

## THE LITANIES FOR THE KING IN THE COPTIC LITURGY

### INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian church had always prayed for the king, even before the christianisation of the Roman Empire, as is attested in a papyrus dated from the third century from the Oxyrhynchus collection.<sup>1</sup> In Coptic martyrdoms, we find only the mention of Constantine,<sup>2</sup> while in monastic literature, many kings are mentioned, such as Valentinian the father of the two foreign disciples of Saint Macarius: Maximus and Dometius<sup>3</sup>, and Cyrus the brother of Theodosius.<sup>4</sup>

As for the “orthodox king,” only Zeno the father of Hilaria is remembered.<sup>5</sup>

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(1) K. TREU, *Liturgische Traditionen in Ägypten* (zu P. Oxy 2782), in: P. NAGEL (ed), *Studia Coptica* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974) 43–66.

(2) He appears in many martyrdom among them, the martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch cf. H. HYVERNAT, *Les actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1886) 40–77 and especially 69–77. The martyrdom of Claudius of Antioch, G. GODRON, *Textes Coptes relatifs à Saint Claude d'Antioche* (Turnout, 1970) (PO, 35.4.166) 494 [72] 495 [73]; H. MUNIER, *Les Actes du martyre de saint Isidore*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 14 (1918) 97–1–190 especially p. 182–1–188.

(3) E. AMÉLINEAU, *Histoire des monastères de Basse-Egypte* (Paris, 1894) (Annales du Musée Guimet, 25) 262–313; H. MUNIER, *Une Relation copte sahidique de la vie des saints Maxime et Domèce*, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* 13 (1917) 93–1–140.

(4) E. A. W. BUDGE, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the dialect of Upper Egypt* (Oxford 1914) 126–1–136.

(5) J. DRESCHER, *Three Coptic Legends: Hilaria, Archellites, the Seven Sleepers* (Cairo, 1947) 1–1–13 (text), 69–82 (translation). For these two saints cf. A. VOJ- TENKO, *Parents de l'empereur de Byzance dans les déserts d'Égypte: Les vies d'apa Cyrus (Cyr) et d'Hilarie la bienheureuse*, in: A. BOUD'HORS et C. LOUIS (eds.), *Etudes coptes X, Douzième Journée d'études (Lyon 19–21 Mai 2005)* (Paris, 2008) (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte, 16) 309–318.

After the Arab conquest, however, many kings converted to Islam and there has been no Christian king in Egypt since the seventh century. And yet, the Coptic church has continued praying for kings.

The Coptic liturgical texts contain several litanies for the king that are used in different services of the church. In addition, there is a rite for enthroning the king of Ethiopia.

This reflects a form of submission to authority, as Saint Peter ordered in his epistle: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme;"<sup>6</sup> "Honour the king."<sup>7</sup> The same was also directed by the Apostle Paul: "For kings, and [for] all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."<sup>8</sup>

G. Cuming, while studying the Anaphora of Mark, concludes:

"Prayer for the Emperor is mentioned already by Athenagoras and Tertullian. Outside Egypt it is confined in the liturgies to the Great Synapte and the Anaphora. There is not such prayer in Coptic Mark, Eg. Boh Bas and Greg"<sup>9</sup>

In this paper, we will examine the litanies<sup>10</sup> for the king which are recurrent in the Coptic liturgical books<sup>11</sup> in order to follow their evolution, we will also include the prayer for enthroning the kings of Ethiopia.

## THE EUCHOLOGION OF THE WHITE MONASTERY

I. One of the earliest witnesses in the Coptic Liturgical texts books is the Euchologion of the White Monastery, written in the tenth century,<sup>12</sup>

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(6) I Peter 2:3.

(7) I Peter 2:7.

(8) I Tim 2:2.

(9) G. CUMING, *The liturgy of St Mark edited from the manuscripts with a commentary* (Roma, 1990) (OCA, 234) 91–92.

(10) Only few scholars studied these prayer cf. J. FENWICK, The significance of similarities in the anaphoral Intercession sequence in Coptic Anaphora of Saint Basil and other Ancient Liturgies, in: *SP* 18/2 (1989) 355–362.

(11) For these books cf. H. MALAK, *Les Livres Liturgiques de l'Eglise Copte, Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III, (= *Studi e Testi*, 233) (Vatican, 1964) 1–35. U. ZANETTI, *Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts*, OCP 60 (1995) 65–94.

(12) E. LANNE, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* (Paris, 1958) (PO, 28/2) 273 (9).

