Coptic Bohairic liturgical texts relating to Abbā Samuel of Kalamūn and Julius of Akfahs*

[Textos litúrgicos coptos bohaíricos concernientes a Abbā Samuel de Kalamūn y Julius de Akfahs]

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Resumen: La figura de Julius de Akfahs como biógrafo de mártires y el papel clave desempeñado por Samuel de Kalamūn en el monasticismo egipcio del siglo VII son de enorme importancia. Con el objetivo de valorar cómo evolucionó la veneración tributada a ambos ofrecemos todos los textos litúrgicos relacionados con ellos acompañados de comentarios a los mismos.

Abstract: The figure of Julius of Akfahs as a biographer of the martyrs, as well as the key role played by Samuel of Kalamun in seventh-century Egyptian monasticism are of great importance. In order to evaluate the evolution of the veneration accorded to both we provide all the relevant liturgical texts, along with commentaries on them.

Palabras Clave: Copto. Hagiografía. Liturgia. Mártir. Monasticismo.

Key Words: Coptic. Hagiography. Liturgy. Martyr. Monasticism.

علثي

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I. Samuel of Kalamūn

Samuel of Kalamūn is one of the most important figures of Egyptian Monasticism in the sixth/seventh centuries. However, there are only a few studies dedicated to this important figure.¹

Samuel is not only recognized as founder of the Monastery of Kalamūn but also as an opponent to the Council of Chalcedon and the monothelism of Cyrus. In a previous study² I have highlighted the role played by this Monastery in the fifteenth century for the translation of relics. The Monastery was abandoned at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, long before the monastic revival occurred by the end of the nineteenth century.³ In the present article I shall discuss the Coptic liturgical texts relating to Samuel of Kalamūn. It is important to note that Liturgy reflects the situation of the Church, hence, the liturgical texts relating to Samuel of Kalamūn were written before the destruction of his Monastery, that is, before the fifteenth century or earlier.⁴

1. Doxology I and the manuscript BnF Copte 34

This doxology occurs in the three manuscripts described by Yassa Abd al-Masih⁵ and the manuscript Copte 34 from the Bibliothèque Nationale of France⁶.

The Paris codex ("volume en 402 feuillets, le feuillet 351 est blanc, juin 1889") is made up of several manuscripts bound together, written by more

A. ALCOCK, "Samū'il of Qalamūn, Saint", in CE 7 (1991), pp. 2092-2093; R.-G. COQUIN, M. MARTIN, S.J.P. GROSSMANN, "Dayr Anbā Samū'il of Qalamūn", in CE 3 (1991), pp. 758-760.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "The Monastery of Qalamun during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", in Gawdat GABRA (ed.), Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis. Essays from the 2004 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society in Honor of Martin Krause (Cairo – New York: Saint Mark Foundation, the American University in Cairo Press, 2005), pp. 91-102.

O. MEINARDUS, Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts (Cairo: The American University in Cairo, 2002), p. 149.

⁴ Cf. the two hymns commemorating the monks (see Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Contribution of a Coptic liturgical text to the history of the Egyptian monasticism", BSAC 41 [2002], pp. 71-76).

⁵ Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", BSAC 8 (1942), p. 57.

⁶ L. DELAPORTE, Catalogue sommaire des manuscripts coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Première partie. Manuscrits Bohaïriques (Paris, 1912), pp. 72-73, number 87.

than four hands. The contents of the codex are disparate, such as the Psalmodia, the Ṭurūḥāt, the Rite of the Genuflection, hymns, the Rite of Marriage, the Apocalypse, Canons for the Monks, and so on.

Some texts are written only in Coptic while others are written only in Arabic; sometimes we have a Coptic text followed by a translation.

The pagination is in Coptic cursive letter on the recto of the page starting from fol. 3, and there are two further modern paginations.

Some of the psalis are attributed to Nicodemus,⁷ which indicates that some parts of the manuscript were written in the seventeenth/eighteenth centuries; furthermore, there is a colophon saying that part of the manuscript was copied in the early seventeenth century.

The following colophon occurs in fol. 342v:

تم وكمل الابوغالمس المقدسة والقانون التاسع من قوانين الموتمنية والقرا والحاشية من سفر الوايين من التوراة بعون الله تعالى وكان للشهدا الاطهار السعدت الابرار بركة صلواتهم معنا امين ĀTKŞ الفراغ من ذلك يوم الخميس المبارك عاشر شهر توت المبارك سنة

"The Apocalypse and the ninth canon of the *mūtamanian*⁸ Canons as well as the reading and the margin of the book of the Leviticus from the Pentateuch have been completed and finished by the help of the High God, on the blessed Thursday, the 10th day of the month Babah in the year 1326 EM (=1610 AM) of the pure, joyous, righteous martyrs; let the blessing of their prayers be with us. Amen."

Cf. Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Nicodème auteur des psalies", OCP 60 (1994), pp. 625-633.

Oncerning al-Mu'tamn ibn al-'Assāl, Coptic author, cf. G. GRAF, GCAL, II, pp. 407-414; Khalil Samir Khalil., Al-Ṣāfī Ibn al-'Assāl. Brefs chapîtres sur la Trinité et l'Incarnation, col. «Patrologia Orientalis» 42 [N 192] (Paris, 1985), pp. 621[9]-648-[36].

Our text is in fol. 115v.

1.1. Text and Translation

- ІНС ПХС ПФНЫ УНФТ ЕТСИАРМОУТ ВЕН ОУМЕФИНІ АЦТ УНОУХАРІСМА УНАВВА САМОУНА НЕМ ОУМІФТ УНПАРРИСІА
- АСТАЛКО `НОУОН НІВЕН ЕТІВШІ АСІОЎІ `ННІДЕНШИ ВВОЛ 21ТЕН ПІФШРІВ ЕВОЛ `НТЕ НЕСІХІХ НА2РАСІ НФ† ПІДГАФОС
- ефски ирин нівен исекотоў упсеерметаноін
- ТШВЗ НПКС ЕЗРНІ ПАКС НІШТ НДІКЕОС АВВА САМОЎНА ПІОМОЛОГІТНО НТЕЦ
- Jesus *Christ* the truly blessed Son of God gave *Charisma* to our father Abba Samuel and great *favour*⁹
- He healed all the sick (people) and he cast the devil out by the spreading out of arms before the Good God
- Teaching everyone to return and to *repent* so they might receive forgiveness of their sins from God, who is the lover of mankind
- Pray for us, my righteous lord, father Abba Samuel the *Confessor*, that He...

1.2. Commentary

Even if the manuscript is quite late, it contains several important features. If the doxology of Elijah the Prophet was written before the destruction of the Monastery of Elijah in Scetis, ¹⁰ we may assume that there was also a reason for the composition of the doxology of Samuel.

The first stanza resembles the conclusion of the *Life of Samuel*:

 ш оунр не нехарісна нтаущите еводгітоотц мппетоуаав апа самоуна: аанфис а пенеішт наікаюс бноуноб мпаррнсіа наррй пноуте нідки нан евод нненнові

⁹ Literally "Free speech".

Youhanna Nessim Yousser, "A doxology of St Elijah", BSAC 44 (2005), pp. 93-104.

 How great are the *graces*, which came forth from the holy Abba Samuel. Truly our *righteous* father has found great *favour* before God, that He should forgive our sins¹¹

This doxology occurs also in three manuscripts used by Yassa Abd al-Masih. The biographical data relating to Samuel of Kalamūn are nearly absent, while the other doxology (Doxology II) mentions his life in Scetis, his struggle with the *magistrianus*, his exile to Kalamūn, his captivity by the Barbarians, and his return back. This doxology depicts him only as a miracle performer.

It seems that this doxology was written on the occasion of the consecration of the wall painting of Saint Samuel of Kalamūn in the Keep of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the sixteenth century. ¹³ It is possible that only the first stanza was taken from an old text and the other stanza was added later. It is likewise reasonable to think that this doxology was also composed before the destruction of the Monastery of Saint Samuel by the end of the fifteenth century. ¹⁴

2. Doxology II and text

The first edition of the book of the *Psalmodia* edited by R. Tukhi¹⁵ did not include the doxology of Samuel of Kalamūn for dogmatic reasons. The first Coptic Orthodox edition of the *Psalmodia*, printed in Alexandria in the year 1908, was to the crédito of Mina al-Baramusi; however, he did not include the doxology of Samuel. The first edition including the doxology of Samuel of Kalamūn is the edition of the *Psalmodia* by K. Labib printed in Cairo in 1908. ¹⁶ This edition was based on the copies of the manuscripts of the

A. ALCOCK, The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1983), p. 37:8.

¹² Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", BSAC 8 (1942), p. 57.

Gawdat GABRA, Coptic Monasteries – Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture (Cairo – New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), pp. 61-62.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "The Monastery of Qalamun", pp. 91-102.

Rushdi AL-TUKHI, CE 7, pp. 2067b-2068b. The Psalmodia was printed by him in the year 1764

¹⁶ K. LABIB, Al-Absalmudiyāt al-sanawiyyāt al-muqaddasa (Cairo, 1908).

