

NOTES TO THE VERSION OF THE COPTIC TEXT

PREFACE

<sup>1</sup>The denomination "the Apostolic" is the standard title of Athanasius in the Coptic Church. For an explanation of the title, cf. Severus, History of the Patriarchs, Part I, chap. VIII, PO I, p. 403; Constantine of Siout, Encomion of Athanasius I, 10; II, 4-6; ed. by T. Orlandi, Constantini Episcopi urbis Siout Encomia in Athanasium duo, CSCO 349/Copt. 37 (Louvain, 1974), pp. 4; 23-24; version in CSCO 350/Copt. 38 (Louvain, 1974), pp. 3; 15.

<sup>2</sup>Lev 21:9

<sup>3</sup>Exod 19:22. The passage is also used in Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §§1;5.

<sup>4</sup>The exile in the island of Urbatos, unknown in the Greek sources, is well known in Coptic tradition, where it is always considered the place of Athanasius' second exile. Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, Encomion of Athanasius, in Orlandi, Testi copti, p. 36 (text); pp. 67-69 (version); The Life of Athanasius, ibid. pp. 89-91 (text); 121-24 (version). The Life describes with some detail Athanasius' exile in the island. Athanasius' homily On the Nativity, in Lefort, "L'homélie de S. Athanase," pp. 15 (text); 209 (version), without mentioning Urbatos, speaks of "the dangers of the sea, with the storm, the exiles with the cold dark dungeons and the prisons, and how we were thrown to

the depth of the sea," all features which fit well the description in the Life. Cf. also the comments by Orlandi in Testi copti, pp. 152-55. The place itself has not been located, and the tradition is likely to be legendary.

<sup>5</sup>A deacon named Arsenius joining the Arian party is mentioned also in the Encomion of Athanasius attributed to Cyril, cf. Orlandi, Testi copti, p. 25, lines 9-13: "They sought Lucius and those who were with him, and threw them out of the Church. They found an ambitious deacon, named Arsenius, who was in agreement with them, and they estranged him from the Church with all the heretics." The episode seems to be the same alluded to in the present text, although in the Encomion it is placed before the first exile of Athanasius. Cf. also Constantine of Siout, Encomion of Athanasius I, 20; II, 19-20, ed. by Orlandi, CSCO 349/Copt. 37, pp. 8; 30-32 (text); CSCO 350/Copt. 38, pp. 5; 19-20. Arsenius is also probably the name meant in the corrupt reading او جانيوس in Severus, History of the Patriarchs, PO I, p. 413. This Arsenius is to be identified with the Arsenius who accused Athanasius at the council of Tyre, cf. Socrates, Hist. Eccl. I, 27 (PG 67:156); Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. II, 23, 25 (PG 67:993-96; 1004); Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. I, 15-17 (GCS 19, pp. 85-87). Socrates and Theodoret, however, consider him as a bishop in communion with the Meletians. In any case, the betrayal of this deacon must have become famous in local tradition,

for the Second Arabic Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius begins with a fantastic narrative of the plot of Athanasius' deacon, this time without giving his name. Cf. MS Vat. Ar. 158, ff. 100r.-102r.

<sup>6</sup>On Lucius, the third Arian bishop intruding in the see of Alexandria, cf. Epiphanius, Panarion, 49 (PG 42:201); Socrates, Hist. Eccl. III, 4 (PG 67:387); Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. VI, 38 (PG 67:1410-12); Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. IV, 15, 4-8; 19, 3-13; 23 (ed. by L. Parmentier, GCS 19, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 236; 247; 261); Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. XXV, 11-13 (ed. by J. Mossay, SC 284, Paris, 1981, pp. 180-89). Among the Coptic sources, cf. Cyril, Encomion of Athanasius, in Orlandi, Testi copti, pp. 22, line 12; 24, line 1; 25, lines 1-9; 36, line 30 (text); 58-60; 69 (version); Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria, vol. I, ed. by Orlandi, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità XVII (Milano, 1967), p. 30, line 12 (text); p. 61 (version). A readable synthesis of Lucius' career is to be found in W. Besant, "Lucius (11)," DCB III (London, 1882), p. 753-54.

