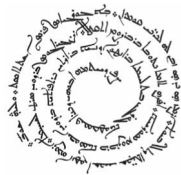


**“And from his side
came blood and milk”**



Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies

52

Series Editors

George Anton Kiraz

István Perczel

Lorenzo Perrone

Samuel Rubenson

Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies brings to the scholarly world the underrepresented field of Eastern Christianity. This series consists of monographs, edited collections, texts and translations of the documents of Eastern Christianity, as well as studies of topics relevant to the world of historic Orthodoxy and early Christianity.

**“And from his side
came blood and milk”**

**The Martyrdom of St Philotheus of Antioch in
Coptic Egypt and Beyond**

Anna Rogozhina

GORGIAS
GPRESS

2019

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

Copyright © 2019 by Gorgias Press LLC

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Gorgias Press LLC.

2019



ISBN 978-1-4632-3916-9

ISSN 1539-1507

Cover photo: pen case from Antinoe, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1898), p. 331.

Page 8: photo of a pen case from Antinoe, AF 5158 (c) 2008

Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication
Data**

A Cataloging-in-Publication Record is available
from the Library of Congress.

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	v
Acknowledgments	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	1
Comparative analysis of the two main versions of the Martyrdom	5
The Nature of the Source Material	5
Notes on transcription and translation	6
Chapter 1. Description of the text and of its manuscript tradition	9
I. Introduction	9
II. Textual traditions of the legend of St Philotheus	14
III. The hymnographic tradition	23
Conclusions	25
Table of episodes	26
Chapter 2. The legend of Philotheus in the context of the Coptic martyr cycles	33
I. Epic passions in Coptic hagiography	34
II. Cycles in Coptic literary culture	40
Conclusions	49
Chapter 3. The Great Persecution and Diocletianic Legend in Coptic Passions	51
I. Introduction: the cult of martyrs in Coptic Egypt and the impact of the Great Persecution	52
II. The Great Persecution in contemporary historical sources	57
III. Main features of the Diocletianic legend in Coptic texts	66
Conclusions	94

Chapter 4. Antioch as ‘the holy city’ in Coptic hagiography	97
I. Antioch in hagiographical reality.....	99
II. Fictional and real landmarks in Antioch; places of trial and places of worship	123
III. Historical relations between the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch.....	131
Conclusions	144
Appendix to Chapter 4. Martyrs who, according to the Coptic tradition, have connections with Antioch	146
Chapter 5. Enduring motifs: a miracle of resurrection and a tour of hell.....	151
I. Tour of hell and its literary and theological context	152
II. Special features of the description of hell in the Martyrdom of Philotheus	183
Conclusions	196
Chapter 6. Enduring motifs: re-imagining paganism, magic and miracles in the Christian context.....	199
I. Paganism of the parents of Philotheus.....	200
II. Representations of magic; magic and Christian miracle- working.....	210
Conclusions	227
Chapter 7. The minds that shaped the text	231
I. The development of the cult of St Philotheus in Egypt....	232
II. Performance, audience and authorship	254
Conclusions	279
Conclusion.....	281
Epilogue	287
Bibliography	291
Primary Sources	291
Secondary Sources.....	299
Appendix I. The Georgian Martyrdom.....	321
Appendix II. Translation of the Coptic Martyrdom.....	329
Appendix III. Coptic hymns in honour of Philotheus from the Difnar	361
Index.....	365

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work has been in progress for many years and is a revised version of my doctoral thesis defended in 2015 at the University of Oxford. The project was initially started in 1999, when my supervisor Dr Alexei Muraviev suggested that my BA thesis at St Tikhon's University could be dedicated to the comparison of the Georgian and Coptic versions of the Martyrdom of Philotheus. This idea was suggested by the late Fr M. van Esbroeck who kindly sent me a copy of the first half of the Coptic manuscript facsimile. By the end of my work on the BA thesis I felt determined to continue the project in order to examine the context of this interesting story and to make this text accessible both to specialists and to a wider public. However, it had to be put on hold for nearly ten years. It was only in 2010 when I had an opportunity to start work on it again, thanks to the generous doctoral scholarship from the Hill Foundation, to whom I am extremely grateful.

I feel privileged and fortunate to have been able to work in the environment of intellectual effervescence and rigorous testing so essential for Oxford academic life. My special thanks go to the members of the Oxford Ethiopic reading group who encouraged me throughout my work on the story of St Philotheus and kindly shared their knowledge. Particular thanks go to Prof Theo van Lint, Dr Alison Salvesen, Dr Philip Booth, and Dr Arietta Papaconstantinou for their support and very helpful feedback as my examiners at various stages of the doctoral course.

I want to thank all my wonderful friends for their support and kindness, especially Anna Sander, Ekaterina Kozlova, Marlena Whiting, Natalia Nikitin, Judita Margeviciute, Kiz Natt, and most of all, Olga Grinchenko whose never failing support and reassurance helped me to finish the work. I would also like to thank my friends James Johnson, Margaret Haig, Anna Sander, and Lorna

Swanton for their indispensable help with proofreading the text of my doctoral thesis.

I owe a great debt to my dear friend and counsellor, Dr James Howard-Johnston, for all his help, feedback and comments on my work, as well as for his kindness, encouragement, and generosity with his time.

My special gratitude goes to my academic supervisor, Dr David Taylor, for his knowledge and erudition, endless patience, un-failing support, tough questions, general optimism, and wonderful sense of humour.

I want to thank also Dr Alexei Muraviev for introducing me to the story of St Philotheus and supporting my interest in this subject for many years.

Above all, thanks to my family for their love and encouragement, especially to my parents Elena and Alexey Rogozhin, and to my grandparents who inspired and supported me in all my endeavours. I would like to dedicate this work with love and gratitude to my grandparents Rimma Mikhajlova and the late Jury Epplé.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used throughout the notes and bibliography are as follows:

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1882–)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co.).
<i>ARAM</i>	ARAM Periodical, published by ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies.
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, ed. by F. Halkin (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957 ³).
BHO	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1910).
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i> , ed. by A. Atiya (New York, 1991).
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain, 1903–).
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> . Ed. by J.-P. Migne et als. (Paris, 1857–1866).
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> . Ed. by J.-P. Migne et als. (Paris, 1844–1900).

PO *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1904–).

PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*

INTRODUCTION

‘If not through the blood of martyrs,
it is not possible to forgive the sins of the world’.¹

When reading Coptic martyr passions, one’s first impression is that these texts are too bloody: blood gushes forth from the martyrs’ wounds on nearly every page; the streets of the cities and courts of justice are washed in the blood of the martyrs and of those bystanders who also convert to Christ, inspired by their courage. On the other hand, the blood of the martyrs, shed for the name of Christ, is considered to be a precious treasure and has healing properties:

Every person who was sick – in a grievous illness of any kind – took [a little] of the blood of the saints and put it upon their limbs which were sick: the blind received sight, the lame walked, the deaf received hearing, the dumb began to speak, and the lepers were cleansed...²

Although this attitude to the martyrs might appear a mere hagiographical convention of centuries past, it has, however, deeply penetrated all layers of the self-consciousness of Egyptian Christians and has become an integral part of their self-identification as the Church of the Martyrs. Moreover, we can see that this special veneration of martyrs by the Christians of Egypt has not only survived until our time, but is growing stronger, especially in the light of recent events in the Middle East. In an interview about the recent-

¹ *Martyrdom of St Philotheus*, f.78r b.

