

Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt

Beni Suef, Giza, Cairo, and the Nile Delta

Edited by
Gawdat Gabra
Hany N. Takla

A Saint Mark Foundation Book
The American University in Cairo Press
Cairo New York

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The American University in Cairo Press
113 Sharia Kasr el Aini, Cairo, Egypt
420 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10018
www.aucpress.com

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Exclusive distribution outside Egypt and North America by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.,
6 Salem Road, London, W2 4BU

Dar el Kutub No. 25739/15
ISBN 978 977 416 777 5

Dar el Kutub Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gabra, Gawdat

Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt: Beni Suef, Giza, Cairo, and the Nile
Delta / Gawdat Gabra, Hany Takla.—Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017.

p. cm.
ISBN: 978 977 416 777 5

1. Egypt—Church history
2. Monasticism and religious orders—Egypt
1. Takla, Hany (jt. auth.)
270.25739

1 2 3 4 5 21 20 19 18 17

Designed by Jon W. Stoy
Printed in the United States of America

This volume is dedicated to the memory of
Yassa 'Abd al-Masih (1898–1959),
who gave serious attention and care
to the manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate,
the Coptic Museum, and the monasteries of Egypt

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Foreword

THIS IS THE SEVENTH VOLUME of the series *Christianity and Monasticism in Egypt*. It contains the essays presented at the seventh international symposium of the St. Mark Foundation for Coptic History Studies and the St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society. The symposium was held on February 8–12, 2015 in the Monastery of Saint Menas (Dayr Mari Mina) near Alexandria. It was His Holiness St. Cyril VI who revived monasticism in the famous Late Antique pilgrimage site of the shrine of St. Menas. In February 1962 some of the relics of St. Menas were translated from his church in Fumm al-Khalig to the new monastery. The monastery continues to flourish and hundreds of monks enjoy their monastic life there. In addition to a number of Egyptians, the invited scholars, who represent a variety of academic disciplines, come from Australia, England, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United States.

I am greatly blessed and grateful to His Holiness Pope Tawadros II for his continued support to the St. Mark Foundation. It was an unforgettable experience when His Holiness performed the Mass in the ancient site of the great martyr St. Menas. He personally inaugurated the symposium, welcomed its participants and attendees, and encouraged them to promote knowledge about Egypt's Christian legacy. The symposium was hosted by Bishop Kyrillos Ava Mena, Abbot of the Monastery of St Menas.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to His Grace for his unparalleled generosity.

The most recent International Congress of Coptic Studies (Claremont Graduate University, July 25–30, 2016) has shown how useful are the proceedings of the symposia of our foundation, which were used by many of the participants in that congress. I am indebted to all the contributors of this volume for their invaluable chapters that greatly enrich our knowledge about Christianity and monasticism in Beni Suef, Giza, Cairo, and the Nile Delta. I am looking forward to the next symposium, “Christianity and Monasticism in Alexandria and Its Surroundings, and in the Eastern and Western Deserts,” which will be hosted by His Holiness Pope Tawadros II at the Monastery of St. Pshoi in Wadi al-Natrun in February 2017.

I would like to give my special thanks to Sherif Doss and Shahira Loza for their unfailing support. As always, I thank the symposium’s organizing committee: Faheem Wassef, Akhnoukh Fanous, and Ashraf Nageh, as well as Hoda Garas, who finalized the contacts with the contributors.

Finally, I extend my thanks to the American University in Cairo Press, and especially to Nigel Fletcher-Jones, director, Neil Hewison, associate director for editorial programs, Nadia Naqib, managing editor, and Johanna Baboukis, who has done a magnificent job of copyediting.

