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**THE QUESTION OF THE AUTHORSHIP
OF THE *HISTORIA STEPHANI PROTOMARTYRIS*
(*BHO* 1093; *CANT* 302; *CLAVIS COPTICA* 0491):
THEODOSIUS OF JERUSALEM, ABBA ISAAH, THE MONK
ROMANUS AND PETER THE IBERIAN**

Among the hagiographical texts dedicated to Stephen the Protomartyr, there is also a fragmentary Sahidic encomium conventionally known as *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* (*BHO* 1093; *CANT* 302; *Clavis coptica* 0491)¹. Until now, this work has been known only according to a single incomplete parchment manuscript which belonged to the library of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute, commonly called the White Monastery, situated on the opposite shore of the Nile from the ancient Panopolis (Coptic Shmin, modern Akhmim). The surviving fragments of this dismembered codex reside today in several collections around the world. Unfortunately, the name of the author to whom the encomium was ascribed has disappeared into a lacuna. This article argues that the text was attributed to Theodosius, who was the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Jerusalem between 451 and 453 CE. In the second part of the paper, I will show that vestiges of another codex of *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* were discovered at the beginning of the 20th century, which unfortunately have been lost.

Our main witness of the Sahidic *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* is the White Monastery codex MONB.NO. Walter Ewing Crum identified the following fragments pertaining to the text that interest us here: Paris, BnF Copte 131⁷, f. 20, Cairo, Coptic Museum 8018a-b, and a couple of folios in the Vatican, namely, Borgia copto 109, cassetta XXV, fascicolo 123, fol. 1-2 (= Zoega 123)². The latter were published by Ignazio Guidi in 1887³. To these vestiges, Henri Munier added two other folios currently

¹ For an inventory of the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Christian-Palestinian Aramaic, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Gaelic, and Slavonic hagiographical texts on Stephen the Protomartyr, see F. BOVON, *The Dossier on Stephen, the First Martyr*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 96 (2003), pp. 279-315. It should be emphasized that, despite the inclusion of the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* in the *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti (CANT)*, the text is not an apocryphal writing, but rather an encomium followed by *miracula* of the saint.

² W. E. CRUM, *Coptic Monuments* (= *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 8001-8741), Cairo, 1902, pp. 8-9; see also E. O. WINSTEDT, *A Coptic Fragment Attributed to James the Brother of the Lord*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 8 (1907), pp. 240-248, at 240 n. 3.

³ I. GUIDI, *Frammenti copti I*, in *Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti*, 3/1 (1887), pp. 47-63,

kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo as no. 9234a-b⁴. Enzo Lucchesi supplemented the inventory of the codex with a folio found in the National Library in Vienna (shelf mark K 9492), and a small fragment in the British Library, Or. 6954(51)⁵. We can now augment the content of the manuscript with a tiny parchment scrap in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, which attaches to the *Parisinus* identified by Crum. The Berlin fragment is currently inventoried together with other similar items from the White Monastery under the general call number Ms. Or. Fol. 1614bis⁶.

Here I would like to introduce a few codicological clarifications⁷. The order of seven leaves is secure. Thus, the folios that still preserve the original pagination of the codex are Cairo 8018a-b (pages 55-58), Vatican Zoega 123 (pages 61-62, 65-66), and Vienna, K 9492 (pages 95-96). Additionally, the first Cairo fragment edited by Munier (Coptic Museum no. 9234a) has lost its pagination, but it still bears the signature Δ (= 4) on the upper right corner of the verso face, indicating that this page was the last of the 4th quire⁸. We can thus establish that this leaf once stood as pages 63-64 of the codex, falling between the two Borgia folios, which are paginated 61-62 and 65-66. The sequence of the surviving fragments can be traced as follows:

at 50-52. Description in G. ZOEGA, *Catalogus codicum Coptorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome, 1810 (repr. Hildesheim – New York, 1973), p. 228.

⁴ H. MUNIER, *Manuscrits coptes* (= *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 9201-9304), Cairo, 1916, pp. 30-36. Munier edited without translation the two Cairo fragments previously catalogued by Crum (8018a-b), together with two others.

⁵ E. LUCCHESI, *À propos d'un enkomion copte sur Étienne le Protomartyr* (BHO 1093), in *AB*, 101 (1983), pp. 421-422. On the British Library fragment, see B. LAYTON, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906*, London, 1987, pp. 183-184 (= no. 156). This fragment has been edited as an appendix to S. ULJAS, *Lost Coptic Texts from Herbert Thompson Papers. I: The 'Acts of Stephen'*, in *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 17 (2015), pp. 165-213, at 209.

⁶ The recto has been published, without identification, in P. BUZI, *Coptic Manuscripts*. Vol. 7: *The Manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. Part 4: *Homiletic and Liturgical Manuscripts from the White Monastery. With Two Documents from Thebes and Two Old-Nubian Manuscripts* (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, 21.7), Stuttgart, 2014, pp. 178-179 (= no. 3) and plate 4/3.

⁷ On the codicological reconstruction of the manuscript, see J. HORN, *Hinweise zu Kult und Literatur des Protomartyrers Stephanus in der Kirche Ägyptens*, in *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients*, ed. G. KOCH, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 46-55.

