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- *ANTONY, ATHANASIUS, EVAGRIUS*  
*The Egyptian Fate of Origenism*
- *THE COPTS IN JERUSALEM*



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# ABOUT THIS ISSUE

In '*Antony, Athanasius and Evagrius: The Egyptian Fate of Origenism*', Professor Charles Kannengiesser studies the relationship between St. Athanasius and St. Antony, drawing the attention to a theological similarity between their writings in ideas taken from Origen. He gives parallel examples from the writings of the three Church Fathers and concludes that the Origenian *theoria* was taken by Antony and Athanasius and reformulated in a way different from what appears in the writings of Evagrius Ponticus towards the end of the fourth century. Professor Kannengiesser whose field of research includes Christian literature and history of the Egyptian Church is one of the leading authorities on St. Athanasius. He is Professor Emeritus at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana; and Invited Professor at Concordia University, Montreal, and Université de Sherbrooke, Quebec. His paper in this issue was delivered at the last North American Patristic Society conference which was held in May 1994 in Chicago. Its conclusion has to be seriously studied by Coptic Orthodox theologians. A few decades ago some Coptic monastic historians accused Evagrius of introducing Origenism into the Egyptian desert when he came to Nitria in AD 382. The fact that this is not historically true, and the witness of Athanasius to Origen are well known.<sup>1</sup> By showing the dependence of the major Patriarch of the Alexandrian Church and its first monk, in their theology, on Origen, this article should stimulate the Copts in order to share the present enthusiasm and scholarship of the whole world concerning the greatest Christian scholar of the third century.

'*The Copts in Jerusalem and the Problem of the Holy Places*' was the paper delivered by Dr. Otto F.A. Meinardus at the first International Conference on Christian Heritage of the Holy Land at Notre Dame, Jerusalem (July 6-10, 1994), for the Coptic Orthodox Church. Coptic Church review is privileged to publish this historical and well-documented review of the subject, which has been updated by the author after the conference in view of the most recent developments. The Reverend Dr. Otto Meinardus, who has contributed frequently to this journal, is an internationally known Coptologist who has written extensively on the Coptic and other Oriental churches. A previous professor in Cairo and Athens, he is now a Member of the German, Archaeological Society.

'*On the Piety of Women*', a sermon by the fifth century monastic founder *the Archimandrite Apa Shenoute* is introduced and translated here from Coptic for the first time by Michael Penn. Mr. Penn is a graduate of Princeton University and currently a Ph.D. candidate in religious studies at Duke University. He specializes in the history of early Christianity.

Editor

## Note

1. Yanney R: *Position of Origen in the Coptic Church*. Coptic Church Review, 1986:7, 50-57.

# **ANTONY, ATHANASIUS, EVAGRIUS : THE EGYPTIAN FATE OF ORIGENISM**

*Charles Kannengiesser*

The *Life of Antony* became a best-seller in Athanasius' own lifetime, which means before 373, just as the *Vita Martini*, written by Sulpicius Severus in 397 received an international acclaim only a few months after the death of the popular bishop of Tours, thanks to the active propaganda of the author's mother-in-law. In fact, the biography of the Egyptian hermit served as an inspiration for Sulpicius Severus in Gallo-Roman Aquitaine. Being the first Christian biography the *Life of Antony* maintained an undisputable authority for several centuries of Byzantine literature.

The problem is that the very success of the *Vita Antonii*, far beyond the boundaries of Antony's homeland, creates a major difficulty for perceiving its local relevance, I mean its significance regarding what happened to the Christian movement inside Egypt itself. To put it more bluntly, the prestigious classic, in becoming a universal model, distracted the attention of its readership from the very reality which it was supposed to depict. Antony, the archetype of Christian eremitism, superseded in the common imagination Antony, the rural believer born in a small town of the Nile Valley and totally imbued with the third century traditions of his Egyptian rural setting.

A similar observation comes actually to mind about Athanasius, the author of the *Vita Antonii*. His political career on the scene of the Roman Empire resulted in projecting an image of him as a world leader in the Mediterranean realm of late Antiquity, to the point of alienating him from the peculiarities of his native Egypt. A case in point is the latest study on Athanasius, just published by T.D. Barnes, is entitled : "Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire". Indeed it seems the standard practice today for anyone who attempts to evaluate Athanasius' career to start by isolating him from the background of his youth in Christian Egypt, and to interpret him almost entirely from the viewpoint of his political adversaries who were essentially non-Egyptian. Consequently Athanasius becomes indeed a controversial figure on the scale of the Empire, but he loses substantial features of his original identity. As in the case of Antony, the legendary figure of Athanasius of Alexandria supersedes the real man who was born with his century, the fourth of our counting, into a deeply perturbed Christian community, and who found himself surrounded from his youth by the fascinating promises of a new form of asceticism that flourished in the deserts of Upper and Lower Egypt.

In the past two or three years my attention was directed again and again to considering more closely the relationship between Antony and Athanasius. If I am correct one might discover in that relationship the decisive clue for catching on one side what I would like to call the properly *Athanasian inspiration* in Athanasius' essay *On the Incarnation*, and on the other side *Antony's genuine contribution to the intellectual tradition of Christian Alexandria*.

My study focuses on Antony's seven authentic letters, before shifting over to Athanasius' treatises *On the Incarnation of the Word* and *Against the Arians*. My conclusion shall consist in a citation of Evagrius Ponticus, with a short comment on the properly Egyptian fate of Origenism.

## ***I. ANTONY'S LETTERS: THE FIRST ORIGENISM IN THE DESERT***

The original language of Antony's letters was Coptic. The authenticity of the seven letters has been confirmed by recent scholarship. A Greek translation of them circulated before the end of the fourth century. Jerome still read it, but it disappeared later on from ancient sources. A copy of the Greek text was still used by Valerio de Sarasin for a Latin translation in 1475, before vanishing as well. A Syriac version known of only the first letter is dated from 534 CE. A Georgian version of all seven letters survived in a monastery of Mount Sinai. The original Coptic text seems to be preserved at least for the seventh and the end of the sixth letter, with a few other small fragments. A collection of twenty such letters (the authentic seven ones plus thirteen others), translated from Coptic into Arabic, appeared in the Monastery of St. Antony in the eleventh century, and was distributed in a Latin version from 1641 on. A comprehensive study of the textual and literary data concerning the letters of Antony is now available thanks to the Swedish scholar Samuel Rubenson's work, *The Letters of St. Antony. Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint*, Lund University Press, 1990.

I also mention here without further discussion that the letters of Antony were unknown to Athanasius, as he never refers to them in his *Life of Antony* nor in any of his other writings. Athanasius was even responsible for the long-lasting misunderstanding which prevented many generations of scholars from admitting the authenticity of Antony's writings, when he declared in the *Vita* that Antony did "not know the letters". People took it for granted that the hermit was properly illiterate, not realizing that Athanasius applied to his hero the topos, popularized by Origen in *Contra Celsum*, of the uneducated fishermen who gained international fame in preaching the gospel as opposed to rhetors or philosophers known only by a few experts. Athanasius meant that Antony, like himself, did not belong to the literate society of academically trained rhetors. Gregory of Nazianz, pointing out precisely that same limitation in Athanasius, did not mean in any way that the bishop

of Alexandria was illiterate. As Timothy Barnes incisively comments: “Athanasius’ style of expression reflects the vigor of his native intelligence rather than the influence of pagan literary culture: it is rough and forceful rather than polished and urbane” (*Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, 1993; my review in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 1994). The same could be said of Antony’s style in his letters.

But what does Antony write, that makes him so interesting for a comparison with Athanasius? The first letter is addressed to beginners in eremitism. It is different in content and exposition from the six others, but it keeps in line with their basic recommendations. The other six letters were probably written during the same period of Antony’s life. The date suggested recently is 335-345, but it can only be a guess, for what Antony has to say does not call for any precise dating. I would only like to observe that the proposed date comes very close to the time when Athanasius composed his essay *On the Incarnation of the Word*.

In all six letters Antony explains the same theological issues, central for him. He does not simply copy himself, from one letter to the other, but he reiterates the same themes each time when he writes. I note briefly six of these themes:

1. The “first covenant” between God and the human race is identical with the creation of the “noetic cosmos”. It is being “recapitulated” in the church.

2. The incarnation of God is “a great thing to understand”.

3. In the church, which is the “body of Christ”, noetic self-understanding becomes reactivated by the savior, because he is “the great physician who is able to heal the great wound”.

4. Jesus Christ is “the true Mind (nou`ß) of the Father”. In the Father he is “his great invisible fire”. Therefore Christian self-knowledge means knowledge of the “noetic nature” of humanity in itself, as it existed before being “hidden in a body of corruption”.

5. Evil is “alien to the nature of our intellectual substance”. When saved, we “put on again the garment that we had put off, in our intellectual substance”.

6. “The many hidden malignities which the evil spirits pour upon us daily in this present time” create a situation in which, as a final result, “we serve as bodies for them (the evil spirits), for our soul receives their wickedness, and when it receives them, then it brings them to manifestation by the body in which we dwell... For they are in secret, and we make them manifest by our works”.

The Origenian provenance of Antony’s theological synthesis is beyond question. Too many features of Origen’s theory, as summarized and suggested specially in *Peri archon*, and particularly in regard to the noetic world, are key-notions in Antony’s thought. The soteriology of the letters reflects also a deep familiarity with Origen’s ideas about the salvation of humankind.