Fawzy Estafanous, President
The St Mark Foundation for Coptic History Studies

Introduction

THIS VOLUME, *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt: Beni Suef, Giza, Cairo, and the Nile Delta*, contains the papers that were presented at the seventh international symposium of the St. Mark Foundation for Coptic History Studies and the St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society. The symposium was held at the Monastery of Saint Menas (Dayr Mari Mina) near Alexandria, February 8–12, 2015. Because of the security situation in Egypt, a number of prospective participants could not attend and deliver their papers. Fortunately, they were kind enough to submit their work for publication to ensure that this volume would provide a more complete picture of the history and institutions of the region being studied. This area runs from the northern governorates of Upper Egypt—Beni Suef and Giza—to the entire Delta region of Lower Egypt. Alexandria, having its own unique and rich history, was excluded and will be covered in the upcoming volume in this series.

The collection of twenty-six chapters included in this volume represents a broad picture of Christianity and monasticism in terms of the history, literature, language, art and architecture, and people of these regions from the first century to the late twentieth century. They cover the more significant events, people, and regions rather than forming a complete survey of the entire area.

The book is arranged in the same way as each of the previous volumes in the series: language and literature; art, archaeology, and material culture; and preservation. The chapters within each category are arranged alphabetically by the author's last name. As usual, the majority of the chapters (twenty-one) were in the first category. They cover not only topics of language and literature in the areas being studied, but also the history that we can draw from such literature in the classical languages of Christian Egypt: Coptic, Arabic, and Greek. A shorter section (four chapters) deals with art and architecture, and the volume concludes with a single chapter in the category of preservation.

In the first section, Ashraf Alexandre Sadek's chapter reviews the Holy Family's flight to Egypt and the tradition preserved in Coptic sources about the places they visited in the Delta. Two other chapters in this section deal with the two most important monastic settlements in northern Egypt, Kellia and Nitria. Fr. Mark Sheridan surveys the history of monasticism in the region of Nitria based on the literary sources available. Jacques van der Vliet's chapter on Kellia investigates the monasticism in this region based on the wall inscriptions left by the monks. James Goehring's chapter deals with the monasteries in Lower Egypt that were part of the Pachomian Federation of Upper Egypt. Mary Ghattas describes the most prominent of these Pachomian monasteries, the Hennaton monastery or Dayr al-Zujaj, and the debates about its exact location. Sherin Sadek El Gendi's chapter covers another of the important monastic sites in the region, St. Mina Monastery—Abu Mena's world-renowned fourth-century pilgrimage center—as recorded in the Arabic sources.

Three important components dominated the life of the Church of Egypt in its golden age: the Alexandria hierarchy, monks, and the famous Theological School of Alexandria. David Brakke's chapter describes the close relationship between the patriarchs and the monks, in particular those of northern Egypt. The most famous of the patriarchs of Alexandria is the twentieth, St. Athanasius the Great. Ibrahim Saweros's chapter examines four Sahidic manuscripts of Athanasius's works preserved in the famous Hamuli Collection from Archangel Michael Monastery in Fayoum and discusses how they preserved his memory, even though their attribution is doubtful. Continuing this theme of the three components, Caroline Schroeder's chapter examines the significant papyri find in the ancient St. Arsenius monastery in Tura, which yielded a wealth of writings in Greek from one of the most prominent heads of the Theological School of

Alexandria, Didymus the Blind.

This area also produced several literary figures in addition to those of the Theological School of Alexandria. The careers and writings of three of these authors are discussed. The first of these chapters, by Bishop Kyrillos, examines the history of John of Barullos (sixth–seventh century) and the writings attributed to him. Another literary figure who was also a bishop lived in the early thirteenth century, Yuhanna al-Samannudi. Adel Sidarus's chapter examines this bishop's pioneering contribution to Coptic philology, which documented the fundamentals of the Coptic language in order to preserve it for generations to come. Frank Feder introduces the so-called Bashmuric dialect of Coptic as part of his examination of the history of the famous Bashmuric revolts. The third literary figure examined in this section is Butrus al-Sadamanti al-Armani. Fr. Awad Wadi examines the career of this author, who enriched the Christian Arabic literature of Egypt later in the thirteenth century with many important works. Butrus's Armenian heritage serves as a link to Mary Kupelian's chapter, which examines the relationship between the Coptic and Armenian churches in Egypt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

