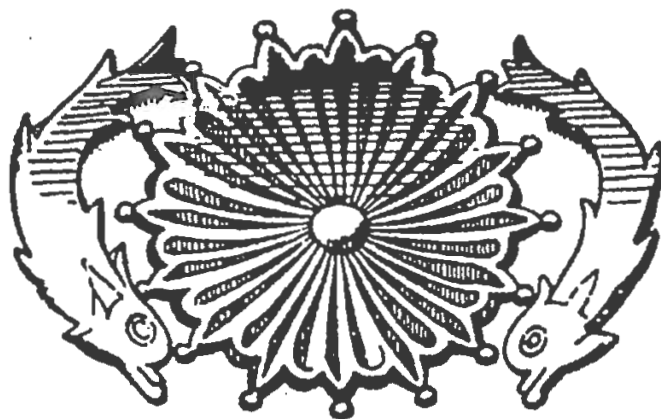




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**TOME XL**  
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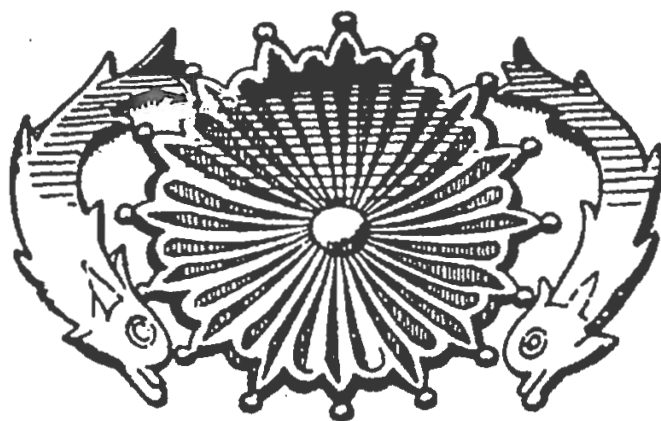
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### Note d'Editeur

Nous avons noté avec regrets l'omission de deux planches qui faisaient parti de l'article du Professeur Jan Helderma, *Ein christlicher Brief*, publié dans le volume *BSAC XXXIX* (2000) pp. 119-122. Nous insérons donc ces deux planches (A et B) à la fin du présent volume. Nos lecteurs pourront les détacher et les placer dans le volume précédent. Professeur Helderma nous informe que ces photographies ont été prises par le «Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen» à Amsterdam. Le manuscrit est écrit *recto* et *verso* avec le texte Bohairic/Arabe de 2 Kor., 6,18<sup>b</sup>-7,5 *recto* (avec un mot au *verso*: 2AN2O†) et 2 Kor., 7,5-10 *verso*.

L'Editeur

LA SOCIETE D'ARCHEOLOGIE COPTE  
DEDIE LE PRESENT VOLUME A LA MEMOIRE DE  
ANBA GREGORIOS

MEMBRE DE SON CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION  
EVEQUE EN CHARGE DES HAUTES ETUDES  
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IN MEMORIAM  
ANBA GREGORIOS  
(1919 - 2001)

ΑΠΑΨΗΤ ΜΕΝ ΜΚΑΨ ΧΕ ΔΥΨΙ  
ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΟΟΤ  
Mon cœur est triste, car un ange  
m'a été enlevé  
(*Règle de Moïse d'Abydos*)

Le présent volume devait aller sous-presse quand nous avons appris la nouvelle de la disparition, le lundi 22 octobre, d'Anba Gregorios, Évêque en charge des Hautes Études Théologiques, de la Culture Copte et de la Recherche scientifique, membre du Conseil d'Administration de notre Société depuis vingt deux ans. Le Conseil d'Administration a aussitôt décidé de dédier à sa mémoire ce volume, qui par une étrange coïncidence, comprend le dernier chapitre du premier volume de sa thèse monumentale « Greek Loan words in Coptic ».<sup>1</sup>

Ceux qui ont connu Anba Gregorios se souviendront de cet être d'élite dont la bonté infinie et la simplicité extraordinaire ne parvenaient pas à cacher un esprit d'une intelligence vive et d'une vaste culture.

Wahib Attallah Girgis naquit le 13 octobre 1919 à Assouan. En 1939, il obtint sa licence en Sciences Théologiques du Collège Cléricale, et en 1944, sa licence en Philosophie, *summa cum laude*, de la Faculté des Lettres, Université Fouad I<sup>er</sup> (Université du Caire). Il commença alors une carrière d'enseignant en Théologie et Philosophie au Collège Clérical du Caire, pour parvenir, en 1952 au poste de député du Doyen du Collège.

En cours de cette carrière, il trouva le temps d'obtenir en 1951, un diplôme d'Archéologie de l'Institut d'Archéologie Égyptienne, de l'Université du Caire. Enfin, en 1955, il obtint le doctorat en Coptologie de l'Université de Manchester pour sa thèse: « Greek Loan Words in Coptic », thèse considérée à l'époque comme ayant posé un jalon important dans l'étude de la langue copte. Il devint alors chef du département de Théologie de l'Institut des Hautes Études Coptes au Caire.

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<sup>1</sup> Les sept autres chapitres ont été publiés dans les nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23 et 30 du *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte (BSAC)*.

Sa vocation religieuse profonde le conduisit à être ordonné Archidiacon en 1959, et à joindre le monastère de al-Moharraki, en 1962, sous le nom de Bakhoum al-Moharraqi. En 1963, il fut ordonné prêtre et nommé secrétaire de Kyrillos VI, Patriarche d'Alexandrie. Enfin, en 1967, il fut ordonné Evêque en charge des Hautes Études Théologiques, de la Recherche Scientifique et de la Culture Copte, sous le nom de Anba Gregorios.

Anba Gregorios publia un nombre imposant de livres dans les domaines de la Coptologie, la Philosophie et la Théologie.<sup>2</sup> Il représenta d'autre part l'Église Copte Orthodoxe auprès de nombreuses institutions oecuméniques internationales, telles que le World Council of Churches, le Middle Eastern Council of Churches et le All Africa Council of Churches. Il participa à plus d'une centaine de conférences nationales et internationales, dans des domaines tant religieux que séculaires.

Anba Gregorios joignit notre Conseil d'Administration en 1979 et apporta une collaboration précieuse aux travaux de notre Société. Sa présence se fit plus rare ces dernières années du à sa santé défaillante. Mes collègues du Conseil et moi même gardons un souvenir ému de cet être exceptionnel qui apportait à nos réunions un souffle de spiritualité toute personnelle.

Wassif Boutros-Ghali

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<sup>2</sup> Nous intenderons de collater sa bibliographie et de la publier dans notre prochain BSAC.

# NEW DISCOVERIES IN PELUSIUM (TALL AL-FARAMĀ) A PRELIMINARY REPORT

BY

MOHAMED ABDAL-MAQSUD, AHMAD TABA'I,  
AND PETER GROSSMANN

WITH A CONTRIBUTION OF HANS-CHRISTOPH NOESKE  
ON THE COINS FOUND IN PELUSIUM

## 1. Excavations in the West of Pelusium<sup>1</sup>

*A curved sequence of large pillars.* In the west of Pelusium (Tall al-Faramā) three different complexes were excavated. The most impressive but unfortunately very much eroded monument is a slightly curved sequence of some very large pillars. They are constructed of fired bricks and their ground-plans are not exactly rectangular, but rather trapezoid in shape with the larger short side, as is logical, positioned at the outer side of the curve. They are not equal in size and according to their arrangement it seems likely that a rhythmic interchange of smaller and larger pillars was intended.

The enormous sizes of these pillars and their curved distribution in the area makes one think that they belong to a Roman *circus* (*hippodrom*), an interpretation which is also supported by the marginal position of the building in relation to the rest of the town. Although it is possible to give a rough idea of the diameter of the curve and the approximate position of its center, there is nothing to indicate where the curve becomes straight again in order to know in which direction the *circus* was laid out.

However, there are certain limits for its possible orientation. A direction with an axis north-south has to be excluded for topographical reason, because further to the south the terrain slopes down more than appears suitable for the construction of a *circus*. With much more reason one can expect an orientation east-west, roughly parallel to the general structure of the area<sup>2</sup>. The

---

<sup>1</sup> The excavation was carried out by the Egyptian Antiquities Service (SCA) by AHMED AL-TABA'I under the supervision of MOHAMED ABDAL-MAQSUD.

<sup>2</sup> Also the *circus* of Antinoopolis (modern Shaykh Abada) in Middle Egypt is not oriented north-south but merely east-west, see E. MITCHELL, Osservazioni topografiche preli-

calculable inner diameter is about 47.0 m, which indicates, that the surviving pillars, if our interpretation is right, belonged to the outer supports of the tribunes, which might then be reduced by about 15 m from both sides. The relatively small *hippodrom* of Antinoopolis has a diameter of approximately 17.0 m<sup>3</sup>, while the inner diameter of the great *hippodrom* of Constantinople is 38 m large<sup>4</sup>.

*The industrial zone:* The second group of ruins situated in approximately the same region, but slightly further to the north and east is manifold, consisting of a number of small furnaces and some different kinds of smaller and larger brick-buildings. All of them are built of fired bricks. The furnaces are all much smaller in size than usual and their inner sides show the results of the firing as traces of green copper-oxide. It seems thus possible that copper was melted here. The orientation of the furnaces is not the same in each case, which means that the constructors of these furnaces did not take care of the direction of the smoke produced by the furnaces.

A rather long wall situated directly to the north of the furnaces might have served as a kind of boundary of the district since it is not completely straight and does not follow one clear direction but forms at the eastern end a sharp corner to the north. Another possibility is that it was the foundation of a small pipeline for water. To the south-west of the furnaces there is a wall about 10 m long, constructed in a rather sophisticated manner by forming in the middle a kind of 2.80 m wide and 0.90 m deep rectangular niche to the south flanked on both sides with broad slightly projecting buttresses. Too little survives of this structure to be able to understand its function.

Among the remains further to the east there is a relatively large circular structure with an internal diameter of 5.4 m, of which unfortunately only the foundation survives up to the level of its concrete floor. It is the largest of its kind in the region and noticeably carefully built of fired bricks bonded with a strong lime-mortar. Also its concrete floor is carefully prepared. It probably served as a silo<sup>5</sup>.

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minari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe, *Vic.Oriente* 5, 1982, 171-179 fig. 1 (no spec. remarks on the *hippodrom*).

<sup>3</sup> MITCHEL *op.cit.* fig 1.

<sup>4</sup> W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977) 64ff. fig. 44.

<sup>5</sup> There are several other examples of this kind in the same region. One of them was discovered in the south-eastern corner of the small complex of Tall al-Faramā aş-şūghāya, see P. GROSSMANN-M. KAMAL IBRAHIM-A. AL-TABA'I, Tall al-Faramā is-sughaya, in: M. ABDAL-MAQSUD (Ed.), *North Sinai archaeological salvage project*. EAO 1992, 1-5, spec. 4 fig. 2; examples

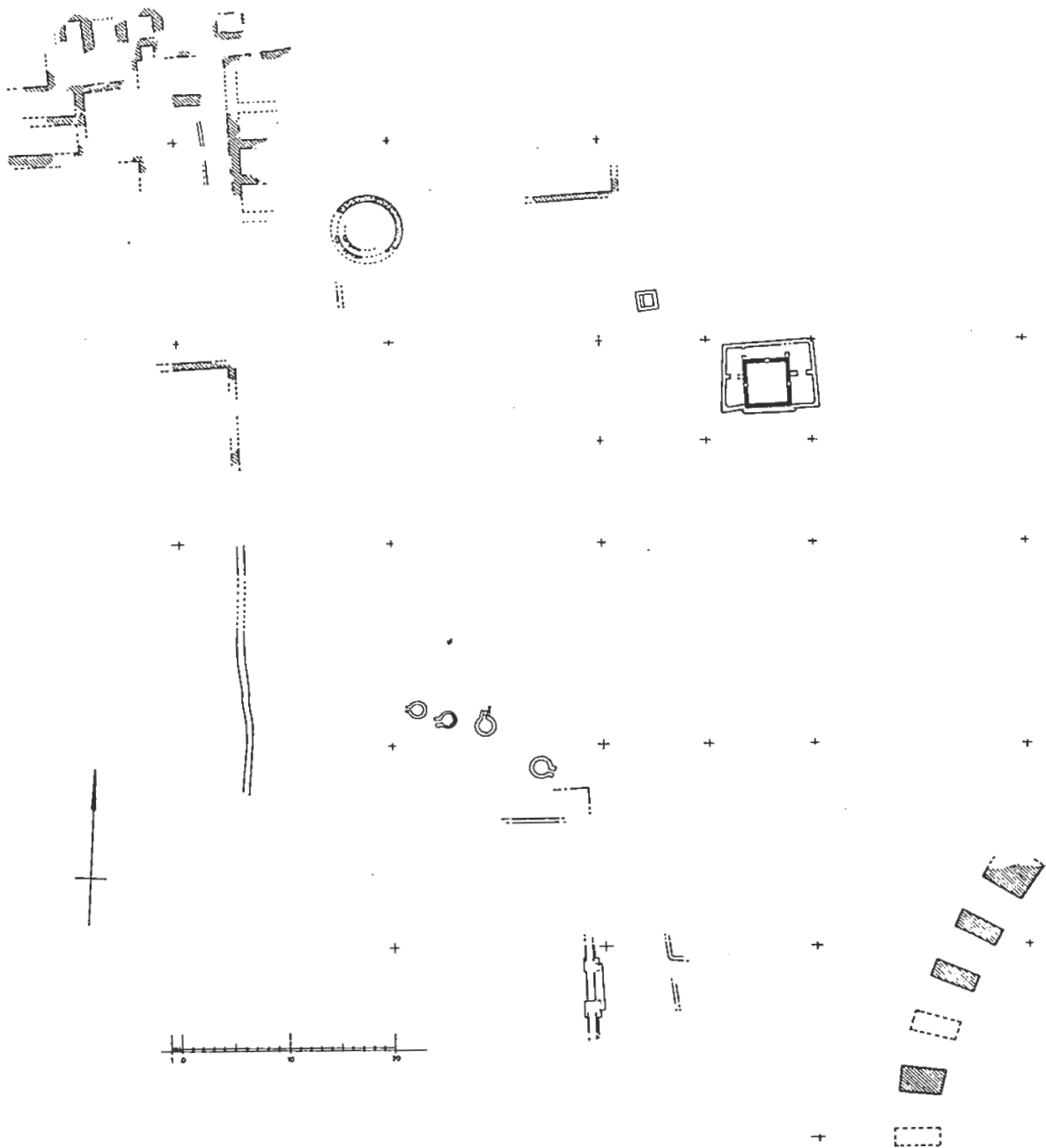


Fig. 1 Building remains in Pelusium-West

The brick walls to the north of this circular structure are rather fragmentary, and for some walls only the bedding of the lowest course of the foun-

from Tell Edfu are mentioned by K. MICHALOWSKI in: B. BRUYÈRE ET AL., *Fouilles franco-polonaises, vol. I. Tell Edfou 1937* (Cairo 1937) 94ff. Abb. 43-44.

dations survives. But apparently all these remains belong to one same building. From its plan one gets the impression that the building contained a small interior court. The majority of the recognizable rooms are rather long and narrow in proportion, as often occurs in storage buildings. The distribution of these rooms, however, is rather irregular. The most famous example is the granary of Hadrian (*horrea Hadriani*) in Andriake on the Lycian coast where however all the rooms are distributed in parallel<sup>6</sup>. A similar structure, but considerably smaller in size is the granary of the monastery of Apa Shenute at Suhag<sup>7</sup>. Rather sophisticated is the arrangement of the different rooms in the two late antique granaries of Karanis in Fayyum<sup>8</sup>. They form smaller units and are subdivided in several equally sized compartments. In our example in Pelusium-West such an arrangement is not recognizable. It is divided in different sections combined with corridors. Roughly in the center the general plan of the building appears to be interrupted by some differently arranged walls. Do these perhaps belong to a later period? In the central area of the building, where we estimate the interior court was located, remains of a small water pipe were observed.

The quality of the masonry is rather poor. All the courses with headers are laid as rowlock courses and ordinary clay was used as mortar. Some of the walls are rather thick, but none is of a uniform width.

To the south of the circular structure, beside a single thinner wall of unknown destination there is a small basin also built of fired bricks. It is exactly square in shape and furnished inside with one step on its northern side. It apparently fulfilled some purposes in connection with the different industrial operations carried out in the region.

*The so-called granary.* The single better preserved structure in the area is a small building, which is generally understood as a granary. Whether it really served as such is not sure. The building consists of two periods. To the first period belongs an almost square chamber. The inner corners are carefully rounded and the walls are everywhere covered with a thick layer of lime plaster. Also at the base of the walls on all sides, where the hard concrete floor is attached to them, the connecting zone of both is carefully curved

<sup>6</sup> J. BORCHARDT, *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole* (Istforsch 30, 1975) 66ff. fig. 14.

<sup>7</sup> P. GROSSMANN-M.A. MOHAMMED, On the recently excavated monastic buildings in Dayr Anbâ Shinûda: Archaeological report, *BSAC* 30, 1991, 53-63, spec. 55ff. fig. 3 (reversed printed), at the time of the discovery erroneously understood as a residential building.

<sup>8</sup> cf. E.M. HUSSELMAN, *Karanis excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt 1928-1935. Topography and Architecture* (Ann Arbor 1979) 56ff. map 18-20; a similar kind of granary, called *thesauros*, was recently discovered by a French-Italian Mission in Tebtynis, cf. M. BERNARD, *Travaux de l'IFAO en 1999-2000*, *BIFAO* 100, 2000, 443-575, spec. 517ff. fig. 9.

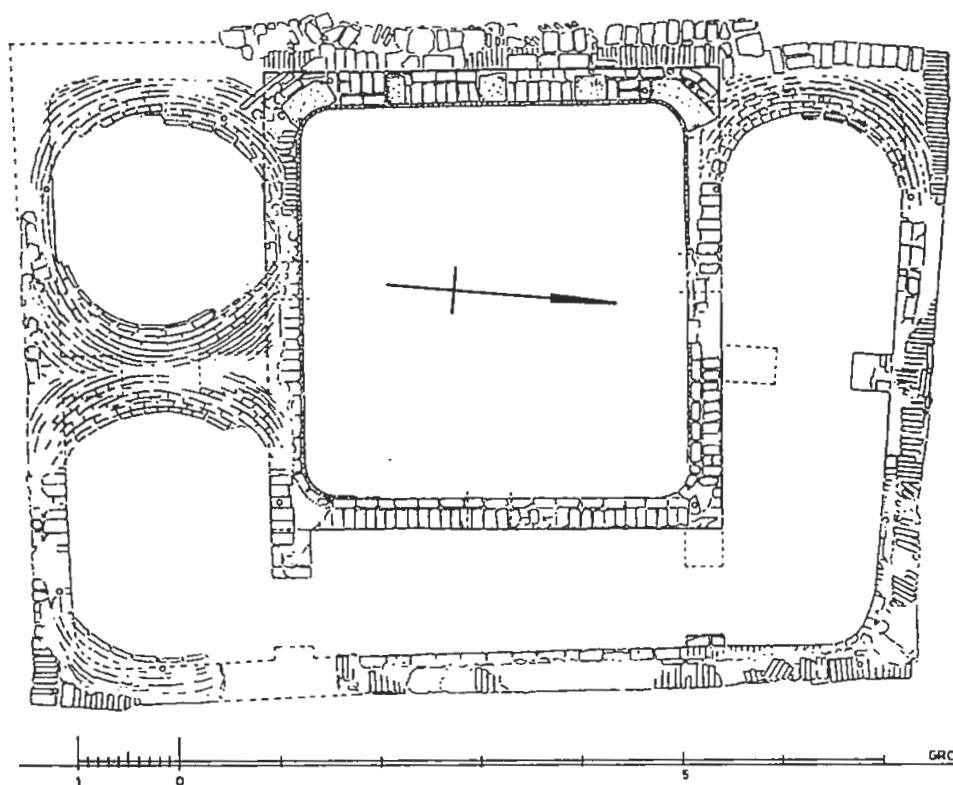


Fig. 2. The so-called 'granary' of Pelusium-West

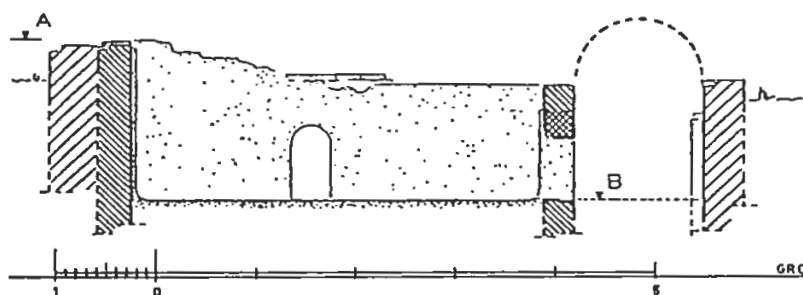


Fig. 3. Section east-west (view to north) of the so-called 'granary' of Pelusium-West  
(A level of the stone-reinforcement; B level of the actual water-table)

with lime plaster. Roughly in the middle of the three walls to the north, south, and east small and narrow openings are extant with a width of 0.42 m. Those to the north and south are arched on top and have a height of 0.78, while the opening in the middle of the eastern wall has a horizontal stone lintel at a height of 0.65 m above the threshold.

The western side is closed. This side is on the other hand the best preserved one, showing on top of the wall three roughly squared blocks of limestone inserted symmetrically into the general brick masonry of the wall and two stones curved inwardly, in the corners. Apparently these stones served to hold some further constructive elements, which do not survive. They might have continued all around the building and consisted probably of four inwardly curved corner pillars at the corners and three small and perhaps low columns between them on each side.

Although none of the described openings in the three other sides is suitable in size to be used as a door for normal communication, there must have existed some exterior structures because otherwise these openings in the walls do not make any sense. Of such exterior structures, however, nothing survives which can be assigned to the first period. They could have been in the form of a kind of surrounding corridor-like structure, possibly even with a somewhat lower floor level. It seems likely therefore, that this structure is not a granary but more probably a kind of cistern of which the central part was covered with a light ceiling resting on a number of small supports the bases of which are traceable on the western side.

During a second period the external structure probably collapsed or was removed for some reason and subsequently replaced by an irregular sequence of domed units which still exist. On the northern and southern sides two units were added and on the eastern side only one. At the same time the western wall was doubled by an additional outer wall. All the new units were combined with small low openings but their dimensions are slightly larger than these in the original central unit. Also the outer corners of these new additions were again inwardly curved. It is possible that the original outer structures originally had a similar arrangement. However, the new units differ in size and proportion and none of the new walls lies parallel to the original structure. Also the masonry is of a quality inferior to that of the original structure. Larger bricks were used and several layers are laid as rowlock courses. Also stones of various sizes appear in the masonry. The thickness of the walls is roughly consistent but changes in several places. The construction of the domes, of which some parts have survived, is also not of a high standard. Although none of the units is square, but clearly oblong in shape, they were covered with freely constructed sailing vaults with irregular roundings. Only the long and narrow unit in the east was covered with a barrel vault; only three bricks from the springing of the vault survive at the outer southern end.

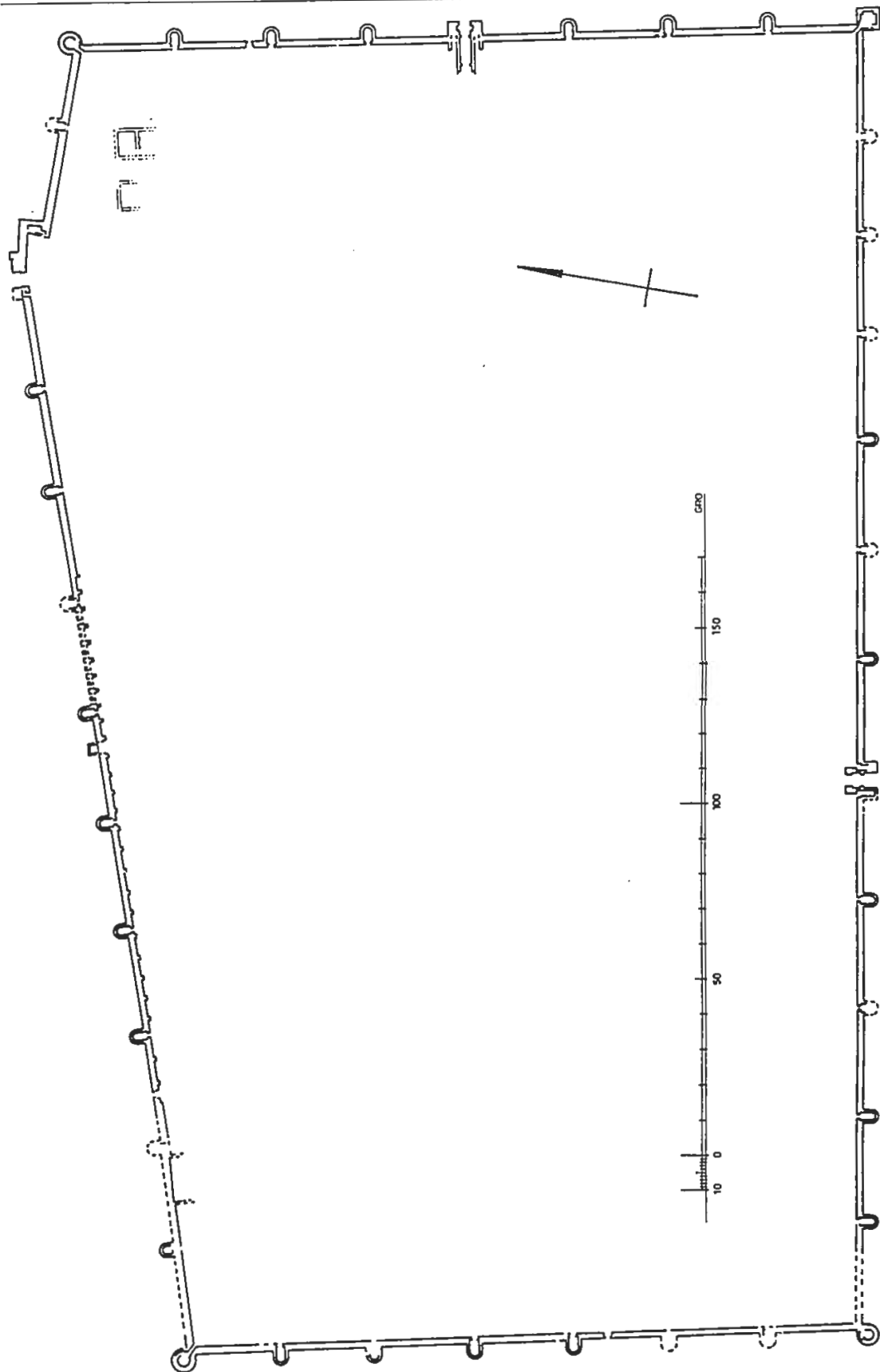


Fig. 4. The late Roman legionary fortress of Pelusium

## 2. Additional observations on the large late antique army camp of Pelusium

In the years 1998 and 1999 some further investigations were carried out on the walls of the large legionary camp of Pelusium. During the cleaning of the outer sides of the northern and western walls<sup>9</sup> two new small entrances became visible. The one in the western wall lies between the third and fourth tower from the south. It is a normal arched opening with the normal doorposts placed at the outer side<sup>10</sup>.

In the northern wall, apart from the already known opening in the middle between the third and the fourth towers (counting from the west), another opening was observed between the sixth and seventh tower. It is slightly larger in size than the others and corresponds on the outer side of the wall with a small irregular chamber surrounded with thin outer walls. The purpose of this arrangement we ignore. It is also not completely clear, whether this outer structure is contemporary with the construction of the wall or a later addition.

Further to the east, between the seventh and eighth tower, and thus within the section where a couple of years ago a sequence of small inner buttresses were observed<sup>11</sup>, a number of low arched openings came to light at the foot of the wall. They are between 0.86 and 1.10 m wide, and their distribution corresponds exactly with those inner buttresses in a way that always two openings were placed between two inner buttresses. Actually all these openings were walled up already in antiquity but originally they were

<sup>9</sup> On our earlier investigations see M. ABD AL-MAQSUD—A. AL-TABA'I—P. GROSSMANN, The Late Roman army castrum at Pelusium "Tall al-Faramâ", *RIPEL* 16, 1994, 95-103, fig. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Many historians understand such small openings in the walls as 'sally gates' to perform secret sallies of the garrison stationed inside the fortification in a case of siege, which is, however, a complete misunderstanding of their function. Such a military sally is always a surprise attack against the besieging enemy and, to be successful, has to be carried out as quickly as possible before the enemy finds the time to prepare its troops. It is also necessary for the unit outside to maintain the opportunity for a quick return. Therefore such sallies, as described in ancient sources, were always performed through the main gates of the fortress, see also P. GROSSMANN, *Arbeiten an der Unterburgmauer von Tiryns in den Jahren 1969, 1971 und 1972*. *AA* 1980, 477-498, spec. 483f. The small openings serve on the other hand for different purposes, mainly to carry out some small activities outside the walls, to let people go out and in, including secret messengers etc. In the descriptions of sieges military history records many different activities which could have been carried out through such doors including even pasturing horses and other animals and cultivating vegetables as recorded *inter alia* by Aeneias, *ypomnema* 7; Philon, *mech.syntr.* VII, IV 61; Prokopios, *bell.Pers.* II 26; Agathias, *hist.* IV 17, 5f.

<sup>11</sup> ABD AL-MAQSUD—AL-TABA'I—GROSSMANN *op.cit.* (as n. 9) 97 fig. 1.

fully open. The first one to the east shows some repairs carried out in the early Islamic period.

The purpose of these openings is not clear. The most reasonable explanation seems for the moment to be that in this position the latrines were placed on the inner side of the wall<sup>12</sup>, and in this case the openings might originally have been combined with one continuous or several small outer chambers as described above. In any case, for a better understanding of this particular arrangement, which in the way it is presented here is unique in Roman architecture and until now not found at any other fortification, it would be highly advisable to clean at least a part of this section from the inner side of the wall, which is still deeply covered with sand. It is possible that some industrial installations once existed here. It appears strange and very dangerous that such large openings existed at the foot of the walls which would allow an enemy rather easy access into the interior of the fortress. The later walling up of these openings shows clearly that this danger existed and was acknowledged.

In addition to the cleaning of the outer sides of the walls in the north-eastern corner of the *castrum* for the first time some interior buildings were identified which obviously belong to the original construction of the camp. These were among a number of medieval houses. Parts of two parallel buildings are observable, having a free space between them of about 6.0 m, which probably represents a street. They are orientated not to the northern, but to the southern wall and are placed at quite a distance from the surrounding walls. The distance to the eastern wall comprises about 21 m and from the northern wall at the closest point still 12.7 m<sup>13</sup>. Only some walls later added are set directly against the curtain wall.

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<sup>12</sup> Also in other Roman fortification the latrines are placed beside the lowest section of the wall, cf. A. JOHNSON, *Römische Kastelle* (Mainz 1987) 232ff.; SH. GREGORY, *Roman military architecture on the eastern frontier from AD 200 - 600. I-III* (Amsterdam 1995-97) does not offer any remarks on the placing and design of Roman army latrines.

<sup>13</sup> It is somewhat strange to find an *intervallum*, the so-called *via sagularis*, in such a late fortress, since already, from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it was not usually used any more. According to H. VON PETRIKOVITS, *Die römischen Streitkräfte am Niederrhein* (Düsseldorf 1967) 21, at the German border they went out of use with the development of more powerful shooting weapons (*ballists* and *catapults*), in consequence of which the zone directly behind the walls became again safe. Already by the Diocletian period several camps on the eastern frontier and in Egypt are without a free *intervallum*. The nearest example is the small camp of Qasr al-Hair to the west of Pelusium, dating to the early 4<sup>th</sup> cent, and excavated by a Franco-Egyptian Mission, see D. VALBELLE, *Les garnisons de Migdol (Tell el-Herr) de l'époque achéménide au Bas-Empire: État de la question en 1998*, *CRAIBL* 1998, 799-817, spec. 813ff. fig. 7; accor-

The mentioned buildings themselves are built of fired bricks bonded with a kind of reddish *tafl*-mortar mixed with a high percentage of lime or gypsum, as is known from some public buildings in Upper Egypt. Also in some Late Roman mausolea in the necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara such kind of mortar was used<sup>14</sup>. The rooms are rectangular in shape, measuring 4.7 m by 7.0 m. The better preserved ones to the east show indications of two arches spanning the shorter width, obviously serving to carry the ceiling, which was apparently built of wooden beams, probably palm stems.

For the moment it is too early to create a general idea of the inner settlement of the *castrum*. But there are no doubts that the same kind of buildings will also have continued further to the south. There is hope that this excavation will be continued in the near future to gain a complete idea of how a Late Roman army camp would have looked.

### Münzfunde aus Pelusium

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Die nachfolgend aufgeführten Fundmünzenkomplexe stammen aus Pelusium, lassen sich jedoch verschiedenen Plätzen innerhalb des archäologischen Areals zuordnen. Sie wurden sowohl bei regulären archäologischen Grabungen, als auch bei Begehungen des Gebietes gefunden.

Die bisher wohl umfangreichste Münzmenge stammt aus den Ausgrabungen der Egypt Antiquities Organization der Jahre 1983 bis 1984 und ist, was Menge und zeitliche Verteilung betrifft, bis heute völlig unbekannt. Diese Münzen werden nach dem ersten Vorbericht von MOHAMED ABD EL-MAQSUD, Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell el-Farama (Pelusium). First two seasons (1983/4 and 1984/5). *ASAE* 70 (1984-1985) 3ff. im Museum in Ismailia aufbewahrt.

Für alle Fundmünzen aus Pelusium, die ich gesehen habe, gilt generell, daß sie sehr schlecht erhalten sind. Die ungewöhnlich starke Korrosion ist sicherlich auf den feuchten, sumpfigen und salzigen Untergrund zurückzuführen. Die bedauerliche Konsequenz dieser schlechten Erhaltung ist, daß die Münzen häufig nur grob eingeordnet und nur einem bestimmten Zeitraum zuge-

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ding to *ibid.* n. 23, a final publication by D. VALBELLE et al. of the Roman camp is already in press.

<sup>14</sup> In the region of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, which occupied a part of the area of the necropolis, only a few isolated blocks of masonry of those earlier buildings are now detectable.

wiesen werden können und detaillierte Bestimmungen nicht möglich sind. Die Zuweisung zu größeren Prägeperioden ist dann allerdings doch recht zuverlässig, wenn nicht ausdrücklich anders vermerkt.

Wegen seiner Bedeutung als Grenzort zwischen Ägypten und Syrien, in der Spätantike zwischen den *Dioecesen Aegyptus* und *Oriens*, ist Pelusium auch gerade aus numismatischer Sicht ein sehr wichtiger Fundort. Es wäre äußerst wünschenswert, auch die Münzen der Grabungen der Egyptian Antiquities Organization der Wissenschaft zugänglich zu machen.

Für eine regelrechte Auswertung der Münzfunde von Pelusium ist es derzeit noch zu früh. Die Funktion des Platzes als Grenzort zwischen Ägypten und Syrien/Palaestina zeigt sich freilich schon jetzt: einerseits durch Fundmünzen aus Palaestina und Arabien am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit, die wir sonst nicht in Ägypten antreffen, sowie durch die palaestinensischen Imitationen aus der frühen islamischen Herrschaft in diesem Gebiet, und andererseits durch die ganz typisch ägyptische Zusammensetzung schon der ptolemäischen Prägungen und dann besonders der spätrömischen und byzantinischen Reihen mit den charakteristischen kleinen ägyptischen Gußmünzen, die seit der Einrichtung der *Dioecesis Aegyptus* unter Theodosius I. überall in Ägypten den zu knappen offiziellen Kurant ergänzen.

Zum Aufbau der Münzlisten: Die Listen sind generell chronologisch angeordnet. In der Horizontalen werden von links nach rechts die laufende Nr., das Nominal, das Prägedatum, die Münzstätte, das Zitat der einschlägigen Referenzwerke, bzw. der Münztyp, die Münzstättenzeichen im Abschnitt und im Feld auf der Rückseite der Münze, sowie in mm der Durchmesser und die Dicke angegeben.

## Die Münzfundkomplexe

### A. Pelusium, spätrömisches Militärlager

- a) Lesefunde aus dem Grabungsschutt der vorangehenden Grabungen. 1988 von Studenten aufgesammelt. Jetzt wohl in Privatbesitz in den Niederlanden.

|    |     |                                                            |     |                                  |         |        |
|----|-----|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|---------|--------|
| 1. | AE  | Nicht näher zuweisbar<br>1. Jh. v.-1. Jh. n.Chr. ?         | ?   |                                  |         | 16/3   |
| 2. | Fol | Constantinus I./Constantinsöhne (für Urbs Roma)<br>330-341 | Ale | LRBC 1431/1440<br>1443/1450/1452 | SMAL[ ] | 15/2   |
| 3. | Cen | Constantius II.<br>351-361                                 | Ant | LRBC 2634f.                      | ANH     | 15/1,5 |
| 4. | Hce | 355-361                                                    | ?   | SPES REI PVBLICE                 |         | 14/2   |
| 5. | Hce | "                                                          | ?   | SPES REI PVBLICE                 |         | 14/1,5 |

|     |     |                                                                                  |            |                              |        |                  |          |
|-----|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|--------|------------------|----------|
| 6.  | Cen | Constantius II./Constantius II. (für Gallus Caes. od. Iulianus Caes.)<br>351-361 | ?          | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH     |        |                  | 18/1,5   |
| 7.  | Cen | Constantius II./Constantius II. (für Iulianus Caes.)<br>355-361                  | ?          | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH     |        |                  | 16/2     |
| 8.  | Cen | "                                                                                | ?          | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH     |        |                  | 16/1,5   |
| 9.  | Cen | Iulianus<br>361-363                                                              | Ale        | LRBC 2853                    | AL[ ]  |                  | 15/2     |
| 10. | Cen | Valentinianus I./Valens/Gratianus<br>364-375                                     | ?          | SECVRITAS<br>REI PVBLICAE    |        |                  | 15/2     |
| 11. | Hce | Gratianus/Valentinianus II./Theodosius I./Arcadius<br>378-392                    | ?          | VOT X MVLT XX                |        |                  | 14/1     |
| 12. | Hce | ?                                                                                | ?          | VOT X MVLT XX                |        |                  | 12/1     |
| 13. | Hce | ?                                                                                | ?          | VOT X MVLT XX                |        |                  | 12/1     |
| 14. | Hce | ?                                                                                | ?          | VOT X MVLT XX                |        |                  | 11/1     |
| 15. | Hce | Valentinianus II.<br>378-392                                                     | ?          | VOTA-Präg.                   |        |                  | 9,5/1    |
| 16. | Hce | Theodosius I.<br>378-383                                                         | Con        | VOTA-Präg.                   | CON[ ] |                  | 11,5/1   |
| 17. | Hce | 383-395                                                                          | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 13/1     |
| 18. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 11,5/1,5 |
| 19. | Hce | Valentinianus II./Theodosius I./Arcadius<br>383-392                              | Ale        | LRBC 2901ff.                 | ALE[ ] | +                | 12/1     |
| 20. | Hce | "                                                                                | "          | LRBC 2901ff.                 | [ ]    | +                | 10/2     |
| 21. | Hce | Valentinianus II./Theodosius I./Arcadius/Honorius<br>383-395                     | Ant        | LRBC 2768ff./<br>2776ff.-Typ | AN[ ]  | Guß<br><u>XP</u> | 10/0,5   |
| 22. | Hce | "                                                                                | Ale        | LRBC 2898ff./2907ff.         |        |                  | 14/2     |
| 23. | Hce | "                                                                                | "          | SALVS REI<br>PVBLICAE        | ALE[ ] |                  | 13/1,5   |
| 24. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 13/1,5   |
| 25. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 13/1     |
| 26. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 12/2     |
| 27. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 12/1     |
| 28. | Hce | 383-395                                                                          | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 12/1     |
| 29. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI PVBLICAE           |        |                  | 11/1     |
| 30. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | SALVS REI<br>PVBLICAE-Typ    |        | Guß              | 11/0,5   |
| 31. | Cen | Arcadius/Honorius/Theodosius II.<br>402-408                                      | östl. Mzst | GLORIA ROMANORVM(21)         |        |                  | 14/1,5   |
| 32. | Hce | Arcadius/Honorius/Theodosius II./Valentinianus III.<br>395-450                   | ?          | Kreuz im Kranz               |        |                  | 12/1,5   |
| 33. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | Kreuz im Kranz-Typ           |        | Guß              | 12/0,5   |
| 34. | Hce | "                                                                                | ?          | Kreuz im Kranz               |        |                  | 10/2     |

|                       |         |                |                 |                        |           |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------|
| 35.                   | Hce     | 395-450        | ?               | Kreuz im Kranz         | 9/1,5     |
| 36.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | Kreuz im Kranz         | 9/1       |
| 37.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | Kreuz im Kranz         | 8/1       |
| 38.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | Kreuz im Kranz         | 8/1       |
| 39.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | Kreuz im Kranz-Typ     | Guß 7/0,5 |
| Marcianus/Leo I./Zeno |         |                |                 |                        |           |
| 40.                   | Hce     | 450-491        | östl. Mzst.     | Monogramm-Präg.        | 10/1,5    |
| 41.                   | Hce     | "              | "               | Monogramm-Präg.        | 9/1,5     |
| 42.                   | Hce     | "              | "               | Monogramm-Präg.        | 9/1,5     |
| 43.                   | Hce     | "              | "               | Monogramm-Präg.        | 9/1       |
| 44.                   | Hce     | "              | "               | Monogramm-Präg.        | 9/1       |
| Leo I.                |         |                |                 |                        |           |
| 45.                   | Hce     | 457-474        | The/Con/<br>Kyz | LRBC 1882/2262ff./2612 | 9/1,5     |
| 46.                   | Hce     | "              | östl. Mzst.     | Löwe n.l.              | 10/1,5    |
| Zeno                  |         |                |                 |                        |           |
| 47.                   | Hce     | 474-491        | Con             | LRBC 2282              | 8/1,5     |
| Anastasius            |         |                |                 |                        |           |
| 48.                   | N       | 491-518        | Con             | DOC 15                 | 9/1       |
| Nicht näher zuweisbar |         |                |                 |                        |           |
| 49.                   | Fol/Cen | 4.-5. Jh.      | ?               | ?                      | 18/1,5    |
| 50.                   | Fol/Cen | "              | ?               | ?                      | 16/1,5    |
| 51.                   | Cen     | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh. | ?               | ?                      | 17/2      |
| 52.                   | Cen     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 16/2      |
| 53.                   | Cen     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 15/2      |
| 54.                   | Cen     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 15/1,5    |
| 55.                   | Cen     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 15/1,5    |
| 56.                   | Cen     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 15/1,5    |
| 57.                   | Cen     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 15/1,5    |
| 58.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 14/2      |
| 59.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 14/1,5    |
| 60.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 14/1      |
| 61.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 14/1      |
| 62.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13,5/2    |
| 63.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13,5/1    |
| 64.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13/2,5    |
| 65.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13/2      |
| 66.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13/1,5    |
| 67.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13/1,5    |
| 68.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13/1      |
| 69.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 13/1      |
| 70.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12,5/1,5  |
| 71.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12,5/1,5  |
| 72.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/3      |
| 73.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/2      |
| 74.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/2      |
| 75.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/2      |
| 76.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/2      |
| 77.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/2      |
| 78.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/1,5    |
| 79.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/1,5    |
| 80.                   | Hce     | "              | ?               | ?                      | 12/1,5    |

|      |     |                |   |   |              |
|------|-----|----------------|---|---|--------------|
| 81.  | Hce | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh. | ? | ? | 12/1,5       |
| 82.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 12/1,5       |
| 83.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 12/1         |
| 84.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 12/0,5   |
| 85.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 12/0,5   |
| 86.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11,5/1,5     |
| 87.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 11,5/0,5 |
| 88.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/2         |
| 89.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/2         |
| 90.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/2         |
| 91.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1,5       |
| 92.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1,5       |
| 93.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/,15       |
| 94.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1,5       |
| 95.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1,5       |
| 96.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1         |
| 97.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1         |
| 98.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1         |
| 99.  | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 11/1         |
| 100. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 11/0,5   |
| 101. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 11/0,5   |
| 102. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 11/0,5   |
| 103. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 11/0,5   |
| 104. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/2         |
| 105. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/2         |
| 106. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/2         |
| 107. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 108. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 109. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 110. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 111. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 112. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 113. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1,5       |
| 114. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | 10/1         |
| 115. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/1     |
| 116. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/1     |
| 117. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 118. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 119. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 120. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 121. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 122. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 123. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 124. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 10/0,5   |
| 125. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 9/1      |
| 126. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5    |
| 127. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5    |
| 128. | Hce | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5    |
| 129. | N   | Ende 5.-6. Jh. | ? | ? | 9/3          |
| 130. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 9/2          |
| 131. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 9/2          |
| 132. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 9/2          |
| 133. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 9/2          |
| 134. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 9/2          |
| 135. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 9/1,5        |
| 136. | N   | "              | ? | ? | Guß 9/0,5    |
| 137. | N   | "              | ? | ? | 8,5/1        |

|                     |                                                                                         |                |   |   |             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---|---|-------------|
| 138.                | N                                                                                       | Ende 5.-6. Jh. | ? | ? | 8/2         |
| 139.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 8/2         |
| 140.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 8/1,5       |
| 141.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 8/1,5       |
| 142.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 8/1,5       |
| 143.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 8/1         |
| 144.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 8/1         |
| 145.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5   |
| 146.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5   |
| 147.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5   |
| 148.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5   |
| 149.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | Guß 8/0,5   |
| 150.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | 7/3         |
| 151.                | N                                                                                       | "              | ? | ? | Guß 7,5/0,5 |
| 152.-166.           | AE                                                                                      | 4.-6. Jh.      | ? | ? | Guß         |
| 167.                | AE                                                                                      | ?              | ? | ? | 13/1        |
| 168.                | AE                                                                                      | ?              | ? | ? | 13/0,5      |
| Omayyaden           |                                                                                         |                |   |   |             |
| 169.                | Fal                                                                                     | 2.H. 7.-8. Jh. | ? | ? | 14/1        |
| Omayyaden-Abbasiden |                                                                                         |                |   |   |             |
| 170.                | Fal                                                                                     | 2.H. 7.-8. Jh. | ? | ? | noch 11/1   |
| 1.                  | Nach Schrötlingsform Ptolemäer oder Alexandriner, Frg.                                  |                |   |   |             |
| 2.-8.               | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 11.                 | Zuweisung wahrscheinlich.                                                               |                |   |   |             |
| 14-34.              | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 36.-39.             | Zuweisung wahrscheinlich.                                                               |                |   |   |             |
| 48.-50.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 52.                 | Münze verbrannt.                                                                        |                |   |   |             |
| 56.-57.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 59.-60.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 63.                 | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 65.-69.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 71.                 | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 75.-77.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 80.-82.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 84.-87.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 89.-90.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 95.                 | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 98.-99.             | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 101.-103.           | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 106.                | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 109.-116.           | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 120.-124.           | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 134.                | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 136.                | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 139.                | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 142.                | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 144.                | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 146.-149.           | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |
| 152.-166.           | Fragmentierte AE, darunter auch Güsse; alle zu klein, um präziser zugewiesen zu werden. |                |   |   |             |
| 167.-168.           | Münze?                                                                                  |                |   |   |             |
| 169.-170.           | Frg.                                                                                    |                |   |   |             |

## b) Pelusium, bei der Bauaufnahme des Militärlagers geborgene Münzen 1992/1993

|    |     |                           |     |             |             |
|----|-----|---------------------------|-----|-------------|-------------|
|    |     | Nicht näher zuweisbar     |     |             |             |
| 1. | Hce | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh.            | ?   | ?           | 12/1,5      |
| 2. | Hce | "                         | ?   | ?           | Guß 11,5/sd |
|    |     |                           |     |             |             |
| 3. | N   | Iustinianus I.<br>537-538 | Kar | DOC 308/309 | 9/2         |

1. Aus der Mauer nahe NO-Turm, lose aufliegend. Münze völlig korrodiert.  
 2. Münze im Mörtelbett aus dem Mauerwerk der Festung Pelusium (Nordseite).  
 3. Aus dem Mauerverband des Osttores 10.11.93.

## c) Pelusium, Tell el-Farama. Lesefunde 1992/1993

|     |         |                          |     |   |             |
|-----|---------|--------------------------|-----|---|-------------|
| 1.  | AE      | Ptolemäer<br>3.-1. Jh.v. | Ale |   | 21/5        |
|     |         |                          |     |   |             |
|     |         | Nicht näher zuweisbar    |     |   |             |
| 2.  | Fol/Cen | 4.-5. Jh.                | ?   | ? | 16/1,5      |
| 3.  | Fol/Hce | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1,5      |
| 4.  | Cen     | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh.           | ?   | ? | 16/1,5      |
| 5.  | Cen     | "                        | ?   | ? | 15/1        |
| 6.  | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/2        |
| 7.  | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1,5      |
| 8.  | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1,5      |
| 9.  | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1,5      |
| 10. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1        |
| 11. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1        |
| 12. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 14/1        |
| 13. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 13,5/2      |
| 14. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 13/1,5      |
| 15. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 13/1,5      |
| 16. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 13/1        |
| 17. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | Guß 13/sd   |
| 18. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12,5/3      |
| 19. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12,5/1      |
| 20. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12,5/1      |
| 21. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/2        |
| 22. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/2        |
| 23. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/1,5      |
| 24. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/1,5      |
| 25. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/1,5      |
| 26. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/1        |
| 27. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 12/1        |
| 28. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | Guß 12/sd   |
| 29. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | Guß 12/sd   |
| 30. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | Guß 11,5/sd |
| 31. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | Guß 11/1,5  |
| 32. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 11/1,5      |
| 33. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 11/1        |
| 34. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 11/1        |
| 35. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 11/1        |
| 36. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 11/1        |
| 37. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | Guß 11/sd   |
| 38. | Hce     | "                        | ?   | ? | 10,5/1      |

|           |     |                                             |          |                    |             |
|-----------|-----|---------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------|-------------|
| 39.       | N   | Iustinianus I.<br>540/541                   | Kar      | DOC 303            | 9/2         |
| 40.       | N   | Nicht näher zuweisbar<br>Ende 5.-6. Jh.     | ?        | ?                  | 10/1,5      |
| 41.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9,5/2       |
| 42.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9,5/1       |
| 43.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9,5/1       |
| 44.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 9,5/sd  |
| 45.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9/1,5       |
| 46.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9/1,5       |
| 47.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9/1         |
| 48.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9/1         |
| 49.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 9/1         |
| 50.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 9/sd    |
| 51.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 9/sd    |
| 52.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 8,5/sd  |
| 53.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 8,5/sd  |
| 54.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 8/1,5       |
| 55.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 8/1         |
| 56.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | ε           |
| 57.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 8/sd    |
| 58.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 8/sd    |
| 59.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 8/sd    |
| 60.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 8/sd    |
| 61.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | 7,5/1       |
| 62.       | N   | "                                           | ?        | ?                  | Guß 7,5/0,5 |
| 63.-117.  | AE  | 2.H. 4.-6. Jh.                              | ?        | ?                  |             |
| Omayyaden |     |                                             |          |                    |             |
| 118.      | Fal | (anonyme Prägung)<br>1.H. 8. Jh.            | NAfrika? | Vgl. Walker 734ff. | 13/0,5      |
| Abbasiden |     |                                             |          |                    |             |
| 119.      | Fal | (Mahfuz b. Sulayman u. Salih)<br>c. 802-803 | Fust.    | Miles 18           | 15/1,5      |
| 120.      | AE  | Nicht näher zuweisbar                       | ?        | ?                  | 20/2,5      |
| 121.      | AE  | ?                                           | ?        | ?                  | 18/4        |
| 122.      | AE  | ?                                           | ?        | ?                  | 18/3        |
| 123.      | AE  | ?                                           | ?        | ?                  | 16/3        |
| 124.      | AE  | ?                                           | ?        | ?                  | 16/2        |
| 125.      | AE  | ?                                           | ?        | ?                  | 16/1,5      |
| 126.      | AE  | ?                                           | ?        | ?                  | 15/2        |

1. Zuweisung nach Schrötflingsform und Zentrierungspunkt.

2. Frg.

4.-6. Frg.

8. Frg.

9.-15. Frg.

17.-22. Frg.

24.-25. Frg.

27.-32. Frg.

35.-36. Frg.

38. Frg.

40.-41. Frg.

- 44.-46. Frg.  
 48.-53. Frg.  
 55.-56. Frg.  
 59.-60. Frg.  
 62. Frg.  
 63.-117. Fragmente von spätrömischen und frühbyzantinischen AE-Münzen (Hce/N), darunter zahlreiche Gußmünzen. Alle sind zu klein, um präziser zugewiesen werden zu können.  
 120.-121. Frg.  
 123.-126. Frg.

### B. Pelusium, Gebiet des Großen Theaters. Lesefunde 1992/1993

|     |     |                                         |           |                               |             |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1.  | AE  | Ptolemäer<br>3.-1. Jh. v.               | Ale       | ?                             | 21/6,5      |
| 2.  | AE  | Alexander Iannaeus<br>103-76 v.         | Jerusalem | Meshorer<br>Ser. E; S. 123ff. | 14/1        |
| 3.  | Cen | Nicht näher zuweisbar<br>2.H. 4.-5. Jh. | ?         | ?                             | 16/1,5      |
| 4.  | Cen | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 15/2        |
| 5.  | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 13/2,5      |
| 6.  | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 13/2        |
| 7.  | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 13/1,5      |
| 8.  | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | Guß 11/sd   |
| 9.  | Hce | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh.                          | ?         | ?                             | 11/1,5      |
| 10. | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 11/1        |
| 11. | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | Guß 11/1    |
| 12. | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | Guß 11/0,5  |
| 13. | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | Guß 10,5/sd |
| 14. | Hce | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | Guß 10/sd   |
| 15. | N   | Ende 5.-6. Jh.                          | ?         | ?                             | Guß 9,5/1   |
| 16. | N   | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 9/2         |
| 17. | N   | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | Guß 8/sd    |
| 18. | N   | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 7/2         |
| 19. | N   | "                                       | ?         | ?                             | 7/2         |
| 20. | 40N | 6. Jh.?                                 | ?         | ?                             | 32/2,5      |
| 21. | AE  | 6.-8.Jh.?                               | ?         | ?                             | 20/4        |
| 22. | AE  | ?                                       | ?         | ?                             | 12/2        |

- 2.-5. Frg.  
 8.-9. Frg.  
 12. Frg.  
 15.-19. Frg.  
 20. Total korrodiert. Möglicherweise 40N, dann 6. Jh.  
 21. Total korrodiert; könnte 12N aus Ale oder auch omayyad. Fals sein; das ergäbe einen zeitlichen Ansatz vom 6.-8. Jh.  
 22. Frg.

### C. Pelusium, Tell el-Farama suraya. Lesefunde 1992/1993

|    |     |                           |   |                          |        |
|----|-----|---------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------|
| 1. | Cen | Constantius I.<br>346-351 | ? | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH | 17/1,5 |
|----|-----|---------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------|

|    |                                           |                                  |   |   |      |
|----|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|------|
| 2. | Fal                                       | Omayyaden/Abbasiden<br>7./8. Jh. | ? | ? | 13/2 |
| 1. | Vs.: Büste n.r. Zuweisung wahrscheinlich. |                                  |   |   |      |

**D. Pelusium, Tell el-Fadda. Lesefunde 1992/1993**

|    |      |                            |     |        |        |
|----|------|----------------------------|-----|--------|--------|
| 1. | 40N  | Iustinianus I.<br>527-538  | Con | DOC 29 | 28/2   |
| 2. | AE   | Nicht näher zuweisbar<br>? | ?   | ?      | 17/1,5 |
| 1. | Frg. |                            |     | 2 Frg. |        |

**E. Pelusium, Lesefunde von verschiedenen Plätzen 1996**

| Ptolemäer                                                      |    |               |           |                      |          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|
| (Ptolemaios VI. Philometor und Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II.) |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 1.                                                             | AE | 170-164/63 v. | Ale       | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 26/4     |
| 2.                                                             | AE | 170-164/63 v. | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 22/4     |
| 3.                                                             | AE | "             | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 21/4,5   |
| 4.                                                             | AE | "             | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 20/4,5   |
| 5.                                                             | AE | "             | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 18/4     |
| 6.                                                             | AE | "             | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 16,5/2   |
| 7.                                                             | AE | "             | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 14,5/1,5 |
| 8.                                                             | AE | "             | "         | SNG Cop. 311-320     | 14/1,5   |
| (Nicht näher zuweisbar)                                        |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 9.                                                             | AE | 2.-1. Jh.v.   | Ale       |                      | 14/1,5   |
| 10.                                                            | AE | "             | "         |                      | 14/1,5   |
| 11.                                                            | AE | "             | "         |                      | 13/1,5   |
| 12.                                                            | AE | "             | "         |                      | 12/2     |
| Nabatäer                                                       |    |               |           |                      |          |
| (Aretas IV.)                                                   |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 13.                                                            | AE | 9 v.-40 n.    | Petra     | SNG ANS Pal. 1431ff. | 14/1,5   |
| 14.                                                            | AE | "             | "         | SNG ANS Pal. 1431ff. | 12/1     |
| Judaea                                                         |    |               |           |                      |          |
| (1. Judenkrieg)                                                |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 15.                                                            | AE | 67-69         | Jerusalem | SNG ANS Pal. 427ff.  | 16,5/1,5 |
| 16.                                                            | AE | "             | "         | SNG ANS Pal. 427ff.  | 16/1,5   |
| Römisches Reich - Alexandriner-Provinzialprägung               |    |               |           |                      |          |
| (Hadrianus)                                                    |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 17.                                                            | AE | 126/127       | Ale       | Geissen 3419         | 14/2,5   |
| 18.                                                            | AE | "             | "         | Geissen 3419         | 13/2     |
| (Aelius Caesar)                                                |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 19.                                                            | AE | 137/138       | Ale       | s. Anm.              | 18/2     |
| (Antoninus Pius)                                               |    |               |           |                      |          |
| 20.                                                            | AE | 141/142       | Ale       | Geissen 1400/1401    | 23/3     |

|                 |     |                                            |             |                          |         |          |
|-----------------|-----|--------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------|----------|
| 21.             | AE  | (Nicht näher zuweisbar)<br>1.-2. Jh.       | Ale         |                          |         | 23/2,5   |
| 22.             | Tdr | (Otacilia Severa)<br>245/246               | Ale         | Geissen 2767             |         | 20/3     |
| 23.             | Tdr | (Aurelianus)<br>274/275                    | Ale         | Geissen 3095             |         | 20/2,5   |
| 24.             | Tdr | (Probus)<br>276/277                        | Ale         | Geissen 3125             |         | 20/3     |
| 25.             | Tdr | (Carus)<br>282/283                         | Ale         | Geissen 3159             |         | 19,5/4   |
| 26.             | Tdr | (Galerius)<br>294/295                      | Ale         | Geissen 3361             |         | 19/3,5   |
| Reichsprägungen |     |                                            |             |                          |         |          |
| 27.             | Ant | Diocletianus<br>296/297                    | Ale         | RIC 46a                  |         | 20/1     |
| 28.             | Ant | "                                          | östl. Mzst. | CONCORDIA MILITVM        |         | 20/1     |
| 29.             | Fol | Maximianus Hercules<br>296/297             | Kyz         | GENIO AVGVSTI [ ]K[ ]    |         | 26,5/1   |
| 30.             | Fol | Licinius I.<br>321-324                     | östl. Mzst. | IOVI CONSERVATORI        |         | 19/1,5   |
| 31.             | Fol | Nicht näher zuweisbar<br>321-324           | östl. Mzst. | IOVI CONSERVATORI        |         | 20/1,5   |
| 32.             | Fol | Constantinus I./Constantinsöhne<br>335-341 |             | GLORIA EXERCITVS 1 Fz    |         | 12,5/0,5 |
| 33.             | Fol | Divus Constantinus I.<br>337-341           | Ale         | LRBC 1454                | SMALA   | 14/1     |
| 34.-35.         | Fol | Constantius II.<br>341-346                 | Ant         | LRBC 1398                | SMANT   | 15/1,5   |
| 36.             | Fol | Constans<br>341-346                        | Ant         | LRBC 1399                | SMAN[ ] | 14/1,5   |
| 37.             | Fol | Constantius II./Constans<br>341-346        | östl. Mzst. | VOT XX MVL T XXX         |         | 14,5/2   |
| 38.             | Cen | Constantius II.<br>351-361                 |             | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH |         | 18/2,5   |
| 39.             | Cen | "                                          |             | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH |         | 16/2     |
| 40.             | Cen | "                                          | Ale         | LRBC 2848                | ALEΔ M  | 17,5/1,5 |
| 41.             | Cen | 355-361                                    |             | FEL TEMP<br>REPARATIO FH |         | 15/1,5   |

|                                                   |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|-------------------|---------|------------------------------------------------|--------|-----|----------|
| 42.                                               | Cen | Valens<br>364-375 | Con     | SECVRITAS<br>REI PVBLICAE                      | CON[ ] |     | 17/2     |
| 43.                                               | Cen | "                 | Ant     | LRBC 2657/2664/<br>2666                        | AN[ ]  |     | 13/2     |
| Valentinianus I./Valens/Gratianus                 |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 44.                                               | Cen | 364-375           |         | GLORIA ROMANORVM (6ff.)                        |        |     | 16/1,5   |
| 45.                                               | Cen | "                 | Con     | SECVRITAS<br>REI PVBLICAE                      | CON[ ] |     | 16/1,5   |
| 46.                                               | Cen | "                 | Ale     | LRBC 2860ff.                                   | ALEB   |     | 16/1,5   |
| 47.                                               | Cen | "                 | Ale     | SECVRITAS<br>REI PVBLICAE                      |        |     | 12/2     |
| Arcadius                                          |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 48.                                               | Hce | 383               | Ant     | LRBC 2735                                      | ANTA   |     | 13/1     |
| 49.                                               | Hce | "                 | "       | LRBC 2743                                      | ANB    |     | 11/1,5   |
| Valentinianus II.                                 |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 50.                                               | Hce | 383-392           | Ant     | LRBC 2768                                      | AN[ ]  | XP  | 12/1,5   |
| 51.-52.                                           | Hce | "                 |         | VOT X MVLT XX                                  |        |     | 11,5/1,5 |
| Theodosius I.                                     |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 53.                                               | Hce | 383-395           | Ant     | SALVS<br>REI PVBLICAE                          | ANT[ ] | [ ] | 13,5/1   |
| 54.                                               | Hce | "                 |         | SALVS<br>REI PVBLICAE                          |        |     | 11,5/1   |
| Valentinianus II./Theodosius I./Arcadius/Honorius |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 55.                                               | Hce | 383-395           | Con     | LRBC 2183ff./<br>2192ff.                       | CONSA  | [ ] | 13,5/1   |
| 56.                                               | Hce | "                 |         | SALVS<br>REI PVBLICAE                          | [ ]    | XP  | 13/1,5   |
| 57.                                               | Hce | "                 |         | SALVS REI PVBLICAE                             |        |     | 12/2     |
| Theodosius II.                                    |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 58.                                               | Hce | 425-450           | Con     | LRBC 2233                                      | CO[ ]  |     | 11/1,5   |
| Valentinianus III.                                |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 59.                                               | Hce | 435-455           | Rom     | LRBC 855                                       | RPM    |     | 12/2     |
| Leo I. und Verina                                 |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 60.                                               | Hce | 456-474           | The     | LRBC 1882                                      | THS    |     | 10/2     |
| 61.                                               | Hce | "                 | Con/Kyz | LRBC 2270f./2613                               |        |     | 10/1     |
| 62.                                               | Hce | "                 | Ale     | LRBC 2932                                      | [ ]EA  | [ ] | 11/1,5   |
| Vandalen                                          |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 63.                                               | Hce | 429-534           | Kar     | BMC Vand. p. 21 Nr. 32ff.<br>Pl. III Nr. 12ff. |        |     | 10/1     |
| Hilderich                                         |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 64.                                               | Hce | 523-530           | Kar     | MIB 21                                         |        |     | 10/1     |
| Byzantiner                                        |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| Anastasius                                        |     |                   |         |                                                |        |     |          |
| 65.                                               | N   | 491-518           | Con     | DOC 15                                         |        |     | 9/1,5    |
| 66.                                               | N   | "                 | "       | DOC 15                                         |        |     | 8/2      |

|                           |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
|---------------------------|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 67.                       | N   | 491-518     | "           | DOC 15                                          | 8/1,5    |
| Iustinianus I.            |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 69.                       | 12N | 527-565     | Ale         | DOC 274                                         | 19/2,5   |
| 70.                       | 6N  | "           | "           | DOC 275                                         | 14,5/2,5 |
| 71.                       | 6N  | "           | "           | DOC 275                                         | 14/3     |
| 72.                       | 6N  | "           | "           | DOC 275                                         | 14/2,5   |
| 73.                       | N   | 533-537     | Kar         | BMC Vand. p. 26f. Nr. 68ff.<br>Pl. III Nr. 35f. | 8,5/1,5  |
| 74.-75.                   | N   | 534-539     | "           | DOC 308                                         | 7,5/2    |
| 76.                       | N   | 542/3-547/8 | "           | MIB 206                                         | 8/2      |
| Tiberius II. Constantinus |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 77.                       | 12N | 578-582     | Ale         | DOC 55                                          | 17/,35   |
| Mauricius Tiberius        |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 78.                       | 12N | 582-602     | Ale         | DOC 213                                         | 16,5/3   |
| 79.                       | 40N | 590-602     | Ant         | DOC 161ff.                                      | 30/3,5   |
| Phocas                    |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 80.-81.                   | 12N | 602-608     | Ale         | DOC 106                                         | 14/2,5   |
| 82.                       | 12N | 602-608     | "           | DOC 106                                         | 14/3     |
| 83.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 14/2     |
| 84.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 14/1,5   |
| 85.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 13,5/3   |
| 86.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 13,5/2,5 |
| 87.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 13,5/1,5 |
| 88.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 13/2,5   |
| 89.-90.                   | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 12/2     |
| 91.                       | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 106                                         | 11,5/2   |
| Iustinus I.-Phocas        |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 92.                       | 12N | 518-608     | Ale         | Profiltyp                                       | 17/4     |
| 93.                       | 12N | "           | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 17/3,5   |
| 94.                       | 12N | "           | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 17/2,5   |
| 95.                       | 12N | "           | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 17/1,5   |
| 96.                       | 12N | "           | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 16,5/2   |
| 97.                       | 12N | "           | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 16/3,5   |
| 98.                       | 12N | 518-608     | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 16/1,5   |
| 99.                       | 12N | "           | "           | Profiltyp                                       | 15/3     |
| Heraclius                 |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 100.                      | 12N | 618-628     | Ale         | DOC 191                                         | 19/3,5   |
| 101.                      | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 191                                         | 18/2,5   |
| 102.                      | 12N | 628/629     | "           | DOC 193                                         | 17/5     |
| 103.                      | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 193                                         | 17/4,5   |
| 104.                      | 12N | 632-641     | "           | DOC 196                                         | 19/5     |
| 105.                      | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 197                                         | 17/4     |
| Constans II.              |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 106.                      | 12N | 641/2/645/6 | Ale         | DOC 105                                         | 23/2,5   |
| 107.                      | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 105                                         | 20/4     |
| 108.                      | 12N | "           | "           | DOC 105                                         | 19/4     |
| 109.                      | 12N | 641/2/645/6 | Ale         | DOC 106                                         | 19/4     |
| Nicht näher zuweisbar     |     |             |             |                                                 |          |
| 110.                      | 40N | 6./7. Jh.   | östl. Mzst. |                                                 | 26/2,5   |

| Omayyaden<br>(arabo-byzantinische Imitationen) |           |                |          |          |               |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|----------|----------|---------------|
| 111.                                           | Fal (40N) | 2.H. 7.Jh.     | Syr/Pal. | s. Anm.  | 27/1          |
| 112.                                           | Fal (40N) | "              | "        | "        | 25/2          |
| 113.                                           | Fal (40N) | "              | "        | "        | 21/1          |
| (anonyme Prägungen)                            |           |                |          |          |               |
| 114.                                           | Fal       | 694/5-734      | Fust.    | Miles 1  | 17/3          |
| 115.                                           | Fal       | "              | "        | Miles 1  | 16/1,5        |
| 116.                                           | Fal       | "              | "        | Miles 1  | 14/4          |
| 117.                                           | Fal       | "              | "        | Miles 2  | 15,5/2,5      |
| 118.                                           | Fal       | "              | "        |          | 16/2,5        |
| 119.                                           | Fal       | "              | "        |          | 13,5/3,5      |
| (Al-Qasim b. 'Ubaydullah)                      |           |                |          |          |               |
| 120.                                           | Fal       | 734-742        | Fust.    | Miles 3  | 18,5/3        |
| 121.                                           | Fal       | "              | "        | Miles 3  | 18/3          |
| Abbasiden<br>(Abd al-Malik b. Yazid)           |           |                |          |          |               |
| 122.                                           | Fal       | 751            | Fust.    | Miles 9  | 22/4          |
| (Mahfuz b. Sulayman und Salih)                 |           |                |          |          |               |
| 123.                                           | Fal       | ca. 802-803    | Fust.    | Miles 20 | 10/2,5        |
| Omayyaden/Abbasiden                            |           |                |          |          |               |
| 124.                                           | Fal       | 8./9. Jh.      |          |          | 23/4          |
| 125.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 22/2,5        |
| 126.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 21/4          |
| 127.-128.                                      | Fal       | "              |          |          | 21/3          |
| 129.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 20/4,5        |
| 130.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 20/3,5        |
| 131.-132.                                      | Fal       | "              |          |          | 19/4,5        |
| 133.-134.                                      | Fal       | "              |          |          | 19/4          |
| 135.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 18/3          |
| 136.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 17/4          |
| 137.                                           | Fal       | "              |          |          | 17/3          |
| 138.                                           | Fal       | 8./9- Jh       |          |          | 17/2          |
| 139.-143.                                      | Fal       | "              |          |          | 14-13/3,5-2   |
| 144.-145.                                      | Fal       | "              |          |          | 11-10/2-1,5   |
| Mamluken?                                      |           |                |          |          |               |
| 146.-147.                                      | Fal       | 13. Jh.        |          |          | 17/1          |
| Osmanen                                        |           |                |          |          |               |
| 148.                                           | AE        | 16./17. Jh.    |          |          | 9/2           |
| Nicht näher zuweisbar                          |           |                |          |          |               |
| 149.-152.                                      | Cen       | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh. |          |          | 16-15/3-1,5   |
| 153.-163.                                      | Cen/Hce   | "              |          |          | 16-15/2,5-1,5 |
| 164.-207.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 14-13/3-1,5   |
| 208.-246.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 13-12/3-1,5   |
| 247.-249.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 12/sd         |
| 250.-271.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 12-11/2-1,5   |
| 272.-274.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 11/1-0,5      |
| 275.-336.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 11-9/3-1,5    |
| 337.-340.                                      | Hce       | "              |          |          | 10,5/1        |

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|           |       |                |             |
|-----------|-------|----------------|-------------|
| 341.-349. | Hce   | 2.H. 4.-5. Jh. | 10/0,5-sd   |
| 350.-380  | Hce/N | 2.H. 4.-7. Jh. | ca. 10-9/sd |
| 381.-394. | N     | 6./7. Jh.      | 9,5-9/1-sd  |
| 395.-421. | N     | "              | 9-8/3-1,5   |
| 422.      | AE    |                | 21/1,5      |
| 423.-426. | AE    |                | 20-18       |
| 427.      | AE    |                | 18,5/1,5    |
| 428.-440. | AE    |                | 18-15/3-2   |

Fragmente von Münzen, nicht näher zuweisbar

441.-452. AE

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- 15.-16. Gauprägungen des pelusischen Nomos.  
 19. Das Stück ist hybrid. Vs.: AIAIOC-KAICAP, Büste n.r.; Rs.: Harpokrates mit Hemhem-Krone LKB = 22 (wie Geissen 1245).  
 47. Münzstättenzuweisung nach Schrötlingsform.  
 111. Vs.: stehender Kaiser; Rs.: rundes M. Überprägung auf 40N, Heraclius, Con, 629/630 wie MIB 164.  
 112. Vs.: stehender Kaiser; Rs.: rundes M.  
 113. Vs.: stehender Kaiser; Rs.: spitzes M.  
 118.-119. Typ nicht mehr exakt bestimmbar.  
 148. Zuweisung wahrscheinlich.

