The Character of the Purse: Analyzing tax records and administrative policy from the

perspective of Christology in 7th-8th Century Egypt

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Abstract

This dissertation is a qualitative study of literary and documentary evidence driven by a proposition: "Did Historical-Contextual Christological perspectives in seventh and eighth century Egypt have a direct impact on the economic and political relationship with Arabs, specifically as it relates to taxes, and if so, how, and to what extent?" This is a study of historiographical and papyri evidence that answers this question via ecclesiastical discourse involved with the economic (tax) policy of Arab rule from 641 to ~720 with the hope of making the connection between theology and practice. This is a logical expectation, as theologians and administrators of this time period were classically trained in Christology, and so have an identifiable logic or pattern so as to connect ideas to practice. Therefore, the progressive development of both Chalcedonian and Miaphysite Christologies are examined in this study with their direct relationship to the State both before and after the Arab conquest of Egypt. Then in turn the administrative policy of tax administration is evaluated in structure and documentation, with a view towards discovering internal Christological language that indicates motive for action.

To further develop the comprehension of this work, case analysis in comparative historical method is used with contemporary Syrian experience. With a holistic view of the internal comparison of available data, I pursue secondary sources in order to analyze primary evidence with extant papyri available. What was also anticipated by looking at this evidence was path dependence, for there was evidence of a persistent administrative structure for government taxes/finances. This study further utilized the construct of ideal-type narrative comparison, by comparing Syria as a value-rational ideal type. This method is used for testing the hypothesis in order to determine the original meaning in context of Egyptian Christology and taxes. Religious statements are indicators of a state of political conflict, as well as for both continuity and change. By observing the conflict via the interaction between disparate theological communities, the precise points of Christological debate identify a points of contact between Christology, the State, and practice.

Internal evidence of Syria and Egypt point to a sacerdotal focus of the Eucharist as the point of contact in conflict between Christological confessions. There is also an implied connection from this sacrament to the political world encountered, for resistance in its many forms to a heavy tax burden is passive in nature. The question then remains as to why. The study concludes in the findings that the majority Miaphysite Christology did not have a world and life view (Weltanschauung) which provided an ethic for self-defense in direct opposition to the State, for the Muslim State continued to be viewed as a divine sanction for the activities of the church and its members. The point of resistance then was in seeking political change via the power of the Christ encountered in the sacrament.

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To the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the primary focus and subject of this study, "For he is before all things, and by Him all things consist" (Col. 1:17).

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Glossary of Terms

Acepheloi ("headless ones"): Miaphysite groups who did not recognize the authority of the Patriarch and chose not to appoint their own.

Anchoritism/Anchorite: "One who has retired from the world." A form of Ascetic Monasticism where the monk chooses to live in complete self-sufficient isolation, for the purposes of prayer and meditation. Their cells might be attached to a church or monastic community, but were considered dead to the world, and thus a living Saint.

Andrismos: A poll tax on males of a certain age, *aner* (man) being the Greek root of the term.

Aparché: "first fruits" The term has its origin in the Old Testament understanding of bringing the first produce from the harvest of your land to the church or monastery (Lev.23:40; Deut. 26:1-10). The term is euphemistically applied to the tax-rent collection.

Aphthartodocetism: Promoted by Julian of Halicarnassus, who denied that Christ's humanity was precisely our own, perhaps even a phantasm. His guiding presupposition is that for there to be one property of Christ's nature, then it must be uncorrupted in every sense. This phantasm was termed as a human likeness, but of a superior type from the moment of conception, not after the resurrection. This group was later led by one Gaius, thus became known as Gaianites.

Apollinarian: A Christology where Christ adopted a human body, not a human person. The body of Jesus was never mortal. The person of Jesus as Logos was simply divinity in human form. Thus they were open to the accusation that the humanity of Jesus was a mere phantom.

Autopragia: States/Districts; in Byzantine times paid taxes directly to Constantinople. This practice contributed to the sense of autonomy and decentralization.

Barsanuphians: Followers of the isolated desert ascetic practice of Barsanuphius, an Egyptian anchorite established in Gaza. He emphasized the quietness of the soul which would raise the purity of heart to be able to sense the presence of God.

Chora: A geographically defined district in late antique Egypt, a subdivision of a Pagarchy.

"Communicatio idiomatem": As defined by the Tome of Pope Leo I, understood as a mutual sharing of properties of the two distinguished natures of Christ, both divine and human, in communion with each other. The operations of each nature are assigned to the singular person of Christ.

Dapanē: Arabic for "maintenance". The idea of maintenance is that of providing the governor, his family, and the associated military the materials and commodities necessary for their travel in their administrative roles.

Dariba. Taxes in kind, which the Arab military Dīwān needed for actual immediate consumption by the army.

Demosia: An abbreviation of *chrusika demosia*, a public money tax. *Demosia* as a descriptor includes both land and poll taxes paid in currency.

Dianomai: Extraordinary taxes which were associated with the needs of the Arab navy.

Dikaion: Business office of the monastery.

Dioikētēs: Head of district, first officer under the Pagarch. Normally responsible for judicial and fiscal policy compliance.

Dīwān': A register, which was also the system supplying the Arab army via the associated tribute and taxes.

Ekthesis: A theological Imperial edict given by Emperor Heraclius in 638 proscribing discussion of one energy/operation in Christ, yet affirming that the humanity and divinity in Christ are united by a single will. A further attempt to unite Chalcedonian and Monophysite groups.

 Entagion: tax demand letter, generated by the Pagarchy secretariat for the districts. These quotas then were communicated to their respective Pagarchs in the form of a demand note called an *entagia.* The Pagarchs in turn would distribute copies of the specific *entagia* to the assigned locations.

Epizetumena: Specific description of taxes for types of taxable entities. These entities were settlements, villages (*epoikia*), monasteries, estates (*ousia*) and even those in Babylon/Fustat who worked for or represented the district to the government.

Eucharist: Lit. "Giving of thanks". The common term used by the Eastern Churches for the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Specific to the Eastern view of this is in the consecration of the elements by the power of the Holy Spirit to make Christ present, the eternal Christ enters into the temporal and thus spiritual and physical life is restored to those who believe.

Eulogia: Eucharistic bread that was specifically blessed for future use in the Eucharist when used and consecrated by a priest in the local church, and it also signified ecclesiastical communion. Often used for the sick as a means to bring healing.

Extraordina: A distinction from the regular public tax, *demosia*. These taxes had further distinctions which were also termed *dianomai* and probata for the unscheduled requests of commodities for military use.

Gegrammatismenon: Agents to seek out fugitives under the oversight of Arab officials. These local agents have practical knowledge of the region to facilitate finding out the truth of the fugitives place and history.

Gitzya: Arabic for "Tribute". A Poll tax of one *dinar* (gold solidus coin) per man of a certain age, normally 14 tears and older.

Hegumen/Hegoumenos: Usually refers to the head of a monastery or monastic community, also known as an Archimandrite. Can also refer to the head presbyter of a parish church.

Henotikon: "Instrument of unity" A Christological Edict issued by Emperor Zeno in 482, an attempted compromise between pro- and anti-Chalcedonian groups. It established the twelve anathemas of Cyril as canon and avoided the use of the terms, hypostasis, nature, and prosopon, all while affirming Christ's consubstantiality with us in his humanity.

Hypostasis: "That which stands underneath something." A term defined and understood in several ways throughout the late antique period. Simply put, a substance within another distinct substance without a perfect definition of the mode of subsistence. Yet it was precisely a definition argued for during the time period of this study.

Ideal-type: Max Weber's term for the idea constructs that give language and form to characteristics and elements of social phenomena.

Jacobites: Separate Miaphysite church developed by the hierarchy established by James Baradaeus.

Katabolai: A tax term designated by tax assessment reforms taken by Ubayd Allah bin al-Habhab in 724. Part of these changes were the implementation of two main tax payments in a fiscal year which were called *katabolai* which were further divided into quarterly payments called *exagia*.

Katagraphon: A register within pagarchies which recorded villages (*chorion*) and settlements (*epoikion*) that were recorded as toponyms. These registered place names formed the units of a tax district. Within these villages local authorities chose assessors who would develop the lists of tax liability.

Keleusis: Byzantine Emperor's rescript/declaration authorizing the language and actions of an official or clergy.

Kleronomoi: A subset of landowners, those who hold small allotments of common land, which connotes the meaning of an inherited land shared among family members.

Koursa: The annual use of Naval power to attack Byzantine holdings in the Mediterranean (Corsairs).

Lashane: Village headman in Egypt.

Laura/Politeumena: Small community of Pachomian or Coenobitic monks, normally separated into cells of two men each.

Logisima: appears to be a record of extraordinary taxes, but unless the taxes in kind were composed into useable currency, this category is general and undefined, as it is used to make up for taxes in arrears for other categories.

Melkite: Another term used to describe a church or person committed to the Chalcedonian Christology.

Merismoi: register is a list of taxpayers for each village or district, *choria/epoikion.* Written with the names of the assessors at the beginning of the document. Then the assessors list

the names of taxpayers and allocate each category of taxes, and next to each of their names is listed the area of land that they farm/own, or the region that they are from.

Monophysite: The emphasis of singular concrete reality in Christ after the Incarnation. In the classical Eutychian sense of the term, the divinity is the principle of union and the humanity is absorbed into it. This assumes that nature is understood as concrete singular substance. This should be contrasted with another contemporary development of the term 'nature', that of as a set of natural properties or attributes, such as human and divine. This is the crux of the debate between Chalcedonian and Monophysite groups

Miaphysite: A subset or development of Monophysitism. Monophysite can be said to emphasize an "only nature of Christ", whereas Miaphysitism can be said to emphasize a singular nature of Christ after the Incarnation. Later developments discussed below, such as Severus of Antioch attempted an abstract distinction, essentially one united nature with a dynamic continued existence of the divinity and the humanity.

Monenergism: The concept that the relationship between the divine and human natures in Christ is harmonized via a single energy/activity (monergeia). When Christ acts, he acts with one "theandric" (divine-human) energy.

Monothelitism: This was a response when the above monenergism failed to bring about unity in the church between east and West, for the logic proposed was that if a single energy is operating in Christ, then a single principle of moral action (will) in Christ perhaps could be the agreeable factor, thus making the discussion of natures unnecessary.

Oikoumene: The term that was used to describe the church-state relationship as a unified whole in Empire.

Nestorianism: In an effort to preserve the distinct integrity of the two natures in Christ, Syrian language was so construed as to infer two distinct persons in Christ. Thus Nestorius as Patriarch was offended by the common term of Mary as "Mother of God", Theotokos (lit. "Christ bearer"). Cyril reacted to this, for if two persons are present, then two subject centers are implied and thus the union of the Incarnation is destroyed. Nestorius asserted an association of the two natures held in union by divine grace. Bothe Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon are responses to this debate.

Pachomian: This monastic form of rule taken from Pachomius (292-348) was successful in its training for it enabled long and deep discussions on the topics of Scripture reading and memorizing. The expectation and anticipation of this practice was the development of the image of Christ in the soul. A communal model for monasticism centered on the presence and personality of the "Apa" (father) in a *Koinonia* (monastic community). As the monks are looking to this powerful persona in their 'Apa', they are in expectation of a representation of God and Christ in a visible way.

"*philoponoi*" ("conscientious or industrious") A dedicated body united in serving the church. Haas claims that these groups were more casually brought together for some specific purposes (1997:Loc. 2618).   They were known for being chaste, zealous for doctrine (i.e. Christology), and in supporting the Patriarch.

Probate: Extraordinary taxes associated with the needs of the Arab army

Psephos: Literally means "resolution/vote".   In this study it specifically refers to the written response of a Synod or Council called by Sergius among local Bishops to affirm that the change is in effect authoritative language for theological debate.

Sabellianism: A second century effort to resolve the apparent contradiction between the divinity of Christ and the unity single person of God. This idea centers upon the concept of God as a monarch with singular power, where the father has a distinct mode of operation when addressing the world as Creator. The Son is another mode of operation of the one God as Savior. The Spirit is the mode of God operating as Sanctifier. This was rejected by later theologians as the concept of the Logos was developed and Tertullian introduced a distinction by virtue of hypostasis.

Sacerdotal: The belief that the material can convey spiritual power. This power in the hands of the priest in sacrament is an influential power. Vital to the study of Christology, for the Liturgy focused primarily on the event where the priest consecrated the elements in worship as changed into the realistic body of Christ, and considered necessary for spiritual vitality, sanctification, and physical healing.

Sakellarios: Chief financial secretary of a Pagarchy. Primary focus is tax collection and reporting.

See: The defined geographical area of responsibility for a Patriarch or Bishop. Also known as a Diocese, based on the boundaries designed by Roman distinction of Diocletians' reforms.

Shaliou: An agent associated with the collection of taxes.

Sunthetos: As applied to the natures of Christ, a composite.   Christ is not a single pure essence (*ousia*), in the Severan form of Miaphysitism. The idea behind this is to contain a real duality within the one subject described by the term "one nature", and yet not create confusion.

Tertartia: related to public tax (*demosia*), then the commission of one percent on that tax.

Topoteretes: Chief administrative secretary of a Pagarchy, immediately responsible to the Duke for implementation of policy.

Value rational: A particular form Max Weber's ideal type, where action is taken out of the conviction that the action has a value inherent to itself, regardless of any outcome it may or may not have. This is applied to the Christian world and life view, as Biblical convictions are understood as transcendent, and thus theological demands of objective truth require action that is accountable to the person of God.

Introduction

Problem Statement and Focus

Why pay taxes? Christians have variously interpreted the words of Jesus (Luke 20:21-26) on this topic for millennia, but this issue came under new scrutiny and became of extremely high value to the life and existence of the Christian after the Arab Conquest of Egypt. This qualitative study seeks to find how Christians applied the specific presuppositions of their theology while adjusting to the new theocratic, military, and political order of the day. In very specific terms, the question pursued is, **"Did historical-contextual Christological perspectives have a direct impact on the economic and political relationship with Arabs, specifically as it relates to taxes, and if so, how, and to what extent?"**   I propose to study the historiography and the papyri evidence that connects ecclesiastical discourse to the tax/economic policy of Arab rule from 641 to ~720 AD so as to make the connection between theology and practice.

Prior study:

The above statement is the result of reading the leading scholars in this field and discovering a clear consensus that after the Arab Conquest the existing Byzantine structure was left largely intact, but with new tax distinctions (Mikhail, Bagnall, Hoyland, Frend (see below)). However, I noticed that there is **not** a consensus as to the early social understanding between Christians and Arabs. There is information as to what happened in a general sense, but little to give a philosophical/theological foundation as to why. My prior study has revealed three main perspectives that appear to shape the scholarly debate. I will describe this below in limited detail with the intent of showing how I wish to interact with them.

Themes/Perspectives

        a.   A failure to understand the Arab culture and Islam led to a willingness to cooperate with them, and thus submit to their tax policy:

Some years ago I read Philip K. Hitti's seminal work, *History of the Arabs*, which claims "…that in the conception of many medieval European and Oriental Christians [Islam] stood as a heretic Christian sect rather than a distinct religion" (Hitti, 1970, p. 128). That statement shook my simple understanding of the Eastern world and set me on a path that led to this study.   On the other side of the response spectrum, Hitti (1970) also claims that people converted to Islam out of self-interest, because they wanted to stop paying the tribute and [not?] identify with the ruling class. This statement has merit logically, but I found it intriguing that little data was used to ground the statement. Whether Egyptians thought of Islam as a heresy, or decided to convert, this tribute/tax appears to become the catalyst of much social stress and internal focus. Once I began investigating, I noticed other authors also making general statements, but not defending them in detail.

For example, Wilfong (2008) notes that no Coptic sources are known that refer to the Arab Conquest (that date from the immediate period). Thus despite the lack of immediate and available data, in Wilfong's (2008) opinion the Monophysites of Egypt resigned themselves to wait and see what would happen under the new political leadership.   This conclusion may be due to several factors, but it is not clear. Bagnall (2007) also similarly argues that Egyptians did not consciously collaborate with the Arabs in the conquest, but that the governing class who could read and write probably did so. He also notes that P.M. Fraser in the supplement to the reprint of Butler's *Arab Conquest of Egypt* does positively believe in the conscious collaboration by Egyptians. Bagnall's inclusion of this idea in the introduction indicates that the debate is an active concern, and that there is potential for meaningful research.

Wilfong (2002) also adds to this in another work, arguing that present known sources seem to indicate that the early period of this order was relatively peaceful for Christians. This is because they do not believe that the Arab conquest was seen in a negative way. This is intriguing, since John of Nikiou (ca.690) argued that Christians chose either to fight the arriving Muslims *or* to join and assist them, during the initial Conquest. Yet he appears to be the most commonly referred to

resource in the scholarship on this topic. He both critiques the Arabs for their heavy oppression (taxes?), and also is harsh on Christians who join Islam. Therefore, he seems to indicate a lack of consensus of response at the time of the conquest and its aftermath. He also points out that this most likely is due to the harsh repressive policy towards Copts under the Byzantines. The Arabs were seen either as liberators or oppressors depending upon personal experience.

If literate governing officials were able to interact with Arabs (as per Bagnall), then it follows that trained clergy (such as Nikiou) would also have been able to do so. If true, then can theology be connected to administrative practice? Kaegi (1995) does not seem to think so, for he specifically mentions that there does **not** (emphasis mine) appear to be any connection with Miaphysite doctrine and their approach to Muslim invasion or rule. He sees rather a motivation in avoiding battle and harm. Kaegi (1995) applies this idea by arguing that the clergy did not appear to effectively motivate the populace toward violent resistance to Islam, and that towns negotiated terms for surrender, often on an independent basis, with local clerical involvement. He also stresses that the clergy did not understand the serious threat of Islam in the long term sense. If he is right, then why would the clergy lack an ability to see a long term threat of consequences economically and ecclesiastically? These were all classically trained theologians and administrators with a very keen understanding of philosophy and history.   Their education was consistent with classicism and they were well trained in connecting ideas to consequences.

The evidence does seem to indicate that they did indeed become effective administrators. W.H.C. Frend (1972, 2008) shows that this is the case and contributes to the debate by arguing that the ex-provincial leaders of Byzantine Egypt consented to govern and serve the Arabs as administrators. He claims that without this the Arabs would never have consolidated their power. He has good grounds to make such a statement, but it avoids the deeper question of motive. Given the classical type of administrative education of the period, it would seem that no Byzantine leader of the period was without a clear understanding of his conviction on Christology. Frend (1972, 2008)

also demonstrates that Christology set the tone for almost all professional relationships. Therefore, in my view this simply cannot be "switched off" when the Arabs arrive.

<u>The Egyptian Christian did indeed understand the Arab Conquest and reacted negatively.</u>

There is a counter point of view that is aware of the above data, but takes a different point of departure. A.J. Butler (1902) argues that John of Nikiou (mentioned above) was of the strong opinion that the Arabs had sufficiently terrorized the Egyptians so that "people began to help the Muslims" (Nikou, ca.690, c. CXIII). Nikiou is clear in his own assessment of the Arabs in referring to them as "The Beast" and "The Oppressors" (Nikiou, c. CXIV).

In this same line or argument, Hoyland (1997) in his extensive work on the texts of the period, contends that the extant writings of 7th century Copts are negative to the Arabs. He finds evidence of this in the apocalyptic works, various histories, and homilies.   Common points of complaint are the heavy taxation and various forms of repression both economic and social.

If this point of view is also representative of the dynamic that is happening at that time, then for the same reasons as noted above, the underlying motive should be explored.

<u>Taxation as a means to stabilize and define the relationship between Christian and Muslim.</u>

Perhaps both positive and negative points of view were interacting at a time of upheaval. Yet daily life still continued. The culture continues much as it did before, simply because it has much of the same administrative world and life view. Taxation had ever been part of normal cultural cycles, but now becomes an enormous stress. Hoyland (1997), in his analysis of "History of the Patriarchs" (Ed./Tr. B. Evetts) argues that the Patriarch Benjamin, at the beginning of the Arab period, promised to pay a poll tax if he would be allowed to rule the church. This is noted as the basis of a long standing agreement that was referred to in many times of crisis and dispute. This is also corroborated by Al-Tabari (d.923), the noted Muslim scholar and historian. He records that Patriarch Benjamin communicated to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (the commander who conquered Egypt),

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volunteering to pay the poll tax, in return for the peace of his people and the right to govern them. This was agreed upon by Umar as a permanent arrangement. This allows the Copts to maintain their legal status as the al-Dhimmī, "protected ones".

Perhaps this new tax policy may have indeed been put in place, yet the old theological contentions still create disruption and strife. Hoyland (1997) also relates from the "History of the Patriarchs" (Evetts, PO V, 1910:5) that the Chalcedonian/Melkite Theodore went to Damascus to secure a private agreement via a large payment, and then returned to create terror on Copts (Abba Agathon was Coptic patriarch at the time) from this new position of power.

The above brief examples demonstrate that there is sufficient record to establish a tax basis for Christian-Muslim relations.   The stress of taxation may indeed point to a desire for power, and a self preservation/self-interest mode of thinking, but there should also be a further rationale for both individual and corporate action.

Aim, theoretical point of departure/presuppositions and hypothesis/research questions, and theoretical framework:

How can one evaluate the analysis of Islam by those Christians who first encountered it as a conquering army? More specifically, for the purposes of this work, how can one know the perception and understanding of the new power shift by both Christian leaders and laity in Egypt during those critical years in transition after the Arab Conquest? Few formal primary sources exist as intentional historical records (that I am currently aware of) that speak directly to the conditions of the religious/philosophical understanding of Islam in 7th century Egypt from a Christian perspective. Hoyland (1997) seems to show that there is sufficient textual record of theological and economic communication to form a hypothesis for more research. My desire is to investigate and exegete those sources that can give a window into the 7th century Christian theological response to Islam and so discover/understand the presuppositions and perception that formed the practical monetary

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response in relationship to the new political order. Paying taxes demands a practical application of one's world and life view.

I will use the following event in order to illustrate a point of theoretical departure: Hoyland (1997) makes use of a Marionite Chronicle (Folio 1-14 of the British Library Syriac texts Add. 17,216) (ca.660 AD) where a debate takes place between the Jacobites and the Marionites before the current Caliph, Mu'awiya. The Jacobites lost the argument and were ordered to pay 20,000 denarii a year. This event did not take place in Alexandria but in Damascus, but it establishes a synchronous precedence that seems worthy to pursue. Namely, that theological debates were connected to taxes at points in time. If so, then these must have been a part of their experience and a means toward analysis (of policy). The taxes were heavy according to their own statements (re: Nikiou); therefore, some considerable effort must have been placed toward justifying their subjection to the Arabs financially in a moral/theological sense. This is plausible because of established Byzantine practice, and one should be able to connect it to the practical application of theology.

If Chalcedonians and Miaphysites were still arguing and fighting for power and influence during the early days of Muslim rule (re: Theodore, as noted above), then it seems to follow that Patriarch Benjamin's offer to pay "tribute" tax to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in 644 AD was a point of contention. The theological schism should provide a format for a continued debate between these groups on relationships with the Arabs, as the two groups were fighting for influence with the new power. This should be discovered in documents that discuss language of financial management, financial burden/stress, ecclesiastical administration, and relationship with Arab administration. It would also be plausible to find documents that originate with bishops and their presbyters that continue this debate with the monasteries of the various theological distinctions. Subtle distinctions in theological identity, language, and approach would necessitate careful description and cataloguing of these differences and their implications to the hypothesis. In short, respective religious leaders will

continue to compare and contrast their group with others as they communicate to authorities and their followers.

As I evaluate these documents, I will be looking for key theological statements or symbolic words which will connect the understanding of the "nature" (Incarnate Word: Miaphysite), or "natures" (Hypostatic Union: Chalcedon) (or perhaps even the "one will" of Monothelitism), of Christ to active decision making in the objective world (re: taxes).   In order to narrow the field of research, I will focus on the Miaphysite view, as they are the prominent group most likely to produce sufficient texts for analysis.

I will also narrow the research by virtue of language use. Wipszycka (2010) notes that the Arabic language became obligatory for administration by 705 AD; therefore, I have chosen the specific period of 641 to ~720 AD, because both Greek and Coptic remained as the official languages of ecclesiastical and administrative discourse. Within the use of these languages I propose to show that the Miaphysite focus on the singular divine nature of Christ brought an overemphasis on spiritual realities. This led to the point of limiting the practical application of influence in regards to policy with the Arab administration and its significant financial burden. In short, they resigned themselves to let the new Arab "Caesar" control objective political and economic reality while they managed their affairs in the spiritual realm. "Give to Caesar that which is Caesar's…."

The application of the above is that the Christian groups I am researching may very well have competed for influence in a Christianized culture that is confronted by Arab thought. That influence should be measurable because I believe that ideas have words, and words have consequences (texts, objects). The influence in this case should be measured by who manages tax revenues and sets policy for administrating them. If there is continuation of administrative style related to theology, then applicable primary texts should be available and explored.

Methodology and Approach.

This study proposes to use what Lange (2013) refers to as "within-case" analysis in the comparative historical method. The study begins with a particular theory and looking to deductively test this by using several tools of analysis. A holistic view is taken because there are diverse factors and the behavior is complex under radical social change.

The primary approach of within case method is to do internal comparison of the available data in order to measure the particular case (Christian response to tax policy) over time. This data should be then assessed for reliability. Historical narrative is also needed in this case as the data is limited. Available papyri of tax records should give measurable diachronic data for the period suggested. However, secondary sources, such as within case methods are necessary, so as to analyze the evidence. For example, the intent is to use causal narrative, as this allows interaction between secondary sources, and the data of the primary texts so as to have potential insight into causal determinants. Also, pattern matching will be used, as this study looks for mechanism that can explain and connect a statement on a tax record with an understood process of what that record pointed to in a logical and chronological sequence.

Path dependence is also expected to be a factor and good course of analysis (Lange, 2013: Loc. 1558-1582). This is because you have a radical change in power and yet a persistent administrative structure. This is yet another point of comparison, for institutional change is present yet so many cultural norms are persisting. Here you have a clear case of a pre and post critical case juncture and many possibilities of change that can be compared to the path that was taken.

Also, "ideal-type" Narrative comparison is also another element of method that I wish to use (Lange, 2013: Loc. 577, Weber, 2009:12-15, 17, 22). This is because this study would benefit from another similar case as a way to compare and explore the reaction to tax policy. For a similar theological culture that faced the same pressures under the Arab conquest was the Syrian/Palestinian Church. They also have a record of their own responses, and I believe that there

are similarities and differences that can become another point of comparison to gain greater insight. By "ideal-type", the study is not merely borrowing form Weber's "value rational" type of social action (Swedberg & Agevall, 2016:365-366). His term needs some refining in this case to express the historical objective expressions of Christology, and the reality of social factors that are readily comparable to Egypt.

Primary sources of late antiquity present significant challenges to the historian. Bagnall emphasizes that the "silence" that one often finds in the record make one very timid in making generalizations (1995). Yet a concerted effort must be made to use a comparative method, of forming and testing hypothesis as to determine the original meaning in context. Context is especially difficult, as the textual record available today is not available in its original 'archive', but spread out among collections. Context then arises from a comparative analysis of the secondary material and testing to see if the primary material fits a contextual pattern.

As a qualitative study the hope is to yield new results of understanding to this period and also to describe and explain the behavioral phenomena in an ideographic sense. It can be difficult to establish causality between phenomena, as religious statements are often political ones in this context, and the politics of war survival are both subjective and dramatic. The intent is to use content analysis by use of qualitative data, in order to identify patterns in the texts for thematic analysis. Patterns of themes should be able to be indexed and coded so as to be able to develop identifiable units. These themes should yield the prevailing theologies of the period, which would then be integrated into the context that is narrated by the comparative historical method.

Researcher's personal context and Potential Impact of study:

I have the privilege of currently living as a foreigner in the country of Uganda. I also have the advantage of a third party viewpoint watching cultures collide. Christians and Muslims live together side by side in a workable tension, because the existing power structure univocally acknowledges both. There is also both a rhetoric and a cultural expectation of harmony, and both subcultures on

the surface seem to make an attempt at détente. Yet this points to the possibility of change, especially in the light of current events. My intent is to make a new contribution to the field of historical understanding in Christian-Muslim relations. My prior study seems to point to disagreement in the academic community regarding the motive for Christians to participate with Arab rule. I desire to show a connection between our understanding of Christology and action, and thereby contribute to an understanding of the "why" of those early days of Coptic-Muslim relations. Islam appears to be having a civil war that disregards the nation-state construct that we as westerners of European extraction [or something similar] assume is our birthright. Christian communities have been caught in the crossfire, with a consequent sense of hopelessness and despair. Long held arrangements for the mutual respect of minority communities in Islamic nation states seem to be thrown away with ease, yet no active narrative or political will appears to be in place to restore these communities and give them the traditional protected status that has existed for millennia. The international community seems to have adjusted its expectations to a status quo of refugees in every "stable" nation state. Where can the conversation begin? Where is the starting point for dialogue and peaceful community? The "Divine Word", the "Christ made flesh who dwelled among us", must not be relegated to history past, for the Lord of history transcends and enters into it, and as a result, communities may bear his name for his own glory.

1.0 The State of the State in the Stature of Christ: The State of Chalcedonian Christology in 7th

Century Egypt

Our State of the State is a State in Conflict, continuity, and change. Our stage for conflict

and survival in the tumultuous 7th century finds us looking at the interaction between several

disparate theological communities. These theological divisions all center on Christological debate

and how those debates impact Egyptian transition. This study begins this section by discussing a

letter written by Maximus the Confessor (580-662), who was at the center of many of these debates

and interactions both the East and West, in order to discover more clarity in the state of

Melkite/Chalcedonian theology and its relation to practice.

