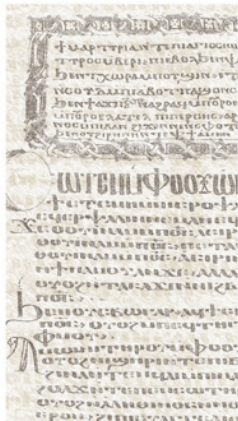


# The Coptic Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit

*Assimilation and Conversion  
to Islam in Thirteenth-  
Century Egypt*

Jason R. Zaborowski



BRILL

# The Coptic Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit

# The History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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VOLUME 3

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Assimilation and Conversion to Islam  
in Thirteenth-Century Egypt

*by*

Jason R. Zaborowski



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*Christians and Muslims have been involved in exchanges over matters of faith and morality since the founding of Islam. Attitudes between the faiths today are deeply coloured by the legacy of past encounters, and often preserve centuries-old negative views. The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, Texts and Studies presents the surviving record of past encounters in authoritative, fully introduced text editions and annotated translations, and also monograph and collected studies. It illustrates the development in mutual perceptions as these are contained in surviving Christian and Muslim writings, and makes available the arguments and rhetorical strategies that, for good or for ill, have left their mark on attitudes today. The series casts light on a history marked by intellectual creativity and occasional breakthroughs in communication, although, on the whole beset by misunderstanding and misrepresentation. By making this history better known, the series seeks to contribute to improved recognition between Christians and Muslims in the future.*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations and Symbols .....	vii
Arabic Transliteration .....	ix
Acknowledgments .....	xi
Introduction.....	1
A Late Coptic Text .....	3
Assimilation and Restoration.....	6
A New Study.....	8
Chapter One. Ideological Inversion in the Re-Conversion of an Apostate Christian ‘Deceived by Lust of a Saracen Woman’ ....	11
The Conversion of a Flax Merchant.....	15
The Seduction Motif in Narratives of Conversion to Islam .....	19
Countering the Trend of Apostasy in the <i>History of the Patriarchs</i> .	24
The Depiction of Islam as <i>ethnos</i> or Ummah .....	28
Some Conclusions .....	31
Chapter Two. Edition and Translation of Vaticanus Copticus 69	35
Key .....	37
Edition and Translation .....	38
Chapter Three. Comments on the Coptic Language of the Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit .....	133
The Panegyric (ff. 40 <sup>r</sup> –43 <sup>r</sup> , l.18. §1–30).....	135
The Conversion to Islam (ff. 43 <sup>r</sup> , l.19 – 44 <sup>r</sup> , l.7. §31–34).....	138
The Liminal Period and Re-Conversion to Christianity (ff. 44 <sup>r</sup> , l.8 – 47 <sup>r</sup> , l.8. §35–59).....	140
The Quest for Martyrdom (ff. 47 <sup>r</sup> , l.9 – 50 <sup>v</sup> , l.1. §60–89).....	142
The Martyrdom (ff. 50 <sup>v</sup> –52 <sup>v</sup> , l.26. §90–110).....	144
The Aftermath of the Martyrdom, and Epilogue (ff. 52 <sup>v</sup> , l.27 – 55 <sup>v</sup> , l.30. §111–138) .....	150
Conclusion .....	153

Chapter Four. Assimilation and Restoration: The Coptic Community of John of Phanijōit from the Accession of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to the Writing of the Martyrdom, 1169–1211 (565–607 A.H.) .....	155
Ayyūbid Cairo: An International City .....	156
Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: The Making of a Wide-Ranging Political Identification .....	158
The Legacy of Saladin: The Immediate Context of John of Phanijōit .....	169
<i>J.Phan.</i> in the Thirteenth-Century Multi-Ethnic Milieu .....	174
Conclusions: Distinguishing Identities .....	178
 Bibliography .....	 187
 Biblical Index .....	 199
Coptic Index .....	201
General Index .....	213

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>AHPA</i>	<i>Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria</i> , in various editions, referred to by editor(s) in notes, with citation of page and folio numbers, and line number of that Arabic edition.
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
Crum	Crum, W.E. <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>J.Phan.</i>	<i>The Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>PG</i>	Migne, J.P., ed. <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> . Paris, 1857–1866.
<i>SOAS</i>	School of Oriental and African Studies
§	segment of the text
< >	surrounds interpretive glosses added to the edition by Zaborowski
[ ]	characters added in the translation to complete apocopated words
<i>italics</i>	translations of Greek words from the <i>J.Phan.</i> text are italicized





## ARABIC TRANSLITERATION

a	alif	ḍ	ḍād
b	bā	ṭ	ṭā
t	tā	ẓ	ẓā
th	thā	‘	‘ayn
j	jīm	gh	ghayn
ḥ	ḥā	f	fā
kh	khā	q	qāf
d	dāl	k	kāf
dh	dhāl	l	lām
r	rā	m	mīm
z	zayn	n	nūn
s	sīn	h	hā
sh	shīn	w	wāw
ṣ	ṣād	y	yā
’	hamzah	ah	<i>tā-marbūṭah</i>

short vowels	a	i	u
long vowels	ā	ī	ū
diphthongs	ay	aw	



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Bennett for their kind help with computer problems; David Damrel for critiquing large portions of this study, and for his commitment to my scholarly improvement; and Douglas ‘Jake’ Jacobsen who, likewise, has been reading my work and asking hard questions ever since the time he introduced me to the study of Egyptian Christianity.

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Finally, the only person who deserves the dedication of this book is my wife Bethany: a brilliant Arabist, critic, and encourager. I have written this for you.

INTRODUCTION  
THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN OF PHANIJŌIT  
AND QUESTIONS ABOUT COPTIC ASSIMILATION  
TO ISLAMICATE CULTURE

Hany Takla and Leslie MacCoull have recently revived discussion about the peculiar thirteenth-century Coptic text, the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*. The text's only extant manuscript is dated 1211 and is cataloged as a part of MS Copticus 69 (ff. 40<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>) in the Vatican library. The Vatican acquired MS Copticus 69 through Joseph Assemani (1687–1768) during his visits to the monasteries of Wādī Naṣrūn between 1715 and 1718.<sup>1</sup> The martyrdom relates the story of a local flax merchant named John who falls prey to lust for a 'Saracen' Muslim client, later seeks public re-conversion to Christianity, and finally is executed for apostasy. Although Angelos Shiḥātah has recently translated (but not published) the martyrdom into Arabic in Cairo, there is no extant Arabic MS of the text, and John of Phanijōit is not mentioned in any extant pre-modern manuscripts of the Synaxary.<sup>2</sup> Émile Amélineau (1850–1915) was the first to edit it, using an imperfect tran-

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<sup>1</sup> Adolphus Hebbelynck and Arnoldus van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani, Tomus I, Codices Coptici Vaticani* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937), p. xix. See also Gabriel Oussani, 'Assemani,' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1907), pp. 784–795. Zoega (1755–1809) mentions the text with excerpts in Georgio Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano* (Rome: Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1810), pp. 87, 88. Quatramère (1782–1857) also acknowledges the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*: Étienne Quatramère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines*, vol. 1 (Paris: F. Schoell, 1811), pp. 48–52, 99, 115, 123, 248, 359, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Wadi Abullif Malik Awad, 'Giovanni, martire, ?-1210. Ch. copta,' in *Enciclopedia dei santi: le chiese orientali*, vol. 1 (Rome: Città Nuova, 1998), cols. 1105–1106. I have not obtained a copy of the 'recente traduzione araba dall'originale copto è stata curata da Angelos Shiḥātah sotto la direzione di W. Abullif,' which Wadi Abullif lists in his bibliography: Angelos Shiḥātah, *Istishād Yūḥannā al-Zaytūnī ḥasab maḥtūṭ qibṭī min al-qarn al-tālī 'aṣar* (Cairo, 1995 [unpublished]). Nor have I been able to access a copy of the 1988 Synaxary wherein 'una breve notizia' of John of Phanijōit appears. See Anbā Matteos, *Al-Sinaksār al-Gadīd*, I (Cairo, 1988), p. 136. See also Ugo Zanetti, 'Jean de Phanijōit,' in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 27, ed. R. Aubert (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 2000), cols. 441, 442.

scription of the text to translate it into French in 1887.<sup>3</sup> At the turn of the century, P. de Larminat briefly critiqued Amélineau's edition—partly for having been based on the defective transcription of Raphael Tuki (1695–1787)—and de Larminat produced a long list of corrections comparing the work of Amélineau and Tuki with the actual MS Copticus 69.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the Arabist Paul Casanova (1861–1926) published a rich analysis of the place names found in the text, in which he did not hesitate to adamantly criticize Amélineau's edition and translation.<sup>5</sup> Soon Giuseppe Balestri (1866–1940) and Henri Hyvernat (1858–1941)—the latter of which had corresponded with Casanova about the text<sup>6</sup>—together published a Coptic edition of MS Copticus 69 (ff. 40<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>), along with other martyrdoms in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* in 1924.<sup>7</sup> This was followed by Hyvernat's posthumous Latin translation in *CSCO* in 1950.<sup>8</sup> Scholarship on this text has only resumed in the late 1990s with a number of descriptive articles written by Hany Takla and a highly annotated overview of the text by Leslie MacCoull.<sup>9</sup> Takla and MacCoull have demonstrated the relevance of the *Martyrdom of John of Phanidjoit* to the Coptic problem of assimilation and conversion to Islam in thirteenth-century Cairo.

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<sup>3</sup> M.E. Amélineau, 'Un document copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Martyre de Jean de Phanidjoit,' *Journal Asiatique* 9, no. 8 (1887): 113–190.

<sup>4</sup> P. de Larminat, 'Révision du texte copte des "Lettres de Pierre Monge et d'Acace" et de la "Vie de Jean de Phanidjoit",' in *Atti del II<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Tenuto in Roma nell'Aprile 1900: Dissertazioni Lette o Presentate e Resoconto di Tutte le Sedute* (Rome: Libreria Spithöver, 1902), pp. 337–352. See Amélineau, 'Un document copte,' *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 133.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Casanova, 'Notes sur un texte copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les noms coptes du Caire et localités voisines,' in *BIFAO* 1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1901).

<sup>6</sup> See Casanova, 'Notes,' *op. cit.*, p. 1. Two pages of Hyvernat's handwritten notes regarding Casanova's work are available in his collected papers at the Institute of Christian Oriental Research, The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.

<sup>7</sup> I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, 'Acta Martyrum II,' in *CSCO* 86 (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1924), pp. 157–182 and notes, pp. 371–379.

<sup>8</sup> Henricus Hyvernat, 'Acta Martyrum II, Additis Indicibus Totius Operis,' in *CSCO* 125 (Louvain: Typographeo Linguarum Orientalium, 1950), pp. 108–125.

<sup>9</sup> Hany N. Takla, 'A Forgotten Coptic Martyr from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century-St. John of Phanidjoit,' *St. Shenouda Coptic Newsletter* 2 (1996): 2–5. *idem*, 'A Forgotten Coptic Martyr from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century-St. John of Phanidjoit, 2,' *St. Shenouda Coptic Newsletter* 3 (1996): 4–7. *idem*, 'A Forgotten Coptic Martyr from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century-St. John of Phanidjoit, 3,' *St. Shenouda Coptic Newsletter* 3 (1997): 3–4. *idem*, 'The Thirteenth-Century Coptic (?) Martyrdom of John of Phanidjoit, Reconsidered,' in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker*

*A Late Coptic Text*

The *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* (*J.Phan.*) provides important evidence about the history and process of Coptic assimilation to Islamicate society. The questions of when and how Christians became the minority in Egypt, and when they fully abandoned Coptic in exchange for Arabic are still matters of scholarly debate.<sup>10</sup> Leslie MacCoull's study of bilingual papyri, as well as literary Coptic, at one time led her to claim that '[a]t the time of the thirteenth-century encyclopaedists and compilers of *scalae* and so-called "Introductions to Coptic", the language was dead, and the issue was a dead letter.'<sup>11</sup> Though MacCoull documents evidence that the trend of the disuse of Coptic was underway centuries before the drafting of *The Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, this MS is written in acceptable Bohairic (Coptic) in the first decade of the thirteenth century, with its main topic the reconversion of an apostate back to Christianity. The contents of this martyrdom provide an interpretive model of the relationship between Christians and Muslims as a moral struggle to resist assimilation to the dominant group, even at pain of death. And it couches that struggle in traditional Coptic vocabulary.

The very language of the MS for the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* indicates reaction and resistance to language assimilation. All authors dealing with the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* (*J.Phan.*) take interest in the fact that it is an original Coptic work at a time when, presumably, most Copts had become linguistically Arabised. Amélineau considered *J.Phan.* to be 'sans doute la dernière oeuvre qui ait été écrite dans la langue de l'Égypte chrétienne.'<sup>12</sup> But some authors wonder whether it is a translation from Arabic, as Hyvernat seemed to suggest when he wrote to Casanova that the Coptic text of *J.Phan.* is 'mauvais,' and that it would be very desirable to 'retrouver un texte arabe qui aurait

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*und christlicher Zeit*, ed. Stephen Emmel *et al.* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999). Leslie S.B. MacCoull, 'Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit (BHO 519),' *Medieval Encounters* 6 (2000): 58–79.

<sup>10</sup> For a recent discussion of the data on the Arabisation of Egypt, see Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), esp. Chapter Nine, pp. 269–316.

<sup>11</sup> L.S.B. MacCoull, 'The Strange Death of Coptic Culture,' *Coptic Church Review* 10 (1989): 35–45, p. 42. For essentially the same assertion, see *idem*, 'Three Cultures under Arab Rule: the Fate of Coptic,' *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 27 (1985): 61–70, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> Amélineau, 'Un document copte,' *op. cit.*, p. 113.



quelque chance d'être correct.<sup>13</sup> The latest work of Takla develops an argument along lines similar to Paulus Peeters' (1870–1950) earlier hypothesis that the text was deliberately written in Coptic to hide its contents from Muslim authorities.<sup>14</sup> There are good sociological reasons supporting Takla's theory,<sup>15</sup> and the literary style of the text, in which Casanova finds linguistic evidence of Arabic interference, is more opaque than Casanova assumed.<sup>16</sup> The problem of comparing the Coptic grammar of *J.Phan.* with Arabic grammar is that, as of yet, there is no clearly-defined, linguistically-comprehended, corpus—either Coptic or Arabic—in which to ground the analysis. Christian Arabic of the time presents its own problem of inconstancy and disjuncture from Classical Arabic,<sup>17</sup> while Coptic *scalae* and grammars (*muqaddimāt*) that appear shortly after the writing of *J.Phan.* are not well enough understood to be of help as a basis for evaluating the quality of *J.Phan.*<sup>18</sup> Patient work with the Egyptian Christian Arabic and Coptic works of the time is needed to establish the literary context of *J.Phan.*

What is more certain is that the Coptic language was still an important distinctive of Egyptian Christian identity at the turn of the thirteenth century. There apparently were converts to Islam who knew Coptic. The *Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (AHPA)* relates a story, contemporaneous with *J.Phan.*, that illustrates the problem of assimilation and the relevance of the Coptic language to acts of conversion and betrayal. A monk named John from the monastery of St. Macarius 'became a Muslim before al-Malik al-Kāmil' (c. 1177–1238) in exchange for a governorship over 'Minyat Ghamar.'<sup>19</sup> After three years John 'remembered his religion [*dhakara dīnahu*] and his monas-

<sup>13</sup> Casanova, 'Notes,' *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Paulus Peeters, 'Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, 40 (1922): 241–298, p. 245.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter One for more on the possibility that this text was originally written in Coptic to keep its contents hidden from Arabic-speaking Muslims.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter Three for a review of some of Casanova's analyses of the Arabic quality of the text.

<sup>17</sup> See Joshua Blau, 'A Grammar of Christian Arabic,' in *CSCO* 267, 276, 279 (Louvain, 1966–1967), and Chapter Three.

<sup>18</sup> See Adel Y. Sidarus, 'Medieval Coptic Grammars in Arabic: the Coptic *Muqaddimāt*,' *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3 (2001): 63–79, who states, 'The age and the real value of this corpus of Bohairic *muqaddimāt* still need a special inquiry.' (p. 65, note 6).

<sup>19</sup> Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, eds., trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. 3, part 2 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970), pp. 197–198; f. 227<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 117, l.24 – p. 118 l.2). My translation is very similar to Khater's and Burmester's.

ticism and repented,' even to the extent that he petitioned al-Malik al-Kāmil for a reinstatement to Christianity.<sup>20</sup> The sultān granted him a return to his faith, but after some time, another apostate from Upper Egypt followed John's example and petitioned al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (1145–1218)<sup>21</sup> for his return to Christianity. According to the *AHPA*, Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was not as lenient as his son al-Kāmil, and he threatened the second apostate with punishments, coercing him to 'become a Muslim a second time [*ʿaslama thāniyyatan*].' Furthermore, he ordered that the earlier apostate, the monk John, be brought from the monastery of St. Macarius and offered the choice of Islam or death. John chose Islam, and again received governance of Minyat Ghamar.<sup>22</sup> Then the *AHPA* depicts John as eventually becoming more deeply assimilated, turning against his community at St. Macarius by informing al-Malik al-Kāmil about hidden valuables in the form of buried vessels at the monastery. John even uses violence against the monks to pressure them to divulge the location of the vessels,<sup>23</sup> until they are finally delivered to al-Malik al-Kāmil. Once the goods were in his possession, the *AHPA* relates that al-Kāmil sent for

a Christian man [*naṣrānī*] who has become a Muslim and has accepted the religion of Islam by assent [*bi-qabūlin*], and who is renowned in it for his trustworthiness, his religion, and his faith, that he may read for us what is written on these vessels ... And he read to al-Malik al-Kāmil the Coptic that was on the chalices, the patens, the crosses, and the spoons, the name of every one who had worked on it.<sup>24</sup>

The *AHPA*'s claim that the sultān insisted on selecting a convert who was a Muslim *by assent* (*bi-qabūlin*) reveals the atmosphere of distrust that obtained between Christians and Muslims in Egypt at the time.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198; f. 227<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 118, l.3). The account of John's petitioning the king for his first faith resembles the account in *ʿ.Phan.*: 'He stood before al-Malik al-Kāmil and said to him, "These are my burial clothes: Either you will kill me or restore me to my religion."' (*Ibid.*, Ar. p. 118, l.4, 5).

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Ayyūbid political arrangement of overlapping jurisdictions, see Chapter Four. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was the brother of Saladin (1138–1193), and father of al-Malik al-Kāmil.

<sup>22</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 199; f. 227<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 118, l.15).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199; f. 227<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 118, l.15 – p. 119, l.5).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201; f. 227<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 119, l.19–20 – p. 120, l.1, 2–3).

*Assimilation and Restoration*

This detailed story also attests to the problem of coercion, and to the sense of vulnerability that haunted Copts as a subjugated religious group. In the eyes of the author of *J.Phan.*, the greater Islamicate society posed a moral challenge to the Christian community. In *J.Phan.*, when the martyr John of Phanijōit seeks to be restored to his faith by al-Malik al-Kāmil, a Christian lay leader advises him to escape ‘from the midst of these many *nations* and their great hatred toward us.’<sup>25</sup> The text describes the martyr John’s apostasy as an act of moral failure; according to the text, his ‘mixing’ with Muslims resulted in a state of pollution from which John sought deliverance through the sultān: ‘I am a polluted man. Purify me with your sword.’<sup>26</sup> Leslie MacCoull recognized this moral orientation of *J.Phan.* in her characterization of the text as having ‘of course give[n] John a sexual motive for apostasy, not a socio-economic one.’ The underlying moral polemic disparages conversion to Islam, portraying John’s change of faith as a moral corruption. In MacCoull’s words, John ‘learned their evil, whorish ways ... of course he desired and went to bed with a Saracen woman, and wound up living a dissolute life.’<sup>27</sup> By casting the problems of conversion and assimilation in moral terms such as pollution and purification, the martyrdom does not defend theological tenets or Christian doctrine so much as the community’s existence—its cohesiveness and distinctness from the dominant society. To mix with Muslims is to become polluted.

The martyrdom functions as a solution for the pollution of assimilation. In his challenge to the assumption that early Judaism and Christianity are two separate entities, Daniel Boyarin has examined martyrdoms as identity-shaping tools used by a community seeking to distinguish itself against an Other. He considers martyrdom to be a “discourse,” as a practice of dying for God and of talking about it, arguing that the development of this new type of discourse in the Roman world ‘was at least in part, part and parcel of the process of the making of Judaism and Christianity as distinct entities.’<sup>28</sup> Boyarin’s analysis of Christians’ and Jews’ use of the martyrdom as a discourse for

<sup>25</sup> References to the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* cite the folio, line number, and segment number. *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>v</sup>, l.4, 5 (§49).

<sup>26</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.4, 5 (§64).

<sup>27</sup> MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 62, note 28, and p. 62, respectively.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 93, 94 and 93, respectively.

distinguishing their identities during the first four centuries is relevant to the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* because the situations are analogous. During the first four centuries after Christ, martyrdom discourses expressed both ‘the drive of the nascent orthodoxy to separation [from Judaism,] and the lack thereof.’<sup>29</sup> Likewise, for Egyptian Christians of the thirteenth century, *J.Phan.* expresses a drive to distinguish Christianity from Islam, in reaction to the fact that Christians were assimilating to Islam. The martyrdom codifies that drive in a ‘ritualized and performative speech act associated with a statement of pure essence ... For Christians, it is the declaration of the essence of the self: “I am a Christian.”’<sup>30</sup> That declaration certainly appears in *J.Phan.*, but furthermore, it is stated by John in his efforts to fully renounce Islam and return to being a Christian. The writing of this discourse makes the martyr’s restoration available to all the audience of the martyrdom, and projects his purificatory speech act as a statement about the community itself. As a discourse drafted in moral (rather than theological) terminology, it states that Christians are moral, and that Muslims are immoral. By chiefly using the terms of *pollution* and *mixing* to critique John’s life as a Muslim convert, *J.Phan.* is emphasizing the very fact of difference between the communities (*i.e.*, mixing eliminates difference), more than it is heralding any particular religious distinctives of the Coptic community.

While there were obvious religious distinctions between Egyptian Christians and Muslims, Egyptian Christians were being drawn, at this time, into closer identification with Saladin’s Ayyūbid dynasty, in response to the Crusader encroachment on Egypt and the holy sites of Jerusalem. As Chapter Four argues, the actions of the Crusaders only deepened the Islamicate Christian distrust of, and dissociation from, European, Chalcedonian Christians. At the same time, Saladin endeared himself to Islamicate Christians and Muslims alike, building a reputation for benevolence, even toward Coptic administrators in his *ḍawān*.<sup>31</sup> As in all times under Islam, Egyptian Christians played influential administrative roles in the governments of the Ayyūbids.<sup>32</sup> And the

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. Here Boyarin is referring to a complaint from St. Ignatius (*c.* 35-*c.*107) that ‘[i]t is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practice Judaism,’ but Ignatius’ comment *functions* the same way as a martyr discourse, according to Boyarin’s conceptualizations.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter Four for a discussion of Egyptian Christian views of Saladin.

<sup>32</sup> See L.S.B. MacCoull, ‘Three Cultures under Arab Rule,’ *op. cit.*, p. 62, where she observes that ‘[n]o Egyptian government before or since [the Arab Takeover]

themes of the *AHPA* continually attest to the Christians' investment in Islamicate society, even brokering with al-Malik al-Kāmil for the installation of the patriarch Kyrillos III, David Ibn Laqlaq (*r.* 1235–1243).<sup>33</sup> There were reasons for Christians to draw boundaries between themselves and Muslims. Boyarin comments on a rabbinic discourse drawn from the early centuries of Christianity when, he claims, the borders between Christianity and Judaism were still 'fuzzy':<sup>34</sup>

the Rabbis themselves understood that in notably significant ways there was no difference between Christians and Jews, and the difference had to be maintained via discursive force, via the *tour de force*. This was the case, as well, with 'the making of martyrdom.'<sup>35</sup>

In a completely different context, *J.Phan.* similarly serves as a discourse for maintaining difference between Egyptian Christians and Muslims.

### *A New Study*

This study engages the tasks of the earlier editions and translations as well as the later questions that Takla and MacCoull have raised about Coptic history. The text still lacks an English translation, and the last edition was published in 1924. This project builds upon that earlier philological work by producing a new diplomatic edition from the manuscript, together with a first English translation (Chapter Two). It also furthers the inquiry into the Arabic linguistic influence on the Coptic style of *J.Phan.*, provisionally concluding that it is unnecessary, at this point, to posit an original Arabic *Vorlage* (Chapter Three). In addition,

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could survive without Coptic financial expertise.' See also Marlis J. Saleh, 'Government Intervention in the Coptic Church in Egypt during the Fatimid Period,' *The Muslim World* 91(2001): 381–397.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of this time period (and the installation of Kyrillos III) that deals with the relevant sources, see Wadi Abullif Malek Awad, 'Studio su al-Mu'taman Ibn al-'Assāl,' in *Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae*, no. 5 (Cairo: The Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies, 1997), esp. pp. 46–52, and p. 73, where he mentions *J.Phan.* in connection with what he calls the Coptic "'age of decadence [*inhūtāf*].'" It was a decline [*inhūtāf*] of numbers, organization, education [*thaqāfiyy*], and spirituality. It was the worst epoch in the history of the Coptic church, and most of them are dark.' (p. 74).

<sup>34</sup> Boyarin, *Dying for God*, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Boyarin introduces the rabbinic story of Rabbi Eli'ezer (third century) as a primary example for his essay in Chapter One, p. 26ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101. He quotes Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 55.

tion to making this text more widely accessible, this research examines the literary and historical contexts of the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, 1) to demonstrate the rhetorical strategy of moral polemic that this martyrdom employs to counter assimilation (Chapter One), and 2) to elucidate the identity problems faced by Copts as a subjugated Christian community in the midst of an Islamicate society at war with Crusaders (Chapter Four). This analysis demonstrates that the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* polemicizes against Islam with ethnic identifiers, in reaction to a perceived trend of Coptic assimilation to Islamicate society: an assimilation that is correlated both with the Copts' aversion to Western Crusader Christians and their identification with Ayyūbid civilization.



CHAPTER ONE

IDEOLOGICAL INVERSION  
IN THE RE-CONVERSION OF AN APOSTATE  
CHRISTIAN 'DECEIVED BY LUST OF  
A SARACEN WOMAN'

In their edition of four Coptic martyrdoms in the Pierpont Morgan collection, E.A.E. Reymond and J.W.B. Barns remark that, '[o]ne of the permanent features of the Egyptian mind was its taste and talent for romantic story-telling.'<sup>1</sup> This comment prefaces their comparison of early Coptic martyrdoms with Greek romance and drama, wherein they find the similarity between martyrdoms and romances to be so formulaic that they imagine,

the existence of scriptoria where martyrologies were produced to order; and, one suspects, paid for by the yard; they were padded out with stock passages to the requisite size.<sup>2</sup>

However cynical this sounds, it is obvious that analyzing Coptic martyrdoms is a study in typologies and literary topoi repeated from one text to another, passed onward from the 'cycle de Dioclétien.'<sup>3</sup> David Bell looks back on scholarship of Egyptian martyrdoms and adopts a pejorative tone in his normative critique of the martyr literature of Egypt, for being hopelessly fictional:

Despite the efforts of scholars such as Reymond and Barns to shed a somewhat more positive light on these writings, much of what Delehaye said remains true. To read one is to read twenty, and the occasional poetical passage, memorable prayer, or genuine historical snippet, represents

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<sup>1</sup> E.A.E. Reymond and J.W.B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. Here Reymond and Barns take their cue from Delehaye's earlier speculations in Hippolytus Delehaye, 'Les martyrs d'Égypte,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 5–154, 299–364. On p. 152 he states, 'Il y eut donc à Alexandrie—car on ne voit pas de quel centre obscur serait sortie cette littérature—une école d'hagiographes qui affectionna la forme spéciale de la "Passio" que nous avons décrite, avec l'emploi intensif des procédés épiques.'

<sup>3</sup> Amélineau so termed the foundational Coptic martyrdoms. E. Amélineau, *Les Actes des martyrs de l'église copte* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890), pp. 170ff.



but a small oasis in a desert of preposterous fiction. If Delehayé's judgment was too severe, it was not too severe by much, and even though it is now recognized that these sagas do contain certain authentic historical echoes, they can never be considered as great literature.<sup>4</sup>

Though exaggerated and sensationalizing, Bell's critique poses the real problem of interpreting a martyr account: what is its historical and literary value? Instead of phrasing this question in terms of historical fidelity or genre, some recent authors like Daniel Boyarin and David H. Vila have analyzed the identity-shaping function of martyrdoms, with fruitful results.<sup>5</sup>

Following that line of inquiry, this chapter argues that one direction for exploring the literary and historical value of the Coptic neo-martyrdom of John of Phanijōit (c. 1211), is found in an analysis of the function of the text as an 'hidden transcript'<sup>6</sup> for a subjugated community. The *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* is remarkable for being written in Coptic at a date so late as the thirteenth century, when Copts are widely recognized as having reached the 'golden age of Coptic Arabic literature.'<sup>7</sup> The absence of any Arabic *Vorlage*, or even contemporaneous Arabic translation, has compelled some scholars to propose that its author drafted it in Coptic 'to hide it from the Moslems, while still being able to read it publicly.'<sup>8</sup> Even if the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*

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<sup>4</sup> David N. Bell, trans., *Mena of Nikiou: The Life of Isaac of Alexandria and the Martyrdom of Saint Macrobios* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988), p. 104. To help explain the repetitive, fictional character of Egyptian martyrdoms, Bell compares them to episodes in the cartoon 'Road Runner and Coyote.' (pp. 105–107).

<sup>5</sup> See Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), and David H. Vila, 'Christian Martyrs in the First Abbasid Century and the Development of an Apologetic against Islam,' Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> James C. Scott, *Dominance and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). Scott's work has also informed Shaw's analyses of martyr literature. See Brent Shaw, 'Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4, 3 (1996): 269–312.

<sup>7</sup> Adel Y. Sidarus, 'Medieval Coptic Grammars in Arabic: The Coptic *Muqaddimāt*,' *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3 (2001): 63–79. Sidarus cites the long list of Coptic Arabic sources listed in Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, v. 2 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947), pp. 344–445. See also Anawati's description of the period and its literature, in Georges C. Anawati, 'The Christian Communities in Egypt in the Middle Ages,' in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi, *Papers in Medieval Studies* 9 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990): 237–251.

<sup>8</sup> Hany Takla, 'The Thirteenth-Century Coptic (?) Martyrdom of John of Phanidjoit, Reconsidered,' in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, ed. Stephen

happens to be a translation from Arabic, the Coptic version that is extant would indeed function as a hidden text, unreadable for most of the dominant Islamic society in Egypt.<sup>9</sup> The text describes the conversion of a Christian to Islam, and the process of his re-conversion to Christianity that culminates in his public confession of faith, which he knows will earn him martyrdom. Throughout the account, the text evinces a moral critique of Muslims that is sharp enough to lend plausibility to the notion that Copts would want to keep it hidden.

The essence of the critique is one that is well-known in the West: that Islam appeals primarily to moral—especially sexual—licentiousness.<sup>10</sup> Whether this judgment is accurate or not, it is certainly a topos in Christian literature about the Other, and as this chapter shows, an indictment that is not uncommon in Arabic Christian literature. In the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* (*J.Phan.*), the criticism of Muslims as morally licentious goes beyond defamation to the point that it is fundamental to the rationale for John's conversion to Islam and his quest for martyrdom. In the virtual absence of theological critique, John of Phanijōit's conversion is described in terms of sexual immorality, and his martyrdom in terms of moral purification. The conversion story in *J.Phan.* alludes to a conversion process that must have been familiar to its readers, yet that process bears little similarity to the theologically- and psychologically-revealing conversion stories epitomized by Augustine's *Confessions*. While a text such as the *Confessions* is self-referential and deceptively self-revealing,<sup>11</sup> *J.Phan.* offers no overt insights into the

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Emmel *et.al.* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999), p. 206. Peeters suggested the same solution: Paulus Peeters, 'Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 241–298, p. 245. See my Chapter Three for a discussion of linguistic matters. Earlier, Casanova proposed an Arabic Vorlage that was translated quite literally into Coptic: Paul Casanova, 'Notes sur un texte copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: les noms coptes du Caire et localités voisines,' in *BIFAO* 1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institute français d'archéologie orientale, 1901), p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> See the Introduction, where I consider the example from the *AHPA* indicating that some converts to Islam may have had a knowledge of Coptic, and a motive to expose negative portrayals of Muslims in the literature of their ex-coreligionists.

<sup>10</sup> On this matter, the classic source is Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, 2d. rev. ed. (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1993), esp. chapter V, 'The Place of Self-Indulgence in the Attack on Islam.'

<sup>11</sup> See Charles T. Mathewes, 'The Liberation of Questioning in Augustine's *Confessions*,' *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70, 3 (2002): 539–560. One thing Mathewes seeks is to reconsider the modern psychological analysis that Augustine was overcome with anxiety, and thereby he questions what is really known and knowable about Augustine in the *Confessions*.

psychology of its convert. And that psychology is not so important as the text's liturgical, or identity-affirming function for its intended audience. *J.Phan.* strengthens the Copts' communal identity by using the ideology of the non-Christian government to serve their own religious purposes: rhetorically forcing the hand of the Muslim king to punish John for his Christian sin. As an alternative to theological dispute (which has little direct force among commoners), this account of conversion and re-conversion provides a script for 'ideological sedition,' or an inversion of the dominant public ideology in Ayyūbid Cairo. *J.Phan.* disarms the threat that conversion poses to the credibility of the Coptic minority religion's ideology by interpreting it as a moral failure that can only be redeemed in the framework of their own community.

Ever since the writings of Marx, sociologists have argued that subordinate classes are unable to assert their political will because their incorporation of the dominant ideology prevents them from thinking clearly about 'real' material relations. Ideology has been classically understood as a false consciousness that serves the interests of the *bourgeoisie*, or dominant class, by masking material relations.<sup>12</sup> While much work has been done to demonstrate the significance of ideology for furthering the material power of dominant groups, fewer sociologists have explored the ways that subjugated groups use dominant, public ideologies, as well as their own private ideologies, to find and exert their own power. James C. Scott has been one of the most articulate theorists who demonstrates an array of ways in which subordinate groups can appropriate and use ideologies of dominant groups against them.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For concise treatments of the development of the 'dominant ideology' thesis in the writings of Althusser, Gramsci, Habermas, Mannheim, and others, see Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner, *The Dominant Ideology Thesis* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980), and *idem*, *Dominant Ideologies* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), esp. pp. 229–252.

<sup>13</sup> In his review of Scott's book, Paul Littlewood asks: '[W]hy is this prodigious scholar not more widely read in the UK?' Littlewood suggests that Scott's book is seen as too 'parochial' to be of wider theoretical significance, and this may be an explanation for sociologists outside the UK. See Paul Littlewood, 'James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*,' *Sociology* 25 (1991): 554–555. Scott's book on *Hidden Transcripts* has received scant attention in some recent literature on ideology: 1) Hogan does not mention Scott's work in Patrick Colm Hogan, *The Culture of Conformism: Understanding Social Consent* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 2) Bêteille's recent essays on the Indian scene do not acknowledge Scott, André Bêteille, *Antinomies of Society: Essays on Ideologies and Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), and 3) van Dijk refers only to Scott's earlier work, Teun A. van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Sage Publications, 1998).

In his book, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, Scott documents examples of non-public discourses among subordinates that reflect uses of ideology that undermine what would be acceptable in public discourse. He draws primarily from popular literature, ethnographies, and social psychology studies to overcome the problem of accessing the private discourses of subordinates. As he states, the greatest obstacle to researching ideological expression of subordinate groups is that ‘the great bulk of public events, and hence the great bulk of the archives, is consecrated to the official transcript.’<sup>14</sup> Typically the private or hidden transcript of a subordinate group is unavailable for scrutiny, and hence, unavailable as a source of history. But the Coptic *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* offers us the rare opportunity to extend ideological analysis to an actual hidden transcript from medieval Egypt.

### *The Conversion of a Flax Merchant*

The story of John’s conversion cautions against the moral traps posed by Muslims. After a lengthy introductory exhortation, typical of panegyrics, the narrative of *J.Phan.* introduces John, son of Mark as ‘a deacon and Christian man’ who is a flax salesman.<sup>15</sup> His dealings bring him into contact with what the text calls the ‘Ishmaelite Islamic *people* [ϵΘΝΟC ΝCΜΑΗΛΙΤΗC Ν̄ΛΑΜΙΤΗC].’<sup>16</sup> John’s downfall was that ‘he mixed’ (ΛΦΜΟΥΨΤ) with them and fell prey to their sexual traps:

[He mixed] *in fact* with the *fornicators* [ΝΙΠΟΡΝΟC] and adulterers [ΝΙΝΩΙΚ], *especially* (in) the places of net-snaring entrapment [ΝΙΜΑΝΦΑΨ ΝΨΝΕ ΝΧΟΡΧC], the path of stumbling; (with) the *harlots* [ΝCΖΙΜΙ ΗΠΟΡΝΟC], those setting traps [ΝΙΡΕΦΧΑΦΑΨ] for men from the beginning. *Just as it is written*: ‘They mixed with the *nations* and learned their ways.’ [Ps. 105<sup>35</sup>] So, John also mixed [ΛΦΜΟΥΨΤ] with these ones of this sort.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> James C. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> All references to the text follow the foliation, line numbers, and segments (§) of the manuscript *J.Phan.: Martyrium Sancti Iohannis Phanidjōitani*. Ms Vat. Copt. 69, fols. 40<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>. Vatican Archives, Vatican City. This referencing is easily matched to the marginal notes in Balestri and Hyvernat’s edition: Hyvernat, H., and I. Balestri, eds. ‘Acta Martyrum,’ in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 86 (Paris: Typographeo reipublicae, 1924). The quote above from *J.Phan.* 43<sup>r</sup>, l.33 – 43<sup>v</sup>, l.1 (§30).

<sup>16</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.2;3 (§30).

<sup>17</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.3–12 (§30). Italics indicate Greek words. The Coptic style in *J.Phan.* is at times disjointed, sometimes making a flowing translation difficult. The word ΜΟΥΨΤ throughout *J.Phan.* is an unattested form of ΜΟΥΧC, Crum, 214a.

The text precisely identifies the street in Old Cairo [†**ΚΕΦΡΩΜΙ**=*qasru l-rūmī*]<sup>18</sup> where John would sell flax, and where ‘Satan deceived him [**ΛΑΦΕΡΖΑΛ ΜΜΟQ**] with the *lust* of a Saracen woman [**ϠΕΝΟΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝCΖΙΜΙ ΝCΑΡΑΚΙΝΗ**].<sup>19</sup> As with the entire text, the Coptic of this phrase leaves some room for doubt in interpreting the syntax and connective particles. Here the question is whose *lust* (**ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ**) is proactive? The Bohairic NT predominantly uses the particle **ε-** to express ‘lust for/to’, while the noun plus **ν-** or **ντε-** translates genitively, as in our sentence.<sup>20</sup> Hence the *lust of* a Saracen woman seduced John, and his conversion is somewhat of a passive event into which he ‘fell [**ΛΑΦΖΕΙ**] with her in *fornication*.<sup>21</sup>

Through the resolution of this hopeless situation, *J.Phan.* can demonstrate for its audience the possibility of restoration for apostate Christians, while underscoring the high cost of such moral failure. The entire opening encomium is an apology for redemption of the morally wanton. The text opens with Psalm 117<sup>18</sup>, where it claims ‘the Lord taught me [**ΛΑΦ†CΒΩ ΝΗΙ**] and he did not hand me over to death,<sup>22</sup> and this is followed by a series of biblical proof texts offering a reinstatement for the wayward John. He is called the ‘new graft [**ΠΙΤΩΧΙ ΜΒΕΡΙ**], which blossomed [**ΕΤΑΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ**] in these days, like a *lily* [**ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΟΥΒΩ ΝΚΡΙΝΟΝ**].<sup>23</sup> This phrase draws its concepts of rebirth from images in at least two Old Testament passages. One is the lily mentioned in Hosea 14<sup>6</sup>, wherein God promises to restore Israel after its infidelity so that ‘it will blossom [**QΝΑΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ**] like a lily [**ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΟΥΒΩΦΕΝ**].<sup>24</sup> The

<sup>18</sup> See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op.cit.* 155–158 for his interpretation of **ΟΛΑΥΡΑ ΜΠCΕΥΕΡΧΙC** as the street *dayru l-banāt*, or *abū jirjis*. Casanova bases this interpretation on a comment in al-Maqrīzī. MacCoull renders it the ‘street of St. Sergius,’ which echoes Amélineau’s suggestion that it ‘signifier *le monastère de Sergios*.’ Though the word for street is **ΛΑΥΡΑ**, Amélineau’s proposal makes no sense since this is the place where John fell into fornication. See Leslie S.B MacCoull, ‘Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit (BHO 519),’ *Medieval Encounters* 6 (2000): 58–79, p. 62. See also, M.E. Amélineau, ‘Un document copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: martyre de Jean de Phanidjoit,’ *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1887): 113–190, p. 118.

<sup>19</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, 1.16,17 (§32).

<sup>20</sup> Formally, the construction **ΟΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝCΖΙΜΙ ΝCΑΡΑΚΙΝΗ** is adjectival, since **CΖΙΜΙ** does not have an article. In fact, in this non-verbal form the preposition or infinitive marker ‘ε-’ is not used in the Coptic NT. It is only used with the verbal form ‘επιθῶμιν’, such as in Mt. 5<sup>28</sup>: ‘... **ΕΠΙΘῶΜΙΝ ΕΡΟC** ...’

<sup>21</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, 1.18 (§32).

<sup>22</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>r</sup>, 1.18–20 (§4).

<sup>23</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>v</sup>, 1.7–9 (§6).

<sup>24</sup> Note the parallelism between the sexual infidelity in the context of Hosea and that of *J.Phan.* For a Bohairic text of Hosea, see Henricus Tattam, ed., trans., *Duodecim*

other image is the new graft found in Job 14<sup>7-10</sup>, which declares the hope that a cut-down tree can ‘blossom again [ϠΑϠΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ]’ and be productive like a ‘new planting [ΝΟΥΘΟ ΜΒΕΡΙ].’<sup>25</sup> The text of *J.Phan.* develops the language of ‘new graft’ as a metaphor for his reconversion by quoting the parable of the barren fig tree (Luke 13<sup>6-9</sup>) to show that God was ‘patient’ enough with John to give him ‘yet another year’ to produce fruit before cutting him down.<sup>26</sup> The text also compares John to the ‘last of the *laborers*’ of the vineyard who received the same wage as the other workers (Mt. 20<sup>1-16</sup>); to the sheep who went astray (Mt. 18<sup>12-14</sup>); and moreover, to the prodigal son ‘who took the *property* of his father and squandered it with *prostitutes* and sinners.’ (Luke 15<sup>11-32</sup>).<sup>27</sup>

According to *J.Phan.* John’s conversion resembles passive assimilation to a people whose culture is innately immoral. The text states that

God was patient with him [ϠΟΥΓΝΖΗΤ ΕΧΩΦ]—throughout his falling away [ΠΕΦΧΙΝΖΕΙ], his blasphemous speech, his pollution with *fornicators* and adulterers, while being closed-hearted with a concern for *fleshy life*<sup>28</sup> [ΟΥΦΙΡΩΦΩΦ ΜΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΝ ΝΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ] among the God-Christ-hating Arab people [ΦΛΑΟΣ ΝΑΡΑΒΟΣ ΝΕΘΝΟΣ ΗΜΑΣΤΕΝΟΥΓ ΠΧΕ]—for many *times* and many seasons.<sup>29</sup>

In the text’s rendition, the one ‘*lawless deed*’ of fornication ‘ruled over him [ΑΣΕΡΘΕ ΕΡΟΦ] until death,’ as his sins multiplied out of control, ‘just as it is written, “Behold, *lawlessness* conceives and is in travail and brought forth death;” this is how it happened to the Just John.’<sup>30</sup> *J.Phan.* shows that John ‘had children and became an old man’<sup>31</sup> amidst the

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*prophetarum minorum libros in lingua aegyptiaca vulgo coptica seu memphitica ex manuscripto parisiensi descriptos et cum manuscripto Johannis Lee, J.C.D. collatos* (Oxford: Typographeo Academicum, 1836). My trans.

<sup>25</sup> See Henry Tattam, ed., trans., *The Ancient Coptic Version of the Book of Job the Just* (London: William Straker, 1846). An identical Bohairic version is in E. Porcher, ed., trans., ‘*Le Livre de Job: Version copte bohairique*,’ *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (1924): 209–339. The concept of ‘new graft’ is particularly suited to reconversion when it is recognized that both ‘ΠΤΩΧΙ ΗΒΕΡΙ’ and ‘ΝΟΥΘΟ ΜΒΕΡΙ’ are commonly used to translate the Greek νεόφυτος. It should be kept in mind that it is not clear what recensions of the Bohairic Bible were used by the author of *J.Phan.*

<sup>26</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.23–31 (§33, 34).

<sup>27</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.10–19 (§7, 8); f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.28–30 (§10); f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.20–27 (§9), respectively.

<sup>28</sup> Alludes to Luke 21<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.31 – f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.4 (§34).

<sup>30</sup> The quote is almost identical to James 1<sup>15</sup>, though interestingly it substitutes **ΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ** for **ΤΕΠΘΟΥΜΙΑ**. See also Psalm 7<sup>14</sup>. *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.18–24 (§32, 33).

<sup>31</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.5–6 (§34). The etymology of the adjective in **ΑΦΕΡΡΩΜΙ ΝΣΧΙΜΩΝ** is not clear. Hyvernat suggests in his index that **ΣΧΙΜΩΝ** is a form of εὐσχήμων, but

Muslim community, until he returned to his village as the first step toward becoming restored to Christianity.

In that process he sought advice from Christian elders, the most helpful of whom he found to be the sulṭān's chief physician, Epū Šekher (Ar.-Abū Shākir, d. 1216).<sup>32</sup> After John told Abū Shākir about his situation 'from beginning to end,' the Coptic physician reinterpreted his sin in a way that both deflated the theological import of his conversion and identified the opportunity his moral lapse would afford him in challenging Muslims. Abū Shākir told him that 'the words which you spoke are not blasphemies [ϪΑΝΧΕΟΥΑ]; rather, they are like liars [ϪΑΝCΑΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ(sic)], and we ourselves speak lies all the time [ΧΕΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ].'<sup>33</sup> This advice, coming from the chief physician of Egypt, undermines the official transcript, or public ideology, of Ayyūbid authority. In a sense, Abū Shākir is exposing the publicly-acknowledged ideology that conversion to Islam is a religious decision that has theological weight, *i.e.*, blasphemy. Instead of acknowledging John's conversion in theological terms such as blasphemy, the text's counter-ideology is labelling it in moral terms as a 'lie,' or false consciousness. Then Abū Shākir quotes a portion of the *Our Father* to explain that in his dealings with Muslims John faces overwhelming temptation:

*Scripture* says in the (Lord's) *Prayer*, 'lead us not in *temptation* but deliver us from the evil one [ΠΙΠΕΤΖΩΟΥ].' Do you not realize that these *nations* are very evil [ϪΑΝΠΕΤΖΩΟΥ ΕΜΑΦΩ]? And, you will announce a declaration [ΧΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΟΥCΑΗ] like this in their presence!? Unless, somehow, you prevail through *temptations*, we ourselves will live in shame.<sup>34</sup>

The Coptic prose is a bit abbreviated, yet the author's intent to associate the Muslim *nation* itself with 'evil' and 'temptation' is unmistakable. More importantly for understanding the text's explanation of John's conversion, Abū Shākir is reinforcing the 'trap' analogy. John

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in his translation he seems to interpret it like the Coptic root **СХИМ**, 'grey haired/old' (Crum, 328b–329a): 'ipse factus est vir canutus ...' See Henricus Hyvernat, trans., 'Acta Martyrum II,' *CSCO* 125 (Louvain: Typographeo Linguarum Orientalium), pp. 265 and 112 respectively. See also Chapter Three on the Coptic language of *J.Phan.*

<sup>32</sup> **εΠΟΥΦΕΧΕΡ**. The Muslim scholar-physician Ibn 'Abī Uṣaybi'ah discusses al-Malik al-Kamil's Coptic court physician Abū Shākir. See Ibn 'Abī Uṣaybi'ah, '*Uyūn al-ānbā'i fī ṭabaqāti l-āṭibbā'i*,' ed. August Müller (Königsberg: Selbstverlag, 1884), pt. 2, pp. 122–124. See my Chapter Four for more on the historical role played by lay leaders such as Abū Shākir.

<sup>33</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.23–27 (§46, 47).

<sup>34</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.27–45<sup>v</sup>, l.2 (§47, 48). Quotes Bohairic Matthew 6<sup>13</sup>.

was baited by overwhelming temptation, and caught in a lie which he would now be in a position to expose publicly, only if he possessed ‘the capacity for sufferings and *tortures*.’<sup>35</sup> Abū Shākir initially advises against direct engagement with the civil authorities, and commissions John to ‘go from this land and from the midst of these many *nations* and their great hatred toward us [ΠΡΟΥΟ ΜΠΟΥΜΟΤ],’ on a journey resembling the evangelistic mission of the Gospels, from town to town.<sup>36</sup>

According to the passage that follows, John then decides to stay in Cairo and seek a formal, public return to his faith. He immediately petitions the king, al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238),<sup>37</sup> with letters arguing that he had been duped by lies. The text states that he wrote notes ‘like this: “The servant, a Christian man. In other years, the people of Old Cairo [ΝΙΡΕΜΚΕΩΡΩΜΙ=*qaṣru l-rūmi*] had sway over me [ΑΥΧΕΜΧΟΜ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΩΙ] through false testimonies.”’<sup>38</sup> He requests that the king ‘either grant me the favor of my faith [ΙΕ ΝΤΕΚΕΡΖΜΟΤ ΝΗΙ ΜΠΑΝΑΖΤ], or purify my pollution with your sword.’<sup>39</sup> And this request becomes the uncompromising mantra that John carries with him throughout the rest of the martyrdom until he finally meets the king.

*The Seduction Motif in Narratives of Conversion to Islam*

The sexual license that *J.Phan.* presents as the reason for John’s conversion, and the pollution from which he must be cleansed to reconvert, has other precedents in hagiographic literature. The topos linking martyrdom and seduction goes back at least as far as Jerome’s description of the persecutions of Decius and Valerian. According to one of Jerome’s vignettes in the *Vita Pauli*, an unnamed Christian in Egypt was ‘tortuously’ bound in pleasure gardens where a harlot was unleashed to elicit sinful responses from him. In an act of desperation, he bit off his tongue and spat it at her so the pain would prevent him from lusting.<sup>40</sup> Though John of Phanijoit was unsuccessful in resisting temp-

<sup>35</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.16, 17 (§69), from a later conversation with Abū Shākir on the same matter.

<sup>36</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>v</sup>, l.3–5 (§49). Here the text quotes Matthew 10<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> He is the same sultān who appears in the St. Francis of Assisi legends.

<sup>38</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>v</sup>, l.19–23 (§51).

<sup>39</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>v</sup>, l.26–28 (§51).

<sup>40</sup> Jerome, *Vita Pauli*, 3. Actually this account is a curious inversion of an earlier story by Tertullian (repeated by Pliny) of a pagan harlot who, under torture, bit off



tation, most other martyr-seduction stories end with triumphs by the saints over the advances of the woman.

In neo-martyr literature, which consists of Christian martyrdoms written under Islamic rule, an early example of the wife-of-Potiphar type appears in the *Martyrdom of St. Michael the Sabaite* (c. mid-ninth century). In that martyrdom the protagonist critiques Islam in a way similar to *J.Phan.*: for promoting sexual licentiousness as an enticement to convert. In both extant accounts,<sup>41</sup> the wife of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) was overcome with love for the monk Michael when he entered the palace of the caliph. She offered to meet his needs: ‘O moody youth, if you are a captive, I will bring you forth. If you are sick, I will heal you. If you are poor, I will enrich you.’<sup>42</sup> When the caliph’s wife, Seida (*sayyidah*), asked whether he thought she was desirable, he answered, ‘You are not estimable but reproachable, not delightful but harmful, not desirable but abominable!’<sup>43</sup> His refusal to reciprocate her advances ‘stirred up’ her fury and led to his trial before ‘Abd al-Malik. The caliph then tries to convert Michael with bribes and arguments, all of which Michael rejects with the reasoning that conversion to Islam is lawlessness. According to the text, ‘Abd al-Malik explained that Muḥammad elevated the Persians and Arabs when he converted them from idolatry. Then Michael asked, ‘Why did he convert them? With what was he influencing the disobedient ones, or with what was he rewarding the believers?’ When Michael pressed him for details about what Muḥammad promised on earth and paradise, the text makes the caliph reply: ‘[He was making promises] in this place of eating good things, and of soft garments, of banquets and of marriage. And in that place of Paradise [he was making promises] of eating and of marriage.’ Michael then impugns the caliph’s view of heavenly and earthly rewards by alleging the moral superiority of Paul: ‘Paul pos-

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her tongue and spat it in the face of the tyrant. See Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 50.7–8; and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 7.23.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the textual history of St. Michael the Sabaite, see Sidney H. Griffith, ‘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,’ *Aram* 6 (1994): 115–148, esp. pp. 120–122 and pp. 130–135. For earlier discussions and translations of the text treated in Griffith, see A. Vasiliev, ‘The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa,’ *Byzantion* 16 (1942–1943): 165–225, esp. pp. 210ff.; and Paulus Peeters, ‘La passion de S. Michael le Sabaïte,’ *Analecta Bollandiana* 48 (1930): 65–98.

<sup>42</sup> Monica J. Blanchard, trans., ‘The Georgian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Michael, Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery,’ *Aram* 6 (1994): 149–163. p. 151 (§4).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

sessed neither swords nor treasures ... he was commanding fasting and holiness, not abominable fornication.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, as with Abū Shākir's counsel to John of Phanijoit, Michael of Mar Sabas' disputation with 'Abd al-Malik explains the appeal of Islam as 'temptation' (especially sexual) and the conversion to Islam as morally 'evil.'

Variations of the seduction motif can be seen in later neo-martyrdoms of Ottoman Turkey. Along with the wife-of-Potiphar type, one could add the Bathsheba and Delilah types. The neo-martyr Doukas of Mytilene (April 24, 1564) was 'astonished' at the 'culpable conduct from' a 'high-ranking' Hagarene woman. According to his martyrdom, the unnamed woman who 'attempted to subvert him with demonically suggestive and amorous words,' had suggested that he come to her house while her husband was away at war.<sup>45</sup> Doukas' refusal resulted in his martyrdom. One other late example is the neo-martyr John of Wallachia (May 12, 1662), who was unjustly imprisoned as a youth. A 'soldier of the Hagarenes' bought him to try 'to seduce him.' John killed the soldier and was then captured and given to the soldier's wife. According to his martyrdom, the wife 'used deceptive methods to win him over, promising him that if he became a Moslem she would make him her husband.' John did not fall for the trap, and he made the sign of the cross, after which 'the new "Delilah" ... surrendered him to the prefect who confined him to jail.'<sup>46</sup>

Returning to the earlier literature, the *Martyrdom of Michael of Mar Sabas* is no longer extant in Arabic, though its critics are convinced it was originally drafted in Arabic,<sup>47</sup> and certainly it had enough currency to be an influence on Arab Christian literature throughout the Mediterranean. While it is likely that the tradition of St. Michael was transported into Egypt between the time of its composition—sometime in the mid-ninth century—and the composition of *J.Phan.* (1211), there

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* p. 154 (§8).

<sup>45</sup> Leonidas J. Papadopoulos, Georgia Lizardos, *et.al.*, trans., *New Martyrs of the Turkish Yoke* (Seattle: St. Nectarios Press, 1985), p. 166. The text labels her the "new Egyptian temptress" (Potiphar's wife),<sup>3</sup> but it clearly resembles the circumstances of David and Bathsheba.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 182.

<sup>47</sup> See Sidney H. Griffith, 'Christians, Muslims, and Neo-Martyrs: Saints' Lives and Holy Land History,' in *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First-Fifteenth Centuries CE*, ed. Arieh Kofsky and Guy G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1998): 163–207. p. 171. See also Blanchard, *op.cit.*, pp. 159–163.

are certain other Arabic Christian sources, produced closer to the seat of Coptic orthodoxy, that share the seduction-conversion topos.

One example appears in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn*, which is an *ex eventu* prophecy that predicts the conversion of many Egyptian Christians to Islam, as well as their disuse of the Coptic language.<sup>48</sup> Though it cannot be dated yet, there is little doubt that it was written before *Ḥ.Phan.*, and certainly its alleged narrator—ʿAnbā Ṣamawīl—is a character whose fame extends back to the time of the Roman emperor Heraclius (r. c. 610–641).<sup>49</sup> As with *Ḥ.Phan.*, the apocalypse describes conversion as a process of assimilation to Islam as *ethnos* or *ʿummah*, rather than a religion with a systematized theology or *kalām*. The incentive for conversion is the moral license patterned in the behavior of Muslims, particularly in sexual relations. The text claims that after the conquests,

their reign will become far-reaching [*yuʿallū mulkuhum*] and for a short time they will dwell in peace with the Christians [*yuqīmū zamān(an) qalīl(an) bi-salāmatin maʿa l-naṣāra*]. After that, the Christians will become envious of them because of their practices [*yahsuduhumu l-naṣāra ʿala ʿaʿmālihim*].

The text then lists the immoral behaviors of the so-called *Hagarene* nation, whom the Christians will imitate:

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<sup>48</sup> The most current edition is by J. Ziadeh, ed., trans., 'L'Apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de deir-el-Qalamoun,' *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 20 (1915–1917): 374–404. There is recent growth in literature on Arab Christian apocalypses written in the Islamic milieu, being spearheaded by the works of Jos van Lent. His dissertation will compare and translate many of the unedited or untranslated apocalypses; see Jos van Lent, 'Les apocalypses coptes de l'époque arabe. Quelques réflexions,' in *Études coptes 5, Sixième journée d'études, Limoges 18–20 juin 1993, Septième journée d'études, Neuchâtel, 18–20 mai 1995, Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte 10*, ed. M. Rassart-Debergh (Paris and Louvain, 1998): 181–195; *idem.*, 'An Unedited Copto-Arabic Apocalypse of Shenute from the Fourteenth Century: Prophecy and History,' in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses Münster, 20–26 Juli 1996*, v. 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999): 155–168; *idem.*, 'The Nineteen Muslim Kings in Coptic Apocalypses,' *Parole de l'Orient* 25 (2000): 643–693.

<sup>49</sup> Samuel's biography is preserved in Coptic (Sahidic), Arabic, and Ethiopic. Anthony Alcock, ed., trans., *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter* (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 1983); F.M. Esteves Pereira, ed., trans., *Vida do Abba Samuel do mosteiro do Kalamon* (Lisbon, 1894); and Anthony Alcock, ed., trans., 'The Arabic Life of Anbā Samawīl of Qalamūn I,' *Le Muséon* 109 (1996): 321–345, *idem.*, 'The Arabic Life of Anbā Samawīl of Qalamūn II,' *Le Muséon* 111 (1998): 377–404. For a discussion of the dating of the apocalypse, see Jason R. Zaborowski, 'Egyptian Christians Implicating Chalcedonians in the Arab Takeover of Egypt: The Arabic Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn,' *Oriens Christianus* 87 (2003): 100–115.

they will eat and they will drink with them; they will play like them [*yal'abū mithlahum*]; they will revel and commit adultery like them [*yazinūna*]; they will acquire concubines like them [*yattakhidhū lahum al-sarānī*]; they will pollute their bodies with the polluted, transgressive Hagarene women [*yunajjisū ajsādahum ma'a nisa'i l-hajarati l-mukhālīfāti l-najasāti*]; they will have sex with men like them [*yudāji'ū l-dhukūra*]; and they will steal and curse like them.<sup>50</sup>

According to the apocalypse, all this moral adaptation would erode the traditions of the church until people would abandon (*yatruku*) their Coptic tongue and speak Arabic with pride, 'so that they would not know at all [*la ya'rifū al-battata*] that they are Christians.'<sup>51</sup>

It is this process of forgetting<sup>52</sup> and disengagement from the tradition, through immoral habituation, that also characterizes conversion in *J.Phan.* Once the narrative reaches the point of John's re-conversion to Christianity, the martyrdom's literary form itself assumes the pattern of a series of jolts, wherein John is always on the verge of escaping the rut in which his habituation has put him. Three pages of manuscript, and four major narrative divisions elapse between the time he leaves the sinful life of Old Cairo and the point at which he begins petitioning the king for public conversion. In that liminal segment of text, the narrative oscillates between his determination to be a martyr, and his inability to act. Soon after leaving Old Cairo, John lived in a village 'while his *mind* [ΠΕΦΝΟΥΣ] was straightened out with Christ [ΕΦΚΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΜΠΧΣ], yearning throughout the night and day for Christ to fulfill his *requests so that* through death, he might die manifestly [ΨΕΝΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ] for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.'<sup>53</sup> He spent years there in 'vigils and *fasts*' (ΖΑΝΩΡΩΙΣ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΝΗΚΤΙΑ),<sup>54</sup> but nothing was resolved. According to the text, the years spent in 'grief increased all the more' until, for a second time, 'he came to his senses [ΑΠΕΦΖΗΤ Ι ΝΑΔ] and he awakened from the unconsciousness of his forgetfulness [ΑΦΝΕΖΣΙ ΕΒΟΛΨΕΝ ΠΙΣΡΟΜ ΝΤΕΤΕΦΕΒΨΙ] and his *carelessness*

<sup>50</sup> References to the *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn* follow the Bibliotheque Nationale Arabic MS 150: the source of Ziadeh's edition. Numbers refer to the MS foliation (noted in Ziadeh's ed.) and line numbers. My trans. *Apoc. Sam.*, f. 21<sup>r</sup>, l.13–18.

<sup>51</sup> *Apoc. Sam.*, f. 22<sup>v</sup>, l.18, 19.

<sup>52</sup> See *Apoc. Sam.*, f. 22<sup>v</sup>, l.5–11, where the text discusses the forgetting (*yansū*) of martyrdoms and other traditions passed through reading: 'many people will not know what is read ... because they have forgotten the language.'

<sup>53</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.24–29 (§37).

<sup>54</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.33, 34 (§38).

[περξιναμελες].<sup>55</sup> This process eventually leads him to Abū Shākir, but the text's depiction of John's re-conversion in terms of arousal from a state of lethargy, or unconsciousness, reinforces a common Arab Christian conception of conversion as a moral lapse.

*Countering the Trend of Apostasy in the History of the Patriarchs*

Interpreted as a moral lapse, apostasy is comprehensible, and therefore ideologically controllable. From the time of the Arab conquests, martyrdoms, apocalypses, and other hagiographic writings like *J.Phan.* have functioned for Christian communities as apologetics for conversion in the face of subjugation. Sometimes these hagiographies have incorporated more or less intricate theological disputes through the genre of court debates, a variation of which is seen in Michael of Mar Sabas' confrontation with 'Abd al-Malik. This genre appears in Muslim and Jewish literature as well, and the three perspectives these texts bring to the historical institution of the *majlis* offer us the best examples of interreligious *dialogues* that at least intend to address the arguments of the Other.<sup>56</sup> These court debates flourished in medieval Egypt, as is attested even by some Jewish accounts in the Geniza documents.<sup>57</sup> Coptic hagiographers have also appropriated the confrontations that took place in these historical *majālis* institutions, in the course of reacting to conversion and conflict in general. But on the whole, authentic debate (*al-jadal*) is incompatible with the intent of Coptic hagiographic literature on conversions. In the process of rendering authentic debate useful for undermining the dominant religious ideology in Egypt, these texts have deflated theological disputes and settled all conflicts with arguments that appeal almost exclusively to the morality or holy texts of the in-group. Such is the case with the *disputatio* between John of Phanijoit and al-Malik al-Kāmil (which I address below). This moralizing and idealizing is not surprising, nor is it unique to religious writings in

<sup>55</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>v</sup>, l.5–9 (§39, 40).

<sup>56</sup> For a fine collection of essays on the *mujādala l-majlis*, see Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Mark R. Cohen, Sasson Somekh, and Sidney H. Griffith, eds., *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

<sup>57</sup> See Mark R. Cohen and Sasson Somekh, 'Interreligious Majālis in Early Fatimid Egypt,' in *The Majlis, op.cit.*, pp. 128–136.

Egypt, but it causes special problems for deciphering Egyptian Christian history because it is the rhetorical formula of the bulk of Coptic Christian literature.

A look through the highly-redacted *Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (AHPA)* shows a clear example of how presumably authentic debates can be theologically deflated,<sup>58</sup> and how waves of conversions can be ideologically disarmed. The *AHPA*, which is still without index and poorly understood,<sup>59</sup> is indispensable for studying Coptic history. It is the common text linking Byzantine and post-conquest Egyptian Christianity. The problem is extracting an authentic history from the layers of hagiographic and dogmatic glosses that have accumulated in it over the course of several centuries, two languages (Coptic and Arabic), and many redactors. One line of inquiry that could refine our view of the overall character of the composition would be an analysis of its references to conversion, which are scattered throughout. The *AHPA* mentions waves of conversions to Islam, sometimes in passing,

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<sup>58</sup> For example, see the miracle of the moving of the Muqattam hill, described in *AHPA* and the *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* in a way that alludes to the *majlis* of al-Mu'izz (r. 952–975) but with an emphasis on the miraculous moving of the hill, and omission of any of the theological debate. All the characters in the anecdote are attested in Coptic, Muslim, and Jewish sources, but the extent of the apologetic (in the Coptic rendition) is limited to biblical quotes and the dramatic miracle. For discussions of this miracle, see Johannes den Heijer, 'Apologetic Elements in Coptic-Arabic Historiography: The Life of Afrahām ibn Zur'ah, 62nd Patriarch of Alexandria,' in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period (750–1258)*, ed. Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994): 192–202; and Cohen and Somekh, 'Interreligious Majālis,' *op.cit.*

<sup>59</sup> The *AHPA* was long thought to be a work of the Coptic theologian Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffā' (c. 905–987), but Johannes den Heijer has built upon the scepticism of David W. Johnson to show that its primitive version was actually finally redacted by an Alexandrian deacon named Mawhūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrij (c. 1025–1100). There is an extensive literature surrounding its authorship and literary style, though den Heijer's comments in 1991 still apply today: 'An evaluation of the historiographical methods and attitudes is also still a desideratum.' In 1992 he announced his work on a 'new critical edition of the primitive ... recension of this text,' and in 1996 he wrote that Prof. R.G. Coquin and Dr. L. Atiya were collaborating in the effort. See Johannes den Heijer, 'Coptic Historiography in the Fātimid, Ayyūbid and Early Mamlūk Periods,' *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 67–98, p. 70, note 10; *idem*, 'History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,' in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, ed. Aziz S. Atiya (New York: Macmillan, 1991): 1238–1242, p. 1241; *idem*, 'The Composition of the *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*: Some Preliminary Remarks,' in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12–15 August, 1992*, ed. David W. Johnson (Rome: International Association for Coptic Studies, 1993): 209–219, p. 209; and David W. Johnson, 'Further Remarks on the Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,' *Oriens Christianus* 61 (1977): 103–116. The *AHPA* is further discussed in my Chapter Four on historical issues.

and at other points with more detail. Even in the shortest mention of a conversion the reason is either coercion, trickery, or enticement—reasons that resonate with the account in *J.Phan*.

One of the most common reasons for conversion found in the *AHPA* is to avoid the poll tax (*al-jizyah*) or other economic burdens imposed on non-Muslims.<sup>60</sup> As a form of coercion there is still uncertainty whether many governments intended to use hikes in the *jizyah* to press conversions. As Dennett has observed, the sources indicate that Arab governments in Egypt seem ‘neither to have desired nor to have encouraged [conversion], and indeed probably opposed it.’<sup>61</sup> Whether intended or not, the *jizyah* seems to have been a factor in conversions,<sup>62</sup> and in the *AHPA* the *jizyah* at least serves an ideological purpose for explaining conversions that must have been occurring. Had waves of conversions not been occurring, the chroniclers of the *AHPA* would not have motive to mention such large numbers as twenty-four thousand, in the mid-eighth century, ‘who have converted to the religion of Islam [*man intaqala ’ila dīni l-’islāmī*].’ In this instance, the *AHPA* blames Satan for inciting an ‘unbelieving’ (*kāfir*) governor to decree that ‘each one who abandoned his religion [*yatakhkhalī ’an dīnihi*] and became a Muslim would no longer be assessed the *jizyah*.’<sup>63</sup> In another account from

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<sup>60</sup> Dennett’s book on the poll tax is still worth reading for dealing with both Islamic and Christian sources. Daniel C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), esp. ch. five for Egypt. See also Ira M. Lapidus, ‘The Conversion of Egypt to Islam,’ *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 248–262. And Robert Schick explores (although briefly) the many references to taxation in Arab Christian apocalypses: Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995), pp. 167–170.