(mentioned a litany for the Kings from a unknown anaphora of a Syrian type.<sup>13</sup>

ΑΡΙ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΠΧΟ[ΕΙ]C ΜΗΕΡΩΟΥ Η	Remember, <i>also</i> O Lord, the kings
Π]ΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΠΕCΤΡΑΤΩ[ [Ε]ΤΩΝ ΤΗΡC	of the land and all the <i>army</i> ,
ΤΗΔΥ ΠΟΥΝΟΥC ΠΡΕCΙΝΗΦΕ ΟΥCΥΝΗ	give to them a <i>sober spirit</i> and a
ΔΥCΙC ΕCΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΗΝΤΗΔ ΕΖΟ[Υ]Η	perfect <i>conscience</i> , mercy upon
ΕΝΖΗΚΕ ΜΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΕΗΝΧΙΖC[	the poor of Your <i>people</i> and without trouble
ΗΗ† ΤΩΝ ΗΖΗΤC	and rebellion against Him.

### Commentary

It is hard to date this litany, however, it seems that it was during a time of famine, poverty and political instability. There is no mention about the king whether he is “God-Loving”; that is, Christian or “Orthodox,” which implies that this litany was composed when the king was not Christian. Hence it could be dated either before Constantine or after the Arab conquest.

### II. And again in a litany from another unknown Anaphora:<sup>14</sup>

ΑΡΙ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΠΡΟ ΠΕΥCΕΒΗC	Remember, O Lord, the <i>pious</i>
ΜΗ	king
ΗΕΤ[ Ο ]ΜΠΡΟ ΟΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΗ ΤΠΙCΤΙC	and those who reign now in the
ΜΠΕΝ	<i>faith</i> of our
ΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC	Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>
ΑΡΙ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΗΕCΙΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ	Remember O Lord the all the
ΜΠΙC	<i>faithful</i> <sup>15</sup>
ΤΟC] ΜΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟC ΕΤΖΗ ΠΠΑΛΑΤΙ	<i>Orthodox</i> brethren in the <i>palace</i> and
ΟΝ ΔΥΩ ΜΠΕ]CΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΝΤΟΝ ΤΗΡC	the whole <i>army</i>

### Commentary

The king here is qualified as “Pious.” The mention of “Orthodox brethren in the palace and the Army” is an indication of a peaceful

(13) LANE, *Le Grand Euchologe...*, fol. 121, p. 332[68]–333[69]

(14) Ibid., fol. 134, p. 338[74]–339[75].

(15) As there is lacuna, Lanne filled “in faith” ΜΠΙCΤΙC my translation is based on parallel texts however both texts are possible.

Christian environment, hence it can be dated between the fifth to the sixth centuries, as the schism in christendom started after the Council of Chalcedon (451AD), and the seventh century was full of wars first between Heraclius and Phocas and then between the byzantine and Persians empires and finally between the Byzantine and Arabs.

### III. Again in the Anaphora attributed to Matthew:<sup>16</sup>

ΑΡΙΗΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΚΕΙΡΗΝ ΕΤΟΥ	Remember O Lord, the holy <i>peace</i>
ΔΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΔΕ ΝΑΗ ΕΚΣΩ ΗΜΟC	which You granted us by saying
ΧΕ ΤΚΩ ΗΝΤΗ ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝ ΤΑΕΙΡΗ	<i>Peace</i> I leave with you. My <i>peace</i> ,
ΗΗ ΩΤΩ ΤΩΙ ΤΕ Τ† ΗΜΟC ΗΝΤΗ ΤΡΗ	which is mine, I give to you. The
	<i>peace</i>
ΗΗ ΔΕ ΟΗ ΝΤΕΚΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟ	also of the Holy <i>Catholic Apostolic</i>
	<i>Church</i>
ΛΙΚΗ ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΤΑΧΡΟC	establish it
ΧΙΝ ΧΩCΙ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΩΑ ΧΩCΙ ΝΓΡ ΝΕ	from one end of the earth to the
	other.
ΡΩΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΝΕΙΡΗΝ ΗΝ ΠΕΚΛΑΟC	Let the kings of the earth make
	<i>peace</i> with Your
ΗΧΡΙCΤΑΝΟC ΝCΕΤΗΤΩΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ	<i>Christian people</i> in order that they
ΕΧΩΗ	(the kings) do
ΗΔΙ ΜΠΩΡΧ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΗΝΗΤΡΕCΙ	not decide upon us the schism of
	the earth and
ΩΗΩΕ ΕΙCΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΤΧΑΖΗ-----	impure <i>Idolatry</i>
ΑΡΙΠΗΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΗ ΠΧΟΕΙC	Remember also O Lord the
ΠΗΕΡΡΩΟΥ *	<i>Orthodox kings*</i> of
ΗΠΚΑΖ ΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟC ΗΔΙ ΝΤΑΚΚΑ	the land, those that You have
	<i>established</i> <sup>17</sup>
ΘΙCΤΑ ΗΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΖΗ ΟΥ	over the land in <i>piety</i> .
ΗΝΤΕΥCΕΒΗC ΗΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΥCΕΒΗC	And moreover the <i>pious</i> (kings)
ΗΓ	
† ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΗΗ ΗΗ ΟΥΗΝΤ	grant them <i>justice</i> and might in
	order that
ΧΩΩΡΕ ΝΓΤΡΕ ΖΕΘΗΟC ΗΗ ΖΥΠΟΤΑC	all <i>nations</i> surrender to them

(16) Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe...*, fol. 144–1–145. p. 358[94] –361[97].

