

## COPTIC AND ARABIC LITURGICAL TEXTS RELATING TO MOSES THE BLACK

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In 1996, as a young researcher, I attended the international congress of Coptic studies in Münster. It was the first time to meet professor BRAKMANN. I was impressed by his personality, his knowledge, his sense of humour and his humility. Professor BRAKMANN is a walking encyclopaedia in liturgy and biblical studies. We share the same interest in Coptic liturgy and SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH. It is my pleasure and honour to contribute this small essay concerning liturgical texts relating to MOSES THE BLACK to this volume on the occasion of Professor BRAKMANN's seventieth birthday.

MOSES THE BLACK is one of the most venerated saints in the Coptic Church. Our first reference for him is in the Lausiac History of PALLADIUS.

Gawdat GABRA published an article on MOSES THE BLACK,<sup>1</sup> where he compared the Arabic *Vita* with the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. He also added a text of the Difnar and concluded with a commentary of the Synaxarium. In addition, he published an article on his monastery.<sup>2</sup> In his History of the Christian Arabic literature, G. GRAF noticed that there are more than four different versions of the Arabic Life of MOSES.<sup>3</sup> While re-reading the article of Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH on Coptic doxologies,<sup>4</sup> I came across the doxology of MOSES THE BLACK.

The manuscript of Paris provides the two doxologies as one text, however, all the manuscripts give only the first doxology. We adopted the division of the texts for different reasons.

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<sup>1</sup> G. GABRA, *Bemerkungen zu Moses dem Schwarzen*, in: M. KRAUSE, S. SCHATEN (ed.), *Themelia: Spätantike und koptologische Studien: Peter Grossmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (SKCO 3). Wiesbaden 1998, 117–126.

<sup>2</sup> G. GABRA, *Dair Anba Musa al-Aswad, Das originale Baramus-Kloster im Wadi al-Natrun*, in: BSAC 36 (1997), 71–74.

<sup>3</sup> G. GRAF, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (ST 118). Città del Vaticano 1944, 511.

<sup>4</sup> Y. 'ABD AL-MASIH, *Doxologies in the Coptic Church. Unedited Bohairic Doxologies. II* (*Tūbah – An- Nāsi*), in: BSAC 11 (1945), 95–158 and especially 129–130.

### Doxology

These two doxologies occur to my knowledge in two manuscripts, the first is Paris, BnF, Copte 42<sup>5</sup> and the other one is the Manuscript of the Coptic Museum Ms 292 Call no 341 Lit.<sup>6</sup>

We will give the text hereafter from the text of the Coptic Museum:

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ	Philip the <i>Apostle</i> baptized the Ethiopian eunuch of Candace queen of the Ethiopians. <sup>7</sup>
ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΘΕΟΥΑΒ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ ΜΠΙΕΘΩ	Our holy father Abba Macarius and our father Isidorus baptised the Ethiopian and he became as white as <i>snow</i> . <sup>8</sup>
ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ ΜΠΡΗΤ ΜΟΥΧΙΟΝ	This (one) who was first a thief in the district of <b>Gaza</b> through the most hated bird and the evil <i>devil</i>
ΦΑΙ ΕΝΑΓΓΟΙ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΜΠΩΡΠ ΣΕΝ ΠΙΘΩ	The mighty <i>conqueror and martyr</i> of <i>Christ</i> , our holy father Abba Moses <i>withdrew</i> himself.
ΝΤΕ ΓΑΖΑ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΙΖΑΛΗΤ ΜΠΟΥΜΕΣΤΩ	Therefore he brought the evil <i>barbarians</i> who killed him with his children upon the <i>rock</i>
ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΤΩΟΥ	Pray...my lord and father Abba Moses and his children the <i>Cross-bearers</i> so that...
ΦΗΕΤΑΔΕΡΑΠΟΤΑΖΕ ΣΘΕ ΜΜΟΔ ΝΧΕ ΠΑΘΑΙΤΗΣ ΜΗΑΡΤΗΡΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΧΩΡΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΕ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΘΥ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΟΥΣΗ	
ΕΘΒΕ ΦΑΙ ΑΓΓΙΝ ΕΧΩΔ ΜΗΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΕΤΩΟΥ ΑΥΣΩΤΕΒ ΜΜΟΔ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΩΦΗΡΙ ΕΖΡΗ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΑΦΕ ΝΤΠΕΤΡΑ	
ΤΩΒΕΖ ΠΑΔΕ ΝΙΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΟΥΣΗ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΩΦΗΡΙ ΝΤΑΥΡΟΦΩΡΟΣ ΝΤΕΩ	

### Commentary

The Baptism of the eunuch is represented in several Byzantine and Coptic miniatures and wall paintings. Such an icon from the thirteenth century is present in the Church of Saint Mercurius, Old Cairo.<sup>9</sup>

The doxology mentions that MACARIUS baptised MOSES which is not attested elsewhere. The allusion to the *snow* may echo the *Apophthegma* when Abba MOSES was ordained priest and the archbishop told him that became as white as snow. This *Apophthegma* occurs in the systematic series<sup>10</sup> and alphabetical

<sup>5</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*. 1ère partie: *Manuscrits Bohairiques*. Paris 1912, 82–83, n° 100.

<sup>6</sup> M. SIMAIKA, Y. ABD AL-MASIH, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principle Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*. vol. 1. Cairo 1939, 130. This text was giving to me by the late Madam Samiha Abdel Shaheed former librarian of the Coptic Museum. May God repose her soul!

<sup>7</sup> Acts 8:27–38

<sup>8</sup> Ps 50:9

<sup>9</sup> Z. SKALOVA, G. GABRA, *Icons of the Nile Valley*. Cairo 2001, 194–195.

