



FRANKS AND EASTERN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES:
A SURVEY OF THEIR BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS
BY AN ARABIC-SPEAKING COPTIC AUTHOR
(MS MINGANA CHR. ARAB. 71)

Interactions between various communities of Eastern Christianity are witnessed by many sources. The relationships among them were further strengthened in the wake of the Muslim conquests of the Middle East, when the widespread use of Arabic and frequent migrations contributed to the intensification of contacts. When the Franks arrived in the Middle East, they became a part of this extraordinarily diverse milieu and attracted the attention of Eastern Christian communities. This is witnessed by a series of notes comprising a kind of improvised treatise written by an unknown Arabic-speaking Coptic author. His account will be treated in the following pages. It is worth mentioning that encyclopedic works were quite popular among the Copts in the Middle Ages. One could point out such examples as the comprehensive works by scholars of the famous family of Banū al-‘Assāl (13th c.), in particular, al-Mu’taman Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-‘Assāl’s *Summa of the foundations of religion, and what was heard of reliable knowledge* (*Mağmū’ usūl ad-dīn wa-masmū’ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn*)¹. Another example is the encyclopedic work *Light [Dispelling] the Darkness and A Clear Explanation of the Liturgy* (*Miṣbāḥ az-zulma wa-īdāḥ al-ḥidma*) by another Arabic-speaking Coptic author Abū ‘l-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d. 1324)². Both authors used extensive material coming from diverse Christian (and non-Christian) communities throughout their history.

The Manuscript. The manuscript Mingana Christian Arabic 71 is a collection of different texts of diverse content: canonical, theological, liturgical, and hagiographical. In the Catalogue of his manuscript collection, Alphonse Mingana (1878–1937) indicates the format of the manuscript as being “231×158 mm” and its volume as “161 leaves. Generally thirteen lines to the page.”³ He reports that the manuscript is written in a clear Egyptian Naskhī hand, is well rubricated, and has an index of the treatises

¹ A. Wadi [=Abullif, W.] and B. Pirone (eds.), al-Mu’taman Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-‘Assāl, *Mağmū’ usūl al-dīn wa-masmū’ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn. Summa dei principi della Religione* (Studia Orientalia Christiana; Monographiae, 6a–9), Cairo and Jerusalem: Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies, 1998.

² Abū ‘l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ az-zulma fī īdāḥ al-ḥidma*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1971–1992. Chapter 7, an important catalogue of Christian Arabic writings, was edited and translated into German by W. Riedel, “Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū ‘l-Barakāt,” *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 5 (1902): 635–706. An English translation of the Catalogue was prepared by Adam McCollum and published in 2009 on the website *tertullian.org*.

³ The section that contains the treatise in question is, in fact, generally fourteen lines to the page, while fol. 96r has seventeen lines, fol. 96v – sixteen lines, and fol. 98v – fifteen lines.

found in it. No data about the author of the treatise is given. The date given in the colophon (fol. 160r) is Monday, 24th of the month of Kihak (corresponds, approximately, to December in the Julian Calendar)⁴ of the year 1559 of the Martyrs (A.D. 1843)⁵. The colophon also contains data about the copyist and the person for whom the copy was made: it was written by the Hegumen Ğirġis, of the Monastery of Abū Maqā[r], in the desert of Šihāt, i.e. Scetes, for the Deacon and the teacher Ḥannā Abū Dāwūd, from the nobles (literally: *archonts*) of the district of Šawl, located, as commented by Mingana, “on the east bank of the Nile, to the south of Itfiḥ (Atfiḥ).” Mingana’s description of the colophon should be corrected. He gave the name as “John, son of David” for the original “Ḥannā Abū [not Ibn!] Dāwūd” and did not recognize the term *archonts*, rendering it as a toponym: “from Arākhant in the district in of Šawl,”⁶ even though in the colophon (fol. 160r:3) the Deacon Ḥannā Abū Dāwūd is clearly defined as an *archont* (*arḥun*), i.e. one of the nobles. The manuscript contains twelve unsophisticated miniatures, mainly of saints and angels⁷. Immediately before the section that contains the treatise in question (fol. 95v), a miniature of Saint Macarius is placed. It is quite probable that other manuscript collections may also contain copies of the present treatise, but I have not come across any reference to this yet.

