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"ABOUT HERESIES AND THE SYLLABUS ERRORUM OF POPE SHENUDA III": SOME COMMENTS ON THE RECENT ARTICLE BY PROFESSOR MEINARDUS

Sebastian P. Brock

In his article entitled "About heresies and the Syllabus Errorum of Pope Shenuda III," (*CCR* 22:4 (2001), pp.98-105), Professor Otto Meinardus has drawn attention to a tragic ecclesiastical injustice of our time, namely, the continued exclusion of the Assyrian Church of the East from membership of the Middle East Council of Churches.

As Meinardus indicates, the grounds for His Holiness Pope Shenouda III's opposition to the membership of this venerable Middle Eastern Church – whose many martyrs for the Christian faith are one of the glories of Middle Eastern Christian tradition as a whole – lies in the supposed heretical character of the Church of the East.

On the surface one might claim that there is a certain logic to this opinion: the Church of the East has, since the times of the heat of the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries, traditionally been designated by the Oriental Orthodox and Chalcedonian Churches as "Nestorian." Since the term "Nestorianism" has traditionally been understood by the Oriental Orthodox and Chalcedonian Churches as denoting the teaching that there are two separate *prosopa* in the incarnate Christ – which is undoubtedly a heretical position – the fact that the Church of the East is called "Nestorian" must (according to this logic) mean that it teaches "Nestorianism," and that therefore it is heretical.

If, however, one takes the trouble (as one must) to examine this deduction, its unsatisfactory character soon becomes apparent. In the heat of controversies all parties are apt to try and brand their opponents as holding a more extreme position than the one that they actually do hold. Thus in a modern political context, socialists are branded by their enemies as communists, and conservatives as fascists. In the fifth and sixth centuries the Oriental Orthodox opponents of the Council of Chalcedon's Definition of Faith were branded as "Eutychians" and "Monophysites"

by the Council's adherents, while the Oriental Orthodox themselves branded all dyophysites – Chalcedonians as well as those of the Church of the East – as "Nestorians." Most regrettably, in the dominant Chalcedonian tradition of writing ecclesiastical history the misleading designations "Monophysite" and "Nestorian" came to get fossilized as the standard terms of reference for the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Church of the East. It is only in recent decades, thanks to the coming of constructive theological dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox Churches and both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, that it has come to be seen that opprobrious sobriquets, such as "Monophysite" and "Jacobite," used of the Oriental Orthodox, ought to be avoided, since they can be perniciously misleading. In the case of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, the purely descriptive term "Miaphysite" ("one-Nature" [Christology]), as contrasted with "Dyophysite" (two-Nature [Christology]), is now beginning to replace the ambiguous and unsatisfactory "Monophysite" (which has all too often been taken by Western writers as meaning "Eutychian" – a position that has always been condemned by the Oriental Orthodox Churches themselves).

In the same way, it is equally important to get rid of the designation "Nestorian" that has conventionally – but most confusingly – been traditionally used of the Church of the East. But – it will be objected – the Church of the East reveres Nestorius as a saint, and so the designation is still justified. In reply to this, two points of fundamental importance need to be emphasised:

(1) In the eyes of the Church of the East, Nestorius is essentially seen just as a faithful witness to their dyophysite tradition of Christology. Nestorius' actual writings are hardly known at all in the Church of the East, and it is only his Apologia, written right at the end of his life, that ever got translated into Syriac (and this was not until the mid sixth century); furthermore, even this single work was never widely influential. If one wants to get a picture of the true teaching of the Church of the East in the crucial period of the fifth and sixth centuries, this can readily found in the various creedal statements of that time which feature in the Synodicon Orientale, or Collection of Synods and Canons of the Church of the East.[1]

(2) The Nestorius who is revered in the Church of the East is definitely not understood as someone who taught that there were two son in the incarnate Christ (that is, "Nestorianism" as that term is traditionally understood by both the Oriental Orthodox and the Chalcedonian Churches); indeed, such a teaching has always been expressly condemned by the Church of the East (but naturally not under the name of "Nestorianism").

When these two facts are kept in mind, it becomes obvious that the person and name of "Nestorius" mean totally different things to different Church traditions –

[1] An English translation of the relevant passages can be found in my "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the fifth to early seventh century," in G. Dragas (ed.), Aksum-Thyateira: *A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios* (Athens/London, 1985), pp.125-42; reprinted in my *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, 1992), chapter XII.

and herein lies the root cause of the current matter of the continued exclusion of the Assyrian Church of the East from the Middle East Council of Churches. Thus:

- to the Oriental Orthodox Churches the name of "Nestorius" immediately evokes the heretical teaching that there are two sons (that is, the Son of God and the son of Mary, as separate persons). But this teaching, which the Oriental Orthodox and Chalcedonian Churches have traditionally designated as "Nestorianism", has always been equally condemned as heretical by the Church of the East.

- to the Church of the East Nestorius was the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople who was deposed without a proper hearing at the Council of Ephesus (431); as a result he is regarded as a martyr-figure for the dyophysite Christological tradition. Nestorius' actual teaching (whatever that really was – the matter is disputed by scholars) played no part in the formation of the Church of the East's Christological teaching as expressed in that Church's synods of the fifth and sixth centuries (here it should be remembered that this Church functioned outside the Roman Empire, under the Sasanian Empire).

In the light of all this, the apparent logic of the initial deduction, mentioned at the outset, completely falls to pieces, seeing that the Church of the East in fact condemns the heretical position which the Coptic Orthodox Church designates as "Nestorianism."

It is of course the case that the Church of the East does have a dyophysite Christology (just as do the Churches of Chalcedonian tradition), and on the surface this dyophysite Christology is very different in its mode of expression from the miaphysite Christology of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, but one of the major achievements of theological dialogue in recent decades between the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Chalcedonian Churches (Orthodox and Catholic) has been the speedy realization that dyophysite and miaphysite Christologies are not mutually exclusive, but rather, they represent two different approaches to a single ineffable mystery.[2] Needless to say, in order to perceive the validity of this truth, it is essential that one understands the technical terms used by each Church in the way that that Church understands them (and not in the way that their enemies in the past have asserted that they understand the terms).

It is worth while observing that this fundamental finding, made by modern theologians of the Oriental Orthodox, Orthodox and Catholic Churches, was in fact anticipated some six centuries ago by one of the greatest Syrian Orthodox theologians of the Middle Ages, the polymath Mar Gregorius Yuhanon Abu 'l-Farag Bar Ebroyo (Barhebraeus), who wrote towards the end of his life as follows:

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[2] For these, see C. Chaillot and A. Belopopsky (eds.), *Towards Unity: the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches* (Geneva, 1996), and PRO ORIENTE, *Five Vienna Consultations between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. Selected Papers* (Vienna, 1993).

> When I had given much thought and pondered on the matter, I became convinced that these quarrels of Christians among themselves are not a matter of factual substance, but rather, one of words and terms. For they all confess Christ our Lord to be perfect God and perfect human, without any commingling, mixing or confusion of the natures. This bipinnate "likeness" (Philippians 2:6-7) is termed by one party [the Oriental Orthodox Churches] a "nature," by another [the Chalcedonian Churches] a "hypostasis," and by yet another [the Church of the East] a "person." Thus I saw all the Christian communities, with their different Christological positions, as possessing a single common ground that is without any difference. Accordingly I totally eradicated any hatred from the depths of my heart, and I completely renounced disputing with anyone over confessional matters. [3]

That the seeming differences between the Coptic Orthodox Christological tradition and that of the Church of the East can in fact be transcended is suggested by the excellent draft "Common Christological Declaration," produced by theologians of the two Churches in January 1995. Although this text for the present has been held in abeyance, its carefully thought out wording can serve as a model for some time in the future.

Three final points should be made. Firstly: in the course of the Synod of the Church of the East, held between 23rd June and 1st July 1997, the decision was made "to remove from the liturgical books the anathemas and all condemnations voiced against such figures as Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria and Patriarch Severus of Antioch."[4] This was indeed a momentous decision and one of very great significance for inter-Church relations in general – all the more so in that the decision was taken unilaterally. By contrast, the mutual lifting of anathemas by the Oriental Orthodox and Orthodox Churches, recommended by the Joint Theological Commission of these Churches already in 1993,[5] still remains to be put into effect.

Secondly: once it is appreciated that the Church of the East in fact does not teach, and never has taught, a heretical form of Christology, it will become clear why, already in the Middle Ages, the Coptic Orthodox Church felt perfectly happy to take over, in Arabic translation, quite a number of prominent writers of the Church of the East. If the Coptic Orthodox Church at that time considered the Church of the East to be heretical, this fact would be inexplicable.

Perhaps the most influential of these writers of the Church of the East has been Isaac of Nineveh (also known as Isaac the Syrian; seventh century), whose works on the spiritual life have always enjoyed – and continue to enjoy – great popularity in the Coptic Orthodox Church, as well as in many other Churches.[6] Isaac, however, is not the only monastic author of the Church of the East who has been appreci-

3 *Book of the Dove*, Chapter 4.