Patriarch Cyril \mathbf{V}^{17} and Bishop Isaac of Behnasa and Bani Sueif. The text reads as follows: 18

- хере пенішт авва самоуна пініфт зен ніагіос фнетасірі `нзанніфт наретн зен птфоу ите фізнт
- жере пения авва самочна фнетаффа унцтонос
 жере пения авва самочна фнетаффа унцтонос
- EURE PAI AUSOXI 'NCWQ 'NXE MAKICATPIANOC TIACEBHC OYO2 AQ'I 2A ПТШОҮ 'NKAAAMON NEM $\overline{\Lambda}$ 'NCWTП 'ММОНАХОС
- авва самоуна пюмологітне `нөоц ацеррупомонін єжен ніжісі `нте підіштмос нен †ехналшсіа `нте ніварварос
- ХЕРЕ ПЕНІШТ АВВА САМОЎНА ФНЕТАЦІРІ НЕМ 2АНШФНРІ ОЎО2 АЦРТАА6О `НИНЕТШШНІ ЗЕН ПІМОНАСТИРІОН НЕМ ФВАКІ `НИІВАРВАРОС
- хере пеншт авва самоүна фнетацффпі `ншт `ннант нем оүрец†свф `нагафос `ннецфнрі `мнонахос
- Хере пенішт авва Самоүна фнетацерніці темацій жен тфе нем зіхен піказі жатен фт нем ніршмі
- ТФВ2 МПСС ӨЗРНІ ЄЖФИ Ф ПЕНІФТ ЕӨЎ АВВА САМОЎНА ПІОМОЛОГІТНО МЕМ МЕДФИРІ "ММОМОДХОС "NTEQ
- Hail to our father Abba Samuel, the great among the saints, who gained great virtues on the mountain of Scetis
- Hail to our father Abba Samuel, who tore the Tome of Leo and confirmed his brethren in the Orthodox faith
- Therefore the *impious magistrianus*¹⁹ persecuted him, and he (Samuel) went to the mountain of Kalamūn with four chosen *monks*

Mounir SHOUCRI, "Cyril V", in CE 3, pp. 679a-679b.

¹⁸ K. LABIB, *Al-Absalmudiyāt al-sanawiyyāt al-muqaddasa*, pp. 404-406.

- Abba Samuel the Confessor endured the suffering of the persecution and the captivity by the Barbarians
- Hail to our father Abba Samuel, who performed miracles and wonders; he healed the sick in the Monastery and in the city of the Barbarians
- *Hail* to our father Abba Samuel, who became a merciful father and *good teacher* for his children the *monks*
- Hail to our father Abba Samuel, who became exceedingly great in heaven and on earth before God and men
- Pray for us, O our father Abba Samuel the *Confessor* and his children the *monks*, that He [might forgive our sins].

2.1. Commentary

The author of this doxology has the *Life of Samuel* before his eyes. He gives brief and concise main features of Samuel's biography. The text must have been written before the eleventh century in view of the correctness of the Coptic language.

3. Doxology III

There is a Coptic liturgical fragment by Evelyn White²⁰; however, it is hard to determine the nature of this text.

4. Doxology IV

This doxology occurs in some manuscripts used by Yassa 'Abd al-Masih.²¹ It occurs also in MS Paris Copte 123, which is described in the catalogue of Delaporte²² in the following manner:

The Egyptian editions of the Psalmodia rendered this word as a proper name "Makis Atrianus!" Magistrianus denotes an official staff of magister officiorum (see G.W.H. LAMPE, A Patristic Greek Lexicon [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)], p. 819a).

Hugh G. EVELYN WHITE, The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Part I. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926), pp. 139-140.

Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", BSAC 8 (1942), p. 57.

²² L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue sommaire*, p. 84, num 103.

CANONS ET HYMNES (*bohaïrique*) pour les six premiers mois de l'année.

Ms. de 300 feuillets ; 22 x 17 cm. Daté de 1601 E.M. [1885ap. J. C.].

Ce manuscrit est coté, au verso, de A à T; le chiffre RKA est compté deux fois ; SI+ a été oublié.

Titres en arabe. Le nom du mois en titre courant.

Don de la Mission permanente du Caire.

Invent.: Copte 123.

The colophon of the manuscript in fol. 301r reads as follows:

وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك المسمى كتاب المردات في تاسع عشر من شهر برموده في سنة الف وستماية واحد للشهدا الاطهار بركت صلواقم وطلباقم تكون معنا ومع كاتب هذه الاحرف الى الابد الابدين امين والمهتم بهذا الكتاب رييس الدير القمص صليب وناقل هذه الاحراف القمص دمتريوس احد اولاد الرهبان بالمحرق ولربنا الشكر دايما ابد الابدين امين

"The accomplishment of this blessed book, called the Book of Responses, was on the 19th day of the month Barmūdah²³ in the year 1601 of the pure martyrs (= 1885). May the blessing of their prayers and intercessions be with us, and with the scribe of these letters, forever and ever. Amen.

The sponsor of this book is the hegomen Ṣalīb,²⁴ the abbot of the Monastery, and the copyist of these letters is the hegomen Demetrius, a fellow monk in Al-Muḥarraq [Monastery].²⁵ Thanks be to our Lord eternally and forever and ever. Amen."

Fol. 184v-185r

- УИНФИС ГАР ЖЕН ОҮНБӨННІ АДІОУЩОЎ 'НХЕ ПТШОЎ
 УКАЛАНИН ПЕН МЕКПРОСЕЎХН 'НИНІ ПЕН ПЕКПІМЎ 'НАГШН
- Пенішт $\overline{6}\overline{\Theta Y}$ авва самоуна піменріт `нте п $\overline{X}\overline{C}$ пізарма `нте пі $\overline{C}\overline{X}$ оуоз пецзіпеус 26 `ндунатос
- PAUJI NEMAK `NIZE ϕ † \overline{IHC} \overline{INZC} PILAECHOTHC AUTA2OK `NOYTAH `NOYCW† W PIONOLOFITHC
- ОУО2 АДАІК `НАРХІНАНТРІТНС ЄЖЕН ТХШРА `НТЕ ФІОН АКЩШПІ ПІНОУНОФЕТНС `НФРН† `ННШУСНС ФА ПІХОН
- TENTAIO `HHOK `NCHOY NIBEN NEM $\Delta \overline{\Delta} \Delta$ SEN OYPWIC SE OYWOYNIATOY 27 `NOYON NIBEN ETEP2O† SA T2H `H $\Pi \overline{SC}$
- $\overline{\mathsf{TW}}$ ПА $\overline{\mathsf{GC}}$ `NIWT `NACKYTHC ABBA CAMOYHA ПІОМОЛОГІТНС NTEQ
- For verily in truth the mountain of Kalamūn boasted of your true prayers and your great contest
- Our holy father, Abba Samuel, the beloved of *Christ*, the *chariot* of Israel and His mighty *horseman*

²³ 14 April (Julian), 26 April (Gregorian).

Hegomen Şalīb Wahbah was the abbot of the monastery of al-Muḥarraq from 1884 to 1905. Originally from Kom Badr, Sohag, he became a monk in the year 1864 and was ordained in 1870. Cf. AL-Anbā Gregorius, Al-Dayr al-Muḥarraq: tārīḥu-hu wa-waṣfu-hu (Cairo, 1968), pp. 202-204.

S. TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, col. «Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients» 41/2 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1984), pp. 751-756.

²⁶ Read 2ппеус.

²⁷ Read woyniatoy.

- God, Jesus *Christ* rejoices with you. The Lord established you as a horn of salvation, O *Confessor*
- And He made you the *archimandrite* of the district of Fayoum, you became a *law-giver* like Moses, who has the book²⁸
- We eagerly praise you, at all times with David: "Blessed are those who fear the Lord"
- Pray [to the Lord for us], my lord the ascetic, Abba Samuel the *Confessor*, that He may...

4.1. Commentary

The author of this doxology had very little knowledge of the *Life of Samuel*. He knew that he dwelt in the mountain of Kalamūn in the region of Fayoum. And he knew that Abba Samuel was a monk, archimandrite, and ascetic. In order to fill the biographical gap the author of this doxology used biblical images and quotations, such as the comparison with Moses, the biblical image of the chariot of Israel and the horseman, ²⁹ and the quotation from the book of Psalms. ³⁰

5. Doxology V

This doxology occurs only in manuscript OR. OCT. 227 from the State Library of Berlin.³¹ In the edition of the Psalmodia by K. Labib it is mentioned as dedicated to Saint Pachomius.³² It only contains a praise of the saint's virtues without any biographical data.

²⁸ The Pentateuch.

²⁹ 2 Kings 2:12.

³⁰ Ps 111[112]:1.

Lothar STÖRK, Koptische Handschriften. 4: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Teil 1: Liturgische Handschriften 1, col. «Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland» 21/4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), p. 30.

 $^{^{32}}$ K. Labib, Al-Absalmudiyāt, pp. 192-193.