The Contents of the Manuscript. On the fols. 1v–2r, one can find an index of the treatises the manuscript contains, but the index is not complete. Below I provide a translation of the original index and supply it with some additions and corrections.

The first: Canons of the one hundred and fifty Fathers [gathered] in Constantinople. The number of the leaf is 1 [fol. 3v–5v according to the pagination of the library].

[“A Study of the names of those who held erroneous doctrines” – this is a list of names of those who held doctrines rejected by the Coptic Orthodox Church. It is followed by a synopsis of doctrines of the Coptic Church: fol. ϣv–εv / 5v–6v; this text is not indicated in the index].

The second: A narration of the sayings of the Fathers along with the arguments from the Old and New Testaments about the hypostases of God. The number of the leaf is 5 [fol. οv–οϣr / 7v–58r].

The third: Interpretation of the twelve chapters compiled by Father Cyril [of Alexandria]. The number of the leaf is 57 [fol. οϣr–ϣϣr / 59r–69r].

⁴ See: E. De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt*, London: S.P.C.K., 1937; repr.: Whitefish (MT): Kessinger Publishing, 2005, pp. 42–43.

⁵ Mingana, A., *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*. 3 vols. (Woodbrooke Catalogues, 1–3). Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933, 1936, 1939. Vol. II, p. 65; Hunt, L.-A., *The Mingana and related collections: A survey of illustrated Arabic, Greek, Eastern Christian, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham*. Birmingham: The Mingana collection, Edward Cadbury Charitable Trust, 1997, p. 39 (№ 82).

⁶ Mingana, *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 65.

⁷ For the complete list see Mingana, *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 66.

The fourth: The twelve chapters which were compiled by Gregory [of Nyssa? – *usquf* [n]ūsā (fol. 70r)]. The number of the leaf is 68 [fol. ٧٠r–٧٩v / 70r–71v].

The fifth: An Explanation about the Holy Trinity. Number of the leaf is 70 [fol. ٧٠r–٧٨r / 72r–78r].

The sixth: Ten sections on the trinitarian and unitary [nature] of God. The number of the leaf is 77 [fol. ٧٧r–٨٣v / 79r–85v].

The seventh: An Explanation about the trinitarian and unitary [nature] of God. The number of the leaf is 84 [fol. ٨٤v–٩٣r / 86v–95r].

The eighth: From the sayings of the Fathers about that whereby each of the [Christian] communities is distinguished. The number of the leaf is 94 [fol. ٩٤r–٩٩v / 96r–101v].

[Characteristics of John the Baptist, Mar Mark the Evangelist, and John, [son] of Zebedee, the names of the parents of Melchizedek, the reason why the liturgy is not celebrated on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday during the Great Week, the names of the shepherds who came to Bethlehem on the Nativity of Christ: fol. 101v–104r].

The ninth: Questions and answers – A refutation of the Jews. The number of the leaf is 103 [fol. ١٠٣r–١٣٤v / 105r–136v].

The tenth: A composition based on what was said by Isaiah the prophet about the light of the Sun and the Moon. The number of the leaf is 135 [fol. ١٣٥v–١٤١v / 137v–143v].

The eleventh: The names of the twelve Apostles and their departure to the countries where they preached. The number of the leaf is 142 [fol. ١٤٢v–١٤٩v / 144v–151v].

[The names of the seventy disciples whom the Lord chose and sent forth in pairs: Addai the Apostle [etc.]: fol. 151v–159r; the names of the women who were called Mary in the Gospel, the names of the Magi: fol. 159r–159v].

