

“WHOEVER WRITES YOUR LIFE-STORY, I WILL WRITE HIS NAME
IN THE BOOK OF LIFE.” THE ARABIC *LIFE OF ANTONY*
ATTRIBUTED TO SERAPION OF THMUIS
IN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RED SEA MONASTERIES

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des philosophischen Doktorgrades an der Philosophischen
Fakultät der GeorgAugust-Universität Göttingen

vorgelegt von

Elizabeth Agaiby

aus Rabaul, PNG

Göttingen, 2016

1. Gutachterin: Prof. Dr. Heike Behlmer
2. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Sebastian Günther

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Antonius der Große hat die Gedanken- und Bilderwelt von Christen von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart geprägt. Der Erfolg seiner Vita, die Athanasius von Alexandria zugeschrieben wird, erhob Antonius über andere zeitgenössische Asketen und etablierte ihn in der gesamten christlichen Welt als „Vater des Mönchtums“. Die Vita Antonii wird immer noch als primäre Quelle für die Erforschung des Antonius und seines monastischen Umfelds angesehen.

Allerdings existiert eine weitere, Serapion von Thmuis zugeordnete Vita des Antonius, die bislang kaum berücksichtigt worden und unveröffentlicht geblieben ist. Ursprünglich wurde sie um das 13. Jahrhundert auf Arabisch verfasst und erlangte schnell mehr Popularität und Wirkungsmacht in den ägyptischen Klöstern als die Vita des Athanasius. Von dem 14. bis zur Mitte der 20. Jahrhundert erwarb sie nicht nur breite Akzeptanz, sondern gewann auch die Autorität eines liturgischen Textes.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung hat zwei Ziele: (1) anhand einer Edition, Übersetzung und Analyse der Serapion von Thmuis zugeschriebenen Vita des Antonius den möglichen Ursprüngen dieser Tradition nachzugehen und zu untersuchen, wie sie die Um- und Neuinterpretation des religiösen Gedenkens an Antonius dokumentiert, und (2) eine Beschreibung, Datierung und Typologie der Handschriften zu erstellen, die die arabische Version der Vita des Antonius in den Klöstern am Roten Meer überliefern, und somit neue Erkenntnisse über die Schreiberpraxis und die liturgischen Praktiken der Mönche, insbesondere vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, zu gewinnen.

For Joshua, Justine, and David

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge and thank my supervisors Professors Heike Behlmer and Malcolm Choat, and adjunct supervisors Professors Victor Ghica and Youhanna Youssef for their guidance and supervision during my research. I also wish to thank Professor Naguib Kanawati who has always been a source of inspiration and encouragement.

In February, May and December of 2015, the abbots of the monasteries of St Antony and St Paul granted me permission to access their libraries of manuscripts for the purpose of my research. I am deeply indebted to Bishop Yostos and Bishop Daniel for this privilege.

My research has also been greatly facilitated by the vicar of St Paul's Monastery, Fr Sawirus al-Anbā Būlā who has shown me constant support and encouragement, together with the librarians of the monasteries: Fr Mattias al-Anbā Būlā and Fr Dorotheus al-Anṭūnī. I benefitted greatly from their effective cooperation and friendship during this journey. I am also indebted to Bishop Epiphanius, the abbot of St Macarius' Monastery in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn for his kindness in providing me with digitised copies of manuscripts. Fr Misael al-Baramūsī, Fr Polycarpos Ava Mīnā, and Fr Zakka Labib were also incredibly gracious in providing me with digitised copies of manuscripts. I am also indebted to Hany Takla for his support and kind assistance in reviewing parts of this dissertation and providing me with many valuable resources, and Antonia St Demiana who graciously proof-read my work and always encouraged me along the way. Fr Wadi Awad from the Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies in Cairo, and Nabil Farouk from the Société d'archéologie Copte in Cairo provided many useful references for my work, and I wish to thank them. And finally, I owe an especially heavy debt of gratitude to Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī. This thesis could not have been possible without his constant support and enthusiasm, assistance, and generous help with translation. I am incredibly grateful.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my family. My parents Khalaf and Zeazaf Agaiby, my sisters Jackie and Nadine and their husbands Darryl De Abreu and Richard Gauci, and their beautiful children, Joshua and Justine De Abreu and David Gauci. Your encouragement and understanding through this process cannot be described in words. And Irene Hanna, Wahid Aziz, Ayman Na'im, Mervat Halaka, Fr Lazarus al-Anṭūnī, and Bishop Suriel, who are simply an extension of my family, I thank you for the constant support you have shown me along the way.

I wish to thank Macquarie University and the University of Göttingen for providing me with a cotutelle scholarship that has facilitated my years of study. I also thank St Athanasius College in Melbourne and the St Shenouda Society in Los Angeles for their generous grants that allowed me to participate in the IACS Congress in Claremont and the Christian Arabic Studies Congress in Rome in 2016. I wish to thank Dumbarton Oaks who accommodated me for a month in 2013 and allowed me access to the archives of Thomas Whittemore's expedition to the Red Sea monasteries in 1930.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	3
ABSTRACT	4
DEDICATION.....	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	6
TABLE OF CONTENTS	8
LIST OF FIGURES	17
LIST OF TABLES.....	21
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	22
A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION	24
INTRODUCTION	26
Organisation of the Thesis	27
CHAPTER 1 SOURCES: THE MANUSCRIPTS	30
1.1 The Textual Traditions of the <i>Life of Antony</i>	33
1.2 Manuscripts Containing a <i>Life of Antony</i> in Arabic	33
1.3 Popularity of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i>	43
1.4 An Overview of Antony in Liturgical Tradition.....	46
1.5 Manuscripts at the Red Sea Monasteries	47
1.6 Condition of the Manuscripts at the Red Sea Monasteries.....	51
1.7 Versions of the <i>Life of Antony</i> at the Red Sea Monasteries.....	51
1.8 The <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony</i> : Edition, Organisation and Presentation of the Text	52
CHAPTER 2 THE <i>PSEUDO-SERAPIONIC LIFE OF ANTONY</i> : “OLD WINE IN A NEW BOTTLE”.....	57
2.1 The <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i>	59
2.2 Possible Dating of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i>	59
2.3 Motive for “Rewriting” the <i>Life of Antony</i>	67
2.4 Style, Genre and Social Context.....	69
2.5 The Audience.....	71
2.6 The Redactor of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i>	74
2.7 The Redaction.....	76
2.8 Voices in the Text.....	79
2.8.1 Pseudo-Serapion	79
2.9 A Synoptic Overview	81
2.10 Commentary on the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony</i>	86
2.10.1 Proemium and Phase 1: The Beginning (ff. 3r–8v)	86
2.10.2 Phase 2: Start of Antony’s Ascetic Life (ff. 9r–10v).....	88

2.10.3	Phase 3: Antony Moves into the Inner Mountain (ff. 10v–24r).....	89
2.10.4	Phase 4: Antony Meets Paul the Hermit and Paul the Simple (ff. 24r–27r)	91
2.10.5	Phase 5: Antony the Wonder-Worker (ff. 27r–32r)	92
2.10.6	Phase 6: The Great Temptation (ff. 32v–47v).....	94
2.10.7	Phase 7: Athanasius and Antony Meet (ff. 48v–50r).....	95
2.10.8	Phase 8: Antony in Frankish Countries (ff. 50r–62r).....	96
2.10.9	Phase 9: Death of Antony (ff. 62r–66r).....	97
CHAPTER 3 CODICOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY AND SCRIBAL CONVENTIONS		104
3.1	Codicological Methodology	104
3.1.1	Watermarks	104
3.1.2	Transcriptions.....	106
3.1.3	The Chronological Order of Manuscripts	106
3.2	Descriptive Methodology	107
3.3	Summary of Findings.....	114
3.3.1	Text Structure.....	114
3.3.2	Scribal Convention.....	115
3.3.2.1	Scribal Conventions: Scribal Marks.....	117
3.3.2.2	Scribal Conventions: Correction Procedures	118
3.3.2.3	Scribal Conventions: Margin Justification.....	119
3.3.2.4	Scribal Conventions: Superscription and Subscription.....	119
3.3.3	Scribal Approach Toward the Base Text	120
3.3.4	Scribal Textual Modifications	120
CHAPTER 4 SCRIBAL ACTIVITY AND AN OVERVIEW OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE <i>LIFE OF ANTONY</i> IN ARABIC, IN THE RED SEA MONASTERIES		124
4.1	Manuscripts Containing a <i>Life of Antony</i> in Arabic in the Red Sea Monasteries	124
4.2	Contents of the Manuscripts.....	126
4.2.1	The Order of the Texts: Antony’s Position in the Hierarchy of Saints	130
4.2.1.1	Antony’s Pairing with Paul the Hermit.....	131
4.3	Observations Regarding the Contents	133
4.4	Other Observations.....	135
4.4.1	Colophons	135
4.4.2	Scribal Activity	142
4.4.3	Motives.....	143
4.4.4	Endowment Statements	144
4.4.4.1	Mobility of Monks	145
4.4.4.2	The Existence of a Library.....	146
4.5	Literacy of the Monastic Community	147

4.6	Scriptorium?	150
CHAPTER 5 A CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING A <i>LIFE OF ANTONY</i> IN ARABIC IN THE RED SEA MONASTERIES		
CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIONS		155
5.1	ST PAUL (HISTORY) 53	155
5.1.1	Physical Description	155
5.1.2	Contents	156
5.1.3	Colophons	156
5.1.4	Endowment	158
5.1.5	Layout	159
5.1.6	Writing	162
5.1.7	Punctuation and Decoration	165
5.1.8	Binding	166
5.1.9	Condition of the Manuscript	167
5.1.10	Observations	168
5.2	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 104	177
5.2.1	Physical Description	177
5.2.2	Contents	178
5.2.3	Colophon	178
5.2.4	Endowment	179
5.2.5	Layout	179
5.2.6	Writing	181
5.2.7	Punctuation and Decoration	184
5.2.8	Binding	184
5.2.9	Condition of the Manuscript	185
5.2.10	Observations	185
5.3	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 100	186
5.3.1	Physical Description	186
5.3.2	Contents	187
5.3.3	Colophon	187
5.3.4	Endowment	188
5.3.5	Layout	189
5.3.6	Writing	190
5.3.7	Punctuation and Decoration	191
5.3.8	Binding	192
5.3.9	Condition of the Manuscript	193
5.3.10	Observations	193
5.4	ST PAUL (HISTORY) 26	199

5.4.1	Physical Description.....	199
5.4.2	Contents	200
5.4.3	Colophon.....	200
5.4.4	Endowment	202
5.4.5	Layout	202
5.4.6	Writing	204
5.4.7	Punctuation and Decoration	206
5.4.8	Binding.....	207
5.4.9	Condition of the Manuscript	208
5.4.10	Observations.....	209
5.5	ST PAUL (HISTORY) 39	212
5.5.1	Physical Description.....	212
5.5.2	Contents	213
5.5.3	Colophon.....	214
5.5.4	Endowment	214
5.5.5	Layout	214
5.5.6	Writing	216
5.5.7	Punctuation and Decoration	218
5.5.8	Binding.....	218
5.5.9	Condition of the Manuscript	219
5.5.10	Observations.....	220
5.6	ST PAUL (HISTORY) 18	221
5.6.1	Physical Description.....	221
5.6.2	Contents	222
5.6.3	Colophon.....	222
5.6.4	Endowment	223
5.6.5	Layout	225
5.6.6	Writing	227
5.6.7	Punctuation and Decoration	228
5.6.8	Binding.....	230
5.6.9	Condition of the Manuscript	231
5.6.10	Observations.....	232
5.7	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 107	233
5.7.1	Physical Description.....	233
5.7.2	Contents	234
5.7.3	Colophon.....	235
5.7.4	Endowment	237

5.7.5	Layout.....	237
5.7.6	Writing.....	239
5.7.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	241
5.7.8	Binding	241
5.7.9	Condition of the Manuscript.....	242
5.7.10	Observations	243
5.8	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 193	244
5.8.1	Physical Description	244
5.8.2	Contents	246
5.8.3	Colophon	246
5.8.4	Endowment.....	246
5.8.5	Layout.....	247
5.8.6	Writing.....	248
5.8.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	250
5.8.8	Binding	251
5.8.9	Condition of the Manuscript.....	252
5.8.10	Observations	253
5.9	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 106	255
5.9.1	Physical Description	255
5.9.2	Contents	256
5.9.3	Colophon	256
5.9.4	Endowment.....	256
5.9.5	Layout.....	257
5.9.6	Writing.....	258
5.9.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	260
5.9.8	Binding	261
5.9.9	Condition of the Manuscript.....	261
5.9.10	Observations	262
5.10	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 153	264
5.10.1	Physical Description	264
5.10.2	Contents	265
5.10.3	Colophon	265
5.10.4	Endowment.....	265
5.10.5	Layout.....	265
5.10.6	Writing.....	267
5.10.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	269
5.10.8	Binding	270

5.10.9	Condition of the Manuscript	270
5.10.10	Observations.....	271
5.11	ST ANTONY (THEOLOGY) 178.....	274
5.11.1	Physical Description.....	274
5.11.2	Contents	275
5.11.3	Colophon.....	276
5.11.4	Endowment	276
5.11.5	Layout	276
5.11.6	Writing	278
5.11.7	Punctuation and Decoration	282
5.11.8	Binding.....	282
5.11.9	Condition of the Manuscript	282
5.11.10	Observations.....	283
5.12	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 108	285
5.12.1	Physical Description.....	285
5.12.2	Contents	286
5.12.3	Colophons	286
5.12.4	Endowment	287
5.12.5	Layout	288
5.12.6	Writing	290
5.12.7	Punctuation and Decoration	291
5.12.8	Binding.....	293
5.12.9	Condition of the Manuscript	293
5.12.10	Observations.....	294
5.13	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 99	307
5.13.1	Physical Description.....	307
5.13.2	Contents	308
5.13.3	Colophon.....	308
5.13.4	Endowment	309
5.13.5	Layout	310
5.13.6	Writing	311
5.13.7	Punctuation and Decoration	313
5.13.8	Binding.....	314
5.13.9	Condition of the Manuscript	314
5.13.10	Observations.....	315
5.14	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 105	317
5.14.1	Physical Description.....	317

5.14.2	Contents	319
5.14.3	Colophon	319
5.14.4	Endowment.....	319
5.14.5	Layout.....	320
5.14.6	Writing.....	321
5.14.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	323
5.14.8	Binding	323
5.14.9	Condition of the Manuscript.....	324
5.14.10	Observations	324
5.15	ST PAUL (HISTORY) 17	326
5.15.1	Physical Description	326
5.15.2	Contents	327
5.15.3	Colophon	327
5.15.4	Endowment.....	327
5.15.5	Layout.....	328
5.15.6	Writing.....	330
5.15.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	332
5.15.8	Binding	332
5.15.9	Condition of the Manuscript.....	333
5.15.10	Observations	334
5.16	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 102	334
5.16.1	Physical Description	334
5.16.2	Contents	336
5.16.3	Colophon	336
5.16.4	Endowment.....	337
5.16.5	Layout.....	337
5.16.6	Writing.....	339
5.16.7	Punctuation and Decoration.....	340
5.16.8	Binding	340
5.16.9	Condition of the Manuscript.....	341
5.16.10	Observations	342
5.17	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 97	345
5.17.1	Physical Description	345
5.17.2	Contents	347
5.17.3	Colophon	347
5.17.4	Endowment.....	347
5.17.5	Layout.....	348

5.17.6	Writing	350
5.17.7	Punctuation and Decoration	351
5.17.8	Binding.....	352
5.17.9	Condition of the Manuscript	352
5.17.10	Observations.....	354
5.18	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 93	356
5.18.1	Physical Description.....	356
5.18.2	Contents	357
5.18.3	Colophon.....	357
5.18.4	Endowment	357
5.18.5	Layout	358
5.18.6	Writing	359
5.18.7	Punctuation and Decoration:	361
5.18.8	Binding.....	361
5.18.9	Condition of the Manuscript	362
5.18.10	Observations.....	362
5.19	ST PAUL (HISTORY) 136.....	366
5.19.1	Physical Description.....	366
5.19.2	Contents	367
5.19.3	Colophons	368
5.19.4	Endowment	369
5.19.5	Layout	369
5.19.6	Writing	371
5.19.7	Punctuation and Decoration	373
5.19.8	Binding.....	374
5.19.9	Condition of the Manuscript	374
5.19.10	Observations.....	374
5.20	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 216	377
5.20.1	Physical Description.....	377
5.20.2	Contents	378
5.20.3	Colophon.....	378
5.20.4	Endowment	379
5.20.5	Layout	379
5.20.6	Writing	380
5.20.7	Punctuation and Decoration	382
5.20.8	Binding.....	382
5.20.9	Condition of the Manuscript	382

5.20.10	Observations	383
5.21	ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 219	384
5.21.1	Physical Description	384
5.21.2	Contents	385
5.21.3	Colophon	385
5.21.4	Endowment	385
5.21.5	Layout	385
5.21.6	Writing	387
5.21.7	Punctuation and Decoration	389
5.21.8	Binding	390
5.21.9	Condition of the Manuscript	390
5.21.10	Observations	391
	CONCLUSION	392
	APPENDIX 1	395
	APPENDIX 2	436
	APPENDIX 3	458
	APPENDIX 4	466
	APPENDIX 5	471
	APPENDIX 6	475
	APPENDIX 7	481
	APPENDIX 8	485
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	536

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1: Version of the <i>Life</i> by century	41
Fig. 1.2: Marginal notes in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 9	43
Fig. 1.3: Prologue in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105; (ff. 4r–4v).....	45
Fig. 1.4: The library of manuscripts in the Tower at St Antony’s Monastery, 1931/32.	55
Fig. 1.5: Inside the current library at St Antony’s Monastery, 2016.....	55
Fig. 1.6: Frontage of the library at St Antony’s Monastery, 2016.	55
Fig. 1.7: The ‘Street of Scribes’ at St Antony’s Monastery	55
Fig. 1.8: Storage of manuscripts in boxes in the Monastery’s Tower, 1931/32.....	56
Fig. 1.9: Current library at St Paul’s Monastery, 2016.	56
Fig. 1.10: Manuscripts with multiple catalogue numbers, at St Paul’s Monastery.	56
Fig. 1.11: The front of the library building at St Paul’s Monastery	56
Fig. 2.1: The Coptic monastic <i>qulunṣuwah</i>	101
Fig. 2.2: Commemorative inscription of the reconsecration of the ancient church of St Antony, 2003	102
Fig. 2.3: A votive lamb offered to the Monastery of St Antony	103
Fig. 2.4: Wall-paintings depicting Serapion of Thmuis	103
Fig. 3.1: “The Devil” in all its forms	118
Fig. 3.2: Conversion table of Coptic cursive numerals	123
Fig. 3.3: <i>Mastarah</i> at St Paul’s Monastery museum.....	123
Fig. 3.4: Writing direction in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17 for word replacement/insertion	113
Fig. 4.1: SA (<i>Lit.</i>) 526: Book of <i>Psalmodia</i>	132
Fig. 4.2: SA (<i>Lit.</i>) 518: <i>Book of Doxology</i>	133
Fig. 4.3: Examples of non-professional scribal work.....	149
Fig. 4.4: Iconographic “pairing” of Antony and Paul	152
Fig. 4.5: 18 th century miniature of Antony and Paul, SA (<i>Lit.</i>) 239.....	152
Fig. 4.6: Depictions of Paul the Hermit with tigers	153
Fig. 5.1: Watermarks identified in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	156
Fig. 5.2: Examples of foliation in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	156
Fig. 5.3: Line management in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	160
Fig. 5.4: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	161
Fig. 5.5: Examples of catchwords from SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	161
Fig. 5.6: Example of non-standard use of diacritical marks in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	163
Fig. 5.7: Examples of scribal corrections in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53	164
Fig. 5.8: Salient features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	165
Fig. 5.9: Decorative features employed in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	166
Fig. 5.10: Iota cross in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53	166
Fig. 5.11: Cover of SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53	167
Fig. 5.12: Example of damage in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53.....	168
Fig. 5.13: Catalogue entry 1931 and 1997, St Paul’s Monastery.....	176
Fig. 5.14: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104.....	177
Fig. 5.15: Examples of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104	178
Fig. 5.16: Differences in page layout in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104.....	179
Fig. 5.17: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104	180
Fig. 5.18: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104	180
Fig. 5.19: Examples of scribal correction in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104.....	183
Fig. 5.20: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104.....	183
Fig. 5.21: Decorative features employed in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 104.....	184
Fig. 5.22: Cover and bindings of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104	185

Fig. 5.23: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100	187
Fig. 5.24: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100	187
Fig. 5.25: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100.....	189
Fig. 5.26: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100.....	190
Fig. 5.27: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100.....	191
Fig. 5.28: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100.....	191
Fig. 5.29: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100	192
Fig. 5.30: Cover and binding of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100	193
Fig. 5.31: Back pastedown page and detail of the seal in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100.....	199
Fig. 5.32: Watermarks identified in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	200
Fig. 5.33: Example of foliation in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26.....	200
Fig. 5.34: Line management in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	203
Fig. 5.35: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	204
Fig. 5.36: Examples of scribal corrections in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26.....	205
Fig. 5.37: Salient features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	206
Fig. 5.38: Decorative features employed in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	207
Fig. 5.39: Cover and condition of SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	208
Fig. 5.40: Evidence of usage in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26.....	209
Fig. 5.41: Watermarks identified in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	213
Fig. 5.42: Examples of foliation in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	213
Fig. 5.43: Line management in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	215
Fig. 5.44: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	216
Fig. 5.45: Examples of scribal corrections in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39.....	217
Fig. 5.46: Decorative features employed in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	218
Fig. 5.47: Cover and condition of SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	219
Fig. 5.48: Modern handwritten notes in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39.....	220
Fig. 5.49: Watermark identified in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18.....	221
Fig. 5.50: Examples of foliation in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18.	222
Fig. 5.51: Line management in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18	226
Fig. 5.52: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18	227
Fig. 5.53: Salient features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18	228
Fig. 5.54: Decorative features employed in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18.....	230
Fig. 5.55: Cover and condition of SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18	231
Fig. 5.56: Watermark identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107	234
Fig. 5.57: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107	234
Fig. 5.58: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107.....	238
Fig. 5.59: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 107	239
Fig. 5.60: Scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107	240
Fig. 5.61: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107.....	240
Fig. 5.62: Decorative features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107	241
Fig. 5.63: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107	242
Fig. 5.64: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193	245
Fig. 5.65: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193	245
Fig. 5.66: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193.....	247
Fig. 5.67: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193.....	248
Fig. 5.68: Scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193	249
Fig. 5.69: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	250
Fig. 5.70: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193	251
Fig. 5.71: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193	252
Fig. 5.72: Watermark identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	255
Fig. 5.73: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106	255

Fig. 5.74: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	257
Fig. 5.75: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	258
Fig. 5.76: Scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	259
Fig. 5.77: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	260
Fig. 5.78: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	260
Fig. 5.79: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	262
Fig. 5.80: Detail of flyleaves that have been cut and index of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106.....	262
Fig. 5.81: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	264
Fig. 5.82: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	264
Fig. 5.83: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	266
Fig. 5.84: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	266
Fig. 5.85: Introductory formula to the <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	267
Fig. 5.86: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	268
Fig. 5.87: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	268
Fig. 5.88: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	269
Fig. 5.89: Cover and binding of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	270
Fig. 5.90: Invocatory note in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	271
Fig. 5.91: Incipits in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.....	272
Fig. 5.92: Comparison of upper covers.....	273
Fig. 5.93: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	274
Fig. 5.94: Examples of foliation in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	275
Fig. 5.95: Date in Coptic cursive numbers in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	276
Fig. 5.96: Line management in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	277
Fig. 5.97: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	278
Fig. 5.98: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	280
Fig. 5.99: Salient features in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	281
Fig. 5.100: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	283
Fig. 5.101: Examples of restored folios in SA (<i>Theol.</i>) 178.....	284
Fig. 5.102: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	285
Fig. 5.103: Examples of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	286
Fig. 5.104: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	288
Fig. 5.105: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	289
Fig. 5.106: Scribal Corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	291
Fig. 5.107: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	291
Fig. 5.108: Decorative features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	292
Fig. 5.109: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	294
Fig. 5.110: Seal of Buṭrus VII.....	306
Fig. 5.111: Example of a <i>waqf</i> by Buṭrus VII.....	306
Fig. 5.112: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	308
Fig. 5.113: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	308
Fig. 5.114: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	310
Fig. 5.115: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	311
Fig. 5.116: Scribal Corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	312
Fig. 5.117: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108.....	313
Fig. 5.118: Decorative features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	313
Fig. 5.119: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99.....	314
Fig. 5.120: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	318
Fig. 5.121: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	319
Fig. 5.122: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	320
Fig. 5.123: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	321
Fig. 5.124: Scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	322

Fig. 5.125: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105.....	322
Fig. 5.126: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105	323
Fig. 5.127: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105	324
Fig. 5.128: Watermarks identified in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	327
Fig. 5.129: Example of foliation in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17.....	327
Fig. 5.130: Line management in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	328
Fig. 5.131: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	329
Fig. 5.132: Detail of differences in hand in the catchwords.....	329
Fig. 5.133: Examples of scribal corrections in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17.....	331
Fig. 5.134: Salient features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	331
Fig. 5.135: Decorative features employed in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	332
Fig. 5.136: Cover and binding of SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	333
Fig. 5.137: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102	335
Fig. 5.138: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102	336
Fig. 5.139: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102.....	338
Fig. 5.140: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102.....	338
Fig. 5.141: Example of a scribal correction in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102	339
Fig. 5.142: Salient features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 17	340
Fig. 5.143: Decorative feature employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102.....	340
Fig. 5.144: Cover and binding of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102	341
Fig. 5.145: Similarities between SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102 and 99.....	344
Fig. 5.146: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97	346
Fig. 5.147: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97	346
Fig. 5.148: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97.....	349
Fig. 5.149: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97.....	349
Fig. 5.150: Scribal corrections and graffiti in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97	351
Fig. 5.151: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97.....	351
Fig. 5.152: Decorative features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97	352
Fig. 5.153: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97	353
Fig. 5.154: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93	356
Fig. 5.155: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93	357
Fig. 5.156: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93.....	358
Fig. 5.157: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93.....	359
Fig. 5.158: Examples of scribal errors in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93	360
Fig. 5.159: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93.....	360
Fig. 5.160: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93	361
Fig. 5.161: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93	362
Fig. 5.162: Similarities between SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93, 99 and 102.....	364
Fig. 5.163: Salient feature in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 93	366
Fig. 5.164 Watermarks identified in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136	367
Fig. 5.165: Example of foliation in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136.....	367
Fig. 5.166: Line management in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136	370
Fig. 5.167: Sewing technique in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136	370
Fig. 5.168: Scribal Corrections in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136.....	372
Fig. 5.169: Salient features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136	373
Fig. 5.170: Decorative features in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136.....	373
Fig. 5.171: Cover and condition of SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136.....	374
Fig. 5.172: Modern notes in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136.....	376
Fig. 5.173: Cave Church at the Monastery of St Paul, 1931/32.....	376
Fig. 5.174: Watermarks identified in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216	377
Fig. 5.175: Example of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216	378

Fig. 5.176: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216	379
Fig. 5.177: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216	380
Fig. 5.178: Scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216.....	381
Fig. 5.179: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216.....	382
Fig. 5.180: Cover and condition of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216.....	383
Fig. 5.181: Watermark in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219.....	384
Fig. 5.182: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219	386
Fig. 5.183: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219	387
Fig. 5.184: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219	388
Fig. 5.185: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219.....	389
Fig. 5.186: Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219.....	390
Fig. 5.187: Cover and binding of SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219.....	391

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Inventory of manuscripts containing a version of the <i>Life of Antony</i> in Arabic	35
Table 1.2: Manuscripts at the Red Sea monasteries.....	50
Table 2.1: Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic <i>Synaxarium</i> entries on Antony.....	62
Table 2.2: Synoptic Overview of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i>	81
Table 2.3: Antony's final commandments and the patriarch's Funeral Rite.....	99
Table 3.1: Examples of scribal textual modifications.....	121
Table 4.1: Inventory of manuscripts of the <i>Lives of Antony</i> in the Red Sea monasteries	125
Table 4.2: Manuscripts and their table of contents	127
Table 4.3: Names of scribes and patrons	140
Table 5.1: Similarities in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26 and SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100	211

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts and associated classifications cited frequently in the thesis, have been identified by the following abbreviations.

Ms / mss	Manuscript / manuscripts
AM	Anno Martyrum
SA	St Antony's Monastery Library
SP	St Paul's Monastery Library
(Hag.)	<i>Hagiographical Manuscript</i>
(Hist.)	<i>Historical Manuscript</i>
(Lit.)	<i>Liturgical Manuscript</i>
(Theol.)	<i>Theological Manuscript</i>
(Bibli.)	<i>Biblical Manuscript</i>

Primary sources cited frequently in the thesis, have been identified by the following abbreviations.

AP	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>
CM	<i>Coptic Life of Macarius</i> attributed to Serapion
HE	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> by Socrates
HL	<i>Lausiac History</i> by Palladius
HM	<i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i>
HP I	<i>History of the Patriarchs</i> , vol. 1
HP II/2	<i>History of the Patriarchs</i> , vol. 2, part 2
HP II/3	<i>History of the Patriarchs</i> , vol. 2, part 3
HP III/3	<i>History of the Patriarchs</i> , vol. 3, part 3
HP IV/1–2	<i>History of the Patriarchs</i> , vol. 4, part 1 and 2
SL	<i>Life of Antony</i> attributed to Serapion
VA	<i>Vita Antonii</i> attributed to Athanasius
VH	<i>Vita Hilarion</i> by Jerome
VP	<i>Vita Pauli</i> by Jerome

Works or entities cited in the thesis or bibliography have been identified by the following abbreviations.

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>BIHB</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut historique Beige de Rome</i>
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i>
<i>BHO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BSRGE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte</i>
<i>CCO</i>	<i>Collectanea Christiana Orientalia</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Coptic Encyclopedia.</i>
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>GCAL</i>	<i>Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur.</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>ICMR</i>	<i>Islam and Christian - Muslim Relations</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JEastCS</i>	<i>The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completes, series graeca.</i>

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

All names of historical figures and toponyms are transliterated in accordance with the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* transliteration rules, with the exception of the proper names *Athanasius*, *Macarius* and *Serapion* that are provided in their English form. Likewise the names *Antony* and *Paul* the Hermit are mentioned in their English form except when the content titles of their *Lives* in the Arabic manuscripts are quoted. Primary sources are quoted in their English or Latin title. For proper names and toponyms, English rules for capitalisation have been applied. I have provided the English form of personal names for those who have assisted me in my research.

God, we have heard with our ears. In the bloodless and fleshless conflict, and in the war with the fiends, an illustrious captain was the great Antony, who first trod the path of the monastic life, and boldly ran and came to the arena of the desert, and strove loyally, and emaciated his body through labours of asceticism, and with mind laid bare bravely stood up in line and engaged in combat against spirits of wickedness, and winnowed the thoughts of foul passions out of his mind like chaff, while, shutting the entrance in good fashion against vain glory, he both hid his virtues as in a closet and showed his good deeds to his God and the heavenly Father only: by whose prayers, Lord of all, grant to us also to put off and renew the old man, and to be admitted to find Thy great mercy.

Severus of Antioch, *On Father Antony*.¹

¹ Brooks 1911: 605-606.

INTRODUCTION

“Coptic religious memory is primarily textual.”² It relies on the place of memory, whether it is written words, images, architecture, landscapes, commemorations, or a person. These places of memory are often preserved by the “environment of memory,” that is, by those who remember and pass on their knowledge.³ Religious memory actively searches for meaning and its transmission involves foregoing what is not meaningful and inserting what seems more appropriate to the requirements of the moment.⁴

The Monastery of St Antony by the Red Sea is believed to be the site where Antony the Great lived and died, and over time it became the core of a monastic settlement that has existed continuously for the last sixteen hundred years.⁵ It has preserved and honours the place and memory of Antony’s ascetic endeavours and bears material witness to sustained devotion to the saint in the form of Late Antique and Medieval wall paintings, liturgical items, multiple phases of development and expansion, and a rich textual culture manifested in a wealth of manuscripts.

The *Life of Antony* attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria and existing in various textual traditions and linguistic manifestations, is not only considered the authoritative history on Antony and his community,⁶ but also the reference on ascetic discipline that would be read and emulated over generations, and thus testifies to the influence the text has had across both chronological and cultural divides.

However, Antony has another *Vita* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis that has hitherto remained overlooked and unpublished. This thesis examines the cultural memory of Antony by focusing on the redacted *Life of Antony* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis,⁷ which was most likely composed within the monastic environment in the 13th century. This *Life* testifies to the way religious memory has been reinterpreted to make it more relevant to the taste and mentality of the place and time.⁸ Furthermore, its composition and transmission functioned as a

² Naguib 1997: 133.

³ Naguib 1997: 134.

⁴ Kilani 1992: 45, 297.

⁵ Apart from a period of about nineteen years in the late 15th century when the Monastery was destroyed by Bedouins. See Meinardus 1961: 44-45; Gabra 2002: 174-175; and Swanson 2008: 52-53.

⁶ Rubenson 1995: 126. In addition to the *Vita*, references to Antony and his monastic environment are also contained in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, a letter by Serapion of Thmuis to Antony’s disciples, in the Pachomian literature, in the writings of Jerome and Rufinus, in the *History of the Monks of Egypt*, in Palladius’ *Lausiac History*, and in the historical works – *Ecclesiastical History* – by Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret.

⁷ Hereafter referred to as the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* or the redacted *Life*.

⁸ Efthymiadis 2011: 163.

“legitimising narrative”⁹ for Antony’s monastic community. The possible origins of the tradition will be explored via a first edition and translation of the text. This thesis will also present a typology of all the manuscripts that contain an Arabic version of the *Life of Antony* in the Red Sea monasteries of St Antony and St Paul, in the hope that it will offer new insights into the scribal and liturgical practices of the monks, in particular, from the 17th to 20th centuries. I have chosen to focus the codicological study on the manuscripts contained in both the Red Sea monasteries (rather than just at St Antony’s Monastery) because, apart from their geographic proximity and association with Antony,¹⁰ from at least the 5th century to the 19th century they were considered as one community with the same abbot residing over both.¹¹

Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter 1 begins with an overview of the textual traditions of the *Life of Antony*, followed by a general inventory of all manuscripts that contain a *Life of Antony* in Arabic. An overview of the Red Sea monasteries’ manuscripts and their current condition will then be brought into focus, before the text of the manuscript that will be used for the edition and translation of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* in this dissertation will be introduced.

The following chapter is devoted to the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*. Here I investigate the motives behind the composition, and discuss the possible dating of the text, who the intended audience was, and the identity of the redactor. A commentary of the text is presented in this chapter, however, it is by no means comprehensive; indeed to do so would require a separate study altogether. Rather, its aim is to present a preliminary overview that will be used toward establishing a more thorough documentation and critical text of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* in the future.¹² An edition and translation of the text is provided in Appendices 1 and 2.

Chapter 3 has a two-fold purpose. First, I provide a detailed description of the codicological method that will be employed in documenting the manuscripts that contain a version of the *Life*

⁹ Mikhail 2014: 175.

¹⁰ See Meinardus 1961: 91-95.

¹¹ Abū al-Makārim records that the Monastery of St Paul was reliant on the larger Monastery of St Antony for provisions as well as for Antonian priests to officiate their services. See Evetts 1895: 166-167. Furthermore, Pauline novices were sent to St Antony’s Monastery for their spiritual training and returned back to St Paul’s after having gained experience in ascetical life. For the most recent scholarship on St Paul’s Monastery, see Lyster 2008, and for St Antony’s Monastery, see Bolman 2002.

¹² It is the intention of the author to carry out in the future a critical edition of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*.

of *Antony* in Arabic in the Red Sea monasteries. Second, I summarise the key findings on the scribal conventions that were identified during the codicological documentation process.

The next chapter continues this theme by exploring scribal practices and considering to what extent the scribes adhered to established conventions. I explore here whether scribes only served “the mechanical function of text reproduction,”¹³ or had the freedom to display individuality in the process of copying, and at times modifying texts. Finally, by examining the contents of manuscripts and identifying where scribes positioned the *Life* among the collection of texts, it is possible to comment on how Antony was viewed in Coptic liturgical tradition.

Chapter 5 provides a detailed codicological description of all twenty-one manuscripts that contain an Arabic version of the *Life of Antony* in the Red Sea monasteries. The descriptions are presented in chronological order according to the date when transcription was completed. In this chapter, I describe in detail the structure of the manuscripts and their materials of construction in the hope that this new information will shed light on the history of book culture and libraries in the Red Sea monasteries. The “Observations” documented in this chapter will highlight to what extent scribal networks – ecclesiastical, communal, and/or individual – provided the framework by which the redacted *Life* was copied, propagated, and disseminated throughout Egypt. To provide boundaries for my study, I have chosen not to construct a *stemma codicum*, although such a study will be necessary when a critical edition is undertaken as a future project.

The conclusions reached in this study are presented in the final chapter.

Eight appendices are included. Appendix 1 and 2 provide the edition and translation of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* based on Ms SP (*History*) 53. Appendix 3 and 4 are the text and translation of the two *Expositions*¹⁴ on Antony that have been recited in the Monastery of St Antony from the 17th century to the present day. Appendix 5 contains a synoptic overview of the shorter Pseudo-Serapionic version of the *Life* as found in the *Bustān al-Ruhbān*.¹⁵ A summary of Islamic references found in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* are presented in Appendix 6, and Appendix 7 offers a high-level overview of some of the modifications in the various

¹³ Haines-Eitzen 2000: 9.

¹⁴ The oldest extant manuscript in the Red Sea monasteries containing an *Exposition* on Antony is SA (*Lit.*) 237, dated 19 Bashans 1376 AM (27 May 1660 AD).

¹⁵ “*Garden of Monks*” which is the Arabic version of the *Paradise of the Fathers*.

recensions of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* from the 17th to the 20th century. Finally, Appendix 8 contains a table of all the original and standardised texts that are referenced in Chapter 5.¹⁶

¹⁶ Chapter 5: “A Codicological Description of Manuscripts Containing the *Life of Antony* in Arabic, in the Red Sea Monasteries.

CHAPTER 1

SOURCES: THE MANUSCRIPTS

Samuel Rubenson, writing about the early monastic movement in Egypt and the lack of published Arabic texts relating to it, commented that “there are apparently a number of different *vitae* of Antony in Arabic, and an investigation is urgently needed [on them].”¹

During my research, I identified three different *vitae* of Antony in Arabic: (1) a translation of the *Greek Life of Antony* attributed to Athanasius (or its Sahidic version), hereafter referred to as the *Athanasian Life*; (2) a redacted version attributed to Serapion of Thmuis, hereafter referred to as the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, or redacted *Life*; and (3) an abridged version of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* contained in the *Bustān al-Ruhbān*, hereafter referred to as the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life*.

The aim of this chapter is three-fold: to present an summary of the various textual traditions containing a *Life of Antony*; to present an overview of the manuscripts containing a *Life of Antony* in Arabic,² and to introduce the text of the manuscript that will be used for the edition and translation of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* in this dissertation, together with the associated schema applied in presenting the text.

1.1 The Textual Traditions of the *Life of Antony*

The *Life of Antony* is best known in the *Greek Life* attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria. This Athanasian version is preserved in many manuscripts,³ and translations of the work are extant in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Slavonic, and Armenian.

The *Greek Life*⁴ is represented by the largest number of manuscripts; over 150 in total.⁵ They date from the 9th century⁶ to the early 17th century.⁷ Gérard Garitte undertook the work to divide

¹ Rubenson 1990-1991: 45.

² The inventory that follows excludes manuscripts containing the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life*.

³ The bibliography on the VA is vast. Selected general studies include: Bartelink 1994: 27-108; Brakke: 1994: 29-53; Rubenson 1995: 126-144; Brakke 2001: 1-30; Vivian and Athanassakis 2003; Harmless 2004: 57-113; Wipszycka 2009: 227-280; and Gemeinhardt 2013.

⁴ CPG 2101; BHG 140; PG 26: 837-976.

⁵ For a thorough discussion of the manuscripts of the *Greek Life*, see Bartelink 1994.

⁶ Vatican: Ms Codex Ottobonianus gr. 373.

⁷ Paris BN: Ms gr. 952.

the Greek version of the *Life* according to metaphrastic and non-metaphrastic versions, and observed that the majority of the Greek manuscripts preserve the VA in the metaphrastic redaction⁸ that was originally compiled by Simeon Metaphrastes in the 10th century.⁹ Gerhardus Bartelink produced the first critical edition of the *Greek Life* in 1994 based on fifty of the most complete manuscripts.¹⁰ His study together with Garitte's work demonstrated that there was a unified tradition across the metaphrastic and non-metaphrastic versions that contained very minor variation.¹¹

Although the manuscripts of the *Greek Life* are the most numerous, the Syriac version¹² bears witness to the oldest manuscript tradition. There are fourteen manuscripts that date from the 6th century¹³ to the 19th century, and a critical edition of these manuscripts was published by René Draguet in 1980 who noted that the *Life* in Syriac consists of a longer and shorter version that closely parallels the Greek text.¹⁴

There are also two translations of the *Life* in Latin,¹⁵ both of which were produced soon after the original composition of the *Greek Life*. The first is what is known as the "anonymous" translation and is a literal translation of the Greek. It is found in two extant manuscripts.¹⁶ Three critical editions of this version have been published. The first includes a French translation by Garitte in 1939, then another French translation by Henricus Hoppenbrouwers in 1960, and finally an Italian translation published by Bartelink in 1974.¹⁷

The second Latin translation was completed by Evagrius, and although not a literal translation, it nevertheless closely follows the *Greek Life*. The fact that this version exists in more than three hundred manuscripts, dating from the 9th to the 16th century, attests to its popularity more than the "anonymous" translation.¹⁸ The only critical edition of this version was undertaken by Pascal Bertrand in 2005 and published in German.¹⁹

⁸ Garitte 1942-1943: 5-29.

⁹ On Symeon Metaphrastes and his ten volume *Menologion* which lists saints' *Lives* according to a liturgical calendar marking the feast day of the saint, see Høgel 2002.

¹⁰ *PG* 26: 837-976; Bartelink 1994: 27-108.

¹¹ Bartelink 1994: 20.

¹² *BHO* 68.

¹³ British Museum: Ms Add. 14609, ff. 19r-44v; and Ms Add. 14646, ff. 1v-80r.

¹⁴ Draguet 1980. See also Schulthess 1894; Budge 1904; and Brakke: 1994: 29-53.

¹⁵ *BHL* 609.

¹⁶ Rome BN Vittorio Emanuele II: Ms Codex Farfensis 5, 13th century; and Vatican: Ms Codex Basilicanus A.2, 10th/11th century. See Gant 2008: 2-3.

¹⁷ See Garitte 1939; Bartelink 1974; and Hoppenbrouwers 1973: 80-95. For the most recent study on the *Anonymous Latin Life*, see Gant 2008.

¹⁸ Gant 2008: 2.

¹⁹ Bertrand 2005.

The Coptic version is preserved in only one extant 9th century manuscript in the Sahidic dialect,²⁰ and a few fragments.²¹ It was published by Garitte with a Latin translation in 1949, and an English translation was provided by Tim Vivian and Apostolos Athanassakis in 2003. Scholars attest that it is a literal rendering of the *Greek Life*.²² There is no literary record of the version in the Bohairic dialect but one must not rule out the possibility that a Bohairic version might have existed.

There are also several Oriental versions of the *Life* on which to date there has been little scholarship: Ethiopic,²³ Georgian,²⁴ Slavonic,²⁵ and Armenian.²⁶ However, scholars attest that all these versions have an apparent dependency on the *Greek Life*.²⁷

There is a sizable lacuna between the date of the 9th century Sahidic rendition of the *Greek Life* and the earliest attested Arabic translation of the *Greek Life* (found in a Coptic milieu) in the 17th century.²⁸ Thirteen manuscripts have been accounted for²⁹ containing the Arabic translation of the *Greek Life* and date between the 17th to the 20th century.

In contrast, sixty-six manuscripts have been identified containing a recension of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* in Arabic, dating from the 14th to the 20th century.³⁰ Yet, despite the apparent popularity of this version and the abundance of the manuscript tradition, it has hitherto received no attention from modern scholars, other than passing comments highlighting the need for its study.³¹ A brief comparative study by François Halkin was done in 1942 when he published Alphonse Bonhome's Latin translation of the Arabic redaction.³²

From a text-critical point of view, this thesis is intended as a preliminary step for establishing a critical edition of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* to understand its relationship to the other versions of the *Life*.

²⁰ Pierpont Morgan: Ms M579

²¹ Garitte 1949: ii-v.

²² Garitte 1949; Browne 1971: 59-64; Vivian 1994: 3-58; and Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 50-260.

²³ See Leloir 1984 : 9-11. On recent scholarship, see Zarzeczny 2013: 37-40; and Witakowski 2015: 201-204.

²⁴ Imnaišvili 1970.

²⁵ Otero 1979: 96-106.

²⁶ *BHO* 66-67; Tayeci 1899: 533-614.

²⁷ See Garitte 1956: 1-12; and Gruen 2005: 3-10.

²⁸ The earliest attested manuscript containing an Arabic translation of the *Greek Life* that was found in a Coptic milieu is Paris BN: Ms Arabe 257, 1673 AD: ff. 1r-37v (incomplete). In the Greek Monastery of St Catherine's at Mt Sinai there are three manuscripts containing an Arabic translation of the *Greek Life* that date to the 12th century.

²⁹ Found in a Coptic milieu.

³⁰ An inventory of the manuscripts will be presented in Chapter 1.

³¹ E.g., see Rubenson 1990-1991: 45; Zarzeczny 2013: 38; and Witakowski 2015: 201-202.

³² Halkin 1942: 143-212. See also Macellard et al. 1937.

1.2 Manuscripts Containing a *Life of Antony* in Arabic

The extant manuscripts containing a version of the *Life* in Arabic date from the 13th to the mid-20th centuries, and although there are several copies preserved in Egyptian monasteries and libraries outside of Egypt, none have ever been published. Scholars have referenced some manuscripts containing the *Life*, mainly in the collections of the Coptic Patriarchate and Museum in Cairo, and in the National Library in Paris, but no details were provided regarding the version.³³ Furthermore, there has been no classification of the manuscripts containing a *Life of Antony* in either of the Red Sea monasteries, or any monastery in Egypt.³⁴

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was composed sometime in the 13th century,³⁵ and by the 14th century it was incorporated in liturgical texts of the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches.³⁶ The account also made its way beyond Egypt through a translation into Latin that was done by the Spanish Dominican Alphonse Bonhome in 1341 AD, who found a copy of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* in the Coptic Monastery of St Antony at Famagusta in Cyprus.³⁷

The *Life* that was initially attributed to Serapion of Thmuis³⁸ differs considerably from the *Athanasian Life* due to numerous miraculous accounts and pious elaborations.

Seventy-nine manuscripts were located that contain a *Life of Antony* in Arabic:³⁹ forty-eight manuscripts inside of Egypt⁴⁰ and thirty-one manuscripts outside of Egypt.⁴¹ Of all seventy-nine manuscripts, thirteen contain the *Athanasian Life* in which the title in all of them specifically state Athanasius as being the author.⁴² Meanwhile, sixty-six manuscripts contain a

³³ CPG: 2502; Graf 1944: 459; Khater and Burmester 1973: no. 118/ (*Hag.*) 1; Simaika and ‘Abd al Masih 1939 : no. 114/48; Simaika and ‘Abd al Masih 1942: nos. 625/49, 633/52, 638/44, 660/58; Troupeau 1972: no. 257; Troupeau 1974, nos. 4781, 4782, 4788, 4791, 4883, 4884. See also Samir 1977: 186; and Sauguet 1987: 201.

³⁴ The only exception being the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. See Zanetti 1986: nos. (*Hag.*) 31, 20; and Zanetti 2006: 158.

³⁵ I will discuss dating in Chapter 2.

³⁶ E.g., the entry on Antony in the *Ethiopian Synaxarium* closely follows the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*. Details will be discussed in Chapter 2.

³⁷ See Burmester 1942: 9-13; Halkin 1942: 143-212; Halkin 1946: 511-14; Coquin and Martin 1991b: 1647-1648; Macellard et al. 1937.

³⁸ Anonymous attribution of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* mainly from the 17th century onwards.

³⁹ Excluding the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life* contained in the *Bustān*.

⁴⁰ This list is not exhaustive as I was unable to access all monastery libraries in Egypt, such as the library at the Syrian Monastery in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, and the various monasteries in Upper Egypt. Original manuscripts were consulted in the Red Sea monasteries, and digital copies were made available of the others.

⁴¹ Mss Paris Arab 257 and 4884 are incomplete or unfinished texts. See Graf 1944: 459; Troupeau 1972: no. 257 and 1974: no. 4884. Halkin noted fifteen manuscripts in Europe; mostly in Germany, containing fragments of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*. See Halkin 1942: 143-156.

⁴² For recent scholarship on the *Life of Antony* attributed to Athanasius, see Gemeinhardt 2013.

recension of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* of which six attribute the author as being Serapion bishop of Thmuis, and sixty have no attribution.⁴³

The locations of the manuscripts together with their associated versions are indicated below:⁴⁴

⁴³ See Naguib 1994: 229, who states that most hagiographical compositions had anonymous attributions.

⁴⁴ The table is organised alphabetically by region and then chronologically.

Table 1.1: Inventory of manuscripts containing a version of the <i>Life of Antony</i> in Arabic				
LOCATION	CATALOGUE REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTION/ACCOUNT	DATE (AD)	FOLIOS
<i>Eastern Desert</i>				
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 93	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	20 th c.	41v–115r
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 97	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.	6r–69v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 99	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1871	38r–98v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 100	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1708	1r–86r
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 102	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	1r–76v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 104	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1697	2r–53v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 105	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	4r–80v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 106	Athanasius	18 th c.	6v–95r
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 107	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1755	1r–70r
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 108	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1839	97r–158r
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 153	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.	162r–225v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 193	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.	71v–144v
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 216	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1958	1r–58r
St Antony's Monastery	Hist. 219	Athanasius	20 th c.	1r–76v
St Antony's Monastery	Theol. 178	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1801/2	141v–183r

St Paul's Monastery	Hist. 17	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	90r–158v
St Paul's Monastery	Hist. 18	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1745	3r–73v
St Paul's Monastery	Hist. 26	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1714	6r–76r
St Paul's Monastery	Hist. 39	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1741	1r–63v
St Paul's Monastery	Hist. 53	Serapion	1696	3r–66r
St Paul's Monastery	Hist. 136	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1920	1r–120v
<i>Cairo/Old Cairo</i> ⁴⁵				
Convent of St Mary, Ḥārat Zuwaylah	Ms 57	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	17 th c.(?)	no foliation
Church of St Mary, Ḥārat Zuwaylah	Ms 15	Serapion	17 th c.(?)	457v–521r
Church of St Mary, Ḥārat Zuwaylah	Ms 23	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	1r–66r
Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo ⁴⁶	Graf: Cairo 454; Simaika: Theol. 443/244	Serapion	18 th c.	216r–256r
Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo	Graf: Cairo 482; Simaika: Hist. 625/49	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1663/4	1r–65r
Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo	Graf: Cairo 498; Simaika: Hist. 660/58	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	17 th c.	2r–61v
Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo	Graf: Cairo 545; Simaika: Hist. 638/44	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.	127r–173v
Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo	Graf: Cairo 614; Simaika: Hist. 633/52	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1693	22r–67v
Coptic Museum in Cairo	Graf: Cairo 724; Simaika: Hist. 114/481a	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1773	21r–39v (fragment)

⁴⁵ I wish to thank Fr Polycarpus Ava Mīnā for providing me with copies of the manuscripts from Old Cairo.

⁴⁶ For manuscripts on Antony in the Coptic Patriarchate, see Graf 1944; Simaika and 'Abd al Masih 1942.

Church of St Shinūdah, Old Cairo	Hist. 17	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	7r–65v
Church of St Shinūdah, Old Cairo	Hist. 29	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	3r–63r
Qaṣriyat al-Riḥān, Old Cairo ⁴⁷	Hag. 118/1	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1729	175r–227v
<i>Lower Egypt</i> ⁴⁸				
Church of Abū Sayfayn in Kafr Salāma, Zaqaḏīq	Ms 15	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	150v–217r
Diocese of al-Munūfyā	Ms 125	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	319r–380r
Diocese of al-Munūfyā	Ms 149	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.(?)	3r–62v
<i>Wādī al-Naṭrūn</i> ⁴⁹				
Monastery of al-Baramūs	Ms 5/14	Athanasius	18 th c.(?)	123v–160v
Monastery of al-Baramūs	Ms 5/17	Athanasius	17 th c.(?)	no foliation
Monastery of al-Baramūs	Ms 5/38	Athanasius	1926	215v–292r
Monastery of al-Baramūs	Ms 5/47	Athanasius	17 th c.(?)	no foliation
Monastery of St Macarius	Hag. 31	Athanasius	18 th c.	3r–48v
Monastery of St Macarius	Hag. 20	Athanasius	1786	1v–79v
Monastery of St Macarius	Hag. 84 ⁵⁰	Serapion	1711	17r–67v

⁴⁷ For manuscripts on Antony in Qaṣriyat al-Riḥān, see Khater and Burmester 1973.

⁴⁸ I wish to thank Fr Misael al-Baramūsī for providing me with copies of the manuscripts from Lower Egypt.

⁴⁹ I wish to thank Bishop Epiphanius for providing me with copies of the manuscripts from St Macarius Monastery, and Fr Misael al-Baramūsī for providing me with copies of the manuscripts from al-Baramūs Monastery.

⁵⁰ However, it is important to note that Ms Hag. 84 was offered to the Monastery of St Macarius in 2005 by Mūrīs Mattā who had inherited it (together with other manuscripts he offered to the Monastery) from his grandfather who was a hegumen named Buṭrus. The colophon, dated 16 Hātūr 1428 AM, states that the manuscript was originally endowed to the church of the Virgin Mary in Ḥārat Zuwaylah. See Zanetti 2006: 158 and 180. I thank Bishop Epiphanius for bringing this to my attention.

<i>Upper Egypt</i> ⁵¹				
Diocese of Asyūt	Ms 15	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1847	3r–69v
Monastery of Archangel Michael, East Akhmīm	Ms 7	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.(?)	1r–66r
Monastery of al-Muḥarraḡ, Asyūt	Ms 9/20	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	3r–65r
Monastery of al-Muḥarraḡ, Asyūt	Ms 9/21	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.(?)	1r–63v
Monastery of al-Muḥarraḡ, Asyūt	Ms 12/28	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.(?)	48v–108r
<i>Outside Egypt</i>				
Laurentian Library at Florence	Laur. Med. Pal. 143	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	?
Leiden University	Leiden Or. 14326 ⁵²	Serapion	1520/21	23r–76r
Leipzig University	Leipzig Or. 1066–03	Serapion	1836	74r–118v
National Library of Florence	Arabe 37	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1638	26r–83v
National Library of Paris ⁵³	Arabe 4788	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1664	1v–57v
National Library of Paris ⁵⁴	Arabe 257	Athanasius	1673	1r–37v <i>(incomplete)</i>
National Library of Paris	Arabe 4883	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.	1r–58r
National Library of Paris	Arabe 4781	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	1r–65v
National Library of Paris	Arabe 4782	Athanasius	19 th c.	285r–369v

⁵¹ I wish to thank Fr Misael al-Baramūsī for providing me with copies of the manuscripts from Upper Egypt.

⁵² I am grateful to Hany Takla for providing me with a copy of this manuscript.

⁵³ For manuscripts on Antony in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, see Troupeau 1974 (excluding Arabe 257). I wish to thank Fr Zakka Labib for providing me with copies of the seven Paris BN manuscripts.

⁵⁴ See Troupeau 1972.

National Library of Paris	Arabe 4884	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	1r–43v <i>(unfinished)</i>
National Library of Paris	Arabe 4791	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	1r–88v
St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai ⁵⁵	Arab 444	Athanasius	1218	46 folios
St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai	Arab 536	Athanasius	1277	37 folios
St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai	Arab 441	Athanasius	12 th c.	44 folios
Valletta Public Library	Valletta Manuscript	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	1426	?
Vatican Library	Borgia Arabe 99	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	18 th c.	409v–473v
<i>Manuscripts containing fragments of the Pseudo-Serapionic recension.⁵⁶</i>				
Berlin State Library	Ms. Theol. F. 280	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c	74–91
British Museum	Add. 30972	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c	65–78
Convent of the Hermits of St. Augustine, Munich	Clm. 8395	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	1–6
Danzig City Library	Ms. Mar. F 42	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	12–13
Gymnasium Carolinum, Osnabrück	Ms. 11	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	298–302
Haarlem Diocesan Museum	Ms. 89	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	?	7–12

⁵⁵ The manuscripts at St Catherine's Monastery are downloadable from <http://www.e-corpus.org/> (accessed 16 March 2016)

⁵⁶ For details on what is contained within these fragments, see Halkin 1942: 143-156, especially pp. 155-156. The *verso/recto* foliation reference is not given.

Historical Archive of the City of Cologne	Ms. Wallraf 168	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	14 th c.	32–38
Klosterneuburg Monastery Library	Ms. 411	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	321–324
Monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, Diessen	CIm. 5681	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	51–81
Royal Library of Belgium	Ms. 8077–82	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	255–260
Saint Joseph University, Beirut	Ms. 482/912	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	17 th c.	281–382
Saint Joseph University, Beirut	Ms. 619/1147	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	19 th c.	168.
Trier City Research Library	Ms. 1143/722	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	14 th –15 th c.	116–126
Trier City Research Library	Ms. 1735b	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th c.	1–11
University of Münster	Ms. 432	anon. (Pseudo-Serapionic)	15 th –16 th c.	142–144

This table reveals a number of interesting points, the most important being that the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* enjoyed more popularity than the *Athanasian Life*, not just in the Red Sea monasteries, but throughout Egypt, including Old Cairo and Upper Egypt.⁵⁷ The rich manuscript tradition is a clear indicator of a sizeable readership. Secondly, the majority of the texts were transcribed between the 17th and 19th centuries; a period in which fifteen monks from the Red Sea monasteries were patriarchs of the Coptic Church in unbroken succession.⁵⁸ As we

⁵⁷ Of the several manuscripts Émile Amélineau acquired in 1887, were the Paris Arabe manuscripts referenced above containing the *Life of Antony* (Nos 4781, 4782, 4788, 4791, and 4883). These manuscripts came from Upper Egypt, and information contained in the catalogue of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale states that Amélineau both commissioned the copying of various manuscripts that were housed in the Monastery of St Antony in Luxor and brought them back to Paris. Thus, one may assume that the manuscripts in the Paris BN containing the *Life of Antony* in Arabic may have originated in the Monastery of St Antony in Luxor. See Troupeau 1974: 5, 47. Also see Swanson 2008: 144.

⁵⁸ This period of time, in particular the 18th century in which most of our manuscripts were transcribed, was a period in which “something of a cultural and educational awakening was taking place in Egypt”, not only in the restoration of churches and revival in the arts, but a revival in patronage and literary production. Magdi Guirguis observes that around 50% of all extant Coptic-Arabic manuscripts were transcribed in the 18th century (Guirguis

shall see in Chapter 3, information provided in colophons and endowment statements reveal that some of these patriarchs commissioned the copying and endowment of several manuscripts.⁵⁹ Thus, one may assume that some Antonian patriarchs chose to propagate the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* above that of the *Athanasian Life*, and if this was the case, then the text survived as much by “public demand” as by the important role that ecclesiastical politics and networks played in disseminating the text.⁶⁰ Thirdly, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* began achieving momentum from the 14th century, shortly after its composition.⁶¹ And finally, with the exception of one manuscript,⁶² all texts of the *Life of Antony* in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn monasteries contain the *Athanasian Life*. The Wādī al-Naṭrūn is the only region in Egypt in which the Athanasian prevailed over the Pseudo-Serapionic.

The following graph illustrates the popularity of version by century.

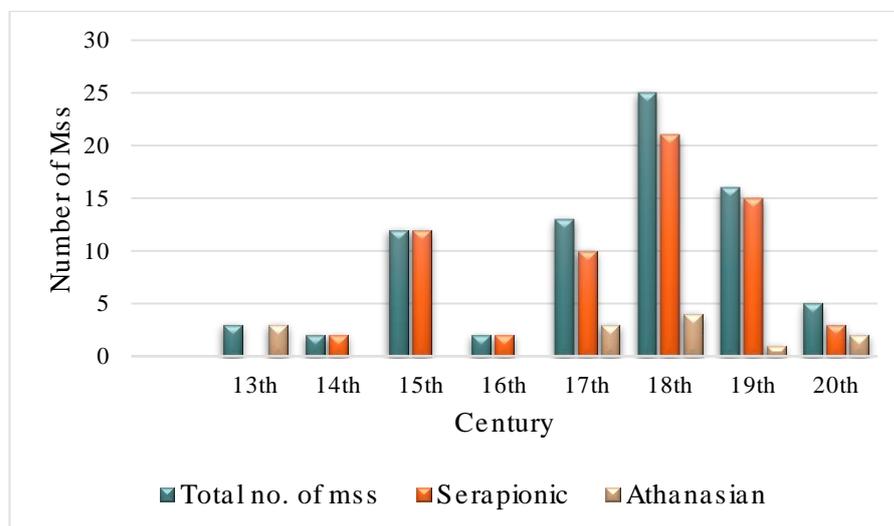


Fig. 1.1: Version of the *Life* by century

and Van Doorn-Harder 2011: 46, 221). Nelly Hanna explains that the proliferation of manuscripts produced from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries was due to a significant change in attitude in that people wanted not only to hear tales narrated but also to read them (Hanna 2010: 105). On the other hand, to understand the limitation of texts produced between the 14th and 16th centuries, one must consider the events which took place in Egypt during this time. Apart from the fact that the Red Sea monasteries suffered destruction in the late 15th century, according to historical sources, the Mamlūk period in Egypt (1250-1517 AD) experienced calamities of various kinds, from the bubonic plague in 1347-1349 AD that destroyed about a third of the Egyptian population, to periodic outbreaks of pneumonic plague. In fact, between 1347 and 1517 there were about twenty major epidemics. There were also natural disasters such as earthquakes and insufficient flooding of the Nile (in 1295, 1374, and 1403 AD) which led to inflation, and famine. And finally there were military threats from the Crusaders, the Mongols, Timur-Lenk, the Portuguese, and from the Ottomans. For a good overview of this period, see Swanson 2010: 100-102. See also Mikhail 2014: 174, who states that the late 14th and early 15th centuries were a period of monastic, literary, and demographic decline for the Coptic community as a whole.

⁵⁹ In particular, Yū’annis XVII (1726-1745 AD) and Butrus VII (1809-1852 AD). See Chapter 5 for more information.

⁶⁰ Grig 2004: 95.

⁶¹ To be discussed in Chapter 2.

⁶² St Macarius (*Hag.*) 84. See f/n 20 above for information on when the Monastery acquired this manuscript.

Up until the mid-20th century, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was still predominant, especially in the Red Sea monasteries, and it was only from 1950 onward that the Monastery of St Antony began publishing books of the *Life of Antony* that was based on the Athanasian account. The following is a list of all the publications to date produced by the Monastery on the *Life of Antony*.⁶³

- *The story of the Christian lights in the ascetical life; a religious story that represents the life of the great saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs*.⁶⁴ 1914: The *Life* is a mix of versions but predominantly Athanasian.
- *Translation of the [life-stories of the] two great saints and shining stars Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Anbā Būlā the Egyptians*.⁶⁵ 1920: The *Life* is the Athanasian version.
- *Star of the Wilderness, the saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs*.⁶⁶ 1950: The *Life* is a mix of versions but predominantly Pseudo-Serapionic. However, the story of Antony in Frankish countries, and the account of the Devil disguised as a queen tempting Antony to marry her, are omitted.
- *Life of the saint Anṭūniyūs, translated from the book by the saint Athanasius*.⁶⁷ 1950: The *Life* is the Athanasian version, translated from an English edition.
- *Monasticism and the great saints Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Anbā Būlā*.⁶⁸ 1987: The *Life* is the Athanasian version.
- *St Antony the Great, his Life and Sayings* (English), 2010: The *Life* is the Athanasian version.

⁶³ The titles are listed in translation and the original titles are listed in footnotes.

⁶⁴ Arabic title: رواية الأنوار المسيحية في الحياة النسكية، رواية دينية تُمَثِّل حياة القديس العظيم أنبا أنطونيوس

⁶⁵ Arabic title: ترجمة القديسين العظيمين والكوكبين المشرقين الأنبا أنطونيوس والأنبا بولا المصريين

⁶⁶ Arabic title: كوكب البرية القديس الأنبا أنطونيوس

⁶⁷ Arabic title: حياة القديس أنطونيوس مترجمة عن كتاب القديس أنطونيوس

⁶⁸ Arabic title: الرهبنة والقديسان العظيمان الأنبا أنطونيوس والأنبا بولا

Yet, while the *Life* attributed to Athanasius is today considered the authentic account in the Coptic Church, the *Bustān*, which continues being reprinted⁶⁹ and read in monasteries throughout Egypt, still contains many Pseudo-Serapionic elements.⁷⁰

1.3 Popularity of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*

In spite of the popularity of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* throughout Egypt, it was not only the monasteries in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn that continued championing the Athanasian account. There were also monks at the Red Sea monasteries who were not convinced of the redacted *Life*, and information contained in marginal notes and prologues allude to some of the disputes within the monastic community as a result. For example, an 18th century manuscript at the Monastery of St Paul, catalogued as *History 9*,⁷¹ contains two interesting marginal notes. The notes are written on the page that relates the story of Antony travelling to Frankish countries on a cloud (see Fig. 1.2).

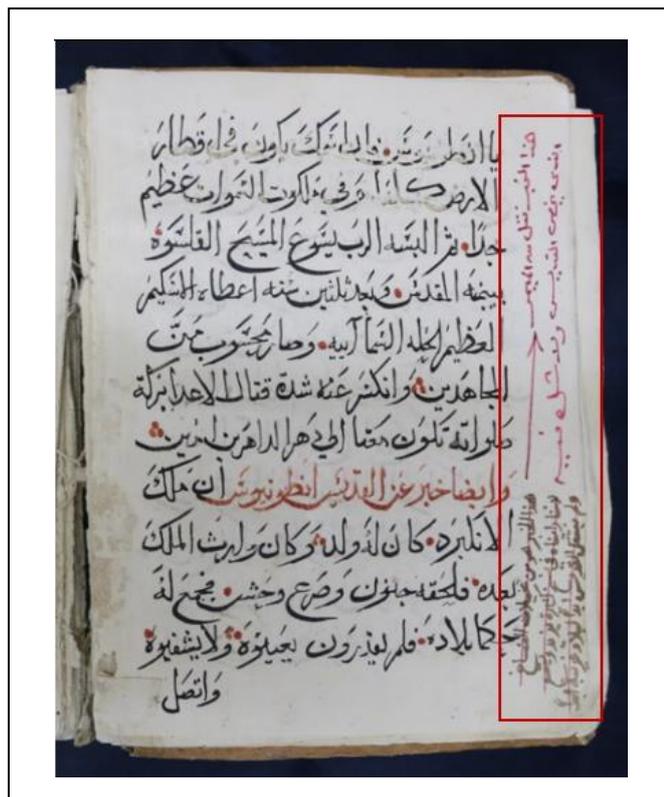


Fig. 1.2: Marginal notes in SP (*Hist.*) 9

⁶⁹ Reprinted in 2014. See Epiphanius, *Bustān al-Ruhbān*. Monastery of St Macarius, Wādī al-Naṭrūn, 2014. This edition of the 2014 edition of the *Bustān* tabulates comparative *Sayings* between the Greek, Syriac, Armenian and Ethiopic versions with those contained in the Arabic *Bustān*. On the comparative *Sayings* on Antony, see Epiphanius 2014: 500-501.

⁷⁰ See Appendix 5 for a synopsis of Antony's *Life* in the *Bustān*.

⁷¹ SP (*Hist.*) 9 is a copy of the *Bustān al-Ruhbān* and contains the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life*.

“Hand A” in black ink states:

“This story is from the imagination of the scribes because we found it in many versions increasing and decreasing⁷² and the saint never went to Frankish countries.”

Then, we see that this comment was crossed out in red ink and the same ink leads us to a second comment by way of an arrow, in which “Hand B” writes:

“This story is copied from the *maymar*⁷³ of the saint and there is no doubt about it.”

These comments give us a glimpse into some of the debates that must have taken place within monastic communities over Antony’s *Life*.

There are only two manuscripts in the Monastery of St Antony that contain the *Athanasian Life*,⁷⁴ and the prologue to the text affirms the comment “Hand A” in SP (*Hist.*) 9 made that there are circulating “many versions [of the *Life*] increasing and decreasing” in details. Therefore some scribes intended on correcting the situation by transcribing the *Athanasian Life*.⁷⁵ Thus, the prologue (written in rubrics) to the Athanasian text reads:

We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the virtuous, blessed father, our father, the great [one] among saints, Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness,⁷⁶ the father of monks and the greatest of hermits, from what was expounded by the father Athanasius the Apostolic the patriarch of Alexandria... And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of words that have no benefit. And God is the helper in the beginning and the end, amen.

⁷² “Increasing and decreasing” refers to the addition of fabricated stories and deletions of original details within the text of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*.

⁷³ Derived from Syriac meaning ‘homily’.

⁷⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 106: 18th c.; and SA (*Hist.*) 219: 20th c.

⁷⁵ See Fig. 1.3.

⁷⁶ The expression “Star of the Wilderness” in Arabic is كوكب البرية where the word كوكب (kawkab) literally means “planet”, (as opposed to the word نجمة (nijma) which literally means “star”). But the inferred meaning of كوكب is “star”. Cf. in the Coptic Psalmody, St George is called the “Star of the Morning” (ⲕⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩ in SA (*Lit.*) 527, *Annual Psalmody* in Coptic, dated 1473 AM, f. 186r.), whereas the translation in the Arabic Psalmody is كوكب الصبح (kawkab al-ṣubḥ) (in SA (*Lit.*) 745, *Annual Psalmody*, in Coptic and Arabic, dated 1537 AM, f. 139r). Likewise, in Revelation 22:16 it states that Christ is “the ... morning star”. The Greek New Testament states the word ἀστὴρ and the Bohairic Coptic New Testament states the word ⲥⲓⲟⲩ; both literally meaning “star”. However, in the Arabic New Testament the word stated is كوكب. Thus it seems apparent that the word كوكب in biblical, liturgical and hagiographical literature was written to infer the meaning of “star”.



Fig. 1.3: Prologue in SA (*Hist.*) 105; (ff. 4r–4v)

In 1920, an Antonian monk named ‘Aṭa Allāh al-Anṭūnī published a book titled *Translation of the [life-stories of the] two great saints and shining stars Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Anbā Būlā the Egyptians*, that contained the *Athanasian Life of Antony* as well as the Arabic translation of Jerome’s *Latin Life of Paul the Hermit*. In the introduction to his book, he states the necessity of publishing the original *Lives* and expresses his concern over the continued propagation of the redacted *Lives*:⁷⁷

This book is a translation of the true life-stories of the two saints [in order] to differentiate [them] from the many versions that are circulating which contain errors due to the addition of fictitious stories; as this was the custom of writers in the Middle Ages, [who] through their exaggeration and fabricated tales, distorted the truth and opened the door for the enemies of the Church to mock our writings and ridicule them. And in many works of the later writers we find details that cannot be found in the accounts of the original writers. And the reason for this was the lack of integrity of the

⁷⁷ There is also the redacted *Life of Paul the Hermit*, which like the redacted *Life of Antony* gained prominence in the Coptic Church and is still used liturgically to this day.

writers in the Middle Ages and the ill intent of the scribes and their lack of honesty in writing and transcribing books as were written by the original authors, [but instead] they added and subtracted details from the original texts.⁷⁸

Yet, although there were those who tried to resist the redacted *Life*, it nevertheless prevailed for more than six hundred years, and won the authority of liturgical texts, even until the present day.⁷⁹

1.4 An Overview of Antony in Liturgical Tradition

Antony's life-story was intended to be recited publically on his feast day, which is celebrated in the Coptic Church on 22 Ṭūbah (30 January), and the "performance arena" was the Coptic liturgy.⁸⁰ In Coptic liturgical tradition, Antony is commemorated in several Coptic rites: the Offering of the Morning and Evening Incense,⁸¹ the rite of Glorifications,⁸² and hymns such as doxologies,⁸³ expositions,⁸⁴ and *psalis*.⁸⁵ An abridged version of his *Life* is contained in the *Synaxarium*,⁸⁶ as well as in the *Antiphonarion*⁸⁷ that is sung in the service of the *Psalmodia*⁸⁸ that follows the evening Office of Compline.⁸⁹

⁷⁸ 'Aṭa Allāh al-Anṭūnī 1920: 7.

⁷⁹ As evident, e.g., in the account of Antony in the *Bustān al-Ruhbān* that is still read in Coptic monasteries today.

⁸⁰ See Van Der Vliet 2011: 555; and Davis 2008: 28-32.

⁸¹ See Moftah 1991: 1716-18; and Matta'ūs 1998: 57.

⁸² Short hymns of 5-18 stanzas that are used for the glorification of saints. While no definite date can be established for their composition, some of the hymns appear in the 9th century *Antiphonarion* of Hamuli. See Youssef 2014: 62.

⁸³ Doxologies are hymns of praise for a particular saint sung during the service of *Psalmodia*. See Moftah 1991: 1727-1728; and Youssef 2010: 451.

⁸⁴ Expositions are recited not sung, and always come after the Coptic hymn of the Gospel lections. See Moftah 1991: 1723.

⁸⁵ *Psali* is a hymn of praise composed of twenty-six to forty-six strophes, each of which is a rhymed quatrain. The strophes are often arranged in acrostic order according to the Coptic or Greek alphabet by the first letter of each strophe. See Moftah 1991: 1726-1727; and Youssef 2010: 451.

⁸⁶ In the Coptic liturgy, the *Synaxarium* is read directly after the readings from the Book of Acts. In the same way that the author of Acts did not conclude with "Amen" like the other books of the New Testament, but left it without ending, the Church places the reading of the *Synaxarium* in this position to signify that the saints commemorated are successors with the apostles in forming Christian history and contributing to a continuous ministry for as long as the Church exists on earth. See Matta'ūs 1998: 130-131.

⁸⁷ The *Difnār* in Arabic, is a book containing short biographies of Coptic saints written in the form of a hymn (see Moftah 1991: 1727-28). The oldest *Difnār* in the Red Sea monasteries is at St Antony's Monastery and is dated to 1101 AM = 1384/5 AD. It consists of twelve parts and are catalogued as SA (*Lit.*) 314, 315, 320, 321, 322, 323, 325, 326, 329, 331, 332, and 333.

⁸⁸ The *Psalmodia*, or Midnight Praises, are performed after the Prayers of the Midnight Hour, and between the Office of Morning Prayer and the Morning Offering of Incense. It contains four biblical odes, seven hymns for the Virgin Mary, and various doxologies for saints. In the monasteries, the *Psalmodia* is performed daily. See Moftah 1991: 1723-24; and Youssef 2014: 62.

⁸⁹ On Coptic liturgical rites, see Youssef 2010: 451.

It is interesting to note that the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* gained renown not only as the authoritative text on Antony's life, but it influenced liturgical rites and traditions. In fact, as recently as 1936, the exposition that was read out each Sunday evening in the Monastery of St Antony, as well as on Antony's feast day, closely resembled the storyline in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*. There are twenty-four manuscripts in the Monastery of St Antony containing an exposition on Antony.⁹⁰ The earliest, dated 1660 AD,⁹¹ was transcribed and recited up until 1936, after which it was replaced with the current exposition in use today that reflects the *Athanasian Life of Antony*.⁹²

1.5 Manuscripts at the Red Sea Monasteries

Almost ninety years have passed since Marcus Simaika Pasha and Yassa 'Abd al Masih Effendi compiled their catalogue of manuscripts of the Red Sea monasteries of St Antony and St Paul in 1929,⁹³ that was to compose the third volume of their *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*. Unfortunately, this third volume was never published.⁹⁴ Then during the expedition of the Byzantine Institute to the Red Sea monasteries in 1930–1932, Thomas Whittemore, the field director, requested that a catalogue be done to document all of the manuscripts contained in the library at St Paul's Monastery.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ SA (*Lit.*) 237: 1660 AD; (*Lit.*) 215: 1742 AD; (*Lit.*) 220: 1750 AD; (*Lit.*) 239: 1756 AD; (*Lit.*) 232: 1775 AD; (*Lit.*) 210: 1786 AD; (*Lit.*) 208: 1831 AD; (*Lit.*) 207: 1840 AD; (*Lit.*) 191: 1847 AD; (*Lit.*) 202: 1847 AD; (*Lit.*) 244: 1849 AD; (*Lit.*) 199: 1850 AD; (*Lit.*) 659: 1909 AD; (*Lit.*) 824: 1921 AD; (*Lit.*) 941: 1936 AD; (*Lit.*) 942: 1936 AD; (*Lit.*) 211: no date; (*Lit.*) 225: no date; (*Lit.*) 231: no date; (*Lit.*) 235: no date; (*Lit.*) 240: no date; (*Lit.*) 243: no date; (*Lit.*) 821: no date.

⁹¹ The earliest extant *Exposition* on Antony is contained in SA (*Lit.*) 237, ff. 186v-193v. The scribe was Ghabriyāl al-Fayyūmī (f. 165v) and is dated 19 Bashans 1376 AM / 27 May 1660 AD (f. 262v). The book was endowed to the Monastery of St Antony on 3 Tūt 1398 AM / 13 September 1681 AD (f. 263r).

⁹² See Appendix 3 and 4 for the texts of the *Expositions*.

⁹³ Simaika and 'Abd al Masih 1939: xix.

⁹⁴ There is a copy of the handwritten catalogue of St Antony's manuscripts in the Monastery of St Antony's library and is catalogued as SA (*Varia*) 60: *Index of the Library, part 1*, by Yassa 'Abd al Masih, 1929 AD; SA (*Varia*) 61: *Index of the Library, part 2*, by Yassa 'Abd al Masih, 1929 AD. However, I was not able to locate the handwritten catalogue of St Paul's manuscripts.

⁹⁵ There is a note on the last page of the unnumbered handwritten catalogue stating that the documentation was done at Whittemore's request. The text of the note reads as follows:

بسم الاب و الابن و الروح القدس
 صار نقل هذا الفهرس الذى يحوى أسماء الكتب الموجودة بمكتبة دير البار
 أنبا بولا بكر السواح الكائن على البحر الاحمر بمصر و ذلك كطلب جناب
 البروفسير توماس و تيمور و ذلك فى أثناء وجوده بالدير فى شهر يناير سنة ١٩٣١ م
 عن يد القس بطرس الشهيدى الانطونى و الراهب عبد المسيح يوسف السويفى الانبا بولا
 تحريراً بدير انبا بولا فى يوم الجمعة المبارك ٦ فبراير سنة ١٩٣١

Translation: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. This catalogue containing the names of the books found in the library of the Monastery of Anbā Būlā the first hermit, located in the Red Sea in Egypt, [was

Accordingly, the priest Buṭrus al-Shihīdī al-Anṭūnī,⁹⁶ and the monk ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Yūsuf al-Suwayfī al-Anbā Būlā, compiled a handwritten catalogue that was completed on Friday 6 February 1931. The original handwritten manuscript of this catalogue, which was also never published, is contained in the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.⁹⁷ I was unable to locate a copy of Simaika’s unpublished catalogue of manuscripts at St Paul’s, but given the structure, format, and descriptions that he used in cataloguing the manuscripts at St Antony’s, it seems more than likely that Whittemore had obtained a copy of Simaika’s catalogue of St Paul’s manuscripts during their meeting in 1930⁹⁸ (since the structure and descriptions are identical), and had the above mentioned monks simply copy it. According to information Simaika provided in his 1932 publication *Guide to the Coptic Museum*,⁹⁹ St Paul’s Monastery possessed 764 manuscripts. This is in accordance to what was documented in the catalogue written at Whittemore’s request.

In 1978, the late Patriarch Shinūdah III sent seven novices from the Monastery of St Bīshūy in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn to populate the Monastery of St Antony. One of their first priorities was to transfer the many manuscripts that were stored in the Tower in cases,¹⁰⁰ as well as all the manuscripts contained in the Monastery’s Dependency in Būsh,¹⁰¹ to a new building in the Monastery,¹⁰² and to shelve them according to the five classifications noted by Simaika.¹⁰³ In the process, one of the novices who was placed in charge of the library,¹⁰⁴ changed the numbering done by Simaika, and in the 1980s devised his own catalogue, renumbering all the manuscripts. Then, in 2003 the abbot of the Monastery, Bishop Yostos, instructed that the catalogue numbering system be returned to that created by Simaika, and that the entire

made] at the request of Professor Thomas Whittemore during his presence in the Monastery in the month of January 1931 AD. [It was done] by the priest Buṭrus al-Shahīdī al-Anṭūnī and the monk ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Yūsuf al-Suwayfī al-Anbā Būlā. Completed in the Monastery of Anbā Būlā on the blessed Friday, February 6, 1931.”

⁹⁶ Buṭrus al-Shahīdī al-Anṭūnī was born in the village of Kafr al-Shahīd in the province of Daqahliyah in the Nile Delta. He became monk in the Monastery of St Dimyānah in al-Barārī (now a convent for nuns), which at the time was under the jurisdiction of the Monastery of St Antony. He served as a priest for many years in Palestine and was ordained Metropolitan of Khartoum and South Sudan on 29 June 1947. He died on 16 May 1968. See Ṣamū’īl Tawāḍrūs al-Suryānī 1977: 163.

⁹⁷ Dumbarton Oaks reference: MS.BZ.004.02.01 Box 2 Folder 02920131010101928688.

⁹⁸ Simaika commented that when he met Whittemore in 1930 he was cleaning the frescoes in the church of St Antony that were covered in soot (Simaika et al. 1939: xxiii).

⁹⁹ Simaika 1932: f/n 122

¹⁰⁰ See Fig. 1.4.

¹⁰¹ In the province of Banī Suwayf, Middle Egypt.

¹⁰² This information was provided by Fr Ruways al-Anṭūnī, who was one of the original seven monks who relocated from St Bīshūy’s Monastery to St Antony’s in 1978 (conversation on 13 February, 2016). See Fig. 1.5 and 1.6.

¹⁰³ The five classifications being: (1) *Biblica*, (2) *Theologica*, (3) *Historica*, (4) *Liturgica*, (5) *Varia*. Simaika et al. 1939: XLVIII. Shinūdah III established a further category which was (6) *Journals*.

¹⁰⁴ The novice Samuel.

collection of manuscripts in the library be digitised.¹⁰⁵ This project was undertaken by the monks Tādrus al-Anṭūnī and Abīb al-Anṭūnī who were responsible for the library at the time. Digitising was completed in 2005. According to the current catalogue, the library of St Antony's Monastery contains 1933 manuscripts.

Meanwhile, at the Monastery of St Paul, the manuscripts were likewise relocated from the Tower¹⁰⁶ as well as the Church of the Archangel Michael,¹⁰⁷ to a new room designated as the library in 1995.¹⁰⁸ Another handwritten copy of Simaika/Whittemore's catalogue was transcribed in 1997. It is a foolscap-sized folder and contains, against each manuscript entry, additional reference numbers that had also been written on the sticker placed on the spine.¹⁰⁹ It appears that there may have been a few monks since 1997 that during the time they were responsible for the library, added "their mark" on each manuscript by adding a new number to the manuscript reference in the catalogue. For this reason, many of the manuscripts contain multiple catalogue reference numbers. Unfortunately, no proper catalogue system or digitisation of the manuscripts have yet taken place at the Monastery of St Paul. According to the current catalogue, dated 1997, the library of St Paul's Monastery contains 840 manuscripts, more than half of which date (either copied or endowed) to the 18th century.¹¹⁰

The following table lists the number of manuscripts in both of the Red Sea monasteries, by classification, according to what is listed in the original catalogues by Simaika as well as current catalogues. The current catalogues were used to determine the age of the earliest and latest manuscripts in their collections.

¹⁰⁵ For this reason, some of the manuscripts have two numbers written on the sticker placed on the spine.

¹⁰⁶ See Fig. 1.8.

¹⁰⁷ See Habashi et al. 1927: 137-8; Simaika 1932: 122; and Ṣamū'īl Tawāḍrūs al-Suryānī 1968: 57-58.

¹⁰⁸ See Fig. 1.9 and 1.11.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., Fig. 1.10.

¹¹⁰ The renaissance that occurred in the 18th century in which many churches and monasteries were restored and expanded, was accompanied by a significant movement in educational and cultural reform during which numerous books were transcribed. Furthermore, the Monastery of St Paul, in particular, after having been destroyed and abandoned in the late 15th century for 119 years, was restored and repopulated by the Patriarch Yū'annis XVI in 1701 AD (see Nakhla 1954 (4): 146-47), and marginal notes in several manuscripts attest to his patronage of the Monastery and populating its library with many books (see Gabra 2008a: 100). Furthermore, Magdi Guirguis has identified that based on manuscript catalogues of the Coptic Patriarchate Library in Cairo, and the Coptic Museum Library in Cairo, around 50% of extant Coptic-Arabic manuscripts were transcribed in the 18th century (Guirguis 2011: 46, and f/n 88 p. 221).

Table 1.2: Manuscripts at the Red Sea monasteries.				
Classification	St Paul's Monastery (1997 catalogue)	St Paul's Monastery (1931 catalogue)	St Antony's Monastery (2005 catalogue)	St Antony's Monastery (1929 catalogue)
Biblical	140	122	321	318
Theological	128	99	346	254
Historical	129	123	226	221
Liturgical	431	411	975	651
Varia	12	9	65	42
Total	840	764	1933	1486¹¹¹
<i>Oldest Ms</i>	<i>(Theol.) 53: Book of al-Shaykh al-Rūḥānī.¹¹² Date 994 AM (1277/78 AD). Scribe: Abū Makārim ibn al- Faḍl-Allāh. (f. 193v)</i>		<i>(Bibl.) 221: Letters of Paul the Apostle, in Coptic. Date 776 AM (1059/60 AD). (ff. 134r, 138r). Scribe not mentioned.</i>	
<i>Latest Ms</i>	<i>(Hist.) 136: Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Life of Anbā Būlā. Dated 1920 AD. Scribe: Priest Mattá Tādrus al-Banjāwī al-Anbā Būlā. (ff. 120r–121v)</i>		<i>(Hist.) 221: Life of Anbā Taklā Haymānūt al- Ḥabashī the priest. Date 1677 AM (1960/61 AD). Scribe: Hegumen Shinūdah al- Ṣawāmi ī al- Baramūsī. Patron: Hegumen Binyāmīn al-Anṭūnī, abbot of the Monastery. (f. 119r).</i>	

¹¹¹ This total figure provided by Simaika excludes the manuscripts that were contained at the Monastery's Dependency in Būsh. The manuscripts that were brought across from Būsh in 1978 were 64 *Theological* manuscripts, 306 *biblical*, and 15 *Varia*, thus bringing the total number of manuscripts at the Monastery of St Antony in 1978 to 1881.

¹¹² 'The Spiritual Elder' (John Saba). A collection of monastic anecdotes.

1.6 Condition of the Manuscripts at the Red Sea Monasteries

Generally speaking, the condition of the manuscripts is poor, and many of them have been damaged by moisture and insects. Stitching in quires has come undone and covers are loose or removed. There is occasional offset and discolouration, often from darkened finger marks; and many have holes caused by candle burns.¹¹³ From the endowment statements in the 17th and 18th centuries, there appears to have been a designated place at each monastery where the manuscripts were housed. It is not possible to ascertain the conditions in which these valuable manuscripts were kept, but it seems, that at some stage, they were stowed away in boxes in the monasteries' towers. This location must have resulted in damage caused mostly by moisture and the lack of conditions necessary for their preservation. The Monastery of St Antony undertook the project to digitise their entire collection of manuscripts in order to eliminate the real threat of these invaluable sources – particularly the damaged ones – being further damaged, and it is anticipated that the Monastery of St Paul will also digitise their collection of manuscripts in the near future.¹¹⁴

1.7 Versions of the *Life of Antony* at the Red Sea Monasteries

The libraries of the Red Sea monasteries possess twenty-one copies of the complete *Life of Antony* in Arabic; five in the Monastery of St Paul, and sixteen in the Monastery of St Antony. They range in date from the 17th to the 20th centuries, with the earliest copy, dated 1696 AD, being transcribed from “an original” text dated to the 13th century. Of all the manuscripts, only two contain the *Athanasian Life*.¹¹⁵ These exclude the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life* found in several copies of the *Bustān al-Ruhbān*.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ In the 2005 catalogue of St Antony's Monastery, the librarians have identified several manuscripts requiring urgent restoration and have noted this in their catalogue.

¹¹⁴ The author has received the approval of the Monastery's abbot – Bishop Daniel – to undertake as a future project the cataloguing and digitisation of their collection of manuscripts.

¹¹⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 106: 18th c., and SA (*Hist.*) 219: 20th c.

¹¹⁶ There are eight copies of the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life* in the Red Sea monasteries; six in the Monastery of St Antony and two in the Monastery of St Paul. They are as follows: SA (*Hist.*) 29: 1485 AM/1768 AD (ff. 2v-7v, 18 lines); SA (*Theol.*) 301: 1499 AM/1782 AD (ff. 156r-159v, 22 lines); SA (*Hist.*) 32: 1552 AM/1835 AD (ff. 2r-7v, 16 lines); SA (*Hist.*) 35: 1569 AM/1852 AD (ff. 2r-7r, 17 lines); SA (*Hist.*) 208: 1605 AM/1888 AD (ff. 5r-13r, 13 lines); SA (*Hist.*) 33: 19th c. (ff. 3v-11v, 15-16 lines); SP (*Hist.*) 9: 18th c. (ff. 71v-81v, no numbering, 11 lines), and SP (*Hist.*) 31: 18th c. (ff. 4v-13v, 12 lines). The scribe of SP (*Hist.*) 9, which is a book of the *Bustān al-Ruhbān*, was the deacon Jirjis Yūsuf al-Manṣūrī who was one of the members of the prominent house of Ḥabashī. This house sponsored the cultural enrichment of the Church in the province of al-Fayyūm and beyond from 1636 to 1822 AD. It counted scribes, translators of the Coptic liturgical books, and conservators of manuscripts among its members. Jirjis Yūsuf al-Manṣūrī transcribed various manuscripts including Coptic Patriarchate Ms (*Theol.*) 284: 1724 AD; Coptic Museum Ms 101: 18th c.; and Coptic Museum MS (*Hist.*) 275: 18th c. See Abd el-Nour 2007: 7-8.

1.8 The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*:¹¹⁷ Edition, Organisation and Presentation of the Text

The *Life of Antony* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis, is translated in this thesis for the first time into English, and offers an important addition to the history of Antony's cultural memory. The edition of the *Life* is based on Ms SP (*Hist.*) 53.¹¹⁸ It is the earliest extant text of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*¹¹⁹ in the Red Sea monasteries, and although dated 27 Hātūr 1413 AM (3 December 1696 AD), information in the colophon states that it was “copied from an original dated 427 years earlier,”¹²⁰ making the date of the “original” text 986 AM (1268/1269 AD). Initially endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, the manuscript is in the possession of the Monastery of St Paul.

The edition of the text reproduces the manuscript's attributes as found in the original. Original spelling, diacritics and vocalisation are transcribed as is. According to the decorative features marked in the text, the scribe, Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, divided the *Life* into sixteen paragraphs¹²¹ and twelve sections that represent the different segments or themes in the text. Of the twelve sections, five have some (embellished) parallels in the *Athanasian Life*. The remaining sections are otherwise unattested stories of considerable length, and so, over 60% of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* is independent of the *Life* attributed to Athanasius, or any other historical source.¹²²

In my presentation of this text, I will follow the organisational schema stipulated by Stephen Davis.¹²³ The first organisational schema, marked by crosses with فصل (section) divisions numbered from 1 to 12, e.g., + فصل ١ + follows the scribe's method of using five dots in red and black ink in the form of a cross to indicate different segments in the text; after which the

¹¹⁷ The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* will be the topic of Chapter 2. An edition and translation of the text based on Ms SP (*Hist.*) 53 is provided in Appendix 1 and 2.

¹¹⁸ Ff. 3r-66r.

¹¹⁹ Ms Leiden Univ. Or. 14326 dated 1520/21 AD is the oldest extant manuscript I was able to find, however, given that the focus of this research is on manuscripts at the Red Sea, I chose to use the oldest manuscript at the Red Sea as the base text.

¹²⁰ As highlighted by Sebastian Günther, the literal translation of “mamsūk” in the sentence:

الممسوك تاريخها اربعماية سبعة / وعشرين وتمت هذه الجديده ...

literally makes the sentence read: “whose date was fixed in 427”, or “which dates back to the year 427”.

However, given the fact that the original could not have pre-dated the 13th century, the most appropriate rendering of the translation is “dated 427 years earlier”.

¹²¹ Excluding the *proemium*, the *Life* proper consists of fifteen paragraphs according to the decorative features marked in the text.

¹²² To be discussed further in Chapter 2.

¹²³ Davis 2008: 34.

words of the next segment begin in rubrics.¹²⁴ The second organisational schema marked by page numbers with *recto* (*r*) or *verso* (*v*) within pointed brackets, e.g., <15v> follows the pagination of the text. The third organisational schema indicating the preface and paragraph section numbering from 1 to 16 in brackets, e.g., ((10)) follows the scribe's method of using a cluster of three red dots to indicate the end of narrative divisions. The fourth organisational schema utilises the forward slash sign / to mark the commencement of a new line in the text. And finally, all rubricated words are italicised.

The English translation faithfully follows the Arabic text. However, at times, a literal translation was not possible, and so sentence structure was altered in order to render a comprehensible translation. But this in no way changes the intended meaning of the author. Where it has been necessary to add a word to complete the sense intended in Arabic, they have been placed between square brackets [] in the English translation.

From as early as the 14th century to as recently as the mid-20th century, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* gained more popularity and influence throughout Egypt than the *Athanasian Life* did. The fact that the majority of the texts were transcribed between the 17th and 19th centuries, the time during which an unbroken chain of Antonian patriarchs “determined the history of the Coptic Church,”¹²⁵ is not coincidental. Although this period in time, especially the 18th century, was one in which a cultural and educational revival was taking place in Egypt, one cannot underestimate the important role that ecclesiastical politics played in championing and disseminating the text throughout Egypt. Yet, although there are glimpses of monastic groups who tried to resist the propagation of the redacted *Life*, it nevertheless won not only widespread acceptance for more than six hundred years, but the authority of liturgical texts until the present day.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ According to Stephen Davis, rubrics within Arabic manuscripts not only provides evidence for internal section divisions, but could also allude to the liturgical performance of the text. (Davis 2008: 28-32. See also Tov 2004: 135). As practiced today in the Monastery of St Antony, each Sunday evening, as well as on the saint's feast day, a lengthy Exposition on Antony's life is recited and every second paragraph of the text is interjected with praises of 'axios' to the saint and congregational responses. (Conversation with Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī on 26 June 2016). This practice may offer insight as to how the *Life* might have been recited.

¹²⁵ Meinardus 2000: 260.

¹²⁶ This will be discussed in the next chapter.

The large number of manuscripts containing the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* is a clear indicator of a sizeable readership, and proves that there was a sustained interest in the literary and scribal production of the text, in particular, from the 17th to 20th centuries.



Fig. 1.4: The library of manuscripts in the Tower at St Antony's Monastery, 1931/32.
(Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks).



Fig. 1.5: Inside the current library at St Antony's Monastery, 2016.
(Photo courtesy of Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī).



Fig. 1.6: Frontage of the library at St Antony's Monastery, 2016.
(Photo courtesy of Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī).



Fig. 1.7: The 'Street of Scribes' at St Antony's Monastery (to the right of the library building).
(Photo courtesy of Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī).



Fig. 1.8: Storage of manuscripts in boxes in the Monastery's Tower, 1931/32.
(Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks).



Fig. 1.9: Current library at St Paul's Monastery, 2016.
(Photo courtesy of Ayman Na'im).



Fig. 1.10: Manuscripts with multiple catalogue numbers, at St Paul's Monastery.
(Photo courtesy of Ayman Na'im).



Fig. 1.11: The front of the library building at St Paul's Monastery (to the right).
(Photo courtesy of Ayman Na'im).

CHAPTER 2

THE *PSEUDO-SERAPIONIC LIFE OF ANTONY*:¹²⁷

“OLD WINE IN A NEW BOTTLE”¹²⁸

If one were to ask a Copt today, whether a lay person, cleric or monastic, what they know about the life of St Antony the Great, generally they would mention at least one or all of the following:¹²⁹ Antony’s hearing of the gospel reading in church which prompted him to renounce all of his possessions and take up an ascetic life; his meeting with the woman who was bathing in the Nile whose advice he took to move into the inner wilderness to live a solitary life;¹³⁰ his battle with the Devil who tore his head covering;¹³¹ his meeting with, and burial of, Paul the Hermit; and his gift of Paul’s wicker-work garment to the patriarch Athanasius.

Only one of these episodes, however – that of Antony hearing the gospel reading in church¹³² – is found in the *Athanasian Life of Antony*. The remaining scenes are contained *only* in the *Arabic Life of Antony* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis.¹³³ Furthermore, scenes considered prominent in the *Athanasian Life*,¹³⁴ such as Antony’s lengthy sermon to his disciples on the ascetical life and demonology, his travelling to Alexandria to support the martyrs, his encounter with Arians and Meletians, and his long, rhetorical debate with philosophers, are all absent from the Pseudo-Serapionic version. In the words of Maged Mikhail and Tim Vivian, redactors in post-conquest Egypt “had no qualms about tinkering with, or substantially changing [their] material.”¹³⁵

To date, the *Arabic Life of Antony* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis remains unpublished and scholars have commented on the need for its study, “since it is quite possible that a solution to

¹²⁷ All foliation references in this chapter are according to the text in *SP (Hist.)* 53.

¹²⁸ Talbot 1991: 15-26, referring to metaphrastic hagiography.

¹²⁹ These observations are based on discussions I have had with members of the Coptic clergy, monastics, and laypeople; both in Egypt and in Australia, including first and second generation Coptic Australians.

¹³⁰ Of all incidences in Antony’s life, this account is the most ingrained in the Coptic mindset.

¹³¹ According to Coptic monastic tradition, the stitching in the middle of the *qulunṣuwah* (monastic head covering) symbolises the fight that occurred when the Devil in his rage tried to tear the head covering off Antony’s head: *SL* ff. 44r-44v. See Fig. 2.1.

¹³² The Gospel reading that Antony heard in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*: “Whoever does not leave his father and mother and reject all the things of this world, and [does not] carry his cross and follow Me, is not worthy of Me” (Matthew 10:37-38) differs from the Gospel reading that Antony heard in the *Athanasian Life*: “If you will be perfect, go and sell what you have, and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven, and come and follow Me” (Matthew 19:21).

¹³³ The summarised account of Antony’s meeting with Paul the Hermit and his burial of Paul were taken from Jerome’s Latin *Life of Paul the First Hermit*. See *VP* 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, in Deferrari 1964: 229, 232, 233, 234, 236.

¹³⁴ Prominent in terms of the number of paragraphs in the *Life*.

¹³⁵ Vivian and Mikhail 2010: 13.

the problems [concerning] the original version and the authorship of the *Vita Antonii* could be brought closer if the Arabic versions were studied and edited.”¹³⁶

Therefore, although only a modest beginning, it is hoped that the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, translated here for the first time into English, will not only usefully supplement comparative studies of the various versions of the *Life of Antony*, but also add to our knowledge on the history of Antony’s cultural memory.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* bears witness to the reinterpretation of the religious memory of Antony, and explore the possible origins of this tradition via a first edition and translation of the redacted *Life*. Questions such as who might have composed the *Life*, who were the intended audience, what was the purpose of the text, and what was the approximate date of its composition,¹³⁷ will drive the discussion. Furthermore, I shall endeavour to show that the Pseudo-Serapionic version gained popularity and influence above that of the Athanasian version from about the 14th century to the early 20th century,¹³⁸ and won not only widespread acceptance, but the authority of liturgical texts.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Rubenson 1990-1991: 45. See also Zarzeczny 2013: 38; and Witakowski 2015: 201 who likewise comments on the urgency for an investigation on the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, in particular to help answer questions related to the Ethiopic version.

¹³⁷ These elements are based on Stephen Efthymiadis’s statement that a hagiographical text can only be appreciated when questions of authorship, style, the audience it addressed, and its underlying message have been discussed. See Efthymiadis 2011: 165, 167.

¹³⁸ In fact, parts of the Pseudo-Serapionic account are still propagated in sermons and included in liturgical texts of the Coptic Church to this day. For example, it is not unusual to hear clergy give sermons about how Antony heard the will of God telling him to venture into the inner wilderness, from a Bedouin woman bathing in the Nile (e.g., a tape recording of a lecture given by Pope Shinūdah III at the Higher Institute of Coptic Studies on *Monasticism*, in 1986; and a tape recording of a sermon given by Fr Mattā al-Miskīn to the monks of St Macarius Monastery (Wādī al-Naṭrūn) on *Contemplations on St Antony in Bustān al-Ruhbān*, in 1981. I wish to thank Ayman Na‘īm and Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī for providing me with copies of these recordings. Furthermore, the account in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* of Antony meeting the Bedouin woman bathing in the Nile is still read today in *Bustān al-Ruhbān* (the most recent edition published by the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn: See Epiphanius, *Bustān al-Ruhbān*, Monastery of St Macarius, 2nd ed., 2104. *Life of Antony* pp. 9-20). See also the most recently translated (into English) publication of Pope Shinūdah III’s book titled *Contemplations on the Life of Saint Antony the Great* where he writes: “Prior to escaping to the isolation of the wilderness, Antony sat alone on a riverbank meditating in prayer when a woman came to the spot where he was seated... He said to her, ‘Woman are you not embarrassed to bathe in front of me, a monk?’ She answered him, ‘If you were a monk, you would have gone to live in the mountains and the depth of the wilderness, because this is not a suitable place for monks to live!’... St Antony took her words to heart and responded, ‘Indeed this is God’s voice to me coming from this woman.’ So he left his place and travelled into the depth of the mountains.” (Shenouda III 2014: 22).

¹³⁹ E.g., the *Exposition on Antony* (see Appendix 3 and 4), and as will be discussed in this chapter, the *Synaxarium*, and literature such as the *Bustān*.

2.1 The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*

Donald Polkinghorne's research on narrative psychology suggests that, based on how well the audience responded to stories, storytellers dropped certain stories and refined the plots of others.¹⁴⁰ So over generations, what was not meaningful or no longer relevant in the collective memories was foregone,¹⁴¹ stories that were significant were retained, and accounts of what seemed appropriate at that point in time, were inserted.

As early as the 8th century in Egypt,¹⁴² hagiographical texts were susceptible to redactions and adjustments,¹⁴³ and often redacting was done not only to produce a new and improved substitution for the old text,¹⁴⁴ but to make it more suitable for the current social, liturgical, linguistic and political contexts and needs.¹⁴⁵

The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* is a redaction of the *Athanasian Life* where the emphasis and content of the original Athanasian account was transformed to make it more appealing and more familiar to contemporary Egyptians. Thus, the original scenes in the *Athanasian Life* of Antony's encounters with martyrs, Arians, Meletians, and philosophers, no longer applicable in medieval Egypt,¹⁴⁶ are replaced with scenes of demonic warfare described in military imagery that brings to mind Crusader times, of Antony dealing with foreigners in Frankish countries, and Antony interacting with locals such as the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Bishop of Miṣr, and those coming to him from the town of Aṭfīḥ¹⁴⁷ near Giza.

2.2 Possible Dating of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*

The *Life of Antony* attributed to Serapion was probably a composition originally made in Arabic, and there are reasons to assume that it was composed sometime in the 13th century.

¹⁴⁰ Polkinghorne 2005: 12.

¹⁴¹ Kilani 1992: 45, 297.

¹⁴² Papaconstantinou 2011: 333; and 2006: 67. See also Orlandi 1991: 1191-1197. Cf. Naguib 1994: 227-228.

¹⁴³ Metaphrasis – the process of “rewr[iting] ancient *Lives* according to contemporary literary taste” – acquired a high status in Byzantium in the 11th century; and between the 12th and 14th centuries, 80% of hagiography is considered metaphrastic. See Talbot 1991: 16; and Høgel 2002: 150-151. Jean-Yves Tilliette also observed a marked concentration of the production of saint biographies in the 10th and 11th centuries that were re-workings of earlier texts; almost exclusively monastic founders from the 4th to the 7th centuries (Tilliette 1988: 387-388 and 389-397).

¹⁴⁴ Høgel 2002: 57.

¹⁴⁵ See Høgel 2002: 56; and Lifshitz 1994: 100. On reworked hagiographic texts, see also De Gaiffier 1970: 148; Naguib 1994: f/n 100; and Efthymiadis 2011: 163.

¹⁴⁶ Based on the assumption that the text was composed in the 13th century.

¹⁴⁷ See Timm 1984: 251-256.

This date would fit well with seven other pieces of contextual data, which are discussed below:

1. A colophon in manuscript SP (*Hist.*) 53¹⁴⁸ states that the monk Ghabriyāl from the Monastery of St Antony copied the text “from an original” copy dated 1269 AD, and that the copying took place in Old Cairo (Miṣr). Information provided in other colophons specify that the location where Ghabriyāl transcribed a number of texts was in the Patriarchal headquarters in Ḥārat al-Rūm.¹⁴⁹ Interestingly, the patriarch of the Coptic Church in the year 1269 AD was Ghabriyāl III,¹⁵⁰ who was also a monk at the Monastery of St Antony prior to his patriarchal election, and was himself a prolific scribe.¹⁵¹ It would not seem unreasonable to assume that Ghabriyāl had either copied or commissioned the transcription of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, soon after its composition for the Patriarchal Library in Cairo, and as an Antonian monk, championed its propagation and dissemination throughout Egypt.
2. The earliest extant *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium*¹⁵² provides an abridged version of the *Athanasian Life* together with two episodes from the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*; specifically, the story of the angel appearing to Antony in the garb of a monk teaching him to weave,¹⁵³ and the story of Antony on his death-bed, bequeathing his belongings not only to Athanasius and Serapion, but also Macarius.¹⁵⁴ The *Synaxarium* of the Coptic Church was compiled in Arabic sometime around the 13th century.¹⁵⁵ The presence of these two stories from the

¹⁴⁸ *SL* ff. 66r-67v.

¹⁴⁹ E.g., Ms Coptic Patriarchate (*Bibl.*) 59 and 60. See also Abd el-Nour 2007: 4.

¹⁵⁰ Patriarch number 78 (1268 – 1271 AD).

¹⁵¹ For an overview on Ghabriyāl’s scribal career, see MacCoull 1996: 357-60; and Swanson 2010: 93-98. For an overview on Ghabriyāl’s work on biblical translation, see Berend 2012: 71-72.

¹⁵² Ms Coptic Museum 139, dated 1056 AM = 1339/1340 AD, ff. 164r-166r. I am grateful to Hany Takla for providing me with a copy of this manuscript.

¹⁵³ The *Coptic Synaxarium* states, “One day, [Antony] was bored, and he heard a voice telling him, ‘Go out and see.’ He went out and saw an angel who wore a girdle with a cross, one resembling the holy *iskīm*, and on his head was a head cover. He was sitting while braiding palm leaves, then he stood up to pray, and again he sat to weave. A voice came to him saying, ‘Antony, do this and you will rest.’ Henceforth, he started to wear this tunic that he saw, and began to weave palm leaves, and never got bored again.” This account is based on *AP* Antony 1, however, the difference is that the Copto-Arabic account implies that Antony received his monastic garb from the angel. According to conversations I have had with Copts, they believe that the monastic garb worn by monks today is the same one the angel gave to Antony, and this account continues to be published in the *Bustān al-Ruhbān* and read to this day in Coptic monasteries. See Epiphanius 2104: 22-23. In the text of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, however, the detail concerning the angel dressed in monastic garb is removed, because according to the story, it was Christ Himself who bestowed the monastic habit on Antony, as a reward for his spiritual struggle.

¹⁵⁴ The story of Antony bequeathing his staff to Macarius, is also mentioned in the *Coptic Life of St Macarius* 19, in Vivian 2004: 176-177. However, in the *Coptic Life of St Macarius*, Antony bequeaths his staff to Macarius prior to the death scene, whereas in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*, Antony bequeaths his staff to Macarius on his death-bed (*SL* f. 64r).

¹⁵⁵ The *Synaxarium* of the Coptic Church was compiled in Arabic by Anbā Buṭrus Sāwīrus al-Jamīl, bishop of Malīj sometime in the first half of the 13th century. A revised recension was then done by Anbā Mikhā’īl bishop of Atrīb and Malīj sometime around the second quarter of the 14th century. It appears there was an Upper Egyptian

Pseudo-Serapionic Life may infer that the compiler of the *Synaxarium* had seen a copy of the redacted version and chose from it the details he felt would complement his entry on Antony.

3. In the *Ethiopic Synaxarium*,¹⁵⁶ the entry on Antony¹⁵⁷ is a lengthy account that incorporates a substantial amount of detail from the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*.¹⁵⁸ According to René-Georges Coquin, the first recension of the *Ethiopic Synaxarium* is dated sometime between the 13th to early 14th century,¹⁵⁹ of which there are only two extant manuscripts.¹⁶⁰ One provides a valuable colophon that has been published by Ignazio Guidi and Carlo Conti Rossini, who have dated it to the 14th century.¹⁶¹ The colophon states:

The one who translated this book from the Arabic language into the Ethiopian language was Sīmūn, a sinner, an Egyptian priest and monk, by name only, of the Monastery of the holy father Anṭūniyūs. He implores everyone who reads this book to pray for him to the Lord, so that his sins may be forgiven.¹⁶²

Thus, one can assume that Sīmūn had access to the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, which by the 14th century was established and recognised as an authority on Antony,¹⁶³ and so a significant part of it was incorporated into the *Ethiopic Synaxarium*. The following table highlights the main events in both the Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic entries, and from where the contents derive.

recension that was composed in the late 13th or early 14th century. See Takla 1983/4: 93-95; Coquin 1991: 2171-2190; and Youssef 2014: 64-65. It was my intention to compare the entry on Antony in both the Upper and Lower Egyptian versions, however, I was unable to locate a manuscript of an Upper Egyptian recension during the time of my research.

¹⁵⁶ Based on BM Oriental 660 and 661, and dated 1654-55 AD. See Budge 1928: 305-308.

¹⁵⁷ On 22 Ter.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Ethiopic Life of Antony*, which is a close rendering of the *Greek Life*. See Zarzeczny 2013: 37-60.

¹⁵⁹ The second recension dates to the time of Sālama II (metropolitan of Ethiopia from 1348 – 1388 AD) when a vast amount of Arabic hagiographical literature of the Coptic Church was translated into Ethiopian (Haile 1991: 1044). Sālama II is commemorated in the *Ethiopic Synaxarium* on 21 Nahase: “On this day died Abba Sālama the translator” (see Budge 1928: 710). There is plenty of information on the numerous literary translations carried out by Sālama II, especially in the areas of hagiography and patristics. See Lantschoot 1960: 397-401; Tamrat 1970: 102-3; and Tedeschi 1991: 999-1000.

¹⁶⁰ Paris Abbadié 66-66bis and Ethiopien 677. See Coquin 1991a: 2190.

¹⁶¹ Paris Abbadié 66-66bis. See Guidi 1911: 739-58; and Conti Rossini 1912: 371-72. See also Colin 1988: 300, 305, 315.

¹⁶² Rossini 1912: 371. My translation. According to a colophon in Paris Ethiopien 127, the martyr account of Wāsīlīdis was also translated by the same Sīmūn: “...And the one who translated this book was Sīmūn, a priest and monk of the Monastery of Anṭūniyūs. He translated it from the language of Egypt into the Ethiopian language.” Rossini suggests a possible dating of the manuscript to the early 15th century (see Rossini 1912: 371). I have searched the catalogue of manuscripts at both Red Sea monasteries, and unfortunately as only a very few number of manuscripts pre-date the 15th century, I was not able to find any record of a scribe named Sīmūn from this period in time.

¹⁶³ As attested in the inventory of manuscripts in Chapter 1.

Table 2.1: Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic <i>Synaxarium</i> entries on Antony	
<i>Copto-Arabic Synaxarium, based on Ms Coptic Museum 139, dated 1339/1340 AD, ff. 164r–166r.</i>	<i>Ethiopic Synaxarium, based on Ms British Museum Oriental 660 and 661, dated 1654/55 AD, ff. 85r–94v (second recension)</i>
Born in Qimn (<i>SL</i>)	Born in Qimn (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁶⁴
	Mature childhood by the age of seven (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁶⁵
	Patriarch Theonas prophesied of his greatness (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁶⁶
Hearing the gospel reading in Church (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁶⁷	Hearing the gospel reading in Church (<i>VA</i>)
Parents die (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁶⁸	Parents die (<i>VA</i>)
Gives away his wealth, places his sister in a house for virgins (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁶⁹	Gives away his wealth, places his sister in a house for virgins (<i>VA</i>)
Lives in a tomb/deserted place for twenty years (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁷⁰	Lives in a tomb/deserted place for twenty years (<i>VA</i>)
Establishes community in the Fayyūm (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁷¹	Establishes community in the Fayyūm (<i>VA</i>)
Supports the martyrs in Alexandria (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁷²	Supports the martyrs in Alexandria (<i>VA</i>)
Goes to the Inner Mountain with Arabs (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁷³	Goes to the Inner Mountain with Arabs (<i>VA</i>)
From time to time he visits the disciples in the Outer Mountain (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁷⁴	
Receives a letter from Emperor Constantine (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁷⁵	Receives a letter from Emperor Constantine (<i>VA</i>)
Becomes bored and visited by an angel who is dressed in monastic garb and teaches him to weave ¹⁷⁶ (<i>SL</i>)	
	Frankish King sends for Antony (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁴ *SL* f. 5r.

¹⁶⁵ *SL* f. 6r (in *SL* it says Antony was six years old).

¹⁶⁶ *SL* f. 6v.

¹⁶⁷ *VA* 2.3-3.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59, 61.

¹⁶⁸ *VA* 2.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

¹⁶⁹ *VA* 2.4-3.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59, 61.

¹⁷⁰ *VA* 14.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 91.

¹⁷¹ *VA* 14.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 93.

¹⁷² *VA* 46.1-46.6, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 157, 159.

¹⁷³ *VA* 49.4-49.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 163, 165.

¹⁷⁴ *VA* 54.6, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 173.

¹⁷⁵ *VA* 81.1-81.6, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 229, 231.

¹⁷⁶ The position of this account in the story differs in the two entries.

¹⁷⁷ *SL* f. 52r-52v.

	Antony travels to the Frankish country of <i>Barkinoni</i> ¹⁷⁸ on a cloud (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁷⁹
	Dwells with the Frankish people for several months, performing many miracles (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁸⁰
	Travels back to his monastery every Sunday on a cloud (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁸¹
	Becomes bored and visited by an angel who is dressed in monastic garb and teaches him to weave (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁸²
	Christ appears several times and promises his monastery and monks will be blessed (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁸³
Prophecies about the destruction by Arians (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁸⁴	Prophecies about the destruction by Arians (<i>VA</i>)
Visits Paul the Hermit and later buries him in the robe of Athanasius (<i>SL</i>)	Visits Paul the Hermit and later buries him in the cloak of Athanasius (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁸⁵
Commands his body be hidden after death (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁸⁶	Commands his body be hidden after death (<i>VA</i>)
Bequeaths his belongings to Macarius, Athanasius, and Serapion ¹⁸⁷ (<i>SL</i>)	Bequeaths his belongings to Macarius, Athanasius, and Serapion (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁸⁸
Dies at the age of 105 (<i>VA</i>) ¹⁸⁹	Dies at the age of 120 (<i>SL</i>) ¹⁹⁰

¹⁷⁸ François Halkin suggests the word *Barkinoni* may be a corruption of the word “Barcelona” (Halkin 1942: 187). See also Macellard et al. 1937: 96, 102. However, a more plausible explanation may be that it is derived from the Greek word *παροίκων* which means “strangers” or “foreigners” (see, e.g. Leviticus 25:45 and Acts 13:17). Thus the author may have intended to Arabise the transliterated Greek word to form the word *Barkinoni* to infer the meaning of “strangers” or “foreigners” when referring to the language or country of the Franks. I thank Bishop Epiphanius for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁷⁹ *SL* f. 53v.

¹⁸⁰ *SL* f. 62r.

¹⁸¹ *SL* f. 62r.

¹⁸² *SL* f. 9v. In the *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium*, this story is placed after the account of Antony receiving a letter from Constantine.

¹⁸³ *SL* ff. 14v, 15v, 19r, 46r.

¹⁸⁴ *VA* 82.6-82.12, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 233, 235.

¹⁸⁵ *SL* ff. 24v, 49v, 50r.

¹⁸⁶ *VA* 91.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253.

¹⁸⁷ The *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium* states: “He commanded his disciple to hide his body and to give his staff to St Macarius, and to give one sheepskin cloak to St Athanasius and the other sheepskin cloak to St Serapion, his disciple.” Whereas in the *Ethiopic Synaxarium* it states: “He commanded his sons to hide his body, and to give his staff to Abba Macarius his son, and his head cloth to Abba Athanasius, and his sheep-skin cloak to Abba Serapion the bishop, his son.”

¹⁸⁸ *SL* f. 64r.

¹⁸⁹ *VA* 89.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 247.

¹⁹⁰ *SL* f. 65v.

4. The Spanish Dominican monk Alphonse Bonhome¹⁹¹ visited the Coptic Monastery of St Antony in Famagusta¹⁹² on the island of Cyprus around 1340 AD, and came across “the most curious narratives” in what was titled the *Life-story of Antony* in Arabic. In the dedicatory note¹⁹³ of his translation of the work into Latin, he wrote:

To the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is always wonderful in His saints. I declare I have translated this *Legenda Mirabilis* of St Antony of the Egyptian monks, which we found in the Monastery of St Antony in Famagusta. I have not translated it fully according to the original, but at first I extracted the most curious narratives, and then the passages which are missing from the Latin *Life* of the Hermit.¹⁹⁴

The dedication date of the translation is: Famagusta, 15 February, 1341.¹⁹⁵

The Copts have had a presence in Cyprus since the early 13th century,¹⁹⁶ and so one can assume that the Monastery of St Antony in Famagusta,¹⁹⁷ which is the earliest of the Coptic monasteries on the island, was probably established sometime between the 13th and early 14th century. The existence of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* in the Monastery in Famagusta may infer the presence of monks from the Red Sea monasteries who brought a copy of the *Life* across to Cyprus.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, during my research at the Monastery of St Paul, I

¹⁹¹ Alphonse Bonhome lived in Famagusta, the most cosmopolitan city in Cyprus, during the mid-14th century. He knew Arabic well and translated various works from Arabic into Latin, which he began during his years in Egypt. In Cyprus, Bonhome noticed that Arabic-speaking Christians had no access to the works of the great Western Church Fathers, and that the Western Christians were deprived of literature concerning the lives and teachings of the Egyptian and Syrian fathers. So during his years in Cyprus, he continued the vocation of translating texts, with the intention of strengthening ties between Christians of the East and West, and he was recognised for promoting inter-denominational dialogue in Famagusta. See Grivaud 2009: 65; Bas 2015: 87-89; and Coureas 2015: 402.

¹⁹² The Monastery was located in the upper part of Famagusta in the south-eastern part of the island. See Halkin 1946: 512; and Coquin 1991b: 1647. The town was a major trading centre in Cyprus in the later 13th century, and accordingly, was populated by various groups of Arabic-speaking Christians from the East. Coureas 2015: 400. For a good overview on Copts in Famagusta, see Schabel 2005: 162-166.

¹⁹³ Alphonse Bonhome dedicated his translation of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* into Latin to Cardinal Pedro de Sotomayor. It was published by François Halkin in *Analecta Bollandiana* 1942. See Halkin 1942: 143-212.

¹⁹⁴ For Latin recensions of the *Life of Antony*, see Dutschke 1994: 499-549; and Gant 2008: 1-55.

¹⁹⁵ Halkin 1946: 512. My translation (article in French). According to the published Latin text, Bonhome translated all the episodes of warfare between the Devil and Antony, including the lengthy scene of the Devil disguised as a beautiful queen enticing Antony to marry her, and all the episodes of Antony performing wonders in Frankish countries. Halkin states his surprise that “this collection of legendary episodes” which make up the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*, and enjoyed popularity especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, has never been published previously (Halkin 1942: 162). Halkin alludes to the popularity of the text in the 15th and 16th centuries, based on the manuscripts of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* he located in European libraries *only*, and which he documents in his article (see Halkin 1942: 142-156). See also Macellard et al. 1937.

¹⁹⁶ Schabel 2005: 164. For an overview on Copts and Coptic monasteries in Cyprus from the 13th to the 17th centuries, see Coquin 1991b: 1647-1648; Coureas 2015: 408; and Murray vol. 2, 2006: 470-471.

¹⁹⁷ The Copts also had a church in Famagusta dedicated to St Antony from at least the early 14th century. See Grivaud 2000: 49–50; Coureas 2004: 135–144; Schabel 2005: 163; and Parker 2015: 58.

¹⁹⁸ That monks from the Red Sea monasteries would populate the Monastery of St Antony in Famagusta is understandable, not only because of the choice of the Monastery’s name, but because of the geographic proximity

encountered by chance two manuscripts which, on the front flyleaves, noted that they had been copied in Cyprus.¹⁹⁹ Unfortunately no details of the scribe, patron or endowment is provided, and only one contains a date of 1080 AM = 1363/4 AD. So it is highly probable that the manuscripts were copied in the Monastery of St Antony in Famagusta and brought back to Egypt when the monks returned.²⁰⁰ In addition, evidence reveals that Ethiopian monks also lived at the Coptic Monastery of St Antony in Famagusta,²⁰¹ before eventually obtaining a church of their own.²⁰² Therefore they must have been familiar with the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* either before or around the same time that it was incorporated into the *Ethiopic Synaxarium*.

5. There is an account in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* when the “Bishop of Miṣr” (Bishop of Cairo) was anxious to hear news of Antony from a group of pilgrims who had just returned from seeing him.²⁰³ This story is a key indicator in proposing a timeframe of the 13th century for the composition of the text.²⁰⁴ In fact, the position of “Bishop of Miṣr” had existed since the 8th century;²⁰⁵ however, it was not continually occupied. We hear of a successor in the early 12th century²⁰⁶ and then again in the mid-13th century when Kīrillūs III²⁰⁷ ordained the

of the Red Sea monasteries to the trade and pilgrimage routes which led to the Holy Land and beyond. Furthermore, the monks from St Antony’s Monastery at the Red Sea traditionally supplied the archbishops and monks for the See of Jerusalem. As recently as March 5th 2016, Fr Theodore al-Anṭūnī was enthroned as Metropolitan Anṭūniyūs, the 22nd Coptic archbishop for Jerusalem. For information on Antonian monks in the Holy Land, see Meinardus 1960: 52-53, 65, 81. For a discussion on trade and pilgrimage routes through the Wādī al-‘Arabah, see Littman 1953: 1-28; Wilkinson 2002: 129-148; Sidebotham 2011: 125-174; and Starkey 2012: 324-325.

¹⁹⁹ Exact location of where the copying took place is not mentioned. The manuscripts are catalogued as SP (*Hist.*) 11: *Life of Epiphanius of Cyprus*. Dated 1080 AM; and SP (*Hist.*) 100: *Life of Epiphanius of Cyprus, Mayāmir to the Archangels Gabriel, Rafael, and Suriel, the Virgin Mary, the Four Incorporeal Creatures, the Twenty-Four Priests of the Apocalypse, Bartholemaus, Sergius and Bacchus, James the Mangled, and George the Alexandrian*. Not dated.

²⁰⁰ Since the manuscripts lack details about who the scribes or patrons were, or to which Monastery the books were endowed, it is not possible to ascertain which of the Red Sea monasteries the scribes were from. Furthermore, given the mobility of monks between the two monasteries, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, it is difficult to assume that because the two manuscripts are now in the possession of St Paul’s Monastery, that the monks who brought them back from Cyprus were Pauline monks. Perhaps all one can assume is that whoever brought the manuscripts back from Cyprus, may have ended up settling in the Monastery of St Paul.

²⁰¹ According to Taddesse Tamrat, in Ethiopic traditions the presence of a community in Cyprus is represented in the monk Ēwoṣtatéwos (ca. 1273–1352 AD), who reportedly spent some time in Cyprus around 1340 AD (see Tamrat 1972: 256).

²⁰² Grivaud 2000: 50; Schabel 2005: 163; Tamrat 1972: 197; and Parker 2015: 58.

²⁰³ *SL* ff. 28v-29r.

²⁰⁴ I wish to thank Hany Takla for bringing the point of Būlus al-Būshī as a dating criterion to my attention.

²⁰⁵ We read of one named Theodore, the Bishop of Miṣr, who in 743 AD supported the election of the patriarch Kha’il I. See Munier 1943: 25. For information on the residence of the Bishop of Miṣr, see Sheehan 2010: 89; and Gabra 2013: 89.

²⁰⁶ When Yū’annis the Bishop of Miṣr died in 1122 AD, Ghabriyāl II Ibn Turayk, the 70th patriarch (1131-1145 AD) did not consecrate anyone after him. See Ishaq 1991: 1612-1614.

²⁰⁷ Patriarch number 75 (1235-1243 AD).

prolific writer and theologian, Būlus al-Būshī²⁰⁸ as the Bishop of Miṣr.²⁰⁹ It was not until the 19th century that the position was filled again, and for the last time.²¹⁰

6. A subtle clue indicating a 13th century date for the text's composition is in the way the author has the demons flee to Frankish countries,²¹¹ and also how he describes the king and country of the Franks as being “godless”²¹² because they are Christians in name only and not in belief.²¹³ These allusions may, in fact, reflect how the West was viewed by Copts at the time when the text was composed, perhaps around the time of the Fifth (1213–1221 AD) or Seventh Crusade (1248 to 1254 AD).

Jason Zaborowski suggests that it is probable the Copts supported the notion that Franks were “godless”²¹⁴ on the grounds of their moral misconduct as well as their heretical doctrine.²¹⁵ Speaking about the Crusaders, Aziz Atiya explains,

The Copts in principle could never have condoned this new movement of their old antagonists against the countries of the Middle East, whatever their motives might have been... The Western War of the Cross turned out to be a hostile movement against the Christians of the East, the Copts included. This situation naturally turned the Copts against the Crusades, despite their precarious position within the Islamic kingdom, where they suffered even more persecution and financial imposts as a result of a movement that they hardly favored.²¹⁶

The chronicler of the *History of the Patriarchs* makes a sharp distinction between the Copts as being “the true assembly of the Christians”, and the “Roman and Frankish armies” toward whom they have enmity.²¹⁷ Reflecting this sentiment in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, the author has *Coptic* Antony travel to the evil West – where the demons have fled to – to teach

²⁰⁸ Talia 1987: 8; and Swanson 2010: 94.

²⁰⁹ Būlus al-Būshī was Bishop of Miṣr from 1240 to 1250 AD. See Burmester 1950-1957: 117-31. For a general overview on Būlus al-Būshī, see Atiya 1991a: 423-424.

²¹⁰ Ishaq 1991: 1612-1614.

²¹¹ Cf. *HP* III/3, in Burmester and Khater 1970: 138, 139: “how disorder seized the Frankish Empire”.

²¹² An expression recorded by the chronicler of the *History of the Patriarchs* who referred to the Frankish Empire as being “the godless enemy”. See *HP* III/3, in Burmester and Khater 1970: 133, 134.

²¹³ See *SL* f. 51v.

²¹⁴ *HP* III/3, in Burmester and Khater 1970: 133, 134.

²¹⁵ Zaborowski 2005: 183.

²¹⁶ Atiya 1991b: 663-665. See also Werthmuller 2010: 39-49. For more information on the impact of the Crusades on minority groups in Muslim lands, see Hitti 1985: 33, 54-55; and Tejirian and Simon 2012: 25-44. On the Crusades as seen from a western perspective, see Constable 2001: 1-22.

²¹⁷ *HP* II/3, in Atiya et al. 1959: 165.

the king and his people “words of benefit for [their] soul,”²¹⁸ and warns the king that demons will not be cast out unless they correct and strengthen their faith.²¹⁹

7. Finally, as will be discussed below, literary activity often followed the renewal of devotion associated with church restoration or consecration.²²⁰ For this reason, a possible dating of the text to the 13th century would be applicable in light of the fact that the ancient church of St Antony was restored, expanded, and decorated with a magnificent iconographic program in the 13th century.²²¹

2.3 Motive for “Rewriting” the *Life of Antony*

Numerous scholars have noted that a major stimulus for the composition of a hagiographical work was to increase the renown of a saint or a religious institution.²²² But there was a different motivation behind *rewriting* a hagiographical work.

Alice-Mary Talbot makes a valid point in saying that some *vitae* of older saints needed to be rewritten because there was a genuine need to replace lost accounts,²²³ but that a key impetus for rewriting a *vita* was to mark a consecration or re-consecration of a new or restored monastery or church.²²⁴

Seen from this perspective, it is possible that the composition of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* reflected a new phase in the history of St Antony’s Monastery. If one accepts the assumption that the text was composed sometime in the 13th century, the incentive to write a new *Life* may have been provided by the then recent restoration and expansion of the ancient church²²⁵ and completion of the decorative program in 1232/1233 AD.²²⁶ All of these events most likely invigorated Antony’s monastic community.

Internal textual evidence may help to validate this hypothesis. The first evidence relates to the church building. There are quite a few statements in the text (made both by Christ and by

²¹⁸ *SL* f. 53v.

²¹⁹ *SL* f. 55v.

²²⁰ Talbot 1991: 17-19.

²²¹ Bolman 2002c: 37; and Jones 2002: 21-30.

²²² E.g., Orlandi 1991a: 1450-1460; Talbot 1991: 24; Høgel 2002: 30; Papaconstantinou 2005: 364; Armanios 2011: 69; and Zakrzewska 2011: 500.

²²³ Talbot 1991: 25-26.

²²⁴ Talbot 1991: 17-19.

²²⁵ Jones 2002: 21-30.

²²⁶ Bolman 2002c: 37.

Antony) relating to church building activities and the rewards that are heaped upon those who contribute; either financially or with their time:

I say to you [Antony] that he who builds a house for you I will build for him in recompense luminous new houses, and immortalise him in the heavenly joy... Truly I say to you that he who has toiled in your house and cared for it and helped in its building, I am the one who will reward him in the next world. Blessed is the one who erected a single pebble in your church, his remembrance will not perish.²²⁷

The second piece of evidence relates to the iconographic program and its significance in perpetuating the memory of Antony. In the text, Antony promises to perform a miracle as long as the supplicant

...builds for me a house in which he will make *an image of me*²²⁸ so that my name will not perish...²²⁹

Furthermore, every new or restored church or decorative program in a Coptic church or monastery must be consecrated by a bishop or patriarch.²³⁰ There is an entry in the *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium* on 4 Misrā²³¹ that simply states:

On this day also, was the consecration of the Church of the great saint Antūniyūs. May his blessing be with us and glory be to God forever, amen.²³²

Unfortunately, no further information is provided regarding when the consecration took place. However, given the reference in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* to Christ personally “consecrat[ing]

²²⁷ *SL* ff. 45v-46v. See also f. 58v and f. 59v.

²²⁸ My emphasis.

²²⁹ *SL* ff. 58v-59r. See also f. 61r where it states that Paul the Simple drew an image of Antony.

²³⁰ Gabra 2008: 61-62. See also Horner 1902: 1-31; and Burmester 1967: 236-250. E.g. Shinūdah III the 117th patriarch (1971-2012) re-consecrated the ancient church at St Antony’s Monastery in 2003, following the cleaning of the wall paintings and restoration of the building by the American Research Centre in Cairo in 1999 (See Jones 2002: 21). See Fig. 2.2 of the plaque commemorating the re-consecration.

²³¹ Corresponding to 10 August.

²³² See Forget vol. II, 1954: 256. See also Evetts 2001: 225. There are three manuscripts in the Monastery of St Antony containing an entry on the consecration of the Monastery’s ancient church: (1) SA (*Lit.*) 333, dated 1101 AM = 1384/5 AD (ff. 120r-123r): The *Difnār* containing two expositions in Coptic and Arabic (*Ṭarḥ Adām* and *Ṭarḥ Wāṭus*) for the Consecration of the Church at the Monastery; (2) SA (*Hist.*) 69, dated 13 Tūt 1417 AM = 23 September 1700 AD (ff. 97r-98r): Containing two expositions in Arabic (*Ṭarḥ Adām* and *Ṭarḥ Wāṭus*). These two expositions are the same ones contained in the *Difnār*; (3) SA (*Lit.*) 344, dated 13 Misrā 1435 AM = 18 August 1719 AD (f. 174v): The *Synaxarium* entry for 4 Misrā which states, “On this day also, was the consecration of the Church of the great Saint Antūniyūs.” The entry in this manuscript differs from other *Synaxarium* entries in that this standard statement is followed by, “in Dayr al-‘Arabah in the mountain of al-Qalzam,” followed by the first two lines of the *Ṭarḥ Adām*: “May God who was with our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob while they were standing before him, be with us today, through the blessing of this saint, amen.”

Antony's church] with the great thrones of [His] glory,"²³³ could it be that the *Synaxarium* entry refers to a consecration event that occurred sometime following the church's expansion and completion of the wall paintings?²³⁴ In any case, the assumed composition of the redacted account in the 13th century, together with the enlargement of the church and its impressive iconographic program, all provide crucial elements for the revival and continued renown of Antony's monastic community.

2.4 Style, Genre and Social Context

The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* is a *vita* – given its narrative form that follows the usual biographical pattern from birth to death²³⁵ – during which the author colours his description of Antony's career “with the favourite Christian imagery of contest and triumph.”²³⁶ A prologue introduces Antony with his usual titles: “the star of the wilderness [and] father of all monks”²³⁷ and states the (pseudonymous) author as being “the father bishop Anbā Serapion, one of his disciples.” An intercessory prayer closes the text, and between these border devices is a narrative composed primarily in middle style.²³⁸

The text exhibits many of the attributes that are considered typical of a saint's *vita*, and of Antony's in particular:²³⁹ a description of the saint's origins, parents, mature childhood, his adoption of ascetic discipline and embracing the monastic life, his struggle against temptations; often in the form of demonic warfare, his withdrawal to a place of greater solitude, his control over wild animals, the exorcism of demons, miracles of healing, clairvoyance, and prediction of his death.²⁴⁰ In fact, all of these features are present in both the Pseudo-Serapionic and Athanasian *Lives*, but the accounts are quite different.

²³³ *SL* f. 46r.

²³⁴ Stephen Davis states that the production of hagiographical literature was closely linked to both liturgy and church patronage (Davis 2015: 13).

²³⁵ For a definition of the genre of *vitae*, see Delehaye 1922: 148; Lotter 1976: 17, 50, 58; Harvey 1993: vi; Naguib 1997: 136; Hägg and Rousseau 2000: 4; Høgel 2002: 22; Talbot 2008: 4; Behlmer 2010: 74; Efthymiadis 2011: 240; Papaconstantinou 2011: 325; Sheridan 2011: 462; and Saxer et al. 2014: 2.707.

²³⁶ Hägg and Rousseau 2000: 13.

²³⁷ In the manuscripts examined, all scribes used these epithets to describe Antony in their colophons and as his title in the incipits. These titles are still used when speaking of Antony today in the Coptic Church, as well as in the composition of hymns. See e.g., the hymn written on Antony by Shinūdah III in 1962 (Shenouda III 2014: 40).

²³⁸ Byzantine hagiographical literature is generally composed in three different levels of style: high, middle, and low. High style uses periodic structure, scriptural references are few, and classical ones many. In middle style periodic structure is rare, vocabulary simple, and scriptural references more frequent than classical. Low style has a largely paratactic structure, uses words otherwise unattested or from other languages, and scriptural quotations are from the New Testament and the Psalter. See Høgel 2002: 23.

²³⁹ Based on the *Athanasian Life*.

²⁴⁰ Talbot 2008: 4.

The affirmed purpose of Athanasius' *Life* was to present Antony as a model of Christian living worthy of emulation,²⁴¹ to present Antony as being a martyr type in his ascetical practice,²⁴² and to present him as being subordinate to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.²⁴³ In the Pseudo-Serapionic account, however, the attested purpose of the author is to firstly:

explain [Antony's] virtues and to tell of a few of [his] miracles [in order] to make the joy of the attendants complete and [so that they may] rejoice over the astounding signs, and victorious wonders.²⁴⁴

Secondly, Antony is not *like* a martyr in his ascetical life, but he is *greater* than the martyrs because:

This saint's fighting, my beloved, was not like the fighting of the martyrs. For their enemies had bodies like them fighting against them, but this saint fought against spirits and principalities of the pit, for in the words of our teacher Paul [the Apostle]: "For our fighting is not with flesh and blood."²⁴⁵

And instead of being subordinate to the Church hierarchy, "[Antony is] exalted above ... all the ranks of the patriarchs in their entirety."²⁴⁶

Filled with vivid imagery, fantastic elements, miracles,²⁴⁷ and descriptive dialogue, the text was thoughtfully composed to not only edify and provide "religiously sound entertainment,"²⁴⁸ but to influence the attitudes and conduct of those who heard or read it.²⁴⁹ On one hand, the story's purpose was to magnify Antony as the subject and the hero, and hence "justify his cult in a

²⁴¹ VA Prologue, 94.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 52, 259.

²⁴² VA 47.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 161.

²⁴³ VA 67.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 201.

²⁴⁴ SL f. 4v.

²⁴⁵ SL f. 3v. Ephesians 6:12. Similar to themes in Coptic martyrologies, after Antony's tortures by the demons, he is comforted by Christ who appears to him on six occasions, and on one occasion Christ also sends Michael the Archangel to console him. Cf. e.g., *Martyrdom of Victor* in Naguib 1994: 233, 237, 242.

²⁴⁶ SL f. 6v. It is important to note that while Athanasius portrays Antony as a layman and subordinate to ecclesiastical hierarchy, the author of the redacted *Life* has Antony ordained as a priest and *hegumen*, and possess authority even greater than a patriarch.

²⁴⁷ In hagiography, miracle stories can stand in the place of miracles. See Grig 2004: 86.

²⁴⁸ Zakrzewska 2011: 500.

²⁴⁹ Through Western eyes one may read these stories as being pure fiction, or what has been described as the "genre of folklore" (Saxer et al. 2014: 2.707), having no historical credibility. But to understand how some of these stories have continued to exist and are still believed and retold by Copts today, one must appreciate the experiences, needs and expectations of readers, hearers and producers of hagiographical texts: the very form in which a story is transmitted; whether orally or in books that have been produced within a monastic milieu, and the sacral circumstances in which the story is performed, i.e. liturgically in a monastery or church setting, contributes to the credibility of the message they seek to convey. Cf. Foley 1995: 47-49. See Zakrzewska 2011: 505, for the impact of the public reading of Martyr Acts in Late Antiquity.

particular place, thereby contributing to the ideological sacralisation of the landscape”;²⁵⁰ and on the other hand, the story was meant to excite, instruct, challenge, and even shame the audience. In the words of Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, “The writer was a dramatist, creating movement, posture, and costume, just as much as dialogue. [In the text] we are faced with choreography as well as syntax.”²⁵¹

2.5 The Audience

As indicated in its prologue, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was intended to be read aloud on Antony’s feast day,²⁵² and the various annotations such as “hear another wonder...”, “listen to...”, and “people gathered here...” infer that the text was compiled for a liturgical purpose.

Preserved in a monastic context and showing signs of monastic production, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was composed primarily in middle style and in Middle Arabic²⁵³ and would have been intended for a congregation both monastic and lay on feast days that brought these two communities together:

I tell you O people present in this place to listen to the life-story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs... So I ask you, O you the saint of the elevated rank and honourable stature, to intercede for my weakness and grant me the way to explain your virtues and to tell of a few of your miracles [in order] to make the joy of the attendants complete.²⁵⁴

Thus, the text was written in order to reach a broad public by means of oral performance.²⁵⁵ Many hagiographical stories affirm that the saint’s presence is invoked at the narration of their *vita*²⁵⁶ and that hearing or reading a hagiographic text “that enshrines the miracles [of a saint] in written form”, is just as effective as visiting the tomb containing the saint’s relics, and hence

²⁵⁰ Van Der Vliet 2006:54.

²⁵¹ Hägg and Rousseau 2000: 14.

²⁵² While SP (*Hist.*) 53 does not specify the occasion for the gathering in the prologue, several other manuscripts, e.g., SP (*Hist.*) 18: f. 29v line 10-15, states “...O my brethren present at this blessed feast.”

²⁵³ The language and grammar of the text may generally be classified as Middle Arabic. According to R.Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, Middle Arabic is: “...that form of the language which... had diverged in orthography, morphology and syntax from the standard classical tongue and which became the normal form of Arabic used by Christians who, while not accepting the religion of the conquerors, had perforce adopted their language” (Ebied and Young 1975: xii). On the history of the development of Middle Arabic in general, see Blau 1965: 1-18, who also refers to the language and grammar of Copto-Arabic texts as being “Christian Arabic”, since it is a “literature written by Christians for Christians” (Blau 1966-67: 20). See also Kussaim 1967: 8.

²⁵⁴ Ms SP (*Hist.*) 53: 3r-4v.

²⁵⁵ See Kuhn 1966: xviii, on how the length and character of sermons were fashioned to suit the audience being addressed.

²⁵⁶ Rose 2001: 267-86.

is to be considered a physical process equal to a pilgrimage in intention and effect.²⁵⁷ Therefore, the purpose of composing a *vita* that addresses both monks and lay people is significant. For monks the text acts as a mediator between them and the saint who through his example, encourages and strengthens them in their monastic struggle, showing that a life of celibacy is superior to that of marriage. For the general populace, among whom would be devotees of Antony, statements within the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* ensure the prosperity of the monastery or church in which the text is read – those who listen to the life-story of the saint, will be rewarded with the saint’s blessings and intercessions.

But Antony’s favours are not entirely free of charge. People were expected to present their offerings to the monastery or church in the form of votive objects, of goods for the preparation of the saint’s feast, but also, for the more affluent members of the community, of financial contributions for the construction of new buildings, decoration, and so forth.²⁵⁸ The life-story that was read during the liturgical celebration of Antony’s feast²⁵⁹ constantly reminded the hearers that devotion and gratitude were highly valued not only in Antony’s eyes, but more importantly, they were instructions given by Christ Himself, as in the following example when Christ appears to Antony and tells him:

I say to you that he who builds a house for you I will build for him in recompense luminous new houses, and immortalise him in the heavenly joy... O Anṭūniyūs the beloved, by the power of My name I am the One who would care for your church and with My right hand I consecrate it with the great thrones of My glory... And whoever grants for you a share of his son, or houses, or cattle, or fields, or livestock, no harm will come close to them from the enemy forever, as long as your sign is on [the donations]... Truly I say to you, that he who has toiled in your house and cared for it and helped in its building, I am the One who will reward him in the next world... Blessed is the one who erected a single pebble in your church, his remembrance will not

²⁵⁷ Rapp 2007: 221-222.

²⁵⁸ To the present day, Coptic pilgrims who visit a monastery of a saint, especially on their feast day, present offerings ranging from money to fattened calves. This is particularly so when a vow is made in a saint’s name if a prayer is to be answered. See as an example, Fig. 2.3.

²⁵⁹ In the Monastery of St Antony, a lengthy exposition on Antony is also read aloud every Sunday evening during the *Synaxis*, and this tradition has been passed down for generations in the Monastery. Furthermore, the *maymar* of the saint can also be read out especially for a pilgrim(s) who visits the Monastery, after their prayers have been answered, to thank the saint in whose name a vow was made (Conversation with Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī on 16 June 2016).

perish... Blessed is the one who sweeps your monastery and cleans it, I will give him an inheritance of joy.²⁶⁰

In another incident, a minister of a Frankish country begs Antony to raise up a son who had just died, and Antony agrees to perform the miracle on the condition that:

he builds for me a house in which he will make an image of me so that my name will not perish from this country, and that he grants me a share of all his livestock and cattle, and of all that he has my name will not be removed from [it].²⁶¹

But, those who are disrespectful of, or dishonour, their promises to Antony will be punished, as affirmed when Christ tells him:

whoever disrespects your houses I will destroy his houses, and whoever makes a vow in your name and does not honour it, I will erase his name... Woe to the one who removes a pebble from your church, I will remove his name from the life of joy. Woe to the one who is unjust to your church, I will judge him on the Day of Judgment.²⁶²

Likewise, concerning the Frankish man whose son Antony raised up from the dead, he warned him that:

at any time that the vows for me are diminished that he vowed to me, he will immediately die. Everything he has of livestock or houses, and my name does not have a share, they will decrease and not increase.²⁶³

Arietta Papaconstantinou summarises the situation by commenting that *vitae* were composed for the purpose of financial support expected by the saint for the glory of their establishment, in order to help raise the funds their establishment needed to stay in the very competitive race between sacred sites.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ *SL* ff. 45v-46v.

²⁶¹ *SL* ff. 58v-59r. Monasteries largely appropriated the cult of the saints and used its persuasive power to obtain donations of cattle, consumables, land and urban property. See Papaconstantinou 2012: 21.

²⁶² *SL* ff. 45v-46v.

²⁶³ *SL* f. 59r.

²⁶⁴ Papaconstantinou 2005: 364.

2.6 The Redactor of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*

Although there is no specific information about who composed the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, internal evidence suggests that a monk of the Monastery of St Antony composed this story.²⁶⁵ One can assume that he was an influential person such as an abbot, bishop, or patriarch, or that the patron was of such status. This person's influence and standing would have been rather significant in order for the account to gain popularity and dissemination throughout Egypt, to be used liturgically, and to a large extent, replace the *Athanasian Life* – at least until the second half of the 20th century.²⁶⁶

The assumption that the text was written by an Antonian monk, rather than a layperson, is implied by the prominence given to Antony's "sons". For example:

- Christ appears to Antony and promises him that "this wilderness will be full of your sons the monks";²⁶⁷
- On another occasion, Christ appears to Antony and tells him, "your sons will be honoured by all people";²⁶⁸
- On his death bed, Antony gives a lengthy speech of commandments to his "beloved sons".²⁶⁹

Furthermore, based on the following evidence in the text, I propose that the composer was from the Monastery in the Inner Mountain (as opposed to the "Lower Monastery"²⁷⁰ near the Nile):

- The majority of the story takes place in the Inner Mountain, and it is the place where Antony experiences his greatest warfares and triumphs;
- It is the place where Christ appears to him on five occasions to comfort and strengthen him;
- It is the place where Christ bestows upon him the monastic garb;

²⁶⁵ According to Arietta Papaconstantinou, the memory and cult of a saint were often administered by monastic circles where accounts of their *Life* and *Miracles* were written and copied (Papaconstantinou 2005: 364). See also Orlandi 1986: 51-81, 1991a: 1454.

²⁶⁶ See the inventory of manuscripts in Chapter 1 that attests to the popularity of the Pseudo-Serapionic version above that of the Athanasian, from the 14th to the 20th centuries.

²⁶⁷ *SL* f. 14v.

²⁶⁸ *SL* f. 59r.

²⁶⁹ *SL* ff. 62r-64r.

²⁷⁰ *SL* f. 29v. The expression of "Lower Monastery" is used by the Antonian monks to this day referring to the "Outer Monastery" (first mentioned in VA 54.1, 54.6, 61.1, 72.2, 73.1, 84.2, 89.2, 91.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 173, 189, 209, 211, 237, 247, 251), while the Monastery in the Inner Mountain is referred to as the "Upper Monastery", reflecting their geographic location.

- It is the place where the patriarch Athanasius visits him and where Antony clothes him in the garb of a monk and patriarch;
- It is the place where Paul the Simple comes to visit and subsequently lives.

The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was written mainly to honour the saint, and since the reading was performed orally before an audience, it was important that they be reminded of the saint's biographical details and wonders. Thus, the emphasis lay on telling the story of Antony's life and the numerous miracles which took place at the site of his veneration in the Inner Mountain; thereby giving extra significance to Antony's sacred space.

With regard to the origin of the redactor, he may have come from Middle Egypt; specifically the region between Aṭṭīḥ and Banī Suwayf, given that all the towns mentioned in the text fall geographically within this area.²⁷¹ When we consider circumstantial evidence, it may help to confirm this assumption: firstly, the composer mentions an incident in the text that takes place with the "Bishop of Miṣr".²⁷² If one accepts that the text was written in the 13th century, the only Bishop of Miṣr during this time was Būlus al-Būshī,²⁷³ who – as his name infers – came from the town of Būsh in the province of Banī Suwayf.²⁷⁴ Secondly, Theodore, the writer of the 13th century iconographic wall painting at St Antony's Monastery, identifies himself in his signature inscription as being "son of Abba Ghabriyāl, the bishop of the city of Aṭṭīḥ."²⁷⁵

Without a doubt, the redactor was literate, which is a skill that in itself marked a certain social privilege, even in the case of monks.²⁷⁶ The fact that he commenced his text with an elaborate *proemium* also shows that he was highly educated, since he knew the rules of classical rhetoric.²⁷⁷

Furthermore, he was obviously trained in the conventions of hagiographical writing in that he used the common *topos* of being unworthy and inadequate to the task of composition to show that he was aware of his responsibility in performing the authorial duty.²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ They are: Tansā, Qimn, al-Bahnasā, and Aṭṭīḥ.

²⁷² *SL* ff. 28v-29r.

²⁷³ Atiya 1991a: 423a-424a.

²⁷⁴ The two Red Sea monasteries have had a dependency in Būsh since at least the 17th century, as recorded by Johann Michael Wansleben in 1672. For a list of Western travellers who visited Būsh between the 17th and 20th centuries, see Meinardus 1992: 15-26.

²⁷⁵ Pearson 2002: 219.

²⁷⁶ See Browning 1978: 39-54; and Høgel 2002: 29.

²⁷⁷ See Lubomierski 2008: 97; and Sheridan 2011: 449.

²⁷⁸ Krueger 2010: 15; and Sheridan 2011: 449.

And what tongue can describe this [saint]? Inasmuch as is humanly possible, we [shall] tell you brethren. But I fear, because of my weakness and the lack of my understanding [which is] due to the abundance of my sins. However, I have heard the [words of the] pure Gospel that says ‘Ask and you will find.’²⁷⁹ So I ask you, O you the saint of the elevated rank and honourable stature, to intercede for my weakness and grant me the way to explain your virtues.²⁸⁰

Moreover, the redactor’s work displays not only vivid imagery and dialogue, but an intimate affinity with the Bible and early Christian sources on Antony, including the *Athanasian Life*, the *Latin Life of Paul the Hermit* by Jerome, Palladius’s *Lausiac History*, and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The redactor has also clearly drawn upon descriptions found in the *History of the Patriarchs*, and the *Coptic Life of St Macarius the Great*. In addition, references to Islamic imagery and terminology imply he was educated in the Qur’ān.

2.7 The Redaction

We may consider that the text of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was based mainly on a primary text – the *Athanasian Life* – and was complemented by episodes from secondary sources including Jerome’s *Life of Paul the Hermit*,²⁸¹ Palladius’s *Lausiac History*,²⁸² the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,²⁸³ the *History of the Patriarchs*,²⁸⁴ and the *Coptic Life of St Macarius the Great* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis.²⁸⁵ The result is a text that is seen as “a mosaic composed of allusions to *other* texts that enrich and expand the sense of the text at hand.”²⁸⁶ By incorporating other texts, the writer in fact creates “a genealogy of texts” that provide evidence of a long chain of manuscript transmission where the authenticity of age commands authority.²⁸⁷ Then by adding a rhetorical *proemium* to make the work panegyric in form, and adding various annotations such as “hear another wonder ...”, “listen to ...”, and “people gathered here ...”,

²⁷⁹ Matthew 7:7; Luke 11:9.

²⁸⁰ *SL* ff. 4r-4v.

²⁸¹ *SL* f. 24v: a summarised version of the meeting between Antony and Paul the Hermit. Cf. Jerome, *Life of Paul the Hermit*. The *SL* states that Antony met Paul the Hermit when he was 49 years old, whereas in the *VP* he was 90 years old. See *VP* 7, in Deferrari 1964: 229.

²⁸² *SL* ff. 25r-27r: an embellished account of the life of Paul the Simple. Cf. *HL* XXII, in Meyer 1964: 76-81.

²⁸³ *SL* f. 9v: an abbreviated version of *AP* Antony 1, in Ward 1984: 1-2.

²⁸⁴ *SL* ff. 4v-7r: the redactor models the account of Antony’s origins and childhood on that of Peter I in *HP* I/6, in Evetts 1904: 207-209.

²⁸⁵ *SL* f. 64r: the story of Antony bequeathing his staff to Macarius, is taken from the *Coptic Life of Macarius* 19, in Vivian 2004: 176-177.

²⁸⁶ Clark 2002: 154.

²⁸⁷ Naguib 1994: f/n 102, 108; Naguib 1997: 130.

the writer made it appropriate for liturgical recitation.²⁸⁸ Thus, as Christian Høgel suggests, “rewriting was done to produce substitutions for the old text; a procedure that primarily makes sense in the context of ... a structured liturgy.”²⁸⁹

However, there does not seem to be any chronological connection between the various source references. For example, during the episode when Antony’s friend carries him off to the local church after he was beaten by the demons in his first warfare,²⁹⁰ it states that Antony experiences boredom and so the angel appears to him and teaches him how to weave,²⁹¹ and after the angel leaves, the original story picks up again when Antony tells his friend to carry him back to the tombs.²⁹² Similarly, when Antony is forty-nine years old, he meets and subsequently (within the same paragraph) buries Paul the Hermit.²⁹³ Then the writer expounds the life of Paul the Simple,²⁹⁴ before returning twenty-four pages later, to resume the story of when Paul the Hermit asks Antony to bring him the cloak of Athanasius so that he may be

²⁸⁸ Further examples of texts used for liturgical recitation are in the following manuscripts in the Monastery of St Antony that date to the 16th and 17th centuries: SA (*Lit.*) 295, SA (*Lit.*) 296, SA (*Lit.*) 299, SA (*Lit.*) 301, SA (*Lit.*) 518, and SA (*Hist.*) 137. They contain hymns and *maymar* of various saints that are chanted on their feast days. On each occasion the *maymar* is preceded by a standard introductory blessing that is read out by the bishop or priest, and closes with a concluding blessing. The same introductory and concluding blessing is still said in the Monastery today during the recitation of a saint’s *maymar* on their feast day. The concluding blessing is interesting in that it reveals which saints received primacy in veneration by the monastic community. If the reader is a bishop, the introductory blessing is as follows: “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. The only One who alone is the truth, who has no beginning and no end, who is great in His counsel, and mighty in His works, who exists everywhere and fills everything, the treasure of goodness and the giver of life. I pray to His goodness to grant me grace and mercy, and open the eyes of my heart and my understanding to know His law, and keep His commandments, so that I may glorify His name which is full of glory, forever. And now I tell you my beloved sons to hear...” If the reader is a priest, the introductory blessing is: “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. Bless me, I prostrate [before you], forgive me my fathers and brothers. Pray for me with love that the Lord God who loves mankind may grant me knowledge and a watchful mind and a heart full of understanding in order to read His laws and keep His commandments and glorify His great name which is full of glory, forever. And now I tell you my beloved brethren to hear...” And following the recitation of the *maymar*, the reader concludes with: “And this blessed story of ... who completed [their] life on this holy day. May [their] holy blessings be with us, and [together with] the blessings of all the saints who are in heaven, and in the first place the blessings of the mother of God the pure saint Mary, and the blessing of the four great holy luminaries Mīkhā’īl, Ghabriyāl, Rāfā’īl and Sūryāl, and the blessings of the Four Incorporeal Creatures, and the twenty-four truthful priests, and the blessings of the saint Yūḥannā the Baptist, and the blessings of the one hundred and forty-four thousand children [who were slaughtered], and the blessings of our fathers and masters the pure apostles, and the blessings of the Three Holy Youths, and the blessings of the saint Iṣṭafānūs the archdeacon and the first martyr, and the blessings of the beholder-of-God, the Evangelist Marqus, the holy apostle and the martyr [who was] the light of the land of Egypt, Ethiopia and Nubia, and the blessings of the courageous hero and martyr the saint Jirgis, and all the choir of martyrs that shed their blood for Christ, and the blessings of our righteous father, the great Abba Anṭūniyūs, and the righteous Abba Būlā, and all the cross-bearers and the righteous ones who pleased God with their works and lives. May their blessings be with us all, amen.” In the Monastery of St Antony today, the additional names of saints associated with the Monastery; Paul the Simple, Marqus al-Anṭūnī, Yūsāb al-Abaḥ, and Yuṣṭus al-Anṭūnī, are also mentioned after the name of Abba Paul the Hermit.

²⁸⁹ Høgel 2002: 57.

²⁹⁰ SL f. 9v.

²⁹¹ SL f. 9v.

²⁹² SL f. 9v.

²⁹³ SL f. 24v.

²⁹⁴ SL f. 25r.

buried with it.²⁹⁵ Therefore, the accounts from historical sources survive mostly as independent vignettes, “and as such they function not so much as hard data for a biographical history, but more as imaginative windows into the inner and outer workings of a revered monastic soul.”²⁹⁶

According to the decorative features marked in the text, the scribe divided the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* into sixteen paragraphs²⁹⁷ and twelve sections that represent the different segments or themes in the text. Of the twelve sections, five have some (embellished) parallels in the *Athanasian Life*.²⁹⁸ The remaining sections are otherwise unattested stories of considerable length, and so over 60% of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* is independent of the *Athanasian Life* or any other historical source.

The author’s writing also reveals “the flexibility of textual boundaries”²⁹⁹ in that he “Islamicised” some of the scriptural references,³⁰⁰ and featured imagery associated with Medieval conversion – or resistance to conversion – narratives, such as the temptations of banquets, fine clothes, and marriage.³⁰¹ Furthermore, the Muslim influences obvious not only in imagery but in some of the vocabulary, shows that we are dealing with a writer who was familiar with Islamic thought and Qur’ānic terms,³⁰² and expected his audience to be familiar both with the themes he selected – biblical and otherwise – and with the manner in which he chose to relate them.

The Islamic words and references which one finds in the text are of two types: first, there are words or phrases that are found in the Qur’ān, and second, Islamicised Scriptural references.³⁰³

²⁹⁵ *SL* f. 49r.

²⁹⁶ Davis 2008: 6.

²⁹⁷ Excluding the *proemium*, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* proper consists of fifteen paragraphs according to the decorative features marked in the text.

²⁹⁸ To be discussed below.

²⁹⁹ Naguib 1997: 135.

³⁰⁰ According to Sidney Griffith, “Islamicisation” of biblical material by retelling biblical narratives from an Islamic point of view, became increasingly common from the 11th century onwards (Griffith 2006: 31). See also Wansbrough 1978: 2.

³⁰¹ Compare, e.g., the description of seductresses in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* who tempt Antony with their soft, luxurious garments, bounteous food, and attractive proposals of marriage that will make him happy on earth as well as in heaven – ff. 16r-17v and 33r-40r – to the 13th century account of a similar theme in *The Coptic Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, in what Jason R. Zaborowski terms as “the seduction motif in narratives of conversion to Islam” (Zaborowski 2004: 19-21). See also the 9th century account of *Michael the Martyr and Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery at the Court of the Caliph Abd al-Malik*. In the story Michael asks the Caliph what converts to Islam were rewarded with, and the reply was: “[On earth and paradise, Muhammad promises] eating good things, and of soft garments, of banquets and of marriage.” (Griffith 1994: 120–122 and 130–135).

³⁰² It would be expected that the educated Copts of the 13th century be well versed in Islamic thought and theology. See Talia 1987: 36.

³⁰³ For a summary see Appendix 6.

So in terms of the technique used by the redactor, we can observe that his text consists of three components: (1) an embellishment of the original text, (2) recycled secondary texts, and (3) new compositions. Therefore, in the words of Tito Orlandi, the redactor “creat[ed] new texts from pieces of existing ones.”³⁰⁴ With such a new story, it required a “transfer [of] authorship”³⁰⁵ and who more deserving than Serapion, “[Antony’s] beloved son.”³⁰⁶

2.8 Voices in the Text

The text moves between a third-person or “principal speaking agent of a narrative”³⁰⁷ who is not the author but a textual construct called the narrator who selects the events to be told and their order,³⁰⁸ and a third-person who is stated as being “the father bishop Anbā Serapion, one of [Antony’s] disciples,”³⁰⁹ who is credited as being the author of the text.³¹⁰

2.8.1 *Pseudo-Serapion*

To add to the narrative’s authority and credibility,³¹¹ the “original” text³¹² was accredited to Serapion the bishop of Thmuis, but there is nothing in the text that indicates Serapion himself as being the author.³¹³ Unlike in the Athanasian account where Antony and Serapion often conversed,³¹⁴ Serapion makes no appearance in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* until Antony’s death scene when – although not present at the moment of his death – Antony bequeaths his girdle to him.³¹⁵ The “contact relic”³¹⁶ he inherits is a token of the personal relationship between

³⁰⁴ Orlandi 2002: 220.

³⁰⁵ Høgel 2002: 109.

³⁰⁶ *SL* f. 64r. Ms SA (*Hist.*) 133: f. 6r, dated 15 Bashans 1452 AM, contains the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Macarius the Great* attributed to Serapion, where the incipit records Serapion as being “the head of the disciples of Anbā Anṭūniyūs”.

³⁰⁷ Zakrzewska 2011: 500-501.

³⁰⁸ See Chatman 1978: 146-150.

³⁰⁹ *SL* f. 3r.

³¹⁰ Cf. the attribution of the *Life of Shenoute* to Besa “in order to give the work complete authority.” See Lubomierski 2008: 97.

³¹¹ Orlandi 1985: 226, 1991: 1197

³¹² According to the colophon in Ms SP (*Hist.*) 53: ff. 66r-67v.

³¹³ Martin Tetz was the first to suggest that the *Athanasian Life of Antony* was not an original composition by Athanasius but an adaptation of a written account of Antony supplied to him by Serapion of Thmuis, in which he left much of Serapion’s original wording unchanged (Tetz 1982: 1-30).

³¹⁴ VA 82.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 233.

³¹⁵ *SL* f. 64r: “And give the girdle to Anbā Serapion the bishop, my beloved son.” Cf. VA 91.9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253, in which Antony bequeaths one of his sheepskins to Serapion.

³¹⁶ A “contact relic” can be used to describe any thing that came into contact with a saint during their lifetime, such as clothing and other items in their possession. See Scott Montgomery, ‘Contact Relics’, in *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*. Brill Online, 2015. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-medieval-pilgrimage/contact-relics-SIM_00235 (accessed 26 April 2015)

them and a symbol of the saint's memory that Serapion has an obligation to keep alive. Seen from this perspective, the composer of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* infers that what Serapion inherits from Antony is not simply a part of his clothing, but legitimation to be his biographer.³¹⁷

Serapion the bishop of Thmuis is also credited with authoring other Arabic *Lives* of monastic fathers considered disciples of Antony³¹⁸ that may have been written around the same time.³¹⁹ Their *Lives* contributed not only to the creation of the Monastery's reputation for holiness but played an important role in defining and "drawing the map of local sanctity"³²⁰ at Antony's Inner Mountain.

If we make the assumption that the composer of the redacted *Life* was a 13th century Antonian monk, then Serapion's case is an interesting one because in him we see how the combination of literature and visual conventions is clearly attested in both the Red Sea monasteries that contain not only the largest quantity of manuscripts containing a recension of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, but they are the only two monasteries that contain wall paintings depicting Serapion standing with Antony as well as Paul the Hermit.³²¹

Furthermore, in the ancient church at the Monastery of St Antony, the 13th century wall painting in the south-eastern wall of the nave also depicts Isaac³²² (Antony's disciple at the Outer Mountain) standing next to Serapion, and standing opposite them is Macarius the Great. In both the *Arabic Lives of Isaac and Macarius*, Serapion is also credited as the biographer. Furthermore, in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*, Isaac and Macarius make an appearance as the only two disciples who buried Antony.³²³ And while the *Arabic Lives of Paul the Hermit* and *Paul the Simple* are not attributed to Serapion, the two saints feature prominently in the

³¹⁷ On the subject of Athanasius's authority to be Antony's biographer, see Tornau 2001: 165; and Rapp 2007: 560.

³¹⁸ It was not unusual for some writers to accredit their hagiographies to namesakes or patron saints. See Talbot 1991: 25; and Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī 2003: 291. The *Coptic Life of Macarius the Great* is also attributed to Serapion. See Vivian 2004.

³¹⁹ *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Macarius the Great*: SA (*Hist.*) 133: ff. 6r-60r; SP (*Hist.*) 2, 51, 108; and the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Ishaq*: SA (*Hist.*) 97: 82r-116r, 112:135r-161r, 117: 200v-228r; SP (*Hist.*) 70. Serapion is also credited with authoring the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Bīshūy*, the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of John the Baptist*; and the *Arabic Translation of the Relics of John the Baptist*. See Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī 2006: 131-133.

³²⁰ Debié 2010: 46.

³²¹ 13th century wall painting on the south-eastern wall of the nave in the ancient church at the Monastery of St Antony, and an 18th century wall painting on the north wall of the nave in the ancient church at the Monastery of St Paul. See Fig. 2.4.

³²² In his *Vita Hilarion*, Jerome mentions Isaac as being one of Antony's attendants (*VH* 30, in Deferrari 1964: 267-268). Isaac is also referenced as being an abbot and Antony's disciple in John Cassian *Conferences* IX.I, in Ramsey 1997: 43. See also Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* 17, Meyer 1985: 110-115.

³²³ *SL* f. 65v: "And his disciples buried his pure body, who are Anbā Maqārah and Anbā Ishaq, and hid it in the cave which he pointed out to them from the beginning."

Pseudo-Serapionic Life, and are likewise found standing with Serapion and Antony in the 13th century wall painting.³²⁴

These circumstances beg the questions: Did the wall paintings come first or the texts? Was the person who was responsible for choosing the iconographic program in the ancient church also the one who subsequently composed the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* or *Lives*³²⁵? Or was the author of the *Lives* influenced by the subjects of the wall paintings, or vice-versa? In any case, Serapion’s case is a fascinating example of how text and image are linked and “go hand in hand in favouring multisensory reception.”³²⁶

2.9 A Synoptic Overview

The following synopsis provides a snapshot of the various episodes contained in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, listed vertically down the left hand column. The columns to the right indicate where the episode, or a reworked version of the episode, occurs in other sources.³²⁷

Table 2.2: Synoptic overview of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i>						
Episode in the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life</i> of Antony (according to SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53)	VA	AP	HL	VP	HP	CM
<i>Proemium</i> (3r–4v)						
<i>PHASE 1: THE BEGINNING</i>						
Family origins and background (ff. 4v–5r)						
Miraculous birth (ff. 5v)					X ³²⁸	
Early maturity (ff. 5v–6r)	X ³²⁹				X ³³⁰	
Meeting with Patriarch Theonas who prophesies about his future greatness (ff. 6r–7r)					X ³³¹	
Parents die leaving him with a younger sister (ff. 7r)	X ³³²					
Antony hears the Gospel reading in Church and subsequently gives away his wealth (ff. 7v–8v)	X ³³³					

³²⁴ See Fig. 2.4 (a).

³²⁵ I.e. the *Arabic Lives of Macarius the Great and Isaac of Burumbil* (the Outer Mountain).

³²⁶ Zakrzewska 2011: 514.

³²⁷ More comparative details will be provided in the commentary. This table is simply for illustrative purposes.

³²⁸ *HP* I/6, in Evetts 1904: 207-209.

³²⁹ *VA* 1.2-1.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 57.

³³⁰ *HP* I/6, in Evetts 1904: 207-209.

³³¹ *HP* I/6, in Evetts 1904: 207-209.

³³² *VA* 2.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

³³³ *VA* 2.3-3.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59, 61.

<i>PHASE 2: START OF ANTONY'S ASCETIC LIFE</i>						
Antony in the tombs (ff. 9r)	X ³³⁴					
Warfare with the Devil #1 (ff. 9r)						
Angel appears to Antony and teaches him to weave (ff. 9v)		X ³³⁵				
Antony's friend takes him back to church after he was left beaten by demons (ff. 9v–10r)	X ³³⁶					
Warfare with the Devil #2 (ff. 10r–10v)						
<i>PHASE 3: ANTONY MOVES INTO THE INNER MOUNTAIN</i>						
Antony sees a woman bathing in the Nile who tells him to relocate to the inner desert (ff. 10v–11r)						
Warfare with the Devil #3 (ff. 11r–13v)						
Appearance of the Lord #1 who saves him and places upon him the <i>qulunṣuwah</i> (ff. 13v–15v)	X ³³⁷					
Warfare with the Devil #4 (ff. 15v–18r)						
Appearance of the Lord #2 who promises him an eternal place above all heavenly ranks (ff. 18r–19r)						
The gathering of demons who scheme and warfare #5 (ff. 19r–24r)						
<i>PHASE 4: ANTONY AND BOTH PAUL(S)</i>						
Meeting with Paul the Hermit, followed by Paul's burial (ff. 24r–24v)				X ³³⁸		
The arrival of and life-story of Paul the Simple (ff. 24r–27r)				X ³³⁹		
<i>PHASE 5: ANTONY THE WONDER-WORKER</i>						
Antony becomes famous everywhere, and the growth of his monastic community (ff. 27r–27v)	X ³⁴⁰					
Miracle #1: Antony restores sight to blind people coming from Miṣr (ff. 27v–29r)						
Miracle #2: Antony brings back to life a young man from Aṭṭīḥ (ff. 21r–31r)						
Miracle #3: Antony gives sight to a baby lion who was born blind (ff. 31r–31v)						
Miracle #4: Antony gives sight to a baby wolf who was born blind (ff. 31v–32r)						

³³⁴ VA 8.1-10.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79-85.

³³⁵ AP Antony 1, in Ward 1984: 1-2.

³³⁶ VA 8.3-8.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79.

³³⁷ VA 10.1-10.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 83,85 (although the Athanasian account does not mention Christ placing any monastic vestments on Antony).

³³⁸ VP 7, 10, 16, in Deferrari 1964: 229, 232, 236.

³³⁹ HL XXII, in Meyer 1964: 76-81.

³⁴⁰ VA 14.7, 81.1, 88.3, 93.3, 93.5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 93, 229, 245, 257, 259.

<i>PHASE 6: THE GREAT TEMPTATION</i>						
Warfare with the Devil #6 (ff. 32v–45r)						
Appearance of the Lord #3 who dresses Antony with the <i>iskīm</i> and bestows greatness upon him and his church, and promises rewards for those who honour Antony with their vows (ff. 45r–47v)						
<i>PHASE 7: ATHANASIUS AND ANTONY MEET</i>						
Athanasius visits Antony for the first time in the Inner Mountain, prompted by the severity of the plague in Alexandria (ff. 48v–50r)						
Miracle #5: Antony prays and the plague is removed from Alexandria (ff. 48v–50r)						
Antony travels to Alexandria to give Athanasius the wicker-work garment of Paul the Hermit (ff. 50r)						
Athanasius ordains Antony a priest and then <i>hegumen</i> (ff. 50r)						
<i>PHASE 8: ANTONY IN FRANKISH COUNTRIES</i>						
Antony's fame reaches Frankish countries (ff. 50r–51r)						
The King of the Franks sends for Antony (ff. 51r–53r)						
Antony travels to Frankish countries on a cloud (ff. 53v)						
Miracle #6: Antony gives sight to a piglet who was born blind (ff. 54r–54v)						
Miracle #7: Antony heals the family of the King (ff. 55r–55v)						
Miracle #8: Antony gives power to the King to heal snake bites (ff. 56r)						
The Devil deceives the people of the Frankish countries (ff. 56r–56v)						
Appearance of the Lord #4 to warn Antony of the Devil's deception (ff. 56v–57r)						
Warfare with the Devil #7: public warfare in the marketplace (ff. 57r–57v)						
Michael the Archangel is sent to strengthened Antony (ff. 57v)						
Appearance of the Lord #5 who promises Antony that his name will remain forever and that his sons the monks will be blessed (ff. 58r–58v)						
Miracle #9: Antony brings back to life the son of a Frankish minister (ff. 58v–59v)						
The messengers of the King return from Egypt (ff. 59v–60r)						
Miracle #10: Antony casts out a demon from the king's councillor (ff. 60r–61r)						

Antony returns to Egypt after spending thirty months in Frankish countries (ff. 62r)						
<i>PHASE 9: DEATH OF ANTONY</i>						
Final commandments to his disciples before his death (ff. 62r–64v)						
Antony tells his disciples to hide his body after his death (ff. 64r)	X ³⁴¹					
Antony bequeaths his belongings to Macarius, Athanasius, and Serapion (ff. 64r)	X ³⁴²					X ³⁴³
Appearance of the Lord #6 to take his soul (ff. 64v–65r)						
The death of Antony at the age of 120 (ff. 65v)						
Many miracles occur after Antony's death (ff. 65v)						
Concluding supplication for Antony's blessing (ff. 65v–66r)						

From this synoptic overview, we can make the following observations:

- There are seven episodes of warfare that constitute almost half of the entire text;
- Of these episodes, Christ appears to Antony on five occasions;³⁴⁴
- A third of the text is taken up by Antony performing (ten) miracles;
- The unattested account of Antony in Frankish countries constitutes a fifth of the entire text;
- Less than 3% of the text depicts Antony's early ascetic life among the tombs, while almost 70% of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* takes place with Antony in the Inner Mountain.

