] ms. γαβρινλ̃ γεγαρ̃ and γαβρινλ̃ is crossed out with red ink and absent in the Arabic text.

παμμεστηριον ἐταυρι̅ ω̅ι̅ω̅ ἄμμοϛ ἡ̅θ̅η̅ ε̅θ̅ μαρια ρι̅τε̅ν̅ γαβριν̅λ̅	يترجمونه هكذا 20 السر f. 76v الذي بشرت به الطاهره مريم من جهة غبريال
αϛμαρ̅ τφε̅ नेम̅ पका̅रि̅ ἐβο̅λ̅ θ̅εν̅ ο̅υ̅ρα̅ω̅ι̅ खे̅ ἄ̅πο̅ς̅ खेम̅प̅ω̅ι̅नि̅ αϛमा̅ι̅ θ̅α̅ पे̅र̅λ̅ा̅ο̅ς̅	21 ملأ السماء والارض فرحا فان الرب تعاهد شعبه
γαβριν̅λ̅ पि̅नि̅ω̅† ἡ̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ ο̅υ̅ο̅ρ̅ μ̅ε̅ρ̅αι̅ω̅ε̅ν̅νο̅υ̅ϛ̅ι̅ ἡ̅τε̅ μι̅α̅γα̅θ̅ον̅ ε̅θ̅η̅νο̅υ̅	22 غبريال العظيم فى رووسا الملائكه والمبشر بالخيرات الاتيه
φ̅η̅ ἐ̅τα̅νε̅ρ̅ς̅α̅ζ̅ι̅ ε̅θ̅ खक̅ ἐ̅βο̅λ̅ θ̅εν̅ पो̅υ̅χο̅νο̅υ̅ θ̅εν̅ ο̅υ̅ε̅υ̅θ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ια̅ ¹⁵ ἐ̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅ι̅τε̅ν̅ πο̅ς̅	23 14 الذي اقواله القدسيه f. 76r تتم فى اوانها بتحقيق
χ̅ε̅ρε̅ γαβριν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ φ̅η̅ ε̅ω̅α̅υ̅ο̅α̅ρ̅με̅ρ̅ खे̅ पि̅रे̅ρ̅ρ̅ι̅ω̅ε̅ν̅νο̅υ̅ϛ̅ι̅ ¹⁷	24 من قبل الرب السلام لغبريال رئيس الملائكه الذي تاويله المبشر ¹⁶
χ̅ε̅ρε̅ γαβριν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ι̅λ̅υ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ ¹⁸ ε̅τ̅χο̅ρ̅ ἡ̅τε̅ πο̅ς̅ σα̅β̅α̅ω̅θ̅	25 f. 75v السلام لغبريال رئيس الملائكه خديم الرب القوي الصاباوت

¹⁴ للقديسه] the ms. gives القديسه

¹⁵ ο̅υ̅ε̅υ̅θ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ια̅] *lege* ο̅υ̅α̅υ̅θ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ια̅

¹⁶ This is followed by this sentence: , which is crossed out because it is mentioned in §25 and is not in conformity with the Coptic.

¹⁷ This is followed by this sentence: χ̅ε̅ρε̅ γαβριν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ι̅θ̅η̅ς̅ ε̅τε̅ρ̅ ο̅υ̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ι̅ θ̅α̅ζ̅ω̅ϛ̅
ἄ̅πε̅ρ̅ ι̅ , which is crossed out because it is mentioned in §26 and is not in conformity with the Arabic.

¹⁸ π̅ι̅λ̅υ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅] *lege* π̅ι̅λ̅υ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅

χερε γαβρινλ
 παρχναγγελος
 πιθης ετερουωμι
 θαχωq μπεq i

السلام لغبريال 26
 رئيس الملائكة
 المصباح المنير
 قدام سيده

χερε γαβρινλ
 παρχναγγελος
 πιqαιγεννοqυι ετσωπ
 ητε παγαθον τηρω

السلام لغبريال 27
 رئيس الملائكة
 المبشر المختار
 بجميع الخيرات

χερε γαβρινλ
 παρχναγγελος
 χερε τστρατια
 ηαγγελικον

السلام لغبريال 28
 رئيس الملائكة
 السلام لمقدم الجيوش الملائكية

ματθo μπoc εχωn
 ρηnα ητεqηαρμεn
 ηηικoτc ητε πχακι
 ηδιαβολικoc

29
 اسال الرب فينا
 لكي ينجينا
 من الحيل المظلمه
 الشيطانيه

ριτεn ηιπρεcβια
 ητε παρχναγγελoc¹⁹ γαβρινλ
 πoc αριρμοτ ηαν
 πιχω εβολ ητε ηεννοβι

30
 بشفاعه
 رئيس الملائكة غبريال
 ينعم الرب علينا
 بمغفره خطايانا
 امين

3. Translation

1 f. 80r	In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God.	
2	Let us begin with the help of God and His good providence to write the <i>Tarh Wātos</i> on the building and the consecration of the church of the archangel Gabriel on the mountain of Naqlūn on the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna. In the peace of the Lord, amen.	
3	<i>Psali Batos</i>	<i>Wātos</i>
4	Gabriel the archangel, standing before God, called to him sinful people and magicians	Gabriel, the archangel, standing before God, called to him people, sinners, bad magicians
5	to the right belief of our Lord Jesus Christ and they made him for them a	to the upright belief, which is of our Lord Jesus Christ. He made them

¹⁹ παρχναγγελος] *lege* παρχναγγελος

	deacon and priests and their righteous ones. ²⁰	become deacons and priests and devoted.
6	And they built for him a church and a great monastery on the mountain of Naklon for the sake of the name of the archangel.	And they built for him a church and a great monastery on the mountain of Naqlūn in the name of the archangel.
7 f. 79r	Gabriel, the Bringer of Glad Tidings, went to Zacharias and told him the good news of the birth of John.	Gabriel, the Messenger, went to Zacharias and announced him the birth of John.
8	Gabriel, the Flame of Fire, went to the Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Saviour, on the part of God the Father.	Gabriel, the [one] Burning with Fire, went to the Virgin Mary, Mother of our Saviour, from the part of God.
9	He said to her in joy: 'Fear not, o holy one, because He who will be born from you, is holy, the Saviour of the whole world.'	And he said to her: 'Fear not, o Pure [one], ²¹ because He who is born from you, is holy, Redeemer of the whole world.'
10	Gabriel, the angel, was with Aūr, the bishop, until they completed their life ²² in the building of the church.	Gabriel, the angel, was with Aūr, the bishop, until he completed his life, concerning the building of the church.
11 f. 78r	Gabriel, the angel, brought to shame Satan many times, who fought the builders and the workmen.	Gabriel, the angel, brought to shame and subjected Satan many times when he fought the builders and the workmen.
12	Gabriel, the archangel, descended from heaven in the middle of the mountain of Naklōn, because of the building of this church.	Gabriel, the angel, descended from heaven in the middle of the mountain of Naqlūn, because of the building of this church.
13	He performed great miracles and many signs in the name of Jesus Christ, truly the Son of God.	He performed great miracles and many signs in the name of Jesus Christ, the true Son of God.
14 f. 77v	Like on this blessed day, the twenty-sixth of the month of Paōni, when they consecrated it in the name of the Holy Trinity. Pray to the Lord.	On the like of this blessed day, which is the twenty-sixth of the month of Ba'ūna, when he consecrated it in the name of the Holy Trinity. Ask the Lord on our behalf.
15	Similarly <i>Adam</i>	And to him also [<i>Adām</i>] ²³
16	Come ye all today, people of the earth, in order that we praise this great angel.	Come ye all today, o all the people of the earth, so that will be praised this great angel.
17 f. 77r	There are many heavenly hierarchies, Gabriel is greater than all of them.	Because there are many heavenly hierarchies, and Gabriel is greater and more excellent than all of them.
18	Because he is truly the Messenger of the boons that were to happen from the beginning.	Because he is truly the Messenger of Glad Tidings of the boons that are to happen from the beginning.