No discussion of the literary heritage of this region can be complete without the important genre of hagiography, the lives of the saints of the Church. This type of literature is not limited to the works dedicated specifically to the lives of these saints, but extends to the later social history of the Copts, their liturgical hymns, and even their modern institutions. Ewa Zakrzewska's chapter examines the function of the *Acts of the Martyrs* preserved in Bohairic, which played a very influential role in the life of the Church at times, despite their historical inaccuracies. Youhanna Youssef examines a case history of one of these late hagiographic compositions attributed to Julius of Aqfahs, the *Martyrdom of John and Simon*, documenting the historical shortcomings of this text. Hany Takla discusses in his chapter two different manuscript traditions of the *Miracles of St. Menas* in Arabic, one based on the shorter Sahidic version and the other reflecting a later, longer Arabic recension. Three other chapters deal with the Arabic hagiographic tradition concerning thirteenth-century Coptic saints. The first is by Asuka Tsuji on a little-known saint from the Delta, St. Hadid, which sheds light on aspects of his life according to the preserved vita. The second is about the more famous St. Barsoum the Naked (Anba Barsouma al-Arian); Bishop Martyros examines the veneration of this saint near Cairo, in a monastery originally known as Dayr Shahrān. The third chapter

is by Adel Sadek, on another famous saint from that period, Anba Ruways, and the history related to the foundation of the St. Mark Cathedral in Cairo over the site of his monastery. The last chapter in this genre is by Fr. Teddawos Ava Mina and Youhanna Youssef, about the life of Pope Cyril VI (Anba Kyrillos VI), the 116th patriarch of Alexandria, from his youth to his great contributions that included the foundation of the modern monastery of St. Menas and the building of the new St. Mark Cathedral in Cairo.

The second and third categories in this volume include five chapters on some of the art and architecture of places in northern Egypt, as well as efforts to conserve their remains. The first one is by Tomasz Górecki, describing an excavation of a Byzantine church in the old town of Athribis in modern-day Benha, which has yielded artifacts but whose architecture has not yet been revealed. The next two chapters deal with the famous monastic region of Kellia, which was addressed from a literary perspective earlier. Gisèle Hadji-Minaglou describes the architecture of this famous monastic settlement north of Wadi al-Natrun; Karel Innemée discusses the artistic elements excavated at the site. The third site is Marea/Philoxenite, the subject of the excavation campaigns by the Polish Mission in Egypt during the period of 2000–14. Krzysztof Babraj and Daria Tarara document the history and the architecture of the site settlement, including its large ancient cathedral, situated forty-five miles southwest of Alexandria. The last chapter, by Michael Jones, describes in detail the preservation efforts undertaken by the American Research Center in Egypt on the famous murals, preserved in the Cairo Coptic Museum, which were originally excavated in Apa Jeremiah's Saqqara monastery and Apa Apollo's Bawit monastery. These wall paintings have traditionally been considered the principal symbols of Coptic art.

Our heartfelt thanks are due to all the authors for their valuable contributions to this volume. Our special thanks go to Dr. Fawzy Estafanous, president of the St. Mark Foundation, for supporting the symposium and its proceedings. We would also like to express our thanks to the staff of the American University in Cairo Press for their interest and professionalism in publishing the proceedings of the symposia on Christianity and Monasticism in Egypt, and especially to Nigel Fletcher-Jones, Neil Hewison, Nadia Naqib, and Johanna Baboukis.

Finally, it is our pleasure and honor to dedicate this volume to Yassa 'Abd al-Masih in acknowledgment of his lifelong devotion to the Coptic heritage.