## F. Lesefund Pelusium beim Theater 1996

1. Nicht näher zuweisbar  
 Hce/N 425-518 östl. Mzst. Monogrammprägung 10,5/1

## G. Lesefunde Pelusium Nordbad 1996

- Nicht näher zuweisbar  
 1. Hce 378-450 östl. Mzst. VOTA-Prägung 12/1,5  
 2. Hce 2.H. 4.-5. Jh. 10/1,5  
 3. N 6./7. Jh. Guß 8,5/sd

# PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF A MONASTIC COMPLEX TO THE SOUTH OF ANTINOOPOLIS

BY

ABDAL-RAHMAN ABDAL-TAWAB, MOHAMED GHATTAS,  
AND PETER GROSSMANN

## 1. General lay-out of the monastery

One of the interesting archaeological complexes in the vast field of ruins between Antinoopolis in the north and the modern village of Dayr Abû Hinnis<sup>1</sup> in the south is a small monastic complex clearly belonging to a group of monks who lived according the coenobite rules<sup>2</sup>. Contrary to the anchorites who were zealous in their devotions as well as their pursuit of freedom, these coenobitic monks lived in close community with strict rules and apparently slept in common dormitories. The monastery contains two buildings which can be understood as residential buildings. There is also a refectory for the one common daily meal (as prescribed in several monastic rules<sup>3</sup>), a small church, and a keep (*gawsaq*). All buildings are concentrated in a rather limited area, surrounded by a relatively thin and probably fairly low wall.

This monastery is located in the north-western part of the region, rather close to the Nile and extends parallel to the river bank. In its general lay-out it forms a roughly square complex. Of the surrounding walls some rather long sections remain visible on the northern and western sides. It is the area where the majority of the buildings in the region described are standing.

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<sup>1</sup> According to SOMERS CLARKE, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Oxford 1912) 187f., it was called: el madyna (al-madina) = the town (without name).

<sup>2</sup> The surveying of the site was carried out by PETER GROSSMANN with the help of SAID ABU SAIF.

<sup>3</sup> The most known one is the rule of Pachomios, translated by Hieronymus already in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. into Latin in which form it came down to us, ed. with a German translation and rich comments by H. BACHT, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs II: Pachomius – Der Mann und sein Werk* (Würzburg 1983) 82ff.

The other wall sections, which did not benefit from the protection of such high buildings, have disappeared over time by wind erosion. Consequently, the location of the entrance is also no longer recognizable. According to the general lay-out of the complex, it might have been situated on the southern side.

It is as much as one can say that the visible ruins cover only a limited part of the area once surrounded by the wall. The rest was probably occupied by gardens or kept free for further buildings, which never materialized.

The building with the richest architectural design is, of course, the small single aisled church situated at the southern end of the surviving building complex (Pl. Ia). It has a tripartite sanctuary separated from the nave by a khurus, a common feature of all monastic churches in Egypt since the second half of the 7th cent<sup>4</sup> and a court-like structure in the west. Below the church remains of an earlier circular structure were discovered. It was probably a pagan burial monument in the shape of a tholos, such as examples known from the cemetery of al-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis<sup>5</sup>. This was demolished to the level of its floor when the church was built.

Immediately to the north of the church lies a little court, the pavement of which is unfortunately in a very bad condition due to the fact that in the last stage of the monastery it was used by the monks as a cemetery for their death brethren<sup>6</sup>. Their large number suggests that they might have died from an epidemic decease.

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<sup>4</sup> It seems from the evidence in the monastic churches in Scetis (Wadi Natrun) where the 'Adra'church of Dayr as-Suryan, rebuilt in the time of Benjamin I (626-665), is provided with an original khurus, while in the church of Dayr al-Baramus which was built only half a century earlier and where the same feature is a later addition, that the khurus *in toto* is likely to have been an introduction by the patriarch Benjamin I; for further discussions see P. GROSSMANN, Neue Beobachtungen zur al-'Adra'kirche von Dair as-Suryân, *Nub. Letters* 19, 1993, 1-8 fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> see A. FAKHRY, *The necropolis of el-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis* (Cairo 1951) 22 type 9, spec. the mausoleum no. 181, *ibid.* 159 fig. 114.

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the reason for this unusual choice of burial place was an epidemic which caused a continuous reduction of the number of monks that from a certain stage on the remaining ones were not able any more to carry their deceased brethren to their normal cemetery which has to be located in some distance from the monastery. A similar case of unusual burying of the deceased within the boundaries of a monastery and in the same way very close to the church was recognized in the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara, P. GROSSMANN-H.-G. SEVERIN, Reinigungsarbeiten im Jeremiaskloster bei Saqqâra 4. vorläufiger Bericht. *MDAIK* 38, 1982, 155-193, spec. 162 pl. 25b; a third example was recently met with in the excavation of Abû Mina where again in the court to the north-east of the Great Basilica a concentration of numerous burials was found, see P. GROSSMANN ET AL., Abû Mînâ. 13. vorläufiger Bericht, *Kampagnen 1987-1989, AA* 1995 389-423 spec. 407ff. fig. 15.

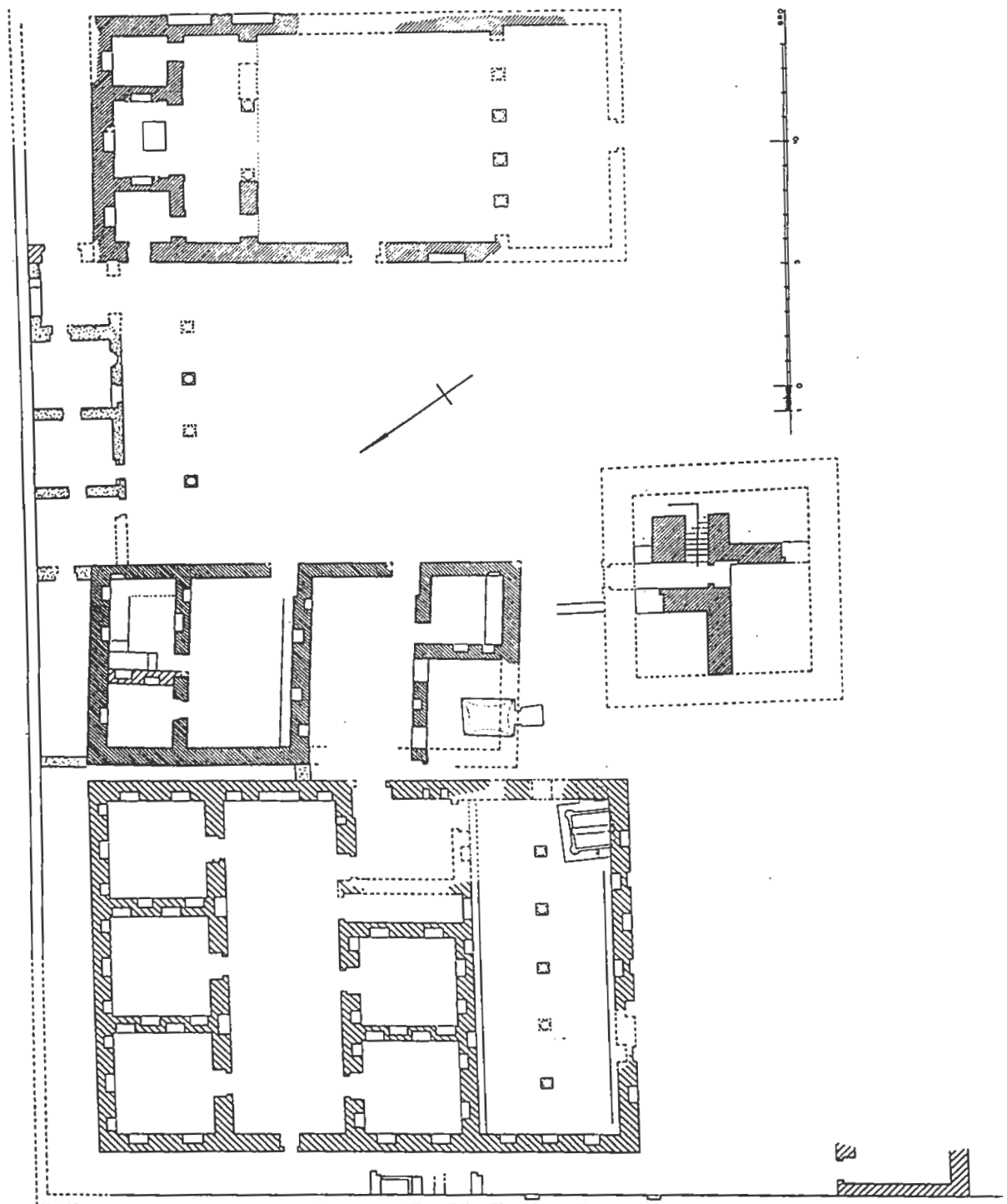


Fig. 1 General plan of the monastic complex

The eastern side of the court consists of a colonnaded portico. Its northern side is formed by a rather multi-roomed building, which seems to

be a living house for the monks. It has undergone several changes. Below its western end a domed underground tomb is visible, placed in a way that its small entrance shaft at the western end remains outside of the western wall of the house. It might be the burial place of an important member of the monastic community or even its founder being thus the first hermit living in this place whose tomb was thus kept accessible for the edification of the congregation.

To the west of this rest house is the keep (*gawsaq*) of the monastery, an integral feature of every monastic site, known already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. Unfortunately only the inner partition walls with the thresholds of the doorways survive.

Very close behind the rest house a larger building is standing which probably served for the same purpose. Its inner structural arrangement is, however, considerably more developed and belongs thus to a later period. It also included the refectory of the monastery.

## 2. The church

The ground-plan of the church of this monastery has already been published on several occasions<sup>8</sup> and a detailed description is reserved for a general publication. Here only a few descriptive words will follow. It is divided into three sections: A court-like western part, the nave and the sanctuary. An important detail is the lay-out of the sanctuary. It is composed of three separate rooms, of which the larger central one bears the remains of the altar (Pl. Ib). In front of the sanctuary is the khurus with traces of a larger central opening to the nave framed apparently by columns. The naos of the church is roughly square without any division into separate aisles. At the western end a kind of court is extant, separated from the nave by a colonnade. Its outer walls are too thin to expect a roofing of this section of the building.

<sup>7</sup> Traces of the earliest tower of this kind were discovered in the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, cf. P. GROSSMANN, *Neue baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen im Katharinenkloster im Sinai*, AA 1988, 543-558, spec. 556ff. fig. 3.

<sup>8</sup> cf. P. GROSSMANN, *Mittelalterliche Langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten* (Glückstadt 1982) 128ff. Abb. 54.

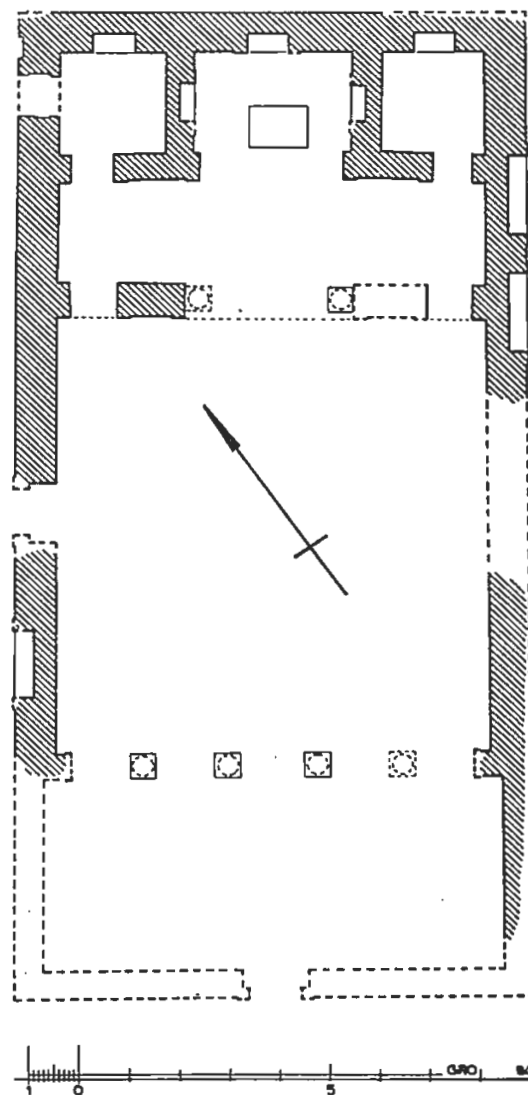


Fig. 2 The church

### 3 The earlier residential building

To the north of the little court, opposite the church a building is standing which we would interpret as a residential building for the inhabitants of the monastery. Since an obviously younger and much larger and better developed building of this kind stands just behind this we understand it as the earlier residential building house. In terms of chronology it is – as the church – earlier than the installations of the little portico at the eastern side of the court.

Its inner area is divided into two independent and slightly differently arranged sections. Both are accessible from the south through doors of normal sizes, having at their left sides a flat niche ("door niche", Germ. "Türfang") to receive the leaf of the door when opened<sup>9</sup>.

The eastern unit is better preserved and will be discussed first. It consisted originally of two oblong rooms of different widths. The entrance is situated in the very south-western corner and leads at first into the larger southern room. Its longer southern wall contains two symmetrically placed wall niches. Along the foot of the wall traces of a low and rather deep sitting bench are visible. In the opposite eastern wall only one niche at its very right end survives, but, there is no doubt that this wall also originally contained a greater number of niches. In the middle of this wall is the passage leading into the narrower eastern room. In its actual state it no longer represents its original design. The later changes are, however, easily recognizable and will be discussed in the next paragraph. Originally this room was furnished with two symmetrically placed broader niches in the western wall, of which the one to the south fully survives, and apparently four niches in the eastern wall. The latter are equally spaced but not symmetrically displayed. Such an arrangement is typical for the accommodation of a larger number of inhabitants<sup>10</sup>, in this case (corresponding to the number of niches) four inhabitants. Traces of the original distribution of the sleeping places<sup>11</sup> are not recognizable and might not even have been definitely fixed. But, there is reason to assume, that the areas along the shorter side walls were also included into the programme.

During a second period this chamber was divided into two independent rooms. The new partition wall was placed roughly in the middle so that it even closes off a part of the door. This new wall has niches on both sides in

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<sup>9</sup> Such niches, in the form of a flat lateral alcove, which serve to take the opened door-leaf belong to the few elements of Pharaonic architecture which were still in use in Late Antiquity in Egypt, see P. GROSSMANN in: W. KAISER ET AL., *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Achter Grabungsbericht, MDAIK* 36, 1980, 245-291, spec. 274 fig. 9; the feature is known already in pharaonic architecture, for examples see O. KOENIGSBERGER, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür* (Glückstadt 1936) 25f.; see also ID., *Altägyptische Elemente in der frühchristlichen Baukunst Ägyptens*, in: H. GUKSCH-D. POLZ (ed.), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Festschrift Rainer Stadelmann*, Mainz 1998, 443-458, spec. 446f. fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> A similar distribution of the niches was found in a large other residential building, discovered by the same Mission at a place some 100 m further to the south, cf. P. GROSSMANN, *Die Unterkunftsbauten des Koinobitenklosters „Dair al-Balayza“ im Vergleich mit den Eremitagen der Mönche in Kellia*, in: *Le site monastique Copte des Kellia. Actes du colloque de Genève 13-15 août 1984* (Genève 1986) 33-40, spec. 37f. fig. 2.

<sup>11</sup> It is not sure, whether they consisted of fixed beds or only of areas on the floor to place a mat.

the same way as the original walls demonstrating that a basic change of the function of the room did not take place. In the new southern section a number of beds were built, arranged along the four sides of the room. The beds are constructed of brick masonry with typical traces of the supports for the heads. In addition a new wall niche was inserted into the eastern end of the south wall. For the new northern section a new entrance was cut into the southern wall. This operation was carried out in a rather careless manner so that its width on its eastern side is much wider than on its western side. The choice for this entrance was probably dictated by the former position of a niche at this place. Traces of beds inside this room are not detectable.

The western section of this older residential building shows in its ground-plan an arrangement roughly symmetrical with the eastern section. As the latter one, it is entered at first in a correspondingly larger room through a door placed in a similar way in the very south-western corner of the building. The room itself probably had three niches in the eastern wall, of which the one in the middle has to be conjectured. The western wall contains the three doors for two adjacent rooms to the west. Between the two northern doors a niche is inserted into the wall. There are no traces for sitting benches or beds. The northern wall of this room is missing for its total length. It seems likely that this section did not collapse by itself, but was demolished with the intention of creating a passage to the younger residential building situated further to the north. In this way the whole room changed its function and became the entrance hall for the new residential house.<sup>12</sup>

Both smaller rooms to the west seem to be original. The southern one has two niches in the northern wall and a rather flat niche in the south wall. The latter is placed at the very western end of the wall and was obviously cut later into the wall. There are also two beds of masonry constructed against the western wall.

The room to the north is less well preserved. Only the entrance wall from the east survives, fitted, surprisingly, with two doors at both ends. They are of equal dimensions and there are no details indicating which should be understood as the earlier one. The wall section between both doors has a niche looking to the larger room to the east. The western and

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<sup>12</sup> For a modern architect such an arrangement is quite incomprehensible. Already when the new residential house was built it should have been easily foreseen that the proximity of both buildings would cause considerable future problems, and the remaining narrow passage of only 0.65 m would not be sufficient for normal access to the entrance of the younger building.

northern walls of this room are missing, except for a short section, which now serves as the northern jamb of the northernmost entrance door. There is, however, no doubt that the outer wall once enclosed an ordinary rectangular unit.

It is difficult to explain the function of this room with its two symmetrically arranged entrances. Clearing during the excavation revealed an earlier underground tomb below the western part of the room (*infra* chapt. 3.a). It is possible that the described arrangement stood in some relation with this tomb, i.e. that a kind of memorial shrine was placed above this tomb against the western wall of the room<sup>13</sup>.

### 3.a. The tomb below the western wall of the older residential building

Partly below the western side of the earlier residential building a small fairly well preserved underground tomb is visible. Its situation is such that its entrance remained accessible even after the construction of the residential building. The tomb comprises two units; a small roughly square entrance shaft to the west accessible over some steps from above, and a deeper, roughly rectangular burial chamber to the east. Both units are combined with a very narrow opening at the foot in the eastern wall of the entrance shaft. The burial chamber proper has a massive ceiling of mud bricks in the shape of an irregular sailing vault while the entrance shaft was probably covered only by a large flat stone or a series of flat stones to be removed when needed. The lateral walls of both units are carefully plastered and white washed, but in spite of this the whole structure is very rough. None of the walls is really vertical, nor are they parallel with one another.

From the way in which the tomb and the residential house fit together it is obvious that both structures belong to different building programmes. The tomb was obviously built at an earlier date and the position of the residential house causes only the entrance shaft to remain accessible. The orientation is not respected. So there is no doubt that the tomb already existed when the residential house was built.

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<sup>13</sup> In the church at Sidi Mahmud (near Burg al-Arab), close to the Mediterranean coast, also provisions for incubation above a tomb at the western end of the church were noticed, see P. GROSSMANN-F. KHORSHID, *Excavation in the church at Sidi Mahmūd in 1993*, in: *Actes du Symposium des Fouilles Coptes, Le Caire 7-9 Novembre 1996* (Cairo 1998) 57-66, spec. 60f. pl. 12a; also *IBID.*, *The biapsidal church at Sidi Mahmud (Burg al-Arab)*, *BSAC* 33, 1994, 79-90, spec. 84 fig. 2 pl. 10a; but, whether similar installations existed also in our case remains doubtful.

Apparently this tomb is the burial place of an important member of the community, perhaps even of the founder himself since according to the hagiographical texts it was customary in several monasteries to place the tomb of the founders more or less in the centre of the settlement<sup>14</sup>. Although many monks and founders of monasteries liked to keep their burial places secret to avoid any eventual veneration after their deaths<sup>15</sup>, the general rule seems to have been that the tomb of the founder of a monastery was always kept in high regard by their successors<sup>16</sup>. The performance of memorial services on the anniversaries of their deaths seems to have been quite a normal practise<sup>17</sup>. The treatment which St. Severinus received from his people is significant. He was twice exhumed and reburied whenever the congregation decided to move to a new area<sup>18</sup>. Beside this, Coptic literature is full of stories telling that monks communicate with their superiors even after the latter had died<sup>19</sup>.

### 3.b. The court area between the church and the older residential building

Originally the area between the church and the above described earlier residential house remained undeveloped. The eastern margin was the western *peribolos* wall of the monastery which lies roughly equidistant to the east of the church and the residential house. To the west a margin for the court was never defined. During a later period, when both buildings were already standing, a sequence of four nearly equally sized rooms was built against the

<sup>14</sup> B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire in: L'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (Paris 1983) 133f.

<sup>15</sup> Famous examples are Anthony, cf. Athanasius, *Life of St. Antonius* c. 92; and Pachomius the founder of the coenobite monasticism, see the *Life of Pachomius (vita prima graeca)* c. 116.

<sup>16</sup> The Coptic monks also had the habit of keeping their dead predecessors on certain shelves at the north-eastern ends of the naves of their churches, H. DELEHAYE, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte*, *An.Boll.* 40, 1922, 5-154; 299-364, spec. 36f.; TH. BAUMEISTER, *Martyr invictus* (Münster 1972) 58ff. ID., *Vorchristliche Bestattungssitten und die Entstehung des Märtyrerkultes in Ägypten*, *RQu* 69, 1974, 1-6, spec. 1ff. pl. 1a-b; traces of such shelves were identified by G. DESCŒUDRES in the church of the building QIs366 in Kellia, cf. G. HAENY-A. LEIBUNDGUT, *Kôm Qouçouîr Isa 366 und seine Kirchenanlagen* (Leuven 2000) 26 n. 62.

<sup>17</sup> The celebration of the feastday of St. Shenute developed even until today to a large mulid.

<sup>18</sup> Eugippius, *vita sancti Severini*, 44,6. 46,2.

<sup>19</sup> see Cassianus, *Collationes* XV,3; *Apophthegmata Patrum* 491 (=Makarios 38); well known is also the story which is recorded, in connection with the martyrdom of the 49 monks of Scetis, of the monk Isidore who even after his death prophesied to the courier of the Emperor Theodosius that he will never have a son, *Synaxarium* of 26 Tūbah (=21 January), ed. R. BASSET, *P.O.* XI,5 p. 699-708, spec. 699f.; Longinus, one of the 5th cent. hegoumenes of the famous monastery of Ennaton, is recorded that he received from the bodies of the dead fathers in the crypt of the monastery the advice not to agree with the so-called tomos of Pope Leo (440-461), *Synaxarium* of 2 Amchir (=27 January), ed. R. BASSET, *P.O.* XI,5 p. 764-767, spec. 766f.).

*peribolos* wall filling the whole section between both buildings. In addition a short colonnaded portico was erected in front of these rooms.

Slightly earlier than this installation is the thick wall forming the eastern continuation of the northern wall of the church. This extends until the western *peribolos* wall. Only a section of its eastern part survives. It contains traces of a door, to be used from south to north, which demonstrates in a way that the corridor-like passage between the eastern rear side of the church and the outer wall of the monastery served as a kind of entrance. However, this can only be of secondary importance. There are no clear traces for the beginning of such a corridor. Beside this its rather obscure location behind the church makes it doubtful whether it was the official entrance into the monastery.

Of the portico in front of the described sequence of rooms only two flat bases remain in place. Their shape is principally that of the usual attic shape with, from bottom to top, a square plinth, *torus*, *scotia*, and a smaller upper *torus*. All these elements are, however, considerably simplified, giving the impression that they are not finally worked out. The lower *torus* is not the usually rounded kind, but as with many other examples in the region of Antinoopolis it has an octagonal shape with sharp vertical edges<sup>20</sup>. Above this follows a low rounded shaft without indicating the position of the *scotia* and the smaller upper *torus*.

The position of these bases gives an idea for the distribution of the rest. Surprisingly the columns are not symmetrically placed. The distance from the northern side is much wider than from the church at the southern side. Thus to arrive at a generally equal distance some walled buttresses were needed at both ends of the colonnade, or further colonnades have to be conjectured along the northern and southern sides of the court. However, there are no traces to indicate that such further colonnades really ever existed.

Between the columns a few remains of the pavement survive consisting of narrow limestone slabs. There is no evidence, however, of any installation in the inner area of the court. At a later date the court was used as a cemetery. The ground is everywhere disturbed by the large number of burials. It seems that an epidemic might have forced the inhabitants of the monastery to use this area for their deceased brothers.

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<sup>20</sup> It can even be said that the lower *torus* of the attic base shaped on an octagonal ground-plan is a typical feature of the architectural sculpture workshops in the region of Antinoopolis.

#### 4. The new residential building with the refectory

Beyond a very short distance of only 0.65 m to the north of the earlier residential house a much larger building follows of obviously similar purpose. It is also clearly younger in date. Its entrance is also on the southern side, which forced everybody wishing to enter this place to pass the larger entrance hall of the western section of the earlier residential house (*supra* chapt. 2.).

This entrance is slightly larger in size than the average width of all the other doors in this monastery. It is fitted with a clearly recognizable 'Tür-fang', and offers direct access to a small square chamber, the *vestibulum* of the building. In the north-eastern corner of this room another door, now much smaller, leads eastward into a long and relatively broad hall, which forms the central hall of this second residential house. At the opposite western side lies a two-aisled hall, which apparently functioned as the refectory of the monastery. Unfortunately the wall of the entrance hall on this side is completely destroyed so that it is impossible to decide whether or not another outer door was extant here, which would have given access to the refectory. This is all the more regrettable as precisely this knowledge is particularly necessary for understanding the functional organization of the building. As this knowledge is not available and a direct outer entrance can be placed only with great difficulty at any other position, we suggest that the western wall of the entrance hall would indeed contain the entrance into the refectory as it is also needed for the supply of the food from the kitchen, which was apparently situated outside the building.

The broad central hall in the eastern part of this younger residential house was once covered with a wide barrel vault of which some few remains are extant above the eastern wall (Pl. IIb). It has three symmetrically distributed niches in its southern wall. The middle one of them is more than double the width of the two lateral ones and is topped with an arch. In the opposite north wall a small secondary outer entrance is situated with a rather high threshold. On both sides of this hall the very shelters of the monks are distributed, organized in five roughly square and nearly equally designed rooms, which are each directly accessible from the described central hall. Three rooms are situated to the east, and two to the west. The remaining space between the latter and the southern entrance hall is occupied by a narrow corridor, which forms a direct connection with the two-aisled refectory mentioned above. However, the door at the northern end of this corridor was later walled up, probably because the use of this corridor was changed. Also all the inner doors have relatively high thresholds.

Between the doors of the eastern side of the main hall two relatively large niches were inserted into the wall. The western wall has beside the doors only one rather small niche at the southern end.

The three residential rooms to the east are all of the same size and design. According to the traces in the walls all of them were covered with hanging domes. The entrances are always placed in the middle. They have three symmetrically distributed niches in the opposite eastern wall, of which the middle one is slightly broader, and always two niches in the two side walls. The latter niches in the two outer walls of the lateral rooms are also symmetrically placed, while the distribution of the niches in the two inner walls follows an alternating pattern on both sides. Only the first room to the south was originally plastered.

The two slightly smaller rooms on the western side of the central hall each have two niches in all four walls. The two niches in the eastern inner entrance wall are slightly smaller in size and placed symmetrically on both sides of the doors. The niches in the inner partition wall between the two rooms are as in the rooms of the eastern side arranged according to an alternating pattern. Neither of them received any plastering of the walls.

With this arrangement the eastern part of the building has some close similarities with the so-called "*monastery*" in the north-east of the temple of Auletes at Athribis<sup>21</sup>, which the excavators understood as "*intended for a community living in a common hall, and may be an early type of monastery*". It is built of fired bricks and has a similar orientation as our building in Upper Ansîna. The main difference consists in a larger number of rooms to the sides of the central hall and the existence of a special vaulted cell at the southern end of the hall, to which our building does not have anything comparable.

The two aisled hall at the western side of the building which, as already said, we like to understand as the refectory, forms the westernmost part of the building (Pl. IIa). Although there are several rather large gaps in the surrounding walls, there is almost no doubt that its main access went through the narrow corridor from the long central hall in the eastern part of the building. For the monks living outside this building another door in the western wall of the small entrance hall might have existed. Otherwise the access to this refectory would be considerably complicated.

Also this refectory is furnished with a number of wall niches. There are three symmetrically distributed niches in the small northern wall, and in each of the two longer walls to the east and west two niches with far longer intermediate distances survive, although according to their arrangement in

<sup>21</sup> W.M.F. PETRIE, *Athribis*, *BSAE* 14, 1908, 11 pl. 35, on the location *ibid.* pl. 14.

PLATE I



a The church



b The new residential building, view from the west

PLATE II



a The refectory of the new residential building



b The eastern corridor of the new residential building

both cases a third niche can easily be conjectured. The purposes of all these niches are probably only decorative. Whether the southern wall was also furnished with such niches remains doubtful. Except for a few remains the wall on this side is nearly completely destroyed. As we assumed above, at least one door should have been extant in the wall for the outer communication.

With a row of five columns placed exactly in the middle, the refectory is divided into two aisles of equal width. Four column bases are still *in situ*. On both the longer sides of the hall long sections of sitting benches are also visible. Apparently these were the only fixed sitting places in the whole hall.

Traces of an earlier structure remain below the south-western corner of the refectory. A rectangular basin sunk into the ground is clearly visible. It is built of fired bricks and was once, but apparently not originally, divided into two separate sections. The upper end consists of a small step with half round extensions in the corners. There is no doubt that this basin originally served to keep drinkable water. Traces of further elements belonging to the same structure are hidden below the southern wall. When the new residential house was built, this basin apparently lost its function and disappeared below the floor of the refectory.

The western wall of the refectory forms the actual end of the building. However, a row of four original niches in the outer face of this wall, which normally should not belong to the outer decoration of a building, point to the fact that the builders did not intend this as the end of the building. Indeed at three positions between these niches some narrow vertical recesses were inserted into the wall, very probably to serve as provisions for the joining of further walls<sup>22</sup>. It seems, however, doubtful that such additional walls were ever erected. More probably, the monastery was already abandoned before there was a need for any additional rooms.

Concerning the final development of the building some interesting irregularities are observable. While all the "public rooms" such as the small entrance chamber, the long central hall of the eastern part, the connecting corridor to the refectory, and the refectory itself are fully plastered and whitewashed, among the pure residential rooms only the first one to the south of the eastern row shows a similar state of finishing. All the other rooms still have the simple raw structure of brick masonry. Even the floors

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<sup>22</sup> Contrary to a similar recess in the side wall of the church, they belong already to the original state of the building.

are lacking. Nor does the refectory have any floor. In addition all these more rudimentary rooms are devoid of any traces of use. Thus it is very probable that these rooms were never completed and consequently never regularly inhabited by any of the monks of the monastery.

### 5. The keep

The keep (Arab. *gawsaq*) is together with the church and the residential building the most important building of any Egyptian Early Christian monastery. Usually such a keep is several storeys high and accessible in most cases only at the level of the second floor to which one arrives by means of an independently erected stairway with which the tower is connected by a narrow drawbridge<sup>23</sup>. It is supposed to be drawn up in case of danger to the inhabitants of the monastery once they have fled into the tower. Towers of such kind do not guarantee absolute security, but, for a certain period, depending on the amount of provisions and water stored in the keep, its inhabitants could feel safe. According to many centuries of experience this security usually lasted longer than the patience of the aggressors<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> On these towers see U. Monneret de Villard, *Deyr el-Muharraqaq. Note archeologique* (Milan 1928) 28ff. where also the towers of the monasteries in Wadi Natrun are discussed; many new examples were discovered in Kellia, cf. R. KASSER (ed.), *EK 8184, I. Survey archéologique des Kellia (Basse Égypte), Rapport de la campagne 1981* (Louvain 1983) vol. II passim; the oldest example on Egyptian territory in a monastic context is the *pyrgos* in the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, see P. GROSSMANN, Architecture, in: K.A. MANAFIS (ed.), *Sinai. Treasures of the monastery of Saint Catherine* (Athens 1990) 29-39, spec. 29f. fig. 1 n° 1.

<sup>24</sup> In a recent discussion G. Descœudres has put this function of the towers in monasteries in question and understood them merely as the domicile of the abbots of the monasteries, ID., *Wohntürme in Klöstern und Eremitagen Ägyptens*, in: M. KRAUSE-S. SCHATEN (ed.), *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΑ. Spätantike und koptologische Studien Peter Grossmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden 1998) 69-79; without the intention to close my mind completely to his argumentation, the strong measures for defence as well as the generally very small chambers in these towers can only with difficulty be brought into agreement with a postulated higher comfort of living conditions for the abbot of a monastic community. None of the rooms in these towers are of similar sizes as found in all the ordinary living quarters of monks as have been found in Kellia, cf. *EK 8184, I* (1981) - *EK 8184, II* (1982-1983) passim. Beside this the enjoyment of living conditions better than the other monks contradicts in the early period the monastic self-identification of the abbots. Pachomios, as also his successors, did not want to receive any better or at least different treatment than all the other monks, as is shown in numerous episodes of his life, cf. F. RUPPERT, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge klösterlichen Gehorsams* (Münsterschwarzach 1971) 161ff. All the monastic towers mentioned in the sources have nothing to do with dwelling towers, and none of the known abbots of Sketis is recorded as dwelling in a tower. The tower of refuge of the laura at Mount Moses in Sinai as

Of the keep of our monastery only the inner partition walls survive. The outer walls are totally robbed, so that no traces were detectable. Apparently these outer walls were built of better material, probably of stones, and perhaps even of *aşlar* masonry, which, after the abandonment of the monastery, were taken away to be used for other building projects. The surviving inner walls, however, are sufficient to gain a fairly complete idea of the original plan of the tower. An indication of the thickness of the former outer walls is given by the remains of a narrow, more recent, east-west wall which apparently was once constructed against the outer eastern wall of the tower.

According to the interior arrangement of doors and rooms the original entrance was situated with all probability on the eastern side of the building. On this side there are no structures visible which could be understood as the remains of the stairway. But, the inner east-west corridor of the tower corresponds so nicely with the south-west corner of the neighbouring older residential house that there is little doubt, that the roof of the south-west room of this residential house was used as the outer support of the draw-bridge<sup>25</sup>, which could be drawn up if necessary. The question only remains of how the monks could get to this place, since in the whole monastery there are no remains of stairs. May be a proper staircase tower was constructed against the corner of this building which has gone. But, the same duty could be easily fulfilled by any ordinary ladder leant against the wall of

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mentioned in the *relatio* of Ammonios (ed. COMBEFIS) is called simply πύργος (ed. COMBEFIS 91, 9; 92, 31) while the kellion of the *hegumenos* is very differently named παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι τοῦ τόπου (ed. COMBEFIS 90, 29-30). That in the early period the number of the towers is much less than needed for the whole community does not speak against their defensive function. They were built preferably at first in those areas, where the majority of the monks were living, and this was usually the area around the churches where every week the majority of the monks gathered for the celebration of the holy Eucharist. On the other hand, not all the monks were convinced of the necessity of towers. The story of the raid in A.D. 444 is well known, cf. H.G.E. WHITE, *The monasteries of the Wādi 'n Natrīn, II. The history of the monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (New York 1932, repr. 1973) 38f. 164-167, on which occasion 49 monks lost their lives near the tower at the rock of Piamun, because they refused to secure themselves in the tower preferring to follow the call of «un vieillard avancé en âge, nommé Anbâ Ionas (*Younis*), se mit à dire aux frères, Ils sont arrivés et ils ne veulent que notre mort: que quiconque désire le martyre se tienne avec moi, et que quiconque a peur monte dans la Tour» *Synaxarium* of 26 Tūbah (= 21 Jan.) ed./trad. R. BASSET, *P.O. XI*, 5, 699f.; see also the anonymous report of, *Les quarante-neuf vieillards de Scété* (ed./trad. S. DE RICCI—E.O. WINSTEDT in: *Notices et Extraits* 39, 1916, 323-358) spec. 348 (= fol. 1).

<sup>25</sup> A similar arrangement of access to the tower still exists in Dayr as-Suryan, cf. H.G.E. WHITE, *The monasteries of the Wādi 'n Natrīn, III. The architecture and archaeology* (New York 1933, repr. 1973) 175ff. pl. 51.

the building, that could be easily pulled up by the last monk and brought into the tower as well.

The surviving remains of the tower belong to the ground level, the floor of which is slightly elevated above the normal ground level of the monastery. Approximately in the middle and below the assumed position of the entrance, a narrow corridor proceeds straight in an east-west direction to the middle of the tower. To the left of this corridor is the inner staircase with a series of steps rising contra-clockwise around a very massive newel-post to the following storeys. The other opening just beside the eastern wall of the tower leads to the area below the stairs (*sottoscala*) and was probably used as usual as a storage room. At the opposite position to the right side of the corridor, a door opens into a small room which has an exactly square ground-plan. At the western end of the corridor another door opens into a much larger room which is nearly double the size of the former one and obviously represents the main chamber of this storey. Its entrance is fitted with a clearly visible 'Türfang'<sup>26</sup>. Finally in the south-western corner of this room, a door opens into a very small annexe-room which does not have a direct connection with the entrance corridor. Thus it could have served only for secondary purposes. It is also connected with the space below the inner staircase.

The plan of the first floor, which probably represents the level of access to the tower, would be the same as the one of ground floor. Only the small and low storage room below the beginning of the stairs would lack. It is also possible that in the next floor above, the western main chamber would occupy the whole space from north to south inside the tower, without any secondary side room.

The purpose of all rooms recognizable in this ground-plan is, of course, impossible to detect. Nevertheless, one has to admit that the arrangement of rooms would be the most economic for the limited space within the tower.

## 6. Considerations concerning the date

During the excavations of the monastery no material for dating came to light. A small coin found in the masonry of the tower, datable to the time of the Empereur Herakleios (610-641)<sup>27</sup>, does not give any clearer informa-

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<sup>26</sup> *supra* n. 9.

<sup>27</sup> H.CHR. NOESKE, personal communication.

tion. An idea of the age of the monastery can thus be gained only with the help of analogies. The small church in the monastery has a fully developed khurus as part of its original design. The introduction of the khurus into churches was apparently an innovation of the time of Benjamin I (626-665), the 38<sup>th</sup> patriarch of the Coptic Church<sup>28</sup>, and must therefore be of later date. Even in the main church of the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, the necropolis of Memphis, datable shortly after the Arab conquest (639/42)<sup>29</sup> the khurus is not an integral part of the building but an installation of later date. Thus the earliest possible date of the church in our monastery is the late 7<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent.

The older residential building can be compared with some house units in the two ecclesiastical building complexes at Hilwan which are possibly to be identified with the foundations of the Coptic Patriarch Isaac (689/90-692) during the government of Abd' al-Aziz ibn Marwan (685-705), which points to a similar date around the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>30</sup>.

The large new residential building should be somewhat younger. It must have been built during a period of prosperity of the monastery, when the congregation expected a considerable increase in their community. This can hardly be the case after the introduction of the poll tax (*jizyah*) for monks in Egypt in A.D. 705 in the time of 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Malik (705-709) and his successors<sup>31</sup>. It is significant that traces of use are few and the expected increase of the number of monks may never have occurred. The new residential house remained unfinished and was never fully inhabited. Both facts point to a sudden change in the general living conditions of the

<sup>28</sup> On the kind of this khurus see P. GROSSMANN, *Mittelalterliche Langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten* (Glückstadt 1982) 112ff.; there is reason to assume, that such a khurus was introduced into monastic architecture by Benjamin I (626-665), probably during his long stay in the monastery of Dayr Anba Shinuda at Suhag; cf. P. GROSSMANN, Der Bericht Benjamins I über den Mönch Isidor und was an historischen Nachrichten in diesem Bericht enthalten ist, in: *Divitiae Aegypti* (= Hommage M. Krause, Wiesbaden 1995) 128-133, spec. 132f.; a study on the early development of the khurus in Egyptian church architecture is in preparation; see also supra n. 4.

<sup>29</sup> GROSSMANN-SEVERIN, Saqqara IV 166ff. fig. 2; the date was recently put in question by M. VAN LOHUIZEN-MULDER, Early Christian lotus-panel capitals and other so-called impost capitals, *BABESCH* 62, 1987, 131-151 spec. 147, but without convincing arguments.

<sup>30</sup> *CoptE IV* (1991) 1232-1235 fig. on p. 1234, s.v. Hilwân.

<sup>31</sup> Until about this year the monks were freed from paying poll tax, cf. A.S. TRITTON, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects* (London 1970) 217ff. with references; see also C.H. BECKER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam II* (Straßburg 1903, repr. 1977) 81ff. M. KRAUSE, Zur Möglichkeit von Besitz im apotaktischen Mönchtums Ägyptens, in: *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies Rom, 22. - 26. Sept. 1980* (Rome 1985) 121-133, spec. 124ff.

monastery. Another reason for this change could also have been the outbreak of an epidemic such as the plague, which has considerably reduced the population of Egypt on more than one occasion. Such a disastrous event took place in A.D. 714 during the pontificate of Alexander II (705-730)<sup>32</sup>.

Thus the keep may also date to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century. Its plan is clearer and further developed than the early towers discovered by the Swiss Mission at Kellia<sup>33</sup>. But it is much less developed than the large towers of the surviving monasteries in Wadi Natrun<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Several outbreaks of plague are recorded during the pontificate of Alexander II (705-730), "in A.D. 714 many Copts and Muslims were killed including the ruling Governor Qurrah Shurayk (709-714) ... his successor, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Rifā'ah al-Ḥamī (714-717), was inaugurated in the midst of an outbreak of famine (probably caused by the plague) that killed more people than the previous plague", c.f. S.Y. LABIB in: *CoptE* I (1991) 85-87 s.v. Alexander II.

<sup>33</sup> *supra* n. 23.

<sup>34</sup> MONNERET DE VILLARD *op.cit.* (as n. 23) 28ff.

# COPTIC STELAE FROM MANQABĀD

BY

ABDAL-RAHMAN ABDAL-TAWAB, ADEL HASSAN AL-MANSUB  
IBRAHIM, AND SOFIA SCHATEN

Manqabād – approximately 12 km north of Asyūṭ on the left side of the Nile – is situated close to the village of Abū al-Kasīm and at the beginning of the new road to the New Valley.<sup>1</sup>

In Manqabād, late-antique ruins belonging to a Coptic settlement which continued until the age of the Arabs were found. The ruins were mentioned by several authors of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. M. AHMED BEY KAMEL makes first known of findings among which were fragments of tombstones with Coptic inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> New knowledge of Manqabād's history was recently added due to excavations.<sup>3</sup> The final reports of the E.A.Q.-campaigns from 1976 to 1991 are not yet published. F. KHORSHID published a summary about the activities.<sup>4</sup> The attached stelae No. 1 to 5 were excavated during the season in 1976 and are currently stored in the new magazine in Fustāṭ.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Place names quoted from *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 1991 (= *CoptEncyc*).

<sup>2</sup> M. AHMED BEY KAMAL, Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout, au nord et Déir-el-Ganadlah, au sud, in: *ASAE* 15 (1915): 177–187.

<sup>3</sup> S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, IV (Wiesbaden 1988): 1567–1568. P. GROSSMANN, Neue christliche Funde aus Ägypten, in: *Actes du XI<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'Archéologie chrétienne*, Lyon 21-28 septembre. Rome 1989: 1876–1879. S. AL SYRIANY & B. HABIB, *Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches & Monasteries in Upper Egypt*, Cairo 1990: 102, No. 121. P. GROSSMANN, in: *CoptEncyc*. V 1523. F. KHORSHID, The Excavation of Manqabād: Future Projecting, in: *Actes du Symposium des Fouilles Coptes, 7-9 Novembre 1996*, PSACTD 1998: 69–74 (= KHORSHID 1998).

<sup>4</sup> KHORSHID 1998: 69–74.

<sup>5</sup> There is nothing in the report about the condition of the inscriptions or measures. Probably the surfaces of the stelae were partly damaged, the reading and reproduction seemed difficult.

In his report of 1989 P. GROSSMANN assumed that a late roman military camp was situated in Manqabād.<sup>6</sup> His theory was based on the still visible remains of an enclosing wall and of a western gateway. Likewise there is evidence of foundations-walls for churches or houses. The conclusions of the excavations from 1976 to 1991 show that the remains of churches and of other buildings belong to the period from the 6th to the 8th century. In the season of 1985 a building complex was uncovered with two building phases including many rooms with wall paintings, Coptic inscriptions, Greek and Coptic graffiti. In the centre of the excavation-site there were some smaller buildings which were comparable with the ones found in Dayr Apa Apollo at Bawīt.<sup>7</sup> It cannot be excluded that the antiquities area to the north of Manqabād has been a monastic settlement as well.

During the excavation some graves were found, one in the shape of a mastaba build of bricks. In two burial-places graves were opened. They contained one or more bodies. The stelae, which were found in this area were broken.

The so far unpublished tombstones with Coptic inscriptions – only available as transcriptions – support the presumption that they were erected for the inhabitants of a monastery. They were found at different locations in the excavated area.<sup>8</sup>

No. 1:<sup>9</sup> <sup>1</sup>

+ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠ|ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ|ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ| Ο  
ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΜΑ| <sup>5</sup>ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ| Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
ΑΠ|Α ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΑΡΙ ΟΥΝΑ Μ|Ν ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ| ΝΤΑϞΗΤΟΝ ΝΜΟϞ  
ΝΣΟΥ| <sup>10</sup>ΚΕ ΝΖΑΘΩΡ ΙΒ = ΑΥΩ ΑΡΙ| ΟΥΝΑ ΜΕΝΑ ΑΥΡΗΝΤΙΟΣ  
Π[Ε]ϞΙΩ[Τ]

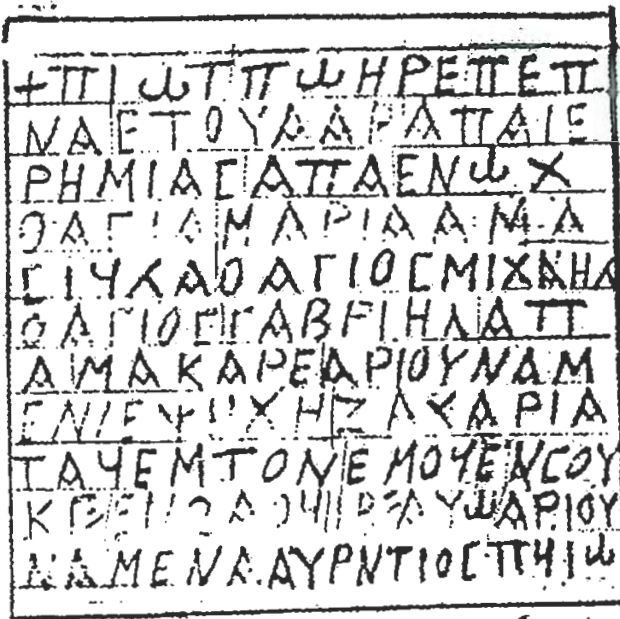
Ο Father, Ο Son, Ο Holy Spirit, Απα Jeremias, Απα Enoch, Ο Holy Mary, Αμα Sibylla, Ο Holy Michael, Ο Holy Gabriel, Απα Makare, have mercy on the soul of Zacharia, who went to rest on Hathor, 25, [Indiction] 12 and have mercy [with] Mena Aurentios his father.

<sup>6</sup> GROSSMANN 1989 (as. n. 3): 1876–1879.

<sup>7</sup> GROSSMANN 1991 (as n. 3): 1523.

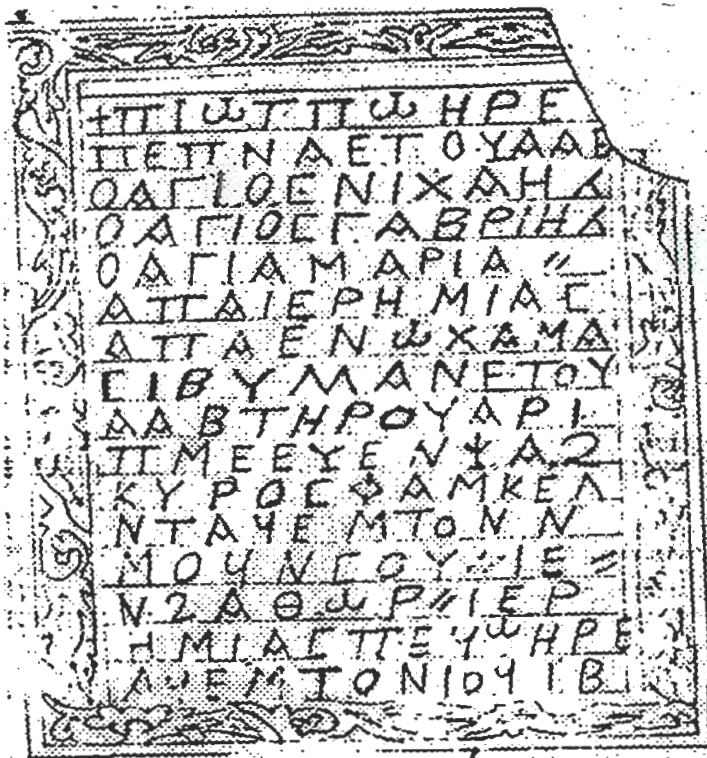
<sup>8</sup> Report of the Manqabād-Excavation 1976, by ADEL HASSAN AL-MANSUB IBRAHIM, Insp., excavator, see below: No. 1-5.

<sup>9</sup> Report: „A funeral stela of limestone, broken into 5 pieces. Coptic inscription painted with red and blue, found on one of the graves west of the western wall (in 29.8.1976)“.



+ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠ  
 ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ  
 ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ  
 ΟΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΜΑ  
 ΣΙΩΛΑ ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
 ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΠ  
 Α ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΔΡΙΟΥΝΑ Μ  
 ΕΝΙΕΨΗΧΗ ΖΑΚΑΡΙΑ  
 ΤΑΦΕΜΤΟΝ ΕΜΟΦΕ ΝΣΟΥ  
 ΚΕ ΕΝΖΑΟΦ ΙΒ = ΔΥΩ ΔΡΙΟΥ  
 ΝΑ ΜΕΝΑ ΔΥΡΝΤΙΟΣ ΠΩΩ

No. 2:<sup>10</sup>



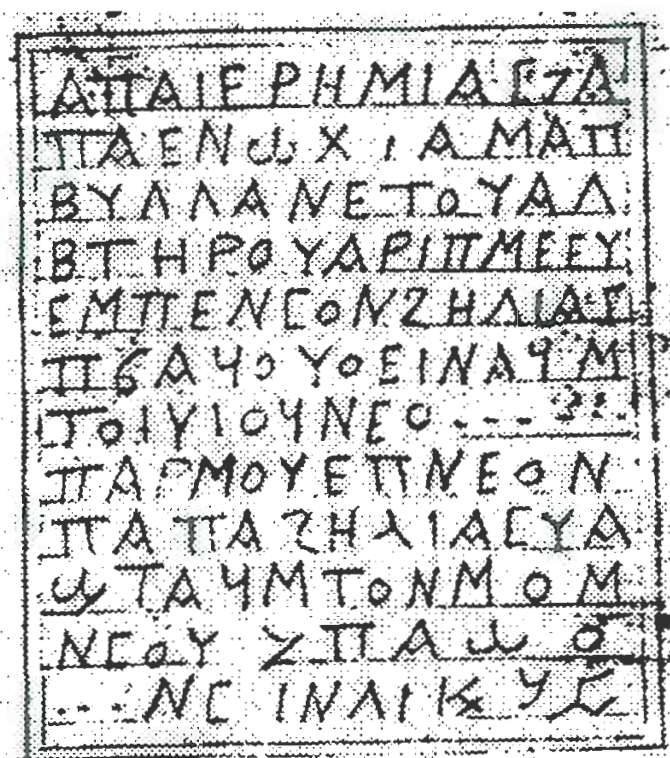
† ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ  
 Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
 Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
 Ο ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ =  
 ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ  
 ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΟΥ  
 ΔΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΡΙ  
 ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΨΑΖ  
 ΚΥΡΟΣ ΦΑΜΚΕΛ  
 ΝΤΑΦΕΜΤΟΝ Ν  
 ΜΟΦ ΝΣΟΥ = ΙΕ =  
 ΝΖΑΘΩΡ = ΙΕΡ  
 ΗΜΙΑΣ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ  
 ΔΦΕΜΤΟΝ ΙΟΦ ΙΒ

<sup>10</sup> Report: „Funerary stela of limestone, broken into 3 parts, upper part missing, found in a pit outside the western wall (found 23.8.1976).“ The drawing shows neither a missing upper part (only the right corner is damaged) nor where the piece was broken.

<sup>1</sup>† ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ| ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ| Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ| Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ  
ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ| <sup>5</sup>Ο ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ=| ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ| ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ|  
ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ ΕΤΟΥ|<sup>10</sup>ΑΔΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ| ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝCΑ2| ΚΥΡΟΣ  
[Π]2ΑΜΚΛΛ[Ε]| ΝΤΑΦΗΤΟΝ Ν|ΜΟΦ ΝCΟΥ =ΙΕ =| Ν2ΔΘΩΡ =  
ΙΕΡ|<sup>15</sup>ΗΜΙΑC ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ| ΔΦΗΤΟΝ ΝΜΟΦ ΙΒ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, O Holy Michael, O Holy Gabriel, O Holy Mary, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla, all the Saints remember the Master Kyros, the smith. He went to rest on day 15 of Hathor. Jeremias his son, he went to rest on 12.

No. 3:<sup>11</sup>



ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC Δ  
ΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ Π  
ΒΥΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΔ  
Β ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥ  
Ε ΜΠΕΝCΟΝ 2ΗΛΙΑC  
ΠΒΑΦΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΔΦΗ  
ΤΟΙ ΥΙΟΦ ΝΕΟ .....  
ΠΑΡΜΟΥΕ ΠΝΕΟΝ  
ΠΑΠΑ 2ΗΛΙΑC ΥΑ  
ΦΤ ΔΦΗΤΟΝ ΝΟΜ  
ΝCΟΥ 2 ΠΑΩΟ  
...NC ΙΝΛΙ Κ, Σ -

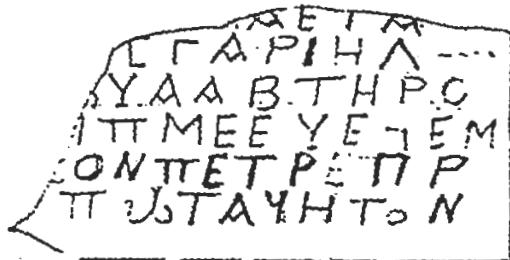
<sup>1</sup>ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC Δ|ΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ CΙ|ΒΥΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΔ|Β ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ  
ΠΜΕΕΥ|<sup>5</sup>Ε ΜΠΕΝCΟΝ 2ΗΛΙΑC| ΠCΑ2 ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΔΦΗ|ΤΟΝ ΝΜΟΦ  
ΝCΟΥ ...| ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝCΟΝ| ΠΑΠΑ 2ΗΛΙΑC ΝCΑ|<sup>10</sup>ΦΤ ΔΦΗΤΟΝ  
ΝΜΟΦ| ΝCΟΥ 2 ΠΑΩΟ|. NC ΙΝΛΙΚ, Σ

Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla, all the Saints remember our brother Elias, the master of the light, he went to rest on the day [ ] Parmoute. Our

<sup>11</sup> Report: Funeral stela of limestone, broken into 7 parts, found west of the western entrance (in 21.8.1976)“.

brother Apa Elias, the weaver, he went to rest on the day 7 of Parschons, Indiction 7.

No. 4:<sup>12</sup>

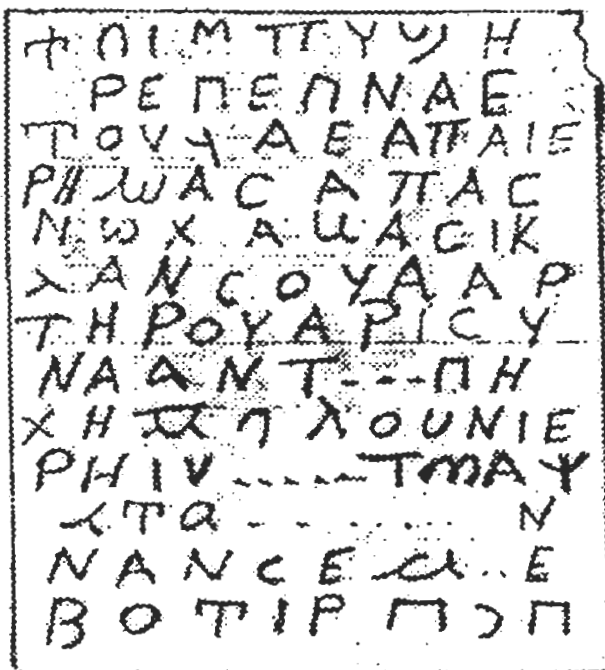


ⲓⲁⲉⲓⲙ  
ⲓⲥ ⲓⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ ....  
ⲓⲕⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ  
ⲓⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ  
ⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲣ  
ⲓⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲕⲏⲧⲟⲛ

... ⲓⲁⲉⲓⲙ ⲁⲓⲓⲟⲓⲥ ⲓⲁⲃⲣⲏⲗ .... | .ⲟⲓⲕⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ | ⲩⲁⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲓⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲓⲥⲟⲛ  
ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲣ | ... | ⲓⲡⲱⲧ ⲁⲕⲏⲧⲟⲛ

... ? ]ⲟ Holy Gabriel ... ? ] all the Saints ... ? ] remember our ... ? ] brother  
Petre [the man/inhabitant of ... ? ]ⲡⲱⲧ, he went to rest ...