Two remarks need to be added briefly, by which a further discussion of Origen’s intellectual legacy in Antony’s letters could be engaged elsewhere in a

broader frame. First, the notion of God, relentlessly applied by the hermit from one letter to the other, seems to date from before the time when Origen rethought his own sense of the Christian deity in *Peri archon*. I find this very interesting. For the archaic pattern of thought proper to Antony in this regard remains, it seems to me, “monarchian”. In other words, it still ignores what Origen stated by introducing three “hypostaseis” into the traditional understanding of Christian monotheism. There is only one passage, in the conclusion of Letter 5, where Antony mentions “the perfect and blessed Trinity”. The intense phrasing of that statement is not only amazing because of its unusual mention of a divine Trinity, but much more so because Antony reproduces emphatically a statement made by Origen in *Peri archon*. First I quote Antony: “Now therefore understand that, be it the holy heavens or angels or archangels or thrones or dominions or cherubim or seraphim or sun or moon or stars, or patriarchs or prophets or apostles, or devil or satan or evil spirits or powers in the air, or (to say no more) be it man or woman, in the beginning of their creation they are all derived from one - all save the perfect and blessed Trinity of Father and Son and Holy Spirit.” And here is Origen’s statement: “All that we have said about the participation of the soul is to be understood of the angels and heavenly powers in a similar way to that in which it is understood of souls; for every rational creature needs to participate in the Trinity... There is nothing that was not made except the nature of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.”

My second remark about the Origenian legacy in Antony’s thought is that one finds in the seven letters a new pivotal and central category around which the whole synthesis of Origen is renewed. It is the notion of the Christian condition as experienced presently in its concrete radicality by believers. The cosmo-theology of the noetic world is taken over from Origen with much original strength, and Origen’s eschatology remains centered for Antony on the notion of a universal recapitulation, but both considerations are now integrated into a new synthesis in which Antony’s personal understanding of the actual reality of salvation is radicalized according to his monastic experiment.

My two remarks are a brief attempt to open a critical space in which Antony’s amazing message could be evaluated more easily, unique as it is. They lead me over to Athanasius.

## 2. *ATHANASIUS: IN THE SCHOOL OF ORIGEN AND ANTONY*

The Index of Athanasius’ Festal Letters tells us that the very young bishop, newly elected in the summer of 328, when he was not yet thirty years old, spent most of his free time in pastoral visitations among the settlements of the solitaries, spread over different deserts of Egypt and Libya. These prolonged retreats

with the monks lasted for several months each year between 329 and 333. Such a biographical information adds heavy weight to the tempting hypothesis which would consider the teaching of Antony's letters as the ideal background out of which Athanasius conceived his own teaching on the mystery of God's incarnation as exemplified in his essay *On the Incarnation of the Word*. For long years I could not find a satisfactory answer to the question, how did the young bishop succeed in working out a completely new formulation of Origen's doctrine of salvation in that treatise, the first he ever wrote? In recent years a more careful reading of Antony's letters gave the needed answer to my question because one finds in them *the same reshaping of true Origenism* which one finds in Athanasius' essay *On the Incarnation of the Word*, a reshaping based in both cases on the actual and concrete experience of the church as the central locus of Christian theology.

Helpful as such a parallel is for understanding the relationship between the thought of the two men, there is at least one striking difference between the old hermit and the young bishop which one would have to admit immediately. When viewed against the doctrinal background of the letters written by Antony to fellow solitaries, Athanasius shows up as belonging to a new generation of theologians, a pioneering Christian thinker of *fourth century* Alexandria. On the other hand Antony's thought is entirely embedded in the Origenistic tradition of the late *third century*, just as was Arius' thought, or Eusebius of Caesarea's teaching, or again Alexander of Alexandria's preaching until 328, when he died.

In both Antony and Athanasius, Origen's doctrine of salvation is reformulated in a new focusing on the divine incarnation, at the core of the whole salvation economy. Experiencing Christian faith is considered by each of them as a radical actualizing, decisive for the believer, of that economy. The difference between them is that Antony, with a notion of deity untouched by the Arian dispute, continued to think in the terms of Origen's cosmo-theology, even when recentering it in his own way, whereas Athanasius, pushed into the battle of the theological crisis opened by Arius in Alexandria long before 328, started his intellectual ministry as a bishop by rethinking against Arian claims the very notion of God, inherited from Origen. The Arian crisis inevitably called Athanasius to abandon Origen's cosmo-theological discourse in favor of a more anthropocentric vision, already predominant in his exposition of *On the Incarnation of the Word*.

My perception of the intellectual bonds between Antony and Athanasius obviously contradicts a remark made by the late Benedictine scholar Jean Gribomont in his review of the edition by G. Garitte of the letters of Antony in Georgian, published in the oriental corpus of Louvain in 1955. Gribomont observed that "the letters seem to be echoing many times some familiar notions of Athanasius, who could well have been one of the main sources of Antony's theology". I am inclined to reverse completely that relationship. In my view, Antony, who was almost fifty years older than Athanasius, offers the best, and as a matter of fact the only back-

ground against which we can adequately explain the sudden emergence of a new form of Origenian theology in the office of the Alexandrian bishop from approximately 335 on.

## **CONCLUSION**

As a conclusion let me quote Evagrius Ponticus who wrote his *Scholies on Ecclesiastes* in Alexandria, near the end of the fourth century. In Evagrius' theoretical construct another kind of reformulation of the Origenian *theoria* escapes the incarnational focus imposed by Antony and Athanasius, in order to celebrate the Christian experiment exclusively as a journey toward transcendent and other-worldly realities.

The church becomes a noetic world in which the believers anticipate their other-worldly status. As Evagrius proclaims in the opening sentence of his *Scholies on Ecclesiastes*: "The church of pure souls is the true science of the ages and the worlds, of the judgment and the providence manifested in them. The Ecclesiast is Christ himself, who generates that science. In other words, the Ecclesiast is the one who purifies souls by moral contemplation, and leads them to the theory of the (noetic) nature".

In the first decades of the same fourth century Arius had already conceived Christian faith as a form of knowledge whose essential issues were other-worldly. His reception of Origen was probably as consistent as any other in the Alexandrian community of his day, but Arius lacked the common touch which allowed other leaders, like Antony or Athanasius, to enjoy a spectacular following among their contemporaries in Christian Egypt. Even in being thoroughly anti-Arian, Evagrius reproduced nevertheless Arius' mode of Origenian reception. They both illustrate another Origenistic tradition proper to Egypt, a tradition which differs strongly from the incarnational line of thought according to which we positioned the young bishop Athanasius among the intellectual disciples of old Antony.

# ***THE COPTS IN JERUSALEM AND THE QUESTION OF THE HOLY PLACES***

*Otto Meinardus, Ph.D.*

Whoever visits Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho or Nazareth in these days (1994) cannot help but notice among the clerics of the various Christian communities the Coptic desert fathers. They are easily distinguished on account of their originally Antiochene headdress, the qolunsua. It is a tight fitting cap covering the head and neck, embroidered with thirteen yellow or white crosses representing Christ and the Apostles. Around the neck and in front of the breast they wear a large black and white Coptic leather cross. They are the representatives of the Coptic Orthodox Church and His Holiness Anbâ Shenûdah III, the 117th successor of the Evangelist St. Mark. His full title is "Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and of All Egypt, of God's City of Jerusalem, of Nubia, the Pentapolis and all the Regions of the Preaching of St. Mark."<sup>1</sup>

Especially since the enthronement of Anbâ Abra'am I as 20th Coptic *mutrân* (metropolitan) of Jerusalem and the Middle East on November 1, 1991, the Coptic presence in Israel in general and in Jerusalem in particular has acquired a new quality. In addition to some of the major restorations of old buildings, *e.g.* the Church of St. Antony, the Church of St. Helena and the passage to the large subterranean cistern, new social and educational projects, like the new College of St. Antony at Bet Hanina begun in August 1993, are tangible evidence of the Coptic renaissance which has overflowed to the Holy Land. At the same time, the age-old question pertaining to the jurisdiction of some of the holy places, namely the Dair as-Sultan on the roof of the Armenian Church of St. Helena and the Chapel of the Bodiless Living Creatures and the Chapel of the Archangel Michael is presently

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1. The inclusion of the Holy City of Jerusalem in the pontifical title dates from the Middle Ages. The Ms 253 Coptic Museum, dated 1080 A.M. or 1364 A.D., of the Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria refers to the senior bishop, who places his hand upon the elected servant of God, while the archdeacon exclaims: "The divine grace advanceth him to Archbishop of the great city of Alexandria and of all the land of Egypt and its nomes..." The text of the witnessing of the episcopacy is more elaborate and speaks of the "Archbishop of the great city of Alexandria and of Babylon and of the Ethiopians and of the Five Cities in the West (Berenice, Ptolemais, Barca, Cyrene and Apollonia). Cf. Burmester, O.H.E., *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*. Cairo, 1960.

being discussed again. In view of these recent developments some of the principal historical notes about the presence of the Copts in the Holy City should be restated.

Within the New Testament context the relationship of the Egyptians to Jerusalem can be traced to the first Pentecost when Jews "from Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene" were speaking in their own tongues the mighty works of God (Acts 2:10,11). Upon their return from Jerusalem, these Judaeo-Christians would have formed the nucleus of the first Christian community in Egypt. With the Discovery of the Holy Cross by St. Helena in May 328 A.D. and the subsequent construction of the Church of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) over the Tomb of Jesus Christ, Jerusalem became the principal destination of Christian pilgrimages. One of the better known Egyptian woman-saints was St. Mary the Egyptian, once an actress and courtesan. She had joined a group of faithful pilgrims to the Holy Land. Before entering the Church of the Resurrection she experienced a vision of the Holy Virgin who demanded from her to surrender herself completely to God and to resign from her previous ways. Realizing the incomprehensible mercy of God, she cast herself on the ground and after kissing the pavement, she went to the icon of the Holy Virgin, where falling on her knees, she begged for her intercession. Then she heard a voice saying: "If thou goest beyond the Jordan, thou shalt find there rest and comfort." Before crossing the Jordan, she stopped at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist. Forty-seven years she spent in penance beyond the Jordan and received the Last Sacrament from St. Zosimus before she died in 432.<sup>2</sup>

The "Letter of Paula and Eustachium to Marcella" (386 A.D.) mentions among the monks of the various nations who visited Jerusalem also those coming from Egypt, and the Spanish abbess, the 4th century pilgrim Etheria, refers very clearly to the monks of Egypt or the Thebaid who used to come to the Holy City<sup>4</sup>. The Copts are also mentioned as pilgrims to Jerusalem in the so-called "Letter of Guarantee" attributed to the Caliph 'Umar and dated in the 15th year of Hira (637 A.D.). According to tradition, this covenant is said to have been made between the Caliph and the Greek Patriarch Sophronius<sup>5</sup>.... "And in order that the Georgian and Abyssinians depending on the Greek Nation be well established, let all other nations that go there on pilgrimage, Latins, Copts, Syrians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites submit to the Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem"<sup>6</sup>.