The following pie charts help to illustrate these points.³⁴⁵

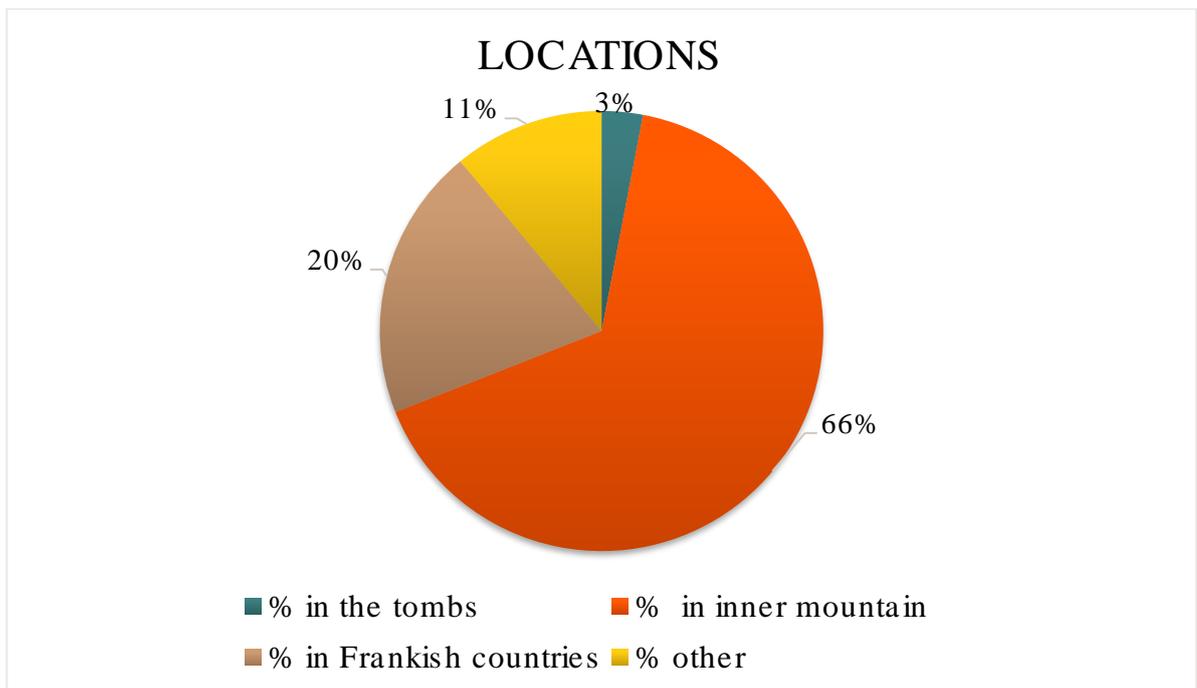
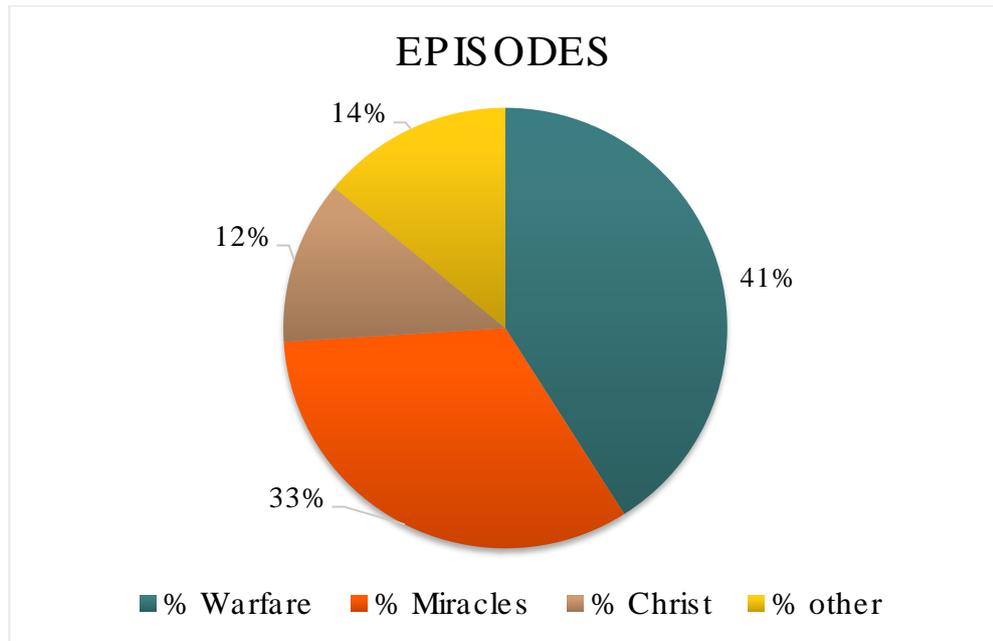
³⁴¹ VA 91.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253.

³⁴² VA 91.8-91.9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253 (however, in the *Athanasian Life* Antony does not bequeath anything to Macarius).

³⁴³ CM 19, in Vivian 2004: 176-177.

³⁴⁴ Christ appears to Antony for the sixth and final time on his death-bed.

³⁴⁵ The percentages are based on the number of pages per episode in comparison to the total number of pages of the text, excluding the *proemium* and concluding blessing.



The commentary that follows will be divided according to the nine phases mentioned in the synoptic overview.

2.10 Commentary on the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*³⁴⁶

2.10.1 *Proemium and Phase 1: The Beginning (ff. 3r–8v)*

The *proemium* introduces Antony with his usual titles; “the star of the wilderness [and] father of all monks,”³⁴⁷ as well as attributes the text to Serapion. A series of “programmatically statements”³⁴⁸ then follow to orientate the audience toward what they are about to hear or read, namely, Antony’s primacy in virtues, spiritual struggles, conquests, and miracles. In so doing, the author establishes Antony’s superiority in being the first one who not only taught asceticism, but was completely self-taught in the ways of ascetic discipline³⁴⁹ and the first one to be clothed in the garb of a monk that was given to him by Christ Himself as a reward for his spiritual struggles. The author then boasts that Antony is even greater than the martyrs because the warfare he endured was not against fleshly enemies but against spirits of darkness. The extent of his magnitude is propagated in the statements that he was the first to experience monastic life and made the desert a place of habitation for monks,³⁵⁰ and that he suffered trials from the Devil as no one had suffered before him, and so because of his perseverance and triumph, he attained unspeakable glory and honour.

After the *proemium*, we are introduced to Antony’s family and are informed about their origins and background. His parents are mentioned by name,³⁵¹ and we are told they were wealthy,³⁵² God fearing, and financially supported the churches of martyrs. They were from a town called Qimn³⁵³ and they participated in the feasts of the Archangel Michael,³⁵⁴ and the feast of the Three Holy Youths in their local church in Tansā.³⁵⁵ Like many hagiographical texts, the author

³⁴⁶ The foliation and commentary is based on the text of the *Life* in SP (*Hist.*) 53: ff. 3r-66r.

³⁴⁷ These titles pre-date the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* because already in the early 12th century, Abū al-Makārim wrote of Antony that he is named “the Star of the Desert and Father of Monks” (see Evetts 1895: 160).

³⁴⁸ Efthymiadis 2011: 162.

³⁴⁹ Cf. VA 3.3-4.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 63, 65 where it states that Antony learned the ascetical discipline from village ascetics.

³⁵⁰ See VA 44.2-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 153.

³⁵¹ It was a common occurrence in Copto-Arabic hagiography that the parents of the saint are named. See e.g., reference to the *Life of Shenoute* in Bell 1983: 4; and the *Passion of Apa Victor* in Naguib 1994: 231.

³⁵² It is a common theme in Coptic hagiography that the parents of a “divine child” often belong to the privileged class of society. See Naguib 1994: 232.

³⁵³ The source for this information is Sozomen who stated in his *Ecclesiastical History* that Antony was born in Koma, which is Greek for Qimn or otherwise known as Qimn al-‘Arūs. It is the Arabic name of Heracleopolis Magna on the western bank of the Nile, downstream from the Fayyūm. See HE i.13, in Bell 2015: 41. See also Timm 1991: 2154-2157; and Wipszycka 2009: 250.

³⁵⁴ The feast of the Archangel Michael post-dates Antony because it was introduced by Kīrillūs I in the 5th century. See Youssef 1990: 147-152.

³⁵⁵ Near the town of Būsh in Banī Suwayf. See Evetts 1895: 49, 202; and Timm 1992: 2506-2507. There were two churches in the 13th century bearing the name of the Three Holy Youths in the Fayyūm and also in nearby Hnes; both sites being in the vicinity of Banī Suwayf. See Y. N. Youssef, ‘Une doxologie inédite pour les trois jeunes

describes Antony's mother as having been childless³⁵⁶ and because of her tears and supplications to the Virgin Mary, she was granted a child, whom they named Anṭūnah,³⁵⁷ and his birth was the cause of much rejoicing.

In the next section, the author speaks about Antony's mature childhood³⁵⁸ and uses biblical allusions to compare him to John the Baptist, and Christ in the way he taught elders and amazed them with his graceful speech. As a result, news about him reached the ears of Patriarch Theonas³⁵⁹ who sent for him and prophesied of his greatness and his future position as being above the rank of patriarchs.³⁶⁰ Antony is then orphaned at the age of twelve,³⁶¹ and is left with a younger sister. The account that follows may be considered as Antony's calling, and it closely follows the account in the *Athanasian Life* where he spends his time contemplating on how the

gens dans la fournaise', forthcoming. I wish to thank Youhanna Nessim Youssef for providing me with a copy of his article ahead of publication. See also Papaconstantinou 2001: 198-199. Furthermore, a church bearing the name of the Three Holy Youths existed in the Monastery of St Antony from at least the 14th century, because according to *The Miracles of Marqus al-Anṭūnī* number 34, Mattā I (87th patriarch from 1378 to 1408 AD) consecrated a church in the Monastery's garden bearing the name of the Three Holy Youths. This event must have taken place sometime between the years 1378 to 1408 AD. Ref: SA (*Hist.*) 97, f. 186v, dated 18th/19th century.

³⁵⁶ The theme of barren women is inspired by the biblical story of Hannah the mother of Samuel the prophet, and became stereotypical of many Copto-Arabic texts in the Middle Ages. See, e.g. *Martyrdom of John and Simon* attributed to Julius of Aqfaḥ, in Hyvernat 1882. Furthermore, according to Heike Behlmer, the "typically female" issue of childlessness "is widely overrepresented in [hagiographical] texts because they form particularly appropriate objects of miraculous interventions." See Behlmer 2010: 83-84.

³⁵⁷ The name Anṭūnah and Andūnah for Antony are used interchangeably in the manuscripts containing the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, and in various Medieval Arabic texts that contain Antony's name, e.g., *The Life of John the Little*, see Davis 2008: 43. See also Abū al-Makārim who refers to Antony as Andūnah and states "it was in the Egyptian desert that Anbā Andūnah, the Egyptian appeared. He was also named Antonius, the star of the desert and father of monks" (Evetts 1895: 160, 306).

³⁵⁸ In the *SL* it states that from the age of three, Antony would go to church unattended and had no regard for the things of the world, and that by the age of five he began preaching to children in order to distract them from playing. Cf. VA 1.2-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 57, where the focus is on Antony "stand[ing] apart from the normal activities of children" and his life at home as a child, but does not mention his association with other children. Cf. childhood years of Athanasius the patriarch in the *Coptic-Arabic Synaxarium*. See Basset 1922: 373-376. The patriarchal association is continued with the child Antony meeting Theonas.

³⁵⁹ According to the *SL*, Theonas sent for Antony when he was six years old. Theonas was the 16th bishop of Alexandria (282 –300 AD), and if we consider, as is commonly believed, that Antony was born c. 251 AD, then Theonas could not have been the bishop at the time that Antony was a child. However, attributing the bishop at the time to Theonas may have significance. It is clear that the redactor of the *Life* had read the *History of the Patriarchs* because the account of the birth and childhood of Peter I (who succeeded Theonas) recorded under the entry of Theonas in *HP I/6* is in fact similar to that of Antony's. The similarities between the two accounts are summarised as follows: the parents of Peter I and Antony were both God-fearing, active in giving alms, and childless. Both their mothers would weep when they saw children at church praying, and both interceded before the icons of saints to be granted a child. And the day of their births caused much joy. The patriarch in both accounts was Theonas who prophesises about their greatness. Both Peter I and Antony are like John the Baptist in their early years and were taken to Theonas to be blessed. While still in their childhood years, both of them had learned all ecclesiastical wisdom. See *HP I/6*, in Evetts 1904: 207-209. So it is obvious that the author had modelled the account of Antony's birth and childhood on that of Peter I as documented in the *HP*.

³⁶⁰ Cf. VA 67.1-2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 201, which emphasises Antony's subordination to authority.

³⁶¹ Cf. VA 2.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59, which suggests that Antony was around 18 or 20 years of age when his parents died.

apostles attained the Kingdom of Heaven,³⁶² how he heard the Bible verse in church³⁶³ that prompted him to give away his wealth, and how he placed his sister in the care of others.³⁶⁴

2.10.2 Phase 2: Start of Antony's Ascetic Life (ff. 9r–10v)

Antony then crosses to the other side of the river to dwell among the tombs and at the age of fourteen,³⁶⁵ begins a life of ascetical discipline when immediately he experiences physical warfare from the Devil.³⁶⁶ There is no period of initiation in which he learns asceticism from village ascetics, nor is there any reference to Antony practicing any type of spiritual discipline. Rather, we are told that as soon as he dwells among the tombs, he experiences face to face warfare with the Devil (which according to monastic literature is only something the monks encounter when they are further advanced in their spiritual life), and is already a wonder-worker, evident when after Antony's first encounter with the Devil, who beats him and leaves him lifeless, his friend carries him back to church³⁶⁷ and asks him to perform a miracle of restoring himself in front of the parishioners.³⁶⁸

It is not clear from the account how long the author intended for Antony to live among the tombs, but given the briefness of the account it does not seem it was for an extended period of time. In between the two incidences of warfare within this section, is a story which seems

³⁶² VA 2.1-2.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

³⁶³ The Bible verse Antony heard in the *SL* is from Matthew 10:37-38 and 19:29: "Whoever does not leave his father and mother and the things of the world and does not carry his cross and follow Me is not worthy of Me." Cf. VA 2.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59: "If you want to be perfect, go sell all your possessions and give to the poor and come follow Me and you will have treasure in heaven" (Matthew 19:21).

³⁶⁴ In the *SL* Antony put aside some money for his sister and placed her in the care of a relative. Cf. VA 2.5, 3.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59, 61, where Antony entrusts his sister to faithful virgins.

³⁶⁵ Based on VA 2.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59, there was a six-month period between the time Antony's parents died and the start of his ascetical life, whereas in the *SL* the time period was two years.

³⁶⁶ In the *VA* Antony begins his ascetical life close to his home and learns discipline from the city ascetics, spends much time in prayer and fasting, memorising scripture, and working with his hands, before venturing out into life among the tombs (VA 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 61, 63, 65). However, the author of the *SL* has Antony progress directly from home to life among the tombs; implying that he was not in need of an 'initiation' period into the life of ascetical discipline, nor was he in need of instruction. Furthermore, whereas in the *VA* Antony's early trials involved the Devil filling him with lustful thoughts and memories of his family, and his wealth (VA 5.1, 5.3-5.5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003:65, 67, 69), in the *SL* Antony encounters immediate physical warfare with the Devil.

³⁶⁷ This incident, considered his first warfare with the Devil, parallels the story in the *VA* 8.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79, which was Antony's second warfare. The author of the *SL* uses the same line as the *VA* in that he asks his friend to return him back to the place of his assault for it is there that the Lord will heal him (VA 8.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79, and *SL* f. 10r). When he goes back to the tomb the demons descend upon him with even greater fierceness (in both accounts), but whereas the *VA* says he overcame through the recitation of scriptural verses and psalms (VA 9.2-3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 81), the *SL* says he overcame through making the sign of the cross.

³⁶⁸ In the *VA* Antony only began performing miracles after he had spent fifteen years dwelling among the tombs, and twenty years living in the fortress.

completely out of context. It is based on the *Saying* attributed to Antony in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* where he was bored and an angel appeared to him and taught him how to pray and weave.³⁶⁹

2.10.3 Phase 3: Antony Moves into the Inner Mountain³⁷⁰ (ff. 10v–24r)

One day while Antony was sitting by the Nile, he noticed a woman bathing before him. He was surprised that she was not ashamed to bathe in front of an ascetic, and so she reproached him saying that if he was a true solitary man he would be living in the Inner Mountain; a three-day distance from the Nile. Taking her advice, Antony immediately gets up and heads for the Inner Mountain.³⁷¹

As soon as he moves into the Inner Mountain, the Devil fears that the desert will be inhabited by men like Antony and so the author presents a dialogue that takes place between the Devil and his demons on how they can scheme to scare Antony out of the wilderness. In vivid imagery the demons, now taking the form of various wild animals, are described. However, they fail to frighten off Antony, and after bitter warfare in which Antony is left with no flesh at all, he finally cries out to God for help. We now have the same scene as that in the *Athanasian Life* when Christ appears to Antony in the tombs after his first warfare, and restores him back to health and promises he will be famous.³⁷² Then in a scene reminiscent of the biblical story of Jacob,³⁷³ Christ changes Antony's name from Anṭūnah to Anṭūniyūs as a mark of honour,³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ See *AP Antony 1*, in Ward 1984: 1-2.

³⁷⁰ It is at this point in the story that the Athanasian and Pseudo-Serapionic versions digress. According to the *VA*, Antony spends fifteen or so years living among the tombs, and then a further twenty years living in the fortress at Pispir. He then comes out (*VA* 14.1-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 91, 93) and performs miracles for the first time (*VA* 14.1-5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 91, 93), and instructs a group of disciples in monastic living. We are given the first reference to the desert being a city of monks (*VA* 14.6-15.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 93, 95) and Antony, drawing upon scriptural references and experience, gives a long speech in persevering in the ascetical life and overcoming demonic attacks (*VA* 16.1-43.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 97-151). He then travels to Alexandria to support the martyrs and hopes to die a martyr (*VA* 46.1-46.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 157, 158), and only after the martyrdom of Peter I does he increase in his ascetical discipline and finally leave for the Inner Mountain in c. 313 AD. All of these incidences are missing from the *SL*.

³⁷¹ Cf. *VA* 49.4-5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 163, 165, which states that the voice of God led Antony into the inner wilderness, and it was a group of Saracens who transported him there.

³⁷² *VA* 10.1-3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 83, 85.

³⁷³ See Genesis 32:28, when the Lord changed Jacob's name as a reward for his perseverance and faith in wrestling until he overcame. See also Genesis 17:5. In the same way that Abraham had a name change and was promised to be a father of multitudes, Antony is promised to be the father of monks. Thus, we can assume that a change in name may be associated with a divine promise and a more exalted state.

³⁷⁴ Matthew Henry comments that the change in name is a mark of honour and represents a new phase of spiritual life, as well as a spiritual capacity for being a blessing to mankind. See Henry 1985: 195-196.

addresses him as the star of the wilderness, declares that he will be father of monks,³⁷⁵ and that the desert will be filled with his sons. Then finally, as a reward for his spiritual wrestling, God places upon him the *qulunṣuwah*³⁷⁶ (cow) and informs him that it contains power that will help him defeat all spiritual enemies.³⁷⁷

The story continues with two further incidences of warfare where again vivid dialogues take place when the Devil summons his demons to scheme and present before him the extent of their trickeries to destroy Antony. So they conjure up not only images of terrifying creatures, but of sensual women dressed in luxurious clothing providing “all kinds of pleasure that the heart desires.” The richness of the account makes it appear possible to envisage the parade of demons exhibiting their wiles; their sounds, the details of their dress and gestures, and their passionate ambition to destroy Antony. The imagery and the expressions of the struggle between Antony and the demons are expressed in military terms. Words such as “enemies”, “battle”, “evil soldiers”, “destructive swords”, and the demons lowering “their evil flags” bring to mind images of battle, suggestive of the biblical verse that instructs Christians to “put on the whole armour of God, [in order] to stand against the wiles of the Devil.”³⁷⁸ Perplexed about Antony’s endurance, the Devil gathers again his demons and gives them a long speech drawing upon biblical examples to tell of how he caused the downfall of great men like Adam, Solomon, and David through women, and yet he was not able to make Antony fall.³⁷⁹ So in one last attempt to scare Antony off the mountain, they bring together all the instruments of warfare; spears, swords, and sticks, and torment Antony for two days until his blood pours forth (like a martyr)

³⁷⁵ It is in this first vision that Christ bestows upon Antony the titles of “star of the wilderness” and “father of monks”, and it is by these titles that he is remembered liturgically in the Coptic Church up to the present day.

³⁷⁶ Abū al-Makārim states that “Antony was the first monk who... exhibited the monastic habit...” (See Evetts 1895: 161). For a description and evolution of the *qulunṣuwah*, see Innemée 1992: 117-120.

³⁷⁷ According to Karel Innemée, the monastic costume is considered as an armour in the struggle with the powers of evil, a symbolism derived from the “spiritual armour” mentioned in Ephesians 6:10-20. (Innemée 1992: 114). Apart from descriptions of Antony dressed in sack-cloth, hair-shirts, animal skins and sheepskins (see *VH* 4, in Deferrari 1964: 248; *VA* 91.8-9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003:253), we have no indication of what the Antonian monks wore. But the emphasis given in the text to the power of the *qulunṣuwah* is significant. Could it be perhaps that the *qulunṣuwah* officially became part of the monastic garb of Antonian monks around the time that the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was composed, and therefore the author took the opportunity of promoting the wearing of the head-covering through his story? In any case, according to the iconographic program in the ancient church of St Antony, the *qulunṣuwah* was a standard part of monastic clothing in the 13th century because all monastic saints are depicted with head-coverings. On the vestments of Antonian monks after the 14th century, see Innemée 1992:110-114.

³⁷⁸ Ephesians 6:10-11. In the words of Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, “Both the soldier and the ascetic were submitted to harsh discipline, both fought for a king and a cause, and both underwent a series of ordeals before reaching their final goal. Constant interaction between the written text, the oral performance and iconography united the ascetic to the warrior, and in this process created a heroic religious figure whose struggle against Evil evoked that of other heroes of the common lore.” Naguib 1994: 235.

³⁷⁹ Cf. *VA* 6.2-3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 71.

over all the rocks on the mountain.³⁸⁰ It was during this time that Christ appears to him a second time and bestows upon him blessings and promises that his position in the afterlife will be exalted above all heavenly ranks.

2.10.4 Phase 4: Antony Meets Paul the Hermit and Paul the Simple (ff. 24r–27r)

At this point in the story, Antony is now forty-nine years old,³⁸¹ and the author explains that because he had fought hard combat with the Devil for thirty-five years, God wanted to console him by giving him a friend in the person of Paul the Hermit. It is quite surprising that given the prominence Paul has in the Coptic Church and his close association with Antony – both liturgically and iconographically – that his account would be reduced to simply eleven lines in the text. In fact, his account is presented almost as an afterthought, instead of something of significance; especially when compared to the space given for the description of Paul the Simple.³⁸²

The account in full is as follows:

So [one day] he thought [to himself] whether anyone had preceded him in this wilderness. Then it was said to him, “O Anṭūniyūs there is deeper [in the desert], a day’s [journey] from you, a human [dwelling] of whom the world is not worthy of his footsteps.” And the saint got up and entered the wilderness and found the father Anbā Būlā, and he asked him about many things. Then the saint Anbā Būlā reposed and Anbā Anṭūniyūs shrouded him and went back to his cave and he stayed [there] as usual.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ Unlike in the VA where there is much scriptural reference and recitation during the times when Antony goes through spiritual trials, in the SL there is no mention of Antony reciting any scripture. Rather, when experiencing warfare, he does the sign of the cross, or simply call out to God for help.

³⁸¹ Cf. VA 10.4, 14.1, 47.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 85, 91, 159. According to the VA, the years that Antony spent in the tombs and at Pispir totalled about thirty-five years. He then spent at least a further seven years instructing his disciples at Pispir, and only moved into the Inner Mountain sometime after the death of Peter I in 311 AD. Thus he must have been over sixty years old when he moved to al-Qalzam.

³⁸² In speaking with a monk from the Monastery of St Paul (who prefers to remain anonymous) regarding this point, he suggested that the brief account of Paul the Hermit in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* is not unusual, given the competitiveness that has always existed – up to the present day – between the two monasteries of which is more important. He suggested that the brief account of Paul is a deliberate ploy by the Antonian author to infer that Antony has primacy over Paul. And not only Antony, but the disciples of Antony and hence the reason why Paul the Simple, a disciple of Antony, takes up a considerable section in the text in comparison to Paul the Hermit. (Conversation 16 August, 2016). Cf. Wilkinson vol. 2, 1843: 381, in which he states that when he visited the Red Sea monasteries in 1837, the Monastery of St Antony was considered to be the principal monastery in Egypt and that “Dayr Bolos claims for itself an equal rank.”

³⁸³ SL f. 24v.

The author took snippets from Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit*³⁸⁴ to compose this paragraph, but whereas Jerome mentions that Antony had thoughts of pride being the first one to settle in the desert, the author of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* replaces the description of Antony having thoughts of pride to rather, Antony *wondering* if anyone preceded him.³⁸⁵ Furthermore, Jerome states that Antony was ninety at the time he met Paul, intending perhaps to infer that in spite of his experience and advanced age he was placed in a secondary position to Paul. However, the redactor has Antony aged forty-nine when he meets Paul, and that the cause of the meeting was not to reprimand Antony for his pride, but rather to reward him for his spiritual struggles which he endured and conquered at a young age in comparison to Athanasius' Antony.

The next section introduces Paul the Simple. His life-story and how he was led to Antony – as mentioned in the *Lausiatic History*³⁸⁶ and the *Historia Monachorum*³⁸⁷ – is retold with embellishments that can be found in the *Arabic Life of Paul the Simple*,³⁸⁸ and also stories attributed to him in the *Bustān*.³⁸⁹

2.10.5 Phase 5: Antony the Wonder-Worker (ff. 27r–32r)

Phase 5 commences with the growth of Antony's monastic community and the construction of a monastery by his disciples near the riverbank in the Nile Valley. The author mentions that Antony would visit them there from time to time,³⁹⁰ however, we read of no interaction at all taking place between Antony and his disciples, until the death-bed scene.

The account continues that because Antony became famous everywhere,³⁹¹ people (and animals) were brought to him for healing. What follows are four miracles performed by Antony;

³⁸⁴ VP 7, 10, 16, in Deferrari 1964: 229, 232, 236.

³⁸⁵ By comparison, this sentence in the *Arabic Life of Paul the Hermit* closely parallels Jerome's account. It states that one day "Antony's heart became proud [that he was greater than] all the other ascetics and he said [to himself] I am the first one to live in the wilderness. Then a voice from heaven came to him saying that there is someone dwelling in the wilderness who is more righteous than anyone else." See, e.g. SP (*Hist.*) 53, f. 72r. The following manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries also contain the *Arabic Life of Paul the Hermit*: SA (*Hist.*) 93, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 153, 193, 219; and SP (*Hist.*) 26, 39, 53, 136.

The text in Arabic reads:

وكان هناك اسكيدس اسمه انطونيوس من أهل بلاد مصر يقال لها قمن. فخرج خارج مدينته قليلاً. وطلع الى فوق الجبل. وبنا له موضع صغيراً. وسماه برمولا اي المحلة. فأقام فيها منفرداً. وهذا تعظم قلبه على النساك كلهم. وقال انا اول من سكن البرية. حينئذاً جآه صوتاً من السما قايلاً. هوذا ساكن في البرية مصطفي باحد مصطفي بالاكتر ...

³⁸⁶ HL XXII, in Meyer 1964: 76-81.

³⁸⁷ HM XXIV, in Russell 1981: 114-115.

³⁸⁸ E.g. SA (*Hist.*) 97: ff. 1r-7v, late 17th century.

³⁸⁹ E.g. *Bustān al-Ruhbān*, in Epiphanius 2014: 338-339.

³⁹⁰ Cf. VA 54.1, 54.6, 61.1, 63.1, 84.2-5, 85.1-2, 89.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 173, 175, 189, 191, 237, 239, 247; HL XXI.2, in Meyer 1964: 72.

³⁹¹ Cf. VA 93.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 257.

two with people,³⁹² and two with animals. In the first miracle he restores sight to blind people coming to him from Miṣr,³⁹³ and in the second miracle he brings back to life the son of a Roman man³⁹⁴ from Aṭfiḥ.³⁹⁵ This second miracle story is significant because the Copts believe that the church of St Antony in al-Maymūn³⁹⁶ was built as a result of this miracle. According to local tradition:

The governor of Aṭfiḥ had a son who died. And so as was the custom of the day, he placed the body of his son in front of the cave of Antony, who was resting at the time ... When the time for prayers had come, the saint called out to his disciples and when they came they were surprised to find the boy alive. The boy's mother was so excited and so the saint, to silence her from praising him, made her mute for the rest of her life. As a sign of gratitude for restoring the boy to life, the father built a church, after Antony's death, on the site where the miracle took place, as a memorial to Antony.³⁹⁷

And finally, the last two miracles, filled with biblical allusion, concern Antony giving sight to a baby lion and a baby wolf that were born blind.³⁹⁸

³⁹² Each story creatively employs biblical quotes and allusions to miracle-stories in the New Testament. For example, the mention of people visiting Antony who immediately receive sight is a literal quotation from Luke 18:43. Likewise, in the same way that the crowds brought their sick to Christ in Matthew 15:30, Antony also gathered to him the blind and those who had need of healing. The biblical allusions suggest that the writer was purposely modelling Antony on examples from the Gospels. An allusion to the mother requesting Antony to bring her son back to life is found, e.g., in the stories of a widow's son (Luke 7:15), and a ruler's daughter whom Christ brought back to life (Matthew 9:18; Mark 5:23; Luke 8:41). Examples such as these imply that the subtle echoes in the text are consciously intended.

³⁹³ Xerophthalmia was one of the most common illnesses among people of the medieval period caused by severe vitamin A deficiency, that if left untreated results in blindness. See Scott 2010: 12.

³⁹⁴ In the Arabic text, the man is described as being "*Rūm*". In the medieval period, Muslim Arabs and Turks called the Greeks of Byzantium "*Rūm*", meaning Roman, whereas they called the Latin Christians "*al-Ifranj*" which is a corruption of the word "Frank". (See Irwin 1989: 227; Walsh et al. 2014: 18; and Coureas 2015: 61. See also *HP* III/3, in Burmester and Khater 1970: 139, 143). When Ibn Jubayr (a 12th century poet, traveller and geographer from Andalusia) visited Egypt at the end of the 12th century, he reported that there were "captive infidels from *Rum* whose numbers were greatly beyond measure," and that "countless *Rumi* prisoners", mostly coming from Syria, worked "in that part of the land which is nearest to the Sea of al-Qulzum" at building and assembling ships (Broadhurst 1952: 51, 52, 58, 59). It may not be unreasonable to assume that some of the "*Rūmi*" frequented the nearby monasteries. "Romaioi" (Roman) was the normal designation for "any Greek speaking, Orthodox imperial subject" in Byzantium, cf. e.g. Cameron 2003: 49.

³⁹⁵ Abu l-Makārim records that there is a road that goes from Aṭfiḥ to the Inner Mountain of St Antony that is a three-day journey (see Evetts 1895: 162).

³⁹⁶ Province of Banī Suwayf, and the place where Copts believe Antony first began his ascetical life. See Timm 1984: 742-749.

³⁹⁷ See Meinardus 1991: 22-23. See also Evetts 1895: 159.

³⁹⁸ Cf. *HL* XVIII.27, in Meyer 1964: 66: story of the blind hyena that Macarius restored the sight of, and the gift of the fleece that the hyena brought back for Macarius; Sulpicius Severus *Dialogues* I.15, in Goodrich 2015: 32: story of a holy man in Nitria who heals a blind cub and the lioness returns with animal skins as a gift. There are many stories of animals and ascetics, many of which contain miraculous elements. For examples, see Ward 1981: 43-44. For a discussion and bibliography, see Elliot 1987; and Atkins 2001: 7. According to Benedicta Ward, the emphasis in stories of ascetics with animals is not based on a sentimental attachment to animals but upon the true control and obedience of man and the beasts. The desert monks were by their whole lives quite deliberately

2.10.6 Phase 6: *The Great Temptation* (ff. 32v–47v)

The next phase is what I have termed “The Great Temptation”. Consisting of fifteen bifolia,³⁹⁹ the story constitutes 25% of the entire text and is the longest account of warfare experienced by Antony. Previously, the Devil had tried to tempt him by means of pleasure, such as presenting him with phantoms of dancing girls, and by means of memories. But in this account we find Antony, having now lived sixty-five years in the desert, being attacked by the Devil who creatively tries again to bring about his downfall, but this time by manipulating him intellectually, emotionally, and finally physically.

The story begins with Antony encountering a woman who was bathing naked with ten of her maidens. Seeing her he tries to escape, but she draws him in by addressing him as a solitary man of God and quoting verses from scripture, she asks him to teach her about salvation. Intrigued, Antony engages in conversation with her and she lures him in with her soft, compassionate voice, and questions him about his years in the wilderness and the warfare he has encountered. Because she commends Antony’s speech by reciting scriptural quotations, Antony does not suspect anything sinister. She introduces herself as being the queen of a great kingdom and proceeds to take Antony with her across the sea to visit her kingdom. In vivid imagery and descriptive detail, they ride together through the city and market places and Antony is astounded by the wealth and luxury he sees before him. She then proceeds to work miracles of healing in God’s name and tells Antony that God bestowed upon her and her late husband many spiritual gifts which they use in serving people. Manipulating Antony emotionally, she compares her position to his, in that in her life she obeys the biblical commandments of helping the poor, giving to the needy, visiting the sick, and caring for the distressed, and reproaches Antony for his selfishness in living alone in the wilderness and serving no one but himself. Antony is enthralled by all the wonders the queen performs before him and wonders how he could aspire to her greatness. And the eloquence of her speech and constant recitation of scripture leaves Antony with nothing evil to suspect.

imitating Christ’s stay in the wilderness. It is reasonable to see their dealings with animals also as a self-conscious imitation of Christ (Ward 1981: 43). The stories of Antony and the animals provide confirmation of this: in the same way that those who were sick were brought before Christ, the animals too brought their sick and placed them at Antony’s feet. The author quotes the Bible almost exactly. Then, like Christ who uses touch and spittle to heal blind men (Mark 8:23, John 9:6), Antony heals by placing his hand on the head of the animal, and uses spittle to heal the pup’s eyes. Then after performing the miracles, the saint gives the animals back to their mother, in the same way that Christ returned the son of the widow of Nain after he was restored (Luke 7:15). But the animals respond quite differently to their biblical models in that they provide Antony with a gift of gratitude. Cf. Hobgood-Oster 2008: 63-80.

³⁹⁹ According to the text in SP (*Hist.*) 53.

Aware that she now has Antony's full attention, she proceeds to tell him her mission – to find a husband who will rule the kingdom with her so that together they may do charitable deeds. Intending to manipulate Antony intellectually, she draws upon the Church canons and biblical examples to justify marriage to him as being not only sacred and a biblical commandment, but superior to the life of a solitary. She convinces him further by reassuring him that God would not have allowed His great prophets and apostles to marry if it was not pleasing to Him. And in a very lengthy and detailed account, she proceeds to teach him scripture “chapter by chapter and letter by letter and line by line,” and sermonises about the marital state of biblical exempla from Adam to Peter, and so, “the saint was about to be deceived by the many things he heard from her speech.” She then progresses to tempt him physically by allowing him to be raptured by her beauty and her beautiful scent, and so Antony begins to question himself and question whether marriage is possible after reaching such an advanced age. Seeing him thus in a state of resignation, she draws near to him and places her hand on his head to remove his *qulunṣuwah*. And it was at that point that Antony comes to his senses and realises it is the Devil. Infuriated that he has once again been defeated, the Devil summons his armies of demons who descend upon Antony and torture him until the next day. The saint then makes the sign of the cross and cries out to God for help. For the third time, Christ appears to him and this time He heaps blessings and promises not only on Antony, but on all those who honour Antony with their vows and donations, and assistance in building churches in Antony's name. Believing that Antony has now been perfected, Christ proceeds to clothe him with the *iskīm*⁴⁰⁰ (monastic skema) and tunic.⁴⁰¹

2.10.7 Phase 7: Athanasius and Antony Meet (ff. 48v–50r)

In the next phase of the text, we are introduced to Athanasius for the first time who meets Antony on two occasions. The first time, after hearing of Antony's wonders, he is prompted to visit him in the Inner Mountain to ask him to pray that the plague that is destroying Alexandria

⁴⁰⁰ For a discussion on the interpretation of the *iskīm* as part of the monastic costume, see Innemée 1992: 110, 114-115, 124-127. Based on the description provided in the *Rite of Consecration of a Patriarch* (Burmester 1960: 9, 54-55), Innemée suggests that it could simply refer to the ‘habit’ or ‘outward appearance or costume’ (Innemée 1992: 124).

⁴⁰¹ The tunic had more than just a practical function. It symbolised the cuirass of the spiritual armour. We find an example of this belief in a legend about Antony dressing up a dummy in the costume of a monk. Immediately devils appear and attack the dummy. When asked why the devils attacked the dummy when it was not real, they responded that the costume was enough to infuriate them. So the costume both attracts evil spirits but also protects the monk against them. See Ms Vat. Copt. 64, 10th century, in Amélineau 1894: 40. In Ms Bodl. 111 and in Ms Vat. Copt. 54 the tunic is called “the tunic of truth and the cuirass of salvation”. (See Evetts 1906: 132, 144; Innemée 1992: 116).

may be lifted.⁴⁰² Antony, then performing his fifth miracle, prays and God removes “His wrath” from the city for Antony’s sake. During their meeting, Antony clothes Athanasius in the garb of a monk and tells him “From now on this becomes the attire of the fathers, the patriarchs.”⁴⁰³ The author stipulates that the “angelic habit” given to Athanasius consisted of the *qulunṣuwah*, the *iskīm*, the girdle, the cape, and the woollen *melote*.⁴⁰⁴ The second time Antony and Athanasius meet is in Alexandria. Unusually, the story returns back to the death-scene of Paul the Hermit whom Antony shrouds in the cloak that Athanasius had given Antony,⁴⁰⁵ and Antony, according to Paul’s instruction, removes Paul’s wicker-work garment and travels to Alexandria to give it to the patriarch as a gift.⁴⁰⁶ The author tells us that this is the “third time” Antony and Athanasius had met. However, if this is the case, the author did not inform us the circumstance of their second meeting. Antony arrives in Alexandria while Athanasius is officiating the liturgy. He is then divinely instructed to ordain Antony a priest, and after they spend three days together, Athanasius promotes him to the rank of *hegumen* (proto-priest).

2.10.8 Phase 8: Antony in Frankish Countries (ff. 50r–62r)

In the next phase, which constitutes a fifth of the entire Pseudo-Serapionic account, the text transports Antony of Egypt, to Frankish countries. Now the audience, at least in their imaginations, is invited into a space beyond their usual environment, and as Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau comment, “textual mobility” is particularly characteristic of ascetic texts.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰² During the years of the Fifth Crusade (1217-1271 AD), a severe outbreak of scurvy (an epidemic that caused swollen gums, loss of teeth, legs that swelled up and festered as the skin turned black) broke out attacking the Nile delta in particular. According to the chroniclers, the epidemic killed more than a fifth of the Christian population. With the Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries, the plague became more frequent and violent, and historians have noted that in Egypt the plague manifested itself with greater persistency. See Kohn 2008: 84-85; and Swanson 2010: 101-102.

⁴⁰³ According to the Canons of the Coptic Church, the patriarch must have been a monk prior to his election, and his consecration is officiated by a synod of bishops (see Burmester 1960: 3-4). In this scene, the author, by having Antony bestow the monastic and patriarchal vestments upon Athanasius, is declaring Antony’s ecclesiastical authority and elevating his status as being above that of a bishop and equal to a synod of bishops. Cf. VA 67.1-2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 201.

⁴⁰⁴ In the earliest extant manuscript containing the *Rite of Consecration of a Patriarch* (Ms Coptic Museum (Lit.) 253, dated 1364 AD), it stipulates that the patriarch-elect is clothed by a synod of bishops “with the complete angelic dress: the *thorakion*, the cowl, the scapular which is the leather *skhêma*, the leather girdle upon his loins, [and] after [it] the pallium” (Burmester 1960: 55). For a description of the monastic habit, cf. Evelyn White vol. 2, 1932: 194-197. See also Butler vol. 2, 1884: 144-145. For a description of the components of the “angelic dress”, see Innemée 1992: 98-128.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. VP 12, 16, in Deferrari 1964: 234, 236.

⁴⁰⁶ In the VP Jerome states that Antony took Paul’s wicker-work garment for himself and wore it on Easter and Pentecost (VP 16, in Deferrari 1964: 236), whereas in the SL it states that Paul instructs Antony to give his garment to Athanasius “who wore it during the major feasts.”

⁴⁰⁷ Hägg and Rousseau 2000: 17.

The story continues that Antony was famous all over the world for his wonders that were unsurpassed, and because the demons could not withstand him, they escape and flee to the countries of the Franks. But many of the Frankish people, including the king's family, being Christians only by name and not by practice, were either possessed or sick, and so they begged the king to send for Antony.⁴⁰⁸ Having received the request of the king via messengers,⁴⁰⁹ Antony at once travels to the city of the Frankish king on a cloud,⁴¹⁰ and appears dressed in Frankish clothing and speaking the local language of *Barkenoni*. What follows are a series of five miracles performed by Antony; from healing sick people and sick animals, casting out demons, raising up the dead, and granting others the power to perform miracles. The Devil takes on two forms in this phase; in the first appearance he disguises himself as an ascetic who outdoes Antony with his wonders. However, while Antony looks on with admiration at the spiritual gifts the ascetic has and praises God for them, Christ appears to him and warns him that it is the Devil. Enraged that his wiles are exposed, the Devil then summons his demons, and in the last account of warfare in the text, engages in public combat with Antony in the midst of the marketplace “while the king and all the people of the city” watch in amazement. With the war intensifying, Christ sends Antony the Archangel Michael who hands him a sword of fire to fight with, and at once the demons flee. Christ then appears to Antony for the fifth time, and promises him that his wonders will increase and that his name will live on forever in Frankish countries. Now at the age of ninety, after having spent thirty months abroad, Antony mounts his cloud and returns back to his monastery.

2.10.9 *Phase 9: Death of Antony (ff. 62r–66r)*

The author now concludes the narrative with elements common to the conclusions of many hagiographies: last exhortations or instructions, appearances or visions of saints or eminent monastics,⁴¹¹ the ascension of his soul to a place of elevated glory, and the occurrence afterwards of many miracles.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. VA 81.1-3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 229.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. AP Antony 31, in Ward 1984: 8.

⁴¹⁰ It was a common theme in monastic hagiography for saints to travel on a cloud to distant lands, e.g. Shenoute travels back from Ephesus on a cloud after attending the Third Ecumenical Council (see *The Bohairic Coptic Life of Shenoute* 18-19, in Bell 1983: 48. See also *The Virtues of St Macarius of Egypt* 32, in Vivian 2004: 109), and John Colobos travels to Babylon on a cloud to find the relics of the Three Holy Youths (see *The Bohairic Coptic Life of John the Little* 75, in Vivian and Mikhail 2010: 119; and *The Arabic Life of John the Little* 75, in Davis 2008: 171).

⁴¹¹ However, because of Antony's supremacy, no one less than Christ Himself appears to him on his death-bed.

⁴¹² Vivian and Mikhail 2010:35-36. See also Goehring 2009: 21-39.

The final segment of the text recounts the death of Antony with his last exhortations. Knowing the hour of his death, he calls together his sons and in a lengthy speech, gives them commandments on how they should live together and the rewards they will receive if they follow his precepts.⁴¹³ Antony's emphasis that they must not be negligent in service and in prayers, must keep their tongues from gossip, be united and have love for each other, may suggest that these were particular areas of concern within the community at the time of the text's composition. Furthermore, the author likely intended for Antony's commandments to function as instructions to subsequent readers and hearers of the text.

However, it is interesting to note that the commandments given by Antony to his disciples are those contained in the *Rite for the Funeral of a Patriarch*, and were most recently read out during the funeral service of the late Pope Shinūdah III on 20 March 2012. It is not certain at what point in time the commandments were composed or incorporated as part of the Rite, but according to the oldest extant manuscript of the Rite, dated 1373/4 AD,⁴¹⁴ it has existed from at least the 14th century. Further research is needed to ascertain if the commandments pre-date the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* and the redactor incorporated them into his composition, or whether the commandments were taken from the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* and incorporated, perhaps by Antonian patriarchs, into the Funeral Rite. But given that the expressions and style of Antony's speech in the death-bed scene differs from those used for Antony throughout the text, I am inclined to propose that the redactor copied the commandments from a pre-existing source and incorporated them into his composition. It was the redactor's intention to exalt Antony above the rank of a patriarch, and so in the same way that a patriarch's role is to teach and instruct, the redactor applied these same attributes to Antony that we see only for the first time in the death-bed scene. At no other time in the text does Antony provide teaching or instruction to his disciples. Perhaps the redactor chose the final death-bed scene as the last scene the hearers and readers would remember, in order to recap Antony's hierarchical position. Furthermore, one may assume that those hearing or reading the narrative may have been familiar with the Funeral Rite and so hearing the same commandments from Antony must have served to magnify Antony's authority further.

The following table provides a comparison of the similar commandments in the two texts.

⁴¹³ Cf. VA 91, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 251, 253, where Antony's final words are about overcoming demonic wiles, and the importance of not associating with heretics.

⁴¹⁴ Ms Coptic Museum (*Lit.*) 144/331: ff. 75r-76r (dated 1090 AM = 1373/4 AD). See Simaika vol 1, 1939: 73-74.

Table 2.3: Antony's final commandments and the patriarch's Funeral Rite	
<p>Antony's final commandments in the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony</i>, in Ms SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53: ff. 62v–64r.</p>	<p>“Rite of the Funeral Service for Patriarchs and Bishops”, in Ms Coptic Museum (<i>Lit.</i>) 144/331: ff. 75r–76r (dated 1090 AM = 1373/4 AD). See Simaika Vol 1, 1939: 73–74.⁴¹⁵</p>
<p>“...I ask you my beloved sons not to let the world overshadow you. I ask you my beloved sons not to be negligent toward serving God, glory be to Him. I ask you my beloved sons to embrace toil in prayers. I ask you my beloved sons to be of one heart. I ask you my beloved sons to keep your tongue from gossip. I ask you my beloved sons to preserve the <i>iskīm</i> that you have worn. I ask you my beloved sons to keep your bodies pure for the Lord. I ask you my beloved sons not to let your lamps be dimmed. I ask you my beloved son to have the fear of God inside your hearts...God is my witness, O my beloved sons, that I did not hide anything of God's words from you nor have I slept for one night while my heart was aching over any of you. So if you keep what I have said to you the kings of the earth will carry to you gifts and oblations. If you keep what I have said to you, you will trample the head of the dragon...If you keep what I have said to you, you will eat of the bounties of the earth...If you keep what I have said to you, the angels of the Lord will guard you.</p>	<p>“...I ask you my beloved sons not to let the world overshadow you. I ask you my beloved sons not to be negligent toward serving God, glory be to Him. I ask you my beloved sons to embrace toil in prayers. I ask you my beloved sons to have perfect love for each other. I ask you my beloved sons to keep your tongue from gossip. I ask you my beloved sons to keep your bodies pure for the Lord. I ask you my beloved sons not to let your lamps be dimmed. I ask you my beloved sons to have the fear of God inside your hearts. God is my witness, O my beloved sons, that I did not hide anything of God's words from you nor have I slept for one night while my heart was aching over any of you. If you keep all that I said to you, the kings of the world will carry to you gifts and oblations. If you keep what I have said to you, you will trample the head of the dragon. If you keep what I have said to you, you will eat of the bounties of the earth. If you keep what I have said to you the Cherubim will guard you.</p>

⁴¹⁵ I wish to thank Hany Takla for providing me with a copy of this manuscript.

Then in a scene similar to that in the *Athanasian Life*, Antony instructs his disciples to hide his body after he dies so that no one finds it.⁴¹⁶ He then bequeaths his leather tunic and blanket to Athanasius, his girdle to Serapion, his staff to Macarius,⁴¹⁷ and his hair-tunic to his sons.⁴¹⁸

According to the author of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, Antony lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years,⁴¹⁹ when in His sixth and final appearance, Christ comes to Antony while on his death-bed together with multitudes of heavenly hosts to receive Antony's soul where it will rest on a throne especially prepared for him. Macarius and Isaac bury his body in a cave,⁴²⁰ after which many miracles were manifested.

Unlike what is common in hagiographies, the *Pseudo-Serapionic* account contains no final peroration, but rather, the composition ends with a brief concluding supplication for Antony's blessing.

The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* has enjoyed popularity and influence above the *Athanasian Life* from shortly after it was composed in the 13th century up until the mid-20th century. And although the books of the *Life of Antony* that are published and propagated by the Coptic Church today is the *Athanasian* version,⁴²¹ the *Pseudo-Serapionic* version is what "sticks" in Coptic memory. Coptic clergy continue to preach sermons about Antony and publish books, such as the *Bustān*⁴²² (Garden of Monks) and contemplations on Antony's life,⁴²³ with details that are clearly *Pseudo-Serapionic*, and so needless to say, it is this version that has

⁴¹⁶ See VA 90, 91.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 249, 253.

⁴¹⁷ It is most likely that the Macarius intended here is not Macarius the Great but Macarius who was Antony's disciple at the Outer Mountain. See VP 1, in Deferrari 1964: 225; Jerome, *Chronicle*, 284th Olympiad, in Donalson 1996: 322; HL XXI.1, 8, in Meyer 1964: 71, 73; Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* 17, in Meyer 1985: 84. However, it appears that the author copied the episode of Antony bequeathing his staff to Macarius from the *Coptic Life of Macarius the Great*. See the following footnote.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. VA 91.8-9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253, where he bequeaths a sheepskin to Athanasius, another sheepskin to Serapion, and the hair-tunic for his sons. The story of Antony bequeathing his staff to Macarius, is mentioned in CM 19, in Vivian 2004: 176-177. However, in the CM, Antony bequeaths his staff to Macarius prior to the death scene, whereas in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*, Antony bequeaths his staff to Macarius on his death-bed (f. 64r).

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Deuteronomy 34:7; *Life of Shenoute* 174, in Bell 1983: 89.

⁴²⁰ Cf. VA 92.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 255, where the two disciples who bury Antony are not named. Jerome, in his *Vita Pauli* (c. 377) states that the disciples who buried Antony are Macarius and Amathas (VP 1, in Deferrari 1964: 225), whereas in his *Vita Hilarion* he states that Isaac and Pelusianus were the two disciples who revealed the site of Antony's burial to Hilarion (VH 31, in Deferrari 1964: 269-270). The Macarius referenced by Jerome came to be identified as Macarius the Great who according to the CM, was with Antony before his death and then buried him before returning back to Scetis (*Coptic Life of St Macarius* 19, in Vivian 2004: 177).

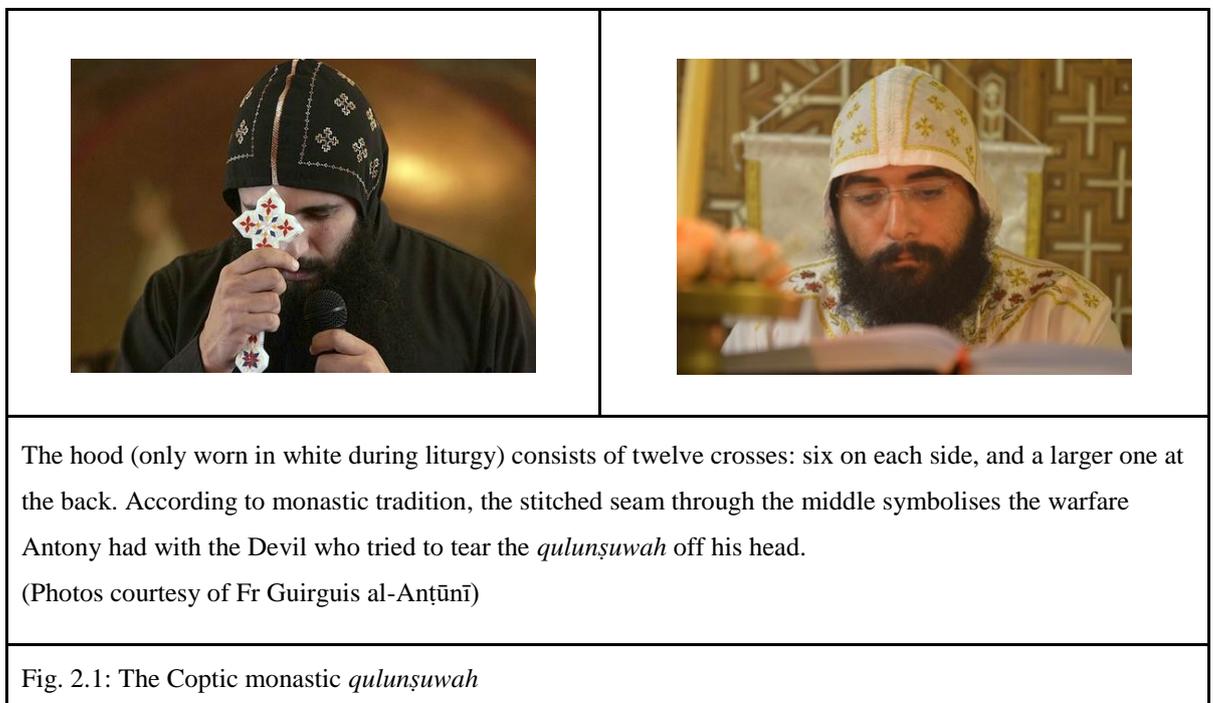
⁴²¹ See Chapter 1 for a list of the publications by St Antony's Monastery on the *Life of Antony* since 1921.

⁴²² See Epiphanius 2014.

⁴²³ See Shenouda III 2014.

appealed to monastics and laypeople alike throughout the centuries and will continue to be a mainstay in Copt's perceptions of Antony.

The sensational mix of wonders, women, demons, and most importantly, miracles – far more than those contained in the *Athanasian Life* – was what made this version more widespread, and given that “one of the permanent features of the Egyptian mind was its taste and talent for romantic story-telling,”⁴²⁴ for sure, without such details, the story would have lost both its popularity and meaning.⁴²⁵ Furthermore, the assumed circumstances surrounding the original composition of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* would have served as an important cultural vehicle for the renewal of devotion of Antony and his Monastery.



⁴²⁴ Reymond and Barns 1973: 1.

⁴²⁵ Naguib 1994: 234.



(Photo courtesy of Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī)

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

This is the day that the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord (Psalm 118:24–26).

On the day of Friday 23 Ṭūbah 1719 AM, which is 31 January 2003 AD, His Holiness Pope Shinūdah III, the pope of Alexandria and the patriarch of the See of St Mark, the 117th, consecrated the altar and the paintings of this ancient church which bears the name of our father St Antony the Great, and also the chapel of the Four Incorporeal Creatures, after the complete restoration of both of them. And also participating with him in the consecration, was His Grace Bishop Yustus the abbot of the Monastery, and Their Graces Bishop Ṣarābāmūn, Mattā'ūs, Buṭrus, Asha'yā', Abrām, Bīsintī, Lūkās, Bāsīliyūs, Bīmīn, Thī'ūfilūs, Yū'annis, Ṣarābāmūn (of the Sudan), Sūryāl, Ghabriyāl, Iṣṭafānūs, Tīmūthāwus, Īliyā, Sīrāfīm, and Quzmān. The pope, the abbot and the bishops ordained seven priests and four new monks, and it was a historical visit during which the pope opened the new [enclosure] wall of the Monastery and visited all the buildings [that were under] construction in the Monastery, and [he] also blessed the new church of the Virgin [Mary] and St Antony which lies outside of the ancient walls, [as well as] the cells beside it. And on this occasion some of the monks from the Monastery of St Paul and also the head of St Mīnā's [Monastery]⁴²⁶ and some of his monks came, [as well as] several priests and archons of the church. May the Lord keep for us the life of His Holiness Pope Shinūdah III and the fathers the bishops [who were] participating with him in this Monastery, and its abbot and its monks. Through the intercession of our mother the holy Virgin Mary and our father St Antony, amen.

Fig. 2.2: Commemorative inscription of the re-consecration of the ancient church of St Antony, in 2003.

⁴²⁶ The monasteries of St Paul at the Red Sea and St Mīnā at Maryūt did not have episcopal abbots at this time.



(Photo courtesy of Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī)

Fig. 2.3: A votive lamb offered to the Monastery of St Antony



From left to right: Antony, Paul the Hermit, Serapion the Bishop, Isaac of the Outer Mountain, and Paul the Simple. 13th century. Monastery of St Antony.

(Photo courtesy of Ayman Naʿīm)



From left to right: Serapion the Bishop, Antony, and Paul the Hermit. 18th century. Monastery of St Paul.

(Photo courtesy of Ayman Naʿīm)

Fig. 2.4: Wall-paintings depicting Serapion of Thmuis

CHAPTER 3

CODICOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY AND SCRIBAL CONVENTIONS

Since the early 1930s, the manuscripts at the Red Sea monasteries have remained inaccessible to scholars, and other than the unpublished catalogues of the manuscript libraries that were first produced by Thomas Whittemore and Marcus Simaika,¹ no research or documentation have ever been performed on the manuscripts until now.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: firstly, to provide a detailed description of the codicological method employed in documenting the manuscripts that contain the *Life of Antony* in Arabic,² and secondly, to summarise the key findings that pertain to standard scribal conventions identified during the codicological documentation process.

3.1 Codicological Methodology

Working with the original manuscripts (as opposed to digitised copies) has made it possible to provide a complete codicological description by being able to measure the size of the codex and written area, identify the colour and feel the thickness of paper; noting differences within the same codex, count the quires and establish how they are sewn, and identify chain lines and watermarks.

3.1.1 *Watermarks*

Watermarks are particularly valuable when it comes to dealing with undated manuscripts because they can provide clues as to the possible date of copying. Specialists have varied in their opinion of the time gap between manufacture and paper use, ranging from a four-year maximum time lapse,³ to a ten to fifteen-year gap with even a longer gap for paper used in remote parts of the Middle East.⁴ One of the main challenges faced was that there were several manuscripts containing a variety of paper types and hence one manuscript can consist of up to

¹ 1929 and 1930-32 respectively. Details in Chapter 1.

² This will be the subject of Chapter 5.

³ Nikolaev 1954: 2.

⁴ Déroche 2006: 50.

seven different watermarks⁵ dating from the 17th to the 20th century. On every occasion the most recent watermarks were contained on the flyleaves which were always a different and more recent paper type than the paper of the text block. This can perhaps provide clues as to when a book was rebound or restored.⁶ Another challenge in determining the dates of undated manuscripts based on watermarks is that, as Vsevolod Nikolaev observed, “There is no sharp line of demarcation between the watermarks of one century and those that precede it, particularly between the last decades of the former and the first decades of the latter century.”⁷ In such cases, therefore, where dating was difficult to approximate, I searched for similar watermarks found in dated manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius⁸ that were published by Ugo Zanetti,⁹ as well as similar watermarks identified in other dated manuscripts at the Red Sea monasteries.

The watermarks were traced using a LED light source placed behind each sheet of paper with a ground glass plate placed on top of the sheet to avoid damage when tracing the image. Tracing paper was placed on the glass and the watermark was then outlined with pencil. The images were drawn to scale and where identified, the chain lines were also marked.¹⁰

At times it was impossible to determine or trace the watermarks when the pages were covered with writing. In these circumstances, I have stated that the watermarks are not identifiable. All identified watermarks were then cross-checked against the watermarks published by C. M. Briquet¹¹ and Vsevolod Nikoleav,¹² and finally against the database of watermarks documented by the International Association of Paper Historians.¹³ In fact it was uncommon to find a watermark in all these publications that was equivalent in all respects to those observed in the manuscripts studied here.

All with the exception of one manuscript in our collection¹⁴ were written on European watermarked paper.

⁵ E.g. SA (*Hist.*) 105, 107, 193.

⁶ Jean Irigoien comments, “A manuscript is not a static object, but evolves with time: the book can be damaged more or less heavily due to natural or human factors, leaves can be lost or misplaced, especially in the process of rebinding, and readers may add their own comments, or make their own corrections. One single manuscript can therefore have several ‘states’ in the course of time.” (As quoted in Macé 2015: 341).

⁷ Nikolaev 1954: 123.

⁸ In the Wādī al-Naṭrūn

⁹ Zanetti 1986a.

¹⁰ The method for copying watermarks is detailed by Déroche 2006: 59.

¹¹ Briquet 1907.

¹² Nikolaev 1954.

¹³ <http://www.paperhistory.org/database.htm> (accessed 23 March 2016).

¹⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 216: dated 8 July 1958 AD, written on Egyptian paper with the watermark ‘Egyptian Mill’.

3.1.2 *Transcriptions*

I have copied a number of texts and reproduced them as they are found in the original. The method of transcription and translation is according to the guidelines specified by Caroline Macé.¹⁵

Original spelling, diacritics and vocalisation are transcribed as is, and in places where the scribe has provided non-standard spelling, I have provided the standard spelling.¹⁶

Each line of text in Arabic has been indicated by one forward slash / at the end of each line. Square brackets [] have been used for words inserted to clarify meaning but not included in the original text. Three dots with brackets (...) have been used for missing words or letters caused by damage or otherwise not decipherable. Pointed brackets < > have been employed to indicate text in a different hand, and rubricated text is displayed in italic font.

I have tried to be as faithful to the original copy as possible. An English translation has also been provided, and on very few occasions, my translations are not literal but designed to be comprehensible to the reader.

Transliteration of words, names of people and places are provided in accordance with *International Journal of Middle East Studies* transliteration rules.¹⁷ For proper names, English rules for capitalisation have been applied.

3.1.3 *The Chronological Order of Manuscripts*

The descriptions of the manuscripts are listed in chronological order based on the date in which copying was completed. For the manuscripts that are not dated, an approximate date based on circumstantial evidence is given in italics. The circumstantial evidence includes: (1) the presence of the same scribe or patron in other dated manuscripts, (2) the presence of an endowment date if written in the same hand as the text-block,¹⁸ (3) date of any identified

¹⁵ Macé et al. 2015: 334-335.

¹⁶ Appendix 8 contains tables of original and standardised texts that are documented in Chapter 5.

¹⁷ <https://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/docs/TransChart.pdf> (accessed 6 June 2016).

¹⁸ There are four dated manuscripts in which the time lag between completion of copying and endowment vary from 4, 26, 122, and 179 years. Hence, in the absence of a copying completion date, the endowment date is taken as a guide only if it is inscribed in the same hand as the text-block.

watermarks, and (4) the same watermarks existing in other dated manuscripts. Circumstantial evidence excludes palaeographic aspects.¹⁹

3.2 Descriptive Methodology

The framework of the descriptive methodology is according to that specified by Bentley Layton,²⁰ and later Leo Depuydt,²¹ but has been adapted to reflect the various aspects of Arabic manuscript studies discussed by Adam Gacek.²² The comprehensive study titled *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies, An Introduction*, edited by Alessandro Bausi et al.²³ has also been consulted.

Each catalogue entry has nine parts consisting of the following:

- i. *Short title entry*
 - a. Catalogue number²⁴
 - b. A supplied general title
 - c. Attributed author (if mentioned)
 - d. Date of copying completed. The date in the manuscripts is always mentioned in the Coptic Year of the Martyrs, and the corresponding Gregorian calendar date has been provided. The system for the conversion of dates is according to that given by Marius Chaine.²⁵
- ii. *Physical description of the manuscript*
 - a. Format (complete/incomplete codex)
 - b. Number of scribes
 - c. Size of folio rounded to 5mm²⁶
 - d. System of numeration:

¹⁹ Palaeographic features will not be considered in the present study, but will be considered when a critical edition of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*, is undertaken as a future project.

²⁰ Layton 1987: LV.

²¹ Depuydt 1993: XCII.

²² Gacek 2009: 333-338.

²³ Bausi et al. 2015: 89-115.

²⁴ The catalogue numbers for St Antony's Monastery manuscripts are according to the latest unpublished digitised catalogue dated 2005 contained in the Monastery's library. The catalogue numbers for St Paul's Monastery manuscripts are according to the latest unpublished handwritten catalogue dated 1997 contained in the Monastery's library.

²⁵ Chaine 1925.

²⁶ A 'folio' is equivalent to half of a bifolium which is two pages, namely *recto* and *verso*. The method for measuring the written area and documenting the dimensions of a manuscript is according to Déroche 2006: 161.

- I. Coptic cursive numerals²⁷ or Arabic numbers.
- II. Position of the foliation²⁸ and type of decoration. In all cases, the numbers are inscribed in the top left-hand corner of the *recto* of each leaf. Most of the numbers are overlined²⁹ and the descriptions are based on that provided by Adam Gacek:³⁰
 1. Overlined with a stroke with what appears to be a *hā'* at its end;³¹
 2. Overlined with a red dot and stroke with what appears to be a *hā'* at its end;³²
 3. Overlined with a stroke;³³
 4. Overlined with a red dot and stroke;³⁴
 5. Underlined with a stroke.³⁵
- III. Unfoliated leaves have been assigned hypothetical numbers, which are listed in italics. These italicised numbers are not actually written in the manuscripts. To facilitate reference to the structure of the manuscripts as physical artefacts, I have followed the same system stipulated by Bentley Layton,³⁶ and later Leo Depuydt.³⁷ A similar system has likewise been followed in documenting medieval Arabic manuscripts.³⁸ Unfoliated flyleaves, ancient and modern, even if not part of the ancient manuscript structure, are designated by italic Roman numerals (e.g. *i*, *ii*, *iii* ...) for front matter, and italic Latin (e.g. *100*) for back matter. All references to parts of the manuscripts are according to the original foliation. For individual pages,

²⁷ A term described by Simaika 1942: 509. Others refer to it as Epact numerals, see Megally 1991: vol. 6, 1820-1822; *Rūmī* numerals, see Déroche 2009: 96; or Graeco-Coptic numerals, see Gacek, 2009: 118. In any case, these numerals were extensively used in early manuscripts, especially papyri. Their association with the state apparatus is evident in their appellation *hūrūf al-zimām* (numerals of registers). A similar set of shorthand notations were adopted by Christian scribes in Andalusia, where they were known under the names Mozarabic or Toledan numerals, see Sellheim 1976-87: II, Table 24. For the translation of Coptic cursive numbers used in the manuscripts under discussion, I have used the table in Simaika et al. 1942: 509. See Fig. 3.3.

²⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 219 and SP (*Hist.*) 9 are the only two manuscripts that do not have numbering.

²⁹ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 216. Overlining was a common feature used for foliation (see Gacek 2007: 221).

³⁰ For a description of the three main types of overlining, see Gacek 2009: 229.

³¹ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 105, 108, 153, 193; SP (*Hist.*) 53.

³² SA (*Hist.*) 104; SP (*Hist.*) 17, 18, 136.

³³ SA (*Hist.*) 99, 102; SP (*Hist.*) 39.

³⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 100, 106, 107; SP (*Hist.*) 26.

³⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 216.

³⁶ Layton 1987: LV.

³⁷ Depuydt 1993, XCII.

³⁸ See Drint 1999: 43-50; Gacek 2009: 335-336.

recto and *verso* are used. In each foliated manuscript, the numbers are always inscribed in the top outer margin on the *recto* side.

- e. Writing material:
 - I. Paper type, being European or non-European,³⁹ laid or wove,⁴⁰ and physical appearance.
 - II. Distance between the chain lines, when visible.
 - III. Identified watermarks. Watermark names are according to the list provided by C. M. Briquet.⁴¹ They indicate the general type and not the precise mark.

iii. *Analysis of contents*

- a. The title of each text in the manuscript⁴² and associated folio numbers.
- b. Reference to any colophons or *waqf* statements and folio numbers.

iv. *Colophons*

- a. A complete transcription of the colophon in Arabic.⁴³
- b. A translation of the colophon in English.
- c. Scribe's name, patrons, date and place of composition, indicating the locus of the statement.

v. *Waqf (endowment) statements*

- a. A complete transcription of the *waqf* in Arabic.⁴⁴
- b. A translation of the *waqf* in English.
- c. Date and place of endowment, indicating the locus of the statement.

³⁹ SA (*Hist.*) 216 is the only manuscript composed of non-European paper containing an 'Egyptian Mill' watermark.

⁴⁰ Laid paper is the type which shows a pattern of straight vertical lines reflecting the paper mould sieve. The pattern covers the entire paper and in the manuscripts studied at the Red Sea monasteries, it averages in density about 5 lines per centimetre. Chain lines, on the other hand, are straight wires perpendicular to the laid lines and were used to strengthen the sieve. The distance between chain lines identified in all our manuscripts vary between 2 and 3.5 cm.

⁴¹ C. M. Briquet 1907. Downloadable at https://doc.rero.ch/record/23217/files/ob_447_1.pdf (accessed 2 January 2016).

⁴² Excluding the incipit.

⁴³ Provided in Appendix 8.

⁴⁴ Provided in Appendix 8.

vi. *Layout of text*

- a. Size of written area, rounded to 5mm.⁴⁵ Measurements of height and width refer to the imaginary rectangle within which the written area lies. The exceeding portion of extended letter strokes is ignored, as are marginal notes and corrections. In these manuscripts there is only a single written area.
- b. Number of lines per folio. Most of the manuscripts show evidence that the pages were ruled with a ruling board, or *maṣṭarah* in Arabic.⁴⁶
- c. The various methods employed by the scribe to ensure justification of the lines:⁴⁷
 - i. Leaving the extra space uninscribed;⁴⁸
 - ii. Contracting letters and words at the end of the line by writing them in a tighter and smaller size;⁴⁹
 - iii. Elongating the last word or letters;⁵⁰
 - iv. Superscripting letters or the last word at the end of the line;⁵¹
 - v. Spacing exceeding letters of the last word in the margin while space is left between the two parts;⁵²
 - vi. Writing exceeding words diagonally in the margin;⁵³

⁴⁵ The method for measuring the written area and documenting the dimensions of a manuscript is according to Déroche 2006: 161. Letter strokes exceeding into the margin, and any marginal annotations are not included in measuring the written area.

⁴⁶ A *maṣṭarah* or 'ruling board', is a device made of wood where cords are threaded into grooves, forming ridges corresponding to the horizontal and the vertical bounding lines. The scribe would place each leaf over the board (generally on the *verso* side) and rub along the covered threads, which consequently left their impressions on the leaf. See Beit-Arié 1976: 79-86. See Fig. 3.4 for a *maṣṭarah* housed in the Monastery of St Paul's museum at the Red Sea, Egypt.

⁴⁷ Each of the mentioned devices were employed by our scribes to ensure justification of (left) margins. The variety of methods used, may reflect to a great extent the personal preferences of the scribes.

⁴⁸ See SA (*Hist.*) 104. This was a common practice in medieval Oriental manuscripts (see Beit-Arié 1976: 87-88), and was also known from various ancient inscriptions in Greek, Latin, Palmyrene, and Samaritan scripts (see Milik 1972: 79-80).

⁴⁹ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 153 and 219, this method was used by each scribe. It was also a common practice in Greek manuscripts (see Turner 1971: 17), in medieval Hebrew manuscripts (see Beit-Arié 1976: 89), and medieval Islamic Arabic manuscripts (Gacek 2009: 146). Contraction is the simplest way of preventing words from protruding into the margin (Déroche et al. 2006:103).

⁵⁰ See Beit-Arie 1981: 87. With the exception of SP (*Hist.*) 9, SA (*Hist.*) 26 and 100, all scribes employed this method.

⁵¹ This method was employed by all our scribes. According to Gacek, superscription was a common feature in manuscripts of Iranian origin or influence (Gacek 2009: 146). In the manuscripts I examined at the Red Sea monasteries, this was the most common system used by scribes to ensure margins were not exceeded. Déroche asserts that superscription of entire words which were liable to exceed the margins are written in this manner in some oriental manuscripts (Déroche et al. 2006: 103).

⁵² See SP (*Hist.*) 18, SA (*Hist.*) 97 and 105. According to Gacek, it is not uncommon to see this method of spacing exceeding letters into the left margin (Gacek 2009: 102). It was also a regular feature in medieval Hebrew manuscripts (see Tov 2004: 107).

⁵³ According to Beit-Arié, this method was the favourite practice of Oriental scribes (Beit-Arié 1976: 103). SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 219.

- vii. Writing exceeding words vertically in the margin;⁵⁴
- viii. Inscribing graphic fillers⁵⁵ that consist of one or more of the following forms:⁵⁶
 - 1. a single red dot;
 - 2. a cluster of three red dots;
 - 3. a cluster of four red dots;
 - 4. a cluster of four black dots;
 - 5. a small black circle surrounded by four red dots;
 - 6. a small black circle surrounded by four black dots;
 - 7. double black horizontal lines;
 - 8. double red horizontal lines;
 - 9. double black and red horizontal lines;
 - 10. double black diagonal lines;
 - 11. a single black horizontal line.
- d. The number of leaves grouped into quires, and quires into a codex. “Structure uncertain” means that the internal structure of the quire could not be determined because of loose leaves or tight binding. Quires stated are symmetrical, consisting of folded bifolia.⁵⁷
- e. The type of stitch used and associated sewing station: whether link stitch on two,⁵⁸ three,⁵⁹ four⁶⁰ or five⁶¹ sewing stations, or straight slit stitch.⁶² I have followed the descriptions defined by Karin Scheper.⁶³

⁵⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 108 and 193.

⁵⁵ Graphic fillers, randomly used punctuation dots, and decorative marks that are prominent in medieval Arabic manuscripts, share similarities with features in late Coptic manuscripts, perhaps attesting to the continued scribal practice. See, e.g., Depuydt 1993: CII; and Jansma 1973.

⁵⁶ SP (*Hist.*) 18, 26, 53; SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 102, 105, 107, 108 and 219.

⁵⁷ The majority of quires in the manuscripts examined consist of ten bifolia, contrary to Malachi Beit-Arié’s statement that ten bifolia (or twenty leaves) is very rare in Oriental paper manuscripts (Beit-Arié 1976:47). This is followed by five bifolia (*quinion* = ten sheets), which according to François Déroche is the most common type encountered in Arabic manuscripts (Déroche 2006: 85).

⁵⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 104, 105, 153, 219; SP (*Hist.*) 18, 26.

⁵⁹ SA (*Hist.*) 100; SP (*Hist.*) 53.

⁶⁰ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 102, 107, 193, 216; SP (*Hist.*) 9, 17, 136. The majority of the manuscripts examined consist of a link stitch on four sewing stations; a technique used more often than suggested by Karin Scheper who stated that two stations is predominate in Arabic manuscripts (Scheper 2015: 262). Four sewing stations would have lessened the risk of tear with use and was employed in our manuscripts that consist of multiple volumes of text. Apart from suggesting that four sewing stations is characteristic of Coptic and Ethiopic traditions, Scheper observed that this technique was used for resewing damaged manuscripts (Scheper 2015: 270). Interestingly, the two manuscripts that were rebound – SA (*Hist.*) 97 and 107 – both consist of four sewing stations.

⁶¹ SA (*Hist.*) 99, 108; SP (*Hist.*) 39.

⁶² SA (*Hist.*) 106, and 219.

⁶³ Scheper 2015: 62-93.

- f. Catchwords:⁶⁴ exceeding letters are distinct from catchwords, which anticipate the first word on the next page. In each manuscript, they are located at the foot of each *verso* leaf, horizontally left aligned under the text. Circumstances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page are noted.

vii. *Writing*

- a. Script: the text in all of our manuscripts is written in *naskh*⁶⁵ script in black ink.
- b. Diacritics: every text within each manuscript deviates from standard Arabic in that the system of vocalisation and diacritics is characterised by both a non-standard and irregular use. In the case where spelling or diacritics is non-standard, the standard Arabic form is provided.⁶⁶
- c. Rubrication:⁶⁷ in the case where a manuscript contains multiple texts, rubrics only used in the text of the *Life of Antony* is transcribed in Arabic and translated into English.
- d. Scribal errors range from cacographic errors,⁶⁸ to omissions and insertions. The methodology used by our scribes for correcting such errors are:⁶⁹
- i. *For cancellations:*
 1. crossing out the word or letters not required with a red line;⁷⁰
 2. crossing out the word or letters not required with a black line;⁷¹
 3. crossing out the word or letters not required with a double line in red and black.⁷²
 - ii. *For word replacement:*
 1. Crossing out the word or letters not required with a red line and writing the replacement word vertically in the margin (in an upwards direction if on the *verso* side, and downwards direction if on *recto*);⁷³

⁶⁴ Catchwords were introduced in the Orient in the 13th century but became the usual practice only later. See Beit-Arié 1976: 54.

⁶⁵ For a description of *naskh* script, see Gacek 2009: 162.

⁶⁶ A table of non-standard and standard spelling is provided in Appendix 8.

⁶⁷ The use of red ink for headings in manuscripts goes back at least to Late Antiquity. See Gacek 2009: 227.

⁶⁸ Meaning bad writing or spelling. Gacek 2009: 40.

⁶⁹ The variety and choice of procedures used in correcting mistakes may reflect to a great extent the personal preferences of the scribes.

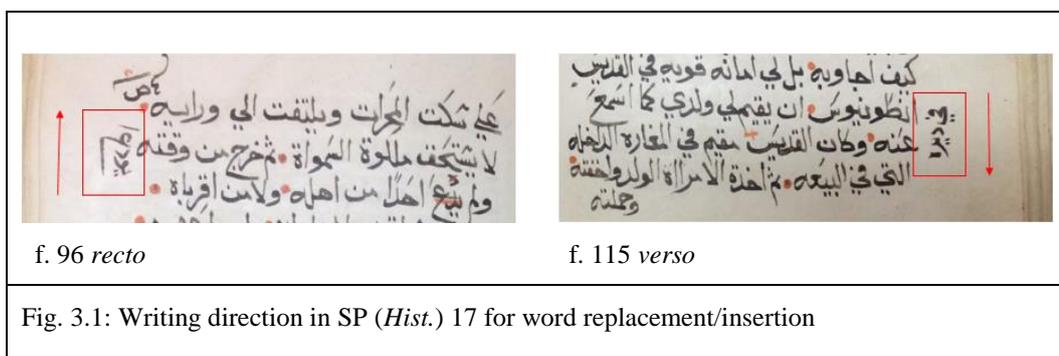
⁷⁰ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 102, 105, 108; SP (*Hist.*) 39, 53.

⁷¹ SA (*Hist.*) 153, 216, 219; SP (*Hist.*) 17, 26, 39.

⁷² SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 193.

⁷³ SA (*Hist.*) 105; SP (*Hist.*) 53. See Fig. 3.3 for examples.

2. crossing out the word or letters not required with a red line and writing the replacement word in the interline;⁷⁴
3. crossing out the word or letters not required with a black line and writing the replacement word vertically in the margin (in an upwards direction if on the *verso* side, and downwards direction if on *recto*);⁷⁵



iii. *For insertion:*

1. placing a red cross above the place of insertion and the additional word(s) written vertically in the margin (in an upwards direction if on the *verso* side, and downwards direction if on *recto*);⁷⁶
 2. placing a red cross above the place of insertion and the additional word written in the interline;⁷⁷
 3. placing a red vertical stroke in the place of insertion and the additional word(s) written vertically in the margin (in an upwards direction if on the *verso* side, and downwards direction if on *recto*);⁷⁸
 4. placing a black cross above the place of insertion and the additional word(s) written vertically in the margin (in an upwards direction if on the *verso* side, and downwards direction if on *recto*);⁷⁹
 5. placing a black cross above the place of insertion and the additional word written in the interline.⁸⁰
- e. Punctuation: in the absence of standardised punctuation, scribes typically used a single raised dot in red ink to delimit the end of a sentence or clause. However, the

⁷⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 105; SP (*Hist.*) 53.

⁷⁵ SP (*Hist.*) 17, 26.

⁷⁶ SA (*Hist.*) 106, 107, 153, 193, 216, 219; SP (*Hist.*) 53.

⁷⁷ SP (*Hist.*) 53.

⁷⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 108; SP (*Hist.*) 53.

⁷⁹ SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 153, 193, 216; SP (*Hist.*) 9, 26, 53, 136.

⁸⁰ SA (*Hist.*) 105; SP (*Hist.*) 53

dots are often set in the incorrect position and perhaps have the added function of being a decorative element throughout the text, or otherwise are simply “calligraphic debris”.⁸¹

- f. Textual decoration and dividers, chapter and paragraph markers.
 - g. Salient features.
- viii. *Description of the binding*
- a. Type of binding (II or III)⁸²
 - b. Original cover, or rebound⁸³
 - c. Stamped/tooled relief,⁸⁴ or no relief.⁸⁵
 - d. End-bands:⁸⁶ colour and pattern type; vertical⁸⁷ or chevron.⁸⁸
- ix. *Condition of the manuscript*
- x. *Other observations or remarks*

3.3 Summary of Findings

3.3.1 *Text Structure*

In the absence of standardised punctuation, the scribe punctuated the text with single red dots in order to denote boundaries between meaningful elements such as sentences or clauses. Because in many cases the dots are placed in the incorrect position, they perhaps serve more so as a decorative element throughout the text.

Given that the Arabic script does not have capitalisation and paragraphing is ignored, the scribes employed the use of decoration and rubrics⁸⁹ to help organise and structure the text and guide the reader, by shaping their perception of the important elements within the text. Commenting on the importance of rubrics and decoration as a means to help the reader negotiate their way

⁸¹ Segal 1953: 1.

⁸² According to the description of types of bookbinding in Gacek 2009: 27, and Déroche et al. 2006: 310. Out of the twenty-one manuscripts examined, eighteen consist of Type III binding, and three are Type II. This observation is contrary to Déroche’s statement that “Type III binding represents only a fraction of Eastern bindings, including in the first place Christian Arabic manuscripts... [while] Type II binding is undeniably the most widespread and best-known in the Islamic world to such an extent that it has become the archetype.” (Déroche 2006: 287, 289).

⁸³ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 107.

⁸⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 193; SP (*Hist.*) 18, 26, 39, 53.

⁸⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 107, 108, 153, 216, 219; SP (*Hist.*) 9, 17, 136.

⁸⁶ With the exception of the rebound manuscripts SA (*Hist.*) 97, 107, 219, all the manuscripts have end-bands.

⁸⁷ SA (*Hist.*) 17, 39, 136; SP (*Hist.*) 99, 102, 105, 106, 108, 109.

⁸⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 104, 153, 193, 216; SP (*Hist.*) 9, 18, 26, 53.

⁸⁹ Déroche comments that the use of red ink to highlight proper names or key words is common in historical biographies and in Islamic religious texts (Déroche et al. 2012, 191–204).

through the text, François Déroche states, “There is a great need of signs to indicate the beginnings of chapters or other textual units. Arabic script has no capital letters and so the Arabic readers look out for other indicators to aid ‘navigation’ through the text.”⁹⁰

Accordingly, red ink is used to emphasize significant features of the text, namely the incipit which introduces Antony with all his illustrious titles,⁹¹ and the proper names of *Anṭūniyūs* and *Anbā Būlā*. Red ink is also used to highlight the start of each chapter, and this brings us to an important point that red ink is frequently used to indicate internal divisions in the text that are often preceded by a decorative element.

Decorative features are customarily found at the end of textual units,⁹² and most commonly consist of a cluster of four red dots, which give the overall appearance of a small cross, or a cluster of three red dots, perhaps signifying the Trinity.

The point where the text starts and ends marks an important point of articulation, and accordingly, the incipit and the explicit in the majority of our manuscripts are emphasized by decorative features that are flanked to the right and the left of each line of text. At times, the colophons were also decorated.

3.3.2 *Scribal Convention*

The patriarchal headquarters in Cairo and the Monastery of St Antony were considered the two largest centres in Egypt⁹³ for manuscript production and where important Christian manuscripts were centralised. According to Febe Armanios, it was from these two centres that “manuscripts would be distributed to churches or patrons who requested them from all over Egypt.”⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Déroche et al. 2006: 229.

⁹¹ In each of the twenty-one manuscripts studied, the incipit is always written in red ink and is found on the *recto* of the first written folio, thus serving as a “main entrance” to the text.

⁹² I.e. paragraph and chapter endings.

⁹³ Especially in the second half of the Ottoman era c. 1690-1867 AD.

⁹⁴ Other examples of centralising important Christian manuscripts in one location come from Ottoman Palestine. See Schidorsky 1998: 264. St Antony’s prominence as being a centre for scribal and intellectual activity may also be appreciated when we consider how in the medieval and later periods, the Monastery of St Antony was often inhabited by various nationalities because of “its fame and significance within and outside of Egypt that [made it] a regular destination for study and pilgrimage” (Gabra 2002: 175). Its fame derived not only from its prominent founder, but also the fact eight Antonian monks ascended the patriarchal throne during the Ottoman period in unbroken succession – from Yū’annis XVI (1676-1718 AD) to Kirillūs IV (1854-1861 AD) – which made the Monastery a powerful force in the history of the Coptic Church at that time. Accordingly, the monks of St Antony’s Monastery were frequently exposed to outsiders and residents from other denominations. Furthermore, there is evidence that in the 17th century, Franciscans resided in the Monastery of St Antony for “seven or eight months” in order to be taught the Arabic language by the Coptic monks (Golubovich 1919: 92, as quoted in Meinardus 1961: 50), inferring that there must have been a “school” for instruction at the Monastery, or at the least, a group of educated monks capable of teaching the Arabic language to Westerners. Febe Armanios comments that in a

Armanios suggests that the “consistency and uniformity in the reproduction of hagiographic texts,” infers they must have been copied from a single source.⁹⁵ Similarly, in the twenty-one manuscripts containing the *Life* in the Red Sea monasteries, I found little textual variation,⁹⁶ which may indicate, as Febe Armanios suggests, a sort of “constancy in and supervision over its reproduction,”⁹⁷ and reflect what Lucy-Anne Hunt describes as “a chain of authoritative copying.”⁹⁸

Given the degree of “constancy” identified in transcription, it must be assumed that scribes were initiated into the trade of copying during an induction program in which they were taught the various scribal procedures connected with it. In the absence of information pertaining to the type of training the monks from the Red Sea monasteries underwent, we must look to the texts themselves to identify trends in scribal activity,⁹⁹ and hence recognise to what extent the scribes adhered to established scribal conventions and to what extent they displayed a certain level of individuality.

In the following section I will briefly list the scribal conventions I have identified in the manuscripts examined. Details on variations in scribal procedures and salient scribal characteristics will be presented in more detail in the individual manuscript descriptions provided in Chapter 5.

society where Christians had little access to education beyond local religious schools, the Monastery of St Antony “provided a stimulating intellectual environment” for study as well as literary production (Armanios 2011: 130). In fact, the monasteries and libraries in Palestine and Lebanon also served their Christian communities in a similar way. See Walbiner 2004: 462-477, and Schidorsky 1998: 260-276.

⁹⁵ Armanios 2011: 69.

⁹⁶ SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216 contain the *Athanasian Life*, and the text is exactly the same. The remaining nineteen manuscripts contain a recension of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, and the textual variation differs in the degree of embellishments, however, the episodes are the same. See Appendix 7 for examples.

⁹⁷ Armanios 2011: 69.

⁹⁸ Hunt 1997: 298.

⁹⁹ I consider that scribal activity pertains to writing practices, such as the use of scribal marks, correction procedures, any characteristic scribal features, and the level of precision in their approach to the texts from which they copied.

3.3.2.1 Scribal Conventions: Scribal Marks

Scribal marks have been defined as “any element which is not part of the content of the originally inscribed text, but is additional to it.”¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the scribal marks identified can be categorised as follows:

- i. Decorative features;
- ii. Features or marks used as space fillers;
- iii. Marks used to correct errors;
- iv. Features or rubrics used to highlight important aspects in the text;
- v. Representation of words associated with evil;
- vi. Textual and clause dividers;
- vii. Foliation.

As alluded to above in the section ‘Text Structure’, it is evident that there was an established style guide when it came to scribal marks, but it was not used in the same way by every scribe. As Michael Penn observes, “Scribes did not simply reproduce the works that they were copying. Instead, their own beliefs occasionally motivated them to modify texts in ways that reflected particular ideological biases.”¹⁰¹

A case in point is the scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 104 who was a priest from Banī Suwayf in Middle Egypt, and presented his book as a gift to the Monastery of St Antony.¹⁰² Although he displayed familiarity with scribal procedures and on many accounts adhered to them, he also displayed – in two aspects in particular – a greater level of individuality than any of the other scribes:

- a. The general convention style regarding rubrication is that the name *Anṭūniyūs* as well as the first words of a new chapter are written in red ink. The scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 104, however, only wrote the name and titles of Jesus Christ in red, and began new chapters with enlarged font size in bold black ink.
- b. The usual procedure in writing the word “the Devil” was to invert the last letter ܘ, or in the case of the word “devils”, to invert the complete word.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Tov 2004: 86.

¹⁰¹ Penn 2009: 236.

¹⁰² See detailed description of this manuscript in Chapter 5.

¹⁰³ The method of inscribing the Devil’s name upside-down or reversed is not unique to Christian-Arabic manuscripts. There are medieval examples in Garshuni (e.g. Mingana Syr. 315, Paris Syr. 44; Dayr Al-Za’faran 6 and 73), as well as Syriac (e.g. British Library Additional 14,509. See further examples at <https://hmmlorentalia.wordpress.com/2011/12/09/cursing-upside-down/> (accessed 25 May 2016) and <https://hmmlorentalia.wordpress.com/2012/02/16/another-means-of-cursing/> (accessed 25 May 2016). The

The scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 104 depicted the words for “the Devil,” “the devils,” “the Enemy,” and “the Cursed one” in fourteen different ways in the same text:¹⁰⁴

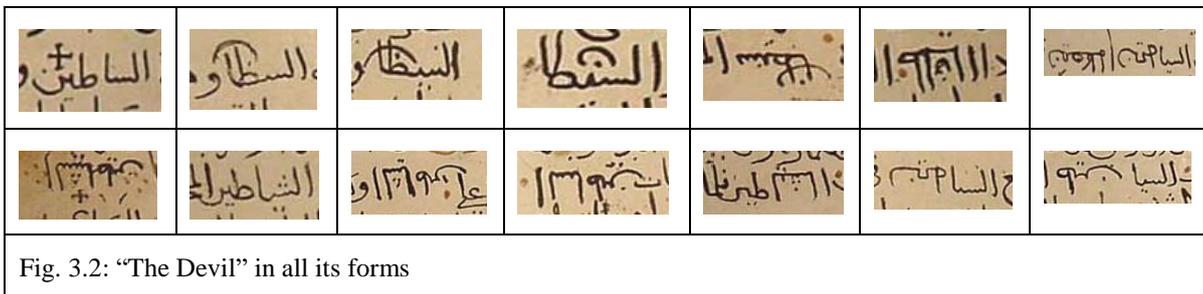


Fig. 3.2: “The Devil” in all its forms

3.3.2.2 Scribal Conventions: Correction Procedures

The variety and choice of procedures used in correcting errors may reflect, to a certain extent, the personal preferences of the scribes.¹⁰⁵ Some scribes even used a combination of systems within the one text.¹⁰⁶ The various systems of denoting changes were used either in the interlinear space or more commonly, vertically in the margin.

method of employing “textual manipulation” to alter names or words associated with the enemy were used in many ancient Greek and Latin texts “as a magical device.” Jürgen Blänsdorf defines the method of inverting names as “the reversed world of magic... This inversion of the normal direction of writing serves explicitly to model the intended fate of the target... The writing itself exerts magical power” (Blänsdorf 2010: 150-151). The “intended fate” of inverting, reversing or turning names on its side, was “to alienate someone’s sympathies, but also to drive someone mad, to be hostile toward, to be strongly opposed to, [to wish] bad luck, and [to wish] death” (Faraone et al. 2010: 381). According to Christopher Faraone and Amina Kropp, while variations of an enemy’s name are common in ancient Greek curses, the specific method of writing an enemy’s name upside-down is “a local German phenomenon” first attested in the Latin texts known as the Mainz Texts dating to the second century AD (Faraone et al. 2010: 396). In the context of our Red Sea manuscripts, in order to determine if the method of altering the word for “the Devil” was unique to hagiographical texts, as well as to the region of the Red Sea, a small sample of literature, specifically biblical and theological (SA *Theol.* 1, 178; *Bibl.* 131), was viewed for comparison. I can confirm that the method for altering the writing of the word “Devil” (whether inverted or reversed or half-half) was used across the various classifications of manuscripts viewed. Furthermore, examples were also found in a variety of manuscripts I saw at the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn (*Hag.* 20, 31, *Bibl.* 13, *Hom.* 23), and Fr Misael al-Baramūsī likewise confirmed his familiarity of seeing the method used in manuscripts at the Monastery of al-Baramūs in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, proving that it was not a regional phenomenon but rather a general stylistic convention. Investigating regional peculiarities, including Upper Egypt, is outside the scope of this study. However, this small analysis was undertaken to substantiate that the convention was not confined to just hagiographical texts or specific to manuscripts transcribed in the Red Sea monasteries.

¹⁰⁴ The entire word *al-shayṭān* inverted; the word *al-shayṭān* inverted and reversed; the word *al-shayṭān* inverted and a small black cross beneath; the last letter of *al-shayṭān* ن inverted; the last three letters of *al-shayṭān* طين inverted; the last three letters of *al-shayṭān* inverted and reversed نيط; the last two letters of *al-shayṭān* ين inverted; the first five letters of *al-shayṭān* الشيا inverted; the word *al-shayṭān* written the right way up; the word *al-shayṭān* written the right way up and a small black cross beneath.

¹⁰⁵ When considering scribal correction procedures, at times it was difficult to determine whether a given correction was made by the original scribe, a later hand, or an owner or reader. Furthermore, given that the interlinear or marginal additions were in a confined area without ruling, made it difficult to ascertain with certainty if it is the same hand or a different one. See, e.g. SA (*Hist.*) 104, 153, 193.

¹⁰⁶ A variety of systems for correction were used within the same text for SA (*Hist.*) 108, 153, 193, 216; SP (*Hist.*) 53. See detailed descriptions in Chapter 5.

Based on the two most frequently encountered errors, the main systems used for correction are:¹⁰⁷

- i. Cancellations made by crossing out with a horizontal line the word or letters in black ink;
- ii. Insertions made by placing a small black cross above the place of insertion and the additional word(s) written vertically in the margin; downwards if on *verso* side and upwards if on *recto*.

Both these conventions were used in all twenty-one recensions, in addition to certain variations which will be presented in Chapter 5.

There are two instances in which two scribes employed a unique convention in dealing with the scribal error of incorrect word order:¹⁰⁸ the Coptic letters ⲁ and ⲃ are written on top of the words in which the order of word placement should be reversed.¹⁰⁹

3.3.2.3 *Scribal Conventions: Margin Justification*

The four procedures used for ensuring justification of margins are:

- i. Contracting letters and words at the end of the line;
- ii. Elongating the last word or letters in the line, especially the letters composed of long horizontal bars, in particular ‘ي’, ‘س’, ‘ن’;
- iii. Superscripting letters or the last word at the end of the line;
- iv. Graphic fillers.

3.3.2.4 *Scribal Conventions: Superscription and Subscription*¹¹⁰

- i. The words of the incipit, in red ink, to open with the textual formula: “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit;”
- ii. The words of the explicit to commence with: “Completed the life-story of...”

¹⁰⁷ See detailed descriptions of each text in Chapter 5 that will highlight the scribes’ variations in scribal procedures.

¹⁰⁸ See SP (*Hist.*) 53 (late 17th century) and SA (*Hist.*) 193 (18th century).

¹⁰⁹ I am grateful to Fr Misael al-Baramūsī and Fr Zakka Labīb for their insight regarding this convention.

¹¹⁰ In the Arabic context, these concepts usually correspond to the initial textual formulae of the incipit and the final expression of the explicit that often introduces the colophon (Gacek 2009: 258).

3.3.3 *Scribal Approach Toward the Base Text*

With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216, which state that they were copied from the text of the *Life of Anba Anṭūniyūs* in the Monastery of St Macarius, none of the other texts of the *Life* provide information on the parent text from which they were copied.¹¹¹ Therefore, the only means of gauging the scribe's faithfulness to their base text is to consider to what extent they exercised "intentional variation."¹¹² A case in point is the scribe of SP (*Hist.*) 53, who placed small red crosses above words in the text he felt he could contribute a better meaning to, and writing the alternate word in the margin, he wrote above and beneath it 'اصح' meaning "more accurate".¹¹³

On the other hand, a consideration of the frequency of unintended scribal mistakes¹¹⁴ is another way of identifying the varying levels of precision in which the scribes approached their base text. Some of our scribes erred more than others in specific types of mistakes,¹¹⁵ the most common being omission.¹¹⁶

Generally, however, the texts in our manuscripts reflect experienced scribal skills apparent not only in the minimal scribal errors, but in the sophistication of handwriting and in the knowledge of and adherence to certain scribal conventions. While there are some manuscripts that were written in less elegant hands, there is no evidence to suggest that any of our scribes were apprentices, but rather that each of them were experienced scribes.¹¹⁷

3.3.4 *Scribal Textual Modifications*

While there is evidence that scribes made unintentional mistakes in the process of transcribing, there is also evidence to suggest that they deliberately modified texts in the process of copying,

¹¹¹ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216 which state they were copied from a copy at the Monastery of St Macarius (most probably *Hag.* 20 and 31), it was beyond the scope of this study to ascertain the parent texts of all nineteen Pseudo-Serapionic recensions at the Red Sea. However, this aspect will be considered when a critical edition is undertaken in future.

¹¹² Meaning to "correct" the text from which they are working, thinking that it either contains an error or in their opinion they can propose a better reading of the text (Gacek 2009: 234).

¹¹³ See, e.g. SP (*Hist.*) 53, f. 11r.

¹¹⁴ With the exception of the scribe of SP (*Hist.*) 18 in which no errors were identified.

¹¹⁵ The following manuscripts contain various errors, such as cancellations, omissions, and spelling, and a variety of methods were used for correction: SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 105, 108, 153, 193, 216; SP (*Hist.*) 26, 53, 136.

¹¹⁶ There was only one or two instances of omission in SA (*Hist.*) 97, 102, 104, 106, 107; SP (*Hist.*) 9, 17, 39.

¹¹⁷ There is an alley-way of cells beside the library that is called *Shāri' al-Nussākh* meaning 'Street of Scribes'. According to local monastic tradition it was so called because all the monks who lived in that 'street' were scribes. See Fig. 1.7.

suggesting the extent to which the scribes played a role in being interpreters of the text.¹¹⁸ To gain an overview of how the texts of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* were altered over time, I took a sample of one text per century and compared it to the base text of SP (*Hist.*) 53.¹¹⁹ Results show that while the episodes remained consistent over time, variations occurred in regards to extra details provided. For example:¹²⁰

SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53 (1696 AD)	SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107 (1755 AD)	SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99 (1871 AD)	SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136 (1920 AD)
ff. 4v–5r: And they had much money and owned much livestock from sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to a lot of money	f. 3v: And they had much money and owned much livestock from sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to <i>forty thousand denars</i>	f. 41v: And they had much money and owned much livestock from sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to <i>forty thousand denars</i>	f. 5v: And they had much money and owned much livestock from sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to <i>forty thousand denars</i>
f. 7r: Then he kissed the hands of the Patriarch.	f. 6v: Then he kissed the <i>hands and feet</i> of the Patriarch.	f. 42r: Then he kissed the <i>hands and feet</i> of the Patriarch.	f. 9v: Then he kissed the <i>hands and feet</i> of the Patriarch.
ff. 7v–8r: Every day and night the saint did many prostrations in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds... with all his money.	f. 6v: Every night the saint did <i>1,500 prostrations</i> in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds... with his money <i>which equated to fifty thousand denars</i> .	f. 44r: Every night the saint did <i>1,500 prostrations</i> in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds... with his money <i>which equated to fifty thousand denars</i> .	f. 12v: Every night the saint did <i>1,500 prostrations</i> in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds... with his money <i>which equated to fifty thousand denars</i> .

The additional details present in the texts from the 18th to 20th centuries were generally constant.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ That scribes might intentionally alter texts is not a new concept. For example, Origen of Alexandria (185-254 AD) commented on the differences among copies of Scripture: “The differences among copies have become many, either from the carelessness of some scribes or from the rascally audacity of others.” See Origen, *Commentary on Matthew 15.14*, in Metzger 1963: 78-95.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix 7 for examples. What is presented is high-level in lieu of a complete edition in future.

¹²⁰ Variations are highlighted in italics.

¹²¹ The intention, at this stage, is not to produce a critical edition of the nineteen manuscripts containing the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*, but rather to offer a snapshot to show the extent of variation between the texts copied in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries.

One may ask why the scribes made such alterations. Given that the additional embellishments obviously served to further magnify Antony's virtuousness, it is apparent that the words the scribes wrote were important to them, because their perceptions of the saint and their ideological intentions were manifested in what they produced. Thus, we can assume that the scribal modifications in the text demonstrate not the disregard for careful transcription, but rather the importance they attributed to the written text. Accordingly, "when scribes modified the texts, whether they recognised it or not, they were exerting a certain power over the text and a power over the community that received it."¹²²

The "codicological use"¹²³ of decorative features, punctuation, textual dividers, and the use of colour were some of the methods employed to organise and help navigate the reader through the text while highlighting important elements.

Generally speaking, the presentation of texts was not a purely artistic act on the part of the scribe, but there were clearly defined conventions that dictated, or at least affected, how text was to be configured and presented. At times some scribes displayed a certain level of individuality in the visual presentation of their texts, but overall they displayed familiarity and adherence to standard scribal conventions. And while it is understandable that unintentional mistakes were bound to happen, we have also seen evidence to indicate that at times they deliberately modified texts, however slight. Seen in this light, we come to realise that the scribes were not simply mechanical reproducers of written texts, but that they held a certain power over the texts and in doing so displayed an important role: "power exercised *over* texts allows power to be exercised *through* texts."¹²⁴

This brings to mind the issue of "quality control" and if there were any hierarchically organised efforts to control the process of text production, especially considering that most of our scribes were experienced scribes and had clientele ranging from monks within the community, to affluent members of society, to patriarchs. These scribes will be the focus of the next chapter.

¹²² Haines-Eitzen 2000: 18.

¹²³ Maniaci 2015: 84.

¹²⁴ Bowman and Woolf 1994: 8.

THTI NTE TIOTI										عَدَدَاتِ الْحَسْبَا										NUMERICAL FIGURES			
Hebrew Numerals	Coptic Cursive Numerals	Roman Numerals	Arabic Numerals	European Numerals	Hebrew Numerals	Coptic Cursive Numerals	Roman Numerals	Arabic Numerals	European Numerals	Hebrew Numerals	Coptic Cursive Numerals	Roman Numerals	Arabic Numerals	European Numerals	Hebrew Numerals	Coptic Cursive Numerals	Roman Numerals	Arabic Numerals	European Numerals				
א	Ⲁ	א	١	1	א	Ⲁ	א	١	1	א	Ⲁ	א	١	1	א	Ⲁ	א	١	1				
Ⲁ	Ⲁ	I	١	1	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	L	٥٠	50	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	CM	٩٠٠	900									
Ⲃ	Ⲃ	II	٢	2	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	LX	٦٠	60	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	M	١٠٠٠	1000									
Ⲅ	Ⲅ	III	٣	3	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	LXX	٧٠	70	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	MM	٢٠٠٠	2000									
Ⲇ	Ⲇ	IV	٤	4	Ⲇ	Ⲇ	LXXX	٨٠	80	EXAMPLES													
Ⲉ	Ⲉ	V	٥	5	Ⲉ	Ⲉ	XC	٩٠	90	Ⲉ	Ⲉ	XI	١١	11									
Ⲋ	Ⲋ	VI	٦	6	Ⲋ	Ⲋ	C	١٠٠	100	Ⲋ	Ⲋ	XII	١٢	12									
Ⲍ	Ⲍ	VII	٧	7	Ⲍ	Ⲍ	CC	٢٠٠	200	Ⲍ	Ⲍ	XXV	٢٥	25									
Ⲏ	Ⲏ	VIII	٨	8	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	CCC	٣٠٠	300	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	XXVI	٢٦	26									
Ⲑ	Ⲑ	IX	٩	9	Ⲑ	Ⲑ	CD	٤٠٠	400	Ⲑ	Ⲑ	XCIII	٩٣	93									
Ⲓ	Ⲓ	X	١٠	10	Ⲓ	Ⲓ	D	٥٠٠	500	Ⲓ	Ⲓ	CXX	١٢٠	120									
Ⲕ	Ⲕ	XX	٢٠	20	Ⲕ	Ⲕ	DC	٦٠٠	600	Ⲕ	Ⲕ	CCXIV	٢١٧	247									
Ⲗ	Ⲗ	XXX	٣٠	30	Ⲗ	Ⲗ	DCC	٧٠٠	700	Ⲗ	Ⲗ	MDLX	١٥٨٨	1588									
M	Ⲙ	XL	٤٠	40	Ⲙ	Ⲙ	DCCC	٨٠٠	800	Ⲙ	Ⲙ	MMCM	٢٩٩٩	2689									

Fig. 3.3: Conversion table of Coptic cursive numerals (Simaika 1942: 509.)

<p>Side A. Dimensions of board: 44cm x 23.5cm Length of string: 27cm x 15.5 cm 25 horizontal lines</p>	<p>Side B. Length of string: 24.5cm x 15 cm 25 horizontal lines</p>
<p>Fig. 3.4: <i>Masfarah</i> at St Paul's Monastery museum (uncatalogued). Photos courtesy of Ayman Na'im.</p>	

CHAPTER 4

SCRIBAL ACTIVITY AND AN OVERVIEW OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE *LIFE OF ANTONY* IN ARABIC, IN THE RED SEA MONASTERIES

I say to you O My beloved Antūniyūs... whoever writes your life-story, I will write his name in the Book of Life.¹

An important incentive for copying the text is articulated in the words said by Christ to Antony in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*,² and this may account for why there are a significant number of copies of this version;³ in particular in the Red Sea monasteries, above that of the *Athanasian Life* that stipulates no such reward for transcribing the *Life*.

In this chapter I will focus on the manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries that contain a *Life of Antony* in Arabic. By taking a look into the manuscripts themselves, my intention will not be simply to view the manuscripts as artefacts from which we can source “original” texts, but to appreciate them in light of the vital clues they can provide about the people who produced them. Questions that will drive the discussion in this chapter include, who were the people who produced the texts? Did they work within a controlled environment such as a scriptorium? Did they have the freedom to select the texts they wished to copy, or were they simply commissioned to copy certain texts by higher levels of authority? And finally, what can the contents of the manuscripts tell us about how Antony is viewed in Coptic liturgical tradition?

4.1 Manuscripts Containing a *Life of Antony* in Arabic in the Red Sea Monasteries

Of the twenty-one manuscripts containing a *Life of Antony* in Arabic,⁴ ten have no date.⁵ The dates of three of the ten are determinable from other dated manuscripts written by the same scribe or sponsored by the same patron.⁶ For the remaining manuscripts I have given

¹ SP (*Hist.*) 53, f. 46v.

² Cf. Mikhail 2014: 158.

³ Of the twenty-one manuscripts containing the *Life of Antony* in Arabic in the Red Sea monasteries, nineteen of them contain a Pseudo-Serapionic recension.

⁴ This number excludes the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life*.

⁵ SA (*Theol.*) 178, (*Hist.*) 93, 97, 102, 105, 106, 153, 193, 219.

⁶ SA (*Hist.*) 93, 102, 106.

approximate dating based on the identified watermarks that have been found in other oriental manuscripts, as well as in manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn,⁷ and similar watermarks identified in dated manuscripts.

The dated and datable⁸ manuscripts of the *Lives*⁹ are summarised as follows:

Table 4.1: Inventory of manuscripts of the <i>Lives of Antony</i> in the Red Sea monasteries		
	St Paul's Monastery	St Antony's Monastery
17 th century	<i>(Hist.) 53</i>	<i>(Hist.) 97, 104</i>
18 th century	<i>(Hist.) 26, *31, 39, *9</i>	<i>(Hist.) 18, *29, 100, 105, 106, 107, 153, 193, 219</i> <i>(Theol.) *301</i>
19 th century	<i>(Hist.) 17</i>	<i>(Hist.) *32, *33, *35, 93, 99, 102, 108, *208, (Theol.) 178</i>
20 th century	<i>(Hist.) 136</i>	<i>(Hist.) 216</i>

The known places where the copying of our manuscripts took place are Old Cairo,¹⁰ the Monastery of St Antony,¹¹ the Monastery of St Paul,¹² and Upper Egypt.¹³ In the twenty-one manuscripts, thirteen scribes are mentioned by name, most of the times with their title, such as “the monk”, “the priest”, “the *hegumen*”, as well as their associated monastery; “al-Anṭūnī” (the Antonian) or “al-Anbā Būlā” (the Pauline). Known also are the names of seven patrons; one of whom was the Patriarch Buṭrus VII,¹⁴ who was a monk at the Monastery of St Antony prior to his patriarchal appointment.¹⁵ With the exception of St Paul (*Hist.*) 53, which was

⁷ Zanetti 1986a.

⁸ Datable manuscripts (as opposed to manuscripts containing a date) are listed in the table in italics.

⁹ The table contains an inventory of all three versions of the *Life* in Arabic: Athanasian, Pseudo-Serapionic, and the Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic. The texts containing the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life* are indicated with an asterix.

¹⁰ SP (*Hist.*) 53. Exact location in Old Cairo not given.

¹¹ SA (*Hist.*) 216.

¹² SP (*Hist.*) 26, 39, 136.

¹³ SP (*Hist.*) 18, written in the village of Bahjūrah in the province of Qinā. Exact location other than the name of the village not given.

¹⁴ SA (*Hist.*) 108. Buṭrus VII, 109th patriarch (1809-1852 AD).

¹⁵ As a monk his name was Manqariyūs al-Jāwīlī.

endowed to St Antony but is in the possession of the Monastery of St Paul, all the manuscripts studied here reside within the monastery to which they have been endowed.

4.2 Contents of the Manuscripts

Nineteen of the twenty-one manuscripts include multiple hagiographic texts;¹⁶ fifteen of which contain both the *Life of Antony* and *Life of Paul the Hermit*.¹⁷ Samuel Rubenson's observation that the Arabic *vitae* of Antony are typically paired with both the *Life of Paul the Hermit* and the *Life of Macarius of Egypt*,¹⁸ does not hold true for the manuscripts of the Red Sea monasteries in which none of the manuscripts contain both the *Lives of Antony* and *Macarius*.¹⁹

Each manuscript consists of a unique collection of texts,²⁰ ranging from monastic hagiographies, martyr accounts, stories of Bible personalities, and homilies. Given that most of our manuscripts were commissioned by patrons for personal use, we may assume that the choice of content was dependent on the requests of the patrons.²¹ Hence, "the compilers were not simply copying available miscellanies, but [were] answering to the demands of their time."²² The contents of the manuscripts reveal which texts were prominent at a point in time, and so they are important pieces of evidence for showing devotional trends within the monastic community.

The majority of the eighty-four texts that are contained in the manuscripts are monastic miscellanies of Egyptian origin.²³ Almost every manuscript has its own unique content that is

¹⁶ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 104, 105, 216. SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216 are the Arabic translation of the *Greek Life of Antony* attributed to Athanasius, and SA (*Theol.*) 178 consists of the letters and precepts of Antony, together with the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*.

¹⁷ SA (*Hist.*) 93, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 153, 193, 219; SP (*Hist.*) 26, 39, 53, 136. Note that SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216 contain the *Athanasian Life*.

¹⁸ Rubenson 1990-1991: 45. Unfortunately Rubenson does not state his sources upon which he makes this assumption.

¹⁹ Rubenson may have made this assumption based on the information contained in Ugo Zanetti's catalogue of the manuscripts at St Macarius's Monastery: St Macarius (*Hag.*) 20 and 31. The contents are as follows: St Macarius (*Hag.*) 20: *Life of Antony* by Athanasius, *Life of Macarius the Great* by Serapion, and a *homily by Jacob of Sarug*; (*Hag.*) 31: *Life of Antony* by Athanasius, *Life of Paul the Hermit*, *Life of Macarius the Great*, *Life of Macarius the Alexandrian*, *Life of Macarius the Bishop*, *Life of John Colobos*, *Life of Bishoy* by John Colobos (see Zanetti 1986: 59).

²⁰ SA (*Theol.*) 178 is the only manuscript that contains the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* together with his letters and precepts.

²¹ Kim Haines-Eitzen, writing about scribal networks, suggests that copies of literature were made and produced in direct response to a reader's request (Haines-Eitzen 2000: 24, 82).

²² Macé 2015: 412.

²³ There are seven texts containing the *Lives* of saints from Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor: SA (*Hist.*) 107: Paul the monk in Jerusalem, and the martyr John of Heraclea; SA (*Hist.*) 193: Secundus the philosopher; SA (*Hist.*) 153: Irene the martyr, and Mary Magdalene; SA (*Hist.*) 106: Paul the Syrian, and Moses son of king 'Ūfīmānūs.

not reflected in any other collection.²⁴ Surprisingly, only one manuscript contains a collection of the lives of the saints associated with Antony and his monastery.²⁵

The table below summarises the contents of each of the manuscripts examined.

Table 4.2: Manuscripts and their table of contents		
MSS number	Contents	Date copying completed (AD)
SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1696
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · <i>Ṭarḥ Wāṭus</i>²⁶ for Anṭūniyūs (Coptic/Arabic) · <i>Ṭarḥ Adām</i>²⁷ for Anṭūniyūs (Coptic/Arabic) 	1697
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 97 *This Ms consists of two mss that were bound into one; part 2 dating earlier than part 1.	<p>*Part 1:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Life of Būlus the Simple · Story of Bākhūm of Shīhīt · Story of Bākhūm disciple of Balāmūn <p>*Part 2:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit · Life of Anbā Isaac of Mt Burumbil · Life of Marqus al-Anṭūnī · Miracles of Marqus al-Anṭūnī 	late 1600s
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i>, by Athanasius 	1700s
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 106	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit · Life of Anbā Būlā al-Shāmī · Life of Arshilīdis · Life of Anbā Nūfir · Life of Moses son of king 'Ūfīmānūs · Maymar for the reposed 	1700s

²⁴ With the exception of the following four manuscripts: SA (*Hist.*) 100, 102, SP (*Hist.*) 53, 136 which consist of the *Life of Antony* and the *Life of Paul the Hermit*.

²⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 97 contains the *Lives of Paul the Hermit, Paul the Simple, Isaac of Mount Burumbil* by Serapion of Thmuis, and *Marqus al-Anṭūnī*.

²⁶ *Exposition* to the hymns that are chanted on Wednesdays to Saturdays. See Gabra 2008: 266.

²⁷ *Exposition* to the hymns that are chanted on Sundays to Tuesdays. See Gabra 2008: 17.

SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Maymar on al-Amīr Tādrus the martyr · Life of Irene the martyr · Maymar on Mary Magdalene · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit · Life of Anbā Yū'annis the priest of Shīhīt²⁸ · Life of Anbā Abūllū 	1700s
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 193	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Life of Secundus the philosopher²⁹ · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1700s
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 219	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit · <i>Ṭarḥ</i> for Anbā Būlā the Hermit · <i>Ṭarḥ</i> for John of the Golden Bible 	1700s
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1708
SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit · Miracles of Abaskhayrūn the martyr 	1714
SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit · Life of Samuel of Qalamūn³⁰ · Life of Abā Klūj the martyr 	1741
SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · al-Arba'īn Khabar³¹ · Life of Anbā Ruways 	1745

²⁸ The *Arabic Life of Anbā Yū'annis the priest of Shīhīt* was published by Ugo Zanetti in 2015.

²⁹ Secundus was a 2nd century Neopythagorean philosopher from Athens who had taken a vow of silence, and when threatened by the Emperor Hadrian to speak, was ready to die for his vow. His readiness to die for his cause is what caused his story to become popular in the Middle Ages as he was viewed as a martyr, and perhaps for that reason his story – being that of a Christian martyr type – precedes the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. Although Secundus was pagan, the text of his *Life* in SA (*Hist.*) 193 recasts him as a Christian philosopher (see especially ff. 4r, 70r).

³⁰ The *Arabic Life of Samuel of Qalamum* was published by Anthony Alcock in 1983.

³¹ Forty [monastic] stories.

SA (Hist.) 107	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Maymar on the entry of Christ and His virgin mother into Egypt · Maymar on the Four Incorporeal Creatures · Maymar on the 144,000 children killed by Herod · Life of Anbā Būlā the monk in Jerusalem · Life of Anbā Nūfir the Anchorite · Life of the martyr John of Heraclea · Miracles of the martyr John of Heraclea · Maymar on the Archangel Michael and his miracles 	1755
SP (Hist.) 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Life of Mārī Jirjis · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> 	1800s
SA (Hist.) 93	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Maymar on the repose of the Virgin · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1800s
SA (Theol.) 178	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Twenty Letters of Anbā Anṭūniyūs · Spiritual Teachings and Instructions of Anbā Anṭūniyūs · Teachings of our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs arranged in twenty chapters · Rules and Instructions said by Anbā Anṭūniyūs to his monks in the Monastery of Naqlūn · Precepts, Sayings, and Stories said by Anbā Anṭūniyūs · Sayings of Mār Isaac the Syrian concerning the lazy ones · Miscellaneous Sayings of the Fathers · Sayings of Mār Ephraim the Syrian · Life of Būlus the Simple · Anonymous Sayings · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1800s
SA (Hist.) 108	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Maymar on the repose of the Virgin · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1839
SA (Hist.) 99	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Homily on the Virgin · <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit 	1871

SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102	· <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit	2nd half of 1800s
SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136	· <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> · Life of Anbā Būlā the Hermit	1920
SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 216	· <i>Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i> , by Athanasius	1958

4.2.1 *The Order of the Texts: Antony's Position in the Hierarchy of Saints*

When considering where the *Life of Antony* is placed among the collection of texts, what becomes apparent is that the order in which the texts are positioned in the manuscripts, reflects the hierarchical order of saints according to Coptic liturgical tradition.³²

In the Coptic liturgy³³ as well as in the Coptic-Arabic glorification of saints,³⁴ the order of primacy is as follows: in the first place the Virgin Mary, followed by the heavenly dominions, the apostles, the martyrs, and then the monks; Antony's name always preceding the list of monastic fathers. As Achim Budde asserts, Antony's position in Coptic liturgical tradition is "undisputedly number one" among the monastic fathers.³⁵

Given that monks were considered the new martyr in their imitation of Christ - thanks to Athanasius's representation of Antony in the figure of a martyr when he indicates a transition from the age of the martyrs to that of the monks in the *Vita*³⁶ - it seems appropriate that Antony,

³² For an overview on the order of saints in Coptic liturgical tradition, see Youssef 2010: 450-457.

³³ On the hierarchical order in the *Commemoration of Saints* in the Liturgy of St Basil, see Budde 2004: 478-521. On Antony's ranking in the *Commemoration*, see Budde 2004: 484, 498, and the table on pages 492-493. The *Commemoration* begins with: "Moreover O Lord, it is a commandment of Your only-begotten Son that we ought to take part in the commemoration of Your saints... Our holy fathers the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the preachers, the evangelists, the martyrs, and all the spirits of the righteous made perfect in the faith..." The name of Antony precedes the names of all the monastic fathers. The Coptic liturgy seems to have been developed and standardised during the patriarchate of Ghabriyāl II Ibn Turayk (1131-1145 AD), and then Ghabriyāl V (1409-1427 AD) composed a Liturgical Order of the major offices of the Church; the regulations of which still govern the Coptic Rite today. See Taft 1993: 251; King 2007: 417; Gabra 2008:112.

³⁴ See Chapter 1 f/n 46.

³⁵ Budde 2004: 498.

³⁶ VA 47.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 161, states that after Antony failed to receive the actual martyrdom he desired, and the persecutions had ended, he "departed, and again withdrew to his cell, and was there daily a martyr to his conscience [2 Corinthians 1:12] and contending in the conflicts of faith."

considered the ‘father of monks’³⁷ should come after the martyrs and head the list of prominent monastics fathers.³⁸

Accordingly, in our manuscripts, stories or homilies associated with the Virgin Mary,³⁹ or the heavenly dominions, precede the *Life of Antony*.⁴⁰ Likewise, in manuscripts containing a combination of monastic and martyr miscellanies, the martyr accounts are placed first, and the *Life of Antony* follows.⁴¹ However, in the collections that just contain monastic accounts, the *Life of Antony* is always positioned in first place, followed by the *Life of Paul the Hermit*.⁴² The exception to the rule was the compiler of SA (*Hist.*) 107 who did not appear to assemble the texts systematically.

4.2.1.1 *Antony’s Pairing with Paul the Hermit*

Fifteen of the twenty-one manuscripts examined contain both the *Lives of Antony and Paul*.⁴³ In each circumstance, the *Life of Paul* immediately follows the *Life of Antony*.

In Coptic liturgical tradition, Antony always precedes Paul the Hermit, however, they are frequently mentioned⁴⁴ and depicted together.⁴⁵ The fact that a substantial number of manuscripts contain both texts is not surprising given that the majority of the scribes and patrons were monks from the Red Sea monasteries.⁴⁶

According to Stephen Davis, it was due to Jerome’s “narrative pairing” of Paul with Antony that provided Paul – an otherwise unknown character – “a privileged place in the pantheon of

³⁷ John Cassian claims that Antony, together with Paul the Hermit, were the originators of the monastic life (*Conference* 18.6, in Ramsey 1997: 631). Abū Šāliḥ writes that Antony was the first monk who clothed himself in wool and exhibited the monastic habit (Evetts 1895: 161), and Hugh Evelyn White concurs that “It was Antony who first revealed the possibilities of the desert and therefore became the originator of monasticism.” (Evelyn-White 1973: 12).

³⁸ Interestingly, Moses the Black, who is remembered in the Coptic Church more so for being a penitent monastic than a martyr, is placed after Antony and mentioned alongside his spiritual elder from Scetis, Isidore.

³⁹ SA (*Hist.*) 93, 99, 108.

⁴⁰ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 107 in which the *Life of Antony* comes before the *Maymar for the Archangel Michael* and the *Four Incorporeal Creatures*.

⁴¹ With the exception of SP (*Hist.*) 39 in which the *Life of Antony* comes before the *Life of Abā Klūj the Martyr*, and SA (*Hist.*) 107 in which the *Life of the martyr John of Heraclea* come after the *Life of Antony*.

⁴² The *Life of Paul the Hermit* contained in the manuscripts is a redacted *Life* that deviates from Jerome’s *Latin Life*.

⁴³ SA (*Hist.*) 93, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 153, 193, 219; SP (*Hist.*) 26, 39, 53, 136.

⁴⁴ There are exceptions to this. For example, SA (*Lit.*) 66: *Liturgy of St Gregory* dated 1060 AM = 1343/4 AD, the *Commemoration of Saints* lists Macarius the Great after Antony instead of Paul the Hermit. See also the tables in Budde 2014: 492-493, 498-499 which give examples in the Liturgy where Macarius is mentioned in place of Paul.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Fig. 4.4.

⁴⁶ Compare, e.g., the contents of manuscripts from the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn (*Hag.* 20 and 31) which contain the *Life of Antony* followed by the *Life of Macarius the Great*, but does not contain the *Life of Paul the Hermit*.

Egyptian monastic heroes.”⁴⁷ The success of Jerome’s *Vita Pauli* is evident when we consider that within twenty years of Jerome’s death,⁴⁸ John Cassian, who as William Harmless put it, “more than anyone brought Egypt to the West”⁴⁹ was already citing Paul as the originator of the monastic life together with Antony.⁵⁰

The “pairing” of the texts of Antony and Paul in the manuscripts reveal the close association between liturgy and literature.⁵¹

The following examples provide further evidence of the liturgical positioning of Antony and Paul.

- 1) The earliest extant *Psalmody*⁵² in the Red Sea monasteries is SA (*Lit.*) 526 which dates to 1238 AM (1521/22 AD). It shows Antony’s position after the martyrs, but preceding Paul the Hermit.

	<p>Pray to the Lord for us O the choirs of the martyrs who suffered for the sake of Christ in order that He forgive us our sins. Pray to the Lord for us, my lords [and] fathers the lover of their sons Antonius⁵³ and Abba Paulus that He forgive us our sins.</p>
<p><i>Doxology for Saints</i> (ff. 37v–38r, lines 8–14)</p>	
<p>Fig. 4.1: SA (<i>Lit.</i>) 526: Book of <i>Psalmody</i></p>	

- 2) The following example from the earliest extant book of Doxologies at the Red Sea monasteries – SA (*Lit.*) 518: *Book of Doxology*, dated 25 Amshīr, 1400 AM (4 March 1684

⁴⁷ Davis 2008: 30.

⁴⁸ 420 AD.

⁴⁹ Harmless 2004: 373.

⁵⁰ *Conferences* 18.6, in Ramsey 1997: 63.

⁵¹ See Fig. 4.5.

⁵² See Chapter 1 f/n 52.

⁵³ In Coptic liturgical services today, ‘Antonius’ is always addressed as ‘Abba Antonius’.

AD)⁵⁴ – is an example of how, while Antony precedes Paul in hierarchal order, the two are often paired in liturgical tradition.⁵⁵

 <p><i>Doxology for Antony (ff.183v/184r)</i></p>	<p>Remove from your hearts thoughts of evil things and crafty thoughts that darken the mind. Think attentively on the pure exalted things of our blessed father, my lord, the great Abba Antōni. This is he who has become for us a guide (and) a harbour of safety; and he has invited us eagerly into eternal life. The sweet smell of his virtues has given joy to our souls, like the aroma that fills paradise. Let us truly be steadfast in the upright faith of the great Antonius, proclaiming saying:</p>
 <p><i>Continuation of Doxology for Antony and first page of doxology for Paul the Hermit (ff.184v/185r)</i></p>	<p>I sought and I found, I asked and I received, I knocked and I believed, that they will be opened for me”. Hail our father Antonius, the leader of the monks, hail our father Abba Paulus, the beloved one of Christ. Pray to the Lord for us, my lords [and] fathers the lover of their sons Antonius and Abba Paulus. Our holy father Abba Paule, was the first in the wilderness, he disciplined [himself] unceasingly by day and night. He ran in the racecourse of purity and received the palm of victory by the power of Christ. He proclaimed saying like...</p>
<p>Fig. 4.2: SA (Lit.) 518: <i>Book of Doxology</i>⁵⁶</p>	

4.3 Observations Regarding the Contents

⁵⁴ SA (Lit.) 518: *Book of Doxology*, dated 25 Amshīr, 1400 AM. Scribe: monk Yūhannā ibn ‘Abd al-Masīh al-Antūnī, Patron: priest As’ ad al-Antūnī, endowed for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 248r-248v).

⁵⁵ Budde observes that in mainstream Coptic monastic tradition, Antony is always first, followed by the hermit Paul of Thebes, and then Macarius the Great (Budde 2004: 498).

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Antonia St Demiana for assistance in translating this text.

Jacques Van Der Vliet aptly states that the presence of “literary works in a roster of liturgical recitation connected with the festival calendar, is an expression of the interpenetration of literature and liturgy in medieval Egypt.”⁵⁷

Perhaps the best indication that our manuscripts were used in liturgical services, are the traces of candle wax and brown stains from the *qandīl* (burning oil lamp) found on many pages.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the pages on which excessive finger marks and candle wax are found provide evidence as to which texts were ‘more popular’ than others within the same manuscript. It is an established fact that saint’s *Lives*, or miracle accounts, “seen as a reliquary of [their] literary body,”⁵⁹ were read out on their feast day, as alluded to by the incipit to the *Life of Antony*:

I tell you, O brethren who are gathered here in this church to listen to the life-story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs... And we would like, O our brothers who are present in this feast, to listen to some of the many miracles performed by the great saint Anṭūniyūs...⁶⁰

Many hagiographical stories affirm that the presence of the saint is invoked at the narration of their life-story.⁶¹ This is implied, for example, when John of Shmūn was reciting his encomium about Antony on Antony’s feast day:⁶²

And I am certain that you [Antony] abide with us now in this holy assembly and that you have never once left it... Therefore, abide with us here, venerable old man!⁶³

Claudia Rapp suggests that hearing or reading a hagiographical text “that enshrines the miracles [of a saint] in written form”, is just as effective as visiting the tomb containing the saint’s relics, and hence is to be considered a physical process equal to a pilgrimage in intention and effect.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Van Der Vliet 2011: 571.

⁵⁸ Of course it is also possible that the marks of candle wax were caused by monks reading by candle light in their cells.

⁵⁹ Armanios 2011: 65.

⁶⁰ SP (*Hist.*) 17: ff. 90r and 112v.

⁶¹ Rose 2001: 267-86.

⁶² The Copts, or Christians generally, in antiquity, as much as today, celebrate a calendar of feasts commemorating saints, and the liturgical commemoration of the saints serves to create a sacred time in much the same way that the tombs containing saints’ relics serve to create a sacred space.

⁶³ *Encomium on Antony of Egypt* 39-40, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 32-33.

⁶⁴ Rapp 2007: 221-222.

Seven out of the twenty-one manuscripts contain considerable traces of candle wax.⁶⁵ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 104 which only contains the single text of the *Life of Antony*, all of the other manuscripts are composed of a number of miscellanies ranging from three to nine texts.⁶⁶

Stains from finger marks and a greater concentration of candle wax on several pages of the text of the *Life of Antony* (as opposed to minor traces of candle wax in other texts), are very apparent in SA (*Hist.*) 97, 100, 107, and 153. SA (*Hist.*) 108 shows considerable traces of candle wax in the texts of both the *Lives of Antony and Paul*, however, no wax is found on the pages of the story of the Virgin's repose.⁶⁷ On the other hand, SP (*Hist.*) 26 shows excessive finger marks, candle wax and patched holes from candle flames in the text of the *Life of Paul*. The pages of the *Life of Antony*, while containing some traces of candle wax, shows much less use, judging also from the lighter shade of finger marks. In contrast, the pages containing the *Miracles of Abaskhayrūn the Martyr* show hardly any use at all judging by the 'cleanliness' of the pages. Given that this book was written for the Monastery of St Paul, to which it was endowed, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the monks of the Monastery read from the *Life* of their patron saint not only on feast days but, borrowed the book for personal reading and copying, as was permitted according to the note on flyleaf *ii*.

4.4 Other Observations

4.4.1 Colophons

The colophons are always placed following the explicit of a text or at the end of the codex.⁶⁸ In many cases the explicit at the end of the text, recognised by the concluding formula: "Completed the life-story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs..." usually merges into the space dedicated to the colophon, and becomes part of it. From a decorative perspective, the scribe mostly utilised the long bar in the last letter 'ل' of the opening word كمل (*Completed*), to form a textual divider between the concluding text and the explicit which leads into the colophon. It often takes the form of a single or double line in red and/or black ink.

⁶⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 100, 104, 107, 108, 153; SP (*Hist.*) 26. While other manuscripts contain traces of candle wax, the presence of the wax in these seven manuscripts is more apparent. See the descriptions under each manuscript for more detail.

⁶⁶ SA (*Hist.*) 97 (8 texts), 100 (2 texts), 107 (9 texts), 108 (3 texts), 153 (7 texts); SP (*Hist.*) 26 (3 texts).

⁶⁷ The account of the Virgin Mary's repose, being a major feast in the Coptic Church was most likely read from the *Synaxarium* or *Antiphonarium*, rather than from a book containing a collection of miscellaneous hagiographies.

⁶⁸ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 104 that stands at the front flyleaf of the codex.

The colophons in our manuscripts are found in different sizes and forms; most frequently in the form of an inverted triangle or a rectangle.⁶⁹ Some of the manuscripts have multiple colophons placed at the end of each text,⁷⁰ and at times they are dated, thus allowing us to determine the time it took a scribe to copy a text.⁷¹ For example in SP (*Hist.*) 53, the scribe Ghabriyāl indicates that it took him two days to copy the *Life of Antony*, whereas in SA (*Hist.*) 108, it took the scribe Mīkhā'īl six days, while the scribe Yūḥannā took nine days to copy the shorter text of the *Life of Paul* in SA (*Hist.*) 100. Ghabriyāl, Mīkhā'īl and Yūḥannā were, in fact, experienced scribes and had transcribed a number of texts.⁷²

Some of the colophons are short accounts stating simply that the text was finished on a particular date.⁷³ Others are long⁷⁴ and include self-deprecating expressions applied to the scribe to indicate his unworthiness,⁷⁵ or elaborate, pious exclamations about the patrons,⁷⁶ or even long invocations for the longevity of the patriarch.⁷⁷

As a general rule, however, the standard colophon includes:

- . The scribe's name: the scribe generally referred to himself as *al-nāsikh* (the scribe or copiest) which literally means “he who transcribes or writes”.⁷⁸ It was not uncommon for a scribe to remain anonymous,⁷⁹ but when he did mention his name in the colophon, he always included his position, such as “monk”, “priest” or “*hegumen*” as well as his monastic affiliation; being either “al-Anṭūnī” or “al-Anbā Būlā”. Occasionally he used the Arabic tradition of naming that included not only genealogy,⁸⁰ but a nickname.⁸¹

⁶⁹ Colophons in the form of an inverted triangle predominates in Arab lands from the 16th century onwards. Gacek 2009: 74, 258-263; Déroche et al. 2006: 180-184.

⁷⁰ SP (*Hist.*) 53, 136; SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 107, 108.

⁷¹ SP (*Hist.*) 53; SA (*Hist.*) 100, 108.

⁷² See the descriptions of SP (*Hist.*) 53 and SA (*Hist.*) 100, and 108 in the next chapter for a list of the other manuscripts transcribed by these scribes.

⁷³ SA (*Hist.*) 100; SP (*Hist.*) 39. Cf. Van Lantschoot 1973: esp. X-XI.

⁷⁴ SP (*Hist.*) 18, 26.

⁷⁵ The most common and frequently used adjectives applied to the scribe himself includes: “the poor”, “the wretched”, “the liar”, “the indolent”, “the lowest of all...”, “the unworthy”, “who is by name only and not by deeds, a monk/priest”, “who is drowning in the sea of his sins”.

⁷⁶ SA (*Hist.*) 102.

⁷⁷ SP (*Hist.*) 26.

⁷⁸ It was also in the 18th century – the time when most of the manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries were transcribed – that iconographers began inscribing their names on their work, even though the practice is attested from as early as the 13th century. See Bolman 2002; and Skalova and Gabra 2006: 137-141.

⁷⁹ SA (*Hist.*) 102, 106; SP (*Hist.*) 39. Kim Haines-Eitzen comments that when scribes who copied texts remained anonymous, it had “the paradoxical advantage of invisibly inscribing authority to the texts they produced.” (Haines-Eitzen 2000: 127).

⁸⁰ SA (*Hist.*) 107; SP (*Hist.*) 18.

⁸¹ SP (*Hist.*) 18.

- . Date in which copying was completed: the date is always stated in the Coptic Year of the Martyrs, together with the day and the Coptic month.
- . The name of the patron (if any): in our manuscripts that contain this information, all the patrons were monks from the Monastery of either St Antony or St Paul,⁸² including Patriarch Buṭrus VII,⁸³ who was a monk from the Monastery of St Antony prior to his patriarchal election. Following the name are invocations for the patron; the most common being “O Lord reward the one who commissioned this book...”
- . The place of transcription: The place where the manuscript was copied is not always mentioned, but when it is, we are informed our manuscripts were transcribed in the Monastery of St Paul,⁸⁴ the Monastery of St Antony,⁸⁵ Old Cairo,⁸⁶ and Bahjūrah in Upper Egypt.⁸⁷ In the case where only the city is mentioned, no details are provided about the location where the transcription was done.

The colophons are composed in the third person and always begin with the expression: “Completed and finished” followed by the title of the text, and often closing with the formula “And thanks be to God forever, amen.”

Characteristic in all these manuscripts that contain colophons,⁸⁸ is the petitioning by the scribe to the reader to show compassion and tolerance toward the scribe’s deficiencies. Statements such as “He who reads and finds a mistake and corrects it, God will correct all things in his life,” and “Whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him,” are common. Gérard Troupeau affirms, it is the many self-deprecating adjectives applied to the scribe himself, as well as the pleas he addresses to the reader, that puts Christian-Arabic colophons in a tradition quite distinct from that of Islamic Arabic manuscripts.⁸⁹

A closer consideration of the colophons studied reveals many interesting aspects:⁹⁰

⁸² With the exception of SP (*Hist.*) 53 which states the patron as being the Monastery of St Antony.

⁸³ SA (*Hist.*) 108.

⁸⁴ SP (*Hist.*) 26, 39, 136.

⁸⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 216.

⁸⁶ SP (*Hist.*) 53.

⁸⁷ SP (*Hist.*) 18.

⁸⁸ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 100.

⁸⁹ Troupeau 1997: 230. Typical statements by the scribe such as “the poor”, “the wretched”, “the liar”, “the indolent”, “the lowest of all monks”, “the unworthy”, “who is by name only and not by deeds, a monk”, “who is drowning in the sea of his sins”, are characteristic of Christian-Arabic manuscripts.

⁹⁰ For the details on the points highlighted, refer to the “Observations” in the descriptions for SA (*Hist.*) 99, 102, 106; and SP (*Hist.*) 18, 136 in the next chapter.

1. A single monk⁹¹ – as opposed to a group – carried out the entire copying process from beginning to end.⁹²
2. A large number of manuscripts were commissioned by patrons; all being monks in the monastery, for their own personal use and ownership⁹³ (rather than for communal purposes),⁹⁴ that then became a *waqf* (endowment) for the monastery to which they belonged, after their death. Religious books were not considered as worldly possessions that would bring their owners into conflict with the principle of monastic renunciation, but were considered, rather, the essential equipment, or even a status marker, of monks, along with their distinctive garb.⁹⁵
3. It was not unusual for books that were commissioned for one's personal use to then be sold to another monk.⁹⁶
4. The ability to commission the copying and binding of books infers the prosperity of the monastic community.⁹⁷ In fact, the concept of Antonian monks being affluent enough to sponsor projects is not unusual, for as Elizabeth Bolman highlights, in the ancient church of St Antony, inscriptions inform us that at least thirty-three individuals – all monks belonging to the monastic community – sponsored the iconographic program painted by Theodore in 1232/1233 AD.⁹⁸

⁹¹ Or occasionally layperson, e.g. SA (*Hist.*) 104, 107; and SP (*Hist.*) 18.

⁹² With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 108 and 178.

⁹³ Anne Boud'hors, writing about the circulation of books in the Theban region, comments that from at least the 7th century, not only monasteries commissioned books for their libraries, but monks and laymen also commissioned books for themselves (Boud'hors 2008: 155, 160).

⁹⁴ Of the twenty-one manuscripts studied, ten imply they were copied for communal purposes: SA (*Hist.*) 97, 100, 104, 105, 107, 153, 193; SP (*Hist.*) 9, 26, 39. The remaining eleven manuscripts were copied for private ownership.

⁹⁵ Rapp 2007: p.203.

⁹⁶ As an example, see "Observations" under the description for SA (*Hist.*) 108 in the next chapter. Kim Haines-Eitzen observes that from at least the 2nd century, literary circles in Upper Egypt traded books among themselves (Haines-Eitzen 2000: 3).

⁹⁷ The wealth of the Monastery of St Antony is conceivable when one considers that between the 17th and 19th centuries, twelve Antonian monks were elected to the patriarchate. Accordingly, in 1843 Sir Gardner Wilkinson recorded that the Monastery is considered "the principal monastery in Egypt, and its importance is much increased since the election of the patriarch has been transferred to it from those at the Natron lakes" (Wilkinson 1843: 381). Then, when the Duke of Saxony, Georg Johann, visited St Antony's in the early 20th century, he remarked that it was the wealthiest monastery he had seen in the Orient (Johann 1930: 51). And while the Monastery of St Paul was secondary in size and importance to the Monastery of St Antony, the fact that three successive Pauline monks ascended the patriarchal throne in the 18th century, infers the prestige the Monastery enjoyed at this time: Butrus VI (1718-1726), Yū'annis XVII (1726-1745), and Marqus VII (1745-1769). For an overview of their patriarchate, see Nakhla 2001, 5: 6-20. Given the revival that occurred at St Paul's during this era, it would seem no coincidence that the majority of manuscripts written and endowed to the Monastery of St Paul is dated to the 18th century. Furthermore, when John Gardner Wilkinson visited the Monastery of St Paul in 1839, the monks were clearly aware of their position and thus Wilkinson comments that "Dayr Bolos claims for itself an equal rank" in importance with that of St Antony (Wilkinson 1843: 381).

⁹⁸ Bolman 2002c: 38.

5. The commissioning of books was not limited to senior monks, such as bishops, *hegumens* or priests, but we have evidence that even monks who were not ordained to the priesthood had the freedom and access to money to sponsor the copying of books.⁹⁹
6. Five of our scribes in particular,¹⁰⁰ copied several books, and it seems obvious that they must have received payment for their work,¹⁰¹ even though the books were all commissioned by fellow monks within the same monastery. For when we consider all the texts that these monks copied in chronological order, we find that they were in a position to eventually afford commissioning books for themselves.¹⁰²
7. When one examines the colophons in all of the texts either copied or sponsored by the same person in chronological order, it is possible to chart their progression and elevation within their monastic life, identifying at which point they were ordained priests, and at what point they were promoted to the level of *hegumen*.
8. An interesting aspect is when one considers the types of texts commissioned by patrons when they were monks, and how the types of texts they requested differed after their ordination to the priesthood. For example, Mūsá al-Farshūtī from St Antony's Monastery commissioned and owned seven manuscripts.¹⁰³ Prior to his ordination to the priesthood, Mūsá had commissioned the copying of biblical and prayer books, and one hagiographical book; being the *Lives of Antony and Paul*. However, after his ordination he commissioned liturgical books, which he must have needed and used during the services he officiated as a priest.¹⁰⁴
9. Based on the information provided in the colophons and endowments, it appears that the (literate) monastic community consisted of many monks of Upper Egyptian (including Middle Egyptian) origin.¹⁰⁵ This is not surprising in light of Maurice Martin's analysis that from 1650 to 1850 AD the majority of Copts lived between the provinces of Banī Suwayf

⁹⁹ See "Observations" under the descriptions for SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100, 106, 216; and SP (*Hist.*) 136 in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī, Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, Tūmās al-Anṭūnī, Qultah al-Anṭūnī and Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā: Mss SA (*Hist.*) 99, 102, 108; SP (*Hist.*) 26, 53.

¹⁰¹ A point that Chrysi Kotsifou confirms when she states that the important role of monasteries as centres of book production, attest to the involvement of monks in copying, illustrating, binding, and selling their manuscripts (Kotsifou 2007: 53).

¹⁰² See "Observations" for SA (*Hist.*) 99, and 102 in the next chapter.

¹⁰³ This figure only relates to those contained in the Red Sea monasteries.

¹⁰⁴ See details provided under the codicological description for SA (*Hist.*) 99.

¹⁰⁵ The scribe of SP (*Hist.*) 9 is the only one from Lower Egypt.

and Sūhāj.¹⁰⁶ The following table¹⁰⁷ lists the names and provenances of the scribes and patrons,¹⁰⁸ where mentioned in the manuscripts. It was the usual custom that if there was more than one monk in the monastery with the same name, they were identified by their hometown.

Table 4.3: Names of scribes and patrons				
Name	Hometown	Role	Monastery ¹⁰⁹	Date
	<i>Lower Egypt (Nile Delta)</i>			
Jirjis ibn Yūsuf al-Manṣūrī	al-Manṣūrah, ¹¹⁰ province of al-Daqahliyah	Scribe	St Paul	Early 18 th c.
	<i>Upper Egypt</i>			
Būlus Yūsuf al-Asyūṭī	Province of Asyūṭ ¹¹¹	Patron	<i>Asyūṭ</i>	End 18 th c.
Yūḥannā al-Asyūṭī	Province of Asyūṭ ¹¹²	Patron	St Antony	Early 18 th c.
Buṭrus al-Jāwilī	al-Jāwilī, ¹¹³ province of Asyūṭ	Patron	St Antony	Mid 19 th c.
Mīkhā'īl al-Jāwilī	al-Jāwilī, ¹¹⁴ province of Asyūṭ	Patron	St Antony	Mid 18 th c.
Marqūriyūs al-Nukhaylī	al-Nakhlah, ¹¹⁵ province of Asyūṭ	Patron	St Antony	Mid 18 th c.
Mīkhā'īl al-Nukhaylī	al-Nakhlah, ¹¹⁶ province of Asyūṭ	Patron	St Antony	End 18 th c.
'Abd al-Sayyid al-Fashnī	al-Fashn, ¹¹⁷ province of Banī Suwayf	Scribe	<i>Banī Suwayf</i>	End 17 th c.
Ghabriyāl al-Fayyūmī	Province of Al-Fayyūm ¹¹⁸	Scribe	St Antony	Early 19 th c.

¹⁰⁶ Martin 1982: 206.

¹⁰⁷ The names of the scribes and patrons are listed vertically in the left side column and are listed alphabetically according to their province. The names of the towns 'Hometown' are also listed in alphabetical order according to their province.

¹⁰⁸ The list includes all the names from other manuscripts that were either copied or sponsored by those mentioned in the twenty-one manuscripts containing a *Life of Antony* in the Red Sea monasteries.

¹⁰⁹ The names of the towns listed under 'Monastery' that are italicised mean that the scribe/patron was a layman, with the exception of Jirjis Mīkhā'īl al-Isnāwī who was a priest in the province of Isnā.

¹¹⁰ Ramzi 1963 (1): 215-217; Timm 1988: 1571.

¹¹¹ Ramzi 1963 (4): 25-26; Timm 1984: 235-251.

¹¹² Ramzi 1963 (4): 25-26; Timm 1984: 235-251.

¹¹³ Shoucri 1991: 1950a-1951a.

¹¹⁴ Shoucri 1991: 1950a-1951a.

¹¹⁵ Ramzi 1963 (4): 16-17; Timm 1988: 1788.

¹¹⁶ Ramzi 1963 (4): 16-17; Timm 1988: 1788.

¹¹⁷ Ramzi 1963 (3): 188-189; Timm 1985: 946-974.

¹¹⁸ Amélineau 1893: 337-340.

Athanāsiyūs al-Baqrqāšī	Abu Qorqas, ¹¹⁹ province of al-Minyā	Patron	St Antony	<i>Early 18th c.</i>
Yūḥannā al-Baqrqāšī	Abū Qurqāš, ¹²⁰ province of al-Minyā	Patron	St Antony	<i>Early 18th c.</i>
Ghabriyāl al-Isnāwī	Province of Isnā ¹²¹	Patron	St Antony	<i>Early 18th c.</i>
Jirjis Mīkhāʾīl al- Isnāwī	Province of Isnā ¹²²	Patron	<i>Isnā</i>	<i>Early 19th c.</i>
Jād al-Karīm al-Salāmiyah	Salāmiyah, ¹²³ province of Nagʿ Hammādī	Scribe	St Antony	<i>Mid 18th c.</i>
Mūsā al-Farshūṭī	Farshūṭ, ¹²⁴ province of Qinā	Patron	St Antony	<i>End 19th c.</i>
Mīkhāʾīl al-Naqqādī	Naqqādah, ¹²⁵ province of Qinā	Patron	St Antony	<i>Early 18th c.</i>
Nāṣir al-Bahjūrī	Bahjūrah, ¹²⁶ province of Qinā	Scribe	St Paul	<i>Mid 18th c.</i>
Yūḥannā al-Abnūdī ¹²⁷	Abnūd, ¹²⁸ province of Qinā	Patron	St Antony	<i>End 19th c.</i>
Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī	Jirjā, ¹²⁹ province of Sūhāj	Patron	St Antony	<i>End 18th c.</i>
Mattā Tādrus al-Banjāwī	Banjā, ¹³⁰ province of Sūhāj	Scribe	St Paul	<i>Early 20th c.</i>
Wāsīlīdis al-Akhmīmī	Akhmīm, ¹³¹ province of Sūhāj	Scribe	St Antony	<i>Early 19th c.</i>

Nine of the above mentioned scribes/patrons from the Monastery of St Antony date to the first half of the 18th century. If we consider that the average number of resident monks; based on the numbers provided by western travellers in the first half of the 18th century to be about 20,¹³² then from our sample, we may deduce that about half of the literate community originated from Upper Egypt.

¹¹⁹ Ramzi 1963 (3): 174; Timm 1984: 447.

¹²⁰ Ramzi 1963 (3): 174; Timm 1984: 447.

¹²¹ Amélineau 1893: 172-175; Ramzi 1963 (4): 151-152; Timm 1985: 1181-1193.

¹²² Amélineau 1893: 172-175; Ramzi 1963 (4): 151-152; Timm 1985: 1181-1193.

¹²³ Ramzi 1963 (4): 202.

¹²⁴ Amélineau 1893: 178; Ramzi 1963 (4): 196-197; Timm 1985: 945-946.

¹²⁵ Timm 1988: 1727-1734.

¹²⁶ Timm 1984: 281-282; Ramzi 1963 (4): 196-7; Evetts 1895: 232, f/n 3.

¹²⁷ Also written as Yūḥannā al-Banūdī.

¹²⁸ Ramzi 1963 (4): 174.

¹²⁹ Amélineau 1893: 183-184.

¹³⁰ Ramzi 1963 (4): 142.

¹³¹ Amélineau 1893: 18-22.

¹³² Toward the end of the 17th century, Wansleben commented on there being twenty monks, in 1716 Sicard stated there were fifteen, in 1730 Granger quoted twenty-five, and in 1738 Pococke mentioned twenty-three (Wansleben 1678: 311; Sicard 1845: 288; Vincent 1745: 111; Pococke 1743: 128).

4.4.2 *Scribal Activity*

Earlier scholarship that has focused on the Byzantine period, has demonstrated that the privileged circumstances of a monastic community may be considered in proportion to the size of its library and the number of scribes that the community employs. Several of our scribes from the Red Sea monasteries transcribed a number of texts, and as Chrysi Kotsifou highlights, “through book production monasteries, or individual monks, performed a crucial social role while at the same time bringing considerable income into their monastic communities.”¹³³ Roger Bagnall makes the same point when he states that monks could earn high wages for their communities through book production.¹³⁴ According to Kotsifou, the price of producing a manuscript could be considerable, particularly if the book was bound,¹³⁵ and Anne Boud’hors comments that a manuscript with binding is double the cost of an unbound book; something she considers “a substantial sum”.¹³⁶

While in our collection of manuscripts studied, all the sponsors were internal to the monasteries of St Antony and St Paul, it would not be unreasonable to assume that some of the scribes had external, wealthy sponsors, who were closely connected to the monasteries by patronage and would have used their scribes for acquiring their religious books. Such is the case, for example, of Ghabriyāl III,¹³⁷ who prior to his patriarchal election was a monk from the Monastery of St Antony, and as a scribe, had many prominent clients; not the least being the notable Awlād al-‘Assāl family.¹³⁸

François Déroche states that in the Middle Ages, copies of texts were considered as luxury objects because of the time and skill necessary to produce them.¹³⁹ “To own books or to pay for their production conferred renown on *literati* and laymen alike.”¹⁴⁰ Hence, the prestige associated with copying books must have been reflected in patronage, both at an individual level and as a monastic institution.

¹³³ Kotsifou 2012: 213. See also Pietruschka 2015: 86.

¹³⁴ Bagnall 2009: 59-60.

¹³⁵ Kotsifou 2012: 222.

¹³⁶ Boud’hors 2008: 160.

¹³⁷ Patriarch number 78 (1268-1271 AD).

¹³⁸ Swanson 2010: 98.

¹³⁹ A point also mentioned by Kotsifou who states that both hagiographical and documentary sources allude to books as being highly valuable commodities (Kotsifou 2007: 62).

¹⁴⁰ Déroche 2006: 229.

4.4.3 *Motives*

At times, the scribe specified the motive in the colophon behind why a text was copied. They ranged from copying for one's own use, to having been commissioned by patrons. However, the most important incentives for copying texts were to be granted forgiveness and eternal life, and these are clearly articulated in the following statements:

It is hoped that by fulfilling the saying of our good Saviour that whoever writes a biography that will be read in the church to Christian people ... God will tear apart the book of his sins and write his name in the Book of Life.¹⁴¹

Hoping from the masters reading [this book] for the sake of Christ to say, O our Lord Jesus Christ, in Your compassion forgive his sins and the sins of his father and mother.¹⁴²

The copying of Christian texts was regarded as a particularly pious pursuit,¹⁴³ because the scribe in his inability to be a living imitator of the saint, compensated by transcribing the saint's *Life*, and thus through his writing, presented to others an example worthy of imitation.¹⁴⁴ This sentiment is aptly expressed by Sulpicius Severus in the preface to his *Life of St. Martin*:

For even if we ourselves have not lived in such a way as to be an example to others, we have at least made an effort to prevent a man who deserves to be imitated from remaining unknown.¹⁴⁵

However, the patrons also had a share in spiritual blessings by virtue of their sponsorship, as expressed in the petition:

May Christ our God grant [the patron] a long and joyful life, and after a long life [on earth] grant him eternal salvation, amen.¹⁴⁶

The colophon in SA (*Hist.*) 107 is interesting in that it provides us with information on the intended audience of the texts, upon whom blessings are bestowed:

¹⁴¹ SP (*Hist.*) 53, ff. 66r-66v. See Revelation 3:5.

¹⁴² SA (*Hist.*) 102, ff. 75v-76r. During my research, I did not come across evidence for the commissioning of manuscript copying as a votive offering.

¹⁴³ Rapp 2007: 208.

¹⁴⁴ Rapp 2007: 212.

¹⁴⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Life of St. Martin* 1.6, in Goodrich 2015: 23.

¹⁴⁶ SA (*Hist.*) 99, f. 111r.

May his supplications be with us, O brothers, and with the poor sinner the scribe, and with the owner, and the reader, and the one who commissioned this book, and the listener, and all the children of baptism.¹⁴⁷

4.4.4 *Endowment Statements*

Like the colophons, the *waqf* statements in our manuscripts vary in length; with the briefest simply stating the recipient monastery of the *waqf*, to more elaborate statements giving details of the patron or owner's name, the conditions of which the *waqf* is to be applied and the consequences of both dishonouring and adhering to the conditions of the *waqf*.

As a general rule, the standard endowment includes:

- . An introductory formula that it is an “Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of ...” Frequently, the geographic location of the monastery is mentioned to distinguish between the Monastery in the Inner Mountain and the Monastery or Dependency in the Nile Valley.¹⁴⁸ The Monastery of St Paul is referred to as being “in the mountain of Nimrah,”¹⁴⁹ while the Monastery of St Antony is mentioned as being in “al-‘Arabah in the mountain of al-Qalzam;”¹⁵⁰
- . A condition stating that its removal from the Monastery to which it has been endowed, is strictly forbidden;
- . Statements of banishment and punishment and lack of forgiveness for those who dishonour the conditions accompany each *waqf*; several of which include the additional warning: “and his share will be with Simon the magician, and Decla¹⁵¹ the infidel, and Judas the traitor, and Herod the apostate;”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ SA (*Hist.*) 107: f. 70r, lines 7-13.

¹⁴⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 100, 104, 107, 153, 193; SP (*Hist.*) 26, 53. An interesting case in point is SA (*Lit.*) 824: *Exposition on Antony*, dated 1637 AM = 1920/1 AD and endowed to “the cave of St Antony” (ff. 23r, 25r).

¹⁴⁹ The definition of “Nimrah” is “Tigers”. Writing in 1817 AD after his visit to the Red Sea monasteries, Count de Forbin recorded that “Lofty walls afford protection from the incursions of the Bedouins as well as from the tigers which swarm in those dreary solitudes” (Forbin 1820: 31). For further details on the name “mountain of Nimrah” see Wüstenfeld 1979: 88. See Fig 4.6 for an 18th century wall painting and a manuscript miniature of Paul the Hermit depicted with two tigers.

¹⁵⁰ For further details on this name, see Evetts 1895: 160; Wüstenfeld 1979: 87-88.

¹⁵¹ Referring to Diocletian the Emperor.

¹⁵² SA (*Hist.*) 39, 53; SP (*Hist.*) 97, 107, 153.

- . Following the warnings is always mentioned a biblical blessing, taken from the Book of Deuteronomy, upon those who respect the conditions of the *waqf*: “and blessings be upon the son of obedience. [But] the state of the disobedient [one] is spoiled;”¹⁵³
- . And finally the concluding formula: “And thanks be to God” is usually followed by the date of endowment written in the Coptic Year of the Martyrs.

In some circumstances, endowments were renewed, and so a manuscript may contain multiple *waqfs* dated at different times but all to the same monastery.¹⁵⁴ On occasion, it appears that a folio that may have contained a *waqf* in the front flyleaves had intentionally been cut out,¹⁵⁵ which may clarify the statement made in SA (*Hist.*) 100: “...nor is this page to be removed by any means.” Perhaps it was because *waqfs* were often written on the front flyleaves of a manuscript; a position that was vulnerable to being removed, that additional *waqf* statements were also contained within the text-block itself, usually following the colophon.

A closer consideration of the endowment statements studied reveal some interesting aspects that will be discussed below.

4.4.4.1 Mobility of Monks

By the time these endowments were written in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Red Sea monasteries had already suffered devastation and desertion on more than one occasion; either because of barbaric attacks, or because of famine or plague.¹⁵⁶ A story in the unpublished *Arabic Life of Marqus al-Anṭūnī* tells of how during times of devastation or famine, monks would flee the desert monasteries for cultivated lands in the Nile Valley.¹⁵⁷ This may explain why the patrons specified as a condition that “so long as [the Monastery] is inhabited by

¹⁵³ Deuteronomy 28 : 1, 2, 15.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. SA (*Hist.*) 97.

¹⁵⁵ E.g. SA (*Hist.*) 106.

¹⁵⁶ See Piankoff et al. 1930-1940: 58; Evelyn White 1932: 392-393; Libois 1977: 33; Coquin and Laferrière 1978: 278; Coquin and Martin 1991: 721-723; Coquin and Martin 1991a: 741-744; Rufa'il 2000: 244; Nakhla 2001: 49, 101; SP (*Hist.*) 115 ff. 83v-84r, as quoted in Gabra 2008a: 97.

¹⁵⁷ The following story is from the unpublished *Life of Marqus al-Anṭūnī* in SA (*Hist.*) 137 (ff. 2v-56r, dated 1394 AM/1678 AD). The text reads as follows:

لان كم من مره كانت / الديار تخللا من الرهبان لانقطاع القمح عنهم / وكان هذا الشيخ يغتدي بالحشيش والماء / ولا يرخي لنفسه ان يمضي الي الريف ابداء وقد / رابة هذا الشيخ يوصي كثير من اولاده قايلأ خيراً / للراهب ان يدوخ ويقع بموة جوعاً داخل ديره / ولا يمضي الي الريف ابداء

Translation:

(f. 18v): Many times the monasteries became empty of monks because of the shortage of grain. And this old man used to eat grass and [drink] water and never allowed himself to go to the countryside. And I saw this old man giving a commandment to his [spiritual] sons saying: It is better for the monk to faint and die from hunger within his monastery and never go to the countryside.

monks,” the books were not to be removed from the Monastery “or taken to the countryside or to Miṣr.”¹⁵⁸ The Arabic word for countryside الريف ‘*al-rīf*’ is a term used to denote cultivated lands¹⁵⁹ or to describe the smaller Monastery of St Antony in Pispir,¹⁶⁰ as well as the monasteries’ dependencies in the Nile Valley.¹⁶¹

Furthermore, the reference to books not being taken to other locations infers the mobility of monks, both between the monasteries in the inner desert near the Red Sea and the Nile Valley, and between the inner desert and Miṣr (Old Cairo).¹⁶²

4.4.4.2 *The Existence of a Library*

It is evident that in the late 17th and 18th centuries a library existed in the Monastery of St Antony from where monks could borrow books to read. This is attested in the recurring statement in several of our manuscripts that it was forbidden for a monk “to own [the book] in his cell, but instead [he] can read in it and return it back to the library.”¹⁶³ At the Monastery of St Paul, on the other hand, the endowment statement in SP (*Hist.*) 26, dated 1714 AD, infers that books were contained within the church itself and not in a library, and that in the 18th century monks were encouraged not only to read books, but also to copy them:

No one shall be permitted... [for books] to be taken out of the church by any means, except for copying or reading it and [then] returning it back.¹⁶⁴

The reference to where the manuscripts were located may also indicate the volume of books owned by the Monastery at a given time. The reference to “the library” at the Monastery of St Antony perhaps infers that in the 17th and 18th centuries they possessed enough manuscripts to warrant their accommodation in a designated area, whereas the quantity at the Monastery of St Paul may have been small enough to store within the church itself and were, furthermore, kept

¹⁵⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 99, 100; SP (*Hist.*) 18, 26.

¹⁵⁹ I.e. the Nile Valley.

¹⁶⁰ Modern day name is al-Maymūn.

¹⁶¹ The smaller monastery of St Antony is located in the village of al-Maymūn, Banī Suwayf, on the east bank of the Nile. Abū Šāliḥ the Armenian writing in the early 13th century, referred to it as the Monastery of al-Jummaizah. From this Monastery provisions were sent to the Monastery of St Antony at the Red Sea (Evetts 1895: 163). Wansleben visited this Monastery in 1672 (Wansleben 1678: f/n 302), followed by Frederick Norden in the middle of the 18th century (Norden 1737: 13), and Joseph Russegger in 1836 (Russegger 1843: 75).

¹⁶² Old Cairo was the seat of the Patriarchate and the place where several manuscripts were copied.

¹⁶³ SA (*Hist.*) 97, 104, 105, 106, 193.

¹⁶⁴ SP (*Hist.*) 26: flyleaf ii.

close by for daily use in liturgical services; this fact becomes evident when we consider the traces of candle wax and brown oil stains contained within the pages of the manuscripts.¹⁶⁵

These assumptions may be confirmed by the various traveller reports of the 17th and 18th centuries. Visiting in 1672, Johann Michael Wansleben wrote that the library at the Monastery of St Antony is situated in the tower and contains about four cases full of Arabic and Coptic manuscripts, “most of these manuscripts were worthy to be placed in a royal library.”¹⁶⁶ Fr Antoine-Marie Nacchi, S.J. visited in 1698, and recorded that he saw in the tower a room full of manuscripts;¹⁶⁷ an observation likewise recorded by Claude Sicard and J. S. Assemani in their visit of the Monastery in 1716.¹⁶⁸

At St Paul’s, on the other hand, it appeared that their collection may have been too small to warrant the interest of the travellers and so the first time we hear about a visitor seeing the library was in the 20th century. In 1904 Agnes Smith Lewis and her sister Margaret Dunlop Gibson were given permission to examine “a small store of manuscripts” at St Paul’s, which they stated “were kept in a small room behind the sanctuary.”¹⁶⁹ About half a century later, Otto Meinardus clarifies the exact location of the manuscripts being “in a small dusty room on the north side of the Church of St Michael.”¹⁷⁰ The church of the Archangel Michael is located in the Monastery’s garden.

4.5 Literacy of the Monastic Community

From as early as the 5th century, Palladius tells of how some monks made a living by copying books, and that this occupation together with other duties was something a monk could perform in his monastic environment.¹⁷¹ Claudia Rapp suggests that monastic communities institutionalised the practice of manuscript copying for the sake of their literate members.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ Details will be presented in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁶ Wansleben 1678: 311.

¹⁶⁷ Omont 1902: 1208.

¹⁶⁸ Sicard et al. 1845: 304. Following the visit of Sicard, subsequent travellers in the 19th and up to the mid-20th centuries also recorded that the manuscripts were stored in a library located in the Monastery’s tower: The Russian Archimandite Porphyrius Uspensky in 1850 (Piankoff 1943: 62); Cardinal Massaia in 1851 (Massaia 1925: f/n 21); Greville Chester in 1873 (Chester 1873: f/n 105); Marcus Simaika in 1929 (Simaika 1939: XVIII); and H. V. Morton in 1937 (Morton 1938: 340).

¹⁶⁹ Lewis 1994: 746.

¹⁷⁰ Meinardus 1961: 113-4.

¹⁷¹ *HL* 38.10, in Meyer 1964: 72.

¹⁷² Rapp 2007: 206.

Perhaps the strongest indicator of literacy in the monastic community of the Red Sea monasteries from the 17th to 20th centuries, is attested in the colophons through reference to scribes and patrons who commissioned the copying of books for their own personal use. In addition, the condition stipulated in the colophons that the books were not to be taken into one's cell, except for the purpose of reading or copying and then returning back to the library, again infers the existence of literate monks.

But when one considers the frequency in which the text and the system of diacritics within our manuscripts deviate from standard Arabic, one has to question the literacy level of the scribes. Adam Gacek suggests that the reason why many Arabic texts deviate from standard Arabic may be due to the influence of the native tongue or dialect.¹⁷³ In our case, this means that the scribe spelt words based on the way in which the Egyptian Arabic interdental consonants are pronounced, and we have many examples of this.¹⁷⁴ While it stands to reason that each text of the *Life of Antony* was copied from another exemplar text, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the errors evidenced in our manuscripts; in particular the frequent phonetic interchange of letters, may indicate that some scribes wrote from dictation.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence to confirm this view.

François Déroche states that the numerous errors with which some manuscripts are riddled, could have been due to the difficulties encountered when reading the source manuscript that is being copied,¹⁷⁶ while Konrad Hirschler comments that mistakes may be attributed to deficiencies in reading skills which in the Middle Ages were considered separate from copying skills.¹⁷⁷ On this point, Kim Haines-Eitzen remarks about there being two categories of scribes: professional scribes who were scribes by occupation and may have held scribal titles,¹⁷⁸ and

¹⁷³ Gacek 2009: 234. See also Metzger 1981: 21-22; and Haines-Eitzen 2000: 87, who have suggested that phonetical errors are an indication that scribes would have copied by dictation in a scriptorium, however, in our case, there is nothing to validate this theory. Furthermore, arguing against the notion of dictation and phonetical errors, T. C. Skeat states: "If in fact the scribe, while copying a manuscript visually, pronounced aloud each word as he read it in his exemplar, the sounds so produced must inevitably have influenced or indeed determined what he put on paper" (Skeat 1956: 187).

¹⁷⁴ See examples in the description provided for SP (*Hist.*) 53 in the next chapter.

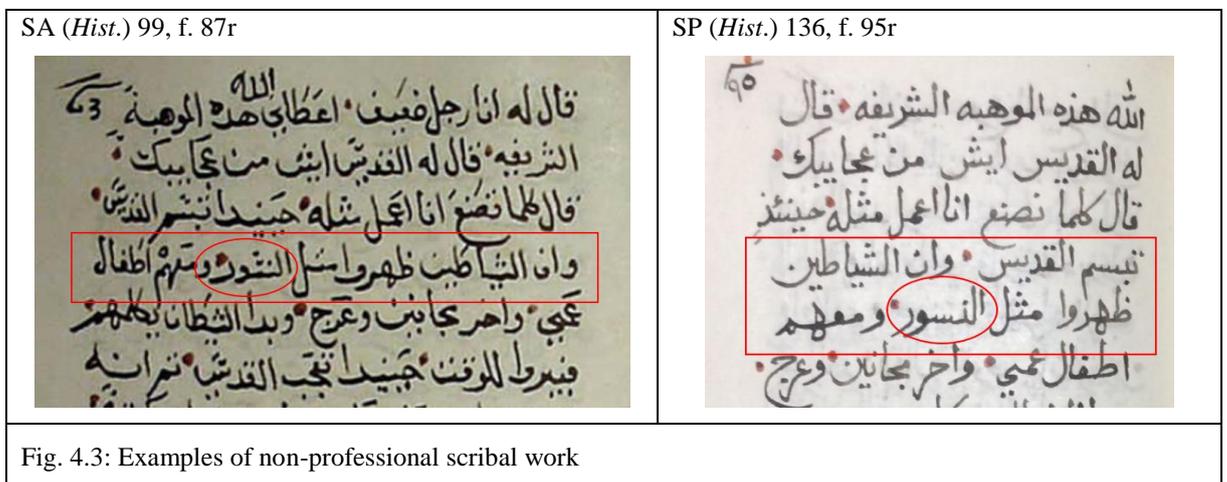
¹⁷⁵ Kim Haines-Eitzen comments that it was the professional scribes who made copies either through dictation or by copying an exemplar (Haines-Eitzen 2000: 24-25). For more on dictation, see Knox 1968: 421-435; and Skeat 1956: 179-208.

¹⁷⁶ Déroche et al. 2006: 200.

¹⁷⁷ Hirschler 2012: 16.

¹⁷⁸ According to the catalogue of manuscripts at the Monastery of St Antony, the following manuscripts were either copied or restored by scribes who carried the title '*al-nāsikh*': SA (*Theol.*) 340: dated 18 Bashans 1441 AM (26/5/1725 AD). Scribe: Ibrāhīm Sam'ān al-nāsikh, f.2v; SA (*Bibl.*) 208: dated 13 Abīb 1481 AM (20/7/1765 AD). Scribe: Ibrāhīm Sam'ān al-nāsikh, f. 242v; SA (*Theol.*) 145: dated 1 Ba'ūnah 1486 AM (8/6/1770 AD). A note in Coptic on the front flyleaf reads: "Remember O Lord Your servant Ibrāhīm Sam'ān al-nāsikh"; SA (*Theol.*) 48: not dated. Restored by Ibrāhīm Sam'ān al-nāsikh on 24 Baramūda 1498 AM (2/5/1782 AD), f. 272r; SA (*Bibl.*) 1:

non-professional scribes who served only the mechanical function of reproducing texts and were a cheaper option.¹⁷⁹ Examples of such scribes are apparent in the texts of manuscripts SA (*Hist.*) 99¹⁸⁰ and SP (*Hist.*) 136.¹⁸¹ Taking just one example, there is a sentence in all the twenty-one texts of the *Life* that reads: “And then the demons appeared as women and with them blind children...” However, the scribes of these two manuscripts wrote: “And then the demons appeared as *eagles* with blind children...” which does not make sense. The word for women is *النسوة*, but the scribes misread the last letter *ة* and wrote instead the letter *ر* hence making the word read *النسور*, which means ‘eagles’. While their work may not manifest the quality of a professionally produced copy, it nevertheless shows that they possessed enough reading and writing ability to undertake the copying of a text, and were trained in standard scribal conventions.



dated 6 Hätür 1376 AM (15/11/1659 AD). Restored by Ibrāhīm Sam’ān al-nāsikh (no date of restoration given), f. 67v. (Ibrāhīm Sam’ān al-nāsikh (d. 1783 AD) was one of the most famous artists of the Coptic Church. See Guirguis 2004: 939-52); SA (*Theol.*) 142: dated 9 Baramūda 1457 AM (17/4/1741 AD). Scribe: Yūḥannā Ayyūb al-nāsikh from Ḥārat al-Rūm, f. 136v; SA (*Bibl.*) 71: dated 30 Ṭūbah 1506 AM (7/2/1790 AD). Scribe: the priest Yūḥannā ibn ‘Umar Ibrāhīm al-nāsikh from Ḥārat al-Rūm, f. 86r; SA (*Bibl.*) 101: dated 25 Misrá 1508 AM (31/8/1792 AD). The colophon states: “the *hegumen* ’Istāfrūs copied it in Jerusalem, and then he reposed, and the one who completed it was Yūḥannā al-nāsikh in Ḥārat al-Rūm,” f. 294r; SA (*Lit.*) 957: dated 5 Abīb 1553 AM (12/7/1837 AD). Restored by Yūḥannā Mīnā al-nāsikh al-Būshī in Tūt 1611 AM (9/1894 AD), f. 142v; SA (*Bibl.*) 297: not dated. Restored by Yūḥannā Mīnā al-nāsikh al-Būshī (no date of restoration given), f. 303v. It is not clear if all these scribes were laymen or some were monks/clergy, but what is clear is that many books were transcribed in the 18th century and donated to monasteries or churches. The demand for books during this time corresponded to the popularity of reading among certain social circles (see Hanna 2003: 93-94), and this in turn gave rise to a thriving business for scribes. See Guirguis and van Doorn-Harder 2011: 46-47; and Guirguis 2004: 939-52. Worth noting is that some of these scribes were either from Ḥārat al-Rūm or carried out their work in Ḥārat al-Rūm, which from 1660-1800 AD was the seat of the Coptic Patriarchate and during which time the patriarchs were monks from the Red Sea monasteries prior to their patriarchal appointment. Therefore it is understandable that these patriarchs donated the manuscripts to the Monastery from which they had come.

¹⁷⁹ Haines-Eitzen 2000: 8-9, 22-35. Although Haines-Eitzen is referring to scribes in the 2nd-3rd centuries, the same distinction can be observed with scribes in the 17th-19th centuries.

¹⁸⁰ Dated 1871 AD.

¹⁸¹ Dates 1920 AD. Given the similarities in errors, it appears that SA (*Hist.*) 99 may have been the exemplar text the scribe used to transcribe the text in SP (*Hist.*) 136.

4.6 Scriptorium?

Various scholars have suggested that of the Red Sea monasteries, St Antony's had an active scriptorium.¹⁸² While there may be arguments to support this notion,¹⁸³ I wish to demonstrate that there are also arguments in favour of the private and individualised production of texts that were carried out by monks within their cells.

I have mentioned above that many Western travellers to the Red Sea monasteries between the 17th and 20th centuries recorded their observations about the libraries, the types of manuscripts within their collections, where they were housed, and at times they even referred to conversations that they had with the librarians themselves.¹⁸⁴ One would imagine that if a designated "writing room" or an *armarius* existed, at least some of the travellers would have recorded this. Furthermore, their accounts record the manuscripts as being located in either a room within the Monastery's tower designated as the library,¹⁸⁵ or within the church itself.¹⁸⁶ Given the limitation in space, it would seem unlikely that even if a monk chose to work within the space designated as the "library", the space would not have been big enough to accommodate a number of scribes working at the same time.

But perhaps the strongest indication that supports the notion of monks working individually, is revealed in what is contained in endowment statements. Typical phrases such as: "No one shall be permitted or absolved... to keep [books] in [their] cells... except for copying or reading it and [then] returning it back,"¹⁸⁷ infer that copying took place within the monk's cell, otherwise one would imagine that those who wrote endowment statements may have specified a condition

¹⁸² E.g., Krause 1991: 2108; Gabra 2002: 174-175; Pietruschka 2015: 94, 96. "Scriptorium" can be defined as the "writing room" (in medieval European monasteries) where multiple scribes copied texts according to a set of rules and guidelines, and in which there was careful monitoring and correcting of scribes' work. See Diringier 1982: 206; and Haines-Eitzen 2000: 79.

¹⁸³ E.g., that our scribes worked according to specific rules and conventions, and Kim Haines-Eitzen suggests that scribes only operated according to a set of guidelines within the controlled environment of a Scriptorium (Haines-Eitzen 2000: 79). Some scholars have also suggested that the presence of a scriptorium is obvious when texts are found to have corrections, as this reflects a controlled environment where "the scribe would be required to correct their copy, or the scriptorium's overseer would undertake to correct the copy" (Metzger 1981: 22; and Turner 1971: 15-16). While this theory may have some ground, I did not come across any evidence during my research that would indicate that the Red Sea monasteries had the equivalent of a European *armarius* who oversaw and supervised the work of scribes. (On the role of the *armarius*, see, e.g. *The Rule of Saint Benedict* 48, in White 2008: 96). And also one must ask, is the environment of a scriptorium necessary for scribes to review and correct their own work? As Eric Turner put it, scribes were aware of the potential for mistakes in their copies "and adopted a routine to counter it: they themselves checked the copy to be used against another exemplar" (Turner 1980: 93).

¹⁸⁴ Wansleben 1678: 311; Sicard 1845: 304; Piankoff 1943: 62; Massaia 1925: f/n 21; Chester 1873: f/n 105; Simaika 1939: XVIII; Morton 1938: 340; Lewis 1994: 746.

¹⁸⁵ At St Antony's Monastery until 1978 when the manuscripts were moved into a designated library building.

¹⁸⁶ At St Paul's Monastery until 1995 when the manuscripts were moved into a designated library building.

¹⁸⁷ SP (*Hist.*) 26: flyleaf ii. Other examples included SA (*Hist.*) 105: flyleaf 3v; SA (*Hist.*) 106: f. 241r; SA (*Hist.*) 193: f. 161v; SA (*Hist.*) 18: flyleaf i; SA (*Hist.*) 104: f. 59r.

that permitted the removal of books from the library or church to a “writing room”, or the like, for copying. The concept of monks producing texts within their cells is also attested by the fact that to this day there is an alley of monk’s cells within the Monastery of St Antony that is known as *Shāri’ al-Nussākh*, (*street of the scribes*)¹⁸⁸ for it was the “street” where the scribes of the Monastery lived and no doubt undertook their production of texts.

Thus, while it is not my intention to argue in absolute terms that there was no designated “writing room”, I wish to suggest that the assumption by scholars of the Monastery having had a scriptorium was perhaps advanced purely on the basis of logic rather than on the grounds of evidence, and that there is stronger evidence to support the hypothesis that scribes, after having received instruction on scribal conventions, worked and adhered to the guidelines on an individual basis.