⁸ Munier wrongly assumed that the recto is actually the verso of the leaf, and considered the quire number to be the pagination, see *Manuscrits coptes*, p. 31. His mistake confused also Layton, see his *Catalogue*, p. 184. This codicological detail has already been noted by LUCCHESI, *À propos d'un enkomion copte...* (see above n. 5), p. 421 n. 2.

Location	Shelf number	Pagination
Paris Berlin	BnF, Copte 131 ⁷ , f. 20 + Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. Fol. 1614bis, fragment 3	pagination lost, title of the work
Cairo	Coptic Museum no. 8018a	pages 55-56
Cairo	Coptic Museum no. 8018b	pages 57-58
Vatican	BAV, Borgia copt. Cas. 109, fasc. 123, fol. 1	pages 61-62
Cairo	Coptic Museum no. 9234a	[63]-[64]
Vatican	BAV, Borgia copt. Cas. 109, fasc. 123, fol. 2	pages 65-66
Vienna	K 9492	pages 95-96
Cairo	Coptic Museum no. 9234b	pagination lost, unplaced
London	BL, Or. 6954(51)	pagination lost, unplaced

British Library Or. 6954(51) is a small fragment from the superior upper corner of a leaf. On the flesh side of this fragment, which was seemingly the verso, the number Δ (= 4) is clearly visible. On the basis of this numeral, Layton reconstructed the original pagination of the folio to which the London fragment belonged as [3]-4⁹. However, the examination of the fragment, especially as regards to the length and position of the decoration lines which appear above and below the numeral, reveals that this digit was likely preceded by another one. Therefore, the exact position of the London fragment in the original codex is difficult to establish.

It is very likely that the *Historia Stephani* was followed in the manuscript by a homily on riches attributed to Peter of Alexandria (*CPG* 1659; *Clavis coptica* 0311) and the *Vita Onophrii* ascribed to Paphnutius (*BHO* 818-821; *Clavis coptica* 0254), of which the following fragments are known¹⁰:

Location	Shelf number	Pagination
Paris	BnF, Copte 131 ⁵ , f. 43	pages 99-100
Paris	BnF, Copte 131 ³ , ff. 81-85	pages 101-110
Vatican	BAV, Vat. Copt. 111, ff. 1-8	pages 129-144
London	BL, Or. 3581B, f. 85	pagination lost

⁹ LAYTON, *Catalogue...* (see above n. 5), p. 183.

¹⁰ CRUM, *Coptic Monuments...* (see above n. 2), p. 8 n. 3; LUCCHESI, *À propos d'un enkomion copte...* (see above n. 5), p. 422. Further bibliographical details about the fragments in A. SUCIU, *À propos de la datation du manuscrit contenant le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc*, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 65 (2011), pp. 189-198, at 194-196.

Given that Vienna K 9492 is paginated 95-96 and that the next surviving leaf, paginated 99-100, has a portion of Ps.-Peter of Alexandria's homily which is not far from the beginning of the text, it means that the Viennese folio contains the concluding remarks of the *Historia Stephani*. The encomium on Stephen must have ended on the next leaf of the codex, which unfortunately has not been identified until now.

The age of MONB.NO can accurately be established on the basis of a scribal note which exists between the homily of Ps.-Peter and the *Vita Onophrii*. This note is dated 706 Era of the Martyrs and 378 Era of the Hegira, corresponding to 989 and 990 CE respectively¹¹.

Referring to the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris*, Crum remarked that the fragmentary title and *incipit* are extant on Paris, BnF Copte 131⁷, f. 20. He was able to conjecture on the basis of the words [επισ]κοπος ἱερί[λημ] that the text must have been attributed to a bishop of Jerusalem, and that the encomium was delivered by the author at the shrine (τόπος) of the saint¹². In spite of this insight, the question of the authorship of the Sahidic encomium on Stephen the Protomartyr has not been raised ever since¹³. Therefore, the text is indexed as anonymous in the *BHO*, *CANT*, and *Clavis coptica*¹⁴. In the following pages, I shall argue that the information which can be gleaned from other literary sources allows us to establish more or less securely the name of the author to whom the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* was attributed.

Only two bishops of Jerusalem are known as authors in Coptic literature: Cyril I (350-386 CE) and the anti-Chalcedonian Theodosius, who briefly replaced Juvenal between 451 and 453 CE. The other holders of this episcopal see were either too obscure for the Egyptian Christians, or represented the Chalcedonian party, who firmly held the patriarchate of Jerusalem after the removal of Theodosius.

The most revered Jerusalemite bishop among the Copts was undoubtedly Cyril. In addition to some of his *Catechetical Orations* (CPG 3585;

¹¹ SUCIU, *À propos de la datation du manuscrit...* (see above n. 10), p. 197.

¹² CRUM, *Coptic Monuments...* (see above n. 2), p. 8 n. 3; see also Crum's remark in his review of Munier's book, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 4 (1917), pp. 67-70, at 68. Same was conjectured by É. PORCHER, *Analyse des manuscrits coptes 131¹⁻⁸ de la Bibliothèque nationale, avec indication des textes bibliques (suite et fin)*, in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 2 (1936), pp. 65-123, at 99.