<sup>7</sup>Greek topos. On the many churches dedicated to St. Michael in Egypt, cf. C.D.G. Müller, Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 31-32.

<sup>8</sup>I.e., November 8th. Cf. R. Basset, ed., Le Synaxaire arabe Jacobite (rédaction copte), II. Les mois de Hatour et

de Kihak, PO III, p. 279; Müller, Engellehre, p. 15; The Book of the Installation of Michael, 5-6; 12, in Müller, Die Bücher, CSCO 225/Copt. 31, pp. 18-19; 38-40 (text); CSCO 226/Copt. 32, pp. 20-21; 47-49 (version).

I

<sup>1</sup>Ps 125:1-3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jud 13.

<sup>3</sup>One could also read: that is, our enemies, the heretics.

<sup>4</sup>On George, another of the Arian bishops usurping the see of Alexandria, cf. Socrates, Hist. Eccl. II, 14, 28; III, 2 (PG 67:210-12; 272-76; 380-81); Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. III, 7 (PG 67: 1049-52); Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. II, 14 (ed. by L. Parmentier, GCS 19, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 125-28); Rufinus, Hist. Eccl. I, 19 (PL 21:492); Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. XXI, 15-16 (ed. by J. Mossay, SC 270, Paris, 1980, pp. 140-44); Philostorgios, Hist. Eccl. III, 3, 12; VII, 2, 33 (ed. by J. Bidez, CCS 21, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 32, 77, 227). Among the Coptic sources, cf. Cyril, Encomion of Athanasius, in Orlandi, Testi copti, p. 26, line 12; version on p. 61; Orlandi, Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria, vol. I, pp. 30-32 (text); 61-62 (version). Cf. also ibid., pp. 80-82 on the difficulties of putting together the Coptic accounts and the Greek sources.

<sup>5</sup>The seven years could refer either to the second exile (Easter 340-November 23rd 346) or to the third (January 356-February 362), if one goes by the Greek sources. In the present context, however, it must refer to the second exile according to Coptic tradition.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Luke 23:42.

<sup>7</sup>Literally, "whose interpretation." The word is used in gnostic literature to give the meaning of a divine or magic name.

## II

<sup>1</sup>The troubles described in the final part of the work are anticipated already as a chastisement for the deviation of the Holy faith and for the conduct of the leaders of the Church. Doubtless, behind the Arians mentioned here one should read the Chalcedonians. It is to them (and to those who would yield to their propaganda "for the sake of human glory, and for the sake of power") that the following anathemas are directed. Still, these warnings were more appropriate for the time of persecution immediately preceding the Arab conquest, during the days of the patriarch Cyrus, than after the conquest.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Luke 12:1, 15.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. 1 Tim 4:1.

<sup>4</sup>The passage missing probably contained the Scriptural reference.

<sup>5</sup>Kathaireō involves a permanent canonical suspension of ecclesiastical functions, different from excommunication and from a temporary suspension. Cf. Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon, s.v.

III

<sup>1</sup>1Pe 5:1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Gal 6:5.

<sup>3</sup>Another possible translation is: "Else, do not let..."

<sup>4</sup>Text restored from C and the Arabic version.

<sup>5</sup>Matt 5:13.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Matt 5:14.

<sup>7</sup>ⲁⲗⲁⲖ is the usual spelling of this name in the Sahidic Bible, cf. Ciasca, Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica, I, p. 60 (ad Lev 10:1).

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Lev 10:1-2; Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §1; Athanasius, On the Nativity; in Lefort, "L'homélie de S. Athanase," pp. 38, lines 16-17 (test); 228 (version).

<sup>9</sup>This idea appears also in the homily of Benjamin I On the Wedding Feast at Cana, cf. C.D.G. Müller, Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Schriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I. von Alexandrien, Abhandlungen der

Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philo-  
historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1968, 1. Abhandlung  
(Heidelberg, 1968), p. 258: †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΑΚ ΩΠΑΙΩΤ ΧΕ  
ΑΜΩΥΧΗC ΦΗ ΕΤΑΥCΑΧΙ ΝΕΜ Φ† ΝΦΟ ΝCΟΠ... ("I tell you, O  
my father, that Moses, who spoke with God five hundred and  
seventy times...").