Coptic Bohairic liturgical texts

THE BOOK OF THE ANTIPHONARION³³

5.1. Psali Adam³⁴

- хере апа самоүна піпій тофорос хере пархнгос `n†коіншніа
- хере піпроістос `мпімонастнріон `м†пар $\overline{m{\Theta}}$ є $m{\Theta}$ Оуав пт $m{W}$ Оу `мкаламим
- хере ппрофитис етацфип 21 пфаце `ифри† `ишанинс пфирі `изахаріас
- хере піноноветне оуор `нагшноветне `н†метнонахос `нфрн† `нпазшніос
- хере піремрауш `мфрн† `ммшуснс піархнпрофитнс `мрецсемме момос
- хере пірецсолсел `нте нен†үхн `нфрн† `нантшніос фішт н`нінонахос
- хере фнетациюти `мэрнг эг пираце `мфрн† `мнлас пипрофнтнс ө $\overline{\Phi Y}$
- хере фнетадерфорін 'мпітоуво 'ммні ісхен
- XEDE PHETACCOCEY REN VDETH NIBEN JULE LILIZ $\epsilon \underline{\Theta \lambda}$ JULUAL VALUE REN VELEN PRESENTATION
- хере фнетацемпфа `мффпі `мүүперетнс оүоү
- SITEN NECLEAN LINE LENCMTH AMD EBOY , MNIZYZI , MLE LENCMTH AMD EBOY , MNIZYZI , MLE LENCMTH AMD EBOY , MNIZYZI , MLENCMTH AMD EBOY ,
- итенхіні `ноунаі нем оупаррнсіа `мпекию євод ката пекніф† `ннаі
- ұттен міеұхн

Gf. Gawdat GABRA, "Untersuchungen zum Difnar der koptischen Kirche. I, Quellenlage, Forschungsgeschichte und künftige Aufgaben", BSAC 35 (1996), pp. 37-52; IDEM, "Untersuchungen zum Difnar der koptischen Kirche. II. Zur Kompilation", BSAC 37 (1998), pp. 49-68.

³⁴ De Lacy Evans O'LEARY, The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church from the manuscript in the John Rylands library with the fragments of a Difnar recently discovered at the Dêr Abû Makâr in the Wadî n-Natrun (London, 1926), I, p. 80.

- Hail to Abba Samuel, the Spirit Bearer. Hail to the leader of the Community
- *Hail* to the *Abbot* of the *Monastery* of the Holy *Virgin* in the mount of Kalamūn
- *Hail* to the *prophet* who was in the desert like John the son of Zachariah
- *Hail* to the *law-giver* and *the fighter* for monasticism like Pachomius
- *Hail* to the one who was meek like Moses *the high-prophet*, who established the *law*
- *Hail* to the one who comforted our *souls* like Antony, the father of the *monks*
- *Hail* to the one who dwelt in the desert like Elijah the holy *prophet*
- Hail to the one who remained pure from his childhood to his death
- Hail to the one who is adorned by all the *virtues* of the Holy Spirit the *Comforter*
- *Hail* to the one who became worthy to be the *servant* and the wise slave of the Mother of God
- Through his *prayers*, *Christ* our *Saviour* disperses the enemies of the *Church*
- In order that we find mercy and *influence* (parresia) in front of You according to Your great mercy.
- Through the *prayers*...

This psali resembles the praise of the Angel.³⁵ The comparison between Samuel and Elijah, Moses, etc., is also found in another text dating from the seventh century: the biography of Severus of Antioch by Athanasius.³⁶

The devotion of Samuel of Kalamūn to the Virgin Mary is well attested in the biography of Samuel. It tells that Samuel left the mount of Naklun on the

³⁵ A. ALCOCK, *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun*, p. 34:41.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, The Arabic life of Severus of Antioch attributed to Athanasius, col. «Patrologia Orientalis» 49/4 [N 220] (Paris, 2004), sections 22-24.

sixteenth of the month of Mesore, which is the day of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, 37 and an angel appeared to him and promised that the land would be for him. 38 On another occasion, when the brethren started to consecrate the Church in the name of Abba Samuel, Samuel refused by saying "God forbid, rather it is in the name of the God-Bearer!" It seems that Samuel organized a pilgrimage on the feast day of the Virgin Mary and a multitude came to the Monastery.

The Spirit-bearer is mentioned in his $\it Life$ referring to Abba Macarius the Great. 41

ппростос. The superior of the Monastery at Balaizah is usually called by this title. It occurs in the documents from the Monastery of Abba Mena, at Wadi Sarga. This title was current in the Fayoum in the ninth century, as it occurs a number of times in colophons of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts. ⁴² It seems that this psali was first written in the region of Fayoum, perhaps in Sahidic or Fayoumic, before being 'translated' into Bohairic.

"All *virtues* of the Holy Spirit the *Comforter*". According to Cassian, Antony asserted that the seeker cannot expect any one individual to possess all the virtues. Rather on this side of the Second Coming, holy people specialize in different virtues. Some excel at humility, others at generosity... ⁴³ It is important to mention that *the virtues of the Spirit* differ from a text to another. ⁴⁴

It is quiet safe to conclude that this psali was first written in Fayoum as early as the ninth century, when the title *Proestos* was used for the Abbot, and it was later translated into Bohairic. The author of this psali had first-hand knowledge of the *Life of Samuel* of Kalamūn.

For this feast, cf. Stephen J. SHOEMAKER, Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 38, 111.

A. ALCOCK, The Life of Samuel of Kalamun, p. 12.

³⁹ A. ALCOCK, The Life of Samuel of Kalamun, p. 27:9

 $^{^{\}rm 40}~$ A. Alcock, The Life of Samuel of Kalamun, p. 30:33

⁴¹ A. ALCOCK, *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun*, p. 4:4.

⁴² Paul E. KAHLE, Bala'izah; Coptic texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 32-33.

William HARMLESS, Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 385.

⁴⁴ Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Consecration of the Myron at Saint Macarius Monastery (MS. 106Lit.)", Coptica 2 (2003), pp. 106-121.

5.2. Psali Batos⁴⁵

- аднерсі 'нхе пінас 'ннорі зен пітфор 'нте фірнт ад†роф 'норон нівен зен педхінренрен ефнафт
- астинст олоз астинст он умфрнф унограммоли астинст олоз астинства и а и астинства и астинства и а и астинства и астинства и а и а и а и
- \mathfrak{m} шффии $\underline{\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{d}}$ етбосі 'ите пітфоу 'иерифи аутфхі 'инецкаатос яєй птфоу 'икаламой
- ете пенішт авва саноўна пініщ† `мноўі етхир етацфия `мптинос `наешн фнетбаяен етсэоушрт
- ДОГНА НІВЕН `НТЕ НЕНІО† `НАПОСТОЛОС АКАРЕ?
 ЕРШОЎ АКТАХРШОЎ Ш ПЕНІШТ АВВА САМОЎНЛ
- ZWГРАФІН НАН `МПЕКВІОС НЕМ НЕКАРЕТН $\varepsilon\overline{\Theta Y}$ W ПІЗЄЛЛО ЄТСМАРШОЎТ ПІНІЩ АВВА САМОЎНЛ
- а пас ф† піпантократфр оуфрп імпецаггелос захфк ацвімфіт нак зен оузірнин фа птфоу інкаламфи
- ак† `нтекфүхн `ммаіноү† єпіщана нем †ннстіа аущшпі нак `ноутрофн `нпіерооу нем піехшрр
- а піхахі 'мпоннрон незсі зіхшк 'нніварварос аубітк неншоу 'нхмалштос зітен неценергіа етзшоу
- акірі зен тушра етемнау `нзаниніні нем занфирі ф пініф† `нферапітнс `нте ніфухи нем нісфма
- «к†фіпі мпсатанас нем нефаемфи мпоннрон рітен пізмот етфоп немак нем некамоні фа енер
- адфипі 'нҳе оүніф† 'нҳфі нен оүонод зен тҳфҳ 'нҳнні 'нфнаү ета пҳс тасоок епекнанфипі зен оүзірнин
- тава ми<u>чс</u> еаьні ехан
- The young lion arose in the mountain of Scetis; he gives fear to everyone through his great roaring
- He woke up and also slept like a young lion; he runs after all his enemies, who fear him

⁴⁵ De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Difnar of the Coptic Church*, I, p. 81.

- O holy tall tree in the mountain of Hermon, 46 whose branches attained the mountain of Kalamūn
- Who is our father the great Abba Samuel, the mighty lion, who tore the *tome* of the impious cursed Leo
- You preserved all *Dogmas* of our fathers the *Apostles*, and you strengthened them, O our father Abba Samuel
- *Adorn* us by your *life* and your holy *virtues*, O blessed elder the great Abba Samuel
- The *almighty* God, the Lord, sent his *angel* before you; he guided you *peace*fully to the mountain of Kalamūn
- You offered your *soul* to the loving God by prayer and *fasting*, which became to you *food* day and night
- The *evil* enemy arose against you; the Barbarians took you with them as *captive* through his (Satan's?) evil *power*
- In that *country* you performed miracles and wonders, O great *healer* of *souls* and *bodies*
- You put in shame *Satan* and his *evil devils* through the grace, which is with you and remains forever
- There was great happiness and rejoice in the *country* of Egypt in the time when *Christ* caused your return *peace*fully to your dwelling [*manshopi*]
- Pray to the Lord for us...