4 The text can be found (for example) in *Voice of the East* [Trichur] 44:7-8 (July/August 1997), p.3.

5 For the text of the Communiqué, see Chaillot and Belopopsky (eds.), *Towards Unity*, pp.67-8.

6 For the numerous translations of Isaac (including, in modern times, into Russian and Japanese), see my "From Qatar to Tokyo, by way of Mar Saba: the translations of Isaac of Beth Qatraye (Isaac the Syrian)," *Aram* 11-12 (1999/2000), pp.475-84.

ated in the Coptic Orthodox tradition: another prominent author is the eighth-century John Saba, or John the Elder, often known as "the spiritual Sheikh."

Nor was it only monastic authors from the Church of the East who have proved popular in the Coptic Orthodox tradition. The same applies equally to the field of Biblical exegesis, thanks to the commentaries by the eleventh-century scholar of the Church of the East, Ibn at-Taiyib. Ibn at-Taiyib, besides writing on philosophical (and many other) subjects, also provided a synthesis of the exegetical tradition of the Church of the East in his Arabic Commentaries on various books of the Bible. Within a short time these Commentaries came to be read and copied within the Coptic Orthodox Church. In due course they were also translated into Ethiopic, and in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church today Ibn at-Taiyib's Commentaries constitute a core element of the Amharic commentary tradition (Andemta).[7]

Thirdly: it is often held against the Church of the East that it does not employ the term "Theotokos," Bearer of God, for the Virgin Mary. There are in fact good historical reasons why this is so,[8] but the essential point to realize is that Mary is honoured in the liturgical texts of the Church of the East using very much the same sort of phraseology that is to be found in the *Theotokia* and other liturgical texts of the Coptic Orthodox Church. Among her various commemorations in the Church of the East's liturgical year is one held on the second Friday after the Nativity, and it is from a text for this commemoration that the following characteristic passage is taken, in order to serve as a single sample:

> Let us all in eagerness hold in honour the day of the commemoration of the blessed Virgin Mary, for in her did the Father take pleasure; He sent His consubstantial Son and He dwelt in her, while the Spirit who had descended escorted and hovered over her. For nine months she carried the All-Holy One in her womb, and gave birth to the Light and Salvation for humanity - namely, the One by whose radiance creation is illumined.[9]

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[7] For this, see the pioneering work by R.W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1988).

[8] See my "The `Nestorian' Church: a lamentable misnomer," in J.F. Coakley and K. Parry (eds.), *The Church of the East: Life and Thought = Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 78:3 (1996), pp.23-35, esp. 30-31.

[9] *Hudra* (Trichur, 1960), I, p.589. Elsewhere in the same service Mary is described in terms of Old Testament typology as (p.593) "the wondrous Tree which bears the wondrous Fruit," "the Ark of flesh, in which True Rest rested, giving liberation from the force of the Enemy to all our human nature," "the Rock that was not pierced, from whom there came forth the Fountain", "the Bush of wonder in which flame resided, for in her Burning Fire resided for nine months," etc. – all titles that can equally be found in the Coptic Orthodox *Theotokia*.

COPTIC MONASTIC SITES IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES ACCORDING TO A HOMILY ASCRIBED TO SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH

Youhanna Nessim Youssef

The history of the monasticism in Lower Egypt is well known through excellent detailed works[1] as well as some general surveys.[2] The monasteries of Upper Egypt**,** however**,** still need to be studied in detail.[3] E. Wipszycka has studied the economic aspect,[4] and P. van Cauwenberg provides us with an excellent study about monks and monasteries from the Council of Chalcedon till the Arab Conquest.[5] Since that date several texts have been published.[6]

Here**,** we will concentrate on the Panegyric of Saint Claudius of Antioch attributed to Severus of Antioch.[7] It came down to us through a unique manuscript in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library[8] and the late Professor G. Godron has published it.[9]

According to the text, Saint Severus of Antioch delivered this homily after he returned to his patriarchal seat. It was there that he narrated his discovery of the

1 Cf. for example H.G. Evelyn White, *Monasteries of Wadi N'Natrun,* 3 vols. (New York 1928-1932). J. Leroy, *Les Peintures des Couvents du Ouadi Natroun, La peinture murale chez Coptes II,* MIFAO 101 (Cairo, 1982).

2 O.H.E. Burmester, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wadi N'Natrûn*. Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte (Cairo, 1954).

3 Only few pages here and there such as, O.F.A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian deserts*. 2nd rev. ed. (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1989), 180-185. Ibid., *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern,* 2nd ed. (American University in Cairo: Cairo, 1977), 378-445.

4 E. Wipszycka, "Contribution à l'étude de l'économie de la congrégation pachômienne," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 26 (1996), 167-210.

5 P. Van Cauwenbergh, *Etudes sur les moines d'Egypte depuis le concile de Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasion arabe (640)* (Paris, 1914).

6 R.G. Coquin, "Moïse d'Abydos," in Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 3 (Louvain, 1986), 1-14 and especially pg. 2 note 5.

7 Cf. De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London, 1937; 2nd ed. Philo Amsterdam, 1974), 249-250.

8 L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 3 (Leuven, 1993), 242-246.

9 G. Godron, *Textes relatifs à Saint Claude d'Antioche, PO* 35 (Turnhout, 1971), 486-507.

relics of Saint Claudius of Antioch while fleeing from the imperial authorities. Historically, Severus never returned to his seat.[10] This can indicate that the author of the text is not Severus of Antioch and that the text should be dated long after the death of Severus in 538 AD.[11]

It is hard to date such a text, for lack of information, we can fix as *a terminus ante quem* the year 900 AD, the date of the manuscript.[12] We do not find any allusion to wars—the Arab conquest or the Persians—so our text should be dated after them, but in a period when Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians were in conflict. The first important reference to the opposition between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians, after the Arab Conquest, is the account of a dispute for the possession of the shrine of Saint Menas, which took place in the time of the Jacobite patriarch, Michael I (744-768 AD).[13] We may assume as a hypothesis that our text was written by this date or earlier so by the VII-VIII centuries.

Although the text is not historically accurate,[14] it provides a list of some monasteries of Upper Egypt as the steps of the flight of Severus of Antioch in Upper Egypt. It mentioned that Severus visited first the western desert till he arrived to the first Cataract.

The first monastery is a small chapel in the district of Cusae[15] south of the city of Ashmounein where the abbot was Apa Stephen[16] in this small village there were three churches and Apa Stephen constructed another one after the name of Saint Claudius. The second monastic site mentioned in this homily is in the city of Assiout[17] where some holy men lived close by.[18] It seems that the author of this text

10 Cf. W.H.C. Frend, *The rise of Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), 221-295. Idem, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984), 827-868.

11 J. Drescher, "An encomium attributed to Severus of Antioch," *BSAC* 10, (1944), 44-45, suggests that the author of this homily would be Constantine of Assiut, this suggestion is more than doubtful for two reasons: - a) We have already two encomia attributed to Constantine of Assiut hence there is no reason to hide his name under a pseudo Severus. b) As we will see that our text reflects the state of the Monasteries in Upper Egypt by the VII-VIII century hence after the time of Constantine for this Bishop cf. G. Garitte, "Constantin, évêque d'Assiout," in *Coptic Studies in honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston, 1950), 287-304. R.G. Coquin, "Saint Constantin, évêque d'Asyût," *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 16 (1981), 151-170.

12 cf. Depuydt, *op. cit.*, 245.

13 J. Drescher, *Apa Mena -A selection of Coptic texts relating to St. Menas,* Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte (Cairo, 1946), XXIII-XXV.

14 cf. for example the account of the end of the Diocletian era which, Godron, *op. cit*., 491 495. and the study of H. Drake on the Legend of Constantine and Eudoxia in, T. Orlandi, B. Pearson and H. Drake, *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre, a constantinian Legend in Coptic,* Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichita LVII, (Milano, 1980), 100-101.

15 Cf. Amelineau, *La géographie de l'Egypte à l'Epoque Copte* (Paris, 1893; 2nd ed. Osnabrück, 1973), 401-402. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit,* TAVO 41/5 (Wiesbaden, 1991), 2180-2191. Samuel al-Syriani & Badii Habib, *Guide to Ancient Coptic & Monasteries in Upper Egypt* (Cairo, 1991), 108.

16 Godron, *op.cit*., 496-497.

17 Timm, *op.cit*., vol. 1, 235-251 Amélineau, *op.cit*., 464-466.

18 Godron, *op.cit*., 498-499.

make an allusion to the Monastery of Rifah where the cult of Saint Severus survived till the XI century.[19] The third site[20] is the famous Monastery of Saint Shenoute,[21] and the fourth site is the Monastery of Apa Moses[22] in the mountain of Abydus.[23]

After that he mentioned the monastic sites in the eastern mountain from the Cataract to the North. The first[24] is the Monastery of St. Pachom.[25] The second[26] is the monastery of Saint Psaté.[27] The monasteries mentioned in this homily are selected from all the monasteries between Cusae and Aswan.[28] As the text is ascribed to Severus of Antioch the great leader of the "Monophysite" movement, so we may expect that the monasteries mentioned here reflected the centers of the opposition to the Council of Chalcedon.

