## Barsûma the Naked: Coptic and English

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This short fragment was published by W.E. Crum in his article 'Barsauma the Naked', on pp. 135-149 and 206 of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 39 (1907). I have retyped the text here with my own English version of it. I have referred to the Arabic version wherever appropriate. The Coptic text occupies pp. 192-195 and is preceded by the corresponding Arabic text on pp. 191-192. The plate reproduced below, which shows p. 2a of the text, appears on p. 207 of the article. The raised letters in Crum's text represent the capital letters at the beginning of a paragraph. I have added references to Crum's dictionary in the hope that they may be of use to those in the early stages of studying the language.

Barsûma is usually known as the 'naked' because for five years, like Job, he lived on a rubbish heap outside city and wore no clothes. In the section of the Arabic text numbered A by Crum it is said that the saint bore 'honoured name of Barsûma'.¹ He was born towards the end of the Ayyubid dynasty (1174-1250) and died in 1317, when the Mamluks became rulers of Egypt, with their stronghold on the island of Roda in the Nile, which gave them the name of Bahri (river/sea) Mamluks. Barsûma's father was in the employ of Shajar ed Durr (Tree of Pearls), who became the first Mamluk ruler (Sultana) in 1250. However, she was not recognized as such by the Caliph in Baghdad and was forced to marry someone appointed by the Mamluks in order to secure recognition from Baghdad. Shajar later had him executed and was in turn herself the victim of a brutal murder.

According to part of the Arabic text not published here, Barsûma's father, al Wajih, known as al Tabbân ('the strawseller') was the 'secretary' of the Sultana, though he is not mentioned as such by historians such as Maqrizi. Christian-Muslim relations seem to have been good during the Fatimid period and Christians occupied senior positions in the administration. The Fatimids built the city of Cairo c. 969 AD. It is probably significant that the Patriarchate was transferred from Alexandria (Rakote) to Cairo when Christodoulos (Abd el Masih) was Patriarch in 1047. It is clear

A Syrian monk who championed the monophysite position of the Coptic Church at the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD). In his honour there is a wall painting of him in St Antony's monastery with a pig and serpent at his feet cf. Elizabeth Bolman (ed.) *Monastic Visions* (2002) p. 53. There is a story about how the medieval Barsûma (section B of Crum's text) cows a hostile serpent into submission in the church of St Mercurius, with the result that it would lie at the feet of the saint. Two of the miracles (25 and 31 on p. 204 of Crum) involve a hedgehog, but whether this creature was mistaken for a pig I cannot say.

from extant Fatimid decrees that monks and monasteries were reasonably treated. <sup>2</sup> There is an allusion to persecution<sup>3</sup> of Christians in 1301 or 1303 AD in section E of Crum's text: churches were ordered to be locked so that no-one could stay there and people were forced to wear hideous black garments on the heads. <sup>4</sup> Barsûma defied the order and stayed in the church, for which he was beaten by someone described as ... <sup>5</sup> He was imprisoned for some time and subsequently released, after which he devoted himself to ascetic practices int monastery of Mercurius and was visited there by those seeking consolation, among them high-ranking soldiers and administrators.

The Arabic text published by Crum is from Paris Arabe Ms 72 and only sections of it appear in the article. The Coptic text is contained on four paper leaves that form part of the Clarendon Coptic Mss. in the Bodleian library at Oxford, which, according to Crum, look out of place because the other texts in that collection are on parchment. The dialect of the text is Sahidic, in which a substantial portion of Coptic literature survives. From about the 10th cent. its place begins to be taken by Bohairic, in the written record at least. It will be seen from the plate provided by Crum that the handwriting is of the sloping semi-uncial type used in late Sahidic texts such as the *Triadon*<sup>6</sup> and *Mysteries of the Alphabet*. These texts were written at a time when Christian Egyptian speakers seem to have felt that their language had to be preserved, and since Bohairic was already in use, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Sahidic, a dialect of major importance for centuries and almost an historical monument, was felt to be in need of preservation, which is perhaps confirmed by the relatively non-standard nature of the dialect used to write the text. <sup>7</sup>