<sup>10</sup>The background of the expressions used here is the  
old Christian idea that the sacrifices of the OT were only  
a "type" of the sacrifice of Christ, which is their "ful-  
fillment," or their "consummation" (cf. already Heb 8-10,  
where this idea is developed). But the use of teleion  
without further qualification for the eucharistic sacrifice  
does not seem to have been common in early Christianity  
(this usage is not attested in Lampe, Patristic Greek  
Lexicon, sub voce). For a Coptic example of the term in  
the same context, cf. Athanasius, On the Nativity, in  
Lefort "L'homélie de S. Athanase," p. 33, line 6: The Magi  
and the shepherds saw only the little baby, while ΑΝΘΝ  
ΣΩΩΝ ΟΥΝΤΑΝ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΤΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΝΘΕΩΡΗ  
ΜΜΟΥ ΣΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΕΥΚΗ ΣΙΧΝΤΕΤΡΑΠΙΖΑ  
("while we have the perfect teleion, we see him with our  
eyes laid on the altar.").

<sup>11</sup>Cf. 1 Sam 2:12-36; 4:11. A passage very close to  
the thoughts expressed here is to be found in Riedel and  
Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §5. Cf. also Kuhn, Pseu-  
do-Shenoute on Christian Behaviour, XXII, 2-6, CSCO  
206/Copt. 29, pp. 36-37 (text); CSCO 207/Copt. 30, pp.  
33-34 (version).

<sup>12</sup>A possible restoration of the lacunae here (the passage is not reflected in the Arabic) would be: "when we are negligent in instructing the people rightly. Look, therefore, what sort of destruction came upon the sons of Levi..."

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Heb 8:5.

<sup>14</sup>Exod 19:22.

<sup>15</sup>Other prohibitions for the priests to have two measures, in Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §§ 6, 9, 21, 55, and in Kuhn, Pseudo-Shenoute on Christian Behaviour, XXIII, 7: "They (the priests) shall not keep two weights in their houses, nor two ephah, a small one for selling and a great one for buying."

#### IV

<sup>1</sup>This paragraph has a very close parallel in Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §5.

<sup>2</sup>Exod 19:22.

<sup>3</sup>The conception according to which the angels are present at the liturgical assemblies is an old Christian idea. Cf. already 1 Cor 11:10. It existed already in Qumran circles, cf. 1 Q28a, II, 3-9, and J.A. Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11:10," in J. Murphy-O'Connor, ed., Paul and Qumran (London, 1968), pp. 31-47. Among the Coptic sources, cf. A. van Lantschoot,



"Les textes palimpsestes de B.M., Or. 8802," Mus 41 (1928), 236-37.

<sup>4</sup>"Christ's gift" refers to the ordination. On simoniac ordinations, cf. below, XI, 1 (f. 73va.-b.), 4 (f. 74va.-b.). Also Ewa Wipszycka, Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 10 (Bruxelles, 1972), p. 95, note 2.

<sup>5</sup>For the obligations of the bishop toward the poor, cf. Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §§ 14, 16, and Ewa Wipszycka, Les ressources, pp. 110-119.

<sup>6</sup>"Finger" is not to be taken here as a measure, so that it would mean "a drop, a small quantity of water," in spite of Crum, Dictionary, 397b. Cf. Luke 16:24: " ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος."

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Luke 16:19-31.

<sup>8</sup>For references in the papyri to laborers hired by the hierarchy of the Church, cf. Ewa Wipszycka, Les ressources, pp. 103-109. Cf. also Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, § 21.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Matt 22:13. For the obligations of the clergy toward the poor, cf. Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §§ 47, 56, 69, 70.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Hos 4:9.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Titus 1:7-9; 1 Tim 3:2.

<sup>12</sup>Heb 12:23.

<sup>13</sup>Phil 3:20.