<sup>10</sup> J. C. GUY, *Les Apophthégmes des Pères collection systématique chapitre X–XVI* (SC 474). Paris 2003, Chapter 15: 4, 316–317.

series.<sup>11</sup>

The mention of Gaza as the origin of MOSES is not attested elsewhere; it could relate to a local tradition or even a misidentification with another saint. The martyrdom of MOSES is mentioned in the *Apophthegma*; both systematic<sup>12</sup> and alphabetical series.<sup>13</sup>

And also another doxology:

ΠΙΩΡΠΙ ΜΗΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΘΥ ΕΤΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΗΚΑΛΩΣ ΣΕΝ ΠΙΤΩΟΥ ΗΤΕ ΠΙΖΗΤ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ  
 ΕΘΥ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΟΥΣΗ  
 ΑΔΩΠΠΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΥΡΕΔΤ ΕΦΟΙ ΗΖΟΤ ΟΥΒΕ  
 ΠΙΛΕΝΩΝ ΑΔΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΗΠΙΤΕ<sup>14</sup>  
 ΖΙΤΕΝ ΤΕΦΗΠΤ ΗΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΝΕΝ ΠΣΙΟΙ  
 ΗΤΕ ΠΙΒΑΚΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΝ ΠΑΙ ΑΦΕΡΦΟΡΙΗ  
 ΗΠΙΧΛΟΝ ΗΤΕΤΗΕΤΗΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ  
 ΑΔΩΛ ΕΠΙΟΙΟΙ ΣΕΝ ΠΙΠΠΙΑ ΕΣΟΥΗ  
 ΕΝΕΦΜΑΝΕΝΤΟΝ ΕΤΑΔΕΡΤΩΤΟΥ ΗΧΕ  
 ΠΔΕ ΗΠΠΕΘΗΗ ΗΠΕΦΡΑΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
 ΑΔΩΧΠ ΠΑΗ ΗΠΕΦΩΝΑ ΝΕΝ  
 ΠΕΦΠΛΕΟΝ ΕΘΥ ΕΦΕΡΕΝΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΗΣΗΤΟ ΗΠΕΦΕΡΦΜΕΥΙ ΕΤΤΑΠΟΥΤ  
 ΕΝΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΧΩ ΜΗΟΣ ΧΕ ΦΤ ΝΑΒΒΑ  
 ΜΟΥΣΗ ΝΕΝ ΠΙΕΤΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΜΕΦ  
 ΑΡΟΥΝΑΙ ΝΕΝ ΝΕΝΤΥΧΗ  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΗΤΕΝΦΑΩΠΗ ΕΝΩΩ  
 ΕΤΑΔΕΡΤΩΤΟΥ ΗΠΠΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
 ΕΤΑΥΡΑΝΑΦ ΙΟΧΕΝ ΠΕΝΕΖ ΕΦΕΒΕ  
 ΤΕΦΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΗ

The first, holy *martyr*, who died in the mountain of Scetis, our holy father Abba Moses.

He became a fighter, whom the *demons* feared, he stood upon the *rock* as a *symbol* of the *Cross*.

Through his great *patience* and the pain of *tortures*, thus he *wore* the crown of *martyrdom*.

He travelled in the *Spirit* to the resting places, which the Lord has prepared for those who love His name.

He left for us his *body* and his holy *cave*, that we may be perfected in it on his honoured remembrance (day).

Proclaiming and saying: “O God of Abba Moses and those who died with him, have mercy upon our souls”

That we may win the promises that He prepared for the saints who have pleased Him since the beginning, because of their *love* to Him.

### Commentary

The word ΕΤΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ could be translated as “perfected”, however, we prefer the meaning “died”<sup>14</sup> because there are other saints who were perfected before him; such as MACARIUS THE GREAT. We adopt the same translation for the fifth stanza. The doxology does not highlight the biography of MOSES but emphasizes the martyrdom and the veneration *post-mortem*; giving mention that the place of his relics is in the cave.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des pères du Désert, collection alphabétique*. Solesmes 1981, 189–190.

<sup>12</sup> J. C. GUY, *Les Apophthégmes des Pères collection systématique chapitre XVII–XIX* (SC 498). Paris 2005, Chapter 18: 18, 64–65.

<sup>13</sup> REGNAULT, *Les sentences* (see fn. 11), 191.

<sup>14</sup> W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1939 (reprint 2005), 762.

<sup>15</sup> O. F. A. MEINARDUS, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*. Cairo 1999, 318;

And also another doxology which text appeared in a parchment from Saint Macarius Monastery:<sup>16</sup>

†ΟΥΩΥ `ΗΤΑΕΡ ΟΥΔΡΟΜΠΙ `ΗΤΑΖΑΛΑΙ	I wish to become a dove to fly to the cave
`ΗΤΑΖΩΛ ΨΑ ΠΙΣΠΕΛΕΟΝ `ΗΤΕ ΑΒΒΑ	of Abba Moses
ΜΟΥΣΗ	
`ΗΤΑΟΥΩΨΤ ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΕΦΑΥΗΨΑΝΟΝ	In order to prostrate in front of his relics
`ΗΠΑΤΟΥΟΛΦ ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝ ΠΙΣΠΕΛΕΟΝ	before they will be removed from the
	cave
`ΗΤΑΨΩ ΕΡΟΦ `ΗΤΕΦΤΩΒΖ `ΗΠΔΩ ΕΣΡΗΙ	In order to beseech him to pray to the
ΕΧΕΝ ΗΙΗΟΒΙ `ΗΤΕ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ	Lord on my behalf for the sins of my soul
`ΗΤΕΦΧΩ ΗΗΙ ΕΒΟΛ `ΗΠΑΤΕCΊ ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝ	So Christ our God, who has mercy
ΠΑCΩΜΑ `ΗΧΕ ΠΧΩ ΠΕΗΗΟΥΨ ΦΑ	forgives me before it (my soul) leaves my
ΗΗΕΤΨΕΗΖΗΤ	body
`ΗΤΑΧΗΙ `ΗΟΥΗΔΙ `ΗΠΕΦΗΘΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΗ	In order to find mercy and freedom of
ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ ΣΕΗ ΤΕΦΗΕΤΟΥΡΟ	speech in front of Him in His kingdom.
ΖΗΤΕΝ `ΗΤΕ ΠΕΗΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΜΟΥCΗ ΠΔΩ	Through of our father Abba Moses, Lord
ΑΡΙΖΗΟΤ ΝΑΗ `ΗΠΙΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ `ΗΤΕ ΝΕΗΗΟΒΙ	grant us the forgiveness of our sins.