The biographical data collected from this psali can be summarised in the following manner:

- 1. Samuel became a monk in the mountain of Scetis
- 2. He tore the tome of Leo
- 3. An angel guided Samuel to Kalamūn
- 4. He was taken captive by the Barbarians and returned back safely

⁴⁶ Perhaps allusion to Song 4:8.

The other stanzas praise the courage and virtues of Saint Samuel, and highlight his role as a miracle performer. It is important to note that the last stanza mentions the return of Samuel back to his dwelling [manshopi]. This word was used especially in Scetis since the fourth century to refer to the monastic cells, its literal translation being 'place of dwelling';⁴⁷ in the sixth century it took the meaning of cells accommodating several monks who were disciples of a single father.⁴⁸ It is important to mention that the monasteries of Upper Egypt are called Monacthpion, Tooy, Opoc, Tietpa but never Mangorii.⁴⁹

It is hence safe to conclude that the psali Batos was written in Scetis in order to complete the text of the *Antiphonarion*. The author did not have first-hand information, so in order to complete his text he added a biblical quotation, praised his virtues as a lion, and stressed his role in Scetis.

6. Antiphonarion II

This Psali occurs in the manuscript "Psalmodia 71" from the Monastery of Abba Pishoi and it is preserved at the State and University Library of Hamburg. This text is a version of the Antiphonarion (Difnar).⁵⁰

The Coptic Psalmodia contains also a stanza in the *memento sanctorum* (Magma'):⁵¹

- ТШВ2 МП $\overline{6C}$ Є2РНІ ЄШЕН АВВА САМОЎНА ПІОМОЛОГІТНО НЕМ ІОЎСТОС НЕМ АПОЛЛО НЕЧМАФИТНО $\overline{NT}\overline{6Q}$
- Pray for us Abba Samuel the Confessor and Justus and Apollo his disciples, that...

⁴⁷ H. G. EVELYN WHITE, The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. Part II. The History of the monasteries of Nitria and Scetis (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1932), p. 184

 $^{^{\}rm 48}~$ H. G. Evelyn White, The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. Part II, p. 259.

⁴⁹ P. E. KAHLE, *Bala'izah. Coptic texts*, pp. 27-29.

Oswald Hugh Ewart BURMESTER, Koptische Handschriften. 1: Die Handschriftenfragmente der Staats- und Universitatsbibliothek Hamburg. Teil 1: Coptic manuscript fragments from the Monastery of Abba Pisoi, col. «Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland» 21/1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975), p. 245.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "The Monastery of Qalamun", pp. 111-124.

The book of the *Order of the Church* edited by the late Bishop Samuel, which is based on several manuscripts, mentions mainly the commemoration of Saint Barbara, Juliana and Paese, and Thecla. It is easy to explain this phenomenon: the Church of St Cyrus and John in Old Cairo changed its name to the church of Saint Barbara after the translation of her relics in the eleventh century. ⁵² We find, however, only a few stanzas commemorating Saint Samuel:

- ХЕРЕ НИЙ ЕФОУАВ АПАНСІ НЕН ФЕКЛА НЕН ВАРАВАРА ХЕРЕ ПЕНІШТ АВВА САМОУНЛ ПІОМОЛОГІТНО
- *Hail* to the holy *martyrs* Apaese and Thecla and Barbara; *Hail* to our father Abba Samuel the *Confessor*⁵³

Commentary

This stanza occurs in the manuscript of Alexandria dated 1432 EM (= 1716). It does not reflect any knowledge of the biography of Samuel of Kalamūn. It seems that the author made a compilation of the saints commemorated on that day by grouping them in one stanza.

- Пенішт $\overline{ {\it e} \overline{ {\it e} \gamma}}$ авва самоўна піменріт `nte $\Pi \overline{ {\it x}} \overline{ {\it c}}$ пізарма нте пі $\overline{ {\it c} \lambda}$ оуоз піпрофитне еттаіноўт
- Our father Abba Samuel, the beloved of Christ, the *Chariot* of *Israel*⁵⁴, and the honoured *prophet*⁵⁵

- Commentary

This stanza is taken from the manuscript of Tanta dated 1584 EM (=1868AD) when the biography was completely lost. This stanza is suitable for the Prophet Samuel of the Old Testament rather than Samuel of Kalamūn.

⁵² Cf. Charalambia COQUIN, Les édifices chrétiens du Vieux-Caire, col. «Bibliothèque d'études Coptes» 11 (Le Caire, 1974), pp. 117-120.

Samuel AL-SURYĀNĪ, Kitāb Tartīb al-Bay'a 'an maḥṭūṭāt al-Baṭriyarkiyya bi-Miṣr wa-l-Iskandariyya wa-maḥṭūṭāt al-adyira wa-l-kanā'is (Cairo, 1984), p. 262.

⁵⁴ Cf. 2 Kings 2:12 (said by Elisha when he saw Elijah going to heaven); cf. also 2 Kings 13:14.

⁵⁵ S. AL-SURYĀNĪ, *Kitāb Tartīb al-Bay'a*, p. 263.

In MS Paris Copte 123 there is a special stanza for the Vesper Prayers, fol. 185r-v:

- фолитк унфок жеи однефині ценіфі <u>ефл</u> яввя санодия фиетасічісій, унказта вунфос ефве ціня зф. унорфодоўос
- Truly, blessed are you our holy father Abba Samuel, who fought *well truly* for the *orthodox* faith

For the Matin Prayers there is another stanza, fol. 188v:

- МАЛСТА ПЕНІШТ `НАСКҮТНС АВВА САМОУА ПІОМОЛОГІТНС АЦМІЩІ НКАЛШС ЄФВЕ ПІНА2† НОРФОЛОЗОС
- Moreover, our father the ascetic Abba Samuel the Confessor fought well for the Orthodox faith

For the Eucharistic Prayers there is another stanza, fol. 189r:

- наренате епхс пас жен зансин `ницалнос оуоз `нтантаю `нпілікеос пенішт піншф авва самоуна
- Let us praise the Lord Christ, with the voices of the *psalms*, and honour the *righteous one* and the great, our father Abba Samuel

There is no special psali dedicated to Samuel of Kalamūn in the extant Book of Psalis.⁵⁶ It is important to mention that many of the psalis of that book were composed by late authors such as Nicodemus,⁵⁷ or Hermina or Christodolus.⁵⁸ Only one manuscript of the Glorifications contains a

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⁵⁶ Qummus Philutawus AL-MAQQARĪ, Kitāb al-Abṣāliyāt wa-l-turūḥāt: Wātūs wa-Ādam (Cairo, 1913).

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Recherches d'hymnographie copte: Nicodème et Sarkis", OCP 64 (1998), pp. 383-402.

Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Recherches d'hymnographie copte (2): Hermina et Christodule", in Anne BOUD'HORS, Jean GASCOU et Denyse VAILLANCOURT (eds.), Études

doxology Adam for Saint Samuel. The first stanza is only praise without any allusion to the life of Samuel. 59 The edited book of Glorifications does not contain any hymn to Abba Samuel. 60

However, there is a doxology Adam in the late manuscript Paris Copte 123.⁶¹

Fol. 187v-188r

- а пекран ерсшіт зен ніхшра тироу оуо
2 аү†таю нак `ифри† `нивпостолос
- АҮСІНХШРІН НАК КАТА ФШОҮТ `МПЕК2НТ ШАТЕК ЕТАКОҮШ2 ЖЕН ПТШОҮ `НКАЛАНШН
- ПІМА ЄТА ПКС ф† ЄРНТ `ММОЦ МАК ЄФРЕКФОПІ `МЯНТЦ МЕНТЦ ТВИМА ПОСТОВНЕНИЯ В ПОСТОВНЕН
- ΔK^{\dagger} итек † үүн еөве † омологіа `ите піна † етсоутши `ите † тріас $\overline{69}$
- молитк уноок цеигат яви симоли фи шсфіт
- ФОУМІАТК `НФОК ПЕНІМТ АВВА САМОУНА ФНЕТАЦИЕІ \overline{NXC} ЯЕН ПЕЦ2НТ ТНРЦ
- молигатак унфок ценімі тиву сунолиу муфою ей<u>хс</u> ехми
- $\overline{\mathfrak{A}}$... The hence hackythe abba camoyha highasopithe hackythe abba camoyha
- Your name became famous in the whole country of Egypt and they honoured you as the *Apostles*
- They *exiled* you *according to* the unity of the heart, till you dwelt in the mount of Kalamon

coptes IX. Onzième journée d'études, Strasbourg, 12-14 juin 2003, col. «Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte» 14 (Paris, 2006), pp. 381-397.

⁵⁹ Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", BSAC 8 (1942), p. 57.

On this book, cf. Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Un témoin méconnu de la littérature copte", BSAC 32 (1993), pp. 139-147; IDEM, "Une relecture des glorifications coptes", BSAC, 34 (1995), pp. 77-83. Cf. also Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", BSAC 6 (1940), p. 71.

⁶¹ See I.4.