Our letter in question was written in about 633 and addressed to 'Peter the Illustris', (PG

91.533B-543C, Allen & Neil, 2015:44-45).   Peter had recently been sent to Alexandria, as is

referenced in the Relatio Motionis ('Record of the Trial' found in the Greek *Life of Maximus*) (Allen

and Neil, 2003:Loc. 576-585). This letter stands in the context of recent Arab raids into Palestine that

he mentions, yet that crisis does not distract Maximus from encouraging Peter, a high government

official, (probably the Patrician from Numidia) to reinstate "Cosmas" as Deacon in Alexandria. The

letter specifically asks Peter to introduce Cosmas to the "Pope" in Alexandria (Cyrus), with the hopes

of facilitating this reinstatement. This request is an excellent example of the importance of

interrelated connections between clergy and the state, especially after the Empire's weakening from

its war with Persia. This letter however, is not merely one of political job placement, but is set also

in the milieu of theological debate. Thus Maximus will also use this opportunity to encourage Peter

in the Chalcedonian faith, for the occasion of Cosmas' restoration is one to promote the 'highest

good', which is "reuniting those separated by faith" (Jankowiak and Booth, 2015:44).   This 'highest

good' is theologically supported with Christological statements such as the Logos (Christ) is 'the

same operating/activity (ἐνεργῶν) the miracles, the same willingly (κατὰ θέλησιν) accepting the

experience of human sufferings' (PG 91. 537A, ibid.).

7th - 8th C. Egypt Place Names Mentioned

Canopus

Alexandria

Xois

Sais. **Sammanud**

Sketis

.Babylon/Fustat

Klysma

Fayum

Arsinoe **Arcadia**

Kalamun

Oxyrhynchos

Pharan

Hermopolis Magna .. Antinoe

Titkooh/Bawit .

Aphrodito .

Ptolemais . Tabennesi

Thebaid Jeme . Koptos

Hermonthis Thebes

Apollonos Ano,.

Apollonopolis Magna

[1]

Peter must have been familiar with the theological debates of the time, for the terms operation, activity, and will as they related to Christ all had significant categories of meaning and subtle arguments within those categories. This is also shown in a previous letter (Ed. PG 91. 509B–533A, Allen & Neil, 2015:33) that Maximus wrote to him, where Maximus writes extensively against the Miaphysite doctrine of those who followed Severus of Antioch.   This is probably cautious warning, for a group of that particular form of Miaphysitism had recently returned to that Christology after coming back to Chalcedon for a time (Sherwood, 1952:39). These letters then are suggestive that both Chalcedonian clergy and state officials were working towards unity.

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[1] Modified from http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/aegyptusBlank2Thumb.jpg.
Copyright: under the CC BY-NC 3.0 license. Map by Tom Elliot for the Ancient World mapping Center, University of North Carolina. [2018, June 11].

Both of these letters are also set in the context of Emperor Heraclius' policy of restoring all of the Christian groups to the fold of the 'Catholic' Church after the war with Persia (628). This policy was the result of his observations of these groups during and after the war (Hovorun, 2008:57). His travels and experience afforded him a unique opportunity to converse with and attempt to understand various strands of anti-Chalcedonian thought. However, as a pious Christian Emperor it was an expected duty to maintain the harmony of the church in order that the church and the state might work together in "symphony". This is not an isolated concept for it stands in the time honored tradition from the time of Constantine and even before. Theological diversity was seen as a threat to the unifying fabric of the Empire.

For our purposes here it will be helpful to trace this unifying idea back to the Edict of Milan (313). Although it was a radical break with past policy in regards to Christianity, it had clear connection to Caesar's role as Pontifex Maximus. In this Edict, the Emperors (Constantine and Licinius) claim to be acting in the best interest of the Republic, in order to secure divine favor to protect it: "Whatever divinity there is in the seat of heaven may be appeased and made propitious towards us and towards all who have been set under our power". The belief is that divine power "will be able to show in all matters his accustomed favor and benevolence toward us, and will continue for all time to prosper our achievements along with the public well being (Mort.48.2-3, Drake, 2008:455)."

This principle is applied one step further when Constantine injects himself into the Christological debates regarding Arianism and the Council of Nicea. Once he casts himself as the defender of the true faith, then subsequent emperors also have that particular sense of duty. This concept could be developed more, but for our purposes here the clearest example is that of Emperor Justinian (482-565). He was convinced that direct management of the clergy was personal for him, because "if the priesthood is everywhere free from blame, and the Empire full of confidence in God is administered equitably and judiciously, general good will result." Also pertinent to this

case is his theological grounding for this point of view: "The priesthood and the empire are the two greatest gifts from God in his infinite clemency has bestowed upon mortals, the latter presides over and directs human affairs, and both, proceeding from the same principle, adorn the life of mankind" (Novel VI: trans. Scott, 1932: xvi.31).

Heraclius (575-641) observed in his own lifetime the reality of a theologically and politically fragmented Empire; therefore, the disunity among Christians must have also weighed heavily upon his sense of duty to the Republic. This is shown in context of his travels, where he made considerable effort to talk with non-Chalcedonian groups in order to find common ground of understanding (Hovorun, 2008:57). In consequence, necessity drove him to seek out a theological formula which would become a unifying point of reference acceptable to all the clergy. He went to his Chalcedonian Patriarch Sergius as the resource to develop this unifying theology (Meyendorff, 1988:338). This one idea became known as monenergism, or unity in the one operation/'energy' of Christ while maintaining his two distinct natures. Sergius, however did not just depend on his own knowledge to develop the doctrine, for he also asked Theodore Bishop of Pharan to write his own opinion regarding the one activity/energy in Christ (Maximus, Disputatio, #154, trans Farrell, 2015:971-980). He also was pursuing the opinion of his opponents, such as Bishop Sergius Macaronas of Arsinoe (Miaphysite) and George Arsas (follower of Paul of Samosata) (Maximus, Disputatio #154) (Hovorun, 2008:59).

It is significant that in the desire of a unified theology, Armenian, Greek, and Egyptian scholars of the time are sought out for a helpful solution. This is suggestive of considerable respect for Egyptian opponents who were capable of reflecting carefully on the ideas proposed and giving a cogent response. Maximus also reveals to us that the letter of Sergius to George Arsas reached the contemporary Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver (610-619). When John read the letter he disagreed strongly enough that he wished to apply 'interdiction', a form of discipline denying another the Sacraments (Maximus, Disputatio #154, trans. Farrell, 2015:Loc. 975-980)

(Hefele believes the term meant to 'depose' him (1895: V.1.Sec.291)).   Whatever effect that this

may have had on the development of monenergist policy at the time in Egypt, we do not know.

John died shortly after the Persian invasion in 619, and the monenergist form of unity would have to

wait for another time (Leontius, 13-15, trans. Dawes & Baynes, 1977:221-26, 260).

That time came after Heraclius' successful campaigns against Persia in 624-628.   After the

Persians evacuated Egypt in 629, Heraclius appointed Cyrus as Prefect of Egypt in 631, and as an

experienced Bishop of Phasis, he was also elected to the throne of the Patriarch in Alexandria

(Evetts, Po I, 1904:489).   In him was combined both "Great Gifts" from God as Justinian described

above in the form of one person, for Cyrus was given both an ecclesiastical title and a civil one as

administrator of the province.   Cyrus had been called on while he was Bishop of Phasis to work with

Sergius on the monenergist formula, and he was to remain a confidant and aid to the Emperor (CPG

7610 and CPG 7604, see Allen, 2009:Loc. 1604-1655) (Frend, 1972: 345) (Theophanes, AM1621,

trans. Turtledove, 1982:31-32).   He aggressively pursued relationships with all the known non-

Chalcedonian parties in order to apply the union Heraclius sought for.   This was possible by virtue of

his political power and the unique language of the new doctrinal formula, for in it the non-

Chalcedonians, especially the Severans, interpreted the language coming from the new Patriarch as

a compromise from the Chalcedonians.   From the miaphysite point of view, to wit, "Not we to

Chalcedon, but rather Chalcedon has accommodated itself to us.   Through one energy it agrees

Christ has one nature" (Theophanes, AM1621, trans. Turtledove, 1982:32).

At this juncture it is important to understand what the new formula was from the

perspective of Cyrus and his colleagues in order to understand what the Severans understood as a

compromise.   The main objective of the statement is to maintain the oneness of Christ as a core

value while at the same time carefully express the activity of his two natures.   The primary question

addressed was, "When Christ acts as one person with two natures, by what mode or with what term

does he perform the activity?"   Since the time of Nestorius the common response was to emphasize

a unity of action in Christ in clear mutually understood terms, but agreement on the specific precise terms was always elusive. This new precise formula written by Cyrus was utilized in the document called a "plerophoria" (Announcement/Assurance) or "Act of Union", which was expressed in the form of nine "Kephalia", (Chapters) (633AD).   The word "one" or similar concepts of unity are mentioned twenty times in these nine sections. As this unity is expressed, Cyrus was both careful and expedient to use the very language of Cyril, a highly respected Egyptian Father (376-444), who was influential at the council of Chalcedon. In Chapter 6 we have an example:

> …From two natures, one Christ, one Son, one incarnate nature of God the Logos, as S. Cyril taught, (ἀτρέπτως [without change], ἀναλλοιώτως [without alteration]), or one united Hypostasis, which our Lord Jesus Christ is, one of the Trinity, … (Hefele, 1895: sec.293).

Of special interest to both communities is the famous phrase "One incarnate nature of God the Logos (Word)." This expression was of vital importance to the Severans and almost every other non-Chalcedonian group. To them it maintained the integrity of the being of Christ and condemned Nestorianism (dividing Christ into two persons) in specific terms that they understood. The Severans will be discussed in more detail in the following section (2.0). For our purposes here it would be important to note that this and other groups were looking for a more complete statement of Christ's activity **after** the union/hypostasis of the natures. One of those key aspects that demonstrate Christ's activity after the incarnation is his suffering:

> If anyone, using the expression, 'The one Lord is contemplated in two natures,' does not confess that he is 'one of the Holy Trinity' (ἕνα τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος), i.e. the Logos eternally begotten by the Father, who was made man in the last times; . . . but that he was 'ἕτερος καὶ ἕτερος,' and not 'one and the same' (ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν), as the most wise Cyril taught, 'perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood,' and therefore contemplated 'in two natures,' 'the same suffering according to one (nature) and not suffering according to the other (nature)' (τὸν αὐτὸν πάσχοντα καὶ μὴ πάσχοντα κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο), as the same Saint

Cyril said, i.e. suffered man in the flesh , so far as he was man, but as God remained incapable of suffering in the sufferings of his own flesh; and that this one and the same Christ and Son worked both the divine and the human (τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα)…Let him be anathema (trans. Hovorun, 2008: 112) (see also Hefele, 1895: V.5.sec.293).

Notice that once again Cyril is prominent and openly acknowledged so that both parties fully understand from where and for what reason a statement is made. To firmly place these statements in the tradition of Chalcedon but without alienating the parties, an added component of explaining Christ's suffering is made. Justinian had made use of the issue of Christ's suffering during a previous generation in order to find agreement (Theopaschism), but also in order to take the debate forward (Meyendorff, 1968:58-60). The "mitte" in this particular issue is the impassibility of God (The presupposition that God cannot suffer). Cyril was focused on being consistent with the Biblical narrative and protecting Christ's full participation with us in order to be our Redeemer. Yet, a language needed to be developed that protected his divinity, and the fundamental nature of what it means to be divine (O'keefe, 1997:44-46). This then is one aspect of the two natures theology that can build consensus (even though the very term 'two natures' was disagreeable to the Severans).

However much Cyrus would seek an ecclesiastical-political solution to unity, he could not accomplish it by using older established forms of expression. One further term must be agreed upon fully in order to accomplish a true union with full support. That very term presented here in the nine chapters was "Theandric Energeia" (God-man activity). It is also important to note that this new term in chapter 7 of the Union is credited to yet another Father of the Church, Saint Dionysius the Aereopagite:

'…and (if anyone does not confess, that this one and the same Christ and Son worked both the divine and the human by ONE divine-human operation (theandric energeia) , as S. Dionysius teaches (καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοτρεπὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μιᾷ θεανδρικῇ ἐνέργειᾳ κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον), …—let him be anathema (trans. Hefele, 1895:V.sec.293).

The idea of using "Energeia" to describe the activities of a being much less the Logos of God was very rare in the ancient world. Dionysius introduced the concept when he wrote of a "new Theandric energy" in his fourth letter to Gaius Therapeutes:

For, even, to speak summarily, He was not a man, not as "not being man", but as "being from men was beyond men", and was above man, having truly been born man; and for the rest, not having done things Divine as God, nor things human as man, but exercising for us a certain **new** God-incarnate [Theandric] energy of God having become man (trans. Parker, 1897:73).

Hovorun (2008:112-115) wisely points out that Dionysius becomes a focal point of debate in this generation of theologians. The Chalcedonian Patriarch Cyrus wishes to interpret the term, "**new** theandric energy", as *one* theandric energy, and from the reaction to that simple yet significant change, many debates engulf the church for years to come. This is primarily a debate among Chalcedonian Bishops and clergy until 680-81 when the Sixth council condemns this particular definition of Christ's activity. Yet, for our purposes now, it is a serious debate and it shapes the response of all parties concerned in the Union of 633.

What is pertinent to our inquiry here is that Severus of Antioch, who was very influential in Egypt, also commented on Dionysius' use of the new theandric energy and expressed it in a monenergistic way. For him, the term 'Energeia' expressed Christ's singular unity because it describes his "one theandric nature and hypostasis". Therefore, one cannot speak of two

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natures after the unity of the incarnation. He recognizes the two natures yet for the purposes of salvation wishes to focus on what he calls a *composite* new nature, and as a result, a single activity/Energeia (Hom. 109: PO 25, 758-760 & CPG 7071, 31: DP, 309, XXIV, see Grillmeier, 1995:146, 170).

By the time Cyrus is using "Theandric Energeia" as a uniting theme the Severans have moved beyond their founding father by using a language that further disconnect Christ's human nature from the single activity. The groups that expressed this very idea were named after Patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria (535-566). The "Theodosians" were active during the time of Cyrus and he made a point of referring to them in his letter to Sergius regarding the success of the Union (CPG 7611, see Hefele, 1895: V.5.sec.293). The Theodosian view of the Energeia centered all activity of Christ in the Logos, and applied as such, that the Theandric Energeia is ***purely*** divine as well. This emphasis is driven by a perceived need to answer the question of Christ's knowledge, as human knowledge is learned and derived, yet Christ as God should not be ignorant of anything. This issue is resolved for them by claiming that Christ appropriates ignorance for the purposes of salvation, and through the divine union is not truly ignorant of anything. Theodosians claimed this on the authority of Cyril and Severus and therefore believed that they were in on the solid ground of Patristic authority. (Grillmeier, 1995:372-373). More will be developed below, but for our purposes here, their presence in large numbers during the Union indicates that Cyrus needed to produce a document that appealed across a wide range of terminology and the tradition of the revered Fathers of the Church. I would agree with Hovrun (2008:117) that Cyrus' use of the original Severan view of the "Theandric Energeia" was a via media, a language useful for all groups to agree and use in their own circles of influence.

Once the Act of Union is signed, Cyrus sent out a letter informing Patriarch Sergius of the great success:

> I notify you that all the clergy of the Theodosian party of this city, together with all the civil and military persons of distinction, and many thousands of the people, on the 3rd of June, took part with us, in the Holy Catholic Church, in the pure holy mysteries, led thereto chiefly by the grace of God, but also by the doctrine communicated to me by the Emperors, and by your divinely enlightened Holiness, … at which not only in Alexandria, but also in the whole neighborhood, yea even to the clouds and above the clouds, with the heavenly spirits, there is great joy. How this union was brought about, I have sent full information to the Emperor by the deacon John. I pray your Holiness, however, that, if in this matter I have committed any error, you will correct your humblest servant therein, for it is your own work. (Hefele, 1895:V.5.sec.293; ACO 2, II, 592–594).

I am reproducing the translation here so that it can be made clear that this was indeed a politico-ecclesiastical function. Those of higher rank in society are present to approve by their presence of this auspicious moment.   This is in anticipation that a "symphony" of church and state can be fully reached and thereby protect the public well-being. The "Holy Mysteries" of the liturgy are no mere worship service celebrating the Eucharist, for also by "the grace of God" AND the "doctrine of the Emperor" both are together complicit in making such a spiritual communion within the 'Church-State' possible. I interpret the phrase "divinely enlightened holiness" to imply that Cyrus recognizes the initiative and doctrinal/philosophical work that Patriarch Sergius has made into developing a suitable structure with which to bring the Empire together.   He believes that God himself has intervened in the life of Sergius in order to bring an apparent end to two centuries of division.   Thus he uses the term "Inspired" to describe the Patriarch in his letters (CPG 7611,

Allen, 2009:Loc. 1727), therefore adding great weight of significance to his office and influence.

This was by all accounts, Cyrus' greatest moment. However, now that the peace of the church and the state appear to be within grasp, how can one hold it together? How is one called to act in relationship to the Province of Egypt with such a Christological structure? The previous two years were spent by Cyrus in presenting the varied opinions that Sergius had garnered from all corners of the Empire, especially Egypt. Arguments, debates, and discussions with the promise of benefit would have been part and parcel of this process. Now, with a consensus in hand, various parties were signing on to this "Plerophoria" (Assurance/Union). Subsequent actions by Cyrus proved beyond doubt that a process of reconciliation had just begun, and by no means was it yet finished.

Anti-Chalcedonian groups were not Cyrus' only concern in order to maintain symphony. For the Act of Union initiated a response by many in the sphere of the Empire who reacted negatively within the Chalcedonian faithful to monenergism. For our purposes in Egypt the event with Sophronius is an indicator of that debate. When the revered monk Sophronius read the content of the Union, similar to his encounter with John he went and confronted Cyrus regarding what he believed to be a grave error.   The meeting was dramatic, for Sophronius apparently bowed down and in weeping he prostrated himself before Cyrus begging him not to go forward with the enforcement of the Union (Maximus Confessor, Opuscula 12, in PG 91, 143C– D, trans. Booth, 2013A:209)(also in Maximus' Disputation:#154, trans. Farrell, 2015:Loc. 971-980).   The incident might have only remained a local event had it not been for a series of letters and responses to this meeting. Sophronius was so moved by concern for this perceived heresy that he personally went to

Patriarch Sergius in Constantinople to explain his doctrinal views and vigorously protest.

That meeting apparently had a profound effect on the mind of Sergius, for his response is

not simply one of rejection but accommodation and measured response.   This response

was in the form of a "Psephos" which literally means "resolution/vote".   This likely means

that the written response was in fact the record of a Synod or Council called by Sergius

among local Bishops to affirm that the change is in effect authoritative (ACO 2.II.2 p.542, see

Allen, 2009:Loc. 351). Sergius would have likely sent this decision to Cyrus, but what is

extant is a letter written to Pope Honorius explaining the events that led to the Psephos

(CPG 7606/ACO2.II.2, p. 534-546, see Allen, 2009). In this letter Sergius admits that he

discussed at length the difficulties Sophronius presented to him, and thus realized that

further problems would result from an insistence on the one activity "Energeia" of Christ. It

is clear that Sergius wanted to impress upon Sophronius the necessity of creating

harmonious fellowship, as it had been known for many years that no non-Chalcedonian

believers in Egypt had been willing to achieve unity with Chalcedon. Therefore, he wanted

to maintain momentum in the new relationship.

What is the solution then? Sergius asked Sophronius to no longer press the issue of

one or two activities in Christ, but to focus on the existing councils and writings of the

accepted Fathers of the church. He was sent back to Jerusalem with a letter affirming this

instruction in the event he were to come under pressure (ibid). Sergius also informs

Honorius that he sent details of these doctrinal affirmations and discussions on to Heraclius

for approval. The Emperor's response was positive, for he issued a 'Keleusis', which is a

rescript/declaration authorizing the language and actions of Sergius. This becomes the basis

for other action in 638, when Heraclius revisits the ongoing divisions and strengthens the

language of the Psephos into the legal document called the 'Ekthesis'.

After Sophronius returned to Jerusalem, he was elected Patriarch in 634. Part of his responsibilities as a new Patriarch was to write an encyclical Synodical letter instructing his flock as to the true faith and informing the other Patriarchs of the Catholic Church of his doctrinal statements ('credentials') in Orthodoxy. In this letter he does not violate his agreement to speak against the single "Energeia" in Christ, but chooses instead to affirm in careful language of two activities in Christ:

> He was the incarnate God the Word, who produced naturally from himself in an inseparable and unconfused manner each activity according to his own natures: according to his divine nature on the one hand, in accordance with which he was consubstantial with the Father, [he produced] his divine and unutterable activity; while according to his human nature on the other hand, in accordance with which the same one also remained consubstantial with us human beings, [he produced] his human and mundane activity, [each activity being] congenial to and befitting each nature (ACO II, 1, 410-494, trans. Allen, 2009:loc. 1121-1125).

True to his agreement with Sergius he does not choose to make direct polemic argument with one Energeia as opposed to two, but the above language makes it clear that he is not now nor will he ever be a proponent of monenergism.   His writing is one of positive statements regarding the nature of Christ as consistent with the formula of Chalcedon, not a Polemic against his fellow Patriarchs. He is essentially defending two activities/Energeia in Christ with the full and descriptive rhetoric as to why this is necessitated by the two natures doctrine of Chalcedon. He is careful to use the language of Cyril and Leo which places him in the safe tradition of the fathers but also at this tension filled time period he is making it clear that he is no ally of the anti-Chalcedonians who have joined the church under Cyrus. Cyrus would have normally received this letter in the normal

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course or correspondence. Therefore, this must have been cause for concern, as he would need as many allies as he could get in the days to come.

Sophronius also anathematizes Miaphysite Patriarch Benjamin I of Alexandria in this letter, which in all likelihood made the process of unity more difficult for Cyrus. Benjamin had already made his own decision for secretive exile in a parallel hierarchy of priests/monks, but Sophronius did not make the process for Cyrus any easier to reach out to him in reconciliation.   Sophronius had spent many years in Egypt as a highly respected Monk, therefore, his influence could potentially be destabilizing.

Sophronius' response does not isolate Cyrus from the process of seeking broader unity, and in fact Sergius recognizes the broader implication of the debate. For in his letter to Honorius, Sergius also records that he wrote a clear Christological definition to Cyrus, instructing him in the same way as he did Sophronius. This letter records the precise wording and is probably similar to the content of the Psephos:

> …a person should profess that one and the same only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God, performs both the divine and the human activities, and that every activity, both fitting for God and fitting for a human being, proceeds without division from one and the same incarnate God the Word, and is to be referred to one and the same [person], because the expression `one activity' (even if it was used by some of the holy Fathers) still alienates and confuses the ears of some, who suppose that it has been proposed in order to do away with the two natures which have been united without confusion and hypostatically in Christ our God   (CPG 7606/Allen, 2009: Kindle Loc. 1908-1911).

Sergius is writing to the Roman Pope in recognized language that can communicate the sense of rising tension and also the proposed solution. It is clear that in communicating

to a western Pope he has to choose the terms from Leo's Tome, as those would communicate well in his context. For example, the term 'person' is emphasized as it had been in Nicea and Chalcedon. He also goes on to include a discussion on the two energies as naturally producing the argument of the wills as activities of those 'Energeia', thus creating "two wills in mutual conflict." Therefore, in order to avoid such confusion, the language of energies/activities is from now on to be avoided. This is a rare clue into the development of the tensions in Egypt, for no clear record is available at present that shows if the monothelite (one-will) debate protruded itself into their local sphere. Monothelitism would come into full force later as a criteria for orthodoxy, but at this stage it was just beginning, and would not be resolved until the sixth ecumenical council in 680-81.

It would follow then that the Roman Pope Honorius would also use his influence in an attempt to lower tensions, as he desires that those within the fold of Chalcedon could still find grounds for unity. We have an extant letter, normally called the second letter to Sergius (CPG 9377/ACO 2.II.2, pp.620-624, see Allen, 2009: Loc. 2096-2134), whereby the desire to simplify language takes shape. He is responding to the situation as presented to him by Sergius before, this time informing him of his attempts to assist Cyrus. Like Sergius, he chooses to use the time honored language of Leo in order to make it clear what language should be able to maintain unity in the Chalcedon community. If Cyrus is developing the peace and unity of the church in Egypt, he should do so in a manner that does not further divide the primary 'Oikoumene'. The Term 'Oikoumene' is one that was used to describe the church-state relationship as a unified whole in Empire.

In further analysis one must consider how quickly Sergius chose to back away from the specific language of the one energy that he developed so carefully over time. One is

tempted to conclude that the desired result of the work since 623 was not being achieved, therefore an adjustment in strategy is necessary. If the compromise language was further fraying the Empire, then it was a direction not worth taking. Heraclius also took note and responded, but not until 638.   Church Unity was a tenuous and difficult process. Lines were drawn and redrawn, with the hopes of improving relations but without compromising on agreed essentials that had been hard fought for in generations past.

1.1 Unity by any Means (and Menas) necessary

Sawirus/Severus records for us in the *History of the Patriarchs* that two significant Bishops, Cyrus of Nikiu and Victor of Fayyum, agreed to the Union of 633 and began to bring their respective flocks with them. The power and influence of a Bishop could not be ignored in enforcing this Union, therefore, Cyrus also went to the extent of installing Bishops as far South as Antinoe (Evetts, PO I, 1907:492).[2] Sawirus adds an interesting detail here, specifically describing these new Bishops as a form of "persecution."   This is probably an indicator that when the Theodosians agreed to the union, not all churches or Monasteries in their communion would agree to the new reality, and so necessity demanded that a parallel ecclesiastical authority was set up in the countryside to bring order and administration.

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[2] The Sawirus/Severus I reference here is known as Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa, the traditionally recognized compiler of the Arabic version History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Atiya, 1991: CE :2100b-2102a). Recent scholarship however has replaced him as the original compiler since several scholars believe that the extant Arabic manuscripts are essentially the work of Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrij (Samir, 1975:156-157; den Heijer, 1984:336-347; DW Johnson, 1973; see den Heijer, 1996:72-73). This is due to the available recensions which were studied of the "Vulgate" Arabic text in use today translated by BT Evetts into English (den Heijer, 1991:CE:1239b-1242b). The recensions point to several lost Coptic texts, and for our purposes it should be noted that the specific text used in our time period was written in Coptic by one Archdeacon George (Jirja) (ibid.). It being that the Coptic text is not available, and that Sawirus was likely one of the earliest compilers of texts for Arabic use, I will retain this tradition in my reference during this study. Trombley appears to take the same approach yet chooses to refer to this author/compiler as "Ps. –Sawirus" (2006:131-152). Please note that in text references I will only use the name Evetts (1907 & 1910), as he is the editor and translator of the primary source that I have chosen to use. These works have passed through several hands over the centuries but are still respected as authoritative in this field of study, therefore I have chosen to use them extensively.

This detail bears significant influence later to the conquest of Egypt as various communities responded in their own unique way to the crisis.   They did so probably in order of degree to which they had been forcibly affected by Cyrus' actions.

Debate and resistance must have continued, for Cyrus developed a reputation for repression, violence, and the occasional favor, if that meant securing adherence to the new Union. Sawirus (Evetts, PO I, 1904:491), refers to these favors as both "bribes and honor." Therefore, depending upon the type and extent of resistance, Cyrus used the "appropriate" form of enticement towards unity. The key figure who would not allow himself to be enticed was Patriarch Benjamin I (590-661), who is described by Sawirus (Evetts, PO I, 1904:491) as leaving Alexandria and placing himself in secretive exile in Upper Egypt (as mentioned above). As Benjamin leaves, he instructs all of his Bishops to resist Cyrus to the point of death, and determines to provide leadership at a distance. This is also placed into the context of his brother, Menas, being tortured by Cyrus' enforcement staff and drowned with exceptional cruelty (Evetts, PO I, 1904:491-492).

What is important to note at this juncture is that Cyrus' actions are not isolated, and I believe that they are indicative of new policy that is driven by frustration. Sawirus' account above attributes the torture and death of Menas as an act of Heraclius.   Cyrus' actions then are interpreted as authorized by Heraclius' policy. Heraclius himself eventually chose added coercion in the quest for unity. This is corroborated in recognized sources. For example we have the Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus:

> When the Emperor went to Mabbough (Hierapolis), he was approached by Patriarch Mar Athanasius and twelve bishops, from whom he asked a declaration of faith which they gave to him. After having read it, the Emperor spoke to them with praise. But he pressed them

hard to accept Chalcedon. Since they would not consent, Heraclius was irritated and sent out a decree to the whole Empire: 'Anyone who will not adhere (to the Council), will have his nose and ears cut off and his house pillaged.' And so, many converted. The monks of Bet(h) Maron , of Mabbough and of Emesa showed their wickedness and pillaged a number of churches and monasteries. Our people complained to Heraclius, who did not answer them (trans. Hovorun, 2008:65, From Chron I 271-274).

Torture and mutilation were a documented tool in late antique Byzantium to ensure loyalty and as a public statement of culpability. Nicephorus (758-828) informs us that Heraclius mutilated one of his own (illegitimate) sons and his coconspirators as a form of punishment for disloyalty (Mango, 1990:73). We will see this abuse later as the Romans withdraw from Egypt during the Arab conquest.

The above mutilation account took place in Armenia, but it was not an isolated event. We also have further evidence from Syria:

After some days Heraclius went to Antioch. The Chalcedonians and the princes assembled and gave him this advice and counsel: The princes and clerics of the city conferred with each other and with men from the royal court and told the emperor: "Unless you visibly fight against that heresy [of Miaphysitism] which both the Greeks and the Romans loathe, your reign will not be a long one, and God will be dissatisfied with you. He will not let you overturn the efforts of so many men [who had supported Chalcedonian doctrine]. The deluded emperor, who cared more for human comforts than for the glory of God, issued an order that "No one should appear in my presence who does not hold the Chalcedonian doctrine. Moreover, let there be no trial for those who kill, rob and persecute [the Miaphysites]. And let them not dare to enter the Church cathedral (Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, trans. Bedrosian [123] p. 134).

Given the above evidence, this study would suggest that Cyrus felt compelled by Heraclius' orders to produce added pressure even to the point of violence if necessary. Michael the Syrian may accuse them of only seeking the comfort in personal and political terms, but for Cyrus Unity is interpreted in terms of life or death for the 'Oikoumene'. The recent success over the Persians gives Heraclius an unusual weight of authority and is currently perceived as one who has divinely been ordained to restore order. The aura of divine approval places extra pressure to make the new policy effective. It proves how tenuous and difficult it is to win public approval, therefore, Cyrus uses every effort at his disposal to ensure ecclesiastical-political harmony.