- The Monastery of Saint Shenoute is known by his opposition to the council of Chalcedon since the time of Saint Shenoute himself.
- The Monastery of Saint Moses was created in opposition to the Council of Chalcedon.[29]
- For Saint Psaté, according to a Coptic legend, he was shown as the companion of the emperor Diocletian[30] who by a demonic plot became emperor.[31]
- The Monastery of Saint Pachomius was in the hand of the Chalcedonian during

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19 Cf. G. Viaud, *Les pèlerinages Coptes en Egypte,* Bibliothèque des Etudes Coptes 15 (Cairo, 1979), 17. Timm, *op.cit,* 2, 805-808. S. Timm, *Christiche Stätten in Ägypten,* TAVO 36 (Wiesbaden, 1979), 78. Samuel al-Syriani & Badii Habib, *op. cit.,* N°106, p 92-93. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt attributed to Abû Salîh the Armenian* (Oxford, 1895), fol. 74b.

20 Godron, *op.cit*., 498-499.

21 Timm, *op.cit*., vol 2, 601-634. Amelineau, *op.cit*., 69-70.

22 Godron, *op.cit*., 498-499.

23 Timm, *op.cit*., vol 1, 312-314, vol 2, 591-600. Amélineau, *op.cit*., 93-94.

24 Godron, *op.cit*, 500-501.

25 There are more than one monastery dedicated to saint Pachom, cf. T. Lefort, "Les premiers Monastères Pachômiens - explorations topographiques," *Le Muséon* 52 (1939), 379-407. Timm, op.cit., vol 2, 653-657. But the biggest Pachomian church was in Faw cf. Timm, op.cit., vol 2, 947-956.

26 Godron, *op.cit*., p 500-501.

27 Timm, *op.cit*., Vol 2, p660-661.

28 For an idea of what exist cf. S. Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, Oxford 1912, 95-188. Samuel al Suriani and Badii Habib, *op.cit.,* 30-108. It is noteworthy that from the life of Pisentius we find that there was cult dedicated to Severus of Antioch, in Qeft by the end of the VIth century E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in th Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913), 120. De Lacy O'Leary, *The Arabic Life of S. Pisentius,* PO 23/3 (Paris 1930; repr. Turnhoot 1997), 405 [93].

29 Cf. Coquin, op.cit., p1-14. S. Schaten, "Zur Bearbeitung der Grabsteine mit inschriften die Grabsteine des Apa Moyses-Kloster in Abydos" *Acts of the Fifth international Congress of Coptic Studies*. Edited by D.W. Johnson, vol 2 part 2 (Roma, 1993), 401-410.

30 Cf. I. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum,* CSCO 47-48-49*,* Louvain 1963, 359. For the other tradition cf. ibid., 177. For the Coptic texts cf. T. Orlandi, *Il Dossier Copto del Martire Psote,* Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichita 61 (Milano, 1978), 19-22.

31 This legend has a lost Greek version in the martyrdom of Saint Theodore the Oriental. Cf. Youhanna Nessim Youssef, "La genèse de la légende sur le roi Dioclétien," *BSAC* 28 (1986-1989), 107-110.

the reign of Justinian (= during the exile of Severus of Antioch).[32] But as the writer of our text mentioned this monastery as "Orthodox" (= non-Chalcedonians), we may assume that the Copts gained it back after the Arab Conquest.[33]

The monastery of Cusae built by Stephen may be identified with the Bishop Stephen of Hnes who wrote an encomium to Saint Apollo the Archmandrite where he mentioned that his spiritual father Apa Apollo met the Patriarch Severus of Antioch just before his death in 538 AD[34] and wrote another encomium to saint Helias.[35]

This Stephen lived in the VII century for these reasons. First, the cult of Saint Helias is attested for the first time in the VII century by the second panegyric of Saint Claudius of Antioch[36] attributed to Constantine of Assiout.[37] (It is noteworthy that this cult is mentioned in the same manuscript relating to Claudius of Antioch). Second, if his spiritual father met Severus in 538 A.D., and Stephen is not presented as an eyewitness, we may assume that this event happened long before he became monk.

Conclusion

The Encomium of Claudius of Antioch ascribed to Severus of Antioch is from VII-VIII century for the following reasons: First, Severus of Antioch never returned back to his seat. Second, the monastery of Saint Pachomius was in the hand of the Melkites during the reign of Justinian when Severus was in Egypt. Third, Stephen of Cusae may be identified with Stephen Bishop of Hnes in the VII century. Although this is an apocryphal text, it reflects a detailed image of the main leading monastic centers in Middle and Upper Egypt in the VII-VIII century. This study will contribute to fill the lacuna of the history of the Coptic Monasticism in Middle and Upper Egypt.

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32 Cf for example the life of Abraham of Farshut, 24 Tubah I.Forget, op.cit, p 411. E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte chrétienne VI-VII siècles,* Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française 4 (Paris, 1888), 743.

33 To justify their "Orthodoxy" the monk of this monastery created the tradition of the consecration of their Church by the patriarch Timothy Aelurus, cf. A. Van Lantschoot, "Allocution de Timothée d'Alexandrie prononcée à l'occasion de la dédicace de l'église de Pachome à Pboou," *Le Muséon* 47 (1934), 13-56.

34 K. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on Apollo of the Monastery of Isaac by Stephen Bishop of Heracleopolis Magna,* CSCO 394, 395 (Louvain, 1978), fol 144v -145r p30-33 (text), pgs. 23-25 (translation). Idem, "Two further Fragments of a Panegyric on Apollo," *Le Muséon* 95 (1982), 263-268.

35 G. Sobhy, *Le martyre de saint Hélias et l'encomium de l'Evêque Stéphanos de Hnès sur Saint Hélias,* Bibliothèque des Etudes Coptes 1 (Cairo, 1919), 67-94 (text), 113-120 (translation).

36 Godron, *op.cit*., 644-645.

37 R.G. Coquin, "Saint Constantin, Evêque d'Assyut" *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 16 (1981), 151-170. G. Garitte, "Constantin, évêque d'Assiout" in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston 1950), 287-304.

PACHOMIAN REMISSION

Bernadette McNary-Zak

The Remission was an annual practice in Egyptian administration that consisted of financial accountability and transfer of appointments before the commencement of the calendar year.[1] References to the Remission in the extant versions of the *Life of Pachomius* are evidence that this practice was incorporated into the ritual life of the Pachomian movement as well. The Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* records that during the monastic leader's lifetime, "at the season of the harvest they would come to Phbow…to render their accounts to the Great Steward."[2] The Bohairic and First Greek *Lives* both contain evidence that these functions were retained under the rules of Pachomius' successors, Theodore and Horsisios. Under Theodore, the brothers "used to assemble…during the days at the end of the year, called the days of Remission, during which they would read the records of their manual labor."[3] Likewise, under Horsisios, the brothers gathered, "at the time of the great remission of the accounts of their bodily needs and of their expenditure, [which they do] so the steward of the Great Monastery might know how to carry out his administration."[4]

These references suggest clearly that Pachomius' adoption of this gathering into his program for administration of the monastic communities mirrored the time, purpose, and intention of the gathering in its contemporary secular setting. Although such borrowing was characteristic of Pachomius,[5] the description of the gathering in the *Lives* is deceiving as it fails to mention a significant alteration in the nature of the gathering during Pachomius' lifetime.

References to the Remission in other pachomian materials identify the opportunity for mutual pardon and forgiveness of sins as a concomitant purpose for the gathering as it was incorporated in the movement. The inclusion of this purpose would have the effect of broadening the meaning of Remission for the pachomian

1 A useful discussion of the purpose of the Remission in Egyptian society can be found in Hans Bacht, *Das Vermachtnis des Ursprungs. Studien zum Fruhen Monchtum I*. (Wurzburg, 1972).

2 *V. Pach.* SBo71. This is the only reference to the Remission during Pachomius's lifetime in the extant *Lives*.

3 *V. Pach.* SBo144.

4 *V. Pach.* G1 122.

5 For examples, consider Pachomius' adoption and adaptation of the Roman military model for the structure and organization of the monastic community.

communities.[6] The *Rule of Pachomius* records the Remission as the time when "(s)ins are forgiven everyone and those who have had any quarrel are reconciled to each other. And, as necessity requires, heads of monasteries, stewards, masters, and ministers are appointed."[7] *Rule 27* further qualifies the tasks to be performed prior to the Remission.