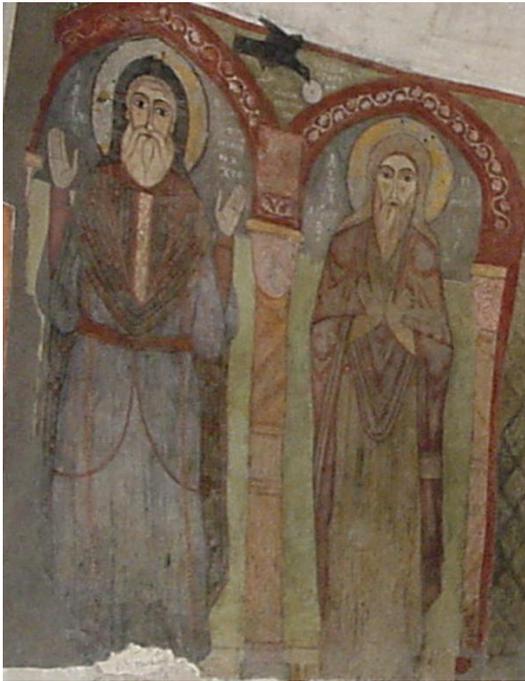
The manuscripts in our collection are significant for the information they provide in the colophons and endowment statements on the activities of scribes and patrons, and illustrate an active scribal network that provided the framework by which the *Life of Antony* in Arabic was transcribed, transmitted and disseminated. They reveal how the scribes were not only the producers of the text, but also the potential users of the text as readers or hearers.

Information in endowment statements indicate a literate community of monks at the Red Sea who were encouraged to read and copy from the collection of books that the monasteries owned. However, there is no strong evidence that there was any hierarchically organised efforts to control the process of text production, but rather it appears that the individual scribes maintained control over their own texts, and as touched upon in the previous chapter, modified them according to their own ideological perceptions.

In the next chapter I shall endeavour to show, through observations made while undertaking detailed codicology of the manuscripts, that scribes had a role beyond simply copying; the relationships and links they established were integral to the continual reproduction and circulation of texts.

¹⁸⁸ See Fig. 1.7.

13th century wall painting, in the ancient church at the Monastery of St Antony



18th century icon by Ibrāhīm al-nāsikh, donated to the Monastery of St Antony

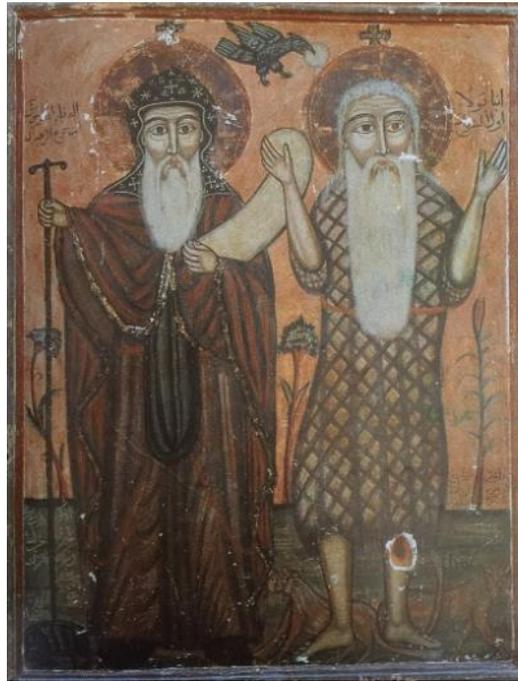


Fig. 4.4: Iconographic “pairing” of Antony and Paul
Photos courtesy of Ayman Na’im

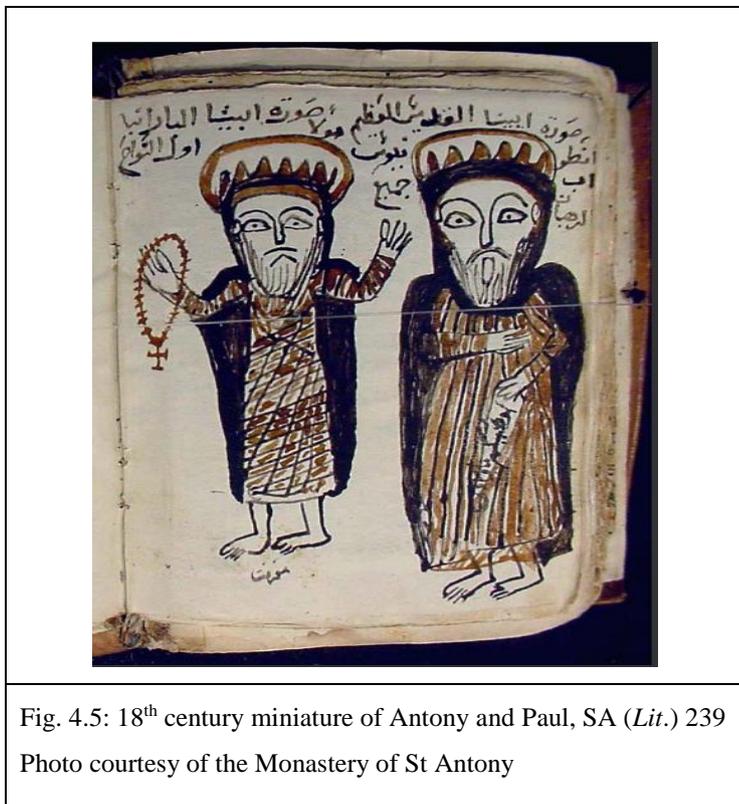


Fig. 4.5: 18th century miniature of Antony and Paul, SA (*Lit.*) 239
Photo courtesy of the Monastery of St Antony

18th century wall painting, in the Cave Church at the Monastery of St Paul, in the Mountain of *Nimrah* (*tigers*)



Photo courtesy of Ayman Na'im

18th century miniature of Paul the Hermit, from the book of *Psalmody*, SP (*Lit.*) 368

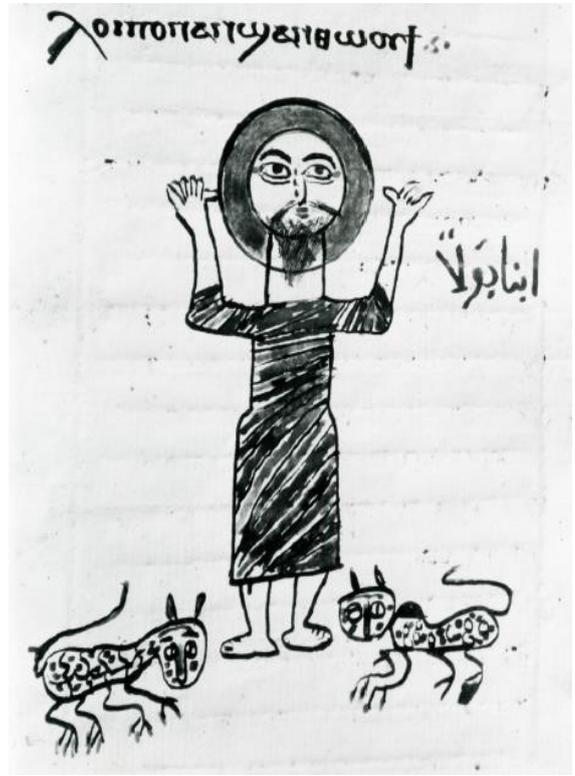


Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks

Fig. 4.6: Depictions of Paul the Hermit with tigers

CHAPTER 5
A CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS
CONTAINING A *LIFE OF ANTONY* IN ARABIC
IN THE RED SEA MONASTERIES¹

Alessandro Bausi notes that there is insufficient codicological information about manuscripts in Arabic script, and that they are “never detailed enough and ... rarely offer detailed codicological descriptions, or allow in-depth archaeological investigation.”² Thus I have endeavoured to provide in this chapter a typology of the manuscripts that contain a version of the *Life of Antony* in the Red Sea monasteries.³ I have described in detail the structure of the manuscripts and their materials of construction in the hope that this new material will shed light on the history of book culture and libraries in the Red Sea monasteries.

The texts are presented in chronological order according to the date when transcription was completed. In the cases where the manuscripts are not dated, an approximate date has been given based on the identified watermarks.⁴

¹ All uncredited images in this chapter are by the author.

² Bausi et al. 2015: 36.

³ This study excludes manuscripts containing the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life* found in the *Bustān al-Ruhbān*.

⁴ See ‘Watermarks’ in Chapter 3 for details.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIONS

5.1 ST PAUL (HISTORY) 53

Life of Anbā Antūniyūs, by Serapion Bishop of Thmuis⁵

27 Hātūr 1413 AM⁶ (3 December 1696 AD)

5.1.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. The edges and spine of the codex have been rebound in modern leather, and the leaves (many of which contained holes) have been restored with modern paper before being trimmed and rebound. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 200 x 145 mm. *Foliation*: 2 leaves (*i, ii*) + 3–83 + 3 leaves (84, 85, 86). *Writing material*: All pages were sized with starch giving it a glossy surface,⁷ and contain vertical chain lines 30 mm apart on laid paper. The flyleaves appear more recent and whiter than the text-block paper. Two different watermarks were identified in the codex consisting of: (1) three vertical crescents “Le Tre Lune”⁸ diminishing in sizes, and (2) the back flyleaf contains the name *Andrea Galvani Pordenone*⁹ in italics.¹⁰ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers. The numbering begins at f. 3r and ends at f. 83r.

⁵ The scribe has attributed this *Life* to Serapion the bishop of Thmuis. In the *Athanasian Life* Serapion appears twice (see VA 82.3 and 91.8-9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 233 and 253). He was a disciple, or rather, a confidant of Antony and protégé of Athanasius. He was ordained bishop of Thmuis in 339 AD and defended Athanasius in the Council of Sardica in 343 AD and then again before Constantius II (317-361 AD). He wrote numerous works and letters, including a letter to Antony’s disciples after the saint’s death in 356 AD. Jerome, in chapter 99 of his *De Viris Illustribus*, writes concerning Serapion: “Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, who on account of his cultivated genius was found worthy of the surname of *Scholasticus*, was the intimate friend of Antony the monk, and published an excellent book *Against the Manichaeans*, also another *On the titles of the Psalms*, and valuable Epistles to different people. In the reign of the Emperor Constantius he was renowned as a confessor” (*De Viris Illustribus*, in Halton 1999: 131).

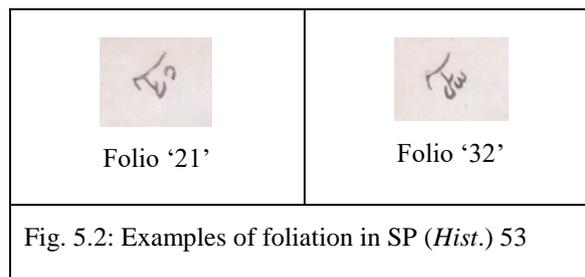
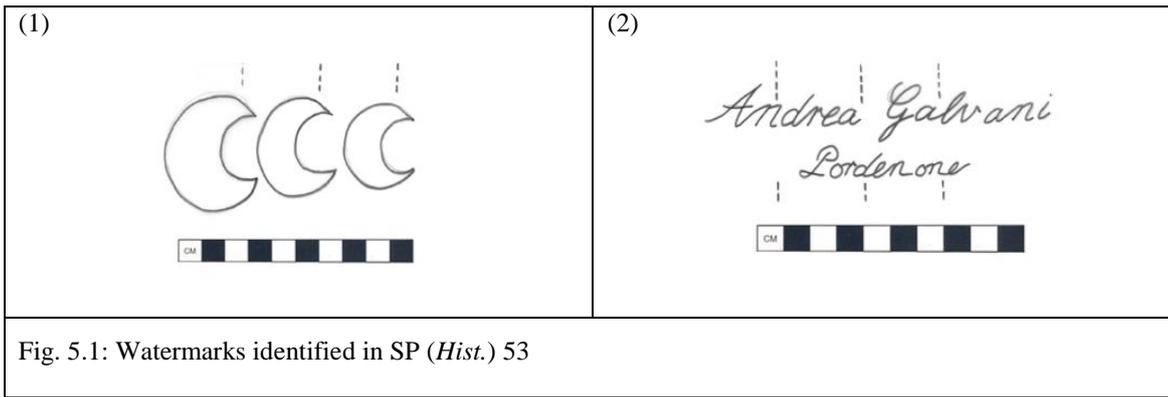
⁶ Copied from “an original” text dated 427 years earlier, i.e. in 986 AM (1268/1269AD).

⁷ The glossiness of the paper used in the Orient, achieved by the sizing technique, is only in manuscripts dated from the 14th century onwards. See Beit-Arié 1976: 26-37.

⁸ “The Three Crescents” or “Le Tre Lune” was considered the export mark of the North Italian mills and was manufactured especially by Venetian merchants for export to the Levant and has been described as “solid, white, and good quality” paper. Zanetti 1986a: 447. See also Briquet 1907: 306-307. It was introduced in the mid-17th century. Gacek 2009: 291.

⁹ Andrea Galvani (d. 1855) was the grandson of the Venetian merchant Valentino Galvani who inherited a paper mill in Pordenone (northern Italy) in 1710, and subsequently established three other paper mills in the region, making him one of the largest exporters of paper to the Levant. The Galvani paper received several awards for the excellence of its quality (Zanetti 1986a: 437). The Andrea Galvani paper was popular in the 19th century and the production of this paper continued until the early 20th century. See Briquet 1907: 315a.

¹⁰ A resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 860, plate 135.



5.1.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* written by Serapion the bishop (ff. 3r–66r); colophon (ff. 66r–66v)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā the first hermit* written by Athanasius the patriarch of Alexandria¹¹ (ff.67r–82v); colophon (f. 83r lines 1–15)

5.1.3 Colophons

A colophon stands at the end of each text providing details of the scribe’s name, where he copied the book, when it was completed, and who paid for its expense. The scribe was the monk-priest Ghabriyāl from the Monastery of St Antony. He copied the texts in Miṣr from funds provided to him by the Monastery; the same Monastery to which the book was endowed. It was completed in 1413 AM and was copied “from an original that dates back 427 years”.¹² Given that Ghabriyāl’s book was completed in 1696 AD, the original, from which he copied, must have dated to c. 1269 AD, making SP (*Hist.*) 53 the earliest extant copy of the Arabic *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* attributed to Serapion of Thmuis, found in the Red Sea monasteries.

¹¹ This is a redacted *Life of Paul the Hermit* that differs from Jerome’s *Latin Life*.

¹² See footnote 90 on page 51.

Although the book was endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, it belongs to the Monastery of St Paul.

The text of the colophon following the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, reads as follows:

(ff.66r–67v): With the help of God and His support and His mercy, the life-story of the great father *Anbā Anṭūniyūs* was completed in Miṣr that is protected [by God]. [It was] written by the least and weakest one among monks; [who is a monk] only by name and nothing else, Ghabriyāl,¹³ from a copy that dates back 427 years.¹⁴ And the sinful, wicked servant, repressed by the lusts of the physical world and its darkness, made captive by his passions and iniquities, drowning in the sea of his sins and wickedness, cared about [copying] this book which is the life-story of the great fighter among saints and the glorified [one] among the blessed ones, the luminous [one] whose fame is worthy and honourable, the star of the wilderness, and the father of all monks, the first and the last [of the monks], the prototype who wore the angelic *iskīm* (*monastic skema*), *Mār Anṭūniyūs* the wonder-worker, [after whose life-story is] followed by the life of the blessed *Būlā* the first hermit. He¹⁵ wrote it at the expense of his great monastery which was known as Dayr al-‘Arabah.¹⁶ May the almighty God protect it and keep it perpetual through the remembrance of His name by those dwelling in it; the priests, the deacons, and the monks, now and forever. It is hoped that by fulfilling the saying of our good Saviour that whoever writes a biography that will be read in the church to Christian people so that God the wonder-maker may be magnified through the deeds of His saints, God will tear apart the book of his sins and write his name in the Book of Life. And I the pitiful [one], desire from the great and indescribable, eternal God, [He who] lasts forever and has existed before time and has no end to His greatness, who cannot be described or examined and has no limit to His knowledge, [I desire] that He grants its

¹³ In the colophon after the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā* the scribe mentions that he was a priest:

”القَسُّ بِالْأَسْمِ بَدِيرِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ غَبْرِيَالُ“

Translation: “[who is] by name only a priest in the Monastery of al-‘Arabah, Ghabriyāl” (f. 83r lines 12-13).

¹⁴ In the colophon after the *Life of Anbā Būlā* the scribe mentions the date in which he completed copying the book:

في يوم السبت المبارك الخامس وعشرين من شهر هاتور من سنة الف واربعمائة وثلاثة عشر للشهدا الاطهار بمغونة الله ورحمته وتأييده تم وكمل بالقاهرة المحروسة.

Translation: “On the blessed Saturday 25 Hātūr 1413 [year] of the pure martyrs, with the help, mercy and support of God, [this book] was completed in Miṣr that is protected [by God].” (f. 83r lines 7-10).

¹⁵ I.e. the scribe referring to himself in the third person.

¹⁶ I.e. the Monastery of St Antony. In the colophon after the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā* the scribe mentions that the expenses for writing the book were given to him by the Monastery to which the book is endowed:

”من وقف عليه“

Translation: “From an endowment that belongs to it ...” (f. 83r line 13).

wretched writer, this joyful hope which he hopes [for], [and that] is to keep him [protected] until the end [of time] from the traps of the hostile demons, and count him among the joyful victors and grant him fellowship and a share with Yūliyūs¹⁷ the helper and author of the martyrs' life-stories, and award him the finest benefits and grant him [his] requests, through the intercessions of our lady the Virgin [Mary], and all the angels and apostles and martyrs and saints, and the prayers of these [two] great saints. May the Lord give him the good end. And whoever reads this book for the sake of the almighty God, let him remember its poor writer because he is troubled over his sins. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him, [for he is in need of blessing because] his mind is scattered. And he is by name Ghabriyāl, the most wicked one in the monastery. May the Lord grant him mercy together with the righteous ones, and he who prays for him, may he receive as much in return many fold. And glory be to God the father of lights to the end of all ages.

Written in a different hand vertically in the margin beside the colophon:

< This new copy, which is a copy of the original, was completed on 27 Hātūr 1413¹⁸ [year] of the pure martyrs >¹⁹ (f. 66r, 3 lines).

5.1.4 *Endowment*

Following the second colophon after the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*, is a *waqf* written in a different hand. The text reads as follows:

(f.83v, 11 lines): < In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great [one] among saints, *Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, [which is] well-known as Dayr al-‘Arabāh in the mountain of Qalzam. Not to be sold or pawned, and no one is permitted by the almighty God to remove it from its endowment to the above-mentioned monastery, so long as it is inhabited by monks. And whoever disobeys this commandment and removes it (...) ²⁰

¹⁷ I.e. Julius of Aqfaḥ, well known in Coptic hagiography as the scribe and biographer of the martyrs. See Youssef 2010: 151-196.

¹⁸ 6 December 1696 AD.

¹⁹ < > indicate a different hand to the text-block. See methodology in Chapter 3.

²⁰ (...) text missing due to a hole caused by a candle flame.

outside of the above-mentioned monastery (. . .) may his share be (...) and Simon the Magician (...) the blessing and thanks be to God. 1418²¹ [year of the] martyrs.>

5.1.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 150 × 100 mm, with 11–12 lines²² at a distance of 15 mm between the lines. The lines were made with a *masṭarah*;²³ a clear impression of the cords is visible on ff. 84v – 85r.²⁴

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines:²⁵ (1) elongation of words or one of the letters of the last word in the line; (2) suprascription of the last word on the line; (3) graphic fillers inserted in the empty space left at the end of the line consisting of either two dashes // followed or preceded by a dot in red ink,²⁶ or a cluster of four dots in red ink,²⁷ or a cluster of three dots in red ink;²⁸ and (4) contraction of letters and words.



(f. 32r)

²¹ The year 1418 is written in Coptic cursive numbers. Pencilled beneath this date is written in Arabic numbers in a modern hand the year 1413 in which the “3” was corrected to read “8”.

²² Except on ff. 138v, 130r, 128v, 111r, 109v, 110r which show 10 lines.

²³ See Fig. 3.4.

²⁴ Unfolded flyleaves are designated by italic Roman numerals for front matter, and italic Latin for back matter. See methodology in Chapter 3.

²⁵ Listed from top to bottom as highlighted in Fig. 5.3

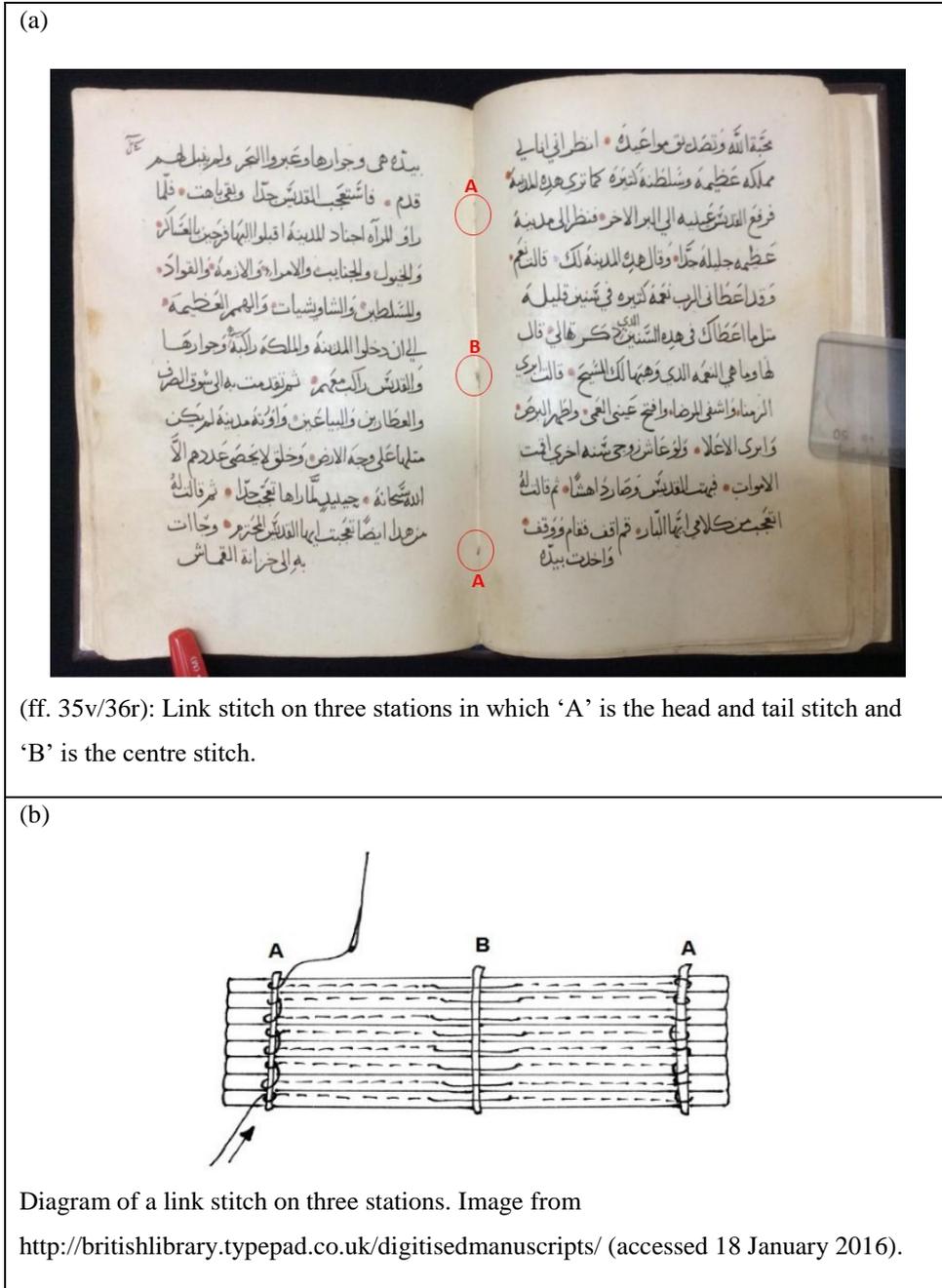
²⁶ Ff. 3v, 4v, 30r, 31v, 38r, 38v (3 dashes), 61v.

²⁷ Ff. 6r, 31r.

²⁸ Ff. 13r, 19r, 44r, 48r.

Fig. 5.3: Line management in SP (*Hist.*) 53

Quires: Each quire is made up of ten bifolia,²⁹ with the exception of the first two quires that each consist of three bifolia,³⁰ and the last quire that consists of nine bifolia.³¹ There are ten quires in total.³² The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on three stations.



²⁹ I.e. twenty leaves. According to Beit-Arié, twenty leaves is very rare in paper manuscripts of the Orient (Beit-Arié 1976: 47).

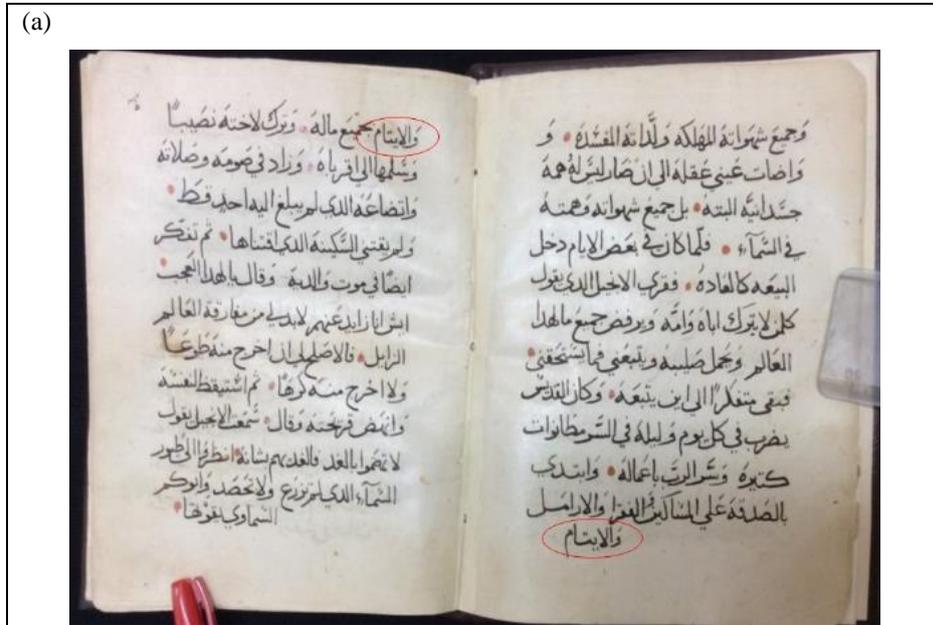
³⁰ I.e. six leaves.

³¹ I.e. eighteen leaves.

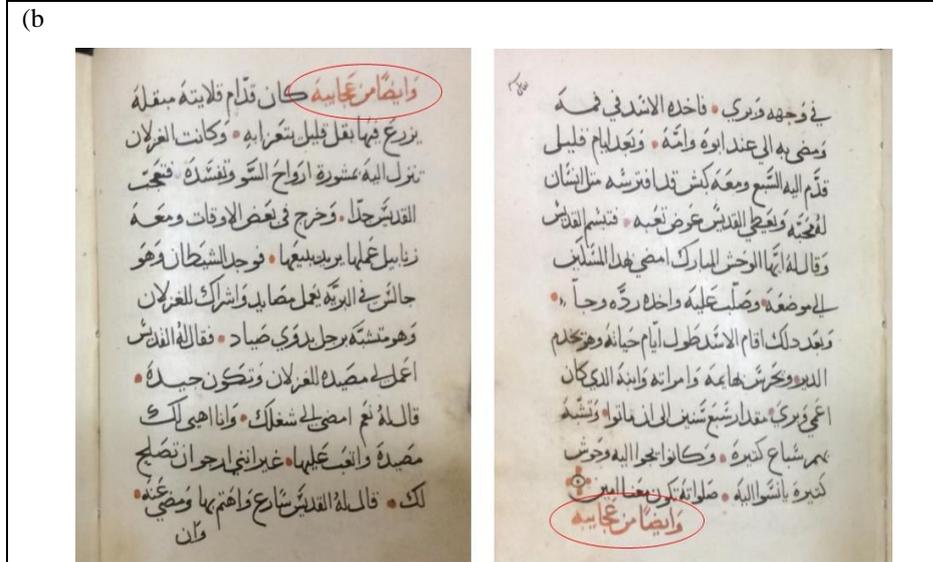
³² According to Déroche, it is not unusual in the text-block to have the first and last quires different from the rest, or to have different size quires (Déroche et al. 2006: 84-85). The quire sizes may differ according to the requirements of the scribe to complete the work. See also Beit-Arié 1976: 42.

Fig. 5.4: Sewing technique in SP (*Hist.*) 53

Catchwords: There are numerous instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.³³ There is also the unusual case of catchwords on the foot of some of the *recto* leaves, left aligned under the text.³⁴



(ff. 7v/8r): The usual case of catchwords on *verso/recto*.



(ff. 32r and 32v): The unusual case of catchwords on *recto/verso*.

Fig. 5.5: Examples of catchwords from SP (*Hist.*) 53

³³ The various discrepancies identified with the catchwords: diacritical and/or vocalisation marks missing or incorrect on ff. 7v, 51v, 58v, 59v, 62r, 64r, 75v, 88r; catchwords on *verso* and *recto* do not match on f. 66; catchword missing on *verso* on ff. 14v, 15v.

³⁴ Ff. 32r, 38r, 57r, 64r, 74r, 76r, 78r, 80r.

5.1.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat upright hand. Black ink with rubrics. The two volumes of texts are divided by headings in red ink which indicate the subject. Thus, the incipit at the start of each text is highlighted in red. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter. When space permits, the scribe ends the chapter by marking a cluster of either three or four red dots. Red is also used as textual dividers. The rubricated phrases are as follows:³⁵

- *We begin with the help of God to copy the life of the great saint, the star of the wilderness [and] father of all monks, Anbā Anṭūniyūs, expounded by the father bishop Anbā Serapion, one of his disciples. May their prayers keep us amen. [He] said: I tell you O you people present in this place³⁶*
- *And now we begin with the help of God whose name is praised³⁷*
- *And there was at that time³⁸*
- *But as for the revered saint the glorified Mār Anṭūniyūs³⁹*
- *And when this saint became famous everywhere⁴⁰*
- *And when he became famous in the world that he appeared in⁴¹*
- *And also among his wonders⁴²*

Diacritics: Throughout the manuscript, the text deviates from standard Arabic in that the system of diacritics is characterised by both a non-standard and irregular use. For example, in several cases the diacritical dots are missing on the pronouns *alladhī* (*who*), *dhālik* (*that*), *hādihā* (*this*), *hādhihi* (*this*), *mithl* (*like*), and *mithlahumā* (*like them*). In various other cases, the words containing ‘ث’ (*‘th’*) are written with only two diacritical dots as ‘ت’ (*‘te’*). This deviation is most likely due to the phonetical value of Egyptian Arabic pronunciation in that the scribe could

³⁵ Rubricated text in the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* is indicated in italic font. See “Methodology” in Chapter 3.

³⁶ F. 3r, lines 2-6.

³⁷ F. 5v.

³⁸ Ff.25v, 48r.

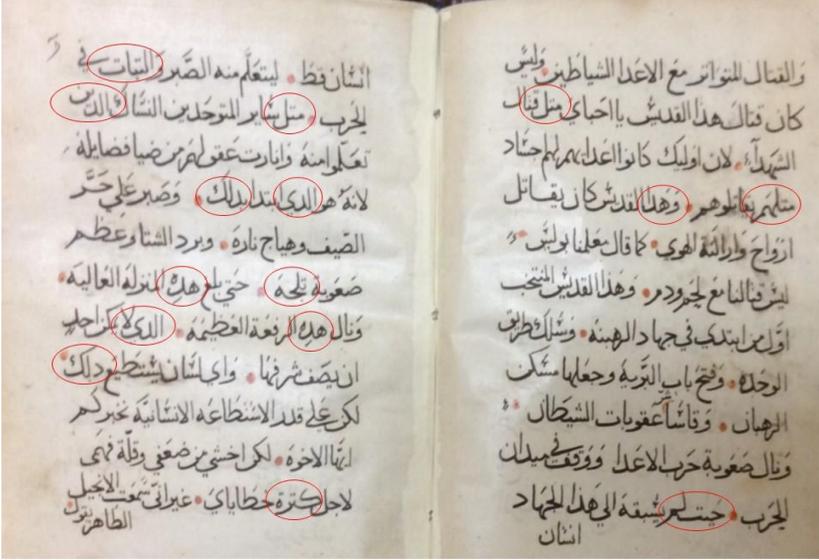
³⁹ F. 27r.

⁴⁰ F. 27v.

⁴¹ F. 50r.

⁴² Ff. 29r, 31r, 32r.

have spelt words based on the way in which the Egyptian Arabic interdental consonants⁴³ are pronounced. Hence, *talj* (*snow*) is written instead of *thalj* (*snow*), and *al-tabāt* (*permanent*) instead of *al-thabāt* (*permanent*).

	Non-standard (original text)	Standard
 <p>(ff. 3v/4r)</p>	التبات	الثبات
	تلجه	ثلجه
	الذي	الذي
	ذلك	ذلك
	هده	هذه
	هدا	هذا
	متل	مثل
	متلهم	مثلهم
	حيث	حيث
	الدين	الذين
	بدلك	بذلك
كثرة	كثرة	
ميتاقا	ميتاقي	
<p>Fig. 5.6: Example of non-standard use of diacritical marks in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53</p>		

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by various means: crossing out in red the incorrect words and when required, writing the correct form⁴⁴ either in the interline, or vertically in the margin (*a*);⁴⁵ placing a small red cross in the place where the correction is to be made, and the correct word is written either above or below the place where the word is to be inserted, or horizontally in the margin. The correct words are then tagged with a small red cross (*b*);⁴⁶ or placing a small black cross in the place where the correction is to be made, and the correct word is written either above or below the place where the word is to be inserted, or vertically in the margin (*c*).⁴⁷ In the case of additions to the text, the scribe places a small red stroke in the place

⁴³ Interdental consonants are produced by placing the tip of the tongue between the upper and lower front teeth. See Ladefoged 2004: 36.

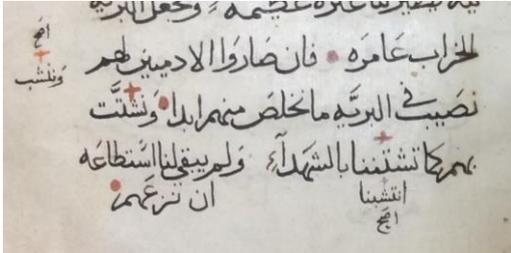
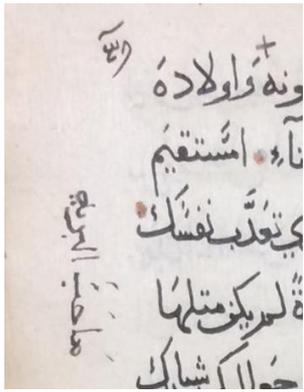
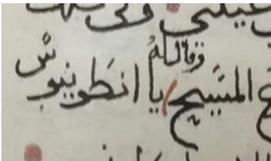
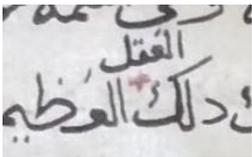
⁴⁴ Deleting and inserting are the most common scribal corrections in manuscripts. See Gacek 2009: 170.

⁴⁵ Ff. 5v, 12r, 14v, 19r, 19v, 21r, 33v, 43r, 47r, 72r, 77r.

⁴⁶ Ff. 15v, 21r, 21v, 46r, 82r.

⁴⁷ Ff. 3v, 27r, 27v, 44r, 68r.

where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written above this position in the interline (d).⁴⁸

<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 5v)</p>  <p>(f. 12r)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 11r) A cross in red ink is placed in the position where a word is to be replaced. Above and beneath the corrected word respectively is written the word 'اصح' meaning "more accurate", however, the word to be replaced is not crossed out.</p>
<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 44r)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 13v)</p>  <p>(f. 21r)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.7: Examples of scribal corrections in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53</p>	

⁴⁸ Ff. 4v, 13v, 20v, 35v, 38v, 42v, 51v, 59r, 61r, 69v, 71v (stroke is in black ink), 75v.

Salient Features: The last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* (ن) (the devil) is inverted seven times in the text.⁴⁹

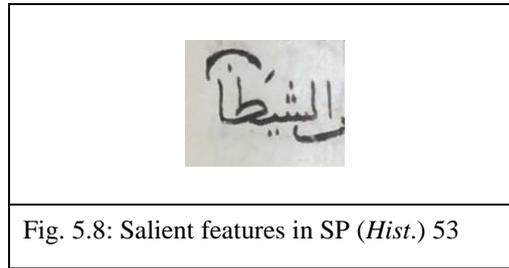
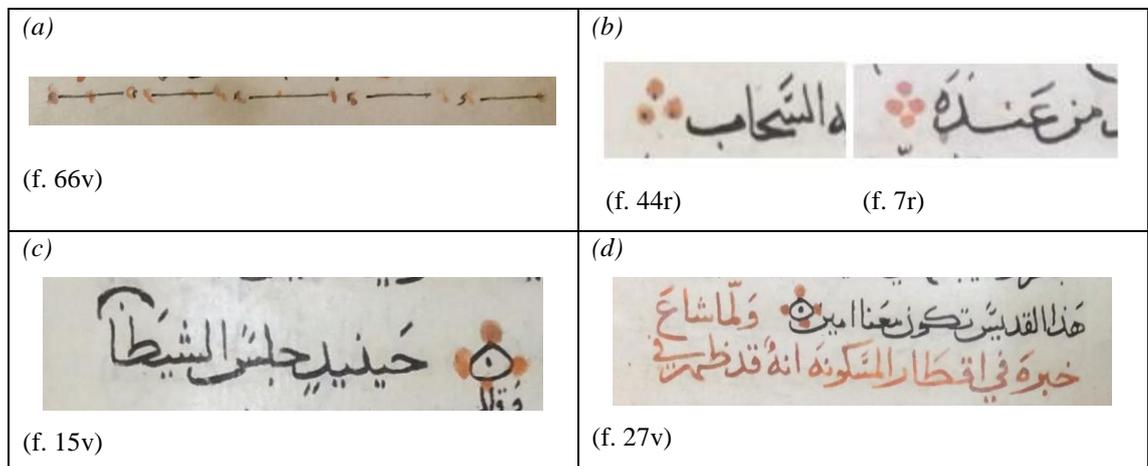


Fig. 5.8: Salient features in SP (*Hist.*) 53

5.1.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. Red dots are also used as dividers between textual units to mark the end of a text. They take the form of a sequence of black dashes and red dots over black markings (a). Three types of decorative elements are used in the text: A cluster of three⁵⁰ or four red dots⁵¹ used as space fillers (b); a small black circle with a black dot in the centre surrounded by four red dots giving the overall appearance of a small cross, used to indicate the start of a new chapter (c);⁵² at times a cluster of three red dots were also used to indicate the end of a paragraph.⁵³ The small black circle surrounded by four red dots follows the word *amen* (d).



⁴⁹ Ff. 15v, 41r, 47r, 55r, 60r x 2, 76r.

⁵⁰ Ff. 12v, 13r, 18r, 19r, 24r, 24v, 39r, 41r, 44r, 47v, 48r, 50v, 59v, 83v, 83r.

⁵¹ Ff. 7r, 31r.

⁵² Ff. 4v, 24v, 27r, 27v, 29r, 31r, 32r, 48r, 50r. It also marks a new chapter on f. 15v where the sentence does not commence in red ink, perhaps because the opening line is about *shayṭān* and hence the scribe may have preferred not to emphasize reference to the Devil. A similar cross design on f. 66r marks the end of the life-story, after which follows a colophon.

⁵³ It was a common feature for the cluster of three dots arranged in the form of a triangle to be used as a paragraph marker. See Déroche 1992: 21, 22, 23.

Fig. 5.9: Decorative features employed in SP (*Hist.*) 53

Title page: The title page contains a Coptic *iota* cross consisting of interlaced lines in black and red ink. This decorative type was known since the early Coptic era and was commonly used to decorate the title pages of Coptic manuscripts.⁵⁴ According to a handwritten note in the Monastery's catalogue, the leaf containing the coloured cross at the beginning of the book was originally part of an older manuscript that dates back to 1247 AM (1530/31 AD). It must have been restored at the same time as SP (*Hist.*) 53 and inserted as the title page within the manuscript.

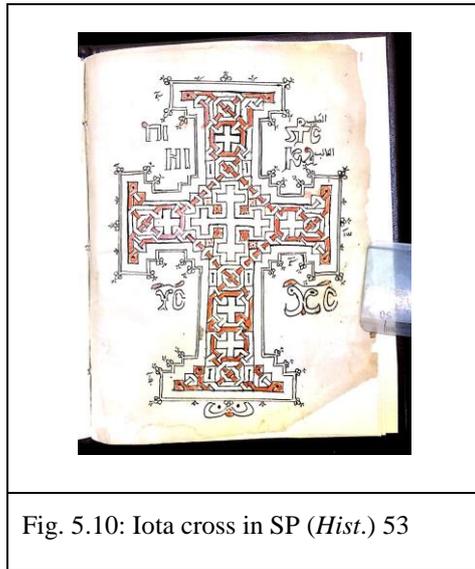


Fig. 5.10: Iota cross in SP (*Hist.*) 53

5.1.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with stamped relief in which the edges and spine have been mended in modern dark brown leather (*a*). The measurements of the cover and spine are 200 x 145 x 30 mm. It is not possible to determine if the original cover was of Type II or Type III. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a blind stamped centre medallion of vegetal design (*b*) flanked top and bottom with a small circle containing a simple cross, the same circle design of which a series lines the edges. The original cover shows evidence of abrasion,⁵⁵ (*c*) but otherwise in good condition. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of red and yellowish threads weaved into a chevron pattern.

⁵⁴ See Atalla 2000:128; and Simaika 1939: Pl. XLIX, LVII.

⁵⁵ Karin Scheper defines "abrasion" as a material in which the upper surface has been rubbed off, in *Glossary for the Conservation and Description of Islamic Manuscripts*: <http://www.hepworthscheper.com/lexicon/lexicon-en.html> (accessed 8 January 2016).

A laminated white paper slip containing the catalogue reference “53 history” is typed in Arabic and pasted on the spine.

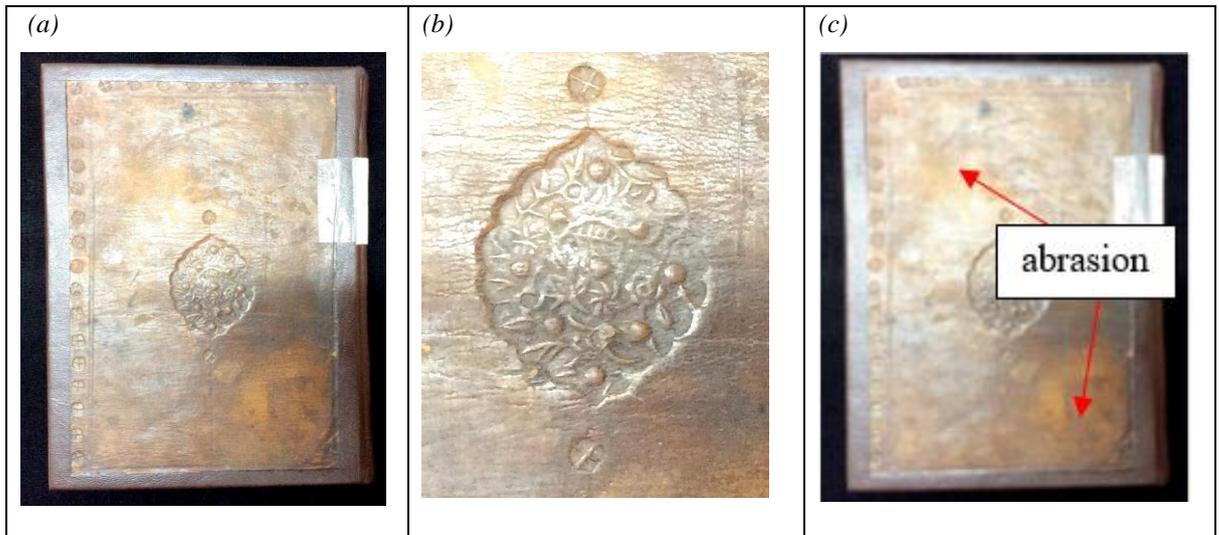


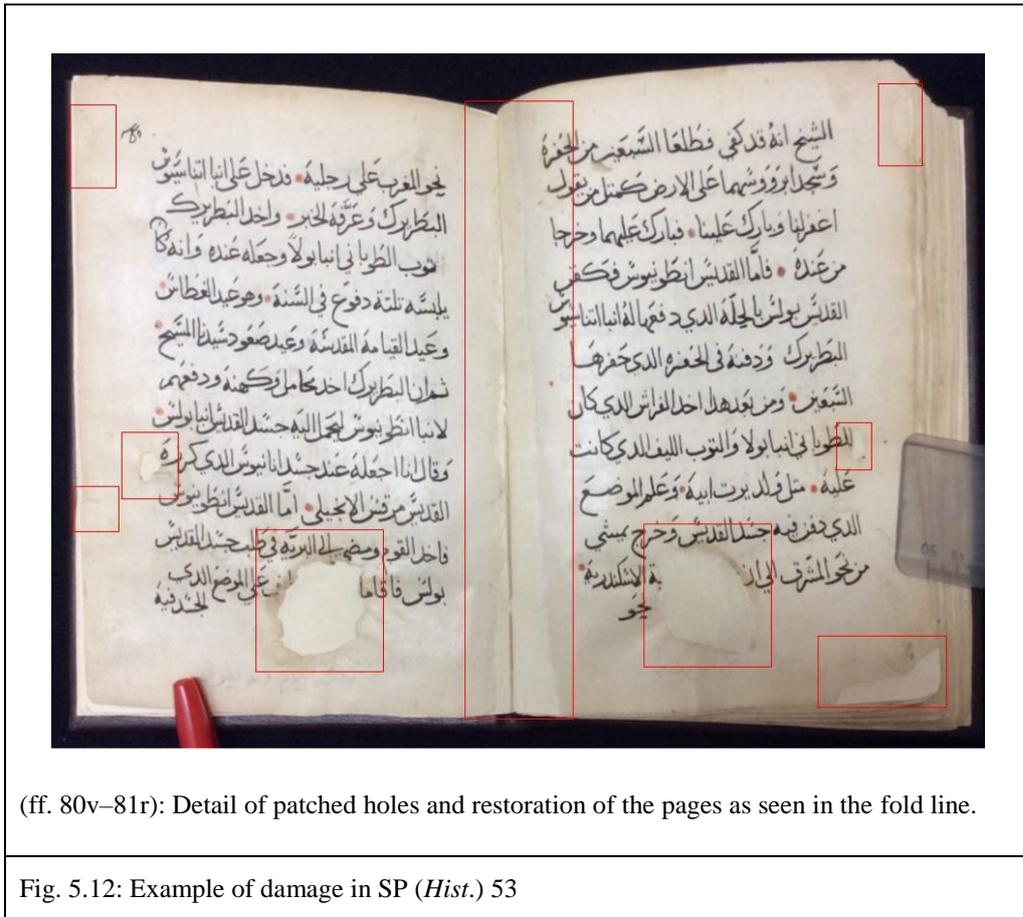
Fig. 5.11: Cover of SP (*Hist.*) 53

5.1.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The book contains two holes from what appear to be candle burns based on the colouration around the holes, as well as the traces of candle wax on various pages,⁵⁶ thus attesting to its liturgical use. The small hole is situated in the middle of the margin and runs from 80r (size: 2 × 3 mm) to 85r (size: 30 × 30 mm). Due to its position in the margin, no loss of text was caused by this hole. The larger hole is situated toward the centre bottom of the page causing minor loss of text to lines 10–12 on each folio. This hole runs from f. 67r (size: 13 × 11 mm) to f. 85r (size: 45 × 95 mm). There are other minor holes in the book, all of which have been patched in newer paper. Evidence of where the leaves have been restored is clear in the fold. There is some smudging of words throughout both texts,⁵⁷ but the words are still legible.

⁵⁶ Ff. 18r, 18v, 37r, 73v, 75r, 75v.

⁵⁷ Ff. 23v, 31v, 32r, 63r, 63v, 66v, 71v.



(ff. 80v–81r): Detail of patched holes and restoration of the pages as seen in the fold line.

Fig. 5.12: Example of damage in SP (*Hist.*) 53

5.1.10 Observations

SP (*Hist.*) 53 is interesting for the following reasons:

1) Its age

Firstly, it is the oldest extant copy of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* at the Red Sea monasteries. Furthermore, there is a scribal note in the manuscript that states the text was copied from “an original” text dated 427 years earlier, making the date of the original composition 1268/69 AD. While the book was endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, it is not certain when or under what circumstance the book came to be the property of the Monastery of St Paul.

2) Its restoration

When Thomas Whittemore led his expedition to the Red Sea monasteries in 1931–32, he instructed two monks at St Paul’s Monastery to write a catalogue documenting all the manuscripts housed in their Monastery. The handwritten catalogue dated 1931, is contained in the archives at Dumbarton Oaks. Against the entry for SP (*Hist.*) 53, a note that states that “the

pages of [the Life of] Anbā Būlā are damaged, and at the front [of the book] is a coloured cross.”⁵⁸

Meanwhile, in the most recent handwritten catalogue at the Monastery dated 1997, there is a note written against SP (*Hist.*) 53 that states: “The life-stories of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* written by Anbā Serapion, one of his disciples, [and] the *Life of Anbā Būlā the first hermit*. At its start is a coloured cross and the papers of the cover were originally part of an old manuscript that dates back to 1247 AM (1530/31 AD).” There is no mention about damaged pages.⁵⁹

When I examined this manuscript using an LED light, I noticed that the flyleaves were different from the pages of the text-block. The watermark identified on the flyleaves were that of the Venetian paper merchant *Andrea Galvani*. This watermark is also found in other Oriental manuscripts from the second half of the 19th century.⁶⁰

When considering the variations in the two entries in the catalogues concerning the state of the manuscript; from one dated 1931 and the second dated 1997, it seems restoration of the book may have taken place twice:

- i. The catalogue entry in 1931 mentions that the pages of the *Life of Anbā Būlā* were damaged, and that at the front of the book is a coloured cross. The dimensions of the cover provided in the catalogue are 19 x 19 cm.
- ii. The catalogue entry in 1997 mentions that the coloured cross and the covers were taken from an older manuscript that dates to 1530/31 AD (165 years older). The dimensions of the cover provided are 19 x 16 cm.
- iii. When I examined the manuscript in November 2015, I noted that the dimensions of the cover are 20 x 14.5 cm, the leaves of the manuscript had been trimmed, the edges and spine were rebound in modern leather, and the stitching was tight.

Given that *Andrea Galvani* paper was only in circulation in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is likely that restoration of the book occurred twice: the first time in the early 20th century when the title page of the *iota* cross from an earlier manuscript was inserted, and the second time in the late 20th century when the book was rebound, the damaged pages were patched with newer paper, and the quires were re-stitched. The rebinding enlarged the length of the codex by a centimetre, but why the difference of 4.5 cm between 1931 to the present? It is likely that the

⁵⁸ See Fig. 5.10.

⁵⁹ See Fig. 5.13.

⁶⁰ Refer to f/n 8 for details on the *Andrea Galvani* watermark.

original cover may have been of a Type II (with a flap) that was then cut and hence the necessity to rebind the pasteboards.

3) *The colophon details*

The colophon following the explicit of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* contains some interesting aspects:

- i. The scribe Ghabriyāl was a monk from the Monastery of St Antony, who was copying the text in Miṣr (Old Cairo). Given that he refers to copying his text from “an original” text, one may assume that the original text, or at least older text, may have been contained in Old Cairo, perhaps in the patriarchate in Ḥārat al-Rūm⁶¹ where most likely Ghabriyāl had been transcribing his text. In fact, information provided in other colophons specify that the location where Ghabriyāl transcribed a number of texts, was in the Church of the Virgin in Ḥārat al-Rūm;⁶²
- ii. If the scribe indeed copied his text from “an original” (copy) that dates to the 13th century, it may infer that the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was originally composed in Arabic.
- iii. The Monastery of St Antony provided the funds for copying and bookbinding, which was an expensive enterprise, for the purpose of promoting the texts;
- iv. The Monastery at the end of the 17th century was inhabited by priests, deacons and monks. The order in which the scribe mentions them infers their order of seniority within the monastic community. The implication that a deacon takes priority over the place of a monk was first made apparent in early monastic literature; such as in Athanasius’s *Vita Antonii*,⁶³ and in the life-story of John of Lycopolis in the *Historia Monachorum*.⁶⁴
- v. The purpose of copying saint’s lives that would be “read in the church to Christian people” was to have one’s name written “in the Book of Life.”
- vi. The scribe wished to identify himself with Yūliyūs of Aqfahṣ who was not only a scribe but a martyr. Like Yūliyūs, the scribe saw himself as both a scribe of saints’ biographies,

⁶¹ Ḥārat ’Rūm had been the seat of the Coptic patriarchate since 1660 AD, and was rebuilt in the days of Yū’annis XVI (1676-1718 AD). See *HP* III/3, in Khater and Khs-Burmester 1970: 9.

⁶² E.g., MS Coptic Patriarchate (*Bibl.*) 59 and 60, copied by Ghabriyāl in Ḥārat al-Rūm in 1698 AD. I wish to thank Hany Takla for providing me with copies of these manuscripts in order to confirm that they are the same hand as SP (*Hist.*) 53. See also Abd el-Nour 2007: 4.

⁶³ VA 67.1-67.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 201.

⁶⁴ HM I.14-15, in Russell 1980: 54.

and a successor of the martyrs; given that monks were considered the new martyr, after the age of martyrdom, in their imitation of Christ.⁶⁵

- vii. In the colophons, the scribe recorded that he completed copying the *Life of Anbā Būlā* on 25 Hātūr 1413 AM (1 December 1696 AD), and completed copying the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* on 27 Hātūr 1413 AM (3 December 1696 AD). Hence, it took him 2–3 days to copy the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, and although he wrote the *Life of Anbā Būlā* first, *Anbā Anṭūniyūs* takes place of priority in the order of the book.

4) Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī (scribe)

The following manuscripts contained in the Red Sea monasteries were also copied by Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Including SP (*Hist.*) 53, Ghabriyāl copied twenty-one manuscripts between the years 1373 AM (1657 AD) and 1428 AM (1712 AD); ten of which were endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, and eleven endowed to the Monastery of St Paul; three of which were copied in Miṣr.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that prior to the year 1413 AM (1696/7 AD), the manuscripts Ghabriyāl copied were endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, whereas those copied between the years 1415 AM (1698/9 AD) and 1424 (1707/8 AD), were endowed to the Monastery of St Paul; many of which were made a personal *waqf* by Yū'annis XVI,⁶⁷ the 103th patriarch, who was himself a monk from the Monastery of St Antony prior to his patriarchal appointment.

Dates and titles provided in the colophons allow us to track Ghabriyāl's monastic progression. When he first began copying books in 1373 AM, he referred to himself as “the monk Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī”. But sometime between the years 1373 and 1377 AM, he was ordained a priest and hence refers to himself afterwards as “the priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī”.

Details of the manuscripts provided below include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library at St Antony's Monastery, or the handwritten catalogue of St Paul's Monastery. They are listed in chronological order of copying completion date, and have been confirmed by viewing the manuscripts to ascertain likeness in writing and colophons. Also

⁶⁵ Athanasius in his *VA* presents Antony as conforming to the figure of a martyr when half way in his *Vita* he clearly marks a transition from the age of the martyrs to that of the monks. After Antony does not receive the actual martyrdom he desires and the persecutions end, Antony “departed, and again withdrew to his cell, and was there daily a martyr to his conscience [2 Corinthians 1:12] and contending in the conflicts of faith” (*VA* 47, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 161). According to Brakke, in Athanasius's *VA*, “the monk succeeds the martyr as the person on the front line in the conflict between Christ and Satan” (Brakke 2006: 47). See also Malone 2011.

⁶⁶ SP (*Hist.*) 53 was completed in 1413 AM, SP (*Hist.*) 105 completed in 1417 AM, and SP (*Lit.*) 108 completed in 1425 AM. One may assume these texts were copied in the Church of the Virgin in Ḥārat al-Rūm.

⁶⁷ 1676-1718 AD.

provided is a high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the patrons if mentioned, and the folio reference of this information:

1. SA (*Lit.*) 647: *The Prayers of the Laqqān*,⁶⁸ in Coptic and Arabic. Scribe and patron: monk Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 16 Ba'ūnah 1373 AM. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (f. 86r).
2. SA (*Lit.*) 98: *Liturgy of St Basil*, in Coptic and Arabic. Scribe: monk Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: Ba'ūnah 1373 AM. Patron: monk 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 59r, 93v, 95v).
3. SA (*Lit.*) 99: *Liturgy of St Basil*, in Coptic and Arabic. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 4 Ba'ūnah 1377 AM. Patron: priest 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony. Date of *waqf*: 3 Tūt 1398 AM (ff. 91r–91v, 99r).
4. SA (*Hist.*) 137: *Life of Marqus al-Anṭūnī and his Miracles*. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 4 Kiyahk 1394 AM. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 89v, 93r–93v).
5. SA (*Lit.*) 629: *Psalis*⁶⁹ for the month of Kiyahk and for the Baramūn⁷⁰ and for the feasts of the Nativity and the Epiphany, in Coptic. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 13 Kiyahk 1398 AM. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony. Date of *waqf*: 1622 AM (ff. 54v, 122r).
6. SA (*Lit.*) 905: *Psalis for the month of Kiyahk and the feasts of the Nativity and the Epiphany, and for the Great Lent*, in Coptic. Scribe: monk Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 24 Misrā 1401 AM. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 52v, 70v).
7. SA (*Lit.*) 294: *Hymns of the year*, in Coptic and Arabic. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 11 Amshīr 1407 AM. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch (f. 55r).
8. SA (*Hist.*) 98: *Collection of Eleven Stories*. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 19 Kiyahk 1410 AM. Patron: monk 'Abduh al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 123r–123v, 179v).
9. SA (*Lit.*) 479: *Expositions for the month of Kiyahk and the feasts of the Nativity and the Epiphany, in Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Completed: 30 Ba'ūnah 1413 AM. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 54r–54v).

⁶⁸ Ritual prayers for the washing of feet that take place prior to the liturgy of the Epiphany, Holy Thursday, and Feast of the Apostles. See Gabra 2009: 181.

⁶⁹ Hymns recited before the Odes and the *Theotokia*. They could be sung with the *Adam* tune or with the *Wāṭus* tune. See Gabra 2008: 228.

⁷⁰ The day before a feast day.

10. SP (*Hist.*) 53: *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Life of Anbā Būlā*. Completed: 27 Hātūr 1413 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in Miṣr. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (but has been in the possession of the Monastery of St Paul, and hence catalogued as such), (ff. 66r–66v, 83v).
11. SP (*Hist.*) 46: *Life of Anbā Barsūm the Naked, and his Miracles*. Completed: 26 Abīb 1415 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1422 AM (ff. 53r–53v).
12. SP (*Lit.*) 129: *Psalms of the Great Lent*. Completed: 14 Bābah 1415 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1422 AM (ff. 3v, 177v).
13. SP (*Hist.*) 105: *Maymar*⁷¹ *for the Martyrs of Isnā*. Completed: 18 Baramhāt 1417. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in Miṣr. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1422 AM (ff. 41r–41v).
14. SP (*Hist.*) 41: *Maymar for the Three Youth in the Fiery Furnace, and the Service of the Deacons*. Completed: 22 Baʿūnah 1418 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in the Monastery of St Paul. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1424 AM (ff. 1v, 76r).
15. SP (*Lit.*) 23: *Psalms of Pascha and the Gospels of the 12th hour of the Great Friday*. Completed: 24 Misrā 1419 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in the Monastery of St Paul. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1424 AM (f. 55v, 89r).
16. SP (*Bibl.*) 97: *Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and the Book of Acts*. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in the Monastery of St Paul. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1424 AM (ff. 1v, 178r).
17. SP (*Lit.*) 114: *Difnār*⁷² *for the months of Kiyahk, Ṭūbah, Amshīr, Baramhāt, and Baramūda, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 4 Ṭūbah 1424. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yūʿannis XVI, in 1427 AM (ff. 132r–132v.)
18. SP (*Lit.*) 107: *Difnār for the months of Bashans and Baʿūnah, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 28 Baramhāt 1425 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*:

⁷¹ Derived from Syriac meaning, “speech, homily, theological treatise” (Graf 1954: 110).

⁷² *Antiphonarion* in Greek, a liturgical book of hymns commemorating the saints arranged in order of their commemoration day. See Chapter 1 f/n 51.

- Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yū'annis XVI, in 1427 AM (ff. 3v, 102r).
19. SP (*Lit.*) 108: *Difnār for the months of Tūt and Bābah, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 12 Ba'ūnah 1425 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in Miṣr. Date of *waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch Yū'annis XVI, in 1427 AM (ff. 99r–99v).
20. SP (*Lit.*) 205: *Liturgy of St Basil, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 22 Abīb 1426. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in the Monastery of St Paul. *Waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul (f. 4v, 86r, 122r).
21. SP (*Hist.*) 16: *Miracles of the Virgin Mary*. Completed: 17 Misrā 1428 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf*: Endowed to the Monastery of St Paul (f. 18r, 34r).

5) Yū'annis XVI, the 103rd patriarch⁷³

As evidenced above, the patriarch endowed several manuscripts to the Monastery of St Paul.⁷⁴ In the *History of the Patriarchs*, we read that Yū'annis XVI (also known as Yū'annis al-Ṭūkhī), who had been a monk at the Monastery of St Antony prior to his patriarchal appointment, had restored the Monastery of St Paul “after it had been ruined for a time... and he established in it monks, and he endowed it with its inalienable endowment from the inalienable endowment of Anbā Antunius.”⁷⁵ In addition to the various restoration projects that took place at the Monastery of St Paul, and consecration of the ancient Cave Church by Yū'annis XVI,⁷⁶ marginal notes and *waqf* statements in various manuscripts contained in the Monastery's library, attest to his efforts in rebuilding and populating the Monastery's library.⁷⁷

⁷³ 1676 – 1718 AD.

⁷⁴ Only eight manuscripts were endowed by Yū'annis XVI to the Monastery of St Antony. The last manuscript he endowed to the Monastery of St Antony was in 1419 AM (1702/3 AD). All subsequent manuscripts were endowed to the Monastery of St Paul.

⁷⁵ *HP* III/3, in Khater and Khs-Burmester 1970: 284.

⁷⁶ The following manuscripts in the library of St Paul's Monastery contain marginalia describing Yū'annis XVI's restoration projects at the Monastery in 1420 AM = 1703/4 AD, following its destruction, and subsequent consecration of the renovated and expanded Cave Church. Details of the manuscripts provided include the reference number as listed in the handwritten catalogue of the Monastery, the date of the *waqf* by the patriarch, and the folio reference of this information: SP (*Lit.*) 49: 1421 AM (ff. 68r-68v), SP (*Hist.*) 55: 1424 AM (ff. 1v, 35r), SP (*Lit.*) 38: 1424 AM (ff. 28r, 92r), SP (*Lit.*) 107: 1425 AM (f. 2v, 67r-67v).

⁷⁷ From information provided in the library's handwritten catalogue, the following manuscripts (containing catalogue reference number and year of *waqf*) were endowed by Yū'annis XVI to the Monastery of St Paul: SP (*Hist.*) 46: 1415 AM, 115: 1417 AM, 41: 1418 AM, 79: 1422 AM, SP (*Lit.*) 129: 1422 AM, SP (*Hist.*) 105: 1422 AM, SP (*Lit.*) 23: 1424 AM, SP (*Bibl.*) 97: 1424 AM, SP (*Lit.*) 114: 1424 AM, SP (*Bibl.*) 97: 1424 AM, SP (*Hist.*) 24: 1424 AM, 38: 1424 AM, 102: 1424 AM, 55: 1424 AM, 51: 1427 AM, SP (*Lit.*) 107: 1427 AM, 108: 1427 AM, SP (*Hist.*) 42: 1431 AM. The following manuscripts were endowed by the patriarch to the Monastery of St Antony: SA (*Bibl.*) 84: no date; SA (*Lit.*) 336: 1393 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 51: 1397 AM, 89: 1397 AM; SA (*Hist.*) 157: 1414 AM; SA (*Bibl.*) 99: 1415 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 128: 1419 AM; SA (*Lit.*) 81: 1422 (a note on f. 1v states:

SP (*Hist.*) 55,⁷⁸ endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by the patriarch in 1424 AM (1707/8 AD), is one such example. Below the endowment is a note attesting to the care of the patriarch in populating the Monastery's library. The text reads as follows:⁷⁹

And when it was in the date of the year 1424 [year] of the martyrs, there was at that time the monastery of the great one among the saints, the first of the hermits and brave ones, the fighter Anbā Būlā, during the patriarchate of our blessed and honourable father Anbā Yū'annis. He provided many books for [the monastery], and this [book] is one of them. And he made it an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the above-mentioned monastery. May God keep it perpetual and in peace, now and always.⁸⁰

As mentioned above, SP (*Hist.*) 53 was endowed by the Monastery of St Antony to itself, and it is not certain when or how the manuscript came to be in the possession of the Monastery of St Paul. However, from information provided in some of the colophons, the scribe Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī spent time between the years 1418 to 1427 AM (1701/2 – 1710/11 AD) copying manuscripts at the Monastery of St Paul.⁸¹ It is not unreasonable to assume that he may have been one of the five monks from St Antony's Monastery who were requested to relocate by the Patriarch to populate St Paul's in 1418 AM (1701/1702 AD),⁸² and if this was the case, he may have taken SP (*Hist.*) 53 with him.

اذكر يا رب عبدك مسعد ابن لطف الله وهو اخو ابينا البطريرك انبا يوانس الذي اوهبه هذا الكتاب في ١١ توت ١٤٢٢ ش

Translation: Remember O Lord your servant Mus'ad 'ibn Luṭf Allah who is the brother of our father the patriarch Anba Yū'annis, who gave to him this book on 11 Tūt 1422 AM.

⁷⁸ SP (*Hist.*) 55: *Six Maymars on Pontius Pilate, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and St George the Roman*. It was copied in 1424 AM but the name of the scribe is not mentioned. It was endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by Yū'annis XVI on 26 Ba'ūnah 1424 AM (ff. 2v, 38r-38v).

⁷⁹ The text in Arabic reads:

لما كان بتاريخ سنة الف واربعمائه واربعة وعشرين / للشهدا كان في ذلك الزمان دير العظيم في القديسين / اول السواح والشجعان المجاهد انبا بولا وذلك في / زمان رياسة ابينا الاب السعيد الفاضل انبا يوانس / وقد اهتم له بكتب كثيرة وهذا من جملتهم وواقفهم / على الدير المذكور اعلاه وقفا موبدا وحبسا مخلدا / عمره الله بذكره على الدوام وادام الله السلامه من الان / وكل اوان

⁸⁰ SP (*Hist.*) 55: ff. 38r-38v.

⁸¹ Colophons in SP (*Hist.*) 41, SP (*Lit.*) 23, SP (*Bibl.*) 97, and SP (*Lit.*) 205 mention that the scribe copied the texts in the Monastery of St Paul.

⁸² Nakhla 2001, vol. 5: 12.

<p>Catalogue entry: 1931 Part three: History books: 53</p>	<p>Part three: History books.</p> <p>53: A book containing two life-stories of Anbā Anṭūniyūs and Anbā Būlā, and the pages of Anbā Būlā are damaged, and at the front [of the book] is a coloured cross. The date is 1413 AM. The scribe is the monk Ghabriyāl from the Monastery of al-‘Arabah. It was copied in Miṣr. 83 pages, 12 lines, [the cover is] 19 + 19 [cm].⁸³</p>
<p>Catalogue entry: 1997 History 53</p>	<p>The life-stories of the life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs written by Anbā Serapion one of his disciples, [and] the life of Anbā Būlā the first hermit. At its start is a coloured cross and the covers of the cover were originally part of an old manuscript that dates back to 1247 AM (1531 AD). [This book] is dated 25 Hātūr 1413 AM (1697 AD). The scribe is the monk Ghabriyāl. It was copied in Miṣr. The endowment is for the Monastery of St Antony at the mountain of al-‘Arabah. 83 pages, 12 lines, [the cover is] 19 x 16 cm.⁸⁴</p>
<p>Fig. 5.13: Catalogue entry 1931 and 1997, St Paul’s Monastery</p>	

⁸³ The text in Arabic reads:

(القسم الثالث الكتب التاريخية):
٥٣: كتاب به عدد ٢ ميامر أنبا أنطونيوس و أنبا بولا و سيرة أنبا بولا اتلفت أوراقها و بأوله صليب بالالوان تاريخه سنة ١٤١٣ ش و الناسخ الراهب غبريال عبرير العربية و كنسخ بالقاهرة ٨٣ ورقه ١٢ سطر ١٩ + ١٩

⁸⁴ The text in Arabic reads:

ميامر سيره انبا انطونيوس وضعها انبا سيرابيون احد تلاميذه - سيره انبا بولا اول السواح / بأوله صليب بالالوان وأوراق الجدة اصلها جزء من هاتور ١٤١٣ ش (١٦٩٧م) الناسخ الراهب غبريال بالقاهرة تم نسخه / مخطوط قديم وتاريخه يرجع لسنة ١٢٤٧ ش (١٥٣١م) / تاريخه: ٢٥ سم. ١٦ سطر - ١٩ ورقة - ١٢ الوقفية على دير القديس انبا أنطونيوس بجبل العربية - ٨٣

5.2 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 104

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁸⁵

23 Misrá, 1413 AM (26 August 1697)⁸⁶

5.2.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 215 × 155 mm. *Foliation*: 3 leaves (*i, ii, ii*) + 1 – 59 + 2 leaves (*60, 61*). *Writing material*: laid paper of varying thickness and quality. The flyleaves are smoother and glossier than the paper of the text-block. Horizontal chain lines are visible 30 mm apart. The codex contains two types of watermarks: (1) the single letter S in capital, and (2) an anchor within a circle topped with a cross. An image of a resembling watermark is found in Vsevolod Nikolaev's, *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire*.⁸⁷ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā'* at its end. They are inscribed slanted leftwards in the top left-hand corner of the *recto* of each leaf. However, the scribe employed two ways of inscribing the numbers: (1) the head of the first digit crosses through the overlined stroke; (2) both digits sit below the overlined stroke. While the numbering begins at f. 1v and ends at f. 59r, f. 1v should in fact be 2v, however, the scribe who wrote the colophon numbered it, being a flyleaf, as folio 1.

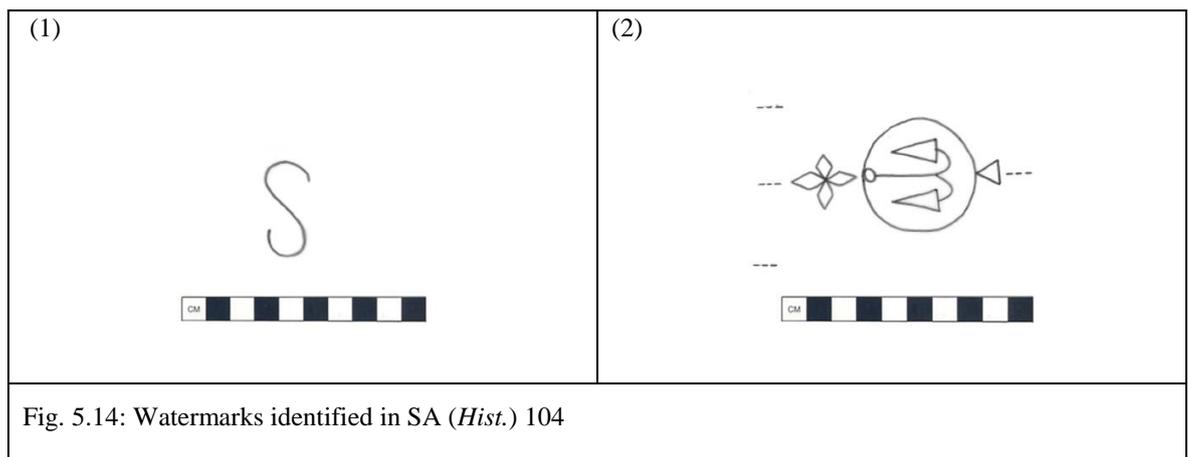
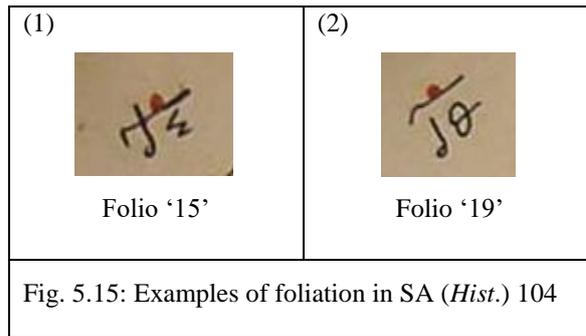


Fig. 5.14: Watermarks identified in SA (*Hist.*) 104

⁸⁵ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

⁸⁶ This date refers to when the manuscript was delivered/gifted to the Monastery of St Antony, as no information is provided on when the book was completed.

⁸⁷ Nikolaev 1954: no. 1585, pl. 119.



5.2.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 2r–52v)
- (2) *Tarh Wāṭus*⁸⁸ for *Anbā Anṭūniyūs* in Coptic (f. 53r)
- (3) *Tarh Wāṭus* for *Anbā Anṭūniyūs* in Arabic (ff. 53v–56r)
- (4) *Tarh Adam*⁸⁹ for *Anbā Anṭūniyūs* in Coptic (f. 57r)
- (5) *Tarh Adam* for *Anbā Anṭūniyūs* in Arabic (ff. 57v–58r)

5.2.3 Colophon

A colophon stands at the beginning of the codex on the second flyleaf, opposite the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, and is foliated by the scribe as folio 1v. It provides details of the scribe's name, the date it was delivered to the Monastery of St Antony, and who accompanied the scribe on his journey to the Monastery. It was delivered to the Monastery in the year 1413 AM by the scribe 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Fashnī who was a priest.

The text of the colophon reads as follows:

(f. 1v, 13 lines): On the blessed day of Monday the 23rd day of the blessed month of Misrā, in the year 1413 that is of the pure martyrs,⁹⁰ the scribe of these letters, the wretched 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Fashnī, a priest only by name, came to that holy place of the Monastery of the great Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-'Arabah, with the brothers: the priest 'Abd al-Masīḥ and the revered deacon al-Mu'allim Rizq-Allāh. And we ask everyone who reads these letters, after prostrating, to ask for the forgiveness of their sins. Through the intercessions of the Virgin, the mother of salvation, and all the martyrs

⁸⁸ *Exposition* to the hymns that are chanted on Wednesdays to Saturdays. See Gabra 2008: 266.

⁸⁹ *Exposition* to the hymns that are chanted on Sundays to Tuesdays. See Gabra 2008: 17.

⁹⁰ 26 August 1697 AD. Date written in Coptic cursive numbers.

and saints; those who pleased the Lord with their good deeds from the beginning and to the end of ages, now and forever, amen. Together we say: Lord have mercy.

5.2.4 Endowment

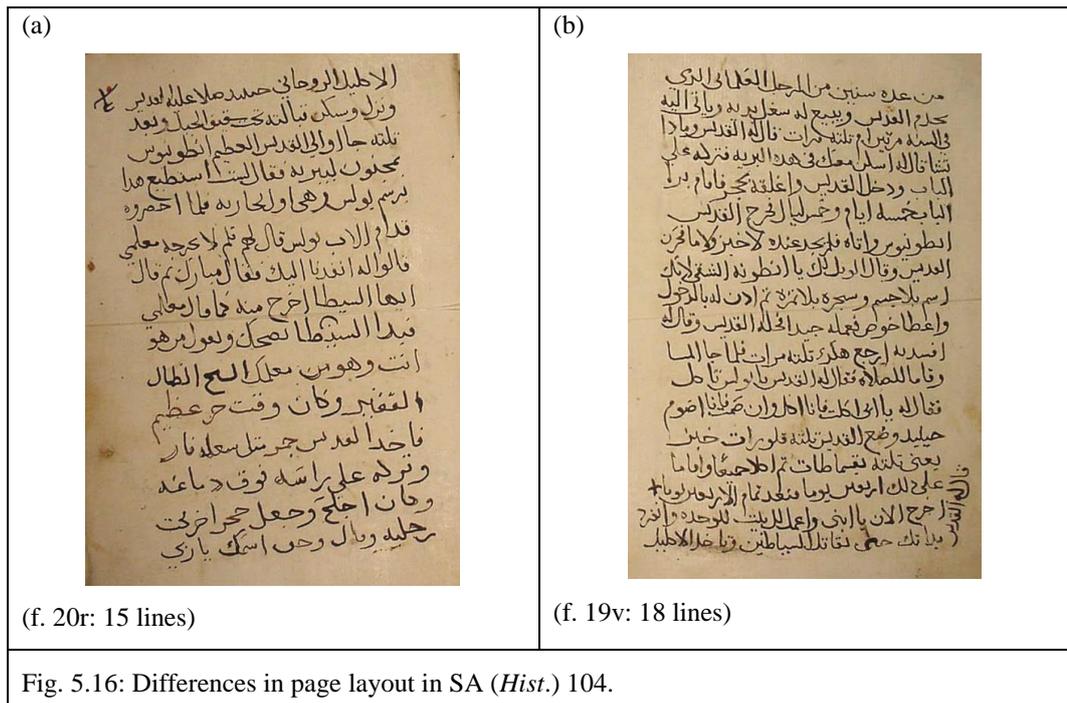
There is an endowment on flyleaf 59r that is written in a different hand, stating the book's endowment to the Monastery of St Antony.

The text of the endowment reads as follows:

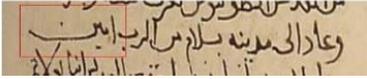
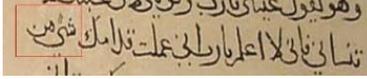
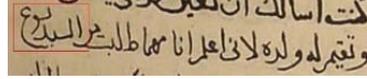
(f. 59r, 7 lines): < Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. No one has permission or authorisation from the Holy God to remove it from [the place of] its endowment by any means to cause damage [to the book], but [one] can read in it and return [it] to the library. And blessings upon the son of obedience. And thanks be to God always. >

5.2.5 Layout

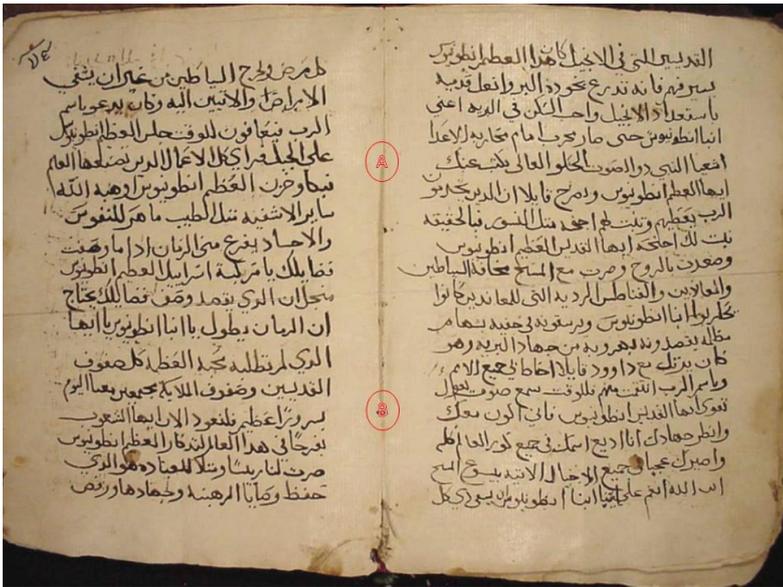
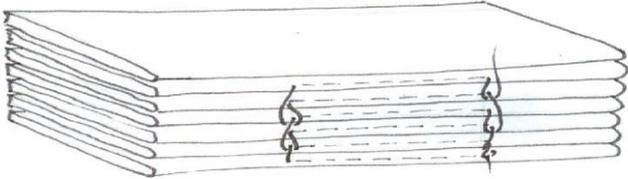
Written area: av. c. 170 x 110 mm, with the number of lines varying from 15 to 20. On some pages, the spacing between the lines is very wide, while on other pages the interline is very narrow. In the absence of any impression of *masṭarah* cords, it is more than likely that the scribe wrote free hand, which is apparent on several pages.



Justification: The scribe employed three methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (a), contraction (b), and suprascription (c).

<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 38r)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 17v)</p>	<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 47r)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.17: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104</p>		

Quires: The codex is made up of differing size quires consisting of two, four, and six bifolia,⁹¹ with the majority being four bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex is eleven. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on two stations.

<p>(a)</p>  <p>(ff. 55v–56r) Link stitch on two stations</p>
<p>(b)</p>  <p>Diagram of a link stitch on two stations. (Image from Scheper 2015: 62).</p>
<p>Fig. 5.18: Sewing technique in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 104</p>

⁹¹ Four, eight, and twelve leaves respectively.

Catchwords: There are several instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.⁹²

5.2.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black ink with rubrics. The scribe deviated from standard scribal convention in writing in black, bold, enlarged font phrases containing the name of Jesus Christ, and the opening words of new chapters. They are as follows:

- Then the saint cried out to the Lord and said⁹³
- My Lord Jesus Christ help me in this hour⁹⁴
- Then the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and said, O Anṭūniyūs⁹⁵
- And said, my Lord and God Jesus Christ, You know⁹⁶
- Hear also some of the wonders of this great saint!⁹⁷
- And we ask you honourable brothers to raise your hands to the Lord Jesus Christ⁹⁸
- I will tell you some of the many wonders⁹⁹
- And also among his wonders there was a Roman man¹⁰⁰
- And also among his wonders there was a lion near his monastery¹⁰¹
- The heart of the saint Anṭūniyūs¹⁰²
- And also of the wonders of Anbā Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker¹⁰³
- My Lord Jesus Christ, the king of heaven and earth and everything in it¹⁰⁴
- And the saint held [the *qulunṣuwah*] in his hand and said, Verily I say unto you¹⁰⁵
- Our master Jesus Christ the King of glory¹⁰⁶

⁹² Diacritical marks differ: ff. 6r, 15r, 18r, 31r, 39r, 43r, 51r, 52r.

⁹³ F. 12v.

⁹⁴ F. 13v.

⁹⁵ F. 14v.

⁹⁶ F. 17r.

⁹⁷ F. 21r.

⁹⁸ F. 21v.

⁹⁹ F. 22r.

¹⁰⁰ F. 23r.

¹⁰¹ F. 24v.

¹⁰² F. 24v.

¹⁰³ F. 25v.

¹⁰⁴ F. 31v.

¹⁰⁵ F. 35r.

¹⁰⁶ F. 35r.

- The glorified omnipotent Lord¹⁰⁷
- And when he became very famous everywhere¹⁰⁸
- Jesus Christ the God of glory¹⁰⁹

The incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* is rubricated, as well as phrases containing the name and titles of Jesus Christ and phrases in which He is being addressed:

- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the great, blessed saint the great among the holy fathers Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his prayers be with us, amen.*¹¹⁰
- *I ask you to bless*¹¹¹
- *The saint*¹¹²
- *my master Jesus Christ*¹¹³
- *Your holy name*¹¹⁴
- *Jesus Christ*¹¹⁵
- *This*¹¹⁶
- *Completed, the life-story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs. May the Lord forgive the sins of its scribe and reader and hearer.*

Scribal Corrections: The text contains no corrections or marginal notes. There is only one instance of insertion by means of the scribe placing a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁷ F. 37v.

¹⁰⁸ F. 39v.

¹⁰⁹ F. 43r.

¹¹⁰ F. 2r, 3 lines.

¹¹¹ F. 8r.

¹¹² F. 8r.

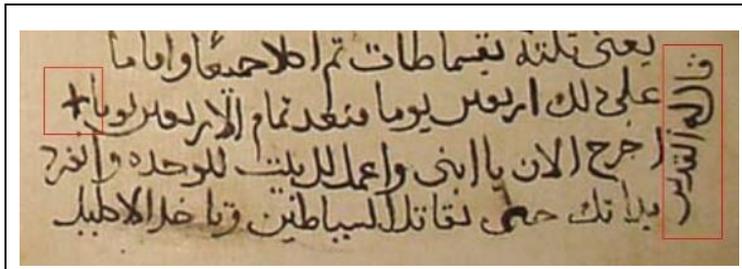
¹¹³ F. 8r.

¹¹⁴ F. 8r.

¹¹⁵ F. 8r.

¹¹⁶ F. 8r.

¹¹⁷ F. 19v.



(f. 19v)

Fig. 5.19: Scribal correction in SA (*Hist.*) 104

Salient Features: In addition to inverting the word *al-iblis* (the Enemy) and *al-mal'ūn* (the Cursed one), the scribe wrote the words *al-shayṭān* (the Devil) and *al-shayāṭīn* (the devils) in twelve different ways: the entire word *al-shayāṭīn* inverted;¹¹⁸ the word *al-shayāṭīn* inverted and reversed;¹¹⁹ the word *al-shayāṭīn* inverted and a small black cross beneath;¹²⁰ the last letter of *al-shayṭān* 'ن' inverted;¹²¹ the last three letters of *al-shayāṭīn* 'طين' inverted;¹²² the last three letters of *al-shayāṭīn* inverted and reversed 'نيط';¹²³ the last two letters of *al-shayāṭīn* 'ين' inverted;¹²⁴ the first five letters of *al-shayāṭīn* 'الشيا' inverted;¹²⁵ the word *al-shayāṭīn* written the right way up;¹²⁶ the word *al-shayāṭīn* written the right way up and a small black cross beneath.¹²⁷

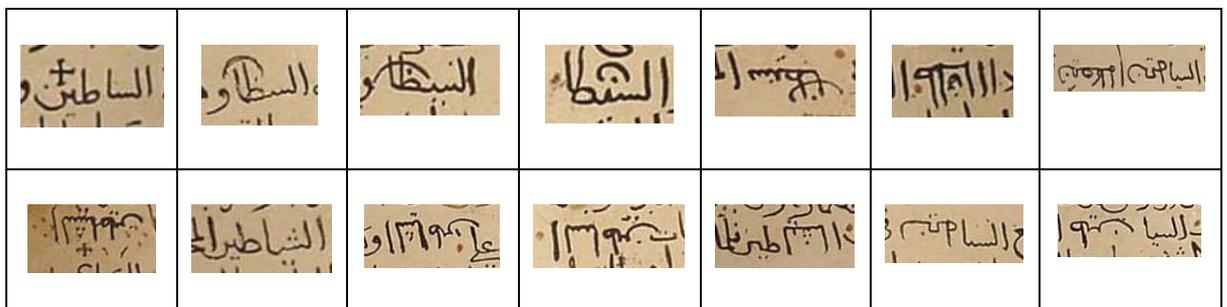


Fig. 5.20: Salient features in SA (*Hist.*) 104

¹¹⁸ Ff. 2v x 2, 8r, 9r, 11v, 12v, 13r, 13v x 2.

¹¹⁹ Ff. 13v, 17r x 2, 25v, 26r, 27r, 35v, 44r.

¹²⁰ F. 2r.

¹²¹ Ff. 8v, 11r, 12v, 15r, 17r, 18r, 18v, 20r, 20v x 3, 31v, 40v, 44v x 2, 45r x 2, 47r, 49r x 2, 49v, 53r.

¹²² Ff. 9r, 13v, 14r, 26v, 27r, 35r, 37r, 45v, 49r.

¹²³ Ff. 11v, 13v, 14r, 18v.

¹²⁴ Ff. 11r, 14v.

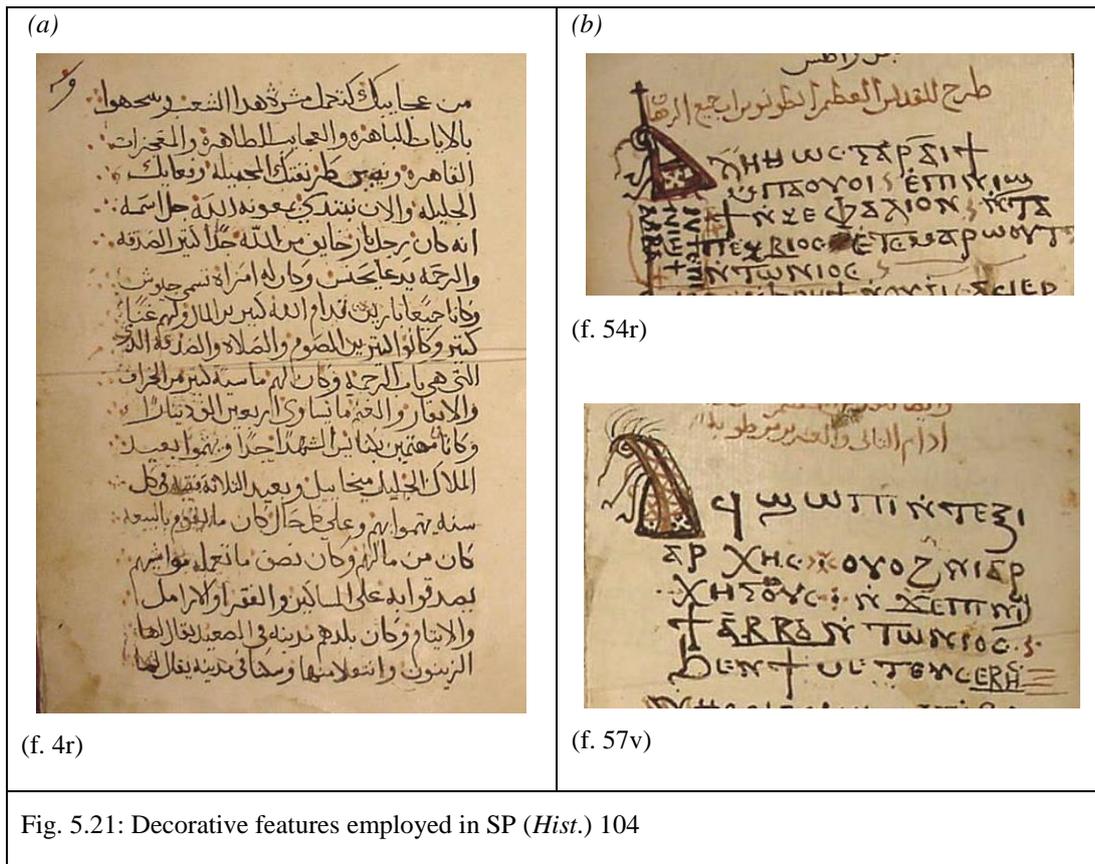
¹²⁵ F. 9r.

¹²⁶ Ff. 17r, 18r x 2, 18v x 2, 19v, 20r, 21r x 2, 21v, 22r, 26v, 27r, 35v, 36r, 39v, 40r, 43v, 48r, 55v, 56r.

¹²⁷ F. 17r.

5.2.7 Punctuation and Decoration

With the exception of ff. 2r–10v that contains red dots meant to delimit sentence or clause endings, the text contains no punctuation. A cluster of three red dots flank the left margin of each line on ff. 2r, 3r, and 4r (a). There is no other decoration in the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. However, in the *Exposition*, the first letter *alpha* in both the Coptic *Exposition Wāṭus* and *Tahr Adam* is illustrated as the alpha bird (b).

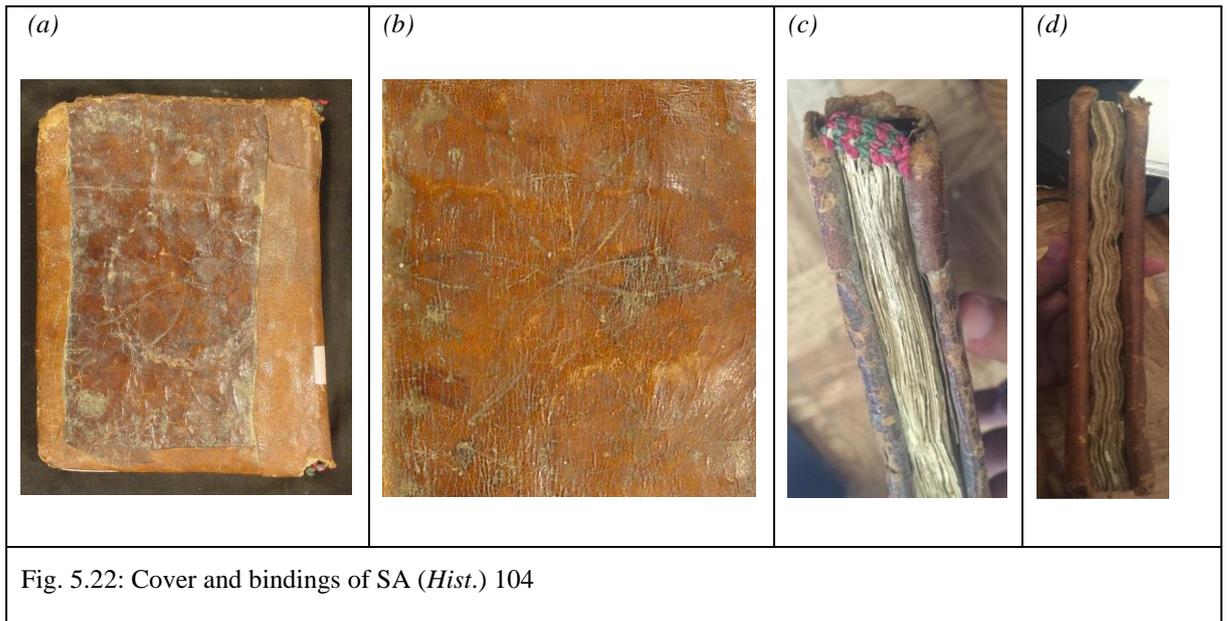


5.2.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with reinforced leather on the edges and spine. Tooled relief that has been worn. The measurements of the cover and spine are 225 × 165 × 3 mm. The preserved original upper cover contains a blind circular tooled relief in the centre (a), while the lower cover contains blind tooled star design (b). The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of red and green threads weaved in a chevron pattern (c). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “104 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.2.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of cracks¹²⁸ and abrasion.¹²⁹ The upper and lower shoulders are removed from the spine. Much of the stitching in the quires has come undone, and many of the quires have separated from the binding. The pages contain some brown and yellow stains. Some water stains. Tears have been patched. Traces of candle wax¹³⁰ and brown oil stains.¹³¹ The fore-edge of the book is cockled¹³² (d).



5.2.10 Observations

The scribe ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Fashnī was a priest from the province of Banī Suwayf in Middle Egypt, who together with a fellow priest and deacon, delivered the manuscript to the Monastery of St Antony in 1697 AD. He does not specify when copying was completed, but it was

¹²⁸ Karin Scheper defines “cracks” as damaged caused by dryness and shrinkage, in *Glossary for the Conservation and Description of Islamic Manuscripts*: <http://www.hepworthscheper.com/lexicon/lexicon-en.html> (accessed 8 January 2016).

¹²⁹ Karin Scheper defines “abrasion” as a material in which the upper surface has been rubbed off, in *Glossary for the Conservation and Description of Islamic Manuscripts*: <http://www.hepworthscheper.com/lexicon/lexicon-en.html> (accessed 8 January 2016).

¹³⁰ Ff. 3r, 10v, 27v, 28v/r, 29 v/r.

¹³¹ Ff. 14v, 19v, 25v/r, 26v/r, 27v/r.

¹³² Karin Scheper defines ‘cockle’ as a wave-like undulating distortion that is usually caused by moisture, in *Glossary for the Conservation and Description of Islamic Manuscripts*: <http://www.hepworthscheper.com/lexicon/lexicon-en.html> (accessed 8 January 2016).

obviously prior to August 1697 AD, making SA (*Hist.*) 104 the second oldest extant version of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* in the Red Sea monasteries.

This manuscript is interesting in that while it was written by a scribe external to the Red Sea monasteries, the similarities in writing procedures between this manuscript and others that were copied by monks at the Red Sea, reveal what aspects were considered standard scribal conventions and what aspects reflect scribal individuality. Hence, while the scribe showed familiarity in his text with standard scribal conventions, he also displayed individuality that was not seen in any of the other manuscripts examined. Specifically, the various ways in which he depicted the word *Devil*, and the way in which he deviated from standard scribal procedures in his use of rubrics, and finally, the way in which he wrote the opening words of new chapters in enlarged, bold font, are all salient features evidenced only in this manuscript.

5.3 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 100

*Hagiographic Miscellany*¹³³

27 Bābah 1425 (4 November 1708 AD)

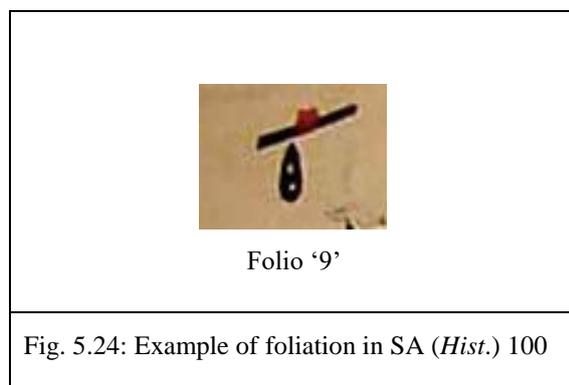
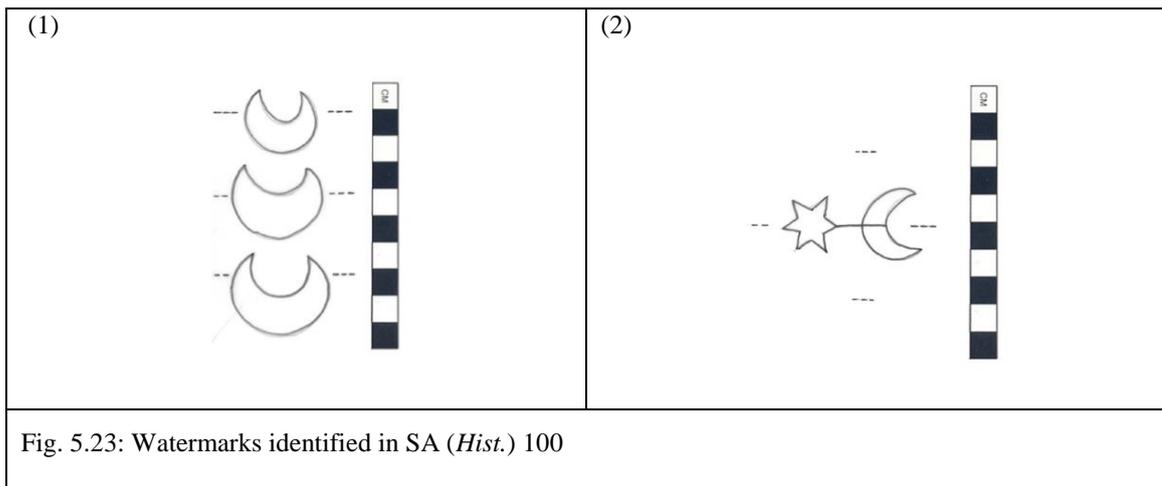
5.3.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 210 x 160 mm. *Foliation*: 1 leaf (*i*) + 4 – 104 + 2 leaves (105, 106). *Writing material*: beige tinted laid paper, thin, low quality, and matte. Horizontal chain lines 30 mm apart are visible. The codex contains two types of watermarks: (1) three diminishing crescents “Le Tre Lune”,¹³⁴ and (2) a crescent attached by a line to a star.¹³⁵ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and diagonal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 4r and ends at f. 104r. The scribe considered the front pastedown and front and back of flyleaf *i* as pages 1–3, and therefore began the numbering of the first page of the text as number 4.

¹³³ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

¹³⁴ A resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 875, plate 138.

¹³⁵ A resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 855, plate 134.



5.3.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff.1–86r); colophon (86r, 5 lines)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 86v–103v); colophon (103v–104r)

5.3.3 Colophon

A colophon stands at the end of each text. The first colophon gives details of when the text was completed, whereas the second colophon gives information about the scribe's name, the person who commissioned the book, and when the book was completed. The scribe's name is Yūḥannā and the person who commissioned the book is a monk named 'Abd al-Masīḥ from the Monastery of St Antony. The *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* was completed on 27 Bābah 1425 AM, while the *Life of Anbā Būlā* was completed on 6 Hātūr 1425 AM.

The text of the first colophon reads as follows:

(f. 86r, 5 lines): The completion of the blessed life of our father Anṭūniyūs was on Monday 27 Bābah 1425 [in the year of] the pure martyrs. May the blessings of their prayers and supplications be with us and [with] the children of baptism, amen.

The text of the second colophon reads as follows:

(ff. 103v–104r): The life of Anbā Būlā the Alexandrian, completed on 6 Hātūr 1425 [in the year of] the pure martyrs. May the blessings of their prayers and blessings be with us all, amen. And the one who commissioned this blessed book which [contains] the life of our great saint Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, and the life of the saint Anbā Būlā the first hermit, is our father the monk ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, one of the monks of the Monastery of the great saint Anṭūniyūs. May God help him and save his soul, through the prayers of the compassionate lady Mariam and the prayers of the great saint Anṭūniyūs, and the prayers of Anbā Būlā. Written by the lowest of monks and the most wretched among my fathers and brothers. Forgive me and my parents. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in the Kingdom of Heaven. And praise be to God forever, amen.

5.3.4 *Endowment*

There is an endowment on flyleaf *i* written 179 years after the book was completed. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(Flyleaf *i*, 12 lines): In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the monastery of our father Anṭūniyūs in the wilderness of al-‘Arabāh in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. No one is permitted by God to remove it from [the place of] its endowment or to take it beyond the wall of the Monastery as long as the Monastery is inhabited. [It is] not to be possessed by anyone, nor is this page to be removed by any means, and whosoever shall disobey what is written [here] will be bound by the [power of the] cross. And blessings upon the son of obedience, [but] the state of the disobedient [one] is [spoiled]. And thanks be to God always. 1603 [year of the martyrs], 12 Ba’ūnah.¹³⁶

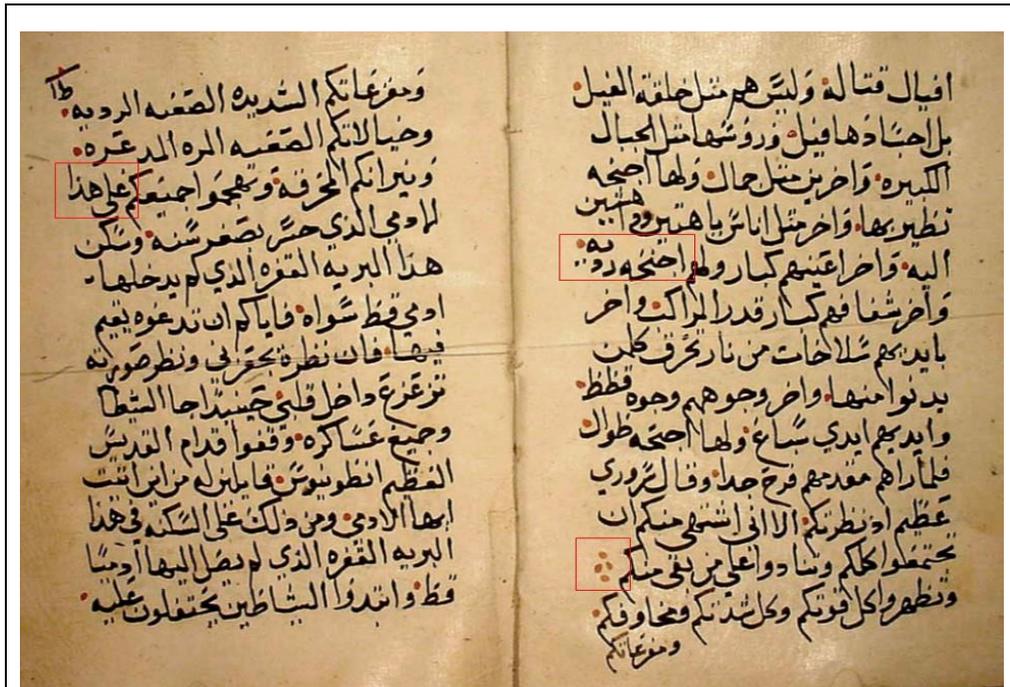
¹³⁶ 18 June 1887 AD. The date is written in both Arabic and Coptic cursive numbers.

5.3.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 165 × 115 mm, 13 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines:¹³⁷

(1) suprascription, (2) graphic fillers consisting of a cluster of four dots in red ink, and (3) contraction.¹³⁸



(ff. 17v–18r)

Fig. 5.25: Line management in SA (*Hist.*) 100

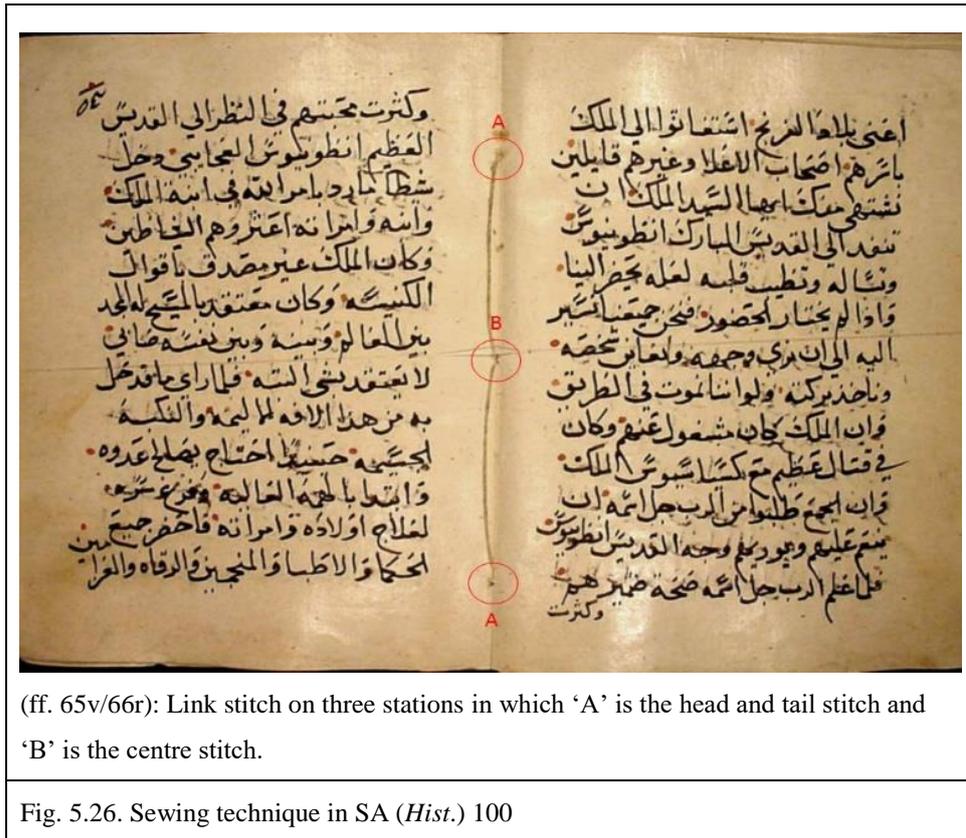
Quires: The codex is made up of eleven alternating quires consisting of four and six bifolio¹³⁹ respectively, with the exception of the first quire which is three bifolia. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on three stations.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ From the top of f. 17v to f. 18r in Fig. 5.25.

¹³⁸ Example on f. 18r.

¹³⁹ I.e. eight and twelve leaves respectively. According to Beit-Arié, 4 bifolia is an uncommon composition in Oriental manuscripts and six bifolia is the most frequent composition in paper manuscripts from the 15th century onward in Byzantium, but a rare composition in Oriental manuscripts. Beit-Arié 1976:43, 46.

¹⁴⁰ See description of SP (*Hist.*) 53 for a diagram of a link stitch on three stations.



Catchwords: There are several instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.¹⁴¹

5.3.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black ink with rubrics. The collective volume of texts have rubricated incipits that indicate the subject. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter. All rubricated words contain vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, who is blessed among the fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us amen.*¹⁴²
- *And also some of his wonders*¹⁴³
- *And also among his wonders*¹⁴⁴

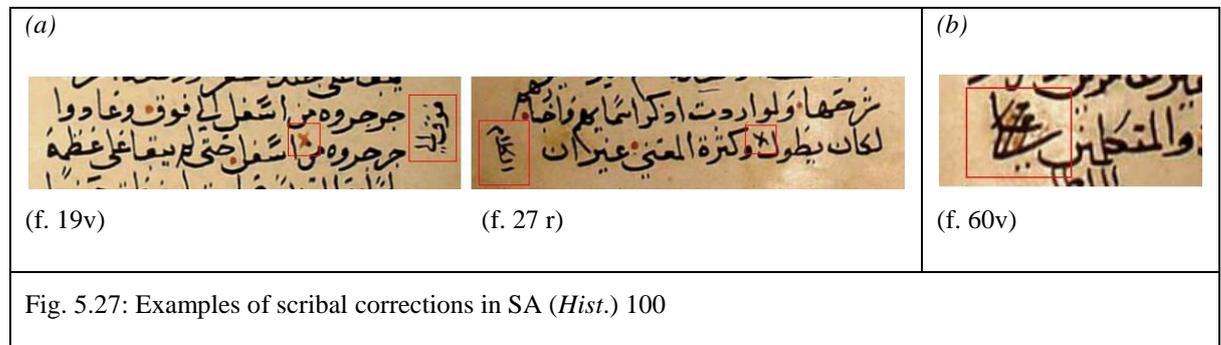
¹⁴¹ Diacritical marks differ on ff. 6r, 9r, 12r, 14r, 18r, 28r, 31r, 32r, 35r, 38r, 40r, 43r, 51r, 53r, 60r, 61r, 63r, 64r, 65r, 67r, 68r, 71r, 72r, 74r.

¹⁴² F. 1v, lines 2-4.

¹⁴³ F. 37v, 40r.

¹⁴⁴ F. 41v.

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by crossing out in black and red ink the words or letters not required (a). In the case of insertions, the scribe placed either a small red or black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin (b).



Salient Features: There is only one instance in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن (devil) is inverted in the text.¹⁴⁵

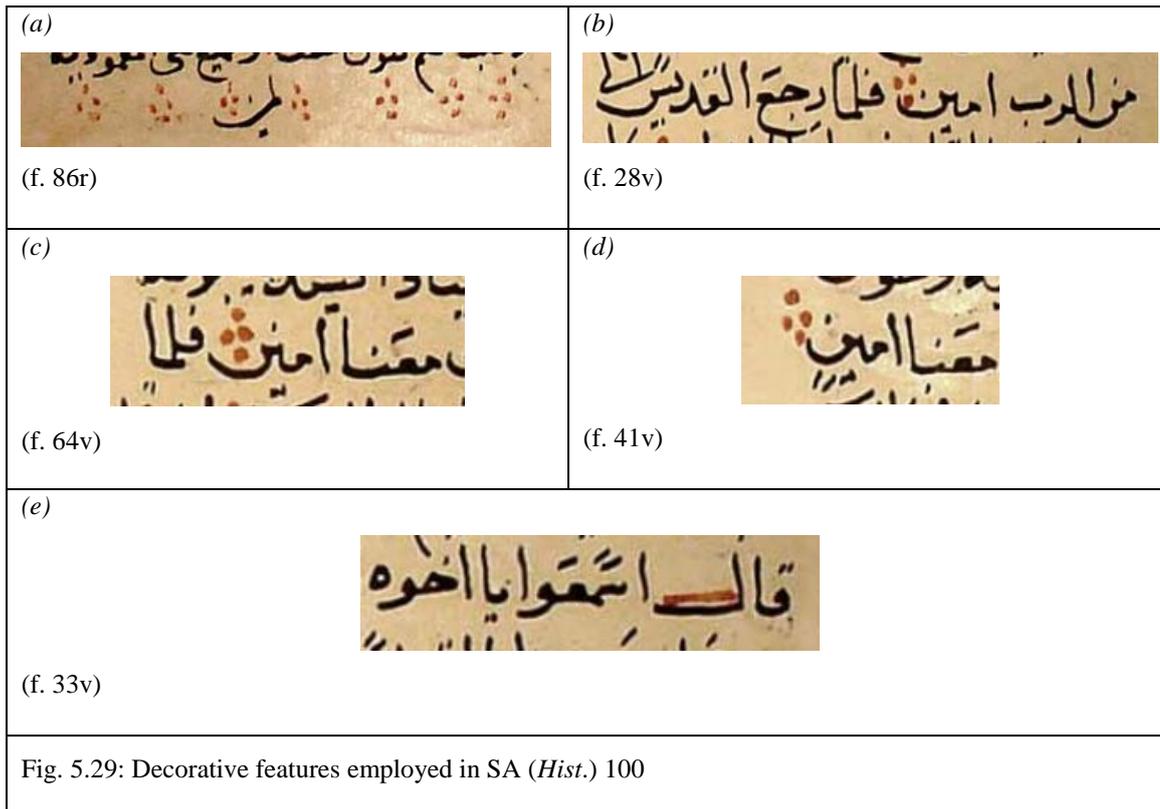


5.3.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink.¹⁴⁶ The divider between the two textual units takes the form of a sequence of clusters of four red dots (a); this same cluster of four red dots are used as space fillers, as well as occasionally to indicate the end of a paragraph (b). The last letter in the word *amen* ن contains a cluster of four red dots when this word is in the middle of a line (c). However, when it is positioned at the end of a line, then the cluster of four red dots follows the *amen* (d). There is one instance in which the word *qāl* (said) begins a new chapter, and so the natural long horizontal bar of the last letter ل is elongated and overlined in red ink (e).

¹⁴⁵ F. 79v.

¹⁴⁶ With the exception of ff. 51v-52r.

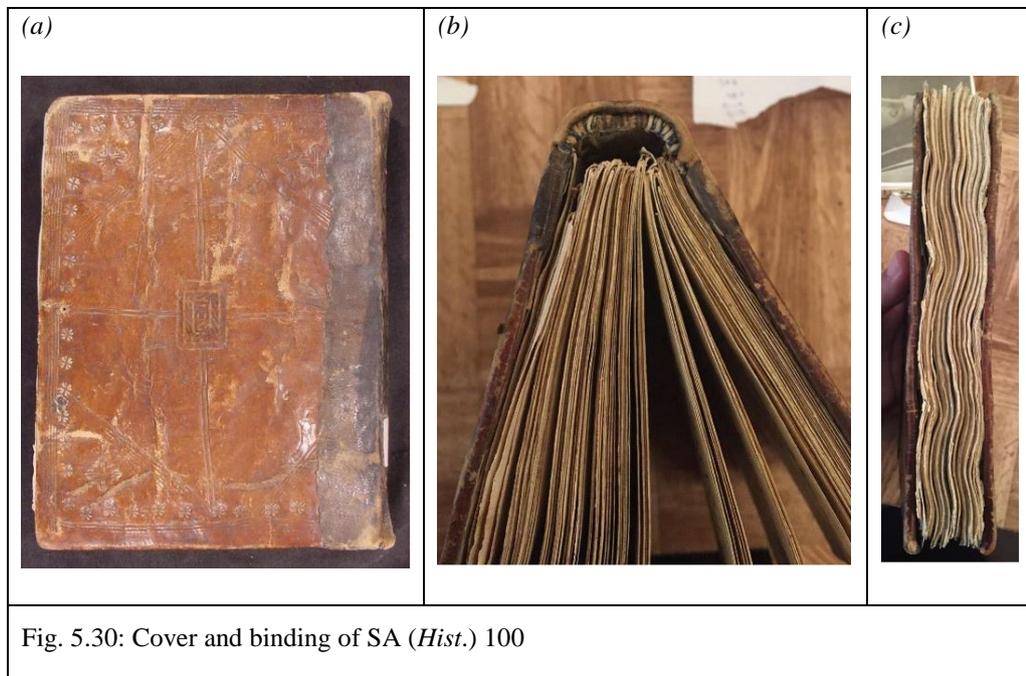


5.3.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with stamped and tooled relief that has been worn. The spine has been reinforced with black leather. The measurements of the cover and spine are 210 × 160 × 3 mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a blind stamped centre piece that has the appearance of a lock, and the edges are flanked with small circular cross designs (a). The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of beige and blue threads weaved in a vertical pattern (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “100 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.3.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of cracks, and abrasion, and the edges of the upper and lower covers are worn revealing the pasteboards beneath. The stitching in many of the quires has come undone, and all the quires have separated from the spine binding. Narrow strips were glued along the folding line of the leaves of the first two quires, however, most of the strips have come off. The fore-edge of the book is cockled (c). The pages contain some brown and yellow stains, most probably from finger marks. There are some brown oil stains and remains of candle wax only within the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. Some water stains and some pages have been eaten by insects. Offset on several pages.



5.3.10 Observations

1) The colophon details

According to information provided in the colophons, the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* was completed on 27 Bābah 1425 AM (4 November 1708 AD), while the *Life of Anbā Būlā* was completed on 6 Hātūr 1425 AM (13 November 1708 AD). Hence, it took the scribe nine days to copy the *Life of Anbā Būlā*.

2) Evidence of liturgical use

Traces of candle wax and oil stains exist on the pages of the text containing the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* only, indicating that it was “used” more than the *Life of Anbā Būlā*.

3) Yūhannā al-Antūnī (scribe)

In addition to SP (*Hist.*) 26,¹⁴⁷ the following manuscripts contained in the Monastery of St Antony, were also copied by the monk Yūhannā al-Antūnī. Details, listed in chronological order, include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library, and confirmed by viewing the manuscripts to ascertain likeness in writing and colophons. Also provided is a high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the patrons if mentioned, and the folio reference of this information:

1. SA (*Lit.*) 353: *Lectionary of the yearly feasts*. 10 Bashans 1408 AM (f. 169r).
2. SA (*Lit.*) 354: *Lectionary of the second half of the month of Tūt*. 10 Bashans 1408 AM (f. 169v).
3. SA (*Lit.*) 280: *Psalms of Holy Week*. 11 Baramūda 1410 AM (f. 30v).
4. SA (*Hist.*) 47: *Excerpts from the Paradise of the Fathers*. 27 Baramūda 1413 AM. Patron: priest Tādrus al-Antūnī (f. 327v).
5. SA (*Bibl.*) 298: *Book of Psalms and Praises*. 23 Bashans 1415 AM. Patron: ‘Abd al-Masīh al-Antūnī (ff. 213r–213v).
6. SA (*Hist.*) 182: *Collection of five stories (1) on Joseph son of Jacob, (2) Jacob of Serug on Joseph son of Jacob, (3) on King Armanios of Tarsus and his son, (4) on Mazdary the monk, (5) on Anbā Arsāniyūs taken from the Paradise of the Fathers*. 24 Bashans 1417 AM. Patron: al-Antūnī (f. 142v).
7. SA (*Bibl.*) 41: *Book of Psalms and Praises*. 23 Ba’ūnah 1417 AM. Patron: priest Tādrus al-Antūnī (ff. 160r–160v).
8. SA (*Theol.*) 221: *Book of Monastic Teachings*. 26 Bashans 1418 AM. Patron: priest Tādrus al-Antūnī (f.375v).
9. SA (*Hist.*) 68: *Collection of four stories (1) on the Feast of the Cross, (2 & 3) on the Archangel Ghabriyāl, (4) on the Consecration of the church of the Archangel Ghabriyāl in Qalamūn*. 20 Misrá 1418 AM. Patron: Sulaymān al-Antūnī (ff. 153r–153v).

¹⁴⁷ See description of SP (*Hist.*) 26 in this chapter for proof of Yūhannā being the scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 100 and SP (*Hist.*) 26.

10. SA (*Bibl.*) 216: *Gospel of John and Doxology of Saints*. 4 Baramūda 1423 AM (f.195). Patron: *hegumen* Tādrus al-Anṭūnī (f. 194v).
11. SA (*Hist.*) 154: *Collection of three stories (1) on the weeping of the Virgin Mary at the tomb of Christ, (2) on Dionysius the bishop, (3) on the martyrdom of Pontus Pilate*. 30 Baramhāt 1424 AM. Patron: Mīnā al-Anṭūnī (f. 91v).
12. SA (*Hist.*) 100: *Hagiographic Miscellany (1) Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, (2) Life of Anbā Būlā*. 27 Bābah 1425 AM. Patron: ‘Abd al-Masīḥ al-Anṭūnī (f. 86r).
13. SA (*Bibl.*) 268: *Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles and the Book of Acts*. 25 Baramūda 1429 AM. Patron: Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī (f. 310v).
14. SA (*Lit.*) 859: *Book of the Holy Pascha*. 11 Baramūda 1435 AM (f. 207r).
15. SA (*Lit.*) 427: *Prophecies of the Great Lent and the Fast of Jonah*. 5 Bashans 1435 AM (f. 147r).
16. SA (*Lit.*) 344: *Synaxarium, part 2*. 13 Misrā 1435 AM (f. 215v).

Summary:

The monk Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī copied a total of seventeen manuscripts between the years 1408 AM to 1435 AM (1692 to 1719 AD): 6 liturgical, 6 hagiographic, 4 biblical, and 1 theological. It seems he was never ordained a priest because in each manuscript he refers to himself simply as “the monk Yūḥannā” or “Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī”. Four of the manuscripts were sponsored by Tādrus al-Anṭūnī. In the first three manuscripts, dating between 1413 AM (1697 AD) and 1418 AM (1702 AD), he was referred to as “the priest Tādrus al-Anṭūnī”. But by the time the fourth book he commissioned was completed in 1423 AM (1707 AD), he had been promoted in the Monastery and was referred to as “*hegumen* Tādrus al-Anṭūnī”. ‘Abd al-Masīḥ al-Anṭūnī sponsored two manuscripts, however, his title was not specified. By the year 1429 AM (1713 AD), it appears that the scribe Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī had acquired enough fortune to commission the production of a book. It is not mentioned who the scribe was, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Yūḥannā assumed the role of both scribe and patron by this time. Also it seems that manuscripts 1 – 3 and 14 – 16 were made for church use. Interestingly enough, they represent the beginning of his scribal career and its end. In the middle he seemed to have been a scribe for hire.

4) 'Abd al-Masīh al-Antūnī (Patron)

The colophon states that SA (*Hist.*)100 was sponsored by 'Abd al-Masīh al-Antūnī.¹⁴⁸ There are two other manuscripts in the library of the Monastery that were also sponsored by him:

1. SA (*Bibl.*) 198: *Gospel of John in Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: monk Yūḥannā al-Asyūṭī.¹⁴⁹ 24 Ba'ūnah 1396 AM. Patron: 'Abd al-Masīh al-Antūnī (f. 194r)
2. SA (*Bibl.*) 298: *Book of Psalms and Praises Book*. Scribe: monk Yūḥannā al-Antūnī. 23 Bashans 1415 AM. Patron: 'Abd al-Masīh al-Antūnī (ff. 213r–213v).

5) Back pastedown

The back pastedown contains a folio from an earlier manuscript dated 1021 AM (1304/5 AD) that was glued onto the back inner cover of SA (*Hist.*) 100 to form the doublure. The edges of the folio were cut to fit onto the back inner board and across on the *verso* side. Its dimensions are 210 x 164 mm. Because the page was cut on the top and bottom, the note is not complete. However, it contains some interesting details:

- i. The seal of "Buṭrus":

The page contains a seal bearing the name of a monk called "Buṭrus". It is not certain who Buṭrus was, but given that a seal is "an emblem of power,"¹⁵⁰ one may assume that he may have been the abbot of the Monastery.¹⁵¹ It is possible that the book, from which this page was taken (the *Difnār*), belonged to Buṭrus who placed his seal as a mark of ownership.¹⁵²

The text of the seal reads as follows:

الحقير بطرس راهب بالاسم

Translation: The wretched Buṭrus, by name a monk.

As is common in the majority of seals in Arabic manuscripts, the inscription is in white on a black background,¹⁵³ and contains a "legend [that] expresses the owner's humility in relation to God."¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Ff. 103v-104r.

¹⁴⁹ Meaning he was from the city of Asyūt, Upper Egypt.

¹⁵⁰ Déroche 2006: 335.

¹⁵¹ According to Kotsifou, the monastics who had seals "were the superiors of monasteries" (Kotsifou 2012a: 153).

¹⁵² According to Déroche, stamps or seals were marks of ownership or authenticity (Déroche 2006: 335).

¹⁵³ Gacek 2009: 244.

¹⁵⁴ Gacek 2009: 244.

ii. The text of the back pastedown reads as follows:

Through the prayers of Anṭūniyūs and Anbā Būlā and all (...), amen. Written 1021 [in the year of] the pure martyrs, amen. The *Difnār* with twenty folios. Remember O Lord Your servant the poor sinner, who does not deserve to have his name mentioned among humans because of the abundance of his sins, Ghabriyāl son of (...) al-'Ibyārī. And repose O Lord the soul of Anbā (...) Anbā Buṭrus the monk, the servant of the King,¹⁵⁵ and forgive the sins of us all, and repose the souls of our brothers and sisters: al-Mu'allim Ibrāhīm Yūsuf, and his father Maṣūr, and Badawī, and his son Ghaṭṭas (...) and grant him a share O Lord in visiting this Monastery through the prayers (...) and Anbā Būlā. And remember O Lord the sons, and Sulaymān, and Bānūb, and his parents (...) (...) (...) and here (...) (...) and reward Ibrāhīm and Dā'ūd and Maṣūr's mother (...) and set his brother (...) (...) and 'Abduh free through the prayers of the saints, amen. And this is the second time to come [to the Monastery] it was for the consecration of Anbā Būlā, and the first time was for taking our revered father Anbā Būlā (...) in the Monastery (...) (...) (...) ¹⁵⁶

Summary:

- It appears that Ghabriyāl son of (...) al-'Ibyārī may have been a layman and the scribe of the Book of *Difnār*, that was completed in the year 1021 AM (1304/5 AD).
- From the words “and grant him a share, O Lord, in visiting this Monastery” it seems the scribe may have gifted his book to the Monastery (of St Paul?) on the occasion of the church's consecration.
- The mention of the souls of the reposed family members bring to mind the rewards scribes believe they will receive for transcribing hagiographic texts; namely, to have one's name written “in the Book of Life,”¹⁵⁷ and for the Lord to “forgive him for his sins and the sins of his parents.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ 'the King' meaning Jesus Christ.

¹⁵⁶ The text in Arabic reads:

بصلوة انطونيوس وابنا بولا وجميع (...)/ أمين / كتبت الف واولها واحد وعشرين للشهدا الاطهار امين / الدفنار ارفقه وعشرين كراس / اذكر يار ب عبدك الخاطي المسكين الذي لم يستحق ان يذكر اسمه / بين الناس من كثرة خطايا غبريال ابن (...) الابياري ونوح يا رب نفس انبا / (...) انبا بطرس الراهب خادم الملك واغفر خطايانا اجمعين ونوح نفوس / اخوتنا واخواتنا المعلم ابراهيم يوسف ووالده منصور وبدوي وولده / غطاس (...) وتجعل له نصيب يا رب في هذه الدير نصيب بالزيارة / بصلوة (...) وانبا بولا واذكر يا رب الاولاد وسليمان وبانوب ووالديه / (...) (...) (...) وهنا (...) (...) وعوض على ابراهيم ودادو وام منصور / وطلع (...) اخوه (...) (...) وعبدو احرار بصلوة القديسين امين وهذه المرة الثانية / لحضور كان في تكريز الانبا بولا والمرة الاولى لاخذ ابينا المكرم انبا بولس / (...) (...) (...) بالدير (...) (...) (...)

¹⁵⁷ SP (*Hist.*) 53, ff.66r-66v.

¹⁵⁸ SA (*Hist.*) 99, f. 111r.

- It is not certain if “Anbā Buṭrus the monk, the servant of the King” is the same Buṭrus of the seal, however, it appears that Ghabriyāl and his family were well connected with the monastic community.
- But the most important information provided in the statement is: “And this is the second time to come [to the Monastery] it was for the consecration of Anbā Būlā.” According to archaeological evidence, the Cave Church of Anbā Būlā was expanded sometime in the 13th century¹⁵⁹ after which the earliest paintings in the church were commissioned dating to 1291/2 AD.¹⁶⁰ Hence, the consecration of the ancient church at the Monastery of St Paul must have taken place afterwards in the year 1021 AM (1304/5 AD) to mark the completion of the church’s expansion and to also consecrate the iconographic program of wall paintings. To date, this is the only evidence attested of the Cave Church’s consecration at this time.
- Manuscripts at the Monastery contain colophons that record consecration having taken place at the Monastery of St Paul in 1421 AM (1705 AD) by Yū’annis XVI,¹⁶¹ following the restoration and repopulation of the Monastery,¹⁶² and then again in 1448 (1732 AD) by Yū’annis XVII,¹⁶³ when a new church building was constructed at the Monastery.¹⁶⁴ But the information on this back pastedown page is the earliest indication of the Cave Church’s consecration.

¹⁵⁹ Sheehan 2008: 114-115.

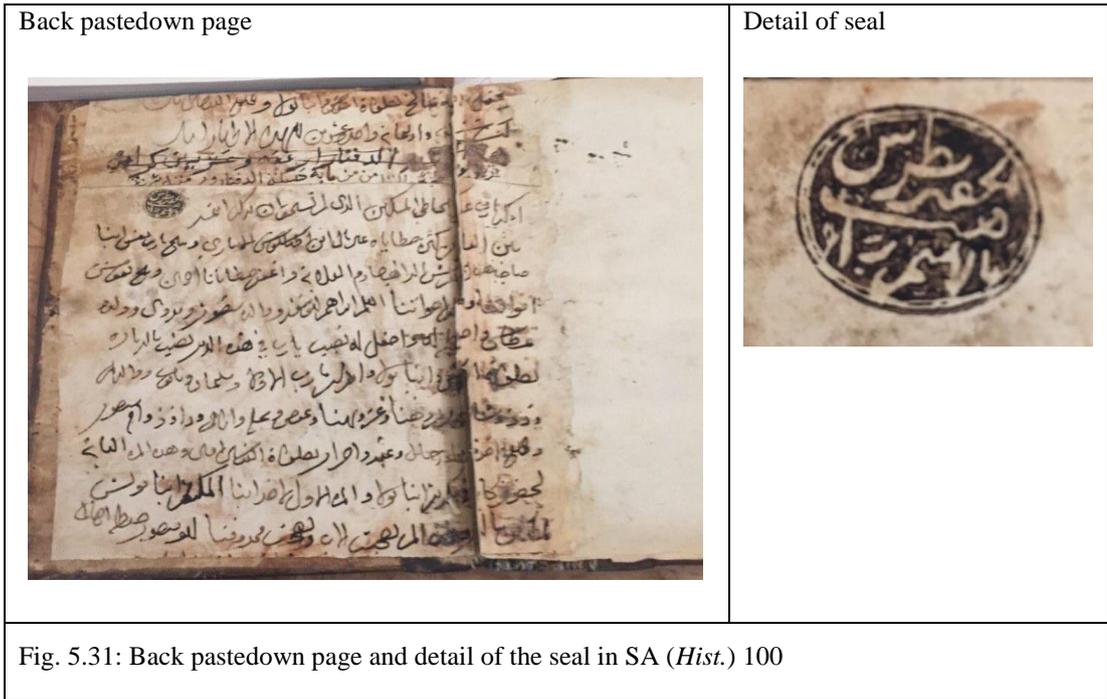
¹⁶⁰ Swanson 2008: 47.

¹⁶¹ 103rd Patriarch (1676-1718 AD). Prior to his patriarchal appointment, he was a monk at the Monastery of St Antony.

¹⁶² SP (*Lit.*) 49, f. 1v.

¹⁶³ 105th Patriarch (1727-1745 AD). Prior to his patriarchal appointment, he was a monk at the Monastery of St Paul.

¹⁶⁴ SP (*Hist.*) 117, ff. 159v-160r.



5.4 ST PAUL (HISTORY) 26

*Hagiographic Miscellany*¹⁶⁵

24 Ba'ūnah 1430 AM (30 June 1714 AD)

5.4.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 210 × 150 mm. *Foliation*: 3 leaves (*i, ii, iii*) + 6 – 128 + 2 leaves (*129, 130*). The scribe marked the first page of the text as page 6 and has considered each prior flyleaf and pastedown as numbers 1–5 but “not expressed”. *Writing material*: The paper was sized with starch giving it a glossy surface.¹⁶⁶ Folios 101–130 are of a newer paper. Chain lines are not visible, paper is laid. The codex contains two types of watermarks: (1) the back flyleaf contains a single crescent and six-point star, and (2) pages within the text-block contain what appears to be a crown topped with a six-

¹⁶⁵ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

¹⁶⁶ Beit-Arie 1976: 26-37.

point star. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 6r and ends at f. 128r.

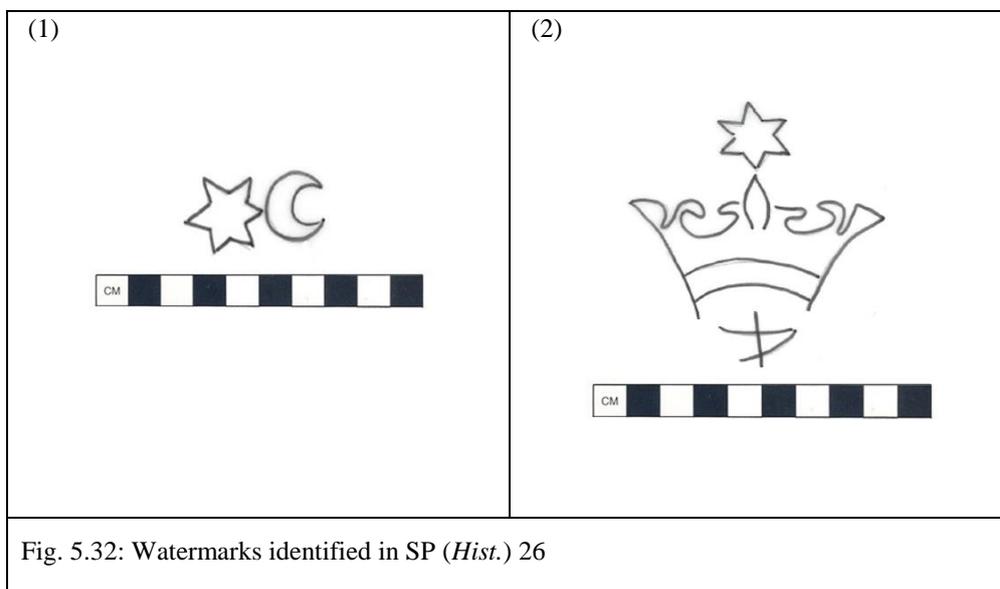


Fig. 5.32: Watermarks identified in SP (*Hist.*) 26

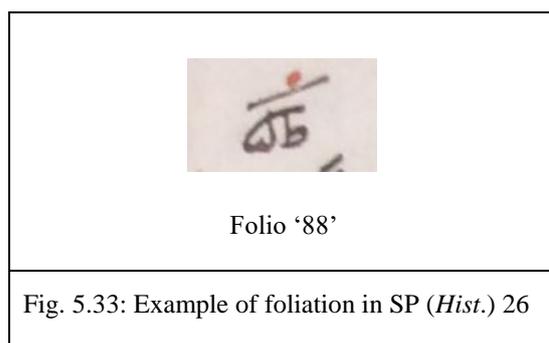


Fig. 5.33: Example of foliation in SP (*Hist.*) 26

5.4.2 Contents

- (1) *Life Anbā Anṭūniyūs*: ff. 6r–76r
- (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā*: ff. 76r–89v
- (3) *Miracles of Abaskhayrūn the Martyr*: 90r–127v; endowment (f. 127v); colophon (ff. 128r–128v)

5.4.3 Colophon

A colophon stands at the end of the volume of texts on ff. 128r–128v, providing details of the scribe's name, where he was from, where he copied the book, and the date in which the book was completed. The scribe was a monk named Yūḥannā from the Monastery of St Antony. He copied the book at the Monastery of St Paul, and completed it in 1430 AM.

The text of the colophon, which comes after the explicit to the *Miracles of Abaskhayrūn the Martyr*, reads as follows:

(ff. 128r–128v): This blessed book was completed on Saturday 25 Ba'ūnah 1430 of the pure righteous martyrs.¹⁶⁷ May their prayers be with us, amen. And it was written in the Monastery of the great Anbā Būlā the first hermit. May God keep it inhabited perpetually, amen. Written by the most wretched and lowest monk, Yūḥannā, [who is] by name only a monk, [who is] one of the monks of the Monastery of the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness and the crown of the monks, the beautiful name. May God keep it always perpetually inhabited, amen. And he who reads [this book] and finds a mistake and corrects it, God will correct all things in his life, for he who writes is limited and of little knowledge. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in the Kingdom of Heaven. And may He preserve for us and on us the leadership of our father and master and head, the one who is vigilant over the salvation of our souls, the representative of God in His Church, [the one] who is the steward caring for his congregation, who has divine virtues and a good and angelic life, who is revered and [possesses] ascetic virtues, the perfect teacher and expert [in word and deed], the father and master, the dignified patriarch Anbā “so and so”¹⁶⁸ the patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and the Egyptian monasteries, and the Ethiopian monasteries, and Nubia, and the pure brilliant city Jerusalem, and the five western cities,¹⁶⁹ Africa,¹⁷⁰ and Cyrene. May God preserve him on his throne on the rock of faith, and protect the days of his leadership from sadness and hardships, and [may He] continually grant mercy and forgiveness to his congregation.

¹⁶⁷ 30 June 1714 AD.

¹⁶⁸ The word used after patriarch is *folan* which means “so and so”. Hence it was the intention of the scribe to not specify a name so that his book can be read and be relevant for future generations of readers. This system is used in the liturgical books of the Coptic Church today where in the litanies concerning the patriarch or diocesan bishop “...” follows the word patriarch or bishop.

¹⁶⁹ I.e. the Pentapolis.

¹⁷⁰ The designation identifies North Africa, in particular, what is modern-day Tunisia.

5.4.4 *Endowment*

There are two endowments in the manuscript written in two different hands. The first is on flyleaf *ii*. The second endowment was written prior to the colophon (f. 127v) where due to limited space, the writer wrote the *waqf* around the last seven lines of the explicit to the *Miracles of Abaskhayrūn the Martyr*. Both notes are undated but state the *waqf* is for the Monastery of St Paul.

The text of the first endowment reads as follows:

(Flyleaf *ii*): <In the name of the compassionate God. An eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our holy father the great *righteous Anbā Būlā* the first hermit, in the Mountain of Nimrah. No one shall be permitted or absolved from the mouth of the holy *Lord* to take it down to the countryside, or to keep it in [their] cells, or for it to be pawned, or to be sold, or to be taken out of the church by any means, except for copying or reading it and [then] returning it back. Therefore, whoever dares and removes it [from the place] of its endowment will be banished and exiled by the harsh and foreboding word of *God*. May *God* keep us from this, and blessings be upon the son of obedience. [But] the state of the disobedient [one] is spoiled. Thanks be to God always and forever, amen.>¹⁷¹

The text of the second endowment reads as follows:

(f. 127v): <And he who disobeys this will be banished by the mouth of God. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the righteous *Anbā Būlā* the first hermit. [It is] not to be taken out beyond the wall of the Monastery or possessed by anyone in their cell.>

5.4.5 *Layout*

Written area: av. c. 160 × 105 mm, with 13 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: contraction of letters and words (*a*), suprascription of letters or the last word at the end of the line (*b*), and graphic fillers consisting of a cluster of four dots in red ink (*c*).

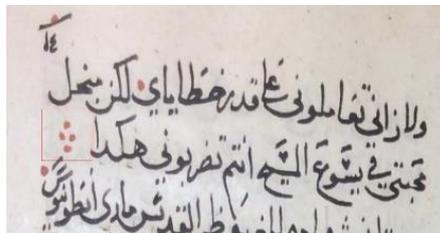
¹⁷¹ The words “the righteous *Anbā Būlā*”, “*Lord*”, and “*God*” are rubricated.

(a & b)



(ff. 10v/11r)

(c)

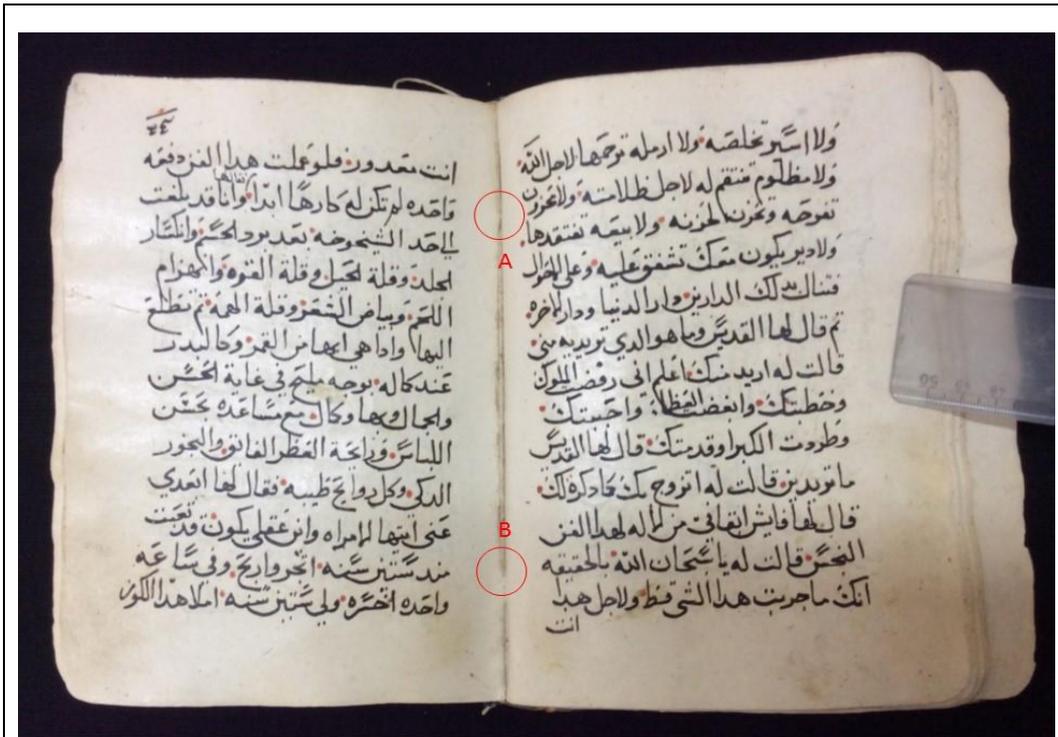


(f. 15r)

Fig. 5.34: Line management in SP (*Hist.*) 26

Quires: Each quire is made up of ten bifolia. A total number of ten quires in the codex were detected. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on two stations.¹⁷²

¹⁷² For a diagram of a link stitch on two sewing stations, see the description for SA (*Hist.*) 104 in this chapter.



(ff. 45v/46r): Link stitch on two stations.

Fig. 5.35: Sewing technique in SP (*Hist.*) 26

Catchwords: There are three instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.¹⁷³

5.4.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. The collective volume of texts is divided by rubricated incipits at the start of each text. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter. The rubricated phrases are as follows:

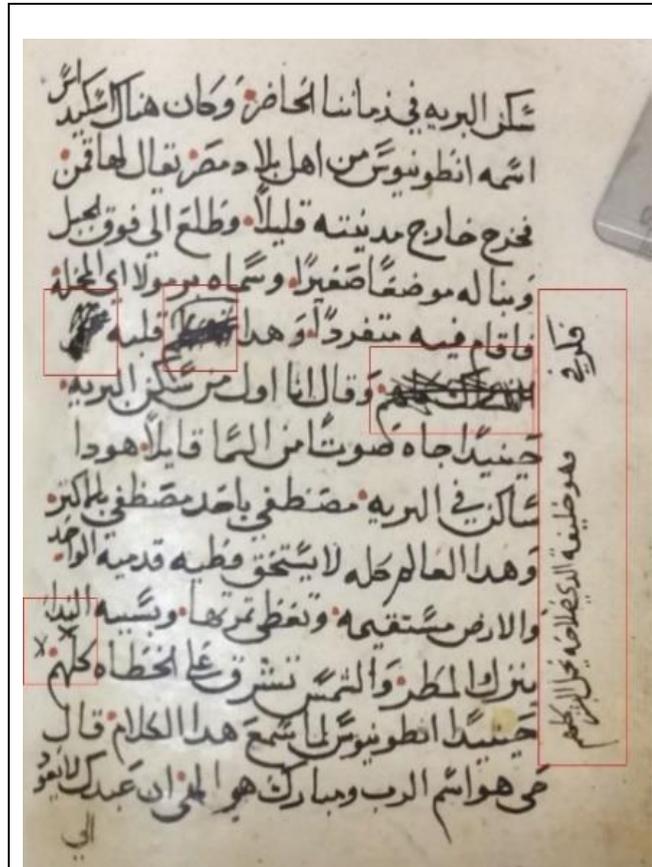
- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] among the holy fathers, the saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and keep us and protect us from the Evil One. I will tell you, O you present in this church*¹⁷⁴
- *And also among his wonders*¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Diacritical marks missing or incorrect on ff. 23r, 39r; catchwords on *verso* and *recto* do not match on f. 28.

¹⁷⁴ F. 1v lines 2-7.

¹⁷⁵ Ff. 34r, 36r, 37r.

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by crossing out in black ink the words not required and writing the correct word(s) vertically in the margin.¹⁷⁶ In the case of insertions, the scribe placed a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin.¹⁷⁷



(f. 80v)

Fig. 5.36: Examples of scribal corrections in SP (*Hist.*) 26

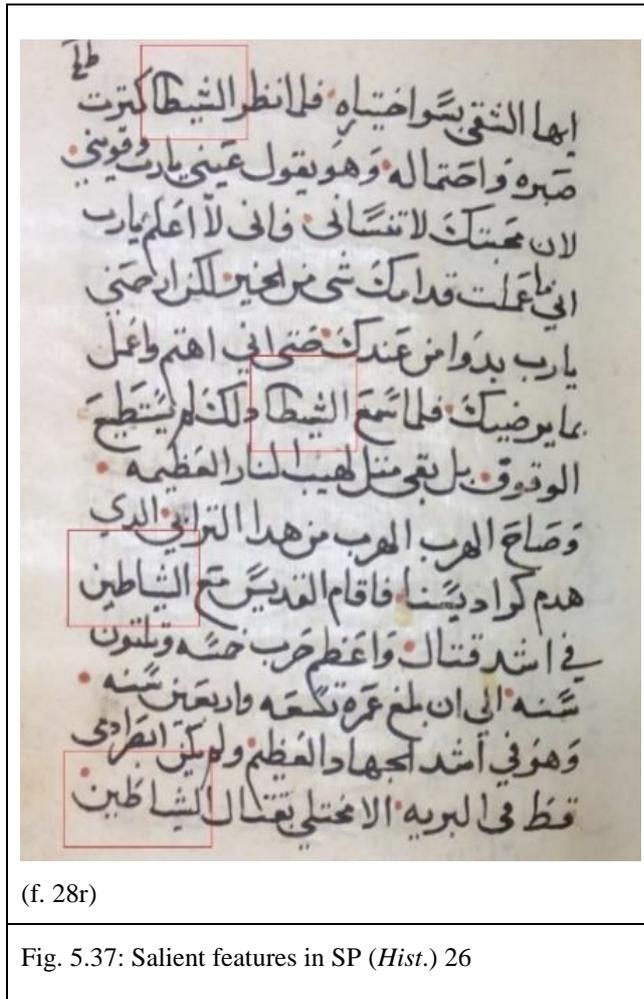
*Salient Features:*¹⁷⁸ The last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن (the devil) is inverted in the text, but the plural *al-shayāṭīn* (the devils) is written the right way up.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ E.g. f. 80v where there are three cases of crossed out words with corrections in the one page.

¹⁷⁷ Ff. 73r, 75v, 80v.

¹⁷⁸ See Fig. 5.37 for two examples on f. 28r of the ن in *al-shayṭān* inverted and two examples of the word *al-shayāṭīn* written the right way up.

¹⁷⁹ Ff. 17v, 20r, 21r, 21v, 23r, 28v, 28r, 30r, 30v, 37v, 63r, 64r, 64v, 69r, 70r, 75r.



5.4.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. Dividers are provided between textual units to mark the end of a text. The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكل (Finished and completed), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink (a). Three types of decorative elements are used in the codex: a cluster of four red dots (giving the appearance of a small cross) fill the last letter ن in the word *amen* (b); in some cases, one or more than one cluster of four red dots follow the word *amen* as space fillers.¹⁸⁰ The same cluster of four red dots flank each line of the explicits. Each line of the rubricated incipits are decorated with a cluster of four black inverted commas which are placed on the left side of each line (c); a small black circle with a black dot in the centre, surrounded by four red dots (giving the overall appearance of a small cross) are used occasionally to indicate the end of a chapter (d).

¹⁸⁰ E.g. ff. 125v, 126r.

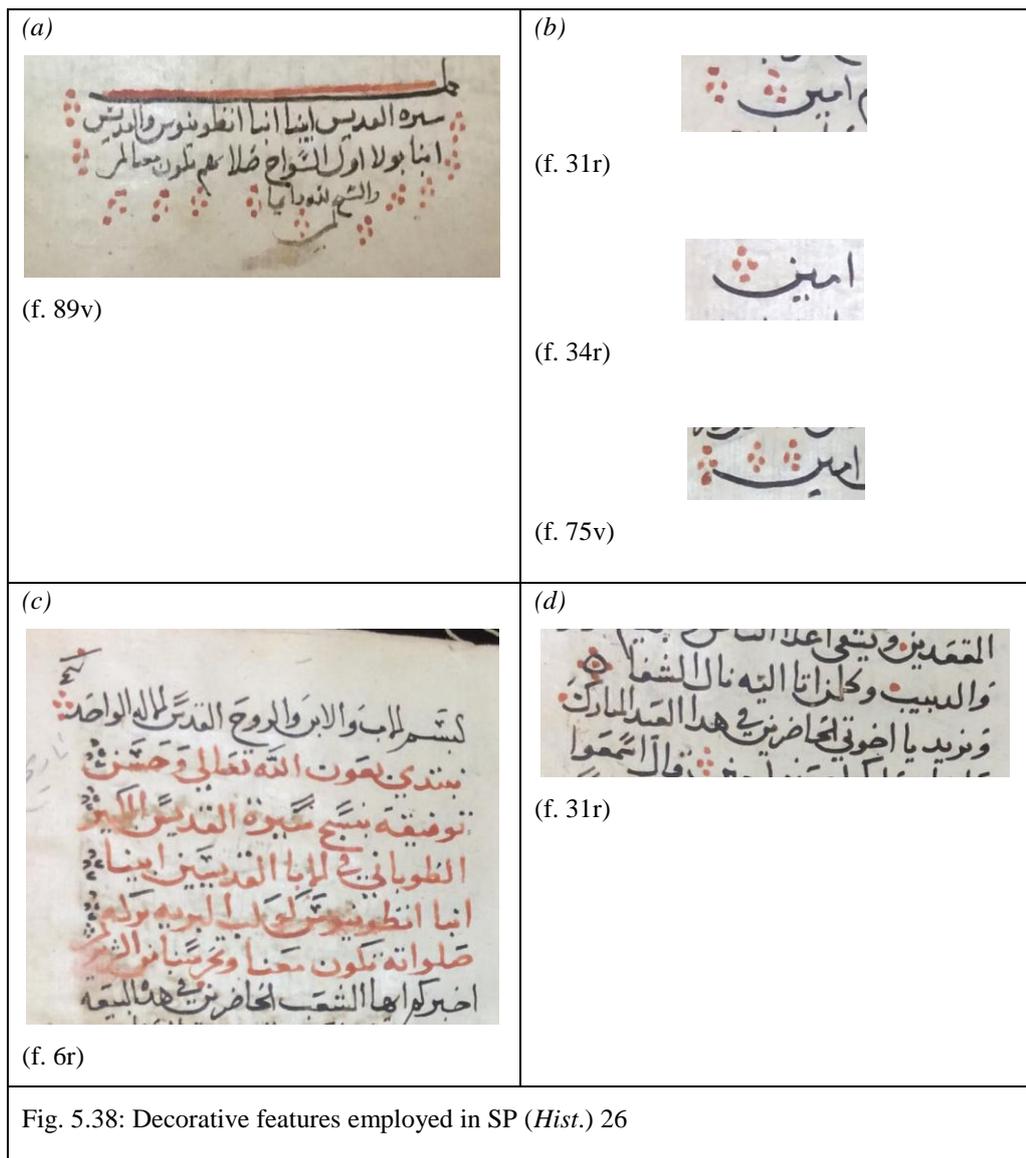


Fig. 5.38: Decorative features employed in SP (*Hist.*) 26

5.4.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with stamped relief in which the spine and a quarter of the upper and lower covers were reinforced in dark brown leather. Beneath this reinforced leather on the upper cover is the remains of part of a leaf containing the index of the manuscript that was pasted onto the cover. The measurements of the cover and spine are 205 × 155 × 40 mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a blind stamped centre medallion of what appears to be vegetal design flanked top and bottom with a small medallion of like design, together with blind stamped corner pieces. The end-bands consist of brown and red threads weaved into a chevron pattern. A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “26/240 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.4.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of abrasion (a), and the edges of the upper cover are worn revealing the pasteboards beneath. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The front shoulder is removed from the spine (b). Stitching of several quires undone. Some brown and yellow stains; some smudging of text caused by water damage;¹⁸¹ holes and tears restored in modern paper (c);¹⁸² moisture damage, some offset.



Fig. 5.39: Cover and condition of SP (*Hist.*) 26

¹⁸¹ Especially ff. 7v-13r.

¹⁸² Ff. 78r, 78v.

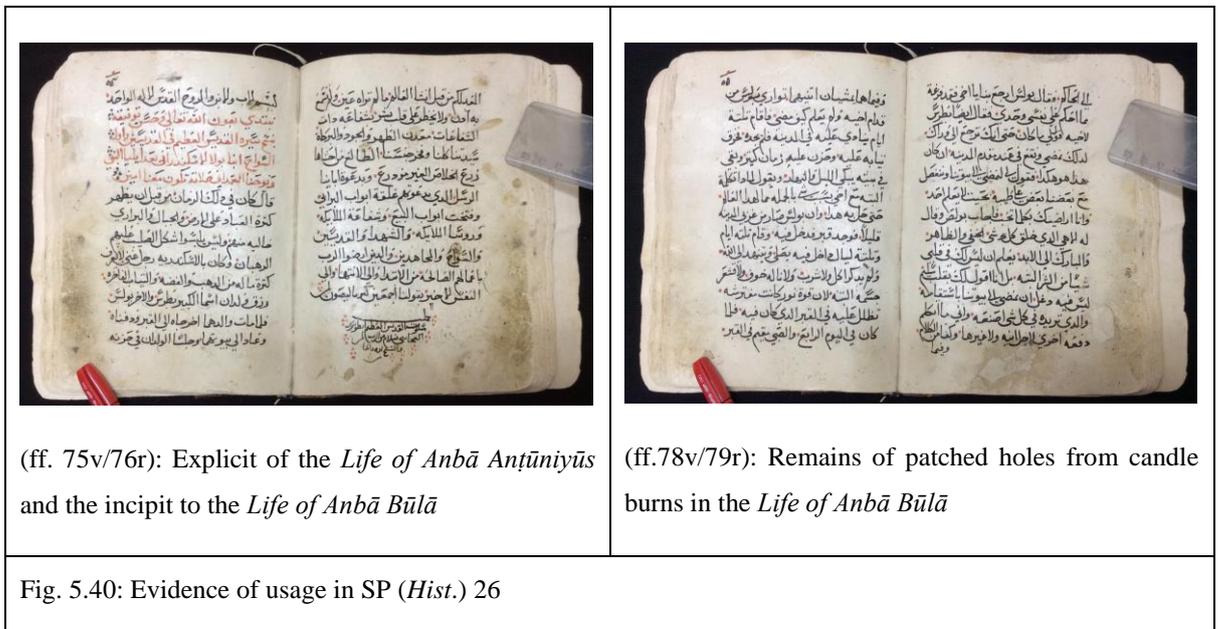
5.4.10 Observations

1) Paper type

The text of the *Miracles of Abaskhayrūn* consists of two types of paper; ff. 90r–100v being the same type of paper as the rest of the text-block, and ff. 101r–127v, including the flyleaves 129 and 130 consisting of a more recent, white, glossy paper. It seems the additional miracles were added some time after the manuscript was completed, perhaps at the time the book was rebound and the spine reinforced with dark leather.

2) Evidence of usage

The pages containing the *Life of Anbā Būlā*¹⁸³ show excessive finger marks, candle wax and patched holes from candles. *The Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*,¹⁸⁴ while containing some trace of candle wax,¹⁸⁵ shows less use judging from the finger marks, while the pages containing the *Miracles of Abaskhayrūn the Martyr* show hardly any use based on the “cleanliness” of the pages. Given that this book was written for the Monastery of St Paul, to which it was endowed, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the monks of the Monastery read from the *Life* of their patron saint not only on feast days, but borrowed the book for personal reading and copying, as was permitted according to the note on flyleaf *ii*.



(ff. 75v/76r): Explicit of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* and the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*

(ff. 78v/79r): Remains of patched holes from candle burns in the *Life of Anbā Būlā*

Fig. 5.40: Evidence of usage in SP (*Hist.*) 26

¹⁸³ Ff. 75v/76r – 89v/90r.

¹⁸⁴ Ff. 6r-76r.

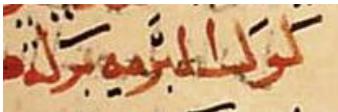
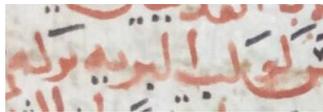
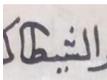
¹⁸⁵ E.g. on 22r, 22v, 30r, 30v, 35r, 36r.

3) Comparison of SP (Hist.) 26 and SA (Hist.) 100

From an epigraphical and stylistic perspective, it appears that the monk Yūḥannā from the Monastery of St Antony is the same scribe of SP (Hist.) 26 and SA (Hist.) 100. The two manuscripts were copied five years apart. Justification for this supposition is as follows:

- Method of inscribing folio numbers and decoration are the same in each manuscript;
- The methods employed to ensure justification of lines are the same;
- The methods employed for cancellations, omissions and insertions of words, are the same;
- System of rubrics and decoration are the same in each manuscript;
- The number of lines in each manuscript are 13, indicating the use of the same *masṭarah*;
- The wording used to describe the scribe in the colophons and the invocation, are similar;
- The system of diacritics and vocalisation of rubricated words, are the same;
- Both manuscripts were endowed to the Monastery of St Antony.

The following table illustrates some of the similarities that attest to the scribe of SP (Hist.) 26 and SA (Hist.) 100 being the same person.

Table 5.1: Similarities in SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26 and SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100		
Description	SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 100. Completed 1708 AD	SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 26. Completed 1714 AD
Similarities in the wording of the colophon.	(ff. 103v–104r): Written by the lowest of monks and the most wretched among my fathers and brothers... Yūḥannā, who by name is a monk... And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in the Kingdom of Heaven.	(ff. 128r–128v): Written by the most wretched and lowest monk, Yūḥannā, [who is] by name only a monk... And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in the Kingdom of Heaven.
Same diacritics and vocalisation in the incipit.	“Star of the wilderness”  (f. 4r)	“Star of the wilderness”  (f. 6r)
Same style of writing, e.g. the words في (in) and هذا (this) are similar.	“And I tell you O you people who are gathered in this”  (f. 4r)	“And I tell you O you people who are gathered in this”  (f. 6r)
Same way in joining the letter س to the letter ج	“Antūniyūs the great”  (f. 4r)	“Antūniyūs the great”  (f. 6r)
Same method of inverting the letter ن without writing the diacritic dot	“Devil”  (f. 28r)	“Devil”  (f. 29v)

In addition to SA (*Hist.*) 100, the monk Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī copied a total of seventeen manuscripts between the years 1408 to 1435 AM (1692 to 1719 AD) that were endowed to the Red Sea monasteries.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ See description of SA (*Hist.*) 100 for a list of all the manuscripts copied by Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī that are contained in the Red Sea monasteries.

5.5 ST PAUL (HISTORY) 39

*Hagiographic Miscellany*¹⁸⁷

30 Baramūda 1457 AM (6 May 1741 AD)

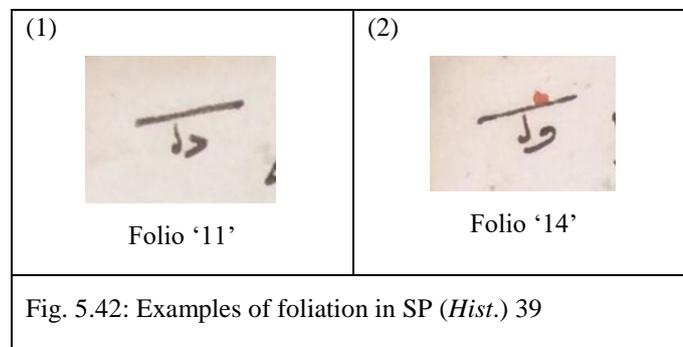
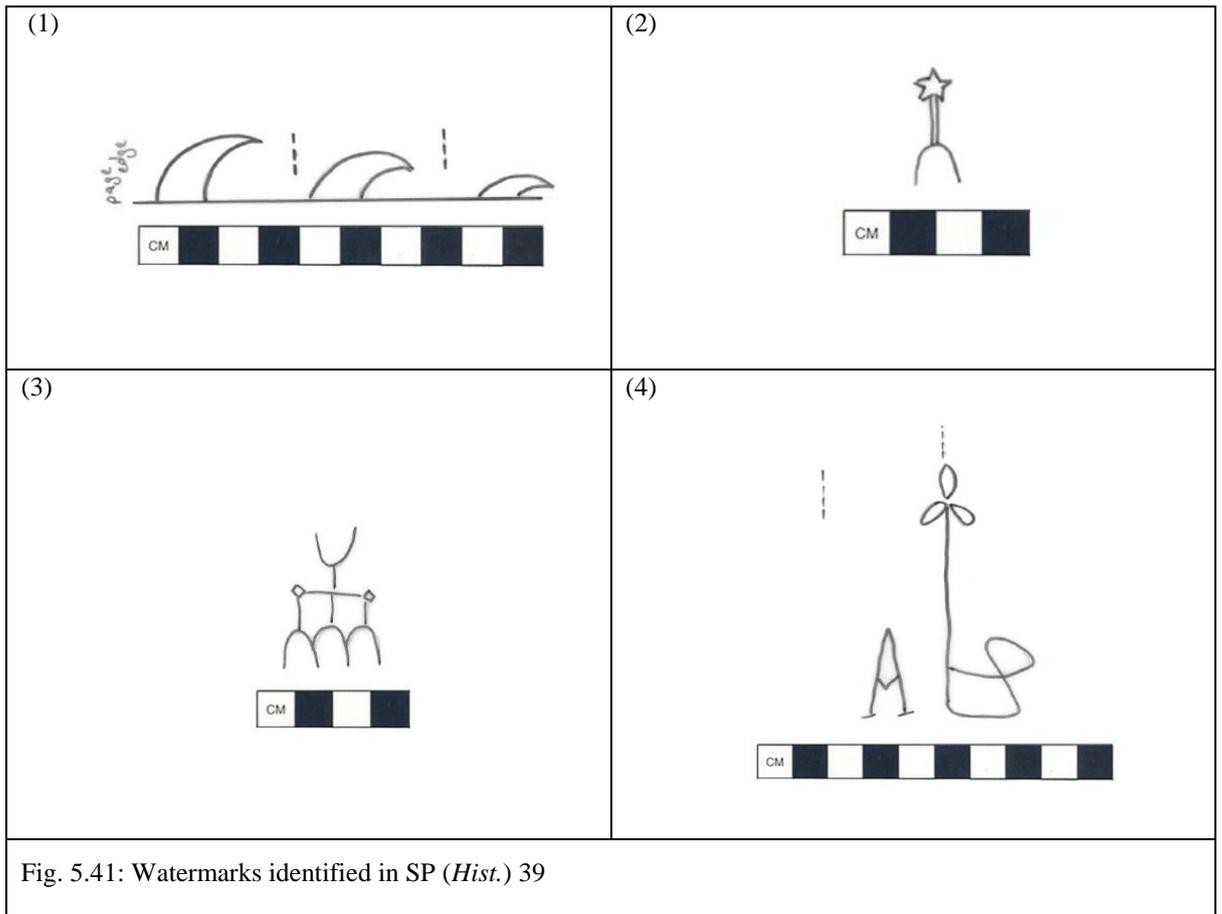
5.5.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 220 x 160 mm. *Foliation*: 5 leaves (*i, ii, iii, iv, v*) + 1 – 166 + 2 leaves (*167, 168*). *Writing material*: Flyleaves *i, ii, iii, iv, v, 167, 168* are a different paper to the text-block paper, but all were sized with starch giving it a glossy surface. The text-block paper is thicker than the flyleaves and its appearance is mat. Vertical chain lines on laid paper are visible 35 mm apart. The codex contains four types of watermarks: (1) on flyleaf *ii* there are three diminishing crescents “Le Tre Lune”, (2) a single mountain topped with a star, (3) within the text-block there is what appears to be three mountains topped with what seems to be a crescent, and (4) initials with a trefoil. *Pagination*: The foliation is in (1) Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a horizontal stroke on most pages,¹⁸⁸ and (2) overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke on other pages.¹⁸⁹ The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 166r. However, f. 16 is written twice. Hence, f. 17 should read 18.

¹⁸⁷ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

¹⁸⁸ Ff. 11r-13r, 15r-30r, 32r-77r.

¹⁸⁹ Ff. 1r-10r, 14r, 31r.



5.5.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 1r–62v)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 63r–86v)
- (3) *Life of Samū`īl of Qalamūn* (ff. 87r–113r)
- (4) *Life of Abā Klūj the priest and martyr* (ff. 113v–166r); colophon (f. 166v, 3 lines)

5.5.3 *Colophon*

A short colophon stands at the end of the codex¹⁹⁰ providing details of where it was copied and the date of completion, however, the name of the scribe is not mentioned. It was copied in the Monastery of St Paul and was completed in 1457 AM.

The text of the colophon reads as follows:

(f. 166v): This blessed book was completed on 30 Baramūda 1457 [year of the] martyrs.¹⁹¹ May their prayers and intercessions be with us. And at that time it was written in the Monastery of St Paul the first hermit which is inhabited with monks.

5.5.4 *Endowment*

A *waqf* for the Monastery of St Paul is written beneath the index on flyleaf *v* opposite the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. It is written in the same hand as the text-block.

The text of the endowments read as follows:

Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father Anbā Būlā. Not to be sold or pawned or taken out. And whoever disobeys will have his share with Simon the Magician. And blessings be upon the son of obedience.

5.5.5 *Layout*

Written area: av. c. 170 × 110 mm, with 15 lines. The pages were ruled with a *maṣṭarah* (*a*).¹⁹² A clear impression of the ruling-board is seen on the front pastedown.

Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation, contraction, and suprascription (*b*).¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ F. 166v.

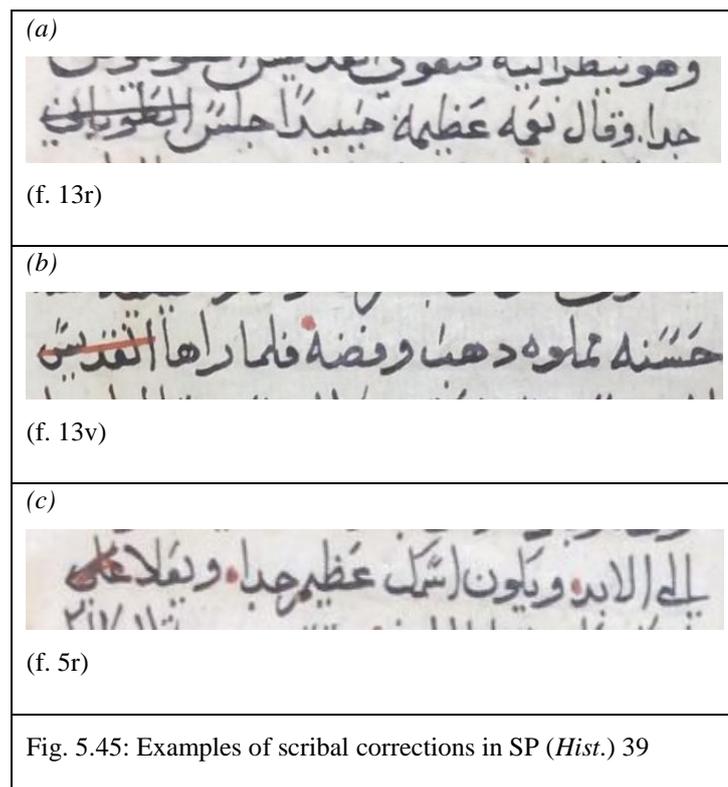
¹⁹¹ 6 May 1741 AD.

¹⁹² See Fig. 5.43 (a) for detail of ruling-board impression on the front pastedown.

¹⁹³ See Fig. 5.43 (b) for f. 15v. From top to bottom: an example of an elongated word, followed by two examples of suprascription, and finally an example of contraction of the last word on the line.

- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] among the holy fathers, the saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and keep us and protect us from the enemy. I will tell you, O you present in this church*¹⁹⁶
- *And also among his wonders*¹⁹⁷
- *And hear also a great story about this saint*¹⁹⁸
- *And we want my brothers attending this feast – may its blessing be upon us and all of you, amen*¹⁹⁹

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by either putting a line in black, (a) or red ink (b) through the word, or crossing out the word not required in red (c). There are no insertions in the interline or margin, and no marginal notes.



¹⁹⁶ F. 1v, lines 2-7.

¹⁹⁷ Ff. 26r, 27v, 28v.

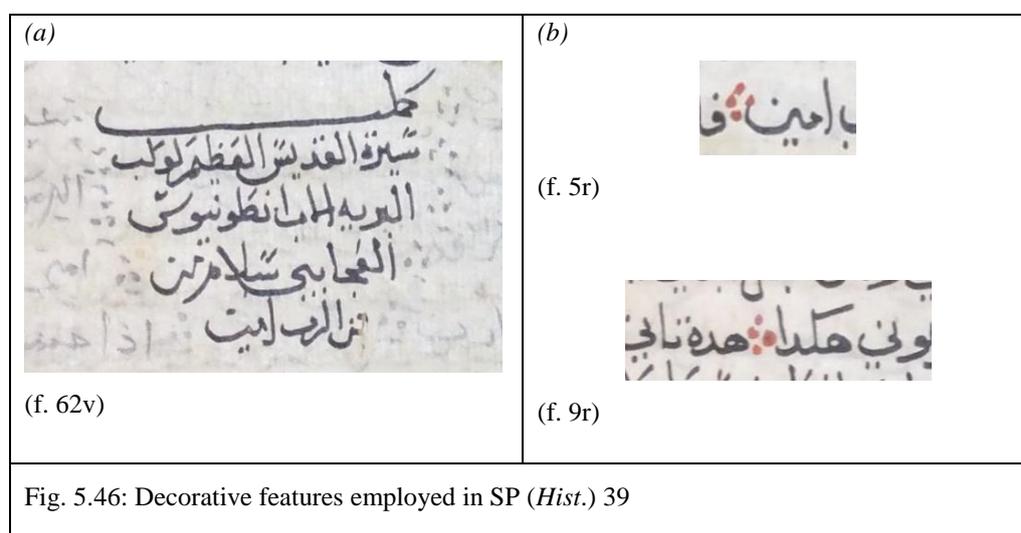
¹⁹⁸ F. 44v.

¹⁹⁹ F. 23r.

Salient Features: No salient features were identified. Furthermore, this was the only manuscript out of those examined that contained no instances of the word or part of the word “Devil” being inverted.

5.5.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation is limited to a single raised dot in red ink, presented only on pages 1r – 10r, 20v, and 40v. Dividers are provided between textual units to mark the end of a text. The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a single bold line in black ink (a). Other than two cases in which a cluster of four red dots are inscribed (b), the codex contains no decorative elements.

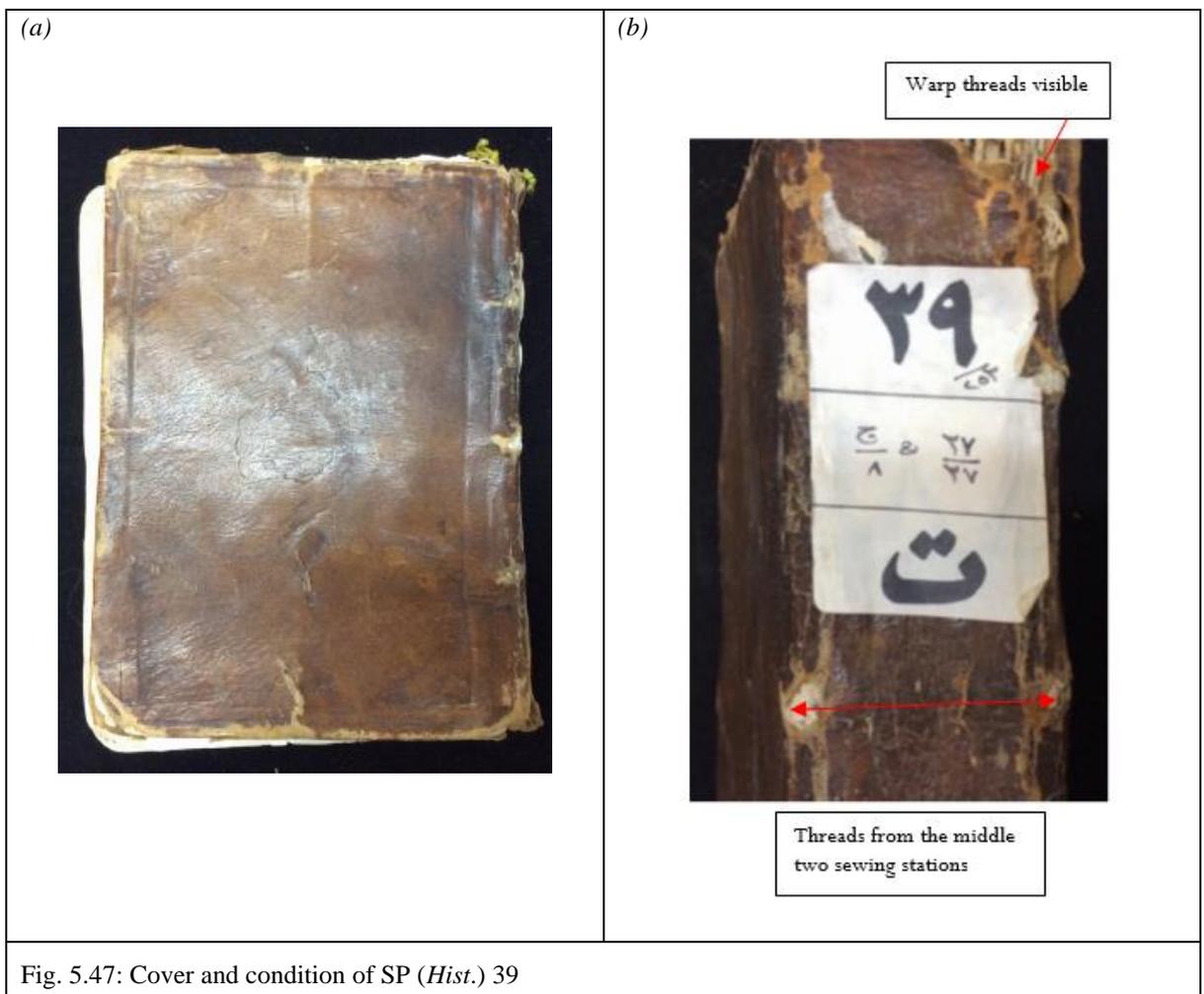


5.5.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with stamped relief that has been worn. The measurements of the cover and spine are 220 × 160 × 45 mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a blind stamped central medallion, but due to its poor state it is not possible to determine the design, other than to note it contained a centre medallion and blind stamped corner pieces. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of light green and yellow threads weaved in a vertical pattern. A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “39 history” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine (b).