<sup>61</sup> Dennett, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>62</sup> Michael Morony interprets Dennett as having ‘convincingly eliminat[ed] the desire to escape the poll tax as a motive for early mass conversions,’ while Georges Anawati concludes from Dennett that ‘since the decrees of ‘Umar there existed for a Christian whose faith was shaky a strong temptation to embrace Islam; and many did not fail to take this step.’ Their somewhat disparate views of Dennett’s results reflect Dennett’s strong case for the powerful burden represented by the *jizyah*, coupled with no strong evidence (‘all [evidence] of a negative character’ [Dennett, *op.cit.*, 87]) for mass conversions because of it. Certainly evading the *jizyah* was not automatically the great financial incentive it appears on the surface. I deal with the historical phenomenon of conversion more in Chapter Four. See Michael G. Morony, ‘The Age of Conversions: A Reassessment,’ in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi, *Papers in Medieval Studies* 9 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990): 135–150, p. 136. And, see Georges C. Anawati, *op.cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>63</sup> B. Evetts, ed., trans., ‘History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexan-

the same time period, the same exemption from the *jizyah* is promoted by a Prince ‘Abd Allah. Again, the *AHPA* states: ‘from the magnitude of the extortions and burdens upon them [*min ‘azmi l-kharāji wa l-kulafi ‘alayhim*], many of the rich and the poor denied [*‘ankara*] the religion of Christ [*dīna l-masīhi*].’<sup>64</sup> Though these accounts and others involving economic incentives require careful historical analysis,<sup>65</sup> the categorical dismissal of the authenticity of large-scale apostasy serves a purpose—de facto—of ideological incorporation of the *reality* of conversion, without legitimizing it. This is not to suggest the *jizyah* did not provide motive to convert, rather, it is to argue that at least the excuse of the *jizyah* as coercion is a convenient rhetorical tool for the *AHPA* to normalize apostasy, make it comprehensible, and disarm it as a valid choice for the in-group.

In a time more contemporaneous with *J.Phan.*, the *AHPA* records a conversion that sheds light on the seduction topos of *J.Phan.* by giving a direct warning against the dangers of fornication. The story is of a bishop around the year 638/1240 who had ‘abandoned the obligations [*kharaja ‘an al-wājibi*] and fell in the sin of fornication [*waqa‘a fi khatīyyati l-zinā*].’<sup>66</sup> The bishop, named Ibn al-Sandūbī, was caught by a deacon whom he had previously interdicted (*mana‘ahu*), and who was spying on the bishop ever since. One day the deacon witnessed ‘the sinful woman pass by him [*‘abarat ‘ilayhi al-mar’atu l-khāṭiyyatu*] and she was a Muslim.’ He reported this to the governor, who sent two witnesses to apprehend the bishop and woman. The bishop was ‘beaten so severely that he departed from the faith [*‘ila l-khurūji ‘an al-madhhabi*].’<sup>67</sup> The story is followed by this advice:

And these grave sins have these results [*hadhihi al-kabā’ir hadhihi natā’ijuhā*] because he became alienated from Christ completely. He withdraws his

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dria (Agathon to Michael I),’ *Patrologia Orientalis* 5 (1910): 3–215, pp. 115–117. Quotes are from pp. 116, 117; my trans.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190. My trans. In this context *kharāj* is not referring to the land tax, which Christians had to pay in Egypt.

<sup>65</sup> For example, see Yassā ‘abd al-Masīh and O.H.E. Burmester, eds., trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church by Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa’*, vol. II, part 1 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1943), pp. 6, 8, 38, and 39; and Arabic ed., pp. 3–5, and 26–28.

<sup>66</sup> Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, eds., trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church*, vol IV, part 2 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1974): p. 223, and Arabic ed., p. 108. My trans., unless otherwise stated.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*



assistance from the one committing them [*rākibihā*], and they fall in these difficult traps [*fayaqa'ūna fī hadhihi al-fikhākhi al-ṣa'batī*]. So we ask God the exalted to protect us from things of this sort [*yakfīnā 'amrahā*] and not withdraw his assistance [*ma'ūnatihi*], for we have nothing besides it.<sup>68</sup>

This explanation expresses the theological problem of grace and will in avoiding sin, and moreover offers another instance of the 'trap' (*al-fakhkh*) analogy. Apparently, devotion to the 'obligations' (*al-wājib*), and petitioning for assistance (*al-ma'ūnah*) are the only defense against falling into sin, and these are what the bishop (and John of Phanijoit) neglected in his 'falling into' (*waqa'a*) fornication. The reason for the bishop's conversion to Islam begins with the moral failure of fornication and ends with his inability to remain steadfast under a beating that would be a typical warm-up for a martyr. Moral fortitude, rather than theological answers is the ideal operative in this type of apologetic, a type that is familiar both in Christian and Muslim depictions of the Other.<sup>69</sup>

### *The Depiction of Islam as ethnos or Ummah*

Thus far the argument of this chapter has shown that a dominant characteristic of some Arab Christian apologetics against conversion has been to depict cases of apostasy in moralistic terms, with little reference to theology or authentic *dialogue*. Undoubtedly many conversions resembling that of John of Phanijoit may be adequately explained by moral choices or habituation. As Demetrios Constantelos argues, on the evidence of neo-martyrdoms in and around Asia Minor, 'conversion on theological and intellectual bases must have been rather

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224 (Ar. p. 108).

<sup>69</sup> The moral apologetic against Muslims appears in other Christian martyr literature. For comparative purposes, see David H. Vila's analysis of the martyrdoms of 'Abd al-Masīh and Anthony al-Qurayshi in David H. Vila, 'Christian Martyrs,' *op.cit.*, p. 147ff. For other comments on the moral critique of Muslims in the *Martyrdom of 'Abd al-Masīh*, see Mark N. Swanson, 'The Martyrdom of 'Abd al-Masīh, Superior of Mount Sinai (Qays al-Ghassānī),' in *Syrian Christians under Islam*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 121, 122. For an example of an Islamic critique of Christian morality, particularly with regards to sexual licentiousness and deceit, see Gabriel Said Reynolds's analysis of 'Abd al-Jabbār in Gabriel Said Reynolds, 'A New Source for Church History? Eastern Christianity in 'Abd al-Jabbār's (415/1025) *Confirmation*,' *Oriens Christianus* 86 (2002): 47–68, esp. pp. 60–62.

rare.<sup>70</sup> However, the underlying assumption of the moral explanations for conversion is that the Other is immoral. This assumption is part and parcel of the wife-of-Potiphar type in the *Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaité*, the ‘sinful woman’ in the story of Bishop Ibn al-Sandūbī, and the unnamed ‘Saracen woman’ in *J.Phan.* To raise this moral critique, *J.Phan.* characterizes Muslims in ethnic terms linked to a culture of alleged immorality, rather than in religious terms that locate their identity in dogma or theological tenets. Instead of labeling Muslims *qua* heretics or theologically errant, the text of *J.Phan.* conceives of John’s mission as making a statement to adulterers and sinners—the morally corrupt. His mission is to publicly expose the immorality of Islam through a speech act:

And as for those of us who read for ourselves from the Holy *Gospel*, this one obeyed it *well* [ΦΑΙ ΛΑΦΟΘΗΕC ΠΚΑΛΩC] and *rightly* brought it to fulfillment [ΛΑΦΧΟΚC ΕΒΟΛ]: ‘That one who is ashamed to declare me and my words to adulterers (and) sinners [ΠΝΩΙΚ ΠΡΕΦΕΡΝΟΒΙ], the Son of Man himself will be ashamed of him *when* He comes in the glory of his Father with his holy *angels*.<sup>71</sup>

This speech act is embedded in the hidden transcript of the non-Arabic martyrdom itself.

Hany Takla has catalogued some remarks found in *J.Phan.* that he considers evidence for why its author wanted to keep the text masked in Coptic, hidden from Muslim authorities. According to Takla, the moral qualifiers ‘adulterous,’ ‘sinners,’ ‘liars,’ and ‘evil,’ applied to, or inferred about, Muslims throughout the text, would make it ‘suicidal if the text were to be read publicly in churches.’<sup>72</sup> While perhaps the reading of the text would not be suicidal, Takla’s argument is persuasive given the proximity of the writing of the text—within a year—to the events it purports to recount.<sup>73</sup> Abū Shākir (d. 1216) and al-Malik al-

<sup>70</sup> Demetrios J. Constantelos, ‘The “Neomartyrs” as Evidence for Methods and Motives Leading to Conversion and Martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire,’ *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978): 216–234, p. 219. At the end of his article, Constantelos categorizes Greek neo-martyrdoms by the types of circumstances that lead to the martyrs’ executions. By far, the most common single reason for execution of the martyrs is ‘apostacy (sic) from Christianity to Islam and return to Christianity.’ (p. 233).

<sup>71</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 42<sup>r</sup>, l.23–31 (§25). The quote very closely resembles the extant Bohairic NT for Mark 8<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Takla, ‘The Thirteenth-Century Coptic (?) Martyrdom,’ *op.cit.*, p. 206. See my note 8.

<sup>73</sup> See *J.Phan.*, f. 54<sup>v</sup>, l.31 – f. 55<sup>r</sup>, l.2 (§130).

Kāmil (r. 1218–1238)<sup>74</sup> were still active at this time, and the comments of Abū Shākir in *J.Phan.* at least seem to compromise his allegiance to the sultān. Thus the text is a hidden transcript, promoting group cohesion for a subjugated community.

As an expression of self-identity, that transcript reinforces ‘a strong “us vs. them” imagery’ that depicts Islam as an antithesis to Christianity.<sup>75</sup> *J.Phan.* refers to Muslims by means of the ethnic identifiers such as ‘Arabs,’ ‘Saracens,’ ‘Hagarenes,’ and ‘Ishmaelites.’ Ethnic identifiers facilitate the definition of conversion as a process of acculturation. Ethnic identifiers discredit the public transcript, which would at least pay token respect to some of the theological challenges posed by Islam. John’s downfall was a result of ‘mixing’ (ⲁϢⲘⲟϥⲱⲧ) with the ‘Ishmaelite Islamic people.’<sup>76</sup> At one point, the text mentions the conversion of a Roman (*i.e.*, Byzantine) to Islam, using the same language of acculturation:

and ⟨as for⟩ this Philim [John’s executioner], a *Roman*, he *betrayed the traditions* of his fathers [ⲐϢⲮⲟⲙⲏ ⲛⲓⲮⲟⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲁϢⲈⲮⲘⲁⲮⲀⲚⲈⲒⲒⲒⲒ ⲛⲏⲒⲓⲛⲁⲔⲁⲔⲟⲥⲒⲥ ⲛⲧⲈ ⲛⲈϢⲒⲟⲧ], and mixed [ⲁϢⲘⲟϥⲱⲧ] with the *Saracens*, and joined them in faith.<sup>77</sup>

In this description, conversion is a loss, renunciation, or anti-type of the authentic tradition. The term ‘mixing’ also implies impurity.

Besides rendering the process of conversion impure and inauthentic, the ethnic identifiers used in *J.Phan.* are predominantly negative, linking Muslims to an illegitimate genealogy. To my knowledge there has been no study of the semantic extensions of the terms ‘Saracen,’ ‘Hagarene,’ or ‘Ishmaelite’ in Coptic literature. As Lamoreaux has summarized, pre-Islamic Greek, Roman, and Byzantine uses of the various terms for ‘Arabs’ had primarily negative, and barbaric connotations.<sup>78</sup> Early post-conquest chroniclers carried these terms forward, in ways so consistently contrary to the self-definition of early Islamic historians, that they inspired Crone and Cook’s theory that dismisses the traditional Islamic historiography of the rise of Islam. Although their theory is narrowly

<sup>74</sup> Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil died in 1218, but al-Malik al-Kāmil ruled in Egypt while al-ʿĀdil fought against the Crusaders. My Chapter Four deals with this chronological issue.

<sup>75</sup> See James C. Scott, *Domination, op.cit.*, p.135.

<sup>76</sup> See my notes, 13 and 14.

<sup>77</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.4–8 (§98).

<sup>78</sup> John C. Lamoreaux, ‘Early Eastern Christian Responses to Islam,’ in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam, A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996): 3–31, pp. 9–11.

conceived on the authority of evidence outside of Islam, Crone and Cook's study of *Hagarism* does demonstrate the ubiquity, in Christian and Jewish literature, of genealogically-based epithets for Arabs and Muslims.<sup>79</sup> The exact meaning of Saracen (САРАКИНН) for Copts of the thirteenth century probably has no relation to the word's etymology,<sup>80</sup> yet the text of *J.Phan.* extends the meanings of all the ethnic terms—'Arab,' 'Hagarene,' and 'Ishmaelite'—in negative directions. This phenomenon coincides perfectly with European ethnic characterizations of Islam.<sup>81</sup> It was, after all, the 'Ishmaelite Islamic *people*' who are, by apposition, equated with the '*fornicators* and adulterers' amongst whom John becomes corrupted, and among whom he is called by gospel injunction to carry out his speech act. Being immoral, their *ethnos* is also an anti-type of Christianity, as they are called 'God-Christ-hating Arab *people*.'

### *Some Conclusions*

Apostasy poses a most serious threat to the existence of a subordinate religious group such as the Copts in Ayyūbid Egypt. The Copts' discourses respond to this threat by entrenching themselves in hagiographic apologetics such as *J.Phan.* *J.Phan.* itself demonstrates that conversion to Islam was somewhat of a trend in the early thirteenth century. After John fell into sin, the text mentions a village where other apostates would seek refuge:

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<sup>79</sup> Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Their student, Robert Hoyland, has more patiently explored and expanded the rich bibliography Crone and Cook assembled, to show the complexity of non-Muslim responses to the Arab conquest. See Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997). See esp. ch. 14, and pp. 592–597 for a discussion of methodological issues in relation to the work of Crone and Cook.

<sup>80</sup> See Irfan Shahīd, *Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), chapter 9; and especially, David F. Graf and M. O'Connor, 'The Origin of the Term Saracen and the Rawwāfā Inscriptions,' *Byzantine Studies* 4 (1977): 52–66.

<sup>81</sup> See Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 113–146; for Cohen's treatment of sexual stereotypes associated with Saracens, see esp. p. 125. See also Michael Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster: Twelfth-Century Responses to Saracen Alterity,' in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 264–291.

many men from his village were blaspheming, they became Muslims [ΕΥΧΕΟῩΑ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΛΑΖΜΙ], and repented because of their blasphemy [ΑΥΨΩΜ Ν̄ΖΘΗΟῩ<sup>82</sup> Ε̄ΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΕΟῩΑ]. These ones went to a village south of them whose name is Pepleu [ΠΕΠΛΕΥ]. For its *governor*, who loved every one of the Christians [Ν̄ΝΙΧΡΗCΤῙΑΝΟC ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ] who lived in his village, would guard him [John?] from all violence. *But especially* the Christians who blasphemed he would restore to their faith [ϸΝΑΤΑCΘΩΟῩ Ε̄ΠΟΥΝΑΖ†], and he would forgive no one who would do evil to them [Ν̄ΝΕϸΑ ΖΙ Ε̄ΕΡΡΕΤΖΩΟῩ ΝΩΟῩ ΑΝ].<sup>83</sup>

Whether the information about this governor would be compromising if it were made known to Muslim authorities (*i.e.*, through an Arabic text) is debatable.<sup>84</sup> Either way, the lesson being taught is tolerance and restoration for the penitent. Because apostasy is such a taboo to the subjugated community, there is always the danger of reprisal from Christians toward the convert to Islam for his betrayal.<sup>85</sup> *J.Phan.* comprises a transcript against such reprisal by explicitly stating that the governor loved ‘every one’ (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ) of the Christians, and that he would protect them from harm. One has to wonder whether the text is referring not only to the obvious hazard of Muslims seeking to stop re-conversions back to Christianity, but also to the defamation and shunning that could be expected from other Christians towards converts to Islam. Certainly the broad maxim of the governor’s intolerance of evil would cover both possibilities.

The transcript of *J.Phan.* is one of perseverance and restoration for a community that is ‘troubled and heavy with their burdens’ (ΕΤΨΟC ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΖΟΨ ΨΕΝΝΟΥΕΤΦΩΟῩ),<sup>86</sup> over and against an Islamic Other. Near the end of the martyrdom, the author prays to martyr Saint John in a somber tone, ‘*But* I am not alone, O beloved John, rather (I am) with the rest of the Christians, *especially* the people of the land of Egypt who abide in the distress of which you know [ΕΤΨΟΠ ΨΕΝ ΠΙΖΟΧΖΕΧ ΕΤΕΚΩΟῩΝ Η̄ΜΟϸ].’<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> An unattested form of ΟΥΨΩΜ Ν̄ΖΗΤ, see Crum, 478b.

<sup>83</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.8–20 (§35, 36).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Takla, *op.cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>85</sup> See Scott, *Domination, op.cit.*, esp. pp. 128–135 for analysis of group cohesion in dominated societal classes.

<sup>86</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>r</sup>, l.29,30 (§5). This is from the introductory exhortation, quoting Matthew 11<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 55<sup>v</sup>, l.3–7 (§133).

In the process of privately characterizing Islam as immoral and offering the possibility of redemption for Christian apostates, the text also promotes a public transcript, a challenge to the dominant Islamic ideology, through the speech act of John: ‘I am a Christian. *Lawlessness* deceived me [ἄσερζαλ ἴμοι ἴχε ἴἄνομιά] so that I denied my faith [ψαντα μεθνογυχ επαναζῆ] and rejected my Lord Jesus Christ ... I am a polluted man [ἄνοκ ογρῶμι εἰβάηεμ]. Purify me [ματογβοι εἴβολ] with your sword.’<sup>88</sup> The account of John’s martyrdom thereby challenges the prevailing ideology in a number of ways. First, the text presents the king with two choices, either of which authenticates John’s Christianity in the eyes of its audience. Either the king allows him to re-convert to Christianity publicly (and tacitly accept that Islam, and John’s conversion to Islam, are lies), or he punishes him for his sin (*i.e.*, converting to Islam in the first place). In historical terms, such a tactic as John’s challenge to the ruler is plausible, since Islamic authorities would be pressured to punish John if he made a public display of his re-conversion.

Second, John’s request functions as an inversion of the ruling ideology.<sup>89</sup> By offering the king a choice, John is issuing the decree and the authorities are carrying it out. Throughout John’s *disputatio* scenes before al-Malik al-Kāmil, the king petitions him with bribes of wealth and status to simply ‘become a Muslim in their presence’ (εραμιθις ἴπογμῶο), after which he would be allowed to privately ‘be a Christian as you will [ψῶπι ἴχρηστιἄλνος πετεζνακ].’<sup>90</sup> In an inversion of roles, John silently refuses to respond to al-Malik al-Kāmil, as if the king were beseeching him. Furthermore, the text exposes the false ideology of the public transcript, which forbids reconversions to Christianity. Al-Malik al-Kāmil’s proffer that John could continue being a Christian privately proves (to the text’s audience) that the public transcript can only be sustained through complicity. Incidentally, al-Malik al-Kāmil’s proffer may not have seemed a compromise in the eyes of Muslims, who would have been familiar with the Islamic juridical concept of *taqiyyah*, or ‘dissembling of one’s religion’ while under duress. Especially Shī‘ah Muslims—who played a more active role in the Fāṭimid administra-

<sup>88</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.29–31 (§63), and f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.4,5 (§64).

<sup>89</sup> See Scott, *Domination, op.cit.*, pp. 166–182, for his arguments on symbolic inversion, and rites of inversion.

<sup>90</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 49<sup>r</sup>, l.10–13 (§76).

tion of Egypt just prior to the Ayyūbids—have been known to permit *taqiyyah* in threatening situations.<sup>91</sup> As al-Ṭabarī comments on Sūrah XVI:108 (106):

And as for whoever is compelled to speak it [blasphemy] with his tongue—though his heart contradicts it in faith—in order to thereby escape his enemies, there is no objection against him because God (praise him!) only takes the servants as their hearts believe [*allāhu subhānahu ʾinnamā yākhudhu al-ʾibāda bi-mā ʾaqadat ʾalayhi qulūbuhum*].<sup>92</sup>

Nonetheless, to the Coptic audience John's new role is further heightened when the text portrays his post-mortem visit to al-Malik al-Kāmil in the guise of a 'supreme military commander' (ΟΥΑΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΤΥΛΑΤΗΣ ΝΑΣΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ), ordering the king to remove his body from the post on which it was hung.<sup>93</sup> And finally, the sacrifice of John of Phanijoit is depicted as an expiatory act for his sins. If the martyrdom was available only in Coptic, Copts could use it on John's feast day (the occasion for the writing of the text) to express their 'backstage' views publicly without fear of prosecution. The text that celebrates John would thereby transfer expiation to its community through a 'highly public sacrificial liturgy,' in the spirit of early Christian martyrs, who can be seen as having 'oppos[ed] their sacrifices to the sacrifices of the local and universal cults of Rome.'<sup>94</sup> Thereby, the hidden transcript of *J.Phan.* appropriates the public execution into the Copts' own ideology as a religious rite, and redefines corporal punishment for a crime as sacrificial purification of John for his sin of converting to Islam.

<sup>91</sup> I am grateful to William A. Graham for his suggestion that *taqiyyah* could be the principle behind the purported proffer of al-Malik al-Kāmil. See Iradj Afshar, 'Taḳiyya,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, v. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 134–136. With regard to a somewhat similar context in the *Martyrdom of ʿAbd al-Masīh*, Mark Swanson has suggested its protagonist may have been practicing 'almost a kind of Christian *taqiyya*.' The protagonist, 'Abd al-Masīh, did not divulge his name when replying to his former (Muslim) associates who questioned him after his conversion to Christianity. See Mark N. Swanson, 'The Martyrdom of ʿAbd al-Masīh, Superior of Mount Sinai (Qays al-Ghassānī),' in *Syrian Christians under Islam*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 115.

<sup>92</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (Cairo, 1903 [1321A.H.]), vol. 14, p. 113.

<sup>93</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 54<sup>r</sup>, l.27,28 (§125).

<sup>94</sup> Robin Darling Young, *In Procession before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity*, The Père Marquette Lecture in Theology, 2001 (Milwaukee, MI: Marquette University Press, 2001), pp. 24 and 8 respectively.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF VATICANUS COPTICUS 69

Balestri and Hyvernat's edition of the manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* is largely reliable and free of errors.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the following re-edition and first English translation corrects their errors, revisits textual problems they tried to emend, raises new issues, and preserves the integrity of each line of the manuscript with a numbering system that reproduces the segmentation found in the manuscript. As the Introduction explains, portions of this manuscript have been edited and corrected twice since Amélineau's first attempt in 1887,<sup>2</sup> and this new edition is intended to bring the text to a higher level of refinement and accessibility for the Coptacist and non-specialist alike.

This edition reproduces the manuscript's peculiarities as closely as possible. Punctuation marks approximate ink strokes found in the manuscript, such as: 1) ‘,’ standing for the more faint marks that are very common between words, 2) ‘.’, ‘-’, and ‘.’ standing for the occasional scribal marks that they resemble, and 3) ‘⌘’ standing for the darker marks found at the end of narrative divisions (after which, when it appears at the end of the line, the MS always begins the next segment with a larger letter offset into the left margin). Each of these segments is numbered in this edition (e.g., [12]), and in the few cases where a new section is demarcated by the larger letter in the left margin, but lacks a heavy punctuation mark, I have supplied ‘(⌘)’ to indicate the break.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, eds., ‘Acta Martyrum II,’ in *CSCO* 86 (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1924).

<sup>2</sup> M.E. Amélineau, ‘Un document copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Martyre de Jean de Phanidjōit,’ *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1887): 113–190. See the corrections of P. de Larminat, ‘Révision du texte copte des “Lettres de Pierre Monge et d’Acace” et de la “Vie de Jean de Phanidjōit”,’ in *Atti del II<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Tenuto in Roma Nell’Aprile 1900: Dissertazioni Lette o Presentate e Resoconto di Tutte le Sedute* (Rome: Libreria Spithöver, 1902), pp. 337–352. Casanova makes further revisions of (and remarks about) Amélineau in Paul Casanova, ‘Notes sur un texte copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les noms coptes du Caire et localités voisines,’ in *BIFAO* 1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1901).



The scribe has the habits of justifying a line of text by adding one or two letters in superscript at the end of the line, and of writing the  $\Upsilon$  above the  $\circ$  in the combination  $\circ\Upsilon$ . These are kept in this edition through superscripting, and I have footnoted any places where the superscript is the correction of a later hand. I have used the braces  $\langle \rangle$  to enclose interpretive glosses added for clarification,  $\{ \}$  are placed around portions of the Coptic that are superfluous, and  $[ ]$  are used in the few cases where a word appears apocopated (e.g.,  $\circ\Upsilon\rho\omega$  = ‘m[an]’). Greek words are italicized. This edition indicates MS foliation, and provides flags marking the pagination of Balestri and Hyvernat’s edition in *CSCO* volume 86 (e.g., [C.86, 157]), which also serve as an easy key to Hyvernat’s Latin translation (that includes extensive indices).

Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot describe the manuscript in their catalog of Coptic codices in the Vatican Library.<sup>3</sup> Takla also comments on the manuscript’s characteristics, focusing on its marginal notes.<sup>4</sup> The text is easily readable, with only two instances of uncertainty marked by dots under the letters (f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.5, and f. 48<sup>v</sup>, l.33). The most challenging aspect of the text is its grammatical peculiarities which are marked in the footnotes where possible and commented on in Chapter Three. I have separated **NEM** from the elements it conjoins, and have kept it attached when it acts as a preposition (meaning ‘with’ or ‘through’), as with all prepositions. Finally, this edition joins together as one unit the participial construction **NH + ET**, widely used in this text.

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<sup>3</sup> Adulphus Hebbelynck and Arnoldus van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani, Tomus I, Codices Coptici Vaticani* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937), pp.515–523.

<sup>4</sup> See Hany Takla, ‘The Thirteenth-Century Coptic (?) Martyrdom of John of Phanidjoit, Reconsidered,’ in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, ed. Stephen Emmel *et al.* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999).

*Key*

- ⟨ ⟩ surrounds interpretive glosses added by Zaborowski
- [ ] characters completing apocopated words
- { } placed around superfluous Coptic characters found in the MS
- ⌘ punctuation found at the end of a segment (§)
- (⌘) usual punctuation is missing at the end of a segment (§)
- (25) numbering of a new segment (§), indicated in the MS by a larger letter offset into the left margin
- C.* CSCO 86, followed by page number
- f.* MS folio
- italics* Greek words are italicized

*Edition and Translation*

f. 40<sup>r</sup>  
C.86, 157

1 (1) †ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΝΤΕΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΠΙΜΑΡ  
 ΤΥΡΟΣ ΜΒΕΡΙ, ΠΙΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΦΑΝΝΙΧΩΙΤ<sup>1</sup>  
 ΗΕΝΤΧΩΡΑ ΜΠΟΥΨΙΝ<sup>✠</sup> ΕΤΑΨΧΟΚΣ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ν̄ΣΟΥΔ̄ Μ̄ΠΙΑΒΟΤ ΠΑΨΟΝΣ, ΗΕΝΠΕΖΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕ  
 5 ΗΕΝ†ΑΧΠΕ<sup>τε</sup> ΝΑΖΡΑΨ Μ̄ΠΟΥΡΟ ΕΛΧΕΜΗΛ ΠΨΗΡ'  
 Μ̄ΠΟΥΡΟ ΕΛΑΤΕΛ ΠΙΠΕΡΧΗΣ, ᾹΡΑΒΟΣ ΗΕΝΠΕΡΟ  
 ΝΟΣ Μ̄ΠΙΒΑΝ ΖΙΧΕΝΝΕΝΣΦΟΤΟΥ Μ̄ΦΙΔ̄ΡΟ ΝΤΕΧΗΜ'  
 ΗΕΝΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕΦ† Λ̄ΜΗΝ (✠)

*The Panegyric*

(2) ΣΩΤΕΜ Μ̄ΦΟΟΥ Ω̄ ΝΑΜΕΝΡΑ  
 10 † ΕΤΣΜΗ Μ̄ΠΙΕΡΟΦΑΛΤΗΣ ΔΑΥΙΔ,  
 ΕΨΕΡΦΑΛΙΝ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (3) ΧΕ ΘΟΥΪΝΑΜ Μ̄ΠΔ̄Σ ᾹΣΙΡΙ ΝΟΥΧΟΜ,  
 ΘΟΥΪΝΑΜ Μ̄ΠΔ̄Σ, ΠΕΤΑΣΒΑΣΤ,  
 ΘΟΥΪΝΑΜ Μ̄ΠΔ̄Σ, ᾹΣΙΡΙ ΝΟΥΧΟΜ,  
 15 Ν†ΝΑΜΟΥ ΑΝ ΧΕ, ΑΛΛΑ †ΝΑΨΝΗ,  
 ΟΥΟΖ Ν̄ΤΑΣΑΧΙ Ν̄ΝΙΖΒΗΟΥΪ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 ΠΔ̄Σ<sup>✠</sup> · ·  
 18 (4) ΗΕΝΟΥΣΒΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΨ†ΣΒΩ ΝΗΙ Ν̄ΧΕ

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

f. 40<sup>r</sup>  
C.86, 157

- 1 (1) The Martyrdom of *Saint* John the  
new *martyr*—the one from Phanijōit  
in the *district* of Poushin<sup>2</sup>—which he brought to fulfillment  
the fourth of the month Pashons,<sup>3</sup> on the fifth day ⟨Thursday⟩,  
5 in the sixth hour, before al-Malik al-Kāmil, son  
of al-Malik al-‘Ādil (the Arab Persian on the  
*throne* of Piban),<sup>4</sup> on our shores of Egypt’s<sup>5</sup> river.  
By peace of God *Amen*.

*The Panegyric*

- (2) Listen today, O my beloved ones,  
10 to the voice of the *Psalmist* David  
who *psalmodizes* with us saying,  
(3) ‘The right hand of the Lord did a great thing;  
the right hand of the Lord is what exalted me.  
The right hand of the Lord did a great thing,  
15 and I will no longer die. *But* I will live  
and utter the deeds of  
the Lord.  
18 (4) *For* in a teaching, the Lord taught me

<sup>2</sup> Phanijōit (ϫⲏⲛⲓⲟⲓⲧ) means ‘olive tree,’ *i.e.*, *al-zaytūn*. It is not clear where this particular Phanijōit is located. Amélineau naturally identified it as the town along the west side of the Nile, w.s.w. of Lake Fayyūm, in the district of al-Būsh (*i.e.*, ϫⲟⲩⲱⲛ). M.E. Amélineau, ‘Un document copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Martyre de Jean de Phanidjōit,’ *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1887): 113–190, pp. 117, 118. However, Hyvernat identified Phanijōit as the modern-day al-Zaytūn in the district of Wasīm (*i.e.*, ϫⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ), a suburb n.w. of Cairo on the west side of the Nile. One logical concern is the proximity of his home town to the events of the martyrdom. See Henricus Hyvernat, trans., ‘Acta Martyrum II,’ in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 125 (Louvain: Typographeo Linguarum Orientalium), p. 108, note 1. For a short discussion of Phanijōit in light of this text, see ‘Phanidjōit’ in Stefan Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1988), pp. 1915–1916. For a synopsis of references to the district of Poushin in Coptic literature (first attestation occurring in the thirteenth century), see ‘Būs’ in Stefan Timm, *Das christlich-koptische*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 455–457.

<sup>3</sup> The ninth month of the Coptic Calendar, April–May of the Julian calendar. This date corresponds to Thursday, April 29, 1210.

<sup>4</sup> See Paul Casanova, ‘Notes sur un texte copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les noms coptes du Caire et localités voisines,’ in *BIFAO* 1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1901), p. 158. Casanova considers ϫⲏⲃⲀⲚ to be a transliteration of the Arabic *‘iywān*, the court or ‘le siège de justice’ of al-‘Ādil’s palace.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout this text, the translation of ϫⲏⲛⲓ poses problems because the Arabic word it translates, *misr*, has overlapping uses: Cairo, Old Cairo (either Fustāt or the Roman garrison Babylon), or all of Egypt.

πῶς, οὐδὲ μὴ ἐφθιτὶ ἐτοτῆ ἔ

20 φμοῦ<sup>ⲥ</sup>

(5) ἀμῶνι τῆροῦ μῆφοῦ ᾧ νιπίστ<sup>ⲟ</sup>ς,

οὐδὲ νιψῆρι ἤτεπιβαπτισμα,

ἕνα ἤτεναι μῆπιναῖβει ἐτ

ῥολχ ἤτεπενσωτῆρ ἡγάθος,

25 οὐδὲ ἡλληθίνος ἡνοῦτ, ἐτωψ

ἔρον, ἕπιεγαγγελιον ἔθοῦαβ,

ἐφτ<sup>ⲥ</sup>βω ἡνιρεμῆζητ, ἐφχω ἡ

μοσ, χε ἀμῶνι ῥαροι, οὐδὲ νιβεν

ἐτῆοσι, οὐδὲ ἐτῥοψ ἕεννοῦετ

30 φωῦι, οὐδὲ ἀνοκ ἔνατῆτον

f. 40<sup>v</sup>

ἡωτεν ἕενοῦμετῥαιρωῦψ

ἡεμ οὐζητ ἐφσοῦτων, ἡαρεν

ῥαι μῆπιναῖβει ἔθαναεφ, ἤτε

πιναῖτ ἡπαγεννεος ἡτωχι ἡ

35 βερι ἔταρῥιρι ἔβολ ἕεννιαῦλη

οῦ, ἤτεπιμενριτ ἡῆ<sup>ⲥ</sup>

(6) ἡαιμεῦι ἔιωαννης, πιτωχι ἡβερι

38 ἔταρῥιρι ἔβολ ἕενναῖῆροῦ,

and he did not hand me over to  
20 death.<sup>6</sup>

(5) Come all today, O *believers*  
and sons of *baptism*  
*so that* we may bear the sweet  
yoke of our *good* and *true*  
25 divine *Savior* who called  
to us in the Holy *Gospel*,  
while teaching the wise men, saying  
'Come to me every one  
who is troubled and heavy  
30 with their burdens, and I will give you  
rest.'<sup>7</sup> With care  
and an upright heart, let us  
bear the good yoke<sup>7</sup> of  
the faith of this *noble* one, the new  
35 graft that blossomed<sup>8</sup> in the *sheepfolds*<sup>9</sup>  
of the True one, Jesus.  
(6) I am thinking of John, the new graft  
38 that blossomed in these days,

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<sup>6</sup> Psalm 117<sup>16-18</sup>. Citations from the Psalms are reckoned according to the Septuagint, as is common in the Coptic editions of the Psalms.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew 11<sup>28, 29, 30</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Also means 'come forth,' see f. 42<sup>r</sup>, l.16.

<sup>9</sup> Translated as 'court' in f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.6; and f. 50<sup>r</sup>, l.10. Here the agrarian metaphors lend themselves to the translation of **ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲁⲛ** as *sheepfolds* (in the way **ⲁⲗⲁⲛ** is used in John 10<sup>16</sup>).

- ἡφρητ̄ ἡογβω ἡκρινον<sup>⊛</sup>  
 40 (7) ἄληθως φαί πε πηλαῖ ἡεργατης  
 ἡτεταχπῖα, ἔταqῖ ἡενογῖης αq  
 δοχι ετρη, αqζωλεμ ἡπεqβεχε  
 ἡενογμετχωρι, ογοζ αqραψι νε  
 C.86, 158 μαq | ἡχεπδ̄ς, ἡπιδ̄ζι, νεμ ποικο  
 45 νομος, νεμ πιῆπιτροπος  
 εγσοπ (<sup>⊛</sup>)<sup>10</sup>  
 (8) νικεεργατης ζωου, αγωρεμ ἡς<sup>ω</sup>q  
 ἡενογδῖψωου, νεμ ουμει ἡ  
 πῖατικον<sup>⊛</sup>  
 50 (9) ἄληθως φαί πε πωηρι ἡτετμετ  
 ατσωτεμ, ἔταqῖ ἡτῖογσιῶ ἡτε  
 πεqῖωτ, ογοζ αqχωρ ἡμοq ἔβολ  
 νεμνιπορνος νεμ νιρεqερνο  
 βι, ογοζ αqερηαῖ, αqζκο ογοζ αq  
 55 ερρηκι, ἔαqηωντ ἡφμογ ογοζ  
 αqτασθ<sup>ο</sup> ζαπεqῖωτ αqωοπq ἔρ<sup>ο</sup>q  
 ἡενογραψι<sup>⊛</sup>  
 (10) φαί πε πιῆσωου ἔταqσωρεμ ἔβολ  
 ζιτοτq ἡπεqμανῆσωου, αqδο  
 60 χι ἡσωq ἡενογqρωουψ, ψαν  
 τεqχεμq, αqωοπq ἔροq ἡενογ  
 62 ραψι, νεμ ογογνοq<sup>⊛</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See the introduction to Chapter Two for an explanation of punctuation symbols.

just like a *lily*.<sup>11</sup>

40 (7) *Truly* this one is the last of the *laborers*  
of the eleventh hour, who came in haste,  
ran forward, seized his wage  
vigorously;<sup>12</sup> and the Lord of  
C.86, 158 the flock—at once the *administrator*  
45 and the *steward*—rejoiced  
with him.

(8) The other *workers* also stared after him  
in longing and *spiritual*  
love.

50 (9) *Truly* this one is the son of  
disobedience who took the *property* of  
his father and squandered it  
with *prostitutes* and sinners,  
and he was in want. He was hungry and he  
55 became poor, having come close to death.  
He returned to his father. He received him  
joyfully.<sup>13</sup>

(10) This one is the sheep who went astray  
from his sheepfold. He ran  
60 after him caringly until  
he found him. He received him with  
62 joy and gladness.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Allusions to imagery found in Job 14<sup>7-10</sup>, Psalm 127<sup>3</sup>, and Hosea 14<sup>6-8</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Matthew 20<sup>6,9</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Luke 15<sup>11-20</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Luke 15<sup>4-7</sup>, Matthew 18<sup>12-14</sup>.



- (11) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΗΒΕC ΕΤΕΡΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΗΕΝ  
 ΟΥΜΑ ΝΧΑΚΙ, ΨΑΝΤΕΠΕΡΟΥΩΙΝΙ  
 f. 41<sup>r</sup> 65 ΦΟΖ ΕΝΙΧΩΡΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (12) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΝΑΦΡΙ ΕΤΣΕΠΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝ  
 ΠΙCΜΑΖ ΑΓΤΟΥΤΑΖ, ΜΦΡΗΤ ΜΠCΕ  
 ΠΙ, ΝΤΒΩ ΝΑΛΟΧΙ ΤΗΡC<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (13) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙCΡΑΗΛΙΤΗC ΝΤΑΦΜΗ, Ε  
 70 ΤΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΔΟΛΟC ΝΗΗΤQ, ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑ  
 ΚΙΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΔΙΝΧΟΝC, ΚΑΤΑ ΠCΑ  
 ΧΙ ΜΠΟC<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (14) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΒΩΚ ΕΘΑΝΑΝΕQ, ΕΤΑQΤΑC  
 ΘΕ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΕΠΕΡQΟC, ΕQΚΗΒ ΝΖ Ν  
 75 CΟΠ, ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΝΝΗΕΤΕΝΟΥQ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (15) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΝΩΩΤ ΕΤΚΩΤ ΝCΑΠΙΑ  
 ΝΑΜΗ, ΨΑΝΤΕQΧΙΜΙ ΜΠΙΑ ΝΑΜΗ,  
 ΝΑΛΗΘΙΟΝ, ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥ  
 80 ΗΛ, ΠΙΩΝΙ ΕΤΟΝΗ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (16) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΘΩΖΕΜ ΝΚΑ<sup>οα</sup>ΡΙΩΤΗC, Ε  
 ΤΑQΕΡΦΟΡΙΝ ΝΤΖΕΒCΩ ΝΟΥΩΙΝΙ  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΤΩΛΕΒ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΤΑΔΝΙ,  
 ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΝΝΗΕΤΘΑΖΕΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 85 (17) ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΦΗΕΤΑQΕΡΩΟΡΠ ΝΖΕΜCΙ ΗΕΝ  
 ΠΙΑΡΙCΤΟΝ ΜΠΙΖΟΠ, ΕΘΒΕ ΧΕ ΑQΡΑ  
 ΝΑQ ΜΠΠΑΤΨΕΛΕΤ ΜΜΗ ΝΕΠΟΥ  
 88 ΡΑΝΙΟΝ, ΙΗC ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>

- (11) This one is ‘the lamp shining in a dark place’<sup>15</sup> until his light reaches all the *districts*.  
 f. 41<sup>r</sup> 65
- (12) This is the grape remaining from the bunch. He gave fruit similar to the rest of the entire grape vine.
- (13) This one is ‘the true Israelite in whom there is no *deceit*’<sup>16</sup> nor *darkness* nor iniquity according to the word of the Lord.  
 70
- (14) This one is the good servant who returned the silver of his Lord sevenfold,<sup>17</sup>  
 75 in the presence of those that are all his.
- (15) This one is the trader who goes seeking the pearl until he finds the *genuine* pearl, who is Emmanuel,  
 80 the living stone.<sup>18</sup>
- (16) This one is the *pure* invitee who *wears* the radiant, undefiled, and unblemished garment in the presence of all who are invited.<sup>19</sup>  
 85
- (17) This is the one who is seated first at the wedding *feast* because he pleased the true *heavenly* bridegroom,  
 88 Jesus our *Savior*.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> II Peter 1<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> John 1<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> This appears to be an allusion to Matthew 25<sup>14-30</sup>, though the ‘sevenfold’ is unattested.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew 13<sup>45, 46</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Referring to Matthew 22<sup>11-14</sup>, where those invited to the wedding feast are **ϵϥϩα-  
 2ϩⲙ**. John of Phanijōit is described as the antithesis of the man improperly dressed for the wedding.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, and Revelation 19<sup>9</sup>.

- (18) ΛΗΘΙΝΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ἸΦΟΟΥ, ᾧ ΝΙΠΙΣΤ<sup>ο</sup>Ϟ  
 90 ἸΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ΟΥΟΖ ἸΨΗΡΙ ἸΤΕ  
 †ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΖΙΝΑ ἸΤΕΝΟΥΨΠ Ἐ  
 ΖΡΗΙ ΖΑΠ<sup>δ</sup>Ϟ, ἸΨΕΠΖΜΟΤ ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΝΕΜ  
 C.86, 159 ΦΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ, | Ν<sup>επ</sup> ΣΜΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΟΥΟΖ Ἰ  
 ΤΕΝΕΡΖΟΥ<sup>ο</sup> ΒΙΣΙ ἸΠΕϞΡΑΝ ἘΘΟΥ  
 95 ΑΒ, ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΣΜΑΡΦΟΥΤ, ἘΤΕΦΙ  
 ΨΤ ἸΤΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΝΕΜ ΠΕϞ  
 ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΨΗΡΙ, ἸΗ<sup>Ϟ</sup> ΠΧ<sup>Ϟ</sup> ΠΕΝ<sup>δ</sup>Ϟ  
 ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠ<sup>π</sup>ΝΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ,  
 f. 41<sup>v</sup> ΨΑ ἘΝΕΖ ἸΤΕΠΙἘΝΕΖ ἸΜΗΝ<sup>⌘</sup>  
 100 (19) ΧΕ ΑϞΙΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕϞΝΙΨ† Ἰ  
 ΝΑΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΨΩΠΙ ἸΑΝ ἸΒΟἸΘΟΣ,  
 ΝΕΜ ΟΥΡΕϞ†ΝΟΜ†, ΝΕΜ ΟΥΖΕΛΠΙΣ  
 ἸΣΗΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΗΕΝΜΑΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΟΥ  
 ΟΖ ΑϞΟΥΩΝΖ ἸΤΕϞΧΟΜ, ΝΕΜ ΠΕϞ  
 105 ᾠΟΥ, ΝΕΜ ΝΕϞΨΦΗΡΙ ΕΥΣΟΠ ΧΕ  
 ΑϞΙΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕϞΝΙΨ† ἸΝΑΙ  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΝΑΖΜΕΝ ἘΒΟΛ ΗΕΝ ΟΥΖΟΧ  
 ΖΕΧ, ΧΕ ΗΕΝΟΥΣΗΟΥ ΕϞΨΗΠ, ΑϞ  
 ΣΟΒ† ΝΑΝ ΝΖΑΝΡΕϞΡΩΙΣ, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝ  
 110 ΡΕϞ†ΝΟΜ†, ΗΕΝΘΜΗ† ἸΠΙΧΑΚΙ·  
 111 ΑϞΙΝΙ ἸΠΠΟΥΩΙΝΙ, ΟΥΟΖ ΗΕΝΘΜΗ† Ἰ

- (18) Come today, all Christian  
 90 *believers* and sons of  
 the *Church* so we might offer  
 up to the Lord all thanks and  
 C.86, 159 all honor | and all blessing, and  
 let us greatly exalt His holy  
 95 and blessed name, ⟨He⟩ who is the  
 Father of every one, and His  
*only begotten* Son Jesus Christ our Lord,  
 and the Holy *Spirit*,  
 f. 41<sup>v</sup> unto the end of the age, *Amen*.  
 100 (19) He worked with us *according* to his great  
 mercy<sup>21</sup> and He became for us a *helper*,<sup>22</sup>  
 comforter, and *hope*  
 for all time in every place.  
 And, He revealed his power, his  
 105 glory, and his wonders all at once.  
 ‘He worked with us *according* to his great mercy  
 and He saved us from distress;’  
 ‘in an appropriate time, He  
 prepared for us guardians and  
 110 comforters.’<sup>23</sup> In the midst of darkness  
 111 He brought the light; in the midst of

<sup>21</sup> Similar to Psalm 118<sup>124</sup>. More closely resembles Tobit 8<sup>16b</sup>: ... ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου ἐποίησας μεθ’ ἡμῶν; in Sahidic: ... **ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝḶ ΕΤΝΑΦΩϞ ΕΝΤΑΚΑΛϞ ΝΑΝ**. See G. Maspero, ‘Fragments de manuscrits coptes-thébains provenant de la Bibliothèque du Deir Amba-Shenoudah,’ *MIFAO*, 6 (Paris: Librairie de la Société Asiatique, 1892), p. 291 (n.b.: v. 8<sup>16</sup> is mislabelled 8<sup>14</sup> in this edition). This could also be echoing the phrase appearing often in the various doxologies contained in the Liturgy of St. Basil: **ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΙΩϞ ἸΝΑΙ**, ‘Have mercy on us according to your great mercy.’ For a modern edition including Arabic, Coptic, and English (though the Coptic is at times abridged and incorrect), see *The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil* (Cairo: St. John the Beloved Publishing House, 1993), pp. 109, 113, etc., *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Similar to Sirach 51<sup>2</sup>: ... καὶ βοηθὸς ἐγένου μοι ... ἐγένου βοηθὸς καὶ ἐλυτρώσω σου. Also similar to Psalm 118<sup>114</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> The **ⲭϵ** in lines 7 and 10 seems to indicate quotes, though I have not found the source(s). See notes 21 and 22 above. Perhaps ‘in an appropriate time’ reflects II Corinthians 6<sup>2</sup>, **ⲫϞϞϞϞϞϞ ϞϞϞϞ**.

- ΠΙΣΘΟΙΒΩΝ, ΝΕΜΠΙΜΗΨ Ν̄ΧΩΝC  
 ΑQ̄INI ΜΠΙCΘΟΙ Μ̄ΠῙΑΡΩΜΑΤΑ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (20) ΟΥΟZ ΉΕΝΘΜΗ† Μ̄ΠΙCΟΥΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙCΕ  
 115 ΡΩΧΙ, ΑQ̄INI Μ̄ΠΙΒΕΡ† Ε††ΜΟΥĒ  
 ΉΕΝΘΜΗ† Ν̄ΝΙΠΟΡΝΟC, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΨΩ  
 ΤΕΒ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΡΕCΕΡΝΟΒΙ, ΑQ̄INI Ν̄  
 ΖΑΝΘΜΗ, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΕΟC, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝ  
 120 ΡΩΜΙ ΕΥΟΥΑΒ, ΑΥΨΩΠΙ ΝΑQ̄ Ν̄ΖΑΝ  
 ΡΕCΨΕΜΨΙ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (21) ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΝΙΦΕΝCΝΟΥ, ΝΕΜ Ν̄ΙΨΑΤΕ<sup>S</sup>  
 ΡΩΜΙ, ΑΥΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΖΑΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC  
 ΝΑ†ΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΙΦΗΟΥĪ, ΉΕΝ  
 ΘΜΗ† Μ̄ΠΙΜΟC†, ΑQ̄INI Ν̄ΖΑΝΜΗΝΙ-  
 125 ΟΥΟZ ΉΕΝΘΜΗ† Μ̄ΠΙCΑΖΟΥĪ, ΑQ̄INI  
 Ν̄ΖΑΝCΜΟΥ, ΟΥΟZ ΉΕΝΘΜΗ†, Μ̄ΠΙ  
 ΕΝΤΗΧ Ν̄ΑΤΟΥΤΑΖ, ΑQ̄INI Ν̄ΖΑΝ  
 ΚΑΡΠΟC Ν̄ΤΕΖΑΝCΗΟΥ Ν̄ΧΑΜΗ ΉΕΝ  
 ΘΜΗ† Μ̄ΠΙCΩΨΕΜ, ΝΕΜ ΠΙCΙΝ̄  
 130 ΧΟΝC, ΑQ̄INI Ν̄ΖΑΝΨΗΡΙ Ν̄ΘΜΗ, ΝΑ  
 †ΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ Ν̄ΤΕΝΙΦΗΟΥĪ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (22) ΟΥΟZ ΑQ̄ΒΑCΟΥ CΑΠΨΩΙ Ν̄ΝΙΑΓΓΕ  
 ΛΟC,  
 f. 42<sup>r</sup> ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΟΜΟC ΜΒΕΡΙ, Μ̄ΜΕΤ̄Ν̄Ē  
 135 ΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC Ν̄ΤΕΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ  
 ΙΗC Π̄ΧC<sup>⊗</sup>  
 137 (23) ΜΑΡΕΝΕΡΨΑΙ Ψ̄ ΝΑΜΕΝΡΑ†, ΉΕΝΟΥ

- putrefaction and great stench  
 He brought the *aromatic* scent;  
 (20) in the midst of the thorn and the  
 115 thistle He brought the bright rose;<sup>24</sup>  
 in the midst of the *fornications*,  
 murders, and sinners He brought  
 truths, *righteous* things, and  
 holy people. They became servants  
 120 for Him.  
 (21) *Even* shedders of blood and murderers  
 became *inheritors*  
 of the kingdom of heaven; in  
 the midst of hate, He brought portents;  
 125 in the midst of the curse, He brought  
 blessings; in the midst of the  
 fruitless weed, He brought  
*fruits* of calm seasons; in  
 the midst of the defilement and  
 130 violence, He brought true sons to  
 the kingdom of heaven,  
 (22) and He exalted them to the height of *an-*  
*gels*,  
 f. 42<sup>r</sup> *according* to the new ‘*law* of  
 135 *freedom*’<sup>25</sup> of our *Savior*  
 Jesus Christ.  
 137 (23) Let us keep the festival, O my beloved ones, in a

<sup>24</sup> Similar to Song of Songs 2<sup>1,2</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> See James 1<sup>25</sup> and 2<sup>12</sup>. If the author’s reference point for this phrase is James, his usage here may reflect a familiarity with the Greek New Testament. This phrase conforms to the Greek vocabulary, since the extant Bohairic MSS of James use **ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲓⲛⲉ** instead of **ⲉⲗⲉⲅⲟⲉⲣⲟⲥ**.

ΦΑΙ ΜΒΕΡΙ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ,  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΕΝΕΡΦΑΛΙΝ, ΝΕΜ ΠΙΦΑΛ  
 140 ΜΩΔΟΣ, ΝΤΕΠΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΔΑΥΙΔ,  
 C.86, 160 ΠΟΥΡΟ ΜΠΙΣΛ, ΟΥΟΖ | ΝΤΕΝΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟΣ <sup>ⲛⲓⲥ</sup> <sup>ⲛⲓⲥ</sup> ΧΕ <sup>ⲛⲓⲥ</sup>  
 (24) ΧΩ ΜΠΩΣ ΉΕΝΟΥΧΩ ΜΒΕΡΙ, ΧΕ ἈΡΕ  
 ΠΕϞΣΜΟΥ ΉΕΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΤΕ  
 145 ΝΗΕΘΟΥΑΒ, ΦΑΙ ΟΥΦΑΙ ΜΜΑΡΤΥ  
 ΡΙΟΝ, ΝΤΕΠΙΛΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣ<sup>26</sup> ΜΜΗΙ,  
 ΝΤΕΠΧΣ, ΦΗΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ,  
 ΠΙΒΟΛ ΉΕΝΦΑΝΙΧΩΙΤ, ΦΑΙ ἘΤΑϞ  
 ΦΙΡΙ ἘΒΟΛ ΉΕΝΝΑΙἘΖΟΥ ΝΑΙ, ἘΖΟΤΕ  
 150 ΠΩΕ ΝΣΙϞΙ ΝΤΕΠΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ<sup>ⲛⲓⲥ</sup>  
 (25) ΦΑΙ ἘΤΑϞΦΑΙ ΜΠΙΝΑΖΒΕϞ ΕΤΖΟΛΧ  
 ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΣ.ϞΣ, ΕϞΟΙ ΝΑΤΩΠΙ·  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΜΠΕϞΖΡΩΨ ἘΧΩϞ, ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕϞ  
 ΗΙΣΙ ΕΠΤΗΡϞ, ΦΑΙ ἘΤΑϞΧΩΚ ἘΒ°Λ  
 155 ΜΠΙΟΓΑΖΣΑΖΝΙ, ΝΤΕΠΕϞΡΕϞϞΣΒ°  
 ΜΜΗΙ ΠΧΣ, ΝΕΜ ἈΝΟΝ ΖΩΝ, ἘΤΩΨ  
 ἘΒΟΛ ἘΡΟΝ, ΖΠΙΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ἘΘΟΥ  
 ΑΒ, ΦΑΙ ΑϞΣΟΘΜΕΣ ΝΚΑΛΩΣ, ΟΥΟΖ  
 ΑϞΧΟΚΣ ἘΒΟΛ ΝΚΑΛΩΣ, ΧΕ ΦΗΕΘΝΑ  
 160 ϞΨΙΠΙ ἘΟΥΟΝΖΤ ἘΒΟΛ, ΝΕΜ ΝΑΣΑΧΙ·  
 161 ΝΝΩΙΚ ΝΡΕϞΕΡΝΟΒΙ, ΠΩΗΡΙ ΖΩϞ Μ

<sup>26</sup> See f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.31. In martyr literature, **ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣ** commonly means the ‘judge’ of the contest, *i.e.*, Jesus Christ, the bestower of the grace to carry out the martyrdom, and of the crown at the end of it. For example, see Origen’s *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, §24, in J.P. Migne, *PG* 11, cols. 592d.-593a. But **ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣ** is also an epithet for the martyr himself, as it is so used in the *Martyrdom of Victor the General*. See E.A. Wallis Budge, ed. and trans., *Coptic Martyrdoms, etc., in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: The British Museum, 1914), p. 49, l.6 (Budge translates **ΠΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣ ΝΑΤΩΠΙ** as ‘unconquered fighter.’ [p. 302]).

new, *ecclesiastical* festival.  
 Let us *sing* with the  
 140 *psalm*<sup>27</sup> of the *prophet* David,  
 C.86, 160 the king of Israel. | And let us  
 say,  
 (24) ‘Sing to the Lord with a new song, may  
 His blessing be upon the *assembly*  
 145 of those who are holy.’<sup>28</sup> This is a festival at the *martyr’s*  
*shrine* of the true *contestant*  
 of Christ, that holy John  
 from Phanijōit. This (is the one)  
 who came forth<sup>29</sup> from these wicked things—these  
 150 which are more than the cedars of *Lebanon*.<sup>30</sup>  
 (25) This is the one who bore the sweet yoke,  
 namely the cross, without being ashamed.  
 Neither was it heavy upon him, *nor* was it  
 troublesome at all. This is the one who fulfilled  
 155 the command of his true  
 teacher, Christ. And as for those of us who read  
 for ourselves from the Holy *Gospel*,  
 this one obeyed it *well* and  
*rightly* brought it to fulfillment: ‘That one who  
 160 is ashamed to declare me and my words  
 161 to adulterers (and) sinners, the Son of Man

<sup>27</sup> For **ΦΑΛΜΩΔΟΣ**, read **ΦΑΛΜΟΣ**. Otherwise, the following **ἵτε** would be either superfluous, or a corrupt use of the conjunctive without a verb (‘with the *Psalmist* {and} *prophet* David ...’).

<sup>28</sup> Psalm 149<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Also means ‘blossomed.’ See f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.5.

<sup>30</sup> The phrase, ‘cedars of Lebanon,’ appears in Psalm 36<sup>35</sup>, and I Clement 14<sup>5</sup>.



- ΦΡΩΜΙ, ϞΝΑ΄ΨΙΠΙ ΝΑϞ, ΖΟΤΑ<sup>Ν</sup> ΑϞΨΑΝΙ  
 ΞΕΝΠΩΟΥ ἸΤΕΠΕϞΙΩΤ, ΝΕΜΝΕϞ  
 ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἘΘΟΥΑΒ<sup>❖❖</sup>
- 165 (26) ΑΛΗΘΩϞ ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ἸΒΕΡΙ,  
 οϞΔΕ ἸΠΕϞΨΙΠΙ, οϞΔΕ ἸΠΕϞΕΡ  
 f. 42<sup>v</sup> ΖΟ΄, οϞΔΕ ἸΠΕϞΨΩΨϞ, ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗ  
 † ΕΤϞΗΝΟΥΤ, ΧΕ ΤΟΥΖΟ΄ ΔΕ Ἰ  
 ΠΕΡΕΡΖΟ΄ ΞΑΤΕϞΖΗ, οϞΔΕ ἸΠΕϞ<sup>31</sup>
- 170 ΨΘΟΡΤΕΡ, ΠḪϞ ΔΕ ΠΧϞ ΜΑΤΟΥΒΟϞ  
 ἸΞΡΗ ἸΕΝΝΕΤΕΝΖΗΤ<sup>❖❖</sup>  
 (27) ΠΑΙΡΗ΄ ΦΗΘΟΥΑΒ ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΑϞ  
 ΤΟΥΒΟ ἸΠΕϞΖΗΤ ΞΕΝΠḪϞ, ΑϞΟΥ  
 ΟΝΖϞ<sup>32</sup> ΝΑΤΟΨΙΠΙ, ἸΠΕΜΘΟ ἸΝΙΟ<sup>Υ</sup>
- 175 ΡΩΟΥ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΕΖΟΥ  
 †ΖΑΠ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΑΡΧΗ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΕΖΟΥ  
 ΣΙΑ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΟΥΩΝΖ ἸΠΧϞ ἘΒΟΛ Ἰ  
 ΠΟΥἸΘΟ, ΞΕΝΟΥΤΟΛΜΕΣΙΑ, ΕϞ  
 ΧΩ ἸΜΟΣ, ΧΕ ἸΝΟΚ ΟΥΧΡΗϞ
- 180 ΤΙΑΝΟΣ<sup>❖❖</sup>  
 (28) ΣΩΤΕΜ Ḫ ΠΙΛΑΟΣ ἸΠΙϞΤΟΣ, ΟΥΟΖ  
 ἸΜΕΝΡΑ΄, ἸΤΕ΄ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ἸΕΚ
- 183 ΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑϞΧΦΟΟΥ ἸΧΕ΄

<sup>31</sup> The Ϟ is written by a later hand over a ρ.

<sup>32</sup> See f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.28 – 45<sup>v</sup>, l.2 where Abū Shākir advises John that he will οϞΩΝΖ ἸΟΥϞΑΧΙ. In several instances the text uses οϞΩΝΖ in a sense similar to the Arabic *ʿarāḏa* or *ʿitarāfa*. See the discussion of language interference in Chapter Three, and see the following places in this text: f. 43<sup>r</sup>, l.4, 5; f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.29; f. 44<sup>v</sup>, l.11, 12; and f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.32, 33.

- himself will be ashamed of him *when* He comes  
 in the glory of his Father with  
 his holy *angels*.<sup>33</sup>
- f. 42<sup>v</sup> 165 (26) *Truly* John the New *Saint*  
 did not receive shame, *nor* was he  
 afraid, *nor* was he scorned, *just as*  
 it is written, ‘As for their fear,  
 do not be afraid before it<sup>34</sup> *nor* be  
 170 troubled, *but* as for the Lord Christ—sanctify Him  
 in your hearts.’<sup>35</sup>
- (27) Thus, that holy John  
 purified his heart in the Lord. He  
 showed himself<sup>35</sup> unashamed before the  
 175 kings, the *rulers*, the  
 judges, the *principalities* and *powers*,  
 and he declared<sup>36</sup> Christ in  
 their presence with *courage*  
 saying, ‘I am a  
 180 Christian.’<sup>37</sup>
- (28) Listen, O *believing* and beloved  
*people* of the *catholic*  
 183 *church*: these ⟨are things⟩ which the

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<sup>33</sup> Mark 8<sup>38</sup>, Luke 9<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Similar to Isaiah 8<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> I Peter 3<sup>14, 15</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> For a brief discussion of the appearance of this phrase in the earliest Christian martyr literature, such as the Martyrdom of Polycarp, see Jan M. Bremmer, ‘“Christianus sum”: The Early Christian Martyrs and Christ,’ in *Eulogia: Mélanges offerts à Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen à l’occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, A. Hilhorst, and C.H. Kneepkens (Steenbrugis: Abbatia S. Petri, 1991).

- ΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΑΤΑΜΩΤ<sup>en</sup>  
 185 ΕΠΤΑΙΟ<sup>38</sup> ΗΠΑΙΓΕΝ<sup>ne</sup> ΟΣ ΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ Ε  
 ΘΟΥΑΒ, ΕΤΕΝΕΡΨΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΗΦΟΟΥ,  
 C.86, 161 ηεν | ΟΥΨΑΙ ΗΠΠΝΑ· ΤΙΚΟΝ,  
 ΕΤΕΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΠΙΒΩΚ  
 ΕΘΝΑΝΕΨ, ΗΤΕΠΕΝΘΟΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ, ΟΥ  
 190 ΟΖ ΠΙΕΣΩΟΥ ΕΤΑΡΤΑΣΘΟΥ ΕΤ  
 ΨΑΙΡΙ ΝΑΟΓΙΚΗ, ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗΤ ΕΤ ·  
 ΣΗΝΟΥΤ, ΗΕΝΠΙΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ Ε  
 ΘΟΥΑΒ, ΕΨΩ ΗΜΟΣ, ΧΕ ΨΑΡΕΟΥ  
 ΡΑΨΙ ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ΗΕΝ ΤΦΕ, ΗΠΕΜΘΟ  
 195 ΗΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΤΕΦΤ, ΕΧΕΝΟΥ  
 ΡΕΨΕΡΝΟΒΙ ΝΟΥΨΤ, ΕΨΕΡΜΕΤΑ  
 ΝΟΙΝ ΕΖΟΤΕ ΠΙΨΘ ΗΘΗΗ, ΕΤΕΝ  
 ΣΕΕΡΧΡΙΑ ΑΝ ΗΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (29) ΕΨΩΠ ΔΕ ΑΡΕΨΑΝ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤ  
 f. 43<sup>r</sup> 200 ΗΕΝΤΦΕ, ΝΕΜ ΝΟΥΧΩΡΟΣ ΕΥ  
 ΕΡΑΨΙ, ΝΕΜΠΑΙΟΥΑΙ ΝΟΥΨΤ, Η  
 ΡΕΨΕΡΝΟΒΙ, ΕΤΑΡΤΑΣΘΟ,<sup>40</sup> ΧΕ ΛΥ  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΨΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ, ΝΕΜ ΠΕΨΟΥ  
 ΨΝΖ<sup>41</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΗΑΤΨΙΠΙ, ΟΥΔΕ  
 205 ΝΑΤΖΟΥ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (30) ΣΨΕ ΝΑΝ · ΑΝΟΝ ΗΑΝΙΡΕΜΗΚΑΖΙ Η  
 207 ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ ΗΤΕΝΕΡΨΑΙ, ΝΕΜΠΕΝ

<sup>38</sup> επ added in the margin by the same hand.

Holy *Trinity* brought forth, and I will inform you  
 185 of the honor of this *noble* holy  
*martyr*—for whom we keep the festival today  
 C.86, 161 with | a *spiritual* festival—  
 who is *Saint John*, the good  
 servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, and  
 190 the sheep that returned to the  
*spiritual* sheepfold, *just as* it is  
 written in the Holy  
*Gospel*, saying, ‘There will be  
 rejoicing in heaven in the presence  
 195 of the *angels* of God over a  
 single sinner who *repents*,  
 even more than ⟨over⟩ the ninety-nine righteous who  
 do not *need repentance*.<sup>39</sup>  
 (29) *So* if the *angels*  
 f. 43<sup>r</sup> 200 in heaven, and their *choirs* are  
 rejoicing with this single  
 sinner who returned,<sup>40</sup> since they  
 witnessed his *repentance* and his  
 unashamed *and* fearless  
 205 declaration,<sup>41</sup>  
 (30) it is fitting for us—we *fleshly*  
 207 earth dwellers—to celebrate with our

<sup>39</sup> Luke 15<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Note this word (ⲧⲁϥⲟⲟ) is used to describe conversion and restoration throughout the text. See f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.8–20; f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.13,14; f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.6, 29; f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.11.

<sup>41</sup> See note 32 for a listing of the usage of ⲟϥⲱⲛⲉⲗ throughout the text.

ψφηρ ἡσαρκικον, φαι ἕταρτ  
 ἡπερσωμα ἕνι<sup>α</sup>μωριτης, nem  
 210 νηῖσι, nem νιμαστιγξ, εῶβε  
 τρελις ἡογχοι ἡτεπωνη, ογ  
 οζ ντενεργυμνος, nemπιῆρο  
 φαλτης δαγιδ ἡχω ἡμος, χε  
 κοττ ταφυχη ἕπεμανεμτον  
 215 χε ἁπῶς ερπεθνανεσ νηι, ογοζ  
 χε αφαι ασκοττ ραῶς, ογοζ ασ  
 ερ περναι ἡνωττ nemαφ<sup>ⲛ</sup>

*The Conversion to Islam*

(31) ασφωπι δε ηενομετογρο ἡζο<sup>ο</sup>  
 μεν, πωηρι ἡωσφ πιογρο ετ  
 220 οη<sup>ο</sup> εβαγλων ἡτεχημι, nem τ  
 παρλιἁ nem τσυριἁ nem πιῶ<sup>ω</sup>  
 ἡτεδασκος, nem τερβι, ογοζ  
 παιογρο, ογκυδαριτης πε, ογοζ  
 ἡπερσης, ἡκαδασιαρχης ἡτε  
 225 φναζτ, ἡνιἁγαριννεος ερνα  
 τασοσ ηεμπερναζτ, ἡνιἁραβ<sup>ο</sup>  
 nem νιισμανιτης· <sup>ⲛ</sup>  
 228 (32) ασφωπι δε ἡχεογρωμι ἡρεμρης

*fleshly* companion, namely, he who gave  
 his *body* over to *punishers*,  
 210 sufferings, and *scourges* for the sake of  
 the *hope* of salvation of life.  
 And let us sing a *hymn* with the  
*Psalmist* David, singing,  
 ‘Return, my soul, to the place of rest,  
 215 since the Lord has done good for me.’<sup>42</sup> And  
 this one turned himself to the Lord and He  
 performed His great mercy with him.

*The Conversion to Islam*

(31) *Now* it came about in the reign of ‘Uthmān (1186–1198),  
 the son of Joseph<sup>43</sup> the king of the  
 220 district of Babylon of Egypt and the  
*seacoast* and Syria and the districts  
 of Damascus and *Tierbi*.<sup>44</sup> And  
 this king is a *Kurd*<sup>45</sup> and  
 Persian *governor*<sup>46</sup> of  
 225 the faith of the Hagarenes, who would  
 turn<sup>47</sup> in his faith to the Arabs  
 and the Ishmaelites.  
 228 (32) *Then* a man of the South appeared

<sup>42</sup> Psalm 114<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb ibn Shadi. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed his son, al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān (r.c. 1186–1198), as his vicegerent of Egypt. This ‘Uthmān is not to be confused with al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s son of the same name (d.1233), who ruled in Banyas (forty miles s.w. of Damascus). Since al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān, son of Saladin, died in 595/1198, this text indicates that John of Phanijōit converted to Islam before 1199. For a fine explanation of the complications surrounding al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān’s accession, see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), pp. 58–66. See also *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. 3, part 2 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1970), p. 160, f. 218<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 95).

<sup>44</sup> See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, p. 119, where he considers ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲓ to be either Aleppo or Jerusalem.