² *Martyrdom of St Shenoufe and his brethren*, cf. E.A.E. Reymonds, J.W.B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford, 1973), p. 124.

ly-produced icon of the 21 New Martyrs of Libya its creator, iconographer Tony Rezk, a Coptic artist now based in America, said:

My ultimate purpose was to honor them and the sacrifice that they made. Tertullian, a Christian apologist from the third century, before he joined a non-Orthodox Christian sect, said, “The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church.” We believe that their martyrdom will help the Church grow stronger.³

Indeed, the idea of the blood of the martyrs as the foundation of their Church has been very important for the Egyptian Christians. The cult of martyrs played a very special role in the formation of the self-perception and mentality of the Copts: thus, Meinardus points out that ‘medieval Coptic synaxaria list 184 commemorations of the martyrs and only sixty-three for the ascetics of the church’.⁴ At a certain point the Egyptian Christians even claimed to be the nation that had produced the apocryphal ‘first martyr’ or ‘protomartyr’ – the youth Eudaimon⁵ – who must be considered a predecessor to the officially recognised protomartyr Stephen whose story is described in the *Acts of the Apostles*. The Copts have produced a vast corpus of hagiographical texts dedicated to martyrs: first of all, passions, secondly, encomia and collections of shrine miracles.

³ <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/414400/what-martyrdom-looks-interview> (accessed 05.04.2015)

⁴ For more on the perception of martyrs in Coptic spirituality see O.F.A. Meinardus, *Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages* (Cairo, 2002), pp. 25–28, and A. Papaconstantinou, ‘Historiography, Hagiography, and the Making of the Coptic “Church of the Martyrs” in Early Islamic Egypt’ in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006), pp. 65–86.

⁵ De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London, 1937), p. 133. O’Leary makes a remark, however, that Eudaimon ‘seems to have been quite an imaginary character’ and that he was not ‘a very prominent figure in Egyptian hagiology’. See also Papaconstantinou, ‘Historiography, Hagiography’, pp. 79–80.

But for a long time scholars of hagiography, starting with the famous Bollandist Hyppolite Delehaye,⁶ rejected Coptic martyr passions for their lack of historical veracity and legendary character; many scholars were put off by the general fictitiousness or strikingly repetitive features of these accounts.⁷ Their value as historical sources was totally dismissed: for example, Clarysse insists that ‘the only historical value they have is that of topography: they attest the cult of a martyr, of which only the name is historical, in a certain locality of Egypt’.⁸

The first aim of this work is to show that in fact these neglected texts are a critical witness to how the cults of saints developed and functioned in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt and that hagiographical writing played a central role in the formation and development of these cults. For this purpose, I will use primarily the texts forming the Coptic hagiographical dossier of the early Christian martyr Philotheus of Antioch: more specifically, this work will concentrate on the *Martyrdom of St Philotheus of Antioch*, preserved in a ninth-century Coptic manuscript, belonging to the Pierpont Morgan Library collection (M583).

Although Philotheus was never as famous as some other martyrs venerated in the Coptic Church, such as, for example, George or Victor, nevertheless, his cult once flourished in Egypt as is attested by rich textual and material evidence which will be discussed in the last chapter. The *Martyrdom of Philotheus* – which has not hitherto been published⁹ – provides us with an excellent opportunity to

⁶ H. Delehaye, ‘Les Martyrs de l’Égypte’ in *AB* 40 (1922), pp. 5–154, 299–364, and idem, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1966).

⁷ See, for example, a very dismissive description of these texts in O’Leary’s work, *The Saints of Egypt*, pp. 12ff.

⁸ W. Clarysse, ‘The Coptic Martyr Cult’ in *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective: Memorial Louis Reekmans*, ed. by M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (Leuven, 1995), p. 392.

⁹ Although the legend of St Philotheus sparked a certain interest among the scholars of the Christian East, especially after the publication of the Georgian version of the *Martyrdom* by Kekelidze in 1960, which was followed by two articles – one by M. van Esbroeck in 1976 and another

examine the function and development of the cult of saints in Coptic Egypt: since Philotheus’ tradition includes texts of various genres from various periods, it allows us to trace the changes and shifts in the formation of the discourse of the martyrdom from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, since the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* is not a completely independent or unique text, given that it belongs to a larger group of martyrologies connected with Diocletian’s persecution, it can be studied in comparison with similar texts from the same period, especially with the hagiographical texts and panegyrics in honour of other Antiochene martyrs, such as Victor, Theodore the General, Theodore Anatolius, and others. It allows us to see which motifs and *topoi* were considered by the authors of these hagiographical texts to be more important or more interesting than others. Special attention will be given to the legend of Diocletian the Persecutor and to the image of Antioch as the Holy City in Coptic hagiography, as these two motifs appear in one way or another in the majority of the martyr passions connected with the Great Persecution.

This book also aims to examine the goals and concerns of the authors and editors of Coptic martyr passions and their intended audience. It will be argued that these texts were produced in order to perform multiple functions: they were used as a means to justify and promote the cult of a particular saint, as an educational tool, and as an important structural element of liturgical celebrations in honour of the saint.

by T. Orlandi in 1978 – the Coptic text is still available only in the facsimile edition of 1922, cf. *Bibliothecae P. Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi* (Rome, 1922), t. XLI. However, M. Müller and S. Uljas have started a project aimed at producing the critical editions of five Coptic texts from the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection – which includes, among others, the *Martyrdom of Philotheus*. A doctoral thesis on the Coptic text of the *Martyrdom* by N. Kouremenos (‘La passione copta di San Filoteo di Antiochia secondo il codice M583 di Pierpont Morgan Library a New York’) was defended in 2015 at the Pontifical Institute in Rome. It is focusing on the textual tradition of the *Martyrdom* in the codex M 583 and does not study the Georgian tradition.

Another aim of this work is to stress the entertainment value of these texts: the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* is not only a promotional element of cult, but also a literary composition – a well-written and elaborated composition, especially in comparison with other texts of the same genre. Attention will be given to the literary and historical backgrounds of this text and the sources used by Coptic hagiographers for creating such stories, as well as the methods they used to re-work certain theological concepts and make them more accessible to the audience.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TWO MAIN VERSIONS OF THE MARTYRDOM

The story of Philotheus enjoyed great popularity not only in Egypt, but also in other countries of the Christian East, since his dossier includes texts in Coptic, Georgian, Ethiopic and Arabic. The *Martyrdom of Philotheus* has come down to us in two main versions – Coptic and Georgian. The Coptic version of the text is richly developed and appears to be a specifically Coptic re-working of a legend of St Philotheus with special features which include many visions, deaths and resurrections, a tour of hell, a magic duel, walking statues, and talking animals – all of this taking place in the city of Antioch during the Great Persecution of Diocletian. The Georgian text of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* (probably produced earlier but surviving in a later manuscript) appears to have been based on another, shorter version of the legend, presumably Greek, possibly from Syria or Palestine, which appears to have been lost. A comparative study of the Coptic *Martyrdom of Philotheus* and its Georgian counterpart allows us to see what has been added by the Coptic compilers and what subjects they considered to be of particular interest.