5.5.9 Condition of the Manuscript

Generally speaking, the condition of this codex is poor. The original cover shows evidence of cracks, abrasion, and delamination²⁰⁰ in which the edges of the upper and lower covers have separated and are worn revealing the pasteboards beneath. Due to its battered condition, parts of the spine lining and warp threads are visible, including the threads of the middle two link stitch stations. Much of the stitching in the quires has come undone, and many of the quires have separated from the binding. The front and back shoulders are removed from the spine. The pages contain some brown and yellow stains; mostly from finger marks, offset, and some moisture damage. Brown oil stains, traces of some candle wax mostly on the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, and to a lesser extent, on the pages of the *Life of Anbā Būlā*.



²⁰⁰ Karin Scheper defines “delamination” as layers within the pasteboards that become separated from each other, in *Glossary for the Conservation and Description of Islamic Manuscripts*: <http://www.hepworthscheper.com/lexicon/lexicon-en.html> (accessed 8 January 2016).

5.5.10 Observations

There are three cases of non-related notes contained in the manuscript by monks that may have owned, or even read, the manuscript at some point in time:

- i. Flyleaf *i* contains the name ‘Abd al-Masīḥ al-Anbā Būlā, written in a modern hand with a felt blue pen (*a*);
- ii. Flyleaves *iii* and *iv* contain Psalm 18 written in a modern hand in black ink (*b*);
- iii. Beside each explicit in the codex is written in the same hand as (2): “Remember O Lord your servant the wretched *hegumen* Būlus al-Baramūsī with mercy, amen. Remember me in Your kingdom” (*c*).
- iv. The front pastedown page which contains the index as well as an endowment, is of a different paper type to the text-block and appears to have been taken and reused from another manuscript. It was cut to fit the size of the codex. At the top where it was cut is a Coptic inscription (*d*).



Fig. 5.48: Modern handwritten notes in SP (*Hist.*) 39

5.6 ST PAUL (HISTORY) 18

*Hagiographic Miscellany*²⁰¹

25 Bābah 1462 AM (23 October 1745 AD)

5.6.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 210 × 155 mm. *Foliation*: 2 leaves (*i, ii*) + 3 – 354 + 2 leaves (355, 356). *Writing material*: The paper was sized with starch giving it a glossy surface.²⁰² Vertical chain lines on each page at 25 mm apart are visible. The laid paper contains the watermark of the three horizontal crescents with human profile in diminishing sizes. An image of a resembling watermark is found in Vsevolod Nikolaev’s, *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire*.²⁰³ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and diagonal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā*’ at its end. The numbering begins at f. 3r and ends at f. 354r. Folios 1 and 2 are “not expressed”.²⁰⁴

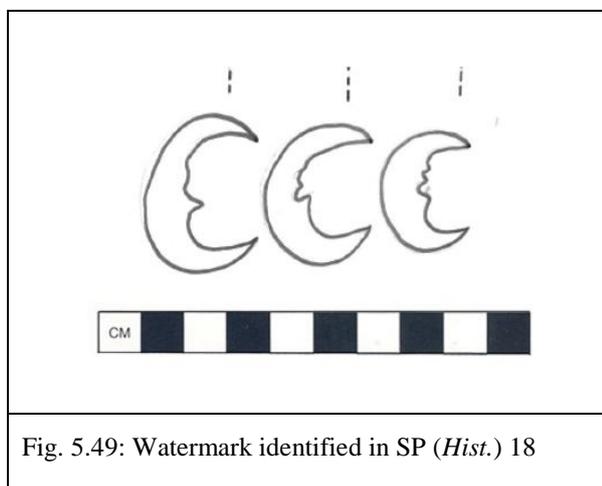


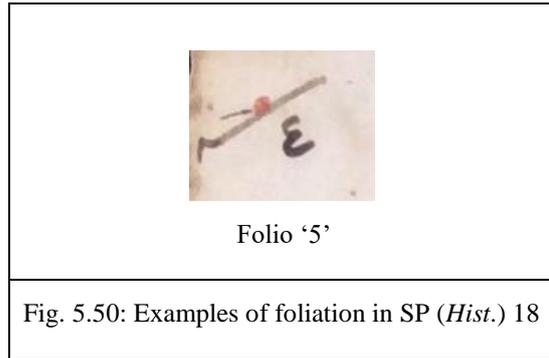
Fig. 5.49: Watermark identified in SP (*Hist.*) 18

²⁰¹ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

²⁰² Beit-Arie 1976: 26-37.

²⁰³ Nikolaev 1954: no. 1787, pl. 701.

²⁰⁴ Numbering starts from f. 3, however, the scribe did not foliate flyleaves *i* and *ii*. Hence, I consider the numbering of these flyleaves as being “not expressed”.



5.6.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 3r–72v)
- (2) *Al arba'en khabar*²⁰⁵ (ff. 73r–347r)
- (3) *Life of Anbā Ruways* (ff. 347v–353v); colophon (ff. 354r–354v)

5.6.3 Colophon

A colophon stands at the end of the codex²⁰⁶ providing details of the scribe's name and the place where it was copied. The scribe was the layman Nāṣir ibn Hūsha' ibn Sulaymān ibn Anṭūniyūs ibn Ṣafiy, who was called al-Baṭaṭī. It was copied in the village of Bahjūrah,²⁰⁷ and it was completed in 1462 AM.

The text of the colophon reads as follows:

This blessed book was completed with peace from the Lord, amen. It was completed on the blessed Wednesday 26 Bābah 1462 [year of the] martyrs,²⁰⁸ in Bahjūrah [by] the sinner, the poor [one], imperfect scribe, low, full of sins, full of faults and ugliness, stained with the sins of his days and years, devoid of virtues and clad in vice, who does not deserve to raise his head, nor to be called a human because of the abundance of his sins, the unworthy [one] to be called by name, Nāṣir ibn Hūsha' ibn Sulaymān ibn Anṭūniyūs ibn Ṣafiy, who is [known as] al-Baṭaṭī of [the village of] Bahjūrah. May God keep it²⁰⁹ perpetual for nights and days, amen. And he asks everyone who reads [this

²⁰⁵ *The Forty [monastic] Stories.*

²⁰⁶ Ff. 354r-355v.

²⁰⁷ The village of Bahjūrah is in the province of Qinā in Upper Egypt.

²⁰⁸ 23 October 1745 AD.

²⁰⁹ I.e. the village of Bahjūrah.

book] – after putting his sinful head²¹⁰ under his²¹¹ feet and between his²¹² hands, to ask [God to grant] him and his parents and brothers and all the children of baptism, mercy and forgiveness of [their] sins in the dreadful Day of Judgment. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him thirty, sixty, and a hundred-fold in the Kingdom of Heaven, amen. And thanks be to God always. I wrote and I realised on the day of [completing my] writing, that my hand will end and its writing²¹³ will end, and tomorrow the God of the Throne will ask of it [an account], and I do not know what the response will be. So O the one reading this handwriting, I ask you for the sake of God, to think about the hands [which wrote this book] and what ever happened to them; whether they are in the eternal joy of Paradise or suffering in Hades. O the one who reads the handwriting [in this book], look at it with your eyes and do not forget to remember its writer with goodness and pray for him. May your prayers be of benefit to him. This is my writing. I wrote it with the right [hand]. My right [hand] will end but the words will remain constant. May God help the people who read [this book] and [may they] ask mercy for the one who wrote it. The writing will last after the writer for a time, and the writer will be buried under the ground. O the One who knows the innermost, hidden secret [of a sin] more than me, do not remove [Your] cover [of protection] away from me. O You the One who knows my state, I rely on You. *Other than that*, death is true and life is vain. Without death, each strong, stubborn [person] cannot be humiliated, and without poverty, servants will not serve masters.

5.6.4 *Endowment*

An endowment for the Monastery of St Paul is written on flyleaves *i* and *ii* as well as on the back flyleaves 355r, 355v and 356r, in four different hands. The writing on flyleaf *i* is the same hand as flyleaf 356r.

The endowment written 122 years after the scribe completed his book in 1584 AM²¹⁴ is dated on flyleaf *i*. Sometime after the death of the scribe, the manuscript was in the possession of a monk-priest named Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī²¹⁵ (*ii*, 355r, 355v, 356r), who subsequently endowed it

²¹⁰ I.e. the scribe's head.

²¹¹ I.e. the reader's feet.

²¹² I.e. the reader's hands.

²¹³ I.e. referring to the work of his hand.

²¹⁴ 1867/8 AD.

²¹⁵ Meaning he was from the city of al-Fayyūm.

to the Monastery of St Paul. Yūsuf calls himself ‘a servant of Anbā Būlā’, meaning that he was a monk in the Monastery of St Paul.

The text of the endowments read as follows:

(1) Endowment on flyleaf *i* (Hand A):

<Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father Anbā Būlā. Not to be sold or pawned or bought from [the place of] its endowment, and not to be taken to the countryside,²¹⁶ nor is it to be possessed by laypeople or for monks to keep for themselves in their cells, but it is to be kept in the library, and whoever takes it to read shall return it again so that others can read [it]. He who disobeys will be subject to the harsh [judgment] that sends the souls of the disobedient to the pit of Hell. May God protect us from that. The state of the disobedient [one] is spoiled, but blessings are upon the son of obedience. And thanks be to God always and forever, amen. 1584 [year of the] martyrs.>²¹⁷

(2) Endowment on flyleaf *ii* (Hand B. Very inexperienced hand):

<Oh Lord reward whosoever toils in the Kingdom of Heaven. Endowment for the Monastery of our father Anbā Būlā [by] its owner the priest Yūsuf. Whoever takes it to the countryside²¹⁸ will be banished by the mouth of the holy God, and his sin will never be forgiven, and the holy [one] will be his foe in the day of the Great Judgment. This is [written] as a warning against disobedience. And thanks be to God forever, amen.>

(3) Endowment on flyleaf 355r (Hand C):

<In the name of the merciful God. *Waqf*. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the saint Anbā Būlā the first hermit according to the consent of its owner, the priest Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī. He who takes it to the countryside²¹⁹ will be banished by the mouth of the holy God, and there will be no forgiveness for his sin, and the holy [ones] will be his opponent on the great Day of Judgment. And whoever rips out pages from this book will have the same [punishment]. And peace from the Lord.

²¹⁶ الريف

²¹⁷ Beneath the endowment is written in a modern hand in pencil: “36/36”.

²¹⁸ الريف

²¹⁹ الريف

(4) Endowment on flyleaf 355v (Hand D):

<This was done according to the consent of the priest Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, the monk, servant of the great saint Anbā Būlā the first hermit. O Lord reward those who laboured in the Kingdom of Heaven, thirty, sixty, and a hundred-fold in the Heavenly Jerusalem, amen. O the Granter of reason and instruction, forgive the sins of the writer.>

(5) Endowment on flyleaf 356r (Hand A):

<This was done according to the consent of the priest Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, the monk, servant of the great and righteous saint Anbā Būlā the first of the hermits. O Lord reward those who laboured in the Kingdom.>

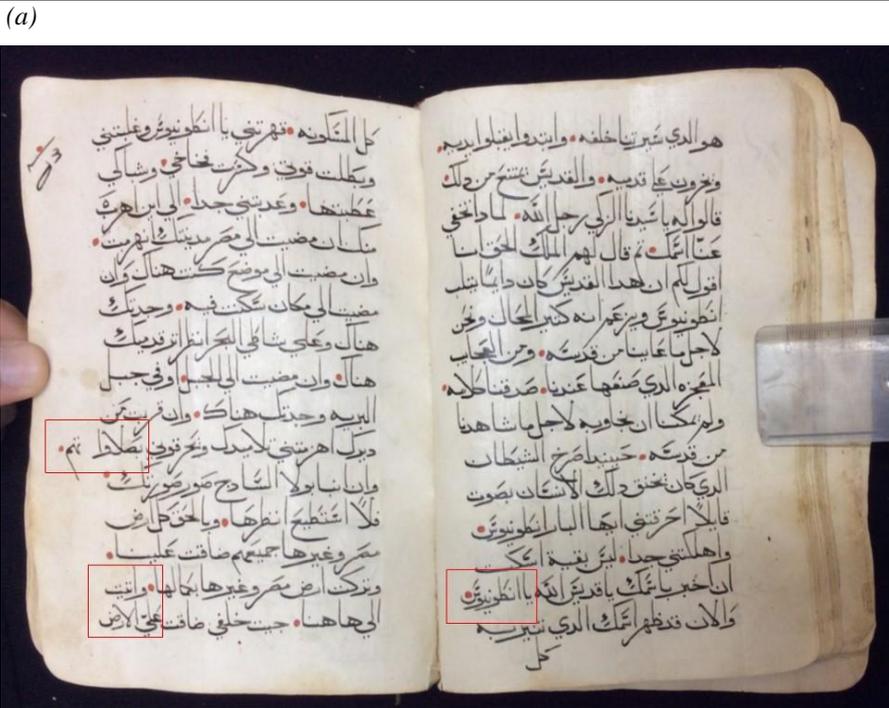
5.6.5 *Layout*

Written area: av. c. 180 × 105 mm with 15 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: contraction, suprascription, spacing exceeding letters of the last word in the margin while space was left between the two parts,²²⁰ and elongation.²²¹

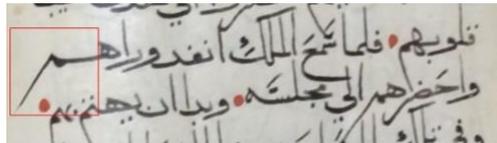
²²⁰ See Fig. 5.51 (a) for highlighted examples of line management on ff. 66v/67r. Example on *verso* of suprascription, and examples on *recto* of spacing a word in two parts, and contraction of the last words(s) on the line. According to Gacek, it is not uncommon to see this method of spacing exceeding letters into the left margin (Gacek 2009: 102).

²²¹ See Fig. 5.51 (b) for highlighted example on f. 65v of elongated letter.



(ff. 66v/67r)

(b)



(f. 65v)

Fig. 5.51: Line management in SP (*Hist.*) 18

Quires: Due to the poor condition of the manuscript, it is difficult to ascertain the total number of quires within the codex and the quantity of folios within each quire. But where distinguishable, the quires are made up of ten bifolia. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on two stations.



(ff. 25v/26r)

Fig. 5.52: Sewing technique in SP (*Hist.*) 18

Catchwords: There are two instances where the catchword on *recto* is presented in a different way on *verso*: on f. 25r the word *al-shayṭān* (the devil) is inverted, whereas on *verso* it is written the right way up. Likewise, on f. 27v the letter ن in *al-shayṭān* (the devils) is inverted, whereas on *recto* it is written the right way up.

5.6.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. Each line of the incipits are flanked with small red decorative features, and red text indicates the start of a new chapter. All rubricated text, as follows, contains vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

- *We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] [and] the great among the holy fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us, amen.*²²²
- *And also among his wonders*²²³
- *And hear also a great story about this saint*²²⁴

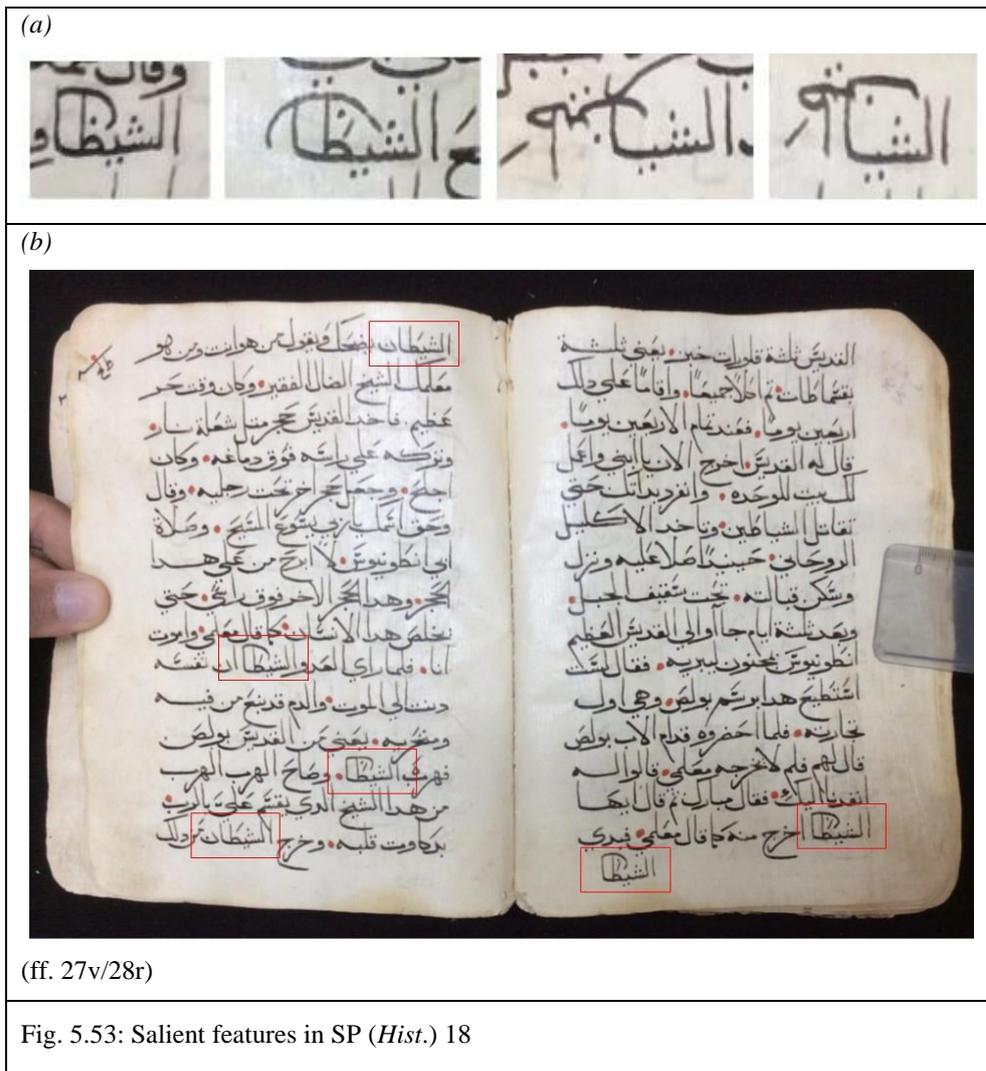
²²² F. 3r, lines 2-7.

²²³ Ff. 31v, 32v, 33v, 34v.

²²⁴ F. 52v.

Scribal Corrections: The manuscript contains no corrections, no insertions in the interline or margin, and no marginal notes.

Salient Features: The words *al-shayṭān* and *al-shayāṭīn* are written in different ways with no consistency; the most common case being where the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted,²²⁵ or where the last three letters in the word *al-shayāṭīn* طين are inverted.²²⁶



5.6.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. Dividers are provided between textual units to mark the end of a text. The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a

²²⁵ Ff. 11r, 11v, 13r, 15r, 17v, 19r, 20v, 24r, 24v, 25v, 27v, 28r, 59v, 60r, 61v, 65v, 71v.

²²⁶ Ff. 25r, 48v, 51r.

decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink (*a*). The word *amen* is always followed by one of two types of designs: (i) a cluster of alternate red and black dots with the centre dot always in red ink²²⁷, or (ii) a small black circle surrounded with four dots in red ink giving an overall appearance of a small cross.²²⁸ In some cases, a combination of these two designs are used as space fillers (*b*).²²⁹ The six lines of the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* are decorated with alternating clusters of the two above-mentioned designs placed on the left and right side of each line (*c*). The six lines of the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* are decorated with a cluster of alternate red and gold dots with the centre dot in gold ink. These clusters flank each line to the right and left (*a*). The explicit contains the following text: “Finished and completed, the life-story of our father the great saint, star of the wilderness, the father Anbā Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker. In peace from God, amen.” The decoration at the end of the colophon on flyleaf 354v consists of a large four-leaf clover upon which are alternating red and gold dots. On either side of the clover is the cluster of alternating red and gold dots with the centre dot being gold (*d*). Because the collection of stories known as *al-Arba ‘īn Khabar* (the forty [monastic] stories) has no incipit, the scribe decorated the title of the text by writing it in enlarged gold letters outlined with black ink and surrounded with clusters of alternating red and gold dots with the centre dot being gold (*e*).

²²⁷ Ff. 28v, 29v, 31v, 32v, 33v, 53v.

²²⁸ Ff. 28v, 33v.

²²⁹ E.g. ff. 33v, 62r, as well as in the colophon on flyleaf 354v.



5.6.8 Binding

Type III binding. Dark brown leather, original cover with stamped relief that has been completely worn. The measurements of the cover and spine are 205 × 155 × 75 mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a blind stamped central medallion but due to its poor state, it is not possible to determine the design other than to note it contained a centre medallion and blind stamped corner pieces. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of green and red threads weaved into a chevron pattern. A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “18 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.6.9 Condition of the Manuscript

Generally speaking, the condition of this codex is poor. The original cover shows evidence of cracks, abrasion, and delamination in which the edges of the upper and lower covers have separated and are completely worn, revealing the pasteboards beneath. Due to its battered condition, the spine lining and warp threads are visible and the overall dimensions of the cover are less than that of the text-block. Both the cover and the paper doublures have been damaged by insects. Much of the stitching in the quires has come undone, and many of the quires have separated from the binding.

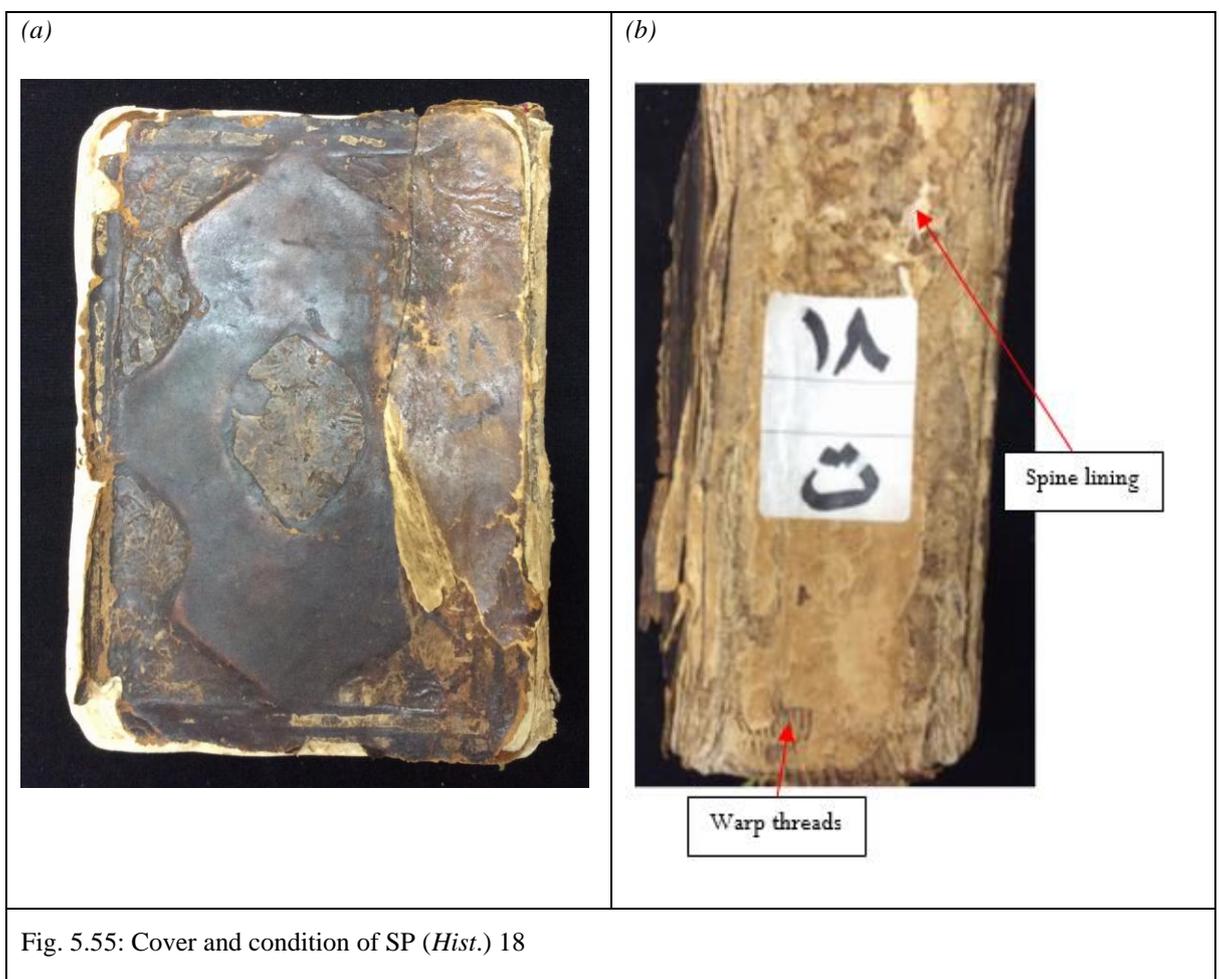


Fig. 5.55: Cover and condition of SP (*Hist.*) 18

5.6.10 Observations

Nāṣir ibn Hūshaʿ ibn Sulaymān ibn Anṭūniyūs ibn Ṣafiy (called al-Baṭaṭī) al-Bahjūrī (scribe)

Nāṣir was a layman from the town of Bahjūrah in the province of Qinā in Upper Egypt. Including SP (*Hist.*) 18, Nāṣir al-Bahjūrī copied six manuscripts. From information provided in the colophons, he copied the books in his hometown, and all the manuscripts – with the exception of SP (*Hist.*) 18 – were endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, thus inferring his close association with the Monastery. According to the catalogue of manuscripts at the Monastery of St Paul, SP (*Hist.*) 18 is the only manuscript in their collection that was copied by Nāṣir al-Bahjūrī. The following manuscripts contained in the Monastery of St Antony were also copied by Nāṣir. Details include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library (listed in chronological order of copying completion date), and confirmed by viewing the manuscripts to ascertain likeness in writing and colophons. Also provided is a high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the patrons if mentioned, and the folio reference of this information:

1. SA (*Theol.*) 24: *Commentaries of the Four Gospels by the Fathers of the Church*. Completed: 26 Misrā 1440 AM. Patron: al-Muʿallim Luṭf-Allāh ibn al-Muʿallim Mīkhāʿīl al-Naqqādī. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony by Athanasius, bishop of Abū Tīj. Date of *waqf*: 1507 AM (ff. 103v, 218r–218v).
2. SA (*Bibl.*) 180: *Gospels of Luke and John in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 11 Hātūr 1441 AM. Patron: al-Muʿallim Luṭf-Allāh ibn al-Muʿallim Mīkhāʿīl al-Naqqādī (ff. 220r–220v).
3. SA (*Bibl.*) 279: *Catholic Epistles and the Book of Acts*. Completed: 9 Baʿūnah 1448 AM. Patron and owner: monk Yaʿqūb al-Anṭūnī. Then owned by the monk Maksīmūs al-Anṭūnī who made it a *waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony after his death (ff. 1v, 171r–171v).
4. SA (*Lit.*) 41: *Service of the Sacrament of the Holy Unction in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 29 Misrā 1454 AM. Patron: priest Buṭrus al-Anṭūnī (ff. 244r, 246r–246v).
5. SA (*Hist.*) 190: *From the Sayings of Secundus the Philosopher*. Completed: 24 Baramhāt 1460 AM. Scribe and Patron: Nāṣir ibn Hūshaʿ ibn Sulaymān ibn Anṭūniyūs ibn Ṣafiy al-Baṭaṭī al-Bahjūrī (ff. 1v, 100v).

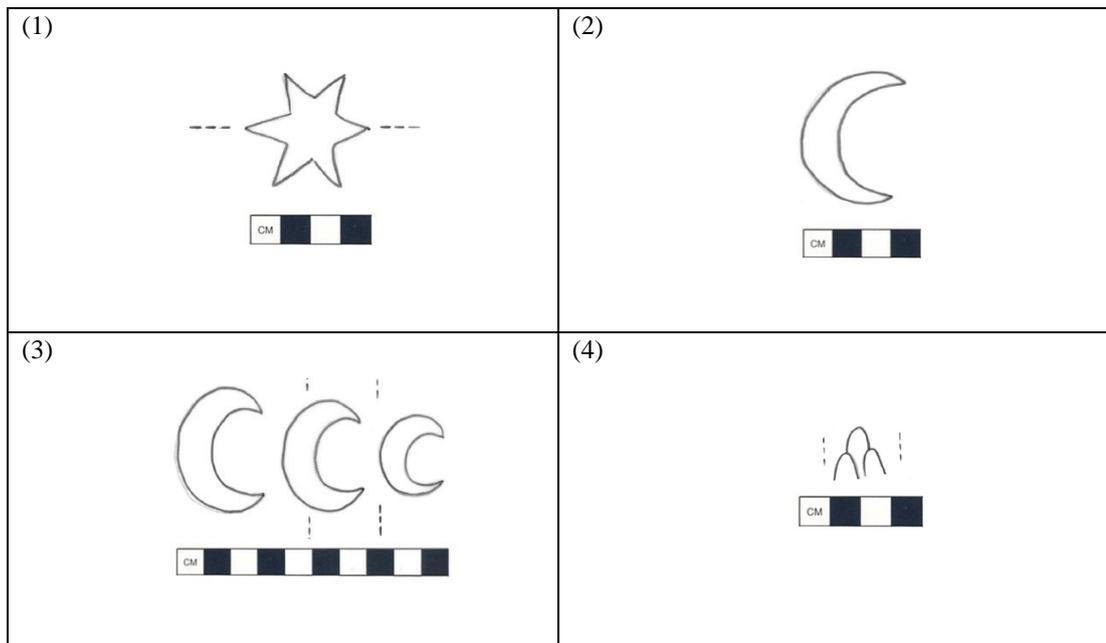
5.7 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 107

*Hagiographic Miscellany*²³⁰

7 Ba'ūnah 1471 AM (13 June 1755 AD)

5.7.1 Physical Description

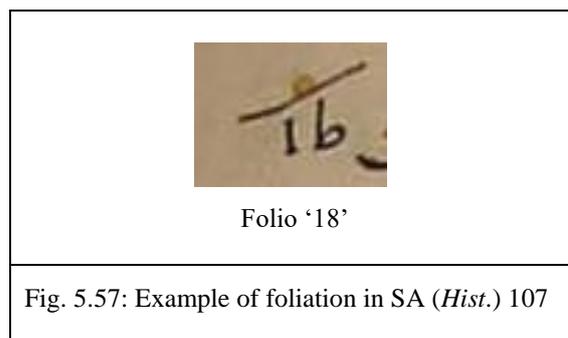
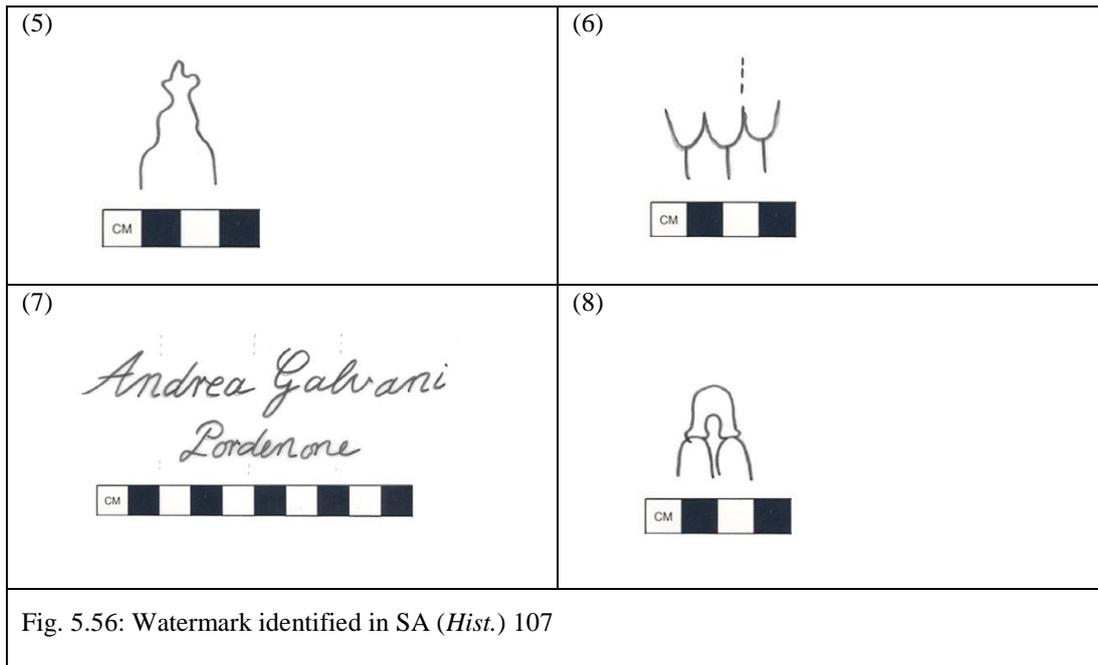
Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 210 × 160 mm. *Foliation*: 1 leaf (i) + 1–269 + 1 leaf (270). *Writing material*: laid paper, beige tinted, thin, and gloss. Horizontal chain lines are visible 25 mm apart. Eight watermarks were identified in the codex:²³¹ (1) a single six-point star, (2) a single crescent, (3) three horizontal crescents in diminishing sizes, (4) three mountains, (5) a cross on a mountain, (6) three cups, (7) on the front flyleaf the name *Andrea Galvani* in italics²³², and (8) an unidentified figure on two mountains. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and diagonal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 269r.



²³⁰ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

²³¹ According to Edward Heawood, “A large number of different marks, often seen in a single book, is not surprising, in view of the fact that paper merchants collected their supplies from scattered sources.” (Heawood 1950: 33).

²³² An image of a resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 860, pl. 135.



5.7.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 1r–70r)
- (2) *Maymar on the entry of Christ and His virgin mother into Egypt* (ff. 71v–94r)
- (3) *Maymar on the Four Incorporeal Creatures* (ff. 94v–107v)
- (4) *Maymar on the 144,000 children killed by Herod* (ff. 108r–119r)
- (5) *Life of Anbā Būlā the monk in Jerusalem* (ff. 119v–147v)
- (6) *Life of Anbā Nūfir the Anchorite* (ff. 148r–169v)
- (7) *Life of the martyr John of Heraclea* (ff. 170r–210v)
- (8) *Miracles of the martyr John of Heraclea* (ff. 211r–243v)
- (9) *Maymar on the Archangel Michael and his miracles in his church in the city of Tāblis* (ff. 244r–269v)

5.7.3 Colophon

The manuscript contains three colophons; the first after the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, which suggests that the person who commissioned the book was not necessarily the same person who “owned” the book. The colophon is interesting in that it infers even though the book may have been “owned” by a monk for his personal use, it also served a liturgical function in that it was read out and heard by others. Hence, the scribe asks for the saint’s supplications for “the scribe, and the owner, and the reader, and the one who commissioned [this book], and the listener.” The second colophon stands after the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Nūfir*,²³³ giving only the year in which the text was completed. The third colophon is after the *Maymar on the Archangel Michael*, giving details of when the codex was completed, the name of the scribe, and the village he was from. The scribe’s name is Jād al-Karīm ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Buḥayrī, from the village of al-Salāmiyah,²³⁴ and the book was completed in 1471 AM.

The text of the first colophon reads as follows:

(ff. 70r, lines 7–13): It was finished and completed the life and the departure of the revered father, the shining star, illustrious among saints, star of the wilderness and father of all monks, and crown of the Christian people, clad with the luminous *iskīm* (*monastic skema*), the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs. May God grant [goodness to] us through his accepted intercessions and may his supplications be with us, O brothers, and with the poor sinner the scribe, and with the owner, and the reader, and the one who commissioned [this book], and the listener, and all the children of baptism, from west to east,²³⁵ we say together: amen, amen, amen, amen.

The text of the second colophon reads as follows:

(f. 170r, 7 lines): Finished and completed the life-story of the saint Anbā Nūfir the anchorite. May the blessing of his prayers be with the scribe, and the reader, and the owner, and the hearer, and the one who commissioned [this book], and everyone who exerted effort in this book. O Lord reward [them] for their effort thirty, sixty, one

²³³ St Onnophrius the anchorite.

²³⁴ In the province of Qinā, Upper Egypt

²³⁵ Literally, from left to right

hundred, and one thousand-fold in the Kingdom of Heaven, and forgive the sins of the scribe, amen. 1471 AM.²³⁶

The text of the third colophon reads as follows:

(ff. 269r–269v): Finished and completed the *Maymar* (*homily*) of the Archangel Michael and his wonders in his church which was built by the sea coast in the city of Tāblis, with peace from the Lord, amen, amen, amen. And it was completed on the blessed Friday 8 Ba'ūnah 1471 [in the year of] the pure, joyous, righteous martyrs.²³⁷ May the omnipotent God grant us [forgiveness] through their acceptable prayers forever, amen. [I offer] a prostration before Christ O brothers [who are] reading this imperfect, deficient handwriting, that you ask for the forgiveness of the sins of the poor scribe [who is] drowning in a sea of sin and iniquity, whose sins are so much more than the sand on the seashore. And his name is the wretched Jād al-Karīm ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Buḥayrī,²³⁸ who lives in the town of al-Salāmiyah, in the village called al-Qaṣr wa-al-Sayyid.²³⁹ And he who finds a mistake in this book and corrects it, may God put right all his affairs and [give him a] place in the Paradise of Joy, because the one who copied this book is educated but is not a teacher, and has little dealings with teachers. [He] is without knowledge and without experience in correcting letters and has no understanding [of such things]. But with the help of the omnipotent God, He helps us and forgives us for our sins. And moreover, we ask our master Jesus Christ to forgive the sins of the one who commissioned this book and who paid for it from his own money. My Master, reward his effort in the Kingdom of Heaven thirty, sixty, and one thousand[-fold] in the Paradise of Joy. Through the prayers of Anbā Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, and the supplications of all the ones mentioned [in the book], forever and ever, amen, amen, amen. Remember the scribe with goodness, that our God Christ may remember you, and whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in return. And thanks be to God always and forever, amen. O God [grant] forgiveness and mercy, my Lord.

²³⁶ The year is written in Coptic cursive numbers.

²³⁷ 13 June 1755 AD.

²³⁸ “al-Buḥayrī” literally means “the boatsman/sailor”.

²³⁹ “al-Sayyid” literally means “the hunter/fisherman”.

5.7.4 *Endowment*

There is an endowment for the Monastery of St Antony on the back flyleaf in a different hand, dated 1476 AM,²⁴⁰ four years after the book was completed. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(f. 270r, 10 lines): <In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great saint, glorified among the blessed [ones], Mār Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, in the Monastery of al-ʿArabah in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. Not to be sold or pawned or taken out of [the place of] its endowment by any means. And whosoever shall disobey and remove it from [the place of] its endowment, will be subject to the harsh banishment of God, and his share will be with Simon the magician, and Decla²⁴¹ the infidel, and Judas the traitor, and Herod the apostate. And blessings upon the son of obedience. 1476 [year of the martyrs].²⁴²>

5.7.5 *Layout*

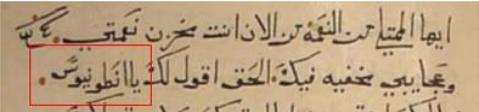
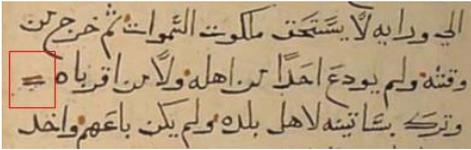
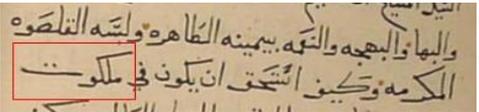
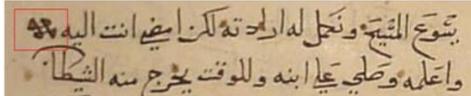
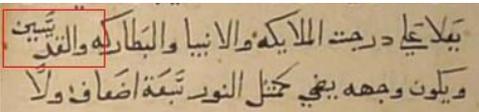
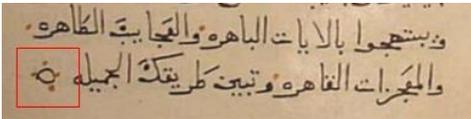
Written area: av. c. 210 x 160 mm with 13 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: contraction (*a*), elongation (*b*), suprascription (*c*), and graphic fillers taking the form of a double line, or a small black cross coloured in red ink, or a small black circle surrounded by four red dots (*d*).

²⁴⁰ 1759/60 AD.

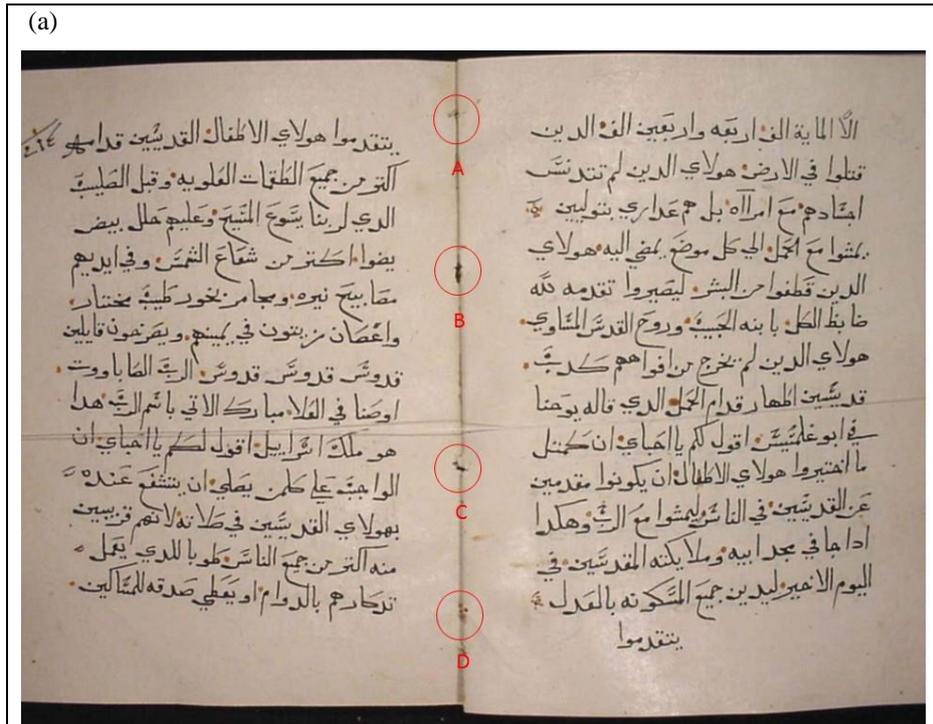
²⁴¹ Referring to Diocletian the Emperor

²⁴² Date written in Coptic cursive numbers.

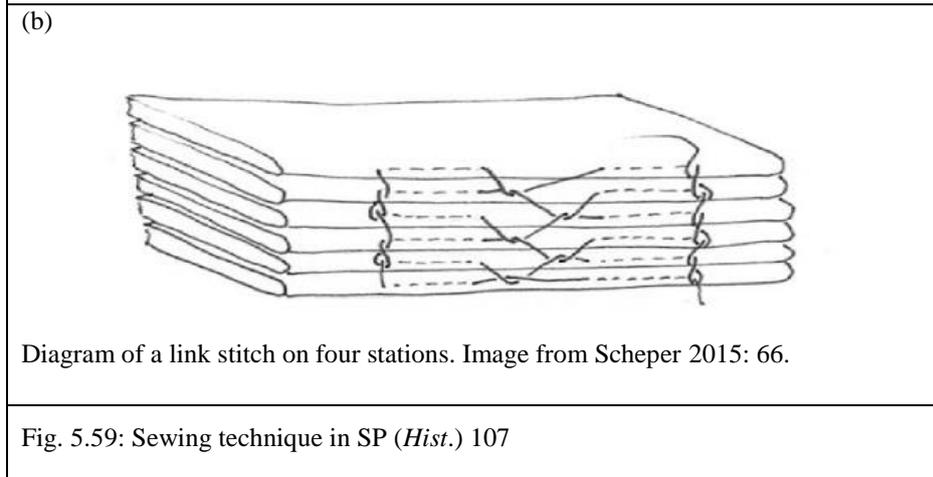
<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 46r)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 7v)</p>
<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 4v)</p>	<p>(f. 57r)</p> 
<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 48v)</p>	<p>(f. 5r)</p> 
<p>Fig. 5.58: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107</p>	

Quires: Each quire is made up of five bifolia.²⁴³ The total number of quires within the codex are twenty-eight. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.

²⁴³ I.e. ten leaves. According to Beit-Arié, five bifolia is the regular composition of quires in Oriental manuscripts. Beit- Arié 1976:44.



(ff. 115v/116r): Link stitch on four stations.



Catchwords: There are a few instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.²⁴⁴

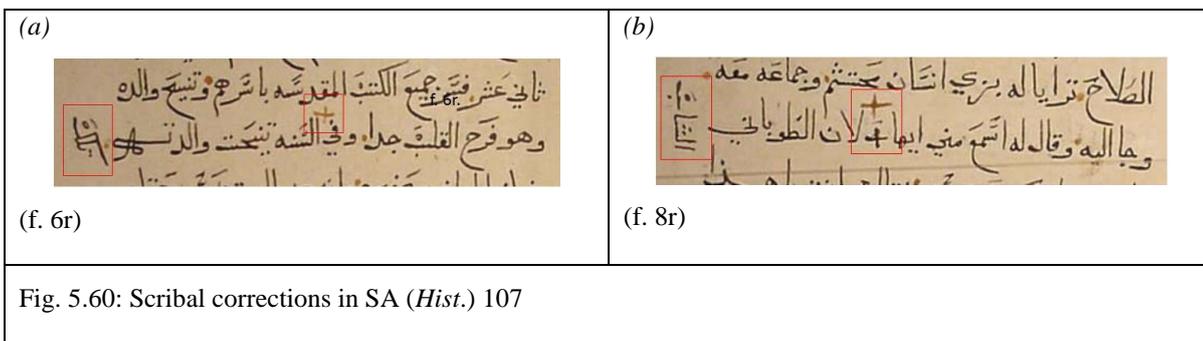
5.7.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit at the start of each text is the only rubricated text, and contains vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

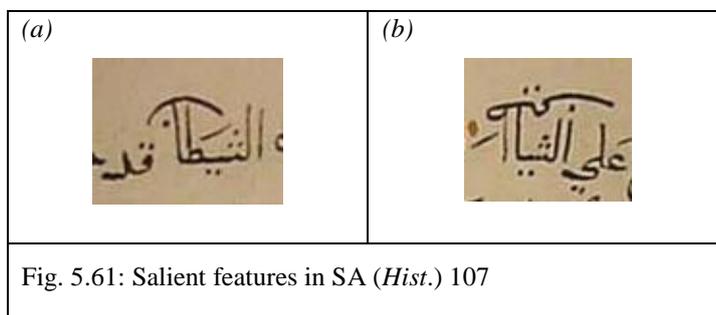
²⁴⁴ Diacritical marks differ on ff. 3r, 33r, 50r, 57r, 65r. Word on *recto* and *verso* differ on f. 24r.

- We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, great among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness and father of all monks. May the blessings of his prayers be with the writer, and the reader, and the owner, and the listener, and the one who commissioned this book, and all the children of baptism, from the left to the right, to the last breath, amen.²⁴⁵

Scribal Corrections: There are only two instances in which the scribe made insertions to the text: by placing a small red cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin (a);²⁴⁶ and by placing both a black and red cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted (b).²⁴⁷ There are no corrections and no marginal notes.



Salient Features: The last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted (a),²⁴⁸ and the last three letters in the word *al-shayāṭīn* طين are inverted (b).²⁴⁹



²⁴⁵ F. 1r, lines 2-7.

²⁴⁶ F. 6r.

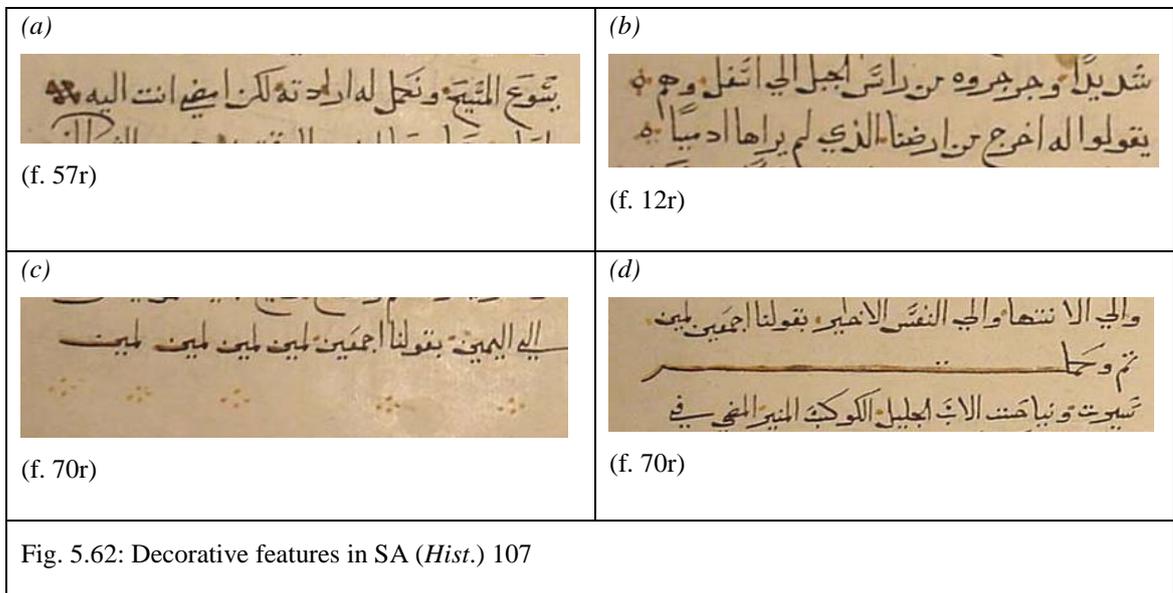
²⁴⁷ F. 8r.

²⁴⁸ Ff. 8v, 9r, 10r, 12r, 14v, 16r, 16v, 18r, 21r, 22r, 22v, 25v, 26r, 40v, 52v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 56v, 59r, 61r, 63v, 64r, 69r.

²⁴⁹ Ff. 2r 9v, 11v, 12r, 12v, 14r, 15v, 16r, 20v, 23r, 32v, 33v, 39v, 45r, 52r, 57r, 59v, 60r, 63v.

5.7.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. There are three types of decorative elements used in the manuscript: an intertwined line cross in black ink coloured in red (a);²⁵⁰ a small black circle surrounded by four red dots giving the overall appearance of a small cross – this feature was used to indicate the end of a paragraph, as well as occasionally used as space fillers (b); and a cluster of four red dots underlining the colophon (c). Furthermore, the scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (Finished and completed), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink (d).



5.7.8 Binding

Type II binding. Rebound in modern black leather (a). Cover has no stamped or tooled relief. The measurements of the cover and spine are 210 × 160 × 55 mm. The doublures consist of decorated paper pastedowns which were placed following the rebinding of the book (b). There are no end-bands and the spinal back has no lining. Engraved at the foot of the spine in gold letters are the words “His Grace Bishop Ghabriyāl bishop of the Monastery of Antūniyūs” (c). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “107 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine (d).

²⁵⁰ F. 57r: there is only one instance of this design.

5.7.9 Condition of the Manuscript

Some of the stitching in the quires has come undone, and some of the quires have separated from the binding. The front and back shoulders are removed from the spine (b). Some of the folios have been cut because of the fine thread. The fore-edge of the book is cockled (e). Brown stains, offset, and traces of oil²⁵¹ and candle wax are visible only on the pages of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*.²⁵²



Fig. 5.63: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 107

²⁵¹ Especially from ff. 219v-229v (*Miracles of the martyr John of Heraclea*: ff. 211r-243v).

²⁵² Candle wax only occurs on the pages of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, and on ff. 220r-224r: *Miracles of the martyr John of Heraclea*.

5.7.10 *Observations*

According to the inscription on the spine, the book was rebound during the time when Ghabriyāl was abbot and bishop of the Monastery of St Antony, from 1951 to 1960.

Born in the town of Manfalūt in Upper Egypt, Ghabriyāl was ordained abbot and bishop of the Monastery on 25 January 1951, and took up residency at the Monastery in Wādī al-‘Arabah on 3 March, 1951. Between the years 1951 and 1957, he commissioned the copying of several books, and rebound a few manuscripts in the Monastery’s library that were in need of restoration.

According to information provided in colophons, Ghabriyāl sponsored the copying of the following (hagiographical) manuscripts: SA (*Hist.*) 5, 12, 18, 24, 32, 34, 121, 135, 137, 139, 142, 143, 176, 186, 196, and 199.

Ghabriyāl had the following manuscripts rebound and had his name and title embossed on their spines: SA (*Hist.*) 52, 55, 103, 107, SA (*Lit.*) 879, and 894.

Due to theological disputes, Milik, the personal servant of Patriarch Yūsāb II,²⁵³ orchestrated Ghabriyāl’s removal as head of the Monastery on 21 June, 1960, and subsequent excommunication. He died on 11 July 1976.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ 115th patriarch (1946-56). For information on the papacy of Yūsāb II, see Guirguis and Van Doorn-Harder 2011: 123-126.

²⁵⁴ Information from archival documents contained in the Monastery. Ghabriyāl died in Cairo and was buried in his family’s tomb.

5.8 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 193

*Hagiographic Miscellany*²⁵⁵

(First half of the 18th century AD)

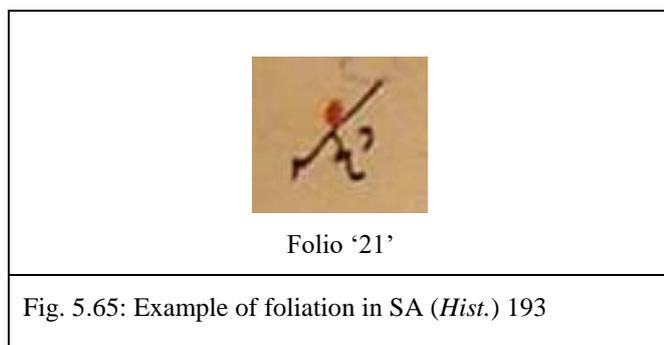
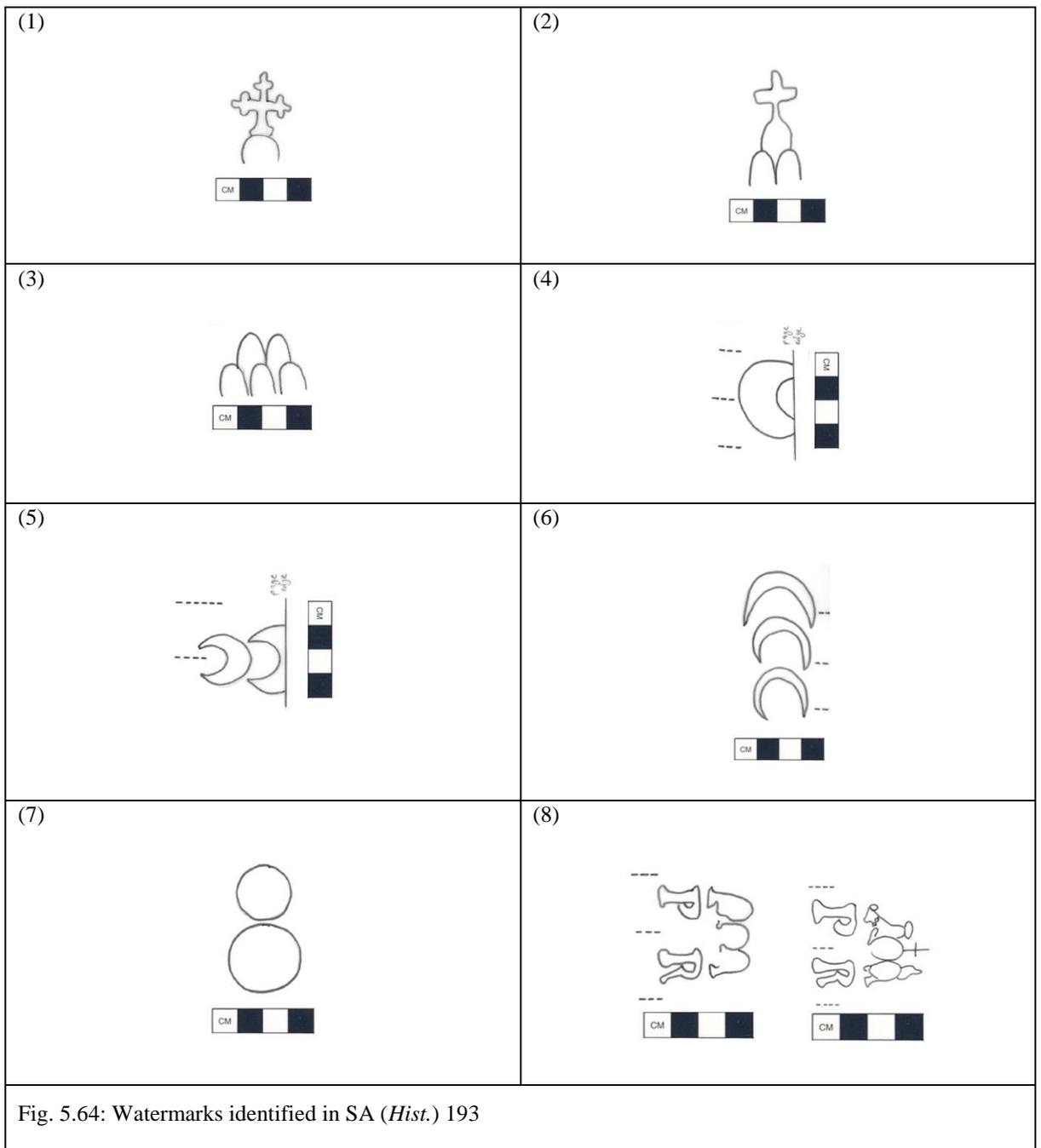
5.8.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 225 × 165 mm. *Foliation*: 8 leaves (*i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii*)²⁵⁶ + 3 – 160 + 1 leaf (161). *Writing material*: laid paper, beige tinted, thin, and glossy. The front flyleaves are thinner than the pages of the text-block and matte. The back flyleaf is thick and glossy. Horizontal chain lines are visible 20 mm apart. Nine different watermarks were identified in the codex: (1) a cross on top of a mountain, (2) a cross on top of three mountains, (3) five mountains, (4) a single crescent, (5) two types of “Le Tre Lune”,²⁵⁷ (6) circles, and (7) two countermarks with the initials P R. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and diagonal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā*’ at its end. The numbering begins at f. 3r and ends at f. 160r.

²⁵⁵ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

²⁵⁶ Flyleaf *vii* has been cut out, and flyleaf *viii* contains an index.

²⁵⁷ One set of thick crescents, and one set of vertical thin crescents; an image of a resembling watermark is found in Nikolev 1954: no. 1653, pl. 209.



5.8.2 Contents

- (1) *The Life of Secundus the wise philosopher*²⁵⁸ and the reason for controlling the tongue from talking (ff. 3r–70r); colophon (f. 70r, 5 lines)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 70v–143v)
- (3) *Life of Anbā Būlā the first hermit* (ff. 144r–159v)

5.8.3 Colophon

There is one colophon in the codex which stands after the explicit to the *Life of Secundus the wise philosopher*. The only information provided is that the text of the *Life of Secundus* was made known by Yū'annis the bishop of Samanūd.²⁵⁹

The text of the colophon reads as follows:

(f. 70r, 5 lines): Completed, the life-story of the wise [and] righteous Secundus, and his letters. And the one who commissioned it to be known is the honourable father Anbā Yū'annis bishop of Samanūd.²⁶⁰

5.8.4 Endowment

There is a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony on the last flyleaf written in the same hand. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(f. 160v, 5 lines): This book, which is the book of the *Lives*, is an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-ʿArabah. No one is permitted or shall be absolved to take it out beyond the wall [of the Monastery], or to own it in his cell, and whosoever shall disobey what we mention will be banished, but instead [he] can read in it and return it back to the library. And blessings shall be upon the son of obedience.

²⁵⁸ Identified as Secundus the Silent Philosopher who lived in Athens in the 2nd century AD and had taken a vow of silence. The oldest evidence for the existence of his *Life* in Greek is a 3rd century papyrus fragment. His *Life*, which includes answers to philosophical questions, was translated from the Greek into Latin in the 11th century, and by the early 14th century, his *Life* gained much popularity when it was translated into Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic. See Perry 1964: 25, 42-3, 52. See also Brock 1992: 94-100. Although Secundus was pagan, the text of his *Life* in this manuscript recasts him as a Christian philosopher (see especially ff. 4r, 70r).

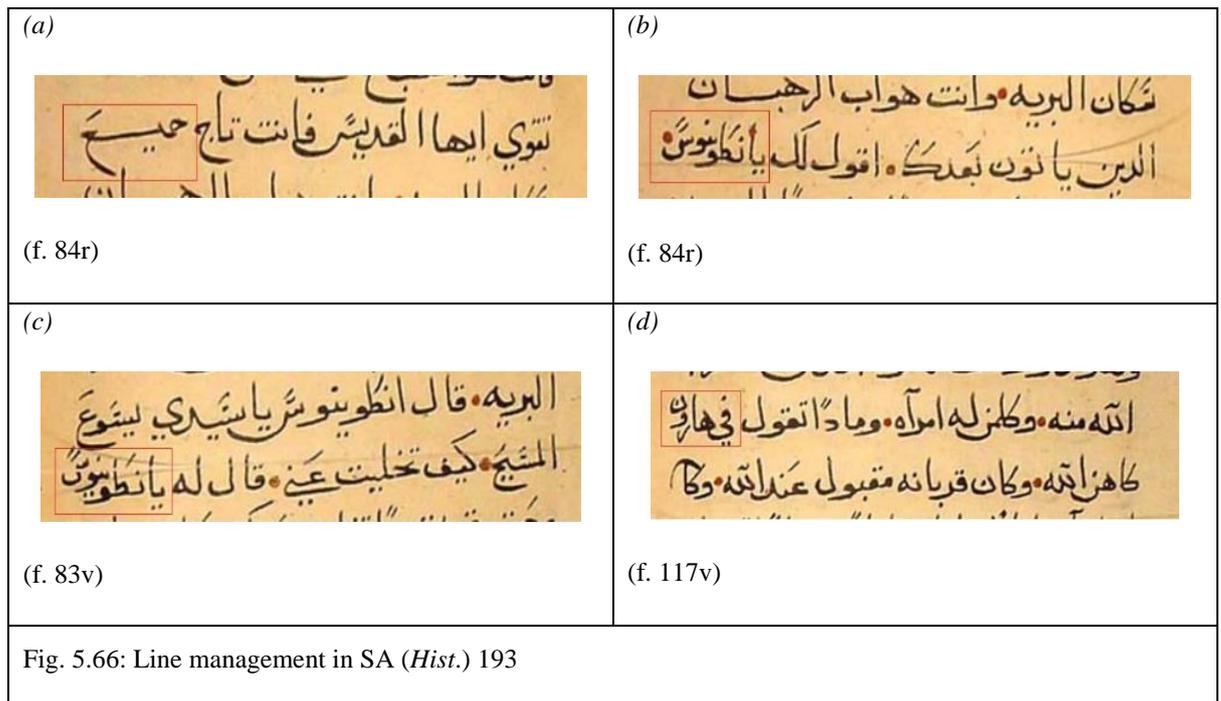
²⁵⁹ Samanūd is in the province of al-Gharbiyah in the Nile Delta.

²⁶⁰ 13th century bishop ordained by Kīrillūs III in 1235 AD.

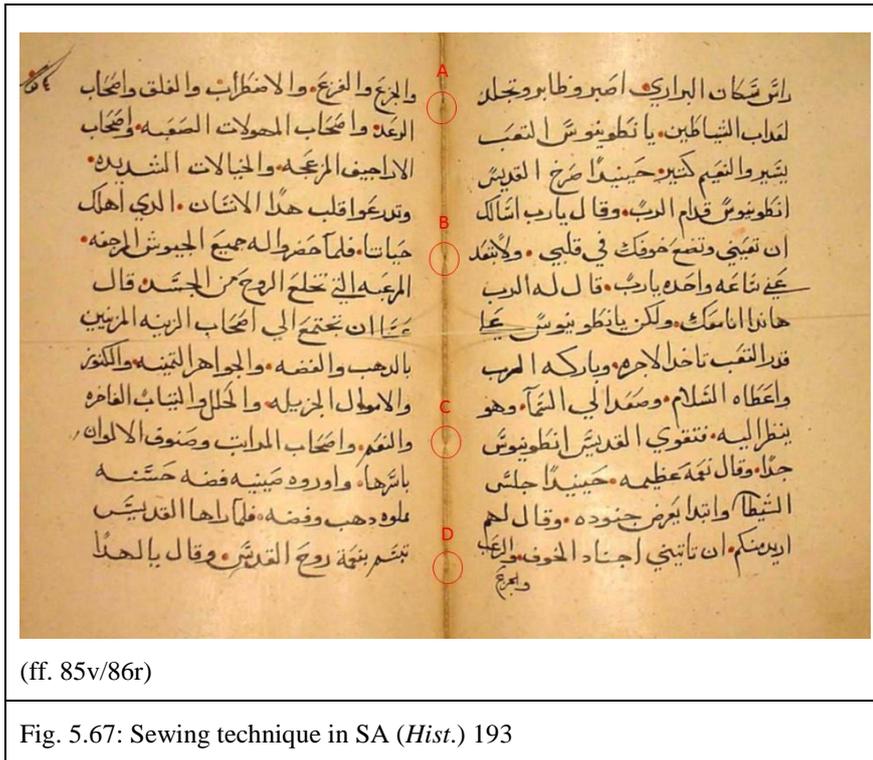
5.8.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 170 × 105 mm with 13 lines. The pages were ruled with a *mas̄tarah*. A clear impression of the ruling-board is seen on f. 161r.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (*a*), contraction (*b*), suprascription (*c*), and writing exceeding letters or words vertically upwards (*d*).



Quires: The entire codex is comprised of differing quire sizes. There are quires consisting of five, six, seven and ten bifolia, with the majority being ten. There are eighteen quires in total. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.



(ff. 85v/86r)

Fig. 5.67: Sewing technique in SA (*Hist.*) 193

Catchwords: There are three instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.²⁶¹

5.8.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black with rubrics. The collective volume of texts is divided by rubricated incipits. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter. All rubricated words contain vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

- *We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great, righteous saint, the great [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with the writer and with the owner, amen.*²⁶²
- *And also some of his wonders*²⁶³
- *And also among his wonders*²⁶⁴
- *And hear also a great story about this*²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ Words on *recto* and *verso* are different on ff. 94r, 217r, 241r.

²⁶² F. 70v, 5 lines.

²⁶³ F. 101r.

²⁶⁴ Ff. 103r, 103v.

²⁶⁵ F. 122r.

Scribal Corrections: There are three instances in which the scribe crossed out words with a red and black line (a).²⁶⁶ There are four cases of insertions made to the text by the scribe placing a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition written in the margin vertically downwards if on *verso* (b), and vertically upwards if on *recto* (c).²⁶⁷



Salient Features: The scribe displayed three salient features in this manuscript:

(1) The writing of the word *al-shayṭān*:

The last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted throughout the text.²⁶⁸ There are two instances in which the entire word *al-shayṭān* is inverted,²⁶⁹ and one instance in which the last three letters of the word *al-shayṭān* طين is inverted.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ Ff. 97v, 109r, 140r.

²⁶⁷ Ff. 82v, 90r, 97r, 136r.

²⁶⁸ Ff. 79r, 79v, 81r, 83r, 85v, 89v, 92v, 94v, 97r, 97v, 104v, 114v, 119r, 131r, 131v, 132r, 134r, 136v, 137v.

²⁶⁹ Twice on f. 94r.

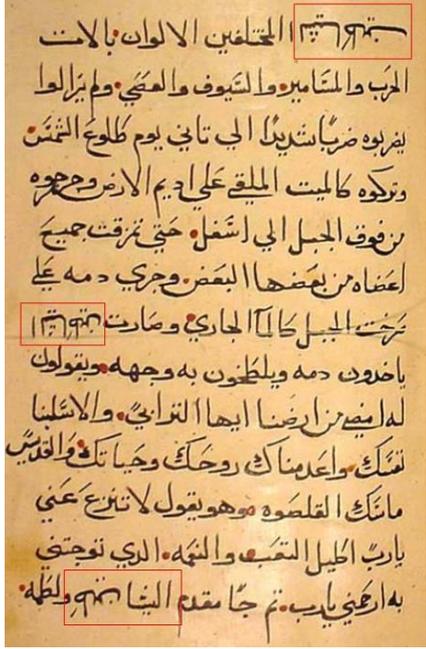
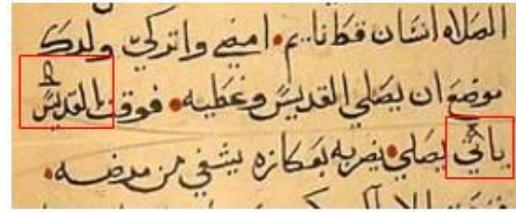
²⁷⁰ F. 94r.

(2) The writing of the letter ن :

Whenever the letter ن comes at the end of a word, the scribe inverted it over the word and cancelled the diacritic dot.

(3) Word order:

There are eight cases in the text in which the scribe needed to change the order of words in the sentence. He did this by placing the Coptic letters ⲁ and Ⲃ above the words whose order in the sentence needs to be swapped.²⁷¹

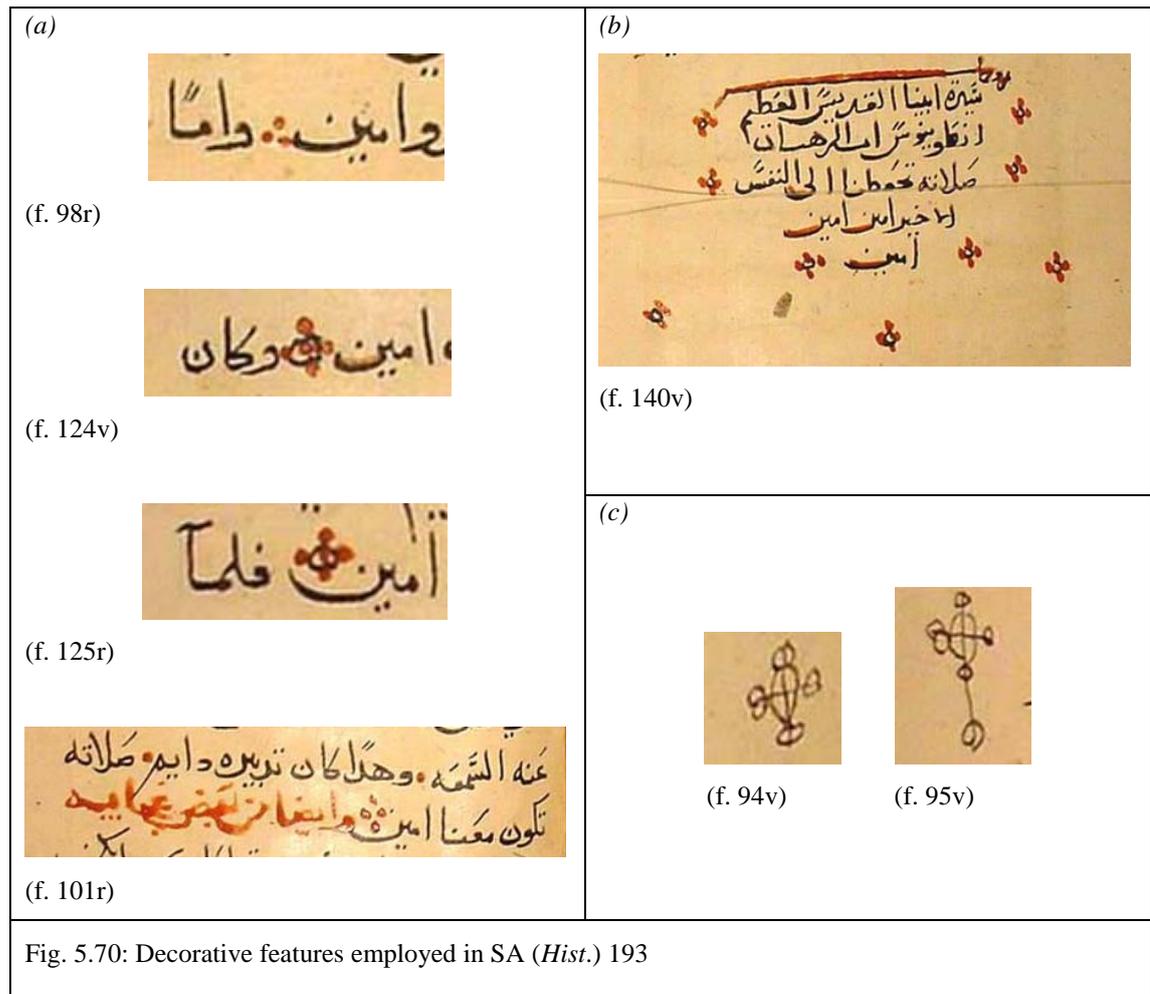
<p>(1)</p>  <p>(f. 94r)</p>	<p>(2)</p> 	<p>(3)</p>  <p>(f. 102v)</p> <p>The two words highlighted read: "...the saint O father..." But if we read the word marked with an 'ⲁ' first and then the 'Ⲃ' word, the phrase would then read "...O father the saint..." which makes better sense.</p>
<p>Fig. 5.69: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105</p>		

5.8.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink.²⁷² The word *amen*, which generally marks the end of a paragraph or chapter, is always followed by one of three types of decorative features:²⁷³ a cluster of three red dots, a cluster of four red dots, or a small black circle with a red dot in the centre, surrounded by four red dots giving the overall

²⁷¹ Ff. 83r, 95v, 97v, 102v, 109v, 129r, 136r, 140r.
²⁷² With the exception of ff. 95v/96r, 130v-133r, 136v/137r, and 141v/142r.
²⁷³ Or if space is limited, the last letter ن contains the decorative feature.

appearance of a small cross. This latter feature also decorates the explicit. The scribe alternated between these three features to mark the end of paragraphs and chapters without any particular consistency (a). The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink (b). On each page of the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* are sketches of crosses in black ink in a later hand (c).



5.8.8 Binding

Type II binding. Brown leather, original cover with blind stamped relief that has been worn (a). The flap, which also has stamped relief is different leather, burgundy in colour, the leather of which was used as reinforcements in the inner folds of the binding (b). The measurements of the cover, spine, and horizontal axis of the flap are 225 x 165 x 55 x 80 mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a blind stamped central medallion flanked left and right and top and bottom with a decorative feature that due to its worn state is not possible to

determine (c). There also appears to be blind stamped corner pieces. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns that are browned and have come off the inner boards. The end-bands consist of red and green threads weaved in a chevron pattern (d). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “193 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.8.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, and the edges of the upper and lower covers and flap are worn. The pastedowns are completely lifted off the pasteboards revealing the leather backing. The pages contain some brown and yellow stains. No trace of candle wax on the pages.



Fig. 5.71: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 193

5.8.10 Observations

1) The manuscript's use

Although no details are provided in the colophon, an invocatory note in the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* indirectly informs us that the book was transcribed at the request of an anonymous patron for his own personal use, rather than for communal or liturgical use: “May the blessings of his prayers be with the writer and with the owner, amen.”²⁷⁴ The inference that it was commissioned for private use – rather than liturgical – may be confirmed by the fact that the book contains no traces of candle wax or brown oil stains.

2) Anbā Yū'annis bishop of Samanūd

While unrelated to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, the information provided in the endowment is interesting in that it states: “The one who commissioned [the *Life of Secundus*] to be known is the honourable father Anbā Yū'annis, bishop of Samanūd.”²⁷⁵ In fact, the Yū'annis referred to in the endowment was not a contemporary of the scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 193, but rather, he was a 13th century bishop ordained by the Patriarch Kīrillūs III ibn Laqlaq²⁷⁶ in 1235 AD.²⁷⁷ He was distinguished for his pioneering and influential work in the field of Coptic language,²⁷⁸ and translated the *Life and Sayings of Secundus the Silent Philosopher* from Coptic into Arabic.²⁷⁹ The Greek original was translated into Syriac, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopic, but the Ethiopic translation was based on Yū'annis's Coptic to Arabic text.²⁸⁰ Interesting to note is that although Secundus was a pagan philosopher, the writer of his redacted Arabic *Life* recasts him as a Christian philosopher.

3) Dating criteria

The codex lacks any datable information in the colophon or endowment. But the watermarks identified; in particular, those of the small mountains topped with crosses, and the circles placed one on top of another, can provide valuable clues as to the possible date of copying.

²⁷⁴ F. 70v.

²⁷⁵ F. 70r, 5 lines.

²⁷⁶ 75th patriarch (1235-1243 AD).

²⁷⁷ *HP* IV/1, in Khater and Khs-Burmester 1974: 321. See also Swanson 2010: 83-95. For a good overview on Yū'annis of Samanūd, see Adel Sidarus (2017), “Yūḥannā al-Samannūdī, the Founder of National Coptic Philology in the Middle Ages”, in Gawdat Gabra and Hany Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Adel Sidarus and Hany Takla for providing me with a copy of the article ahead of publication.

²⁷⁸ Sidarus 2010: 317-318, 324-327: 2010.

²⁷⁹ Graf 1944: 388.

²⁸⁰ Heide 2014: 113-134.

SA (*Hist.*) 193 contains three watermarks of mountains; two of which are topped with crosses. According to Vsevolod Nikolaev, watermarks containing crosses were widely used in the first half of the 18th century; especially watermarks consisting of small mountains with a cross above them.²⁸¹ Three out of the twenty-one manuscripts examined at the Red Sea monasteries contain watermarks of mountains topped with crosses that date to the 18th century.²⁸² Likewise, there are fifteen manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius that also contain similar watermarks and all also date to the 18th century.²⁸³

In addition, SA (*Hist.*) 193 contains a simple watermark composed of two small circles one above the other, and this watermark is characteristic of the 17th and 18th centuries.²⁸⁴ Furthermore, two sets of “Le Tre Lune” were identified in the codex; one containing thick crescents, and the other thin. It was also in the 18th century that watermarks of crescents took on a variety of shapes, sizes and forms.²⁸⁵

Therefore, based on circumstantial evidence provided in the watermarks, I propose to date this codex to the first half of the 18th century.

²⁸¹ Nikolev 1954: 123.

²⁸² SP (*Hist.*) 39 (1741 AD); SA (*Hist.*) 198 (18th c. AD), and 107 (1759 AD), which has a star instead of a cross on top of the mountain. According to Nikolev, while the star preceded the crescent, which became frequent in watermarks of the 18th century, crosses and stars were used interchangeably, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries (Nikolev 1954: 13, 14).

²⁸³ From 1735-1783 AD: St Macarius 23 (1783); 42 (1749); 139 (18th c.); 140 (1746); 231 (18th c.); 323 (1749); 380 (1737); 384 (1756); 387 (1742); 399 (18th c.); 408 (1744); 410 (1735); 411 (1739); 429 (18th c.); 429 (18th c.). Zanetti 1986a: 454-455, 469-470.

²⁸⁴ Nikolev 1954: 5, 63.

²⁸⁵ Nikolev 1954: 64, 469.

5.9 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 106

*Hagiographic Miscellany*²⁸⁶

(Late 18th/early 19th century AD)

5.9.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 160 × 100 mm. *Foliation*: 3 leaves (*i*, *ii*, *iii*)²⁸⁷ + 6 – 240 + 2 leaves (241, 242).²⁸⁸ *Writing material*: laid paper, beige tinted, thin, and matte. Horizontal chain lines are visible 20 mm apart. The flyleaves are different from the text-block paper. The only watermark visible is a single crescent. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 6r and ends at f. 240r.

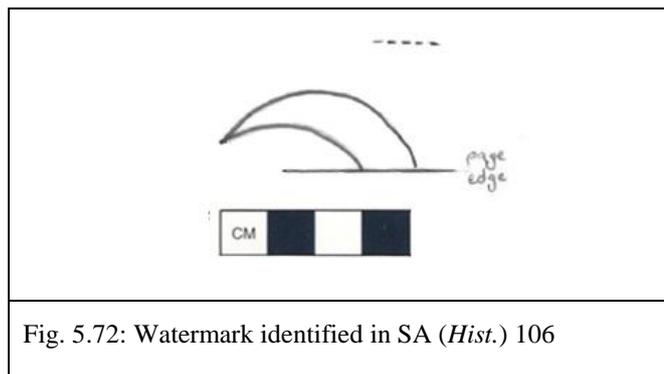


Fig. 5.72: Watermark identified in SA (*Hist.*) 106

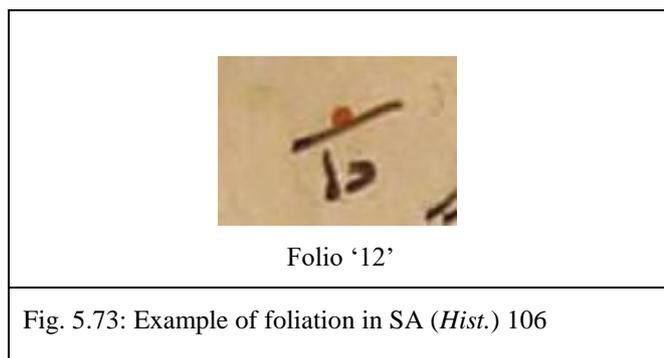


Fig. 5.73: Example of foliation in SA (*Hist.*) 106

²⁸⁶ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

²⁸⁷ Flyleaves *ii* and *iii* have been cut.

²⁸⁸ Flyleaf 241 has been cut and so f. 242 has been pencilled in Arabic as 241 in a modern hand.

5.9.2 *Contents*

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 5v–95r)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 95v–114r)
- (3) *Life of Anbā Būlā el-Shami* (ff. 114v–152r)
- (4) *Life of Arshilīdis* (ff. 152v–170v)
- (5) *Life of Anbā Nūfir* (ff. 171r–192v)
- (6) *Life of Moses son of 'Ūfīmānūs the king* (ff. 193r–215r)
- (7) *Litany for those whose souls are reposed* (ff. 215v–241r)

5.9.3 *Colophon*

The codex contains no colophon.

5.9.4 *Endowment*

There is an endowment on the back flyleaf that is written in the same hand as the text. It appears that a monk named Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī must have commissioned the book for his own use, which was then endowed to the Monastery of St Antony after his death. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(f. 241r): After the life of our father Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī, [this book] will be an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs. No one is allowed or permitted to take it out of the Monastery so long as the Monastery is inhabited. And he who keeps [these words] will be blessed and absolved. And blessings upon the son of obedience, and thanks be to God always. And no one is permitted to keep it in his cell except to read it and return it back to the library.

5.9.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 135 × 80 mm with 12 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: (1) contraction, (2), suprascription, (3) elongation,²⁸⁹ and (4) graphic fillers in the form of red dots.²⁹⁰

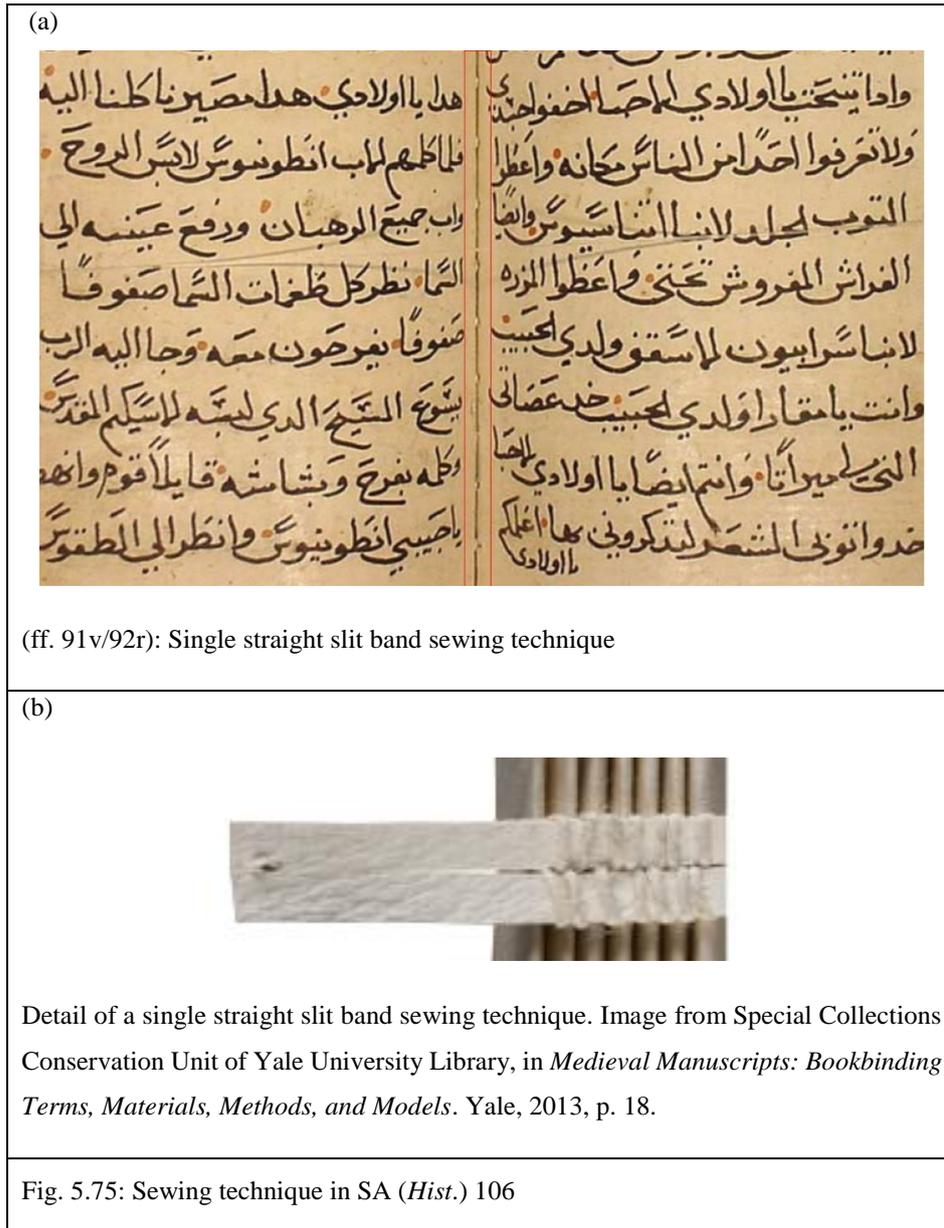


Quires: The codex contains a mix of quires consisting of five and ten bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are twenty-six. The fold line reveals a single straight slit band sewing technique was employed.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ See Fig. 5.74 (a) for examples highlighting, from top to bottom, contraction, suprascription, and elongation, on f. 52r.

²⁹⁰ See Fig. 5.74 (b) for highlighted examples of graphic fillers, on f. 29r.

²⁹¹ Definition provided by the Special Collections Conservation Unit of Yale University Library, in *Medieval Manuscripts: Bookbinding Terms, Materials, Methods, and Models*, Yale, 2013, 18. Downloadable at <https://travelingscriptorium.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/bookbinding-booklet.pdf> (accessed 10 February 2016).



Catchwords: There are several instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.²⁹²

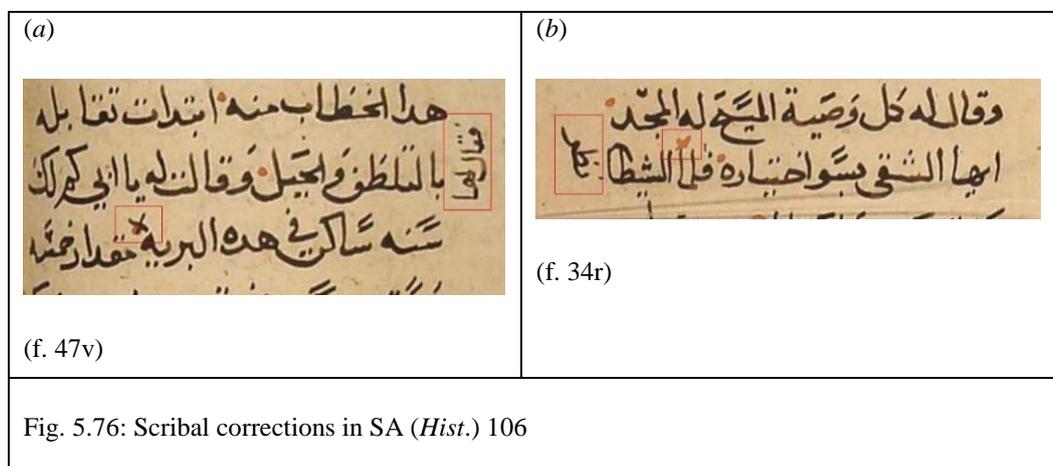
5.9.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit is written in red, as are some of the opening lines of chapters. All rubricated words contain vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

²⁹² Diacritical marks differ on ff. 13r, 15r, 16r, 17r, 22r, 28r, 31r, 44r, 45r, 48r, 51r, 56r, 67r, 68r, 71r, 75r, 76r, 78r, 83r.

- We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the great saint, the blessed [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his prayers be with us, amen.²⁹³
- And also some of his wonders²⁹⁴
- And also among his wonders²⁹⁵

Scribal errors: There are only two instances in which the scribe made insertions to the text. This was done by either placing a small black,²⁹⁶ (a) or red cross²⁹⁷ (b) in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin. The text contains no corrections and no marginal notes.



Salient Features: The last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted several times in the text (a),²⁹⁸ and there is only one instance in which the last three letters in the word *al-shayāṭīn* طين is written vertically (b).²⁹⁹ However, this could simply have been done to ensure justification of the last word on the line.

²⁹³ F. 6r, lines 2-6.

²⁹⁴ F. 32r.

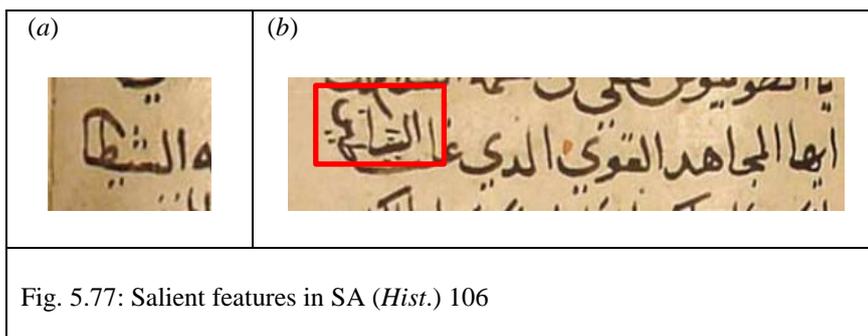
²⁹⁵ Ff. 34v, 36r.

²⁹⁶ F. 48v.

²⁹⁷ F. 34r.

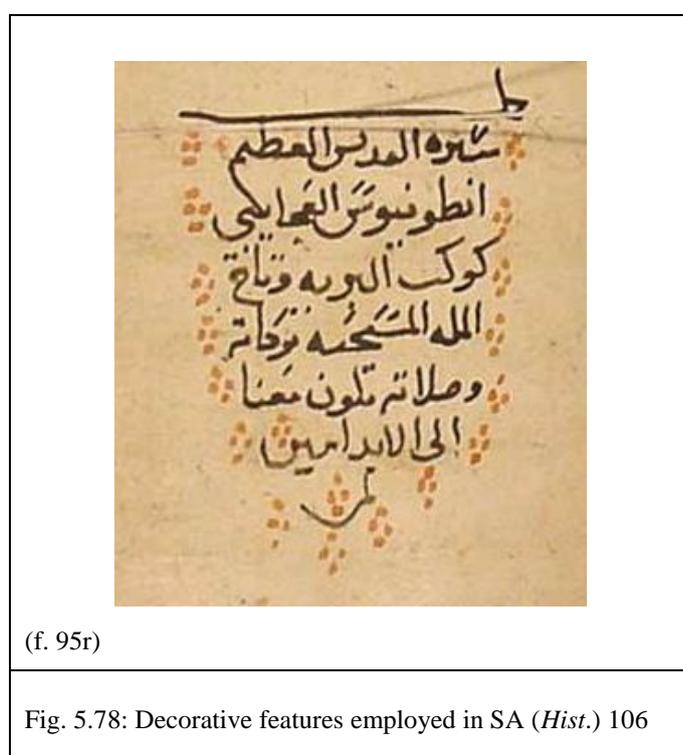
²⁹⁸ Ff. 16r, 17r, 21v, 24r, 25r, 26r, 28r, 31v, 33v, 34r, 37r, 37v, 54r, 67v, 68r, 69r, 70r, 70v, 73r, 86r, 87v, 94r. There are three instances in which the word is written the right way up, on ff. 34v, 58v, 69v.

²⁹⁹ F. 65r.



5.9.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. The scribe has utilised the long bar in the last letter ̣ of the opening words of the explicit: كمل (*Completed*), to form a textual divider, that takes the form of a single line in black ink. The only decorative feature in the text is that the seven lines of the explicit are flanked to the right and left with clusters of four red dots, with a final cluster above and below the mark under the last line of the explicit.³⁰⁰



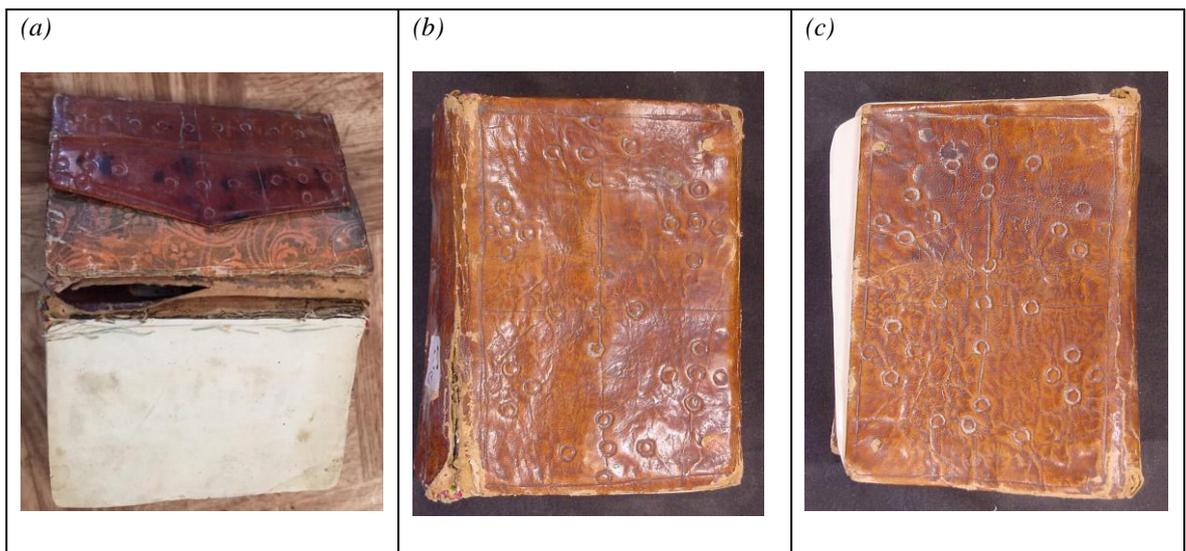
³⁰⁰ The translated words of the explicit are as follows: “Completed the life-story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, star of the wilderness, and crown of the Christian community. May his blessings and prayers be with us, amen.” F. 95r.

5.9.8 *Binding*

Type II binding with flap (*a*). Brown leather, original cover with stamped and tooled relief (*b*). The covers are slightly smaller than the text-block (*c*). The measurements of the cover, spine and horizontal axis of the flap are $160 \times 100 \times 65 \times 70$ mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover and flap contains a series of blind stamped small circle designs, with a blind tooled border and a simple, straight cross in the centre. The doublures consist of decorative silhouetted paper³⁰¹ pastedowns with vegetal designs (*d*). The backs of the quires are attached to the spine. The end-bands consist of red and green threads weaved in a vertical pattern and extend a few millimetres beyond the upper and lower edges of the spine (*e*). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “106 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.9.9 *Condition of the Manuscript*

The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, and the corner edges are worn revealing the pasteboards beneath. The front and back shoulders are removed from the spine, and the lower back shoulder is torn (*f*). Rough stitching on some fold lines where folios were cut from the fine thread. The pages contain some brown and yellow stains, finger marks, offset and some water stains. Some of the edges of the folios are worn.



³⁰¹ Made using a design stencil and coloured, most often in red or violet (Gacek 2009: 90). The practice of using decorative paper began in the 15th century (Déroche et al. 2006: 61, 248-249). Decorated paper pastedowns were a common feature in Type II codices (Gacek 2009: 27-28).



Fig. 5.79: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 106

5.9.10 Observations

1) Pages intentionally removed

Front flyleaves *ii* and *iii* have been cut (a), and back flyleaf 241 has been ripped out (b). The remnant front flyleaves indicate they had text on them, written with the same pen as the text-block; perhaps the colophon or other information pertaining to the scribe that someone wanted to discard. The index is written on flyleaf *i* in a different hand to that of the text-block. The numbering in the index does not match the foliation within the text-block (c).

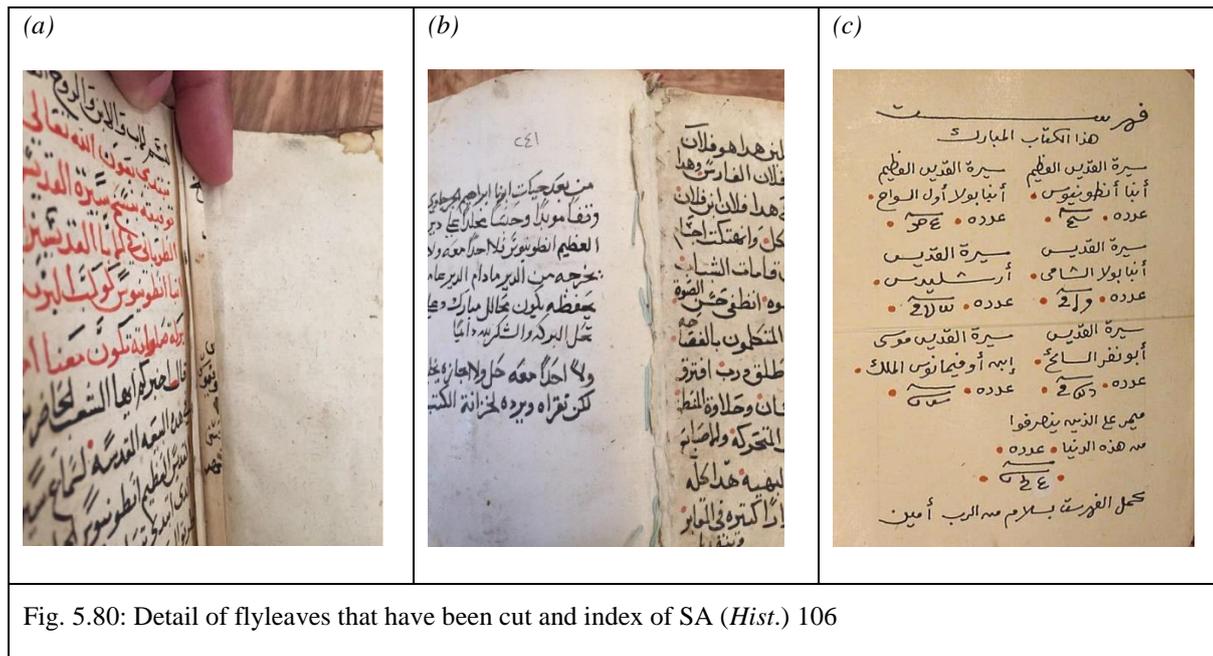


Fig. 5.80: Detail of flyleaves that have been cut and index of SA (*Hist.*) 106

2) *The monk Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī (patron and owner)*

SA (*Hist.*) 106 provides no information of the scribe's name, or the date when the codex was completed. However, the endowment states the name of the patron and owner as being “our father Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī”,³⁰² after whose life the book becomes an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of St Antony.

Ibrāhīm was a monk in the Monastery of St Antony, and other than SA (*Hist.*) 106, he had commissioned the copying of three other Arabic books for himself, all of which contain dates when the copying was completed. The endowment in each manuscript states Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī as the owner, and that after his death, the books become an endowment for the Monastery. SA (*Hist.*) 106 is the only hagiographic book commissioned by Ibrāhīm; the other three are biblical.

Details of the books Ibrāhīm owned include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library. A high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the scribes if mentioned, and the folio reference of this information, is also provided:

1. SA (*Bibl.*) 96: *Book of the Minor Prophets*. Completed: 7 Baramhāt 1500 AM. Scribe: Marqūriyūs al-Nukhaylī (f. 105r).
2. SA (*Bibl.*) 148: *Book of the Four Gospels*. Completed: 3 Kiyahk 1516 AM. Scribe: monk Buḡtur ‘Abd al-Masīḥ al-Anṭūnī (f. 278v).
3. SA (*Bibl.*) 230: *Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Books of Acts*. Completed: 6 Kiyahk 1507 AM (f. 209v).

Given that these manuscripts date from the years 1500 AM (1783/4 AD) and 1516 AM (1799/1800 AD), we may assume that our undated manuscript SA (*Hist.*) 106 dates to the late 18th/early 19th century.

³⁰² F. 241r.

5.10 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 153

*Hagiographic Miscellany*³⁰³

(Late 18th/early 19th century)

5.10.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 220 × 160 mm. *Foliation*: 2 leaves (*i, ii*) + 5 – 284 + 2 leaves (285, 286). *Writing material*: laid paper, beige tinted, thin, and gloss. Horizontal chain lines are visible 30 mm apart. The watermarks identified in the codex consist of three vertical diminishing crescents, “Le Tre Lune”.³⁰⁴ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā*’ at its end. The numbering begins at f. 5r and ends at f. 284r.

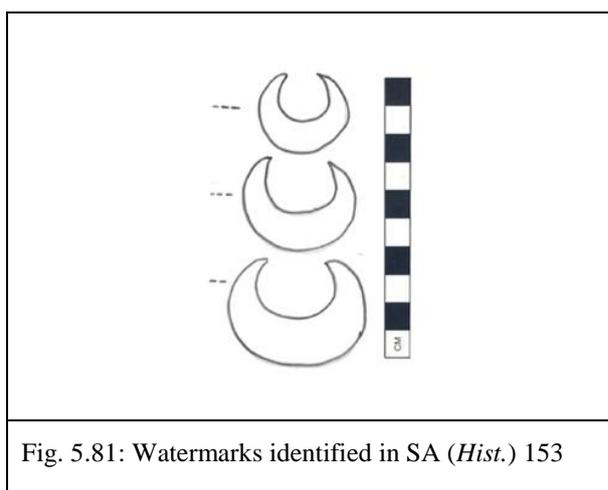
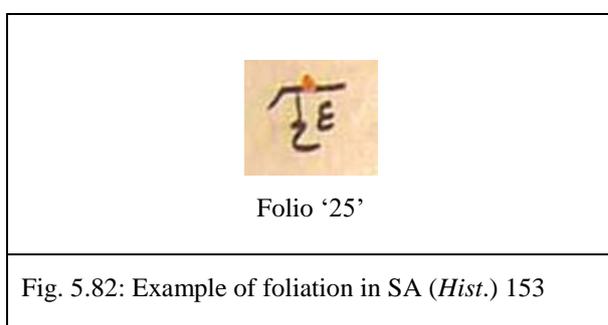


Fig. 5.81: Watermarks identified in SA (*Hist.*) 153



Folio '25'

Fig. 5.82: Example of foliation in SA (*Hist.*) 153

³⁰³ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

³⁰⁴ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 867, plate 136.

5.10.2 Contents

- (1) *Maymar on al-Amīr Tādrus the martyr* (ff. 5r–60v)
- (2) *Life of Irene the martyr* (ff. 60v–106r)
- (3) *Maymar on Mary Magdalene, written by Severus the patriarch of Antioch* (ff. 106v–161v)
- (4) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 162r–224v)
- (5) *Life of Anbā Būlā the first hermit* (ff. 225r–239r)
- (6) *Life of Anbā Yū`annis the priest of Shīhūt* (ff. 239v–272v)
- (7) *Life of Anbā Abūllū* (ff. 273r–284r)

5.10.3 Colophon

The codex contains no colophon.

5.10.4 Endowment

There is a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony on the back flyleaf in the same hand. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

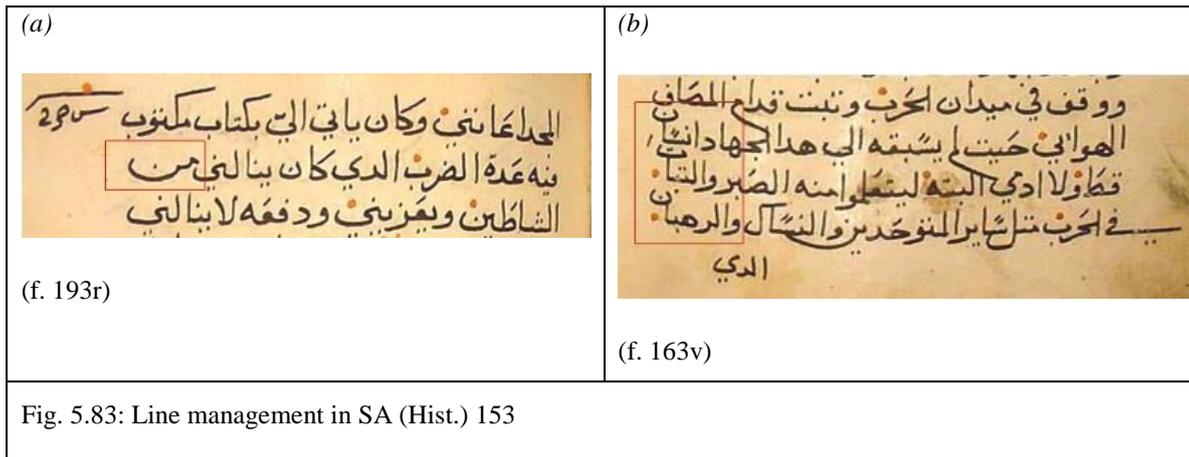
(f. 284v, 10 lines): In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great among the saints, Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Monastery of al-‘Arabah. No one has absolution or authority from the almighty and omnipotent God to remove it from the [above] mentioned Monastery to which it is endowed by any means, or else he will be banished by the Lord and his share will be with Judas Iscariot and Simon the Magician and Decla the Infidel.³⁰⁵ And [this is] a warning against disobedience, [but] blessings upon the son of obedience. And thanks be to God always.

5.10.5 Layout

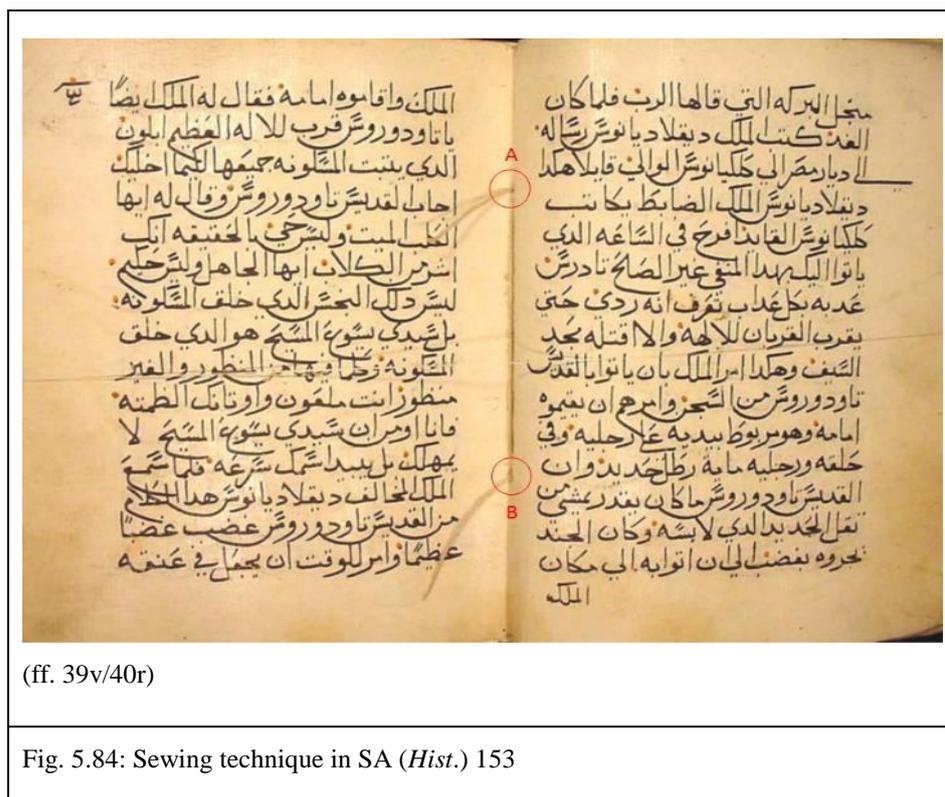
Written area: av. c. 190 x 120 mm, with 15 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed two distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (*a*), and suprascription (*b*).

³⁰⁵ Name given to Emperor Diocletian.



Quires: Each quire is made up of ten bifolia, with the exception of the first two quires and last quire, each containing three, three, and six respectively. The total number of quires within the codex are twenty-nine. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on two stations.

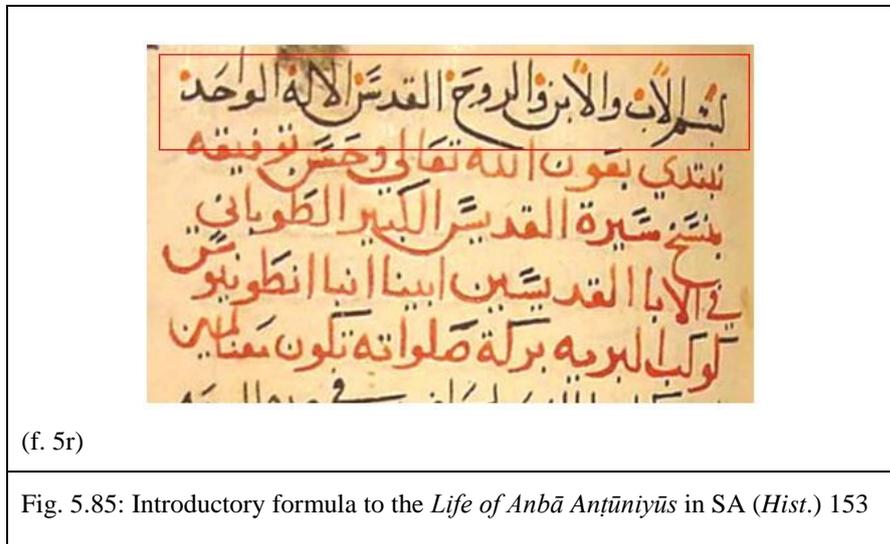


Catchwords: There are no cases of discrepancy in the catchwords.

5.10.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit of each text is the only text written in red, with vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink. However, the introductory formula, “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God” is in black ink with vocalisation marks in red ink,³⁰⁶ with the commas in the formula consisting of raised dots in red ink.³⁰⁷ The incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, reads as follows:

- *We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, the righteous [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us, amen.*³⁰⁸



Scribal Corrections: There is only one instance in which the scribe crossed out a word, and this was done in black ink³⁰⁹ (a). In the case of insertions to the text, there is one instance in which the scribe placed a small red cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin (b).³¹⁰ There are four instances in which the scribe placed a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition

³⁰⁶ The red vocalisation in the introductory formula only occurs in the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* and the *Life of Anbā Būlā*.

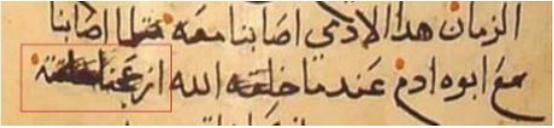
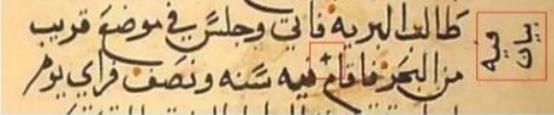
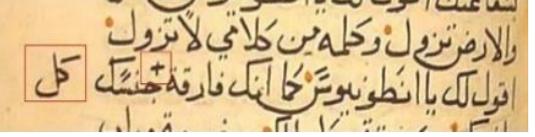
³⁰⁷ See Fig. 5.85, highlighted in red.

³⁰⁸ F. 5r, lines 2-5.

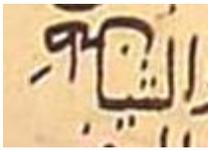
³⁰⁹ F. 169v.

³¹⁰ F. 220r.

written vertically in the margin (c).³¹¹ If the addition was just one word, then it was written horizontally in the margin (d).³¹²

<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 169v)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 220r)</p>
<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 170v)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 174r)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.86: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153</p>	

Salient Features: There are several instances where the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted in the text (a),³¹³ and there are two instances where the last three letters in the word *al-shayāṭīn* طين are inverted (b).³¹⁴

<p>(a)</p> 	<p>(b)</p> 
<p>Fig. 5.87: Salient features in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153</p>	

³¹¹ F. 170v.

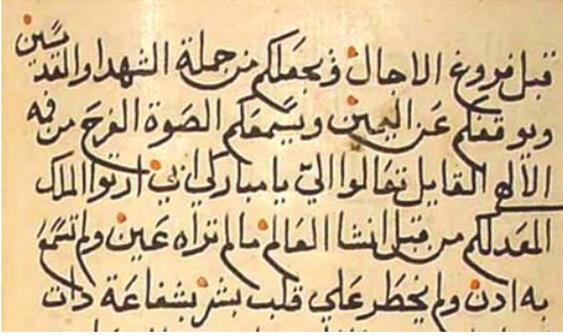
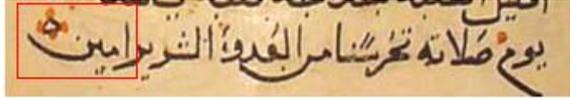
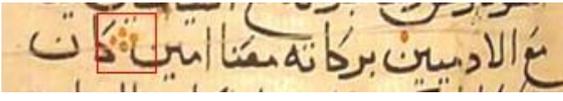
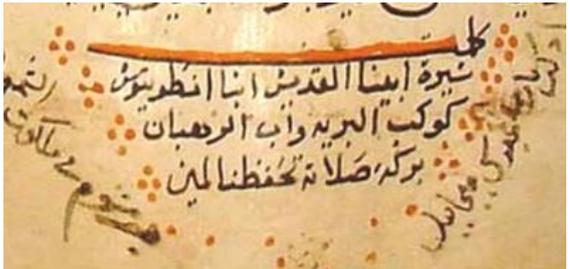
³¹² Ff. 174r, 180r, 182r.

³¹³ Ff. 169r, 174v, 176v, 180v, 181v, 182r, 184r, 184v, 203r, 214r, 214v, 215r, 218v, 219r.

³¹⁴ Ff. 173r, 208v.

5.10.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink which sits high above the baseline (a). When the word *amen* comes at the end of a chapter, it is followed by a decorative feature consisting of a small black circle surrounded by four red dots, giving the overall appearance of a small cross (b). When the word *amen* comes at the end of a paragraph, it is followed by either a cluster of four red dots, or if space does not permit, the cluster of four dots sits within the last letter ن of the word *amen* (c). The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink. The four lines of the explicit are flanked on either side with clusters of four dots in red ink (d).

<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 124v)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 184v)</p>
<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 185r)</p>  <p>(f. 166v)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 124v)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.88 : Decorative features employed in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 153.</p>	

5.10.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with no stamped or tooled relief (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are 220 × 160 × 60 mm. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of red and green threads weaved into a chevron pattern (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “153 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and placed onto the spine. On the upper cover is the remains of part of a leaf containing the index of the codex that was pasted onto the cover.

5.10.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, and the leather, on both upper and lower sides, is cut in two and the gap reinforced with tape (a). The upper and lower edges are showing wear. Much of the stitching in the quires has come undone, and many of the quires have separated from the binding. The front and back shoulders are removed from the spine. The pages contain brown and yellow stains, some water stains, moisture, and some offset. Several pages in the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* contain candle wax,³¹⁵ as opposed to minor traces of candle wax in other texts.



³¹⁵ Ff. 200v, 207r, 207v, 210r, 210v, 213r, 214r, 218r, 220r, 222r, 222v, 223v, 224r, 224v.

5.10.10 Observations

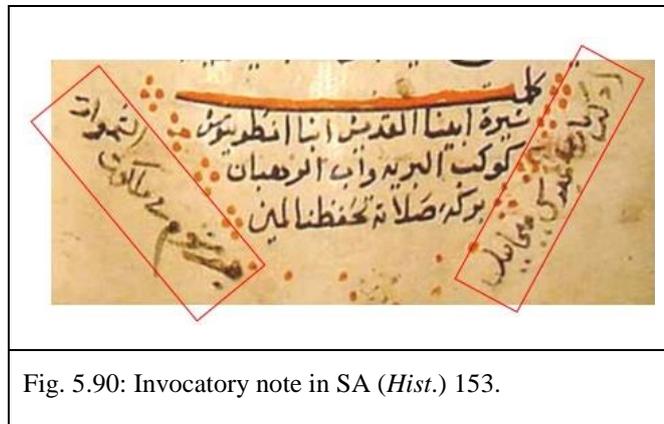
1) Mikhail Barsūm

Around the explicit of each text is written, in a different, later hand from the text-block:

أذكر يا رب عبدك ميخائيل برسوم في ملكوت السموات

Translation: “Remember O Lord, Your servant Mikhail Barsūm in the Kingdom of Heaven.”

One may assume that Mikhail may have owned the book at some stage and hence wrote invocatory notes within each text.



2) Usage

As mentioned above, there are several traces of candle wax on the pages of the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, followed by minor traces in the *Life of Anbā Būlā*, and none in the other texts. The traces of candle wax may also reflect the apparent usage or popularity of the texts. As shown by the following images which are the incipits of each text, the remains and colour of the finger marks indicate which texts were read or “used” more than others. As is evident, the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* has the darkest remains of finger marks (*e*), followed by the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā* (*f*), whereas the cleanliness of the pages of the other texts infer much less usage (*b, c, d, g, h*). The first text in the codex is the *Maymar on al-Amīr Tādrus* (*a*). As the incipit is the first page of the codex, one would expect signs of usage. However, an image of pages further into the text shows little usage (*b*).

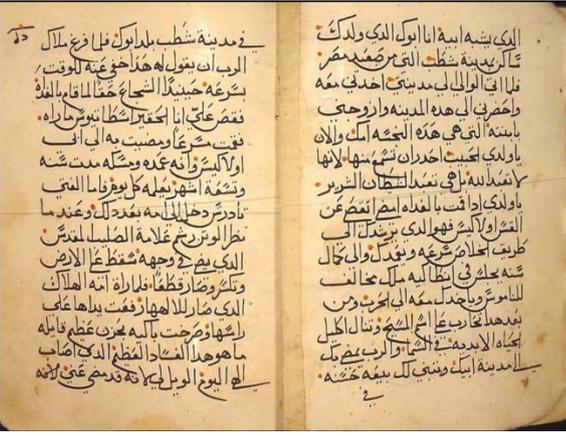
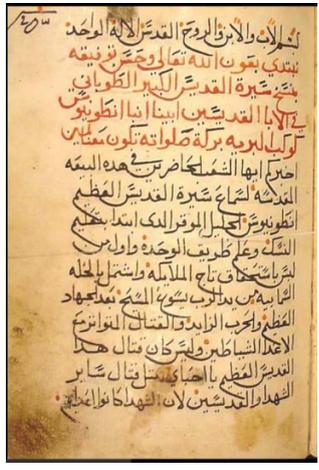
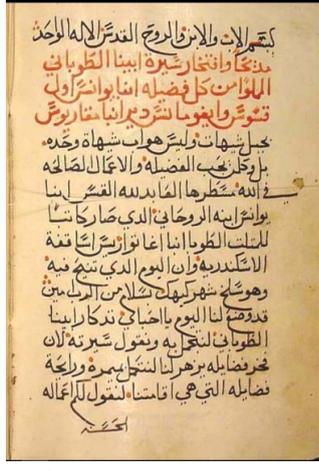
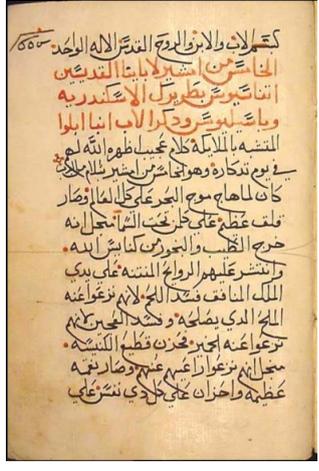
<p>(a)</p>  <p>Maymar on al-Amir Tādrus the martyr (f. 5r)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>Maymar on al-Amir Tādrus the martyr (f. 10 v/111r)</p>	
<p>(c)</p>  <p>Life of Irene the martyr (f. 60v)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>Maymar on Mary Magdalene (f. 106v)</p>	<p>(e)</p>  <p>Life of Anbā Antūniyūs – showing the most usage (f. 162r)</p>
<p>(f)</p>  <p>Life of Anbā Būlā (f. 225r)</p>	<p>(g)</p>  <p>Life of Anbā Yū'annis the priest of Shiheet (f. 239v)</p>	<p>(h)</p>  <p>Life of Anbā Apollo (f. 273r)</p>

Fig. 5.91: Incipits in SA (*Hist.*) 153

3) Dating criteria

SA (*Hist.*) 153 contains only one type of watermark; being three vertical crescents in diminishing sizes. This Venetian watermark was known in Italy as “Le Tre Lune”³¹⁶ and in the Arab world as *Waraq Hilali* (*paper with the crescents*).³¹⁷ It appeared as early as the 16th century, and during the 18th century it was the most frequently encountered watermark. However, while it continued to appear abundantly up until the 19th century, Vsevolod Nikolev suggests that there can be no sharp line of demarcation between the watermarks at the end of the 18th century and those at the beginning of the 19th century.³¹⁸ This suggestion is demonstrated in the dates of similar watermarks found in SA (*Hist.*) 100, 105, 107, and 193 which date from 1755 – 1887 AD, and SP (*Hist.*) 17, 39, and 53 which date from 1696 – 19th century. Ugo Zanetti identified twenty-eight manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius containing the watermark of “Le Tre Lune”³¹⁹ that date from 1725 – 1855 AD.

Another possible dating criterion may be the book covers. The figure below demonstrates the similarities between SA (*Hist.*) 153, 108, and SP (*Hist.*) 17, suggesting that book binding may have taken place within the same timeframe.



Thus, I propose to date this manuscript to the late 18th/early 19th century.

³¹⁶ Briquet 1907: 315a.

³¹⁷ Walz 1988: 31.

³¹⁸ Nikolev 1954: 64, 123, 469. See also Briquet 1907: 315a, and Zanetti 1986a: 447-449.

³¹⁹ Unfortunately, Zanetti does not specify if the crescents are horizontally or vertically positioned.

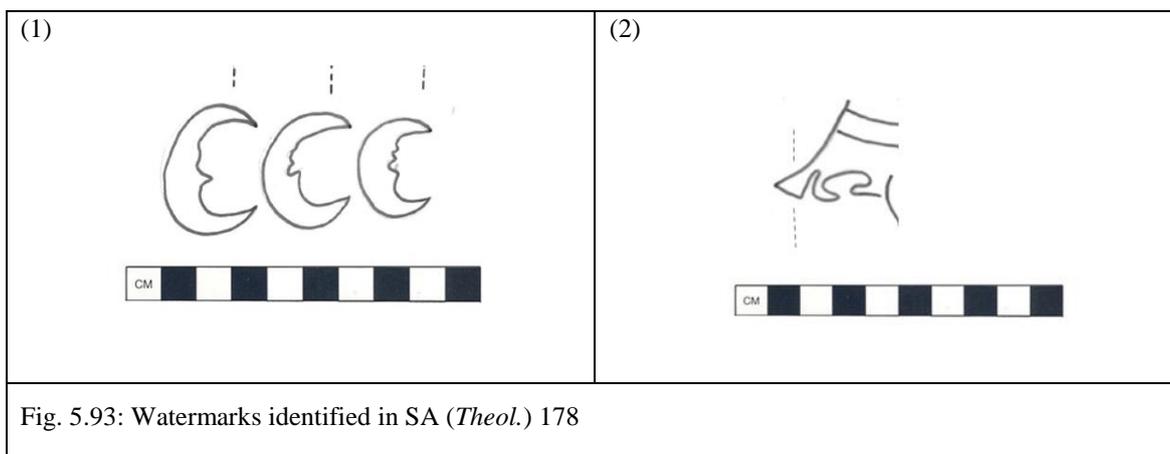
5.11 ST ANTONY (THEOLOGY) 178

Varia

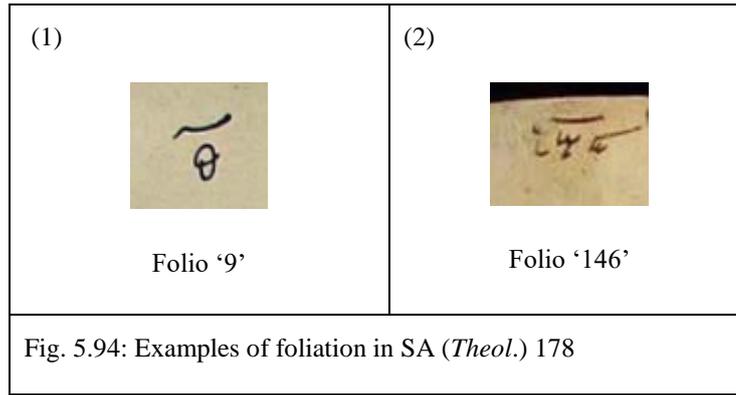
1518 AM (1801/2 AD)

5.11.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Two scribes (Hand A: 3r – 11v; Hand B: 12r – 191r). *Leaf size*: 275 × 190 mm. *Foliation*: 1 leaf (i) + 3 – 191 + 1 leaf (192). *Writing material*: thick, beige coloured paper. During a restoration project folios 3r – 11v were lengthened with a thick, whiter coloured laid paper in order that the pages be the same size as the remaining ff. 12r – 191r of the codex. Vertical chain lines are visible 30 mm apart. Two types of watermarks were identified: (1) pages 3r – 11v contain the watermark of “Le Tre Lune” with moon in human profile in slim, diminishing sizes, and (2) the added paper that was used to lengthen pages 3r – 11v, contains a crown.³²⁰ No watermarks were identified on the remaining pages of the codex. *Pagination*: There are two types of pagination. (1) on ff. 3r – 11v (Hand A) the foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers overlined with a diagonal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā'* at its end. (2) The foliation on the remaining pages consist of Coptic cursive numbers overlined with a horizontal stroke. The numbering in the codex begins at f. 3r and ends at f. 191r.



³²⁰ The same watermark was identified in SA (*Hist.*) 26.



5.11.2 Contents

- (1) *Twenty letters of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 3r–82r)³²¹
- (2) *Spiritual teachings and instructions of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 82v–86v)³²²
- (3) *Teachings of our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs arranged in twenty chapters* (ff. 87r–101r)
- (4) *Rules and instructions said by Anbā Anṭūniyūs to his monks in the Monastery of Naqlūn* (ff. 101v–103r)³²³
- (5) *Precepts, Sayings, and Stories said by Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 103r–125v)³²⁴
- (6) *Sayings of Mār Isaac the Syrian concerning the lazy ones* (ff. 125v–131v)
- (7) *Miscellaneous Sayings of the Fathers* (ff. 131v–133r)
- (8) *Sayings of Mār Afrāyim the Syrian* (ff. 133r–136v)
- (9) *Life of Būlus the Simple* (ff. 136v–140v)
- (10) *Anonymous Sayings* (ff. 141r–141v)
- (11) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 141v–183r)
- (12) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 183v–191r)

³²¹ The following manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries also contain Antony's letters: SA (*Bibl.*) 66: no date; SA (*Lit.*) 822: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 176: 26 Baramūda 1626 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 191: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 200: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 273: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 278: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 279: no date; SP (*Theol.*) 30: 1372 AM; SP (*Hist.*) 52: 830 AM.

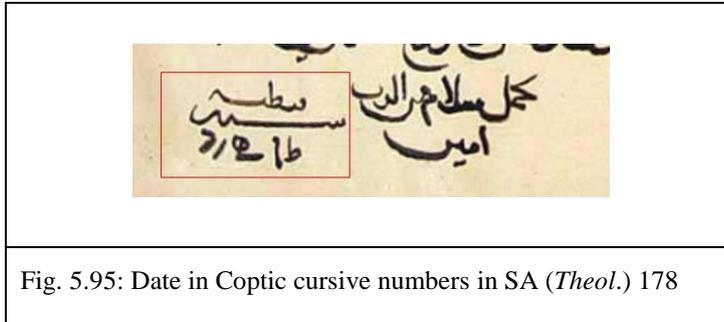
³²² The following manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries also contain Antony's spiritual teachings and instructions: SA (*Theol.*) 177: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 184: 29 Ṭūbah 1471 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 190: 25 Bashans 1573 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 193: 17 Baramhāt 1494 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 200: no date.

³²³ The following manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries also contain the commandments of Antony to the monks in al-Fayyūm: SA (*Theol.*) 60: no date; SA (*Hist.*) 185: no date; SP (*Bibl.*) 85: no date.

³²⁴ The following manuscripts in the Red Sea monasteries also contain Antony's precepts: SA (*Theol.*) 179: 5 Hātūr 1466 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 180: 28 Amshīr 1492 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 181: 28 Amshīr 1504 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 182: 18 Hātūr 1469 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 185: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 186: 25 Bashans 1482 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 187: 6 Bashans 1482 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 188: 16 Baramūda 1482 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 189: no date; SA (*Theol.*) 192: 23 Baramhāt 1497 AM; SA (*Theol.*) 275; SA (*Theol.*) 298: 1640 AM.

5.11.3 Colophon

The codex contains no colophon, however, following the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā* on f. 191r, the scribe wrote the year 1518 AM³²⁵ in Coptic cursive numbers.



Translation: “Completed in the peace of God. Coptic year 1518.”³²⁶

5.11.4 Endowment

The codex contains no endowment.

5.11.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 230 × 140 mm, with 19 – 20 lines per folio.

Justification: The scribe employed seven methods to ensure justification of the lines: contraction (*a*), suprascription (*b*), writing exceeding words vertically in the margin (*c*), spacing exceeding letters of the last word in the margin while space was left between the two parts (*d*), leaving a blank space instead of a graphic filler, either at the end of a line or between the end and start of a new chapter (*e*), a graphic filler taking the form of a single red dot (*f*), and a graphic filler – unusually in the right margin – taking the form of a cluster of four red dots (*g*).

³²⁵ 1801/2 AD.

³²⁶ The date is highlighted in Fig. 5.95.

(a)

بصيرة حية وان ذلك العلماني حاله وقاله
فأدته باقدس الله اعلم لهؤلاء الناس بحجة والام

(f. 146v)

(b)

فمنه وحاله وقال له اسمع مني ايها الشاب
لان الطوباني كان عم في ذلك الوقت اربعة عشر
سنة فقالت مرات يا هذا الاسنان الى الذي
بين المقابر والاموات قاله الطوباني يا هذا الرجل
انما رجل يستكين عباد يسوع المسيح فها
المشرب منه هذه الكلمة قاله وكيف حشره

(f. 146r)

(c)

صرح باعلاصونه وكان الاممي جيني
ملك الساعة ظهر له الرب يسوع المسيح وقال
له يا انطونيوس يا كوكب التربة كبريا سماء
الان تطون لكرا نطوسوس فالت
انطونيوس يا سدي يسوع المسيح كيف خلت
فالت يا انطونيوس وحيث موت ما طرد
عندك ما طرد الجفر على الجفر قال بلوت
واي ذنب والشياطين تعذب قال كسان

(f. 148r)

(d)

المنعجب كل حين من الامور الذي تعضا الرب
ولم يرجعوا لحيات عليه وهذه الصرة لثباتها
وتسولوا فلما زاي الابا بطريرك ان المدينة
قد نلت من كثرة الاموات فقام احد معه
كهنة فسوس وشامسه فاتي الى القديس اسيا
انطونيوس فلقاه القديس وبارك من
بعضه من البعض وسلموا على بعضهما البعض
ثم سالة من اجل المدينة وعزفه القديس بطريرك

(f. 173r)

(e)

السنة مزينا بخرا مثلا لبر الفاحزه وجميع
اشكال الطيب الفاحز وكلامه المذنب
المهولوا سها والقديس ليفتليهم بلما
راهم صرخ باعلاصونه وقال ايها الرب
يسوع المسيح غيبي وصبري بارك ترى بارك
ليف خيرون على عذرك هولاء المشاطين
انز وجدي بارك ولا تخل اعني بارك ولا
عن ضعفي لئلا تعلم خيتم علي تسقطي
از حوي بارك وادكر كيف كان يد
خلقني واعلميات ابن نزل وانت عالم بارك
بضع جلي حين تقدر اليه خبز شياطين
المهوي واقبلوا زمورا ويرقموا ويعجزوا ويهرو
فبلعوا ويغزوا ويطنون بصوت عالي

(f. 151v)

لسباحة قلبة وقلبة اربعين يوما صلاية وطلبها
حزينا من العبد الخيب امين واما اللد
الحليل المكيه مقاري نطوسوس فانه ذات

(f. 157v)

(f)

لم يصدقوني فقدم الي الولد الاعيا فلما
وضع يده عليه انقبت عينه لونه وساعه
وهشوا شاخين له وقال لهم ماذا استظروا

(f. 159r)

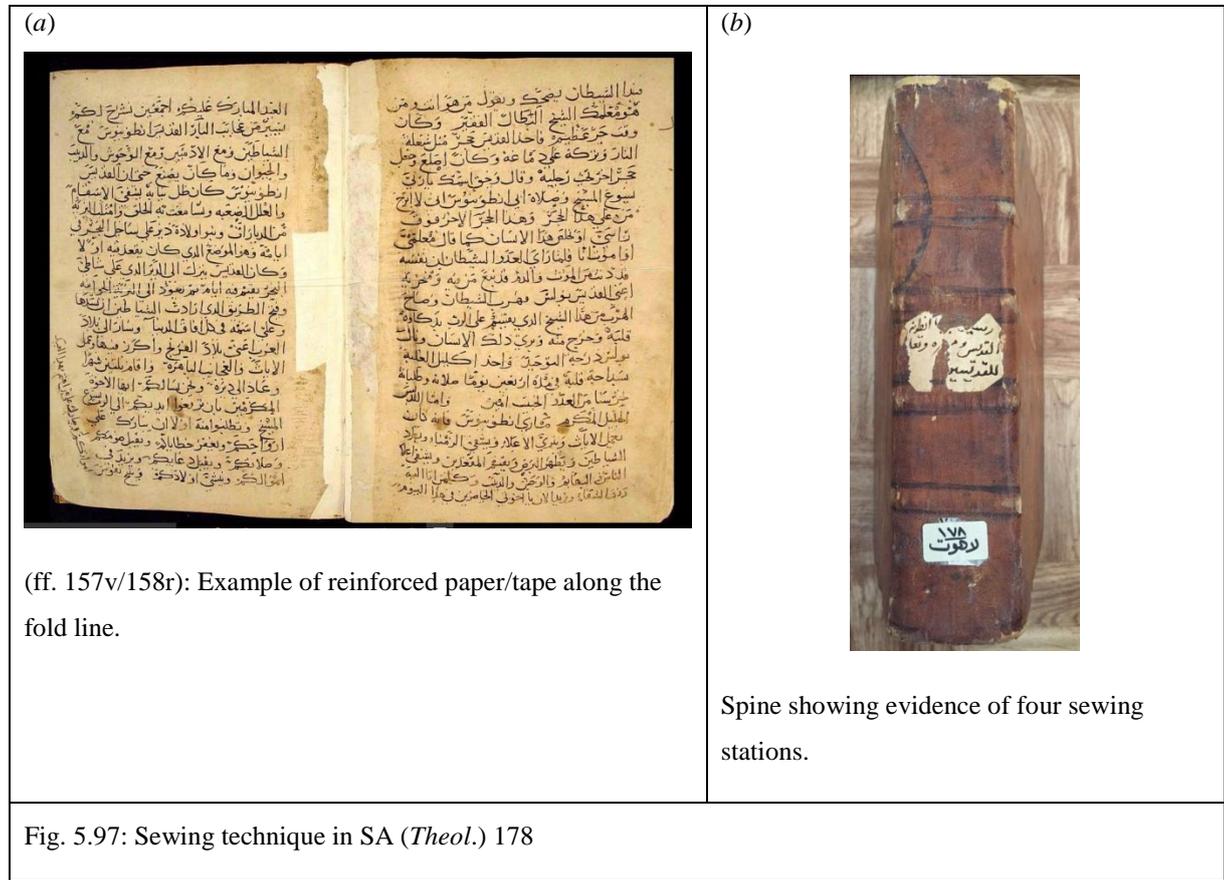
(g)

به او معجزة او شئ فلم يظنوا شئ سوى
لوجوش تاتي الي ديرة مستاشين ولادة
لان القديس لم يكن يعمل عجوبة وظاداف
الناس لثبه ولا يسمها العرب بل كان ذلك
في السر فاذا ظهر امره هرب حوقا من
الشعبه فتيار كوامنه رسل الملك وانظرا
وهروا فبين بكلمته وساروا الى الاسلندره
فوجدوا الابا بطريرك فاعلموه بما
حري فسرك كثيرا وقال جميع ما قاله المير
القديس هو يعلمه وكلمته هي فاعله ليق
ظلموا يسروى الحز فلم يقدره الرب لشد
ليجسي عظمتهم ساروا الى جزيرة سقلية
وطلبوا عبورا فلم يجدوا طريقا وان القديس

(f. 175r)

Fig. 5.96: Line management in SA (*Theol.*) 178

Quires: Each quire is made up of five bifolia. A total number of nineteen quires in the codex were detected. Due to the reinforced paper glued along the fold lines, the sewing stations are not easy to detect (a). However, the bulges on the spine provide evidence of a link stitch on four stations (b).



Catchwords: The codex contains no catchwords.

5.11.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by two scribes (Hand A: 3r – 11v; Hand B: 12r – 191r). Black ink with rubrics. Hand B wrote the text of the *Life* and rubricated the incipit in enlarged red font:

- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life of the blessed saint Anṭūniyūs the Great, the star of the wilderness. May his prayers keep us and you, O Christian Orthodox people, amen. [He] said*³²⁷

Scribal Corrections:

In the text, the scribe made corrections by various means:

- Blotting out in red ink the words or sentences not required (*a*);³²⁸
- Crossing out in red ink the words not required (*b*);³²⁹
- Crossing out words in red ink and writing alternate words above in the interline (*c*);³³⁰
- Crossing out in black ink the words not required (*d*).³³¹

In terms of insertions, a variety of conventions were also used:

- If the inserted word is to be located at the end of a line, it is added in red ink (*e*);³³²
- Placing a small red cross in the place where the insertion is to be made, and the additional text written in red ink horizontally or vertically in the margin (*f*);³³³
- Placing a red line or dash in the place where the insertion is to be made, and the additional text written in black ink horizontally or vertically in the margin (*g*);³³⁴
- Placing a black dash in the place where the insertion is to be made, and the additional text written in black ink horizontally or vertically in the margin (*h*);³³⁵
- Placing a black dash in the place where the insertion is to be made, and the additional text written in red ink vertically in the margin (*i*).³³⁶

³²⁷ F. 141v, lines 6-10.

³²⁸ F. 145v.

³²⁹ F. 154r.

³³⁰ F. 154r.

³³¹ Ff. 176v, 177r, 178r, 180v. However, the black ink appears to be a more recent pen.

³³² Ff. 154r, 164r.

³³³ Ff. 146r, 154v.

³³⁴ Ff. 145v, 148r, 154r, 156r, 164r, 167v, 169r, 176v, 181v.

³³⁵ Ff. 142r, 143r, 145r, 149r, 154r.

³³⁶ Ff. 145v, 148r, 154r, 156r, 164r, 167v, 169r, 176v, 181v.

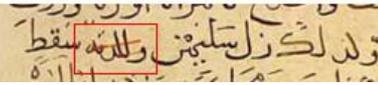
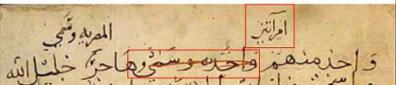
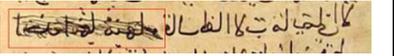
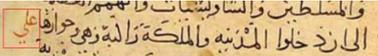
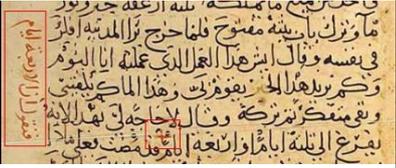
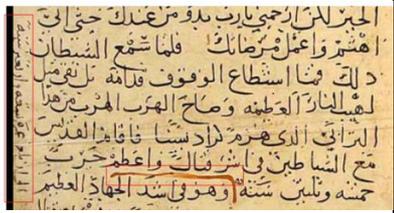
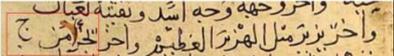
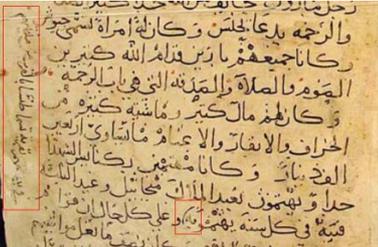
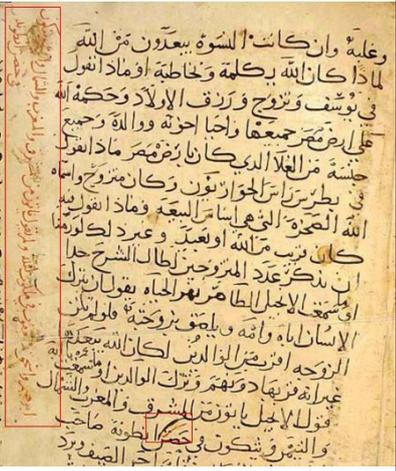
<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 146v)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 154r)</p>	<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 154r)</p>
<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 160r)</p>	<p>(e)</p>  <p>(f. 164r)</p>	<p>(f)</p>  <p>(f. 146r)</p>
<p>(g)</p>  <p>(f. 156r)</p>  <p>(f. 148r)</p>	<p>(h)</p>  <p>(f. 143r)</p>	<p>(i)</p>  <p>(f. 169r)</p>

Fig. 5.98: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (*Theol.*) 178

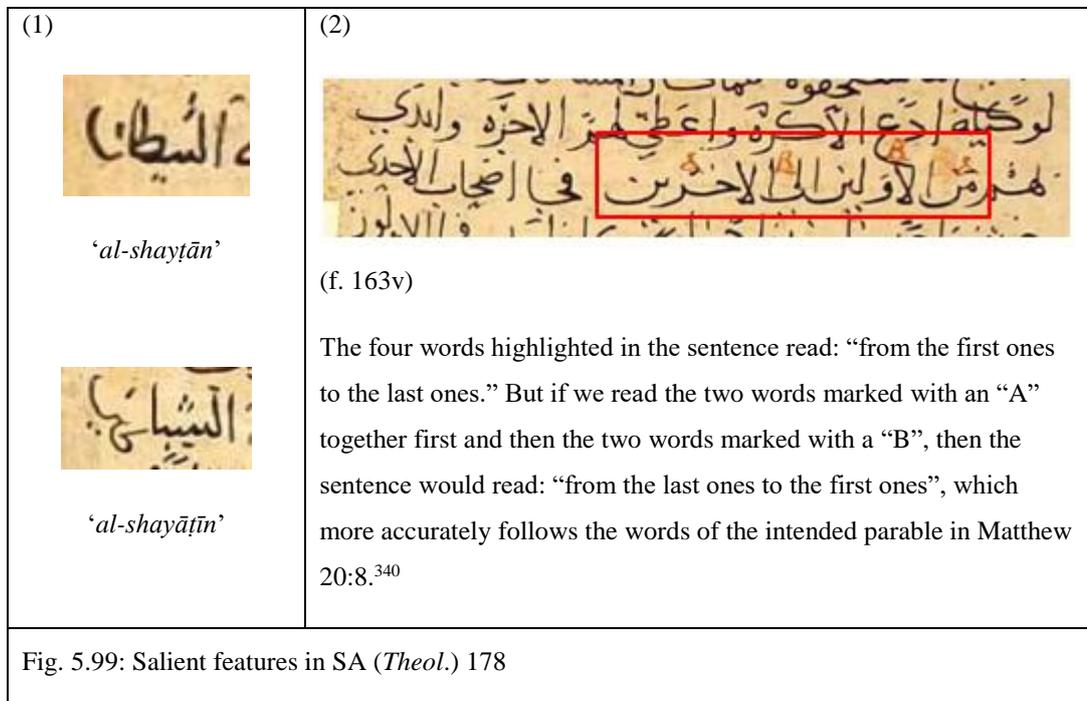
Salient Features: There are two salient features in the text:

- (1) The writing of the words *al-shayṭān* (the devil) and *al-shayāṭīn* (the devils):

There is once instance in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is written sideways in the text,³³⁷ and two instances in which the last three letters of the word *al-shayāṭīn* ين is written sideways.³³⁸

- (2) Word order:

There are two cases in the same sentence in which the scribe needed to change the order of words. He did this by placing the Coptic letters α and β above the words whose order in the sentence needed to be swapped.³³⁹



³³⁷ F. 170v.

³³⁸ F.154v, 158v.

³³⁹ F. 163v.

³⁴⁰ “...beginning from the last unto the first” (Matthew 20: 8).

5.11.7 Punctuation and Decoration

The text contains no punctuation marks and there are no decorative features.

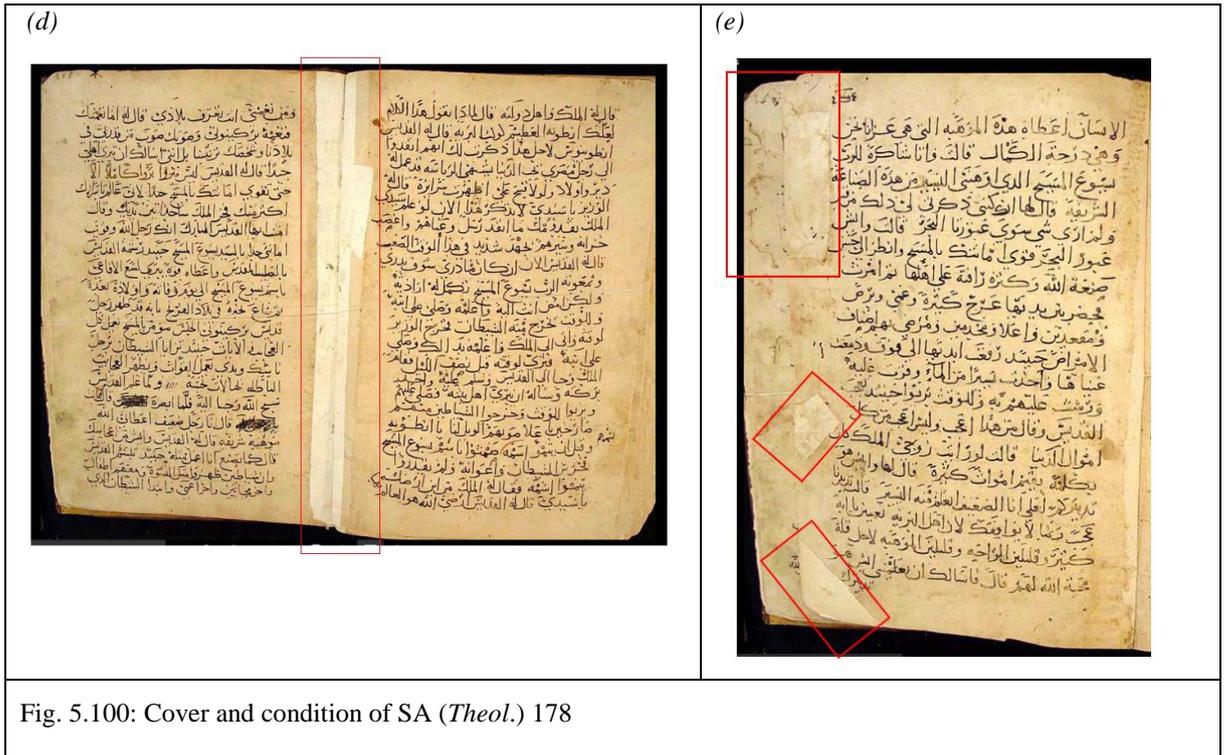
5.11.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with no stamped relief (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are $275 \times 190 \times 60$ mm. The end-bands consist of beige and red threads weaved into a vertical pattern (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “178 Theology” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine, as well as the remains of what was the index of the codex pasted on to the spine.

5.11.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, and the edges of the upper cover are worn revealing the pasteboards beneath. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns with stains, moisture damage, and offset. The front pastedown is removed from the inner upper cover (c). Some of the quires have separated from the binding. There are traces of oil and candle wax throughout the codex. Some of the fold lines have been reinforced with tape (d). Numerous holes have been caused by insects; some of which have been patched with tape and the damaged edges of the leaves have been mended with a thicker and whiter coloured paper (e).





5.11.10 Observations

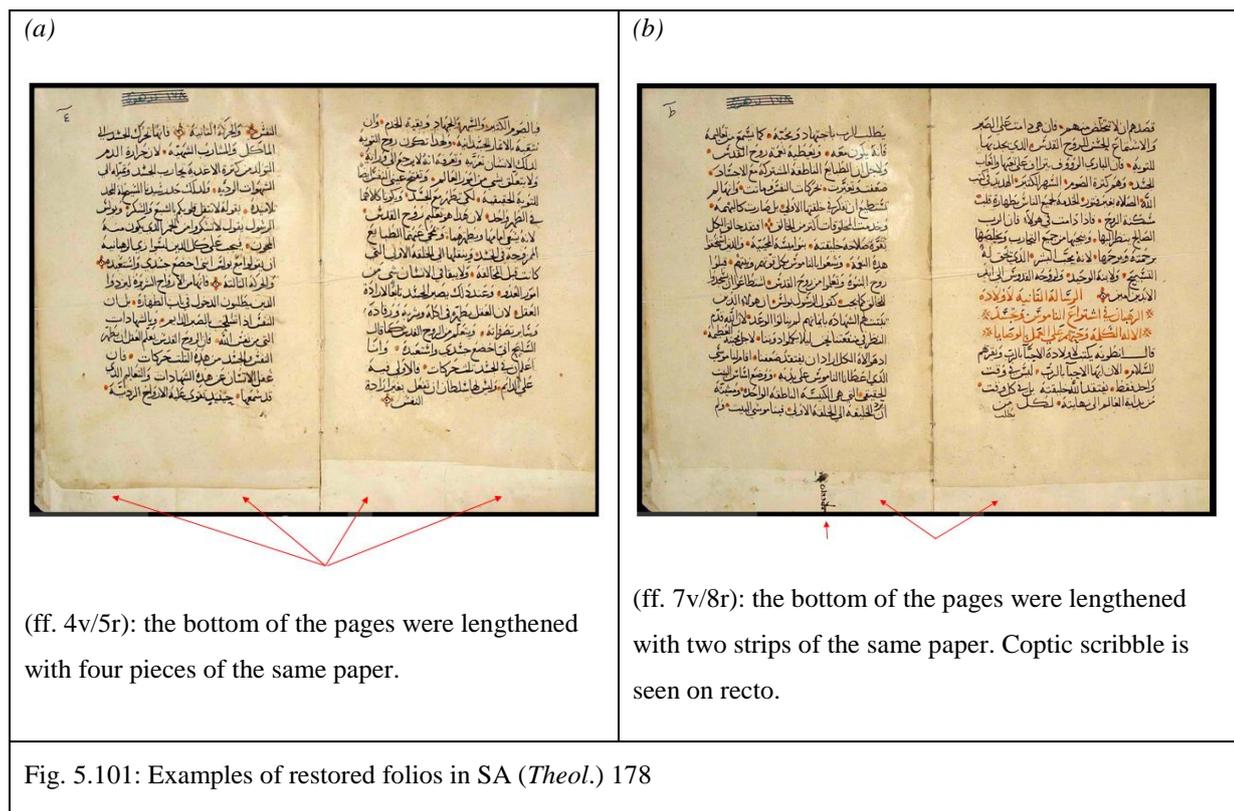
1) Classification

Of all manuscripts both within Egypt and outside of Egypt containing the *Life of Antony* in Arabic, SA (*Theol.*) 178 is the only manuscript that has bundled a collection of letters and sayings attributed to Antony, together with his *Life*. It is also the only manuscript containing the *Life* that is catalogued as non-hagiographic.

2) Two Hands

Although there is no colophon providing details of the scribe's name, the script, writing conventions, rubrication and decoration, clearly indicate folios 3r–11v are of a different hand to those of 12r–191r. Furthermore, it is likely that ff. 3r–11v (Hand A) were written separately from ff. 12r–191r; given that the paper type and paper size is different. In order for ff. 3r–11v to be included with the remaining items in the codex, the pages were lengthened to be the same size as ff. 12r–191r with yet another type of paper. Interestingly, the text-block paper used by Hand A contains the watermark of “Le Tre Lune”, which corresponds to the timeframe the

scribe wrote of 1518 AM (1801/2 AD)³⁴¹ following the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*. However, the different paper used to lengthen the pages, contains a watermark of a crown that is characteristic of the 17th and 18th century.³⁴² The exact same watermark was identified in SP (*Hist.*) 26, which dates to 1714 AD. Thus, it is likely that the restorer used the remains of an old stock of paper, (a) or perhaps even scrap or recycled paper, (b) to restore the pages that were to be bound with the rest of the codex.



³⁴¹ According to Nikolev, the watermark of the thin “Le Tre Lune” continued to appear up to the year 1826. (Nikolev 1954: 469).

³⁴² Nikolev 1954: 4, 5, 241, 244, 254.

5.12 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 108

*Hagiographic Miscellany*³⁴³

6 Ba'ūnah 1555³⁴⁴ AM (12 June 1839 AD)

5.12.1 Physical Description

Incomplete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Two scribes: Hand A (ff. 63r – 158r), Hand B (ff. 158v – 170v). *Leaf size*: 260 × 180 mm. *Foliation*: 2 leaves (*i, ii*) + 63–171 + 1 leaf (*172*). *Writing material*: laid paper, beige tinted, thin, and matte. Vertical chain lines are visible 25 mm apart. Three watermarks are visible: (1) a double-lined crest, (2) a crest with stars, and (3) a watermark whose clarity is obstructed by the writing.³⁴⁵ The image may be a large pot.³⁴⁶ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers in three formats: (1) the number overlined with a red dot and diagonal stroke, (2) the number overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā'* at its end, and (3) the number overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 63r and ends at f. 170r. Because the codex, being incomplete, starts from number 63, modern pencilled pagination in Arabic numbers is written alongside, commencing with number 1. The scribe of the first two texts (Hand A) placed the title of the text in the top margin across each *verso* and *recto* pages (4).

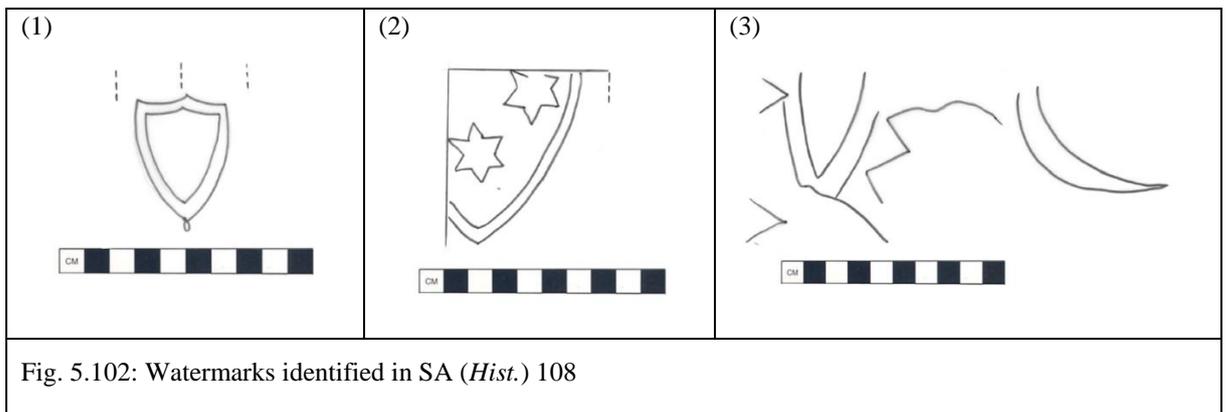


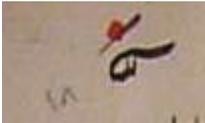
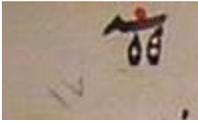
Fig. 5.102: Watermarks identified in SA (*Hist.*) 108

³⁴³ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

³⁴⁴ Each of the three texts in this manuscript is followed by a colophon. The date in which the second text was completed is recorded as 6 Ba'ūnah 1555 AM, which corresponds to 12 June 1839. The third colophon is in a different hand and is not dated. However, the scribe mentions the patron as being Buṭrus VII, who was patriarch from 1809-1852 AD. It may be possible that the third text preceded the first two, and they were all bound together.

³⁴⁵ This watermark is only on f. 159r.

³⁴⁶ According to Nikolev, the watermark of the pot appeared in the 18th century after which it had considerably larger dimensions and is to be found either with one or two handles (Nikolev 1954: 5).

<p>(1)</p>  <p>Folio '80', corresponding to pencilled pagination f. 18.</p>	<p>(2)</p>  <p>Folio '79', corresponding to pencilled pagination f. 17.</p>	<p>(3)</p>  <p>Folio '166r', corresponding to pencilled pagination f. 104.</p>
<p>(4)</p>  <p>Title heading: <i>Repose of / the Virgin</i></p>  <p>Title heading: <i>Our father / Anṭūniyūs</i></p>		
<p>Fig. 5.103: Examples of foliation in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108</p>		

5.12.2 Contents

- (1) *Maymar on the repose of the Virgin Mary* (ff. 63r–96v); colophon (f. 96v, 9 lines)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 97r–158r); colophon (f. 158r, 11 lines)
- (3) *Life of Anbā Būlā the First Hermit* (ff. 158v–170v); colophon (f. 170v, 8 lines)

5.12.3 Colophons

A colophon stands at the end of each text. The first two colophons, written by the same scribe, gives the name of the scribe and the date in which he completed copying the text. In the second colophon the scribe gives the extra detail that he was a monk from the Monastery of St Paul, however, he gives no information on the place where the copying took place. The third colophon, written by a different scribe, records only the name of the scribe and the patron of the book being Buṭrus the 109th patriarch of Alexandria. The dates of the first two texts are 1555 AM (1839 AD), and although the third text provides no date, the patron Buṭrus VII was patriarch from 1809–1852 AD.

The text of the colophon following the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* reads as follows:

(f. 158r): *Finished and completed*, the life of our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, on the blessed Wednesday 6 Ba'ūnah 1555 [in the year of] the pure martyrs.³⁴⁷ And the pitiable, wretched, indolent scribe, who is full of faults and doer of all sins, dared and wrote without having knowledge or experience in the terminology of books. Your servant Mīkhā'īl, by name a monk, a servant in the Monastery of the righteous Anbā Būlā, puts his sinful head under the feet of every one who reads these letters, to ask for him for the forgiveness [of his sins] and for his parents [sins] that God may grant him and them rest in the Kingdom of Heaven. And thanks be to God now and forever.

The text of the third colophon, which is in the hand of the second scribe, reads as follows:

(f. 170v): The life of our righteous father Anbā Būlā the First Hermit was completed with the help of the omnipotent God, through his holy prayers and supplications. Have mercy upon its wretched, sinful scribe, Qultah, [a] priest,³⁴⁸ and forgive his sins and the sins of his parents, and [the sins of] his spiritual and bodily brothers, and [the sins of] all the children of baptism. And O Lord reward the one who commissioned this book: our father the master, the patriarch, the pure, chaste, revered Anbā Buṭrus, patriarch of Alexandria, the 109th in the number of the patriarchal fathers.³⁴⁹ O Lord write his name in the Book of Life and subject all his enemies under his feet and include us [to be worthy of] the blessing of his prayers and intercessions. Lord have mercy, amen, halleluiah.

5.12.4 Endowment

The codex contains no endowment.

³⁴⁷ 12 June 1839 AD. The first colophon following the *Maymar on the repose of the Virgin Mary*, states that the copying was completed on Thursday 30 Bashans 1555 [in the year of] the pure martyrs. The text reads as follows: تم وكملت / ميمر نياحة الست العدرى مريم / والدة الاله يوم الخميس تلتين شهر بشنس / سنة الف وخمسمائة خمسة وخمسين للشهدا الاطهار.

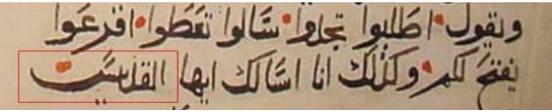
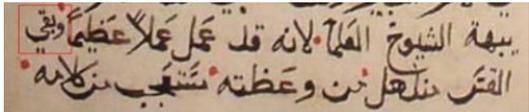
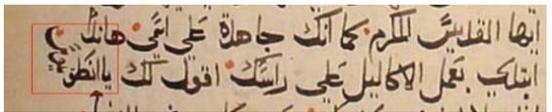
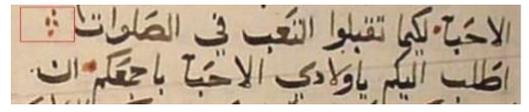
³⁴⁸ The word “priest” is written alongside in the margin in a different hand.

³⁴⁹ Anba Buṭrus VII, known as Buṭrus al-Jāwilī, was the 109th patriarch of Alexandria. He was born in the village of al-Jāwilī in the province of Asyūt, Upper Egypt, and prior to his papacy, he was a monk at the Monastery of St Antony. He was patriarch from 24 December 1809 to 15 April 1852. For further details on Buṭrus VII, see Guirguis and Van Doorn-Harder 2011: 66-71.

5.12.5 Layout

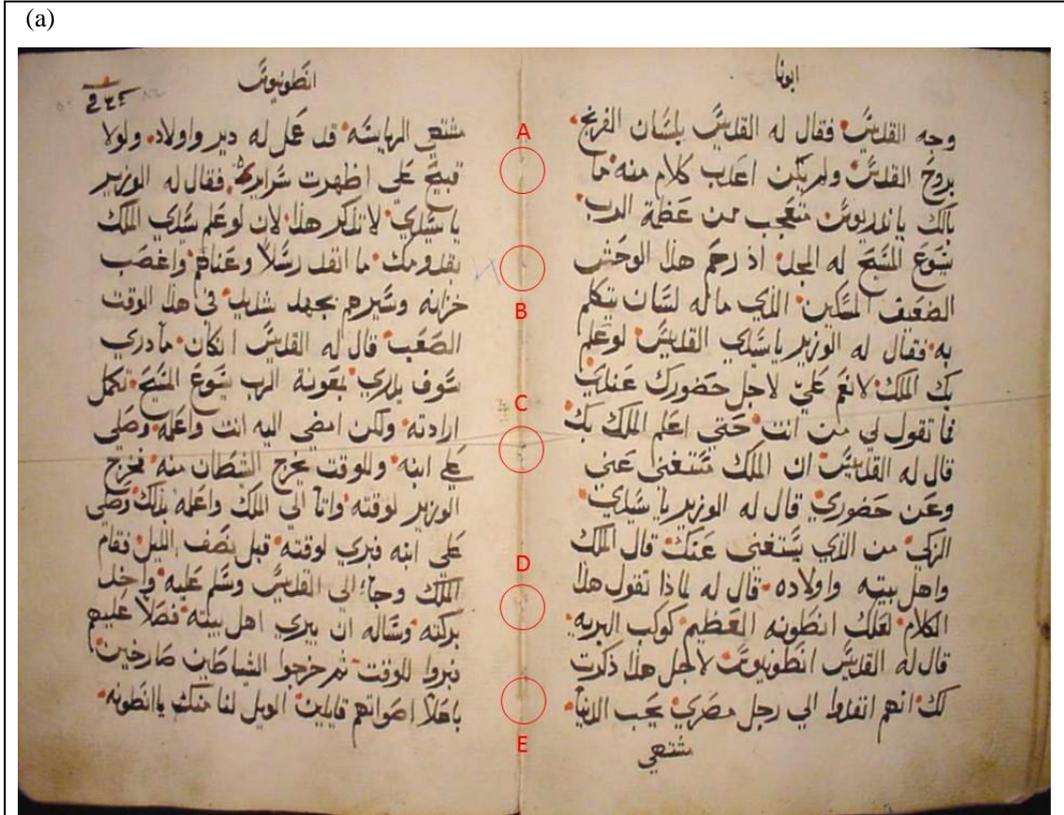
Written area: av. c. 210 × 130 mm of 15 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (*a*), contraction (*b*), writing exceeding letters vertically upwards (*c*),³⁵⁰ and graphic fillers in the form of a cluster of four dots in red ink (*d*).

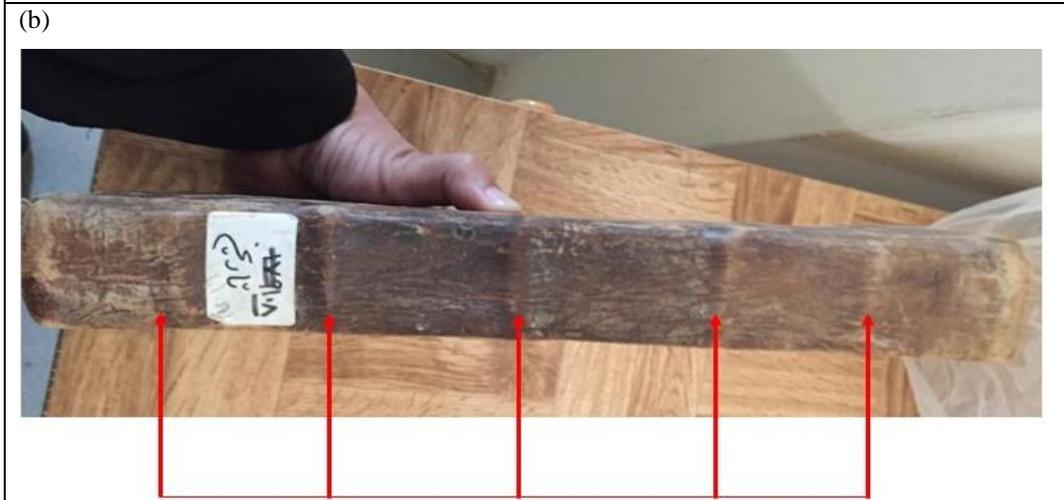
<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 98v)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 100r)</p>
<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 108r)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 154v)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.104: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 108</p>	

Quires: The entire codex is comprised of differing quantities of quires. There are quires consisting of three, four, six, and ten bifolia, with the majority being ten. There are nineteen quires in total. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on five stations.

³⁵⁰ Completing words written vertically upwards, especially at the end of paragraphs or chapters, was a common practice among Oriental scribes. Beit-Arié 1976: 103.



(ff. 145v/146r)



Evidence on the spine of five sewing stations

Fig. 5.105: Sewing technique in SA (*Hist.*) 108

Catchwords: There are only two instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.³⁵¹

5.12.6 *Writing*

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by two scribes, both in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. The collective volume of texts each begin with incipits in red, as well as the start of a new chapter. All words written in red ink contain vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the great saint, the righteous [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and protect us from all evil, amen.*³⁵²
- *And also some of his wonders*³⁵³
- *And also among his wonders*³⁵⁴
- *Anṭūniyūs*³⁵⁵
- *Virgin Mary*³⁵⁶
- *Finished and completed*³⁵⁷

Scribal Corrections: There are only four instances in which the scribe made corrections: by crossing out in red ink the words not required (*a*),³⁵⁸ by placing a small red cross in the place where the correction is to be made, and the correct word written vertically in the margin (*b*).³⁵⁹ In the case of insertions to the text, the scribe placed a small red stroke in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically downwards in the margin if on *verso* (*b*),³⁶⁰ and vertically upwards in the margin if on *recto* (*c*).³⁶¹

³⁵¹ Diacritical marks differ on ff. 103r, 139r.

³⁵² F. 97r, lines 2-5.

³⁵³ F. 121v.

³⁵⁴ Ff. 123v, 124v.

³⁵⁵ F. 125r.

³⁵⁶ F. 157v.

³⁵⁷ F. 158r.

³⁵⁸ F. 123v.

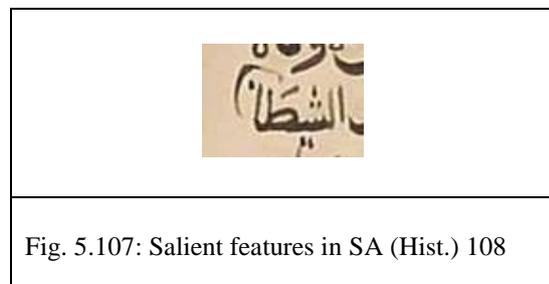
³⁵⁹ F. 133v.

³⁶⁰ F. 103r.

³⁶¹ F. 125r.



Salient Features: There are only two instances in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ‘ن’ is inverted in the text.³⁶²



5.12.7 Punctuation and Decoration

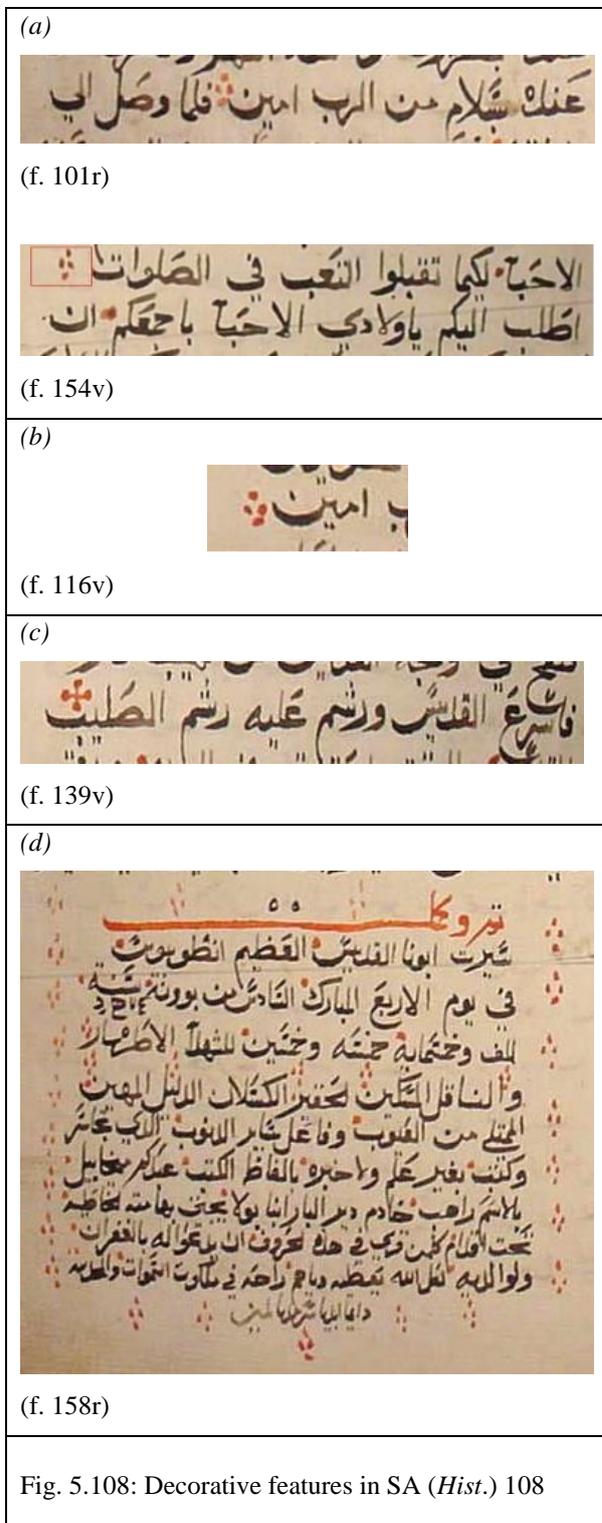
Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. A cluster of four red dots mark the end of a paragraph, and occasionally are used as space fillers (a). The word *amen* is always followed by a cluster of four red dots (b). The last letter in the word *cross*³⁶³ ب contains a small red cross (c).³⁶⁴ The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words

³⁶² F. 124v, 152r.

³⁶³ الصليب

³⁶⁴ F. 139v.

of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a bolded line in red ink, and each line of the explicits are flanked to the right and left by clusters of four red dots (*d*).

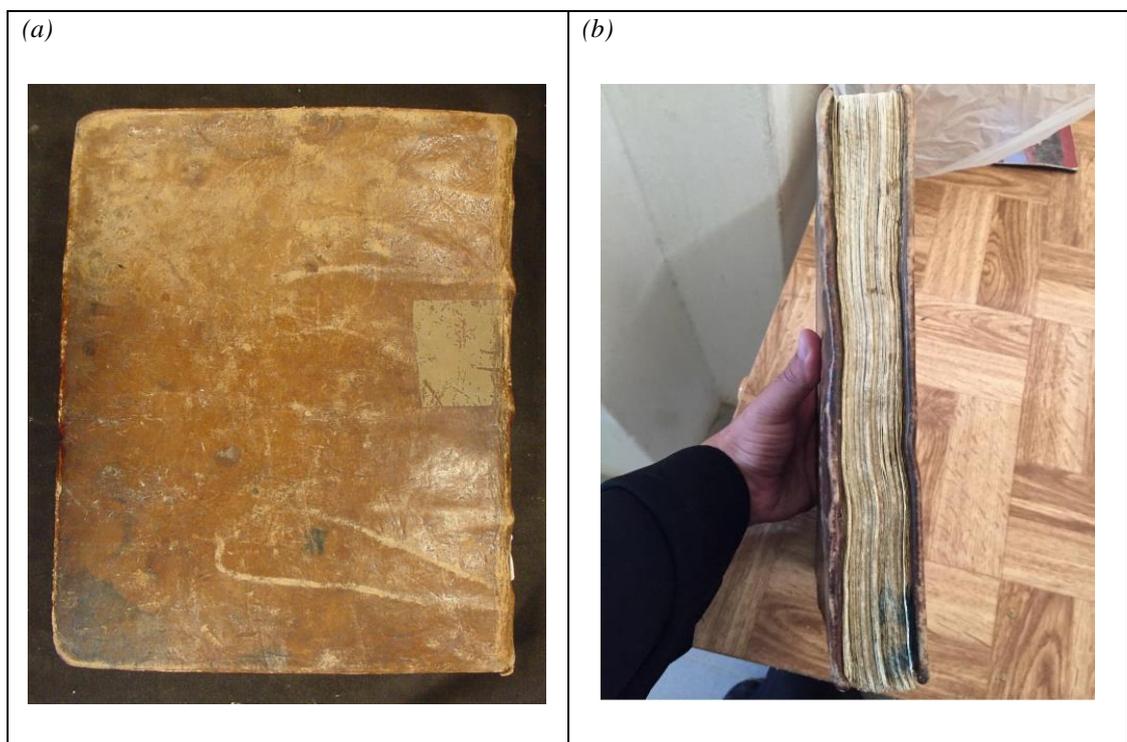


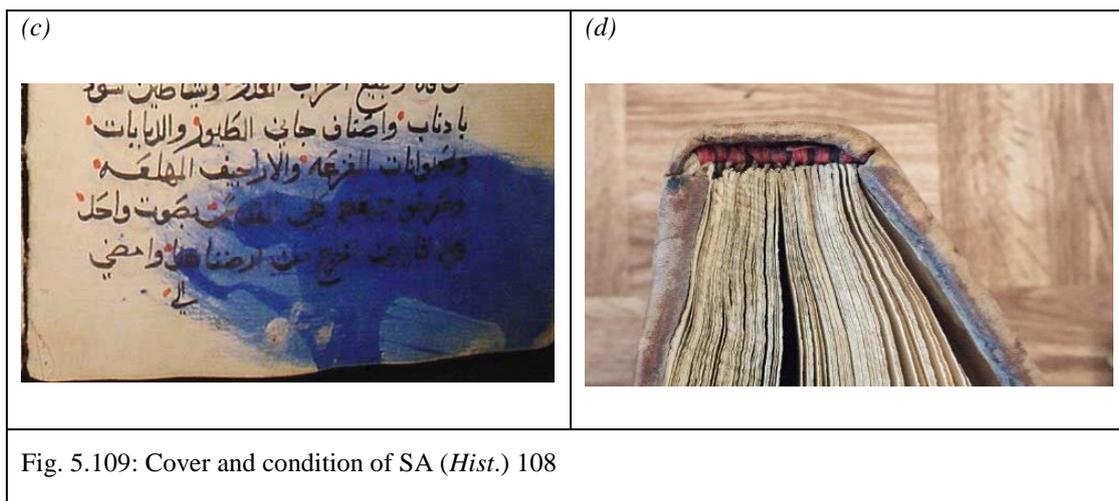
5.12.8 *Binding*

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with no stamped or relief that has been worn (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are 260 × 180 × 40 mm. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of black and red threads weaved in a vertical pattern (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “108 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and placed onto the spine.