¹³ See, however, Enzo Lucchesi's oblique remark that the encomium was "attribuée à un évêque de Jérusalem, dont le nom en lacune se laisse néanmoins facilement deviner", cf. *Fausse attributions en hagiographie copte*, in *Le Muséon*, 119 (2006), pp. 243-254, at 245.

¹⁴ The *clavis coptica* is accessible at <http://www.cmcl.it/> (retrieved June 8, 2016).

Clavis coptica 0112), which are extant in several Sahidic manuscripts, Coptic literature attributes to him numerous *spuria*. This wealth of texts demonstrates his popularity among Egyptian Miaphysites¹⁵. Nevertheless, as I shall show further, there are strong reasons to doubt that the encomium on Stephen the Protomartyr was ascribed to Cyril of Jerusalem.

The text mentions on several occasions the shrine (τόπος, μαρτύριον) of the saint in Jerusalem, which did not exist before the 5th century¹⁶. According to the *Revelatio Sancti Stephani* (BHG 1648x-z; BHL 7850-7856h), the invention of the relics of Stephen by the priest Lucian occurred in December 415 CE¹⁷. It is only after this event that churches were built in Stephen's honor around Jerusalem in order to preserve his relics. Thus, according to Gerontius' report from the *Vita Melaniae* (BHG 1241), Melania the Younger deposited the relics of Stephen in a μαρτύριον in a monastery for men, which she built on the Mount of Olives, apparently near the site of the Ascension (τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ μοναστηρίου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ... καὶ γὰρ ἀπόκειται καὶ ἐκεῖ λείψανα τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου)¹⁸. However, the author of the Sahidic text most probably refers to the basilica of Stephen the Protomartyr, erected by the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, outside the walls of Old Jerusalem, and probably consecrated in 439 CE¹⁹. This church was allegedly built on the exact place where Stephen suffered his martyrdom.

Furthermore, pages 63-65 of MONB.NO feature a heavenly vision which the author claims to have been recounted to him by "the great Isaiah,

¹⁵ For a partial list of the writings attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem in Coptic, see T. ORLANDI, *Cirillo di Gerusalemme nella letteratura copta*, in *Vetera Christianorum*, 9 (1972), pp. 93-100.

¹⁶ Cf., e.g., Borgia copt. 109, fasc. 123, f. 2^r, col. 1, ll. 11-12: πῆτροπος ετε πτοπος πε ἡπραγιος ἀπα στεφάνος ("this shrine, which is the shrine of the holy Apa Stephen").

¹⁷ S. VANDERLINDEN, *Revelatio sancti Stephani* (BHL 7850-6), in *Revue des études byzantines*, 4 (1946), pp. 178-217.

¹⁸ Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae* 57, 64 in *Vie de sainte Mélanie. Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes*, ed. D. GORCE (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, 90), Paris, 1962, pp. 240-241, 254-259 (Greek text and French translation). It seems that the relics were not kept there from the beginning, but Gerontius is not very clear on this issue, see E. A. CLARK, *Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The Partisans of Melania and Eudocia*, in *Church History*, 51 (1982), pp. 141-156, at 146-147.

¹⁹ John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* 49 in *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, ed. C. B. HORN – R. R. PHENIX JR. (= *Writings from the Greco-Roman World*, 24), Atlanta, 2008, pp. 64-69 (Syriac text and English translation). The reports of Gerontius and John Rufus are conflicting at this point, see CLARK, *Claims on the Bones...*, pp. 153-155. P. Devos (*L'année de la dédicace de Saint-Étienne à Jérusalem: 439*, in *AB*, 105 [1987], pp. 265-278), proposed that the basilica of Stephen built by Eudocia was consecrated on May 15, 439.

the archimandrite of the monastery of Apa Romanos” (ΠΡΟΣ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ [ἸΠΜΟΝΑΣ]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ἸΑ[ΠΑ ΖΡΩ]ΜΑΝΟΣ)²⁰. The “great Isaiah” cannot be anyone else but the Egyptian ascetic Isaiah of Scetis, who was known after his move to Palestine as Isaiah of Gaza²¹. In Palestine he became head of a monastery situated in the southwest of Gaza, near Beth Daltha, where he died on August 11, 491 CE²².

While it is true that the most conspicuous faults in spurious texts like the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* are the chronological discrepancies, I believe that the encomium was not attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem. Thus, the reference to the basilica of Stephen the Protomartyr built by Eudocia and especially the inclusion of the episode concerning Isaiah of Gaza belong to a literary strategy meant to legitimate the attribution of the work to the only 5th century Jerusalemite bishop venerated by the Copts: the anti-Chalcedonian champion Theodosius, the fierce opponent of Juvenal²³. Although Theodosius is not known to have penned any literary work, two spurious *encomia* followed by *miracula* have survived under his name in Coptic, both of them dedicated to soldier saints: *In Georgium. Miracula Georgii* (BHO 316-319; CPG 6715; *Clavis coptica* 0388), preserved in Bohairic and Arabic²⁴, and *In Victorem. Miracula Victoris* (BHO 1244; *Clavis coptica* 0389), extant in Sahidic²⁵. Compelling evidence suggests that the

²⁰ MUNIER, *Manuscrits coptes...* (see above n. 4), pp. 31-32. Unfortunately, as the recto-verso sequence of the folio was inverted by Munier, the quotation given above is not continuous in his edition.