There are some blank spaces in the manuscript (fol. 108r–108v:1–5 and fol. 153r:2–12–153v) caused by omissions in the text. The copyist intentionally left blank spaces so that he could fill them with the missing parts of the text, if he were to find them elsewhere. These omissions in the copyist's *Vorlage* allow us to offer some tentative observations about that *Vorlage* and therefore about the *terminus ante quem* for our treatise. One can assume that the missing parts of the text were written on leaves of the *Vorlage* which had been lost. They were probably initial or final leaves of the fascicles which formed the codex, and one could therefore conclude that the *Vorlage* was fairly worn out. The manuscript of the Mingana collection with which we are dealing now remains in a relatively good condition, after more than one hundred and fifty years since it was written. Even if we suppose that its *Vorlage* had been in more intensive use, it is still quite probable that it had been written at least one hundred years before the present copy (dating to 1843), i.e. before the second half of the 18th century. Assuming all this, one could surmise that the treatise about the Christian communities, which forms a part of the Mingana manuscript and was probably also a part of its *Vorlage*, was written no later than that.

The Author. One can say with certainty that the author of our treatise was a Copt. This is evidenced by the nature of the text as a whole, as well as by a concrete indication of this – the author’s phrase: “among us, the Copts” (‘*anda-nā* [sic] *naḥnu-l-qibt/qubṭ*) (fol. 97r:13). Considering the author’s interests – mainly liturgical – we could arrive at the conclusion that he was no doubt a clergyman, but there is no indication that would let us recognize his rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. While writing his notes, the author obviously used various witnesses from literary materials, as he frequently mentions himself by saying that he found such and such information “in the other exemplar” (fol. 98r:2, fol. 99v:4–5, fol. 100r:9, fol. 100v:13, fol. 101v:5). As a consequence of the compilatory character of the work, rather archaic looking Classical Arabic forms, uncharacteristic of the Christian Arabic use (e.g. *ma ‘a-hunna*, fol. 96v:13), can be found there alongside colloquialisms (e.g. *minēn*, fol. 96v:14), so it would be difficult to draw a portrait of the author based on his style of writing.

The Treatise. As the title given by the author indicates, his aim in writing the text was to describe “that whereby each community from the communities of the *Naṣārā*–Christians is distinguished, and what customs they practice, each community as opposed to another” (fol. 96r:2-3).

In his *Catalogue*, Mingana states that the “treatise contain[s] the differences in the theological beliefs and the ecclesiastical customs of the different Christian communities: the Copts, the Melchites, the Armenians, the West Syrians, the Nestorians and the Nubians (Abyssinians).”⁸ In actuality, however, the text does not begin with a description of the theological beliefs and the ecclesiastical customs of the Copts (which would only be natural for an Egyptian author), but instead gets down *ex abrupto* to the description of differences in theology and liturgical customs of the so-called “Franks,” as Western Europeans, Catholics of the Latin rite, and the Crusaders were generally known in the Middle East. Concerning the beliefs and practices of the Copts, the treatise, by contrast, provides us with no information. This oversight by Mingana can be partly explained by the fact that the word “Franks” (*al-ifraṅṅ*) is here written with a metathesis (as *al-infraṅṅ*) looking as if it were a word somehow connected with the beginning of the title. Another fact – that the word is written in red, in line with the title – makes it even more difficult to recognize its real meaning.

The identification of the Nubians with the Abyssinians, i.e. Ethiopians, suggested by Mingana, does not seem convincing, either. It is possible that Mingana believed that the existence of organized communities of Christian Nubians later than the 16th century is hardly documented; however the text itself does not support this identification. If the author of the treatise did mean Ethiopians, he would surely use the more conventional designation of them – *al-Habaša* – and this would really mean “Abyssinians.” At the same time, if we accept that the author did mean Nubians when he called the last listed

⁸ A. Mingana, *Catalogue*, vol. II, pp. 63–66 (esp. p. 64, section I).

community *an-Nūbā*, it would be quite surprising that the Ethiopians were ignored. Should we then conclude that the author perceived the Ethiopian Church as part of his own, Coptic Church, and therefore did not see anything peculiar about it?