Also added to this dynamic during and after the Union of 633, are the growing signs of Arabic expansion. Recent events in Palestine reveal to Cyrus that a growing threat in the region makes it ever so important to establish a peaceful co-existence in Egypt. The Arabs began to penetrate Syria in late 633, and by 634 they are steadily making progress North and West. The first significant military loss by Byzantine forces occurred in that year near Gaza, and by 635 they were in control of Damascus. The attempted counteroffensive in 636 at Yarmuk was a complete and utter disaster for Heraclius. By 638 Sophronius had to surrender Jerusalem (Michael the Syrian: [#124]) as the Byzantine Empire did not have enough resources to stop the rising tide of Islam (Kaegi, 1995:67).

In 636 Cyrus took full notice of the events transpiring in Palestine/Syria and took action. Theophanes (AM6126;Turtledove, 1982:38) as well as several other sources[3] record for us that after the battle of Yarmuk, Cyrus approved a Peace treaty with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ for

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[3] Agapius: Universal History, http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/agapius_history_02_part2.htm; Michael the Syrian, Chronicle [#124] trans. Bedrosian, 1871; Sawirus, History of the Patriarchs, Evetts, 1907:493.; Nicephorus, Short History [#23]:71 trans. Mango.

a sum of 200,000 Denarii/Solidi (other sources differ on the amount) per annum. This was

not an unusual step at the time, for Heraclius had also made a similar non-aggression treaty

with the Avars in 623 (Nicephorus [#13], Mango, 1990:59).   However, during or after three

years of the negotiated treaty (ca. 639), Cyrus is brought before the Emperor under a charge

of treason, for Heraclius perceives him to be allowing the Arabs to take excessive monies

that by law were to be brought to the treasury. Therefore, Cyrus was accused of

"surrendering to the Saracens all the affairs of Egypt" (Nicephorus, [24], Mango, 1990:75).

The Chronicle of Nicephorus also gives us some specific detail regarding this trial before the

emperor, as Cyrus attempts to explain that a commercial tax raised in Egypt would provide

for the cost of the treaty and preserve the peace. He even goes one step further, in so far as

to suggest to the Emperor that he offer his daughter in marriage to ʿAmr in the hopes that

he also might receive Christian Baptism (ibid.). Several sources record Heraclius' anger at

these suggestions, and the resultant banishment for Cyrus (Michael the Syrian [126],

Nicephorus [24]). In his place a Military governor is installed, named Manuel, who proceeds

to Babylon in Egypt to confront ʿAmr and refuse to pay the tax/treaty. Consequently the

Arabs see this as a break with the treaty and attack. Manuel fails to understand Arab tactics

or strength, and has to retreat in haste to Alexandria (Theophanes, AM 6126 [338],

Turtledove, 1982:38). Cyrus is only restored to his See by Martina and Heraclonas after the

death of Heraclius in September of 641 (Chronicle of Nikiu, [119.22]; trans. Charles,

1916:190).

It is during this period that Heraclius desires to revisit the unifying theme of

monenergism in a new package as an attempt to bring factions together in a time of crisis.

The loss of Palestine and Syria had cost him bitterly, and the threat of also losing Egypt

could have influenced him to seek a rallying point, for actual treachery within his own ranks

and its continual threat appeared now and again. This unifying idea found its expression in

the Ekthesis, a legal document requiring that all further debate and disagreement on the

"Energeia" is to be stopped, and that the issue of one activity has now coalesced into the

singular issue of one will in Christ (CPG 7607/ACO I, I, 152, see Allen, 2009:Loc. 2137-2225).

This is an attempt to refocus the entire Oikoumene on to a related topic of Christology, in

order that the perennial debate regarding nature, substance, and activities can now be

relegated as a historical process and now no longer necessary. This point belongs in our

debate, for we know that Cyrus did indeed receive this document and was a willing

proponent of the statement as he mentions this in his third letter to Sergius (Reidinger,

1984:172; Booth, 2016:512). This is essentially a delayed response to Sophronius' Synodical

letter and the Psephos.

The Ekthesis failed in its objectives, for following the death of Heraclius (January,

641), a bitter succession drama ensued and the state fell further into loss.   There was the

horrendous failure to regain territory, and the soul searching Byzantine state found in

further reflection that internal strife was costly. It was during this succession phase that

Cyrus was restored to office, and was given the task to return to Egypt and make peace with

the Arabs in the hope of returning to a status quo as a Roman Province (Chronicle of Nikiu,

[119.22]; trans. Charles, 1916:190).   While he was in exile several attempts had been made

at military organization and preservation of territory, but there was continual Roman

military failure and administrative dissention at every turn. The Union and the Ekthesis

were still in force, for Cyrus apparently represents at this stage a rapprochement between

parties, as he is now authorized by Martina and Heraclonas to restore the previous peace

treaty and make amends where possible.   The Arabs by this time had achieved victory over

almost the entire province, therefore attempted negotiation at this late stage of 641 was an act of faith.

Cyrus once again is chief negotiator and peacemaker, a position that he is uniquely qualified for. However, his previous experience and development cannot be built upon, for while he was away in exile the political landscape has changed, and the security situation has deteriorated even more. The new military administrators were not as committed to the Oikoumene in the same sense Cyrus understood it. For these generals were divided over the very doctrine that Heraclius, Sergius, and Cyrus had sought unity over. Also, the divide was not merely doctrinal, for these alliances were also intricately political. Booth (2016:528-541) develops well the idea that the division on a surface level surrounded that of those who were for or against Martina and her son Heraclonas in leading the Empire (Nikiu, [120.1],Charles, 1916:191).   Booth also suggests that on a deeper level what she represents is the idea of the broader concept of Oikoumene as bringing all believers in Christ together under the Unionist agenda of Heraclius and Cyrus (i.e. Ekthesis) (2016:528-541). But the reaction to that is a fear that the Unions have brought God's wrath, and that the Muslim successes are punishment for unfaithfulness; therefore, the response in repentance should be one of "*akribea*", that is, even more complete submission to the doctrinal confession of Chalcedon. Among these there were those who saw the new Political rulers as products of an incestuous relationship. Therefore, the son produced had no right to sit on the throne, even though Heraclius had clearly determined legally for him in proper succession (Nikiu, [120.2], trans. Charles, 1916:191).   What they represented was an unholy compromise.

Cyrus returns into this menagerie in full force having to work with a fractured administration. In contrast to the "*akribea*" of a strict subscription and a militaristic response he demonstrates his commitment to the Union but in the broader concept of Oikoumene. He does this as he arrives in Egypt, by choosing to find a safe and secret place among the Theodosian monks (called Tabenna by Nikiu's translators (Booth, 2013B:669)) in order to have an effective meeting with the current military leaders. This apparently was to settle disputes and divisions. Nikiu describes the division lines that he (Cyrus) found among the military administrators were apparently drawn as follows: Domentianus aligned himself with Martina in counsel; therefore, at least in theory with Cyrus. General Theodore who is charge of the military is aligned with Menas, who is very opposed to Domentianus because of his character and failure to lead under pressure in battle (He runs from his troops at Nikiu when attacked). Menas in turn is also angry with Eudocianus because he persecuted/tortured the orthodox/non-Chalcedonians in Babylon when it was surrendered during Easter (Nikiu [117], Charles, 1916:186-187). As the remaining Roman territory dwindles, a high official named Philiades comes into the Alexandrian region under the protection of Menas, yet abuses that relationship in order to plot and gain power. This in turn causes riots in which Domentianus uses the "Blues" circus faction in order to quell the disturbance. Theodore in turn deposes Domentianus for this action. When Cyrus is restored and returns to the political quagmire in Alexandria Domentianus is banished (despite what should have been an alliance). Nikiu makes a poignant comment on all this chaos when he adds this commentary, "It has been said that this strife and tumult originated in religious dissensions" which should be mainly interpreted in this context as Christological polarization (Nikiu, [119.17]; trans. Charles, 1916:190). This rapid array of chaotic relational details by Nikiu demonstrate that the Unionist project had failed. The

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Interruption of Cyrus' process in developing the Oikoumene with an intervening confusion of *internal* fighting made for an ineffective fighting force. Current analysis would suggest that Cyrus recognized this intractable situation, and realized that the best course of action was to organize terms of a peaceful withdrawal and workable conditions for the people of the lost province (Nikiu, [120.17-19], Charles, 1916:193).   The administrative structure with an assumed form of Oikoumene had failed miserably at its greatest stress test when it needed to rise up to meet the crisis.

In the aftermath of this loss, Cyrus himself shows the firm personal conviction of his vision of the Oikoumene by the manner in which he dies. The expectation of success, the anticipation of peace, and the classical structure of Byzantium were so ingrained into his consciousness, that the reality of failure was practically impossible to absorb. Nikiu records for us what I believe to be a genuine psycho-somatic response, for his grief and depression are so visceral that his whole person rejects the reality presented and refuses to live in it (Nikiu, [120.36-38]; trans. Charles, 1916:195-196).

This array of interrelated conflict fits our purposes well, for the proposition of this study is that Christological convictions formed a basis for interaction, conflict, and response.

1.2 Post Conquest Response of the Chalcedonian community to the new State

The Crisis of the Arab conquest did not merely reveal itself as an opportunity for economic and political power for individuals. Religious convictions are indeed serious matters and those firmly convicted of one particular confession will find ways to express that and remain vigilant under pressure. For we find that the Chalcedon/Miaphysite divide still remains in force after the Arab conquest. Many choose to remain with the confession

agreed upon with Cyrus even though he was violent and appeared to be duplicitous. Sawirus records:

> "So likewise the bishops, who had denied their faith, he (Benjamin I) invited to return to the orthodox creed; and some of them returned with abundant tears; but the others would not return through shame before men, that it should be known among them that they had denied the faith, and so they remained in their misbelief until they died (Evetts, PO I, 1904:497)."

Theological points of view were and are deeply thoughtful persuasions often taken soberly. Obviously this is not always the case, yet many communities in our research time frame have indeed taken the step to remain in the confession associated with the failed Byzantine Empire. This demonstrates a deeply held conviction for some, and as we will see below, political and economic advantage for others. Common to all confessions of this period is the sense that the radical change of rule of the province is due to the sin of either a specific community or collectively as a whole (Nikiu [120.33]; trans. Charles, 1916:194). Nikiu gets very specific in his description of the sin which gave the Arabs success:

> 'No son shall sit on his father's throne so long as the creed of the Chalcedonians prevails, who say that there were two natures in Christ after they became one, a creed which we cannot profess. Their doctrine that the manhood and the Godhead are two distinct natures after having become united, we believers cannot teach. It is not fitting that we should speak as the heretics.' ([120.56]; trans. Charles, 1916:198)

Nikiu is quoting from a prophecy of Severus of Antioch, found in a letter which he wrote to a Patrician during the Reign of Anastasius (Papaconstantinou, 2006:70 n.20). It is very pertinent to our discussion to note this for at the very point in time of the conquest, Nikiu wishes to vividly place fault on the heads of Chalcedonians.

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One observed expression of Chalcedonian value in crisis is the appointment of a new Patriarch after Cyrus. As the Governor Theodore and the last Roman General Constantine depart Egypt in 642, they appoint Peter, Deacon of Alexandria, as the Patriarch for the Chalcedonian Church in Egypt.   It could have been interpreted from their viewpoint that this indeed was to be the Patriarch for all Christians. I would like to suggest this as their last act of conformity to the "Oikoumene", for they represent the final expression of the authority of the Emperor.   The Emperor could place Patriarchs in their position of authority when needed, and in this case when all former internal administrative structures for choosing a Patriarch appear (in their view) to be absent, then placing a Patriarch is consistent with the idea of the State being the protector and guide to the church as Justinian expected to be able to do. Theodore and Constantine act on a sense of responsibility to believers everywhere, regardless of who may be the "state" after their departure (Nikiu [120.71]; trans. Charles, 1916:200). Peter eventually chooses to live in Constantinople, but the internal affairs of the Chalcedonian church in Egypt are not interfered with in the same manner as before (Wilfong, 1998: 194, 198).

We should not be surprised to find that Chalcedonian notables, priests, and Bishops maintained considerable influence and power well after their "Oikoumene" has been formally removed. This is in part due to the fact that early Muslim governors simply had little interest in the internal disagreements among Christians until the 8th century. Therefore, they are already ensconced by virtue of the Union policies of Cyrus, and can remain in their respective positions as they manage the affairs given to them by the new governor (Sijpesteijn, 2007: 183-184).

To demonstrate this idea, notable Chalcedonians are mentioned by Nikiu as actually participating in the conquest and also in its aftermath: Menas, who was Prefect of Lower Egypt both before and after the conquest; Shenoute as Prefect/Governor of Rif; Philoxenos as Prefect/Governor of Arcadia/Fayyum Delta (Nikiu [120.29]; trans. Charles, 1916:195). These men are described as those who "hate Christians", for they demanded high amounts of labor and resources as the new administration sets a mechanism in place to meet Arab expectations. What Nikiu's opinion demonstrates is the continuing competition and struggle between the two groups and the animosity of feeling. I would suggest that this is not a mere struggle for power position before the face of a new authority in political terms, but also that positions of power can be interpreted by communities as divine favor. Chalcedonians may not have the power of Empire to bolster their position, but they have their own doctrine, and the presumed divine power to rule well over others because of an assumed superior world and life view.

This concept can be demonstrated in the abuse of position and power. During the Patriarchy of Agathon (661-677), this Coptic (anti-Chalcedonian) leader was put under enormous financial and physical stress by the Chalcedonian Theodore, governor of Alexandria and Maryut. What is most striking is Theodore's extensive effort to receive unique powers by traveling to Damascus in order to gain a special "diploma", a document signed by Yazid (son of Mu'āwiyah).   With this power in hand he proceeds to place the large (sometimes (7000 denarii) tax burden on Agathon, especially as it relates to the needs of the developing Arab Navy.   He also restricts Agathon to his cell, giving permission for others to stone him if he leaves it. By this isolation the governor can limit his influence (Evetts, PO V, 1910:6-9). Theodore however is isolated from his fellow Chalcedonians, probably due to a silent acknowledgement that his actions are abusive and therefore immoral. In time his

abuses are found out by the Arab governor Maslama ibn Mukhallad (Mikhail, 2014:Loc. 2762), and he is replaced by the magistrate (judge/qadi) Isaac (Evetts, PO V, 1910:6-9). The above account indicates Theodore's insistence that the "Oikoumene" takes a new definition under the Arabs, thus he travels to the new 'Emperor' (Caliph) to secure power and wealth. This would be standard procedure under the Romans and he transposes this into a worldview that fits his selfishness, as well as his cultural expectation.

Abuse also takes form in the scramble between these groups for the ownership and control of churches. The majority of the churches in and around Alexandria at the time of the conquest would have been Chalcedonian (mostly due to the work of Cyrus). This state of affairs apparently is maintained until the time of governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwan (685-705), who took a greater interest at that time in the majority anti-Chalcedonian church. Indirect evidence for this is found in the activities of the Chalcedonian Patriarch Kosmas (727-768). Kosmas gives us an indication of the previous privileged status of the Chalcedonian churches by his intense efforts to petition the Caliph Hisham (724-743) in order to receive back the churches previously taken and also to recognize his election to the Patriarchate (Christides, 2017:8). This is probably indicative of the previous Caliph, Marwan I's choice to prefer the anti-Chalcedonians and allow them to build churches and recover some from the days of Cyrus (this to be developed more in the next section). What should also be noted is that churches were significant not only in historical status, but also important financial centers as they received tithes and often owned productive property (Mikhail, 2014:loc. 4785). This is demonstrated by the actions of Patriarch Kosmas, who specifically petitioned to receive back the church of St. Menas at Maryut, as it was well known and respected throughout the province for its history of miracles. The Governor appointed an experienced Judge to settle the matter and through a series of investigative

history and cross examination, the anti-Chalcedonians won the day and maintained the church as their own (Evetts, PO V, 1910:119-132). Once Kosmas realizes that he will not able to regain the church property, he decides to use these discussions as a means of reconciliation with the Miaphysite majority. In this once in a lifetime confrontation, both confessional communities have the opportunity to speak openly about their differences and seek a common solution that has eluded them for centuries:

> ….the priest Menas had addressed Cosmas with words of Scripture, for he was learned, then Cosmas heard from him the words of the (Coptic) patriarch. For Menas began with the creed of our fathers, the Three Hundred and Eighteen, and Athanasius and Cyril, and confirmed the matter with a great and terrible oath, before the Melkite patriarch and Constantine, the Melkite bishop of Misr; and they made their confession (Evetts, PO V, 1910:111, 127).

Kosmas may have made a concerted effort to reunite the two confessions (Evetts, PO V, 1910:128), but the bitter memory of Cyrus and the sufferings of the conquest were too ingrained into the public consciousness to allow it. For a brief period there was a unification of necessity, as Caliph Marwan II (744-750) put the two Patriarchs together (Khail I and Kosmas) in prison under the accusation of conspiracy in 749 (Evetts, PO V, 1910:161).

Theophanes claims that Kosmas was the Chalcedonian Patriarch in Egypt to end the influence of the Monothelite doctrine of a single will in Christ (AM 6234: Turtledove, 1982:170). Yet the existing normative literature and histories do not support this, as the liturgies and statements recorded for the 7th century in Egypt do not express the specifics of the doctrine of the one will as can readily be found in Syrian or other Greek sources. Monothelitism was essentially laid to rest by the sixth ecumenical council in Constantinople in 680-681, during a time where all of Egypt is adjusting to a radical new reality, and I would

suggest that little time or energy is available to be debating the language of monothelitism between the two communities.   The above mentioned Patriarch Peter chose to live in Constantinople even though his see was in Alexandria. This is an indicator that the fear of all communities was intense, because the demands on time and resources were pushed to extreme limits. This in no way contradicts our argument that presuppositions of theology affected reactions to Arab rule. For the theological systems in place have been in development since the 5th century, and now in a stress test of emotions and thoughts, the outcome of that world and life view should be able to be measured. It is measured in the reaction of trying to hold on to prestigious churches (associated with miracles and holy men), and in the very worship that they hold dear, as well as the financial income they represent.

1.3 Worship as measured action in Christology

The worship in view can also be measured or observed in terms of liturgy. The order of worship in scripture readings, prayers, and specific hymns all come together in an organized expression of adoration to God in the specific terms of the confession held. The Alexandrian rite of St. Mark was probably the most common and oldest form of Liturgy in the region. Subsequent forms found in the "Prayers of Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis (c. 359) (Rodopoulos, 1957:256-257), and the Deir al-Balyzeh Papyrus (Jasper & Cuming, 1987:77-78, ref. to MS. Gr. liturg. d. 4) show that a localized development of Eucharistic worship unique to Egypt came, yet without much discernible distinction between confessional communities. Yet with all of the controversies of Christology these were bound to change and adapt forms of worship (Davis, 2008:87). Both communities tended to share a common rite of liturgy, but with time and continued argument, further separate identities required a unique liturgy.

In this particular case, it is Chalcedon, and the emphasis here is laid on the Trinity and its relation to persons in the Godhead, as they are worshiped in unity while also recognizing their coordinated economy of natures in salvation. In The Chalcedonian liturgy of this time period, a particular hymn in the process of the liturgy was practiced, called the "Trishagion" (Thrice Holy). Taft (1991:2121) informs us that this very hymn was a point of distinction for Chalcedonians. At the beginning of their Eucharist service, this Trishagion hymn is sung, "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Have mercy on us!"   As the 7th century Christological conflicts unfolded, the phrase was modified in order to pointedly look to the Trinity, "Holy God (Father), Holy Mighty One (Son), Holy Mighty One (Spirit), have mercy on us!" The point to be made here is that each **person** is now more fully made clear in Trinity as a substantive to be worshipped.   This at least is the interpretation to be made of this phrase according to Germanos I (Patriarch of Constantinople 715-730) who in all likelihood was maintaining contact with Alexandria (CE:2278a-2279a) .

Of critical note in the practice of Liturgy is its full and true effect, The Deir al-Balyzeh papyrus gives us insight into the Sacerdotal import of the rite:

> Fill us also with the glory from (you), and vouchsafe to send down your Holy Spirit upon these creatures (and) make the bread the Body of our (Lord and) Savior Jesus Christ, and the cup…the blood of our Lord and… (Jasper & Cuming, 1987:78).

Sacerdotal power in the hands of the priest is a great influential power. As these priests/monks debate the finer points of the body and blood of Christ (two natures), they distribute a distinct message of grace and expectation to the receiver. In the mind of the one trained in the Oikoumene, nothing could be more important than to understand this great mystery, and to be able to administer this sacrament with full confidence that the

Eucharist is effective in its work. For from it the expected peace and prosperity of the lay person as well as high ranking administrator could have the sense of expectation that his relationships with the Arab state would have harmony. With harmony can come the expectation that the "Symphony" so long desired beforehand by the Emperor could now also be achieved. Regardless then of the specific state authority, church members and church hierarchy desired a peaceful environment.

2.0 The State of the State in the stature of Christ: 7th Century Miaphysite Theology in practice.

I would like to take a two hundred year focused look at the development of anti-Chalcedon theology and its development. The intention is to show that Egyptian bishops and monks initially had no desire to create a separate ecclesiastical entity, but indeed that is what developed as Constantinople lost influence in the province. I will also be demonstrating the consistent desire by all parties to achieve an Oikoumene, meaning a Christian Kingdom held together by a "Christ-Loving" Emperor who held to the *right* faith, who would protect the Church. The eventual separation was due from the necessity of maintaining local liturgical and language integrity, and a similar demand on both sides to have the best possible understanding of the unity of the person of Christ and his work in the world. After the conquest, the vast majority of the remaining Christian confession is that of the resistance to Chalcedon. As such the remaining Bishop of the majority confession, Benjamin I, seeks to establish the best possible church-state relations with an entity that is still in its nascent stage. A proper Christian community was impossible without it. The abstractions of the union of the natures after the hypostasis in Christ was necessary to

carefully debate and develop over time, yet that time had now arrived to make full application of its theology into the milieu of Arab demands.

If to know the divine is to know madness than certainly the Eastern Roman desire to know the divine essence in action would bear that conclusion, if one only measures that in an ecclesio-political framework. Long before the 7th century disaster of fragmented Empire in the Church-State of classical construction, a concerted and serious effort is being made to understand the divine action as it relates to human salvation. Therefore, the very nature of words and their meaning is debated both in the classical style of the philosophical schools, and also at the same time debated in light of the world and life view of Biblical Scripture.

What is required for our purposes is to go two centuries before the crisis of the 7th century in order to understand how the disparate groups came to the reactions of that crisis. The philosophical schools of which Christian intellectuals appropriated language to defend the faith during Roman persecution now needed to be used to maintain if not develop classical Roman culture, all while carefully defining the person of Christ against heretics. Therefore, the debate of the meaning of Physis (nature), hypostasis, (individuality), and prosopon (personality) are not merely about politicized slogans for which individuals find a raison d'etre, but a sincere desire to ensure divine blessing by an in depth process of defining the nature of Christ. If this can be accomplished, then the priest who properly comprehends Christ will bless and distribute the Eucharist properly and thus will be dispensing grace (in their view) that the Roman "Oikoumene" desperately needs to survive.

2.1 The Focus Point of Offense at Chalcedon

This debate then over the very nature of words which define reality for both Christ and mankind are brilliantly illustrated in the formula of the Council of Chalcedon (October,

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451). The famous four terms: unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, and inseparably, used to describe the two natures of Christ, are the very bedrock of debate that propel a reaction for the Monophysite/Miaphysite[4] (anti-Chalcedonian) movement in generations to come. It should be noted that at the outset of the reactions to this formula, no one directly stated that they were creating a schism in order to create a separatist organization. The very fabric of Christian hierarchal Bishops and the structure of dioceses were designed to have both unity and uniformity with a form of communication to that end. This also did not stand on its own but had State authority to both finance and enforce this structure and the unity expected from it. Both Eastern and Western Bishops expected nothing less.

The Empire had a vested interest in this process of defining Christ, for it desperately needed to hold both Western and Eastern Bishops and their interests in equilibrium. Chalcedon was definitely an occasion where both Western and Eastern forms of theology and language could have their encounter and then so find a path toward an agreement. As significant as the famous four terms are, they are but a part of a process not only to define Christ's being but then also to define his purpose. The purposeful conclusion drawn from

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[4] Monophysite/Monophysitism is a term that has been used in scholarship for many years, yet I wish to use Miaphysite/Miaphysitism as the descriptor of anti-Chalcedonian identified groups in this study. Monophysitism is proper to the original Eutychian heresy condemned by all parties researched in this study, therefore it doesn't represent the Christology held by the anti-Chalcedonian movement that developed in Egypt. Lusier argues that Miaphysitism does not follow proper structure of Greek compound words (2013:305). This is true, but I will take a point of departure here, as my aim to use an accurate term that reflects the self-conscious development of Christology as it is known in Egypt for our period, and is also recognized by current scholarship. Lebon in his excellent study noticed a distinction for moderate form of Monophysitism (1909; see Brock, 2016:48 n. 10). Further scholars, such as CDG Müller suggested Miaphysite, which places emphasis on 'one nature', whereas Monophysitism is an emphasis on an 'only' identified nature (1977:526). Winkler is most helpful in distinguishing a Monophysitism of several types, for the classical Eutychian heresy is understood as "The divinity is the principle of union and the humanity is absorbed into it", and developed Severan Miaphysitism as "There is one united nature with the dynamic continued existence of the divinity and the humanity" (1997:37; see also Winkler, 2016:23). Brock and Winkler both desire to show some form of "ecumenical courtesy", but that is not my aim here (Brock, 2016:51, Winkler, 1997:49). I am choosing a term that best reflects the status of self-identified Christological groups of our defined period of study. Winkler's recent review of the scholarship on the use of diachronically associated terms is helpful here (2016).

them is likely the most important: "…but in the last times for us, and for our salvation [born] of the virgin Theotokos, as to the manhood….made known to us *in two natures*…" (ACO 2.I.2, 2.2, p. 598, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.59, 70, 2.204)(emphasis mine). It is this phrase "*in* two natures" that created such a difficult problem for the Eastern Bishops and Monks.

Prior to and hence after Chalcedon, there are two schools of thought on the natures of Christ in the incarnation. The first, that of the Eastern Bishops and Monks, we call "***Out*** of two natures." This in essence is a construction that focuses on the result of the one hypostasis. To wit, this formula claims that salvation is contained in the union of the divine and human into one being or subject. Therefore, to speak of two natures is not nearly as important as what is the result of those two natures: a singular being (subject) who contains within himself the mystery of restoring man to God. This restoration according to the Eastern tradition is often spoken of as deification, which will be developed below (pp. 320-331).

The second school is Western in origin and is centered in the phrase, "***In*** two natures", and is the language of the formula of Chalcedon. This phrase reflects an emphasis in Western thought on the reality of Christ's permanent connection to humanity (Price & Gaddis, 2005:2.190-191). This grounds the atonement in a true physical death on the cross, but also by virtue of his obedience and example, it is humanities' access to communion with God, especially as our High Priest. This idea was well developed in the famous Tome of Leo, a letter written in June of 449 as a response to the high drama surrounding the debate. In that letter the significance of "in two natures" takes shape: two natures are united without change, without division, and without confusion in Christ (ACO 2.1.2, p.215; Mansi VII, Col.105, see Schaff, 2004:76).

As succinct and direct as these arguments are presented, they stand in context of human personality and political mindset focused on a theological agenda. For our purposes the personalities found in Egypt will move us toward the goal of understanding the practice of a Church-State. One of the more colorful personalities needed in this understanding is that of Dioscorus of Alexandria (d.454). As former secretary to the highly respected and erudite Patriarch theologian Cyril, he had the agenda of maintaining and promoting his spiritual father's legacy. His actions prior to Chalcedon are the very focal point of the rationale to call for a council. He was known as a tyrant in his see (Hardy, 1946:88-92), and was thought to have used violence against other Bishops when it suited his purposes (ACO 2.1.1 p. 27, 28, 143, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.39). This heavy handed approach gave him a reputation that preceded him before any council. Therefore, if he was behind a particular movement of procedure of theology or even lent his support to it, the issue at hand was already a crisis (Frend, 2008:6).

Therefore, at the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon when the vote was cast in regards to the formula proposed, the imperial commissioners did not ask the Bishops if they were voting (Judging) "In two natures", or "Out of two natures", the question was placed in terms of Leo vs. Dioscorus (Price & Gaddis, 2005:2.200). To politicize the vote in this way made it very difficult for the Egyptian Bishops who were committed to the theology of Cyril. They would just as soon have the question be in reference to Cyril, not his protégé. In fact, all present at the council whether East or West, had concluded by virtue of the debate in the fifth session that they were in agreement with Cyril's theology (Price & Gaddis, 2005:2.189-191, 199).

Therefore, our quest for a practical Egyptian theology and an understanding of its reaction to Chalcedon is a failure without an excursus into the theology of Cyril. (412-444). A brilliant scholar and tactician, he was one of the rare minds of the time who could hold in balance both Western and Eastern mindsets, and so form words in context that both could agree on. However, much like his follower Dioscorus, he was comfortable with heavy use of power, even to the point of using mob psychology and mob justice when it suited his purposes (Bell, 1941:17). He comes to the forefront of the development of Christology during the crisis with Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople (386-450). Nestorius created a furor by refusing to use the well accepted term Theotokos (God bearer) to describe Mary, for fear that such a use of terms offended/minimized the divinity of Christ. Cyril's response to him came in the form of three letters (429-430), which form the bedrock of future evaluation of Christology for the whole empire, especially the Eastern Bishops, and is the basis for critique in both the council of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

In these letters Cyril is attempting to convince Nestorius to stop attacking the use of the term "Theotokos" for the sake of the peace of the Church. In the second of these Cyril displays before him his in-depth understanding of the incarnation. For Cyril, Christ did not become man in order to fulfill a desire or a pleasure of will. The Union is of a completely different category; that of an abstract divine order, and as such is of an ineffable and in an unconceivable manner (Ep. 4:48-49, PG77; Bindley, 1899:102-107). Cyril is explaining that in the teaching of Nicea the Union is personal, where Christ is united with flesh animated by a rational soul and that though they were different, the Word retains its full divinity. Therefore, the two natures of Christ are perfected in one Lord who without contradiction is both Christ and Son. "The Word became flesh" does not mean that he was united to a human person (so as to make two persons), but that he took on human nature, and did so

with a human mother, Mary. Therefore, Cyril confesses that Mary is not the bearer of the Godhead, but the bearer of the body and soul which were united to the Logos (Bindley, 1899:113-114).