²¹ On the identity of Isaiah of Scetis and Isaiah of Gaza, see L. REGNAULT, *Isaïe de Scété ou de Gaza? Notes critiques en marge d'une Introduction au problème isaïen*, in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 46 (1970), pp. 33-44; D. J. CHITTY, *Abba Isaiah*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 22 (1971), pp. 47-72.

²² P. DEVOS, *Quand Pierre l'Îbère vint-il à Jérusalem?*, in *AB*, 86 (1968), pp. 337-350.

²³ T. ORLANDI, *Theodosius of Jerusalem*, in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A. S. ATIYA, vol. 7, New York, 1991, p. 2242.

²⁴ The Bohairic *In Georgium* was published by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Martyrdoms and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia*, London, 1888, pp. 38-82 (Bohairic text), 236-274 (English translation). This text is the same with the one attributed in some Arabic manuscripts to Theodore of Jerusalem, which is mentioned in G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1 (= *Studi e testi*, 118), Vatican City, 1944, p. 503, and vol. 2 (= *Studi e testi*, 133), Vatican City, 1947, p. 501. Other Arabic manuscripts in G. TROUPEAU, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Première partie: Manuscrits chrétiens*, vol. 1, Paris, 1972, p. 242; vol. 2, 1974, p. 54. The attribution to Theodosius of Jerusalem appears in the manuscript Jerusalem, Saint Mark's Monastery no. 274, in which our text features at ff. 278^v-288^v.

²⁵ U. BOURIANT, *L'éloge de l'Apa Victor, fils de Romanos. Texte copte-thébain* (= *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, 8/2), Paris, 1893, pp. 145-268, at 243-263 (Sahidic text and French translation). The title of the work mentions that this is the second encomium on Victor delivered by Theodosius of Jerusalem. However, the first encomium has not yet been found.

Historia Stephani Protomartyris was also ascribed to Theodosius of Jerusalem.

In light of this authorship, it becomes clearer why the author included Abba Isaiah as a character of the encomium on Stephen. Although we do not know if Theodosius ever met Isaiah, the two share a common acquaintance: Peter the Iberian. On the one hand, Theodosius appointed Peter as bishop of Maiuma near Gaza, during his short office as patriarch of Jerusalem, perhaps in 452 CE. It is therefore not surprising to find out that, on page 58 of MONB.NO, Ps.-Theodosius recounts a miracle which involved a rich man from Gaza²⁶. On the other hand, the relationship between Peter the Iberian and Abba Isaiah is amply documented, notably in the writings of John Rufus²⁷.

This is not the only example in Coptic literature of a text that tacitly alludes to Peter the Iberian and his influence. Bachios of Maiuma is an imaginary character recurrent only in Coptic sources, who is also related to the great anti-Chalcedonian opponent. Bachios features in a couple of Coptic homilies attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, whose disciple he is said to be²⁸. Additionally, there are two texts attributed to him, a homily on the apostles (*Clavis coptica* 0067), preserved only in Sahidic²⁹, and another one on the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (*Clavis coptica* 0068), which is attested in Sahidic and Arabic³⁰. Almost all details concerning Bachios indicate that he is related to Peter the Iberian. Thus, in the homily of Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem *On the Cross* (CPG 3602; *Clavis coptica* 0120), Bachios is introduced as the archimandrite of a monastery near Ashkelon (אַשְׁכְּלוֹן), a region that together with Gaza was Peter's field³¹. Furthermore, the

²⁶ MUNIER, *Manuscrits coptes...* (see above n. 4), p. 35. Unfortunately, only the introductory words of this story are preserved, a gap of several folios occurring after this point in the manuscript.

²⁷ John Rufus, *Plerophoriae* 12, 65 in Jean Rufus, *évêque de Maïouma. Plérôphories, c'est-à-dire témoignages et révélations (contre le concile de Chalcédoine)*, ed. Fr. NAU (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, 8/1), Paris, 1912, pp. 27-28, 121-122 (Syriac text and French translation); John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* 138-139, 167-169 in *John Rufus...*, ed. HORN – PHENIX (see above n. 19), pp. 200-205, 242-247 (Syriac text and English translation).

²⁸ T. ORLANDI, *Bacheus*, in *The Coptic Encyclopedia...* (see above n. 23), vol. 2, p. 324.

²⁹ Edited in Fr. MORARD, *Homélie copte sur les Apôtres au Jugement dernier*, in *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions and Symbols. Essays in Honor of François Bovon*, ed. D. H. WARREN, et al. (= *Biblical Interpretation Series*, 66), Boston – Leiden, 2003, pp. 417-430.

³⁰ U. ZANETTI, *Le roman de Bakhéos sur les trois jeunes saints de Babylone. Fragments coptes sahidiques*, in *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137), Louvain, 2004, pp. 713-747.