(17) Lit. "Make them to sit".

CE NAY EYHTON HZHT ENANOYQ.	in goodness of heart. Set upon
OYWZ	them
EPPOY NOYME MN OYAIKAIOCYHH MN	righteousness, <i>justice</i> ,
OYPICTIC MN OYMHTPEQZOTE WA	<i>faith</i> , and fear.
XE EZPAI ENEYZHT ETBE TEKKAΘOAI	Speak in their hearts for the
	<i>Catholic</i>
KH EKKANCIA TAAE NAY ETPEYZAPEZ	<i>Church</i> . Give them to preserve
EYEPHNNH EZOYH EPOH AYW EZOYH E	<i>Peace</i> towards us and towards all
	Your
PEKAAOC THPQ XEKAC ENHAEPH	<i>People</i> in order that we spend a
HOY	quiet and
AZE EYCEPAZT AYW EYQOPK	calm life in all <i>piety</i>
HNTHEYCEBHOC NIM ZI HNTCEHHOC	and all <i>holiness</i>
NIM	

### Commentary

This litany may be dated to the **fourth or sixth** century as it is apparent from the mention of **Orthodox king**. It seems at that time the kings started to interfere in the theological debates hence we find “in order that they (the kings) do not decide upon us the schism of the earth and impure *Idolatry*”. The text was also written during the time when there were wars “in order that all *nations surrender* to them.” The mention of “*Idolatry*” insinuates the presence of idolatry, and hence could indicate that the text was composed before the end of idolatry (sixth century?)

### The actual Euchologion

We will start by mentioning the texts where the kings occur in several litanies<sup>18</sup> in the Coptic Euchologion as they are repeated in other services Coptic Church.<sup>19</sup>

(18) J. FENWICK, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James* (Rome, 1992) (OCA, 240).

(19) See below.

## Euchologion

We will refer to the best critical edition of this book<sup>20</sup> prepared by Abd al-Masih Salib and printed by Claudius Labib.<sup>21</sup>

1. In the long litany for the Peace of the Church we read:

ΘΑΙ ΕΤΨΟΠ ΙΧΧΕΝ ΑΥΡΗΧC `ΗΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΨΑ ΑΥΡΗΧC	This (church) which is from one end of the <i>world</i> to the other,
ΗΛΛΑC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕΗ ΗΙΟΖΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ CΗΟΥ ΕΡΨΟΥ ΤΖΙΡΗΗΗ ΤΕΒΟΛΞΕΝ ΗΙΦΗΟΥΙ ΗΗΙC ΕΞΡΗΙ ΕΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ	All <i>peoples</i> and all flocks bless. The heavenly <i>peace</i> send down into all our hearts, even the
ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΗ ΤΚΕΖΙΡΗΗΗ `ΗΤΕ ΠΑΙΒΙΟC ΦΑΙ ΑΡΙΧΑΡΙΖΕCΘΕ ΗΗΟC ΗΑΗ ΝΖΗΟΤ	<i>peace</i> of this <i>life</i> graciously grant to us
ΠΙΟΥΡΟ ΗΗΜΕΤΗΛΤΟΙ ΗΙΑΡΧΩΗ ΝΙCΟΒΗΙ ΗΗΗΨ ΝΕΗΘΕΨΕΥ ΝΕΗCΗΗΗΨΙ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΝΕΗ ΝΕΗCΗΗΨΙ ΕΒΟΛ CΕΛCΩΛΟΥ <sup>22</sup> ΞΕΗ ΖΙΡΗΗΗ ΗΙΒΕΗ	The king, the armies, the <i>rulers</i> , the councillors, the multitudes, our neighbours, our coming in and our going out, comfort them with all <i>peace</i>
ΠΟΥΡΟ `ΗΤΕ ΤΖΙΡΗΗΗ ΗΟΙ ΗΑΗ `ΗΤΕΚΖΙΡΗΗΗ ΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΗΙΒΕΗ ΑΚΤΗΙΤΟΥ ΗΑΗ	O King of <i>peace</i> grant us Your <i>peace</i> , for You have given us all things. <sup>23</sup>

### *Commentary*

This text was composed when Christian was present throughout the World. It provides us with an outline of the administration of that time where the army is ranked before the rulers and the counsellors.

(20) U. ZANETTI, Esquisse d'une typologie des Euchologes Coptes Bohaïriques, *Mus* 100 (1987) 407–418.