The author's attention is focused, as he states himself, on what is specific to the theology and customs of this or that Christian community, what "distinguishes it" from others, i.e. what he finds unusual or reprehensible in them. He puts his critical remarks in the text in a very matter-of-fact way (fol. 96r:6–7, fol. 96v:2–4, fol. 99r:13–14, fol. 101v:7). It is worth mentioning that by saying that a particular phenomenon happens, he actually often means that it *may* happen or it is possible, but not that it takes place on a regular basis.

The translation below is based on the MS Mingana Chr. Arab. 71 (№. 45 in Mingana's *Catalogue*), fol. 96r–101v, and was prepared by Nikolai N. Seleznyov in consultation with Dmitry A. Morozov. The original text is rubricated, and its divisions are represented in the translation by intervals. The original numbering of the notes in the Coptic cursive hand is given in the translation in boldface numbers. The original pagination of the manuscript is twofold: one (by the manuscript's owner) is given in (Eastern) Arabic numbers; the other (that of the library) – is in modern Western numbers. In the text of the translation both are reproduced.

[٩٤١ / 96r] IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL |
I MENTIONED [IN THE FOLLOWING WORK] THAT WHEREBY EACH
COMMUNITY FROM THE COMMUNITIES OF THE NAṢĀRĀ-CHRISTIANS IS
DISTINGUISHED, | AND WHAT CUSTOMS THEY PRACTICE, EACH COMMUNITY
AS OPPOSED TO ANOTHER.

[٩٤١ / 96r:3] **The Franks**⁹. | **1.** They confess regarding the Incarnate Christ that He is two natures and two essences, after the union, [5] and two energies, and two wills in one hypostasis. **2.** They make an addition to the Confession (=the Creed) of the holy faith, | which three hundred and eighteen Fathers composed and one hundred and fifty [Fathers] completed,¹⁰ and they ban (=anathematize) anyone who will add [anything] to it or take away [anything from it]. The Franks added a word to it, saying [that] the Holy | Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son*, while this [sentence], among other people, [reads as] He proceeds from the Father [alone]. **3.**¹¹ | They altered a word in the Epistle of Paul, namely "a little leaven leavens the whole dough" [1 Cor 5:6;

⁹ Reading *al-ifranġ* for *al-infraġ*.

¹⁰ The Councils of Nicea (A.D. 325) and Constantinople (A.D. 381) are obviously meant. Cf.: fol. 3v-5v. The addition, mentioned by the author, is the *flioque*, as will become clear from what follows.

¹¹ In the manuscript, the number of this note is written out in words: "And the third", and the Coptic cursive *gama* is put in the margins.

Gal 5:9], instead of which they said: [10] “a little leaven spoils the dough.” **4.** [As to] the communion, which they do: they carry to the altar unleavened bread, | made a year or less before. **5.** When the priest among them celebrates [the Eucharist], he places the [elements of the] communion | on a paten, and he places one [element] of them in the middle, and when he signs [them] with the cross, he signs all [of them] | with one cross, and over the middle one he makes a special cross and points to it | alone during the anaphora, and when he completes the anaphora, he lifts it up before him and places it in the chalice. [15] Then he takes communion with the whole of it himself and with all of what is in the chalice. And if there are people who take communion, | he administers the communion to them from those [elements] which are on the paten and pours another, new, wine in the chalice according to the number of [communicants]. | If no communicant is present, he takes the rest of the communion away to a tabernacle, [to keep it] for another liturgy [٩٤v / 96v], to act with it in the same way as the first time. So it happens that over [the same] communion the consecration is done multiple times. | It is not appropriate to sacrifice it many times; rather [it is appropriate to do so only] once. If he wishes | to offer another sacrifice, another communion should be brought, over which consecration should be made, because | he who has sacrificed once, does not sacrifice it [again] another time. **6.** If a priest wishes to celebrate, [5] he rinses and brushes his finger three times before he celebrates. **7.** | The priest celebrates several liturgies a day, and at every liturgy he rinses [it in this way] | before it. And when he completes the liturgy, he washes his fingers with water in the chalice and drinks it. **8.** | The priest collects money from the people in the middle of the liturgy and puts the money | he has collected on the altar between the chalice and the paten, in the sense that they are sacrifices of the people; [10] he lifts them up and commemorates [the donors]. **9.** It is usual for them to eat meat of [an animal] that died and things strangled, and they eat | blood. **10.** They ordain a priest when he is still young. **11.** They prohibit a priest to be | married. **12.** Priests live with girls and women, and they eat and drink | wine with them and sleep in their houses. And if a pregnant woman is discovered among them, [no one] asks | her: “Where is your pregnancy from?” **13.** They celebrate the liturgy without a deacon. **14.** Their monks do not [15] wear a *qalansuwa*¹² and a *schema*. **15.** Their monks do not eat meat, but they eat | fat and say that it is only prohibited¹³ to them to eat meat, but not fat. **16.** [٩٠ r / 97r] With them, a priest can be a knight, and he goes to war, and fights, and kills. **17.** A priest, | being a knight, give orders, and they do not find it blameful for any [of them] to give orders. **18.** To fornicators | they give communion, and eat with them, and they do not blame anyone who fornicates. | **19.** Baptismal [water] that the priest consecrates is used for a year [5] or less than that, until it is foul; and if someone comes with the intention to be baptized, he is baptized, and then [the priest] covers it. | **20.** They do not use chrism during baptism, but sign