<sup>45</sup> See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op.cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>46</sup> From Greek, ΚΑΔΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΣ (sic).

<sup>47</sup> See note 40 for listing of the text’s usage of ⲧⲁϢϢⲐ. See also Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, p. 122, for an interpretation of this passage. See also Chapter Three of this dissertation for a discussion of the terms Hagarene and Ishmaelite.

- ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΟΥΤΜΙ, ΧΕ ΦΑΝΙΧΩΠΤ,  
 230 ΗΕΝΠΘΩΨ ΝΤΧΩΡΑ, ΧΕ ΠΟΥΨΙΝ  
 ΕΠΕΩΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΠΩΗΡΙ Μ̄  
 ΜΑΡΚΟΣ, ΟΥΟΖ ΦΑΙ ΝΕ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΩΝ  
 ΠΕ  
 f. 43<sup>v</sup> ΟΥΟΖ ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟΣ <sup>ἱερωνι</sup>, ΑΛΛΑ ΑΩ  
 235 ΜΟΥΨΤ, ΝΕΜΝΙΕΘΝΟΣ, Ν̄CΜΑΗ  
 C.86, 162 ΛΙΤΗΣ Ν̄ΛΛΜΙΤΗΣ, | ΟΝΤΩC, ΝΕΜ  
 ΝΙΠΟΡΝΟΣ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΝΩΙΚ, ΜΑΛΙC  
 ΤΑ ΝΙΜΑΝΦΑΨ Ν̄ΨΝΕ, Ν̄ΧΟΡΧC  
 ΦΜΩΠΤ Μ̄ΠΙCΛΑΤΛΕΤ Ν̄CΖΙΜΙ Μ̄  
 240 ΠΟΡΝΟΣ, ΝΙΡΕΩΧΑΦΑΨ ΝΑΝΙΡΩ  
 ΜΙ ΙCΧΕΝ ΖΗ, ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗΤ̄ ΕΤCΗΗ  
 ΟΥΤ, ΧΕ ΑΥΜΟΥΨΤ ΝΕΜΝΙΕΘΝΟΣ,  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΤCΑΒΕ ΝΟΥΖΒΗΟῩΙ, ΠΑΙΡΗ  
 † ΧΕ ΦΑΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΩΜΟΥΨΤ ΟΝ  
 245 ΝΕΜ ΝΑΙΟΥΟΝ Μ̄ΠΑΙΡΗ†, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΩ  
 ΤCΑΒΕ ΝΟΥΖΒΗΟῩΙ ΕΘΒΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΕΩ  
 †ΜΑΖΙ ΠΕ, ΝΑΝΙΖΙΟΜΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΘΑ<sup>Υ</sup>  
 ΡΑ Μ̄ΠΙCΕΥΕΡΧΙC, ΗΕΝ†ΚΕΨΡΩΜΙ  
 249 ΑΩΕΡΖΑΛ Μ̄ΜΟΩ Ν̄ΧΕΠCΑΤΑΝΑC, ΗΕΝ

from a village called Phanijōit  
 230 in the district of the Poushin<sup>48</sup> *area*,  
 whose name is John the son of  
 Mark. This one was a *dea-*  
*con*  
 f. 43<sup>v</sup> and Christian man. *But* he  
 235 mixed<sup>49</sup> with the Ishmaelite  
 C.86, 162 Islamic *people*, | *in fact*, with  
 the *fornicators* and adulterers, *especially* (in)  
 the place of net-snaring entrapment,  
 the path of stumbling: (with) the *harlots*,  
 240 those setting traps for  
 men from the beginning. *Just as* it is  
 written: ‘They mixed with the *nations*  
 and learned their ways.’<sup>50</sup> So,  
 John also mixed  
 245 with these ones in this way, and he  
 learned their ways, for he was  
 a flax merchant to the women from the  
*avenue* of *seuerjis*<sup>51</sup> in Old Cairo.<sup>52</sup>  
 249 Satan deceived him with the

<sup>48</sup> See note 2 on the location of Phanijōit.

<sup>49</sup> See f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.7.

<sup>50</sup> Psalm 105<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, pp. 156, 157, where he suggests that **ⲡⲒⲤⲈⲮⲈⲢⲚⲒⲤ** is a corruption, and copticization, of Abū Jirjis: *al*-ⲛⲓ, *Abū*-ⲤⲈⲮ (corrupted), and *irjis*=ⲈⲢⲚⲒⲤ (corrupted). MacCoull simply accepts that it is St. Sergius Street, without comment. See Leslie S.B. MacCoull, ‘Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit (BHO 519),’ *Medieval Encounters* 6 (2000): 58–79, p. 62. For more on this, see footnote 18 of Chapter One.

<sup>52</sup> **ⲧⲚⲈⲮⲢⲠⲛⲓ** stands for the Arabic *qasr al-rūmi*, or Old Cairo.



- 250 ΟΥ̅ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ̅ Ν̅ΣΖΙΜΙ, Ν̅ΣΑΡΑΚΙΝΗ,  
 Λ̅ΖΕΙ Ν̅ΕΜΑΣ, Η̅ΕΝΤ̅ΠΟΡΝΙΑ̅, ΟΥ̅ΟΖ̅ Α̅  
 Σ̅ΕΡΒ̅Σ̅ Ε̅ΡΟQ̅ Ν̅ΧΕΤ̅ΑΝΟΜΙΑ̅ Ψ̅ΑΦ̅ΜΟΥ̅  
 ΚΑΤΑ̅ Φ̅ΡΗΤ̅ ΕΤ̅ΣΗΟΥΤ̅<sup>⊗</sup>
- (33) Χ̅Ε Ζ̅ΗΠ̅Π̅ Ε̅ Ι̅Σ̅ Τ̅Α̅ΝΟΜΙΑ̅ Ψ̅Α̅Σ̅Ε̅Ρ̅Β̅Ο̅ΚΙ̅ ΟΥ̅  
 255 Ο̅Ζ̅ Ψ̅Α̅Σ̅Τ̅ΝΑ̅Κ̅Ζ̅Ι, ΟΥ̅ΟΖ̅ Α̅Σ̅ΜΙ̅Σ̅Ι̅ Μ̅Φ̅ΜΟΥ̅,  
 ΠΑΙΡΗΤ̅ Π̅Ε̅ Ε̅ΤΑ̅Q̅Ψ̅ΩΠ̅Ι̅ Μ̅Π̅ΙΘ̅Μ̅Η̅Ι  
 ΙΩΑΝΝΗ̅Σ, Α̅ΛΛΑ̅ Α̅Q̅Α̅Ρ̅Ε̅Ζ̅ Ε̅ΡΟQ̅, Ν̅Χ̅Ε  
 Φ̅Η̅Ε̅ΤΑ̅Q̅Χ̅ΟQ̅ Μ̅Π̅Ε̅Q̅ΟΥ̅Ω̅Ι, Ε̅Θ̅Β̅Ε  
 Τ̅Β̅Ω̅ Ν̅Κ̅ΕΝ̅Τ̅Ε, Ε̅Θ̅Β̅Ε Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Χ̅ΙΝ̅Ο̅Λ̅Σ
- 260 Ι̅Ε̅ Ν̅Τ̅Ε̅Σ̅Κ̅Ε̅Ρ̅Q̅ Μ̅Π̅ΙΚΑ̅Ζ̅Ι Π̅Ε̅Χ̅Ε Π̅Ε̅Q̅ΟΥ̅  
 Ω̅Ι Δ̅Ε̅ ΝΑ̅Q̅, Χ̅Ε Χ̅Α̅Σ̅ Ν̅ΤΑ̅Ι̅<sup>κ̅ε</sup>Ρ̅ΟΜ̅Π̅Ι, Ε̅Ψ̅<sup>ω̅π̅</sup>Π̅  
 Δ̅Ε̅ Α̅Σ̅Ψ̅Α̅Ν̅Τ̅ΟΥ̅ΤΑ̅Ζ̅ Ν̅ΤΑ̅Ι̅Κ̅Ε̅Ρ̅ΟΜ̅Π̅Ι  
 Ε̅Θ̅Ν̅Η̅ΟΥ̅, Μ̅Μ̅ΟΝ̅ Ι̅Ε̅ Κ̅ΟΡ̅Χ̅<sup>⊗</sup>
- (34) Α̅Φ̅Τ̅ Δ̅Ε̅ Ω̅ΟΥ̅Ν̅Ζ̅Η̅Τ̅ Ε̅Χ̅Ω̅Q̅, Η̅ΕΝ̅Π̅Ε̅Q̅  
 265 Χ̅ΙΝ̅Ζ̅Ε̅Ι, Ν̅ΕΜ̅ Π̅Ε̅Q̅Χ̅Ε̅ΟΥ̅Α̅, Ν̅ΕΜ̅ Π̅Ε̅Q̅  
 Ω̅Ω̅Η̅ΕΜ̅, Ν̅ΕΜ̅Ν̅Ι̅Π̅Ο̅Ρ̅Ν̅Ο̅Σ, Ν̅ΕΜ̅ Ν̅Ι̅  
 Ν̅Ω̅ΙΚ̅, Ε̅Q̅Η̅Ε̅Ν̅Ο̅Υ̅Θ̅Ω̅Μ̅ Ν̅Ζ̅Η̅Τ̅, Ν̅ΕΜ̅  
 f. 44<sup>r</sup> ΟΥ̅Q̅Ι̅Ρ̅Ω̅ΟΥ̅Ψ̅ Μ̅Β̅Ι̅Ω̅Τ̅ΙΚ̅ΟΝ̅, Ν̅Σ̅Α̅Ρ̅Κ̅Ι̅  
 Κ̅ΟΝ̅, Ν̅ΕΜ̅Φ̅Λ̅Α̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ν̅Α̅Ρ̅Α̅Β̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ν̅Ε̅Θ̅Ν̅Ο̅Σ,  
 270 Μ̅Μ̅Α̅Σ̅Τ̅Ε̅Ν̅ΟΥ̅Τ̅ Π̅Χ̅<sup>ς</sup>, Η̅ΕΝ̅Ζ̅Α̅Ν̅Μ̅Η̅Ω̅ Ν̅  
 271 Χ̅Ρ̅ΟΝ̅Ο̅Σ, Ν̅ΕΜ̅ Ζ̅Α̅Ν̅Μ̅Η̅Ω̅ Ν̅Σ̅Η̅ΟΥ̅, Ψ̅Α̅Ν

- 250 *lust* of a *Saracen* woman.  
 He fell with her in *fornication*.  
 The *lawless* deed ruled over him until death,  
*just as* it is written,  
 (33) ‘Behold, *lawlessness* conceives and  
 255 is in travail and brought forth death.’<sup>53</sup>  
 This is how it happened to the Just  
 John. *But* ⟨as for⟩ the one who  
 spoke to his cultivator about  
 the fig tree, whether to cut it down  
 260 or leave it in the soil, he guarded him. *Now* his cultivator  
 said to him, ‘Leave it another year *and* ⟨see⟩  
 if it produces fruit in the coming  
 year. If not, cut it down.’<sup>54</sup>  
 (34) *Now* God was patient with him—throughout his  
 265 falling away, his blasphemous speech, his  
 pollution with *fornicators* and  
 adulterers, while being closed-hearted with  
 f. 44<sup>r</sup> a concern for *fleshly life*<sup>55</sup>  
 among the God-Christ-hating  
 270 *Arab people*—for many  
 271 *times* and many seasons, until he

<sup>53</sup> Psalm 7<sup>15</sup>. Also similar to James 1<sup>15</sup>. The extant Bohairic editions of the Psalms use **ac** consistently, instead of **ⲡac**.

<sup>54</sup> Luke 13<sup>6-9</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Alludes to Luke 21<sup>34</sup>, Romans 13<sup>14</sup>, and I Peter 2<sup>11</sup>.

ΤΟΥΦΩΠΙ ΝΑϚ Ν̄ΧΕΖΑΝΨΗΡΙ, ΟΥΟΖ  
 ΛϚΕΡΡΩΜΙ Ν̄ΣΧΙΜΩΝ. ΟΥΟΖ ΛϚΤΑΣ  
 ΘΟϚ Ε̄ΠΕϚΤΜΙ, ΧΕ ΠΕΠΛΕΥ<sup>⊗</sup>

*The Re-Conversion to Christianity*

- C.86, 163 275 (35) ΖΑΝΜΗΨ ΔΕ Ν̄ΡΩΜΙ, Ε̄ΒΟΛ Η̄ΕΝΠΕϚΤΜΙ  
 ΕΥΧΕΟῩΑ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΛΑΖΜΙ,<sup>56</sup> ΟΥ  
 ΟΖ ΑΥΩΜ Ν̄ΖΘΗΟΥ<sup>⊗</sup> Ε̄ΘΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΕΟῩΑ  
 ΝΑΙ ΑΥΨΕ ΝΩΟΥ ΨΑΟΥΤΜΙ, Ε̄ΣΣΑΡΗΣ  
 280 Η̄ΜΩΟΥ, Ε̄ΠΕϚΡΑΝ<sup>57</sup> | <sup>m58</sup> ΠΕΠΛΕΥ, Ε̄ΘΒΕ  
 ΧΕ ΠΕΣΕ̄ΖΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ, ΕϚΜΕΙ Ν̄ΝΙ  
 ΧΡΗΣΤΙᾹΝΟΣ, ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΨ<sup>9</sup>Π  
 Η̄ΕΝΠΕϚΤΜΙ,<sup>59</sup> ΨΑϚΑΡΕΖ Ε̄ΡΟϚ Ε̄  
 ΒΟΛ Η̄ΕΝΒῙΝΧΟΝΣ ΝΙΒΕΝ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (36) ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΕ ΝΙΧΡΗΣΤΙᾹΝΟΣ, ΝΗ̄ΕΝΑΥ  
 285 ΧΕΟῩΑ ϚΝΑΤΑΣΘΩΟΥ Ε̄ΠΟΥΝΑΖ†,  
 ΟΥΟΖ Ν̄ΝΕϚΧΑ ΖΛΙ Ε̄ΕΡΠΕΤΖΩΟΥ  
 ΝΩΟΥ ΑΝ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (37) ΠΙΘΜΙ ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΑϚΩΤΕΜ Ε̄ΝΑΙ  
 ΣΑΧΙ Ε̄ΘΒΕ ΠΟΥΠΛΑΥ, ΑΥΒΙ Ν̄ΝΕϚᾹΛΩ  
 290 ΟῩΙ, ΝΕΜ ΦΗ̄ΕΤΕΝΤΑϚ, <sup>ΛϚΦΕ ΝΑϚ</sup> ΑϚΨΩΠΙ  
 Ν̄ΗΤΣ, Ε̄ΡΕΠΕϚΝΟΥΣ ΕϚΣΟΥΤΩΝ  
 ΝΕΜΠ̄Χ̄, ΕϚΒΙΨΨΩΟΥ Ν̄ΧΩΡΖ, ΝΕΜ  
 ΜΕΡΙ, Ε̄ΘΡΕΠ̄Χ̄ ΧΩΚ ΝΑϚ, Ν̄ΝΕϚΕ̄ΤΗ  
 294 ΜΑ ΝΑϚ Ε̄ΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ Η̄ΕΝΟΥΜΟΥ Ν̄

<sup>56</sup> Sic. This is a strange corruption of ΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ, ‘Muslim.’

<sup>57</sup> Balestri and Hyvernats misread as Ε̄ΠΕΣΡΑΝ.

<sup>58</sup> π faintly added in another hand. Balestri and Hyvernats read πε.

<sup>59</sup> Balestri and Hyvernats misread as ΠΕϚΤΜΙ.

had sons and  
 he became an old man.<sup>60</sup> He  
 returned<sup>61</sup> to his village Pepleu.<sup>62</sup>

*The Re-Conversion to Christianity*

- C.86, 163 275 (35) *Now* many men from his village  
 were blaspheming, they became Muslims, and  
 repented because of their blasphemy.  
 These ones went to a village south of them  
 whose name | is Pepleu. For  
 280 its *governor*, who loved every one  
 of the Christians who lived  
 in his village, would guard him  
 from all violence.  
 (36) *But especially* the Christians who  
 285 blasphemed he would restore<sup>63</sup> to their faith,  
 and he would forgive no one who would do evil  
 to them.  
 (37) *Now* the Righteous One, John, heard these  
 words about Pouplau (sic), and they received his children  
 290 and what was his. He went and dwelled  
 there while his *mind* was straightened out  
 with Christ, yearning throughout the night and  
 day for Christ to fulfill his *requests*  
 294 *so that* through death,

<sup>60</sup> The etymology of the adjective in **ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲥⲭⲓⲙⲱⲛ** is not clear. Hyvernat suggests in his index that **ⲥⲭⲓⲙⲱⲛ** is a form of εὐσχήμων, 'elegant,' but in his translation he seems to interpret it like the Coptic root **ⲥⲭⲓⲙ**, 'grey haired/old' (Crum, 328b–329a): 'ipse factus est vir canutus ...' See Henricus Hyvernat, trans., 'Acta Martyrum II,' *CSCO* 125 (Louvain: Typographeo Linguarum Orientalium), pp. 265 and 112 respectively.

<sup>61</sup> See note 40 for listing of usages of **ⲧⲁⲓⲐⲟⲟ** in this text.

<sup>62</sup> The author apparently confuses John's home village with the town known for restoring apostates. For a brief discussion of Arabic, Coptic, and Greek textual accounts that mention this town (located near Hermopolis Magna, *i.e.*, al-Ashmūnayn), see 'Biblāw' in Stefan Timm, *Das christlich-koptische*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 388–389.

<sup>63</sup> See note 40.

- 295 **τερμου, ε̄χενφραν̄ μ̄πενδ̄ς̄ ῑη̄ς̄**  
**π̄χ̄ς̄ η̄ενογων̄ς̄ ε̄βολ̄<sup>⊗</sup>**  
 (38) **ναρμην̄ δε̄ μ̄παρη̄τ̄, ν̄χεφ̄η̄ε̄θοῡ**  
**αβ̄ ιωαννης̄, π̄ιραν̄ε̄τ̄ροᾱς̄ ε̄θνο̄τεμ̄**  
**η̄εν̄ζαν̄ψαη̄λ, ν̄εμ̄ ζαν̄τωβ̄ς̄, ν̄εμ̄**  
 300 **ζαν̄ερ̄μ̄ωγῑ, ν̄εμ̄ ζαν̄τ̄ζο, ν̄εμ̄ ζαν̄**  
**ωρω̄ις̄, ν̄εμ̄ ζαν̄νη̄ς̄τῑᾱ, η̄ενο̄γτο̄<sup>γ</sup>**  
 f. 44<sup>v</sup> **βο, ν̄εμ̄ ο̄υμ̄ς̄τη̄ριον̄ ε̄ρ̄ζηπ̄, χ̄ε**  
**ναρε̄ π̄ικος̄μος̄ τη̄ρ̄ς̄ ω̄ωπῑ μ̄πε̄ρ̄**  
**μ̄θο, μ̄φρη̄τ̄ νο̄υζ̄ι, κατᾱ φ̄ρη̄τ̄**  
 305 **ε̄τ̄ς̄η̄νο̄υτ̄, χ̄ε ο̄ῡε̄φ̄λη̄οῡ ν̄τε**  
**ζαν̄ε̄φ̄λη̄οῡ, νε̄, ρ̄ωμῑ ν̄ιβεν̄ ε̄τ̄<sup>ο</sup>νη̄<sup>(⊗)</sup>**  
**(39) ζοταν̄ δε̄ ε̄τᾱγε̄ρ̄ζο̄ῡο̄ ε̄χω̄ρ̄ ν̄χ̄ε̄νῑ**  
**ρο̄μη̄ ε̄ρ̄ωο̄π̄ η̄ενο̄γ̄μ̄κᾱζ̄ ν̄ζη̄τ̄<sup>⊗</sup>**  
**(40) απ̄ε̄ρ̄ζη̄τῑ νᾱρ̄, ο̄υο̄ζ̄ λ̄ρ̄νε̄ρ̄ς̄ῑ ε̄βολ̄ η̄εν̄**  
 310 **π̄ις̄ρο̄μ̄ ν̄τε̄τε̄ρ̄ε̄β̄ω̄ι, ν̄εμ̄ πε̄ρ̄**  
**χῑν̄ᾱμε̄λε̄ς̄, ο̄υο̄ζ̄ πε̄χᾱρ̄ μ̄παρη̄**  
**τ̄, χ̄ε ο̄ῡ πε̄ πᾱζ̄η̄οῡ, χ̄ε ε̄ω̄ωπ̄ λῑ**  
**ψαν̄μο̄ῡ μ̄παρη̄τ̄, ο̄ῡδε̄ μ̄π̄ιο̄ῡ**  
**ον̄ζ̄τ̄ ν̄κᾱλω̄ς̄, ᾱλλᾱ η̄ενο̄γ̄ζ̄ω̄β̄**  
 315 **ε̄ρ̄ζηπ̄, †νᾱων̄η̄ ᾱλλᾱ †νᾱτω̄ν̄τ̄**  
 316 **ν̄τᾱφ̄ε̄ ν̄η̄ῑ ψᾱβᾱβ̄ῡλων̄ ν̄τε̄χη̄μη̄**

295 he might die manifestly<sup>64</sup> for the name of our Lord Jesus  
Christ.

(38) *Now* the holy one John  
continued this way in the name which is sweeter than  
sweetness, in prayers and entreaties,

300 tears and supplications,  
vigils and *fasts*, in purity  
and a hidden *mystery*.<sup>65</sup> For

f. 44<sup>v</sup> the whole *world* was ‘before  
Him as nothing,’<sup>66</sup> *according to* what is

305 written: Vanity of  
‘vanities are all living people.’<sup>67</sup>

(39) *And when* the years spent in grief  
increased all the more,

(40) he came to his senses,<sup>68</sup> and he awakened from  
310 the unconsciousness of his forgetfulness and his  
*carelessness*. He spoke thusly,

‘What profit is it for me if I were  
to die this way *and* I did not  
give a *good* showing<sup>69</sup> of myself? *Though* in a hidden

315 deed I would live, *yet* I will get up

316 and go to *Babylon* of Cairo<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> See note 32.

<sup>65</sup> Perhaps referring to Christ, as in Colossians 1<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Psalm 38<sup>6</sup>. In the Psalm, ΠΑΤΑΧΡΟ, ‘my strength,’ is ΝΟΥΖΑΙ before God. See next note.

<sup>67</sup> Psalm 38<sup>6</sup>. The entire 38<sup>th</sup> Psalm is a meditative, penitent passage suited to this context. See Oswald H.E. Burmester and Eugène Dévaud, eds., *Psalterii versio memphitica* (Louvain: Imprimerie J.B. Istas, 1925), pp. 44, 45: ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΚΧΩ ΝΗΑΕΖΟΟΥ ΑΥΕΡΑΠΑΣ ΠΑΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΦΡΗΤ ΝΟΥΖΑΙ ΝΠΕΚΜΘΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΑΗΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΖΑΝΕΦΛΗΟΥ ΝΕΝΡΩΜΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΤΟΝΗ.

<sup>68</sup> Compare with Psalm 38<sup>4</sup>: ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΗΜΟΜ ΝΧΕ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΣΑΘΟΥΝ ΝΗΜΟΙ, ‘My heart burned inside me.’

<sup>69</sup> This is another instance wherein the word ΟΥΩΝΖ expresses the sense of the Arabic *arada* or *itarafa*. See note 32.

<sup>70</sup> The word ΧΗΜΙ translates the Arabic *misr*, which can mean all of Egypt, Cairo, or the seat of power (the Citadel, the palace, Fustāt, or old Babylon). For this instance, Casanova states that, ‘il semble même par le contexte que c’est de la Citadelle ...’ See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, p. 149. In distinguishing Cairo proper (post-969) from the old cities of Babylon and Fustāt, the Arabic typically refers to Cairo as *al-qāhīrah*, and Old Cairo as *misr*. A clear example distinguishing the walled city (Cairo) from Babylon is available in the *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., *History of*

- ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΑΘΖΙ ΕΡΑΤ ΝΑ<ΖΡΕΝ><sup>71</sup> ΠΙΟΥΡΟ  
 ΕΛΧΕΜΕΛ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (41) ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΑΕΡΕΤΙΝ<sup>72</sup> ΝΤΟΤΓ ΜΠΑΝΑΖ†  
 320 ΕΨΩΠ ΑΡΨΑΝΕΡΖΜΟΤ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΙ-  
 †ΝΑΩΝΗ ΗΕΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΕΓΘΗΤ, ΕΨ<sup>Ω</sup>Π  
 C.86, 164 ΔΕ | ΜΜΟΝ ΕΓΝΑΗΘΘΒΕΤ ΗΕΝΤCΗ  
 ΓΙ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΑΜΟΥ ΝΚΑΛΩC, ΕΧΕΝ  
 ΦΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΘC ΙΗC ΠΧC<sup>✠</sup>  
 325 (42) CΑΤΟΤΓ ΔΕ ΑΓΤΩΝΓ ΝΑΤΒΕΝΝΕ  
 ΑΓΒΙ ΜΠΕΓΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΓ, ΑΓΕΡΑΙΟΥ  
 ΨΑΧΗΜΙ, ΝΕΜΖΑΝΚΟΥΧΙ ΜΜΑΖΙ,  
 ΝΑΨΩΠ ΠΕ, ΝΕΜΝΙΡΕΜΡΗC, ΝΙΠΙC  
 ΤΟC ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΓ† Μ  
 330 ΠΙΜΑΖΙ ΕΒΟΛ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΓ† ΜΠΕΓΤΙ  
 ΜΗ ΝΑΠΕΓΨΗΡΙ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (43) ΟΥΟΖ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ ΝΑΙ ΑΓCΕΒΤΩΤΓ ΕΘ  
 ΡΕΓΜΟΥ, ΕΧΕΝΦΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΘC ΙΗC  
 ΠΧC, ΝΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΘΜΗ, Μ  
 335 ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC, ΕΠΕΓΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΑΝ  
 ΝΗC, ΕΟΥΟΝΝΤΑΓ ΜΜΑΓ ΝΟΥCΟΝ  
 ΜΜΟΥΝΑΧΟC<sup>✠</sup>  
 f. 45<sup>r</sup> (44) ΑΓΙ ΝΧΕΠΘΜΗ ΕΚΩ† ΝCΩΓ, ΗΕΝ  
 ΤΕΓΕΚΚΑΝCΙΑ, ΟΥΟΖ ΜΠΕΓΧΕΜΓ  
 340 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΓΒΙ ΜΠCΟΒΝΙ <sup>mm</sup>ΠΑΠΑ ΙΩΑΝ  
 341 ΝΗC, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΑΙΖΩΒ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΠΑΠΑ

*the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. 3, part 2 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970), p. 191, f. 225<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 114, l.11–14). There it states that it costs three dirhams to hire an ass to travel from Bāb al-Zuwaylah in Cairo (*al-qāhira*) to the Church of Mu'allaqah in Babylon (*miṣr*). Arabic literature of this period often couples the two cities together, *al-qāhira wa miṣr*. See also f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.23, 24.

<sup>71</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat read this as a supralinear addition, though it is not visible in my copy of the MS.

<sup>72</sup> See Hyvernat, *CSCO* 125, *op. cit.*, p. 250a: ερ+ ἀπειν.

and stand be⟨fore⟩ al-Malik  
al-Kāmil

(41) and *petition* him for my faith.

320 If he grants grace to me

I will live with an agreeable heart, *but*

C.86, r64

if | not, he will slay me with the  
sword and I will die *properly* for  
the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.’

325 (42) *So* forthwith he arose without delay,  
took his son with him, and went

to Cairo<sup>73</sup> with a little flax,

and was dwelling with the southerners,  
the Christian *believers*. He sold

330 the flax and gave its *price*  
to his son.

(43) After these things he prepared himself  
to die for the name of our Lord Jesus  
Christ. There was a righteous man,

335 a *priest*, whose name was John,  
who had a *monastic*  
brother.

f. 45<sup>r</sup>

(44) The righteous one came to seek him ⟨the monk⟩ at  
his *church* but he did not find him.

340 He took advice from John

341 the priest about this matter. The priest said

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<sup>73</sup> Here **xhm** seems to mean the greater metropolitan area of the two cities. See note 70 above.



- ΝΑϚ, ΧΕ ΜΑΦΕ ΝΑΚ ΨΑΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗ<sup>ο</sup>  
 ΝΨΟΡΠ, ΟΥΟΖ ΒΙ ΜΠΕϚΣΟΒΝΙ ΉΕΝΦΑΙ  
 ΨΑΝΤΕΚΩΤΕΜ ΕΠΕϚΣΑΧΙ<sup>⊕</sup>
- 345 (45) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΑϚ, ΧΕ ΨΕΡΖΟΨ  
 ΕΘΒΕ ΠΙΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ, ΝΤΕϚΖΙΖΟΨ  
 ΕΡΟΙ, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΙΉΩΤΕΒ, ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΠΑΤ  
 ΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ, ΝΕΜ ΠΑΡΕϚΣΟΒΝΙ ΠΧΣ  
 ΠΕ, ΉΕΝΠΙΜΟΥ, ΝΕΜ ΠΙΩΝΉ, ΑΛΛΑ
- 350 ΨΝΑΦΕ ΝΗΙ, ΨΑΠΉΕΛΛΟ ΜΜΑΙΧΡΣ,<sup>74</sup>  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΣΟΦΟΣ, ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΠΟΥ  
 ΨΕΧΕΡ, ΠΙΣΗΝΙ, ΜΠΟΥΡΟ ΕΛΧΕΜΕΛ  
 ΝΤΑΒΙ ΜΠΕϚΣΟΒΝΙ, ΨΑΝΤΑΣΩ  
 ΤΕΜ ΕΠΕϚΣΑΧΙ, ΉΕΝΝΑΙ<sup>⊕</sup>
- 355 (46) ΠΑΙΡΗΨ ΑϚΤΩΝϚ, ΑϚΦΕ ΝΑϚ ΨΑΡ<sup>ο</sup>Ϛ,  
 ΉΕΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΕϚΧΟΡ ΨΑΠΉΕΛΛΟ Ν  
 ΣΟΦΟΣ, ΠΙΣΗΝΙ ΜΠΟΥΡΟ· ΑϚΤΑΜ<sup>ο</sup>Ϛ  
 ΕΠΕϚΖΩΒ· ΙΣΧΕΝ ΨΑΡΧΗ ΨΑΠΙ  
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ<sup>⊕</sup>
- 360 (47) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΣΟΦΟΣ ΝΑϚ ΧΕ ΑΡΙΕΜΙ ΝΑΚ  
 ΧΕ ΠΙΣΑΧΙ ΕΤΑΚΧΟΤΟΥ· ΖΑΝΧΕΟΥ<sup>Α</sup>  
 ΑΝ ΠΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΜΦΡΗΨ ΝΖΑΝΣΑΜΕΘ  
 ΝΟΥΧ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΕΝΧΕ ΜΕΘΝΟΥ<sup>Υ</sup>Χ,  
 ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΠΕΨΓΡΑΦΗ,<sup>80</sup>
- 365 ΧΩ ΜΝΟΣ, ΉΕΝΨΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ, ΧΕ

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<sup>74</sup> Sic.

- to him, ‘Go to the *patriarch*  
 first and receive his counsel on this ⟨matter⟩  
 until you hear his word.’
- 345 (45) The *blessed* one said to him, ‘I am afraid  
 about the *patriarch*, that he might instill fear  
 in me about the execution. *But* my  
*patriarch* and my counselor is Christ  
 in death and life. *However*,
- 350 I will go to the Christ-loving elder  
 and *wise one*, namely Abū  
 Shākir<sup>75</sup> the physician of al-Malik al-Kāmil,  
 to receive his counsel until I  
 hear his word on these ⟨matters⟩.
- 355 (46) Thus he arose and went to him—  
 with a firm heart<sup>76</sup>—to the *wise*  
 elder, the physician of the king. He informed him  
 about his situation from the beginning to  
 the end.
- 360 (47) The *wise one* said to him, ‘Understand  
 that the declaration which you spoke is not blasphemous.<sup>77</sup>  
*Rather*, they are like  
 liars,<sup>78</sup> and we ourselves speak lies  
 all the time. *But* the *Scripture*<sup>79</sup>
- 365 says in the ⟨Lord’s⟩ *Prayer*,

<sup>75</sup> For more on Abū Shākir (d.1216), see Chapter Four on historical issues. See also Ibn ‘abi Uṣaybi‘a, *Uyūn al-ānbā’i fī ṭabaqāti l-āṭibā’i*, ed. August Müller (Königsberg: Selbstverlag, 1884), pp. 122, 123.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. f. 49<sup>r</sup>, l.1, 2, where al-Malik al-Kāmil asks John about ΠΤΑΧΡΟ ΠΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΚΜΕΥΙ, the ‘determination of [his] heart and mind.’

<sup>77</sup> The resumptive pronoun and the plural ‘blasphemies’ do not match the singular ΠΙΣΑΧΙ. Here ΠΙΣΑΧΙ, ‘the declaration,’ almost certainly means the *shahādah*.

<sup>78</sup> Sic.

<sup>79</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat suggest ΑΛΛΑ ΑΡΕ ΤΓΡΑΦΗ for the text’s inexplicable ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΠΕ ΤΓΡΑΦΗ.

- ἸΠΕΡΕΝΤΕΝ Ἐῤοῤν ἘΠΙΡΑCΜΟC  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΖΜΕΝ ἘΒΟΛ ΖΑΠΠΕΤΖΩΟ<sup>65</sup>  
 C.86, 165 (48) ΝΑΚἘΜΙ, ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ, ΧΕ ΝΑΙΘΟΝΟC  
 ΖΑΠΠΕΤΖΩΟΥ ἘΜΑΨΩ, ΟΥΟΖ ΧΝΑ  
 370 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΟΥCΑΧΙ ἸΠΑΙΡΗ†, ἸΠΟΥ  
 ἸΘΟ ἘΒΟΛ, ΙΕ ΑΡΗΟΥ ἸΠΕΚΑΜΟΝΙ  
 f. 45<sup>v</sup> ἸΤΟΤΚ ἤΕΝΖΑΝΠΙΡΑCΜΟC, ΤΕΝ  
 ΝΑΨΩΠΙ ἸΝΟΝ ἤΕΝΖΑΝΨΩΠΙ<sup>66</sup>  
 (49) ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΨΕ ΝΑΚ ἘΒΟΛ ἤΕΝΠΑΙΚΑΖΙ,  
 375 ΝΕΜ ἘΒΟΛ ἤΕΝΘΜΗ† ἸΝΑΙΜΗΨ ἸΘ  
 ΝΟC, ΝΕΜ ΠΖΟΥᾠ ἸΠΟΥΜΟC† ἘΡΟΝ,  
 ΟΥΟΖ ἸΑΨΕ ΝΑΚ ἘΒΟΛ ἤΕΝΟΥΒΑΚΙ,  
 ἘΒΑΚΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΤΙΜΙ, ΕΙΕΤΙΜΙ, ΚΑ  
 ΤΑ ΦΗἘΤΑ ΠΧC, ἤΕΝΠΙΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙ  
 380 ΟΝ, ΧΕ ἘΨΩΠ ΑΥΨΑΝΒΟΧΙ ἸCΩ  
 ΤΕΝ ἤΕΝΤΑΙΒΑΚΙ, ΦΩΤ  
 ἘΚΕΟΥἸ<sup>67</sup>  
 (50) ΑΜΗΝ †ΧΩ ἸΜΟC ΝΩΤΕΝ, ΧΕ ΝΕΤΕΝ  
 ΦΟΖ ΕΜΕΨΤ, ΕΝΙΒΑΚΙ ΝΤΕΠΙCΛ,  
 385 ΨΑΝΤΕCΙ ἸΧΕΠΨΗΡΙ ἸΦΡΩΜΙ<sup>68</sup>  
 (51) ΠΙΝΑΙΑΤC ΔΕ ἤΕΝΟΥΜΕΘΜΗ, ΙΩΑΝΝΗ<sup>c</sup>  
 ΑCΘΩΜ ἸΡΩC, ΟΥΟΖ ΑCΨΕ ΝΑC ἘΒΟΛ  
 ΖΑΡΟC, ΑCΕΡΕΒΔΩΜΑC<sup>80</sup> ἸἘΖΟΟΥ, ΑC  
 CΗΙ ἸΖΑΝΠΟΤΑΚΙΟΝ ΨΑΠΟΥΡΟ, ΕC  
 390 ἸῤΗΡΙ ἸῤΗΤC ἸΠΑΙΡΗ†, ΧΕ ΠΙΖΕΜ

<sup>80</sup> Without noting it, Balestri and Hyvernat correct the MS by rendering this **ΕΒΔΟ-**  
**ΜΑC**.

- “Lead us not into *temptation*  
*but* deliver us from the evil one.”<sup>81</sup>  
 C.86, 165 (48) Do you not realize that these *nations*  
 are very evil?<sup>82</sup> And, you will  
 370 announce<sup>83</sup> a declaration like this in their  
 presence!? Unless, somehow, you prevail  
 f. 45<sup>v</sup> through *temptations*, we  
 ourselves will live in shame.  
 (49) *Rather*, go from this land  
 375 and from the midst of these many  
*nations* and their great hatred toward us,  
 and go from town  
 to town and village to village  
*just as* Christ said in the *Gospel*,  
 380 “If they run  
 you out of this town, flee  
 to another one.  
 (50) *Truly* I say to you: You will not  
 finish visiting the towns of *Israel*  
 385 before the Son of Man comes.”<sup>84</sup>  
 (51) *Then* the one blessed in righteousness, John,  
 shut his mouth and went away  
 from him. He spent *seven* days and  
 wrote *notes* to the king, while  
 390 he was there,<sup>85</sup> like this: ‘The

<sup>81</sup> Matthew 6<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> Hyvernat also translates this sentence as a question. See Hyvernat, *CSCO* 125, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>83</sup> For similar uses of **ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ** see note 32.

<sup>84</sup> Matthew 10<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Literally, ‘while he being in it (*feminine*).’ It probably means while the king was ‘in’ Egypt, in Old Cairo (**ⲧⲕⲉⲱⲣⲱⲛⲓ**), or even in the Citadel (**ⲧⲕⲁⲗⲁ**). It does not mean that John was ‘in’ Cairo, since f. 45<sup>v</sup>, l.34 (below) states that John ‘returned to Cairo (**ⲈⲪⲏⲛⲓ**).’ For a similar use of **ⲛⲓⲣⲏⲧⲥ**, where the feminine pronoun more clearly refers to its antecedent, the town of Pepleu, see f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.26 (**ⲁⲓⲓⲱⲣⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲣⲏⲧⲥ**).

2ΑΛ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ Ν̄ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC, ΙCΧΕΝ  
 ΖΑΝΚΕΡΟΜΠΙ ΑΥΧΕΜΧΟΜ ΕΖΡΗΙ Ε̄  
 ΧΩΙ Ν̄ΧΕΝΙΡΕΜΚΕΦΡΩΜΙ, ΗΕΝΖΑΝ  
 ΜΕΘΡΕΥ Ν̄ΝΟΥΧ, ΟΥΟΖ †ΝΟΥ Ω̄ ΠΑΔ̄C  
 395 ΠΟΥΡΟ, ᾹΠΕΚΖΜΟΤ ΤΑΖΕ .<sup>86</sup> ΟΥΟΝ  
 ΝΙΒΕΝ, ΑΙΤ Ν̄ΟΥΑΙ Ν̄ΤΕΝΗΕΤΑΚΕΡ  
 ΖΜΟΤ ΕΧΩΟΥ\*ΙΕ Ν̄ΤΕΚΕΡΖΜΟΤ  
 ΝΗΙ Η̄ΠΑΝΑΖ†, ΙΕ Ν̄ΤΕΚΤΟΥΒΟ Η̄ΠΑ  
 ΩΨΗΕΜ Ε̄ΒΟΛ Η̄ΕΝΤΕΚΗCΗCΙ, ΟΥΟΖ  
 400 Ν̄ΤΑΜΟΥ Ε̄ΧΕΝΦΡΑΝ Η̄ΠΕΝΔ̄C ΙΗ̄C  
 ΠΧ̄C, Φ† Ν̄ΤΕΝΑΙΟ†\*  
 (52) ΚΕΜΗΨ ΔΕ Η̄ΠΟΔΑΚΙΟΝ, Η̄ΠΑΙΡΗ†, ΟΥ  
 ΟΖ Η̄ΠΕΟΥΨΙΝΙ ΙΝΙ Ε̄ΒΟΛ Ν̄ΗΤΟΥ,  
 ΟΥΟΖ Ε̄ΤΑΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΤΕ†ΚΥ  
 405 ΡΙᾹΚΗ, ΑCΤΑCΘΟΟ Ε̄ΧΗΜΙ, Η̄ΕΝΟΥ  
 ΝΙΨ† ΝΕΜΚΑΖ Ν̄ΖΗΤ Ε̄ΜΑΨΩ ΠΕ, ΚΑ  
 f. 46<sup>r</sup> ΤΑ ΤCΥΝΗΘΙᾹ Ν̄ΤΕΝΙΡΕΜΡΗC, ΝΙ  
 ΠΙCΤΟC Ν̄ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC Η̄ΕΝΠΖΟῩ  
 Ν̄ΤΕΤΟΥᾹΓΑΠΗ, Ε̄ΠΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC Ν̄ΑΡ  
 C.86, 166 410 ΧΕΟC, ΠΙΑΡΧΗΘΑΙΤΗC, | ΠΙΜΑΡΤΥΡ°C,  
 ΠΙᾹΓΙΟC, ΓΕΨΡΓΙΟC, ΠΙΜΕΛΕΤΟΝ·  
 412 ΨΑΓΙΡΙ Ν̄†Ζ̄ Ν̄ΚΗΡΙᾹΚΗ,<sup>87</sup> Ν̄ΤΕΠῙ Ν̄

<sup>86</sup> Erasure of one letter here.

<sup>87</sup> Sic. γ is later written over the first η in ΚΗΡΙᾹΚΗ.

servant, a Christian man. In  
 other years the people of Old Cairo  
 had sway over me through  
 false testimonies. And now O my lord,  
 395 king, your grace has extended to  
 everyone. Make me one of these to whom you have  
 given grace. Either grant  
 me the favor of my faith, or purify my  
 pollution with your sword and  
 400 I will die for the name of our Lord Jesus  
 Christ, God of my fathers.’

(52) *And* ⟨there were⟩ several other *notes* of this sort, and  
 no report came back from them.

And when it was the day of the  
 405 *Lord* ⟨Sunday⟩, he returned to Cairo  
 f. 46<sup>r</sup> very greatly troubled at heart.  
*According to the custom* of the southerners, the  
 Christian *believers*,<sup>88</sup> in the greatness  
 of their *love* for the *ancient*  
 C.86, 166 410 *martyr*, the | *super athlete*, the *martyr*  
*Saint George the Meletonian*<sup>89</sup>  
 412 (to whom they dedicated seven *Sundays* of

<sup>88</sup> According to the *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn*, the southern Christians were known for preserving Christian tradition and especially the use of Coptic when others were assimilating. See J. Ziadeh, ed., trans., ‘L’Apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de deir-el-Qalamoun,’ *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 20 (1915–1917): 374–404, p. 380, l.20–25, from Bibliothèque Nationale Arabic MS 150, f. 22<sup>v</sup>, l.15–20. There it states that the assimilating Christians will ‘revile’ (*yashimūhum*) the southerners who still ‘know the Coptic language and speak it’ (l.20).

<sup>89</sup> St. George of Melitene, celebrated on the 23rd of Barmoudeh, is a Coptic calque on the Greek St. George martyred under Diocletian. For a brief overview, see De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London: SPCK, 1937), pp. 140–145.

- ψαι ναϑ, ογοζ ψαγωψ ἄτεϑμαρτη  
 ριᾶ,<sup>90</sup> κατα κυριακη, ηενζανβωζεμ,  
 415 ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΦΑΛΛΙ<sup>91</sup> ΕΥΕΡΠΡΕΠΙ ΕΠΕϑ  
 ΤΑΙΟ<sup>ⲓⲗ</sup>  
 (53) ΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΧΙ ΔΕ ἄτμι ἄσαμεντ  
 ἄτεφιαρο ἄτεχημι ἄπεσραν πε  
 ΠΟΝΜΟΝΡΟC, Εϑἄηρη ἄηητc, Ν  
 420 ΧΕΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ,<sup>91</sup> ἄχενφραν ἄπιαγι  
 ΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC<sup>ⲓⲗ</sup>  
 (54) ΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ἄηητc ΕΠΕϑ  
 ΡΑΝ ΠΕ ἄροϑc,<sup>92</sup> ΝΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ἄ  
 ΘΜΗ, ἄϑερζοτ ἄηηη ἄφτ, ΠΙΜΑ  
 425 ΚΑΡΙΟC ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗC, ἄταϑναϑ ἄνι  
 ΜΗΨ, ΧΕ CΕΖΩΛ ἄμαϑ, ΑϑΤΩΝϑ  
 ΑϑΨΕ ΝΑϑ, ΝΕΜΨΟΥ ἄμαϑ, ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ  
 ΕΘΡΕϑΧΗΚ<sup>93</sup> ΠΨΑΙ, ἄπιαγιΟC ΓΕΩΡ  
 ΓΙΟC, ΝΕΜΠΧΩΡΟC ἄτενιχρηc  
 430 ΤΙΑΝΟC, ΟΥΟΖ ἄτανικληρικΟC, Χ<sup>ⲁ</sup>Κ  
 ἄππωλη ἄτεζανἄροϑζι, ΝΕΜ †  
 ΦΑΛΜΩΔΙΑ, ἄτεπἄχωρζ, ΠΑΙΡΗ†  
 ἄφναϑ ἄψωρη, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑϑΕΡΨΑ  
 434 ΛΙΝ ἄπιαγιΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC, ηενζαν

<sup>90</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat differ slightly in their omission of these superlinear strokes.

<sup>91</sup> Sic.

<sup>92</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat omit the superlinear stroke. A small Arabic *ʿym* appears to be written before the superlinear stroke. The same sign appears on f. 49<sup>r</sup>, l.4, with the name *al-ʿAdil*.

<sup>93</sup> The qualitative form of **χωκ** is peculiar here, perhaps intending: ‘so that the festival would be completed.’

Pentecost (50 festivals)), they would read his *martyrdom*  
*each Lord's day* with responsorial hymns  
 415 and *Psalms suited* to his  
 honor.

(53) *Now* there is a little village to the west  
 of the river of Egypt whose name is  
*Ponmonros*,<sup>94</sup> in which there is  
 420 a *church* in the name of  
*Saint George*.

(54) There is a *priest* in it whose  
 name is 'Arous, a righteous  
 man who fears God. *Now* when the  
 425 *blessed John* noticed the  
 multitudes, that they flocked there, he arose  
 and went there with them *so that*  
 he might complete the festival of *Saint George*  
 with the *troop* of the Christians.

430 And the *clerics* completed  
 the prayer of evening and the  
*psalm-singing* of the night, then  
 the early morning, and they were *singing*  
 434 about *Saint George* with

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<sup>94</sup> Hyvernât identifies this town as the modern day Abū al-Numrus, which is on the west side of the river, across from Babylon. Hyvernât, *GSCO* 125, *op. cit.*, p. 114. See also the heading 'Bunumrus' in Stefan Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1984), pp. 436, 437.



435 ΖΩΔΗ, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΤΩΒΖ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (55) Ἰ̄θoυ Δε ΠιπiCToC ἕενΠ̄oC, ΠῑαΓiοC  
 ΙωαννηC, ἁπερζητ ἰ̄ ε̄ροϋ, ναϋ  
 μεγῖ ἡπαρητ̄, ε̄οβε νινιωτ̄ ἡζη<sup>ο</sup>τ̄  
 ε̄ταφτ̄ αιτοϋ, νεμΠῑαΓiοC γεωρ

44<sup>o</sup> ΓΙΟΣ·  
 f. 46<sup>v</sup> ΝΕΜ ΝΙΧΑΡΙCΜΑ ΕΤΩΟΠ ΝΑϋ ἕατεν  
 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ<sup>✠</sup>

(56) Cατοτϋ Δε λϋCαχι νεμΠιπερCβϋ  
 τεροC, χε ἁροϋC, εϋχω ἡμοC ναϋ  
 445 χε ματαμοι, ω̄ πᾱoC νιωτ̄ χε φαι  
 Δε<sup>95</sup> γεωργιοC, ε̄τεναινιωτ̄ ἡτα  
 ιο ωοΠ ναϋ, οϋαγγελοC, ιε οϋρω.<sup>96</sup>  
 ψατεϋβι νηαιταιο ε̄τκηβ<sup>✠</sup>

(57) λϋεροϋω̄ ἡχεΠιπερCβϋτεροC  
 45<sup>o</sup> πεχαϋ, χε οϋρωμι πε, λϋτ̄ ἡπεϋ  
 Cωμα ε̄ναιβασανοC, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΔΙΜ<sup>ο</sup>  
 ρῑα ε̄τῆοCι, ψατεναι τηροϋ ω<sup>ο</sup>  
 Πι ναϋ, λϋεροϋω̄ ἡχεΠῑαΓiοC  
 ΙωαννηC εϋχω ἡμοC, χε ἁμην

455 πᾱoC, ἕεντχομ ἡπᾱoC ἡC̄C Π̄C̄C  
 C.86, 167 †ηαμοϋ ἁνοκ ζω ἕεντχηϋ, οϋ<sup>ο</sup>ζ  
 ἡταφων ἡπασνοϋ ζω, ε̄χεν

45<sup>8</sup> πεϋραν ε̄θοϋαβ, φαι ε̄ϋεωωΠι

<sup>95</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat read this as χε.

<sup>96</sup> Sic. See similar apocopation of ποϋρο in f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l. 3; and f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l. 22.

435 *songs and prayers.*<sup>97</sup>

(55) *Then*, as for himself, the *believer* in the Lord, *Saint* John, he came to his senses. Thus he was thinking about the great acts of grace which God performed through *Saint*

440 George

f. 46<sup>v</sup> and the *spiritual gifts* which were his through each one.

(56) *Forthwith*, he spoke with the *priest* named Arous, saying to him,

445 ‘Tell me, O my lord father, is this George, who has these

great honors, an *angel* or a m[an],

so that he should receive these two-fold honors?’<sup>98</sup>

(57) The *priest* replied

450 and said, ‘He is a man. He submitted his *body* to these *tortures* and the

difficult *punishments*, resulting in all these things<sup>99</sup> happening to him.’ *Saint* John

replied saying, ‘*Amen*,

455 my lord. By the power of my Lord Jesus Christ

C.86, 167 I myself too shall die by the sword and shed my blood too for

458 His holy name. This shall come to pass

<sup>97</sup> For details on the Canonical Hours, see O.H.E. Burmester, ‘The Canonical Hours of the Coptic Church,’ *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 2 (1936): 78–100, and *idem*, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* (Cairo: Société d’Archéologie Copte, 1967), esp. pp. 99–111.

<sup>98</sup> The ‘two-fold honors’ may refer to, 1) the ‘great acts of grace,’ (ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲟⲧ) *i.e.*, miracles performed through the intercession of St. George, and 2) the ‘*spiritual gifts*,’ (ⲛⲓⲪⲁⲓⲛⲓⲪⲁ) that St. George received in heaven. See previous page, f. 46<sup>r</sup>, l.32 – f. 46<sup>v</sup>, l.2, for which Janet Timbie has (in a personal note on an early draft of this translation) suggested another possible reading that sees John of Phanijōit’s “‘coming to his senses” [as] another miracle performed by George.’ In other words, John’s conversion would be, in part, one of the ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲟⲧ of St. George.

ΝΤΕΝΦΙΩΤ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΕϞ  
 460 ΜΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΠΕΝΘΣ,  
 ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ, ΝΡΕϞΤΑΝ  
 ΗΟ, ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΑΜΗΝ✠  
 (58) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΑϞ, ΧΕ Ω  
 ΟΥΝΙΑΤΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΗΑΤΕΝ ΠΘΣ, Ε  
 465 ΨΩΠ ΑΚΨΑΝΙΡΙ ΜΦΑΙ, ϞΝΑΕΡC<sup>Ω</sup>ΙΤ  
 ΝΧΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΗΕΝΧΗΜΙ ΤΗΡC, ΝΕΜ  
 ΠΕCΘΩ ΕΥCΟΠ, ΝΑϞΕΡΑCΠΑΖΕC  
 ΘΕ ΜΜΟϞ, ΝΧΕΠΙΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ,  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟϞ, ΟΥΟΖ CΑΤΟΤϞ  
 470 ΑϞΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΗΜΙ, ΝΑΛΚΕ ΜΦΑΡΜΟΥ  
 ΘΙ ΠΨΑΙ ΜΠΙΔΙΟC ΜΑΡΚΟC, ΠΙΔΠ<sup>Ο</sup>C  
 ΤΟΛΟC ΝΡΕϞϞΙΩΨ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ✠

*The Quest for Purification or Martyrdom*

(59) ΝΖΡΗ ΔΕ ΗΕΝCΟΥΑΙ ΜΠΑΨΟΝC, ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΑΥΜΙCΙ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝ<sup>Ο</sup>C,  
 475 ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΤΘΕΟΔΟΚΟC, ΑϞΡΩΙC Μ  
 f. 47<sup>r</sup> ΦΝΑΥ ΝΨΟΡΠ, ΑϞΨΑΝΑ ΖΑΦΤ, ΟΥ  
 ΟΖ ΑϞΤ ΜΠΙΜΗΝΙ ΝΤΕΠΙC.ΡC ΕΧΕΝ  
 ΠΕϞΖΟ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΜΟΥΡ ΗΕΝΤΧΟΜ  
 ΝΤΕΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΙΗΣ ΠΧC, ΟΥΟΖ  
 480 ΑϞΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ, ΝΤΕΤΚΕ  
 ΨΡΩΜΙ ΠΕ, ΨΑΤΑΥΛΗ<sup>103</sup> ΜΠΟΥΡΟ Ε  
 ΤΕΤΧΑΛΑ,<sup>104</sup> ΘΗΕΤΧΗ CΑΒΟΛ Ν  
 483 ΤΕΤΚΕΨΡΩΜΙ✠

by the hand of the *good* Father, His  
 460 *only-begotten* Jesus Christ our Lord,  
 and the life-giving Holy  
*Spirit* forever, amen.’  
 (58) The *priest* said to him,  
 ‘You are blessed, my brother, by the hand of the Lord.  
 465 If you do this, your name  
 will be famous in all Cairo and  
 its province together.’ The *priest*  
*kissed* him  
 and blessed him and immediately  
 470 he went to Cairo on the last day of Pharmouthi<sup>99</sup>  
 on the feast of *Saint* Mark the evangelist  
*apostle* of Egypt.

*The Quest for Purification or Martyrdom*

(59) *Then* in the month of Pashons, on  
 the day of the birth of the *Virgin*  
 475 Mary the *Theotokos*,<sup>100</sup> he arose at  
 f. 47<sup>r</sup> the first hour and prayed to God. And  
 he made the sign of the *cross* upon  
 his face and he girded up with the power  
 of our *Savior* Jesus Christ and  
 480 he went from Cairo of Old  
 Cairo,<sup>101</sup> to the *court*<sup>102</sup> of the king  
 which is the citadel,<sup>103</sup> located outside of  
 483 Old Cairo.

<sup>99</sup> The Eighth month of the Coptic calendar, March-April in the Julian calendar.

<sup>100</sup> This feast is celebrated on 1 Pashons, which is April 26 in the Julian calendar. For this festival's listing in one version of the Synaxary, see Anba Buṭrus, et. al., eds., *Al-Sinaksār*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Maḥabbah, 1978), p. 143.

<sup>101</sup> See note 70.

<sup>102</sup> See note 9, f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l. 5, for another usage of αὐλή in this text.

<sup>103</sup> ⲧⲬⲁⲗⲁ, transliterating *al-qal'ah*.

- (60) ΠΟΥΡΟ ΔΕ ΕΦΤΑΛΗΟΥΤ, ΝΕΜΠΙΣΤΡ<sup>Α</sup>  
 485 ΤΕΥΜΑ, ΝΕΜΠΙΑΡΧΗΤΖΑΠ ΝΤΕΠΕΦ  
 ΦΛΟΛ, ΝΕΜ ΠΑΡΧΗΗΕΛΛΟ, ΝΤΕΝΙ  
 ΗΕΛΛΟΙ, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙ  
 ΤΗΣ, ΉΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ<sup>ⲓⲛⲉ</sup>
- (61) ΛΦΦΟΧΦ ΔΕ ΕΘΜΗΤ ΝΝΙΜΗΦ ΕΤΟΦ  
 490 ΛΦΕΦ ΟΥΗΡΦΟΥ<sup>104</sup> ΦΑΠΟΥΡΟ ΕΧΦ<sup>105</sup>  
 ΝΜΟΣ, ΧΕ ΑΜΟΝΙ ΝΤΑΧΙΧ, Φ ΠΑΘ̄C  
 ΠΟΥΡΟ, ΕΛΧΕΜΗΛ, ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΦΤ  
 ΕΡΖΜΟΤ ΝΑΚ, ΉΠΤΑΧΡΟ Ν  
 ΤΕΤΕΚΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ<sup>ⲓⲛⲉ</sup>
- (62) ΠΟΥΡΟ ΔΕ ΛΦΘ̄ΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΦ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑῩΙΝΙ  
 495 ΝΑΦ ΜΠΙΘΜΗΙ, ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝ  
 ΝΗΣ, ΗΕΝΘΜΗΤ ΝΝΙΔΑΖΙC ΕΘΝΕ  
 ΝΑΦ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΑΦ, ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ  
 ΕΤΙᾹ, ΝΤΕΠΕΚΗΡΦΟΥ, ΠΕΧΑΦ  
 500 ΝΑΦ, ΧΕ ΦΟΥ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΕΜΗΙ, ΦΑΝ  
 ΤΑΤΑΜΟΚ, ΕΤΑ'ΑΠΟΚΡΗΣΙC<sup>106,ⲓⲛⲉ</sup>
- C.86, 168 (63) ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΝΧΕΠΟΥΡΟ, | ΧΕ ΖΕΡΙ Μ  
 ΜΟΚ, ΟΥΟΖ CΑΧΙ ΗΕΝΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ, ΠΕ  
 ΧΑΦ, ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙᾹΝΟΣ, Ᾱ  
 505 CΕΡΖΑΛ ΝΜΟΙ ΝΧΕΤ'ΑΝΟΜΙᾹ, ΦΑ'ΝΤΑ  
 ΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ ΕΠΑΝΑΖΤ, ΟΥΟΖ ΛΙ  
 507 ΧΕΛ ΜΠΑΘ̄C ΙΗΣ ΠΧC<sup>ⲓⲛⲉ</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Cited, Crum, 705b.

<sup>105</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat read a superlinear **q** here between **ε** and **χφ** that is not visible in my copy of the MS.

<sup>106</sup> The superscripted 'ι' appears to have been added by a different hand.

(60) *Now* the king ⟨was⟩ mounted up<sup>107</sup> with the  
 485 *army*, with the *chief* judge of his  
 people, the *chief* elder of the  
 elders, and some *foreign*  
*catechumens*.<sup>108</sup>

(61) *Then* he leaped amidst the great multitude  
 490 and cried out to the king saying,  
 ‘Seize my hand, O my lord,  
 al-Malik al-Kāmil *so that* God  
 would grant favour to you for the endurance of  
 your kingdom!’

495 (62) *Then* the king stood and the righteous one,  
*blessed* John, was brought to  
 him in the midst of the *ranks* who ⟨were⟩  
 with him. The king said to him, ‘What is the  
*reason* for your voice?’ He said  
 500 to him, ‘Be patient with me so that  
 I can inform you with this *answer*.’

C.86, 168

(63) The king said to him, | ‘Be still  
 and speak with steadfastness.’

He said, ‘I am a Christian.  
 505 *Lawlessness*<sup>109</sup> deceived me so that I  
 denied my faith and  
 507 rejected my Lord Jesus Christ.

<sup>107</sup> See f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.9 for same use of this verb.

<sup>108</sup> Leslie MacCoull claims that **ΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ** ‘clearly means foreign mercenaries,’ dismissing, 1) Amélineau’s ‘imagined’ theory that they are ‘foreign students,’ 2) Casanova’s ‘unlikely’ view that they are ‘missionary Islamic preachers,’ and 3) Balestri and Hyvernat’s inability to interpret it. See Leslie S.B. MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 65, note 43. MacCoull’s guess is quite plausible. See Chapter Four on the historical context of the Ayyūbids.

<sup>109</sup> The author could have in mind the Lawless One. As the text states earlier, ‘Satan deceived him with the *lust* of a *Saracen* woman,’ **ΑΦΕΡΣΑΛ ΉΜΟΙ ΝΞΕΠΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ, ΉΕΝ ΟΥΓΕΠΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΣΖΙΜΙ, ΝΣΑΡΑΚΙΝΗ** (f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.16, 17).

- (64) ΟΥΟΖ †ΝΟΥ ΛΙΩΤΕΜ ΕΩΒΕ ΠΕΚ  
 ΖΜΟΤ, ΝΕΜ ΤΕΚΔΙΚΕΩΣΥΝΗ,  
 f. 47<sup>v</sup> 510 ΕΤΦΟΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΤΕΚΜΕΤΟΥ  
 ΡΟ, ΛΙΝΗΟΥ ΨΑΡΟΚ, ΑΡΗΟΥ ΝΤΕΚ  
 ΕΡΖΜΟΤ ΝΗΙ ΜΠΑΝΑΖ† ΜΜΟΝ ΠΟΥ<sup>110</sup>  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΒΑΪΕΜ, ΜΑΤΟΥ  
 ΒΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΤΕΚΧΗΙ, ΦΑΙ ΓΑΡ  
 515 ΠΕ ΠΛΟΥΩΨ ΗΕΝΠΩΣ, ΠΟΥΡΟ ΔΕ ΠΕ  
 ΧΑΙ ΝΗΙ<sup>2</sup>ΟΥΑ† ΝΤΕΠΕΡΨΟΛΟΛ, ΝΕΙ  
 ΗΕΛΛΟΙ, ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΩΟΥ, ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ  
 ΤΕΝ†ΖΑΠ, ΝΤΕ†ΑΔΙΚΙΑ ΧΕ ΦΑΙ  
 ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΛΙΒΙ ΠΕ, ΧΕ ΦΑΙ ΜΑΡΟΥ  
 520 ΖΙΖΟ† ΕΡΟΙ ΝΓ ‹ΝΕΖΟΟΥ›<sup>✱</sup>.  
 (65) ΑΡΗΟΥ ΝΣΕΤΑΣΘΟΙ, ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΠΕΙ  
 ΛΙΒΙ, ΕΨΩΠ ΑΙΨΑΝΤΑΣΘΟΙ, ΜΑ  
 ΡΟΥΤΑΙΟΙ, ΚΗΝΑΤΑΣΘΟΙ ΟΝ,<sup>111</sup> ΜΑΡΟΥ  
 ΡΟΚΖΙ ΕΨΟΝΗ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΜΠΙ  
 525 ΑΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ, ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΓ ΝΚΕΝ  
 ΤΕΡΙΟΝ, ΕΥΑΡΕΖ, ΨΑΓ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ, ΨΑΝ  
 ΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΙΣΟΒΟΝΙ ΜΕΝΕΝ  
 ΣΩΟΥ<sup>✱</sup> . . .  
 (66) ΠΘΜΗ ΔΕ ΑΓΑΜΟΝΙ ΗΜΟΙ, ΝΧΕΝΙΓΕΝ  
 530 ΤΕΡΙΟΝ, ΑΥΟΛΙ Ε†ΧΑΛΑ, ΦΜΑΝ  
 ΨΩΠΙ ΜΠΟΥΡΟ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΠΙΣΩΙΤ ΣΩΡ  
 532 ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΒ ΗΠΟΛΙΣ ΧΗΜΙ, ΝΕΜ ΜΙΣ

<sup>110</sup> Sic. Read as **ΠΟΥΡΟ**. For the same apocopation of **ΠΟΥΡΟ** see f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.22. For a similar apocopation of **ΡΩΜΙ** see f. 46<sup>v</sup>, l.7.

<sup>111</sup> Sic, read **ΑΝ**.

- (64) And now I have heard of your  
 favor and your *justice*  
 f. 47<sup>v</sup> 510 that is spread throughout your kingdom.  
 I came to you so that perhaps you would  
 grant me the favor of my faith. If not, O ki[ng],  
 I am a polluted man. Purify  
 me with your sword, *for* this  
 515 is my desire in the Lord.’ *Then* the king  
 spoke with the chiefs of his people, his  
 elders. He said to them, ‘What is  
 your judgment of the *unrighteous* one?’ Said this one,  
 ‘He is a madman.’ Said that one, ‘Let them  
 520 instill fear in him for three <days>.  
 (65) Perhaps he will be turned back from his  
 madness. If he converts, let  
 them honor him. Should he not convert,<sup>112</sup> let him  
 be burned alive.’ The king said to the  
 525 *commander* of the *army*, ‘Let three  
*centurions* keep guard for three days<sup>113</sup> so that,  
 after which, we can see  
 his decision.’  
 (66) *As for* the righteous one, the *centurions*  
 530 seized him and took him to the citadel, the dwelling  
 place of the king. And the news spread  
 532 throughout the two *cities* of Cairo and

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<sup>112</sup> Refer to note 40 on **TACOO**.

<sup>113</sup> For the issue of punishment for apostasy (three days to repent and the matter of burning alive) see f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.29 – f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.2,51 below. See also Chapter Four.



ΤΡΑΜ, ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΟΥΚΥΡΙΓΜΑ ΝΕQ<sup>114</sup>  
 ΜΟΥ†, ΧΕ ΛΟΥΑΙ ΑQΙ ΨΑΠΙΟΥΡΟ ΕΛ  
 535 ΧΕΜΗΛ, ΕΕΡΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ<sup>ⲉⲃ</sup>  
 (67) ΑΠΩΙΝΙ ΔΕ ΦΟΖ ΨΑΝΗΕΛΛΟΙ ΕΠΙCΤ<sup>Ϟ</sup>,  
 ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΙΘΜΗ, ΝΑΥ  
 ΘΟΥΗΤ ΔΕ ΝΕΜΠΙCΟΦΟC, ΠΙCΗ  
 ΝΙ ΗΠΟΥΡΟ, ΕΘΒΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΤΑQ  
 540 ΗΜΑΥ, ΝΟΥΑΞΙΩΜΑ ΗΑΤΕΝΠΟΥΡΟ,  
 ΑΡΗΟΥ ΝΤΕQΒΙ ΖΜΟΤ ΕΧΕΝΠΙΘΜΗ,  
 ΗΑΤΕΝΠΟΥΡΟ, ΝΤΕQΧΑQ ΕΒΟΛ, ΠΙ  
 CΟΦΟC ΔΕ ΦΛ<sup>115</sup> ΕΠΟΥΨΕΧΕΡ, ΑQ  
 ΒΙ ΝΝΗΕΛΛΟΙ ΝΤΑΡΙCΕΟC ΝΤΕΠΟΥ  
 f. 48<sup>r</sup> 545 ΡΟ, ΑQΤΩΝQ ΑQΜΩΨΙ, | ΨΑΦΜΑ ΝΝΗ  
 C.86, 169 ΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΡΩΙC ΕΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙ  
 ΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC, ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΨΟΥ, ΧΕ  
 ΖΩΛ ΤΑΙ ΨΑΝΤΑCΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΠΑΙCΑQ  
 ΖΗΤ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΑΤΚΑ†, ΨΑ†  
 550 ΝΑΥ ΕΠΕQΚΑ† ΧΕ ΟΥ, ΝΙΚΕΝΤΕ  
 ΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΟΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΨΟΥ ΝΟΥΚΟΥ,ΧΙ<sup>(ⲉⲃ)</sup>  
 (68) ΤΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙCΟΦΟC ΝΑQ, ΧΕ ΤΖΙ  
 ΡΗΝΗ ΝΑΚ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΠΑΨΦΗΡ, ΑΙΚΗΝ  
 ΑΙΤΑΜΟΚ, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΑΙΖΩΒ, Ω ΠΑCΟΝ  
 555 ΧΕ ΜΦΡΗ† ΝΟΥCΑΧΙ ΗΜ(Ε)ΘΝΟΥΧ·

<sup>114</sup> ΝΕQΜΟΥ† appears here to be a preterit, though it would usually be ΝΑQΜΟΥ† in Bohairic.

<sup>115</sup> Here ΦΛ may be an extension of Abū Shākir's name, meaning *ibn*, 'son of' (see Crum, 259a.).