No. 5:<sup>13</sup>



ⲧⲓⲙ ⲙⲩⲱⲛ  
ⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲁ ⲉ  
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲉ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲓⲉ  
ⲣⲏⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲉ  
ⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲕ  
ⲁⲁ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲁⲣ  
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲩ  
ⲛⲁ ⲁⲛⲧ ... ⲛⲏ  
ⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲗⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉ  
ⲣⲏⲓⲩ ... ⲧⲙⲁⲧ  
ⲗⲧⲁ ... .. ⲛ  
ⲛⲁ ⲛⲥⲉ .. ⲉ  
ⲃⲟⲧⲓ ⲣⲛ . ⲛ

<sup>12</sup> Report: „Part of a funeral stela of limestone, found west of the western wall (in 25.8.1976)“.

<sup>13</sup> Report: Limestone funeral stela, broken into 7 parts, found in the grave area outside of the southern wall (in 3.8.1976)“.

<sup>1</sup>† ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗ|ΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ Ε|ΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΕ|ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΑ Ε|<sup>5</sup>ΝΩΧ  
 ΑΜΑ ΣΙΒΥΛ|ΛΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ| ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ| ΟΥΝΑ ΜΝ Τ[...] |ΠΩ|ΗΡΕ  
 ΜΠΛΟΥΝΙΕ <sup>10</sup>[... ?? ... ] Ε|ΒΟΤ ΙΒ [ ?...]<sup>14</sup>

Ο Father, Ο Son, Ο Holy Spirit, Απα Jeremias, Απα Enoch, Αμα Sibylla, all  
 the Saints have mercy with Τ[...], the son of Plounie ? [...] month 12?

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<sup>14</sup> Perhaps a formula like ΔΑΨΤΟΝ ΜΟΙ followed by the personal indication and the date of death.

# UN DOCUMENT CONCERNANT LA DÉCOUVERTE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE NAG HAMMADI

PAR

GAMAL HERMINA BOTROS

La découverte, en 1945, de la bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi est, sans aucun doute, un événement majeur dans le monde de l'histoire en général et de l'histoire chrétienne et copte en particulier.

L'histoire de cette découverte demeure obscure. Nous avons trouvé cependant une lettre datée du 2 octobre 1946, adressée à l'Inspectorat des Antiquités d'Assouan, par l'inspecteur MANSOUR qui nous donne un aperçu des premières enquêtes relatives à cette découverte. La lettre fut envoyée au directeur du musée copte de l'époque, Dr. MAHER HABIB.

Ci-dessous la traduction intégrale du document:

Bureau d'inspection des monuments d'Assouan

Lettre N° 734 / 1 / 7 / 5

Monsieur l'inspecteur en chef des monuments de la Haute-Égypte,

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que nous avons reçu une lettre de l'inspection des monuments de Sohag datée du 18/07/1947, à laquelle est jointe une photocopie d'un avis signé par le gardien des monuments de Balabiche annonçant que certains porteurs d'engrais, lors de leur travail à la montagne, ont trouvé des livres anciens dans la zone du gardien des monuments d'El Qasr et d'El Sayade.

Je me suis dirigé, le 25 du même mois, accompagné du gardien en chef vers la montagne d'El-Tarek pour rencontrer le gardien en question suivant un rendez-vous arrangé. Le gardien a réaffirmé, dans le procès-verbal, ce qu'il a déjà mentionné dans sa lettre et a nommé comme témoins le commissaire et le gardien de la zone El Tarek, qui, à leur tour, ont confirmé ses propos et ont ajouté que la première fois qu'ils ont entendu parler de ce sujet était lors de leur rencontre avec les deux gardiens le 5/07/1947.

Quand nous avons posé la question au gardien d'El Qasr et d'El Sayade, il a nié ce qu'a dit le gardien de Balabiche aussi bien que le fait qu'il ai parlé

de ce sujet au commissaire et au gardien de cette zone. Il a ajouté que les propos du gardien de Balabiche n'avaient pour but que de porter atteinte à sa réputation.

Nous avons également posé la question au gardien en chef des monuments de Qéna ( qui est l'oncle du gardien d'El Qasr et d'El Sayade ) qui a soutenu son neveu et a nié la découverte de ces anciens livres.

Nous avons alors mené l'enquête à Qéna et à ses alentours et nous avons déduit que certains habitants d'El Qasr ,lors du transport des engrais à la Montagne-Est, à proximité d'El Habcha et d'Ezbet El Boussa, l'hiver dernier, ont trouvé dans une fouille un certain nombre de livres (on prétend qu'ils sont au nombre de sept, aussi bien que quelques documents, le tout en langue copte). Deux de ces livres étaient en bon état et ont été vendus par les porteurs d'engrais à des habitants d'El Qasr. Ceux-ci se sont rendus à Qéna et les ont présentés à Monsieur SAWIREIS (commerçant d'antiquités à Qéna) qui n'a accepté de payer que 3.5 L.E. Ils ont alors refusé de les lui vendre et les ont présentés ultérieurement à un autre commerçant – Monsieur ZAKI BASTA – qui les a achetés à un prix inconnu, puis s'est rendu au Caire pour les revendre à M. MANSOUR ,un autre commerçant, mais la vente n'a pas eu lieu en raison du prix proposé.

M. BASTA a alors présenté les mêmes livres au commerçant Fouquet qui les achetés à un prix qui nous est imprécis ; puisque les uns disent à 700 L.E. et les autres à 1300 L.E.; tandis que les documents joints à ces livres ont été vendus au même commerçant à plusieurs reprises.

Le commerçant SAWIREIS m'a, de sa part, confirmé ces faits tandis que le commerçant BASTA a tout nié. Je me suis dirigé alors vers la maison de ce dernier et j'ai bien fouillé la pièce où il expose sa marchandise mais je n'ai rien trouvé.

Sur ce, je vous prie de tenir au courant M. l'inspecteur des monuments du Caire.

Veuillez agréer l'expression de mes sentiments de respect.

Registre

ABDEL RAHMANE

Inspecteur des monuments d'Assouan et de Qéna

MANSOUR

Le 2/10/1946

# GREEK LOAN WORDS IN COPTIC

– CONTINUATION: § 179-204<sup>1</sup> –

BY

ANBA GREGORIOS (†)

## THE GREEK VERB IN COPTIC

### THE FORM OF THE GREEK VERB IN COPTIC:

§ 179. The Greek verb is adopted, in Coptic, in an invariable absolute<sup>2</sup> form, which is used like the absolute form of the infinitive of a Coptic verb. It may be conjugated with all Coptic preformative elements and be used as imperative and in any other way in which the absolute form of a Coptic infinitive may be used. But there is, in a Greek verb, no equivalent of the Coptic qualitative.

§ 180. In all dialects, except Sahidic<sup>3</sup>, the Greek verb is constructed with the Coptic verb ερ- (B.), ḫ- (AA<sub>2</sub>) or ελ- (F.): 'to do' prefixed<sup>4</sup>. This indicates that the Greek verb has lost, in Coptic, its verbal signification and is treated as a substantive<sup>5</sup>. This is why it needs ερ·ḫ. or ελ to transfer it into a real verb.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the former §§ see *BSAC* XXX (1991) 77-92.

<sup>2</sup> Only once I came through a Greek verb constructed in the *status pronominalis*, ἀναγ επιειναγ-κληρος νταμιμ-θοϋ; the Arabic translates انظروا هذا الرئيس الذي اجرتہ 'Behold the skipper whom I had hired' (μισθοῦν) [*Iri.* 429, 1 (S.)]. This may be supported by another passage from the same text: ταντοϋ ψαροι νταψοποϋ νταμιμ-θοϋ 'I bring them to me and I receive them, and I hire (μισθοῦν) them' [*Iri.* 721, 2 (S.)]. Obviously the writer meant νταμιμ-θοϋϋ (LEMM, *Mis.* B. p. XIII, XIV). cf. Arabic واستأجرهم. However, the text is very late, dated from the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century (LEMM, *Mis.* p. VI).

<sup>3</sup> If ḫ is not regularly used before the Greek verb in some Fayyumic, Achmimic or Subachm. texts (cf. A. BÖHLIG: *Die gr.-lat. Lehnwörter in den K. manichäischen Texten* p. 36f.), these exceptions to the general rule must be due to later Sahidic influence (cf. KAHLE, in: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79 (1954) Nr. 7/8 col. 486; BALI p. 256 n. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Where ḫ is prefixed to a Greek verb in a Sahidic text this is due to Achmimic or subachmimic influence, e.g. in *BG* (TILL's edition 19); *Ryl.* 270, 2; 274, 3; 314, 22.

<sup>5</sup> cf. BÖHLIG, *Die gr. Lehnwörter im Sahidic und Bohairic* N.T. p. 46, 55.

<sup>6</sup> In the imperative ḫ, ερ: ελ becomes απ-, the imperative of ḫ, but in Sahidic the imperative of a Greek verb remains without a prefix, e.g. ἀγωνίζου > ἀγωνιζε (S), ἀριαγω-

The form of the Greek verb in Bohairic and Fayyournic, on the one hand, and in Sahidic, Achmimic and Subachmimic, on the other hand, is not the same.

## IN BOHAIRIC AND FAYYOURNIC

§ 181. Bohairic and Fayyournic have the Greek verb usually in the form of the Greek infinitive present.

a.1. *Verbs in -ω and the contracted verbs in -έω* appear, in Bohairic and Fayyournic, without distinguishment: both groups have the infinitive ending in -IN.

ἀναγκάζειν 'to constrain' > εραναγκαζιν (B.), ελαναγκαζιν (F.).

πιστεύειν, 'to believe' > ερπιστευιν (B.), ελπιστευιν (F.).

αἰτεῖν 'to ask' > ερετιν (B.), ελετιν (F.).

ἐπιθυμεῖν 'to desire' > ερεπιθυμιν (B.).

a.2. The spelling of -ειν, or εῖν by IN is due to the fact that EI had the pronunciation of I (cf. §§ 4.a., 13.a.).

b. *Contracted verbs in ᾶω* have their Greek infinitive ending in -αν in Bohairic and Fayyournic

ἐπιτιμᾶν 'to rebuke' > ερεπιτιμαν (B.), ελεπιτιμαν (F.).

c.1. *Contracted verbs in -όω* have their infinitive form ending in -οιν, in (B.), instead of -οῦν.

ἄξιον 'to esteem worthy' > εραζιοιν (B.), ελαζιον (F.).<sup>7</sup>

c.2. The change of the infinitive ending -οῦν into ΟΙΝ took place in the New Testament Greek, e.g.<sup>8</sup> κατασκηνοῖν instead of κατασκηνοῦν in Mt. 13, 32 (C.B\*D), Mk. 4, 32 (B\*), ἀποδεκατοῖν instead of ἀποδεκατοῦν in Heb. 7, 5 (BD\*), φιμοῖν instead of φιμοῦν in 1Pet. 2, 15 (&\*). This phenomenon is stated by HATZIDAKIS<sup>9</sup> who added other examples, Damasc. 11.320 B. στεφα-νοῖν (SOPHOCL., Lex. 41) ROSS, Fascic. 11. 19, στεφα-νοῖν (SYROS); IRINCH 9 ἐκπληροῖν, 180 (1145), ἀκυροῖν etc.; and suppor-

ΝΙΖΕCΘΕ (B) > αλια-γωνιζεCΘΕ (F.) 'fight!' [1Tim. 6,12]; αἰτήσαCΘΕ > ̄αιτει A2 'ask!' [Jo. 15,7]. In Achmimic, both ̄αι or ̄ει and ̄ occur in the imperative of a Greek verb (TILL § 117.9 β); e.g. ̄αιρη̄φε [Joel 1,5] ̄ρη̄φε [Hab. 2,19] 'awake!'

<sup>7</sup> e.g. BARUCH 6, 41 (F.) [TILL, Fay. Chrest. p. 11, 27]. I am not quite sure if this is always the rule in Fayyournic with verbs in -όω.

<sup>8</sup> cf. e.g. C. TISCHENDORF; s.v.; also BAUER s.v.

<sup>9</sup> G.N. HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1892) p. 193.

ted by BLASS<sup>10</sup>, MAYSER<sup>11</sup>, MOULTON<sup>12</sup>, and others<sup>13</sup> with some further examples.

## THE GREEK IMPERSONAL VERBS

§ 182. δοκεῖ 'it seems good' and ἔξεστι 'it is lawful' seem to have always in Bohairic the form of the Greek infinitive.

a. δοκεῖ occurs twice in the Bohairic<sup>14</sup> NT. in the infinitive form conjugated with the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. fem. in the neuter meaning: ΔΟΚΕΔΟΚΙΝ ἨΝΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC [Ac. 15, 22 (B.)] (= ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις) 'it seemed good to the Apostles'. ΔΟΚΕΔΟΚΙΝ ... ΝΑΝ [Ac. 15, 25 (B.)] (= ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν) 'it seemed good to us.'

b. ἔξεστι, it is noticed, occurs in Bohairic<sup>15</sup> without ΕΡ prefixed to the Greek infinitive form in an absolute way, that is to say, not conjugated: ΕΞΕCΤΙΝ ΝΗΙ ΕΕΡ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ [1 Co. 6, 12 (B.)] (= πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν) 'it is allowed to me to do all things'; ΕΞΕCΤΙΝ ΝΑΝ [De.V. 2.8, 6 (B.)] 'it is lawful to us'.

c. πρέπει 'it is fitting' always occur in Bohairic<sup>16</sup> in the impersonal form with prefixed ΕΡ: ΕΡΕΠΙΩΟΥ ΕΡΠΡΕΠΙ ΝΑΚ [FR.102, 11 (B.)] 'the glory is due to Thee'. Also in: Aeg. 39, 7; 63, 3; DeV. 1. 52, 2; 66, 2; 106, 6; 126, 3; ib. 2. 6, 13; 30, 9; 35, 15; BSAC 4 (1938) p. 111, 13 (all B.) and often.

d. μέλει 'there is a care, it concerns'. It is found written in both forms: the infinitive form and the impersonal form. Both have the prefix ΕΡ and are conjugated, like ΔΟΚΙΝ, with the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. fem. in a neuter meaning as the subject ΕΡΜΕΛΙΝ ΝΑϢ ΑΝ ΣΑ ΝΙΕCΩΟΥ [Jo. 10, 13 (B.)] (= οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προβάτων), 'he careth not for the sheep'. In the infinitive form also: Mt. 22, 16; Mk. 4, 38; 12, 14; Lk. 10, 40; Jo. 12, 6; 1 Pet. 5, 7 (all B.). ἨΠΕΝ ΘΡΕCΕΡΜΕΛΙ ΝΑΚ [1 Co. 7, 21(B.)] (= μή σοι

<sup>10</sup> F. BLASS, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, bearbeitet v. A. DEBRUNNER (8. Auflage), Göttingen 1949 § 91.

<sup>11</sup> E. MAYSER, *Gram. d. gr. Papyri aus d. Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig (1906-1935) I p. 349.

<sup>12</sup> J.H. MOULTON, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, (London 1952) p. 332, where he added δηλοῖν instead of δηλοῦν in P.Lond. 231, 13; MOULTON in: *The Classical Review* 18 (1904) p. 110f.

<sup>13</sup> cf. WESSELY; 'Infinitive auf -οῖν', *Studien z. Pal. u. Pap.* 13 (1913) p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> I know no example of this verb in Fayyomic.

<sup>15</sup> In Fayyomic I have not met with this verb unless with ΟΥΚ adopted from the Greek as a whole e.g. ΟΥΚ ΕΞΕCΤΙ ΝΗΚ [Mt. 14, 4 (F.)] (= οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι) '...it is not lawful to thee.'

<sup>16</sup> I am unable to find this verb in Fayyomic.

μελέτω) 'let it not be a care to thee'. In *Ac.* 18, 17 (B.). μέλει takes the form of the infinitive passive: *να-σερμελεσε αν ηγαλιων* (= οὐδέν ... ἔμελεν) 'it was not a care to Galión.'

## GREEK DEPONENT VERBS

§ 183. Greek deponent verbs are adopted in Bohairic and Fayyomic in their infinitive middle form, always with the ending -CΘΕ:

ἀπάζεσθαι 'to salute' > *εραспаζεσε* (B.)

σέβεσθαι 'to worship' > *ερεβεσε* (B.) *ελεβεσε* (F.)

χρῆσθαι, χρᾶσθαι, 'to use' > *ερχρασε* (B.)<sup>17</sup>

παραιτεῖσθαι 'to excuse one's self' > *επαρετισε* (B.)

ἀρνεῖσθαι 'to deny' > *ελαρнисε* (F.)

## THE GREEK PASSIVE IN COPTIC

§ 184a. The Greek passive voice is rendered, in Coptic, with Greek verbs in quite the same way as with Coptic verbs: using the active with the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plural as subject of an impersonal general meaning:

e.g. *περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης* (*Lk.* 1, 4) > *νη εταγερκαθηχιν ημοκ. νσρη ησhtoγ* (B.) (*εταγερκαθηγει ημοκ ησhtoγ* (S.)) 'the things in which thou wast instructed (lit. those things) in which they (= people) instructed thee'.

b. There are, however, some cases in which the form of the Greek infinitive passive is used in Bohairic and Fayyomic to translate a Greek verb in the passive voice; e.g. *ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῆτε* [*Jh.* 16, 1] is translated by *ηνα ητετενηωτεμερεckaηδαλιζεσε* (B.) 'lest ye be made to stumble'; *ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ* [*Mt.* 13, 57] > *ηναγελεckaηδαλιζεσε τηλογ ηλη ησhtoγ* (F.) 'they all were offended in him'. Also *Mt.* 11, 6; 13, 21. 57; 15, 12; 26, 31. 33(bis); *Mk.* 4, 17; 6, 3; 14, 27, 29; *Lk.* 7, 23; *2Co.* 11, 29; *Aeg.* 225, 4, f.b.; *TConst.* 195.53, 6 (all B.). *καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίας ἔχοντες* [*2Pet.* 2, 14] > *εογοντωογ ηογηт εεεργημναζεσε σεη ογδι ηxonc* (B.) 'they having a heart exercised in iniquity'.

c. It is to be noticed here that these two verbs *σκανδαλίζειν* & *γυμνάζειν*, occur with the ending -IN in an active meaning or in active

<sup>17</sup> F. *χρω* 12. 152 Bohairic may be F<sub>s</sub>.

construction to render the meaning of the passive, e.g. ἀΡΙΓΥΜΝΑΖΙΝ<sup>18</sup> ἸΜΩΟΥ [1*Ti.* 4, 7 (B.)] (= γύμναζε δέ σεαυτὸν) 'exercise them'; ΝΗ ΕΤΑΥΕΡΓΥΜΝΑΖΙΝ ἸΜΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΤΣ [Heb. 12, 11 (B.)] (= τοῖς δι' αὐτῆς γεγυμνασμένοις) 'those who have been exercised through it (lit. those whom they have trained them)'; ΟΥΞ-ΡΕ ΕΘΝΑΕΡΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΙΝ ἸΠΑCΟΝ [1*Cor.* 8, 13 (B.)] (= βρῶμα σκανδαλίζει τὸν ἀδελφόν μου) '(the) food which will cause my brother to stumble' (F. ΟΥΖΡΗ ΤΕΤΝΑC-ΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΠΑCΑΝ)<sup>19</sup>.

d. On the other hand, CΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ CΘΕ appears also in an active meaning. In this case the verb might have been taken as deponent. The different texts, however, show inconsistency in the form of the verb, i.e. hesitation between the active form and the deponent form, e.g. ΠΕΚΒΑΛ ἸΟΥΙΝΑΗ ΕΡCΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕCΘΕ ἸΜΟΚ [Mt. 5, 29 (B.)] (= σκανδαλίζει σε) 'thy right eye offend thee'. In a footnote, HORNER notices (CΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΙΝ, many MSS). Also Mt. 5, 30; 17, 27; 18, 6.8.9; Mk. 9, 42. 43. 47; Lk. 17, 2; Jo. 6, 61 (all B.).

These facts show that the Greek verbs mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph have not a passive meaning on account of their passive forms but are to be considered equal to those Greek verbs dealt with in § 189.

## IN SAHIDIC, ACHMIMIC AND SUBACHMIMIC

§ 185. In these southern dialects, the Greek verb normally appears in a form that equals to the Greek 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. imperative active, and is stressed in correspondence with it.

According to CHAÎNE<sup>20</sup>, STEINDORFF<sup>21</sup>, and BÖHLIG<sup>22</sup>, this form is the infinitive form lacking its ending. This development took place in later Greek, from the Ptolemaic period onward, where the ending -εῖν of the inf.

<sup>18</sup> cf § 180 n. 2 (the imperative).

<sup>19</sup> The Greek verb in this Fayyumic passage is used without -ΕΛ, and not in the form of the Greek infinitive. The text must be of Sahidic influence. This may be also noticed in some other not pure Fayyumic texts, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΤΕΚΔΑΗ (Ν)ΓΑΡΕΝΗ ΕΤΘΛΙΒΙ ΕΙΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΚΛΗCΘ[Ε] 'for there hast power in respect to them that are afflicted (θλίβειν) or to them who are shut in (ἐγκλεισθαι) [Wor. 325. 5 (F.)].

<sup>20</sup> § 562.

<sup>21</sup> *Lehrbuch* § 284.

<sup>22</sup> *Die gr. Lehnwörter im sah. u. boh. N.T.* p. 46, 47.

is sometimes replaced by -εν<sup>23</sup> or simply by -ε, as the -n became weak<sup>24</sup> and could easily fall away.

This explanation seems logical, but it meets with the following difficulties:

1- There is a number of Greek verbs adopted, especially in Sahidic, the forms of which cannot be, in any way, similar to that of the Greek infinitive (with or without the ending)<sup>25</sup>.

2- The Greek deponent and middle verbs with exception of some few incidents, do not take the form of the Greek infinitive in -CΘΑΙ but have the ending -Ε.

3- The verb χρήσθαι or χρῶσθαι 'to use, to make use of', which very often occurs in all kinds of Coptic texts, literary and non literary, appears always in the form χρω which equals to the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. imperative active.

4- The verb παραβαίνειν 'to transgress' always take the form παραβα that equals to the imperative in Modern Greek, cf. ανάβα of ἀναβαίνω; κατάβα of καταβαίνω.

5- The verb παραδιδόναι 'to deliver up' is always written παραδιδοθ which is undoubtedly the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. Imperative active. So also ἀναδιδόναι 'to give up' > αναδιδοϥ.

6- The *accentuation of Greek verbs*, in Coptic, does not correspond with the accentuation of the infinitive but with that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. imperative active in Greek<sup>26</sup>. This is made clear in two Coptic texts: *P cod.* & *WTh.* (p. 175ff.)<sup>27</sup>, dated from different times. It is remarkable in these texts, that:

a- *Non contracted verbs withdraw the accent to the antepenult*, e.g. ἀντίλεγε < ἀντιλέγειν (*P cod.* 38, 18); γυμναζε < γυμνάζειν (*P cod.* 29, 13); ησυχάζε < ἡσυχάζειν (*P cod.* 15, 25); καπη'λεγε < καπηλεύειν (*P cod.* 18, 20); παι'δεγε < παιδεύειν (*P cod.* 29, 6-7); σγ'ηαγε < συνάγειν (*WTh.* 187, 10). But if the verb has no more than two syllables, the accent of course must remain on the penult, e.g. π'επτει < πέπτειν (*P cod.* 26, 17).

b- *Contracted verbs withdraw the accent one syllable only*, e.g. αἰ'τι < αἰτεῖν (*WTh.* 186, 5 f.b.); εγεργε'τει < εὐεργετεῖν (*P cod.* 21, 11);

<sup>23</sup> cf. MAYSER 1 § 43 p. 192. ST.G. KAPSOMENAKIS, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, etc. (München 1938) pp. 92f., 129.

<sup>24</sup> cf. J.H. MOULTON, Grammatical notes from the papyri, *The Classical Review* 15 (1901) p. 38.

<sup>25</sup> cf. below § 197.

<sup>26</sup> cf. W. TILL, *Betrachtungen zum Wortakzent im Koptischen*. BSAC 13, 1950, p. 18ff.

<sup>27</sup> cf. above § 70 n. 1.

ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ < προσκαρτερεῖν (*WTh.* 185, 3); CΥΝΧΩΡΕΙ < συγχωρεῖν (*WTh.* 180, 9 f.b.); ΦΡΟ'ΝΕΙ < φρονεῖν (*P cod.* 27, 1; 32, 16); CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ < στεφανοῦν (*WTh.* 197, 2).

c- As for *deponent verbs*, if they be treated as active, they follow the accentuation of active verbs (cf. a, b), e.g. ΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ < ἀγωνίζεσθαι (*WTh.* 199, 1 f. b.); but if they occur in the middle infinitive form, they are accented according to their Greek infinitive, e.g. ΑΠΟΚΡΙΝΕCΘΑΙ < ἀποκρίνεσθαι (*P cod.* 29, 19).

All this means that when the Greek verbs occur in the middle infinitive form their accent corresponds with that of the Greek infinitive<sup>28</sup>, otherwise it corresponds with that of the Greek 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. imperative active.

As mentioned above, the usual form of a Greek verb is, in the southern dialects, equal to the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. of the imperative present active. Examples for these common forms are:

a) Non contracted verbs in -ω:

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ 'to constrain' (ἀναγκάζειν); ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ 'to believe' (πιστεύειν); ΚΡΙΝΕ 'to judge' (κρίνειν).

b) Contracted verbs in -άω:

ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑ 'to rebuke' (ἐπιτιμᾶν); ΠΛΑΝΑ 'to lead astray' (πλανᾶν); ΑΠΑΝΤΑ 'to meet' (ἀπαντᾶν).

c) contracted verbs in -έω:

ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ 'to serve' (διακονεῖν); ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ, 'to inherit' (κληρονομεῖν).

d) contracted verbs in -όω:

CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ 'to crown' (στεφανοῦν); ΑΞΙΟΥ 'to esteem worthy' (ἀξιοῦν); CΤΑΥΡΟΥ 'to crucify' (σταυροῦν).

e) Verbs in -μι<sup>29</sup>:

ΑΝΑΔΙΔΟΥ 'to give forth' (ἀναδιδόναι); ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ 'to deliver' (παραδιδόναι).

<sup>28</sup> From this we may deduce that also in northern dialects, Bohairic and Fayyomic, where the normal adopted form is the Greek infinitive, the accent is always as in the Greek infinitive.

<sup>29</sup> For the compounds of ἵστημι see below § 191.

## IMPERSONAL GREEK VERBS

§ 186. Impersonal Greek verbs appear in the southern dialects in the form of the Greek 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. present indicative.

a. ΔΟΚ(Ε)Ι (δοκεῖ) 'it seems good', 'it seems right'; the subject is always the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. fem. in the neuter meaning: ΟΥ ΠΕΤ̄ΔΟΚΕΙ ΝΗΤ̄Ν [Jo. 11, 56 (S.)]<sup>30</sup> (= τί δοκεῖ ὑμῖν) 'What seems to you?' (B. ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΤΕΝ-ΜΕΥΙ). Also in *Mt.* 17, 25; 18, 12; 21, 28; 22, 17. 42; 26, 66; *Mk.* 14, 64; *Ac.* 15, 22. 25. 28. 34; *Co.* 297, 4 (all S.); *TU.* 58 (1954) p. 30, 3f.b; 36, 13 (S.).

b. ΕΞΕCΤΙ<sup>31</sup> (ἔξεστι) 'it is lawful, it is permitted': ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΞΕCΤΙ ΝΑΙ [1*Co.* 6, 12 bis (S.)] (= πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν) 'all things are lawful for me'. Also *Mt.* 12, 10. 12; 19, 3; 22, 17; *Mk.* 3, 4; 10, 2; 12, 14; *Lk.* 6, 9; 14, 3; 20, 22; 1*Co.* 10, 23; *J.* 69, 57; 85, 28; 87, 4; 92, 25; 98, 20; 104, 5; *VC.* 16, 6; *AZ.* 1891 p. 22, 10; *C.* 42 p. 30, 16; 93, 3; 105, 14 (all S.).

c. ΜΕΛΕΙ (μέλει) 'there is a care, it concerns'. The subject is the third pers. sing. fem. in the neuter meaning, e.g. Ν̄ΜΕΛΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΔΝ ΖΑ ΝΕΚΒΑ-ΖΑΝΟC [B*Mar.* 41, 14 f.b. (S.)] 'I care not (lit. there is no care in me) for thy tortures'; ]̄ΜΕΛΕΙ ΝΕCΖΑ [TILL, *Oster.* III. 21 (A.)] 'who cares for'. Also *BMar.* 124, 6f.b.; *BM* is. 43, 14f.b.; *BM* 344 p. 161.a.5 (all S.).

d. ΠΡΕΠΕΙ<sup>32</sup> (πρέπει) 'it is fitting, it is proper', e.g. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤ-ΠΡΕΠΕΙ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ [Eph. 5, 3 (S.)] (= καθὼς πρέπει) 'as becometh the saints' (B. ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗ† ΕΤCΕΜΠΩΑ). Also *Heb.* 2, 10; 7, 26; *BAp.* 58, 14; *DLeg.* 2, 21; 7, 19; 19, 24; *VC.* 7, 5; *J.* 65, 48. 50. 66; 75, 35; 82, 27; *C.* 135 p. 50, 4; 56, 13; 61, 6; *LApou.* 18, 33 (all S.); *TU.* 58 (1954) p. 28, 3 (S.); 44, 3f.b. (S.).

## GREEK DEPONENT VERBS

§ 187. In the southern dialects, Greek deponent and middle verbs are generally treated on the same level as active verbs. In course of normalization<sup>33</sup> and unification with active verbs, they also appear with the same endings as the former. Examples are:

a) *Non-contracted verbs:*

ΔCΠΑΖΕ 'to greet' (ἀσπάζεσθαι).

ΔΠΟΤΑCCE 'to bid farewell' (ἀποτάσσεσθαι).

<sup>30</sup> A<sub>2</sub> [ΠΕΤCΔΟ]ΔΙ ΝΗΤ̄Ν I do not know any other example in A<sub>2</sub>, nor in Achmimic.

<sup>31</sup> To my knowledge, this verb is not found in AA<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>32</sup> I do not find this verb in AA<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>33</sup> A. BÖHLIG, *Die gr. Lehnwörter im sah u. boh. N.T.* p. 54.

χαρίζε 'to grant' (χαρίζεσθαι).

απολογίζε 'to pay' (ἀπολογίζεσθαι).

b) *contracted verbs*:

παραῖτει 'to refuse' (παραιτεῖσθαι).

§ 188. Occasionally we meet with the Greek infinitive or passive form in an active meaning (cf. § 190). The instances are comparatively few. The middle or passive form is not used in the Sahidic New Testament. It occurs, however, in non-literary texts and rarely in some other literary writings. BÖHLIG notices<sup>34</sup> that "... der Gebrauch des Mediums in allgemeinen nicht literarischen, sondern vulgären Ursprung (und daher wohl auch älter) ist."

Examples of Greek verbs in the form of the passive or middle infinitive are:

ἀνζηκεσθαι (ἀνήκεσθαι) 'to belong to' occurs often in documents, e.g. *BM*. 1017; 1055; 1064; 1065; *Ryl*. 158, 8. 24; 172, 3; *AZ*. 1884 p. 156, 8; *J*. 4, 54; 10, 38; 12, 25; 14, 58. 72; 15, 57; 25, 31; 27, 33. 41; 39, 41; 41, 24; 46, 9; 58, 13 (all S.) & passim.

ἀνασκεπτεσθαι (ἀνασκέπτεσθαι) 'to examine well': *CL*. 35, 8 (p. 74) (A).

ἀναστρεφεσθαι (ἀναστρέφεσθαι) 'to conduct one's self': *CL*. 82, 8-9 (A).

ἀπολαγεςθαι (ἀπολαύεσθαι) 'to enjoy': *J*. 65, 24 (S.).

ἀρχεσθαι (ἄρχεσθαι) is nearly always used in the meaning of 'to begin' in order to distinguish it from ἀρχει (rarely ἀρχε) 'to rule'<sup>35</sup>.

διαφερεςθαι (διαφέρεσθαι) 'to be at variance, quarrel', e.g. *KR*. 127, 2; *CL*. I 7, 40; *Ryl*. 158, 6; *BM*. 1023, 6; 1073, 4; *J*. 23, 45; 37, 22; 38, 39. 42; 44, 58. 69; 66, 56; 75, 96; 76, 61; 99, 34 (all S.).

ἐξηγ(ε)ισθαι (ἐξηγεῖσθαι) 'to narrate' *BM* 143, 13f.b; 205, 9; *DMena*. 92.a. 14-15 (all S.).

ἐπιχειρεσθαι (ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι) 'to put one's hand to': *J*. 104, 35 (S.).

κτησθαι (κτᾶσθαι, κτήσθαι) 'to acquire': *J*. 75, 81 (S.).

κυριεγεςθαι (κυριεύεσθαι) 'to gain possession of, seize', e.g. *J*. 2, 34; 4, 50-51; 6, 25; 8, 13; 9, 50-51; 10, 44; 11, 39; 14, 55; 23, 30; 25, 28; 39, 38; 43, 40; 44, 40. 46, 17; 47, 39; 71, 42; 95, 14 (all S.).

<sup>34</sup> A. BÖHLIG, Griechische Dependentien im Koptischen, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) p. 95f.; ID., *Die gr. Lehnwörter im sah u. boh. N.T.* p. 53f.

<sup>35</sup> cf. BÖHLIG, *Aegyptus* 33 p. 91ff.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣΘΑΙ (μαρτύρεσθαι) 'to bear witness, to testify, confirm', e.g. *J.* 29, 4; 59; 14; 68, 7.10; 69, 76; 70, 19; 97, 85; 104, 62; 106, 37. 216 (all S.).

ΟΙΚΕΙΟΥΕΣΘΑΙ (οἰκειοῦσθαι) 'to make it one's own', e.g. *J.* 39, 34 (S.); 50, 28 (S.).

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ (πολιτεύεσθαι) 'to order one's life and conduct, to live': *Gesp.J.* 27, 2 (A.).

ΠΡΑΤΤΕΣΘΑΙ (πράττεσθαι) 'to manage affairs', e.g. *J.* 7, 42; 14, 80; 15, 84; 21, 71; 28, 30; 45, 58; 46, 32; 50, 56; 65, 10. 22. 72. 76; 66, 22; 68, 16; 74, 26. 92; 75, 46. 89; 76, 16 (all S.).

ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙΣΘΑΙ (ὑπηρετεῖσθαι) 'to minister, serve': *J.* 75; 80 (S.).

ΖΥΠΟΚΕΙΣΘΑΙ (ὑποκεῖσθαι) 'to be subject to', e.g. *DLeg.* 6, 32; *BMis.* 186, 17; *BMar.* 13, 8f.b; *BHom.* 122, 16; *PLond.* 1528, 14; 1540, 15; 1552, 26; 1553, 25. 30. vo 36; 1554, vo 5; 1559, 9. 17; 1561, 9; 1564, 5; *J.* 9, 74 (all S.).

ΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ (χρηῖσθαι, χρᾶσθαι) 'to make use of, use', e.g. *Sap.* 19, 14 (S.); *BG.* 66, 1 (S.).

§ 189. It was shown in § 184 how the Greek passive is usually rendered in Coptic (all dialects). The infinitive of Coptic verbs with a transitive meaning may be used in the active as well as in the passive without any difference in the form of the verb or in the construction. So e.g. *NOY2M̄* means both 'to rescue' and 'to be rescued'. This shows that *NOY2M̄* denotes the action of rescuing immaterial whether this action is spoken of from the point of view of the subject (active) or the object (passive)<sup>36</sup>, e.g. *ΠΕΤΗΔΟΥΩΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕ2M̄ ΤΕΦΤΥΧΗ* (S.), *ΕΘΗΔΟΥΩΥ ΕΝΟ2ΕΜ ΝΤΕΦΤΥΧΗ* (B.), *ΕΝΟΥ2ΕΜ ΝΤΕΦΤΥΧΗ* (F.) 'for he who wishes to save his life' [*Mk.* 8, 35]; *ΑΤΕΝΤΥΧΗ ΝΟΥ2M̄* (S.), *ΤΕΝΤΥΧΗ ΔCΝΟ2ΕΜ* (B.) 'our soul was saved' [*Ps.* 123, 7]; *ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΝΟΥ2M̄* (S.), *ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΝΟ2ΕΜ* (B.) 'we were saved' [*Ps.* 123, 7]; *ΕΤΑΛΔΟ ΝΤΟΡΓΗ* (S.) 'to pacify (the) anger' [*Sir.* 48, 10]; *ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΛΔΟ 2N 2NΩΩΝΕ* 'those who have been cured from diseases' [*Ryl.* 12 (S.)]. Just the same is the case with Greek verbs though not so frequently as with Coptic infinitives. Examples are:

*ΠΕΤP̄ ΧΡΕΙΑ ΝΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΟΟΤK̄* [*Mt.* 3, 14 (S.)] (= *χρεῖαν ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ βαπτισθῆναι*) '(S.) who have need to be baptized by Thee' (B. *ΠΕΤΕP̄ ΧΡΙΑ ΕΒΙ ΩΜC ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΟΤK̄*). Also *Mt.* 3, 16; *Mk.* 10, 38; *Lk.* 3, 7; *Ro.* 6, 3; *1Co.* 12, 13; 15, 29 (bis); *Gal.* 3, 27; *BMis.* 176, 2 (all S.).

*ΕΦΒΑCΑΝΙΖΕ ΕΝΑΤΕ* [*Mt.* 8, 6 (S.)] (= *βασανιζόμενος*) 'he being grievously tormented'. (B. *ΕΦΤ2ΕΜΚΗΟΥΤ*).

<sup>36</sup> TILL, *Koptische Grammatik* § 255.

ΕΥΘΛΙΒΕ [*Heb.* 11, 37 (S.)] (= θλιβόμενοι) 'they being afflicted' (B. ΕΥΖΕΧΩΧ). Also 1*Ti.* 5, 10; *Z.* 294, 11; 319, 9f.b.; 327, 16; 328; 9; *Co.* 379, 14 (all S.).

ΧΕ ΕΥΕΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ [*Z.* 320, 4-5 (S.)] 'that they (= the waters) may be purified'; *Z.* 311; 14f.b.; *DLeg.* 11, 20 (all S.).

ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ [*Sir.* 9, 5 (S.)] (= μήποτε σκανδαλισθῆς) 'lest haply thou be trapped'; ΧΕΚΑΘΕ ΝΕΤΗΡΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ [*Jo.* 16, 1 (A<sub>2</sub>)] (= σκανδαλισθῆτε) 'that ye should not be made to stumble' (B. ΝΤΕΤΕΝ-ΨΤΕΜΕΡ-ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕΘΕ); *Sir.* 23, 8; 35, 15; *Mt.* 11, 6; 13, 21. 57; 15, 12; 24, 10; 26, 31.33 (bis); *Mk.* 4, 17; 6, 3; 14, 27.29; *Lk.* 7, 23; *Jo.* 16, 1; 2*Co.* 11, 29; *Aeg.* 225, 4; *BAp.* 133, 18-19; 132, 11f.b. (all S.), *AP.* 41. 47, 15 (A<sub>2</sub>).

ΔΕΙ]ΖΥΠΟΤΑΘΕ ΝΠΝΟΜΟC [*AP.* p. 35. 60, 14 (A<sub>2</sub>)] 'I was subjected to the law'.

ΧΕΚΟCΜΕΙ ΖΝ ΖΕΝΩΝΕ [*Lk.* 21, 5 (S.)] (= κεκόσμηται) 'that it (= the temple) is adorned with stones' (B. ΔΥCΕΛΩΛΩ ΝΣΡΗΙ ΣΕΝ ΖΑΝΩΝΗ); 1*Ti.* 2, 9; 3, 2; *Z.* 326, 13f.b.; 353. IIX, 1; *C.* 135 p. 36, 9; *C.* 73 p. 189. 9; *Ep.* 103, 31; 359, 4 (all S.).

ΝΤΩΤΗ ΤΕΤΝΑΛΥΠΕΙ [*Jo.* 16, 20 (S.)] (= λυπηθήσεσθε) 'ye shall be sorrowful' (A<sub>2</sub>: ΤΕΤΝΑΡ ΛΥΠΗ; B. ΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΡ ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ); ΔΥΛΥΠΕΙ ΝΒΙ ΙΩΝΑΘ (S.), ΔΥΡΛΥΠΕΙ ΝΒΕ ΙΩΝΑΘ (A.) [*Jon.* 4, 1] (= ἐλυπήθη) 'Jonas was grieved.' *Jo.* 21, 17; *Mt.* 14, 9; 17, 23; 18, 31; 19, 22; 26, 22. 37; *Ro.* 14, 15; 2*Co.* 2, 2.4; 6, 10; 7, 9. 11; 1*Thes.* 4, 13; 1*Pet.* 1, 6; *Z.* 302, 2f.b.; 354, 2f.b.; *DLeg.* 13, 5; 19, 28; 26, 32; *J.* 67, 20; 100, 20 (all S.); *CL* 15, 23.26 (A.).

ΝΝΕΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΩΦΕΛΕΙ ΝΛΑΔΥ [*J.* 48, 46 (S.)] 'that (person) will not have any profit (ὠφελεῖσθαι)'; *J.* 5, 53; 6, 29; 8, 23; 10, 55; 11, 51; 14, 77; 15, 80; 22, 43; 24, 107; 39, 64; 41, 86; 45, 54; 46, 29; 48, 46; 75, 115; 82, 39; 99, 37; 106, 194; 107, 23 (all S.).

ΝΠΡΠΑΛΑ [*James* 1, 16 (S.)] (= μὴ πλανᾶσθε) 'be not deceived' (B. ΝΠΕΡCΩΡΕΜ); ΔΥΠΠΑΛΑ [*Hos.* 4, 12 (A.)] (= ἐπλανήθησαν) 'they have been lead astray'; ΜΗ ΕΡΕΤΗΠΑΛΑ (A<sub>2</sub>), ΜΗ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΗΠΑΛΑ (S.) [*Jo.* 7, 47] (= πεπλάνησθε) 'Are ye lead astray?' (B. ΜΗ ΔΡΕΤΕΝCΩΡΕΜ); *Ps.* 57, 3; *Sap.* 11, 16; *Mt.* 22, 29; *Mk.* 12, 24; *Lk.* 21, 8; 1*Co.* 6, 9; *Tit.* 3, 3; *Heb.* 3, 10; 5, 2; 2*Pet.* 2, 15; *James* 1, 16; 5, 19; *Apoc.* 18, 23; *C.* 135 p. 48, 1; 58, 10; 83, 15 (bis); 84, 11; 91, 19; *C.* 73 p. 11, 3 (all S.), *Amos.* 2, 4 (A.).

§ 190. Very seldom the form of the Greek infinitive passive is used in order to express the passive meaning of the verb (cf. § 187):

ΚΟΛΑΖΕCΘΑΙ (κολάζεσθαι) 'to be punished, to be chastised', e.g. ΝΩΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΚΟΛΑCΕCΘΑΙ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΠΒΗΜΑ [*J.* 83, 14 (S.)] and he (will) be punished before the tribunal'.

ΚΟΣΜΕΙCΘΑΙ (κοσμεῖσθαι) 'to be adorned with': ΕΤΕΤḢ̄ΚΟCΜ[Ε]ΙCΘΑΙ 𐩨̄ 𐩓𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣 𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣 [Cl. 4, 10 (A.)] (= σεβασμιῶ πολιτεία κεκοσμημένοι) 'ye are adorned with the conduct of the service'.

ΩΦΕΛΕΙCΘΑΙ (ὠφελείσθαι) 'to receive help or succour', e.g. ΨΑΥCΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΩΦΕΛΕΙCΘΑΙ [J. 65, 21 (S.)] 'they are eager to receive help'; J. 78, 62; 83, 12; 92, 44 (all S.).

§ 191. A number of Greek verbs are used in Coptic with an ending belonging to another class of verbs. This changing of the class seems to have taken place in the Greek, and the Copts adopted these verbs accordingly.

All the compounds of ἵστημι have in Sahidic, the ending -α of the contracted verbs in -άω (cf. § 181): ΚΑΘΙCΤΑ<sup>37</sup>, ΠΑΡ(2)ΙCΤΑ; ΠΡΟΖΙCΤΑ; CΥΝΖΙCΤΑ. This development is found in the Greek papyri: ἵσταν, καθίσταν, παρίσταν etc.<sup>38</sup>.

In Bohairic, the form CΥΝΙCΤΑΝΙΝ is used<sup>39</sup>; e.g. in 2Co. 12, 11; Gal. 2, 18. συνιστάνειν was already used in the New Testament Greek, cf. also 2Co. 3, 1; 4, 2; 5, 12; 6, 4; 10, 12. 18; Gal. 2, 18.<sup>40</sup>

§ 192. In Bohairic, we find CΤΑΥΡΩΝΙΝ (σταυροῦν) 'to crucify', e.g. ΑΡΙCΤΑΥΡΩΝΙΝ<sup>41</sup> 𐩢𐩢𐩣 'crucify him' [Aeg. 41, 6-5f.b. (B.)]; Aeg. 45, 2f.b.; 46, 13; 49, 9f.b.; 52, 1f.b.; 58, 10f.b.; WTh. 59, 7; BSG. 8, 22; 20, 18 (all B.). This may simply be explained by the phenomenon stated by HATZIDAKIS in respect of modern Greek, that all old Greek verbs in -όω, and only these, form their present stem in -ώνω<sup>42</sup>.

§ 193. Verbs in -ω > -άω.<sup>43</sup> In Coptic they have the ending -α instead of -ε:

CΚΥΛΑ<sup>44</sup>, CΚΕΛΑ < σκύλλειν 'to trouble', e.g. Ryl. 365, 8 (S.). But this form is rather exceptional, the usual form being CΚΥΛΛ(Ε)Ι (cf. § 194).

<sup>37</sup> ΚΑΘΙCΤΑ in Achmimic also, e.g. Cl. 6,17; 54,13.22.29; 56,25; 57,1.

<sup>38</sup> cf. BLASS § 93; MAYSER 1 § 73 p. 553, § 86 p. 459.

<sup>39</sup> Other compounds of ἵστημι seem not to be used in Bohairic.

<sup>40</sup> cf. BLASS § 93.

<sup>41</sup> cf. above § 180 n. 2 (the imperative).

<sup>42</sup> cf. HATZIDAKIS p. 391.

<sup>43</sup> For the confusion of these two verb classes in Greek see MAYSER 1 § 81 p. 409; § 86 p. 459.

<sup>44</sup> The form σκυλλάω instead of σκύλλω occurs in the Greek of the Ptolemaic period (cf. MAYSER I *ibid.*).

СΥΡΑ (& СΗΡΑ, СΥΛΑ, СΙΛΑ) < σύρειν 'to drag, pull', e.g. in *Ac.* 14, 19; *Judges* 5, 21; *HM.* I, 8, 10; 41, 2; 97, 15; 118, 2. 7; *ib.* II 32, 6; 92, 7; *Wor.* 192, 23; 197, 7; 200, 8; *DMena.* 64.a. 27; b. 13-14; *PO.* 2. p. 164, 16; *WTh.* 192, 13. 14; *BM.* 257, 4; 298 p. 132.a. 2; *BMis* 4, 9; 314, 1f.b.; 316, 15f.b.; *BMar.* 84, 4f.b. (all S.).

§ 194. Verbs in -ω > έω. In Coptic, they have the ending -ει or -ι instead of -ε.

ΑΝ(2)ΗΚΕΙ (άνήκειν) 'to belong to', e.g. ΝΕΩΧΡΗCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΝ2ΗΚΕΙ ΕΡΟϢ 'all its furniture that belong to it (= the house)' [*J.* 8, 10 (S.)]; *J.* 28, 6.8; 41, 45; 47, 36; 65, 44. 59 (all S.).

ΑΡΧ(Ε)Ι for αρχεин 'to rule', e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΑΡΧ(Ε)Ι ΕΝΖΕΘΝΟC 'he that will arise to rule the Gentiles' [*Rō.* 15, 12 (S.)]; ΑΥΡΑΡΧΕΙ (= ήρξαν) 'they have ruled' [*Hos.* 8, 4 (A.)]; *Genes.* 1, 28; 9, 20; *BAp.* 60, 8f.b.; 135, 8 f.b.; 169, 13f.b.; *J.* 1, 42; 2, 16; 4, 26. 77; 5, 20; 10, 29; 11, 18; 14, 27; 15, 25; 18, 8; 67, 116. 125; *Aeg.* 271, 6. 7; *Rec.* 6. p. 99, 14f.b. (all S.).

ΑΡΧ(Ε)Ι<sup>45</sup> for αρχεσθαι 'to begin', e.g. ΑΑΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΩΤΟΤΡ (= ήρξατο) 'he began to be troubled' [*Mk.* 14, 33 (S.)]; *Mt.* 4, 17; 11, 7; 12, 1; 14, 13; 16, 21. 22; 18, 24; 20, 8; 24, 49; *Mk.* 6, 55; 8, 11. 31. 32; *Lk.* 7, 38. 49; *Judges* 20, 40; *BA.* p. 51, 15f.b.; 133, 15f.b.; *DLeg.* 33, 2; *DMena.* 8.a.1; 76. b. 25; *BMis.* 332, 7f.b. (all S.).

ΒΛΑΠΤ(Ε)Ι (βλάπτειν) 'to hurt, harm', e.g. ΜΠΒΛΑΠΤΕΙ ΜΗΟϢ (= βλάψαν) 'he did not hurt him' [*Lk.* 4, 35 (S.)]; *Pcod.* 38, 21; *C.* 99. p. 131. b. 4; *C.* 100 p. 338. a. 5; 326, 30. 31; *C.* 135. p. 70, 19; 84, 28; *C.* 42. p. 34, 4; *BAp.* 109, 5f.b.; *BMis.* 531, 9; *BHom.* 3, 5f.b.; 21, 3-2f.b.; 42, 13f.b.; 59, 1; 121, 12f.b.; *BMar.* 14, 2f.b. (all S.).

ΔΙΩΚ(Ε)Ι (διώκειν) 'to persecute', e.g. ΝCΕΔΙΩΚΕΙ 'they persecute' [*Lk.* 11, 49 (S.)]; *LEMM, Bruchst. d. sah. Bibelübers.* p. XV. a. 6f.b.; *BMis.* 102, 11; 203, 14; 284, 16f.b.; 285, 4; 349, 1. 15f.b.; 454, 4f.b.; *BMar.* 17, 13f.b.; *BM.* 297, 13; *Wor.* 231, 4-5; *DLeg.* 47, 13; *BSAC* 10. p. 52, 3; *LAp.* 2. p. 344, 9; *Iri.* 712, 3; *Aeg.* 286, 18. 21; *Rec.* 6. p. 107, 7 (all S.).

ΘΑΛΠ(Ε)Ι (θάλπειν) 'cherish, nurse', e.g. ΝΘΑΛΠΕΙ ΜΗΟC (θάλπει αὐτήν) 'he cherisheth it' [*Eph.* 5, 29 (S.)]; *1Thes.* 2, 7; *C.* 99. p. 90, 22; 125. b. 24; 162, 16; *C.* 100. p. 248. a. 26; *BMis.* 277, 14f.b.; *FR* 162, 6; *TILL, Eheverträge* p. 631; *PSBA* 34 (1912) p. 174, 16; *Iri.* 661, 4; *Z.* 617, 4 (all S.).

<sup>45</sup> Also ΑΡΧΕCΘΑΙ (cf. § 188).

ΚΡΙΝ(Ε)Ι (Α.) (κρίνειν)<sup>46</sup> 'to judge', e.g. ΝΤΑΚ ΕΤΝΑΡΚΡΙΝΕΙ ΜΠΑΗ 'thou shalt judge my house' [*Zach.* 3, 7 (A.)] (B. ΕΚΕ† 2ΔΠ); *Zach.* 8, 10; *Cl.* 11, 15; 18, 2. 4; 24, 14; TILL, *Oster.* p. 15, 8 (all A.).

ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΕΙ<sup>47</sup> (παραγγέλλειν) 'to announce, notify, command', e.g. ΕΩΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΕΙ 'he commandeth' [*Ac.* 17, 30 S. (HORNTER)]; *Ac.* 16, 18 [BUDGE]; *BMis.* 281, 4; 314, 2; 317, 18; *Wor.* 188, 13; 204, 23; *PO.* 9 p. 125, 8; *ROC.* 20 p. 50, 1 (all S.).

ΠΕΠΤΕΙ (πέπτειν) 'to digest', e.g. Δ[Κ]ΠΕΠΤΕΙ ΜΜΟC '[thou] hast digested' *Pcod.* 26, 17 (S.).

CΚΥΛΛ(Ε)Ι (σκύλλειν) 'to trouble, annoy', e.g. ΜΠΡCΚΥΛΛΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΠCΑ2 'trouble not the Master' [*Lk.* 8, 49 (S.)]; *Mt.* 9, 36; *Lk.* 7, 6; *BAp.* 116, 5; 131, 5f.b.; *BMis.* 222, 6f.b. 2f.b.; 458, 1f.b.; *CO.* 239, 10; 324, 9; *BMar.* 7, 3f.b.; 72, 17; *Ryl.* 98 vo 2; *BMis.* 173, 18; 218, 2f.b.; *Z.* 231, 20 (all S.).

†ΑΛΛ(Ε)Ι (ψάλλειν) 'to sing, praises', e.g. †ΝΑ†ΑΛΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΚ 'I will praise thee' [*Ps.* 77, 22 (S.)]; ΕΝΡ†ΑΛΛΕΙ 'we praise' [*El.* (p. 34). 1, 3 (A.); *Ps.* 9, 11; 29, 4; 32, 2; 46, 7; 65, 2; 67, 4. 33. 34; 70, 23; 97, 4. 5; 134, 3; 146, 7; 148, 3; *Sir.* 9. 4; *Ro.* 15, 9; *1Cor.* 14, 15; *Ephes.* 5, 19; *James* 5, 13; *Judges* 5, 13 (all S.), and always in other Coptic literature.

§ 195. Verbs in -έω > -άω. In Coptic<sup>48</sup> they have the ending -Δ instead of -ΕΙ.

ΑΠΑΡΝΑ < άπαρνείσθαι 'to deny utterly', e.g. in *Mt.* 26, 34. 35. 75 (S.) and often.

ΑΡΝΑ < άνείσθαι 'to deny', e.g. in *Jo.* 13, 38 (S. A<sub>2</sub>); 18, 25 (S. A<sub>2</sub>); *Gesp.* J. 29, 12.14 (A.) and often.

ΠΛΕΔ < πλεῖν 'to sail', e.g. *C.* 99 p. 171. a, 13; *BMar.* 5, 7f.b.; 62, 11f.b.; *BMis.* 281, 11f.b.; 323, 2f.b.; 324, 17 (all S.) and often.

ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΑ<sup>49</sup> < εύχαριστεῖν 'to give thanks', e.g. in *Ep.* 239, 8-9; 336, 19; 337, 12; *Co.* 64 vo. 2; 100, 5; 152 vo. 4f.b.; 249, 5; *Ad.* 60 vo. 5-4f.b.; *ST.* 251, 10; 252, 14-15; *Ryl.* 188, 9; *Z.* 336, 11; *HSt.* p. 461, 5f.b.; *Bal.* 102, 10 (all S.).

Some verbs have only occasionally the ending -Δ instead of -ΕΙ as ΧΡΕΙΩCΤΑ < χρεωστεῖν 'to be in debt', e.g. *Tor.* 1, 9 (S.).

<sup>46</sup> The usual form is ΚΡΙΝΕ in SAA<sub>2</sub> (e.g. *Jo.* 3, 18; *El.* 42, 4-5) and often.

<sup>47</sup> For the form derived from the aorist cf. § 197.

<sup>48</sup> For the confusion between these two classes in later Greek, see BLASS § 90; MOULTON in: *The Classical Review* 15 (1901) p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> The usual form ΕΥΧΑΙCΤΕΙ is very common in Coptic texts.

§ 196. Verbs in -έω > -όω. In Coptic, they have the ending -ΟΥ instead of -ει:

ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥ < ἐπαινεῖν 'to praise', e.g. *Lk.* 16, 8; *1Co* 11, 2. 17. 22; *J.* 65, 38; *Tri.* 261, 2; 364, 2 (all S.).

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ<sup>50</sup> < εὐχαριστεῖν 'to give thanks', e.g. *Wor.* 166, 7-8; *Iri.* 432, 3; 453, 4; *Aeg.* 249, 6; 250, 34; 13, 16; 276, 1f.b.; *AZ.* 77 (1942) p. 105 (all S.); *TU.* 58 (1954) p. 2, 15; 6, 7. 9-10; 24, 3f.b.; 28, 9f.b. (all S.).

ΚΑΘΑΙΡΟΥ < καθαιρεῖν 'to depose, to put down', e.g. *CA.* 88, 21; 90, 17; *Ep. Ap.* 1f.b.; 6, 88; *Aeg.* 279, 8. 9. 14 (all S.) and often.

## FORMS OF GREEK VERBS DERIVED FROM THE AORIST

§ 197. A number of Greek verbs appear, in Coptic, in a form derived from the Aorist. All these forms have no augment<sup>51</sup> and have; in Sahidic, the ending -Ε (seldom -ΕΙ). In some cases this Coptic form is equal to the Greek imperative of the aorist, but in many other cases this is a form not existing in Classical Greek. These are either vulgar Greek forms used in Egypt at that time or all the forms derived from the aorist were moulded in the same manner immaterial whether the actual form existed in Greek or not. Examples of such verbs are:

a- The compounds of ἀγγέλλειν have forms in -ΕΙΕ:

ΑΠΑΓΓΕΙΕ (ἀπαγγέλλειν) 'to proclaim, to bring tidings', e.g. ΑCΑΠΑΓΓΕΙΕ ΕΡΟC [*DLeg.* 146, 11 (S.)] 'she proclaimed to him'; *Z.* 285, 3-4; *TILL, MPS.* 2. p. 48. b 17; *FR.* 12, 6; *BMar.* 59, 10f.b.; 69, 1f.b.; 118, 9; *BMis.* 572, 2f.b. (all S.).

ΠΑΡΑΓΓ(Ε)ΙΕ (παρραγγέλλειν) 'to announce, notify, command', e.g. ΒΑΡΑΚ ΑCΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΕ ΝΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ [*Judges* 4, 10 (S.)] 'Barak called Zaboulôn'; ΕΤΕΤΗΡΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΕ (*Cl.* 2, 17. (A.)); ΕΑΙΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΕ (*Kr.* 3, 7 (Fs)). Also *Judith* 7, 1; *Mt.* 10, 5; 15, 35; *Lk.* 5, 14; 8, 29; 56; 9, 21; *Ac.* 1, 4; 4, 17-18; 5, 28. 40; 10, 42; 15, 5; 16, 18. 23; 17, 30; 23, 22. 30; *1Co.* 7, 10; 11, 17; *1Thes.* 4, 11; *2Thes.* 3, 6. 10. 12; *1Ti.* 1, 3; 4, 11; 5, 7; 6, 13. 17; *VC.* 39, 13; 77, 9; *Ryl.* 319, 3. 6. 8. 10. 12. 17; *ST.* 450, 4; *DLeg.* 33, 4; *DMena.* 89.a. 13; b. 19-20; *Z.* 342, 7; *BMar.* 12, 2; *BMis.* 200, 7f.b.; 267, 5f.b., *HM.1.* 146, 10; *AZ.* 52 p. 124, 23; *C.* 99 p. 28 b. 3; 89; 13 (all S.) and often.

<sup>50</sup> The usual form of this verb in Coptic is ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΕΙ, e.g. in *Ac.* 27, 35; 28, 15; *Apoc.* 11, 17 (all S.).

<sup>51</sup> For the aorist without augment in the Greek of the Ptolemaic period, cf. MAYSER I p. 333; BLASS § 66; MOULTON in: *The Classical Review* 18 (1904) p. 110.

b- All the compounds of βάλλειν have the form βαλε:

ἀμφιβαλε (ἀμφιβάλλειν) 'to doubt', e.g. χεκαc ενεκαμφιβαλε αικ2αι 2α πειλογοc [ST. 105, 7 (S.)] 'lest there shouldst doubt I have signed this logos (surety letter)'. Also ST. 48, 4; 100, 6-7; 294, 13; 337, 8; 431, 12-13. ST. 432, 12; TILL, *Schutzbr.* 5, 4; 32, 3; VC. 7. c; 82, 10; Ep. 149, 10-11; 163, 11; 268, 4; CO. 111, 9; 116, 9; 171, 6; 302, 9; 313, 4; Ryl. 129, 4; 154, 4; 319, 25; Kr. 4, 7; 223, 3 (all S.); Kr. 53, 3 (Fs).

ἀποβαλε (ἀποβάλλειν) 'to cast, throw off', e.g. ἡταcαποβαλε ἦμοc νακ [BAp. 159, 4 (S.)] 'Which he has poured into thee'.

διαβαλε (διαβάλλειν) 'to defame, calumniate, accuse', e.g. ἀπδιαβολοc δε διαβαλε ἡμοc [C. 100 p. 210 b. 8 (S.)] 'and the Devil calumniated him'. Also in BMis. 235, 9f.b. DMena. 84. a 19-20; LMis. 134 p. 500 [470] (all S.).

c- Δοξε (δοξη) (δοκεῖν) 'to seem good, to seem right'. It is constructed like δοκει<sup>52</sup>; e.g. ται τε θε ηταcαδοξη 2η τνημτε [Ryl. 144, 12 (S.)] 'This it has seemed good between us'; αcαδοξη [Ryl. 174, 6 (S.)]; μηπτρεcαδοξη νακ [BM. 1175, 31] 'let it not seem good to thee'.

d- All compounds ἔρχομαι have the form ελθε:

παρελθε (πάρεσθαι) 'to avoid to escape'; e.g. εcηαεψ ηcομ επαρελθε ητκακια [Aeg. 263, 62. 91] 'he will be able to avoid the evil'; Rec. 5. p. 4. 62, 2f.b; CO. 111, 6; Pcod. 38, 25; Ryl. 289, 7 (All S.); TU. 58 (1954) p. 34, 1f.b. (S.).

προελθε (προέρχθαι) 'to go forward; to advance', e.g. ατενογ ει ετρε πρρο προελθε [FR. 16, 19 (S.)] 'the hour came for the king to go forth'. All Pcod. 15, 9; BM. 186 p. 75. a. 6; BMar. 67, 3; PS. 24; 17, 3-4; BSG. 195, 20-21 (all S.).

προσελθε (προσέρχθαι) 'to come to, to go to', e.g. εcηπροσελθε ηαι [Ryl. 366, 1 (S.)] 'he approaching me'. Also Ryl. 318, 2; 339, 8; 366, 1; BM. 1115, 1; Jo. 10, 17; 25, 14; 37, 13. 102; Bal. 41, 4-5 (all S.); KR 183,4 (F.).

cυνελθε (συνέρχθαι) 'to come together'; e.g. εηcυνελθε ηη ηεηεηη [CLT. 6, 16 (S.)] 'we joining together'. Also TILL, *Schutzbr.* 10, 5; 31, 4; ST. 193, 4; VC. 11, 8; Ep. 178, 13 (all S.).

e- προcεηεγκε (προσφέρειν) 'to bring in to, to present' (cf. § 198); e.g. ηcηπροcεηεγκε ἡποογ ἡππογτε [BMis. 362, 9f.b. (S.)] 'and present it to God, today'. Also BMis. 108, 6f.b.; 326, 15f.b.; 343, 10. 8-7f.b.;

<sup>52</sup> For δοκει cf. §§ 182. 186.

362, 8; 397, 16. 1f.b.; 398, 7. 9f.b.; 399, 7-8.10f.b.; 413, 13-14. 4f.b.; 532, 14f.b.; *Aeg.* 260. 5. 3, 1; *Rec.* 5.p. 213 . 53, 1; *C.* 135 p. 70. a. 4; *J.* 50, 24; 82, 28 (all S.).

f- ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ for εὐφραίνειν 'to gladden'; e.g. ΚΝΑΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ ἦμοϣ [*Ps.* 20, 6 (S.)] (= εὐφραίνειῖς αὐτόν) 'thou shalt make him glad'. Also *Ps.* 18, 8; 29, 1; 42, 4; 44, 8; 45, 4; 85, 4; 88, 42; 91, 4; 93, 19; 103, 15; *Jud.* 9, 13; *Sir.* 26, 2; *2Co.* 2, 2; *Ryl.* 94, 8 (all S.).

ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ for εὐφραίνεσθαι 'to be merry', e.g. ΑΓΑΡΧΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ [*Lk.* 15, 24 (S.)] (= ἤρξαντο εὐφραίνεσθαι) 'they began to be merry'; ΤΕΤΝΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ ΔΧΗ ΠΧΑΕΙϣ [*Joel.* 2, 23 (A.)] (= εὐφραίνεσθαι) 'rejoice ye upon the Lord'. Also *Lk.* 16, 19; *Ac.* 7, 41; *Apoc.* 12, 12; *Ps.* 5, 11; 15, 9; 20, 1; 30, 7; 31, 10; 32, 21; 34, 15 (all S.) and often. *Hab.* 3, 18; *Soph.* 3, 17; *Cl.* 67, 22-23; *C.* 135 p. 2, 28; 16, 22; 58, 20 (all A.).

g- ΠΡΟΛΑΒΕ (προλαμβάνειν) 'to die before the time' (cf. § 198); e.g. ΤΗΤΑΣΠΡΟΛΑΒΕ [GRIFF., *Stu.* p. 149, 14-15 (S.)] 'she who has died before the time'. Also *Cr Tot.* N° 6. p. 21, 16 (S.).

h- ΖΥΠΟΜ(Ε)ΙΝΕ (ὑπομένειν) 'to wait, to endure', e.g. < †ΝΑΖΥΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ ΕΠΧΕΙϣ [*Ps.* 26, 14 (S.)] 'I shall wait on the Lord'; ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙ ΡΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΔΡΑΙ [*Soph.* 3, 8 (A.)] 'therefore wait (ye) for me'; ΝΤ|ΕΤῢΩ ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ [*AP.* p. 14. 21,9 (A<sub>2</sub>)] 'thou art not able to endure'. Also *Ps.* 24, 3; 5, 21; 32, 20; 36, 34; *Sap.* 17, 5; *Sir.* 36, 23; *Is.* 40, 31; *Mt.* 10, 22; *Mk.* 13, 13; *Lk.* 22, 28; (all S.) and often. *Malach* 3, 2; *Mich.* 7, 7; *Cl.* 59, 18; *El.* 37, 6-7; *TILL, Oster.* p. 12, 43; 22, 22 (all A.).

i- ΠΑΘΕΙ (πάσχειν) 'to afflict, suffer, happen'; e.g. ΕΤΗΤΡΕϣΠΑΘΕΙ ΜΛΑΔΥ ἦΠΕΘΟΟΥ [*Z.* 282, 3f.b. (S.)] 'in order that he might not suffer any evil'. Also *J.* 65, 16 (S.); 75, 80 (S.).

j- ΣΗΜΑΝΕ (σημαίνειν) 'to indicate', e.g. ΕΝΤΑΙΤ̄ ΧΟΟϣ ΕϣΣΗΜΑΝΕ (S.), Εϣ|Ρ̄ΣΗΜΑΝΕ (A<sub>2</sub>) [*Jo.* 18, 32] (= σημαίνων) 'which Jesus said signifying'. Also *Jo.* 12, 33 (SA<sub>2</sub>); *Ac.* 11, 28; *Z.* 324, 19; *TILL, MPS.* 2. p. 46. b. 30; *PO.* 2. p. 158, 5.15; *FR.* 182, 6; *VC.* 8, 11; *TT.* p. 30; *C.* 42 p. 213, 1; *C.* 100 p. 320. a. 16; 327, 4; 355, 4 (all S.) and often.

k- All compounds of στέλλειν have the form ΣΤΕΙΛΕ:

ΔΙΑΣΤ(Ε)ΙΛΕ (διαστέλλειν) 'to separate, distinguish', e.g. ΠΡΟϣ ΘΕ ΕΤΗΝΑΔΙΑΣΤΕΙΛΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ [*J.* 65, 43 (S.)] 'according to the manner in which we will precisely define them'. Also *J.* 35, 25 (S.); *Ryl.* 157, 1 (S.).

ΚΑΤΑΣΤ(Ε)ΙΛΕ (καταστέλλειν) 'to appease, quiet; pacify', e.g. ΝΤΕ-ΡΕϣΚΑΤΑΣΤΙΛΕ ἦΠΜΗΨΕ [*Ac.* 19. 35 (S.) (THOMPSON)] (HORNER: ΚΑΤΑΣΤΕΙΛΕ) 'when he quieted the multitude'. ΝΤΑ|ΡΕϣΚΑΤΑΣΤΙΛΕ [*Ap.* 20. 29, (14 A<sub>2</sub>). Also in *BMar.* 117, 4f.b.; 151, 6 (S.). ΚΑΤΑΣΤΙΛΕΙ in: *TILL, MPS.* 2. p. 46. a. 22-23 is a different spelling of the same form.

l- ΤΑΞΕ (τάσσειν) 'to fix; establish', only once, the usual form being ΤΑCCE (as e.g. in: *Mt.* 28, 16 (S.); *Ac.* 23, 20; 28, 23 (S.) ...): ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΕ(sic)ΤΑΞΕ (lege ΝΤΑΥΤΑΞΕ) ΖΙΤΝ ΝΟ6 ΝΡΩΜΕ [*OMH.* 83, 3-4 (S.)] 'in conformity with what has been fixed by (the) great men'.

ΚΥΝΤΑΞΕ (συντάσσειν) 'to put in order together' (the usual form being ΚΥΝΤΑCCE or ΚΥΝΤΑΞΕ e.g. *Ep.* 438, 4 (S.) ...): ΑΥΚΥΝΤΑΞΕ [*Ann.* 41 p. 59, 4 (S.)] 'they put in order together'.

m- ΚΥΝΤΥΧΕΙ, ΚΥΝΤΥΧΕ (συντυγχάνειν) 'to approach, to fall in with, to meet', e.g. *ἡπῆρ*ΚΥΝΤΕΧΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕCΖΟΟΥ [*BAp.* 77, 9f.b. (S.)] 'do not approach a wicked woman'. Also *Pcod.* 13, 22; *BAp.* 92, 1f.b.; *BMis.* 468, 19; *ALR* 1 (1892) p. 499 b. 5 (all S.).

n- ΑΠΟΦΑΝΕ (ἀποφαίνειν) 'to declare, make known' (for B. cf. § 198), e.g. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ἡΤΑΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΟΦΑΝΕ ΕΧΩC [*BMar.* 238, 11-10f.b.; (S.)] 'as my father declared to him'. Also *BMis.* 84, 14; 88, 6f.b.; 90, 1f.b.; 306, 4; *Wor.* 151, 7; 272, 18; *Ryl.* 94; *Z.* 277, 20 (21); *AZ.* 1900 p. 59, 13; *TU.* N.F. v p. 10. b.18-19; *Aeg.* 231. 62, 11; *Rec.* 6. p. 114. 62,7; *CRInscr.* p. 16, 13; *Cr. Tot.* p. 16N5, 13; *FR.* 68, 24 (all S.).

o- All compounds of ἔχειν are moulded in the same fashion ΕΙΧΕ, but this cannot be a derivative of the Aorist (ἔσχον). It resembles rather the imperfect εἶχον:

ΑΝ(Ε)ΙΧΕ<sup>53</sup> (ἀνέχειν) 'to suffer, admit, permit', e.g. Ν†ΝΑΔΑΝΙΧΕ ΑΝ ἡΜΩΤΕΝ [*C.* 99. p. 116.b. 5 (S)] 'I will not suffer you'. Also *C.* 99. p. 188, 14; *C* 100 p. 257. a, 19. 32; 275, 2; 276, 20; 310, 6; *Ryl.* 400; *HMI.* p. 161, 10; 163, 1; *HM.* 2. p. 53, 9; *BMis.* 14, 17; *BMar.* 154, 18; *Z.* 295, 3; 311, 4; 317, 9; *ROC.* 20. p. 49, 11; 50, 14; 51, 7; *AZ.* 52 p. 124, 28; *DLeg.* 10, 18; *VC.* 99, 3 (all S.).

ΚΑΤ(Ε)ΙΧΕ<sup>54</sup>, ΚΑ†ΧΕ (κατέχειν) 'to maintain, stay', e.g. ἡ6ΟΜ ἡΝΜΠΗΥΕ ... CΕΚΑΤΕΙΧΕ [*FR.* 74, 26 (S.)] 'the powers of (the) heavens ... do stay'. Also *BMis.* 147, 8 (S.).

ΜΕΤ(Ε)ΙΧΕ<sup>55</sup> (μετέχειν) 'to share, to take part': ΕΤΡΕΝῆ ΠΕΜΨΑ ἡΜΕΤΙΧΕ ΕΠΙΨΛΗΛ ἡΜΑΥ [*VC.* 6, 5 (S.)] 'so that we might be worthy to take part in prayer with them'.

§ 198. The number of the Greek verbs derived from the aorist is much smaller in Bohairic. Nevertheless there are some. Like those used in

<sup>53</sup> ΑΝΕΧΕ is also common; e.g. *Mt.* 17, 17; *Mk.* 9, 19 (S.) and often.

<sup>54</sup> The form ΚΑΤΕΧΕ is also used, e.g. *2Thes.* 2, 6-7 (S.).

<sup>55</sup> For ΜΕΤΕΧΕ see *1Co.* 9, 10; 12, 10. 30; *Heb.* 2, 14 (all S.).

the southern dialects they are without augment but most of them have the ending -IN:

ΠΡΟΣΕΝΕΓΚΕ<sup>56</sup> (προσφέρειν) 'to bring in to, present', e.g. ΕΠΡΟΣΕ-  
ΝΕΓΚΕ Π̄ΜΟΚ Π̄Φ† [C. 135 p. 70. b. 4 (B.)] 'to lead thee to God'. Also in  
*TConst.* p. 71, 8-9 (B.): ΕΠΡΟΣΑΝΑΓΚΗ.

ΑΠΟΛΑΒΙΝ (ἀπολαμβάνειν) 'to receive' (cf. § 197), e.g. ΕΥΕΡΑΠΟΛΑΒΙΝ  
Π̄ΠΣΜΟΥ Ν†ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ [MALLON, *GC.*, *Chrest.* p. 39, 6f.b. (B.)] '(they) re-  
ceiving the blessing of the Virgin'.

ΑΠΟΦΑΝΙΝ (ἀποφαίνειν) 'to make known, declare' (cf. § 147), e.g.  
†ΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ ΕΤΑΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΡΑΠΟΦΑΝΙΝ ΜΜΟΣ ςΑ ΔΔΑΜ [*Aeg.* 35, 5f.b.  
(B.)]. The sentence which 'My Father passed against Adam', ΔΡΕΩΔΑΝ  
ΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΡΑΠΟΦΑΝΙΝ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΙΡΩΜΙ [*Aeg.* 350, 3f.b. (B.)] 'if My Father  
passeth sentence upon the man'.

## THE USAGE OF THE GREEK NOUNS AS VERBS<sup>57</sup>

§ 199. Every coptic infinitive may be used without any change of the form, as a substantive, e.g. ΤΟΥΧΟ means as an infinitive 'to save' or 'to be saved' (cf. § 189), as a substantive 'salvation'. Infinitive and substantive are distinguished only in their syntax, not in their form. Therefore, Coptic speaking people had often not the proper understanding for the difference in form of a Greek substantive and a verb. This was certainly the reason why they frequently used the one for the other, especially the substantive for the verb.

In the dialects which prefix  $\bar{p}$ :  $\epsilon p$ :  $\epsilon\lambda$  to the Greek verbs (BFAA<sub>2</sub>, cf. § 180), the usage of a substantive instead of a verb might be explained as using a circumlocution (e.g. ΕΡΒΑΣΚΑΝΟΣ 'to be (a) bewitcher') instead of the verb (ΕΡΒΑΣΚΑΙΝΙΝ 'to bewitch')<sup>58</sup>. But this explanation is impossible for the Sahidic because this dialect does not prefix  $\bar{p}$  to the Greek verb (cf. § 180). Therefore there is no  $\bar{p}$  either, before a substantive used as a verb.

Moreover the usage of substantives like ΛΥΠΗ (λύπη) instead of the verb ΛΥΠΕΙ (λυπεῖν or λυπεῖσθαι) might be considered as due to an incorrect spelling writing Η instead of ΕΙ which were very near in pronunciation and

<sup>56</sup> This seems to be influenced by Sahidic: ending in -Ε instead of -IN; constructed without  $\epsilon p$ - cf. § 197.

<sup>57</sup> cf. *Bal.* Chapter VIII. 157B p. 189; *R Champ.* (1922) p. 542 n. 4; *Mus.* 40 (1927) p. 291 n. 2; *Mus.* 67 (1954) p. 273 n. 7.

<sup>58</sup> In late Bohairic texts, Greek substantives are used as verbs even without prefixed  $\epsilon p$ , quite in the Sahidic manner, cf. the examples.

were often written the one for the other (cf. § 5b., 14a). But there are so many substantives used as verbs for which this explanation is impossible so that we must consider *λγπη*, and the like, as the real substantive even when it is used as a verb.

At first I give some examples for the usage of a Greek substantive with prefixed *ḡ*: *ἔρ*: *ελ* (BF<sub>AA</sub><sub>2</sub>):

*ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΑΔΕΡ ΒΑΣΚΑΝΟΣ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ* [*Gal.* 3, 1 (B.)] (= *ἐβάσκανεν*, (S.) *ΠΕΝΤΑΔΦΘΟΝΕΙ*) 'who did bewitch you?'

*ΜΑΡΕΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΕΡ ΖΕΛΠΙΣ ΕΠΩΤΕ* [*Ps.* 130, 3 (B.)] (= *ἐλπισάτω*; (S.) *ΕΛΠΙΖΕ*) 'let Israel hope in the Lord'. Also in the following Bohairic passages: *Ps.* 17, 30; 25, 1; 51, 7-8; 55, 4; 56, 1; 90, 2; 129, 6 (bis); 140, 8; 142, 8; 143, 2; 144, 15; 146, 11; *Mich.* 7, 5; *Mt.* 12, 21; *Lk.* 6, 34; 23, 8; 24, 21; *Jo.* 5, 45; *Rō.* 15, 12; *PO.* 2. p. 329, 12; *PO.* 24 p. 246, 15; *WTh.* 23, 9; *BSG.* 86, 5; 87, 3; 97, 7-8; *BSAC* 4 p. 110, 3 and many others.

*ΔΙΕΛ ΖΕΛΠΙΣ* [*AGATHONICUS* p. 14, 25-26 (F.)] 'I hoped'.

*ΝΑΔΕΡ ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ* [*Mt.* 27, 57 (B.)] (= *ἐμαθητεύθη*; (S.) *ΕΔΙΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΕ*) 'He was disciple'.

*ΣΕΕΡ ΖΥΜΝΟΣ* [*FR* 112, 5 (B.)] 'they sing hymns'. Also in *FR* 126, 4, O'LEARY, *HX* *ro* 1; *HCons.* 369, 20; *TConst.* p. 87, 14 (all B.).

§ 200. The following are examples for Greek substantives used as verbs in Sahidic (and Bohairic without prefixed *ḡ*). The examples are Sahidic unless marked differently. The usage of the substantive instead of the verb is the exception. Usually the form of the verb is used in Coptic.

*ΑΓΩΝ* (*ἀγών* = *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*) 'to contend': *ΠΕΤΝΑΑΓΩΝ ΝΕΜΑΝ* 'those who will contend with us' [*Bal.* 227, 4].

*ΑΝΑΓΚΗ* (*ἀνάγκη* = *ἀναγκάζειν*) 'to compel': *ΑΔΑΝΑΓΚΗ* 'he compelled' [*ST.* 178, 11]. For Bohairic cf. *Aeg.* 213, 16f.b. = *TConst.* p. 177, 1f.b.; *ΕΥΨΑΝΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΜΜΟΔ* 'if he is compelled' (*Rec.* 6. p. 110.9, 1-2 (S.) *ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ*).

*ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑ* (*ἀνάθημα* = *ἀναθεματίζειν*) 'to anathematize, excommunicate': *ΜΑΡΟΥΑΝΑΘΗΜΑ ΜΜΟΔ* 'let him be anathematized' [*TConst.* 127, 12 (B.)] (cf. *Aeg.* 278, 2 (S.) = *Rec.* 6. p. 103, 1 (S.) *ΜΑΡΟΥΚΑΘΑΙΡΟΥ ΜΜΟΔ*); *ΨΑΔΑΝΑΘΗΜΑ* [*TConst.* 133. 76, 6 (B.)] (cf. *Aeg.* 279, 8 (S.) = *Rec.* p. 103. 71, 10f.b. (S.): *ΨΑΔΚΑΘΑΙΡΟΥ*).

*ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ*<sup>59</sup> (*ἀνάληψις* = *ἀναλαμβάνειν*) 'to take up': *ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑ ΘΡΟΥΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ ΜΜΟΔ* 'after He was taken up' [*TConst.* p. 159, 2f.b. (B.)] (cf. *Rec.* 6. p. 108, 11f.b.; (S.) = *Aeg.* 290, 9 (S.) *ΤΡΕΥΑΝΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ*).

<sup>59</sup> For the insertion of *η* cf. § 45.

ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ (ἀνάπαυσις = ἀναπαυεῖν) 'to rest': ΜΠΑΤΕΚΑΝΑΠΕΥΣΙΣ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΔΛΟΧ 'before thou retest thyself upon the bed' [*TConst.* 85, 11 (B.)] (cf. *Rec.* 6. p. 215, 22 (S.) = *Aeg.* 264, 11f.b. (S.) = ΜΠΑΤΕΚΑΝΑΠΕΥΕ).

ΑΠΑΤΗ (ἀπάτη = ἀπατᾶν) 'to deceive': ΝΤΑΥΑΠΑΤΗ ΜΜΟΝ ΔΗ 'we were not deceived' [*Bal.* 154, 13]; ΔΑΠΑΤΗ Ν†ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ 'he deceived the church' [*Aeg.* 212, 2f.b. (B.) = *TConst.* 177, 4f.b. (B.)] (cf. *Aeg.* 212, 14 (S.) = *Rec.* 6. p. 110.8; 3 (S.) ΑΠΑΤΑ).

ΑΠΕΙΛΗ (ἀπειλή = ἀπειλεῖν) 'to threaten': ΝῶΑΠΕΙΛΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'and he threatens them' [*BMis.* 113, 5 (f.b.)]. Also *BMis.* 395, 1; *BMar.* 149, 6f.b., 238, 1; *Ep.* p. 162, 25; *Mus.* 54 p. 125 a. 6; *DLeg.* 58, 15; *DMena.* 22. b. 22-23; 57 b.1; 62. a. 12, *SHel.* 77. b. 11; *BSAC* 7. p. 25, 2f.b.).

ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ (ἀπογραφὴν = ἀπογράφειν) 'to register': ΔΑΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ ΜΠΕΩΡΑΝ 'he registered his name' [*FR.* 148, 17].

ΑΡΧΗ (ἀρχὴν = ἄρχειν) 'to rule, begin' ΔΑΑΡΧΗ (ἤξατο) 'he began' [*Judges.* 1, 27]. Also *Na.* 1, 12; *Ac.* 11, 15 [*BUDGE*]; *LAL.* 9, 25; 12, 6; *J.* 12, 43; 66, 61; 76, 67, 79, 56; *Ryl.* 24, 9.

In Bohairic also ΝΗ ΕΤΑΥΑΡΧΗ ΕΧΩΟΥ 'those who rule over them' [*TConst.* 105, 17 (B.); 118-19].

ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ (βάπτισμα = βαπτίζειν) 'to baptize'. Thus in the Bohairic text of the *Apostolic constitutions*: ΝΗΕΤΑΥΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΜΜΩΟΥ 'those who have been baptized' [*Aeg.* 229, 7f.b.] = *TConst.* 201, 13. Also *TConst.* 51, 17; 133, 4f.b.; 157, 11f.b.; 161, 3-2f.b. In all these cases the Sahidic text has the verb ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ (*Aeg.* 229, 10; 254, 13; 289, 14; 290, 2f.b.; *Rec.* 6. p. 113, 11f.b.; *Rec.* 5. p. 209; 6f.b.; *Rec.* 6. p. 108, 17; p. 109, 1. 2).

ΒΟΗΘ(Ε)ΙΑ (βοήθεια = βοηθεῖν) 'to help': ΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΕΡΟΝ 'help us' [*Mk.* 9, 22 (*Rec.* 5. p. 106)]; *Mk.* 9, 24 (*ibid*), ΜῆΨΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'I cannot help thee' [*TT.* p. 33, vo. 8]; *TT.* p. 34f. 2 vo. 10-11; *Z.* 369, 8; *BM.* 370, 1; *ROC.* 20 p. 48, 16; *Wor.* 218, 16-17; 306, 24; *SHel.* 10. b. 2f.b.; *DMena.* 75. a. 16; *Ryl.* 340 vo. 6; *BMis.* 320, 12.

ΔΑΠΑΝΗ (δαπάνη = δαπανᾶν) 'to spend': ΔΙΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΖΙΤΟ(sic)ΟΥ (lege ΖΙΤΟΤΟΥ) 'I spent upon them' [*CLT.* 1, 64].

ΕΓΓΥΗ (ἐγγύη = ἐγγυᾶν) 'to secure': ΕΒΕΓΓΥΕ ΜΜΟC 'he gives security to her' [*BM.* 1039 vo. p. 432. b.]; *BM.* 1148, 12.

ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ (ἐνέργεια = ἐνεργεῖν) 'to operate': ΠΑ ΤΩΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΠΕ 'it is he of the power of God who operates (executes)' [*Aeg.* 271, 2 = *Rec.* 6. p. 99, 17f.b.]. For Bohairic cf. *TConst.* 105, 12; ΑΤΧΟΜ Μ†ΕΤΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΠΕ.

ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ (ἐπιθυμία = ἐπιθυμεῖν) 'to desire': ΑΥΕΠΕΘΥΜΕΙΑ (= ἐπεθυμησαν) 'they lusted' [*Num.* 11, 4 (*SCHLEIFER*)].

ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ (ἐπιτροπή = ἐπιτρεπειν) 'to entrust': ΝΤΑΥΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕ ΝΑΙ 'they entrusted me' [Ryl. 137, 5]; Ryl. 202, 3; Bal. 167, 5; 115, 8; Kr. 34, 8; 50, 25; Co. 206, 3; 307, 3-2f.b.

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ (εὐχαριστία = εὐχαριστεῖν) 'to give thanks', ΜΑΡΕΠΙΕ-ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ 'let the bishop give thanks' [TConst. 55, 13f.b. (B.)]. The Sahidic parallel passage in Aeg. 255. 46, 16 = Rec. 5. p. 210. 46, 9: ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙ).

ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΑ (ζωγραφία = ζωγραφεῖν) 'to paint': ΠΜΔΕΙΝ ΕΠΕΣΤΑΥ-ΡΟΣ ΕΦΩΚΡΑΦΕΙΑ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΖΙΚΩΝ 'the sign of the cross being traced upon their forms' [Ryl. 20. b. 3]; ΖΩΚΡΑΦΙΑ ΝΑΝ ΘΘΙΣΤΩΡΙΑ 'write down to us the story' [BM. 975, 1].

ΚΗΡΥΞ (κῆρυξ = κηρύσσειν) 'to proclaim, announce': ΕΦΚΥΡΙΞ 'proclaiming' [TConst. 119, 2 (B.)] (cf. Aeg. 275, 6 (S.) = Rec. 6. p. 101, 16f.b. (S.) = ΝῶΚΥΡΙΣΕ).

ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ (κληρονομία = κληρονομεῖν) 'to inherit': ΣΕΝΑΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΒΙ ΠΗ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ (κατὰ κληρονομήσουσιν) 'the house of Jacob shall inherit' [Obd. 17 (CIASCA)] (Achmimic [MALININE] reads: ΣΕΝΑΡΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ; Bohairic ΕΦΕΡΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΝ).

ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ (κοινωνία = κοινωνεῖν) 'to communicate': ΝΕΤΕ ΝΣΕ-ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΑΝ 'those who do not communicate' [Aeg. 285, 2-3 = Rec. 6. p. 106, 18]; ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΣΕΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΑΝ [TConst. 145, 1-2 (B.)]; ΝΝΕΚΗΩ ΚΕΝΟΝΙΑ 'he will not be able to communicate' [RChamp. p. 541g 11, 11].

ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ (κόλασις = κολάζειν) 'to punish': ΑΥΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΜΜΟΦ ΣΕΝ ΟΥΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ 'he was punished with a punishment' [TConst. 37, 6 (B.)]; *ib.* 37, 2 (B.). In both cases the Sahidic parallel text has the form of the verb ΚΟΛΑΖΕ: Aeg. 250. 15, 11-12 = Rec. 5. p. 207, 16.14].

ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ (λειτουργία = λειτουργεῖν) 'to perform the Liturgy': ΟΥΔΕ ΨΑΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΑΝ 'nor shall she perform the Liturgy' [Aeg. 251, 7 = Rec. 5. p. 207. 37, 2f.b.] (TConst. p. 39. 37, 13 (B.): ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕΨΑΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΑΝ); TU. 58 (1954) p. 8, 10 (S.).

ΛΥΠΗ (λύπη = λυπεῖν) 'to be grieved, to be vexed': ΠΑΖΗΤ ΛΥΠΗ 'my heart is grieved' [Lament 1, 22 (TILL, MPS.2)]; Sap. 11, 13; 14, 15; Jo. 16, 20 (A<sub>2</sub>); FR32, 16; 34, 18; Z. 306, 7f.b.; 324, 13.17; 342, 6; PO. 2. p. 163, 2; 164, 2; PO. 9. p. 139, 1; BMar. 222, 4f.b.; 247, 24; BAp. 81, 9f.b.; 82, 12; 87, 2. 3. 18; 88, 15; 96, 6; 104, 2f.b.; 107, 11f.b.; 150, 5; C. 99. p. 108, 25; Bal. 272, 2; ΣΙΝΑΛΥΠΗ 'suffering' [LAl. 17, 1-2].

Remarkable in Bohairic: ΑΦΛΥΠΗ 'he was grieved' [Aeg. 225, 11f.b. = TConst. 67, 11f.b.]; TConst. 195, 13f.b.; WTh. 4, 3.

ΜΕΛΕΤΗ (μελέτη = μελετᾶν) 'to recite': ΕΦΕΜΕΛΕΤΗ 'he recites' [Z. 325, 11]; ΔΙΝΜΕΛΕΤΗ 'recital' [Z. 350, 14-15] (B. ΕΦΕΡΜΕΛΕΤΗ: *HL*. 113, 11).

ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ (μετάνοια = μετανοεῖν) 'to repent': ΕΙΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 2Δ ΜΑΝΟΒΕ 'I repent of my sin' [*BMis*. 277, 2]; *ib.* 271, 8f.b.

ΠΛΑΝΗ (πλάνη = πλανᾶν) 'to lead astray': ἸΤΕΦΕΡΠΛΑΝΗ ἸΝΙΜΗΨ 'and he shall lead the multitudes astray' [*WMac*. 21. b. 4 (B.)]; ΜΜΟΝ 2ΛΙ Ν2ΕΡΕ-ΤΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΨ ΧΕΜΧΟΜ ΕΠΑΛΛΗ ΜΜΩΟΥ 'not any heretic shall be able to lead them astray' [*TConst.* 91, 13 (B.)] (cf. *Aeg.* 266, 21 (S.) = *Rec.* 5. p. 216, 5f.b.; (S.) ΠΑΔΝΑ); ΤΦΠΑΛΛΗ 'he plays false' [*PLond.* 1634, 10].

ΠΑΛΗΓΗ (πληγή = πλήσσειν) 'to smite': ΑΥΠΑΛΗΓΗ 'they were smitten' [*Judges* 20, 36]; *Cont.* 5, 7; Z. 323, 6f.b.; 446, 5f.b.; 454, 14. 16. 18. 23; *PO*. 2. p. 164, 19; 172, 13; 185, 4; C. 42 p. 57, 2. 5. 7. 13; C. 100. p. 323, 24; *LMär.* p. 4.a, 22; 14. b. 12; *WTh.* 138, 16; *BMar.* 117, 12; *BAp.* 6, 15; *BMis.* 261, 11f.b.; 262, 15; 264, 9; 265, 16; 270, 12f.b.; 476, 10f.b.; 477, 10; *LApoc.* 16, 52; 43, 20-21; *Aeg.* 272, 13; *Rec.* 6. p. 100, 9; *JA.* 5 (1905) p. 454, 2 f.b.

ΠΟΡΝΗ (πόνη = πορνεύειν) 'to be a prostitute': ΝΤΑΙΠΟΡΝΗ ΔΝ 'I was not a prostitute (or I did not practise idolatry)' [*HL*. 101, 11 (B.)].

ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ (προσευχή = προσεύχεσθαι) 'to pray, entreat': ΝCΠΡΟCΥ-ΧΗ ΕΠΕCΙΩΤ 'she should entreat her father' [*BKU.* 38 = *TILL*, *Schutzbr.* p. 119 N. 88, 11].

ΠΡΟCΚΑΡΤΗΡΙΑ (προσκαρτερία = προσκαρτερεῖν) 'to devote one's self to': ΕΦΡΟΥΠΡΟCΚΑΡΤΗΡΙΑ ... ΕΠΙΨΑΛΗ 'that they may devote themselves to prayer' [*TConst.* 23, 6f.b. (B.)] (The Sahidic parallel text in: *Aeg.* 246; 21, 2 = *Rec.* 6. p. 205, 21, 1: ΕΤΡΕΥΠΡΟCΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ); *TConst.* p. 47. 42, 3 (B.) (Sahidic in *Aeg.* 253. 42, 4 = *Rec.* 5. p. 209. 42, 2 has ΠΡΟCΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ).

CΠΟΥΔΗ (σπουδή = σπουδάζειν) 'to hasten': ΜΑΡΕΠΙΟΥΓΑΙ ΠΙΟΥΓΑΙ CΠΟΔΗ 'ΕΕΡ ΠΕΘΝΑΝΕC ΝΙΒΕΝ 'let every one hasten to do all good things' [*TConst.* p. 63, 13-12f.b. (B.)] (cf. *Aeg.* 258, 12 (S.) = *Rec.* 5. p. 211, 12, (13) S.: CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ).

CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ (συναγωγή = συνάγειν) 'to communicate': ΕCΝΑCΥΝΓΩΓΕ 'he shall communicate' [*Aeg.* 213, 2f.b.(B.) = *TConst.* 179, 9f.b. (B.)] (cf. *Rec.* 6. p. 110.10, 4 (S.) = *Aeg.* 213, 15 (S.): ΕCΝΑCΥΝΑΓΕ); ΕΥCΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'they all communicate' [*TConst.* 123, 14 (B.)] (cf. the Sahidic parallel text in *Aeg.* 276, 6f.b. = *Rec.* 6. p. 102, 13 ΕΥCΥΝΑΓΕ); ΝΑCΥΝΑΓΩΓΕ 'he communicated' [*Aeg.* 217, 5f.b. (B.) = *TConst.* 185. 31, 2 (B.)] cf. Sahidic *Aeg.* 217, 12 = *Rec.* 6. p. 111. 23, 1 ΝḲCΥΝΑΓΕ).

CΥΝΒΟΗΘΙΑ (συμβοήθεια = συμβοηθεῖν) 'to render joint aid': ΕCΥΝΒΟΗΘΙΑ 'he renders joint aid' [*CO.* 360, 7].

ΤΕΧΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ (τεχνολογία = τεχνολογεῖν) 'to execute': ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ  
 ἸΠΟΥΤΕΧΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΠΙΣΤΙC 'those who did not execute the faith' [*LMis.*  
 143 p. 929 (515)].

ΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ (ὑπηρετης = ὑπηρετεῖν) 'to attend upon': ΝΗ ΕΤΖΥΠΕ-  
 ΡΕΤΗΣ ἸΜΩΟΥ 'those whose attend upon him' [*TConst.* p. 135, 2f.b. (B.)]  
 (cf. *Aeg.* 280, 8 (S.) = *Rec.* 6. p. 104, 10 (S.) ΝΕΤΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΕΙ).

ΖΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ (ὑπογραφή = ὑπογράφειν) 'to sign' ΠΕΤΝΑΖΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ  
 ΖΑΡΟΙ 'he who will sign for me' [*J* 38,15]; [*J* 9,20; 12,7; 14,8-9; 21,13-14;  
 68,6; 71,8; Z260,3 (all S) and often.

ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ (ὑπομονή = ὑπομένειν) 'to wait for': †ΝΑΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ  
 ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'I will wait for God' [*Mich.* 7, 7; (CIASCA)] (The Achmimic  
 parallel passage has †ΝΑΡΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ); ΝΝΕΤΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΡΟQ 'those who  
 wait for him' [*Na.* 1, 7 (CIASCA)] (Achmimic ΝΕΤΡΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ); *Ryl.* 64 p. 28,  
 3f.b.; 64 p. 29, 1; *Pcod.* 43, 5; *Leyd.* 433 b.12; *WTh.* 135, 3.4; *Rec.* 6. p. 98;  
*Mus.* 40 (1927) p. 278, 9f.b.; *Mus.* 67 (1954) p. 273, 12. For Bohairic cf.  
*TConst.* 101, 2-3 ΑΦ† ΠΙΛΟΓΟC ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΠΙCΤΑΓΡΟC 'God the Logos  
 suffered patiently on the cross' (cf. *Aeg.* 369, 16 (S.) ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΗ).

ΦΛΕΓΜΑ (φλέγμα = φλεγμονᾶσθαι, φλεγμαίνειν) 'to become infla-  
 med' ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕQΦΕΓΜΑ ΕΝΕQΒΑΛ 'a man whose eyes became inflamed'  
 [*BMar.* 67, 14f.b.]

ΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΙΑ (χειροτονία = χειροτονεῖν) 'to ordain': ἸΤΑΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΙΑ  
 ἸΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ἸΖΗΤC 'in which they ordained each one' [*Aeg.* 287, 18 =  
*Rec.* 6. p. 107, 18] (cf. *TConst.* 151, 15f.b. (B.) ΕΤΑΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΙΝ).

ΧΡΕΩCΤΗΣ (χρεώστης = χρεωστεῖν) = 'to owe a debt' ΠΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC  
 ΕΘΝΑΩΕΤ ΝΗ ΕΤΧΡΕΩCΤΗΣ ΝΑQ ΜΗΗCΙ 'the deacon who will ask those  
 who owe him the interests' [*Aeg.* 223, 2f.b. (B.) = *TConst.* p. 193. 44, 2 (B.)]  
 (cf. *Rec.* 6. p. 112. 36, 1 (S.) = *Aeg.* 223. 36, 2 (S.): ΝΕΤΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ).

ΧΡΙΑ (χρεία = χρήζειν) = 'to have need of': ΟΥΝ ΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΕQΧΡΙΑ  
 (ΤΗΟΜΠCΟΝ ΕQṖ ΧΡΙΑ) ἸΠΕΤΝΑΩΟΠQ ΕΡΟQ 'there is the sick who has  
 need of him who will accept him' [*Sir.* 11, 14 (*Aeg.* = *Gr.* 11, 12)]. Generally  
 the verb 'to have need of' is expressed in Sahidic by Ṗ ΧΡΙΑ (cf. *Mt.* 6, 32  
 ΤΕΤṖṖ ΧΡΕΑΙ, and often). ΧΡΙΑ without Ṗ is found at the following places:  
*Jo.* 2, 25 (*Bal.* 15); *Tor.* 29, 6; *Bal.* 188, 16-17; *Ryl.* 362, 1f.b. and often. In  
 Fayyumic ΔΙΧΡΙΑ ΜΜΑΚ [*UM.* 209, 2-3]; *Kr.* 10, 3; 11, 2; 21, 3; 25, 3. 7; 54, 2;  
 63, 4; 64, 2; 65, 2; 68, 2; *BM.* 591, 2, 3-4; 592, 13-14; *AZ.* 23 (1885) p. 30. 3,  
 7.

ΩΦΕΛ(Ε)ΙΑ (ὠφέλεια = ὠφελεῖν) = 'to benefit': ΝΝΕΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΟΦΕΛΕΙΑ ΝΛΑΔΥ 'that one will gain nothing' [*J.* 81, 42]; *J.* 79, 60; ΝΑΚ-  
 ΝΑΩΦΕΛΙΑ ΜΜΩΟΥ ΔΝ 'thou wouldst profit them nothing' [*TConst.* 145.

4f.b. (B.)) (cf. the Sahidic in: *Aeg.* 285, 15f.b. = *Rec.* 6. p. 106, 14f.b. ΝΓΝΑΩΦΕΛΕΙ).

## GREEK ADJECTIVE USED AS VERB

§ 201. Apart from some instances found in TATTAM'S *Apostolic Constitutions* (a very late text, dated from 1804 A.D.), only παραλογον is used as a verb, in quite a number of different Sahidic texts, representing παραλογιζεσθαι, e.g. ḲΝΑΠΑΡΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΔΝ [*Ep.* 149, 12]<sup>60</sup> 'he will not deceive us'; ΝΝΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΨ ΔΜΔΟΜ ΕΠΑΛΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΝΜΟΙ [*J.* 76, 58] 'no man will be able to deceive me'; ΕΙΨΑΝΠΑΡΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΝΜΑΚ [*Rec.* 6. p. 70, 14] 'if I deceived thee'; ΔΝΟΚ ΡΩ ΜΑΠΑΡΑΛΩΓΩΝ [*HALL.* p. 117. 3, 8. 10] 'I also do not (or will not) deceive'.

## GREEK ADVERB USED AS VERB

§ 202. ΔΑΤΑΧΗ ΔΑΧΙ ΣΜΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΑ [*HM.* 2. 28, 20 (S.)) 'he hastened and received blessing from him'; ΔΝΤΑΧΗ ΔΝΙ ΕΡΑΤΟ ΝΤΕΑΜΑΥ [*Aeg.* 53, 12f.b. (B.)) 'we hastened and came unto His mother'; in a letter: ΤΑΧΗ ΝΜΟΚ ΔΜΟΥ [*Kr.* 228, 22 (S.)) 'hasten and come'; ΤΑΧΗ ΔΜΟΥ [*Kr.* 228 vo. 1 (S.)) 'hasten and come'. Also *Ryl.* 350, 2; *BMar.* 223, 8; *BMis.* 173, 1; *BM.* 292, 9f.b.; 1130 vo. 3; 1126, 6; 1141, 10; *LMär.* 29. b. 27-28 (all S.); *WTh.* 35, 4f.b. (B.); 61, 13 (B.); 65, 6f.b. (B.): ΝΤΕΑΤΑΧΗ ΝΜΟΑ 'that he may hasten'; 66, 1f.b. (B.).

## GREEK VERBS USED AS NOUNS

§ 203. As mentioned above (§ 189) every Coptic infinitive can be used as a substantive without changing its form. The same holds good for Greek verbs (in syntax equal to Coptic infinitives; § 199). Often Greek (as well as Coptic) verbs are used with the indefinite article and 2N- before them translating an adverb. This usage is usually found only in Sahidic<sup>61</sup>,

<sup>60</sup> cf. CRUM, *ibid.* n. 4; TILL, *K. Schutzbriefe* p. 120 n. 1.

<sup>61</sup> The Bohairic version of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ed. TATTAM) shows many features which are characteristic for the Sahidic dialect. This text is certainly a very late one (1804 A.D.) and bad translation from Sahidic into Bohairic.

the only dialect which uses the Greek verb without prefixed  $\bar{\rho}$  (§ 180). Examples for this use are:

ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΝ (κατηγορεῖν = κατηγορία) = 'accusation' e.g. ΕΡΕΨΑΝΟΥΚΑΤΗΡΟΡΙΝ ΨΩΠΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΥΠΙΣΤΟC 'if there be an accusation against a believer' [*Aeg.* 227, 10f.b. = TATTAM, *Const.* p. 197. 61, 1 (both B.)] (cf. *Aeg.* 227. 49, 1 (S.) = *Rec.* 6. p. 113. 49, 1 (S.): ΚΑΤΟΙΓΟΡΟC).

ΚΡΙΝΕ (κρίνειν = κρίσις) = 'judgement': ΖΝ ΟΥΚΡΙΝΕ ΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΗΟΟΥ: 'in a judgement, God will judge them' [*Judges* 11, 27 (S.)].

ΛΥΠΕΙ (λυπεῖν = λύπη)<sup>62</sup> = 'grief': e.g. ΔΥΛΥΠΕΙ ΝΔΙ ΙΩΝΑC ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΛΥΠΕΙ 'And Jonah grieved with a great grief' [*Jon.* 3, 10 (S.)]. Also in *C* 42 p. 221, 20; 226, 9; *C.* 99 p. 189, 24; *BMis.* 275, 16-18; 289, 11; 545, 7f.b.; *BMar.* 53, 5; 54, 11f.b.; 82, 14f.b.; *J.* 89, 7; *AZ.* 48 p. 82, 8; *DMena* 43, 11; *Ann.* 49. p. 77, 14. 17; GRIFF, *Stu.* p. 149, 5; *CrTot.* N. 6. p. 21, 5 (all S.).

ΜΕΛΕΤΑ (μελετᾶν = μελέτη) 'exercises, meditations', e.g. ΟΥΗΡ ΝΨΛΗΛ ΖΙ ΝΗCΤΙΑ ΖΙ ΔCΚΗCΙC, ΖΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΖΙ ΟΥΨΗ ΝΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΕΕΙΡΕ ΜΗΟΟΥ 'how many prayers, (and) fasts, (and) rigid practices, (and) meditations and vigils hast thou (f.) performed?' [*C.* 42 p. 199, 23 (S.)]; ΖΕΝΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ 'many meditations' [*C.* 42 p. 114, 23 (S.)]; ΟΥΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΤΕ 'it is (a) meditations' [*C.* 42 p. 210, 22 (S.)].

ΠΕΙΘΕ (πείθειν = πεισομονή) 'persuasion, confidence, conviction', e.g. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΠ(Ε)ΙΘΕ †ΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ (S.), ΖΕΝ ΟΥΠΙΘΙ †ΧΑ ΕΒΟΛ (F.) 'and I, with pleasure, will spend' [*2Co.* 12, 15]; ΕΔΟΥΨΩ ΕΡ ΠΠΕΙΘΕ ΝΠΜΗΨΕ 'wishing to do the pleasure (= persuasion) of the multitude' [*Mk.* 15, 15]; ΠΑΤΑΨΕΟΕΙΨ ΝΤΑΨΩΨΕ ΔΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΠ(Ε)ΙΘΕ 'my preaching was not in (a) persuasion (= ἐν πειθοῖς) [*1Co.* 2, 4 (S.)]; ΧΕΚΑΔC ΕΝΝΕΤΝ-ΠΙCΤΙC ΨΩΨΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΠ(Ε)ΙΘΕ 'so that our faith shall not be in a persuasion' [*1Co.* 2, 5 (S.)]; ΠΕΙΠ(Ε)ΙΘΕ ΝΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ 'this persuasion (= ἡ πεισομονή) is not out of ...' [*Gal.* 5, 8 (S.)].

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ (πολιτεύειν = πολίτευμα, πολιτεία) 'commonwealth, citizenship' e.g. ΕΡΕ ΠΕΝΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ ΜΑΖ ΝΨΠΗΥΕ 'our citizenship (= ἡμῶν γάρ τὸ πολίτευμα) 'fills (the) heavens' [*BAp.* 93, 5f.b. (S.)] (This passage is a quotation from *Phil.* 3, 20; both THOMPSON'S and HORNER'S Sahidic editions read ΠΕΝΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ); ΕΔΟΥΨΩ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΔΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ 'he wished to go to his ascetic labours' [*BMis.* 474, 5 (S.)].

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΙ (προκόπτειν = προκοπή) = 'progress, advancement', e.g. [ΝΕC] – ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ ΖΝ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΙ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΑ[ΝΟΥ]C '[he] advanced in every good progress' [*C.* 99. p. 97, 15 (S.)].

<sup>62</sup> This equation may as be due to spelling (cf. 5b).

ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ (προσκαρτερεῖν = προσκαρτέρησις) = 'perseverance, attendance'; e.g. ΤΩΩ ΝΗΑΞΙΩΜΑ [Ḳ]ΝΕΠΙΣΚΟ[ΠΙΟΣ] ΠΜΑ ΝΖΜ[ΟΟΣ] ḲΝΕΠΡΕ[ΣΒΥ]ΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΡΟΣΚΑ[ΤΗ]ΡΕΙ ḲḲΔΙ[ΑΚΟ]ΝΟΣ 'define the ranks of the bishops, the councils (lit. places of sitting) of the priests, the perseverances of the deacons' [*LMis.* 89 p. 1123 (S.)].

ΣΚΟΠΤΕΙ (σκώπτειν = σκῶψις) 'mockery': ΠΣΩΒΕ ΜΝ ΠΧΗΡ ΜΝ ΝΣΚΟΠΤΕΙ 'the laughter and the wantonness and the mockeries' [Z. 438, 8f.b. (S.)].

ΣΠΑΤΑΛΑ (σπαταλᾶν = σπατάλη) = 'wantonness, luxury': ΕΡΕΠΕΥ-  
ΣΩΒΕ ΖḲ ΟΥΣΠΑΤΑΛΑ ḲΝΟΒΕ 'their laughter is in wantonness of sins' [*Sir.* 27, 13 (S.) (LAGARDE & THOMPSON)]; ΖΝ ΖΕΝΣΠΑΤΑΛΑ 'in luxuries' [*Ryl.* 71 p. 35, 2f.b. (S.)]; [*LMis.* 113 p. 1262 [384]].

ΖΥΠΟΚΡΙΝΕ (ὑποκρίνειν = ὑπόκρισις) = 'hypocrisy': ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΟΥΑ  
ΑΖΕ-ΡΑΤḲ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΥΠΟΚΡΙΝΕ 'let not any one stand in this place with (a) hypocrisy' [*Aeg.* 276, 3 (S.) = *Rec.* 6. p. 101, 2f.b.]; [*TConst.* p. 121, 8 (B.)].

ΨΑΛΛΕΙ (ψάλλειν = ψαλμωδία) = 'singing to the harp': ΠΖΥΜΝΟΣ  
ΜΨΑΛΛΕΙ ΜḲ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΚΙΘΑΡΑ 'the sung hymn and that of the lyre' [*My.* 108, 1 (S.)].

## HYBRID FORMATIONS

§ 204. It may be mentioned that Greek verbs like any other Greek words (cf. §§ 89. 101) are combined with Coptic prefixes and so form hybrid expressions. A few examples will show such possibilities:

ΑΤ-ΠΑΡΑΒΑ (ἀπαράβατος) 'untransgressable', e.g. in *J.* 1, 18 (S.) and often.

ΑΤ-ΝΟ(Ε)Ι (ἀνόητος) 'incomprehensible', e.g. *BaGnos.* XI, 23; XIV, 25; LX, 2; Z. 313, 22; *LAp.* 108 (all S.).

ΩΟΥ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ (ἄξιόπιστος) 'trustworthy', e.g. in *BAp.* 111, 9f.b.; *J.* 6, 7; 20, 19; 21, 14-15; 35, 20; 38, 16; 42, 4 (all S.) and often.

ΡΕϞ-ΨΑΛΛΕΙ (S.) ΡΕϞ-ΨΑΛΛΙΝ (B.) (ψαλτωδός) '(the) psalmist, psalmodist'; e.g. *Sir.* 47, 11; 50, 20; C. 100. p. 319. a. 16; *BMar.* 138, 6 (all S.); *BSM.* 64, 20 (B.).

ΡϞΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ (S.) ΡΕϞΡΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ (A.) (καταφρονητής) 'contemner, despiser', e.g. in: *SOPH.* 3, 4 (A.), *Ryl.* 277, 29-30 (S.).

ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΝΟΙ (ἄνοια) 'want of understanding', e.g. Z. 313, 3f.b. (S.); *Bal.* 154, 14 (S.).

ΜΝΤ-ΡΕΩ-ΝΗΦΕ (νηφαλεότης) 'sobriety', e.g. *C.* 135. p. 42, 12 (S.).

ΔΙΝ-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ (S.) ΣΙΝ-ΕΡ-ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ (B.) (ἀπάτημα, ἀπάντησις)  
'meeting', e.g. *BMar.* 217, 18. 28; *BMis.* 67, 5; 119, 3; *BAp.* 113, 5; *DLeg.* 30, 11; *Wth.* 183, 16; *LMar.* 28. b. 19-20; *KROPP. H.* 56 (all S.); *HL* 81, 9-10. (B.).

# ABŪ ŠA'ĀR REVISITED

BY

PETER GROSSMANN

In December 2000 I had the opportunity to pay a short visit to the Late Roman army fortress of Abū Ša'ār on the Red Sea coast, a place which was formerly identified with the port of Myos Hormos, surveyed and partly excavated in the eighties and early nineties by S.E. SIDEBOTHAM<sup>1</sup>. The general situation since that time has changed completely. The site's name "Dayr Umm Dahays" is no longer recorded. Instead there is a large touristic and holiday village, named "al-Gouna" occupying most of the neighbouring area. The local Beduins have lost their orientation and are unable to explain the location of the *castrum* of Abū Ša'ār. Only by passing through al-Gouna can one arrive to the site whose location is now better explained as situated between the sea-shore and the modern tourist village.

The conditions of the site proper are not bad. It looks like every place, which has been abandoned for a decade. The excavation trenches are partly filled with wind blown sand and in several corners heaps of empty plastic bags and plastic bottles left by visitors have accumulated. Destruction caused by visitors (mainly young adolescent boys) as they are known from other sites are not in evidence. The visible damage has been caused by the normal erosion of wind, sun, and rain acting on the bad quality of the masonry bonded with simple mud mortar which dries to soft dust when exposed to the sun and gets easily blown out. Apparently the humidity in the ground has also increased. One wonders how otherwise soft organic material such as papyrus that was found during the excavations could have survived.

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<sup>1</sup> see S.E. SIDEBOTHAM, University of Delaware archaeological project at Abu Sha'ar: The 1992 season. *JARCE Newsletter* 161/162 (1993) 1-9 fig. 2; *id.*, University of Delaware fieldwork in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, 1993. *DOP* 48, 1994, 264-275 fig. 4; with references to earlier reports; for the new location of Myos Hormos SIDEBOTHAM suggests a place roughly at the altitude of Antinoopolis, "50-60 km further north along the coast at Zeit Bay", cf. S.E. SIDEBOTHAM-J.A. RILEY-H.A. HAMROUSH-H. BARAKAT, Fieldwork on the Red Sea Coast: The 1987 season, *JARCE* 26, 1989, 127-166, spec. 131 fig. 1.

But the wind has also cleared also some previously invisible details, and this changes the interpretation of several parts of the buildings, especially concerning the high standing fortification walls.

### 1. The fortress

Beside the northern gate remains of a stairway became visible leading perpendicularly against the rear side of the eastern tower of the gate. Apparently this stairway leads up to the rampart walk of the fortification wall, but also offers access to the interior of the tower. At the same time the visible remains of the gate give an idea of the thickness of the fortification walls. It has become obvious that the walls, all around the fortress, consisted of two separately built shells, with the space between them filled with earth and small stones. The thin wall portions shown on the plan of SIDEBOTHAM represent only the inner shell. *In toto* the thickness of the walls is 2.65 - 2.70 m instead of 0.85 m as was formerly assumed<sup>2</sup>. The inner shell consists everywhere of small irregular stones while the many fallen ashlar blocks of white gypsum or limestone found in the destruction debris against the outer side of the wall may indicate that the outer side had a facing of ashlar masonry.

Even more important is the question of how the different corner towers were accessible. This was not clarified by SIDEBOTHAM. Even his deep trench dug in 1992 to the floor level in front of the entrance into the south-west corner tower, where fourteen courses of large white gypsum ashlar were exposed, failed to bring a satisfactory result<sup>3</sup>. But the wind, active for the last ten years in the area has revealed, some details of such an entrance into a corner tower at the south-eastern corner of the fortress. The tower at this position projects equally on both sides beyond the curtain wall and it appears that the remains of its entrance survive up to the actual top-level of the destruction debris. It opens at the very south end of the eastern wall and turns after a little more than 1 m, perpendicularly to the west, into the tower proper<sup>4</sup>. The opposite side of the inner passage way is flanked by a

<sup>2</sup> This as drawn in the various plans published by S.E. SIDEBOTHAM *op.cit.* (as. n. 1); in his later description he gives the thickness as 1.50 m, cf. ID. in: K.A. BARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London/New York 1999) 84-87, spec. 84, s.v. Abu Sha'ar, without telling, where this dimension was measured.

<sup>3</sup> Trench AS92-U cf. SIDEBOTHAM *op.cit.* 4f. fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Corresponding thus in a roughly similar way to the classification of SH. GREGORY, *Roman military architecture on the eastern frontier from AD 200 - 600. I-III* (Amsterdam 1995-97) spec.

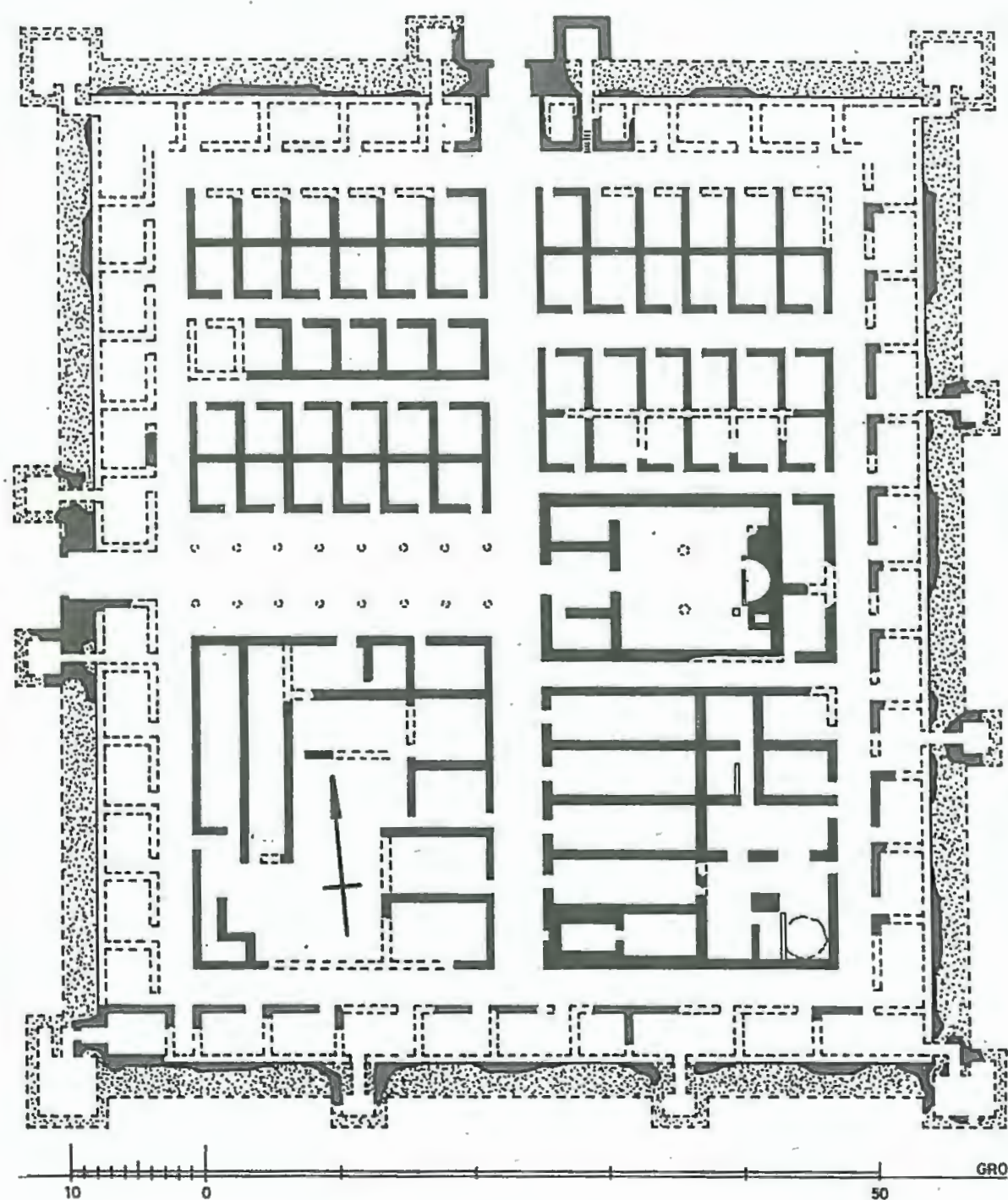


Fig. 1. Ground-plan of the fortress of Abū Ša'ār

vol. I 134 fig. 6.12.B; her schematic drawing, however, shows an unequal projection of the tower on both sides and a straight entrance way.

short wall tongue, of which the outer side lies apparently on the alignment of the outer facing of the perimeter wall.

Apparently also the south-western corner tower, of which only the inner side of the entrance was excavated in 1992<sup>5</sup>, was designed in a similar way, and the same also applies to the two other corner towers in the north. However, the entrance passage into the south-western tower is 1.28 m wide, considerably broader than the width of all the other tower entrances, which measure only about 0.75 - 0.80 m. Also, the traceable length of this entrance passage (about 3.50 m) is more than the average thickness of the wall. Consequently the small wall tongue, mentioned at the south-eastern tower cannot have been placed in the alignment of the outer facing of the western wall, but lies further outside. This tower might thus have been of some stronger design and larger size, and in accordance with the assumption of S.E. SIDEBOTHAM it might have been also of extra height<sup>6</sup>.

When putting these observations into the plan of the fortress, its fortification work became rather different from that which was formerly understood. However, a complete interpretation cannot be given. Nowhere could any detail of the interior design of the towers be seen in relation to the edges of the curtain wall proper. We wonder also why SIDEBOTHAM did not try to clarify these relations.

## 2. The *principia*

There are further difficulties connected with the building understood by the excavators as the *principia* of the camp. It lies in the axis of the colonnaded *via praetoria* and was entered from the west where one arrives at first in a square room flanked on both sides with two smaller lateral chambers. Further to the east another and slightly smaller door opens into a larger almost square hall, the main hall of the building. This was probably roofed with palm fronds (*jarid*) laid on wooden beam or palm-stems and if this was the case at least one pair of columns would here be needed to support it. The construction might have consisted either of a transversal architrave or of two architraves placed east-west in the traditional way<sup>7</sup>. On the eastern side of the hall there is a central apse between two very small side chambers. The thick wall between the apse and the southern side chamber appears to

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<sup>5</sup> trench AS92-U, *ibid.* (as n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> SIDEBOTHAM *op.cit.* (as n. 1) 4.

<sup>7</sup> SIDEBOTHAM in: BARD *op.cit.* (as n. 1) 86, speaks of "... wooden dividers separating the nave from the side aisles".

be empty inside thus forming a kind of cupboard. The same is probably the case on the left side of the apse. The access into these cupboards is no longer visible. According to the estimation of the excavators the respective openings are located at the western side of the cupboard facing the central hall of the building. It would be more reasonable to expect them hidden somewhere in the walls of the apse especially if used to keep the money-chest of the military unit stationed in the camp and probably also the savings of the soldiers.

At the rear side of the apse two differently sized rooms are extant, accessible from the sides.

If one compares this building with the *principia* known from other military *castra* it seems to be much too small. The *principia* of the Roman military camps are multifunctional buildings, as the plural form of the name already explains. They should contain a shrine (sanctuary, *aedes*) for the flags (*signa*) of the troop and the statue of the reigning Emperor, as well as the *scholae* for the officers, and a large cross hall (*basilica*) for the assembly of the soldiers with a *tribunal* for the commander. If the apse can be still understood as the sanctuary, the two rooms to the sides are much too small for the *scholae* as the meeting chambers of the officers. They are even too small to be used as 'orderly rooms' necessary as well in the *principia*. And to assemble all the soldiers of the fortress in the larger central hall appears likewise difficult<sup>8</sup>. The commander could give his orders in this hall only to a limited number of people. *In toto* the functions of the *principia* can be fulfilled in this building only on a very reduced level.

On the other hand the similarities of this building with an early Christian church cannot be disregarded. Even the two lateral chambers beside the western entrance are not unusual in churches, as shown by the small church in the eastern suburb of Leucaspis (mod. Marīnat al-'Alamayn) on the Mediterranean sea-coast<sup>9</sup>. Hiding places on either side of the apse are also known from churches<sup>10</sup>. Even the general plan of the building with only

<sup>8</sup> The problem remains even if one accepts the assumption of SH. GREGORY *op.cit.* (as. n. 3) vol. I, 180, that a change took place around 300 from the cross hall to a longitudinal colonnaded hall. If the function of assembling the soldiers remains, also the available space should be the same.

<sup>9</sup> E. LUZYNIECKA, Architecture of the early Christian basilica in Marīna al-'Alamayn (Polish with an Engl. summary). *Architectus* 1-2, 1997, 47-57 fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> As *pars pro toto* see P. GROSSMANN-S.F. FATHY, Early Christian Ruins at Kom al-Namrūd, *BSAC* 33, 1994, 69-78, fig. 1.

one pair of supports corresponds well with some early Christian wide-arcade basilicas (Weitarkadenbasiliken)<sup>11</sup>.

But, the date of the building, persuasively established by S.E. SIDEBOTHAM on the basis of epigraphic evidence as A.D. 310/11 even before the official end of the persecution of the Christians according to the edict of Galerius (293-311) of 30<sup>th</sup> April 311, as recorded by Eusebios (*hist. eccl.* VIII, 17) speaks clearly against any possible original function as a church. Churches came to be introduced in military camps only later. They become more or less obligatory after the anti-pagan edicts of Theodosius I (379-395)<sup>12</sup> effectively banning the practice of any kind of pagan cult or worshipping<sup>13</sup>.

If then the actual building did not replace an earlier differently shaped one we have to agree with the excavators that the central apsidal building in the fortress of Abu Sha'ar served in some way for the function of the *principia* on a, however, reduced programme, probably due to the reduced size of the fortress, which, according to SIDEBOTHAM housed only a unit of 200 men<sup>14</sup> or better 240 men, as this number corresponds better with the size of two *alae* (cavalry units) of that time, as estimated by W. TREADGOLD<sup>15</sup>.

However, at a later date the building was indeed turned into a church. The excavators date this event to a time after the abandonment of the fortress which took place during the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and a group of monks entered the place to use it for dwelling. But, that change could have happened already earlier, when the fortress was still inhabited by the army. As mentioned above, churches in military castles already became necessary from the reign of Theodosius I. It needed indeed little effort to bring this change into effect. So few alterations were carried out in the building that they can hardly be recognized. The excavators noticed only a poorly built screen in front of the apse. The placement of an altar inside the apse, which could even have been a movable table, was necessary. The rest of the building could remain as it was. It would be logical to expect that some of

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<sup>11</sup> Examples are assembled in: P. GROSSMANN, *S. Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna* (Mainz 1973) 43ff. pl. 38, spec. pl. 38, 4.7.8.17; and 69ff. fig. 15; another example with only two pillars was recently identified in the church on the summit of Gabal Tahuna at Firan (ancient Pharan) in Sinai, dating to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, cf. P. GROSSMANN-A. REICHERT-C.A. MACDONALD, Report on the Season in Fayran, March 1990, *Gött.Misz.* 128, 1992, 7-19, spec. 12ff. fig.4.

<sup>12</sup> According to SH. GREGORY *op.cit.* (as. n. 3) vol. I, 138, only since A.D. 500.

<sup>13</sup> Especially the edict from 8<sup>th</sup> November 392 (*Cod.Th.* 16:10:12).

<sup>14</sup> SIDEBOTHAM, Abu Sha'ar 1993, 272.

<sup>15</sup> On sizes of the Late Roman army see W. TREADGOLD, *Byzantium and Its Army* 284-1081 (Stanford 1995) 87ff.

the functions of the former shrine as for example keeping the money-chest of the army unit under protection, were taken over by the church.

The other features as the many crosses and Christian inscriptions on the walls as well as the erection of a poor tomb at a short distance in front of the apse of the church were, however, done by monks who entered the fortress after the army unit had withdrawn from the site. The tomb contains the bones of an adult male person wrapped in cloth. Whether this was a martyr or another saint, as the excavators suggest, leading to the site becoming an important ecclesiastical centre<sup>16</sup> with an associated cult of a martyr, appears doubtful. It is more likely that this person was the founder of the monastic community, buried near the entrance to the sanctuary to be close to the relics sealed inside the altar and to enjoy the intercessional prayers of the congregation for an easier passing of the final Judgement (Augustinus, *de cura pro mortuis gerenda* 22)<sup>17</sup> as every person most desired at that time.

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<sup>16</sup> SIDEBOTHAM *op.cit.* (as n. 1) 7.

<sup>17</sup> "the soul has no benefit from the place where the body rests, but only from the at such places permanently repeated prayers of the living who recommend him to the protection of the martyrs" (transl. H. Browne); see also B. KÖTTING, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude* (Köln 1965) 25f.; and F.W. DEICHMANN, *Martyrerbasilika, Martyrion, Memoria und Altargrab. Röm.Mitt.* 77, 1970, 144-169, spec. 168; reprinted in: ID., *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten, gesammelte Studien zur spätantiken Architektur, Kunst und Geschichte* (Wiesbaden 1982) 399.



# REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT ABŪ MĪNĀ IN SPRING 2000

BY

PETER GROSSMANN AND JACEK KOŚCIUK

The seasonal work at Abū Mīnā lasted from May 6 to June 11, 2000<sup>1</sup>. The archaeological results of this season were rather limited. Main efforts were instead devoted to filling up a number of large craters (Pl. IIIb) caused by the collapsing of several under-ground cisterns due to the rise of the ground-water table in the region. The two most dangerous ones were located just beside the southern wall of the sepulchral church (Gruftkirche) of Abū Mīnā (Pl. IIIa) and at the inner eastern end of the Great Basilica, immediately behind the *synthronon* of the sanctuary. Also the cistern of the Baptistry had to be filled up to floor level. These activities were highly necessary because of the threat of the continuously rising water table, which, if nothing is done, will soon cause the destruction of the main buildings of the site. Until May 2000 the water table reached a level of about 0.95 m below the modern ground level (*terra vergina*) in the area, which lies only a few meters below the site of the ancient town<sup>2</sup>.