1 John of Barullos (540–615)

Bishop Kyrillos

Introduction

There are many notable leaders in the annals of Coptic history whose names are well known. John of Barullos is not one of them. The Synaxarium entry for 19 Kiyahk mentions only that John was the bishop of Barullos, and author of some articles. This chapter is only a preliminary survey of John of Barullos, intended to open up doors for future research into his life and writings.¹

Barullos

The name of the region John was from is as obscure as his life. Al-Barullos is equated with many Greek variants (Parallos, Parallou, and Parhalos), as well as Coptic ones (Nikedjoou [O’Leary 1937b: 168]; Naqizah (Coquin and Martin 1991d: 1174b–1175a, citing Maspero and Wiet 1919; and Nafwah²). The north-central Delta contained two cities with similar names: al-Burlus and al-Burlus al-Ramla (Kosack 1971: 49, cited in Vivian 2008: 342n138). According to ancient hieroglyphic records, at least one of these cities is situated on a peninsula that connected Lake Barullos with the sea (Budge 1920: 2:1030: “Sai Ta her sept Uatch ur”). But it seems that the Barullos associated with John was situated somewhere between present-day Baltim and al-Burj, on the eastern shore of Lake Barullos, in the northern Delta (Stewart 1991c: 2:427).

The city seems to have had an important religious role in the life of the Copts. According to a homily delivered by Bishop Zakariya of Sakha

(seventh–eighth century), Barullos was the location of the fig tree where the Holy Family rested during their flight to Egypt.³ Moreover, St. Thecla, the disciple of St. Paul, was associated with the city when the story of this most popular female virgin martyr in late antique Egypt was assimilated into the native Egyptian veneration of the martyrs (Armanios 2003: 109–10, citing Davis 2001: 172).

A diocese was located in al-Barullos as early as the beginning of the fourth century, until at least the eleventh century (Stewart 1991c, citing Munier 1943a: 28). One of its earliest bishops was Athanasius, who attended the Council of Ephesus in 431 (Stewart 1991c, citing Munier 1943a: 15). Al-Barullos was the hometown of Patriarch Isaac (686–89), the dwelling place of the hermit George during the papacy of John IV (775–79), and the hometown of the recluse Christodoulos, who became the sixty-sixth pope of Alexandria, from 1047 to 1077. Among the most notable of its bishops was John, who lived from around 540 to 615.

Early Life

John of Barullos was probably born around 540, of a respected clerical family of Lower Egypt.⁴ Like his parents, he was recognized for his charity (O’Leary 1937b: 427; *al-Siniksar* 1978: 211–12 [19 Kiyahk]). As a young man, John used his inheritance to build a shelter for pilgrims and the sick (Stewart 1991c; Budge *Synaxarium*: 223). He learned Greek, Coptic, and probably Syriac. Encouraged by one of the monk-pilgrims who probably visited his home (*al-Siniksar*, 19 Kiyahk), John entered the Monastery of St. Macarius in Shiheet, under the leadership of St. Daniel the Hegumen (Müller 1991b: 5:1367, citing *al-Siniksar*, 19 Kiyahk).

The Coptic and Ethiopian Synaxaria recall that while John lived in a secluded building, Satan painfully attacked him so that he was sick for several days. After his miraculous healing, he was called to be a bishop, probably by Pope Peter IV in 576 (Müller 1991b: 5:1368), at one of the most challenging periods in the history of the Coptic Church.⁵

Writings

John was one of the most significant Coptic theologians of his time. He used all available means to root out various heresies—delivering homilies, writing articles, or visiting monasteries to burn the heretical books he found there (Müller 1991b: 5:1368). He even journeyed abroad to Syria for about four months to resolve the dogmatic controversy between Pope

Damian of Alexandria (570–607) and Peter of Callinicum (also known as Peter III of Raqqa [Taylor 2006: 15n1], or Petrus of Antioch).⁶ Unfortunately, only a few of his writings survive in Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic (Armanios 2003, citing Müller 1991b: 1367–68).