### Commentary

The first translation of the relics that took place in Scetis of the forty-nine martyrs during the time of Patriarch BENJAMIN after the Arab conquest,<sup>17</sup> however, the mass translation of the saints to Scetis were by the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries with the translation of the relics of Saint MACARIUS and JOHN THE LITTLE.<sup>18</sup> The translation of these relics were followed by the translation of the relics of Saint BISHOÏ during the time of the patriarch JOSEPH.<sup>19</sup> In the eleventh century, YÛHANNĀ IBN SA‘ID AL-QULZUMI saw the relics in the monasteries of Wadi Natrun without precisions.<sup>20</sup> This means that by that time the relics were already translated to the monasteries.

O. F. A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt Faith and Life*. Cairo 1970, 182.

<sup>16</sup> H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of Wadi ‘N Natrûn*. Part 1: *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*. New York 1926, 138. A. ARSENIUS AL-MUHARRAQI, ΠΧΩΗ ΗΤΕ ΗΙΧΗΨΨΟΥ ΕΨΨ ΨΨΠΑΡΘΕΗΟC ΗΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΗΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΗΗΨΗ ΝΕΗ ΗΗΕΘΟΥΑΒ [The book of the holy glorifications for the Virgin, the angels, the apostles, the martyrs et the saints]. Cairo 1972, 329–331.

<sup>17</sup> H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of Wadi ‘N Natrûn*. Part 2: *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*. New York 1932, 269–270.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 292–295.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 302.

<sup>20</sup> A. S. ATIYA, Y. ‘ABD AL-MAISH, O. H. E. BURMESTER (eds.), *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church known as the history of the holy Church*. vol. II, Part 3: *Christodoulus – Michael (1046 – 1102)* (PSAC.T). Le Caire 1959, fol. 179r, 227 (text), 359 (translation).

### Conclusion 1

The three doxologies complete each other. The first one starts with the conversion of MOSES THE BLACK till his martyrdom by the barbarians. The second doxology emphasizes his martyrdom and veneration of his relics in his cave. The third doxology discusses the translation of the relics of MOSES THE BLACK from the cave to the church. Hence it seems that these three doxologies were written before the eleventh century.

### Manuscripts including the book of Salamat (veneration)

The book of *Salâmât*<sup>21</sup> (or veneration) has never been studied before.<sup>22</sup> There are several manuscripts containing this rite, which are waiting further study.

From the Monastery of Saint Antony:<sup>23</sup>

- Manuscript of the horologion 183 Lit., 10 x 14 x 3,5 cm, 186 folio + 9 blank, the scribe fol. 69. *Salâmât* for the Virgin fol. 166. No date.
- Manuscript of the horologion, 161 Lit., 8 x 11 x 3,5 cm, 199 folio + 20 blank, dated fol. 199, 27 Amšir 1616 (1900 A. D.), the scribe hegumen Antonius Anba BÛLÂ, Waqf 18 Baûnah 1635 (1919). Folio 155 *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and the saints.
- Manuscript of the horologion 186 Lit., 10 x 15 x 3,5 cm, 161 folio + 1 blank. Folio 134–161 *Salâmât* to the Virgin, the Archangel MICHAEL, JOHN THE BAPTIST. No date.
- Prayers for the Virgin and *Salâmât* 187 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3,5 cm, 177 folio + 1 blank. Owner the monk SURIEL AL-ASSIUTI, *Salâmât* fol. 1–81. No date.
- The great supplications 193 Lit., 15 x 21 x 3 cm, 122 folios + 3 blank. Folio 83–122 *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints. No date.
- Supplications and *Salâmât* to the Virgin, the Angels and saints, 196 Lit., 10 x 15 x 4 cm, 165 folios. No date and no colophon.
- The book of the Psalms, the *Cathisma* 197 Lit., 10 x 15 x 5 cm, 414 folios, the scribe is one of the monks of Saint Antony, the owner is hegumen ‘ABD AL-MALÂK ABÛ MUKHALAS, *Salâmât* folio 397–414, date 15 Barmahât 1549 (1833 A. D.).
- Supplications and *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and the saints, 199 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3 cm, 110 folios + 4 blank, the scribe the monk SALÂMAH AL-

<sup>21</sup> We prefer to keep the Arabic term following the article of U. ZANETTI, *Bohairic Liturgical Manuscript*, in: OCP 61 (1995), 65–94 esp. 90 using the words *Tawzi’ât*, *murâddât*.

<sup>22</sup> In the different books treating the Coptic liturgical books, we did not find any hint about these books cf. H. MALAK, *Les Livres Liturgiques de l’Église Copte*, in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Vol. III. (ST 233). Città del Vaticano 1964, 1–35; O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Egyptian or Coptic Church: a detailed description of her rites and ceremonies observed in the administration of her sacraments*. (PSAC.T 10). Le Caire 1967, 128–139.