As well as with these rescue activities, some clearings could be carried out in the Baptistry and in the area of the Eastern Church with some very few workmen. Some control diggings were also done to establish the orientation of the newly discovered colonnaded street to the west of the

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<sup>1</sup> The Permanent Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (S.C.A.) kindly granted permission for the excavation in its session in spring 2000. Members of the crew were PETER GROSSMANN (Cairo), ULI ELTGEN (Bonn), JACEK KOŚCIUK (Warsaw) and BETTINA RICHTER (Athens). The Inspectors A.K.A. ABD AL-KADER, M.M. ABD AL-RAZUL, and KH.R. AL-SAFARY joined the Mission as representatives of the SCA. The Mission enjoyed also several visits from the Director for Islamic and Coptic monuments of the SCA MOH. ABD AL-AZIZ NEGM (Alexandria). Finally, seventeen well trained workmen from Quft were engaged.

<sup>2</sup> In the region of the German Excavation house the water table continued to rise until February 2001 to 0.20 m below the actual surface of the ground.

pilgrimage court<sup>3</sup>, which could still be traced to a distance of about 120 m further to the west (Pl. Va).

### 1. Further observations in the Baptistry

In the baptistry of the Justinian Sepulchral Church (*Grufkirche*) the small circular font (Pl. IVa-b) in the biapsidal western room was re-excavated to carry out some additional examinations<sup>4</sup>. Certainly this *piscina* does not belong to the original construction of the Baptistry, but was added later for reasons we do not know. Perhaps it was intended to be used on occasions when only a small number of *neophytes* had been announced for baptism. Our earlier assumption that it was used for children and women simultaneously with the baptism of men in the large *piscina* of the octagon hall has to be rejected, because the biapsidal room, where this small *piscina* is located, was, during the early centuries of the Church, also necessary as the room for the performance of the customary exorcisms, and where the *apotaxis* (*abrenuntiation*) from Satan and the *syntaxis* to Christ took place. When only a smaller number of baptisms had to be performed it seems reasonable to use a smaller font without an extra hall for the preparations.

From the technical point of view, this small circular *piscina* in the biapsidal hall is entirely constructed of fired bricks and is set deeply into the ground. The depth from the approximate ground level of the *piscina* is about 1.30 m<sup>5</sup> measured from the remains of the marble pavement in the hall, of which some slabs remain *in situ* close to the margin of the font. The inner surface of the masonry of its side walls actually visible is covered with two thin layers of *opus signinum*. There are several small horizontal grooves opened more or less at the same level into the masonry of the font. They belong to the marble revetment, which formerly existed, but has now gone as well as the layers of mortar to the rear of the marble slabs.

To the south and west of the font two small and rather steep stairways were inserted into the sidewalls of the basin. Each contains three short but rather high steps. Only the middle one is of agreeable height. Both stairways are faced with marble slabs but also show numerous traces of repeated repairs. Finally at the foot of the northern side of the wall a piece of a hori-

<sup>3</sup> see P. GROSSMANN-I. STOLLMAYER, Report on the excavations at Abū Mīnā in spring 1999, *BSAC* 39, 2000, 103-117, esp. 104f.

<sup>4</sup> On earlier studies see W. MÜLLER-WIENER, Abu Mena 5. vorl. Bericht, *MDAIK* 22, 1967, 206-224, esp. 208 pl. 67a.

<sup>5</sup> The bottom floor does not survive.

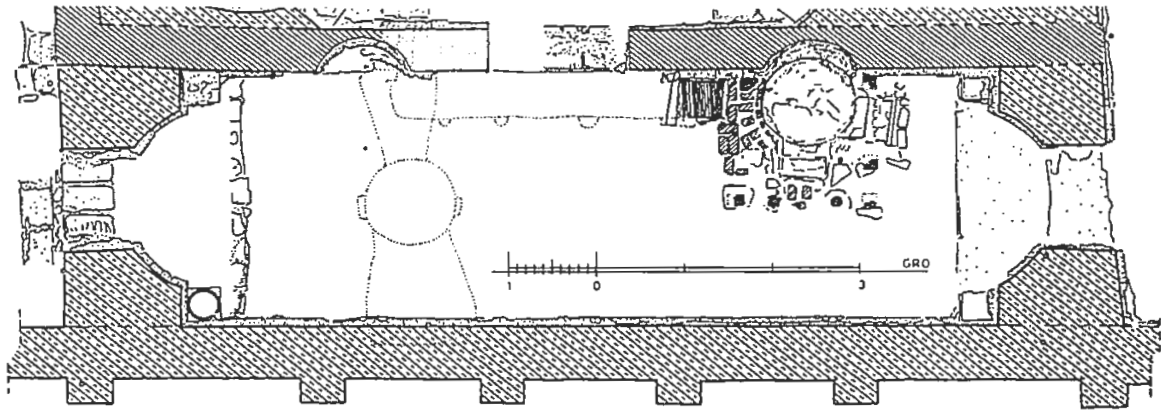


Fig. 1. The small piscina in the western room of the Baptistery

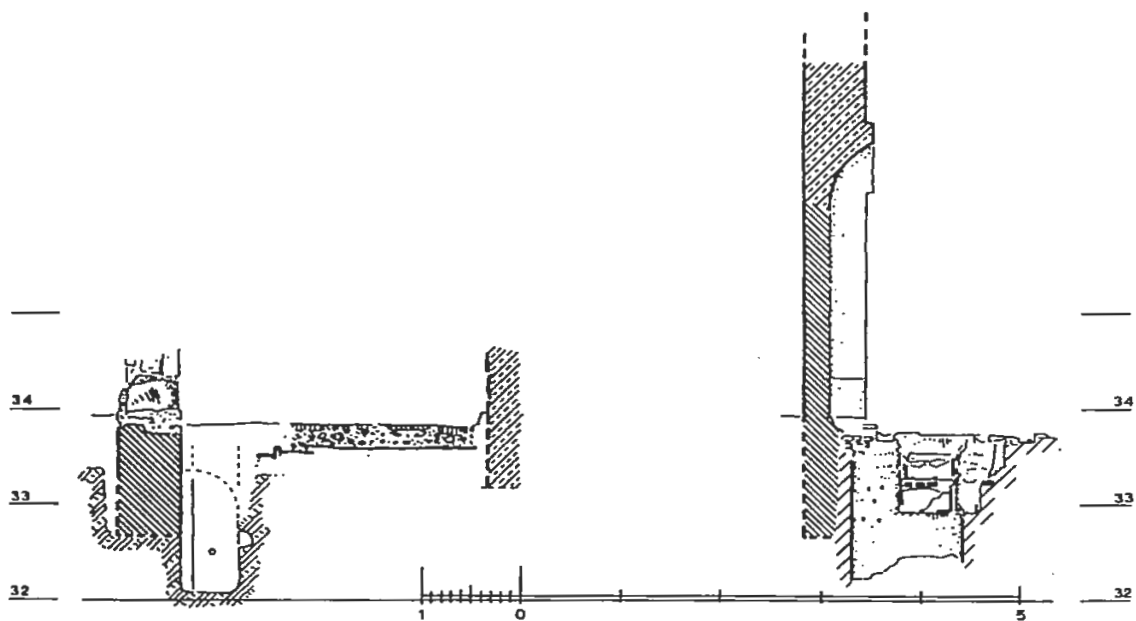


Fig. 2. Section through the piscina and the northern underground maintenance corridor

zontal lead pipe with a diameter of 0.05 m is extant, which apparently once served to empty the basin after the baptismal rites came to an end. It continued to an underground drainage pit, discovered already in earlier years<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *MDAIK* 22, 1967, 208.

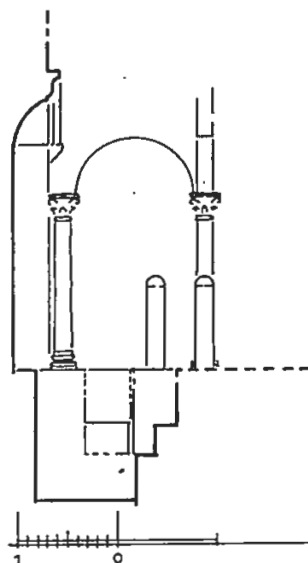


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the small piscina with the conjectured upper ciborium

Above floor level the baptistery basin was, as usual, surrounded by a *ciborium* (Fig. 3) of which the impressions of all of the four corner *stipites* are clearly visible<sup>7</sup> (Pl. IV). Because of the extraordinary position of this basin the *ciborium* is not placed centrally around the *piscina*, but moved considerably out of centre to the south and west. There were also some additional *stipites* flanking the upper ends of the stairs, which probably enabled older people to hold themselves when climbing down and up the described steep stairs. Their distances to the corner *stipites* of the *ciborium* are so short that it appears doubtful whether they were connected with them by screens. Screens might have existed only at the empty northern side beside the door of the chamber.

### Building remains around the East-Church

Operations around the complex of the East Church of Abū Mīnā led to a number of new observations<sup>8</sup>. On either side of the church a court is situated. Both are accessible from the west and both also have their own

<sup>7</sup> Not mentioned in earlier reports.

<sup>8</sup> On earlier results see P. GROSSMANN-H. JARITZ, Abū Mīnā. Neunter vorläufiger Bericht. Kampagnen 1977, 1978 und 1979, *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 204-227, esp. 222ff. fig. 7-8.

entrances into the church. The church entrance on the northern side is a simple door of ordinary size while the southern one consists of a large opening combined with a paved outer portico, which will be called the south narthex (Pl. Vb). A main entrance from the west leading directly into the atrium of the church apparently does not exist. There is only a small lateral door for secondary purposes on the southern side. The atrium lacks also a *cantharus* in the middle as could be proved by digging a test trench in the center of the atrium. The well of the church probably lies outside, close to the north-western part of the building as indicated by a narrow channel leading into or coming from this direction. Some traces of a row of wooden *mastabas* (benches) along the inner northern side of the atrium, similar to those existing in certain areas inside the church proper<sup>9</sup>, are rather unusual. They are indicated by a series of little grooves in the floor to receive some small vertical wooden stakes, for holding the bench supports in front.

The northern court is partly paved with large limestone slabs. Surprisingly many mosaic *tesserae* were found in this area, leading us to believe that another small building, perhaps the mausoleum of the founder of the *laura*, was erected in this area. However, apart from some marginal mud brick buildings along the western and northern walls of the court only a number of simple burials cut through the layers of mosaic *tesserae* were found. These burials date apparently to the Islamic period and are covered with the limestone slabs taken from the court pavement.

The southern court was much better arranged, but no traces of stone pavement were found. Instead of this, as already mentioned, the entrance into the church was fitted with a real entrance hall designed as an outer portico which may be understood as the southern *exonarthex*. It occupies the space between the outer buttress at the apex of the southern conch of the church and the western entrance wall of the court. In the middle, just in front of the church's entrance proper, two T-shaped pillars were placed, framing the central part of the south narthex, while normal columns apparently stood on both sides of them. At a later date, a *kline* was built against the western end of the narthex. It was constructed higher than usual and had its head rest leaning against the church wall proper.

All the other buildings of the two courts on both sides of the church were rather simple structures. Apart from the door jambs they were built of mudbricks even without any plastering of the walls. At the footing of the

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<sup>9</sup> c.f. P. GROSSMANN, Abu Mena. Achter vorläufiger Bericht. Kampagnen 1975 und 1976. *MDAIK* 33, 1977, 35-45, spec. 37 fig. 1.

outer sides of the walls, numerous repairs with small stones and the occasional use of lime mortar were observed where localized damages had been caused by the rain water. The scope of these buildings should thus not be estimated too highly.

Nevertheless the houses situated on both sides at a some distance from the church are exceptional. There are two to the north and one to the south. They apparently belong to the normal settlement beside the church, which on the base of their identical ground plans might be understood, as expressed already on earlier occasions<sup>10</sup>, as a planned settlement of anchorites. The house to the south consists of only one room having its entrance in the east. It is situated on a considerably lower level than the tetraconch East Church, which points thus to an earlier date, since also the predecessor of the East Church is situated about 0.80 m below the floor of the actual church<sup>11</sup>. Of the two houses on the northern side, the western one corresponds well with the usual ground-plans of the other houses in this region, consisting of a roughly square entrance chamber and a smaller room to the side, with a broad entrance situated in the north. Along the western and southern sides of the entrance chamber remains of a continuous sitting bench were observed.

### **The granary to the west of the Eastern Church**

The most important discovery in the area of the Eastern Church is, however, the *granarium* situated to the west of the atrium of the Eastern Church. Until now only parts of the outer western wall were known but they did not offer any hint for the understanding of the function of the building<sup>12</sup>. Also the previously assumed extensions further to the north and south could not be verified.

In spring 2000 excavations were started which revealed the whole ground plan of the building slightly below the terrain. It consists of a narrow complex orientated with its main axis north-south, roughly parallel to the transverse axis of the church. Its inner space is divided into two sections of equal length with a very unusual kind of substructure. In close sequences a number of foundation walls were constructed which, apart from

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<sup>10</sup> see Abū Mīnā 6. Ber. 463ff. fig. 3.

<sup>11</sup> On the earlier phase of the East Church see *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 223ff. fig. 8.

<sup>12</sup> see *MDAIK* 36, 1980, 222f. fig. 7.

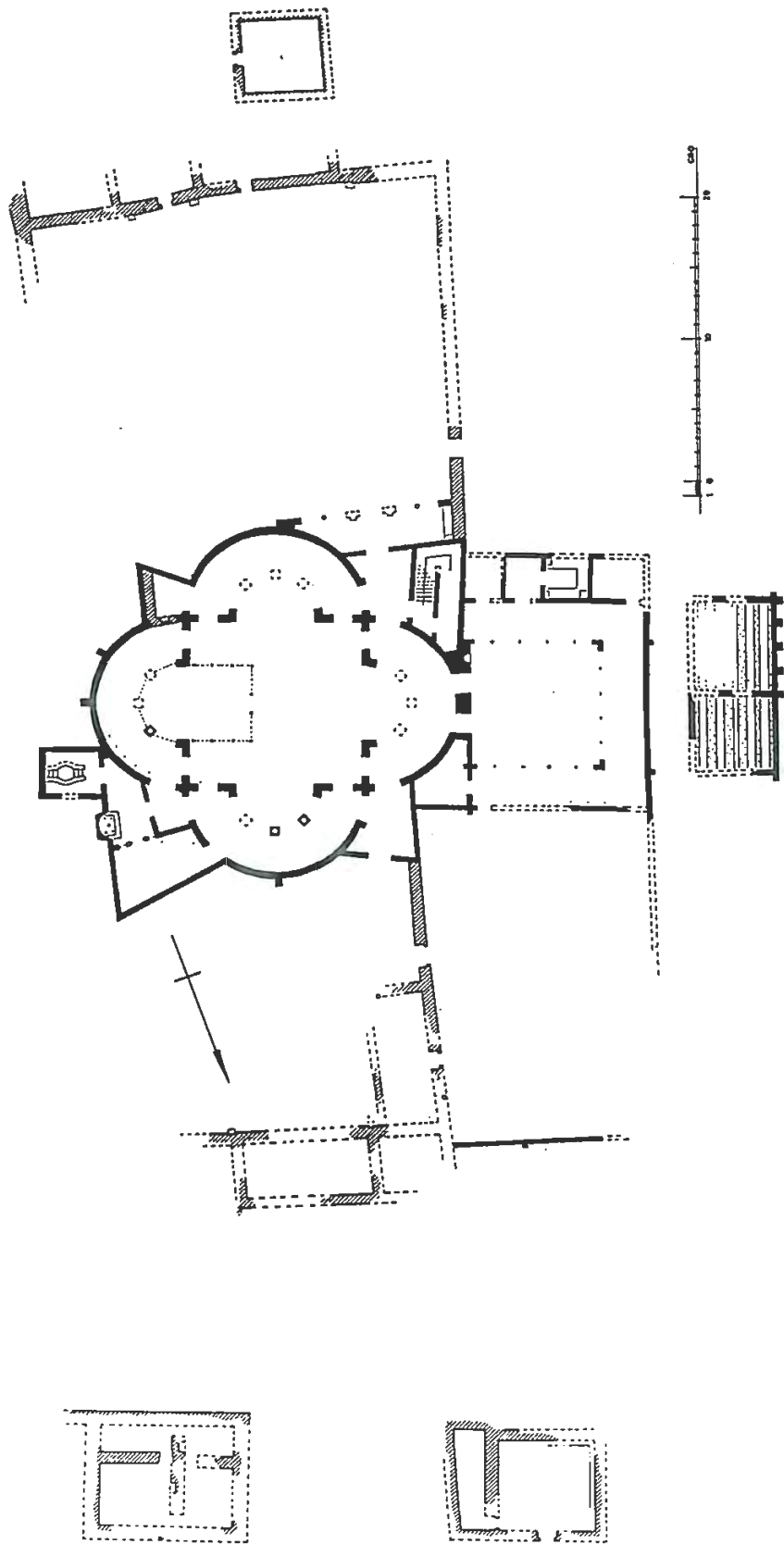


Fig. 4. The East-Church with surrounding buildings

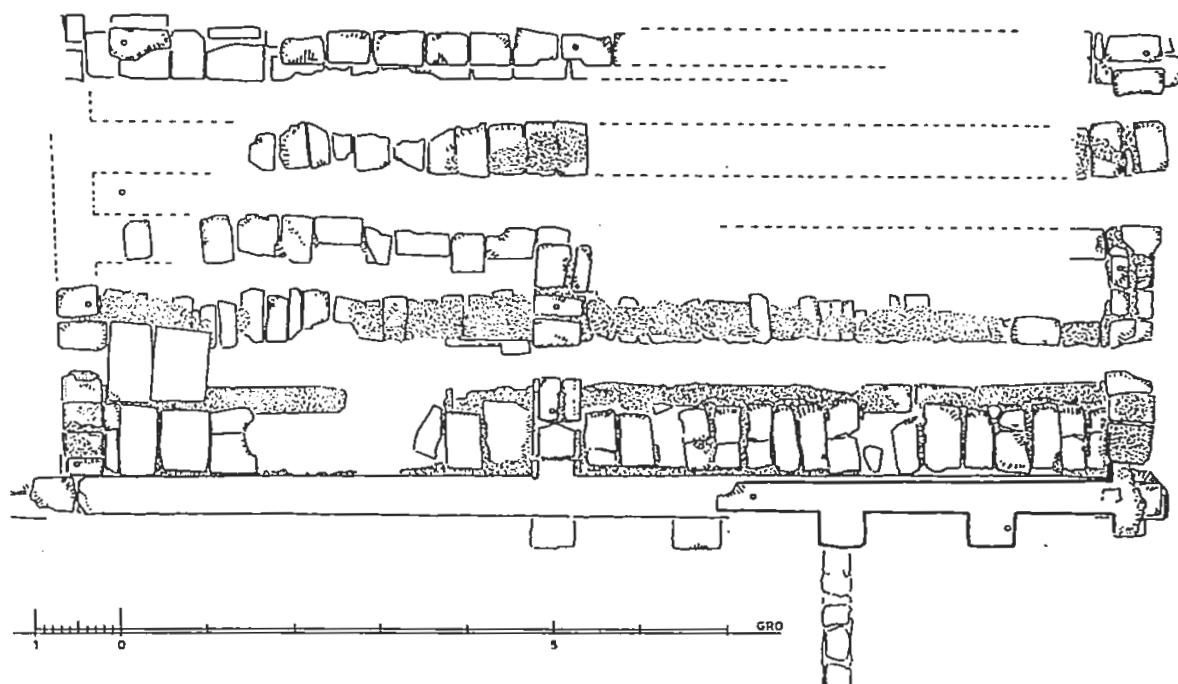


Fig. 5. Ground-plan of the granary to the west of the East Church

the surrounding outer walls, carry only the pavement of the room which itself consists of large and thick limestone slabs (Pl. VIa). The foundations proper were built of dressed and carefully plastered limestone blocks, reaching a depth of 1.10 m (counted from the surface of the floor slabs. The spaces between the different foundation walls were about 0.65 m wide, slightly diminished from both sides in the upper zone by extending stones in the upper layer, apparently kept open at the top (Pl. VIb). Also, the foundations of the outer walls at the narrow sides of the building were interrupted at corresponding positions, a method which probably serves to create some air circulation below the floor.

The single point for such an air circulation below the floor can only be the desire to keep the floor dry and this is particularly necessary for the storage of grain. The building might thus be interpreted as a *granarium*. Also in Britain with similar climatic conditions, at least in winter, Roman military *horrea* are often constructed in a similar way<sup>13</sup>. The only difference is the fact that in Abū Mīnā a stone floor was used instead of a wooden floor as it was customary in Britain. Also the outer buttresses, present in our granary, at the southern section of the western wall, occur in some

<sup>13</sup> cf. G. RICKMAN, *Roman granaries and store buildings* (Cambridge 1971) 213ff. fig. 39-42.

British examples<sup>14</sup>. From the ground plan it does not become clear why they exist only in this part. Perhaps the southern part of the building was raised higher than the northern part.

The location of the granary just beside the church is rather unusual. Nevertheless it supports the assumption that the East Church of Abū Mīnā is not the church of an ordinary urban community, but apparently the spiritual center of a community of anchorites<sup>15</sup>. A similar example is at the great monastery of Apa Shenuda near Sūhāġ (Dayr Anbā Šinūdā) where the granary is situated in a not very far distance to the west of the church<sup>16</sup>. (P.G.)

### Sondages to the west of the Pilgrimage Court

Following the discovery of the new colonnaded street to the west of the Pilgrimage Court<sup>17</sup> some previously discovered remains of a colonnade some 120 m further to the west<sup>18</sup> were re-excavated in order to ascertain whether it belongs to the same structure or not. It appeared indeed that this far western colonnade stands exactly in the continuation of the southern colonnade of the newly discovered street. The visible section consists of a stylobate several meters long, with clear traces of a T-shaped pillar close to its western end. At a distance of 2.18 m to the east of this pillar the surface of the stylobate is slightly lower, which probably points to the position of a column. Even a part of the rear wall of the portico could be discovered with an indication of the position of a transverse wall at the rear side of it, demonstrating that there are some remains of rooms in this position. At a later date the space between the T-shaped pillar and the column mentioned above, was partly closed and a pavement running over the street was added. Whether this should be interpreted as the remains of a later transverse arch constructed over the street cannot be decided yet.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* 231.

<sup>15</sup> Similar storage buildings in the close neighborhood of churches are mentioned in *Hist.Patr.* II, 1, p. 57.

<sup>16</sup> P. GROSSMANN-M.A. MOHAMMED, On the recently excavated monastic buildings in Dayr Anbā Šinūdā: Archaeological report, *BSAC* 30, 1991, 53-63, esp. 55ff, fig. 3; in this article, however, erroneously interpreted as a housing complex for monks.

<sup>17</sup> see the report of the last season in *BSAC* 39, 2000, 104ff. fig. 1.

<sup>18</sup> not mentioned in any earlier report. They came to light on the occasion of preparing a long stratigraphical trench in a north-south direction.

The opposite side of the street could be traced at a distance of 16.00 m from the southern side<sup>19</sup>, where the remains of a stylobate and one column standing upon it came to light. The column has a simple base with a square plinth combined with a cylindrical rounded top, and a rather eroded shaft, both made of the ordinary locally available lime-sandstone material. Later on at its southern side, facing the street, a narrow buttress was added based upon a lateral extension of the stylobate. The position of the back-wall of the portico was not examined due to the high layers of destruction debris covering this position.

The beginning of the new street at the western side of the Pilgrimage Court (Pl. Va) is narrow and has a colonnade only on the southern side (Pl. Vb). However, from a certain position onward the street should have been widened and furnished also with a northern portico. The exact position of this change could not be located.

There are, however, several building remains situated to the east of this place. Some of them were partly excavated already by C.M. KAUFMANN<sup>20</sup>. They form a row of rooms which were originally accessible only from the street on their southern side. The present doors on their northern rear side all seem to have been inserted later into the walls. Also the interconnections between some of the rooms were opened only later. The second room from the east apparently contains a later staircase leading up to another floor or to the roof<sup>21</sup>. On the opposite side of the beginning of these stairs a niche was constructed and inside of it a large vertical water shaft made of fired bricks was inserted, which probably stood in relation to an underground cistern located below the street.

A strange feature among these rooms is a single tall, strong, and somewhat square pillar which serves actually as the north-western corner of the last western room, but it has no connection with any of the walls attached to it. While its faces to the north, east, and west are smooth and plastered, its southern side ends rather irregular in a manner suggesting that it originally extended further to the south. No corresponding pillar which might have been located nearby has yet been discovered. It is possible that this pillar is a relic of some earlier buildings, which once stood in the same area.

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<sup>19</sup> This distance corresponds roughly with the northern section of the main north-south street, the *embolos* of the town.

<sup>20</sup> Its remains are already included in the earlier survey plans, c.f. MDAIK 36, 1980, 214ff. fig. 4; and J. KOSCIUK, MDAIK 40, 1984, 139ff. fig. 5-6. ID., AA 1995, 414ff. fig. 16.

<sup>21</sup> see already P. GROSSMANN, *Abu Mina a Guide* (Cairo 1986) 11ff. fig. 1; ID., BSAC 39, 2000, 103ff. fig. 1.

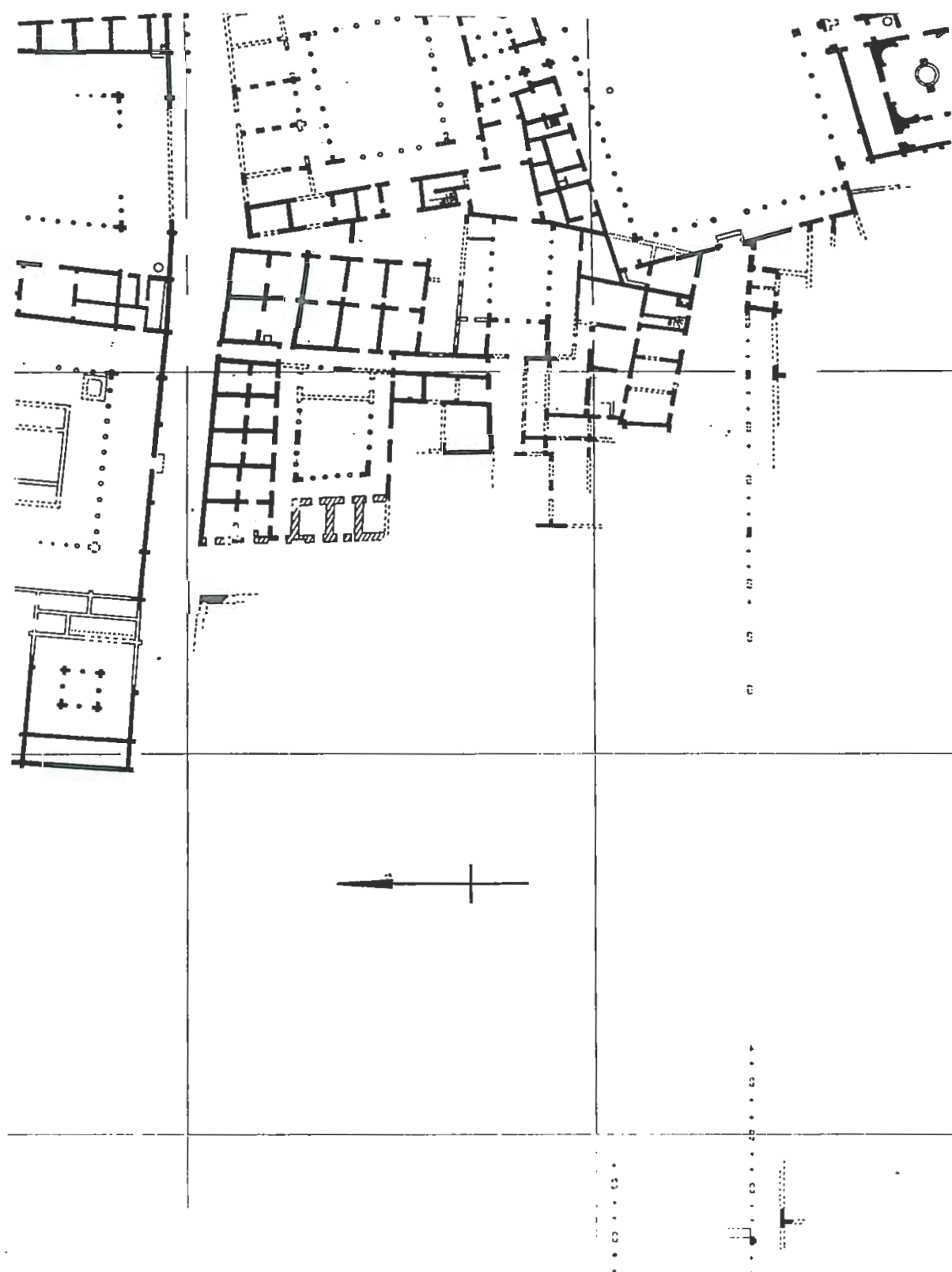


Fig. 6. The new colonnaded street to the west of the Pilgrimage Court

The area beyond the northern rear side of the above mentioned rooms seems to have been originally a kind of court, because on the opposite side other rooms are extant, bound to the north and east by the so-called three-aisled hall-building, discovered in 1993<sup>22</sup>. Some of these rooms also have original doors leading into that court. The arrangement of these northern rooms is more complicated than the southern row of rooms and includes several units formed of relatively narrow walls. They are apparently of later date and the walls, which divide the court into different sections are related to them. During a later period, when repairs were carried out after the destruction by the Persians in A.D. 619, many of the walls of these rooms were protected by additional sloping walls on one side, as noticed also at other buildings in Abu Mina<sup>23</sup>. (P.Gr./J.K.)

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<sup>22</sup> C. URICHER in: *BSAC* 33, 1994, 95ff. fig. 4.

<sup>23</sup> see *Abu Mina* I 151ff. pl. 37, a. d.

PLATE III

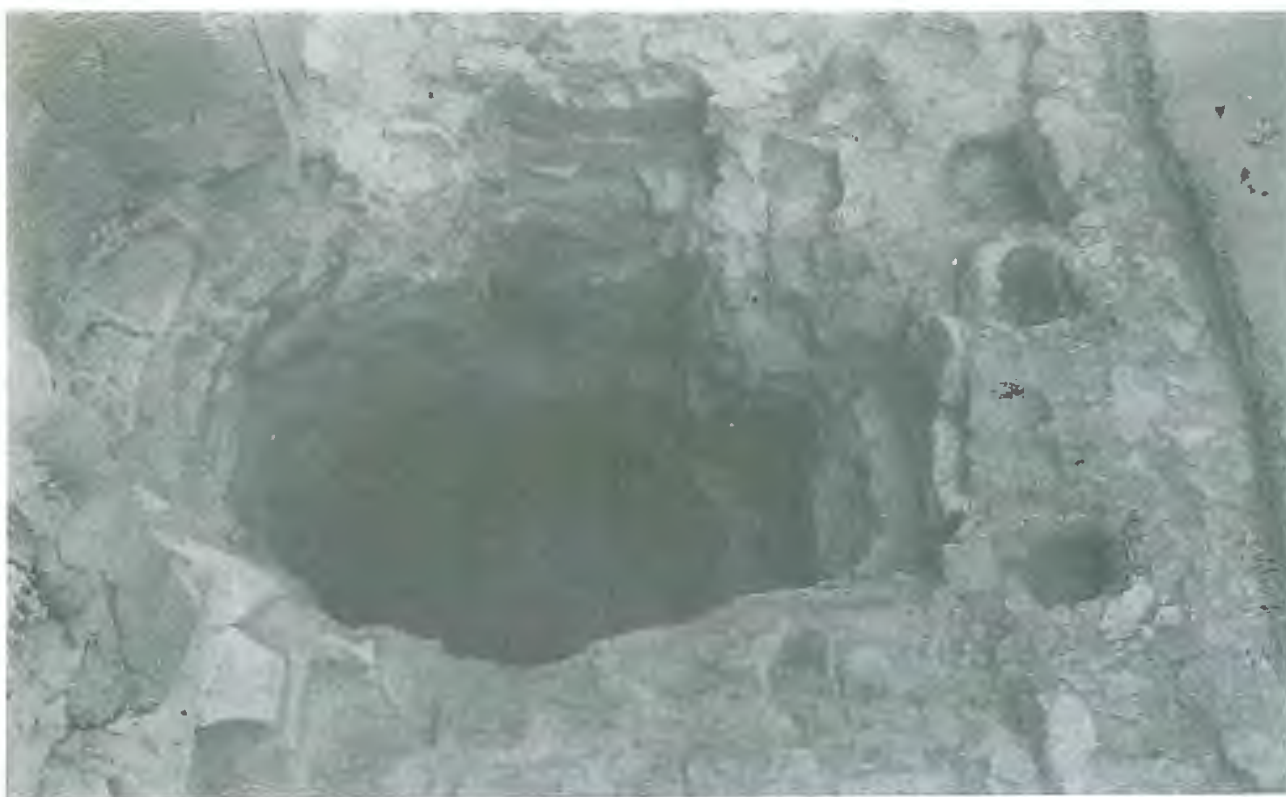


a. Water destructions in Abu Mina, a collapsed underground cistern below the south wall of the sepulchral church (Grufkirche)

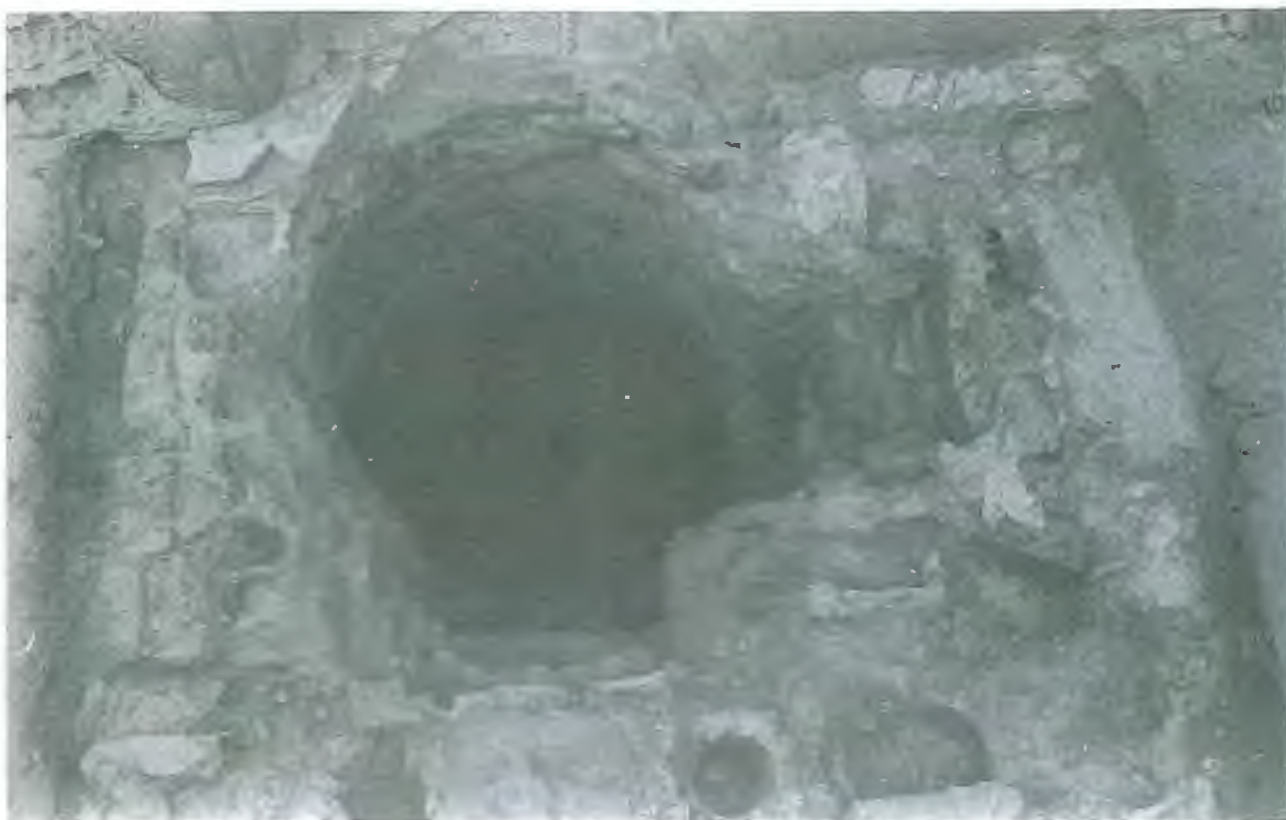


b. Craters caused by water destruction in the unexcavated north-western part of the town

PLATE IV



a. The small piscine in the western room of the Baptistery, view from the North



b. The same piscine, view from the West



a. View from the pilgrimage court to the new western street



b. The south narthex of the East-Church, view from the west

PLATE VI



a. Granary to the West of the East-Church with remains of the floor slabs



b. Granary to the West of the East-Church looking from the north.

# RESULTS OF THE 1997 EXCAVATIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST CHURCH OF PELUSIUM (FARAMĀ-WEST)

BY

PETER GROSSMANN AND MOHAMMED HAFIZ

From October 7 to November 6, 1997 the German Institute of Archaeology (DAI) in collaboration with the Islamic Section of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), represented as in previous years by MOHAMMED HAFIZ (Qanṭara), carried out another excavation campaign in the church of Faramā-West (Pelusium), in order to clarify a number of details concerning the ground plan of this building<sup>1</sup>.

## 1. The western end of the church

At the western end of the complex the Mission succeeded in clarifying some still unsolved questions. To the south of the crypt, the outer southern wall of the church complex could be finally located as far as its south-western corner (fig. 1). It runs perfectly parallel to the outer southern side of the crypt<sup>2</sup>. In the area between both features some further walls were detected dividing the area into a larger, roughly rectangular chamber, forming a corridor with a changing width along the southern side, and a kind of curved wedge between both of these and the outer wall of the rotunda. It is not to be excluded that the western section of the larger rectangular

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<sup>1</sup> On the earlier seasons see R. AL-TAHER-P. GROSSMANN, Excavation of the circular church at Faramā-West, *MDAIK* 53, 1997, 255-262; P. GROSSMANN-MOHAMMED HAFIZ, Results of the 1995/96 excavations in the north-west church of Pelusium (Faramā-West), *MDAIK* 54, 1998, 177-182.

<sup>2</sup> This crypt as a rectangular underground chamber with a probably centrally placed sarcophagus of the saint is described in our former report, *MDAIK* 54, 1998, 177-182, spec. 177ff. fig. 1. Similarly arranged rectangular crypts of Early Christian date in France are mentioned by J. CROOK, *The architectural setting of the cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-1200* (Oxford 2000) 57ff. fig. 13.

chamber forms a stairway leading to an upper floor above the crypt and probably also to a gallery of the rotunda. On the other hand, the walls which surround the larger rectangular chamber on its southern and eastern sides have to be understood as a later addition because they lack all parallelity to all the other walls of the building.

Inside the eastern half of this larger rectangular chamber and directly attached to the outer southern wall of the crypt some further traces of a later burial chamber were discovered, of which only a section of the western wall and remains of the vault leaning against the outer wall of the crypt were known until now<sup>3</sup>. The Mission also excavated the remains of the eastern wall of this crypt as well as a corner of the southern wall with an entrance opening from the south. A large, roughly square cut into the soil points to the former existence of stairs, probably one in a triple run with two landings in the corners, at this position.

On the northern side of the crypt the location of the north-west corner of the building, which is also the corner of the interior chamber (*esoterios oikos*) of the baptistery, was detected. It is situated exactly at the place where it was estimated in our last report<sup>4</sup>. The room to the east of this chamber has to be understood as the exterior chamber (*exoterikos oikos*), the room for the preparation of the baptism including the undressing of the *neophytes* and the performance of some exorcism rites.

Of the cruciform baptismal font unfortunately only the cylindrical foundation block and the bedding of the lowest floor survive. The floor itself was made of marble slabs, as indicated by the impressions in the ground and the remains at the northern wall closing the end of the northern branch. At the same time these traces make it sure, that steps were placed only in the western and eastern branch of the font<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> see our report in: *MDAIK* 54, 1998, 178.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid* fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Several similar cruciform baptismal fonts have been discovered in Palestine, cf. M. BEN-PECHAT, The paleochristian baptismal fonts in the Holy Land: Formal and functional study. *Liber Annuus* 39, 1989, 165-188, spec. 174f.; a well known example from Upper Egypt is the large baptismal font of the basilica of Quft, ancient Coptos, see W.M. FLINDERS PETRIE-D.G. HOGARTH, *Koptos* (London 1896) 25f. pl. 26; on the position see R. WEILL, Koptos, *ASAE* 11, 1911, 97-141, spec. 131ff. pl. 2; a new mid-sixth century example from the Western part of the Roman Empire has been recently discovered in Carthage (North-Africa), cf. S.T. STEVENS, Excavation of an Early Christian pilgrimage complex at Bir Ftouha (Carthage). *DOP* 54, 2000, 271-274, spec. 272 fig. 1B. As in a number of early Christian baptismal fonts in Egypt there is also an underground drain leading to an underground soak-away chamber, designed to take water out of the font and leech it gradually into the subsoil; cf. P. GROSSMANN, *Christliche Baukunst in Ägypten von den erkennbaren Anfängen bis auf die Mamluk-zeit*. [*HdO* 62, 2001] 145f.

PLATE VIII



a One of the cross-shaped pillars of the smaller cistern



b The eastern wall of the smaller cistern with remains of the original vault



a Remains of the structure to the west of the church complex



b Floor plan of the larger cistern

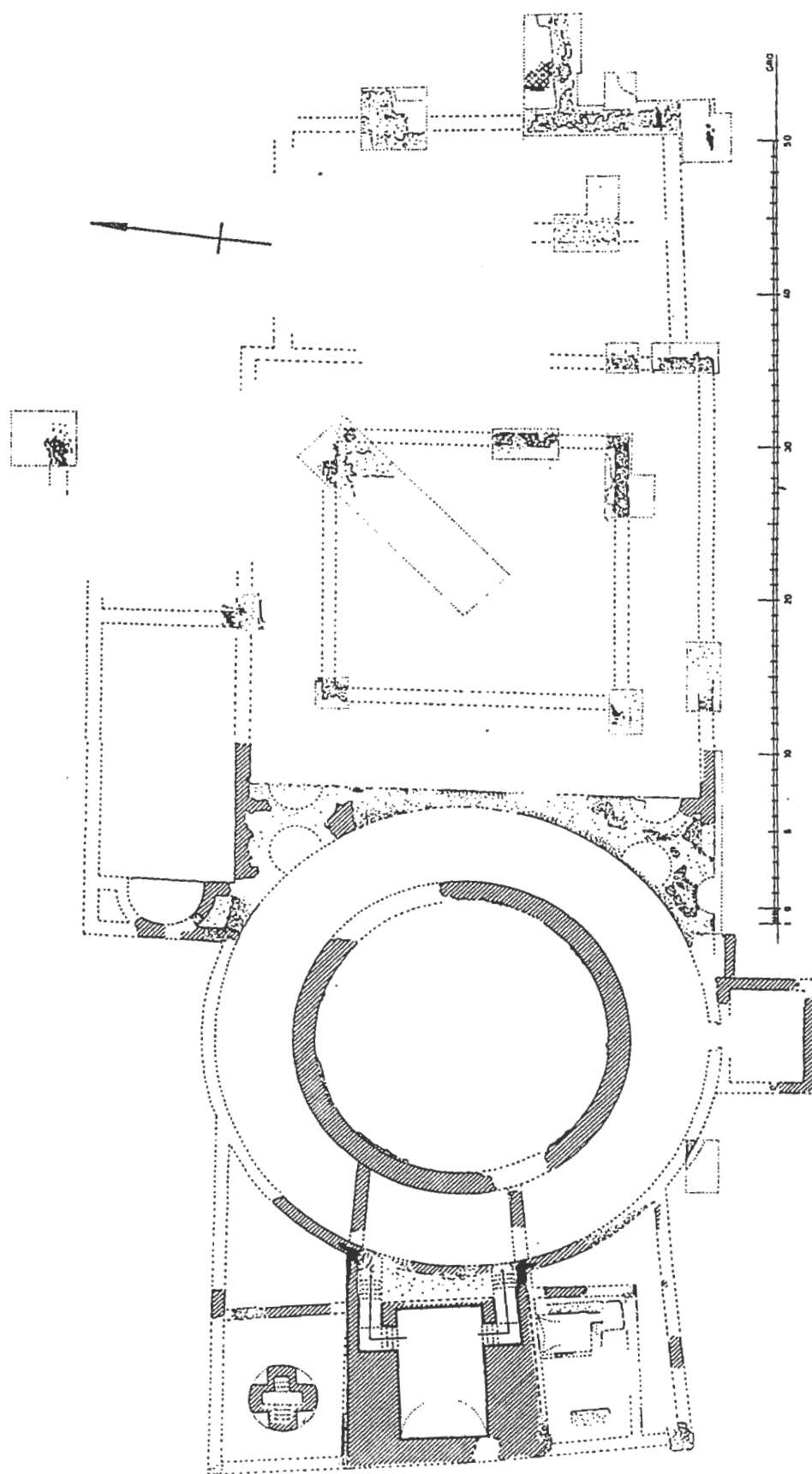


Fig. 1. The north-west church complex of Pelusium

## 2. The eastern part of the church

The results of the continuation of the work in the east showed for certain that a transept of the church did not exist. The southern outer wall continued to run eastwards without any return to the south.

On the other hand, on the northern side again, a section of the northern outer wall could be detected.

But, there are also some further observations, which force us to change radically our whole interpretation of the building. Contrary to our assumption from the results of the last season<sup>6</sup>, the building remains, which were understood at an earlier stage of investigations as the eastern end of the church, extended still further to the east and came to an end only at a rather thick north-south wall with long buttresses on both sides (Pl. VIa). This wall belongs to a completely different building, of which the main part was already discovered several years ago and continues further to the east as far as the late Roman fortress of al-Faramā, where it disappears below the western wall of the fortress<sup>7</sup>. The eastern end of our building has thus to be located slightly to the west of this thick north-south wall, and there is nothing which forms a characteristic eastern end of a church (fig. 1). This fact is even more important as it more or less excludes the idea that the remains we were following during the previous seasons form a part of the church, as was freely assumed until now, because persuading reasons to doubt this interpretation did not come across before.

For a new interpretation of the excavated remains one has to return to a position where their interpretation as part of the church is based on safer ground. This position lies considerably further to the west. Apparently the section of the marble pavement with a chessboard-arrangement, discovered in 1995/96<sup>8</sup> is the last and easternmost section which can be reasonably assigned to the church, which is itself preserved for certain in the crypt, the baptismal font, the rotunda, and the atrium-like structure to the east of the latter. The character of the foundation remains are similar to those which have been found further to the west, while the surviving remains to the east of that pavement are in a way different in character and might thus (contrary to our former opinion) belong to a different building. Thus two buildings may be under consideration here.

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<sup>6</sup> cf. GROSSMANN–HAFIZ op.cit. (as n. 1) 179ff. fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>8</sup> see GROSSMANN–HAFIZ op.cit. (as n. 1) 182 pl. 16b.

In this area the already mentioned section with the chessboard-like floor composition could be understood in a way as the sanctuary with the place of the altar. There is no direct evidence for the location of an apse, but the ground was also not examined sufficiently, to be sure that an apse is not actually extant here. Unfortunately the traces of wall foundations in this area are extremely vague, consisting only of a thin layer of yellow sand below the soil of the foundations with occasional remains of some bedding mortar for the first courses of bricks. Furthermore this layer of sand does not follow exactly the outline of the foundation walls, but is marked only by the irregularly cut lateral borders of the foundation trenches. However, traces of wall foundations still detectable under these conditions to the west of the afore-mentioned pavement may be interpreted as belonging to the triumphal arch, which in any case would have possessed a continuously north-south running foundation. The area for the naos, as the area for the assembly of the laity, has thus to be located between these traces and the eastern side of the atrium. This area with a length of roughly 15 m is, however, unusually short, and it appears strange that such a large and ambitious ecclesiastical complex as indicated in the west by the crypt, rotunda and large atrium, is provided with so little space for the naos. There might exist mistakes in the interpretation of the western elements of the church, since the atrium to the east of the rotunda, which could have functioned as an atrium, is a rather unusual feature. But, the possibility of interpreting the atrium as the remains of a five-aisled nave has to be rejected since there are no traces of any building remains between the two lateral stylobates. Even in the case that a central nave has been completely dismantled, remains of the destruction debris or some 'ghost foundations' filled with debris should still be traceable. On the other hand, the basilican plan with transverse aisles at the eastern and western ends occurs only rarely in northern Egypt, the former provinces of *Aegyptus* and *Libya inferior*, and they are totally absent in the province of *Augustamnica*, to which Pelusium belongs.

Another possibility is that the church proper was not placed in the axis of the rotunda and atrium, but to the side of it, which is the case also in other Early Christian monuments. One of the most famous examples is the rotunda of Santa Costanza in Rome, dating to A.D. 340/50<sup>9</sup>. A rather modest example from Upper Egypt is the lateral crypt with a small memorial chapel on the southern side of the south church in Hermopolis

<sup>9</sup> F.W. DEICHMANN, *Frühchristliche Kirchen in Rom* (Basel 1948) 25ff. Abb. 4; and M. STETTLER, *Zur Rekonstruktion von S. Costanza*, RM 58, 1943, 76-86 fig. 1-3; and recently D.J. STANLEY, *New discoveries at Santa Costanza*, DOP 48, 1994, 257-261, spec. 258ff. fig. 2, who brings also the new example of St. Agnese, *ibid.* 259ff. fig. 17.

Magna<sup>10</sup>. However, this possibility also has some difficulties. Our rotunda has its proper entrance on the southern side, which practically excludes the possibility that the church would have stood in front of it. The northern side of the complex already known is occupied by the not inconsiderable, 8.15 m broad hall with the western apse. Of course, the church proper could have been erected beyond this hall, but this solution is not convincing.

### 3. The cisterns

To the south of the church at a distance of about 30 m there is a small group of brick buildings obviously for domestic purposes, of which at least two were ordinary cisterns for the collection of water (fig. 2). The older one is rather small in size and divided inside by two pillars into six square originally domed or cross vaulted bays. At the eastern end parts of the vaults are visible (Pl. VIIb), demonstrating how the covering vaults were constructed. The two central pillars would have been of cruciform shape (Pl. VIIa). But, the ones standing now in their places are T-shaped in section with much too narrow branches. They are obviously not original and their shapes demonstrate that the vaults of the two middle bays were replaced by one transverse barrel vault. Arches were originally constructed on the two original pillars, which combined them with the lateral walls on all the four sides. Corresponding with the branches of the cross-shaped pillars little branches (pilasters) project out of the walls. Four similarly sized square buttresses are situated in all the four corners, which points to the fact that all the pilasters are combined with additional arches along the walls of the cistern.

The outer walls of this cistern are surprisingly thin and the interior opening between the bays are relatively wide. This weakness was, however, compensated for by the fact that this cistern was sunk deeply into the ground.

The other cistern erected at a very short distance (only 0.15 - 0.25 m) further to the north is nearly double the size of the earlier one. Its floor level is considerably higher, apparently above ground level, and consequently

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<sup>10</sup> see P. GROSSMANN–D.M. BAILEY, *The south church at Hermopolis Magna (Ashmun-  
nein). A preliminary report*, in: K. PAINTER (ed.), *Churches built in Ancient times, Recent studies  
in Early Christian Archaeology* (London 1994) 49-71, spec. 62ff. fig. 5.

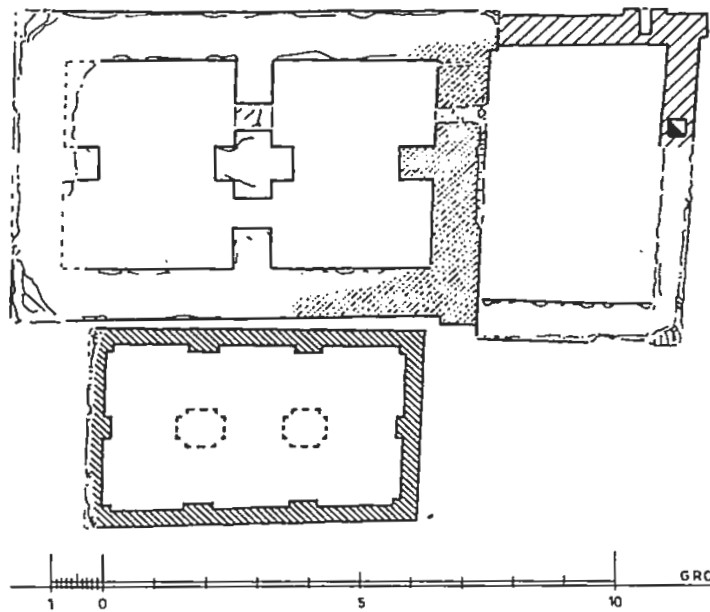


Fig. 2. The cisterns to the south of the church complex

this cistern was built with rather strong (1.10 m) lateral walls to resist the inner pressure of the water (Pl. VIb). Inside it is composed of four cells (compartments) separated by walls with openings between them. While the openings in the east-west wall are rather wide, the openings in the north-south wall are narrow. The northern opening in the latter wall was later blocked. Each of the cells is practically double the size of those of the older cistern. Also, the dimensions of the inner cross-pillar are considerably larger. At the lowest position in the north-east corner there is a small outlet with a diameter of ca. 5 cm, made out of a ceramic pipe. 0.50 m further to the south a slightly larger channel is extant, which was cut in later. Worth noting also is the strong construction of the floor consisting of several layers of fired bricks. At the outer north-east and south-east corners there are two short eastward projecting buttresses. It seems that similar structures did not exist on the western side.

On the other hand, apart from some remains on the eastern side, nearly everything above floor level has been lost, apparently removed by stone-robbers<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Remains of another type of cisterns of a perfectly circular shape from Pelusium are described by S. SNAPE-S. WHITE, Rescue excavation at Pelusium, in: D.M. BAILEY (ed.), *Archaeological research in Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the 17<sup>th</sup> class colloquium of the Dep. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Brit. Museum 1-4 Dec. 1993* (*Journ. of Rom. Archaeol. Suppl* 19, 1996) 107-112, spec. 109 fig. 2.

The third unit of this complex is a rather strange structure situated to the east of the larger cistern and built, without any wall of its own, directly against the eastern side of the latter. It is in a very bad condition. The surface of its walls is everywhere deeply eroded, apparently by fire. What its use was, is not clear. For a third cistern the inner space is too large and it appears doubtful that it was a granary built directly against the wall of a cistern. Its interior consists of a single rectangular room, of which, unfortunately, only on the northern and partly on the eastern side some courses of brick masonry survive. The rest consists only of irregular foundation layers of broken bricks.

It seems that during a later period its function was changed. It appears from the character of the masonry that this might have occurred when the little medieval chapel in and above the crypt of the church was built<sup>12</sup>. Remnants of this later change are visible at the northern side where the brick masonry is bonded with clay mortar. Close to the eastern end of the northern side, the outer facing of the wall is interrupted by a relatively narrow but rather deep and vertical incision, of which the outer part was originally vaulted and of which the vertical rear side is slightly curved at its lower end<sup>13</sup>. It was apparently once combined with a vertical shaft hidden in the wall. Traces of another shaft of this kind, but, of a different function and having a square section, are detectable in the rebuilt part of the eastern wall.

The small outlet in the northern wall looks very much like an outlet with a shaft above of the kind used in toilets. It seems likely therefore that this chamber was used for dwelling during a later period.

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<sup>12</sup> P. GROSSMANN–R. AL-TAHER, *Excavation of the circular church at Faramâ-West*, *MDAIK* 53, 1997, 255-262, spec. 261f. fig. 1 pl. 35a-b.

<sup>13</sup> Similar structures were observed also in the fortress of Tall al-Hayr, and served there for the latrines, see D. VALBELLE, *Mission archéologique franco-égyptienne de Tell el-Herr. Campagne 1992*, in: *Egyptian Antiquities Organization* (ed.), *North Sinai Archaeological Salvage Project* (hetrograph excavation reports 1992) 1-7, spec. 4. fig. 1.

# KOPTISCHE GRABSTEINE AUS DEM GEBIET DES JEREMIAS-KLOSTER ZU SAQQARA\*

VON

HOLEIL GHALY

Für Jahrtausende war Saqqara eine Nekropole gewesen. Erst in der koptischen Periode änderte sich das. Während dieser Zeit wurde eine Reihe von Siedlungen am Ostrand der Wüste errichtet. Zu diesen Siedlungen gehört auch das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara. Es ist eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die koptische Kunst, vor allem die Wandmalereien und die Skulpturen<sup>1</sup>. Auch für die Untersuchung der Epigraphik des christlich-koptischen Ägyptens sind die Grabsteine, die aus dem Gebiet des Klosters stammen, von besonderer Bedeutung<sup>2</sup>.

Die Ausbreitung des Klosteraktivitäten um des Kloster herum ist durch verschiedene Grabungen bestätigt. Besonders intensiv sind diese Tätigkeiten nördlich und östlich des Klosters. Im Osten, südlich des Unas-Taltempels zeigen die vom Verfasser durchgeführten Grabungen eine Anlage von mehreren Keramikbrennöfen (auch für andere Zwecke nicht auszuschließen) sowie ein Wasserreservoir mit einem von hier zum Kloster führenden Aquädukt<sup>3</sup>. Diese Entdeckung ist ein Beweis für intensive tagtägliche Aktivitäten

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\* Für ihren großen Einsatz während der zweiten Grabungskampagne vom 20. Mai bis 25. Juni 1989 danke ich folgenden Kollegen: Ahmed Abdel Hamid (Feldarchäologe), Ashraf el-Senussi (Feldarchäologe und Keramikzeichner), Frank Dreidemie (IFAO, Architekt). Mein Dank gilt ferner Sofia Schaten, die bei der Lesung der Inschriftentexte half und einen Kommentar zu der 2. Inschrift beisteuerte, sowie Dr. Gaudat Gabra für seine Vorschläge zur Übersetzung der Texte.

<sup>1</sup> Siehe z.B. J.E. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara* II (1906-1907) Kairo 1908, III (1907-1908) Kairo 1909, IV (1908-1909 / 1909-1910) Kairo 1912; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara, in: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, vol. IX, Coptica, Oslo 1981, 9-124; P. GROSSMANN-H.-G. SEVERIN, Reinigungsarbeiten im Jeremiaskloster bei Saqqara, *MDAIK* 38 (1982) S. 155-193.

<sup>2</sup> C. WIETHEGER, *Das Jeremiaskloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften* (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 1) Altenberge 1992, S. 139ff.

<sup>3</sup> H. GHALY, Pottery Workshops of Saint – Jeremias (Saqqara), in: *CCE* 3, 1992, S. 161ff.

im Klostergebiet und die besondere Bedeutung der Keramikherstellung und Keramikmalereien<sup>4</sup>.

Im Norden des Klosters wurde das Areal für Bestattungen genutzt. Dieses Friedhofsareal scheint sich vom Norden des Klosters – über das Grabungsgebiet der Kairo Universität hinweg – bis auf die Nordseite des Unas-Aufwegs ausgedehnt zu haben. In dem ausgegrabenen Areal waren die koptischen Bestattungen in der oberen Schicht, zwischen den älteren Grabschächten P. 21, 18, 24 und 17 am dichtesten<sup>5</sup>. Hier wurden ca. 30 Bestattung angetroffen.

Im allgemeinen ist das Gebiet zwischen dem Kloster und dem Unas-Aufweg ein optimales Areal für stratigraphische Untersuchungen der historischen Aufeinanderfolge der am Ort durch Grabung freigelegten Schichten. Wie gezeigt werden konnte, enthält die Stratigraphie in der oberen Schicht einige wenige islamische Funde. Darunter folgt die koptische Schicht<sup>6</sup>. Sie beginnt am südlichen Hang des genannten Areals und neigt sich von Süden nach Norden. Bedauerlicherweise war sie wegen Plünderung (vor allem der Gräber) sehr gestört und stark mit der Keramik der darunter folgenden spätdynastischen Schicht vermischt.

Im östlichen Teil des Areals zeigen sich deutliche Spuren einer späteren Wiederverwendung des Bereichs (von Norden nach Süden gesehen). Zu erkennen ist eine braune Schicht aus aufgelöstem organischem Material, die in Zusammenhang mit einer darauffliegenden, ziemlich hohen koptischen Keramikschicht steht. Es könnte sich um den Abfall einer Siedlung handeln, denn sie enthält Reste von Ziegelmauern in der Mitte und am südlichen Ende des Grabungsareals<sup>7</sup>. Möglicherweise handelt es sich aber auch um durch Einwirkung von Feuchtigkeit (Regen) aufgelöstes und durch den Sand und Schutt gefiltertes organisches Material wie Matten, Textilien, Bestattungen etc.

Die oben genannte intensive Nutzung des Areals zwischen dem Kloster und dem Unas-Aufweg ergibt sich auch aus vielen koptischen Funden.

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<sup>4</sup> Bedauerlicherweise wurde die Arbeit an diesem für die koptische Keramikindustrie hoch interessanten Fundkomplex durch meine Versetzung unterbrochen. Ich begrüße jeden Vorschlag für eine Zusammenarbeit, um die Grabung abzuschließen und eine Abschlusspublikation, die die vorigen und kommenden Arbeiten der Töpferei umfaßt, vorzubereiten.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. H. GHALY, Ein Friedhof von Ziegelmastabas des Alten Reiches am Unas-Aufweg in Saqqara, *MDAIK* 50 (1994) S. 69 und Abb. 2, Schnitt B – B; Abb. 3, Schnitt C – C. {F}; zur Lage *ebenda* Abb. 1.

<sup>6</sup> GHALY a.O. S. 69 Abb. 1 Taf. 6c.

<sup>7</sup> Man beachte die Bauten über den in Anm. 6 genannten Ziegelgebäuden.

Darunter befinden sich drei Grabsteine. Ein dritter Grabstein, der in der ersten Kampagne 1987 verworfen in der oberen Schicht, etwa 20 cm unter der Oberfläche gefunden wurde, wurde von uns C. WIETHEGER zur Publikation zur Verfügung gestellt<sup>8</sup>. Dieser Grabstein gehörte zwei Geschwistern: Menas und seiner Schwester Herai.

Menas war am 4. Mechir (= 29. Januar) gestorben, und neun Tage danach legte sich auch seine Schwester Herai zu Ruhe. Wie bereits erwähnt, wurden an dieser Stelle 30 Bestattungen gefunden. Die erste Untersuchung der Skelette ergab, daß es sich um 20 Skelette von Erwachsenen und um zehn von Kindern, handelt<sup>9</sup>. Unter diesen 30 Bestattungen befand sich ein Grab für zwei Personen, die nicht weit von dem genannten Grabstein Nr. 3 gefunden wurde. Es enthielt Bekleidungsreste für zwei Personen. Eines gehörte einem Erwachsenen, das andere einem Kind. Neben letzterem lag auch ein kleines Musikinstrument, eine aus Binsenrohr hergestellte Panflöte<sup>10</sup>. Auf Grund der nahe beieinander liegenden Todesdaten des Menas und der Herai könnte man annehmen, daß diese Bestattung in Zusammenhang mit dem genannten Grabstein der beiden Geschwister steht. Wahrscheinlich ist Menas an einer Krankheit gestorben und neun Tage danach wurde auch seine Schwester vermutlich von der selben Krankheit dahingerafft.

Wie bei jeder Grabung ist die Keramik einer der wichtigsten Teile der Grabungsbefunde. In der ersten Kampagne 1987 wurden in der obersten Schicht (max. 1 m. tief bis zu der windverwehten Sandschicht, über dem Schutt der alten ‚Grabräuberschicht‘) rund 11.000 Keramikscherben geborgen, von denen 60 % als koptisch zu bezeichnen sind<sup>11</sup>. In der zweiten Kampagne (1989), bei der Arbeit im unteren Teil von Schacht 13 sind ca. 80 % der gefundenen Keramik als koptisch zu bezeichnen (ca. 45 Körbe von insgesamt 55 Körben).

Die zwei hier jetzt zur Veröffentlichung vorgelegten Grabsteine (Stelen) sind während der zweiten Grabungskampagne 1989 südlich des Unas-Aufweges zu Tage getreten (Taf. VIIla-b). Beide wurden im Schutt von Schacht

<sup>8</sup> C. WIETHEGER, *Das Jeremiaskloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften* (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 1) Altenberge 1992, S. 336, Nr. 83.

<sup>9</sup> Die aus dieser Schicht stammenden Skelette wurden als Untersuchungsmaterial für den Dentisten Ali El Sawaaf, Egyptian National Research Center, für seine Doktor-Arbeit zur Verfügung gestellt.

<sup>10</sup> Wird mit anderen koptischen Kleinfunden später publiziert.

<sup>11</sup> P. FRENCH and H. GHALLY, Pottery chiefly of the Late Dynastic Period, from Excavations by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization at Saqqara 1987, *CCE* 2, 1991, S. 93.