(21) Abd al-Masih SALIB, ΠΙΧΩΗ ΗΤΕ ΠΙΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΧΩΗ ΗΤΕ ΤΨΟΗΤ ΗΑΗΑΦΟΡΑ ΗΤΕ ΠΑΓΙΟC ΒΑCΙΛΙΟC ΝΕΗ ΠΑΓΙΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC ΝΕΗ ΠΑΓΙΟC ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟC ΝΕΗ ΖΗΚΕΕΥΧΗ ΕΥΟΥΑΒ, [The book of the Holy Euchologion which is the book of the three anaphorae of St. Basil, St. Gregory and St. Cyril and other holy prayers] (Cairo, 1902) (Hereafter *Euch* 1902)

(22) For the meaning of this word cf. Y. N. YOUSSEF, "Two notes on the Coptic Theotokias," *Scr* 5 (2009) 56–8–84.

(23) *Euch* 1902, p. 277–2–279, and also in the Anaphora of Cyril, *Euch*, p. 580–5–582.

There is a litany in the Anaphora of Saint Gregory<sup>24</sup> for the king:

ΑΡΙΦΗΕΥΙ ΠΟΙΟΙΣ ΝΗΗΕΤΑΥΕΡΟΥΡΟ ΞΕΝ ΨΗΕΤΕΥΣΕΒΗC ΝΕΗ ΝΗΕΤΟΙ ΝΟΥΡΟ	Remember O Lord, those who have reigned in <i>piety</i> and those who are kings <sup>25</sup>
ΠΡΟΣΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙCΤΩΝ ΗΗΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ῚϞ	<i>Deacon: Pray for our Christ-loving kings People: Lord have mercy</i>
ΑΡΙΦΗΕΥΙ ΠΟΙΟΙC `ΝΗΕΝCΗΝΟΥ `ΗΠΙCΤΟC ΟΥΟZ `ΝΟΡΘΟΔΟZΟC ΕΤΞΕΝ ΠΙΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ ΝΕΗ ΠΙCΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΤΗΡCΙ	Remember O Lord, our brethren the <i>orthodox believers</i> who are in the <i>palace</i> and all who are in the <i>military</i>
ΠΡΟΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΑΛΑΤΙΩ ΔΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΠΙCΤΩΝ ΚΕ ΟΡΘΟΔΟZΩΝ ΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ CΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΤΩΝΞ ῚϞ	<i>Deacon: Pray for the faithful and orthodox brethren in the palace and for all the troops People: Lord have mercy</i>

### Commentary

This prayer is identical to the one mentioned in the Euchologion of the White Monastery, text II.

### 2. Long litany of peace) in the Anaphora of Saint Cyril:<sup>26</sup>

ΠΙΟΥΡΟ `ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΚΑΖΙ ΠΕΚΒΩΚ	The king of our land, Your servant
ΤΩΒZ ZΗΝΑ `ΝΤΕ ΠΙΧΡΙCΤΟC ΠΕΝΗΟΥΨ ΤΗΤΕΝ `ΝΖΑΝΗΑΙ ΝΕΗ ΖΑΝΗΕΤΩΕΝΖΗΤ `ΝΠΕΝΘΟ `ΝΗΙΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΑΝΑΖΙ `ΝΤΕCΕΡΗΔΑΔΖΙΝ `ΝΠΟΥΖΗΤ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ `ΝCΗΟΥ ΗΒΕΝ `ΝΤΕCΙΧΑ ΝΕΝΗΟΡΙ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ῚϞ	<i>Deacon: Pray that Christ our God may grant us mercy and compassion before the ruling authorities and soften their hearts towards us for that which is good at all times and forgive us our sins. People: Lord have mercy</i>

(24) For this Anaphora cf. E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora. Syrische und Griechische Einflüsse auf Eine Ägyptische Liturgie* (Berlin, 1957). Idem., Some remarks on the History of, and Present State of Investigation into, the Coptic Liturgy, *BSAC* 19 (1968) 89–1–113. J. HENNER, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebek, 2000) (Studien und texte zu Antike und Christentum, 5) 36–56.

(25) *Euch* 1902, p. 507–5–509.

(26) For the Greek text cf. CUMING, *The liturgy of St Mark...*, 28–29.

ΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟQ ΣΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΗΗ ΝΕΗ  
ΟΥΗΕΘΗΗΗ ΝΕΗ ΟΥΗΕΤΧΩΡΙ

Keep him in *peace*, righteousness  
and strength.

ΗΑΡΟΥΓΝΕΧΩΟΥ ΗΑQ ΤΗΡΟΥ `ΗΧΕ  
ΗΗΑΡΒΑΡΟC ΗΙΕΘΗΟC ΗΗΕΘΟΥΩ  
`ΗΗΙΡΩΤC ΠΡΟC ΘΗΕΤΕ ΘΩΗ  
ΤΗΡΟΥ `ΗΕΥΘΕΗΑ

May all the *barbarians*, the *nations*  
that desire wars against all our  
*abundance* be subdued unto  
him.