The third letter (Ep. 17, PG77; Bindley, 1899:121-133; Wickham, 1983:17-33) is result of the correspondence between Rome and Constantinople, for the exchange between the two Bishops now had become the concern of the Oikoumene (The Christian world/Kingdom) and The Emperor. This document is very instructive Christologically, and further becomes a foundation for action and yet also is responsible for further debate. The tone of the letter is serious, with a warning of possible excommunication and the demand for his opponent to recant previous statements (line 41 in Bindley, 1899:122, 134). The manner of recantation specified is the demand that he subscribe to 12 specific anathemas contained in the letter. These anathemas become legendary in future debate and their inclusion and exclusion are the very source of argument in many encounters.

What is very helpful in this letter for our purposes is that for Cyril the Union of natures is to be protected and understood at all costs in its ineffable sense as a divine mystery (Article 1, Bindley, 1899:144-147). The Union is not a conjunction, or an accident, nor of a "God-Carrying man", but is a true hypostasis, one person in two natures (or simply put, a substance within another distinct substance without a perfect definition of the mode of subsistence) (Bindley, 1899:128, 140, 262, especially 265-266). In order to demonstrate this reality in its fullest sense, it is absolutely necessary to say that "The Word himself suffered and died in the flesh" (Article 12, Bindley, 1899: 158, 271). One key phrase written here that would echo and reverberate throughout the Empire is "One hypostasis of the Incarnate Word" (ὑποσάτσει μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη)(line 246, Bindley, 128,

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140, 266). This would become both the rallying cry of the anti-Chalcedonians and the very statement to cause further misunderstanding in subsequent councils and debate. This phrase is meant by Cyril to more carefully explain his previous phrase "One nature of the incarnate Word", but in so doing he opens the door for confusion between the meaning of hypostasis and nature (Bindley, 1899:141). Frend (2008:19) explains this use of the terms as a way to describe "an inner quality of existence". Bindley (1899:141) describes the use as an attempt to explain that the Person of the Word did not experience change by virtue of the incarnation. Yet to use terms taken from previous ecumenical confessions (with precise definitions) and then use the one term to explain the other without clarification, created an ambiguity with long term misunderstanding for both Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

When John of Antioch (Bishop 428-441) read the 12 anathemas, he understood them as Apollinarian (Christ adopted a human body, not a human person (McGuckin, 2004:22), which had been condemned at the Council in Constantinople (380). During that period of the late 4th century many forgeries were being made of the different fathers, and perhaps Cyril thought that he was quoting Athanasius. Scholars are divided as to whether Cyril was developing his own Apollinarian theology (Frend, 2008:19) (Ebied & Wickham, 1971:425) or was unaware of his use of a forgery that he assumed was the work of Athanasius (Bindley, 1899:141) (Kelly, 1968:319). Regardless of the intent or their sources, John made formal charges of Heresy against Cyril at the Council of Ephesus in June of 431 (Schaff, NPNF2-14, 2005:457-458).

Yet Cyril was fully in charge of that Council, having written the Roman Pope beforehand and having secured the full support of the Emperor's representative and Augusta Pulcheria (Chew, 2006:217-219). Therefore, he and the Empress were successful in

deposing Nestorius from his See. The clear result from the perspective of the Alexandrians

is the complete and total vindication of their theology. Twenty years later when a new crisis

raises the call for a clear definition of Christ, it is Cyril's theology which is firmly established

as the confessional standard by which language is assessed.

In the intervening twenty years Cyril had yet another challenge to face, that of John

of Antioch who had accused him of Apollinarianism and had attempted to have him

excommunicated at Ephesus. John was willing to forgo his claim for the sake of unity in

deposing Nestorius, provided that they were able to come to a clear understanding of one

another. Through careful letter writing and personal diplomacy, a Formula of Reunion was

drawn up in April of 433. What we have of that reconciliation is a letter written from Cyril to

John ("Laententur Caeli", Cyril Ep. 39; Bindley, 1899:166-172). In this letter we have critical

information on Alexandrine Christology and the background for Chalcedon. Cyril wrote that

Christ was: of two natures; in a union without confusion, mixture, or blending (line 127,

135); consubstantial with the Father as to his divinity; consubstantial with us as to his

humanity (Line 71); The Godhead is impassible but we say that he suffered for us in his flesh

by means of "economic appropriation" (Line 151 in Bindley, 1899:173, 175, 272-278). This is

all language that we anticipate with the development of Chalcedon. What is surprising with

all of the rancor and power politics is Cyril's admittance that the division and political rancor

was unnecessary (Ep. 39, ACO 1.1.4, p.19; see Wickham, 1983:222). Essentially what these

two theologians are recognizing is that they define terms differently in their own respective

regions. One group understands the single personality and subject in Christ with two

natures common to it (East). In contrast, the opposition understands this one personality

with a very clear distinction of natures (West). Both claim to be consistent with Nicea. For a

time, a détente in language of the union of the two natures is agreeable to Alexandrians.

The famous phrase of one nature of the Word Incarnated would not yet become a battle cry. Cyril's subtle willingness to change emphasis only brought peace for a short time because all sides mutually understood what their respective terminology meant. Yet in his own private correspondence he claimed that he had not acquiesced to anything of major significance (Ep. 45, ACO 1.1.6, p.151-157; see Wickham, 1983:83).

The result is that the Alexandrians could afford to be more generous with their language for a time, for they had the envious position of primacy of influence. It was at this juncture after Cyril's death (444), a new challenge to Alexandrine influence brought another round of discord. The Bishop to address this new generation was our aforementioned Dioscorus, who had been trained and prepared by Cyril. The crisis that Dioscorus would create in his manner of leadership was not a small matter, but neither was heresy. Regardless of personalities, the peace and the purity of the church would be sought, at least in terms Dioscorus thought necessary. The subsequent contest was for primacy in interpreting Cyril for the church (Davis, 2008:49).

Dioscorus had a clear politico-ecclesiastical agenda to take Cyril's theology to what he determined was its next logical step. In this agenda the "two natures" theology that accommodated a previous generation should be swept away entirely, for the sacramental church need only concern herself with the single subject of Christ after the Union (Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.29-31). In order to move this agenda forward and have the political power to do so, the 'Oikoumene' in Empire would need to recognize that Alexandria was fully an Apostolic See (Daley, 1993:542). In order to get to that high level of power and influence, one would need great diplomatic tact and skill. However, what Dioscorus understood was raw power, political timing, and a firm mind. This approach may work if you have complete

support of your Bishops and Monks, of which in Egypt there where tens of thousands. But diplomacy and tact were not his mastery; in fact, he managed to create an opposition party within his See among Cyril's family (ACO 2.1.2, p.20, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.30). These factions would prove damaging to his reputation and agenda at the third session of Chalcedon (ibid.).

While the Alexandrian Patriarchate was planning further influence and strength in the Empire, the attention of the court in Constantinople had turned its attention to an elderly Bishop by the name of Eutychus. He began to promote the idea that Christ's humanity was not consubstantial with us, but is a unique flesh of God the Word. When he was brought to a Synod in Constantinople by Bishop Flavian for examination over his statements regarding Christ's humanity, he changed the focus of his language to the nature of the union itself: "Two natures before the Union, but only one after it" (ACO 2.I.2, p.120, Mansi, VII, col. 77, trans. Stevenson, 2015:loc. 8348-8352). Flavian was using this opportunity to halt Dioscorus' influence to promote "out of two natures" agenda. Yet Eutychus was concerned under pressure to maintain the integrity of Christ's unity, but did not have the skill of precise thought language to articulate his response (Kelly, 1968:333). To the ears of his Presbyters, he sounded heretical. Although unintentional, his phrase would be picked up by the Miaphysites after Chalcedon and it would develop with its own precision into a confessional statement. Flavian had set a trap for him, as a pawn to attempt to limit Alexandrian influence (Bevan & Gray, 2008:638-639). What Eutychus failed to make clear is that in his own understanding of "One nature", he meant the integrity of the Incarnation (ACO 2.II.1, p.155, see Frend, 2008:32-33; Price and Gaddis, 2005:1.115). For this he would suffer the process of being deposed and then later reinstated, but the ensuing drama of the precise meaning of his language would continue beyond the Arab

Conquest. The letters of Pope Leo on this topic reveal that Eutychus was known as one with poor understanding, who stubbornly maintained a position without fully comprehending what he was defending (Ep. 79, ACO 2.4 pp., 37-38, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.195; Ep. 88, ACO 2.4, pp. 46-47, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.102).

The controversy was brought to the attention of Emperor Theodosius II, and the tumult raised sufficient cause to convene a council. As Dioscorus was popular in the East, he was appointed as president by the Emperor (ACO 2.II.1, pp.44-45, see Frend, 2008:39). This was Dioscorus' prime moment, for he had at his disposal the authority from the Emperor to help both improve and maintain orthodoxy and unity, with even military force to reinforce his agenda (ACO 2.II.1, pp. 45-46, see Frend, 2008:39-40; Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.33). He seized on the opportunity that presented itself by defending Eutychus, which to a degree was expected, because it was obvious to all that he had erred in ignorance rather than maliciousness. What was not expected was Dioscorus' maneuvering to depose Flavian as Bishop of Constantinople, this because of his strong promotion of the Two Natures theology that had been agreed and settled on a generation before. The charge brought against Flavian was that he had required Eutychus to hold to a confession other than Nicea, that of the formula of Reunion of 433. This was based on the grounds of the 1st Council of Ephesus (431), which had forbidden the use of any other confessional statement than Nicea (Chadwick, 1955:17). Flavians' reaction of shock and surprise was swift and dramatic as was that of his supporters. In that moment Dioscorus judged that the order of the council was threatened, and so he called in the soldiers present to restore order and detain Flavian. The Bishops present were forced to sign a condemnation of Flavian, and as they did so he quickly wrote an appeal to Pope Leo (ACO 2.II.1, p.78, see Frend, 2008:42; Chadwick, 1955:17-18). In the ensuing chaos to restore order, Flavian was apparently

injured and thereby died of his injury while en route to exile (Chadwick, 1955:18, 19) (see also Leo's letter to Theodosius II: Schaff, 2004:94, 95).

Once Flavian is out of the way, Dioscorus wastes no time in having the 12 anathemas of Cyril approved as a required Orthodox confession of faith. To insure this legacy he also had one of his deacons, Anatolius, elected as the new Patriarch of Constantinople. Had it not been done in the name and under the authority of the Emperor, one might have called this a coup d'etat of the Eastern Church (Frend, 2008:43).

In response to this, Leo strongly appeals to Theodosius, calling this council, a Latrocinium or "Robbers, Council" (Leo Ep. 95; ACO 2.II.1, trans. Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.105-107). However, Theodosius died suddenly in a hunting accident, thus creating a new opportunity for Leo.   He appealed to the new Emperor, Marcian, for a council to correct the injuries of Ephesus which would be truly ecumenical in membership and so settle the dispute. Marcian was an older and pious Christian, and thus ordered the council to convene in October of 451.

The Council of Chalcedon did indeed have a far more ecumenical composition than did the previous one at Ephesus. Over 500 Bishops and Monks were there from all over the Empire and beyond, and the final statement was signed by 454 of them (Meyendorff, 1989:178). It was also much more under the management and structure of Imperial control (Meyendorff, 1989:170, 172). Political and theological tensions are ever present, yet this council had a very broad range of representation and theological thought. Leo's famous Tome to Flavian, which had been suppressed by Dioscorus at Ephesus, was finally read to the commissioners present, which allowed for a public comparison of Leo and Cyril, East and West. Most of the commissioners had been present at Ephesus just two years prior, but

now had the opportunity to openly make a comparison in order to settle affairs and recognize their error. This was no mere repeat of the disaster at Ephesus, for they were reminded of the conciliatory language that Cyril had adopted in the Formula of Reunion in 433 (Frend, 2008:47). The result was the famous formula mentioned earlier. The main point agreed was that Christ's two natures were joined in one person. How were the two natures related? The answer was to be found in virtue of one singular hypostasis, where the natures do not mix their respective properties yet share each property with one another in economic appropriation, or in a way that the Alexandrians can appreciate: "active in communion with each other" (Meyendorff, 1989:173). What is very notable in this exchange of ideas and agreement is the choice of terms, "In two natures", which was essentially the Western point of view. How the two natures economically appropriated each other (mode) would not be explained but rather circumscribed by the famous four negative adverbs. It was wise and safe to make the statement in negative terms, for what is being described is an ineffable mystery. This also had political implications that made it possibly palatable to communicate back to the church as a whole.

In the aftermath, the abuse and manipulation of Dioscorus is confronted, and thus he is deposed for his brutality and his attempt to excommunicate Flavian. In his defense, he maintained that he had Patristic tradition to support his views (ACO 2.I.1, p.17, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:1.45). Yet his deposition is not one for heresy, but one of disobedience to the canons and to the council (ACO 2.I.3, pp. 41-42, see Meyendorff, 1989:170). This is essentially because the council saw themselves as pursuing consistency with Cyril as it was presented in context of Nicea. When Leo's Tome is read, it is read with a mindset to evaluate it from the perspective of Cyril's letters to Nestorius and the Formula of Reunion in 433 (These are also read publicly), which clearly demonstrates that Alexandrian theology

remains in the fore . The response is clear, for the commissioners clearly affirm Leo as Orthodox and in *agreement* with Cyril (ACO 2.I.1, p. 81, see Price and Gaddis, 2005:2.12, 14, 24).

Central to Leo's "In two natures" doctrine was the concept of the "communicatio idiomatem", understood as a mutual sharing of properties of the two distinguished natures in communion with each other. When all statements were compared, almost all present saw a harmony in this statement with Cyril, as Greek sensibilities desired a communion between God and man, much like the language that Leo was using (but not with the emphasis of deification as it was to the Eastern mind). Yet the differences in language use were not lost on the council and that is why a new statement of faith was encouraged to be written. This was not the original goal, but as some were concerned that the Orthodoxy of Cyril could be lost altogether, it became clear that a new statement was needed to reduce tensions. Future responses to this statement would prove otherwise, but at that time it was not viewed as a new creed or 'symbol of faith', but simply an opportunity to find unity (ACO 2.I.2, p.119; Mansi, VII, Col.73, see Frend, 2008:48-49; Schaff, 2005:494, 580).

2.2 Does the definition of Union in Christ bring about Unity?

The real test of this unity is in the statement and reactions and reactions to the council. Would the Egyptian Bishops and Monks respond positively? It is clear that the Bishop of Alexandria had his power and influence reduced, as now Constantinople was seen second in authority and prestige to Rome (Canon 28 of Chalcedon; Meyendorff, 1989:181). Yet there is still a desire to remain in unity with the Emperor, for his position in their view was appointed by God, and as such he remained a necessary component of the Oikoumene. As such he was both Priest and King, who had both a spiritual and a material duty to the

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church. The same concept was reiterated by Patrician Strategius in 532 when in the cause

of religious unity (ACO 4.II, p. 170, see Frend, 2008:60). Only later would Miaphysite writers

assert independence based on Christ's proclamation, "My Kingdom is not of this world".

The deeply rooted schism in reaction to this agreement in 451 that we find in the 7th century

is the result of a slow process, as all concerned presume that the appropriate role of the

Emperor is still as the supreme arbiter in order to truly settle a dispute. The Emperor as

such is presumed to speak with authoritative clarity and destroy heresy.

It is recorded for us in the acts of the ecumenical councils that the Egyptian Bishops

were fully aware that the collaborative work to harmonize Cyril and Leo would not be

received well at Home.   They were caught into a corner, for their own Canons denied them

a vote without an Archbishop, yet Dioscorus had just been deposed. The language of "in

two natures" would be perceived as a step backwards towards Nestorius: "We cannot sign

without the approval of our Archbishop" "We shall all be killed if we subscribe to Leo's

Epistle…every district in Egypt will rise against us" (Price & Gaddis, 2005:2.151-152). The

remaining bishops present attempted to offer an equivocal statement of faith to the

Council, that had affirmations similar, but without subscribing to Leo's Tome or

anathematizing Eutychus (Price & Gaddis, 2005:2.148). The Western bishops reacted with a

unified and strong voice that they must sign, so in response the Egyptian bishops requested

that they be given a Patriarch so that they could act with more authoritative clarity, and as

Canonical cover for the rancor that this would cause back at home (Price & Gaddis,

2005:2.152). It is significant that they specifically point to the multitude of monks and

bishops in their wide ranging beliefs in their province as grounds for their fear, thus the

need for the authoritative voice of a Patriarch to settle dispute (Price & Gaddis, 2005:2.151

minute 48). The prophecy was accurate, for Proterius, the new Bishop installed after

Dioscorus, was killed in Alexandria by the mob and dragged through the streets in 457 for his agreement with Chalcedon (Evagrius HE II.8).   As a disciple of Dioscorus he was expected to promote his agenda and have the same powerful influence to stop the perceived heresy of the Emperor and the Pope. The deposition of Dioscorus was seen as a terrible evil, and the returning Bishops were not able to effectively convince the monks of the validity of the council's action. Proterius was seen as a Judas, a traitor to the faith (Rufus, 2008:125). This traitorous image was probably reinforced by his attempts at forcing conformity by his use of magistrates and even soldiers (Rufus, 2008:133).

Rufus (f.476-518) also helps us to understand the dynamic of church-state relations in this critical time, for he describes patterns of resistance. He describes Peter the Iberian (f.411-490), a refugee anti-Chalcedonian monk from Palestine, as a populist influence and "rescuer". Peter desires quiet solace as a monk, so that he can meditate and so contemplate the divine mysteries. Yet when the enforcement of Chalcedon reaches the countryside via the Bishop of Oxyrynchus, he is pressed into service by the local magistrate to publicly preach against Chalcedon, or at least a regional specific interpretation of it produced by Proterius (Rufus, 2008:131).   Proterius apparently had perceived a necessity to have a unique local interpretation to be read by all the Bishops in an effort to bring unity and agreement. But local opinion was not to be swayed, for after the death of Dioscorus and later Marcian, public outcry for a new Bishop who is worthy of the Holy mysteries is demanded.   Being that the normal path to ordination is now discredited via the church-state, the alternative acceptable to the average Alexandrian is via the monks. These monks were then encouraged by public demand to choose from among them the next worthy Bishop. Their choice became known as Timothy Aelurus, or "Timothy the Cat", and he was consecrated as Patriarch on 16 march, 457 by Peter and other well respected monks (Rufus,

2008:135-137). Timothy had been ordained to the priesthood by none other than Cyril, and as such was expected to guide the church to further orthodoxy.

The whole incident speaks clearly of the enormous role that monks had in the mind of the average Egyptian. Bishops may be the spiritual leaders in the hierarchical sense with the profound responsibility to administer the mystery of the Eucharist, but the monk was the most accessible spiritual representative available.   His daily interaction was the reachable touchstone for spiritual and physical hope predicated on the spiritual extension of the bishop. Once this hope is restored in the person of a new bishop, the full weight of a complete revolution is demanded. Proterius responded to this rebellion with violence, even inside a church building, thus sparking street fighting chaos and desperation. Proterius was murdered just 12 days later, and the event unleashed the full rage felt in Alexandria (Rufus, 2008: 143-145). The new Emperor Leo took full note of the current conditions and wisely allowed anti-Chalcedonian Timothy to take his Patriarchal throne with full support from Constantinople (Meyendorff, 1989:189).   This is extraordinary when one considers that the eastern mind set was predisposed to be in support of the Emperor's wishes. The Roman peace had been disturbed in one of its most influential cities, and further disruption would isolate it even more.

Timothy may have been forced into service suddenly, but his peers did indeed recognize a worthy character. He appears to have faithfully served in his given capacity as a wise moderate Bishop who understood his tenuous position politically but maintained the integrity of his firm distrust of Chalcedon (Rufus, 2008:145). He did not demand with violent force that his fellow Egyptians all abandon Chalcedon, but quietly spoke against it, probably by virtue of the liturgy and his preaching (Rufus, 2008:145 n.9). He was generous with the

poor and was well received by all. After two years Emperor Leo (457-474) realized that he needed to exile Timothy as he could not continually abide by a recalcitrant rejection of an agreed statement of faith (Chalcedon) by one his own Bishops (Zacharius Rhetor, HE IV.9, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:76-77).

Pope Leo had also written another letter (Ep. 165, Schaff, 2004:186-188), much like his famous Tome to Flavian, yet it focused much more on defining the precise error of Eutychus. The Emperor forwarded the letter to Timothy in the hopes of Timothy's agreement, but instead the latter insisted that in condemning Eutychus both the Tome and Chalcedon should be as well. Leo then was secure in the support of the eastern Bishops in arresting Timothy. Timothy's letters from subsequent exile near Constantinople emphasize his moderate character, where the lapsed are allowed to be received into communion after one year of penance. They also reveal a true shepherd who desires in his Christological battles to affirm among the faithful the true and real consubstantiality of Christ with humans (Ebied & Wickham, 1970:365).   As with Cyril his father, the unity of Christ in all things is the one thing to be protected. It does speak volumes that his exile was by no means the end of his ministry in Egypt; an Emperor could physically remove him but the bond with his See was far stronger than any distance.

In his place another Timothy was installed in Alexandria, also an ardent anti-Chalcedonian with the character name Salophaciolus ("wobble cap") (Rufus, 2008:147). Like the previous Patriarch he also was moderate in his approach to disagreement. Yet as noted before the continued ministry of the previous Patriarch was respected and honored by Alexandrians and so both essentially operated together. Exile normally meant the limit of one's influence, if not the end of one's political career. Under normal circumstances it

would be expected that the theme of this era would be that of Salophaciolus. However, a usurper came to the imperial throne in 475 by the name of Basiliscus, who needed the Alexandrians as an ally, and so he released Timothy Aelurus and invited him into the city in manner almost fitting a Roman Triumph (Zacharias Rhetor HE V.1, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:104). In his support of Timothy, Basiliscus wrote an encyclical to all the Empire which in essence affirmed the doctrine of Nicea and Ephesus, yet amazingly declared Chalcedon to be anathema (Zacharias Rhetor, V.2-3.) I will quote here some of the opening statements from the encyclical:

> And earnestly desiring to honour the fear of God more than any affair of man, through zeal
>
> for the Lord Jesus Christ our God, to Whom we owe our creation, exaltation, and glory;
>
> moreover also, being fully persuaded that the unity of His flock is the salvation of ourselves
>
> and our people, and is the sure and immovable foundation, and the lofty bulwark of our
>
> kingdom ; we now, moved by a wise impulse, are bringing union and unity to the Church of
>
> Christ in every part of our dominion, namely, the faith of the three hundred and eighteen
>
> bishops (ref. Nicea) who being previously prepared by the Holy Ghost...(Trans. Hamilton &
>
> Brooks, 1899:106).

Timothy's apparent basis for his agenda is to argue that Chalcedon breaks with Nicea. That this is a powerful argument is shown in the affirmative response of 700 Bishops, if Zacharias Rhetor is to be believed (V.2).   The fear of a failed unity and the resultant consequences are a core theme that rings loudly in this letter. This is shocking simply because Chalcedon was touted as a truly ecumenical council as a great act of unity supported by a previous Emperor. In essence he must be the unifying voice, and as such Basiliscus invokes the legal history of Constantine and Theodosius to combat heresy and thus command unity. Yet, Basiliscus finds himself in the unenviable position of realizing that

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vast areas of the East had by that time developed opposing theologies to Constantinople. Therefore, Timothy Aelurus saw this as an opportunity to turn the clock back 25 years and establish what Dioscorus had intended.   Yet Timothy would not have even the short term success of Dioscorus, for Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople interpreted Timothy as a threat to his power. For a denial of Chalcedon meant a denial of its Canons, specifically those that limited the power of a Patriarch to his See (Chadwick, 1972:135). Therefore, Acacius brought in all the ecclesiastical political power that he could to bear, and so forced Basiliscus to reverse his course and issue a new "anti" encyclical that protected the claims of Acacius (Evagrius III.7) and made no mention of Chalcedon. Yet for all the machinations of political drama, Timothy was able to return to his see, and the anti-Chalcedonian Bishops throughout the East could sense that they had some breathing room (Rufus, 2008:161). For a brief moment they had an Emperor who could empower the movement.

Timothy Aelurus was not able to enjoy ministry in Alexandria for any considerable time, for he died shortly after Basiliscus was forced from power and Zeno restored onto the throne (477). Timothy "Wobble Cap" Salophaciolus then returned as the recognized Patriarch in Alexandria (from the Chalcedonian canonical view, even though his personal theology is different). However, the public perception in Egypt has now set a pattern whereby Bishops installed via Constantinople no longer have the imprimatur of authority and legitimacy.   The senior and respected monk then to be recognized by the populace as their legitimate spiritual ruler was Peter Mongus (Zacharias, V.6, Hamilton & brooks, 1899:116; Evagrius, III.6). He may not have had Acacius' official approval, but the latter wisely recognized that Peter was the greater influence in Egypt and as such sought ways to recognize him. Acacius was creatively using diplomacy to manage church-state affairs

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realistically as they truly were while also attempting to promote an upper hierarchy allied with Chalcedon.

2.3 The 'State' of Unity in the Emperor's Instrument: The Henotikon

Given the détente that Acacius was performing in the balance between rival Bishops, in time a solution was needed to recognize a singular ecclesiastical head in Egypt. Theodosius of Joppa, although in Palestine, was beginning a more extreme anti-Chalcedonian movement at this time with a claimed following of 30,000 monks in Egypt (Zacharias V.4, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:111). Also, Timothy's desired replacement, John of Talaia, proved to be deceitful and distracting to the political goal (Evagrius III.15). The solution then was found in developing a document that avoided the confusion of the previous contradicting encyclicals, yet found substantive language in both affirmations and anathemas that Bishops, monks, and layman alike could respect. This decree was entitled, the "Henotikon" (instrument of unity, Frend, 2008:177). It was specifically addressed to Egypt yet with language that required it's obedience to the whole empire. It is a triumph and acknowledgement of the long term impact of the humble monk and pious layman. It was designed especially to get the approval of Peter Mongus and to that end it worked perfectly. Although he would have preferred a direct statement that anathematized Chalcedon (Zacharias, V.7, Hamilton & Brooks 1899:117), it diminished it and also affirmed positively Nicea, Ephesus, Constantinople, and the 12 anathemas of Cyril, and was certain to anathematize Nestorius and Eutychus. Zeno clearly connected unity of faith to the success of the Empire:

Since, then, the irreprehensible faith is the preserver both of ourselves and the Roman weal, petitions have been offered to us from pious archimandrites and hermits, and other

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venerable persons, imploring us with tears that unity should be procured for the churches, and the limbs should be knit together…(Evagrius II.XIV)

For our purposes we need to point out that the Emperor expresses an understanding of the mind of the monks. The "pious archimandrites and hermits" have an influence that he cannot ignore if he is to construct a document that fits the context of the empire and thus has the influence of unity that is intended.

Of importance to Zeno and Acacius is that division causes hindrance to the Eucharist. I would suggest that this is driven by the immense pressure placed on this issue by the lower clergy. Therefore, a positive statement of why the life-giving Christ is necessary:

We moreover confess, that the only begotten Son of God, himself God, who truly assumed manhood, namely, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is con-substantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and con-substantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; that He, having descended, and become incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary, the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two; for we affirm that both his miracles, and the sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh, are those of a single person: for we do in no degree admit those who either make a division or a confusion…(Evagrius III.XIV).[5]

The single subject of Christ is paramount in this statement. As such, it simplifies his identity with humans and thus assures of his power over the Empire and its enemies. One would expect that this careful language would assure that the initial wide acceptance would remain, but that would not be the case. Several groups began to break away from Alexandria, simply because the Henotikon did not expressly condemn Chalcedon (Zacharias, VI.1). Peter the Iberian, who had been an early agitator against Chalcedon and a supporter

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[5] http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/evagrius_3_book3.htm

of Timothy, was called in as a respected evaluator. He noted that Peter as Patriarch was

publicly condemning Chalcedon and the Tome with words, but had not until that time

signed any document officially condemning them. Peter the Iberian recognized that official

action was needed by the Patriarch in order to stop the rapid secession movement that was

building. In an affirmation of unity the Patriarch agreed to sign these public statements, but

some groups by that point had lost all faith in the official process (Zacharias, VI.1-2,

Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:133-136).   This secessionist movement is explained by Zacharias

as an expectation by the majority of monks that Peter the Patriarch would by necessity

break fellowship with those who had signed the Henotikon. For his part, Peter attempted to

explain his position, that he could by no means break fellowship with those who had signed,

"*The Kings'* Henotikon" (VI.2) (emphasis mine). Therefore, despite Peter's diplomacy and

the attempt of others to help in the message of unity, splinter groups began to cover the

landscape in Egypt. Once again the enormous public trust of the local monk was far more

valuable than a distant Bishop. The monks understood this and chose to act independently

in order that local efficacy in Eucharistic blessing is maintained. Patriarch Peter's approach

to this problem developed even to the point of writing to the new Patriarch in

Constantinople, Flavian, to the effect that the Henotikon should be interpreted as having

condemned Chalcedon and the Tome.   Later Historians such as Evagrius would accuse him

of hypocrisy (III.17). For all the rancor and division, Cyril was still the theologian of the

Eastern mind. The careful balance that the hierarchy is attempting to walk fails to produce

the desired effect.

2.4 The Middle Voice of Egypt to Justinian, and the Imperative Voice from Justinian

After Peter Mongus and Peter the Iberian, the next brilliant mind to attempt to find a language to bridge the argument in the church-state is that of Severus of Antioch. Severus at first began his training as a pagan lawyer, but his fellow Christian students influenced him for Christ, and thus encouraged a brilliant mind on the Christological road towards a unified faith (Allen & Hayward, 2004:4). In time he became a strong advisor to Emperor Anastasius, who was sympathetic to the anti-Chalcedonian movement, yet who still desired to maintain unity through the Henotikon. Severus was highly respected for his counsel to the Emperor, and was eventually consecrated Bishop of Antioch in 512 (Zacharias, VII.10, VIII.1, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:180, 190). Despite his wide spread influence and mutual respect of even those who disagreed, Severus found himself on the wrong side of the political momentum. In 516, he was deposed and excommunicated by several of his own Bishops in Syria, and was summoned to Constantinople (likely to be mutilated) and eventually went into exile in Egypt in September of 518 (Severus, Ep. 46, Brooks, PO XII, 1919:316-321; Maspero, 1923:70; Allen & Hayward, 2004:24).