Homilies

Perhaps John is most famous for his homilies concerning the Resurrection and the Last Judgment, the *Book of Adam*,⁷ and “On the Archangel Michael and on Heretical Books,”⁸ most of which are responses to heresies that emerged from the Sa’id with Gnostic claims of secret revelations. One such Gnostic writer claimed to have been visited by the prophet Habakkuk.⁹ When a monk from Upper Egypt claimed that Archangel Michael revealed to him certain mysteries in *The Book of the Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, John refuted the heresy in his homily noted above (Budge *Synaxarium*: 223).

These homilies seem to be directed toward priests (Müller 1954b: 242). In his homily on Archangel Michael, John often expresses his desire to equip the “servants of God” to prevent the heretics who are confusing the “simple people” or the “uneducated” in the villages, and the zealots (Σπουδαῖοι) in the cities (Stewart 1991c, citing *al-Siniksar*; Kelly 2004: 237).

While much of the heresy at this time involves Gnosticism, several issues involve Trinitarian theology. At one point in his Archangel Michael homily, John refers to the uncreated, eternal divine nature (Lantschoot 1946: 321n16). He also speaks of the orders of angels, which he lists as the “innumerable orders of angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, the four creatures with multiple eyes, the dominions and virtues” (Lantschoot 1946: 321).

Primarily, John is reliant on scriptures and emphasizes precisely what is *not* revealed therein to mark the limitations outside of which the Gnostic, apocryphal, or heretical works venture to describe. Mainly from the work of Lantschoot, we have come to realize that John also seems to rely heavily on the writings of Origen, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom, and John the Grammarian.¹⁰ Perhaps the greatest influence of the arguments contained in this homily (as well as his homily on the Resurrection and the Last Judgment) is seen most directly in the *Homily on Riches* attributed to Peter of Alexandria, which contains an encomium on the Archangel Michael (82–117), sandwiched between two sections on the Judgment and Resurrection (75–81, 118–19) (Pearson and Vivian 1993: 15–25).

Synaxaria

The second main work attributed to John of Barullos are the Coptic and Ethiopian Synaxaria.¹¹ While the prologue of the Coptic Synaxarium lists among its authors “John, bishop of Barullos,” this is probably *not* the same figure as the sixth-century bishop who lived from 540 to 610 or 620. The bishop of Barullos, in this prologue, explains that after observing the ruins of his church in Za‘farana, he spent much time thinking about investigating the lives of the martyrs of the Church, until a saintly monk visited him with old and damaged books, seeking repair. The text reads as follows:

I was bishop of Barullos and I had always attended the church in Za‘farana.¹² I saw that it was in ruin because of the passing of time and the destruction of people. Thus it came to my mind that I should investigate the lives of the martyrs of this church. After some time passed, as I thought more about this matter and was unable either to eat or sleep because of my preoccupation, a saintly monk from Dayr al-Mayma¹³ came to me. He carried old and damaged books from that church. . . . He said “Father, take these books in order to prepare the orders of the church since you are our father and have authority over this church.” . . . I was overjoyed and I searched in the books and found the orders of the church, in both Coptic and Arabic. While I searched, I [also] found the story in question, the hagiography of the saint martyr Dimyana. . . . I began to transcribe it, as it had been written in the handwriting of a boy from the slave of Julius al-Aqfahsi, whose name was Ikhristodolo.¹⁴

The mention that these books were in the Coptic *and* Arabic languages suggests that this is not the sixth-century Bishop John of Barullos, but a much later figure. We are aware that John knew Coptic and Greek, and perhaps Syriac. But 541 is far too early to see the Synaxarium in both Coptic and Arabic. According to Cardinal Angelo Mai’s work on the Arabic Synaxarium, its reputed compiler was Michael, bishop of Atrib and Malig in 1425 (Burmester 1938: 249); Michael’s work was then adopted by most scholars working on the Arabic and Ethiopian Synaxaria (Burmester 1938: 249, citing Zotenberg 1877: 152; Wüstenfeld 1879: 152; Hyvernat 1909: 362; O’Leary 1937b: 32).

