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

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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, ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲛ,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 طرح واطس من اجل بنيان بيعه ربيس الملايكة غيريال	2
	بجبل النفلون وتكريزها في اليوم السادس والعشرين من شهر بوونه	
	بسلام من الرب امين	
ψαλι βατος	واطس	3
Γαβριηλ πιαρχναγγελος	غيريال ربيس الملايكة	4
ετορι ερατq μπεμθο ιφ†	الواقف امام الله	
αqμδ† εροq ηραηρωμμ	دعا اليه اناس	
ηρεqερηοβι ημμ οqηκ	خطاه سحره ردوا	
ωα πιηαη† ετςδ†τωη ⁵	الي الايمان المستقيم	5 f. 79v
ητε πεηι ηης πχς	الذي لرينا يسوع المسيح	
οqοη αqαιq ηωδ ⁶ ηδιακωη		
ημμ ραηοqηβ ημμ ηδωηη 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 ετςδ†τωη] *lege* ετςδ†τωη

⁶ αqαιq ηωδ] *lege* αqαιτοq

ΟΥΟΘ ΔΥΚΩΤ ΠΑΦ ΟΥΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ
ΝΕΜ ΜΘΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΗΠΙΩΤ
ΘΕΝ ΠΤΩΘ ΗΠΑΚΛΟΝ
ΕΧΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ ΞΠΙΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

صيرهم خدام وكهنه وابرار
6
وبنوا له بيعة
ودير عظيم
بجبل النفلون

ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΙΦΑΙΨΕΠΠΟΥΦΙ
ΑΦΨΕ ΠΑΦ ΨΑ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ
ΟΥΟΘ ΕΦΖΙ ΨΕΠΠΘΦΙ ΠΑΦ
ΘΕΝ ΠΧΙΠΜΙΣΙ ΗΨΑΔΗΠΗΣ

على اسم ربيس الملايكة
7
غبريال المبشر
f. 79r
مضى الى زكريا
وبشره

ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΙΨΑΘ ΗΨΡΩΜ
ΕΦΨΕ⁸ ΠΑΦ ΨΑ ΦΠΑΡΘ[ΕΠΟΣ]
ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΜΑΥ ΞΠΕΠΣΩΤΗΡ
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΦΤ ΦΙΩΤ

بميلاد يوحنا
8
غبريال الملتهب نار
مضي الى العدري
مريم ام مخلصنا
من عند الله

ΠΕΧΑΦ ΠΑΣ ΘΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΨΙ
ΞΠΕΡΕΡΘΟΤ Ω ΘΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ
ΧΕ⁹ ΦΗ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΜΑΣΦ ΗΘΗΤ ΦΘΑΒ
ΨΩΤΗΡ ΞΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ

9
فقال لها
لا تخافي ايها الطاهره
f. 78v
لان المولود منك قدوس

ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΑΦΨΩΠΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΡ ΠΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ
ΨΑΠΤΟΥΧΩΚ ΞΠΟΥΒΙΟΣ¹⁰
ΘΕΝ ΠΚΩΤ ΗΤΚΛΗΣΙΑ

مخلص العالم باسره
10
غبريال الملاك
كان مع اور الاسقف
حتى كمل سيرته

ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΑΦΤΨΩΠΙ ΞΠΣΑΤΑΠΑΣ
ΟΥΜΝΨ ΗΣΟΠ ΕΤΑΦΒΩΤΣ
ΗΠΙΚΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ

في بنا البيعه
11
غبريال الملاك
فضح وقهر الشيطان
f. 78r
مرارا كثيره لما حارب¹¹

ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΙΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΑΦΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΕΝ ΤΦΕ

البنايين والفعله
12
غبريال الملاك

⁷ ηθῆμνι] lege ελαθημνι

⁸ εφψε] lege αφψε

⁹ χε] ms. + πιε (which is crossed out)