²⁰ They made him for them a deacon and priests and their righteous ones] *lege* he made them deacons and priests and righteous ones.

²¹ Pure: for this translation, see chapter IV, 5. *Vocabulary* - h) holy/pure.

²² they completed their life] *lege* he completed his life

²³ [*Adām*] : this word is missing in the Arabic text.

19	The translation of your name in the mouths of the wise men is ‘God and man’, that they translate [like this].	The explanation of your name in the mouths of the wise men is ‘God and man’, they translate it like this.
20 f. 76v	This secret, which was announced to the Holy Mary by Gabriel,	The secret, which was announced to the pure Mary from Gabriel,
21	filled heaven and earth with joy, for the Lord visited and had mercy with his people.	filled heaven and earth with joy, because the Lord made a covenant with his people.
22	Gabriel the great archangel and Messenger of Glad Tidings about the coming boons,	Gabriel, the great among the archangels and the Messenger of Glad Tidings about the coming boons,
23 f. 76r	he, whose holy words were fulfilled in their time by authority ²⁴ from the Lord.	whose holy words were accomplished on its time by fulfilment from the side of the Lord.
24	Hail Gabriel, the archangel, which is interpreted as ‘the Messenger of Glad Tidings’.	Peace to Gabriel, the archangel, of which the explanation is ‘the Messenger’.
25	Hail Gabriel, the archangel, the strong power of the Lord Sabaoth.	Peace to Gabriel, the archangel, strong servant of the Lord Sabaoth.
26 f. 75v	Hail Gabriel, the archangel, the lamp that shines before his Lord.	Peace to Gabriel, the archangel, the lamp that shines before his Master.
27	Hail Gabriel, the archangel, the chosen Messenger of Glad Tidings of all boons.	Peace to Gabriel, the archangel, the chosen Messenger of all boons.
28 f. 75r	Hail Gabriel, the archangel, hail the angelic host.	Peace to Gabriel, the archangel, peace be with the commander of the angelic hosts.
29	Beseech the Lord on our behalf so that He shall save us from the guiles of the devilish darkness,	Ask the Lord on our behalf so that He shall save us from the devilish dark tricks.
30	Through the intercession of the archangels ²⁵ Gabriel, Lord grant us forgiveness of our sins!	Through the intercession of the archangel Gabriel, the Lord grants us forgiveness of our sins! Amen.

²⁴ οὐρανθεντία] for the translation, see αὐθεντία in Lampe 1961, 262-263.

²⁵ archangels] *lege* archangel.

APPENDIX 2

The Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Naqlūn homily*

1. Introduction

Apart from the Arabic manuscripts related to the monastery of Naqlūn, there is a number of at least forty-six manuscripts in Ge'ez, *i.e.* Classical Ethiopic, containing the story of St. Aūr's life. The oldest Ethiopic manuscript dates from 1434.

Below a survey of the Ethiopic manuscripts is presented. The number of each manuscript is given, its date (if known), and the title and description and any other information. The first table contains the manuscripts preserved in libraries in Ethiopia, followed by tables concerning libraries outside Ethiopia. The names of the characters playing a role in the *Naqlūn homily* appear to have been adapted to the Ethiopian language, but they are still easy to recognize. The information provided in the consulted catalogues shows that the majority of these texts are liturgical in character. The central date in the *Naqlūn homily*, 26 Ba'ūna, at which is celebrated the consecration of the church dedicated to the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn, is equivalent with 26 Sanē in the Ethiopic liturgical calendar. The Ethiopic Synaxarium contains a short text passage on the archangel Gabriel and his church at the monastery at Naqlūn for this date.¹ Moreover, the liturgical calendar of the Ethiopian Church seems to have a monthly celebration for the archangel Gabriel at the nineteenth day.² The catalogues of the Ethiopian manuscripts refer often to the nineteenth day of the month to the homily related to St. Aūr and the church at Naqlūn, for example nr. 27 and nr. 40.³ In several cases the exact day of the month on which the homily should be read could not be determined, for example nr. 20. In other cases only the day but not the month could be found, for example nr. 5, or no date at all could be found, for example nr. 8-10. Finally, it appears that in some cases the homily is divided in several parts and spread over several days, for example nr. 7.

¹ See Introduction, 3.d. *The Ethiopic Synaxarium*.

² See Zanetti 1994, 346; Grébaut and Tisserant 1935-1936, 1:575-588; Dillmann 1878, 60.

³ See Grébaut and Tisserant 1935-1936, 1:579-581.

2. Survey of Ethiopic manuscripts dealing with the legend of St. Aūr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn⁴

2.a. Ethiopia⁵

	project number	Place in Ethiopia	date	title + description
1	70-1-2,3,4	Church of St. Rāgu'ēl, Enṭoto, Addis Ababa	18 th c.	Homily for Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, attributed to Abbā Ella'eskedros and Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyām (ff. 11b-35b) (with a reference to Vat. 82).
2	367-4-2	Church of St. Gabriel, Makkākalānā, Addis Ababa	19 th -20 th c.	Homily ascribed to Ab Za-Ella Askīros and Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyūm (ff. 137b-166b) (with a reference to Vat. 82).
3	421-2-2	Church of the Nativity [Ledatā], quarter of Ledatā, Addis Ababa	1921-1922	Homily of Alexander Abāwrē, bishop of Fayyūm (in the ms.: Abbā Ella-Eskendros wa-Abbā Awr, ēpīsqopos za-hagara Fayyūm) (ff. 121b-144b) the homily is divided in three parts for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday (with a note that it is different from Vat. 82).
4	865-3	Trinity Church [Manbara Šellāsē], quarter of Enṭotto, Addis Ababa	20 th c.	Homily of Alexander Abāwrē, bishop of Fayyūm (ff. 19b-55b) (in the Ms.: Za-Ab Zallaskenderos Abbā Awrē (= EMMML nr. 70-1-2)).
5	1311-2-3 and 1311-3-2	Institute of Ethiopian Studies – Addis Ababa, ms. 37.	1847-1855	Homily by Alexander, Bishop of Fayyūm (called here za-la-Eskendereyā Awferē) for Wednesday (f. 105b), Thursday (f. 113a) and Friday (f. 119a). Homily about Abrāsīt the magician of the [Dersāna or Gabre'ēl] (ff. 145a-146b) (with a reference to f. 107b. and to Strelcyn (Academia), no. 3, II, 4, p. 12).
6	1609-(3)	Private library of Afa Negus Telāhun, quarter of Enṭotto, Addis Ababa	ca. 1915	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (= EMMML 70-1) (ff. 176a-263a).
7	1835-3-b	Monastery of Hayq Estifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo	1434-1468	Miracles of St. Gabriel, of which the following concern St. Aūr: 5. The story of Absārit, the magician who seduced the princess, f. 80b. This story is taken from the homily by John, or Yohannes Ela-Eskenderos which otherwise is attributed to Alexander or Awfrē, Bishop of Fayyūm; see EMMML 1311-2 (3) and 3 (2). See also the miracle numbered 22nd below. 6. How Awr(es), the son of Absārit the magician by the princess, who later became a bishop - bishop Aw(re) - built a church for St. Gabriel, f. 82b. The story is a continuation of the preceding miracle. 7. Continuation of the story of Awr(es) and the building of the church, f. 83b. In this story the angel visits the King, the grandfather of Awr(es). 8. How the angel visited the Queen, grandmother of Awr(es), concerning the building of the church, f. 84b. Continued from miracles 6 and 7 above. 9. How Satan attempted to stop Awr(es) from building the church, appearing to him in the likeness of a man, f. 86a. 10. How Satan attempted again to stop Awr(es) from building the church, this time appearing to him in the likeness of an old monk, f. 87b. 22. The conclusion of the homily by Yohannes Ela-Eskenderos, f.