5.12.9 *Condition of the Manuscript*

The original cover shows evidence of cracks and abrasion. The edges of the upper and lower covers are starting to wear. Some of the stitching in the quires has come undone. The pages contain some brown and yellow stains, most probably from finger marks that are prominent on the bottom corners of each page. Traces of candle wax on the texts of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* and *Life of Anbā Būlā*. Folios 110v/111r contain spillage of blue ink (c). The fore-edge of the book is cockled (d).





5.12.10 Observations

1) *Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā* (scribe)

The codex contains two hands.³⁶⁵ The first two texts were written by Hand A: the monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā. The date in which he completed the first text of the *Rest of the Virgin Mary*, which contains thirty-four bifolia, was 30 Bashans 1555 AM,³⁶⁶ and the date in which he completed the second text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, which contains sixty-one bifolia, is 6 Ba'ūnah 1555 AM.³⁶⁷ Hence it took Mīkhā'īl six days to complete the copying of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*.

The following manuscripts contained in the monasteries of St Antony and St Paul, were also copied by Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā. Including SA (*Hist.*) 108, Mīkhā'īl copied seventeen manuscripts between the years 1531 AM (1814/5 AD) and 1558 AM (1841/2 AD): nine liturgical, four hagiographical, three theological, and one biblical. Twelve of the manuscripts were endowed to the Monastery of St Paul, and five were endowed to the Monastery of St Antony. Unfortunately, none of the manuscripts contain information on where copying took place. Mīkhā'īl was ordained a priest sometime prior to 1553 AM (1836/7 AD), and in 1554 AM (1837/8 AD) he was promoted to the rank of *hegumen*.

Details of the manuscripts provided below include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library of the Monastery of St Antony, or the handwritten catalogue of the

³⁶⁵ Hand A: the monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā copied the first two texts of the incomplete codex (ff. 63r-158r), and Hand B: the monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī copied the last text (ff. 158v-170v).

³⁶⁶ 6 June 1839 AD.

³⁶⁷ 12 June 1839 AD.

Monastery of St Paul. They are listed in chronological order of copying completion date, and have been confirmed by viewing the manuscripts to ascertain likeness in writing and colophons. The language is Arabic unless otherwise noted. Also provided is a high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the patrons if mentioned, and the folio reference of this information:

- 1) SP (*Lit.*) 165: *Liturgy of St Basil in Coptic*. Completed: 1531 AM. Scribe: monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 1v).
- 2) SP (*Theol.*) 6: *Interpretation of the Four Gospels by the Holy Fathers*. Completed: 1553 AM. Scribe: priest Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 58r).
- 3) SP (*Theol.*) 1: *The Interpretation of the Five Books of Moses, and Maymar for the Archangel Michael*. Completed: 1554 AM. Scribe: priest Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 135r).
- 4) SP (*Lit.*) 17: *Expositions of the Holy Week in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 1554 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 4v).
- 5) SP (*Lit.*) 212: *Yearly Homilies*. Completed: 1555 AM. Scribe: Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 68r).
- 6) SA (*Hist.*) 62: *Five Expositions for the month of Kiyahk*. Completed: 16 Baramūda 1555 AM. Scribe: monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 136r).
- 7) SA (*Hist.*) 111: *Six Mayāmir for the month of Ṭūbah*. Completed: 9 Bashans 1555 AM. Scribe: monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (ff.58r, 111v).
- 8) SA (*Hist.*) 95: *Five Expositions for the month of Ṭūbah*, part 2. Completed: 20 Bashans 1555 AM. Scribe: monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā. Patron: Monastery of St Antony (ff. 57r–57v).
- 9) SA (*Hist.*) 108: *Maymar on the Repose of the Virgin, Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, and Life of Anbā Būlā*. Scribes: Mīkhā'īl Anbā Būlā and Qultah al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus VII the 109th patriarch on 6 Ba'ūnah 1555 AM (f. 96r).
- 10) SP (*Theol.*) 91: *Book of the Didascalia*. Completed: 1556 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 32r).
- 11) SP (*Lit.*) 20: *Expositions of the Holy Week in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 1556 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 3v).
- 12) SP (*Lit.*) 111: *Difnār for the months from Tūt to Kiyahk, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 1556 AM. Scribe: Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 153r).
- 13) SP (*Lit.*) 112: *Difnār for the months from Ṭūbah to Baramūda, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 1556 AM. Scribe: Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 25r).

- 14) SP (*Lit.*) 109: *Difnār for the months of Bashans, Ba'ūnah, Abīb, Misrá and Nisī, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 1556 AM. Scribe: Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 30v).
- 15) SA (*Bibl.*) 138: *The Four Gospels*, in Arabic. Completed: 28 Bashans 1558 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā. Patron: *hegumen* 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Anṭūnī, who sold it to the monk Tawāḍrūs al-Anṭūnī (f.222v).
- 16) SP (*Lit.*) 66: *Lectionary for the months of Tūt and Bābah, weekdays and Sundays*, in Arabic. Completed: 1558 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 4v).
- 17) SP (*Lit.*) 292: *Prayers and Praises for the Virgin Mary, the Angels and Saints*. Completed: 1558 AM. Scribe: Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā (f. 1v).

2) Monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (scribe)

The third text in the codex, containing the *Life of Anbā Būlā*,³⁶⁸ was written by Hand B: the monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Between the years of 1533 AM (1816/7 AD) and 1560 AM (1843/4 AD), Qultah copied forty-seven manuscripts, at times copying up to five manuscripts a year.³⁶⁹ He co-transcribed two,³⁷⁰ he copied one at the Monastery of the al-Baramūs in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn,³⁷¹ and endowed one to the Monastery of St Antony.³⁷² In addition, the Patriarch Buṭrus VII personally commissioned Qultah to copy two manuscripts of the *Synaxarium*.³⁷³ Of the forty-seven manuscripts copied, forty-one were liturgical, five were biblical, and one hagiographical. Qultah was ordained a priest sometime in the year 1540 AM (1823/4 AD).

The following manuscripts contained in the monasteries of St Antony and St Paul, are listed in chronological order of the date copying was completed:

1. SA (*Lit.*) 538: *Annual Psalmody, in Coptic*. Completed: 17 Baramūda 1533 AM. Scribe and patron: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī, and then was owned by the monk Iṣṭafānūs al-Ṭalāwī al-Anṭūnī (f.185r).
2. SA (*Lit.*) 650: *Prayers of the Laqqān, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 22 Kiyahk 1535 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 82v, 98v).
3. SA (*Lit.*) 352: *Lectionary of the month of Tūt*, in Coptic. Completed: 30 Ṭūbah 1535 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 135v, 108v).

³⁶⁸ Ff. 158v-170v.

³⁶⁹ E.g., in the year 1535 AM.

³⁷⁰ SA (*Bibl.*) 107 in 1545 AM, together with *hegumen* 'Iṣṭafānūs Būlus Ṣaqr al-Anṭūnī, and SA (*Hist.*) 108 in 1555 AM, together with the monk Mīkhā'īl al-Anbā Būlā.

³⁷¹ SA (*Lit.*) 541 in 1560 AM.

³⁷² SA (*Bibl.*) 108 in 1543 AM.

³⁷³ SA (*Lit.*) 342 in 1555 AM, and SA (*Hist.*) 354 in 1556 AM.

4. SA (*Lit.*) 359: *Lectionary of the month of Bābah*, in Coptic. Completed: 30 Amshīr 1535 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 83r, 97r).
5. SA (*Lit.*) 358: *Lectionary of the month of Hātūr*, in Coptic. Completion: 30 Baramūda 1535 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 82v, 96r).
6. SA (*Lit.*) 398: *Lectionary of the month of Hātūr*, in Arabic. Completed: 11 Baramūda 1535 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 77r, 96v).
7. SA (*Lit.*) 367: *Lectionary for the month of Amshīr*, in Coptic. Completed: 1 Bābah 1536 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f.130v, 142r).
8. SA (*Lit.*) 745: *Annual Psalmody*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 12 Bābah 1537 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: monk Makāriyūs al-Anṭūnī (ff. 231r–231v).
9. SA (*Lit.*) 618: *Annual Psalmody*, in Coptic. Completed: 30 Baramūda 1537 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 159r, 222v).
10. SA (*Lit.*) 514 : *Psalis in Coptic*. Completed: 14 Hātūr 1538 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 1v, 142v).
11. SA (*Lit.*) 619: *Annual Psalmody and Psalmody of the month of Kiyahk*, in Coptic. Completed: 4 Misrá 1539 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: monk Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī (ff. 289r, 290v).
12. SP (*Lit.*) 35: *Lectionary for the months of Hātūr and Kiyahk*. Completed: 1539 AM. Scribe: *Qultah al-Anṭūnī* (f. 83v).
13. SA (*Lit.*) 551: *Psalis for the second six months of the Coptic Year*, in Coptic. Completed: 24 Abīb 1540 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 311r).
14. SA (*Lit.*) 559: *Psalis for the first six months of the Coptic Year*, in Coptic. Completed: 24 Abīb 1540 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 167r–167v).
15. SA (*Lit.*) 648: *Prayers of the Laqqān*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 27 Amshīr 1540. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f.24, 97).
16. SP (*Lit.*) 46: *Lectionary for the Saturdays and Sundays of Great Lent*, in Coptic. Completed: 1541 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 53r).
17. SP (*Lit.*) 53: *Lectionary for the Paschaltide*, in Coptic. Completed: 1541 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 1v).
18. SA (*Lit.*) 323: *Difnār for the months of Kiyahk, Tūbah, and Amshīr*. Completed: 9 Baramhāt 1542 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 173r).
19. SA (*Lit.*) 409: *Lectionary for the months of Ba'ūnah, Abīb, Misrá and Nesi*. Completed: 12 Bashans 1542 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 137v).

20. SA (*Bibl.*) 108: *Four Gospels*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 29 Amshīr 1543 AM. Scribe and patron: priest Abā Qultahs. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony, by *hegumen* ‘Awaḍ and priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. flyleaf ii).
21. SA (*Lit.*) 396: *Lectionary for the Months of Tūt, Bābah, and Hātūr*. Completed: 16 Amshīr 1544 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 139r–139v).
22. SA (*Lit.*) 594: *Praises and Doxologies of the Month of Kiakh and for the Great Lent and the Lordly Feasts*. Completed: 21 Kiyahk 1545 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Mīkhā’īl al-Nukhaylī (ff. 107r–107v).
23. SA (*Bibl.*) 107: *Four Gospels*, in Arabic and Coptic. Completed: 6 Baramūda 1545 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Iṣṭafānūs Būlus Ṣaqr al-Anṭūnī and the priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 296v).
24. SP (*Lit.*) 50: *Lectionary for Sundays of the months of Ba’ūnah to Nesi*. Completed: 1546 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 28r).
25. SP (*Lit.*) 42: *Lectionary for the Months of Ba’ūnah, Abīb, Misrā, Nesi*. Completed: 1547 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 34r).
26. SA (*Lit.*) 461: *Homilies of the Great Lent and Holy Week by St John Chrysostom*. Completed: 21 Baramhāt 1550 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: al-Mu‘allim Misīḥah Naṣr al-Ghazzāwī (ff. 137r–137v).
27. SA (*Lit.*) 747: *Lectionary for the Day in which the Monks Pray at the Church of Anbā Marqus, in Coptic*. Completed: 16 Hātūr 1552 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 103r).
28. SA (*Lit.*) 401: *Lectionary for the Months of Kiyahk, Ṭūbah, and Amshīr* (excluding Sundays). Completed: 1 Ba’ūnah 1552 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 177r).
29. SA (*Lit.*) 649: *Prayers of the Laqqān, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 12 Ba’ūnah 1552 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (ff. 24r, 96v, 130v).
30. SP (*Lit.*) 321: *Psalmody for the Month of Kiyahk*. Completed: 1553 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 3v).
31. SA (*Lit.*) 349: *Lectionary for the Sundays of the First Six Months of the Coptic Year, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 15 Baramhāt 1554 AM. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 125r).
32. SA (*Lit.*) 394: *Lectionary for the Sundays of the First Six Months of the Coptic Year, in Coptic*. Completed: 5 Bashans 1554 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 147r).
33. SA (*Lit.*) 342: *Synaxarium for the Months of Baramhāt, Baramūda, and Bashans*. Completed: 29 Misrā 1555 AM. Scribe: monk priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Buṭrus VII the 109th patriarch, and his disciple Shinūdah (ff. 73v, 109r).
34. SA (*Bibl.*) 129: *Four Gospels*, in Arabic. Completed: 6 Abīb 1555 AM. Scribe: monk priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Mīkhā’īl al-Jāwilī (f. 240v).

35. SA (*Hist.*) 108: *Maymar on the Repose of the Virgin, Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, and Life of Anbā Būlā*. Scribes: Mīkhāʿīl Anbā Būlā and Qultah al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 6 Baʿūnah 1555 AM (f. 96r).
36. SA (*Lit.*) 354: *Synaxarium for the Months of Baʿūnah, Abīb, and Misrá*. Completed: 10 Tūt 1556 AM. Scribe: monk priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Buṭrus VII the 109th patriarch, and his disciple Shinūdah (f. 135v).
37. SA (*Lit.*) 407: *Lectionary for the Months of Baʿūnah, Abīb, Misrá, and Nesi (Sundays only)*. Completed: 12 Tūt 1556 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 97r).
38. SA (*Lit.*) 500: *Psalmody for the Month of Kiyahk, in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 22 Ṭūbah 1556 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: monk Iṣṭafānūs al-Ṭalāwī al-Anṭūnī (f. 294r).
39. SA (*Lit.*) 953: *Mysteries of the Liturgy in Coptic and Arabic*. Completed: 29 Amshīr 1558 AM. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: monk Būlus al-Anṭūnī and the priest Yuṣṭus al-Anṭūnī (f. 97v).
40. SA (*Lit.*) 541: *Annual Psalmody, in Coptic*. Completed: 8 Bābah 1560. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī, who wrote it in the Monastery of al-Baramūs, and endowed it to the Monastery of St Antony (f. 199v).
41. SA (*Bibl.*) 154: *Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in Arabic and Coptic*. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 129v).
42. SA (*Bibl.*) 181: *Gospels of Luke and John, in Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: monk Yūḥannā al-Baḩurqāṣī al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (ff. 2v, 123r, 212v).
43. SA (*Lit.*) 552: *Annual Psalis for the Months Ṭūbah, Amshīr, Baramhāt, and Barmudah, in Coptic*. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 310v).
44. SA (*Lit.*) 602: *Psalmody for the Evenings and Sundays of the Month of Kiyahk, in Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: priest Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 173r).
45. SA (*Lit.*) 800: *Liturgy of St Basil, in Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron and owner: *hegumen* Yūḥannā al-Abnūdī. Not dated (f. 105r, 136v).
46. SA (*Lit.*) 822: *Letters of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, in Arabic*. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 95v).
47. SP (*Lit.*) 140: *Liturgy of Sts Basil and Gregory, in Coptic and Arabic*. No date. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī (f. 1v).

3) Butrus VII, the 109th patriarch

As evidenced above, the patriarch commissioned the copying of several manuscripts, and according to information contained in the Monastery's archives, he also endowed many books to the Monastery of St Antony. Butrus VII, also known as Buṭrus al-Jāwīlī,³⁷⁴ was a monk at the Monastery of St Antony prior to his patriarchal election. He is remembered as “a true scholar, specializing in theology and church history and ... spent many of his days devoted to study.”³⁷⁵

He endowed fifty-three manuscripts to the Monastery of St Antony:³⁷⁶ twenty-one theological, fourteen liturgical, fourteen biblical, two hagiographical, and two *varia*. One may appreciate his emphasis on the transcription of theological books, in light of the fact that during his papacy, he faced immense challenges from other denominations and foreign missionaries who had entered the country as a result of Muhammad Ali Pasha's policies of opening up Egypt to the world. Indeed, Buṭrus's role “became reminiscent of that of the Coptic leaders in the early centuries who had been forced to defend the theological and sociological boundaries of their Church vis-à-vis competing powers.”³⁷⁷

But why did he endow so many books for the Monastery of St Antony? The reason must have been more than the mere fact that he was an Antonian monk. According to European traveller reports, beginning in the early 17th century, the Monastery of St Antony had been a target for Catholic missionaries (perhaps drawn by the large volume of “valuable manuscripts”)³⁷⁸ whose purpose was to engage with the monks in theological debate. We read of the Franciscan priest Fr Agathangelus that in 1637 AD he stayed at the Monastery for four months “conducting doctrinal discussions and giving spiritual conferences [during which] two out of fifteen monks were reconciled to the [Catholic] Church.”³⁷⁹ Then in 1716 AD the Jesuit priest Claude Sicard and the Maronite Joseph Simon Assemani, went to the Monastery to conduct theological dialogue “in order to fulfil the mission of their Church.”³⁸⁰ Furthermore, Georg Graf states that the various Catholic missionaries who attempted to convert the monks of the Monastery of St

³⁷⁴ From the village of al-Jāwīlī in the province of Asyūt, Middle Egypt.

³⁷⁵ Guirguis and Van Doorn-Harder 2011: 67.

³⁷⁶ There is no record of any manuscripts endowed to the Monastery of St Paul by Buṭrus VII.

³⁷⁷ Guirguis and Van Doorn-Harder 2011: 67.

³⁷⁸ Monceaux and Laisne visited the Monastery in the second half of the 17th century, and recorded that many European travellers visit the Monastery of St Antony because of their valuable manuscripts; many of which were removed by them (Monceaux et al. 2013: 39).

³⁷⁹ Meinardus 1961: 48.

³⁸⁰ Sicard 1845: 304.

Antony, led Anbā Yūsāb, the bishop of Jirjā and Akhmīm³⁸¹ to write thirty-one articles in defence of the Coptic faith.³⁸²

Therefore, it is no doubt that Buṭrus was aware of the attraction the Monastery had for foreign missions and the potential danger they posed to the monastic community, and was thus selective in the types of books he endowed to the Monastery of St Antony.

The following list contains the books which were endowed to the Monastery by Buṭrus VII. Details include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library (in chronological order of endowment date), a high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the scribes and patrons if mentioned, any significant notes, and the folio references of this information. Each book was personally endowed by the patriarch in his own hand giving his signature seal as “Buṭrus VII the 109th patriarch” and stating that the book is: “An eternal endowment and everlasting possession and binding forever for the Monastery of our father the saint Anṭūniyūs ...” (all manuscripts are in Arabic unless otherwise noted):

1. SA (*Varia*) 22: *A Chain of Christian Jewels and Biblical Hymns*. Completed: 22 Ba’ūnah 1391 AM. Scribe: Ḥasab-Allāh ibn Jirjis ibn Mīkhā’īl al-Idfāwī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch (ff. 122r, 283r).
2. SA (*Theol.*) 91: *Writings of John Climacos*. Date of *waqf*: 11 Kiyahk 1527 AM (f. 238v).
3. SA (*Theol.*) 28: *Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew by John Chrysostom*, part 1. Date of *waqf*: 13 Misrā 1527 AM (f. 248v).
4. SA (*Theol.*) 29: *Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew by John Chrysostom*, part 2. Date of *waqf*: 13 Misrā 1527 AM (f. 469v).
5. SA (*Theol.*) 16: *Al-Ḥāwī li-ibn Makīn Jirjis akhū al-As’ad Ibrāhīm*. Completed 22 Baramūda 1435 AM. Scribe: Wāsīlīdis al-Akhmīmī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 16 Misrā 1527, and another endowment by Athanasius, bishop of Abū Tīj in 1531 AM (ff. 1v, 431r–431v).
6. SA (*Theol.*) 167: *Al-Ḥāwī li-ibn Makīn Jirjis akhū al-As’ad Ibrāhīm*. Was owned by Ḥannā-Allāh Ghaṭṭās al-Shahīr bi-mubāsharat dīwān al-Jāwilī bi-Miṣr al-Maḥrūsah, and then was bought from the first owner by Ḥannā-Allāh Yūḥannā Isrā’īl al-Baqrqāṣī in Amshīr 1460 AM. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 16 Misrā 1527,

³⁸¹ Yūsāb, a prolific writer and theologian, was a monk at the Monastery of St Antony prior to his episcopal appointment in 1791 AD.

³⁸² Graf 1944: 138.

and another endowment by Athanasius, bishop of Abū Tīj in 1531 AM (ff. 1v, 231r, 357r).

7. SA (*Bibl.*) 48: *Book of Psalms and Praises*. Completed: 26 Misrā 1529 AM. Date of *waqf*: 24 Ṭūbah 1530 AM (ff. 163v, 189v).
8. SA (*Theol.*) 63: *Writings of Gregory the Theologian*. Completed in the year 1514 AM. Scribe: Yūliyūs the deacon. “*Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by the cell of the patriarch in the patriarchate in Miṣr.” Date of endowment: 24 Ṭūbah 1530 AM (ff. 1v, 69v, 270r).
9. SA (*Theol.*) 41: *Commentaries on 1 Corinthians by John Chrysostom*. Completed: 20 Abīb 1526 AM. Sponsored and endowed by: Athanasius, bishop of Abū Tīj in 1530 AM. Above the endowment is the seal of Buṭrus VII (f. 292v).
10. SA (*Bibl.*) 79: *Major and Minor Prophets*. Completed: 12 Bābah 1336 AM. Patron: al-Mu‘allim Yūsuf. Date of *waqf*: 26 Bashans 1531 AM (ff. 268v, 304r).
11. SA (*Bibl.*) 15: *The Five Books of Moses*. Completed: 13 Ṭūbah 1498 AM. Date of *waqf*: 22 Baramūda 1532 AM. Scribe and Patron: *hegumen* Ghabriyāl al-Fayyūmī (f.264r).
12. SA (*Bibl.*) 56: *Some Books of Scripture*. Scribe: *hegumen* Ghabriyāl al-Fayyūmī. Completed: 18 Bashans 1530 AM. Date of *waqf*: 22 Baramūda 1532 AM (ff. 201r–201v).
13. SA (*Bibl.*) 88: *Major Prophets*. Completed: 13 Hātūr 1508 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī. Patron: priest Jirjis al-Abyaḍ al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 24 Baramūda 1532 AM (ff. 1v, 256v).
14. SA (*Bibl.*) 246: *Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Book of Acts*. Completed: 19 Bashans 1511 AM. Scribe: priest Ghabriyāl al-Fayyūmī. Date of *waqf*: 24 Baramūda 1532 AM (f. 232v).
15. SA (*Theol.*) 78: *Varia*. Completed: 18 Bashans 1496 AM. Patron: al-Mu‘allim Būlus Yūsuf ibn al-Mu‘allim Jirjis al-Asyūṭī. Date of *waqf*: 18 Ba‘ūnah 1532 AM (ff. 82r, 182v, 326v).
16. SA (*Bibl.*) 18: *Scriptures from Joshua to Chronicles*. Date of *waqf*: 20 Ba‘ūnah 1532 AM (f. 230v).
17. SA (*Bibl.*) 54: *18 Books of Scripture*. Completed: 12 Baramhāt 1508 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Ghabriyāl al-Fayyūmī. Patron: monk Jirjis al-Abyaḍ al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 21 Ba‘ūnah 1532AM (ff. 264r, 267v).
18. SA (*Theol.*) 101: *The writings of Buṭrus al-Sidmantī*. Completed: 13 Bashans 1508 AM. Patron: monk Jirjis al-Abyaḍ al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 21 Ba‘ūnah 1532 AM (ff. 1v, 251r).
19. SA (*Bibl.*) 14: *The Five Books of Moses*. Completed: 30 Ba‘ūnah 1516 AM. Date of *waqf*: 21 Ba‘ūnah 1532 AM (f. 266r).

20. SA (*Bibl.*) 236: *Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and the Book of Acts*. Completed: 18 Baramūda 1517 AM. Scribe: Marqūriyūs al-Anṭūnī.³⁸³ Date of *waqf*: 21 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM (f. 210r).
21. SA (*Bibl.*) 10: *The Five Books of Moses*. Date of *waqf*: 21 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM (f. 170r).
22. SA (*Varia*) 36: *Book of Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*. Date of *waqf*: 21 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM (f. 193v).
23. SA (*Bibl.*) 100: *Four Gospels*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 22 Ba'ūnah 1504 AM. Scribe: Nisīm Abādīr al-Abū Tījī. There is a paper pasted over the name of the patron. Date of *waqf*: 23 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM (f. 283v).
24. SA (*Lit.*) 525: *Annual Psalmody*, in Coptic. Completed: 19 Bashans 1520 AM. Scribe: priest Marqūriyūs al-Anṭūnī.³⁸⁴ Date of *waqf*: 23 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM (ff. 1v, 173r).
25. SA (*Theol.*) 187: *Letters of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. Completed: 6 Bashans 1482 AM. Scribe and patron: priest Yūsuf al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 25 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM. (ff. 3v, 245v). A note on f. 3v states: "These letters were translated from the Sahidic language to the Arabic language at the end of the year 986 AM, in his Monastery in the wilderness of al-'Arabah."
26. SA (*Theol.*) 188: *Letters of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. Completed: 16 Baramūda 1482 AM. Scribe: Dā'ūd al-Anṭūnī. Patron: priest Makāriyūs al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 25 Ba'ūnah 1532 AM (ff. 3v, 246r).
27. SA (*Theol.*) 59: *Varia*. Completed: 20 Misrā 1457 AM. Scribe: priest Ibrāhīm al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 26 Baramūda 1532 AM (ff. 232r, 239r, 306v, 329r).
28. SA (*Hist.*) 114: *Collection of Stories of Female Saints*. Date of *waqf*: 25 Baramūda 1535 AM (ff. 1v, 107r).
29. SA (*Theol.*) 14: *Interpretation of the Psalm by the Fathers of the Church*. Was owned by *hegumen* Manqariyūs al-Miqnāwī of the church of Mārī Jirjis at Darb al-Taqa in Miṣr and then was owned by the *hegumen* Kīryākūs al-Anṭūnī who brought the book to the Monastery of St Antony in 1480 AM, and endowed it to the Monastery on 16 Ba'ūnah 1488 AM. Above the endowment is a seal of Buṭrus VII dated 25 Baramūda 1540 AM (f. 1v).
30. SA (*Bibl.*) 198: *Gospel of John*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 24 Ba'ūnah 1396 AM. Scribe: monk Yūḥannā al-Asyūṭī. Patron: 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Anṭūnī who made it a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony. Above the *waqf* is the seal of Buṭrus VII. Date of *waqf*: 25 Baramūda 1540 (ff. 194r, 194v).
31. SA (*Lit.*) 527: *Annual Psalmody*, in Coptic. Completed: 6 Kiyahk 1473 AM. Scribe: priest 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 15 Bashans 1540 AM (ff. 210r, 295r–295v).

³⁸³ Who became Buṭrus VII, and endowed the manuscript to the Monastery of St Antony.

³⁸⁴ See note above.

32. SA (*Theol.*) 218: *A Collection of the Sayings of the Fathers on Monastic Instruction*. Completed: 28 Abīb 1510 AM. Date of *waqf*: Ba'ūnah 1540 AM (ff. 1v, 22v).
33. SA (*Lit.*) 108: *Liturgy of St Gregory and Liturgy of St Cyril*, in Coptic and Arabic. Scribe: priest Fākiyūs al-Anṭūnī. Date of *waqf*: 22 Baramūda 1540 AM (ff. 106v, 191v).
34. SA (*Lit.*) 343: *Synaxarium, part 2*. Completed: 7 Abīb 1551 AM. Scribe: priest Iṣṭafānūs Būlus Ṣaqr al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Buṭrus the 109th patriarch, and his disciple Shinūdah. Date of *waqf*: 23 Misrā 1564 AM. (ff. 74r, 108v, 181v, 183r). Folio 183r contains an account of the life and the repose of Buṭrus VII.
35. SA (*Lit.*) 256: *Book of Pascha*. Completed: Amshīr 1556 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Buṭrus VII. Date of *waqf*: 18 Misrā 1564 AM (ff. 81v, 150r, 207r).
36. SA (*Bibl.*) 103: *Four Gospels*, in Coptic and Arabic. Patron: *hegumen* Mīkhā'īl al-Anṭūnī, who also made it a *waqf* for the Monastery of Anbā Anṭūniyūs. Above the *waqf* is the seal of Buṭrus VII. (f. 258r).
37. SA (*Bibl.*) 9: *The Five Books of Moses*. Completed: 10 Ṭūbah 1196 AM. *Waqf* by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch to the Monastery of St Antony, date not mentioned (ff. 1v, 290r).
38. SA (*Lit.*) 100: *Liturgy of St Basil*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 30 Misrā 1334 AM. Scribe: Sīrāfīm. Patron: Anbā Yū'annis, the 105th patriarch (ff. 116r, 116v, 117v).
39. SA (*Lit.*) 294: *Hymns*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 11 Amshīr 1407 AM. Scribe: monk Ghabriyāl al-Anṭūnī (ff. 54v, 60r).
40. SA (*Hist.*) 61: *Collection of Twelve Readings from the Month of Ṭūt*. Completed: 12 Amshīr 1454 AM (ff. 1v, 269r).
41. SA (*Theol.*) 106: *Book of al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Īdaḥ al-Dīn li-Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa'*. Completed: 9 Misrā 1476 AM. Scribe: priest Jirjis al-Anbā Būlā who wrote it at the Monastery of St Antony. Patron: monk 'Abduh al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch to the Monastery of St Antony, date not mentioned (f. 241v).
42. SA (*Lit.*) 552: *Annual Psalis for the Months of Ṭūbah, Amshīr, Baramhāt, Baramūda*. Completed: 1497. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch (ff. 1v, 311r).
43. SA (*Theol.*) 71: *Writings of Mār Afrāyim*. Scribe: Ibrāhīm Abū Ṭabl ibn Sim'ān al-Ḥankāwī who wrote it at the church of Abū Sayfayn in Old Cairo. Completed: 1 Amshīr 1505 AM. Patron: al-Mu'allim Wāṣif bi-Ḥārat al-Saqqāyīn bi-Darb al-Sirjah. *Waqf* by Buṭrus VII for the cell of the patriarch Buṭrus number 109 at the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 277r–277v).
44. SA (*Theol.*) 226: *Varia*. Completed: 28 Baramuda 1525 AM. Scribe: Priest Jirjis Mīkhā'īl, the servant of the church of Saint Dūlājī and Archangel Michael in Isnā. Patron: Anbā

- Marqus patriarch number 108. *Waqf* by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch to the Monastery of St Antony, date not mentioned (ff. 1v, 46r, 269r).
45. SA (*Theol.*) 166: *Al-Ḥāwī li-ibn Makīn Jirjis akhū al-As‘ad Ibrāhīm*. Scribe: Wāsīlīdis al-Akhmīmī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 16 Misrā 1527 (f. 1v).
46. SA (*Theol.*) 8: *Interpretation of the Book of Exodus*. Owned by Sa‘d Nakhlah from Takhtān. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 25 Baramūda 1532 AM (f. 177r).
47. SA (*Lit.*) 430: *Prophecies of the Great Lent and the Fast of Jonah*. Completed: 14 Baramūda 1533 AM. Scribe: Ibrāhīm Abū Ṭabl ibn Sim‘ān al-Ḥankāwī. Patron: Buṭrus VII (ff. 129v, 131r).
48. SA (*Lit.*) 339: *Synaxarium for the Months of Tūt, Bābah, Hātūr*. Completed: 21 Abīb 1555. Patron: Buṭrus the 109th patriarch, and his disciple Shinūdah (f. 1v).
49. SA (*Lit.*) 340: *Synaxarium for the Months of Kiyahk, Ṭūbah, Amshūr*. Completed: 19 Misrā 1555 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī, copied in the Monastery of St Antony. Patron: Buṭrus the 109th patriarch, and his disciple Shinūdah (ff. 1v, 133r).
50. SA (*Lit.*) 342: *Synaxarium for the Months of Baramhāt, Baramūda, Bashans*. Completed: 29 Misrā 1555 AM. Scribe: monk Qultah al-Anṭūnī. Patron: Buṭrus the 109th patriarch, and his disciple Shinūdah (ff. 1v, 74r, 108v).
51. SA (*Hist.*) 108: *Maymar on the Repose of the Virgin, Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs, and Life of Anbā Būlā*. Scribes: Mīkhā’īl al-Anbā Būlā and Qultah al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 6 Ba‘ūnah 1555 AM (f. 96r).
52. SA (*Lit.*) 850: *Lectionary for the Great Lent, part 1*. Scribe: Ṣalīb al-Jīzāwī, the priest of the Church of St George in Ḥārat Zuwaylah. Patron: al-Mu‘allim Ilyās ibn ‘Abd al-Masīh al-Mallāwī. Endowed by Buṭrus the 109th for the patriarchal cell in Miṣr. A later endowment dated 22 Kiyahk 1611 AM (ff. 95r, 100v).
53. SA (*Lit.*) 345: *Synaxarium for the Months of Ba‘ūnah, Abīb, and Misrā*. Scribe: Qultah al-Anṭūnī. *Waqf* to the Monastery of St Antony by Buṭrus the 109th patriarch on 10 Tūt 1556 AM and another endowment dated 4 Ba‘ūnah 1615 AM (ff. 136r–136v).

The Patriarch's seal:

In each book endowed, Buṭrus wrote his seal in Coptic and Arabic ahead of the endowment.

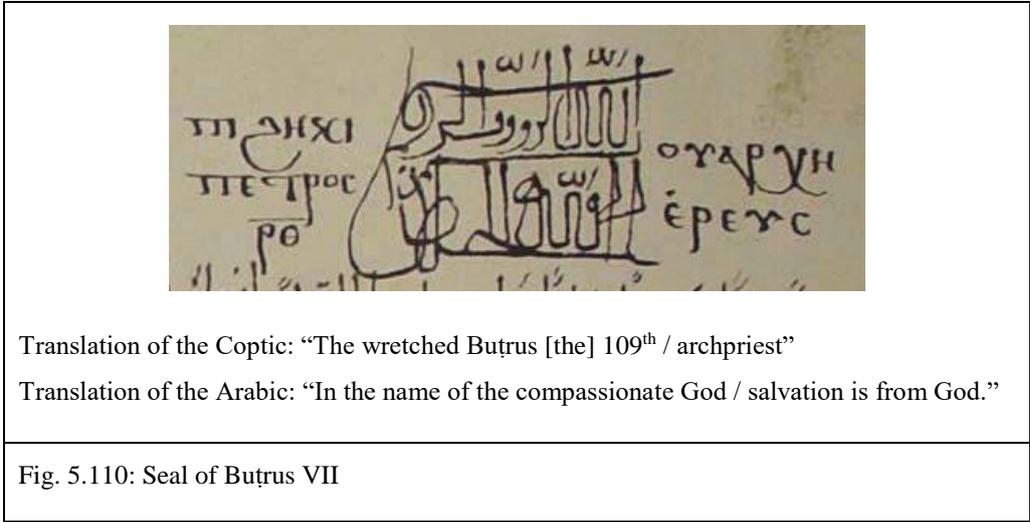


Fig. 5.110: Seal of Buṭrus VII

	<p>Translation: (Seal) In the name of the compassionate God salvation is from God. The wretched Buṭrus [the] 109th archpriest. An eternal endowment and everlasting possession and binding forever for the Monastery of our father the saint Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-‘Arabah to the east of Aṭṭīḥ. It is not to be sold or pawned or given away or borrowed out to or taken to the countryside, nor is it to be removed from the place of its endowment by any means. And whosoever shall disobey will be condemned by God and will have no blessing, [but] whosoever shall keep these [words] will be blessed and absolved. And thanks be to God forever. 25 Baramūda 1532³⁸⁵ [AM]. Written in the Monastery of the saint Anṭūniyūs in al-‘Arabah.</p>
<p>Fig. 5.111: Example of a <i>waqf</i> (endowment) by Buṭrus VII</p>	

³⁸⁵ Written in Coptic cursive numbers.

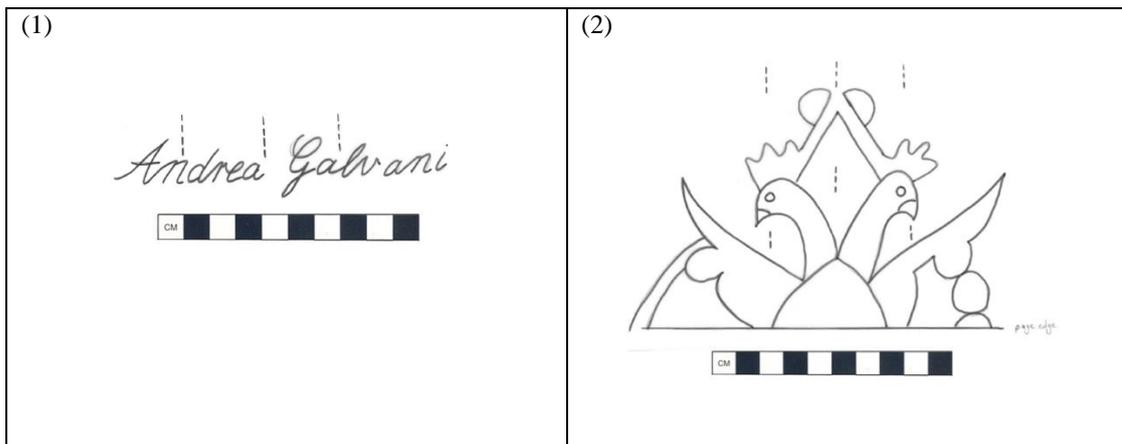
5.13 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 99

*Hagiographic Miscellany*³⁸⁶

15 Ba'ūnah 1587 AM (22 June 1871 AD)

5.13.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 230 × 165 mm. *Foliation*: 1 – 111 + 1 leaf (112). *Writing material*: beige tinted laid paper, thin, low quality, matte. Vertical chain lines 30 mm apart are visible. The codex contains three types of watermarks: (1) the name *Andrea Galvani* in italics,³⁸⁷ (2) a double-headed rooster watermark³⁸⁸ with the countermark A G³⁸⁹ in capital letters,³⁹⁰ and (3) a double-lined crest containing a crescent with human profile.³⁹¹ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a horizontal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 111r.



³⁸⁶ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

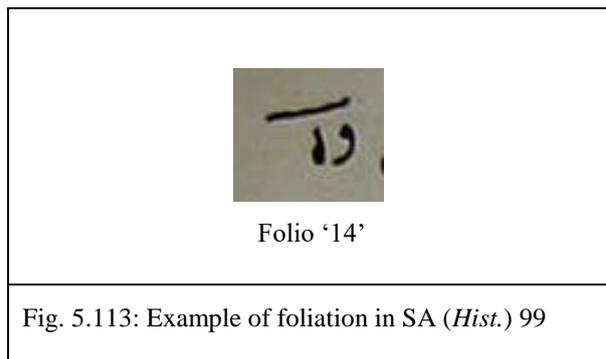
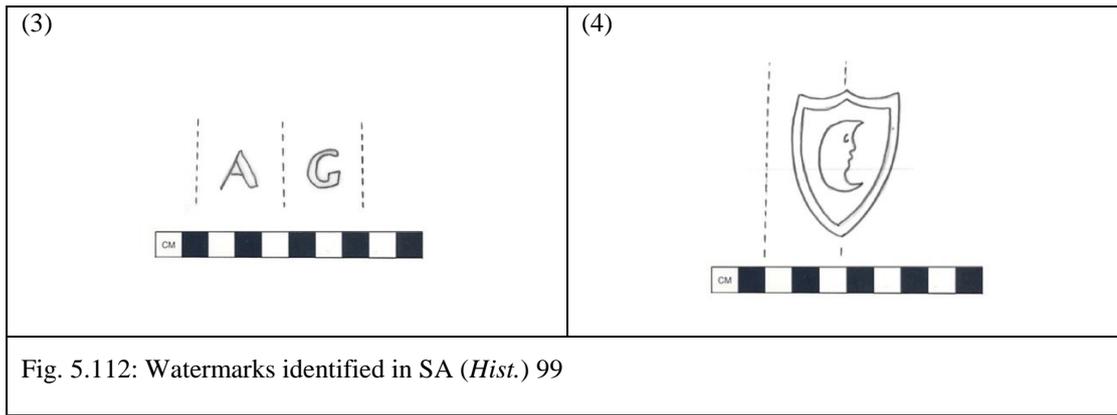
³⁸⁷ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 860, pl. 135.

³⁸⁸ Watermarks bearing single or double headed eagles first appeared in the 16th century, being the symbol of the Austrian monarchy, however, they occur most frequently during the 19th century. They are to found in very large sizes sometimes covering the entire sheet of paper. Some of French-make have crowns resembling a rooster's comb; the general semblance of the whole figure being that of a rooster with two heads (Nikolev 1954: 469).

³⁸⁹ Initials of *Andrea Galvani*.

³⁹⁰ Of frequent occurrence in paper of the 19th and 20th centuries are the various inscriptions or initials of the different makers' family names, such as A G for *Andrea Galvani* (Nikolev 1954: 469).

³⁹¹ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Nikolaev 1954: no. 1134, pl. 1851. Double-line crests with or without a crescent in human profile are characteristic watermarks of the 19th and early 20th century (Nikolev 1954: 469).



5.13.2 Contents

- (1) *Homily on the Virgin Mary*, by Cyril of Jerusalem (ff. 1r–37r); colophon (f. 37r, 5 lines)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 38r–97v)
- (3) *Life of Paul the Alexandrian* (ff. 97v–111r); colophon (f. 111r, 11 lines)

5.13.3 Colophon

The codex contains two colophons: the first stands at the end of the *Homily on the Virgin Mary*, which only gives information about the scribe's name, and the second colophon stands at the end of the volume of texts, following the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*. It provides details of the scribe's name, the name of the monk who instructed him to copy the book, and the date when the copying was completed. The scribe's name was Tūmās, and the book was completed in 1587 AM.

The text of the second colophon reads as follows:

(f. 111r, lines 5–16): Completed and finished with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, the copying [of this book] on Wednesday 15 Ba'ūnah 1587 [year of

the martyrs]³⁹² by the hand of the imperfect, wretched servant, pitiable [and] sinful, whose sins are greater than the number of stars and heavier than mountains, the foolish [one], the miserable [one] for quickly committing sins, the liar Tūmās. Hoping from the masters seeing [this book] that they say, O Lord forgive him for his sins and the sins of his parents. And it³⁹³ was by the instruction of the chaste, pure father, the luminous human and angel in the flesh who has been a cross-bearer of Christ since his childhood, *our father the monk Mūsá al-Farshūṭī*. May Christ our God grant him a long and joyful life, and after a long life [on earth], grant him eternal salvation, amen.³⁹⁴

5.13.4 Endowment

There is an endowment on the back flyleaf in the same hand. It mentions the name of the scribe Tūmās, the Monastery of St Antony to which the book is endowed, and the name of the priest Fānūs who appears to have been the spiritual head at the time.

The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(f. 111v): After the life of the monk Mūsá, it will become an endowment. This book belongs to the wretched, lowly, indolent monk who does not dare mention his name because of the abundance of his sins. By name he is a human [but] he is like an animal because he deals in a bodily way, [but] his dealing was fruitless.³⁹⁵ Beseeking everyone who reads [this book] to say, our Lord Jesus Christ forgive the sins of Your servant Mūsá and [those of] his parents and all the children of baptism. Through the intercessions of the mother of the holy [One] and the great saint Anṭūniyūs and [those] who (...) ³⁹⁶ the forgiveness, and make it an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, after his life. No one is permitted or shall be absolved to remove it from [the place of] its endowment as

³⁹² 22 June 1871 AD.

³⁹³ Referring to the transcription.

³⁹⁴ The text of the first colophon reads as follows:

تم وكملت امين بغير الله / والناقل المسكين الكسلان توماس بالاسم راهب / ينال كل من اطلع في هذا لحروف ان يقول / يا رب اغفر خطايا وخطايا
والديه شفاعة / الحنونة والعظيم انطونيوس والبار انبا بولا / امين

Translation: (f. 37r): *Completed and finished amen with the help of God*. The lowly scribe, the indolent Tūmās, by name a monk, asking everyone who reads these letters to say, O Lord grant him forgiveness for his sins and the sins of his parents, through the intercessions of the compassionate [Mary] and the great Anṭūniyūs and the righteous Anbā Būlā, amen.

³⁹⁵ This sentence was difficult to translate literally, so I have provided an appropriate translation to convey the intended message.

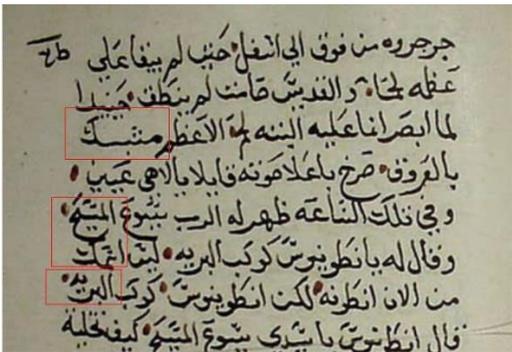
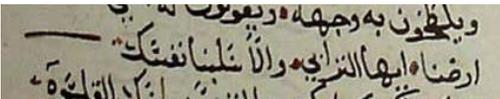
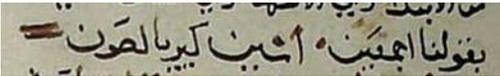
³⁹⁶ Next four words indecipherable.

long as the Monastery; whether the Monastery³⁹⁷ or [the Monastery] in the countryside,³⁹⁸ is inhabited. And whosoever shall disobey what is stated [here] will be condemned by the mouth of the Holy Trinity, and from the mouth of our father the priest Fānūs the son of Anṭūnah,³⁹⁹ the angel in the flesh and the spiritual human, [whosoever shall disobey] will be banished by his mouth. And blessings upon the son of obedience, [but] the state of the disobedient [one] is [spoiled]. And thanks be to God always.

5.13.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 185 × 115 mm, with 14 – 15 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation, contraction, suprascription (*a*), and marking a single black line, or a double black line filled in with red ink as a space filler (*b*).

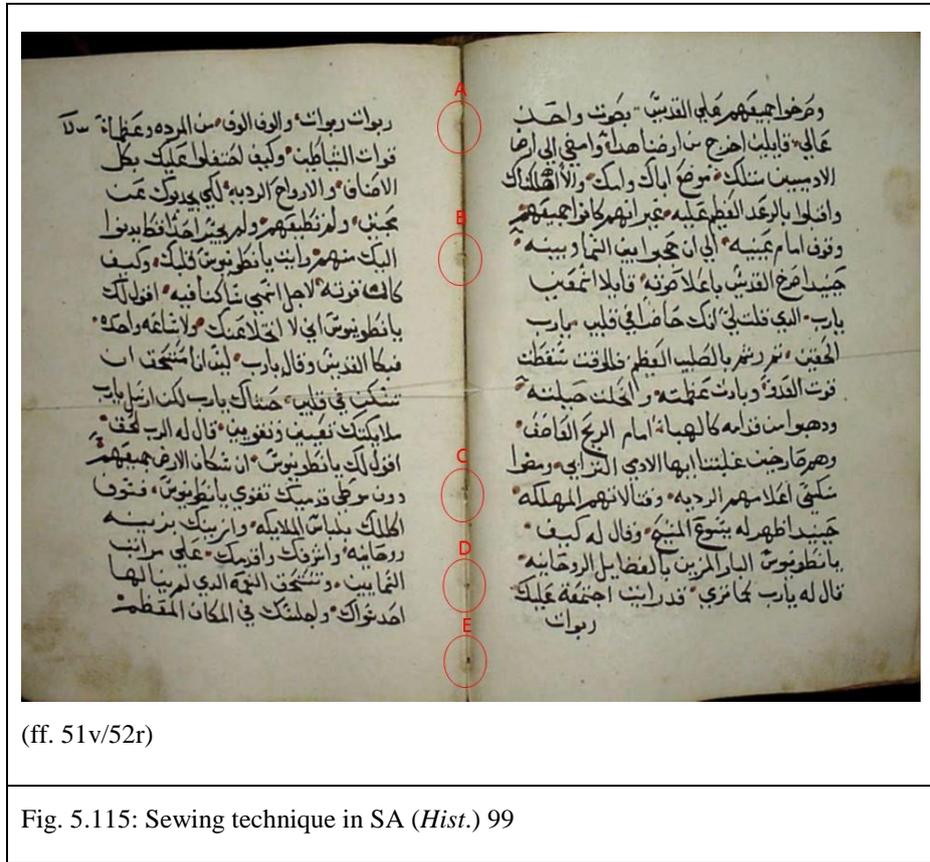
<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 28r)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 56r)</p>  <p>(f. 97v)</p>
<p>(a) f. 28r: From the top: example of an elongated word, two examples of contraction of the last word on the line, and an example of suprascription of the last word on the line. (b) f. 56r: example of a simple black line used to fill in space; f. 97v: example of a double line used as a space filler.</p>	
<p>Fig. 5.114: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99</p>	

³⁹⁷ Referring to the main Monastery in the Mountain of al-‘Arabah.

³⁹⁸ Referring to the Monastery’s dependency in Būsh (Banī Suwayf).

³⁹⁹ Referring to Fānūs being a son of Antony and thus a monk-priest at the Monastery of St Antony.

Quires: Each quire is made up of five bifolia.⁴⁰⁰ The total number of quires within the codex are eleven. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on five stations, although the third stitch is not centred. It seems that the original sewing consisted of four stations, but an extra one was included in the lower end for extra reinforcement.



Catchwords: There are only two instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.⁴⁰¹

5.13.6 Writing

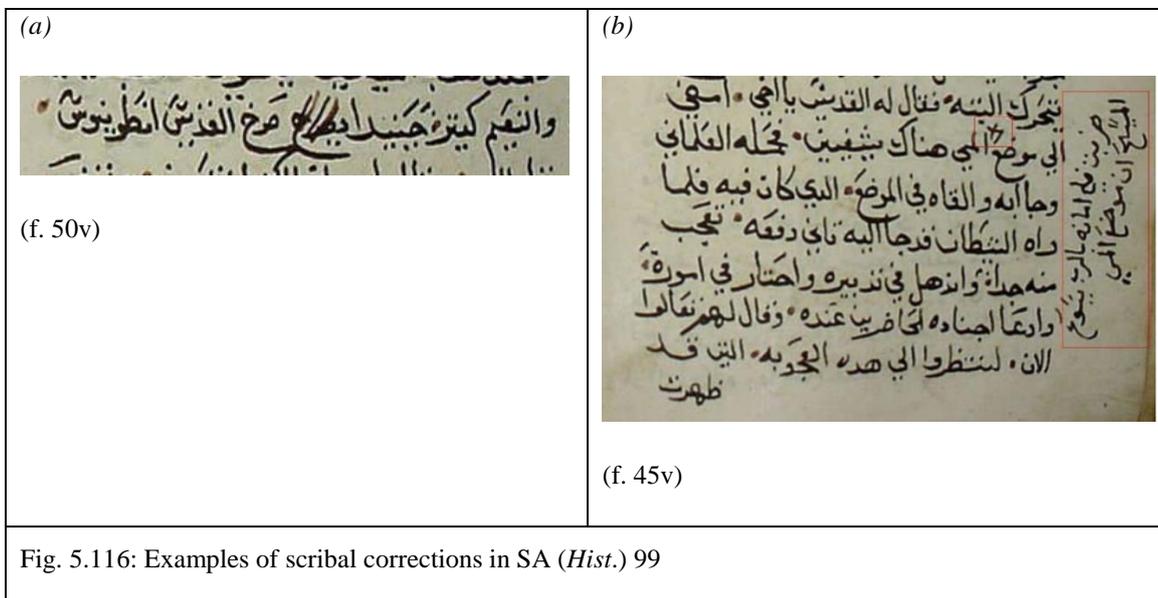
Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit of each text is highlighted in red. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter. The rubricated phrases are as follows:

⁴⁰⁰ I.e. ten leaves. According to Beit-Arié, five bifolia is the regular composition of quires in Oriental manuscripts. Beit-Arié 1976: 44.

⁴⁰¹ Diacritical marks differ on ff. 62r, 66r.

- We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life of the great saint, the revered [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his blessings and prayers be with us and protect us from evil.⁴⁰²
- And also some of his wonders⁴⁰³
- And also among his wonders⁴⁰⁴

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made only one correction in the text by crossing out in black and red ink the incorrect letters (a).⁴⁰⁵ In the case of insertions to the text, there are seven instances in the text where the scribe placed a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin (b).⁴⁰⁶



Salient Features: The scribe uses a peculiar method of writing words that end with an *alif*⁴⁰⁷ and *tanwīn*,⁴⁰⁸ however, inconsistently. Instead of writing the word ending with *alif* with the two *kasrah* to infer the ى sound, the scribe instead replaced the *kasrah* with the letter ى and inverted the ى using a red dot as its diacritical mark.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰² F. 38r, lines 2-5.

⁴⁰³ F. 61v.

⁴⁰⁴ Ff. 63v, 64v.

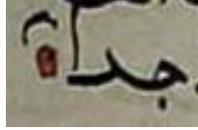
⁴⁰⁵ F. 49v.

⁴⁰⁶ Ff. 42v, 44v, 49v, 68v, 74r, 86r, 93r.

⁴⁰⁷ First letter in the Arabic alphabet: “ا”

⁴⁰⁸ *Tanwyn* is the term used to describe the sound “n” pronounced at the end of certain words. It is usually indicated by writing two *kasra* (2 diagonal strokes) above the *alif* “أ”.

⁴⁰⁹ Ff. 40r, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43v, 53v, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57v, 58r, 71v, 74v, 83v.

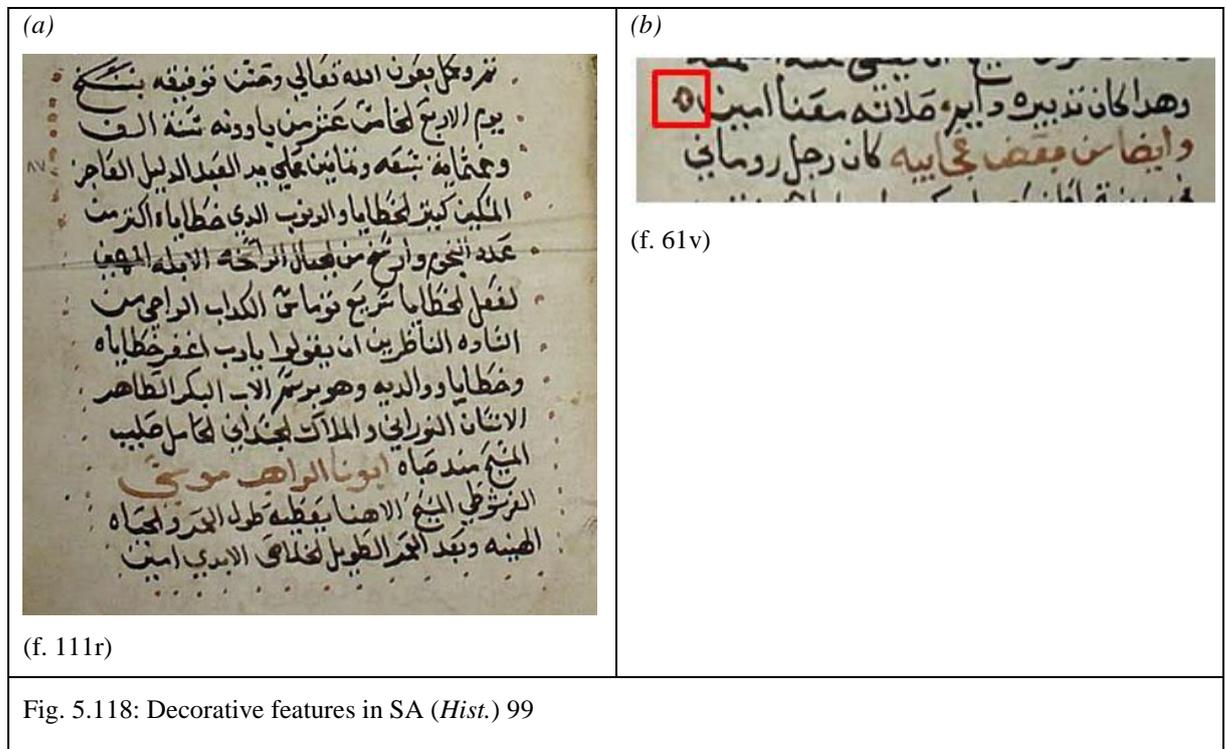


The word *jiddan* (“very much”) in standard Arabic is written جداً with a double *kasrah* over the *alif* to infer the “n” sound. Instead, the scribe replaced the *kasrah* with an inverted ن .

Fig. 5.117: Salient features in SA (*Hist.*) 108

5.13.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. The colophon at the end of the codex, following the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*, is surrounded by a series of simple dots in red ink (a). In a few instances, when the word *amen* concludes a chapter, a cluster of four dots in alternating black and red ink, follows (b).⁴¹⁰ There are no other decorative elements in the codex.



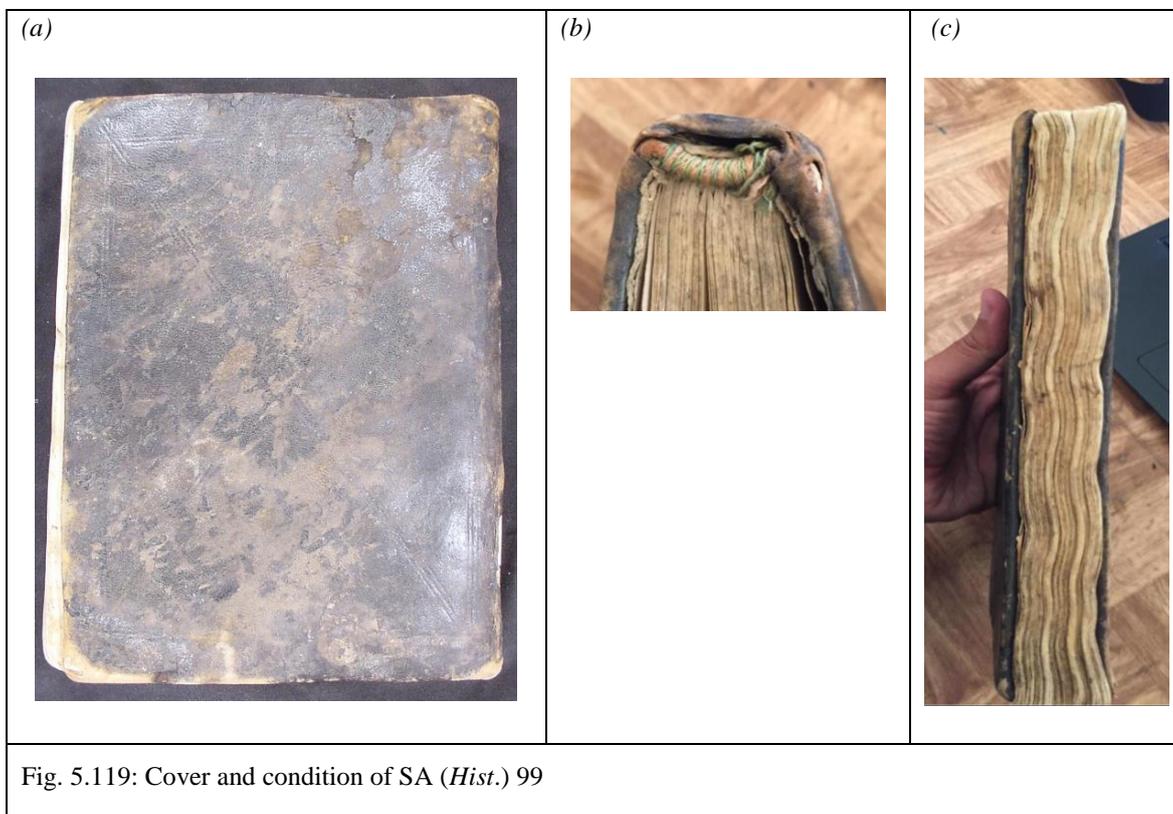
⁴¹⁰ Ff. 42r, 60r, 97v.

5.13.8 Binding

Type III binding. Black leather, original cover with tooled relief on the upper and lower covers that have been worn (a). The relief consists of double lines bordering the edges of the covers and crossing diagonally through the centre of the upper and lower covers. The measurements of the cover and spine are 235 × 170 × 30 mm. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of beige and light green threads weaved into a vertical pattern (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “99 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.13.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of cracks and abrasion, and the edges of the upper and lower covers are worn, revealing the pasteboards beneath. Stitching in some of the quires has come undone, and the front and back shoulders are removed from the spine. The front pastedown has come off the inner upper cover. The fore-edge of the book is cockled (c). The pages contain some brown and yellow stains, most probably from finger marks.



5.13.10 Observations

1) Tūmās al-Anṭūnī (scribe)

The colophon states that this manuscript was copied by Tūmās, a monk from the Monastery of St Antony.⁴¹¹ The following manuscripts contained in the Monastery of St Antony, were also copied by Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. The language is Arabic unless otherwise noted. Details include the reference number as listed in the digital catalogue of the library (listed in chronological order of copying completion date), and confirmed by viewing the manuscripts to ascertain likeness in writing and colophons. Also provided is a high-level overview of the contents, the date the copying was completed, the patrons if mentioned, and the folio reference of this information:

1. SA (*Hist.*) 99: *Hagiographic Miscellany*. Completed: 15 Ba'ūnah 1587 AM. Scribe: monk Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Patron and owner: monk Mūsá al-Farshūṭī (f. 111r).
2. SA (*Lit.*) 56: *Liturgy of St Basil*. Completed in the year 1588 AM. Scribe: monk Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Patron and owner: Mūsá al-Anṭūnī (f. 151v).
3. SA (*Lit.*) 91: *Liturgy of St Basil, Coptic and Arabic*: Completed: 7 Ṭūbah 1588 (f.135). Scribe: priest Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Instructed by Athanāsiyūs al-Baqrqāṣī. Owned by *hegumen* Yūḥannā al-Anṭūnī (ff. 135r-135v).
4. SA (*Lit.*) 227: *Prayers of the Saints*. Completed: 29 Baramūda 1606 AM. Scribe: Ibrāhīm al-Baramūsī. Patron and owner: priest Tūmās al-Anṭūnī, after whose life it becomes owned by Ghabriyāl al-Isnāwī (f. 135r).
5. SA (*Lit.*) 10: *The Benediction of Monks, Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 3v).
6. SA (*Lit.*) 78: *Liturgy of St Basil, Coptic and Arabic*. Scribe: Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 154r).
7. SA (*Theol.*) 97: *Sermons by Anbā Yūsāb the bishop of Akhmīm, part 1*. Scribe: Priest Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Patron and owner: Būlus al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (ff. 192r–192v).
8. SA (*Hist.*) 102: *Hagiographic Miscellany*. Scribe name not mentioned.⁴¹² Patron and owner: Yūḥannā al-Banoudy. Not dated (f. 75v–76r, 93r).

⁴¹¹ Ff. 37r, 111r, 111v.

⁴¹² See the “Observations” of SA (*Hist.*) 102 in this chapter where I have demonstrated why the unnamed scribe of SA (*Hist.*)102 is the same Tūmās as that of SA (*Hist.*) 99.

9. SA (*Hist.*) 93: *Hagiographic Miscellany*. Scribe name not mentioned.⁴¹³ Patron and owner: *hegumen* ‘Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis. Not dated (f. 131r).

Summary:

Tūmās copied nine manuscripts between the years 1588 AM (1871 AD) and 1606 AM (1889 AD) that were endowed to the Monastery of St Antony; five of the eight manuscripts being liturgical. The first record we have of Tūmās completing a book was sometime in the year 1588 AM (1871 AD), at which time he referred to himself as “the monk Tūmās al-Anṭūnī”. However, it seems that prior to January in 1872 AD, Tūmās was ordained a priest, for he then refers to himself in colophons as “the priest Tūmās al-Anṭūnī”. It appears that all the books Tūmās copied were commissioned for personal use by the patrons, and became a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony upon the death of the owner. By the year 1606 AM (1889 AD), Tūmās was in a position to not only copy, but to commission books for his own use.

2) *Mūsá al-Farshūtī (patron and owner)*

The colophon states that SA (*Hist.*) 99 was commissioned and owned by the monk Mūsá al-Farshūtī,⁴¹⁴ after whose life it became a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony.⁴¹⁵ There are six other manuscripts in the library of the Monastery that were also commissioned and owned by Mūsá al-Farshūtī. Mūsá may have entered the Monastery toward the end of the 18th century. Up until the year 1834 AD he was referred to as “the monk Mūsá al-Anṭūnī”. Between the years 1834 and 1844 AD, he was ordained a priest, and by the year 1845 AD he had been promoted to the position of *hegumen*. It seems apparent that he had enough wealth to commission the copying of books and that he personally owned a number of them. All the books he commissioned were for his own use, and after his death were subsequently endowed to the Monastery of St Antony. Prior to his ordination to the priesthood, the type of books Mūsá had copied and owned were biblical and prayer books, with the exception of one hagiographical book. However, after his ordination, the types of books he commissioned were all liturgical; all of which he no doubt used when officiating liturgical services. The manuscripts Mūsá commissioned and owned, and later endowed to the Monastery of St Antony, are as follows:

⁴¹³ See “Observations” for SA (*Hist.*) 93 in this chapter where I have demonstrated why the unnamed scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 93 is the same Tūmās as that of SA (*Hist.*) 99 and SA (*Hist.*) 102.

⁴¹⁴ Ff. 111r, 111v.

⁴¹⁵ F. 93r.

1. SA (*Hist.*) 99: *Hagiographic Miscellany*. Completed: 15 Ba'ūnah 1587 AM. Scribe: monk Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. Patron and owner: monk Mūsá al-Farshūṭī (f. 111r).
2. SA (*Lit.*) 706: *Book of Psalms, and the Prayers of the Prophets*. Completed: 11 Ba'ūnah 1509 AM. Owner: monk Mūsá al-Anṭūnī (f. 4v).
3. SA (*Lit.*) 182: *Horologion*. Completed: 8 Baramhāt 1544 AM. Scribe and owned by: monk Mūsá al-Anṭūnī (f. 1v).
4. SA (*Lit.*) 146: *Horologion*. Completed: 30 Bābah 1551 AM. Scribe: monk Iṣṭafānūs Būlus Ṣaqr al-Anṭūnī. Patron and owner: monk Mūsá al-Anṭūnī (ff. 222r–222v).
5. SA (*Bibl.*) 316: *Gospel of Luke and John*. 29 Abīb 1561 AM. Scribe: Mattá. Patron and owner: priest Mūsá al-Anṭūnī (ff. 2v, 136v).
6. SA (*Lit.*) 694: *Baptismal Rites*, in Coptic. Patron and owner: priest Mūsá al-Anṭūnī. Not dated (f. 21v).
7. SA (*Lit.*) 106: *Liturgy of St Basil and Liturgy of St Gregory*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 17 Bashans 1562 AM. Scribe: Ya'qūb Ḥannā al-Ḥarīrī. Patron and owner: *hegumen* Mūsá al-Anṭūnī (f. 1v).

5.14 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 105

Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs by Athanasius the patriarch of Alexandria ⁴¹⁶

(19th century)

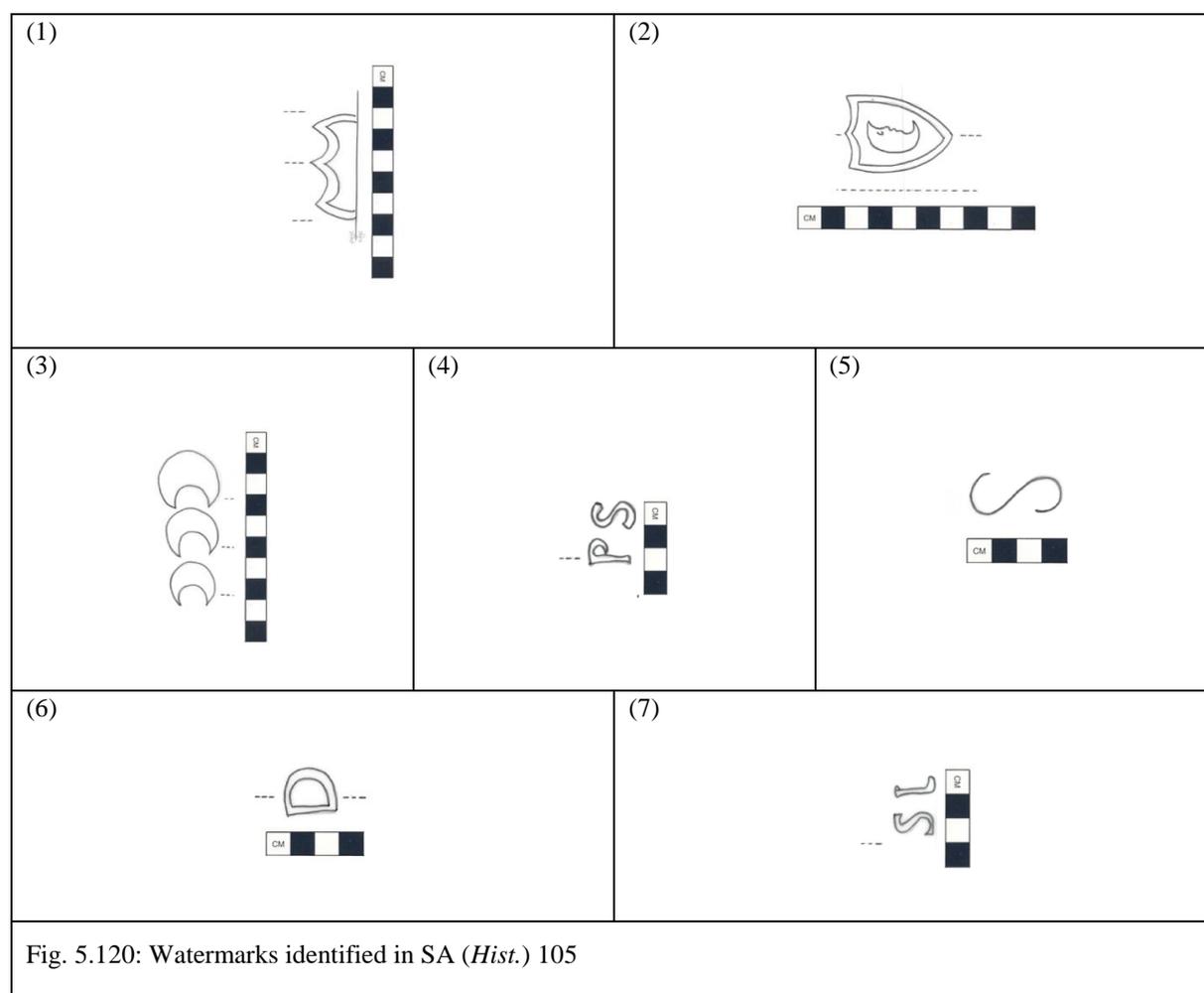
5.14.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 220 × 160 mm. *Foliation*: 2 leaves (*i, ii*) + 3 – 79 + 3 leaves (*80, 81, 82*). *Writing material*: all pages were sized with starch giving it a glossy surface and contain horizontal chain lines 25 mm apart on laid paper. The flyleaves appear whiter and glossier than the text-block paper. The codex contains seven types of watermarks: (1) a double-lined crest,⁴¹⁷ (2) a crest containing a crescent in human

⁴¹⁶ The scribe has attributed this *Life* to Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, and with the exception of the incipit, the life-story is an Arabic translation of the *Athanasian Life*.

⁴¹⁷ Only the top part is visible.

profile,⁴¹⁸ (3) vertical “Le Tre Lune”,⁴¹⁹ (4) the countermark P S in capital letters,⁴²⁰ (5) the letter S in capital, (6) the letter D in capital, and (7) the countermark S L in capital letters. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā'* at its end. The numbering begins at f. 3v⁴²¹ and ends at f. 79r. Although foliation is usually done on *recto* only, the scribe considered flyleaves *i* and *ii* as pages 1 and 2, and hence numbered the page opposite the incipit as folio 3 and the incipit page as folio 4.⁴²²



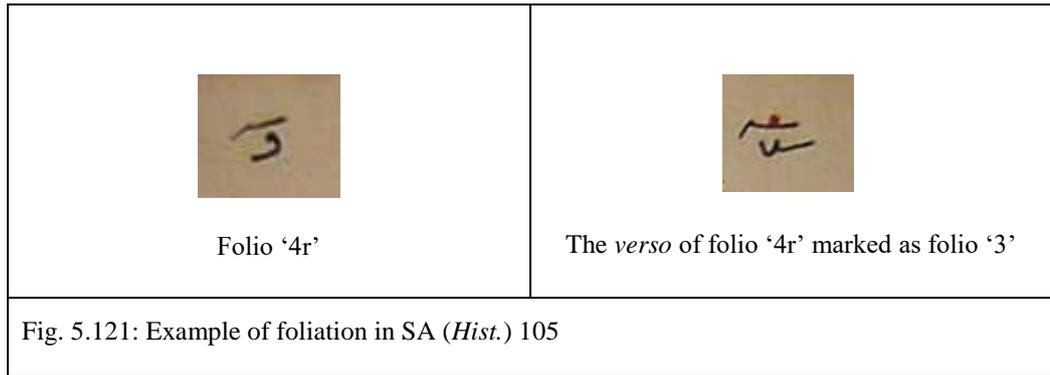
⁴¹⁸ According to Nikolev, double-line crests with or without a crescent in human profile began appearing in the late 18th century but are characteristic watermarks of the 19th and early 20th century (Nikolev 1954: 469).

⁴¹⁹ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 874, pl. 137.

⁴²⁰ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Nikolev 1954: no. 1752, pl. 472.

⁴²¹ The front flyleaves numbered by the scribe as 1, 2 and 3, are overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke.

⁴²² See Fig. 5.121.



5.14.2 Contents

Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs by Athanasius the patriarch of Alexandria (ff. 4r–79v)

5.14.3 Colophon

The codex contains no colophon.

5.14.4 Endowment

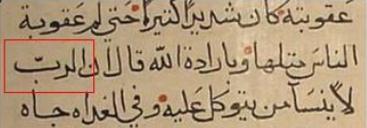
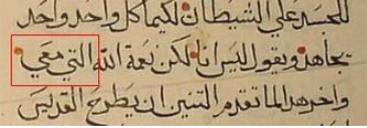
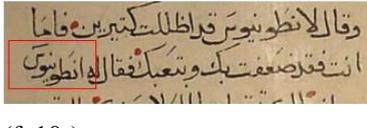
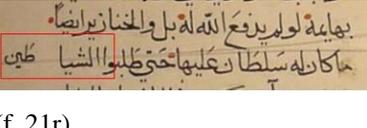
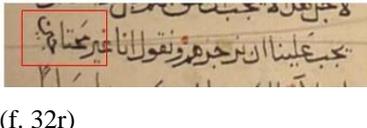
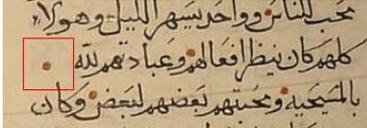
An endowment for the Monastery of St Antony is written in the same hand as the text-block on the flyleaf opposite the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(Flyleaf 3v): Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs. No one shall be absolved or permitted to remove it from [the place of] its endowment or take it out of the Monastery. And [it is] not to be owned by a monk in his cell [unless he] reads in it and returns it to the library, and whosoever shall disobey what is written, shall be banished, and whosoever shall keep the [words of] the endowment will be blessed and absolved. The disobedient [one] his state is spoiled, [but] blessings upon the son of obedience. And glory be to God always and forever, amen.

5.14.5 Layout

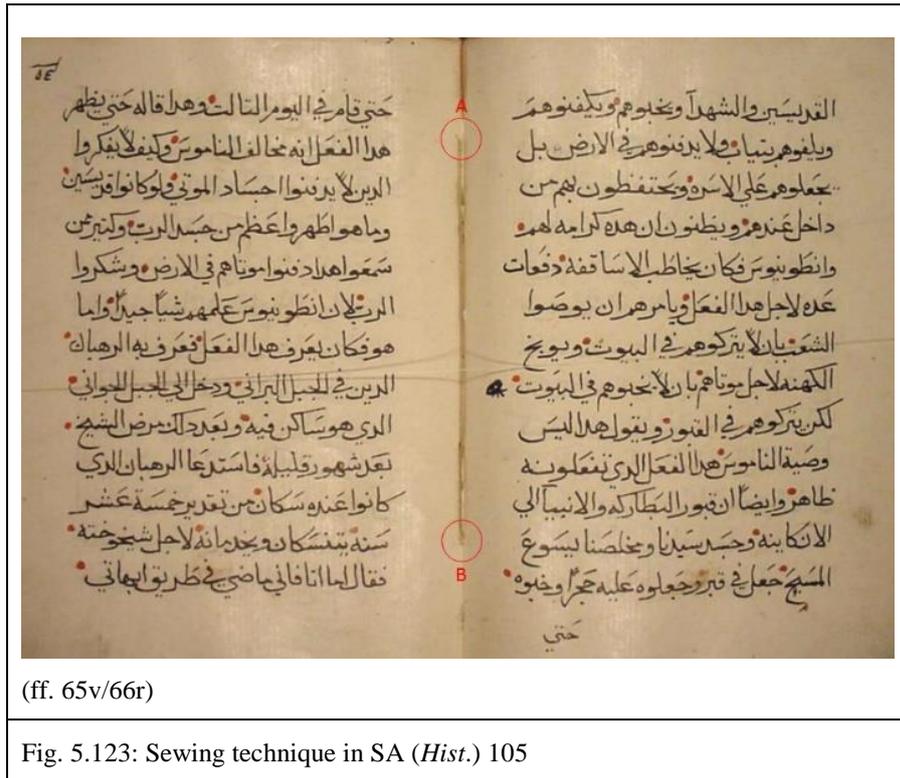
Written area: av. c. 165 × 105 mm with 13 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed six methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (a), contraction (b), suprascription (c), spacing exceeding letters of the last word in the margin while space was left between the two parts (d), writing exceeding words diagonally (e),⁴²³ and graphic fillers taking the form of a single dot in red ink (f).

<p>(a)</p>  <p>(f. 12r)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>(f. 9v)</p>	<p>(c)</p>  <p>(f. 10r)</p>
<p>(d)</p>  <p>(f. 21r)</p>	<p>(e)</p>  <p>(f. 32r)</p>	<p>(f)</p>  <p>(f. 7v)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.122: Line management in SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 105</p>		

Quires: Each quire is made up of ten bifolia, with the exception of the first and last quires, which are three and four respectively. The total number of quires within the codex are seven. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on two stations.

⁴²³ The method of writing final words liable to exceed the margin diagonally was the favourite practice of Oriental scribes. Beit-Arié 1976: 103.



(ff. 65v/66r)

Fig. 5.123: Sewing technique in SA (*Hist.*) 105

Catchwords: There are no discrepancies in catchwords in the text.

5.14.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* is the only text written in red and contains vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink. The text of the incipit reads as follows:

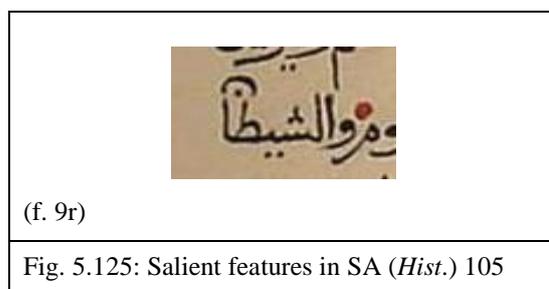
- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life of the virtuous, blessed father, our father, the great [one] among saints, Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness, the father of monks and the greatest of hermits, from what was expounded by the father Athanasius the Apostolic, the patriarch of Alexandria, to the brothers who came to him at that time and asked [of] him. So he spoke to them from the beginning [of his life] until he completed his good departure, I mean father Anṭūniyūs on 22 Ṭūbah, with peace from the Lord. And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of words that have no benefit. And God is the helper in the beginning and the end, amen.*⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Ff. 4r-4v.

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by two methods: crossing out in red ink the word not required and writing the replaced word above in the interline (a),⁴²⁵ or crossing out in red ink the word not required and placing a small red cross above it with the replacement written vertically in the margin (b).⁴²⁶ In the case of insertions to the text, the scribe placed a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin (c).⁴²⁷ The text contains no additions in the interline, and no marginal notes.



Salient Features: There is only one instance in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted in the text.



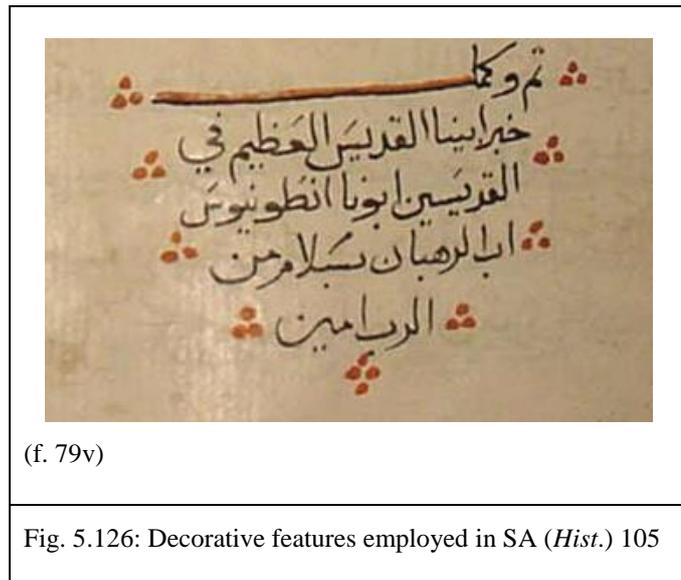
⁴²⁵ There are only two instances of this case on ff. 27r, 54r.

⁴²⁶ There is only one instance of this case on f. 39v.

⁴²⁷ There is only one instance of this case on f. 20r.

5.14.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single dot in red ink which sits above the baseline. The scribe has utilised the long bar in the last letter ُ of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink. The only decorative feature in the text is that the five lines of the explicit are flanked to the right and left with clusters of three red dots, with a final cluster of four red dots under the explicit.



5.14.8 Binding

Type III binding. Black leather with reinforced brown leather on the spine, original cover with stamped relief (*a*). The measurements of the cover and spine are 220 × 160 × 30 mm. The preserved original upper and lower cover contains a variety of blind stamped circular and rectangular designs placed on the cover haphazardly. In the centre of both covers is a star design within a circle. Pasted onto the upper cover is what appears to be a part of a leaf containing the content of the codex, written in the same hand as the endowment on flyleaf *iii*. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of beige and light green threads weaved into a vertical pattern (*b*). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “105 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.14.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of cracks and abrasion, and the edges of the upper and lower covers are worn, revealing the pasteboards beneath. Some of the stitching in the quires has come undone, and some of the quires have separated from the binding. The pages contain some brown and yellow stains, most probably from finger marks, that are prominent on all the pages in the outer bottom corner. The fore-edge of the book is cockled (c). Traces of candle wax and brown oil stains throughout.

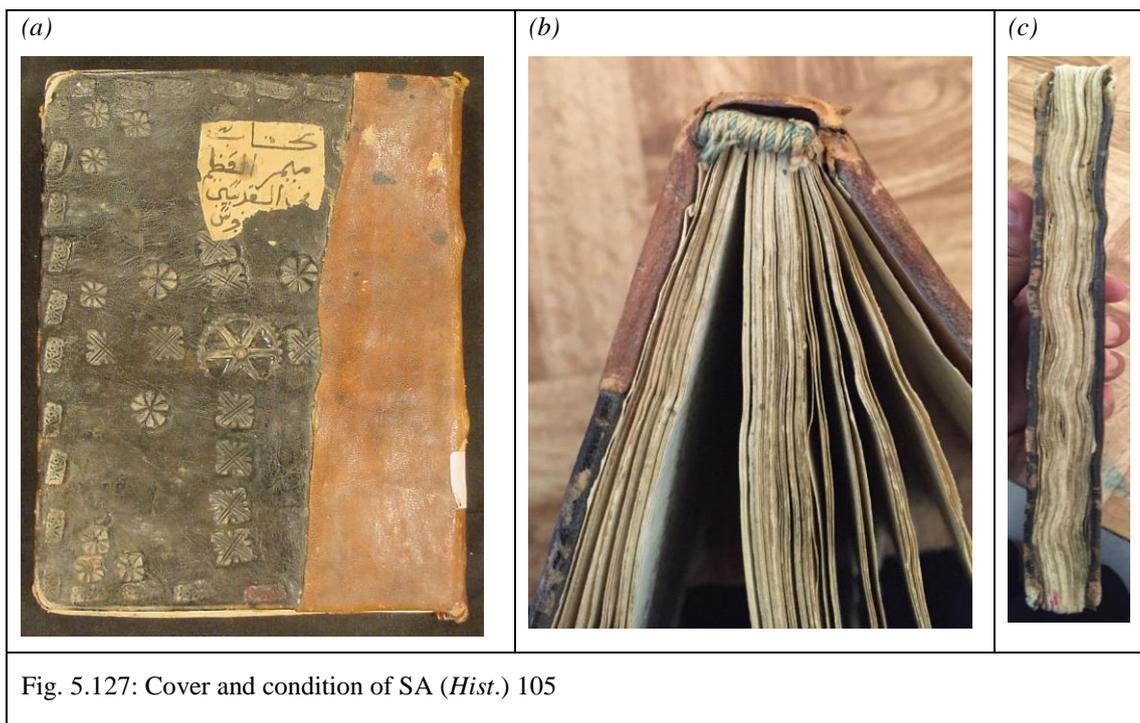


Fig. 5.127: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 105

5.14.10 Observations

1) Athanasian Life

SA (*Hist.*) 105 is interesting for the information provided in the incipit.⁴²⁸

We begin... to copy the life of... Anṭūniyūs... from what was expounded by the father Athanasius the Apostolic, the patriarch of Alexandria... And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contain additions and deletions of words that have no benefit...

⁴²⁸ Ff. 4r-4v.

The scribe makes three significant points:

- i. He is copying a *Life* “expounded by” Athanasius of Alexandria, which is the first time we encounter, in the Red Sea monasteries, a *Life of Antony* attributed to him;
- ii. That it was necessary for the scribe to copy the *Life* attributed to Athanasius because the version that was circulating was of no spiritual benefit. No doubt the scribe was referring to the text of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*. He indicates that there were many copies of this version of the redacted *Life* and that its influence was far greater than the *Athanasian Life*;
- iii. He is copying it from a copy contained within the Monastery of St. Macarius in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, inferring that there was communication and/or mobility between the two monasteries of St Antony and St Macarius.

2) The parent copy of the text at the Monastery of St. Macarius

There are two manuscripts at the Monastery of St. Macarius containing the *Life of Antony*: Mss St Macarius (*Hag.*) 31 and 20.⁴²⁹

St Macarius (*Hag.*) 20 is dated 1502 AM (1785/86 AD) and contains the same text as SA (*Hist.*) 105, but with a different incipit, whereas the text of St Macarius (*Hag.*) 31, including the incipit⁴³⁰ is identical to that contained in SA (*Hist.*) 105. Therefore, it is likely that SA (*Hist.*) 105 was copied from St Macarius (*Hag.*) 31.

We cannot be certain which of the two texts at St. Macarius were copied first, given that St Macarius (*Hag.*) 31 is not dated. Ugo Zanetti had originally assumed (*Hag.*) 31 to date to the 15th century,⁴³¹ but then revised the date based on the identified watermarks contained in the codex, and hence assumes the manuscript to be of an 18th century date,⁴³² thus pre-dating SA (*Hist.*) 105.

3) Dating criteria

The watermarks in SA (*Hist.*) 105 contain double-lined crests with and without crescents in human profile, which according to Vsevolod Nikolev, are characteristic watermarks of the 19th

⁴²⁹ The catalogue references are according to those provided in Zanetti 1986: 56, 59. I am grateful to Bishop Epiphanius, the abbot of the Monastery of St Macarius, for providing me with copies of these manuscripts.

⁴³⁰ With the exception of the line stating: “And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of words that have no benefit.”

⁴³¹ Zanetti 1986: 59.

⁴³² Zanetti 1986a: 487.

and early 20th century.⁴³³ To demonstrate, there are several manuscripts in the Monastery of St Macarius that contain the watermark of the double-lined crest with crescent in human profile that are dated from 1811 to 1895 AD.⁴³⁴ In addition, SA (*Hist.*) 99 is dated 1871 AD, and SA (*Hist.*) 102 is assumed to date to the mid-19th century. Furthermore, SA (*Hist.*) 105 contains various initials; the watermarks of which have been attested to have occurred frequently from the last quarter of the 18th century.⁴³⁵ Thus, given that this manuscript cannot date earlier than the 18th century (because it was copied from an 18th century text), I propose to date it to the 19th century.

5.15 ST PAUL (HISTORY) 17

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁴³⁶

(Second half of the 19th century AD)

5.15.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex.⁴³⁷ Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 230 × 160 mm. *Foliation*: 4 leaves (*i, ii, iii, iv*) + 1 – 159 + 160. *Writing material*: A combination of paper types of varying thickness and watermarks containing, (1) a single large crescent on flyleaf *i*, (2) an incomplete watermark located on the corner of flyleaf *iii*, suggesting that the paper was cut before use; the image appears to be part of an armorial design, (3) and within the text-block, the name *Andrea Galvani* in italics,⁴³⁸ and (4) three vertical crescents in diminishing sizes “Le Tre Lune”, but only two are visible. Vertical chainlines are visible 30 mm apart. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā*’ at its end. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 159r. Folio 89r/89v is “wanting”.

⁴³³ Nikolev 1954: 469.

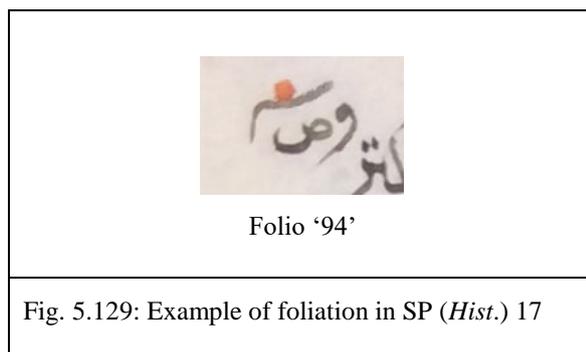
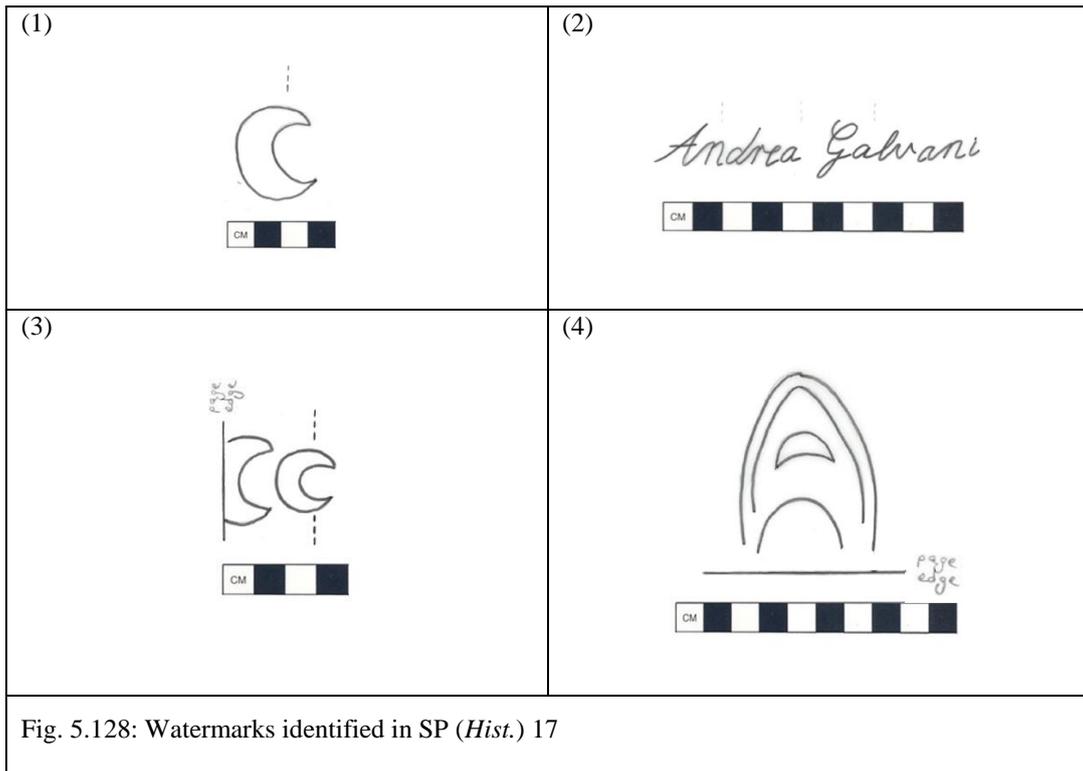
⁴³⁴ St Macarius 13 (19th century), 313 (1811 AD), 275 (1854 AD), 355 (1890 AD), 101 (1890 AD), 288 (1895 AD), 304 (19th century), and 255 (19th century). Zanetti 1986a: 464-478. There is one manuscript at St Macarius that contains both the double-lined crest and the counter-initial “D” that dates to 1842 AD: St Macarius 134 (1842 AD). Zanetti 1986a: Index des Lettres.

⁴³⁵ Nikolev 1954: 123.

⁴³⁶ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

⁴³⁷ With the exception of f. 89r/89v containing the incipit and introduction which is “wanting”, i.e. leaves now accidentally absent from the manuscript constituting a loss of the scribe’s final text. Depuydt 1993: XCIV.

⁴³⁸ A resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 860, plate 135.



5.15.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Mārī Jirjis al-Rūmānī* (ff. 1r–88v)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 90r–157v). The first page of the *Life* (f. 89r/89v) is “wanting”.

5.15.3 Colophon

The codex contains no colophon.

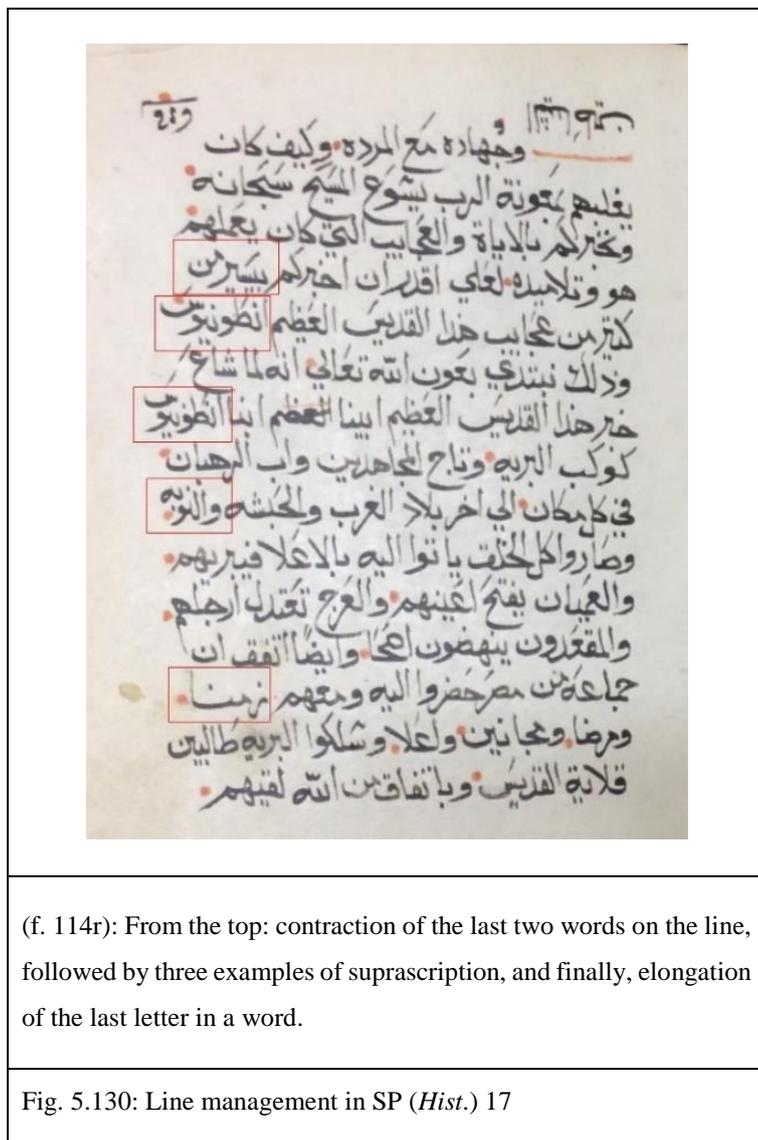
5.15.4 Endowment

The codex contains endowment.

5.15.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 180 × 115 mm with 15 lines.

Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (*a*), contraction (*b*), and suprascription (*c*).



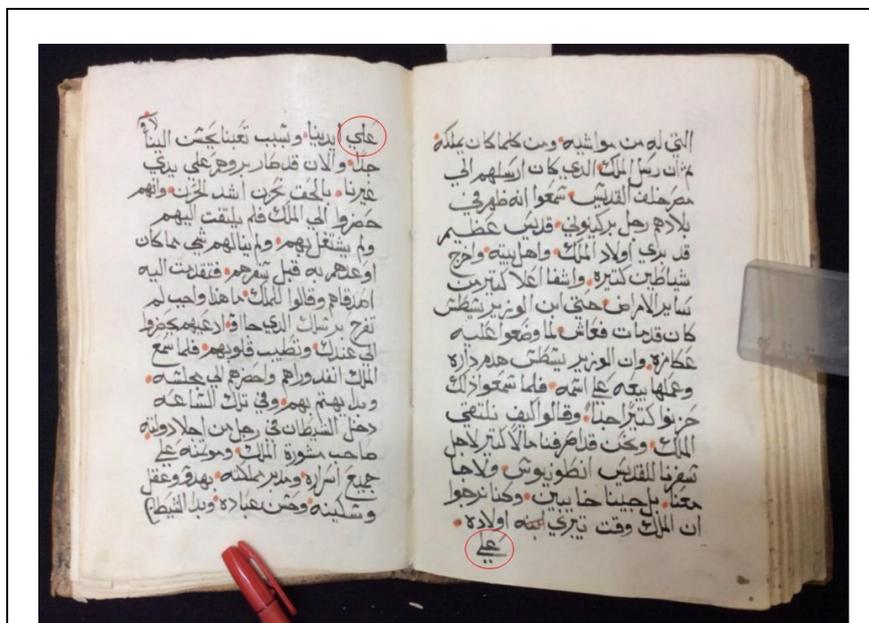
Quires: Each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires in the codex is sixteen. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.



(ff. 90v/91r)

Fig. 5.131: Sewing technique in SP (*Hist.*) 17

Catchwords: There are three instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.⁴³⁹ Furthermore, the catchwords on *verso* are written in a different hand and pen to the text-block.



(ff. 149v/150r)

Fig. 5.132: Detail of differences in hand in the catchwords

⁴³⁹ Diacritical and/or vocalisation marks missing on f. 104v; catchwords on *verso* and *recto* do not match on f. 22v; catchword *al-shayāṭīn* inverted on *recto* on f. 114r.

5.15.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand but the catchwords on *verso* were written in a different hand. Black ink with rubrics. The page containing the incipit and introduction to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* is “wanting”. However, given that the incipit to the *Life of Mārī Jirjis al-Rūmānī* is written in red ink (f. 1r lines 2–7), we may assume that the same was done for the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. The scribe wrote the names *Anṭūniyūs* and *Anbā Būlā* in red, however, without consistency. He also indicated the start of a new chapter in red ink. The rubricated phrases are as follows:

- *And we would like, O our brothers who are present in this feast*⁴⁴⁰
- *Anṭūniyūs*⁴⁴¹
- *O Anṭūniyūs*⁴⁴²
- *The father Anbā Būlā*⁴⁴³
- *Anbā Būlā*⁴⁴⁴
- *The righteous Anbā Būlā*⁴⁴⁵
- *Anbā Būlā the first hermit*⁴⁴⁶
- *He said*⁴⁴⁷
- *And also among his wonders*⁴⁴⁸
- *Hear also a great story*⁴⁴⁹

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by crossing out in red ink the words not required (*a*). In the case of corrections, the scribe crossed out the incorrect words or letters, and wrote the replacement either vertically in the margin or in the interline (*b*). For insertions, the scribe placed a small red cross in the place where the insertion is to be made and the additional word(s) is written vertically in the margin (*c*).⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁰ F. 112v.

⁴⁴¹ Ff. 90v, 91v, 100r, 100v, 111r, 137r, 137v, 153r, 155r.

⁴⁴² Ff. 100v, 101r, 102r, 110r.

⁴⁴³ F. 110v.

⁴⁴⁴ F. 137r, 137v.

⁴⁴⁵ F. 110r.

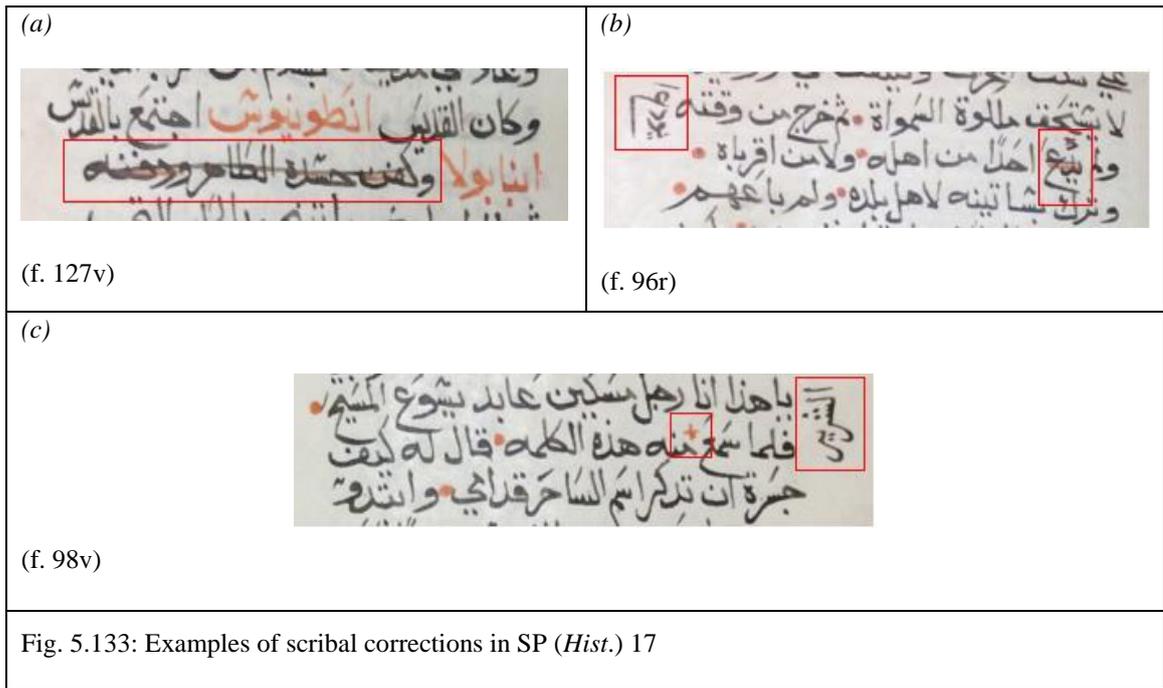
⁴⁴⁶ F. 110r.

⁴⁴⁷ F. 112v.

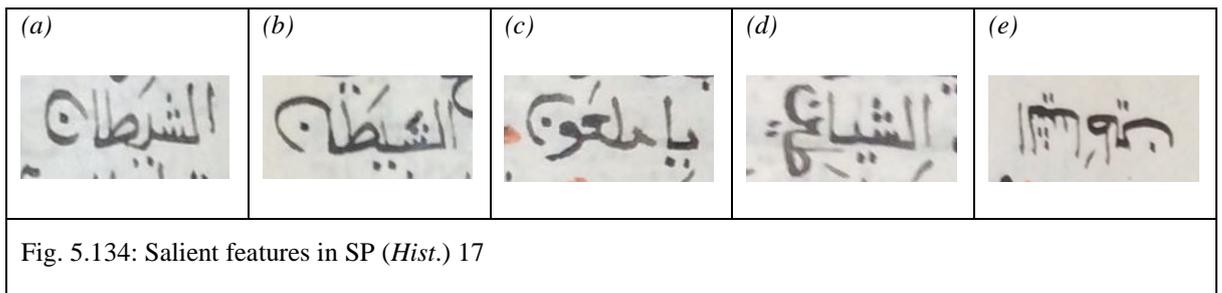
⁴⁴⁸ Ff. 115v, 117r, 118r.

⁴⁴⁹ F. 136v.

⁴⁵⁰ The word is crossed out in black and red ink with no correction on ff. 101v, 102r, 102v, 103r, 105r, 110r, 111v, 113r, 118r, 118v, 120r, 126v, 133v, 134r, 137r, 140r, 140v, 149v; misspelt word/letters crossed out in red ink and



Salient Features: The words *al-shayṭān*⁴⁵¹ الشيطان (the devil), *al-shayāṭīn*⁴⁵² الشياطين (the devils), and *yā mal'ūn*⁴⁵³ ياملعون (O cursed one) are written in various ways throughout the text without consistency in method. For example: the last letter of the word *al-shayṭān* ن is written sideways (a);⁴⁵⁴ the last letter of the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted (b);⁴⁵⁵ the last letter of the words *yā mal'ūn* ن is written sideways (c);⁴⁵⁶ the last three letters in the word *al-shayāṭīn* طين is written sideways (d);⁴⁵⁷ and the entire word *al-shayāṭīn* is inverted (e).⁴⁵⁸



correct word/letters written in interlines on ff. 91v, 101r, 104r; word crossed out in black and red ink and correct word written vertically in the margin on ff. 96r, 103v, 133r, 141r.

⁴⁵¹ “The Devil”

⁴⁵² “The devils”

⁴⁵³ “O cursed one”

⁴⁵⁴ Ff. 97r, 100r, 104r, 108r, 109r, 118v, 150r.

⁴⁵⁵ Ff. 114r, 143v, 145v.

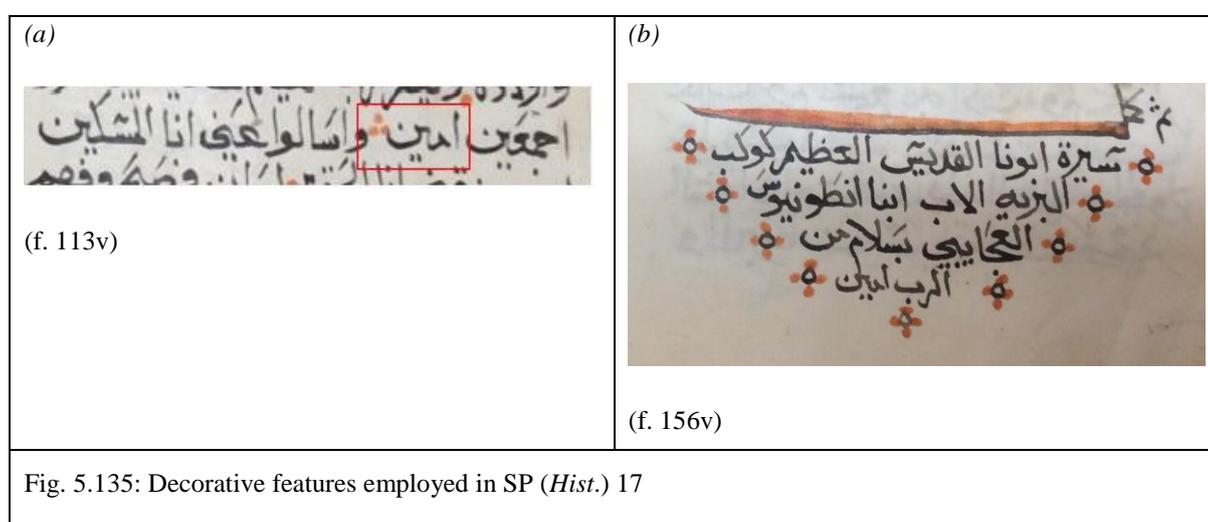
⁴⁵⁶ Ff. 109r.

⁴⁵⁷ Ff. 146r, 147v.

⁴⁵⁸ Ff. 113v.

5.15.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. The word *amen* is usually, but not consistently, followed by a cluster of three red dots (a).⁴⁵⁹ A decorative feature consisting of a small black circle surrounded with four red dots giving an overall appearance of a small cross, flank the left and right side of each line of the explicits (b). The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bolded line in red and black ink (b).



5.15.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with no tooled relief (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are 235 × 165 × 45 mm. The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, but otherwise in good condition. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of brown and yellow threads weaved into a vertical pattern. Glued onto the front cover is what appears to be part of a leaf containing the index (b). It is the same hand as the inscribed text. A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “17/231 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and glued onto the spine.

⁴⁵⁹ Ff. 112v, 113v, 118r, 137r, 138r.

5.15.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The edges of the upper and lower cover are worn. The back quire and pastedowns are separated from the spine (c). The pages contain some brown and yellow stains. Otherwise in good condition.



Fig. 5.136: Cover and binding of SP (*Hist.*) 17

5.15.10 Observations

1) Dating criteria

The codex lacks a colophon or endowment, or any other datable information. However, based on the identified watermarks it is possible to ascertain an approximate date of copying. In particular, the watermark of *Andrea Galvani Pordenone* identified frequently within the text-block, and which is prominently found in many Oriental manuscripts, dates from the second half of the 19th century.⁴⁶⁰

Ugo Zanetti observed that 21% of total watermarks identified in the manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius,⁴⁶¹ contain the watermark of *Andrea Galvani* and date between 1836 and 1904.⁴⁶² Meanwhile, there are three other manuscripts at the Red Sea monasteries, that were examined, that contain the same watermark and date between the late 19th to mid-20th century.⁴⁶³

Accordingly, I propose to date this codex to the second half of the 19th century.

5.16 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 102

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁴⁶⁴

(Second half of the 19th century AD)

5.16.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 215 × 155 mm. *Foliation*: 3 leaves (*i, ii, iii*) + 1 – 93 + 4 leaves (*94, 95, 96, 97*). *Writing material*: a mix of papers containing brownish tinted, thick wove paper, as well as whitish paper sized with starch giving it a glossy surface. The codex contains three types of watermarks: (1) double-lined crest

⁴⁶⁰ See Witkam 1982: 89, and Drint 1999: 43.

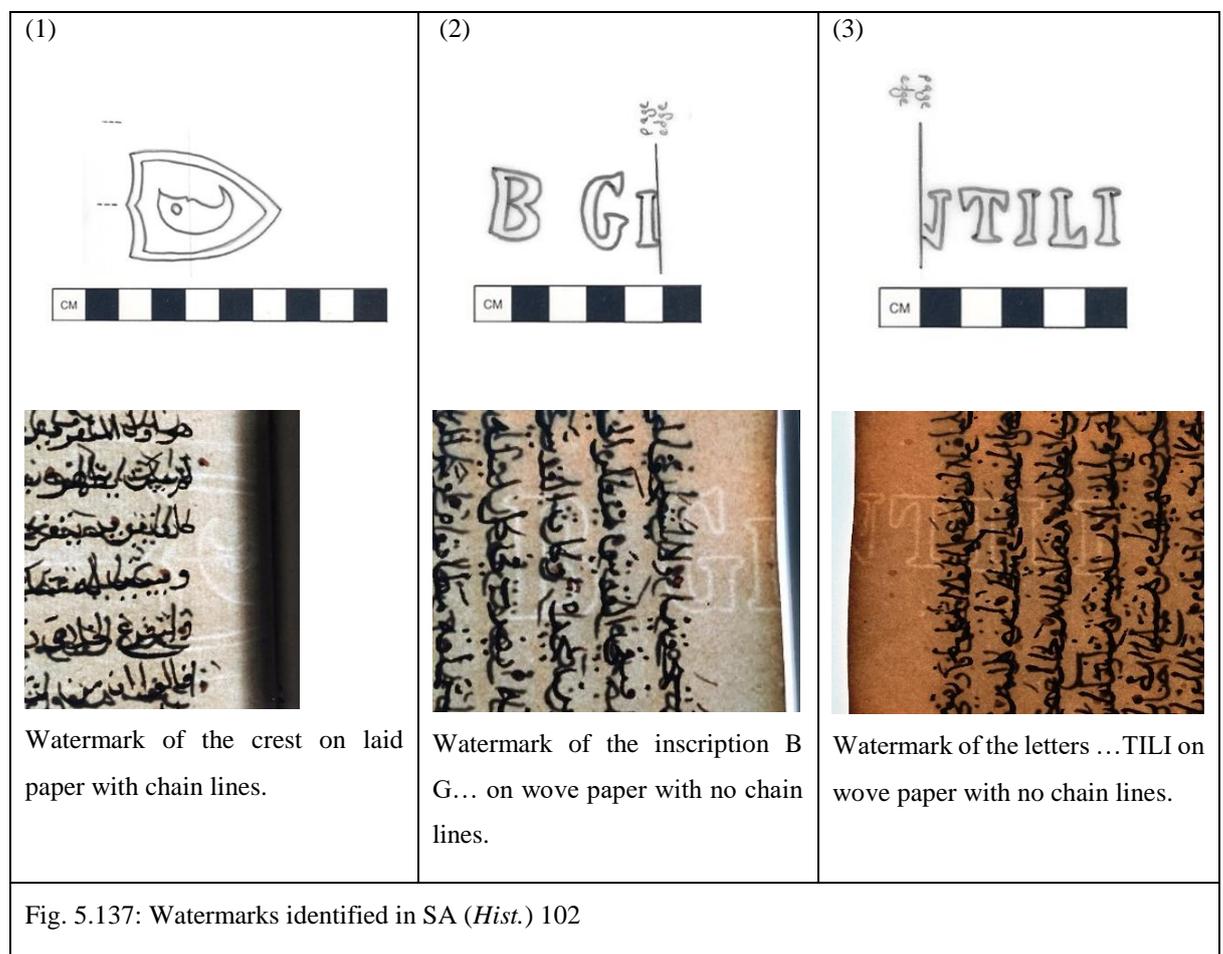
⁴⁶¹ 90 manuscripts out of 427.

⁴⁶² See Zanetti 1986: 468-469.

⁴⁶³ SA (*Hist.*) 99 dated 1871 AD in which *Andrea Galvani* is contained within the pages of the text-block; SP (*Hist.*) 53 dated 17th century AD in which *Andrea Galvani* is only contained in the flyleaves which were added when the book was rebound around 1931; and SA (*Hist.*) 106 dated 18th century in which *Andrea Galvani* is only contained in the flyleaves which were added when the book was rebound sometime between 1951 and 1957.

⁴⁶⁴ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

containing a crescent with human profile,⁴⁶⁵ (2) an inscription beginning with the letters B G,⁴⁶⁶ and (3) an incomplete name with the remaining letters ‘...TILI’ in capital. In the manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Ugo Zanetti identified three manuscripts dating to the late 19th century, containing the watermark *Benedetto Gentili – Vittorio*.⁴⁶⁷ Thus, it is more than likely that the watermarks here containing ‘B G...’ and ‘...TILI’ are indeed the name of the same maker. The double-lined crest with crescent has horizontal chain lines 30 mm apart, whereas the paper containing the letters is woven paper with no chain lines.⁴⁶⁸ *Pagination:* The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a diagonal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 93r.⁴⁶⁹



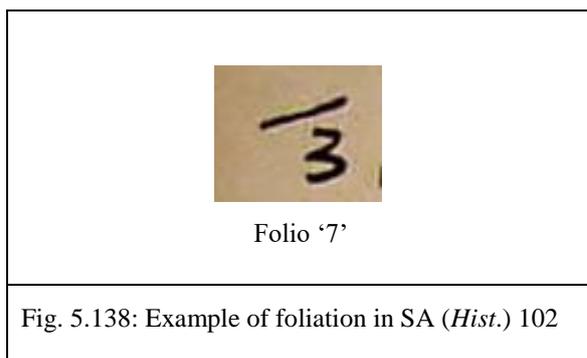
⁴⁶⁵ According to Nikolev, double-line crests with a crescent in human profile appeared as a countermark in the 18th century and became a characteristic watermark of the 19th and early 20th century (Nikolev 1954: 123, 469).

⁴⁶⁶ The various inscriptions or initials of the different makers’ family names – including B G – was of frequent occurrence in paper of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Nikolev 1954: 469).

⁴⁶⁷ Mss St Macarius 156, 216 and 304, all written in the year 1880 AD (Zanetti 1986a: 460).

⁴⁶⁸ See Fig. 5.137 for images of the different paper types containing watermarks.

⁴⁶⁹ With the exception of f. 76r with is not foliated.



5.16.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff.1r–75v); colophon (ff.75v–76r)
 (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 76v–92v); endowment (f. 93r, 5 lines)

5.16.3 Colophon

A colophon stands at the end of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, following the explicit. It gives information about the name of the scribe and the patron. The scribe's name was Tūmās, and the book was commissioned by the monk Yūḥannā al-Banūdī. The text of the colophon reads as follows:

(ff. 75v–76r): Finished and completed with the help of God, by the hand of the poor, wretched [one] who possesses all sins, who returns to his vomit like dogs, lying in the filth of his sins like pigs, loving the lusts of his soul and body and despises the spiritual salt, [who is] rotten because of the abundance of the sickness of the sins and all the sins he commits, [the one who is] lazy during the times of prayers and active in gluttony and the lusts of his body, whose sins are manifested like blackness on his face, who does not deserve to be called a human or an animal, the one called unworthily by name, Tūmās, the impure, one of the servants of the sons of our father Anṭūniyūs, asking the masters reading for the sake of Christ to say, O our Lord Jesus Christ, in Your compassion forgive his sins and the sins of his father and mother. And it was written for the revered father, the angel in the flesh and luminous human, who was crowned with the chaste, angelic form, the truly humble [one], the son of Anṭūniyūs, and the brother of John⁴⁷⁰ [whom he resembles] in his chastity, and Isaac⁴⁷¹ [whom he resembles] in his

⁴⁷⁰ Alluding to the disciple John the Evangelist.

⁴⁷¹ Alluding to the son of Abraham.

obedience, the one who paid from his own money for [the book], our father the monk *the hegumen Yūḥannā al-Farshūṭī*⁴⁷²: *al-Banūdī*. May Christ our God grant him a share with his father Anṭūniyūs, amen.

5.16.4 Endowment

There is an endowment for the Monastery of St Antony, written after the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*, in the same hand as the text-block. The text of the endowment reads as follows:

(f. 93r, 5 lines): And the patron of this [book] is the revered *hegumen Yūḥannā al-Banūdī*. And after the life of our father the mentioned *hegumen*, [it] will be an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father Anṭūniyūs. With the exception of our father the *hegumen Yūḥannā*, no one has absolution to do anything [with it]. And thanks be to God.

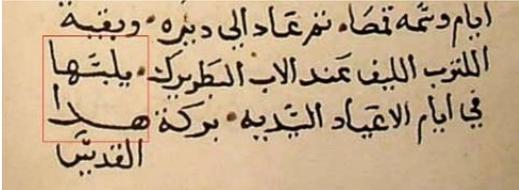
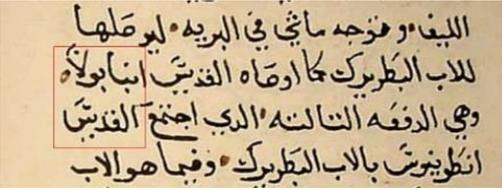
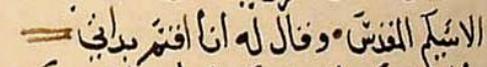
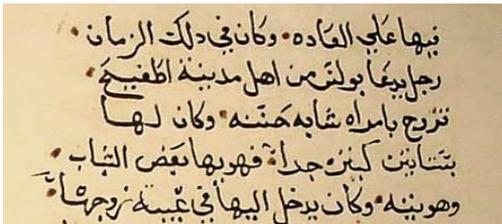
5.16.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 165 × 110 mm with 13–14 lines.⁴⁷³

Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (*a*), contraction (*b*), and marking a double line in either black or red ink as a space filler (*c*). However, there is also the situation where the scribe did not justify short lines and just left the remaining space blank (*d*).

⁴⁷² The scribe crossed out the name *al-Farshūṭī* and wrote beneath it the name *al-Banūdī* in red ink.

⁴⁷³ With the exception of ff. 76r, 83r, 85v and 86r which consist of 16 lines.

<p>(a)</p>  <p>ايام وسمه تصاه نمر عماد الي ديره • وبقية اللتوب الليف بمد الاب البطريرك • يلبثها في ايام الاعياد السيديه • بركة هذا القدس</p> <p>(f. 57v)</p>	<p>(b)</p>  <p>الليغا • و مزجه ما نجي في البريه • ليرصلها لللاب البطريرك كما اوصاه القديس انا بولس وهي الرفعه الثالثه • الذي اجتمع القديس انطونيوس بالاب البطريرك • وفيما هو الاب</p> <p>(f. 57v)</p>
<p>(c)</p>  <p>والامراء والازمه • والقواد الثلطين</p> <p>(f. 41v)</p>  <p>الاسم المقدس • وقال له انا اقتر بدلي</p> <p>(f. 53v)</p>	<p>(d)</p>  <p>فيها عاكي العاده • وكان في ذلك الزمان رجل يبعث بولس من اهل مدينة اطفنج تزوج باسره شابه حسنه • وكان لها بنتان كثير جد • فهو بها بعض الشباب وهوينه • وكان يدخل اليها في عيبه زجرها</p> <p>(f. 26v)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.139: Line management in SA (Hist.) 102</p>	

Quires: Each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are eleven. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.

 <p>(ff. 15v/16r)</p>
<p>Fig. 5.140: Sewing technique in SA (Hist.) 102</p>

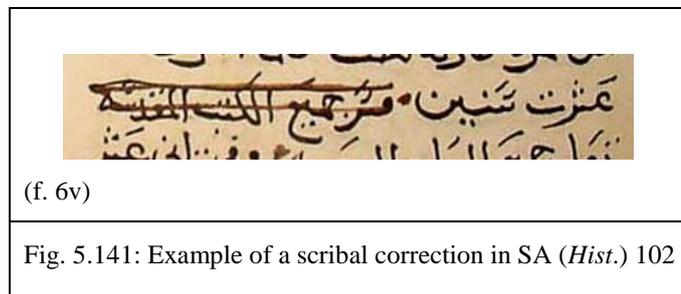
Catchwords: There is only one instance where the catchword does not match the first word of the following page.⁴⁷⁴

5.16.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black with rubrics. The incipit at the start of the two volumes of texts is the only text written in red ink. The incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* reads as follows:

- *We begin with the help of the almighty God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of our saintly father the great, the luminous star, the great [and] the blessed [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his blessings and prayers to be with us, amen.*⁴⁷⁵

Scribal Corrections: There are several instances in which the scribe made corrections in the text by crossing out in red ink the incorrect letters or words.⁴⁷⁶ The text contains no additions in the interline or margin, and no marginal notes.



Salient Features: There is only one instance in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted in the text (*a*).⁴⁷⁷ The scribe uses a peculiar method of writing words that end with an *alif*⁴⁷⁸ and *tanwīn*,⁴⁷⁹ however, inconsistently. Instead of writing the word ending with *alif* with

⁴⁷⁴ Diacritical marks differ on f. 51r.

⁴⁷⁵ F. 1r, lines 2-6.

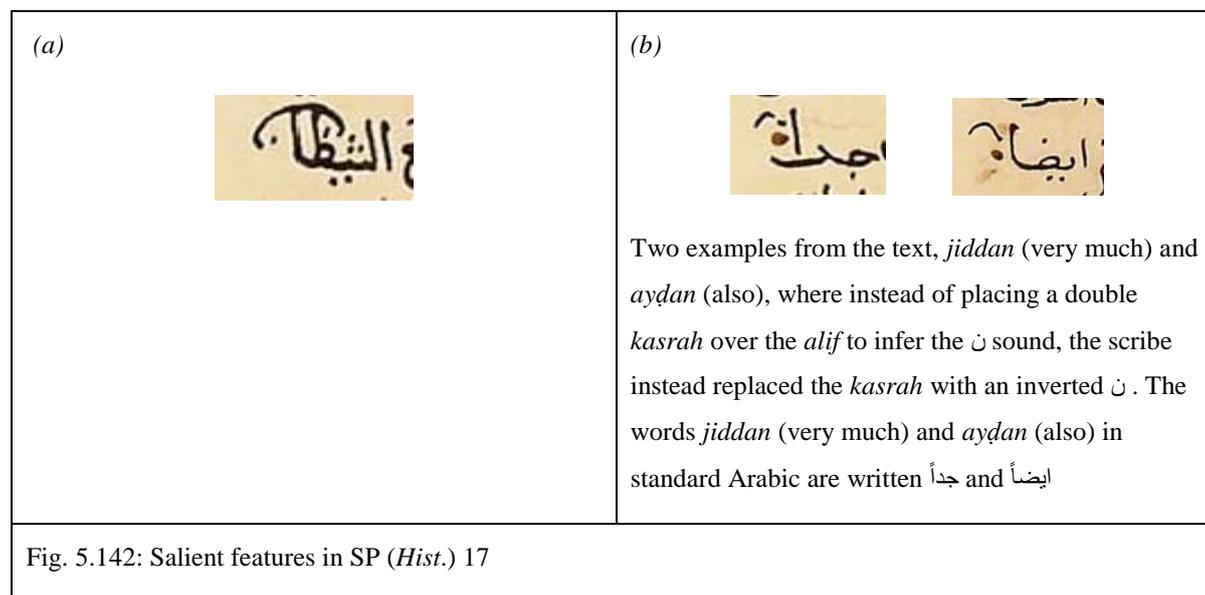
⁴⁷⁶ Ff. 2v, 6v, 7r, 10v, 14v, 15v, 25r, 31r, 35v, 37r, 42v, 49r, 54v, 69v.

⁴⁷⁷ F. 26v.

⁴⁷⁸ First letter in the Arabic alphabet: “ا”

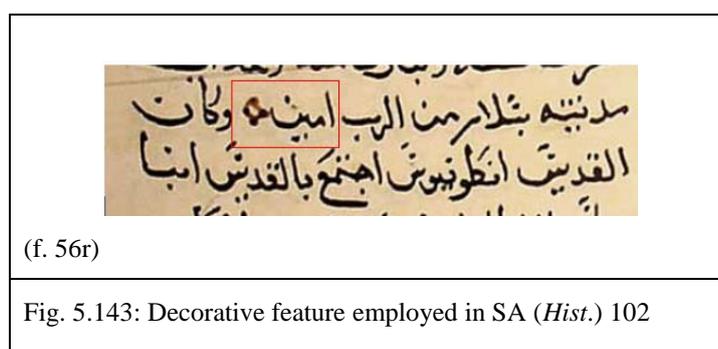
⁴⁷⁹ *Tanwīn* is the term used to describe the sound “n” pronounced at the end of the certain words. It is usually indicated by writing two *kasra* (2 diagonal strokes) above the *alif* “أ”.

the two *kasrah* to infer the ى sound, the scribe instead replaced the *kasrah* with the letter ى and inverted the ى using a red dot as its diacritic mark (b).⁴⁸⁰



5.16.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. In a few instances, when the word *amen* concludes a chapter, a cluster of four dots in alternating black and red ink, follows.⁴⁸¹ There are no other decorative elements in the codex.



5.16.8 Binding

Type III binding. Black leather, original cover with tooled relief on the upper and lower covers that have been worn (a). The relief consists of double lines boarding the edges of the covers and crossing diagonally through the centre of the upper and lower covers. The measurements

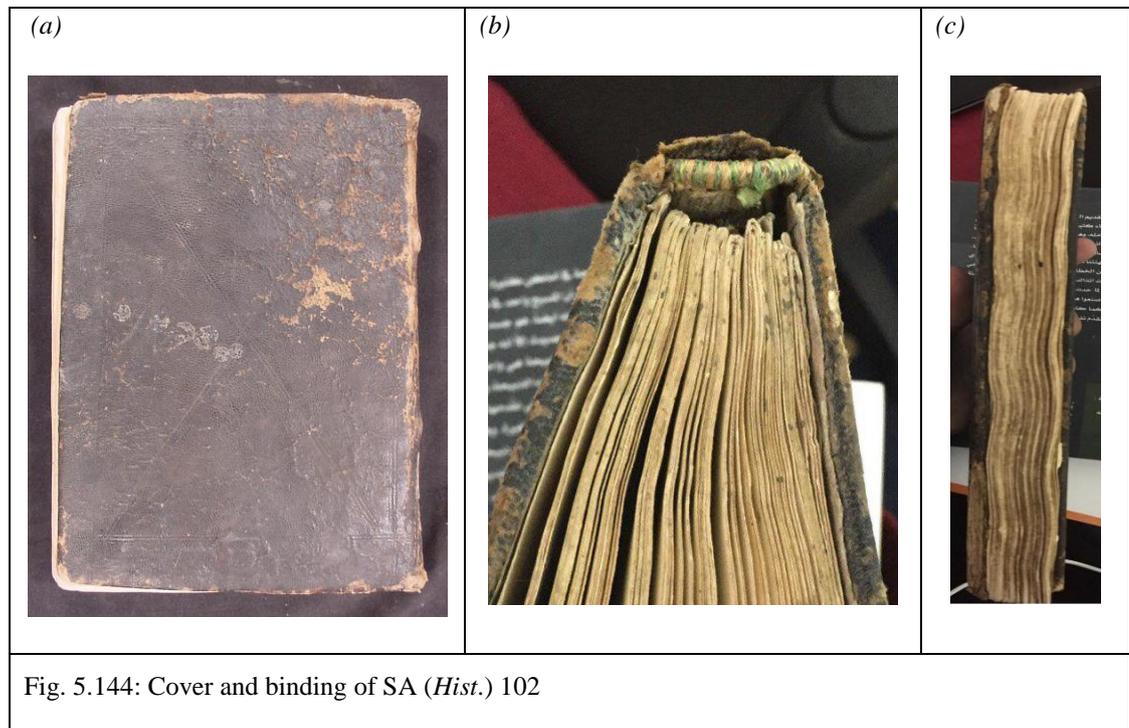
⁴⁸⁰ Ff. 6v, 6v, 7r, 23v, 35r, 38v, 39r, 40r, 41r, 43r, 50r, 56r, 58v, 74v.

⁴⁸¹ Ff.28v, 29r, 30r, 34r, 35v, 56r.

of the cover and spine are $220 \times 155 \times 35$ mm. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of beige and light green threads weaved into a vertical pattern (*b*). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “102 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.16.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of cracks and abrasion, and the edges of the upper and lower covers are worn, revealing the pasteboards beneath. The coloured leather on the spine is worn. Stitching in most of the quires has come undone, and the back shoulder is removed from the spine. The fore-edge of the book is cockled (*c*). The pages contain some brown and yellow stains, most probably from finger marks.



5.16.10 Observations

1) Dating criteria

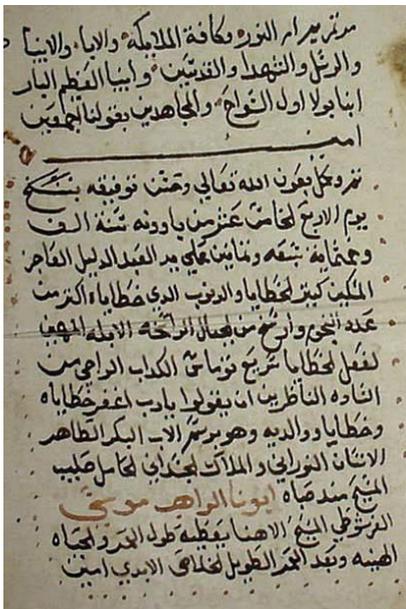
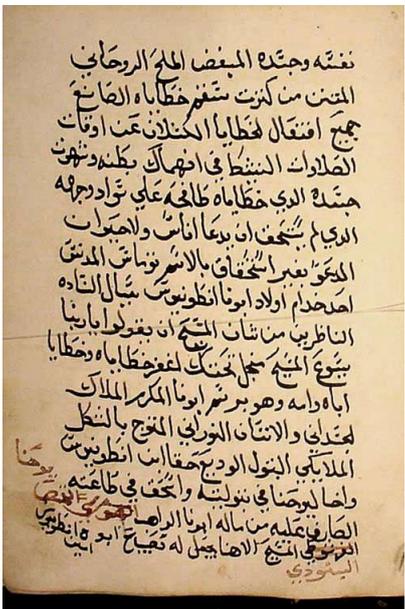
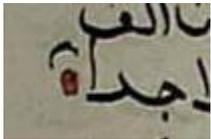
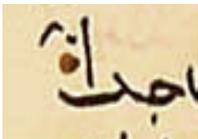
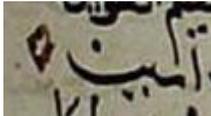
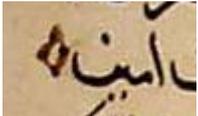
SA (*Hist.*) 102 does not contain a date, however, the information provided in the colophon states that the scribe was a monk named Tūmās. When one compares the words of the colophon in SA (*Hist.*) 102 to that of SA (*Hist.*) 99, which was also copied by a monk named Tūmās, it seems very probable that they are the same person. While it is not possible to ascertain which of the codices Tūmās copied first, given that SA (*Hist.*) 99 is dated to 1587 AM (1871 AD), it is likely that SA (*Hist.*) 102 dates to the same timeframe of the second half of the 19th century. This date is also confirmed by the identified watermarks,⁴⁸² and also by the presence of the thick, brown, wove paper that was imported from Europe in the 19th century, and was called in the Arab world *abū shibbāk* (*of the window*), presumably referring to its weaved texture.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, it is likely that the two codices were copied at roughly the same time, given that the covers and end-bands are identical.

Because neither SA (*Hist.*) 99 or 102 contain traces of candle wax or brown oil stains, it is likely they were copied for personal use: SA (*Hist.*) 99 was commissioned by the monk Mūsá al-Farshūfī, after whose death the book became the property of the Monastery, and SA (*Hist.*) 102 was commissioned and owned by the *hegumen* Yūḥannā al-Banūdī, again, after whose death the book was endowed to the Monastery.

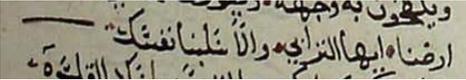
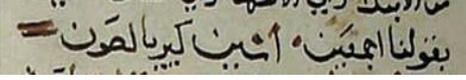
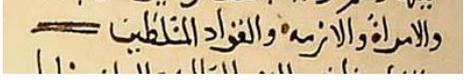
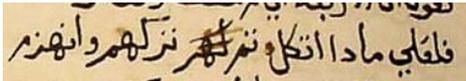
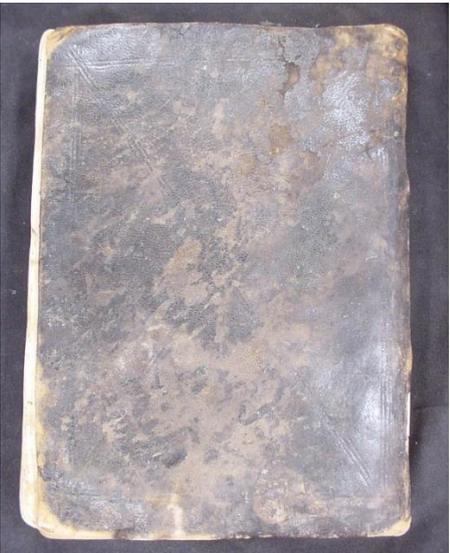
The following images show the similarities between the two codices attesting to Tūmās being the same scribe of SA (*Hist.*) 102 and 99.

⁴⁸² For details of the watermarks, see section 5.16.1 “Physical Description”, above.

⁴⁸³ Walz 1988: 40.

SA (Hist.) 99	SA (Hist.) 102
Words of the colophon:	Words of the colophon:
“...the indolent Tūmās...”	“...Tūmās the impure...”
“...Hoping from the masters seeing [this book] that they say, O Lord, forgive him for his sins and the sins of his parents...”	“...asking the masters reading for the sake of Christ to say, O our Lord Jesus Christ, in Your compassion forgive his sins and the sins of his father and mother...”
“...And it was written for the chaste, pure father, the illuminous human and angel in the flesh...”	“...And it was written for the revered father the angel in the flesh and illuminous human...”
“...our father the monk Mūsá al-Farshūṭī...”	“...our father the monk the hegumen <i>Yūḥannā al-Farshūṭī</i> ⁴⁸⁴ <i>al-Banūdī</i> .”
Text of the Colophon (f. 111r): 	Text of the Colophon (f. 76r): 
Salient feature of replacing words ending with alif and two kasrah with an inverted ن with red diacritical dot:  (f. 40r)	Salient feature of replacing words ending with alif and two kasrah with an inverted ن with red diacritical dot:  (f. 24v)
Decorative feature following the word “amen”:  (f. 57r)	Decorative feature following the word “amen”:  (f.30r)

⁴⁸⁴ The scribe crossed out the name al-Farshūṭī and wrote beneath it the name *al-Banūdī* in red ink.

<p>Graphic line filler:</p>  <p>(f.56r)</p>  <p>(f.97v)</p>	<p>Graphic line filler:</p>  <p>(f.34r)</p>  <p>(f.40v)</p>
<p>Scribal error:</p>  <p>(f.49v)</p>	<p>Scribal error:</p>  <p>(f.10v)</p>
<p>Layout:</p> <p>Each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are eleven.</p>	<p>Layout:</p> <p>Each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are eleven.</p>
<p>Upper cover (criss-cross blind tooled relief):</p> 	<p>Upper cover (criss-cross blind tooled relief):</p> 
<p>End-bands:</p> 	<p>End-bands:</p> 
<p>Fig. 5.145: Similarities between SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 102 and 99</p>	

2) Hegumen Yūhannā al-Banūdī

The colophon states that SA (*Hist.*) 102 was commissioned and owned by the *hegumen* Yūhannā al-Banūdī,⁴⁸⁵ after whose life it became a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony.⁴⁸⁶ SA (*Lit.*) 672 which contains the homilies of John Chrysostom, is the only other manuscript in the library of the Monastery that was also commissioned and owned by Yūhannā al-Banūdī. The book was completed on 19 Amshīr 1577 AM.⁴⁸⁷

5.17 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 97

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁴⁸⁸

(18th / 19th century AD)

5.17.1 *Physical Description*

Complete paper codex, rebound in modern leather and pages trimmed. The manuscript, comprising two hands, contains texts which originally seem to have been part of more than one volume and were later bound into the volume. Black ink with rubrication. Two scribes. *Leaf size*: 210 × 150 mm. *Foliation*: 3 leaves (*i, ii, iii*) + 1 – 17 + 2 leaves (*18, 19*) + 5 – 187 + 188. *Writing material*: the first quire consisting of flyleaves *i, ii, iii* + 1 – 17 and the back flyleaf are a different paper to the remaining text-block paper. The first quire is whitish paper whereas the pages of the remaining text-block (ff. 5–187) are rose tinted paper. All pages were sized with starch giving it a glossy surface. Horizontal chain lines on laid paper are visible 25 mm apart. The codex contains five types of watermarks: within the first quire (flyleaves *i, ii, iii* + 1 – 17 + *18, 19*), two watermarks were identified: (1) a six-point star, and (2) three diminishing crescents “Le Tre Lune”.⁴⁸⁹ Within the remaining text-block (ff. 5–187) three watermarks were identified: (3) three circles, (4) three crescents of equal size with the countermark “A”, and (5) a trefoil with the initials “AB”.⁴⁹⁰ *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā'* at its end. There are two lots

⁴⁸⁵ Ff. 75v-76r.

⁴⁸⁶ F. 93r.

⁴⁸⁷ 25 February 1861 AD.

⁴⁸⁸ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

⁴⁸⁹ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 875, pl. 138.

⁴⁹⁰ An image of a resembling watermark is found in Nikolev 1954: no. 2864, pl. 370.

of numbering: the first quire is numbered from f. 1r to f. 17r, and the remaining text-block is numbered from f. 4v (contents page foliated on *verso*) to 187r. In the top margin is pencilled foliation in Arabic numbers, however, they do not correspond to the Coptic cursive numbers. Instead, they are numbered consecutively from the first page in the first quire, through to the end of the codex.

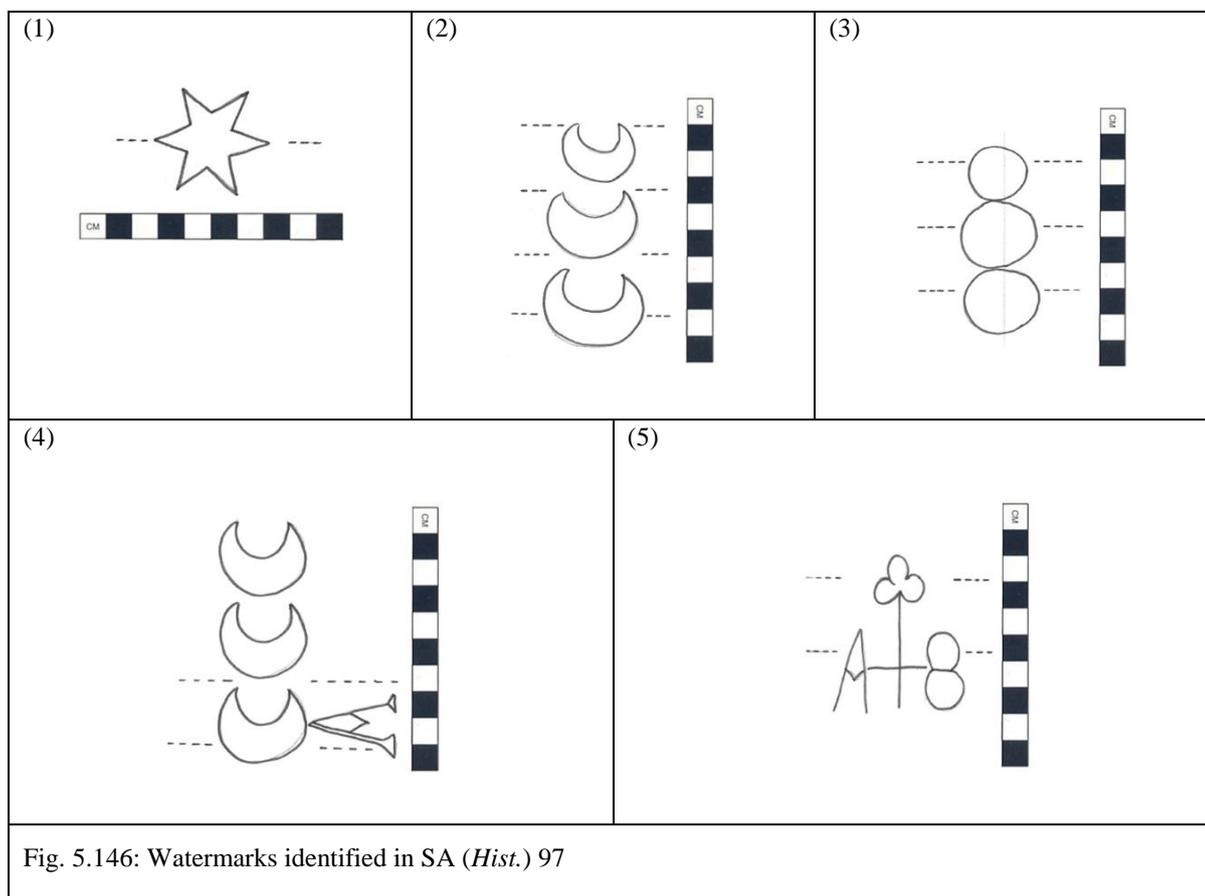
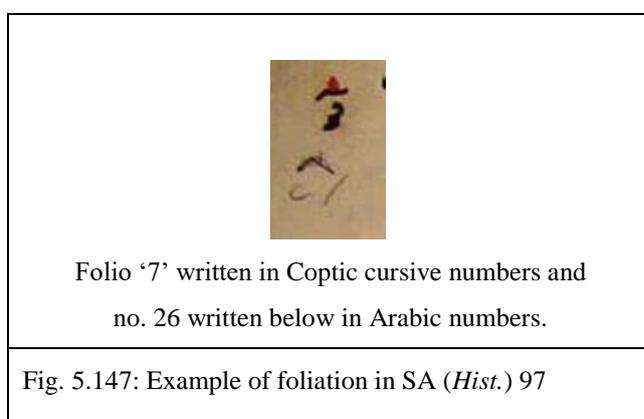


Fig. 5.146: Watermarks identified in SA (*Hist.*) 97



5.17.2 Contents

First quire (Hand A):

- (1) *Life of Paul the Simple* (ff. 1r–7v)
- (2) *A story about Anbā Bākhūm in the mountain of Shīhīt* (ff. 8r– 11r)
- (3) *A Story about Anbā Bākhūm the disciple of Balāmūn* (ff. 11v–16v)

Remaining text-block (Hand B):

- (4) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff.6r–68v)
- (5) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 69r–81v)
- (6) *Life of Anbā Isaac the priest of Mount Burumbil*, by Serapion disciple of Anbā Anṭūniyūs (ff. 82r–116r)
- (7) *Life of Marqus al-Anṭūnī* (ff. 116v–157r)
- (8) *Miracles of Marqus al-Anṭūnī* (157v–186v)

5.17.3 Colophon

The codex contains no colophon.

5.17.4 Endowment

There are two endowments in the codex written in two different hands. The first is on flyleaf v, prior to the index page, in a different hand to that of the text-block. The second endowment is written in another hand on the back pastedown. Both state the book's endowment to the Monastery of St Antony.

The text of the first endowment reads as follows:

<Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs. No one shall be absolved if [he] removes it from [the place of] its endowment, or possesses it in his cell. If, [however] he who reads in it returns it back to the library, [he] shall be absolved by the mouth of God and [he] who disobeys will be bound by the mouth of God.>

The text of the second endowment reads as follows:

<Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness and father of all monks, in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. No one is permitted by the almighty God to remove it from [the place of] its endowment by any means, and whosoever shall disobey and take it away from [the place of] its endowment, shall have his share with Simon the Magician and (...) ⁴⁹¹ and Judas Iscariot, and shall be bound by the [power] of the cross (...) disobedience. And blessings be upon the son of obedience, and thanks be to God.

5.17.5 *Layout*

Written area: av. c. 165 × 105 mm, with 14 lines in the first quire (ff.1–17), and 15 lines in the remaining text-block from ff. 6–187. The pages were ruled with a *maṣṭarah*. A clear impression of the ruling-board is seen on ff. 18, 19.

Justification: The scribe employed five distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation, contraction, suprascription (*a*), ⁴⁹² spacing exceeding letters of the last word in the margin while space was left between the two parts (*b*), ⁴⁹³ and writing exceeding letters vertically upwards in the margin (*c*). ⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹¹ Text not decipherable.

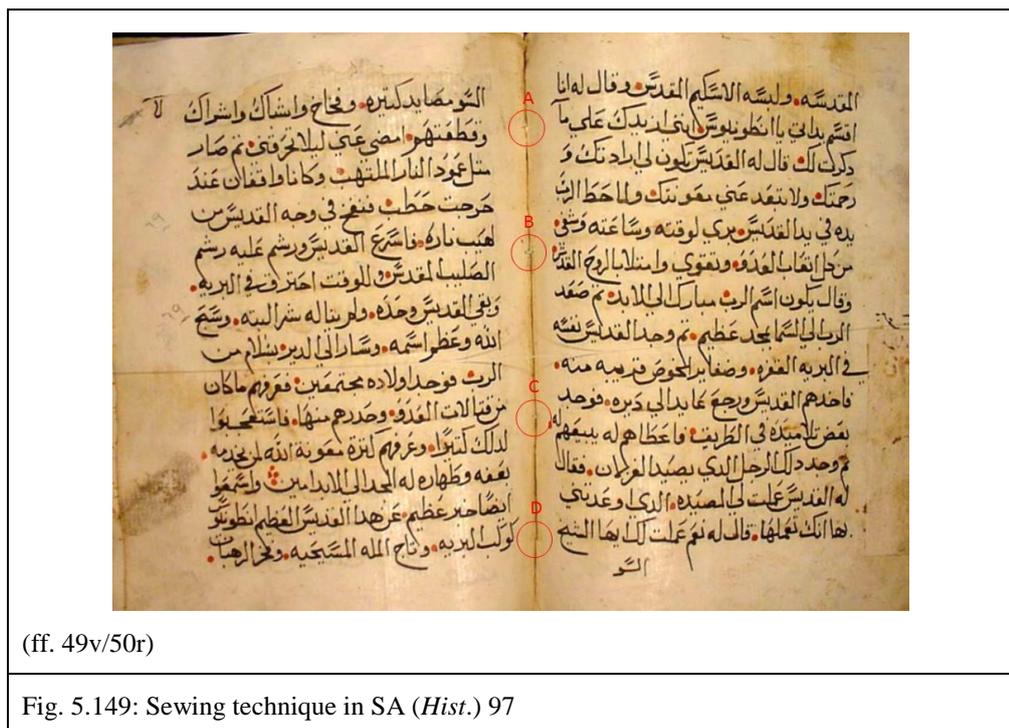
⁴⁹² See Fig. 5.148 (*a*) for 2 examples highlighted of elongated words (f. 6v), and on f. 7r from the top: two highlighted examples of suprascription, and an example of contraction of the last word on the line.

⁴⁹³ See Fig. 5.148 (*b*) for an example highlighted of spacing exceeding letters beyond the margin (f. 67r). According to Gacek, it is not uncommon to see this method of spacing exceeding letters into the left margin (Gacek 2009: 102).

⁴⁹⁴ See Fig. 5.148 (*c*) for an example highlighted of exceeding letters written vertically upwards in the margin (f. 95r). According to Beit-Arié, this method was commonly used by Oriental scribes (Beit-Arié 1976: 103).



Quires: The entire codex is comprised of differing quire sizes. There are quires consisting of four, five, six, eight, ten, and twelve bifolia. There are nineteen quires in total. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.



Catchwords: There are several instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore, the catchwords on *verso* are written in a different hand to the pages of the text-block (ff. 6–187), indicating that they may have been written after the text was completed, while the catchwords written on the pages of the first quire (ff. 1–17) are in the same hand as the inscribed text.

5.17.6 *Writing*

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript contains the hands of two scribes; Hand B (ff. 6–187) consisting of a neater, upright script than Hand A. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit at the start of each text is written in red. In the text of the *Life*, the scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter, although inconsistently. The rubricated words contain vocalisation and diacritical marks in black ink:

- *We begin with the help of God and His mercy, to copy the life-story of the great, righteous saint among the saintly fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness and father of monks. May his blessings and prayers be with us and protect us, amen.*⁴⁹⁶
- *And also some of his wonders*⁴⁹⁷
- *And also among his wonders*⁴⁹⁸

Scribal Corrections: There are only four instances in which the scribe⁴⁹⁹ made corrections by crossing out in red ink the letters not required (*a*).⁵⁰⁰ The text contains no insertions in the interline or margin, and no marginal notes. However, there is graffiti in black ink on several pages of a cross design, that seem to be a later hand (*b*).

⁴⁹⁵ Diacritical marks differ on ff. 12r, 30r, 37r, 51r, 55r, 61r, 63r.

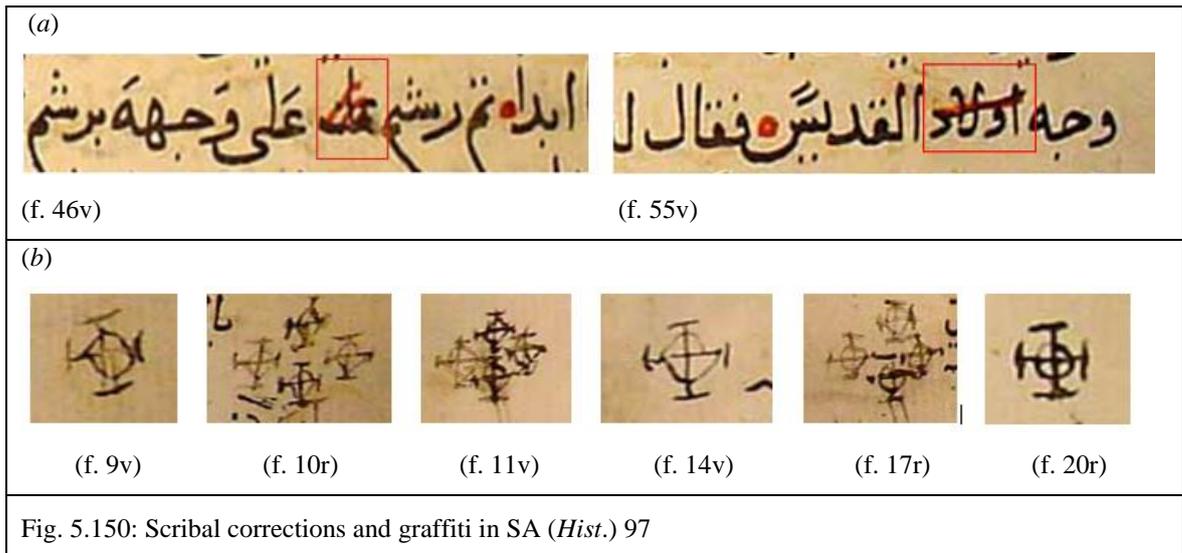
⁴⁹⁶ F. 6r, lines 2-6.

⁴⁹⁷ F. 31r.

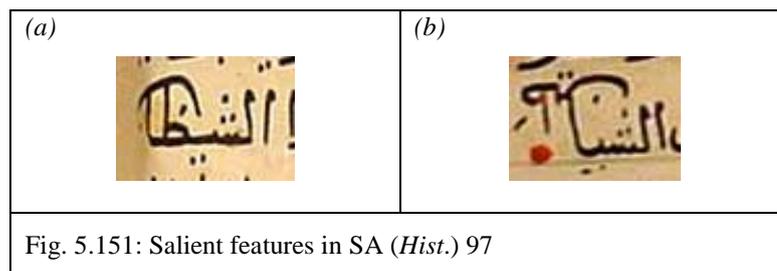
⁴⁹⁸ Ff. 33r, 34r.

⁴⁹⁹ In the text of the *Life*, by Hand B.

⁵⁰⁰ Ff. 12r, 24v, 46v, 55v.



Salient Features: The last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted several times in the text (a),⁵⁰¹ while the last three letters in the word *al-shayāṭīn* طين are inverted (b).⁵⁰²



5.17.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink, and dividers are provided between textual units to mark the end of a text. The scribe utilised the long bar in the last letter ل of the opening words of the explicit: تم وكمل (*Finished and completed*), to form a decorative textual divider, that takes the form of a double bold line in red and black ink, a cluster of three red dots flank each line of the explicits to the right and left (a). Each line of the incipit is flanked with a cluster of four inverted commas giving the appearance of a small cross in red and black ink (b). When the word *amen* marks the end of a paragraph or chapter, the last letter

⁵⁰¹ Ff. 14v, 19r, 20r, 21v, 25r, 25v, 27v, 28r, 42v, 48v, 53r, 56v, 60r, 68r.

⁵⁰² Ff. 19r, 20r, 26r, 28r.

in the word *amen* ن is decorated with either a cluster of four dots in red ink, or a small black circle surrounded by four red dots, giving the appearance of a small cross (c).



5.17.8 Binding

Type III binding. Brown leather, restored modern cover with no stamped or tooled relief (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are 220 × 165 × 40 mm. The doublures consist of modern yellow paper pastedowns. Spine lining but no end-bands (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “97 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and placed onto the spine.

5.17.9 Condition of the Manuscript

Most pages contain yellow and brown stains, mostly from finger marks. Some smudging from water but text still legible.⁵⁰³ There are traces of candle wax on several pages,⁵⁰⁴ including a hole from what appears to be from a candle on f. 67v (size of the hole is < 10 × 10 mm) with

⁵⁰³ E.g., ff. 6r, 11v, 12r, 38v, 39r, 42r, 65v, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v.

⁵⁰⁴ E.g., ff. 7v, 7v, 8v, 13r, 13v, 19v, 20r, 60v, 61r, 65r, 68v, 69r.

minimal loss of text (c). There are oil marks prominent on ff. 24r–32r, with the largest stain being on f. 24v (longest and widest points 90 × 75 mm) (d). The oil stain appears to be that from a *qandīl* (oil lamp).⁵⁰⁵ The remains of both candle wax and oil allude to the codex's liturgical use.



Fig. 5.153: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 97

⁵⁰⁵ An oil lamp usually fragrant with spices and is lit before icons of saints.

5.17.10 *Observations*

1) *The two volumes*

The codex contains texts which originally seem to have been two volumes that were later bound into one book, perhaps during the time when the book was rebound in modern leather. Evidence for this is as follows:

- i. The first quire is numbered from ff. 1–17, whereas the remaining text-block begins its numbering from f. 6, with an index page and blank leaves preceding the first incipit on folio 6;
- ii. Hand A wrote ff. 1–17 in the first quire, and hand B wrote the remaining text-block of ff. 6–187;
- iii. The first quire contains no rubrication or decorative features, unlike the remaining text-block.
- iv. The paper type of ff. 1–17 in the first quire differs from that of ff. 6–187;
- v. The watermarks in the first quire date to the 19th century, whereas those of the remaining text-block date to the early 18th century;
- vi. The subject matter of the first quire forms a unit that is separate from that of the remaining text-block.

It appears that ff. 6–187 comprised one volume, evidenced by the table of contents opposite the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* that only lists the contents from the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* to the *Miracles of Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī*, whereas the first quire (ff. 1–17), which post-dates ff. 6–187, must have been either a separate volume or the first part of a codex, and for some reason, was placed together with ff. 6–187, perhaps at the time it was rebound in modern leather.

2) *The Watermarks*

The first quire, consisting of flyleaves *i*, *ii*, *ii + 1 – 17 + 18, 19*, contain two types of watermarks: (1) a six-point star, and (2) three diminishing crescents “Le Tre Lune”. “Le Tre Lune” is the most frequently encountered watermark in the manuscripts examined at the Red Sea monasteries,⁵⁰⁶ dating from the 17th to 19th centuries. Ugo Zanetti identified that 10% of all manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius⁵⁰⁷ contain the same watermark and likewise date

⁵⁰⁶ With the exception of SA (*Hist.*) 104 (1697 AD), 216 (1958), 219 (mid-20th c.); and SP (*Hist.*) 136 (1920).

⁵⁰⁷ 44 manuscripts contain the watermark of “Le Tre Lune” with no associated countermark. Those containing “Le Tre Lune” and the countermark, number 72 out of a total of 427 manuscripts. (Zanetti 1986a: 464).

from the 17th to 19th century. As Vsevolod Nikolev observed, there is no sharp line of demarcation between the watermarks at the end of one century and those at the beginning of another. “Thus, The Three Crescents found in paper of the 18th century are to be found also during the 17th and even during the 16th centuries, and continue to appear up to the first quarter of the 20th century.”⁵⁰⁸ For this reason, to help limit the possible timeframe for when copying took place, the other watermark identified in the first quire, being the six-point star, must be considered. While no similar watermark was observed in those of the Red Sea monasteries, three similar watermarks were identified at the Monastery of St Macarius, and all date to the 19th century.⁵⁰⁹ Thus, it is likely the first quire dates to the 19th century.

The remaining text-block (ff. 5–187) consist of three watermarks: (1) three circles, (2) three crescents of equal size with the countermark “A”, and (3) a trefoil rising between the initials “A B”.

The simple watermark of three small circles placed one on top of the other is characteristic of the 17th and 18th century.⁵¹⁰ SA (*Hist.*) 193 contains a similar watermark and dates to the first half of the 18th century.⁵¹¹ Likewise, the watermark of “Le Tre Lune” with the countermark initial beneath, is frequently met in the 17th and 18th century,⁵¹² as is also the watermark of two letters with a trefoil rising between them.⁵¹³ Sixteen similar watermarks of the trefoil were identified in manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius, and all of them date to the 17th – early 18th century.⁵¹⁴ Accordingly, it is likely that the date of ff. 5–187 is 18th century, and thus I propose that this volume was transcribed prior to the first quire.

⁵⁰⁸ Nikolev 1954: 469. See also Briquet 1907: 315a.

⁵⁰⁹ Mss St Macarius 95 (18th/19th c.), 99 (1837), and 175 (1839). Zanetti 1986a: 479-480.

⁵¹⁰ Nikolev 1954: 4, 63.

⁵¹¹ See “Observations” under the description for SA (*Hist.*) 193 in this chapter.

⁵¹² Nikolev 1954: 7, 64. There are two undated manuscripts at the Monastery of St Macarius which contain “Le Tre Lune” and the countermark initial of “A” that Zanetti dates to the 18th century: Mss St Macarius 245, and 298.

⁵¹³ Heawood 1950: 28; Nikolev 1954: 63, 123.

⁵¹⁴ Watermarks containing the initials “A B” with a trefoil rising between them: Mss St Macarius 62 (1718), 287 (17th c.); watermarks containing other initials with a trefoil rising between them: Mss St Macarius 297 (17th c.), 7 (1749), 297 (17th c.), 298 (17th c.), 411 (17th c.), 86 (17th c.), 407 (1728), 424 (1709), 287 (17th c.), 390 (1727), 403 (17th c.), 85 (1715), 82 (1718), 415 (17th c.). Zanetti 1986a: 472-478.

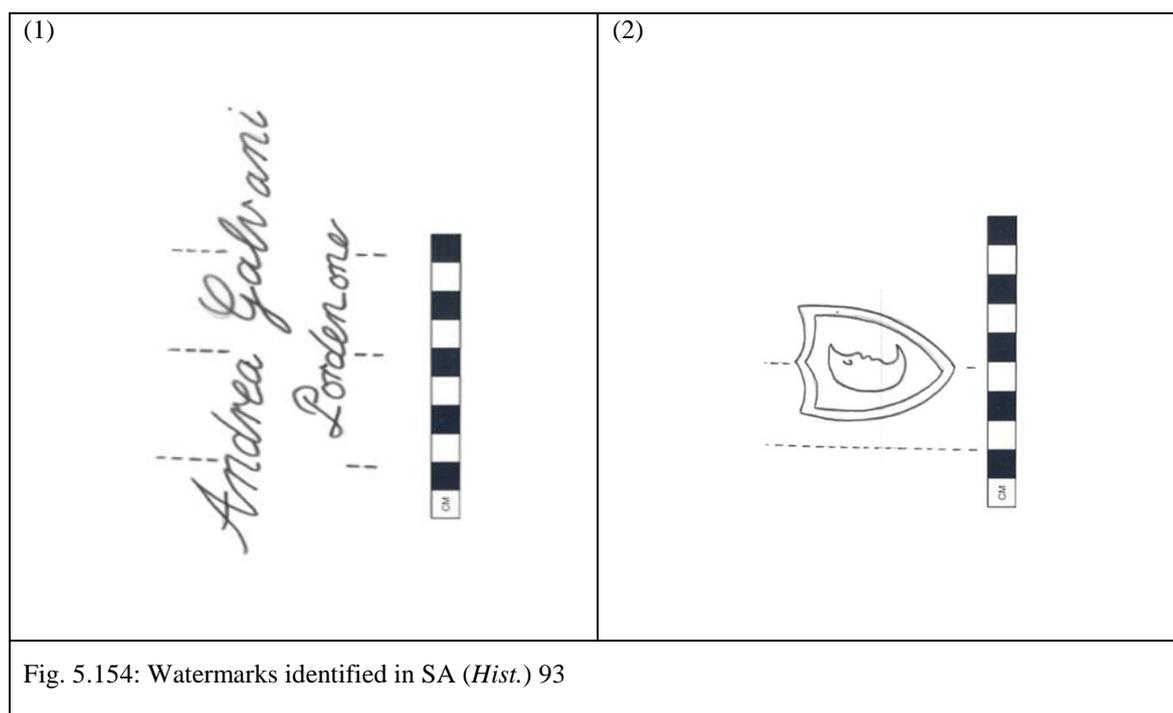
5.18 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 93

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁵¹⁵

(Second half of the 19th century AD)

5.18.1 Physical Description

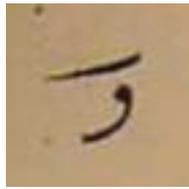
Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 230 × 160 mm. *Foliation*: 6 leaves (*i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi*) + 1 – 131 + 9 leaves (*132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140*⁵¹⁶). *Writing material*: thick, laid paper. Flyleaves the same paper as the text-block paper. Horizontal chain lines are visible 300 mm apart. The codex contains two types of watermarks: (1) the name *Andrea Galvani Pordenone* in italics,⁵¹⁷ and (2) a double lined crest containing a moon in human profile. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Coptic cursive numbers, overlined with a horizontal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 131r.



⁵¹⁵ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

⁵¹⁶ Flyleaf 140 was intentionally cut out. See Fig. 5.161 (*c*).

⁵¹⁷ A resembling watermark is found in Heawood 1950: no. 860, plate 135.



Folio '4'

Fig. 5.155: Example of foliation in SA (*Hist.*) 93

5.18.2 Contents

- (1) *Homily on the Repose of the Virgin Mary* (ff. 1r–41r)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 41v–115r)
- (3) *Life of Anbā Būlā* (ff. 115r–130v); colophon and endowment (f. 131r)

5.18.3 Colophon

See below.

5.18.4 Endowment

A combined colophon and endowment follows the explicit to the *Life of Anbā Būlā*, mentioning only the name of the patron and the Monastery to which the book was endowed.

The text reads as follows:

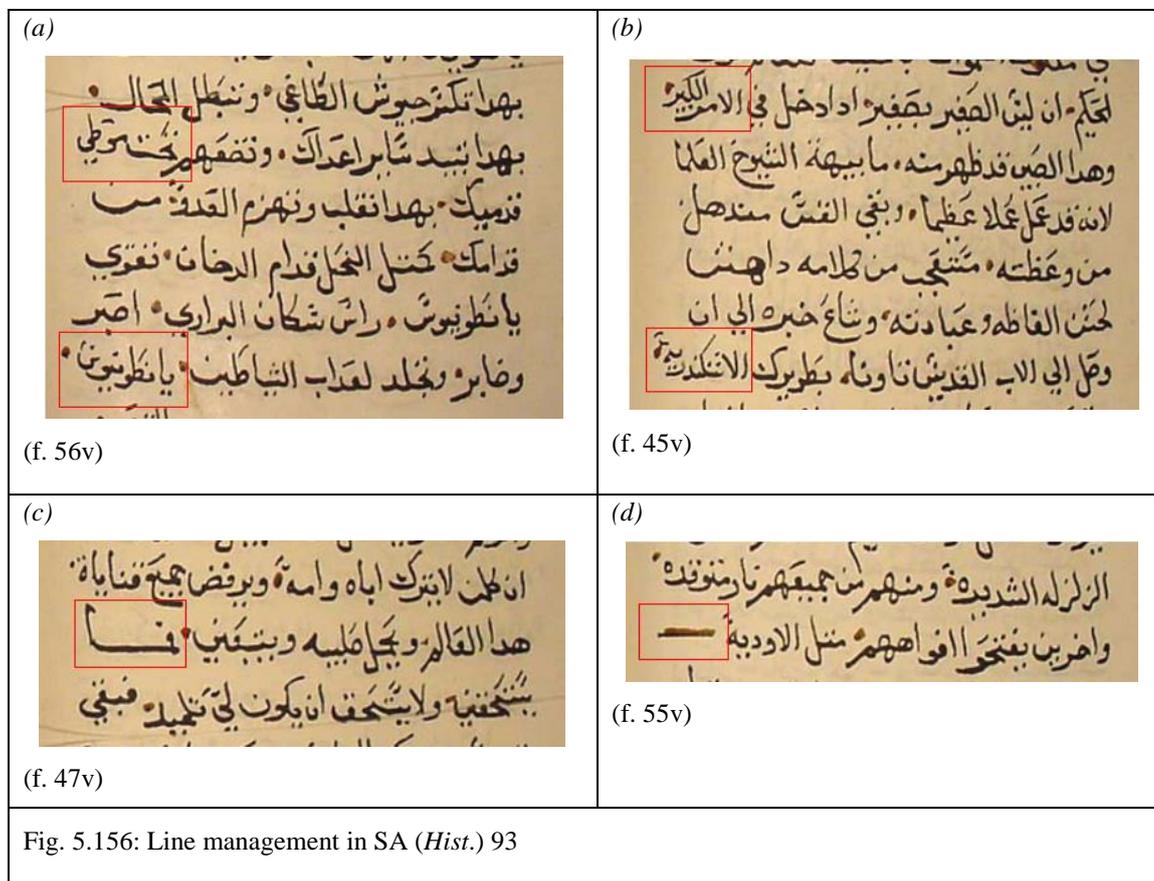
(f. 131r, 14 lines): And this book was commissioned by our honoured father the luminous angel and spiritual human, our father the trusted priest [bestowed] with the spiritual *iskīm*, the meek, the merciful [one], the descendant of our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs the Great, our honoured father the *hegumen* 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlīṣ. May Christ our God make him among those whose name [Christ] called. No one, with the exception of the one mentioned [here] and as long as he is alive, is permitted to do anything with it. And after the life of the one mentioned [here], it shall become an eternal and everlasting endowment for the Monastery of our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs the Great. And no one shall be absolved or shall be permitted to remove it from the Monastery or keep it in his cell, but rather, it is to be kept with the books of homilies of the community.

And he who disobeys will be judged and he who takes it writes on it “absolved and blessed”.

5.18.5 Layout

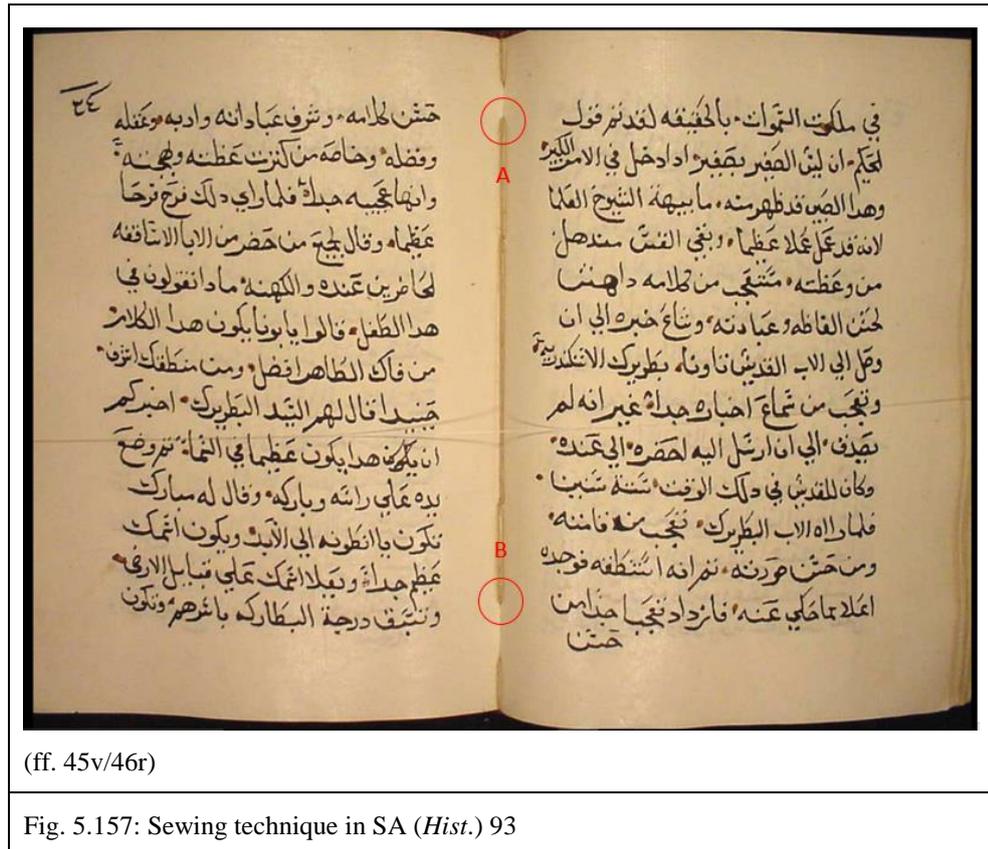
Written area: av. c. 160 × 100 mm, with 13 lines per folio.

Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: contraction of letters and words (*a*), suprascription of letters or the last word at the end of the line (*b*), elongation of words or letters (*c*), and graphic fillers consisting of a double horizontal line in black and red ink (*d*).



Quires: Each quire is made up of five bifolia.⁵¹⁸ A total number of twelve quires in the codex were detected. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on two stations.

⁵¹⁸ With the exception of two quires which consist of ten bifolia.



Catchwords: There are no cases of discrepancy in the catchwords.

5.18.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black ink with rubrics. The incipit at the start of each text in the collective volume of texts is highlighted in red. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter. The rubricated phrases are as follows:

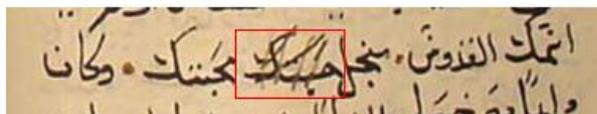
- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life of the great saint, the revered [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his blessings and prayers be with us and protect us from evil, amen.*⁵¹⁹
- *And also some of his wonders*⁵²⁰
- *And also among his wonders*⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ F. 41v, lines 2-6.

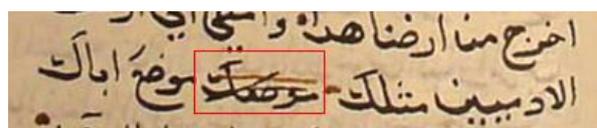
⁵²⁰ F. 71r.

⁵²¹ Ff. 73v, 74v.