¹⁰ ψαπτουχωκ μπουβιος] lege ψαπτεφχωκ μπεφβιος

¹¹ حرب] ms. حارت

παμμυστηριον ἐταυρι̅ ω̅ι̅ω̅ ἄμμοϛ ἦ̅θ̅ν̅ ε̅θ̅ μαρια ϱ̅ι̅τε̅ν̅ γ̅α̅β̅ρ̅ι̅ν̅λ̅	يترجمونه هكذا السر الذي بشرت به الظاهره مريم من جهة غيريال	20 f. 76v
α̅ϛ̅μα̅ϱ̅ τ̅φ̅ε̅ ν̅ε̅μ̅ π̅κα̅ϱ̅ι̅ ἐ̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ᾗ̅εν̅ ο̅υ̅ρα̅ω̅ι̅ χ̅ε̅ ἄ̅π̅ο̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅μ̅π̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ι̅ α̅ϛ̅μα̅ι̅ θ̅α̅ π̅ε̅ϛ̅λ̅α̅ο̅ς̅	ملأ السماء والارض فرحا فان الرب تعاهد شعبه	21
γ̅α̅β̅ρ̅ι̅ν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅μ̅ι̅ω̅† ἡ̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ ο̅υ̅ο̅ϱ̅ μ̅ε̅μ̅π̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ο̅υ̅ϛ̅ι̅ ἦ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅α̅γ̅α̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ ε̅θ̅ν̅ο̅υ̅	غيريال العظيم فى روسا الملائكه والمبشر بالخيرات الاتيه	22
φ̅η̅ ἐ̅τ̅α̅ν̅ε̅ϛ̅α̅ϛ̅ι̅ ε̅θ̅ χ̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ᾗ̅εν̅ π̅ο̅υ̅ς̅η̅ο̅υ̅ ᾗ̅εν̅ ο̅υ̅ε̅γ̅θ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ι̅α̅ ¹⁵ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ϱ̅ι̅τε̅ν̅ π̅ο̅ς̅	الذي اقواله القديسه ¹⁴ تتم فى اوانها بتحقيق	23 f. 76r
χ̅ε̅ρε̅ γ̅α̅β̅ρ̅ι̅ν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ φ̅η̅ ε̅ψ̅α̅υ̅ο̅υ̅α̅ϱ̅μ̅ε̅ϛ̅ χ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅ϛ̅ϱ̅ι̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ο̅υ̅ϛ̅ι̅ ¹⁷	من قبل الرب السلام لغيريال رئيس الملائكه الذي تاويله المبشر ¹⁶	24
χ̅ε̅ρε̅ γ̅α̅β̅ρ̅ι̅ν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ι̅δ̅υ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ ¹⁸ ε̅τ̅χ̅ο̅ρ̅ ἦ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ο̅ς̅ σ̅α̅β̅α̅ω̅θ̅	السلام لغيريال رئيس الملائكه خديم الرب القوي الصاباوت	25 f. 75v

¹⁴ للقديسه] the ms. gives القديسه

¹⁵ ο̅υ̅ε̅γ̅θ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ι̅α̅] lege ο̅υ̅α̅γ̅θ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ι̅α̅

¹⁶ This is followed by this sentence: χ̅ε̅ρε̅ γ̅α̅β̅ρ̅ι̅ν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ι̅θ̅η̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅ ο̅υ̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ι̅ θ̅α̅χ̅ω̅ϛ̅
ἄ̅μ̅πε̅ϛ̅ι̅ , 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 γ̅α̅β̅ρ̅ι̅ν̅λ̅ π̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χ̅η̅α̅γγ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ι̅θ̅η̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅ ο̅υ̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ι̅ θ̅α̅χ̅ω̅ϛ̅
ἄ̅μ̅πε̅ϛ̅ι̅ , which is crossed out because it is mentioned in §26 and is not in conformity with the Arabic.

¹⁸ π̅ι̅δ̅υ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅] lege π̅ι̅δ̅υ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅

<p> χερε γαβρινλ πιαρχναγγελος πιθηβς ετεροωμι θαχωφ μπερι </p>	<p> السلام لغبريال 26 ربيس الملايكة المصباح المنير قدام سيده </p>
<p> χερε γαβρινλ πιαρχναγγελος πιραιωεπνοφρι ετσωπ ητε πιαγαθον τηροφ </p>	<p> السلام لغبريال 27 ربيس الملايكة المبشر المختار بجميع الخيرات </p>
<p> χερε γαβρινλ πιαρχναγγελος χερε φστρατια ηαγγελικον μαφρο μπεσ εχωπ ρηνα ητεφραρμεν ηηικοτς ητε πχακι ηδιαβολικος </p>	<p> السلام 28 لغبريال f. 75r ربيس الملايكة السلام لمقدم الجيوش الملايكية اسال الرب فينا 29 لكي ينجينا من الحيل المظلمه الشيطانيه </p>
<p> ριτεπ ηπρεβια ητε πιαρχναγγελος¹⁹ γαβρινλ πσο αρημοτ ηαν πιχω εβολ ητε ηεπνοβι </p>	<p> بشفاعه 30 ربيس الملايكة غبريال ينعم الرب علينا بمغفره خطايانا امين </p>