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2. Coptic Synaxar, *Patr. Orient.*, XVI, 286-290; Eth. Synaxar, 6 Mīyazyā, *Budge*, III, 784-6.

3. Aubrey, "Letter of Paula and Eustachium to Marcella," *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society*, I, 1 (*PPTS*).

4. Bernard, "The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places," *PPTS*, I, 76.

5. The listing and the order of the Christian communities represented in Jerusalem according to this document would suggest for its composition a date during the Mameluke period. Already Augustine Scholz, writing in 1820, questioned the authenticity of the Omarite Covenant. Cf. Scholz, A., *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium, etc.*, Leipzig, 1822, 293.

6. Themelis, Timotheus, *Les Grecs aux Lieux Saints*. Jerusalem, 1921, 7.

There are not many references to Coptic monks in or Coptic pilgrims to Jerusalem prior to the Crusades in the 11th century. A Christian Arabic papyrus of the 9th century refers to a Coptic lady-traveller who had returned to Egypt from Jerusalem, where presumably she had gone on a pilgrimage,<sup>7</sup> and John (Yuhânnâ) ibn Sa'id al-Qulzûmî mentions that sometimes between 1047 and 1092 he went to Jerusalem and elsewhere, namely the Holy Sepulcher and Calvary<sup>8</sup>.

During the patriarchate of Anbâ Kîrillus II (1078-1092) the Ghuzz or Turkomans captured Jerusalem and extended their conquests to the Egyptian frontier. The Turkoman sovereign, Sultan Galâl ad-Dîn, also known by the name of King Shâh, appointed a Copt, a certain Mansûr at-Tilbânî, to become assistant to the Governor. Mansûr at-Tilbânî as well as his wife Mu'inah were of great help to the Christians who came to Jerusalem from Egypt and from other parts of the Middle East. At this time, the Coptic churches and monasteries in Jerusalem were confided to the Syrian Jacobites, who held the same belief as the Copts.<sup>9</sup> In order to avoid any misunderstanding, however, which might arise with regard to the Coptic ownership of the Church of the Jacobite Christians, Anbâ Kîrillus II responded to the request of Mansûr at-Tilbânî in delegating an Egyptian bishop to consecrate the church, which was reconstructed by Mansûr at-Tilbânî. The consecration took place in the month of Barmahat 808 A.M. (1092 A.D.)

From the beginning of the 12th century, the church and the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene served as the spiritual center for the Jacobites, both the Syrians and the Egyptians. The church was situated in the vicinity of the Gate of Herod, north of the Franciscan Via Dolorosa. An interesting account of the existence of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene is furnished by two Syriac Codices, that of Lyons (February 10, 1138) and that of Paris (August 25, 1138). These documents refer to

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7. Anawati et Jomier, "Un Papyrus Chrétien en Arabe," *Mélanges Islamologiques*, II, 1954, 98.

8. The visit of John ibn Sa'id should be placed during the time of the patriarchates of Christodoulos and Cyril II. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* (ed. Aziz S. Atiya, Yassa 'Abd al-Masih, O.H.E. Khs-Burmester) Cairo, 1959, II, iii, 358.

9. Originally, the term 'Jacobites' from the Syrian monk Jacob Bardaeus, who died in 578 as Bishop of Edessa, was applied to the Syrian Monophysites. However, in the Middle Ages the Copts are also referred to as 'Jacobites' and the Canons of Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (1235) speak of the Coptic Jacobite Church (*Bull. de la Société d'Arch. Copte*, XIV, 141). Thietmar (1217) mentions the Jacobites who come from Egypt and who claim to be the heirs of the Pharaohs (Saint-Génois, *Les Voyages fait en Terre Sainte par Thietmar en 1217*, etc. "*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique*, XXVI, Bruxelles, 1851, 56. Jacques de Vitry (1227) and Marino Sanuto (1306) state that the Jacobites had a teacher who is said to be a certain James, a disciple of the Alexandrian Patriarch. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive Orientalium expeditionum*, etc., Hanoviae, 1611, I, 1091-92.

certain arguments between the Jacobite community in Jerusalem and a certain Frank, called Godfrey of Asha<sup>10</sup>. Apparently, the Jacobite community had escaped to Egypt where it had found refuge during the Latin Kingdom. After their return to the Holy City they noticed that some of their sites which they had held prior to the conquest by the Crusaders were occupied by the Franks. It was only after the intervention of Athanasius VII, patriarch of Antioch, that Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, returned to the Jacobites their original holdings. This transfer must have occurred after 1100, the year when Athanasius VII became patriarch and before 1118, the year when Baldwin I died. It is very likely that the church and the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene were temporarily in the hands of the Crusaders. In 1124, Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, repaired the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene so that it became available again for use by the Jacobite monks. In 1137 Godfrey of Asha, after having been released by the Saracens, claimed again those sites which he had occupied. To settle the dispute, a compromise was reached and in February 1138 the Jacobites paid the sum of 300 dinars to Godfrey of Asha<sup>11</sup>. In 1140, an anonymous pilgrim visited Jerusalem. He had seen the Monastery of the Jacobites, wherein was the head of St. James and the arm of St. Stephen. He referred to the Church of St. Mary Madgalene where they show some of the hair of the Patron-Saint.<sup>12</sup> Some of the hair of St. Mary Magdalene is claimed by the Coptic monks of the Monastery of the Syrian (Dair as-Surîân) in the Wâdî 'n-Natrûn.

There is good reason to assume that the Jacobite Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene served both non-Chalcedonian communities, the Syrians and the Copts. An interesting colophon of the Syrian Codex 27 of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem substantiates this assumption. We are informed that the codex was completed in 1149 A.D. in the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene at the time of Athanasius VIII, Patriarch of Antioch, and John V, Patriarch of Alexandria,<sup>13</sup> and Ignatius III, Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> Johann of Würzburg, visiting the Holy Land in 1165, refers to the Jacobite monks who possess the Church of St. Mary Magdalene,<sup>15</sup> and in the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of Bar Hebraeus we read, that in 1168, Michael I, Patriarch of Antioch, went for the Easter celebrations to Jerusalem to celebrate the Divine Liturgy and to consecrate the Holy Chrism in the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>16</sup>

10. Martin, "Les premiers princes croisés et les Syriens Jacobites de Jérusalem," *JA*, Nov., Dec., 1888, 471-490; Jan. 1889, 33-79. Nau, "Le croisé lorrain Godefroy de Asha, d'après deux documents syriaques du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *JA*, Nov., Dec. 1899, 421-31.

11. Meinardus, O., "The Syrian Jacobites in the Holy City," *Orientalia Suecana*, XII, 1963, 63, 64.

12. "Anonymous Pilgrims," *PPTS*, VI, 12.

13. I.e. 1147-1166.

14. Taylor, W.R., "A new Syriac fragment dealing with incidents in the Second Crusade," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XI, 1931, 120 f.

15. Tobler, Titus, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV*. Leipzig, 1874, 132, 164.

16. Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, II, 546 f.

Following the victory of the troops of Salâh ad-Dîn over the Crusader forces in the battle of the Horns of Hattin, July 4th, 1187, the number of pilgrims from the various Christian communities of the East increased as time went on, and many of the churches felt the need to establish themselves on a permanent basis in the Holy City. In 1187, Sultan Salâh ad-Dîn granted exemption from taxes to the Greeks, Georgians, Copts and Ethiopians who came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. By this ordinance the Sultan also confirmed the privilege of the Copts to own certain sites in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>17</sup> The possibility that some Christians were evicted by the ordinances of Salâh ad-Dîn is mentioned by the 16th century Dutch traveller Ioannes Cotovicus (Iohann van Kootwyck) who visited Cyprus in 1598 and stated: There are also Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites and Copts, fugitives from Palestine, who were driven from the realm of Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem, and settled here, each sect still observing its own rites.<sup>18</sup> At the same time it should be mentioned that the earliest reference to the presence of Copts in Cyprus occurs in an address delivered by John XIII (Ju'annis al-Misrî), when he ascended the patriarchal throne on the 15th of Amshîr 1199 A.M. (1483 A.D.). Among the bishops mentioned in this address there is Anbâ Mikhâîl of Cyprus (al-kubrûsî), metropolitan of Cyprus and afterwards of Rhodes.<sup>19</sup>

In the middle of the 13th century tensions and misunderstandings emerged between the two non-Chalcedonian communities, the Syrians and the Copts. Thus, when it was discovered that the Syrians had added some properties of the Copts to their own, and had wasted others, Anbâ Kîrillus III (1235-1243) appointed in 1238 an Egyptian Archbishop of Jerusalem. He succeeded after much trouble in regaining the Coptic Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection and the church which was reconstructed by Mansûr at-Tilbanî<sup>20</sup> The first Coptic Archbishop of Jerusalem was Anbâ Basilûs I (1238-1260). The Syrian Patriarch of Antioch was much distressed at this appointment and retaliated by excommunicating the newly appointed Coptic Archbishop.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the Antiochene Patriarch consecrated an Ethiopian monk as Archbishop of Abyssinia, thus assuming a privilege which had been exclusively held by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>22</sup>

By the middle of the 13th century the Coptic Archbishopric of Jerusalem was well established. The Ethiopian Synaxar mentions Anbâ Ghobrîâl III (1268-1271), the 78th Patriarch of Alexandria, who went to Jerusalem where he was blessed in

17. Themelis, *op. cit.*, 68.

18. Cobham, Laude D., *Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus*. Cambridge, 1908, 197.

19. Burmester, O.H.E., "The Copts in Cyprus," *Bull. de la Société d'Arch. Copte*, VII, 1941, 9.

20. Filûtâûs 'Awad, *Dair as-Sultân milk al-Qibt la al-Habash*. Cairo, 1924, 17.

21. Renaudotius, Eusebius, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum ab Marco usque ad finem saeculi XIII*. Paris, 1713, 579 f.