<sup>23</sup> Information kindly given to me by my friend Jacob ASKREN.

ANTONY, folio 2 the prayer of the Virgin for MATTHIAS, fol. 21–199 *Salâmât*, date 20 Baramûdah 1566 (1850 A. D.).

- Supplications of Saint PETER OF SADMANT (Butrus al-Sadmantî), 200 Lit., 11 x 16 x 2 cm, 122 folios + 8 blank, the scribe priest PETER (BUTRUS), fol. 21–122 *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 4 Kiahk 1431 (1715 A. D.)
- Supplications and *Salâmât* 202 Lit., 224 folios + 9 blank, 12 x 16 x 4,5 cm, the scribe STEPHEN (ISTAFANÛS) al-Antony, date 15 Hatûr 1563 (1847 A. D.).
- Horologion, Supplications and *Salâmât*, 207 Lit., 11 x 16 x 5 cm, 249 folios + 15 blank, date 20 Amšîr 1556 (1840 A. D.), the scribe STEPHEN (ISTAFANÛS) AL-ANTONY.
- Supplications, *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 208 Lit., 295 folios + 10 blank, 11 x 16 x 5 cm, the scribe STEPHEN (ISTAFANÛS) AL-ANTONY, 13 Misrâ 1547 (1831 A. D.)
- Supplications, *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 210 Lit., 11 x 15 x 3 cm, 144 folios + 5 blank, the scribe the monk ‘ABD AL-MALÂK from Girga date 8 Bâbah 1502 (1786 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 211 Lit., 11 x 16 x 2,5 cm, 125 folios + 5 blank, the scribe priest HASSAB ALLAH AL-ANTONY, the owner the monk HANNA AL-ANTONY, *Salâmât* folios 1–95. No date.
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints 212 Lit., 11 x 16 x 2,5, 57 folios + 8 blank, the scribe HANNA AL-ANTONY, the owner is the monk HANNA AL-DAYRÎ, *Salâmât* folios 1–50 date 1 Bašans 1585 (1869 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 215 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3,5 cm, 155 folios + 7 blank, the scribe ANTONY AL-ANBÂ BÛLÂ, date 6 Abîb 1458 (1742 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 218 Lit., 11 x 16 x 2,5 cm, 91 folios + 1 blank. No date.
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 220 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3,5 cm, 162 folios + 6 blank, the scribe HASSAB ALLAH, *Salâmât* folios 1–103, 16 Tût 1466 (1750 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 223 Lit., 16 x 2 x 3 cm, 129 folios + 8 blank, 28 Amšîr 1195 (1479 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 225 Lit., 11 x 15 x 3,5 cm, 151 folios + 2 blank, the owner hegumen GIRGIS AL-MANŠÂWÎ, date 3 Baûnah (no year).
- Supplications Anba PETER FROM SADMANT (BUTRUS AL-SADMANTÎ), 10 x 15 x 3,5 cm, 136 folios + 3 blank, the owner is the monk MINÂ the disciple of the patriarch Anba JOHN (YUÂNIS). Folios 82–120 *Salâmât*, 8 Baramhât 1414 (1698 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 231 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3,5 cm, the owner is the monk MINÂ the disciple of the patriarch Anba JOHN (Yuânis),

*Salâmât* and supplications for the Virgin and saints 1–43 folios. No date.

- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 232 Lit., 11x 16 x 3.5 cm, 154 folios + 12 blank, the scribe GABRIEL AL-ANTONY, the owner GIRGIS AL-ANTONY, *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the Angels and saints 1–144 folios, date 1491 (1775 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 234 Lit., 11 x 16 x 2 cm, 93 folios + 17 blank, the scribe ‘ABD AL-MASÎH from Idfu, the owner is the monk PHILOTHEUS (Faltâûs) AL-ANTONY, *Salâmât* for the Virgin and saints, date 18 Baramhât 1610 (1894 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 235 Lit., 14 x 20 x 3 cm, 110 folios + 6 blank. No date.
- The seven great supplications, 237 Lit., 252 folios + 1 blank, 13 x 21 x 6 cm, the scribe is GABRIEL AL-FAYUMI, *Salâmât* for the Virgin and saints folios 164–252. Date 19 Bašans 1376 (1660 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 239 Lit., 10 x 16 x 3 cm, the scribe GIRGIS ANBA BÛLÂ, the owner SERAPHIM AL-ANTONY, 95 folios + 8 blank, 10 x 16 x 3 cm, the scribe is GIRGIS ANBA BÛLÂ the owner is SERAPHIM AL-ANTONY, date 1472 (1756 A. D.).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 240 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3,5 cm, 163 folios + 2 blank, the scribe is the nun HANÛNAH the owner is AL-MUQADDAS, date 7 Kihak (no year).
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 241 folios, 10 x 16 x 3 cm, 116 folios + 4 blank, 26 Abîb 1413 (1697 A. D.).
- Supplications and *Salâmât* for the Virgin and saints, 243 Lit., 102 folios + 4 blank, the scribe is HASSAB ALLAH. No date.
- Supplications and *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 244 Lit., 16 x 21 x 2,5 cm, the scribe SALÂMAH AL-AKHMIMÎ AL-ANTONY, 161 folios + 4 blank. Date 28 Tûbah 1565 (1849 A. D.).
- Supplications and *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the Apostles, the martyrs and saints, 659 Lit., 11 x 16 x 3 cm, 135 folios, + 13 blank, the scribe LUKA ANBA BÛLÂ, the owner GIRGIS AL-ANTONY, the date 21 Bašans 1625 (1909 A. D.).
- *Salâmât*, 689 Lit., 8 x 1 x 5 cm, 44 folios, 44 folios, the owner the monk BASILIÛS AL-ANTONY, date 1604 (1888 A. D.).
- The Seven great supplications 722 Lit., 13 x 20 x 4,5 cm, 206 folios + 7 blank, the owner Hegumen BIŠAI AL-ANTONY, the supplications are followed by *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints.
- *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the whole week, 733 Lit., 16 x 22 x 2,5 cm, 147 folios + 1 blank, the scribe is YÛHANNÂ, the owner is FANÛS AL-ANTONY.
- Horologion 792 Lit., 12 x 17 x 3 cm 142 folios, at the end of the horologion *Salâmât* for the saints. Date 27 Tûbah 1647 (1931 A. D.).
- Supplications and *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints, 821 Lit., 14 x 24 x 2 cm, 90 folios, the scribe is Hegumen BIŠAY, the *Salâmât* folios

1–75. No date.