- The place that the Lord God chose for you to dwell in order to stay with your children forever
- You gave your *soul* for the sake of the *confession* of the right faith of the holy *Trinity*
- Blessed are you, our father Abba Samuel, who has sublime fame in the world
- Blessed are you, our father Abba Samuel, who loves *Christ* with all his heart
- Blessed are you, our father Abba Samuel, pray to *Christ* for us
- Through ... of our father the *ascetic* Abba Samuel the *Confessor*, Lord...

There is also one stanza of Paralexis to glorify Abba Samuel in MS Paris Copte 123, fol. 186r:

- ФОҮНІАТК ЗЕН ОҮМЕӨМНІ ПЕНІФТ ЕӨОҮАВ НАІКЕОС АВВА САМОҮНА ПІОМОЛОГІТНЕ НТЕЦ
- Truly blessed are you, our holy *righteous* father Abba Samuel the *Confessor*, that...

In a late 18th/19th-century manuscript, originally coming from the Monastery of Abba Macarius and currently preserved at the State and University Library of Hamburg, the name of Samuel is mentioned among the great leaders of monasticism, such as Antony and Paul.

- фнетадемоу м'пемь авве самоуна мен юстос мем апеаао недмафитис
- Who blessed our father Abba Samuel, and Justus and Apollo, his *disciples*⁶²

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L. STÖRK, Koptische Handschriften. Die Handscriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Teil 2: Die Handscriften aus Dair Anbā Maqār, col. «Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland» 21/2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), p. 518.

Conclusion I

The liturgical hymns relating to Samuel of Kalamūn were written between the eighth and fourteenth centuries, when the Monastery lost its great splendor. Perhaps some texts were written for the consecration of the wall painting of this Saint in the Monastery of Abba Macarius in the sixteenth century. The quality of the texts varies; some authors had first-hand information of the *Life of Samuel* while others contain only praises.

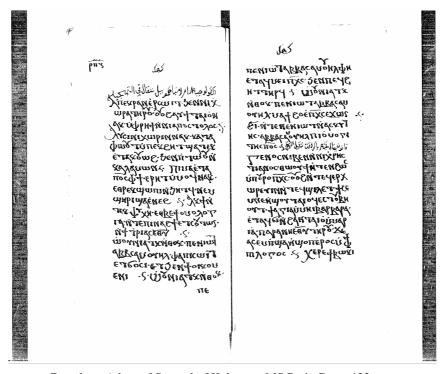
The study of the liturgical text allows us to follow the evolution of the cult of Samuel of Kalamūn as well as the evolution of the language. We can suggest a chronological order of the text as follows:

- Psali Adam Antiphonarion, translated from Sahidic, written c. 9th century.
- Psali Batos Antiphonarion, written directly in Bohairic c. 11th century.
- Doxology II, written in Bohairic and containing many biographical data.
- Doxology III
- Doxology IV reflects a Fayoumic tradition, by highlighting the mountain of Kalamūn and the Fayoum region and ignoring the life of Samuel in Scetis and in the Oasis. It must have been written before the destruction of the Monastery of Samuel in the fifteenth century.
- Doxology I, composed in the Monastery of Abba Macarius for the consecration of the wall painting in the Monastery's keep c. 16th century.
- Stanzas in the Book of the Church Order c. 17th century.

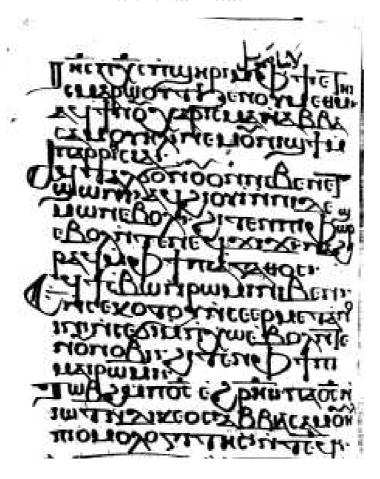
This article shows once again the significance of the Coptic liturgical texts as witnesses to the development of Coptic monasticism. Despite our fragmentary knowledge of the manuscript tradition, we may suggest that the doxologies and other liturgical texts relating to Saint Samuel were copied up to the fifteenth century or shortly later; when the Monastery was destroyed the copy ceased for a while. With the restoration of the Monastery in the late nineteenth century the liturgical texts reappeared in the manuscripts.

وكان الغاغ من الكتاب الميارك المنمي كتاب المواكد المنمي كتاب الموات في سائع عنوس شهر برسوده في شنة الفوضة الموائد والمدلك هذا الأطهار كانت مكوان وعلما أنو الكور المورس المراك مكوالكتاب رسرًا الديرالي مكولت والموائد من المراك المكور المورس المراك والموائد والموائد والموائد والموائد والموائد المراكب ال

Colophon of MS Paris Copte 123



Doxology Adam of Samuel of Kalamūn, MS Paris Copte 123



Doxology of Samuel, MS Paris Copte 34

II. Julius of Akfahs

Julius of Akfahs is one of the most important contributors to Coptic hagiography. According to many texts, both in Coptic and in Arabic, Julius and his servants helped martyrs write their acts. ⁶³

The Arabic texts⁶⁴ mention that he was arrested after declaring his faith, tortured, twice killed and miraculously restored, and killed a third time. During the inquest, the Governor of Samannud and Atripe along with 1,500 people were converted to Christianity and martyred. Therefore, he became a martyr in his own right at the beginning of the reign of Constantine.⁶⁵ This Arabic text was later translated into Ethiopic.⁶⁶

Since there are no Coptic texts relevant to the martyrdom of Julius himself –only extracts at the end of texts concerning other martyrdoms– any Coptic text dealing with his martyrdom will be a new and valuable contribution.

For a detailed study about this author and his works cf. Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, Recherches sur Jules d'Akfahs (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1993); R.-G. COQUIN, review in BSAC 37 (1998), pp. 145-155. For some entries in The Coptic Encyclopedia (ed. Aziz S. Atiya, New York: Macmillan, 1991), cf. Samir Khalil SAMIR, "Abāmūn of Ţūkh, saint", CE 1, pp. 1-2; Theofried BAUMEISTER, "Panesne, saint", CE 6, p. 1880; and the following entries all written by Tito ORLANDI: "Anub, saint", CE 1, p. 152; "Ari", CE 1, pp. 229-230; "Camoul, saint", CE 2, p. 445; "Cycle", CE 3, pp. 666-668; "Epima, saint", CE 3, p. 965; "Hagiography, Coptic", CE 4, pp. 1191-1197; "Heraclides, saint", CE 4, pp. 1220-1221; "John and Symeon", CE 5, p. 1370; "Macrobius, saint", CE 5, p. 1494; "Paese and Tecla, saints", CE 6, p. 1865; "Shenute, saint", CE 7, pp. 2130-2131.

⁶⁴ Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte), ed. and trans. René BASSET, col. «Patrologia Orientalis» 1 (Paris, 1904), p. 290 [76].

Georg GRAF, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, col. «Studi e testi» 118 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944), p. 534. In addition to many manuscripts, such as those at the Library of al-Suriani Monastery, and another one in saint Macarius.

⁶⁶ E. CERULLI, Atti di Giulio di Aqfahs, col. «Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium» 191 (Louvain, 1959), pp. 1-5.

1. Manuscript Paris Copte 123

The description of this manuscript is provided above.⁶⁷ Fol. MB v − MZ v

اليوم الحادي والعشرون من توت تذكار الست السيدة والدة الاله العدري يقال ما يناسب لها في حادي عشر طوبة اليوم الثاني والعشرون من توت شهادة يوليوس الاقفهصي ومن معه تقال K & من بابة ذكصولوجية واطس تقال عشية و باكر

"The twenty-first day of Tūt, being the commemoration of the Lady Madonna and Virgin, the Mother of God, to be said what befits her⁶⁸ on the eleventh of Ṭūbah.

The twenty-second day of Tut, being the martyrdom of Julius of Akfahs and those (who were martyred) with him, to be said on the twenty fifth of Babah Vespers and Matins."

1.1. Doxology Batos

To be said in the Prayers of Vespers and Matins.

- ХЕБЕ ЦІВ ЕТТЛІОЙТ Ф ПІЯГІОС ІОЙЛІОС ПІБЕЛВОНОС етадсаяг,инасми лье ищ
- енве фагаусааг унцедьи 51 пхти унде цтих ахнофс ием фран пфирі 'мпексон ием * пекіос θεογώδως
- нем піг некевіак етаксотпоу акоушрп мишоу Біну , итол , ишмік ин<u>не</u> етаен иютукмол
- ΔΙΚΈΟΟ ΚΕ ΓΑΡ ΑλΗΘΟΟ ΑΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΡΟΚ ΣΕΝ ΟΥΟΥΡΟΤ ХЄ фІФТ ИНІЙ ИЕМ ПОЛУТУКФИ ЕДЕИЗОД
- ТЕНТАЮ ММОК ЖЕН ОҮТМАТ НЕМ ДАУІД ЗАНӨВА НКШВ **ΣΕ ΦΟΛΗΙΡΙΑ ΜΦΗΕΘΗΡΚΡΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΟΛΣΗΚΙ ΝΕΝ ΟΛΣΏΒ**
- \overline{TW} NIA $\overline{\Phi \lambda}$ IOYAIOC ПІРЄМК $\overline{\Phi}$ А2C NTEQ*

As doxologies.