> The housemaster who is completing the weekly service and the one taking up the service for the coming week and the superior of the monastery shall have the responsibility of observing what work has been omitted or neglected. They shall have the mats that are usually spread out on the floor in the synaxis shaken out. And they shall also count the ropes twisted per week, noting the sum on tablets and keeping the record until the time of the annual gathering, when an account shall be given and sins forgiven everyone.[8]

A fragment from the opening of Pachomius' seventh letter confirms the content of this evidence and sheds light on the nature of this further religious purpose for the Remission in the movement. This letter was written to inform all of the monks of the time and place of the annual gathering. Unlike much of the evidence in the pachomian dossier, this letter was composed during Pachomius' lifetime and is not expressly hagiographic in intent. When these factors are coupled with the content of a recently recovered and published Greek fragment from the opening of this letter, dated to the fourth century and likely free of any alteration in the process of translation, it is possible to envision the specific role of mutual pardon and forgiveness of sins in the gathering. In translation, the opening fragment reads:

> The time is coming near for us to assemble together, according to the custom of the remission [aphesis], following the early prescriptions to convene together in order to carry out the remission [aphesis] and pardon. Let then everyone pardon his brother according to the commandment of God and in conformity with the laws which were written for us by God. Let everyone totally open his heart to his brother. Let the brothers share their judgments with one another. Let their souls be cleansed in sanctification and the fear of God. Let there not be any enmity in their hearts. Let them rather know

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6 The Greek term, aphesis, carried the dual signification of release (from captivity) and of pardon or cancellation (of an obligation, a punishment, or guilt). In the New Testament, this usage was extended to include the forgiveness of sins or the act of asking forgiveness (*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, revised and augmented by William Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, University of Chicago Press, 1979: 125).

7 *Rule of Pachomius*, 8. This translation comes from *Pachomian Koinonia: Pachomian Chronicles and Rules II*, Armand Veilleux, trans., Cistercian Publications, 1981: 143.

8 *Rule of Pachomius*, 27. This translation comes from *Pachomian Koinonia: Pachomian Chronicles and Rules II*, Armand Veilleux, trans., Cistercian Publications, 1981: 151. Franz Ruppert has argued that these references were additions made by Jerome and that, as a result, they are not evidence for the religious function of the gathering (Das pachomianische Monchtum und die Anfange klosterlichen Gehorsams. Munsterschwarzacher Studien. Munsterschwarzach, 1971). This view is countered by A. J. Festugiere who accepts the credibility of both references and argues that, as a result, the gathering was both an occasion to transfer appointments and discharge accounts as well as an opportunity for mutual forgiveness and reconciliation in the movement. (Les Moines d'Orient, T. IV/2: Las premiere Vie grecque de saint Pachome. Introduction critique et traduction. Paris, 1965).

> how to act in truth in everything toward every man. Let them live in peace in everything, serving God and each other and not [serving] their various desires, the deceit of their eyes…[9]

The opening of this letter contains a reminder about the forthcoming gathering and a series of exhortations to be heeded in preparation for it. Identification of the Remission as a custom suggests correlation with the explicitly administrative and economic functions of the gathering as they are expressed in contemporary secular connotation and in the later versions of the *Life* and *Rule* of Pachomius. Furthermore, qualification of the Remission as an act of forgiveness that is coupled with an act of pardon certainly parallels the intention for the gathering in the *Rule*.

Characterization of the Remission as a means of knowing "how to act in truth" and of "serving God and each other" heightens Pachomius' understanding of the gathering as divinely ordained activity. This characterization is explained in the brief body of the letter. Pachomius reminds his readers that the law of God should transplant the law of man, as the law of God was written "so that the law and the rights of the bodies may be abolished and that those who walk after their desires may be ashamed and return to God at the last, and that, holding temporal things in contempt, they may seek eternal ones."[10] In this, forgiveness is marked as the vehicle through which the monks might follow God's will. Pachomius supplies a series of passages from the gospels of Matthew and Luke and from the Pauline epistles as witnesses whereby "the faithful man is compelled to avoid sin, if he wishes to listen to the law of God, incline his ear to His commands, open his eyes to them and direct his heart so as to keep their observance before his eyes."[11] Unlike the saints who are uplifted as models for behavior, those monks unable to overcome deceit and intemperance are warned of their fate: "The unjust shall be tossed about until each one faints on his own road and each one dies in affliction, while the just [will be] in happiness and joy."[12]

When viewed beside the evidence for the Remission in the *Lives*, the emphasis on the act of remission, as forgiveness of sins, and pardon in this letter might be read to suggest that this religious function had been extinguished by the time of the composition of the *Lives*. Yet, such a reading would be inaccurate given what we

9 Pachomius, *Letter* 7.1. For this translation see Armand Veilleux, trans., Pachomian Koinonia: *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples,* volume 3 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1980): 51-83.

10 Pachomius, *Letter* 7.3. For this translation see Armand Veilleux, trans., Pachomian Koinonia: *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples,* volume 3 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1980): 51-83.

11 Pachomius, *Letter* 7.5. For this translation see Armand Veilleux, trans., Pachomian Koinonia: *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples,* volume 3 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1980): 51-83.

12 Pachomius, *Letter* 7.6. For this translation see Armand Veilleux, trans., Pachomian Koinonia: *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples,* volume 3 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1980): 51-83.

know of life in the pachomian communities after the monastic leader's death. Numerous statements in the Lives and in the Rule that address curbing pride and greed, issues of equity and control of anger, and avoidance of temporal vanities and pleasures affirm the need for the retention of the remission and pardon as a central component of the gathering. As well, a later reference to the Remission in one of Theodore's letters confirms the presence of the remission and pardon in the gathering during his lifetime: "let the declaration you proffer be sincere in your conscience before God; it is the seal of sinlessness. Then our Father in the other age will be able to witness for us, 'This is how I have commanded them.'"[13]

In light of these considerations, a more credible reading of the lack of reference to the remission and pardon as an explicit function of the gathering in the *Lives* must acknowledge the full incorporation of this act into the gathering. When the *Lives* of Pachomius were composed under the rules of Theodore and of Horsisios the common meaning of the Remission among the pachomian monks had enveloped this religious function to such an extent that forgiveness of sins and pardon no longer needed to be highlighted as distinct acts in conjunction with the gathering.

13 Theodore, *Letter* 2.4. For this translation see Armand Veilleux, trans., Pachomian Koinonia: *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples, volume 3* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1980): 123-131.

ORIENTAL CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO BRITAIN IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Fr. Dale A. Johnson

Oriental Christianity, which included both Syriac and Coptic Christianity, introduced to Britian in the 7th century:

1. Oriental saints
2. Origin of the modern English dictionary
3. Use of metered poetic song in education,
4. Egyptian computation of Easter.

Theodore of Tarsus and Abbott Hadrian of North Africa were sent to Canterbury in 669. In Northumbria, the Irish strain of Christianity and the Mediterranean were fused by them in centers such as Wearmouth-Jarrow, producing the Northumbrian Renaissance. Theodore and Hadrian produced a "golden age" in England during the late seventh and throughout the eighth centuries ending with Alcuin of York, c. 800.

Theodore and Hadrian represented Oriental Orthodox Christianity carried by both Syriac and Coptic traditions. Beginning in 669, we have a trail of evidence of Egyptian and Syrian Christianity setting foot in Britain. Pope Vitalian sent archbishop Theodore of Tarsus from Rome and a monk named Hadrian whom the venerable Bede called "an African by race" to watch over the elderly (66 years old) monk from Tarsus. The new archbishop arrived in Britain with his watchdog, Hadrian, a scholar from the Middle East, and they spawned the beginning of a literary and ecclesiastical revolution.

Hadrian began as abbot of Hiridanum near Naples well versed in the Holy Scriptures, trained both in monastic and ecclesiastical ways, and equally skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues. He was selected for these obvious virtues, and also because he had twice traveled to germanic Frankia on various missions, and so had some sense of how to deal with people of Germanic culture. Hadrian refused, and suggested two other names. The first, a monk called Andrew, was rejected on grounds that he was too corpulent. The second person he suggested was his friend and learned monk from Tarsus in Cilica, learned in Syriac, Greek and Latin litera-

ture, both secular and divine. His name was Theodore. The only possible problem which he presented was that, being an Oriental by birth and upbringing, he might possibly teach doctrines accepted by the Oriental Orthodox churches, but not by the Catholics. This misgiving was solved by recruiting Hadrian to manage the theological education in the diocese. Hadrian became abbot of the monastery at Canterbury, then dedicated to Peter and Paul, which later became St. Augustine's where the archbishops of Canterbury were buried.[1]

Theodore, was first ordained subdeacon, and then waited four months for his hair to grow so it might be cut into the shape of a crown. Before this time he had the tonsure of St. Paul, the Apostle, after the manner of the eastern people. He was ordained by Pope Vitalian, on Sunday, the 26th of March, 668, and on the 27th of May was sent with Hadrian to Britain.

What Languages did Hadrian and Theodore Know?

Hadrian undoubtedly knew Greek and Coptic. Scholars also think that Theodore knew Syriac. The latter probably began his theological study in Antioch, where Greek and Syriac were in common use at that time. He may even have been to Edessa whereas Hadrian studied in Alexandria and eventually Rome.