- Supplications and *Salâmât*, 942 Lit., 100 folios + 3 blank. Date 7 Bâbah 1652 (1932 A. D.).

From the Monastery of Saint Macarius 172 Lit., Horologion and *Salâmât*, dated 1881 A. D.<sup>24</sup>

From the Holy Virgin Church, Old Cairo there 82 Lit., Horologion, eighteenth century the *Salâmât* for the Virgin, and the Archangel MICHAEL.<sup>25</sup>

From the Coptic Museum, 237 Lit., *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and martyrs<sup>26</sup>.

From the Patriarchal Library 216 Lit. *Salâmât* for the Virgin, the angels and saints. No date,<sup>27</sup> 214 Lit., *Salâmâ*,<sup>28</sup> 211 Lit, *Salâmât*.<sup>29</sup>

In this paper, we will publish a text from a private collection.<sup>30</sup>

### Private Manuscript with a Salam of Moses the Black

The manuscript is 13 x 18 cm, there is no original pagination and we find only 18 lines per folio. The date, 1566 A. M. (= 1850 A. D.), is given in the Colophon below.

#### Marginal note

وقف علي دير الست فرسنية الملقب بدير الشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس بكنيسة حارة الزويلة  
القوقانية

Endowment for the Monastery of Lady Euphrosine in the Dayr of the great martyr Saint George in the Upper Church of Harit Zuwaylah.

#### Text of the Colophon

كان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك في اليوم الثالث من شهر برمهاث المبارك سنة<sup>31</sup> الف وخمسمائة وستة وستين للشهدا والابرار وذلك اهتم به الذي هو كتاب السلامات والطلبات الذي لست السيدة والملايكة والشهدا والقديسين ابينا الراهب ببشاي خادم دير ستنا السيدة المعروف

<sup>24</sup> U. ZANETTI, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr- inventaire*, in: COr 11, Genève 1986, 33, n° 216.

<sup>25</sup> A. KHATER, O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic Mss preserved in the Library of the Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary known as Qasriat al-Rihân* (Bibliothèque de Manuscrits 2). Le Caire 1973, 42, 92.

<sup>26</sup> M. SIMAIKA, Y. 'ABD AL-MASIH, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*. vol. 2. Cairo 1942, 125, n° 278.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 360, n° 796.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 376, n° 835.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 425, n° 952.

<sup>30</sup> I would like to thank Mr Ayman SAMIR who helped me to get these photos.

<sup>31</sup> Read سنة



بالأبهاث السريان يسال ويطلب كل من وقف على هذه<sup>32</sup> الكتاب ويقرأ فيه ان يسال السيد المسيح قايلًا بلسان فصيح وقلب جريح يارب اغفر خطاياهم واجعل له حضا<sup>33</sup> في مكلوة<sup>34</sup> السمواة<sup>35</sup> مع جميع القديسين امين امين امين.\*

وهذه الكتاب رسم للام العفيفة البكر البتول الذي حملت نير المسيح منذ شبوبيتها الام الراهبة مريم ابنت<sup>36</sup> مريم العذرى ريست<sup>37</sup> دير حارت<sup>38</sup> زويلة فوق خادمة الست فرسينة تقرى فيه وتتغذى فيه الرب الاله العظيم يسعدها بصلوات وطلبات الذين اسميهم مكتوبة فيه امين وذلك علي يد كاتبة احقر الناس واذلها الخاطي البائس المهين الذي لم يستحق ان يذكر اسمه بين الناس حسب الله بالاسم قس [من غير عمل]<sup>39</sup> يقر بهامته الخاطية تحت اقدام كل من اتطلع على هذه الكتاب ان يدعوا له بغفران خطاياهم وكل من وجد غلطة واصلحها الله يصلح شأنه لان الكاتب متعلم لا معلم وهو قليل الخبرة بالالفاظ الروحانية وكل من يقول شيا فله امثاله امين وقف موبداً وحيسا مخلد علي دير الست فرسنية الملقب المعروف بدير الشهيد العظيم ماري جرجس بكنيسة<sup>40</sup> حارة الزويلة الفوقانية تبع رياست<sup>41</sup> الام الحنونة العفيفة المكرمة الراهبة الرئيسة مريم لا يباع ولا يرهن ولا يخرج عن وقف الدير المذكور وكل من<sup>42</sup> تعدا<sup>43</sup> واخرجه من محله بغير اذن يكون مدان من الله ولا ينجا من القصاص يوم الحكم المرهوب والمخالف حاله تالف وعلى ابن الطاعة البركة والنعمة والشكر لله دائماً

### Translation of the Colophon

The completion of this blessed book on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the blessed month of Baramhât in the year 1566 of the pure martyrs (= 1850 A. D.). He who sponsored this book of *Salâmât*, and supplications for the lady, Madonna, (Mary), the angels, the martyrs, the saints, is our father the monk Bišai, the minister of the Monastery of our Lady and Madonna known as of the Syrian fathers. He asks and beseeches everyone who finds this book and reads it to invoke for him the Lord Christ, saying with an eloquent tongue and contrite heart: O Lord, forgive his sins and make him have a share in the Kingdom of Heaven with all the saints. Amen, Amen, Amen!