⁴ The consulted catalogues and works are the following: Wright 1877; Dillmann 1878; Grébaut and Tisserant 1935-1936; Cerulli 1965; Strelcyn 1976; Macomber and Haile 1975-1993, 10 vols.; Cerulli 2004.

⁵ According to the EMMML: Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library. A project to establish an Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library was started in 1970 and concluded in 1993 and involved libraries of churches, monasteries and the Patriarchate, and private libraries in Ethiopia. See Macomber and Haile 1975-1993, 10 vols.

				104b. The story in the homily was received from Bishop Awr(es) himself (followed by short quotation in transcription).
8	2007-1	Church of Angolalā Kidāna Meh̄rat, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr, f. 11b-42a).
9	2058-2-d-220	Monastery of Hayq Eṣṭifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo	18 th c.	Miracles of Mary: Abrāsīt, the wicked magician (f. 147b one folio only).
10	2107-1	Church of Miṭāq Takla Hāymānot, Tagulat and Bulgā, Shoa	19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of bishop Alexander Abbā Awrē of Fayyūm, f. 10a-38a).
11	2196-1	Church of Miṭāq Amānu'ēl, Tagulat and Bulgā, Shoa	19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr of Fayyūm, ff. 11a-28a).
12	2229-5-2	Church of Sinā Mikā'ēl, Ankobarr, Shoa	18 th c.	(5): Homily by Alexander Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyūm, f. 123a-145b. Grébaut-Tisserant (Vatican), no. 82, II, p. 309. The homily is broken into parts by the use of red ink on ff. 123a (Monday); 130b; 131b (Tuesday); 136a; 137b (Wednesday); and 142b (Thursday).
13	2269-3	Church of Yegem Abbo, Ankobarr, Shoa	18 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr f. 65b-86a).
14	2303-1	Church of Miṭāq Gabre'ēl, Tagulat and Bulgā, Shoa	19 th c.	Homily on St. Gabriel the Archangel by Alexander Abawrē, bishop of Fayyūm (ff. 3a-34b).
15	2371-3	Church of Ankobarr Mikā'ēl, Ankobarr, Shoa	1813-1847	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander and Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyūm, f. 110b-130b) (with a reference to EML nr. 70-1).
16	2486-2	Church of Miṭāq Gabre'ēl, Tagulat and Bulgā, Shoa	18 th -19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abbā Awrē, f. 79b-96a).
17	2639-1	Church of Wāššā Gabre'ēl, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr of Fayyūm, f. 14a-50a).
18	2656-1	Church of Elqo Madhānē 'Ālam, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th -20 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr of Fayyūm, f. 14b-45b).
19	2744 –1	Church of Gobātā Agar Gabre'ēl, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr of Fayyūm, f. 37a-43a, 44b-67a) (f. 43b-44a: image: Malke'a Gabre'ēl).
20	2958	Church of Dadabēt Gabre'ēl, Gubbālāfto, Wallo	20 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl 2-(2): Miracles, f. 23b-24b The story of Abrāsīt, the magician who had a child by the princess whom he seduced (with a reference to EML 1835, f. 80b). 3: Ff. 25b-35b: Yakkātīt: (2): Miracles, f. 33a-34b a. The story of Awr(es), who built a church in the name of the Archangel Gabre'ēl 5: Ff. 41a-48a: Miyāzyā: (2): Miracles a. The story of Awr(es) (f.33a) continued, f. 44b-46b. 7: Ff. 53a-60b: Sanē: (1): Homily, f. 53a-56b. The church of St. Gabriel in Dabra Nāqlon (quotation in transcription).
21	3142-1	Church of Taratar Gabre'ēl, Harr Ambā, Ankobarr,	19 th c.	Homily in honor of St. Gabriel the Archangel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (homily of Bishop Awr of Fayyūm, f. 21a-51b).

		Shoa		
22	3442-6,7	Church of Waldeyā Gabre'ēl, Gubbālāfto, Yağgu, Wallo	18 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl. 6: Ff. 38b-61a: Homily of Alexander about Bishop Aw(e)r who built a church in Fayyūm in the name of the Archangel. 7: ff. 61b-63b: Reflections on the help of the archangel Gabriel, based on (6) above, in a rhyming composition.
23	3527-1	Church of G ^w eguf Mikā'ēl, Harr Ambā, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Homiliary for the feast days of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) divided into the days of the week. (4): ff. 29b-34b: Thursday: Homily by Alexander Abbā Aw(e)r, bishop of Fayyūm, on the glory of Gabriel the Archangel. (5): ff. 34b-43a: Friday: Continuation of the preceding homily. (6): ff. 43a-47b: Saturday: Continuation of the preceding homily. (7): ff. 47b-51b: Sunday: Continuation of the preceding entry.
24	3872-123	Monastery of Zēnā Māreḡos [Dabra Besrāt], Morat, Shoa	16 th c.	Ta'ammera Māryām Abrāsīt, the wicked magician, ff. 114a-114a.
25	3986-1	Church of Masčā (Gadām) Māryām, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (homily by Alexander (here Ela Askīros) Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyūm, f. 16b-29b).
26	4147-1	Church of Amad (slip, Amedé) Wāššā (Gabre'ēl), Morat and Ġirru, Shoa	18 th -19 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl), homily by Alexander Abbā Awer of Fayyūm (ff. 3a-37a).
27	4481-1	Church of Ġāssā Ambā Mikā'ēl, Dannabā, Shoa	1954-1956	ff. 5a-8b Abbreviated Dersāna Gabre'ēl. (1): ff. 5a-6b: Homily for 19 Sanē. The church at Dabra Nāqlon that gives signs predicting droughts and rainy season (<i>sic</i>).
28	4505	Church of Terāter Abbo, Dannabā, Shoa	19 th -20 th c.	Homiliary for the feast days of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (Maskaram, anonymous homily, EMMML 1835 (3) (a), 2229-5 (1), f. 3a; Teqemt, homily by Alexander Abbā Awer, bishop of Fayyūm, f. 14b; Hedār, homily (by Alexander) continued, f. 20b; Tāššās, the homily continues, f. 25b; Terr, f. 31a; Yakkātīt, f. 35a; Maggābit, f. 43a-47a; [the rest is probably homily of Archelaus].
29	4510	Church of Megel Wāššā Gabre'ēl, Moḡā and Wadarrā, Shoa	18 th c.	Homiliary for the feast days of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) homily by Alexander [manuscript, Ela Askīros] Abbā Awer, bishop of Fayyūm (ff. 26a-47a).
30	4533-8,9	Church of Tābot Wāššā Giyorgīs, Dabra Berhān, Shoa	19 th c.	Homiliary in honor of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl). (8) ff. 31a-58a: Homily by Alexander of Fayyūm on Abbā Awer, with a lengthy introduction divided into sections. (9) ff. 58a-59a: Conclusion. (... <i>Dabra Niqlon</i> ...)
31	4541-9 (?)	Church of Megel Wāššā Gabre'ēl, Moḡā and Wadarrā, Shoa	18 th -19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl for Tāššās 9: ff. 113a-163b: Twenty-eight miracles of the Archangel Gabriel, some divided into smaller parts, (see EMMML 1835, f. 76b) (not explicitly referred to St. Aūr, but the reference to nr. 1835 makes it probable).
32	4545-2,3,4	Church of Dermā Gabre'ēl, Dannabā, Shoa	1953-1954	Acts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (2): ff. 12b-21a: Homily by Alexander of Fayyūm on Abbā Awer, EMMML 4533, f. 33a. (3): ff. 21b-30a: Continuation of the preceding homily. (4): ff. 30b-42a: Continuation of the preceding homily.
33	4800-2	Church of Dasē Madhānē 'Ālam, Dasē, Wallo	18 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (2): ff. 57a-74a: Twenty-one miracles of the Archangel, EMMML 1835, f. 78b (not explicitly referring to St. Aūr, but the reference to nr. 1835 makes it probable).
34	4811-1	Church of Dasē Madhānē 'Ālam, Dasē, Wallo	20 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl). (1): Ff. 5a-52b: The homilies (homily by Alexander Abbā Awrē (<i>sic</i>) of Fayyūm, f. 13a-34a).
35	4864-3	Private library of	20 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl),