Egypt is the logical choice for anti-Chalcedonian dissidents as Emperors Anastasius and Justin both left Egypt to its own devices (Zacharias, VIII.5, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:207), for the initial perceived success of the Henotikon left successive Emperors with the false impression that the document was promoting unity. This study would suggest that these governments did not have the resources or the political will to enforce the policy of the documents' true intent (Zacharias VIII.5; O'Leary, 1952:426). The momentum begun by Peter Mongus grew, and by the time Justinian began his purge of anti-Chalcedonian Bishops (520-530), the vast majority of Egypt had rejected Chalcedon outright. Their own

interpretation of the Henotikon gave them the sense that they had every right to condemn Chalcedon.

Severus was welcomed by his friend Dioscorus II (Patriarch from 515-518), but he dies a month after his arrival. The new Patriarch, Timothy IV does seem to also welcome Severus, but this does not mean that Severus enjoys freedom and comfort. His initial step was to place himself at the Enaton Monastery (nine miles outside of Alexandria) (Allen & Hayward, 2004:24).   Yet his recorded letters indicate that he was not able to stay there continually, but spent the majority of his time traveling and writing whenever he could (Severus, Ep. 34; Brooks, PO XII, 1919:275). This probably explains why Severus had such a deep impact on the life of the church in Egypt. He had a network of relationships before his arrival, and was able to develop it more on a personal level due to his constant moving (Evetts, PO I, 1907:453). This would allow the academic work to be supplemented with both pastoral and administrative tasks. The constant moving can be explained via controversy, which caused security problems for Severus. Despite Severus' good reputation, he did have considerable problems with other disparate groups, namely that of the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus (d.527). Julian was also deposed in the same time frame and also fled to Egypt. The reason for his exile was for his Eutychian tendencies, as he denied that Christ's humanity was precisely our own, perhaps even a phantasm. His guiding presupposition is that for there to be one property of Christ's nature, then it must be uncorrupted in every sense (Casey, 1926:211-212). This phantasm was termed as a human likeness, but of a superior type from the moment of conception, not after the resurrection (known as *aphthartodocetism)*.   Severus, as a student of Cyril, rejected this outright and began a writing campaign against Julian.   This continuous writing extended from 520-527 (Allen & Hayward, 2004:28) (Grillmeier, 1995:26).

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The vitriolic competitive writing between the two scholars began almost as soon as they arrived in Egypt. Julian offended Severus by claiming that his famous defense of Cyril, the 'Philalethes' was a document that corroborated his Christology (Grillmeier, 1995:80). The battle of words commenced and the result was a flurry of three letters written to Severus and his responses and counter defenses (CPG 7027-7031, see Allen & Hayward, 2004:46). From this exchange we learn that the Philalethes emphasized that Christ's divinity is the primary factor to empower the union with humanity. Severus went on even so far as to describe Christ's human nature as given divine powers:

> For in many cases it is apparent that the Logos did not permit the flesh to move according to the law of the nature of flesh [reference to Jesus walking on the water or the miraculous course of events on the occasion of his death on Calvary, at the resurrection and in the appearances before his disciples] . . . How does (all this) belong to the flesh if it was not endowed with the power *(energeia)* of the Logos, an entitlement of the godhead, if it was not to be regarded as one with him…(CSCO 134, pp. 266, 11-24; trans. Grillmeier, 1995:83).

Julian chose to modify the interpretation of this aspect and take it one step farther by claiming that divine power was setting Christ's flesh apart in a unique sense so that from conception it was not capable of sin, suffering, and death (CSCO 319, p.34; Grillmeier, 1995:85 n.203). This was absolutely unacceptable to Severus, for in his mind Christ must be fully human in the fullest sense if he is to redeem us in his flesh. Julian fears that this is practically Nestorianism in new dress. How can Christ be free from sin if he is categorically human in essence? Julian demands that the divine glory penetrate all aspects of the physical qualities of Christ in order to solve this problem. Yet both theologians point to the mount of transfiguration (Matt. 17:1-9) as the source to make their point. However, Severus successfully demonstrates that the transfiguration was a demonstration of the

limits of divine glory that Christ chose to apply to the physical qualities of his human nature, for the disciples perceive both states of Christ before and after his glorification at the event, and thus experience Christ's personal choice at the use of his divine glory (CSCO 319, p.50; Grillmeier, 1995:86). Julian demands that Christ must be incorruptible in every sense of the word from the moment of the incarnation (i.e. suffering, sickness, etc.). Severus limits this via scriptural references to show that Christ was not corrupted by sin in his earthly existence. In Severus' mind the scripture is teaching that the divine properties chose the limitations to fit into human existence, and incorruptibility is not applied in its fullest sense until after the resurrection (CSCO 319:113-14; Allen & Hayward, 2004:47).

The seriousness of this debate cannot be merely measured in words. An account is recorded in the History of the Patriarchs regarding the monks of Scetis, who, upon reading the Tome of Julian, began to divide themselves into factions over the meaning of the incorruptibility of Christ. Words came to blows, and two monks died and five others were scattered to other monasteries. The spiritual effect is also made known, as Sawirus adds that monks began to isolate themselves in response to the violence and perform the liturgy in their own cells (Evetts, PO I, 1907:454). Clearly there are divisions within the anti-Chalcedonians in Egypt, for the general environment is one of "*akribea*", or theological precision.

Severus may have appeared to be a failure in his lifetime, but the continuous work in responding to the effluence of division and acrimony demonstrates that he understood the issues and could effectively write about them. Thus his writings provide the basis for his long term influence. In his previous work in Constantinople, he was fully aware that Cyril could be interpreted as supporting an "in two natures" formula. Yet he responded by saying

that Chalcedon misrepresented what the "two natures" meant to the Fathers. In further

defense, he argued that after Nestorius, the environment between Bishops degraded the

use of the terms (Ad Nephalius 1.2:1-9) and therefore should no longer be used. He thought

it wise to cool arguments down by use of expressing two natures "*in theoria*" (intellectual

thought, abstract) (Severus, Ep. 65; Brooks, PO XIV, 1920:10, 26, 27) or inferentially

(Severus, Ep. 99; Brooks, PO XIV, 1920:222-223).

The intellectual abstractions that he preferred to use were "property", "physical

quality", and the differences in those physical qualities in order to communicate how best to

preserve the two 'natures' in union. By appropriating this language he is not merely making

a distinction with Chalcedon, but also with Eutychus (Severus Ep. 1 ad Sergius; Torrance,

1988:149). Yet Julian and his followers found no solace in this approach either, for the use

of the terms "property" or "Physical quality" were still perceived as an offensive distinction

that naturally created a further division in Christ (Grillmeier, 1995:94-95). Julian preferred

instead to use the term "undifferentiated difference", for in his mind the intellectual

separation, "*theoria",* must be further isolated and even forgotten, as even the thoughts

begins to mix or confuse the essences (Julian Hal. *Frag .* 148, see Draguet, 1924:76; cited in

Severus . *Adv. Apol. Jul .ch*.21: CSCO 302, p. 257). For Julian, the unity is so overwhelmingly

significant that the differences in properties must be integrated at such a level as to be

practically unknowable. Grillmeier proposes that both scholars are essentially after the

same idea, but cannot see past the specifics of terminology (1995:96).

In a desire to resolve this, Severus saw an opportunity in systematizing a Cyrilline

anti-Chalcedonian Christology by using the term "*sunthetos*", meaning composite. He

refused to speak of Christ as a single essence/"*ousia*". The idea behind this is to contain a

real duality within the one subject described by the term "one nature", and yet not create confusion:

> For those hypostases or natures, being in **composition** (*sunthetos*) (emphasis mine) without diminution, and not existing separately and in individual existence, make up one person of one Lord and Christ and Son, and one incarnate nature and hypostasis of the Word (Severus, Ep. 15, trans. Brooks, PO XII, 1919:210).

He was consistent in his use of the term "*sunthetos*", and this allowed him to use "nature" and "hypostasis" as synonyms, while respecting "*ousia*", or essence as common to a genus and so protected the uniqueness of Christ to have the true essences of God and Man. However, the distinction of these two essences/natures is to be made intellectually, in "*theoria*", so that the union is spoken of as "one nature" and made "out of two". Therefore, there is only one nature to be considered after the incarnation and one activity ("*Energeia*"). The above becomes the language for a regional spiritual movement, and in the continuing debate with Julian and others, a vocabulary for the Miaphysite movement, and so carried this identity into the 7th century.

Yet Severus did not see himself as a leader of anything new. His letters reveal a profound respect for the Emperor as the protector of the church.

> May the Trinity…preserve Your Faithfulness for many years while you make peaceable the power of the government of the Romans; and bring into subjection to you all the people of the Romans and the barbarians; and grant perfect concord through you to the holy churches in a right faith, and esteem you worthy of crowns in the kingdom of heaven" (Zacharias, IX.16).

The Emperor referred to is none other than Justinian, who sought him out for assistance. Earlier in his clerical life, Severus had worked closely in Constantinople with an Emperor and a Patriarch sympathetic to anti-Chalcedonian concerns. He had agreed to the Henotikon, while at the same time transparently rejecting Chalcedon in the hope of affecting church-state policy for the long term. Now that the political tides have shifted, both Justin and Justinian have reversed course and insisted on conformity to Chalcedon as a confession (when initially it was not intended for that purpose). This was due to the broader goal of restoring ties to Rome after the schism caused by Acacius (begun in April 519). The price to be paid for this reunion was for Constantinople to abandon the Henotikon and insist on full use of Chalcedon as a confessional standard (Frend, 2008:235-238). No less than 55 Bishops lost their sees during the period of 520-530 as this policy was followed (Frend, 2008:247). The result left few remaining Bishops in non-Chalcedonian areas. The reaction to be expected was that people demanded to be able to take the sacraments, and there was a perceived crisis when the Bishops who administer them are absent in such large numbers.   John of Tella began to fill this gap by ordaining clergy among anti-Chalcedonian communities ("*politeia*") in the frontier region between Syria and Persia (Andrade, 2009:204-5). What in essence this did is give a solid beginning to a separate movement of churches. Justinian took notice of this and in his desire for unity he requested Severus' presence in Constantinople for help. Severus eventually acquiesced in 534, only to return two years later after a collapse of the effort to bridge the two communities (Zacharias, IX.15, Hamilton & brooks, 1899:253). Justinian had far reaching goals, and as the situation in Egypt appeared to be a protracted religious rebellion, perhaps he saw in Severus a respected leader who could offer a potential solution to a large problem. Had the experiment proven to be successful, perhaps a true reunion was conceivable.

While Severus was in the capital, Empress Theodora (c.500-548) saw to it that an appropriate (i.e. anti-Chalcedonian) Patriarch was put on the Alexandrian throne after the death of Timothy IV (517-535), named Theodosius (535-566), who was a like-minded friend of Severus. She was also able to have a strong influence on the theology of the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus (fl. 535-536). For a short period, the three Patriarchies were actually in communion, mostly due to the influence of Empress Theodora (Zacharias, IX.19, 21, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:265-268).   This new momentum for anti-Chalcedon groups may have proven durable throughout Justinians' reign, had it not been for his overpowering desire to reunite with Rome. He simply could not conceive of an Oikoumene without the unification of East and West, which meant theological compromise. By June of 536, Severus was banned from the city and returned to Egypt, where he passed from this life and was laid to rest in the Enaton Monastery in 538 (Allen & Hayward, 2004:29).

Yet this certainly was not the end of the influence of Julian or Severus. During Alexandrian Patriarch Theodosius' time of service, the Julianists were very vocal and powerful and chose an archdeacon, Gaianus, as a rival patriarch to him. This sparked a movement that continued even into the 7th century. He had many supporters among the monks and general populace, and for a period of three months was a rival patriarch to Theodosius. Theodosius managed to maintain his position while Theodora maintained her influence, and as result he was able establish himself for 18 months and develop a loyal cadre of Bishops and monks faithful to Severan teaching (Winkler, 1999:399). In the History of the Patriarchs, an extended drama between Justinian and Theodosius is described (Evetts, PO I, 1907:455-466), whereby after 536 the Patriarch is put under pressure to submit to The Emperor's demand to subscribe to Chalcedon via favors and/or threats, and

eventually the venerable Bishop chooses exile. The encounter demonstrates that the Emperor is respected, but his approach is couched in the language of corruption. The new Chalcedonian Patriarch, Paul of Tinnis (Evetts, PO I, 1907:466), is forcibly placed by the Emperor and kept in isolation. The presence of soldiers and elites to protect him communicate the use of force, for which the Church-State further promotes its descent as a perceived presence of oppression. This sets the tone for the next 100 years and is part of the impetus for parallel hierarchies.

Justinian's use of force cannot be framed by mere description of personality. The Eastern Churches expected him to be the source of unity and the solution to peace and cohesion. As a theologian in his own right he also expected this of himself. Therefore, he extended an outreach of cross community debate from 532-536, and even though that ended in failure it did not stop him from trying again in 558 and 563 (Frend, 2008:275). For our purposes in Egypt we have an example of Justinian's approach to bridge the two communities and bring them under his own form of Chalcedon via a tract he wrote to Egyptian monks in 541:

> …Having shown that confusion results when elements not preserved after their coming together, it is obvious that if there is neither a confusion nor a destruction of elements that have come together, then whatever is composed "of" something is also known "in" its various elements. So, as has been shown already, if anyone confesses that our one Lord Jesus Christ is constituted "of" two natures, namely of divinity and humanity, while saying that the essences which have come together in him are not confused, then he must also confess that he is known "in" the two natures of divinity and humanity "of" which he is composed. In this way we both maintain the difference of the natures in Christ, and preserve their inseparable union. If they do not concede that the natures constituting Christ

are preserved in him, then how can they say they are different? (Justinian I, Tract. *Contra Monophysitas*, trans. Wesche, 1991:34)

The above demonstrates that Justinian was fully versed in the terminology of the anti-Chalcedonian movement, even specifically that of Egypt. This is likely the result of his interaction with Severus in Constantinople from 534-536, where was available to Justinian for discussion. In the above document, the latter takes great detailed analysis at his guest's Christology in order to come to an understanding of his use of 'nature' and 'hypostasis', and finds that he is weak on making a distinction between the two. One should take note of his particular use of the term 'composition' in the above quote, for he is taking aim at Severus' use of the term. To clarify the term 'composition', Justinian is comparing the use of the prepositions 'in' and 'of' from a Western/Latin point of view. He is fully aware that Severus saw the ambiguity of Cyril's use of language, and that Severus understood it as a necessity of contemporizing language because of having to deal with Nestorius (Wesche, 1991:82). Justinian however has constructed a florilegia in order to fit western constructs of hypostasis as the term for the particular, specifically 'prosopon' (person).   If true, then the expression for the universal is "nature" (Wesche, 1991:97).

Evaluating Justinian's perception of the anti-Chalcedonian approach is instructive for our purposes, for we see the distinction of the anti-Chalcedonian perspective in Egypt as understood from an opposing point of view. Justinian needed the Western philosophical precision in order to make a clear distinction between hypostasis and nature because Western tradition demanded a distinction between the particular and the universal. Whereas the Greek mindset believed that this was going too far and as such the classical categorical division was totally out of place as a resource to define the Incarnation. How

can you define a mode of subsisting within a being whom everyone agrees is ineffable? For

Severus, hypostasis and nature need to remain synonymous because Christ is totally unique,

as he shares in the being (*ousia*) of both God and the being (*ousia*) of man (Severus, Ep. 3 ad

Sergium; Allen & Hayward, 2004:34). Therefore, the singular subject in Christ is best

protected in a concrete sense by the use of the term physis/nature. The duality of human

and divine natures must be abstracted, "in *theoria*", in order to maintain unity (thus "out of

two natures").

2.5 Reacting to Imperial Authority and Creating parallel Hierarchy

Justinian may be able to write to Egyptian monks and intelligently argue his position

in theological language, but his actions as Emperor in removing many Bishops from their

sees speaks loudly as to the nature of his intent and the spiritual authority of his office. The

work of John of Tella in ordaining Bishops out of necessity speaks to the anti-Chalcedonian

reaction to this (Michael the Syrian, IX.29, Chabot, 1901:244; Andrade, 2009:201; Life of

John of Tella, PO 18, 1924:518-520). In concert with this reaction Theodosius, who was

protected by Theodora in the capital is able to oversee this expansion of an organized

hierarchy, and in essence the movement is now permanently set in place.   Men seeking

ordination were travelling carefully in year-long travels in order to find someone to ordain

them in Alexandria (Life of John of Tella, PO 18, 1924:522). One of the men ordained by

Theodosius is none other than James Baradeus (Bar'adai), who was sent to ordain clergy in

Syria, but evangelized practically everywhere in the East. Two of the men whom he

ordained, Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia were consecrated Bishops in Alexandria

(Life of John of Tella, Brooks, PO 18, 1924:697). What this episode indicates is that the

movement had broad support, even though anti-Chalcedonian Bishops were supposedly

banished from Alexandria at this time. Also consecrated by Theodosius was John of

Hephaistos of Egypt, who had been part of those in Constantinople invited by Justinian in

534, and condemned in 536.   His banishment was not to isolation or obscurity but launched

his career as one who ordained many in his travels (as many as 70 priests in one evening

service!)(Life of John of Ephesus, Brooks, PO 18, 1924:536-539).

What is clear from these records is that Alexandria is often a safe haven and a place

of authority, despite its official status as the locus of Chalcedon as per the Emperor. With all

the activity in establishing an extended clergy around the empire, it is inevitable that

Theodosius commissioned Paul, after his new consecration to the Patriarchate in Antioch, as

his authorized agent in Egypt (Frend, 2008:292). This was for the express purpose to

provide bishops where needed.   In all of this they continued to see themselves as

establishing clergy because of a perceived evangelical Eucharistic need, not as a blatant

rebellion to create a permanently established schism.   There was always the hope by the

Emperor and monk alike that these issues would be resolved in the perfect formula one day,

in an inspired council. Even the governor of Egypt, after the passing of Theodosius in 566

did not perceive the development of a permanent separate church, when he allowed the

secret consecration and installation of a new anti-Chalcedonian Bishop in Alexandria (Evetts,

PO I, 1907:470).   When Theodosius dies Justin II honors him with a full proper funeral of a

revered Bishop, not as a scandal to be secreted away as a bad memory of Theodora's

politics (Michael the Syrian, X.1, Chabot, 1901:283). Both communities choose their

isolation and even allow for it, but remain in hope for a solution.

Another example of Alexandria's prominence to influence and equip the anti-

Chalcedonian movement is found in the work of John Philoponus (d. ~565). Philoponus, was

a brilliant polymath and part and parcel of the Alexandrian tradition of philosophical schools. As Justinian was developing a cogent response to the ongoing division by preparing for the Council of 553, he sought out Philoponus as an advisor. The latter was a commentator, sceptic, and later rejecter of Aristotelian thought, and had been exploring the idea that a hypostasis must be distinguished as separate and unique in each persons of the Trinity, meaning that for every hypostasis in the divine essence it must also be parsed out in distinctive terms, much as has been made for Christ.   To state it in the particular, each of the three persons possesses three distinct substances, and therefore the divine unity is only conceptual of substance (Philoponus, Against Themistius, tr. in Ebied, Van Roey, Wickham, 1981:51). The movement associated with this was called "Tritheism" (Erismann, 2008:283) (Sorabji, et al., 2010:72).   It is with this mindset that he addresses Justinian in his response to an invitation to visit the Capital (CPG 7264, MacCoull, 2003:395-397).   His attempt to convince the Emperor is a patronizing, smooth praise of Justinians' Orthodoxy. In so many words he uses the Emperor's use of Cyril against him, such as the phrase "one of the consubstantial Trinity" (ref. Christ), etc. (MacCoull, 2003:393). The heart of the matter for John is that the two natures formula contradicts the very effort in unity that Justinian is attempting to do. If the Emperor wants the hypostatic union of natures, this demands a 'composite' nature (MacCoull, 1995:197-204). This union is not a participation in theory or abstract, for it has to be objectively real. Then in use of Severus' manner with nature and hypostasis, he claims that if Christ's nature is composite, then the hypostasis is composite (MacCoull, 2003:396). If the "one hypostasis of the consubstantial Trinity became incarnate", and you can equivocate hypostasis and particular nature, and then also you state that "One nature incarnate of God the Word" (as Justinian did indeed use), then in

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conclusion you should be willing to state "One nature of the composite One (MacCoull, 2003:396)."

As far as the specifics of the 'composition', Philoponus claims that the creative Word created in himself a completely new unique being (close to the Julianist heresy). If true, then one cannot claim that this is universal humanity, for Christ is an objective substantive person of history, an individual. The two terms of union then cannot be construed as universal. The only solution for John is the composite "out of two natures".   To help the Emperor understand this, he uses the analogy of the physical image of his statues found everywhere in the Empire.   If the image of the statue of the Emperor were to be viewed "in two natures", then the person of the Emperor must be divided into all his magistrates. The substance of the Emperor is not divided, for the construct of his intellectual authority in presence is everywhere as *representative* (MacCoull, 2003:398). If one were to force this into a substantive idea, it would be similar to the days of Diocletian who demanded that he be worshipped as lord and god; one was to offer a sacrifice to the "genius of the emperor" (Barnard, 1973:18-19).

As has been stated, Justinian may have failed to bring unity but his intellectual authority does indeed continue in the idea of Chalcedon. After Paul of Tinnis, the new Chalcedonian Patriarch Zoilus (f. 541-551) (Zacharias, X.1, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:300) was not able to stem the tide of the above momentum of a separate episcopal and clerical hierarchy. He also stayed within his own walls of Alexandria while he supposedly kept anti-Chalcedonians out (Hardy, 1968:37). The stasis produced would simply allow for further separation and development in Upper Egypt, as anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch Peter IV (567-569) was protected by both the common folk and the monks at Ennaton. As an indicator of

the separate self-sufficiency of the movement, al-Muqaffa (Sawirus) records 600

monasteries and 32 farms under his administration (Evetts, PO I, 1907:471-472).   His

deacon and proficient writer, Damian, was installed as his replacement after his death in

569, and he led faithfully until 605. Damian's long term stable administration allows the

reaction and momentum to develop into a full self-perpetuating community, which would

serve them well during the upheaval of the 7th century.   Crum and Winlock published his

critical Synodical letter showing a commitment to the Alexandrian tradition and to resolving

the continuing stresses at the time:

> For the great Athanasius also taught us that we should confess that a single [essence] and a
>
> single Godhead is unto the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; since it is a single nature
>
> and a single rule and a single kingdom and a single glory and a single might and a single
>
> operation (energeia) and a single power and a single will and a single knowledge; and any
>
> other magnitude there may be [whatsoever ?] that we cannot proclaim, great and glorious,
>
> appertaining unto the holy, coessential Trinity (1926:333,334).

What is prescient is the connection of one will and one energy to the logical

conclusion of a single nature. Perhaps Cyrus had read this in subsequent years, or had

received it from the Egyptian Bishops who were willing to converse with him, in order to

find common ground for a confession (in 633). It should also be noted that Damian had

congenial Emperors to work with, and so maintained the long held continuity and

expectation that consistent Christology needed an Emperor to apply its practical

implications:

> So that by this obedience and the keeping of the right faith and blameless toward Christ, ye
>
> may be able to escape from the fear and the grief and the suffering appointed for sinners,
>
> whilst [you] receive the good things that have been promised unto the just even as sinless

sheep, being worthy of standing upon Christ's right hand; and also that [you] may thereby be

able, in that [you] have boldness toward God that createth all things, to send up prayers

continually for the prosperous life of the kings, that they may reach a great age; and for the

devout Caesar, that God would continue to preserve him; and that every barbarian nation,

unto the ends of the earth, may be in subjection under their hands; and that the whole

world may become one body; we begging God the Christ that He will speak unto his heart

for the peace and concord of the holy apostolic church, that we may pass a quiet and still

life and be found in all piety and holiness (Crum & Winlock, 1926:336-337).

The syllogism in the above quote is fairly clear. If Christ can be properly understood

and worshipped in his singular nature, then prayers offered for the Emperor would be

effective for a long peaceful rule. If this rule can be maintained, then the remaining nations

can be brought into the Oikoumene. When the above conditions are met, then the church

can be at peace, and the quiet and still life (perfectly envisioned in the monastic politeia) to

pursue holiness.

During Damian's tenure, both Justin II (565-578) and Tiberiius II (578-582) attempted

to maintain a status quo in attempting to communicate and negotiate a respectful but firm

disagreement.   Justin II during the years 566-568 attempted a generous settlement of

affairs, for he was willing to allow "out of two natures", and proclaim Cyril's 12 anathema's

as canonical, as suggested by the anti-Chalcedonians (Michael the Syrian, IX.30, Chabot,

1901:257-258, 286).   A special event was scheduled in 568 to finalize the reunion in

Callinicum, where a Patrician was sent by the Emperor to meet in the monastery of Mar

Zakai. The conditions were read aloud to the monks and Bishops present and found to be

very generous and agreeable, even to the point of restoring the honor of the venerable

Severus and removing all anathemas that were offensive. However, fearful emotions ran

high, a riot broke out among the monks, and another generation lost the opportunity at

unity (Michael the Syrian, X.2, Chabot, 1901:287; Frend, 2008:319).   The movement was still

driven by the ascetic "holy man", and his word was to be respected, even by the bishops.

Yet Justin II remained determined, for the attempt in 568 was the closest that the two sides

had been in generations.

One of the influential nobles who aspired to the influence of "holy men" and who

also appreciated Justin II efforts was Dioscorus of Aphrodito. Aphrodito as a settlement in

the Nile Delta was under special patronage by Theodora, and as such had the right of

autopragia, which meant that they were able to collect taxes and send them directly to

Constantinople. Dioscorus was classically trained under John Philoponus specifically in the

area of law. He used his classical skills in Greek and Coptic not only to administer the needs

of his community, but also to promote the relationship of Aphrodito to the Oikoumene

(MacCoull, 1988:9-10).   Therefore, he went on behalf of his village to appeal before the

Emperor on tax issues in 551. In 566, as Justin II is in the generous mode of attempting to

restore relationships, Dioscorus writes a glowing encomium, or panegyric, preserved in

P.Cair.Masp. II 67183.[6] As the image of the Emperor is presented in Antinoe to the Duke of

the Thebaid, Dioscorus is moved to honor the Emperor for his magnanimous spirit in

exploring unification:

> …the much-praised Emperor who loves Christ, which delightful gift God has granted to the
>
> world. He has come to Shepherd all truth, not according to worldly standards. He has
>
> cherished with his divinely spoken counsels the most renowned wise breath of prudent and

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[6] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.cair.masp;2;67171

pious Theodosius, following from his birth the fear and ordinances of God, and he knows how to wear the purple robe of the holy bearers of Christ…(trans. MacCoull, 1984:578).

From the time of his youth, Dioscorus has known nothing but a divided church, and worse, even a church without a Patriarch. From this long distance and with the limited prospects of change, a deeply appreciative man who is wearied by corruption and division begins to perceive a ray of hope. If Theodosius can indeed have made an impression on the new Emperor, then perhaps a new chapter can be written, and a man with a family and a significant estate to manage can trust that righteousness and justice can prevail.

The Result of Justin II's fresh approach was actually a renewal and rewrite of the Henotikon in 571, but with incorporating all of the development of language used diachronically. It was heavily influenced by Cyril's terms "one nature of the God the Word incarnate", and yet also addressed the new threats of Tritheism and the old concerns of the specific meaning of the hypostasis:

> …while confessing him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, of which two he was also composed, we do not attach to his one complex subsistence a division by parts or severance ; but we signify that the difference of the natures is not annulled by the union: for neither was the divine nature changed into the human, nor the human nature converted into the divine; but, each being the more distinctly understood and existent in the limit and relation of its own nature, we say that the union took place according to subsistence. The union according to subsistence signifies, that the God-Word, that is to say one subsistence of the three subsistence's of the Godhead, was not united with a previously existing human being, but in the womb of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, formed for himself of her, in his own subsistence, flesh consubstantial with ourselves, having the same passions in all respects except sin, and

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animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul; for he retained his subsistence in himself, and became man, and is one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Further, while considering his ineffable union, we rightly confess one nature, that of the Divine Word, to have become incarnate…(Evagrius V.4:253).

In the above language we find that the term 'subsistence' is used in translation for hypostasis, as a way to show development in the meaning of the term. Both sides were careful and aware of the controversy over the meaning of hypostasis; therefore, the focus semantically is on the "Word-God", as verbal symbol to acknowledge an ineffable union and to demonstrate maturity (in thought and hopefully in behavior!). The 'composite' nature of Christ is confessed, acknowledging that this is an intellectual understanding of the union, without properly dividing the two. The two natures are more clearly delineated in their relationship to the union, but it avoids the terms of Chalcedon and does not condemn it either. However, this very point was the place of failure, for the Emperor refused to acknowledge that condemning Chalcedon was necessary in order placate the vast majority of monks in Egypt. Further, he closed the decree by emphasizing his supreme authority with an injunction prohibiting any further debate on the issue:

> …we exhort you all to gather into one and the same Catholic and Apostolic Church, or rather we even entreat you; for though possessed of imperial supremacy, we do not decline the use of such a term, in behalf of the unanimity and union of all Christians, in the universal offering of one doxology to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in abstinence for the future on the part of all from unnecessary disputes about persons and words..(Evagrius V.4:254).