³¹ Ps. *Cirillo di Gerusalemme. Omelie copte sulla Passione, sulla Croce e sulla Vergine*,

title of the homily on the apostles attributed to Bachios indicates that he was bishop of Maiuma, a town whose fame in the anti-Chalcedonian milieu is inextricably linked with Peter the Iberian's short office on its episcopal see³². Ps.-Bachios' homily on the Three Hebrews mentions an Egyptian μαρτύριον preserving the relics of the Persian martyr James Intercisus³³. The author was certainly aware of the tradition preserved in the Coptic appendix to the *Iacobi Intercisi Passio* (BHO 397; *Clavis Coptica* 0278), according to which Peter the Iberian built this shrine near Oxyrhynchus during his flight to Egypt in the aftermath of the council of Chalcedon³⁴. The aforementioned elements that form Bachios' portrait suggest that this imaginary character borrowed certain features from what the Egyptian anti-Chalcedonians knew about Peter the Iberian.

It should be noted that neither the figure of Bachios, nor the details involving places and persons in the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* have much historical support. They belong to a polemical stage of Coptic literature separated temporarily from the actual persons and events, which inevitably led to an imaginary expansion of the anti-Chalcedonian history and lionized its heroes. The author of the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* recognizes that Theodosius and Isaiah were both in the entourage of Peter, although the text demonstrates little knowledge of the historical facts, inaccurately making Abba Isaiah archimandrite of the Monastery of Romanos. This association probably derives from the Monastery of Romanos' reputation as a bastion of the anti-Chalcedonian resistance in Palestine. Furthermore, as John Rufus' *Vita Petri Iberi* informs us, the monk Romanos participated in the consecration of Theodosius as bishop of Jerusalem³⁵. With his allusions, the author of the Sahidic text has reinforced a Mia-

ed. A. CAMPAGNANO (= *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità*, 66), Milan, 1980, pp. 90-91 (Sahidic text and Italian translation).

³² MORARD, *Homélie copte sur les Apôtres...* (see above n. 29), p. 417.

³³ ZANETTI, *Le roman de Bakhéos...* (see above n. 30), pp. 728-729 (Sahidic text), 739 (French translation). On the relevance of this issue for dating Ps.-Bachios' homily, see MORARD, *Homélie copte sur les Apôtres...*, p. 418.

³⁴ Bohairic text in *Acta Martyrum*, vol. 2, ed. I. BALESTRI – H. HYVERNAT (= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 86; *Scriptores coptici*, 6); repr. Louvain, 1953, pp. 24-61. See T. ORLANDI, *James Intercisus, Saint*, in *The Coptic Encyclopedia...* (see above n. 23), vol. 4, p. 1321; P. DEVOS, *Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'Intercis. I: La Passion grecque inédite* (BHG 772), in *AB*, 71 (1953), pp. 157-210, at 163. John Rufus mentions Peter's sojourn in Oxyrhynchus, but he does not say anything about the shrine of St. James, see *Vita Petri Iberi* 86-90, in *John Rufus...*, ed. HORN – PHENIX (see above n. 19), pp. 128-135 (Syriac text and English translation).

³⁵ John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* 77, in *John Rufus...*, ed. HORN – PHENIX (see above n. 19), pp. 110-111 (Syriac text and English translation).

physite tradition by connecting three of the most prominent representatives of the anti-Chalcedonian monastic movement in Palestine: Theodosius, Abba Isaiah, and the monk Romanos.

Some parallels between the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* and the other two *encomia* attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem in Coptic further bolster the hypothesis that our text was attributed to him, too. For example, in the *Historia Stephani* and *In Victorem* the speaker addresses the audience with the vocative “O God-loving people” (ὦ πλᾶος ἡμᾶινοῦτε)³⁶. In the encomium on Victor, Ps.-Theodosius asks rhetorically, “O holy Victor the General, with whom shall I compare you among the saints either of the Old or of the New Testament (ἐννετογααβ εἶτα ἐντπαλαῖα εἶτα ἐνττρενη)?” In the encomium on Stephen, the author says in a similar way, “For who ever among all the saints either of the Old or of the New Testament (ἐννετογααβ τηροῦ εἶτε ἐντπαλαῖα εἶτε ἐντκαῖνη) truly beheld the glory of God like the holy Stephen?”³⁷ The inability of the fleshly tongue (πλᾶσ ἡσαρῶ) to praise the saints is yet another theme routinely invoked in both texts³⁸.

Furthermore, there are also clear literary connections between the *Historia Stephani* and *In Georgium*. Thus, the third miracle of *In Georgium* is strikingly similar to the miracle recounted in *Historia Stephani* on pages 55–58 of MONB.NO. The two stories share not only a similar narrative, but they often have verbatim parallels, which virtually guarantee that one of the sources directly used the other. Both texts narrate the story of a thief who stole vessels (σκεῦος) from the *topos* of the saint. While the thief is departing with the stolen objects, the saint appears to him under the aspect of a soldier:

In Georgium: ἰσ πλχωρὶ ἡμάρτυρος πᾶγιος γεωργίος ἀφὶ ἐροῦν ἐρηρᾶφ ἐφῆκ ἡπμοτ ἡοῦματὸι / “Behold, the mighty martyr holy George came to him girded with the likeness of a soldier”³⁹.