22. Kawerau, Peter, *Die Jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der Syrischen Renaissance*. Berlin, 1955, 67.

the Holy Places. He was ordained to the priesthood in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>23</sup> During the latter part of the 13th century the Copts not only had a resident Archbishop, but also monks in the Holy City. C.R. Conder states, "that their (Coptic) bishop wore a crown like the Greek patriarchs, their monks wore white pointed cowls. They still preserved the ancient Kiss of Peace..."<sup>24</sup> Around 1280 Burchard of Mount Sion referred to the Syrians, Ethiopians and Egyptians who were among the nations residing in Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> In 1287 Abû Ishâq al-Mu'tamam ibn al-'Assal composed a homily addressed to the Egyptian Christians to join a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup>

The Western pilgrims to the Holy Land like Guilielm de Boldensele (1336), Niccolo di Poggibonsi (1346), Ludolf von Suchem (1348) the Pilgrim of Miltenberg (1350), Frescobaldi (1384), Philippe de Mézières (1384) and the Latin codices mention eight or nine Christian communities in the Church of the Resurrection, namely, the Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Jacobites, Ethiopians, Georgians, Nestorians, Maronites, and the Christians of the Girdle, who are the Copts.<sup>27</sup> The "Christians of the Girdle" (*Cristiani della cintura*) acquired this title already during the patriarchate of Cosmas II (851-859), when they were compelled to wear, as a mark of ignominy, girdles, while the women, to whom the girdle was a distinguishing mark of feminine modesty, were forbidden to wear them. During the reign of al-Hâkim (996-1021) the Copts were forced to wear a distinctive dress consisting also of a sash around their loins. During the 13th century, the reign of Qalâûn (1279-1290), the Christians were made to ride on donkeys with girdles round their waists.<sup>28</sup>

There is no doubt that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Copts were established in Jerusalem and also possessed "certain sites" in the Church of the Resurrection. The chapel "behind the Holy Sepulchre" is repeatedly mentioned by the pilgrims as belonging to the Jacobites, e.g. Ignatius of Smolensk (1400) and the Anonymous of 1445. Generally speaking, the Copts were still known as Jacobites, Goffites (Koster Bernd, 1463) or Egyptians (Henry the Pious, 1498).<sup>29</sup>

23. Ethiopian Synaxar, 11 Hamlé, *Budge IV*, 1107.

24. Conder, C.R. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291*. London, 1897, 221.

25. Burchard, "Description of the Holy Land," *PPTS*, XII, 104.

26. Abu Ishaq is the brother of As-Safî al-'Assal. Cf. Graf, Georg, "Rede des Abû Ishâq al-Mu'tamam ibn al-'Assal," *Bull. de la Société d'Arch. Copte*, VII, 1941, 51-59.

27. Meinardus, O., *The Copts in Jerusalem*. Cairo, 1960, 19, 20.

28. Fowler, Montague, *Christian Egypt, Past, Present and Future*. London, 1902, 70. In 1612 William Lithgow referred to the Copts "as a sort of circumcised Christians," and still in 1666 Frantz Ferdinand of Troilo called them "Christen della Cinte, des Gürtels wegen." Meinardus, O., *op. cit.*, 31, 33.

29. Meinardus, O. *op. cit.*, 23, 24.

During the latter part of the 15th century the number of Copts in Jerusalem could not have been very large.<sup>30</sup> Francesco Suriano, writing towards the end of the 15th century, states, "that as the Copts had left Jerusalem, when I was there, and gone to Cairo, I had no opportunity of talking to them. The Copts are least in number, and as they are few, when the sons of their priests are born, they make them deacons and subdeacons."<sup>31</sup> Felix Fabri assigned to the "Jacobite Copts" the Stone of Unction and both Peter Fassbender (1492)<sup>32</sup> and Arnold von Harff (1497) refer to a chapel belonging to the Jacobites which is situated behind the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>33</sup> At the same time there is no doubt that since the middle of the 13th century there has been a regular succession of Coptic metropolitans in Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup>

In 1537, the Copts possessed a small chapel behind the Holy Sepulchre of Christ,<sup>35</sup> the altar which they still possess. It is difficult to know when they acquired this site. An interesting transaction must have taken place before the 16th century, for by that time the Franciscan friars in Egypt had the right of saying mass in the crypt of the Coptic Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Old Cairo. R. Fedden maintains that it was a *quid pro quo* for permission granted to the Coptic Church to maintain a small room or a chapel "unita ad una parte esteriore del SSmo Sepolcro."<sup>36</sup> One of the first pilgrims to refer to the Coptic Chapel and Altar in the Church of the Resurrection was an anonymous Spanish Franciscan who visited the Holy Land in 1553.<sup>37</sup> By 1559 the Copts must have achieved some relative prosperity, for in that year Germanos, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, wrote to Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1553-1584). He complained of his state of poverty and mentioned that the Armenians and the Copts celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Resurrection wearing mitres, he, the Orthodox Patriarch, lacks even a mitre.<sup>38</sup> Leonhart Rauwolff (1573) also mentions the Copts, who have their chapel behind the Holy Sepulchre of Christ, and the Abyssinians, who live in the Temple of Mount Calvaria, just by the church door towards the left, and have

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30. Luke, H.C., *The Handbook of Palestine*. London, 1922, 45.

31. Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*. Jerusalem, 1949, 92.

32. For Fassbender (1492), Röhricht, Reinhold und H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*. Berlin 1880, 258.

33. For Von Harff (1497), Letts, Malcolm, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff Knight*. London, 1946, 203.

34. Luke, H.C., *op. cit.*, 45.

35. As early as 1112 the Latins used to have there a parochial altar. Vincent, H. and F.M. Abel. *Jérusalem. Recherches de Topographie d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*. Paris, 1914, II, 294.

36. Fedden, R., "Two Notes on Christian Cairo in the Turkish Period," *Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. Copte*, X, 33f. The traveller Symon Semeonis (1322-24) states that the Sultan Muhammad ibn Qala'ûn an-Nâsir (1310-41) gave the rights for the crypt of the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus to the Friars Minor. Cf. Coquin, Charalambia, *Les Edifices Chrétien du Vieux Caire*. Cairo, 1974. I, 100.

37. Luke, H.C., *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*. London, 1927, 28.

38. Callinikou, Constantine, *Ho Christianikos Naos kai ta teloumena en auto*. Alexandria, 1922, 621.

through their lodging a peculiar way, so that, without hindrance, according to their pleasure, they may go in and out.<sup>39</sup> The Codex of the Iberians (1585-86) states clearly that the Copts, who profess the doctrine of Dioscorus, are behind the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>40</sup>

During the 17th century, the various Christian communities in the Church of the Resurrection suffered somewhat severely from the heavy taxes which they had to pay to their Muslim rulers. Francesco Verniore (1631) records that both the Abyssinians and the Copts have a monastery in the vicinity of the Church of the Resurrection, and that every month they had to pay some moneys to the Turks, and that every Easter, they had to apply for permission to make wine.<sup>41</sup> Poverty and political pressures were conducive to ecclesiastical irregularities, and a firman, attributed to Sultan Murâd IV (1634) explicitly refers to violations of the Abyssinian properties by the Armenians.<sup>42</sup> In 1647 Eugène Roger observed the Coptic monks in Jerusalem and states that all monks and priests, when they perform their prayers cover their shoulders and their arms with a veil in the form of a black shawl,<sup>43</sup> and the Chévalier d'Arvieux (1660) saw the Copts participating in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>44</sup> It is difficult to determine to what an extent the Copts participated in the Easter Celebrations of the *Haghion Phos* in the 17th century. In fact, it is questionable whether Bernard Surius (1644) was correctly informed, for according to his account "six Patriarchs participated in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire, and they were the Greek, the Coptic, the Ethiopian, the Georgian, the Nestorian and the Armenian, who locked themselves into the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. After the appearance of the Holy Fire, they distributed the fire to the people."<sup>45</sup>

The second part of the 17th century proved to be one of the most difficult periods for some of the Christian communities in Jerusalem. In 1664, the Georgians were evicted from their sites in the Church of the Resurrection, owing to being too poor to pay the necessary dues, and the same fate befell the Abyssinians in 1668.<sup>46</sup>

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39. Rauwolf, L., "Travels in the Eastern Countries..." in Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*. London, 1693, 352.

40. Themelis, *op. cit.*, 46.

41. Golubovich, G., *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa*, N.S. I, vi, 55.

42. Manuscript: Nolde, "Consultation concerning the Rights of the Abyssinians," 2.

43. Roger, Eugene, *La Terre Sainte ou Description topographique très partiulière des Saints Lieux*, etc. Paris, 1664, 417.