Hadrian and Theodore set up a school in a monastery in Canterbury and manuscripts of student notes on Scripture survive. Specific comments are clearly noted as coming from Theodore or Hadrian.

Some of the passages from Coptic writers that are reflected in the commentary notes the students produced are not known to have existed in Greek or Latin translations. This would mean that we have evidence of direct influence of Coptic Christianity on what was taught to Anglo-Saxon students in Canterbury and then, presumably, through preaching and teaching, to their congregations and converts. Some scholars think that Hadrian may have brought Coptic books with him for his own use when he arrived in England.

Because this all happened early in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church prior to the rise of Islam, the paths of language and politics had not yet blocked travel and contact. So, the teaching of the East was able to make its way all the way to the West to the isles in the Western Sea.

The evidence is certain: English Christians have had access and exposure to Oriental Christian writings and ideas which have had a profound effect on western Christian tradition.

Contribution: Introduction of Oriental Saints

St. Ephrem

It is this learned pair, Oriental Christians by origin and formation, who were almost certainly responsible for bringing the knowledge of Ephraim to Anglo-

[1] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* IV.1, Bertram Colgrave & R.A.B. Mynors, ed., (Oxford, 1969), IV.1, pp. 328–33.

Saxon England. It is probable, though not certain, that Theodore knew Syriac. Antioch, the nearest school of any importance to Theodore's native city of Tarsus, is the most likely place where the young Theodore may have begun his extensive education, and it was a city where both Greek and Syriac were in daily use in the sixth and seventh centuries. He may even have been to Edessa: a gloss on Numbers XI.5 from the Canterbury biblical commentaries notes:

> *cucumeres et pepones unum sunt, sed tamen cucumeres dicuntur pepones cum magni fiunt; ac saepe in uno pepone fiunt .xxx. librae. In Edissia ciuitate fiunt ut uix potest duo portare unus camelus*.
>
> Cucumbers and melons are the same thing, but *cucumeres* are called *pepones* when they get large; often, a single *pepon* will weigh thirty pounds. In the city of Edessa, they get so large that one camel can hardly carry two of them.[2]

The use of Ephraimic texts at Canterbury is witnessed in a number of ways. The most extensive sets of glosses on parts of the Bible, which emanate from the Canterbury school, appear to be notes made from Theodore and Hadrian's exposition of Biblical texts. In the monastery school: they can be thus identified, because the names of Theodore and Hadrian occur throughout. For example, the "Leiden Glossary" contains an explanation of the word *cyneris* ("harps") in Ecclesiasticus 39: 20, as follows.

> *Cyneris. nabla. idest citharis longiores quam psalterium. Nam psalterium triangulum fit. Theodorus dixit*.
>
> Harps: *nabla*. That is, citharas. [They are] longer than a psaltery, for a psaltery should be triangular. Theodore said so.

In St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 913, another member of this family of glosses, the bird *larum*, which occurs in Leviticus 11: 16, is glossed as follows: *Larum. hragra. Adrianus dicit meum esse*. "Larum, a heron. Hadrian says it is a mew"— that is, a seamew, or seagull. This particular gloss is also interesting since it makes it clear that Hadrian used Old English in the classroom, and had a fair command of that language: *Meus* is not a Latin substantive, but the Old English word for gull is *mæw*.[3]

The tendency of the glosses is well witnessed by the examples quoted: they are for the most part historical, literally informative about things, actions, events and places unfamiliar to Anglo-Saxons, or philological, rather than allegorizing — which is to say, they belong to the Antiochene school.[4] Ephraim is cited by name,

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2 Christopher Hohler. "Theodore and the Liturgy," in *Archbishop Theodore*, M. Lapidge, ed. (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 222-235, p. 225, and discussion by Günter Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil- hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen ns 88 (Munich, 1981), II, p. 37.

3 E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5 vols (Berlin, 1879–1922) IV, p. 460.

4 Antiochene exegesis is by no means common in the early medieval West: for an overview, see M.L.W. Laistner, "Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages," *Harvard Theological Review* 40 (1947), pp. 19–32.

> Ev.II,29 [Matth. 13: 46] *Margarita grece, latine gemma. Effrem dicit quod in Mari Rubro concae a profundo natantes super aquas quae, facto tonitruo et fulgore intranteque ictu fulgoris, ita se concludentes concipiant et efficiant margaritam. Ita et Maria concepit sermonem Dei.*
>
> "Pearl" in Greek, in Latin, "a gem." Ephraim says that in the Red Sea there are shellfish which swim from the bottom to the surface of the water, which, when there is thunder and lightning, are struck and entered by the lightning-bolt. Then they close themselves up, conceive, and produce a pearl. Thus did Mary conceive the Word of God.

Milus of Susa

Another Oriental saint introduced was the Persian saint Milus of Susa, whose life was not translated into Greek, is included in the Old English Martyrology, with the place names in corrupt Syriac forms suggests that this text, for one, might actually have come to England in its original language: if it did, Theodore and Hadrian are the most likely persons to have brought it.[5]

Mary of Egypt

The *Life of Mary of Egypt* is the story of the desert encounter of an erudite monk named Zosimus with a repentant harlot turned ascetic known as Mary of Egypt. It is uncertain when the story was first introduced into England. The earliest extant copy of the Latin *vita* known to be in England because it contains Old English glosses is found in BL MS Cotton Claudius A.i, a manuscript written on the Continent in the mid-tenth century. However, the inclusion of Mary of Egypt in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon calendars of saints indicates the existence of an earlier cult of devotion to the repentant prostitute and circumstantial evidence has led some to speculate such a cult may have existed as early as the late seventh century.

For example, in 669, following the deaths of the archbishop of Canterbury as well as his chosen successor, Wigheard, the pope sent to Britain to assume the bishopric of Canterbury a monk from Naples named Theodore and commanded a Neopolitan abbot named Hadrian to accompany him (Lapidge 1986, 45).[6] Theodore and Hadrian established a school at Canterbury where "they attracted a crowd of students into whose minds they daily poured the streams of wholesome learning" (Lapidge 1986, 46). Veronica Ortenberg observes that "Naples was a center from which a variety of devotions particularly popular in the Greek world found their way into England," and speculates that since Theodore and Hadrian were most likely familiar with the Greek *Mary of Egypt*, it is possible they introduced it to England. Both Ortenberg and Simon Lavery point out that in twelve Anglo-Saxon calendars that include Mary of Egypt, her feastday is commemorated

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5 E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5 vols (Berlin, 1879–1922) IV, p. 460.

6 Michael Lapidge, and Bernhard Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994).

on 9 April, the date usually observed in the Orthodox East, whereas only two record her date as 2 April, the date usually observed in the Latin West, suggesting the influence of Theodore and Hadrian.

Three copies of the anonymously translated Old English version of the *Life of Mary of Egypt* are extant, all written early in the eleventh century. Three leaves of the text survive in Gloucester Cathedral 35, a collection of fragments from bindings now kept in a portfolio. In 1861, John Earle, Rawlinson Chair of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, published a photozincographic facsimile of one of these folios (6 recto) along with a transcription of all three leaves and brief textual notes. The most complete copy is in BL MS Cotton Julius E. vii. Associated with the monk Ælfric because it contains a collection of his homilies on saints' lives, preceded by his Latin and Old English prefaces and a contemporary table of contents, it also contains four saints' lives not ascribed to Ælfric, including the *Life of Mary of Egypt*. A third fragmentary copy is found in BL MS Cotton Otho B. x., a collection of prose saints' lives, penitential and confessional texts, and homilies once owned by the seventeenth-century antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton. The manuscript was reduced to "burnt lumps and crusts by a great fire that swept through the Cotton Library in 1731, but was restored in 1863 under the direction of Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts of the British Museum."

Contribution: Origin of the Dictionary

The availability, format and wide use of dictionaries are taken for granted in our modern literary culture. And yet the roots of this probably most useful literary tool are to be found in the introduction of the pre-dictionary, often called glossopraphy, by Theodore and Hadrian.

The beginnings of English glossography are to be found in the seventh century in the celebrated Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian. Theodore was a Syriac/Greek-speaking monk from Asia and Hadrian a Coptic and Latin-speaking African, and the classical curriculum of their school included both Greek and Latin. The so called "original English collection" of glosses, which served as a source for many later English as well as continental glossaries, was developed in the Canterbury school.[7]

Glosses, i.e. explanations of words inserted between the lines of a text (interlinear glosses) or in the margins (marginal glosses), marked the first step in the development of what we may call "pre-dictionaries." This is exactly what we see in both Coptic and Syriac texts. Often these glosses were not written with ink but scratched in the velum with a stylus, and this dry point notation makes them difficult to read for modern scholars. (Lendinara 3, 4)

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7 Michael Lapidge. "The School of Theodore and Hadrian," *Anglo-Saxon England* (1986), pp. 45-72. Article for people interested in the early Medieval English culture and the beginnings of glossography. Discussion of the work of Theodore and Hadrian who established the Canterbury School in 7th century. The importance and international influence of the school (and especially of the glossaries – "original English collection") are stressed.