*Mistram*<sup>116</sup> in the form of a *proclamation*. It had announced, ‘Someone came to al-Malik al-  
 535 Kāmil to be *martyred*.’  
 (67) *But* the report reached the *believing* Christian elders, concerning the righteous one. *So* then they met with the *wise* physician of the king since he had  
 540 a *position* under the king.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps he could obtain favor for the righteous one at the hand of the king and he would set him free. *So* the *wise one*, Abū Shākir, received the elders of Taresios<sup>118</sup> of the king.  
 f. 48<sup>r</sup> C.86, 169 545 He arose and walked | to the place of the *centurions* who watched over the *blessed* John. He said to them, ‘Go hence<sup>119</sup> so that I can speak with this ignorant man with the defiled heart, until I  
 550 see what is going on in his mind.’<sup>120</sup> The *centurions* went away from them a bit.  
 (68) *Then* the *wise man* said to him, ‘*Peace* to you first, my friend. I already told you about this matter, O my brother,  
 555 that ⟨it is⟩ like a false declaration,

<sup>116</sup> Casanova dismisses Quatremère’s suggestion that *Mistram* reflects the Arabic *miṣr*, or Old Cairo (as Fuṣṭāṭ). He also rejects Amélineau’s argument from the Greek etymology of *στρατεύματα*, pointing to Fuṣṭāṭ (the Arab military garrison). Casanova is only willing to conjecture that the couplet here stands for a Coptic recollection of the old cities of Fuṣṭāṭ (ⲭⲏⲏⲓ) and Babylon (ⲙⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲙ), which is considered Old Cairo today. See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op.cit.*, pp. 191, 192. See also f. 44<sup>v</sup>, l.14, note 70.

<sup>117</sup> See f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.14, 15, note 74, and Chapter Four for more on Abū Shākir’s position under the king.

<sup>118</sup> Hyvernat translates this as elder scribes of the king (‘commentarienses regis’), but lists the term ⲚⲧⲁⲓⲣⲓⲥⲒⲐⲒⲐ in his index under the heading, ‘Non identifiés.’ See Hyvernat, *CSCO* 125, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 and 297, respectively.

<sup>119</sup> The same phrase, ⲒⲠⲗ ⲧⲁⲓ, is found in a Bohairic version of Luke 13<sup>31</sup>, wherein the Pharisees prompt Jesus to leave on the rationale that Herod sought his death.

<sup>120</sup> Literally, ‘... until I see his mind, namely what.’

ΙΕΥΕΡ ΠΕ ΤΕΝΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ, ΜΠΙΕΖΟΥ<sup>Υ</sup>  
 ΤΗΡΩ<sup>⊗</sup>

(69) ΣΩΤΕΜ ΝΤΑΤΑΜΟΚ ΚΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΝ  
 ΨΧΟΜ ΝΤΑΚ ΝΑΝΗΙΣΙ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΒΑ

560 ΣΑΝΟΣ, ΨΟΥΝΙΑΤΚ ΗΑΤΕΝΦΤ, ΟΥ  
 ΧΟΜ ΝΤΑΚ ΜΜΑΥ ΑΝ, ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΖΟ  
 ΕΠΟΥΡΟ, ΝΤΕΩΧΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΚΨΕ  
 ΝΑΚ, ΖΩΛ ΨΑΤΣΙΡΙΑ, ΙΕ ΤΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ·  
 ΕΡΨΕΜΜΟ ΝΑΚ, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΧΣ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΧΣ

565 ΝΑΝΑΖΜΕΚ, ΗΕΝΖΑΝΝΗΣΙΑ, ΝΕΜ  
 ΖΑΝΤΨΒΖ, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΕΥΧΗ, ΟΥΟΖ ΦΝΑΙ  
 ΜΦΤ ΝΑΨΕΠΚ, ΟΥΟΖ ΚΝΑΝΑΖΜΕΚ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (70) ΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΝΙΚΕΗΕΛΛΟΙ ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΤΑ

ΡΙ<sup>ε</sup>ΟΣ, ΝΑΥΣΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΑΩ, ΟΝΤΩΣ Ν  
 570 ΘΟΩ ΔΕ ΠΙΑΘΛΙΤΗΣ, ΠΙΒΩΚ ΝΤΕΠΧΣ,  
 ΦΗΕΤΣΜΑΡΨΟΥΤ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΑΩ  
 ΕΡΟΥΨ ΠΕΧΑΩ ΝΨΟΥ, ΧΕ ΝΑΘΣ ΝΑΙ  
 ΜΗΨ ΝΣΑΧΙ ΤΣΩΟΥΝ ΜΜΨΟΥ ΑΝ  
 ΕΒΗΛ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΜΟΥ, ΕΧΕΝΦΡΑΝ Μ

575 ΠΕΝΘΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΠΑΝΟΥΤ · (⊗)

f. 48<sup>v</sup> (71) ΕΤΑΥΣΩΤΕΜ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΙ, ΝΧΕΝΗΕΛΛΟΙ  
 ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΣΟΦΟΣ, ΜΠΤΑΧ  
 ΡΟ ΜΠΕΚΝΑΖΤ ΗΕΝΠΘΣ, ΠΕΧΨΟΥ  
 ΝΑΩ, ΧΕ ΧΕΜΝΟΜΤ ΗΕΝΠΧΣ, ΦΤ Ε

580 ΚΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ,

and how great is our falsehood  
every day!

(69) Listen and I will tell you: you know (whether)  
you have the capacity for sufferings and  
560 *tortures*. Blessed are you before God.

If you do not have the ability, I myself will beseech  
the king that he would release you and you could go  
take flight to *Syria*. Then, *by the sea*  
make yourself a stranger<sup>121</sup> for the sake of Christ, and Christ  
565 will preserve you through *fasts* and  
prayers and *supplications*. And the mercy  
of God will receive you and He will preserve you.’

(70) Thus the *believing* elders of  
Tariseos had spoken with him.<sup>122</sup> *But truly* he,  
570 the *athlete*, the servant of Christ,  
that one who is blessed, John,  
replied and said to them, ‘My lords, these  
many words I do not understand,  
except that I die in the name of  
575 our Lord Jesus Christ my God.’

f. 48<sup>v</sup> (71) *So* when the *believing* elders and the *wise* one<sup>122</sup>  
heard these (things)—of the strength  
of his faith in the Lord—they said  
to him, ‘Find comfort in Christ God.  
580 May he be with you.’ And they gave (the kiss of) *peace*

<sup>121</sup> The concept of ‘stranger’ is directly linked with monastic literature, and this passage implies a sharp contrast between the two historical modes of Coptic piety: the martyr model of engagement with civil authorities (*i.e.*, John petitioning the king for a verdict) and the monk model of separatism (*i.e.*, John retreating from civil conflict).

<sup>122</sup> Abū Shākir is the spokesman among the group of elders in their meeting with John. See f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.34 – f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.1.

ΝΑϞ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΨΕ ΝΨΟΥ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>

(72) ΤΟΤΕ ΠΙΣΟΦΟϞ ΑϞΜΟΥΤ̅ ΕΝΙΓΕΝ.

ΤΕΡΙΟΝ, ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΨΟΥ, ΧΕ †ΖΟ ΕΡΨ

ΤΕΝ ἈΡΕΖ ἘΠΑΙΛΘΝΟΥϞ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΛΙΝ

585 ΑϞΜΟΥΤ̅ ἘΡΨΟΥ ἸΧΨΠ, ΑϞΤ̅ ἸΖΑΝ

ΖΑΤ ΝΨΟΥ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΖΕΝΖΨΝΟΥ Ἐ

ΡΟϞ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΨΕ ΝΑϞ, ΑϞΧΑϞ ·

ΝΕΜΨΟΥ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>

C.86, 170

(73) ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟϞ ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΕϞΧΗ ΝΕΜ

590 ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ, ΕΥἈΡΕΖ ἘΡΟϞ, ΟΥΔΕ

ἸΝΝΟΥΕΡἸΚΑΖ ΝΨΟΥ ΝΑϞ, ἘΒΗΛ ἘΝΙ

ἈΛΨΟΥἸ ἸΤΕΠΟΥΡΟ, ΝΙΚΟΥΧΙ ΝΑΥ

ΖΙΖΟΤ̅ ἘΡΟϞ, ΉΕΝΖΑΝϞΑΧΙ ἸΚΑΛΑ

ΚΙΑ ἸΤΕ {ΝΕΜ} ΝΙϞΑϞΖΗΤ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙ

595 ΣΤΑΥΛΟΝ, ΝΑΥΖΙΖΟΤ̅ ἘΡΟϞ ΠΕ ΉΕΝ

ΖΑΝΖΡΟΨ ἸϞΑΧΙ, ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΨΨ ἘΝΑ

ΨΨΟΥ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>

(74) ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΑϞΟΥΨ ἸΡΨϞ ΑΝ

ΠΕ, ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗΤ̅ ΕΤϞϞΗΟΥΤ̅ ΉΕΝ

600 ΠΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗϞ ΔΑΥΙΔ, ΕϞΧΨ ἸΜΟϞ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>

(75) ΧΕ ΑΥΚΨΤ̅ ἘΡΟΙ ἸΧΕΟΥΘΟ ἸΟΥΖΨΡ,

ΟΥΟΖ ΟΥϞΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ἸΧΑΧΨΩΝ, ΠΕ

603 ἘΤΑϞἈΜΟΝΙ ἸΜΟΙ, ἘΤΑΠἘΧΨΡΖ

to him and they left.

(72) *Then* the *wise one* called to the *centurions*. He said to them, ‘I beseech you, guard this *mindless one*.’ And he spoke  
585 to them *again* confidentially; he gave some silver to them and instructed them regarding him (John), and he went and left him (John) with them.

C.86, 170 (73) *Now* the *blessed John* was left with  
590 the *centurions* who were guarding him, *and* they would not bother themselves with him, except for the children<sup>123</sup> of the king. The young ones instilled fear in him with *persuasive*<sup>124</sup> words, *then* the defiled ones and the  
595 *stable hands* would instill fear in him with harsh words and great scorn.<sup>125</sup>

(74) (In) all these (circumstances) he would not open his mouth, *just as* it is written by  
600 the *prophet* David saying,

(75) ‘A multitude of dogs surrounded me and there is a *gathering* of evil ones  
603 that seized me.’<sup>126</sup> *When* it was night,

<sup>123</sup> Or, ‘young servants,’ in this text used for John’s children. See f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.22–23.

<sup>124</sup> Casanova finds the term *al-talāhubu* (‘incendiary’) translating ⲧⲚⲟⲗⲁⲕⲓⲁ in Athanasius Kircher (p. 101). However, Hyvernāt has handwritten ‘pour *al-talā’ub*’ (‘playful’) in the margin of his copy of Casanova’s text. See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, p. 134 (p. 22 in the offprint belonging to Hyvernāt). See also Athanasius Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta Opus Tripartitum* (Rome, 1643), p. 101. Hyvernāt has also written a correction in his copy of Kircher. It should be kept in mind that Kircher’s work draws from the Copto-Arabic grammars that were being produced less than sixty years after the drafting of *J.Phan*. See Chapter Three for comments on these grammars. My trans. is influenced by occurrences of this word in works cited by Hans Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), p. 428.

<sup>125</sup> The text implies that one group would feign some sort of (debased?) interest in John, coaxing him in frightening ways, then another group would follow with threats.

<sup>126</sup> Psalm 21<sup>17</sup>.

- ΔΕ ΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΘΟQ ΔΕ ΠΙΘΜΗ ΝΑQΜΗΝ  
 605 ΝΕΜΝΙΡΕQĀΡΕQ, ΨΑΝΤΕΟΥQΝ ἄΜΟ  
 ΝΙ ἸΜΟQ, ΟΥQZ ἈΥΕΝQ ΨΑΠΟΥQΡΟ ·  
 ΗΕΝΠΕQΚΑCΔΡΟΝ, ἈΥΤΑQΖΟQ,  
 ἸΠΠΕQḲḲḲ<sup>ⲓⲛ</sup>  
 (76) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΟΥQΡΟ ἸΠΠΙΘΗ<sup>127</sup> ἸΩΑΝΗC, <sup>128</sup> ΧΕ ΜΑ  
 f. 49<sup>r</sup> 610 ΤΑΜΟΙ ἸΠΠΑΧΡΟ ἸΠΠΕQΖΗΤ ΝΕΜ  
 ΠΕΚΜΕḲḲḲ, ΟΥQΝ ΟΥΔΑΝΙCΤΗC ἘΧ<sup>ⲡ</sup>Κ  
 Ν̄ΛΟΥΑΙ, ΨΑΤΑΦΕ ἸΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΟΥQΡΟ  
 Ν̄ΕΛḲΤΕ, <sup>129</sup> †ΝΑΤΟΒΟΥ ΝΑΚ ἘΧΩΚ  
 ΟΥΦΕΝCΝΟQ, †ΝΑΝΑQΜΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 615 ἸΜΟQ, ἘΨΩΠ ΧΟΥΨΩ ἘΠΕΚΝΑQ†  
 Ν̄ΤΕΨΩΡΠ, ἄΜΟΥ ΝΑΤΟΟΥḲ ΝΑQΡΑQ,  
 ΜΠΑΡΧΗΚΡΙΤΗC, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΚΑΘΗΧΟΥ  
 ΜΕΝΙΤΗC ΝΕΜ ΠΗΕΛΛΟ Ν̄ΤΕΝΙ  
 ΗΕΛΛΟΙ, ΕΡΛΑΜΙΤΗC, <sup>130</sup> ἸΠΠΟΥΜΘΟ, ΟΥ  
 620 ΟQ ΜΩΙΤ ΝΙΒΕΝ ἘΤΕΚΟΥΑΨQ QΨΛ  
 ἘΡΟQ, ΟΥQZ ΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΧΡΗCΤΙḲΝΟC,  
 ΠΕΤΕQΖΝΑΚ<sup>ⲓⲛ</sup>  
 (77) ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΔΕ ἸΩΑΝΝΗC, ΝΑQΧΩ Ν̄  
 624 ΡΩQ, ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΑQ, ἘΒΟΛ

<sup>127</sup> Sic. Balestri and Hyvernât read this as ἸΠΠΙΘΗ, without note.

<sup>128</sup> Sic. Balestri and Hyvernât read as ἸΩΑΝΝΗC.

<sup>129</sup> Sic. What appears to be a small Arabic *ʿayn* is written with the superlinear stroke above the *α*. For a similar appearance of an *ʿayn* with the name, *ʿArous*, see f. 46<sup>r</sup>, l. 18, and note 92.

<sup>130</sup> See Athanasius Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca, op. cit.*, p. 81, where he records *ΟΥΛΛ-ΜΙΤΗC, muslimun*, in a Coptic-Arabic scale listing religious groups.

the righteous one remained  
 605 with the guards until one seized  
 him and he was brought to the king  
 in his *fortress*. They stood him up  
 in his presence.

(76) The king said to the righteous one, John, ‘Tell  
 f. 49<sup>r</sup> 610 me of the determination of your heart and  
 your mind. Is there a *creditor* against you?  
 To ⟨any⟩one<sup>131</sup>—by the head of my father al-Malik  
 al-‘Ādi[*l*]<sup>132</sup>—I will pay them for you. Is there shedding of  
 blood upon you? I will pardon you from  
 615 it. If you desire your former  
 faith, come in the morning<sup>133</sup> before  
 the *high judge* and the *catechumens*<sup>134</sup>  
 and the chief of the  
 elders to become a Muslim in their presence. And  
 620 any path you desire, take  
 it, and be a Christian  
 as you will.’

(77) *But* the *blessed* John was  
 624 silent. *So then* someone from among those

<sup>131</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat cannot translate  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\sigma\gamma\alpha\iota$  (f. 49<sup>r</sup>, l.3) and they suggest  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\sigma\gamma\omega$  and  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\sigma\gamma\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$  as options. See Balestri and Hyvernat, eds., ‘Acta Martyrum II,’ in *CSCO* 86 (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1924), p. 375.

<sup>132</sup> See f.51<sup>r</sup>, l.5. As MacCoull notes, a similar phrase appears in Arabic in the *AHPA*: *wa ‘aqsama ‘alayhi bi-ḥayāti wālidīhi al-malik al-‘ādil*, ‘and he took an oath to him on the life of his father al-Malik al-‘Ādil.’ See MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 69, note 67. Found in *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2, *op. cit.*; p. 191, f. 225<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 114, l.7, 8).

<sup>133</sup>  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\tau\sigma\sigma\gamma\iota$ . Crum, 727b., a Bohairic form of what is  $\zeta\tau\sigma\sigma\gamma\epsilon$  in Sahidic.

<sup>134</sup> See f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.12, 13, and note 108.



- 625 **ἤΕΝΝΗΕ̄ΤΟΖΙ Ε̄ΡΑΤΟΥ, ΧΕ ΝΑΝΕϞ  
ΕΘΡΕΚΩΤΕΜ Ν̄ΣΑΠΟΥΡΟ ΟΥΟΖ Ν̄  
ΤΕΚΙΡΙ Μ̄ΠΕΘΡΑΝΑϞ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΛ̄ΓΙ  
ΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ<sup>xe</sup> †ΣΩΟΥΝ Ν̄ΖΙ Ν̄ΤΑ  
ΝΙΣΤΗΣ Ε̄ΧΩΙ ΑΝ, ΟΥΔΕ Μ̄ΠΙΦΕΝ**
- 630 **ΣΝΟϞ Ε̄ΝΕΖ, ΟΥΜΕΤΧΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΟΥΡ<sup>w</sup>  
ΜΙ Ν̄ΝΕΣΩΠΙ Μ̄ΜΟΙ, Ε̄ΒΗΛ ΕΠΑΝΟ  
ΒΙ Μ̄ΜΑΓΑΤϞ Ε̄ΤΟΨ<sup>⊗</sup>**
- C.86, 171 (78) **ΟΥΟΖ †ΝΟΥ | Ψ ΠΟΥΡΟ ᾹΠΕΚΖΜΟΤ  
ΤΑΖΕ ΝΕΚΒΙΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>⊗</sup>**
- 635 (79) **ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΘΒΗΤΟΥ, ΟΥ<sup>o</sup>Ζ  
ΑΙΪ ΨΑΠΕΚΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΟΥΡΟ, Ε̄ΨΩΠ  
ΑΚΙΡΙ Ν̄ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΝ Ν̄ΤΕΚΕΡΖΜΟΤ  
ΝΗΙ ΜΠΑΝΑΖ†, ΑΚΙΡΙ Ν̄ΟΥΝΑΙ ΝΕΜΗΙ ·  
ΜΜΟΝ Ψ ΠΟΥΡΟ<sup>⊗</sup>**
- 640 (80) **ΑΝΟΚ ΑΙΚΗΝ ΑΙΤΑΜΟΚ ΧΕ ᾹΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΩ  
ΜΙ ΕϞΒΑῤΕΜ, ΜΑΤΟΥΒΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ἤΕΝΤΕΚΣΕϞ<sup>135</sup>  
ΟΥΟΖ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΑϞΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΟϞ,  
ἤΕΝΟΥΜΕΤΡΕϞΨΟΥ Ν̄ΖΗΤ, Ε̄ΡΕ,  
ΝΕϞΚΛΑΘΕΔΡΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΕΥΘΟΥ**
- f. 49<sup>v</sup> 645 **ΗΤ Ε̄ΡΟϞ, ἤΕΝΠΙΕ̄ΧΩΡΖ  
Ε̄ΤΕΜΜΑΥ<sup>⊗</sup>**
- 647 (81) **ΠΟΥΡΟ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑϞ, ΧΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΧΟΥ<sup>w</sup>Ψ**

<sup>135</sup> **τεκσεϞι** added in the margin.

- 625 who stood said to him, ‘It is good  
 for you to obey the king and  
 do what is pleasing to him!’ *Saint John*  
 said, ‘I know of no  
*creditor* against me, *nor* have I  
 630 ever shed blood. May no enmity with a man  
 befall me, only my sin  
 alone, which is great.  
 C.86, 171 (78) And now, | O king, your beneficence  
 has reached all your borders.  
 635 (79) I myself heard about them and  
 I came to your *sovereignty*. O king, if  
 you do *good* and grant me the favor  
 of my faith, you are having mercy on me.  
 If not, O king,  
 640 (80) I already told you, “I am a  
 man who is polluted. Purify me with your sword.”  
 The king heard him  
 with patience while  
 f. 49<sup>v</sup> his whole *assembly* was  
 645 gathered to him on that  
 night.  
 647 (81) *Then* the king said, ‘*So then*, you desire

- ΕΘΡΕΚΜΟΥ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΛΓΙΟΣ ΝΑϚ, ΧΕ  
 ΣΕ ΠΑḐΣ, †ΟΥΨ Ε̄ΜΟΥ Ε̄ΧΕΝΦΡΑΝ  
 650 ἸΠΕΝḐΣ ἸΗΣ ΠḐΣ, ΉΕΝΤΕΚΣΗ  
 ϚΙ ᾠ ΠΟΥΡΟ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (82) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΟΥΡΟ ἸΝΗḐΤΟΥΙ Ε̄ΡΑΤΟΥ, ΧΕ  
 ΧΑϚ, ΝΕΜΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ, ΨΑΠΧ<sup>ⲟ</sup>Κ  
 ἸΠΙΓ̄ ΝḐΖΟΥ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΣΑΧΙ ἸΠΙΡΕϚ  
 655 †ΖΑΠ, ΟΥΟΖ ΉΕΝΠḐΖΟΥ ἸΜΑΖΓ̄  
 ΤΕΝΧΩΚ ΝΑϚ ἸΤΕϚΕΠΙΤΙΜḐ · <sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (83) ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΟΛϚ ΑΥΤΗΙϚ ΝΑΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙ  
 ΟΝ, Ε̄ΠΧΙΝΘΡΟΥḐΡΕΖ Ε̄ΡΟϚ, ἸΘΟϚ  
 ΔΕ ΠΘΜΗ ΝΑϚΜΗΝ ΉΕΝ†ΠΡΟΣΕΥ  
 660 ΧΗ, ΝΕΜ ΟΥΡΩΙΣ ἸΤΕΠḐΧΩΡΖ, ΉΕΝ  
 ΟΥΖΗΤ ΕϚΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΜΠḐΣ<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup>  
 (84) ΑΠḐΖΟΥ ΔΕ ἸΜΑΖΒ̄, ΧΩΚ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΜΑΖ  
 Γ̄, Ε̄ΡΕΠΘΜΗ, ΝΕΜΝΙΡΕϚḐΡΕΖ, ΝΑϚ  
 ΜΗΝ ΉΕΝΝΙḐΡΕΤΗ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΙΡΕϚ<sup>ⲟ</sup>ΙΣ  
 665 ΝΑΥ†ḐΣΟ Ε̄ΡΟϚ Ε̄ΘΒΕ ΠΣΑΧΙ ἸΠΙΣΟ  
 ΦΟΣ, Ε̄ΤΑΠḐΖΟΥ ΔΕ ἸΜΑΖΔ̄ ΨΩΠ  
 Ε̄ΤΕ ΠḐ ΝΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ, ΠΟΥΡΟ ΕϚϚΙ  
 ΦΡΩΟΥΨ, Ε̄ΖΙḐΧΗΟΥ ἸΤΕΝΙΣΤΟ  
 ΛΟΤΟΣ, Ε̄ΦΙΑΡΟ, ΕΘΡΕϚΟΥΟΡΠΟΥ-  
 670 ΕΡΠΟΛΕΜΙΝ, ΑϚΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ, ΕΘΡΟΥ  
 671 ἸΝΙ ἸΠΙΜΑΚΡΙΟΣ<sup>136</sup> ἸΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ε̄ΉΡΗΙ ΝΕ

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<sup>136</sup> Sic.

to die?’ The *saint* said to him,  
 ‘Yes my lord. I want to die for the name  
 650 of our Lord Jesus Christ by your  
 sword, O king.’  
 (82) The king said to those standing (there),  
 ‘Leave him with the *centurions* until the end  
 of three days, *according* to the word of the  
 655 judge. And on the third day  
 we will bring to fulfillment his *desire*.<sup>137</sup>  
 (83) *Then* they took hold of him and they gave him to the  
*centurions* for them to guard him.  
*But* as for the righteous one, he remained in *prayer*  
 660 and a night vigil, with  
 an heart that was right with the Lord.  
 (84) *Then* the second and third days were  
 finished. While the righteous one was with the guards he  
 remained in *praises*.<sup>138</sup> The guards  
 665 had spared him because of the word of the  
*wise one* (, the physician). *When* it was the fourth day,  
 which was the fifth day of the *week* (Thursday), the king was  
 occupied with ships of the  
*fleets* at the river in order to send them  
 670 to *wage war*. He *ordered* that they  
 671 bring the *blessed* John down with

<sup>137</sup> See f.51<sup>r</sup>, l.29 – f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.2, regarding punishment for apostasy. Note that the use of **ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ** in this way signals the conversion of John’s passions, since it was the Saracen-womanly **ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ** that led to his downfall (f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.16, 17).

<sup>138</sup> Here **ϐΕΝΝΙΑΡΕΤΗ** is translated in the way *ἀρετή* is used in Isaiah 42<sup>8, 12</sup> in the LXX. Here it seems to convey the sense of a state of divine manifestation, rather than an action of John’s. I thank Janet Timbie for her advice on translating this sentence.

μαϛ ε̄χνημ<sup>⊗</sup>

(85) ΤΟΤΕ ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΕΝϞ ΝΑΤΜΗΡ  
 ΝΑΤΣΟΝϞ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑϞΜΩΨΙ ΝΕΜΝΙΓΕΝ

C.86, 172 675 ΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΚΕΟΥΑΙ ΣΑ ΝΑΙ, ΝΕΜ ΣΑ | ΜΝΑΙ  
 ΜΜΟϞ, ΟΥΟϞ ΝΘΟϞ ΕϞΨΕΝΤΟΥΜΗ

f. 50<sup>r</sup> †, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑϞΜΗΝ ΝΝΕϞΚΙΡΙΣ, ΖΟΛΩΣ  
 ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ, ΑΥΦΑΩΜΕϞ<sup>139</sup> ΉΕΝ  
 ΝΙΠΛΑΤΙᾹ ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΦΡΑΓ  
 680 ΜΟΣ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΧΙΡ ΉΕΝΘΜΗ† ΝΝΙΡΕϞ  
 † ΕΒΟΛ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΑΓΟΡΕΟΣ, ΝΗ ΜΕΝ Ε̄  
 ΤΑΥΝΑΥ Ε̄ΡΟϞ, ΝΑΥΕΡΛΟΙΜΟΣ Ε̄Ρ<sup>ο</sup>Ϟ,  
 ΦΗΕ̄ΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΥ Ε̄ΦΑΙ, ΧΕ ϞΝΑΖΩΛ  
 Ε̄ΕΡΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ, ΟΥΟϞ ΝΑΥΣΩΒΙ Μ̄

685 ΜΟϞ ΠΕ, ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗ† ΕΤΣΨΗΟΥΤ,  
 ΧΕ ΝΙΑΥΣΩΒΙ Μ̄ΜΟΙ, ΝΧΕΝΗΕΤΖΕΜ  
 ΣΙ ΉΕΝΝΙΑΥΛΗ, ΟΥΟϞ ΝΑΥΕΡΦΑΛΛΙΝ,  
 Ε̄ΡΟΙ, ΝΧΕΝΗΕΤΣΩ Μ̄ΠΗΡΠ<sup>⊗</sup>

(86) ΝΘΟϞ ΔΕ ΠΙΜΑΚΡΙ<sup>οc</sup> ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΝΑϞΜΗΝ  
 690 ΕΠΙΡΑΝ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΠΕΝΘ̄C ΙΗ̄C  
 ΠΧ̄C<sup>⊗</sup>

(87) ΕΤΑΓῙ <sup>Αε</sup> Ε̄ΦΜΑ ΧΕ ΦΜΑ ΝΘΩΟΥ†,<sup>143</sup> ΝΝΙ  
 ΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ, ΑΥΤΖΕΜΣΟϞ Μ̄ΜΑΥ<sup>⊗</sup>

(88) ΤΟΤΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΑϞΩ̄ΛΙ ΝΟΥ  
 695 ΚΟΥΧΙ ΝΖΑΤ, ΑϞΤΗΙC ΝΝΙΓΕΝΤΕ

<sup>139</sup> ΑΥΦΑΩΜΕϞ cited, Crum, 515b. ΦΩΨΕΜ, ΦΛΩΜ= ‘meaning unknown ... *paraded* (?)’

him to Cairo.

(85) *Then* the *centurions* brought him unbound,  
unfettered, *yet* he walked with the

C.86, 172 675 *centurions*, one on this side and another on that side |  
of him. And while in their midst,

f. 50<sup>r</sup> *yet* he remained with his *masters*. *Actually*,  
the *centurions* paraded<sup>139</sup> him on  
the *streets* of Cairo and the *walls*

680 and the quarters among the  
traders and the *markets*. *And* those who  
saw him acted *perniciously* toward him,  
this observer (saying) to that one,<sup>140</sup> 'He is about to go  
to be a *martyr*!' *And* they were mocking

685 him, *just as* it is written,  
'Those sitting in the *courtyards*<sup>141</sup>  
mocked me and those drinking wine  
*sang songs* about me.'<sup>142</sup>

(86) *But* the *blessed* John abided  
690 in the salvific name of our Lord Jesus  
Christ.

(87) When they came to the place called 'the place of meet-  
ing

for the *tradesmen*,<sup>143</sup> they seated him there.

(88) Then *Saint* John took a  
695 few pieces of silver and gave it to the

<sup>140</sup> Balestri and Hyvernât recognize the difficulty of this passage: 'Locus difficilis emendatu.' Their suggestion is  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma \epsilon\phi\alpha\iota \chi\epsilon \iota\omega\alpha\nu\eta\nu\eta\varsigma \phi\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\alpha\zeta\omega\lambda$ . See Balestri and Hyvernât, 'Acta Martyrum II,' *CSCO* 86, *op.cit.*, p. 375.

<sup>141</sup> Bohairic editions of this Psalm read  $\pi\gamma\lambda\eta$  instead of  $\lambda\gamma\lambda\eta$ . The uninflected form used here for the plural of  $\lambda\gamma\lambda\eta$  may indicate a scribal misreading of 'gates' ( $\pi\gamma\lambda\eta$ ), since at another point in this text the plural of  $\lambda\gamma\lambda\eta$  is inflected. See f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.5,6.

<sup>142</sup> Psalm 68<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>143</sup>  $\phi\eta\lambda \nu\epsilon\omega\upsilon\gamma\tau$  cited, Crum, 448b. A place in Fustât, *dār al-ṣanā'ah*, according to Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op.cit.*, p. 159.

- ΡΙΟΝ, ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΩΟΥ, ΧΕ ΨΩΠ ΝΩΤΕΝ  
 ἸΖΑΝἩΡΗΟΥΓΙ ἘΡΕΤΕΝΟΥΩΜ ΕΘΒΕ  
 ΧΕ ἘΡΕΤΕΝΨΕἩΙΣΙ, ἩΕΝΠΙΧΙΝ  
 ΜΩΠΙ ΝΕΜΗΙ, ἘΡΕΠḄ̄ ΣΜΟΥ ἘΡΩΤΕΝ  
 700 ἸΟΥΑΙ ΨΕ ΝΑϞ, ΑϞΨΕΠ ΟΥΩΙΚ, ΝΕΜ  
 ΟΥἸΛΩΜ, ΕϞΧΕϞΧΩϞ, ΝΕΜ ΟΥΨ<sup>ο</sup>Π  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞἘΝΟΥ ἘΦΜΑ ἸΝΕϞΨΦΗΡ<sup>·</sup>,  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΥΖΕΜΣΙ ΝΑΟΥΩΜ, ΝΙΓΕΝ  
 ΤΗΡΙΟΝ<sup>144</sup> ΔΕ ΝΑΥΤΖΟ ἘΡΟϞ, ΕΥΧΩ Ἰ  
 705 ΜΟΣ, ΧΕ ΤΕΝΤΖΟ ἘΡΟϞ, ΕΘΒΕ ΦΤ  
 ΧΕΜΤΙΠΙ ἸΟΥϞΟΥΧΙ ἸΝΩΙΚ<sup>145, §</sup>  
 (89) ΝΘΟϞ ΔΕ ΑϞΒΙ ΝΟΥΜΑΡΙ<sup>146</sup> ΑϞΤΗΙΣ ἸΡḄ̄,<sup>147</sup>  
 ΛΟΥΑΙ ΔΕ ἘΒΟΛ ἩΕΝΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ  
 ΦΑΨ ΟΥΨΟΠ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΤ ΠΕΣΦΑΨ  
 710 ΝΑϞ, ΑϞΧΕΜΤΙΠΙ ἸΜΟΣ, ΕΘΒΕ  
 ΠΟΥΤΖΟ<sup>§</sup>

*The Martyrdom*

- f. 50<sup>v</sup> (90) ΕΤΙ ΟΥΝ ΝΑΥΖΕΜΣΙ ΝΕΜΑϞ, ΙΣ ΖΑΝΜΗΩ  
 ἸἩΡΩΟΥ ΨΩΠΙ, ΕΥΨΩ ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΥΧΩ  
 ἸΜΟΣ, ΧΕ ἸΝΙΟΥΓΙ ἸΠΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ  
 715 ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΨΑΠΟΥΡΟ<sup>§</sup>  
 (91) ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΕΝϞ ἩΕΝΘΗΗΤ ΝΝΑΙΜΗΩ ἸΑΤ  
 717 ΒΙἸΠΙ ἸΜΩΟΥ<sup>§</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat read **ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**.

<sup>145</sup> As Balestri and Hyvernat claim, a slanted line marks the second **η** for deletion.

<sup>146</sup> **ΜΑΡΙ**, meaning unknown. This is the only attested occurrence of this form, cited in Crum, 182a.

<sup>147</sup> Sic.

*centurions*. He said to them, ‘Buy some food  
 for yourselves to eat. Since  
 you have suffered in the  
 march with me, the Lord shall bless you.’  
 700 One went and bought a loaf,  
 some cooked cheese, and a cucumber,  
 and brought them to the place of his companions.  
 And they were sitting and eating  
*when the centurions* beseeched him saying,  
 705 ‘We beseech you, for God’s sake,  
 take a taste of a little bread.’  
 (89) He took part of a loaf<sup>146</sup> and put it in his mouth.  
*Then one of the centurions*  
 divided a cucumber and he gave half of it  
 710 to him. He tasted it because  
 of their supplication.

*The Martyrdom*

f. 50<sup>v</sup> (90) *While* they were *still* sitting with him, behold, there were  
 many voices crying out saying,  
 ‘Bring the *martyr*  
 715 John to the king!’  
 (91) *Then* they brought him into the midst of these innumerable  
 717 crowds:



- (92)  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{I}\text{C}\text{T}\text{P}\text{A}\text{T}\text{I}\text{A}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C}^{\text{Ⲅ}} , \text{N}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}^{\text{Ⲅ}}$   
 C.86, 173  $\text{N}\text{I}\text{Z}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{C}^{\text{Ⲅ}} \cdot , \text{N}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}\text{M}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}^{\text{Ⲅ}} |$   
 720  $\text{N}\text{I}\text{G}\text{E}\text{N}\text{T}\text{E}\text{R}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}^{\text{Ⲅ}} , \text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{T}\text{Z}\text{A}\text{P}^{\text{Ⲅ}}$   
 $\text{N}\text{I}\text{K}\text{A}\text{O}\text{H}\text{X}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{M}\text{E}\text{N}\text{I}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C} \text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{E}\text{P}\text{H}\text{R}\text{W}\text{O}^{\text{Y}}$   
 $\text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{E}\text{R}\text{M}\text{E}\text{L}\text{E}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N},^{148} \text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{T}^{149}$   
 $\text{T}\text{N}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\text{W}\text{A}\text{H}\text{A}^{\text{Ⲅ}} , \text{N}\text{I}\text{H}\text{E}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{I} \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\text{W}\text{I}\text{T}$   
 $\text{N}\text{I}\text{W}\text{O}\text{T} \text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{T} \bar{\text{E}}\text{B}^{\text{O}}\lambda \text{N}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{P}\text{A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{C},$   
 725  $\text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{A}\text{R}\text{O}\text{C}, \text{N}\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}, \text{N}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{O}\lambda\text{W} \cdot$   
 $\text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{W}\text{M}\text{E}\text{O}\text{C}, \text{N}\text{I}\text{B}\text{A}\text{R}\text{B}\text{A}\text{R}\text{O}\text{C} \text{N}\text{H}\text{E}\text{T}$   
 $\text{W}\text{O}\text{P} \text{N}\text{E}\text{M}\text{N}\text{I}\text{W}\text{E}\text{M}\text{M}\text{W}\text{O}\text{Y}, \text{N}\text{I}\text{Z}\text{W}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{T}$   
 $\text{N}\text{E}\text{M}\text{N}\text{I}\text{C}\text{Z}\text{I}\text{M}\text{I}, \text{N}\text{I}\text{K}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{X}\text{I}, \text{N}\text{E}\text{M}\text{N}\text{I}\text{N}\text{I}\text{W}$   
 $\text{T}, \text{N}\text{I}\text{W}\text{O}\text{K}, \text{N}\text{E}\text{M}\text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{E}\text{M}\text{Z}\text{E}\text{Y}, \bar{\text{A}}\text{P}\text{A}$   
 730  $\text{Z} \text{A}\text{P}\text{A}\text{W}\text{C}, \text{N}\text{E}\text{M} \bar{\text{E}}\text{B}\text{O}\lambda \text{H}\text{E}\text{N}\text{W}\text{O}\lambda \text{N}\text{I}$   
 $\text{B}\text{E}\text{N} \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{E}\text{P}\text{K}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{I}, \langle \text{N} \rangle \lambda\text{Y}\bar{\text{O}}\text{Z}\text{I} \bar{\text{E}}\text{P}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{Y} \text{P}\text{E}-$   
 $\text{H}\text{E}\text{N}\text{P}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{Z}\text{O}\text{O}\text{Y} \bar{\text{E}}\text{T}\text{E}\text{M}\text{A}\text{Y}, \text{E}\text{O}\text{B}\text{E} \text{P}\text{O}^{\text{Y}}$   
 $\text{X}\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}\lambda\text{Y} \text{N}\text{I}\text{X}\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y}, \text{N}\text{E}\text{M}\text{P}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{R}\text{O}, \text{M}\text{A}$   
 $\text{L}\text{I}\text{C}\text{T}\text{A} \text{X}\text{E} \lambda\text{Y}\text{C}\text{W}\text{T}\text{E}\text{M}, \text{E}\text{O}\text{B}\text{E} \text{P}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{P}$   
 735  $\text{T}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}, \text{I}\text{W}\text{A}\text{N}\text{N}\text{H}\text{C}, \text{P}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I} \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{E}$   
 736  $\text{P}\bar{\text{X}}\text{C}, \text{O}\text{Y}\text{O}\text{Z} \lambda\text{Y}\text{T}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{O}\text{Q} \bar{\text{E}}\text{P}\text{A}\text{T}\text{Q}, \bar{\text{M}}\text{P}\text{E}\text{M}\text{E}^{\text{O}}$

<sup>148</sup> See Raphael Tuki, *Rudimenta Linguae Coptae Sive Aegyptiacae* (Rome, 1778), where he reproduces a Copto-Arabic grammar with Latin translations. The word  $\text{M}\text{E}\text{L}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{H}$  appears on p. 656, l.7, with the Arabic translation *tilāwatun darasa hadīdun*, ‘recitation, teaching, voice/cry/sound,’ hence the translation ‘reciters.’ For an explanation of Tuki’s sources, see Theodore Petersen, ‘An Unknown Copto-Arabic Grammar by Athanasius Bishop of Qūs’ (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1913).

<sup>149</sup> See Theodore Petersen, ‘An Unknown Copto-Arabic Grammar,’ *op. cit.*, p. 38\*, f. 156<sup>r</sup>, l.11. The grammar of Athanasius of Qūs translates the Coptic  $\text{P}\text{R}\text{E}\text{Q}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{T}\text{E}$  with the Arabic *‘al-dā‘ī* (‘herald, caller’).

C.86, 173 (92) the *commanders*, the soldiers,  
 the *cavalry*, the young soldiers, |  
 720 the *centurions*, the judges,  
 the *catechumens*, the speakers,  
 the *reciters*,<sup>148</sup> the callers<sup>149</sup>  
 of prayer, the renowned elders,  
 the merchants, the traders, the *Arabs*,  
 725 the *Parthians*, Nubians, Ethiopians,  
*Romans*, *Barbarians*,<sup>150</sup> the  
 residents along with the foreigners,<sup>151</sup> husbands  
 along with wives, the young with the old,  
 the slaves with the free: *in*  
 730 *short*, from every people  
 of the earth.<sup>152</sup> They were standing  
 on that day to  
 view the ships with the king,  
*particularly* because they heard about the  
 735 *martyr* John, the soldier of  
 736 Christ. And they stood him in the presence

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<sup>150</sup> The translation of **ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ** in times after the Arab takeover of Egypt is problematized by the fact that the Arabic word *al-barbar* means both 'barbarian' and 'Berber.' For instance, in the *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, the identity of the **ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ** who abduct Samuel and perform strange rituals is unclear. See Anthony Alcock, ed., trans., *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1983).

<sup>151</sup> **ϠΕΜΗΩΟΥ**, the same word with monastic connotations found in this text on f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l. 21.

<sup>152</sup> MacCoull notes that Casanova 'completely failed to see the Acts parallel' in this passage, that loosely resembles Acts 2<sup>9-11</sup>. MacCoull, 'Notes,' *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 56.

- ἡ̅ποῦρο ε̅λχεν̅ηλ̅ ν̅εμ̅περ̅στ̅ρα  
 τε̅γμα, ν̅εμ̅ φ̅ρερ̅†̅ζαπ̅ ἡ̅τεν̅ιρ̅ερ̅  
 †̅ζαπ̅, ν̅εμ̅ π̅η̅ελλο̅ ἡ̅τεν̅ιη̅ελλοι̅,  
 740 ν̅εμ̅ π̅ικα̅θ̅η̅χοῦ̅μεν̅ι̅θ̅ι̅ς  
 ἡ̅β̅αρ̅β̅αρο̅ς<sup>§</sup>  
 (93) ἰ̅τα̅ π̅ε̅χε̅ ποῦρο ἡ̅πι̅μα̅κα̅ρι̅ο̅ς̅ ἰ̅ω̅αν̅νη̅<sup>c</sup>̅ χ̅ε̅ ἀ̅κ̅χε̅ οὔ̅ ᾠ̅  
 ἰ̅ω̅αν̅νη̅ς<sup>153</sup>  
 ἀ̅π̅ε̅κ̅ζ̅η̅τ̅ ᾠ̅τ̅ ἑ̅ρον̅, ν̅εμ̅ π̅εν̅ψ̅ολ̅  
 ψ̅αν̅ μ̅μον̅<sup>§</sup> ἀ̅φ̅ε̅ροῦ̅ ᾠ̅ ἡ̅χ̅ε̅π̅ι̅μα  
 745 κα̅ρι̅ο̅ς̅ ἰ̅ω̅αν̅νη̅ς̅, π̅ε̅χ̅α̅ρ̅ ἡ̅ποῦρο  
 χ̅ε̅ ἀ̅νο̅κ̅ οὔ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ι̅ ε̅ρ̅μο̅ζ̅ ἡ̅β̅ω̅η̅ε̅μ̅  
 f. 51<sup>r</sup> μα̅τοῦ̅βο̅ι̅ ἑ̅β̅ολ̅ η̅ε̅ν̅τε̅κ̅<sup>chq</sup>, ἰ̅ε̅ ἄ̅ρ̅η̅οῦ̅  
 ἡ̅τε̅κε̅ρ̅ζ̅μο̅τ̅ ἡ̅η̅ι̅ ἡ̅πα̅να̅να̅ζ̅†̅<sup>§</sup>  
 (94) π̅ε̅χε̅ ποῦρο ναρ̅ χ̅ε̅ ἰ̅ω̅αν̅νη̅ς̅ †̅ω̅ρ̅κ̅  
 750 να̅κ̅, ψ̅α̅τα̅φ̅ε̅ ἡ̅π̅αι̅ω̅τ̅ ποῦρο, ε̅λ̅  
 τε̅λ̅, ε̅ψ̅ω̅π̅ ἀ̅κ̅ψ̅αν̅τα̅ς̅θ̅ο̅κ̅ ἑ̅ρον̅,  
 †̅να̅†̅ ἡ̅τα̅ι̅ς̅το̅λ̅η̅ ε̅τ̅το̅ι̅ ζ̅ιω̅τ̅, †̅  
 να̅θ̅ι̅ς̅ ἑ̅χ̅ω̅κ̅, οὔ̅ρο̅ζ̅ π̅αι̅ζ̅θ̅ο̅, φ̅αι̅ ἑ̅  
 να̅ι̅τα̅λ̅η̅οῦ̅τ̅ ἑ̅ρο̅ρ̅, οὔ̅ρο̅ζ̅ π̅ι̅ε̅ζ̅ζ̅ε̅ι̅θ̅οῦ̅ν̅,  
 755 †̅να̅θ̅ι̅ς̅ να̅κ̅ ἡ̅ζ̅μο̅τ̅, οὔ̅ρο̅ζ̅ †̅να̅θ̅η̅κ̅  
 ἡ̅ζ̅ι̅π̅ε̅ϋ̅ς̅, κα̅τα̅<sup>154</sup> ψ̅ο̅ ἡ̅λο̅κο̅χι̅, κα̅τα̅  
 ρ̅ο̅μ̅π̅ι̅, οὔ̅ρο̅ζ̅ †̅να̅λ̅ι̅κ̅ ἡ̅ζ̅η̅γ̅ε̅μ̅ω̅ν̅ ἑ̅χ̅ε̅ν̅  
 α̅ψ̅ ἡ̅θ̅ω̅ψ̅, ἑ̅τε̅κο̅γα̅ψ̅ρ̅, η̅ε̅ν̅ρ̅η̅ς̅  
 759 ἰ̅ε̅ η̅η̅τ̅<sup>§</sup>

<sup>153</sup> χ̅ε̅ ἀ̅κ̅χε̅ οὔ̅ ᾠ̅ ἰ̅ω̅αν̅νη̅ς̅ is written vertically in the margin in the same hand as the rest of the text.

<sup>154</sup> The meaning of κα̅τα̅ is unclear here.

of al-Malik al-Kāmil with his  
*army*, the chief of the  
 judges, the chief of the elders,  
 740 and the *foreign*  
*catechumen*.<sup>155</sup>

(93) *Then* the king said to the *blessed* John, ‘What do you say,  
 O John? Is your heart in agreement with us and our people  
 or not?’ The *blessed* John  
 745 replied and he said to the king,  
 f. 51<sup>r</sup> ‘I am a man full of pollution.  
 Purify me with your sword. Or perhaps  
 you will grant me the favor of my faith.’

(94) The king said to him, ‘John, I swear  
 750 to you on the head of my father al-Malik al-  
 ‘Ādil,<sup>156</sup> if you return<sup>157</sup> to us  
 I will grant this *robe*, which I am wearing, and I  
 will put it on you. And this horse, this one  
 upon which I am mounted,<sup>158</sup> and the *fine ornaments*  
 755 I will give to you, gratis. And, I will give you  
 a *horse and 1000 coins every*  
 year,<sup>159</sup> and I will make you a *prince* over  
 whatever region you wish, in the south  
 759 or north.’

<sup>155</sup> See f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.12, 13, and note 108.

<sup>156</sup> See f. 49<sup>r</sup>, l.3, and note 129.

<sup>157</sup> For other uses of **TACCO** see note 40.

<sup>158</sup> See f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.9.

<sup>159</sup> I have not found what the value of these coins would be. A likely source for the answer would be the Genizah material, which contains substantial financial documentation covering the tenth- through the thirteenth-century. See S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), esp. pp. 229–272 on money, and 359–361 on coins, weights, and measures. As Goitein shows, there is no definitive answer to the question of the values of coins. See also: Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 116–133, for a discussion of wages in Cairo following the time of *J.Phan*.

- C.86, 174 760 (95) ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΑΦΜΗΝ, ΕΦΩΧΕΜ ΝΕ<sup>11</sup>  
 ΝΙΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΝ, | Ε̄{ΟΥΟΝΝ̄}ΡΩ<sup>160</sup> ΘΩΜ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (96) ἴτα πεχε οὔαι ναφ ε̄βολ η̄εννηε̄τοζι ε̄  
 ρατοῦ πεχαφ ναφ, χε σω̄τεμ ἱ̄σαπο<sup>Υ</sup>  
 ρο ω̄ πιταλεπωρος, ζινα ε̄ορεκο̄ι  
 765 ἱ̄ναιταιο ε̄τβοσι<sup>✠</sup>  
 (97) ΠΙΛΓΙΟΣ <sup>Λε</sup> ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΑΦΟΥΩΝ ἱ̄ρωφ πε  
 χαφ ναφ, χε ἱ̄ερχη̄ αν ἱ̄νογβ οὔδε  
 ζβωσ, οὔδε ζθορ, οὔδε χρημα αλλα λ̄  
 νοκ οὔρωμι ε̄φβω̄ηεμ, μαρεπαδ̄ς  
 770 ποῦρο, τοῦβοι ε̄βολ η̄εντεφχηφ,  
 ιε ἱ̄τεφερζμοτ νηι ἱ̄παναζ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (98) πεχε ποῦρο ἱ̄πιαρχηκρητης, χε ακχε  
 οὔ η̄ενφαι, πεχαφ χε ε̄γ̄ε̄ροκζφ ε̄φ<sup>ο</sup>νη̄ζ ·  
 ιε ἱ̄τεφταςθοφ παλιν πεχαφ ἱ̄πηελ  
 775 λο ἱ̄νηελλοι, χε παιωτ οὔ πε πεκσοβ  
 νι η̄ενφαι, πεχαφ ναφ, χε αρῑε̄μι νακ  
 ω̄ παωηρι, χε πιχινρωκζ, η̄ενπιχρ<sup>ω</sup>μ,  
 ναφ<sup>†</sup> ἱ̄μαγατφ φαι μαροῦω̄λι ἱ̄τεφ  
 ναζβι· η̄εντχηφ, ζολωσ, χε αφερ  
 f. 51<sup>v</sup> 780 ατσω̄τεμ ἱ̄σωκ, νεμ ἱ̄τεντεκ  
 μετοῦρο, ποῦρο δε αφω̄κεμ ἱ̄τεφ  
 782 χηφ, οὔοζ αφτη̄ς ε̄οῦαι ἱ̄νεφζῶ

<sup>160</sup> The first **ν** in ε̄οῦο~~ν~~νη̄ρωφ is mostly erased. Balestri and Hyvernats suggest either changing it to ε̄ε̄ρωφ θωμ or νφουων ἱ̄ρωφ αν. Perhaps the partial erasure of the **ν** is evidence that the scribe had skipped ahead five lines in his thinking or transcribing, thus beginning to write οὔων ἱ̄ρωφ. See also my Chapter Three for a discussion of this problem.

- C.86, 174 760 (95) *But the blessed one* remained occupied<sup>161</sup> with  
 the *heavenly things* | while his mouth was shut.  
 (96) *Then* one among those standing spoke to him and  
 he said to him, ‘Obey the king,  
 O *wretch*, so that you might receive  
 765 these high honors.’  
 (97) *Then Saint John* opened his mouth and  
 said to him, ‘I *need* neither gold *nor*  
 garment *nor* horse *nor* wealth. *Rather*,  
 I am a polluted man. May my lord  
 770 the king purify me with his sword,  
 or grant me the favor of my faith.’  
 (98) The king said to the *chief judge*, ‘What do  
 you say about this?’ He said, ‘He shall be burned alive  
 unless he converts.’<sup>162</sup> *Again*, he said to the  
 775 chief of the elders, ‘My father, what is your advice  
 on this?’ He said to him, ‘Understand,  
 O my son, that burning with fire  
 is God’s alone.<sup>163</sup> Let this one’s neck  
 be struck, *in fact*, with the sword since he  
 f. 51<sup>v</sup> 780 disobeyed you and your  
 authority.’ *Then* the king drew his  
 782 sword and gave it to one of his

<sup>161</sup> ⲡⲱⲗⲉⲙ, for other uses see f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.33, and f. 54<sup>v</sup>, l.5, 6.

<sup>162</sup> For other references to ⲧⲁⲤⲐⲐ see note 40.

<sup>163</sup> For the latest treatment of the aḥādīth that: 1) stipulate a three day period for an apostate Muslim to decide to re-convert to Islam, and 2) forbid the use of fire in punishing the apostate (reserving that means solely to God), see Frank Griffel, ‘Toleration and Exclusion: al-Shāfi’ī and al-Ghazālī on the Treatment of Apostates,’ *Bulletin of SOAS* 64 (2001): 339–354. See also my Chapter Four on historical issues.

ΠΕΥΣ ΕΠΕΩΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΦΙΛΙΜ, ΟΥΟΖ ΦΑΙ  
 ΠΕ ΦΙΛΙΜ, ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΝΡΩΜΕΟΣ ΑΦΕΡ  
 785 ΠΑΡΑΒΕΝΙΝ ΝΝΙ<sup>πα</sup>ΡΑΔΟΣΙC<sup>164</sup> ΝΤΕΝΕΩ  
 ΙΟΤ, ΑΦΜΟΥΩΤ ΝΝΙCΑΡΑΓΗΝΟΣ, ΟΥ<sup>ο</sup>Ζ  
 ΑΦΩΠΙ ΝΕΜΩΟΥ ΉΕΝΟΥΝΑΖΤ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (99) ΙΤΑ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΜΟΥΤ ΕΡΟΩ, ΠΕΧΑΩ ΝΑΩ Ν  
 ΧΩΠ, ΧΕ ΖΙΖΟΤ ΕΡΟΩ, ΑΡΗΟΥ ΝΤΕΩ  
 790 ΤΑΣΘΟΩ, ΉΕΝΤΖΟΤ<sup>165</sup> ΝΤΣΗΩ, ΠΕΧΕ  
 ΠΟΥΡΟ, ΝΝΙΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ, ΧΕ ΖΩΒC Ν  
 ΝΕΩΒΑΛ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ, ΩΛΙ ΝΤΕΩ  
 ΛΕΝΓΙ ΕΤΤΟΙ ΕΧΕΝΤΕΩΑΦΕ ΑΦCΕΛ  
 Π ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΉΗΤC, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΖΩΒC Ν  
 795 ΝΕΩΒΑΛ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΩ ΝΉΗΤC, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦ  
 ΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΉΕΝΟΥΉCΙΧΙΑ, ΝΕΜ ΟΥΧΑ  
 ΡΩΩ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΩΟΥΩΝ ΝΡΩΩ ΑΝ ΠΕ Ε  
 CΑΧΙ, ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗΤ ΕΤCΗΝΟΥΤ, ΖΙΠΙ  
 ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗCΑΙΑC, ΕΩΧΩ Μ  
 800 ΜΟC<sup>⊗</sup>  
 C.86, 175 (100) ΧΕ | ΜΦΡΗΤ ΝΟΥΕCΩΟΥ, ΕΑΥΕΝΩ ΕΠΗ<sup>ο</sup>Λ  
 ΉΕΛ, ΝΕΜ ΜΦΡΗΤ ΝΟΥΖΙΗΒ ΝΑΤΗΡΩ  
 ΟΥ, ΗΠΕΜΘΟ ΜΦΗΕΤΗΩΚ ΜΜΟΩ, ΟΥ  
 804 ΟΖ ΝΑΩΟΥΩΝ ΝΡΩΩ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕCΑΧΙ<sup>⊗</sup>

<sup>164</sup> πα added above the line by a second hand.

<sup>165</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat wrongly transcribe this as *ΉΕΝ ΤΖΟΤ*.

*horsemen* named Philim. And ⟨as for⟩ this  
 Philim, a Roman,<sup>166</sup> he  
 785 *betrayed* the *traditions* of his  
 fathers, and mixed<sup>167</sup> with the *Saracens* and  
 joined them in faith.

(99) *Then* the king called to him. He said to him  
 secretly, ‘Frighten him, perhaps he will  
 790 convert<sup>168</sup> out of fear of the sword.’ The king  
 said to the *servants*, ‘Cover  
 his eyes,’ and the *blessed one* took his  
 linen cloth<sup>169</sup> which was on his head. He tore off  
 a *part* from it and covered  
 795 his own eyes with it. And he  
 stood *quietly* and  
 silently, and did not open his mouth to  
 speak, *just as* it is written by the  
*prophet* Isaiah

800 saying,

C.86, 175

(100) ‘Like a sheep being led to the slaughter,  
 and as a voiceless lamb  
 before the one who shears him,  
 804 he did not open his mouth to speak.’<sup>170</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Coptic and Arabic use ‘Roman’ to designate what modern scholars term ‘Byzantine.’

<sup>167</sup> See 43<sup>v</sup>, l.1, 2.

<sup>168</sup> For other uses of **TACOO** see note 40.

<sup>169</sup> See f. 53<sup>r</sup>, l.7 for an account of people taking John’s **ⲬⲈⲚⲈⲤ** after his martyrdom.

<sup>170</sup> Isaiah 53<sup>7</sup>.



- 805 (101) ΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΠΙΝΑΙΑΤΩ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΝΑΦΩΡΙ Ε  
 ΡΑΤΩ, ΜΠΕΜΘΟ ΝΝΑΙ<sup>μνω</sup> ΕΤΩ, <sup>171</sup> ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΥ  
 ΣΑΧΙ ΝΖΑΝΝΗΩ ΝΣΑΧΙ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (102) ΖΑΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΑΥΤ ΖΩΟΥΩ ΕΡΟΩ, ΖΑΝΚΕΧ<sup>ω</sup>  
 ΟΥΝΙ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΣΑΖΟΥΙ ΕΡΟΩ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΥΤ  
 810 ΨΩΩ ΝΑΩ, ΝΘΟΩ ΔΕ ΝΑΦΩΡΙ ΕΡΑΤΩ, Ε  
 ΡΕΝΕΩ<sup>βαλ</sup>ΖΗΠ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΕΦΝΟΥΣ, ΝΕΜ ΠΕΩ  
 ΚΑΤ ΕΨΩΛΕΜ, ΝΕΜΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ  
 ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ<sup>⊗</sup>
- f. 52<sup>f</sup> (103) ΠΙΜΑΤΟΙ ΦΙΛΙΜ ΑΦΛΟΚΣΩ ΗΕΝΤΣΗΩ,  
 815 ΑΦΦΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΩΧΕ ΖΑΝΝΗΩ Ν  
 ΣΝΟΩ, ΗΕΝΠΕΩΣΩΜΑ, ΨΑΤΕΟΥΟΝ  
 ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΡΨΦΗΡΙ<sup>172</sup> ΕΥΧΩ ΗΜΟΣ, ΧΕ ΡΩΜΙ  
 ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΨΑΥΕΝΟΥ ΕΤΣΗΩ, ΨΑΡΕΠΟΥ  
 ΣΝΟΩ ΨΩΟΥΙ ΝΗΗΤΟΥ, ΕΒΗΛ ΕΦΑΙ  
 820 ΜΠΕΩΕΡΖΟΥΤ, ΝΘΟΩ {ΑΝ} ΗΑΤΖΗ ΝΤΣΗ  
 ΩΙ ΕΘΒΕ ΦΝΑΥ ΜΦΜΟΥ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (104) ΙΤΑ ΠΕΧΕ ΦΙΛΙΜ ΝΑΩ, ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΣ<sup>οδ</sup>  
 ΝΙ ΔΧΟΣ ΜΠΑΝΤΕΚΜΟΥ, ΝΘΟΩ ΔΕ ΠΕ  
 824 ΧΑΩ ΧΕ ΨΑΨ ΗΕΝΦΡΑΝ ΜΠΑΩΣ ΙΗΣ

<sup>171</sup> μνω added above the line by a second hand.

<sup>172</sup> The ρ in ΕΡ- is missing its top loop, though its vertical stroke extends below the line as a characteristic ρ, and it is not mistakeable for an ‘i.’

805 (101) Thus the blessed John stood  
before these great multitudes and they were  
speaking many words.

(102) Some were abusing him, *and* others  
were cursing him and

810 striking him. *But* he was standing with  
his eyes covered and his *mind* and his  
understanding occupied<sup>173</sup> with our *Savior*  
Jesus Christ.

f. 52<sup>r</sup> (103) The soldier Philim stabbed him with the sword.<sup>174</sup>

815 Much blood poured forth<sup>175</sup>  
from his *body* until everyone  
was amazed saying, ‘All  
men, when they are put to the sword, their blood  
dries up in them, except this one.’

820 Now he was not afraid before the  
sword on account of the hour of death.

(104) *Then* Philim said to him, ‘What is your decision  
about it before you die?’<sup>176</sup> *And* he

824 said, ‘Strike, in the name of my Lord Jesus

<sup>173</sup> **ϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ**, see f. 54<sup>v</sup>, l.5, 6, and f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.15.

<sup>174</sup> As David Johnson has noted (on a draft of this translation), this was clearly ‘supposed to be a minor wound to scare him,’ hence the crowd’s surprise at ‘the profuse bleeding’ (below), and Philim’s final prompting, *what is your decision before you die?* (below).

<sup>175</sup> **ⲗⲒϫⲪⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲒⲒⲒⲉ ⲒⲀⲛⲛⲙⲙⲱ ⲛⲒⲛⲟⲒⲒ**. Read, **ⲗⲒϫⲪⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲒⲉⲒⲒⲀⲛⲛⲙⲙⲱ ⲛⲒⲛⲟⲒⲒ**. This seems to be the simplest alteration to the text, yet is still questionable because its meaning cannot be established in the context. The crowd’s amazement is because the blood did not **ϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ** for John. In Bohairic **ϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ** renders either **ϩⲱⲟⲩⲉ** (Crum, 601b., ‘be dry’) or *perhaps* **ϩⲱⲟⲩⲟ** (Crum, 602a., ‘flow, pour.’, for which **ϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ** would be an unattested form). A reading of the unaltered phrase could be, ‘he [Philim] poured it out, and he did not take much blood from his [John’s] body.’ The problem with that reading is, 1) the awkward transitive use of **ϫⲉ** without an object, 2) **ⲗⲒⲛⲙⲙⲱ** is never used in this text for ‘take,’ which is always expressed by **ⲟⲓ** or **ϩⲱⲡⲓ**, and 3) there is no object marker for **ⲒⲀⲛⲛⲙⲙⲱ ⲛⲒⲛⲟⲒⲒ**. The alteration above avoids these problems and keeps the attested form for **ϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ**, and it preserves the logic of the crowd’s later amazement when *more* blood flows at his beheading (f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.28–31). See note 174 above.

<sup>176</sup> See note 174 above.

- 825  $\overline{\text{πχς}} \overline{\text{πανοϋτ}}^{\text{⌘}}$   
 (105)  $\overline{\text{πεχε}} \overline{\text{παρχηκριτης}} \overline{\text{μπιματοι}} \overline{\text{φι}}$   
 $\overline{\text{λιμ}} \overline{\text{χε}} \overline{\text{φονζϋ}} \overline{\text{ερης}} \overline{\text{νεοϋ}} \overline{\text{δε}} \overline{\text{πιλγι}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ος}} \overline{\text{ιωαννης}} \overline{\text{αϋφωνζ}} \overline{\text{επειεβτ}} \cdot$   
 $\overline{\text{ογοζ}} \overline{\text{ναϋερμελεταν}} \overline{\text{εφραν}}$
- 830  $\overline{\text{ηπενδς}} \overline{\text{ιης}} \overline{\text{πχς}}^{\text{⌘}}$   
 (106)  $\overline{\text{πεχε}} \overline{\text{φιλιμ}} \overline{\text{ηποϋρο}} \overline{\text{χε}} \overline{\text{παδς}} \overline{\text{χε}} \overline{\text{κατα}}$   
 $\overline{\text{τεκκελεϋςις}} \overline{\text{πεχε}} \overline{\text{ποϋρο}} \overline{\text{δε}} \overline{\text{ναϋ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{χε}} \overline{\text{κατα}} \overline{\text{τεκκελεϋςις}} \overline{\text{μπιρεϋτζαπ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{πεχε}} \overline{\text{πιρεϋτζαπ}} \overline{\text{ναϋ}} \overline{\text{χε}} \overline{\text{κατα}} \overline{\text{πα}}$
- 835  $\overline{\text{σοβνι}} \overline{\text{πεχε}} \overline{\text{ποϋ}}^{177} \overline{\text{ναϋ}} \overline{\text{χε}} \overline{\text{χωκ}} \overline{\text{ναι}} \overline{\text{αϋ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ψωπι}} \overline{\text{ψαγ}} \overline{\text{νσοπ}}^{\text{⌘}}$   
 (107)  $\overline{\text{μενε}} \overline{\text{εν}} \overline{\text{σα}} \overline{\text{ναι}} \overline{\text{τηροϋ}} \overline{\text{αϋιης}} \overline{\text{μμοϋ}} \overline{\text{νχε}}$   
 $\overline{\text{φιλιμ}} \overline{\text{ογοζ}} \overline{\text{ναϋ}} \{ \text{c} \} \overline{\text{ελ}}^{178} \overline{\text{τεϋναζβι}} \overline{\text{ηεν}} \mid \overline{\text{οϋ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ψαψ}} \overline{\text{νοϋωτ}} \overline{\text{ογοζ}} \overline{\text{τψαψ}} \overline{\text{α}} \overline{\text{σσε}} \overline{\text{χπ}}^{179} \overline{\text{οϋ}}$
- C.86, 176
- 840  $\overline{\text{μας}} \overline{\text{νψαρ}} \overline{\text{ερεπεϋμοϋτ}} \overline{\text{παιρητ}} \overline{\text{ες}}$   
 $\overline{\text{λψι}} \overline{\text{εχε}} \overline{\text{ντεϋαφε}} \overline{\text{επεϋσωμα}}^{\text{⌘}}$   
 (108)  $\overline{\text{ογοζ}} \overline{\text{παιρητ}} \overline{\text{αογμνω}} \overline{\text{νςνοϋ}} \overline{\text{ηατ}} \overline{\text{εβ}}^{\text{ολ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ηενπεϋσωμα}} \overline{\text{ζωςδε}} \overline{\text{ντοϋερωφη}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ρι}} \overline{\text{τηροϋ}}^{\text{⌘}}$   $\overline{\text{ογοζ}} \overline{\text{παιρητ}} \overline{\text{απιαγωνο}}$
- 845  $\overline{\text{θετης}} \overline{\text{ντεπχς}} \overline{\text{πιλγιος}} \overline{\text{ημαρτυρ}}^{\text{ος}}^{\text{⌘}}$   
 (109)  $\overline{\text{ογοζ}} \overline{\text{πιμακαριος}} \overline{\text{ιωαννης}} \overline{\text{πωηρι}} \overline{\text{η}}$
- 847  $\overline{\text{μαρκος}} \overline{\text{πιρεμφανιχωπιτ}} \overline{\text{εταϋ}}$

<sup>177</sup> Sic. Read as  $\overline{\text{ποϋρο}}$ . For the same apocopation of  $\overline{\text{ποϋρο}}$  see f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.3. For similar apocopation of  $\overline{\text{ρωμι}}$  see f. 46<sup>v</sup>, l.7.

<sup>178</sup>  $\text{c}$  slightly smeared. Cf. Mark 6<sup>16</sup>, for the example:  $\overline{\text{ιωαννης}} \overline{\text{φη}} \overline{\text{ανοκ}} \overline{\text{εταιελ}} \overline{\text{τεϋναζβι}}$ , 'John whom I [Herod] beheaded.' Also, cf. 53<sup>v</sup>, l.32.

<sup>179</sup> For  $\overline{\text{σεχπ}}$ , Crum suggests reading  $\overline{\text{σελπ}}$  (Crum, 184b.), and he lists  $\overline{\text{μας}}$  as 'unknown' (184b.). Janet Timbie has offered a better solution for  $\overline{\text{σεχπ}}$  by noticing that it is an attested form of  $\overline{\text{ψωχπ}}$ , 'to leave behind' (Crum, 616b.).

825 Christ my God.’

(105) The *chief judge* said to the soldier  
Philim, ‘Turn him to the South.’ *But Saint*  
John turned to the East  
and then he *recited*<sup>180</sup> the name

830 of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(106) Philim said to the king, ‘My lord, *by*  
your *command!*’ The king said to him,  
‘*By the command* of the judge!’  
The judge said to him, ‘*By my*

835 decision.’ The ki[ng] said to him, ‘Finish!’ These things  
happened three times.

C.86, 176 (107) After all these things, Philim  
made haste and beheaded him with | a  
single blow. And the blow left a

840 piece of skin, being his neck, thus his  
head hung upon his *body*<sup>181</sup>

(108) and thus, much blood flowed from  
his *body so that* they were  
completely amazed. And thus the *contestant*<sup>182</sup>

845 of Christ, the *martyr saint*,

(109) and *blessed* John, the son of

847 Mark, the man of Phanijōit who

<sup>180</sup> South is the *qiblah* for Egyptian Muslims, while East is the direction for Eastern Christian prayer. With his eyes covered this implies a miracle, besides boldness.