13 (P. 13) entdeckt<sup>12</sup>. Die des Phip (Mann aus Saft) war im oberen Teil des Schachtschuttes enthalten, die zweite stammt aus dem unteren Bereich des Schachts. Im folgenden geben wir eine genaue Beschreibung der beiden Grabsteine und eine Untersuchung der koptischen Texte.

Stele Nr. 1: Grabinschrift für einen Verstorbenen: Phib (aus Saft) (Taf. VIIIa)

|                   |                                                                   |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Datierung         | 7. Jh.                                                            |
| Reg. No.          | 19027                                                             |
| Maße:             | 51 cm hoch, 39 cm breit, 8 Textzeilen                             |
| Fundort:          | nördlich des Jeremiasklosters, auf der Südseite des Unas-Aufweges |
| Aufbewahrungsort: | im Grab des Ni-Anch-Re (beim Unas-Aufweg)                         |
| Bibliographie:    | unveröffentlicht                                                  |

#### Text

<sup>1</sup>+ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΔΒ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
 ΚΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΤΕΝΜΑΥ  
<sup>5</sup> ΜΑΡΙΔ ΠΑΠΑ ΦΙΒ  
 ΠΡΕΜ ΠΣΟΠΤ ΔΥΚΑ  
 ΣΩΜΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΣΟΥ ΜΕ  
 ΤΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΚΙΑΖΚ ΖΕΝΟΥΕΡΗ

Die Verschreibungen sind wie folgt zu lesen:

Zeile 3: ΕΤΟΥΔΒ: ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ  
 Zeile 4: ΚΑΒΡΙΗΛ: ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
 ΤΕΝΜΑΥ: ΤΕΝΜΔΔΥ  
 Zeile 6: ΠΡΕΜ: ΠΡῪ  
 Zeile 7/8: ΜΕΤΨΟΜΤΕ: ΜῪΤΨΟΜΤΕ  
 Zeile 8: ΝΚΙΑΖΗ: ΝΚΟΙΑΖΚ  
 ΖΕΝΟΥΕΡΗ: ΖῪ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ

<sup>12</sup> Zur Lage s. H. GHALY, *MDAIK* 50, 1994, S. 57ff. Abb. 1.

## Übersetzung:

- <sup>1</sup> Oh Vater, Sohn  
und heiliger Geist  
Michael  
Gabriel, unsere Mutter  
<sup>5</sup> Maria. Papa<sup>13</sup> Phib<sup>14</sup>  
der Mann von Saft<sup>15</sup>, legte  
seinem Körper nieder am 13.  
Choiahk, in Frieden.

Stele Nr. 2: Grabinschrift für zwei Verstorbene: Phoibamon und Johannes  
(Taf. VIIIb)

|                   |                                                                   |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Datierung         | 7. Jh.                                                            |
| Reg. No.          | 19028                                                             |
| Maße:             | 56 cm hoch, 45 breit, 11 Textzeilen                               |
| Fundort.          | nördlich des Jeremiasklosters, auf der Südseite des Unas-Aufweges |
| Aufbewahrungsort: | im Grab des Ni-Anch-Re (beim Unas-Aufweg)                         |
| Bibliographie:    | unveröffentlicht                                                  |

## Text

- |              |                   |      |
|--------------|-------------------|------|
| <sup>1</sup> | ΠΙΩΤ] ΠΩΥΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ |      |
|              | Ε]ΤΟΥΑ            | ΑΠΑ  |
|              | ΑΒ                | ΝΟΥΠ |
|              | ΑΠΑ               | ΑΠΑ  |
| <sup>5</sup> | ΠΟΛ               | ΦΙΒ  |
|              | ΛΩ                | ΑΠΑ  |

<sup>13</sup> Zu ΠΑΠΑ siehe W.E. CRUM–H.I. BELL, *Wadi Sarga. Coptic and Greek Texts, Coptica III. Consillio et Impensis Instituti Rask – Oerstediani*, Kopenhagen 1922, S. 85, Anm. 2; W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 13b.

<sup>14</sup> Dieser Name kommt auch auf anderen Grabsteinen aus dem Jeremiaskloster vor, s. WIETHEGER, a.O. (oben Anm. 8) S. 260.

<sup>15</sup> Zu ΠΟΠΤ, vgl. G. ROQUET, *Toponymes et lieux – dits égyptiens enregistrés dans le dictionnaire copte de W.E. CRUM (Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes X, Cairo 1973) S. 13ff. Nr. 109.*

|    |                           |       |
|----|---------------------------|-------|
|    | ΑΠΑ                       | ΕΙΡΗΗ |
|    | ΕΝΩΧ                      | ΔC ✕  |
|    | ΑΠΑ ΦΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΡΕCΩ        |       |
| 10 | Ω ΔCΜΤΟΝ ΝΜΟC CΟΥ Δ       |       |
|    | ΜΠΑΡΜCΟΤΠ ΠΑΠΑ            |       |
|    | ΙΩΖΑΝΗC ΠΑΛΛΟΥ ΔCΜΤ       |       |
|    | ΟΝ ΝΜΟC CΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΑCΤΕ      |       |
|    | ΝΕΠΗΠ ΝΡΜC[Ι..ΠΤ] ΖΝ      |       |
| 15 | Ν]ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΑΡΙ ΤΑ   |       |
|    | ΓΑΠ]Η ΑΡΙ ΠΜΜΕΟΥΕ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥ |       |
|    | ΤΕ ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΝ             |       |
|    | ΑΡΙ ΠΜ]ΕΟΥΕ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ✕   |       |
|    | ΡΟ]ΕΙC ΕΡΟΝ               |       |

Die Verschreibungen sind wie folgt zu lesen:

Zeile 1: ΩΥΡΕ: ΩΗΡΕ

Zeile 4-6 links: ΑΠΑ ΠΟΛΛΩ: ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ

Zeile 7: ΡΕΨΗΤC: ΙΕΡΗΗ

Zeile 12: ΙΩΖΑΝΗC

Zeile 14: ΝΠΜΕ[ .ΠΤ] könnte (?) eine Jahresangabe (Plural) xx oder eine Herkunftsangabe (Plural) xx, – aber in beiden Fällen falsch geschrieben – sein.

Zeile 16 17: ΘΝΔ

Zeile 18 19: CΙΝΔ doppelt geschrieben, es muß heißen: ΑΡΙ ΠΑ – ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΝ

Übersetzung:

Oh Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist

L. Spalte (Z. 1-8): Apa Apollo, Apa Enoch,

R. Spalte (Z. 1-8): Apa Anup, Apa Phib, Apa Jeremas.

<sup>9</sup> Apa Phoibamun<sup>16</sup>, der Vorleser

<sup>10</sup> legte sich zur Ruhe am 1.

Parmhotep. Papa

Johannes, der Diener<sup>17</sup>, legte

sich zur Ruhe am 24.

Epip ... in

<sup>16</sup> Zu den verschiedenen Schreibungen dieses Namens s. WIETHEGER *a.O.* S. 260.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. WIETHEGER, *a.O.* S. 268 zu Δ C (..).

- 15 Frieden Amen. Sei / d  
 So gut und gedenke / t, möge Gott  
 über uns wachen  
 .... , möge Gott  
 über uns wachen.

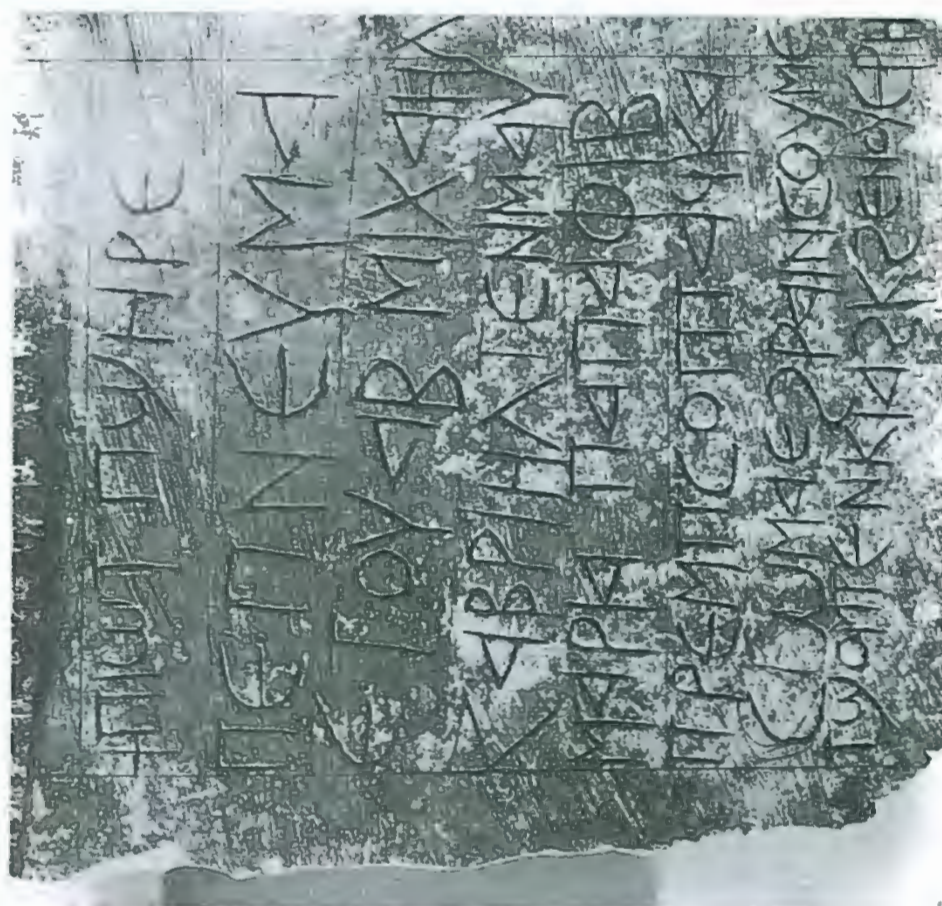
Kommentar zu Nr. 2:

Anzunehmen ist, daß diese Grabinschrift von einem Steinmetz gearbeitet wurde, der das Koptische nicht verstand. In der 1. Zeile schreibt er  $\omega\psi\rho\epsilon$  statt  $\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ , ein völlig untypischer Fehler. Dann wechselt die Schreibung von  $\alpha$ . Dies insbesondere ab Zeile 8. Anzunehmen ist weiter, daß in den letzten vier Zeilen das Gebet doppelt ausgeführt wurde (auf jeden Fall würde eine Ergänzung in die abgebrochene Stelle passen). Daher kann es auch sein, daß der Steinmetz vielleicht nach zwei Vorlagen gearbeitet hat.

Für die Zeile 14 (Beschädigung) gilt folgendes: Normalerweise folgt nach dem Monatsnamen eine Jahresangabe (wenig überhaupt); nun würde dann hier vielleicht eine Indiktionsangabe oder eine Angabe nach Diocletian stehen.

Ich glaube, daß der Steinmetz die Herkunftsangabe der beiden Verstorbenen hier eingefügt hat, obwohl es untypisch ist. Dann paßt nämlich der Plural von „die Einwohner aus“ mit  $\eta\rho\mu$ . Zwar fehlt dann ein Artikel mit  $\pi$  plus Ortsangabe (hier vielleicht auch nur letzteres), aber da der Grabstein sowieso fehlerhaft gearbeitet ist, ist das nicht unmöglich. Der Ort könnte dann mit  $\overline{\text{C}}\iota$  ( $\text{C}\ddot{\text{I}}.\pi\tau$ ) anfangen.





a. Stele Nr. 1: Grabstein des Phib (aus Saft)



b. Stele Nr. 2: Grabstein der Phoibaron und Johannes



# A LETTER OF SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH TO ANASTASIA THE DEACONESS

BY

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

### A. The Manuscript

This text of the letter of Severus of Antioch to Anastasia the Deaconess is from fol. 202-212 of the manuscript 150 Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. It is dated 1322 AM (= A.D. 1606)<sup>2</sup>. This manuscript was dedicated to a Coptic liturgical reading of the 8th of Tût<sup>3</sup>, the commemoration of Zacharias<sup>4</sup>, father of John the Baptist, in the Coptic Church.

We may assume that this Arabic text is translated from Coptic rather than from any other tradition (Syriac or Greek).

The identification of Zacharias, son of Barachias, with the father of John the Baptist is common in Coptic liturgical books<sup>5</sup> such as the *Antiphonarium*<sup>6</sup>, or the *Synaxarium*<sup>7</sup>.

### B. Versions of the text

The text is one of several works attributed to Severus of Antioch which has come down to us through an Arabic translation<sup>8</sup>. This letter has come

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor PAULINE ALLEN, director of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, for her help in acquiring for me a microfilm from the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. She kindly corrected my English text. This article is part of a research project on Severus of Antioch.

<sup>2</sup> G. TROUPEAU, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes -premier Manuscrits Chrétiens*, Paris 1972, p. 116-118.

<sup>3</sup> R. BASSET, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, PO I/3, 1904, p. 246-250.

<sup>4</sup> cf. the manuscript of the White Monastery: U. ZANETTI, "Un index liturgique du Monastère Blanc" *Christianisme d'Égypte, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte* 9, Paris-Louvain, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> For these books cf. H. MALAK, "Les livres liturgiques de l'Église Copte" *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol III/2, ST 233, Vatican 1964, p. 1-35; U. ZANETTI, "Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts" *OCP* 61, 1995, p. 65-94.

<sup>6</sup> DE LACY O'LEARY, *The Difnar of the Coptic Church from the Manuscript in the John Rylands Library with fragments of a Difnar recently discovered at the Der Abû Makar in W'adi n Natrun*, vol I, London 1926, p. 8. For a study of this liturgical book cf. GAWDAT GABRA, "Untersuchungen zum Difnar der Koptischen Kirche" *BSAC* 35, 1996, p. 37-52; ID., *BSAC* 37, 1998, p. 48-64.

<sup>7</sup> R. BASSET, *op.cit.* p. 246-250 (the commemoration of Zacharias son of Barachias); *ibid.* p. 298-300 (the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist, 26 Tût).

down to us through three versions: Bohairic Coptic<sup>9</sup>, Syriac<sup>10</sup>, and Greek<sup>11</sup> in addition to the Arabic version published below.

It is noteworthy that the Greek version is just an extract from a *catena*. The Syriac is different from the Coptic-Arabic versions, having more biblical quotations (such as Job) in addition to patristic quotations from John Chrysostomos and Ignatius of Antioch. The Arabic version follows the Coptic word for word. We may assume that it was translated from Coptic. Hence, in our edition we will compare our manuscript with the Coptic version only. We have tried to give a literal translation.

### C. The Language

The Arabic language here shows the same features as mediaeval texts, hence the confusion between the letters د and ذ; ه and ه; and ج and ح. The interchanges between ا and ي such in the word عذرى instead of عذراء "Virgin" تدعى instead of تدعى the final ـ is always omitted as in يتنبأ

The first page is nearly illegible and half erased.

ادكر يارب عبدك الخاطي المسكين الغارق في بحر [ملك المعلم بولس]

Remember, o Lord, Your sinner, servant' the poor, who is drowned in the sea [of sins] Property of the Mu'callim Paul (Bûlûs).

### Text

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد... رسالة كتبها الاب القديس العظيم انبا ساويرس بطريك انطاكية الى عذرى قديسة تدعى انسطاسية الخديمة وهو تفسير القول للقول في انجيل متى المقدس الذي قاله الرب المخلص لليهود انه ياتي عليكم دم جميع الصديقين الذي يهرق على الارض من دم هابيل الصديق والى دم زكريا ابن براشيا الذي قتلوه بين الهيكل والمذبح - يقال في يوم الثامن من شهر توت المبارك بركاته تكون مع جميع بنى المعمودية امين

قال كما انك الان سعيتي في طريق البر\* والعبادة وسيرة الرهبنة وتلوتي في معاني الكتب العلية المقدسة انفس الله وادخر في ذلك منها الغنى الذي لا ينقضى والامر ظاهر من جهة طلبتك هذه التي يحبها الله واعطانا عدم وجع القلب واستعد بالحقيقة ان تكون لى فرح بالمعاني الروحانية اذ قد جعلتني مستحق ان تساليني هكذا وتقولى ما هو الذي اعنا به ربنا والاهنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح بذلك المثل الذي ذكره في انجيل متى من اجل هذه ابتديت بفرح قلت ان اظهر لك الذي طلبته والقول الذي قاله المخلص لليهود انه ياتي عليكم دم جميع الصديقين الذي سفك على الارض من دم هابيل الصديق والى دم زكريا ابن براشيا الذي قتلتموه بين الهيكل والمذبح معلنى الاقوال يعرفوا هذا\* هذا بانواع شتى من

<sup>8</sup> G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ST 118, vol. I, Città del Vaticano 1944, p. 418-420 N°118.

<sup>9</sup> M. CHAINE, "Une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche à la diaconesse Anastasie" *Oriens Christianus* 3, 1913, p. 32-58.

<sup>10</sup> E.W. BROOKS, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*, PO XIV/1 N°67, Paris 1920 (ed Brepols, Turnout 1988), p. 75-118.

<sup>11</sup> G. MERCATI, "La lettera di Severo Antiocheno su Matt 23, 35" *Oriens Christianus* 4, 1915, p. 59-63.

اجل ان الكتب انفس الله لم يظهره معلمنا الا انه كان قصد مخلصنا هذا ان يجمع دما الصديقين الدين سفكوا على الارض بالظلم من دم هابيل الى ذلك اليوم الذي قال لليهود فيه هذا وجاب العله عليهم وعلى ابايهم وكظنى انا وهو المقصود والاصلح ان نفكر بهذا انه انما قال هذا من اجل زكريا الكاهن الذى ولد القديس يوحنا السابق المعمدانى الذى شرحوا عنه بوصيه غير مكتوبه انه قتل بين الهيكل والمذبح لانه كان يتنبا لهم علانيه ويعرفهم ان القديسه العدرى مرتريم هى والدته الاله وان الذى ولدته يسوع المسيح هو الاله العظيم والمخلص المنقذ كمتل الملك والاركون والريس وهو الرب على كل امة اليهود وايضا لما حبلت العدرى القديسه مرتريم من الروح القدس بالحبل الغير المدرك لم يطردها الكاهن من الهيكل من المكان الذى يفرقوا منه العدارى امثالها من المذبح والهيكل ادا تزوجوا لانه قد عرفها انها هى عدرى فتركها ان تقيم فى هذا المكان بعينه اعنى الموضع الذى فيه جميع العدارى مجتمعات كعادتهم من اجل هذا قيل ان اولايك الدين سمعوا من الكاهن هذا عن العدرى وعن المولود منها صاروا حنقين عليه الا انهم كانوا يخافوا من الملك الذى ينتظروه كما تنبا لهم عنه لانه معروف عندهم وذلك الملك الذى هو المسيح مزع ان يرعاهم وينزع عنهم نير العبوديه وقد قال هذا ايضا الحكيم فى الله اغريغوريوس\* اخو العظيم باسيلوس فى الميمر الذى قاله فى يوم ميلاد مخلصنا يقول هكدي لانتجاوز ماقد وضع لنا وانه لواجب ان نجيب الوسط تدكار زكريا الذى قتل بين المذبح والهيكل شهادة لام الرب الغير دنسه فزكريا ذلك ليس هو كاهن فقط ولكن له موهبة النبوه وقوه النبوه وهو اندر بها فى الاناجيل انها غير مقهوره ولا مغلوبه لانه عندما يسبق ساييل نعمه ويهي البشر ان لايفكروا فى ميلاد العدرى انه غير صحيح يلجم ايضا الغير مصدقين بعجوبة العاقر التى هى دون تلك لانها تفوق القدر اذ قد ولده<sup>12</sup>. ابنا وهذه تقدمه الاعجوبه التى كانت من العدرى وكما ان اليصابات لما عجزت وصارت بغير ولد ولم تكن ام بعد من جهة\* من جهة قوة الطبيعه ولكن بولادتها الولد القينا الامر فى ذلك لله وكذلك ايضا فى قلة التصديق بطلق العدرى نلقى الامر فى ذلك لقوه الله لان ولادة العاقر تقدمت ولادة العدرى وذلك الذى تهلل وهو فى بطن امه قبل ان يخرج الى النور لما سمع صوت والدته الله عند ولاته اعنى السابق للكلمه حينئذ انحل رباط السكون الذى وجب على زكريا من قبل الملاك وكلما قاله<sup>13</sup> زكريا فهو نبوات. قدكملوا بعد هذا وهذا الذى اهدى من قبل روح النبوه ليعرفنا نحن ما قد كان مخفيا لما راي السر الكاين فى العدرى ونقاوه عدم فساد ولادتها ولم يفرق ام الرب من الهيكل حيث رسم لجميع العدارى ان يقيموا فيه\* يقيموا فيه كالناموس وكان ييسن لليهود ويعرفهم ان خالق المكونات ورب جميع الخلاق وملك كل البريه يغير وينقل الطبيعه كما يشا<sup>14</sup> ويدير وليست هذا الاشيا بعظيمه عليه اذ هو رب قادر خلق ولاده جديده وبقوته هذا لم تنحل بتولية التى صارت له ام ولهدا لم يفرزها زكريا من جملة العدارى الدين فى الهيكل وذلك المكان هو بين الهيكل والمذبح لان اليهود لما سمعوا ان رب الخليقه ولد بالتدبير بولاده بشره خافوا ليلا يكونوا يستعبدوا تحت يد ملك فوضعوا ايديهم على الذى شهد لهم بهده الولاده وقتلوا الكاهن بين الهيكل والمذبح فاما زكريا الذى من جملة الاتنى عشر نبي الصغار فليس يليق ولايجب لنا\* ان نظن فيه انه هذا وان كان الاخر اسمه زكريا ابن براشيا لانهم لم يكتبوا عن ذلك انه قتل ولكن قيل عنه انه انتقل من هذا العالم بالموت العامى لكل احد وقد كتب ان فى زمان تاودوسيوس الملك المحب للاله وجدوا جسده المقدس فى كوره مدينه ΕΥΘΕΡΙ ظاهر بغير فساد كانه دفن بالامس وكذلك الكنيسه التى بنيت على اسمه لها صيت وسمعه عند جميع المحتازين هناك وفيها هيكل لله وكذلك ايضا بسوصامانس

<sup>12</sup> Read ولدت.

<sup>13</sup> Read كل ما.

<sup>14</sup> Read بنش. This reading is based on the Coptic version.

اخبر وكتب عن الكنيسة التي للنبي وقوم<sup>15</sup> اخر ظنوا ان المخلص قال هذه من اجل زكريا<sup>16</sup> ابن يهوذا الذي قتله عوزيا ملك يهوذا<sup>17</sup> وهذه القول لا يصلح لان الاعمال تردله -وتبكته\* وتبكته لانهم لم يكونوا يقتلوا الكهنة والانبياء الى زمان زكريا هذا فقط كما اعلنا مخلصنا في الانجيل ولكن من بعد عوزيا الملك تملكوا<sup>18</sup> اخرين على اليهوديه وعبدوا الاوتان ولهذا صاروا اعدا لعبيد الله وكان احدهم منسى<sup>19</sup> الملك الذي قيل عنه انه نشر اشعيا عظيم<sup>20</sup> الانبياء بمشار خشب وقد يحب لنا ايضا ان نعرف هذا المعنى الاخر ان الذي قتله عوزيا<sup>21</sup> لم يدع زكريا وان كان غيروا اسمه في نقل الكتب<sup>22</sup> بلفظه يسيره وكتبوا زكريا عوض ازاريا<sup>23</sup> واد يحق لنا ان نعرف ونتيقن ان الذي اعنا به<sup>24</sup> المخلص هو زكريا ابو يوحنا المعمدان كما قال<sup>25</sup> القديس اغريغوريوس فيما يقدم انه واجب علينا ان نحت في الوسط ذكر زكريا الذي قتل<sup>26</sup> بين الهيكل والمدبح شاهدة<sup>27</sup> لام الرب الغير<sup>28</sup> دنسه فلنرجع الان الى القول الموضوع لنا<sup>29</sup> من اجل القديس زكريا كاهن الرب العظيم<sup>30</sup> الذي قتل بين الهيكل والمدبح نبين لكم امره<sup>31</sup> بتبات انه الذي قال عنه المخلص في الانجيل<sup>32</sup> لما سمع هيرودس ذلك المنافق النجس من<sup>33</sup> النبوات الذي قالهم ظاهرا على ربنا يسوع<sup>34</sup> المسيح اعني القديس زكريا وانه هو ملك<sup>35</sup> الملوك ورب الارباب وهو الذي ينقد سبينا<sup>36</sup> من الهلاك ويجعلنا مستحقين لملكوت السموات<sup>37</sup> وادا امنا به انه هو الله بالحقيقه فانه يقيمنا<sup>38</sup> في ذلك اليوم العظيم الذي يحكم فيه عند ظهوره<sup>39</sup> الثاني وينعم على المومنين به بالحياه الدايمة<sup>40</sup> في ملكوت السموات واما الدين لا يومنون به<sup>41</sup> به يرتون العذاب الذي لا يبد<sup>42</sup> فحينئذ ذلك الردى ارسل اعوان الى الهيكل<sup>43</sup> الى القديس زكريا ليستفهموا منه قوت<sup>44</sup> النبوات الذي قالهم ويعرفوه بالذي قاله<sup>45</sup> عنه هيرودس والتهديد الذي جابه عليه<sup>46</sup> بغضب وحق وقالوا له هكذا بغضب<sup>47</sup> عظيم هذا ما يقوله الملك اعلم بتحقيق ان<sup>48</sup> دمك في يدي وان لي سلطان عليك ان<sup>49</sup> صنع بك ما اشاء لاني انا ملك وليس احد<sup>50</sup> يمنعني ومثل هذا الكلام كثير قالوا له الاعوان<sup>51</sup> لا ينبغي ان نصفه تم هددوه بالقتل فلما<sup>52</sup> سمع الطوباني زكريا هذا كاهن الله الامين<sup>53</sup> من اعوان الملك امتلى من الروح القدس<sup>54</sup> واجاب الاعوان باعلان ظاهر اد هو نبي<sup>55</sup> اد هو نبي حقيقي للرب قايلوا قولوا للملك هذا<sup>56</sup> نبي انا عبد الله ضابط الكل خادما في<sup>57</sup> هيكله ولي السلطان ان اقول بلساني<sup>58</sup> ما اريد دمي حقا هو في يديك لانك ملك<sup>59</sup> اذا اردت سفكته فاما نفسي فهي في يد الرب<sup>60</sup> الذي يجازي كل احد كنعو عمله وانا ارجوا<sup>61</sup> بامانه انه يقبلني في دياره المقدسه واستريح<sup>62</sup> في ملكوته الدايمة الى الابد فاما انت ايها<sup>63</sup> المنافق فان الذي زعمت انك تقتله هو<sup>64</sup> الملك والرب والمخلص والاه اسرائيل واعلم<sup>65</sup> وتيقن انه هو الله الذي تجسد وهو الذي يعطي النور لاسرائيل والتوبه لجميع المومنين<sup>66</sup> به ونحن جميعنا والانبياء الذين اتوا قبلنا<sup>67</sup> امنا انه هو الرب الارباب وملك الملوك وهو<sup>68</sup> وهو الذي يستاصل ذكر الاوتان من على<sup>69</sup> الارض وان خدمة الكهنوت الذي باسمه<sup>70</sup> يدوم في اسرائيل وفي جميع الامم الى ابد الابد<sup>71</sup> هذه<sup>72</sup> الذي بكثرة رحمته طاطى السموات<sup>73</sup> ونزل وتجسد من العدرى القديسه مريم<sup>74</sup> من اجلنا نحن البشر واتضع عنا وتواضع<sup>75</sup> الى الغايه حتى احتمل ان يطرد من عمل<sup>76</sup> يديه وليس هذه<sup>77</sup> فقط ولكن لابد له ان<sup>78</sup> بدوق الموت بارادته عن جنس البشر<sup>79</sup> هو موت الصليب فيالهدا الاعجوبه<sup>80</sup> التي لاتوصف ان خالق السماء والارض وجميع<sup>81</sup> مافيهم احتمل ان يطرد من عمل يديه الذي<sup>82</sup> هو هيرودس من اجل كثره تحنته قبل<sup>83</sup> اليه هذه الاشيا كلها عن جنس البشر<sup>84</sup> والان فامضوا واعلموا الملك بالذي قتله لكم<sup>85</sup> وايضا قولوا له انه سوف تاتي عليك زلزله<sup>86</sup> عظيمه وخوفا عظيم من اجل المسيح الذي<sup>87</sup> تطلبه وهو الذي يهلكك وتستاصل من<sup>88</sup> على وجه الارض انت وجميع عسكرك النجس<sup>89</sup> ولا يبقى لك ذكر بعد الى

<sup>15</sup> Read شاهد.

<sup>16</sup> Read قوة

<sup>17</sup> Read هذا

<sup>18</sup> Read هذا

الابد وسوف يكمل عليك سريعا فلما مضوا الاعوان واعلموا الملك هيرودس بجميع ما قاله القديس زكريا فلما سمع ذلك المنافق الكافر هيرودس حنق بغضبا عظيما وارسل سياف وجماعه من الجند واخذ راس ابو السابق القديس يوحنا المعمدان في ليله اليوم الثامن من توت بين\* بين الهيكل والمدبح ولم يعلم احد من الكهنة ولا احد من بنى اسرائيل اى وقت في الليل سفك دمه المقدس ولكن لما كان وقت سلام الكهنة لم يحسب عليهم بركه حيث لم يجدوا القديس زكريا كوصيه الناموس ولما كان وقت الصلوه اقاموا ينتظروا زكريا فلم يجدوه ليكمل صلاه التقدمة ومجدوا الرب الاله فلما قاموا وقت كبير وهم ينتظروا القديس زكريا ريس الكهنة المبارك ولم يعود اليهم جسر واحد من الكهنة ودخل الى الموضع المقدس في طلب القديس العظيم في جميع الكهنة المغبوط زكريا فرأى عند الهيكل دم القديس زكريا وهو قد جمد وصار كمتل الحجر\* فاما جسده فلم يعلم احد ماذا اصابه وادا بصوت صارخ حول المدبح قايل هكدا قد قتل زكريا كاهن الله فلا يضمحل دمه حتى ياتي المنتقم رب المجد فلما سمع ذلك الكاهن الذى دخل الى المدبح هدا خاف جدا وخرج من الموضع المقدس واعلم اصحابه الكهنة بالذى راه والذى سمعه فلما سمعوا هذا ادركتهم مخافه عظيمه وبهته ودخلوا جميعا الى الموضع المقدس فاما جسده فلم يروه والله وحده هو العارف بامرهم كاحكامه الحقيقه وصاروا في بهته ودهشه واخذتهم رعبه من الايات والعجايب الذى صاروا من قبل\* قبل القديس زكريا فخرجوا وجمعوا جميع الشعب بالبوق واندروهم قايلين قتل زكريا ريس الكهنة امين الرب عظيم الكهنة النبى المقدس المبارك الذى اعطانا الشرع وعلمنا جميع الوصايا المقدسه التى رضى الرب حينئذ لما سمعت جميع الشعب هدا ناحوا على القديس زكريا ثلاثه ايام وتلته ليال كما يليق بكهنوته المبارك فإى لسان جسدانى يستطيع ينطق بالخيرات السمايه التى اقتناهم القديس زكريا ريس الكهنة الامين الذى للرب وان قلت عنك انك نبى فانت افضل من نبى لان الانبياء كلهم تنبوا من اجل محبى المسيح واما انت فظهرت الامر باعلان قايل ان الذى حملته العدرى\* القديسه مريم فى بطنها البتولى فولدتة وهو الاله الكل طوباك انت ايها الكاهن القديس الذى للرب لانك كنت بغير عيب حتى اكملت كهنوتك طاهر كامر الرب مبارك انت ايها النبى وريس الكهنة والشهيد معا لانك استحققت ان الغصن الذى ائنع منك من بعد شيخوختك يصير سابقا ومعمدانى لابن الله ملك الملوك وحامل خطايا العالم طوباك انت ايها القديس زكريا ريس الكهنة الله الامين لانك حفظت الصوره والمثال الذى اعطاهم الله لك اظهار بغير عيب من الانسان العتيق ونفسك حفظتها طاهره وجسدك طاهر كمتل الذهب النقى من اجل هذه استحققت هذه\* هذه الكرامه العظيمه التى لاتوصف حتى ان جسدك انتقل الى الموضع الذى اراده الله كاستحقاقك كما قال ربنا يسوع المسيح ان حيث اكون انا هناك يكون خادمي معي وادا قد صرت ريس كهنة الله على الارض جعلك ايضا معه فى ملكوت السموات ما الذى نقوله يا اخوتنا واحبانا فى الرب ما الذى نجواب به فى ذلك اليوم المرهوب المخوف ادا ما راينا جميع القديسين الذين ارضوا الله وهم يكللوا من اجل فضائلهم لاسيما بالاكتر من اجل تبات محبتهم التى ليس فيها غش ولا ربا ولا مواجهه ولا مجد باطل فاما نحن فنطرح ونطرد من اجل العترات التى تعترتهم اخوتنا والمراجعه\* هى المسيح والموت ربح لى واما انت ايها القديس زكريا ريس الكهنة الامين المعترف الشهيد فاننا نسللك ان تشفع فينا عند المسيح الذى احببته وصرت عنده لكيما ينعم علينا بغفران خطايانا ونجد رحمه وداله امام منبره المخوف ونستحق سماع ذلك الصوت المملو فرح وبهجه القايل تعالوا الى يامباركى ابنى رتوا الملك المعد لكم من قبل انشا العالم ما لم تراه عين ولم يخطر على قلب بشر هدا يكون لنا جميعا ان نقتنيه بنعمه ومحبه ربنا والاهنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح للبشر هدا الذى ينبغى له كل مجد وكل كرامه وكل سجود للاب والابن والروح القدس الحى المحى المساوى الاب فى الجوهر الان وكل اوان والى دهر الداهرين امين امين امين كيرىاليصون

## Translation:

In the name of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God<sup>19</sup>.

A letter<sup>20</sup> written by the holy great<sup>21</sup> father Anba Severus, Patriarch<sup>22</sup> of Antioch, to a holy virgin, called Anastasia, the deaconess<sup>23</sup>. It is the explanation of a saying<sup>24</sup> in the holy Gospel of Matthew, which the Lord, the Saviour said, to the Jews, that „upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth from the blood of the righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom you slew between the temple and the altar“<sup>25</sup> -To be read in the blessed day of the eighth of Tût. May his blessings be with all the sons of the Baptism. Amen<sup>26</sup>.

He said<sup>27</sup>: “For you walked in the road of the righteousness<sup>28</sup>, piety and the monastic life, and you meditated on the holy<sup>29</sup> high meanings of the Scriptures, inspired by God<sup>30</sup>. And you<sup>31</sup> collect from them the undestroyable<sup>32</sup> wealth. This is clear from your request, which God likes. He gave us<sup>33</sup> without sorrow and prepared me truly to rejoice in the spiritual meanings and you made me worthy to ask me thus, saying “what our Lord, our God and our Saviour<sup>34</sup> Jesus Christ meant from the parable mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew.” For this, I commenced with pleasure to say and explain what you requested about the word said by our Saviour to the Jews: “That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth from the blood of the

<sup>19</sup> Coptic omits “In the name... God”.

<sup>20</sup> Coptic adds “Another”.

<sup>21</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>22</sup> Coptic adds “the archbishop”.

<sup>23</sup> The normal translation of the Copto-Greek word “ΔΙΑΚΩΝ” is in Arabic شماس. But as this word has no feminine form, the translator used the general word “خديمة” which could also apply to the “desservant”.

<sup>24</sup> Repeated in the manuscript. The corresponding word in the Coptic version is ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ of which the usual translation is مثل. The scribe perhaps hesitated (hence the repetition) to use this specific word and used a general word “saying”.

<sup>25</sup> Matt. 23:35, Lk 11:51.

<sup>26</sup> Coptic omits “to be read... Amen”. This is an addition for liturgical use. In Coptic we read only “in the peace of God Amen”.

<sup>27</sup> Coptic omits this word. Here begins the Syriac version of Text.

<sup>28</sup> It seems that this text is translated from the Coptic version, the word “البر” being the translation of the Coptic word †ΜΕΘΗΗ which also could be translated as the “Truth” (French “vérité” as in the translation of CHAÎNE). The Coptic reads “Which is the monastic life”.

<sup>29</sup> Syriac omits this word.

<sup>30</sup> Lit. “the God breathings”.

<sup>31</sup> Syriac is different here from Coptic and Arabic and it adds a long passage: “You are an object of praise ...” p. 75-79.

<sup>32</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>33</sup> Coptic reads “ΜΕ” which could be the result of the confusion between the letters α and ε; cf. introduction.

<sup>34</sup> Coptic omits this word.

righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias whom you slew between the temple and the altar.”<sup>35</sup> The doctors of the verses understood<sup>36</sup> this in several manners, for our Master did not make precise the Scriptures, inspired by God<sup>37</sup>. For the object of our Saviour (was) to assemble the blood of all righteous blood shed upon the earth, unjustly from the blood of Abel to that day when He said this to the Jews, accusing them and their ancestors. And in my own opinion, what is meant here, what suits the context, (is) that He said this, for Zacharias the priest who begot the saint<sup>38</sup> John, the forerunner, the Baptist<sup>39</sup>. For they explained about him in an unwritten command<sup>40</sup> that he was killed between the temple and the altar because he plainly prophesied, and informing them that the holy Virgin, Mart<sup>41</sup> -Mary the begetter<sup>42</sup> of God and the one whom she begot, Jesus Christ, is the Great God, and Saviour rescuer, as king, Archon, and the chief<sup>43</sup> is the Lord of the whole nation of Jews. Also when the holy Virgin Mart-Mary had conceived by the Holy Spirit, with an incomprehensible conception, the priest did not send her away from the temple, from the place where the virgins like her are separated, between the altar and the temple – if they got married – As he knew that she was a Virgin, he left her to live in this place itself, I mean, the place where the virgins were assembled, as was their habit. For this, it was said, that those who heard from the priest about the Virgin and who is born<sup>44</sup> from her, they became angry, for they feared from the expected king as he prophesied to them. It was known to them that the king, who is the Christ<sup>45</sup>, will pasture them, and remove from them the yoke of slavery. The wise in God<sup>46</sup>, Gregory<sup>47</sup>, brother of the great Basil, in the homily<sup>48</sup> which he delivered on the

<sup>35</sup> Matt. 23: 35.

<sup>36</sup> The Coptic word  $\epsilon\mu\iota$  has the double meaning “know”, “understand”, (cf. W.E. CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, p. 77b). The translator chose the wrong meaning.

<sup>37</sup> Lit. “the God breathings”

<sup>38</sup> Coptic used the loan Greek word  $\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$  “sent by God”.

<sup>39</sup> The identification of Zacharias as father of John the Baptist is frequent in Coptic literature such as the homily attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria, cf. T. ORLANDI, *Omellie Copte. Corona Patrum* 7, Torino 1981, Teodosio di Alessandria, Per la festa del Battesimo, 4, 1-5,5. the homily attributed to Demetrios of Antioch; cf. KRYSZTOF MODRAS, *Omelia Copta attribuita a Demetrio di Antiochia sul Natale e Maria Vergine, Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*, Roma 1994, p. 220-221.

<sup>40</sup> Coptic reads “ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ ” tradition.

<sup>41</sup> Syriac title means “Lady”, Coptic omits this word.

<sup>42</sup> The Arabic could be translated as “Mother” but the Coptic version is clear: “ $\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\phi\epsilon\text{-}\text{no}\gamma\text{t}$ ” begetter of God (Mother of God =  $\mu\alpha\varsigma\text{cno}\gamma\text{t}$ ).

<sup>43</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>44</sup> Coptic omits “about the Virgin and who is born”.

<sup>45</sup> Coptic omits “who is Christ”.

<sup>46</sup> Coptic reads “theology”. The classical title of Saint Gregory in the liturgical books is “ $\gamma\rho\epsilon\gamma\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\iota\theta\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ”, Gregory the theologian. The translator from Greek to Coptic translated the title as  $\pi\iota\varsigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\text{n}\ \text{n}\alpha\ \phi\text{t}$  “The wise in the divine things”.

<sup>47</sup> Coptic adds “saint”

Nativity of our Saviour says thus: "We do not go beyond our limits, for it is necessary to commemorate Zacharias who was slain between the temple and the altar to testify to the undefiled mother of Lord. For this Zacharias was not only a priest but had the gift<sup>49</sup> of prophecy. And the power of prophecy<sup>50</sup> is proclaimed in the Gospels as invincible and unconquered<sup>51</sup>. So<sup>52</sup> the grace came first to prepare the people that they might not think the birth from the Virgin was incredible, bridling thus the unbelievers by the miracle of the barren, which is less than that. For she gave birth to a child, being an introduction to the miracle that is performed by the Virgin. For, Elizabeth had grown old without bearing a child and she did not become a mother by the power of nature. But the birth of a boy is from God. And there is also the lack of credibility of the Virgin's conception of the Virgin. We find in this the power of God. For the son born of the barren preceded the Son born of the Virgin, who rejoiced in the womb of his mother before he came forth to the light, when he heard the voice of the begetter (Mother) of God before his birth, I mean the forerunner to the Word<sup>53</sup>. Then the silence, imposed on Zacharias by the Angel, was dissolved. And all that Zacharias proclaimed were prophecies, which would be accomplished later. And he was led by the spirit of prophecy to inform us of hidden things. When he saw the mystery of the Virgin and her purity and undefiled birth, he did not exclude the begetter (Mother) of God from the temple where virgins used to live according to the Law<sup>54</sup>. He explained to the Jews and let them know that the Creator of the things and the Lord of all the creations, the king of all<sup>55</sup>, changes and transform nature as He creates and plans, and nothing is beyond His power. For He is able to create a new birth by his own power. Hence the virginity did not cease. Therefore he did not exclude her from the rank of virgins who were in the temple, in that place between the temple and the altar. For the Jews, since they heard that the Lord of creation was coming forth by dispensation to human birth, feared to be under the power of a king. So they laid their hands

<sup>48</sup> F. MANN, *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones*, pars III, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* vol. X/2, Brill- Leiden 1996, p. 145-270. Our text is taken from p. 248-250. For a detailed list of the quotations of Gregory of Nyssa by Severus of Antioch, cf. M.F.G. PARMENTIER, "Syriac translations of Gregory of Nyssa", *OLP* 20, 1989, p. 143-193.

<sup>49</sup> Coptic reads "the grace".

<sup>50</sup> Translation given according to the Coptic version, the Arabic is ambiguous by the addition of "he" (which could be either referring to the Lord or to Zacharias, or it is an impersonal verb).

<sup>51</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>52</sup> Coptic reads "in this time".

<sup>53</sup> Coptic reads "In the time of bringing forth of the forerunner to the world ...". The confusion of the translation may be due to an error in reading the original Coptic copy (ΝΤΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΧΦΟ ΝΠΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ became ("ΝΤΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΧΦΟ ΝΠΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ" I see (I mean) when she brought forth the forerunner.)

<sup>54</sup> Arabic used the same word in the Coptic version "ΝΟΜΟΣ".

<sup>55</sup> Coptic reads "King of all creation and Lord of Human nature".

on the one who testified this to birth and they killed the priest between the altar and the temple.” For it is not fitting to think that Zacharias, who was one of the twelve among the small prophets, was that person. For even, he has the same name Zacharias son of Barachias<sup>56</sup>, but it was not written anywhere that he was killed, but he departed from this world by an ordinary death like everyone. It was written<sup>57</sup> that in the times of the God-lover King Theodosius, his body was found in the city<sup>58</sup> of Eutheri<sup>59</sup> pure and without corruption as if it had been buried yesterday. And this church, built in his name, has an esteem and a reputation for all who pass by that way. It has an oratory to God. Also Sozomen informed (us) and wrote about the church dedicated to the Prophet<sup>60</sup>. Some assumed that the Saviour meant Zacharias son of Judas who was killed by Ozias, king of Judea, but this saying is not valuable, and is refuted, and condemned. For they did not kill priests and prophets in the time of this Zacharias only, as we are informed by our Saviour in the Gospel. But after the king Ozias reigned also others in Judea and they worshipped idols and became enemies to servants of God. Among them, Mariasseh the king is said to have sawed Isaiah the great among prophets with a saw of wood. We should know this also that the man who was killed by Osias was not called Zacharias, but his name has been slightly changed while copying books and they wrote Zacharias instead of Azarias. So we should know and be sure that our Saviour meant Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, as the holy Gregory said. “It is necessary for us to mention Zacharias who was killed between the temple and the altar as a witness to the incorruptible Mother of Lord. So let us return to our subject the holy Zacharias the great priest of God, who was killed between the temple and the altar, in order to make the matter precise and clear. For our Saviour<sup>61</sup> said in the Gospel that when the impure, impious Herod heard these prophecies which the holy Zacharias said openly about our Lord Jesus Christ, that He is the king of Kings and Lord of lords, and He will save our captivity from destruction, and He will make us worthy of the Kingdom of Heavens, if we believe that He is truly God. He will raise us, on that great Day<sup>62</sup>, when by His second Advent He will judge and grant to the faithful the Eternal Life in the Kingdom of Heavens, but those who did not believe in him, will inherit pains which last forever. Then that bad (man) sent the servants to the temple to holy Zacha-

<sup>56</sup> Coptic omits “Even ... Barachias”.

<sup>57</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>58</sup> Arabic used the same word in the Coptic version “χωρα”.

<sup>59</sup> Coptic ΕΥΘΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ, Syriac Eleutheropolis. Perhaps the scribe thought that “El” was the Arabic definitive article and hence he omitted it.

<sup>60</sup> Coptic omits this word. The translator of the Arabic text, being unaware that Sozomen wrote the *Historia ecclesiastica*, changed the text to the church of the Prophet.

<sup>61</sup> Coptic adds “Good”.

<sup>62</sup> Coptic adds “of judgement”.

rias inquiring about the power of the prophecies which he pronounced in order to inform Herod of the threat which he made to him with irritation and anger. They said to him with great irritation: "That is what the king said to you, lo that your blood is in surely in my hand, and I have authority over you. I can do whatever I want for I am a king and nobody will hinder me." And the servants said more like this, which it is not suitable to describe, then they threatened him with murder. When the blessed Zacharias, this trustworthy priest of God, heard this from the servants, he became full of the Holy Spirit and answered the servants openly, for he was a true prophet of the Lord, saying "Tell the king, I am the minister of God the almighty and serving in his temple<sup>63</sup> and I have the authority to say with my tongue whatever I want. My blood is truly in your hands for you are a king, you can shed it<sup>64</sup>, but my soul is in the hand of God who will reward everyone according to his work. And I honestly<sup>65</sup> hope that He will accept me in His holy houses and I will have rest in His eternal kingdom. For you, impious<sup>66</sup>, you intend to kill Him, the King, Lord, Saviour and<sup>67</sup> God of Israel. Lo, and be sure that He is God who had been incarnated and He will give light to Israel and repentance for all<sup>68</sup> who believe in Him. For we, the prophets who came before Him, we believed that He is the Lord of lords, King of kings and He will cut off the mention of idols from the earth. The ministry<sup>69</sup> of priesthood in His name will remain in Israel and all nations for ever and ever. By His great mercy, He bowed the heavens and came down, became incarnated from the Holy Virgin Mart-Mary for us, mankind. He humiliated Himself for us to the extent and He endured to be chased by his handwork. Not only this, but it was necessary for Him to taste death, by His own will to the race of mankind, by the death of Cross. O what an indescribable marvel, the Creator of heaven and Earth and all what that they contain. He endured to be chased by the work of His hands, who is Herod, by His great mercy, He accepted all these for the race of mankind. So now, go and inform the king of what I told you and I said also that a great earthquake, an incredible fear will happen to you for Christ whom you chased. He will destroy you and you will be removed from the face of the earth, you and all your impious soldiers, and no mention of you will remain at all for ever. And all this will be accomplished soon. Then the servants went and informed king Herod about all that saint Zacharias said. When the impious, atheist Herod heard this, he became angry with great irritation and sent a executioner with a group of soldiers and he cut off the

<sup>63</sup> Coptic adds ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ "holy".

<sup>64</sup> Coptic adds ⲛⲱⲓⲛⲱⲓ "vainly".

<sup>65</sup> Coptic reads ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲧⲓ "with a great faith".

<sup>66</sup> Coptic adds ⲉⲧⲧⲱⲟⲩ "evil".

<sup>67</sup> Coptic reads ⲛⲧⲉ "of".

<sup>68</sup> Coptic adds ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ "nations".

<sup>69</sup> Coptic reads ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲱⲉⲙⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁⲛ "we will serve His name".

head of the forerunner father's, Saint John the Baptist, in the night of the day of 8<sup>th</sup> of Tût, between the temple and the altar, and neither a priest nor anybody of the sons Israel knew in which hour he shed his holy blood. But at the hour of the salutation, the priests did not receive the blessings because they did not find Saint Zacharias, according to the command of the Law. And in the time of prayer, they stood waiting for Zacharias to continue the offering prayer and to glorify the Lord God, but they did not find him. But when they spent long time waiting for Saint Zacharias the blessed high priest and he did not return to them. One of the priests took courage and went in the Holy place searching the saint, the great among all the priests, the blessed Zacharias<sup>70</sup>. He saw beside the altar the blood of the holy Zacharias, congealed like a stone. And no body knew what happened to the body. And a voice, next to the altar, said "Zacharias has been slain, and his blood shall not be wiped away until his avenger comes, the Lord of Glory."<sup>71</sup> And when the priest, who entered into the sanctuary, heard this, he was afraid and went out and told his colleagues what he had seen and had heard. When they heard this, they were greatly afraid and amazed. They all entered the holy place. And they did not find his body- God alone knows his destiny, as His true judgments. They became amazed and stupefied and they were afraid because of the miracles and the wonders which had happened from the holy Zacharias. They went out and assembled the whole people with a horn and they said that Zacharias the high priest, loyal to the Lord, great among the priests, the holy blessed prophet, who gave us the Law and taught to us the holy commands pleasing to the Lord, had been slain. When the people heard this, they mourned saint Zacharias three days and three nights as befits his blessed priesthood<sup>72</sup>. So what carnal tongue will be able to speak about the heavenly goods, which the holy Zacharias, the high priest, the trustworthy to the Lord<sup>73</sup> possessed. If I say about you, that you are a prophet, for you are<sup>74</sup> better than a prophet. For the all prophets prophesied about the coming of Christ, but you reveal the matter clearly saying that what the holy Virgin Mart-Mary had carried in her virginal womb, and brought forth is wholly God. Blessed are you, o holy Priest of Lord<sup>75</sup>, for you were irreproachable till you ended your ministry, being pure according to the command of Lord. Blessed are you, o prophet, high priest, and martyr at once, for you became worthy of the

<sup>70</sup> Coptic omits "the saint, the great among the priests, the blessed Zacharias".

<sup>71</sup> Coptic omits "And a voice ... Lord of Glory." and adds „in this time the screen of divided in two" Mat. 27: 51.

<sup>72</sup> From "But the hour of the salutation ... as it suits his priesthood" is taken from the protevangelium of James Ch 24, cf. J.K. ELLIOT, *The Apocryphal New Testament, a Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, Clarendon Press. Oxford 1983, p. 66.

<sup>73</sup> Coptic reads "God".

<sup>74</sup> Coptic adds "truly".

<sup>75</sup> Coptic reads "God".

branch blooming in your old age, and became the forerunner and Baptist for the Son of God<sup>76</sup>, King of kings, bearer of the sins of the world. Blessed are you, o Saint<sup>77</sup> Zacharias, the trustworthy high priest of God, for you have conserved the image and the likeness which God gave to you pure from all uncleanness of the old man. You kept your soul pure and your body pure as the pure gold. For this, you became worthy of the great unspeakable honour, as your body had been transported to the place which God wished according to your merit, as our Lord Jesus Christ said, "may my servant be with me where I am." As you became high priest to God on earth, He made you so in His kingdom of Heavens. What shall we say, O brethren and beloved in Lord? And what shall we answer on that fearful and dreadful day, when we will see all the saints who satisfied God crowned for their virtues and especially for their firm love, which is without cheating, hypocrisy, outrage<sup>78</sup>, or vain glory. But for us, we will be thrown and banished<sup>79</sup> for the scandals with which we scandalised our brethren, lies<sup>80</sup>... (life) is Christ and the death is gain. But you, o Saint Zacharias, the trustworthy high priest, the confessor-martyr, we beseech you to intercede for us to the Christ, whom you loved and you are with Him, in order that He may grant us the forgiveness of our sins, and we may find mercy and confidence in front of your fearful tribunal<sup>81</sup> and be worthy to hear your voice full of joy and rejoice saying "Come blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"<sup>82</sup> what "an eye has not seen, nor has it entered into the heart of man"<sup>83</sup> may be for us by the grace and the love of mankind of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ, through Whom all the glory, the honour and worship are due unto the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Life-Giver, Who is Consubstantial with the Father, now and for ever and unto ages of ages<sup>84</sup>. Amen Amen Amen Lord have mercy.

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<sup>76</sup> Coptic adds "living".

<sup>77</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>78</sup> Coptic "what is of men".

<sup>79</sup> Coptic omits this word.

<sup>80</sup> There is a missed page containing a list of sins and philosophical-dogmatic treaty about life and death which is in Coptic, cf. CHAÎNE, *op.cit.*, 54-55.

<sup>81</sup> End of the Coptic text.

<sup>82</sup> Matt. 25: 34.

<sup>83</sup> 1 Cor. 2: 9.

<sup>84</sup> End of the Prayer of Thanksgiving; cf. e.g. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Horologion of the Egyptian Church*, (= *Stud.Or.Chr.*) Cairo 1973, fol. 6v-7r, p. 3 (text), 140 (translation).

## COMPTES RENDUS

DIETMAR W. WINKLER, *Koptische Kirche und Reichskirche. Altes Schisma und neuer Dialog*. Innsbruck-Wien, Tyrolia Verlag 1997, pp. 567. ISBN 7022-2055-0. DM 68.00.

The recent christological discussions between the representatives of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and those of the Byzantine Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches have focused again the attention upon the theologians and hierarchs of the 5<sup>th</sup> century ecclesiastical schisms. Towards the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the discussions about the schismatic *status quo* of the Copts have finally led to several mutually acceptable theological declarations. After 1500 years of virtual silence, churchmen meet, accept and speak with one another. DIETMAR W. WINKLER'S Ph.D. dissertation at Innsbruck University with a foreword by FRANZ CARDINAL KÖNIG has provided the necessary historical, theological and christological background for a fruitful dialogue between the various churches of the East and the West.

A description of the respective theological positions of the principal ecclesiastical sees of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria towards the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century has led to the essential question about the very nature of the person of Jesus Christ. In this respect, the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431) served as an important mile-stone with the christological formula of St. Cyril of Alexandria: *μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη* *Mia physis to theou logou sesarkomene*. — It is noteworthy, that recent systematic theological studies have somehow rehabilitated the heresiarch Nestorius (p. 45f.)! In fact, christological definitions have shown repeatedly man's inability to express in words the mystery of the very nature of Christ. This has led to tragic misunderstandings followed and subsequently institutionalized by ecclesiastical schisms. The christological debates and deliberations of the Council of Ephesus led to the discussions at the synods of Constantinople (448) and to the turbulent developments at the second Council of Ephesus, known as the *latrocinium* (449). These in turn provided the christological material for the 4<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) that led to the final schism between the dyophysites and miaphysites, those adhering to the two natures and those to the one nature of Jesus Christ.

In addition to the christological issues several non-theological problems were added to the reasons for the ecclesiastical schism. For example, the decisions of the council-fathers to give priority to the See of Constantinople

over that of Alexandria was a result that the Egyptians could not accept.

For about two centuries the anti-chalcedonian theologians Shenute of Atripe, Timothy Ailuros, Philoxenos of Mabbug and Severus of Antioch laboured with the issues that emerged from the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon.

Even prior to the enthronement of Pope Shenuda III in November 1971 unofficial discussions between the Oriental-Orthodox and Byzantine Orthodox churches took place in Aarhus 1964, Bristol 1969, Geneva 1970 and Addis Abeba 1971. These dialogues received official recognition at the meetings in Chambésy 1985, Dair Anbâ Bishoî 1989 and Chambésy 1990 and 1995. The principal issues were the miaphysitic theology of St. Cyril and the discussions about the various means to end the theological and ecclesiastic schism.

The first „Pro-Oriente” Oriental Orthodox and Roman Catholic unofficial dialogues took place in Vienna 1971, the main subject again the miaphysitic christological position. The following unofficial consultations between 1975 and 1988 included ecclesiological and theological subjects. These unofficial deliberations led to the significant christological declaration of Pope Paul VI and Pope Shenuda III in May 1973 in which they affirmed the Vienna „Common Formula”: „We believe that our Lord, God and Savior Jesus Christ is the Incarnate Word, the Incarnate God. We believe that He was perfect in His Divinity and perfect in His Humanity, and that His Divinity never departed from His Humanity not even a single instant nor a twinkle of an eye”. The official dialogue instigated by the common declaration of the two popes has led to altogether eight conferences which were held in Vienna and Dair Anbâ Bishoî. Subjects of these meetings were the ecclesiastical positions, issues of pastoral theology, mariology, eschatology and the *filioque*.

During the 1970s and 1980s Pope Shenuda III had cultivated ecumenical relations with various churches. In 1979 he had met with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1987 he organized a meeting with the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, the two patriarchs of Antioch (Chalcedonian and Non-chalcedonian) and the Armenian Catholicus. At this occasion they confessed the same faith in Jesus Christ fundamentally and essentially. At the same time, however, the impetus of the ecumenical engagement of the 1970s had gradually slowed down. Institutional realities, the existence of a Coptic Catholic Church with its hierarchy, theological questions pertaining to purgatory, mariology and the *filioque*, to mention only a few, have considerably subdued the ecumenical enthusiasm.

WINKLER'S study includes a very helpful chronology of the ecumenical engagements of the Coptic Orthodox Church from 1948-1996 (p. 336). For the theologian and church-historian the final chapter of this important

ecumenical study (pp. 330-334) stresses the importance of our awareness of the historical developments in order to overcome prejudices, ignorance and misunderstandings that unfortunately still prevail in many ecclesiastical circles in the East and West.

OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS

WOLFRAM REISS, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche. Die Geschichte der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Sonntagsschulbewegung und die Aufnahme ihrer Reformansätze in den Erneuerungsbewegungen der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche der Gegenwart*. Hamburg, Lit. Verlag 1998, pp. 400. DM 69.80.

This significant study of the history and of the spiritual and educational rôles of the Sunday School Movement in the reawakening of the Coptic Church ought to be seen as a basic text for all those interested in the Coptic Church of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For an unbiased understanding of the psychological and theological dynamics of the recent unprecedented developments among the Christians of the Nile WOLFRAM REISS' dissertation provides a clear and informative analysis. Because of the historic significance of the Coptic monastic movement most church historians used to describe the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century monastic revival as being the source and place for the Coptic renaissance. However, this happens to be only partly the case. Well-educated and academically trained novices for the monastic calling had received their religious motivations within the frame of the four major Sunday-Schools in Cairo. Therefore, the importance of the services of the Sunday-Schools for the present life of the Coptic Church cannot be exaggerated.

On September 30, 1962 Pope Kyrillus VI had consecrated Abûnâ Antûniûs as-Surîânî as Bishop for Theological Education and the Sunday-Schools thereby recognizing the religious educational values of this movement. To the present day (2001) Pope Shenûda III has retained his commitment to the Sunday-Schools, also realizing that the spiritual vitality of the Church within an Islamic society depends upon the solid education of the clergy and the laity.

Following an historical account of the religious educational process in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, REISS presents the significant theological contributions of Habib Girgis (1876-1951), the founding father, pioneer and reformer of a modern religious education programme for the Church. In 1900 he had established the Sunday-Schools in Egypt, from 1898 on he had served as professor, later as principal of the Theological Seminary.

The principal theme of REISS' book deals with the historical evolution of

the four major Sunday-School Centres in the Greater Cairo area.

The theologically conservative Sunday-School programme of the Church of St. Antony in Shubra – founded in 1934 – specialized on traditional Bible-study and Coptic Church-history. In fact, this school could be considered the cradle of the renaissance of the Coptic Church. Leading churchmen received their initial spiritual motivations and theological training at St. Antony's. These men included Pope Shenûda III, Bishop Arsenius of Minya and Abû Qurqàs, Metropolitan Athanasius of Beni Suef and al-Bahnasa († 2000), Bishop Yuhannes of Gharbiyah († 1987) and Bishop Gregorius head of the Institut of Higher Coptic Studies. The Sunday-School of Giza, in the vicinity of Cairo University, served mainly Coptic students who determined both programme and educational direction of the centre. Principal concerns of these young men included the social application of the Gospel, like the work of the urban and rural diaconal agencies. Men like Bishop Samuel († Oct. 6, 1981), Abûnâ Bûlus Bûlus and Abûnâ Mattâ al-Maskîn were among the pioneers and leading persons of this Sunday School.

A religious programme combining the spiritual and social aspects of the Gospel were offered in the Centre of Geziret Badran, situated not far from the Sunday-School of St. Antony in Shubra. Here the young people „learned by doing” and the activities included social work during the holidays with visits to the historic churches and monasteries. This Sunday-School could be seen as the cradle of the establishment of the Coptic Bishopric of Youth Affairs. The programme of the Sunday-School Centre of the Church of St. Michael in Touson, Shubra, comprised a „mixture” of the various spiritual, educational and social elements of the other three centres. For Pope Shenûda III this school also served his spiritual ‘home’.

The influence of the Sunday-School Movement upon Coptic monasticism and consequently upon the new members of the episcopacy is evident in the selection of the Coptic leadership. The spiritual experiences in the different Sunday-School Centres determined the future theological direction of the church leaders. This is clearly evident in the rather unfortunate and tragic alienation of the two dynamic personalities of the Coptic Church, Pope Shenûda III and his theological adversary Abûnâ Mattâ al-Maskîn.

Dr. WOLFRAM REISS is to be congratulated for a significant contribution to our understanding and evaluation of the Coptic Church in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, this important church-historical study on the contributions of the Coptic Sunday-Schools merits to be translated into the English language so as to be available to a wider reading public.

OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS

OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*, The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo 1999, 344 p. ISBN 977 424 511 3.

Le lecteur de notre Bulletin connaît déjà les recherches du Professeur OTTO MEINARDUS. A l'occasion de ce millénaire, il nous offre une synthèse de deux de ses livres avec une mise-à-jour à savoir; *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, 2<sup>e</sup>ed, Le Caire 1977 et *Christian Egypt Faith and Life*, Le Caire 1970. Contrairement aux premiers ouvrages, ce livre, comme le titre l'indique, parle essentiellement des Coptes, d'où les autres rites et confessions comme les Arméniens, Grecs, Syriacs, Latins et autres ne sont pas étudiés ici.

Le livre commence par une remarquable biographie de SS Chénoudah III, relatant les événements contemporains avec une objectivité hors pair. Puis, l'A nous fournit une liste des évêques de l'Eglise Copte.

Le deuxième chapitre traite de la fuite de la Sainte Famille en Egypte. Il souligne la découverte du temple de Baste une des étapes de la Sainte Famille.

Le chapitre parlant de l'oecumenisme a été remanié mais s'arrête en 1990.

Le chapitre sur les reliques a été entièrement retravaillé incluant les nouvelles découvertes de reliques. Cette liste nous montre plusieurs catégories, nous trouvons:

- les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament: Elisée,
- les martyrs de la grande persécution à savoir Cassius et Florentius, Jules d'Akfahs (identifié par une vision céleste d'un moine), Saint Maurice, Verena;
- les nouveaux martyrs (les martyrs de l'époque Arabe), les martyrs de Naqlun, Bashnuna (à lire Bashnufa),
- les saints modernes et contemporains, Abd al-Masih al-Manahrî, Mikhaïl al-Buhayrî, Yûsâb al-Abahh, Yustus al-Antoni.

Ce chapitre est donc très intéressant car il reflète bien la piété Copte de la fin du siècle et notamment le développement du culte des martyres au cours de trente ans.

Le chapitre sur le calendrier et le *Synaxaire* a été simplifié. Nous ne trouvons pas les diverses éditions du *Synaxaire*. Il est à regretter que les dernières études sur ce sujet ne figurent pas dans la bibliographie, (R.-G. COQUIN, „Le synaxaire des Coptes, un nouveau témoin de la recension de la Haute Egypte“ AB 96, 1977, p. 351-365. G. COLIN, „Le Synaxaire Ethiopien: Etat actuel de la question“ AB 106, 1988, p. 273-317.)

La liste des églises est également simplifiée, ne donnant que le titre et la date de sa fondation. C'est inventaire est loin d'être complet, prenant par exemple le quartier d'Héliopolis (p. 203), il faut ajouter l'église de la Sainte Vierge - Nuzha al-Gîdidah, l'église de Saint Georges et Saint Antoine -

Nuzha, l'église de l'Archange Michel - Sheraton, l'église de la Sainte Vierge - Ard al-Golf, l'église de Saint Paul, Ard al-Golf. Il faut avouer la difficulté de trouver des sources sur un tel sujet, car j'ai cité cette liste de mon expérience personnelle. Mais je suis convaincu que cette liste ne présente que la moitié voire le quart des églises Coptes.