44. Labat, Jean-Baptiste, *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*. Paris, 1735, II, 13, 146.

45. Surius, B., *Den God Turuchtigen Pilgrim*. Anversa, 1705, I, 582. Of course it is physically impossible for six hierarchs to lock themselves into the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. It is more likely that they participated in the distribution of the Holy Fire to their respective communities.

46. Harvey, William, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. London, 1935. In 1671, the Ethiopians were forced to retreat to the roof of the Armenian Church of St. Helena, where they remain to the present day. Cf. Luke, H.C., "The Christian Communities in the Holy Sepulchre," in Ashbee, C.R., *Jerusalem 1920-1922*. London, 1924, 54.

There is no doubt that the general penury among the Copts in Jerusalem in the 17th century was a reflection of the terrible socio-economic situation in Egypt. In 1694, the Nile did not rise and the consequent dearth found the country wholly unprepared to meet it. For some months the famine grew worse and worse, the starving mob surrounded the citadel, howling for bread, and as no notice was taken of them, they began to throw stones. Pestilence succeeded famine and the people died about the street in heaps.<sup>46</sup> Though the Copts were able to maintain their holdings, Frantz Ferdinand von Troilo (1666) informs us that they were very poor.<sup>47</sup> In 1668, according to Michael Nau, the Copts had only one priest in the Church of the Resurrection, "who prays alone and lights the lamps."<sup>48</sup> The fact that Nau observed only one priest in the Church of the Resurrection does not necessarily mean that he was the only resident Copt in Jerusalem. He also states, that "the nearest door of the Chapel of Calvary of the Holy Virgin leads into a church of the Copts, where they celebrate the Divine Liturgy every day."

Two years later in 1670 Jacques Goujon confirms the impression of Nau. "There is only one Copt, whose dwelling place is quite near the door."<sup>49</sup> Yet, in spite of their poverty, the Copts retained their holy places, for Goujon speaks of the apartment of the Copts just outside the Church of the Resurrection, and O. Dapper (1688) observed the Copts as being one of the nations who participated in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire,<sup>50</sup> and Henrich Maundrell (1697) states that only the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Cophites keep their footing well, yet the Copts have only one monk representing their nation,<sup>51</sup> a fact, which is substantiated by Felix Beaugrand (1699 ?),<sup>52</sup> who observed the Copt holding services in the small chapel behind the Holy Sepulchre.

Throughout the 18th century the small chapel of the Copts behind the Holy Sepulchre is mentioned by the pilgrims and travellers.<sup>53</sup> In 1808, the Church of the Resurrection, except the eastern part, was almost entirely destroyed by fire, the dome fell in crushing the Tomb of Christ, altars and icons were consumed in the general conflagration, and the mass of ruin extended from the Chapel of St. Helena to the rock-hewn tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. In the intrigues which followed at Jerusalem and Constantinople in connection with the rebuilding of the church, the Greeks secured for themselves the greater portion of the building. The Copts, however, retained their sites.

47. Troilo, Frantz Ferdinand von, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*, etc., Dresden & Leipzig, 1734, 186.

48. Nau, Michael, *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte*. Paris, 1679, 145, 176.

49. Goujon, Jacques, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*. Lyons, 1672, 169, 175.

50. Dapper, O., *Asia, oder eine genaue und gründliche Beschreibung des gantzen Syrien und Palestins*. Nürnberg, 1688, 328.

51. Maundrell, M. Henrich, *Reisebeschreibung nach dem Gelobten Lande; Darinnen die jetzige Beschaffenheit und der allerneueste Zustand des Heiligen Landes*. Hamburg, 1737, 95.

52. Beaugrand, Felix, *Relation Nouvelle et très fidèle du Voyage de la Terre Sainte*. Paris, 1700, II, 76.

53. Meinardus, O., *op. cit.*, 38, 39.

An interesting survey of the foreign constituency of Jerusalem in 1817 is provided by T.R. Joliffe, who speaks of 800 Latins, 2,000 Greeks, 400 Armenians and 50 Copts, who lived in the Holy City.<sup>54</sup> During the Easter celebrations these numbers increased, so that Augustine Scholz estimated at the time of his visit on Easter 1820, 1400 Armenians, 1200 Greeks, 30 Georgians, 300 Moscovites, 60 Copts, 15 Syriacs, 1 Abyssinian, 20 Oriental Catholics of the Greek and Armenian rite, 4 Maronites, and 15 Franks.<sup>55</sup> Madden visiting Jerusalem in 1826 counted 15 Latins, 15 Greeks, 12 Armenians, 6 Copts and 4 Syrians in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>56</sup> In June 1837, the cholera epidemic broke out in Jerusalem during which seven Copts died, while of the twenty-four Ethiopians only one survived.<sup>57</sup>

When Konstantin von Tischendorf entered the Church of the Resurrection in 1844, he remarked about “the solitary Copts who wandered about...with suffering expressed in their physiognomy, as if performing an incessant act of penitence.”<sup>58</sup> The financial situation of the Egyptians in Jerusalem must have been rather pitiful during the middle of the 19th century, for both Francesco Cassini (1846)<sup>59</sup> and Karl Graul (1849)<sup>60</sup> speak of the poor Copts in the Church of the Resurrection. Nevertheless, Louis Enault estimated the number of Copts in Jerusalem to be about one hundred.<sup>61</sup> Some Copts were undoubtedly attached to the Monastery of St. George in Jerusalem, which the Copts had acquired in the middle of the 18th century. We know for certain that by 1720 the Dair Mari Girgis was situated in the same locality as to-day. Moreover, the monastery seems to have possessed the following relics, which to this day attract pilgrims and visitors, namely the right arm of St. George and part of the chain which was used to torture the Saint.<sup>62</sup>

In 1806, Ulrich Seetzen visited the Holy Land and mentioned in his description the Copts who have an unattractive and poor monastery called “Mar Dschürdschüs,” and furthermore, they possess in the Dair as-Sultân a courtyard next to the Church of the Resurrection, where several married priests live.<sup>63</sup> In a legal document of December 10th, 1820, it is stated among other things, that St. George’s Monastery belongs to the Copts.<sup>64</sup> In 1782, the Copts had already

54. Joliffe, T.R., *Lettres sur la Palestine, la Syrie et l’Egypte*. Paris, 1820, 101.

55. Scholz, Augustin, *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Paraetionum, the libysche Wüste...Palestina und Syrien in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*. Leipzig, 1822, 230.

56. Madden, R.R., *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine*. London, 1829, II, 131.

57. Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine 1821-1841*. Jerusalem, 1848, 71. 125-128.

58. Tischendorf, L.F.C., *Travels in the East*. London, 1847, 180.

59. Cassini, Francesco, *Le Terra Santa descritta da P. Francesco Cassini dell’Ordine dei Minori Riformati...dedicata a Sua Sacra Reale Maesta Ferdinando II, Re del Regno delle due Sicilie...* Genova, 1855, II, 133.

60. Graul, Karl, *Reise nach Ostindien*, Leipzig, 1854, I, 196.

61. Enault, Louis, *La Terre Sainte: Voyage des Quarante Pèlerins de 1853*. Paris, 1854, 150-151.

62. Tobler, Titus, *Topographie von Jerusalem*. Berlin, 1853, I, 371.

63. Seetzen Elrich, J., *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönizien, etc.* Berlin, 1854, II, 20, 21.

64. Timoteos, *Translation of Documents Bearing on the Rights over the Sultan’s Monastery and other Places in Jerusalem*. Cairo, n.d., 13, 14.

enlarged their holdings in Jerusalem by buying some houses from al-Hagg 'Abd-'Allah Effendi, but it was not until 1837, however, that the Copts obtained permission to build the large Coptic Khan or caravansery in the immediate vicinity of the Monastery of St. George. The site for these buildings was bought by the Copts for 8.000 piastres. The building of this Khan, which lasted for more than a year, amounted to 500,000 piastres, though most of the work was done by the Copts who gave their services free. Hanauer points out, that the Coptic Kahn was built in 1838 inside the northern part of the great pool, Birkit Hammam al-Batrak (Pool of the Patriarch's Bath), traditionally known as the Pool of Hezekiah.<sup>65</sup>

According to A. Goodrich-Freer in 1904 the Coptic archbishop in the Holy Land used to reside in Jaffa, possibly because the Copts possessed but scanty accommodations in Jerusalem.<sup>66</sup> The Coptic Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection, which is dedicated to the Holy Virgin, is considered by the Copts to be the holiest of all the sacred sites, for the Coptic altar is believed to be erected against the place where Christ's head rested at the time of His burial. The chapel was redecorated by Anbâ Timuthâûs in 1901 and the icons from north to south represent the Crucifixion, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, the Resurrection, the Mystical Supper and Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. Above the center icon of the Holy Virgin there is another icon of the Resurrection. Twenty-four lamps are suspended from the ceiling in the chapel. The cells of the Copts in the Church of the Resurrection are situated between columns 9, 10, and 11 of the Rotunda. The doors west of the Holy Sepulchre lead to the lodgings of the Coptic monks, occupying the first and the second floor. Generally four or five monks keep vigil in the Church of the Resurrection, though during the feasts, this number increases to ten or twelve monks.

Though the Copts do not have the right to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the Holy Sepulchre itself (the Greeks, Latins and Armenians alone have this right), they own four sanctuary lamps which hang in the second row from the east. The other lamps in the Holy Sepulchre belong to the Greeks (13), the Latins (13) and the Armenians (13). In the Chapel of the Angel situated east of the Holy Sepulchre the Copts own one lamp, which hangs on the south side of the eastern row. Above the Stone of Unction there are eight lamps. The third lamp from the left belongs to the Copts.