THE NATURE OF THE SOURCE MATERIAL

Apart from the Coptic and Georgian versions of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* (their manuscript tradition will be discussed in the first chapter), there are other Coptic passions and encomia to be brought in consideration – those honouring saints who were either connected with Antioch or were believed to have been martyred during Diocletian's persecution. The majority of these texts are preserved in manuscripts dating from the eighth to eleventh centu-

ries and are kept now in various libraries across Europe or in the large Coptic collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Some of them were edited and published in the first half of the last century and therefore are relatively well-known, as, for example, the *Martyrdom of St Victor*,¹⁰ but others, like the *Martyrdom of St Phoibamon of Prebt*¹¹ are only now being prepared for publication.

Much attention is also given to the hymnographic material pertaining to the cult of Philotheus as well as to hymns in honour of other Antiochene saints, as the hymns provide an important testimony to the later development of the stories of martyrs in the context of their cults. Some of the hymnographic collections are, in fact, contemporary with the extant hagiographical collections,¹² and some are preserved in very late manuscripts¹³ – this provides us with yet another opportunity to make observations on the development, longevity or impermanence of certain features of the cult of martyrs in Egypt.

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Wherever necessary, I quote the original Coptic text (whole sentences or smaller phrases) without transcription, but with English translation. All translations are my own, unless indicated otherwise. I am providing English translations of the Coptic and Georgian

¹⁰ It was first published by E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic martyrdoms etc. in the dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1914); later Elanskaia published another version of this text, cf. A.I. Elanskaia [А.И. Еланская], *Коптские рукописи Государственной публичной библиотеки им. Салтыкова-Щедрина in Палестинский Сборник* 20 (83) (Leningrad, 1969).

¹¹ I would like to thank S. Uljas, who kindly allowed me to use his preliminary work on this text.

¹² For example, one of the earliest dated liturgical manuscripts (M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library), which dates to 897/898 AD; see discussion in Chapter 2.

¹³ Thus, the edition of the *Difnar (Antiphonarium)* of the Coptic Church is based on two eighteenth century manuscripts, cf. De Lacy O’Leary, *The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church*, part I (London, 1926), foreword.

versions of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* in the appendices for the aid of readers.

As for transcription of the Arabic names of places and cities which appear in some chapters of this work, I mostly follow the system adapted in the *Coptic Encyclopedia*;¹⁴ however, some place-names are quoted from books and articles as they appear in the original texts.

¹⁴ *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. by A. Atiya (New York, 1991).



Pen case from Antinoe, AF 5158, now in the collection of the Louvre Museum, France © 2008 Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.

CHAPTER 1.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXT AND OF ITS MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

I. INTRODUCTION

During excavations at the necropolis of Antinoe, an ancient city in Upper Egypt, sacked by Amr ibn al-ʿĀs in 642, many remarkable objects, such as prayer-chaplets, baskets, phials, and ivory boxes were brought to light.¹ Among these objects was a pen case which seems to have belonged to a scribe named Pamio.² The pen case bears two inscriptions and an image of a Christian saint who was probably Pamio's patron: this saint is depicted as a warrior, with his left hand resting on an oval-shaped shield, and his right holding a lance, the point of which is pressed into the neck of the crowned head of a serpent-like figure. The Greek inscription above the head of the saint reads: ἀΓΙΕ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΠΑΜΙΩ ('Saint Philotheus, help your servant Pamio'); the same name, Philotheus, is repeated beside the image. The thirteen-line-long inscription below the image is probably an incantatory or apotropaic formula; the rhymed endings of the lines form a certain pattern.³

¹ A. Gayet, 'La nécropole gréco-byzantine' in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. XXVI, 3 (Paris, 1897), pp. 56–58.

² H. Omont describes this pen case in much detail in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1898), pp. 330–332. It is preserved in the collection of the Louvre, inv. No. AF 5158.

³ It might as well be a Gnostic litany, as Omont suggests, or one of the 'powerful utterances' or *voces magicæ* used in the Coptic magical texts; on *voces magicæ* in general see W.M. Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey' in *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 3429–3438. The text

Although this image might give the impression that this Philotheus was one of those military martyrs who were so numerous and popular in the Christian tradition⁴ and especially in Egypt,⁵ the account of his life, as will be shown below, reveals a story different to that of a typical military martyr. According to the textual tradition of this saint, he was a young boy from Antioch, who became a martyr for Christ at the age of thirteen.

of the inscription reads as follows (slashes mark the ends of lines): ΙΛΛΟΠΙΘ/ ΦΚΠΟΠΙC/ ΜΛΛΟΠΙΖ/ ΔΛΟΠΠ/ ΜΛΛΟΠΙΖ/ ΙΟΠΠ/ ΙΛΛΟΠΙΖ/ ΔΛΛΟΠΠ/ ΔΛΟΠΠ/ ΔΛΟΠΠ/ ΑΛΛΟ/ ΠΙΖ. Leclercq defines this inscription as a sample of ‘Ephesian letters’, cf. H. Leclercq, ‘Philothée’ in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. by F. Cabrol, vol. II (Paris, 1913), col.1581. This *vox magica* has ‘certain tendencies to *homoioteleuton*, *homoiarcton* and general rhyme and rhythm’, as Brashear describes similar utterances, cf. Brashear, ‘The Greek Magical Papyri’, p. 3431. So far, I have not been able to find any correspondences to this particular *vox magica*.

⁴ There are, indeed, several martyrs bearing the name Philotheus, one of them being a martyr from Samosata. Still, the image on this pencease can almost surely be attributed to Philotheus of Antioch, which will be shown later in the section dedicated to the interaction between Philotheus and Diocletian. A. Papaconstantinou discusses the possibility of the homonyms and is also inclined to think that Philotheus depicted here is Philotheus of Antioch: ‘Philothée est meme représenté en soldat sur un étui à calames trouvé à Antinoé (BoisLouvre 2006). Fait-il en conclure que ces enfants-martyrs ont été assimilés à des saints militaires? Ou penser simplement qu’il s’agit une fois de plus d’homonymes? Leur présence à côté de personnages aussi celebres fait pencher en faveur de la première hypothèse.’, cf. A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Egypte: des Byzantins aux Abbassides: l’apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, (Paris, 2001), p. 235.

⁵ On the popularity of the military martyrs as reflected by icons and frescoes in the Eastern Mediterranean in general and in medieval Egypt in particular see forthcoming work of H. Badamo, *Image and Community: Representations of Military Saints in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, which is so far available in the form of her PhD thesis in Art History, defended in 2011 at the University of Michigan.