		Abbā Hezān (Mehratu), Dasē, Wallo		EMML 3442 (homily by Alexander about Abbā Aw(e)r bishop of Fayyūm (Ms seyyam) f. 134b-155b).
36	4869-1	Church of Maskot (očč) Gabre'ēl, Gubbālāfto, Wallo	20 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl), (EMML 1835 f. 67a) (Sanē: anonymous homily about the church of St. Gabriel at Saqlon, f. 54b-58b).
37	4937-1	Church of Dabra Bētēl Šellāsē, Dasē, Wallo	1930-1962	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (Sanē: anonymous homily on the different miracles and missions of the Archangel, <i>wa-hallawat ahatti beta krestiyān ba-Dabra Naqlon</i> , f. 45b-47b).
38	4979-3	Church of Hayq Yoḥannes Tahulladarē, Wallo	17 th -18 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'ēl) (ff. 65a-94a) (anonymous homily (cf. EMML 1835, f. 67a), f. 65a; twenty-two numbered miracles, with the first being the homily by priest Archelaus (cf. EMML 1835, f. 76b), f. 72a) (not explicitly referring to St. Aūr, but the reference to nr. 1835 makes it probable).

2.b. Rome, at the Vatican⁶

39	82-II	1896	ff. 92-142v: Homily on the archangel Gabriel. ff. 100-114v Homily by Alexander Abāwrē, bishop of the city of Fayyūm, similar with codd. Mus. Britannici add. 16255, f. 31 et Berolensi or. fol. 394, f. 126v (mentions the celebration at 27 (<i>sic</i>) Sanē).
40	149-5,6,7,12	19 th c.	Homilies on the archangel Gabriel dealing with the king Abrāsīt and his son Awēr and the building of the church. 5: ff. 33-39: For 19 Miyāzyā: 1: ff. 33-36 Homilia s. Epiphānii de rege Abrāsīt et filio Awēr deque Nicodemo et aedificatione ecclesiae in honorem s. Gabrihelis. 6: ff. 39-43: For 19 Gēnbōt: 2: ff. 41-42v: De Satana adversus aedificantes ecclesiam certante, (inc.: <i>Die quadam Satanas vertit se in virum et venit ad Awēr</i>). 7: ff. 43-49: For 19 Sanē: 1: ff. 43-46 Homilia de operario, quem Satanas lapide obruit, (inc.: ... <i>Satanas speciem induit monachi senis, cuius dies erant multi quasi C anni</i> , ... des.: ... <i>Superabundavit gaudium Awēr</i> ...). 12: ff. 66v-70v: For 19 Hēdār: 2: ff. 68v-70 Miraculum de sancto episcopo Abbā Awēr (inc.: ... <i>Ego Johannes Alexandriae eram in hoc monasterio. Narraverunt historiam huius patris sancti episcopi Abbā Awēr ... episcopus super urbem Fayyūm</i> ...).
41	148	20 th c.	f. 119v-137r: Homily of Alessandro Abāwrē bishop of the Fayyūm (for Tuesday).

2.c. Rome, at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei⁷

42	3-II	19 ^e – 20 ^e c.	Miracles on the archangel Gabriel. 4 th miracle – on king Abraset and his son Awēr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel (for 19 Miyazya). 5 th miracle – history of the building of the church in the city Niqlon and the appearance of the archangel Gabriel. 6 th miracle – Appearance of the archangel Gabriel to the king who refused the building of a church dedicated to him in the time of abba Awēr. 7 th miracle – Appearance of the archangel to the queen who decided to decorate the church at Niqlon. 13 th miracle – Satan's tricks to obstruct the building of the church (for 19 Genbot). 14 th miracle – On the workman who had been wounded by a stone thrown on him by Satan (for 19 Sanē).

⁶ Nrs. 39-40 according to Grébaut and Tisserant 1935-1936, 1:296-317 (nr. 82-II), 575-588 (nr. 149-4,5,7,12). Nr. 41 according to Cerulli 2004, 105.

⁷ According to Streleyn 1976, 9-15 (nr. 3-II), 118-120 (nr. 40-I).

			19 th miracle – On the saint bishop abba Awər (see Vat. 149, f. 68v) (for 19 Hedār).
43	40-I-7	undated	Homilies on the archangel Gabriel and his miracles. (ff. 42v-45a) For 19 Sanē – homily by Alexandre Abawre, bishop of the Fayyūm (see Vat. 82, f. 100).

2.d. London, in the British Museum⁸

44	99	18 th c.	f. 213r-228: Miracles of the Angel Gabriel, 22 in number (possibly dealing with St. Aūr of Naqlūn, because probably similar to nr. 8 above which contains also 22 miracles).

The following manuscripts mentioned in this catalogue *may* deal with St. Aūr and the monastery at Naqlūn, but exact information is not provided in the catalogue:

	225-2	18 th c.	Discourses for the festival of the angel Gabriel b. Discourse for 19 Taḥsās, f. 111b. c. His miracles, f. 113a-134b.
	226-3	18 th c.	Discourses for the festival of the angel Gabriel a. Discourse for 19 Taḥsās, with miracles, f. 121a.
	227-1	19 th c.	Discourses for the festival of the angel Gabriel a. For 19 Taḥsās, f. 5a. b. Miracles, f. 9b-12a. d. Miracles, f. 27b-63b.
	228-1	18 th c.	Discourses for the festival of the angel Gabriel a. Discourse for 19 Taḥsās, f. 1a-4a. c. Discourse, with miracles, f. 27b-37a.