¹² A kind of hood. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition, vol. IV, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927 (repr.: *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), p. 677.

¹³ Reading *muharram* for *murahham*.

the baptized with chrism after baptism. | **21.**¹⁴ And it happens with some of them that he baptizes his child somewhere and does not sign him | with chrism then. He says: “I have a vow to sign him in another church” and delays | for a while. And sometimes the baptized dies without having been signed with chrism. **22.** Priests do not give communion [10] to the baptized, but after communion, i.e. the priestly communion, the priest specially places in his hand | salt and spits upon it, and stirs [mixing them], and the baptized licks of it. **23.** They break | the Holy Forty Days [Lent] on two days, namely the Monday and the Tuesday of what is among us, the Copts, | the second week [of Lent].¹⁵ **24.** With them, keeping the fast lasts until the sixth hour. | **25.** During the day, they take a sip of drink, I mean wine, and [use] perfume, [٩٥ v / 97v] while keeping the fast. **26.** They keep the fast on Saturdays, but do not find it [necessary] to keep the fast on | Wednesdays, and they eat meat [on that day]; and keep the fast Fridays and Saturdays, | and do not eat meat during these two days. **27.** They go to the bath, men and women together, each one | with his wife, and daughters, and sons, and the household and other people. **28.** All the priests [5] and laymen shave their beards, and it is impossible for ecclesiastics, I mean | priests, to abstain from shaving¹⁶ their beards, but they say that this [shaving] is the custom of Peter the Apostle. **29.** They accept | fourth marriage.¹⁷ **30.** They eat the sacrifice of the Jews and have meals with them. **31.** The cover | of [their] liturgical table is [used] without consecration. The Pope and the metropolitans celebrate with a signet ring on their finger. | **32.** The Pope drinks the Blood [of communion] from the chalice with a wattle [decoration] which is either [made of] gold or something else. [10] **33.** In their church, there is water and salt in a basin from which a priest sprinkles | upon himself and upon the people, with a sponge, fastened to a stick, and this | custom is from the Old Testament. **34.** If a priest takes communion and [then] kisses a man, this man counts | the kiss as communion, and [when] that man kisses another man, | that to him is counted as communion, and to the man whom he has kissed, it is also counted as communion, [٩٦ r / 98r] because they cannot give anyone communion from that [Blood] of communion over which consecration was done, | ever. In the other exemplar, [it is said that] for priests, deacons, sub-deacons | and readers, there is no way to marry, without being deposed from their ranks¹⁸ | as a result of this. This [section] is finished.