This book belongs to the pure, chaste, virgin mother who bore the yoke of Christ since her young age, the monastic mother, Mariam the daughter of the Virgin Mary, the abbess of the Upper Monastery of Harit Zuwaylah, the minister of Lady Euphrosyna, in order to read and to be comforted in what it contains. The Lord and great God pleases her with the prayers and the supplications of those names that are written in it. This was (done by the) hand of the copyist, the most wretched among men, the despicable, the poor one and the sinner who is not worthy to have his name mentioned among men,

<sup>32</sup> Read هذا

<sup>33</sup> Read حظاً

<sup>34</sup> Read ملكوت

<sup>35</sup> Read السموات

<sup>36</sup> Read ابنة

<sup>37</sup> Read رئيسة

<sup>38</sup> Read حارة

<sup>39</sup> Written in the margin

<sup>40</sup> Read بكنيسة

<sup>41</sup> Read رئاسة

<sup>42</sup> Read كل من

<sup>43</sup> Read تعدى

Hassab Allah, the priest by name (not by deed) who prostrates with his sinful forehead before those who will read this book, to pray for the forgiveness of his sins. He who will find a mistake and correct it, God will straighten his affair. For the scribe is a student and not a master, he has limited experience in spiritual words. And whoever says anything shall receive the same, Amen!

Indisputable endowment and eternal holding for the Monastery of Lady Euphrosyna, known as the monastery of Saint George in the church of Upper Harit Zuwaylah, under the leadership of the pitiful, chaste, the honoured nun and abbess Mariam. This is not to be sold or to be pledged or to be removed from the abovementioned monastery. Whoever transgresses this and removes (this book) from its place without permission, will be condemned by God and will not be saved from judgement on the fearful day of condemnation. The disobedient will be in a miserable state. The son of the obedient will be blessed with blessing and grace. Thanks be to God forever.

### **Comment of the Colophon**

The owner of the manuscript, Father Biṣai, as well as the scribe Father HASSAB ALLAH are not attested elsewhere.

EUPHROSINA: (1228–1308 A. D.), was an abbess<sup>44</sup> of the convent of Saint GEORGE in Harit Zuwaylah, Cairo.<sup>45</sup> She is considered a saint because of the many healing miracles performed through her intercession. Her relics rest in the convents (*of St George*) in Cairo and Sidi Kreir.<sup>46</sup>

The Abbess of the Monastery of Saint George, Mother MARIAM was from Buš. She was consecrated as nun at the end of the patriarchate of PETER VII (patriarch number 109). She became abbess before the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1847 and remained abbess until her death on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1886 A. D. She rebuilt the monastery and sponsored (the copying of) several manuscripts.<sup>47</sup>

### **Text of the Salâm**

سلام ابينا القديس انبا موسى الاسود بركت<sup>48</sup> شفاعته تكون معنا امين السلام لك يا قديس الله انبا موسى  
يا من تحن الله عليه فجاب عليه فكرة صالحة فمضى الي موضع انبا اسيداروس القديس  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي اكملت وصيت<sup>49</sup> بولص الرسول وتعليمه القايل ندع

<sup>44</sup> For the actual women monastic life cf. C. CHAILLOT, *La vie des moniales Copte*, in: *Le Monde Copte* 16 (1989), 60–65; I. EL MASRI, *A historical survey of the convents of women in Egypt up to the present day*, in: *BSAC* 14 (1958), 60–111.

<sup>45</sup> M. WISSA, *Harit Zuwaylah*, in: *CE* 4, 1207–1209; P. SAWIRUS AL-BARAMOUSY, *Churches of Haret Zaweila*, in: *BSAC* 37 (1998), 73–78.

<sup>46</sup> C. CHAILLOT, *The Coptic Orthodox Church – a brief introduction to its life and spirituality*. Paris 2005, 155; C. CHAILLOT, *Vie et spiritualité des Églises orthodoxes orientales des traditions syriaques, arnénienne, copte et éthiopienne*. Patrimoines orthodoxie. Paris 2011, 293.

<sup>47</sup> N. KAMEL DAWOOD, *تاريخ إبيارشية محافظة بني سويف*, [A Ecclesiastical history of the province of Beni Souef]. Cairo 1990, 268–270.

<sup>48</sup> بركة Read

<sup>49</sup> وصية Read

عنا سلاح المظل<sup>50</sup> ونلبس سلاح البر والتوبة  
السلام لك يا قديس الله قايلًا بامخلص العالم الذي خلص اللص الذي صلب معه \* خلصني انا  
ايضا لانني هربة<sup>51</sup> اليك  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي اقام ست سنين لا ينام في الليل وصنع عبادات<sup>52</sup> كثيرة  
حتى غلب شيطان الزنا  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي كان يصوم دايمًا ولا يأكل سوا<sup>53</sup> نصف رطل خبز  
يابس بملح ويصلي كل يوم خمسين صلاة  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي اعطاه الله نعمة عظيمة حتى انه لم يخاف من الشياطين  
بعد لكم صاروا عنده\* مثل الذباب الطائرة  
السلام لك يا قديس الله انبا موسى الذي حلت عليه روح القدس وخلص المجانين واخرج  
الشياطين من الناس واشفى المرضى وصنع عجائب كثيرة  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي اعطاك الله الكهنوت واجتمعوا عندك خمسمائة اخ  
راهب بدير البرموس  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي اخذت ملكوت السموات<sup>54</sup> غصياً  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي عملت بوصايا السيد المسيح له المجد وارضيته  
بأعمالك الصالحة  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى\* الذي صرت في جبل شيهات قديساً كاملاً وكاهناً فاضلاً  
واباً روحانياً ومرشداً لخلاص النفوس  
السلام لك يا قديس الله يا انبا موسى الذي اخذت الشهادة والبعثت<sup>55</sup> بسعيك الصالح في اليوم  
الرابع والعشرين من شهر بوونة بسلام من الرب امين  
ونسالك يا ابينا القديس انبا موسى العظيم منجل<sup>56</sup> الاتعاب الذي قبلتها على اسم المسيح والعطايا  
الذي اعطاها لك كما قبلك ربنا يسوع المسيح بعد اللصوصية اقبلني انا الخاطي واشفع في قدام  
السيد المسيح لكي يخلصنا من\* تجارب الشيطان ويغفر لنا خطايانا ويجعل لنا معك نصيب في  
ملكوت<sup>57</sup> السموات<sup>58</sup> بصلاتك المقبولة امامه في كل حين