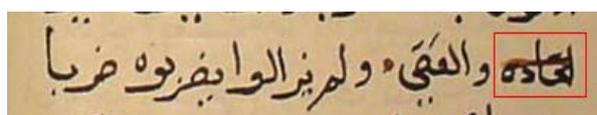
Scribal Corrections: There are only three instances in the text in which the scribe made corrections by crossing out in red ink the words not required.⁵²²



(f. 49v)



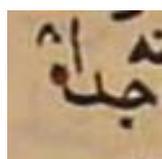
(f. 58r)



(f. 63v)

Fig. 5.158: Examples of scribal corrections in SA (*Hist.*) 93

Salient Features:



The word *jiddan* (“very much”) in standard Arabic is written جداً with a double *kasrah* over the *alif* to infer the “n” sound. Instead, the scribe replaced the *kasrah* with an inverted ن .

Fig. 5.159: Salient features in SA (*Hist.*) 93

⁵²² Ff. 49v, 58r, 63v.

5.18.7 Punctuation and Decoration:

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. Dividers are provided between textual units to mark the end of a text. They take the form of a double bold line in black ink filled in with red ink (a). The word *amen* is followed by a cluster of three or four dots joined together in red ink (b). When *amen* marks the end of a chapter, the last letter *n* is outlined in red ink and is followed by a cluster of three black dots joined together in red (c). There are no other decorative elements in the text.

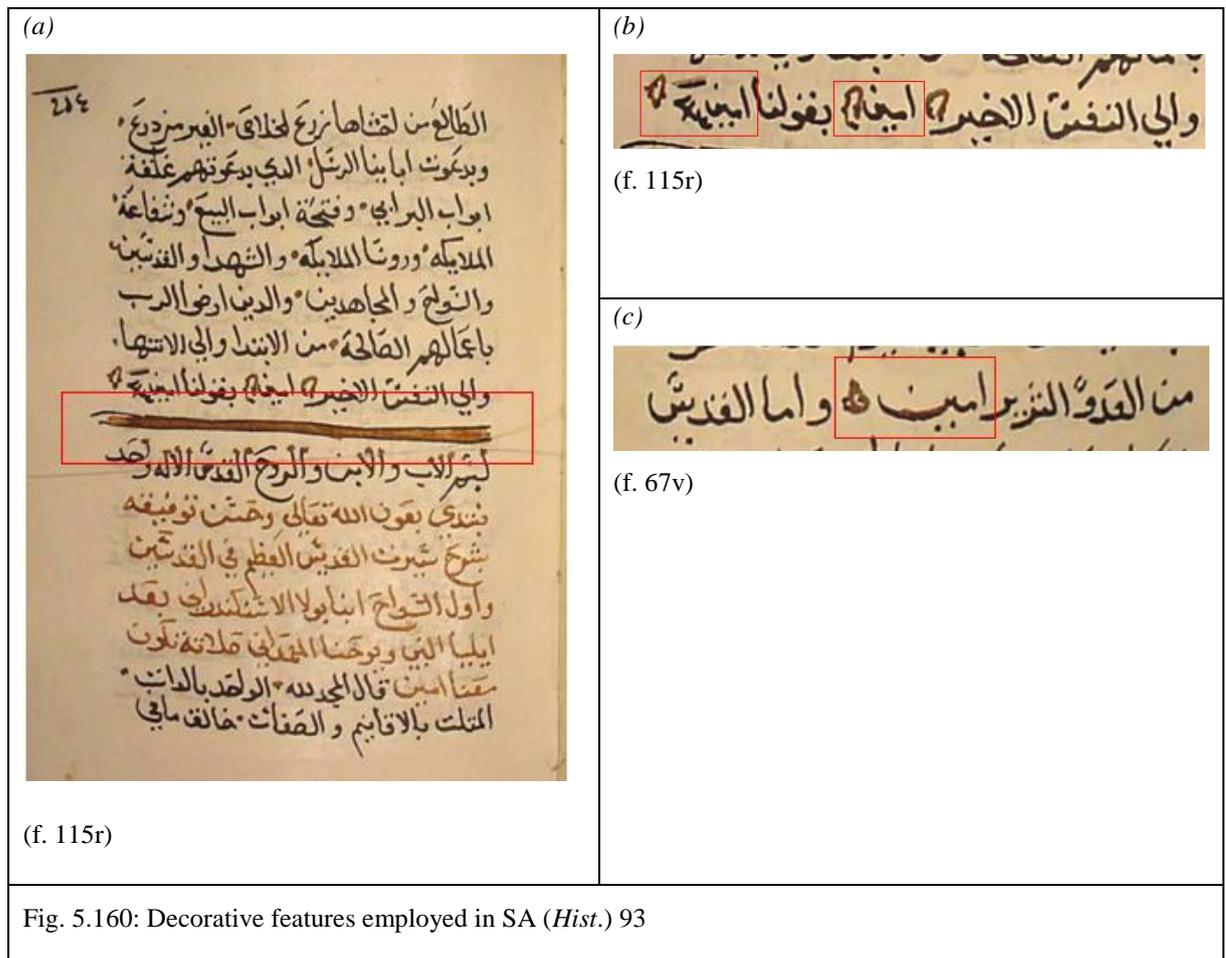


Fig. 5.160: Decorative features employed in SA (*Hist.*) 93

5.18.8 Binding

Type III binding. Black leather, original cover with no stamped relief (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are 230 × 160 × 30 mm. The end-bands consist of green and red threads weaved into a vertical pattern (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “93 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.18.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, and the edges of the upper cover are worn, revealing the pasteboards beneath. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns with brown and yellow stains⁵²³ (c); moisture damage, and some offset.

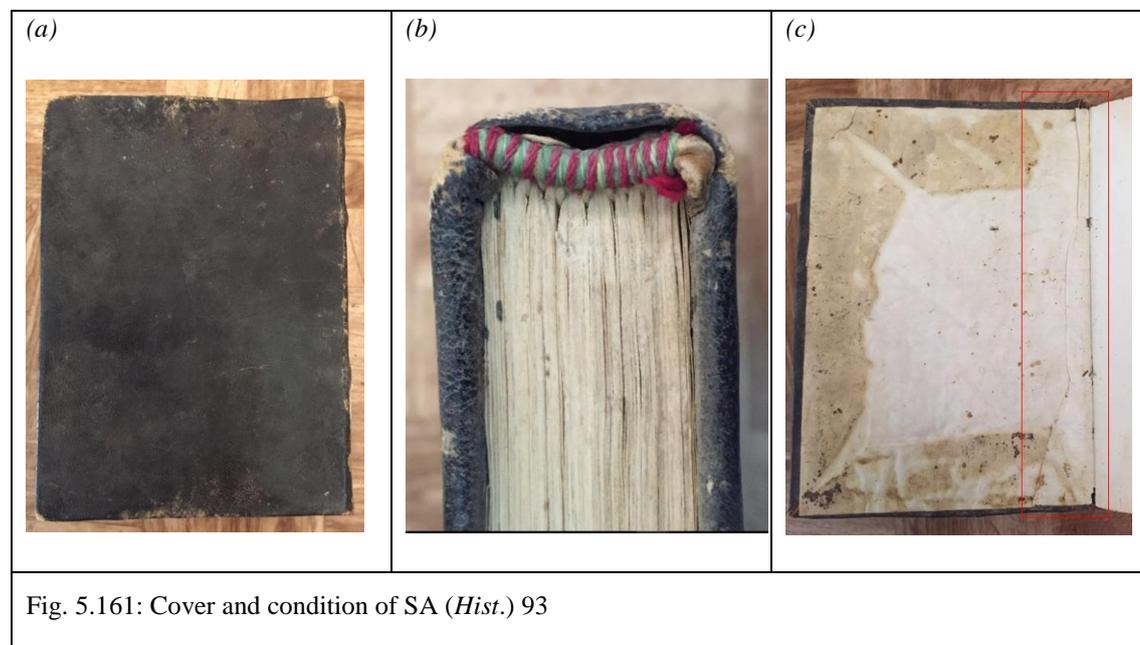


Fig. 5.161: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 93

5.18.10 Observations

1) Dating criteria

SA (*Hist.*) 93 does not contain a date, however, when the script and writing conventions are compared with SA (*Hist.*) 99 and SA (*Hist.*) 102, it seems very likely that the three manuscripts were written by the same scribe: Tūmās al-Anṭūnī. While it is not possible to ascertain which of the manuscripts Tūmās copied first, given that four out of the nine manuscripts Tūmās copied are dated between 1870 and 1889 AD, and that the patron, *hegumen* ‘Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhliṣ al-Anṭūnī commissioned three other manuscripts; the last of which dates to 1863 AD, I propose to date SA (*Hist.*) 93 to the second half of the 19th century. This date is also confirmed by the identified watermarks of the *Andrea Galvani* name and the double lined crest containing the image of a moon in human profile; both of which are characteristic watermarks of the 19th and early 20th century.⁵²⁴

⁵²³ Flyleaf 140 was intentionally cut out. See Fig. 5.161 (c).

⁵²⁴ Briquet 1907: 315; Nikolev 1954: 469; Zanetti 1986a: 437.

There are no traces of candle wax or oil in SA (*Hist.*) 93, and therefore it is likely that its purpose was for personal use rather than liturgical use. There are three manuscripts in the library of the Monastery of St Antony that were copied by the monk Tūmās containing the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*.⁵²⁵ Each manuscript was commissioned by a different *hegumen* in the Monastery for their own personal use, and became a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony after their death: SA (*Hist.*) 93 was commissioned by the *hegumen* ‘Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhliṣ al-Anṭūnī, SA (*Hist.*) 99 was commissioned by the *hegumen* Mūsá al-Farshūfī, and SA (*Hist.*) 102 was commissioned by the *hegumen* Yūḥannā al-Banūdī.

The following table shows the similarities between SA (*Hist.*) 93, SA (*Hist.*) 99, and SA (*Hist.*) 102, thus attesting to Tūmās being the same scribe of each.

⁵²⁵ SA (*Hist.*) 93, 99, 102.

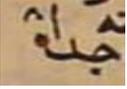
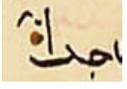
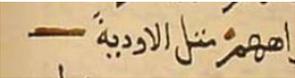
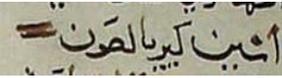
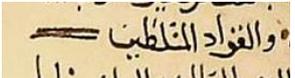
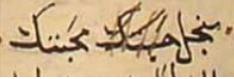
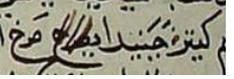
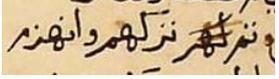
SA (Hist.) 93	SA (Hist.) 99	SA (Hist.) 102
<p>Salient feature of replacing words ending with <i>alif</i> and two <i>kasrah</i> with an inverted َ with a red diacritical dot:</p>  <p>(f. 46r)</p>	<p>Salient feature of replacing words ending with <i>alif</i> and two <i>kasrah</i> with an inverted َ with a red diacritical dot:</p>  <p>(f. 40r)</p>	<p>Salient feature of replacing words ending with <i>alif</i> and two <i>kasrah</i> with an inverted َ with a red diacritical dot:</p>  <p>(f. 24v)</p>
<p>Decorative feature following the word <i>amen</i>:</p>  <p>(f. 67v)</p>	<p>Decorative feature following the word <i>amen</i>:</p>  <p>(f. 57r)</p>	<p>Decorative feature following the word <i>amen</i>:</p>  <p>(f.30r)</p>
<p>Graphic line filler:</p>  <p>(f. 52v)</p>	<p>Graphic line filler:</p>  <p>(f. 98v)</p>	<p>Graphic line filler:</p>  <p>(f. 41v)</p>
<p>Scribal correction:</p>  <p>(f. 50v)</p>	<p>Scribal correction:</p>  <p>(f. 50v)</p>	<p>Scribal correction:</p>  <p>(f. 11v)</p>
<p>Layout: With the exception of two quires, each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are twelve.</p>	<p>Layout: Each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are eleven.</p>	<p>Layout: Each quire is made up of five bifolia. The total number of quires within the codex are eleven.</p>
<p>Upper cover</p> 	<p>Upper cover</p> 	<p>Upper cover</p> 

Fig. 5.162: Similarities between SA (Hist.) 93, 99 and 102

2) Hegumen 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis al-Antūnī

The colophon states that SA (*Hist.*) 93 was commissioned by the *hegumen* 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis al-Antūnī, after whose life it became a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony.⁵²⁶ The Monastery's library contains three other manuscripts that were commissioned by him between the years 1812 and 1863 AD:⁵²⁷

- i. SA (*Lit.*) 213: *Prayers of Buṭrus al-Sidmantī*. Completed: 11 Amshīr 1528 AM. Scribe: not mentioned. Patron and owner: *hegumen* 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis al-Antūnī. *Waqf* for Monastery of St Antony (ff. 85v–86r).
- ii. SA (*Lit.*) 197: *Book of Psalms*, in Arabic. Completed: 15 Baramhāt 1549 AM, and endowed 8 Hātūr 1550 AM. Scribe: an unnamed Antonian monk. Patron and owner: *hegumen* 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis al-Antūnī. *Waqf* for Monastery of St Antony (ff. 229r, 396v–397r).
- iii. SA (*Bibl.*) 283: *Gospel of John*, in Arabic and Coptic, and *the Book of Revelation*, in Arabic. Completed: 21 Tūt 1580 AM. Scribe: *hegumen* Mattā.⁵²⁸ Patron and owner: *hegumen* 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis al-Antūnī. *Waqf* for the Monastery of St Antony (ff. 120v–122r).

3) Salient feature

Folio 95v is the last leaf of a quire and folio 96r is the first leaf of a new quire. The scribe must have lost concentration and so unintentionally left the last leaf (f. 95v) of the quire blank and hence wrote the following note vertically:

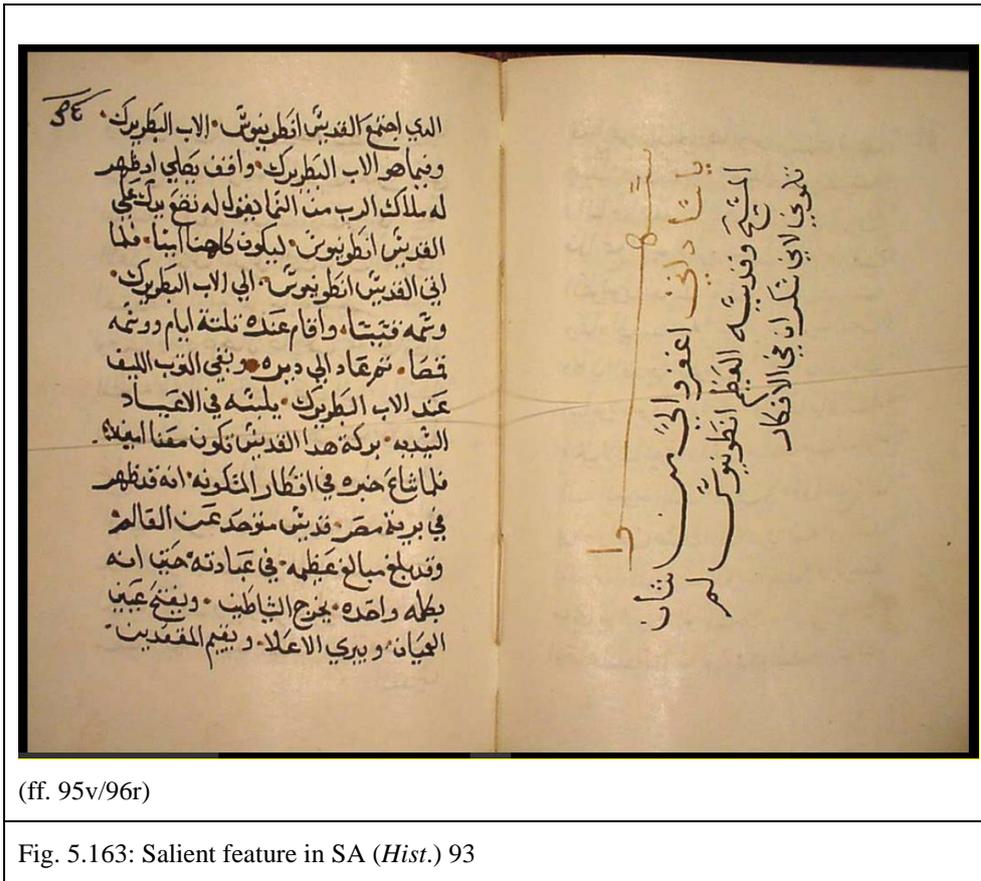
Unintentionally [left blank], my masters forgive me for the sake of Christ and His great saint Antūniyūs, do not blame me because I am drunk in thoughts.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ F. 131r.

⁵²⁷ The catalogue of the library at the Monastery of St Paul does not contain any manuscripts that were commissioned by 'Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis al-Antūnī.

⁵²⁸ Mattā also copied the following manuscript contained in the Monastery's library: SA (*Lit.*) 33: *Unction of the Sick*, in Coptic and Arabic. Completed: 14 Hātūr 1579 AM (22 November 1862). Scribe: *hegumen* Bisintā'ūs the priest of the church of St George in Bahjūrah. Patron: *hegumen* al-Antūnī. Endowed for the Monastery of St Antony on 7 Amshīr 1603 AM (13 February 1887), (ff. 1v, 72v-73r).

⁵²⁹ See Fig. 5.163.



(ff. 95v/96r)

Fig. 5.163: Salient feature in SA (*Hist.*) 93

5.19 ST PAUL (HISTORY) 136

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁵³⁰

30 Bābah 1637 AM (27 October 1920 AD)

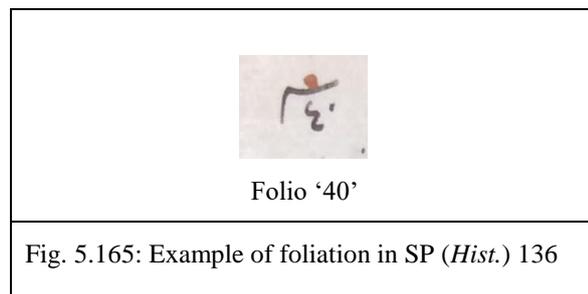
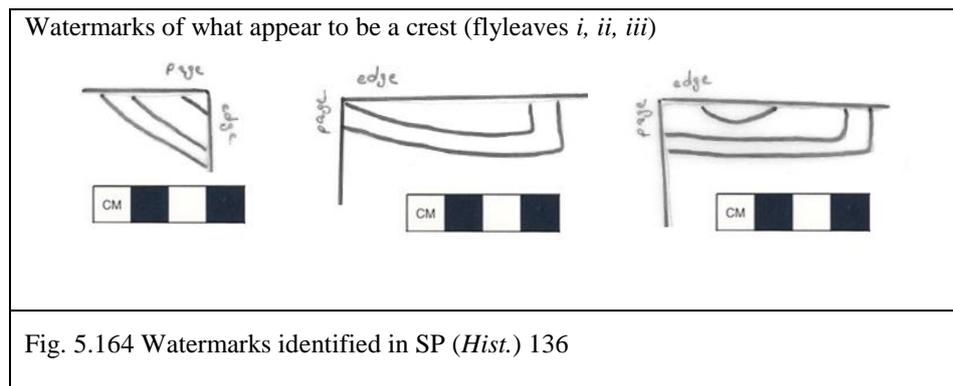
5.19.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*: 163 × 115 mm. *Foliation*: 4 leaves (*i, ii, iii, iv*) + 1 – 145 + 2 leaves (*146, 147*). *Writing material*: Flyleaves *i, ii, iii, iv, 146, 147* are a different paper to the inscribed paper. Flyleaves were sized with starch giving it a glossy surface⁵³¹ and contain vertical chain lines 31 mm apart on laid paper. Watermarks located on the corners of the flyleaves are not complete, suggesting that the paper was cut before use so that the page does not contain the complete watermark. The lines suggest

⁵³⁰ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

⁵³¹ Beit-Arie 1976: 26-37.

that the watermark may have been a crest. No watermarks, however, were detected on the paper containing the text-block. *Pagination*: The foliation is in Arabic numbers overlined with a red dot and horizontal stroke with what appears to be a final *hā'* at its end. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 144v. *Inconsistencies in foliation*: (i) f. 22 is mistakenly written as f. 2; (ii) after f. 65 the foliation jumps to 67; (iii) foliation on ff. 66, 76 and 77 is “not expressed”; (iv) f. 78 is incorrectly written as f. 77; (v) the number 78 is written twice; (vi) after f. 115 the foliation jumps to f. 120; (vii) the number 132 is written twice.



5.19.2 Contents

(1) *Life of Anbā Antonius* (ff. 1r–119v); colophon (ff. 120r–120v).

(2) *Life of Anbā Būlā the First Hermit* (ff. 121r–144v); colophon (fol. 145r, 9 lines).

5.19.3 Colophons

A colophon stands at the end of each text providing details of scribe's name, place of transcription, and patron. The scribe was the priest Mattá Tādrus al-Banjāwī who copied the text at the Monastery of St Paul. The patron and owner of the book was Ilyās, a monk from the Monastery of St Paul, after whose death it was endowed to the Monastery of St Paul. It was completed in 1637 AM.

The text of the colophon following the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, reads as follows:

(ff.120r–120v): Completed and finished the life-story of our father the great saint, star of the wilderness, the father Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, in peace from the Lord, amen. Lord have mercy. And this blessed book was completed on Tuesday the 30th day of Bābah in the year 1637 of the pure martyrs.⁵³² It was written in the Monastery of St Paul the first hermit by the hand of its writer who is wretched and mere dust, [who is] full of sins and unrighteousness, who only by name is called a priest but not by deeds, who has been taught but is not a teacher, and who asks everyone who reads [this book] not to consider his faults but to pray for him and for all his physical and spiritual parents, and all the children of baptism. And whoever finds a mistake in [this book] and corrects it, may God correct his ways in this world and in the eternal life. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him. And thanks be to God. The one who commissioned this blessed book from his own money is the pure father, the monk Ilyās, one of the monks from the Monastery of St Paul. May God reward him for what he paid for it and count him among His righteous ones and saints, and because of this he entreats the forgiveness of his sins, through the intercessions of the Virgin [Mary] and our fathers the saints, amen. Transcribed by the priest Mattá Tādrus al-Banjāwī.⁵³³

⁵³² 27 October 1920 AD.

⁵³³ The colophon following the *Life of Anbā Būlā* is similar, with the difference being:

والمهتم بهذا الميمر ابينا الراهب / ايلياس عوضه يا رب ثلاثون / وستون ومايه في ملكوت السموات

Translation: “The one who commissioned this life-story [of Anbā Būlā] was our father the monk Ilyās. Reward him O Lord thirty and sixty and a hundred[-fold] in [the] Kingdom of Heaven.”

5.19.4 Endowment

Following the second colophon after the *Life of Anbā Būlā*, is a *waqf* written in a different hand.

The text reads as follows:

<And after his repose [the monk Ilyās] on 14 August 1946, [the manuscript] became an endowment for the Monastery of St Paul.⁵³⁴ Whosoever shall remove it from its endowment, he shall come under God’s judgment [and whosoever] disregards this endowment will be subject to the judgment of God...⁵³⁵>

5.19.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 130 × 80 mm with 11–12 lines.⁵³⁶ The lines were made with a *maṣṭara*; a clear impression of the cords is visible on f. 146r.

Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation, contraction, and suprascription.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ However, on the first flyleaf opposite the pastedown is a note written in a modern hand: “Endowment for the Monastery of the righteous Anbā Būlā 136/35. 1951, 1 April” (Hand A). Then underneath in a different hand is written “May 1952” (Hand B). On the third flyleaf, written in the same modern hand as Hand A is the note: “Endowment for the Monastery of the righteous Anbā Būlā the first hermit in the Mountain of Nimrah.” On the fourth flyleaf is a note written in yet another different modern hand: “In the name of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, the one God, amen. Remember O Lord Your servant the monk Mīkhā’īl” (Hand C). The *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* begins on f. 1r (unnumbered folio) on which are two modern handwritten notes. The first written in the top left hand corner (in Hand A) states: “An endowment for the Monastery of Anbā Būlā, History 136.” Written vertically in the left hand margin in a different hand: “Remember O Lord Your lowliest servant among monks, the *hegumen* Jirjis (followed by his signature). 2 Amshīr, 1684 AM, 10 February 1968” (Hand D).

⁵³⁵ What follows is not decipherable.

⁵³⁶ Except on ff. 138v, 130r, 128v, 111r, 109v, 110r which show 10 lines.

⁵³⁷ See Fig. 5.166 for highlighted examples, from the top: an example of elongation of the last word on the line, followed by an example of contraction, and finally an example of suprascription of the last word on the line. (f. 3v).

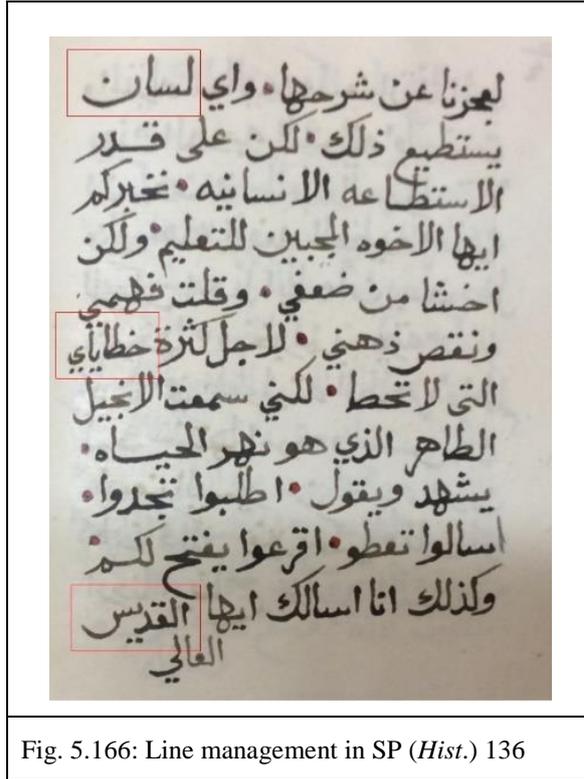
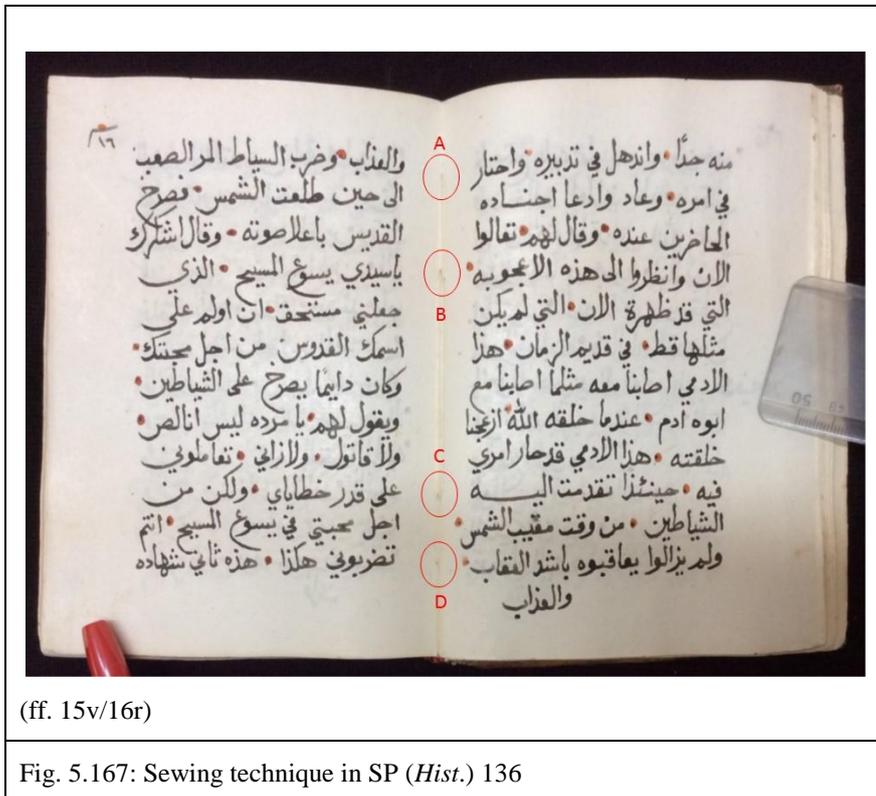


Fig. 5.166: Line management in SP (Hist.) 136

Quires: Each quire is made up of six bifolia. The total number of quires in the codex was difficult to detect due to the tight binding. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.



(ff. 15v/16r)

Fig. 5.167: Sewing technique in SP (Hist.) 136

Catchwords: There are only two instances where the catchwords do not match the first words of the following page.⁵³⁸

5.19.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Black ink with rubrics. No vocalisation except on the word *Allah*. The two volumes of texts are divided by rubricated incipits. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter, as well as highlight the names *Anṭūniyūs* and *Anbā Būlā*, however, inconsistently. The rubricated phrases are as follows:

- *We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] among the holy fathers, the star of the wilderness, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs. May the blessings of his prayers be with us, and keep us, and protect us from the enemy, amen.*⁵³⁹
- *Anṭūniyūs*⁵⁴⁰
- *O Anṭūniyūs*⁵⁴¹
- *The righteous Anbā Būlā the first hermit*⁵⁴²
- *Anbā Būlā*⁵⁴³
- *The father Anbā Būlā*⁵⁴⁴
- *And also some of his wonders*⁵⁴⁵
- *And also among his wonders*⁵⁴⁶
- *Hear also great news*⁵⁴⁷
- *And they asked*⁵⁴⁸
- *And there was*⁵⁴⁹

⁵³⁸ Diacritical marks differ on f. 5v; catchword missing on *verso* on f. 19v.

⁵³⁹ F. 1v lines 2-7.

⁵⁴⁰ Ff. 3v, 5r, 21r, 22r, 39r, 39v, 83r, 83v, 107v, 111v.

⁵⁴¹ Ff. 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 37v.

⁵⁴² F. 37v.

⁵⁴³ F. 38r, 83v, 84r.

⁵⁴⁴ F. 38r, 98r.

⁵⁴⁵ F. 47r.

⁵⁴⁶ Ff. 50v, 52v.

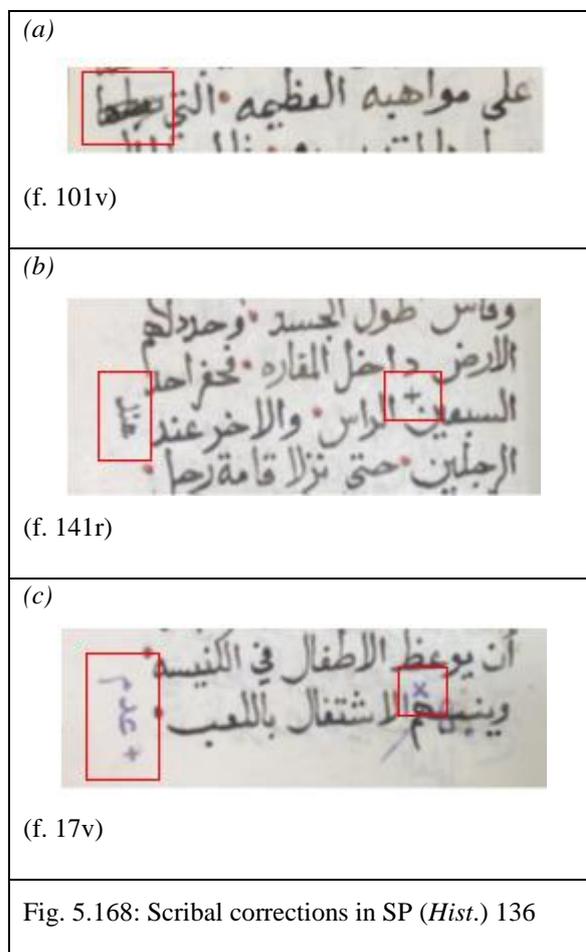
⁵⁴⁷ F. 81r.

⁵⁴⁸ F. 44r.

⁵⁴⁹ F. 42v.

- *And we want O brothers attending this feast, may its blessing be upon us and all of you, amen*⁵⁵⁰
- *And when he became famous everywhere*⁵⁵¹

Scribal Corrections: There are no marginal notes and only two instances in which the scribe crossed out words not required in black ink (a).⁵⁵² In the case of insertions, there is only one instance where the scribe placed a small black cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written alongside vertically in the margin (b).⁵⁵³ Three further corrections, in a similar format, were made in what appears as a modern hand, in blue ink (c).⁵⁵⁴



⁵⁵⁰ F. 42r.

⁵⁵¹ F. 84v.

⁵⁵² Ff. 19r, 101v. There are two words crossed out on f. 96r with a modern pen in blue ink.

⁵⁵³ F. 141r.

⁵⁵⁴ Ff. 7r, 15r, 17v.

Salient Features: There is only one occurrence in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ن is inverted in the text.⁵⁵⁵

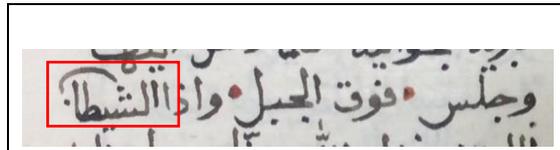
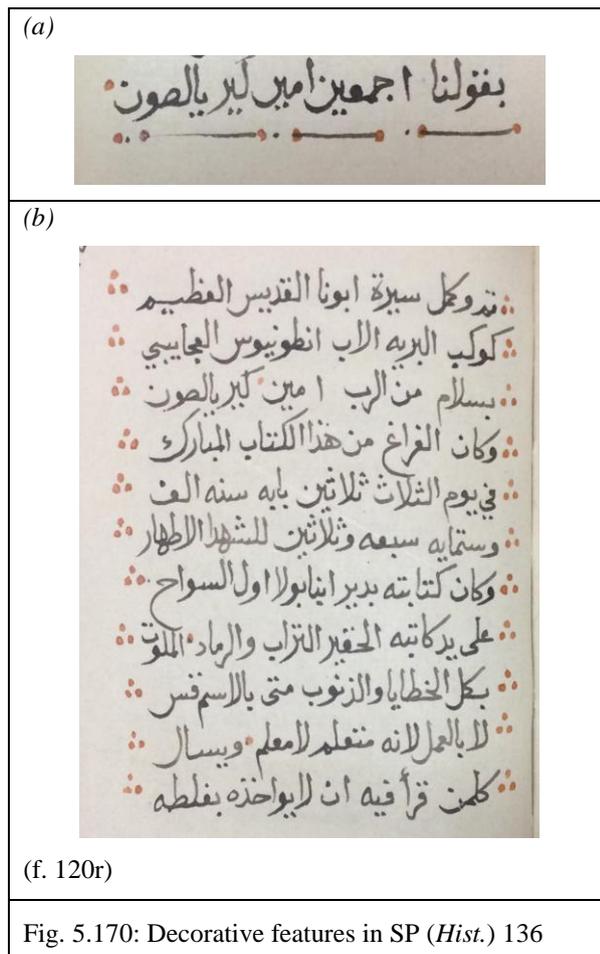


Fig. 5.169: Salient features in SP (*Hist.*) 136

5.19.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single raised dot in red ink. Dividers are provided between textual units to mark the end of a text, and take the form of a sequence of black dashes and red dots (*a*). Each line of the colophons is decorated with a cluster of three dots in red ink placed on the left and right side of each line (*b*).



⁵⁵⁵ F. 17r.

5.19.8 *Binding*

Type III binding. Brown leather, original cover with no tooled relief. ‘136 History’ written in black pen on the front cover (a). The measurements of the cover and spine are 170 × 115 × 30 mm. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of red and black threads weaved into a vertical pattern. A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “136/350 History of Saints” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine (b).

5.19.9 *Condition of the Manuscript*

The original cover shows evidence of wear on the edges, and the first two quires are loose. But otherwise in good condition.

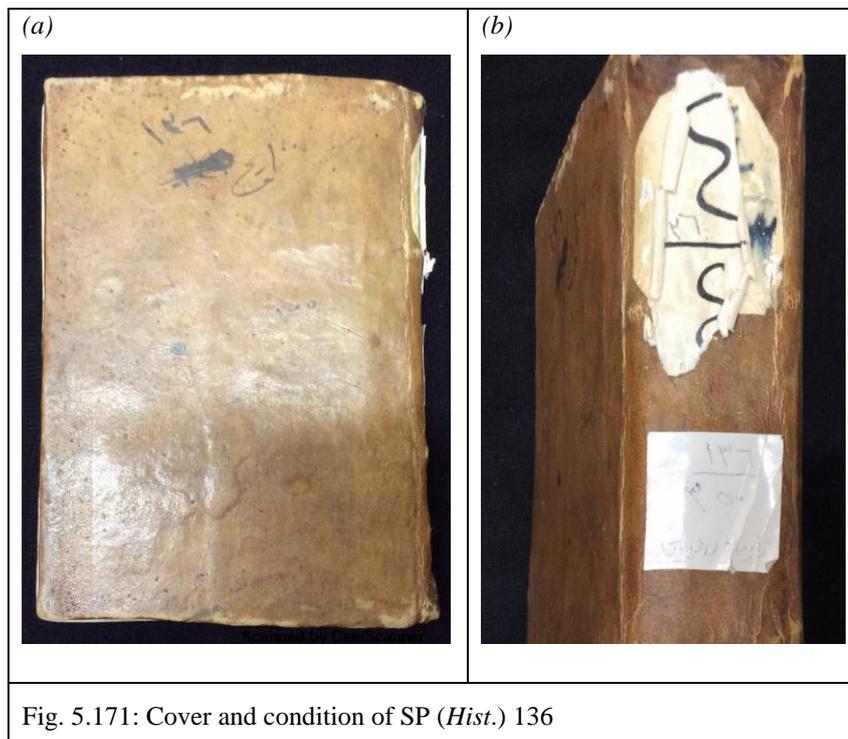


Fig. 5.171: Cover and condition of SP (*Hist.*) 136

5.19.10 *Observations*

- 1) Corrections to the text were made in a modern hand in blue ink on ff. 7r, 15r, 17v, and 96r. The same pen was used to inscribe an endowment to the Monastery on f. 120v and on the first flyleaf (“endowment for the Monastery of St Paul 136/25”), as well as an invocation on the second flyleaf opposite the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*. The invocation reads:

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God, amen. Remember O Lord Your servant the monk Mīkhā'īl.⁵⁵⁶

- 2) In the margin alongside the incipit to the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* is another invocation written by a different monk. It reads:

Remember O Lord Your servant, the wretched [one] among monks, the *hegumen* Jirjis (...) 2 Amshīr 1684 AM, 10 February 1968 AD.⁵⁵⁷

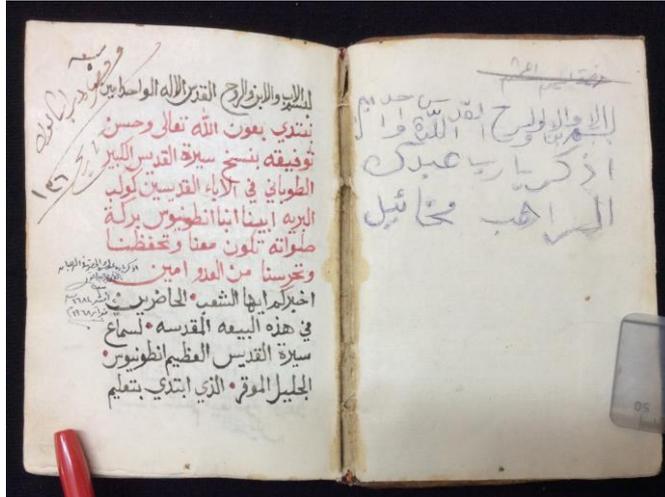
- 3) The pages of the manuscript are relatively clean with no traces of candle wax or excessive finger marks. The stitching, with the exception of the first two quires, are tight.
- 4) The various notes that were made in different hands are interesting in that they provide us with an idea of the book's history. Initially it was copied by the priest Mattá at the request of the monk Ilyās, perhaps for his own personal use. Although Ilyās had specified that after his death⁵⁵⁸ it was to become a *waqf* for the Monastery of St Paul⁵⁵⁹, it seems the codex was then owned by a monk named Mīkhā'īl who wrote his name in it in the year 1946, the year Ilyās died. In the year 1968, the book was then in the possession of a *hegumen* named Jirjis, who we may assume was also from the Monastery of St Paul. Given that by the mid-20th century, many liturgical books were printed, it seems reasonable to suppose that this codex was then finally placed in the library of the Monastery to which it had been endowed.

⁵⁵⁶ The text in Arabic reads: بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الله واحد امين / اذكر يا رب عبدك / الراهب ميخائيل

⁵⁵⁷ The text in Arabic reads: اذكر يا رب عبدك الحقيير في الرهبان / القمص جرجس ... / ٢ أمشير ١٦٨٤ ش / ١٠ فبراير ١٩٦٨ م

⁵⁵⁸ Ilyās died on 14 August 1946.

⁵⁵⁹ F. 145r.



(ff. 4v/5r): The *verso* leaf shows an invocatory note by the monk Mīkhā'īl in blue ink, while the *recto* leaf shows an invocatory note by the *hegumen* Jirjis dated 1968, in black ink.

Fig. 5.172: Modern notes in SP (*Hist.*) 136

These modern notes may infer that at least as recent as 1968, monks were reading from manuscripts, which were then replaced by printed books. The following photo taken by Thomas Whittemore during his expedition to the Red Sea monasteries in 1931/32 shows that the books that are placed on the wooden shelf in the church, are in fact manuscripts.



Fig. 5.173: Cave Church at the Monastery of St Paul, 1931/32. Photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks.

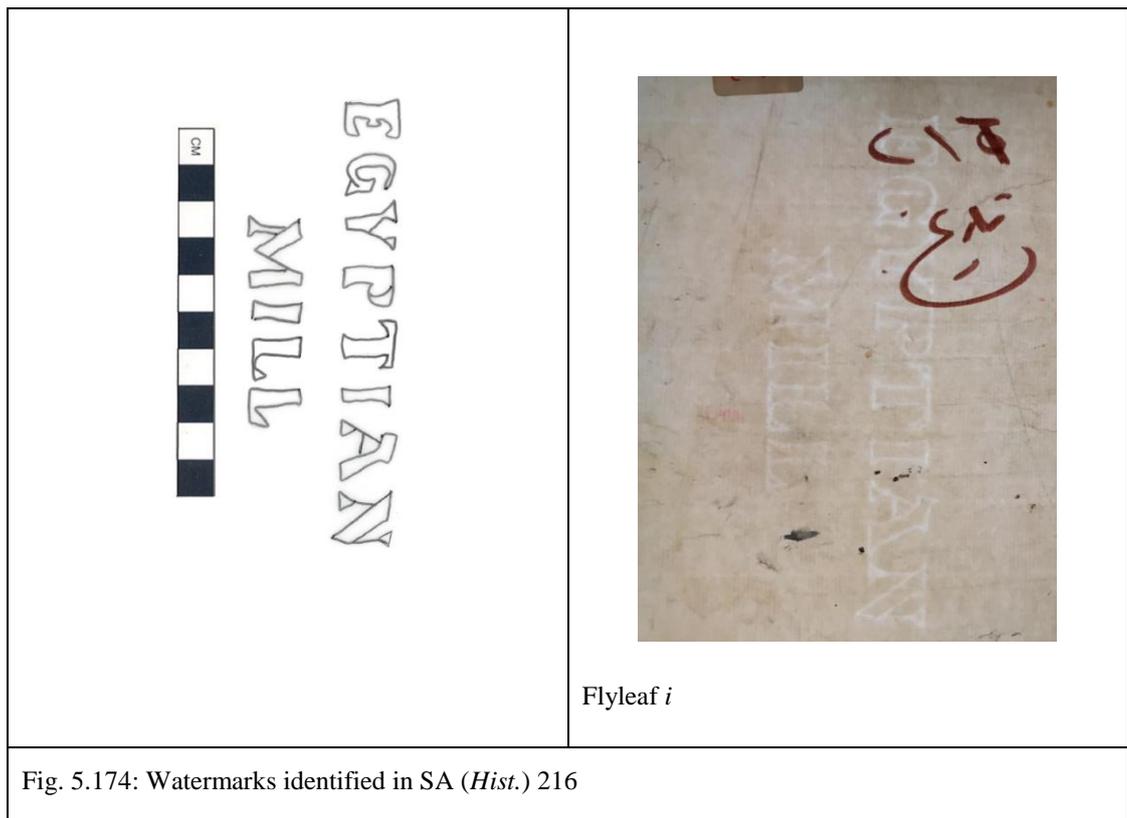
5.20 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 216

Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs by Athanasius the patriarch of Alexandria ⁵⁶⁰

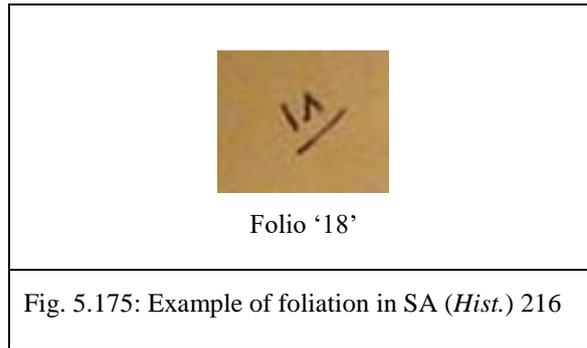
1 Abīb 1674 AM (8 July 1958 AD)

5.20.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Single scribe. *Leaf size*, 270 × 200 mm. *Foliation*: 2 leaves (*i*, *ii*) + 1 – 59 + 2 leaves (*60*, *61*). *Writing material*: Egyptian paper, beige tinted, thin, and matte. Horizontal chain lines are visible 25 mm apart. All the pages contain the watermark “EGYPTIAN MILL” written in capital letters. *Pagination*: Arabic numbers, underlined with a diagonal stroke. The numbering begins at f. 1r and ends at f. 59r.



⁵⁶⁰ The scribe has attributed this *Life* to Athanasius of Alexandria, and with the exception of the incipit, the life-story is an Arabic translation of the *Athanasian Life*.



5.20.2 Contents

Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs by Athanasius the patriarch of Alexandria (ff. 1r–58r); colophon (ff. 58r–58v).

5.20.3 Colophon

A colophon stands at the end of the text. It gives details of the scribe's name, where he copied the text and the year it was completed. The scribe was the monk Sulaymān from the Monastery of St Antony. He copied it in the same Monastery, and completed it in 1958. The text of the colophon reads as follows:

(ff. 58r–58v): Finished and completed the news about our father the great saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, father of all monks, with peace from the Lord, amen. And the scribe of this letter is the lazy, wretched, sinful servant [who is] drowning in the sea of sin and unrighteousness, who by name and not by deeds is the monk Sulaymān al-Anṭūnī. And he who finds an error and corrects it, may Christ correct his way and ours, and thanks be to Him, amen. The sinner Sulaymān al-Anṭūnī, copied the life-story of our father Anṭūniyūs that was finished in the month of Abīb 1674 [year of the] martyrs and 1958 Abīb that corresponds to 8 July. And we were helped to finish it through the intercessions of the lady the Virgin [Mary], and the angels, and the martyrs, and the saints, and through the intercessions of this saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, amen. Remember O Lord Your sinful servant the monk Sulaymān al-Anṭūnī. And he copied it in the Monastery of St Antony which was inhabited,⁵⁶¹ amen.

⁵⁶¹ Literally “active”.

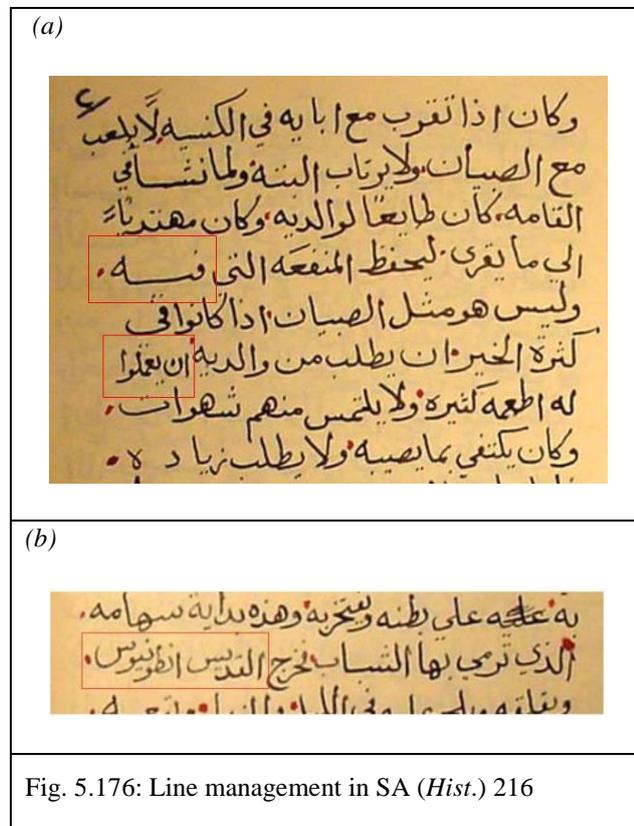
5.20.4 Endowment

The text contains no endowment.

5.20.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 220 × 140 mm with 16–17 lines. The pages were ruled with a *mas̄tarah*. A clear impression of the ruling-board is seen on flyleaf *i*.

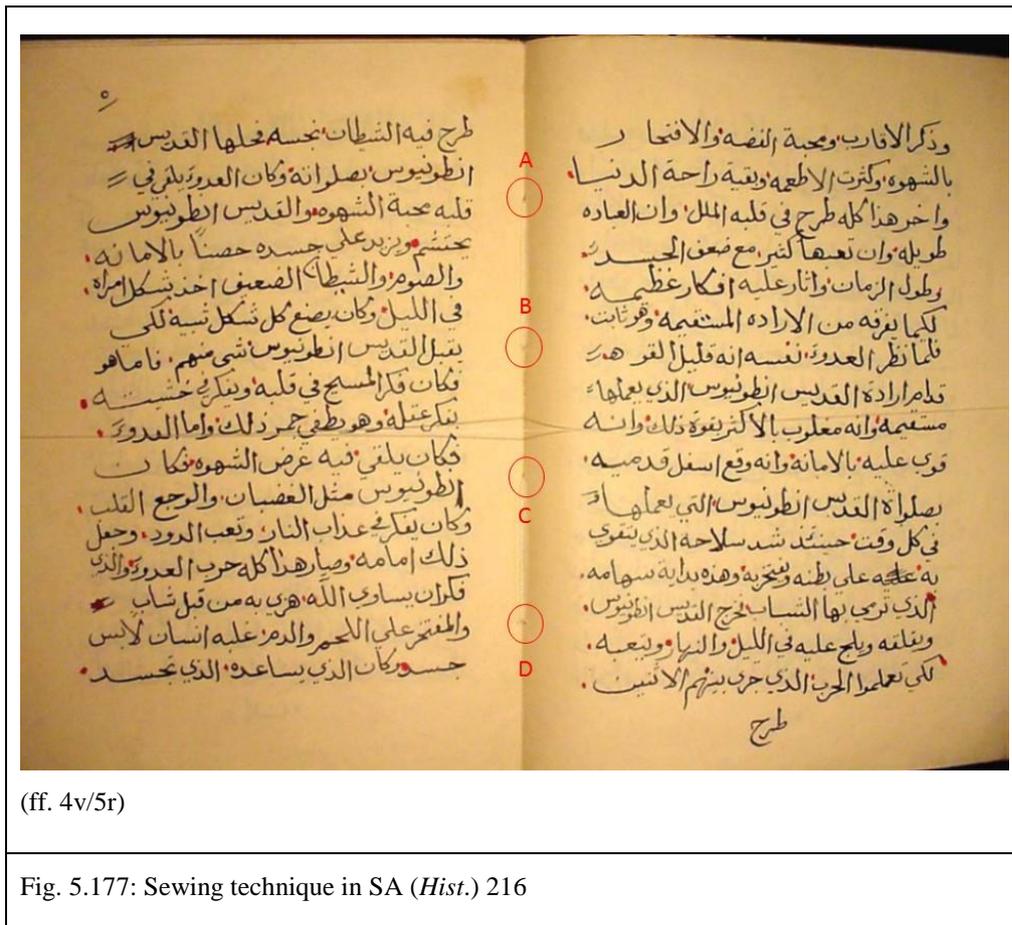
Justification: The scribe employed three distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation and contraction (*a*),⁵⁶² and suprascription (*b*).⁵⁶³



Quires: Each quire is made up of ten bifolia, with the exception of the first two and the last quire, which are composed of two, three, and five bifolia respectively. The total number of quires within the codex is eight. The fold line shows evidence of a link stitch on four stations.

⁵⁶² See Fig. 5.176 (*a*) for highlighted examples of an elongated word, and contraction of the last two words on the line (f. 2r).

⁵⁶³ See Fig. 5.176 (*b*) for a highlighted example of suprascription of the last two words on the line (f. 4v).



Catchwords: Unlike the usual convention in which the catchword is positioned left aligned on *verso*, the catchwords in this manuscript are all centre-aligned.⁵⁶⁴ There are no instances of discrepancy in the catchwords.

5.20.6 Writing

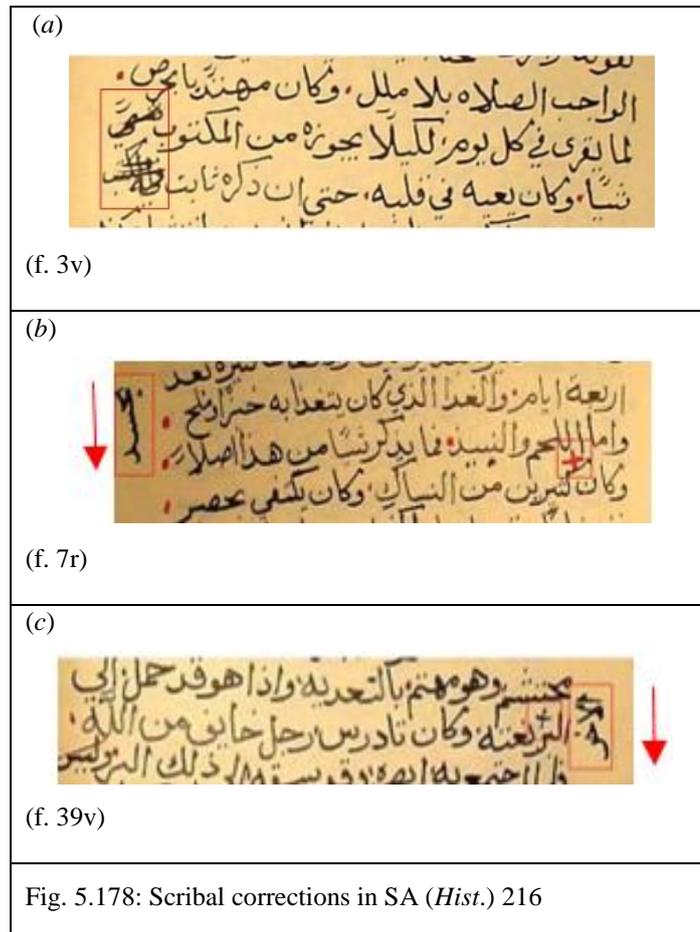
Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by one scribe. Black ink with rubrics. The text contains no vocalisation. The incipit is the only text written in red with diacritical marks in black ink. It reads as follows:

- *We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the virtuous, blessed father, our father, the great [one] among saints, Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness, the father of monks and the greatest of hermits, from what was expounded by the father Athanasius the Apostolic, the patriarch of Alexandria, to the brothers who came to him at that time and asked [of] him. So he spoke to them from the beginning [of*

⁵⁶⁴ See Fig. 5.177, f.4v.

his life] until he completed his good departure, I mean father Anṭūniyūs on 22 Tūbah, with peace from the Lord. And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of words that have no benefit. And God is the helper in the beginning and the end, amen.⁵⁶⁵

Scribal Corrections: The scribe made corrections by crossing out in black ink the words not required (a).⁵⁶⁶ In the case of insertions to the text, the scribe placed either a small red (b) or black cross (c) in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin.⁵⁶⁷ While the usual scribal convention regarding insertions was to write the word(s) vertically in a downward direction if on *verso*, and an upward direction if on *recto*, the scribe of this manuscript wrote all vertical words in a downward direction.

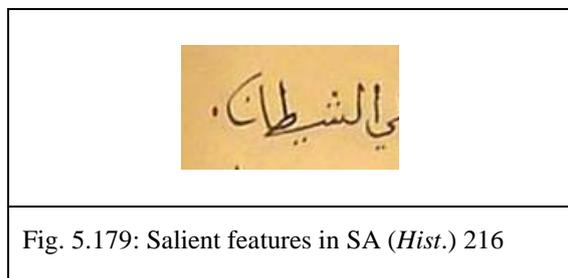


⁵⁶⁵ Ff. 1r-1v, lines 2-26.

⁵⁶⁶ Ff. 4v, 5r, 14v, 22r.

⁵⁶⁷ Ff. 7r, 58r (red cross), 1r, 19v, 24v, 27v, 30r, 39v, 44v, 46v, 50r, 57r (black cross).

Salient Features: There is only one instance in the text in which the last letter in the word *al-shayṭān* ٥ is written sideways.⁵⁶⁸



5.20.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation is limited to a single dot in red ink. However, these dots are not placed consistently throughout the text.⁵⁶⁹ There are no decorative elements in the codex.

5.20.8 Binding

Type III binding. Modern brown leather, no stamped or tooled relief (*a*). The measurements of the cover and spine are 260 × 200 × 65 mm. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. The end-bands consist of black and white threads weaved in a chevron pattern. A blue satin ribbon is attached to the spinal backing as a page marker (*b*). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “216 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted across the spine.

5.20.9 Condition of the Manuscript

Some water stains. The pages contain some brown stains most probably from finger marks in the bottom corners of the pages. No trace of candle wax.

⁵⁶⁸ F. 5r.

⁵⁶⁹ Red punctuation dots were only placed on ff. 1v/2r, 2v/3r, and 4r-14v.

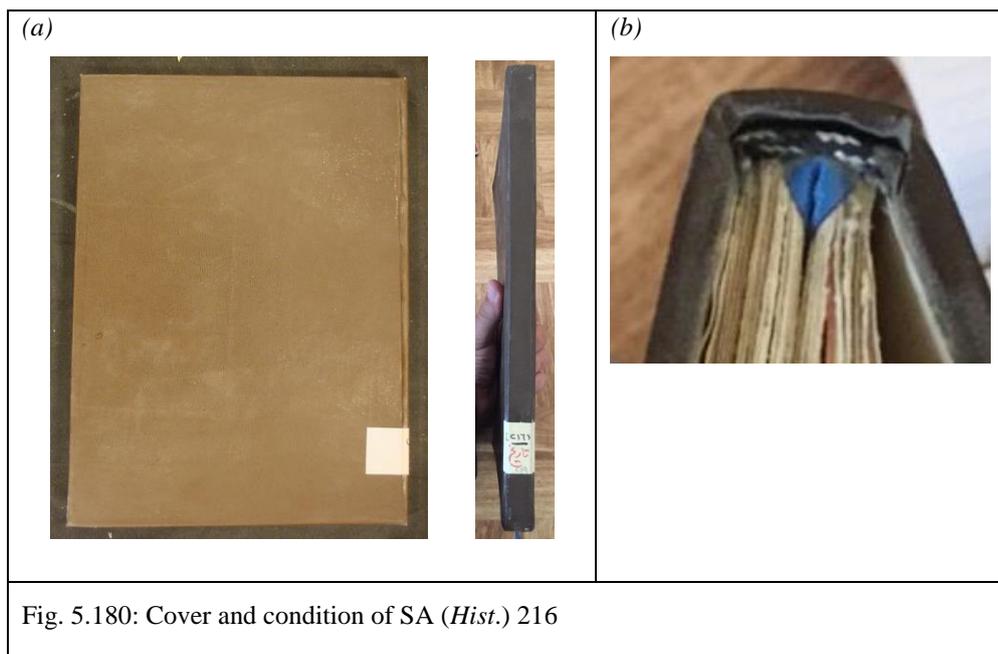


Fig. 5.180: Cover and condition of SA (*Hist.*) 216

5.20.10 Observations

1) Sulaymān al-Antūnī (scribe)

According to information contained in the Monastery's archives, Sulaymān was born in Jirjā in the province of Sūhāj, Upper Egypt, in 1936. He was consecrated a monk at the Monastery of St Antony on 19 March 1956, and ordained a priest on 3 August 1958. He served as a parish priest in al-Fayyūm and also in Jerusalem, before returning back to the Monastery in his last days where he died on 23 May, 2012. Apart from SA (*Hist.*) 216, which he copied the year he was ordained a priest, Sulaymān also copied SA (*Hist.*) 217: *Life of Anbā Būlā*, which he completed on 1 Baramhāt 1675⁵⁷⁰ (10 March 1959), a year after having completed SA (*Hist.*) 216. Sulaymān's books prove that at least up until 1958, manuscripts were still being transcribed by the monks of the Monastery, even though printed books were available at the time.

2) The Athanasian Life⁵⁷¹

It is probable that Sulaymān copied the text of SA (*Hist.*) 216 from SA (*Hist.*) 105 as they are identical accounts of the *Athanasian Life*. Furthermore, both claim in the incipit that they were copied from a text at the Monastery of St Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn; most probably Ms

⁵⁷⁰ F. 9v.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. *Athanasian Life* in SA (*Hist.*) 105.

St Macarius (*Hag.*) 31,⁵⁷² which contains the same text and incipit as SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216.⁵⁷³ St Macarius (*Hag.*) 20 (dated 1786 AD), also contains the Athanasian account, but the incipit is different to SA (*Hist.*) 105 and 216.

Sulaymān's statement in the incipit of SA (*Hist.*) 216 that it was necessary for him to transcribed the *Athanasian Life*: "...because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of non-beneficial words," reveals that up until the mid-20th century, the Pseudo-Serapionic account still enjoyed popularity.

5.21 ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 219

*Hagiographic Miscellany*⁵⁷⁴

(Mid-20th century AD)

5.21.1 Physical Description

Complete paper codex. Black ink with rubrication. Two scribes: Hand A (ff. 1r–92r), and Hand B (ff. 92v–114r). *Leaf size*: 190 × 135 mm. *Foliation*: 1 leaf (i) + 1 – 114 + 1 leaf (115). *Writing material*: wove paper, beige tinted, matte. There are no chain lines. There is only one unidentifiable watermark on the front flyleaf. *Pagination*: There is no foliation in the codex.

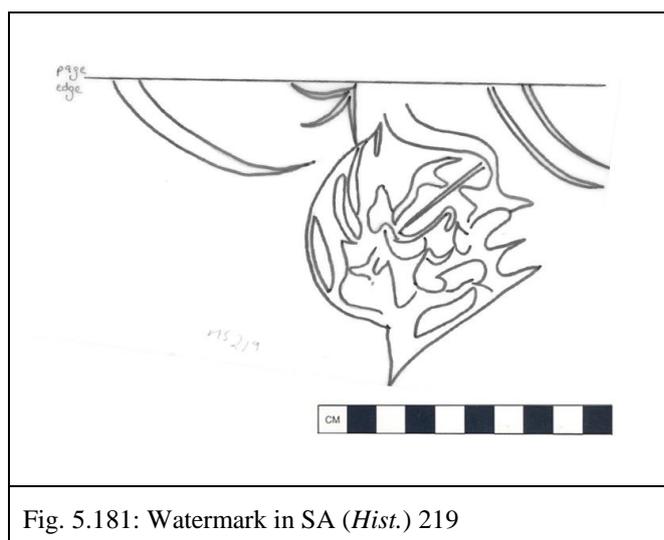


Fig. 5.181: Watermark in SA (*Hist.*) 219

⁵⁷² Undated, but based on the watermarks, Ugo Zanetti proposes an 18th century date (Zanetti 1986: 472).

⁵⁷³ With the exception of the line that states "...And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of non-beneficial words."

⁵⁷⁴ No attribution by the scribe is provided.

5.21.2 Contents

- (1) *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs* (ff. 1r–75v)
- (2) *Life of Anbā Būlā the first hermit* (ff. 76r–91r)
- (3) *Exposition for Anbā Būlā the first hermit* (ff. 91v–92r)
- (4) *Exposition for John of the Golden Bible* (ff. 92v–114r)

5.21.3 Colophon

The codex contains no colophon.

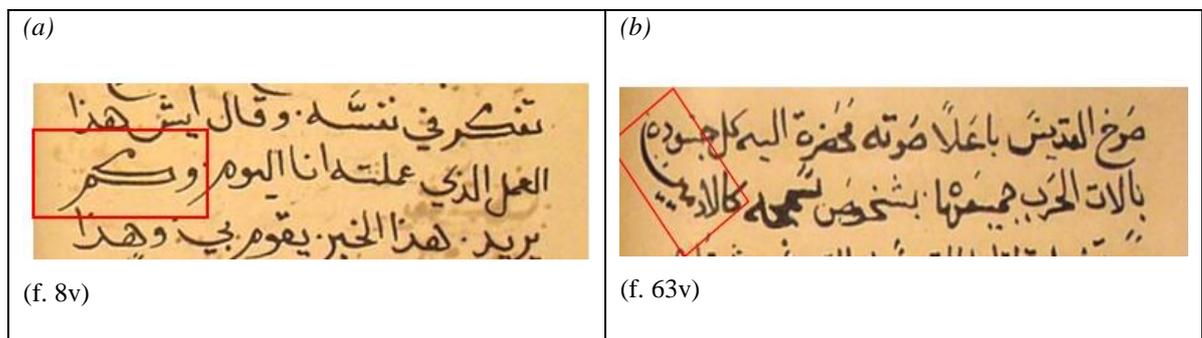
5.21.4 Endowment

The codex contains no endowment.

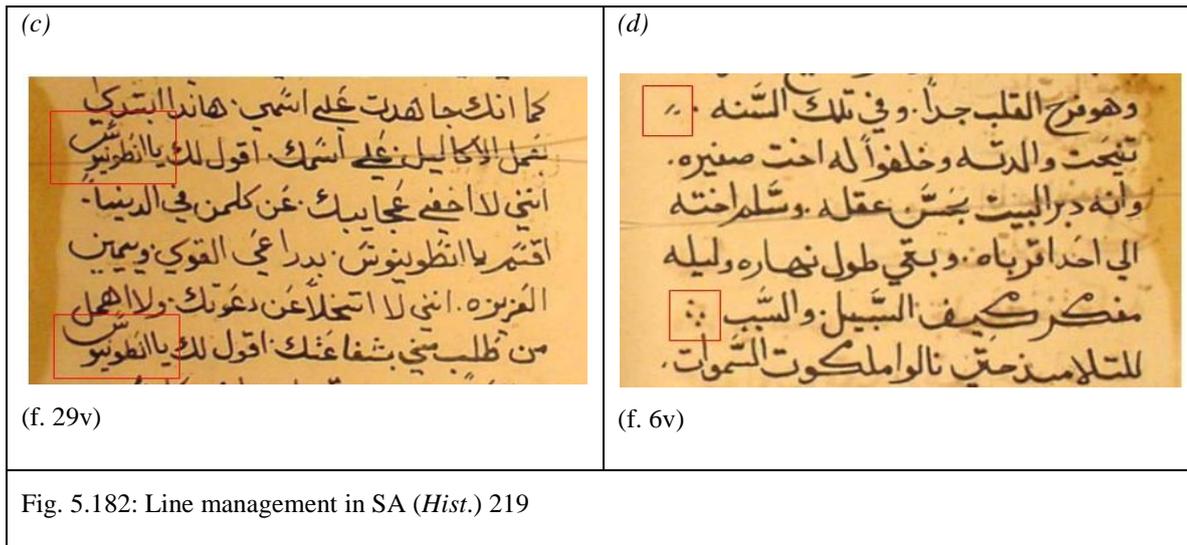
5.21.5 Layout

Written area: av. c. 165 × 100 mm with 13–14 lines. The pages were ruled with a *masṭarah*. A clear impression of the ruling-board is seen on f. 75v. The codex contains two hands, but I will focus only on the method employed by hand A which transcribed the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*.

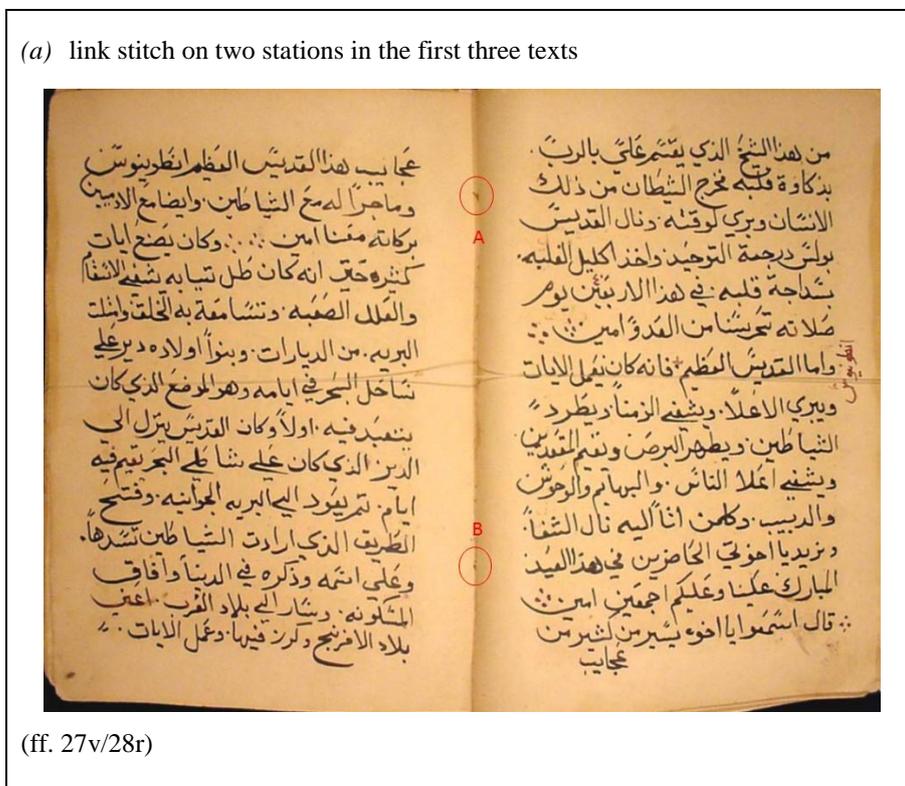
Justification: The scribe employed four distinct methods to ensure justification of the lines: elongation (*a*), suprascription (*b*), writing exceeding words or letters diagonally (*c*),⁵⁷⁵ and graphic fillers in the form of either two dashes or a cluster of four black dots (*d*).



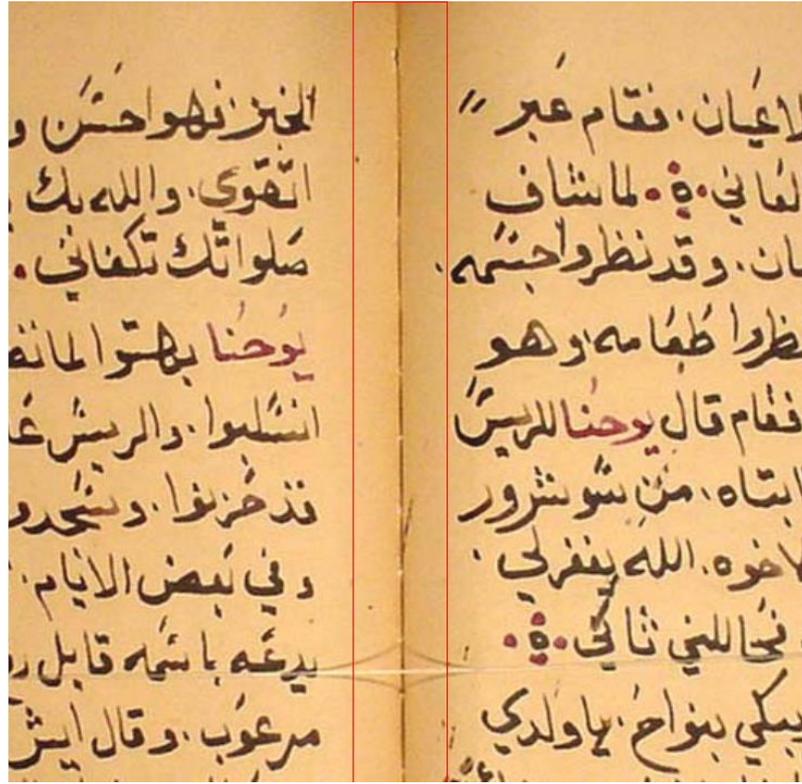
⁵⁷⁵ According to Beit-Arié, writing final words liable to exceed the margin diagonally was the favourite practice of Oriental scribes (Beit-Arié 1976: 103).



Quires: Due to the poor condition of the codex in which many quires have come undone, it is difficult to determine with certainty the number of quires and their composition. However, those that are intact number ten bifolia in a quire. The fold line shows evidence of two types of stitching: a link stitch on two stations is evident in the first three texts of the codex (a), while the fold line in the fourth text reveals a single straight slit band (b).



(b) single straight slit band in the fourth text



(ff. 100v/101r)

Fig. 5.183: Sewing technique in SA (*Hist.*) 219

Catchwords: No discrepancies in catchwords were found.

5.21.6 Writing

Script and Rubrication: The manuscript was written by two scribes. Black with rubrics. The incipit at the start of each text is written in red. The scribe also used red to indicate the start of a new chapter, however, inconsistently. The rubricated phrases are as follows:

- *We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the father, the great saint, the righteous [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, father of all the monks, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us until the end, amen.*⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁶ F. 1r, lines 2-5.

- And also some of his wonders⁵⁷⁷
- And also among his wonders⁵⁷⁸

Scribal Corrections: In the text of the *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, there are several instances where the scribe crossed out words not required in black ink (a).⁵⁷⁹ However, there are only two cases of insertions to the text, where the scribe placed a small red cross in the place where the addition is to be inserted, and the addition was written vertically in the margin (b).⁵⁸⁰ There is one case in which the addition was written in the interline (c).⁵⁸¹



⁵⁷⁷ F. 30v.

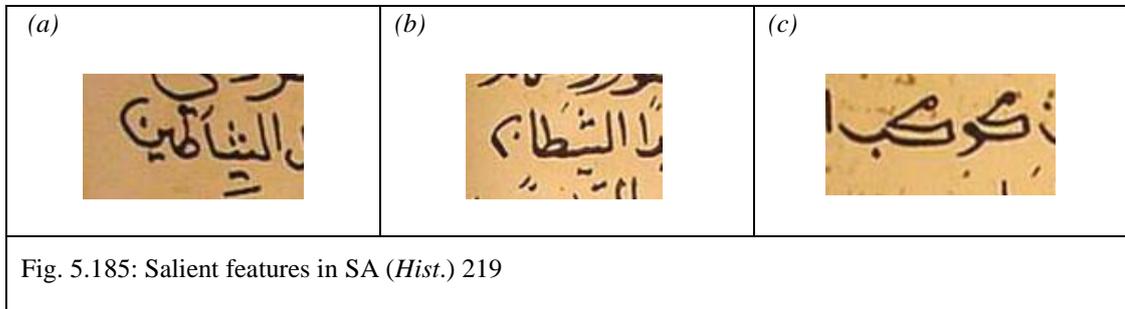
⁵⁷⁸ Ff. 33r, 34r.

⁵⁷⁹ Ff. 13r, 13v, 31v, 35r, 49v, 54v, 59r, 63r, 63v, 66r, 66v, 71r, 72v, 73r.

⁵⁸⁰ F. 27v (additional word written in red); and f. 89v (additional word written in black).

⁵⁸¹ F. 66r.

Salient Features: There is one instance in the text where the last letter ى in the words *al-shayātīn* (a) and *al-shayṭān* (b) are written sideways.⁵⁸² From 1r–9v, the scribe writes the letter ك in a very distinctive way (c).



5.21.7 Punctuation and Decoration

Punctuation throughout the texts is limited to a single small raised dot in black ink.⁵⁸³ There are no textual dividers between the texts. Rather, the next text commences on a new page. When justification is required, a cluster of four black dots with or without the addition of two dashes, were used as graphic fillers (a). A cluster of four red dots always mark the end of paragraphs and chapters. If justification is required, then the scribe placed two lots of clusters at the end of a paragraph or chapter. Occasionally the scribe placed the cluster in red ink after the opening words of a new chapter instead of at the start (b). The word *amen* is always followed by one or two clusters of four red dots (c). There are no other decorative elements in the text.

⁵⁸² Ff. 25r and 63v.

⁵⁸³ With the exception of f. 30v which has dots in red ink.

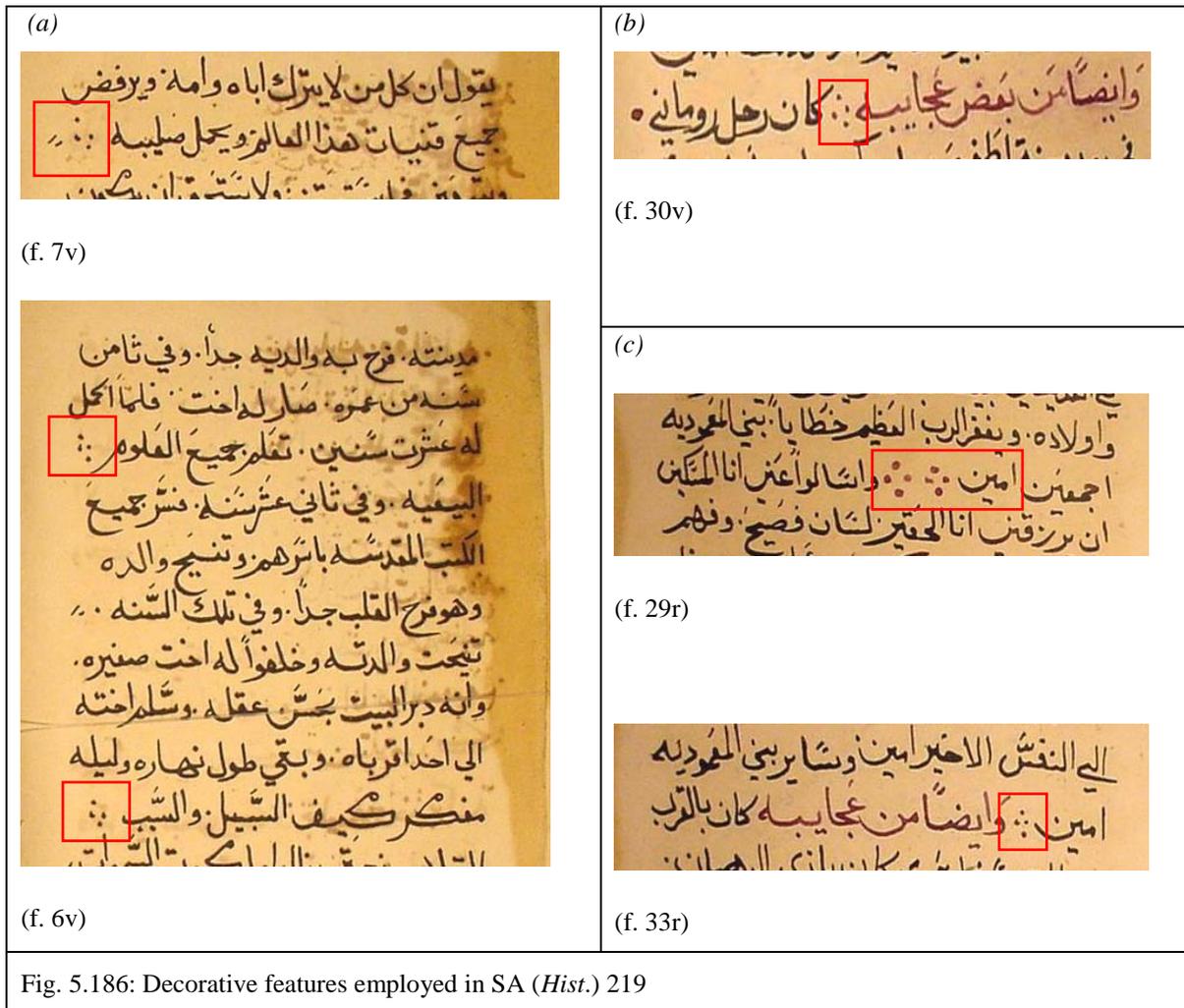


Fig. 5.186: Decorative features employed in SA (*Hist.*) 219

5.21.8 Binding

Type III binding. Black leather in which the spine and quarter of the upper and lower cover have been reinforced in a darker shade of black leather (a). Original cover with no stamped or tooled relief. The doublures consist of paper pastedowns. There are no end-bands and no mesh spinal lining (b). A white sticker containing the catalogue reference “219 History” is written in modern (Arabic) handwriting and pasted onto the spine.

5.21.9 Condition of the Manuscript

The condition of this codex is poor. The original cover shows evidence of abrasion, and the spine and upper and lower edges are worn. Most of the stitching in the quires has come undone and separated from the binding. The front and back shoulders are removed from the spine. The paper pastedowns have been damaged by moisture (c), as have folios 1r–13r. The pages contain some brown stains in the bottom corners of the pages, most probably from finger marks. Some

offset. There is a note in the digital catalogue against this manuscript entry which states: “This manuscript is in need of rebinding and restoration.”



Fig. 5.187: Cover and binding of SA (*Hist.*) 219

5.21.10 Observations

1) *The stitching*

The codex contains two types of stitching: a link stitch on two stations evident in the first three texts of the codex that were written by Hand A, while the fold line in the fourth text written by Hand B, reveals a single straight slit band. The two different types of stitching may indicate that the final quire (Hand B), being an *Exposition for John of the Golden Bible*, may have been composed independently of the rest of the codex but then were bound together.

2) *Dating criteria*

The codex contains no colophon or endowment. However, according to the 1929 catalogue of Marcus Simīkah and Yassá ‘Abd al-Masiḥ, the last catalogued manuscript in the classification of “History” was SA (*Hist.*) 193. Therefore, it is likely that SA (*Hist.*) 219 post-dates 1929, and more specifically, after 1959, given that SA (*Hist.*) 216⁵⁸⁴ and SA (*Hist.*) 217⁵⁸⁵ are dated to 1958 and 1959 consecutively.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ *Life of Anbā Anṭūniyūs*, transcribed by Sulaymān al-Anṭūnī in 1958.

⁵⁸⁵ *Life of Anbā Būlā*, transcribed by Sulaymān al-Anṭūnī in 1959.

⁵⁸⁶ Furthermore, according to Fr Misael al-Baramūsī, pinkish coloured ink (used in the codex of SA (*Hist.*) 219) was only used in manuscripts after the 19th century.

CONCLUSION

The present study, divided roughly into two parts, has been driven by two objectives: the first has been to explore how the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* bears witness to the reinterpretation of the religious memory of Antony, and the extent to which the version gained prominence in Egypt. The second aim was to undertake a typological study of the manuscripts containing a version of the *Life of Antony* as a means of extracting vital clues about the producers who were behind the text, meaning the scribes and patrons, and thereby gain new insights into scribal practices of the monks at the Red Sea, in particular, from the 17th to 20th centuries.

The inventory of the manuscripts that contain an Arabic *Life of Antony* has shown that almost 85% of extant manuscripts contain a recension of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life*. It gained prominence in Egypt from the 14th to the mid-20th centuries, and its popularity is confirmed by its presence in various liturgical texts and commemorations. The large number of manuscripts containing a recension of the Pseudo-Serapionic version is a clear indicator of a sizeable readership and proves that there was a sustained interest in the literary and scribal production of the text during this time.

As we have seen, the majority of the texts of the redacted *Life* were transcribed between the 17th and 19th centuries, a period in which twelve Antonian monks and three Pauline monks were patriarchs of the Coptic Church in unbroken succession. Information provided in colophons and endowment statements have revealed that some of these patriarchs commissioned the copying and endowment of several manuscripts containing the *Life*. And so we may assume that some patriarchs chose to propagate this redacted account above that of the *Athanasian Life*. Seen in this light, we can suppose that the text continued to be prominent not only because of “public demand,” but because of the powerful role ecclesiastical politics and scribal networks played in promulgating and disseminating the text.

It seems apparent that the purpose of rewriting the *Life* was to make it more relevant to the taste and mentality of the place and time. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the redacted text was composed in the 13th century, most likely by an affluent Antonian monk or abbot, and inaugurated a new phase in the history of St Antony’s Monastery when the ancient church was decorated and restored. Without doubt, the composition of the redacted *Life* and the renewal (and possible consecration) of the Monastery’s church in the 13th century, must have

contributed to the continued growth and renown of Antony and his monastic community. The synoptic overview and commentary endeavoured to show that what gave the Pseudo-Serapionic account popularity was its sensational mix of wonders, women, demons and, in particular, miracles – far above those of the *Athanasian Life*. It is all these ingredients that account for attractive story-telling without which the story would have lost both its popularity and meaning. Although the text was composed within a monastic milieu and intended for liturgical recitation, it nonetheless addressed and appealed to a mixed congregation of monastic and laypeople that came together to celebrate Antony’s feast day.

The second part of the thesis focused on scribal conventions and scribal practices identified during the codicological documentation process. By identifying the network of those behind the production of the text, we come to appreciate the extent to which scribes of the Red Sea monasteries operated within an active network of transcribers and affluent patrons. This network was what provided the means by which the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life* was copied, communicated and disseminated.

Furthermore, when we examined the various manuscripts that were transcribed by some of the experienced scribes who had copied the *Life*, information in colophons and endowment statements allowed us not only to identify who the scribes and patrons were, but to chart their monastic progression from the time that they began their scribal career (or began commissioning books) to the time they were promoted to priestly ranks. Valuable information also allowed us to identify at what point in their career scribes had obtained enough wealth to be in a position to commission books for themselves. The endowment statements indicate that there was a literate community of monks at the Red Sea between the 17th and 20th centuries who were encouraged to read and copy from the collection of books that the monasteries owned.

The observations made while undertaking detailed codicology of the manuscripts, show that the scribes had a role beyond simply copying: the types of patrons they established links and relationships with, in particular hierarchical ones such as with patriarchs, were integral to the continual reproduction and circulation of the redacted *Life*.

Jürgen Straub commented that “stories vary in their ‘staying power’”. Some stories are short lived and are lost to memory or discarded as not worth preserving, while other stories are preserved because they serve as significant interpretations of past life episodes. Stories that are made public, either in oral or written form, are retold and reread by others beyond the lifetime

of their producers.¹ The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* is one such example. It was granted such importance, due to the efforts of a powerful ecclesiastical and scribal network, that for about six hundred years it was practically considered the only authoritative text on the life of Antony. So powerful was its propagation in sermons and liturgical texts that to this day it has become a mainstay in Coptic memory on Antony.

¹ Straub 2005: 11.

APPENDIX 1

Translation of the *Life of Antony* by Serapion the Bishop

Ms St Paul (*History*) 53: ff. 3r–66r

(17th century AD, copied from a 13th century AD “original”)

+ 1 Section + <3r> In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God, amen.

We begin with the help of God to copy the life of the great saint, the star of the wilderness [and] father of all monks, Anbā Anṭūniyūs, expounded by the father bishop Anbā Serapion one of his disciples. May their prayers keep us, amen.

((1)) [He] said: I tell you O people present in this place, to listen to the story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs, the revered, the dignified [one], who began to teach asceticism and taught the way of solitude, and the first one to be worthy of wearing the crown of angels, and was clothed with the heavenly garment¹ from the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, after [he endured] great struggle, increased warfare, <3v> and continual fighting with the enemy demons. And this saint's fighting, my beloved, was not like the fighting of the martyrs. For their enemies had bodies like them fighting against them, but this saint fought against spirits and principalities of the pit, for in the words of our teacher Paul [the Apostle]: “For our fighting is not with flesh and blood.”²

This chosen saint was the first to begin struggle in the monastic life, and he took the way of solitude and opened the door of the wilderness, and made it a dwelling for monks. He suffered from the punishments of the Devil and experienced the fierceness of the enemies' combat, and stood up in the battlefield, as he was not preceded in this struggle <4r> by [any] human [that he may have] learned from him patience and perseverance in warfare, like all the ascetic, solitary [monks] who learned from him and [had] their minds enlightened by the brightness of his virtues, because he is the one who started this [way of life]. Moreover, he suffered the heat of summer and the agitation of its fire, and the coldness of winter and the great harshness of its ice, until he reached this esteemed rank and received this great elevation that no one is able to describe its honour.

¹ Referring to the monastic garb.

² Ephesians 6:12. Cf. VA 51.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 169.

And what tongue can [describe] this [saint]? Inasmuch as is humanly possible, we [shall] tell you brethren. But I fear because of my weakness and the lack of my understanding, [which is] due to the abundance of my sins. However, I have heard the [words of the] pure Gospel that says <4v> “Ask and you will find.”³ So I ask you, O you the saint of elevated rank and honourable stature, to intercede for my weakness and grant me the way to explain your virtues, and to tell of a few of your miracles [in order] to make the joy of the attendants complete, and [so that they may] rejoice over the astounding signs, and victorious wonders, and your exalted virtues.

+ 2 Section + *Now we begin with the help of God, whose name is exalted.* There was a God-fearing man, full of charity and mercy named Yihnis and his wife was called Jiyūsh. And they were both righteous before God,⁴ often praying and fasting. And they had much money and owned much livestock of sheep, cattle <5r> and the like, that is equal to a lot of money. And they cared for the churches of martyrs, and the feast of the Archangel Michael, and the feast of the Three [Holy] Youths every year in their [local] church, [named after the Three Holy Youths], in a village called Tansā⁵ which was near their town. They provided for the church from their own money, and half of the revenue from their livestock they bestowed upon the destitute and poor orphans. They were from a town called Qimn⁶ and they moved from it to al-Bahnasā⁷ where they stayed a little while and then returned back to their town.

On feast days, whenever they would enter church and see the children with their parents, they would feel sad [because they had no children], and so they would weep before the icon of the Virgin Lady [Mary] until the Lord granted them this blessed child. <5v> The day of his birth was [a day of] great joy,⁸ and they named him Anṭūnah.⁹

When he reached the age of three, he would go to church walking [unaccompanied], and he did not occupy [himself] with the [other] boys or any of the adornments of the world.¹⁰ His parents were very amazed about this care¹¹ and love for the church. Then when he completed the age of five, he began preaching to the children in the church in order to distract them from being

³ Matthew 7:7; Luke 11:9.

⁴ See Luke 1:6 on Zechariah and Elizabeth.

⁵ See Timm 1992: 2506-2507.

⁶ See Timm 1991: 2154-2157.

⁷ See Timm 1984: 283-300.

⁸ Luke 1:14, similar to what was said to Zechariah regarding the birth of John the Baptist.

⁹ Cf. Peter I in *HP I/6*, in Evetts 1904: 207-209.

¹⁰ Cf. *VA 1.2-4*, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 57.

¹¹ See Luke 2:48-51.

occupied by playing.¹² When the people saw him they all marvelled.¹³ The priest came to him and listened to his words and preaching, so the priest put his hand on his head saying, “This child will be great in the Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁴ Truly, [in him] the word of the Scriptures <6r> is fulfilled that [says], the young is not little if he considers great things.”¹⁵ And [what] appeared from this boy amazed the elders [on account of his preaching], and [the priest also] marvelled at his speech, [and was] amazed at his eloquent words.¹⁶

And his fame spread until it reached [the ears] of father Thi’ūnā¹⁷, the Patriarch of Alexandria who marvelled at hearing his news.¹⁸ However, he did not believe [the news] until he had sent for him. [Anṭūnah’s] age at that time was six years old. When the father Patriarch saw him, he was amazed at his stature and his beautiful countenance, and when he asked him talk, he found him even greater than what had been said about him. [He] marvelled at his moving speech, his eloquent words, his admirable expressions, his decorum, his mind, and especially the abundance of his preaching. <6v> And when [the patriarch] saw that, he rejoiced with great rejoicing and said to all his clergy; both the fathers the bishops and the priests who were in attendance with him, “What do you say about this child?” [To which] they replied, “Our father, the word from your mouth is preferable and your logic is more honourable.” So he said to them, “I tell you that this [child] will be great in heaven.”¹⁹ Then he put his hand on [Anṭūnah’s] head and blessed him saying, “Blessed you will be Anṭūnah forever, and your name will be very great,²⁰ and your name will be exalted above all the tribes of the earth,²¹ and you will pass the ranks of the patriarchs in their entirety, and you will [stand] closer to Jesus Christ more than you are to me [now]. So I ask you to bless me Anṭūnah, for since seeing you I have [been] strengthened and have received great <7r> grace.” Anṭūnah said to him, “O father, our father, I am the weak one who is in need of blessing from your disciples.” Then he kissed the hands of the Patriarch and received the blessing of all the bishops [who were gathered]. He remained with [the patriarch] for three months and then left from there.

¹² Cf. childhood years of Athanasius the patriarch in the *Coptic-Arabic Synaxarium*. See Basset 1922: 373-376. The theme of the patriarch is continued with the child Antony meeting Theonas.

¹³ Cf. opening chapter of *al-Sīra al-Nabawyya*.

¹⁴ See Matthew 5:19 and Luke 7:28, regarding John the Baptist.

¹⁵ I have not been able to locate a biblical reference for this sentence. The Arabic text states:

ان ليس الصغیر بصغیر اذا صار الي الامر الكبير

¹⁶ Like Christ the child: Luke 2:48-51.

¹⁷ Theonas the 16th patriarch of Alexandria (282-300 AD).

¹⁸ Cf. Peter I in *HP I/6*, in Evetts 1904: 207-209.

¹⁹ Cf. Matthew 5:19; Luke 7:28, reference to John the Baptist.

²⁰ Cf. opening chapter of *al-Sīra al-Nabawyya*.

²¹ Cf. the blessings of the Old Testament patriarchs, e.g. Genesis 14:19; 27:30.

When he reached his hometown, his parents rejoiced exceedingly.²² When he completed ten years [of age] he had learned all the ecclesiastical sciences.²³ Then in his twelfth year, his father died with a joyful heart and in the completion of the year, his mother passed away, and [they] left him with his little sister.²⁴

He spent all his day[s] and night[s] thinking about the way of life of the disciples and how they attained the Kingdom of Heaven.²⁵ And the rest of his thoughts were along the same lines, until it became apparent that he [should] leave the possessions of this world <7v> and all its destructive lusts and corrupting pleasures. So the eyes of his mind became illuminated until he had no earthly interest at all, but rather, all his desires and his interest was for heaven. So one day, he entered the church as usual, and the Gospel was read that says, “Whoever does not leave his father and mother and reject all the things of this world, and [does not] carry his cross and follow Me, is not worthy of Me.”²⁶ So he remained thinking to where he would follow Him?

Every day and night the saint did many prostrations in secret, and the Lord was pleased with his works. And he began doing charitable deeds to the poor, the widows, <8r> and the orphans with all his money. He also left a share for his sister and placed her in the care of one of his relatives.²⁷ He increased in his fasting, prayer, and humility; the extent of which was not attained by anyone, nor even the serenity he possessed. And he thought also about the death of his parents and said [to himself], “What a wondrous thing! What do I have more than them? It is necessary to depart from this vain world, for it is better for me to leave it willingly instead of leaving it unwillingly.” And he sobered up and awakened his understanding and said, “I have heard the Gospel [reading] saying ‘Do not worry about tomorrow for tomorrow will worry about itself,’²⁸ [and] ‘Look at the birds of the air who neither sow nor reap and your heavenly Father feeds them.’²⁹ <8v> And He also said, ‘Anyone who puts his hand on the plough and looks back does not deserve the Kingdom of Heaven.’”³⁰

So he left his home without farewelling any of his relatives, and left his lands for the people of his town and left the door of his house open. And from all that he owned, all he took was just three loaves of bread and a jar of water. So when he went outside of the city, he thought and

²² Cf. Luke 2: 41-48.

²³ Cf. Luke 2: 42, 46-47.

²⁴ Cf. VA 2.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

²⁵ See Matthew 19:27; Mark 10:28; Luke 18:28. Cf. VA 2.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

²⁶ See Matthew 10:37-38; 19:29. Cf. VA 2.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

²⁷ Cf. VA 2.5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

²⁸ Matthew 6:34.

²⁹ Matthew 6:26. Cf. VA 3.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 61.

³⁰ Luke 9:62.

said to himself, “What is it that I did today? How long will this bread and this water be sufficient for me, for it will only last three or four days. So when the four days pass, what shall I depend on?” So he left them behind and said to himself, “I do not need them, for the Lord is my refuge and supporter³¹ <9r> and my life.”

He walked for three hours, and reaching the river he crossed over it and found tombs.³² He stayed there and began to do the work of ascetics. And the Enemy, the hater of goodness, appeared to him as a respectful person, bringing along a group with him. His age at the time was fourteen years old.³³ [The Enemy] said to him, “Who are you, the living human being who is dwelling among the dead?” To whom the blessed one replied, “I am a poor person, a worshipper of Jesus Christ.” And when he heard these words from him he said, “How dare you mention this name before me!” And together with his group [of demons] they began to beat the saint in a very bitter, severe way until there was no breath left in him at all. And [at the time] there was a man³⁴ looking after him.³⁵ <9v>

At times he felt boredom [which is a feeling] from the Enemy. So the Lord sent him an angel³⁶ to show him how to weave palms in order that he repel the demon [of boredom] and also as a means by which he can provide for his needs as well as give charity.³⁷

And he used to perform miracles before that man.³⁸ When he came and found him in such a terrible state, he took him and carried him away to near the inhabited [area],³⁹ and some people gathered to see what had happened to him. That layman whispered in his ears, “O holy man of God, perform a miracle for these people so that their faith will not decrease,”⁴⁰ because [Anṭūnah] was unable to move at all. Then he said to him, “My brother, take me back to the place where I was beaten because I have faith <10r> in the Lord Jesus Christ, that in the place

³¹ See Psalm 91:2.

³² Cf. VA 8.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79.

³³ Cf. VA 2.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 59.

³⁴ In the Arabic the literal translation is “layman”: رجل علماني

³⁵ Cf. VA 8.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79.

³⁶ There are many incidences of God sending angels to save people in both the Old and New Testaments. E.g., Gideon (Judges 6:11), Samson’s father (Judges 13:3), Daniel (Daniel 3:28; 6:22), the Virgin Mary (Luke 1:26), Zachariah (Luke 1:11), Paul the Apostle (Acts 5:19), Philip the Apostle (Acts 8:26), Cornelius (Acts 10:3), and Peter the Apostle (Acts 12:7).

³⁷ Cf. AP Antony 1, in Ward 1984: 1-2. This sentence appears to be misplaced, however, the same sentence is located in exactly the same position in all 21 manuscripts examined.

³⁸ Literally, “layman”.

³⁹ Cf. VA 8.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79.

⁴⁰ See Matthew 12:38.

of my pain, there He will heal me.” So the man⁴¹ carried him and laid him in that place that he was in [before].⁴²

And when the Devil saw him coming again, he was surprised, amazed, and bewildered by him. [So] he called his soldiers and said to them, “Come now to see this human from whom we have suffered, in the same way as we suffered from his father Adam when God created him, and I was bothered by his creation.⁴³ And [now] I am bewildered by this [one]!” Then the demons descended upon [Anṭūnah] from sunset and continued to torment him until sunrise.⁴⁴ So the saint cried out in a loud voice saying, “I give thanks to You my Lord Jesus Christ who made me worthy <10v> to suffer for Your name!”⁴⁵ And he yelled out at the demons saying, “O rebels! I am not a thief, nor a murderer, nor an adulterer [in order that] you punish me for the measure of my sins, but because of my love for Christ,⁴⁶ you punish me!”⁴⁷ And he endured this punishment with patience, while he was living in the cave and among the tombs. And whenever he experienced their torture he would make the sign of the cross over them,⁴⁸ and so the Enemy would be defeated before him.⁴⁹ And through divine power, his determination was strengthened.

One day he went out and sat down near the river and saw a woman bathing. He said to her, “O woman, are you not ashamed [to bathe] in front of me, a solitary man?” So she replied, <11r> “If you are a solitary [man], you would not be here, but rather you would have gone up into the mountain, a distance of a three-day walk from here.”⁵⁰ And immediately he got up and went into the inner wilderness.⁵¹

When he went there, he sat down on the mountain,⁵² and the enemy Devil came and called all his soldiers and said to them, “That human who was living among the tombs has now come into

⁴¹ Literally, “layman”.

⁴² Cf. VA 8.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 79.

⁴³ The concept of the Devil being bothered by the creation of Adam is qurānic. See Sūrat al-Baqarah 33; Sūrat al-A‘rāf 10; Sūrat al-Isrā’ 60; Sūrat al-Kahf 49; Sūrat al-Ṭaha 115.

⁴⁴ See Genesis 32:24.

⁴⁵ See Acts 5:41.

⁴⁶ See Romans 8:35.

⁴⁷ See John 18:23; 8:40.

⁴⁸ Cf. VA 53.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 171.

⁴⁹ Literally “by his hands”. See 1 Corinthians 1:18.

⁵⁰ Exodus 3:18; 5:3; 8:27. Similar to when the Israelites were instructed by the Lord to leave Egypt and go into the wilderness, which was a three-day journey. See also Numbers 10:33; 33:8. The departure of Antony from the city/world to the wilderness is modelled on the departure of the Israelites in the Old Testament from the land of slavery to the wilderness where they face God, achieve God, receive God, and meet God, in order to begin a new covenant and a renewed relationship with God. See also Joshua 2:16; 2:22; 3:2; Judges 14:14.

⁵¹ Cf. VA 49.4-7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 163, 165.

⁵² Cf. VA 60.1, 82.3 in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 185, 233.

the inner wilderness! Let us go and frighten him and aggravate him so that he may not be a great stumbling block to us and make the barren wilderness a habitation⁵³ [for his kind], because if the humans have a share in the wilderness, we will never be rid of them.⁵⁴ They will scatter us in the same way that the martyrs scattered us when we were not able to eradicate them. <11v> So if we leave this human spring to [take] root [in this place], [his kind] will remove us from the entire earth!” So his soldiers said to him, “What is it that you order us to do, our master?” He said to them, “I want every leader among you and ruler over you to come forward and display your works of terror and horror, and thus show me what the solution is.”

Then all the soldiers of the Enemy were summoned to him, and each of them began to exhibit his craft and creativity before [the Devil]. Some of them took the illusion of a lion ripping apart its prey,⁵⁵ another one [appeared] as a tiger, and another like a terrifying beast.⁵⁶ Another was like a deer, and another was like a beast of prey, the face of a human, the legs of a camel, <12r> and his tail was that of a viper.⁵⁷ Another had the face of a lion and the rest of him was a serpent.⁵⁸ Others roared greatly, and out of the mouth of another was a flame of fire. And there were many other black [demons] with tails [that were] carrying weapons in their hands. An other roaring like great thunder, and an other were like mighty earthquakes. An other had arms and legs [like] kindled fire, others had open mouths like valleys and [would] swallow stones, and others had nails like shields. Some [demons] had big teeth, like the tusks of the elephant, and others were like ravenous wolves with open mouths. Some were like black crows with huge wings, and others were like killer elephants with wings⁵⁹ but they were not like normal <12v> elephants; rather, their bodies were the bodies of elephants and their heads were like high mountains.⁶⁰ And there were others who were gnashing their teeth⁶¹ like the sound of great thunder, and others were like camels with wings with which they were flying. Others appeared like ghastly looking people gawking, and some had very big eyes and ugly wings.⁶² Others had lips as large as great ships, and some had spears of fire in their hands. Others had brandished

⁵³ See Isaiah 35:1; 40:3.

⁵⁴ Cf. VA 9.4-7, 51.2-3 in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 81, 83, 169.

⁵⁵ See 1 Peter 5:8.

⁵⁶ See Revelation 11:7, 13:1. Cf. VA 51.5, 52.1-3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 169, 171.

⁵⁷ Cf. VA 53.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 171.

⁵⁸ See 2 Corinthians 11:3.

⁵⁹ The word “wings” is crossed out in the manuscript.

⁶⁰ Cf. VA 66.3-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 199.

⁶¹ A similar description to those in Hell, see Matthew 8:12, 13:42, 13:50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30; and Luke 13:28. Cf. VA 52.1-3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 171.

⁶² Cf. VA 66.3-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 199.

swords of fire that burn anyone who comes close to it,⁶³ and their faces were like cats and their hands were like lion's paws, and they had thin, long wings.⁶⁴

((2)) When the leader of the demons saw them, he rejoiced greatly and said, "Great is my joy when I see you! But I desire <13r> that you gather everyone and call the rest [of the demons], and display all your powers and horror and petrifying acts, and your great maddening deeds, and very terrifying feats, and your evil nightmarish acts, and your bitter punishments, and your frightening screams, and your scorching fires, and together attack this human who dared in his young age to dwell in this barren wilderness in which no human before him has entered! And do not underestimate him, for the sight of him bothers me greatly and [even] his image shakes the inside of my heart."

((3)) Then the Devil with all his soldiers came forward and stood before [Anṭūnah] saying, "From where have you come, and who told you to live <13v> in this barren wilderness?" And they began to feast on him with all their hallucinations, and they seized him and punished him with very severe punishment, and dragged him from the top of the mountain to the bottom while saying to him, "Get out of our land!" At another time, they dragged him from the bottom to the top until there was no skin left on him, all the while yelling, "Get out, get out!" And the righteous one was silent and uttered not a word.⁶⁵

Then when he saw that no flesh remained at all; only the bones bound with the veins, he screamed out with a loud voice saying, "My God help me!"⁶⁶ And at that hour the Lord Jesus Christ appeared and said to him, "O Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness, from now on your name is not Anṭūnah <14r> but Anṭūniyūs!"⁶⁷ And he said to Him, "My master Jesus Christ, why did You leave me?"⁶⁸ He said, "O Anṭūniyūs, I swear by My power that I did not leave you for even a twinkling of an eye."⁶⁹ He said, "O Lord, where were You when the demons were torturing me?" He said, "I was dwelling inside you and present in the midst of your heart."⁷⁰ He said, "O Lord why did You not save me from the torture of the demons?" The Lord Jesus Christ said to him, "Did you not see Anṭūniyūs that when you called Me you found Me

⁶³ Similar description to the Cherubim in Genesis 3:24.

⁶⁴ Cf. VA 9.5-7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 81, 83.

⁶⁵ See Isaiah 53:7; Matthew 27:14; Mark 15:5; Luke 23:9; and Acts 8:32. Cf. Coptic Martyrologies in which the silence of martyrs is a common motif.

⁶⁶ E.g. Psalm 71:12, 101:2. Many references.

⁶⁷ See Genesis 32:28, when the Lord changed Jacob's name. See also Genesis 17:5; and John 1:42.

⁶⁸ Psalm 22:1; Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34; and Luke 10:40.

⁶⁹ See Joshua 1:5; and Hebrews 13:5.

⁷⁰ See Ephesians 3:17.

immediately?⁷¹ Be strong Anṭūniyūs, because from now on you are the star of the wilderness.⁷² Be courageous O star, because you are the lamp that gives light to the entire world, for you are the crown of all the inhabitants of the wilderness, and you are the father of all monks who will come after you. I say to you Anṭūniyūs, <14v> that your remembrance will continue anew forever in this wilderness. O star, you shall enlighten the whole world, and before your passing from this world, this wilderness will be full of your sons the monks.⁷³ May your wonders be like the stars of the sky⁷⁴ that no human can describe or count. And because you began your struggle in My name, I will begin to make crowns in your name. I say to you Anṭūniyūs, I will not conceal your wonders from anyone in the world and I will never abandon your petitions, nor neglect whoever petitions Me through your intercessions. And in the same way that you left all your people, and you were charitable with all you had, and left the door of your house open without [giving it] a thought,⁷⁵ I will give you many times ‘what <15r> eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man.’”⁷⁶

Then the Lord Jesus Christ placed upon him with His mighty hand the *qulunṣuwah*,⁷⁷ and said to him, “Accept Anṭūniyūs the crown of grace and the crown of heaven, and when you are perfected I will crown you with the *iskīm*. Be strong Anṭūniyūs, because with this [*qulunṣuwah*] you will overcome the ranks of the demons. With this you will defeat the armies of tyrants. With this you will bring to nought the ever-changing Enemy. With this you will obliterate your enemies and crush them under your feet. And with this you will defeat the ranks of the Enemy like bees before smoke. Be strong Anṭūniyūs, the leader of the inhabitants of the wildernesses! Be patient in enduring the torture of the demons, for weariness is little and joy is plenty.”⁷⁸ Then Anṭūniyūs cried out before the Lord <15v> and said, “I ask You Lord to help me, and put Your fear in my heart, and never leave me for even one hour!” He said to him, “I am here with you Anṭūniyūs, and according to the measure of weariness, you shall receive the reward.”⁷⁹ And the Lord blessed him and gave him peace and ascended [back] to heaven as He was looking [down] upon him. Then the saint was exceedingly strengthened and received abundant grace.⁸⁰

⁷¹ See Song of Songs 3:4.

⁷² Cf. VA 10.1-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 83, 85.

⁷³ Cf. VA 14.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 93.

⁷⁴ See Genesis 15:5; 22:17; 26:4.

⁷⁵ See Mark 10:30.

⁷⁶ 1 Corinthians 2:9.

⁷⁷ Monastic hood.

⁷⁸ Psalm 30:5.

⁷⁹ Job 34:11; Psalm 62:12; Jeremiah 17:10; Ezekiel 36:19; Matthew 16:27; and Romans 2:6.

⁸⁰ Cf. VA 10.1-4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 83, 85.

Then the Devil sat down and gathered his soldiers and said to them, “I want from among you to bring me soldiers of fear, terror, confusion and anxiety, and soldiers of thunder, and those of shocking horrors, and bothersome frights, and petrifying imaginations, and frighten the heart of this human whose weakness overcame the greatness of our machinations!” When all the armies appeared before him <16r> [in a way that] terrorises the heart with shudders that dislodge the soul from the body, [the Devil] said, “Good. I want to gather the [demons] of adornment who are decorated with gold, silver, precious jewels, luxurious clothes, and all kinds of silk, in the form of beautiful women bringing with them all the appropriate tools of adornment such as attractive appearance, beauty, splendour, perfection, together with soft, mellow words and sweet-sounding utterances, and all types of precious sweet-smelling perfumes and permeating incense.” Then he ordered that all the instruments of pleasure be brought forth, [such as] musical instruments, dancing, singing in beautiful voices, and all kinds of games that the heart desires and yearns to see.⁸¹ And when he saw these things, he was very glad and said, “My gladness is great because through you <16v> my happiness and joy are fulfilled! But allow me to begin for you and open up the way.”

Then he went toward the saint and showed him something resembling a beautiful silver tray that was full of gold. When [the saint] saw it, he smiled by the grace of the Holy Spirit and said, “What a great wonder! From where in this barren wilderness, that has no habitation in it, has gold and silver [come from]?” And he turned his face from it and went fleeing from it.⁸²

When all the assistants of the Devil saw that [Antūniyūs] had escaped from their leader and from his overpowering tricks, they descended upon him, group after group, one after another, soldier after soldier, demons after demons, ten thousand after ten thousand, and with the instruments of imagination and appeared to him in the form of women adorned in the most luxurious <17r> clothes, and wearing sweet-smelling perfumes, and [spoke] soft words that are full of poison. Yet, the saint did not incline toward them but rather, when he saw them he cried out with a loud voice, “O Lord Jesus Christ help me and give me patience, O my God, for You see, O Lord, how these demons deceive Your servant! Fill my loneliness and do not leave my weak self so that their tricks do not cause my downfall. Lord have mercy upon me and remember how my creation began, and know I am dust, and You are aware of how weak my creation is!”

⁸¹ Cf. VA 5.3-7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 67, 69.

⁸² Cf. VA 11.2-5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 87.

Then the demons of passion came to him blowing their horns, dancing, singing, playing, jumping, and singing in a very loud beautiful voice. And another group [of demons] took the form of beautiful faces, but the saint did not turn toward them. <17v>

So the Devil was frustrated by him and called out with his loud voice to the demons of darkness with blackened faces, and the ones of fear and fright that change into the shape of lions and wild monsters. Then one came to him called Zaghlūn whose torso was of a lion, his head like an old man, his legs like a tiger, and his tail like the tail of a great snake. In his hand was a sword of fire with which to beat the saint, and out of his mouth came a flame of fire. And [together with] all the bands of the Enemy and black demons who have tails of [all] kinds of birds, reptiles, terrifying beast[s], and frightening horrors, they screamed out at him in one loud voice saying, “Get out of our land <18r> and go to the land of humans like yourself, the place of your father and mother, otherwise we will destroy you!” And they all came upon him with great thunder and stood before his eyes so that they created a barrier between him and heaven.

Then the saint cried out with a loud voice, “Hear me O Lord, You who told me that You are present in my heart! O Lord help me!” Then he did the sign of the exalted cross and immediately the power of the Enemy fell, his greatness vanished, and his machination became as naught. And they disappeared from before him like dust blown away by a mighty wind, all the while screaming out, “You overcame us, O you [made] of dust!” And they lowered their evil flags and their destructive swords.

((4)) Then the Lord Jesus Christ appeared and said to him, <18v> “How are you Anṭūniyūs, the righteous [one] adorned with spiritual virtues?” He answered Him, “As You see Lord.” He said, “Did you see how ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands times thousands of demons and great powers of demons feasted on you with all kinds [of trickery], trying to lure you away from My love and you did not obey them? [Did you see] how none of them were able to approach you? I saw your heart, how strong it was because of My dwelling in it. I say to you Anṭūniyūs, that I will never leave you, even for an hour.” The saint wept and said, “O Lord, I am not worthy for You to dwell in my heart, far be it O Lord but send me some of Your angels to strengthen me.” <19r> The Lord said to him, “Verily I say unto you Anṭūniyūs, all the inhabitants of the earth are under your feet. Be strong Anṭūniyūs, I will clothe you with the cloak of angels and adorn you with spiritual garlands, and I will honour you and place you above all the heavenly ranks. And you will be worthy of grace that no one else has ever gained

except you. And I will make you sit down in the exalted place which is My throne, the place where no archangels can even approach.” Then He gave him peace and left him.

((5)) When the Devil saw [the] strong zeal of the saint and his strength of will, he marvelled greatly and gathered all his armies and said to them, “Did you see this great marvel and this great wonder from this human? <19v> You saw how often his eyes looked up to the highest,⁸³ and that nothing of worldly attractions distracted [his eyes] from their heavenly gaze, even for a blink of an eye. You saw his heart and how it does not accept any pleasure nor the wiles of women; that by which I have deceived many prophets and righteous ones. You saw his mind⁸⁴ and how he did not lean toward any wicked thoughts. You saw the power [caused] by the spreading of his hands toward the heights⁸⁵ and how our power could not overcome the strength of [his hands]. Did you see his great stature? You saw the goodness of his righteous thoughts which cannot be changed by anything that is away from the love of God.⁸⁶ You saw that all of our greatness was broken before this human! <20r> Have you ever seen a human who was not frightened by our image? I wish I can comprehend who this human is, for when I see him my heart trembles and is shaken. I wish I can comprehend who this [person] is who tore my nets, and broke my traps, and nullified all my snares. How can I find the truth behind this mighty [one] whom my arrows could not penetrate at all?⁸⁷ I wish I can comprehend who this [person] is who nullifies all my wiles. My sorrows have become great and my power is quashed; mine and all my soldiers, by the hands of this one who is made of dust! He has become close to God while we are far from Him. Such an astonishing wonder that whispers have no way to his heart, and even the love of fornication has no room in his heart. He escaped from the guile of women <20v> through which I initially deceived many.⁸⁸ By their love [for women] I deceived, first of all, his father Adam until he obeyed his wife and fell from his rank. I deceived by the love for women, Cain until he killed his brother Abel because of the beauty of his wife. I deceived by the love for women, Abraham the first of the fathers who took two wives as well as Hagar the Egyptian, and he was called the friend of God.⁸⁹ And even Isaac whom God redeemed by the sheep, took one [wife], and Jacob who was worthy to be called Israel took four [wives]. And I deceived by the love for women many, like David of whom God said concerning him, ‘I chose

⁸³ The word “highest” is crossed out and replaced with “the heights”. See Psalm 123:1; Acts 7:59.

⁸⁴ Literally “hearing”.

⁸⁵ Exodus 17.

⁸⁶ Romans 8:35.

⁸⁷ Psalms 91:5.

⁸⁸ Proverbs 7:26; and Proverbs 31:3.

⁸⁹ Genesis 11:29, 16:1-3, 17:15, 25:1.

David and examined him and found him like My heart.’⁹⁰ He fell and sinned and was deceived by Uriah's wife⁹¹ and from her begot Solomon.⁹² <21r> And even Solomon fell from his rank by a woman and his name was erased from the council of prophesy. I was the reason for the destruction of that great mind [that was caused] by the love of women [and] nothing else,⁹³ he whom God witnessed about him saying, ‘Solomon is great in his glory’.⁹⁴ I was not able to take away his wisdom or make him lose his mind [except] through the love for women. And I corrupted many nations of which much time is needed to recount. And if I continue to explain their names and mention their stories, the speech will be very long and tiring. However, I have never seen a human that overcame me, and dissolved my tricks, and nullified my traps, and shattered my snares except for this human only. And I am afraid that he will have a share in this <21v> wilderness and teach many people to imitate him and follow his way. So, we will be bothered by them until the end of ages. And the last condition becomes worse than the first, because if by only one of this race all our works have been conquered by his purity, how will it be if they increase in this arid wilderness? Where would we escape from them? So it is [our] duty to fight this person with all our capabilities and schemes and destroy his foundation, so that it will not be a home for our enemies. [We must] block the way through which he came to us and relieve ourselves from torment, because this [person] gave our hearts grief.”

Then a group [of demons] gathered together and took counsel to deceive him with a clever trick, and the chief among them went <22r> to the saint in the image of a man of status and dignity, clothed as a perfect monk wearing an *iskīm*. When he approached the saint reverently with his head downcast to the ground, not desiring to see him, the saint wondered very much and said, “O Lord, no one has come before me into this wilderness, for even the demons say that no human has ever crossed into this wilderness, and because of that they torture me.” And the disguised demon, went away from him and entered into a place that looked like a cell. The saint wondered and said, “In all the time I have been here, I have never seen this cell or another human being.” And the saint remained quiet and his mind was not changed or troubled. <22v> Then he began to raise his eyes up to heaven and say, “My Lord, my God and master Jesus

⁹⁰ See 1 Samuel 13:14; and Acts 13:22.

⁹¹ The notion that David was tricked was tricked by Bathsheba is biblically incorrect, because in the biblical account, David was the one who asked for her to be brought to him when he saw her bathing (2 Samuel 11:2-4). Furthermore, it is also worth noting that the child who was born as a result of the adulterous relationship died, and Solomon was born only after David took Bathsheba as a wife (2 Samuel 12:24). The concept of David being tricked has Islamic roots because in Islam, David being a prophet is infallible and therefore cannot be accused as being the one who was at fault.

⁹² 2 Samuel 11.

⁹³ 1 Kings 11:1, 11:4.

⁹⁴ 2 Chronicles 1:11, 9:22; Matthew 6:29; and Luke 12:27.

Christ, you know the intention of my hidden thoughts, tell me O Lord if he is a human.” Then the demon cried out at the top of his voice and said, “Get away from me, O Anṭūniyūs! I have grown weary of fighting you! Not even a hair [of your head] has turned toward me. Do you not know me? I am the one who casts hatred among brothers in order to scatter them! I am the one who spreads evil and makes wars that begin with murder! I am the one who causes confusion, and I am the one who stokes the fires! I am the father of evil imaginations!⁹⁵ I am the door to all wickedness! I am the one who expels love and casts hatred and harshness! I am the one who makes the good bad and the bad good! <23r> I am the one who makes the repulsive images attractive for fornicators, and I am the possessor of immoral desires!⁹⁶ I am the one who makes the lusts of the world desirable and makes them very attractive! I am the one who sows the seed of evil in hearts, and yearns to harvest it! I am the one from whom no one can escape, except the one who has great discipline! I am the one who fills Hades and empties the Kingdom! I am the one who despises goodness and all its ways, and loves evil and all its ways! I am the one who makes the way of joy⁹⁷ difficult for humans and makes the way of misery⁹⁸ wider!⁹⁹ I am the one who destroyed the first [creation] and those that follow I make fall! I am the one who made Solomon fall from his glory and I have made kings and great ones fall from their thrones!¹⁰⁰ O you [who are] made of dust and despicable Anṭūniyūs, [you] defeated me!”

And the saint yelled out at him and said, “Get far away from me, cursed one!” Then <23v> the demon attacked him with a spear and stabbed the saint with it in his thigh, and then all the different coloured demons gathered upon him with instruments of warfare, and with swords and sticks, were beating him continuously until the second day. And they left him like one dead on the ground. Then they dragged him from the top of the mountain to the bottom until his blood poured out on the mountain rocks like water. And the demons took from his blood and smeared [it on] his face saying, “Go away from our land, O you made of dust! Otherwise we will steal your soul and end your life!” And the saint was holding onto his *qulunṣuwah* and saying, “O Lord do not deprive me of the crown <24r> of struggle with which You crowned me. Lord have mercy upon me!” Then the head of the demons came and struck him on his right cheek and the

⁹⁵ John 8:44.

⁹⁶ Colossians 3:5.

⁹⁷ Meaning the way to heaven.

⁹⁸ Meaning life far from God.

⁹⁹ Matthew 7:13.

¹⁰⁰ Proverbs 7:26.

saint turned the other to him¹⁰¹ and said, “Complete the commandment of Christ you who is an evil-doer by your own choice!”

((6)) And the demon saw his abundant tolerance, when he cried out, “O Lord help me and strengthen me because Your love O Lord will not forsake me, even though I have done nothing good before You. But have mercy on me O Lord [and] by [giving me] help I can take care and do the things that please You.” When the demon heard that he could no longer stand before him, but remained like a flame of great fire and screamed out, “Escape, escape from this man of dust who has defeated our armies!”

((7)) The saint remained in hard combat with the demons [enduring] great warfare for thirty-five years until <24v> he reached the age of forty-nine years, all the while [engaged] in great, vigorous struggle day and night.

((8)) When God saw his patience and his abundant endurance, He wanted to console him by [allowing him] to meet with the saint Anbā Būlā the first hermit. So [one day] he thought [to himself] whether anyone had preceded him in this wilderness.¹⁰² Then it was said to him, “O Anṭūniyūs, there is deeper [in the wilderness], a day’s [journey] from you, a human [dwelling] of whom the world is not worthy of his footsteps.” And the saint got up and entered the wilderness and found the father Anbā Būlā, and he asked him about many things. Then the saint Anbā Būlā reposed and Anbā Anṭūniyūs shrouded him, and went back to his cave where he stayed as usual.¹⁰³ <25r>

+ 3 Section+ *And there was at the time* a man named Būlus¹⁰⁴ from the inhabitants of the city of Aṭṭīḥ. He had married a beautiful young woman who had very many gardens. And one of the young men loved her and she loved him and [he] would go to her in her husband’s absence and [he] polluted his bed. One day Būlus walked into the house and found them in that shameful state. He shook his head and said, “It is good what you did O woman,” and he took one cloak from what was his and went wandering in the wilderness. He walked for three days and three nights wandering about. Then the Lord guided him to the cell of this saint Anṭūniyūs. He knocked on the door and [Anṭūniyūs] said to him, “Who are you?” And Būlus replied, “I am a poor man.” <25v> For he had heard about the saint Anṭūniyūs many years ago from the

¹⁰¹ Matthew 5:39; and Luke 6:29.

¹⁰² Cf. *VP* 7, in Deferrari 1964: 229.

¹⁰³ Cf. *VP* 7, 10, 12, in Deferrari 1964: 229, 233, 234.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the account of Paul the Simple in *HL* xxii, in Meyer 1964: 76-81; and *HM* xxiv, in Russell 1981: 114-115.

person¹⁰⁵ who used to sell his handiwork and visit him three times each year. The holy man said to him, “What do you want?” He said, “To live with you.” Then [Anṭūniyūs] left him [standing] at the door and went in and closed it [placing behind it] a rock. [Būlus] remained outside the door for five days and five nights. So, the saint came out and found that [Būlus] did not have any bread or water, and he was saddened and said [to himself], “Woe to you wretched Anṭūniyūs, for you are a name without a body, and a tree without fruit.”¹⁰⁶ Then he allowed him to enter, and he entered and he gave him reeds to weave, and he [weaved] well. But the saint undid [his work] and said to him, “You ruined it!” And he did this three times. And when evening had come they stood up to pray. Then the saint said to him, “Būlus do you want to <26r> eat?” He said to him, “My father if you eat I will eat, if you fast I will fast.” Then [Anṭūniyūs] placed [before them] three biscuits and they ate together. And they continued like this for forty days.¹⁰⁷ After forty days, the saint said to him, “Now go my son and make a solitary cell for yourself and live in solitude in order to [experience] the warfare of demons and attain the spiritual crown.” Then he prayed over him, and he went down and lived in a hollow in the mountain.

After three days, a man who was possessed¹⁰⁸ was brought to the saint¹⁰⁹ to heal him. But [the saint] said, “I cannot cast out [the demon] for this can only be done by Būlus.” And it was the first of his wonders.¹¹⁰ When they brought [the man] before Būlus, he said to them, “Why did my teacher not cast him out?” So they said to him, “He is the one who sent us to you.” <26v> [Būlus] replied, “[May God] bless.” Then he said to the Enemy, “O demon, get out of him just as my teacher said!” Then the demon began to laugh and say, “Who are you, and who is your wretched, useless teacher?” And it was a very hot [day]. So the saint took a [large] rock [that was as hot] as a flame of fire and placed it on his bald head, and he put a [hot] rock under his feet and said, “True is Your name, O my Lord Jesus Christ, and through the prayers of my father Anṭūniyūs, I will not step down off this rock or [put down] this other rock that is above my head until this person is saved, as my teacher has said, or [else] I will die!” When the evil foe saw his soul was nearing death and the blood was streaming forth from his mouth and nostrils, I mean, the saint Būlus, <27r> the demon escaped and cried out fleeing from this old man, being

¹⁰⁵ Literally “layman”.

¹⁰⁶ Matthew 21:19-20; Luke 13:6.

¹⁰⁷ The 40 days has significance in the story of Moses (Exodus 24:18, 34:28); Elijah (1 Kings 19:8); and Christ (Matthew 4:2; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2).

¹⁰⁸ Literally “crazy”, but is a word used to describe one who is possessed.

¹⁰⁹ See Matthew 8:28; 9:32, 12:22, 15:22.

¹¹⁰ Literally “trade”.

exorcised by the Lord through the purity of [the saint's] heart, [that drove the demon out]. And he went out of him and that person was healed. Būlus attained the rank of the solitary within forty days, and received the crown of victory because of the simplicity of his heart. May his prayers keep us from the wicked adversary.

+ 4 Section+ *And as for the honoured, revered saint Mārī Anṭūniyūs*, he performed miracles and healed the sick and cured those with chronic illnesses and cast out demons¹¹¹ and purified lepers and raised up those who were paralysed.¹¹² He healed the illnesses of people, and livestock, and beasts, and even reptiles. All those who came to him were healed, and he performed many miracles. Even the shadow of his clothes would heal the most severe diseases and sicknesses.¹¹³

And people heard about him and the wilderness was filled<27v> with monasteries,¹¹⁴ and in his lifetime his children built [a monastery] on the riverbank¹¹⁵ at the place where he first began his ascetic life.¹¹⁶ And the saint would come down to the monastery and stay there for days and then go back to the inner wilderness.¹¹⁷ He opened the way that the demons sought to block, and his name was exalted all over the world.

+ 5 Section+ *When the news of this saint spread everywhere*,¹¹⁸ all the people would come to him with those who were afflicted, and he would heal them. It happened that a group from Miṣr¹¹⁹ came to him and with them [those who were] sick and possessed, and others. They went into the wilderness searching for the cell of the saint, and as it was destined that he meet them [along the way], [they] greeted him saying, <28r> “O old man, where is the monastery of the saint Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker?” He said to them, “What do you want from that rogue, the deceiver of people?” They replied, “Old man, do not utter this, for his fame has filled the world!” He said, “In truth I say [this], and if you do not believe me, bring [me] this blind boy.” And when he put his hand on him, his eyes were opened immediately.¹²⁰ They stared at him in amazement, and he said to them, “Why do you look at me so? Wonder [rather] about the power of Christ. Bring me all those you brought desiring to be healed.” They brought to him all of

¹¹¹ Cf. VA 15.5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003 : 93.

¹¹² Like Christ. See Luke 7:22.

¹¹³ Acts 5:15, 19:12.

¹¹⁴ Cf. VA 14.7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 93.

¹¹⁵ Literally “seacoast” referring to Pispir.

¹¹⁶ Literally “where he first worshipped”.

¹¹⁷ Cf. VA 54.1, 89.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 173, 247; and HL XXI.2, in Meyer 1964: 72.

¹¹⁸ The word “everywhere” is crossed out and replaced in red ink with *in all countries*.

¹¹⁹ Meaning Old Cairo.

¹²⁰ See Christ, in John 9.

them and he put his hand on each one of them and healed them.¹²¹ And then [he] said to them, “My words to you are true, that Anṭūnī is a deceiver and lover of fame. So go on your way and trust what <28v> I said to you, for I am one of the hermits in the wilderness and the Lord has sent me to you.”

When they heard that, they received his blessings,¹²² and they journeyed [back] until they reached civilisation. The father bishop of the city of Miṣr met them together with his priests, and began to ask them about the saint Anṭūniyūs. They began to say to the bishop, “He is not as you claim, but in truth we found the man of God,” and they started to explain what they saw. When the bishop heard them, he was very sad and said to them, “I ask you my brothers to tell me the description of this man.” They said to him, “A tall, old man, feeble-looking with a long beard, perfect in form with a luminous appearance.” <29r> The bishop said to them, “Truly brothers, he is Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness, and the intention of the old man was to conceal his fame, for this is his way. May his prayers always be with us, amen.”

+ 6 Section+ *And also of his wonders*, there was a Roman man in the town of Aṭfīh who did not have a child and [finally] God granted him a son. And [when] he reached the age of fifteen years, [the father] gave him ownership [of his fortune]. He went down to Miṣr to prepare for his [son’s] wedding, but before his father arrived in Miṣr, the boy died. When his mother woke up and found him dead, she was not saddened because she had heard about the wonders of the saint [Anṭūniyūs]. So she said [to herself], “Woe to me, if my husband returns and with him the things of the wedding <29v> and asks about my son, how am I to answer him? But I have faith in the power of the saint Anṭūniyūs that he can raise him up for me, as I hear about him.”

And the saint was in his lower monastery staying in the cave which is in the church. Then the woman took her son and placed him on a mule as one who is sick, and together with her maids, she went until she reached [the place] where the saint was staying.¹²³ It was midday and she found some of his disciples and said to [one of them], “Is the star of the wilderness with his children or in the cave?” He said to her, “What do you want?” She said, “I want him to heal my son.” He said to her, “What is [wrong] with him?” She said, “Fever attacks him and he becomes like fire and then he cools down <30r> till he becomes like ice and reaches death, and I could not treat him.” He said to her, “I know that the saint fears from the fame [he receives] from

¹²¹ Luke 4:40.

¹²² Literally “they received his prayers”.

¹²³ Similar to the story of Elisha and the woman with her dead son. See 2 Kings 4.

those he heals, because today he turned away many people and did not heal them.”¹²⁴ The woman was very worried and said to the disciple, “Have mercy on me my master and have compassion on me through the prayers of your teacher!” He said to her, “This matter is not for me, but I will tell you a way by which your son will be healed without the teacher realising.” She said, “I thank you O holy father!” He said to her, “Hide in the wilderness until the sun sets and then come.” The woman did as the disciple said to her and when she came he said to her, “The father does not pray except alone and he cannot tolerate that during the time of prayer someone sleeps at all. So go and leave your son [there] <30v> and cover him so that when the saint comes out to pray [and will see him], he will strike him with his staff and he will be healed from his sickness.” The woman rejoiced, while keeping her secret.

When it was the time of prayer, the saint came out according to his custom and found the boy covered as one sleeping. He pushed him with his foot and said to him, “Rise up boy, attend the prayer,” and immediately he rose up and [Anṭūniyūs] said to him, “Go your way,” and he said, “Yes my father,” and he fell to the saint’s feet and said, “Bless me!” When the woman heard the voice of her son she wept and rejoiced saying, “Great is your power O honoured saint! For my son was dead and at this hour by your word he became alive!” When the saint heard that he was saddened <31r> and said to the woman, “From now on, you will be silent and will not talk.”¹²⁵ The woman became mute and although she was burning to speak, she could not. The saint said to her, “I will let you speak on the condition that you do not tell [this story to] anyone except after my death for I did not raise him up but Christ your King is the One who raised him up.” And the woman did so. May the prayer of this saint keep all of us, amen.

+ 7 Section+ *And also of his wonders*, there was a wild lion dwelling near the monastery of the saint and he would torment the monks and deprive them of passing by at all times. And he had a wife who gave birth to a cub who was blind and paralysed. When she saw him [in this state], she carried him in her mouth and placed him before¹²⁶ the saint in his cell. When [Anṭūniyūs] saw her, he wondered greatly <31v> and praised God. He put his hand on [the cub’s] eyes and they were opened and his legs were healed, and he said to [the cub’s mother], “Tell his father to come to me.” The lioness went out from before him and returned with the wild lion. When the saint saw him, he said to him, “If you torment the monks again, you will be blind like your son.” And the lion sat before¹²⁷ the saint subjugated like a domesticated animal, and the monks

¹²⁴ Cf. VA 84.4, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 239.

¹²⁵ Cf. Luke 1:20, regarding Zachariah.

¹²⁶ Literally “between the hands of”.

¹²⁷ Literally “between the hands of”.

trusted him and no longer feared him, and he kept guard over them just like a human being possessing mind and intelligence.

After a few days, the lion came to him bringing a blind wolf. And the saint wondered greatly and praised God who did not permit the lion to torment the son of the wolf. He spat <32r> on [the wolf's] face [and the cub's eyes were opened] and the lion took him in his mouth and returned him back to his father and mother. A few days [later], the lion came to him with a sheep, which he had hunted like a man possessing love granting the saint a reward for his to.¹²⁸ The saint smiled and said to him, "O blessed beast, return this poor one to his place." And he drew the sign of the cross on him and he took it back and returned. After that, the lion stayed all the days of his life serving the monastery, and guarded its cattle together with his wife and son who was blind and was healed, for seven years until they died. And many lions imitated them, and many wild animals would come to [Anṭūniyūs] who would tame them. May his prayers be with us, amen.

+ 8 Section+ <32v> *And also of his wonders*, there was in front of his cell a small plot of land where he planted a few beans to comfort himself, and the gazelles, by design of evil spirits, would come down to him and spoil them.¹²⁹ The saint wondered greatly. One day he went out to sell the baskets he made, and he found the Devil, sitting in the wilderness making nets and traps for the gazelles, disguised as a hunter. The saint said to him, "Make me a net for gazelles, and make it good." He said to him, "Go to your work and I will prepare for you a net, and I will exert much effort in making it so that it will be good for you." And the saint said to him, "Be quick and give attention to do it," and then he left him. <33r> And the Enemy immediately went and prepared his nets and traps.

And the saint met a woman sitting down in the midst of running water with ten naked maids bathing like her.¹³⁰ When he saw them, he turned to escape but their mistress said to him, "O solitary man in this wilderness, stop for the sake of God because for some time I have been asking [about you], so that you teach me the way of salvation and win my soul. For as the Scripture says that he who saves one soul from sins is like its Creator,¹³¹ and I heard the Gospel saying that the Good Shepherd gives Himself for His brother¹³² and this is perfection. So it is your duty our father, not that I am teaching you, for I have heard of your wonders and how

¹²⁸ Cf. Macarius the Great in *HL XVIII.27-28*, in Meyer 1964: 66; and *HM XXI.15*, in Russell 1981: 110.

¹²⁹ Cf. *VA 50.8-9*, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003 : 167.

¹³⁰ Cf. Exodus 2:5, of Pharaoh's daughter bathing in the Nile.

¹³¹ James 5:20.

¹³² See John 10:11.

great your domination is over our enemies the demons, <33v> but [I say this] to remind you that these things are necessary for you [to do]. I ask you to revive a soul before it comes to death.”¹³³ Then she said to her maids, “Cover yourselves, for it is a shame before the holy man of God to be naked like this. For God’s love for us is great that He sent us this saint to deliver us from our sins, through the abundance of his purity.” The saint said to her, “You also, O woman, cover yourself up.” Then she marvelled at him and said, “O pure saint, you are the man of God and yet you fear me, the poor, wretched one? Do you not know father that I was created from you and what is it that allowed you to know that I am naked? Do you not know that the woman <34r> was created from Adam’s side¹³⁴ as God declared in His old book? And man was created from dust,¹³⁵ so men should truly look at the ground from which they were created, but the woman looks at the man from where she was created.” The saint was astonished about her speech and lowered his head to the ground. She said, “O righteous saint, are my words correct or not?” He said to her, “Truly you have uttered and have spoken.” When she heard this address from him, she began to deal with him with the most delicate and precise trickeries.

She said to him, “O my father for how long have you been dwelling in this barren wilderness?” He said to her, “Until this day it has been sixty-five years.” She jumped up and stood before him and wept saying, “O my father, you are in this harsh wilderness <34v> suffering from the warfare of our enemies the demons, you tolerate their painful beatings, and their severe, varying phantasies, their evil thoughts, their impure whispers, their aggressive combat, and their annoyances which do not end?” He said to her, “Yes I have suffered more than what you mentioned, but Christ always comes to me and helps me.” Then she smiled and said, “Great is the Lord, but I heard, O honoured father, that the demons trouble you greatly and many times they dragged you till no flesh remained on your body.” He said to her, “Truly this happened, but Christ helped me and would come to me with a book in which was written an account of all the beatings that I received from the demons, and He would console me. And the times when I did not suffer <35r> pain, He would not show me anything in the book and would say to me, ‘O Antūniyūs your profit is in struggling, your trade this time is of no benefit.’ Because of this, I have no desire that [struggling] leaves me for even one hour, so that I may receive honour, for my Master said to me with His pure mouth, that as much as is the effort, so shall be the reward.” She said, “Truly you have spoken my father, but I have heard the pure Gospel bearing witness and saying that the workers of the eleventh hour are equal to the workers who struggled since

¹³³ The word “death” is crossed out and replaced with the word “destruction”.

¹³⁴ Genesis 2:21-22.

¹³⁵ Genesis 2:19.

the beginning of the day,¹³⁶ and also that the first will be last and the last will be first,¹³⁷ for many are called but only few are chosen.”¹³⁸ He said, “Indeed, this is the word of God.”

She said to him, “Look at the mercy of God who gives to the last just like the first. Look my father at the abundance of <35v> God’s love and the sincerity of His appointed times. Look and see, I have a great kingdom and much dominion, as you see this city!” The saint raised his eyes to the other shore and saw a great and very noble city and said, “This city is yours?” And she said, “Yes, and the Lord gave me much grace in a few years like what He gave to you in all these years which you mentioned to me.” He said to her, “What is the grace that Christ granted you?” She said, “To heal those with chronic disease, to heal the sick, and open the eyes of the blind, to purify the lepers, and heal all kinds of diseases.¹³⁹ And if my husband had lived for just another year, I would have been able to raise the dead.” The saint was astonished and amazed. Then she said to him, “Do you wonder about my speech O righteous one? Get up and stand!” So, he got up and stood. And she took his <36r> hand and together with her maids crossed over the sea and their feet did not get wet. The saint wondered greatly and remained astonished. When the people of the city saw the woman, they came to her rejoicing with the soldiers, the horses, the high officials, the generals, the princes, leaders, the overseers, the heads, and all the great ones, until they entered the city and the queen was riding with her maids and the saint was riding with them. Then she took him to the market-place of the money-changers and the spice makers, and the merchants, and she showed him the city. There was nothing like it on the face of the earth. And [there were] countless people that only God, be praised, could count their number. Hence he looked at her and was amazed greatly. Then she said to him, “Are you amazed at all this also, O respected saint?” Then she took him to the storehouse of fabrics, <36v> textiles,¹⁴⁰ and all kinds of luxurious clothes which needs much time to describe. And she showed him much abundance of money that was countless, and expensive jewels, precious stones, and exquisite gemstones of different colours. He was amazed about the great mercy of God and His grace toward that woman. And yet, he did not desire any of it, nor did his heart turn to it. She said to him, “Did you see my master, God’s grace toward me and how He gives to the worthy and the unworthy ones? But all these great fortunes, my father, the rational one

¹³⁶ Matthew 20:6-9.

¹³⁷ Matthew 20:16.

¹³⁸ Matthew 20:16.

¹³⁹ These are the same spiritual gifts that were given to Antony. See f. 50v. For the notion of demons performing miracles, see Matthew 22:23.

¹⁴⁰ Literally “coverings”.

does not have a desire for them but one is amazed about God's work and how He grants these [things] to His servants who love His name."

He said, "What is God's work?" She said, "Everything that He did for humans. <37r> All the vocations of the whole world; building, carpentry, stone-cutting, jewellery making, sewing, wisdom, and engineering until the end of the world, such is the work of humans. But the work of God is healing the sick, raising the dead, changing tempers and transforming it to another temper with one word." He said, "You have spoken well, for as long as God loves mankind, He grants him this gift which is our consolation and it is the rank of perfection." She said, "I am grateful to the Lord Jesus Christ who has granted me a little of this honoured work." He said to her, "You said that to me before and I have not seen anything other than that we crossed over the sea." She said, "Did crossing the sea <37v> strengthen your faith in Christ? See the goodness of God's creation and the abundance of His compassion on the people." Then she gave an order and many people were brought to her who were crippled, blind, lepers, paralysed and sick, possessed, and sick ones with diverse diseases.¹⁴¹ She then raised up her hands and her eyes teared and [she] took some water and prayed on it,¹⁴² and sprinkled them all with water and immediately they were healed. Then the saint marvelled, and said, "I marvel about this and do not wonder about all the fortunes of the world!" She said, "If you saw my husband the king, he with one word could raise many dead." He said to her, "What is your way of life so that I, the weak one, can learn something of it." She said, "Our way of life is wonderful but perhaps it does not<38r> suit you because the people of the wilderness are wearied by many things and they have little rest and little gifts because of lack of love for God." He said, "I ask you to tell me what is your way of life?" She said, "My way of life is this great kingdom, and all the known kingdoms, I give as charity for the poor, I visit the widows and provide for the lonely and release from among the captured those who are deserving. I give charity to those who are in need, and I build monasteries and care for their inhabitants, and give relief to those who are distressed, and on my table is much food from which I do not eat for the sake of God. I rule in my kingdom justly, and I break [my] fast every three days once with bread and water." He said to her, "Virtuous <38v> is your doing." She said to him, "Is this right or wrong?" He said to her, "If your words remain as such until the end, then it is right."

She said, "You know that I am a beautiful woman, as you see this beauty, brilliance, luxury and power [that I have] in this great city, and many other kingdoms are submissive to me." The

¹⁴¹ Cf. Antony's spiritual gifts, see f. 50v.

¹⁴² Literally, "having read".

saint said to her, “What is the need for this description?” She said, “Necessity requires that I take your counsel because this king neighbouring me, when he heard of the death of my husband, pressured me, and also many other kings have sent to me gifts and great fortunes and many graces in order that I marry them. My heart had leaned toward them, but then I turned back and took my own counsel and returned to my <39r> sanity and said, where can I find on earth a man like my husband who used to do wonders and heal diseases and raise the dead? I examined all these kings and I did not find among them any man granted this gift. So I did not desire any of them and renounced them, after I had loved them because of the evil thoughts that came to my mind. Know and be certain, my father, that it is [not something] human [that] brought you [to me] but God [Himself] who led you to me so that you may inherit the rank of my husband and marry me and be relieved in your body from some of the toil for which you have toiled long, and relieve your heart, for how long have you wearied it! And be relieved from fighting the rebellious demons, for how long have you wearied and been tortured from them exceedingly! Receive some of the joy of the world and its passing kingdom!

<39v> ((9)) Now tell me what is your virtue of living in the wilderness [where] you cannot find a human to have mercy upon, or a poor one to feed, or an imprisoned one to visit, or a distressed one to help, or a captured one to deliver, or a widow to have mercy upon for the sake of God,¹⁴³ or an oppressed one to take vengeance on for his injustice, or a sad one to sympathise with, or a church to visit, or a monastery to spend money on? So in all cases you will be granted by this two dwellings – the worldly dwelling and the joy of the lasting one.”

He said to her, “What is it that you want from me?” She said, “I want you to know that I rejected all the kings and promised myself to you,¹⁴⁴ and I hated all the noble ones and loved you, and I dismissed the great ones and brought you close [to me].” He said, “What is it that you want?” She said, “I want to <40r> marry you as I have mentioned to you.” He said, “What [life] is remaining in me from God to do this unclean work?” She said, “Praise be to God, truly you have not tried this, [so] that you are excused, for if you do this act one time you will never hate it.” He said, “Can I do this while I have reached old age, after the coldness of body, the wrinkling of skin, the lack of strength, the sagging of flesh, whitening of hair, and the weakness of will?” Then he looked at her and she was like the rising moon in its perfection, with a face like the full moon and fairness, beauty, splendour and perfection, together with the adornment

¹⁴³ Matthew 25:34-46.

¹⁴⁴ Literally “I engaged you”.

of beautiful clothing, and the scent of exquisite perfume, sweet-smelling incense, and every good aroma.

Then he said to her, “Get away from me O woman! And where is my mind <40v> that I have struggled for the last sixty years¹⁴⁵ to this day so that I waste it in one hour? For sixty years I have laboured and profited, and in one hour I lose everything? For sixty years¹⁴⁶ and maybe more I have been filling the vessels and treasures with grace and in a twinkling of an eye I lose them all? Christ has been pleased with me all my days and in this hour I make Him angry? He would come to console me with perfect consolation and now in this hour I estrange myself from Him? I am a healing for the faithful ones and they imitate me, so how [then can I] become a stumbling block and [a cause of] sadness for them? I am close to the Kingdom of Heaven and then I become far from it because of women? For the demons tried many times to cause the high ranking ones to <41r> fall through the love for women, and so [now I allow] the cause of my falling from my high rank to be because of one woman, and for her sake I place myself far from God?”

((10)) When the wicked [one] heard these words from him, she became like one ablaze with burning fire. She prostrated before him and said, “I ask you my master do not lower yourself from your high rank with God and do not say such ill words and claim that good women, who are married according to the commandments of the Law and church canons, as I have asked of you, you say that they turn man away from God, for you erred and spoke without knowledge. And far be it that your holiness repeats this great evil because if you think in this way, then no one <41v> will enter the Kingdom of Heaven nor will ever see grace, if the matter is as you mentioned. And if you passed your days and did not study the books of God¹⁴⁷ I will teach them to you chapter by chapter, letter by letter, and line by line. What do you say about the honoured *Torah* and its great verses, its stories, and its well-known wisdom, and how [God] spoke to Moses His prophet?”¹⁴⁸ He said, “Yes.” She said, “I want to explain this to you and not hide anything from you, for the Scriptures bear witness and says that whoever knows something good and does not do it for his believing brother, it will be counted for him as sin,¹⁴⁹ and it is also said that the most evil of the scholars is a scholar that knows and does not teach. It is also said, freely you have taken [so] freely you [must] give;¹⁵⁰ meaning teach without wage <42r>

¹⁴⁵ F. 34r states sixty-five years.

¹⁴⁶ See note above.

¹⁴⁷ Meaning “scriptures”.

¹⁴⁸ Book of Exodus 6:28, 19:19, 20:22, 25:22, 33:9.

¹⁴⁹ James 4:17.

¹⁵⁰ Matthew 10:8.

as I taught you. And I want to explain that, as a reminder [and] not to teach [you] but as education.”

The saint said to her, “What is the need for that?” She said, “Far be it [from you] that you reject the words of God or be negligent in listening to it, because when God created Adam and put a trance upon him, he slept, and He took a rib from him and created Eve from it, so he [Adam] said, this is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bones.¹⁵¹ And this is the testimony of our father Adam. So if God knows that women would keep away [men] from [attaining] the Kingdom, He would have not created even one of them, and He would warn him about her and warn her about him. And we know that God did not create a thing that He detests, but their falling was because of their eating from the tree, as God ordered them not to eat of it.¹⁵² And a second example: what do you say about Noah whom God ordered to build for Him <42v> an ark, and God spoke to him, protected and kept him and all the creatures who were with him?¹⁵³ And his wife was with him and the wives of his children, for if women keep [man] away from God, then God would not have instructed [Noah] to take them with him. And what do you say of David of whom He bore witness that he is [a man] after God’s heart,¹⁵⁴ and he did not have only one wife but he had many wives, and took the wife of Uriah and killed her husband¹⁵⁵ and God was not angry with him because of His knowledge that man and woman are one? And what do you say of Solomon his son who was not content with one [woman], but had one thousand women¹⁵⁶ and deceived the Queen of Sheba with a precise trick?¹⁵⁷ The Gospels bore witness that she was righteous and she will rise up and judge this generation?¹⁵⁸ And he was worthy even to build the house of the Lord with his wisdom.¹⁵⁹ And what do you say of Moses <43r> the chief of the prophets and their greatest? God spoke to him verbally as a brother speaks to his brother,¹⁶⁰ and he was married and had a son.¹⁶¹ So if the woman keeps [man] away from God, God would have fled from him and everyone else who had a wife. And what do you say of Aaron the priest of God? His oblation was accepted by God and he had a wife and children.¹⁶² And what do you

¹⁵¹ Genesis 2:21-23.

¹⁵² Genesis 3:1-6.

¹⁵³ Genesis 6:13-22.

¹⁵⁴ 1 Samuel 13:14; Acts 13:22.

¹⁵⁵ 2 Samuel 11.

¹⁵⁶ 1 Kings 11:3.

¹⁵⁷ This is a qurānic reference taken from the book of Sūrat al-Naml 22-28.

¹⁵⁸ See Matthew 12:42; and Luke 11:31.

¹⁵⁹ See 1 Kings 6:14.

¹⁶⁰ See Exodus 33:11.

¹⁶¹ Exodus 2:21-22.

¹⁶² Exodus 6:23, 30:30.

say of the father of fathers Abraham? Was he not married?¹⁶³ And he was called the friend of God¹⁶⁴ and he hosted Him with the angels?¹⁶⁵ This [Abraham] was not far from God or rejected by Him. And what do you say of Isaac who was married¹⁶⁶ and God redeemed him from slaughter by a sheep?¹⁶⁷ And what do you say of Jacob who deserved to see God?¹⁶⁸ If women were to keep [men] away from God why did He speak to him? And what do you say of Joseph who had a wife¹⁶⁹ and was made a ruler <43v> by God over all of the land of Egypt?¹⁷⁰ And what do you say of Peter the head of the Apostles¹⁷¹ who was married¹⁷² and God called him the rock which is the foundation of the Church?¹⁷³ What do you say of him? Was he close to God? Or was he far [from Him]? And other than those, if we continue to mention the number of the married ones it would take much explanation. Have you not heard the [words of the] pure Gospel that says the man must leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife?¹⁷⁴ So if the wife was not closer [to the husband] than the parents, God would have kept her away, but He made her closer than them. Did you not hear, O father, the saying of the Gospel: they come from the East and West, North and South and recline in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God?¹⁷⁵ <44r> For it did not say they will recline in the bosom of Anṭūnah of the wilderness¹⁷⁶ and his children who suffered the heat of summer and coldness of winter. Are my words right O our father? What is this [life] that you are tormenting yourself in? Come forward to me and do not delay and consider the pleasure for there is none like it, for it will strengthen your will and revive your soul, and your youthfulness that you lost will return back to you, and you will gain from the world both sides!” The saint was about to be deceived by the abundance of what he observed from her speech; that which is able to make mountains fall down and clouds to be struck.

((11)) Then when she saw him in that state, she went toward him and allowed him to smell [her] beautiful scent, and she placed her hand on the *qulunṣuwah* to remove it. But he held it with his

¹⁶³ Genesis 11:29, 16:1-3, 17:15, 25:1.

¹⁶⁴ 2 Chronicles 20:7; Isaiah 41:8; Daniel 3:35; and the Deuterocanonical book of Judith.

¹⁶⁵ Genesis 18:1-15.

¹⁶⁶ Genesis 24:45-66.

¹⁶⁷ Genesis 22:13.

¹⁶⁸ Genesis 28:10-19.

¹⁶⁹ Genesis 41:45.

¹⁷⁰ Genesis 41:41.

¹⁷¹ In Islamic literature the apostles of Christ are called “al-Hawwāriyyūn”: الحَوَارِيُّونَ

¹⁷² Mark 1:30; Luke 4:38; and 1 Corinthians 9:5.

¹⁷³ Matthew 16:18.

¹⁷⁴ Matthew 19:5; and Genesis 2:24.

¹⁷⁵ Matthew 8:11; and Luke 16:23.

¹⁷⁶ An additional marginal note states “and his sons”.

hand and said, “Truly I say to you, <44v> you will not make me the king of this city and its land, moreover all the kingdoms of the world and their entirety, will not compensate for this *qulunṣuwah* of which my master Jesus Christ said to me, ‘this will destroy the powers of the Enemy and with it you will overcome the armies of the Mārid Jins!¹⁷⁷ This will disperse the greatness of the Devil and all his soldiers.’ So if I take off this weapon, there will be nothing remaining with me with which I fight my enemies. This can never happen!” Then he drew the sign of the cross on his face and she began to take it off his head by force but she could not. Then the saint cried out and said, “Truly I knew that you are the Enemy! O Lord help me and give me patience and do not neglect me!”

((12)) Then<45r> that woman became before him like a great black mountain exuding smoke and fire all around, and all the hordes of demons gathered upon him saying, “You defeated us O wicked old man! O you wretched [one] of dust [who is] weak, what you created shook the foundations of our hearts, and made as naught our deception, and broke our traps!” And they gathered upon him and kept beating him severely and dragging him about until sunrise.

Then the saint cried out and said, “O Lord help me, I am weakened exceedingly! And no strength remains in me to stand up on my feet!” And at once the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and said, “Hail to you Anṭūniyūs, the one full of grace!¹⁷⁸ Hail to you <45v> O the brave struggler who has defeated the hosts of the Enemy all together! Blessed are you O Anṭūniyūs and the blessing is for you, and from you blessings is taken, O [who is] full of grace. From now on you are the storehouse of My grace and My mysteries, and My wonders are hidden in you. Truly I say to you O Anṭūniyūs, as you cared for Me, anyone who cares for you and does a glorification for you, I will glorify him in the Kingdom. I say to you O My beloved Anṭūniyūs and my brother, he who has received for My name hard, bitter suffering, I say to you that he who builds a house for you, I will build for him in recompense of that luminous new houses,¹⁷⁹ and immortalise him in the heavenly joy, and the cursed [one] will not come near him. O beloved Anṭūniyūs, by the power of My name <46r> I am the one who will care for your church and with My right hand I consecrate it with the great thrones¹⁸⁰ of My glory. And I give you My strong covenant that your church will forever never be destroyed, and all your monasteries will be honoured with all people, and your children will be crowned among the nations, and your wonders will be great. And I have appointed Michael the Archangel a servant for your

¹⁷⁷ In the Qur’ān , the words “Mārid” and “Jins” refer to a rank of demons.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the annunciation in Luke 1:28.

¹⁷⁹ John 14:2.

¹⁸⁰ Referring to the heavenly powers.

church, and whoever is in distress and calls upon your name I will save him, and whoever disrespects your houses I will destroy his houses, and whoever makes you a vow in your name and does not honour it, I will erase his name.¹⁸¹ And whoever grants for you a share of his son, houses, cattle, fields, or livestock, no harm will come close to them from the enemy forever, as long as your sign is on [the donations]. And I have ordered fire to be a servant for your church <46v> and have delivered it to ten thousands of angels who will burn those who disrespect you, [as well as] the opponents and the unjust and whoever speaks vainly about your children. Truly I say to you that he who has toiled in your house and cared for it and helped in its building, I am the one who will reward him in the next world. And whoever writes your life-story, I will write his name in the Book of Life.¹⁸² Blessed is the one who erected a single pebble in your church, his remembrance will not perish. Woe to the one who removes a pebble from your church, I will remove his name from the life of joy. Woe to the one who is unjust to your church, I will judge him on the Day of Judgment. Blessed is the one who sweeps your monastery and cleans it, I will give him an inheritance of joy. Blessed is the one who is patient among your children,¹⁸³ in the Kingdom he will be raised up to the rank of the patriarchs <47r> and his face will be luminous like light¹⁸⁴ and he will not be condemned on the Day of Judgment. Blessed is the one who offers himself to be obedient to you, he will be great in the Kingdom of Heaven. O Anṭūniyūs, lions are subject to you, wild animals obey you, demons escape from before you, kings fear your authority, and all the winds and spirits fear your rebuke.” And the Lord gave him with His holy pure right hand the garment¹⁸⁵ and dressed him with the pure *iskīm* and said to him, “I swear by Myself that I shall give you more than what I have mentioned to you.” The saint said to Him, “Let Your mercy be on me O Lord and do not keep away Your help from me!”¹⁸⁶ And when the Lord put His hand on the saint’s hand he was immediately cured and he was healed from all the assaults of the Enemy. And he was strengthened and was filled with the Spirit <47v> and said, “Blessed be the name of the Lord forever.”¹⁸⁷ And then He ascended to Heaven.

¹⁸¹ Revelation 3:5.

¹⁸² Revelation 3:5.

¹⁸³ Matthew 10:22.

¹⁸⁴ Matthew 13:43.

¹⁸⁵ Literally *tūnya*.

¹⁸⁶ Psalm 71:12.

¹⁸⁷ Job 1:21. Job said the same expression when he was being tormented by the Devil.

The saint then found himself in the wilderness and the reeds of palms close by him, so he took them and left and went back to his monastery. Along the way he found some of his disciples and he gave them [his baskets] to sell.

((13)) He continued walking and found that man who was making the nets for the gazelles. He said to him, “Did you make me the net you promised me to do?” He said to him, “Yes! I made for you, O wicked old man, many traps and snares, and nets and ploys, and you broke them [all]! Get away from me so that you do not burn me!” Then [the Devil] became like a flaming pillar of fire as if before firewood, and he blew [fire] at the saint’s <48r> face and the saint quickly drew the sign of the honoured cross and immediately the whole wilderness was burned, and the saint remained standing alone and was not harmed at all, and he praised God and magnified His name and [then] he walked [back] to the monastery in peace. He found his children gathered [around him], and told them of the combat [with] the enemies and warned them about them.¹⁸⁸ They wondered about that greatly. He made known to them the abundance of God’s help to those who serve Him with chastity and purity.

((14)) May the prayers of this great star be with you, O you who are gathering [here], and may his blessings be with you, O all brothers who are listening, and may the Lord repose the souls of your departed, and accept your fastings and prayers, and listen to your supplications, and forgive your sins and bless you, amen. <48v>

+ 9 Section+ *And there was at that time* when the father Anbā Athanasius the apostolic was enthroned patriarch over the city of Alexandria, that he heard about the saint from people coming to him, and so he desired to see him. And it happened that a perdition happened in Alexandria and Anbā Athanasius increased the sermons and warned people at all times about the things which anger the Lord. But they did not repent, so He brought upon them this plague to discipline them and make them repent. When the father the patriarch saw that the city was rotted by [so] many decayed bodies, he rose up and took with him priests and deacons and went to the saint Anṭūniyūs.¹⁸⁹

The saint received him and they blessed <49r> and greeted each other. Then he asked him concerning the city. The saint told him that in the designated time, the Lord had lifted His wrath away from the city. And this [occurred] because of the supplication of the saint. For when he knew by the spirit of the coming of the father the patriarch to him, he petitioned to the Lord

¹⁸⁸ Cf. VA 39.1-41.6, 66.7-8, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 141-147, 199.

¹⁸⁹ Antony takes on the role of a prophet, such as Jonah whose mission it was to call people to repentance and conversion and in so doing, God’s wrath was lifted.

Jesus Christ for the city and the people, and the Lord accepted from him [his request]. When the patriarch heard that, he rejoiced greatly. Then the saint Anṭūniyūs clothed the father the patriarch in the angelic habit, with the *qulunṣuwah*, the *iskīm*, the girdle, the cape, and the wool *melote*.¹⁹⁰ And he said to him, “From now on this becomes the attire of the patriarchs until the end of this life, and he who works with this habit, Christ will lead him to the Heavenly Jerusalem,¹⁹¹ but he who disrespects it <49v> and does not behave according to what befits it – which is the narrow way the Lord ordered us to enter through,¹⁹² as the holy Gospel says that only a few will find it – and does not journey well in it, they will be stripped of it in the presence of all the angels and all people who will be present on the [Day of] Judgment.” When the father the patriarch heard this saying from the saint Anṭūniyūs, his soul was consoled and he was blessed by the saint and returned back to his city.

And when Anbā Anṭūniyūs met with the father Anbā Būlā, [Anbā Būlā] said to him, “Go and bring me the cloak of Athanasius to shroud my body in it, and give him my palm-leaf tunic.”¹⁹³ So when Anbā Būlā died and [Anbā Anṭūniyūs] shrouded his pure body [with the cloak] and buried it, <50r> the saint took the palm-leaf tunic and went walking in the wilderness in order to deliver it to the father the patriarch, as he was instructed. And it was the third time that the saint met with the father the patriarch. And while he [Athanasius] was standing praying, the angel of the Lord appeared to him saying to him, “Put your hand on Anbā Anṭūniyūs to make him an honest priest.” When the father the patriarch ordained him a priest, [Anṭūniyūs] remained with him for three days and then [Athanasius] ordained him a *hegumen*. Then he returned back to his monastery and the palm-leaf tunic remained with the father patriarch who wore it during the major feasts. May the blessings of this saint be with us all, amen.

+ 10 Section+ *And when his report spread in all the inhabited countries that there appeared in* <50v> the wilderness of Egypt a holy anchorite who was [living away] from the world and reached a great rank in worshipping God so that with one word from his mouth he exorcised demons, healed the sick, raises up the paralysed, cures those with chronic diseases, and opens the eyes of the blind,¹⁹⁴ and that the demons are terrified of him and the rank of *mārids* are petrified of him. He reached what was not reached by any of the disciples or anyone ever. And he was granted a very great gift in that when he passed by, all those who were sick with all

¹⁹⁰ Cf. vestments placed on the patriarch-elect in the *Rite of Consecration of a Patriarch*. See Kha-Burmester 1960: 9, 54-55.

¹⁹¹ Revelation 21.

¹⁹² Matthew 7:13.

¹⁹³ Cf. VP 12, in Deferrari 1964: 234.

¹⁹⁴ Like Christ. See Luke 7:22.

kinds of various diseases, would immediately be healed from the shadow of his clothes on them.¹⁹⁵ In any case, whoever hears [about him] in the four corners of the world, longs to reach him and see him.

((15)) And <51r> because of his authority, the demons and their hosts escaped, as they could not tolerate hearing his words, and they left the wilderness and escaped to the countries of the Franks.¹⁹⁶ And the people of those countries, I mean the countries of the Franks, pleaded with the king one and all, the sick and others, saying, “We desire from you, O king the master, to send for the blessed saint Anṭūniyūs and petition him in a way that would please his heart so that he may come to us. And if he does not want [to come], then we shall all go to him so that we may see his face and receive his blessing, even if we all die along the way.”

And the king was occupied away from them in a great war with King Akāsiyūs. And all the people petitioned the Lord – His name be exalted – for the saint to grace them and to see his face. <51v> When the Lord saw their good intentions and their great love to see him, a rebellious demon entered, by the order of God, into the king’s daughter. And his son and wife also became demon-possessed. And he was not believing in the sayings of the Church; believing in Christ before the world and among them, and within himself, he was a pagan not believing in anything. When he saw what befell him from this painful calamity and the great disaster, he needed to reconcile with his enemy [Akāsiyūs]. And with strength of will he began to dedicate his time to finding a cure for his children and his wife. So he brought all the wise ones, physicians, astrologers, soothsayers, exorcists, and all those skilled in such things to heal the people of his household, but they could not.

And as time passed their pain increased. <52r> Then, when he saw that, he became very concerned and did not know what to do, and began to lose control over his countries, and his castles started to be taken away from him and he perceived that he was near destruction. So he went to seek counsel from the great ones of his country. Everyone counselled him according to their knowledge, and there was a very honourable man among them named Arsānah who was God-loving and of good counsel. He went to the king and said to him, “Listen to me O king, do you want the people of your household to be healed and your kingdom return back to you as it was in the beginning?” He said, “How am I able to do that?” He said, “Hasten and send for the

¹⁹⁵ Acts 5:15, 19:12.

¹⁹⁶ Referring to Frankish countries, the chronicler of the *History of the Patriarchs* states “how disorder seized the Frankish empire, so that those who possess intelligence might take it as an example and remember it with the passage of centuries and ages.” See *HP* II/3, in Atiya et al. 1959: 138, 139.

saint Mār Anṭūniyūs! Ask and entreat him [to come] and if he refuses to come, you go yourself to him.” Immediately he prepared messengers who were not merchants¹⁹⁷ <52v> but [were sent only for the purpose] of seeking [Anṭūniyūs].

When they reached Alexandria, they greeted the father the patriarch Anbā Athanasius and they presented him with many gifts. He rejoiced greatly by [seeing] them and asked the reason for their coming. They told him it was for the sake of [meeting] the saint Anṭūniyūs. When he heard that, he rejoiced and sent with them messengers who know the language of the Franks and Coptic. When they reached the saint, they greeted him and conveyed the greetings of the king and his desire to see him. [They] said to him, “O man of God, the king is asking you truly, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come to him and bless his land and his congregation, for the sake of God.”¹⁹⁸ [Anṭūniyūs] said, “With love and honour, go and let him know I will come to him.”¹⁹⁹ And he left them and went to his cell. They <53r> asked him that they may see from him a sign or a wonder, but they did not see anything except wild animals coming to his monastery as if domestic animals, [keeping company] with his children, for the saint was not used to performing miracles before people, especially a stranger. But this²⁰⁰ was done in secret because if his secret was revealed he would [not] escape fame. So they received his blessing and went back trusting in his word. And they met the father the patriarch and told him what had happened, and he rejoiced about the news and said, “All that he said to you he will do and his word is true.” Then they went back to their countries.

And the night the saint had bid them farewell, he spoke with his disciple saying, “How do I plan [this journey] because I promised these people that I will go to them?” <53v> He said to him, “My father, if you stay [here] you are Anṭūnī, but if you go [there] you are *Antontinae*.”²⁰¹ He said, “I want to go.” And he went out of his cell and said to his disciple, “Tell no one about me because I am going on a certain mission, and if anyone asks for me, until I return, promise them that I am coming.”

Then he went out into the wilderness until he disappeared from eyesight, and it was evening. Then the Lord brought down for him a very luminous cloud upon which he mounted²⁰² and

¹⁹⁷ Meaning they were not sent for the purpose of trading.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. VA 81.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 229; and AP Antony 31, in Ward 1984: 8.

¹⁹⁹ Antony is modelled on the person of Elisha, who was also a man of wonders, and had an important role instructing, advising, and healing people in society. See 2 Kings 4, 5.

²⁰⁰ Referring to performing miracles.

²⁰¹ Cf. AP Antony 31, in Ward 1984: 8.

²⁰² Cf. *The Life of Shenoute* 18-19, in Bell 1983: 48. See also *The Virtues of St Macarius of Egypt* 32, in Vivian 2004: 109; and *The Life of John the Little* 75, in Vivian and Mikhail 2010: 119, and Davis 2008: 171.

went to the city of the king at the third hour of the night.²⁰³ He knocked the door of the king's palace and some of chamberlains went out to him and asked, "What is it you want?" He said, "I want to speak to the king words of benefits for his soul." [But] the king sent [to him] saying, "Let him be patient until tomorrow <54r> because I am busy with many things." for it did not occur to the heart of the king that [it could be] any matter concerning the saint. So [Anṭūniyūs] left him and went to the house of one of his ministers. When he knocked the door, the doorman opened to him, and he requested a presence with his master. He was brought [in] and he greeted the minister, and [the minister] did not know who he was, except that [Anṭūniyūs] was dressed in Frankish clothing.

While he was speaking with him in the sitting [room], a female pig in his house that had given birth to a blind male [piglet] without hands, when she heard the voice of the saint, took the [piglet] in her mouth and ran toward him crying and shedding her tears. She placed him before [the saint] and the minister wanted to throw her out with great anger, but she did not move. The saint said to him, "Leave her. Are there no other ones who seek <54v> healing of their children and the people of their house except for your master the king?" Then the saint took the hand of the minister and blessed it and put it on the eyes of the piglet and on the place of his hands and immediately he had hands and could see.

The minister Andiryūs wondered and was astonished greatly and remained staring at the saint. So he said to him in in the Frankish language in the sweetest of words, "O Andiryūs, why are you wondering at the greatness of Jesus Christ²⁰⁴ who had mercy upon this weak animal that does not have a tongue to speak with?" The minister said to him, "My master, if the king knows about you he would not have granted to me your coming at my [house], so who are you in order that I tell the king about your coming?" The saint said to him, "The king can do without me." He said to him, "Who can do without you? Perhaps you are Anṭūnah <55r> the Great, the star of the wilderness!" The saint said to him, "Because of this I say to you that they sent to a man who loves the world and desires leadership, and who has made for himself a monastery and children, and if it was not profane for me to do so, I would have revealed his secrets." The minister said to him, "Do not say these words my master, because if my master the king knew of your coming he would not have sent messengers with great struggle at this difficult time and spent much money." The saint said, "If he did not know, then he will know now and by the help of the Lord Jesus Christ, [the king's] will, will be done. But you go and inform him and pray

²⁰³ 9pm.

²⁰⁴ Acts 3:12.

over his son, and immediately the demon will leave him.” And at once the minister went out and informed him and prayed for his son and immediately he was healed.

The king got up and came to the saint and greeted him and received his blessings <55v> and asked him to heal the people of his house. So he prayed over them and immediately they were healed and at once the demons came out of them crying with their loud voices, “Woe to us from you Anṭūnah!” And before they completed his name he rebuked them²⁰⁵ so they did not speak, by the name of Jesus Christ.²⁰⁶ The Devil and his helpers were ashamed and they did not have the strength to overcome him so they fled. The king said to him, “Where is your land O my master?” He said to him, “My land God knows it and from my speech you can know my country.” He said to him, “Your language is the language of Barkenoni²⁰⁷ and your voice is the voice of one who was brought up in our countries. But I ask you to heal my family [and make them] well.” The saint said to him, “They will not be healed until you strengthen your faith in Christ greatly because I know <56r> your secrets more than you.” The king prostrated before him and said, “I believe O blessed saint that you are a man of God and I have strengthened my faith in the master Jesus Christ greatly!” Then the saint made the sign of the holy cross on him and gave him power to heal snake bites until the day of his death, and [to] his children after him.

+ 11 Section+ Then the news spread that a holy man of Barkenoni descent had arrived who believes in Christ and performs all miracles and wonders.

Then the Devil took the form of an ascetic man and began doing marvels and showed vain wonders by wicked imaginations. When the saint learned of [the wonders] he praised God and came to him saying, “Who are you?” He said, “I am a weak man to whom God granted me an honoured gift.” <56v> The saint said to him, “What are [some of] your wonders?” He said, “As you do, so I do like it.” The saint smiled. Then demons appeared as women and with them blind children, and others possessed, and the Devil began to speak with them and they were healed immediately.²⁰⁸ Then he took dust and prayed over it and many who were dead rose up. The

²⁰⁵ Mark 1:25.

²⁰⁶ Acts 16:18.

²⁰⁷ François Halkin suggests the word *Barkinoni* may be a corruption of the word “Barcelona” (Halkin 1942: 187). See also Macellard et al. 1937: 96, 102. However, a more plausible explanation may be that it is derived from the Greek word *παροίκων* which means “strangers” or “foreigners” (see, e.g. Leviticus 25:45 and Acts 13:17). Thus the author may have intended to Arabise the transliterated Greek word to form the word *Barkinoni* to infer the meaning of “strangers” or “foreigners” when referring to the language or country of the Franks. I thank Bishop Epiphanius for bringing this to my attention.

²⁰⁸ Matthew 7:22; 2 Corinthians 11:14.

saint wondered greatly and said, “I give thanks to you O Lord forever, but if You know that in this land there is a person who proclaims Your pure name, why did You make me leave my monastery and my sons?”

Then the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and said to him, “Be strong O Anṭūniyūs the exceedingly luminous star, for this is the combater the wicked enemy!” So the saint was encouraged when He appeared to him and the Lord said to him, <57r> “I have given you power over him.” So the saint went toward the Devil and said to him, “O man who works wonders and miracles and heals the sick and raises the dead, an illness has grasped my head,” and before all the people of the city, [Anṭūniyūs said to him], “So pray over me.” And the Devil did not dare to approach him. Then he said to him, “Make the sign of the cross,” and he did not do it. So the saint said, “I knew that truly you are the enemy of mankind!” And he grabbed [the Devil] with his pure hands and said to him, “I swear by the Lord Jesus Christ that you cannot change your nature!” Then [Anṭūniyūs] blew in his face and burned his beard and his false *qulunṣuwah* and his clothes, and the Devil cried out with his loud <57v> voice, and all the hosts of the Enemy came to him with the weapons of war, in the form of humans and they stood fighting with the saint, as he was making the sign of the cross on them saying, “In the name of Christ, I will overcome you, O strange kind!” And they kept assaulting him. And the combat intensified for him and all the people were watching while [the demons] were screaming at him, “Get out of our place, you have no share here O wicked old man!” The saint was so weary from what befell him from the combat, so the Lord sent him Michael the Archangel who said to him, “Hail to you the one full of grace!²⁰⁹ Be strengthen and do not be afraid.” And he gave him a sword of fire and said, “With this you will destroy your enemies.”²¹⁰ And when he took it, the demons escaped from before him saying, “You have ruined us and <58r> weakened our power! We left the wilderness of Egypt for you and you come here to torment us!” And the king and all the people were hearing this conversation and were amazed by it. Then the Lord appeared on a luminous cloud²¹¹ so that the people thought that the city was being burned and so they escaped, and the Lord gave him peace and said to him, “Blessed are you, O the fighter for My name in every place. Blessed are you, O the saint who is filled with the Holy Spirit since [you were] inside of your mother[‘s womb].²¹² Truly I say to you O Anṭūniyūs, I swear to you by the power of My mighty arm that your name will be forever in this land because you saved its people, and

²⁰⁹ Luke 1:30.

²¹⁰ Similar to the story of Marqūriyūs Abū Sayfayn who was given a sword prior to battle. See Basset 1909: 339-341 (feast day 25 Hātūr).

²¹¹ Luke 21:27.

²¹² Luke 1:15.

your sons will be honoured by all people. I will increase your wonders, and wild animals and all animal[s] will be subject to you and obedient [to you]. <58v> And everything that you have a share in, I will bless and the Enemy will not come close to it.” Then He farewelled him and left.

The saint received great power, and he went to the house of the minister and was told that the son of Yustus, one of the king’s great men, had died. They were deeply saddened about him and Arsānah said to the saint, “My master, I ask you to help my friend Yustus the minister, and raise up for him his son, because I know that whatever you ask of the Lord Christ, He gives you.” He said to him, “Yes O beloved brother, be strong and go to him and make a pre-condition that he build for me a house in which he will make an image of me so that my name will not perish from this country, and that he grants me a share of all his livestock and cattle and all he has, my name will not be removed <59r> from it. If he accepts this condition, tell him that at any time the vows for me are diminished that he vowed to me, he will immediately die. Everything he has of livestock or houses, and my name does not have a share, they will decrease and not increase.” Then he gave him the staff and Arsānah went out glorifying God for His great gifts that He gives to His saints. When he arrived at the house of the minister, he entered and informed him of the news and [Yustus] rejoiced exceedingly and had faith that he will see [his son] alive [again]. At that time and hour he did as the saint instructed him and the boy rose up and his father was filled with joy, and he demolished his house immediately and made it a church for the saint and he and his son became his disciples, serving him <59v> and he gave [Antūniyūs] all that he vowed of his money and of all that he owned.