While it is nearly impossible that the entire Synaxarium can have been composed by John, at least two manuscripts do attribute the life of St.

Dimiana to John of Barullos.¹⁵ If this is the case, then some revision must be made to the introductory preface of the current Coptic Synaxarium.

Other writings

Two other works deserving of scholarly attention are attributed to John. Ibn Kabar's (d. 1324) catalog attributes thirteen anathemas to John, without express citation or elaboration.¹⁶ The only other mention of this seems to be the *Antiphonarium*, which praises John for delivering the apostolic canons to the faithful. I have not yet been able to locate these anathemas in any collection. A lesser-known work is the Coptic life of Pope Damian attributed to the bishop of Barullos, found in the White Monastery.¹⁷

The Divine Fire Motif in the Life of John of Barullos

One of the unique features of John's Synaxarium entries is their strange infatuation with fire. We are told that every time John would celebrate the Divine Liturgy, his face and his body would flush red, as if in a furnace. He wept at beholding the heavenly Host on the altar.¹⁸ When he placed his finger on the chalice to make the sign of the cross, he found the cup hot with fire.¹⁹ In the Ethiopian version, John would also find the *korban*²⁰ burning like fire (Budge *Synaxarium*: 224).

In the Coptic Synaxarium, John excommunicated those who would partake of the mysteries without fasting. According to the Ethiopian version, these "evil men and heretics . . . [would] offer up the Offering twice a day, after they had eaten."²¹ After John excommunicated them, "God sent fire from heaven and consumed their leader; when those who remained saw this, they feared exceedingly and entered the True Faith."

What is the reason for this strange emphasis on fire in the Coptic and Ethiopian accounts? One possibility could be that in the Ethiopian Synaxarium, the entry for John of Barullos on 19 Tahisas (28 December) is followed by that for the Three Holy Youths, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael. Yet this does not seem to provide an adequate connection to John, since the Ethiopian account is a translation from the Coptic, which commemorates the Three Holy Youths five months later, on 10 Bashans (18 May). Perhaps the inclusion of the Three Holy Youths on a different date in the Ethiopian version could be the *effect* of the emphasis on fire, rather than its *cause* or explanation.

Another possibility comes from the fourteenth-century manuscript concerning the life of St. Pisentius (Psenthaïsus or Psenda), a contemporary of John of Barullos, who is also described in a very similar manner.²² Pisentius

also had a strong connection to Pope Damian (who ordained him) and was known for his generosity to travelers. We are told that when he ascended the altar, his face glowed like fire while he watched the Holy Spirit descending on the oblations. Yet the Coptic Synaxarium entry on 13 Abib only mentions that he used to see the angels flying—without any mention of fire or the Holy Spirit. Fortunately, this manuscript does give some explanation for this fiery theme—the personal connection between Bishop Pisentius and Elijah the Prophet.²³ The bishop was drawn to the monastic life by Abbot Elijah the Great, the head of Abu Fam Monastery on the mount of Shama (Malaty 1993: 114). The passage also relates an apparition of Elijah to the monk Pisentius in his cell (Malaty 1993: 115), in which the latter was “enflamed” with the monastic life. While none of these stories or descriptions is found in the Coptic entry, we do find a similar entry at the same period in the Russian tradition. The fourteenth-century hermit and mystic, Abbot Sergius, has a vision of a twisted flame that enters the chalice before he communes, and his face glows after he is visited by the Virgin Mary and Sts. Peter and John (Bulgakov 1997: 66; Fedotov 1969: 82; Fanning 2001: 46–47). Thus this second possibility is that this motif is a characteristic of many accounts of fourteenth-century mystics, at least in Ethiopia and Russia.