CAXI ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΠΕQΖΗΤ ΕΘΕC †ΖΙΡΗΗΗ  
`ΗΤΕ ΤΕΚΟΥ`Ι `ΗΗΑΥΑΤC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
`ΗΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ `Η`ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΗ  
`ΗΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ

Speak to his heart concerning the  
*peace* of Your one only *catholic*  
and *apostolic church*

ΗΗΙC ΗΑQ ΕΗΕΥΙ ΠΖΙΡΗΗΙΚΟΗ ΕΞΟΥΗ  
ΕΡΟΗ ΝΕΗ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΗ  
ΕΘΟΥΑΒ

Grant him to think *peaceably*  
toward us and towards Your  
holy name

ΖΗΑ ΑΗΟΗ ΖΩΗ ΕΗΩΗC ΣΕΗ  
ΟΥΒΙΟC ΕQΖΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ  
ΕQΩΡQ `ΗCΕΧΕΗΤΕΗ ΕΗΩΟΠ  
ΣΕΗ ΗΕΤΕΥCΕΡΗC ΗΙΒΕΗ ΝΕΗ  
ΗΕΤCΕΗΗΟC ΗΙΒΕΗ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΚ

*In order that* we too live a quiet and  
peaceful *life*, and may be found  
dwelling in all *piety* and *holiness*  
in You.

*People: Lord have mercy*<sup>27</sup>

ΚΕ

### Commentary

This text resembles the rite of royal crowning in the Ancient Constantinopolitan Euchologion.<sup>28</sup>

Constantinopolitan Euchologion	Coptic Euchologion
<p>ὑπότοξον αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη, ἐνσπειρον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον σου, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους συμπάθειαν διατήρησον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀμωμῇ τῷ πίστει, ἀναδείξον αὐτὸν ἀκριβῆ φυλακὰ τῶν τῆς ἀγίας σου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων</p>	<p>ΗΑΡΟΥΓΝΕΧΩΟΥ ΗΑQ ΤΗΡΟΥ `ΗΧΕ ΗΗΑΡΒΑΡΟC ΗΙΕΘΗΟC ΗΗΕΘΟΥΩ `ΗΗΙΡΩΤC ΠΡΟC ΘΗΕΤΕ ΘΩΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ `ΗΕΥΘΕΗΑ CAXI ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΠΕQΖΗΤ ΕΘΕC †ΖΙΡΗΗΗ `ΗΤΕ ΤΕΚΟΥ`Ι `ΗΗΑΥΑΤC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ `ΗΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ `Η`ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΗ `ΗΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΗΗΙC ΗΑQ ΕΗΕΥΙ ΠΖΙΡΗΗΙΚΟΗ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΗ ΝΕΗ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ</p>

(27) *Euch* 1902, p. 595–5–597.

(28) M. ARRANZ S. J., Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour — les sacrements de l'institution de l'ancien Euchologe Constantinopolitain, *OCP* 56 (1990) 83–1–133 especially p. 92–93: 18–23.



<p><b>Make all the barbarian nations be subdued to him, put in his heart the fear, and the compassion towards the subjects.</b> Preserve him in the immaculate faith, show him to be as a guardian to the precise <b>teaching of the holy Catholic Church</b></p>	<p><b>May all the <i>barbarians</i>, the <i>nations</i> that desire wars against all our <i>abundance</i> be subdued unto him</b></p> <p><b>Speak to his heart concerning the <i>peace</i> of Your one and only <i>catholic and apostolic church</i></b></p> <p>Grant him to think <i>peaceably</i> toward us and towards Your holy name</p>
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This prayer is different from the intercession of the Byzantine Anaphora of Mark<sup>29</sup> where there is no mention of the Barbarians and the nations.

It is hard to say which litany took from the other. However, it is important to mention that the earliest manuscripts of the liturgy of Saint Cyril and Saint Mark are Greek fragments on papyrus. These fragments are preserved in the University of Strasbourg (not including this litany). These fragments probably date from the fourth century. The British Museum possesses small Greek fragments written in the sixth or seventh century containing part of the liturgy of Saint Mark, while the Constantinopolitan Euchologion is later.

For obvious reasons the Coptic rite of enthroning the kings is absent from Coptic manuscripts,<sup>30</sup> however, the similarities with the byzantine rite of Enthroning the king, show that that this rite was not only compiled for use at the enthroning (of Haile Selassie but may have historical roots. The fact that the Litany for the king comes to the conclusion of the rite—as the crowning of the service—has similarities in the Coptic Church; for example, the Funerary service for the congregation at the conclusion of the Palm Sunday service is the Litany for the Reposed. The same could be said for the Unction of the Sick where the Litany for the sick comes as a conclusion.

(29) CUMING, *The liturgy of St Mark...*, 7, 13, 113–114, 16–117.

(30) ZANETTI, *Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts...*, 83, note 67.