I.1 Synopsis of the legend of St Philotheus

The story of St Philotheus is in many ways characteristic of an early Christian martyr, including the elements of childhood conversion, a pagan ruler who persecutes the martyr, and severe tortures leading to eventual death (or even two deaths in this case).⁶ The two main versions of his *Martyrdom* – Georgian and Coptic – tell the audience that Philotheus was born in Antioch and was martyred under Diocletian ‘in the beginning of his reign’, aged only thirteen (or fifteen, according to the Coptic version).

The story of Philotheus begins with a description of his conversion and narrates how the boy, living in the city of Antioch with his wealthy parents, observes their pagan worship. Feeling unable to bring himself to worship a grass-eating calf with his parents, Philotheus starts seeking the true God and at first turns to the sun and other celestial bodies. Having been warned by the sun of the danger of idolatry, however, the boy then receives a revelation from Christ Himself. Christ announces to the boy that he will undergo martyrdom in His name and from then on Philotheus meets all arguments against Christ and unbearable tortures with unshakable faith.

According to the narrative, the boy’s parents are gored to death by the calf they have been worshipping and after three days Philotheus revives them by his prayer. They are then converted to Christianity and the whole family receives baptism. Two years later the parents of Philotheus pass away and he is denounced to the emperor by some unspecified pagans or, according to the Coptic version, by the Devil himself. After preliminary interrogation Diocletian tries to force the boy to sacrifice to his gods, but Philotheus destroys the golden idol specially brought to the emperor’s throne with heavenly fire. Three soldiers of Diocletian who had been sent to fetch him witnessed this miracle. They turn to Christ and by

⁶ Similar stories are, for example, those of St Pancras of Rome, who converted to Christianity during his trip to Rome at the age of fourteen, or of St Margaret (Marina) of Antioch, a fifteen-year-old martyr; both martyrs are said to have suffered around 304 AD during the reign of the emperor Diocletian. Their cults are relatively early and very wide-spread in both Western and Eastern Christian traditions.

their preaching convert other soldiers to Christianity. Then, as the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* tells us, they unanimously confess their faith and are killed. After this the emperor, enraged both by their conversion and by the understandable loss of manpower, orders the boy to be flogged cruelly and then dismembered. In order to disgrace Diocletian Christ grants healing to the martyr's wounds. Angered and frenzied, Diocletian loses all hope of breaking the boy's obstinacy and orders his soldiers to spear the martyr and then burn his body. The martyr's body, left undamaged by the fire, is then taken away by the faithful and buried.

I.2 Differences between the two main versions of the Martyrdom of Philotheus

The short summary of the legend presented above is the one preserved in Georgian tradition. The Coptic version, although it coincides with the Georgian in the main points, is much longer, due to the addition of a number of episodes which are not present in the Georgian text or in the *Synaxaria* (preserved in the Arabic Coptic *Synaxarium* and Ethiopic *Book of Saints*). Apart from its length, the Coptic version has a much more fantastic character than the relatively realistic Georgian version; it captivates the reader with its epic features stressed nearly to the utmost. Miracles and visions are strongly emphasized: the story features a magic duel, demons in disguise, talking celestial bodies and animals, and even walking statues. These additional episodes (see table of episodes at the end of this chapter) which seem to be part of later development or, rather, elaboration of the story were not inserted into the narrative at random: they perform certain functions and bring the story into compliance with the established patterns of Coptic hagiography. These episodes were also meant to enhance the entertaining and promotional value of the text, as they emphasize the power of the saint's prayer (as demonstrated by his numerous miracles) and the strength of his intercession (such as the authority to deliver the souls of the departed from the torments of hell).

The problem of the relationship between Georgian and Coptic versions has not been fully solved so far. Kekelidze, the editor

of the Georgian text, suggested that its translation into Georgian was made directly from Coptic.⁷ This hypothesis was challenged by van Esbroeck, who insisted that even though some phrases and whole episodes in the Georgian text coincide verbatim with the Coptic version, ‘il n’est pas possible que la rédaction conservée en géorgien dépende de la longue épopée copte’.⁸ He suggested that there might have been a now lost Greek original of this legend, probably of Palestinian provenance.⁹ Indeed, the Georgian text of the *Martyrdom* seems to be based on a shorter version of the same story. Since the majority of the additional episodes in the Coptic version (especially miracles, tortures and multiple deaths of the martyr) are those that are found in other Coptic passions, we may accept van Esbroeck’s hypothesis that this elaboration of the original text was performed in Egypt. But it does not seem possible to identify with any certainty the language, place or date of the composition of this original legend, since we do not have enough data.

The synaxaric versions of the story seem to follow the Coptic *Martyrdom*, although they present the events in an abbreviated form: see, for example, the theatre episode (No.25 in the table), which is compressed to a few lines in the synaxaric texts. Perhaps due to later editorial censure both synaxaria tend to omit the most spectacular miracles and pay less attention to entertaining moments; on the whole, the fantastic events are much fewer there in comparison with the full *Martyrdom of Philotheus*. But, no matter how fantastic the character of the Coptic legend may be, it enjoyed great popularity in Egypt in the Middle Ages – the *Martyrdom* and other hagiographical works connected with Philotheus continued to be copied in different parts of Egypt for centuries, as will be shown below, and spread further through Coptic iconography and hymns.

⁷ კ. კეკელიძე [K. Kekelidze], ფილეტეოსის მარტვილობა [Fileteosis martviloba] in *უცუდები ძველი ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორიიდან* [*Etindebi dzveli kartuli literaturis istoridan*], v. 6 (Tbilisi, 1960), pp. 81–83.

⁸ M. van Esbroeck, ‘Saint Philotheos d’Antioche’ in *AB* 94, p. 124.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

II. TEXTUAL TRADITIONS OF THE LEGEND OF ST PHILOTHEUS

II.1 Coptic tradition

Although the memory of this martyr is attested in liturgical and hagiographical sources in other countries of the Christian East, judging by the number of the surviving manuscripts and fragments containing accounts of his *Martyrdom*, his cult was especially flourishing in Egypt. The oldest extant fragments of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* come from Egypt and are dated by W. Crum to the 7th century. The Coptic tradition includes one complete text and nine fragments.¹⁰

M A complete text of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus*, in the Sahidic dialect, is preserved in the manuscript kept at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (M 583). So far the codex has only been published in a phototype edition of 1922,¹¹ however, a critical edition of the text is being prepared by S. Uljas and M. Müller. It was found in 1910 at the site of the monastery of St Michael near the present-day Hamouli (Fayoum). The manuscript was written and illuminated by the priest Epima for the monastery of the Archangel Michael in Sôpehes.

The parchment codex is a synaxarium for the months from Toth to Tubeh and it contains different texts, mainly the lives of saints, but also some homiletic works; the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* takes folia 75r *b* to 102 v *a*. The copying of the manuscript was finished on the 8th of February 848 according to the colophon.¹² Orlandi suggests that the manuscript consists of two codices which were bound together at an early stage;¹³ in any case, both parts are

¹⁰ In the description which follows I adhere to the order used by T. Orlandi, ‘Il «dossier copto» di San Filoteo d’ Antiochia’ in *AB* 96 (1978), pp. 117–120.