[٩٧ r / 98r:4] **What Melkites are distinguished with.** **1.** They believe like the Franks that [5] Christ after the union is two natures, two essences, two energies, two wills | in one hypostasis. **2.** The preparation [of the bread for] communion is handled by women in their homes; they present | [the bread for] communion cold,

¹⁴ In the manuscript, the number of this note is written in Arabic in words: “twenty one”.

¹⁵ The reference is to the fact that Catholics begin their fast on Ash Wednesday, without fasting on the preceding Monday and Tuesday. The first week of the Catholic Lent is, effectively, the second week of the Coptic Lent, since the Copts begin their fast with a so-called “Preparatory Week.”

¹⁶ Reading *ḥalq* for *ḥalq*.

¹⁷ Reading *zīḡa* for *zīḡa*.

¹⁸ Reading *daraḡātihim* for *daraḡātihim*.

[prepared] a day or two before. **3.** They cut up [the bread for] communion with a knife and make [over it] | several [signs of] the cross, and they celebrate [the liturgy] over the middle part. They share the rest among the people as a blessing. | **4.** And they do not read the Gospel over it. **5.** They do not use the chrism during baptism, [10] but they sign [the baptized] with chrism after baptism. **6.** They do not approach communion¹⁹ on the day | of [their] crowning (wedding), but they [then] are given wine in a glass to drink, this being a custom from the Old Testament. | **7.** They cancel the fast on Wednesday and Friday, if the Dormition of the Lady falls on it | or the feast-day of one of the Apostles. **8.** They also break the fast on Wednesday and Friday of | the week of the Ninevites, even if there is no feast.²⁰ **9.** They eat, in the first week of [ϣϿ / 98v] Lent, eggs, cheese and milk.²¹ **10.** The vestments of the Patriarch, the metropolitan, the bishop | and the monk are all similar. **11.** They do not celebrate the liturgy during the forty days of the Lent, | in the middle of the week, because some canons prohibit this, but they celebrate [it] | on Saturdays and Sundays, and take the Body alone and hide it in [5] a wooden tabernacle, and then, every day [during the week], they celebrate [the liturgy] on wine only, without the Body, | and put some of that [presanctified] Body with it, their aim in doing this being keeping the canon.²² | Not everyone takes communion of this, but only those who celebrate. **12.** The priest celebrates | with no deacon, if one is not found. **13.** The priest cannot celebrate unless he has shoes on | his feet, even if he just borrowed them. **14.** They select some of the boys after baptism, and make them [10] leaders and ordain them priests, bishops and, sometimes, metropolitans. | **15.** They carry communion from the church to the homes of the sick and administer it to them before | [their] death. This can be done even if the sick person was given a drink or something else. **16.** Baptism | is [conducted] without consecration. **17.** They baptize in the homes. **18.** The cover of [their] liturgical table | [is used] without consecration. And there is nothing sacred in it [i.e. in the table], except the board of the liturgical table and the plate and the cloth under [15] the paten; they call it *antimension*. **19.** [As for] godparents at baptism [ϣϿ / 99r], men can receive girls, and women [can receive] boys, if it so happened that | there is no male [godparent to receive] a male [child], or [no] female [godparent to receive] a female [child]. **20.** Some of them believe that the habit of *schema* [i.e. monasticism] prevents one from | priesthood, and some do not believe so. **21.** Some of them find it acceptable to eat fish | in the forty days of Lent, some of them – [only] on Saturday and Sunday,

¹⁹ In the manuscript: “to the crowning/wedding.”

²⁰ The “week of the Ninevites” is the third week before the beginning of the Great Lent. On this week, the Copts observe a three-day fast on Monday through Wednesday, called “the fast of Nineveh.” The Eastern Orthodox (Melkite) equivalent of that week is the week of the Publican and the Pharisee, during which, indeed, there is no fasting on Wednesday and Friday.

²¹ This is the so-called “cheesefare week” in the Eastern Orthodox Church.