<sup>181</sup> This passage requires some reconstruction, as Balestri and Hyvernāt suggest, offering different ways of rearranging the words so that the prepositions best fit the intended objects. Based on their suggestions, a simple way to make the sentence grammatically correct is: **ⲧⲥⲁⲱ ⲁⲥⲥⲉⲭⲓ ⲛⲟϥⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲱⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟϥⲧ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ ⲉⲥⲁⲱⲓ ⲛⲁⲭⲉⲧⲉⲓⲱⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲥⲱⲙⲁ**. See footnote in Balestri and Hyvernāt, *CSCO* 86, *op. cit.*, p. 176, and the Addenda on p. 376. See also the *Martyrdom of Apa Victor*, f. 25<sup>v</sup>, in E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: Longmans and Co., 1914), p. 44, trans. on p. 297. With a different phrase, it appears that the *Martyrdom of Apa Victor* (in this version) also describes a partial beheading: **ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲕⲟϥⲕⲉ**, ‘and his head hung by the skin of the neck’ (Budge).

<sup>182</sup> For comments on **ⲁⲓⲱⲛⲟⲩⲉⲧⲏⲥ**, see f. 42<sup>r</sup>, l.13, and note 26.

- f. 52<sup>v</sup>      ΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞ† ΟΥΤΑΖ ΕϞΝΟΤΕΜ  
 ΝΑΝΙΦΥΧΗ {ΝΤΕΝΙΦΥΧΗ}<sup>183</sup> ΝΤΕΠϞΣ, ΝΙ  
 850 ΠΙΣΤΟϞ ΝΟΡ<sup>οο</sup>ΔΟΞΟϞ,<sup>184</sup> ΟΥΟΖ ΝΧΡΗϞΤΙΑ  
 ΝΟϞ ΕΤΑϞΧΩϞ ΝΠΕϞΑΓΩΝ, ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
 ΣΟΥΔ ΜΠΑΨΟΝϞ, ΕΤΕΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕ  
 ΞΕΝΦΝΑΥ ΝΑΧΠΕ · ΞΕΝΘΜΑΖΡΚΕ ΝΡ<sup>οο</sup>Μ  
 ΠΙ ΝΤΕΝΙΑΓΙΟϞ ΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟϞ, ΞΕΝΝΙ  
 855 ΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΘΕΤΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗϞ, ΜΠΕΝΙ<sup>οο</sup>Τ  
 ΕΤΤΑΙΝΟΥΤ, ΝΑΡΧΗΕΠΙϞΟΠΟϞ ΛΒ  
 ΒΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΠΟΥΛΕΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ  
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ, Φ† ΝΤΕΤΦΕ, † ΝΟΥΧΑ  
 ΡΙ<sup>οο</sup> ΝΑϞ, ΟΥΟΖ ΝΤΕϞΤΑΧΡΟϞ ΖΙΧΕΝΠΕϞ  
 860 ΘΡΟΝΟϞ, ΝΖΑΝΝΗΨ ΝΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΝ, ΝΕΜ  
 ΞΕΝ†ΜΑΖΙΑ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΝΤΕΘΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ,  
 ΝΜΟΥΖΑΝΜΕΤ ΠΨΗΡΙ ΝΕΠΟΥΠΑΚΡ ΠΨΗ  
 ΡΙ ΝΙΩΒ ΠΣΟΝ ΝΙΩΣΗΦ, ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΙΩΣΗΦ  
 ΦΙΩΤ ΜΠΟΥΡΟ ΖΟΘΜΕΝ, ΕΤΑϞΕΡΛΑΜΙ  
 865 ΤΗϞ ΞΕΝΠΕϞϞΟΟΥ ΞΕΝΝΕΝϞϞΦΟΤΟΥ<sup>Y</sup>  
 866 ΜΦΙΑΡΟ, ΝΤΕΧΗΜΙ, ΖΙΧΕΝΠΘΡΟ

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<sup>183</sup> Sic.

<sup>184</sup> **οο** written above the line in what may be a different hand.

f. 52<sup>v</sup> had blossomed and gave pleasant fruit  
to the *souls* {of the *souls*}<sup>183</sup> of the Lord, the  
850 *Orthodox* and *Christian faithful ones*,  
when he completed his *contest* on  
the fourth day of Pashons, which is the fifth day (Thursday),  
on the sixth hour on the 926<sup>th</sup> year  
of the *Martyr Saints*,<sup>185</sup> in the  
855 days of the *patriarchate* of our honoured  
father *Archbishop Abba*  
John (VI) Pouleou, (74<sup>th</sup>) *Patriarch*  
of *Alexandria*<sup>186</sup>—God of heaven grant  
*grace* to him and strengthen him upon his  
860 *throne* with much *peacefulness*.<sup>187</sup> And (he completed his *contest*)<sup>188</sup>  
in the eleventh year of the reign  
of Muḥammad,<sup>189</sup> the son of Abū Bakr,<sup>190</sup> the  
son of Ayyub,<sup>191</sup> the brother of Joseph;<sup>192</sup> this is Joseph  
the father of al-Malik ‘Uthmān<sup>193</sup> (in whose time  
865 (John) became a Muslim),<sup>194</sup> on our shores  
866 of the river of Egypt upon the

<sup>185</sup> April 29, 1210.

<sup>186</sup> For a biography of John VI (r. 1189–1216), see Subhi Labib, ‘John VI,’ in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (New York: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 1341–1342. See also *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2, *op. cit.*; pp. 166–168, f. 219<sup>v</sup> – 220<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp. 98–100).

<sup>187</sup> This sentence is actually incomplete. It all begins on f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.31, where the perfect tense marker precedes ‘the *contestant*’: ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲗⲟⲛⲟⲩⲉⲩⲏⲥ. But no main verb appears later to complete the sentence.

<sup>188</sup> See 52<sup>v</sup>, l.4. This next portion is an extension of the clause in braces, found nine lines above. See Chapter Three for a discussion of this sentence.

<sup>189</sup> Al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad (1177 or 1180–1238), formally viceroy of Egypt (during his father al-‘Ādil’s reign of larger scope) from 596/1200 till his death in 635/1238.

<sup>190</sup> Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr (c.1145–1218).

<sup>191</sup> Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (d. 1173), governor of Takiṛt and father of the Ayyūbid dynasty.

<sup>192</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, *i.e.*, Saladin (c.1138–1193).

<sup>193</sup> Al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān, sultān of Egypt (1193–1198).

<sup>194</sup> See f. 43<sup>r</sup>, l.19–23, and note 43 for mention of al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān, during whose reign John converted to Islam. Casanova’s translation of this part of the sentence into Arabic convinces him that “‘Était musulman” s’applique non pas à Othman, mais au martyr Jean dont il a été dit déjà qu’il s’était fait *musulman* à l’époque du roi Othman ...’ His suggested translation is plausible: *wa hadha yūsuf huwewa ‘abū l-malik ‘uthmān, alladhī šara muslimān fī ‘ayamihi* (*alladhī* referring to ‘Uthmān, and *šara* referring to John). See Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte*, *op. cit.*, p. 124. See also my Chapter Three.

ΝΟΣ Μ̄ΠΙΒΑΝ (Ⲅⲟ)  
 (110) ΕΡΕΝΑΙΜΗΩ Ν̄ΨΧΟΛ, ΕΡΘΕΩΡΙΝ Μ̄ΦΗΕ  
 ΤΑΦΩΠΙ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΩΕ ΝΑϞ ΖΑΠ̄Ϟ, ΦΗ  
 870 ΕΤΑϞΜΕΝΡΙΤϞ, ΗΕΝΝΙΜΑΝ̄ΗΤΟΝ Ν̄  
 ΤΕΙΛ̄ΗΜ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΤΦΕ, ΗΕΝ̄ΤΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ  
 Ν̄ΤΕΝΙΦΗΟῩΙ, Ε̄ΡΕΠΕϞϞΜΟῩ Ε̄ΘΟΥΑΒ ·  
 ΨΩΠΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ̄Ⲅⲟ

*The Aftermath of Martyrdom and Epilogue*

(111) ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ Ε̄ΤΑΥΝΑΥ, Ν̄ΧΕΜΑΣΤΕΝΟῩΤ  
 875 ΝΙΛ̄ΓΟΡΕΟΣ, ΝΕΜ ΝΗΕ̄Τ̄, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΝΙΩ  
 † Ν̄ΧΑΜΕΟΣ, ΑΓΑΨ ΟΥΝΙΩ̄Τ̄ Ν̄ΗΡΩΟΥ,  
 C.86, 177 ΝΕΜ ΝΙΡΕϞΜΟῩΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΝΟΥΨΛΗ, | ΕΥ  
 ΧΩ Ν̄ΜΟΣ ΧΕ Φ̄Τ̄, ΝΕΜ ΠΙΝΙΩ̄Τ̄<sup>195</sup> ΠΕ, ΟΥ<sup>ο</sup>Ζ  
 ΠΖΟῩΘ̄ Μ̄ΠΟῩΗΡΩΟΥ, ΑΨΘΟΥΡΤΕΡ Ν̄  
 880 ΧΕ̄Τ̄ΠΟΛΙϞ ΧΗΜΙ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΜΟΖ Ν̄ΧΕΠΙΛ̄  
 ΗΡ, Ε̄ΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΠΩΩΨ Ν̄ΤΕΝΟῩΒΑΛΛΥΧ  
 f. 53<sup>r</sup> ΟΥΟΖ ΟΥΝΙΩ̄Τ̄ ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΟΧΖΕΧ ΨΩΠΙ Ε̄ΧΕΝ  
 ΝΙΠΙϞΤΟϞ Ν̄ΧΡΗϞΤΙΛ̄ΝΟϞ Ε̄ΒΟΛ ΗΗ  
 ΤΟΥ, ΗΕΝΠΙΕ̄ΖΟῩ Ε̄ΤΕΜΜΑῩⲄⲟ  
 885 (112) ΟΥΟΖ ΗΕΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΝΑΥΖΩΒ ΗΕΝΝΙΜΗΩ  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΥΖΩΒ· ΝΕΜΝΟῩΨΦΗΡ, ΖΙΝΑ Ν̄  
 ΤΟΥΝΑΥ Ε̄ΦΗΕ̄ΤΑΦΩΠΙ, ΟΥΑ' ΜΕΝ {ΤΕϞ}  
 ΨΕΠΤΕϞΛΕΝΓΙ, ΟΥΟΖ ΚΕΟΥΑΙ ΨΕΠ ΤΕϞ  
 ΚΟΚΕΛ,<sup>196</sup> ΚΕΟΥΑΙ ΔΕ ΨΕΠ ΟῩΤΩΙϞΙ, Ε̄ΒΟΛ  
 890 ΗΕΝΤΕϞΚΛΑΜΙϞ, Ε̄ΘΟῩϞΙϞΜΟῩ Ε̄  
 ΒΟΛ Ν̄ΗΗΤΟῩⲄⲟ  
 (113) ΜΕΝΕΝϞΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑϞΕΡΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ Ν̄ΧΕΠΙ  
 893 ΟῩΡΟ Ε̄ΘΟῩΓΑΨϞ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΙΡΗ̄Τ̄ ΑΓΑΨϞ,

<sup>195</sup> Balestri and Hyvernât suggest that this could be understood as translating *allahu wa l-'akbar*. See Balestri and Hyvernât, *CSCO* 86, *op. cit.*, p. 377. However, cited in Crum, 170b. as exclamatory ΝΕΜ.

<sup>196</sup> Cited, Crum, 102a. This is the only example of this form, probably etymologically linked to *kākūlatun*.

*throne* of Piban,<sup>197</sup>

(110) when these many peoples *witnessed* that which  
came to pass. And he went to the Lord—that one  
870 who loved him—in the places of rest of  
the Heavenly Jerusalem in the kingdom  
of heaven. His holy blessing shall  
be with us.

*The Aftermath of Martyrdom and Epilogue*

(111) *When* the God-haters, the *market*

875 *people* and the traders, the great  
*chameos*<sup>198</sup> who read with a great voice,  
C.86, 177 and those who call prayers,<sup>199</sup> were watching, |  
while saying, ‘God is Great,’ and  
the volume of their voices (made) the city of Cairo  
880 disturbed, and the *air* was  
filled with the dust of their feet,  
f. 53<sup>r</sup> and *then* great distress befell  
the Christian *believers* among  
them on that day.

885 (112) And during all these (events) they hid amidst the  
multitudes, and hid<sup>200</sup> with their companions *in order to*  
see what happened. One takes his  
linen cloth, another takes his  
hood, *and* another one takes a piece of cloth from  
890 his *cloak*, so that they might receive a blessing  
from them.

(113) After these (events) the king  
893 *ordered* that they hang him and thus they hung him

<sup>197</sup> See f. 40<sup>r</sup>, l.7, and note 4.

<sup>198</sup> Hyvernat translates **ΝΙΝΙΟΥ† ΝΧΑΜΕΟC** as ‘magni Chamei.’ I am not sure what it means. See Hyvernat, *CSCO* 125, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>199</sup> See f. 50<sup>v</sup>, l.11, and note 148.

<sup>200</sup> In their Addenda, Balestri and Hyvernat make sense of this by emending the second **ϨΩB** with **ϨΩλ**, ‘fled.’ Another option could be to read both instances of **ϨΩB** as **ϫΩΠ** (‘they hid’); see f. 53<sup>v</sup>, l.13; and f. 54<sup>r</sup>, l.32, for the Bohairic softening of the ‘p’ in **ϫΩΠ** written as **ϫΩB** and **ϨΩB** respectively. See Balestri and Hyvernat, eds., *CSCO* 86, *op.cit.*, p.377; and Hyvernat, trans., *CSCO* 125, *op.cit.*, p.121, ‘absconderunt se inter turbas.’



- 895  $\bar{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\psi\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\eta\eta\tau\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\mu\alpha\ \bar{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\sigma\chi\omega\kappa$   
 $\bar{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\eta\eta\tau\iota$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta\ \pi\alpha\iota\eta\eta\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon$   
 $\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\sigma\text{⌘}$   
 (114)  $\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\omega\mu\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\omicron\sigma$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\sigma$ ,  
 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\eta\lambda\gamma\ \bar{\epsilon}\phi\eta\bar{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\sigma\psi\omega\pi\iota\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\bar{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\sigma$ ,  
 $\lambda\gamma\iota\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\mu\theta\omicron\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta\ \lambda\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\eta$ ,  
 900  $\bar{\epsilon}\pi\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\tau\iota\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\ \bar{\alpha}\eta\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$   
 $\zeta\omega\omicron\psi\ \bar{\epsilon}\chi\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta\ \eta\lambda\gamma\zeta\iota\omicron\upsilon\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\epsilon}\chi\omega\upsilon$ ,  
 $\psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\phi\alpha\psi\ \tau\alpha\phi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\lambda'\ \bar{\mu}\eta\omega\upsilon\text{⌘}$   
 (115)  $\lambda\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\chi\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota$   
 $\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma$ ,  $\chi\epsilon\ \lambda\iota\eta\lambda\gamma\ \epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$   
 905  $\eta\iota\chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\bar{\alpha}\eta\eta\sigma$ ,  $\bar{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\bar{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\ \phi\epsilon\psi$   
 $\lambda\iota\psi\epsilon\ \eta\eta\iota$ ,  $\lambda\iota\beta\iota\ \eta\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\eta\eta\mu\alpha\eta$ ,  $\eta\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$   
 $\psi\alpha\lambda$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta\ \lambda\iota\tau\eta\iota\sigma\ \epsilon\text{⌘}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\text{⌘}$ <sup>201</sup>  
 (116)  $\eta\iota\eta\ \epsilon\theta\eta\lambda\psi\omicron\iota\eta\eta\pi\iota\ \bar{\mu}\pi\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota\ \bar{\nu}\eta\eta\tau\omega\mu\iota\ \epsilon\tau$   
 $\zeta\iota\omicron\upsilon\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\bar{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\sigma$ ,  $\eta\epsilon\eta\zeta\alpha\eta\bar{\omega}$   
 910  $\eta\iota\ \eta\epsilon\mu\ \zeta\alpha\eta\tau\omega\beta\iota\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\omicron\kappa\sigma$ ,  $\psi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma$   
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\text{⌘}$ <sup>202</sup>  $\sigma\alpha\eta\eta\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\psi\epsilon\text{⌘}$   
 (117)  $\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\omega\ \delta\epsilon\ \text{⌘}\eta\eta\eta\ \eta\zeta\alpha\eta\kappa\alpha\psi\ \omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta\ \eta\lambda\gamma\theta\alpha\mu\iota\bar{\omicron}\ \bar{\mu}$   
 $\eta\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\bar{\mu}\phi\eta\eta\tau\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\eta$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\zeta\ \eta\lambda\gamma$   
 $\lambda\omicron\kappa\sigma\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ ,  $\eta\epsilon\mu\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\bar{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\ (\text{⌘})$   
 915 (118)  $\eta\lambda\iota\ \tau\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\gamma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\bar{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma$ ,  
 C.86, 178 916  $\psi\alpha\zeta\alpha\eta\bar{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta\iota\ |\ \lambda\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\iota\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\chi\epsilon$

<sup>201</sup>  $\pi\epsilon$  added above the line by a later hand.

<sup>202</sup> Cited, Crum, 408a.

upon a beam on the northern side of the place where he  
 895 died. Thus it was when  
 they did (these things) to him.

(114) *Then some captive Romans*  
 who saw what happened to the *saint*  
 came before the king and *asked*  
 900 for the *body* from the king. The soldiers  
 cursed them and were striking them  
 until they split the head of one of them.

(115) *But a believing brother of the priest*<sup>203</sup>  
 informed us, 'I saw one of  
 905 the Christians whose head was split;  
 I went and took a bandage<sup>204</sup> with  
 myrrh and put it on his wound.'

(116) Who would be able to count the rest of the men  
 striking the *body* of the *saint* with stones  
 910 and pieces of bricks, until it  
 made a heap below the beam?

(117) *Now* many took reeds and were fashioning  
 them like a *lance*, and were  
 stabbing his *body* and his head.

915 (118) All these things were done to the *body* of the *saint*  
 C.86, 178 916 until evening. | *Then the high judge*

<sup>203</sup> Here **πρεσβυτερος** could simply mean 'elder.' Earlier in the text, **παπια** is used for 'priest' (f. 45<sup>v</sup>, l.3, 4), and **υελλοι** is used for Christian 'elders' (f. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.27; f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.1, 25, 34). See Kircher's edition of Abū Ishāq ibn al-ʿAssāl's *scala*, which lists both *al-qusūs* and *al-mashāyikh*, 'priests' and 'elders,' with the word **ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲤⲬⲮⲦⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ**. See Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca, op. cit.*, p. 417.

<sup>204</sup> **ⲙⲟⲩⲣ** suggested meaning, see Crum, 182a.

- f. 53<sup>v</sup>      ΠΑΡΧΗΚΡΙΤΗΣ, ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ Ν̄ΤΟΥΡΩΙC  
 ΕΠΙCΩΜΑ ΙΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥΙ Ν̄ΧΕΝΙΧΡΗCΤΙ  
 ΑΝΟC ΟΥΟZ Ν̄CΕΒΙ Ν̄ΖΙ Ν̄ΗΤQ<sup>✠</sup>
- 920 (119) ΛΦΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ {ΝΑΝ}<sup>205</sup> ΝΑΝ Ν̄ΧΕΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΜΠΙ<sup>c</sup>  
 ΤΟC Ν̄ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC, ΠΙΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡ<sup>o</sup>C,  
 ΧΕ ΑCΨΩΠΙ Ε̄ΤΑΠΙΕΧΩΡZ ΑΙZΩΛ ΑΝ<sup>o</sup>K  
 ΝΕΜΚΕΒ̄ Μ̄ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC Ν̄Γ̄ ΠΕ, ΟΥ<sup>o</sup>Z  
 ΑΝΟΚ †CΩΟΥΝ Μ̄ΠΙΓ̄ Μ̄ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC<sup>✠</sup>
- 925 (120) ΑΝΒΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ Ν̄ΟΥΧΑΙΟΥΩΜ, ΕΘΡΕΝΟΥ  
 ΟΜQ ΕΘΒΕ ΧΕ ΑΝCΩΚ Μ̄ΠΙΕΖΟΥΟΥ Ε̄ΤΕΜ  
 ΜΑΥ ΤΗΡQ Ν̄ΑΤΟΥΩΜ, ΟΥΟZ ΦΗΕΤΑQ  
 ΨΩΠΙ Μ̄ΠΕΝΧΕΜ ΜΑΝ̄ΧΩΠ ΝΑΝ, ΑΛΗΙ Ε̄  
 ΠΧΟΙ ΜΠΟΥΡΟ, ΑΝΧΩΒ, ΟΥΟZ ΝΕΝΡΗC ·
- 930 ΦΑΛΧΠ<sup>ε</sup> Μ̄ΠΙΕΧΩΡZ, ΟΥΟZ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ  
 ΨΕ ΝΑQ ΕΠΕQΜΑ, QΟΝΗ Ν̄ΧΕΠΟΥΡΟ ΜΠΙ  
 CΑ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΝΑΥ Ε̄ΠΙΟΥΩΙΝΙ, Ε̄QΝΗΟΥ Ε̄  
 ΧΩQ ΨΑΝΤΕCZΩΒC Μ̄ΠΙCΩΜΑ ΤΗΡQ Ε̄  
 ΤΕΜΜΑΥ ΟΥΟZ ΘΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΝΜΕΤΜΕΘΡΕ
- 935 Μ̄ΠΕΜΘΟ Μ̄Π<sup>δ</sup>C<sup>✠</sup>  
 (121) ΙΤΕ ΖΑΝΟΥΟΝ Ν̄ΛΑΜΙΤΗC ΕΥΨΟΠ ΗΕΝ†  
 ΝΗCΟC, Ε̄ΤΑΥΝΑΥ Ε̄ΠΙΟΥΩΙΝΙ, ΑΥΕΨ
- 938 ΗΡΨΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC, ΧΕ ΑΝΑΥ ΑΝΑΥ ΧΕ

<sup>205</sup> The final **n** of the first **ΝΑΝ** is partially erased, as Balestri and Hyvernats suggest, leaving it to be read as **ΝΑΙ**. Balestri and Hyvernats further want to eliminate **ΝΑΙ** altogether.

- f. 53<sup>v</sup>      *ordered that they keep watch*  
                  over the *body*, lest the Christians come  
                  and take something from it.
- 920      (119) A *believing* Christian man, the *priest*,<sup>206</sup>  
                  testified to us,  
                  ‘When it was night I myself went  
                  with two other *priests*’ (there were three ⟨people⟩, and  
                  I myself know the three *priests*).<sup>207</sup>
- 925 (120) ‘We took food with us to  
                  eat because we went swiftly that  
                  whole day without eating, and when that thing  
                  happened, we did not find a hiding place. Then we boarded  
                  the ship of the king. We hid and were watching
- 930 until the sixth ⟨hour⟩ of the night, and everyone  
                  went to his place. As the king of *Israel*  
                  lives! We ourselves saw the light coming  
                  over him until it covered that whole  
                  *body*. And this is our testimony
- 935 before the Lord.’
- (121) *Then* some Muslims were on the  
                  *island*.<sup>208</sup> When they saw the light they cried
- 938 out saying, ‘Look! Look!

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<sup>206</sup> See footnote 203 above on the terminology for Christian leaders.

<sup>207</sup> Reading this as such an interjection by the text’s author seems to be the best rendering of the very disjointed construction.

<sup>208</sup> Perhaps modern-day Rhoda or Zamalak. The word might be construed as ‘harbor.’

- ἄνιχρηστιᾶνος, ἀγίνι ἡζανμοχ · νεν  
 940 ζανλαμπας, ἔχενουμαρτύρος ψα  
 τούχος, χε ἀγί ἡχεπιουωίνι ἔ  
 ζρηι ἔχωϑ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (122) ογοζ σατοτογ ἀγί ἔφμα ἡπιψε ἡποϑ  
 χεν ζλι ἡμαγ, ἔβηλ ἔπιβαψι<sup>209</sup> ζολωσ  
 945 ζιχενπιψε · , κεογαι δε ουλαμιθης  
 ζιχενπεϑγενος, ναϑερμεορε ναογ  
 μηψ εγχω ἡμος, χε ἄνοκ λιναγ ἔφναϑ  
 ἔταγελ φηετεϑναζβι, ουφλανος ν  
 νογβ, εϑρηνογ ἔπεσχιτ ἔβολ ηεντφε  
 950 αγχω ἡτψγχι ἡπιᾶγιος ἡηητϑ,  
 f. 54<sup>r</sup> αγολς ἔπωψι ἔτφε, ογοζ παρῶμι  
 αϑψε ναϑ ἔβολ ηενχημι, ογοζ ἡποϑ  
 C.86, 179 χεναγ | ἔροϑ, ζανκεογον Γ ἡρωμι ἡ  
 βαρβαρος πε, αγερεῶριν ἡπιουωι  
 955 νι, ογαι μεν αϑφωτ ψαφοογ, ογ<sup>ο</sup>ζ  
 πικεῖβ αϑβίτογ ἡχεπιαρχηκρηθης  
 αϑχωπ πογζωβ ψαἔηογν ἔφοογ  
 ἡἔζοογ<sup>⊗</sup>  
 (123) αϑερμεορε ἡχεογπιστος ἡαρχων ·  
 960 ογοζ φαι αϑερογμογναχος, εῶβε πς<sup>λ</sup>  
 961 χι ἡαρχων, ετεπῶηρι ἡαψηης, ογ

<sup>209</sup> βαψι, meaning unknown; cited, Crum, 47a. Crum suggests it may be a corruption of αψι, hence ‘the one hung.’

The Christians brought some candles and  
 940 some *torches* over a *martyr* so  
 they could say, “the light came  
 down over him.””

(122) Immediately they came to the place of the wooden  
 beam. They found nothing there *at all* except the one hung<sup>207</sup>  
 945 upon the beam. *Now* another one—a Muslim  
 by his *ethnicity*—was testifying to a  
 crowd saying, ‘I myself saw, at the time  
 when they beheaded that one,<sup>210</sup> a *lamp* of  
 gold coming down from heaven.

f. 54<sup>r</sup> 950 The *soul* of the *saint* was placed in it  
 and was taken to the height of heaven.’ And this man  
 went from Cairo and was not  
 C.86, 179 seen again. | There were three other *foreign*<sup>211</sup>  
 men. They *saw* the light.

955 One fled at daybreak and ⟨as for⟩  
 the other two, the *chief judge* brought them in  
 and concealed their matter until this  
 day.

(123) A *believing ruler* testified  
 960 (and he became a *monk* on account of the  
 961 word of the *ruler*, who is the son of Aššēc, a

<sup>210</sup> See f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.25.

<sup>211</sup> Or, ‘Berber.’ See f. 50<sup>v</sup>, l.15, and note 150.

- ΡΕΜΡΗΣ ΠΕ, ΧΕ ἄΝΟΚ ΝΕΜ ΠΑΙΩΤ, ΝΕΜ  
 ΠΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΉΕΝΠΙΧΟΙ ΨΑΧΗΜΙ, ΟΥ  
 ΟΖ ΝΑΝΧΗ ΉΕΝΠΙΧΟΙ, ἄΝΕΡΦΜΕΓΪ ΕΦΡΑΝ  
 965 ἸΝΝΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ<sup>212</sup> ΝΑΝ  
 ΧΕ ἄΜΩΙΝΙ, ΙΣΧΕΝ ΠΕ ΦΑΙ ΨΑΠΕΚΕ ΕΘ  
 ΝΗΟΥ, ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΟΥΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ,  
 ΕΦἄΨΙ ΕΧΕΝΠΘΡΟΝΟΣ ἸΠΙΒΑΝ, ΉΕΝΝΕΝ  
 ΣΦΟΤΟΥ ἸΦΙἄΡΟ ἸΤΕΧΗΜΙ<sup>✠</sup>  
 970 (124) ΖΑΝΜΗΩ ΔΕ ΝΑΤΒΙἸΠΙ ἸΜΩΟΥ, ΑΥΕΡΜΕΘ  
 ΡΕ, ΕΘΒΕ ΖΑΝΜΗΩ ἸΨΦΗΡΙ, ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ Ἰ  
 ΠΕΝΕΜΙ ΕΠΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ, ΝΕΜ ΤΟΥΜΕΘ  
 ΜΗΙ, ΨΑΝΤΕΝΣΗΤΟΥ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (125) ΑΣΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΉΕΝΠΙΕΧΩΡΖ ἸΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ  
 975 ΠΟΥΡΟ ἸΚΟΤ ΉΕ(Ν)ΠΕΦΠΑΛΛΑΤΙΟΝ, ΖΗΠΠΕ  
 ΙΣ ΠἄΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΦΟΥΟΝΖΦ ΕΡΟΦ  
 ΖΩΣ ΟΥΑΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΤΥΛΑΤΗΣ, ἸἄΞΙΩ  
 ΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΕΧΑΦ, ΧΕ ΚΗΝ ΝΑΚ ΧΕ  
 ΑΚΧΕΚ ΠΕΚΕΡΨΩΨΙ ΤΗΡΦ ἸΉΗΤ, ΟΥΑΖ  
 980 ΣΑΖΝΙ ΜΑΡΟΥΕΛ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΠΠΕ·  
 ΠΟΥΡΟ ΑΦΕΡΖΟΤ ΕΜΑΨΩ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΙΡΗΤ  
 ΑΦΖΩΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟΦ<sup>✠</sup>  
 (126) ΕΤΑΦΡΩΙΣ ΔΕ ἸΦΝΑΥ ἸΨΩΡΠΙ, ΑΦΜΟΥΤ  
 ΔΕ ἸΠἩΟΛΛΟ<sup>213</sup> ἸΤΕΝΙΉΕΛΛΟΙ, ΑΦΤΑΜΟΦ  
 f. 54<sup>v</sup> 985 ΕΦΗΕΤΑΦΩΠΙ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΉΕΛΛΟ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ  
 986 ΝΝΟΥΨΕΡΖΑΛ ἸΜΟΚ, ἸΧΕΝΑΙΠΑΘΟΣ ἸΕ

<sup>212</sup> **ι** and **ο** are overlapping, almost appearing as an **ω**.

<sup>213</sup> Sic.

southerner), ‘I, my father, and  
 this *martyr* ⟨were⟩ on the ship to Egypt, and  
 we were lying in the ship. We recalled the name⟨s⟩  
 965 of the *martyrs*, and the *blessed one* ⟨said⟩ to us,  
 “Come—from this Thursday to the coming ⟨Monday⟩<sup>214</sup>—and  
 you shall see a *martyr*  
 hanging above the *throne* of Piban<sup>215</sup> on our  
 shores of the river of Egypt.””

970 (124) Countless multitudes of them testified  
 about many wonders, those whose  
 reliability and truthfulness we did not  
 know until we wrote them.

(125) *Then* it came to pass on the night of the *sabbath*,  
 975 the king lay asleep in his *palace*. Behold,  
*Saint John* appeared to him  
 as a *supreme military*  
*commander* and said, ‘Desist, because  
 you exercised all your bitterness over me, and  
 980 order my *body* to be taken from the beam!’  
 The king was greatly frightened and, thus,  
 he hid<sup>216</sup> from him.

(126) Having been awake until the first hour, he called  
 to the chief of the elders and told him  
 f. 54<sup>v</sup> 985 what happened. The elder said to him,  
 986 ‘Let not these empty *passions* of the dreams

<sup>214</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat rewrite this entire passage from l.9 – l.18. The problematic portion is between the dashes, which Hyvernat translates in terms of the days of the week Thursday and Monday: ‘from the fifth day of the week (πῆ) to the coming second day of the week (ϣαπτεκε[ῆ]).’ See Balestri and Hyvernat, *CSCO* 86, *op. cit.*, p. 378, and Hyvernat, *CSCO* 125, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>215</sup> See f. 40<sup>r</sup>, l. 7, and note 4, for the possibility that ΠΙΒΑΝ is translating the Arabic *‘iywān*, ‘court’ of al-Kāmil.

<sup>216</sup> See note 200.



- φΛΗΟΥ ΝΤΕΝΙΡΑϞΟΥΪ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΕΘΒΕ  
 ΧΕ ΜΠΕΚΝΑΥ Ε̄ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕΝΕΖ ΑΥΕΛ ΠΕϞ  
 ΝΑΖΒΙ Ε̄ΒΗΛ Ε̄ΦΑΙ, †ΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΚΩΦ,  
 C.86, 180 990 ΛΕΜ | ΜΠΕϞΝΟΥϞ Ε̄ΡΟΥ, ΠΑΙΡΗ† ΉΕΝΠῙΚΕ  
 Ε̄ΧΩΡΖ ΕΘΝΗΟΥ, ΕΤΕ†ΚΥΡῙΑΚΗ ΤΕ<sup>⌘</sup>  
 (127) ΠΟΥΡΟ ΔΕ ΝΚΟΤ ΉΕΝΠΙΜΑΦΡΗ<sup>217</sup> ΨΑΝΤΕϞ  
 ΟΥΩΝΖ Ε̄ΡΟΥ ΝΧΕΠῙΑΓΙΟϞ ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ,  
 ΉΕΝΟΥΝΙΩ† ΝΧΑΡΙϞΜΑ, ΝΕΜ ΟΥΝΙΩ†  
 995 ΝΑΖΙΩ̄ΜΑ ΕΖΟΤΕ ΨΩΡΠ, ΨΑΝΤΕϞΕΡΖΟ  
 † ΝΧΕΠΟΥΡΟ ΉΑΡΟΥ, ΟΥΟΖ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑϞ  
 ΧΕ ΛΙΚΗΝ Ε̄ΧΟϞ ΝΑΚ, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΑϞΩΜΑ ΟΥ  
 ΟΖ ΜΠΕΚΙΡΙ ΜΑΡΟΥΕΛ ϞΩΜΑ ΖΙΠΙΩΕ ΝΤΑ  
 ΦΩΡΚ ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΜΑΖϞ ΝΖΟ† ·  
 1000 ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΖΟΠϞ Ε̄ΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟΥ<sup>⌘</sup>  
 (128) ΕΤΑ ΠῙΕΧΩΡΖ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΙ ΜΠΒ̄ ΕΤΕΠΕΧ<sup>ω</sup>ΡΖ  
 Ε̄ΠΩΑΙ ΜΠῙΑΓΙΟϞ ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΠΙΡΕΜΦΕΝ  
 ΖΩΟΥ† Ε̄ΤΕϞΟῩΗ ΜΠΑΨΟΝϞ, ΑΠΙΟΥΡΟ  
 ΟΥΑΖϞΑΖΝΙ ΜΠΙΜΑΤΟΙ ΡΩ ΟΝ, ΧΕ ΜΑΨΕ ΝΑ<sup>κ</sup>  
 1005 ΒΙ ΜΠϞΩΜΑ ΝΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΟΥΟΖ  
 ΖΙΤϞ Ε̄ΦΙΟΜ<sup>⌘</sup>  
 (129) ΟΥΟΖ ΑϞΪ ΑϞΒΙ ΝΟΥϞΝΟΥ ΝΤΟΥ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΕΛ  
 ΝΙΩ̄ΝΙ, ΝΕΜ ΝΙΤΩΒΙ Ε̄ΝΑΥΖΙΩ̄ΝΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ ·  
 Ε̄ΧΩϞ, ΝΕΜ ΠΙΜΑ Ε̄ΘΟΥΛΒ ΝΤΕΠῙΑΓΙΟϞ  
 1010 ΙΩΑΝΝΗϞ, ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΤΑΛΛΟΥΟΥ Ε̄ΟΥΧΗΟΥ,

<sup>217</sup> ΠΙΜΑΦΡΗΩ, Arabic *mafrash*.

be able to deceive you. *Rather*, these are because  
 you have never seen a man's head  
 cut off,<sup>218</sup> besides this one. Now then, do not<sup>219</sup>  
 C.86, 180 990 occupy<sup>220</sup> your mind with him.' Then the  
 following night, which is the *Lord's day*,  
 (127) the king slept on the bed until  
*Saint John* appeared to him  
 with such great *unmerited favor* and great  
 995 *dignity*; so much more than before, until the king  
 was frightened of him. And he said to him,  
 'I already spoke to you about my *body*  
 and you did not act. Let ⟨my⟩ *body* be brought from the beam,  
 lest I pluck your eyes!' And he filled him with fear  
 1000 and he hid himself from him.  
 (128) *When* the second night came, which is the night  
 for the festival of *Saint John* the man of  
 Psenhōout<sup>221</sup>—the eighth of Pashons—the king  
 commanded the soldier again: 'Come!  
 1005 Take the *body* of *John* and  
 cast it into the sea.'  
 (129) And he went and took a chaff basket, and they  
 collected the stones and bricks which were thrown  
 upon it and the holy place<sup>222</sup> of *Saint*  
 1010 *John*. They boarded ⟨and sailed⟩ a ship

<sup>218</sup> See f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.24–26.

<sup>219</sup> **ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲱⲩⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ**, the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular does not agree with the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular. David Johnson suggests a possible emendation: **ⲛⲓⲉⲣⲱⲩⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ**, 'Do not occupy your mind with him.'

<sup>220</sup> **ⲱⲩⲉⲙ**, see f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.15 and f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.33.

<sup>221</sup> In Arabic, his name is *Yūḥannis al-Sanhūī*. For a synopsis of this John's martyrdom in a modern edition of the Synaxary, see Anba Buṭrus, et. al., eds., *Al-Sinaksār*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 160. According to the Synaxary, an angel inspired this martyr to profess Christ to the authorities in Roman times, for which he was beheaded.

<sup>222</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat emend **ⲛⲓⲙⲁ** with **ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ**, but the text still makes sense without any emendation if the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular pronoun **ⲉ** is consistently taken to stand for John's body throughout the passage following the king's command to 'cast it into the sea.' **ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲉ̅ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ** can be understood as the execution grounds of the martyr.

ψατφωσι ἡφιου, ογορ λγρττ ε̄φιου  
 ψαπαίμα πε πενῆμι, ε̄φῆεταρψωπι μπс<sup>ω</sup>  
 μα ἡφῆε̄θογαβ ιωαννης, πιμαρτγρος  
 ἡτεπ̄χс<sup>⋆</sup>

1015 (I30) ογορ ιсхен πιε̄ροου ε̄παίμαρτγρος, δι  
 χлом ἡρηтτ, ψαπεροου ἡπιχινριω<sup>ω</sup>ψ·  
 ἡπψαι ἡνερ̄ησι ε̄θογαβ, ῑα ἡ̄αβοτ ψαἡ  
 тен̄οι ἡπταχρο ἡπисахи, nem τερμεο  
 мнι ἡκλωс, ε̄βολ ρитен ρанρωми μπис

1020 τос,

f. 55<sup>r</sup> χε †ψοп̄ ᾱнок η̄енχηми, η̄енпикерос  
 ε̄τεμμαγ, ογορ †ноӯ ω̄ πιμαρτγρος  
 ε̄θογαβ, πῑαγιос ιωαννης, πῑναιαтτ  
 η̄енп̄ос, ρитеноӯнай, намет̄ε̄βιηη ·

1025 nem таметтаλ(επ)φρος,<sup>223</sup> πιβωк ἡε̄χμαλ<sup>ω</sup>

C.86, 181 τос | η̄енφнови, маркос, πῑατεмпψα  
 λη ἡ†μετρωми, малиста †метпрес  
 в̄утерос, πῑμαθηтс нтеавва мн  
 ханη, πῑε̄πισκοπος ἡτεпоγас† nem

1030 φлавес, χε ᾱнок αιсωтем ε̄тсμη ἡε̄<sup>у</sup>  
 аггелистης,<sup>224</sup> εсхω ἡмос, χε φ̄нео  
 нащеп̄ ογпроф̄ηтс, ε̄φραν ἡογпро  
 ф̄ηтс, ε̄ρε̄οι ἡφ̄βεχε ἡογпроф̄η  
 т̄с, ογορ φ̄неонащеп̄ ογ̄ομη φ̄ραν

1035 ἡογ̄ομη, ε̄ρε̄οι ἡφ̄βεχε ἡογ̄ομη  
 ογορ φ̄неонатсе̄ ογ̄αι ἡ̄наикоγ̄хӣ ε̄ο

1037 наρ† ε̄ροι, ἡογ̄ᾱφοτ ἡ̄μωου ρωх χε

<sup>223</sup> Balestri and Hyvernats wrongly transcribe this as **ταμετταпφρος**, which they correctly emend as **ταμετταλεпφρος** in their footnote.

<sup>224</sup> Sic.

to the middle of the sea and they cast it<sup>225</sup> into the sea.

Up to this point, that is our knowledge of what happened to the *body* of that holy John, the *martyr* of Christ.

1015 (130) And from the day when this *martyr* received  
the crown ⟨of martyrdom⟩, to the day of preparation  
for the feast of his holy suffering, eleven months ⟨passed⟩ until  
we received the confirmation of the account and its *praiseworthy*  
truthfulness from some *believ-*

1020 *ers*,

f. 55<sup>r</sup> for I myself ⟨was⟩ in Cairo in that  
*time*. And now, O holy  
*martyr Saint John*, the blessed one  
in the Lord through mercy! My misery!

1025 My *wretchedness*! The *captive* slave  
C.86, 181 to sin: Mark, the one unworthy  
of humanity, *much less* the *priesthood*!  
The *disciple* of Abba

Michael, the *bishop* of Pouasti and  
1030 Phlabes, I myself obeyed the voice of ⟨the⟩  
*Evangelist*, saying, ‘The one who  
will accept a *prophet* in the name of a  
*prophet* shall receive the reward of a *prophet*.

And the one who will accept a righteous one ⟨in⟩ the name  
1035 of a righteous one will receive the reward of a righteous one.  
And the one who will slake one of these little ones who  
1037 believes in me with a cup of cold water, because

<sup>225</sup> Either the body, or the basket loaded with rubble. See note 222 above.

ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΝΑΠΧ̄C\*<sup>⦿</sup>

(131) ΑΜΗΝ †ΧΩ ἦΜΟΣ ΝΩΤΕΝ, ΧΕ ἸΝΕCΤΑΚ°

1040 ἸΧΕΠΕCΒΕΧΕ, ΟΥΟZ †ΝΟΥ ΠΑΒΕΧΕ ΗΑ  
ΤΟΤΚ, ΕΘΡΕΚ†ΖΟ ἸΠΕΝΨ°ΡΠ ἸΜΑΡΤΥΡ°C (⦿\*<sup>⦿</sup>)

(132) ΦΑΙ ΕΤΑCΦΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ, ἸΦΗΕΤΕΦΩΝ<sup>226</sup> Ἰ  
CΝΟC ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΘΒΕ ΠΕΝΨΟΡΠ ἸΠΛΑCΜΑ-  
ΑΔΑΜ, ΝΕΜ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΝ, ΟΥΟZ ΑCΑΙΤΕΝ Ἰ

1045 ΡΕΜΖΕ, ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΠCΑΖΟΥἸ ἸΤΕΠΙΝΟΜ°C  
ΟΥCΝΟC ΝΑΝΟΒΙ, ΑCΤΟΥΒΟ ἸΝΙΡΕCΕΡ  
ΝΟΒΙ, †ΜΕΥἸ ΕΠΙCΝΟC ἸΤΕΠΙΜΟΝΟ

ΓΕΝΗC ἸΨΗΡΙ, ἸΤΕΠΙΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ,  
ΦΙΩΤ ΕΤΕΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙCΩΤΗΡ ἸΠΙΚΟC

1050 ΜΟC ΤΗΡC, ΠΕΝΒ̄C, ΟΥΟZ ΠΕΝἸΟΥ†  
ΟΥΟZ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ἸΗC ΠΧ̄C\*<sup>⦿</sup>

(133) ΕΘΒΕ ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ ΕΘΡΕCΕΡ, ΟΥΝΑΙ ΝΕΜΗΙ ·  
ΗΕΝΠΕCΒΗΜΑ ΕΤΟΙ ἸΖΟ†, ΗΕΝΠΙΕΖΟΟ<sup>Υ</sup>

f. 55<sup>v</sup> 1055 ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ἸΠΙΔΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC, ΧΕ ΑΙΚΗΝ  
ΑΙΔΜΟΝΙ ἸΠΨΤΑ† ἸΝΕΚΖΒΩC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ,  
ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ ἸΤΑΧΕΜ ΖΗΟΥ ἸΠΕCΜ̄ΘΟ, ΑΝΟΚ

ΔΕ ἸΜΑΥΑΤ ΑΝ, Ψ ΠΙΜΕΝΡΙΤ ΙΩΑΝΝΗC  
ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΜΠCΕΠΙ ἸΝΙΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC, ΜΑ

1060 ΛΙCΤΑ ΝΙΡΕΜΠΚΑΖΙ ἸΧΗΜΙ, ΕΤΨΟΠ ΗΕΝ  
ΠΙΖΟΧΖΕΧ ΕΤΕΚCΩΟΥΝ ἸΜΟC\*<sup>⦿</sup>

(134) CΕ ΝΕΜΝΗΕΤCΙΦΡΩΟΥΨ, ἸΝΕΜ ΝΗΕΘΝΑ

1063 CΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΟC, ΝΕΜ ΝΗΕΤCΙΦΡΩΟΥΨ

<sup>226</sup> Corrupt. Balestri and Hyvernats suggest ἸΦΗΕΤΕ ΦΩC ΠΕ, ‘what is his.’

you belong to Christ,

(131) *Indeed*, I say to you, “His wage  
1040 shall not be lost.”<sup>227</sup> And now, my wage from  
you (John of Phanijōit) is that you would beseech our proto-  
*martyr*,

(132) He who poured forth what is (his):  
blood for the sake of our former *image*,  
Adam, and for us also, he made us  
1045 free from ‘the curse of the *law*’<sup>228</sup> —  
blood for sin.<sup>229</sup> He purified the sinners.

I mean the blood of the *Only*  
*begotten* Son of the *Almighty*  
Father, who is the *Savior* of the whole  
1050 *world*, our Lord and our God  
and our *Savior* Jesus Christ.

(133) In *order that* He have mercy on me  
at His *judgment seat* (which is fearful on the day  
of the true judge) because of your holy  
f. 55<sup>v</sup> 1055 entreaty, *Saint* John, I have already  
taken hold of the edge of your holy garments,<sup>230</sup>  
*so that* I might find benefit from its presence. *But* I  
am not alone, O beloved John,  
rather (I am) with the rest of the Christians,  
1060 *especially* the people of the land of Egypt who abide in  
the distress, of which you know.

(134) *Indeed*, (I am) with those who pay heed and who will  
1063 listen to it (your martyrdom), and those who pay heed<sup>231</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Matthew 10<sup>41, 42</sup>, Mark 9<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>228</sup> Galatians 3<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>229</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat suggest restoring the text in the following way: **ΟΥΟΣ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΣΝΟQ ΝΑΤΝΟΒΙ**, ‘and through sinless blood.’ The text is clearly corrupted here.

<sup>230</sup> Perhaps alluding to the bleeding woman. See Matthew 9<sup>20</sup> and Luke 8<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat supply **ΝΤΕΚΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ**.

- C.86, 182       $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$   
 1065  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}$  ·  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$  ·  
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$ ,  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\chi}\bar{\alpha}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$ ,  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\phi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\iota}$ ✠
- 1070 (135)  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}$ ,  $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   
 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}$ ,  $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ -  
 $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ ✠
- (136)  $\bar{\phi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}$ ,  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$  ·  
 1075  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}$ , { $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\zeta}$ }  
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}$  · ✠
- (137)  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}$   
 1080  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$ ,  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ ✠
- (138)  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\kappa}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}$   
 $\bar{\nu}$   
 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\delta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ ° $\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\phi}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$  ·  
 $\bar{\phi}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$ ° $\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$   
 1084  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$  · ✠  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\zeta}$

- C.86, 182 to the *first fruits, gifts,* and  
 1065 *prayers* in the name of the Father, and the Son,  
 and the Holy *Spirit*. The small and the  
 great shall be acceptable at the place of forgiveness  
 of sin in the kingdom of  
 heaven,  
 1070 (135) ‘by the grace and the mercy,  
 and the loving kindness of our Lord  
 and our God and our *Savior*  
*Jesus Christ*,  
 (136) through whom all glory  
 1075 and all honor and all  
*adoration* is *due* to the Father, along with Him and  
 the Holy *Spirit*, (who is) the Life Giver, {and}  
 of *one substance* with You,  
 (137) now, and at all times, and unto the ages  
 1080 of all ages, *Amen*.<sup>232</sup>  
 (138) The *martyrdom* of *Saint John* the *martyr* of Christ  
 was completed on the fourth of Pashons in the *peace* of God,  
*Amen*.  
 God, these are what that miserable, *wretched*, worthless Peter,  
 1084 the son of Apa Paul Faraj (the man of Damanhour) wrote.  
 A.M. 927<sup>233</sup>

<sup>232</sup> Quoting a saying that appears repeatedly in the Liturgy of St. Basil: ⲫⲈⲚⲠⲓⲒⲙⲐⲐⲐⲐ  
 ⲚⲈⲘ ⲚⲠⲘⲉⲧⲠⲈⲚⲒⲐⲧ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲧⲠⲘⲉⲧⲠⲠⲓⲠⲠⲟⲙⲓ ⲚⲧⲉⲠⲉⲕⲘⲐⲚⲐⲚⲟⲒⲚⲒⲤ ⲚⲠⲫⲠⲓ ⲠⲈⲚⲬⲐ ⲐⲠⲟⲒ ⲠⲈⲚ  
 ⲚⲐⲠⲟⲩ ⲐⲠⲟⲒ ⲠⲈⲚⲤⲟⲩⲧⲠⲠⲓ ⲓⲚⲤ ⲠⲫⲤ. ⲠⲠⲓ Ⲉⲧⲉ ⲈⲖⲐⲗ ⲒⲒⲧⲟⲩⲧⲓ ⲈⲠⲉⲠⲠⲟⲩ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲠⲠⲗⲓⲟ ⲚⲈⲘ  
 ⲠⲗⲠⲗⲓ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲧⲠⲠⲟⲕⲓⲚⲚⲒⲤⲒⲤ ⲈⲠⲠⲉⲠⲓ Ⲛⲗⲗ ⲚⲈⲘⲗⲓ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲠⲠⲠⲗⲗ ⲈⲖⲐⲠⲗⲗ ⲚⲠⲉⲕⲧⲗⲚⲫⲟ  
 ⲚⲟⲙⲟⲟⲒⲤⲒⲐⲐⲐ ⲚⲈⲘⲗⲗ. ⲧⲚⲐⲠⲟⲩ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲤⲠⲟⲩ ⲚⲠⲖⲈⲚ ⲚⲈⲘ Ⲡⲗⲗ ⲈⲚⲈⲒ Ⲛⲧⲉ ⲚⲠⲈⲚⲈⲒ ⲧⲠⲠⲟⲩ ⲗⲠⲠⲚ.  
 See *Pijōm nte pišōmt nanaphora ete nai ne mpiagios basilios nem piagios grēgorios pitheologos nem piagios kurillos* (*The Book of the Three Anaphora, which are of St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian, and St. Cyril*) (Rome, 1736), pp. 9, 10, etc., *passim*.

<sup>233</sup> 1211 C.E.





### CHAPTER THREE

## COMMENTS ON THE COPTIC LANGUAGE OF THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN OF PHANIJŌIT

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it seems Copts had already become linguistically Arabised,<sup>1</sup> the appearance of the Coptic *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* raises the question of its linguistic relationship to Arabic. Leslie MacCoull has cast doubt on the theory that the martyrdom is ‘a retroversion into Coptic from Arabic’ by reminding her readers that ‘the thirteenth century was a period of intense effort by Arabophone Coptic savants to recover and promote knowledge of the Coptic language.’<sup>2</sup> Almost a century before MacCoull, Paul Casanova drafted Arabic reconstructions of specific passages in the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* (*J.Phan.*) to demonstrate his thesis that ‘le document a été écrit primitivement en arabe, et que l’auteur copte l’a traduit littéralement, au moins dans toute sa partie narrative.’<sup>3</sup> MacCoull dismisses Casanova as a specialist in Islamic Arabic who ‘was not at all aware of the import of the John narrative and saw more or less what he wanted and was equipped to see.’<sup>4</sup> But her disappointment over Casanova’s disregard for the ‘literary topoi’ and ‘social history’<sup>5</sup> of *J.Phan.* is the mirror image of a problem shared by MacCoull and other Coptacists: Coptic scholars are not equipped to analyze the Coptic of *J.Phan.* in the light of Arabic grammar.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have not devel-

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<sup>1</sup> On the matter of linguistic Arabisation, see Samuel Rubenson, ‘Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt,’ *Medieval Encounters*, 2, 1 (1996): 4–14. See also my Introduction, particularly footnote 11.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie S.B. MacCoull, ‘Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit (BHO 519),’ *Medieval Encounters*, 6 (2000): 58–79, p. 60 and note 8, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Casanova, ‘Notes sur un texte copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,’ in *BIFAO* 1 (1901): 113–137, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 60, note 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>6</sup> The problem of disconnection between Coptic scholars and Islamicists in particular is also well illustrated by R. Stephen Humphreys’ chapter in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*. While being a prominent scholar of medieval Islam in Egypt, he still considered (in 1998) Sāwirus ibn al-Muqaffa’ to be the compiler of ‘his *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*.’ The scholarly material Humphreys cites in regards to the *AHPA* is primarily

oped sufficient understanding of the few texts, such as *J.Phan.*, that may exhibit linguistic interference between Arabic and Coptic, in order to accurately document the language change. But while *J.Phan.* is destined to draw more analysis along these lines, at this point it is neither necessary to posit that this is a translation from Arabic, nor that the author was without Coptic literary skills.

As the Introduction states, the problem of assessing language interference is at least doubly complicated because Christian Arabic of the time lacks the uniformity (found in the edited Islamic compositions) that might provide a sound basis for comparison. As Joshua Blau comments in his *Grammar of Christian Arabic*, one glaring distinctive of the Christian Arabic he studies (primarily Ancient South Palestinian) is that, in it, '[t]he fixed and accurate style of CA [Classical Arabic] is largely replaced by an inconstant and careless language.'<sup>7</sup> Though 'careless' is not the most accurate term (perhaps a better alternative is 'uncertain'), readers of medieval Egyptian Christian Arabic are aware of its inconstancy in many aspects: use of prepositions, word order, gender agreement, and determination, to list a few.<sup>8</sup> The inconstancy of these grammatical patterns makes linguistic comparison difficult, since there is no clear way to distinguish an Arabism from a mere inconstancy of Coptic grammatical patterns, when analyzing this late Coptic work. The necessary groundwork for such an analysis is locating and understanding both the Arabic literary corpus that represents the community that drafted *J.Phan.*, and the Coptic literary corpus surrounding *J.Phan.* Perhaps more studies will establish this literary context of late Coptic. Currently, such research is still occupied with carefully editing manuscripts of elementary Copto-Arabic grammars that are rich with word lists, but less revealing in grammatical explanations.<sup>9</sup>

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drawn from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Ed.), with no references to the *Coptic Encyclopedia*, or the works of Johannes den Heijer on the authorship of the *AHPA* (See my Chapter One, note 59). See R. Stephen Humphreys, 'Egypt in the World System of the Later Middle Ages,' in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 449, 450 (quote above from p. 450).

<sup>7</sup> See Joshua Blau, 'A Grammar of Christian Arabic Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millenium,' in *CSCO* 267, 276, 279 (Louvain, 1966–1967), p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> See Blau, 'A Grammar of Christian Arabic,' *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 288, 292–293 for discussions of gender agreement in Ancient South Palestinian Arabic (ASP), and pp. 361–366 for examples of determination in ASP.

<sup>9</sup> For recent works, see A. Fouad Khouzam, *La langue égyptienne au moyen âge: le manuscrit copte 44 de Paris de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, vol. 1 (Paris: L'Harmattan,

Despite the attention previous editors have given to the ‘mauvais’ quality of the Coptic of *J.Phan.*,<sup>10</sup> the style is predominantly grammatical Coptic. Many of the problems that arise, such as dittographies, misspellings, and uncertainty in the use of verb tenses, can often be attributed to scribal fatigue or lack of practice. Overall, the problem of obscure vocabulary and *hapax legomena* only reinforces the fact of our ignorance of the period and the absence of a corpus in which to contextualize this work. But this is scholarly ignorance, not necessarily scribal ignorance, of Coptic.

*The Panegyric*  
(ff. 40<sup>r</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>, l.18. §1-30)

It can be argued that the author of *J.Phan.* used Coptic skillfully. The introductory section creatively employs biblical quotes and allusions to praise and explain John’s accomplishment as a spiritual triumph. In this panegyric the author summarizes biblical passages and integrates them into a coherent narrative of religious failure and restoration. The writer particularly develops agricultural and labor metaphors from the Gospel parables, without relying overwhelmingly on quotations, to craft an interpretive homily, rather than compile a string of quotes or paraphrases. For example:

ΝΑΙΜΕΥΙ ΕΙΩΑΝΝΗΝΙΣ ΠΙΤΩΧΙ ΜΒΕΡΙ ΕΤΑΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΝΑΙΕΖΟΥΟΥ ΜΦΡΗΤ  
 ΝΟΥΒΩ ΝΚΡΙΝΟΝ· ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΗΑΕ ΝΕΡΓΑΤΗΙΣ ΤΕΤΑΧΠΛΑ ΕΤΑΦΙ  
 ΗΕΝΟΙΗΙΣ ΑΓΒΟΧΙ ΕΤΖΗ ΑΓΖΩΧΕΜ ΜΠΕΦΒΕΧΕ ΗΕΝΟΥΜΕΤΧΩΡΙ ΟΥΟΖ  
 ΑΦΡΑΦΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ ΝΧΕΠΩΣ ΜΠΙΩΖΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΕΠΙΤΡΟ ΠΟΙ  
 ΕΥΣΟΠ· ΝΙΚΕΕΡΓΑΤΗΙΣ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΡΕΜ ΝΩΩΦ ΗΕΝΟΥΒΙΩΦΩΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΕΙ  
 Η ΠΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ·

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2002), and Tonio Sebastian Richter, ‘Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden Neu Bearbeitet (II): Die Rechtsurkunden des Teschlot-Archivs,’ *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 30 (2000): 95–148, *idem*, ‘Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden Neu Bearbeitet: BM Or. 4917(15) und P. Med. Copto Inv. 69.69,’ *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 29 (1999): 85–92, Adel Y. Sidarus, ‘L’influence arabe sur la linguistique copte,’ in *History of the Language Sciences/Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften/Histoire des sciences du langage: An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present*, vol. 1, ed. Sylvain Auroux, E.F.K. Koerner, Hans-Josef Niederehe, and Kees Versteegh (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 321–325, and *idem*, ‘Medieval Coptic Grammars in Arabic: The Coptic *Muqaddimāt*,’ *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3 (2001): 63–79, this last being a translation of his earlier work, though including a valuable updated bibliography on late Coptic grammars and grammarians (pp. 77–79).

<sup>10</sup> Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, 114, quoting Hyvernat.

I am thinking of John, the new graft that blossomed in these days, just like a *lily*. Truly this one is the last of the *laborers* of the eleventh hour, who came in haste, ran forward, seized his wage vigorously; and the Lord of the flock—at once the *administrator* and the *steward*—rejoiced with him. The other workers also stared after him in longing and *spiritual* love.<sup>11</sup>

This passage is expressed in grammatically sound Coptic, with the only possible anomaly being the very first preterit-tense prefix, which Balestri and Hyvernat emend to a simple present, **†MEYI**.<sup>12</sup> Adverbial expressions are properly constructed with the preposition **HEN-** (**HENOIHC**, **HENOYMETXAPI**, **HENOYDIWPOY**) or **ε-(EYCOI)**, and objects are appropriately marked (**HPETBEXE**, **NCWQ**, etc.). Moreover, this passage shows the author's command of grammar and rich vocabulary, sufficient to control the narrative and adapt the parable of the *Workers in the Vineyard* to his own panegyric for John. In the Matthew account, the 'other workers' complained about the master's benevolence toward the last hires.<sup>13</sup> But in *J.Phan.* the author makes the last hiree (*i.e.*, John) a spectacle of 'longing and *spiritual* love,' thereby inserting a theme of forgiveness that is meant to enjoin respect for the restored apostate, instead of resentment.<sup>14</sup> This is the author's own design.

The writer uses a wide range of verb tenses, utilizing purpose (P), relative (R), and circumstantial (C) clauses in coherent and concise ways. The author invites his audience to

come ... (P) *so that* we may bear the sweet yoke of our *good* and *true* divine Savior (R) who called [*lit.*, 'calls'] to us in the Holy *Gospel*, (C) while teaching the wise men, saying 'Come to me everyone who is troubled and heavy with burdens ...'

ΛΗΩINI· · · (P) ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΝQAI ΗΠΙΝΑΖΒΕQ ΕΤΖΟΛΧ ΝΤΕΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΝΑΓΑ-  
ΘΟC ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΛΗΘΙΝΟC ΝΝΟΥ† (R) ΕΤΩΩ ΕΡΟΝ ΖΠΙΕΓΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
(C) ΕQ†CΒΩ ΝΝΙΡΕΜΗΖΗΤ ΕQΧΩ ΗΜΟC ΧΕ ΛΗΩINI ΖΑΡΟΙ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ  
ΕΤΗΟCΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΖΟΡΩ ΗΕΝΝΟΥΕΤΦΩΟΓΙ.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.7–19 (§6–8).

<sup>12</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat, eds., 'Acta Martyrum,' in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 86 (Paris: Typographe Reipublicae, 1924), p. 157, note 5. This use of the preterit is not a mark of poor Coptic, since the narrative at this point is shifting from the previous section 'by giving [it] an explanation.' See Bentley Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary, Sahidic Dialect* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), §439, p. 348.

<sup>13</sup> Matthew 20<sup>11–12</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> The part immediately following this passage depicts John as the prodigal son and a stray sheep, quoting neither of these parables but summarizing them according to the author's theme of restoration.

<sup>15</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>r</sup>, l.21–30 (§5).

This segment alone includes the Greek **ζῆνα** + Coptic conjunctive,<sup>16</sup> the Coptic relative **ετ-**, and the Coptic circumstantial **εϥ-**.

In another part of the panegyric, *J.Phan.* compares John with the one man whose repentance would elicit more rejoicing from angels than ‘the ninety-nine righteous who do not *need repentance*.<sup>17</sup> In that comparison *J.Phan.* forms a complex construction including a conditional (Co) with an explicative **χε-** (E), an impersonal predicate **ϣϣε** (IP), and an appositional **ϣα-** (Ah) providing parenthetical information.<sup>18</sup> The text reads:

(Co) **εϣωπ δε λρεϣαν νιαγγελοϥ . . . εϣεραϣι νεμπαιοϣαι . . .** (E) **χε**  
**αϣναϣ ετεϣμετανοια̅ νεμ πεϣουϣωνη εβολ . . .** (IP) **ϣϣε ναν** (Ah) **λνον**  
**ϣανιρεμ̅κκαζι ν̅σαρκικον ν̅τενεϣαι νεμπενϣφηρ ν̅σαρκικον.**

So (Co) if the *angels* ... are rejoicing with this one ... (E) since they witnessed his *repentance* and his ... declaration, (IP) it is fitting for us— (Ah) we *fleshly* earth dwellers—to celebrate with our *fleshly* companion.<sup>19</sup>

The only grammatical problem in this sentence is the prefix **εϣε-**, attached to **ραϣι**. Balestri and Hyvernat suggest changing the phrase to either **ραϣι ε̅χεν**, ‘rejoice over,’ or **εραϣαι νεμ**, ‘celebrate with,’ to properly coordinate the verb with the preceding conditional markers **εϣωπ** and **λρεϣαν**.<sup>20</sup> But it is unnecessary to follow Balestri and Hyvernat’s advice that the preposition with **ραϣι** be changed from **νεμ** to **ε̅χεν**.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, there is precedent at least for the conditional **εϣωπ** being coupled with the circumstantial **εϣ-**.<sup>22</sup> If that usage were the intention of the author, the remaining anomaly would be the second **ε̅** in **εϣεραϣι**. Thirdly, although something is wrong with this construction, it does not reflect the Arabic conditionals. Though the imperfect

<sup>16</sup> What is also termed *Subjonctif*. See Alexis Mallon, *Grammaire copte*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1956), §250, p. 121.

<sup>17</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 42<sup>v</sup>, l.31, 32 (§28). Quoting Luke 15<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> For the Bohairic **ϣε** + conjunctive, see Crum, 607b. On the appositional **ϣα-**, see Mallon, *Grammaire*, *op. cit.*, §155, pp. 68–69.

<sup>19</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 42<sup>v</sup>, l.33 – f. 43<sup>r</sup>, l.9 (§29, 30).

<sup>20</sup> I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, eds., ‘Acta Martyrum II,’ in *CSCO* 86 (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1924), p. 372. col. b, l.10–14.

<sup>21</sup> See Crum, 308b., especially his reference to Rossi I.3.60, the *Panegyric of John the Baptist*, in which the ‘chorus of angels surrounds him, rejoicing with (**νεμ**) him,’ (**π)εχοροϥ ν̅(ν̅αγ)γελοϥ ετκ(ω)τε εροϣ εϣραϣε ν̅π̅μαϣ**. See Francesco Rossi, ed., trans., *I Papiri Copti del Museo Egizio di Torino*, vol. 1, fasc. 3 (Turin: Ermanno Loescher, 1885), p. 60, col. b, l.10–14 (Rossi trans. on p. 102), my trans.

<sup>22</sup> For example, see Exodus 12<sup>4</sup>, **εϣωπ δε εϣσβοκ ν̅χε ν̅ηετηεν π̅π̅ι**. Mallon cites this example; see Mallon, *Grammaire*, *op. cit.*, §391, p. 201.

does appear in the protasis in early Christian Arabic, it is very rare,<sup>23</sup> and would not logically be expressed with either the optative **εϣ̄ε̄**- prefix, or the circumstantial **εϣ̄**- (Arabic *hāl*).<sup>24</sup> To express the Arabic protasis (which is commonly in the perfect), the Coptic would most likely turn to the perfect (**αϣ**) or, rarely, the present (**ϣε**, or no prefix).<sup>25</sup>

*The Conversion to Islam*  
(ff. 43<sup>r</sup>, l.19–44<sup>r</sup>, l.7. §31–34)

Many of the translational problems of *Ḷ.Phan.* are more related to vocabulary than to grammar. The opening panegyric is followed by an account that explains the social circumstances surrounding John's conversion to Islam. The first interpretational problem of the section is one of vocabulary usage. The text states that John's fall happened

in the reign of 'Uthmān [1186–1198], the son of Joseph [Saladin] the king of ... Egypt ... and *Tierbi*. And this king is a *Kurd* and Persian *governor* of the faith of the Hagarenes, who would turn in his faith to the Arabs and Ishmaelites.

**ϣΕΝΘΕΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ̄ Ν̄ΖΟΥΘΕΝ, ΝΩΗΡΙ Ν̄ΩΣΗΦ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΕΤΘΩ ΕΒΑΒΛΩΝ  
Ν̄ΤΕΧΗΜΙ. . . ΝΕΜ †ΕΡΒΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΙΟΥΡΟ ΟΥΚΥΔΑΡΙΤΗΣ ΠΕ ΟΥΟΖ Π̄ΠΕΡΣΗΣ  
Ν̄ΚΑΔΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ Ν̄ΤΕΦΝΑΖ† Ν̄ΝΙΑΓΑΡΙΝΝΕΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΤΑΣΘΟΥ ΨΕΝΠΕΦΝΑΖ†  
Ν̄ΝΙΑΡΑΒΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ.**<sup>26</sup>

The passage is grammatically sound but the author may have been struggling to express contemporary knowledge of religious distinctions with obsolete vocabulary. Casanova cites a passage from al-Maqrīzī (1363–1442) to advance his theory that **ΑΓΑΡΙΝΝΕΟΣ** 'répond à l'arabe'

<sup>23</sup> See Blau, 'A Grammar of Christian Arabic,' *op. cit.*, p. 579 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See Mallon, *Grammaire*, *op. cit.*, §238, p. 110.

<sup>25</sup> When translating the other direction, from Coptic to Arabic, the Coptic optative, or *futur énergique*, can be collapsed into what modern Arabists call the imperfect (though Arabic so-called perfect tense is the common form for expressing the optative). For example, see the translation of Psalm 71<sup>15</sup> (LXX) from Coptic into Arabic in Raphael Tuki, *Rudimenta Linguae Coptae Sive Aegyptiacae* (Rome, 1778), p.256: **εϣ̄ε̄ωηϣ̄ οϣ̄οζ εϣ̄ε̄†  
ναϣ̄ ε̄βολ ψενπινοϣ̄β ν̄τεαραβια εϣ̄ε̄τωβζ ε̄οβητϣ̄**, *ya'ʿshu wa ya'ʿū min dhahab 'arābiyyā* (sic) *wa yaʿšilūna min 'ajlihi*='May he live and obtain the gold of Arabia and may they pray on his behalf.' Thus, the Arabic imperfect base (*al-mudāriʿu*) is formally tenseless, and expresses a range of tenses that can include the meanings of the Coptic optative and the Coptic circumstantial (when added to a perfect-tense *kāna*). See W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), vol. 1, §77, p. 51.