The Coptic text starts at the point where we learn that Barsûma, after having been released from brief imprisonment and torture by the governor, (متولى) was much visited by people of all sorts requiring his assistance and went to live on a rubbish heap, where he lived for sixteen years, and 'went to his rest'.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Stern *Fatimid Decrees* (1964), e.g. nos. 1 and 4. In particular, decree no. 1 makes it clear that the substance of this decree issued in response to a petition of monasteries in general for certain privileges is a continuation of what had been granted by previous decrees (سجلات), including al Hâkim.

<sup>3</sup> The Arabic phrase is ضابقة عظيمة

<sup>4</sup> This detail is taken from Crum's translation only because there is no Arabic text of this passage.

<sup>5</sup> Crum suggests scutarius (shield-bearer), an imperial official cf. J. Niemeyer Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (1959) p. 949. Might the word be سكيدرى ?

<sup>6</sup> In which Barsûma is mentioned §687. cf. Oskar von Lemm *Das Triadon* (1903) and A. Hebbelynck 'Les mystères des lettres grecques' *Le Muséon* 19 (1900) pp. 5ff., 105ff. and 269ff. and 20 (1901) pp. 5ff

<sup>7</sup> Crum has a note on this subject in his article cf. p.137. An intriguing set of documents in a Middle Egyptian dialect from the 11th cent. was published by Michael Green 'Private archive from Teshlot' *Oudheidkundige Medelingen* 64 (1983) pp. 61ff.

## Text and translation

] 2МПМОНАСТИРІОН МП2АГІОС ЙЕЎ МЕНТАСЕ НРОМПЕ АФОУФФ НОПОТЕ МПЙЕ ЕТРЕФПФФИФ ЕВОЛ 2МПІКОСМОС АФИТОН МНОФ 2ЕНСОУТОУ НАПОУКОУМЕНОН 2ЕМПХФК МАЛФ ФОМИТ МЕНОУФО 2ЕНИРОМПЕ ИТОКЛУДІАНОС 2НОУЄІРНИЕ ИТЕПНОУТЕ ЕРЕНФСМОЎ ЕТОУЛАВ ФФПЕ НЕММАН $\cdot$  ФФ : ПЛІ МЕНИСАТРЕФСВО НЕММННОЎЕ ЕТЕМПЕФКФТЕ 2Н2ИСВФОЎЕ МПЙАТКОН МИ2НИТОЛН ЕЎОУЛВ ЕЎРАНАФ МПЙЕ ЛУФ НЕРЕПРЕСВУТЕРОС ІФ2ЛИНІС ПФНРЕ П2ЛЛО ЕФЛУПЕІ ЕМАТЕ АФМЕЎЕ 2МПЕФ2НТ ЛУФ ПЕХЛФ 2РАІ И2НТФ ХЕОЎ ПЕТЕНЕІРЕ ММОФ МИНСАНЕФСВФОЎЕ ЕТНАНОЎОЎ ЛФОЎФФВ ПЕХЛФ НАФ НОППЕТОУЛЛВ АПЛ ПАРСФМА

] in the monastery of Saint Mercurius<sup>8</sup> for sixteen years.<sup>9</sup> The Lord God wished him to be removed from the world. He went to his rest on the 5th epagomenal day<sup>10</sup> in the completion of the 1033rd year of Diocletian<sup>11</sup> in the peace of God, His blessings being with us. Amen.<sup>12</sup>

This one, after he had taught<sup>13</sup> the multitudes around him<sup>14</sup> spiritual teachings and holy injunctions pleasing to God, John the priest, the son of the elder,<sup>15</sup> being much distressed, thought and said to himself: 'What are we to do after his good teachings?' The holy Apa Barsûma replied and said to him<sup>17</sup>:

(1b) хепгмгал мпецвик еллау иса алла оүон иім етнахоос хеш парсш пфнре прецтиг тнаоушфв нац хесе тахшк евол мпецаітних гагтипи $\overline{o}$  інс пе $\overline{x}$ с ацбишт исагігвоур мноц ибіпенеішт етоулав пехац хеш пенхоеіс луціоп ерон мпоубенлалу гієхши хенхартнс пгигла есхшк евол оугооу минсаоугооу Итеуноу де ацбишт фалврагам пнодореос пециантнс пехац

<sup>8</sup> Ar. adds 'Monastery of Shahrân'. Maqrizi mentions Barsûma in his notice on the Monastery of Shahrân (Crum p. 136)..

<sup>9</sup> Margin: i5

<sup>10</sup> Margin: €. The Greek word is a translation of the pharaonic Egyptian *hryw* 'extra', which referred to the five extra days added to the 360 days of the Egyptian year (12 months of 30 days). If the ancient Egyptians had added the extra quarter of a day and created a 'leap' year, their calendar would have been perfect.

<sup>11</sup> Ar. 'Year of the Pure Martyrs'. Margin:  $\bar{\lambda}_i \bar{\lambda} \bar{\Gamma}$  followed by a group that looks as it is meant to represent **CTAYPOC** 

<sup>12</sup> Written  $\bar{q}\bar{\Theta}$ , the numerical value of AMHN. A

<sup>13</sup> The verb **CBO** is often intransitive but here it must be transitive cf. Crum 435a

<sup>14</sup> Ar. adds 'at that time'.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps this is someone of the same name, a cleric of the monastery who lived before 1332 AD cf. Crum fn. 118

<sup>16</sup> Ar. 'and thought to himself about the loss to people of his teaching'.

<sup>17</sup> Coptic form of the name is 'Parsôma' (later abbreviated to 'Parso') Ar. adds 'saying with his pure mouth'. Coptic deletes: eqxw 'saying'.

нац хеш поло мнакаріос † наі єноубортє іє оуфаліс тафшшт євол мпалас мпецсштем ношц

(1b) 'The servant has not gone to any place.<sup>18</sup> But everyone who says the name of Parsô, the son of the strawseller', <sup>19</sup> I will answer him saying, 'Yes', and I will fulfil his request with the Lord Jesus Christ.' Our holy father looked to the left of him and said: 'Our lord, they have made a reckoning with us and have found nothing against us, <sup>20</sup> for the books of the servant are<sup>21</sup> completed each day.' He then looked at Abraham the notary, his disciple, and said to him: 'Blessed elder, give me a knife or scissors and I will cut out my tongue.' Abraham said to him: 'How can you cut out the tongue that blesses God?' Barsûma did not listen to him.

(2a) алла адхі пфаліс адфшт євол ноукоуї мпедлас адноухє ммод гієхмпкаг адархєї єдмнлета гмпєпфалмос хєп $\overline{o}$ спє паоуоєїн мпа $\overline{c}$  $\overline{w}$  $\overline{p}$  єїнарготє гмтд ниім фапедхшк ауш он хеєїстите оупетнаноуд и оупетноти исатрегиснноў оуше ноума ноушт фапедхшк. Итеўноў адсепрагіге мпедсшма ммін ммод гмпмаєїн мпес $\overline{p}$ ос єтоўаав ад $\dagger$  мпе $\overline{n}$  $\overline{n}$  $\overline{n}$ 0 анаггелос м $\overline{n}$  $\overline{n}$  $\overline{e}$ 1 итедфухи фаппаралісос итетрефе адпшшне євол гмпікосмос адвшк фапентадмерітд іс пе $\overline{x}$ 0 адаполаўє инагафон єтмин євол єтемпевал єрооў наў єрооў оуле мпемаахе сотмоў мпоўале граї єхмпгит мпршме