As well thought out and parsed as the document is, this carefully worded statement of authority does not have the desired effect.   The anti-Chalcedonians were recalcitrant and

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untrusting, and Justin's response was that of complete frustration, for he imprisoned bishops and monks and closed their churches in Constantinople, reversing a decades old policy. Justin II lost his sanity in 573, appointing another co-regent, Tiberius, to aid his wife Sophia in the rule of the Empire (John of Ephesus HE III.5, Smith, 1860:169-176). By reducing his psychological load over the care of the church-state, he apparently gained some short term relief, but he slipped further from reality over time, and died in 578. The appointed Tiberius II (578-582) did not share an interest in officially continuing persecutions of the anti-Chalcedonian "hesitants" (*diakrinomenoi*), yet unofficially the institutional persecution and abuse begun by Justin II continued until he rebuked the Patriarch and those responsible (John of Ephesus III:12, 15, 16, Smith, 1860:187, 192-195).

The implications for Egypt in the above events is one of isolation in the time of Emperor Maurice (582-602). Partly this was due to the many varied factions of anti-Chalcedonian expressions (as many as 20!) and their ability to be self-sufficient units able to care for their respective communities and pay taxes (Evetts, PO I, 1907:473) (Winkler, 1999:397). Examples of these units are found in the monasteries of Wadi Habib and St. Macarius in the Southwest Delta as the centers of anti-Chalcedonian work and structure. Yet new Patriarchs to guide the movement were needed, as few bishops were available. Sawirus records for us that Patriarch Damian was well aware of their isolation, and made efforts to write effectively for training and discipline, all while attempting to maintain relationships with other like-minded churches. One of these was under the care of Peter of Antioch, who came under the influence of Tritheism, and when Damian set out to correct him, the result was a broken fellowship for 23 years (Evetts, PO I, 1907:476-478) (Michael the Syrian, X.22, Chabot, 1901:365-370). Egyptian Christians may have been isolated, but

the hierarchy recognized that a much wider community was taking shape, and they wanted to be a part of it, even if it meant the application of discipline.

Emperor Maurice was not as pragmatic as Tiberius, for he also desired a full unity of fellowship of all Christians to Chalcedon, and commanded the Patriarch John to arrest the anti-Chalcedonians as before. But his own Patriarch resisted, claiming that the opposition were excellent Christians, only that they refused to communicate with him or the Emperor. In an unusual moment the Patriarch was actually able to dissuade Maurice from persecutions (John of Ephesus, V.15, Smith, 1860:352-354). How long the pressure was off is not clear, for Maurice authorized his cousin, Bishop Domitian of Melitene to begin a purge of anti-Chalcedonians in Syria, many of whom found refuge in Egypt (Michael the Syrian, X.25, Chabot, 1901:381).

With the assassination in 602 of Maurice, the Eastern Empire entered into a period of chaos that was to last for almost three decades, with the eventual loss of the Eastern Provinces. With the powers in Constantinople desperately clinging to power and losing lands, the anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch Anastasius in Alexandria (605-616) did not waste a valuable opportunity to act. He is viewed as a divinely ordained Shepherd to lead, and does so by ordaining many priests, even in Alexandria, as he was also appointed to the city council. With a certain level of freedom and political protection, he proceeded to embark on an aggressive church building program (Evetts, PO I, 1907:479). This of course would not escape the attention of his detractors, namely one Euologius, who wrote an effective letter to Emperor Phocas, accusing the Patriarch of rebellion.   One of the political points of contention that Euologius used was the fear that judgement would befall Egypt and the Nile would not yield its usual blessing of food. In a time of chaos and fear, this proved to be

believable and logical religiously and politically. Therefore, Anastasius lost one of the key churches that the anti-Chalcedonians still managed in Alexandria, that of 'Cosmas and Damian', where Anastasius had formerly been priest (Evetts, PO I, 1907:480-482). What is not stated but implicit in this matter is the much needed income that this church would produce for Euologius and the desperate needs of continual warfare.

In these conditions one would expect a vicious cycle of blame from one community towards another via the policy engendered from the respective Patriarchs. However, in the form of the installed Chalcedonian Patriarch, John the Almsgiver (Alexandria) (active 611-619) we have a compassionate leave of hostilities. John was the adopted brother of Niketas, who had wrestled Egypt from Phocas during the civil war of 608-610. John had the unusual distinction of being a formerly married layman from Cyprus, yet his appointment put him in the right political fold of Chalcedon with a unique personal perspective that placed him neutral among the parties of Alexandria (Dawes & Baynes, 1977:197).   He wisely chose the path of conciliation and generosity, by using his resources to feed thousands of the poor regardless of their confession. All the while promoting Chalcedon where he could but eschewing violence and instead choosing the positive promotion of Chalcedonian liturgy (by removing the Miaphysite phrase "who was crucified for us") (Dawes & Baynes, 1977:201, 210-211). For our purposes for the anti-Chalcedonian community, he fits well within the excellent skills of Alexandrian Patriarch Anastasius, who in 616 chose to work with Niketas after the civil war to see if the decades old division could be settled at such a unique if not opportune time (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:385; Frend, 2008:341).   This was with the explicit approval and encouragement of Niketas, then Chalcedonian governor of Egypt. I would suggest that it was the memory of this conciliatory effort some 17 years later that encourages the peacemaking efforts of Cyrus in 631-33.

Sawirus corroborates the reconciliation efforts of Anastasius, by recording a renewal of fellowship with the anti-Chalcedonian see of Antioch. A thorough meeting on the sea shore was rewarded with a restoration of the two sees, which was solemnized in the joint celebration of the liturgy (Evetts, PO I, 1907:481-482).

This may have developed into further union with the Chalcedonians had it not been for the successful Persian advance into Egypt between 616-619 and the departure of Niketas and Patriarch John. The Persians were known in Mesopotamia and Syria to have a well developed religious tolerance toward Christians, especially Miaphysites. The very proof of this was the survival and growth of the Nestorian church within its own borders for over 100 years. Yet policy does not always dictate what soldiers may do in the field of battle, for 80,000 men were slain after they took Alexandria, and 700 monks were slaughtered in Nikiu (Evetts, PO I, 1907:485).   The news of this episode of violence spread fast upstream on the Nile, and monks and laypersons alike were making adjustments for the future. A well-known miracle working priest named Pisentios from Coptos sent letters to his congregation telling that "God has delivered (us) into the hands of merciless nations", and then proceeded to disappear into the hills above Thebes for the remainder of the occupation (Foss, 2003:166; Amelineau, 1887:137). After the initial violence the normal warp and woof of life continued even much as it had before. Taxes and commerce were expected to continue and make their way into Persia. Greek, Coptic, along with Pahlavi was used as the regular language of administrative structure and the layman and monk alike worked together for their new master (Foss, 2003:167).   Christians continued their life of worship, although with travel restrictions that would affect their pilgrimages to Shrines (ibid.). In essence this was a dress rehearsal for the Arab conquest. Anti-Chalcedonians of all

derivatives made adjustments for each other as well as the state church; therefore, this learned flexibility would serve them well in the future.

2.6 Benjamin I: The Separate Hierarchy comes into its Own

Within this milieu anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch Andronicus (616-622) served in Alexandria from within the walls of the church of the Angelion. He was available to all who had need of him, for he was a member of one of the leading families of the city and had the authority and respect necessary to endure a difficult occupation.   He simply limited his exposure by staying within the confines of his cell (Evetts, PO I, 1907:484). It was during these difficult days that he met a young man from Canopus trained by the well revered Theonas. This was none other than Benjamin I (f. 622-661), who would lead the church through more difficult days ahead (Evetts, PO I, 1907:489). His approach to civil government would be very instructive, and set a pattern for future relations.

Benjamin weathered the Persian storm from 623 to 629, and sometime during 630 he departed Alexandria for Upper Egypt before or when Cyrus arrived (Evetts, PO I, 1907:490). Sawirus attributes Benjamin's wise departure before the monenergist storm to angelic prophecy, but whatever the motive for his self-imposed exile, he wisely prepares as best he can. In the Hagiographic life of *Samuel of Kalamun*, his departure is avoiding a trial and death prosecuted by Cyrus (Alcock, 1983:79). In a thoughtful response, he instructs his Bishops and lower clergy to resist whatever temptation that the Chalcedonians set before them even to the point of death (Evetts, PO I, 1907:490-491).   This is amazingly prescient and instructive, and perhaps his personal development in Canopus taught him the history of the past two centuries and this allowed him to perceive the great influence that Emperor Heraclius would bring to bear. Benjamin's departure further south of Wadi Habib in Upper

Egypt gives a sense of supernatural protection and add to the gravitas that the Patriarch was to possess after the conquest. Chalcedonian Patriarch and Prefect Cyrus is no fool, for he knows that if he can draw out such a revered Patriarch and convince him, many more of the "Theodosian" branch of Severans who came to his side would feel vindicated in the Pact of Union (633, see above). Thus Benjamins' brother Menas is made to suffer horrendously (Evetts, PO I, 1907: 491-492). Two of Benjamins' Bishops received this painful message all too clearly, for Cyrus, Bishop of Nikiu, and Victor, Bishop of Fayum join the monenergist compromise, only to be restored later in 643-44 when Benjamin returns (Müller, 1991:CE: 375a-377a)(Evetts, PO I, 1907:497).

Concession under pressure is not the only response among anti-Chalcedonian groups. John of Nikiu records that Gaianites (Julianists) attempted to assassinate Cyrus near the bridge of Taposiris Magna upon his return from exile, as revenge for his previous action (John of Nikiu, Chronicle Ch. 116; Booth, 2016:532). Nikiu also attests to his violent persistence to force his policy at this late state of affairs as Egypt is about to be lost: "After the death of Heraclius and the return of the patriarch Cyrus he did not abandon the anger and persecution against the people of God, but began to heap evil upon evil" (Nikiu, Chronicle, Ch. 116). The reverence for the Emperor and his divine right to guide the Christian Oikoumene has met its limit of anti-Chalcedonian emotional patience in the Chronicle of John.

Cyrus' reputation is also perceived and recorded in the *Life of Samuel of Kalamun* as a testimony to the cruel power of Byzantine office. In this anti-Chalcedonian account Isaac the Presbyter expresses his understanding of Chalcedonian rule by describing Cyrus as 'Criminal', 'Impious', and 'Tyrannical' (Alcock, 1983:79). As he extends his influence beyond

Alexandria, Isaac describes the arrival of his Magistrate representative, who uses 200 soldiers in Scetis to pressure the monks to sign the Pact of Union and the Tome of Leo. Samuel in rather dramatic form is beaten near to death for his refusal, and the rest of the monks interpret the future consequences and leave Scetis en masse (Alcock, 1983:79-80). Isaac's account is a late 7th century record (~695) of the view point of a later generation who reveres the former for "confessing" and resisting as living "martyrs".

There is an extant sermon written by Benjamin on the Wedding at Cana that mentions the disappointment caused by those who gave in to the above force of state pressure, such as Victor of Fayum, as well as other pertinent Christological issues (Müller, 1968:82-84; Grillmeier, 1996:84). For our purposes the sermon is helpful not only to identify the opposition but also to state positively what the position of the majority of belief was in the period. Christ's divinity in power to assume a fully human body and lifestyle is emphasized, especially his ability to experience hunger, thirst and joy, in their full sense as real objective experiences (Müller, 1968:118-120). These are affirmed due to his creative power, and as such the one who created food is also able to partake himself, and he asks believers to partake with him. This is probably to encourage the faithful against the remaining Julianists and Phantasiasts in the post conquest period. The practical application of this for Benjamin's flock is proper administration of the Eucharist, for if Christ is misunderstood or handled with immoral priests, then the "ordained one" offends God and therefore forgiveness, life, and grace fail to reach the laity:

> Woe to the presbyter who seizes the body of God with his hand and not pure. Woe to all members of the Ordained of the Church, to each one according to the rank of the person, to accomplish sin - especially those who do the same this, be it a whore, or a thief, or a robber, or whoever [makes] wars [in the] affairs of the church, or who swears in falsehood, and the

body of God is in his hand, or whoever slandered, or a magician and effeminate, or who looks after the women in the church or in the streets…. woe and again, woe to them, for their punishment is very evil beloved (Müller, 1985:189-93, see also Römer, 1985:84-85).

Some of the same themes can also be traced to Benjamin's 16th Easter Letter (P. Koln Inv.20390; Coptic version in Müller, 1968:302-351), dated to either 644 (Müller, 1968:302) or 663 (Römer, 1985:83). These Easter letters constitute one of the most important aspects of the office, and are a type of florilegia that identify the theological pedigree of the Patriarch and also are potential indicators of the contemporary issues facing their Clergy and laity (Römer, 1985:77-79).   In this letter the particular focal point is the proper definition of the suffering of Christ, and making careful distinction of his suffering in the flesh as our representative, but not in his divine nature. To make his point he specifically attacks those who he deems guilty of Theopaschism ("the God-head suffered" -The doctrine Justinian made famous), namely Apollinaris and Felix of Rome. As Theopaschite "Diophysites" they cause the "God-Logos" (or "Godhead") to suffer on the cross by claiming that the hypostatic person is passible, thus offending Benjamin's sense of protecting the divine.

Benjamin's response to this is to affirm that Christ suffered in his flesh and not in his divinity (sometimes expressed as soul or mind). Many could construe this as Chalcedonian, therefore, he is setting a clear distance from this accusation by asserting that the incarnate Logos of the Virgin Mary took to himself a rational soul. This is possible because "one of the Holy consubstantial Trinity" has suffered, and in this one hypostasis he as the eternal Logos in union can maintain his unity while designating what particular nature in this union can experience suffering (Römer, 1985:104-105).   Grillmeier noted (1996:85) that Benjamin describes the intentional distinction in suffering via the analogy of the hammer striking the

hot iron: the hammer touches the iron but not the flames. Benjamin probably learned this from reading Cyril, but Cyril used this analogy for different purposes (Grillmeier, 1995:82). There does not appear to be any direct quotes from his anti-Chalcedonian fathers, yet the terms and definitions used show that he is using known material from Athanasius, Cyril, Dioscorus, and Severus (Grillmeier, 1996:84 n.147).

This Festal letter is also used to stress the sanctity and importance of the right use of the Eucharist. For in the same context of defending the very union of the divine Logos, the right attitude and perspective is required in partaking of the sacrament:

> Know, oh man on which meal you participate, remember that you are dust, and mortal, and flesh and contrary [not worthy] to take the blood of God. Why, man, are you running and make noise while you are to receive the Spirit []? Or do you not know that the soul at that moment must be much more full of stillness, peace, and quiet and not with noise, anger and confusion? Do these things namely not only defile the soul, but they also set the wrath God moving against us? (lines 24-31; Römer, 1985:105; modified translation)

This in intent is very similar to 1 Corinthians 11:17-34, where the Apostle is demanding that believers think carefully and examine themselves as they partake of the sacrament. Of importance for our purposes in practical application is verse 19, where Paul is rebuking them for their "factions", much as Benjamin has been doing in his letter:

> Now we do not want be foolish, dear brothers, to our benefactors, but want him rather by [his power] all faith, hope, love, Prudence have [been] placed [in him] and therefore we should not make noise, nor push with your (our?) legs, even bump (do violence?) to your neighbors. For these are signs of external [problems and] are negligent and arrogant (lines 12-20; Römer, 1985:105; modified trans.).

I would suggest that this is an indicator that Benjamin was indeed allowed to oversee the affairs of the majority of Egyptian Christians (Evetts, PO I, 1907:495-496) but this would be interpreted as useful for maintaining the public (political) peace of the country.   While confirming right doctrine and restoring churches, the very peace of the church must not be disturbed, for if it is then its privileges may very well be lost. The "benefactor" mentioned in the above quote from the Festal letter I would interpret as ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the current governor and the very 'power' that gave Christians freedom to worship. The Arabs at this early stage had a minor comprehension of the doctrinal divide that distinguished one Christian from another. Benjamin wisely desires to bridge these divides through all the means of his office and at the same time maintain the public peace.

Benjamin's return from exile and careful return to his office was negotiated by Sanutis (Shenoute) governor of the Thebaid (Evetts, PO I, 1907:495)(Davis, 2004:125).   The initial meeting was impressive on the part of both parties, for ʿAmr asked Benjamin for prayers for his military exploits into the Pentapolis, and they were granted. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ had been materially and militarily helped by varied chora/districts during his conquest of Egypt (Davis, 2004:123). Therefore, ʿAmr knew that he would be able to find experienced and trained persons to establish peace during the transition of power (the understanding of how that power is used to be discussed in the next section).

Part of this peaceful transition is the recognition, restoration, and consecration of churches. Benjamin had the rare privilege of aggressively building and restoring churches to the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy. This would broaden his influence and authority, and grant a broader settled identity to Christians fatigued by internal division and war. Physical evidence for this is the Book of the Consecration of the sanctuary of Benjamin (*Cod. Tisch.*

XXIV, 23, also related in Evetts, PO I, 1907:503-518).   According to Youssef (2016:299) the actual consecration took place in 648 or 652 based on internal textual evidence. This consecration took place in the monastery chapel of Saint Macarius in Sheit near Wadi Natrun (Evelyn-White, 1973:127-131). The central aspect of this consecration that is pertinent to our objective is that of the vision of Benjamin, where as he participates in the actual consecration he experiences a vision of Saint Macarius himself, who with the aid of an Angel gives instruction as to the character of the monks who work and worship together there. The key character trait that he demands of his "sons" are that they love one another and apply this maturity by showing grace and meekness towards each other (Evelyn-White, 1973:129-130). Present also is the threat of excommunication if love and patient tolerance are not demonstrated in their community. Consistent with the Festal letter of Easter is this recurrent theme of maintaining the peace of the church, that communities may be a source of restoration and rebuilding to an Egypt devastated by extended chaos.

Present at the consecration with Benjamin was his Syncellus (secretary) Agathon, who is groomed to become the next Patriarch (666-677) (or 680).   He also has the unique opportunity of his predecessor to expand and solidify anti-Chalcedonian Hierarchy of the Severan model, but not without political and economic pressure from Chalcedonians (Evetts, PO V, 1910:5, 9) (re: Governor Theodore as mentioned above). Yet this will not dissuade him from building on the initiative developed by Benjamin in developing a relational balance with other doctrinal communities ("heretics"). This is shown in his willingness to redeem captives taken from extended Muslim raids in Sicily (669) (Foss, 2009:272, n.68). In the History of the Patriarchs, these groups are described as "Gaianites" and "Barsanuphians", but are probably modified forms of Julianists and dyothelites (two wills in Christ) from Southern Italy and North Africa. Agathon is said to have not been

willing to allow his fellow Christians to remain in bondage to "Gentiles" (Arabs). Precisely

what is meant by "Gentiles" is in need of further research, but this does indicate that

Agathon's theological perception of Islam is that it is something unique and different from

Christianity (Evetts, PO V, 1910:4-5).

Similar to Agathon's experience with Benjamin as his confidant and follower, John of

Sammanud was carefully chosen and developed in order to succeed him as Patriarch (677-

690) (Evetts, PO V, 1910:6-19). In order to affirm that Christ has chosen their spiritual

leader, miracles and Angelic guidance are common themes in most of these transitions of

succession in the recorded line of Patriarchs. The hagiographical style of these accounts

adds the weight of personal experience with higher angelic or saintly powers as a means to

assign each patriarch an anointed power of his own. John is an excellent example of this, as

one who nearly died in sickness, but was miraculously visited in a dream of the heavenly

throne and commanded to become a monk after his healing (Evetts, PO V, 1910:6-7). Yet

for all his unique spiritual experience his intellectual powers are not ignored, for he is noted

as one have wisdom in both ecclesiastical and secular knowledge. This will prove useful, for

he is called upon to be a careful bridge builder between communities of faith and of

government much like his predecessor.

Also like Agathon, he has trouble with 'aggressive and selfish Chalcedonians', namely

in the person of Theophanes, who is the brother in law of the very Theodore who gave his

fore father trouble. This Theophanes managed to maneuver politically via gossip to damage

the reputation of the new Patriarch with the governor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwan (f. 685-705)

(Evetts, PO V, 1910:13). In the initial confrontation John is accused by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of being

arrogant on account of his wealth, which implies that he has resources that he is keeping

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from him. What the crisis reveals is John's patient and honest manner under pressure, for he continues to hold on to the faith that Christ is Lord over his body. If Christ is fully unified with a humanity like ours then as creator and Lord he has authority over the body and the suffering of his servants. This steady, patient, and humble resistance under the threat of torture convinces ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that the God of John loves truth (Evetts, PO V, 1910:17). Over time despite Theophanes efforts the Patriarch and the governor develop a lasting friendship. The friendship is not without its encouraging helpers, as the two wise secretaries of anti-Chalcedonian confession Athanasius (from Edessa) and Isaac (Evetts, PO V, 1910:16), assist in the process of stabilizing the relationships.   Bishop Mena of Nikiu also collaborates this in his account of the Life if Isaac (written ca.640), for the relationships born out of adversity prove to be very useful as these three anti-Chalcedonians develop a solid momentum of influence (Bell, 1988:61). These relationships tip the scale of balance between the old order and the new, for Chalcedonians such as Theophanes are a small minority with a disproportionate power base.   Now with the majority church in holding key positions within church and state, the ecclesiastical authority has more freedom to manage affairs and handle crises. Mikhail recognizes that at this stage a new re-alignment of relationships turns the tide of Chalcedonian influence, and the anti-Chalcedonians of the Severan majority take the fore (2014:42).

Through this successful change the main church in Alexandria of St. Mark the Evangelist is properly rebuilt under the auspices of Patriarch John, which is an enormous indicator of a significant turn for the anti-Chalcedonian community (Evetts, PO V, 1910:18). Also in this great turn of momentum, two main regions/Nomes come under the miaphysite confession, that of Argharwah and Xoite/Xois (ibid.). This is of no small significance, as normally in times past confessional change was by individual, or perhaps singular churches.

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There is also another thematic thread that attaches to these Patriarchs, that of the unexpected election to office. Part of the image of Christ's singular substance acting within his church is his surprising choice of leadership as he acts with supreme authority. The Patriarch to take the throne after John III was Isaac (690-692 (93?)), a reluctant academic who though trained for civil service in the government as a young man, had an overwhelming drive for the solitary life as an ascetic (Bell, 1988:45-46).   The desire becomes so powerful that he runs away from home. I would interpret this as a strong sacred/secular dichotomy for both the parents and Isaac. He who would dare handle and meditate on the mysteries of Christ must be sacred and separated from civil life, and both Isaac and his parents are aware and act accordingly. Isaac gives an example of this by telling his parents, "do not pride yourselves in the abundance of your goods, for all these will quickly come to pass" (Bell, 1988:61). Isaac clearly then is focused on the eternal and spiritual world with its own immense responsibility. But the problem is ultimately resolved in the mutual understanding of Christ's activity to choose his servants. Isaac then is released to continue his spiritual training under Zacharias.   It is during this rigorous training that Isaac has exposure to the higher levels of government through the interaction between Zacharias and the two aforementioned secretaries of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz , whose desire is for prayers and spiritual intervention (Bell, 1988:56).   As a holy man, the secular offices see him as having special access to God for their success, "The Lord will give you whatever you ask of him" (ibid.).   Spiritual power is not just hoped for, but to be expected of those who comprehend Christ (in Mena's point of view). The details reveal a stressful environment with anticipated crises (ibid.).

One of the crises that was managed well was one of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's reactions to Christianity.   He may have developed an excellent relationship with John III born out of

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adversity, but He found the common display of the cross to be an offensive idol that defined Jesus contrary to the Koran. Therefore, he determined that all crosses be removed from the exterior of churches and buildings, on which the inscription from Sura 112 in the Koran to be put in their place: "Muhammed is the great Apostle of God, and Jesus is also the Apostle of God. But verily God is not begotten and does not beget" (Bell, 1988:61; Evetts, PO V, 1910:25). I agree with Bell that al-Muqaffa has his chronology wrong on this event, but nonetheless we have two independent sources corroborating that both John III and Isaac have a mutually beneficial relationship but with the collision of cultures and expectations (1988:86 n.78).   I would attribute this to the Muslim religious advisors that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz confers with (Bell, 1988:71). What this demonstrates in objective terms is that Christology is clearly on the minds of the government and those who govern. What this means in practical day to day terms will be explored below, but at this juncture it supports our premise that the late classical world interpreted themselves as acting within the boundaries of Christology as their basis for action.

This even becomes increasingly clear in the transition of the Patriarchal throne from John III to Isaac. When John III died, many key high ranking Bishops (including Bishop John of Nikiu of the famous Chronicle) put forward the name of George of Sakha, a deacon, as the person to sit as Patriarch (Bell, 1988:62) (Evetts, PO V, 1910:22). However, this was not the choice of the departed Patriarch John, who prayed for a revelation as to whom Christ would choose as a successor (Evetts, PO V, 1910:21).   Mena of Nikiu in his 'Life of Isaac' describes this as an irregular process where George and the Bishops are in a rush to consecrate a Patriarch so as to maintain the structure of authority (or perhaps to try and manipulate the scenario before ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would exercise his authority). The language used indicates that in their rush to succession they desire a consecration of George in mid-

week, whereas the Canons required it on a Sunday, and the Archdeacon of the church to be used for the ceremony halted the proceedings (Bell, 1988:62).   The delay of the ordination allows for other Bishops to arrive in Alexandria, and quickly a division is developed over determining who rightfully is chosen (by Christ) for this office.   The crisis deepens when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz demands that the whole process be brought before him in Fustat so that he may adjudicate between the parties.   As he has been brought near in relationship to the church through John III, he has a further vested interest in seeing a peaceful transition.   The record of this event preserves divine action in the choice, yet Mena stresses canonical law in not allowing a married man to the office, especially one with 'wicked' children (ref. I Timothy 3:4-5) (Bell, 1988:62). Mena further develops the presence of divine choice when he describes the dramatic scene of Isaac's entry into the church of St. Sergius in Babylon (near Fustat), whereby the oil lamp in the entrance 'breaks' over his head in a public supernatural anointing, thus prompting those present to recognize and seize him and claim, the "thirteenth Apostle!" (Bell, 1988:62).

The writer of the History of the Patriarchs however while recognizing that the spiritual power is voiding the process of the Bishops choice, also pragmatically recognizes that the governor now asserts his authority to deny George the office and instead affirm it to Isaac (Evetts, PO V, 1910:23). Despite secular intervention the Bishops choose to interpret the governors' angry reaction as Christ's providence.   What is made clear in the History of the Patriarchs is that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz respected the choice of John III and had documentary proof that this was his desire. For his part, he knew of John's integrity and wisdom, and trusted him to find a man of similar thinking (Evetts, PO V, 1910:23-24). From now on, every Patriarch would be chosen by ecclesiastical process in a desire to know Christ's choice, but also "by the consent of the people" (i.e. the governor) (Bell, 1988:63).

Once seated in spiritual authority, Isaac reveals his ascetic focus in order to maintain the integrity and influence of the monks. The quiet life of hesychastic (tranquil) learning is the theme for the reform of the holy communities of Scetis (Bell, 1988:64). The format of education is that of both corporate worship and quiet meditation, with regular teaching from the Patriarch himself and the respective Archimandrite. One of these teaching tools is the Eucharist itself, for the Patriarch is described in By Mena in ecstatic terms as having actually observed the Holy Spirit transforming the elements. This is expressed as a passive mystery, for Isaac does not have any efficacy of his own, but this hagiographical language used defines him as one worthy to observe the mystery of Christ in an objective sensibility (ibid.). I emphasize this in Mena's record not to hyperbolize their world and life view as hagiographical literature does in motif, but to show that his anointing is predicated on his theological understanding, for the incarnated Word is expected to make his presence known to the spiritual father of the church. This legitimizes his theology and therefore his authority.   The Coptic identity is beginning to come into its own in its understanding of Christ and the resulting implications, for these spiritual fathers need accreditation in a contested age.

In this transition period into majority influence, the anti-Chalcedonian church has the benefit of government sanction via the secretaries Athanasius and Isaac. This emboldens the Patriarch to promote Cyril's theology and in turn with public affirmation to be viewed by his flock as a living saint. This is interpreted by Mena as 'grace' to affirm the confession of faith as presented by the Patriarch, even en masse, as he baptized the entire village of Psanasho (in the central Delta near Sammanud)(Bell, 1988:65, 91 n. 108).

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John III and now Isaac might be able to participate in the joyful reunion of entire regions into their fold, but it is not without communal political tensions. Mena describes Athanasius the wealthy secretary to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as creating stress for the Patriarch and being unfaithful in his office, "for the power lay in his hands" (Bell, 1988:65)(also Chronicle of 1234:132-133 trans. Palmer, 1993:202-203). Mena uses the crisis created by the illness of his son to reconcile these two men and affirm Isaac as worthy in the line of the most revered anti-Chalcedonian church Fathers. For Athanasius proclaims that if "the cure comes to my son through the archbishop, I will believe in him as Athanasius, Cyril, Ignatius, and Severus!" (Bell, 1988:66).   If the state can recognize the spiritual authority of the church via the Patriarch as proper to the most revered Fathers of the church, then legitimacy is complete. Isaac proclaimed to Athanasius on this occasion, "he who opposes the church opposes Christ" (Bell, 1988:67). This close nexus of relationships ordered between the Muslim state and the Christian majority is negotiated in the exchange between the Patriarch and these secretaries. I would suggest that given the Byzantine "church-state" model that most Christians of this era had been working toward, this was a synthetic approximation.

Yet this negotiation is not complete without mutual respect of the state directly, which is what Mena does with the perception of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz .   He describes the governor as one "who loves Christians", but this is merely intellectual in hagiography. For Mena further shows ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as being able to perceive intense light ("glory") around the Patriarch as he performs the liturgy.   This observation of "fire" around the Patriarch and the one standing next to him causes him to be overwhelmed with fear.   When Isaac visits him to explain the presence of Christ visibly communicating with him in worship, the governor raises his estimation of him and attests to him the highest honor a Muslim could manage, that of a Prophet (Bell, 1988:67-68). From that time forward Isaac was always at his side

wherever he traveled, and introduced him as "Patriarch", as the normal pattern would be to call him Archbishop.