V

<sup>1</sup>Matt 7:2 par. Although the tone of the exhortation in the following section is very general, and could be applied to anyone within the Church, the specifications given in V, 4 ff. show that the homily is still addressing the clergy.

<sup>2</sup>Matt 6:9.

<sup>3</sup>Matt 6:12.

<sup>4</sup>For the strict interdictions of usury to the clergy, cf. the references in Ewa Wipszycka, Les ressources, p. 157, note 3.

<sup>5</sup>A certain parallel to the thoughts expressed here and in the following paragraphs is to be found in Pachomian catechese, cf. Lefort, Oeuvres de S. Pachôme, CSCO 159/Copt. 23, pp. 14-17 (text); CSCO 160/Copt. 24, pp. 15-18 (version). In turn, this text summarizes part of a text attributed to Athanasius, his Letter on Charity and Temperance, cf. Lefort, S. Athanase. Lettres festales, CSCO 150/Copt. 19, pp. 113-117 (text); CSCO 151/Copt. 20, pp. 91-94 (version). Cf. also Lefort, "S. Athanase écrivain copte," Mus 46 (1933), 1-33. The parallelism with those texts, however, does not go beyond what can be expected in dealing with a similar subject matter.

<sup>6</sup>Matt 6:12.

<sup>7</sup>Orlandi, Omèlie copte, 78, translates: "Forse che suo marito ne ha bisogno?" (reading ΠΕ.ΣΔΙ ). For ΠΕ.ΣΔΙ in the sense of χρέος in legal contexts, cf. Crum, Dictionary, 383a. In our translation, also, ΜΜΟΥ refers back to ΣΝΔΔΝΙΣΤΗC , which is plural, while Orlandi's version seems to have ΝΤΕΥω as an antecedent.

<sup>8</sup>Matt 6:12.

<sup>9</sup>Ps 5:7.

<sup>10</sup>Matt 5:23-24.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Mark 15:19.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Mark 15:23; Matt 27:48; Luke 23:36.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Luke 22:64; Matt 26:67-68; John 18:22.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. John 19:34.

<sup>15</sup>Luke 23:34.

<sup>16</sup>Matt 5:44.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Rom 12:18; Heb 12:14.

<sup>18</sup>Matt 25:40.

## VI

<sup>1</sup>For the intercessory function of Michael, cf. the Book of the Installation of Michael, in Müller, Die Bücher, CSCO 225, pp. 20, line 14 - 22, line 4; 30, lines 1-10; 48, line 11 - 57, line 33 (text); CSCO 226, pp. 25-27; 36-37; 59-69 (version); Müller, Engellehre, pp. 10-11; 18-20.

<sup>2</sup>The episode alluded to here is the fall of the first angel, called in the Book of the Installation of Michael "Mastema," and the appointment of Michael to occupy his place. Cf. Müller, Die Bücher, CSCO 225, pp. 10, line 27 - 14, line 3; 16, line 18 - 18, line 11; 48, lines 18-20 (text); CSCO 226, pp. 13-16; 20-21; 59 (version).

<sup>3</sup>Probably referring to the dwelling places assigned to the devil before his fall. But it could also mean "God's dwelling places."

<sup>4</sup>Although this expression may have its roots in the Bible (cf., for instance, Ps 102:8), it sounds very much like the Muslim formulae: الرحمان الرحيم (Qur'ān, Sura 1:1, and passim), or الغفور الرحيم (Qur'ān, Sura 2:183, and passim).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. 2 Cor 6:7.

<sup>6</sup>On the two weekly fasts, cf. Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §§ 31, 49.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. 1 Thess 4:5, and also Riedel and Crum, The Canons of Athanasius, §§ 6, 8, 42.

<sup>8</sup>Lev 21:9.

<sup>9</sup>We were not able to find any such command in the OT. Cf., however, Lev 22:12. But perhaps the text is corrupt here. The arabic has اذا زنت, "when she has fornicated," which makes much better sense. This is what Orlandi, Omèlie copte, p. 81, translates also.

<sup>10</sup>Referring to the Chalcedonian creed.