Historia Stephani: εἰσ πραγιος ἀπα στεφανος ἀφεῖ ἐχωφ ἐφταληῦ ἐγρτο ἐφο ἡπμοτ ἡοῦματὸι / “Behold, the holy Apa Stephen came to him mounted on a horse, having the likeness of a soldier”⁴⁰.

³⁶ BOURIANT, *L'éloge de l'Apa Victor...* (see above n. 25), pp. 250, 257, 263; MONB.NO., Paris, BnF, Copte 131⁷, f. 20^v + Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. Fol. 1614bis, fragment 3^v, pp. 58, 63, 66 (twice).

³⁷ BOURIANT, *L'éloge de l'Apa Victor...*, p. 246; *Historia Stephani Protomartyris*, p. 95.

³⁸ BOURIANT, *L'éloge de l'Apa Victor...*, pp. 244, 252, 258; MONB.NO. p. 66, Cairo, Coptic Museum 9234b (cf. MUNIER, *Manuscripts coptes...* [see above n. 4], p. 35).

³⁹ WALLIS BUDGE, *The Martyrdoms and Miracles...* (see above n. 24), p. 53.

⁴⁰ MUNIER, *Manuscripts coptes...* (see above n. 4), p. 35.

Being asked what he carries, the thief proposes to share the goods with the soldier. The saint pretends to accept the deal, but they have to return first to the shrine from which the sacred objects were stolen. Once they arrive there, the saint whips the thief who then confesses all his sins. People gather at the shrine because of the shouts of the punished thief, but they are not able to see the saint. The thief proclaims to the multitude what happened to him and they all marvel at the mighty deed of the saint. The most notable difference between the two works is that in the encomium on George the thief is a Jew, who converts to Christianity and becomes a deacon in the shrine of the saint.

These literary similarities, seen against the background of the aforementioned pseudo-historical data, leave little doubt that the *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* was attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem. It was customary in Coptic Egypt to produce texts that either revolved around a certain theme or saint, or were attributed to the same author, usually a revered figure of Miaphysite Christianity. Tito Orlandi has adroitly noticed that the two previously known texts attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem, *In Georgium* and *In Victorem*, were probably written by the same person⁴¹. The literary connections that the *Historia Stephani* shares with these two *encomia* suggest that it may also stem from the pen of the same author. We have thus a cycle of three Coptic hagiographical texts attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem.

As I have already anticipated, BnF Copte 131⁷, f. 20 and the Berlin scrap are two joint fragments which offer a portion of the title and the beginning of the *Historia Stephani*. Remarkably, the few words and strings of letters that have survived converge with the text of two papyrus fragments formerly in the possession of the British Museum. They were extracted together with other papyrus cartonnage from the binding of the manuscript British Library Or. 7029, one of the codices that belonged to the Monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu⁴². However, it seems that in the meanwhile the fragments have disappeared without a trace⁴³. Fortunately, transcriptions of the fragments which were made by Herbert Thompson soon after they were removed from the covers, have recently been made accessible by Sami Uljas⁴⁴. Thanks to this publication, I have been able to

⁴¹ ORLANDI, *Theodosius of Jerusalem...* (see above n. 23), p. 2242.

⁴² Description of BL Or. 7029 in LAYTON, *Catalogue...* (see above n. 5), pp. 196-199 (= no. 163).

⁴³ See *ibid.*, pp. xxx and 199.

⁴⁴ ULJAS, *Lost Coptic Texts...* (see above n. 5).

ascertain that the two fragments designated by Thompson as fragments A10 and A11, belong to another copy of Ps.-Theodosius' encomium on Stephen. The title is heavily damaged in both manuscripts, but it can tentatively be reconstructed as follows⁴⁵:

MS. 1**MS. 2**

	[ουεγκωμῖον εαϑταγοϑ ἡ]ϑῖ πρᾶγιος	[ουεγκωμῖον εαϑ]ταγοϑ ἡσῖπ
	[ἀπα θεωδοσιος παρχνεπις]κοπος ἡθῖ	[ἀπα θεωδοσιος παρ]χιεπισκοπος
	[λην επαελοφο]ρος [ἡγενναιος] παρχηδῖ	[ἡθῖλην επαελο]φορος
	[ακονος πρᾶγιος στε]φανος πρῖτῖεῖ πολῖς	[ἡγενναιος παρχ]ιδιακω
5	[ἡνοϑωτ θῖλην· εα]ϑταγο ἡἡσῖον ἡἡ	[νος πρᾶγιος στε]φανος· πε
	[ἡωπῖρε ἡταπνοϑτ]ε ααϑ εβολ ϑῖτοϑ	[ωορπ ἡἡαρτυρος] αϑω πρεμ
	[τῖ· ἡταϑταϑε επει]εγκωμῖον δε ἡ	[τεῖ πολῖς ἡνοϑωτ·] εαϑταγο ἡ
	[περοοϑ ἡπεϑῖρπ]ἡεεϑε ετοϑααβ ετε	[ἡἡσῖον ἡἡωπῖρε ἡτ]απ[νοϑτε]
	[σοϑ ϑοϑτασε πε ἡ]πεβοτ παωπε ερε	[ααϑ εβολ ϑῖτοοτϑ· ἡταϑταϑε]
10	[τπολις τηρς σοοϑρ] εροϑν επεϑτοπος	επειε[γκωμῖον δε ἡπεϑροοϑ]
	[ετοϑααβ· παῖ ἡταϑκ]οτῖ ἡαϑ· ϑῖνοϑεῖ	ἡπεϑῖρπῖ[εεϑε ετοϑααβ ε]
	[ρῖνη ἡτεπνοϑτε] ϑαμῖν·	τε ϑοϑ ϑο[ϑτασε πε ἡπεβοτ]
		παωπε [ερε τπολις τηρς σο]
		οϑρ ερο[ϑν επεϑτοπος ετοϑ]
15		ααβ· πα[ῖ ἡταϑκοτῖ ἡαϑ· ϑῖ]
		οϑερῖνη ἡ[τεπνοϑτε· ϑαμῖν]