### Translation of the Salâm

Salâm (hail) to our holy father Abba Moses the Black, may his blessings be with us Amen!

Hail to you, O saint of God Abba Moses, who God had pity upon and inspired him with good thoughts. So he (Moses) went to the place of the saint Abba Isidorus.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses who accomplished the commandment of Paul the Apostle and his teaching that says: "let us leave the weapons of misleaders and let us wear the weapon of righteousness and repentance."<sup>59</sup>

Hail to you, O saint of God saying: "O Saviour of the world, who delivered the thief who was crucified with Him, deliver me also, for I run unto You.

<sup>50</sup> Read المضل

<sup>51</sup> Read هربت

<sup>52</sup> Read عبادات

<sup>53</sup> Read سوى

<sup>54</sup> Read السموات

<sup>55</sup> Read اكملت

<sup>56</sup> Read من اجل

<sup>57</sup> Read ملكوت

<sup>58</sup> Read السموات

<sup>59</sup> Perhaps 2 Cor 10:4

Hail to you O saint of God, Abba Moses who spent six years without sleeping during the night and who practiced adorations till he overcame the devil of fornication.

Hail to you O saint of God, Abba Moses who fasted and did not eat other than half a pound of dried bread and salt. And he used to pray fifty prayers.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses to whom God granted the great grace of no longer fearing devils, but rather they became to him like flies.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses upon whom the Holy Spirit came upon and through whom devils were cast out from men, the sick were healed and through whom the Lord performed miracles.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses, to whom God granted priesthood and five hundred brethren, the monks of the Monastery of Baramûs assembled before him.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses who received rightfully the kingdom of Heaven.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses who practiced the commandments of the Lord Christ, for you pleased Him with your good deeds.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses who became a perfect saint in Scetis, a virtuous priest, a spiritual father, and a guide for the salvation of souls.

Hail to you, O saint of God, Abba Moses, who received martyrdom and accomplished his good fight on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Baûnah, in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

And we beseech you, O our holy father, Abba Moses the Great, because of the pains that you received for the sake of the name of Christ and the gifts that our Lord Jesus Christ bestowed upon you after.

Receive me, the sinner, and intercede for me in front of the Lord Christ to save me from the temptations of the devil. And forgive my sins and make for me a share in the kingdom of Heaven through your accepted prayers in front of Him all the time.

### ***Comment of the Salâm***

The author of this *Salâm* had access to the Life (in Arabic?) of MOSES THE BLACK as the biographical information is correct; such as the reference to his spiritual father ISIDORUS, and his ordination as a priest.

The author seems to have been a monk, hence he stressed on the ascetic practices of the saint such as fasting, prayers and his power to perform miracles. The text did not give reference to the relics of Saint MOSES THE BLACK but mentions of monks of the Monastery of Baramûs; perhaps here inferring the location of where his relics rest.

### ***Conclusion 2***

The hymnology of the Coptic Church may rightly be described as a vast virgin forest beyond whose confines very few Coptic and liturgical scholars have penetrated.<sup>60</sup> These texts published here shed light once more about an unknown liturgical text. These texts contribute not only to our liturgical information, but also to the history of the monasteries.

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<sup>60</sup> O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Tûrûhat of the saints, Tût, Bâbah, Hatûr*, in: BSAC 4 (1938), 141–194.



Photo showing the first page of the Salam from the manuscript of the church of Dayr Bayd Bani Sueif