<sup>26</sup> *Ḷ.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>r</sup>, l.19–28 (§31).

*al-'ash'ariyyūn*, the 'Asharī school of Sunnī Islam.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, the passage would be mentioning the religious shift to the Ayyūbid Sunnī Islam from the Fāṭimid Shī'ī Islam of the Ismā'īliyyah sect (hence, **ΝΕΜ ΝΙΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ**).<sup>28</sup> But grammatically it is difficult to render the meaning of this passage as 'turning to 'Asharī doctrine from Isma'īlism.' Furthermore, the basic vocabulary for the *Hagarenes*, *Saracens*, and *Ishmaelites* is well established outside this text. The Sahidic *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius* (which Martinez considers to be of early eighth-century provenance) identifies the Arab occupiers of Egypt with this terminology.

They will collect all the gold, silver, precious stones, bronze, iron, lead, and the beautiful garments. The name of that nation is Saracene, one which is from the Ishmaelites, that is, the son of Hagar, the maidservant of Abraham.

ΣΕΝΑΣΦΟΥΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΒ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΠΠΖΑΤ ΜΠΠΩΝΕ ΜΜΕ ΜΠΠΖΟΜΝΤ ΜΠΠΠΕ-  
ΝΙΠΕ ΜΠΠΤΑΖΤΖ ΜΠΠΝΖΟΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΝΕΣΦΟΥ· ΠΡΑΝ ΔΕ ΜΠΠΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΕΤΗ-  
ΜΑΥΠΕ ΣΑΡΑΚΗΝΟΣ· ΟΥΕΒΟΛΠΕ ΖΝΝΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ· ΕΤΕΠΑΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΓΑΡ  
ΘΜΖΑΛ ΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ.<sup>29</sup>

In its details, Casanova's suggestion is unlikely, especially in considering **ΔΓΑΡΙΝΝΕΟΣ** to stand for "Asharī," and **ΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ** for 'Ismā'īlī.' Athanasius Kircher's edition of the scalae of Ibn Kabar (d. 1324) lists **ΝΙΑΓΑΡΙΝΝΕΟΣ** with the Arabic word *hajarī*, 'Hagarene.'<sup>30</sup> And on the next folio of *J.Phan.*, following the reference to 'Uthmān, the word **ΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ** appears again in a usage that clearly does not mean *ismā'īlī*: John begins his path of conversion by mixing with 'Ishmaelite Islamic people,' not 'Ismā'īlī Islamic people' (**ΝΙΘΕΘΝΟΣ ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ** [sic] **ΝΑΛΜΙ-**

<sup>27</sup> Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>28</sup> On the terminology for Ishmaelites and Isma'īlīs as it appears in the Coptic Christian Arabic *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn*, see John Iskander, 'Islamization in Medieval Egypt: The Copto-Arabic "Apocalypse of Samuel" as a Source for the Social and Religious History of Medieval Copts,' *Medieval Encounters* 4 (1998): 219–227, esp. pp. 221, 222.

<sup>29</sup> Found in Francisco Javier Martinez, 'Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius' (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1985). For Martinez's comments on dating, see vol. 2, p. 262. For Coptic text (reproduced here as printed in Martinez), see vol. 2, pp. 371, 372 (section IX.8).

<sup>30</sup> Athanasius Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta Opus Tripartitum* (Rome, 1643), p. 81. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Hyvernāt has corrected some errors in the scalae in Kircher, and Sidarus has labelled Kircher's edition '[d]efective.' See Adel Y. Sidarus, 'Bibliographical Introduction to Medieval Coptic Linguistics,' *Société d'Archéologie Copte* 29 (1990): 83–85, p. 83.



THC).<sup>31</sup> Yet the passage from *J.Phan.* is unclear in its use of terminology such as **†ΕΡΒΙ**, and the combination **ΠΕΦΝΑΖ† ΝΝΙΑΡΑΒΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ**.

*The Liminal Period and Re-Conversion to Christianity*  
(ff. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.8–47<sup>r</sup>, l.8. §35–59)

The next section, which relates John's return from apostasy, begins with a *hapax legomenon* that is relatively certain in meaning but uncertain in etymology. The text describes a situation in which

many men from his village were blaspheming, they became Muslims, and repented because of their blasphemy.

**ΖΑΝΜΗΩ ΔΕ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΕΦ†ΜΙ ΕΥΧΕΟΥᾶ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΩΠΠΙ ΝΛΑΖΜΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΩΜ ΝΖΘΗΟΥ ΕΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΕΟΥᾶ**<sup>32</sup>

The word **ΛΑΖΜΙ**, written clearly in the manuscript, is peculiar because it is too different from **ΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ** to be a casual misspelling, yet the meaning must be similar. Either the copyist was ignorant and unable to read **ΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ**, or it is a different word, or codeword for 'polluted.' Just prior to this sentence, the text uses another word that is unfamiliar to Copticists. *J.Phan.* claims that John 'became a **ΝΞΙΜΩΝ** man,' before returning to his Christian faith. The adjective is of typical Greek form, leading Hyvernat to suggest the word *εὐσχήμων*, 'elegant, dignified,' in his index. But in his translation, Hyvernat seems to draw from the Coptic root **СХИМ**, 'grey haired/old' to render the phrase: 'ipse factus vir canutus ...'<sup>33</sup> Thus there are problems interpreting this vocabulary, but it does not follow that the writer was translating from Arabic, nor that the writer was deficient with Coptic.

In fact two examples from this section demonstrate the author's competence in Coptic, with complex constructions similar to those mentioned above in connection with the panegyric. One example is

<sup>31</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.2, 3 (§32).

<sup>32</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.8–10 (§35).

<sup>33</sup> See Henricus Hyvernat, trans., 'Acta Martyrum II,' *CSCO* 125 (Louvain: Typographeo Linguarum Orientalium, 1950), for index reference, see p. 265. For translation, see p. 112. For **СХИМ**, see Crum, 328b–329a. Förster does not catalog this word in Hans Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002).

*J. Phan.*'s description of John's refuge in Pepleu. Here circumstantial and purpose clauses are strung together grammatically with little problem.

ΑΦΩΕ ΝΑϞ ΑϞ ΨΩΠΙ Ν̄ΗΤΣ Ε̄ΡΕΠΕϞΝΟΥϞ ΕϞϞΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΜΠ̄Χ̄ ΕϞϞΩ-  
 ΨΩΟΥ Ν̄ΧΩΡ̄Ζ ΝΕΜ ΜΕΡΙ<sup>34</sup> Ε̄ΟΡΕΠ̄Χ̄ ΧΩϞ ΝΑϞ Ν̄ΝΕϞϞ̄ΕΤΗΜΑ ΝΑϞ<sup>35</sup> Ε̄ΒΟΛ  
 ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ<sup>36</sup> ΞΕΝΟΥΜΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕϞΜΟΥ Ε̄ΧΕΝΦΡΑΝ Η̄ΠΕΝ̄Ϟ̄ ΙΗΣ Π̄Χ̄ ΞΕ-  
 ΝΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ Ε̄ΒΟΛ·

He went and dwelled there [*lit.* in it] while his mind was straightened out with Christ, yearning throughout the night and day for Christ to fulfill his *requests so that* through death, he might die manifestly for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>37</sup>

The second example illustrates a conventional Coptic conditional sentence. In this sentence John contemplates petitioning the king for a formal return to his previous faith.

Ε̄ΨΩΠ ΑϞΨΑΝΕΡ̄ΖΜΟΤ Η̄ΜΟϞ ΝΗΙ †ΝΑΩΝ̄Ξ ΞΕΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΕϞΘΗΤ· Ε̄ΨΩΠ ΔΕ  
 Η̄ΜΟΝ ΕϞΝΑΞΘΕΒΕΤ ΞΕΝΤΣΗϞΙ ΟΥΟΖ Ν̄ΤΑΜΟΥ Ν̄ΚΑΛΩϞ Ε̄ΧΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ  
 Η̄ΠΕΝ̄Ϟ̄ ΙΗΣ Π̄Χ̄·

If he grants grace to me I will live with an agreeable heart, *but* if not, he will slay me with the sword and I will die *properly* for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>38</sup>

Other examples of conventional Coptic in this section could be added, showing that errors are counterbalanced with correct usage, and that the author is not absolutely prone to errors.

Real errors do appear when *J. Phan.* describes John's meeting with the court physician Abū Shākir (d. 1216). Here the problems are those of agreement between pronouns and their antecedents, and of superfluous morphs, while the basic structure is satisfactory Coptic.

ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙϞΟΦΟϞ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ᾹΡῙΕΜΙ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ (a.) ΠΙϞΑΧΙ Ε̄ΤΑΚΧΟΤΟΥ ΖΑΝ-  
 ΧΕΟῩΑ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ (b.) Η̄ΦΡΗ† Ν̄ΖΑΝϞΑΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΕΝΧΕ  
 ΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ Ν̄ΝΑΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ (c.) ΤΑΠΕ†ΓΡΑΦΗ ΧΩ Η̄ΜΟϞ ΞΕΝ†ΠΡΟϞΕΥΧΗ  
 ΧΕ· · ·

The *wise one* said to him, 'Understand that (a.) the declaration which you spoke is not blasphemous. Rather, (b.) they are like liars, and we ourselves speak lies all the time. *But* (c.) the *Scripture* says in the (Lord's) *Prayer* ...'<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For the phrase Ν̄ΧΩΡ̄Ζ ΝΕΜ ΜΕΡΙ, see I Thessalonians 2<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps this ΝΑϞ is superfluous.

<sup>36</sup> Ε̄ΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΖΙΝΑ is not necessarily redundant. See Crum, 747a, top: ΧΕΖΙΝΑ.

<sup>37</sup> *J. Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.23–29 (§37).

<sup>38</sup> *J. Phan.*, f. 44<sup>v</sup>, l.18–22 (§41).

<sup>39</sup> *J. Phan.*, f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.23–28 (§47).

The problem in segment (a.) is that the singular antecedent **ΠΙCAXI** ('declaration') does not agree with the plural resumptive pronoun suffix **-OY** of **ĒTAKXOTOY** ('which you spoke, them?'), nor with the plural predicate **ΞΑΝΧΕΟῩ**, 'blasphemies.'<sup>40</sup> This is not an Arabism; the Arabic formula for pronoun concord is the opposite of this example, the rule being that non-human *plural* antecedents are generally represented by *feminine singular* pronouns.<sup>41</sup> In this Coptic example (a.), the third-person masculine singular is resumed by the common third-person plural. Furthermore, Blau's analysis of concord in Ancient South Palestinian Christian Arabic (ASP) supports the rejection of this example (a.) as a possible Arabism: 'In accordance with the tendency of ASP towards stricter concord (§177) and *constructio ad sensum* (§177.2), plurals not denoting persons are referred to as plurals.'<sup>42</sup> Next, segment (b.) is an extension of the problem of concord in segment (a.), with the added complication of inappropriate word choice, **ΞΑΝCAMEΘNOYX**, 'makers of lies.'<sup>43</sup> It seems reasonable that the author was thinking of **ΠΙCAXI** ('the declaration') in a plural sense and carried that into the predicate. But essentially calling the declaration 'liars' is inexplicable. Likewise, the appearance of **ΤΑΠΕ** before **†ΓΡΑΦΗ** in segment (c.) is a corruption of some sort. Nonetheless, these problems are largely semantic rather than syntactical, and do not prove Arabic interference.

*The Quest For Martyrdom*  
(ff. 47<sup>v</sup>, l.9–50<sup>v</sup>, l.1. §60–89)

Such vocabulary anomalies may signal a change in Coptic usage that would be more clearly documentable if a substantial corpus of Coptic literature from this period were available. Similar confusion over vocabulary usage occurs in the section of *J.Phan.* in which John petitions al-Malik al-Kāmil (c. 1177–1238) for permission to re-convert to Christianity. The word for 'false' (**NOYX**), mentioned above, functions as a verb in this context, only it is written in a nominal form. The text states that John told al-Malik al-Kāmil,

<sup>40</sup> The adjectival translation of **ΧΕΟῩ**, 'blasphemous,' is guided by the adjectival usage of **ΧΕΟῩ** in the Bohairic New Testament. Cf., Acts 6<sup>11</sup> and II Peter 2<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> See Wright, *A Grammar, op. cit.*, vol. 2, §148, p. 293.

<sup>42</sup> Blau, 'A Grammar of Christian Arabic,' *op. cit.*, §184, p. 285.

<sup>43</sup> Crum, 247a.

I am a Christian. *Lawlessness* deceived me so that I denied my faith and rejected my Lord Jesus Christ.

ἄΝΟΚ ΟΥΧΡΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ἄΣΕΡΖΑΛ ἸΜΟΙ ΝΧΕΤἄΝΟΜΙΑ ΨΑΝΤΑΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ ΕΠΑ-  
ΝΑΖΤ ΟΥΟΖ ΛΙΧΕΛ ἸΠΑΔῸΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧῸ.<sup>44</sup>

Although **ΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ** is the appropriate word, to be verbal the morph **Ρ** must be prefixed to this abstractified noun. The same abstractified form of **ΝΟΥΧ**—**ΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ**—appears two more times in this section, in one instance functioning anomalously as an adjective (Ad), and in the other properly as an abstract noun (An). Once John is imprisoned, the physician Abū Shākir reminds John of their earlier conversation, saying,

I already told you about this matter, O my brother, that (it is) like a (Ad) false declaration, and how great is our (An) falsehood every day!

ΛΙΚΗΝ ΛΙΤΑΜΟΚ ΕΒΕ ΠΑΙΖΩΒ Ω ΠΑΣΟΝ ΧΕ ἸΦΡΗΤ ἸΟΥΣΑΧΙ (Ad) ἸΜΘ-  
ΝΟΥΧ [sic] ΙΕΥΕΡ ΠΕ (An) ΤΕΝΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ ἸΠΙΕΖΟΥΟΥ ΤΗΡΦ.<sup>45</sup>

These four examples of the word **ΜΕΘΝΟΥΧ** ('lie') in this text constitute a pattern of uncertainty and inconstancy in the morphology used to adapt **ΝΟΥΧ** ('lying') to its various functions. Either the author struggled with the nuances, was genuinely careless, or Coptic conventions of his time (assuming there were such) had become less nuanced.

Perhaps more telling than the appearance of *hapax legomena* and uncommon words is the fact that there are not more of them, and that the language has changed so little in the span of several hundred years under Arab rule. This is partly attributable to the well-established martyrdom genre (from which the author draws his language) and the understandable entrenchment of a subjugated community, but *J.Phan.* was written in a new world with new cities and new social categories. For instance, the Crusades are the historical backdrop for this text, and it mentions the ships leaving for battle, but it is strangely silent about any details of the war, such as a name for 'Crusaders,' or for individual enemies mentioned throughout the *Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*.<sup>46</sup> At times, *J.Phan.* uses the centuries-old terminology of 'centurions' (**ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**) to identify prison guards, the old word 'Egypt' (**ΧΗΜ**) for the new city Cairo, and a wordy circumlocution of Greek and Coptic meaning 'the place of meeting of the *tradesmen*' (**ΦΜΑ ΝΘΩΟΥΤ**

<sup>44</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.29–32 (§63).

<sup>45</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.10–14 (§68).

<sup>46</sup> For the dispatch of the fleet, see *J.Phan.*, f. 49<sup>v</sup>, l.24–26 (§84). For an assessment of the *AHPA* with regards to the Crusades, and Saladin in particular, see Chapter Four.

Ν̄ΝΙΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ) to express the Arabic place name Dār al-Ṣanā‘ah (*lit.*, house of manufacturing).<sup>47</sup> Coptic at this point may have fallen into too great of disuse to supply the fresh vocabulary needed to more fully articulate the contemporary situation of *J.Phan.* It is still unclear to whom the author refers with the terms ‘barbarian/berber/foreign’ (ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ), and especially ‘catechumens’ (ΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ). Though the latest guess by MacCoull is that ΖΑΝΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ Π̄ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ‘clearly means foreign mercenaries,’ it is apparent that the author of *J.Phan.* is stretching obsolete vocabulary over Arabised circumstances.<sup>48</sup>

*The Martyrdom*

(ff. 50<sup>v</sup>–52<sup>v</sup>, l.26, §90–110)

Besides containing vocabulary of uncertain meaning, the text many times features inappropriate uses of particles and misspellings. In the section relating John’s martyrdom, several errors appear in the placement and omission of particles. These occurrences are so inconsistent and uncommon that the author seems to be unpracticed in attending to all the grammatical details, but not ignorant or confused about proper usage, since the majority of the section displays particles grammatically. In a few cases the text includes or omits elements of the tense markers. For example, after *J.Phan.* lists the groups among a crowd of spectators, it states:

(Ν)ΛΥΘ̄Ι Ε̄ΡΑΤΟΥ ΠΕ Η̄Ν ΠῙΕ̄ΖΟῩ Ε̄ΤΕΜ̄ΑΥ Ε̄ΘΒΕ ΠΟῩΧΙΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΧΗΟΥ  
 ΝΕΜΠΟῩΡΟ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΧΕ ΛΥΣΩ̄ΤΕΜ Ε̄ΘΒΕ ΠΙΜΑΡΤῩΡΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΜΑΤΟΙ  
 Ν̄ΤΕ Π̄Χ̄·

They were standing on that day to view the ships of the king, particularly because they heard about the *martyr* John the soldier of Christ.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> For centurions, see *J.Phan.*, f. 48<sup>v</sup>, l.6–7, 14 (§72, 73); f. 49<sup>v</sup>, l.10, 13–14, 30, 31–32 (§82, 85); f. 50<sup>r</sup>, l.1, 18–19, 31, (§85, 88, 89) etc. Surely the term ‘centurions’ evokes the biblical passion narratives, as well as the many earlier martyrdoms of the Coptic tradition. Other Coptic words used for the guards in this text include ΝΕΜΠΙΡΕΦΑΡΕΖ (e.g., f. 49<sup>v</sup>, l.19 [§84]) and ΝΙΡΕΦΡΩΙΣ (e.g., f. 49<sup>v</sup>, l.20 [§84]). For ΧΗΜΙ, see *J.Phan.*, *passim*. For *dār al-ṣanā‘ah* (ΦΜΛ Π̄ΘΩΟῩ† Ν̄ΝΙΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ), see f. 50<sup>r</sup>, l.15, 16 (§87).

<sup>48</sup> See esp. *J.Phan.*, f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.12, 13 (§60), and my accompanying note in the edition in Chapter Two. See also *J.Phan.*, f. 49<sup>r</sup>, l.8–9 (§76), f. 50<sup>v</sup>, l.10, 15 (§92), and f. 54<sup>r</sup>, l.3, 4 (§122). See MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 65, note 43, as well as my Chapter Four on the history of the Ayyūbids.

<sup>49</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 50<sup>v</sup>, l.20–25 (§92).

The invariable **πϵ** appearing after the first verb signals that the author meant to use the preterit verb pattern, **ναγ-** instead of the perfect **αγ-**. An anomaly of similar weight, though of superfluous insertion rather than omission, occurs when the text claims that John,

ἠππεφερζοτ̄ ἡθοϳ {αν} ἡατζη ἡτσηϳι εῶβε φναγ ἡφμογ·

was not afraid before the sword on account of the hour of death.<sup>50</sup>

In this case, the author unnecessarily adds the negative particle **αν**, while already using the negative perfect tense that requires no **αν**. Another example of particle anomalies is the casual omission of the direct object marker, **ν-**. At one point this omission appears to be a mark of scribal fatigue, after which the scribe immediately commits a simple dittography:

... πρεμφανιχωιτ̄ ε̄ταϳφιρῑ ε̄βολ ογοζ αϳτ̄ {ν}ογταζ εϳνοτεμ νανι-  
φυχη {ἡτενιφυχη} ἡτεπῶς νιπιστος̄ ἡορθοδοζος ...

... the man of Phanijōit who had blossomed and gave pleasant fruit to the souls of the Lord, the *Orthodox* [and Christian] *faithful ones* ...<sup>51</sup>

Ten lines later, the scribe correctly marks the object of † (**ϳ† ἡτετφε † νουχαρις ναϳ**, ‘God of heaven, grant grace to him’), resuming the more common, grammatically sound style of his writing. This omission of the object marker occurs occasionally throughout the text, but is not frequent enough to be considered a pattern.

Two examples of misspellings likewise attest to either scribal fatigue or a lack of practice. The text describes John as standing before the sulṭān al-Malik al-Kāmil,

occupied with the *heavenly things* while his mouth was shut ...

εϳφωχεμ νεννιεπογρανιον̄ ε̄{ογοννῆ}ρωϳ ῶωμ ...<sup>52</sup>

The problem in this segment is the **ογοννῆ**, written between **ε̄** and **ρωϳ**, which the scribe apparently tried to change, as is evidenced by

<sup>50</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.7, 8 (§103).

<sup>51</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.34 – f. 52<sup>v</sup>, l.3 (§109).

<sup>52</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.15, 16 (§95). Janet Timbie suggests another possibility: Read **ογον** (*Sahidic* **οϳν**) for **ογοννῆ**. Here **ογον** would function as an auxiliary to the verb **ῶωμ**, ‘shut’ (See Crum, 481b.), forming a participle. Yet, the normal Bohairic spelling of **ογον** in this usage is still debatable, given the paucity of examples documented in Crum.

the partial erasure of the middle of the three **NS**. It is possible that the scribe had drifted out of the text's sequence and skipped five lines below to where the similar construction is found:

*Then Saint John opened his mouth ...*

ΠΙΛΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΝΡΩΦ ...<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps in the earlier segment the scribe had begun writing **ΟΥΩΝ** and could not erase it. Another example of misspelling occurs in the description of John's execution at the sword of the Byzantine convert Philim. Like the earlier example, it seems the scribe tried to erase the letter 'c' in **CEΛ** without success, because he meant to write the verb **ΕΛ**:

After all these things, Philim made haste and beheaded him with a single blow.

ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΛΓΙΗΣ ΝΜΟQ ΝΧΕΦΙΛΙΜ ΟΥQZ ΝΑQ{C}ΕΛ ΤΕQΝΑΖΒΙ  
 ΗΕΝΟΥΦΑΦ ΝΟΥΩΤ.<sup>54</sup>

These examples of particle misuse and word misspellings seem to reveal an unpracticed scribe, but they do not demonstrate Arabic interference.

Paul Casanova has examined two other examples from this section that hold more promise as evidence for Arabic interference in the Coptic language of *J.Phan.* Casanova considers the initial paragraph of this section—the one setting the stage for John's execution by describing a diverse crowd of onlookers—to exemplify the style of the text: '[p]récisément, ce caractère appartient à la langue arabe.' Casanova has used 'surtout les lexiques copte-arabe' to reconstruct an Arabic version of this passage that approximates the alleged 'original' which the author translated into Coptic.<sup>55</sup> His objective in this exercise is to point out the rhyming scheme that would obtain when the nationalities, professions, and other groups mentioned in the passage are translated into Arabic. While Casanova produced this in unsegmented text, it is shown here according to the Coptic MS's lineation, for the sake of analysis.

<sup>53</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.21 (§97).

<sup>54</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l.24–26 (§107). For more background on the phrase **ΕΛ ΤΕQΝΑΖΒΙ**, see Chapter Two, footnote 178 on this misspelling.

<sup>55</sup> Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128.

Vat. Copt. 69 f. 50<sup>v</sup>, 1.5–18, 25–30

ΤΟΤΕ ΛΥΕΝΩ ϩΕΝΘΗΗ† ΝΝΑΙΜΗΩ ΝΑΤ  
 ΘΙΗΠΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ·  
 ΝΙΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΛΤΗΣ ΝΙΜΑΤΟΙ  
 ΝΙΖΥΠΕΥΣ ΝΙΜΑΣΜΑΤΟΙ  
 ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΡΕϩ†ΖΑΠ  
 ΝΙΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ ΝΙΡΕϩΕΨΗΡΩΟΥ  
 ΝΙΡΕϩΕΡΜΕΛΕΤΑΝ ΝΙΡΕϩΜΟΥ†  
 †ΝΑΠΩΛΗΛΑ ΝΙΗΕΛΛΟΙ ΝΙΩΙΤ  
 ΝΙΩΩΤ ΝΙΡΕϩ† ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΔΡΑΒΟΣ  
 ΝΙΠΑΡΘΟΣ ΝΙΝΟΠΙΟΣ ΝΙΔΕΛΩΨ  
 ΝΙΡΩΜΕΟΣ ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΝΗΕΤ  
 ΨΟΠ ΝΕΜΝΙΨΕΜΜΩΟΥ ΝΙΖΩΟΥ†  
 ΝΕΜΝΙΣΖΙΜΙ ΝΙΚΟΥΧΙ ΝΕΜΝΙΝΙΩ  
 † ΝΙΒΩΚ ΝΕΜΝΙΡΕΜΖΕΥ ...  
 ΟΥΟΖ ΛΥΤΑΖΟϩ ΕΡΑΤϩ ΜΠΕΜΘΟ  
 ΜΠΙΟΥΡΟ ΕΛΧΕΜΗΛ ΝΕΜΠΕϩΣΤΡΑ  
 ΤΕΥΜΑ ΝΕΜ ΦΡΕϩ†ΖΑΠ ΝΤΕΝΙΡΕϩ  
 †ΖΑΠ ΝΕΜ ΠΗΕΛΛΟ ΝΤΕΝΙΗΕΛΛΟΙ  
 ΝΕΜ ΠΙΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ  
 ΜΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ·

Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte*, p. 128

فأتوا به وسط هذه الجماعات لا  
 تحصى منها  
 الامرا و الجنديين  
 و الفوارس و الـ؟  
 و الجاندارية و القضاة  
 و الواعظين و الخطبا  
 و المقربين و المؤذنين  
 و المشايخ المشهورين  
 و التجار و البياعين و العرب  
 و العجم و الثوب و الحبش  
 و الروم و البربر  
 و اهل البلد و الغربا و الرجال  
 و النساء و الكبار و الصغار  
 و العبيد و الاحرار ...  
 فاحضروه لدى  
 الملك الكامل و عسكره  
 و قاضى القضاة  
 و شيخ الشيوخ  
 و واعظ الـ؟

Casanova notes that this list of groups includes people of preeminent character, except for the last couplet: the ‘slaves with the free’ (ΝΙΒΩΚ ΝΕΜΝΙΡΕΜΖΕΥ). Another exception is the unexpected epithet, the ‘renowned elders’ (ΝΙΗΕΛΛΟΙ ΝΙΩΙΤ), appearing among nouns without epithets.<sup>56</sup> In these exceptions, Casanova detects an attempt by the

<sup>56</sup> As for the instance of the ‘slaves with the free,’ the word Casanova uses to translate free (*al-ahrār* [ΝΙΡΕΜΖΕΥ]) rhymes with the second element of the preceding couplet: *al-kubār wa l-ṣughār – al-‘abīd wa l-ahrār*. In the case of ‘renowned elders,’ the unexpected adjective ‘renowned’ (*al-mashhūrīn*) brings the noun it modifies into conformity with the prior couplet (*i.e.*, *al-muqriyyīn wa l-mū’dhūm – al-mashayikh al-mashhūrīn*).



author of the original Arabic to rhyme the phrases, a practice ‘caractéristique des écrivains de la chancellerie arabe.’<sup>57</sup>

Although this form of subtle analysis of vocabulary and syntax is insightful, retrotranslating the Coptic into Arabic along the conventional rules of the standard Arabic of the chancery is inherently problematic. Casanova’s reconstruction, based on Copto-Arabic scalae composed after the writing of *Ĵ.Phan.*, is at best a close approximation of the Arabic vocabulary and forms that could have been employed.<sup>58</sup> Keeping in mind Blau’s assessment of the inconstancy of early Christian Arabic, even in the formation of plurals,<sup>59</sup> it is difficult to gauge how (for example) to choose between the various plurals for the word *shaykh*, ‘elder’ (ϣελλο). Casanova uses *mashāyikh* to translate the first occurrence (ΝΗΕΛΛΟΙ Ν̄ΩΠΙΤ) and in the second chooses *shuyūkh* (ΠΗΕΛΛΟ Ν̄ΤΕΝΙΗΕΛΛΟΙ).<sup>60</sup> Along with the problem of word choice is the fact that the uniformity of Arabic word endings and participial forms facilitates rhyme and poetic meter more than many languages, including Coptic. Caution is warranted because the arbitrary shift of a form is often all that is needed to rhyme a phrase. While these observations do not fully undermine Casanova’s argument that this Coptic passage lends itself to a somewhat poetic Arabic rendition, they do underline the complexity of establishing such a rendition as being likely, instead of merely plausible.

It is just as plausible that this passage was originally written in Coptic. MacCoull comments that the inspiration for this pericope is actually found in the Pentecost scene of Acts 2<sup>9-12</sup>, a parallel that comes much earlier than Arabic poetics.<sup>61</sup> But her turn towards literary criticism and away from grammatical analysis ignores the couplet design in the last part of this passage, a grammatical feature that is not found in the Acts parallel. Yet, neither Casanova nor MacCoull addresses the absence of

<sup>57</sup> Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>58</sup> See Adel Y. Sidarus, ‘Medieval Coptic Grammars,’ *op. cit.*, for a concise analysis of the production of the first Coptic grammars, starting with the ‘pioneer work’ of Bishop John of Sammanūd (f. 1240–1260) (p. 65).

<sup>59</sup> See Blau, ‘A Grammar of Christian Arabic,’ *op. cit.*, esp. §112–125, pp. 224–233.

<sup>60</sup> Another word that offers an alternative form is *muqri’-muqriyyīn* (‘reader/reciter’), which Casanova writes one line above *mashāyikh* (‘elders’). Another common form for the word *muqri’* is *qārī’-qārīyyīn*. It seems that Casanova’s word choice for these two lines (‘the reciters and the callers of prayer, and the renowned elders’) is meant to bring their forms into conformity (*al-muqariyyīn wa l-mū’adhinīn – al-mashāyikh al-mashhūrīn*).

<sup>61</sup> MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 67, and note 56, where she criticizes Casanova for having ‘completely failed to see the Acts parallel.’

conjunctions in the first part of *J.Phan.*'s list of attendees at John's execution. The Acts account separates the groups with the conjunction **ΝΕΜ**. If the author of *J.Phan.* is mimicking the Acts passage, he does so loosely and with creativity and embellishment. Likewise, if *J.Phan.* were to be a rigid Coptic translation from Casanova's proposed Arabic *Vorlage*, the Coptic would presumably reproduce the Arabic *wa* with **ΝΕΜ** or **ΟΥΟΖ** ('and'). In Arabic, such a list would not be written without the conjunction, *wa*, to conjoin elements. Either the author (or translator) of *J.Phan.* was confident enough with Coptic to drop the Arabic conjunctions in translation, or he wrote the work in Coptic.

The closing portion of the narrative on John's execution also draws Casanova's attention to the Arabic quality of the use of pronouns. Casanova argues that Amélineau's misunderstanding of the pronouns (and his ignorance of Quatremère's earlier translation) led him to mis-translate the following sentence regarding John's conversion to Islam.

ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΦΙΩΤ ἸΠΟΥΡΟ ΖΘΜΕΝ ἘΤΑΦΕΡΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ ΉΕΝΠΕΦΧΟΥ<sup>62</sup>

According to Casanova, the Arabic version 'dirait exactement comme le copte,' in this way:

وهذا يوسف هو ابو الملك عثمان الذي صار مسلما في ايامه<sup>63</sup>

Contrary to Amélineau's translation, Casanova construes this as 'Joseph, being the father of king 'Uthmān who he ["c'est-à-dire Jean"] became a Muslim in his [*i.e.*, 'Uthmān's] time.' Amélineau's reading of this sentence as '*Uthmān's conversion* prompted Casanova to rejoin that Amélineau failed to recognize that '[c]ette façon de relier le pronom possessif au conjonctif est spéciale au génie des langues sémitiques.'<sup>64</sup> But the real problem with this sentence is not the immediate referents of the relative conjugation (**ἘΤΑΦ**) and the possessive pronoun (**ΠΕΦ**). Like Arabic, Coptic also uses the resumptive morph to express relative clauses.<sup>65</sup> So the clause **ἘΤΑΦΕΡΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ ΉΕΝΠΕΦΧΟΥ**, is proper Coptic, and can be translated 'in whose time he became a Muslim' (*i.e.*, in '*Uthmān's* time *John* became a Muslim). The problem is that the antecedent for 'he' (**ἘΤ-ΑΦ**)—John—is mentioned twelve lines prior to

<sup>62</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, l.16–18 (§109).

<sup>63</sup> Casanova, *Notes sur un texte copte, op. cit.*, p. 124. See p. 123 for his explanation of Amélineau's misconstruing of the sentence.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>65</sup> See Layton, *A Coptic Grammar, op. cit.*, esp. §399–412, pp. 324–335.

this clause.<sup>66</sup> This long run-on sentence actually begins on the previous folio, detailing the historical circumstance of the martyrdom by listing the calendrical date, the ruling patriarch, and the genealogy of the Ayyūbid dynasty. This sentence, perhaps more than any other in *J.Phan.*, resembles the general Arabic style of continually extending a main clause with a long string of dependents, marked (at times ambiguously) by many pronouns. Although this may be strong evidence for Arabic stylistic influence on the writing of *J.Phan.*, the extent of that influence does not violate conventional Coptic grammar.

*The Aftermath of the Martyrdom, and Epilogue*  
(ff. 52<sup>v</sup>, l.27–55<sup>v</sup>, l.30. §III–I38)

The closing section of *J.Phan.* presents grammatical errors that appear throughout the text, such as problems of pronominal agreement, uncertain vocabulary, uncertain verb tense, superfluous use of a particle, and obviously corrupt sentences. Like the rest of *J.Phan.*, the errors in this section are the sporadic exceptions to a Coptic style that is generally grammatical and comprehensible. Once again some of the mistakes consist of omissions or dittographies that attest to an unpracticed or fatigued scribe, while a few sentences are inexplicably corrupt, though not in ways that reveal Arabic interference.

The omissions and superfluous additions of this section sometimes reveal the scribe's lack of practice or concentration. The section begins with a chain of descriptions of the aftermath of the martyrdom, linked by the conjunction **ογοζ** ('and'). The curious omission of the tense prefix with the verb **ϣωπι** ('to be') can be seen on the surface as a parallel to the Arabic use of the word *kāna* ('to be'):

... **εϣω** **ἡμος** **χε** **ϣτ** **νεμ** **πινωτ** **πε** **ογοζ** **πζογῶ** **ἡπογῆρωγ** **α-**  
**ϣθορτερ** **ἡχετ** **πολις** **χημι** **ογοζ** **αϣμοζ** **ἡχεπιἄηρ** **εῖβολ** **ἡεπιϣωιω**  
**ἡτενογῶλαγχ** [f. 53<sup>r</sup>] **ογοζ** **ογνιωτ** **δε** **ἡροχζεχ** (V) **ϣωπι** **εῖχεν** **ἡπι-**  
**στος** **ἡχρηστιἄνος** **εῖβολ** **ἡητογ** **ἡεπιεζοογ** **εῖτεμμαγ**.

... while saying, 'God is Great,' and the volume of their voices (made) the city of Cairo disturbed, and the air was filled with the dust of their

<sup>66</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, l.4 (§109), 'when he (John) completed his contest ... [l.14] in the eleventh year of the reign of Muhammad ... [l.16] this is Joseph the father of al-Malik 'Uthmān, in whose time he (John) became a Muslim ...'





our proto-*martyr*, He who poured forth (a.) what sheds blood for the sake of our former *image*, Adam, and for us also, he *made* us free from the curse of the *law* ...

ἸΠΕΝΘΟΡΠ ἸΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΦΑΙ ΕΤΑΙΦΩΝ ἘΒΟΛ (a.) ἸΦΗΕΤΕΦΩΝ ἸΝΣΝΟΦ  
ἘΒΟΛ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΕΝΘΟΡΠ ἸΠΛΑΣΜΑ ἸΔΔΑΜ ΝΕΜ ἸΝΟΝ ΖΩΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΡΑΙΤΕΝ  
ἸΡΕΜΖΕ ἘΒΟΛ ἸΕΝΠΣΑΖΟΥἸ ἸΤΕΠΙΝΟΜΟΣ ...<sup>75</sup>

Balestri and Hyvernat suggest reading the participle (a.) ἸΦΗΕΤΕΦΩΝ as ἸΦΗΕΤΕΦΩΦ ΠΕ, ‘... who poured forth *what is his* ...’<sup>76</sup> Nonetheless, like the example above, this sentence is corrupt, with no simple explanation, even with reference to Arabic interference.

### Conclusion

The grammar and vocabulary of this text pose various and scattered problems for the Coptacist. While the relationship between the Coptic style of *J.Phan.* and Arabic writing of the time still needs probing, the text is comprehensible without reference to an hypothetical Arabic *Vorlage*. The problematic spots in the text should not distract the reader from larger portions that are written in grammatically sound Coptic (such as the scene of John’s *disputatio* with al-Malik al-Kāmil [f. 49<sup>r</sup>]), and even attending to details of the verb tense, such as the invariable ΠΕ often used with the preterit.<sup>77</sup> When the author does make errors, they are explainable without reference to Arabic. Certainly more analysis is needed to make the style of this text more familiar to Coptacists. In the last paragraphs of the text, Balestri and Hyvernat noticed what appeared to be an incorrect pronoun in the prepositional phrase ΝΕΜΑΚ (‘with you’), and they emended it to read ΝΕΜΑΦ (‘with him’). Now that this study has established that the larger context of this passage is a quote from the Liturgy of Saint Basil, it is proven that ΝΕΜΑΚ was not an error.<sup>78</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat’s mistaken emendation attests to scholarly lack of understanding of the context for this literary piece, rather than to the poor literary quality of *J.Phan.* Further uncovering of the literary context of *J.Phan.* may offer similar surprises.

<sup>75</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 55<sup>r</sup>, l.21–25 (§131, 132).

<sup>76</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat, *CSCO* 86, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>77</sup> For example, see *J.Phan.*, f. 50<sup>r</sup>, l. 7, 8 (§85).

<sup>78</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 55<sup>v</sup>, l.16–26 (§135–137). See my note on this quote in Chapter Two.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### ASSIMILATION AND RESTORATION: THE COPTIC COMMUNITY OF JOHN OF PHANIJŌIT FROM THE ACCESSION OF ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN TO THE WRITING OF THE MARTYRDOM, 1169–1211 (565–607 A.H.)

*Des érudits ont pu se demander si certains textes hagiographiques coptes n'ont pas été traduits de l'arabe. Il faut bien dire que la plupart de ces exemples sont sujets à caution. Le seul qui paraisse à peu près certain est la Passion de Jean de Phanijōit, mis à mort par les Musulmans au Caire en 1204 [sic]. Son martyre a été raconté par un contemporain avec une précision de détails qui dénote un témoin oculaire.*

Paulus Peeters, 'Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 241–298, p. 245.

Peeters' observation that an eyewitness wrote the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* seems plausible. Although the martyrdom does not lack the literary flourishes or even the generic topoi (as Chapter One shows) that are good measures of the distance between a text and its historical reality, most of the details in the text fall short of the fantastic. Moreover, the rich bank of place names<sup>1</sup> and remarks about the Egyptian political climate fit well into what is known about the text's time period in Egypt. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence available in this text or any other Coptic sources to write an history of the Copts of this period. Nonetheless the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* (*J.Phan.*) provides historical insights into military activities, political formulas for conflict resolution, the Coptic church's institutional effectiveness, and especially the process of assimilation to Islam. Taken as evidence in conjunction with Islamic and other Egyptian Christian sources, *J.Phan.* attests to an historical trend of increasing integration of Copts into the dominant culture and society of Islamic Egypt. The text itself, written in Coptic,

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<sup>1</sup> See Paul Casanova, 'Notes sur un texte copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les noms coptes du Caire et localités voisines,' in *BIFAO* 1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1901).



is in large part a reaction to the trend of Copts' assimilation to Islamicate culture,<sup>2</sup> and serves as an artifact of the struggle to sharpen Coptic distinctives.

*Ayyūbid Cairo: An International City*

The historical backdrop for *Ḥ.Phan.* is dominated by the wide-ranging struggle between Crusaders and the Islamic counter Jihād to control the Mediterranean and the lands between the Nile and Euphrates. The periodization that most naturally encompasses the date of the martyrdom's composition (April 29, 1211)<sup>3</sup> begins with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Ayyūbi's (1136–1193) accession around 1169, which established the Ayyūbid dynasty. All scholars would agree that the rule of Saladin's family marked 'a turning-point in Egypt's pre-modern history'<sup>4</sup> by enacting real religious and political change in Egypt and Syria-Palestine. Moreover, the Ayyūbids earned their renown for marshalling a broad-based response to the encroaching Crusader states. Egyptians' resources and aspirations, including those of Copts,<sup>5</sup> were wrapped up in a conflict that included people and places well beyond the jurisdictions of Egypt. Barring the possibility that *Ḥ.Phan.* is a total fiction, the historical John of Phanijōit was probably alive when news arrived of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's victory at the battle of Ḥayṭṭīn in 1187, roughly twenty years before the martyrdom.<sup>6</sup>

Given the intermingling of cultures brought about by the Crusades, and the far-reaching reactionary efforts of the Ayyūbid sulṭāns to ac-

<sup>2</sup> See esp. *Ḥ.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup> (§35), which mentions the village of Pepleu where Christian apostates were restored to their faith.

<sup>3</sup> In other calendars, 14 Dhū al-Qa'dah, A.H. 607, and 4 Pashons, A.M. 927.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Chamberlain, 'The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty,' in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> For example, see the *AHPA*'s account of Saladin's all-embracing debt forgiveness to garner support in 'preparation for war [*uddatu l-jihād*],' as well as the text's claims that 'God aided the sulṭān [*naṣara allāhu al-sulṭāna*].' Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, eds., trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. 3, part 2 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970), pp. 107–110; f. 206<sup>r</sup>-206<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 65, l.2 and p. 66, l.8, 9).

<sup>6</sup> The *AHPA* also invokes God's approval when it details the victory of Saladin's armies over Crusaders at the battle of Ḥayṭṭīn. See *Ibid.*, pp. 119–123; f. 208<sup>r</sup>-209<sup>v</sup> (Ar. pp. 69–73).

quire military personnel and equipment,<sup>7</sup> it is not surprising to read references to people of many different ethnic backgrounds in *J.Phan.* Leslie MacCoull has already remarked that one such reference to multitudes of ethnic groups is a literary device ‘explicitly recalling the Pentecost scene in Acts 2:9–11.’<sup>8</sup> The scene appears in the timeframe leading to John’s execution:

*Then they brought him in the midst of these innumerable crowds: the commanders, the soldiers, the cavalry, the young soldiers, the centurions, the judges, the catechumens, the speakers, the reciters, those who call to prayer, the renowned elders, the merchants, the traders, the Arabs, the Parthians, Nubians, Ethiopians, Romans, Barbarians, the residents along with the foreigners, husbands along with wives, the young with the old, the slaves with the free, in short, from every people of the earth.*<sup>9</sup>

The obvious apologetical value of this checklist of offices and ethnicities does not detract from the probability that most of these groups were represented in Cairo at the time. And while the Bible provides precedents for accepting people of different ethnicities, *J.Phan.* expresses an historical awareness and even comfortable familiarity with people of other backgrounds.

As Chapter One argues, *J.Phan.* employs ethnic identifiers such as ‘Arab,’ ‘Saracen,’ ‘Hagarene,’ and ‘Ishmaelites,’ to characterize Muslims as immoral. Rather than standing for actual ethnic groups, these ethnic identifiers function as synonyms for Muslims. By deprecating Muslims with ethnic identifiers, *J.Phan.* reduces Islam to a culture of immorality and discredits or ignores religious facets of Islam, like theological tenets. But beyond the polemical motive for labelling Muslims in ethnic terms, *J.Phan.* is at least ambivalent, at most favorable, toward other ethnic groups. John befriends his non-Christian prison guards by giving them money to buy food, and he invokes God’s blessing upon them since they ‘suffered in the march’ with him. The text shows no indication of negatively stereotyping the centurions, whom it depicts as sincerely persuading John to share the food with them.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On the Ayyūbid military, its economic foundations and its ethnic composition, see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), esp. pp. 141–184.

<sup>8</sup> Leslie S.B. MacCoull, ‘Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit (BHO 519),’ *Medieval Encounters* 6 (2000): 58–79, p. 67. The list in *J.Phan.* only resembles the Acts passage. See Chapter Three for comments on the differences between the Acts account and what appears in *J.Phan.*

<sup>9</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 50<sup>v</sup>, l.5–20 (§91–92). This passage is not directly quoting the Bohairic NT.

<sup>10</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 50<sup>r</sup>, l.17–34 (§88, 89).

Partly reflecting the multiethnic encounters of the Crusades, *J.Phan.* has a scope that looks beyond Egypt. The passage listing the crowd of various ethnic groups depicts them gathered not only to witness the pending martyrdom, but also to hail the sultān, al-Malik al-Kāmil, with his ‘fleet at the river’ preparing ‘to wage war [εερπολεμιν].’<sup>11</sup> The campaigns of al-Malik al-Kāmil and especially his father, al-Malik al-‘Ādil, extended beyond Egypt and tended to be centered in Syria-Palestine. Lorenz Korn concedes, in his effort to demonstrate the uniqueness of Ayyūbid architecture, that all critics of Ayyūbid structures in Cairo ascribe innovations to ‘Syrian or “Eastern” influences.’<sup>12</sup> The influence of Syria on Egypt in this period is a result of the breadth of Ayyūbid governance, stemming from Saladin’s unification of the peoples of Syria and the simultaneous takeover of Fāṭimid Egypt, to arouse a more effective response to the Crusades. This political affiliation, having a different center from the Fāṭimid empire, brought the Copts in the time of *J.Phan.* into association with increasing ethnic diversity—a situation that often spawns new expressions of identity. Moreover, the Crusades had further poisoned Coptic identification with Chalcedonian Christians, and drove Copts to closely identify with Saladin and the Islamicate culture he represented. In part, *J.Phan.* is a reactionary text written to forestall further assimilation to Islamicate culture.

*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: The Making of a Wide-Ranging Political Identification*

According to the contemporary Muslim writer Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217), who travelled through Egypt on the *ḥajj* in 1183, Saladin was not to blame for the excessive taxes on pilgrims in Egypt since he was busy with the campaigns in Syria. In his travel accounts, Ibn Jubayr

<sup>11</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 49<sup>v</sup>, l.25–27 (§84). This section describes the fleet on the day of John’s martyrdom. After some intervening details that develop the scene for the martyrdom, the fleet is mentioned again in connection with the crowd of onlookers in *J.Phan.*, f. 50<sup>v</sup>, l.20–24 (§92).

<sup>12</sup> Lorenz Korn, ‘The Façade of Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ ‘Ayyūb’s *Madrasa* and the Style of Ayyūbid Architecture in Cairo,’ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamluk Eras*, III, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), p. 103. For similar observations on how the Ayyūbids developed a continuity of institutional and architectural style between Syria and Egypt, see Nabih Amin Faris, ‘Arab Culture in the Twelfth Century,’ in *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, vol. V of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Sutton (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 11–13.

complains several times of the unfair taxation and treatment of pilgrims *en route* to Mecca. At one point he states that tax collectors would

sometimes make them verify what they carried [*al-zamūhum al-ʿaymāna ʿala mā bi-iydayhim*] and whether they had anything else with them, presenting God's Venerable Book upon which to put their right hand. The pilgrims [*al-hajjāju*] stand before those tax collectors in a shameful scene [*lahā mawāqifun khazī*] ...

This is a matter that will be stopped, but Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is not aware of it [*hadha ʿamrun yaqaʿu al-qatʿu ʿala ʿamma ṣalāḥ al-dīn lā yaʿrifuhu*]. Had he been aware of it, he would have ordered it to cease (just as he ordered the cessation of greater things) and would make every effort [*jāhada*] as he is able.<sup>13</sup>

Ibn Jubayr continues to laud 'this just ṣultān whose justice fills the countries, and whose renown has spread in the regions, ... whom God has adorned with his renown.'<sup>14</sup> Throughout the text, Ibn Jubayr always invokes Saladin as the sole hope for reducing, and having reduced, superfluous taxes 'on everything bought and sold, small or great, to the point of paying [taxes] for drinking Nile water [*ḥata kāna yūʿadday ʿala shurbi māʿi al-nīli*].'<sup>15</sup> For Ibn Jubayr, Saladin had especially taken on the role of patron for the Muslim pilgrims performing the ḥajj, protecting them by paying subsidies to the corrupt local 'amīrs who sought to exact unjust taxes for travel. On the route from the Egyptian port city of 'Aydhāb to Mecca, Ibn Jubayr despaired at the treatment of pilgrims arriving at the great mosque, on account of an overdue payment of subsidy from Saladin. He laments that, 'if not for the absence of this just Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, being in the region of Syria [*bi jihatī l-shāmī*] at his wars there with the Franks, what transpired from this [corrupt] 'amīr would not have transpired in the region of the pilgrims [*fi jihatī l-ḥājji*].'<sup>16</sup>

Not only do popular views, expressed by Ibn Jubayr, esteem Saladin's piety and his benevolence toward people in Egypt, but they also demonstrate an awareness of the connections between political

<sup>13</sup> William Wright, ed., *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, rev. M.J. de Goeje (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1907), p. 63, l.1–5. Henceforth cited as Ibn Jubayr. All quotations from Ibn Jubayr's *Riḥlatu l-kātibī l-ʿadībī l-bārīʿī l-labīb* are my translations. My translations have greatly benefitted from that of Broadhurst, which contains errors and omissions that only attest to the difficulty of Ibn Jubayr's Arabic. R.J.C. Broadhurst, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), pp. 55, 56.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Jubayr, p. 63, l.11–13. Broadhurst, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Jubayr, p. 56, l.15–16. Broadhurst, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Jubayr, p. 77, l.16–19. Broadhurst, p. 72.

conditions in Egypt and those in the Levant and Syria. As Peyronnet argues on the issue of Saladin and the taxation mentioned in Ibn Jubayr, ‘ce souverain se trouvait pressé d’argent, surtout pour les besoins de sa politique de conquêtes et pour les préparatifs de la contre-Croisade contre les états francs de Syrie-Palestine.’<sup>17</sup> The jurisdictions stretching from Cairo to Baghdad had become generally coordinated around Damascus as a result of the rise of the house of Ayyūb. During this period of Saladin’s accession, there developed a political arrangement of power distribution between the Ayyūbids wherein authority emanated from the front lines of crusader conflict, wherever they might be (but especially in greater Syria), and was supplied by the periphery. So by 1174, Saladin was leading the Ayyūbid dynasty ‘into battle in Syria,’ while the sulṭānate of Egypt was technically in the hands of ‘his brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr, his representative [*nā’ibān ‘anhu*].’<sup>18</sup>

The *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (AHPA)* notices a tension in the relationship between local governance and the distant, overarching leadership of Saladin. Like Ibn Jubayr, the *AHPA* credits Saladin with having relieved debts and taxes.<sup>19</sup> But even when Saladin is alleged to have issued a decree of tax relief from the top of the political chain, his brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil (c.1145–1218) apparently had enough trouble enforcing it among the local soldiers and landowners that he wrote a letter to Saladin with a directive on the matter.<sup>20</sup> After the *AHPA* reproduces al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s letter to Saladin, the narrative immediately begins reporting Saladin’s battles with Crusaders around Aleppo, Harran, and Damascus, until he arrives in Cairo (1185), where he is said to have ‘done indescribably good things with the citizens of the lands of Egypt [*ra’iyati bi-dīyāri miṣri*].’ Just prior to his arrival

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<sup>17</sup> For an overview of Ibn Jubayr, see Georges Peyronnet, ‘Coexistence islamochrétienne en Sicile et au moyen-orient: à travers le récit de voyage d’Ibn Jubayr voyageur andalou et pèlerin musulman (fin XII<sup>ème</sup> siècle),’ *Islamochristiana* 19 (1993): 55–73, p. 61.

<sup>18</sup> Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, eds., trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. 3, part 2 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1970), p. 116; f. 207<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 69, l.18, 19). See also ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Al-Barq al-shāmī*, V, f.117<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> See note 5.

<sup>20</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 116; f. 207<sup>v</sup>-208<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 69, l.13 – p.70, l.2). It is not clear from the wording of the correspondence whether al-Malik al-‘Ādil was requesting help in the situation or was reporting his own course of action in response to local resistance.

in Egypt, Saladin had ‘destroyed Nāblus, taking wealth and prisoners from it.’<sup>21</sup> Undoubtedly it was just such booty, and his distance from local problems, that equipped Saladin to ‘remove many injustices’ and to ‘rescue the oppressed from the oppressor’ once he was present in Egypt.<sup>22</sup> Saladin’s popularity should be seen as a bright flicker of hope in the eyes of masses of commoners living in a dark world of scarcity and oppression. One senses from the literary applause for Saladin’s policies that he was very skilled at highlighting himself as beneficent in comparison with the less glamorous local authorities, who had little power to redistribute resources in ways that would make them popular. Yet all sources, even Western, indicate that his motives were outstanding, and that his character was noble.<sup>23</sup>

For populations within Islamicate society, Saladin’s image had symbolic power. Carole Hillenbrand assesses the ‘propaganda value’ of Saladin’s ‘bloodless conquest of Jerusalem’ (1187) as psychologically important for Muslims to view their culture as more dignified than the earlier, reckless Crusader conquest of the city in 1099. She states that for Muslims, ‘it is important to display the subsequent magnanimity of Saladin’s conduct not just as a personal characteristic of his but also as a demonstration of the superiority of Muslim conduct over Christian conduct, of Islamic values over Christian values.’<sup>24</sup> But as can be seen in the *AHPA*, Saladin’s value as an identity-forming symbol also functioned for Christians within the Islamicate civilization, so the lines of demar-

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118; f. 208<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 70, l.18, 19; and l.17, respectively).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118; f. 208<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 70, l.19; and p. 71, l.1, respectively). ‘azāla maẓāliman kathīratan, and fayunṣifū al-maẓlūma min al-ẓālimi.

<sup>23</sup> See H.A.R. Gibb, ‘The Achievement of Saladin,’ *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952–1953): 44–60. Gibb reviews the historical sources for Saladin to show how his moral tenacity won the allegiance of the various groups necessary to combat the Crusaders. Gibb states: ‘He was no simpleton, but for all that an utterly simple and transparently honest man. He baffled his enemies, internal and external, because they expected to find him animated by the same motives as they were, and playing the political game as they played it.’ (p. 53). But for a Western source that negatively depicts Saladin as an insatiable conqueror, see Helen J. Nicholson, trans., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the ‘Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi’* (Aldershot Hants: Ashgate, 1997). Nonetheless, the *Itinerarium* does concede that Saladin had some humility (see esp. end of ch. 5). For a fine assessment that casts Saladin’s life in the light of his conquest of Jerusalem, see D.E.P. Jackson, ‘1193–1993. An Appreciation of the Career of Saladin,’ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), pp. 219–228.

<sup>24</sup> Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 316.

cation between Saladin and the Crusaders are more complex than the religious distinction, Muslim-Christian, when seen from the point of view of Copts.

Even Coptic accounts of Saladin's early forays into Fāṭimid Egypt are reluctant to associate him with the pillaging of churches that did occur. The Arabic *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, a 'genuine Coptic composition' of uncertain authorship,<sup>25</sup> offers a narrow, ecclesiastically-focused view of Saladin's earliest relationship with Egypt. In remarks about the year 1164,<sup>26</sup> a time near the end of Fāṭimid rule, the *HCME* mentions the burning of the monastery and church of St. Menas near Old Cairo. The account correlates the church fire with the time when the Fāṭimid wazīr Shāwar al-Sa'dī (d. 1169) summoned Frankish assistance against Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zankī (d. 1174). At that time, Nūr al-Dīn was the trans-regional leader whom Saladin supported, while still just a rising political and military leader in his own right. In practice keeping with the convoluted style of the *HCME*, the author may be confusing Nūr al-Dīn with his subordinate Saladin, but nonetheless he distances Saladin from criticism.<sup>27</sup>

[I]n the year 559 [1164], when the Ghuzz [and] the Kurds arrived with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn 'Ayyūb, and the king of the Franks was appealed to for help against them, this church and monastery [of St. Menas]

<sup>25</sup> Johannes den Heijer, 'Coptic Historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Early Mamlūk Periods,' *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 67–98, p. 80. As den Heijer states, it is uncertain whether the Armenian Abū Ṣālīḥ (the apparent owner of the *HCME* MS, who was long thought to be the author) had a role in writing the *HCME*, but it is clear that Abū al-Makārim was a contributor, though not the sole author (p. 78). See Ugo Zanetti, 'Abu l-Makarim et Abu Salih,' *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 34 (1995): 85–138. The dating of this compilation is very difficult to determine, though layers of it date to as early as the end of Saladin's lifetime (1138–1193). See also, Johannes den Heijer, 'The Composition of the *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*: Some Preliminary Remarks,' in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12–15 August, 1992* vol. 2, part 1, ed. David W. Johnson (Rome: International Association for Coptic Studies., 1993).

<sup>26</sup> The *HCME* reckons the date by the Muslim calendar, Jumādā al-'Ūlā 559 (=March/April, 1164).

<sup>27</sup> Ibn al-'Athīr (1160–1233) and the *AHPA* do not include Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as an agent in the clash of the Zengids (under Nūr al-Dīn) against the Fāṭimid-Frankish alliance. However, Richards claims Saladin was present on the expedition, 'though generally unwilling to go.' See D.S. Richards, 'Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* VIII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993): 910–914, p. 910a. See Ibn al-'Athīr, *Ta'rikh al-kāmil* VI, part 11 (Bulaq, Cairo: 1874), pp. 120–122, and *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 1; pp. 86–89, esp. p. 88; f. 201<sup>v</sup>-202<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp.51–53).

burned [*ʿahraqa hadha al-dayr wa l-biʿati*] ... [The remains] were preserved and their structures were restored ... in the [Fāṭimid] caliphate of al-ʿĀḍid [1160–1177].<sup>28</sup>

This passage depicts Saladin as an enemy of the Fāṭimid Egyptian wazīr, but only seems to juxtapose the event of Saladin's incursion into Egypt with the burning of the church. The *HCME* blames no one for the burning, even though the *AHPA* records atrocities carried out by the Ghuzz, who were (generally) in collaboration with Nūr al-Dīn. The severity of their attack included the selling of captured Christians, a martyrdom, and the destruction of several churches in the vicinity of St. Menas' monastery.<sup>29</sup>

In another place, the *HCME* mentions the same invasions of 'the Ghuzz and the Kurds who were with [*maʿa*] Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAyyūb.' This report is still silent about his role in the invasion, and offers little detail about him:

the Kurd, who became king of Egypt [*ṣāra malika miṣri*]. On Dirhams and Dinars he was called, 'Partner of the Prince of the Faithful.' Upon the entry of the king of the Franks to aid against them during the months of 559, the Ghuzz and the Kurds and the mob of Cairo raided this church [of John the Baptist], and it burned in fire and was razed to the ground with the other churches.<sup>30</sup>

Eventually, the aftermath of this conflict between the Zengids and the Fāṭimids led to the installation of Saladin as wazīr of Egypt in 1169. According to Evetts, the bulk of the *HCME* (at least the layer of it that he edits) was written shortly thereafter.<sup>31</sup> The fact that the *HCME* only

<sup>28</sup> *HCME* = B.T.A. Evetts, trans., ed., *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2001), p. 106; f. 31a (Ar. p.40, l.11–15). My trans. throughout.

<sup>29</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 1; pp. 86–89, esp. p. 88; f. 201<sup>v</sup>-202<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp.51–53). The Ghuzz (or, Oghuzz) were pastoral, Turkish tribes who became especially active East of Mesopotamia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad receded. Literature of the Ayyūbid period uses 'Ghuzz' to refer to those nomadic Turks in league with the Kurdish Ayyūbids. Little is known for certain about the Ghuzz, as distinct from other Turks and Seljuks. The *HCME* contributes to the confusion over their identity by usually referring to them as *al-ghuzz al-ʿākrād*, 'the Ghuzz the Kurds,' on which Evetts comments (p. 2, note 4; see also *Introduction*, p. xxiv). Savvides' article documents the wide range of confusion among scholars over what the name 'Ghuzz' designates: Alexis G.C. Savvides, 'Byzantines and the Oghuz (Ghuzz): Some Observations on the Nomenclature,' *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993): 147–155.

<sup>30</sup> *HCME*, pp. 89–90; f. 25a (Ar. p. 33, l.5–10).

<sup>31</sup> *HCME*, p. xx. See den Heijer, 'The Composition of the *History of the Churches and*



shows a thin familiarity with the growing impact of Saladin, who was to become such a towering figure in Egypt, lends support to the possibility that this part of the *HCME* truly was written in the early 1170s. Despite the horrible losses incurred by churches, the *HCME* does not malign Saladin in the way it sometimes speaks of the ‘evil Muslims [*’ashrār al-muslimīna*].’<sup>32</sup>

It is in connection with the Crusades that Saladin earns the most praise from the *AHPA*. The authors of the *HCME* and *AHPA* leave the impression that after a turbulent start in Coptic relations with Saladin, their appreciation for him grew. The *AHPA* indicates that Saladin’s earliest policies in Egypt (*r.* 1169–1193)—which included the removal of crosses from church cupolae, the cancellation of Coptic processions, and the restriction of Copts’ travel to the riding of donkeys—created an initial crisis for Copts. However, through the prayers of the Patriarch Mark III (1163–1189), ‘God set right for them the heart of their sultān,’ and the Copts ‘returned to a higher level than they were [*’ādū ’ila ’arfa’u minmā kānū ’alayhi*].’<sup>33</sup> While Saladin actually may have relaxed restrictions on Copts, those writing the *AHPA* certainly would have had motive to express their approval of Saladin. The political dynamic between the Christian minority and its government was a component of the larger theater of the whole Middle East. Support for Saladin would serve to dissociate the Coptic community from the Crusaders whom Saladin was fighting. Likewise, Saladin would have reason to appease subjugated Christians to ensure their loyalty. Examples from the *AHPA* offer clear support of Saladin in his victory over the Franks in the late 1180s with phrases like ‘God gave the victory to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn over them,’ and ‘God supported Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.’<sup>34</sup> Françoise Micheau considers the *AHPA* to be ‘[l]a plus importante de ces sources coptes’

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*Monasteries of Egypt,*’ *op. cit.*, on the multi-layered composition of the *HCME*. See also Maurice Martin, ‘Chrétiens et musulmans à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,’ in *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Égypte*, ed. Christian Décobert (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000), p. 83.

<sup>32</sup> *HCME*, p. 106; f. 30b. (Ar. p. 40, l.6). See also *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; pp. 164, 165; ff. 218<sup>v</sup>-219<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp. 96–98), which describes the early reign of Saladin as taking heavy tolls on churches through various impositions. The *AHPA* then states that the prayers of Patriarch Mark III turned Saladin’s heart toward the Christians.

<sup>33</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; pp. 164, 165; f. 219<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 97, l. 20, 21–22 respectively).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120 and 139; ff. 208<sup>v</sup> and 213<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp. 72, l.1, and 82, l.7, 8, respectively). *naṣara allahu ṣalāḥ al-dīn ’alayhim*, and *’ayyada allahu bihi ṣalāḥ al-dīn*.

providing information on the Crusades and Saladin.<sup>35</sup> In its very first chronicles of the Crusades, the *AHPA* draws a sharp line between Christians in Islamicate society and the ‘Roman and Frankish armies.’ The *AHPA* reports that on account of their enmity with the Franks and Romans, the true

assembly of the Christians [*ma’sharu l-naṣāra*], the Jacobites and Copts, did not join the pilgrimage to [Jerusalem], nor were we able to approach it because of their hatred for us [*li-’ajli mā huwawa min bughdihim lana*], their belief about us, and their charge against us of impiety [*takfīruhum iyyānā*].<sup>36</sup>

While the *AHPA* established the Crusaders as an Other to the Islamicate Christians,<sup>37</sup> the text likewise emphasizes Coptic identification with Saladin.

Coptic identification with Saladin was manifested in political and explicitly religious dimensions. The *AHPA* documents Saladin’s counter-crusade exploits with details that even include long reproductions of Saladin’s correspondence. Those letters are filled with language drawn from traditional Islamic critiques of Christianity. One letter discusses a victory over the Franks in terms of Islamic triumphalism over the polytheists (*al-mushrikāna*):

And he wrote about his event [sic], pronouncing what came from the victory of God the Mighty and his clear triumph, and what resulted from the victory which wiped out the vestiges of the polytheists [*’afā ’athāra l-mushrikāna*] and restored the hearts of the believers [*shafā sudūra l-mu’minīna*] ... [God] knew the Sulṭān [Saladin’s] intention to gain victory for his religion [*fī naṣrihi dīmihī*] and He granted him victory.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Françoise Micheau, ‘Croisades et croisés vus par les historiens arabes chrétiens d’Égypte,’ in *Itinéraires d’Orient: hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen, in *Res orientales* 6 (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l’étude de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1994): 169–185, p. 169.

<sup>36</sup> *AHPA*, ‘Aziz Sūryal Atīya, Yassa ‘Abd al-Masiḥ, and O.H.E. Khs.-Burmester, eds. and trans., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. 2, part 3 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institute français d’archéologie orientale, 1959), pp. 398, 399; f. 185<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 249, l.6, 10–12, respectively).

<sup>37</sup> Micheau observes that in the *AHPA*, ‘L’appellation de chrétiens, *nasyānī*, n’est jamais appliquée aux Francs car elle est réservée aux coptes, parfois aussi aux membres des autres communautés chrétiennes d’Orient.’ Micheau, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 123; f. 209<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 73, l.9, 10, 12–13). Al-Malik al-‘Aziz is alleged to have written this to war governors to transmit what Saladin had sent to him.

The letter is pages long, further stating that God ‘supported his soldiers against the one who denied His Uniqueness in Oneness [*tafar-radahu bi l-wihdāniyyati*] and disbelieved in Him [*kafarahu*].’<sup>39</sup> In another letter reproduced in the *AHPA*, Saladin explains his takeover of Ascalon as God’s deliverance ‘from the hand of the godless [*min yadi l-kufri*].’ The ensuing transfer of power included replacing Christian symbols with Muslim proclaiming of the *shahadah*.

The standards of the Muslims were raised on its towers and walls, its believers in Divine Unity were restored [*‘amratun bi-muwawahhidhā*], [though the city had] been built by its polytheists and godless [*bi-mushrikhā wa kuffārihā*].<sup>40</sup> And the muezzins increased in its vicinities and districts, but the sign of the crosses disappeared from its quarters and its areas. The preacher announced from its pulpit, ‘There is no god but God.’<sup>41</sup>

It is theologically interesting to note that the *AHPA* does not explicate the contents of the letters. It even seems to tacitly agree with the theological assertion that the correspondence of Saladin levels against Crusaders, namely the superiority of Islam’s belief in ‘the correct Oneness’ of God.<sup>42</sup>

The *AHPA* seems to raise no objections to the characterization of Christians found in Saladin’s correspondence because Copts did not identify closely with those European Christians. As noted above, the *AHPA* already raised a critique of the crusading Franks and ‘Romans’ in its accounts of the first Crusades. What kind of good relationship could possibly have obtained between the Franks and the Copts? Even though the Coptic Arabic *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn* idealizes the King of Rome as an agent of God in the end times, that text’s only comments about the religion of the Christian Roman Empire are recollections of persecution over doctrine.<sup>43</sup> Nothing intervened between 641 and 1187 to improve this lingering impression of hostility between Coptic non-Chalcedonians and the Chalcedonians. The evidence, as it relates to Saladin, indicates that the Copts behind the *AHPA* identified with him,

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123; f. 209<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 73, l.14).

<sup>40</sup> The Arabic of Khater and Burmester’s edition is probably wrong where it transcribes *nabata bi-mushrik* ... , p. 76, l.20.

<sup>41</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 129; f. 210<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 76, l.18, 19, and pp. 76, l.19–21-p. 77, l.1, respectively). The ‘sign of the crosses’ may refer specifically to the cross symbols that the Crusaders stamped into stone walls.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129; f. 210<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 77, l.2). *‘anṣār al-mū‘minīna l-tawhīdī l-ṣalāhiyyati*.

<sup>43</sup> *Apoc. Sam.*, see J. Ziadeh, ‘L’Apocalypse de Samuel, Supérieur de deir-el-Qalamoun,’ *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 20 (1915–1917): 374–404.

even with his critique of the Crusaders. In appropriating the rhetoric of Saladin's movement, Copts could easily support the charge that Franks were 'godless' on the grounds of their moral misconduct and infidelity to Christianity. As for the charge of polytheism (*shirk*), Copts might have adapted that definitive Muslim critique of Christians to their own earlier concern that Chalcedonian christology would compromise the unity of Christ.<sup>44</sup> More likely, however, is the possibility that the drafters of this portion of the *AHPA* were not attuned to theological nuances.