2.e. Berlin Germany, Royal Library⁹

45	69-I-3: 8,9,10,11,12	undated, possibly 17 th c. ?	8) f. 126b: for Ḥamlē: Homily by the holy father Alexander on Abba Aur, bishop of Fejūm (Fayyūm), in which he describes the greatness of the angel Gabriel and the building and the consecration of his church in the monastery of Nēqlōn on this day and on 26 Sanē. This homily is continued on the four following months: 9) f. 131a: for Nahasē. 10) f. 134b: for Maskaram. 11) f. 139b: for Teqemt. 12) f. 145a-149b: for Hedār.

2.f. Dublin Ireland, Chester Beatty Library¹⁰

46	953-B	18 th c.	f. 121r-166v: Homily on the archangel Gabriel by Abbā Ella Eskendros on bishop Awur of Seyum (Fayyūm).

⁸ According to Wright 1877, 58, 149, 150, 151.

⁹ According to Dillmann 1878, 3:60.

¹⁰ According to Cerulli 1965, 317-318.

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سيرة القديس أور ودير النقلون

النصوص (القبطية) العربية

في إحدى بلاد الشرق، ضم ملك ما ساحرًا مشهورًا يدعى أبراشيت إلى بلاطه. سقط هذا الساحر في الحب مع ابنة الملك، وأولدها ابنًا غير شرعي دعتة أور. خبأت الملكة الطفل في جناحها مدة ثمانية أعوام. عندما اكتشف الملك هويته، أرغم أبراشيت على الفرار من البلاط بصحبة ابنه الكبيرين وأور. وصلوا جميعهم إلى الفيوم بمصر مساقين بواسطة رئيس الملائكة غبريال، واستقروا في صحراء النقلون، وعاشوا في رخاء بسبب ممارستهم لفنون السحر. بعد وصولهم بحوالي خمسة أشهر توفي والدهم. تحول الأبناء إلى المسيحية بعد أن ظهرت لهم السيدة العذراء مريم بصحبة رئيسي الملائكة ميخائيل وغبريال في رؤيا إعجازية، وشرع أور في بناء كنيسة لتكريم رئيس الملائكة غبريال.

في نفس الوقت خلف ابن الملك الشرقي أبيه، وأجاب طلب أمه في عودة حفيدها أور. أُنْتُقِلَ أور في البلاط بحفاوة كبيرة. بعد شهر واحد من إقامته معهم، تمنى أور العودة ليتم بناء الكنيسة. عاد أور إلى جبل النقلون محملاً بالهدايا، وأعاد بناء الكنيسة. دافع رئيس الملائكة غبريال عن بناء الكنيسة ضد الشيطان الذي حاول إحباط عملية استكمالها. دُشِنَت الكنيسة الجديدة في السادس والعشرين من الشهر القبطي بؤونه بواسطة الأنبا اسحق، أسقف الفيوم، الذي سام أور كاهنًا في نفس اليوم. بعد نياحة هذا الأسقف، سام بطريرك الإسكندرية أور خلفًا له. شيد أور قلالي للرهبان، ومنازل للحجاج. عندما اقترب موعد نياحته، استدعى أور الناسك يوحنا وأخبره بقصته. يوحنا هذا، متحدثًا بضمير المتكلم، سجل هذا الحدث الأخير، وأخبرنا بأنه يسجل قصة أور لفائدة ومنفعة الرهبان، ولكي يمجّد رئيس الملائكة غبريال.

ما سبق هو مختصر قصة حياة القديس أور ، وقصة بناء كنيسة رئيس الملائكة غبريال بجبل النقلون. يقع دير النقلون بمحافظة الفيوم، إلى الجنوب الغربي من القاهرة. العناصر المعمارية الباقية حول الدير الحالي ترجح أنه تأسس حوالي القرن الخامس. خلال تاريخه الطويل لم يتكون الدير فقط من المباني الرئيسية التي تعكس نظام الشركة في الحياة الرهبانية فحسب، بل ضم أيضًا عدد كبير من القلالي المحفورة في صخور الصحراء القريبة والتي كان يسكنها رهبان شبه متوحدين، والتي ربما كانت أهلة حتى القرن الرابع عشر.

تتوسط الدير الحالي كنيسة رئيس الملائكة غبريال. هذه الكنيسة أقيمت في القرن الثامن، وبعد تدميرها، ربما بسبب حريق كبير، جُددت في النصف الأول من القرن الحادي عشر. يرجح أن قصة حياة القديس أور قد كتبت في هذه الفترة، والتي كان الدير فيها مزدهراً.

النص الذي يحوي هذه السيرة، والمشار إليه باسم *عظة النفلون*، هو المبحث الرئيسي للجزء الأول من هذه الدراسة. بالإضافة إلى *عظة النفلون* تم التعرف على أربعة نصوص وعظية أخرى ومديح، كل منها مرتبط بدير النفلون بطريقة مختلفة. هذه النصوص محفوظة في ثلاثة وعشرين مخطوطة، محفوظة في مصر بعدد من الكنائس والأديرة، وكذلك في المتحف القبطي وبطريكية الأقباط الأرثوذكس، وأيضاً في المكتبة الوطنية بباريس، وفي شيكاغو. كتبت النصوص باللغة العربية الوسيطة، وهي تتنوع مختلف عن العربية الفصحى، وحتى الآن لم يعثر على نسخة قبطية للنصوص باستثناء المديح المحفوظ في القبطية البحرية بالإضافة للعربية. الهدف الأساسي لهذه الدراسة هو إتاحة *عظة النفلون* لجمهور المتخصصين في نشرة نقدية مصحوبة بترجمة إنجليزية شارحة. بالإضافة لهذا العمل اللغوي، فقد درست محتويات النص أدبيًا وتاريخيًا ومن زاوية كونها سيرة قديس، وقد تم التعليق عليها بهدف رصد أهمية النص في تسجيل التاريخ (الأدبي) لدير النفلون، وبصفة عامة في تقليد سير القديسين القبطي الذي ينتمي له النص. وتم فحص النص لغويًا من حيث إنتمائه للغة العربية الوسيطة.

يتناول الفصل الثاني من هذه الدراسة النصوص الأربعة الأخرى المتعلقة بدير النفلون. *رحلة القديس أور*، وهو نص غير مكتمل، يصف واقعتين من حياة القديس أور بأسلوب حيوي. يتميز هذا النص بالأسلوب المفصل المدقق، والبناء المحكم. النص المعنون *سيرة القديس الأنبا اسحق الذي من جبل البرمبل*، محفوظ في ثلاثة مخطوطات عربية بدير القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس بالبحر الأحمر، وهو يلقي الضوء على علاقة القديس أنطونيوس بالفيوم. يحوي النص فقرة عن زيارة القديس أنطونيوس لجبل النفلون ونبوءة عن مجيء القديس أور. يرسم نص *سيرة القديس اسحق* صورة القديس أنطونيوس على أنه الأب الروحي للربان القاطنين في مناطق جنوب شرق الفيوم، بما في ذلك منطقتي النفلون والقلمون على الأغلب، وكذلك دير الحمام و دير الميمون على الأرجح التي واقعة شرق حدود الفيوم.