(2a) But he took the scissors and cut out a little<sup>22</sup> of his tongue<sup>23</sup> and threw it to the ground. He began to recite from the Psalm<sup>24</sup> ' 'My Lord, my light and my Saviour, of whom will I be afraid?' to its end. And also 'Behold, a good thing or a sweet thing', <sup>25</sup> after the brothers had settled in a single place, to its end. He then blessed<sup>26</sup> his own body with the sign of the holy cross. He gave up his spirit. The angels of God<sup>27</sup> received his soul up to the paradise of blessing. He departed from the world and went to the one he loves, Jesus Christ. He enjoyed the enduring good things which the eye<sup>28</sup> has not seen nor the ear heard nor have they entered into the heart of man,

<sup>18</sup> Ar. 'The servant has no absence.' Presumably a word of encouragement from Barsûma to reassure that he will be always be with to intercede on behalf of those who call out his name.

<sup>19</sup> The formation **PEQTW2** would not be possible in earlier Sahidic, where the prefix **PEQ** 'someone who does' is constructed with a verb and not, as here, with a noun.

<sup>20</sup> The Coptic prep. **216.XWN** cf. Crum 758b. Ar. '... and found nothing for them with respect to us, truly'.

<sup>21</sup> Text reads εcxwκ for εγxwκ.

<sup>22</sup> Ar. 'the end'.

<sup>23</sup> Ar. 'with his hand'.

<sup>24</sup> Ps. 27, 1

<sup>25</sup> Ps. 133, 1

<sup>26</sup> Gk. σφραγίζειν

<sup>27</sup> Ar. 'and his noble saintly soul ascended to ... with the angels of light ...

<sup>28</sup> It is clear from the plate provided by Crum that the scribe has added **BAA** above the line and, in **εροο**γ, corrected the **p** and the second **o**.

(2b) наі нтадсевтоотоу нбіміїній ннетме ммоц  $\cdot$  Тоте анеснноу ммонохос аукшсц калшс гигоіте исорт бұтввну аухітц бгоун бтеккансіа  $\cdot$  адеі нбіпенвішт бтоуаав нархнепіскопос апа ішнаннінс петоумоте броц хепщире мпрагіос пмератооу нхоушт гиненбіоте мпатріархис менгинніше пресвутброс мирендіаконос меннархши бттабіну итотполіс сенте аубренве граі бхшц аутпо ммоц гиоуноб нтабіо аухітц аукаац гиоутаїве аухітц мптафос бтемпемто бвох мпро

these things which God has prepared for those who love Him.<sup>29</sup>

The brother monks then buried him well in pure woollen garments. They took him to the church. Our holy father the Archbishop John, who is called the Son of the Saint,<sup>30</sup> the 80th of our Patriarch fathers, with many priests, deacons and respected notables of the two cities.<sup>31</sup> They mourned for him. They accompanied<sup>32</sup> him in great reverence, took him and placed him in a coffin and took him to the grave before the door

(3a) итеккансіа гагтемпресвутерос вісаак провістос мпионостиріон аффшпе гемпегооу єтемнау оуноб наупе мноуріне мноуафагом итполіс сенте мнитіме мпеукфте итероусфти хефпенвіфт єтоуаав мтон ммоф. Аупаракалеї мпій хф ммос хеф пенховіс ій пех пій пій пиант † нан ноусаг нагафос єффана граї ехфи ауф нефгарег єрон євох гиноуфиф префтфрп Нефргемме ммон гинефсвфоує мпій ткон анон де гфн ф намерате маренпаракалеї мпос пноуте ппантократфр єтрефкф нан євох ниннове миненпараптфма неффе нан єтренєїрє