Title MS. 1:

“[An encomium that was delivered by] the holy [Apa Theodosius, the Arch]bishop of [Jerusalem, on the noble victorious] Arch[deacon, the holy] Stephen, the citizen of the [same] city, [Jerusalem]. He delivered it on the powers and [miracles that God] made through [him. He delivered this] encomium on [the day of his] holy commemoration, which [is the 26th of] the month Paope, while [the entire city was gathered] in his [holy] topos, [the one that was] built for him. In the [peace of God], Amen”.

Title MS. 2:

“[An encomium that was] delivered by [Apa Theodosius the] archbishop [of Jerusalem on the noble] victorious [Arch]deacon, [the holy] Stephen, the [First Martyr] and citizen of [the same city]. He delivered it on [the powers and miracles that God made through him. He delivered] this [encomium on the day] of his [holy commemoration], which is the [26th of

⁴⁵ “MS. 1” designates Paris, BnF Copte 131⁷, f. 20^f + Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Or. Fol. 1614bis, fragment 3^f, whereas “MS. 2” stands for the Thompson Fragments A10 + A11 ↑.

the month] Paope, [while the entire city was gathered] in [his holy topos], the one [that was built for him. In] the peace of [God, Amen]”.

The textual convergence applies also to the beginning of the text in both manuscripts:

MS. 1	MS. 2
<p>[...] ἦμοϥ πακε[δια]κονοϥ ναϥω[πε ἦ]μαγ· [ντο]ϥ γαρ αληθωϥ [πε ω π]ραγιωϥ στε[φαν]ωϥ· πεντα[ϥω]τηρ χωοϥ [ετβηη]τκ· ακ[ω]ωπε γαρ ἦδια[κονοϥ ἦ-]</p>	<p>οὔμε ἀληθ[ο]ϥ πε πωραχε ἦταπ]ενσωτηρ εϥω[ω] εβολ ἦνεϥ]μαθητηϥ χε ε[ρω]λογα δια]κονει ναῖ παε[ιω]τ ναταιωϥ·⁴⁶ αγω ρη χε πμα [α]νοκ ετἦμοϥ] πακεδιακωνοϥ [ναϥω]πε ἦμαγ·] ἦτοκ δε ω [πραγιωϥ στεφανωϥ αληθωϥ π]ε· πενταϥ[ω]τηρ χωοϥ ετ]βηητκ· ακ[ω]ωπε [γαρ ἦδιακω]νοϥ ἦ[</p>
<p>[...] my minister will also be there” (John 12:26). For [you] truly [are, O] holy Stephen, the one [about whom the] Savior spoke. For you [were] the [deacon of] [...]</p>	<p>Verily, true [is the word that] our Savior [cried out to his] disciples: “[If some- one] ministers me, my [Father will honor him]” (John 12:26). And again: “The place [in which I am], my minister [will] also [be there]” (John 12:26). But you, O [holy Stephen, truly are] the one about whom [the Savior spoke. For] you [were the deacon] of [...]</p>

These parallels prove beyond reasonable doubt that the two manuscripts represent two separate copies of the same text attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem. It still remains to be established if some of the other fragments pertaining to Stephen removed from the cartonnage of BL Or. 7029 also belong to the encomium of Ps.-Theodosius of Jerusalem. At this moment it seems to me that the *Historia Stephani* was preceded in the second manuscript by another work on Stephen. Given that Ps.-Theodosius is incomplete in both manuscripts, it is particularly difficult to decide which of the fragments transcribed by Hyvernat could belong to it in the absence of a parallel in MONB.NO.