See I.4.

- *Hail* to the honoured *martyr saint* Julius the *helper*, who wrote about the *struggles* of the *martyrs*
- Therefore his name was *truly* written in the Book of Life with the name of your nephew * [fol. 43r] and your *son* Theodore
- And three servants you have chosen and sent *in order to* [give] bread to the saints in the prisons
- Rightly and truly, they called you with pleasure the father of the Martyrs and their entrusted servant
- We honour you with gladness, with David, a thousand times: "Blessed is he who attends to a poor (man) and a wretched (one)"
- Pray, O athlete Julius from Akfahs in order* [fol. 43v]

This text is interesting as it offers several unique features:

- While in the biography of Julius the text reports that he suffered martyrdom along with his sons Theodore and Yuqias, in his icon located in the Church of Abu Seifen (Old Cairo) the two persons with him are unnamed.⁶⁹ Likewise, in this text we find a nephew not mentioned elsewhere.
- Whilst in the various versions of the *Life of Julius* of Akfahs he is reported to have a lot of servants (between 300 and 500), our text here mentions only three.
- The title "Father of the martyrs" is not mentioned elsewhere.
- Psalm 40:2 is not used in the annual lectionary but only during Holy Week for the third hour of Pascha Wednesday.

to be said for Julius of Akfahs"71 خن يقال للقديس يوليوس الاقفهصي

⁶⁹ Cf. T. MINA, "Jules d'Akfahs et ses oeuvres, à propos d'une icone conservée dans l'église d'Abou Seifen", BSAC 3 (1937), pp. 41-47. Zuzana SKALOVA and Gawdat GABRA, *Icons of the Nile Valley* (Cairo: Egyptian International Publishing Company – Longman, 2003), pp. 230-231.

Oswald Hugh Ewart BURMESTER, Le lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte. II, col. «Patrologia Orientalis» 25/2 (Paris, 1943), p. 202 [154].

- АХНӨФС АКЫ 'НОҮТАЮ МФООҮ ПАРА ОҮННӨ ЖЕН ИНБӨҮ ЖЕ ТЕКТМАТ 'НОҮНШТ 'НАРІСТОН ПІАГЮС ЮУЛЮС ПІРЕМХВЕЗС
- еког "ибатьмол уксаяг "инольчэйс экхм "инмол еаоли епекиг
 еког "инольчэйс экхм "инмол еаоли епекиг
- EURE ϕ AL AKXW NNEKERIAIK SEN NLAEKACTHPION OYCSAL NNISICI NNHE $\overline{\Theta}\overline{Y}$ NIH NTE $\Pi\overline{X}\overline{C}^*$
- ПЕКТИВ? ОН ГАР ПЕ ФАІ И ПІАГІОС ЄТСИТП ІОУЛЮС ЄТАКЫ МПІСМОУ НИНЕ $\overline{\Theta Y}$ НТИОУИП ММИОУ МПОУХИРОС
- ешаяе мимол тирол якфиш бак ин мем шекфиы ием шексоп ием иекевіяк тирол елсоп
- АУІ ЄВОЛ ЗАХШК ТНРОҮ МХЄ МНЕТАКЫ МПОУСМОУ ЄУЄР \dagger АЛІМ ЗА ТЕК2Н ЄУШЩ ЄВОЛ ЄУХШ ММОС
- КУУМС УКІ ФУБОН Н*ФООЛ Ф ШПАРЬФОЛЙ ИНЕНСФИР
- Τω Ναθλ ΙΟΥλΙΟΟ
- *Truly* you receive honour today among many saints for your success, O great noble *Saint* Julius of Akfahs
- Caring about the saints of the Lord and being their servant, you wrote their *acts* and kept them in your house
- Therefore, you left your servants in the *courts* an account of the pains of the holy *martyrs* of *Christ* * [fol. 44r]
- For also this is your demand, O chosen saint Julius, when you received the blessing of the saints, to be counted in their company
- At the end you also became a *martyr* together with all your servants
- All those whose blessings you received came up to you *singing* before you, proclaiming and saying:

⁷¹ Cf. Yassa 'ABD AL-MASIH, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church –unedited Bohairic doxologies Γ", BSAC 8 (1942), pp. 33-61, espec. 37-38.

- Welcome to us* [fol. 44v] today, O you who cared about our *bodies*, come, rejoice with us in the life that remains forever
- Pray O athlete Julius

This text offers some important features:

- The text stresses that Julius took care of the saints and wrote their lives.
- Whilst in most of the Coptic martyrdoms we find Julius in person next to the martyr, our text here mentions that he left his servants in the courts.
- In the Arabic and the Ethiopic lives the martyrs blessed him and prophesied that he would be a martyr. In this text we find Julius asking to become martyr.
- The procession of the martyrs welcoming Julius in Heaven is absent from all other texts

"A Doxology Adam to Julius" = د كصولوجية ادام ليوليوس

- хере пін піагіос юулюс акоуарк `нса $\phi \dagger$ ісхен декнеткоухі 72
- акеркатафронін `мпфоү тнрц `нте паікоснос енге текагапн езоүн епецран
- ацерэмот нак `нрандшрон нен ранхарісна ріжен пкарі тнрц*
- [fol. 45r] ογος ογοή μεν νιφηού αμαούωνς εβολ ςως γηθωό μπ $\overline{\text{κe}}$ πεσίωτ νέμ γιιπνά $\overline{\text{εθ}}$?
- ω піагоністне `нте †натеусевне 73 ω піс ω тп `нрецніці ехен †не Θ нні
- $\mathfrak w$ пів $\mathfrak a$ лофорос `мгеннеос `мпівгіос 74 іоухіос пісь $\mathfrak s$ `нпі $\mathfrak h^{75}$ $\overline{\mathfrak e\mathfrak a_Y}$

⁷² Sic, read ΤΕΚΜΕΤΚΟΥΧΙ.

⁷³ Sic, read †μετεγceβhc.

⁷⁴ Sic, read ΠΙΑΓΙΟC

⁷⁵ Sic, read either πικ "and the holy martyr" or `nnuk" "of the holy martyrs'.

- ω піата 76 пі6С ϕ † арізмот 77 нац `ноус ω † нем оурецталью `нте инетирині
- ω фистация 78 срсшт жен ніхшра тироу*[fol. 45v] сове нізмот стоф стірі мишоу
- ЗЯИННОЙ УИТРОС СЕННОЙ ЕЦЕКТАЦОС УЛЕБОРИЯ!
- XEPE IOYAIOC ПІМЕНРІТ `NTE П \overline{XC} ПІ \overline{M} ЕТСШТП ϕ А ПІНІШ \uparrow `NІЩФНРІ
- MOLHITK , HOOK M PHEAL IOLYIOC ZE VKU , HLIXYON EAHHH EBOY MY EHES
- 5іден иі
- Hail to the martyr saint Julius, you followed God since your childhood
- You *disdained* all the glory of this *world* for your *love* to His name
- He (God) granted you gifts and favours on the whole earth*
- And in heaven He will show you also to His Father and the Holy Spirit
- O *combatant* of the *pity*, O chosen fighter for the righteousness
- O *noble athlete saint* Julius, the scribe of the holy *martyrs*
- O that to whom the Lord granted the salvation and the healing of the sick
- O that whose name became famous in all *countries** because of the numerous graces you perform
- Many people come to your church, rejoicing in it at your commemoration
- *Hail* Julius, the beloved of *Christ*, the chosen *martyr* who has attained great wonders

77 Sic, read ергиот.

⁷⁶ Sic, read пета.

⁷⁸ Sic, read фиета педран.

- Blessed are you, O saint Julius, for you received the crown that lasts forever
- Through...

This doxology starts with generic qualifications that can apply to any saint and does not add to our knowledge of the biography of Julius.

However, the second part of the doxology is very important as it shows that there was a pilgrimage centre visited by many people. The centre had a church, which might be the one that was consecrated on the 25th Babah as mentioned in the Synaxarium. However, neither the Synaxarium nor the doxology specify where this church was located.

- ефесос нем ршин нем антіохіа рако†* [fol. 46r] `нте химі †ма $2\overline{\lambda}$ `нка $\frac{1}{2}$ едра
- АПЕКРАН ЕРСШІТ ЕВОЛ'НІЗНТОУ ТНРОУ ПІАГІОС ІОУЛІОС ПІВОНФОС НРЕНХВЕЗС
- EARE ZE TRYMC , MLCMMY , MHM PLOACHOA BMK
- епяає мишоу тироу аушлі `итекафе акерфоріи `ипіхлом ите †иєт ψ
- 21TE1
- Ephesus, Rome, Antioch and Alexandria * of Egypt the fourth *sea*
- Your name was famed in all of them, O *saint* Julius, the *helper* from Akfahs
- For you buried the *bodies* of the *martyrs*, their blessing came upon you up to the third *generation*
- By the end of all, they took your head and you *bore* the crown of the *martyr*dom
- Through...