²² This paragraph refers to the Eastern Orthodox practice of celebrating a “Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts” during the weekdays of the Great Lent.

and some do not [5] eat [it] at all during the forty days of Lent, unless a feast of the Lord occurs, such as the Annunciation, | or Palm Sunday, or the day of Lazarus' resurrection. **22.** With them, the monk becomes a monk | without a prayer over the *kufiyya*, and after that he leaves it and no | one prohibits this. **23.** Their priests let their hair grow and cut it | like their laymen do. A priest as well as a monk cuts [the hair thus forming] a crown: in the middle [10] of his head and likewise [in] the rest of it. **24.** It happens that during the liturgy they say *Agios* | four or five times. **25.** When the priest wants | to bless everyone he says to them: "Glorify Christ," and they say: "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, | and to the Holy Spirit," and they [thus] present Christ who is [one] of the Trinity as if he is | the Trinity. **26.** They do not give a deacon the fullness of ordination before he is married or [99v / 99v] he is thirty years old. **27.** They do not circumcise their male children, ever.

[99v / 99v:1] **What | the Armenians are distinguished with.** **1.** They say that the body of Christ is subtle, less | solid than the bodies of other people. **2.** [The bread of] communion which they administer | is unleavened. In another exemplar it is said: "In the same way as the Lord²³ Christ offered that night [at the Last Supper] [5] unleavened bread." **3.** The wine which they offer [at the liturgy] is undiluted, not mixed with water. In another exemplar they say | that the Gospel does not say: "And he mixed," but: "He took the wine and blessed it" [cf. Mt 26:27–29, Mk 14:23–25, Lk 22:17–18]. **4.**²⁴ A priest | is ordained by them while being younger than twenty years old. **5.** Their Patriarch and their bishops | and their monks eat meat. **6.** They do not celebrate the feast of the glorious Nativity | together with [the other] Christians, but they celebrate it later, on the night of [the feast of] Epiphany²⁵ and [continue] to celebrate [it] [10] in the morning of the [following] day. **7.** Their monks and their priests, and their hierarchs do not wear | the *schema* and they do not keep the fast the entire day, but abstain from eating meats | only. **8.** They eat eggs and cheese at the end of the day on the Saturday of Light.²⁶ **9.** Priests let their hair grow long, down to the shoulders. **10.** During the fast | of the Apostles, which is after Pentecost, they abstain from [9r / 100r] eating meats for a week, and then they eat [them] during [the other] week. **11.** They do not keep the fast [before] Nativity, | but in the days between Nativity and Epiphany, they stop eating meat | and they count this as a fast, and they also do not keep fasting for a long time. **12.** They do kneeling | on Sunday and on Pentecost. **13.** They do not kneel before the Cross and they do not kiss it, [5] unless it has just been consecrated by the hierarch. **14.** Their priest slaughters [the sacrificial animal]. **15.** Their baptism | is without consecration. **16.** They baptize in the homes. **17.** They celebrate | a mandatory

²³ Reading *as-Sayyid* instead of *li-s-Sayyid*.

²⁴ In the manuscript, the number of this note is written in Arabic: "Four," and the Coptic cursive *delda* is put above it.

²⁵ The Armenians celebrate Nativity on January 6, together with Epiphany.

²⁶ The Saturday before Easter.

liturgy which they ascribe to Athanasius. **18.** Their chrism is of sesame oil. **19.** | It is said that when their priest dies, they circumcise him after [his] death, | and I saw this myself. **20.** And in another exemplar [it is said:] if a child among them dies without [10] baptism, they baptize a wooden cross in the name of him who died, and the priest comforts them | [by saying] that the child is already baptized. **21.** And in it [i.e. this exemplar] their sacrifices are also [mentioned], I mean sacrifices | of propitiation, as in the Old Testament: they offer a sacrifice for the dead. |