<sup>29 1</sup> Cor. 2,9

<sup>30</sup> It is not known what this means, but I have capitalized it in keeping with the English orthographic convention of writing names with capital letters. John VIII (1300-1320 AD) was head of the church in the reign of al Nasir, who allowed Muslims that had killed Christians to keep the property of the latter. Ar. has the word for 'eighty', but the Coptic has a computation: THE24TOOY NXOYWT 'the fourth (times) twenty'

<sup>31</sup> Fustât and Misr. Ar. 'and a great assembly of Christian people'. Fustat ('tent')is the settlement that developed to the north of the Roman fortress of Babylon after the Arab invasion. In the Fatimid period the city of Cairo (al Qahira) was founded to the north, capital cities having moved gradually northwards from the White Walls of the 1st dynasty, one of who names was adopted by the Greeks as Memphis. The name Misr is still the name given to the Christian quarter today called Misr Qadima (Old Cairo). The Ar. misr (مصر) is associated bothwith Egypt and building cities.

<sup>32</sup> Crum 461a: τ2πο (caus. of πω2 'reach'), often spelled Θπο, but not in the non-standard form used here.

of the church with the presbyter Isaac<sup>33</sup> the prior of the monastery. On that day there was great grief<sup>34</sup> and weeping and sighing of the two cities and the neighbouring towns when they heard that our father had died.<sup>35</sup> They called upon God, saying,<sup>36</sup> 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the merciful God, give us a good teacher who prays for us and protects us from the ravenous wolves and guides us with his spiritual teachings.' <sup>37</sup> But we, my beloved, let us pray to the Lord God that He may forgive us our sins and trespasses and enable us to make<sup>38</sup>

(3b) изикарпос бүмпфа итметаноіа єтренбіне ноуна мноуанапаусіс дмпезооу итекрісіс Несталбо инстффие єтзмпесталос нестарізе нау мпоухаї искто иненбіоте минисиноу буфооп змпфимо минетзіхенбаласса єпеуманффпе зеноубірнин Несттон иннеіфте минисиноу єтаункотк аумтон мнооу зитпістіс тсоутон несці євох змпзо мпказ тнре плоімос мипсісмос мипзувфи митсисе пхахє неска итесеірние зитмінте мпесталос ноуобіф нім Несттен немпфа єтренсфтен єтесми мнакаріон тмєз прафе зісолся хеамніти фароі

fruits worthy of repentance that we may find mercy and repose on the day of judgement and He may cure the sick among his people and grant them health, return our fathers and brothers who are abroad and on the sea to their home in peace, give rest to our fathers and brothers who have died and gone to their rest in in the upright faith, remove from the face of the whole country pestilence, earthquakes, famine<sup>39</sup> and the sword of the enemy and impose His peace in the midst of His people at all times and make us worthy to hear the blessed voice that is full of joy and solace, saying 'Come to me,

(4а) итсмамаат итмпасіфт итєтенканорномеї типтеро итаусевтотс инти хінкатавоан мпкосмос нецеїне наи мпмооу итеромпе таї динеуфі минеукерос нецеўдане икарпос мпкад нецоўффф ихахе итеккансіа нецкаталу инеуфохне Катафе итацкфае мпффхие нахітовеа нецрпмеўе дмпецма ноўон нім етціпрфоўф инепросфора минапархи мипиед мипхффме нфф дмпіфа мпооў ауф нецрпмеўе ноўон нім етаухоос най хеарі пенмеўе

<sup>33</sup> Ar, adds 'son of Qarûra'

<sup>34</sup> Coptic: **ληψωπε 2εμπε200**γ **ετεμμλ**γ **ογνοό κλγπε**. In standard Sahidic one might expect **νό**ι, the particle that usually introduces the deferred nominal subject, before **ογνοό**.

<sup>35</sup> For where read anenew. Perhaps influenced by the invocation in the following line.

<sup>36</sup> Read εγxw.

<sup>37</sup> Ar. text is slightly longer here.