¹¹ *Bibliothecae P. Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi* (Rome, 1922), t. XLI, pp. 149–204.

¹² A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte*, I, 1 (Louvain, 1929), n. V, pp. 10–12.

¹³ T. Orlandi, *Il dossier copto del martire Psote* (Milano, 1978), p. 10.

written by the same hand. The contents of the manuscript include:¹⁴

1. *Encomium on Archangel Gabriel* by Archelaus of Neapolis;
2. *Martyrdom of Psote*;
3. *Encomium on St John the Baptist* by Theodosius of Alexandria;
4. *Martyrdom of Theodore Anatolius, Leontius the Arab, and Panigerus the Persian*;
5. *Martyrdom of Philotheus of Antioch*;
6. *Martyrdom of Shenoufe and his brethren*;
7. *Homily on the Virgin Mary* by Cyril of Jerusalem;
8. *Life of Hilaria* by Pambo of Scetis;
9. *Martyrdom of Apaïoule and Pteleme*.

The *Martyrdoms* in this codex are gathered on the basis of the calendar: thus, St Theodore the Eastern, Leontius, Panigerus, Philotheus, Apaïoule and Pteleme are all commemorated in month Tubeh. The Dormition of the Mother of God is also celebrated in Tubeh.

The manuscript is decorated (presumably, by the same scribe Epima who copied it): it has a number of ornamental paragraph marks, there are also drawings of birds, gazelles, lions, rabbits, and an ox; it also has 'eleven human portrait figures – nine of which are marginal drawings accompanying the text of a Life of St. John the Baptist'.¹⁵

F1 A leaf fragment from a papyrus codex, in the Sahidic dialect, corresponds to ff.75r b l.25 – 76r b l.13 of **M.**; also in the Pierpont Morgan collection. This fragment was edited and translated into

¹⁴ For a more detailed description of the codicological characteristics, contents and conservation state of this manuscript see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Leuven, 1993), № 164, pp. 325–332.

¹⁵ T. Petersen, 'The Paragraph Mark in Coptic Ornament' in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. by D. Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 313–314.

English by W.E. Crum.¹⁶ It is said to have been brought to a dealer in Luxor from Hū, ancient Diospolis Parva, according to A.H. Sayce, and then purchased by Lord Amhurst in 1906. Later, in 1912, it was purchased by Pierpont Morgan.¹⁷ This fragment was dated by Crum to the 7th century on the grounds of palaeography; however, he admitted that this dating was not secure.¹⁸

F2 Two fragments from two leaves of a papyrus codex, in the Sahidic dialect. These fragments are not successive. They correspond to ff. 95v *b* 1.2–96r *b* 1.2 and ff. 98v *a* 1.2–99r *a* 1.6 of **M**. At present these fragments are kept at the Pierpont Morgan Library (C17),¹⁹ edited and translated into English by W.E. Crum.²⁰ As with the previous fragment, no secure dating exists; Crum dated both F1 and F2 to the seventh century.²¹

F3 Three fragments from a papyrus codex, in the Sahidic dialect, from the Des Rivières-Kennard collection. At present they are kept at the British Library (Or 7561, nn. 123, 124, 125, 126). They partly correspond to: 1) no. 126 to f. 80r of **M**; 2) no. 125 to 81v *b*–82r *a*; 3) no. 124 to 87v; 4) no. 123 to 91r *b*–91v *a*. These fragments date to the 8th century.²²

F4 A fragment of a parchment codex in the Fayoumic dialect, corresponding to ff. 96v *a* 1.4 – 97v *b* 1.24 of **M**. Edited and translated by H. Munier in 1916,²³ and then re-edited by S.-P. Girard in

¹⁶ W.E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri* (Oxford, 1913), No. 16, pp. 68–70.

¹⁷ See also Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, № 134, pp. 267–268.

¹⁸ Crum, *Theological Texts*, preface.

¹⁹ Depuydt, op. cit., p. 268.

²⁰ Crum, *Theological Texts*, No. 17, p. 70–73.

²¹ See n. 18 above.

²² See description in B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic literary manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the year 1906* (London, 1987), pp. 201–203, No 165.

²³ H. Munier, ‘Un passage nouveau du martyre de Saint Philothée’ in *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 16 (1916), pp. 247–252.

1923.²⁴ This fragment is kept in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms 3823), originally from the Coptic Museum in Cairo (see description in Depuydt, pp. 638–639).

F5 Two complete leaves from a paper codex in the Sahidic dialect, of unknown origin, corresponding to pages ff.100r *b* l.3 – 100v *a* l.4 and ff.101v *a* l.29 – 102r *a* l.6 of **M**. At present they are kept in the British Museum Collection (Or 1241, 1, Crum's Catalogue, n. 330²⁵). Edited and translated into Russian by A. Rogozhina.²⁶ Original pagination is ϣλζ-ϣλη, ϣμζ-ϣμη. The manuscript dates to the 11th century.²⁷

F6 Two complete leaves from a codex in the Sahidic dialect, found at the monastery of Al-Baramūs in Wādi ʿn-Natrūn in 1928. These fragments correspond to f.91v *a* l.17 – f.92r *b* l.19 of **M**. These leaves are at present kept at the Coptic Museum in Cairo. They were edited and translated into English by Yassā ʿAbd al-Masih,²⁸ who suggested that this codex dates to the 11th century.

F7 A fragment of a codex in the Sahidic dialect, edited and translated into German by W. Till.²⁹ This piece corresponds to f.95v *a* l.25 – f.96r *a* l.6 of **M**. Originating probably from the library of the White Monastery, this fragment is now kept at the Austrian National Library (Cod. Wien K 9501). The fragment is dated to the 11th century.

²⁴ L. Saint-Paul Girard, 'Un fragment fayoumique du martyre de Saint Philothée' in *BIFAO* 22 (1923), pp. 105–113.

²⁵ W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), pp. 150–151.

²⁶ А.А. Рогожина [A.A. Rogozhina], 'Коптские фрагменты «Мученичества св. Филофея Антиохийского» из собрания Британского музея' in *Литературные традиции христианского Египта* (Moscow, 2008), pp. 9–21.

²⁷ Orlandi suggests that **F5** and **F6** are probably parts of the same codex, cf. Orlandi, 'Il «dossier copto»', p. 119.

²⁸ Y. ʿAbd al-Masih, 'A Sa'idic Fragment of the Martyrdom of St. Philotheus' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4 (1938), pp. 584–590.

²⁹ W. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden*, vol. I (Rome, 1935), pp. 1–2.

F8 Three leaves of a palimpsest codex from the library of the White Monastery, in the Sahidic dialect. At present they are kept at the Vatican Library (Borgiano Copto 109, fasc. 73, Cat. Zoega n. LXXIII), edited and translated into Latin by G. Balestri.³⁰ The upper layer contains the text of John’s Gospel. The lower layer of the codex contains different texts: the first leaf of the codex is a part of a homily on creation; the second leaf contains an account of the miracles of St Philotheus. The original pagination is $\text{I}\Theta\text{-}\text{K}$; the third leaf provides a story of the emperor Julian’s death, the fourth leaf is illegible and the fifth contains another portion of the account of the miracles of St Philotheus. The sixth leaf, containing the *kidan* from the *Martyrdom* (see discussion of *kidan* in Chapter 7), roughly corresponds to f.99v of **M**. The part of the lower layer, dedicated to St Philotheus, probably dates to the ninth century.