((16)) Then the messengers of the king whom he had sent to Egypt to [seek] the saint, heard that a great holy man appeared in their countries who had healed the children of the king and the people of his house, and cast out many demons, and that the son of the minister Yustus died and was raised up by Arsānah with [the saint’s] staff.²¹³ And when they heard this, they were deeply saddened and said, “How can we meet the king after spending much money to [seek] the saint Antūniyūs, and he did not come back with us? And so we have come back without success for we had hoped that the sons of the king would be healed because of our efforts, and thus [the king] would reward us. And their healing came about at the end of an other than us. <60r> Truly we are saddened.” Then they came before the king but he did not give attention to them or do anything for them of what he had promised them of before their travel, so they were

²¹³ Cf. 2 Kings 4:29-31, when Elisha gave his staff to Gehazi his disciple in order to raise up the dead boy.

very sad. Their friends went and said to the king, “What is that deed that you have done? Why were you not happy with your messengers and give them [what you promised] and gladden their hearts?” When he heard that, he sent for them and brought them to his court and gave them attention.

And at that hour, the Devil entered one of the great men of his country who was one of [the king’s] councillors and a keeper of all his secrets. The Devil began to suffocate and strike him. When the king saw him in this state, he was deeply saddened and sent for the saint asking him to come. Those messengers said to him, <60v> “Our master, if you saw the saint Anṭūniyūs, you would marvel about him, for even the demons escape from his person!” Arsānah the minister said to them, “No other can do like this saint does, but at this hour the wonders of God will appear, and I tell you O honourable messengers, that I the wretched Arsānah, with his staff and without him present, I raised up the son of the minister Yuṣṭus from death!” And while they were talking about that, the saint walked in and when the messengers saw him, they cried out with their loud voices saying, “We tell you O king this is Saint Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker! This is the one whom you sent us to!” And they began kissing his hands and feet and the saint avoided <61r> that. Then they said to him, “Our righteous master, the man of God, why do you hide your name from us?” Then the Devil who was suffocating that man cried out with a very great voice²¹⁴ and said, “You have burned me, O righteous Anṭūniyūs! I will not keep silent, and now your name has appeared that illuminates the whole world! You overcame me Anṭūniyūs and brought my power to nothing, and [you] broke my traps and tormented me greatly! Where can I escape from you? If I go to the place where you used to live by the coast of the sea, I see your footprints in the sand,²¹⁵ so I cannot remain for [even] one hour. And if I approach your monastery, your disciples defeat me and burn me with their prayers. And Anbā Būlā the Simple made a picture of you, and I cannot look at it! <61v> Truly the whole earth has become narrow for me. I left you the land of Egypt and came here and [yet] you came after me! Where can I escape from you? Truly I will escape from you to the depths of the earth!”²¹⁶ Then he suffocated that man and the saint rebuked him and ordered him to come out of him.²¹⁷ So immediately he fled from him.

²¹⁴ Matthew 8:29.

²¹⁵ Literally rock or stone.

²¹⁶ Cf. Psalm 139.

²¹⁷ Matthew 17:18; Mark 1:25, 9:25; and Luke 4:35, 9:42.

When the king heard that and [saw] that the man was revived from his unconscious [state], they started weeping and wailing and the messengers prostrated at his feet²¹⁸ while saying, “O man of God, we know that you can do everything with the help of God. Where is the translator who was interpreting between us and you? O our pure master who does not wish to reveal his virtues, may your mercy reach us!” And there was great weeping<62r> in the city while saying, “This is the saint Antūniyūs the Egyptian, the star²¹⁹ of the wilderness!” And he stayed in the Frankish countries for thirty months and performed countless wonders that if we were to narrate them, would become a very lengthy speech. And his sons witnessed that his going there was concealed from some of them, and they said to us that he would attend prayers with them every Sunday eve. Then he mounted the cloud and returned back to his monastery. And his age at that time was ninety years old.

+ 12 Section+ And who can speak about the life-giving teachings of father Antūniyūs the spirit-bearer, when he knew that he is leaving this body, as the Holy Spirit had told him? He gathered his sons and began speaking to them saying, “I ask you my beloved sons, and I tell you <62v> that I am going to the Lord²²⁰ – glory be to Him – like all mankind.²²¹ So keep the commandments that I commanded of you and the life-giving teachings which you heard.²²² I ask you my beloved sons not to let the world overshadow you. I ask you my beloved sons not to be negligent toward serving God, glory be to Him. I ask you my beloved sons to embrace toil in prayers. I ask you my beloved sons to be of one heart.²²³ I ask you my beloved sons to keep your tongue from gossip. I ask you my beloved sons to preserve the *iskīm* that you have worn. I ask you my beloved sons to keep <63r> your bodies pure for the Lord.²²⁴ I ask you my beloved sons not to let your lamps be dimmed. I ask you my beloved sons to have the fear of God inside your hearts.²²⁵ I ask you my beloved sons to have love for one another just like the apostles.²²⁶ I ask you my beloved sons to keep your souls and the laws you received, for you will not see my face anymore,²²⁷ as my master Jesus Christ told me – glory be to Him. God is

²¹⁸ Literally, “laid under his feet”.

²¹⁹ Literally, “planet”.

²²⁰ Cf. VA 89.1-3, 91.1-2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 247, 251.

²²¹ E.g., David, in 1 Kings 2:2.

²²² There are several incidences of biblical personalities who gave commandments to their children or disciples before their death, e.g., David to Solomon in 1 Kings 2:1-9; Jacob in Genesis 49; Moses in Deuteronomy 33; Joshua in Joshua 24:1-31; and Joseph in Genesis 50:24-26.

²²³ Acts 4:32.

²²⁴ 1 Thessalonians 5:22.

²²⁵ See 2 Corinthians 7:1. Cf. AP Antony 33, in Ward 1984: 8.

²²⁶ Acts 4:32.

²²⁷ Acts 20:25.

my witness, O my beloved sons, that I did not hide anything of God's words from you,²²⁸ nor have I slept for one night while my heart was aching over any of you. So if you keep what I have said to you, the peace of the Lord will descend upon you, <63v> and if you keep what I have said to you, the kings of the earth will carry to you gifts and oblations. If you keep what I have said to you, you will trample the head of the dragon. If you keep what I have said to you, all the people will befriend you. If you keep what I have said to you, you will eat of the bounties of the earth. If you keep what I have said to you, many people will envy you. If you keep what I have said to you, you will be fathers for many nations. If you keep what I have said to you, the mountains will be filled with people like pigeon towers. If you keep what I have said to you, the angels of the Lord will guard you. If you keep what I have said to you, you will be honoured by everyone in the world. <64r> If you keep what I have said to you, you will be the sons of the Kingdom of Heaven.²²⁹ If you keep what I have said to you, you will not be in want of the bounties of the earth.²³⁰ Do not be slothful in this short time [you have remaining] till you leave this vain age.²³¹ When I die, my beloved sons, hide my body and do not let any one of the people know its place.²³² Give the leather tunic to Anbā Athanasius and also the blanket that is spread under me. Give the girdle to Anbā Serapion the bishop, my beloved son.²³³ You Macarius, my beloved son, take my staff, which belongs to me, as an inheritance for you.²³⁴ And you also my beloved sons, take my tunic of hair to remember me with it.²³⁵ <64v> I tell you my sons that in a little while I will depart.”

When our holy fathers heard [those words], they walked out weeping bitterly²³⁶ and Anbā Antūniyūs²³⁷ consoled them and said, “Why do you weep and make me sad?²³⁸ This cannot be O my sons, because this is the fate of all of us.”²³⁹

When father Antūniyūs the spirit-bearer and the father of monks spoke to them, he raised his eyes up toward heaven and saw all the heavenly hosts, rows and rows, rejoicing and the Lord

²²⁸ See Acts 20:27, when Paul was giving his farewell speech to the Ephesians.

²²⁹ Matthew 8:12, 13:38.

²³⁰ Cf. “Rite of the Funeral Service for Patriarchs and Bishops”, in Ms Coptic Museum (*Lit.*) 144/331: ff. 75r-76r (dated 1090 AM = 1373/4 AD). See Simaika vol 1, 1939: 73-74.

²³¹ Cf. VA 89.2-6, 91.1-5, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003 : 247, 251.

²³² Cf. VA 91.6-7, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253.

²³³ Cf. VA 91.8-9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253.

²³⁴ Cf. *Coptic Life of Macarius* 19, in Vivian 2004: 176-177. In the *Coptic Life of Macarius*, Antony bequeaths his staff to Macarius prior to the death scene, whereas in the *Arabic Life of Antony*, Antony bequeaths his staff to Macarius on his death-bed (f. 64r).

²³⁵ Cf. VA 91.8-9, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 253.

²³⁶ Cf. VA 89.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 247.

²³⁷ Manuscript reads Andūa.

²³⁸ Acts 20:37.

²³⁹ Cf. VA 91.2, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 251.

Jesus Christ came to him and said to him joyfully and smiling, saying, “Arise, get up my beloved Anṭūniyūs and look at the exalted hosts that My heavenly Father has sent to you!²⁴⁰ Arise to rejoice because the weariness has ended and the [time for] rest has come. Arise, <65r> O My beloved Anṭūniyūs and look at all the saints because they long to see your honour. Arise O Anṭūniyūs and take off your [earthly] garment that has become worn because of the abundance of struggles. Arise O Anṭūniyūs, I am with you and fight your enemies who are in the way, for they have no authority over your God-loving soul. For My Father chose you and made you a head over all the monks, and to be for them a harbour and a good example to follow [after] you, and you will be to them like Abraham the father of fathers.” When the saint heard this he was filled with unspeakable joy and raised his eyes up toward heaven and prayed with thanksgiving saying, “O my master <65v> Jesus Christ whom my soul adores, into Your hands I commend my spirit.”²⁴¹ And he gave up the soul and reposed on the 22nd [day] of Ṭūbah. And Christ took his pure soul and offered it as an oblation to His good Father and prepared for him a throne and a crown of glory and he rested with all the saints.²⁴²

And Anbā Anṭūniyūs²⁴³ completed his life²⁴⁴ at the good old age of one hundred and twenty years.²⁴⁵ And his disciples buried his pure body, who are Anbā Maqārah and Anbā Isaac, and hid it in the cave which he pointed out to them from the beginning. And many wonders and miracles were manifested from his body. Blessed is the one who follows in his footsteps because he will be his son in the Kingdom of Heaven.

And we ask through the mercy <66r> of our Lord and God Jesus Christ that He may have mercy upon us through his prayers, and forgive our sins through his supplications, and help us for the salvation of our souls, and give us power and victory over our enemies, O all the beloved brothers listening, and repose the souls of our departed [ones], through the prayers of all the martyrs, apostles, saints, anchorites, strugglers, and those who have pleased the Lord with their good deeds, now and [at] all times and forever.

²⁴⁰ Cf. VA 92.1, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 255.

²⁴¹ Psalm 32:5; Luke 23:46.

²⁴² Revelation 6:11.

²⁴³ Manuscript reads Andūa.

²⁴⁴ Literally, “all his efforts”.

²⁴⁵ A reference to the lifespan of Moses in Deuteronomy 34:7. Cf. VA 89.3, in Vivian and Athanassakis 2003: 247. See also *The Life of Shenoute* 174, in Bell 1983: 89.

APPENDIX 2

Edition of the *Life of Antony* by Serapion the Bishop

Ms St Paul (*History*) 53: ff. 3r-66r

+ فصل 1+ <3و> بسم الاب و الابن و الروح القدس الاله الواحد

نبتدى بعون الاله بشرح سيرة القديس العظيم كوكب البرية و اب جميع الرهبان انبا انطونيوس و وضعها الاب الاسقف انبا سرابيون احد تلاميذه صلاتهم تحرسنا امين

((1)) قال اخبركم ايها الشعب الحاضر هاهنا / لسماع سيرة القديس العظيم الانبا انطونيوس الجليل / الموقر . الذى ابتدى بتعليم النسك . و علم / طريق الوحدة . و اول من لبس باستحقاق / تاج الملايكة . و اشتمل بالحلة السماييه من يد / الرب يسوع المسيح . بعد الجهاد العظيم و الحرب الزايد <3ظ> . و القتال المتواتر مع الاعداء الشياطين . و ليس / كان قتال هذا القديس يا احباى مثل قتال / الشهداء . لان اوليك كانوا اعدايهم لهم اجساد / مثلهم يقاتلهم . و هذا القديس كان يقاتل ارواح و ارانة الهوي . كما قال معلمنا بولس / . ليس قتالنا مع لحم و دم . و هذا القديس المنتخب / اول من ابتدى فى جهاد الرهينة . و سلك طريق / الوحدة . و فتح باب البرية و جعلها مسكن / الرهبان . و قاسا عقوبات الشيطان / و نال صعوبة حرب الاعداء و وقف فى ميدان / الحرب . حيث لم يسبقه الى هذا الجهاد <4و> انسان / قط . ليتعلم منه الصبر و الثبات فى / الحرب . مثل ساير المتوحدين النساك الدين / تعلموا منه و انارت عقولهم من ضياء فضايله / لانه هو الذى ابتدى بذلك . و صبر على حر / الصيف و هياج ناره . و برد الشتاء و عظم / صعوبة تلجه . حتى بلغ هذه المنزله العاليه / . و نال هذه الرفعة العظيمه . الذى لا يمكن احد / ان يصف شرفها .

و اى لسان يستطيع ذلك / لكن على قدر الاستطاعه الانسانيه نخبركم / ايها الاخوه . لكن اخشى من ضعفى و قلة فهمى / لاجل كثرة خطاياي . غير انى سمعت الانجيل الطاهر يقول <4ظ> اطلبوا تجدوا . و لذلك انا اسالك ايها القديس / العالى المنزله الكريم المقدار . ان تشفع فى / مسكنتى و ترزقنى السبيل لشرح فضايلك / لاخبر باليسير من عجايبك لتكمل مسرة الحاضرين / و يبتهجوا بالايات الباهره و المعجزات القاهره / و فضايك الجليله .

+فصل 2+ و الان نبتدى / بمعونة الله جل اسمه انه كان رجل خايف / من الله كثير الصدقة و الرحمه يدعا يحنس / وكان له امرأه تسمى جيوش . وكانا جميعا / بارين قدام الله . كثيرين الصوم و الصلاه / وكان لهم مال كثير و ماشيه كثيره من الغنم البقر <5و> و غير ذلك ما يساوى اموال كثيره . وكانا / مهتمين بكنائس الشهداء . و بعيد الملاك ميخائيل / و عيد الثلاثة فتية فى كل سنة . فى بيعتهم بقرية / تسما طنسا بالقرب من مدينتهم . و على كل حال / ان قوام البيعة كان من مالهم . و نصف ما تعمله / مواشيهم يصدقوا بها على المساكين و اليتاما الفقرا / وكانوا من بلد يقال لها قمن . و انتقلا منها / الى البهنسا . فاقاموا فيها قليل و رجعوا الى مدينتهما . /

وكانا اذا دخلا فى ايام الاعياد البيعه يبصروا / الاطفال مع والديهم فحزنوا . وكانوا يبكون / قدام صورة السيدة البتول . الى ان اعطاهم الرب <ظ5> هذا الولد المبارك . وكان يوم ميلاده / فرحا جدا و اسمه انطونه . فلما بلغ عمره / الى ثلثة سنين صار يمضى الى بيعة ماشياً / و لا يشتغل مع الصبيان ولا لشي من زخرفة العالم / وكانوا ابويه متعجبين جدا لما يروا منه هذا / الاهتمام و المحبه للبيعه . فلما اكمل خمسة سنين / ابتدا يوعظ الاطفال و يلهيهم عن الاشتغال / باللعب . فلما تأمله جميع الشعب بهتوا جميعهم / فجا اليه القس و سمع كلامه و وعظه فوضع / القس يده على راسه . وقال يكون عظيما هذا / الطفل فى ملكوت السموات . و بالحقيقة قد تم قول الكتاب <و6> ان ليس الصغير بصغير اذا صار / الى الامر الكبير . وهذا الصبى قد ظهر منه ما / يبهت الشيوخ من عظته . وكان متعجب / من كلامه داهش لحسن الفاظه .

و شاع خبره / الى ان بلغ الى الاب تاوننا بطريرك الاسكندريه / فتعجب من سماع اخباره . غير انه لم يصدق / الى ان ارسلا حضره . وكان عمره فى ذلك / الوقت ستة سنين . فلما راه الاب البطريرك / تعجب من قامته و حسن صورته . ثم استنطقه / فوجده اعلا مما حكى عنه فازداد تعجبه جدا . / من حسن منطقته و عدوية كلامه و شرف عبارته / و ادبه و عقله . و خاصه من كثرة عظته <ظ6> فلما راي ذلك فرح فرحا عظيماً . وقال / لجميع كهنته من الالباء الاساقفه و الكهنة الحاضرين / عنده . ماذا تقولوا فى هذا الطفل . قالوا يا ابونا / يكون هذا الكلام من فمك افضل و من منطقتك / اشرف . حينئذ قال لهم . اخبركم ان هذا يكون / عظيماً فى السماء . ثم انه وضع يده على راسه / و باركه . وقال له مبارك تكون يا انطونه الى الابد . / و يكون اسمك عظيم جدا . ويعلا اسمك على / قبائل الارض و تسبق درجات البطاركة / باسرههم . و تكون قريب من المسيح اكثر من قربك / منى . غير انى اسالك تبارك على يا انطونه . / لانى مند رايتك تقويت و ادركتني نعمة <و7> عظيمه . قال له انطونه يا اب ابونا انا هو الضعيف / المحتاج الى البركة من تلاميذك . و قبل يدى / البطريرك و اخذ بركة جميع الاساقفه و اقام / عنده ثلثة شهور و انصرف من عنده /

فلما وصل الى مدينته فرح به والديه جدا . فلما / اكمل عشرة سنين تعلم جميع العلوم البيعية . / و فى تانى عشر سنة نتيج والده و هو فرح القلب / وفى تمام السنة تنيحت والدته و خلفوا له اخته / الصغيره . وبقى طول نهاره و ليله مفكراً . / كيف السبيل كان للتلاميذ حتى نالو الملكوت / السموات . و بقية افكاره فى مثل هذا الى ان تحقق عنده ان يترك قنيات هذا العالم <ظ7> و جميع شهواته المهلكة و لداته المفسده . و / واضات عيني عقله الى ان صار ليس له همه حسدانيه البتة . بل جميع شهواته و همته / فى السماء . فلما كان فى بعض الايام دخل / البيعه كالعاده . فقرى الانجيل الذى يقول / كل من لا يترك اباه و امه و يرفض جميع ما لهذا / العالم و يحمل صليبه و يتبعنى فما يستحقنى . / فبقى متفكراً الى اين يتبعه .

وكان القديس / يضرب كل يوم و ليله فى السر مطاونات / كثيره و سرّ الرب باعماله . و ابتدى / بالصدقه على المساكين الفقرا و الارامل <و8> و الايتام بجميع ماله . و ترك لاخته نصيباً / و سلمها الى اقرباه . وزاد فى صومه و صلاته / و اتضاعه الذى لم يبلغ اليه احد قط . / و لم يقتنى السكنيه الذى اقتناها . ثم تفكر / ايضا فى موت والديه و قال يالهدا العجب . / ايش انا زايد عنهم لابد من مفارقة العالم / الزايل . فالاصح لى ان اخرج منه طوعاً / ولا اخرج منه كرهاً . ثم استقيظ لنفسه / و انهض قريحته و قال . سمعت الانجيل يقول / لا تهتموا بالغد فالغد يهتم بشانه . انظروا الى طيور / السماء الذى

لم تزرع و لاتحصد وابوكم / السماوى يقوتها . <8ظ> و ايضاً قال ان كلمن يضع يده على سكة / المحرات و يلتفت الى و اريه لا يستحق ملكوت / السموات .

ثم خرج من بيته و لم يودع احداً / من اهله و ترك بساتينه لاهل بلدته . و ترك / باب بيته مفتوح . و اخذ من جميع ما يملكه ثلثة / خبزات و كوز ماء . فلما خرج برا المدينة افكر / فى نفسه و قال ما هدا العمل الذى فعلته انا / اليوم . وكم يكفينى هدا الخبز و هدا الماء ء يقوم / فى . لانه الى ثلثة ايام او اربعة . فتقول ان / الاربعة ايام قد مضت . فعلى مادا اتكل . ثم / تركهم و قال لاحتجنا لى بهم . وقال يارب ملجأى / و معينى <9و> وحياتى.

و سار تمام ثلثة ساعات اد نزل على / النهر و عبر منه فوجد مقابر فسكن هناك / و بدى يعمل عمل النساك . و ان العدو مبعض الصلاح / تراياله فى شخص انسان محتشم و جماعه معه / و كان عمره فى ذلك الوقت اربعة عشر سنه . وقال / له من انت يا هدا الانسان الحى الذى سكنت بين / الاموات . قال له الطوبانى انا رجل مسكين / عابد يسوع المسيح . فلما سمع منه هذه الكلمه / قال له و كيف جسرت ان تذكر هدا الاسم قدامى . / و ابتدى هو و جماعته فضربوا القديس ضرباً / صعب مر جداً الى ان لم يبق فيه حياه البته / و كان الرجل علمانى يفتقده .

<9ظ> و فى بعض الاوقات اتى عليه ملل من العدو . / فارسل له الرب ملاك و علمه يعمل الخوص ليطرد / به شيطان الملل و ياخذ منه حاجته و يصدق / ببيئته.

و كان يعمل العجايب قدام ذلك العلمانى . / فلما اتى اليه وراه على مثل ذلك الحال الصعب / فاخذه و حمله الى قريب العماره فاجتمع اليه / جماعه يبصرون خبره . و ان ذلك العلمانى / جاء اليه و قال له فى ادانه يا قديس الله اعمل / لهولاي الناس اعجوبه ليلا تقل امانتهم . لانه / ما كان يستطيع يتحرك البته . فقال له يا اخى / امضى بى الى موضع ضربت فيه فى امانه <10و> بالرب يسوع المسيح ان موضع المنى هناك يشفينى . / فحمله العلمانى و القاها فى ذلك الموضع . / الذى كان فيه .

فلما راه الشيطان قد جا اليه / تانى دفعه تعجب منه و اندهل فى تدبيره . و احتار / فى اموره و ادعا اجناده وقال لهم . تعالوا الان / لتتنظروا الى هدا الانسان لقد اصابنا معه متلما / اصابنا مع ابوه ادم عندما خلقه الله از عجتى / خلقته قد حار امرى فيه . حينئذ تقدمت / الشياطين اليه من مغيب الشمس و لم يزلوا / يعاقبوه الى حين طلع النهار . فصرخ القديس / باعلا صوته و قال اشكرك ياربى يسوع المسيح / الذى جعلتنى مستحقا <10ظ> ان اتالم على اسمك . وكان دايماً يصرخ على / الشياطين و يقول يا مرده . ليس انا لصاً . / ولا قتل . ولا زانى . تعاقبوننى على قدر خطاياى . / لكن لاجل محبتى فى المسيح انتم تعاقبونى . / و صبر على هذا العقاب . و هو بعد ساكن فى / المغارة و بين المقابر . فلما داق عذابهم / حينئذ صلى عليهم بعلامة الصليب . / فانهزم العدو بين ايديه . فاشتد عزمه / بالقوه الالهيه .

و خرج دات يوم فاتى و جلس / قريب من البحر . فراى يوم مرآه تستحم . فقال / لها يا امره الم تستحى منى و انا راجل متوحد . <11و> قالت له لو كنت متوحد لم كنت ها هنا . بل / تمضى فى الجبل مسيرة ثلثة ايام . فللوقت / قام من ساعته و مضى الى بربه الجوانيه . /

فلما دخل إليها جلس فوق الجبل وإذا الشيطان / العدو جا و نادا بساير اجناده و قال لهم ان / ذلك الادمى الذى كان بين القبور صار فى / البريه الجوانيه . امضوا بنا اليه نرعبه و نزعجه / ليلا يصير لنا عترة عظيمه . و يجعل البريه / الخراب عامره . فان صاروا الادميين لهم / اصح نصيب فى البريه . ما نخلص منهم ايدا . ونشتت / ونشبت بهم كما تشتتنا بالشهداء . و لم يبقى لنا استطاعه ان نزعهم . <11ظ> هكذا نحن ان تركنا هذا الادمى حتى يتتبت / هم يبنز عونا ايضا من ساير الارض . قالوا له / اجناده فائش تامرنا ياسيدنا . قال لهم اريد / كل مقدم فيكم و سلطان عليكم يتقدم ويورى / مهولاته و مفز عاته و يدكر فيما دا يكون الجواب / ويعلمنى .

حينيد استعدت جميع اجناد العدو / باسره اليه . وبدا كل واحد منهم يعرض / صنعته و حكمته قدامه . فمنهم من يتخايل مثل / سبع يكسر فريسه . و اخر مثل نمر . و اخر مثل / وحش صعب . و اخر مثل ايل . و اخر مثل سبع / و وجهه وجه ابن ادام و رجليه رجليين جمل <12و> و دنبه دنب حيه . و اخر وجهه و جهه اسد / و بقيته تعبان . و اخرين مثل الهزير العظيم . و اخر يخرج من فمه لهيب نار . و اخر كثيرا / سود بادناب و بايديهم سلاح . و اخر يصرخون / كمثل الرعد العظيم . و اخر كمثل الزلزله للعظيمه الشديده / و اخر ايديهم و ارجلهم نار متقدمه . و اخرين يفتحو / افواههم مثل الاوديه و يبتلعوا الحجاره . و اخر / اظافيرهم كالاتراس . و اخر لهم انياب كبار / كمثل انياب الفيل . و اخر مثل دياب خاطفه فاتحه / افوهها . و اخر مثل غربان سود و لها اجنحه / كبار . و اخر مثل فيله قتاله و لها اجنحه لكنهما ليس هي مثل خلقه <12ظ> الفيل بل اجسادها اجساد فيل و روسها مثل / الجبال العاليه . و اخرون يصرون باسنانهم مثل / حس الرعد العظيم . و اخر مثل جمال لها اجنحه / يطيروا بها . و اخر كمثل اناس باهيتين داهشين / اليه . و اخر اعينهم كبار جدا و لهم اجنحه رديه . و اخر شفاههم كبار مثل مراكب العظيمه . و اخر / بايديهم حريات من نار . و اخر بايديهم سيوف / مجردين من نار تحرق من يدنوا اليها . و اخر وجوههم / وجوه ققط و ايديهم ايدى سباع و لها / اجنحه رفاق طوال .

((2)) فلما راهم مقدم الشيا / طين فرح جدا و قال سرورى عظيم اد نظرتكم غير انى اشتهى <13و> منكم تجتمعوا كلكم و تنادوا على من بقى . و / و تظهروا كل قواتكم و شتكم و مخاوفكم . و ارا / جيفكم و انزعاجكم الشديده . و مهولاتكم / الصعبه . و مفز عاتكم / الرديه . و عقوباتكم المره . و صرخاتكم المدعرو هو نيرانكم المحرقه . / تهجموا جمعيا على هذا الادمى الذى جسر بصغر سنه / و سكن هذه البريه الفقراء الذى لم يدخلها / ادمى قط سواه . و اياكم تحتقروا به فان نظره / يزعجنى جدا و صورته تززع داخل قلبى . /

((3)) حينيد تقدم الشيطان و جميع عساكره / و وقفوا امامه قايلين من اين انت و من ذلك على السكنه <13ظ> فى هذه البريه الفقرا . و ابتدوا ان يحتفلوا عليه / بجميع تخيلاتهم . و مسكوه و عاقبوه عقابا / شديدا جدا . و جرجروه من راس الجبل الى اسفل / و يقولوا له اخرج من ارضنا . و دفعه اخرى / جرجروه من اسفل الى فوق حتى لم يبقى على لحمه / جلدا . و هم صارخين اخرج اخرج و الصديق / صامت لم ينطق .

حينيد لما ابصر ما عليه / البته لحم الاعظم مشتبك بالعروق . صرخ / باعلا صوته و قال يا الاهى عينى . و فى تلك / الساعه ظهر له الرب يسوع المسيح و قال له يا انطونيوس / يا كوكب البريه . ليس اسمك من الان انطون <14و> لكن انطونيوس . قال له سيدى يسوع المسيح / كيف تخليت عنى . قال يا انطونيوس و حق / قوتى ما تخليت عنك ما طبق الجفن على الجفن . / قال يارب و اين كنت و الشياطين تعبدنى . قال / كنت ساكن فيك و حال فى وسط قلبك . قال / يارب فلم لم

خلصنتى من عذاب الشياطين قال / له الرب يسوع المسيح لم ترى يا انطونيوس ساعة / طلبتى و جدتتى مثل لمح البصر .
تقوى يا انطونيوس / فانك من الان كوكب البريه . تشجع ايها الكوكب / فانك هو المصباح المضى لكل المسكونه . فانك /
تاج جميع سكان البريه . و انت اب الرهبان / الذين ياتون بعدك . اقول لك يا انطونيوس <14ظ> ان دكرك لا يزال جديداً
فى هذه البريه / الى الابد ايها الكوكب انك تضى على كل المسكونه . / و البريه تمتلى من اولادك الرهبان من قبل /
خروجك من العالم . و لتكون عجايبك مثل نجوم / السماء حتى لا يستطيع بشرى يصفها ولا يحصيها . / و كما ابتديت فى
الجهاد على اسمى ها ندا ابتدى / بعمل الاكاليل على اسمك . اقول لك يا انطونيوس / اننى لا اخفى عجايبك عن كل ما فى
الدنيا و اننى / لا اتخل عن دعوتك . و لا اهمل من طلب منى / بشفاعتك . و كما انك فارقت كل جنسك و صدقت / بكلمة لك
و خرجت و باب بيتك مفتوح ولم / تذكره ساعطيك اضعاف ذلك ايضاً . <15و> ما لم تراه عين و لم تسمع به ادن و لم
يخطر على / قلب بشر .

ثم لبسه الرب يسوع المسيح بيده / العزيزه القلنسوه و قال له اقبل يا انطونيوس / تاج النعمة و اكليل السماء . و الى حين
اخر اتوجك / بالاسكيم عند كمالك . تقوى يا انطونيوس فبهذا / تغلب كراديس المرده . بهذا تكسر جيوش الطاغى . / بهذا
تبطل العدو المحال بهذا تبديد اعداك / وضعهم تحت موطا قدميك . بهذا تهزم كرا / ديس العدو من قدامك كمثل النحل قدام
الدخان . / تقوى يا انطونيوس راس سكان البرارى اصبر / و تجلد لعذاب الشياطين فان التعب يسير و النعيم كثير / . حينئذ
صرخ انطونيوس قدام الرب <15ظ> و قال يارب اسالك ان تعيننى و تضع خوفك فى / قلبى و لاتبعد عنى ساعة واحده .
قال له هاندا / معك لكن يا انطونيوس على قدر التعب تاخذ / الاجره . و باركه الرب و اعطاه السلام و صعد الى / السماء و
هو ينظر اليه . فتقوى القديس جدا / و نال نعمة عظيمه .

حينئذ جلس الشيطان / و ابتدى ان يعرض جنوده . فقال لهم اريد منكم ان تاتينى / اجناد الخوف و الرعب و الجزع و
الاضطراب / و القلق و اصحاب الرعد . و اصحاب المهولات الصعبة / و الارجيف المزعجه و الخيالات الشديده .
وتدعروا / لى قلب هذا الانسان الذى اهلك ضعفه شدة / حيلنا . فلما حضروا بين يديه جميع جيوش <16و> الاراجيف
المرعبه للقلب . الذى تخلع الروح من / الجسد . قال حسنا هوذا اريد ان تجتمع اصحاب / الزينات المتحليين بالذهب و
الفضه و الجواهر / المتمنه و الثياب الفاخره و صنوف الوان الحرير باسرها . / باشكال النساء الحسان و جميع الات الزناء
و ما / يليق به من الحسن و الجمال و اليها و الكمال / بالكلام اللين الرطب . و المنطلق العذبة الصوت . بكل / انواع الطيب
الفاخر الحسن الرايحه و البخور المرتفع . / ثم امر بحضور جميع الات اللهو من الزمر و الرقص / و الغنا بالاصوات
الحسنه الشجيه و جميع صنوف اللعب / مما يحن القلب و يشناق الى نظرهم . فلما راهم سر / غايه السرور و قال عظيم
هى غبطتى . لان بكم <16ظ> يتم فرحى و سرورى . غير ان اريد ابدى لكم / و افتح الطريق .

ثم تقدم الى القديس و اوراه / كشيبه صينييه فضه حسنه مملوه ذهباً . فلما / رايها تبسم بنعمة الروح القدس و قال يا لهذا
العجب العظيم / من اين لهده البريه القفرا التى لافيها عماره ذهباً / و فضه و غطا و جهه عنها و قفز هارباً منها . /

فلما راوه جميع اعوان الشيطان قد هرب من مقدمهم / و حيله المطغيه . تقدموا اليه حزب بعد حزب . / و نفر بعد نفر . و
عسكر بعد عسكر . و شياطين / شياطين . و ربوات و ربوات . و الات التخيل / و تقدموا اليه باشكال النسوه مزينين بالفخر
الملابس . <17و> الفاخره . المطيبين بالاطياب العطرة الرايحه . / و كلامهن اللين المملوا سما . و القديس لم يميل / اليهم .

بل لما راهم صرخ باعلا صوته ايها الرب يسوع / المسيح عينى و صبرنى ياالاهى . ترى يارب كيف / يحتالون على عبدك هول الشياطين . انس و حدتى / ولا تتخلا عنى ضعفى ليلا تغلب حييهم على سقطتى. / ارحمنى يارب و ادكر كيف كان بدو خلقتى و تعلم / انى تراب . و انت عالم بضعف جبلىتى .

حينيد / تقدموا اليه حزب شياطين الهوا . و اقبلوا يزمروا / و يرقصوا . ويغنوا . ويلعبوا . و يقفروا . و يطنون بصوت / على شجى جدا . و منهم قوم اخر يتخيلوا بوجوه حسنة / المنظر . و القديس لم يلتفت اليهم.

<17ظ> حينيد ضجر الشيطان منه وصرخ باعلا صوته / لاصحاب الظلمه المسودين الوجوه واصحاب / الرعبه والاراجيف المتغيره كمثل الوحوش والسباع / وتقدم اليه شخص يسمى زغلون صدره صدر / سبوع وراسه راس شيخ ورجليه رجلين نمر / ودينه دنب تعبان عظيم وفي يده سيف من نار / يضرب به القديس وشرار النار خارج من فاه / وجميع احزاب العدو وشياطين سود بادئاب / مع اصناف خلق الطيور والدبابات والحيوان / المفزعه والاراجيف المهلعه وصرخوا جميعهم عليه / بصوت واحد غالى قايلين اخرج من ارضنا هذه <18و> و امضى الي ارض الادميين متلك موضع اباك وامك / والا اهلكناك و اقبلوا بالرعد العظيم عليه / غير انهم كانوا جميعهم وقوف امام عينيه الي ان / حجبوا بينه وبين السما

حينيد صرخ القديس / باعلا صوته اسمعني يا رب الذي قلت لي انك / حاضر في قلبي يا رب الحقني ثم رسم عليهم رسم / الصليب المعظم فلوقت سقطت قوة العدو / وبادت عظمته واضمحت خيلته ودهبوا قدامه / كالهبا امام الريح الغاصف وهم صارخين / غلبتنا ايها الترابي ومضوا منكسبين اعلامهم الرديه / وسيوفهم المهلكة.

((4)) حينيد ظهر الرب يسوع المسيح وقال له <18ظ> كيف انت يا انطونيوس البار المزين بالفضائل / الروحانيه . قال له يارب كما ترى . قال ارايت كيف / اجتمعت عليك ربوات ربوات و الوف الوف / من المرده و عظما قوات الشياطين و كيف احتفلوا / عليك بكل الاصناف الذى يجذبوك عن محبتى / فلم تطيعهم . كيف لم يجسر احد قط يدنوا اليك منهم / رايت قلبك و كيف كان قوته لاجل سكتاى فيه . / اقول لك يا انطونيوس. لا اتخلا عنك ولا / ساعة ساعة واحده البته . فبكا القديس و قال / يارب ليس انا مستحق ان تسكن في قلبى حاشاك / يارب. لكن ارسل لى بعض ملايكتك يقوينى . <19و> قال له الرب الحق اقول لك يا انطونيوس ان كل / سكان الارض جميعهم دون ترى موطا قدميك . / تقوى يا انطونيوس فسوف اكللك بلباس الملايكة / و ازينك بزينه روحانيه و اشرفك و اقدمك / على مراتب السمايين و تستحق النعمة الذى لم ينالها / احد سواك . و اجلسك فى المكان المعظم الذى هو / كرسى الموضع لا يستطيع روءساء الملايكة / ان يدنوا منه ثم اعطاه السلام و مضى عنه .

((5)) و لما راى الشيطان قوة همة القديس و شدة / عزيمته استعجب جدا . و جمع جميع الجيوش الذى له / و قال لهم رايتم هذه الاعجوبه العظيمه و هذه المعجزه من هذا الانسان . <19ظ> رايتيم عينيه ما اكثر نظرهما الى للعلا بحيث لم / يستطع شيا من اشغال العالم يزيلهم عن نظرهما / السماوى مثل طبق الجفن على الجفن . رايتم / قلبه و كيف لا يقبل شئ من اللهوا ولا من تحيل / النساء الدين بهم خدعت كثيرين من الانبياء / و الاصفياء . رايتم الى سمعه و كيف لم يلتفت الى / شى من الافكار الخبيثه . رايتم الى قوة انبساط / يديه الى العلا . و كيف لم تستطع قوتنا تحل / شدتهم . رايتم هيبتة العظيمه . رايتم

حسن / افكاره الصالحة التي لا يغيرها شئ عن محبة الله / . رايتم ان كل عظمتنا انكسرت قدام هذا الانسان. <20> ورايتم ادامى قط لم يقابل صورتنا الا يربع ياليت / شعرى من هو هذا الانسان الذى ادا رايتيه . / يرتعب قلبى و يضطرب . ياليت شعرى من هو هذا / الذى خرق شباكى و كسرر فخاخى و بطل كل مصايدى . / كيف اتحقق من هذا الجبار الذى لم تستطع سهامى / تنفذ فيه شياء . ياليت شعرى من هو هذا الذى / ابطل حيلتى لقد عظمت احزانى و بطلت قوتى / انا و كل اجنادى بين يدى هذا الترابى / و صار قريب من الله و نحن بعيدين منه . يالهدا / العجوبه الهائيله ان ما للوشوشه طريق على قلبه / و لاحب الزنا فى قلبه مكان . هرب من خديعة النساء <20ظ> الذى بهم خدعت اولاً كثيرين . انا خدعت بمحبتهم / ابوه ادم حتى اطاع امراته و سقط من درجته. / انا خدعت بمحبة النساء قايين حتى قتل هابيل اخاه . / لاجل حسن زوجته . انا خدعت بحب النساء / ابراهيم اول الاباء اخذ منهم امراتين و هاجر / المصرية و سمى خليل الله . و اسحق فداه الله بالخروف / و اخذ منهم . و يعقوب الذى استحق ان يسمى اسراييل / واخذ اربعة . و خدعت بحب النساء كثيرين / مثل داود الذى قال الله من اجله . انى انتخبى / داود و فتشته فوجدته مثل قلبى زل و اخطأ / و انخدع بامرأة اوريا و رزق منها سليمان . <21و> و كذلك زل سليمان و سقط من درجته / بامراه و محى اسمه من ديوان النبوه . انا كنت سبب / هلاك ذلك العقل العظيم بحب النسوة لاغير . الذى شهد / الله عنه و قال ان سليمان عظيم فى مجده . ليس / قدرت ازيل حكمته و لا اضيع عقله بشئ سوى / بحب النسوان . و افسدت امم كثيره اجلا / يطول شرحهم . و لو دمت ان اشرح اسماهم / و ادكر اخبارهم لطل الكلام و كثر العنى . / غير انى لم ارى قط انسان ادمى غلبنى و حل / حيلتى و ابطل فخاخى و اباد شباكى . غير هذا / الادمى فقط . بل انا خايف ليلا يصير له نصيب فى هذه <21ظ> البريه . و يعلم خلق كثير يتشبهون به و يسلكون / طريقه فنكون تعبين معهم الى اخر لاعمار الادهار . / و تكون العلة الاخيره اشد من الاولى . لان ادا / كان واحد من هولاء الجنس قد قهر بطهارته / اعمالنا باسرها . و كيف ان كثرنا فى هذه البريه / الفقراء الى اين نهرب منهم . فالواجب نقاتل هذا / الشخص بكل مقدرتنا و حيلتنا . و نقطع اساسه / ولا نجعلها مسكنا لاعادينا . و نسد الطريق الذى / اتى الينا فيها و نريح نفوسنا من العذاب فهذا / قد مرمر قلوبنا .

ثم اجتمعوا اجماعه و اشتوروا / على انهم يصادوه بحيله لطيفه . و تقدم الاكبر <22و> منهم الى القديس بشبه انسان له هيبه و وقار / بزى راهب كامل لابس اسكيم . فلما دنا / من القديس على تلك الهيبه و راسه مطرقه / الى الارض و انه لا يشتهى ان يراه . فزاد تعجب / القديس جدا . و قال يارب لم يسبقنى الى هذه البريه / احداً . فالشياطين يقولوا ان هذه البريه ما عبرها / ادمى قط ولاجل هذا يعدبونى . و تباعد عنه / الشيطان المخفى نفسه و دخل فى موضع كانه / قلايه . فتعجب القديس و قال لى زمان فى هذا / الموضع و لم ارى هذه القلايه . و لاشخص ادمى / و بقى القديس هادى على حاله لم يتعربس عقله و لا اضطرب . <22ظ> ثم بدى يرفع عينيه الى السماء وقال ياربى / والاهي السيد يسوع المسيح. انت تعلم ضمير / افكارى المخفيه ان كان هو ادمى يارب اعلمني. / و ادا بالشيطان قد صرخ باعلا صوته وقال اذهب / عني يا انطونيوس قد عييت مما احاربك. فلم / اجد شعره واحده تميل الي. ما تعرفنى انا القى / البغضه بين الاخوه حتى افرق بينهم. انا الذى القى الشرور و اقم الحروب و ابتي بالقتل . انا هو / ملقى البهتان. انا هو مشعل النيران . انا ابو التخيلات / الرديه. انا باب الردايل . انا مبعد المحبه و ملقى / البغضه و المشقه. انا اجعل الجيد ردي . و الردي <23و> حسنا . انا هو الذى احسن الصور القبيحه للزناه. / انا صاحب الشهوات الرديه. انا الذى الدد شهوات / الدنيا واحسنها جدا. انا الذى ابدر الشر فى القلوب / واتوقا حصاده . انا الذى ينفلت منى الاكل دو حزم / عظيم. انا الذى املا جهنم واخلي الملكوت . انا الذى ابغض الخير وجميع طرقاته و احب الشر و كل مسالكه. / انا الذى اصعب على الانسان طريق النعيم و اوسع / عليه مسالك

الشقا. انا الذي اصرت الاولين/ والاتبين احرص عليهم حتى اسقطهم . انا الذي اسقطت / سليمان من مجده . وانزل الملوك والعظما من كراسيهم. / غلبتني انت يا انطونيوس الترابي الحقير .

وان القديس/ صرخ عليه وقال ابعد عنى يا ملعون . حينديد <23ظ> هجم عليه الشيطان ومعه حربه وطعن القديس / بها في فخده . والتامت عليه كل الشياطين المختلفين / الالوان. بالة الحرب والسيوف والعصى ولم يزالوا / يضربوه ضرب متواتراً الى ثاني يوم . وتركوه كالميت / الملقى علي اديم الارض . وخرجوه من فوق الجبل الى / اسفل حتى جرى دمه على صخرة الجبل كالماء. / وصارت الشياطين ياخذون دمه ويلطخون به / وجهه ويقولون امضي من ارضنا ايها الترابي والا / سلبناك نفسك واعد مناك حياتك . والقديس / ماسك القلنسوه و يقول لاتنزع عني يارب اكليل <24و> التعب الذي توجتني به. ارحمنى يارب . ثم جا / مقدم الشياطين اليه ولطمه في خده اليمين. / فحول له القديس الاخر . وقال له كمل وصيه المسيح / ايها الشقي بسو اختياره.

((6)) فلما ابصر الشيطان كثرة / احتماله وهو يقول عيني يارب وقويني لان محبتك / يارب تنساني . فاني لا اعلم اني عملت قدامك شئ / من الخير . لكن ارحمنى يارب بدو من عندك حتي / اني اهتم واعمل مرضاتك . فلما سمع الشيطان / ذلك فما استطاع الوقوف قدامه . بل بقي / مثل لهيب النار العظيمة. وصاح الهرب الهرب / من هذا الترابي الذي هزم كراديسنا .

((7)) فاقام / القديس مع الشياطين في اشر / قتال واعظم حرب خمسه وتلتين سنة الي <24ظ> ان بلغ عمره تسعة واربعين سنة . وهو فى اشد / الجهاد العظيم ليلاً ونهاراً .

((8)) فلما علم الرب بصبره / وكثرة تجلده فاراد يعزيه بالاجتماع بالقديس / انبا بولا اول السواح . فخطر له فكر ان هل ترى / احداً سبقنى الي هذه البريه . فقيل له يا انطونيوس / ان داخل منك يوم انسان ما يستحق العالم وطية / قدمه . فقام القديس ودخل البريه فوجد الاب / انبا بولا فساله عن امور كثيره . ثم تتيح القديس / انبا بولا فكفنه القديس انطونيوس . ورجع / الي مغارته فاقام فيها كالعاده.

+فصل 3+ <25و> وكان في ذلك الزمان رجل يدعا بولص / من اهل مدينة اطفيح فتزوج بامرأة شابه / حسنه. وكان لها بساتين كثيره جدا فهوي / امراته بعض الشباب وهيوته. وكان يدخل اليها / في غيبه زوجها ويتجنس فراشه . فاتفق ان / بولص دخل يوم البيت فوجده على مثل ذلك الحال / الشنيع . فحرك راسه وقال ما احسن ما عملتي ايتهنا / المراه واخذ عباةً واحده من جميع ماله وخرج / تايهاً على وجهه في البريه . فمشي ثلثة ايام وثلثة / ليال وهو تايهاً . فارشده الرب الي قلاية هذا / القديس انطونيوس . ففرع الباب فقال له من انت. / فقال له بولص انا رجل <25ظ> مسكين . لانه كان سمع بالقديس انطونيوس / من عدة سنين من الرجل العلمانى . الذى كان / يبيع شغل يديه و ياتى اليه فى السنه ثلثه دفعات. / قال له القديس و ماذا تشا قال اسكن معك. / فتركه على الباب و دخل و اغلقه بحجر . فاقام / برا الباب خمسة ايام و خمسة ليال . فخرج القديس / و تأمله لم يجد عنده لاخبز ولا ماء فحزن و قال . / الويل لك يا انطونيوس الشقى فانك اسم بلا جسم / و شجره بلا ثمره . ثم ادن له بالدخول فدخل . و اعطاه / خوص يعمله فعمله جيداً . فحله القديس و قال / له افسدته فرجع هكذا ثلثه مرات . فلما جا / المساء وقاما

للصلاة . فقال له القديس يا بولس <26و> تاكل فقال له يا ابي ان اكلت فانا اكل / و ان صمت انا اصوم . حينئذ وضع القديس / تلت البقسماط ثم اكل جميعاً . و اقام على ذلك / اربعين يوماً . فبعد الاربعين يوم قال له القديس اخرج / الان يا بنى و اعمل لك بيت للوحده و انفرد بدائك / حتى تقع بقتال الشياطين و تاخذ الاكليل الروحاني . / حينئذ صلا عليه و نزل و سكن فى شقيق فى الجبل. /

فبعد ثلاثة ايام جاؤ الى القديس بجنون ليبريه . / فقال لست استطيع اخرجه . هذا برسم بولس / وهى اول تجاراته . فلما احضروه قدام بولص قال / لهم فلم يخرجهم معلمى قالوا له هو انفدنا اليك . <26ظ> قال مبارك . ثم قال للعدو ايها الشيطان اخرج / منه كما قال معلمى . فبدا الشيطان يضحك و يقول / من هو انت و من هو معلمك البطل الفقير . و كان / وقت حر عظيم . فاخذ القديس حجر مثل شعلة نار / و تركه على دماغه و كان اصلع . و جعل حجر / تحت رجليه . و قال حق اسمك ياربى يسوع المسيح / وصلاة ابي انطونيوس . انى لا ابرح من على هذا / الحجر . فهذا الحجر الاخر فوق راسى . حتى يخلص / هذا الانسان كما قال معلمى او اموت انا . فلما / راي العدو الشيطان نفسه قد دنت من الموت / و الدم قد نبع من فيه و منخره اعنى القديس بولس . <27و> فهرب الشيطان و صاح . الهرب من هذا الشيخ / الذى يقسم على بالرب بدكاوة قلبه . و خرج منه / و برى ذلك الانسان . و نال بولس درجة / التوحيد و اخذ اكليل الغلبه بسداجة قلبه فى / مدة اربعين يوماً . صلاته تحرسنا من العدو الخبيث.

+فصل 4+ و اما القديس الجليل المكرم ماري انطونيوس / فانه كان يعمل الايات . و يبرى الاعلا . و يشفى الزمنا . / و يرد الشياطين . و يظهر البرص . و يقيم المقعدين . / و يشفى اعلا الناس و البهايم و الوحوش و الدبيب . / و كلمن انا اليه رزق الشفاء . و كان يصنع ايات كثيره / حتى كان ظل ثيابه يشفى الاسقام و العلل الصعبه.

و تسامعت به الخلق و امتلت البريه <27ظ> من الديارات و بنو اولاده على شاطى ساحل البحر / فى ايامه . و هو الموضع الذى كان يتعبد فيه / اولاً . و كان القديس ينزل الى الدير يقيم فيه / ايام ثم يعود الى البريه الجوانيه . و فتح الطريق / الذى ارادت الشياطين ان تسدها . و ارتفع على اسمه / فى كل افاق الدنيا .

+فصل 5+ و ذلك انه لما / شاع خبر هذا القديس فى كل مكان الاقطار / و صارو كل الخلق ياتو اليه بالااعلا فيبريهم . / و اتفق جماعه من مصر حضرو اليه و معهم مرضا / و مجانين و غيرهم . و سلكوا البريه طالبين قلاية / القديس . فبالاتفاق لقيهم فسلموا عليه و قالو له <28و> يا شيخ اين دير القديس انطونيوس العجايبي . فقال لهم / ماذا تريدون بذلك العيار المحتال على الناس . / قالوا له يا شيخ لا تنطق بهذا . لان قد ملا صيته / الدنيا . فقال انا بالحق اقول . و اد لم تصدقونى / فقدموا الى الولد الاعما . فلما وضع يده عليه / أنفتحت عينيه لوقته و ساعته . فدهشوا شاخصين / له . فقال لهم لماذا تنتظروا الى هكذا تتعجبوا من قوة / المسيح . قدموا الى كلمن احضرتموه تريدون شفاء . / فقدموا اليه جميعهم فوضع يده على كل واحد / و احدا منهم فشفاه . و قال لهم استقام كلامى عندكم / ان انطونى محال محب السمعه . امضوا فى سبيلكم / و انتم و اتقين بما <28ظ> ذكرت لكم . لانى انان بعض السواح الذى فى / البريه ارسلنى الرب اليكم .

فلما سمعوا ذلك اخدوا / صلاته و مضوا الى ان وصلوا الى العماره . و التقاهم / الاب الاسقف بمدينة مصر و كهنته . و بدو / يسابلوهم عن اخبار الانبيا انطونيوس . فابتدوا / يقولون للاسقف ليس دالك كما تزعمون . لكن / نحن و جدنا رجل الله بالحقيقه . و ابتدوا يخبروا / كما راو و لما سمعهم الاسقف حزن جدا . / و قال لهم لسالكم يا اخوتى تخبرونى كيف صفة /

هذا الانسان . فقالوا له شيخ طويل ضعيف / الصورة طويل اللحية تام القامة بهي المنظر . <29و> قال لهم الاسقف بالحقيقه يا اخوه هو كوكب البريه / انطونيوس . و انما كان غرض الشيخ ان يغطى عنه / السمع . و هذا كان تدبيره دايم صلواته / تكون معنا امين .

+فصل 6+ وايضاً من عجائبه / كان رجل مارون في مدينة اطفيح ولم / يكن له ولداً فرزقه الله ولد . و بلغ عمره الى / خمسة عشر سنه و املكه . و انحدر الى مصر حتى / انه يجهز له امر عرسه . و قبل وصول والده الى / مصر مات الصبي . فلما استيقظت امه و جدته / ميت فلم تحزن . غير انها كانت تسمع بعجايب / القديس . و قالت الويل لي اذا ما جا رجلي و معه / انية العرس . <29ظ> و يستخبر عن ولدى كيف اجاوبه . غير اني لي / امانه بقوة القديس انطونيوس انه يقيمه لي / كما اسمع عنه .

و كان القديس في دير / التحتاني مقيم في المغاره التي في البيعه . ثم / اخذت الامراه ولداً و حملته على دا به مثل مريض / مع جوارها . و سارت الى ان وصلت الى حيت / القديس المقيم . و كان الوقت نصف النهار . فوجدت / بعض تلاميذه فقالت له كوكب البريه مع اولاده / او في المغاره . قال لها ما تريدن . قالت اريد / منه ان يشفى ولدى . قال لها ايش به . قالت / تاخده حمى حتى يصير كمثل النار . و يبرد الى ان <30و> يصير مثل الثلج و يبلغ حد الموت و لم اقدر / على دواه . قال لها انا اعلم ان القديس يخاف / من السمع و ما يبريه . لانه اليوم رد اناس كثير / و لم يبريهم . فقلقت المراه جدا . قالت للتلميذ / ارحمني يا سيدى و تحنن على بصلاة معلمك قال / لها ما هذا الامر لي . بل اعلمك حيله تبرى ابنك / بها و لا يدرى المعلم . قالت و انا اشكرك ايها الاب / القديس . قال لها اختفى في البريه الى حين تغيب / الشمس و تعالى . ففعلت المراه كما قال لها التلميذ . فلما جات قال لها الاب ما يصلى الا وحده . و لا / يحتمل وقت الصلاه انسان قط نايم . امضى و اتركى ابنك <30ظ> و غطيه فوقه ياتي القديس يصلى يضربه / بوكازه فيشفى من مرضه . ففرحت المراه / وهي كاتمه سرها .

فلما جا وقت الصلاه حضر / القديس مثل عادته فوجد الصبي مغطي كالنايم / فلكره برجله وقال له قم يا صبي احضر الصلاه . / فقام لوقته . فقال له امضى الي حال سبيلك . / قال له نعم يا ابي . وخر عند قدمي القديس / وقال بارك علي . فلما سمعت المراه صوت ابنها / بكت و فرحت وقالت عظيمة هي قوتك ايها / القديس المكرم . لان ابني هذا كان ميت وفي هذه / الساعة بكلمتك عاش . فلما سمع القديس ذلك حزن <31و> وقال للمراه من الان تصمتي و لا تنطقى فصمت / المراه . و بدت تحترق لتتكلم فلم تقدر . فقال / لها القديس انا اتركك تتكلمي بشرط . انك لا تخبري / احداً الا بعد وفاتي لاني ما اقمته . لكن المسيح / ملكك هو الذي اقامه . وهكذا صنعت الامراه . / صلاة لهذا القديس تحفظنا جميعاً امين /

+فصل 7+ وايضاً من عجائبه كان بالقرب من دير / القديس اسد ضاري وكان يادي الرهبان / ويحرمهم العبور في كل الاوقات . وكان له امراه / قد ولدت سبع صغير اعمى مفلوج . فلما راته / حملته في فمها و جالت به الى بين يدي القديس في / قلايته فلما راها تعجب جدا <31ظ> و سبح الله . و حط يده علي عينيه فانفتحت / ورجليه انصلحت . وقال لها قولى لابوه ياتي / الي . فخرجت اللبوه من عنده و انت ايضاً / ومعها الاسد الضاري . فلما ابصره القديس قال له / ان رجعت تادي الرهبان تعمى مثل ابنك . و ان / السبع بقا بين يدي القديس دليل كالبهمة المستانسه . / ووتقت الرهبان به و لا يخافون منه . و بقي / يحرسهم مثل انسان له عقل و فراسه .

ولما / كان بعد ايام يسيره جاليه السبع ومعه / ديب اعمي فعجب القديس جدا وسبح الله. / الذي لم يستجري السبع يادي ولد
الديب وبصق <32و> في وجهه وبري. فاخذه الاسد في فمه / ومضى به الي عند ابوه وامه. وبعد ايام قليل / قدم اليه
السبع ومعه كبش قد افترسه مثل انسان / له محبه ويعطي القديس عوض تعبته. فبتسم القديس / وقال به ايها الوحش المبارك
امضي بهذا المسكين / الي موضعه. وصلب عليه واخذه رده وجاء. / وبعد ذلك اقام الاسد طول ايام حياته وهو يخدم /
الدير ويحرس بهايمة وامراته وابنه الذي كان / اعمي ويرى. مقدار سبع سنين الي ان ماتوا. وتشبهه / بهم سبع
كثيره. وكانوا يجوا اليه وحوش / كثيره ياتسوا اليه. صلواته تكون معنا امين. /

+فصل8+ <32ظ> وايضاً من عجايبه كان قدام قلايته مبقله / يزرع فيها بقل قليل يتعزا به. وكانت الغزلان / تنزل اليه
بمشورة ارواح السو وتفسده. فتعجب / القديس جدا. وخرج في بعض الاوقات ومعه / زناويل عملها يريد بيعها. فوجد
الشیطان وهو / جالس في البرية يعمل مصايد واشراك للغزلان / وهو متشبهه برجل بدوي صياد. فقال له القديس / اعمل
لي مصيدة للغزلان وتكون جيدة. / قال له نعم امضي الي شغلك وانا اهيب لك / مصيدة واتعب عليها. غير انني ارجو ان
تصلح / لك. قال له القديس سارع واهتم بها ومضي عنه. <33و> وان العدو قام لوقته وهيا مصايده و فخاخه. /

وان القديس صادف امراه جالسه علي وسط / نهر يجري. وحواليها عشرة جواز عراه مثلها / يستحمون. فلما ابصرهم ولا
هارباً. فقالت له / سيدتهم ايها الرجل المتوحد في هذه البريه. اقف من / اجل الله لان لي زمان اطلبك لعلك تعلمني طريق /
الخلاص. وتريح روحي كما شهد الكتاب. ان من / خلص نفس واحده من الخطايا فهو مثل خالقها. / وانا سمعت الانجيل
يقول ان الراعى الصالح / يبذل نفسه دون اخيه وهذا هو الكمال. / والواجب عليك يا ابونا وليس اعلمك. لاني سمعت /
بعجايبك وكثرة سطوتك على اعدانا الشياطين. <33ظ> لكن هذا بحسب التذكرة لك وان هذه الامور / لازمه لك. واسالك
ان تحيي نفساً تشرف علي / علي للموت الهلاك. ثم قالت لجوارها استتروا فضيحه / من رجل الله القديس ان تكونوا عرايا
هكذا. لان / محبة الله لنا عظيمة الذي ارسل لنا هذا القديس / ليخلصنا من خطايانا بكثرة طهارته. قال لها / القديس وانتي
ايضاً استتري ايتها الامراه. حينئذ / تعجبت منه وقالت له ايها القديس الطاهر انت / رجل الله وتخشي مني انا المسكينه
الحقيره. اما / تعلم يا ابة اني خلقت منك وايش الحاجة الذي / تلجيكك حتى انني عريانه. اما تعلم ان المراه <34و> خلقت
من جنب ادم كما شهد الله في كتابه العتيق. والرجل مخلوق من التراب. فبالحق يجب علي / الرجال ان ينظروا الي الارض
الدى خلقوا منها. والمراه / تنظر الي الرجل الذى هى منه خلقت. فبهت / القديس لكلامهما واطرق راسه الي الارض.
فقالت ايها / القديس مستقيم هو كلامي ام لا. قال لها بحق / نطقتي و تكلمتي. حينئذ لما سمعت منه هذا / الخطاب ابتدت
تقابه بالطف الحيل وادقها. /

وقالت له يا ابي كما لك ساكن في هذه البريه / المقفره. قال لها الي يومي هذا مقدار خمس وستين / سنه. فوتبت بين يديه
وبكت وقالت يا ابي وانت / في هذه البريه الصعبه. <34ظ> تقاسى حرب اعدانا الشياطين وتحمل ضرباتهم / المولمه.
وتخيلاتهم المختلفه الصعبه. وافكارهم / الظمته. وشوشتهم النجسه. وقتالهم الشديد. / وتعبهم الذي ليس له انقضى. قال
لها نعم اني قاسيت / اكثر مما ذكرت. غير ان المسيح ابدى ياتي الي / ويعينني. فتبسمت حينئذ وقالت عظيم هو الرب. /
غير انه بلغني ايها الاب المكرم ان الشياطين احزنوك / جدا وجرجروك دفعات كثيره حتي لم يبقى على / جسدك لحم. قال
لها بالحق كان ذلك. لكن المسيح / اعانني وكان ياتي الي بكتاب مكتوب فيه عدة / الضرب الذي كان ينالي من الشياطين

ويعزبني . / ودفعه لا يناليني <35و> الم ما كان يوريني في الكتاب شى ويقول لي / يا انطونيوس ان ربك القتال . تجارتك هذه / الدفعه غير مفيده . فلاجل هذا ما كنت اشتهى ان / يفتر عنى ساعة واحده لانا لى الكرامه . لاني سيدي / قال لي من فمه الطاهر على قدر التعب تكون الاجره . / قالت صدقت يا ابي . ولكني سمعت الانجيل الطاهر يشهد / ويقول ان الفعله اصحاب الاحدى عشر ساعه . / ساوهم بالفعله الذى تعبوا من اول النهار . كذلك يكون / الاولين اخرين والآخرين اولين . ما اكثر المدعويين / واول المنتخبين . قال لها بالحق هاهو كلام الله . /

قالت له انظر الي رحمة الله الذي يعطى الاخرين مثل / الاولين . انظر يا ابي الي كثرة <35ظ> محبة الله وتصديق مواعيده . انظر اني انا لي / مملكه عظيمه وسلطنة كثيره كما تري هذه المدينه . / فرفع القديس عينيه الي البر الاخر . فنظر الى مدينه / عظيمه جليله جدا . وقال هذه المدينه لك . قالت نعم . / وقد اعطانى الرب نعمه كثيره فى سنين قليله / مثل ما اعطاك فى هذه السنين الذى دكرتها لي . قال / لها وما هي النعمه الذي وهبها لك المسيح . قالت ابري / الزمنا . واشفى المرضا . وافتح عيني العمى . واطهر البرص . / وابرى الاعلا . ولو عاش زوجى سنه اخري اقمتم / الاموات . فبهت القديس وصار داهشاً . ثم قالت له / اتعجب من كلامي ايها البار . قم افق فقام وقف . / واخذت <36و> بيده هي وجوارها وعبروا البحر ولم يتبل لهم / قدم . فاستعجب القديس جدا وبقي باهت . فلما / راو المرآه اجناد المدينه قبلوا اليها فرحين بالعساكر . / والخيول والجنائب . والامراء والازمه والقواد . / والمسلمطين والشاويشيات . والهمم العظيمه . / الي ان دخلوا المدينه والملكه راكبه وجوارها / والقديس راكب معهم . ثم تقدمت به الى سوق الصرف / والعطاريين والبياعيين . واورته مدينه لم يكن / مثلها على وجه الارض . وخلق لا يحصى عددهم الا / الله سبحانه جليلي لما راها تعجب جدا . ثم قالت له / من هذا ايضا تعجبت ايها القديس المحترم . وجاءت به / الى خزانه القماش <36ظ> و الكسوة و جميع اصناف الملابس الفاخر الذى / يطول شرحه . و اورته كثرة الاموال الجزيله . / الذى لاحد لها . و الجواهر التمينه . و الحجارة الكريمة . / والفصوص الشريفة المختلفة الالوان . فعجب من كثرة / رحمة الله و نعمته على تلك المرآه . غير انه لم يرغب / الى شئ من ذلك ولا مال قلبه اليه . فقالت له / رايت يا سيدي الى نعمة الله . و كيف يعطى لمن / يستحق و لمن لا يستحق . غير ان هذه الاموال الجزيله / كلها يابى ليس للعاقل فيها رغبه . و انما يتعجب / الانسان من صنعة الله كيف ينعم بها على عبيده المحبين / لا سمه .

قال و ما هي صنعة الله . قالت لكل شئ / صنعه لبنى . <37و> البشر . كل صنائع الدنيا باسرها . من البنيان / و النجاره و قطع الحجاره . و الصياغه و الخياطه . / و الحكمه و الهندسه الى منتها العالم . هو لا صنعة / الادميين . و اما صنعة الله ابرى المرضى و شفا / السفما و اقامة الموتى . و تغيير الطبع و انتقاله الى / طبع اخر بكلمه واحده . قال حسناً قلنى فاداما / احب الله الانسان اعطاه هذه الموهبه التى هي / عزانا نحن و هي درجة الكمال . قالت و انا شاكره / للرب يسوع المسيح الذى او هبنى اليسير من هذه / الصناعات الشريفة . قال لها انك كنتى دكرتى لى / ذلك من قبل . و لم ارى شئ سوى عبورنا البحر . قالت / و ايش عبور البحر <37ظ> قوى امانتك بالمسيح . و انظر حسن صنعة الله / و كثرة رافته على اهلها . ثم امرت فحضر / بين يديها عرج كثيره . و عمى و برص . و مقعدون / و اعلا و مجدمين . و مرض بهم اصناف الامراض / . حينيد رفعت ايديها الى فوق و دمعت عينها . / و اخدت يسيراً من الماء و قربت عليه ورشت عليهم / به و للوقت برىوا . حينيد تعجب القديس و قال / من هذا اعجب . و ليس اعجب من كل اموال الدنيا . / قالت لو رايت زوجى الملك كان بكلمه يقيم / اموات كثيره . قال لها و ايش هو تدبيركم / لعلى انا الضعيف اتعلم منه اليسير . قالت تدبيرنا / عجيب ربما لا .

<38و> يوافقك . لان اهل البريه تعبين باشيا كثيرة / قليلين الراحة و قليلين الموهبه لاجل قلة محبة / الله . قال فاسالك ان تعلمينى ايش هو تدبيرك / قالت تدبيرى ان هذه المملكه العظيمه / و جميع المملكات المعروفة . اصدق بها على المسا / كين

. و افتقد الارامل . و اقوم بالمنقطعين . و اطلق / من الاسارى ما استحق . و اصدق على اهل الحاجه / و اعمر الديارات و اهتم بسكانها . و افرج عن المكروبين . / و على ما يديتى طعاماً كثيراً لا ادوق منه شئ / لاجل الله . و احكم فى مملكتى بالعدل . و افطر فى / كل ثلاثة ايام دفعه و احده على خبز و ماء . / قال لها مستقيم <38ظ> صنيعك هذا . قالت له هذا هو صواب ام خطأ . / قال لها ان ثم كلامك الى المنتهى فهو صواب .

قالت فتعلم انى امرأة جميله كما ترى على هذا / الجمال و البها . و الترافه و العز . فى هذه المدينه / العظيمه مع مملكات اخر كثيره جميعهم طايعين لى . / قال لها القديس فايش الحاجه الى هذه الصفه . / قالت الحاجه داعيه الى اخذ مشورتك . لان هذا / الملك القريب منى لما سمع بوفاة زوجى قد تقل / على . و كذلك ملوك اخر كثيره . قد انفدوا / الى هدايا و اموال عظيمه و نعم جزيله جدا / لكى تزوج بهم . فما قلبى اليهم انى رجعت اخذت / مشورتى و رجعت . <39و> لعقلى . و قلت اين اجد على الارض انسان كمثل زوجى / الذى كان يعمل العجايب و يبرى الاعلا و يقيم / الموتى . فامتحننت هولاء الملوك جميعهم فلم اجد / فيهم قط رجلاً قد اعطى هذه الموهبه . فلم ارغب فى / احد منهم و زهدت فيهم بعدان احببتهم . لاجل ما / خطر ببالى من الافكار الرديه . و اعلم و اتحقق / يا ابى ليس ادمى اوصلك بل الله الذى سيرك الى / لتتربى و تترتب درجت زوجى . و تنزوح بى و تريح جسمك / من بعض التعب فياطول ما اشقيته . و تريح قلبك / فيا طول ما اتعبته . و تستريح من قتال الشياطين المرده . / فيا طول ما تعبت و تعديت منهم . و تنال بعض نعيم / الدنيا و ملكها الزايل .

<39ظ> ((9)) ففرنى الان ايش فضيلتك فى سكنا البرية . لا / تجد انسان ترحمه . و لامسكين تطعمه . ولا / محبوس تفتقده . و لا مضيق عليه تفرج كربته . / و لا اسير لتخلصه . ولا / ارملة ترحمها لاجل الله . ولا مظلوم تنتقم لظلامته . ولا حزين ترق لحزنه . ولا / بيعه تفتقدها . ولا دير يكون معك من المال ما تنفق / عليه . و على كل الاحوال فتتال بذلك الدارين . / دار الدنيا و نعيم الاخره .

قال لها و ماهو الذى / تريده منى . قالت اريد منك اعلم انى رفضت / الملوك كلهم و خطبتك . و ابغضت العظما و احببتك . / وطردت الكبرا و قربتك . قال ما تريدين . / قالت <40و> اتزوج بك كما دكرت لك . قال فايش بقى فى / من الاله لها الفن النجس . قالت يا سبحان الله بالحقيقه / انك ما جربت هذا انت معدور . فلو عملت هذا / الفن دفعه واحده لم تكن له كارهاً ابداً . قال / يمكن اعمل هذا . و انا قد بلغت الى شيخوخة . بعد / برد جسم . و انكسار الجلد و قلة الحيل . و ضعف القوه / و استرخا اللحم . و بياض الشعر . و عكس الهمه . ثم / نظر اليها و ادا هى كالقمر الطالع عند كماله . بوجه / كالبر و حسن و جمال . و بها و كمال . مع مساعدة / حسن اللباس . و رايحة العطر الفايق . و البخور الدكى . / و كل رايحه طيبه .

فقال لها ابعدى عنى يا امرأه / و اين عقلى . <40ظ> اكون انا قد تعبت من ستين سنه الى اليوم اضيعة / فى ساعه واحده . لى ستين سنه اتجر و اربح فى / ساعة واحده اخسر الجميع . لى ستين سنه و ربما اكثر / املا الاهرا و الكنوز نعمه . افتقر منهم الجميع فى مثل / طبق الجفن على الجفن . يكون المسيح راضى / طول ايامى اغضبه فى هذه الساعه . يكون / ينزل عندى يوانسنى الانس الكامل استوحش منه / فى هذه الساعه . اكون شفا للمومنين و يتشبهون بى / اصير عتره و حزناً لهم . اكون قريب من ملكوت / السموات اتبعدها بالنسوه . كما شهد لى الشيطان / دفعات كثيره انه ما يسقط اصحات الدرجات <41و> العاليه الا بمحبة النسوه . لاسيما انا يكون سبب / سقطتى من درجتى العاليه امرأه واحده و ابعده من / الله من اجلها .

((10)) حينئذ لما سمعت الشقيه هذا / الكلام منه مثل من قد التهب بحريق النار . فخرت / بين يديه ساجده . و قالت اسالك يا سيدى لا تحط / نفسك من مرتبتك العاليه من جهة الله . و لا تكون / تتكلم بمثل هذا الكلام الردى . و تزعم ان النسوه / الصالحات المتزوجات باوامر الشريعه و السنن البيعيه / كما طلبتلك انا . تقول انت انهن يبعدون الانسان / من الله . كما غلظت انت و دكرت بغير معرفه . / و حاشا قدسك من اعاده هذا الشر العظيم . فان / كان هذا ظنك فلا احداً <4> يدخل ملكوت السموات و لا يبصر نعمه ابداً . ان / كان الامر على ما دكرت . و ان كنت قد قطعت / ايامك و لم تدرس كتب الله . فاننا اوقفك عليها / باباً . و حرفاً حرفاً . و سطرراً سطرراً . ماذا تقول / فى التوراة المكرمه . و آياتها المعظمه . و اخبارها / المدكوره . و حكمتها المشهوره . و كيف كلم موسى نبيه / قال نعم . قال اريد اشرح لك ذلك و لا اخفى عنك / منه شئ . لان الكتاب يشهد و يقول من علم شي / من الخير و لا يعمله لآخاه المومن كتب عليه خطيه . / و قال ايضاً اشر العلماء عالم يعلم و لا يعلم . و ايضاً / قال مجاناً اخذتم مجاناً اعطوا . يعنى علموا بلا اجره . <42> كما علمتكم . و انا اريد اشرح ذلك بحسب التذكره / لا بحسب التعليم .

قال لها القديس و ايش الحاجه / الى ذلك . قالت حاشاك انت ترفض كلام الله / او تهمل سماعه . غير ان الله لما خلق ادم قد القا / عليه سباتاً فنام . و استل ظلع منه و خلق منه حوا . / فقال هذه لحم من لحمى و عظم من عظمى . و هذه شهاده / لابونا ادم . فلو علم الله ان النساء يبعدون من الملكوت / لم كان خلق و لا واحده . و كان يحدره منها و يحدرها / منه . و نحن نعلم ان الله ما خلق شئ يبغضه . / و انما سقطتهم لاجل اكلهم من الشجره كما امرهم الله ان / لا ياكلوا منها . و تانى شهاده ماذا تقول فى نوح / الذى امره الله ان يبنى له <42> سفينه . و كلمه الله و حفظه و صانه و جميع المخلوقات / الدين معه و كانت امراته معه و نساء اولاده . / و لو كانت النسوه يبعدون من الله لما امره الله يطلع / بهم معه . و ماذا تقول فى داود شهد انه / مثل قلبه ما كان له امراه واحده . بل كان له نساء / كثيرين واحدا امراه اوربيا و قتل زوجها . و لم يغضب الله / عليه لعلمه ان الرجل و المراه واحد . و ماذا تقول فى / سليمان ابنه الذى لم يقنع بواحد بل كان له الف امراه . / و فسد ملكة التيمن بحيلة دقيقه . و شهدا الانجيل / بانها باره و انها تقوم و تحاكم هذا الجيل و استحق / حتى بنى بيت الرب بحكمته . و ماذا تقول فى موسى <43> ربيس الانبياء و عظيمهم . و كلمه الله مشافاه كما / يحاطب الاخ اخاه و كان متزوج و له ولد . فلو كانت / الامراه تبعد من الله هرب الله منه و كل من له امراه . / و ماذا تقول فى هارون كاهن الله و كان قربانه مقبول / عند الله و كان له امراه و اولاد . و ماذا تقول فى اب / الابا ابراهيم اليس كان متزوج و سمي خليل الله و اضافه / هو و الملايكه فهذا كان بعيد من الله او مردول منه . / و ماذا تقول فى اسحق و كان متزوج و افداه الله / بالخروف من الذبح . و ماذا تقول فى يعقوب الذى / استحق ان ينظر الله . فان كنت النسوه يبعدون / من الله لماذا كان يكلمه . و ماذا تقول فى يوسف / كان له امراه و حكمه <43> الله على ارض مصر جميعها . ماذا تقول فى بطرس / راس الحواريون و كان متزوج و اسماء الله / الصخره التى هى اساس الكنيسه . و ماذا تقول فيه / كان قريب من الله او بعيد . و غير ذلك لو رما / ان نذكر عدد المتزوجين لطال الشرح جدا . / او ما سمعت الانجيل الطاهر يقول يترك الانسان / اباه و امه و يلصق بزوجه . فلو لم تكن الزوجه / اقرب من الوالدين لكان الله يبعدها غير انه قربها / دونهم . او ما سمعت يا ابة قول الانجيل ياتون من المشرق و المغرب و الشمال و التيمن و يتكون فى / حضن ابراهيم و اسحق و يعقوب فى ملكوت الله . <44> و لم يقول يتكون فى حضن انطونه و اولاده / الدين قاسوا حر الصيف و برد الشتاء . امستقيم / كلامى هذا يا ابونا ايش هذا الذى تعذب نفسك . / تقدم الى ولا تتوانا و انظر الى لده لم يكن مثلها / و تقوى عزمك و تحيى نفسك . و يرجع اليك شبابك / الاول الذى

عدمته . و تنال من الدنيا الطرفين . / فكاد القديس يندفع من كثرة ما رأى من كلامها الذى تسقط به الجبال و تصرع به السحاب .

((11)) حينئذ لما رآته على مثل ذلك الحال . تقدمت إليه / و شمته روايح طيبه . و حطت يدها على / القلنسوه تعلقها فمسكها بيده و قال الحق اقول لك <44ظ> ليس انك تجعلنى ملك هذه المدينة و ارضها / بل و كل مملكات العالم باسرها . لا اعوضهم / بهذه القلنسوه . الذى قال لى سيدى يسوع المسيح / ان هذه تكسر قوات العدو . و يهده تهزم كراديس / الجن المرده . هذه تبدد عظمته الشيطان و ساير / جنوده . فاد اقلعت هذا السلاح لا يبقى معى شئ / احارب به اعداى . لا يكون ذلك ابدا . ثم / رسم على وجهه علامة الصليب . فابتدت تعلقها / من على راسه غضبا فلم يستطيع . حينئذ صرخ / القديس و قال علمت بالحقيقه انك العدو عينى / يارب و صبرنى و لاتغفل عنى .

((12)) حينئذ صارت <45و> تلك الامراه قدامه مثل جبل عظيم اسود يخرج / من حواليه الداخين و النيران . و اجتمعت عليه / احزاب الشياطين باسره فابليتنا يا شيخ / السوا يا ايها الردى الترابى الضعيف . الذى خلقته / زعزعت اساسات قلوبنا . و ابطلت حيلتنا / و كسرت فحاخنا . و اجتمعوا عليه و لم يزالو / يضربوه ضرب شديد و يجرجروه الى وقت طلوع / الشمس .

حينئذ صرخ القديس و قال يارب عينى . / قد ضعفت جدا و لم يبق فى حيله اقدر اقوم بها / على رجلي . فلوقت ظهر له الرب يسوع المسيح / و قال له سلام لك يا انطونيوس الممتلى من النعمه . / السلام لك <45ظ> يا ايها المجاهد هذا القوى الذى غلب طغمت العدو / باسره . طوباك يا انطونيوس و الطوبا لك و منك / توخذ الطوبا ايها الممتلى نعمه . من الان انت مخزن / نعمتى و سرايرى و عجايبى مخفيه فيك . الحق اقول / لك يا انطونيوس كما انك اهتمت بى فكلمن يهتم بك / و يقيم لك مجداً انا اقيم مجده فى الملكوت . / اقول لك يا حبيبى انطونيوس و اخى الذى الذى نال على / اسمى العذاب المر الصعب . اقول لك ان كلمن يعمر / لك بيتاً انا اعمر له عوض ذلك المنازل الجدد / البهيه . و اخذه فى النعيم السماوى و لا يستطيع / الردى يدنوا منه . يا انطونيوس المحب و حق قوة / اسمى <46و> انا الذى اهتم ببيتك و بيمنى اكرزها مع عظما / كراسى مجدى . و اعطيك ميثاقا ميثاقى القوى ان بيعتك لا / تفنى الى الابد . و جميع ديارتك مكرمن عند كل / الناس . و اولادك متوجين بين الامم و عجايبك عظيمه . / و قد رسمت ميخائيل ربيس الملايكه خادماً لبيتك . / و كلمن كان فى شدة و استغاث باسمك انا اخلصه . / و كلمن يهزى بمساكنك انا اخرب مساكنه . و كلمن / انرد لك نرداً و لا يوفيه على اسمك انا امحو اسمه . / و كلمن يجعل لك جزو فى ولده او بيوته و بهايمة / و حقوله و مواشيه لا يدنوا اليها مضره من العدو الى / الابد مادام علامتك عليها . و قد امرت النار ان تكون / خادمه لبيتك . <46ظ> و سلمتها لربوه من الملايكه . تحرق المستهزين بك / و المعاندين و الظالمين و المتكلمين بالباطل / على اولادك . الحق اقول لك ان من تعب فى / منزلك و اهتم به و ساعد على عمارته . انا الذى اعوضه / فى العالم العتيد . و كلمن كتب سيرتك اكتب اسمه / فى سفر الحياه . طوبا لمن بنا حصاه واحده فى بيتك / فان ذكره لا يفنى . الويل لمن يقلع من بيتك حصاه / انا اقلع اسمه من حياه النعيم . الويل لمن يظلم بيتك / فانى احاكمه فى يوم الدين . طوبا لمن يكنس ديارك / و ينصفه فانى اورته النعيم . طوبا لمن يصبر من / اولادك فانه فى الملكوت يعلا درجة البطاركه . <47و> و يكون و جهه يضى كمثل النور و لا يوقف فى يوم / الدين . طوبا لمن وهب نفسه لطاعتك فانه / عظيما فى ملكوت السموات . يا انطونيوس / السباع تخضع لك . و الوحوش تطيعك و الشياطين / تهرب من قدامك . و الملوك تخاف من سطوتك و جميع / الرياح و الارواح تخاف من نهرك . و ناوله الرب /

بيمينه الطاهره المقدسه التونيه و البسه الاسكيم / الطاهر و قال له اقسام بداتى اننى ازيدك على ما دكرت / لك . قال له
القديس تكون لى يارب رحمتك ولا / تبعد عنى معونتك . و لما حظ الرب يده فى يد القديس / برى لوقته و ساعته . و شفى
كل من كل اتعاب العدو / و تقوى و امتلا بالروح . <47ظ> و قال يكون اسم الرب مبارك الى الابد و سعد / الى السماء .
فوجد القديس نفسه فى البريه / و ظفاير الخوص قريبه منه فاخدمهم ورجع / عايداً الى ديريه . فوجد بعض التلاميذ فى
الطريق / فاعطاهم له يبيعهم .

((13)) ثم مشى فوجد ذلك / الرجل الذى يعمل مصايد الغزلان . فقال له عملت / لى المصيده الذى اوعدتتى انك تعملها .
قال له / نعم . عملت لك ايها الشيخ السو مصايد كثيره / و فخاخ و شباك و اشراك و قطعتم . امضى / عنى ليلا تحرقنى .
ثم صار مثل عمود النار الملتهب / و كانا واقفان عند حرجت حطب فنفخ فى وجه <48و> القديس من لهيب ناره . فاسرع
القديس و رشم عليه / رشم الصليب المكرم . و للوقت احترق كل البريه / و بقى القديس واقف وحده . و لم يناله شر البته /
و سبح الله و عظم اسمه . و سار الى الدير بسلام . / فوجد اولاده مجتمعين فعرفهم قنالات العدو و حدرهم / منها . فاستعجبوا
لذلك كثيراً فعرفهم كثرة معونة الله / لمن يخدمه بعفة و طهاره .

((14)) صلوات هذا الكوكب / العظيم تكون معكم ايها الحاضرين . و بركته تشملكم / ايها الاخوه السامعين . و ينيح الرب
نفوس امواتكم . / و يقبل صومكم و صلواتكم . و ينصت لدعايكم . و يغفر / خطايكم . و يبارك عليكم امين .
+فصل9+ <48ظ> و كان فى ذلك الزمان لما جلس الاب / انبا انتناسيوس الرسولى بطريركاً على مدينة / الاسكندريه .
فسمع بخبر القديس من الناس المترددين / اليه فبقى يشتهى النظر اليه . فاتفق ان فناء عظيم / حدث فى الاسكندريه . و كان
انبا انتناسيوس يكثر / الوعظ و يحدر الشعب كل حين من الامور الذى تغضب / الرب و لم يرجعوا . فجاب عليهم هذه
الضريه ليتادبوا / و يتوبوا . فلما راي الاب البطريرك ان المدينه / قد ننتت من كثرة الاموات . فقام و اخذ / معه الكهنه
قسوس و شمامسه فاتى الى القديس / انطونيوس .

فتلقاه القديس و تباركا من بعضهم <49و> و سلموا على بعضهم البعض . ثم ساله من اجل المدينه / فعرفه القديس ان فى
وقت الفلانى رفع الرب غضبه / عن المدينه . و ذلك بطلبه القديس . فلما علم بالروح / بمجى الاب البطريرك اليه . سال
السيد يسوع المسيح / فى المدينه و الشعب و قبل الرب منه . فلما سمع / البطريرك ذلك فرح فرحاً عظيماً . ثم ان / القديس
انطونيوس لبس الاب البطريرك الشكل / الملايكي . و القلنسوه و الاسكيم و المنطقه و البرنس / و التراج الصوف . و قال
له من الان يكون هذا / لباس الابا البطاركة الى اخر هذا الدهر . و من يعمل / بهذا الشكل فان المسيح يتوجه به فى اورشليم
السماييه . / و من يهون به <49ظ> ولا يمشى كحسب ما يوافقه . و هى الطريق الضيقه / التى امر الرب بالدخول فيها كما
قال الانجيل / المقدس ان قليل هم الدين يجدونها . و من لم يسلك / فيها جيداً . فهناك يعرى منها بحضور الملايكة / و الناس
اجمعين الدين يحضروا الى الدينونه . فلما سمع / الاب البطريرك هذا الكلام من القديس انطونيوس / تعزت نفسه و تبارك
من القديس و عاد الى مدينته .

وكان القديس انطونيوس لما اجتمع بالاب انبا / بولا . قال له امضى اتينى بالحله التى لاتناسيوس / كفن جسدى فيها . و
اوصل اليه توبى الليف . / فلما تنيح انبا بولا و كفن جسده الطاهر و دفنه <50و> و اخذ القديس التوب الليف و توجه ماشى
فى البريه / ليوصلها للاب البطريرك كما اوصاه . و هى الدفعه / الثالثه التى اجتمع القديس بالاب البطريرك . و فيما / هو

واقف يصلى اد ظهر له ملاك الرب يقول له / تضع يدك على القديس انطونيوس ليكون كاهناً / اميناً . فلما اتى الى الاب
البطريك قسمه قسيساً / و اقام عنده ثلاثة ايام وسامه ايغومونستا . ثم / عاد الى ديريه و بقيت التوب اللف عند الاب /
البطريك يلبسها فى الاعياد السيديه . بركة / هذا القديس تكون معنا امين .

+فصل 10+ و لما شاع / خبره فى اقطار المسكونه انه قد ظهر فى <50ظ> برية مصر قديس متوحد عن العالم . و قد بلغ
/ فى عبادة الله مبلغاً عظيماً . حتى و انه بكلمه / واحده من فمه يخرج الشياطين و يبرى الاعلا . / و يقيم المقعدين . و
ينهض الزمنا . و يفتح اعين العميان . / و ترتعد منه الشياطين و ترتجف منه عظاما المرده . / و بلغ ما لم يبلغه احد قط من
التلاميذ و لامن غيرهم . / و اعطى الموهبه الرفيعه جدا . حتى انه اذا عبر / على جميع الاعلا الذى بهم كل الاصناف من
الامراض / المختلفه . اذا رفع ضل ثيابه عليهم يشفوا لوقتهم . / و على كل حال صار كل من يسمع فى زوايا الدنيا / الاربعه
يشتهى الوصول اليه و النظر له .

((15)) و ان <51و> الشياطين من سطوته هربت قواتها . اد لم / يحتملوا السماع كلامه و اخلوا البريه و هربوا الى / بلاد
الغرب . و ان اهل تلك البلاد اعنى بلاد الفرنج / استغاثوا الى عند الملك باسرههم . اصحاب الاعلا / و غيرهم قائلين نشتهى
منك ايها السيد الملك ان تنفذ / الى القديس المبارك انطونيوس . و تساله و تطيب قلبه / لعله يحضر الينا فادا لم يريد ذلك
فنحن جميعاً / نسير اليه الى ان نرى وجهه و ناخذ بركته . / فلو ان نحن باجمعنا نموت فى الطريق .

و ان الملك / كان مشغول عنهم فى حرب عظيم مع اكساشيوس / الملك . و ان الجميع طلبوا الى الرب جل اسمه . ان ينعم /
عليهم و يوريهم وجه <51ظ> القديس . فلما علم الرب صحة ضميرهم و كثرة / محبتهم فى النظر اليه . دخل الشيطان
مارد بامر / الله فى ابنة الملك و ابنه و امراته اعتراهم شياطين / و كان غير مصدق باقوال الكنيسه . معتقد / بالمسيح بين
العالم و بيهم . و بين نفسه صابى لا يعتقد شى اليته . / فلما رأى ما قد حل به من هذه القادحة الاليمه / و البليه الجسيمه . احتاج
صالح عدوه و ابتدى بالهمه / العاليه و فرغ سره لعلاج اولاده و امراته . / فاحضر جميع الحكما و الاطبا و المنجمين و
الرقاه / و المعزمين و كل ارباب هذه الصنایع ليقدروا يبرو / اهل بيته فلم يقدروا .

و كلما تمالك بهم الوقت ازدوا . <52و> حينئذ لما رأى ذلك احتار فى امره و غاب عنه / تدبيره و ابتدى بلاده تفرظ منه .
و قلعه توخذ / منه و رأى نفسه قد اشرفت على التلاف . فرجع / ياخذ مشورة اجلا دولته . فاشار كل واحد منهم / عليه بقدر
ما يسعه عقله . و كان فيهم رجل شريف / جدا يقال له ارسانه محبا لله حسن التدبير فتقدم / الى عند الملك و قال له اسمع
منى ايها الملك . تريد / ان يبروا اهل بيتك و يرجع اليك قوام ملكك / كما كان اولاً قال و من اين لى بذلك . قال اسرع / و
انفذ الى القديس مارى انطونيوس . و تساله و تتضرع / اليه و ان ابا يجى امض انت اليه بنفسك . و للوقت / جهز رسلاً لا
يكونوا تجار <52ظ> بل متعنيين اليه .

فلما وصلوا الى الاسكندريه / سلموا على الاب البطريك انبا انتاسيوس و اقبلوا / اليه بهدايا كثيره . ففرح بها جدا و سالهم
ما سبب / حضورهم . فاعلموه انه لاجل القديس انطونيوس . / فلما سمع ذلك فرح و ارسل معهم رسلا يعرفوا / بلغة
الافرنجيه و القبطيه . فلما وصلوا الى عند / القديس سلموا عليه و بلغوه سلام الملك و شهوته / النظر اليه . و قالوا له يارجل

الله الملك يسالك / بحق اسم يسوع المسيح تاتي اليه . و تبارك في ارضه / و رعيته لاجل الله . قال حياً و كرامه امضوا / و عرفوه انى اجى اليه . و تركهم و انصرف الى قلايته <53و> فطلبوا منه ان يبصروا ايه او معجزه فلم ينظروا / شى سوي الوحوش تاتي الى ديره مستانسين / باولاده . لان القديس لم يكن يعمل اعجوبه / قدام الناس و لاسيما الغريب . بل كان ذلك فى / السر فادا ظهر امره هرب خوفاً من السمع . / فتباركو منه و انصرفوا و هم و اتقين بكلمته . / فوجدوا الاب البطريرك فاعلموه . بما جرى فسر / بذلك و قال جميع ما قاله لكم هو يعمل و كلمته هي / فاعله . ثم ساروا الى بلادهم .

وان القديس فى / الليله الدى و دعهم تكلم مع تلميذه و قال له . / كيف ادبر لانى و عدت اوليك القوم اننى امضى اليهم . <53ظ> فقال له يا ابي ان جلست انت انطونى . / و ان مضيت انت انطونيتن . فقال اريد / امضى و خرج عن قلايته . و قال لتلميذه لا تعلم / احد بى لاننى ماضى فى شغل اى من طلبنى او عده / بقدمى الى حين اقدم . ثم خرج فى البريه الى ان / غاب عن العين وكان الوقت مساء . فانزل الرب / اليه سحابه مضيه جدا ركبها فسار الى مدينة الملك / فى ثالث ساعه من الليل فدق على باب قصر / الملك . فخرج اليه بعض الحجاب و ساله ماذا تريد / قال اريد الملك اكلمه كلام فيه فوايد كثيره / لنفسه . فانفذ الملك يقول يتفضل يصبر الى الغد . <54و> لاننى مشغول بامور كثيره . ولم يخطر على قلب / الملك شى من امور القديس . فتركه و مضى الى دار / بعض وزرايه . فلما طرق الباب فتح له البواب / و طلب الحضور الى بين يدي سيده فاحضره / فسلم عليه الوزير ولم يعلم من هو الا انه كان / فى زى افرنجى .

فبينما هو يتكلم معه فى المجلس / فادا بخنزيره كانت فى بيته قد ولدت و لداً اعمى / وليس له يدين . فلما سمعت صوت القديس اخدت / الولد فى فمها و هجمت عليه و هى تبكى و تسيل دموعها . / فوضعت بين يديه . فاراد الوزير طردها بغضب / عظيم و هى لم تبرح . قال له القديس اتركها / يعنى ما اريد احد <54ظ> شفا اولاده و اهل بيته الاسيدك الملك . فاخذ / القديس يد الوزير و بارك عليها و وضعها على / عيني ولد الخنزيره و على موضع يديه فصار له / يدين و نظر للوقت .

فتعجب الوزير اندريوس / و بهت جدا و بقى شاخصاً للقديس . فقال له بلسان / الفرنج و لم يكن اعدب كلام منه . مالك يا اندرويس / تتعجب من عظمة يسوع المسيح . اد رحم هذا الوحش / الضعيف الذى ماله لسان يتكلم به . فقال له الوزير / يا سيدى لو علم الملك بك لانعم على بحضورك عندى / فمن انت حتى اعلم الملك بحضورك . قال له القديس ان / الملك مستغنى عنى . قال له و من هو الذى يستغنى عنك . / لملك انطونه <55و> العظيم كوكب البريه . قال له القديس لاجل هذا دكرت / لك انهم انفذوا الى رجل يحب الدنيا يستهى الرياسه / قد عمل له دير و اولاد . لولا قبيح على اظهرت سرايره . / قال له الوزير لا تذكر هذا الكلام يا سيدى . لان لو علم / سيدى الملك بقدمك ما انقد رسل بجهد شديد فى / هذا الوقت الصعب و اصرف مالاً كثير . قال القديس / الان ان كان مادرى سوف يدرى . و بمعونة الرب / يسوع المسيح تكمل له اراداته . ولكن امض انت / و اعلمه و صلى على ابنه و للوقت يخرج منه الشيطان . / فخرج الوزير للوقت و اعلمه و صلى على ابنه فبرى / لوقته .

فقام الملك و جا الى القديس و سلم عليه / و اخذ بركته . <55ظ> و ساله ان يبرى اهل بيته صلى عليهم و بربوا / للوقت . و خرجوا الشياطين منهم صارخين باعلا / اصواتهم الويل لنا منك يا انطونه . و قبل ان يتمو اسمه / انتهرهم صمتوا و لم يتكلموا با سم يسوع المسيح . فخرى / الشيطان و اعوانه . و لم يقروا ان يتعالو عليه فولوا / هاربين . فقال له الملك من اين اراضك يا سيدى . / قال له ارضى الله هو العالم بها . و من نعمتى انت تعرف / بلادى . قال له اما نعمتك فنعمة بركينونى /

و صوتك صوت من قد ربى فى بلادنا . بل اننى اسالك / ان تبرى اهلى جيداً قال له القديس ليس يبروا بروا / الا حتى تقوى امانتك بالمسيح جيداً . لانى عالم <56و> باسراك اكثر منك . فخر الملك ساجداً بيد يديه / و قال امنت ايها القديس المبارك انك رجل الله و قد / قويت امانتى جداً بالسيد يسوع المسيح . حينيد / رسمه القديس بالصليب المقدس و اعطاه قوى / يبرى بها لسع الافاعى الى يوم وفاته و اولاده بعده

+فصل 11+ ثم شاع بخبره بانه قد ظهر رجل قديس بركينونى / الجنس مومن بالمسيح يعمل كل العجايب و الايات. /

حينيد تزايا الشيطان برجل ناسك و بدى / يعمل القوات و يظهر العجايب الباطلة بخيالات / نجسه . فلما علم القديس سح الله و جا اليه و قال له / من انت . قال انا رجل ضعيف اعطانى الله موهبه شريفه . <56ظ> قال له القديس و ايش من عجايبك قال كما تصنع / انا اعلم مثله فتبسم القديس . و ان الشيطانين / ظهوروا مثل النسوه . و معهم اطفال عمى و اخر مجانين. / وابتدا الشيطان يكلمهم فيبروا للوقت . ثم / احضر تراب و صلى عليه فقام منه امواتا كثيره . / فتعجب ايضاً القديس و قال اشكرك يارب الى الابد . / فاد علمت يارب ان فى هذه الارض انسان يعلن / باسمك الطاهر لم تركنتى فارقت دبرى و اولادى . /

فحينيد ظهر له الرب يسوع المسيح و قال له تقوى / يا انطونيوس الكوكب المضى جدا . هذا هو المقاتل / العدو الشرير فتشجع القديس لما ظهر له . و قال له الرب <57و> و قد اعطيتك القوة عليه . فتقدم القديس / الى الشيطان و قال له ايها الشخص الذى يصنع / القوات و العجايب و يبر الاعلا و يقيم الموتا / لقد لحقتى مرض فى راسى . و كان ذلك قدام جميع / اهل المدينه فصلى علي . فلم يجسر الشيطان يدنوا / منه قال له ارشم رشم الصليب فلم يفعل . قال / القديس علمت انك بالحقيقه عدو البشر . و مسكه / بيديه الطاهرتين و قال له اقسم عليك بالرب / يسوع المسيح انك لا تستطيع ان تغير شخصك / هذا . ثم نفخ فى وجهه و احرق لحيته و قلنسوته / الكادبه و تيابه . حينيد صرخ الشيطان باعلا صوته <57ظ> فحضرت اليه كل قوات العدو بالات الحرب / بشخص متجسمه كالاديمين . ووقفوا يقاتلوا القديس / وهو يرشم عليهم رشم الصليب ويقول باسم المسيح / اقوى عليكم ايها الجنس الغريب وهم يلجوا عليه . / وكثر عليه القتال و الخلاق كلها يبصروا . / هم / يصرخوا عليه اخرج من عندنا فليس لك هاهنا / نصيب ايها الشيخ السو . فتعب القديس جدا مما / حل به من القتال فارسل الرب له ميخاييل ربيس الملائكه . / وقال له السلام لك ايها الممتلى نعمه تقوى و لا تخاف / واعطاه سيف من نار وقال بهدا تقهر اعداك . / لما اخذه هربوا الشياطين منه قائلين اهلكتنا <58و> واضعفت قوتنا تركنا لك برية مصر جيتنا / هاهنا تعدبنا . وكان الملك و الخلاق يسمعون / هذا الكلام و يتعجبون منه . ثم ظهر الرب فوق سحابه / نيره حتى ظنوا الناس ان المدينه قد احترقت و هربوا . / واعطاه الرب السلام وقال له طوباك ايها المجاهد / على اسمى فى كل مكان . طوباك ايها القديس الدي / امتلى من الروح القدس وهو فى احشا امه . الحق اقول / لك يا انطونيوس اقسم لك بقوة دراعي العظيمة / العزيزه ان اسمك فى هذه الارض لا ينقضى الى الابد / لانك خلصت اهلها . و اولادك يكونوا موقرين عند / ساير الشعوب و اكثر عجايبك و تكون الوحوش و الحيون / خاضعة تحت طاعتك . <58ظ> وكل شئ يكون لك فيه نصيب انا اباركه . و لا / يستطيع العدو يدنوا منه . ثم ودعه وانصرف /

وان القديس اخذ قوه عظيمه . وشار الي بيت الوزير / فاعلموه ان ابن عظيم الملك يسطس قد مات و حزنوا / عليه كثيراً . فقال ارسانه للقديس يا سيدي اسالك / ان تعين صديقي يسطس الوزير و تقيم له ابنه . / لاني اعلم انك مهما طلبت من السيد

المسيح هو يعطيك. / قال لانه نعم ايها الاخ الحبيب تقوي وامضى اليه . / واجعل عليه شريطه ان يبني لي بيت ويعمل فيه / صورتني حتى لا ينقطع اسمي من هذه الارض . ويجعل / لي نصيب في كل بهايمة ومواشيه وكلما له لا يقطع <59و> اسمي منه فادا قبل هذا الشرط قول له اي وقت / نقصت شي من ندوري التي ندرتها لي للوقت يموت. / وكل شي يكون له من بهايمة او بيوت لا يكون لي / فيه اسم ينقص ولا يزيد . ثم اعطاه العكاز / وخرج ارسانه من عنده وهو يمجده الله ويقدهسه / علي مواهبه العظيمة التي يعطيها لقديسيه. / فلما وصل الي دار الوزير دخل واعلمه بالخبر فرح / جدا وصارت له امانه مثل من يراه في الحياه. ففي / الوقت والساعه عمل كما امره القديس فقام الصبي. / وان ابوه امتلا من الفرح . وهدم دراه من ساعته / وعملها بيعه للقديس وصار هو وابنه تلاميذ له يخدموه. <59ظ> واعطاه كلما ندر به من ماله الذي له من جميع ما / كان يملكه .

((16)) ثم ان رسل الملك الذي كان ارسلهم / الي مصر للقديس سمعوا بان قد ظهر في بلادهم / رجل قديس عظيم قد ابري اولاد الملك واهل / بيته واخرج شياطين كثيره . حتى ان ابن يسطس / الوزير مات واقامه ارسانه الوزير بعكازه . / فلما سمعوا هذا حزنوا كثيراً . وقالوا كيف نلتقي الملك / وقد صرفنا اموالاً كثيره لاجل القديس انطونيوس / ولاجا معنا الاجينا خايبين . وكنا نترجا ان / الملك وقت تبرا اولاده على يدينا بسبب تعبنا / يحسن الينا . والان قد صار بروهم على يد غيرنا <60و> فالبحق نحن نحزن . ثم انهم حضروا الي الملك فلم / يلتقت اليهم . ولم يفي لهم بشي مما كان وعدهم / به قبل سفرهم فحزنوا جدا . فتقدمت اليه / اصداقاهم وقالوا للملك ما هذا الفعل الذي فعلت / لم لا تفرح برسلك وتحضرهم اليك وتطيب قلوبهم. / فلما سمع ذلك اتقد وراهم واحضرهم الي مجلسه / وبدي ان يهتم بهم .

وفي تلك الساعه دخل / الشيطان في رجل من اجلاً دولته صاحب / مشورته وموتمنه على جميع اسراره وبدي الشيطان / ان يخنقه ويخبطه . فلما راه الملك كذلك / حزن جدا وارسل الي القديس يساله الحضور. فقالوا له <60ظ> اوليك الرسل يا سيدنا لو رايت القديس انطونيوس / تعجبت منه لان شخصه يهرب الشياطين. قال لهم ارسانه الوزير ليس انسان اخر يفعل مثل هذا / القديس . لآكن في هذه الساعه تظهر عجوبة / الله واخبركم ايها الرسل الاجلا . اننى انا الحقيير / ارسانه بعصاته من غير ان يحضر اقامت ابن يسطس / الوزير من الموت . وبينما هم يتحدثون في ذلك / اد دخل القديس فلما راوه الرسل صرخوا باعلا / اصواتهم قايلين نعلمك ايها الملك ان هذا هو / القديس انطونيوس العجايبي . هذا الذي سيرتنا اليه / وابتدوا يقبلوا يديه ورجليه . والقديس يمتنع <61و> من ذلك. ثم قالوا له يا سيدنا الزكي رجل الله . / لمادا تخفى عنا اسمك . حينئذ صرخ الشيطان الذي كان / يخنق ذلك الانسان بصوت عظيم جدا . وقال / احرقنتي ايها البار انطونيوس ليس بقيت اسكت . / والان قد ظهر اسمك الذي به ينير كل المسكونه. / قهرنتي يا انطونيوس وابطلت قوتي وكسرت فخاخي / وعد بتني جدا . اين اهرب منك ان مضيت الي موضع / سكنت فيه على شاطئ البحر فانظر اترا قدامك في / الحجر فلم استطيع اقيم ساعه واحده . وان دنوت / من ديرك اهزمتني تلاميذك واحرقوني بصلواتهم . / وانبا بولا السادج صور صورتك فلا استطيع ابصرها. <61ظ> وبالحق كل الارض ضاقت على وتركت لك / ارض مصر واتيت الي هاهنا جيت خلفي . اين اهرب / منك . بالحقيقه لاهربن منك الي عمق الارض. / ثم خنق ذلك الانسان فانتهره القديس وامره / بالخروج فهرب منه لوقته .

فلما سمع الملك ذلك / وفاق ذلك الانسان من غشوته ابتدوا بالبكاء / والعيول وصاروا الرسل ملقبيين تحت اقدامه. / وهم يقولون يا رجل الله نحن نعلم انك قادر على كل / شي بمعونة الله . اين الترجمان الذي كان يتكلم / بيننا وبينك يا سيدنا الطاهر الذي لا يشان يظهر / فضايله . تدركننا رحمتك . وكان بكاء عظيم <62و> في المدينه قايلين هذا هو القديس

انطونيوس / المصري كوكب البريه . و اقام في بلاد الفرنج / تلتون شهر وعمل عجائب لا تحصى عددها ولورمنا / شرحها لطلال الكلام جدا . وشهدوا اولاده / ان مسيره الي كان مخفى عن بعضهم وذكرو لنا انه / كان يحضر الصلاة معهم فى كل ليلة احد . / ثم ركب السحابه وعاد الى ديره . وكان عمره في / ذلك الوقت تسعين سنه .

+فصل 12+ ومن يقدر ينطق / بالتعاليم المحبيه التى للاب انطونيوس لابس الروح / لما علم انه يترك هذا الجسد . كما اعلمه الروح القدس / جمع اولاده وبدا يكلمهم قايلاً . اسالكم يا اولادي / الاحباء واعلمكم <62ظ> اني ماضي الي الرب له المجد كمثل ساير البشر . / فاحفظوا الوصايا الذي اوصيتكم بهم والتعاليم / المحبيه التى سمعتموها . اطلب اليكم يا اولادي / الاحباء لا تدعوا العالم يظلمكم . اطلب اليكم / يا اولادي الاحباء لا تكسلوا عن خدمة الله له / المجد . اطلب اليكم يا اولادي الاحباء ليكما تقبلوا / التعب في الصلوات . اطلب اليكم يا اولاي الاحباء / ان تكونوا قلباً واحداً . اطلب اليكم يا اولادي / الاحباء ان تحفظوا السننكم من النميمه . اطلب اليكم / يا اولادي الاحباء ان تحفظوا الاسكيم الذي / ليستوه . اطلب اليكم يا اولادي الاحباء احرسوا <63و> اجسادكم طاهره للرب . اطلب يا اولادي الاحباء / لا تدعوا مصايحكم تطفى . اطلب اليكم يا اولادي / الاحباء ان تجعلوا خوف الله داخل قلوبكم . / اطلب اليكم يا اولادي الاحباء كونوا بمحبة واحده / كمثل الرسل . اطلب اليكم يا اولادي الاحباء / احفظوا نفوسكم و النواميس الذي اخذتم . / فانكم لا ترون وجهى بعد كما اعلمنى سيدي يسوع / المسيح له المجد . الله يشهد على يا اولادي الاحباء / انني ما اخفيت عنكم شي من كلام الله . واننى / لم انام ليله وقلبي متوجع على احد منكم . فان / حفظتم ما قلته لكم فسلام الرب يحل عليكم . <63ظ> اذا حفظتم ما قلته لكم فان ملوك الارض تحمل / لكم الهدايا و القرابين . اذا حفظتم ما قلته / لكم فانكم تدوسون راس التنين . اذا حفظتم / ما قلته لكم فان كل الامم يصحبونكم . اذا حفظتم / ما قلته لكم فانكم تاكلون من خيرات الارض . اذا حفظتم / ما قلته لكم فان شعوب كثيره يحسدونكم . / اذا حفظتم ما قلته لكم انكم تصيرون ابهات / لامم كثيره . اذا حفظتم ما قلته لكم فان الجبال / تمتلي اناس كمثل برجة حمام . اذا حفظتم ما / قلته لكم فان ملايكة الرب تحرسكم . اذا حفظتم / ما قلته لكم فانكم تكرمون من كل في العالم . <64و> اذا حفظتم ما قلته لكم فانكم تكونوا بنين لملكوت / السموات . اذا حفظتم ما قلته لكم فليس يعوزكم / من خيرات الارض . لا تكسلوا في هذا الزمان / اليسير حتى تخرجوا من هذا العمر الباطل . و اذا / تبيحت يا اولادي الاحباء اخفوا جسدي ولا تعرفوا / احدا من الناس مكانه . واعطوا التوب الجلد / لانبا اتناسيوس وايضاً الفرش المفروش تحتي . / واعطوا المزره لانبا سراييون الاسقف ولدي / الحبيب . واننت يا مقاره ولدي الحبيب خد / عصاتي التي لي ميراثاً لك . وانتم ايضاً يا اولاد الاحباء خدوا توبي الشعر لتذكروني بها . <64ظ> اعلمكم يا اولادي انني عن قليل انتقل . فلما سمعوا / اباينا القديسين خرجوا وبكوا بكاء مرأً . فعزاهم / انبا اندوه وقال لمادا تبكون وتحزنوني . / فانه لا يمكن هذا يا اولادي لان هذا مصيرنا كلنا / اليه .

فلما كلمهم الاب انطونيوس لابس الروح / واب الرهبان . رفع عينيه الى السماء فنظر / كل طغمت السماء صفواً صفواً يفرحون / و جا اليه الرب يسوع المسيح وكلمه بفرح وبشاشه / قايلاً . قم انهض يا حبيبي انطونيوس وانظر / الي الطقوس العلويه الذي ارسلهم لك ابي السمايى . / قم لتفرح فقد فرغ التعب و جا النياح . قم <65و> يا حبيبي انطونيوس وانظر الي جميع القديسين / لانهم مشتاقين الي نظر كرامتك . قم / يا انطونيوس واخلع توبك هذه الذي تعتقت / بكثره الاتعاب . قم يا انطونيوس انا اكون / معك واحارب اعداك الذي في الطريق . / لان ليس لهم سلطان علي نفسك المحبة لله . / لان ابي اختارك وجعلك ريساً علي جميع / الرهبان لتكون لهم ميلاً ومثالاً حسناً ليتبعونك . / وتكون لهم كمثل ابراهيم اب الاباء . فلما سمع / القديس هذا امتلاً فرحاً لا ينطق به . ورفع / عينيه الي السماء وصلا بشكر هكذا قايلاً / يا سيدي <65ظ> يسوع

المسيح يا الذى تحبه نفسى فى يدبك / اضع روحى . و اسلم النفس و تنيح فى الثانى و العشرون / من شهر طوبه و اخذ
المسيح نفسه الطاهره / و قدمها قرباناً لأبيه الصالح . و اعد له كرسى / و اكليل مجد و استراح مع جميع القديسين .

و كمل / انبا اندوه جميع سعيه بشيخوخه حسنه فى مايه / و عشرين سنه . و دفنوا تلاميذه جسده الطاهر / الدين هم انبا
مقاره . و انبا اسحق . و اخفوه فى / المغاره الذى اشار لهم بها من الابتدا . و ظهر من / جسده ايات و معجزات كثيره .
فطوبوا لمن تبع / اتاره فانه يكون له ابناً فى ملكوت السموات . /

و نسال بمراحم <66و> ربنا و الالهنا يسوع المسيح ان يرحمنا بصلاته . / و يغفر دنوبنا بطلباته . و يعيننا على خلاص /
نفوسنا . و يعطينا القوه و الغلبه على اعدائنا . / ايها الاحباء السامعين اجمعين . و ينيح / نفوسنا امواتنا بصلوات ساير
الشهداء و الرسل / و القديسين . و السواح و المجاهدين . و الدين / ارضوا الرب باعمالهم الصالحه الان و كل اوان و الى
الابد.

APPENDIX 3

Expositions on Antony – Translations

(1) The following exposition on Antony has been translated from SA (*Lit.*) 237, dated 19 Bashans 1376 AM (27 May 1660 AD), which is the oldest extant text of the exposition in the Red Sea monasteries. This version of the exposition was recited each year on Antony's feast day on 22 Ṭūbah (30 January) up until 1936.

Rubricated text is indicated in italic font. The use of rubrics for the repetitive expression *Hail to you* may signify at what points in the liturgical performance of the lengthy veneration the text was interjected with brief congregational responses and praises.

Translation (ff. 186v–193v):

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God, amen.

We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the glorifications of our father the great [one] among the saints, Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the father of the monks. May the blessing of his prayers keep us, amen.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a father of all monks. *Hail to you* who became the star of the wilderness. *Hail to you*, O Anṭūniyūs the saint of God, who left the world and everything in it. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who left his house while [still] a young child of fourteen years. *Hail to you* my father Anṭūniyūs, who said, “what extra do I have more than my fathers?” and said “I will leave this world by any means, for it is better for me to leave it willingly before I leave it unwillingly.” *Hail to you* my father Anṭūniyūs, who said, “I heard the holy Gospel saying: do not worry about tomorrow for tomorrow will worry about its own things, look at the birds of the air, for they neither sow nor reap and your Heavenly Father feeds them.” *Hail to you* my father Anṭūniyūs, who gathered all that he owned and his gardens and left them to his sister, and went into the wilderness. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who heard the word of the holy Gospel that says, “He who does not reject the whole world, and his sister, his mother, and all his money, and carry his cross and follow Me, is not worthy of Me.”

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, whose fame spread throughout all the world. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, the one whom the Frankish kings heard about [how] you heal all kinds of diseases, [and so] they asked the king to send you messengers to the Monastery, and you greeted them and kissed them and said to them, “Go, and I will follow you.” *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy that the Lord send [for] you a cloud of light to carry you to the city of the king who had sent for you. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy to restore the country of the Franks and all its provinces [back] to believing in our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy to be granted from the Lord the gift of healing, and you healed all kinds of diseases so that if just the shadow of your clothes came upon [the sick], they would be healed. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy that the Lord appear to you on a cloud of light, and the people of the city thought that [the city] was being burned because of the abundance of lightning that happened at that blessed hour. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy to speak to the Lord with your pure mouth, and [He] gave you a sword of fire with which you overcame the power of the Devil and his soldiers when they appeared to you, and you were fighting [against] them in the city of the Franks for three days and nights, while the king and the people of the city watched in amazement. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy to stay in the Frankish countries for two and a half years, and on the eve of every Sunday you would travel back to your sons in Egypt.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was worthy that your pure name crush the demons, and [they were] humiliated because of your true humility and the power of your prayers. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who became great in heaven and on earth. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who gave light to the world through your spiritual teachings.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, on whom all the demons gathered and beat severely from the ninth hour to the ninth hour the next day. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was dragged [about] by the demons from the ninth hour until sunrise, while you patiently [endured] through the power of the Lord Christ, glory be to Him.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, to whom the Lord Christ, glory be to Him, appeared saying, “Peace to you my beloved Anṭūniyūs, full of the grace of the Holy Spirit with which you defeat all the demons.” Hail to you, O the strong struggler, who overcame the Devil and

his host. Blessed are you O Anṭūniyūs, and from you [we] are blessed.¹ *Hail to you*, O the one full of grace. *Hail to you*, O the one to whom our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him said, “From now on, you will be the store of My grace, and My miracles are hidden in you. O Anṭūniyūs I tell you the truth, as you cared and kept My commandments, I care for you. Know this Anṭūniyūs, that he who cares for you and glorifies you, I will glorify him in the Kingdom of Heaven.” *Hail to you* my father Anṭūniyūs, to whom Christ, glory be to him, said, “Truly I tell you O Anṭūniyūs, [the one] who endured severe torture for My name[‘s sake], that he who builds a house for you, I will build for him marvellous new houses and preserve him in the heavenly joy, and the Enemy will not be able to approach him. I will give him victory over his enemies, and I will love those who love him and hate [those] who hate him.” *Hail to you* my father Anṭūniyūs, to whom the Lord Christ, glory be to Him said, “O Anṭūniyūs, I swear by the power of My victorious arm that he who writes your life-story or builds a church in your honoured name, I will stand by him with My power, greatness and the heads of My soldiers.² I will stand by him and work in it³ with My hand, and order My archangels to be in its service, and [they shall] be like humans and instruct them⁴ with what they want, and [they shall] work in your church as you want.”

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was crowned by the Lord with the crowns of the *qulunṣuwah* and the brilliant *iskīm* (*monastic skema*). *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who vested the saint Macarius with the vestment of monasticism and taught him its ways. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness, the crown of monks, and the father of the communities of monasteries and wildernesses. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a harbour and salvation for all the monks.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, to whom the Lord Christ, glory be to Him, said, “I care for your church, and with My right hand I consecrate it with the great ones of the hosts of My glory, and everyone who comes to your church I will save him from all his hardships and sins.” *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, to whom the Lord Christ, glory be to Him said, “Whosoever pays an effort in your house to build it, I will care for him inasmuch as his [effort] and reward him in the coming world, as the Gospel bears witness, thirty, sixty and one hundred[-fold], and [I will] write his name in the Book of Life.” *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, to whom the Lord Christ, glory be to Him said, “Blessed is the one who places a

¹ Literally, “and the blessing is taken from you”.

² Meaning the archangels.

³ Meaning the church.

⁴ “them” may refer to those serving in the church.

stone in your house,⁵ his memory will not end. [But] woe to the one who removes a stone from it, I will remove his life from joy and make him inherit damnation.” *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, to whom the Lord Christ said, “Blessed is the one who lights up⁶ your church, I will enlighten his life. Blessed is the one who sweeps your monasteries and cleans them, I will make him inherit joy. Blessed is the one among your sons who is patient [in warfare], for in the Kingdom he will surpass the rank of the patriarchs, the bishops, the prophets, and the saints, and his face will be illuminated like light seven-fold, and he will not be judged on the Day of Judgment. Blessed is the one who dedicates himself [to be] obedient to you, for he will be great in the Kingdom of Heaven.”

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, whom God clothed with the holy vestment and the brilliant *iskīm* and said to you, “I swear to you Anṭūniyūs, that I shall give you more than what I have mentioned.” *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who clothed the father the patriarch in the attire⁷ of angels, which is the *qulunṣuwah*, the *iskīm*, the girdle, the cape, and the *melote* of wool, and said, “From now on, this will be the attire of patriarchs forever.”

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who was present at the repose of the great saint Būlā the first hermit and shrouded his pure body with the garment of the saint Athanasius, and prayed over him, buried him, and took [his] leaf garment.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who soared like a palm tree, and flourished like the cedars of Lebanon in the house of the Lord. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, the luminous lamp, the spirit-bearer, and the father of all monks. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who rose above us like a luminous star. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a harbour and salvation for [attaining] eternal life. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who shunned earthly possessions and loved angelic purity, and became a father for all monks. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, the spirit-bearer whose brightness is apparent, who followed the Lord from his childhood and rejected the world and its inhabitants. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who became beloved of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, because of [your] angelic life, and [so you] became a prophet in [your] generation, laying down the commandments of virtue, [for you were] a harbour and salvation for many souls that [you] brought back to the Lord, and [you were] an undefeated struggler [fighting against] the evil wicked spirits. *Hail to you* my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, who subjected his

⁵ Meaning to construct a church.

⁶ Meaning to light candles or the oil lamp.

⁷ Literally, “form”.

body through virtue, until the Holy Spirit dwelled in him, and [he] completed his good [race] on the 22nd [day] of the blessed month of Ṭūbah.

Hail to you my father the saint Anṭūniyūs, whose holy repose was attended by our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, together with the angels, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and saints, and you rest in the Kingdom of Heaven. Intercede for us, O our great father the saint Anṭūniyūs, before our Lord Jesus Christ, [so that He may] forgive our sins forever, amen.

Finished and completed.

(2) The following exposition on Antony has been translated from the book titled *Veneration for the Virgin Mary and St Antony*,⁸ published in Cairo, 2008.

This version of the exposition has been recited in the Monastery of St Antony since 1936 up to the present day and is performed every Sunday evening after the Office of Compline,⁹ and at the conclusion of the doxologies for Antony, as well as each year on his feast day. Every second to third stanza of the exposition is punctuated with a hymn of *axios*,¹⁰ offering us insight as to how the exposition, and in fact other liturgical texts, such as the *Life*, may have been recited.

Translation (pp. 54–55):

Hail to you our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a father for all monks. Hail to you our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a star of the wilderness.

Hail to you our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, because you left the world and everything in it.

Hail to you our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who insisted on leaving this transient world saying, “It is better [for me] to leave it willingly before I leave it unwillingly.”

⁸ Title in Arabic: تمجيد العذراء مريم والأنبا أنطونيوس

⁹ Between the years 1978 to 1991, this exposition was recited every Saturday morning after completing the midnight praises in place of celebrating the liturgy. However, after the ordination of Bishop Yostos as abbot of the Monastery in 1991, liturgies have been celebrated daily in the Monastery, and the exposition on Antony has been recited every Sunday evening since 1991, as well as on his feast day. Information provided by Fr Būlā al-Anṭūnī.

¹⁰ Conversation with Fr Guirguis al-Anṭūnī on 16 June 2016.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, for you heard the words of the Gospel that says, “If you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and come follow Me, and you will have treasure in heaven.” So you immediately went and sold all that you had and distributed it to the poor, and followed the Lord whom your soul loved, and left a little [of the money] for your sister. And again when you heard the saying of the Lord, “Do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will worry about its own things,” you left your sister in a house for virgins, and went into the wilderness, carrying the cross honestly, and following your Lord whom your soul loved.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, whose pure remembrance has spread all over the world.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who crushed the demons through the power of prayers and true humility.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who was patient in the many warfares with the demons and [endured] the harm [they inflicted on you] and overcame, through the power of the Lord Christ, glory be to Him.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, the strong struggler who overcame the demons and all his soldiers. Blessed are you and from you [we] are blessed.¹¹

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, [who is] full of all grace.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who enlightened the world with spiritual teachings.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness, the crown of monasticism, and the father of the communities of monasteries and wildernesses.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a harbour and salvation for all monks.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who soared like a palm tree and flourished like the cedars of Lebanon in the house of the Lord.

¹¹ Literally, “and the blessing is taken from you”.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who was present at the repose of the great saint Būlā the first hermit and shrouded his pure body with the garment of the saint Athanasius, and prayed over him, buried him, and took [his] leaf garment.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, the luminous lamp, the spirit-bearer, and the father of all monks.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who became a harbour and salvation for attaining eternal life.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who shunned earthly possessions, loved angelic purity, and dwelt in the wilderness like a strong lion, [enduring] the attacks of the evil demons.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who loved the Lord and longed for Him since his childhood, [and] rejected the glory of the world and all that is in it, saying with the Psalmist David, “Oh God my God, I will rise up early unto You, for my soul has thirsted for You, to make my flesh blossom for You in a barren land and a trackless and dry place, so that I may see Your power and Your glory. My soul has kept close behind You, and Your right hand upholds me.”

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who became beloved of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, and [became] a friend of the angels, and [became] a prophet in your generation, laying down the law of virtue. [You became] a harbour and salvation for many souls that [you] brought back to the Lord, and [you became] an undefeated struggler [fighting against] the evil wicked spirits.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, who subjected his body through virtue, until the Holy Spirit dwelled in him, and [he] completed his good [race] on the 22nd [day] of the blessed month of Ṭūbah.

Hail to you my father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, whose holy repose was attended by our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, together with the angels, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and saints, who made a great procession for your blessed soul in the places of rest and repose in the Paradise of Joy.

Your name is great in all the provinces of Egypt, and in all the countries of the world, O our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs.

Hail to your pure body from which we receive healing for the sicknesses of our souls, bodies and spirits.

Hail to your tomb [that is] full of grace.

Truly indeed, your honoured remembrance moves my heart, O our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs.

Intercede for us before the Lord, O our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, to help us as He helped you, [so that we may] complete our struggling [on earth] in peace, through your prayers, and [may He] forgive our sins, through your supplications, and gather us [together] with you without separation in the New Jerusalem.

APPENDIX 4

Expositions on Antony – Transcriptions

(1) The following exposition on Antony has been transcribed from SA (*Lit.*) 237, dated 19 Bashans 1376 AM / 27 May 1660 AD, (ff. 186v–193v):

بسم الأب والأبن والروح القدس إله واحد / نبتديء بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سلام أبينا العظيم في / القديسين
أنبا أنطونيوس أب الرهبان / بركة صلواته تحفظنا أمين/السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / صرت أب جميع
الرهبان السلام لك يا من / صرت كوكب البرية/السلام لك يا قديس / الله يا أنطونيوس يا من ترك العالم وجميع ما / فيه
السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / يا من خرج من بيته وهو ابن أربعة عشر سنة / طفل صغير/السلام لك يا أبي القديس
/ أنطونيوس الذي قال ايش أنا أزيد عن آبائي / وقال لا بد أن أفارق هذا العالم والأصلح لي / أن أخرج منه طوعاً قبل ما
أخرج منه كرهاً /السلام لك يا أبي أنطونيوس الذي قال / سمعاً سمعت الإنجيل المقدس يقول لا تهتموا / بالغد فالغد يهتم
بشأنه انظروا إلى طيور / السماء الذي لا تزرع ولا تحصد وأبوكم / السماي يقوتها/السلام لك يا أبي أنطونيوس / الذي
جمع كلما له وبساتينه وحقوله وتركهم / لأخته ومضى إلى البرية/السلام لك يا أبي / القديس أنطونيوس الذي سمع قول
الإنجيل / المقدس يقول كل من لا يرفض العالم بأسره وأخته / وأمه وكل ماله ويحمل صليبه ويتبعني لا / يستحقني السلام
لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي شاع ذكره الطاهر في كل اقطار المسكونة / كلها/السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس
الذي لما / سمعوا بك بلاد الإفرنج بأنك تشفي الأمراض / بكل نوع فسألوا الملك أن يرسل لك فأرسل / إليك رسلاً وأتوا إلى
الدير وسلمت عليهم / وقبلتهم وقلت لهم امضوا وأنا أسبقكم /السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / استحقيت أن يرسل
لك الرب سحابة / نورانية حملتك إلى مدينه الملك الذي / ارسل لك/السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي استحقيت أن
ترد بلاد الإفرنج وكل / تخومها إلى الإيمان برينا يسوع المسيح له / المجد/السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي
استحقيت ان تُعطى من الرب علم / الشفاء وكنت تشفي الامراض بكل نوع حتي / أن ظل ثيابك فقط يميل عليهم فيشفون /
السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / استحقيت أن يظهر لك الرب على سحابة / نورانية وظنوا أهل المدينه أنها
احترقت / من كثرة البروق التي هبت في تلك الساعة / المباركة/السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي استحقيت أن
تخاطب الرب بفاك / الطاهر وأعطاك سيف من نار وكسرت / به قوت الشيطان وجوده لما ظهروا لك / وأنت تحاربهم في
مدينة الإفرنج ثلاثة أيام / بلياليها والملك وأهل المدينة يتفرجون / عليك وأنت تحاربهم ويتعجبون منك /السلام لك يا أبي
القديس أنطونيوس الذي / استحقيت أن تقيم في بلاد الإفرنج سنتين / ونصف وأنت في كل ليلة الأحد تحضر إلى / عند
أولادك في مدينة مصر/السلام لك / يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي استحقيت / أن يكون اسمك طاهر يسحق الشياطين /
ويرد لهم من أجل اتضاعك الحفاني وقوة / صلواتك/السلام لك يا أبي القديس / أنطونيوس الذي صرت كبير في السماء
وعلي / الأرض/السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / يا من أضأت المسكونه بتعليمك الروحاني /السلام لك يا أبي القديس
أنطونيوس يا من اجتمعوا / عليه الشياطين وضربوه ضرباً شديداً / من وقت التاسعة إلى ثاني يوم التاسعة /السلام لك يا
أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / جرجروه الشياطين من التاسعة إلى / طلوع الشمس وانت صابر بقوة السيد المسيح / له المجد

السلام لك يا أبي أنطونيوس / الذي ظهر لك السيد المسيح له المجد / وقال لك السلام لك يا حبيبي أنطونيوس / الممتليء من نعمه روح القدس وبها تغلب / الشياطين بأسرهم السلام لك أيها المجاهد / القوي الذي غلب الشيطان وطغمته / طوباك يا أنطونيوس ومنك توخذ الطوبى / السلام لك أيها الممتليء من كل نعمة السلام / لك يا من قال لك سيدنا يسوع المسيح / له المجد من الآن أنت مخزن نعمتي / وعجائبي مخفية فيك الحق أقول لك / يا أنطونيوس كما أنك اهتمت وحفظت / وصاياي أنا أهتم بك واعلم يا أنطونيوس / أن كل من يهتم بك ويقدم لك مجدًا أنا أقدم / مجده في ملكوت السموات السلام لك / يا أبي أنطونيوس يا من قال لك المسيح له / المجد الحق أقول لك يا أنطونيوس الذي / نال على اسمي العذاب أمر الصعب أن / كل من يعمر لك بيتًا أنا أعمر له المنازل الجدد / البهية وأخلده في النعيم السمائي ولا / يستطيع العدو ويدنوا منه وأنصره علي / أعداءه وأحب محبيه وأبغض مبغضيه / السلام لك يا أبي أنطونيوس الذي قال / لك السيد المسيح له المجد يا أنطونيوس / وحق قوة ذراعي الغالب أن كل من يكتب / سيرة باسمك أو من يبني بيعة على اسمك / المكرم أنا بقوتي وعظمتي ورؤوس أجنادي / أنا أقف معه وأعمل فيها بيدي وأمر / رؤساء ملائكتي يقفون في خدمتها / ويتشبهون بالأدبيين ويأمرهم بما / يشاءوا ويعملون في بيعتك كما تشاء / السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي كلله الرب بأكاليل التي هي الفلوسة / والإسكيم النوراني السلام لك يا أبي / القديس أنطونيوس الذي لبس أبو مقار / زي الرهينة وعلمه طريقها السلام / لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / وتاج الرهبان وأب مجامع الديارة / والبراري السلام لك يا أبي القديس / أنطونيوس الذي صار ميناء وخلص / لجميع الرهبان السلام لك يا أبي / القديس أنطونيوس الذي قال لك / السيد المسيح له المجد أنا أهتم ببيعتك / وبيمياني أكرزها مع عظماء كراديس / مجدي وكل من يأتي إلي ببيعتك أنا أخلصه / من جميع شدائده وخطاياها السلام لك / يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي قال لك / السيد المسيح له المجد كل من تعب في منزلك / على عمارته كحسب مقداره أنا أهتم به / وأعرضه في العالم العتيد كما شهد الإنجيل / المقدس عوض الواحد ثلاثين وستين / ومائة وأكتب اسمه في سفر الحياة / السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي قال لك السيد المسيح له المجد / طوبى لمن بنى حصوة واحدة في بيعتك / فذكره لا يفنى والويل لمن يقلع الثرى / النابع في بيعتك او يقلع حصوة واحدة / منها فإني أقطع حياته من النعيم وأورثه / في الجحيم السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي قال السيد المسيح له المجد / طوبى لمن يضيء ببيعتك فإني أضيء حياته طوبى / لمن يكنس ديارك وينظفها فإني أورثه / النعيم طوبى لمن يصبر من أولادك فإنه في / الملكوت يعلا على درجة البطاركة / والأساقفة والأنبياء والقديسين ويكون / وجهه يضيء كالنور سبعة أضعاف ولا / يقف في يوم الدينونة طوباك / يا أنطونيوس / وطوبى لمن أوهب نفسه في طاعتك / فإنه يكون عظيمًا في ملكوت السموات / السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / لبسه الله التونيه المقدسة والإسكيم / النوراني وقال لك أنا أقسم لك يا أنطونيوس / نيو إنني أزيدك على ما ذكرت لك / السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / لبس الأب البطريرك شكل الملائكة الذي / هم الفلوسة والإسكيم والمنطقة والبرنس / والتراج الصوف وقال من الآن يكون / هذا لبس البطاركة إلي الأبد السلام لك / يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي حضر / نياحة القديس العظيم أنبا بولا أول السواح / وكفن جسده الطاهر بالحلة الذي لأنبا / أثناسيوس وصليت عليه ودفنته / وأخذت ثوبه اللين السلام لك يا أبي / القديس أنطونيوس الذي عليت مثل النخلة / وكبرت مثل أرز لبنان النابت في بيت الرب / السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / السراج المنير اللابس الروح أب جميع الرهبان / السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي / أشرق لنا مثل الكوكب المنير السلام لك / يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي صار ميناء / وخلص للحياة الأبدية السلام لك يا أبي / القديس أنطونيوس الذي بعد من القنية / الأرضية واحب الطهارة الملائكية الذي / قد صار أب لجميع الرهبان السلام لك / يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس اللابس الروح / واستضاه ظاهره الذي تبع الرب مند صغره / ورفض العالم والسكان فيه السلام / لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس الذي قد صار / حبيبًا لسيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد بعشيرته / الملائكية وصار نبيا في جيله واضعًا / لناмос في الفضيلة وميناء وخلص / لنفوس كثيرة عادهم إلي

الرب ومجاهد / غير مغلوب أمام الأرواح الخبيثة الشريرة // السلام لك يا أبي القديس أنطونيوس / الذي قمع جسده في
الفضيلة حتي عبره / الروح القدس وكمل جهاده الحسن في / الثاني والعشرين من شهر طوبى المبارك // السلام لك يا أبي
القديس أنطونيوس / الذي حضر نياحتك المقدسة سيدنا / يسوع المسيح له المجد والملائكة والأنبياء / والرسل والشهداء
والقديسين وتنيحت / في ملكوت السموات اشفع فينا أيها / العظيم أبينا القديس أنطونيوس أمام / ربنا يسوع المسيح أن يغفر
لنا خطايانا / إلى الأبد آمين / تم وكمل.

(2) The following exposition on Antony has been transcribed from the book titled *Veneration for the Virgin Mary and St Antony*,¹ published in Cairo, 2008.

Transcription (pp. 54–55):

+ السلام لك يا أبينا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من صرت أباً لجميع الرهبان
+ السلام لك يا أبينا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من صرت كوكباً فى البرية .
+ السلام لك يا أبينا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس لأنك تركت العالم و جميع ما فيه .
+ السلام لك يا أبينا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من صمّم على ترك هذا العالم الزائل قائلاً فى نفسه : " الأصلىح أن
أخرج منه طوعاً قبل أن أخرج منه كارهاً و أن أتركه بإرادتى قبل أن أتركه رغماً عنى " .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس لأنك سمعت قول الإنجيل : " إن أردت أن تكون كاملاً فاذهب بع كل
مالك و إعطه للفقراء و تعال إتبعنى فيكون لك كنزاً فى السماء " . فلوقتك مضيت و بعثت كل مالك و وزعته على الفقراء و
إتبعته السيد الذى أحبته نفسك تاركاً الشىء القليل لأختك و لما سمعت قول السيد مرة أخرى : " لا تهتموا بالغد فإن الغد
يهتم بشأنه " .. أودعت أختك ديراً للعذارى و مضيت إلى البرية حاملاً الصليب بأمانة خلف سيدك الذى أحبته نفسك .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس الذى شاع ذكرك الطاهر فى كل أقطار المسكونة .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من سحقت الشياطين بقوة صلاتك ، و بإتضاعك الحقانى .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من صبر على محاربات الشياطين الكثيرة له ، و إيدانهم إياه . وكان
يغلبهم بقوة السيد المسيح له المجد .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا أيها المجاهد القوى الذى غلب الشيطان و كل طغماته ، طوباك يا أبى
القديس ومنك تؤخذ الطوبى . السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس الممتلىء من كل نعمة .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من أضأت المسكونة بتعاليمك الروحية .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية و تاج الرهينة و أب مجامع الأديرة و البرارى .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس الذى صار ميناءً و خلاصاً لجميع الرهبان .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من زهوت مثل النخلة ، ونموت مثل أرز لبنان النابت فى بيت الرب .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس لأنك إستحققت أن تحضر نياحة القديس الأنبا بولا أول السواح ، و كفنت
جسده الطاهر بالحلة التى للبابا أنثاسيوس بعد أن أخذت ثوبه الليف و صليت عليه و دفنته .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس السراج المنير اللابس الروح أب جميع الرهبان . السلام لك يا أبى
القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من صرت ميناءً و خلاصاً للوصول للحياة الأبدية .
+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من بَعُدت عن القتية الأرضية و أحببت الطهارة الملائكية و سكنت
البرية مثل أسد جبار أمام هجمات الشياطين الأشرار .

¹ Title in Arabic: تمجيد العذراء مريم والأنبا أنطونيوس

+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس الذى احب الرب و إشتاق إليه فى زمان مبكر منذ صغره رافضاً مجد العالم و كل ما فيه قائلاً مع المرثل داود : " ياالله إلهى إليك أبكر لأن نفسى عطشت إليك لكى يزهر لك جسدى فى أرض مقفرة و موضع غير مسلوک و مكان بلا ماء ... لأرى قوتك و مجدك ألتحقت نفسى وراءك و يمينك عضدتى " .

+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من صرت حبيباً لسيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد ، صديقاً للملائكة ، نبياً فى جيلك و اضعاً لناموس الفضيلة ، ميناءً و خلاصاً لنفوس كثيرة أرجعتهم للرب . و مجاهداً غير مغلوب أمام الأرواح الخبيثة .

+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس الذى أقمع جسده فى الفضيلة حتى سكنه الروح القدس و أكمل جهاده الحسن فى الثانى و العشرين من شهر طوبه المبارك .

+ السلام لك يا أبى القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس يا من حضر فى وقت نياحتك المقدسة سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد و ملائكته و الأنبياء و الرسل و الشهداء و القديسين ليزفوا نفسك الطوباوية فى موكب عظيم إلى مواضع الراحة و النباح فى فردوس النعيم .

+ أسمك عظيم فى كل كورة مصر و كل بلاد المسكونة يا أبانا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس .

+ السلام لجسدك الطاهر الذى نبع منه الشفاء لأمراض نفوسنا و أجسادنا و أروحننا .

+ السلام لقبرك الممتلىء نعمة .

+ حقاً بالحقيقة حرّك قلبى ذكرك المكرم يا أبانا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس .

+ اشفع فينا يا أبانا القديس العظيم الأنبا أنطونيوس أمام الرب ليعيننا كما أعانك و يكمل جهادنا بسلام بصلواتك و يغفر لنا خطايانا بطلباتك و يجمعنا معك بغير افتراق فى أورشليم الجديدة

APPENDIX 5

Synoptic Overview of the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* in *Bustān al-Ruhbān* (*Garden of Monks*)

The episodes listed down the left hand column are based on those contained in the oldest extant manuscript of the *Shorter Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* at the Red Sea: SA (Hist.) 29, dated 1768 AD.¹ The X marks the presence of the same episode within the manuscript. The last two columns to the right are the publications of the *Bustān al-Ruhbān*; the first of which was printed in 1951,² and the most recent *Bustān* printed in 2014 is the version that is read in all Coptic monasteries today.³ The difference in episode is highlighted.

	SA (Hist.) 29: 1768 AD	SA (Theol.) 301: 1782 AD	SA (Hist.) 32: 1835 AD	SA (Hist.) 35: 1852 AD	SA (Hist.) 208: 1888 AD	SP (Hist.) 9: 18 th c.	SA (Hist.) 33: 19 th c.	<i>Bustān al-Ruhbān</i> (1951, 1952, 1953)	<i>Bustān al-Ruhbān</i> . (2014)
Antony's origins from Upper Egypt	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

¹ The oldest *Bustān al-Ruhbān* at the Red Sea monasteries is catalogued as SA (Hist.) 24, dated 1016 AM (1299 AD). However, it only contains sayings attributed to Antony, but no abridged *Life*.

² Dār al-Naskh wa-al-Taḥrīr al-Qibṭyya al-'Urthudhūksyya. 1951. *Bustān al-Ruhbān 'An Abā' al-Kanīsa al-Qibṭyya al-'Urthudhūksyya*. Cairo. Reprint 1952, 1953.

³ Epiphanius (Bishop). 2014. *Bustān al-Ruhbān*. Wādī al-Naṭrūn.

Antony distributes his wealth after the death of his parents	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
He begins his ascetical life near the riverbank	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
He lives in a tomb. Bedouins live close by	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Lives in a deserted temple	Lives in a deserted temple
He meets a woman bathing in the river who tells him to go into the inner mountain to live a solitary life	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Journeys into the inner mountain which is a 3 day walk from Aṭḫīḥ	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Distance not mentioned	Distance not mentioned
Lives in a cell he builds for himself in the Wādī al-‘Arabāh	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Lives in a village in	Lives in a village in

								Wādī al- 'Arabah	Wādī al- 'Arabah
Paul the Simple joins Antony in the inner mountain	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Paul the simple heals a possessed man	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
He experiences boredom and an angel appears in a monk's habit teaching him to weave.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Experiences much warfare with demons	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
The Lord gives him the <i>qulunṣuwah</i> (cowl) after 30 years of warfare,	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	He suffers warfare	He suffers warfare

gives him the <i>iskīm</i> (<i>monastic skema</i>)								for 30 years	for 30 years
Frankish king invites Antony to visit him	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Antony goes to Frankish countries on a cloud. He visits the minister, heals a blind pig, and heals the king's son	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
The account ends with Antony saying: 'I do not fear God because I love Him and love casts out fear' ⁴	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Ends with a series of Antony's precepts	Ends with a series of Antony's precepts

⁴ See *AP Antony* 32, in Ward 1984: 8.

APPENDIX 6

Islamic References in the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*

A) Islamic expressions contained in the text of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony</i>			
Textual reference	Translation	Reference in the Ms	Reference in the Qur'ān
مردده	Plural of the word “mārid” which means rebel, tyrant, or a giant. In Islamic demonology it refers to a rank of demons.	f. 10v	سورة الصافات ٦
اللهو	Pleasure	f. 19v	سورة الجمعة ١١ سورة العنكبوت ٦٣
زخرفة	Embellishment	f. 5v	يونس ٢٣ سورة الإسراء ٩٢ سورة الزخرف ٣٤ سورة الأنعام ١١١ سورة

الجبار	Tremendous, mighty	f. 20r	سورة الحشر ٢٢
خليل الله	Friend of God ¹	f. 20v, 43r	سورة النساء ١٢٤
الخبيث	Wicked, evil, vicious	f. 19v, 27r	سورة البقرة ٢٦٦ سورة آل عمران ١٧٨ سورة النساء ١ سورة المائدة ٩٩ سورة الأنفال ٣٦ سورة إبراهيم ٢٥ سورة النور ٢٥
الحواريون	Apostles, disciples	f. 43v	سورة آل عمران ٥١ سورة الصف ١٣ سورة المائدة ١١١
الجن	Demons, literally “genies”	f. 44v	سورة الأنعام ٩٩، ١١١، ١٢٧، ١٢٩ سورة الأعراف ٣٧، ١٧٨ سورة الإسراء ٧٨ سورة الكهف ٤٩ سورة النمل ١٦، ٣٨

¹ This expression is also applied to Abraham in both the Old and New Testaments, in 2 Chronicles 20:7; Isaiah 41:8; and James 2:23.

			٤٠ ، سورة سبأ ١١ ، ١٣ ، سورة فصلت ٢٨ سورة الأحقاف ١٧ ، ٢٨ ، سورة الذاريات ٥٥ سورة الرحمن ٣٢ ٥ ، ٣ ، سورة الجن ١
يُعمّر	Build, populate	f. 45v	سورة التوبة ١٦ ، ١٧ .
شيطان مارد	A description of Satan being a rebel, or tyrant, or giant	f. 51v	سورة الصافات ٦
سبحان الله	Praise to God	f. 40r	سورة الصافات ١٥٨ سورة الأنبياء ٢١ سورة المؤمنون ٩٠ سورة النمل ٧ سورة القصص ٦٧ سورة الروم ١٦ سورة الطور ٤٢ سورة الحشر ٢٢

الدنيا والآخرة	The present life and afterlife	f. 39v	سورة البقرة ٢١٦ ، ٢١٩ سورة آل عمران ٢١ ، ٤٤ ، ٥٥ سورة النساء ١٣٣ سورة التوبة ٦٨ سورة يوسف ١٠٠ سورة الحج ١٠ ، ١٤ سورة النور ١٣ ، ١٨ ، ٢٢ سورة الأحزاب ٥٦ سورة الزخرف ٣٤
دار الآخرة	The hereafter	f. 39v	سورة البقرة ٩٣ سورة الأنعام ٣١ سورة الأعراف ١٦٨ سورة يوسف ١٠٨ سورة النحل ٢٩ سورة القصص ٧٦ ، ٨٢ سورة العنكبوت ٦٣ سورة الأحزاب ٢٨

B) Islamicised Scriptural references contained in the text of the <i>Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony</i> ²			
Textual reference	Translation	Reference in the Ms	Reference in the Qur'ān
تعالو الان لتتنظروا الى هذا الانسان لقد اصابنا معه مثلما اصابنا مع ابوه ادم عندما خلقه الله أز عجتني خلقته .	“Come now to see this human from whom we have suffered, in the same way as we suffered from his father Adam when God created him and <i>I was bothered by his creation.</i> ”	f. 10r	سورة البقرة ٣٣ سورة الأعراف ١٠ سورة الإسراء ٦٠ سورة الكهف ٤٩ سورة طه ١١٥
انتخببت داود و فتشسته فوجدته مثل قلبي زل و اخطأ و انخدع بامرأة اوريا ورزق منها سليمان	“I chose David and examined him and found him like My heart. He slipped and sinned <i>and was deceived by Uriah's wife</i> and from her begot Solomon.”	f. 20v	The notion that David was tricked was tricked by Bathsheba is biblically incorrect, because in the Bible account, David was the one who asked for her to be brought to him when he saw her bathing (2 Samuel 11:2–4). Furthermore, it is also worth noting

² I have italicised in the translation column the Qur'ānic references.

			that the child who was born as a result of the adulterous relationship died, and Solomon was born only after David took Bathsheba as a wife (2 Samuel 12:24). The concept of David being tricked has Islamic roots because in Islam, David being a prophet is infallible and therefore cannot be accused as being the one who was at fault. ³
و ماذا تقول في سليمان ابنه الذي لم يقنع بواحدة بل كان له الف امراه. و فسد ملكة التيمن بحلية دقيقة .	“And what do you say of Solomon his son who was not content with one [woman], but had one thousand women and <i>he deceived the Queen of Sheba with a precise trick.</i> ”	f. 42v	٢٨-سورة النمل ٢٢

³ I wish to thank Amir Malek for bringing this to my attention.

APPENDIX 7

A Highlight of Scribal Modifications in Texts of the *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony*¹

SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 53: 1696 AD	SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 107: 1755 AD	SA (<i>Hist.</i>) 99: 1871 AD	SP (<i>Hist.</i>) 136: 1920 AD
ff. 4v–5r: And they had much money and owned much livestock of sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to a lot of money.	f. 3v: And they had much money and owned much livestock of sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to forty thousand denars.	f. 41v: And they had much money and owned much livestock of sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to forty thousand denars.	f. 5v: And they had much money and owned much livestock of sheep, cattle and the like, that is equal to forty thousand denars.
f. 5r: They were from a town called Qimn and they moved from it to al- Bahnasā where they stayed a little while and then returned back to their town.	f. 3v: They were from a town in Upper Egypt called Zaytūn, and they moved from it to al - Bahnasā.	f. 41r: They were from a town in Upper Egypt called Zaytūn, and they moved from it to al - Bahnasā.	f. 6r: They were from a town in Upper Egypt called Zaytūn, and they moved from it to al - Bahnasā.
f. 7r: Then he kissed the hands of the Patriarch and received the	f. 6v: Then he kissed the hands and feet of the Patriarch and	f. 42r: Then he kissed the hands and feet of the Patriarch and	f. 9v: Then he kissed the hands and feet of the Patriarch and

¹ This table is not exhaustive, but rather a sample to illustrate some of the variations between the texts.

<p> blessing of all the bishops [who were gathered].</p>	<p> received the blessing of all the bishops [who were gathered].</p>	<p> received the blessing of all the bishops [who were gathered].</p>	<p> received the blessing of all the bishops [who were gathered].</p>
<p> ff. 7v–8r: Every day and night the saint did many prostrations in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds to the poor, the widows, <8r> and the orphans with all his money. He also left a share for his sister and placed her in the care of one of his relatives</p>	<p> f. 6v: Every night the saint did 1,500 prostrations in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds to the poor, the widows, and the orphans with his money which equated to fifty thousand denars. He also left a share for his sister and placed her in the care of one of his relatives</p>	<p> f. 44r: Every night the saint did 1,500 prostrations in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds to the poor, the widows, and the orphans with his money which equated to fifty thousand denars. He also left a share for his sister and placed her in the care of one of his relatives</p>	<p> f. 12v: Every night the saint did 1,500 prostrations in secret... And he began doing charitable deeds to the poor, the widows, and the orphans with his money which equated to fifty thousand denars. He also left a share for his sister and placed her in the care of one of his relatives</p>
<p> f. 9r: He walked for three hours and reaching the river he crossed over it and found tombs... And [at the time] there was a man looking after him.</p>	<p> f. 8r: He walked for three days and three hours and reaching the river he crossed over it and found tombs... And [at the time] there was a Christian man looking after him.</p>	<p> f. 45r: He walked for three hours and reaching the river he crossed over it and found tombs... And [at the time] there was a Christian man looking after him.</p>	<p> f. 13v: He walked for three hours and reaching the river he crossed over it and found tombs... And [at the time] there was a Christian man looking after him.</p>
<p> f. 13v: They dragged him from the top of the mountain to the</p>	<p> f. 12r: They dragged him from the top of the mountain to the</p>	<p> f. 47v–48r: They dragged him from the top of the mountain to</p>	<p> f. 20r: They dragged him from the top of the mountain to the</p>

<p>bottom while saying, “Get out of our land!” At another time, they dragged him from the bottom of the mountain to the top until there was no skin left on him, all the while yelling, “Get out, get out!”</p>	<p>bottom while saying, “Get out of our land that no human being has seen before except you!” [They dragged him] until there was no hair left on his skin. At another time they dragged him from the bottom to the top, and then dragged him from the top to the bottom until there was no skin left on his flesh, all the while yelling, “Get out, get out!” And at another time they dragged him from the top to the bottom [of the mountain] until there was no flesh left on his bones.</p>	<p>the bottom while saying, “Get out of our land that no human being has seen before except you!” [They dragged him] until there was no hair left on his skin. At another time they dragged him from the bottom to the top, and then dragged him from the top to the bottom until there was no flesh left on his bones.</p>	<p>bottom while saying, “Get out of our land that no human being has seen before except you!” [They dragged him] until there was no hair left on his skin. At another time they dragged him from the bottom to the top, and then dragged him from the top to the bottom until there was no flesh left on his bones.</p>
---	---	---	---

f. 45r: And they gathered upon him and kept beating him severely and dragging him about until sunrise.	f. 46v: And they gathered upon him from the ninth hour until the ninth hour of the next day, and they kept dragging him about from the ninth hour until sunrise of the next day.	f. 77r: And they gathered upon him from the ninth hour until the ninth hour of the next day, and they kept dragging him about from the ninth hour until sunrise of the next day.	f. 56v: And they gathered upon him from the ninth hour until the ninth hour of the next day, and they kept dragging him about from the ninth hour until sunrise of the next day.
f. 56v: Then demons appeared as women and with them blind children, and others possessed, and the Devil began to speak with them and they were healed immediately.	f. 58r–58v. Then demons appeared as women and with them blind children, and others possessed, and others crippled, and the Devil took the appearance of an ascetic speaking to them and they were healed immediately.	f. 87r: Then demons appeared as women and with them blind children, and others possessed, and others crippled, and the Devil began to speak with them and they were healed immediately.	f. 95r: Then demons appeared as women and with them blind children, and others possessed, and others crippled, and the Devil began to speak with them and they were healed immediately.
f. 62r: Then he mounted on the cloud and returned back to his monastery. And his age at that time was ninety years old.	f. 65v: Then he mounted on the cloud and returned back to his monastery. And his age at that time was seventy years old.	f. 93v: Then he mounted on the cloud and returned back to his monastery. And his age at that time was seventy years old.	f. 107v: Then he mounted on the cloud and returned back to his monastery. And his age at that time was seventy years old.