The texts glossed were core Christian works such as the Psalter, Hymns, Canticles of the Psalter, Monastic Canticles, Gospel texts, texts relating to the Benedictine reform, and a useful collection of biblical and patristic quotations. But Ælfric's *Colloquium* was also often glossed as well as the Latin works of important Christian writers.[8]

Often glosses were separated from the text and collected together on a separate manuscript. These *glossae collectae* generally preserved their original inflections and order of words and thus could be easily used by a reader of the original Latin work. The glosses were freed from their original context only when used by glossators to form part of *glossaries*. However, even after such process of incorporation, it is still possible to distinguish "batches" of words whose order corresponds to a particular text which they originally glossed. (Lendinara 9-10)

Production of glossaries involved selective copying and rearrangement of material from various sources. Glossaries could now be used to help elucidate more than one text. They could also be used as learning aids by providing lists of Latin words and their explanations for memorization. The works were intended as a study aid for new learners of Latin and thus it provided a vocabulary of ordinary life—a feature unusual for medieval glossaries which dealt mostly with learned vocabulary or "hard" words. (Derolez 26)

Another type of glossary was organized alphabetically, a way which eventually became predominant and which is most familiar to us. However, the alphabetization was not absolute. Initially, it was limited to the first letter (A-order), then it spread to the first two and eventually first three letters (AB-order and ABC-order), thus increasing efficiency of use. The *Épinal Glossary*, the earliest Latin-Old English glossary based on many sources, is organized alphabetically albeit in two systems: one group of lemmata is arranged in the A-order and another in the AB-order. It is a "hard-word" glossary which contains about 3200 entries of which only about 30% have Old English glosses; the rest have Latin explanations. Later important glossaries, such as the *Erfurt Glossary* or the *Corpus Glossary*, were largely influenced by this early work.

The development from glosses through *glossae collectae* to alphabetical glossaries marks the growing need and popularity of these learning tools. It is also evidence of a Semitic influence. Alphabetical arrangements of the Psalms (119) and use of this technique in Ephraemic literature, testifies to the popularity and early use of this arrangement in Semitic literature. Although scholars still speculate about exact uses of the glossaries, it is probable that they served a function similar to that of a modern dictionary, especially when their size and format, like that of the Harley glossary with 12-14,000 entries in ABC-order, approached those of a dictionary. Scholars judge that all or most English libraries in the early Medieval

[8] René Derolez. "Anglo-Saxon Glossography: A Brief Introduction." *Anglo-Saxon Glossography: Papers read at the International Conference Brussels, 8 and 9 September 1986* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1992), 27-29. This is only one of the many papers from the Brussels conference on Old English glossography and it is a relatively good introduction to the subject.

period and later in the 10th and 11th centuries were equipped with glossaries but that no 'standard glossary' was in existence. (Gneuss III 20-21).[9]

It is also worth noting that the information offered in glossaries was not limited to semantics; often the glossators provided grammatical and syntactical information, notes on prosody (in poetical texts), explanation of figures of speech, etymological interpretation and even encyclopedic information. (Lendinara 6-7).[10]

Contribution: Anglo-Saxon School Curriculum

The greater monasteries and churches had song schools as well, but they also taught grammar and writing. Bede writes that in the school at Canterbury, Theodore and Hadrian "gave their hearers instruction not only in the books of holy Scripture but also in the art of metre, astronomy and ecclesiastical computation" (Lendinara 271).[11] "It provided an organized body of knowledge, based on the interpretation of scripture, but extending to the sciences which regulated the order of the religious year, the music which was essential in the services of the church, and the metrical rules according to which religious poetry should be composed."

Contribution: Egyptian Modification of Easter

The synod held at Whitby. Churches in the north of England (who had been under the influence of Celtic evangelists) agreed to keep Easter on the date established by Rome, in agreement with churches in the south evangelized from Rome. Curiously, it appeared the Celts celebrated Easter according to the agreement made at Nicea in 325 (on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the month nearest the vernal equinox). They may have been taught this liturgical computation by Hadrian, because since Nicea Egyptian/Alexandrian astronomers had found an error in the way the Jews calculated Passover. The method for computing Easter had been modified in 525 so the date always fell between March 22 and April 24, as it does to this day—on the first Sunday after the full moon that occurs upon or next after the vernal equinox (March 21). This liturgical computation enters England via Hadrian, the north African.[12]

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9 Helmut Gneuss. *Language and History in Early England* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996). This book is a collection of essays by Gneuss previously published separately in different scholarly periodicals. Essays number III and V have some interesting information about glosses and glossaries which, as the title of the book suggests, are treated within a larger context of English language and history of the times.

10 Patrizia Lendinara. *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999). The first chapter of this book is a very well organized introduction to the subject of Old English glosses and glossaries

11 Patrizia Lendinara. "The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning" in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 264-281.

12 Lendinara, "The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning," 264-281.

PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS IN THE THEOLOGY AND PIETY OF THE COPTS

Otto F. A. Meinardus

Introduction

On the occasion of my visit to the Coptin hermits in the Wadi al-Rayan, south of the Oasis Fayyum, in January 1966, Abuna Matta al-Maskin mentioned to me that his disciples were known by the names of the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets. He explained to me the reason for this usage by saying: "The Old Testament patriarchs and prophets enlighten with their messages the proclamation of the New Testament. Only through the words of the Old Testament can we understand the fullness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We do not grant these names to our novices in a careless or thoughtless manner. The names reflect the characters, talents and gifts, the spirit and the disposition of those biblical personalities whose names are given to them. On the first sight, this may be not be recognized or apprehended. However, we demand a long and rigorous novitiate in order to comprehend and grasp the spiritual and charismatic qualities of everyone. Once we have selected a name for a monk, we gather for a meeting to study the Holy Scriptures and to pray. Only then do we decide."[1]

In comparison to the theological significance of the apostles, church-fathers, martyrs, ascetes or hierarchs, the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament play a rather insignificant part in the popular piety of the Copts. On the other hand, for the liturgical life of the Copts they are important so far as their messages point to the coming of the Messiah. In this sense they proclaim a "world-redemptive" event. For the Copts, the Old Testament is clearly "Heilsgeschichte" and the patriarchs and prophets present in their individual ways the mysteries of the New Covenant in Jesus Christ. Their function is to show the prefiguration, foreboding and the prediction of the messianic age. While some prophets point to the mysteries of the eucharist and baptism others call for collective repentance.

Noah (Gen 6-9, Mt 24:37)

For the early Upper Egyptian Christians Noah and the flood were of great spiritual significance. Twice, in the Exodus Chapel (4th cent.) and in the Chapel of

1 Meinardus, O., "The Hermits of Wadi Rayan", Stud. Orient. Christ. Cairo, XI, 1966, 293-318.

Peace (5th cent.) of the necropolis of al-Bagawat, Kharga Oasis, Christians have included in the paintings the ark of Noah in the form of an ancient Nile barque. In the Exodus Chapel several Old Testament subjects are shown, including Adam and Eve, Daniel in the lions' den, the Sacrifice of Abraham, Jonah swallowed by a fish, etc.[2] The Coptic Qummus Abu'l-Makarim[3] (13th cent.) states that the Ethiopians are in the possession of the ark of Noah (fol 105a), although according to general opinion the ark of Noah rests upon Mt. Karda near Ararat (fol 111b). For the early Copts the message of Noah and the flood contained a distinct eschatological meaning: "For as in the days before the flood they were eating and drinking…until the day when Noah entered the ark…so will be the coming of the Son of man" (Mat 24:38.39). Also the sacrament of baptism is related to the s aving grace of Noah's ark, wherein few, that is, eight persons were saved through water. Baptism, "which corresponds to this, now saves you, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet 3:20.21).

Abraham's Sacrifice (Gen 22:1-13)

One of the earliest representations of Abraham's Sacrifice is found in the dome of the Exodus Chapel of al-Bagawat (4th cent.) A 9th century picture shows Abraham and Isaac who is carrying firewood on his back in the Cod.Vat. gr.699. This drawing is by the 6th cent. Alexandrian Cosmas Indicopleustes. The subject of Abraham's Sacrifice was a poular theme for decorating the walls of Coptic haikals (altar-rooms) in the Monsatery of St. Antony (Red Sea), St. Macarius and al-Baramus (Wadi 'n-Natrun).[4] In the 18th cent. a picture of Abraham's Sacrifice adorns the ciborium in the Church of St. Mercurius in Old Cairo. Associated with the Sacrament of the Eucharist it also served as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ on Golgotha. The story is incorporated in the first part of the Service of Genuflection on Whitsunday and in the Liturgy of the Catechumes of the Anaphora of St. Basil.