[98r / 100r:13] **What the Syrians [Jacobites] are distinguished with.** **1.** They add to the communion [bread] oil and salt. **2.** | They move the Metropolitan from one see to another. **3.** A deacon does not read [98v / 100v] the Gospel. **4.** They do not find it acceptable to [eat] meats in the eve of Wednesday | and Friday, but eat them in the evenings of Wednesday and Friday after | the sunset; they believe that the night was created before the day. **5.** They eat | meats on the day of the Great Saturday, in the evening. **6.** When the bishop ordains [5] a deacon or a priest, he lists the blessed Fathers one after another, | and blesses them, [and then] he lists to him the heretics one after another and bans (anathematizes) them. **7.** | They do not give communion to the Melkites. **8.** They ordain a deacon while he is young. **9.** They do not | immerse on the feast of Epiphany, but pray over a small quantity of water and perform an ablution | with it. **10.** They do not immerse the baptized while baptizing him, but seat him in [10] the font, and a priest takes water with his hand and pours over him. **11.** The cover | on the liturgical table is [considered to be] consecrated without [a special] consecration. **12.** Their priest | may celebrate alone, with no deacon and no people present. **13.** | And in another exemplar it is found that the priest takes the Eucharistic gifts out of the chalice and there remains | the Blood alone. **14.** The priest celebrates the Eucharist in luxury.²⁷ **15.** They consecrate [98r / 101r] a church after the liturgy is complete. It is ordered that they ban (=anathematize) those who are banned (=anathematized) | by the Church, and bless those who are blessed by their Church. **16.** If there is a child | about whom they are afraid that he is near death, the priest reads over him a part from the baptismal [service] | and baptizes [him]. And if the child recovers, the priest fasts for forty days because | the baptism was incomplete, and if the child dies, then the priest is free [from this].

[98r / 101r:5] **Some | innovations of the Nestorians.** **1.** They put the communion in the hand of the communicant, be it a man | or a woman, a freeman or a slave. **2.** Their confession about Christ is that He | [has] two essences, and two natures, and two hypostases, but the will is one. **3.** | And the union according to them is only in the will. **4.** They do not say that Mary is she who gave birth [10] to God and do not [say that she is] the Mother of God. **5.** They refer some acts of Christ to His humanity | only, and some – to His divinity only. **6.** The names of Christ according to them | [are divided in] three parts: the name God, and the Son, and the

²⁷ The reading is doubtful.

Word. What is appropriate | for divine action, they attribute to the divinity alone, and they say | Jesus is Son of Mary, and the Son of Man, and they attribute this to the humanity alone. **7.** [99v / 101v] When water falls on the liturgical table, their consecration is invalidated. **8.** They do not have chrism, but | oil, [the origin] of which they refer back to Thomas the Apostle, and they add olive oil [to it]. **9.** | With them, a priest [may] marry several women one after another, while still serving | [in his] priestly [rank]. **10.** They can ordain laymen as bishops and metropolitans. **11.** And [here is] what was found [5] in another exemplar about the customs of the Nestorians. They have vinegar, and add it to the communion, | and if it is absent, their communion is invalid. And they say that they have it from the time of Christ, and that, in it, there is a part of | His blood, [taken] when He was on the cross. But this is impossible. **12.** If an animal enters their church, | such as a rat or a cat, or some other one, they consecrate it again. **13.** They add | oil and salt to the [bread] of their communion. **14.** They get circumcised. **15.** They marry relatives. [10] **16.** They keep fasting on Saturdays and Sundays during the Great Lent.

[99 v / 101v:10] **The customs of the Nubians.** They marry relatives. **1.** The bishop can marry in | the state of his episcopacy. **2.** A priest, if his wife is dead, takes another and [so] | up to seven times, while still remaining a priest. **3.** They drink wine and beer during the Holy | Fast. **4.** They get circumcised, and sometimes [circumcise] their women too.

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ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ ЭРМИТАЖ
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СЕРИЯ, ПОСВЯЩЕННАЯ ИЗУЧЕНИЮ
ХРИСТИАНСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ НАРОДОВ АЗИИ И АФРИКИ

ТОМ 6 (XII)

НОВАЯ СЕРИЯ

НА ОСНОВЕ МАТЕРИАЛОВ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ
«ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЯ ТЕКСТА В КУЛЬТУРЕ ХРИСТИАНСКОГО ВОСТОКА: ПЕРЕВОД,
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