النص المعنون أصول الرهبنة في جبال القلمون والنقلون يعكس كيف أن أصول الرهبنة في هاتين المنطقتين متشابهة. هذان التجمعان الرهبانيان، القلمون والنقلون، كانا على مقربة من بعضهما البعض جغرافيًا، واستمرت العلاقات بينهما على مر الزمن. يبدو أن النص قد دُون حوالي القرن الخامس عشر، وربما كان محاولة لاستعادة السمعة الطيبة التي لأديرة منطقة جنوب شرق الفيوم في زمان أفولها عن طريق منحها تاريخ جديد مشترك، والذي فيه نُشئ دير النقلون من دير القلمون.

بخلاف المخطوطات التي تضم عظة النقلون بشكل كامل، تم اكتشاف مخطوطتين بهما عظة، أدخل عليها جزء من عظة النقلون. تمت الإشارة إلى النص باسم عظة الخندق، هذا النص يحوي تكريس هيكلي رئيس الملائكة غبريال في كنيسة بالخندق في القاهرة حوالي القرن الخامس عشر.

في أحد المجلدات التي تضم عظة الخندق تمت إضافة مديح لرئيس الملائكة غبريال، في هذا المديح يُذكر دير النقلون والقديس أور. كتب المديح بالعربية والقبطية البحرية في عمودين متوازيين، الراجح أن هذا المديح يعود للقرن الخامس عشر. نوقش هذا المديح بإختصار في الملحق الأول، وتم إضافة نشرة وترجمة له.

بالإضافة إلى المخطوطات العربية، تم التعرف على عدد كبير من المخطوطات الجعزية (الإثيوبية الكلاسيكية) تتعلق بسيرة القديس أور ودير رئيس الملائكة غبريال بجبل النقلون. كشف هذه المخطوطات الإثيوبية موجود بالملحق الثاني.

تقدم نتائج البحث ملخصًا لما توصلت له الدراسة السابقة على النصوص المتعلقة بدير النقلون. التنوع الكبير في النصوص يعكس التاريخ المعقد للتقاليد الأدبية التي نشأت من القرن الحادي عشر وما بعده، وهي الفترة التي شهد فيها الدير عملية إحياء. يبدو أن نص رحلة القديس أور يحتل موقع المركز في التاريخ الأدبي لهذه النصوص، وفي فترة ما احتلت عظة النقلون موقع الصدارة وانتشرت في كل ربوع مصر ووصلت إثيوبيا. كل من الموضوع الرئيسي في النصوص وهو بناء كنيسة رئيس الملائكة غبريال وكذلك تاريخ السادس والعشرين من بؤونه يحتلان موضع متميز في التقاليد الأدبية ويحتفظان بموقع في السنة الطقسية القبطية. مجموع النصوص يتيح منظر جديد لتقليد سير القديسين القبطي والذي يلعب دير النقلون أهم دور فيه .

THE LEGEND OF SAINT AŪR
AND
THE MONASTERY OF NAQLŪN
The Copto-Arabic texts

In a country in the East a certain king kept a famous magician called Abrašīt at his court. This magician fell in love with the king's daughter, who bore him an illegitimate son whom she named Aūr. For eight years the queen kept the boy hidden in her apartments. When the king discovered his identity, Abrašīt was forced to take his two elder sons and Aūr and flee the court. Guided by the Archangel Gabriel they arrived at the Fayyūm in Egypt, where the family settled in the desert of Naqlūn and grew prosperous practising the arts of magic. The father died some five months after their arrival. Following miraculous appearances of the Virgin Mary and the archangels Michael and Gabriel they converted to Christianity and Aūr started building a church in honour of Gabriel.

In the meantime the king of the country in the East had been succeeded by his son, who yielded to his mother's request for the return of her grandson Aūr. With great joy Aūr was welcomed at the court. After a stay of one month Aūr wished to return to finish building the church. Loaded with gifts Aūr returned to the mountain of Naqlūn, where he restarted building the church. The Archangel Gabriel defended its construction against the attempts by Satan to frustrate the building operations. On the 26th of the Coptic month Baūna the new church was consecrated by the bishop of the Fayyūm, Anba Isaac, who at the same time ordained Aūr priest. On the death of this bishop the patriarch of Alexandria made Aūr his successor. Aūr built cells for the monks and houses for the pilgrims. As his death drew near, Aūr called to him the anchorite John and told him his story. This John, speaking in the first person, reports this last event and informs us that he is recording the story of Aūr for the use and benefit of the monks and to glorify the Archangel Gabriel.

So far a summary of the legendary story about St. Aūr and the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel at the mountain of Naqlūn. The monastery of Naqlūn is situated in the province of the Fayyum, southwest of Cairo. The architectural remains surrounding the present-day monastery situate its foundation in the 5th century. During its long history the monastery not only consisted of the central buildings representing the coenobitic type of monastic life, but also of a great number of hermitages cut into the rocks in the surrounding desert, which were inhabited by monks practising a semi-anachoretic style of life and which

were in use until the 14th century. Central in the present-day monastery stands the church of the archangel Gabriel. This church had been erected in the 8th century, but was renovated and redeconstructed in the first half of the 11th century. Assumingly, the legend of St. Aūr is composed in this period, in which the monastery was flourishing.

The text containing this legend, indicated as the *Naqlūn homily*, is the main subject of the first part of this study. In addition to the *Naqlūn homily*, four other homiletic texts and a hymn were identified, each related to the monastery of Naqlūn in a different way. The texts are contained in twenty-three manuscripts, kept in Egypt in monasteries and churches, the Coptic Museum and the Coptic Patriarchate, in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in Chicago. The texts are written in the Middle Arabic language, a variant of Arabic. Until now no text in Coptic has been found, except the hymn, which is written both in Middle Arabic and in Bohairic Coptic. The principal aim of this study was to make the *Naqlūn homily* available for a scholarly audience in the form of a critical edition accompanied by an annotated translation in English. In addition to this philological work, the contents of the text have been studied from a literary, historical, and hagiographic point of view and commented upon, in order to do justice to the importance of the text in particular for the (literary) history of the monastery of Naqlūn and in general for the Coptic hagiographic tradition to which field it belongs. The text is also investigated for its particular linguistic features belonging to Middle Arabic.

The second part of this study deals with the four other texts related to the monastery of Naqlūn. *The Journey of St. Aūr*, an incomplete text, describes in a vivid style two episodes of St. Aūr's life. The elaborate and detailed style and the consistent structure are characteristic for this text. The text entitled *The Life of Anbā Isaac of the mountain of al-Barambil*, contained in three Arabic manuscripts kept at the monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea, develops the theme of the relation between St. Antony and the Fayyūm. The text contains a passage dealing with St. Antony's visit at the mountain of Naqlūn and a prophecy about the coming of St. Aūr. The *Life of Anbā Isaac* depicts St. Antony as the spiritual father of the monks living in the south-eastern region of the Fayyūm, including most probably both Naqlūn and Qalamūn, as well as the monastery of al-Ḥammām and assumingly the monastery of al-Maymūn, in the region east adjacent to the Fayyūm.

The text, *The origins of monasticism at the mountains of Qalamūn and Naqlūn*, reveals how the origins of monasticism on these two desert mountains are intertwined with one another. These two monastic sites, Qalamūn and Naqlūn, were situated in each other's vicinity and maintained close relations in history. The text, assumingly composed in the 15th

century, may be considered an attempt to restore the historical fame of the monasteries of the southeastern region of the Fayyūm in a period of decline, by giving them a new combined history, according to which Naqlūn developed from Qalamūn.