The Copts process four times a year around the Holy Sepulchre. On Palm Sunday, after the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, the Copts join the Greeks, Armenians and Syrians in a procession three times around the Holy Sepulchre. On Good Friday between 5 pm and 7 pm, only the Copts make a procession through the whole Church of the Resurrection, offering prayers at every altar (Greek, Latin, Armenian, Coptic and Syrian). That this is a relatively new departure is testified by

65. Hanauer, J.E., *Walks in and around Jerusalem*. London, 1926, 50 f.

66. Goodrich-Freer, A., *Inner Jerusalem*. London, 1904, 123.

Emily A. Beaufort, who in 1859 saw the Good Friday Procession and mentioned that the Greek bishops and clergy were followed by a number of Copts.<sup>67</sup> On the Eve of Easter, about 1:30 pm, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch accompanied by an Armenian Archimandrite enters the Holy Sepulchre for the Ceremony of the Holy Fire. From the Chapel of the Angel the Holy Fire is passed through the southern and northern openings to the pilgrims. The Copts receive the Holy Fire through the southern opening. Then the Holy Fire is taken to the Coptic Archbishop, who during the Ceremony has remained in the Coptic Chapel of the Holy Virgin west of the Holy Sepulchre. After having received the Holy Fire, the Coptic Archbishop gives the Holy Fire to the Coptic pilgrims. Then the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians and Copts make a procession three times around the Holy Sepulchre. This procession is repeated on Easter Sunday morning when at 4 am the Greeks, Armenians, Copts and Syrians make a procession three times around the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>68</sup>

Towards the north-east of the Holy Sepulchre the Copts own the Dair Mâr Antûnîûs, the Monastery of St. Antony. This monastery, which in previous centuries was considered to be part of the Dair as-Sultân, was repaired in 1875 with funds provided by wealthy Copts in Egypt.<sup>69</sup> In 1907 the monastery was rebuilt,<sup>70</sup> and Baedeker (1912) states “that the Monastery of the Copts has been fitted up as an episcopal residence and contains cells for the accommodation of pilgrims. The church, the foundations of which are old, has been entirely restored.”<sup>71</sup>

The Monastery of St. Antony has three churches, on the ground level there is the Church of St. Helena. The narthex of this church leads to the large Cistern, which is normally filled with water. The main church is dedicated to St. Antony. This church has been redecorated, and was built by Anbâ Basîlîûs II (1856-1899), dedicated by Anbâ Timuthâûs (1899-1925) in 1903. This church is adorned by numerous wall-paintings showing Biblical scenes, *e.g.* the Mystical Supper, the Stilling of the Storm, the Nativity, the Baptism, the Annunciation, the Ascension, Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem and the Via Dolorosa, etc. The third church is dedicated to the Holy Virgin in commemoration of her apparition to the students of the Coptic College in 1954. According to the students, the Holy Virgin with the Infant Christ, St. Joseph and two Angels appeared for seven consecutive Mondays at 11:30 am in the study of Dr. Shaker. Out of gratitude for this event Anbâ Yaqûbûs (1946-1956), Archbishop of Jerusalem, had this room converted into a church. In commemoration of this apparition, the Coptic monks celebrate the Divine Liturgy in this church every Monday morning.

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67. Beaufort, Emily, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*. London, 1862, II, 247.

68. Meinardus, O., *op. cit.*, 72 f.

69. Wilson, R.E., *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*. New York, 1881, I, 119.

70. Jeffery, George, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre*. Cambridge, 1919, 58.

71. Baedeker, Karl, *Palestine and Syria*. Leipzig, 1912, 48. The church which Baedeker mentions should be the Coptic Church of St. Helena!

Mention has been made of the Coptic Monastery of St. George on the north-side of the Pool of Hezekiah in Jerusalem. The Dair Mari Girgis comprises the Church of St. George and the Primary and Secondary Girls' Schools of Sitt Dimianah.

In 1994 the Coptic Orthodox school system in Jerusalem, the College of St. Antony and the school of St. Dimianah, included altogether about 400 students of whom 70% were Muslims. These students are taught and served by 28 faculty members. The total number of Copts in Jerusalem amounts to less than 1000 persons. In Israel and in the Westbank there are no more than 2500 Copts.

Traditionally, the Metropolitan of Jerusalem and the Coptic guardians of the holy places used to come from the Red Sea Desert Monastery of St. Antony.<sup>72</sup> During the middle ages, from the days of Anbâ Basilius I (1236-1260), until the 20th century, the days of Anbâ Tawfîlûs (1935-1945), the Metropolitan of Jerusalem had jurisdiction over large sections of the Nile Delta, the provinces of Daqahliâh, Gharbyah, Sharqiyah, Damietta, including the Dair Sitt Dimianah at Bilqâs. Anbâ Tawfîlûs surrendered some of the regions which subsequently became separate dioceses, e.g. Daqahliyah, Sharqiyah and Gharbiyah. Finally, Anbâ Basîlîûs IV (1959-1991) surrendered all regions west of the Suez Canal. The new jurisdictional developments as inaugurated by H.H. Pope Shenûdah III placed the regions east of the Suez Canal, e.g. the northern Sinai, East Kantara, al-Arîsh and Rafah under the authority of the Metropolitan of Jerusalem.<sup>73</sup>

Ever since the arrival of Anbâ Abra'am I in Jerusalem on January 3, 1992 a new spirit of oecumenicity prevails in the Coptic archbishopric of the Holy City. Special mention should be made of the Services for Christian Unity in Jerusalem in January 1993 when clergy and laity of the various Christian communions gathered in the Church of St. Antony for praise and benediction. It was also at this occasion that the Ethiopian Archbishop Anbâ Mattâûs of Jerusalem concelebrated the Holy Eucharist with Anbâ Abra'am in the Church of St. Antony. Indeed, the oecumenical impact of the Coptic archbishopric has made an important contribution to a more authentic and credible witness of the constantly shrinking Christian minority in the Holy Land, where nowadays no more than 2.5% of the population are Christians.

In 1961 eleven Coptic monks under Anbâ Basilius IV (1959-1991) resided in Jerusalem.<sup>74</sup> In 1994 the archdiocese of Jerusalem includes all Coptic churches of the Middle East.

72. Meinardus, O., *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*. Cairo, 1961, 339.

73. Meinardus, O., "The Coptic Orthodox Hierarchy in 1986," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 376, 1986, 4, 249-256.

74. Ghobrîâl Anbâ Bishoî, Isrâêl al-Antûnî, Filutaûs al-Antûnî, Athanasîûs al-Antûnî, Girgis al-Antûnî al-Masrî, Aklâdîûs al-Antûnî, Mûsâ al-Antûnî, Butrûs al-Barâmûsî, Bishâî as-Surîânî, 'Abd al-Marîâm as-Surîânî, Filbûs al-Makârî (Jericho).

In Jerusalem, there are the following Coptic monks: Angelos al-Rizqaṭī, Barnaba al-Barâmûsī, Makarîôs al-Barâmûsī, Bakhûm al-Bûlī, Silvanus al-Bûlī, ‘Abd al-Malik Anba Bûla al-Qûdsī, Bishoḥ al-Antûnī al-Qudsī. The Coptic Church in Bethlehem is served by Abûnâ Athanasîus al-Antûnī, the Church of St. Antony in Jericho by Abûnâ Nehmiya al-Antûnī,<sup>75</sup> the traditional House of Zacchaeus on the northern banks of the Wâdî Qilt, Jericho, by Abûnâ Sidârûs as-Surfânî.<sup>76</sup> The Coptic Church in Nazareth, where there live approximately 1000 Copts, is served by Abûnâ Sidrâq al-Antûnī. The Coptic Church in Jaffa is served by Abûnâ Mîkhail al-Bûlī.

A presentation of the Copts in the Holy Land and the Question of the Holy Places would be incomplete without a reference to the thorny problem of the jurisdiction over the Dair as-Sultân, the property on the roof of the Armenian Church of St. Helena and the two chapels leading to the parvis of the Church of the Resurrection. In view of the recent developments pertaining to the conflict between the Ethiopian and the Coptic Churches about the possession of the Dair as-Sultân, it might be useful to refer very briefly to some of the recent events about this ecclesiastical bone of contention in the Holy City.

The precarious ecclesiastical situation pertaining to the Dair as-Sultân on the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has always reflected the delicate political climate between the Egyptians and the respective government responsible for Jerusalem. This was the case during the reigns of the various sultans and viziers of the Ottoman Empire. The discontinuance of diplomatic relations between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1958 led to the expulsion of the Coptic Metropolitan and eleven Coptic priests and monks from Jerusalem in the same year. After diplomatic intervention, the Coptic members of the clergy were given visitors’ visa for three months with the possibility of renewal.<sup>78</sup> In February 1959 the tensions between the Copts and the Ethiopian residents of the site in question increased. Subsequently the Jordanian Government ordered the Dair as-Sultân to be handed over to the Ethiopians.<sup>79</sup> “When the Copts did not follow the dictates of the authorities, the Jordanians changed the locks and handed the new keys to the Ethiopians. But their joy over the recuperation of their ancient place of worship was to be shortlived only.”<sup>80</sup> In my study “The Copts in

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75. For the Coptic Church of St. Antony at Jericho, cf. Meinardus, O., *The Copts in Jerusalem*, Cairo, 1960, 79, 80.

76. Meinardus, O., “The Byzantine Church of St. Andrew in Jericho,” *Bull. de la Société d’Arch. Copte*, XVIII, 1966, 181-195.

77. Information received from Anbâ Abra’am I of Jerusalem.

78. *Al-Ahram*, January 4, 1959.

79. In the Treaty of Berlin (1878) the site was given to the Copts!

80. Stoffregen Pedersen, Kirsten (Sister Abraham), “Deir es-Sultan: The Ethiopian Monastery in Jerusalem,” *Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, Asmara, 1987-88, 45-47.