One of the greatest Coptic theologians, Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqafa' (905–987), noticed signs of theological amnesia regarding the Trinity two centuries before Saladin:

I say that the reason this mystery [of the Trinity] is unavailable [*kitmān*] to believers is their mixing with foreigners [*ikhhtilāṭuhum bi-'ajāmbi*] and the loss of their original Coptic language, through which they knew their doctrine [*madhhabahum*]. Eventually, they only seldomly heard mention of the Trinity [*dhakra l-thālūthi*] among them, and the Son of God was only mentioned among them metaphorically [*'ala sabīli l-majāzi*], but what they mostly hear is, 'God is Single, Eternal,'<sup>45</sup> and the rest of this talk [*al-kalām*] which the others [*i.e.*, Muslims] speak. The believers became accustomed to it [*ta'awwada bihi*] and brought up in it, to the extent that the mention of the Son of God is embarrassing for them [*yaṣu'bu 'alayhim*], and they do not know an explanation for Him, nor a meaning.<sup>46</sup>

Sāwīrus identified a trend of mental assimilation to Islam that may have reappeared (or endured) in the late 1180s. In place of theological explanations, which are virtually absent from the *AHPA*, its typical strategy for confronting the Other has been through miracles or the reciting of scripture.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The question is whether Copts would hear, in the Islamic doctrine of *tawhīd*, echoes of the earlier criticisms against Chalcedon, such as those of the dead fathers of the Enaton monastery: 'Anathema to Leo's blasphemous act, for it is full of blasphemy against the divinity of Christ because it divides Christ into two natures instead of maintaining the unity of Christ!' See Tim Vivian, trans., 'Humility and Resistance in Late Antique Egypt: The Life of Longinus,' *Coptic Church Review* 20 (1999): 2–30, ¶ 36.

<sup>45</sup> *Allāha fardūn ṣamadun*. A slight adaptation of Sūrah 112, *allāhu 'aḥadun allāhu l-ṣamadun*: 'God is One, God is Eternal ...'

<sup>46</sup> Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqafa', *al-duru l-thamīn fī ṣidāḥi l-dīn* (Cairo: Dar al-Ṭabā'ah al-Qawmiyyah bi-l-fagālah, 1971), p. 10. On the Egyptian theological context of this text, see Mark N. Swanson, 'The Specifically Egyptian Context of a Coptic Arabic Text: Chapter Nine of the *Kitāb al-Idāḥ* of Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Medieval Encounters* 2, 3 (1996): 215–227.

<sup>47</sup> See Johannes den Heijer, 'Apologetic Elements in Coptic-Arabic Historiography: The Life of Afrahām Ibn Zur'ah, 62nd Patriarch of Alexandria,' in *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period (750–1258)*, ed. Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen

To incorporate Saladin into a Coptic religious framework, and explain how ‘God aided Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,’ the *AHPA* presents a revealingly moral interpretation of him, rooted in scripture. The *AHPA* preserves ‘the first sermon’ preached at the al-ʿAqṣā mosque in Jerusalem after the Muslim reconquest (1187). It should be noted that the Muslim contemporary ʿImād al-Dīn (1125–1201) writes at great length about the process for selecting the preacher for the first sermon in the recovered al-ʿAqṣā mosque. But while he employs poetic rhyme and parallelism to describe the atmosphere, how ‘the sides of the pulpit vibrated, and the assembly was most elated,’ he still only quotes a few brief phrases, none of them markedly against Christians.<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-ʿAthīr (1160–1233) does not reproduce the sermon at all.<sup>49</sup> The *AHPA* relates that Saladin was present to hear the Muslim preacher ‘praise God’ for ‘evicting the godless and renegades,’ for ‘changing churches and monks’ cells into houses of prayer and mosques, and for exchanging bells for the call of the muezzin.’ In theologically pointed language, the Islamic sermon further celebrates ‘the switch from the exaltation of the cross of the one crucified, to the glorification of the One Living, who does not die.’<sup>50</sup> After recording such an obvious repudiation of Christian doctrine, the *AHPA* offers no apologia, except to explain why the chronicler reproduced the sermon: ‘so that you may be acquainted with a picture of the situation, and understand 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.’<sup>51</sup> Then the text adopts Saladin into the Christian sphere on strictly moral grounds by quoting Exodus 23:5 and Matthew 5:44. The *AHPA* plainly accepts that God helped Saladin in the ‘victory and triumph’

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S. Nielsen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), esp. pp. 193–195 on the miracle of the moving of the Muqattam hill as an example of Coptic apotheotic in the *AHPA*.

<sup>48</sup> Carlo de Landberg, ed., *ʿImād ed-dīn el-kātib el-iṣfahānī: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1888), p. 64, l.3–4. Arabic title: Imād al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-futuḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥi l-qudsī*. The rhyming phrase quoted: *wa ihtazzat ʿaʿāfu l-minbar, wa iʿtazzat ʿaṭrafu l-māʿshar*.

<sup>49</sup> See Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *Taʾrīkh al-kāmil* VI, part 11 (Bulaq, Cairo: 1874), pp. 223–226. Translations of Ibn al-ʿAthīr and ʿImād al-Dīn on this subject are available in Francesco Gabrielli, trans., *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 139–168.

<sup>50</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 138; f. 212<sup>v</sup>-213<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 81, l.19, 22; p. 82, l.1, 2, respectively).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138, 139; f. 213<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 82, l.5, 6).

over the ‘enemies of his religion and his state’ because he obeyed the two commandments regarding love for enemies, found in Exodus and Matthew:

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn acted according to these two religious laws [*bi-ʿamri hadhayni l-sharʿatayni*] without knowing or reading it. Rather, [it was] inspiration from God [*ilhām min allāhi*]. Because of that, he died on his bed and his end was praiseworthy for himself and his progeny [*fī nafsihi wa dhurriyatihī*].<sup>52</sup>

Thus the *AHPA* indicates that the Crusaders had a further polarizing effect on the Coptic identification with Chalcedonian Christians, while Saladin simultaneously exerted a magnetic pull on Copts. It was his civilization that had won the Copts’ allegiance. As the *AHPA* at one point summarizes, Saladin’s initial policies in Egypt imposed burdens on churches that had even led some scribes to leave their faith (*kharāja min ʿadyānihim*) ‘and deny their Christ [*wa jahādū masīḥahum*].’ But once the prayers of the Patriarch Mark III persuaded God to change Saladin’s heart, he ‘drew [the Copts] near, approached them, and used them in his dīwān.’<sup>53</sup>

### *The Legacy of Saladin: The Immediate Context of John of Phanijoit*

This orientation of locals in Egypt—including Copts—toward the patronage and exploits of a region-wide leader such as Saladin (as a higher layer of appeal in crises and a transregional hero) remained intact after the death of Saladin and into the time of John of Phanijoit’s martyrdom. All the chronicles of Egypt at the time were obviously attuned to the Crusades, and moreover, the political structure arranged by Saladin made Egyptians participants in his campaigns. Even Copts appear to have played clerical roles on the front lines, according to the *AHPA*.<sup>54</sup> This structure was perpetuated after Saladin when al-

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139; f. 213<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 82, l.8, 9, 12–14). See also pp. 152, 153; f. 216<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp. 89, 90), where the *AHPA* seems to compare (rather unclearly) the reign of Saladin with that of the Israelite King David.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165; f. 219<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 97, l.18, 19; and 20, 21 respectively). Lines 20, 21: *fa-qarrabahum wa ʿadnāhum wa istakhdamahum fī dīwānihī*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165; f. 219<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 97, l. 23–p. 98, l.1). The context makes clear that the following list of scribes are Copts: ‘The scribes of his dīwān, the scribes of his family and his relatives, and the scribes [*Ar. p. 98*] of his soldiers went with him in the campaigns [*sārū maʿahu fī l-ghazawāt*].’ This evidence should supplement Claude

Malik al-ʿĀdil filled his brother's position as a major regional leader, and subsequently bequeathed the sultānate of Egypt to his own son, al-Malik al-Kāmil (c.1177–1238). The political model of layers and power-sharing throughout the Ayyūbid dynasty may have led to some of the uncertainties found in the literature regarding when the transfers of power to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-Kāmil formally occurred. The dating of the start of al-Malik al-Kāmil's reign has a bearing on the interpretation of how *J.Phan.* explicitly situates itself within al-Malik al-Kāmil's sultānate.

The issue of reckoning the *J.Phan.* text's date according to the year of al-Malik al-Kāmil's reign has raised unwarranted suspicion from Leslie MacCoull. She posits a theory based on class struggle that suggests the author may actually have written the text at a date later than what he indicates in the MS. According to MacCoull, the author may have written about later events, and falsified the dates, in order to

look back to the days of a more favored patriarch during whose reign inspiring events occurred, a patriarch more favored by powerful (upper Egyptian as opposed to Cairene?) Coptic families whose members served in high offices of state and worked to promote their own relatives, and who supported a strong anti-Chalcedonian position.<sup>55</sup>

The evidence leading her to this proposal is a seeming discrepancy in the way the text calculates the years of al-Malik al-Kāmil's reign. *J.Phan.* dates John's martyrdom to

the eleventh year of the reign of Muḥammad [al-Kāmil], the son of Abū Bakr [al-ʿĀdil], the son of [Naǰm al-Dīn] ʿAyyūb, the brother of [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] Joseph; this is Joseph the father of al-Malik [al-ʿAzīz]

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Cahen's claim that Saladin's military force was based on 'the Kurdo-Turkish army, completely alien to the Egyptian population, inherited from Nūr al-Dīn and developed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by means of the resources of Egypt.' See Cl. Cahen, 'Ayyūbids,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 796b.-807a., p. 797b. The Copts' role as *kuttāb* in the *dīwān* should also be considered in the historiographic analysis of Muslim writers such as al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī, who (according to Brett) relied on the chancery documents of Fāṭimid Egypt (at least) for their writings. See Michael Brett, 'Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean: John Wansbrough and the Historiography of Mediaeval Egypt,' in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001). For a short biography of the Coptic secretary of the early Ayyūbid financial bureaus, al-Asʿad Ibn Mammātū, see Donald P. Little, 'Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs,' in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 419.

<sup>55</sup> MacCoull, 'Notes,' *op. cit.*, p. 70.

‘Uthman who became a Muslim [Ἐταφραμισθς] in his time on our shores of the river of Egypt, upon the throne of Piban ...<sup>56</sup>

The text records this date as Thursday, 4 Pashons, 926 A.M., which in the Julian calendar of the time is Thursday, April 29, 1210.<sup>57</sup> MacCoull claims there is a problem associating the year 1210 with the eleventh year of the reign (μετοϋρο) of al-Malik al-Kāmil because that ‘was the eleventh regnal year of his *father*, al-‘Ādil ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (r. 1200–1218), the brother of’ Saladin.<sup>58</sup> Although she cites Amélineau’s explanation that al-Kāmil received the local governorship, ‘qui lui confié en 1199,’ during al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s wider reign, MacCoull does not seem to appreciate the Ayyūbid power arrangement.<sup>59</sup> After drafting her alternative theory, MacCoull concedes that it is ‘most likely that the local perspective of the hagiographer led him to reckon the years of the “reign” (*metouro*) of al-Kāmil as those of his Egyptian lieutenant-governorship.’ But the term μετοϋρο, ‘reign,’ should not be restricted to any one office in the overlapping scheme of governance utilized by the Ayyūbids.<sup>60</sup>

Arabic sources vary on the dates of accession for al-‘Ādil and al-Kāmil. During the Ayyūbid period, the transfer of authority in Egypt was shrouded in political and domestic dispute between factions of the Ayyūbid family. According to al-Maqrīzī’s later view (1364–1442), al-Malik al-‘Ādil formally took command of Egypt, Syria, and some Eastern provinces on August 4, 1200. A month prior to this (July 6), he appointed his son al-Malik al-Kāmil ‘viceroys of Egypt and gave the eastern provinces in fief to him which had been enfeoffed to al-‘Ādil in the time of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. He named al-Kāmil his successor;

<sup>56</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, l.14–20 (§109).

<sup>57</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, l.5–7 (§109). In the Islamic Hijrah calendar, 3 Dhu al-Qa’dah, 606. For tables converting the Coptic A.M. to the Julian and Gregorian calendars, see: De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London: SPCK, 1937), pp. 34, 35, and Aelred Cody, ‘Calendar, Coptic,’ in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 433–438. One resource for converting between Christian and Islamic calendars is G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Islamic and Christian Calendars AD 622–2222 (AH 1–1650): A Complete Guide for Converting Christian and Islamic Dates and Dates of Festivals*, 2d. ed. (Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing, 1995).

<sup>58</sup> MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>59</sup> See M.E. Amélineau, ‘Un document copte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Martyre de Jean de Phanidjôit,’ *Journal Asiatique* 9 (1887): 113–190, p. 125.

<sup>60</sup> For a discussion of titulature among the Ayyūbid rulers, see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), Appendix A, ‘The Ayyubid Concept of the Sultanate,’ pp. 365–369.



and the emirs gave him the oath.<sup>61</sup> But the earlier Muslim chronicler Ibn al-ʿAthīr (1160–1233) shows that, at the time, al-ʿĀdil was in the midst of a familial struggle for Cairo with his nephew (Saladin’s son), al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlī (1169–1225). According to Ibn al-ʿAthīr, they

met [for battle] on the seventh of Rabīʿa al-ʿĀkhar [596], al-Afḍal was defeated and he entered Cairo at night ... Al-ʿĀdil came, assailed Cairo and surrounded it. ... [Al-Afḍal] sent a messenger to his uncle offering peace and transferral of the countries to him.<sup>62</sup>

Ibn al-ʿAthīr marks the date of al-ʿĀdil’s takeover of Cairo as ‘Saturday, the eighteenth of Rabīʿa al-ʿĀkhar’ of 596 (=February 5, 1200).<sup>63</sup>

The *AHPA* offers a similar account, dating al-ʿĀdil’s accession to Friday, 16 Rabīʿa al-ʿĀkhar, 596 A.H. (=February 4, 1200).<sup>64</sup> The *AHPA* acknowledges the dispute over what day al-Malik al-ʿĀdil entered Cairo, and it states that al-ʿĀdil waited a month before installing his son al-Kāmil as ‘Sulṭān’ over ‘the lands of Egypt [*diyāri l-miṣr*]’.<sup>65</sup> The *AHPA* recounts a formal ceremony that involved the stamping of al-Kāmil’s ‘name on the gold and silver coinage used in the lands of Egypt,’ leaving no doubt that this was the inauguration of al-Kāmil’s reign.<sup>66</sup> Al-ʿĀdil officially outlined the hierarchy, essentially an extension of the political formula established by Saladin, when he decreed strict instructions for the Islamic sermons:

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<sup>61</sup> R.J.C. Broadhurst, trans., *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt, Translated from the Arabic of al-Maqrīzī* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980), p. 136. These dates in the Hijrah and Coptic calendars are: 21 Shawwal, 596 (August 4, 1200=11 Mesōrē, 916 A.M.) and 22 Ramaḍān, 596 (July 6, 1200=13 Epēp, 916 A.M.).

<sup>62</sup> Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *Tārīkh al-kāmil* VI, part 12 (Bulaq, Cairo: 1874), p. 65, l.18–21.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65, l.24.

<sup>64</sup> Coptic date=10 Amshir, 916. *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; pp. 175, 176; f. 221<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 105, l.8, 9). It is difficult to reconcile the Islamic calendar with Western calendars because the lunar days can often diverge by one or two days depending on location. So although it may seem like one of two sources must be in error when one considers the 16th a Friday, while the other source mentions the 18th as a Saturday, the two could be accurate by their local reckonings.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175; f. 222<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 105, l.19). According to this passage, the prior ruler, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, had elicited an oath from his troops (while on his deathbed) that they would install his own son in his place. Al-ʿĀdil honored this wish for a month, and then secretly arranged for his troops from Damascus to bring al-Kāmil to Egypt where he would formally become sulṭān.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177, 178; f. 222<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 106, l.1, 2). For reference to numismatic evidence bearing al-Kāmil’s name, see Li Guo, ‘Arabic Documents from the Red Sea Port of Quseir in the Seventh/Thirteenth Century, Part I: Business Letters,’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 58 (1999): 161–190, p. 162.

[N]one of the preachers in the Egyptian lands should continue mentioning Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn nor any of his children at a pulpit. But they should mention the Khalīfah first, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil second, and his son, his heir apparent [*walī ʿahdihī*], al-Malik al-Kāmil third. And after that nothing should be mentioned except the completion of the sermon, the invocation, and then the prayer.<sup>67</sup>

By enforcing this command, al-ʿĀdil asserted his (and al-Kāmil's) primacy over Saladin's children, and thereby took the mantle of his brother in the fight against the Crusaders.

Although al-Malik al-ʿĀdil still held trans-regional authority, *J.Phan.* is historically correct in its description of al-Malik al-Kāmil's suzerainty in Egypt at the time of the martyrdom (1210). The real discrepancy between *J.Phan.*'s calculation of the 'eleventh year of the reign' of al-Kāmil and the historical circumstance is a matter of one year; A.H. 596 (1200) to A.H. 606 (1210) is only ten years, not the eleven years mentioned in *J.Phan.* Though this discrepancy should be noted in further efforts to periodize al-Kāmil's reign, the mistake could easily be based on the confusion over the time when al-ʿĀdil wrested control of Cairo from his nephew al-Aḡḡal. Besides the uncertainty regarding the exact date of accession, the date of John's martyrdom is at the end of the Islamic year. It falls in the eleventh month (3 Dhu al-Qaʿdah) of 606, thus approaching the eleventh year.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, it is possible that the author of *J.Phan.* had confused the year of his writing the martyrdom (607/927/1211) with the prior year (606/926/1210), about which the martyrdom was written. At any rate, the difference of one year in such a reckoning comes as no surprise to scholars who have struggled to pinpoint the dates of important battles of the Crusades.<sup>69</sup>

The successions of al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil reinforced the trans-regional identification that Saladin had fostered in Egypt. The house of Ayyūb had decisively ended the Fāṭimid caliphate, which had cen-

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178; f. 222<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 106, l.2–5). For another passage dealing with al-Kāmil's accession, though written in a retrospective style, see *AHPA*, Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, trans. and ed. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church*. vol. 4, part 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1974), p. 50, f. 298<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 24).

<sup>68</sup> Though the *AHPA* does use the Coptic calendar, it just as often marks time with the Hijrah calendar, especially in references to the governmental succession (as seen above). Even if the point of reference for the author of *J.Phan.* happened to be the Coptic calendar, the month of the martyrdom (Pashons) is the ninth month, and falls in the latter part of the year A.M. 926.

<sup>69</sup> See Brett, 'Lingua Franca,' *op. cit.*, p. 8.

tered religious authority in Cairo for two centuries, and it restored the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate of Baghdad.<sup>70</sup> With Cairo no longer at the political center, the effect of the Ayyūbid dynasty and all its military efforts was to engage the Copts’ attention with outsiders. Moreover, with the Crusades of foreign Christians encroaching even more directly upon Egypt at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Copts were faced with considering their identity as a part of Islamic society, while still being apart from it.

J.Phan. *in the Thirteenth-Century Multi-Ethnic Milieu*

Early on this chapter established the context of Ayyūbid Cairo as a place where the author of *J.Phan.* could plausibly find crowds composed of many ethnic groups. The *ḥajj* funneled pilgrims through Egypt to Mecca, bringing travellers like Ibn Jubayr from places as far East as Granada, Spain. Besides hosting pilgrims and travelling merchants coming through the ports of ‘Aydḥāb and Alexandria, Egypt was the home for a variety of North African and Middle Eastern groups, as well as Western Christian slaves and converts to Islam. In the early fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī details several ethnic quarters (*ḥārāt*) found in Cairo well before his time. These quarters included spaces for Armenians, Romans, Turks, Sudanese, and two different types of Berbers.<sup>71</sup> Ibn Jubayr noticed ‘captive infidels [*al-‘ulūj*] from Rūm whose numbers were greatly beyond measure [*‘adaduhum la yuḥṣā kathratan*]’ digging trenches and sawing marble for Saladin’s renovations to the Citadel (*al-qal‘ah*). Ibn Jubayr was astonished at how many foreigners were employed in state works in Egypt:

There was no reason for anyone besides them to labor on this construction. The sulṭān also has constructions in other places, and the infidels (*al-‘ā‘lāj*) work on them so that any Muslim who might be employed in the likes of these public works would be relieved from all of that, having no duty of that sort upon such a one.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> For Saladin’s religious policies see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), esp. pp. 116–132.

<sup>71</sup> al-Maqrīzī, *Kūtabu l-mawā‘iz wa -l-‘itibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa l-āthār*, vol. 2 (Bulaq, Cairo: 1853/4), pp. 8–20. Henceforth, *al-Khiṭaṭ*. He notes events in these quarters dating to the mid-thirteenth century.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn Jubayr, p. 51, 1.7–11. Broadhurst, p. 43. See also Ibn Jubayr, pp. 58, 59; Broadhurst, p. 51.

Ibn Jubayr's account accords with *J.Phan.*'s description of John's executioner Philim, the 'Roman' (ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ) who converted to Islam.<sup>73</sup> And in general, *J.Phan.* locates itself within a diverse milieu where even the Christians who sought to bury John's body happened to be 'captive Romans [ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ̅ⲭⲙⲁⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ].'<sup>74</sup> Instead of promoting an ethnic pride enmeshed with Christian identity (that many scholars associate with Coptic Christianity),<sup>75</sup> *J.Phan.* projects a wider scope of Christian identification that includes the captive Roman Christians in their fold.

What is interesting about *J.Phan.*, having been written in Coptic at such a late period, is that while it always depicts Islam with ethnic identifiers, it does not assert Coptic identity as an *ethnos*. Nowhere among the text's references to different ethnicities does *J.Phan.* assert Egyptian identity as markedly distinct from Arabs and others. One could argue that by this point, people in Egypt could no longer divide Copts and Muslims along racial lines (Egyptian *vs.* Arab/other) because the number of conversions would have resulted in a substantial group of Muslims of Egyptian ethnicity. But Michael Brett has argued that 'it may not be necessary to think in terms of *conversion*' to understand Arabisation and the rise of a Muslim majority in Egypt, rather 'a process of repopulation.'<sup>76</sup> By repopulation he means that a Muslim majority could well have grown 'by immigration and ... intermarriage, with Muslim men taking Christian wives, but not necessarily by conversion.' His theory takes into account the most prominent works on the subject by Bishai, Décobert, Lapidus, *et. al.*, to raise the possibility that conversion was a minimal factor when compared with '[d]ifferential fertility' and especially immigration. For example, the 'taking of Christian wives by Muslim men ... would have transferred the reproductive capacity of women from one community to another.' Moreover, Brett considers it likely that by the ninth century, 'the overall population was ... actu-

<sup>73</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 51<sup>v</sup>, l.4–8 (§98). The Arabic *al-rūmī* and Coptic ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ at this time refer to what later scholars would call 'Byzantine.'

<sup>74</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 53<sup>r</sup>, l.16 (§114).

<sup>75</sup> Ewa Wipszycka, 'Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Égypte byzantine?' *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 22 (1992): 83–128. Her analysis should be considered even with later Medieval sources such as *J.Phan.* She gives the title 'l'interprétation nationaliste' to the widespread view of Egyptian history in terms of 'la haine entre Grecs et Coptes.' (p. 83).

<sup>76</sup> Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), pp. 285 and 286 respectively.

ally in decline, sustained only by continual immigration’ of Muslims.<sup>77</sup> According to this model, if the Christian to Muslim ratio in Egypt was not steadily declining as a result of waves of conversions, then it would be unlikely that there were many Muslims of ‘purely’ Egyptian ethnicity during any one generation. Instead, Brett’s theory favors a polarized population wherein there is no significant group of Muslims who are Egyptian by ethnicity (*i.e.*, converts).

Brett’s argument rests on the paucity of evidence for conversions, and the lack of scholarly understanding regarding the contexts of the evidence that is extant. Still, the concept of *repopulation* helps direct the discussion of religious change in Egypt toward the question of ethnic identities: when or how did the Copts come to see themselves as an ‘ethnochurch?’ As for *J.Phan.*—a piece of thirteenth century textual evidence for conversion—it does not validate or refute Brett’s theory. *J.Phan.* neither asserts a Coptic ethnic pride, nor does it discount the significance of conversions. Chapter One demonstrates that *J.Phan.* uses the word **ΜΟΥΨΤ**, ‘to mix,’ to refer to conversion as a pollution or loss not just in religious terms, but also cultural.<sup>78</sup> But while *J.Phan.* criticizes Islam and conversion to Islam in ethnic language, it does not promote ‘Coptic’ Christianity. The text introduces John as the son of a ‘Christian man’ (**ΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΙ**), and it addresses itself to ‘believers’ (**ΝΙΠΙΣΤΟΣ**), ‘Christian believers’ (**ΝΙΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**), and ‘believing and beloved people of the catholic church’ (**ΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΝΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΜΕΝΡΑ† ΝΤΕ†ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ**).<sup>79</sup> And similar to a much earlier time when Shenoute (*c.*348–466) contrasted Christians with *pagans*, *J.Phan.*’s use of the term ‘Christian’ throughout the text still does not appear to be ‘a rational extension of Egyptian identity.’<sup>80</sup> In his prayer to the martyr John, the author of *J.Phan.* conceptualizes the Copts using regional terms, rather than ethnic terms, referring to them as one segment of the larger Christian community: ‘I am not alone, O beloved John, rather with the rest of the Christians [**ΠΙΣΕΠΙ ΝΝΙΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**], especially the people of the land of Egypt [**ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΝΙΡΕΜΠΚΑΖΙ ΝΧΗΜΙ**].’<sup>81</sup> This evidence seems to show that, 1)

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>78</sup> See *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.1, 2 (§32); and 51<sup>v</sup>, l.4–8 (§98).

<sup>79</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, l.1 (§32); 40<sup>r</sup>, l.21 (§5); f. 41<sup>r</sup>, l.24, 25 (§17, 18); and f. 42<sup>v</sup>, l.15–17 (§28), respectively.

<sup>80</sup> David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 79.

<sup>81</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 55<sup>v</sup>, l.3–6 (§133).

the polemical strategy of criticizing Islam with ethnic identifiers is not the mirror image of a Coptic ethnic pride (or nationalism), and 2) the author's Coptic identity carries less weight than his identification with a wider Christian identity.

That Christian identity obviously included the 'Roman captives,' to an extent, and perhaps even more, it overlapped with the Ayyūbid political circumstances that brought all Egyptians into common cause with greater Syria. The *AHPA*'s response to the first Crusade classed Copts along with 'Jacobites' (*ya'āqibah*) as those suffering from the Frankish Christian conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>82</sup> And as in times dating back at least to Severus of Antioch (c.465–538), the close tie between Egypt and Syria also offered opportunities for collaboration or refuge for non-Chalcedonian Christians. In *J.Phan.* the Coptic physician Abū Shākir (d.1216) suggests that he could negotiate with the sultān for John's release, after which John could 'take flight to Syria [ϩⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲥⲓⲣⲓⲁ]' where God would 'preserve' him (ϩⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉⲕ).<sup>83</sup> This option could be a pragmatic choice for any Egyptian. The *AHPA* records a drought in John's lifetime that compelled many to go 'from the lands of Egypt to Syria [*al-shāmi*] with their wealth and children, and they perished ... on the way.'<sup>84</sup> But it is likely that John could expect to find welcoming Christian communities in Syria, despite Abū Shākir's advice that he go there and recede from society, becoming 'a stranger because of Christ' (ϷⲣⲱⲈⲘⲘⲟ ⲛⲁⲕ Ϸⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲪⲥ).<sup>85</sup> The Patriarch Mark III (r. 1163–1189), who presided during Saladin's reign, was actually 'a Syrian [*suryāniyyā*] from the inhabitants of Syria [*min 'ahli l-shāmi*].'<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, one of the most important chroniclers of the 'Ayyūbids is the Copt al-Makīn Ibn

<sup>82</sup> *AHPA*, 'Aziz Sūryal Atiya, Yassa 'Abd al-Masih, and O.H.E. Khs.-Burmester, eds. and trans., vol. 2, part 3, *op. cit.*, p. 399, f. 185<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 249, l.11).

<sup>83</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.20, 24 (§69).

<sup>84</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 179, f. 122<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 107, l.3, 4). The *AHPA* dates this to around A.H. 597 (=A.D. 1200).

<sup>85</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.21 (§69).

<sup>86</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 102, f. 204<sup>v</sup> (Ar. p. 61, l.9). The date of installment for this patriarch is confusing because the *AHPA* both states A.M. 880 and A.H. 566 at the same time. These are different dates, which translate into 1163 and 1167, respectively. The *AHPA* also states that he 'remained on the throne for twenty-five years' (*Ibid.*, p. 103, f. 205<sup>r</sup> [Ar. p. 62, l.3, 4]). Since the *AHPA*'s records for the *end* of his patriarchate do not conflict (A.M. 905, A.H. 585 [=1189]), the 1163 date of accession must have been what the author meant (1189–1163=25/6 years). Thus, Labib's dating of Mark III's accession to 1167, being based solely on the A.H. reckoning, is probably mistaken. See Subhi Labib, 'Mark III, Saint,' in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 1534–1536.

al-‘Amīd (1205–1273), who embodied both the ethnic diversity possible within the Coptic church and the close association between Egypt and Syria. Al-Makīn was raised in Egypt by his ‘famille d’origine iraqienne établie en Egypte au temps du calife fatimide al-‘Amir’ (1101–1130), and he spent much of his adult life in Damascus keeping records in the *dīwān* of the army.<sup>87</sup>

But while there were diverse forces pulling Copts into identification with various ethnic and regional groups, and especially with the Islamicate defenses against the Crusades, *Ḷ.Phan.* is nonetheless a story about differentiation, not integration. The limits of identification with Muslims are drawn widely enough to impute special religious status to Saladin, with the proviso that Saladin was yet unaware of the truth.<sup>88</sup> *Ḷ.Phan.* serves to rein in those boundaries that cannot be crossed. While on the collective level, Copts could participate in most ways with Islamicate society—such as serving administratively and praying for the military success of Muslims—on the individual level, *mixing* was taboo.

#### *Conclusions: Distinguishing Identities*

The *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* is a reactionary text, calling for efforts against assimilation to Islam. Though its protagonist, John, was never recognized by the church’s official registry, the Coptic Synaxary, his story would have been familiar to his Coptic contemporaries. *Ḷ.Phan.* seems to reflect a weakening of the church’s hierarchy, a time when apostates sought guidance from secular Coptic leaders. The fact that it was written in Coptic signals a resistance to the language both of Muslims and of the church at the time. Along with all the reasons for keeping the text hidden (discussed in Chapter One), the use of Coptic to draft this martyrdom marks its *reading* audience as narrower than

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<sup>87</sup> Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Micheau, trans., *Al-Makīn Ibn al-‘Amīd: Chronique des ayyoubides (605–658/1205–6—1259–60)* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1994), p. 8. Al-Makīn’s world history (particularly the second part, dealing with the Islamic period) is an important source whose relationship to the *AHPA* needs further study. An edition of the years 1205 to 1260 (A.H. 602–658) is available, as well as a French translation by Eddé and Micheau (above) that subsequently corrects errors in the edition (see pp. 124, 125): Claude Cahen, ed., ‘La “Chronique des Ayyoubides” d’al-Makīn b. al-‘Amīd,’ *Bulletin d’Etudes Orientales*, 15 (1958): 109–184.

<sup>88</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; p. 139; f. 213<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 82, l.8, 9, 12–14).

the Coptic church as a whole. And the character of *J.Phan.*'s critique marks that audience as somewhat puritanical, in the sense of calling for communal purification.

Except for being written in Coptic at such a late date, *J.Phan.* is not unique. Though the nature of the sources makes it difficult to chart trends in post-conquest Coptic history, the struggle against conversion and assimilation characterizes the period covered by *J.Phan.* It outlines a political procedure for dealing with conversion that may have been standardized. *J.Phan.* recounts an execution for apostasy, the bare elements of which also appear in a contemporary martyr story in the *AHPA*. According to the *AHPA*, sometime around 1217 [A.H. 614] (after the death of the physician Abū Shākīr) a weaver named Asad was imprisoned on charges of converting to Islam and then denying it.<sup>89</sup> The story in the *AHPA* follows the same pattern found in *J.Phan.* of, 1) the sultān offering bribes to persuade the captive to re-convert to Islam, 2) the Christian insisting that he die as a Christian, 3) the sultān then offering the Christian liberty to go where he pleases if he says the *shahādah*, 4) the further resistance of the captive, 5) the ordering of execution by beheading, 6) the hanging of the body in public, and 7) the Christians finally seeking the body of the martyr. The points of comparison between *J.Phan.* and the martyrdom of the weaver Asad found in *AHPA* are pronounced enough to raise the question of whether the *topoi* of martyrdoms governs the authors' accounts, or the authors' accounts are recording a typical formula followed by Ayyūbid administrators in dealing with public cases of apostasy.

The Ayyūbid Sultān al-Malik al-Kāmil (c.1177–1238) apparently presided over both martyrdoms.<sup>90</sup> From both accounts he appears reluctant to carry out an execution for apostasy, and offers bribes and real concessions to avoid it. Asad the weaver<sup>91</sup> was brought to court by his wife to resolve a dispute they were waging (*takhāṣama*). The *AHPA* states that while at court,

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<sup>89</sup> Antoine Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, trans. and ed. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church*. vol. 4, part 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1974), pp. 40, 41; f. 296<sup>r</sup> (Ar. pp. 19, 20).

<sup>90</sup> The chronicler of the *AHPA* refers to him as 'the Sultān.' Though this event would have occurred during the lifetime of al-Malik al-Kāmil's father, al-Malik al-'Adil, it was al-Kāmil who had direct authority over Egypt. The martyr account is immediately followed by reference to a decree of al-Malik al-Kāmil.

<sup>91</sup> Or tailor (MS either: *hāykān* or *kha'itān*).



a chance utterance of his indicated [*shahada*] that he was a Muslim [*bi-l-islāmī*], but he denied it. So he was arrested [*u'tuqila*] and remained under arrest for a year until this time. The Sulṭān had him brought, he tempted him [*raghhibahu*], and he promised him wealth and clothing if he would remain Muslim [*'in baqiya 'ala l-islām*]. But he refused and said, 'I am nothing but a Christian, and in my Christianity I will die [*wa 'ala naṣrāniyatī 'amūtu*].' He said to him, 'Woe to you. You will speak the *shahādah* before me and go wherever you want, suit yourself [*iftadil bi-nafsika*].' He [Asad] said, 'This was never the case [*la kāna hadha abadān*].'<sup>92</sup>

The sulṭān left Asad in prison until Epiphany (*al-ghitās*), when he 'ordered him beheaded.' Then the governor of Cairo (*wālī al-qāhirah*) 'offered him Islam' one more time, and once he refused (*imtana'a*), a slave stabbed him, cut off his head, and they hanged his torso (*badanahu*) upon Bāb al-Zuwaylah, the southern gate of Cairo.<sup>93</sup> Though the martyrdom of Asad is much briefer than *J.Phan.*, the two accounts even agree in the details of the execution process, including the delays, second chances, the piercing and beheading, and the hanging of the beheaded body.<sup>94</sup> Just as the sulṭān in *J.Phan.* commanded his entourage to 'finish' the execution (ⲬⲠⲕ), so Asad in his martyrdom said to his executioners, 'finish me!' (*unjuzūmī*) and 'it is finished' (*kamala*).<sup>95</sup>

A difference of detail between *J.Phan.* and the martyrdom of Asad may point to one of the deepest motives for the sulṭān's restraint in dealing with apostates: maintaining order. According to *J.Phan.*, once al-Malik al-Kāmil exhausted his efforts to dissuade John of Phanijōit from publicly proclaiming his re-conversion to Christianity, the sulṭān consulted both with his chief judge and his chief shaykh about how to proceed. The judge suggests that John 'be burned alive unless he converts.' But the chief shaykh (ⲚⲓⲡⲏⲒⲈⲘⲘⲟ ⲚⲓⲡⲏⲒⲈⲘⲘⲟ) reminds him of the ḥadīth stating that 'burning with fire is God's alone.'<sup>96</sup> The appearance in a Coptic text of this concern for proper procedure according to Islamic *sharī'ah* lends authenticity to the account. The relevant ḥadīth states:

<sup>92</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 4, part 1; p. 40, f. 296<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 19, l.23–27)

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41, f. 296<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 19, l.27–p. 20, l.5).

<sup>94</sup> See *J.Phan.*, f. 51<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>v</sup> (§98–118).

<sup>95</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 52<sup>r</sup>, l. 22 (§106). *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 4, part 1; p. 40, f. 296<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 20, l.2, 3).

<sup>96</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 51<sup>r</sup>, l.27–32 (§98).

‘Alī burned people, who deflected [sic] from Islam. As this news reached Ibn ‘Abbās he said: ‘I would not have burned them in fire, because God’s Messenger said: “Do not punish with God’s punishments.” I had killed them according to the words of God’s Messenger. Because the Messenger of God said: “You shall kill him, who changes his religion.”’<sup>97</sup>

The appropriate form of execution, according to another ḥadīth, is to ‘chop off the head [*‘unqahu*] of him who changes his religion.’<sup>98</sup> The word Griffel translates as ‘head’ (*‘unuqun*) is the same word used in the *AHPA* account of Asad when the executioner tells him: ‘stick out your neck [*‘unqaka*].’<sup>99</sup> But unlike *J.Phan.*, the *AHPA* states that three days after the decapitation and hanging of Asad, ‘they’ (presumably crowds) took his body out of the city and tried to burn it. They did not use enough fuel, and in the meantime the Christians received permission from the wālī of Cairo to take the body and bury it, in a Melkite church in the ‘Roman quarter [*ḥārati l-rūm*].’<sup>100</sup> Rulers sought both to uphold the *sharī‘ah*, and to avoid such fanatical uprisings from any groups. That is why the chief judge in *J.Phan.* ‘ordered that they keep watch over the body’ of John, once Muslims had attacked it and Christians had already picked it for relics.<sup>101</sup>

Accounts like the martyrdom of Asad and *J.Phan.* attest to the tensions correlated with the Copts’ status as a subjugated group. These martyrdoms and their accompanying descriptions of violence show only the flashpoints of intercommunal tensions that surface in times of crisis, tensions that at other times linger as a mood of uncertainty and vulnerability in the face of Others. *J.Phan.* suggests that there was acute identity crisis for the community of John. The martyrdoms examined here relate conversion stories that convey more than one lesson; they can appear as anti-conversions, incomplete conversions (conversions gone bad), or conversions *qua* civil disobedience. All these social lessons offer Copts programs, or models, for authenticating their reli-

<sup>97</sup> Translated by Frank Griffel, ‘Toleration and Exclusion: al-Shāfi‘ī and al-Ghazālī on the Treatment of Apostates,’ *Bulletin of SOAS* 64 (2001): 339–354, p. 341, note 12. He quotes from Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan fī l-ḥadīth*, vol. 4, ed. M. ‘A. al-Sūr, (Homs: Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Sayyid, 1969–1974), p. 521, *ḥudūd* 1.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* This ḥadīth derives from M.F. ‘Abd al-Bāqī, ed., Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwattā’*, recension of Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī (Cairo: Kitāb al-Sha‘ab, n.d.), p. 453, *aqḍiya* 18.

<sup>99</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 4, part 1; p. 41, f. 296<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 20, l.4).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41, f. 296<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p.20, l.9).

<sup>101</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 53<sup>r</sup>, l.34 – f. 53<sup>v</sup>, l.2 (§ 118).

gious identity in the face of the dominant Islamicate society. While John of Phanijōit verges on pursuing martyrdom *à la* the Martyrs of Cordoba, the story of Asad sounds more like entrapment. In this period many Copts must have felt trapped. *J.Phan.*'s description of the village of Pepleu paints a dark picture of identity confusion among apostates. Some incentives (apparently sex, for John) were enticing 'many men [ΖΑΝΗΘΥ ΔΕ ΝΡΩΜΙ] from his village' to 'become Muslims' and later repent.<sup>102</sup> *J.Phan.* shows that there was a significant group of Copts who thought of their religious status as inauthentic. At least there were enough of them in a liminal state of faith—neither exclusively Muslim nor exclusively Christian—to build the reputation of Pepleu as a place of refuge, where the governor would 'forgive no one who would do evil to them.'<sup>103</sup> And this process of converting to Islam and soon turning back to Christianity seems to have happened in the early years of Saladin's reign. Before the prayers of Mark III had resulted in the change of Saladin's heart (noted above), the churches were under pressure of the Muslim populace.

At that time, the rabble of the Muslims [*'awbāsh al-muslimān*] were emboldened against them; they debased them, they arrayed against some of the churches in the cities and towns, and they destroyed them. The people underwent great hardship [*mashaqqata l-'aīmati*] to the point that a group [*jamā'ah*] of the scribes of old Cairo and Cairo left their religion and denied their Christ [*wa jahadū masīḥahum*].<sup>104</sup>

Once Saladin's heart changed, the text reads as if the scribes had returned to their faith, accompanying Saladin 'on his campaigns' and receiving 'wealth, dignity, an influential word, and power.'<sup>105</sup> The text leaves the impression that either, 1) their conversions were acknowledged by the administration as under duress, and therefore nullified, or, 2) the text is only using hyperbole when recounting 'conversions.' Either way, the *AHPA* and *J.Phan.* reveal an uncertainty and instability in the religious identity of some Copts.

Simply being part of an ethnically mixed polity such as Cairo led to a heightened sense of identity differences and a sense of vulnerability. Competing subjugated groups vied for positions among the ruling Muslims, and were sometimes caught in intrigue and suspicion. One exam-

<sup>102</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.8–10 (§35).

<sup>103</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.19, 20 (§36).

<sup>104</sup> *AHPA*, Khater and Burmester, eds., trans., vol. 3, part 2; pp. 164, 165, f. 219<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 97, l.16–19).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165, f. 219<sup>r</sup> (Ar. p. 97, l.23 and p. 98, l.2, respectively).

ple from the mid-thirteenth century demonstrates the instability created by intercommunal distrust. Al-Maqrīzī records a fire in Cairo that was blamed on the Christians. The passage states that ‘in 663 [AD1264] the Bāṭiliyyah [Berber] district caught fire at the time of many fires in Cairo and old Cairo, and the Christians were suspected of doing it [*wa uttuhima al-naṣārā bi-fi’li dhalika*].’<sup>106</sup> In connection with *J.Phan.*, it is possible that the *kathēchoumenitēs* (ΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ) listed in John’s first judgment scene were Berber mercenaries or slave troops who may have been inhabitants of the quarter that later burned.<sup>107</sup> The incident ignited intercommunal tensions. The ruler, al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 1260–1277) gathered the Christians and made preparations to burn them. The ‘amīr made an offer to intervene for the Christians, but their refusal of his terms provoked him to humiliate them through their known discord with the Jews.

The ‘Amīr Fāris al-Dīn ... interceded for them on the condition that they bear the cost of what was burned, and that they deliver fifty-thousand dīnār to the treasury [*bayti l-mālī*], but they refused [*fa-tarakū*]. What follows makes the story appealing [*jarā fi dhalika mā tastaḥsinu hikāyatuhu*]: He had gathered with the Christians all of the Jews [*sā’ir al-yahūdī*] and the sulṭān made ready to burn them outside of Cairo. The people gathered from everywhere to take revenge by burning them ... for what was lost in the burning of the places, especially the Bāṭiliyyah, for fire had completely destroyed it until it was burnt. When the sulṭān was ready and had set forth the Jews and Christians to be burned, Bar Zāban al-Kāzirūni the Jew ... said to the sulṭān, ‘I ask you by God, do not burn us with those accursed dogs, our enemies and yours. Burn us in our district by ourselves [*iḥriqnā nāḥiyyata waḥdanā*].’ The sulṭān and the princes laughed ... and he commissioned the expropriation of the cost [of rebuilding] from them.<sup>108</sup>

This example illustrates how rulers (and chroniclers) can make sport of the competition between subjugated groups. Despite the sarcastic

<sup>106</sup> al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 8. My trans.

<sup>107</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l.12, l.13 (§60). MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 65. MacCoull claims they are ‘barbarians’ (ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ) and, combined with ΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ, the term ‘clearly means foreign mercenaries,’ though she offers no source. The word ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ in this later, Arabic context poses translation problems because the Arabic *al-barbar* means both ‘Berber’ and ‘barbarian.’ See Chapters Two and Three for more on this issue. See also Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–84. There certainly were Berber tribes that served as ‘foreign mercenaries’ at least for the earlier Fāṭimid empire, which recruited the Bāṭiliyyah. See B.J. Beshir, ‘Fatimid Military Organization,’ *Der Islam* 55 (1978): 37–56, pp. 37–39.

<sup>108</sup> al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 8, l.24–31.

comment that the chronicler inserted in the mouth of the Jew Bar Zāban, his role in approaching the sultān is the same as that of the Coptic physician Abū Shākir in *J.Phan.* Such lay leaders, who gained influence in government, could be a great asset to their community, and to the administration, for defusing intercommunal tensions.

The Coptic physician Abū Shākir had apparently won the trust of al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil. The role that the Coptic court physician plays in *J.Phan.* is consistent with a trend in the Islamicate world of relying upon non-Muslims for medical services.<sup>109</sup> Nearly a century after *J.Phan.*, the writer Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 1329), who ‘appears to have been an Egyptian,’<sup>110</sup> complained that although the practice of medicine (*al-ṭibb*)

is a duty for the collective Islamic community [*min furūḍi l-kifāyati*], yet there is no Muslim to fulfill it! In many towns there are no physicians except those from the free non-Muslim peoples [*illā min ’ahl al-dhimmati*]<sup>111</sup>

The great Muslim biographer of physicians Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa (c. 1194–1270) corroborates the importance that *J.Phan.* bestows upon the Copt Abū Shākir. Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa states that al-Malik al-ʿĀdil used Abū Shākir ‘in the service of his son al-Malik al-Kāmil; he remained in his service and enjoyed a very favorable position with him [*ḥaḏā ’indahu al-ḥaḏwata al-ʿaẓmāta*], and with him he became very influential.’ He even lived in the palace of Cairo with al-Kāmil’s family.<sup>112</sup> The mutual trust between Abū Shākir and al-Kāmil seems evident in the way *J.Phan.* portrays Abū Shākir balancing the concerns of the government with those of the Coptic community. He takes John of Phanijōit’s quest for religious authenticity seriously, as much as he tries to avoid a conflict with the civil authorities. First, he reinterprets what John considered blasphemy as a lie, in order to lighten the gravity of his conversion. When Abū Shākir sees John’s zeal, he concedes that there is great

<sup>109</sup> See Lawrence Conrad, ‘Ibn Buṭlān in Bilād al-Shām: The Career of a Travelling Christian Physician,’ in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David Thomas, (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

<sup>110</sup> See Reuben Levy, ed. *The Maʿālim al-Qurba fī Ahkām al-Ḥisba of Diyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Shāfiʿī, Known as Ibn al-Ukhuwwa*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1938), pp. xvi and xvii, for a very brief synopsis of sources for Ibn al-Ukhuwwa’s biography.

<sup>111</sup> Reuben Levy, ed., Arabic p. 166 (MS f. 75<sup>a</sup>, p. 204). For his English rendition, see pp. 56, 57. My translation benefits from those of Levy and the one printed in Lawrence Conrad, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn ʿabī Uṣaybiʿa. *ʿUyūn al-āmbāʿ fī ṭabaqāti l-āṭibāʿi*, ed. August Müller (Königsberg: Selbstverlag, 1884), p. 122, l.32 – p. 123, l.1–2, 6.

value in ‘sufferings and *tortures*,’ while still suggesting that he escape to Syria and avoid confrontation.<sup>113</sup> Abū Shākir’s loyalty to both sides was an important bond of trust that could not always broker a settlement between the ruling and the subjugated classes, especially in the late Crusader times of *J.Phan.* The forces of ill will were driven by suspicion and intercommunal fighting, such as in the example of the burning of the Bāṭiliyyah district. Later in that account, al-Maqrīzī reveals the alleged reason for which the Christians had set fire to the district, a reason that shows disloyalty to the Islamicate authorities: ‘The reason the Christians ignited this fire was their resentment [*hanaqahum*] when al-Zāhir took Arsūf, Caesarea, Ṭurāblus, Jaffa, and Antioch from the Franks.’<sup>114</sup> This suspicion of complicity with the enemy was an identity-shaping factor in *J.Phan.*’s time that helped foster assimilation, and consequently helped provoke the response that *J.Phan.* comprises.

That response reveals a community’s search for purification from the *mixing* of assimilation. The notion of mixing appears as a pattern in the Coptic literature surveyed in this study’s evaluation of *J.Phan.* Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqafa‘ blames doctrinal ignorance on ‘mixing with foreigners’ (*’ikhtilāḥuhum bi-’ajānibi*), the *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn* warns that the Arab nation of the *hijrah* would ‘mix up many nations with themselves’ (*yakhtalaṭu bihim ’umaman kathīratan*), and *J.Phan.* claims that both John and Philim fell through mixing (ΜΟΥΩΤ).<sup>115</sup> In its introductory section *J.Phan.* refers to the parable of the Prodigal Son, an archetype of conversion as mixing, that prefigures John of Phanijōit, and presumably a growing number of Copts in his time.<sup>116</sup> Leslie MacCoull mistakenly remarks that *J.Phan.*’s coupling of the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Lost Sheep is parallel to the ‘scripture lections read in the Coptic liturgy called the “Rite of the Jar”.’<sup>117</sup> By the fourteenth century Copts had developed this liturgy to be performed for restoring apostates in the church.<sup>118</sup> The liturgy’s New Testament lections actually include the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin. Nonetheless, this

<sup>113</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.23 – 45<sup>v</sup>, l.14 (§47–50), and f. 48<sup>r</sup>, l.15–17, 18–24 (§69), respectively.

<sup>114</sup> al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 8, l.32, 33.

<sup>115</sup> Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqafa‘, *op. cit.*, p. 10; *Apoc. Sam.* 21<sup>r</sup>, l.9; *J.Phan.*, 43<sup>v</sup>, l.2, 10, 12, and 51<sup>v</sup>, l.7.

<sup>116</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 40<sup>v</sup>, l.20–27 (§9).

<sup>117</sup> MacCoull, ‘Notes,’ *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>118</sup> L.S.B. MacCoull, ‘The Rite of the Jar: Apostasy and Reconciliation in the Medieval Coptic Orthodox Church,’ in *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Diane Wolfthal (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2000). MacCoull dates the Coptic and Arabic MS for this text to 1374/5 (p. 151).

liturgy offers an antidote for apostasy that is suited to the impurity and defilement that are inherent both in the parable of the Prodigal Son and *J.Phan.*

The Rite of the Jar is so called because it requires the filling of ‘a new jar [ΟΥΨΙΩ ΜΒΕΡΙ/*qidran jadīdan*] with water’ to be used in the purification ritual. In its title, the rite is prescribed particularly for people who have apostatized in sexual ways: ‘A *canon* that the teachers of the *church* have handed down concerning one who has denied the faith [ΑΡΧΕΛΗ ΠΙΝΑΖΤ/*jahada al-ʾimāna*], or who has polluted his *flesh* with an unbeliever [ΑΦΩΘΗΕΜ ΝΤΕΦCΑΡΞ ΝΕΜΟΥΑΘΝΑΖΤ/*najasa jasadahu maʿa ghayri muʾminin*].<sup>119</sup> In one of the prayers the priest asks for freedom for the apostate, ‘if he polluted his *flesh* with an unbeliever.’<sup>120</sup> Near the end of the liturgy, the language of the Rite of the Jar expresses the Coptic response to assimilation as moral failure that is consistent with *J.Phan.*’s view of apostasy: ‘Free us from all *conscience* of defilement [CΥΝΕΙΔΗCIC ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΤΕΠΩΛΕΒ/*kulli niyyatin dansatin*], wipe clean the record of our sins, save us through fear of you [ΕΒΟΛ ΗΕΝΤΕΚΖΟΤ/*bi-khawefika*], so that from now on we may be strong with your help.’<sup>121</sup> *J.Phan.* offers no hints that John benefitted from this ritual. On the contrary, the text states that he migrated to a political jurisdiction whose *governor* (ΠΕCΕΖΟΥCΙΑCΤΗC) offered refuge to apostates; then he expressly refused to seek counsel from the *Patriarch*, and instead drew his wisdom from the ‘Christ-loving elder and wise one, namely Abū Shākir the physician of al-Malik al-Kāmil.’<sup>122</sup> Perhaps the early thirteenth-century Coptic Church had not yet adopted this rite of restoration, the moral ideals of which John’s quest for purificatory martyrdom epitomizes.

<sup>119</sup> Raphael Tuki, ΠΙΜΕΡΟC ΠΗΛΑCΤΗC ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ (*The Second Part of the Euchologion*) (Rome, 1761), p. 462. My translation generally follows that of Leslie MacCoull, ‘Rite,’ *op. cit.*, pp. 147–150.

<sup>120</sup> Tuki, *Euchologion* II, *op. cit.*, p. 468, l.12–15. MacCoull, ‘Rite,’ *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>121</sup> Tuki, *Euchologion* II, *op. cit.*, p. 475, l. 25–30. MacCoull, ‘Rite,’ *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>122</sup> *J.Phan.*, f. 44<sup>r</sup>, l.13 (§35), and f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l.5–17 (§44, 45).

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## BIBLICAL INDEX

Keyed to Edition/Translation Segment Numbers

<i>Job</i>		9:20	133
14:7–10	6	10:23	50
		10:41, 42	131
<i>Psalms</i>		11:28–30	5
7:15	33	13:45, 46	15
21:17	75	18:12–14	10
36:35	24	20:6–9	7
38:4	40	22:11–14	16
38:6	38	25:14–30	14
68:13	85		
105:35	32	<i>Mark</i>	
114:7	30	8:38	25
117:16–18	4	9:41	131
118:114	19		
118:124	19	<i>Luke</i>	
127:3	6	8:44	133
149:1	24	9:26	25
		13:6–9	33
<i>Song of Songs</i>		13:31	67
2:1, 2	20	15:4–7	10
		15:11–20	9
<i>Isaiah</i>		21:34	34
8:12	26		
42:8, 12	84	<i>John</i>	
53:7	100	1:47	13
<i>Hosea</i>		<i>Acts</i>	
14:6–8	6	2:9–11	92
<i>Tobit</i>		<i>Romans</i>	
8:16	19	13:14	34
<i>Sirach</i>		<i>II Corinthians</i>	
51:2	19	6:2	19
<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Galatians</i>	
6:13	47	3:13	132

*Colossians*

1:26 38

*James*

1:15 33

1:25, 2:12 22

*I Peter*

2:11 34

3:14, 15 27

*II Peter*

1:19 11

*Revelation*

19:9 17

*I Clement*

14:5 24

## COPTIC INDEX

Including Arabic and Greek Loanwords and Proper Nouns  
Keyed to Edition/Translation Segment Numbers

- ΑΒΒΑ**, 109, 130  
**ἄβωτ**, 1, 130, 138  
**ἄΓΑΘΟΣ(Ν)**, 5, 57, 79  
**ἄΓΑΠΗ**, 52  
**ἄΓΙΟΣ**, 1, 26, 28, 52–55, 57, 58, 77,  
     81, 88, 97, 105, 108, 109, 114, 116,  
     118, 122, 125, 127–130, 133, 138  
**ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ**, 22, 25, 29, 56  
**ἄΓΩΝ**, 109  
**ἄΓΩΝΟΕΤΗΣ**, 24, 108  
**ἄΓΑΡΙΝΝΕΟΣ**, 31  
**ἄΓΟΡΕΟΣ**, 85, 111  
**ἄΔΙΚΙΑ**, 64  
**ἄΔΑΜ**, 132  
**ἄΗΡ**, 111  
**ἄΘΛΙΤΗΣ**, 70  
**ἄΘΛῶ**, 92  
**ἄΛΗ**, 120  
**ἄΛΗΘΙΝΟΣ(Ν)**, 5, 15  
**ἄΛΗΘΩΣ**, 7, 9, 26  
**ἄΛΚΕ**, 58  
**ἄΛΟΛΙ**, **ΒΩ** **ἄ-ἄΛΟΛΙ**, 12  
**ἄΛΩΜ**, 88  
**ἄΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ**, 109  
**ἄΛΟΥ**, **ἄΛΦΟΥΙ**, 37, 73  
**ἄΜΕΛΕΣ**, **ΧΙΝ-ἄΜΕΛΕΣ**, 40  
**ἄΜΗΝ**, 1, 18, 50, 57, 131, 137, 138  
**ἄΜΟΝΙ**, 48, 61, 66, 75, 133  
**ἄΜΩΝΙ**, *see* **ἰ**  
**ἄΝΑΙ**, **Ρ-ἄΝΑ**, 17  
     **ΜΕΘ-Ρ-ἄΝΑ**, 77  
**ἄΝΟΜΙΑ**, 32, 33, 63  
**ἄΞΙΩΜΑ**, 67, 127  
**ἄΞΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ**, 125  
**ἄΦΕ**, 76, 94, 99, 107, 114, 115, 117  
**ἄΠΟΚΡΗΣΙΣ**, 62  
**ἄΠΛΩΣ**, 92  
**ἄΠΑΞ**, 92  
**ἄΠΑΡΧΗ**, 134  
**ἄΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ**, 58  
**ἄΦΟΤ**, 130  
**ἄΡΑΒΟΣ**, 1, 31, 34, 92  
**ἄΡΩΜΑΤΑ**, 19  
**ἄΡΟΥΣ**, 54, 56  
**ἄΡΙΣΤΟΝ**, 17  
**ἄΡΕΤΗ**, 84  
**ἄΡΗΟΥ**, 48, 64, 65, 67, 93, 99  
**ἈΡΧΗ**, 46, 60  
**ἈΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ**, 109  
**ἈΡΧΗΘΙΤΗΣ**, 52  
**ἈΡΧΗΚΡΙΤΗΣ**, 76, 98, 105, 118, 122  
**ἈΡΧΩΝ**, 27, 123  
**ἈΡΧΕΟΣ**, 52  
**ἈΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΑΤΗΣ**, 125  
**ἈΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ**, 65  
**ἄΡΕΖ**, 33, 35, 65, 72, 73  
     **ΡΕϞ-ἄΡΕΖ**, 75, 84  
     **ΧΙΝ-ΘΡ-ἄΡΕΖ**, 83  
**ἈΣΟ**, **†-ἄΣΟ**, 84  
**ἈΣΠΑΣΕΣΘΕ**, **ΕΡ-ἈΣΠΑΣΕΣΘΕ**, 58  
**ἈΙΤΙΑ**, *see* **ἔΤΙΑ**  
**ἈΙΤΕΙΝ**, *see* **ἔΤΙΝ**, **ΕΡ-ἔΤΙΝ**  
**ἈΥΛΗ**, **ἈΥΛΗΟΥ**, 5, 59, 85  
**ἄΩ**, 94  
**ἄΩΑΙ**, **ΩΦ\***, 61, 77, 101  
**ἄΩΨΗΣ**, 123  
**ἈΧΠ**, 1, 7, 109, 120  
**ἈΘΝΙ**  
     **ἈΤ-ἈΘΝΙ**, 16  
**ΒΩ**, 6, 33  
     *see also* **ἄΛΟΛΙ**  
**ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ**, 31, 40  
**ΒΟΨΘΟΣ**, 19

- ΒΩΚ**, 14, 28, 70, 92, 130  
**ΒΑΚΙ**, 49, 50  
**ΒΟΚΙ**  
   **ΕΡ-ΒΟΚΙ**, 33  
**ΒΑΛ**, 99, 102, 127  
**ΒΗΜΑ**, 133  
**ΒΩΝ**, 19, 75  
   *see* **СΘΟΙ** *and* **ΧΩΧ**  
**ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ**, 5  
**ΒΕΡΙ**, 1, 5, 6, 22–24, 26  
**ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ**, 60, 92, 122  
**ΒΕΡΤ**, 20  
**ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ**, 57, 69  
**ΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, 34  
**ΒΕΧΕ**, 7, 130, 131  
**ΒΑΨΙ**, 122  
**ΒΩΖΕΜ**, 52  
  
**ΓΕΝΝΕΟΣ**, 5, 28  
**ΓΕΝΟΣ**, 122  
**ΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**, *see* **ΚΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**  
**ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ**, 52–56  
**ΓΡΑΦΗ**, 47  
  
**ΔΙΑΚΩΝ**, 32  
**ΔΙΚΕΟΣ**, 20  
**ΔΙΚΕΩΣΥΝΗ**, 64  
**ΔΟΛΟΣ**, 13  
**ΔΙΜΩΡΙΑ** (*i.e.* **ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ**), 57  
**ΔΙΜΩΡΙΤΗΣ** (*i.e.* **ΤΙΜΩΡΗΤΗΣ**), 30  
**ΔΑΜΑΣΚΟΣ**, 30  
**ΔΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ, ΤΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ**, 76, 77  
**ΔΑΞΙC (ΤΑΞΙC)**, 62  
**ΔΑΥΙΔ**, 2, 23, 30, 74  
  
**ΕΒΔΟΜΑC, ΕΒΔΩΜΑC**, 84  
**ΕΡ-ΕΒΔΩΜΑC**, 51  
**ΕΒΗΝ**, 138  
**ΜΕΤ-ΕΒΗΝ**, 130  
**ΕΒΨΙ**, *see* **ΩΒΨ**  
**ΕΖΖΕΙΘΟΥΝ**, 94  
**ΕΘΝΟC**, 32, 34, 48, 49  
**ΕΘΑΨ**, *see* **ΛΘΑΨ**  
**ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ**, 18, 24, 28, 44, 53  
**ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑCΤΙΚΟΝ**, 23  
**ΕΛΆΤΕΛ**, 1, 76, 94  
**ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC**  
  
**ΜΕΤ-Ν-ΕΛΕΥΤΗΕΡΟC**, 22  
**ΕΛΧΕΜΕΛ, ΕΛΧΕΜΗΛ**, 1, 40, 45, 61, 66, 92  
**ΕΜΙ**, 47, 48, 69, 98, 124, 129  
**ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ**, 15  
**ΕΜΕΝΤ, CΑ-ΜΕΝΤ**, 53  
**ΕΜΠΨΑ, ΑΤ-ΕΜΠΨΑ**, 130  
**ΕΜΑΨΩ**, 48, 52, 125  
**ΕΝΤΗΧ**, 21  
**ΕΝΕΖ**, 18, 57, 126, 137  
**ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ**, 27  
**ΕΞΟΥCΙΑCΤΗC**, 35  
**ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ, ΕΠΤΙΜΙΑ**, 32, 82  
**ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC**, 130  
**ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟC**, 7  
**ΕΠΟΥΠΑΚΡ**, 109  
**ΕΠΟΥΨΕΧΕΡ**, 45, 67  
**ΕΡΓΑΤΗC**, 7, 8  
**ΕΡΑΙΟΥ**, *see* **ΙΡΙ**  
**ΕΡΟΦΑΛΤΗC**, 2, 30  
**ΕCΩΟΥ**, 10, 28, 100  
   **ΜΑ-Ν-ΕCΩΟΥ**, 10  
**ΕΤΙΑ** (**ΔΙΤΙΑ**), 62  
**ΕΘΕ ΧΕ**, 17, 32  
**ΕΤΗΜΑ**, 37  
**ΕΤΙΝ, ΕΡ-ΕΤΙΝ**, 41, 114  
**ΕΤΨΩ, ΕΤΨΟΥΙ**, 5  
**ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ**, 5, 25, 28, 49  
**ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC**, 130  
**ΕΥΧΗ**, 69, 134  
**ΕΦΛΗΟΥ**, 38, 126  
**ΕΧΜΑΛΩΤΟC**, 114, 130  
**ΕΖΝΕ-, ΕΖΝΑ**, 76  
**ΕΖΟΤΕ**, 24, 28, 127  
**ΕΖΟΟΥ**, 1, 2, 5, 6, 18, 24, 51, 52, 59, 65, 68, 82, 84, 92, 109, 111, 120, 122, 130, 133  
   **ΗΦΟΟΥ**, 28  
   **ΨΑ-ΦΟΟΥ**, 122  
**ΕΧΗΟΥ**, *see* **ΧΟΙ**  
  
**ΗΡΠ**, 85  
**ΗCΙΑC**, 99  
**ΗCΙΧΙΑ**, 99  
  
**ΘΨΛΕΒ, ΑΤ-ΘΨΛΕΒ**, 16  
**ΘΡΟΝΟC**, 1, 109, 123

- ΘΕ̅ΟΔΟΚΟΣ**, 59  
**ΘΕ̅ΩΡΙΝ**, **ΕΡ-ΘΕ̅ΩΡΙΝ**, 110, 122  
*ī*, 7, 25, 44, 50, 55, 58, 59, 66, 79, 87,  
 114, 118, 121, 122, 129  
**ΝΗΟΥ\***, 64, 120, 122, 123, 126  
**ΛΜΟΥ**, **ΛΜΩΙΝΙ**, 5, 18, 76, 123  
**ΙΑ**, **ΙΑΤ**ⲗ, **ΩΟΥ-Ν-ΙΑΤ**ⲗ, 58, 69  
**ΝΑΙΑΤ**ⲗ, 51, 101, 130  
**ΙΩΒ**, 109  
**ΙΕΒΤ**, 105  
**Ι̅ΑΗ̅Ι** (**ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ**), 110  
**ΙΟΜ**, 128, 129  
**Ι̅ΝΙ**, 19–21, 52, 62, 84, 121  
**ΕΝ**ⲗ, 75, 85, 88, 91, 100, 103  
**ΝΤ**ⲗ, 47  
**ΑΝΙΟΥ̅Ι**, 90  
**ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ**, 1, 6, 24, 26–28, 32, 33, 37,  
 38, 43, 44, 51, 54, 55, 57, 62, 67,  
 70, 73, 76, 77, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92–  
 94, 97, 101, 105, 109, 125, 127–130,  
 133, 138  
**Ι̅ΑΡΟ**, 1, 53, 84, 109, 123  
**Ι̅ΡΙ**, 3, 19, 52, 58, 77, 79, 127  
**ΛΙ(Τ)**ⲗ, 51, 55, 113, 118, 132  
**ΟΙ\***, 25, 67  
**ΕΡΑΙΟΥ**, 42  
**ΑΡΙ-**, 98  
**ΙΩΡΕΜ**, 8  
**ΕΙΡΗΝΗ**, *see* **ΖΙΡΗΝΗ**  
**Ι̅ΗΣ** (**ΙΗΣΟΥΣ**), 5, 17, 18, 22, 28, 37, 41,  
 43, 51, 57, 59, 63, 70, 81, 86, 102,  
 104, 105, 132, 135  
**ΙΩΣ**, **Ι̅ΗΣ\***, 107  
**ϣΕΝ-ΟΥ-Ι̅ΗΣ\***, 7  
**Ι̅ΣΛ** (**ΙΣΡΑΗΛ**), 23, 50, 120  
**ΙΣΜΑΗΛΙΤΗΣ**, 31, 32  
**ΙΩΣΗΦ**, 31, 109  
**ΙΣΡΑ̅Η̅ΛΙΤΗΣ**, 13  
**ΙΩΤ**, **ΙΟΥ**ⲗ, 9, 18, 25, 51, 56, 57, 76, 94,  
 98, 109, 123, 132, 134, 136  
**ΙΩΙ**, **ΑΩ**ⲗ, 113  
**ΛΩΙ\***, 107, 123  
  
**ΚΕ**, **ΚΕΧΩΟΥΝΙ**, 102, 112, 119, 122,  
 123, 126  
**ΚΩΒ**, **ΚΗΒ\***, 14, 56  
**ΚΑΔΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΣ**, 31  
**ΚΑΘΕΔΡΟΣ**, 80  
**ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ**, 28  
**ΚΑΘΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ**, 16  
**ΚΩΚ**, **ΚΟΚΣ**, 116  
**ΚΑΚΙΑ**, 13  
**ΚΟΚΕΛ**, 112  
**ΚΑΛΑΚΙΑ**, 73  
**ΚΛΑΜΙΣ**, 112  
**ΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ**, 54  
**ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ**, 21  
**ΚΑΛΩΣ**, 25, 40, 41, 130  
**ΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ**, **ΕΡ-ΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ**, 84, 113, 118  
**ΚΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ**, 106  
**ΚΗΝ**, 68, 80, 125, 127, 133  
**ΚΕΝΤΕ**, 33  
**ΚΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**, **ΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**, 65–67, 72,  
 73, 82, 83, 85, 88, 89, 92  
**ΜΑ-Ν̅-ΝΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ**, 67  
**ΚΥΡΙΓΜΑ**, 66  
**ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ**, **ΚΗΡΙΑΚΗ**, 52, 126  
**ΚΡΙΝΟΝ**, 6  
**ΚΑΡΠΟΣ**, 21  
**ΚΕΡΟΣ** (**ΚΑΙΡΟΣ**), 130  
**ΚΥΡΙΟΣ**, **ΚΙΡΙΣ**, 85  
**ΚΡΑΤΟΣ**, 79  
**ΚΩΡϢ**, **ΚΕΡϢ-**, 33  
**ΚΩΡΧ**, **ΚΟΡΧ**ⲗ, 33  
**ΚΑΣΔΡΟΝ**, 75  
**ΚΟΣΜΟΣ**, 38, 132  
**ΚΑΤΑ**, 19, 22, 26, 28, 32, 38, 49, 52,  
 74, 82, 85, 94, 99, 106  
**ΚΑΤ**ⲗ, 67, 102  
**ΑΤ-ΚΑΤ**ⲗ, 67  
**ΚΩΤ**ⲗ, 15, 44, 75  
**ΚΟΤ**ⲗ, 30  
**ΚΑΘΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΙΤΗΣ**, 60, 76, 92  
**ΚΑΦ**, 117  
**ΚΕΦΡΩΜΙ**, **ΡΕΜ-ΚΕΦΡΩΜΙ**, 51  
**ΚΑΖΙ**, 33, 49, 92  
**ΡΕΜ-Ν̅(Π)-ΚΑΖΙ**, 30, 133  
**ΚΟΥΧΙ**, 42, 53, 67, 73, 88, 92, 130, 134  
  