I should like to make a final remark about the date of the feast of Stephen the Protomartyr, which I reconstructed in the title as Paope 26. The Copto-Arabic synaxary mentions two dates pertaining to Stephen: his

⁴⁶ See the similar phrase in Ps.-Celestinus' *Miracula Victoris* (*Clavis coptica* 0094): οὔμε γαρ αληθωϥ πε πωραχε ἦταπενσῆρ χωοϥ· χε πετναδιακονει ναῖ παειωτ ναταιωϥ, in E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1914, p. 56.

martyrdom on Tobe 1 (= December 27 Julian) and the invention of his relics on Thoth 15 (= September 12 Julian). A few manuscripts reverse these dates, celebrating the martyrdom on Thoth 15 and the invention of the relics on Tobe 1⁴⁷. The same confusion appears also in the manuscripts of the Copto-Arabic *Vita* of Stephen the Protomartyr (*CANT* 301) published by Yassā Abd al-Masīḥ and Antoine Khater⁴⁸. Whether the martyrdom or the invention of the relics is meant, Tobe 1 coincides with the date supplied by the majority of the calendars, including the Synaxary of Constantinople, which celebrate Stephen immediately after Christmas, on December 27⁴⁹.

However, as the Sahidic sources testify, we have reasons to believe that in Upper Egypt the main feast of Stephen was Paope 26 (= October 23 Julian). This commemoration was doubled by the invention of his relics, which was celebrated as in Lower Egypt, on Thoth 15. The first date is confirmed by the title above, in which “the month Paope” is clearly readable, but also by another papyrus fragment pertaining to Stephen the Protomartyr extracted from the binding of BL, Or. 7029. This fragment mentions that Stephen “died on the 26th of the month of [Paope]” (ⲁϣⲧⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲓⲛⲛⲉⲃⲟⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ)⁵⁰. An unpublished *typikon* fragment from the White Monastery, currently kept in the National Library in Vienna as K 9736, indicates on the recto that on Paope 26 is “the feast of Apa Stephen the Archdeacon and Martyr”.

Interestingly, there are some signs that Stephen was commemorated after Christmas also in Upper Egypt, although this was not his main feast. Thus, a White Monastery *typikon* fragment from Leiden (Insinger 38a) records that Tobe 1 was dedicated to the martyrs Dioscorus and Asclepius. On the same day, but only during the night vigils, was celebrated also the invention of the relics of Stephen⁵¹. The only surviving Sahidic source

⁴⁷ See J. FORGET, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum. Pars prior* (= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 78; *Scriptores arabici*, 12), Louvain, 1921, p. 27 n. 1; R. BASSET, *Le synaxaire arabe Jacobite (rédaction copte)*, vol. 1 (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, 1/3), Paris, 1907, p. 268 [54] n. 1.

⁴⁸ Y. ‘ABD AL-MASĪḤ – A. KHATER, *An Arabic Apocryphon of Saint Stephen the Archdeacon*, in *Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea*, 13 (1968/1969), pp. 161-198, at 196. Manuscript A used by ‘Abd al-Masīḥ and Khater mentions that the martyrdom occurred on Tobe 1 and the translation of his relics on Thoth 15. In Manuscript B the dates are reversed.

⁴⁹ *Synax. CP.*, pp. 349-350. See also *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle)*, ed. G. GARITTE (= *Subs. hag.*, 30), Brussels, 1958, pp. 418-419.

⁵⁰ Thompson Fragment A8 → in ULJAS, *Lost Coptic Texts...* (see above n. 5), p. 183 (Sahidic text), 202 (English translation).

⁵¹ W. PLEYTE – P.A.A. BOESER, *Manuscripts coptes du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden, 1897, pp. 186-187. The fact that Tobe 1 was primarily dedicated to Dioscorus and Asclepius appears also from another *typikon* fragment, Paris, BnF Copte, 129²⁰, f. 169^f.

which mentions Tobe 1 as the main feast of Stephen is the annual lectionary New York, Morgan Library and Museum M 573⁵². However, it should be emphasized that this lectionary belonged to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantou, in the Fayyum. Therefore, albeit written in Sahidic, it does not necessarily reflect the liturgical reality of Upper Egypt. In conclusion, our evidence shows that the feast of Stephen was celebrated at different dates in Egypt. As the title of the encomium attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem and the aforementioned sources indicate, in Upper Egypt his commemoration took place on Paope 26.

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Résumé. Cet article traite d'un texte sahidique fragmentaire, conventionnellement appelé *Historia Stephani Protomartyris* (BHO 1093; CANT 302; *Clavis coptica* 0491). Le nom de son auteur a disparu en raison d'une lacune dans le seul manuscrit connu jusqu'à présent. L'A. de cet article avance des arguments montrant que l'*Historia Stephani* était très probablement attribuée à Théodose, l'évêque antichalcédonien de Jérusalem entre 451 et 453. Il identifie aussi, pour la première fois, divers fragments de papyrus appartenant à une copie jusque-là inconnue du même texte. Enfin, il aborde la question de la commémoration d'Étienne le protomartyr en Égypte. En effet, le titre de l'*Historia Stephani* et d'autres sources sahidiques suggèrent que le martyr d'Étienne était célébré en Haute-Égypte le 23 octobre, et non le 27 décembre, comme indiqué dans la majorité des calendriers byzantins et égyptiens.

⁵² L. DEPUYDT, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, vol. 1 (= *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 4; *Oriental Series*, 1), Louvain, 1993, pp. 69-81 (= no. 51), at 73. More detailed description in K. SCHÜSSLER, *Biblia Coptica: Die koptischen Bibeltexte*. Vol. 3/2: *Sa 521-540*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 55-71, at 64.