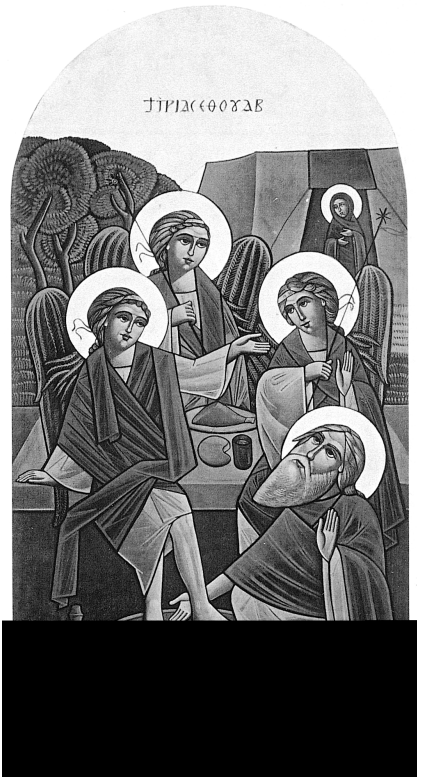
Abraham and Melchisedek (Gen 14:17-20)

The iconography of this subject is found only in the haikals of the principal churches of the monasteries of St. Antony, St. Macarius and al-Baramus. The picture shows King Melchisedek of Salem as an anchorite offering bread and wine to Abraham. The frescoes are clearly prefigurations of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

The Philoxenia of Abraham (Gen 18:1-15)

The appearance of the three celestian visitors to Abraham and Sarah in the plains of Mamre (Hebron) point to the Christian mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Eucharist and the foot-washing. Among the lessons which are read in the service of foot-washing on Maundy Thursday there is the Philoxenia of Abraham. A neo-Coptic icon of the Footwashing by Isaac Fanus (1993) is in the Coptic Church of the Holy Virgin in Los Angelees.

2 Fakhry, Ahmed, *The Necropolis of al-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis*. Ciaro 1955.
3 Zanetti, Ugo, "Abu 'l-Makarim et Abu Salih", BSAC 34, 1995, 85-138.
4 Van Loon, Gertrud, "The Sacrifice by Abraham and Jephtah in Coptic Art" in Hondelink (ed.), *Coptic Art and Culture*. Cairo 1990, 43-51.



The Footwashing
Abraham washing the feet of the celestian visitors.
Church of the Holy Virgin, Los Angeles, Calif. Isaac Fanus, 1993.

Jacob's Dream (Gen 28:10-19)

The vision of Jacob's ladder in Bethel with the angels ascending and descending has served Coptic monks as archetype of the *scala humilitatis*, the climbing or ascending towards moral and spiritual perfection. As a symbol of relating God to sinful men Coptic hymns (theotokia) have identified Jacob's ladder with the Holy Virgin. The lesson of Jacob's ladder is being read on the occasion of the consecration of churches and altars. A fresco (11th cent.) in the Chapel of Benjamin in the Monastery of St. Macarius shows a youthful Jacob in a white tunic and a red robe dreaming about the ladder leading to heaven. The neo-Coptic icon of this subject by Isaac Fanus is in the Coptic Church of the Holy Virgin in Los Angeles (1993).

Abu 'l-Makarim (13th cent.) reports that while Joseph resided in the Fayyum and administered the country, his father Jacob found shade and prayed at Naqlun, south of the Fayyum (fol 71a). According to the Coptic Synaxar (Misra 28, September 3) Jacob remained in Egypt for 19 years.

The Joseph cycle, *orbiculus*, Coptic Textile, Simeonsstift, Trier, 6th/7th cent.
Limeonsstift, Trier

Joseph (Gen 37-48)

Whereas Western medieval theology stressed the moral qualities of Joseph as an *exemplum* of *castitas* (chastity), medieval Egyptian sources emphasized his *prudential,* his wisdom and circumspection with regard to the economic developments in Egypt. The early church-fathers Ephraim Syrus, Tertullian, Hippolytus and Cyril of Alexandria interpreted the ministry of Joseph in purely christological terms. Just as Joseph was cast out of his family, Jesus Christ had left his family. Just as Joseph served as redeemer of his people, Jesus Christ became the redeemer of mankind.

In the 13th century, Abu ʻl-Makarim located certain events in the life of Joseph. Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, had bought Joseph off the hands of the Ishmaelites and "made him overseer over his house (Gen 39:4). Later, Pharaoh set him over all the land of Egypt (Gen 41:41). One of his first projects was the rebuilding of the Capital Medinet al-Fayyum (Arsinoe, Crocodilopolis) (fol 18a). Furthermore, he built the city of Shanah in the Fayyum, where Pharaoh's daughter resided (fol 70b). Should this reference be perhaps a confusion with Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, the priest of On (Heliopolis), whom the Pharaoh had given to Joseph and who was the mother of Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen 41:45-52)? At Munaif (Memphis) Joseph built a large nilometer. He was the first who measured the Nile by the cubit (fol 68a). Moreover, he ordered the construction of a canal from Dairut ash-Sherif (Darwah Sarabam) in Upper Egypt to Hagar al-Lahun for the irrigation of the Oasis Fayyum. To this day, the canal is known as Bahr Yusuf which flows into several smaller irrigation-canals at Hara al-Lahun (fol 18a, 77b).

Because Joseph was "handsome and good-looking: (Gen 39:6) Potiphar's wife had cast her eyes upon him (gen 39:7). While he escaped from her he left his garments in her hands which helped her to defame and accuse him wrongfully, so that he was thrown into prison (Gen 39:19-40:23). In the Middle Ages this prison was shown in Busir, north of the pyramids of Abusir and Saqqara (fol 17b).

Joseph's Dreams (Gen 37 and 38)

It is noteworthy that the stories of Joseph did not gain the wide acceptance among the Copts which they had acquired in the Western world. Egyptian Christians seem to have ignored the ministry of Joseph in their art, their frescoes and icons. An exception are the numerous Coptic textiles.[5] In the *orbiculi* of the Upper Egyptian tunics of the 6th/7th century the details of his ministry are shown. The *orbiculus* of the tunic in the Museum Simeonsstift, Trier, we see in the center the dreaming Joseph with the sun, moon and eleven stars (Gen 37:9). Above the central part, there sits a bearded Jacob and converses with Joseph (Gen 37: 12-14). Next to Joseph we see the "man wandering in the field" (Gen 37:15-17). To the left of the central part Joseph is being stripped of his robe and cast into a pit that was empty (Gen 37:23). The following picture shows Joseph with a halo, yet without his robe and a goat (Gen 37:31). Below the central part, a dark Ishmaelite sells young Joseph for 20 pieces of silver. To the right, there is Reuben who rent his clothes in front of the empty pit (Gen 37:29). Then, there is the dark Ishmaelite riding with Joseph to Egypt where he negotiates with Potiphar (Gen 39:1).

Coptic textiles with the Joseph-cycle exist in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Museum of Art in Prague; the Museum in Chemnitz; the Benaki Museum, Athens; the Louvre, Paris; the Pushkin Museum, Moscow and in Trier.

Jephthah (Judges 11:300-40; Hebr 11:31)

Jephthah the Gileadite was called by the elders of Gilead to be their captain in their fight against the Ammonites. The vow included to sacrifice the first person he met which happed to be his only daughter, whom he killed. The earliest iconographical presentation of the Sacrifice of Jephthah is in the Greek Orthodox Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. The only Coptic fresco of Jephthah's sacrifice is in the Church of St. Antony, Monastery of St. Antony where the sacrifice is understood as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ. In spite of the positive reference of the story in the Epistle to the Hebrews, several church-fathers have condemned the murder by Jephthah.[6] In the Coptic Church the story of Jephthah's vow and subsequent sacrifice is read in the Burial Service for female children.

Moses

Medieval Coptic tradition (Abu 'l-Makarim) states that Moses, his brother Aaron and his sister Miriam were born in Uskar in the Province of Giza (fol 19b), situated between as-Saff and al-Wadi on the east bank of the Nile in the Markaz of

5 Nauerth, Claudia, *Koptische Textilkunst im spätantiken Ägypten.* Trier 1978, 24-31.
6 Van Loon, G., loc. cit.

as-Saff. The Coptic church in Uskar is dedicated to the Holy Virgin. According to another version, Moses was born in the large village of Shahran "on the side of the river where his mother cast him into the water, in the wooden ark" (fol 47a). He used to pray under the southern sycamore tree in the southern part of Tura, near the present Monastery of St. Barsum the Naked in Masara. He attended the synagogue in Damuah near Giza where he also resided (fol 67a). A local tradition in the Cairo suburb of Ma'adi states that as the daughter of Pharaoh came to bathe at the river, she saw the basket made of bulrushes and she sent her maid to fetch it…She took the child that was in the basket and "he became her son and she named him Moses" (Ex 2:5-10). The Copts maintain that the steps leading from the court of the Church of the Holy Virgin to the Nile mark the site of the discovery of the basket with the child.