Jerusalem” I have published a photo showing the Coptic deacon Riad Shehata with the key to the Church of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures.<sup>81</sup>

On April 2, 1961, the Dair as-Sultân was returned to the original owners, the Copts<sup>82</sup> and on December 29, 1962 the Copts were again the legal owners of the site in questions.<sup>83</sup> In May 1965 constructional alterations of the Dair as-Sultân carried out by the Copts led to new deliberations between the Egyptians and the Jordanian Government.<sup>84</sup>

During the Easter celebrations of 1970 serious confrontations between the Coptic and Ethiopian monks on the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre led to the forceful acquisition of the keys to the churches of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures and the Archangel St. Michael by the Ethiopians. Again the seizure of the keys by the Ethiopians was possible, since Ethiopia had full diplomatic relations with Israel from 1956 to 1973 when Ethiopia followed the rest of the African nations in breaking the relations following the Yom Kippur war.

For the first time an Israeli judge entered into a conflict between two Christian communities. The Israeli High Court of Justice announced a verdict on March 16, 1971 which actually ordered the Ethiopians to hand over the keys to the Copts, unless the Israeli Government would prefer to set up a commission to look into the question of ownership in this particular Holy Place. The government of Mrs. Golda Meir decided to use this prerogative.<sup>85</sup> Coptic appeals in 1977 and 1980 have only made the Israeli High Court confirm its original decision of 1971, while an Israeli arbitration attempt led by retired High Court judge David Bacher in February 1982 produced no agreement.<sup>86</sup>

From April 2 to 18, 1980, the Ethiopian Patriarch-Catholicus Abûnâ Takla Hajmanot (1976-1988), whom the Copts never recognized as head of the Ethiopian Church, visited Jerusalem where he was greeted by the Armenian Patriarch. In the course of his visit he celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the Dair as-Sultân and alluded to the rights of the Ethiopians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In December 1981 Pope Shenûdah III reiterated his prohibition for Coptic pilgrimages to the Holy Land as long as the Israeli Government would not intervene for

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81. Meinardus, O., *The Copts in Jerusalem*. Cairo, 1960, 62, Pl. 47.

82. *Al-Ahram*, April 3, 1961.

83. *Watani*, January 6, 1963.

84. When in 1966 as-Sayyid Anwar al-Khatib, who had served the Ethiopians for 15 years as advocate, became governor of Jerusalem, He ordered that electric light and modern water supply were to be installed in the Dair as-Sultan. To this the Copts retorted not only with a request from Pope Cyril VI to King Hussain of Jordan to stop the decision of the governor, but also with a rain of stones from the roofs of the neighboring Coptic buildings upon the Ethiopian Easter Procession in Dair as-Sultân in 1967. Cf. Stoffregen Pedersen, *loc. cit.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*

the rightful return of the Dair as-Sultân to the legitimate owners.<sup>87</sup>

On April 3, 1981 the Israeli High Court declined again to intervene on behalf of the Copts for the return of the two chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which the Ethiopians had usurped in 1970. It was argued that for such disputes and controversies the Israeli Government would be the competent and responsible authority.<sup>88</sup> In December 1984 Anbâ Basilûs IV, the Coptic metropolitan in Jerusalem, demanded again the restoration of the Dair as-Sultân to the legitimate owner, the Copts.<sup>89</sup> In February 1986 additional Coptic monks were sent from Egypt to Jerusalem for the increased responsibilities.<sup>90</sup>

On January 14, 1993, the Israeli Government finally decided to form a ministerial commission to study again the Coptic claims of the Dair as-Sultân. The Coptic Archbishop Anbâ Abra'am I stated that at this time the relationships to the Ethiopians were excellent, while his rebuke was directed against the Israeli Government. Millions of Copts throughout Egypt - so the words of Anbâ Abrâ'am - awaited eagerly the very moment for the possibility to visit Jerusalem once the situation between the two communities would be solved. However, as long as the conflict remained the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo would not recommend and support pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

The Israeli commission included representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This is the second time that the Israeli Government intervened in the dispute between the two non-Chalcedonian communities. Already in March 1971 under Premier Golda Meir's direction, the Israeli Government designated Justice Minister Yakov S. Shapiro, Foreign Minister Abba Eban, Police Minister Shlomo Hillel and Religious Affairs Minister Zerah Warhaftig to study the disputes and to make formal recommendations for a settlement. It was recommended that until the final settlement be reached, the keys to the two chapels under discussion be retained by the Ethiopians. At the same time, the members of the Coptic community should have free access to the contested sites.

From a Coptic point of view the Dair as-Sultân issue can only be solved by a transfer of the keys to the two chapels, that of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures and that of St. Michael, to the Copts. The Copts possess the keys to the northern entrance to the Dair as-Sultân, moreover, Abûnâ 'Abd al-Malak Anbâ Bûlâ resides in the cell of the abbot on the premises of the Dair as-Sultân.

From March 1993, the first official meeting of Ethiopian hierarchs with members of the Holy Synod of the Coptic Orthodox Church,<sup>91</sup> a possible breakthrough for normal ecclesiological relations between the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church seemed to be at hand. It was hoped that after more than

87. *Watani*, December 14, 1981.

88. *Proche Orient Chrétien* 31, 1981, 218 f.

89. *Watani*, December 2, 1984.

90. *Watani*, February 9, 1986.

91. The following Ethiopian bishops participated in this first meeting: Abûnâ Makarios, Abûnâ Gerima, Abûnâ Jacob and Abûnâ Timotheos.

two decades of estrangement and misunderstandings the high-level consultations between the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church from February 9th to 14th 1994 in Addis Ababa would lead to a reconciliation between the two oriental churches of the Markian tradition. A proposal consisting of sixteen articles was drafted by the members of the Coptic and Ethiopian delegations.<sup>92</sup> This protocol was to be ratified by the Holy Synods of the two churches. These sixteen articles, which superseded the Coptic-Ethiopian jurisdictional agreements of June 29th 1959, were actually ratified by the Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Church and that of the Coptic Orthodox Church.<sup>93</sup>

However, two rather thorny issues seriously encumbering the relationship of the two churches were probably purposely omitted from the above mentioned sixteen articles, the proposed consecration of new Eritrean bishops<sup>94</sup> and the unsolved problems pertaining to the property rights and claims of Dair as-Sultân in Jerusalem. Following the consecration of five Eritrean bishops on the Feast of Pentecost (June 19th 1994) and the proposed establishment of an autocephalous Eritrean Orthodox Church by the Coptic Orthodox Church the newly established relations of trust and confidence between the two churches were seriously threatened. Abûna Paulos, the Ethiopian Patriarch-Catholicos, dispatched a message to Pope Shenûdah III strongly protesting this insidious action of the Copts, while both parties were in the process of reconciliation. While the Copts were in the process of granting jurisdictional autonomy to the Eritrean Orthodox Church, discussions were also held between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and members of the Eritrean hierarchy pertaining to a new jurisdictional status of the church.

At any rate, Pope Shenûdah III replied with pointed and sharp retorts which led to the discontinuance of relations. There is no doubt that these recent tragic developments between the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are not conducive for finding a reasonable and just solution to the unsolved problems of the property rights and claims of Dair as-Sultân and the two adjoining chapels.

92. The delegates for the Coptic Orthodox Church were: Anbâ Bishoî, General Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Coptic Orthodox Church and Archbishop of Damietta; Anbâ Antûnûs Marcos, Bishop of African Affairs; Anba Mûsâ, Bishop for Youth Affairs; Anbâ Serapion, Bishop for Social Affairs and Ecumenical Relations. The delegates for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were: Abûnâ Makarios, Archbishop of Aksum and the diocese of Tigre; Abûnâ Nathaniel, Archbishop of the diocese of Arsi; Abûnâ Gabriel, Archbishop of the diocese of North-Wello; Abûnâ Timotheos, General Secretary of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Archbishop; Abûnâ Gerima, General Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Church and Archbishop.

93. The document was ratified by the Coptic Orthodox Holy Synod on March 31, 1994 in the presence of 53 bishops.

94. Two Eritrean bishops, Anbâ Makarios (for the United States) and Anbâ Murcos (for Great Britain) were consecrated by Pope Shenûdah III on May 26th, 1991. The five Eritrean bishops are: Abûnâ Yemanebrihan Gebrenedhin, abbot of the Monastery of St. Indrias; Abûnâ Teklamariam Tewopdemehin, abbot of the Monastery of St. Inda-Selasse; Abûnâ Tekla Haimanot Tesfagaber, abbot of the Monastery of St. Debra-Sina; Abûnâ Hailemariam Tes Fase Passie, abbot of the Monastery of St. Busua-Amlak; Abûnâ Ghabre Agzeabiher Hagos, abbot of the Monastery of Abramios.

## **INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION**

# **APA SHENOUTE'S "ON THE PIETY OF WOMEN"**

*Michael Penn*

Apa Shenoute (d. 466) is one of the most important gateways to fifth century Egypt. Shenoute who has left us the largest collection of ancient Coptic manuscripts, was the main reason why Sahidic became the primary literary dialect in Egypt for the next four centuries, and because he was the popular Abbot of the White Monastery his influence among local Christians was unsurpassed. Shenoute wrote about such topics as conflicts with pagans, barbarian invasions, class relations, and battles against heresies; through these writings Shenoute gives us unique insights into the turmoil of his time. Yet despite their importance many of Shenoute's works are still unpublished and untranslated.

The following is a translation of a Shenoute homily entitled "On the Piety of Women." Leipold published a critical edition of this text in 1906<sup>1</sup> and in 1964 Weissmann translated the work into Latin.<sup>2</sup> This text is particularly important in regards to Shenoute's style of argumentation, his views of women, his attitude towards marriage, and the beliefs of his opponents. Yet to the best of this author's knowledge "On the Piety of Women" has never before been translated into English or any other modern language.