This hymn is also published in the Book of Glorifications. The first stanza was dedicated to Julius of Rome. 80

"And also Adam for the martyrs who were with him"

- 2анніф† `нагшн нем 2анвасанос пхшрос `нте ні4 6р*[fol. 46v]2 γ пононін 6ршо γ
- наузохзех `нифоу `нхе нюурфоу нем нізугенфи енге фран ип $\overline{\mathrm{MC}}$
- `мпоухатотоу еволжен †2
упоумонн еумиш ехен пран `нте па $\overline{6C}$ ій
С
- еөве фат у ф \downarrow евьюнөни ермол усиу
5мол евоу жен
- « УСОВЬ ИМОХ УНЗВИНЬНОЙ ВЕНЬ ЗАНХУОН УНТУОН ЕФЬОХЕРИЙИ ИМОХ УНБИНЬНОЙ ВИТОРИИ
- 21тен ні*[fol. 47r]
- Great are the *struggles* and the *tortures* [that] *the company* of the *martyrs* * *endured*
- The kings and the *rulers* were compelling them because of the name of *Christ*
- They did not cease (despair) but endured, fighting for my Lord Jesus
- Therefore, God *helped* them, and saved them from all their distresses
- He prepared *thrones* and imperishable crowns for them so that they rejoice with Him in His kingdom
- Through the ...*

79 Atallah Arsenius AL-MUHARRAQI, กระพท พтธ พระเท†พอง ธอง ท†กลровнос พลักรองดับ หนักเออาจอง เหนื หอม พหธองวละ [The book of the holy glorifications of the Virgin, the angels, the apostles, the martyrs and the saints] (Cairo, 1972), pp. 341-342.

⁸⁰ Cf. Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Une relecture des glorifications coptes".

The text here does not have any specific feature related to Julius of Akfahs; it could apply to any martyr.

"Response of the Gospel of the Vesper" = مرد انجيل عشية

- хеье шитф жен итф олоб улсаг уноласт

 хеье шитф жен итф голлос ием иефтиры
- *Hail* to the great among the *martyrs* Julius and his *noble* sons for they buried the *martyrs* and wrote their sufferings and their *tortures*

Commentary

Despite the shortness of this text, it contains the two most important elements in the life of Julius of Akfahs, that is, the burial of the martyrs and the writing of their acts.

"Response for the Gospel of the Matins" = مرد انجيل باكر

- Assemble [you] all *people* who love God Jesus *Christ* in order to honour this *martyr* and the *noble* contender

Commentary

The text here does not have any specific feature related to Julius of Akfahs; it could apply to any martyr. However, it is important to note that the fact of "assemble all people" denotes a pilgrimage centre.

"Canon for the Prayers of Vespers and Matins" = قانون عشية وباكر

• ω міснноу `морфододос амшіні тнроу `мтемршс $\varepsilon \Pi \overline{\chi} \overline{C}$ піаідіос `мдіміоргос пішнрі мф† аднфшс оуор*[fol. 47r] `мтемерфалім мкадшс єфве птаю `мпіафлофорос підшрі $\overline{\varepsilon} \overline{\Phi} \overline{Y}$ юулюс

• O *Orthodox* brethren, come all in order to praise *Christ*, the *everlasting Creator*, the *true* * Son of God, and to *sing well* for the honour of the *athlete*, the holy mighty Julius

Commentary

This text puts the emphasis on the Orthodox brethren that will come to the 'church'. This could be an indicator that the church of Julius was later than the Council of Chalcedon.

"Response for the Gospel of the Eucharist" = مرد انجيل القداس

- марензис $e \overline{n} \overline{c}$ пенноү† и нийны унобөогос унтентаю жен оүөо уны $+ \pi$ нолос
- Let us praise Christ our God, O *Orthodox* sons, in order to honour in the same manner the *martyr* Julius

Commentary: See above.

2. Other Texts

2.1. 'The Antiphonarion'81

לאו אאסC אאא = "Psali tune Adam"

- піятіос юлос пій етсштп олоз півонеос унеоф
- адфип `нредсфтен `нса пінонос адірі `нранрвноуі мпарадозон
- `мперхфа мп $\overline{\chi}\overline{c}$ еубохі 82 `мсфр ауермастінгіон мнор аухофвер зен тенрі
- аq† езрні ехфа `мпірфмі `мвері фнета пбС фаміод ката педзікфн
- піагіос іоулос адерклорономін іннагафон

De Lacy O'LEARY, The Difnar of the Coptic Church, I, p.20.

⁸² Sic, read εq60x1.

- хам уншхуом унте фиети нен пеафий униеныт нен пеасон ехсоп
- ием ф ,ившк ,итял ядаши, ,и№ ядаг ,ииоляфнолг
- АУХФК УНПОУФЕНФІ КАТА ФОУФФ УНФ† ХЕ НАУСВАІ
- еөве фа
і а п $\overline{\chi}\overline{c}$ сяє поуран еө $\overline{\gamma}$ нем фран поу $\overline{\delta}\overline{c}$
яєн тецнетоуро
- HAPOYOYNQ `HMWOY `HXE HAIM XE AYKI HHIWU HTE $\phi \uparrow \phi$
- ауеркатафронін `нпаікоухі `нсноу ауфафні `нпіфня вонні фа внез
- этен иеххн
- The *saint* Julius the *martyr* and the *helper* was from Akfahs
- He was listening to the *law* and did many *wonderful* acts
- He did not deny *Christ*, but followed Him. He was *flogged* and killed by the sword
- He donned the new man, whom the Lord created according to His image
- The saint Julius inherited the heavenly good [things]
- He received the crown of *martyrdom* together with his beloved son and his brother
- And five hundred servants became *martyrs*; they were beheaded by the edge of the sword
- They accomplished their service *according to* the will of God, by having written the *struggles* of the *martyrs*
- Therefore, *Christ* wrote their holy names and the names of their master in His kingdom
- Let these *martyrs* rejoice for they received the promises of God the Father
- They *disdain* this short time and they won the life remaining forever
- Through the *prayers*...

The book of the Order of the Church, according to the manuscript of the Coptic Patriarchate Cairo 73 Liturgy, ⁸³ mentions several hymns to Julius. We shall present them according to the edition of Samuel al-Suryānī. ⁸⁴

2.2. 'Doxology Batos for the Prayers of Vespers and Matins'

- чолонол , ите инеал хмк евоу езьні ехмк шуснол ільнеал хмк евоу езьні ехмк
- DE HISICI ETAKWONOY NEW NIMAPTYPOC $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\Theta}\overline{Y}$ ANOYCHOY KWB 62PHI EXWK WA \overline{Y} HENEA
- жен наг экерфорін нпіхлон 'наташн нте тнетнартурос нен пекшнрі нен пексон нен ф
- ОУ ПАЩАІ ТЕ ННЕӨОЎАВ †НАЩХОТОЎ ТНРОЎ АН СЕОЩ
 МЕРН ТІПІЗЕНС КАТА ПСАХІ ТНІГРАФН
- тшвэ.. піа-мофорос мій нем ине-енемац итецха неннові нан евол
- The blessings of the saints became manifest in you, *saint* Julius the *helper*, the man of Akfahs
- Because of the pains you received with the holy *martyrs*, their blessing multiplied upon you until the third *generation*
- Hence you *carried* the imperishable crown of *martyr*dom with your son and your brother and five hundred servants of yours
- How numerous are the saints! I am unable to mention them all. They are as many as the ears of corn *according* to the word of the *Scriptures*
- Pray, Julius the *athlete and martyr* and those who are with you in order that He forgive our sins.

Marcus Simaika and Yassa '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, Cairo 1942, vol. II, fasc. 1, num. 742, Lit. 73, p. 339, "The first part of the ordo of the Church (Rubrics in Arabic). Contains the doxologies, canons hymns and the responses of the Gospels; Coptic. 198 folios; 23 lines, 24x14cm. Some folios restored. Dated on folio 193v, 22 Tubeh, AM 1160".