Apart from the manuscripts containing the *Naqlūn homily* as a whole, two manuscripts were discovered that contain a homily in which a part of the *Naqlūn homily* is inserted. The text referred to as the Ḥandaq homily, concerns the consecration of a sanctuary of the archangel Gabriel in a church in al-Ḥandaq in Cairo in the fifteenth century.

In one of the two codices containing the Ḥandaq homily, a hymn on the archangel Gabriel is included, in which mention is made of the monastery of Naqlūn and St. Aūr. The hymn, which most probably dates to the 15th century, is written in Bohairic Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns. This hymn is briefly discussed in appendix 1 and an edition and translation are presented.

In addition to the manuscripts written in Arabic, a large number of manuscripts in Ge'ez, *i.e.* Classical Ethiopic, dealing with the legend of St. Aūr and the monastery of the archangel Gabriel at Naqlūn were identified. A survey of these Ethiopic manuscripts is presented in appendix 2.

The general conclusions present an overview of the preceding study of the texts related to the monastery of Naqlūn. The great variety of texts reveals the complexity of the literary tradition that developed from the eleventh century onwards, the period in which the monastery experienced a revival. The *Journey of St. Aūr* appears to occupy a central position in the literary history, but at a certain moment the *Naqlūn homily* obtained its dominant position and spread all over Egypt and to Ethiopia. Both the central theme, the building of the church of the archangel Gabriel, and the date of 26 Ba'ūna characteristic of this literary tradition, kept a place in the Coptic liturgical calendar. The ensemble of the texts conveys a new view of the hagiographic landscape in which the monastery of Naqlūn occupies a central position.

DE LEGENDE VAN DE HEILIGE AŪR

EN

HET KLOOSTER VAN NAQLŪN

De Kopto-Arabische teksten

Er was eens een koning in het land waar de zon op gaat. De koning had aan zijn hof een beroemde tovenaars, een magiër, genaamd Abrashiet. De tovenaars werd verliefd op de dochter van de koning en zij baarde in het geheim een zoon, die zij Aūr noemde. Op zekere dag echter ontdekte de koning wie de jongen was en daarop dreigde hij Abrashiet te doden. Maar Abrashiet vluchtte en nam zijn twee oudere zoons en Aūr met zich mee. Geleid door de aartsengel Gabriël kwamen zij in de Fayyum aan, waar zij zich vestigden in de woestijn van Naqlūn. Zij oefenden hun magische praktijken weer uit. Abrashiet, de vader, overleed na enkele maanden. Toen zij op een keer weer met hun toverkunsten bezig waren, verschenen aan hen de heilige Maagd Maria en de aartsengelen Michaël en Gabriël. Daarop bekeerden zij zich, stopten met hun magische praktijken, en Aūr begon aan de bouw van een kerk ter ere van de engel Gabriël.

Intussen was de koning overleden en opgevolgd door zijn zoon, die het verzoek van zijn moeder inwilligde om haar kleinzoon op te sporen. Met grote vreugde werd Aūr aan het hof verwelkomd. Na een maand wilde hij weer terug gaan om de kerk af te bouwen. Met veel geschenken keerde hij terug naar de Naqlūn waar hij opnieuw begon met de bouw van de kerk gebruikmakend van het nieuwe bouw materiaal. De duivel kon dit vrome werk echter niet verdragen en zat Aūr op allerlei manieren dwars. De engel Gabriël hielp Aūr de duivel te verslaan. Toen de kerk af was werd deze gewijd op de 26^{ste} van de Koptische maand Baoena door bisschop Isaak van de Fayyum, die op diezelfde dag Aūr tot priester wijdde. Toen bisschop Isaak overleed, werd Aūr bisschop gewijd in zijn plaats door de patriarch van Alexandrië. Aūr bouwde cellen voor de monniken en verblijfplaatsen voor de pelgrims. Toen het uur van sterven naderde, riep hij de kluizenaar Johannes bij zich, die ook in deze woestijn leefde en vertelde hem zijn levensverhaal. Johannes schreef zijn levensverhaal op om het voor de komende generaties te bewaren en tot lering van de monniken en ter ere van de aartsengel Gabriël.

Tot zover een samenvatting van de legende van de heilige Aūr en de bouw van de Gabriëlkerk in de woestijn van Naqlūn. Het klooster van Naqlūn, ook wel genoemd het klooster van de Balk of het klooster van de aartsengel Gabriël, dat nu nog bestaat, is

waarschijnlijk gesticht in de 5^e eeuw. Sinds 1986 doet een Pools team archeologisch onderzoek in en rond het gebied van het klooster dat gelegen is ten zuidwesten van Caïro, in de provincie Fayyum. De centrale gebouwen van het klooster bevinden zich in de vlakte van de woestijn en vertegenwoordigen het cenobitische, dat is het gemeenschappelijke, kloosterleven. In de bergen rondom zijn ongeveer 90 grotten van kluizenaars gevonden, die tot in de 14^e eeuw bewoond zijn geweest, en waar de semi-anachoretische vorm van het kloosterleven werd gepraktiseerd. Centraal in het huidige klooster staat de kerk van de aartsengel Gabriël. Deze kerk is in de 8^{ste} eeuw gebouwd, maar is in de 11^e eeuw geheel gerenoveerd en toen zijn er ook nieuwe wandschilderingen aangebracht. Een inscriptie in de apsis van de kerk vermeldt de naam van Patriarch Zacharias, die patriarch van Alexandrië was van 1004 tot 1032, op grond waarvan vastgesteld kan worden dat de restauratie van de kerk in de eerste helft van de 11^e eeuw plaats moet hebben gehad. Na deze tijd van bloei raakte het klooster geleidelijk in verval en vanaf de 14^e eeuw was alleen de kerk van de aartsengel Gabriël nog in gebruik. In de ruïnes van het voormalige klooster zijn de resten van nog een kerk gevonden, die waarschijnlijk toegewijd was aan de aartsengel Michaël. In de tweede helft van de 20^{ste} eeuw werd het klooster opnieuw bewoond, aanvankelijk door één monnik, maar spoedig voegden andere monniken zich bij hem en tegenwoordig zijn er zo'n twintigtal monniken.

Waarschijnlijk is de legende van de heilige Aūr ontstaan in de 11^e eeuw, de periode waarin het klooster tot nieuwe bloei kwam. De legende is onderdeel van een tekst die in dit boek als de Naqlūn-homilie wordt aangeduid. Deze tekst wordt bestudeerd in het eerste deel van dit boek. Naast de Naqlūn-homilie zijn er vier andere teksten en een hymne ontdekt, die alle met het klooster van Naqlūn te maken hebben. De teksten staan opgetekend in 23 manuscripten, die bewaard worden in Egypte, in kloosters en kerken, in het Koptisch Museum en het Koptisch Patriarchaat, in Parijs in de Bibliothèque Nationale, en in Chicago. Alle teksten zijn geschreven in het Middel-Arabisch, een variant van het Arabisch. Er is geen enkele tekst in het Koptisch gevonden, met uitzondering van de hymne, die in parallelle kolommen in het Boharisch Koptisch en in het Arabisch is opgetekend. Het belangrijkste doel van deze studie was om de Naqlūn-homilie toegankelijk te maken voor een wetenschappelijk publiek door een kritische editie met Engelse vertaling van de tekst te maken. Naast dit filologische werk, is de inhoud van de tekst bestudeerd vanuit literair, historisch en hagiografisch gezichtspunt en van commentaar voorzien. Hiermee wordt het belang van de tekst aangetoond, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot de literaire geschiedenis van het klooster van Naqlūn en meer in het algemeen voor de Koptische hagiografische traditie waartoe de

tekst behoort. De tekst is ook onderzocht op linguïstische kenmerken, die karakteristiek zijn voor het specifieke taaleigen van het Middel-Arabisch.