## The Rituals

These services include:

There is no special litany for the kings, however, the different rites use the litanies—mentioned above in the Euchologion. We will give an overview of the use of these litanies in the different services:

- a– Baptism**<sup>31</sup> and Christian Initiation: The litany for the king is prayed during the liturgy of the baptism.<sup>32</sup>
- b– Marriage:** the litany for the **king is not recited**, however, the great litany for the peace of the Church which mentions the king occurs.<sup>33</sup>
- c– Unction of the sick:**<sup>34</sup> Apart from its use at home for a sick person, this service is performed publicly once a year on the last Friday of Lent; two days before Palm Sunday, using the tunes of Sundays during Lent. The order for the Unction of the Sick consists of an introduction and seven prayers or sections consisting of a litany, readings from the epistle, the gospel, and prayer, and a conclusion. There are some similarities between the Coptic and Greek rite of the Unction of the Sick, however, the Coptic rite is shorter than the Greek one. In the fourth prayer, the priest shall say the *litany for the king*.<sup>35</sup>
- d– Burial services:** Only the long litany of peace is said.
- e– The office of the Genuflection:** the litany for the king is said during the second prayer.<sup>36</sup>
- f– The procession of the Cross:** there are two feasts for the Cross: The first commemorates the discovery of the Cross by Queen

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(31) For the rite of Baptism cf. O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church*, BSAC 11 (1945) 27–86.

(32) Philotheus al-Maqari, Barnaba al-Baramusi and Claudius Girgis, *Kitāb al-Ma'mūdiyyah al-Muqasah* [the book of the holy Baptism] (Cairo, 1921) 57.

(33) Cf. Text 1.

(34) For the history of this rite cf. B. POSCHMANN, *Penance and the anointing of the Sick*, tr. F. Courtney, *The Herder History of Dogma* (London, 1963); R. M. WOOLLEY, *Coptic Offices* (London: McMillan, 1930) (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), p. s.v.

(35) Cf. Text 3.

(36) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Office of Genuflection on Whitsunday*, *Mus* 47 (1934) 205–257.

Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, in the fourth century. The second date commemorates the recovery of the Holy Cross from the Persians by the Roman emperor Heraclius in the seventh century. Although these two feasts are Byzantine par excellence, the Coptic Church has a special rite for these days. The tune of Palm Sunday is used for these feasts as well as the procession. There is a hymn praising King Constantine who ordered the closing down of the idol temples and the reopening of the churches of the Christians. It seems that the cult of Constantine was imported from the Byzantine church.<sup>37</sup>

<p>ΕΤΑΥΕΝ ΝΙCΞΑΙ ἩΡΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΡΑΚΟΤ ΞΕ ΜΑΩΘΑΝ ΗΦΡΟ ἩΗΙΕΡΦΗΟΥΙ ΔΟΥΩΝ ΗΦΡΟ ἩΤΕ ΤΕΚΚΑΗCΙΑ</p>	<p>When the <i>peaceful</i> edits of Constantine reached Alexan- dria (saying) close the gate of the temples and open the gates of the <i>Church</i>...<sup>38</sup></p>
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- g- The ordo of the Holy Week: There is a special prayer for the Christ-loving leaders. It seems that this prayer was written after the Arabic conquest, when some governors had pity upon Christians.<sup>39</sup>

<p>ΤΩΒ2 ΕΧΕΝ ΗΦΙΑΟΧΡΙCΤΟC ἩΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΑΥ2ΟΗ2ΕΝ ΗΑΗ ΕΕΡΠΟΥΗΕΥΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΗΟΥΡΑΗ ἩΤΕ ΠC̄C CΗΟΥ ΕΡΩΟΥ ἩΤΕϣΤΧΑΡΙC ΗΩΟΥ ἩΕΗΘΟ ἩΗΙΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΑΗΑ2Ι ΠΤ̄C̄</p>	<p>Pray for the <i>Christ loving leaders</i>, <i>who</i> ordered us to remember them <i>by</i> their names so that the Lord bless them and give them <i>grace</i> in front of the mighty <i>authorities etc.</i></p>
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#### Commentary

The political context of this litany shows that this prayer is for the “Christ loving leaders” who are serving “mighty authorities” that means non-Christian. The authority is rendered in

(37) G. VIAUD, La Procession des deux Fêtes de la Croix et du Dimanche des Rameaux dans l’Eglise Copte, *BSAC* 19 (1967–1–1968) 211–226. L. VILLECOURT, «Les Observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l’église copte, *Mus* 38 (1925). 261–320.

(38) Atallah Arsenius Al-MUHARRAQI, كتاب دلال اسبوع الالام الشتمل على تر تسب أسبوع الالام من يوم سبت لعازر الى يوم شم النسيم [The book of the guide to the Passion Week including the ordo of the passion Week from the Saturday of Lazarus to the day of Šam al-Nasīm] (Cairo, 1970) 123.