F9 Three leaves of a palimpsest codex, in the Sahidic dialect with a mixture of Fayoumic, edited and translated into French by J. Vergote.³¹ At present these fragments are kept at the Berlin State Museum (9755). The recto side of the first leaf contains the ending of the *Martyrdom of Colluthus*, and the verso side – the title of the story and two brief fragments of a panegyric to St Philotheus ascribed to bishop Demetrius (Demetrianus) of Antioch.³² The original pagination is $\text{Z}\text{-}\text{Z}\Delta$. Leaves 2 and 3 contain parts of the account of other miracles by St Philotheus; the original pagination is $\text{N-N}\Delta$, $\text{Z}\Delta\text{-}\text{Z}\text{E}$.

³⁰ G. Balestri, ‘Di un frammento palimpsesto copto-saidico del Museo Borgiano’ in *Bessarione* ser. II, 4 (1902–1903), pp. 61–69.

³¹ J. Vergote, ‘Le texte sous-jacent du palimpseste Berlin n° 9755’ in *Le Muséon* 42 (1955), pp. 275–296.

³² Demetrius of Antioch is a fictitious figure, most probably invented by the anonymous creators of the Coptic Cycles. Demetrius is said to be the author of two homilies and two hagiographical texts – the aforementioned panegyric to St Philotheus and *Miracula Victoris* (*Miracles of Victor*), which survived only in the Ethiopian translation. The fragments of the panegyric to St Philotheus give a strong impression of being modelled on the analogous *Miracula Colluthi* (*Miracles of Colluthus*), with whom Philotheus is sometimes mixed. Cf. T. Orlandi, ‘Demetrius of Antioch’ in *CE* 3, pp. 893–894.

The palaeographic features suggest that this fragment dates to the 9th century.

Although some scholars suggested that Philotheus was venerated in Egypt already in the fourth century,³³ there are no manuscripts or inscriptions that would prove this statement. The earliest extant manuscript fragments date to the seventh century; the pen case from Antioch is probably of the same period (van Esbroeck, though, conjectures that the owner of the pen case ‘very probably transcribed the Passion in the fifth or sixth century’³⁴). Another claim that Philotheus’ commemoration was mentioned in one of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (POxy XI 1357), dated to the 535–536,³⁵ – a restitution, introduced by the first editors of the text in 1915³⁶ and then repeated by later scholars³⁷ – was refuted by A. Papaconstantinou in her re-edition and commentary on this source.³⁸ How-

³³ M. van Esbroeck, ‘Saint Philotheus of Antioch’ in *CE* 6, p. 1961 and in ‘Saint Philotheos d’Antioche’ in *AB* 94, p. 121. He suggests that a certain fibula of the fourth century and a jewel from the third to the fourth century, on which the saint is portrayed on horseback, actually depict St Philotheus of Antioch piercing a dragon with his spear. These images, however, cannot be securely attributed to St Philotheus as there are no names inscribed on them, but might rather be attributed to other martyrs, far more popular as dragon-slayers – for example, St Theodore or St George, since this iconography is more characteristic for him; for more on the images of St George see J.B. Aufhauser, *Das Drachennwunder des heiligen George in der griechischen und lateinischen Überlieferung* (Leipzig, 1911).

³⁴ Van Esbroeck, ‘Saint Philotheus of Antioch’, p. 1961.

³⁵ J.-M. Saugey, ‘Filoteo di Antiochia’ in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1998), p. 807.

³⁶ B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XI (London, 1915), pp. 19–43.

³⁷ H. Delehay, ‘Le calendrier d’Oxyrhynque pour l’année 535–536’ in *AB* 42 (1924), pp. 83–99.

³⁸ ‘Il n’y a aucune raison d’attribuer à la fête de Philothée la synaxe qui a lieu le 16 tybi à l’église de Phoibammon comme le font les éditeurs. Cette date est, certes, celle à laquelle le synaxaire arabe commémore ce saint (PO 11, 1916, p. 601–604), mais elle n’est pas attestée à la haute époque’. Cf. A. Papaconstantinou, ‘La liturgie stationale à Oxyrhynchos

ever, there is solid evidence that in the seventh century the cult was already well established and there were shrines dedicated to Philotheus in Upper Egypt, as is witnessed by papyri and ostraka.³⁹

II.2 Georgian tradition

1. The Georgian version of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* is somewhat unique as there are no other manuscripts or versions of this text in Georgian hagiography, apart from some hymns in honour of St Philotheus which are described below. The text was edited and published by K. Kekelidze.⁴⁰ R. Blake, who found the manuscript in the Patriarchal library of Jerusalem, assigned number 20 to it.⁴¹ The manuscript dates to the second half of the 11th century. It contains *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* of John Climacus, a homily of Pseudo-Basil on the Dormition of the Mother of God, and the Martyrdoms of St Abdalmasih, of St Charalampus and of St Philotheus. The *Martyrdom of Philotheus* (წამება წმიდისა და ნეტარისა ფილეთოსისა) is on ff. 284r–293v.

2. An entry in the Palestinian Georgian calendar of John Zosimos (10th century).⁴²

II.3 Copto-Arabic tradition

1. A panegyric (encomium) dedicated to the transfer of the relics of St Philotheus to a church consecrated in his name in Antioch, is ascribed to Severus of Antioch.⁴³ It has been recently published

dans la première moitié du 6e siècle. Réédition et commentaire du POxy XI 1357⁷ in *Revue des études byzantines* 54 (1996), p. 147.

³⁹ Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte*, pp. 202–203.

⁴⁰ კ. კეკელიძე [K. Kekelidze], ფილეთოსის მარტვილობა [Fileteosis martviloba] in *უცოდები ძველი ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორიიდან* [*Etindebi dzveli kartuli literaturis istoriidan*], v. 6 (Tbilisi, 1960), pp. 81–102.

⁴¹ R.P. Blake, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque patriarcale à Jérusalem I* (Paris, 1924–1926), p. 52–53.

⁴² G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X siècle)*, (Bruxelles, 1958), p. 44, see entry under the 12th of January.

⁴³ Arabic manuscript Hist. 470, fol. 144–153, Coptic Museum in Cairo.

and translated into English by Y. Youssef.⁴⁴ This encomium is preserved in three different manuscripts, one of which, the seventeenth century manuscript kept at Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (ms. Paris, *arabe* 153, 243b)⁴⁵, is in a very poor condition. The other two manuscripts – one from the Coptic Museum of Cairo and another from the collection of St Macarius monastery in Wadi Natrun, described below – were used for this publication. This encomium is not listed among the homilies securely attributed to Severus, but the Copto-Arabic tradition ascribes to him several encomia to various saints: such as St Leontius of Tripoli, Archangel Michael, St Claudius, St Philotheus of Antioch, and St George. Both encomia dedicated to the Antiochian saints – Philotheus and Claudius⁴⁶ – follow the same model and both represent Severus as an eye-witness of the miracles accompanying the discovery of the saints' relics. If this panegyric were indeed composed by Severus of Antioch who died in 538, the cult of St Philotheus might then be attested in the first half of the sixth century; however, this is hardly possible.