Yet another possibility for this fiery motif comes from the Byzantine Eucharistic tradition. In the Byzantine rite, the famous Communion prayer attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes speaks of the fire of the Eucharist that either consumes or cleanses. This notion of the fire of the divinity active in the Eucharist is a native feature of the Byzantine liturgical tradition that may be due, at least in part, to the pouring of hot water into the chalice, usually interpreted as a type of the Divine Essence as a consuming fire (see Taft 2000: 488; Hawkes–Teeple 2011: 151). But again, how can Symeon’s comments be related to John of Barullos? Symeon was secretary and chancellor of the imperial court at Constantinople, about 900, and wrote the biographies of 122 saints and martyrs. For our purposes, one of the most important of these biographies is that of Peter I of Alexandria.²⁴ In the Coptic homily on the Epiphany attributed to Peter of Alexandria, the author relates that he sees a flame of fire above the throne in the altar—a hidden flame which is explained by Hebrews 12:29, “Our God is a consuming fire.”²⁵ Even though several ancient authors may have made the same correlation, it seems more than possible that Symeon was inspired by this theme when composing the Prayer for Communion, which itself had a deep and long-standing tradition in Byzantine Eucharistic theology. While the theory is admittedly

speculative, it is possible that the fiery motif in the story of John of Barullos could be the result of the influence of Symeon Metaphrastes, who did edit many other Coptic lives. This fascination with the divine fire remained not only in these Coptic lives, but also in the Byzantine rite as well.

The narratives of John also contain the motif of divine fire related to the judgment of those who partook of the Eucharist several times in one day without fasting. Surely, this notion of divine punishment originates with the strange fire of Nadab and Abihu (Exodus 24) and the fire that consumes the 250 men of Korah (Numbers 26:10). A similar story is mentioned in the life of Pope Benjamin I (623–62), who called down fire from heaven upon some notorious offender.²⁶

Conclusion

What, then, can be said regarding John of Barullos with any certainty at this stage?

We know he was bishop of al-Barullos, a city which remained quite an active diocese for several centuries.

We also know that his main work was to respond to heresies (primarily Gnostic) that seem to target the uneducated within the Sa'id. It was his response to these heresies, at least in part, which prompted Pope Damian to entrust him with some advisorial capacity, possibly in regard to Syria.

Related to these heresies is his concern for the saints. Although he is believed to have been one of the compilers of the Synaxarium, at this point we can only verify his composition of the life of St. Dimiana, and his concern for Archangel Michael, especially relating to his day of commemoration. It is not unreasonable to assume that John of Barullos saw the necessity of reviewing and/or composing the lives of the saints, since they often result in conveying false doctrines or inexact spiritual truths, which often creep into these hagiographical traditions.

The motif of divine fire in the Coptic and Ethiopian entries for John of Barullos seems most likely to be the result of some type of the appropriation of the life of his contemporary St. Pistentius, who seems to be compared with Elijah the Prophet sometime before the fourteenth century. This may be the result of a long-standing tradition of Eucharistic visions that date at least to Peter I, which seem to have influenced Byzantine Eucharistic theology through Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century.

As is clear from the above, much work still remains to be done on the life and teachings of John of Barullos.