APPENDIX 8

Transcriptions of Colophon and Endowment Statements: Standard, Non-Standard, and Rubricated Words in the Manuscripts

(1) ST PAUL (HISTORY) 53

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff.66r–67v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>بمَعُونَةِ اللَّهِ وتأييده وَرَحْمَتِهِ كَمَلتْ / سِيرَةُ الْآبِ الْعَظِيمِ أَنْطُونِيوسَ / بِالْقَاهِرَةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ كَتَبَهَا أَحَقْرٌ وَأَذَلُّ وَأَضْعَفُ / أَحَدَ الرَّهْبَانِ الَّذِي بِالْأَسْمِ فَقَطْ لَا غَيْرَ / غَبْرِيَالِ عَلَى نَسْخَةِ وَالْعَبْدِ الْحَقِيرِ الْخَاطِئِ الْمَمْسُوكِ تَارِيخَهَا أَرْبَعِمِائَةَ سَبْعَةٍ / وَعَشْرِينَ وَتَمَّتْ هَذِهِ الْجَدِيدَةُ / الْمَضْبُوطُ بِالْأَمَةِ وَذَلَاتُهُ الْغَارِقُ فِي بَحَارِ آثَامِهِ وَزَلَاتُهُ بِشَهَوَاتِ الْعَالَمِ الْحَسِيِّ وَظَلْمَاتِهِ / اهْتَمَّ بِهَذَا / الْكِتَابِ الَّذِي هُوَ سِيرَةُ الْعَظِيمِ الْمُجَاهِدِ فِي الْقَدِيسِينَ وَالْمُجَدِّدِ فِي الطُّوبَانِيِّينَ / الضِيَاءِ الْحَسَنِ ذُو السَّيْطِ الْكَرِيمِ كُوكَبِ الْبَرِيَّةِ وَأَبِ جَمِيعِ الرَّهْبَانِ الْأَوْلِيَيْنِ / وَالْآخِرِينَ قَدْوَةً مِنْ تَشَكُّلِ بِالْأَسْكِيمِ الْمَلَاكِيِّ مَارِي أَنْطُونِيوسِ الْعَجَائِبِيِّ / وَيَتْلُوهَا سِيرَةُ الْآبِ الطُّوبَانِيِّ بُولِسَ أَوَّلِ الْمَنْفَرْدِينَ كَتَبَهُ بِرَسْمِ دِيرِهِ الْعَظِيمِ الشَّانِ الْمَعْرُوفِ كَانَ بِدِيرِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ. صَانَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَعَمَّرَهُ بِذِكْرِهِ عَلَى الدَّوَامِ بِمَنْ / يَحْيِيهِ مِنَ الْكَهْنَةِ وَالشَّمَامَسَةِ وَالرَّهْبَانِ الْآنَ وَالْإِلَى كُلِّ أَوَانٍ رَاجِيًا بِذَلِكَ قَوْلِ مُخْلِصِنَا الصَّالِحِ / أَنْ كُلِّ مَنْ يَكْتُبُ سِيرَةَ لِأَجْلِ مَا تُقْرَأُ فِي الْبَيْعَةِ عَلَى الشَّعْبِ الْمَسِيحِيِّ وَيَعْظُمُوا اللَّهُ صَانِعَ / الْعَجَائِبِ عَلَى يَدِ قَدِيسِيهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يُخَزِّقُ كِتَابَ خَطَايَاهُ وَيَكْتُبُ اسْمَهُ فِي سَفَرِ / الْحَيَاةِ وَأَنَا الْمَسْكِينُ رَغِبْتُ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ الْمَهُولِ الْأَبَدِيِّ الْأَزَلِيِّ الَّذِي لَمْ / يَزَلْ. الَّذِي لَا يَتَقَدَّمُهُ زَمَانٌ وَلَيْسَ لِعَظْمَتِهِ مَنْتَهَى الَّذِي لَا يُفَخِّصُ وَلَا يُوصِّفُ وَلَا / مَنْتَهَى لِعَلْمِهِ أَنْ يَنْعَمَ عَلَى كَاتِبِهِ الدَّلِيلِ بِهَذَا الرَّجَاءِ السَّعِيدِ</p>	<p>بمَعُونَةِ اللَّهِ وتأييده وَرَحْمَتِهِ كَمَلتْ / سِيرَةُ الْآبِ الْعَظِيمِ أَنْطُونِيوسَ / بِالْقَاهِرَةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ كَتَبَهَا أَحَقْرٌ وَأَذَلُّ وَأَضْعَفُ / أَحَدَ الرَّهْبَانِ الَّذِي بِالْأَسْمِ فَقَطْ لَا غَيْرَ / غَبْرِيَالِ عَلَى نَسْخَةِ وَالْعَبْدِ الْحَقِيرِ الْخَاطِئِ الْمَمْسُوكِ تَارِيخَهَا أَرْبَعِمِائَةَ سَبْعَةٍ / وَعَشْرِينَ وَتَمَّتْ هَذِهِ الْجَدِيدَةُ / الْمَضْبُوطُ بِالْأَمَةِ وَذَلَاتُهُ الْغَارِقُ فِي بَحَارِ آثَامِهِ وَزَلَاتُهُ بِشَهَوَاتِ الْعَالَمِ الْحَسِيِّ وَظَلْمَاتِهِ / اهْتَمَّ بِهَذَا / الْكِتَابِ الَّذِي هُوَ سِيرَةُ الْعَظِيمِ الْمُجَاهِدِ فِي الْقَدِيسِينَ وَالْمُجَدِّدِ فِي الطُّوبَانِيِّينَ / الضِيَاءِ الْحَسَنِ ذُو السَّيْطِ الْكَرِيمِ كُوكَبِ الْبَرِيَّةِ وَأَبِ جَمِيعِ الرَّهْبَانِ الْأَوْلِيَيْنِ / وَالْآخِرِينَ قَدْوَةً مِنْ تَشَكُّلِ بِالْأَسْكِيمِ الْمَلَاكِيِّ مَارِي أَنْطُونِيوسِ الْعَجَائِبِيِّ / وَيَتْلُوهَا سِيرَةُ الْآبِ الطُّوبَانِيِّ بُولِسَ أَوَّلِ الْمَنْفَرْدِينَ كَتَبَهُ بِرَسْمِ دِيرِهِ الْعَظِيمِ الشَّانِ الْمَعْرُوفِ كَانَ بِدِيرِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ. صَانَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَعَمَّرَهُ بِذِكْرِهِ عَلَى الدَّوَامِ بِمَنْ / يَحْيِيهِ مِنَ الْكَهْنَةِ وَالشَّمَامَسَةِ وَالرَّهْبَانِ الْآنَ وَالْإِلَى كُلِّ أَوَانٍ رَاجِيًا بِذَلِكَ قَوْلِ مُخْلِصِنَا الصَّالِحِ / أَنْ كُلِّ مَنْ يَكْتُبُ سِيرَةَ لِأَجْلِ مَا تُقْرَأُ فِي الْبَيْعَةِ عَلَى الشَّعْبِ الْمَسِيحِيِّ وَيَعْظُمُوا اللَّهُ صَانِعَ / الْعَجَائِبِ عَلَى يَدِ قَدِيسِيهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يُخَزِّقُ كِتَابَ خَطَايَاهُ وَيَكْتُبُ اسْمَهُ فِي سَفَرِ / الْحَيَاةِ وَأَنَا الْمَسْكِينُ رَغِبْتُ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ الْمَهُولِ الْأَبَدِيِّ الْأَزَلِيِّ الَّذِي لَمْ / يَزَلْ. الَّذِي لَا يَتَقَدَّمُهُ زَمَانٌ وَلَيْسَ لِعَظْمَتِهِ مَنْتَهَى الَّذِي لَا يُفَخِّصُ وَلَا يُوصِّفُ وَلَا / مَنْتَهَى لِعَلْمِهِ أَنْ يَنْعَمَ عَلَى كَاتِبِهِ الدَّلِيلِ بِهَذَا الرَّجَاءِ السَّعِيدِ</p>

<p>عليه ان يحفظه / الى الانقضاء من جميع الزلل من الشياطين الأعدا ويجعله من الفائزين السعدا ويجعل له / شركة ونصيب مع يوليوس المعين كاتب سير الشهداء ويرزقه من افضل المكاسب / وينوله فضل المطالب بشفاة ستنا السيدة العذراء البتول وكافة الملايكة والرسل / والشهداء والقديسين وطلبات هولأ القديسين العظمين احسن الله عاقبته الى الخير / وكل من نظر في هذا الكتاب من اجل الله الجبار ويذكر المسكين كاتبة. فانه بخطاياہ محتار / ومن فعل شيا كان له كالمقدار فان عقله كان جايل في الاقطار وهو بالاسم / غبريال احقر ما في الدير الرب يعطيه رحمة مع الابرار ومن دعا له شى كان / له امتال اضعاف والمجد لله اب الانوار الى دهر الادهار.</p>	<p>المتوكل عليه أن يحفظه / إلى الإنقضاء من جميع الزلل من الشياطين الأعداء ويجعله من الفائزين السعداء ويجعل له / شركة ونصيب مع يوليوس المعين كاتب سير الشهداء ويرزقه من أفضل المكاسب / وينوله فضل المطالب بشفاة ستنا السيدة العذراء البتول وكافة الملائكة والرسل / والشهداء والقديسين وطلبات هولأ القديسين العظمين أحسن الله عاقبته إلى الخير / وكل من نظر في هذا الكتاب من أجل الله الجبار ويذكر المسكين كاتبه. فانه بخطاياہ مُحْتار / ومن فعل شيئاً كان له كالمقدار فإن عقله كان جائل في الأقطار وهو بالاسم / غبريال أحقر ما في الدير الرب يعطيه رحمة مع الأبرار ومن دعى له شىء كان / له أمثال أضعاف والمجد لله أب الأنوار إلى دهر الأدهار.</p>
---	--

TRANSLATION

With the help of God and His support and His mercy, the life-story of the great father Anbā Anṭūniyūs was completed in Miṣr that is protected [by God]. [It was] written by the least and weakest one among monks; [who is a monk] only by name and nothing else, Ghabriyāl, from a copy that dates back 427 years. And the sinful, wicked servant, repressed by the lusts of the physical world and its darkness, made captive by his passions and iniquities, drowning in the sea of his sins and wickedness, cared about [copying] this book which is the life-story of the great fighter among saints and the glorified [one] among the blessed ones, the luminous [one] whose fame is worthy and honourable, the star of the wilderness and the father of all monks, the first and the last [of the monks], the prototype who wore the angelic *iskīm* (monastic skema), Mār Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, [after whose life-story is] followed by the life of the blessed Būlā the first hermit. He wrote it at the expense of his great monastery which was known as Dayr al-‘Arabah. May the almighty God protect it and keep it perpetual through the remembrance of His name by those dwelling in it; the priests, the deacons, and the monks, now and forever. It is

hoped that by fulfilling the saying of our good Saviour that whoever writes a biography that will be read in the church to Christian people so that God the wonder-maker may be magnified through the deeds of His saints, God will tear apart the book of his sins and write his name in the Book of Life. And I the pitiful [one], desire from the great and indescribable, eternal God, [He who] lasts forever and has existed before time and has no end to His greatness, who cannot be described or examined and has no limit to His knowledge, [I desire] that He grants its wretched writer, this joyful hope which he hopes [for], [and that] is to keep him [protected] until the end [of time] from the traps of the hostile demons, and count him among the joyful victors and grant him fellowship and a share with Yūliyūs the helper and author of the martyrs' life-stories, and award him the finest benefits and grant him [his] requests, through the intercessions of our lady the Virgin [Mary], and all the angels and apostles and martyrs and saints, and the prayers of these [two] great saints. May the Lord give him the good end. And whoever reads this book for the sake of the almighty God, let him remember its poor writer because he is troubled over his sins. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him, [for he is in need of blessing because] his mind is scattered. And he is by name Ghabriyāl, the most wicked one in the monastery. May the Lord grant him mercy together with the righteous ones, and he who prays for him, may he receive as much in return many fold. And glory be to God the father of lights to the end of all ages.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f.83v, 11 lines)

وَقَفًا مَوْبِدًا وَحَبَسًا مُخَلَّدًا عَلَى دَيْرِ الْعَظِيمِ / فِي / بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّؤُوفِ الرَّحِيمِ / اللَّهُ الْخَالِصُ
 الْقَدِيسِينَ أَنْبَا أَنْطُونِيوسِ الشَّهِيرِ / بَدِيرِ الْعَرَبَةِ بِجَبَلِ الْقَلْزَمِ لَا يُبَاعُ وَلَا يَرَهَنُ / وَلَا يُودَعُ
 وَلَيْسَ لِأَحَدٍ سُلْطَانًا مِنْ قَبْلِ / الرَّبِّ سَبْحَانَهُ أَنْ يُخْرِجَهُ عَنْ وَقْفِيَةِ / الدَّيْرِ الْمَذْكُورِ أَعْلَاهُ
 فِي إِخْرَاجِهِ / عَنِ الدَّيْرِ الْمَذْكُورِ (...) مَازَالَ عَامَرًا بِالرَّهْبَانِ / وَكَلَّمَن تَعَدَّى وَأَخْرَجَهُ
 الْبِرْكَةَ وَالشُّكْرَ / اللَّهُ (...) وَسَيِّمُونَ / السَّاحِرَ وَعَلَى (...) التَّلَافِ / يَكُونُ نَصِييِهِ (...)
 ش ١٤١٨/

STANDARDISED TEXT

وَقَفًا مَوْبِدًا وَحَبَسًا مُخَلَّدًا عَلَى دَيْرِ الْعَظِيمِ / فِي / بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّؤُوفِ الرَّحِيمِ / اللَّهُ الْخَالِصُ
 الْقَدِيسِينَ أَنْبَا أَنْطُونِيوسِ الشَّهِيرِ / بَدِيرِ الْعَرَبَةِ بِجَبَلِ الْقَلْزَمِ لَا يُبَاعُ وَلَا يَرَهَنُ / وَلَا يُودَعُ
 وَلَيْسَ لِأَحَدٍ سُلْطَانًا مِنْ قَبْلِ / الرَّبِّ سَبْحَانَهُ أَنْ يُخْرِجَهُ عَنْ وَقْفِيَةِ / الدَّيْرِ الْمَذْكُورِ أَعْلَاهُ
 فِي إِخْرَاجِهِ / عَنِ الدَّيْرِ الْمَذْكُورِ (...) مَازَالَ عَامَرًا بِالرَّهْبَانِ / وَكَلَّمَن تَعَدَّى وَأَخْرَجَهُ
 الْبِرْكَةَ وَالشُّكْرَ / اللَّهُ (...) وَسَيِّمُونَ / السَّاحِرَ وَعَلَى (...) التَّلَافِ / يَكُونُ نَصِييِهِ (...)
 ش ١٤١٨/

TRANSLATION

<In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great [one] among saints, Anbā Anṭūniyūs, [which is] well-known as Dayr al-‘Arabah in the mountain of Qalzam. Not to be sold or pawned, and no one is permitted by the almighty God to remove it from its endowment to the above-mentioned monastery, so long as it is inhabited by monks. And whoever disobeys this commandment and removes it (...) outside of the above-mentioned monastery (. . .) may his share with (...) and Simon the Magician (...) the blessing and thanks be to God. 1418 [year of the] martyrs.>

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT (RUBRICS)	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بَعون الإله بشرح سيرة القديس / العظيم كوكب وَضَعَهَا الأب البيرية وَأب جميع الرهبان / أنبا أنطونيوس الأسقف / أنبا سرابيون أحد تلاميذه صلاتهم تحرسنا آمين أيها الشعب الحاضر ها هنا / قال اخبركم</p>	<p>نبتديء بعون الإله بشرح سيرة القديس / العظيم كوكب ووضعها الأب البيرية وأب جميع الرهبان / أنبا أنطونيوس الأسقف / أنبا سرابيون أحد تلاميذه صلاتهم تحرسنا آمين أيها الشعب الحاضر ها هنا / قال أخبركم</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God to copy the life of the great saint, the star of the wilderness [and] father of all monks, Anbā Anṭūniyūs, expounded by the father bishop Anbā Serapion one of his disciples. May their prayers keep us amen. [He] said: I tell you O you people present in this place</i></p>
<p>والآن نبتدي بمَعونة الله جَلَّ اسْمُهُ</p>	<p>والآن نبتديء بمَعونة الله جَلَّ اسمه</p>	<p><i>And now we begin with the help of God whose name is praised</i></p>
<p>وَكَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ الزَّمان</p>	<p>و كان في ذلك الزمان</p>	<p><i>And there was at that time</i></p>
<p>وَ أَمَّ القديس الجليل المكرم ماري أنطونيوس</p>	<p>و أمَّا القديس الجليل المكرم ماري أنطونيوس</p>	<p><i>But as for the revered saint the glorified Mār Anṭūniyūs</i></p>

وذلك أنه لما شاع خبر هذا القديس في كل مكان	وذلك أنه لما شاع خبر هذا القديس في كل مكان	And when this saint became famous everywhere
ولما شاع خبره في أقطار المسكونة أنه قد ظهر في	ولما شاع خبره في أقطار المسكونة أنه قد ظهر في	And when he became famous in the world that he appeared in
وايضا من عجايبه	أيضا من عجايبه	And also among his wonders

(2) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 104

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 1v, 13 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>لما كان بتاريخ يوم الاثنين المبارك ثالث وعشرين شهر مسري / المبارك سنه ١٤١٣ الموافق للشهده الأظهار / حضر الى ذلك المكان المقدس بدير أنطونيوس العظيم / بجبل العربيه / كاتب هذه الأحرف الحقير عبد السيد بالاسم قس الفشني / وذلك الإخوة وهما القس عبد المسيح والشماس المكرم / المعلم رزق الله ونحن نسأل كل واقفا على بعده / الأحرف بعد طرب المطانوه ان يدعوا لهم بغفران / خطاياهم بشفاعه العدري والدة الخلاص وجميع / الشهده والقديسين ومن ارضا الرب باعماله / الصالحه من المبتدي الي المنتهي من الان / وكل اوان والي داهر الداهرين امين يقولنا / اجمعين كيرياأبصون.</p>	<p>لما كان بتاريخ يوم الاثنين المبارك ثالث وعشرين شهر مسري / المبارك سنة ١٤١٣ الموافق للشهداء الأظهار / حضر إلى ذلك المكان المقدس بدير أنطونيوس العظيم / بجبل العربيه / كاتب هذه الأحرف الحقير عبد السيد بالاسم قس الفشني / وذلك الإخوة وهما القس عبد المسيح والشماس المكرم / المعلم رزق الله ونحن نسأل كل واقفا على بعده / الأحرف بعد ضرب المبطانية أن يدعوا لهم بغفران / خطاياهم بشفاعه العذراء والدة الخلاص وجميع / الشهداء والقديسين ومن أرضى الرب بأعماله / الصالحه من المبتدي إلى المنتهي من الآن / وكل أوان وإلى دهر الداهرين أمين يقولنا / أجمعين كيرياأبصون.</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>On the blessed day of Monday the 23rd day of the blessed month of Misrá, in the year 1413 that is of the pure martyrs, the scribe of these letters, the wretched ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Fashnī, a priest only by name, came to that holy place of the Monastery of the great Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-‘Arabah, with the brothers: the priest ‘Abd al-Masīḥ and the revered deacon al-Mu‘allim Rizq-Allāh. And we ask</p>	

everyone who reads these letters, after prostrating, to ask for the forgiveness of their sins. Through the intercessions of the Virgin, the mother of salvation, and all the martyrs and saints; those who pleased the Lord with their good deeds from the beginning and to the end of ages, now and forever, amen. Together we say: Lord have mercy.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT f. 59r, 7 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وقفاً مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير القديس / العظيم انبا انطونيوس بجبل القلزم فلا احداً / معهُ حل ولا اجازة من قِبَل الرب القدوس / ان يخرجهُ من وقفيتهُ بوجه من وجوه التلف / بل يقرأ فيه ويردّه الي خزانة الكتب / وعلى ابن الطاعة تحل البركة والله الشكر / دائماً.</p>	<p>وقفاً مؤبداً وحبساً مُخلداً على دير القديس / العظيم أنبا أنطونيوس بجبل القلزم فلا أحد / معهُ حل ولا إجازة من قِبَل الرب القدوس / أن يُخرجهُ من وقفيتهُ بوجه من وجوه التلف / بل يقرأ فيه ويردّه إلى خزانة الكتب / وعلى ابن الطاعة تحل البركة والله الشكر / دائماً.</p>

TRANSLATION

< Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. No one has permission or authorisation from Holy God to remove it from [the place of] its endowment by any means to cause damage [to the book], but [one] can read in it and return [it] to the library. And blessings upon the son of obedience. And thanks be to God always. >

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ سيرة / القديس الكبير الطوباني العظيم في الابا القديسين / انبا انطونيوس كوكب البرية صلواته معنا امين</p>	<p>نبتديء بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ سيرة / القديس الكبير الطوباني العظيم في الآباء القديسين / أنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية صلواته معنا أمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the great, blessed saint the great among the holy fathers Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the</i></p>

		<i>wilderness. May his prayers be with us, amen.</i>
اسالك تبارك	أسالك تبارك	<i>I ask you to bless</i>
القديس	القديس	<i>The saint</i>
يا سيدي يسوع المسيح	يا سيدي يسوع المسيح	<i>my master Jesus Christ</i>
اسمك القدوس	اسمك القدوس	<i>Your holy name</i>
يسوع المسيح	يسوع المسيح	<i>Jesus Christ</i>
هذه	هذه	<i>This</i>
كملت سيرة القديس العظيم انطونيوس / الرب يغفر لناسخها وقارئها وسامعها	كملت سيرة القديس العظيم أنطونيوس / الرب يغفر لناسخها وقارئها وسامعها	<i>Completed, the life-story of the great saint Anṭūniyūs. May the Lord forgive the sins of its scribe and reader and hearer.</i>

(3) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 100

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 86r, 5 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وكان الفراغ من هذه السيرة المباركة سيره ابونا / انطونيوس في يوم لاتنين السابع والعشرين / من شهر بابه سنه الف واربعمائه وخمسه / وعشرين للشهداء الأطهار بركه صلواتهم / وطلباتهم تكون معنا وجميع بني المعموديه / امين</p>	<p>وكان الفراغ من هذه السيرة المباركة سيرة أبونا / أنطونيوس في يوم الاثنين السابع والعشرين / من شهر بابه سنه ألف وأربعمائه وخمسة / وعشرين للشهداء الأطهار بركة صلواتهم / وطلباتهم تكون معنا وجميع بني المعموديه / أمين</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>The completion of the blessed life of our father Antūniyūs was on Monday 27 Bābah 1425 [in the year of] the pure martyrs. May the blessings of their prayers and supplications be with us and [with] the children of baptism, amen.</p>	
ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: Flyleaf <i>i</i> , 12 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>بسم الله الرؤوف الرحيم / وفقاً مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً علي دير ابينا / انطونيوس بيرية العربة بجبل القلزم / ليس لاحد سلطان من قبل الله ان يخرجه / عن وقفيته ولا ينزل من صور الدير ما دام / عامر ولا احد يستملك عليه ولا ينزع / هذه الورقة ولا اي وجه تلف ومن يخالف / ما حددها يكون تحت عقد / الصليب وابن الطاعة تحل عليه البركة / والمخالف حاله تالف والله الشكر دائماً / ١٦٠٣ / ١٢ باوونه.</p>	<p>بسم الله الرؤوف الرحيم / وفقاً مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً علي دير أبينا / أنطونيوس بيرية العربة بجبل القلزم / ليس لأحد سلطان من قبل الله أن يُخرجَه / عن وقفيته ولا ينزل من صور الدير ما دام / عامر ولا أحد يستملك عليه ولا ينزع / هذه الورقة ولا أي وجه تلف ومن يُخالف / ما حددها يكون تحت عقد / الصليب وابن الطاعة تحل عليه البركة / والمخالف حاله تالف والله الشكر دائماً / ١٦٠٣ / ١٢ باوونه.</p>

TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the monastery of our father Anṭūniyūs in the wilderness of al-‘Arabah in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. No one is permitted by God to remove it from [the place of] its endowment or to take it beyond the wall of the Monastery as long as the Monastery is inhabited. [It is] not to be possessed by anyone, nor is this page to be removed by any means, and whosoever shall disobey what is written [here] will be bound by the [power of the] cross. And blessings upon the son of obedience, [but] the state of the disobedient [one] is [spoiled]. And thanks be to God always. 1603 [AM], 12 Ba’ūnah.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني / في الاباء القديسين ابينا انطونيوس / كوكب التريه بركة صلواته معنا امين</p>	<p>نبتديء بعون الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني / في الابهاء القديسين أبينا أنطونيوس / كوكب الترية بركة صلواته معنا آمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, who is blessed among the fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us amen.</i></p>
<p>وايضًا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من بعض عجائبه</p>	<p><i>And also some of his wonders</i></p>
<p>وأيضًا من عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من عجائبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>

(4) ST PAUL (HISTORY) 26

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff. 128r–128v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك يوم / السبت الخامس والعشرون من شهر بؤونة / سنة ألف وأربعمائة وتلتون للشهداء / الأطهار الأبرار بركاتهم علينا أمين / وكتب ذلك بدير القديس العظيم أنبا بولا / أول السواح الله يُعمره على الدوام أمين / كتبه أحقر الرهبان وأدلهما يوحنا بالاسم / راهب أحد رهبان دير القديس العظيم أنبا / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية وتاج الرهبان / الاسم الحلو الله يُعمره على الدوام أمين / ومن قرأ فيه ووجد غلطة ويصلحها الله / يصلح أموره ودينياه على أن الناسخ عاجز وقليل المعرفة / ومن قال شيئاً فله أمثاله في ملكوت السموات / وان يديم لنا وعلينا رياسة أبينا وسيدنا / ورأسنا ورئيسنا الساهر عن خلاص نفوسنا / خليفة الله على بيعته الموتمن على رعايه رعيته / ذو الفضائل الإلهية وسائر السيرة الحسنة / الملايكية الورع الزاهد الناسك العابد الفاضل / الكامل المعلم العالم العامل الأب السيد البطريرك / المكرم أنبا فلان بطريرك المدينة العظمى لاسكندرية / والديار المصرية والممالك الحبشه والنوبة والمدينة / الزاهرة الطاهرة الأورشليمية والخمس مدن / الغربية ومدينة إفريقية ونيقية وسنترية / يُثبت الله كرسيه على صخرة الإيمان ويصفي أيام / رئاسته من الكدر والأحزان وجدد لرعيته / الرحمة والغفران .</p>	<p>وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك يوم / السبت الخامس والعشرون من شهر بؤونة / سنة ألف وأربعمائة وتلتون للشهداء / الأطهار الأبرار بركاتهم علينا أمين / وكتب ذلك بدير القديس العظيم أنبا بولا / أول السواح الله يُعمره على الدوام أمين / كتبه أحقر الرهبان وأدلهما يوحنا بالاسم / راهب أحد رهبان دير القديس العظيم أنبا / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية وتاج الرهبان / الاسم الحلو الله يُعمره على الدوام أمين / ومن قرأ فيه ووجد غلطة ويصلحها الله / يصلح أموره ودينياه على أن الناسخ عاجز وقليل المعرفة / ومن قال شيئاً فله أمثاله في ملكوت السموات / وأن يديم لنا وعلينا رئاسة أبينا وسيدنا / ورأسنا ورئيسنا الساهر عن خلاص نفوسنا / خليفة الله على بيعته المؤمن على رعاية رعيته / ذو الفضائل الإلهية وسائر السيرة الحسنة / الملائكية الورع الزاهد الناسك العابد الفاضل / الكامل المعلم العالم العامل الأب السيد البطريرك / المكرم أنبا فلان بطريرك المدينة العظمى الإسكندرية / والديار المصرية والممالك الحبشه والنوبة والمدينة / الزاهرة الطاهرة الأورشليمية والخمس مدن / الغربية ومدينة إفريقية ونيقية وسنترية / يُثبت الله كرسيه على صخرة الإيمان ويصفي أيام / رئاسته من الكدر والأحزان وجدد لرعيته / الرحمة والغفران .</p>
TRANSLATION	

This blessed book was completed on Saturday 25 Ba'ūnah 1430 of the pure righteous martyrs. May their prayers be with us, amen. And it was written in the Monastery of the great Anbā Būlā the first hermit. May God keep it inhabited perpetually, amen. Written by the most wretched and lowest monk, Yūḥannā, [who is] by name only a monk, [who is] one of the monks of the Monastery of the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness and the crown of the monks, the beautiful name. May God keep it always perpetually inhabited, amen. And he who reads [this book] and finds a mistake and corrects it, God will correct all things in his life, for he who writes is limited and of little knowledge. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in the Kingdom of Heaven. And may He preserve for us and on us the leadership of our father and master and head, the one who is vigilant over the salvation of our souls, the representative of God in His Church, [the one] who is the steward caring for his congregation, who has divine virtues and a good and angelic life, who is revered and [possesses] ascetic virtues, the perfect teacher and expert [in word and deed], the father and master, the dignified patriarch Anbā 'so and so' the patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and the Egyptian monasteries, and the Ethiopian monasteries, and Nubia, and the pure brilliant city Jerusalem, and the five western cities, Africa, and Cyrene. May God preserve him on his throne on the rock of faith, and protect the days of his leadership from sadness and hardships, and [may He] continually grant mercy and forgiveness to his congregation.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: Flyleaf ii)

بسم الله الرووف / وقفاً موبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير ابينا القديس / العظيم البار انبا بولا
اول السواح بجبل نمره / لم اُخذ معه حل ولا اجازة من فم الرب القدوس ان ينزله الريف
او يحبس / في القلاي او يرهن او يباع ولا يخرج من / الكنيسة جملة كافيته الا على يد
النسخه / او القراه فيه ويعود بالتاني ومن تجاسر / واخرجه عن وقفيته هذه فهو يكون
محروم / مقطوع مفروز بكلمة الله القاطعه / المانعه اجارنا الله من هذا وابن / الطاعه
تحل عليه البركه والمخالف حاله / تالف والشكر لله دائماً / ابدياً امين

STANDARDISED TEXT

بسم الله الرووف / وقفاً موبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير ابينا القديس / العظيم البار انبا بولا
أول السواح بجبل نمره / لم أحد معه حل ولا إجازة من فم الرب القدوس أن ينزله الريف
أو يحبس / في القلاي أو يرهن أو يُباع ولا يُخرج من / الكنيسة جملة كافية إلا على يد
من النسخة / أو القراءة فيه ويعود بالتاني ومن تجاسر / وأخرجه عن وقفيته هذه فهو
يكون محروم / مقطوع مفروز بكلمة الله القاطعه / المانعة أجارنا الله من هذا وابن /
الطاعة تحل عليه البركة والمخالف حاله / تالف والشكر لله دائماً / أبدياً أمين

TRANSLATION		
<p><In the name of the compassionate God. An Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our holy father the great <i>righteous Anbā Būlā</i> the first hermit, in the Mountain of <i>Nimrah (tigers)</i>. No one shall be permitted or absolved from the mouth of the holy <i>Lord</i> to take it down to the countryside, or to keep it in [their] cells, or for it to be pawned, or to be sold, or to be taken out of the church by any means, except for copying or reading it and [then] returning it back. Therefore, whoever dares and removes it [from the place] of its endowment will be banished and exiled by the harsh and foreboding word of <i>God</i>. May <i>God</i> keep us from this, and blessings be upon the son of obedience. [But] the state of the disobedient [one] is spoiled. Thanks be to God always and forever, amen.></p>		
ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT #2: f. 127v):	STANDARDISED TEXT	
ومن خالف ذلك محروم من فم الله / وقفاً موبدًا وحبسًا على دير ابونا البار انبا بولا لا ينزل من صور الدير ولا يستملك احد في قلايته	ومن خالف ذلك محروم من فم الله / وقفاً مؤبداً وحبسًا على دير أبونا البار أنبا بولا لا ينزل من سور الدير ولا يستملك أحد في قلايته	
TRANSLATION		
<p><And he who disobeys this will be banished by the mouth of God. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the righteous <i>Anbā Būlā</i> the first hermit. [It is] not to be taken out beyond the wall of the Monastery or possessed by anyone in their cell.></p>		
ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الأبا القديسين ابينا / انبا انطونيوس	نبتديء بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الأبا القديسين أبينا / أنبا أنطونيوس	<i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] among the</i>

كوكب البريه بركه / صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من... الشرير / اخبركم ايها الشعب الحاضرين في هذه البيعه	كوكب البريه بركة / صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من... الشرير / أخبركم أيها الشعب الحاضرين في هذه البيعة	<i>holy fathers, the saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and keep us and protect us from the Evil One. I will tell you, O you present in this church</i>
وايضا من عجايبه	وأيضًا من عجائبه	<i>And also among his wonders</i>

(5) ST PAUL (HISTORY) 39

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 166v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
كمل هذا الكتاب المبارك في الثلاثين من شهر برمودة سنة ١٤٥٧ للشهداء شفاعتهم وصلواتهم تكون معنا وقد تم كتابته في دير الأنبا بولا أول السواح العامر بالرهبان	كمل هذا الكتاب المبارك في الثلاثين من شهر برمودة سنة ١٤٥٧ للشهداء شفاعتهم وصلواتهم تكون معنا وقد تم كتابته في دير الأنبا بولا أول السواح العامر بالرهبان
TRANSLATION	
This blessed book was completed on 30 Baramūda 1457 [year of the] martyrs. May their prayers and intercessions be with us. And at that time it was written in the Monastery of St Paul the first hermit which is [currently] inhabited with monks.	
ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: flyleaf v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
وقف مؤيد وحبس مخلد على دير أبينا أنبا بولا. لا يباع ولا يرهن ولا يخرج. ومن يخالف ذلك يكون نصيبه مع سيمون الساحر، وعلى ابن الطاعة تحل البركة	وقف مؤيد وحبس مخلد على دير أبينا أنبا بولا. لا يُباع ولا يُرهن ولا يخرج. ومن يخالف ذلك يكون نصيبه مع سيمون الساحر، وعلى ابن الطاعة تحل البركة

TRANSLATION

Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father Anbā Būlā. Not to be sold or pawned or taken out. And whoever disobeys will have his share with Simon the Magician. And blessings be upon the son of obedience.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الابا القديسين ابينا / انبا انطونيوس كوكب البرية بركه / صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من ... الشرير / اخبركم ايها الشعب الحاضرين في هذه البيعه</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الاباء القديسين ابينا / انبا انطونيوس كوكب البرية بركة / صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من ... الشرير / أخبركم أيها الشعب الحاضرين في هذه البيعه</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] among the holy fathers, the saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and keep us and protect us from the enemy. I will tell you, O you present in this church</i></p>
<p>وايضا من عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضاً من عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>
<p>واسمعوا ايضاً خبر عظيم عن هذا القديس</p>	<p>واسمعوا أيضاً خبر عظيم عن هذا القديس</p>	<p><i>And hear also a great story about this saint</i></p>

ونريد يا اخوتي الحاضرين / في هذا العيد المبارك علينا وعليكم / اجمعين امين	ونريد يا إخوتي الحاضرين / في هذا العيد المبارك علينا وعليكم / أجمعين آمين	<i>And we want my brothers attending this feast – may its blessing be upon us and all of you, amen</i>
--	--	--

(6) ST PAUL (HISTORY) 18

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff. 354r–355v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>كمل / هذا الكتاب المبارك بسَلَام من الرب امين / وكان الفراغ منه يوم الربعا المبارك سادس / عشرين شهر بابه سنة الف واربعمايه / اثنين وستين للشهدا الأظهار احسن / الله العاقبه الي خير وسلامه وكان / ذلك بناحية بهجوره والناقل المسكين الخاطي / العاجز المهين الكثير الخطايا والذنوب / الممتلي من كل القبائح والعيوب الدنس بكثرة / اثامه المصنغ بالخطايا سنوه وايمه / العاري من الفضائل المكتسي باصناف الرذائل / الذي لا يستحق ان يرفع راسه ولا يطلع عليه اسم الانسانية من اجل كثرة / خطايه وذنوبه الغير مستحق ان يدعى / بالاسم نصير ابن هواش ابن سليمان ابن / انطونيوس انطونيوس ابن صفي الملقب بالبططي بناحية بهجوره / عمرها الله تعالى مدة اللبالي والايام امين / وهو يسال كل واقفا عليه جاتيا بهامته / الخاطيه تحت اقدامه وبين يديه ان / يدعو له بالرحمه والمسامحه ومغفرة الخطايا / يوم الدينونة المرهوب هو والديه واخوته / وسائر بني المعمودية ومن قال شيئا الرب / يعوضه عوض الواحد ثلثون وستون ومائة / في ملكوت السموات امين والشكر لله دائما / كتبت / وقد ايقنت يوم كتابتي بان يدي تفنا ويفنا / كتابها فان اله العرش اغدا يسالها فيا لبيت / شعري ماذا يكون جوابها فبالله يا قاري / الخط تفكر الايادي وما اصبتها ام في نعيم / الجنان مخلدا ام في جحيم يطول عذابها يا قاري الخط بالعين انظره لا تنسا كاتبه بالخير / اذكره وهب له بالله دعوتنا صافيتا لعل في / صروف الدهر تنفعه هذا كتابتي باليمين / كتبتة ستبلي يميني والخراف رواتبو وعان / الله اقواما قروا وترحموا علي من لهذا الخط / كاتبو اما الخط يبقا بعد كاتبه زمانا / وكاتب الخط</p>	<p>كمل / هذا الكتاب المبارك بسلام من الرب أمين / وكان الفراغ منه يوم الأربعاء المبارك سادس / عشرين شهر بابه سنة ألف وأربعمائة / اثنين وستين للشهدا الأظهار أحسن / الله العاقبة إلى خير وسلامة وكان / ذلك بناحية بهجورة والناقل المسكين الخاطيء / العاجز المهين الكثير الخطايا والذنوب / الممتليء من كل القبائح والعيوب الدنس بكثرة / أثامه المصنغ بالخطايا سنوه وإيمه / العاري من الفضائل المكتسي بأصناف الرذائل / الذي لا يستحق أن يرفع رأسه ولا يطلع عليه اسم الإنسانية من أجل كثرة / خطايه وذنوبه الغير مستحق أن يدعى / بالاسم نصير ابن هواش ابن سليمان ابن / انطونيوس أنطونيوس ابن صفي الملقب بالبططي بناحية بهجورة / عمرها الله تعالى مدة اللبالي والأيام أمين / وهو يسأل كل واقفا عليه جاتيا بهامته / الخاطئة تحت أقدامه وبين يديه أن / يدعو له بالرحمة والمسامحة ومغفرة الخطايا / يوم الدينونة المرهوب هو والديه وإخوته / وسائر بني المعمودية ومن قال شيئا الرب / يعوضه عوض الواحد ثلثون وستون ومائة / في ملكوت السموات أمين والشكر لله دائما / كتبت / وقد أيقنت يوم كتابتي بأن يدي تفنى ويفنى / كتابها فإن إله العرش غدا يسألها فيا لبيت / شعري ماذا يكون جوابها فبالله يا قاري / الخط تفكر الأيادي وما أصابها أم في نعيم / الجنان مخلدا أم في جحيم يطول عذابها يا قاري الخط بالعين انظره لا تنسى كاتبه بالخير / اذكره وهب له بالله دعوة صافية لعل في / صروف الدهر تنفعه هذا كتابتي باليمين / كتبتة ستبلي يميني والخراف رواتب وعان / الله اقواما قروا وترحموا على من لهذا الخط / كاتب أما الخط يبقى بعد كاتبه</p>

<p>تحت الرماد ملحودي / يا عالمًا بالسّر مني لا تكشف السّتر عني / يا عالمًا بحالي عليك اتكالي / غيره الموت حق والحياه باطل / لولا الموت ما دل كل جبار عنيد ولولا / الفقر ما خدمت الاسياد العبيد .</p>	<p>زمانًا / وكاتب الخط تحت الرماد ملحود / يا عالمًا بالسّر مني لا تكشف السّتر عني / يا عالمًا بحالي عليك اتكالي / غيره الموت حق والحياة باطل / لولا الموت ما دُلَّ كل جبار عنيد ولولا / الفقر ما خدمت الأسياذ العبيد .</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>This blessed book was completed with peace from the Lord, amen. It was completed on the blessed Wednesday 26 Bābah 1462 [year of the] martyrs, in Bahjūrah [by] the sinner, the poor [one], imperfect scribe, low, full of sins, full of faults and ugliness, stained with the sins of his days and years, devoid of virtues and clad in vice, who does not deserve to raise his head, nor to be called a human because of the abundance of his sins, the unworthy [one] to be called by name, Nāṣir ibn Hūsha‘ ibn Sulaymān ibn Anṭūniyūs ibn Ṣafiy, who is [known as] al-Baṭaṭī of [the village of] Bahjūrah. May God keep it perpetual for nights and days, amen. And he asks everyone who reads [this book] – after putting his sinful head under his feet and between his hands, to ask [God to grant] him and his parents and brothers and all the children of baptism, mercy and forgiveness of [their] sins in the dreadful Day of Judgment. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him thirty, sixty, and a hundred-fold in the Kingdom of Heaven, amen. And thanks be to God always. I wrote and I realised on the day of [completing my] writing that my hand will end and its writing will end, and tomorrow the God of the Throne will ask of it [an account] and I do not know what the response will be. So O the one reading this handwriting, I ask you for the sake of God, to think about the hands [which wrote this book] and what ever happened to them; whether they are in the eternal joy of Paradise or suffering in Hades. O the one who reads the handwriting [in this book], look at it with your eyes and do not forget to remember its writer with goodness and pray for him. May your prayers be of benefit to him. This is my writing. I wrote it with the right [hand]. My right [hand] will end but the words will remain constant. May God help the people who read [this book] and [may they] ask mercy for the one who wrote it. The writing will last after the writer for a time, and the writer will be buried under the ground. O the One who knows the innermost, hidden secret [of a sin] more than me, do not remove [Your] cover [of protection] away from me. O You the One who knows</p>	

my state, I rely on You. *Other than that*, death is true and life is vain. Without death, each strong, stubborn [person] cannot be humiliated, and without poverty, servants will not serve masters.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: flyleaf i)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وقفأ مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير ابينا انبا بولا. لا / يباع ولا يرهن ولا يخر عن وقفته ولا ينزل الريف / ولا يستملك عليه احد من العلمانيين ولا الرهبان / في قلايته لنفسه بل يكون في خزانه الكتب والذي يا / يأخذه يقره بالتحالي لمن يقره خلافه وخلافه / ومن خالف ذلك يكون تحت الكلام الصعب الذي يخر / نفوس المخالفين إلى قاع الجحيم أجارنا الله من ذلك / والمخالف حاله تالف وابن الطاعة تحل عليه البركه / والشكر لله دايماً ابدياً أمين / ١٥٨٤ للسهدا</p>	<p>وقفأ مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير أبينا أنبا بولا. لا / يُباع ولا يُرهن ولا يُخرج عن وقفته ولا ينزل الريف / ولا يستملك عليه أحد من العلمانيين ولا الرهبان / في قلايته لنفسه بل يكون في خزانه الكتب والذي يا / يأخذه يقره بالتحالي لمن يقره خلافه وخلافه / ومن خالف ذلك يكون تحت الكلام الصعب الذي يُخر / نفوس المخالفين إلى قاع الجحيم أجارنا الله من ذلك / والمخالف حاله تالف وابن الطاعة تحل عليه البركة / والشكر لله دائماً أبدياً أمين / ١٥٨٤ للشهداء</p>

TRANSLATION

<Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father Anbā Būlā. Not to be sold or pawned or bought from [the place of] its endowment, and not to be taken to the countryside, nor is it to be possessed by laypeople or for monks to keep for themselves in their cells, but it is to be kept in the library, and whoever takes it to read [from the library] shall return it again so that others can read [it]. He who disobeys will be subject to the harsh [judgment] that sends the souls of the disobedient to the pit of Hell. May God protect us from that. The state of the disobedient [one] is spoiled, but blessings are upon the son of obedience. And thanks be to God always and forever, amen. 1584 [year of the] martyrs.>

<p style="text-align: center;">ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: flyleaf ii)</p> <p>عوض يا رب من له / تعب في ملكوت السموات / وقف على دير ابونا انبا بولاً / بعد مالكه ابونا القس / يوسف وكل من نزله / الريف يكون محروم من فم / الله القدوس ولا يكون لخطيئته / غفران ويكون القدس خصمه / يوم الموقف العظيم المدد وتم / لحد من المخالفة والشكر لله / دائماً امين</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STANDARDISED TEXT</p> <p>عَوْض يا رب من له / تعب في ملكوت السموات / وقف على دير أبونا أنبا بولا / بعد مالكه أبونا القس / يوسف وكل من نزلّه / الريف يكون محروم من فم / الله القدوس ولا يكون لخطيئته / غفران ويكون القدس خصمه / يوم الموقف العظيم المدد وتمّ / لحد من المخالفة والشكر لله / دائماً أمين</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p><Oh Lord reward whosoever toils in the Kingdom of Heaven. Endowment for the Monastery of our father Anbā Būlā [by] its owner the priest Yūsuf. Whoever takes it to the countryside will be banished by the mouth of the holy God, and his sin will never be forgiven, and the holy [one] will be his foe in the day of the Great Judgment. This is [written] as a warning against disobedience. And thanks be to God forever, amen.></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT #2: flyleaf 355r)</p> <p>بسم الله الر الرحيم / وقف / وقف مابداً وحبساً مخلداً علي دير / ابونا القديس انبا بولا اول السواخ بعد / عين مالكة القس يوسف الفيومي وكل / من نزله الريف يكون محروم من فم / الله القدوس ولا يكون لخطيئته / غفران ويكون القدس خصمه / يوم الموقف العظيم وكل من / قطع الورق في / الكتاب هذا يكون / عليه جاز / وسلام الرب</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STANDARDISED TEXT</p> <p>بسم الله الرؤوف الرحيم / وقف / وقف مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً علي دير / أبونا القديس أنبا بولا أول السواخ بعد / عين مالكة القس يوسف الفيومي وكل / من أنزله الريف يكون محروم من فم / الله القدوس ولا يكون لخطيئته / غفران ويكون القدس خصماً له / يوم الموقف العظيم وكل من / قطع الورق في / الكتاب هذا يكون / عليه جاز / وسلام الرب</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p><In the name of the merciful God. <i>Waqf</i>. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the saint Anbā Būlā the first hermit according to the consent of its owner, the priest Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī. He who takes it to the countryside will be banished</p>	

by the mouth of the holy God and there will be no forgiveness for his sin, and the holy [ones] will be his opponent on the great Day of Judgment. And whoever rips out pages from this book will have the same [punishment]. And peace from the Lord.>

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT #3: flyleaf 355v)

هذه / ما عمل برسم القديس يوسف الراهب / الفيومي خادم القديس انبا بولا / العظيم
اول السواخ عوض / يا رب من لهم تعب في ملكوت / السموات عوض الواحد / تلتون
وستون ومائة / في يروشليم السماوية / امين / يا واهب العقل والادب اغفر / خطايا من
كتب

STANDARDISED TEXT

هذه / ما عمل برسم القديس يوسف الراهب / الفيومي خادم القديس أنبا بولا / العظيم
أول السواخ عَوْض / يا رب من لهم تعب في ملكوت / السموات عَوْض الواحد / تلتون
وستون ومائة / في أورشليم السماوية / آمين / يا واهب العقل والأدب اغفر / خطايا من
كتب

TRANSLATION

<This was done according to the consent of the priest Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, the monk, servant of the great saint Anbā Būlā the first hermit. O Lord reward those who laboured in the Kingdom of Heaven, thirty, sixty, and a hundred-fold in the heavenly Jerusalem, amen. O the Granter of reason and instruction, forgive the sins of the writer.>

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT #4: flyleaf 356r)	STANDARDISED TEXT	
<p>هذه / ما عمل برسم القديس يوسف الراهب / الفيومي خادم القديس البار انبا بولا / العظيم اول السواح عوض يا رب / من لهم تعب في ملكوت.</p>	<p>هذه / ما عمل برسم القسيس يوسف الراهب / الفيومي خادم القديس البار أنبا بولا / العظيم أول السواح عوض يا رب / من لهم تعب في ملكوت.</p>	
TRANSLATION		
<p><This was done according to the consent of the priest Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, the monk, servant of the great and righteous saint Anbā Būlā the first of the hermits. O Lord reward those who laboured in the kingdom.></p>		
ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني العظيم في الاباء / القديسين ابينا انبا أنطونيوس / كوكب البرية بركة صلواته / تكون معنا امين</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني العظيم في الآباء / القديسين أبينا أنبا أنطونيوس / كوكب البرية بركة صلواته / تكون معنا أمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] [and] the great among the holy fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, the star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us, amen.</i></p>
<p>وايضا من عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>
<p>واسمعوا ايضاً خبر عظيم عن هذا القديس</p>	<p>واسمعوا أيضًا خبر عظيم عن هذا القديس</p>	<p><i>And hear also a great story about this saint</i></p>

(7) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 107

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff. 70r, lines 7–13)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>تم وكملت / سيرت ونياحت الابّ الجليل الكوكبّ المنير المضي في / وسط القديسين كوكب البريه وابّ جميع الرهبان وتاج / المله المسيحيه المتوشح بالاسكيم النورانيه القديسّ العظيم / انطونيوس رزقنا الله بشفاعته المقبولة وطلباته / تكون معنا يا اخوه ومع الناسخ الخاطي المسكين ومع القاني / والقاري والمهتم والسامع وجميع بني المعمودية من الشمال / الي اليمين بقولنا اجمعين امين امين امين امين.</p>	<p>تمّت وكملت / سيرة ونياحة الأب الجليل الكوكب المنير المضيء في / وسط القديسين كوكب البرية وأب جميع الرهبان وتاج / الملة المسيحية المتوشح بالإسكيم النورانية القديس العظيم / أنطونيوس رزقنا الله بشفاعته المقبولة وطلباته / تكون معنا يا إخوة ومع الناسخ الخاطيء المسكين ومع القاني / والقاريء والمهتم والسامع وجميع بني المعمودية من الشمال / إلى اليمين بقولنا أجمعين آمين آمين آمين آمين.</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>It was finished and completed the life and the departure of the revered father, the shining star, illustrious among saints, star of the wilderness and father of all monks, and crown of the Christian people, clad with the luminous <i>iskīm</i> (<i>monastic skema</i>), the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs. May God grant [goodness to] us through his accepted intercessions and may his supplications be with us, O brothers, and with the poor sinner the scribe, and with the owner, and the reader, and the one who commissioned [this book], and the listener, and all the children of baptism, from west to east, we say together: amen, amen, amen, amen.</p>	

<p>ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON #2: f. 170r, 7 lines)</p> <p>تم وكملت / سيرت القديس ابو نفر السايح بركت صلاته / تكون مع الكاتب والقاري والقائي والسامع والمهتم / وكل من له تعب في هذا الكتاب عوضه يا رب / عوض تعب في ملكوت السموات عوض الواحد / ثلثين وستين ومائة وألف واغفر خطايا الكاتب لمن / ١٤٧١ قبطية</p>	<p>STANDARDISED TEXT</p> <p>تمّت وكملت / سيرة القديس أبو نفر السائح بركة صلاته / تكون مع الكاتب والقاري والقائي والسامع والمهتم / وكل من له تعب في هذا الكتاب عَوْضه يا رب / عَوْضُ تعب في ملكوت السموات عَوْض الواحد / ثلثين وستين ومائة وألف واغفر خطايا الكاتب / ١٤٧١ قبطية</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>Finished and completed the life-story of the saint Anbā Nūfir the anchorite. May the blessing of his prayers be with the scribe, and the reader, and the owner, and the hearer, and the one who commissioned [this book], and everyone who exerted effort in this book. O Lord reward [them] for their effort thirty, sixty, one hundred, and one thousand-fold in the Kingdom of Heaven, and forgive the sins of the scribe, amen. 1471 AM.</p>	
<p>ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON #3: ff. 269r–269v)</p> <p>تم وكمل / ميمر الملاك ميخائيل وعجائبه الذي في بيعته الذي / بنيت علي ساحل البحر بمدينة تابلس بسلام من / الرب امين امين / امين / وكان الفراغ منه في يوم الجمعة المبارك ثامن / يوم من شهر بوونة المبارك سنة الف واربعماية / واحد وسبعين للشهداء الاطهار السعداء الابرار / رزقنا الله تعالى بمقبول صلواتهم الي الابد امين / مطانوه من ان المسيح ايها الاخوه الناظرين في هذا / الخط العاجز الناقص ان تدعوا للناسخ المسكين / الغارق في بحر الخطايا والذنوب الذي خطاياه كثيرة / جدا اكثر من الرمل الذي علي شاطي البحر بغفران خطاياه / وهو بالاسم الحقيير جاد الكريم ابن يوسف ابن ابراهيم / البحيري قاطنًا بقريّة السلامية من اعمال القصرة الصياد / ومن وجد غلطًا في هذا الكتاب واصلحها يصلح الله شأنه / وحاله وسكّنه في فردوس النعيم فان الذي كتب هذا / الكتاب</p>	<p>STANDARDISED TEXT</p> <p>تمّ وكمل / ميمر الملاك ميخائيل وعجائبه الذي في بيعته التي / بُنيت علي ساحل البحر بمدينة تابلس بسلام من / الرب أمين أمين / أمين / وكان الفراغ منه في يوم الجمعة المبارك ثامن / يوم من شهر بوونة المبارك سنة ألف وأربعمائة / واحد وسبعين للشهداء الأطهار السعداء الأبرار / رزقنا الله تعالى بمقبول صلواتهم إلى الأبد أمين / ميطنية من أجل المسيح أيها الإخوة الناظرين في هذا / الخط العاجز الناقص أن تدعوا للناسخ المسكين / الغارق في بحر الخطايا والذنوب الذي خطاياه كثيرة / جدًا أكثر من الرمل الذي علي شاطيء البحر بغفران خطاياه / وهو بالاسم الحقيير جاد الكريم ابن يوسف ابن إبراهيم / البحيري قاطنًا بقريّة السلامية من أعمال القصرة الصياد / ومن وجد غلطًا في هذا الكتاب وأصلحه يصلح الله شأنه / وحاله وسكّنه في فردوس النعيم فإن الذي كتب هذا</p>

متعلم لا معلم وقليل الخلطة بالمعلمين بغير معرفة / وليس له خبرة بتصحيح الحروف ولا يدري معانيها / لكن بمعونة الله تعالى يعينا ويغفر لنا خطايانا / وبالكثير وبالافضل نسال سيدنا يسوع المسيح ان يغفر /خطايا من اهتم بهذا الكتاب ومن صرف عليه من ماله / وصلب حاله عوضه يا سيدي عوض تعبه في ملكوت / السموات عوض الواحد تلتون وستون ومايه والف / في فردوس النعيم بطلبات القديس العظيم انطونيوس / العجائبي وبطلبات كل المذكورين فيه من الصالحين / من الان وكل اوان والي دهر الداهرين امين امين امين / ايها القاري اذكر الناسخ بالخبر يدرك المسيح / الالهنا ومن قال شيئاً فله امثاله والشكر لله دائماً ابدياً / سرمدياً امين يا الهه المسامحة والغفران / يا سيدي

/ الكتاب متعلم لا مُعَلِّم وقليل الخلطة بالمعلمين بغير معرفة / وليس له خبرة بتصحيح الحروف ولا يدري معانيها / لكن بمعونة الله تعالى يعيننا ويغفر لنا خطايانا / وبالأكثر وبالافضل نسال سيدنا يسوع المسيح أن يغفر /خطايا من اهتم بهذا الكتاب ومن صرف عليه من ماله / وصلب حاله عوضه يا سيدي عوض تعبه في ملكوت / السموات عوض الواحد تلتون وستون ومائة وألف / في فردوس النعيم بطلبات القديس العظيم أنطونيوس / العجائبي وبطلبات كل المذكورين فيه من الصالحين / من الآن وكل أوان وإلى دهر الداهرين آمين آمين آمين / أيها القاريء اذكر الناسخ بالخبر يدرك المسيح / إلهنا ومن قال شيئاً فله أمثاله والشكر لله دائماً أبدياً / سرمدياً آمين يا إله المسامحة والغفران / يا سيدي

TRANSLATION

Finished and completed the *Maymar* (homily) of the Archangel Michael and his wonders in his church which was built by the sea coast in the city of Tāblis, with peace from the Lord, amen, amen, amen. And it was completed on the blessed Friday 8 of Ba'ūnah 1471 [in the year of] the pure, joyous, righteous martyrs. May the omnipotent God grant us [forgiveness] through their acceptable prayers forever, amen. [I offer] a prostration before Christ O brothers [who are] reading this imperfect, deficient handwriting, that you ask for the forgiveness of the sins of the poor scribe [who is] drowning in a sea of sin and iniquity, whose sins are so much more than the sand on the seashore. And his name is the wretched Jād al-Karīm ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Buḥayrī, who lives in the town of al-Salāmiyah, in the village called al-Qaṣr wa-al-Sayyid. And he who finds a mistake in this book and corrects it, may God put right all his affairs and [give him a] place in the Paradise of Joy, because the one who copied this book is educated but is not a teacher, and has little dealings with teachers. [He] is without knowledge

and without experience in correcting letters and has no understanding [of such things]. But with the help of the omnipotent God, He helps us and forgives us for our sins. And moreover, we ask our master Jesus Christ to forgive the sins of the one who commissioned this book and who paid for it from his own money. My Master, reward his effort in the Kingdom of Heaven thirty, sixty, and one thousand[-fold] in the Paradise of Joy. Through the prayers of Anbā Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, and the supplications of all the ones mentioned [in the book], forever and ever, amen, amen, amen. Remember the scribe with goodness that our God Christ may remember you, and whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him in return, and thanks be to God always and forever amen. O God [grant] forgiveness and mercy, my Lord.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 270r, 10 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّؤُوفِ الرَّحِيمِ / وَقَفًّا مَوْبِدًا وَحَبْسًا مَخْلَدًا عَلِي دِيرِ الْقَدِيسِ / الْعَظِيمِ الْمَمَجَّدِ فِي الطُوبَانِينِ مَارِي أَنْطُونِيُوسَ / الْعَجَائِبِيِّ بَدِيرِ الْعَرَبِيَةِ بِجَبَلِ الْقَلْزَمِ لَا يُبَاعُ / وَلَا يُرَهَنُ وَلَا يُخْرَجُ عَنْ وَقْفِيَّتِهِ بِوَجْهِ مَنْ / وَجْوهُ التَّلَافِ وَكَلِمَنْ تَعَدَا وَخَرَجَهُ عَنْ / وَقْفِيَّتِهِ يَكُونُ تَحْتَ حَرُومِ اللَّهِ الْقَاطِعَةِ / وَيَكُونُ نَصِيْبِهِ مَعَ سَيْمُونِ السَّاحِرِ وَدِيْقَلَا / الْكَافِرِ وَيَهُودَا الدَّافِعِ وَهِيْرُودَسَ / الْمَارِقِ وَعَلِي بَنِي الطَّاعَةِ تَحَلُّ الْبِرْكَه / ١٤٧٦</p>	<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّؤُوفِ الرَّحِيمِ / وَقَفًّا مَوْبِدًا وَحَبْسًا مَخْلَدًا عَلِي دِيرِ الْقَدِيسِ / الْعَظِيمِ الْمَمَجَّدِ فِي الطُوبَانِينِ مَارِي أَنْطُونِيُوسَ / الْعَجَائِبِيِّ بَدِيرِ الْعَرَبِيَةِ بِجَبَلِ الْقَلْزَمِ لَا يُبَاعُ / وَلَا يُرَهَنُ وَلَا يُخْرَجُ عَنْ وَقْفِيَّتِهِ بِوَجْهِ مَنْ / وَجْوهُ التَّلَافِ وَكَلِمَنْ تَعَدَّى وَأَخْرَجَهُ عَنْ / وَقْفِيَّتِهِ يَكُونُ تَحْتَ حَرُومِ اللَّهِ الْقَاطِعَةِ / وَيَكُونُ نَصِيْبِهِ مَعَ سَيْمُونِ السَّاحِرِ وَدِيْقَلَا / الْكَافِرِ وَيَهُودَا الدَّافِعِ وَهِيْرُودَسَ / الْمَارِقِ وَعَلِي بَنِي الطَّاعَةِ تَحَلُّ الْبِرْكَه / ١٤٧٦</p>

TRANSLATION

<In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great saint, glorified among the blessed [ones], Mār Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, in the Monastery of al-‘Arabah in the Mountain of al-Qalzam. Not to be sold or pawned or taken out of [the place of] its endowment by any means. And whosoever shall disobey and remove it from [the place of] its endowment, will be subject to the harsh banishment of God and his share will be with Simon the magician, and Decla the infidel, and Judas the traitor, and Herod the apostate. And blessings upon the son of obedience. 1476 [year of the martyrs]. >

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سيرت القديس الكبير العظيم في الابا القديسين / ابينا انبا انطونيوس كوكب البرية واب جميع / الرهبان بركة صلاته تكون مع الكاتب / والقاري والقاني والسامع والمهتم وكامل بني / المعمودية من الشمال الي اليمين الي النفس الاخير امين.</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سيرة القديس الكبير العظيم في الآباء القديسين / أبينا أنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية وأب جميع / الرهبان بركة صلاته تكون مع الكاتب / والقاري والقاني والسامع والمهتم وكامل بني / المعمودية من الشمال إلى اليمين إلى النفس الأخير أمين.</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life- story of the great saint, great among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Antūniyūs, star of the wilderness and father of all monks. May the blessings of his prayers be with the writer and the reader and the owner and the listener and the one who cared [for commissioning this book], and all the children of baptism from the left to the right to the last breath, amen.</i></p>

(8) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 193

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 70r, 5 lines)		STANDARDISED TEXT	
تمت / سيرة الحكيم الفاضل سكندس ورسائله وما / عني بإخراجها من القسط إلى العرى الأب / الأب المكرم أنبا يوانس أسقف سمبود		تمت / سيرة الحكيم الفاضل سكندس ورسائله وما / عني بإخراجها من القسط إلى العرى الأب / الأب المُكْرَم أنبا يوانس أسقف سمبود	
TRANSLATION			
Completed, the life-story of the wise [and] righteous Secundus and his letters. And the one who commissioned it to be known is the honourable father Anbā Yū'annis bishop of Samanūd.			
ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 160v, 5 lines)		STANDARDISED TEXT	
هذا الكتاب الذي هو كتاب الميامر وقفاً موبداً وحبساً / مخلداً علي دير ابونا القديس العظيم أنطونيوس بجبل العربه / فلا أحد معه حل ولا اجازة ان ينزله من الصور ولا أحداً / يستملك عليه في قلايته ومن خالف ما ذكرناه فليكن محروماً بل يقرأ / فيه ويرده بخزانت الكتب وابن الطاعة تحل عليه البركه		هذا الكتاب الذي هو كتاب الميامر وقفاً موبداً وحبساً / مخلداً على دير أبونا القديس العظيم أنطونيوس بجبل العربه / فلا أحد معه حل ولا إجازة أن يُنزله من الصور ولا أحد / يستملك عليه في قلايته ومن خالف ما ذكرناه فليكن محروماً بل يقرأ / فيه ويرده بخزانة الكتب وابن الطاعة تحل عليه البركة	
TRANSLATION			
This book which is the book of the Lives is an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Mountain of al-'Arabah. No one is permitted or shall be absolved to take it out beyond the wall [of the Monastery] or to possess it in his cell, and whosoever shall disobey what we mention will be banished, but instead [he] can read in it and return it back to the library. And blessings shall be upon the son of obedience.			
ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION	
نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الطوباني الكبير / العظيم في الابا القديسين ابينا / انبا	نبتديء بعون الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الطوباني الكبير / العظيم في الاباء القديسين ابينا / أنبا	We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-	

أنطونيوس كوكب البرية بركة / صلواته تكون مع الكاتب ومع القاني امين.	أنطونيوس كوكب البرية بركة / صلواته تكون مع الكاتب ومع القاني امين.	<i>story of the great, righteous saint, the great [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with the writer and with the owner, amen.</i>
وايضا من بعض عجائبه	وأيضًا من بعض عجائبه	<i>And also some of his wonders</i>
وايضا من عجائبه	وأيضًا من عجائبه	<i>And also among his wonders</i>
واسمعو ايضًا خبر عظيم عن هذا	واسمعو ايضًا خبر عظيم عن هذا	<i>And hear also a great story about this</i>

(9) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 106

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 241r)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>من بعد حيات ابونا ابراهيم الجرجاوي يكون / وقفًا موبدًا وحبسًا مخلدًا علي دير ابونا القديس / العظيم انطونيوس فلا احداً معه ولا اجازه ان / يخرج من الدير ما دام الدير عامر ومن / يحفظه يكون محال مبارك وعلي بني الطاعة / تحل البركة والشكر لله دايماً / ولا احداً معه حل ولا اجازه يخليه في قلايته / لكن تقراه ويرده لخزانة الكتب</p>	<p>من بعد حياة أبونا إبراهيم الجرجاوي يكون / وقفًا موبدًا وحبسًا مخلدًا علي دير أبونا القديس / العظيم أنطونيوس فلا أحد معه حل ولا إجازة أن / يُخرج من الدير ما دام الدير عامر ومن / يحفظه يكون مُحال مبارك وعلي بني الطاعة / تحل البركة والشكر لله دائماً / ولا أحد معه حل ولا إجازة يخليه في قلايته / لكن يقرأه ويرده لخزانة الكتب</p>

TRANSLATION

After the life of our father Ibrāhīm al-Jirjāwī, [this book] will be an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great Anbā Anṭūniyūs. No one is allowed or permitted to take it out of the Monastery so long as the Monastery is inhabited. And he who keeps [these words] will be blessed and absolved. And blessings upon the son of obedience and thanks be to God always. And no one is permitted to keep it in his cell except to read it and return it back to the library.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الأباء القديسين أبينا / أنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / بركة صلواته تكون معنا امين</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الأباء القديسين أبينا / أنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / بركة صلواته تكون معنا امين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the great saint, the blessed [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his prayers be with us, amen.</i></p>
<p>وأيضاً من بعض عجائبه</p>	<p>وأيضاً من بعض عجائبه</p>	<p><i>And also some of his wonders</i></p>
<p>وأيضاً من عجائبه</p>	<p>وأيضاً من عجائبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>

(10) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 153

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 284v, 10 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>بسم الله الرووف الرحيم / وقفاً موبداً وحيساً مخلداً على دير ابينا / القديس العظيم في القديسين أنبا أنطونيوس / بدير العربيه فلا احداً معه حل ولا سلطان / من قبل الرب سبحانه وتعالى ان يخرج عن / وقفته من الدير المذكور بوجه من وجوه / التلاف يكون</p>	<p>بسم الله الرووف الرحيم / وقفاً مؤبداً وحيساً مخلداً على دير أبينا / القديس العظيم في القديسين أنبا أنطونيوس / بدير العربيه فلا أحد معه حل ولا سلطان / من قبل الرب سبحانه وتعالى أن يُخرجه عن / وقفته من الدير المذكور بوجه من وجوه / التلاف يكون</p>

<p>مَحْرُومٌ مِنَ الرَّبِّ وَيَكُونُ نَصِيْبُهُ / مَعَ يَهُودَا الْإِسْخَرِيُوطِيِّ وَسَيِّمُونَ السَّاحِرَ وَدِيْقَلَا / الْكَافِرَ وَالْحَذَرَ ثَمَّ الْحَذَرَ مِنَ الْمَخَالَفَةِ / وَعَلَى بَنِي الطَّاعَةِ تَحُلُ الْبِرْكَةُ وَالشُّكْرُ لِلَّهِ دَائِمًا</p>	<p>محروم من الرب ويكون نصيبه / مع يهوذا الإسخريوطي وسيمون الساحر وديقلا / الكافر والحذر ثم الحذر من المخالفه / وعلى بني الطاعه تحل البركة والشكر لله دائماً</p>	
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful. Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great among the saints, Anbā Anṭūniyūs in the Monastery of al-‘Arabah. No one has absolution or authority from the almighty and omnipotent God to remove it from the [above] mentioned Monastery to which it is endowed by any means, or else he will be banished by the Lord and his share will be with Judas Iscariot and Simon the Magician and Decla the Infidel. And [this is] a warning against disobedience, [but] blessings upon the son of obedience. And thanks be to God always.</p>		
<p>ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)</p>	<p>STANDARDISED TEXT</p>	<p>TRANSLATION</p>
<p>نَبْتَدِي بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَحَسَنَ تَوْفِيْقِهِ / بِنَسْخِ سَيِّرَةِ الْقَدِيْسِ الْكَبِيْرِ الطُّوْبَانِيِّ / فِي الْآبَاءِ الْقَدِيْسِيْنَ أَيْبِنَا أَنْبَا أَنْطُونِيُوسَ / كُوكِبِ الْبَرِيَّةِ بِرِكَّةِ صَلَوَاتِهِ تَكُونُ مَعَنَا آمِيْنَ</p>	<p>نبتديء بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني / في الآباء القديسين أيبينا أنبا أنطونيوس / كوكب البرية بركة صلواته تكون معنا آمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life- story of the great saint, the righteous [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us, amen</i></p>

(11) ST ANTONY (THEOLOGY) 178

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بمعونة الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيره القديس الكبير الطوباني العظيم / انطونيوس كوكب البرية صلواته تحفظنا واياكم / ايها الشعب المسيحي الارثوذكسي امين / قال</p>	<p>نبتدي بمعونة الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني العظيم / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية صلواته تحفظنا وإياكم / أيها الشعب المسيحي الأرثوذكسي أمين / قال</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life of the blessed saint Anṭūniyūs the Great, the star of the wilderness. May his prayers keep us and you, O Christian Orthodox people, amen. [He] said</i></p>

(12) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 108

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 158r)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>تم وكمل / سيرت ابونا القديس العظيم انطونيوس / في يوم الاربع المبارك السادس من بوونة سنة / الف وخمسمائة خمس وخمسين للشهدا الاطهار / والاقل المسكين الحقير الكسلان الدليل المهين / الممتلي من العيوب وفاعل ساير الذنوب الذي تجاسر / وكتب بغير علم ولا خبره بالفاظ الكتب عبدكم ميخائيل / بالاسم راهب خادم دير البار انبا بولا ينحني بهامته الخاطيه / تحت اقدم كلمن قري في هذه الحروف ان يدعوا له بالغفران / ولوالديه لعل الله يعطيه وياهم راحة في ملكوت السموات والمجد لله / دايمًا ابديًا سرميًا امين.</p>	<p>تمت وكملت / سيرة أبونا القديس العظيم أنطونيوس / في يوم الأربعاء المبارك السادس من بوونة سنة / ألف وخمسمائة خمسة وخمسين للشهداء الأطهار / والأقل المسكين الحقير الكسلان الدليل المهين / الممتلي من العيوب وفاعل سائر الذنوب الذي تجاسر / وكتب بغير علم ولا خبرة بالفاظ الكتب عبدكم ميخائيل / بالاسم راهب خادم دير البار أنبا بولا ينحني بهامته الخاطئة / تحت أقدام كل من قرأ في هذه الحروف أن يدعوا له بالغفران / ولوالديه لعل الله يعطيه وإياهم راحة في ملكوت السموات والمجد لله / دائماً أبدياً سرمدياً آمين.</p>

TRANSLATION

Finished and completed, the life of our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, on the blessed Wednesday 6 Ba'ūnah 1555 [in the year of] the pure martyrs. And the pitiable, wretched, indolent scribe, who is full of faults and doer of all sins, dared and wrote without having knowledge or experience in the terminology of books. Your servant Mīkhā'īl, by name a monk, a servant in the Monastery of the righteous Anbā Būlā, puts his sinful head under the feet of every one who reads these letters, to ask for him for the forgiveness [of his sins] and for his parents [sins] that God may grant him and them rest in the Kingdom of Heaven. And thanks be to God now and forever.

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON #2: f. 170v)

كامل بعون الله تعالى ميمر ابونا البار انبا بولا اول / السواح بصلواته وطلباته المقدسة يا
 رب ارحم كاتبه الحقير / القس الخاطي قلته واغفر له جميع خطايا وخطايا والديه
 واخوته الروحانيين / والجسدانيين وبنى المعمودية اجمعين وعود يا رب المهتم / بهذا
 الكتاب ابونا السيد الاب بطيريك البكر الطاهر المكرم انبا / بطرس بابا اسكندريه
 التاسع والمايه من عدد الابا البطاركة يا رب / اكتب اسمه في سفر الحياه واخضع جميع
 اعداء تحت موطي قدماه / واشملنا ببركة صلاته ودعاه كيريايليصون امين الليلويا

STANDARDISED TEXT

كامل بعون الله تعالى ميمر ابونا البار انبا بولا اول / السواح بصلواته وطلباته المقدسة يا
 رب ارحم كاتبه الحقير / القس الخاطيء قلته واغفر له جميع خطايا وخطايا والديه
 واخوته الروحانيين / والجسدانيين وبنى المعمودية اجمعين وعود يا رب المهتم / بهذا
 الكتاب ابونا السيد الاب بطيريك البكر الطاهر المكرم انبا / بطرس بابا الإسكندرية
 التاسع والمائة من عدد الاباء البطاركة يا رب / اكتب اسمه في سفر الحياة واخضع جميع
 اعداء تحت موطي قدماه / واشملنا ببركة صلاته ودعائه كيريايليصون امين الليلويا.

TRANSLATION

The life of our righteous father Anbā Būlā the first hermit was completed with the help of the omnipotent God, through his holy prayers and supplications. Have mercy upon its wretched, sinful scribe, Qultah, [a] priest, and forgive his sins and the sins of his parents, and [the sins of] his spiritual and bodily brothers, and [the sins of] all the children of baptism. And O Lord reward the one who commissioned this book: our father the master, the patriarch, the pure, chaste, revered Anbā *Buṭrus*, patriarch of Alexandria, the 109th in the number of the patriarchal fathers. O Lord write his name in the Book of Life and subject all his enemies under his feet and include us [to be worthy of] the blessing of his prayers and intercessions. Lord have mercy, amen, halleluiah.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سبیرت القديس الكبير الطوباني في الآباء / القديسين أبينا أنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / بركة صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من الشرير امين</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني في الآباء / القديسين أبينا أنبا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / بركة صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من الشرير أمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the great saint, the righteous [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and protect us from all evil, amen.</i></p>
<p>وايضًا من بعض عجائبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من بعض عجائبه</p>	<p><i>And also some of his wonders</i></p>
<p>وايضًا من عجائبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من عجائبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>
<p>انطونيوس</p>	<p>أنطونيوس</p>	<p><i>Anṭūniyūs</i></p>
<p>مرتمريم</p>	<p>مرتمريم</p>	<p><i>Virgin Mary</i></p>

تم وكمل	تم وكمل	<i>Finished and completed</i>
---------	---------	-------------------------------

(13) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 99

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 111r, lines 5–16)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>تم وكمل بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / يوم الاربع الخامس عشر من باؤونة سنة الف / وخمسمائة سبعة وثمانين علي يد العبد الدليل العاجز / المسكين كثير الخطايا والذنوب الذي خطاياہ اكثر من / عدد النجوم وارسخ من الجبال الراسخه الابله المهين / لفعل الخطايا سريع توماس الكذاب الراجي من / الساده الناظرين ان يقولوا يا رب اغفر خطاياہ / وخطاياہ والديه وهو برسم الاب البكر الطاهر / الانسان النوراني والملاك الجسداني الحامل صليب / المسيح منذ صباه / ابونا الراهب موسى / الفرشوطي المسيح الاهنا يعطيه طول العمر والحياه / الهنيه وبعد العمر الطويل الخلاص الابدي امين</p>	<p>تم وكمل بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه نسخ / يوم الأربعاء الخامس عشر من باؤونة سنة ألف / وخمسمائة سبعة وثمانين على يد العبد الدليل العاجز / المسكين كثير الخطايا والذنوب الذي خطاياہ أكثر من / عدد النجوم وأرسخ من الجبال الراسخة الأبله المهين / لفعل الخطايا سريع توماس الكذاب الراجي من / السادة الناظرين أن يقولوا يا رب اغفر خطاياہ / وخطايا والديه وهو برسم الأب البكر الطاهر / الإنسان النوراني والملاك الجسداني الحامل صليب / المسيح منذ صباه / ابونا الراهب موسى / الفرشوطي المسيح إلهنا يعطيه طول العمر والحياة / الهنية وبعد العمر الطويل الخلاص الأبدي أمين</p>
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>Completed and finished with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, the copying [of this book] on Wednesday 15 Ba'ūnah 1587 [year of the martyrs] by the hand of the imperfect, wretched servant, pitiable [and] sinful, whose sins are greater than the number of stars and heavier than mountains, the foolish [one], the miserable [one] for quickly committing sins, the liar Tūmās. Hoping from the masters seeing [this book] that they say, O Lord forgive him for his sins and the sins of his parents. And it was written for the chaste, pure</p>	

father, the luminous human and angel in the flesh who has been a cross-bearer of Christ since his childhood, *our father the monk Mūsá al-Farshūṭī*. May Christ our God grant him a long and joyful life, and after a long life [on earth] grant him eternal salvation, amen.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 111v)

من بعد حياة الراهب موسى يصير وقف / هذه الكتاب ملك الراهب الحقيير الذليل /
الكسلان الذي لم يجسر ان يذكر اسمه / منجل كترت خطاياها بالاسم انسان وهو / شبه
الحيوان لانه اسم بلا جسم وبحره / بلا ثمره يسأل ويتضرع لكل الناظرين اليه ان /
يقولوا يا ربنا يسوع المسيح اغفر خطايا عبدك / موسى والديه وساير بني المعمودية
بشفاعت / امك العذراء والقديس العظيم انطونيوس ومن (...) شافله امثاله ومن شوافله
امثاله الغفران وجعله / وقفا موبدا وحبسا مخلد علي دير ابونا القديس / العطر انطونيوس
من بعد حياته فلا احدا / معه حل ولا اجازه ان يخرج عن وقفه / مادام الدير عامر ان
كان بالدير او بالعزبه / والذي يخالف ما ذكرناه فيكون محروم / من فم الثالوث المقدس /
ومن فم ابينا القس فانوس ابن انطونه الروحاني الملاك الجسداني / والانسان الروحاني
من فمه يكون محروم / وعلي ابن الطاعة / تحل البركه والمخالف حاله والشكر لله دايمًا

STANDARDISED TEXT

من بعد حياة الراهب موسى يصير وقف / هذا الكتاب ملك الراهب الحقيير الذليل /
الكسلان الذي لم يجسر أن يذكر اسمه / من أجل كثرة خطاياها بالاسم إنسان وهو / شبه
الحيوان لأنه اسم بلا جسم وبحره / بلا ثمرة يسأل ويتضرع لكل الناظرين إليه أن /
يقولوا يا ربنا يسوع المسيح اغفر خطايا عبدك / موسى والديه وساير بني المعمودية
بشفاعة / أمك العذراء والقديس العظيم أنطونيوس ومن (...) شاف له أمثاله ومن شوافله
أمثاله الغفران وجعله / وقفًا مؤبدًا وحبسًا مخلدًا على دير أبونا القديس / العطر
أنطونيوس من بعد حياته فلا أحد / معه حل ولا إجازة أن يُخرجه عن وقفه / مادام الدير
عامر إن كان بالدير أو بالعزبة / والذي يخالف ما ذكرناه فيكون محروم / من فم الثالوث
المقدس / ومن فم أبينا القس فانوس ابن أنطونة الروحاني الملاك الجسداني / والإنسان
الروحاني من فمه يكون محروم / وعلي ابن الطاعة / تحل البركة والمخالف حاله
والشكر لله دائمًا

TRANSLATION

After the life of the monk Mūsá, it will become an endowment. This book belongs to the wretched, lowly, indolent monk who does not dare mention his name because of the abundance of his sins. By name he is a human [but] he is like an animal because he deals in a bodily way [but] his dealing was fruitless. Beseeking everyone who reads [this book] to say our Lord Jesus Christ forgive the sins of Your servant Mūsá and [those of] his parents and all the children of baptism. Through the intercessions of the mother of the holy [One] and the great saint Anṭūniyūs and [those] who (...) the forgiveness, and make it an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of

our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs, after his life. No one is permitted or shall be absolved to remove it from [the place of] its endowment as long as the Monastery; whether the Monastery or [the Monastery] in the countryside, is inhabited. And whosoever shall disobey what is stated [here] will be condemned by the mouth of the Holy Trinity, and from the mouth of our father the priest Fānūs the son of Anṭūnah, the angel in the flesh and the spiritual human, [whosoever shall disobey] will be banished from his mouth. And blessings upon the son of obedience, [but] the state of the disobedient [one] is [spoiled]. And thanks be to God always.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سیرت القديس الكبير الطوباني في الأبا / القديسين ابينا انطونيوس كوكب البريه / بركة صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من الشرير</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني في الآباء / القديسين أبينا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / بركة صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من الشرير</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life of the great saint, the revered [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his blessings and prayers be with us and protect us from evil.</i></p>
<p>وايضا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also some of his wonders</i></p>
<p>وايضا من عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>

(14) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 105

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: Flyleaf 3v)	STANDARDISED TEXT	
<p>وقفاً موبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دبر ابينا القديس / العظيم أنطونيوس فلا اهداً معه حل ولا اجازه يخرج من وقفه ولا ينزله من / الدير ولا يستملك عليه راهب في قلايته / بل يقراً فيه ويرده لخزانة الكتب ومن خالف / ما ذكرنا فليكن محروم والذي يحفظه على / وقفه محال مبارك والمخالف حاله تالف / وعلى بني الطاعة تحل البركة والشكر / لله دايماً ابدياً أمين</p>	<p>وقفاً مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دبر أبينا القديس / العظيم أنطونيوس فلا أحد معه حل ولا / إجازة يُخرجه من وقفه ولا يُنزله من / الدير ولا يستملك عليه راهب في قلايته / بل يقرأ فيه ويرده لخزانة الكتب ومن خالف / ما ذكرنا فليكن محروم والذي يحفظه على / وقفه محال مبارك والمخالف حاله تالف / وعلى بني الطاعة تحل البركة والشكر / لله دائماً أبدياً أمين</p>	
<p>TRANSLATION</p> <p>Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great saint Anṭūniyūs. No one shall be absolved or permitted to remove it from [the place of] its endowment or take it out of the Monastery. And [it is] not to be owned by a monk in his cell [unless he] reads in it and returns it to the library, and whosoever shall disobey what is written, shall be banished and whosoever shall keep the [words of] the endowment will be blessed and absolved. The disobedient [one] his state is spoiled [but] blessings upon the son of obedience. And glory be to God always and forever, amen.</p>		
ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن إرشاده / بنسخ سيرت الاب الفاضل الطوباني / المغبوط أبينا العظيم في القديسين / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية أب الرهبان / وكبير السواح مما شرحه الاب اتناسيوس / الرسولي بطريك الإسكندرية للاخوه / الدير حضروا إليه في ذلك الزمان / وسألوه</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن إرشاده / بنسخ سيرة الأب الفاضل الطوباني / المغبوط أبينا العظيم في القديسين / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية أب الرهبان / وكبير السواح مما شرحه الأب اتناسيوس / الرسولي بطريك الإسكندرية للاخوه / الدير حضروا إليه في ذلك الزمان / وسألوه</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life of the virtuous, blessed father, our father, the great [one] among saints, Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness, the father of monks and the</i></p>

<p>فَاعْلَمَهُمْ بِذَلِكَ مِنَ الْإِبْتِدَاءِ إِلَى أَنْ / أَكْمَلَ سَعْيَهُ الصَّالِحَ أَعْنَى الْأَبِ أَنْطُونِيُوسَ / فِي الثَّانِي وَالْعِشْرُونَ مِنْ شَهْرِ طُوبَى / بِسَلَامٍ مِنَ الرَّبِّ وَذَلِكَ مَنقُولٌ مِنْ نَسْخِهِ / بِدَيْرِ الْقَدِيسِ الْعَظِيمِ أَبُو مَقَارٍ بَبْرِيَّةَ / شِيَهَاتِ الْجَبْتِ الضَّرُورَةِ إِلَى ذَلِكَ لَكُونَ / أَنْ النِّسْخَ الَّذِي فِي الْعَالَمِ حَصَلَ فِيهِمْ / مِنْ الزُّوْدِ وَالنَّقْصِ كَلَامٍ لَا فَائِدَةَ فِيهِ / وَعَلَى اللَّهِ الْمُسْتَعَانَ فِي الْبَدَايَةِ وَالنِّهَايَةِ آمِينَ</p>	<p>فَاعْلَمَهُمْ بِذَلِكَ مِنَ الْإِبْتِدَاءِ إِلَى أَنْ / أَكْمَلَ سَعْيَهُ الصَّالِحَ أَعْنَى الْأَبِ أَنْطُونِيُوسَ / فِي الثَّانِي وَالْعِشْرُونَ مِنْ شَهْرِ طُوبَى / بِسَلَامٍ مِنَ الرَّبِّ وَذَلِكَ مَنقُولٌ مِنْ نَسْخِهِ / بِدَيْرِ الْقَدِيسِ الْعَظِيمِ أَبُو مَقَارٍ بَبْرِيَّةَ / شِيَهَاتِ الْجَبْتِ الضَّرُورَةِ إِلَى ذَلِكَ لَكُونَ / أَنْ النِّسْخَ الَّذِي فِي الْعَالَمِ حَصَلَ فِيهِمْ / مِنْ الزُّوْدِ وَالنَّقْصِ كَلَامٍ لَا فَائِدَةَ فِيهِ / وَعَلَى اللَّهِ الْمُسْتَعَانَ فِي الْبَدَايَةِ وَالنِّهَايَةِ آمِينَ</p>	<p><i>greatest of hermits, from what was expounded by the father Athanasius the Apostolic the patriarch of Alexandria to the brothers who came to him at that time and asked [of] him. So he spoke to them from the beginning [of his life] until he completed his good departure, I mean father Anṭūniyūs on 22 Ṭūbah, with peace from the Lord. And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the wilderness of Shīhūt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of words that have no benefit. And God is the helper in the beginning and the end, amen.</i></p>
---	---	--

(15) ST PAUL (HISTORY) 17

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
ونريد يا اخوتي الحاضرين في هذا العيد	ونريد يا اخوتي الحاضرين في هذا العيد	<i>And we would like, O our brothers who are present in this feast</i>
يا أنطونيوس	يا أنطونيوس	<i>O Anṭūniyūs</i>
أنطونيوس	أنطونيوس	<i>Anṭūniyūs</i>
الاب انبا بولا	الأب أنبا بولا	<i>The father Anbā Būlā</i>
انبا بولا	أنبا بولا	<i>Anbā Būlā</i>
البار انبا بولا	البار أنبا بولا	<i>The righteous Anbā Būlā</i>
انبا بولا اول السواخ	أنبا بولا أول السواخ	<i>Anbā Būlā the first hermit</i>
قال	قال	<i>He said</i>
وايضًا من عجائبه	وايضًا من عجائبه	<i>And also among his wonders</i>
اسمعوا ايضًا خبر عظيم	اسمعوا ايضًا خبر عظيم	<i>Hear also a great story</i>

(16) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 102

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff. 75v–76r)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>تم وكمل بعون الله تعالى علي يد / المسكين الدليل الحاوي كل الرذائل الراجع / الي فيه مثل الكلاب الراقد في افتعال / الخطيئة مثل الخنازير المحب للشهوات نفسه / نفسه وجسده المبغض الملح الروحاني / المنتن من كثرة سقم خطايا الصانع / جميع افتعال خطايا الكسلان عن اوقات / الصلاوات النشيط في انهماك بطنه / جسده الذي وشهوت / جسده الذي خطاياه طافحه علي سواد وجهه / الذي لم يستحق ان يدعا اناس ولا حيوان / المدعو بغير استحقاق بالاسم توماس المدنس / احد خدام اولاد ابونا انطونيوس يسأل الساده / الناظرين من شان المسيح ان يقولوا يا ربنا / يسوع المسيح منجل تحتك اغفر خطايا وخطايا / اباه وامه وهو برسم ابونا المكرم الملاك / الجسداني والنسان النوراني المتوج بالشكل / الملايكي البتول الوديع حقا ابن انطونيوس / واخا ليوحنا في بتوليته واسحق في طاعته / الصارف عليه من ماله ابونا الراهب القمص يوحنا المفرشوطي البنودي المسيح الالهنا يجل له نصيب مع ابوه انطونيوس امين</p>	<p>تمّ وكمل بعون الله تعالى علي يد / المسكين الدليل الحاوي كل الرذائل الراجع / إلى قبيئه مثل الكلاب الراقد في افتعال / الخطيئة مثل الخنازير المُحب لشهوات نفسه / نفسه وجسده المُبغض الملح الروحاني / المُنتن من كثرة سقم خطايا الصانع / جميع افتعال الخطايا الكسلان عن اوقات / الصلاوات النشيط في انهماك بطنه وشهوات / جسده الذي خطاياها طافحة على سواد وجهه / الذي لم يستحق أن يُدعى إنساناً ولا حيوان / المدعو بغير استحقاق بالاسم توماس المُدنس / أحد خدام أولاد أبونا أنطونيوس يسأل السادة / الناظرين من شأن المسيح أن يقولوا يا ربنا / يسوع المسيح من أجل تحتك اغفر خطايا وخطايا / أباه وأمه وهو برسم أبونا المُكرّم الملاك / الجسداني والإنسان النوراني المُتوج بالشكل / الملايكي البتول الوديع حقا ابن أنطونيوس / وأخا ليوحنا في بتوليته وإسحق في طاعته / الصارف عليه من ماله أبونا الراهب القمص يوحنا المفرشوطي البنودي المسيح إلهنا يجعل له نصيب مع أبوه أنطونيوس أمين</p>

TRANSLATION

Finished and completed with the help of God, by the hand of the poor, the wretched [one] who contains all sins, who returns to his vomit like dogs, lying in the filth of his sins like pigs, loving the lusts of his soul and body and despises the spiritual salt, [who is] rotten because of the abundance of the sickness of the sins and all the sins he commits, [the one who is] lazy during the times of prayers and active in gluttony and the lusts of his body, whose sins are manifested like blackness on his face, who does not deserve to be called a human or an animal, the one called unworthily by name, Tūmās, the impure, one of the servants of the sons of our father Anṭūniyūs, asking the masters reading for the sake of Christ to say O our Lord Jesus Christ, in Your compassion forgive his sins and the sins of his father and mother. And it was written for the revered father the angel in the flesh and luminous human, who was crowned with the chaste, angelic form, the truly humble [one], the son of Anṭūniyūs, and the brother of John [whom he resembles] in his chastity, and Isaac [whom he resembles] in his obedience, the one who paid from his own money for [the book], our father the monk *the hegumen Yūḥannā al-Farshūtī*: *al-Banūdī*. May Christ our God grant him a share with his father Anṭūniyūs, amen.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 93r, 5 lines)

والمهتم بهذا ابونا المكرم القمص يوحنا / البنودي ومن بعد حياته ابونا القمص المذكور /
 يكون وقفاً موبداً وحبساً مخلداً علي دير ابونا / انطونيوس فلا احدا معه حل واجازه
 يتصرف / فيه غير ابونا القمص يوحنا والشكر / لله

STANDARDISED TEXT

والمهتم بهذا ابونا المُكْرَم القمص يوحنا / البنودي ومن بعد حياته أبونا القمص المذكور /
 يكون وقفاً مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير أبونا / أنطونيوس فلا أحد معه حل وإجازة
 يتصرف / فيه غير أبونا القمص يوحنا والشكر / لله

TRANSLATION

And the patron of this [book] is the revered *hegumen Yūḥannā al-Banūdī*. And after the life of our father the mentioned *hegumen*, [it] will be an eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father Anṭūniyūs. With the exception of our father the *hegumen Yūḥannā*, no one has absolution to do anything [with it]. And thanks be to God.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرت ابينا القديس / العظيم الكوكب المنير الكبير الطوباني / في الابا القديسين ابينا انبا انطونيوس / كوكب البرية بركة صلواته تكون معنا امين</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة ابينا القديس / العظيم الكوكب المنير الكبير الطوباني / في الآباء القديسين ابينا انبا انطونيوس / كوكب البرية بركة صلواته تكون معنا امين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of almighty God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of our saintly father the great, the luminous star, the great [and] the blessed [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his blessings and prayers to be with us, amen.</i></p>

(17) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 97

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: flyleaf v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وقفاً موبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير ابونا القديس / انطونيوس فلا اخداً معه حل ان يخرج من وقفه / ولا يستملك عليه في قلايته والذي يقرأ فيه ويرده / الي خزانت الكتب فيكون مخالل من فم الله والذي / يخالف يكون مربوط من فم الله</p>	<p>وقفاً مؤبداً وحبساً مخلداً على دير أبونا القديس / أنطونيوس فلا أحد معه حل أن يُخرجه من وقفه / ولا يستملك عليه في قلايته والذي يقرأ فيه ويرده / الي خزانة الكتب فيكون مُخالل من فم الله والذي / يخالف يكون مربوط من فم الله</p>

TRANSLATION		
<p><Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the saint <i>Anbā Anṭūniyūs</i>. No one shall be absolved if [he] removes it from [the place of] its endowment, or possesses it in his cell. If, [however] he who reads in it returns it back to the library, [he] shall be absolved by the mouth of God and [he] who disobeys will be bound by the mouth of God.></p>		
ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT #2: back pastedown)	STANDARDISED TEXT	
<p>وَقَفًّا مَوْبِدًّا وَحَبْسًا مَخْدًّا عَلِي / دبر ابينا القديس العَظِيم ابونا / انطونيوس كوكب البرية واب / جميع الرهبان بجبل القلزم فلا / اخذًا معهُ سَلْطَان من قبل / الرب سَبْحَانِه ان يُخْرِجُه عَن / وقفيتِه بوجه من وجوه التلاف / كل من تَعَدَّى وأخرجه يكون نصيبه / سيمون الساحر (...) ودولا الكافر / ويهوذا الاسخريوطي ويكون تحت / عقد الصليب (...) والحدر تم الحدر من / المخالفة وعلي بني الطاعة تحل / البركة والشكر الله</p>	<p>وَقَفًّا مَوْبِدًّا وَحَبْسًا مَخْدًّا عَلِي / دير أبينا القديس العظيم أبونا / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية وأب / جميع الرهبان بجبل القلزم فلا / أحد معه سلطان من قبل / الرب سبحانه أن يُخْرِجُه عَن / وقفيتِه بوجه من وجوه التلاف / كل من تعدى وأخرجه يكون نصيبه / سيمون الساحر (...) وديقلا الكافر / ويهوذا الإسخريوطي ويكون تحت / عقد الصليب (...) والحدر ثم الحدر من / المخالفة وعلي بني الطاعة تحل / البركة والشكر الله</p>	
TRANSLATION		
<p><Eternal endowment and everlasting possession for the Monastery of our father the great saint <i>Anṭūniyūs</i>, star of the wilderness and father of all monks, in the Mountain of Qalzam. No one is permitted by the almighty God to remove it from [the place of] its endowment by any means, and whosoever shall disobey and take it away from [the place of] its endowment, shall have his share with Simon the Magician and (...) and Judas Iscariot, and shall be bound by the [power] of the cross (...) disobedience. And blessings be upon the son of obedience, and thanks be to God.</p>		
ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني / في الابا القديسين ابينا انطونيوس /</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني / في الاباء القديسين ابينا انطونيوس /</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His mercy, to copy the life-story of the great, righteous saint among the saintly fathers,</i></p>

كوكب البرية وأب الرهبان بركة / صلواته تكون معنا وتحفظنا آمين	كوكب البرية وأب الرهبان بركة / صلواته تكون معنا وتحفظنا آمين	<i>our father Antūniyūs, star of the wilderness and father of monks. May his blessings and prayers be with us and protect us, amen.</i>
وأيضًا من بعض عجائبه	وأيضًا من بعض عجائبه	<i>And also some of his wonders</i>
وأيضًا من عجائبه	وأيضًا من عجائبه	<i>And also among his wonders</i>

(18) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 93

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: f. 131r, 14 lines)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وهذه الكتاب الصّرف عليه من ماله وصلب / خاله ابونا المكرم الملاك النوراني والانسان / الروحاني ابينا الكاهن الموتى دو الاسكيم / الروحاني الوديع الرحوم خليفة ابونا القديس / العظيم أنطونيوس ابونا المكرم القمص عبد / الملاك ابو مخلص المسيح الاهنا / يجعله في حما المكتوب علي اسمهم ولم احدا / له تصريف غير المذكور ما دام في قيد الحياه يتصرف / فيه كما يشاء ومن بعد حياة المذكور يكون وقفا / مؤبداً وحسباً مخلداً مخلدا علي دير ابونا القديس العظيم / انطونيوس لم احدا معه حل ولا اجازة ان ينزله / من الدير ولا يقل عليه قلاية بل يكون في صحبة / كتب الميامر الذي للمجمع ومن خالف يكون مدان / والذي ياخذه يكتب من عليه محال مبارك</p>	<p>وهذا الكتاب صرّف عليه من ماله وصلب / خاله أبونا المُكرّم الملاك النوراني والإنسان / الروحاني أبينا الكاهن الموتى ذو الإسكيم / الروحاني الوديع الرحوم خليفة أبونا القديس / العظيم أنطونيوس أبونا المُكرّم القمص عبد / الملاك أبو مُخلص المسيح إلهنا / يجعله في حما المكتوب على اسمهم ولم أحد / له تصريف غير المذكور ما دام في قيد الحياة يتصرف / فيه كما يشاء ومن بعد حياة المذكور يكون وقفاً / مؤبداً وحسباً مخلداً على دير أبونا القديس العظيم / أنطونيوس لم أحد معه حل ولا إجازة أن ينزله / من الدير ولا يقل عليه قلاية بل يكون في صحبة / كتب الميامر الذي للمجمع ومن خالف يكون مدان / والذي يأخذه يكتب من عليه مُحال مبارك</p>

TRANSLATION

And this book was commissioned by our honoured father the luminous angel and spiritual human, our father the trusted priest [bestowed] with the spiritual *iskīm*, the meek, the merciful [one], the descendant of our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs the Great, our honoured father the *hegumen* ‘*Abd al-Malāk Abū Mukhlis*. May Christ our God make him among those whose name [Christ] called. No one, with the exception of the one mentioned [here] and as long as he is alive, is permitted to do anything with it. And after the life of the one mentioned [here], it shall become an eternal and everlasting endowment for the Monastery of our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs the Great. And no one shall be absolved or shall be permitted to remove it from the Monastery or keep it in his cell, but rather, it is to be kept with the books of homilies of the community. And he who disobeys will be judged and he who takes it writes on it ‘absolved and blessed’.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سبیرت القديس الكبير الطوباني في الأبا / القديسين ابينا انطونيوس كوكب البريه / بركة صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من الشرير امين</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ / سيرة القديس الكبير الطوباني في الأبا / القديسين أبينا أنطونيوس كوكب البرية / بركة صلواته تكون معنا وتحرسنا من الشرير آمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the life of the great saint, the revered [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness. May his blessings and prayers be with us and protect us from evil. Amen.</i></p>
<p>وايضا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also some of his wonders</i></p>
<p>وايضا من عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>

(19) ST PAUL (HISTORY) 136

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff.120r-120v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>تم وكمل سيرة ابونا القديس العظيم / كوكب البرية الاب انطونيوس العجائبي / بسلام من الرب امين كيرياليسون / وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك / في يوم الثلاثاء ثلاثين بابه سنة الف / وستمايه وسبعه وثلاثين للشهدا الاطهار / وكان كتابته بدير انبا بولا اول السواح / على يد كاتبه الحقير التراب والرماد الملوّث / بكل الخطايا والذنوب متى بالاسم قس / لا بالعمل لانه متعلم لا معلم ويسال / كل من قرأ فيه أن لا يؤاخذ / بل يدعو له ولوالديه الروحانيين والجسدانيين / وسائر بني المعمودية اجمعين ومن / وجد غلظه واصلحها الله يصلح / شأنه في الدنيا والاخره ومن قال / شي فله امثاله والله الشكر دايمًا / والمهتم بهذا الكتاب المبارك من ماله / وصلب حاله الراهب الطاهر الراهب ايلياس / احد رهبان دير ابونا العظيم انبا بولا / الله يعوضه مما اصرفه فيه ويحسبه / مع ابراره وقديسيه وراجي بذلك / غفران خطاياهم بشفاعه العذرا وابائنا / القديسين امين كاتبه القس متى / تادرس البنجاوي</p>	<p>تمّ وكمل سيرة أبونا القديس العظيم / كوكب البرية الأب أنطونيوس العجائبي / بسلام من الرب أمين كيرياليسون / وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب المبارك / في يوم الثلاثاء ثلاثين بابه سنة ألف / وستمائه وسبعة وثلاثين للشهداء الأطهار / وكان كتابته بدير أنبا بولا أول السواح / على يد كاتبه الحقير التراب والرماد الملوّث / بكل الخطايا والذنوب متى بالاسم قس / لا بالعمل لانه مُتعلّم لا مُعلّم ويسأل / كل من قرأ فيه أن لا يؤاخذ بغلظه / بل يدعو له ولوالديه الروحانيين والجسدانيين / وسائر بني المعمودية اجمعين ومن / وجد غلظة وأصلحها الله يصلح / شأنه في الدنيا والأخرة ومن قال / شيء فله أمثاله والله الشكر دائماً / والمهتم بهذا الكتاب المبارك من ماله / وصلب حاله الأب الطاهر الراهب إيلياس / أحد رهبان دير أبونا العظيم أنبا بولا / الله يُعوّضه مما أصرفه فيه ويحسبه / مع أبراره وقديسيه وراجي بذلك / غفران خطاياهم بشفاعه العذرا وأبائنا / القديسين أمين كاتبه القس متى / تادرس البنجاوي</p>
TRANSLATION	
<p>Completed and finished the life-story of our father the great saint, star of the wilderness, the father Anṭūniyūs the wonder-worker, in peace from the Lord, amen. Lord have mercy. And this blessed book was completed on Tuesday the 30th day of Bābah in the year 1637 of the pure martyrs. It was written in the Monastery of St Paul the first hermit by the hand of its writer who is wretched and mere dust, [who is]</p>	

full of sins and unrighteousness, who only by name is called a priest but not by deeds, who has been taught but is not a teacher, and who asks everyone who reads [this book] not to consider his faults but to pray for him and for all his physical and spiritual parents, and all the children of baptism. And whoever finds a mistake in [this book] and corrects it, may God correct his ways in this world and in the eternal life. And whosoever shall invoke on him any blessing, may it be granted back to him. And thanks be to God. The one who commissioned this blessed book from his own money is the pure father, the monk Ilyās, one of the monks from the Monastery of St Paul. May God reward him for what he paid for it and count him among His righteous ones and saints, and because of this he entreats the forgiveness of his sins, through the intercessions of the Virgin [Mary] and our fathers the saints, amen. Transcribed by the priest Mattá Tādrus al-Banjāwī.

ORIGINAL TEXT (ENDOWMENT: f. 145r)	STANDARDISED TEXT
<p>وبعد نياحته بتاريخ ١٤ اغسطس ١٩٤٦ / صار وقف على دير انبا بولي ومن خرجه من وقفه يكون تحت حكم الله</p>	<p>وبعد نياحته بتاريخ ١٤ أغسطس ١٩٤٦ / صار وقف على دير أنبا بولا ومن يُخرجه من وقفه يكون تحت حكم الله</p>

TRANSLATION

<And after his repose [the monk Ilyās] on 14 August 1946, [the manuscript] became an endowment for the Monastery of St Paul. Whosoever shall remove it from its endowment, he shall come under God's judgment [and whosoever] disregards this endowment will be subject to the judgment of God>

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>بتدییء بعون الله تعالی وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الالباء القديسين كوكب البرية ابينا انبا انطونيوس بركة / صلواته تكون معنا وتحفظنا / وتحرسنا من العدو امين</p>	<p>تبتدییء بعون الله تعالی وحسن / توفيقه بنسخ سيرة القديس الكبير / الطوباني في الالباء القديسين كوكب البرية أبينا أنبا أنطونيوس بركة / صلواته تكون معنا وتحفظنا / وتحرسنا من العدو آمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life- story of the great saint, [who is] the blessed [one] among the holy fathers, the star of the</i></p>

		<i>wilderness, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs. May the blessings of his prayers be with us and keep us and protect us from the enemy, amen.</i>
أنطونيوس	أنطونيوس	Anṭūniyūs
يا أنطونيوس	يا أنطونيوس	O Anṭūniyūs
انبا بولا	أنبا بولا	Anbā Būlā
البار انبا بولا	البار أنبا بولا	<i>The righteous Anbā Būlā the first hermit</i>
الاب انبا بولا	الأب أنبا بولا	<i>The father Anbā Būlā</i>
وايضا من بعض عجايبه	وأيضًا من بعض عجائبه	<i>And also some of his wonders</i>
وايضا من عجايبه	وأيضًا من عجائبه	<i>And also among his wonders</i>
اسمعوا ايضا خبر عظيم	اسمعوا أيضًا خبر عظيم	<i>Hear also great news</i>
واسالوا	واسألوا	<i>And they asked</i>
وكان	وكان	<i>And there was</i>

ونريد يا اخوتي الحاضرين / في هذا العيد المبارك علينا وعليكم / اجمعين امين	ونريد يا اخوتي الحاضرين / في هذا العيد المبارك علينا وعليكم / اجمعين امين	And we want O brothers attending this feast, may its blessing be upon us and all of you amen
وذلك انه لما شاع خبره في كل مكان	وذلك انه لما شاع خبره في كل مكان	And when he became famous everywhere

(20) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 216

ORIGINAL TEXT (COLOPHON: ff. 58r-58v)	STANDARDISED TEXT
تم وكمل خبر ابينا القديس العظيم / الانبا انطونيوس اب جميع الرهبان / بسلام من الرب / امين/ وناسخ هذه الاحرف العبد الخاطي المهين الكسلان / الغارق في الخطايا والذنوب الذي بالاسم لأ بالفعل الراهب / سليمان الانطوني ومن وجد غلطة واصلحها يصلح المسيح / شان وشاننا وله الشكر الي الابد امين الخاطي سليمان الانطوني / وكان الفراغ من نسخ خبر ابونا انطونيوس في / شهر ابيب ١٦٧٤ ش و١٩٥٨ م في ابيب الموافق / ٨ شهر ٧ اعانا علي كمالها بشفاعة الست السيدة / العذراء والملائكة والشهدا والقديسين وبشفاعة / هذا القديس الانبا انطونيوس امين / اذكر يا رب عبدك الخاطي الراهب سليمان الانطوني / وكتبها بالدير العامر / الانبا انطونيوس / امين	تمّ وكمل خبر أبينا القديس العظيم / الأنبا أنطونيوس أب جميع الرهبان / بسلام من الرب / امين/ وناسخ هذه الأحرف العبد الخاطيء المهين الكسلان / الغارق في الخطايا والذنوب الذي بالاسم لا بالفعل الراهب / سليمان الانطوني ومن وجد غلطة وأصلحها يصلح المسيح / شأنه وشاننا وله الشكر إلى الأبد أمين الخاطيء سليمان الأنطوني / وكان الفراغ من نسخ خبر أبونا أنطونيوس في / شهر أبيب ١٦٧٤ ش و١٩٥٨ م في أبيب الموافق / ٨ شهر ٧ أعاننا علي كمالها بشفاعة الست السيدة / العذراء والملائكة والشهداء والقديسين وبشفاعة / هذا القديس الأنبا أنطونيوس أمين / اذكر يا رب عبدك الخاطيء الراهب سليمان الأنطوني / وكتبها بالدير العامر / الأنبا انطونيوس / أمين
TRANSLATION	
Finished and completed the news about our father the great saint Anbā Antūniyūs, father of all monks, with peace from the Lord, amen. And the scribe of this letter is the lazy, wretched, sinful servant [who is] drowning in the sea of sin and unrighteousness, who by name and not by deeds is the monk Sulaymān al-Antūnī. And he who finds an error and corrects it, may Christ correct his way and ours, and thanks be to Him, amen. The sinner Sulaymān al-Antūnī, copied the life-story of our father Antūniyūs that was finished in the month of Abīb 1674	

[year of the] martyrs and 1958 Abīb that corresponds to 8 July. And we were helped to finish it through the intercessions of the lady the Virgin [Mary], and the angels, and the martyrs, and the saints, and through the intercessions of this saint Anbā Anṭūniyūs, amen. Remember O Lord Your sinful servant the monk Sulaymān al-Anṭūnī. And he copied it in the Monastery of St Antony which was inhabited, amen.

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>/ نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرت الاب الفاضل الطوباني / المغبوط ابينا العظيم في القديسين الانبا / انطونيوس كوكب البرية اب الرهبان / وكبير السواح مما شرحه الاب اثناسيوس / الرسولي بطريك الاسكندرية للاخوه / الذين حضروا اليه في ذلك الزمان / وسألوه فأعلمهم بذلك من الابتدا الى ان / اكمل سعيه الصالح أعني الأب أنطونيوس / في الثاني والعشرون من شهر طوبه / بسلام من الرب وذلك منقول من نسخه / بدير القديس العظيم ابو مقار ببريه شيهات / الجت الضرورة الي ذلك لكون ان النسخ / الذي في العالم حصل فيهم من الزيادة والنقص / كلام لا فائده فيه وعلى الله المستعان في البدايه / والنهائيه امين.</p>	<p>/ نبتدي بعون الله وحسن توفيقه / بنسخ سيرة الأب الفاضل الطوباني / المغبوط أبينا العظيم في القديسين الأنبا / أنطونيوس كوكب البرية أب الرهبان / وكبير السواح مما شرحه الأب أثناسيوس / الرسولي بطريك الإسكندرية للاخوه / الذين حضروا إليه في ذلك الزمان / وسألوه فأعلمهم بذلك من الابتداء إلى أن / أكمل سعيه الصالح أعني الأب أنطونيوس / في الثاني والعشرون من شهر طوبه / بسلام من الرب وذلك منقول من نسخة / بدير القديس العظيم أبو مقار ببريه شيهات / الجأت الضرورة إلى ذلك لكون أن النسخ / الذي في العالم حصل فيهم من الزيادة والنقص / كلام لا فائدة فيه وعلى الله المستعان في البدايه / والنهائيه امين.</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of God and His good guidance to copy the life-story of the virtuous, blessed father, our father, the great [one] among saints, Anṭūniyūs, star of the wilderness, the father of monks and the greatest of hermits, from what was expounded by the father Athanasius the Apostolic the patriarch of Alexandria to the brothers who came to him at that time and asked [of] him. So he spoke to them from the beginning [of his life] until he completed his good departure, I mean father Anṭūniyūs on 22 Ṭūbah, with peace from the Lord. And this [book] was copied from a copy in the Monastery of the great Anbā Maqār in the</i></p>

		<i>wilderness of Shihīt, and it was necessary because the versions in the world contained additions and deletions of words that have no benefit. And God is the helper in the beginning and the end, amen.</i>
--	--	--

(21) ST ANTONY (HISTORY) 219

ORIGINAL TEXT (RUBRICS)	STANDARDISED TEXT	TRANSLATION
<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ سيرت / الاب القديس الكبير الطوباني في الابا القديسين / ابينا انبا انطونيوس اب جميع الرهبان وكوكب / البرية بركة صلاته تكون معنا الي الابد امين</p>	<p>نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بنسخ سيرة / الأب القديس الكبير الطوباني في الآباء القديسين / أبينا أنبا أنطونيوس أب جميع الرهبان وكوكب / البرية بركة صلاته تكون معنا إلي الأبد آمين</p>	<p><i>We begin with the help of the omnipotent God and His good guidance, to copy the life-story of the father, the great saint, the righteous [one] among the saintly fathers, our father Anbā Anṭūniyūs, father of all the monks, star of the wilderness. May the blessings of his prayers be with us until the end, amen.</i></p>
<p>وايضا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من بعض عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also some of his wonders</i></p>
<p>وايضا من عجايبه</p>	<p>وأيضًا من عجايبه</p>	<p><i>And also among his wonders</i></p>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

CAIRO / OLD CAIRO:

Church of St Mary in Ḥārat Zuwaylah Ms 15
Church of St Mary in Ḥārat Zuwaylah Ms 23
Convent of St Mary in Ḥārat Zuwaylah Ms 57

Church of St Shinūdah (*History*) 17

Church of St Shinūdah (*History*) 29

Coptic Patriarchate (*History*) 454

Coptic Patriarchate (*History*) 482

Coptic Patriarchate (*History*) 498

Coptic Patriarchate (*History*) 545

Coptic Patriarchate (*History*) 614

Coptic Museum (*History*) 724

Coptic Museum (*Liturgy*) 139

Qaṣriyat al-Riḥān (*Hagiography*) 118/1

EASTERN DESERT:

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 41

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 96

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 107

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 108

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 129

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 138

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 148

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 154

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 180

St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 181
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 198
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 216
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 230
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 268
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 279
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 283
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 298
St Antony Monastery (*Biblica*) 316
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 17
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 18
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 29
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 32
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 33
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 35
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 47
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 62
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 68
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 69
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 93
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 95
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 97
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 98
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 99
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 100
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 102
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 104
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 105
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 106
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 107
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 108
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 111
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 133

St Antony Monastery (*History*) 137
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 153
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 154
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 182
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 190
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 193
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 208
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 216
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 217
St Antony Monastery (*History*) 219
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 10
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 41
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 56
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 78
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 91
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 98
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 99
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 106
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 146
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 182
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 191
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 197
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 199
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 202
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 207
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 208
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 210
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 211
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 213
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 215
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 220
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 225
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 227

St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 231
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 232
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 235
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 237
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 239
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 240
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 243
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 244
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 280
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 294
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 295
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 296
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 299
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 301
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 314
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 315
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 320
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 321
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 322
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 323
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 325
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 326
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 329
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 331
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 332
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 333
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 342
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 344
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 349
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 352
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 353
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 354
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 358

St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 359
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 367
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 394
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 396
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 398
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 401
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 407
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 409
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 427
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 461
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 479
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 500
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 514
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 518
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 526
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 538
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 541
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 551
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 552
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 559
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 594
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 602
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 618
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 619
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 629
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 647
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 648
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 649
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 650
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 659
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 694
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 706
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 745

St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 747
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 800
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 821
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 822
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 824
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 859
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 905
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 941
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 942
St Antony Monastery (*Liturgy*) 953
St Antony Monastery (*Theology*) 24
St Antony Monastery (*Theology*) 97
St Antony Monastery (*Theology*) 178
St Antony Monastery (*Theology*) 221
St Antony Monastery (*Theology*) 301
St Antony Monastery (*Varia*) 60
St Antony Monastery (*Varia*) 61

St Paul Monastery (*Biblica*) 97
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 2
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 9
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 11
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 16
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 26
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 31
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 39
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 41
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 46
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 51
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 53
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 55
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 70
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 100
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 105

St Paul Monastery (*History*) 108
St Paul Monastery (*History*) 136
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 17
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 20
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 23
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 35
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 38
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 42
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 46
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 49
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 50
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 53
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 66
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 107
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 108
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 109
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 111
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 112
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 114
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 129
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 140
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 165
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 205
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 212
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 292
St Paul Monastery (*Liturgy*) 321
St Paul Monastery (*Theology*) 1
St Paul Monastery (*Theology*) 6
St Paul Monastery (*Theology*) 91

LOWER EGYPT:

Church of Abū Sayfayn in Kafr Salāma Zaḡāzīq Ms 15
Diocese of al-Munūfyya Ms 125

Diocese of al-Munūfyya Ms 149

UPPER EGYPT:

Diocese of Asyūt Ms 15

Monastery of Archangel Michael in East Akhmīm Ms 7

Monastery of al-Muḥarraq in Asyūt Ms 9/20

Monastery of al-Muḥarraq in Asyūt Ms 9/21

Monastery of al-Muḥarraq in Asyūt Ms 12/28

WĀDĪ AL-NAṬRŪN:

Monastery of al-Baramūs Ms 5/14

Monastery of al-Baramūs Ms 5/17

Monastery of al-Baramūs Ms 5/38

Monastery of al-Baramūs Ms 5/47

Monastery of St Macarius (*Biblica*) 13

Monastery of St Macarius (*Hagiography*) 31

Monastery of St Macarius (*Hagiography*) 20

Monastery of St Macarius (*Hagiography*) 84

Monastery of St Macarius (*Homily*) 23

OUTSIDE EGYPT:

Leiden University Ms Or. 14326

Paris BN Ms Arabe 4788

Paris BN Ms Arabe 257

Paris BN Ms Arabe 4883

Paris BN Ms Arabe 4781

Paris BN Ms Arabe 4782

Paris BN Ms Arabe 4884

Paris BN Ms Arabe 4791

St Catherine's Monastery Ms Sinai Arab 444

St Catherine's Monastery Ms Sinai Arab 536

St Catherine's Monastery Ms Sinai Arab 441

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca (BHG)

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina (BHL)

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis (BHO)

Clavis Patrum Graecorum (CPG)

al-Maqrīzī, History of the Copts (from *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār*). In Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (ed. and trans.). 1845. *Macrizi's Geschichte Der Copten: Aus Dem Handschriften Zu Gotha Und Wien Mit Uebersetzung Und Anmerkungen Von Ferd Wstenfeld*. Göttingen. Reprint New York, 1979.

Apophthegmata Patrum. In Benedicta Ward (trans.). 1984. *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers. The Alphabetical Collection*. Kalamazoo.

Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, *Life of Antony*. In Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis (trans.). 2003. *Athanasius of Alexandria: The Life of Antony. The Coptic Life and the Greek Life*. Kalamazoo.

Benedict, *Regula Benedicti*. In Caroline White (ed. and trans.). 2008. *The Rule of St Benedict*. London.

Besa, *The Life of Shenoute*. In David, N. Bell (trans.). 1983. *The Life of Shenoute by Besa*. Kalamazoo.

Book of Ritual. In O. H. E. Khs-Burmester (ed. and trans.). 1967. *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments*. Cairo.

- Churches And Monasteries Of Egypt And Some Neighbouring Countries, attributed to Abū Šālih al-Armāni.* In B. T. A. Evetts, (ed. and trans.). 1895. Oxford.
- Copto-Arabic Synaxarium.* In Jacobus Forget (ed.). 1905–1926. *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, 2 vols. CSCO Ser. III, 18–19. Beirut.
- Copto-Arabic Synaxarium.* In René Basset (ed. and trans.). 1907–1929. *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)*. *Patrologia Orientalis* 1.3, 3.3, 11.5, 16.2, 17.3, 20.5. Paris.
- Ethiopic Synaxarium.* In E. A. Wallis Budge. 1928. *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church. A translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium made from the manuscripts Oriental 660 and 661 in the British Museum*, 4 vols. London. Reprint 1976.
- Historia Monachorum in Aegypto.* In Norman Russell (trans.). 1981. *The Lives of the Desert Fathers*. Oxford.
- History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria.* In Antoine Khater and O. H. E. Khs-Burmester (ed. and trans.). 1974. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church According to MS. Arabe 302* Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Textes et Documents. IV.1–2. Cairo.
- History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria.* In B. T. A. Evetts (ed. and trans.). 1904–1915. *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria. By Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa, I–IV*, in *Patrologia Orientalis* 1.2, 4, 5.5, 10.5. Paris.
- History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria.* In Yassa ‘Abd al-Masih, O. H. E. Burmester, Aziz S. Atiya, and Antoine Khater (ed. and trans.). 1943–1970. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church, by Sawirus ibn al- Muqaffa, bishop of al-Ashmunin*, Vols. 2–3. Cairo.
- Isaac the Presbyter, *Life of Samuel of Kalamun.* In Anthony Alcock (ed. and trans.). 1983. *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun, by Isaac the Presbyter.* Warminster.

Jerome, *Chronicon*. In Malcolm Drew Donalson (trans.). 1996. *A Translation of Jerome's Chronicon With Historical Commentary*. New York.

Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*. In Thomas P. Halton (trans.). 1999. *Saint Jerome: On Illustrious Men*. Washington, D.C.

Jerome, *Life of St Hilarion*. In Roy J. Deferrari (ed. and trans.). 1964. *Early Christian Biographies*. Washington, D.C.

Jerome, *Life of St Paul the First Hermit*. In Roy J. Deferrari (ed. and trans.). 1964. *Early Christian Biographies*. Washington, D.C.

John Cassian, *The Conferences*. In Boniface Ramsey (trans.). 1997. *John Cassian: The Conferences*. New York.

John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*. In R. H. Charles (trans.). 1916. *Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*. Oxford. Reprint New Jersey, 2007.

John of Shmūn, *Encomium on Antony of Egypt*. In Tim Vivian and Apostolos Athanassakis (trans.). 2003. *The Life of Anthony: The Coptic Life and the Greek Life*. Kalamazoo.

Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit. In Jason R. Zaborowski (ed. and trans.). 2005. *The Coptic Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit. Assimilation and Conversion to Islam in Thirteenth-Century Egypt*. Leiden.

Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of St John Chrysostom*. In Robert T. Meyer (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Palladius: Dialogue on the Life of St John Chrysostom*. New York.

Palladius, *The Lausiac History*. In Robert T. Meyer (ed. and trans.). 1964. *Palladius: The Lausiac History*. New York.

- Paradise of the Holy Fathers*. In E. A. Wallis Budge (ed. and trans.). 1904. *The Book of Paradise*, Vols. 1 and 2. London.
- Philip of Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*. In Joachim Smet (ed. and trans.). 1954. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philip of Mézières*. Rome.
- Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*. (Text according to MS. 253 Lit., Coptic Museum). In O. H. E. Khs-Burmester (ed. and trans.). 1960. Cairo.
- Serapion of Thmuis, *St. Macarius the Spirit Bearer*. In Tim Vivian (trans.). 2004. *St. Macarius the Spirit Bearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great*. Crestwood.
- Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*. In George Bell (ed. and trans.). 1884. *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, Surnamed Scholasticus, or the Advocate: Comprising a History of the Church in Seven Books, from the Accession of Constantine, A.D.305, to the 38th Year of Theodosius II, Including a Period of 140 Years*. London. Reprint 2015.
- Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues*. In Richard J. Goodrich (ed. and trans.). 2015. *Sulpicius Severus: The Complete Works*. London.
- Sulpicius Severus, *Life of St. Martin*, in Richard J. Goodrich (ed. and trans.). 2015. *Sulpicius Severus: The Complete Works*. London.
- Zacharias of Sakha, *Life of John the Little*. In Stephen Davis (ed. and trans.). 2008. ‘Introduction to the Arabic *Life of St. John the Little* in its Historical, Literary, and Social Contexts’, in *Coptica* 7: 1–185.
- Zacharias of Sakha, *Life of John the Little*. In Tim Vivian, Rowan Greer, and Maged S. A. Mikhail (eds. And trans.). 2010. *The Holy Workshop Of Virtue. The Life of John the Little by Zacharias of Sakha*. Collegeville.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abbott, H. P. 2002. *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. Cambridge.

‘Abd al-Masih, Yassa, O. H. E. Burmester, Aziz S. Atiya, and Antoine Khater (trans. and eds.). 1943–1970. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church, by Sawirus ibn al- Muqaffa, bishop of al-Ashmunin*, Vols. 2–3. Cairo.

Abd el-Noor Abd el-Shaheed, Samiha. 1993. ‘Epect Numerals’, in Johnson and Orlandi 1993, 13–21.

Abd el-Noor Abd el-Shaheed, Samiha. 2007. ‘Copyists and Sponsors of Manuscripts in the Coptic Church (13th to 18th century)’ in Bosson and Boud’hors 2007, 1–14.

Adler, W. 1989. *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus*. Washington, D. C.

Alcock, Anthony (ed. and trans.). 1983. *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun, by Isaac the Presbyter*. Warminster.

Amélineau, Emile. 1893. *La géographie de l’Egypte à l’époque copte*. Paris.

Amélineau, Emile. 1894. *Histoire des monastères de la Basse Egypte*. Paris.

Anawati, Georges C. 1990. ‘The Christian Communities in Egypt in the Middle Ages’, in Gervers and Bikhazi 1990, 237–251.

Angold, Michael (ed.). 2006. *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 5: Eastern Christianity*. Cambridge.

Anonymous. 2008. *Veneration for the Virgin Mary and St Antony*. Cairo.

- Appleyard, David. 2007. 'Ethiopian Christianity', in Parry 2007, 117–136.
- Arbel, B., B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (eds.). 1989. *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*. London.
- Ardener, E. (ed.). 1989. *The Voice of Prophecy and Other Essays*. Oxford.
- Ardener, E. 1989a. 'The construction of history: vestiges of creation', in Tonkin et al. 1989, 22–33.
- Armanios, Febe. 2008. 'Patriarchs, Archons, and the Eighteenth-Century Resurgence of the Coptic Community', in Lyster 2008, 61–54.
- Armanios, Febe. 2011. *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt*. Oxford.
- 'Aṭa Allāh al-Anṭūnī. 1920. *Targamat al-Qidīsayn al-'Aẓīmayn wa-al-Kawkabayn al-Mushriqayn al-Anbā Anṭūniyūs wa-al-Anbā Būlā al-Masryyān*. Cairo.
- Atalla, Nabil Selim. 2000. *Illustrations from Coptic Manuscripts*. Cairo.
- Athanasius al- Maqārī. 2003. *Fihris kitābāt Ābā' kanīsat al-Iskandariyah, al-Kitābāt al-Yūnāniyah*. Wādī al-Naṭrūn.
- Athanasius al- Maqārī. 2006. *Fihris kitābāt Ābā' kanīsat al-Iskandariyah, al-Kitābāt al-Qibṭiyah*. Wādī al-Naṭrūn.
- Atiya, Aziz S. 1991. 'Būlus al Būshi.' *CE*: 423–424.
- Atiya, Aziz S. 1991a. 'Copts and the Crusades.' *CE*: 663–665.
- Atiya, Aziz. S. 1991b. 'Literature, Copto-Arabic.' *CE*: 1460–1467.

- Atkins, E. M. 2001. 'And immediately he received his sight: St Macarius and the miracle of the hyena', in Wiles et al. 2001, 3–9.
- Bagnall, R. S. 1993. *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton.
- Bagnall, R. S. (ed.) 2007. *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*. Cambridge.
- Bagnall, R. S. 2009. *Early Christian Books in Egypt*. Princeton.
- Barnard, Hans and Kim Duistermaat (eds.). 2012. *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert*. Los Angeles.
- Barnes, T. D. 1986. 'Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the "Life of Antony"', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 37/2: 353–368.
- Barnes, T. D. 2010. *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*. Tübingen.
- Bartelink, G. J. M. 1974. *Vita di Antonio*. Milan.
- Bartelink, G. J. M. 1994. *Athanase d'Alexandrie: Vie d'Antoine*. Paris.
- Bas, Antoni Biosca I. 2016. 'The Anti-Muslim Discourse of Alfonso Buenhombre', in *Szpiech* 2016, 87–100.
- Baumeister, T. 1972. *Martyr invictus. Der Martyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und im Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche: zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens*. Münster.
- Bausi, A. and G. Colin. 1991. 'Senkessar', in *CE*: 621–3.
- Bausi, A. and J. Gippert. 2015. 'The Manuscript Traditions. Manuscripts in Arabic script' in Bausi et al. 2015, 34–37.

- Bausi, A. et al. (eds.). 2015. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies, An Introduction*. Hamburg.
- Behlmer, Heike. 2011. 'Female Figures in Coptic Hagiographical Texts – Update and Preliminary Results' in Buzi and Camplani 2011, 71–86.
- Behr, John. 2004. *The Nicene Faith. Part One: True God of True God*. Crestwood.
- Beit-Arié, Malachi. 1976. *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Mediaeval Manuscripts*. Paris.
- Benedictow, Ole J. 2004. *The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History*. Boydell Press.
- Bell, David, N. (trans.). 1983. *The Life of Shenoute by Besa*. Kalamazoo.
- Bell, George (ed. and trans.). 1884. *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, Surnamed Scholasticus, or the Advocate: Comprising a History of the Church in Seven Books, from the Accession of Constantine, A.D.305, to the 38th Year of Theodosius II, Including a Period of 140 Years*. London. Reprint 2015.
- Bertrand, P.H.E. 2005. 'Die Evagriusübersetzung der Vita Antonii: Rezeption – Überlieferung - Edition: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vitae Patrum-Tradition.' (Ph.D diss.) Utrecht University.
- Birdsall, J. N. and R. W. Thomson (eds.). 1963. *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*. Freiburg.
- Blanchard, Monica J. 1994. 'The Georgian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Michael, Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery', in *Aram* 6: 149–163.
- Blänsdorf, Jürgen. 2010. 'The *Defixiones* from the Sanctuary of Isis and Mater Magna in Mainz', in Gordon and Simón 2010, 141–189.

- Blau, Joshua. 1965. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*. London.
- Blau, Joshua. 1966–1967. *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*. Louvain.
- Blok, A. 1992. ‘Reflections on Making History’, in Hastrup 1992, 121–127.
- Blumenberg, Hans. 1985. *Work on Myth*. Cambridge.
- Boas, Adrian J. (ed.) 2016. *The Crusader World*. London.
- Boglionni, Pierre. 1979. ‘La scène de la mort dans les premières hagiographies latines’, in Sutto 1979, 185–210.
- Bolman, Elizabeth S. (ed.) 2002. *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*. New Haven.
- Bolman, Elizabeth S. 2002a. ‘The Early Paintings’, in Bolman 2002, 31–36.
- Bolman, Elizabeth S. 2002b. ‘Theodore’s Style, the Art of Christian Egypt, and Beyond’, in Bolman 2002, 77–90.
- Bolman, Elizabeth S. 2002c. ‘Theodore, “The Writer of Life”, and the Program of 1232/1233’ in Bolman 2002, 37–76.
- Bosch, Gulnar K. 1981. *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking*. Chicago.
- Boud’hors, Anne. 2008. ‘Copie et Circulations des Livres dans la Région Thébaine (7e–8e S.)’, in Delattre and Heilporn 2008, 149–161.
- Bouter, Nicole (ed.). 2005. *Ecrire son histoire: les communautés religieuses régulières*

face à leur passé: actes du 5e colloque international du CERCOR, Saint-Etienne, 6–8 Novembre 2002. Saint-Etienne.

Bowman, Alan K., and Greg Woolf (eds.). 1994. *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World.* Cambridge.

Brakke, David. 1994. 'The Greek and Syriac Versions of the Life of Antony' in *Le Muséon* 107: 29–53.

Brakke, David. 1995. *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism.* Oxford.

Brakke, David. 2001. 'Athanasius of Alexandria, *Life of St Antony of Egypt*', in Head 2001, 1–30.

Brakke, David. 2006. *Demons and the Making of the Monk.* Cambridge.

Brett, Michael. 2001. 'Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean: John Wansbrough and the Historiography of Mediaeval Egypt', in Kennedy 2001, 1–12.

Breydy, M. 1985. *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien, ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'id ibn Batriq um 935 AD.* Louvain.

Brinkmann, Stefanie and Beate Wiesmüller (eds.) 2012. *From codicology to Technology: Islamic Manuscripts and their Place in Scholarship.* Berlin.

Briquet, Charles-Moïse. 1907. *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 avec 39 figures dans le texte et 16 112 facsimilés de filigranes.* Paris.

Broadhurst, R. J. C. (trans.). 1980. *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt,* in Boston.

Broadhurst, R. J. C. (trans.). 1952. *Travels of Ibn Jubayr.* London.

- Brock, S. P. 1992. 'Secundus the Silent Philosopher: Some Notes on the Syriac Tradition', in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*. Aldershot.
- Brooks, E. W. (trans.). 1911. 'The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others', in *Patrologia Orientalis* 7: 605–606.
- Brown, P. 1971. 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 80–101.
- Browne, G. M. 1971. 'Coptico-Graeca: the Sahidic version of St Athanasius' Vita Antonii', in *GBRS* 12: 59–64.
- Browne, Roland A., trans. 1975. *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage of Ogier VIII, Seigneur d'Anglure*. Gainesville.
- Browning, R. 1978. 'Literacy in the Byzantine World', in *BMGS* 4: 39–54.
- Bruce, James. 1790. *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, Vol. 1. London.
- Brunt, P.A. 1980. 'On historical fragments and epitomes', in *Classical Quarterly* 30: 477–94.
- Budde, Achim. 2004. *Die Ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*. Münster.
- Burton-Christie, Douglas. 1993. *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism*. New York.
- Burton-Christie, Douglas and Graham Gould. 1993. *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*. Oxford.
- Butler, A. J. 1884. *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Vol. 2. Oxford.
- Buzi, Paola. 2001. 'The Life of Maximus and Domitius: The Cultural Life of the Wadi

- al-Natrun' in *Augustinianum* 41: 521–544.
- Buzi, Paola and Alberto Camplani (eds.). 2011. *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends: Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi*. Rome.
- Cameron, Averil (ed.). 1989. *History as Text. The Writing of Ancient History*. London.
- Cameron, Averil. 1991. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley.
- Cameron, Averil. 1992. 'New themes and styles in Greek literature, seventh–eighth centuries', in Cameron and Conrad 1992, 81–105.
- Cameron, Averil. 2000. 'Form and Meaning: The Vita Constantini and the Vita Antonii', in Hägg et al. 2000, 72–88.
- Cameron, Averil. 2003. *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond, Proceedings of the British Academy* 118. Oxford.
- Cameron, Averil and L.I. Conrad (eds.). 1992. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Problems in the Literary Source Material*. Princeton.
- Cardelle de Hartmann, Carmen and Philipp Roelli (eds.). 2014. *Petrus Alfonsi and his Dialogus. Background, Context, Reception*. Florence.
- Cardelle de Hartmann, Carmen et al. 2014a. 'Modes of variability: the textual transmission of Petrus Alfonsi's Dialogus', in Cardelle de Hartmann and Roelli 2014, 227–248.
- Casiday, A. and F. W. Norris (eds.). 2007. *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 2: Constantine to c. 600*. Cambridge.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1928. *Etiopia Occidentale*. Rome.

- Chaîne, Marius. 1925. *La chronologie des temps chrétiens d'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie: historique et exposé du calendrier et du comput de l'ère chrétienne à nos jours, accompagné de tables donnant pour chaque année, avec les caractéristiques astronomiques du comput Alexandrin, les années correspondantes des principales ères orientales, suivis d'une concordance des années juliennes, grégoriennes, coptes et éthiopiennes avec les années musulmanes, et de plusieurs appendices, pour servir à la chronologie*. Paris.
- Chamberlain, Michael. 1998. 'The Crusader Era and the Ayyubid Dynasty', in Petry 1998, 211–241.
- Charlesworth, J. H. (ed.). 1985. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1. New York.
- Chatman, S. 1978. *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. Ithaca.
- Chester, G.J. 1873. 'Notes on the Coptic Dayrs of the Wadi Natroun and on the Dayr Antonios in the Eastern Desert', in *Archaeological Journal* 30: 105–116.
- Clark, E. 2002. 'Constraining the Body, Expanding the Text', in Klingshirn and Vessey 2002, 153–171.
- Classen, C. 1992. 'The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories', in *Ethos* 20: 133–166.
- Codoñer, J. Signes and I. Pérez Martín (eds.). 2014. *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*. Turnhout.
- Codoñer, J. Signes. 2014a. 'Towards a Vocabulary for Rewriting in Byzantium', in Codoñer and Martín 2014, 61–90.
- Cogordan, George. 1903. *Relation du voyage fait au Couvent de Saint-Antoine*. Paris.
- Cole, Juan. 2008. *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*. New York.

- Colin, G. 1988. 'Le Synaxaire éthiopien. Etat actuel de la question', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 106: 273–317.
- Conrad, L.I. 1990. 'Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission', in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15: 1–44.
- Constable, Giles. 2001. 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in Laiou and Mottahedeh 2001, 1–22.
- Conti Rossini, C. 1912. 'Piccoli studi etiopici. 4. Sull' età della versione abissina del Sinassario' in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 27: 358–378.
- Coquin, René-Georges. 1984. 'Le Synaxaire éthiopien. Note codicologique', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 102: 49–59.
- Coquin, René-Georges. 1991. 'Editions of the Synaxarion', in *CE*: 2171–2173.
- Coquin, René-Georges. 1991a. 'Synaxarion, Ethiopian' in *CE*: 2190–2192.
- Coquin, René-Georges. 1991c. 'Clysmā'. *CE* 2 : 565.
- Coquin, René-Georges and Aziz S. Atiya. 1991. 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic', in *CE*: 2174–2190.
- Coquin, René-Georges, and Maurice Martin. 1991. 'Dayr Anba Antunius: Chronology', in *CE*: 721–723.
- Coquin, René-Georges, and Maurice Martin. 1991a. 'Dayr Anba Bula: Historical Landmarks', in *CE*: 741–744.

- Coquin, René-Georges and Maurice Martin. 1991b. 'Monasteries in Cyprus', in *CE*: 1647–1648.
- Coquin, René-Georges and Pierre-Henry Laferrière. 1978. 'Les Inscriptions pariétales de l'ancienne église du monastère de Saint Antoine dans le désert oriental', in *BIFAO*: 267–321.
- Coser, Lewis. A. (ed. and trans.). 1992. *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory*. Chicago.
- Coureas, Nicholas. 2007. 'The Coptic Presence in Cyprus during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Vermeulen and D'Hulster 2007, 439–450.
- Coureas, Nicholas. 2015. 'Latin Cyprus and Its Relations with the Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1517', in Boas 2015, 391–418.
- Cowe, Peter. 2006. 'The Armenians in the Era of the Crusades 1050–1350', in Angold 2006, 404–429.
- Croke, B. and A. M. Emmett (eds.). 1983. *The origins of the Christian world chronicle. In History and Historians in Late Antiquity*. Sydney.
- Crummey, Donald. 2006. 'Church and Nation: The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahedo Church (from the 13th to the 20th century)' in Angold 2006, 457–487.
- Ćurčić, Slobodan and Doula Mouriki (eds.). 1991. *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire: Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University*. Ann Arbor.
- Daly, M. W. (ed.). 1988. *Modernization in the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Richard Hill*. New York.

- Daly, M. W. (ed.). 1998. *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge.
- Daly, M. W. (ed.). 2008. *The Cambridge History of Egypt Volume 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge.
- Dār al-Naskh wa-al-Taḥrīr al-Qibṭyya al-ʿUrthudhūksyya. 1951. *Bustān al-Ruhbān ʿAn Abāʿ al-Kanīsa al-Qibṭyya al-ʿUrthudhūksyya*. Cairo. Reprint 1952, 1953.
- Davis, Stephen. 2008. *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*. Oxford.
- Davis, Stephen. 2008b. ‘Jerome’s *Life of Paul* and the Promotion of Egyptian Monasticism in the West’, in Lyster 2008, 25–42.
- Davis, Stephen. 2008c. ‘Introduction to the Arabic Life of St John the Little in its Historical, Literary and Social Contexts’, in *Coptica* 7: 1–185.
- Davis, Stephen. 2015. ‘Shenoute in Scetis: New Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of a Monastic Saint in Early Medieval Wadi al-Natrun’, in *Coptica* 14: 1–20.
- Dawood, Markos. 1950. *Ḥayāt al-Qidīs Anṭūniyūs Mutargama ʿAn Kitāb al-Qidīs Athanāsiyūs*. Cairo.
- De Forbin, Count. 1820. *Travels in Egypt: being a continuation of the Travels in the Holy Land, in 1817–18*. London.
- De Gaiffier, Baudouin. 1970. ‘Hagiographie et historiographie: Quelques aspects du problème’, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo* 17: 17–42.
- Debié, Muriel. 2010. ‘Writing History as ‘Histories’: The Biographical Dimension of East Syriac Historiography’, in Papaconstantinou 2010, 44–75.

- Delattre, Alain and Paul Heilporn (eds.). 2008. “*Et Maintenant ne Sont Plus Ques des Villages...*” *Thèbes et sa Région aux Epoques Hellénistique, Romaine et Byzantine. Actes du Colloque Tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 Décembre 2005*. Brussels.
- Delehaye, H. 1922. ‘Les martyrs d’Égypte’, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 40: 5–154, 299–364.
- Delehaye, H. 1927. *Les légendes hagiographiques*. Brussels. 3rd ed.
- Delehaye, H. 1966. *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*. Brussels. 2nd ed.
- Dembinska, M. 1985. ‘Diet: A Comparison of Food Consumption Between some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th to 12th Centuries’, in *Byzantion* 55: 431–462.
- Den Heijer, Johannes. 1989. *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie Copto-arabe*. Louvain.
- Den Heijer, Johannes. 1991. ‘History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria’, in *CE*: 1238–1242.
- Den Heijer, Johannes. 1993. ‘The Composition of the History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt: Some Preliminary Remarks’ in Johnson 1993, 209–219.
- Den Heijer, Johannes. 1996. ‘Coptic Historiography in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Early Mamluk Periods’, in *Medieval Encounters* 2: 67–98.
- Depuydt, Leo. 1993. *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Leiden.
- Depuydt, Leo and Paul Chapman (trans. and eds.). 1993. *Encomiastica from the*

Pierpont Morgan Library: Five Coptic Homilies Attributed to Anastasius of Euchaita, Epiphanius of Salamis, Isaac of Antinoe, Severian of Gabala, and Theopemptus of Antioch. Louvain.

Déroche, François. 1992. *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th centuries A.D.* London.

Déroche, François and Ayman Fuad Sayyid. 2006. *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script.* London.

Déroche, François and Francis Richard. 1997. *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen Orient.* Paris.

Di Berardino, Angelo et al. (eds.). 2014. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity.* Downers Grove.

Dijkstra, J. and M. Van Dijk (eds.). 2006. *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West.* Leiden.

Diringer, David. 1982. *The Book Before Printing: Ancient, Medieval and Oriental.* New York.

Doresse, Jean. 1952. 'Deux monastères coptes oubliés : Saint Antoine et Saint Paul dans le désert de la mer Rouge.' *La Revue des Arts* 2: 3-14.

Draguet, R. 1980. *La Vie primitive de S. Antoine conservée en syriaque.* Louvain.

Drint, Adriana. 1999. 'An Arabic Version of John Chrysostom's Commentary on Genesis', in Vanstiphout et al. 1999, 43–50.

Driver, Steven D. 2002. *John Cassian and the Reading of Egyptian Monastic Culture.* London.

- Duling, D.C. 1985. 'Testament of Solomon', in Charlesworth 1985, 935–959.
- Dutschke, Dennis. 1994. 'The Translation of St. Antony from the Egyptian Desert to the Italian City', in *Aevum* 68: 499–549.
- Ebied, R. Y. and M. J. L. Young. 1975. *The Lamp of the Intellect of Severus ibn al-Muqaffa, Bishop of al-Ashmunain*. Louvain.
- Edwards, V. and T. J. Sienkewicz. 1990. *Oral Cultures Past and Present: Rappin' and Homer*. Oxford.
- Efthymiadis, Stephanos. 2011. *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult*. Surrey.
- Efthymiadis, Stephanos (ed.). 2011a. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume I: Periods and Places*. Surrey.
- Efthymiadis, Stephanos (ed.). 2014. *Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume 2: Genres and Contexts*. Surrey.
- Efthymiadis, Stephanos. 2014a. 'Audience, Language and Patronage in Byzantine Hagiography', in Efthymiadis 2014, 247–284.
- Efthymiadis, Stephanos. 2014b. 'Collections of Miracles (5th – 15th centuries)', in Efthymiadis 2014, 103–142.
- Eichner, W. 1936. 'Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern', in *Der Islam* 23: 133–62 and 197–244.
- El Cheikh, N. M. 2003. *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*. Harvard.
- El-Leithy, T. 2005. *Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo. 1293–1524 AD*.

Princeton.

Elli, Alberto. 2003. *Storia della Chiesa copta*. 3 vols. Cairo.

Elliot, Alison G. 1987. *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints*.
London.

Elsner, Jas and Ian Rutherford (eds.). 2005. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early
Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. Oxford.

Epiphanius, (Bishop). 2014. *Bustān al-Ruhbān*. Wādī al-Naṭrūn.

Evelyn-White, H. G. 1926. *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun*. *New Coptic Texts
from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, Vol. 1. New York

Evelyn White, H. G. 1932. *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun Part 2: The History
of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*. New York.

Evetts, B. T. A. (ed. and trans.). 1904–1915. *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic
Church of Alexandria*. By Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa, I–IV, in *Patrologia Orientalis* 1.2,
4, 5.5, 10.5. Paris.

Evetts, B. T. A. (ed.) and A. J. Butler (trans.). 1895. *The Churches And Monasteries Of
Egypt And Some Neighbouring Countries, attributed to Abū Šāliḥ al-Armāni*. Oxford.

Faraone, Christopher and Amina Kropp. 2010. 'Inversion, Adversion and Perversion as
Strategies in Latin Curse-Tablets', in Gordon and Simón 2010, 381–398.

Finnegan, R. 1988. *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication*.
Oxford.

Fludernik, M. 1996. *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*. London.

- Foley, J. M. 1995. *The Singer of Tales in Performance*. Bloomington.
- Frank, Georgia. 2000. *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*. London.
- Frank, Karl Suso. 1964. *Aggelikos bios: begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum "engelgleichen Leben" im frühen Mönchtum*. Münster.
- Frankfurter, David (ed.). 1998. *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. Leiden.
- Frankfurter, David. 2005. 'Urban Shrine and Rural Saint in Fifth-Century Alexandria', in Elsner and Rutherford 2005, 435–450.
- Frantsouzoff, Serge A. 2014. 'Les chiffres coptes dans les manuscrits arabes, chrétiens et musulmans', in *Parole de l'Orient* 39: 259–273.
- Froschauer, H. and C. Römer. 2008. *Spätantike Bibliotheken. Leben und Lesen in den frühen Klöstern Ägyptens*. Vienna.
- Gabra, Gawdat. 2002. 'Perspectives on the Monastery of St Antony: Medieval and Later Inhabitants and Visitors', in Bolman 2002, 173–184.
- Gabra, Gawdat. 2008. *Historical Dictionary of the Coptic Church*. Cairo.
- Gabra, Gawdat. 2008a. 'New Research from the Library of the Monastery of St Paul' in Lyster 2008, 95–108.
- Gabra, Gawdat (ed.). 2009. *The A to Z of the Coptic Church*. Plymouth.
- Gabra, Gawdat. 2013. *The History and Religious Heritage of Old Cairo: Its Fortress,*

Churches, Synagogue, and Mosque. Cairo.

Gabra, Gawdat (ed.). 2014. *Coptic Civilization: Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Egypt.* Cairo.

Gabra, Gawdat and Hany N. Takla (eds.). 2008. *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt. Vol. 1: Akhmim and Sohag.* Cairo.

Gabra, Gawdat and Hany N. Takla (eds.). 2017. *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt.* Cairo (forthcoming).

Gabrielli, Francesco (trans.). 1969. *Arab Historians of the Crusades.* Berkeley.

Gacek, Adam. 2009. *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers.* Leiden.

Gant, Lois. 2008. 'A Philological and Theological Analysis of the Ancient Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii.' (Ph.D diss.) Fordham University.

Garitte, G. 1939. *Un témoin important du texte de la vie de S. Antoine par S. Athanase.* Rome.

Garitte, G. 1942–1943. 'Histoire du texte imprimé de la vie grecque de S. Antoine', in *BIHG* 22: 5–29.

Garitte, G. 1949. *S. Antonii vitae versio sahidica.* Louvain.

Garitte, G. 1956. 'Le texte grec et les versions anciennes de la *Vie de S. Antoine*', in Steidle 1956, 1–12.

Gemeinhardt, Peter. 2013. *Antonius: Der erste Mönch. Leben, Lehre, Legende.* Munich.

Georg, Johann. 1930. *Neue Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens,* Leipzig.

Gervers, Michael and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (eds.). 1990. *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Toronto.

Giamberardini, Gabriele. 1957. *S. Antonio Abate, Astro Del Deserto*. Cairo.

Gibson, Edgar C. S., trans. 1989. 'The Works of John Cassian.' In Schaff and Wace 1989, 161-641.

Goehring, James E. 1999. *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert*. Harrisburg.

Goehring, James E. 1999a. 'The Fourth Letter of Horsiesius and the Situation in the Pachomian Community Following the Death of Theodore', in Goehring 1999, 221–240.

Goehring, James E. 2009. 'Abraham of Farshut's Dying Words: Reflections on a Literary Motif in the Ascetic Literature of Early Christian Egypt', in *Coptica* 8: 21–39.

Goehring, James E. 2012. *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Coptic Texts on Abraham of Farshut*. Tübingen.

Golubovich, Girolamo. 1919. *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese III: Etiopia francescana*, Vol. 1. Florence.

Gordon, Richard L. and Marco Simón (eds.). 2010. *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza, 30 Sept. – 1 Oct. 2005*. Leiden.

- Gould, Graham. 1990. 'Early Egyptian Monasticism and the Church' in Loades 1990, 1–10.
- Gould, Graham. 1993. 'Recent Work on Monastic Origins: A Consideration of the Questions Raised by Samuel Rubenson's *The Letters of Antony*', in *Studia Patristica* 25: 405–416.
- Graf, Georg. 1934. *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*. Vatican City.
- Graf, Georg. 1944. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vol. 1. Vatican City.
- Graf, Georg. 1947. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vol. 2. Vatican City.
- Graf, Georg. 1954. *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*. Louvain.
- Granger, N. 1745. *Relation du voyage fait en Egypte, par le sieur Granger, en l'année 1730. Où l'on voit ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, particulièrement sur l'histoire naturelle*. Paris.
- Griffith, Sidney H. 1982. 'Eutychius of Alexandria on the Emperor Theophilus and iconoclasm in Byzantium: a 10th century moment in Christian apologetics in Arabic', in *Byzantion* 52: 154–90.
- Griffith, Sidney H. 1994. 'Michael the Martyr and Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery, at the Court of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik; Christian Apologetics and Martyrology in the Early Islamic Period' in *Aram* 6: 115–148.
- Griffith, Sidney H. 2002. 'The Handwriting on the Wall', in Bolman 2002, 186–187.
- Griffith, Sidney H. 2006. 'Arguing from Scripture: The Bible in the Christian/Muslim

- Encounter in the Middle Ages’, in Heffernan and Burman 2006, 29–58.
- Griffith, Sidney H. 2010. *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*. Princeton.
- Grig, Lucy. 2004. *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*. London.
- Griggs, C. Wilfred. 1991. ‘Sarapion of Tmuis, Saint’, in *CE*: 2095–2096.
- Grivaud, G. 2000. ‘Les minorités orientales à Chypre (époque médiévale et moderne)’, in Ioannou et al., 2000, 43–70.
- Grivaud, G. 2009. *Entrelacs Chiprois: Essai sur les lettres et la vie intellectuelle dans le royaume de Chypre 1191–1570*. Nicosia.
- Gruen, William C. 2005. ‘The Compilation and Dissemination of The Life of Antony.’ (Ph.D diss.) University of Pennsylvania.
- Guidi, I. 1911. ‘The Ethiopic Senkassar’, in *JRAS* 43: 739–58.
- Guidi, I. 1912. ‘The Ethiopic Senkassar’, in *JRAS* 44: 261–62.
- Guirguis, Magdi. 2000. ‘Athar al-arakhina ‘ala awda’ al-qibt fi al-qarn al-thamina ‘ashra’, in *Annales Islamologiques* 34: 23–44.
- Guirguis, Magdi. 2004. ‘Ibrahim al-Nasikh et la culture copte au XVIIIème siècle’, in Immerzel and Van Der Vliet 2004, 939–52.
- Guirguis, Magdi and Nelly Van Doorn-Harder. 2011. *The Emergence of the Modern Coptic Papacy*. Cairo.
- Günther, S. (ed.). 2005. *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*. Leiden.

- Habashi, Labib and Zaki Tawadros. 1927. *Fī Ṣaḥra' al- 'Arab wa-al- 'Dyira al-Sharqiya al-Halaqa al- 'Ūlá fī al- 'Athār al-Qibtyya*. Cairo.
- Hagen, Fredrick, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait, and M. Worthington (eds.). 2011. *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East. Literary and Linguistic Approaches*. Louvain.
- Hägg, Tomas and Philip Rousseau (eds.). 2000. *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.
- Haile, Getatchew. 1991. 'Ethiopian Saints', in *CE*: 1044–1056.
- Haines-Eitzen, Kim. 2000. *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*. Oxford.
- Halkin, F. 1942. 'La Légende de saint Antoine traduite de l'arabe par Alphonse Bonhome, O.P.', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 60: 143–212.
- Halkin, F. 1946. 'Un Monastère copte à Famagouste au XIVE siècle', in *Le Muséon* 59: 511–14.
- Halton, Thomas P. (trans.). 1999. *Saint Jerome: On Illustrious Men*. Washington, D.C.
- Hamilton, Alastair. 2006. *The Copts and the West, 1439–1820: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford.
- Hanna, Nelly. 2003. *In Praise of Books. A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. New York.
- Hanna, S. A. (ed.). 1972. *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*. Leiden.

- Harmless, William. 2004. *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*. Oxford.
- Harvey, Susan Ashbrook. 1993. 'Introduction', in Depuydt 1993, v–xvii.
- Harvey, Susan Ashbrook and S. P. Brock. 1998. *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*. Berkeley.
- Hastrup, K. 1989. 'The Prophetic Condition', in Ardener 1989, 224–228.
- Hastrup, K. (ed.) 1992. *Other Histories*. London.
- Hathaway, Jane. 1998. 'Egypt in the Seventeenth century', in Daly 1998, 34–58.
- Head, Thomas (ed.). 2001. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. New York.
- Heawood, Edward. 1950. *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Hilversum.
- Heffernan, Thomas J. and Thomas E. Burman (eds.). 2006. *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the religiously plural worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Leiden.
- Heide, Martin. 2014. *Secundus Taciturnus: Die arabischen, äthiopischen und syrischen Textzeugen einer didaktischen Novelle aus der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Wiesbaden.
- Henry, Matthew. 1985. *A Commentary on the Whole Bible*. Iowa Falls.
- Hinterberger, Martin. 2014. 'Between Simplification and Elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis Compared', in Codoñer and Martín 2014, 33–60.
- Hinterberger, Martin. 2014a. 'Byzantine Hagiography and its Literary Genres. Some Critical Observations', in Efthymiadis 2014, 25–60.

- Hirschler, Konrad. 2012. *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*. Edinburgh.
- Hitti, Philip Khuri. 1972. 'The Impact of the Crusades on Eastern Christianity', in Hanna 1972, 211–217.
- Hitti, Philip Khuri. 1985. 'The Impact of the Crusades on Moslem Lands', in Setton et al. 1985, 33–58.
- Hobgood-Oster, Laura. 2008. *Holy Dogs and Asses: Animals in the Christian Tradition*. Chicago.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. Ranger (eds.). 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge.
- Hoey, M. 2001. *Textual Interaction: An Introduction to Written Discourse Analysis*. London.
- Hogan, P. C. 2003. *The Mind and its Stories: Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*. Cambridge.
- Høgel, Christian. 2002. *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*. Copenhagen.
- Høgel, Christian. 2014. 'Symeon Metaphrastes and the Metaphrastic Movement', in Efthymiadis 2014, 181–196.
- Hoppenbrouwers, Henricus. 1973. 'La technique de la traduction dans l'antiquité d'après la première version latine de la Vita Antonii', in Ysebaert 1973, 80–95.
- Horner, G. 1902. *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar According to the Coptic Rite*. London.

- Hoyland, R.G. 1997. *Seeing Islam as others saw it*. Princeton.
- Hunt, Lucy-Anne. 1997. 'Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas', in *Aram* 9: 289–336.
- Hupchick, Dennis P. 1993. 'Orthodoxy and Bulgarian ethnic awareness under Ottoman rule, 1396–1762', in *Nationalities Papers* 21: 75–93.
- Hyvernât, H. 1882. *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*. Paris.
- Immerzeel, Mat and Jacques Van Der Vliet (eds.). 2004. *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium I. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000*. Leiden.
- Imnaišvili, V. 1970. *At'anasi Alek'sandreli C'xorebay cmidisa Antonisi*. Tbilisi.
- Innemée, Karel. 1992. *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East*. Leiden.
- Ioannou, Y., F. Métral, and M. Yon (eds.). 2000. *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale*. Lyons.
- Irigoin, Jean. 1954. 'Stemmas bifides et états de manuscrits', in *Revue de Philologie* 3/28: 211–217.
- Irwin, R.. 1989. 'The Image of the Byzantine and Frank in Arab Popular Literature of the Late Middle Ages', in Arbel et al. 1989, 226–242.
- Ishaq, Emile Maher. 1991. 'Metropolitan Sees', in *CE*: 1612–1614.
- Jacoby, David. 1989. *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*. London.

- Jacoby, David. 1989a. 'The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century', in Jacoby 1989, 145–179.
- Jahn, M. 1997. 'Frames, Preferences and the Reading of Third Person Narratives: Towards a Cognitive Narratology', in *Poetics Today* 18/4: 441–468.
- Jameson, Fredric. 2008. *The Ideologies of Theory*. London.
- Jan Dikken, Berend. 2012. 'Some Remarks about Middle Arabic and Sa'adya Gaon's Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch in Manuscripts of Jewish, Samaritan, Coptic Christian, and Muslim Provenance', in Muraoka et al. 2012, 51–80.
- Janos, Damien (ed.). 2016. *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*. Leiden.
- Jansma, N. S. H. 1973. *Ornements Des Manuscrits Coptes Du Monastère Blanc*. Groningen.
- Jeffery, A. 2006. *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*. Leiden.
- Jeffery, George. 1918. *A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus. Studies in the archaeology and architecture of the island*. Cyprus.
- Jeffreys, E. M. 1979. 'The attitudes of Byzantine chroniclers towards ancient history', in *Byzantion* 49: 199–238.
- Jeffreys, E., J. Haldon, and R. Cormack (eds.). 2008. *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. Oxford.
- Jirjis al-Naqqādī al-Antūnī and Buṭrus 'Abd al-Masīḥ. 1914. *Riwayat al-Anwār al-*

Maasīhiyya Fi al-Ḥayāt al-Nuskyya, Riwaya Dīniyya Tumaththil Ḥayāt al-qiddīs al-‘Aẓīm Anba Anṭūniyūs. Cairo.

Johnson, D. (ed.). 1993. *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12–15 August, 1992.* Rome.

Johnson, D. 2011. ‘Monastic Propaganda: The Coptic Hilaria Legend’, in Buzi and Camplani 2011, 305–324.

Johnson, S. F. (ed.). 2012. *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity.* Oxford.

Jones, Michael. 2002. ‘The Church of St. Antony: The Architecture’, in Bolman 2002, 21–30.

Kazhdan, A. and A. Cutler. 1982. ‘Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History’, in *Byzantion* 52: 429–478.

Kelly, John N. D. 1975. *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies.* London.

Kennedy, Hugh (ed.). 2001. *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c.950–1800).* Leiden.

Khalidi, T. 1975. *Islamic historiography: the histories of Mas’udi.* Albany.

Khater, Antoine and O. H. E. Khs-Burmester. 1967. *Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS Preserved in the Cloister of Saint Menas at Cairo.* Cairo.

Khater, Antoine and O. H. E. Khs-Burmester. 1973. *Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS Preserved in the Library of the Church of The All-Holy Virgin Mary Known as Qasriat Ar-Rihan at Old Cairo.* Cairo.

Khs-Burmester, O. H. E. 1942. ‘The Copts in Cyprus’, in *BSAC* 7: 9–13.

Khs-Burmester, O. H. E. 1946–1947. ‘The Canons of Cyril III ibn Laqlaq’, in *BSAC* 12:

81–136.

Khs-Burmester, O. H. E. 1950–1957 ‘The Canons of Cyril III ibn Laqlaq’, in *BSAC* 14: 113–50.

Kilani, M. 1992. *La Construction de la Mémoire*. Geneva.

King, Archdale. 2007. *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, Vol. 1. New Jersey.

Kīrillus al-Anṭūnī. 1950. *Kawkab al-Barriya al-Qidīs Anba Anṭūniyūs*. Cairo.

Klingshirn, W. E. and Linda Safran (eds.). 2007. *The Early Christian Book*, Washington, D.C.

Klingshirn, W. E. and Mark Vessey (eds.). 2002. *The Limits of Ancient Christianity. Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*. Ann Arbor.

Knox, Bernard. 1968. ‘Silent Reading in Antiquity’, in *GRBS* 9: 421–435.

Kohn, George C. (ed.). 2008. *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence: From Ancient Times to the Present*. New York.

Konnari, Angel Nicolaou and Christopher David Schabel (eds.). 2005. *Cyprus: Society And Culture 1191–1374*. Leiden.

Kosack, Wolfgang. 1970. *Die Legende im Koptischen*. Bonn.

Kosack, Wolfgang. 1971. *Historisches Kartenwerk Ägyptens*. Bonn.

Kotsifou, Chrysi. 2007. ‘Books and Book Production in the Monastic Communities of Byzantine Egypt’, in Klingshirn and Safran 2007, 48–68.

Kotsifou, Chrysi. 2012. ‘Bookbinding and Manuscript Illumination in Late Antique and

- Early Medieval Monastic Circles in Egypt' in Monferrer-Sala et al. 2012, 215–244.
- Kotsifou, Chrysi. 2012a. 'Sealing Practices in the Monasteries of Late Antique and Early Medieval Egypt,' in Regulski et al. 2012, 149–162.
- Krause, Martin. 1991. 'Scriptorium', in *CE*: 2108.
- Krause, Martin (ed.). 1998. *Ägypten in spätantik-christlicher Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur*. Wiesbaden.
- Krueger, Derek. 2010. 'Early Byzantine Historiography and Hagiography as Different Modes of Christian Practice', in Papaconstantinou 2010, 13–20.
- Krueger, Derek. 2010a. 'The Old Testament and Monasticism', in Magdalino and Nelson 2010, 199–222.
- Kuhn, K. H. 1966. *A Panegyric on John the Baptist Attributed to Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria*. Louvain.
- Kuhn, K. H. 1991. 'Poetry', in *CE*: 1985–1986.
- Kuhn, K. H. and W. J. Tait. 1996. *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns*. Oxford.
- Kussaim, S. 1967. 'Contribution à l'étude du moyen arabe des coptes', in *Le Muséon* 80: 153–209.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 2004. *Vowels and Consonants: An Introduction to the Sounds of Languages*. Oxford.
- Laiou, Angeliki E. and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (eds.). 2001. *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*. Washington, D.C.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. 1901. *A History of Egypt: In the Middle Ages*, Vol. 6. Cambridge.

Reprint 2013.

- Lantschoot, A. Van. 1960. 'Abba Salama, métropolitte d'Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*. Rome, 397–401.
- Layton, Bentley. 1987. *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906*. London.
- Leclercq, Jean. 1963. 'L'écriture sainte dans l'hagiographie monastique du Haut Moyen Age', in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 10: 103–138.
- Lecomte, G. 1958. 'Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'oeuvre d'Ibn Qutayba', in *Arabica* 5: 34–46.
- Leder, S. (ed.). 1998. *Story-telling in the framework of non-fictional Arabic literature*. Wiesbaden.
- Leder, S. 1998a. 'Conventions of fictional narration in learned literature', in Leder 1998, 34–60.
- Leloir, Père Louis. 1984. 'Premiers renseignements sur la Vie d'Antoine en éthiopien', in *Antidôron. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Vol. I. Wetteren, 9–11.
- Lewis, Agnes Smith and Margaret Dunlop Gibson. 1907. *Forty-one facsimiles of dated Christian Arabic manuscripts*. Cambridge.

- Lewis, Agnes Smith. 1994. 'Hidden Egypt: The first visit by women to the Coptic monasteries of Egypt and Nitria, with an account of the condition and reasons for the decadence of an ancient church,' in *Century Magazine* 68: 745–758.
- Libois, Charles (ed. and trans.). 1977. *Le Voyage en Egypte du Père Antonius Gonzales (1665–1666)*. 2 vols. Cairo.
- Lieu, J. M. 2004. *Christian identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman world*. Oxford.
- Lifshitz, Felice. 1994. 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', in *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25: 95–114.
- Littman, Enno. 1953. 'Nabatean Inscriptions from Egypt', in *BSOAS* 15: 1–28.
- Livingstone, E. A. (ed.). 1982. *Studia Patristica Vol. XVII, part 2. Ascetica, Liturgica, Second Century, Tertullian to Nicea in the West, Origen*. Oxford.
- Loades, Judith (ed.). 1990. *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*. Bangor.
- Lotter, F. 1976. *Severinus von Noricum: Legende und historische Wirklichkeit*. Stuttgart.
- Lubomierski, Nina. 2008. 'The Coptic Life of Shenoute', in Gabra and Takla 2008, 91–98.
- Luka al-Anṭūnī. 1987. *al-Rahbana wa-al- Qidīsayn al- 'Aẓīmayn al-Anbā Anṭūniyūs wa-al-Anbā Būlā*. Cairo.
- Lyster, William. 1999. *Monastery of St. Paul*. Cairo.
- Lyster, William. 2002. 'Reflections of the Temporal World: Secular Elements in Theodore's Program', in Bolman 2002, 103–126.

- Lyster, William (ed.). 2008. *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St Paul, Egypt*. New Haven.
- Lyster, William. 2008a. 'Introduction', in Lyster 2008, 1–24.
- MacCoull, Leslie S. B. 1998. 'Chant in Coptic Pilgrimage', in Frankfurter 1998, 403–413.
- MacCoull, Leslie S. B. 1996. 'A Note on the Career of Gabriel III, Scribe and Patriarch of Alexandria', in *Arabica* 43: 357–60.
- Macé, Caroline et al. 2015. 'Textual criticism and text editing', in Bausi et al. 2015, 321–465.
- Macellard, Jean, et al. 1937. *A picture book of the life of Saint Anthony the abbot: reproduced from a manuscript of the year 1426 in the Malta Public Library at Valletta, with supplementary plates of related subjects*. Oxford.
- Macevitt, Christopher. 2014. 'True Romans: Remembering the Crusades among Eastern Christians', in *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3: 260–275.
- Magdalino, Paul and Robert Nelson (eds.). 2010. *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C.
- Malone, Edward E. and Johannes Quasten. 2011. *The Monk and The Martyr: The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr*. Washington, D.C.
- Mandler, Jean M. 1984. *Stories, Scripts, and Scenes: Aspects of Schema Theory*. Hillsdale.
- Maniaci, Marilena. 2015. 'Codicology', in Bausi et al. 2015, 69–115.
- Martin, Maurice. 1982. 'Note sur la communauté copte entre 1650 et 1850', in *Annales Islamologiques* 18: 193–215.

- Massaia, Guglielmo. 1925. *I Miei Trentacinque Anni Di Missione Nell'alta Etiopia; Memorie Storiche*, Vol. 2, Rome.
- Matta' ūs, (Bishop). 1998. *The Spirituality of the Rites of the Holy Liturgy in the Coptic Orthodox Church*. Sydney.
- Mayerson, Philip. 1996. 'The Port of Clysma (Suez) in Transition from Roman to Arab Rule', in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55.2 (1996), 119–26.
- McCoull, L.S.B. 1984. 'Coptic Sources: A Problem in the Sociology of Knowledge', in *BSAC* 26: 1–7.
- Megally, Fuad. 1991. 'Numerical System, Coptic', in *CE: 1820–1822*.
- Meinardus, Otto F. A. 1960. *The Copts in Jerusalem*. Cairo.
- Meinardus, Otto F. A. 1961. *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Desert*. Cairo.
- Meinardus, Otto F. A. 2000. *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*. Cairo.
- Messick, B. 1993. *The Calligraphic State. Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*. Berkeley.
- Messis, Charis. 2014. 'Fiction and/or Novelisation in Byzantine Hagiography', in Eftymiadis 2014, 313–432.
- Metzger, Bruce. 1963. 'Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts', in Birdsall and Thomson 1963, 78–95.
- Metzger, Bruce. 1981. *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*. Oxford.

- Meyer, Robert T. (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Palladius: Dialogue on the Life of St John Chrysostom*. New York.
- Michael J. K. Walsh, Nicholas Coureas, and Peter W. Edbury (eds.). 2012. *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*. Surrey.
- Micheau, Françoise. 2016. 'Eastern Christianities (eleventh to fourteenth century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites', in Angold 2006, 371–403.
- Migne, J. P. 1857–1866. *Patrologia Graeca*. Paris.
- Mikhail, Maged S. A. 2014. 'A Lost Chapter in the History of Wadi al-Natrun (Scetis). The Coptic *Lives* and Monastery of Abba John Khame', in *Le Muséon* 127: 149–185.
- Mikhail, Maged S. A. 2017. *The Legacy of Demetrius of Alexandria 189-232 CE. The Form and Function of Hagiography in Late Antique and Islamic Egypt*. London and New York.
- Milik, J. T. 1972. *Recherches d'Epigraphie Proche-Orientale*, Paris.
- Moezzi, Amir (ed.). 2007. *Dictionnaire du Coran*. Paris.
- Moftah, Ragheb. 1991. 'Music, Coptic', in *CE*: 1715–1747.
- Moftah, Ragheb. 1998. *The Coptic Orthodox Liturgy of St Basil, with Complete Musical Transcription*. Cairo.
- Momigliano, A. (ed.). 1963. *The conflict between paganism and Christianity in the fourth century*. Oxford.
- Momigliano, A. 1963a. 'Pagan and Christian historiography in the fourth century AD', in Momigliano 1963, 79–99.

- Monastery of St Antony at the Red Sea. 2010. *St Antony the Great, his Life and Sayings*. Cairo.
- Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro et al. (eds.). 2012. *Eastern Christians and their Written Heritage. Manuscripts, Scribes and Context*. Louvain.
- Montserrat, D. (ed.). 1998. *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*. London.
- Morton, H. V. 1938. *Through Lands of the Bible*. London.
- Muhs, B. P., A. Egberts, and J. Vliet (eds.). 2002. *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*. Leiden.
- Munier, H. 1943. *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'église copte*. Cairo.
- Muraoka, T. et al. (eds.). 2012. *Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic: Diachrony and Synchrony*. Leiden.
- Murray, A. V. (ed.). 2006. *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. Santa Barbara.
- Murre-Van Den Berg, Heleen. 2006. "'I the Weak Scribe": Scribes in the Church of the East in the Ottoman Period', in *JEastCS* 58: 9–26.
- Musurillo, H. 1956. 'The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers', in *Traditio* 12: 1–64.
- Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. 1992. 'Mother of the God, Daughter of the God, Spouse of the God. The Celibacy of Priestesses in Egypt from 900 B.C.E. to Early Christianity', in Utas and Vikør 1992, 1–14.
- Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. 1993. 'Martyr and Apostate: Victor Son of Romanos and

- Diocletian: A Case of Intertextuality in Coptic Religious Memory’, in *Temenos* 29: 101–113.
- Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. 1993a. *Miroirs du Passé*. Geneva.
- Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. 1994. ‘The Martyr as Witness Coptic and Copto-Arabic Hagiographies as Mediators of Religious Memory’, in *Numen* 41/3: 223–254.
- Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. 1997. ‘The Era of Martyrs: Texts and Contexts of Religious Memory’, in Van Doorn-Harder and Vogt 1997, 123–142.
- Nakhla, Kamil Salih. 2001. *Silsilat Tārīkh al-Bābāwāt Baṭārikat al-Kursī al-Sakandarī. Wādī al-Naṭrūn*. 2nd ed.
- Newman, N.A. (ed.). 1993. *The early Christian–Muslim dialogue: a collection of documents from the first three Islamic centuries (632–900 AD)*. Hatfield.
- Nicholas Coureas. 2002. ‘The Place to Be: Migrations to Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus’, in *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 66: 125–145.
- Nicholas Coureas. 2014. ‘Religion And Ethnic Identity In Lusignan Cyprus: How The Various Groups Saw Themselves And Were Seen By Others’, in Saint-Guillain 2014, 13–25.
- Nicholas Coureas. 2015. ‘How Frankish Was The Frankish Ruling Class Of Cyprus? Ethnicity and Identity’, in *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών XXXVII*: 61–78.
- Nikolaev, Vsevolod. 1954. *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire*. Sofia.
- Norden, F. 1737. *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, Vol. 2, London.
- Nosnitsin, Denis (ed.). 2015. *Veneration of Saints in Christian Ethiopia. Proceedings of*

the International Workshop Saints in Christian Ethiopia: Literary Sources and Veneration, Hamburg, April 28–29, 2012. Wiesbaden.

O’Leary, Lacy. 1911. *The Daily Office and Theotokia of the Coptic Church*. London.

O’Leary, Lacy. 1937. *The Saints of Egypt*.

Omont, Henri. 1901. ‘Mission de M.M. de Monceaux et Laisne, Voyages de Vaillant en Orient (1667–1675)’, in *Missions Archéologiques Françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles*. Paris. Reprint 2013.

Ong, W. J. 1988. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London.

Orlandi, T. 1985. ‘Un testo copto sulla dominazione araba in Egitto’, in Orlandi and Wisse 1985, 225–233.

Orlandi, T. 1986. ‘Coptic Literature’, in Pearson and Goehring 1986, 51–81.

Orlandi, T. 1991. ‘Hagiography, Coptic’, in *CE*: 1191–1197.

Orlandi, T. 1991a. ‘Literature, Coptic’, in *CE*: 1450–1460.

Orlandi, T. 1998. ‘Koptische Literatur’, in Krause 1998, 117–147.

Orlandi, T. 2002. ‘The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe’, in Muhs et al. 2002, 211–31.

Orlandi, T. 2008. *Coptic Texts relating to the Virgin Mary: An Overview*. Rome.

Orlandi, T. and F. Wisse (eds.). 1985. *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, Roma 22–26 September 1980*. Rome.

Otero, A. de Santos. 1979. ‘Die altslavische Überlieferung der *Vita Antonii* des

- Athanasius', in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 90: 96–106.
- Ouyang, Wen-chin. 2011. 'Intertextuality, Ideology and Culture: Trajectories of Narratological Inquiries in Ancient Near and Middle Eastern Literatures', in Hagen et al. 2011, 539–549.
- Palmer, A., and S. Brock (eds. and trans.). 1993. *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*. Liverpool.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta. 2001. *Le Culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbasides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*. Paris.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta. 2005. 'The Cult of Saints: A Haven of Continuity in a Changing World?', in Bagnall 2005, 350–67.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta. 2006. 'Historiography, Hagiography, and the Making of the Coptic "Church of Martyrs" in Early Islamic Egypt', in *DOP* 60: 65–86.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta (ed.). 2010. *Writing 'True Stories'. Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East*. Turnhout.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta. 2011. 'Hagiography in Coptic', in Efthymiadis 2011, 323–345.
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta. 2012. 'Aspects of Late Antique Egypt', in Johnson 2012, 1–28.
- Paravy, Pierrette. 2005. 'La Mémoire de Saint-Antoine', in Bouter 2005, 582–609.
- Parker, K. Scott. 2015. 'Peter I de Lusignan, the Crusade of 1365, and the Oriental

Christians of Cyprus and the Mamluk Sultanate', in Rogge and Grünbart 2015, 53–72.

Parry, Ken (ed.). 2007. *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*. Carlton.

Parry, Ken (ed.). 2010. *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*. West Sussex.

Pearson, B. A. and J. E. Goehring (eds.). 1986. *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*. Philadelphia.

Pearson, Birger A. 2002. 'The Coptic Inscriptions in the Church of St. Antony', in Bolman 2002, 217–240.

Pedersen, Johannes. 1984. *The Arabic Book*. Princeton.

Penn, Michael Philip. 2009. 'Monks, Manuscripts, and Muslims: Syriac Textual Changes in Reaction to the Rise of Islam', in *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 12.2: 235–257.

Perry, Ben Edwin. 1964. *Secundus, The Silent Philosopher: The Greek Life of Secundus, critically edited and restored so far as possible, together with translations of the Greek and Oriental versions, the Latin and Oriental texts, and a study of the tradition*. Chapel Hill.

Pervo, R. 1996. 'The Ancient Novel Becomes Christian', in Schmeling 1996, 685–711.

Petry, Carl F. (ed.). 1998. *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Vol. 1. Cambridge.

Piankoff, A. et al. 1930–1940. 'History of the Monasteries of St Anthony and St Paul' (unpublished). Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. Dumbarton Oaks archive reference: MS.BZ.004.02.01 Box 2 Folder 022 Part A20140418111304981.

Piankoff, A. 1943. 'Two Descriptions by Russian Travellers of the Monasteries of St

- Antony and St Paul in the Eastern Desert' in *BSRGE* 21: 61–66.
- Pietruschka, Ute. 2005. 'Classical heritage and new literary forms: Literary activities of Christians during the Umayyad period', in Günther 2005, 17–35.
- Pietruschka, Ute. 2016. 'Some Observations about the Transmission of Popular Philosophy in Egyptian Monasteries after the Islamic Conquest', in Janos 2016, 81–108.
- Platt, (Miss). 1841. *Journal of a Tour Through Egypt, The Peninsula of Sinai, and the Holy Land, in 1838–39*, Vol. 2. London.
- Pococke, Richard. 1743. *A description of the East, and some other countries*. London.
- Polkinghorne, Donald E. 2005. 'Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: Relations and Perspectives', Straub 2005, 3–22.
- Potvin, Charles, and Jean-Charles Houzeau, eds. 1878. *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, voyageur, diplomate et moraliste*. Louvain.
- Post, Paul et al. (eds.). 2001. *Christian Feast and Festival: The Dynamics of Western Liturgy and Culture*. Louvain.
- Propp, V. J. 1968. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Austin.
- Ramzi, Mohamed. 1963. *Qamous al Jughrafi*. Cairo.
- Rapp, Claudia. 2007. 'Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes: Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity', in Klingshirn and Safran 2007, 194–224.
- Rapp, Claudia. 2007a. 'Saints and holy men', in Casiday and Norris 2007, 548–566.

- Raymond, E. A. E. and J. W. B. Barns. 1973. *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices*. Oxford.
- Rebenich, Stefan. 1992. *Hieronymus und sein Kreis: Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Stuttgart.
- Regulski, Ilona, Kim Duistermaat and Peter Verkinderen (eds.) 2012. *Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East. Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period. Proceedings of an International Workshop at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo on December 2–3, 2009*. Louvain.
- Resh, Daria D. 2015. ‘Toward a Byzantine Definition of Metaphrasis’, in *GRBS* 55: 754–787.
- Reynolds, Gabriel Said, ‘A Reflection on Two Qur’ānic Words (Iblīs and Jūdī), with Attention to the Theories of A. Mingana’, in *JAOS* 124/4: 675–689.
- Richards, D. S. 1993. ‘Salah al-Dīn’, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 8, 1993, 910–914.
- Roberts, Alexander, trans. 1989. ‘The Works of Sulpitius Severus.’ In Schaff and Wace 1989, 1-122.
- Robinson, C. F. 2003. *Islamic historiography*. Cambridge.
- Rogge, Sabine and Michael Grünbart (eds.). 2015. *Medieval Cyprus: a Place of Cultural Encounter*. Münster.
- Rose, E. 2001. ‘Celebrating Saint Martin in Early Medieval Gaul’, in Post et al. 2001, 267–86.
- Rousseau, Philip. 2000. ‘Antony as Teacher in the Greek Life’, in Hägg and Rousseau

2000, 89–109.

Rubenson, Samuel. 1990–1991. ‘Arabic Sources for the Theology of the Early Monastic Movement in Egypt’, in *Parole de l’Orient* 16: 33–47.

Rubenson, Samuel. 1995. *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the making of a Saint*. Minneapolis.

Rubenson, Samuel. 1996. ‘Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt’ in *Medieval Encounters* 2: 4–14.

Rufa’il, Ya’qub Nakhla. 2000. *Tārīkh al-Ummah al-Qibṭiyah*. Cairo.

Russeger, J. 1843. *Reise in Egypten, Nubien und Ost-Sudan*, Vol. 1. Stuttgart.

Russell, Norman (ed. and trans.). 1981. *Lives of the Desert Fathers*. London.

Saint-Guillain, Guillaume (ed.). 2014. *Identity/Identities in late medieval Cyprus: papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011*. Nicosia.

Samir, S. K. and J. S. Nielsen (eds.). 1994. *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750–1258)*. Leiden.

Samir, S. K. 1977. ‘A propos du volume II de la CPG’, in *OCP* 43: 182–197.

Samir, S. K. 1990. ‘Christian Arabic literature in the Abbasid period’, in Young et al. 1990, 446–60.

Samir, S. K. 1994. ‘The earliest Arab apology for Christianity (c. 750)’, in Samir and Nielsen 1994, 57–114.

Samir, S. K. 2001. ‘The Prophet Muhammad as seen by Timothy I and other Arab Christian authors’, in Thomas 2001, 75–106.

- Şamū'īl Tawādrūs al-Suryānī. 1968. *Al-Adyirah al-Miṣriyah*. Cairo.
- Şamū'īl Tawādrūs al-Suryānī. 1977. *History of the Popes of the Alexandrian Seat 1809–1971*. Cairo.
- Sauget, J. M. 1987. 'Une ébauche d'homélie copte pour la semaine sainte', in *Parole de l'Orient* 14: 167–202.
- Saxer, V, and S. Heid. 2014. 'Martyr-Martyrdom: Acts, Passions, Legends', in Di Berardino et al. 2014, 2:704–2:708.
- Sayyid, Ayman Fu'ād. 1997. *Al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-makhtūt wa-'ilm al-makhtūtāt*. Cairo.
- Schabel, Chris and Angel Nicolaou Konnari (eds.). 2005. *Cyprus: Society And Culture 1191–1374*. Leiden.
- Schabel, Chris. 2005a. 'Muslims, Jews, and Minor Groups of Christians', in Schabel and Konnari 2005, 157–218.
- Schabel, Chris. 2005b. 'Religion', in Schabel and Konnari 2005, 157–219.
- Schaff, Philip, and Henry Wace, eds. 1989. Reprint of the 1890-1898 ed. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. 2nd ser., vol. 11: Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*. Edinburgh; Grand Rapids.
- Schenke, Gesa. 2010. 'Creating Local History: Coptic Encomia Celebrating Past Events', in Papaconstantinou 2010, 21–30.
- Scheper, Karin. 2015. *Technique of Islamic Bookbinding: Methods, Materials and Regional Varieties*. Leiden.
- Schidorsky, Dov. 1998. 'Libraries in Late Ottoman Palestine between the Orient and the Occident', in *Libraries and Culture* 33: 260–276.

- Schmeling, G. L. (ed.). 1996. *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Leiden.
- Schulthess, Friedrich. 1894. *Probe einer syrischen Version der Vita St. Antonii*. Leipzig.
- Schweinfurth, G. 1922. *Auf unbetretenen Wegen in Aegypten*. Hamburg.
- Scott, Robert A. 2010. *Miracle Cures: Saints, Pilgrimage, and the Healing Powers of Belief*. Berkeley.
- Segal, J. B. 1953. *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*. London.
- Sellheim, Rudolf. 1976–87. *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden.
- Setton, Kenneth M. et al. (eds.). 1985. *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, Vol. 5. London.
- Sheehan, Peter. 2008. ‘New Archaeological Evidence for the Architectural Development of the Cave Church’, in Lyster 2008, 109–126.
- Sheehan, Peter. 2010. *Babylon of Egypt: The Archaeology of Old Cairo and the Origins of the City*. Cairo.
- Shenouda III (Pope). 2014. *Contemplations on the Life of Saint Antony the Great*. Sydney.
- Sheridan, M. 2004. ‘A Homily on the Death of the Virgin Mary attributed to Evodius of Rome’, in Immerzeel and Van Der Vliet 2004, 393–405.
- Sheridan, M. 2011. ‘The Encomium in the Coptic Literature of the Late Sixth Century’, in Buzi and Camplani 2011, 443–464.

- Short, William. 1983. *Saints in the World of Nature: The Animal Story as Spiritual Parable in Medieval Hagiography (900–1200)*. Rome.
- Sicard, Claude and Charles Jacques Poncet. 1845. *Description de l'Égypte*. Paris.
- Sidarus, Adel Y. 2001. 'Medieval Coptic Grammars in Arabic: The Coptic Muqqadimat', in *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3: 63–79.
- Sidarus, Adel Y. 2002. 'The Copto-Arabic Renaissance in the Middle Ages in the Middle Ages: Characteristics and Socio-Political Context', in *Coptica* 1: 141–160.
- Sidarus, Adel Y. 2010. 'La renaissance copte arabe du Moyen âge,' in Teule et al. 2010, 311–340.
- Sidarus, Adel Y. 2017. 'Yūḥannā al-Samannūdī, the Founder of National Coptic Philology in the Middle Ages', in Gabra and Takla (forthcoming).
- Sidebotham, Steven E. 2011. *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Los Angeles.
- Simaika, Marcus. 1932. *Guide to the Coptic Museum*, Vol. 2. Cairo.
- Simonsohn, Uriel. 2011. 'The biblical narrative in the Annales of Sa'īd ibn Batrīq and the question of medieval Byzantine-Orthodox identity', in *ICMR* 22/1: 37–55.
- Sizgorich, T. 2007. 'Do prophets come with a sword? Conquest, empire, and historical narrative in the early Islamic World', in *AHR* 112/4: 993–1015.
- Skalova, Zuzana and Gawdat Gabra. 2006. *Icons of the Nile Valley*. Giza.
- Skeat, T. C. 1956. 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 42: 179–208.

- Smith, A. D. 2003. *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford.
- Starkey, Janet C. M. 2012. 'Desert Imagery: Bedouins, Monks, Demons, and Hermits around Saint Antony's Monastery', in Barnard and Duistermaat 2012, 312–331.
- Steidle, B. (ed.). 1956. *Antonius Magnus Eremita, 356–1956*. Rome.
- Stewart, Aubrey (ed. and trans.). 2013. *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither. Written in the Year A.D. 1350*. Cambridge.
- Straub, Jürgen (ed.). 2005. *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*. New York.
- Sutto, C. (ed.). 1979. *Le sentiment de la mort au Moyen-Age. Etudes présentées au 5e Colloque de l'Institut d'Etudes médiévales de l'Université de Montréal*. Montreal.
- Swanson, M. N. 1994. 'The cross of Christ in the earliest Arabic Melkite apologies', in Samir and Nielsen 1994, 115–145.
- Swanson, M. N. 2003. 'The Christian al-Ma'mun tradition', in Thomas 2003, 63–92.
- Swanson, M. N. 2008. 'Searching for Shenoute. A Copto-Arabic Homiliary in Paris, BN arabe 4796', in Gabra and Takla 2008, 143–154.
- Swanson, M. N. 2008a. 'The Monastery of St. Paul in Historical Context' in Lyster 2008, 43–59.
- Swanson, M. N. 2010. *The Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt (641–1517)*. Cairo.
- Synek, Eva. 2007. 'Eastern Christian Hagiographical Traditions: Oriental Orthodox: Syriac Hagiography', in Parry 2007, 439–449.
- Szpiech, Ryan (ed.). 2016. *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference. Commentary, Conflict, and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean*. New York.

- Taft, Robert. 1993. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*. Collegeville.
- Takeda, Fumihiko, F. 2001. 'Monastic Theology of the Syriac Version of the Life of Antony', in Wiles et al. 2001, 148–157.
- Takla, Hany, N. 1983–4. 'Coptic Synaxarium', in *Bulletin of the St Shenouda Society* 1: 89–112.
- Talbot, Alice-Mary. 1991. 'Old Wine in New Bottles: The Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaeologan Period', in Ćurčić and Mouriki 1991, 15–26.
- Talbot, Alice-Mary. 2008. 'Hagiography', in Jeffreys et al. 2008, 862–871.
- Talia, Shawqi Najib. 1987. 'Būlus al-Būshi's Arabic Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John: An English Translation and a Commentary.' (Ph.D diss.) The Catholic University of America.
- Tamrat, Tadesse. 1972. *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527*. Oxford.
- Tayeci, E. 1899. *S. Athanasii patriarchae Alexandriae homiliae, epistulae et controuersiae*. Venice.
- Tedeschi, Salvatore. 1991. 'Ethiopian Prelates', in *CE*: 999–1003.
- Tejirian, Eleanor H. and Reeva Spector Simon. 2012. *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East*. New York.
- Tetz, M. 1982. 'Athanasius und die Vita Antonii. Literarische und theologische Relationen', in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 73: 1–30.
- Teule, Herman et al. (eds.). 2010. *The Syriac Renaissance*. Louvain.

- Teule, Herman. 2012. 'Christian-Muslim religious interaction 1200–1350. A historical and contextual introduction', in Thomas et al. 2012, 1–16.
- Thomas, David. 1996. 'The Bible in early Muslim anti-polemic', in *ICMR* 7: 29–38.
- Thomas, David (ed.). 2001. *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*. Leiden.
- Thomas, David (ed.). 2003. *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in Abbasid Iraq*. Leiden.
- Thomas, David. 2003a. 'Early Muslim responses to Christianity', in Thomas 2003, 231–54.
- Thomas, David (ed.). 2007. *The Bible in Arab Christianity*. Leiden.
- Thomas, David et al. (eds.). 2012. *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 4 (1200–1350)*. Leiden.
- Thomas, David, et al. (eds.). 2013. *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Vol. 5 (1350–1500)*. Leiden.
- Thomson, R.W. 2004. 'Christian perception of history: the Armenian perspective', in Van Ginkel et al. 2004, 35–44.
- Tignor, Adelman et al. 2014. *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart, Volume 1: Beginnings to the 15th Century*. New York.
- Tilley, M. 1991. 'The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr', in *JAAR* 59: 467–479.
- Tilliette, Jean-Yves. 1989. 'Les modeles de sainteté du IXe au XIe siecle, d'après le

témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques’ in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo* 36: 381–406.

Timbie, Janet A. 2007. ‘Coptic Christianity’, in Parry 2007, 94–116.

Timm, Stefan. 1984-1992. *Das Christlich-koptische Agypten in Arabischer Zeit: eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*. 6 vols. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), n. 41/1-6. Wiesbaden.

Tonkin, E. et al. (eds.). 1989. *History and Ethnicity*. London.

Toolan, M. 2001. *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction*. London.

Tornau, Christian. 2001. ‘Intertextuality in Early Latin Hagiography: Sulpicius Severus and the Vita Antonii’, in Wiles et al. 2001, 158–166.

Tottoli, R. 2002. *Biblical prophets in the Qur’an and Muslim literature*. Richmond.

Tov, Emanuel. 2004. *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts found in the Judean Desert*. Leiden.

Troupeau, Gérard. 1972. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Part 1: Manuscrits chrétiens. Vol. 1: Manuscrits dispersés entre les nos. 1–323*. Paris.

Troupeau, Gérard. 1974. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Part 1: Manuscrits chrétiens. Vol. 2: Manuscrits dispersés entre les nos. 780 et 6933*. Paris.

Troupeau, Gérard. 1997. ‘Les colophons des manuscrits arabes chrétiens’, in Déroche and Richard 1997, 223–231.

Turner, Eric G. 1971. *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. Princeton.

- Turner, Eric G. 1980. *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*. Oxford.
- Uhlig, Siegbert et al. (eds.). 2005. *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*, Vol. 2. Wiesbaden.
- Ullendorff, Edward. 1968. *Ethiopia and the Bible*. London.
- Utas, Bo, and Knut S. Vikør (eds.). 1992. *The Middle East Viewed from the North, Papers from the first Nordic conference on Middle Eastern Studies, Nordic Society for Middle Eastern Studies*. Bergen.
- Van Bekkum, W. J., J. W. Drijvers and A. C. Klugkist (eds.). 2007. *Syriac polemics: studies in honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink*. Louvain.
- Van Der Vliet, Jacques 2006. 'Bringing Home the Homeless: Landscape and History in Christian Egyptian Hagiography', in Dijkstra and Van Dijk 2006, 39–55.
- Van Der Vliet, Jacques 2011. 'Literature, Liturgy, Magic: A Dynamic Continuum', in Buzi and Camplani 2011, 555–574.
- Van Doorn-Harder, Nelly and Kari Vogt (eds.). 1997. *Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today*. Oslo.
- Van Ginkel, J. J. 1998. 'Making history; Michael the Syrian and his sixth-century sources', in *OCA* 256: 351–358.
- Van Ginkel, J. J. 2007. 'The end is near! Some remarks on the relationship between historiography, eschatology, and apocalyptic literature in the West-Syrian tradition', in Van Bekkum et al. 2007, 205–18.
- Van Ginkel, J. J., H. L. Murre-van den Berg and T. M. van Lint (eds.). 2004. *Redefining Christian identity: cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam*. Louvain.

- Van Lantschoot, Arnold. 1973. *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte. Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques*, Vol. 1. Milan.
- Van Moorsel, Paul. 1997. *Les Peintures du Monastère de Saint Antoine près de la Mer Rouge*, Vol. 1. Cairo.
- Vanstiphout, H. L. J. et al. (eds.). 1999. *All Those Nations. Cultural Encounters Within and With the Near East*. Groningen.
- Vasiliev, A. 1942–1943. 'The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa', in *Byzantion* 16: 165–225.
- Vermeulen, U. and K. D'Hulster (eds.). 2007. *Egypt and Syria during the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, Vol. 5. Louvain.
- Vivian, Miriam R. 2001. 'Daniel and the Demons: The Battle against Evil as Central to the Authority of the Monk', in Wiles et al. 2001, 191–197.
- Vivian, Tim. 1999. *The Life of the Jura Fathers*. Kalamazoo.
- Vivian, Tim. 1994. 'The Coptic Life of Antony', in *Coptic Church Review* 15: 3–58.
- Vivian, Tim. 2002. 'St. Antony the Great and the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea, ca. A.D. 251 to 1232/1233' in Bolman 2002, 3–20.
- Vivian, Tim. 2004. *St. Macarius the Spirit Bearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great*. Crestwood.
- Vivian, Tim and Apostolos N. Athanassakis (trans.). 2003. *Athanasius of Alexandria: The Life of Antony. The Coptic Life and the Greek Life*. Kalamazoo.

- Vivian, Tim, Rowan Greer, and Maged S. A. Mikhail (eds.). 2010. *The Holy Workshop Of Virtue. The Life of John the Little by Zacharias of Sakha*. Collegeville.
- Walbiner, Carsten-Michael. 2004. 'Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth Century Bilad al-Sham: Some Evidence from the Monastery of al-Shuwayr (Mount Lebanon)', in *Arabica* 51: 462–477.
- Walsh, Michael J. K., Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas Coureas. 2014. *The Harbour of All This Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*. Budapest.
- Walz, Terence. 1988. 'The Paper Trade of Egypt And The Sudan In The Eighteenth And Nineteenth Centuries', in *Daly* 1988, 29–49.
- Wansbrough, J. 1978. *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*. Oxford.
- Wansleben, Johann Michael. 1678. *Nouvelle relation en forme de journal, d'un voyage fait en Egypte*. London.
- Ward, Benedicta. 1981. 'Introduction', in *Russell* 1981, 3–46.
- Ward, Benedicta. 1982. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*. Philadelphia.
- Ward, Benedicta. 1982a. 'Signs and Wonders. Miracles in the Desert Tradition', in *Livingstone* 1982, 539–42.
- Ward, Benedicta. 1984. *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*. Kalamazoo.
- Wasserstein, David J. 2006. *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*. Cambridge.

- Werthmuller, K.J. 2010. *Coptic Identity and Ayyubid Politics in Egypt 1218–1250*. New York.
- Wheeldon, M. J. 1989. ‘True stories: the reception of historiography in antiquity’, in Cameron 1989, 33–63.
- White, Caroline (trans.) 1998. *Early Christian Lives*. London.
- White, Caroline (trans.). 1998a. ‘Life of Paul of Thebes by Jerome.’ In White 1998, 129–159.
- White, Caroline (ed. and trans.). 2008. *The Rule of St Benedict*. London.
- Wiles, M. F. et al. (eds.). 2001. *Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*. Louvain.
- Wilfong, T. G. 1998. ‘Reading the Disjoined Body in Coptic: from Physical Modification to Textual Fragmentation’, in Montserrat 1998, 116–136.
- Wilkinson, John Gardner, Sir. 1843. *Modern Egypt and Thebes: being a description of Egypt, including information required for travellers in that country*, Vol. 2. London.
- Wilkinson, John. 2002. *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*. Warminster.
- Wipszycka, Ewa. 2009. *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte, ive–viiiè siècles*. Warsaw.
- Witkowski, Witold. 1999–2000. ‘The Chronicle of Eusebius: its type and continuation in Syriac historiography’, in *Aram* 11–12: 419–37.
- Witkowski, Witold. 2015. ‘Antony “the First Monk” in Ethiopian Tradition’, *Nosnitsin* 2015, 201–220.

- Witkam, J.J. 1982–89. *Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*, 5 parts. Leiden.
- Youssef, Y. N. 2010. ‘Coptic Bohairic liturgical texts relating to Abbā Samuel of Kalamūn and Julius of Akfahs’, in *CCO* 7: 151–196.
- Youssef, Y. N. 2010a. ‘Eastern Christian Hagiographical Traditions: Oriental Orthodox: Coptic Hagiography’, in Parry 2010, 450–457.
- Youssef, Y. N. 2014. ‘Liturgy in the Coptic Church’, in Gabra 2014, 55–66.
- Youssef, Y. N. (Forthcoming). ‘Une doxologie inédite pour les trois jeunes gens dans la fournaise’.
- Ysebaert, J. (ed.). 1973. *Mélanges Christine Mohrmann: Nouveau recueil*. Utrecht.
- Zaborowski, Jason R. 2003. ‘Egyptian Christians Implicating Chalcedonians in the Arab Takeover of Egypt: The Arabic Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamun’, in *Oriens Christianus* 87: 100–115.
- Zakrzewska, Eva D. 2011. ‘Masterplots and Martyrs: Narrative Techniques in Bohairic Hagiography’, in Hagen et al. 2011, 499–524.
- Zanetti, Ugo. 1986. ‘Filigranes Vénitiens en Égypte’, in *Studi Albanologici Balcanici, Bizantini e Orientali in Onore di Giuseppe Valentini, S. J.*, Florence, 437–497.
- Zanetti, Ugo. 1986a. *Les manuscrits de Dair Abu Maqar: Inventaire*. Geneva.
- Zanetti, Ugo. 1995. ‘Abu l-Makarim et Abu Salih’, in *BSAC* 34: 85–138.
- Zanetti, Ugo. 2006. ‘Supplément à L’Inventaire des Manuscrits de Saint-Macaire’, in *BSAC* 45: 153–195.

Zanetti, Ugo. 2015. *Saint Jean, higoumène de Scété (VIIe siècle). Vie arabe et épitomé éthiopien*. Brussels.

Zarieczny, Rafal. 2013. ‘Some Remarks Concerning the Ethiopic Recension of the “Life of Antony”’, in *OCP* 79: 37–60.