The Burning Bush (Ex 3:2; Mk 12:26; Acts 7:35)

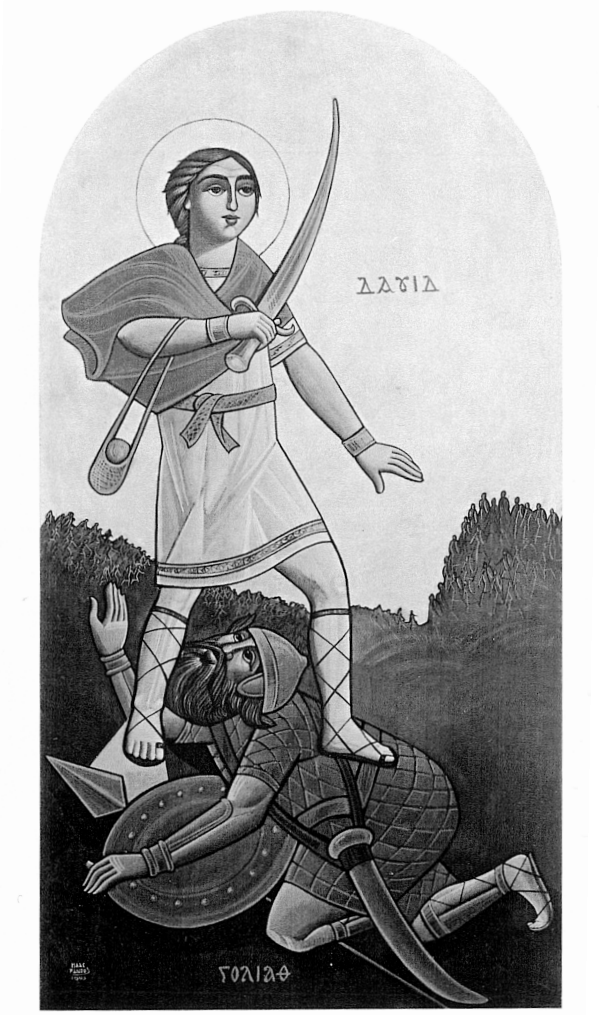
In May 1991 a 10th century fresco of the Annunciation was discovered in the western apse of the Church of the Holy Virgin in the Monastery of the Syrians, Wadi 'n-Natrun. Among the prophets announcing the Incarnation, there is shown Moses with the text: "The bush was burning, yet it was not consumed". In the Marian symbolism the burning bush that was not consumed conveys the message of the perpetual virginity of the Holy Virgin. This image is part of the Coptic Theotokia.

This subject which is very common in the Byzantine tradition, is found rarely in Coptic iconography. An 18th century icon of "The Burning Bush" is in the Church of St. Menas, Fum al-Khalig, Old Cairo. Professor Isaac Fanus has painted the subject for the Nunnery of St. Mercurius in Old Cairo and for the Church of the Holy Virgin in Los Angeles.

Moses and the Burning Bush
Nunnery Abu Saifain, Old Cairo, Isaac Fanus.

The Exodus (Ex 12:29-15:21)

For the Copts the subject of the Exodus from Egypt to the promised land with the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex 14:21-30) symbolizes the abandoning of the "old world" in favour of the "new". The passage through the Red Sea is understood as a prefiguration of the Sacrament of Baptism. It is shown in the 4th century Chapel of the Exodus of the necropolis of al-Bagawat.



David conquers Goliath
Church of the Holy Virgin, Los Angeles, Calif.
Isaac Fanus, 1993

David

The hieropsaltist David who provided the Coptic Agpeya with the psalter is one of the most popular biblical personages among the Coptic desert fathers. In the monastic cells of the Monastery of St. Apollo, Bawit, there were no less than 13 representations of David. His picture is included among the frescoes in the Monasteries of St. Antony, St. Macarius and St. Shemuda, Sohag.

David's victory over Goliath (1 Sam 17:1-54)

David's victory over the Philistine Goliath of Gad is interpreted as the triumph of Jesus Christ over Satan and the conquest of the early Christian martyrs over their spiritual and physical threats. David is always presented as the ideal type, "he was ruddy, and had beautiful eyes and was handsome" (1 Sam 16:21). His icon is shown in the Church of the Holy Virgin in Los Angeles.

The Ascension of Elijah (2 Kg 2:11-13)

"And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven". For the Copts Elijah is a precursor of the Messiah (Mal 3:1.23; Mt 11:14). He also was seen as a prefiguration of St. Paul of Thebes because of the ravens that nourished both the prophet and the first hermit (1 Kg 17:4-6, vita Antonii). The ascension of Elijah is portrayed in the Church of the Holy Virgin in Los Angeles.

Isaiah

For the Copts the prophecies of Isaiah pointing to the Messiah are of utmost significance (Is 7:14; 9:5; 11:1), the same pertains to his vision in the temple (Is 6:1) and his martyrdom. The blessings of the Lord upon Egypt (Is 19:25) are quoted at many occasions!

The Cleansing of the unclean lips of Isaiah (Is 6:5)

This subject is portrayed in the churches of the Monasteries of St. Antony and St. Macarius. One of the seraphim touches the lips of the prophet with a spoon – similar to the *mistir* or*kochliarion,* the spoon used for the eucharist – with glowing coal. A painting (18th cent.) at the ciborium of the Church of St. Mercurius, Old Cairo, illustrates the cleansing of the prophet's lips.

The Sawing asunder of Isaiah

According to the 4th century apocryphal Ascension of Isaiah, King Manasseh had ordered the prophet to be sawn asunder because he had censured the idolatry of the king.[7] This story was circulated as a prefiguration of the death of Christ and the tortures of the martyrs. A picture in the Exodus Chapel of al-Bagawat illustrates the martyrdom of Isaiah.

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7 Charles, P. H., *The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament.* Oxford 1913, II, 155-162

Daniel (Dan 3:1-30)

At the time of Nebuchadnezzar - so Abu'l-Makarim – also the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel came to Egypt. For the Copts the biblical tradition of the three youths in the fiery furnace is a prefiguration of the salvation of the faithful while suffering torture and death. Iconographical presentations of this subject are found throughout the ages in the Wadi Sarga (British Museum), St. Apollo's Monastery, Bawit, St. Jeremiah's Monastery, Saqqara, and in the Red Sea Monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul the Theban. On the occasion of the consecration of an altar, the congregation joins in the praise of the Three Youths. In the recently discovered fresco (1991) in the western apse of the Church of the Holy Virgin in the Monastery of the Syrians Daniel is portrayed with the text: "As you looked, a stone was cut out by no human hand" (Dan 2:34), referring to the perpetual virginity of the Holy Virgin.

The Hymn of the "Sevenfold Blood"

In the Coptic hymn of the "Sevenfold Blood" the martyrdoms of three Old Testament personages are seen as counterparts to those of the New Testament. They are portrayed as types and anti-types, Abel, the daughter of Jephthah and Isaiah and on the other hand the Innocents of Bethlehem, Zechariah (Protevangelium of James), and John the Baptist, all six being prefigurations of the sacrifice of Christ on Golgotha [8].

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8 Störk, Lothar, "Das Siebenfältige Blut", *Encoria* 23, 1996, 76-85.

For the iconography by Isaac Fanus in the Church of the Holy Virgin, Los Angeles, Calif. cf. Sadek, A.et B., L'Incarnation de la Lmiere. Le Monde Copte 29-31, 2000, 205-223.

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2003 CALENDAR OF FASTS AND FEASTS

* *THE SEVEN MAJOR FEASTS OF OUR LORD*
** *The Seven Minor Feasts of Our Lord*
*** Feasts of Virgin Mary
**** Fasts

Jannuary 6	-	Paramoni (1)
*January 7	-	*CHRISTMAS*
**January 14	-	*Circumcision of Our Lord*
****January 17	-	Paramoni (2)
*January 19	-	*EPIPHANY*
**January 21	-	*First Miracle of Our Lord at Cana*
* **January 29	-	Dormition of Virgin Mary
* *February 15	-	*Entrance of Our Lord into the Temple*
** **February 17	-	Fast of Nineveh (3)
****March 3	-	Great Lent (55)
March 19	-	Feast of the Cross
***April 2	-	Apparition of the Virgin at Zeitoun in 1968
*April 7	-	*ANNUNCIATION*
*April 20	-	*ENTRANCE OF OUR LORD INTO JERUSALEM (PALM SUNDAY)*
**April 24	-	*Holy Thursday*
*April 27	-	*EASTER*
*May 4	-	*St. Thomas' Sunday*
***May 9	-	Birth of Virgin Mary
**June 1	-	*Entrance of Our Lord into Egypt*
*June 5	-	*ASCENSION*
*June 15	-	*PENTECOST*
****June 16	-	Apostles' Fast (26)
July 12	-	Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul
****August 7	-	Fast of the Virgin (15)
**August 19	-	*Trnasfiguration of Our Lord*
***August 22	-	Assumption of the Body of Virgin Mary
September 12	-	Nayruz: Coptic New Year's Day (Feast of the Martyrs)
September 28	-	Feast of the Cross
****November 26	-	Christmas Fast (42 dars)
***Decmeber 13	-	Presentation of Virgin Mary into the Temple