Nous ne pouvons que recommander ce livre à tous ceux qui veulent avoir une introduction sur l'église Copte en Egypte. Ce livre s'adresse plutôt à un non-spécialiste qui visite l'Egypte.

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

S. EMMEL, M. KRAUSE, S.G. RICHTER, S. SCHATEN, *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit - Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses Münster, 20-26 Juli 1996 (= Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients Band 6, 2 volumes)* Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1999, ISBN 3-89500-095, 549 p., 583 p.

Le monde savant se félicite de la parution tant attendue des actes du sixième congrès des études Coptes. Nous ne pouvons que louer les efforts déployés par les éditeurs pour harmoniser – au maximum – l'édition tant sur le fond que sur la forme, ce qui avait été critiqué pour les actes du Cinquième Congrès de Washington (cf. J. VAN DER VLIET, *BiOr* 54, 1997, p 389-392).

La qualité des communications varie d'un auteur à l'autre. Il m'est impossible d'aborder tous, dans une recension. Un indexe des noms propres et des lieux serait le bienvenue, car il permettrait au lecteur d'avoir une vision globale de la chose. Une personne, comme Saint Chenute d'Atripe par exemple, peut-être citée dans des communications touchant l'histoire, la littérature, l'archéologie ou les collections des musées voire dans la section des études gnostiques et manichéennes.

Le Volume I comporte deux sections:

La première est consacrée à l'Archéologie, l'Art les études nubiennes et le monachisme; tandis que la seconde regroupe les articles concernant la liturgie, la théologie et l'histoire. Les communications sont classées par ordre alphabétique des noms d'auteurs.

Il est à noter que la première section occupe 450 pages, tandis que la deuxième ne dépasse pas les 100 pages. Contre plus de 25 communications sur l'Art (au sens large du terme) nous ne trouvons que quatre sur la liturgie (le rapport inclu) et six sur l'histoire dont deux sur l'histoire contemporaine des Coptes aux Etats Unis et en Allemagne.

Cette tendance apparaît clairement si nous comparons les listes bibliographiques concernant les deux sujets. Ce qui nous donne l'impression que nous avons affaire à un congrès sur l'Art Copte! Faut-il rappeler l'importance des études liturgiques qui aident à mieux comprendre l'archéologie, les tissus (cf. entre autres K.C. INNEMEE, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the medieval Near East*, Leyden 1992). Les autres collections de bronze ou de céramiques sont également employées dans la liturgie. Il est à noter que plus de 90% des sites coptes appartiennent à des églises ou des monastères. Nous espérons plus d'équilibre entre les diverses disciplines des études coptes lors des prochains congrès.

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

D. FRANKFURTER (ed.), *Pilgrimage and holy space in late antique Egypt (= Religion in the Graeco-Roman World - volume 134)*, Brill, Leiden. Boston. Köln 1998, ISBN 90 04 11127 1, 516 p.

Ce volume est une approche inter-disciplinaire pour étudier le phénomène du pèlerinage en Egypte. Le livre commence par deux études sur les pèlerinages en Egypte ancienne et le pèlerinage juif en Egypte romaine. Puis divers auteurs traitent les divers sites utilisés comme un *Topos*, tels que l'île de Philae, le culte des SS. Cyr et Jean à Menouthis, le Centre d'Abû Minâ selon les découvertes archéologiques, le culte de Sainte Thécle, les visiteurs du monastère de S. Chénuté et enfin les pèlerinages parmi les arabes à l'époque Proto-Byzantine.

La partie suivante traite l'aspect liturgique du pèlerinage à savoir le chant liturgique, la procession.

La dernière partie étudie des textes de S. Athanase et de *l'Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, tous deux du quatrième siècle, et leur relation avec le pèlerinage.

Il serait superflu de donner un aperçu sur le contenu de chaque contribution puisque l'Editeur le fait dans son introduction (pp. 7-48).

L'éditeur commence l'introduction sur la place des *Topos* bâtis sur les reliques des martyrs avec une citation du martyre de Paese et Thecla. Il est à noter que dans le rite Copte, il y a une prière spéciale pour la consécration des reliques. Cette prière a été publiée pour la première fois dans le missel de TUKI (R.TUKHI: *ΠΙΜΕΡΟΣ ΜΗΛΗΣΝΑΥΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ*, Rome 1762 p. 53-56). Le Père ABDALLAH en publiant l'ordre de Gabriel V, l'a reimprimé avec une traduction italienne (ALFONSO ABDALLAH, *L'Ordinamento Liturgico di Gabriele V, 88° Patriarca copto 1409-1427. = Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegytiaca*, Cairo, 1962, p. 278-281). Il est curieux de ne pas trouver

une allusion à ce rituel dans l'Encyclopédie d'Ibn Kabar (Sur ce livre cf. VILLECOURT, *Le Muséon* 36, 1922, p. 249-292. La partie réservée aux rituels de consécration se trouve au chapitre VIII, j'ai consulté l'édition populaire du Caire 1970 avec une introduction du Père SAMIR KHALIL) Ibn Kabar, a-t-il négligé de citer ce rituel, ou bien ce rituel n'existait pas à l'époque de la rédaction de son texte?

Une lecture attentive des martyres coptes et notamment les promesses données aux saints avant leur dernier combat nous permet de trouver les mêmes thèmes voire les mêmes paroles de ce rituel. Nous donnons quelques exemples:

1- Dans le martyre de Lakaron, nous trouvons:

ΟΥΔΕ ΠΝΑ ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΣΕΝΤ ΕΣΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΧΩ ΜΠΑCΩΜΑ ΝΣΗΤΙ ΔΡΕΨΑΝ ΟΥΑΙ ΕCΨΩΝΙ ΣΕΝ ΧΙΝΨΩΝΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΙΕ ΟΥΔΕΜΩΝ ΝΕΜΑCΙ 'Ι ΕΣΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟC ΝΤΕΦΟΥΨΤ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΑCΩΜΑ ΕΚΕΕΡΧΑΡΙΖΕCΘΕ ΝΩΟΥ ΜΠΙΤΑΛΛΟ.

„...Aucun esprit impur s'approche du lieu où mon corps sera déposé. Et si quelqu'un malade, de n'importe quelle maladie, ou bîne qu'il a un démon avec lui (possédé), et qu'il vienne dans mon topos pour adorer mon corps. Que Tu leur accorde la guérison.“ (I. BALESTRI et H. HYVERNAT, *Acta Martyrum*, CSCO 43, série copte 3, Louvain 1961 p. 21: 14-17).

2- Le martyre de Sarapion reprend les mêmes thèmes mais sans donner plus de précisions sur les maladies:

„ ΚΑΤΑ ΦΗΕΤΑΚΧΟC Ω ΠΑΔC ΔΡΕΨΑΝ ΟΥΑΙ 'Ι ΕΣΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟC ΕCΨΩΝΙ ΣΕΝ ΨΩΝΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ...

„Et selon ce que tu a dit, Seigneur, si quelqu'un entre dans cet endroit, malade de toute sorte de maladie,...“ (*ibid.* p. 85: 23-25)

3- Dans le martyre d'Epima

„ †ΟΥΨΨ ΖΙΝΑ ΡΩΜΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕCΨΩΠΙ ΣΕΝ ΤΑΠΟΛΙC ΣΕΝ ΧΙΝΨΩΝΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΕCΠΙ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟC ΝΤΕCΟΥΨΤ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΑCΩΜΑ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΕCΤΩΒΖ ΜΜΟΚ ΣΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΝΤΕΕΡΧΑΡΙΖΕCΘΕ ΝΩΟΥ ΜΠΙΤΑΛΛΟ · ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙCΩΤΗΡ ΝΑCΙ ΧΕ ΠΑCΩΤΠ ΕΠΙΜΑ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΑΚ ΧΕ ΣΕΝ ΤΕΚΒΑΚΙ ΜΜΑΥΑΤC ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΣΕΝ ΜΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΨΩΝΙ ΣΕΝ ΧΙΝΨΩΝΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΟΥΙ ΝΤΟΥΟΥΨΤ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΕΚCΩΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΟΥΟΖ ΝCΕΤΩΒΖ ΣΕΝ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ †ΝΑΕΡΧΑΡΙΖΕCΘΕ ΝΩΟΥ ΜΠΙΟΥΧΑ! „

„Je voudrai que tout homme malade dans ma ville, de toute sorte de maladie, quand il viendra dans mon lieu adorer mon corps en te demandant, en mon nom, que tu leur accorde la guérison. Le sauveur lui dit, Mon élu Epima, je te dis, non seulement dans ta ville seulement mais tout malade, partout, de toute sorte de maladie qu'ils viennent se prosterner sur ton saint corps et qu'ils demandent en ton nom, je leur accorderai la guérison.“ (*ibid.*, p 153:15-24. La version Sahidique de ce martyre parle du Pardon des péchés, du don des enfants pour l'Eglise et la copie du martyre cf. T. MINA,

*Le Martyre d'Apa Epima*, Le Caire 1937, p. 33:25-34:2 -Pour la pratique du don d'enfants en Égypte cf. S. SCHATEN, „Koptische Kinderschenkungs-urkunden“ *BSAC* 35, 1996, 129-142).

4- Le martyre d'Apa Anoub mentionne.

„ΠΙΤΜΙ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΧΩ ΜΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΝΣΗΤΙ ΝΤΟΥΕΜΨΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΞΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΑΤΩΝΕ ΖΗΤ Β̅ †ΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΜΙ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ ΕΨΩΠΙ ΑΥΨΑΝΨΩΝΙ ΨΑΓΟΥΧΑΙ.“

‘La ville où on y déposera ton corps pour te servir en mon Nom sans hésitation, Je bénirai cette ville et si on est malade, on guérira.’ (*ibid.* p. 236: 17-20).

5- Dans le martyre d'Apa Apoli, le début manque mais le ton ne diffère pas des autres martyres (*ibid.* p. 242: )

6- Le martyre d'Isaak de Tiphre, le saint demande:

„ΑΡΕΨΑΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΝΤΕΙΠΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΝΤΕΙΤΩΒΖ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΚΕΧΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΒΙ „

„Si un homme pêche et qu'il vienne te prier sur mon corps que tu Lui pardonnes ses péchés...” (BALESTRI et HYVERNAT, *A.M.* II p. 86:23-24)

Le Christ lui répond „ΙC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΙΝΙΨ† ΝΑΡΧΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΙΘΑΨΙ ΜΠΕΚΤΟΠΟC ΦΗΕΤΟΥΝΑΧΩ ΜΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΝΣΗΤΙ ΝΤΕΙΕΡΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΞΕΝ ΕΤΗΜΑ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΑΛΔΟC“.

„Voici que le grand archange Michel, je l'ai désigné pour ton topos où ton corps sera déposé pour te servir dans toutes les demandes de guérisons” (E.W. BUDGE, „The martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre” *TSBA* IX, 1893, p. 107:27).

7- Dans le martyre de Saint Eusèbe, nous ne trouvons rien sur le corps du saint mais une promesse pour son nom (H. HYVERNAT, *Les actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, Paris 1886, p. 35).

8- Le martyre de Macaire d'Antioche, l'Archange Michel apparait au Saint à Chetnoufi et lui dit:

ΑΙΟΨΩΝΖ ΝΑΙ ΝΧΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΜΠΕΡΕΡΖΟ† ΑΙΨΩΝΤ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΧΛΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΚΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΤΟΠΟC ΕΤΑ ΠΒ̅C ΘΑΨΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΘΡΟΥΧΩ ΜΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΣΗΤΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΙΝΑΧΑΙ ΑΝ ΕΨΩΤ ΝΖΛΙ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΕΤΑΙΔΑΛΟΙ ΕΡΩΟΥ †ΝΑΧΩ ΜΠΑΣΜΟΥ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΒ̅C ΤΑΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΕΜΩΟΥ....

„Ne crains pas Macaire, car la couronne du martyre s'approche de toi. C'est ici le lieu que le Seigneur a désigné pour que ton corps soit déposé, il ne permettra pas que ce village manque d'aucun bien, par considération pour ton saint corps qui lui sera confié. je laisserai ma bénédiction et ma paix ...” (*ibid.* p. 66). Le texte est très développé le Christ donne sa bénédiction à celui qui construit l'église du saint. Les malades, ceux qui sont en prison, seront délivrés et il bénit ceux qui font des dons pour les veuves et les orphelins du lieu, ainsi à ceux qui copient le martyre du Saint.

9- Dans le martyre d'Apater et Iraï, le Christ déclare:

„†ΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕCΘΕ ΜΠ†ΜΙ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕΚCΩΜΑ †ΝΑΘΡΕ ΟΥΜΗΩ  
ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΨΩΠΙ ΕΥΕΡΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΝ ΕΡΟC... ΟΥΟZ Π†ΜΙ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΧΩ  
ΜΕΤΕΝCΩΜΑ ΝSΗΤC ΝΝΕ ΖΟΧΖΕΧ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΥΝΔΙΝΟC Ί ΕΧΕΝ Π†ΤΙΜΙ  
ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ

„Je ferai à ce village la grâce de (lui confier) ton corps, au service duquel je préposerai une multitude d'anges, ... l'angoisse et le péril ne fondront point sur ce village.“ (*ibid.* p. 92)

Nous pouvons conclure que cette promesse est dite pour les martyrs qui ont leur reliques en Egypte. Le rituel de la consécration des reliques répète les même paroles de ces textes:

†ΝΟΥ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΝΗΒ ΠΙΜΑΙΡΩΜΙ ΊΝΑΓΑΘΟC ΤΕΝ†ΖΟ ΟΥΟZ ΤΕΝΤΩΒΖ  
ΜΜΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΕΝ· ΝΙΜΚΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΓΙΟC ΊΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΕΤΑΥΨΟΠΟΥ  
ΕΡΩΟΥ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΤCΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ

ΑΚΘΡΕ†ΥΠΟΘΕCΙC ΊΝΤΕ ΝΟΥΛΥΜ†ΑΝΟΝ ΕΤCΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ ΑΡΙΖΜΟΤ ΝΑΝ  
ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΨΩΤ ΊΜΜΩΟΥ ΜΠΙΟΥΧΑΙ

ΜΟΙ ΝΩΟΥ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΊΝΝΙΕΤΗΜΑ ΕΘΝΑΝΕΥ ΑΡΙΧΑΡΙΖΕCΘΕ ΝΑΝ ΜΠΙΧΩ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΊΝΤΕ ΝΕΝΠΑΡΑΠΤΩΜΑ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΑΛΒΟ ΊΝΤΕ ΝΕΝ†ΥΧΗ ΝΕΜ  
ΝΕΝCΩΜΑ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΝΠ̄N̄Α ΜΟΙ ΝΑΝ ΊΟΥCΩΤΗΡΙΑ

„Maintenant également notre Seigneur, bon amateur du genre humain, nous Te demandons et nous Te supplions par les souffrances des saints martyrs, qui les ont reçues à cause de Ton Nom Béni.

Rend leur corps béni comme prétexte, accorde nous, Notre Sauveur et à tous ceux qui les adorent, le salut (ou de la santé).

Donne à eux avec nous les bonnes demandes. Accorde nous la grâce de la rémission des péchés et de nos transgressions ainsi que la guérison de nos âmes, de nos corps et de nos esprits. Donne nous le salut.“ (ABDALLAH *op.cit.* p. 280).

- Il est à noter que les promesses pour les reliques ne se trouvent que dans les martyres des saints coptes en Egypte. (cf. TH. BAUMEISTER, *Martyr Invictus*, Münster 1972). Les saints étrangers comme Anatolios (BALESTRI & HYVERNAT *op.cit.* p. 24-33); Théodore l'Oriental (*ibid.* p. 34-62, cf. YOU-HANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF, *BSAC* XXVIII, 1986, p. 107-110). Les promesses dans le martyre du Théodore le général citent la guérison parmi d'autres grâces et sans citer le corps du saint. (*ibid.* p. 168: 14)

- Le texte de Jacques le Perse qui est un martyre étranger écrit pour les coptes. Nous trouvons que le Christ lui apparaît et lui annonce que son corps sera enterré en Egypte, et d'où la promesse traditionnelle sur son topos „CΕΝΑΚΩΤ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΟΝ SΕΝ ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ ΕΟΥΕΡΦΜΕΥΙ ΝΑΚ ΦΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΖΑΝΝΨ† ΝΧΟΜ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΨΦΗΡΙ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΝSΗΤC“

„On construira un martyrium dans cet endroit (en Egypte) en ton souvenir où il y aura des grandes puissances et des miracles.“ (BALESTRI & HYVERNAT, *Acta Martyrum* II p. 34:3)

- Dans ces promesses (cf. texte N°2), nous trouvons des énumérations des maladies, qui seront pas la suite la spécialité du centre du pèlerinage. (cf. G.VIAUD, *Les pèlerinages coptes en Egypte d'après les notes du Qommos Jacob Myrser*, BEC XV, 1979, p. 79 „ Certains saint sont spécialisés pour la guérison des maladies particulières ...“ par exemple Saint Apa Noub est spécialisé pour les femmes qui accouchent (BALESTRI & HYVERNAT *op.cit.* 236: 15).

Ce que, nous avons exposé, souligne l'importance de ce livre. Les exemples fournis, peuvent être multipliés. Nous ne pouvons que féliciter les auteurs de ce livre qui honore cette collection savante et qui comble une lacune dans le domaine des études Coptes.

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

M. KRAUSE, S. SCHATEN, ΘΕΜΕΛΙΑ, *Spätantike und koptologische Studien Peter Grossmann zum 65. Geburtstag. (= Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, Band 3)*. Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1998, ISBN 3-89500-063-9, 348 p.

Le lecteur de notre Bulletin connaît bien le nom du Docteur PETER GROSSMANN, qui depuis longtemps travaille dans le domaine de l'Archéologie et l'Architecture Copte. A l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire le volume du BSAC 37, 1998 lui a été dédié. 24 savants et collègues ont également voulu fêter l'occasion en lui offrant ce *Festschrift*. C'est donc un plaisir d'introduire ce livre sur le Christianisme Copte. Le volume commence avec une bibliographie du P. GROSSMANN (p. 13-24). D. BAILEY (p. 25-31) nous présente une lithographie d'une statue d'un barbare trouvée près d'Alexandrie en 1801. Elle dévoile une vue d'Alexandrie du côté Est. Cette présentation peut contribuer à l'histoire d'Alexandrie à cette époque.

D. BENAZETH (p. 33-40) reprend les fouilles de Baouit en donnant une mise à jour de sa communication présentée à la journée copte de la Société Française de Coptologie. L'A avec M.-H. RUTSCHOWSCAYA ont donné quelques compléments aux fouilles de 1901 à 1903, déjà publiées par J. CLEDAT, dans le volume (JEAN CLEDAT, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit*, MIFAO, 1999). Son article est donc un avant goût de cette publication.

E. BRESCIANI (p. 41-44) étudie un ostrakon avec des figures coptes. H. BUSCHHAUSEN (p. 45-54) nous présente une collection de Bronze trouvée dans les fouilles de Dair Abû Fano. Je me demande comment faut-il tran-

scrire le nom de ce saint? Est-il Phanos (Laterne en Grec) ou Bane (Palmier en Copte)? Mais il est sûr que la transcription de l'A. ne reflète ni le Copte ni l'Arabe. H. BUSCHHAUSEN et FATHIH KHORSHID (p. 55-68) nous décrivent les décorations de Dair al-Ganadla. L'inscription qui se trouve à la p. 57 est à peine reconnaissable. Il fallait, soit utiliser les caractères grecs soit une transcription phonétique; mais jamais les deux à la fois! G. DESCOEUDRES (p. 69-80) étudie les habitations des monastères et des ermitages en Egypte.

S. EMMEL (p. 81-96) analyse l'homélie attribuée à Shenuté pour tirer les circonstances historiques et l'audience. Les homélies Coptes ont attiré peu l'attention du monde savant à l'exception de l'étude déjà ancienne de D. MÜLLER (*Le Muséon* 67, 1954, p. 231-270). Il est important de signaler également une autre étude qui traite le même sujet dans le monde byzantin, parue la même année, à savoir M. CUNNINGHAM & P. ALLEN, (editors), *Preacher and Audience- Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, Brill - Leyden 1998. L'A a donc eu le mérite d'étudier ce sujet, je suis persuadé qu'une analyse minutieuse des homélies permettra de retrouver les textes perdus en langue Copte. Je pense plus particulièrement aux textes exégétiques ou théologiques qui nous sont arrivés à travers des traductions Arabes ou par des quotations dans les textes liturgiques. L'étude de l'audience et des circonstances pourra aider à prouver l'attribution aux auteurs et notamment pour quelqu'un comme Shenute.

J. ENGEMANN (p. 97-116) expose un groupe de satyres dionysiens en provenance du site d'Abû Mînâ, si cher à notre collègue P. GROSSMANN. En fait le récit des miracles de St. Ménas atteste clairement la présence des païens lors des pèlerinages chrétiens (cf. J. DRESCHER, *Apa Mena, A selection of Coptic Texts relating to St Menas*, p. 107). De nos jours, nous trouvons, dans les grands *Mouleds*, tel que Sitt Damiana, ou saint Georges de Mit Damsis, plusieurs non chrétiens qui viennent se divertir ou faire du commerce.

L'article (p. 117-126) de GAWDAT GABRA souligne, une fois de plus, l'importance des textes liturgiques pour la compréhension des textes littéraires, en exploitant le *Difnar* et le *Synaxaire* pour la reconstruction de la vie de Moïse le noir. L'A. donne une bibliographie abondante sur le sujet mais nous regrettons l'absence du livre des Glorifications qui contient une doxologie Adam (cf. nos articles *BSAC* 32, 1993, pp. 139-147, *BSAC* 34, 1995, pp. 77-83). Les doxologies Batos et Adam nous montrent clairement que les reliques de Moïse le noir sont conservées dans une grotte. Où se trouve cette grotte? Et quand ont-elles eu lieu les translations des reliques? La date doit être située entre le V et XI, siècle date de la liste de Saïd al-Kulzumi. Nous espérons que l'A. complétera ses études qui aideront les archéologues qui travaillent dans le site sous la direction de K. INNEMEE.

W. GODLEWSKI (p. 127-141) passe en revue l'évolution architecturale des églises Dongola en Nubie en comparant avec les églises de Byzance. Il serait souhaitable que l'auteur compare également avec les édifices de la Vallée du Nil. (cf. entre autres P. GROSSMANN, „Early Architecture in the Nile Valley“ *Coptic Art and Culture*, Cairo 1990, p. 3-18).

K. INNEMEE, (p. 143-153) passe en revue les découvertes des peintures murales de Dair al-Suriani en 1997. Entre temps l'A. a poursuivi le travail avec de nouvelles mis-à-jour. (cf. entre autres K.C. INNEMEE-L. VAN ROMPAY-E. SOBCZYNSKI, „Deir al-Surian (Egypt): Its Wall-painting, Wall-texts, and Manuscripts“, in *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 2,2 (July 1999). Cet article a donc une valeur historique sur l'état des découvertes en 1997. Cependant il est intéressant de signaler que les fresques des Cynocephales que l'A. attribue à la légende de St Mercure, mais que l'on trouve dans les actes apocryphes de Barthelemy (cf. A. PIANKOFF, *BSAC* 8, 1942, p. 17-27, E. LUCCHESI-J.-M. PRIEUR, *AB* 96, 1978, p. 339-350).

H. JARITZ (p. 155-168) traite les arbres de l'époque romaine à Assouan.

R. KASSER (p. 169-176) donne une traduction d'un hymne Copte de Mani chanté lors de la fête du *Bêma* après la confession solennelle.

W. KLEIN (p. 177-186) étudie le même sujet, à savoir le manichéisme, mais dans l'histoire des Patriarches.

J. KOSCIUK (p. 187-225) examine la place du marché dans le site d'Abû Minâ. L'A. donne une description architecturale détaillée des magasins de ce marché.

M. KRAUSE (p. 225-231) traite la constitution pour le choix et la nomination de l'Abbé dans les monastères Coptes. Il se base essentiellement sur les documents et les inscriptions. Il y a une coquille d'impression à la p. 225 à lire τυπικὰ au lieu de τυπικᾶ. En dehors de la piété, il faut mentionner les abbés qui ont construit les monastères pour y devenir des abbés tel que Sévère d'Antioche à Maiouma (début du VI siècle) ou Samuel de Kalamoun (VII siècle) ou Jean Kamé à Scété (IX siècle).

G. LEASE (p. 233-248) redécouvre un cimetière Copte à Meidum - Fayoum - jadis fouillé par A. ROWE en 1931-32 et qui n'a jamais été publié. L'A. publie des extraits du carnet de fouilles de l'archéologue où nous trouvons une liste des noms propres Phibamon, Amonios, Eulogios etc.

H.-C. NOESKE (p. 249-266) étudie la numismatique Axumite en Egypte et en Palestine.

K. PARLASCA (p. 267-272) traite la décoration du grand portail du temple de Thot à Hermopolis-Magna.

M.-H. RUTSCHOWSCAYA (p. 289-303) dresse un catalogue des conques et des tympans du Musée du Louvre, qui ont des motifs païens et chrétiens. Il faut mentionner la représentation de Jonas sortant du monstre marin. Il semble que ce fragment faisait partie d'un programme iconographique semblable à celui de l'Eglise de la Paix à Kharga.

S. SCHATEN (p. 305-316) publie les inscriptions sur les portes. Ces inscriptions sont intéressantes car elles contribuent à l'histoire du culte chrétien. Cette étude permettra, une fois complète, de discerner la provenance des certaines pièces conservées dans les musées.

H.G. SEVERIN (p. 317-328) nous offre ses remarques sur la datation des décorations.

P.VAN MOORSEL (p. 329-343) donne des remarques sur Melchisedek de Deir al-Baramous qui est présenté comme un ermite „*Sayieh*“. Nous pouvons ajouter à ces remarques pertinentes les descriptions des Suwwah inclus dans *Les quarante Histoires (Kitab al-Arbain Habar)* récemment édité par MGR. SAMUEL et où nous trouvons les histoires des ermites.

Nous invitons le lecteur à partager ce plaisir de lire ce bouquet de fleurs offert à notre cher collègue, collaborateur de notre Société et l'éminent savant dans le domaine de l'Architecture et de l'Archéologie Copte: Dr. PETER GROSSMANN.

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

BENTLEY LAYTON, *A Coptic Grammar with Chresomathy and Glossary - Sahidic Dialect, Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2000, 520 p. ISBN 3-447-04240-0

Cette grammaire Copte, pour le dialecte Sahidique, est une des plus complètes en Anglais. Elle vient après la grammaire en Français de J. VERGOTTE, *Grammaire Copte*, Peeters 1973-1983 (en quatre volumes) et en allemand de L. STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1880, et W. TILL, *Koptische Grammatik (sahidischer Dialekt)*, Leipzig 1955. L'A. s'est servi des nouvelles approches grammaticales et notamment les études de JERNSTEDT (savant russe rarement cité) et POLOTSKY.

L'A. a tiré ses exemples des Evangiles, des *Apophthegmata Patrum* et des écrits de Shénute. Ce choix ne reflète pas la littérature Copte, car les deux premières catégories ne sont que des traductions du Grec. Le Corpus de Shénute a fait couler tant d'encre et nous sommes - schématiquement - devant trois approches: l'approche codicologique - qui essaie de rassembler les manuscrits contenant les oeuvres de Shénute dispersées dans les divers bibliothèques - (les études des Professeurs T. ORLANDI et S. EMMEL); l'approche lexicographique - qui étudie le vocabulaire de Chénute (les études du Professeur A. SHISHA HALIVEY); et l'approche patristique, qui compare le corpus shénutien avec les textes des pères de l'Eglise pour

rétablir l'authenticité de certains textes faussement attribués à ce corpus (les études du R.P.E. LUCCHESI). Il serait donc souhaitable de donner d'autres exemples pour mieux refléter la littérature Copte tel que les lettres festales d'Athanase, la Vie de Pacôme, les martyres Coptes, et les textes liturgiques.

Dans tout le livre, l'A évite d'utiliser le « Jargon » des grammairiens. il donne une définition simple et précise pour chaque terme, cf. par exemple, p. 77 (LEXEMES).

Les premières pages (p. 1-4) s'ouvrent sur la définition du mot Copte. Nous pensons qu'un résumé de l'article du regretté R.P. P.DU BOURGUET, « Le mot <Copte> », *BSAC* 25, 1983, pp 101-103) serait la bienvenue.

Nous ne pouvons que louer la modestie scientifique de l'A., quand il déclare que certains points ne sont pas connus tels que la fonction des accents circonflexes, les tremas, p. 15-16.

L'auteur a comme objectif d'introduire son lecteur à lire les manuscrits Coptes. Il donne des exemples des manuscrits dès les premières pages p. 19-20.

Parlant des termes Grecs utilisés en Copte, p. 33, nous avons deux réserves: L'A. est persuadé que le schisme qui a eu lieu à l'issue du Concile de Chalcédoine (en 451 ap. J.-C.) a contribué au non-respect des formes classiques des termes Grecs en Copte. Nous serons plus nuancés car les manuscrits antérieurs à ce schisme ne sont pas si nombreux d'une part, et d'autre part le respect des formes classiques dépend essentiellement de la culture du scribe et non d'une discussion théologique. Il est à regretter que les études de W.A. GIRGIS (ANBA GREGORIOS), "Greek Loan Words in Coptic" *BSAC* 17, 1963-1964, p. 63-73; 18, 1965-1966, p. 71-96; 19, 1967-1968, p. 57-87; 20, 1969-1970, p. 53-68; 21, 1971-1973, p. 33-53; 23, 1976-1978, p. 199-222; 30, 1991, p. 77-92 ne sont pas mentionnées. Nous pouvons dire de mêmes des travaux du professeur R. KASSER sur la phonétique et la dialectologie Copte. Il suffisait de faire un renvoi au volume VIII du *CE*, qui est entièrement consacré à ces deux aspects, afin d'aider un lecteur non-avisé.

Ce livre est riche en schéma et tableau, stemma, ce qui rend l'usage facile et agréable. Le glossaire à la fin du livre a deux avantages: Il renvoie au § 187 où nous trouvons l'explication des arrangements des dictionnaires Coptes modernes. Nous trouvons également une référence à la page du dictionnaire de W. CRUM, ce qui aidera le lecteur à utiliser cet instrument de travail indispensable.

La chrestomathie nous offre une grande variété de textes tirée de la Bible, des textes de Nag-Hammadi, des règles de Pacôme, des martyres Coptes par contre les textes liturgiques sont complètement absents.

Nous pensons qu'un rappel sommaire de la grammaire sera très utile. Un appendice contenant les divers dialectes en Copte et notamment le Bohairique serait le bienvenue.

Nous ne pouvons que recommander ce livre au lecteur, nous espérons qu'il sera suivi par un manuel de grammaire pour les débutants avec des exercices et vocabulaire.

Encore une autre fois, un grand merci, bien mérité, au professeur LAYTON pour ce travail parfait.

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

## BEMERKUNGEN ZU ZWEI NEUERSCHEINUNGEN

VON SOFIA SCHATEN

1. ANNELIESE BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER, *Koptische Ostraka*. Bd. I: *Ostraka aus dem Britischen Museum in London. Mit Einführung in das Formular der vorgelegten Urkunden*. Bd. II: *Ostraka aus dem Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Mit Einführung in das Formular der vorgelegten Urkunden, Aussagen aller Texte zum Alltag der thebanischen Bevölkerung, Indices zu Band I und II*. Wiesbaden 2000. Bd. I = XII+342 S. 52 Taf., Bd. II = X+312 S. 18 Taf., € 99,--
2. ANNELIESE BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER, *Koptische Schenkungsurkunden aus der Thebais. Formeln und Topoi der Urkunden, Aussagen der Urkunden, Indices*. Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe Ägypten 41, Hrsg. von F. JUNGE und W. WESTENDORF. Wiesbaden 2001. XI+152 S., € 43,--

Mit diesen Arbeiten legt A. BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER zwei Arbeiten vor, die die Untersuchung der Formulare in koptischen nichtliterarischen Urkunden des späten 6. bis zum Ende des 8. Jh.s zum Inhalt haben. Dabei handelt es sich ausschließlich um solche, die der engeren Umgebung von Theben gefunden wurden, bzw. sich dieser Region zuordnen lassen.

Die Bearbeitung der koptischen Ostraka wird von ihr in einer zweibändigen Publikation vorgelegt. Diese Ostraka sind heute im Britischen Museum, London und im Ashmolean Museum, Oxford inventarisiert, sie stammen z.T. aus Gräbungen, wurden von den Museen erworben und nach dort aus Privatbesitz gegeben. Die Verf. hat hierzu in ihrer unter 1. genannten Publikation hauptsächlich unveröffentlichte Stücke zur Untersuchung unter dem Aspekt ausgewählt, weil diese größtenteils wegen der

Fundzusammenhänge dem Phoibammon-Kloster von Dayr el-Bahri zugeordnet werden können. Ein Teil der Funde gehört zur Korrespondenz des Bischofs Abraham von Hermonthis, der auch Abt dieses Klosters war. Die Verf. legt eine umfangreiche, spezielle Formularuntersuchung zu den verschiedenen Urkundentypen vor. Diese entspricht in ihrem Aufbau einer von ihr zu den koptischen Briefformularen vorgelegten früheren Arbeit.<sup>1</sup>

Koptische Schenkungsurkunden aus der Region Theben werden in der unter 2. aufgeführten Veröffentlichung behandelt. Hier werden die bereits publizierten Schenkungen von beweglichem und unbeweglichem Vermögen und die Personen-(Kinder-)schenkungen insbesondere auf die verwendeten Formulare in den einzelnen Urkunden hin untersucht. Dabei handelt es sich bis auf wenige Ausnahmen um die Personenschenkungen, mit denen in der Regel Kinder diesem Kloster im 8. Jh. übereignet wurden. Von W.E. CRUM und G. STEINDORFF wurden die Urkunden bereits im Jahr 1912 publiziert und von W.C. TILL 1964 übersetzt und schon in seine Arbeit zur Datierung und Prosopographie von 1962 aufgenommen, aber auch andere Autoren haben sie unter den unterschiedlichsten Gesichtspunkten bearbeitet.<sup>2</sup>

Die Verf. hat sich in den Arbeiten intensiv mit dem koptischen Urkundenformular auseinandergesetzt und bringt anhand der von ihr ausgewählten Texte eine Fülle von Beispielen zu den einzelnen Formeln, die eine koptische Urkunde enthalten muss, um nach Möglichkeit eine Rechtsgültigkeit auch im Sinne des Privatrechtes zu gewährleisten. Die dabei in den einzelnen Urkundengattungen zwingend erforderlichen, aber auch die nicht obligatorischen und variierenden jedoch in der Regel auf normierte Klauseln zurückzuführenden Formeln werden von ihr vorgestellt. Ausführlich wird von ihr wiedergegeben, in welchem Umfang Auslassungen, Einkürzungen und Variationen der einzelnen Formulare auf die zu behandelnden Urkunden eingewirkt haben. Die beiden Arbeiten bieten für die Bearbeitung koptischer Urkunden der unterschiedlichsten Zuweisung ein Hilfsmittel, das nicht zu unterschätzen ist.<sup>3</sup> Die Formularuntersuchungen dieser beiden

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<sup>1</sup> BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER 1983. Die Ergebnisse der Publikationen zu 1. und 2. werden in einem Aufsatz von 1998 zusammenfassend vorgestellt und eine baldige Veröffentlichung angekündigt: BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER 1998, 9-24. Auf den S. 20-22 erfolgt in Tabellenform eine übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der Urkundengattung und der darin enthaltenen spezifischen Formeln.

<sup>2</sup> CRUM-STEINDORFF 1912/1971. TILL 1964 und DERS. 1962. Zum Bearbeitungsstand der koptischen Urkunden bis zu Beginn der 70er Jahre s. SCHILLER 1976, 99-123; zu den Personenschenkungen s. SCHATEN 1996, 129-142.

<sup>3</sup> SCHILLER 1976, 99-123 und WILFONG 1989, 89-145.

Arbeiten sind damit eine umfassende Ergänzung zu verschiedenen Publikationen, die die Verf. zu diesem Gebiet bereits gegeben hat.<sup>4</sup>

Der Aufbau der Arbeiten sei hier kurz wiedergegeben: Im Vorwort zu Bd. I wird auf die Herkunft der Ostraka eingegangen. Im Kapitel 1.1 wird mit den entsprechenden Unterkapiteln (1.1.1-1.1.8) das Formular der vorgelegten Urkunden behandelt. In 1.2 untersucht die Verf. das Formular von Briefen. In 1.3 werden Hinweise zu den Listen und Schreibübungen gegeben. Die Seiten 64-68 sind einer Zusammenfassung vorbehalten, dort zeigt eine Übersicht in Tabellenform die Bestandteile des Formulars der unterschiedlichen Urkunden. Daran anschließend findet sich die Bearbeitung der Ostraka.

Auf den dann folgenden Seiten wird jedes Ostrakon in einem eigenen Kapitel behandelt. Vorangestellt ist ein von der Verf. erstelltes Faksimile in Originalgröße, es folgen Kapitel-, Inventar- und Registernummer sowie der Hinweis auf die Tafeln am Ende des Bandes. Herkunftsangaben und Datierung werden einer Beschreibung vorangestellt. Danach werden eine Abschrift des Ostrakons mit Ergänzungsvorschlägen und eine Übersetzung angefügt. Die Bemerkungen zu jedem einzelnen Text sind in der Regel ausgesprochen umfangreich. Eine inhaltliche Analyse bildet den Abschluss eines Kapitels. Bd. I schließt mit einem Tafelteil, der fast alle Ostraka im Maßstab 1:1 in fototechnisch guten Abbildungen wiedergibt.

Der Bd. II ist analog Bd. I aufgebaut. Nach den Kapiteln zu den einzelnen Ostraka lässt die Verf. im 3. Kapitel eine für die in beiden Bänden bearbeiteten Dokumente inhaltliche Untersuchung der Texte folgen, indem sie versucht, die relevanten Aussagen in einem Kontext zum Alltag der Bevölkerung zu bringen. Das 3. Kapitel ist in fünf Unterkapitel gegliedert. Unter 4. wird eine Schlussbemerkung zu dieser Arbeit gegeben. Das 5. Kapitel wird mit dem Titel *Indices* überschrieben. Es beginnt mit dem Abkürzungs- und Literaturverzeichnis in 5.1 (S. 247-262), dem fast alle sachspezifischen Veröffentlichungen ab 1990/91 fehlen.

Insgesamt werden in Bd. I (BM 1-47 + BM Ad 1-6) 53 und in Bd. II (AM 1-22) 22 Ostraka publiziert, von denen einige, wie jeweils ausgewiesen, schon von W. TILL, W.E. CRUM und auch von R. HALL bekannt gemacht wurden.<sup>5</sup> Leider sind weder im Vorwort mit den Hinweisen auf die Herkunft der Ostraka noch in den Inhaltsverzeichnissen, Namenslisten, Worterklärungen und Nummernkonkordanzen usw. die von der Verf. eingeführten Publikationsnummerierungen (BM oder AM) zu finden. Dieses Fehlen hat so zur Folge, dass man erst durch Nachschlagen in den Listen mit den

<sup>4</sup> Diese Arbeiten nennt die Verf. in ihren Literaturverzeichnissen.

<sup>5</sup> s. hierzu die jeweiligen Anmerkungen der Verf.

Nummernkonkordanzen des jeweiligen Museums (Bd. II, 308/309 unter 5.15) über die Inventarnummern zum gewünschten Wort oder Hinweis gelangt. Dies ist besonders lästig bei der Beschäftigung mit den Wort- und Namenslisten, vor allem dort wo Mehrfachbelege vorhanden sind. Zwar findet sich unter 5.3 Art der vorgelegten Texte: eine Auflistung (Bd. II, 264-265) zur Publikationsnummerierung, die in Tabellenform besser in den Bereich von Bd. II vor den S. 307-311 gepasst hätte, aber mit den darin gemachten Angaben (Urkundeninhalt) auch in den Inhaltsverzeichnissen mit Seitenangaben zu jedem einzelnen Objekt nützlicher gewesen wäre. Die gewünschten Verweise (Publikationsnummerierung und Inventarnummern) finden sich nur im Kapitel 3, Aussagen der Texte zum Alltag der Bevölkerung. Daher wird am Ende dieses Beitrages eine Konkordanz nach den Inventarnummern angefügt.

In der Arbeit zu 2. werden nach dem Vorwort in Kapitel I. Vorbemerkungen: Forschungsstand und Ziel der Arbeit genannt. Im Kapitel II. Die Formeln und Topoi der Urkunden: werden unter 1. die Personenschenkungsurkunden in ihrem Aufbau untersucht. Dabei werden in den untergeordneten Abschnitten 1.1 Protokoll, 1.2 Einleitung, 1.3 Corpus, 1.4 Schlussteil und 1.5 Topoi mit den entsprechenden Formeln eingehend aufgezeigt. Unter 2 sind verschiedene Schenkungen eingeordnet. Die Einteilung entspricht dem unter 1 genannten Schema. Unter 3 findet sich eine Zusammenfassung. Den Aussagen der Urkunden ist das III. Kapitel vorbehalten, in dem wiederum nach den Personenschenkungsurkunden unter 1 und den verschiedenen Schenkungen unter 2 mit den entsprechenden Abschnitten unterschieden wird. Ebenso wird in 3 mit den Untersuchungen zur Datierung der Urkunden verfahren. Das IV. Kapitel enthält die Schlußbemerkungen und das letzte Kapitel wird als V. Indices bezeichnet.

Für beide Publikationen sei hier angemerkt, dass die erstellten Listen kaum als *Indices* bezeichnet werden können. Die in 2. in den S. 150-151 zusammengestellten griechischen Wörter enthalten keine Belegverweise oder Seitenangaben! Wie in 2. fehlen auch in 1. in dem angefügten Abkürzungs- und Literaturverzeichnis neuere Publikationen.

Die Verf. hat die Untersuchungen zu 1. bereits 1992/1994 und die zu 2. 1998/1999 abgeschlossen. Die Drucklegung erfolgte – aus persönlichen Gründen – mit Verzögerung in den o.a. Erscheinungsjahren.<sup>6</sup> Die Zeitspanne zwischen Erstellung und Erscheinen der Arbeiten zeigt aber auch die Schwächen, die mit der verspäteten Herausgabe verbunden sind. So fehlen wichtige Hinweise auf weitere Bearbeitungen seitens anderer Autoren und Literaturangaben (über das eigene und einige wenige jedoch nicht ur-

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<sup>6</sup> Hinweis im Vorwort der entsprechenden Publikation.

kundenspezifische Veröffentlichungen in 1. hinaus) und geben so dem interessierten Benutzer nicht die Informationen, die dem Stand der Dinge entsprechen. Ein Muss wäre auf jeden Fall eine Vervollständigung der Literaturverzeichnisse mit den jeweiligen Neuerscheinungen gewesen oder wenigstens im jeweiligen Vorwort ein Hinweis auf die *Coptic Encyclopaedia* mit den entsprechenden Einträgen, auf die Hauptreferate in den jeweiligen *Kongressakten* der Internationalen Koptologenkongresse der letzten Jahrzehnte sowie die Nennung der *Urkundenreferate* von M. KRAUSE.<sup>7</sup>

Da es nicht Aufgabe dieses Beitrages sein kann, alle Neuerscheinungen mit dem Beginn der 90er Jahre aufzuführen, sei auf die vorgenannten Publikationen und die darüber hinaus in dem hier angefügten Abkürzungs- und Literaturverzeichnis genannten verwiesen, die sich mit Einzelaspekten zu dem Urkundenmaterial des hier relevanten Zeitraums beschäftigt haben und weitere Literaturangaben bieten, da sie von der Verf. nicht genannt wurden.

An dieser Stelle soll auf verschiedene Punkte der Arbeiten eingegangen werden. *Nicht* die (nur stichpunktartig vorgenommene) Überprüfung der Bearbeitung (zu 1.) der Ostraka mit ihren Übersetzungen und Kommentaren und den neuen Übersetzungs- bzw. Datierungsvorschläge zu einigen Textpassagen der Urkunden (in 2.) soll Inhalt dieses Beitrages sein, sondern es wird vielmehr hier auf einige Feststellungen und Vorschläge der Verf. in den Kapiteln: Aussagen der Urkunden und Schlussbemerkungen eingegangen, die ergänzungsbedürftig sind bzw. so nicht stehen gelassen werden können.<sup>8</sup>

Da die hier vorgestellten Ostraka und Urkunden aus dem Phoibammon-Kloster in Dayr al-Bahri und dem Umfeld stammen, erwartet der Leser spätestens zu 1. in Bd. II, 220 ff. in dem Kapitel 3.5 Das Phoibammon-Kloster: oder auch in den Vorbemerkungen zu 2. Angaben zur Geschichte, Lage und Baulichkeiten dieses Klosters aber auch zu dem Vorgängerkloster gleichen Namens eine Einführung. Leider verweist die Verf. nur auf die Lage des Phoibammon-Klosters auf dem Gelände des Tempels in Dayr al-Bahri und zwei Heilige, die dem Kloster den Namen gegeben haben könnten, was aber wohl kaum der Fall gewesen sein wird.<sup>9</sup> Dem Benutzer

<sup>7</sup> s. die Einträge in dem angefügten Abkürzungs- und Literaturverzeichnis und die verschiedenen sachspezifischen Beiträge in der *CoptEncyc* (s. Bd. VIII Index). KRAUSE 1992, 89-103; DERS. 1993, 77-95, DERS. 1998, 159-171; DERS. 1999, 296-301; und auch DERS. 2001, 229-244. Diese Referate werden von S.G. RICHTER und G. WURST weitergeführt.

<sup>8</sup> In beiden Arbeiten springt die Verf. (insb. bei ihren weitergehenden Ausführungen) zwischen den einzelnen Themen hin und her, was zum Lesen und Verständnis nicht gerade beiträgt.

<sup>9</sup> Diese Heiligen haben keinen Bezug zur Region Theben.

wird die umfassende Arbeit von W. GODLEWSKI empfohlen.<sup>10</sup> Die Verf. bezieht sich zwar auch auf die Arbeiten von M. KRAUSE, jedoch konnte festgestellt werden, was diese Hinweise nicht deutlich machen, dass in den beiden Phoibammon-Klöstern in Theben ein und dieselbe Mönchsgemeinschaft gelebt hat, die durch Aufgabe des älteren Klosters sich ein neues errichtete.<sup>11</sup> M. KRAUSE hat überzeugend in seinen verschiedenen Arbeiten dargelegt, dass zwischen diesen zwei Phoibammon-Klöstern in Theben zu unterscheiden ist, wenn man die schriftlichen Quellen untersucht.<sup>12</sup> Dabei führt er aus, dass das von Dayr el-Bahri das Nachfolgekloster eines bereits bestandenen aber schwer zugänglichen Klosters war. Dieses Kloster ist nicht aufgegeben worden, weil es beschädigt wurde, sondern – wie M. KRAUSE aus den Urkunden CO ad 59 und KRU 105 erschließt – die Mönche und besonders auch der Bischof Abraham von Hermonthis, der dort auch residierte, für die umliegenden Klöster und Orte wie auch zum Empfang der Osterfestbriefe leichter zu erreichen sein sollten. Dieser Ortswechsel wurde vom Patriarchen Damian gewünscht. Abt und Mönche verließen ihr Kloster also nicht freiwillig. Die Ausgrabungen am älteren Kloster haben gezeigt, dass das bewegliche Mobiliar mitgenommen wurde.<sup>13</sup> Die Möglichkeit zur Errichtung eines neuen Klosters in den Ruinen des inzwischen profanierten Hatschepsut-Tempels wurden durch die Schenkung der Stadt Djēme an den Abt und die Mönche realisiert. Mit dem Jahr 590 bestand das neue Phoibammon-Kloster.

Bevor W. GODLEWSKI die Anlage in Dayr el-Bahri einer archäologischen Untersuchung unterzog, waren beide Klöster nicht hinreichend aufgenommen und publiziert worden.<sup>14</sup> Die Bearbeitung der schriftlichen Quellen wird durch die neuen Publikationen von der Verf. ergänzt.

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<sup>10</sup> GODLEWSKI 1986.

<sup>11</sup> So in 2. S. 129 unter der Schlussbemerkung: „Nach der Zeit der monophysitischen Anarchie unter dem byzantinischen Kaiser Justinus II. (585-578) war es dem Patriarchen Damian (578-607) gelungen, die koptische Kirche wieder zu konsolidieren. Er war es auch, der um 590 die Gründung des neuen Phoibammon-Klosters [Fn. 454: Ein weiter südwestlich in einem Tal gelegenes Kloster gleichen Namens existierte schon früher, war aber durch einen Felsrutsch beschädigt worden. Ein Teil der Mönche zog daher nach Deir el-Bahri um (vgl. GODLEWSKI, *Le monastère*, S. 61)] durch Abraham auf dem von der Gemeinde den Mönchen übereigneten Gelände des paganen Tempels von Deir el-Bahri sanktionierte (Fn. 455 Hinweis auf KRU 105/CO Ad 59)“. Es fehlen jedoch Hinweise auf die relevanten Untersuchungen von M. KRAUSE.

<sup>12</sup> Genannt werden hier nur: KRAUSE 1969, 57-67; DERS. 1981, 261-266; DERS. 1982, 21-33; DERS. 1984, 735-753; DERS. 1985A, 31-44; DERS. 1990, 203-207.

<sup>13</sup> KRAUSE 1985A, 38.

<sup>14</sup> Hinweise dazu in den vorgenannten Beiträgen von M. KRAUSE und GODLEWSKI 1991, 779-781.

Leider fehlt auch in beiden Arbeiten Hinweise auf die Möglichkeit, die in den Urkunden von Theben genannten Orte über die bekannten wie z.B. Djēme oder Hermonthis hinaus zu lokalisieren. Zwar wird die Arbeit von ST. TIMM in 1. vorgestellt, jedoch sind die zahlreiche Hinweise nicht in die Arbeiten der Verf. eingeflossen.<sup>15</sup> Die Bearbeitung von Urkunden insbesondere der frühislamischen Periode in Ägypten ist ohne diese Publikation wegen der darin angegebenen Quellen kaum möglich. In 1. auf S. 209 (Bd. II) ist bei der Verf. zu lesen: „... In der Nähe, bei den Memnonskolossen, befand sich das Kastron Djeme, ein Militärlager, das ebenfalls in den Texten erwähnt wird.“<sup>16</sup> Ein Teil der Bevölkerung hatte sich im Tempel Ramses III in Medinet Habu niedergelassen und nur dieser Ort trägt die Bezeichnung Djēme (*Kastron Memnonion*)! Dies ist archäologisch belegt und insbesondere durch die KRU-Urkunden verifiziert.<sup>17</sup>

In den von der Verf. bearbeiteten Urkunden werden verschiedene Steuererhebungen abgewickelt. Diese nimmt sie zum Anlass, sich mit der Steuerpraxis der frühislamischen Zeit und deren Auswirkungen auf die Lebensqualität der Bevölkerung auseinander zu setzen.

Vermisst wird, dass den Autoren, die sich im Zusammenhang mit der frühislamischen Geschichte der Administration und dem Steuerwesen auseinandergesetzt haben, wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde. So hilfreich auch die Arbeiten C.D.G. MÜLLER und die weiteren genannten Autoren für eine erste Beschäftigung mit dieser Periode sein mögen,<sup>18</sup> so wenig ausreichend sind sie, wenn eine Beurteilung zur Administration, zum Steuerwesen oder zu der allgemeinen (wirtschaftlichen) Lage für das erste und zweite Jh. nach der arabischen Eroberung erzielt werden soll. So sind neben den von der Verf. angeführten auch die älteren Arbeiten von C.H. BECKER, H.I. BELL und A. GROHMANN zu nennen,<sup>19</sup> aber auch in jüngerer Zeit haben sich Autoren dazu geäußert.<sup>20</sup>

Die Situation der christlichen Bevölkerung vom Ende des 7. bis zum Ende des 8. Jh.s wurde durch verschiedene Faktoren negativ beeinflusst.

<sup>15</sup> *CKÄ* 1985, 1379-1392: Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (III) = Dayr el Bahri, und 1392-1393: Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (IV) = Vorgängerkloster.

<sup>16</sup> *CKÄ* 1985, 1012-1034: Gabal Šāma = Djēme. S. 1027 Verweise auf weitere Einträge zu dieser Region. Zur Definition *Kastron* s. STEINWENTER 1920, 7-8.

<sup>17</sup> Zu den archäologischen Untersuchungen s. HÖLSCHER 1954, 45-78 und die weiteren Literaturangaben in: *CKÄ* 1985, 1379-1392.

<sup>18</sup> In 2. wird nur auf die Arbeit von MÜLLER, 1969 Bezug genommen. Zu den weiteren Arbeiten s. das Literaturverzeichnis zu 1.

<sup>19</sup> Als grundlegend sind die Arbeiten von C.H. BECKER, H.I. BELL und A. GROHMANN zu nennen, s. die entsprechenden nachstehenden Anmerkungen.

<sup>20</sup> Hier seien nur genannt: FRASER 1991, 183-189; GELLENS 1991, 936-942; WÖRP 1999, 309-324; POLL 1999, 237-274, mit weiteren Literaturverweisen.

Hatte die Eroberung durch die Araber zu Beginn durch versicherte Glaubensfreiheit nur Änderungen hinsichtlich der wirtschaftlichen Behinderung durch Tributeleistungen, Kopfsteuer und fortlaufende Steuerreformen gebracht, so kamen mit Beginn des 8. Jh.s durch den Wechsel der jeweiligen Statthalter und deren Administration Repressalien hinzu, die je nach Einstellung der Obrigkeit durchaus heftig sein konnten. Hinzu kamen Hungersnöte, deren Ursache auch in der wirtschaftlichen Situation liegen konnte, aber auch Seuchen, die große Opfer forderten und zur Entvölkerung einzelner Landstriche führte.<sup>21</sup> Auch die Ansiedlung von Araberstämmen wird sich auf die sozialen Verhältnisse ausgewirkt haben. Durch gezielte Landbesiedlung wurde das arabische Bevölkerungspotential kurzfristig erhöht, auch mit dem Ziel für die Christen in ihrer soziokulturellen Struktur einen Minderheitsstatus zu erreichen.<sup>22</sup> Die Verarmung der Bevölkerung, wie die Verf. selbst ausführt, wurde auch hervorgerufen durch überhöhte Steuerlasten. Eine generelle Verschlechterung der Lebenssituation, hervorgerufen durch Einschränkungen in der Glaubensausübung und die immer stärker werdende Belastung des einzelnen, die auch in der Landflucht zu erkennen ist, waren Gründe zur Konversion. Man entthob sich so einer Diskriminierung im täglichen Leben.

Über die von den Nichtmuslimen zu zahlende Kopfsteuer wurde Quittungen ausgestellt, die nach den Funden im thebanischen Bereich auf Ostraka ausgestellt wurden und in anderen Gegenden eher auf Papyri zu finden sind. Die Erhebung, Zahlung, Quittierung, Registrierung und Weiterleitung dieser Steuer war eine komplexe Angelegenheit. Eine Kopfsteuer war schon in byzantinischer Zeit bekannt, erfuhr aber in der frühislamischen Periode gewisse Neuerungen, die wesentlich vielschichtiger waren, als wie von der Verf. deutlich gemacht, aber auch an dieser Stelle wiedergegeben werden kann und folgt man den bisher gemachten Untersuchungen, noch nicht endgültig geklärt sind.<sup>23</sup> Die Verf. äußert die Vermutung,<sup>24</sup> dass nach 730 keine Kopfsteuerquittungen mehr ausgestellt wurden und diese Steuer vielleicht nicht mehr erhoben wurde.<sup>25</sup> Diese Annahme ist irrig. Die

<sup>21</sup> Die Patriarchengeschichte berichtet von mehreren großen Seuchen im 8. Jh., s. EVETTS 1947, 64, 67 u. 98. Dabei wird auf die hohe Todesrate hingewiesen.

<sup>22</sup> BECKER 1903/1977, 121-132, insb. 127-128.

<sup>23</sup> BECKER 1903/1977, 81-112; DERS. 1924, 248-268; GROHMANN 1960, 19-28.

<sup>24</sup> Diese Vermutung wird in beiden Arbeiten mehrfach geäußert. Genannt sei hier nur in 1. S. 25 mit Hinweis auf KAHLE 1974, 283-285; in 2. S. 133 auf KAHLE 1954, 41 mit Anm. P.E. KAHLE hat für die von ihm *untersuchten* Belege einen Ausstellungszeitraum bis 730 festgestellt; s. auch BECKER 1903/1977, 113. Im Jahr 587 A.H. wurden den Nichtmuslimen 130.000 Dinare Kopfsteuer auferlegt.

<sup>25</sup> In 2. S. 133: „... denn laut erhaltener Belege ist diese nach 730 zumindest anhand der Quittungen nicht mehr nachweisbar. Die Beträge waren Ende der zwanziger Jahre aufgrund der allgemeinen Verarmung so niedrig geworden, daß man – falls diese Steuer tatsächlich

Einstellung oder Reduzierung der Quittierung kann darin gesehen werden, dass unter 'Ubaidallāh b. al Ḥabḥāb (720-734 n.Chr.) anstatt Steuerquittungen Steuermarken eingeführt wurden, die auch erhalten geblieben sind.<sup>26</sup>

Die Bearbeitung der Ostraka und Papyri mit nichtliterarischen Texten und daher sicher auch der Kopfsteuerquittungen ist in der Tat noch nicht abgeschlossen. Bedenkt man, dass in den Museen und Sammlungen eine große Anzahl solcher Belege noch unpubliziert vorhanden ist,<sup>27</sup> außerdem auf den Grabungen in Theben und an anderen Orten in Ägypten Ostraka in größeren Mengen immer noch gefunden werden, so sind endgültige Aussagen irrelevant. Da neben den Kopfsteuerquittungen auch Listen über die gezahlte Kopfsteuer erstellt wurden, kann ein exaktes Datum für eine eventuelle Einstellung einer Quittierung dieser Steuer auf Ostraka an den einzelnen Zahler kaum gegeben werden. Hier ist abzuwarten, ob die Veröffentlichungen weiterer Kopfsteuerquittungen – ob Ostraka oder Papyri – neue Erkenntnisse bieten.

Die Kopfsteuer, eben jene Steuer die nur Nichtmuslime zu leisten hatten, war gemeinschaftsgebunden und wurde nach den Quittungen und Steuerlisten in der Regel in Raten gezahlt.<sup>28</sup> Zahlten vorerst diejenigen Gemeinden, dem ein Kloster örtlich zugeordnet werden konnte, im Grunde pauschal für die Mönche mit, so wurden spätestens 705 die Mönche selbst kopfsteuerpflichtig, d.h. die Klöster mussten nun diese Abgabe abführen und hier war der Betrag von oben auf einen Dinar/Mönch festgelegt.<sup>29</sup> Während die Gemeinden einen Pauschalbetrag zu erbringen hatten, der es erlaubte, den einzelnen nach seiner Zahlungsfähigkeit zu belangen, lag demnach eine fixe Summe auf den Klöstern. Wenn, wie die Patriarchengeschichte zu berichten weiß, im Jahr 718 ein Verbot seitens der Obrigkeit ausgesprochen wurde, dass in den Klöstern keine Neuaufnahmen mehr durchgeführt werden durften,<sup>30</sup> so konnte dieses Verbot zwar von den jeweiligen Nachfolger wieder aufgehoben werden und selbst wenn die Quellen von einer solchen Aufhebung nicht berichten, so muss dieses Verbot nicht konsequent durchgeführt worden sein, sonst hätten viele

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weiterhin erhoben worden sein sollte – für den bezahlten Betrag keinen Beleg mehr ausstellte, sondern ihn – wenn überhaupt – wohl der allgemeinen Steuer (*Demosion*) zuschlug.“

<sup>26</sup> BECKER 1924, 261-262.

<sup>27</sup> s. hierzu KRAUSE 1984, 743-753. GODLEWSKI 1986, 160 mit einer Auflistung von Museen und Hinweisen in Publikationen.

<sup>28</sup> Die Verf. führt die Ratenzahlung auf die Verarmung der Steuerzahler zurück, so zu 1. in Bd. II, S. 186; dagegen jedoch GROHMANN 1960, 27-28.

<sup>29</sup> BECKER 1903/1977, 99 und GROHMANN 1960, 22 u. Anm. 2.

<sup>30</sup> EVETTS 1947, 51 u. 68.

Klöster nicht bis in das 9. Jh. hinein, wenn auch nur unter Schwierigkeiten, bestehen können.<sup>31</sup> Allgemein werden die Maßnahmen der Obrigkeit dahingehend beurteilt, dass die Zunahme der Mönche in den Klöster der islamischen Obrigkeit negativ als christliches Element auffiel. Dass jedoch auch Zugeständnisse gemacht wurden, zeigt der von H.I. BELL publizierte griechische Papyrus, der im Jahre 712 erstellt wurde, nach dem die Mönche des Paulus-Klosters in Theben – nach einem lokal begrenzten Aufstand gegen die erlassenen Auflagen wohl auch der Kopfsteuer, ein Bestätigung des Dux der Thebais erhielten, wonach sie bei Zahlung der Kopfsteuer unbehelligt an ihrem Ort (dem Kloster) weiter wohnen konnten.<sup>32</sup>

Die Widrigkeiten dieser Zeit führten zu einer Landflucht der Bevölkerung.<sup>33</sup> Durch Gesetz verpflichtet, sich an dem Ort aufzuhalten, an dem man seine Steuern zu zahlen hatte, stellte dieses Verschwinden eine rechtswidrige Handlung dar, die sowohl von privater Seite wegen der daraus entstehenden Verpflichtungen (zusätzliche Steuerleistungen, ausstehende Schulden seitens des Flüchtigen) wie auch von öffentlicher Seite und insbesondere von dieser Stelle geahndet wurde. Die Strafen konnten außerordentlich hoch sein. Diese in der Literatur als ‚Binnenwanderung‘ bezeichnete Tendenz, die auch für spätrömisch-byzantinische Zeit bekannt ist, ist für die frühislamische Zeit aus den literarischen Quellen und aus den sogenannten Schutzbriefen bekannt. Sie konnten von Privatpersonen und/oder auch von öffentlicher Seite ausgestellt werden. Der Aussteller hatte ein berechtigtes Interesse daran, den Flüchtigen wieder an Ort und Stelle zu sehen. Für die Gemeinden, in die der Entflohene zurückkehren sollte, zeichnete in der Regel der Laschane (Dioket), der die Belange des Ortes vertrat. Dies wird von der Verf. im Zusammenhang mit zwei Schenkungsurkunden folgerichtig angemerkt,<sup>34</sup> jedoch in Bezug auf zwei Schutzbriefe nimmt sie an, dass Beamten in dieser Funktion „... die Klöster offenbar gegen Auflagen vor allem seitens des Staates unterstützten“. Als Beispiele dafür legt sie die Schutzbriefe VC 8 und VC 9 vor,<sup>35</sup> in denen zwei Laschane und zwei Personen für die Gemeinde zeichnen, die den entflohenen Mönche – aus welchen Gründen auch immer – diese Schutzbriefe ausstellen und damit Forderungen der Gemeinde nachkommen.

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<sup>31</sup> z.B. Apa Jeremias-Kloster, Saqqara. Apa Apollon-Kloster, Bawit oder auch das Apa Hadra-Kloster in Assuan.

<sup>32</sup> BELL 1926, 266-275. BECKER 1903/1977, 120.

<sup>33</sup> s. hierzu BRAUNERT 1964. Aber gerade die Schutzbriefe, die von W.C. TILL (1939) übersetzt und von H. LIEBENEY kommentiert wurden, bieten Hinweise, s. TILL 1939, 71-146. Ebenso in der Patriarchengeschichte mehrfach erwähnt; s. die Kommentierungen dazu von BECKER 1924, 257-262.

<sup>34</sup> 2. S. 136.

<sup>35</sup> CRUM 1939, 10-11.

Schutzbriefe für Mönche hat auch schon W.C. TILL nach-gewiesen.<sup>36</sup> Aus VC 9 kann aber wohl kaum hergeleitet werden, dass ein Kloster aufgegeben wurde. Schutzbriefe wurden nach einem Standardformular erstellt, und gerade die Aufforderung *tauche wieder auf / komme nach Hause / wohnt an Eurem Platz* usw. bedeutet nichts anderes, als eine (Rück-)Versicherung des/der Aussteller gegenüber dem Flüchtigen. Das vorrangige Interesse galt der Rückkehr des Entflohenen zum eigenen Nutzen.<sup>37</sup>

Da die ausgewählten Beispiele für beide Publikationen sowohl in der spätbyzantinischen wie auch die frühislamischen Zeit erstellt wurden, wären eine kurze kritische Auseinandersetzung mit dem in frühislamischer Zeit auch weiterbenutzten byzantinischen Urkundenformular nützlich gewesen. Insbesondere bei der Bearbeitung der Schenkungsurkunden hat sich gezeigt, dass seitens der Aussteller eine Unsicherheit vorlag, den Inhalt insbesondere im Hinblick auf Personenschenkungen so zu gestalten, dass eine gewisse Rechtssicherheit erlangt wurde.<sup>38</sup> Hier kann nur auf eine Feststellung von A. STEINWENTER verwiesen werden „... Offenbar aus einem Gefühl der Schwäche heraus, die sich durch das Fehlen eines wirksamen staatlichen Rechtsschutzes bei der koptischen Bevölkerung einstellen mußte, wurden die schon dem byzantinischen Formular eigentümlichen Bestärkungsmittel in den koptischen Abbildern vervielfacht, oft bis zur Sinnlosigkeit. Zu diesen Klauseln gehören Eid, Strafklausel und Verwünschung.“<sup>39</sup> Diese Beurteilung darf nicht unterschätzt werden.