The preserved text begins in the midst of Shenoute chastising his audience for their indulgence in worldly pleasures and their neglect of God's commandments. Throughout this section Shenoute continually contrasts one's attention to the worldly with one's negligence of the holy. For example Shenoute masterfully creates a series of contrasts between the baths and church. At the baths one washes the body, at church one "washes away" sin. One goes to the baths for the body's profit, one goes to church to profit the soul. At the baths one's body is under burning heat, in church the words of God cool one's heart. Yet while his audience "holds" themselves in the baths, at church they are initially impatient and do not "sustain" themselves. Shenoute's concludes his opening arguments by imploring his listeners to

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1. J. Leipold *CSCO* 42 (1906).

2. H. Weissmann *CSCO* 108 (1964).

"hasten to the things from which we will profit" and warning his audience not to decline an invitation "to the banquet of our salvation" because of worldly concerns.

Having just accused his audience of ignoring God's commandments and refusing an invitation to "the banquet of our salvation" Shenoute cites the excuses found in the gospel parable of the great dinner (Lk 14:18-26; Mt 22:1-10). Although all three of the parable's excuses illustrate one declining the banquet, Shenoute concentrates only on the man who has just married. This selectivity corresponds with a change in Shenoute's emphasis. The theme of neglecting heavenly things because of worldly concerns is now narrowed to Shenoute's discussion about "the banquet" itself and in particular issues regarding women and their participation. Shenoute begins his arguments by stating a thesis that he will spend the remainder of this section defending—the man who made the third excuse is "condemned more than the others" because it would have been appropriate for him to have taken his wife to the banquet. Shenoute's arguments relies upon scripture, logic, and implicit analogy. Within this diatribe Shenoute expresses his views regarding women and they are a bit more "liberal" than we may have initially expected. Shenoute insists that wives attend the Eucharist, he points out that the kingdom of heaven has been prepared for women as well as men, he tells us that men and women share the same struggle and the same reward, and Shenoute states that along with strong men and weak women there are also strong and victorious women and weak and conquered men.

The final section of Shenoute's homily quickly switches to another set of opponents, those who are against marriage altogether. Shenoute claims that certain "heretics" (most likely either Manichees or Gnostics) were citing Lk 17:27 and Mt 24:38 to support their position that God disapproved of marriage and procreation. Shenoute refutes their argument with the Genesis creation story, Mt 19:4, and Mt 19:6/Mk 10:9. Shenoute then returns to the parable of the great dinner and states that just as those who refuse an invitation to God's banquet are not worthy, so too the ones "who scorn the dignity of marriage." Shenoute closes by referring to the very time period which his opponents alluded to in order to describe their fate. Those who disapprove of marriage will come to a similar end as God's enemies did in "the days of Noah." Just as in those days the ungodly were destroyed by a flood of water, Shenoute's opponents will be destroyed by a flood of divine anger.

Shenoute has essentially tied together all his loose ends. He moved from denouncing one's neglect of God's commandments to the parable of the great dinner. This formed the basis of his condemnation of those who did not attend the Eucharist service because they were married which in turn led to a discussion of women. From here Shenoute attacked those who were against marriage, he equated them with those who are unworthy of the banquet, and he used their own proof-text to describe their fate.

**TRANSLATION: “ON THE PIETY OF WOMEN”**

...when in vain you receive them,<sup>3</sup> remaining from morning until evening in the places which are filled with every deceit, not being satisfied with hearing and seeing the things which are damaging to you even mocking shows and the theaters. But on the other hand, we have been neglecting the matters of our lives which we will find for ourselves in the hour of distress. But see also the way you hold yourselves under the burning heat in the baths for the sake of the bodies' profit. Yet on the other hand if we come to church, the place of the washing away of our sins and the profit of our souls, we are impatient so as not to sustain ourselves until we hear the words of God which cool our hearts.

See us as we eat, oh men, if we are invited to a banquet (see) how we are eating and desiring to seize everything greedily. Let us revere the words and let us pay attention to God's judgments and His commandments and His laws which we are summoned to hear in the church. Let us not be implicated by those who invited us from above and let us not be found by the heavenly ones while our hearts and our souls are empty and hungry although there are many good things which are left. But we do not care that the holy ones know that many who go into the house of God while their heart(s) are wandering do not pay attention to the commandments which are commanded to them. Let us hasten to the things from which we will profit and let none of us search after excuses like those who are occupied with vain things. And let us not decline the invitation which is established to the banquet of our salvation on account of the satisfaction of the world which will perish.

As the Gospel says, “one declined on account of a pair of oxen, another on account of a field, another (said) I have married a woman.” And this one I think is more condemned than the others because it was appropriate for him to take his wife as well to the banquet; yet he deprived himself of the good eternal things. What is it that is an impediment to you? Tell me. Is not the man and his wife a single body? And why will you not come to the banquet, you and she? Do you not eat the same bread with her and the same food? Why will she not come with you to the banquet and the meal of Christ? Does she not need to pray and to hear the word and to be pious in everything? Or is the kingdom of heaven prepared only for men, has it not been prepared for women to go into? Oh one whose heart is slow or being filled so that you do not eat from the meal of Christ, perhaps you have brought charges against your wife.<sup>4</sup>

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3. Because the beginning of the text is missing the antecedent to “them” cannot be determined.

4. Shenoute seems here to suggest that his opponents are using their wives as an excuse for not attend-

Truly as there are many men who from time to time become strong and many women who are weak, also there are many women who from time to time become strong and triumph. Also there are many men who are triumphed over and who are weak. The same struggle lies upon men and women, and the crown exists at the same time for men and women who will endure. Let no one hear in the Gospel that another said, "because I married a woman it is impossible for me to come."

Also as the Lord said, "just as it came to pass in the days of Noah while they took wives and they married husbands," so that they think that he despises marrying a woman and he rejects marriage. He is the one who from the beginning created a man and a woman. But when he reproached the Pharisees he said "from the beginning the one who created made a man and a woman." For truly he is the maker of everything, since he was from the beginning a single one with the father. Of course he says the one whom God joins let a man not separate. But he blames the one ruled by desire of the body's pleasure so that he does not come to the true meal because the one who is a lover of pleasure is not worthy of that meal nor is he worthy of the one who prepared it and who invited him to it, Jesus according to his very own true word; as the Lord said, "the ones who are invited are not worthy."<sup>5</sup> For how will those who scorn the dignity of marriage escape reproach?

See those who truly please God. They have marital intercourse and do not condemn begetting children. For they are blessed in all their works, whether they take a wife or marry a husband, or sow, or gather, or (are involved) in any work which God created in the beginning. But (they do these things) in just measure. But wretched in every work are these who will attempt to do the things which are inappropriate because they do not know God who made them, those upon whom a flood of anger and wrath will come down as (it did upon) the ungodly in the time when the flood of water came and destroyed them.

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5. All Scripture quotations were directly translated from the homily.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

### ***Companion God: A Cross-Cultural Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew***

*By George T. Montague, S.M. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989. Pp. 330. \$13.95 (Paper).*

This contemporary commentary on the Gospel of Matthew is both scholarly and practical, with sensitivity to the Third World culture which the author experienced personally when he lived for six years in India and Nepal. Father Montague follows the traditional division of this gospel into five narratives and discourses leading to the climax of the Passion, Resurrection, and the Great Commission. He shows in each section of the commentary how Matthew was challenging the Christians of his generation as well as ours, with the words and deeds of Christ, to be light of the world and salt of the earth and to carry his message of hope to suffering humanity. The author uses the *Revised Standard Version* as a basis for his commentary, with the complete text included. He also refers to other versions especially the revised NT of the *New American Bible*. The book is very informative especially with the references to the Old Testament and is useful for individual or group Bible Study.

### ***Victory in the Unseen Warfare***

*By Jack N. Sparks. Ben Lomand, CA: Conciliar Press, 1993. Pp. 155. \$7.95 (Paper).*

This is the first of three volumes of one of the masterpieces of ascetic spirituality which Father Sparks reorganizes and recasts in contemporary language directed to lay readers rather than monks for whom the book has been originally written more than four centuries ago. The book was edited by several hands along the years with additions and deletions. It was first published by the Italian monk, Lorenzo Scupoli, in 1589 as *The Spiritual Combat*. It went to over thirty editors during the author's lifetime and was translated into several European and oriental languages. In the next century the book was edited and published under the name of the Spanish Benedictine Monk John of Costanzia. In the 18th century the Orthodox monk Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain translated it into Greek together with another book by Scupoli, the *Path of Paradise*. Nicodemus did extensive

editing to the book in order to adapt it to the Orthodox tradition with the addition of many Scripture and patristic quotations, and gave it its new name, *Unseen Warfare*. This was translated into Russian with further changes and additions, by St. Theophan the Recluse in the 19th century.

The present volume follows the progress of the life with Christ (the other volumes cover prayer and virtue). It tries to answer many of the problems the Christian encounters in the spiritual life, especially if he cannot find the right spiritual director. We hope the author follows soon with the other two volumes, but till then any reader, at any stage in his spiritual life, has much to dwell on in this book.

## ***BOOKS RECEIVED***

### ***Paulist Press (Mahwah, N.J.)***

*The Silencing of Babylon: A Spiritual Commentary on the Revelation of John*, by John Guimond, pp. 123, paper, \$8.95.

*More Sower's Seeds*, by Brian Cavanaugh, T.O.R., pp. 115, paper, \$6.95.

*Eco-Spirituality: Toward a Reverent Life*, by Charles Cummings, O.C.S.O., pp. 164, paper, \$9.95.

*Visible and Vital: A Handbook for the Aging Congregation*, by Harriet Kerr Swenson, pp. 141, paper, \$9.95.

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