2. A complete text of an *Encomium* in honour of Philotheus ascribed to Acacius of Caesarea, preserved in the sixteenth century manuscript (Hag. 34) in the library of the monastery of Abu Maqar (St Macarius), still unedited. This encomium, as U. Zanetti indicates, includes twelve miracles performed by St Philotheus. The manuscript is a composite codex, the first part of which, dated by 1547 AD, is dedicated entirely to Philotheus (it includes also some hymns, the so-called *turubat*, in his honour); the second part, dated approximately to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, contains lessons and homilies related to the Holy Week, various lives of

⁴⁴ Y.N. Youssef, 'The Encomium of St. Philotheus ascribed to Severus of Antioch' in *Coptica* I (2002), pp. 169–221.

⁴⁵ G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* (Paris, 1972), t. I, pp. 123–127.

⁴⁶ G. Godron, 'Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche' in *PO* 35/4 (Turnhout, 1970), pp. 486–507.

saints and homiletic works.⁴⁷ The first part of the codex also contains complete Arabic version of the *Martyrdom of Philotheus* in the same manuscript, which seems to correspond to the Coptic **M** and a panegyric ascribed to Severus of Antioch.⁴⁸

3. A complete Arabic text of the *Martyrdom* in another sixteenth century manuscript (Hag.46) from the same library; the codex is a hagiographical miscellany.⁴⁹

4. A manuscript of the Coptic Museum in Cairo Hist. 480, which contains the short account of the martyrdom, still unedited.⁵⁰

6. An account of the life of St Philotheus (*Faltaus*) in the Arabic Coptic synaxarium under the 16th of month Tubeh.⁵¹

II.4 Ethiopic and Syriac traditions

In Ethiopic

1. The account of the life and *Martyrdom of St Philotheus*, nearly identical to the account in the Arabic Coptic synaxarium, is placed under the 16th of ʿṬer (24th of January) in the Ethiopic synaxarium, which was partially translated into English by E.A. Wallis Budge.⁵² For his publication Budge used the manuscript kept at the British Library (Or.660).

⁴⁷ U. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr: inventaire* (Genève, 1986), No. 400, p. 59.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, No. 412, p. 63.

⁵⁰ Arabic manuscript Hist. 480, fol. 60–71 – an excerpt can be found in Y. ‘Abd al-Masih, ‘A Sa’idic Fragment of the Martyrdom of St. Philotheus’, cf. also G. Graf, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire* (Vatican, 1934), p. 283.

⁵¹ R. Basset, ‘Le synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)’ in *PO* 11 (Paris, 1915), p. 601–604.

⁵² E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, t. 2 (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 501–508, under 16 ʿṬer (11th of January). There are also separate entries for the companions of St Philotheus, p. 504 and 507–508.

In Syriac

1. St Philotheus' memory is placed in the Syriac Jacobite calendar under the 11th of January.⁵³

III. THE HYMNOGRAPHIC TRADITION**III.1 Coptic hymns**

Coptic hymnographic tradition of St Philotheus is relatively late in comparison with the extant manuscripts and fragments of his passion. It comprises a number of liturgical hymns in the Bohairic dialect, preserved in various liturgical collections. Three of these hymns were published by O'Leary in his edition of the *Difnar* (see discussion of the contents of these hymns in Chapter 7). A few decades later Y. 'Abd al-Masih published the incipits and explicits of some edited and unedited Bohairic doxologies⁵⁴ amongst which one finds a number different hymns in honour of Philotheus;⁵⁵ however, the incipits of the hymns do not provide enough information on their contents. The following list of Coptic hymns dedicated to Philotheus is not comprehensive and needs revision:

1. Two Bohairic hymns in honour of St Philotheus in the *Difnar* (*Antiphonarium*) of the Coptic Church under the 16th of month Tubeh.⁵⁶
2. A different hymn from another manuscript containing the same Antiphonarium; O'Leary defines this hymn as an 'additional' hymn to St Philotheus.⁵⁷

⁵³ F. Nau, 'Un martyrologe et douze ménologes syriaques' in *PO* 10/1 (1915), p. 117 and 70.

⁵⁴ Y. 'Abd-al-Masih, 'Doxologies in the Coptic Church. Edited Bohairic Doxologies' in *BSAC* 6 (1940), pp. 19–76; see also his articles on doxologies in *BSAC* 8 (1942), pp. 31–61, and *BSAC* 11 (1947), pp. 95–158.

⁵⁵ 'Abd-al-Masih, 'Doxologies in the Coptic Church' in *BSAC* 6, p. 70; see also references in n. 59 below.

⁵⁶ De Lacy O'Leary, *The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church*, part II (London, 1926), pp. 16–17.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 114.

3. Two hymns (‘turuhat’) in honour of St. Philotheus, still unedited, in Ms.No.Lit.321 of the Coptic Museum in Cairo.⁵⁸
4. A different hymn (in ‘Adam’ mode) in the Bohairic dialect from a Copto-Arabic manuscript, found at the church of the Virgin Mary at-Hārat az-Zuwaileh, № 90, published in 1922 in Egypt.⁵⁹
5. Another hymn (in ‘Batos’ mode) in a manuscript from the same church (№89), dated 13 Hatūr A.M. 1539, still unedited.⁶⁰
6. A number of doxologies dedicated to Philotheus was described by Yassā ‘Abd al-Masih in his edition of some late Bohairic liturgical manuscripts.⁶¹ He published the incipits and explicits of these hymns which show that these hymns differ from those in the *Dif-nar*.⁶²

III.2 Georgian hymns

The Georgian hymnographic tradition of Philotheus is represented by two canons preserved in four different manuscripts:

1. A full canon, edited by K. Kekelidze, from *Iadgari* (იადგარი) of Michael Modrekili, dating from 978–988.⁶³ Kekelidze based his edition of the canon on this manuscript (ff.193–196).⁶⁴ The text of the canon is accompanied by archaic musical notation. Remarkably, this canon has all nine odes and begins with a kondakion. This canon was translated into French by M. van Esbroeck, who argued

⁵⁸ ‘Abd al-Masih, ‘A Sa’idic Fragment’, p. 585. Unfortunately, the author did not provide much information on this edition.

⁵⁹ Ibidem.

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ For descriptions of the manuscripts used for the edition see ‘Abd-al-Masih, ‘Doxologies in the Coptic Church (Unedited Bohairic Doxologies I)’ in *BSAC* 8 (1942), pp. 32–33.

⁶² ‘Abd-al-Masih, ‘Doxologies in the Coptic Church (Unedited Bohairic Doxologies II)’ in *BSAC* 11 (1947), pp. 98–99.