It is one thing to have mutual respect, but entirely another to have mutual benefit. Mena blends this cultural negotiation by choosing a well-known analogy of Israel's Babylonian Captivity. "God who gave glory and grace to the prophet Daniel before the Kings of the Chaldeans and Persians, also glorified this saint before the King of the Saracens" (Bell, 1988:72).   A formal captivity could be Mena's way of stating the current difficult reality, but he chooses to present it in the most positive way, for Egypt's "Daniel" has freedom of movement and action being honored and aided by the King to the extent of helping to build churches (ibid.).   Yet this honor and freedom is held conditionally and can be challenged from time to time according to the perspective of the 'King'.   Yet this King could actually be of benefit to the church, for the cultural exchange becomes narrow in scope when an Arab Christian comes to Egypt to redeem his two sons. In this "Captivity" connected anecdote, Mena records that a relative of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz came from Arabia to find healing for one of his sons, and also to hopefully restore the other son who had abandoned his faith and fled to Egypt. The pursuit of the latter proved a failure, but when the governor interviewed regarding the former, he sent for Isaac to pray for him. In the healing practice of anointing and praying, two kinds of healing take place. First, the son is physically healed, and second, the family is restored to the right faith, as the Father had been among the Acepheloi ("headless ones"), who did not recognize the authority of the Patriarch. The family in the very presence of the Muslim governor not only experiences the miraculous, but is also brought into the spiritual family of Christ (Bell, 1988:70). Mena makes it clear what the right faith produces, for he speaks of the salvation of the soul, and further, two practical items that this new confession of faith allows. The first is a copy of the Gospel of John, an

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expensive and arduous gift which the Patriarch gladly provides. Secondly, is "blessed

bread", for the Arab father to take with him on his journey. This bread was called "Eulogia"

and was specifically blessed for future use in the Eucharist when used and consecrated by a

priest in the local church, and it also signified ecclesiastical communion (Bell, 1988:93, n.

128)(Anderson, 2013:69-71).   For this family not only did right Christology bring healing, but

Christ's physical presence as well, for the Arab father was encouraged that this "blessed

bread" would protect them as they traveled home (Bell, 1988:70-71).   Physical evidence for

this is attested by Bronze vessels used to take the elements to the sick (MacCoull,

2002/3:22-23).

The mutually beneficial experience between the church and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the days

of John and Isaac was an extraordinary one, and not to be repeated often. The scenario did

indeed change for Simon I (692-700), as he did not have the same clear line of close

relationship to the previous family of Patriarchs. Also, coming from a Syrian monastery and

background proved to be awkward at first, but the governor acknowledged the choice of the

Bishops and sensed the wisdom of Simon (Evetts, PO V, 1910:29).   Simon accepted his

throne but chose to have his spiritual father, John, manage the affairs of the church, and

allow him to live the ascetic life of careful study and isolation. This mediation may have

allowed him to develop further his comprehension of the mystery of Christ, but it created a

relational disconnect and, therefore, fueled a violent opposition. On several occasions he

was poisoned, only to survive and thus garner respect as a holy man protected by God

(Evetts, PO V, 30-31). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz burned alive the magicians responsible, but spared the

priests who had colluded with them. There may not have been a close relationship between

the governor and the Patriarch, but there was a level of respect built on previous

experience. This level of respect would be tested severely more than once during Simon's

tenure, for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did not live in isolation but with the dynamic of managing the most

important province in the Caliphate (with Muslims imams speaking into his ear constantly).

The severe test came in the form of the discipline of a group of Bishops for adultery, who

were properly deposed, but sought an appeal to the Governor by using deceit, claiming that

they were forbidden from marriage (Evetts, PO V, 1910:34).   The event is helpful for our

purposes in that this false appeal sets off a theological debate that enrages ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

over time, and highlights the differences between the faith of the governor and that of the

governed.   This also highlights the fact that the disparate groups seem to once again raise

their head in resistance, such as the Chalcedonians, Gaiainites, and Barsanuphians. This is

probably due to the weak leadership of Simon, for it is the governor who confronts the

"heretics" in the presence of the Patriarch, and shames them into submitting to his choice

of elevating the particular form of anti-Chalcedonians of the majority (Severan) church.   To

his credit, Simon did ordain many Bishops, and spent a much of his time in carefully

managing the relationships between Christians and Muslims (Evetts, PO V, 1910:43).

2.7 Next Crisis: Hierarchy handling few Resources

In the waning years of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz you can discern the rising tensions between a

developing Islam and a more unified Christianity in Egypt. Yet for all his faults, this governor

saw the value of collaborating with the majority faith and not with the existing elite

aristocracy, much of which still had connections to the Chalcedonianism of 'al-Rum' (Rome).

Alexander II was elected to the Patriarchal see in 705 (703? to 730), and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died

the same year.   Alexander's time as Patriarch was long, but was strewn with many

hardships and persecution for himself and for the church at large. The new governors were

installed every few years, and most were very harsh towards Christians, with several terms

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of prison for Alexander, only to be released for purposes of raising more money (Evetts, PO V, 1910:54, 55, 58). The crushing taxes were also a factor for his flock and the churches, and these will be dealt with in a later section. For our purposes here we will evaluate an excellent text that has been well preserved, a Paschal letter written by Alexander in 724.

In this text (Ber.P.10677) Alexander confronts not only the typical subjects of an anti-Chalcedonian Christology, but also addresses a topic that would be pertinent to Muslims, that of a visible God in Christ. Therefore, his first topic is not what constitutes a hypostasis, but by what basis can we say God is indeed invisible, and yet in Christ visible, without contradiction to the mind of a Muslim monotheist. This he finds in the first chapter of the Gospel of John. By affirming the inspiration of the Apostolic scriptures, he can say with authority:

> …we know clearly that it is shown by the Holy Scriptures that the Divine is completely invisible by its own definition, insofar as it exists by nature in the one, holy, and august Trinity. There- fore even Christ's disciples reasonably used the impossible mode of (speaking of) this ineffable and incomprehensible nature in proclaiming it invisible; but straightway they introduced the awesome and exalted mystery of One of the same Trinity which took place for our sake by (divine) economy out of love for humankind: and they brought this good news everywhere, that seeing God was quite true, and they made it plain that God's rule is more exact for all… (MacCoull, 1990:30).

The above introduces the subject of Christ in a brilliant manner that not only addresses the offense that Muslims take with the Incarnation, but is an excellent point of contact to assert the core of Christ's nature.   Alexander may promote the visible Christ to his own community, but this is unconvincing to the state. Several governors after ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz take an increasingly iconoclastic approach, beginning with al-Asbagh in 705 (Evetts,

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1910:52-54), which develops into public policy by 709 (Evetts, PO V, 1910:61-62).   At first

the precious metals used in the liturgy were confiscated, then the marble, and after that the

wooden carvings were removed as a rebuke by Muslims perceptions, and also as a manner

of raising revenue (Evetts, PO V, 1910:67-69). By 721 Caliph Yazid II had decreed that all

crosses everywhere were to be destroyed (Theophanes, AM 6215, cf. Turtledove, 1982:93;

Evetts, 1910:72-73; Vasiliev, 1956:25-47).

Yet the fully visible Christ must be understood in truth according to Alexander.

Therefore the contentions that still exist with Gaiainites and Chalcedonians are confronted

and their doctrines defined in order to protect the faithful (MacCoull, 1990:33). However,

complaining about the heretics will not help his flock for they need positive definitions of

Christ so as to achieve the Patriarch's goals of the peace and protection of the church.   In

order to "live the best way of life", and to be able to "keep their mind alert and their

intelligence awake" (ibid.) they must intelligently understand the truth of the Fathers:

> …teachings of the worthy Fathers which proclaim that Christ is one, and which direct (us) to
>
> confess His one incarnate nature and one person and one divine-human operation
>
> (*theandrike energeia*) and one will (*thelesis*); and also (to understand) how the apostolic
>
> traditions are despised, those which implant salvation from above for the whole human
>
> race, and do not teach us to make mention of "natural properties" (*phusikov idiotatov*) in
>
> the one Christ (ibid.).

Despite the incredible division and suffering created by Cyrus' use of Dionysius'

"theandric energy" and the specific language of the Pact of Union of 633, here we find the

same terms.   What the monophysite/miaphysite perspective cannot walk away from

regardless of historical politics is a language that is consistent with the emphasis on a single

substance of Christ after the union. Therefore one energy/operation and one will, are

consistent with the fullest use of single hypostasis and singular person in the doctrine of Christ. Consistent with Cyril, Physis and Hypostasis must mean the same thing. For Alexander, if properties belong to natures (the "natural properties" quoted above), then it inevitably leads to two hypostases, which in his mind demands Nestorianism and two substantive identities in Christ. According to MacCoull, the Coptic verb for "property" ⲱⲡ/ⲏⲡ is qualitative, and can be understood as "counted", "numbered" (1990:37). This Paschal letter may have been written in Greek, but logically for the Coptic mind the use of 'property' implies a process of numbering (see also Smith, 2000:40). If numbering is involved then it implies a process which is antithetical to the singular substance of God. This dialogue or argument involving the numbering of natures is what Alexander wants his flock to avoid, especially within the context of an increasingly hostile Muslim government which views Christians as promoting idolatry and Tritheism.

Which is precisely why he wishes to make practical application of the person and work of Christ. If believers are bound together with the Fathers of the church in their common confession of Christ, then it follows that they will follow them in functional practice of good works.   If the visible Christ is active in his unified nature and activity in his church by bringing spiritual power in the sacrament, then there are active works to do in community. The parable of the talents is mentioned in this aspect, not that one should desire the responsibility of the five or the one talent, but the two talents. Why two? Because the two talents represent that believers have been given all that they have, and whatever limited resource is at their disposal can certainly be shared with the poor at some level: "for we have nothing of our own; what he has given, that he seeks" (MacCoull, 1990:33).   The good works then that are enjoined on the community of faith is the mutual

care of the poor. The language used by Alexander here appears to imply that the needs of the poor are immense:

> … for it is the acceptable time, the day for every good work leading to salvation. By good works we shall attract God's mercy, now most of all beseeching Him and making propitiation before His face: (for) since we see that the whole world is beset with misfortunes one on top of another and is running the risk of coming to the end-time which will destroy all things, on account of our many sins up to now, though we are in distress night and day… (trans. MacCoull, 1990:33).

Alexander speaks of the present state of affairs in Apocalyptic terms.   In and through the present state of suffering, Christ must be understood in his fullness and properly in accordance with the Coptic Patriarch because there is much repentance, prayer, and work to do. A divided church is being judged for sin in harsh conditions. This stress is a factor that must be addressed in calling a beleaguered community to faith in action, despite the oppressive weight that they currently endure. Because Christ is fully unified as the God-Man he must be worshipped and meditated upon in a full understanding, and the result from this should be ethical works benefitting the community. His fear is that if the faithful lose sight of this then they will fall into despair and desperate reaction. Indeed The following year (725) the Copts rebelled en masse, and the consequences were terrible (Mikhail, 2014:Loc.2387).

2.8 Monk as Mediator: Spiritual and Material Resources

If it can be demonstrated that Christology had an imprint on the everyday lifestyle and decision making of the Egyptian Christian who finds himself operating in the Caliphate, then perhaps it can be measured in the connection between the Bishop, the monk, and the

people they serve.   The Christian liturgical calendar, feast days, saint's days, pilgrimages to shrines and their related payments and ritual, all converge together to make the clergy a reference point in daily life. As we shall see below, this even comes more to the forefront as the clergy are at the center of tax collection and administrative duties. For a period of time before further Arabization begins its influential momentum, the clergy help hold the fabric of Coptic reality together.

Why does the clergy become so vital in this age? Peter Brown in his seminal work, "The Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" explores this question in the framework of an age that is in the final transition out of paganism (1971). The key to understand the great holy man of Christianity is his long hours and tiresome work in emotional toil and shared suffering within his surrounding community (Brown, 1971:81). His related ascetic literature focuses on his victory over both the mundane sinfulness of life and the demonic supernatural (Brakke, 2006:14). His prayers overcome these and as a result are understood as proof of access to divine aid. Egypt is the origin of the ascetic, yet this model explodes over late antique Byzantium, for the community became inquisitive and regular clientele became involved around this curious individual (Brown, 1971:81-82). These men might be known for their fierce independence, yet they become a vital element in their respective communities. The interaction is a natural one of mutual necessities, for the monks were often manufacturers of practical items or produce that was of common economic interest to the village. Monks would often place their laura on the edge of the dessert in order to have access to the village network and ultimately the Nile (ibid.).

The desert demands a severe discipline of time management so as to ration the hours between meditation, liturgical orders, and the raw means for survival. Over time this

becomes a source of power for the spiritual monk and his spiritual community for these routines represent the tangible access to the supernatural.   Miracles are his accreditation that indeed he has this access (e.g. Samuel of Kalamun). This access though is not merely for the repetition of miracle for the sake of the community but also qualifies him for the less dramatic but vital role of mediator for daily relationships. Anthony was imagined as the one great mediator who could interconnect all of Egypt (Athanasius, Vita Antoni, PG 26, 865A; see Brown, 1971:90).

If the man of God (*Theos aner*) could have access to power outside of the human existence, perhaps he might be "other than human" (Brown, 1971:93). Samuel of Kalamun's mother, Kosmiane had this to say to her son when learning of his desire to become a monk:

> But if it is your wish to become a monk, we rejoice with you and are very happy if indeed God will make us worthy of a seed in Sion and a relative in heavenly Jerusalem (trans. Alcock, 1983:76).

This had practical implications for judicial matters, for telling truth from lies is always contentious. To possess the skill of distinguishing truth from error in everyday human affairs could have inestimable value as a stabilizer in the mundane world. He was the voice of God yet his own identity was validated and enhanced. Examples of this are found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, "The Sayings of the Fathers" (Ward, 1984:13-14). The ascetic life in their view had made him to be objectively minded and trust worthy, for in their presupposition of the goodness of God, an intimacy of lifestyle with God would especially equip and connect him with objective reality (Ward, 1984:22, 152). This was the great reward for so conquering his own "flesh", the inner self from its destructive and deceitful tendencies (Brown, 1971:94).   He then was to be available as the direct mediator with God,

who was to be highly sought after in times of crisis (Ward, 1984:199). The three times holy and triune, three persons God seemed as distant as the Emperor who was chosen to serve him. Even the great 'Augustus' had tangible representatives, did he not? True, anyone could pray, and the holy man certainly encouraged just such behavior, but could it not also be more advantageous to have that especially connected person pray on your behalf? As a highly trained and perfected communicator with the divine, perhaps this intercession was a job better left to these professionals (Ward, 1984: xxi, 4, 14, 22; Brown, 1971:98). Surely, he could affirm the veracity of the soul's salvation; he could calm fears; he would be the salve for the anxious mind in an age of Chaos for as long as the collective mind could remember (Ward, 1984:72, 77, 123, 129). To hear from a decisive mind in clarity is to dissuade fear and settle it to the perfect will of divine power. Through this the lay person could take a choice in confidence knowing that indeed it was God's will (ibid).

As helpful as it may be for a holy man to pray for you and encourage decisions in strong faith, this in and of itself would not inculcate a culture rooted and grounded in practical Christology. In order for this to take place the humble monk must have a long term impact on the conscience of the community. As pagan culture is removed from the collective influence by the monastic one, a vacuum is filled in the clash with the Classical Pedagogue. Peter Brown deciphers this replacement as the face to face "direct force example in the imitation of Christ" (1983:16). The Pachomian model of monasticism placed communities of men together in contact with a spiritual master who was to place them in contact with Christ, "knowing that, in listening to him, we make ourselves servants of Jesus" (ibid.; Theodore, Cathechesis, ed. Lefort, 1956:151).

What also gives this communal contact with Christ such a vicarious power in training is the memory of the age of martyrs (from the persecution of the reign of Diocletian). This dramatic age is brought forward in language fitting to their contemporary experience. The tensions between disparate groups and government is giving a similar experience of victory over the evil doctrines and abuses, which is also expressed as victory over death and Satan (Brown, 1983:16). This acceptable use of anachronism is made possible by the universal nature of Christ's victory, for the experience of the now is particularized by the martyrdom of ascetic practice under the desire and guidance of Christ's representative in the person of the spiritual father of the monk. These ascetic practices are not defined as the false guilt of self abuse, or as a romantic notion of an analogical martyrdom, but the guided desire to experience Christ himself.   The mortification of the flesh is no trivial matter to the monk but clearly a path in 'martyrdom' he must make if he is to know the consubstantial Christ (ibid; Hedstrom, 2009:768; Brakke, 2009:6).

The "great father" then is involved in the intentional system of behavioral training in a direct way. This mentor sees himself as a man of God who has the responsibility of reviving other "men of God" throughout the ages (Brakke, 2009:17). I would interpret this as a functional if not practical result of cross-generational studies of Scripture. There is also a degree of Classical cultural training involved as many of these 'martyrs' are being trained in a particular interpretation of Greco-Roman Byzantine thought. Yet according to Brown, the studies of the Coptic manuscript tradition teaches us that the direct monk to monk transmission was that of the Biblical world and life view (1983:16). I would suggest that the Old Testament example of the 'school of the Prophets' may fit here as a model that was adapted to the desert life and the particular monastic rule chosen. "The Ascetic (monk) must observe most closely the life and practice of the great Elijah" (ibid.; Athanasius, Vita

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Antoni, 7).   Brown appears to agree, for he notes that the Pachomian rule was successful in its training for it enabled long and deep discussions on the topics of Scripture that they were reading and memorizing. The expectation and anticipation of this practice was the development of the image of Christ in the soul (Brown, 1983:18).   Even a cursory scan through the sayings of the desert fathers reveals an in-depth knowledge of the Bible, and an extensive use of the Psalms and of established prayers as didactic tools for transformation. The consubstantial Christ was intimately connected with his word in history, for he was accessible in it, especially as the living 'saints' were praying for this in their hearing (Ward, 1984: xxvi, 48, 57, 61, 64, 135, etc.; Brown, 1983:19).   As scripture in and of itself is prophetic, the holy man immersed in scripture was also expected to be prophetic, as a source of truth and clarity. I would suggest that this particular faculty of the holy man is probably his greatest power of influence, especially in times of uncertainty and change.

Which is why the monastic communities as points of contact for the public are not mere points of distraction for intellectual and spiritual exercise.   They are also a source for an understanding of emotional closeness in friendship and understanding in community. The relationships between monks and their extended communities were windows into the soul which an individual could use as a resource in the stresses of life (Ward, 1984: 126, 127, 164-5, 189, 190). The individual could seek a measure of protection and measured development in and through a spiritual mentor (Brown, 1983:19).   If an individual was influenced to the extent that they decided to become a monk, it was expected that they would become part of a self-reproducing body of spiritual guides. As Samuel's father express concern for his son's desire to retreat from the world, his own spiritual "father" consoles him:

The Lord is with you, and your son Samuel will become a monk and a great one in the sight of God. The memory of his monkhood will remain for generations to come. The Lord God will bless him and he will have holy children and there will be holy anchorites among them, faithful in the sight of God, and there will be good shepherds and hegumens among them (trans. Alcock, 1983:76).

The community then did not have the vast sacred vs secular divide as might be imagined.   Christ was present in liturgy and also in the lives of the monastic community, who then influenced the common individual who identified with Christ. A clear indicator of this was the baptismal name that was taken for a child. Often the names of Saints departed or well-known martyrs were taken on in the hope of a new identity with Christ (Bagnall, 1982:16-17, 110). The identity of the assigned name would associate one who would guide you in daily life or into ascetic fellowship with him (or her) (Brown, 1983:19-20). This was only possible because of their mystic union with Christ, which is evidenced in the common descriptor "Christ bearing man".

Intellectual rigorousness of self-denial and theological formula combined with genuine emotional connection of feeling between monk and master provided a powerful image of Christ available to humans. The surrounding community then had a valuable resource available to them even though that resource in theory desired to isolate from them. The great reward for this complex discipline of contemplation, discourse, and relationship was the presence of the Christ who is consubstantial with us and consubstantial with the divine, who is now also available to the entire Oikoumene.

The relationship between monk and master as type for a community to observe and possibly interact with is one venue for practical application of Christology. However there

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was another similar and even more powerful alternative, that of Coenobitic monasticism.
Mark Burrows explores this in his research of Pachomius (292-348), as he searches for the
impact of the spiritual father figure in a collective of monks serving in community. A
communal model for monasticism naturally will center on the presence and personality of
the "Apa" (father) in a *Koinonia* (monastic community). As the monks are looking to this
powerful persona in their 'Apa', they are in expectation of a representation of God and
Christ in a visible way (Burrows, 1987:11).   The chaos of sinful self, demons, and the
vicissitudes of life can break apart relationships in community and even separate monk from
master; therefore, the *koinonia* is looking for something powerful to counter all this. The
Apa then is a power that can bring order to an anchorite and so bring him into fellowship
with others also seeking spiritual power for change. The anticipation is a leveraging or
multiplying factor in communal relationship, to compound the benefit of living with a
spiritual father. The Coenobitic form of monasticism then should be seen as a development
and also an available option from anchoretism for those seeking an isolated form of spiritual
pursuit.

No one can deny the powerful attraction of isolation and the promises of real
transformation, but how can all of that focused contemplation become publicly useful?
Burrows argues that in the person of the Apa as exemplified in Pachomius, the monks have
a person who "integrates the Cosmos" for them by possessing an overwhelming presence
through his holy life (1987:12).   His rules are the result of personal transformation out of
paganism, which is encouraging news to a monk who seeks an ordered communion with
Christ. But this power is far more than a powerful story to tell, for the reverence for the
Apa's voice is a deep respect of the power that this voice can bring. As the Apa's own
spiritual life has had its own spiritual reorganization, this experience is the very source and

reason for the development of spiritual community (*Koinobion*). This is not a repackaged form of anthropomorphic idolatry, but a "man of God" who invites others to see God visible in his holy life (Gr. Vitae, 48; see Burrows, 1987:12). As such he is an accessible point of communion with God, and it should be expected then that a community develops around this point of contact in order to see God present. For our purposes this becomes important as Coenobitic communities develop close to villages, for the "holy life" of the Apa from the desert brings spiritual resources closer to the needs of family life (Burrows, 1987:13).

It would be one thing to say that a father figure could be a perfect parent by virtue of example, but in this case God's own authority placed in the locus of a father figure that becomes important.   As God's representative his raison d'etre is to guide both the monks and also the surrounding village community to a knowledge of the presence of God and his power (Veilleux, 1980:47). To be close to the Apa then is to be close to the resources for salvation for the individual as well as the community.   Burrows notes that in the Sahidic Life of Pachomius "he deserves to be called father because our father who is heaven dwells in him" (1987:15, n. 20, Sahidic Life, 3; Greek Vitae, 25).

Rousseau interprets this dynamic similar to Brown's focus as exemplar, claiming that this power is a "commanding presence" as an "ascetic pioneer". He finds his support for this by pointing to the Apa as a stabilizing factor, not only for those seeking ascetic success but also for those interconnected to the life of the village (1978:51). This in essence is a pragmatic interpretation of the divine call in the Apa's life, "to minister to the human race and unite all to God" (Burrows, 1987:15, Greek Vitae, 23; Veilleux, 1980:45).

The Apa then can be understood as being a type of mediator. The role of mediator is vital then in order to make sense of crisis and a spiritual cultural tether to ground oneself in

it. Christ as the mediator between God and man in a singular subject, nature, and person is the critical doctrine that drives the necessity in monastic contemplation. The task to mentally and spiritually grasp such an infinite concept requires assistance in the mind of the overwhelmed monk and villager. The Apa then as a type provides for further reconciliation between man and God, for he as 'father' guides into the intimate fellowship with the divine mediator. He is the holy presence that draws a new society of mediation to himself (Burrows, 1987:15; Veilleux, 1980:ix).   As a present power he not only influences but intercedes for those needing mediation via his prayers, his preaching, and his participation in the Eucharist (Veilleux, 1980:xx, 47, 59; Veilleux, 1982:33, 98, 124).

Peter Brown evaluates the idea of the Apa (Our Great father/Coptic: ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲓⲱⲧ) with the classical divine man, "Epigeios theos" (lit. 'god on earth') , a term even used for Apa Makarius the Great (Brown, 1976:96-97).   The term is not intended to transfer an old Egyptian Pharaonic myth but to develop the capacity of the divinely influenced father to guide and empower a large family of monks towards the experience of forgiveness of sin and holiness, through the intimate communion with Christ the Logos. This family as it increases in activity and its own influence is set in tension against the domestic family of the nearby village. The precise point of tension is the sense of loyal commitment that the monk is aware of within his or her own soul. This is inevitable as the coenobitic community must by necessity interact with the more mundane world in close proximity. Therefore, the monk who is born and raised within the nearby community would struggle in their identity as they would transition into the nearby *Koinobion* (coenobitic community) (Burrows, 1987:18, Greek Vitae, 37; Veilleux, 1980:55-56).   Despite this tension of two familial spheres of influence, mutual respect pervades for a mutual purpose. This is to prove valuable and vital

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in the 7th and early 8th centuries, for the unique autonomy and self-sufficiency of the monastic lauras and communities would provide the essential logistics for the broader survival under heavy taxation and military supply as Dhimmī communities.

With all of this emphasis on the divine man/man of God as a self-sufficient authority, was this counterintuitive with the concept of an Archbishop? As demonstrated above, the anti-Chalcedon communities expected to have a supreme 'Apa' at the head of their movement, but this does not imply that they were interfering in the local affairs of the bishops and heads of monasteries. When holy men organize communities around their unique authority, they are seen and obeyed as having their position directly from Christ. By holding and confirming the careful truth of Christ's nature, the Apa "beholds God always" (Burrows, 1987:18, Greek Vitae, 22). If the invisible and eternal is held onto and contemplated by the Apa in truth, he then has the authority to make that visible to his community. If this is directly mediated through Christ's power, then there is little that the civil governor (*sumbulos*) can demand from the community without the cooperation of the Apa. It is painfully obvious that the governor did indeed command his due, but I would suggest that receipt of that which was demanded was not without collaboration and encouragement of the local 'holy man'. He is no less than the "manifestation of the invisible God", and thus the concern of the average citizen or monk has their complete focus on him as the center of the community both spiritually and economically (Burrows, 1987:19).

2.9 Managing the Mantle: Clergy and Laity Share the Burden

The concept of the holy man would be of no use to our purposes if it were not for the intentional transmission of the office in a manner recognizable to the communities affected. The Vitae regarding Pachomius' life also records the successive 'fathers' after him,

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which gives us the type and pattern of the 'Apa'. This pattern certainly includes the imitation of Christ in manner, whether it is praying with arms outstretched as if being crucified (Greek Vitae, 16), healing, or washing the disciples feet (Greek Vitae, 64; cf. John 13:1-17).   The Apa also then makes disciples, and they follow in his footsteps and likewise repeat his pattern (Veilleux, 1980:xiv-xv). Most critical to this task of transmission is the continuous teaching and preaching of the next successive generation of potential 'Apa's' (Veilleux, 1980:xv).   Even more critical to this is the conscious life of thought process in each disciple of the imitation of Christ in fulfilling scriptural law and the laws/rules of the monastic community. Part of this fulfilling the law is bringing the "Word of God", that is, the contextual exegesis of scriptural teaching into the current milieu of those seeking to follow him, and even of the broader community of the village (Gr. Vitae., 99; Veilleux, 1980:61). This public venue of spiritual service to the open community of the village speaks well to our purposes. If indeed the Apa is trusted to bring order into chaos and thus bring structure and hope under stress, then I would posit that he would be a powerful voice beyond the walls of the *Koinobion* and speak with authority to the average person and have an influence in the world of business and finances. The moral and ethical notions of how money is to be handled, especially under trying times, I would suggest be influenced if not spoken to directly by the clergy.

We find this same pattern of spiritual teaching and practicum in the life of Samuel of Kalamun in our own 7th century. Shortly before his self-imposed exile due to Patriarch Cyrus aggressive campaign for Union (~633), Samuel gathers his disciples around him for some significant teaching in preparation for the troubles days ahead:

…they numbered two hundred lay brothers and one hundred and twenty monks. He spent a long time talking to them in the word of God, teaching them what was good for their souls and speaking with them in words of entreaty….(trans. Alcock, 1983:84).

Samuel's primary target in this contextual teaching is the preservation of his network of relationships in the spiritual life of the monks and lay people of the region that he influences.   His obvious goal is to preserve the network until after the threat of Cyrus has passed, so that the continuity of spiritual development will be maintained. The "lay brothers" (Coptic: ⲚⲤⲞⲚ ⲚⲔⲞⲤⲘⲓⲔⲞⲚ) mentioned above are likely the late antique group called the "*philoponoi*" ("conscientious or industrious") who were a dedicated body united in serving the church.   Haas claims that these groups were more casually brought together for some specific purposes (1997:Loc. 2618).   They were known for being chaste, zealous for doctrine (i.e. Christology), and in supporting the Patriarch (Haas, 1997:Loc. 2728). As a recognized group with a sense of close affiliation with episcopal authority, they expressed this openly by taking notes of sermons and even asking questions during the service (Haas, 1997:Loc. 2732). This suggests a level of approved ecclesiastical recognition as an organized entity, for they had '*philiponoi* houses' normally located next to a church (ibid). What is important for our purpose is that they came from the lower classes and as a recognized group with a careful and inquisitive knowledge of Christology they served the church hierarchy in serving the poor and ill (Bowersock, 2010:52). This study would suggest that these lay groups were one of several ways the connecting link to bring Christology in practical ways to the average person in late antique post-conquest Egypt.

The lay brothers and monks do not see Apa Samuel for some years, due to his evasion of Cyrus and yet capture by Berbers (Alcock, 1983:84-100).   The brutal torture and

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sufferings in these pages are the pretext for Samuel's elevation to hagiographical status, as one who can perform miracles, and is also able to see the virgin "Theotokos" Mary and be commissioned by her to restore the church in Kalamun. With this level of holy status and authority, his first step in restoring the church and his former ministry with his disciples is to develop the means to survive with a garden and then to carefully teach them as he had before:

> The holy Apa Samuel would speak with the brothers in the word of God day and night, speaking and inciting their hearts in the fear of God….And acquire for yourselves a *spiritual vision* of God this Invisible One…So, work upon your *spiritual* garden, which means your *body,* in all purity, so that *Christ* may come to you and make for Himself a dwelling place within you…(Alcock, 1983:102-103).