In het tweede deel van dit boek worden de andere vier teksten belicht. Van elke tekst wordt een editie gegeven met een vertaling en een commentaar. De tekst met de (moderne) titel ‘De reis van de heilige Aūr’, die slechts gedeeltelijk bewaard is gebleven, beschrijft twee episodes uit het leven van de heilige Aūr op levendige en gedetailleerde wijze. De tekst heeft een duidelijke relatie met alle andere teksten en het vermoeden lijkt gewettigd dat deze tekst aan de basis ligt van de hagiografische literatuur die tot ontwikkeling kwam gelijktijdig met de renovatie van de Gabriëlkerk in Naqlūn.

In de tekst over het leven van Isaak van al-Barambil staat de relatie van de heilige Antonius Abt met de Fayyum centraal. Volgens de levensbeschrijving van Antonius, die algemeen bekend is als de vader van het kloosterleven, heeft deze heilige een bezoek gebracht aan de Fayyum. De drie manuscripten, die deze tekst bevatten, worden bewaard in het Antoniusklooster aan de Rode Zee. De heilige Antonius wordt beschouwd als de grondlegger van het kloosterleven in het gebergte van Naqlūn en hij is de geestelijke vader van Isaak, die meerdere kloosters sticht in de nabije omgeving. Bovendien bevat de tekst een profetie aan de heilige Antonius over de heilige Aūr van Naqlūn.

Het ontstaan van het kloosterleven in Naqlūn staat ook centraal in de volgende tekst, maar wordt hier gecombineerd met dat van het nabijgelegen Qalamūn. Deze tekst wordt aangeduid als ‘Het ontstaan van het kloosterleven in de woestijn van Qalamūn en Naqlūn’. Het begin van het kloosterleven in deze streek wordt gesitueerd in de periode van patriarch Theodosius, waarmee waarschijnlijk Theodosius II wordt bedoeld die leefde in de 4^e eeuw. De tekst, die vermoedelijk uit de 15^e eeuw stamt en waarvan beweerd wordt dat hij vertaald is vanuit het Sahidisch Koptisch naar het Arabisch, kan beschouwd worden als een poging om de grote faam van beide kloosters in een periode van teruggang nieuwe bekendheid te geven.

Een aparte plaats wordt ingenomen door een tekst waarin het gedeelte uit de Naqlūn-homilie dat de bouw en de wijding van de Gabriëlkerk beschrijft, is overgenomen. Dit is ook een homilie, die in de 15^e eeuw is gecomponeerd bij gelegenheid van de wijding van een altaar of heiligdom ter ere van de aartsengel Gabriël in een kerk in al-Chandaq, een plaatsje ten noorden van Caïro. Deze tekst, die in dit boek wordt aangeduid als de Chandaq-homilie, is gevonden in twee manuscripten.

Een van deze twee manuscripten bevat bovendien de bovengenoemde tweetalige hymne van de aartsengel Gabriël. In deze hymne worden het klooster van Naqlūn en de heilige Aūr genoemd. De hymne is waarschijnlijk eveneens geschreven in de 15^e eeuw.

Naast de Arabische manuscripten is er een groot aantal Ethiopische manuscripten gevonden dat de legende van de heilige Aūr bevat of verwijst naar het klooster van de engel Gabriël in Naqlūn. In een appendix wordt een overzicht van deze Ethiopische manuscripten gegeven.

In de algemene conclusies wordt de voorafgaande studie van de teksten die alle betrekking hebben op het klooster van Naqlūn samengevat en de belangrijkste thema's worden in een schema weergegeven. Elk van deze thema's is van belang voor de literaire geschiedschrijving van het klooster, en situeert het in het religieuze landschap van de Fayyum in de Middeleeuwen. De incomplete tekst van de reis van de heilige Aūr lijkt aan de oorsprong te staan van deze literaire traditie. Op zeker moment moet deze tekst evenwel in vergetelheid zijn geraakt, terwijl de Naqlūn-homilie verspreid werd over heel Egypte tot in Ethiopië toe. De grote variatie aan teksten geeft een beeld van de complexiteit van de literaire traditie rondom het klooster, die tot ontwikkeling kwam vanaf de 11^e eeuw, de periode waarin het klooster tot nieuwe bloei kwam. Het centrale thema van de bouw van de kerk van de aartsengel Gabriël en de datum van 26 Baoena, die beide kenmerkend zijn voor deze literaire traditie, werden in de Koptische heiligenkalender opgenomen en hebben deze plaats tot op heden behouden. De op het eerste gezicht tamelijk onbeduidende legende van de heilige Aūr blijkt van essentieel belang te zijn geweest voor de geschiedenis van het klooster van Naqlūn en gaf het klooster hernieuwde bekendheid in een periode van opleving. Deze verzameling teksten werpt een geheel nieuw licht op het hagiografische landschap van de zuidoostelijke regio van de Fayyum en nabije omgeving, waarin het klooster van Naqlūn de centrale plaats inneemt.

Curriculum Vitae

Clara Elisabeth ten Hacken was born in the town of Delft in the Netherlands in the year 1956. At the age of twelve, she and her family went to live in the town of Haarlem, where she completed the Gymnasium - B in 1975 with a grade point average of 8. After the summer holidays in the same year, she started the study of Medicine at VU University at Amsterdam. However, after receiving her bachelor degree in 1978, she changed her career. In the following years she completed several courses on various subjects, such as secretarial work, nursery, and catering industry. In the late 1980s her interest in Egyptian-Arabic language and culture was aroused and in 1993 she started the study of Arabic language and culture at the University of Amsterdam. In addition, halfway through this period of studies, she followed a subsidiary course in Coptic language and cultural history at Leiden University. Four years after the start, in 1997, she graduated cum laude at Amsterdam University. Subsequently, her MA-thesis dealing with Coptic and Arabic texts on Macrobius, an Egyptian monk of the sixth century, was awarded the Johannes-Kardinaal-Willebrandsprijs 1998, granted by the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, of Radboud University Nijmegen. In 2001 she participated in the Advanced Master's Programme of the Centre of Non-Western Studies (CNWS) at Leiden University, where she graduated cum laude in 2002, which paved the way for a PhD at the same institute. The subject of her research made it possible to combine two fields of her interest: Coptic Christianity and Middle Arabic manuscripts. In order to collect the material for her research, she traveled several times to Egypt where she visited a number of churches and monasteries in northern and middle Egypt up to the province of the Fayyum. During the period of her research, she was invited to teach Arabic at University of Amsterdam for a period of two years. She attended several congresses, in particular the International Congresses of Coptic Studies, which are held every four years, to which she contributed by presenting specific aspects of her research, publishing her papers in the congress proceedings. In the meantime she was asked by the members of the Coptic church in the Netherlands to help with translating literary and liturgical texts from Coptic / Arabic into Dutch. The final result of her studies are presented in this book, entitled: *The Legend of St. Aūr and the Monastery of Naqlūn: the Copto-Arabic Texts*.