⁶³ For a more detailed description of this manuscript cf. ქართულ ჰელნაწერთა აგწერილობა [*K’art’ul helnacet’a agceriloba*], ed. by E. Metreveli and T. Bregadze, v. 1 (Tbilisi, 1959), pp. 544–567.

⁶⁴ Kekelidze, op. cit., pp. 98–102.

that this hymnographic composition, judging by its contents, was in fact written for a different saint and might be a combination of two unrelated hymns.⁶⁵

2. A different canon (eight odes) in honour of St Philotheus in two Sinaitic Menaia, dating to the 10th century (mss Sin. 59 and 64), still unedited.⁶⁶

3. The same canon to be found in the Dumbarton Oaks Menaion, copied by Ioane Dvali for Georgios Prochoras in the 11th century (ff. 213–216), also unedited.⁶⁷

CONCLUSIONS

This introductory chapter presented a short summary of the legend of St Philotheus of Antioch and discussed the differences between its main versions, Coptic and Georgian. It has been argued that the additional episodes in the Coptic version are mainly those that relate miracles, visions and other entertaining units, characteristic of later stages of Coptic hagiographical production. Thus, it appears that the Georgian text, although it is preserved in a slightly later manuscript, represents the earlier version of the legend. The cult of Philotheus spread from Egypt to Ethiopia and made its way into Syriac Jacobite tradition. It also appears in Georgian manuscripts of Palestinian and Sinaitic origin, but does not feature in manuscripts originating from Georgia.

It is rather striking that, despite the great popularity of his cult witnessed by this substantial textual evidence, the name of Philotheus has never made it into the lists of saints of other Eastern Orthodox Churches – perhaps, due to the fact that no Greek version of his passion has been preserved. The death of St Philotheus is still commemorated only by the Coptic Church on the 16th day of

⁶⁵ Van Esbroeck, ‘Saint Philotheos d’Antioche’, pp. 107–135.

⁶⁶ N.I. Marr [Н.Я. Мара], *Описание грузинских рукописей Синайского Монастыря* (Moscow, 1940), pp. 100, 136.

⁶⁷ G. Garitte, ‘Le ménée géorgien de Dumbarton Oaks’ in *Le Muséon* 77 (1964), pp. 29–64.

the month of Tubeḥ or Tobi (11th of January),⁶⁸ by the Ethiopian Church on the 16th of Ter (24th of January) and by the Georgian Church on the 12th of January.⁶⁹

Table of episodes

Episode synopsis	Coptic Martyrdom	Georgian Martyrdom	Arabic Coptic Synaxarium (Ethiopic Synaxarium mostly coincides)
1. Description of the calf and the parents' worship, parents encourage the boy to worship the calf	f.75v The calf is an animal named Smarakdos. Lengthy description of the rituals of the calf worship.	Ch.1 The calf is an animal named T'ot'i the Glorious (T'ot'i patiosani).	The bull is either an animal or a statue made of topaz.
2. Description of the boy's appearance and wisdom	f.75v b – 76r The boy is compared to Joseph.	Ch. 1 The boy is compared to Joseph.	Very short description
3. The boy seeks for true God and speaks with the Sun	f.76v b – 77r Lengthy conversation between the boy and the Sun	Ch. 2 A shorter conversation between the boy and the Sun	A short conversation
4. Vision of the Archangel Michael/ an angel of God	f.77r b Archangel Michael raises the boy and brings him to the Christ's chariot	Ch. 2 An angel of God raises the boy from sleep; the boy sees Christ on the throne	An angel is sent from God to enlighten and instruct the boy about divine incarnation

⁶⁸ S. Spassky, however, notices two separate commemorations of St Philotheus in the Coptic menologia of 1338 and 1425 under January 10th and 11th respectively, cf. Архиеп. Сергий (Спасский) [Archb. Sergiy (Spassky)], *Полный месяцеслов Востока* (Moscow, 1901), v. 1, p. 641.

⁶⁹ Kekelidze, op. cit., p. 93. See also van Esbroeck's commentary on this change of the feast day of St Philotheus in 'Saint Philotheus d'Antioche', pp. 130–133.

5. Christ appears to Philotheus on the chariot of Cherubim	f.77v <i>a</i> – 78r <i>b</i> Christ promises Philotheus to support him in his witness and to give him power to perform miracles	Ch. 2 The angel tells the boy of the conversion of his parents, his martyrdom and miracles	-
6. The boy leads ascetic life	f.78v <i>a</i> – <i>b</i> The boy begins strict fasting. He says 300 prayers per day and per night.	Ch. 3 Very short description of the boy's fasting and almsgiving.	Very short description of the boy's fasting and almsgiving
7. The parents insist on the boy's participation in their worship	f.79r – 80r <i>a</i> The parents try to convince Philotheus to offer a sacrifice, promising to organise a great feast	-	The parents decide to give a feast and require their son to offer a sacrifice.
8. Conversation between Philotheus and the calf	f.80r <i>b</i> – 81r <i>a</i> A lengthy conversation in which the calf tells its story and mentions the dragon who instructed him in haughtiness.	-	A voice comes from the bull saying that he is not God, but the Satan had entered him.
9. The calf kills the parents of Philotheus	f.81r The boy gives Smaragdus permission to attack his parents.	Ch. 3 The boy prays, asking to show mercy to his parents. The calf gores them to death.	Very short description of the calf's attack. No prayer or permission preceding.
10. Resurrection of the parents	f.81v On the fourth day the boy utters a prayer; the parents, Valentios and Theodoti, arise with fear and trembling. Their bodies smell of death.	Ch.3 After the boy's prayer his parents, Ivlintian and Theodotia, come back to life and are in great awe.	God gives grace to the saint; he prays and the parents come back to life. Short mention of the punishments of hell.

11. A tour of hell	ff.82r–83v Long and detailed description of the punishments of hell, followed by rescue	-	-
12. Conversion and baptism; peaceful death of the parents	f.84r Philotheus finds a priest, brings him to the house, and the family is baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. Two years later the parents die peacefully.	Ch. 3 The priest baptizes them in a church at night in the name of the Holy Trinity. Two years later the parents die ‘in firm faith’.	Philotheus and his parents are baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. The death of the parents is not mentioned.
13. Philotheus performs miracles	ff.84 r–v Detailed descriptions of miracles and healings.	Ch.3 ‘And the blessed Philotheus was performing miracles and many wonders’.	‘And God gave him grace and power; he began to heal illnesses by his prayers’.
14. Devil appears in disguise of an angel; Philotheus recognizes and overcomes him	f.84v – f.86r A very detailed story of Philotheus’ battle with the devil; the devil changes his appearance (an angel, a bull, and a sparrow).	-	-
15. Philotheus is reported to Diocletian; his arrest by the three generals	f.86v – f.87r The devil, disguised as a court dignitary, reports Philotheus. Three generals and 900 soldiers are dispatched to arrest him; they are impressed by his holiness.	Ch.4 The boy is denounced by some ‘idolaters’. Three soldiers are sent to fetch him.	The emperor sent for him. No mention of the generals.