S. AL-SURYĀNĪ, *Kitāb Tartīb al-Bay'a*, vol. I, pp. 83-88.

2.3. 'Response for the Gospel'

- Harroy theoly olyelds and then then changed in the heart changes and the heart changes in the heart changes in
- Many are the *afflictions* of the righteous, the Lord will deliver them out of them all. The Lord will guard their bones: not one of them will perish. Alleluia

2.4. 'Response for the Gospel of the Vesper Prayer'

- 10УЛЮС ПІНАКАРІОС Ф ПІНІФТ УННАРТУРОС ЖЕ АСІКФС
- `нөоц нен нецевым нен нецинр нен пецсон аушений `нимартурос аубісмоу евох `нянтоу тнроу
- ХЕРЕ НАК Ф ЮУЛЮС ПІНІФ† `НРФИІ НТЕЛОС ХЕ АККФС `ННІАГЮС ОУОЗ АКФФПІ НЕН НІНАРТУРОС
- The *blessed* Julius, the great *martyr*, he buried the *bodies* of the *martyrs* and wrote all their *acts*
- He and his servants and his sons and his brothers served the *martyrs* and received their blessings
- *Hail* to you Julius, the great *perfect* man, for you buried the *saints* and you became one of the *martyrs*

2.5. 'Glorification'

A hymn to be said during the Glorifications and the Eucharist

- ПІЗОХХ ӨТӨККАНСІА: ПІЗЛОХ ПЛАОС ӨТСШОҮН ӨРОС ПІЗОЛХ ПЛҮМНІН ӨПАЛІЙ ПІЛГІОС ІОУЛІОС
- †НАКІМ `МПАЛАС ӨТХШХЕВ ПАРА ОУОН НІВЕН ӨТ?ІХЕН ПІКА?І ӨӨРІСАХІ ӨПЕКТАЮ ПІАГЮС ЮҮЛЮС
- ДАУІЛ ПОУРО ПІМНОЛОС ТШИК АНОУ ТЕНИН† 'МФООУ ТЕКХШ 'МПТАІО 'МПАІЙ ПІАГІОС ІОУЛІОС
- яен оүкат нем оүсофіа нацергеаліс ебіпроніа нем піоухаї нем †сштиріа яатен п $\overline{\text{кс}}$ яен пецароусіа

- equid eboy edzim , hhoc ze ynok olybictionoc einys1 euzīg ihc użg uñhdi , h φ ynhomo
- тшвэ...підфлофорос імій підгіос іоулюс нен ннефнемац інтецха
- Beautiful is the *Church*, beautiful are the *people* who know him, beautiful is the *icon* of this *martyr saint* Julius
- I will move my humble tongue speaking to *convey* to everyone on the earth about the honour of *saint* Julius
- David, the *psalmist* and king, arises and comes in our midst today in order to tell of the honour of this *martyr* saint Julius
- With understanding and wisdom, he was hoping to get providence, safety and salvation in front of the Lord in His presence
- Crying and saying: I am a *Christian*, believing in my Lord Jesus *Christ*, the *true* Son of God
- Pray... O *athlete martyr saint* Julius and those who were with him in order...

In the book of Glorifications the first stanza reads as follows:

ПІЗОАХ ПЕ ТЕККАНСІА: ПІЗАОХ ПААОС ЄТ-ФИОУТ ЕРОС ПІЗОАХ ПАУННЯ ПЕ ПАІ \P ПІАГІОС НІМ

Beautiful is the *Church*, beautiful are the *people* who are assembled in her, beautiful is the *icon* of this *martyr saint* so and so.⁸⁵

The term "icon" has been rendered according to what was established by G. Godron. 86 The invocation of David the Psalmist is recurrent in Coptic

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⁸⁵ Atallah Arsenius AL-MUHARRAQI, ΠΣΦΗ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΣΙΝΤΦΟΥ 6 ΘΥ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΙΑΓΙΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΝΙΙΝ ΝΕΗ ΝΗΘΘΟΥΔΕ [The book of the holy glorifications for the Virgin, the angels, the apostles, the martyrs and the saints], p. 173.

hymnology to introduce a quotation of a psalm, which is absent from this text.

2.6. 'Canon'

To be said for the Prayer of Vespers and Matins according to the tune of Paul.

- ТЕНЕРМАКАРІЗІН `МНОК Ш ПІАГІОС ІОУЛІОС ЖЕ АКШЕПЗІСІ `НЗАНКОЛАСІС ЄЖЕН ФРАН НІЙС П \overline{XC} ТЕНЕРХШРЕЧІН МЕН ДАУІЛ ЖЕ ЦТАІНОУТ `НПЕНФО НП \overline{KC} НЖЕ ФНОУ НТЕ ИНЕФОУЛВ НТАЦ
- ₫₫₫
- <u>k€ hin</u>
- We *praise* you, O *saint* Julius, for you underwent suffering and *chastening* for *Christ's* sake. We *sing* with David: "Precious before the Lord is the death of His saints"
- Glory
- Now now

Commentary

The word Canon in Coptic tradition has more than one meaning. It means a type of hymn that should be recited by two choirs, which is the case here. It means also the "canon-law" or codified law governing a church; thus, there are the Apostolic Canons and the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles. It also means a punishment as introduced by a spiritual father, which consists of further prayers or fasting. A canon also means a spiritual plan, especially for a monk.

2.7. 'The response for the Matins Gospel'

• ИНИ ТИТЕ П \overline{XC} АУЕРПРОФИТЕУИИ ЕӨВИТЦ ЖЕ ТИФОЦ

⁸⁶ Gérard GODRON, "АНННИ' 'Portrait' 'image'", BSAC 25 (1983), pp. 1-50; Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "La terminologie de l'icône selon les livres liturgiques coptes", *Göttinger Miszellen* 158 (1997), pp. 101-105.

- *The martyrs* of *Christ* had *prophesised* for you that you and those who are with you would become *martyrs*
- Assemble, *loving* Jesus *Christ*, all you *people* in order to honour this *martyr* and brave *noble*

The first stanza reflects the beginning of the biography of Julius, whereas the second stanza is a very generic one, applicable to any martyr.

2.8. 'Response to the Gospel of the Liturgy'

- евве фаг усстан инок , ихе $\underline{\text{им}}$ избенбас изус ценнол, и иганы , иобвотобос жен ольо , иби, ши разовать и усстановать и из $\underline{\text{им}}$ и изусстановать и усстановать и установать и
- Therefore, Jesus *Christ* chose you, O *saint* Julius, in order to become a *martyr* for Him. Let us praise *Christ* with the sons of *orthodoxy* in such a manner as *the martyr* Julius

2.9. 'Aspasmos'

- хере юүлюс пінакарюс фнетацеваї эмпвюс
- 590000 на 49000
- хебе итк юллос шитф. ун хебе штөлофос ием
- хере мак ω пий мте пем \overline{c} и \overline{c} п $\overline{x}\overline{c}$ хере па ϕ ао ϕ орос юуаюс пий
- *Hail* to Julius the *blessed* (man), who wrote the *biography* of the *Saints*
- Imperishable crowns
- *Hail* to you, Julius the great *Martyr*; *hail* to the *athlete* and his brothers and his son

• Hail to you, O Martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ; hail to the athlete, Julius the Martyr

Commentary

Aspasmos hymn is a variable one, sung at the Prayer of the Kiss of Peace. The third stanza is taken from a manuscript preserved at Saint Antony's Monastery Red Sea, which dates from 1377 AM (=1661AD). The fourth stanza is taken from the manuscript of Alexandria dated 1432AM (=1716 AD). Both stanzas can apply to any martyr, whereas the first stanza from the Cairo Patriarchate stresses that Julius wrote the biographies of the martyrs.

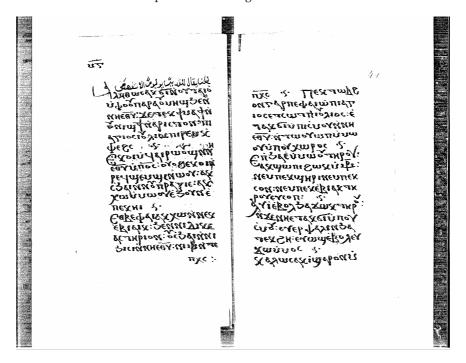
Conclusion II

As we do not have the Coptic biography of Julius of Akfahs, we may consider that the liturgical texts are unique witnesses of his Coptic biography. Some stanzas are taken from the commemoration of other martyrs while others are specific to Julius. We notice the importance of the biblical quotations, especially from the Psalms, which are the meditation of the monks. These texts do not occur in printed editions of the liturgical texts as their use disappeared owing to the absence of a pilgrimage centre for this saint.

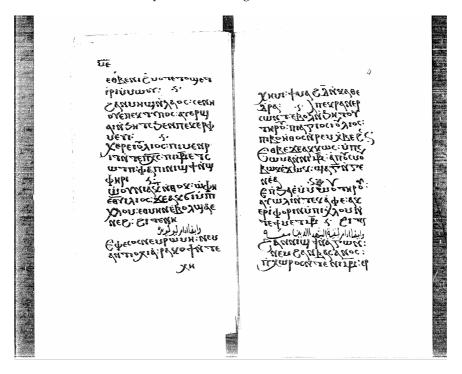
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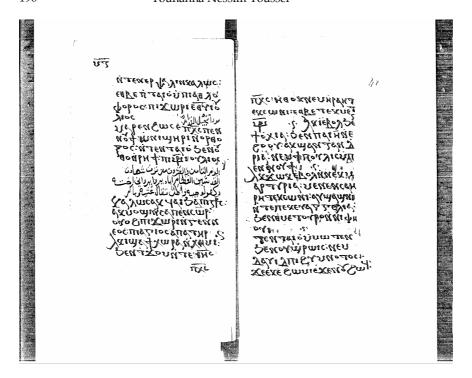
As a general conclusion, the liturgical texts published here show the evolution of the veneration accorded to the saints, as well as the need to write further texts for special events, such as the building of a church or the painting of an icon. The aforementioned evolution does not differ whether the work was done by a monk or by a martyr.





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