Notes

- 1 I must express my gratitude to Fr. Wadi Awad and Hany Takla for their assistance in finding some of the Coptic texts and references related to him.
- 2 Coquin and Martin 1991d: 1174b–1175a, as found in the *History of the Patriarchs*.
- 3 Davis 2008: 146–47, citing *Kitab mayamir wa 'aja'ib al-'adhra'*, 71; see also Stewart 1991c: 427.
- 4 Müller 1991b: 5:1367. Many of his relatives were believed to be priests: O'Leary 1937b: 168.
- 5 This is emphasized in the Ethiopian Synaxarium (Budge *Synaxarium*: 223).
- 6 *History of the Patriarchs* mentions that John of Barullos was held in high admiration by Pope Damian. According to some accounts, Petrus Callinicus was consecrated by Pope Damian. John of Ephesus heard that Peter was consecrated by Damian in Alexandria, while Michael the Syrian (copying Denys of Tell-Mahre) reports that the Eastern bishops, in agreement with the Alexandrians, ordained Peter in the Monastery of Mar Hanina (Ebied 1981: 4–5). In this controversy, Damian accused Peter of Tritheism while Peter accused Damian of Sabellianism.
- 7 Müller 1991b: 1368; Mai 1831: 198. MS 90 is dated to AM 934 or AD 1218. See also *Book of Adam* and *Apocalypse of Moses* in Helmbold 1967: 86.
- 8 This was originally published by Evetts 1907a: 213 (= PO 1.4: 477). It was followed by a French translation by Arnold van Lantschoot (Lantschoot 1946), and a German translation by C.D.G. Müller (Müller 1954a: 102–103, 150–56).
- 9 *The Investiture of (Archangel) Michael, the Apocryphon of John, Jubilation of the Apostles, Apocalypse of Adam, and the Dialog of the Savior* (Lantschoot 1946: 298).
- 10 Lantschoot 1946: 322n18. He compares the orders of the angels in John of Barullos and John the Grammarian in *De opifio mundi*, 1.10.
- 11 The Ethiopian manuscripts include the name of “the honorable father John, bishop of the city of Burlus, and the other holy and honorable fathers.” Burmester 1938: 250.
- 12 According to Crum, this is located south of the Monastery of al-Mayma. Crum 1899–1900: 51.
- 13 According to her hagiography, St. Dimiana was baptized at the age of one at Dayr al-Mayma. Armanios 2003: 80.
- 14 Awad 1948: 56. Ikhrisodolo may have been one of the three hundred young men believed to have assisted Julius with the tasks of preserving the stories and bodies of the saints. See *al-Siniksar* 1978: 47–48.
- 15 Strassburg MS 4.180, and St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society ML.MS.146. See also Forget 1963: 165–66. I am grateful to Hany Takla for these references.
- 16 Riedel 1902. Burmester 1938 lists extant manuscripts from Zotenberg 1877: 124 MS 111.
- 17 Lucchesi 2003: 232. See also Müller 1986: 139n75.
- 18 The Ethiopian Synaxarium explains that this would take place when reciting the “Holy, Holy, Holy” (Budge *Synaxarium*: 224).
- 19 According to the Coptic Synaxarium, this happened three times; in the Difnar (Mattaos 1985) and the Ethiopian Synaxarium, it happened *each* time.
- 20 *Korban* is the Arabic word for the sacramental bread offering.

- 21 Budge *Synaxarium*: 224. Archdale King claims that these heretics were accustomed to commune twenty times a day. King gives no citation, and may have just misread the account (King 2007: 416).
- 22 Malaty 1993: 115, citing Manuscript 97-470 History 18, Library of the Coptic Museum (=Coptic Museum Hist. 470), from the fourteenth century, published by Nabil Selim (in Arabic).
- 23 Malaty 1993: 115, citing Manuscript 97-470 History 18, Library of the Coptic Museum (=Coptic Museum Hist. 470), from the fourteenth century, published by Nabil Selim (in Arabic).
- 24 Schaff 1859: 472. Symeon is also believed to have edited the *Philokalia* and paraphrased the homilies of St. Macarius the Great. Agapios 1957: 848n76, concerning the Holy and Ecumenical Fifth–Sixth or Sixth Synod.
- 25 St. Peter of Alexandria, *On the Epiphany*, 28–29 (Pearson and Vivian 1993: 167).
- 26 Unfortunately only a small fragment of the life of Benjamin survives. See Butler 1978: 173n2, citing Bodleian Library MS. Copt. Clar. Press b. 5; Amélineau 1889. We are never told exactly what crime prompted Benjamin to call down fire upon him.