**ΛΙΒΙ**, 64, 65  
**ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ**, 24  
**ΛΟΓΙΚΗ**, 28  
**ΛΟΓΧΗ**, 117



- ΛΩΚΣ, ΛΟΚΣ**, 117  
**ΛΟΚΣ**, 103  
**ΛΟΚΟΧΙ**, 94  
**ΛΑΜΠΑΣ**, 121  
**ΛΟΙΜΟΣ, ΕΡ-ΛΟΙΜΟΣ**, 85  
**ΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ**, 32, 121, 122  
**ΕΡ-ΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ**, 76, 109  
**ΛΕΝΓΙ**, 99, 112  
**ΛΑΟΣ**, 28, 34  
**ΛΑΥΡΑ**, 32  
**ΛΑΖΜΙ**, *see* ΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ, 35
- ΜΑ**, 11, 67, 87, 88, 113, 120, 122, 129, 134  
**ΜΑΙ**, 19, 45  
**ΜΑ-Ḳ̅-ΘΩΟΥ†-Ḳ̅-ΝΙ-ΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ**, 87  
*see also compounds*
- ΜΕΙ**, 8, 35  
**ΜΕΝΡΙΤ, ΜΕΝΡΑ†**, 5, 28, 110, 133  
**ΜΑΜΕΝΡΑ†**, 2, 23  
**ΜΗΙ**, 13, 17, 24, 25  
**ΑΝΑ(ΩΝΙ)-ΜΗΙ**, 15  
**ΘΜΗΙ**, 28, 33, 37, 43, 44, 54, 62, 66, 67, 75, 76, 83, 84, 130  
**ΜΕΘ-ΜΗΙ**, 51, 124, 130  
**ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ**, 130  
**ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ**, 45, 54, 62, 67, 73, 77, 84, 86, 93, 95, 99, 109, 123  
**Ḳ̅ΚΑΖ, ΕΡ-Ḳ̅ΚΑΖ**, 73  
**Ḳ̅ΚΑΖ-Ḳ̅-ΖΗΤ**, 39, 52  
**ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ**, 21, 32, 36, 92, 130, 133  
**ΜΕΛΕΤΟΝ**, 52  
**ΕΡ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑΝ**, 105  
**ΡΕϞ-ΕΡ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑΝ**, 92  
**ΜΟΥΛΖ, ΜΟΛΖ**, 121  
**ΜΗΝ**, 38, 75, 83–86, 95  
**ΜΗΝΙ**, 21  
**†-ΜΗΝΙ**, 59  
**ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ**, 18, 57, 132  
**ΜΟΥΝΑΧΟΣ**, 43  
**ΕΡ-ΜΟΥΝΑΧΟΣ**, 123  
**ΜΟΥΡ**, 59  
**ΑΤ-ΜΗΡ\***, 85  
**ΜΑΡΜΑΡ**, 115  
**ΜΑΡΙ**, 89  
**ΜΕΡΙ**, 37
- ΜΑΡΙΑ**, 59  
**ΜΑΡΚΟΣ**, 32, 58, 109, 130  
**ΜΕΡΟΣ**, 99  
**ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ, ΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΑ**, 1, 52, 138  
**ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ**, 24  
**ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ**, 1, 28, 52, 90, 92, 108, 109, 121, 123, 129, 130, 138  
**ΕΡ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ**, 66, 85  
**ΨΟΡΠ-Ḳ̅-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ**, 131  
**ΜΑΣ**, 92, 107  
**ΜΙΣΙ**, 33, 59  
**ΜΟΣ†**, 21, 49  
**ΜΑΣΤΕ-**, 34  
**ΜΑΣΤΙΓΞ**, 30  
**ΜΙΣΤΡΑΜ**, 66  
**ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ**, 38  
**ΜΩΙΤ**, 32, 76  
**ΜΟΥΤ**, 107  
**ΜΘΟ, Ḳ̅ΠΣ(Ϟ)ΜΘΟ**, 14, 16, 27, 38, 48, 75, 76, 92, 101, 114, 120, 133  
**ΜΗ†**, 49, 61  
**Ḳ̅ΕΝ-Θ-ΜΗ†**, 19–21, 62, 85, 91  
**ΜΟΥ†**, 66, 72, 99, 126  
**ΡΕϞ-ΜΟΥ†**, 92, 111  
**ΜΑΤΟΙ**, 92, 103, 105, 114, 128  
**ΜΑΣ-ΜΑΤΟΙ**, 92  
**Ḳ̅ΤΟΝ**, 5  
**ΜΑ-Ν(Ε)-ΜΤΟΝ**, 30, 110  
**ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ(Ν)**, 28, 29  
**ΕΡ-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΝ**, 28  
**ΜΕΘΡΕ, ΜΕΘΡΕΥ**, 51  
**ΕΡ-ΜΕΘΡΕ**, 119, 122–124  
**ΜΕΤ-ΜΕΘΡΕ**, 120  
**ΜΟΥ**, 3, 4, 9, 32, 33, 37, 40, 41, 43, 45, 51, 57, 70, 81, 103, 104  
**ΜΩΟΥ**, 130  
**ΜΕΥΙ**, 6, 55, 76, 132  
**ΕΡ-Φ-ΜΕΥΙ**, 123  
**ΜΑΦΡΗΨ**, 127  
**ΜΗΧΑΝΑ**, 130  
**ΜΗΨ**, 19, 34, 35, 49, 52, 54, 61, 70, 90, 91, 101, 103, 108–110, 117, 122, 124  
**ΜΑΨΕ, ΜΟΨΕ, ΜΟΨΙ**, 44, 49, 67, 85, 128  
**ΧΙΝ-ΜΟΨΙ**, 88  
**ΜΑΨΩ**, *see* Ḳ̅ΜΑΨΩ

- ΜΟΥΨΤ**, *visit*  
**ΜΕΨΤ-**, 50  
**ΜΟΥΨΤ**, *mix*, 32, 98  
**ΜΟΥΖ**, 93, 111  
**ΜΑΖ-**, 82, 84, 109  
**ΜΑΖ**, 127  
**ΜΑΖΙ**, 42  
**ΡΕϞ-†-ΜΑΖΙ**, 32  
**ΜΟΥΖΑΜΜΕΤ**, 109  
**ΜΟΥΧΤ**, *see* **ΜΟΥΨΤ**
- ΝΑΙ**, 19, 30, 69, 79, 130  
**ΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΝΑΙ**, 133  
**ΝΟΥΒ**, 97, 122  
**ΝΟΒΙ**, 77, 130, 132  
**ΜΑ-Ñ-ΧΑ-ΝΟΒΙ**, 134  
**ΡΕϞ-ΕΡ-ΝΟΒΙ**, 9, 20, 25, 28, 29, 132  
**ΝΙΒΕΝ**, 18, 19, 35, 38, 47, 136, 137  
**ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ**, 5, 18, 35, 51, 55, 103, 120  
**ΝΩΙΚ**, 25, 32, 34  
**ÑΚΟΤ**, 125, 127  
**ΝΑΚΖΙ**, †-**ΝΑΚΖΙ**, 33  
**ΝΟΜΟΣ**, 22, 132  
**ΝΟΜ†**, 71  
**ΡΕϞ-†-ΝΟΜ†**, 19  
**ΝΑΝΕ**, 77  
**ΕΘΝΑΝΕ**, 5, 14, 28  
**ΕΡ-ΠΕΘΝΑΝΕ**, 30  
**ΝΟΠΙΟΣ**, 92  
**ΝΟΥС**, 37, 102, 126  
**ΛΘ-ΝΟΥС**, 72  
**ΝΗΣОС**, 121  
**ΝΗΣΤΙΑ**, 38, 69  
**ΝΑΙΑΤ**, *see* **ΙΑ**  
**ΝΟ(Υ)ΤΕΜ**, 38, 109  
**ΝΟΥ†** (& f.t.), 1, 5, 34, 51, 54, 55, 59, 61, 69-71, 88, 98, 104, 109, 111, 132, 135, 138  
**ΜΑΣΤΕ-ΝΟΥ†**, 34, 111  
**ΝΑΥ**, *look, behold*, 29, 54, 65, 67, 85, 111, 112, 114, 115, 120-123, 126  
**ĀΝΑΥ**, 121  
**ΧΙΝ-ΝΑΥ**, 92, 122  
**ΝΑΥ**, *hour, time*, 47, 54, 59, 103, 109, 122, 126
- ΝΑΦΡΙ**, 12  
**ΝΑΨΕ-**, **ΝΑΨΩ**, 73  
**ÑΨΩΤ**, 15  
**ΝΙΨ†**, 19, 30, 52, 55, 56, 92, 111, 127, 134  
**ΝΟΥΣΕΒ**, **ΝΑΖΒΕϞ**, 5, 25  
**ΝΑΖΒΙ**, 98  
**ΕΛ-ΝΑΖΒΙ**, 107, 122, 126  
**ΝΟΥΣΕΜ**, **ΝΑΖΜ**, 19, 47, 69, 76  
**ΝΕΖСИ**, 40  
**ΝΑΖ†**, 5, 31, 36, 41, 51, 63, 64, 71, 76, 79, 93, 97, 98, 130  
**ΝΟΥΧ**, 51  
**ΜΕΘ-ΝΟΥΧ**, 47, 63, 68  
**СА-ΜΕΘ-ΝΟΥΧ**, 47
- ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ**, 7  
**ΟΜΟΟΥСΙОС**, 136  
**ΟΝΤΩС**, 32, 70  
**ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞОС**, 109  
**ΟΕΙΨ**, *see* **ΩΨ**  
**ΟΖΙ**, 7, 40, 62, 77, 82, 92, 96, 99, 101, 102
- ΦΕ**, **ΦΗΟΥΙ**, 21, 28, 29, 109, 110, 122, 134  
**ΠΙΒΑΝ**, 1, 109, 123  
**ΠΑΘОС**, 126  
**ΠΟΛΕΜΙΝ**, **ΕΡ-ΠΟΛΕΜΙΝ**, 84  
**ΠΟΛΙС**, 66, 111  
**ΠΛΑΣΜΑ**, **ΨΟΡΠ-Ñ-ΠΛΑΣΜΑ**, 132  
**ΠΛΑΤΙΑ**, 85  
**ΠΑΛЛАТΙОН**, 125  
**ΦΩΝ**, 57, 103, 132  
**ΦΕΝ-**, *see* **СНОϞ**  
**Π̄Ν̄Α** (**Π̄ΝΕΥΜΑ**), **Π̄Ν̄Α ΕΘΟΥΑΒ**, 18, 57, 134, 136  
**ΠΟΝΜΟΝРОС**, 53  
**Π̄Ν̄ΑΤΙΚΟΝ**, 8, 28  
**Φ†** (**Φ-ΝΟΥ†**), *see* **ΝΟΥ†**  
**ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ**, 132  
**ΦΩΝϞ**, *see under* **Φ**  
**ΠΑΠΑ**, 44, 138  
**ΠΕΠΑΕΥ**, **ΠΟΥΠΑΥ**, 34, 35, 37  
**ΦΙΡΙ**, 5, 6, 24, 109  
**ΠΑΡΑΒΕΝΙΝ**, **ΕΡ-ΠΑΡΑΒΕΝΙΝ**, 98  
**ΠΑΡΑΔΟСΙС**, 98

- παρθενος, 59  
 παρθος, 92  
 φωрк, 127  
 παραλῑ, 31, 69  
 φαρμοϋθι, 58  
 πορνῑа, 32  
 πορнос, 9, 20, 32, 34  
 прєпн, єр-прєпн, 52, 136  
 прєсвѣтерос, 43, 54, 56–58, 115,  
 119  
 мєт-прєсвѣтерос, 130  
 προσκύνησις, 136  
 πρασμος, 47, 48  
 перснс, 1, 31  
 просєχн, 47, 83  
 просфора, 134  
 профнтнс, 23, 74, 99, 130  
 φωρϥ, φорϥ\*, 64  
 πισтос, 5, 18, 28, 42, 52, 55, 67, 70,  
 71, 109, 111, 115, 119, 123, 130  
 φωт, 49, 122  
 потакιον, подакιον, 51, 52  
 патриархнс, 44, 45  
 мєт-патриархнс, 109  
 патриарχοϥ, 109  
 петрос, 138  
 ποϥλεϥ, 109  
 φοϥλαραχ, 138  
 ποϥασт, 130  
 φαϥ, ма-н-φαϥ, 32  
 ρєϥ-χα-φαϥ, 32  
 φωϥ, φαϥ-, 89, 114  
 фєϥ\*, 115  
 φαϥн, φαϥ, 89, 129  
 φωϥєм, *see under φ*  
 ποϥωпн, 1, 32  
 паϥонс, 1, 59, 109, 128, 138  
 φοϥ, 11, 50, 67  
 пєχє, пєχλ̄, 33, 40, 44, 45, 47, 57,  
 58, 62–65, 67, 68, 70–72, 76, 77,  
 81, 82, 88, 93, 94, 96–99, 104–  
 106, 125–127  
 ро, ρω̄, 51, 74, 76, 89, 95, 97, 99,  
 100  
 χα-ρω̄, 99  
 ρω, 128  
 ρωкϥ, ρокϥ, 65, 98  
 χιν-ρωкϥ, 98  
 ρпн, єрпн, єрпωϥи, 38  
 ρωпн, 20, 25, 32, 34, 35, 38, 43, 50,  
 51, 54, 56, 57, 64, 67, 77, 80, 93,  
 97, 98, 103, 116, 119, 122, 126, 130  
 маи-ρωпн, мєт-маи-ρωпн, 135  
 мєт-ρωпн, 130  
 ρєм-н̄-гнт, 5  
 ѡтєв-ρωпн, 21  
 ρомпн, 33, 39, 51, 94, 109  
 ρωмєос, 92  
 ρωпн-н̄-ρωмєос, 98, 114  
 ρємгє, ρємгєϥ, 92, 132  
 ρан, 18, 32, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 51, 53,  
 54, 57, 58, 70, 81, 86, 98, 104, 105,  
 123, 130, 134  
 ρнс, 94, 105  
 ρєм-ρнс, 32, 42, 52, 123  
 са-ρнс, 35  
 ρωис, 59, 67, 83, 118, 126  
 ρнс\*, 120  
 ρєϥ-ρωис, 19, 84  
 ѡ-ρωис, 38  
 ρасοϥи, 126  
 ρα†, 2, 23  
 наменра†, *see under мєи*  
 ρн†, 27, 32, 33, 38, 40, 46, 48, 51, 52,  
 54, 55, 70, 101, 107, 108, 113, 125,  
 126  
 φрн†, 26, 28, 32, 38, 74, 85, 99  
 н̄-φрн†, 6, 12, 38, 47, 66, 68, 100,  
 117  
 ρωοϥϥ, қи-(φ)ρωοϥϥ, 10, 34, 84,  
 134  
 мєт-қи-ρωοϥϥ, 5  
 χин-қи-ρωοϥϥ, 130  
 ραϥн, 7, 9, 10, 28, 29  
 ρωϥт, єрϥот, 115  
 ροϥгн, ган̄ροϥгн, 54, 118  
 са, менєнса, 43, 65, 107, 113  
 сω, 85  
 сєω, 4  
 †-сєω, 4, 5  
 ρєϥ-†-сєω, 25  
 сωвн, 85

- САВВАТОН**, 125  
**СОВ†**, 19  
     **СЕВТΩΤ**ⲥ, 43  
**СΩК**, 120  
**СΩΛΕΠ**, **СΕΛΠ-**, 99  
**СΛΑΤΛΕΤ**, 32  
**СΩМА**, 30, 57, 103, 107, 108, 114, 116–  
     118, 120, 125, 127–129  
**СМН**, 2, 130  
**СНОУ**, 18, 21, 24, 58, 88, 110  
     **СНАРШΟΥТ\***, 18, 70  
**САМЕНТ**, *see* **ЕМЕНТ**  
**СМАЗ**, 12  
**СОН**, 43, 58, 68, 109, 115  
**СНINI**, 45, 46, 67  
**СΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ**, 75  
**СΥΝΗΘΙΑ**, 52  
**СНОФ**, 57, 103, 108, 132  
     **ФЕН-СНОФ**, 21, 76, 77  
**СΩΝ2**, **АТ-СОН2\***, 85  
**СОП**, 14, 106  
     **ЕУ-СОП**, 7, 19, 58  
**СЕП**, 12, 116, 133  
**СФОТОУ**, 1, 109, 123  
**СФР**, 66  
**СОУР**, 20  
**СΥΡΙΑ**, **СΙΡΙΑ**, 31, 69  
**САРΚΙΚΟΝ**, 30, 34  
**САΡΑΚΙΝΗ**, **САРАΓΗΝΟΣ**, 32, 98  
**СФРЕМ**, 10  
     **СРОМ**, 40  
**СЕРΩΧ**, 20  
**СФИТ**, 66, 92  
**ЕР-СФИТ**, 58  
**СΘΟ**, 19  
     **СΘΟΙ-ΒΩН**, 19  
**СТОΛΗ**, 94  
**СТАΥΛΟΝ**, 73  
**СТОΛΟΤΟΣ**, 84  
**СΩΤЕМ**, 2, 28, 37, 44, 45, 64, 69, 71,  
     77, 79, 80, 92, 96, 130, 134  
     **СОΘМ**ⲥ, 25  
     **ЕР-АТ-СΩТЕМ**, 98  
     **МЕТ-АТ-СΩТЕМ**, 9  
**САТАНАС**, 32  
**СΩΤΗΡ**, 5, 17, 22, 59, 102, 132, 135  
**СⲢ** (**СТАΥРОС**), 25, 59  
**СТРАΤΙΛΑΤΗΣ**, 92  
**СТРАΤΕΥΜΑ**, 60, 92  
     **АРХИСТРАТЕΥΜΑ**, 65  
**СНОУ**, 19, 21, 34, 109, 137  
**СОУ-**, 1, 109, 128, 138  
**СОУА**, 59  
**СΩΟΥΝ**, 70, 77, 119, 133  
**СЕУЕРΧИС**, 32  
**СΩΟΥТЕН**, **СОУТΩН**, 37, 83  
     **СОУТΩН**ⲥ, 5  
**СОФОС**, 45–47, 67, 68, 71, 72, 84  
**СХИΩН**, 34  
**СФЕ**, 30  
**СФQ**, **САQ-2HT**, 67, 73  
**СНQI**, 41, 51, 57, 64, 80, 81, 93, 97–  
     99, 103  
**СИQI**, 24  
**СⲢА**, 51, 138  
     **СⲢНОУТ\***, 26, 28, 32, 38, 74, 85,  
     99, 124  
**С2ИМ**, **2ИΘИ**, 32, 92  
**СА2И**, **ΟΥΑ2-СА2И**, 25, 125, 128  
**СА2ΟΥ1**, 21, 102, 132  
**САХ**, 3, 13, 25, 37, 44, 45, 47, 48, 56,  
     63, 67, 68, 70, 73, 82, 84, 99–101,  
     123, 130  
**СΩХП**, **СЕХП**, 107  
**СОБНИ**, 44, 45, 65, 98, 104, 106  
**†**, 5, 42, 57, 72, 89, 94, 109  
**РЕQ-†**, 85, 92  
     **НН-ЕТ-†**, 111  
     **ТН**ⲥ, 4, 83, 88, 89, 94, 98, 115  
     **ТОИ\***, **ТОИ-2I**ⲥ, 94  
     *see also compounds*  
**ΘΟ**, 75  
**ТАЮ**, 28, 52, 56, 136  
     **ТАЮ**ⲥ, 65  
     **ТАИНОУТ\***, 109  
     **БИ-ТАЮ**, 56, 96  
**ТОВ**, 76  
**ТОУВО**, 27, 38, 51, 132  
     **ТОУВО**ⲥ, 26, 64, 80, 93, 97  
**ТΩВ**, 116, 129  
**ТΩВ2**, 38, 54, 69  
**ТАКО**, 131  
**ΘΩКЕМ**, 98

- †κεφρωμι**, 32, 59  
**θαλ, ερ-θαλ**, 116  
**ταλο, ταλω**, 129  
**ταλνουτ\***, 60, 94  
**τολмесiā**, 27  
**ταλεпwpoс**, 96, 138  
**мет-тал(επ)wpoс**, 130  
**θωμ**, 34, 51, 95  
**θамiо**, 117  
**тамо, тамо**, 28, 46, 56, 62, 68, 69,  
 76, 80, 115, 126  
**τιμη**, 42  
**†ми, тими**, 32, 34, 35, 49, 53  
**†μενζοур, рem-†μενζοур**, 138  
**τιμωριā, -ιτης**, *see* **διμωριā, -ιτης**  
**τανθο, рεϛ-τανθο**, 57, 136  
**тазиc**, *see* **Δαзиc**  
**типi, хem-типi**, 88, 89  
**тир**, 5, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 38, 57, 58,  
 68, 74, 78, 80, 107, 108, 112, 118,  
 120, 125, 132, 137  
**ε-π-тирϛ**, 25  
**тwpi, ca-тoт**, 42, 56, 58, 122  
**†иерви**, 31  
**таpиceoс**, 67, 70  
**тpиac ēθoυaв**, 28  
**тwici**, 112  
**тco, тce-**, 130  
**тcaвo, тcaвe-**, 32  
**таcθo, таcθe-**, 14  
**таcθo**, 9, 28, 29, 31, 34, 36, 52,  
 65, 94, 98, 99  
**θωт**, 93  
**тоoyi**, 76  
**тwoyн, тwн**, 40, 42, 46, 54, 67  
**θωoy†, ма-ñ-θωoy†-ñ-ни-**  
**тexнιтнc**, 87  
**θoυнт\***, 67, 80  
**†xααα**, 59, 66  
**тexнιтнc**, 87  
**θωψ, θoψ, θнψ**, 31, 32, 58, 94  
**тоz**, 129  
**таzо, таzε-**, 51, 78  
**таzо**, 75, 92  
**†zо**, *see* **zо**  
**θωzem, θaλzem\***, 16  
**тzemco**, 87  
**тwxi**, 5, 6  
**таxpo**, 61, 63, 71, 76, 124, 130  
**таxpo**, 109  
**oy**, 62, 67, 93, 98  
**oγa, xε-oγa**, 34-36, 47  
**oγai, oγi**, 29, 49, 51, 66, 76, 77, 85,  
 88, 89, 96, 112, 114, 115, 122  
**oγei**, 67  
**oγw, εp-oγw**, 57, 70, 93  
**oγwi**, 33  
**oγaв**, 5, 18, 20, 25, 28, 57, 110, 129,  
 130, 133  
**φн(нн)-ēθoυaв**, 24, 27, 38  
**oγkoυн**, 81  
**oγwm**, 88  
**oγom**, 120  
**oγwm-n-zeh**, 35  
**αт-oγwm**, 120  
**xai-oγwm**, 120  
**oγon**, 53  
**oγon(н)таz**, 43, 67, 69  
**oγon**, 5, 18, 32, 43, 54, 75, 102, 121,  
 122  
*see also* **ниβem**  
**oγwn**, 74, 97, 99, 100  
**oγwini**, 11, 16, 19, 120-122  
**εp-oγwini**, 11  
**oγīnam**, 3  
**oγnoϛ**, 10  
**oγwnz**, 19, 27, 29, 37, 48, 127  
**oγonz**, 25, 27, 40, 125  
**oγnp**, 68  
**oγpo, oγpwoy**, 1, 23, 27, 31, 40, 45,  
 46, 51, 59-67, 69, 73, 75-82, 84,  
 90, 92-94, 96-99, 106, 109, 113,  
 114, 120, 125, 127, 128  
**мет-oγpo**, 21, 31, 61, 64, 98, 109,  
 110, 134  
**oγpanion**, 17, 95  
**oγwpп**, 18  
**oγopп**, 84  
**oγciā**, 9  
**oγwt**, 28, 29, 107  
**oγтаz**, 109  
**αт-oγтаz**, 21  
**†-oγтаz**, 12

- ογψω, 64, 76, 81  
 ογαψϛ, 76, 94  
 ογωζεμ, *see* βωζεμ  
 ογζορ, ογζωρ, 75  
 ογχαλ, 30, 86
- φλαβес, 130  
 φιλιμ, 98, 103–107  
 φανος, 122  
 φωνϛ, 105  
 φονϛϛ, 105  
 φανιχωит, 1, 24, 32  
 ρεμ-φаниχωит, 109  
 φραгμос, 85  
 φοριν, еρ-φοριν, 16  
 φωψεμ, φλωψϛ, 85
- χω, 77, 122  
 χα-, 36, 134  
 χαϛ, 33, 67, 69, 72, 82  
 χη\*, 59, 73, 123  
 хаки, ма-ñ-хаки, 11  
 ἡпхаки, 19  
 хаала, *see* †хаала  
 хлом, би-хлом, 130  
 хнми, 1, 31, 40, 42, 52, 53, 58, 59,  
 66, 84, 85, 109, 111, 122, 123,  
 130  
 ρεμ-п-кази-ñхнми, 133  
 хемел, *see* ελхемна  
 хамеос, ниψ†-ñ-хамеос, 111  
 хωнс, 19  
 хωп, *hide*, *see under* ζωп  
 хир, (ζиρ), 85  
 хωρα, 1, 11, 32  
 хриḅ, еρ-хриḅ, 28, 97  
 хрωм, 98  
 хрнма, 97  
 хронос, 34  
 харис, 109  
 хωρος, 29, 54  
 харисна, 55, 127  
 хрнстиḅнос, 18, 27, 32, 35, 36, 42,  
 51, 52, 54, 63, 67, 76, 109, 111, 115,  
 118, 121, 133  
 ḅс (христос), 18, 22, 24–28, 34,  
 37, 41, 43, 45, 49, 51, 57, 59,  
 63, 69–71, 81, 86, 92, 102, 104,  
 105, 108, 119, 129, 130, 132, 135,  
 138  
 май-ḅс, 45
- φαλιν, 52  
 (ε)ρ-φαλιν, 2, 23, 54, 85  
 φαλλμωδιḅ, -ос, 23, 54  
 φαλthс, *see* еροφαλthс  
 φенζωουτ, ρεμ-φенζωουτ, 128  
 φγχη, 30, 109, 122
- ωβω, εβωи, 40  
 ωиκ, 88  
 ωли, 88, 98, 99  
 {с}ελ-, 107, 122, 125–127, 129  
 олϛ, 66, 83, 122  
 хин-олϛ, 33  
 ḅни, 15, 116, 129  
 зи-ḅни, 129  
 ана-мни, *see under* мни  
 ωнϛ, 3, 30, 40, 41, 45  
 онϛ\*, 15, 38, 65, 98, 120  
 ωп, би-ḅпи, 116  
 ат-би-ḅпи, 91, 124  
 ωрк, 94  
 ωтп, *see* εтφω  
 ωου, *honor*, 18, 19, 25, 34, 136  
 ωου, *be long*  
 ωου-н-ιατϛ, 58, 69  
 ωου-н-зиηт, 34, 62  
 μεт-ρεε-ωου-ñ-зиηт, 80
- ωω, 5, 25, 52, 90  
 аω-, 111  
 εω-ου-ϣρωου, 61  
 ωиψ, ρεε-зи-ωиψ, 58
- ω, 116, 126  
 ωли, 23, 24, 28, 52, 54, 58, 128, 130  
 еρ-ωли, 23, 28, 30  
 ωε, *go*, 24, 35, 37, 40, 45, 46, 51, 54,  
 69, 71, 72, 88, 110, 115, 120, 122  
 ωε, *wood*, 113, 116, 122, 125, 127  
 ωωи, 22, 122  
 ωал, 115  
 ωλη, 38, 54, 59, 92, 111  
 ωлол, 60, 64, 92, 93, 110

- ϣⲗⲉⲙ**, 95, 102, 126  
**ϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ**, **ⲡⲁⲧϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ**, 17  
**ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ**, **ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ**, 92  
**ⲉⲣ-ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ**, 69  
**ϣⲉⲙⲱ**, **ⲣⲉⲒ-ϣⲉⲙⲱ**, 20  
**ϣⲛⲉ**, 32  
**ϣⲛⲓ**, 52, 67  
**ϣⲟⲡ**, *cucumber*, 88, 89  
**ϣⲟⲡ**, 88  
     **ϣⲉⲡ-**, 88, 112, 130  
     *see compounds*  
     **ϣⲉⲡⲥ**, 69  
**ϣⲟⲡⲥ**, 9, 10  
**ϣⲛⲡ\***, 19, 134  
**ϣⲓⲡ**, 48  
     **ⲗⲧ-ϣⲓⲡ**, 25, 29  
     **†-ϣⲓⲡ**, 25  
     **ⲟⲓ-ϣⲓⲡ**, 26  
     **ⲗⲧ-ⲟⲓ-ϣⲓⲡ**, 27  
**ϣⲟⲡⲓ**, 19-21, 28, 31-35, 37, 38, 48,  
     52, 57, 71, 75-77, 84, 90, 98, 106,  
     110, 111, 114, 119, 120, 125, 126,  
     128, 129, 134  
     **ⲙⲁ-ⲛ-ϣⲟⲡⲓ**, 66  
     **ϣⲟⲡ\***, 35, 39, 42, 55, 56, 92, 121,  
     130, 133  
**ϣⲟⲡⲣ**, 30, 68, 88, 112  
**ϣⲟⲡⲣⲓ**, 19, 124  
     **ⲉⲣ-ϣⲟⲡⲣⲓ**, 103, 108  
**ϣⲁⲣ**, 107  
**ϣⲁⲣⲓ**, 28  
**ϣⲛⲣⲓ**, 1, 5, 9, 18, 21, 25, 31, 32, 34,  
     42, 50, 109, 123, 132, 134, 138  
**ϣⲟⲡⲣⲓ**, 54, 76, 126, 127  
**ϣⲟⲣⲡ**, 44, 59, 68  
     **ⲉⲣ-ϣⲟⲣⲡ**, 17  
**ϣⲣⲱⲓⲥ**, *see* **ⲣⲱⲓⲥ**  
**ϣⲟⲧ**, 92  
**ϣⲉⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ**, 26, 111  
**ϣⲧⲁ†**, 133  
**ϣⲗⲩ**, 138  
**ϣⲟⲩⲓ**, 103  
**ϣⲟⲩ**, **ϣⲗⲩ**, *strike*, 104, 107  
     **†-ϣⲟⲩ**, 102  
**ϣⲟⲩ**, *scorn*, 73  
     **ϣⲟⲩⲥ**, 26  
**ϣⲟⲩⲱ**, 111  
**ϣⲱⲩ**, **ⲉⲣ-ϣⲱⲩ**, 125  
**ϣⲟⲩⲱⲩ**, **ⲟⲓ-ϣⲟⲩⲱⲩ**, 8, 37  
  
**ϣⲁⲓ**, 5, 25  
     *see also compounds*  
**ϣⲟⲩⲱⲓ**, **ϣⲟⲩⲱⲥ**, 61  
  
**ϣⲁⲉ**, 7  
     **ⲉⲣ-ϣⲁⲉ**, 9  
**ϣⲛⲃⲥ**, 11  
**ϣⲟⲕ**, 100  
**ϣⲉⲗⲗⲟ**, **ϣⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ**, 45, 46, 64, 67, 70, 71,  
     76, 92, 98, 126  
     **ⲁⲣϣⲛ-ϣⲉⲗⲗⲟ**, 60  
**ϣⲟⲗϣⲉⲗ**, 100  
**ϣⲟⲛⲧ**, 9  
**ϣⲣⲉ**, **ϣⲣⲛⲟⲩⲓ**, 88  
**ϣⲣⲟⲩ**, 62, 90, 111  
     **ⲗⲧ-ϣⲣⲟⲩ**, 100  
     **ⲉⲱ-(ⲟⲩ)-ϣⲣⲟⲩ**, 61, 121  
     **ⲣⲉⲒ-ⲉⲱ-ϣⲣⲟⲩ**, 92  
     **ⲛⲓⲱ†-ⲛ-ϣⲣⲟⲩ**, 111  
**ϣⲓⲥⲓ**, 25, 30, 69, 130  
     **ϣⲉⲡ-ϣⲓⲥⲓ**, 88  
     **ϣⲟⲥⲓ\***, 5, 57  
**ϣⲛⲧ**, 94, 113  
**ϣⲗ†**, 108  
**ϣⲱⲧⲉⲄ**, 20, 45  
     **ϣⲟⲉⲄ**, 41  
     **ϣⲁⲧⲉⲄ-ⲣⲱⲙⲓ**, 21  
  
**ϣⲉⲓ**, 32  
     **ϣⲓⲛ-ϣⲉⲓ**, 34  
**ϣⲛ**, **ⲉⲧ-ϣⲛ**, 7  
**ϣⲟ**, 59  
     **†-ϣⲟ**, 38, 69, 72, 88, 89, 131, 133  
**ϣⲓⲛⲄ**, 100  
**ϣⲱⲄ**, *hide*, *see under* **ϣⲟⲡ**  
**ϣⲱⲄ**, 40, 44, 46, 68, 122  
     **ϣⲄⲛⲟⲩⲓ**, 3, 32  
**ϣⲱⲄⲥ**, 99, 120  
     **ϣⲄⲱⲥ**, 97, 133  
**ϣⲉⲄⲥⲱ**, 16  
**ϣⲛⲒⲉⲙⲱⲛ**, 94  
**ϣⲱⲗⲛ**, 54  
**ϣⲛⲕⲓ**, **ⲉⲣ-ϣⲛⲕⲓ**, 9  
**ϣⲕⲟ**, 9

- ΖΑΛ**, **ΕΡ-ΖΑΛ**, 32, 63, 126  
**ΖΕΜ-ΖΑΛ**, 51  
**ΖΩΛ**, 54, 67, 69, 76, 85, 119  
**ΖΛΙ**, 36, 38, 77, 118, 122  
**ΖΑΛΩΜ**, *see* **ΑΛΩΜ**  
**ΖΩΧΕΜ**, 7  
**ΖΕΛΠΙC**, 19, 30  
**ΖΟΛΧ**, 5, 25, 38  
**ΖΥΜΝΟC**, **ΕΡ-ΖΥΜΝΟC**, 30  
**ΖΕΜCΙ**, 17, 85, 88, 90  
**ΖΜΟΤ**, 51, 55, 64, 78, 94, 135  
**ΕΡ-ΖΜΟΤ**, 41, 51, 61, 64, 79, 93, 97  
**ΩΕΠ-ΖΜΟΤ**, 18  
**ΘΙ-ΖΜΟΤ**, 67  
**ΖΙΝΑ**, 5, 18, 96, 112, 118, 133  
**ΖΟΝΖΕΝ**, **ΖΕΝΖΩΝ**, 72  
**ΖΑΠ**, **†-ΖΑΠ**, 64  
**ΑΡΧΗ-†-ΖΑΠ**, 60  
**ΡΕϚ-†-ΖΑΠ**, 82, 92, 106, 133  
**ΖΟΠ**, 17  
**ΖΩΠ**, **ΧΩΠ(Β)**, 72, 99, 112, 120, 122, 125  
**ΖΟΠ**, 127  
**ΖΗΠ\***, 38, 40, 102  
**ΜΑ-Ν̄-ΧΩΠ**, 120  
**ΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΗC**, 99  
**ΖΥΠΕΥC**, **ΖΥΠΕΥC**, 92, 94, 98  
**ΖΙΡ**, *see* **ΧΙΡ**  
**ΖΕΡΙ**, 63  
**ΖΙΡΗΝΗ**, 1, 68, 71, 138  
**ΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΝ**, 109  
**ΖΡΩ**, 25, 73  
**ΖΟΡΩ\***, 5  
**ΖΑΡΕΖ**, *see* **ΑΡΕΖ**  
**ΖΑΤ**, 14, 72, 88  
**ΖΗΤ**, 5, 26, 27, 40, 41, 46, 55, 76, 83, 93  
**ΡΕΜ-Ν̄-ΖΗΤ**, 5  
**CΑϚ-ΖΗΤ**, *see* **CΩϚ**  
**ΩΟΥ-Ν̄-ΖΗΤ**, 34, 62  
**ΩΕΝ-ΖΗΤ**, **ΜΕΤ-ΩΕΝ-ΖΗΤ**, 135  
*see compounds*  
**ΖΟ†**, 26, 99, 127  
**ΑΤ-ΖΟ†**, 29  
**(Ε)Ρ-ΖΟ†**, 26, 45, 54, 103, 125, 127, 133  
**ΖΙ-ΖΟ†**, 45, 64, 73, 99  
**ΖΘΟ**, **ΖΘΟΡ**, 94, 97  
**ΖΟΤΑΝ**, 39  
**ΖΗΟΥ**, 40, 133  
**ΖΩΟΥ**, 8  
**ΠΕΤ-ΖΩΟΥ**, 47, 48  
**ΕΡ-ΠΕΤ-ΖΩΟΥ**, 36  
**ΖΙΟΥΙ**, 114, 116  
**ΖΙΤ**, 128, 129  
**ΖΟΥΟ**, 49, 52, 111  
**ΕΡ-ΖΟΥΟ**, 18, 39  
**ΖΟΥΙΤ**, **ΖΟΥΑ†**, 64  
**ΖΩΟΥΤ**, 92  
**ΖΟΥΘΕΜΕΝ**, **ΖΘΘΜΕΝ**, 31, 109  
**ΖΩΟΥΩ**, 114  
**†-ΖΩΟΥΩ**, 102  
**ΖΩΧ**, 130  
**ΖΟΧΖΕΧ**, 19, 111, 133  
**ΧΟΙ**, (**Ε**)**ΧΗΟΥ**, 84, 92, 120, 123, 129  
**ΧΩ**, 2, 5, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30, 47, 50, 56, 57, 61, 74, 88, 90, 99, 111, 121, 122, 130, 131  
**ΧΕ-**, 47, 93, 98  
**ΧΟ**, 33, 47, 121, 127  
**ΧΩΚ**, 25, 37, 46, 54, 82, 84, 106, 109, 113, 138  
**ΧΕΚ-**, 125  
**ΧΟΚ**, 1, 25  
**ΧΗΚ\***, 54  
**ΧΩΛ**, **ΧΕΛ-**, 63  
**ΧΟΜ**, 3, 19, 57, 59, 69  
**ΩΧΟΜ**, 69  
**ΧΕΜ-ΧΟΜ**, 51  
**ΧΑΜΗ**, 21  
**ΧΙΜΙ**, 15  
**ΧΕΜ-**, 71, 88, 120, 122, 133  
*see compounds*  
**ΧΕΜ**, 10, 44  
**ΧΟΝC**, **ΘΙ-Ν̄-ΧΟΝC**, 13, 21, 35  
**ΧΦΟ**, **ΧΦΟ**, 28  
**ΧΩΡ**, 9  
**ΧΡΟ**, **ΧΩΡΙ**, *see* **ΘΡΟ**  
**ΧΩΡΖ**, **ΕΧΩΡΖ**, 37, 54, 75, 80, 83, 119, 120, 125, 126, 128  
**ΧΟΡΧC**, 32  
**ΧΟϚΧΕϚ**, **ΧΕϚΧΩϚ\***, 88  
**ΧΙΧ**, 61



**ΧΩΧ, ΧΑΧΒΩΝ**, 75

**ΧΑΧΙ, ΜΕΤ-ΧΑΧΙ**, 77

**ϸ**, 9, 37, 42, 44, 45, 56, 67, 89, 96,  
112, 115, 117, 118, 120, 128–130

**ϸϸ**, 122

*see compounds*

**ϸⲏ**, 78

**βαλοχ, βαλαγχ**, 111

**βναγ, λτ-βεννε**, 42

**βνοφ**, 129

**βρο, χωρι, μετ-χωρι**, 7

**χop\***, 46

**ϸⲓϸⲓ**, 18

**ϸαϸ**, 3, 22

**ϸⲟϸⲓ\***, 96

**ϸϸ (ϸⲟⲓϸ)**, 3, 4, 7, 13, 14, 18, 24, 26–  
28, 30, 37, 41, 43, 51, 55–58, 61,  
63, 64, 70, 71, 81, 83, 86, 88, 97,  
104–106, 109, 110, 120, 130, 132,  
135

**ερ-ϸϸ**, 32

**ϸωϥεμ**, 21, 34, 51, 97

**ⲏⲟϥ-ⲛ̄-ϸωϥεμ**, 93

**ϸαϥεμ\***, 64, 80

**ϸⲟϸⲓ**, 7, 10, 49

## GENERAL INDEX

- ‘Abd al-Malik (*r.* 685–705), caliph,  
20, 21, 24
- Abū Jirjis Avenue, 59n51
- Abū Shākir (d. 1216), 18, 19, 29–30,  
69, 85–89, 95, 141, 143, 177, 186  
influence on Ayyūbid rulers, 184–  
85  
*see also* physician
- acculturation, 30  
*see also* assimilation *and* conver-  
sion
- al-‘Ādil, al-Malik (1145–1218), sulṭān,  
5, 39, 91, 103, 113n190, 158, 160  
succeeding Saladin, 170, 172
- adulterer(s)/adultery, 15, 17, 23, 29,  
31, 51, 59, 61  
*see also* fornicator, harlot, *and*  
prostitute(s)
- al-Afḍal ‘Alī, al-Malik (1169–1225),  
172
- agreement, noun-pronoun, 141–42
- Alexandria, 113, 174
- Amélineau, Émile (1850–1915), 1–3,  
35, 149
- Ancient South Palestinian Arabic,  
*see* Arabic language, Christian  
literature in
- angel(s), 29, 49, 53, 55, 77, 137
- Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn*, 22,  
166, 185
- Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius*, 139
- apologetics, 28, 31  
*see also* disputatio; moral(ity),  
polemic; *and* polemic
- apostasy, 5, 24, 27, 31, 32, 136, 179
- apposition, 137
- al-‘Aqṣā Mosque, 168
- Arab(s), 17, 20, 30, 31, 39, 57, 61,  
138, 139, 157, 185  
*see also* Coptic, identity
- Arabic language  
chancery conventions, 147–48  
Christian literature in, 4, 12, 13,  
21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 134, 142, 148,  
185  
interference of, 4, 134, 146  
linguistic influence, 133, 142  
rhyme, 148  
*Vorlage of The Martyrdom of John of  
Phanijōit*, 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 32, 133,  
134, 146–53
- Arabisation, 3n10, 133, 142, 175  
*see also* Coptic, language, disuse
- Army, 81, 83, 103  
*see also* Crusades, *jihād*, *and* war
- ‘Arous, priest, 75–79  
*see also* priest
- Asad, weaver and martyr, 179–82
- Ascalon, Saladin’s takeover of, 166
- ‘Asharī school, 139
- Assemani, Joseph (1687–1768), 1
- assimilation, 3–6, 17, 22, 167  
reaction against, 158, 178–79,  
185–86
- al-‘Athīr, Ibn, *see* Ibn al-‘Athīr
- athlete, 73, 87
- Augustine, St. (354–430), 13
- ‘Aydhāb, 159, 174
- Ayyūb, *see* Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb
- Ayyūbids, 7, 113, 139, 150,  
Christians under, 9, 31, 156  
governance structure, 160, 169–  
70, 172–73, 177  
*see also* al-‘Ādil, al-Malik; al-  
Kāmil, al-Malik; Najm al-Dīn;  
*and* Saladin
- al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān, sulṭān, *see* ‘Uth-  
man, al-‘Azīz
- Bāb al-Zuwaylah, 65–66n70, 180

- Babylon, 57, 65  
 'backstage', 34  
 Baghdad, 174  
 Balestri, Giuseppe (1866–1940), 2,  
 35, 136, 137, 153  
 baptism, 41  
 barbarians, 101, 144, 183n107  
*see also* Berbers  
 Barns, J. W. B., 11  
 Bar Zāban al-Kāzīrūnī, 183–84  
 Bāṭiliyyah district (Cairo), 183, 185  
 Baybars, *see* al-Zāhir Baybars, al-Malik  
 beheading, *see* decapitation  
 believer(s), 41, 47, 73, 77, 85, 87, 115,  
 121  
 Bell, David N., 11  
 Berbers, 174, 183  
*see also* barbarians  
 The Bible, 135, 157  
 Gospel(s), 19, 29, 41, 51, 55, 71,  
 135  
 New Testament, 16, 185  
 Old Testament, 16  
 parables of, 17, 135, 185  
 blasphemy, 18, 32, 34, 61, 63, 69,  
 140, 142, 184  
 Blau, Joshua, 134, 142, 148  
 blood, 77, 109, 111, 129  
 shedding, 49, 77, 91, 93  
 body, 77, 109, 111, 117, 119, 123–127,  
 181  
 picking for relics, 115, 119, 181  
 Bohairic, *see* Coptic  
 Boyarin, Daniel, 6–8, 12  
 Brett, Michael, 175–76  
 bribery, 20, 33, 179  
 burial, 181  
 burning  
 apostates, 83, 105, 180–81  
 mob behavior, 183  
 Byzantine, *see* Roman
- Cairo, *passim*, 19, 65n75, 67, 73, 79,  
 83, 97, 115, 121, 127, 143, 182–84  
 al-ʿAdil's takeover, 172  
 ethnic quarters, 174, 181
- Bāṭiliyyah district, 183, 185  
 Old Cairo, 19, 23, 59, 65n75, 73,  
 79, 182  
*see also* Bāb al-Zuwaylah  
 calendar, Coptic and Islamic, 171,  
 172n64, 173  
 caliphate, 173, 174  
 Casanova, Paul (1861–1926), 2, 4,  
 133, 138, 139, 146–49  
 catechumens, foreign, 81, 91, 101,  
 103, 144, 183  
 Catholic Church, 53, 176  
 centurions, 83, 85, 89, 95–101, 143  
 Chalcedonian, *see* Coptic, identity,  
 Chalcedonian Christians  
 Chameos, 115  
 Christ, *see* Jesus Christ  
 Christian(ity), *passim*, 19, 22, 30, 31,  
 33, 47, 53, 63, 73, 81, 91, 113, 117–  
 21, 129  
 community(ies), 24, 67  
 conduct compared with Muslims,  
 161  
 European, 166  
 identity, 176, 177, 179  
*see also* Crusaders; Franks/Frankish  
 Crusaders; moral(ity),  
 critique, polemic; *and* Roman  
 Christian-Muslim interaction, 182–  
 84  
 circumstantial (gram.), 137  
 clause, 136, 141  
 The Citadel, 79, 83, 174  
 coercion, 6, 26  
*see also* entrapment  
 coins, *see* currency; al-Kamil, al-Malik,  
 coins of; *and* silver  
 conditional (gram.), 137, 141  
 conjunctive/conjunction, 137, 149,  
 150  
 conquest of Egypt, Arab, 30, 139  
*see also* Egypt, post-Arab conquest  
 Constantelos, Demetrios, 28  
 contest, 113  
 contestant, 111  
 conversion, 4, 5, 13, 15–19, 22, 26–  
 28, 30–32, 34, 105, 107, 138, 149

- en masse*, 25–27, 175, 176  
 as mixing, 176  
 political procedures, 179  
 public, 13, 19, 33, 180  
 repopulation, 176  
 reprisal for, 32  
 types of, 181–82  
 converts, *see* Roman(s), converts to Islam  
 Cook, Michael, *see* Crone, Patricia, and Michael Cook, and Hagarism  
 Coptic, *passim*  
   administrative roles, 169, 178, 182  
   identity, 14, 175, 176, 178, 181, 182  
   and Arabs, 175  
   ethnchurch, 176  
   and Chalcedonian Christians, 158, 165, 166, 169, 174, 175  
   and Saladin, 158, 162, 164–69, 178  
   interaction with Muslims, *see* Christian-Muslim interaction  
   lay leadership, 178, 184  
   nationalism, 177  
   *see also* identity  
 Coptic language  
   *see also* *Martyrdom of John of Phani-jōit*, literary quality of  
   Bohairic dialect, New Testament in, 16  
   disuse, 3, 22, 23, 144, 167  
   grammar, 4, 134–53  
   grammars, 3, 4, 134n9  
   literature, 30  
   translation of, 5  
 Copticus, MS 69, *see* *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, edition, manuscript of  
 Copts, *passim*  
 Cordoba, *see* Martyrs of Cordoba  
 correspondence of Saladin, *see* Saladin-Correspondence  
 court debates, *see* *disputatio* and *majlis/majālis*  
 court of the king, *see* The Citadel  
 Crone, Patricia, and Michael Cook, 30–31  
   *see also* Hagarism  
 cross, sign of, 79  
 Crusaders, 143, 156, 161, 166, 167  
   conquest of Jerusalem, 161  
   and Egyptian Christians, 165–67  
 Crusades, 7, 143, 156–58, 164  
   *see also* army, Franks/Frankish Crusaders, *jihād*, and war  
 currency, value of, 103  
   *see also* silver  
 Damascus, 57, 160  
 David, Israelite king, 39, 57, 89  
   *see also* Psalm(s)/Psalmist  
 death, 63, 109, 117, 141  
 debates, *see* *disputatio*  
   *see also* *jadāl*, *majlis/majālis*, polemic, and theological dispute  
 decapitation, 105, 121, 125, 179, 180, 181  
   *see also* execution and sword  
 Delehaye, Hippolytus (1859–1941), 11–12  
 Dennett, Daniel C. (1910–47), 26  
 Diocletian, Roman emperor (245–313), 11  
 dialogue, 24, 28  
   *see also* *disputatio*  
 disbelief, *see* *kufī*  
*disputatio*, 24, 33, 91–95, 103–05, 153  
 dispute, *see* theological dispute  
 dissembling, *see* *taqiyyah*  
 distinctives, *see* Coptic identity and identity  
 distrust, intercommunal, 183  
 diversity, *see* Egypt, multi-ethnic society and ethnicity, diversity *dīwān*, 7  
 dominance, dominant groups, 14, 33  
   *see also* ideology  
 Doukas of Mitylene (d. 1564), neo-martyr, 21  
 Egypt, *passim*, 21, 24, 32, 39, 57, 123, 129, 139, 156ff.

- Ayyūbid, 31, 34, 139, 156, 160–61, 174, 179  
 takeover, 172–73  
*see also* Ayyūbids, Christians  
 under
- Byzantine, 22, 166  
*see also* Roman
- Fāṭimid, 33–34, 139, 158, 162–63, 173  
 immigration to, 175–76  
 multi-ethnic society, 157–58, 174, 182  
 post-Arab conquest, 166–67, 175, 179
- elders, *see* Taresios, elders of
- entrapment, 15, 18, 28, 59, 182
- erasure, 145–46
- Ethiopians, 101
- ethnicity, 121, 157, 175  
 diversity, 157–58, 174  
 Egyptian, 175, 176  
*see also* Egypt, multi-ethnic society
- ethnic terminology, 29, 31, 157, 175–177
- ethnos*, 22, 31, 175  
*see also* nation(s) and *ummah*
- evil, 18, 21, 29, 71, 89
- execution, 34, 69, 146, 149, 179, 180, 181  
*see also* decapitation and sword
- expiation, 34
- fakh*, *see* entrapment
- false consciousness, 18  
*see also* lies, liars
- Faraj, Apa Paul, 131
- fasting, 23, 65, 87  
*see also* vigils
- Fāṭimid, *see* Egypt, Fāṭimid
- festival, 49, 51, 55, 125
- flax, 1, 16, 59, 67
- fleets, 95
- flesh/fleshly life, 17, 55, 57, 61, 186
- foreigners, 101, 121  
*see also* strangers
- forgetfulness, 23, 65
- fornication, 27, 28, 61  
 fornicator(s), 15, 17, 31, 49, 59, 61  
*see also* adulterer, harlot, and prostitute(s)
- Franks/Frankish Crusaders, 159, 162, 164, 165–68, 177  
 and Non-Chalcedonians, 165, 177, 185
- genealogy, *see ethnos* and *ummah*
- Geniza documents, 24  
*see also* Judaism, literature
- George the Meletonian, St., 73–77  
 Church of, 75
- Ghuzz, 162, 163n29
- Gospel(s), *see* The Bible
- Greek romance, 11
- habituation, 23, 28
- Ḥadīth, 105n163, 180, 181
- Hagarene, 21, 22, 23, 30, 31, 57, 138, 139, 157  
*see also* Ishmaelite and Saracen
- Hagarism, 30, 31
- hagiography, 24, 25, 31  
*see also* apologetics; moral(ity), polemic; and Polemic
- Ḥajj, 158–60, 174
- hanging, 115–17, 121, 123, 179–81
- hapax legomena*, 135, 140, 143
- harlot, 15, 19, 59  
*see also* adulterer, fornicator, and prostitute(s)
- Ḥayṭīn, battle of (1187), 156
- Hebbelynck, Adulphus (b. 1859), 36
- Heraclius, emperor (575–641), 22  
 hidden 29, 65, 119  
 text, 4, 13, 178  
 transcript, 12, 15, 29, 30, 34  
*see also* transcript, public
- History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt (HCME)*, 162n25
- History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Arabic (AHPA)*, *passim*, 4, 5, 25n59, 143  
 and Saladin, 160–69
- Holy Spirit, 79, 131
- Hoyt, Jefferey V., 132

- hymn(s), 57, 75  
*see also* Psalm(s)/Psalmist and songs
- Hyvernat, Henri (1858–1941), 2, 35, 136, 137, 140, 153
- Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a (c. 1194–1270), 184
- Ibn al-'Amīd, al-Makīn (1205–73), 177–78
- Ibn al-'Athīr (1160–1233), 168, 172
- Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217), 158–60, 174
- Ibn al-Muqafa', Sawīrus, *see* Sawīrus  
 Ibn al-Muqafa'
- Ibn al-Sandūbī, bishop (*fl.* c. 1240), 27, 29
- Ibn Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 1174), 162–63
- identifiers, ethnic, 9, 30, 157, 175
- identity, 6–8, 14, 29, 30, 158, 164*ff.*, 182–83  
*see also* Christian, identity; Coptic, identity; Egyptian ethnicity; Judaism; *and* martyrdom, and identity
- ideology, 14, 18, 24, 25, 26, 33, 34  
 ideological incorporation, 27  
 ideological inversion, 14, 15, 33  
 of conversion, 27
- 'Imād al-Dīn (1125–1201), 168
- immigration, 175–76
- imperfect (gram.), 137–38
- impersonal predicate, *see* predicate, impersonal
- impurity, 186  
*see also* pollution
- infidels, *see* *kufīr* and 'ulūj
- inversion, 33  
*see also* ideology, ideological inversion
- Ishmaelite, 15, 30, 31, 57, 59, 138, 139, 157  
*see also* Hagarene and Saracen
- Islam(ic), *passim*, 20, 21, 26, 28–34, 59, 138, 139, 149  
 critique of Christians, 167, 168  
 theology, 33, 34, 168  
 God's unique oneness, 166  
*see also* Islamicate and Muslim
- Islamicate, 158, 161  
 Christians, 7, 8, 165, 174, 178, 182  
 society, 13, 174, 182  
*see also* Islam
- Ismā'īliyyah, *see* Muslim(s), Ismā'īliyyah
- Israel, 71, 119  
*jadāl*, 24  
*see also* *disputatio*
- Jerome (c. 345–420), 19
- Jerusalem, 7, 115, 161  
 Coptic pilgrimage, 165  
 and Crusaders, 165, 177  
 Muslim reconquest, 161, 168
- Jesus Christ, 23, 27, 33, 41, 45–53, 63, 67, 71, 77–81, 87, 95–97, 101, 109, 111, 129, 131, 141, 143
- Jews/Jewish, 24, 31, 183  
*see also* Bar Zāban; Judaism; *and* subordinate groups, intercommunal tensions
- jihād*, 164–66  
*see also* army, Crusades, *and* war
- Jirjis Street, Abū, *see* Abū Jirjis Avenue
- jizyah*, 26, 27  
*see also* taxation
- John of Phanijōit, *passim*  
*see also* martyrdom, Coptic *and* *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*
- John of Wallachia (d. 1662), neo-martyr, 21
- John Pouleou (VI), Coptic Patriarch (r. 1189–1216), 113
- Jubayr, Ibn, *see* Ibn Jubayr
- Judaism, literature, 6, 31  
*see also* martyrdom, and identity
- judge(s), 81, 91, 101, 103, 105, 111, 117, 121, 180
- kāfir*, *see* *kufīr*
- al-Kāmil, al-Malik, sulṭān (c. 1177–1238), 4–6, 8, 19, 24, 29–30, 33, 34, 39, 67, 69, 81, 85, 91–95, 103–7, 111–17, 123, 125, 142, 145, 158

- accession in Egypt, 170–73  
 coins of, 172  
 dating of reign, 170–73  
 martyrdoms, presiding over, 179, 180  
 al-Kāzirūnī, *see* Bar Zāban al-Kāzirūnī  
*khalīfah*, *see* caliphate  
*kharāj*, *see* taxation  
 Korn, Lorenz, 158  
*kufī*, 166  
 Kurd(s), 57, 138, 162–63  
 Kyrillos III, David ibn Laqlaq (r. 1235–43), 8  
  
 laity, *see* Coptic, lay leadership  
 Lamoreaux, John C., 30  
 lamp, 45, 121  
 language change, *see* Arabic language, interference *and* Arabic, linguistic influence  
 Lantschoot, Arnoldus van, 36  
 Laqlaq, David ibn (r. 1235–43) *see* Kyrillos III  
 Larminat, P. de, 2  
 lawlessness, 20, 61, 81, 143  
 Lebanon, 51  
 licentiousness, 6, 13, 19, 20, 22  
     *see also* moral(ity), critique, failure/lapse  
 lies, liars, 18, 19, 29, 33, 69, 142, 143, 184  
 linguistic Arabisation, *see* Arabisation  
 liturgy, 14, 34, 185  
     of St. Basil, 131n232, 153  
 The Lord's Prayer, 18, 69  
 lust, 1, 16, 61  
  
 Macarius, St., Monastery of, 4–5  
 MacCoull, Leslie, 1–3, 6, 133, 144, 148, 157, 170  
*majlis/majālis*, 24  
     *see also* *disputatio*  
 al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd, *see* Ibn al-ʿAmīd, al-Makīn  
  
 al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad (1364–1442), 138, 171, 174, 185  
 Mark, author of *J.Phan.*, 127  
 Mark III, Coptic patriarch (r. 1163–1189), 164, 177, 182  
 Mark the Evangelist, St., 79  
     feast of, 79  
 Mark, father of John of Phanijōit, 59, 111  
 Martinez, Francisco Javier, 139  
 martyr, 28, 32, 55, 73, 97–101, 111, 113, 121, 123, 127, 131, 179  
     shrine of, 51  
 martyrdom, 6–8, 20, 21, 33, 75, 127, 131, 143  
     and conversion, 181–82  
     Coptic, 11, 12  
     and identity, 6–8  
     act of, 85, 111  
     literary quality of, 11, 12, 179  
*Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, 39, 133  
     dating, 170–73  
     drafting, 21, 133–53, 155, 178–79  
     edition, 1–2, 8, 35  
     manuscript, 1–4, 35  
     literary or stylistic quality, 18, 16, 135–53  
     *see also* Arabic, *Vorlage* and Word Choice  
 martyrology, *see* martyrdom  
 Martyrs of Cordoba, 182  
 Marx, Karl (1818–83), 14  
 Mary, *see* Theotokos, Mary the Mawhub ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrij (c. 1025–1100), 25n59  
 Mecca, 159, 174  
 Mediterranean world, 21, 156  
 mercenaries, 144, 183n107  
 Michael the Sabaite, St. (9<sup>th</sup> c.), 20, 21, 24, 29  
 Minyat Ghamar, 4, 5  
 Mistram, 85  
 mixing, 6, 7, 15, 30, 59, 107, 176, 185  
     *see also* moral(ity), failure/lapse *and* pollution  
 monasticism, 4–5, 67, 121  
 money, *see* currency *and* silver

- monotheism, 166  
 moral(ity), 24, 28, 29  
     critique, 13, 20, 29, 157  
     failure/lapse, 6, 18, 24  
     polemic, 6, 9, 177  
 mosques, 168  
*mūʿazzīn*, 101, 115, 168  
 Muḥammad, the prophet (*c.* 570–632), 20, 181  
 multi-ethnic society, *see* Egypt, multi-ethnic society  
*Muqaddimāt*, 4, 12n7, 134  
     *see also* Coptic language, grammars  
*mushrik(īn)*, *see shirk*  
 Muslim(s), *passim*, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31–33, 63, 91, 113, 119, 121, 140, 166  
     ethnic characterization of, 157, 175  
     *see also* identifiers, ethnic  
     identity, 161  
     interaction with Christians, *see* Christian-Muslim interaction  
     Ismāʿāliyyah, 139  
     Shīʿah, 33, 139  
     Sunnī, 139  
  
 Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (d. 1173), 113n191  
 nation(s), 15, 19, 59, 71  
     *see also* *ethnos* and *ummah*  
 nationalism, *see* Coptic, nationalism  
 al-Naṭrūn, Wādī, 1  
 negation (gram.), 145, 152  
 neo-martyr, 21  
     literature, 20, 28  
 neo-martyrdom, *see* martyrdom  
 Nile River, 39, 75, 123  
     drinking from, 159  
 Nubians, 101  
 Nūr al-Dīn, *see* Ibn Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd  
  
 object marker (gram.), 145  
 optative, 138n25  
 Orthodox, 113  
  
 panegyric, 15, 135, 137  
 parables, *see* Bible, parables  
 Parthians, 101  
 particles (gram.), 144  
 Pashons, month of, 39, 79, 113, 125, 131  
 patriarch, 69  
 Peeters, Paulus (1870–1950), 4, 155  
 Pepleu/Pouplau, 32, 63, 141, 182  
 perfect tense, 138, 145, 151, 152  
 Persian(s), 20, 39, 57, 138  
 Phanijoit, 39n2, 59, 111, 145  
 Pharmouthi, month of, 79  
 Philim, Roman horseman, 107, 109, 111, 146, 175, 185  
 Phlabet, 127  
 physician, 28n32, 69, 85, 95  
     Christians as, 184  
     *see also* Abū Shākīr (d. 1216)  
 Piban, 39, 115, 123  
 pilgrimage, *see* Ḥajj  
 polemic, 157, 177  
     *see also* moral(ity), polemic  
 pollution, 6, 7, 19, 61, 83, 93, 103, 105, 186  
     *see also* flesh/fleshly life; impurity; mixing; moral(ity), failure/lapse; *and* Rite of the Jar  
 polytheism, polytheist(s), *see shirk*  
 Ponmonros, 75  
 Potiphar, wife of, type, 29  
 Pouasti, 127  
 Pouleou, *see* John Pouleou (VI), Coptic patriarch  
 Pouplau, *see* Pepleu  
 Poushin, 39, 59  
 prayer, *see* fasting, vigil, and supplication  
 predicate, impersonal, 137  
 preposition(s), 136, 137  
 preterit, 136, 145  
 priest, 67, 75, 77, 79, 117, 119  
     *see also* ʿArous, priest  
 prostitute(s), 17, 43  
     *see also* adulterer, harlot, *and* fornicator



- Psalm(s)/Psalmist, 39, 57, 75  
 Psalmody, 39, 75  
 Psenhōout, 125  
 psychology of conversion, 13–14  
 punishment, 77  
 purification, 13, 33, 34, 65, 83, 93,  
 103, 105, 129, 179, 185  
*see also* assimilation, reaction  
 against *and* moral(ity), polemic  
 purpose clause, 136, 141
- Quatremère, Étienne (1782–1857),  
 149
- reconversion, 13, 23, 24, 32, 33,  
 180  
*see also* conversion, public *and*  
 restoration
- relative (gram.), 137, 149  
 clause, 136  
 repentance, 32, 55, 137, 182  
 repopulation, *see* conversion, repop-  
 ulation
- reprisal, *see* conversion, reprisal for  
 restoration, 18, 32, 63, 185–86  
*see also* Pepleu, reconversion, *and*  
 Rite of the Jar
- Reymond, E. A. E., 11
- rhyme, *see* Arabic language, rhyme  
 rite, 34  
 Rite of the Jar, 185–86  
 river, *see* Nile River
- Roman (s), 30, 34, 101, 107, 117, 166  
 captives, 177  
 converts to Islam 174, 175  
*see also* Franks/Frankish Cru-  
 saders
- al-Sa‘dī, Shāwar, Fātimid wazīr (d.  
 1169), 162
- Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbi  
 [1136–1193]), 7, 57, 113n192, 138,  
 156–69  
 accession in Egypt, 163  
 beneficence, 159–61  
 correspondence of, 165, 166  
 propaganda value of, 161  
 relationship with Copts, 164, 168–  
 69  
 administrative roles, 169, 182  
 tax relief, 159–160  
 trans-regional leader, 158, 169,  
 173
- Samuel of Qalamūn, St. (c. 597–  
 695), 22n48,
- Sandūbī, Ibn al-, *see* Ibn al-Sandūbī,  
 bishop (fl. c. 1240)
- Saracen(s), 1, 6, 16, 29–31, 61, 107,  
 139, 157  
*see also* Hagarene *and* Ishmaelite
- Satan, 16, 26, 59
- Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muqafa‘ (905–87),  
 167, 185
- scapegoating, 185
- Scott, James C., 14, 15
- scribal fatigue, 145, 150
- scribes, Coptic, *see* Saladin, relation-  
 ship with Copts
- seduction, 16, 19–21  
 hagiographic motif/topos, 19–24,  
 27
- Seuerjis, *see* Abū Jirjis Avenue
- Severus of Antioch (c. 465–538),  
 177
- sexual licentiousness, *see* licentious-  
 ness
- shahadah*, 166, 179, 180
- Shākir, Abū, *see* Abū Shākir
- sharī‘ah*, 180
- shaykh*, 180
- sheep, 17, 41, 43, 55, 107, 185
- Shenoute, St. Apa (c. 348–466), 176
- Shihātah, Angelos, 1
- shirk*, 165, 167
- shrine, martyr, *see* martyr, shrine
- sign of the cross, *see* cross, sign of  
 silver, 97  
*see also* currency
- soldier(s), 21, 101, 109, 111, 117
- songs, 77, 97  
*see also* hymns *and* Psalm(s)/  
 Psalmist
- south, 57, 63, 111n180
- Southerners, 67, 73n88, 123

- speech act, 7, 29, 31, 33  
*see also* identity
- stranger, 87, 101  
*see also* foreigners
- subjugation, *see* subordinate groups
- subordinate groups, 12, 14, 15, 30, 32, 181, 183  
 intercommunal tensions, 183–85  
 negotiating, 184–85  
*see also* Copts and Jews/Jewish
- supplication(s), 87, 99  
*see also* fasting and vigil(s)
- sword, 19, 21, 33, 67, 77, 83, 93, 95, 103–9, 141, 146  
*see also* decapitation and execution
- Synaxary, Coptic Church, 1, 178
- Syria, 57, 87, 158–60, 177–78, 185
- al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (839–923), 34
- Takla, Hany, 1–2, 4, 29, 36  
*taqīyyah*, 33, 34
- Taresios, elders of, 85–87
- taxation, 159–60  
*see also* *jizyah*
- temptation(s), 18–21, 71  
*see also* entrapment and The Lord's Prayer
- tensions, intercommunal, *see* subordinate groups, intercommunal tensions
- theological, 18, 28–30  
 amnesia, 167, 185  
 critique, 166  
 dispute, 24  
 polemic, 7  
*see also* Islam(ic), theology; moral(ity), polemic; and polemic
- Theotokos, Mary the, 79
- Tierbi, 57, 138, 140
- tortures, 87, 185
- transcript, hidden, *see* hidden transcript  
 public, 18, 30, 33
- translation, *see* *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, edition
- trap, *see* entrapment
- Trinity, Holy, 55, 167
- Tuki, Raphael (1695–1787), 2
- ʿulūj, 174
- ummah*, 22  
*see also* *ethnos and nation(s)*
- unity of God, 166
- ʿUṣaybīʿa, Ibn Abī, *see* Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybīʿa
- ʿUthman, al-ʿAzīz (d. 1198), 57, 113n193, 138, 139, 149
- Vatican Library, 1, 36
- vigil(s), 23, 65, 95  
*see also* fasting
- Vila, David H., 12
- vocabulary, *see* word choice
- wājib*, 28
- war, waging, 95  
*see also* army, Crusades, and *jihād*
- word choice, 142, 143
- al-Zāhir Baybars, al-Malik (r. 1260–77), 183
- Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn, *see* Ibn Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd  
*see also* Zengids
- Zengids, 162n27, 163