(39) A. SIDARUS, La Pâque sainte ou la Semaine Sainte selon la liturgie copte, *Proche Orient Chrétien* 17 (1967) 3–43.

Arabic "Sultan." This implies a late Medieval context, perhaps during the Mamluke era (1257–1516).

- h**– In addition to the special services such as the blessing of the waters for the Epiphany, Maundy Thursday and feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

The litany for the king is said before the consecration of the water in the Epiphany,<sup>40</sup> Maundy Thursday,<sup>41</sup> as well as foot-washing service on the feast of Peter and Paul.<sup>42</sup>

### The Pontificals

These books are mainly to be said by the Bishops of the patriarchs, they include

- a**– ordination of Bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers. Nothing is mentioned relating to the king.
- b**– The consecration of the liturgical instruments- nothing is mentioned relating to the king.
- c**– consecration of the Church, and a new altar during this rite the Bishop shall say the Litany of Peace and also we find this *Lexis*.

<p>ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ          ⲕⲟⲧⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲓⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃⲛ          ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲑⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣⲛⲓⲟⲧ          ⲓⲛⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ</p>	<p>This is the house which the          Holy Spirit built, and we pray in          truth that he may grant victory  <u>to our kings</u> and fathers and all</p>
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(40) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church detailed description of her liturgical services and Rites* (Cairo: Société d'Archéologie Copte, 1967) (Textes et documents) 252.

(41) BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 257–258.

(42) O. H. E. BURMESTER, Two services of the Coptic Church attributed to Peter, Bishop of Bhenasa, *Mus* 45 (1932) 235–254, especially p. 239. IDEM, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 261. Burmester in the first article did not mention the litanies, while in the second publication he mentioned the "Seven Small prayers." We refer to the edition of Atalla Arsenius AL-MUHARAQI, ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲛ ⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲫⲓⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲛⲓ ⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲁ ⲓⲛⲡⲓⲭⲓⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉ ⲓⲛⲛⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲧ ⲓⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥⲧⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲧ ⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁⲛⲥⲓⲁ ⲓⲛⲣⲉⲛⲓⲭⲓⲛⲓ ⲓⲛⲟⲣⲑⲟⲗⲟⲥ [The book of the (water) font which contains the (prayer for the) font of the feast Epiphany, the great Thursday and the feast of the Apostles and the Pentecost according to the rite of our fathers of the Coptic Orthodox Church] (Cairo, 1971) 163.

ΝΕΝΙΟ† ΝΕΝ ΠΙΜΑ`ΝΗΟΜΙ ΤΗΡϣ `ΗΤΕ pasturage of peace, and his great  
†ΖΗΡΗΝΗ ΝΕΝ ΝΕΝ ΠΕϣΗΩ† `ΗΗΑΙ mercy.<sup>43</sup>

**d–** consecration of the Myron we find that the archdeacon exhorts the congregation saying: ....<sup>44</sup>

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ	من اجل القاع بالعبادة	'For our most pious
ΕΥΣΕΒΗСТАΟΥ	المتوج من الله الملك	and God fearing
ΚΕ ΘΕΟСЕΠΤΟΥ ΚΕ	المسقيم و كل بلاطه	Orthodox our kings,
ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ	واجناده و لجميع اعوانه	and all who are in
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ	نسالك	the palace and the
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ		soldiers <sup>45</sup> and the
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΗΣ		heavenly victory <sup>46</sup>
ΟΥΡΑΝΩΘΕ ΝΙΚΩΣ ΚΕ		and their helpers <sup>47</sup> let
ΒΟΗΘΗΙΑΣ ΔΥΤΩΝ		us beseech the Lord,
ΔΕΟΜΕΘΑCOY ΚΕ		to have mercy <sup>48</sup>
ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ		

CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY KALLIELION: Let the Archbishop say the petitions which are for the sick, those who are travelling, for the fruits of the earth, for those who have fallen asleep, the sacrifices, the kings...<sup>49</sup>

## Horlogion

In the troparia of the Midnight Prayer we read:

Ω ΤΗΑCΗΟΥ† `ΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC	O Virgin God-Bearer, the
ΠΙCΟΒ† `ΗΑΤΟΥΩCΠ ΔΡΙΚΩΡϣ `ΗΘΟ	unbroken wall, bring thou to
`ΗΠCΟΒΗ† `ΗΗΗΕΤΕ† ΟΥΒΗΗ ΟΥΟZ	naught the counsels of those who
ΠΗΚΑZ `ΗΖΗΤ `ΗΤΕ ΠΕΡΩΚ	oppose us, and turn the affliction
ΔΡΙΤΑCΘΟϣ ΕΟΥΡΑΩΙ ΔΡΙΕΡCΟΒ†	of your servant to joy, be a wall to
ΕΤΕΗΠΟΛΙC ΟΥΟZ ΔΡΙΗΩΙ ΕΞΕΗ	our city and fight for our kings
ΗΕΝΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟZ ΔΡΙΠΡΕCΒΕΥΗ	and intercede for the peace of the

(43) G. HORNER, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite. Edited with translations from a Coptic and Arabic Manuscript of A.D. 1307* (London, 1902) 321 (text), 3 (translation); BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 236–237.