Wie die Verf. selbst festgestellt hat, ist die Anwesenheit von Kindern in den koptischen Klöstern auch vor der frühislamischen Zeit durchaus üblich gewesen und in den literarischen Quellen festzustellen.<sup>40</sup> Hier stellt sich die Frage, ob es in der byzantinischen Periode überhaupt erforderlich war, diese Übergabe urkundlich zu fixieren. Der Eintritt in ein Kloster mit dem Ziel dort als Mönch zu leben, mußte nicht schriftlich fixiert werden.<sup>41</sup> So zeigt das Urkundenformular der Personenschenkungen doch einige Besonderheiten, die vielleicht darin zu suchen sind, dass man aufgrund der *neuen* Situation eine Urkunde zu fertigen hatte, aus Unsicherheit aber auch jene Formeln übernahm, die zwar nicht zwingend notwendig waren, von der sich beide Seiten eine gewisse Rechtssicherheit versprachen. So muss die

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<sup>36</sup> TILL 1939, 89, Nr. 31. Diese Urkunde wird von der Verf. in 2. S. 142 als BKU 37 erwähnt und mit den Schutzbrieffen VC 8 und VC 9 folgerichtig in Verbindung gebracht !

<sup>37</sup> s. auch BECKER 1924, 257-260.

<sup>38</sup> Das Formular erinnert doch stark an Verkaufsurkunden.

<sup>39</sup> STEINWENTER 1955, 13 Nr. 7.

<sup>40</sup> 2. S. 3 und SCHATEN 1996, 129-142.

<sup>41</sup> CRUM 1939, VC 6 (entstanden zwischen 735 und 738). Dort wird über den Eintritt in ein Kloster berichtet.

Fragestellung weiter verfolgt werden: wem nützte diese Urkunde mit den entsprechenden Formeln,<sup>42</sup> wann und wem wurde sie als Beweismittel vorgelegt, welche behördlichen Schritte konnten gegen eine Übergabe von Minderjährigen unternommen werden und was würde geschehen, wenn eine arabische Administration gegen ein solche Vereinbarung vorgehen würde? Eine Obrigkeit, die sich nicht davor scheute, rigoros Mönche und Klöster anzugreifen, und mit allen Mitteln versuchte, das Mönchswesen und damit die Klöster durch ihre auch schon o.g. Auflagen aufzuheben,<sup>43</sup> dürfte wohl kaum auf eine Fluchformel in einer Urkunde oder Rücksicht auf andere Einwände genommen haben, wenn sie den ins Kloster geschenkten für eigene Belange einsetzen wollte.<sup>44</sup>

Im Jahr 1996 wurden von dieser Seite die Urkunden insbesondere auf Motivation der Schenkenden (in der Regel die Eltern) und auf die Zugehörigkeit des Geschenkten zum Kloster unter dem Aspekt der nachfolgenden Volljährigkeit, der zu erbringenden Arbeitsleistungen und Steuerzahlungen untersucht. Die von der Verf. vorgetragenen umfangreichen Hinweise und eine erneute Durchsicht der einschlägigen Literatur machen es erforderlich, sich noch einmal mit diesen Urkunden zu beschäftigen. Dies soll an anderer Stelle erfolgen.

Auf einige Feststellungen der Verf. soll noch eingegangen werden. In 1. Bd. II, S. 215 wird darauf verwiesen, dass in den koptischen Klöstern das Handwerk des Webens ausgeführt wurde. Sie verweist dabei auf das Apa Apollon-Kloster in Bawīt und das Apa Jeremias-Kloster in Saqqara. Zwar lassen sich in den Inschriften und Graffiti dieser beiden Klöster Mönche mit der Berufsbezeichnung des Webers nachweisen, weitere Belege, in welchem Umfang dort diesem Handwerk nachgegangen wurde, fehlen jedoch.<sup>45</sup> Es ist eher davon auszugehen, dass dort eine Textilproduktion, wenn man diese als solche überhaupt bezeichnen darf, auf die Bedürfnisse der Mönche abgestellt war. Belege, über die genannten Berufsbezeichnungen hinaus, fehlen ganz. Für das Epiphanius-Kloster und das Cyriacus-Kloster in Theben können neben archäologischen auch schriftliche Quellen zu diesem Handwerkszweig (Spindeln und Fundamente für Webstühle – Bestellungen) genannt werden. Durch den Nachweis von Bestellungen wird deutlich, dass über die Eigenversorgung hinaus hergestellt wurde.<sup>46</sup> Zwei Arbeiten von E.

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<sup>42</sup> Besitzer-, Abstands-, Fluchformel (2. S. 18-32).

<sup>43</sup> s. 2. S.139-144 nimmt die Verf. zum Verhältnis Staat/Klöster Stellung.

<sup>44</sup> s. 2. S. 145.

<sup>45</sup> Für Saqqara gibt WIETHEGER 1992, 289 zwei Belege (Grabinschriften) für den Beruf des Webers. Für Bawīt finden sich im Index von CLEDAT 1999, 421 unten ein Beleg. SCHENKE 2000, 149-154 gibt den Nachweis für eine Weberei.

<sup>46</sup> WINLOCK/CRUM/EVELYN-WHITE 1926/1973, Bd. I, 68-70, Fn. 25, Taf. 15b, 21 und S. 155-156; s. ferner SCHENKE 2000, 149-154. Der dort veröffentlichte Brief des Papa Serene,

WIPSYCKA zur Textilproduktion in Ägypten seien hier genannt.<sup>47</sup> Festgehalten werden kann, dass die Mehrzahl der bekannt gewordenen Textilien nicht aus der Produktion von Klöstern sondern aus staatlichen und privaten Webereien kommt.

Auf S. 227 in Bd. II zu 1. bemerkt die Verf. ohne Quellenangabe „... Es ist bekannt, daß das Phoibammon-Kloster Seilereien besaß. Die Seile wurden bis ins Fayum verkauft“. Ein Nachweis fehlt. Es wird daher angenommen, dass sich die Verf. auf die Urkunde CLT 3 bezieht. Dabei handelt es sich um einen Antrag auf Ausstellung eines Reisepasses für drei Mönche aus dem Paulus-Kloster in Theben, die Seile im Fayyūm verkaufen wollten.<sup>48</sup>

Eine gewisse Unsicherheit im Umgang mit den administrativen Organisationen in der byzantinischen und der frühislamischen Periode ist von dieser Seite festgestellt worden. Für BM 31 (1. Bd. I, S. 248ff., entstanden um 600 n.Chr.) schlägt sie z.B. für die mögliche Berufsbezeichnung des dort genannten Taggeila die Lesung *vicarius* vor und sieht darin einen kirchlichen Titel.<sup>49</sup> Wenn diese Lesung richtig ist, wird es sich hier nicht um eine solche Funktion handeln. In der römisch-byzantinischen Zeit hatte der *vicarius* eine militärisch/administrative Funktion.<sup>50</sup>

Auf den S. 115-117 in 2. beschäftigt sich die Verf. mit der Stellung des Verwaltungsrates und des Bischofs im letzten Viertel des 8. Jh. nach den Angaben in KRU 100. Die Datierung dieser Urkunde ist wegen einer fehlenden Jahreszahl [...]29 schwierig.<sup>51</sup> Nach seinen Überlegungen schlägt W.C. TILL vor, dass die Urkunde frühestens 779 entstanden sein kann. Die Ausführungen von W.C. TILL werden von der Verf. so sinntestellt wieder-

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dessen Herkunft unbekannt ist, könnte aufgrund des Schriftvergleiches durchaus aus Theben stammen.

<sup>47</sup> WIPSYCKA 1965. Dort der Hinweis auf Textilherstellung in Klöstern (S. 51, Anm. 7), s. auch den Beitrag in *CoptEncyc* VII, 2218-2221.

<sup>48</sup> Diese Urkunde ist mehrfach bearbeitet worden und wird in der gängigen Literatur erwähnt. Die Erstpublikation erfolgte von SCHILLER 1932, 34-37; s. hierzu auch SCHATEN 1998, 91-100 mit den entsprechenden Literaturangaben.

<sup>49</sup> s. auch zu 1. Bd. II, 203 dort wird die Bezeichnung *vicarius* (Kleriker?) in Frage gestellt. Bei WINLOCK/CRUM/EVELYN-WHITE 1926/1973, Bd. I, 175-178 und Bd. II, 193, Nr. 156; 270 Nr. 458; 271 Nr. 460 und 274 Nr. 470 wird in diesen Urkunden ein *vicarius* genannt.

<sup>50</sup> Zu den Beamtentiteln und den administrativen öffentlichen Einrichtungen vor der islamischen Periode s. PALME 1999, 85-133 mit Literaturangaben. Für das Weiterbestehen insbesondere der öffentlichen administrativen Einrichtungen sei auf die Arbeit von A. GROHMANN 1964, 120-134 verwiesen.

<sup>51</sup> TILL 1962, 36-38, der dort alle Möglichkeiten der Ergänzung diskutiert.

gegeben, dass man von dieser Seite nur seine Verärgerung zeigen kann, zumal kein Verweis gegeben wurden.<sup>52</sup>

In 2. auf S. 128 heißt es ohne Quellenangabe „... Im Jahre 730 fand eine Volkszählung statt, ohne Reisepass durfte man seinen Heimatort nicht mehr verlassen“. Nach der Patriarchengeschichte erließ der Amīr Usāma b. Zaid (714-717 n.Chr.) schon kurz nach seiner Amtsübernahme im Jahre 715 den Erlass, dass niemand mehr ohne ein entsprechendes Dokument reisen durfte.<sup>53</sup>

Von dieser Seite soll die Bemühungen und Ergebnisse der Arbeit von A. BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER zu den Untersuchungen der Formulare der von ihr vorgestellten Urkundengruppen nicht geschmälert werden. Jedoch wäre ein Weniger an Interpretation, eine kritische Überprüfung der eigenen Vorschläge und vor allem Hinweise auf die verwendete Literatur, dort wo es wirklich erforderlich ist, sicherlich ein Mehr in dieser Arbeit gewesen.

#### Abkürzungs- und Literaturverzeichnis<sup>54</sup>

CKÄ = S. TIMM. *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Der Abū Mina), der Skētis (Wādī n-Naṭrān) und der Sinai-Region.* 6 Bde. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 41. Wiesbaden 1984-1992.

CoptEncyc = *The Coptic Encyclopedia.* 8 Bde. New York 1991.

ICCopt 2 (Rom 1980) = T. ORLANDI-F. WISSE. Hrsg. *Acts of the Second Congress of Coptic Studies.* Roma, 22-26 September 1980. Rom 1985.

ICCopt 3 (Warschau 1984) = W. GODLEWSKI. Hrsg. *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies.* Warsaw 20-25 August, 1984. Warschau 1990.

ICCopt 4 (Louvain-la-Neuve 1988) = M. RASSART-DEBERGH-J. RIES. Hrsg. *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> congrès copte.* Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988. 2 Bde. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 40-41, Löwen etc. 1992.

<sup>52</sup> In 2. S. 117 letzte Zeilen des 1. Absatzes: „Da die Datierung in Zusammenhang stehen muß mit dem Protokoll, das diese Urkunde enthält, das Protokoll seinerseits unsicher ist, aber am ehesten noch auf das Jahr 529<sup>[sic]</sup> nach der arabischen Zeitrechnung deutet, dürfte KRU 100 wohl 779 entstanden sein.“ Abgesehen von den irrigen Angaben zur Zeitrechnung, enthält nicht das arabische Protokoll dieser Urkunde *diese* Datierung, sondern das Datum der Urkunde ist unvollständig!

<sup>53</sup> SCHATEN 1998, 94.

<sup>54</sup> In dieses Abkürzungs- und Literaturverzeichnis wurden die für diesen Beitrag benutzten, jedoch von der Verf. schon verwendeten Hinweise, wieder aufgenommen. Zu den nichtliterarischen Urkunden in griechischer, koptischer und arabischer Sprache in Publikationen zur spätantik-frühislamischen Zeit (auch Neuerscheinungen) sei auf die Webseite [www.princeton.edu/~petras](http://www.princeton.edu/~petras) verwiesen.

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## NECROLOGIE

### IN MEMORIAM

#### LE PROFESSEUR ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT<sup>1</sup>

(1915 - 2000)

C'est avec regret que nous avons appris le décès du Professeur ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT, survenu une semaine juste avant la tenue du Septième Congrès International des Etudes Coptes de Leyde.

Les recherches du Professeur A. GUILLAUMONT couvrent plusieurs aspects du Christianisme en Orient, et plus particulièrement en Égypte. Elles comprennent, entre autres, les textes Gnostiques (l'Évangile de Thomas), les Pères du désert, Isaïe de Scète, Evagre le Pontique et la mystique évagrienne.

Le nom du professeur GUILLAUMONT restera toujours lié à la découverte du site des Kellia. Cette découverte a eu lieu au printemps de 1964. Ce site n'était connu jusqu'alors que par les textes anciens<sup>2</sup>. Avec la collaboration du Professeur FRANÇOIS DAUMAS, alors directeur de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, et du professeur RODOLPHE KASSER, de l'Université de Genève, une première expédition fut organisée qui devait donner des résultats spectaculaires. Cette expédition devait ouvrir la voie aux études de la peinture murale, de la langue Copte Bohairique entre le V-IX siècles, de l'architecture, de la liturgie et du monachisme égyptien.

Le Professeur ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT accumula les titres les plus distingués: il était membre de l'Institut, admis à l'honorariat au mois de septembre 1986, après avoir été notamment titulaire, de 1957 à 1981 et de 1977 à 1986 respectivement, de la chaire « Christianismes orientaux » à

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<sup>1</sup> Pour la bibliographie cf. R.-G. COQUIN, "Bibliographie d'Antoine Guillaumont" *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux. Avec une bibliographie du dédicataire, Cahiers d'Orientalisme XX*, P. Cramer Genève 1988, p VI-XI.

<sup>2</sup> Pour l'histoire de cette découverte cf. *Kellia I, kom 219, Fouilles exécutées en 1964-1965*, sous la direction de F. DAUMAS et A. GUILLAUMONT, *FIFAO 28*, 1969, deux volumes.

l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes et de la chaire «Christianisme et gnôses dans l'Orient préislamique» au Collège de France.

Avec lui disparaît un spécialiste et un passionné de la culture Copte, et un grand ami de notre Société.

WASSEF BOUTROS-GHALI

## CHRONIQUE

### THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COPTIC STUDIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR COPTIC STUDIES (IACS)

The seventh international congress of Coptic studies was held from the 28 August to the 1 September 2000 at the Witte Singel-Doelencomplex of the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University, Leiden, Holland. The congress was held in rooms 011, 005, 003, and 028, with a few other small rooms reserved for workshops.

Beside the congress sessions, a number of social and cultural activities were organized:

- a – on Monday 28 August afternoon an official welcome reception was offered by the Board of Governors of the University and the Town Council of Leiden, at the Townhall of Leiden, Breestraat.
- b – Tuesday from 7.30 pm a film evening in the University Theatre was offered, showing two films by young Coptic film makers.
- c – Wednesday afternoon, an excursion by bus to Amsterdam to visit the Allard Pierson Museum.
- d – Friday evening, farewell party in the Arsenaal.
- e – Post-congress tour to the Coptic Museum in Ruinerwold.

All the activities of the Congress were particularly well organized by Jacques van der Vliet, and the program was as follows:

#### MONDAY 28 AUGUST

*Inaugural session.* Welcome addresses

Prof. Dr. F.P. VAN OOSTROM, Dean of the Faculty of Arts

Prof. Dr. J.F. BORGHOUTS, Chairman Section Egyptology-Coptology, Department of Near Eastern Studies

Presidential address

STEPHEN EMMEL, Coptic studies before Kircher

*Main papers*

MARIE-HÉLÈNE RUTSCHOWSCAYA, Report on Art

JÜRGEN HORN, Report on Literature

*Short papers* (read in four parallel sessions)

Section 1: *Art History*

Chair: DOMINIQUE BENAZETH

ELISABETH S. BOLMAN, The Coptic Galaktotrophousa revisited

SUSAN H. AUTH, Significance of Egyptian, Classical and Christian themes in Coptic Art

MYRIAM WISSA, The development of "Coptic" and "Islamic" art in the ninth century A.D.: Project outline

KARL-HEINZ BRUNE, Der Pfau in der koptischen Kunst

CAROL DOWER, A ban on unicorns? Decorative motifs and illumination in the Martyrdom of St. Pteleme (M 581)

Section 2: *Linguistics*

Chair: BENTLEY LAYTON

NATHALIE BOSSON, GUILLAUME BONJOUR, *Elementa linguae copticae seu aegyptiacae*. Première grammaire scientifique de la langue copte

TITO ORLANDI, Towards a computational grammar of Sahidic

JEAN-LOUIS FORT, Coptic diacritical marks of the IFAO 1 and IFAO 2 (unpublished) Shenoutean manuscripts: Their relevance to the syllabic question

TONIO SEBASTIAN RICHTER, Zur Sprache thebanischer Rechtsurkunden: Auffällige Konstruktionen im Bereich der zweiten Tempora

CHRIS H. REINTGES, Second tenses don't exist!

Section 3: *Literature and Patristics*

Chair: JÜRGEN HORN

GREGOR WURST, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der *De anima et corpore*-Tradition des Melites von Sardes

MICHAEL GHATTAS, Die philosophisch-christliche Verwendung des Begriffs „Hypokeimenon“ bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandrien in den Tura-Papyri

DMITRIJ BUMAZHNOV, Das Gebet in *De anima et corpore* des Ps.-Athanasius

GESINE SCHENKE ROBINSON, Codex Berolinensis P 20915 : A final report

STEPHEN J. DAVIES, A hermeneutic of the land: Biblical interpretation in the Holy Family tradition

Section 4: *Archaeology*

Chair: PETER GROSSMANN

GAWDAT GABRA, "New" discoveries of Coptic monuments: Problems of their preservation and publication

BÉATRICE HUBER, Die Basilika von Kom al-Ahmar bei Šaruna (Mittelägypten) Archäologie und Baugeschichte

RAMEZ WADIE BOUTROS, Dayr Gabal al-Tayr, monastère ou village?

Fr. MARTYROS EL-SOURIANI, The youngest layer of plaster in the church of St. Mary in El-Sourian Monastery, Wadi el-Natroun

MAT IMMERZEEL, The stuccoes of Deir al-Suryan: A *waqf* of the Takritans in Fustat?

TUESDAY 29 AUGUST

*Main papers*

MARK SWANSON, Report on Coptic-Arabic Studies

GERALD M. BROWNE, Report on Coptic linguistics (to be read *in absentia*)

*Short papers* (read in four parallel sessions)

Section 1: *Art History*

Chair: MARIE-HELENE RUTSCHOWSCAYA

ELISABET ENSS, Eine Darstellung des Thomaszweifels auf der Holztür von Sitt Barbara

GERTRUD J.M. VAN LOON, The meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek

SHAZA GAMAL ISMAIL, Symbolism in fresco and tempera Coptic mural paintings in Egypt before the Arab conquest

KAREL INNEMÉE, The wall paintings of Deir Anba Bishoi (Red Monastery) near Sohag

MAGGY RASSART-DEBERGH, Peinture kelliotes (1999)

ASHRAF NAGEH, A new discovery of wall paintings in the Church of Mari Mina at Fum al-Khalig

PETRA LINSCHIED, Kopf-Binden im spätantiken bis frühislamischen Ägypten

LESLIE S.B. MACCOULL, Two Coptic bronze vessels in the Walters Art Gallery

Chair: MAGGY RASSART-DEBERGH

A.JA. KAKOVKIN, Wen stellen die Wandmalereien in der Exodus-Kapelle von El-Bagawat dar?

Fr. MAXIMOUS EL-ANTONY, Restoration work at the wall paintings in St. Anthony

Bishop SAMUEL, Dair al-Ganadla: Wall paintings and sculpture

HELMUT BUSCHHAUSEN, Die Wandmalerei von Deir al-Genadla

Section 2: *Linguistics*

Chair: NATHALIE BOSSON

ARIEL SHISHA-HALEVY, Juncture features in Shenoutean Sahidic: Linkage and delimitation

- EWA D. ZAKRZEWSKA, Sentence initial position in Bohairic  
 WOLF-PETER FUNK, Cleft sentences with and without *pe* in Bohairic  
 JOHN TAIT, Coptic language and written Demotic  
 RODOLPHE KASSER, Protodialectes coptes à systèmes alphabétiques de type vieux-copte  
 ADEL SIDAROUS, Nouvelles données concernant la scala gréco-copte-arabe *Liber graduum*

*Documentary sources*

Chair: KLAAS WORP

- ALAIN DELATTRE, Une banque de données des textes coptes documentaires  
 HANS FÖRSTER, Wörterbuch der griechischen Lehnwörter in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten  
 CHRISTIAN GAUBERT & JEAN-MICHEL MOUTON, Présentation des archives d'une famille copte du Fayoum à l'époque fatimide  
 GEORG SCHMELZ, Bemerkungen zum Altar in den spätantiken koptischen Kirchen anhand der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka

Section 3: *Literature and Patristics*

Chair: THEOFRIED BAUMEISTER

- MARK SHERIDAN, A homily on the death of the Virgin attributed to Evodius of Rome (Morgan 596)  
 YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF, A contribution to the Coptic biography of Severus of Antioch  
 Clara ten Hacken, The legend of Aûr. Arabic texts concerning the foundation of the monastery of Naqlun  
 ALBERTO CAMPLANI, Fragments from festal letters of the sixth and seventh century  
 JOOST HAGEN, From the diaries of the Aposteles: Manuscript-find and manuscript-fiction in Coptic homilies and other literary texts  
 PAOLA BUZI, Titles in the Coptic manuscript tradition: Complex structure titles and complex expansive structure titles

Chair: TITO ORLANDI

- THEOFRIED BAUMEISTER, Die *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* und die Entwicklung der koptischen Hagiographie  
 ALEXANDRE KHOSROYEV, Zur Frage nach dem Original der „Vita Pachomii“  
 CAROLINE T. SCHROEDER, The church at Shenoute's monastery: A metaphor for ascetic discipline  
 MARK MOUSSA, The treaties *I have been reading the Holy Gospels* by Abba Shenoute of Atripe

Section 4: *History*

Chair: GAWDAT GABRA

- JOHANNES DEN HEIJER, Relations between Copts and Syrians in the light of recent discoveries at Dair al-Suriân  
 MAGDI IBRAHIM GUIRGUIS, Ibrâhîm al-Nâsikh et la culture copte en Égypte au XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.  
 CEDRIC MEURICE, Voyageurs et missionnaires dans la région de Tahta (Moyenne-Égypte) du père Vansleb à Jean Clédât, 1673-1903  
 Bishop THOMAS, Ancient folklore and the modern Coptic Church  
 ASHRAF ALEXANDRE SADEK, Quelques constants de la piété personnelle en Égypte pharaonique et en Égypte chrétienne  
 MAGED S.A. MIKHAIL, A historical definition for the "Coptic period"

Chair: MARK SWANSON

- DIETMAR W. WINKLER, The ecumenical dialogue with the Coptic Orthodox Church  
 ZAKARIA Z. WAHBA, The life of the Coptic Church outside of Egypt (with emphasis on the U.S.A.)

PUCK DE WIT, Coptic asylum seekers in The Netherlands  
 HERMAN TEULE & ADEL SIDAROUS, Presentation of Bulletin de l'Arabe Chrétien and  
 Bibliography of Christian Arabic

### WEDNESDAY 30 AUGUST

#### *Main papers*

HEINZGERD BRAKMAN, Report on Liturgy  
 PETER GROSSMANN, Report on Archaeology

#### *Short papers* (read in four parallel sessions)

##### Section 1: *Art History*

Chair: MAT IMMERZEEL

FR. ELIAH EL-ANBA BOULA, How to read the icon?  
 HARAN NAIROUZ FAHMY, Conservation and restoration of icons in Harat Zuweila  
 ZUZANA SKÁLOVÁ, Are the Byzantine Deesis icons in the Wadi Natron monastery from  
 the church of Abu Seifein in Old Cairo?  
 MAGDALENA ŁAPTAŚ, Preliminary description of a proskynetariōn from the collection of  
 the National Museum in Warsaw

##### Section 2: *Bible*

Chair: ANNE BOUD'HORS

KARLHEINZ SCHÜSSLER, Zum Stand der koptischen Bibeltex-te  
 HANS-G. BETHGE, Neue Bibelfragmente  
 HANS-MARTIN SCHENKE, Ein anderes Matthäus Evangelium im Dialekt M: Bemerkun-  
 gen zum Codex Schøyen  
 UWE-KARSTEN PLISCH, Die Darstellung Johannes des Täufers in der neu entdeckten mit-  
 telägyptischen Version des Matthäus Evangeliums (Codex Schøyen)

##### Section 3: *History*

Chair: JOHANNES DEN HEIJER

HANS HAUBEN, Catholiques et Méli-tiens à Alexandrie à la veille du Synode de Tyr (335)  
 DAVID W. JOHNSON, Pope Peter III Mongos: Conflicts within Egypt  
 SIEGFRIED G. RICHTER, Christliche Kultadaption auf der Insel Philae  
 JOS VAN LENT, Coptic Arabic apocalypses: Between edification and entertainment

##### Section 4: *Textiles*

Chair: SABINE SCHRENK

DOROTHEA RENNER-VOLBACH, Der einreitende Imperator mit dem Siegeskranz  
 ANNA LEBET-MINAKOWSKA, Greek and Roman symbols continued on Coptic textiles  
 SUZANA HODAK, Aus Eins mach Vier: Variationsprinzipien des Flächenrapportmotiv-  
 Bestandes der ornamentalen Purpurwirkereien  
 ANTOINE DE MOOR, Radiocarbon dating of woollen Coptic tunics

### THURSDAY 31 AUGUST

#### *Main papers*

EWA WIPSYCKA, Report on Monasticism  
 ROELOF VAN DEN BROEK, Report on Gnosticism and Manichaeism

#### *Short papers* (read in three parallel sessions)

##### Section 1: *Art History*

Chair: KAREL C. INNEMÉE

KIRSTEN KRUMEICH, Zur spätantiken Bauskulptur aus Oxyrhynchos  
 LORETTA DEL FRANCIA, Angels in Coptic art  
 DOMINIQUE BENAZETH, Le trésor de Kôm Ombo: Un group d'objets liturgiques d'épo-  
 que byzantine

- MARIE-HELENE RUTSCHOWSCAYA & RAMEZ WADIE BOUTROS, Arcatures de haïkal  
 FATMA MAHMOUD, Quelques jarres à décor peint d'époque copte, provenant de Saqqara  
 MARIA MOSSAKOWSKA-GAUBERT, La verrerie utilisée par des anachorètes: L'ermitage  
 no. 44 à Naqlun (Fayyoun)  
 CHRISTIANE LYON-CAEN, Une corbeille de vannerie recouverte de cuir  
 SILVIA HIRSCH, Spätantike (?) Brotstempel mit der Maske des ägyptischen Gottes Bes  
 LUCIA LANGENER, Das Koptische Museum im Borgentreich  
 OLGA OCHARINA, Coptic incense burners: Questions of function and meanings

## Section 2: *Early Mansticism*

Chair: EWA WIPSZYCKA

- MALCOLM CHOAT, Philological and historical approaches to the search for the "third  
 type" of Egyptian monk  
 ANDREW CRISLIP, Illness and health in Christian monasticism of Late Antique Egypt  
 BENTLEY LAYTON, Food in Egyptian monasticism

### *Magic and Liturgy*

Chair: HEINZGERD BRAKMAN

- MARVIN MEYER, Mary dissolving more chains in Coptic Museum papyrus 4958 and else-  
 where  
 DAVID FRANKFURTER, The perils of love: Magic and counter-magic  
 PHILIP SELLEW, A Coptic blessing for reading the Apocalypse in the Paschal liturgy  
 ROSHDI W.B. DOUS, The Alexandrian Divine Liturgy of Basil the Great, according to the  
 Coptic tradition: Critical edition  
 KATARZYMA URBANIAK-WALCZAK, "Hermeneiai"-Fragmente oder der "Hermeneiai"  
 verwandte Texte aus Deir el-Naqlun (Faijum)  
 DILIANA ATANASSOVA, Zu den sahidischen Lektionarhandschriften der Karwoche  
 HANY N. TAKLA, Copto (Bohairic)-Arabic manuscripts: Their role in the tradition of the  
 Coptic Church

## Section 3: *Manuscript Collections*

Chair: ALBERTO CAMPLANI

- GESA SCHENKE, Texte aus der Kölner Papyrussammlung  
 FR. BIGOUL EL-SURIANY, The manuscript collection of El-Surian Monastery: Its survival  
 into the third millenium  
 SAMIHA ABD EL-SHAHEED, A catalogue of unpublished *droug* from the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century  
 in the Coptic Museum

### *Gnosticism, Nag Hammadi Studies*

Chair: JOHN D. TURNER

- JAN HELDERMAN, Logion 50 des Thomasevangeliums  
 ESTHER A. DE BOER, A Gnostic Mary in the Gospel of Mary  
 ANTTI MARJANEM, How egalitarian was the Gnostic view of women? Mary Magdalene in  
 the Nag Hammadi and related documents  
 MICHEL ROBERGE, La Paraphrase de Sem (NH VII, 1) et les *Oracles chaldaïques*  
 REGINE CHARRON, La « race sans roi » dans la littérature gnostique et ses liens avec le mi-  
 lieu des alchimistes gréco-égyptiens  
 OPHELIA FAYEZ RIAD, Les sources d'Asclépius 21-29  
 NICLAS FÖRSTER, Zaubertexte in ägyptischen Tempelbibliotheken und das Traktat über  
 die Achtheit und Neunheit

## Workshops:

- Coptic in a typological perspective*  
*Coptic icon-painting*  
*Editing Shenoute's literary corpus*

## FRIDAY 1 SEPTEMBER

*Main papers*

PETER VAN MINNEN, Report on Papyrology

WŁODZZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI, Report on Christian Nubia

*Short papers (read in three parallel sessions)*Section 1: *Monastic Archaeology*

Chair: WŁODZZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI

CATHERINE THIARD, Monastères paléochrétiens du Proche-Orient: Essai de chronologie

Fr. ZAKARIAH EL-BARAMOUSI, The Qasr of Saint Mary et El-Baramous Monastery

Section 2: *Documentary sources, palaeography, epigraphy*

Chair: PETER VAN MINNEN

KLAAS A. WORP, Some remarks on metrological terminology in Greek and Coptic documentary texts from Egypt

NICOLAOS GONIS, The salaries of the cleric in a papyrus from Hermopolis

TERRY G. WILFONG, New texts in familiar hands: Unpublished Michigan Coptic ostraca by known scribes

Chair: MARTIN KRAUSE

SARAH CLACKSON, Museum archaeology and Coptic papyrology: The Bawit papyri

IAIN GARDNER & MALCOM CHOAT, Towards a palaeography of 4<sup>th</sup> century Coptic

SOFIA SCHATEN, Die Sammlung des Gayer-Anderson Museums in Kairo: Christliche Grabsteine mit Inschriften

ANNE BOUD'HORS & FLORENCE CALAMENT, La stèle funéraire inédite d'un habitant de Tutûn

HELMUT SATZINGER, On some old Nubian names on Coptic stelae from Nubia

ADAM ŁAJTAR, The epitaph of Mariankuda, tetrarch of Makuria (died A.D. 887) found in Hambukol

Section 3: *Manichaeism, Gnosticism, Nag Hammadi studies*

Chair: ROELOF VAN DEN BROEK

JOHN D. TURNER, Gnostic Sethianism and the pre-Plotinian theological interpretation of Plato's *Parmenides*

ZLATKO PLEŠE, Modes of procession in the Apocryphon of John

CLAUDIO GIANOTTO, Quelques remarques à propos de Melchisédek (NHC IX, 1)

PAUL-HUBERT POIRIER, À propos du titre des Psaumes manichéens dits *de Thomas*

JUDITH HARTENSTEIN, Anmerkungen zu den vier koptischen Versionen von „Eugnostos“ und der „Sophia Jesu Christi“

PAUL DILLEY, Talking about the soul and its journey in the Dialogue of the Savior: On visible voices and the interaction of the oral and the visual

URSULA ULRIKE MÜLLER, Die Bindung Jaldabaoths in NHC II, 4 of the Nag-Hammadi library

## Workshops:

*Electronic edition of Coptic texts*

*Textiles from the Nil Valley*

*New directions in monastic archaeology*

## SATURDAY 2 SEPTEMBER

Business Meeting IACS

CONFERENCES AU SIEGE DE LA  
SOCIETE D'ARCHEOLOGIE COPTE AU CAIRE

Programme de conférences: Saison 2001 / 2002

Lundi, 3 Decembre 2001: Dr. ADEL FARID, Les découvertes archéologiques les plus importantes au temple de Philae à Assouane (en Arabe)

Lundi 4 Février 2002 : Père WADI ABULLIF, La Semaine Sainte à l'époque de Abi al-Barakate ibn Kabar (en Arabe)

Lundi 4 Mars 2002: Dr. SAMY SABRY, Introduction à l'architecture des églises coptes (en Anglais)

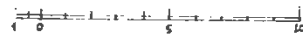
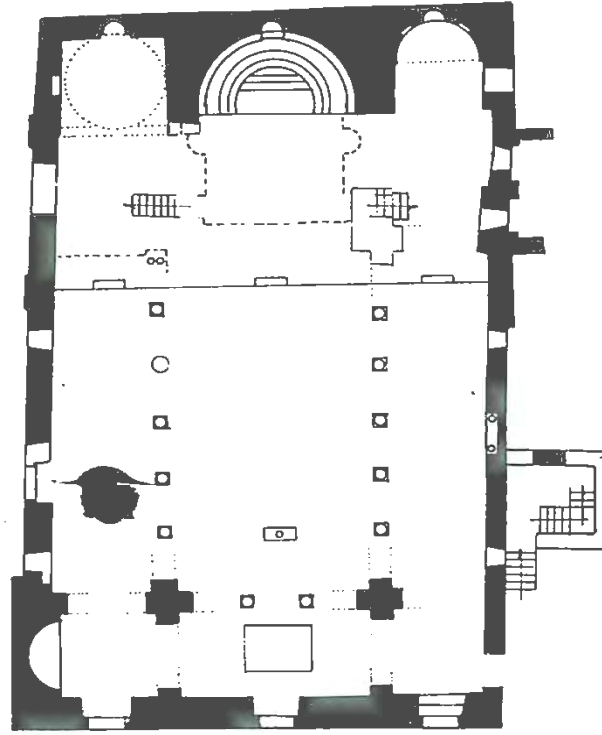
Lundi 1<sup>er</sup> Avril 2002: GUIRGUIS DAOUD GUIRGUIS, Les monastères coptes d'Égypte (en Arabe)

Lundi 6 Mai 2002: Dr. SOBHY ABD EL-MALAK, Les monastères de la coté Nord-Ouest (en Arabe)

Lundi 3. Juin 2002: Dr. SOBHY SHENOUDA, Étude analytique de la peinture d'Adam et Eva au Musée Copte (en Arabe)



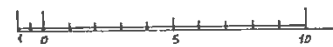
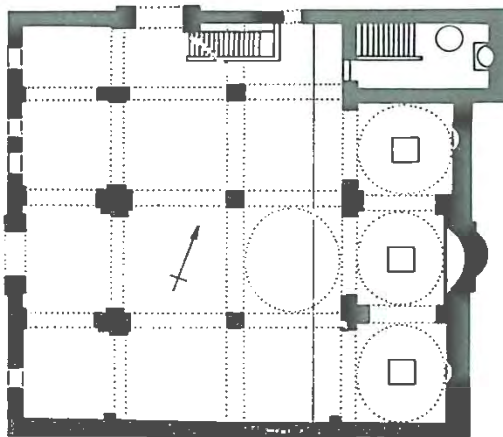
## **SECTION ARABE**



Abu Serga

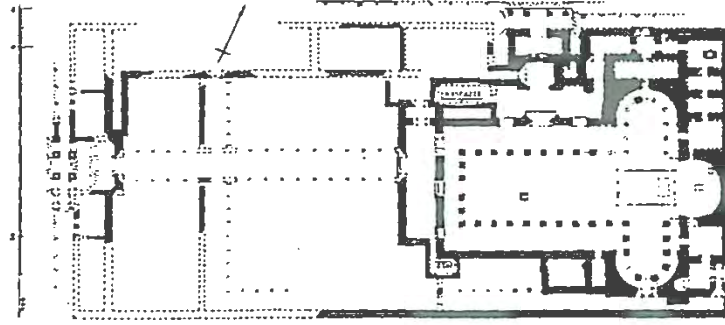
أبو سرجة

ثم اتجهت إلى المطرية حيث شجرة المطرية التي جلست تحتها العائلة المقدسة ويقال انه عندما جاء رجال الحملة الفرنسية ليحاولوا قطعها أدمعت دماً . وفي عين شمس تساقطت الأضنام عند دخول رب المجد إليها . وفي مسطرد توجد كنيسة ( المحمة ) حيث أحمت السيدة العذراء الطفل يسوع من البئر الذي انبعه رب المجد يسوع ( الطفل يسوع ) .



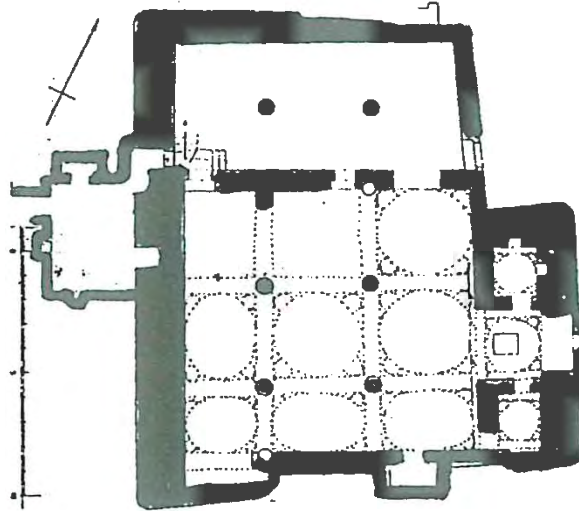
Musturd

مسطرد



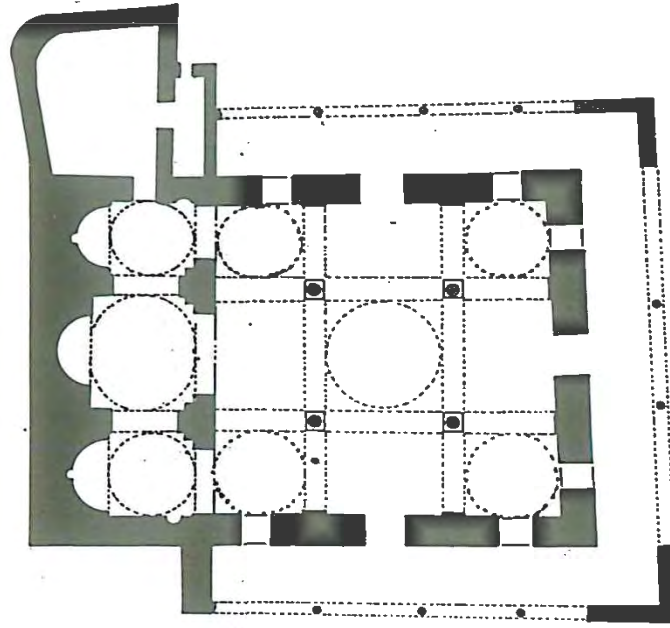
149 Basilica At Hermopolis Magna

وفي الدير المحرق حيث مكثت العائلة المقدسة ما يقرب من ستة أشهر حيث وجد الهيكل الذي دشنته الأنبا ثيوفيلس (٢٣) وقام السيد المسيح نفسه بتدشينه



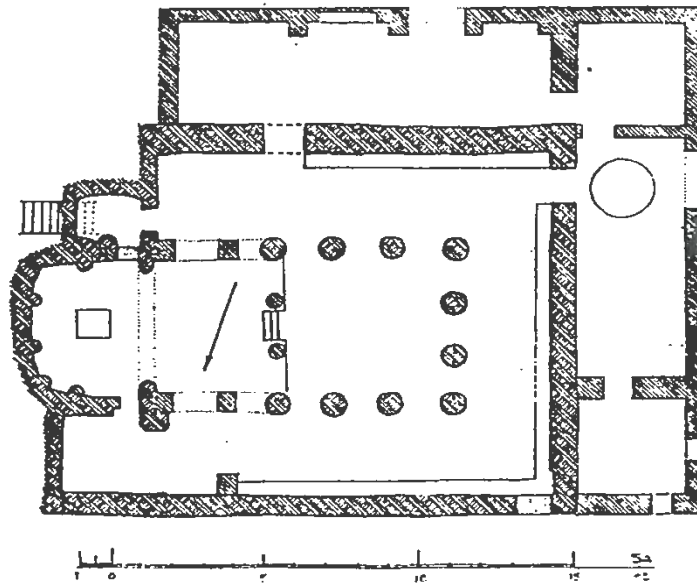
130 Dair Al-Moharrak

وظهر الملاك ليوسف النجار في حلم قائلاً له قم خذ الصبي وامه وارجع إلى فلسطين لان الذين يطلبون نفس الصبي قد مات . وعند العودة انحرف إلى حجارى منف وعبر النيل عند المعادى وزارت العائلة المقدسة منطقة مصر القديمة حيث توجد الآن كنيسة سرجيوس وواخس في مصر القديمة وهي من القرن السابع ، وجد أسفل الهيكل مغارة من المحتمل أن العائلة المقدسة مكثت بها بعض الوقت .

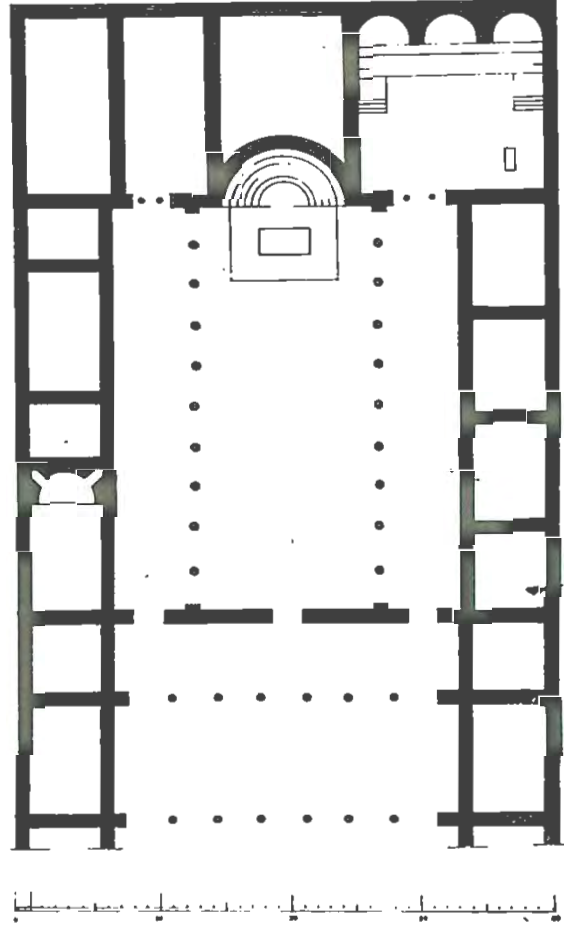


الشهيد أنابوب - سمندود

ثم في جبل الطير حيث الكنيسة التي كانت سابقاً معبداً وثنياً يونانياً بها مغارة من المحتمل أن العائلة المقدسة مكثت بها فترة ما .



وفي جنوب جبل الطير بحوالى ١ كم توجد شجرة العابد التي قيل ان العائلة المقدسة عندما طردت من الأشمونين سجدت هذه الشجرة ولا تزال الفروع تشير إلى هذه المعجزة وفي الأشمونين حيث وجدت أقدم كنيسة بازيليكية في مصر وقد زارت المنطقة العائلة المقدسة .



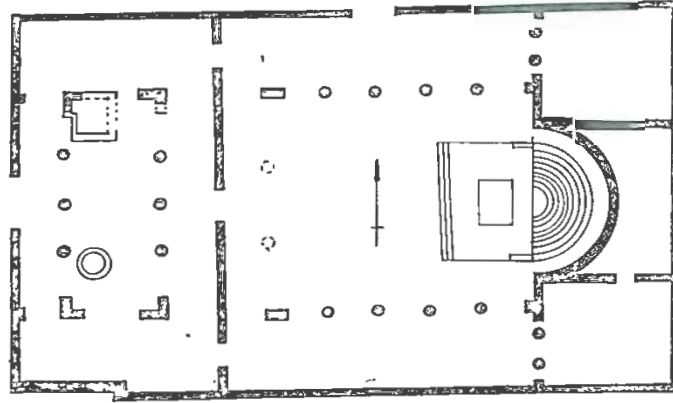
البازيليكا الكبيرة بتل المخزن. Tell al-Makhzan.

وفي تل بسطه منطقة آثار فرعونية للإله بوباسيس ، وكشف في السنوات الأخيرة عن بقايا معبد بواسطة الآثار وبئر ماء يحتمل أن العائلة المقدسة استخدمت مياهه للشرب . وفي سمنود وجدت كنيسة الشهيد أبانوب وهي في مكان أثرى .

وفي سخا وجدت كنيسة السيدة العذراء وعثر في اساس احد اعمدتها على حجر أثرى به أثر قدم . . مما يرجح انه قدم يسوع الذي طبع عند وقوفه عليه . . ( راجع مخطوط أبو المكارم ) . واتجهت العائلة المقدسة غربا إلى وادي النطرون حيث كشفت عين مريم وسط الملاحات وحولها دير اليراموس والسريان والأنبا بيشوى وبها كنائس تمتاز بوجود الخورس . ثم اتجهت العائلة المقدسة إلى الصعيد و في دير الجرنوس كشف عن بئر للمياه العذبة في وسط الكنيسة .

## رحلة العائلة المقدسه فى مصر حسب التقليد القبطى لنيافة الأنبا صموئيل أسقف شبين القناطر وتوابعها

ما ان سمع يوسف النجار لصوت الملاك . . قم إذهب . . قم وخذ الصبي وامه واهرب إلى ارض مصر . . حتى بدأت رحلته الطويلة الشاقة إلى مصر ، ويقال انه سار فى طريق حورس الحربى بجوار الشاطئ مارا بالعريش ثم الفرما . وفى العريش توجد مدينة الفلوسيات على شاطئ البحر وقد كشف CLEDET كنيستين بالمنطقة وعاد موش ويان وكشف كنيسة بها فناء مكشوف وبها بئر ثم الكنيسة تتكون من صحن اوسط وثلاثة اجنحه بها اعمدة . . والهيككل نصف دائرى به " ثرنوس " يمتاز بوجود ممر خلفى يفصله عن الحائط الدائرى ، وقد كشفت مصلحة الآثار عن خزان مياه وبقايا مدينة الفلوسية .



مسقط لكنيسة الفلوسية التي كشفت بعد ١٩٦٧

وفى الفرما كشفت مصلحة الآثار كنائس كثيرة اهمها الكنيسة التى فى تل المخزن وبها اعرض مسافة بين الأعمدة كما كشفت كنيسة صغيرة بارض المدينة لها سلمان مما يرجح أنها استخدمت كمزار قديم .



a. Basilica of Ashmunayn



b. Fellouseiat (Ostracine)



c. Baptistry of the circular church from Farama

PLATE XI



a. Dair al-Adra, Gabl at-Tair



b. Dair al-Muharraq

عشر، ومريم العذراء التي ترمز إلى الكنيسة. فلو كان المشهد يمثل حدث الصعود لكان عدد التلاميذ أحد عشر، لا اثني عشر، لأن اختيار متياس، بدلاً من يهوذا، تم بعد الصعود، كما يشهد سفر أعمال الرسل (١١/٢٦)<sup>١٧</sup>. أضف إلى ذلك أنه في حالة الصعود يظهر المسيح مرتفعاً عن التلاميذ، كما ورد في إنجيل لوقا (١٤/٥١)<sup>١٨</sup>، وسفر أعمال الرسل (١١/١)<sup>١٩</sup>.

والعبارة اليونانية<sup>٢٠</sup> المكتوبة في أعلى اللوحة، ترد جزئياً في القداس الكيرلسي<sup>٢١</sup>، ويرتلها جميع الشعب بصوت مرتفع<sup>٢٢</sup>: «قدّوس، قدّوس، قدّوس، أنت يا ربّ، السماء والأرض مملوءتان من مجدك الأقدس».

اللوحة إذن قطعة واحدة، وتمثل حدث دخول المسيح إلى اورشليم وجلوسه على العرش في المجد، ويرجّح أن مكانها كان في أعلى عتبة باب الهيكل في الكنيسة. والهيكل، في الكنيسة القبطية، يبقى مغلقاً بستارة، لا تُفتح إلا أثناء القداس. وتبين اللوحة، بالتصوير الفني، مضمون بعض الصلوات التي يتلوها الشعب في القداس؛ فاللوحة إذن تساعد الشعب على المشاركة العملية في القداس، وهي كتاب من لا يستطيع القراءة.

<sup>١٧</sup> «ثم ألقوا قرعتهم، فوقعت القرعة على متياس فحسب مع الأحد عشر رسولاً».

<sup>١٨</sup> «وفيما هو يباركهم انفرد عنهم، وأصعد إلى السماء».

<sup>١٩</sup> «وقالا: أيّها الرجال الجليليين، ما بالكم واقفين تنظرون إلى السماء. إن يسوع هذا الذي ارتفع عنكم إلى السماء، سيأتي هكذا كما رأيتموه منطلقاً إلى السماء».

<sup>٢٠</sup> انظر

F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1896, p. 176: αΓΓΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΚΥΡΙΟC CΑΒΔΩΘ ΠΛΗΡΙC Ο ΟΥΡΑΝΟC ΚΑΙ Η ΓΗ ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΟΥ ΔΟΞΗC cf. *Ante-Nicene fathers*, vol. 7, Cleveland, p. 557.

<sup>٢١</sup> «الخولاجي المقدّس أيّ الثلاثة القدّاسات»، القاهرة، ١٩٠٢، ص ٦٣٥.

<sup>٢٢</sup> انظر «مجموعة الشرع الكنسيّ أو قوانين الكنيسة المسيحية الجامعة». جمع وترجمة وتنسيق حنانيا الياس كساب، بيروت، منشورات النور، ١٩٨٥، ص ٢١٥.

وقد كانت اللوحة في كنيسة العذراء مريم الشهيرة بالمعلقة بمصر القديمة، وتاريخها القرن الرابع الميلادي، حسب ترجمة عالم الدراسات اليونانية بيير جوجيه Pierre Jeuguet للنص اليوناني، سنة ١٩٣٧<sup>١٠</sup> المسجل أعلى اللوحة، وهو عام ٥١ لدقلديانوس، أي ٣٣٥م. ومقاس اللوحة ٧٤، ٣٦×٢، . متراً<sup>١١</sup>.

وقد فسرت مريتا سكيولو<sup>١٢</sup>، وباحثتان أخريان<sup>١٣</sup> هذه اللوحة بأنها تمثل مشهدين: الأول للمسيح داخلاً أورشليم، وهو منتصر، والثاني مشهد صعود المسيح إلى السماء. ونقبل الرأي القائل إن المشهد الأول يمثل دخول يسوع المسيح مدينة أورشليم، وهو منتصر (اللوحة رقم ٢)، تحقيقاً لنبؤتي: زكريّا (٩/٩)<sup>١٤</sup>، وصفنياً (١٤/٣)<sup>١٥</sup>، وكما جاء في إنجيل يوحنا (١٢/١٢-١٣)<sup>١٦</sup>. وترمز الأشخاص الثلاثة في المشهد إلى الشعب الذي جاء لاستقبال يسوع المسيح.

غير أننا نرجح أن المشهد الثاني، في اللوحة الخشبية، لا يمثل حدث صعود المسيح إلى السماء، بل يمثل يسوع المسيح ضابط الكل Pantocrator، وحوله التلاميذ الاثنا

<sup>١٠</sup> مذكور في مريتا سكيولو، ص ١٠٠ (عنوان المرجع بالكامل في الحاشية التالية)

<sup>١١</sup> انظر

Marina Sacopoulo, "Le Linteau copte dit d'Al-Moallaka", *Cahiers Archéologiques fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge* 9 (Paris, 1957), p. 99-100.

<sup>١٢</sup> انظر المرجع السابق، ص ١٠٤-١١٥.

<sup>١٣</sup> انظر

Monique Blanc-Ortolan, "Art, Coptic Influence on European", *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 1 (New York, 1991), p. 244-245; Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, "Woodwork, Coptic", *ibid* 7, p. 2343.

<sup>١٤</sup> «ابتهجي جداً، يا ابنة صهيون، اهتفي، يا بنت أورشليم، هوذا ملكك يأتي إليك هو عادل ومنصور، وديع، وراكب على حمار، وعلى جحش ابن أتان».

<sup>١٥</sup> «ترنمي، يا ابنة صهيون، اهتف، يا إسرائيل، وابتهجي بكل قلبك، يا ابنة أورشليم».

<sup>١٦</sup> «وفي الغد سمع الجمع الكثير، الذي جاء إلى العيد، أن يسوع آت إلى أورشليم، فأخذوا سعوف النخل، وخرجوا للقاءه، وكانول يصرخون: "أوصناً، مبارك الآتي باسم الرب ملك إسرائيل».

بما جاء في سفر الزامير (٩/٤٥)<sup>٤</sup>، وحولها الاثنا عشر تلميذاً، حسب سفر الرؤيا (١٤/٢١)<sup>٥</sup>، وإنجيل متى (٢٨/١٩)<sup>٦</sup>.

ونرى أعلى النقش المذكور أربعة أسطر أفقيّة باللغة اليونانيّة، بعضها ساقط، وبعضها الآخر مشوّه، منها عبارة مقتبسة من الكتاب المقدّس، هي: «قدّوس، قدّوس، أنت، يا ربّ، السماء والأرض مملوّتان من مجدك الأقدس»، كما ورد في سفر إشعيا (٣/٦)<sup>٧</sup>، وسفر الرؤيا (٨/٤)<sup>٨</sup>.

نصّ السطر الأوّل: «يلمع في بهاء طاهر نقيّ، لا عيب فيه، ويسكن مجمع كلّ الروحانيين، كالعلويين في سيناء السماويّة».

نصّ السطر الثاني: «والملائكة يمجّدونه دائماً بالتقديسات الثلاث، مرتّلين قائلين: قدّوس، قدّوس، أنت، يا ربّ، السماء والأرض-»

نصّ السطر الثالث: «مملوّات من مجدك الأقدس، وجبروتك الفائقة، يا عظيم الرحمة، الغير المنظور في السموات، بين القوّات المختلفة، يا مَنْ قبلت راضياً أن تحلّ بيننا»؛

نصّ السطر الرابع: «لتعيش، متجسّداً ومولوداً من العذراء أمّ الإله. كُنْ عوناً للأب تيودور الرئيس، وجرجس الشماس والأقنوم (أي المدبّر)، ١٢ من شهر بشنس، الإنديكتس الثالث، السنة ٥١ لدقديانوس (?)»<sup>٩</sup>.

<sup>٤</sup> «... جُعِلَت الملكة عن يمينك بذهب أوفير».

<sup>٥</sup> «وسور المدينة كان له اثنا عشر أساساً، وعليها أسماء رسل الخروف الاثني عشر».

<sup>٦</sup> «... متى جلس ابن الإنسان على كرسي مجده، تجلسون أنتم أيضاً على اثني عشر كرسيّاً، تدينون أسباط إسرائيل الاثني عشر».

<sup>٧</sup> «وهذا نادى ذاك، وقال: "قدّوس، قدّوس، قدّوس، ربّ الجنود، مجده ملء كلّ الأرض"».

<sup>٨</sup> «والأربعة الحيوانات لكلّ واحد منها ستّة أجنحة حولها ومن داخل مملوءة عيوناً، ولا تزال نهاراً وليلاً قائلة: "قدّوس، قدّوس، قدّوس، الربّ الإله، القادر على كلّ شيء، الذي كان، والكائن، والذي يأتي"».

<sup>٩</sup> انظر رووف حبيب، «دليل المتحف القبطي»، القاهرة، ١٩٦٦، ص ١١٤-١١٥.

## تفسير جديد للوحة الخشبية

رقم ٧٥٣ بالمتحف القبطي بمصر القديمة/ القاهرة

الباحث الأثري جرجس داود جرجس

يحتفظ المتحف القبطي بمصر القديمة في القاهرة بعتبة عليا من خشب الجُمَيْر، محفور عليها، بالنقش البارز، منظران<sup>١</sup> (اللوحة رقم ١). يمثل المنظر الأول دخول يسوع المسيح منتصراً إلى مدينة أورشليم، ونرى يسوع المسيح ممتطياً جحشاً، وأمامه ثلاثة أشخاص، الأول صبي يُلقى بملابسه في الطريق، تحت قوائم الجحش؛ الثاني رجلٌ يمسك بيده فرعاً من سعف النخيل، «رمز النصر»؛ والثالث امرأة (اللوحة رقم ٢). ويمثل المنظر الثاني يسوع المسيح، في الوسط، وهو جالس على عرش، في المجد، يحمله ملاكان، وسط ستارة مفتوحة. بينما يظهر حيوانان تحت قدمي المسيح، من الأربعة حيوانات الحية الوارد ذكرها في سفر حزقيال (١/٥)<sup>٢</sup>، وسفر الرؤيا (٤/٦-٧)<sup>٣</sup> (اللوحة رقم ٣). وإلى يسار يسوع المسيح ستة أشخاص (اللوحة رقم ٤)، وإلى يمينه سبعة أشخاص، منهم سيّدة (اللوحة رقم ٥)، يُرجّح أنها ترمز إلى العذراء مريم، تذكيراً

<sup>١</sup> انظر

Girgis Daoud Girgis, "A New Interpretation of a Wooden Lintel, at the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo", *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 67 (1991), p. 119-121+7 pl.

<sup>٢</sup> «ومن وسطها شبه أربعة حيوانات».

<sup>٣</sup> «وقد أُم العرش بحر زجاج شبه البلور. وفي وسط العرش، وحول العرش أربعة حيوانات مملوءة عيوناً من قدام ومن وراء. والحيوان الأول شبه أسد، والحيوان الثاني شبه عجل، والحيوان الثالث له وجه مثل وجه إنسان، والحيوان الرابع شبه نسر طائر».

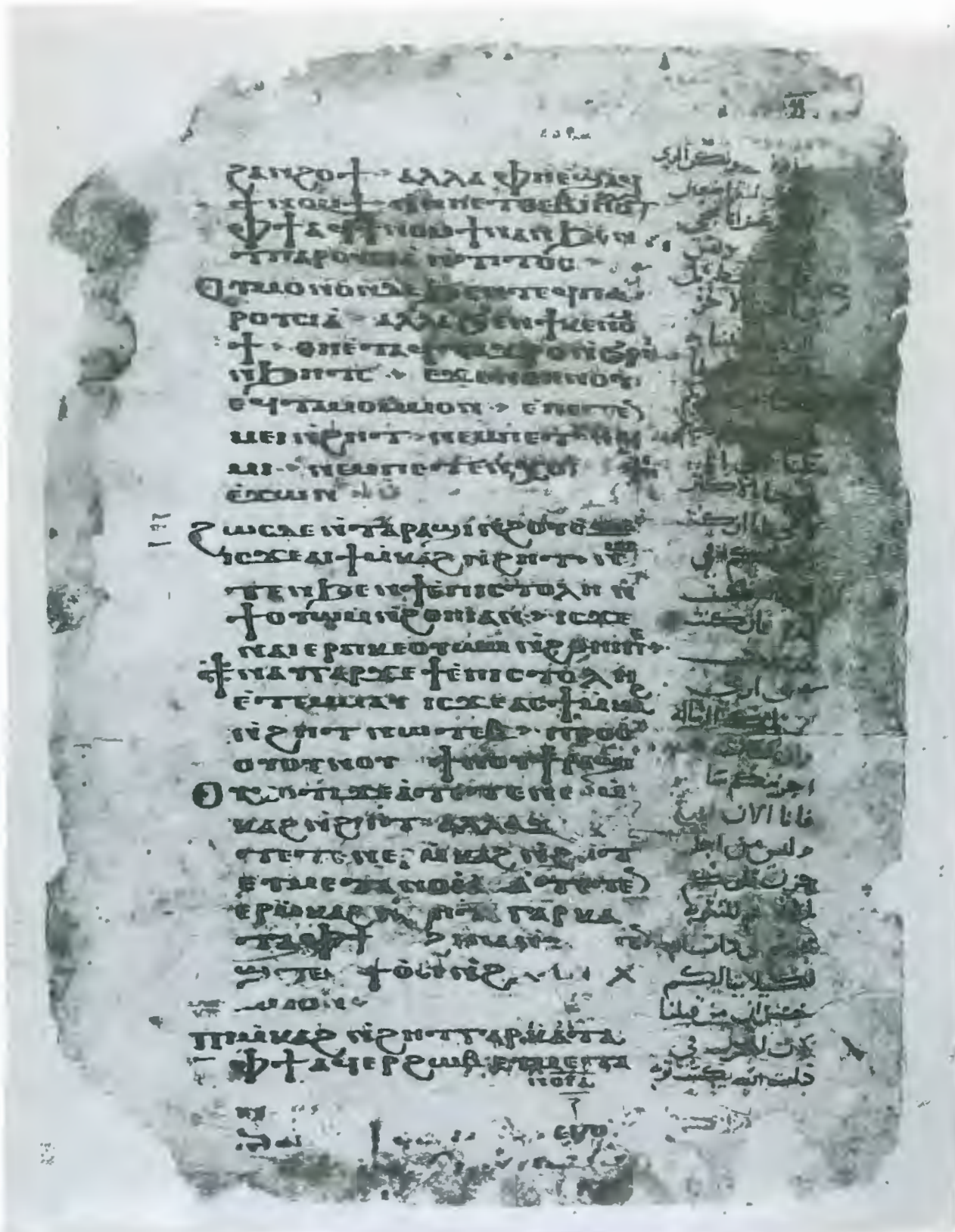


Wood lintel N° 753, Coptic Museum Cairo

PLATE XIII



Wood lintel N° 753, Coptic Museum Cairo



zu JAN HELDERMAN, Ein christlicher Brief, in: *BSAC* 39, 2000, 119-122. Die Druckvorlagen (Photos) wurden durch das ‚Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen‘ in Amsterdam hergestellt. Die Handschriftenseite ist *recto* und *verso* beschriftet mit dem Text von 2 Kor., 6,18b.7,5 *recto* (mit einem Wort auf *verso* nämlich 2ΑΝ2Ο†) und 2 Kor. 7,5-10 *verso*.



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لوحة أ ، ب ( الرجوع الي ملحوظة المحرر )

### ملحوظة للمحرر

لاحظنا أننا تركنا خارج العدد السابق رقم ٣٩ ( ٢٠٠٠ ) ص ١١٩-١٢٢ لوحتين كانتا ضمن مقال البروفيسور يان هلدرمان " خطاب مسيحي " ولذا فقد وضعنا هاتين اللوحتين ( أ ، ب ) في آخر عددنا هذا حتي يتمكن قراؤنا من فصلهما وإضافتهما في العدد السابق . وقد أبلغنا البروفيسور هلدرمان أن الصور الخاصة بهذه اللوحات قد أخذها المعهد الملكي الهولندي بمدينة امستردام . المخطوط مكتوب وجهاً وظهرأ بالنص البحيري والعربي ( ٢ كو ٦ : ١٨ ) في الوجه ( وكلمة واحدة في الظهر ) و ( ٢ كو ٧ ، ٥ : ١٠ ) .

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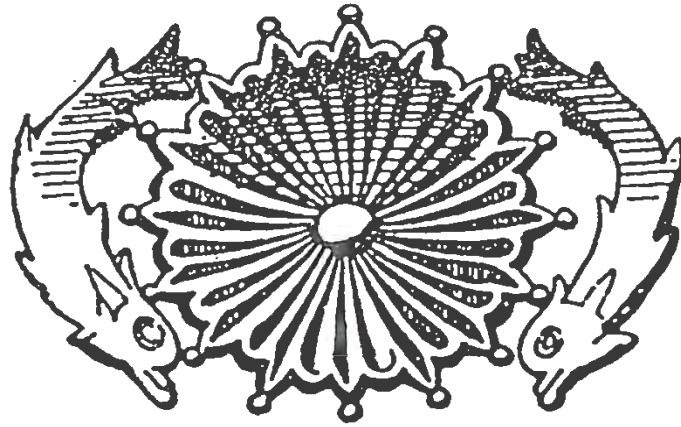
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