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>
4	Gabriel the archangel, standing before God, called to him sinful people and magicians
5	to the right belief of our Lord Jesus Christ and they made him for them a
	<i>Wātos</i> Gabriel, the archangel, standing before God, called to him people, sinners, bad magicians to the upright belief, which is of our Lord Jesus Christ. He made them

¹⁹ πιαρχναγγελος | *lege* πιαρχναγγελος

	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 οὐδ' ἀνεπίστα] for the translation, see ἀδ' θεντία 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; Grébaud and Tisserant 1935-1936, 1:575-588; Dillmann 1878, 60.

³ See Grébaud 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, Enṭoṭo, 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, Makkākalañā, Addis Ababa	19 th -20 th c.	Homily ascribed to Ab Za-Ella Askiros and Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyām (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 Fayyām (in the ms.: Abbā Ella-Eskendros wa-Abbā Awr, ēpisoqopos za-hagara Fayyām) (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 Enṭoṭto, Addis Ababa	20 th c.	Homily of Alexander Abāwrē, bishop of Fayyām (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 Fayyām (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 Neguś Telāhun, quarter of Enṭoṭto, 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 Yoḥannes Ela-Eskenderos which otherwise is attributed to Alexander or Awfrē, Bishop of Fayyām; 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 Yoḥannes Ela-Eskenderos, f.

⁴ The consulted catalogues and works are the following: Wright 1877; Dillmann 1878; Grébaud 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 Angolālā Kidāna Mehṛat, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'ēl (homily of Alexander Abawr, f. 11b-42a).
9	2058-2-d-220	Monastery of Ḥayq 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 Ḥaymānot, 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 Madḥānē '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 Gobāṭā 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: Yakkātit: (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, Ḥarr 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'el, Gubbālāfto, Yaḡḡu, Wallo	18 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'el. 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'el, Ḥarr Ambā, Ankobarr, Shoa	19 th c.	Homiliary for the feast days of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el) 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'el) (homily by Alexander (here Ela Askiros) Abbā Awrē, bishop of Fayyūm, f. 16b-29b).
26	4147-1	Church of Amad (slip, Amedé) Wāššā (Gabre'el), Morat and Ġirru, Shoa	18 th -19 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el), homily by Alexander Abbā Awer of Fayyūm (ff. 3a-37a).
27	4481-1	Church of Ġāssā Ambā Mikā'el, Dannabā, Shoa	1954-1956	ff. 5a-8b Abbreviated Dersāna Gabre'el. (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'el) (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; Tāḡšās, the homily continues, f. 25b; Terr, f. 31a; Yakkāit, f. 35a; Maggābit, f. 43a-47a; [the rest is probably homily of Archelaus].
29	4510	Church of Megel Wāššā Gabre'el, Moḡā and Wadarrā, Shoa	18 th c.	Homiliary for the feast days of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el) homily by Alexander [manuscript, Ela Askiros] Abbā Awer, bishop of Fayyūm (ff. 26a-47a).
30	4533-8,9	Church of Tābot Wāššā Giyorgis, Dabra Berhān, Shoa	19 th c.	Homiliary in honor of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el). (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'el, Moḡā and Wadarrā, Shoa	18 th -19 th c.	Dersāna Gabre'el for Tāḡšās 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'el, Dannabā, Shoa	1953-1954	Acts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el) (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 Madḡānē 'Ālam, Dasē, Wallo	18 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el) (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 Madḡānē 'Ālam, Dasē, Wallo	20 th c.	Homiliary for the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel (Dersāna Gabre'el). (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'el),

		Abbā Hezān (Mehrātu), 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 Yoħannes 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, ... des.: ... 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).
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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 Awør (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).
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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.
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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).
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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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