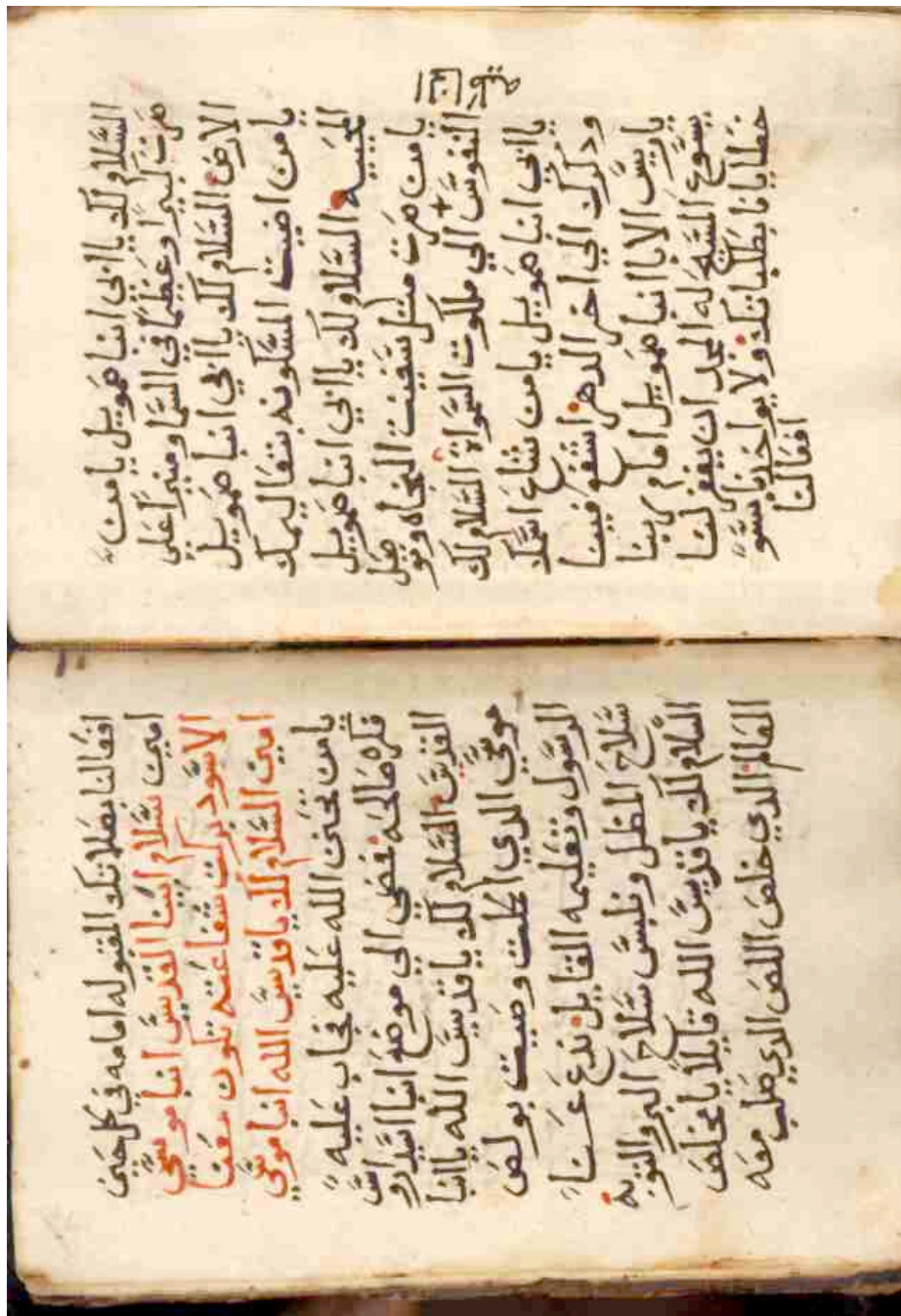


Photo showing the Salam from the manuscript of the church of Virgin Mary Bani Sueif

خلصني انا ايضا لان هبة الكثرة السلام  
 لك يا قدس الله يا انبا موشي الذي  
 اقام سنتين لابن في الليبار في  
 غدا كتمته حتي غلب شيطان الزنا  
 السلام لك يا قدس الله يا انبا موشي  
 الذي كان يصوم اياما ولا يأكل سوا  
 نضق ظل خبز يا بس عليه ويصلي  
 كل يوم خمسين صلاة السلام لك يا قدس  
 الله يا انبا موشي الذي اعطاه الله  
 نعمة عظمه حتي انه لم ينجف  
 عن الشياطين بعد ذلك وماروا  
 عنده

عنده مثل الدباب الطاهرة السلام لك  
 يا قدس الله يا انبا موشي الذي خلصت  
 عليه روح القدس وخلص المجانين  
 وخرج الشياطين من الناس واشفي  
 المضي وصنع عجائب كثيرة السلام لك  
 يا قدس الله يا انبا موشي الذي اعطاك  
 الله الكهنوت واجتفوا عندك خمسين  
 اخ راهب يدبر موش السلام لك يا قدس  
 الله يا انبا موشي الذي اخذت ملكوت  
 السموات عصب السلام لك يا قدس الله  
 يا انبا موشي الذي علمت بوضا السيد  
 المسيح له المجد وارضيه يا نعم لك العالم  
 السلام لك يا قدس الله يا انبا موشي

Photo showing the Salam from the manuscript of the church of Virgin Mary Bani Sueif



الذي صرّ في جبل شهباء قد يسبّ  
كاملًا كما هنا فأفلا وأباروخا نيا ومرشد  
لخلاص النفوس السلام لك يا قديس الله  
يا ابننا موني الذي اخذت الشهاد  
والبعمت بسقيك المالح في اليوم الرابع  
والعشر من شهر يورده نسله من  
الرب امين ونسأ لك يا ابننا القديس  
اننا موني العظم مغل الانقاب الذي  
قبلنا علي اسم المسيح والعطايا الذي  
اعطاها لك وعطايتك ربنا يسوع المسيح  
بعد اللصوصيه اقبلنا اننا الخاطي  
واسق في قدوم السيد المسيح لكي نخلصنا  
من

من تجار الشيطان ويغفر لنا خطايانا  
ويجعل لنا مقلد نصيب في ملكوت السموات  
بصلواتك المقبولة امامه في كل حين امين  
**سلام ايسا القديس العظم ابو خمس**  
**القيصر المبارك كانه تلو من**  
**الكاتب السلام لك يا ابننا القديس ابو**  
**يخس الذي صار مبنا وخلاص نفوسنا**  
لاجل تعاليمك الطاهرة السلام لك يا ابننا  
ابو يخس الذي صرّ تحت طاعة ابيك  
الشيخ الروحاني ابننا بمويه ختي جريدك  
يكل يرين السلام لك يا ابننا القديس  
ابو يخس الذي مغل صبرك العظم ثابته  
ابيك عما قال مخلصنا له الجود الكليم

Photo showing the Salam from the manuscript of the church of Virgin Mary Bani Sueif