<sup>38</sup> Crum's text has **ειρε** ('make') but his translation has 'bring forth', and I wonder if it is not the verb **πειρε** ('come forth, put forth' Crum 267b)

<sup>39</sup> Crum (fn. 141) speculates that these refer to the famine of 1294 and earthquake of 1303.

## 2мпні мп $\overline{6}$ с жекас ецерпеумеує 2мпеирам ет2мпеирам

those blessed of my father, and inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the foundation of the world that He may bring to us the water of this year in their measure and their time, increase the fruits of the earth, destroy the enemies of the Church, foil their counsels as He foiled the counsel of Achitophel, remember in His mercy all who took thought for the offerings and the first fruits and the oil and the books for reading on this feast day today and tear up the register of their sins and write our name.

(4b) гипхффие ипоиг ауф недентен псноу ткероипе тиноу оуфх сфиа ифухи иппа Negrapez епфиг менптаго ерато ипененфт нфсютатос пікатрит пфр пафирон пійппіменон архієрноус архиереон тоу прс тон орфанон ке крітон тон хурон предиіфе ткалфс тветпістіс тсоутон нфе ндіоскорос пентацтоуве Nxaxe итеккансіа нфе ніфганинс пехреостфиос
Пентацероуобін гитецгенба адхро бибдахає нфе піапостолікос пестеллос втероуфеін гипкосмос пентадхфк євол єхфц нбіпфахе (sic expl.)

in the book of life that He may bring us to the time of the year also to come, whole<sup>43</sup> in body, soul and spirit and preserve life and the establishment of our holy father, the wise, father of fathers,<sup>44</sup> chief shepherd, the father of orphans and judge of the widows, the fighter who is good<sup>45</sup> for the upright faith, like Dioscorus, who opposed the enemies of the Church and John Chrysostom, who illuminated his generation and overcame his enemies, and like Athanasius the apostolic, the pillar that gave light to the world, in whom the Word was fulfilled (*sic expl.*)

<sup>40</sup> The water (πμοογ) is singular and refers to a good inundation.

<sup>41</sup> An adviser of David who deserted him to go over to Absalom and, seeing that his counsel to Absalom was ignored, returned to his home and took his own life cf. 2 Sam. 15, 31ff.

<sup>42</sup> Coptic adds: μνπεγραν 'and their name'.

<sup>43</sup> Text: oywx, where one expects enoywx.

<sup>44</sup> The following titles are not only in Greek but in (more or less) morphologically correct Greek.

<sup>45</sup> It is impossible to read this phrase as 'standard' Coptic. πρεφηιφε (fighter) is a standard formation, but τκαλως looks like an attempt to combine the Coptic relative particle ετ with an an adjective or adverb, which simply violates the rules of Coptic and is meaningless in Greek. ΝΚΑλως, however, would make it into a straightforward adjective 'good'. Or perhaps πρεφηιφε τ<μιφε> καλως

ARTA 44951 17 FATIC ULYUM 75807 MOYKOYI UTTEYYAC KYMOYOCEUUD CHECHITICAL AYAPKEI EYUNNETA SUTTETT FARMOR SCHTTETTETTOMY DEINUNITATUP FINAPEOTESTIFE HHIU YATTIYISMIL BEEICEHHTE OYTHTHANDY HOY THE THE TU HEATPEEN ON HOY OYUL SHOYUAHOYW YANTHUSOUK TENNON ON CEITPATIZE UTTENCHUL กกามกางส. รกบางรานการณ์ ETOYAGE QYTUTETTIA CHAPTENOCUTHE SCHTEY TYSCH WATTHAPADICOCH TETPE DE AY THU WHE EBOTY SUTTINGE UP AYBOK WATTENTAYUEPITY TOTTEXE AYA TTO THE PHATAGEN E TUHNEBOX E TEUTENAYE POBYOYDEUTEURASE COTUOY UMAYANE EPAJESLUTERULE

LIFE OF BARSAUMA.