(44) BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 228.

(45) Arabic his soldiers.

(46) Not in the Arabic.

(47) Arabic adds "all his helper".

(48) Not in the Arabic version.

(49) BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 231.

ΕΧΕΝ ΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ ἸΜΠΙΚΟCΗΟC  
 ΧΕ ἸΗΘΟ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΕΝΖΕΛΠΙC Ω  
 ΜΑCΗΟΥ†

*world, for you are our hope,*  
 O God-Bearer.<sup>50</sup>

### *Commentary*

As Father Ugo Zanetti observed, the prayers of the hours are the direct descendants of those original Canonical hours which came into being with the foundation of the coenobitic or communal form of Egyptian Monasticism. There are some relations with the old Jerusalem rite.<sup>51</sup> This troparion has a counterpart in the Greek office of the Midnight.<sup>52</sup>

The historical context for the Greek office may be during the war between the emperor Heraclius and the Persians. When the Emperor with the Patriarch Sergios prayed (to?) the Virgin Mary, the patriarch made a procession of the icon of the Virgin around the walls of the City while the king was fighting against the Persian occupation of the Jerusalem, Syria, Egypt; "Be a wall to our *city* and fight for our kings and *intercede* for the *peace* of the *world*."<sup>53</sup>

## **The Psalmodia**

There is no prayer for the king; only Constantine and Helena are commemorated in the memento sanctorum.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to the liturgical texts there is also a fast called:

## **The Fast of Heraclius<sup>55</sup>**

This seven-day fast is attributed to Emperor Heraclius (575–642), who rescued the holy cross from the Persians in 629 and restored it to Golgotha. It is incorrectly linked with the Coptic Church, and taken to account for the first seven of the fifty-five days forming the Cop-

(50) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Horologion of the Egyptian Church* (Cairo, 1973) (Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegyptiaca) p. 124 (text), p. 226 (translation).

(51) U. ZANETTI, *Horologion Copte et vêpres byzantines*, *Mus* 102 (1989) 237–254.

(52) BURMESTER, *The Horologion...*, 226, note 5.

(53) *Ibid.*

(54) For this text cf. Youhanna Nessim Youssef, "Notes on the Magma" (memento sanctorum) and the Athanasius prayer in the Coptic Psalmodia, *JCS* 7 (2005) 111–1–124

(55) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Fasting", in: *CE*, vol. 4, 1093a–1–1097a.

tic Great Lent. The misconception arises from the following historical event.

When the triumphant emperor reached Tiberias on his way back from Persia, he was lobbied by the Jewish population who succeeded through lavish gifts in acquiring his written pledge of security. This did to forestall any possible acts of retribution on the part of the Christian population of the Holy Land. However, on his arrival at Jerusalem, the Christians pointed out to the emperor concrete evidence of the devastation caused by the Jews during the years of the Persian occupation and urged him to punish them. Heraclius was at first reluctant to depart from the promise of security he had just granted, but the Byzantine patriarch of Jerusalem and his bishops argued that a promise made under fraud would not be binding. Furthermore, to allay his misgivings, they offered to institute a week's fast in recompense for his breach of promise and to write to other churches to this effect. Eventually, Heraclius gave orders for the massacre of the Jewish population in Jerusalem. The story occurs in both versions of the chronicles of Sa'id ibn Batriq (887–940), the Melchite patriarch in Egypt,<sup>56</sup> the Egyptian<sup>57</sup> and the Antiochene.<sup>58</sup> The Antiochene version states that edicts were published and the Copts *till now*, observe this fast while the Syrian and the Byzantine have not observed it since the death of Heraclius.

## CONCLUSION

This article shows once more the importance of the study of the Coptic liturgical texts as reflecting an early stage of history. It demonstrates the conservative attitude of the Coptic Church of keeping the tradition as for the fast of Heraclius which was left even by the Melchites before the ninth century, while the Copts continue this fast up to the present day. The historical-religious political context in the time of composition are reflected in these texts.

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(56) For this author cf. M. BREDDY, *Études sur Sa'id ibn Batriq et ses sources* (Leuven: Peeters, 1983) (CSCO subs., 450) 1–1–12.

(57) M. BREDDY, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien* (CSCO, 471–472) (Leuven: Peeters, 1985) 128–1–129 (text).

(58) L. CHEIKHO (ed.), *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annaless*. Vol. 2, by Sa'id ibn al-Batriq (Paris—Beirut, 1962) (CSCO, 51) 5–7 (text).

The liturgical prayers for the Kings in the Coptic tradition may be dated from the time of idolatry to the time of the Sultans (Authorities) and hence we have about one thousand years of composition.

## SUMMARY

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