I would carefully point your notice towards his dual use of the term 'garden' (som /komarion; ϭⲱⲙ or ⲕⲟⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ).   The hard work in toiling over the fields that produce practical means of living is compared to the difficult work of fundamental spiritual change in the private cells via prayer or communal discussions.   What is also vital here is the connection that Samuel makes to this hard spiritual work, for in doing so they will "acquire for yourselves a spiritual vision of God this invisible one" (see above).   The metaphor of the two types of labor are objective means of reinforcing their objective connection to the community. As they work, it is not only for their own survival, but a spiritual discipline that causes them to be effective on multiple levels. The community then has a physical model then to observe the work and the fundamental reason for it. As Christ would come dwell within their souls as a result of their purity, the community in turn should be witness to that indwelling.

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Apa Samuel's instruction is consistent with the pattern set by Pachomius in previous generations. The incarnate God the Word has a physical voice to the broader community in the presence and person of the Apa. The transmission of Christ's verbal authority has a voice that Pachomius extends through an active teaching/preaching to those outside the monastery.

> as [Pachomius] himself read to [shepherds gathered in the village church], he had such knowledge and piety, and his gaze was so proper and his elocution so consonant with the meaning of the words, that when these men of the world [i.e., *hoi kosmikoi*] saw this man of God among them, they were all the more inclined to espouse the faith and become Christians" (Greek Vitae, 29, Burrows, 1987:22; Veilleux, 1980:47).

I have previously mentioned the anchoretic and coenobitic model in distinct terms, but those expressions should not be construed as radically distinct models solely available to the Egyptian public in this era. Rapp establishes that these models are types from which to compare and contrast in a multitude of variations on these two themes (2016:Loc.2358). Her argument centers around two criteria for monks to determine the nature of their isolation. The first being the type of economic activity that sustained the spiritual community from the village, and second is the various expressions of individualism to be encountered among the men and women (Rapp, 2016:Loc. 2363). I see value in this line of thinking, because certain types of economic activity would require that the monks be in relative close distance to the market that accepted their products (e.g. perishable produce), or the Nile River so that products could be taken to market. The particular personality expression is measured in the individuals' ability and/or desire to participate at a communal level. Yet there was that pressure to achieve the greatest ascetic virtue as one could master, and some contemporary authors such as John Cassian had little respect for the

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monk who lived in the village itself in order to live out his isolation yet serve the community with his gifts in a direct way (Cassian, *Conferences* 18.4-7. in NPNF Ser. 2 Vol. 11: 1225-1231; Rapp, 2106:Loc. 2422).

Yet that very monk was probably the last in a line of transmission to communicate practical theology. He might be far from his 'Apa', and the close discourse that paired monks often enjoy for their own spiritual development, but he now had a surrounding community to serve in the name of his "God the Word incarnated". He was often the only one in the region with an education and a sense of history to make application of the ideas that were to hold a Christian society together. Therefore, as someone who had the sanction of the Spirit of God due to his comprehension of the full stature of Christ, he was valued as the "holy man", who would guide the common men and women in the practical difficulties of life.

To summarize this section, we have taken a two hundred year brief look at the development of anti-Chalcedon theology and its development as a reaction between Greek and Latin thinking. Although the Egyptian monks had no initial desire to create a separate ecclesiastical entity, indeed that is what developed in due course. The consistent desire all along was for the Oikoumene to be held together by a "Christ-Loving" Emperor, who would protect the church from its enemies and supply it with the means to carry out its work. The debate would have likely continued for centuries more in direct confrontation had it not been for the Arab conquest. The eventual separation was due from the perceived necessity of maintaining liturgical integrity and a shared need to have the best possible understanding of Christ. After the conquest, the vast majority of the remaining Christian confession is that of the resistance to Chalcedon. As such the remaining Bishop of the majority confession,

Benjamin I, seeks to establish the best possible church-state relations with an entity that is still in its nascent stage. A proper Christian community was impossible without it, at least in the present state of understanding. The abstractions of the union of the natures after the hypostasis in Christ was necessary to carefully debate and develop over time, yet that time had now arrived to make full application of its theology into the milieu of Arab demands and understanding, of which the next section will explore.

3.0 The State of Understanding of Arab Policy by the Coptic Church

3.1 Introduction of System and Response

In order to connect Christology to practice, a review of what 'practice' actually was in both religious and fiscal terms is necessary. This practice must also be investigated in close proximity to those persons and institutions who were able to translate and apply Christology to daily living. What was part and parcel of daily practice was the routine of servicing the mechanism that supplied the 'Dīwān' register, which was the system supplying the Arab army via the associated tribute and taxes. These were raised in order to sustain its existence in Egypt and supply it with material resources to fight Constantinople wherever possible in the Mediterranean region. In order to comprehend this we will study the taxation structure and its collection process. This process changed over time due to the evasive response of the public to the increased efficiency of a centralized state. This is shown in that the land tax and poll tax was more precisely defined and collected over time, thus methods of avoidance to both liabilities and responses to these crises were documented.

Avoidance to these payments to the state took several forms. This will be described and connected via the relationships between the public and the bureaucracy that they

interacted with. The early days of the Caliphate were unstable, therefore, the Egyptian public adjusted to this flexible reality with the hope of maintaining their historical autonomy (which had been heretofore expressed via their Christology). But this was not to be the case, and the predictable reaction was either overt refusal to cooperate with the taxes and military campaigns via refugee action, or covert response of monasticism and administrative passive denial. Both reactions created an extensive internal refugee problem that plagued several iterations of government that was centered in Fustat/Babylon (near modern Cairo).

I intend to demonstrate that the above responses weighed heavily on the conscious activities of Christian administrators working together with an Arab leadership. This can be shown via the records of guarantee statements, where communal accountability brings communal consequences for failure to produce and repatriate refugees. Those with a conscientious response will affirm their Christological commitment to honesty via oaths and statements of guaranteed compliance, with fines agreed to for failure.

Our pursuit of a practical Christology will also lead us into the experience of Churches and Monasteries as they adjust to the reality of taxation and varied material requests. Yet this adjustment is not in isolation, for they purposefully interacted with the general public which included financial exchange.   This is shown via documents of their management of rent or lease, as they also were significant land holders, and their responses included that of a managed tax burden. Monks and Clerics were used as collection agents, and thus the church and monastery found themselves as part of the acting administrative bureaucracy. With access to the broader public, their fiscal stresses extended beyond the walls of their institutions, for pious members donated lands and other resources to help these spiritual institutions maintain their vitality, for they in turn were dependent on their

spiritual service. In some cases this sacrificial giving was not enough, for these institutions resorted to borrowing money for tax payments, or, if conditions were acceptable, they in turn could become the creditors. Churches and integrated lay leaders were involved on both sides of the spectrum as lenders and borrowers, so that the community as a whole collaborated in distributing the tax burden. I will conclude with an extreme form of this collaboration with a short study of child donation to monasteries.

3.2 The System in Broad Context

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ needed an effective workable administration after the conquest, for the Caliphate was in great need of resources for its further expansion and maintenance of its territorial holdings. The Dar al-Islam requires man power and resources in order to administer relationships of power and the mechanism of government. ʿAmr was aware of the fully developed and extensive existing Christian administrative bureaucracy and wisely utilized the system as it was for the new purposes of establishing the province in relation to the Caliphate (Sijpesteijn, 2007:183). Christians continued to provide the vast majority of logistical, legal, and documentary framework for at least 70 years after the conquest, and remained an effective influence and service to the Muslim government for many centuries after. They had a theology in place that could make adjustments for Islamic rule, therefore, they should have been able to describe a logic or philosophy that could be expressed or a measurable human action documented under the stress of that adjustment.

Our purpose here is to uncover the details of the government administrative network and explore how it might interact and intersect with both the monastic system and the average citizen. In that exploration we are looking for indications of the Christology that may affect their response to the early changes in the administration of the early Islamic era.

The following study is heavily informed by Kosei Morimoto's "The Fiscal administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic period" (1981) which I have employed as a basis for research on this topic. After this study, I will analyze that structure with further developed secondary and primary sources and then relate it to our main objectives.

3.3 The Main Point of it all: Military Vigilance

The early Islamic fiscal system was called the 'Dīwān' (Bureau for Payment) system under Umar I. This system essentially entailed collecting taxes from peasants and distributing them as stipends to the Arab military presence (Mikhail, 2008:274-75, 278). Therefore, the Dīwān was under direct military control and with further development became the *iqṭā'* system of management (Morimoto, 1981:7). This system was predicated on the status of the conquered people, as under Muslim jurists their particular status guided the fiscal system in question.   As the status of Egyptian Christians are Ahl al-Kitab ("people of the book") they are entitled to Dhimmī status as a "protected people" (See P.Ness.3.77 below). This is, effectively, a negotiated settlement in which the roles and responsibilities of the conquered people are clearly delineated, providing principles of action, especially the economics of providing for the Dīwān. From the Muslim records and multiple streams of Islamic historical transmission, Morimoto has identified two main categories of taxation for the early period of fiscal administration. The first of these was essentially a poll tax (*gitzya*) of one *dinar* (gold solidus coin) per man of a certain age, the second was a land tax, at least as a concept which as practically applied is on average another one dinar per capita (Morimoto, 1982:33).

The initial literary record for the post-conquest tax system from a Christian point of view is taken from the Chronicle of John of Nikiu[7]. His chapter CXIV title suggests that he is going to describe the Muslim conquest in the 14th year of the indiction (the year of the Byzantine tax cycle) and the subsequent treaty, but unfortunately the extant manuscripts provide no pertinent details of the expected treaty in the chapter described (Charles, 1916:182-183; see Morimoto, 1981:35). A fully detailed treaty that Cyrus should have negotiated would potentially establish a clearer picture of the status of the average person. Thankfully later in Chapter CXX of Nikiu there is small detail of a "tribute" that Patriarch Cyrus negotiated for the Alexandrians to pay (Charles, 1916:193). What is not clear is whether this particular treaty has implications for the rest of Egypt. But what is clear is that there was a specific type of treaty within the Arab written tradition which makes a distinction between the legal treatment of Copts on the one hand, and Romans on the other, during the conquest, and which set the stage for the administrative expectations afterward (Evetts, PO I, 1904:494).   Nikiu attests to this by using anecdotes of Roman military failure (CXIII.4; Charles, 1916:182), followed by "tribute" to be paid by the local population. The tribute essentially amounts to a pattern that Nikiu is establishing that accords with his own personal experience in the late 7th century.

The great symbolic and strategic victory for the Arabs comes with the conquest of Alexandria (late 642). Nikiu records that the leading citizens insisted on a treaty from Cyrus to be negotiated with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, which qualified them for status as a Dhimmī community and the protection that it affords. This also officially ends the war and allows

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[7] The transmission tradition of this famous Chronicle comes to us translated from Ethiopic, yet it has been well established that its original source was Coptic, then translated to Arabic before the manuscript form we have now. Booth, 2013 and 2016, describes the potential problems associated with the text yet affirms that it remains our best source for the Arab conquest and shortly thereafter. See also Morimoto, 1981:35; Christides, 2016; Morony, 1978:21 n.37

the populace to return to their agrarian activities and thus produce the anticipated needs of a new administration. This is especially critical if Nikiu's record is to be taken at face value, "then the taxes were tripled" (CXX.28; Charles, 1916:194). The early concept of a fixed tribute does not indicate a rate or specified amounts according to Nikiu, only that it was a considerable (high) amount. This was likely agreed to quickly, being motivated by fear and a strong desire to rapidly return to daily life in order to produce life's necessities (Nikiu, CXX.69; Charles, 1916:199).

The literary record has value for interpretation, yet I believe that the documentary evidence is more helpful for evaluating objective action. In the assessment of Morimoto, if there is a standard rate of taxation in the early days of the conquest, it is not clear from documentary texts which we will be evaluating below. Yet there is some detectable amount of tax differentiation which appears at a basic level between the rich and poor. With time the tax quota is repeatedly raised, which increased the pressure to convert to Islam, for conversion allowed a certain level of tax exemption[8]. An added stress was also created by the occasional and unscheduled requisitions in kind of wheat, fodder, etc. that were necessary for maintenance of the Arab armies (Morimoto, 1981:38-41).

The above larger narrative is demonstrated and applied in more detail through the broader communities that endure the fiscal system. The standard components to this are the money tax, and the above mentioned taxes in kind. The tax to be paid in money was termed at this early stage by the Arabs '*gitzya*' ("tribute"). A Tax in kind is called a '*dariba*'. The taxes in kind were essentially what the military Dīwān needed for actual immediate

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[8] I would also propose yet another level of psychological pressure, that of one merely knowing that an option to be relieved of the tax burden by abandoning Christianity also presents a mental pressure to be considered. This usefully relates to our primary topic, for the individual must evaluate the person and power of Christ in relation to their own identity in the midst of the difficulty of daily survival.

consumption by the army. This was not based on actual production value of land or its

acreage (actual or potential); therefore, this could be understood as another hard stress

placed on the economy, as it did not assess actual capacity to produce the tax/goods. For

the Peasants, the '*gitzya*' was understood in the form of a poll tax and a land tax. The poll

tax was 1 dinar (solidus) per adult male, and the land tax averaged out to be one dinar per

person based on acreage, paid in one lump sum. There is a relationship between the tax in

kind and the land tax, as the consumable material being asked for was levied on the square

area of the land itself, termed in units of "*faddan*". The advantaged class of the larger land

owning elite paid a poll tax of two dinars (Morimoto, 1981:41-42).

Added to the above fiscal burden was a required fund for the "entertainment" of

Muslim visitors. This could be understood as military and logistical support for travelling

officials (Morimoto, 1981:43, 47, 50). This was assessed at the village or *chora* (district)

level. The village or district officials also were responsible to raise funds internally in order

to finance the administration of local government.

Heretofore I have been using the Arab names given for the tax system set in place.

Yet the early extant tax records are clearly also in Coptic and Greek (Papconstantinou,

2009:449; Sijpesteijn, 2013:67-68). The Arab language was applied early on in documentary

texts for administrative use and was officially established as the language of government

administration in 705. Yet that date is not a hard fixed point, for Coptic and Greek

documentary data continue well into the Abbasid period (ca. 750). For our purposes I will

focus mostly on Greek and Coptic terms and documents as they are likely to reveal a

Christian world and life view. This is not only for clarity, but these are also the natural

theological and administrative languages of those who are responding to the fiscal

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environment. The standard translation of the Arab term '*gitzya*' in Greek is *demosia* (δημόσια) which is an abbreviation of *chrusika demosia* (χρυσικὰ δημόσια), a public money tax (Morimoto, 1981:64; Bell & Crum, 1973:xxv). *Demosia* as a descriptor includes both land and poll taxes paid in currency (Frantz-Murphy, 1985:41).

3.4 Uncovering a Regional Tax Policy

The term *demosia* becomes increasingly clear in its meaning through the available letters concerning tax arrears from Governor Ḳurra ibn S̲h̲arīk to the Pagarch of Aphrodito, Basilios (e.g. P.Heid.III.1, dated February 710 and P.Lond.1349, dated, January 709; see Morimoto, 1981:61; Bell & Crum, 1973:xvi). What is helpful about these particular letters is that they are bilingual and fundamentally follow a similar pattern where the governor is demanding tax arrears at the Pagarchy level. In this context he uses *gitzya* and *demosia* synonymously, designating the public taxes in a broader sense. Morimoto interprets these tax demands as representative of an early policy which reacted and changed to demographic conditions under the Umayyad Caliphate (1981:61ff). This earlier Umayyad policy was divided by two principles of treaty. The first is the Arab term *sulh*, meaning those districts or towns that sought out a peaceful agreement to end the hostilities of war. The second Arab term is *anwar* (or anwatan), meaning those areas that refused to seek peace and were taken by force (Ahmad, 1975:14). Areas or cities such as Alexandria were under this second principle and thus suffered greater tax demands. However, Gascou views this interpretation as a convenient post-historical interpretation of the facts that fit an internal Muslim debate of two centuries later than the period referred to (1983:98). What is made clear by the details below is that what was intended as a fair and stable system in reality became difficult and burdensome for both parties.

The policy develops in more detail after Umar II (fl. 717-720). For the *gitzya* becomes more precisely defined, as there is now a *gitzyat ra's* (gitzya of the head), which is the new designation of the poll tax. The appropriate Greek term attested for this poll tax equivalent is *diagraphov*/diagraphēs (διάγρφηον/διαγραφής) (Morimoto, 1981:59, 65; Gonis, 2000:150; Husselman, 1951:336).

 I wish to focus mainly on the Umayyad period and its diachronic development of a fiscal administration, and there are several useful terms that contemporary textual evidence has revealed which can indicate that development. Unique to the early Arab period is another word for poll tax, *andrismos* (ἀνδρισμόσ) (Gonis, 2000:150; Sijpesteijn, 2013:73, n.178). This is a new term for the period and is consistent with the idea of a poll tax on males *aner* (ανερ=man) being the Greek root of the term) (Morimoto, 1981:64; Bell & Crum, 1973:xxv). Also used in the early period as a distinction from the regular public tax, *demosia*, was the term *extraordina* (ἐκστραόρδινα). Extraordinary taxes had further distinctions which were also termed *dianomai* (διανομαί) and probata (πρoβατα) for the unscheduled requests of commodities for military use (Bell, 1908:119; Bell, 1926:280; Casson, 1938:275). *Dianomai* were associated with the needs of the Arab navy and *probata* with the needs of the Arab army (Sijpesteijn, 2013:74). For example, we have the record of Elias and Paeitos, bakers who were paid currency in order to supply the government with bread as *dianomai* (Sijpesteijn, 2013:174).

Public taxes are more common in the early Umayyad available texts, and as such we have *demosia gēs* (δεμόσια γησ) "land tax", and dapanē (δαπάνη) "maintenance". The idea of maintenance is that of providing the governor, his family, and the associated military the materials and commodities necessary for their travel in their administrative roles

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(Morimoto, 1981:80, 81; Bell, 1926:276, 279; Bell & Crum, 1973:xxv, xxx, xxxiv). The

maintenance term is included here as a public scheduled tax, yet Morimoto is not fully

convinced that it belongs in that category (Bell & Crum, 1973:80). In the present analysis, as

it is an expected expenditure for a local administrative official, it should be placed in a

standard tax category not as an unusual (extraordinary) one, even though the texts do not

favor a regulative principle. In the later Umayyad period we have a tax demand letter

(*entagion*/ἐντάγιον) dated, 723/4 where *dapanē* is clearly indicated as a planned expense

for an indiction year (P.Bal.130; Gonis, 2004:213). Thus maintenance demand notes were

normally for specific purposes, and then were not as precisely scheduled as *demosia* even

though the public could anticipate that they were coming (Morimoto, 1981:275 n. 45). An

early post conquest example of this is found in CPR 557 (ca. 643), where an Emir by the

name of Abdullah makes a single requisition for his military contingent of 354 men of wheat,

oil, and flour to the Pagarchs Christophoros and Theodorakis of the Heracleopolis (area

south of the Fayyum)(Mayerson, 1994:128). The point is that it is yet another example of a

stressful demand placed upon the public that is anticipated but that cannot be planned for

in precise detail.

Now that the basic categories of tax are described, it serves our purpose to apply

them to the system that makes the assessment and delivers it to the administrative centers.

In our case the main administrative center and seat of power in the government was

Babylon/Fustat (the provincial capital for the Caliphate), and the main points of

administrative contact in the surrounding regions were the main towns as capitals of the

Pagarchies (districts, formerly known as Nomes) (Sijpesteijn, 2013:87). In a marked change

from the former Byzantine system, these very pagarchies would also have to report their tax

justification to the central treasury in Fustat (Sijpesteijn, 2013:88-89). The system required

a full documentation, and the extant manuscripts give sufficient record to determine the types of personnel and the records used. The main record that the system depends on is the register, called *merismoi* (μερισμοί), and this register is a list of taxpayers for each village or district, *choria/epoikion* (χωρία/ἐποίκιον) (Morimoto, 1981:66; Bell, 1908:113; Bell, 1926:274-76). The people responsible to make the assessment were called *epilegomonoi* (ἐπιλέγομονοι) "selected men". These chosen men were selected by the "headman" *meizōn* (μείζων) of villages and the "principle men" *prōteuovntes* (πρωτεύοντες) (Morimoto, 1981:66; Bell & Crum, 1973:xxv-xxvii, 284 n.20).

These assessment registers, *merismoi,* are written with the names of the assessors at the beginning of the document. Then the assessors list the names of taxpayers and allocate each category of taxes, and next to each of their names is listed the area of land that they farm/own, or the region that they are from (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxviii-ix). Land owners are listed as paying a poll tax, and also a corn tax (*embole*/ἐμβολή). A clear distinction is made between those who pay the land tax, and those who do not, who are called *oi ateleis* (ὁι ἀτελεῖς. These are village leaders, merchants, day laborers, herdsmen, and fugitives (Morimoto, 1981:79-80; P.Lond.1422).   There is also a subset of those who hold small allotments of common land, called *kleronomoi* /κληρονόμοι, which connotes the meaning of an inherited land shared among family members (Bagnall, 2008:183).

The earlier poll tax appears to be based on personal principle of social status which implies the ability to pay, and therefore it could be understood as an income tax (Gascou. 1983:105). The tax registers seem to have land owning classes pay according to the area of land owned, normally a low amount, and yet not pay a poll tax (Morimoto, 1981:83). The early system allowed village headmen to determine the rate of tax paid locally, therefore, a

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regional consistent pattern of a tax rate is not clear from the manuscripts. I would interpret this as commensurate with the income tax concept, as local assessors would be aware of the financial status and capacity of their constituents. Morimoto sees evidence for this in P.Lond.1422 & 1424 (Morimoto, 1981:84, 88). This approach was probably continued until 716, when a fiscal reform was carried out.

The evidence seems to indicate that the Arabs used a poll tax system based on personal identity as it was more natural to their way of thinking than a land tax. Yet early assessments also took land acreage into account, such as the one initiated by al-ʿAsbagh ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwan (ca. 705), still allowing local officials to determine the value of the land (History of the Patriarchs, Evetts, PO V, 1910:56). This suggests that the personal income tax principle was gradually applied with a view towards greater accuracy in wealth assessment. However, P.Lond.1419 (ca. 716-717) is an actual record of receipts that do not take acreage into account, which indicates a shift in policy. The Egyptians were used to a land based tax assessment system, therefore, one might expect that their interpretation of a personal system into a land based one could be confusing.

As personal identities of this system are vital to an understanding, I will describe the system of tax collection in terms of individual power. At the time of the conquest, there were five eparchies (Nomes) in existence and those remained in effect although they were modified (Bell, 1908:101ff). The paramount authority of an eparchy in the early Umayyad era was the Duke (δυξ), who was to report to the governor in Fustat, and often directly in person especially in regards to tax revenues for the entire region (P.Ryl.Copt.116; cf. Sijpesteijn, 2013:72). Yet there were exceptions to this policy in the case of former autopragia states, as these in former Byzantine times paid taxes directly to Constantinople.

This practice contributed to the sense of autonomy and decentralization, which the Arabs were to strictly change. An example of this is Aphrodito, a former autopract city which was forced to report directly to the governor in order to counter this independence (P.Bal.299; Gonis, 2004:223).

Below the Duke were his secretaries, known as the *topoteretes* (administrative) and the *sakellarios* (financial) (Foss 2009A:10, 12). These men were responsible for communication and implementation of policy to the pagarchy level. The Pagarch in turn was the next level of leadership, applying and enforcing fiscal and legal policy received from the Duke (Sijpesteijn, 2013:88-89). Within these pagarchies were villages (*chorion*) and settlements (*epoikion*) that were recorded as toponyms in a register called a *katagraphon* (κατάγραφον) (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxvii, 8). Each of these registered place names formed the units of a tax district. Within these villages local authorities chose assessors who would develop the lists of tax liability (Bell & Crum, 1973:33-34 n.6, 37). On these lists were the names of those responsible, the poll tax assessed, their landholdings, and any special details of their account such as arrears or fugitive status. These lists were assembled into a single book by each pagarchy for the Duke to compile and present to Fustat. He would then communicate with the delegated leaders for these villages as to what specific tax quota would be demanded of them. There were times when the Duke along with the village tax delegates were called to Fustat to address issues with these *katagraphon* registers (Morimoto, 1981:93; Legendre, 2013:12).

We have the benefit of an extant text that reveals the specific instructions given for the writing of the *katagraphon*, P.Lond.IV 1356 (ca. 710). In this text governor Ḳurra ibn Sharīk instructs the Pagarch Basilios of Aphrodito of the system of data gathering for the

register. He was to find and bring together the headmen and principal men of each village (σύνταξον δὲ τοὺς μείζ'ονας καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἑκάστου χωρίου, lines 15-16[9]). These were to be faithful men who were intelligent enough to assist in the development of the register, and who were also to take an oath of integrity (Bell, 1973:33). They were to be clearly conscious of their accountability to the Pagarch and of his accountability to the Arab governor. They were also instructed not to tax anyone beyond their means (al-Qadi, 2008:391). The register itself was to include the name, patronym, place, and even those who made the assessment in that location.

These assessment registers are attested in the Papyri by the aforementioned term *merismoi.* When these were reviewed in Fustat they formed the basis for the expected tax assessment for the coming fiscal year (Bell & Crum, 1973:33; cf. P.Lond.IV.1338, 1339, 1340, 1365, 1370, 1433).   Once in Fustat the register could be accepted at face value or adjusted as per the fiscal demands of the planned government expenditures for the fiscal year. This determines the quota demanded for the entire eparchy and this could also even be tax payments specified to the village level. These quotas then were communicated to their respective Pagarchs in the form of a demand note called an *entagia*/ἐντάγια (Bell, 1945:531). The Pagarchs in turn would distribute copies of the specific *entagia* to the assigned locations (e.g. P.Lond.IV 1335, 1369, 1378). These would bear the name of the Pagarch or the governor in order to establish the authority of the document along with his seal (Bell & Crum, 1973:48).

In order to ensure that the *entagia* were received and the process was being carried out, the Duke had an assistant called a *topoteretes*/τοποτηρητες (Foss, 2009B:267,

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[9] http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/ddb/P.Lond.;4;;1356;;

275). These entagia did not include every expected resource request from the government for that year, only the *demosion* gold payments and the *embole* corn tax (e.g. P.Lond.IV 1412). Irregular resource demands such as fodder for horses or other *dapane* "maintenance" costs could be expected to come, but their value or time scale was not known until the governor expressed the need via his couriers (Gonis, 2004:223).

The available Aphrodito texts of P.Lond.IV constitute a record of the system that I have attempted to describe. Two of these, P.Lond.IV 1413 and 1414 are good examples of the system in active practice, and they list several categories of tax assessed. The first of these is of course the general public tax (*demosia*), then the commission of one percent on that tax, called a tertartia/τερτάρτια (Bell & Crum, 1913:441; Morimoto, 1981:105). The commission was likely a fee that the government used in order to pay their agents. Then there are four other categories listed related to the tax in kind, called *apargurismos/*ἀπαργυρισμός. This term has its roots in payments in kind, but in this case the payment in kind has been converted into currency and registered in the record as a currency value (see also CPR 2 233). What this demonstrated is an under monetized economy, for the local officials took in payment those§§ items useful that the government could sell readily and convert into currency for its use (Shatzmiller, 2011:146; Wipszycka, 2011:258). The useful items in kind for the state that are paid for in tax currency are actually listed in these registers. They are labeled as requisitions available in the market, such as food, and also requisitions at fixed prices, such as cables, ropes, and anchors. Also listed separately in these items are milk for butter, and honey (Morimoto, 1981:98). Such detail may have been an attempt at transparency and also a further detail in accountability expectations to the collection agents.

These agents had a specific amount to be raised in each tax district with specific allotments from each taxable entity. These entities were settlements, villages (*epoikia*/ἐποίκια), monasteries, estates (*ousia*/οὐσία) and even those in Babylon/Fustat who worked for or represented the district to the government (e.g. P.Lond.IV 1416). The tax quota for these entities were called *epizetumena*/ἐπιζετούμενα, and the value of the gold to be collected was expressed in fractional units called *arithmia*/ἀρίθμια. When the tax collection was made, fractional units called *ekhomena*/εκηομενα were recorded, and they usually were short of the expected quota, and this balance was expressed as *loipon*/λοιπόν which means "remainder" (Remondon, 1953:175 see Morimoto, 1981:98-101).   The written demand note that was given to each liable tax entity was also called *arithmia*, as it was a record that could correspond to the *katagraphon* total (e.g. P.Lond.IV 1414).

P.Lond.IV 1414 also reveals another dynamic that is pertinent to our research goal, and this is expressed in the term *logisima*/λογίσιμα. *Logisima* appears to be a record of extraordinary taxes, but unless the taxes in kind were composed into useable currency, this category is general and undefined. Morimoto interprets this as an attempt by the Pagarchs to make up for the continuous arrears in tax payments that are recorded every year (1981:107). Dennet interprets these as a special category created in order to plan for the next series of extraordinary maintenance requisitions which were going to come for the year (1953:90). However, knowing that the system continuously failed to raise what was demanded, I prefer Morimoto's view. As tensions would rise due to tax evasion and continual failure of the system to meet expected needs, the regional authorities would raise the remainder (*loipon*) under another category.   I confess that this term needs further study so as to determine with more precision as to its true intent, but for the present it is a value

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to assess the difficulty with which local administrators had in collecting taxes and maintaining proper relationships with the government in Fustat. This is yet another indicator that there was a resistance or inability to raise these taxes. This also suggests that although local authorities were fellow Christian Copts, they had to contend with the demands of pressure placed on them by the government on one side and the resistance by their constituents on the other.

A further indicator of tax resistance can also be measured by systemic adjustments made by the state to correct the problem of their inability to raise the taxes. In P.Lond.IV 1416, (ca. 732) a case can be made for an adjustment to social reality. This document is an *epizetumena* tax register, and the amounts listed are significantly lower as compared to the previous year records. Both Dennet (1953:94), and Morimoto (1981:108), attribute this to the tax assessment reforms taken by Ubayd Allah bin al-Habhab in 724. Part of these changes were the implementation of two main tax payments in a fiscal year which were called katabolai/καταβολαί, which were further divided into quarterly payments called exagia/ἐξάγια (Morimoto, 1981:108). The concept of tax installments can be proved from earlier texts (see below), but the efficiency of using the schedule proved to be difficult. P.Apollo.15 & 26 also attest to tax installments (Foss, 2009:15), as well as P.Leid.370 (Hickey & Worp, 1997:86). The difficulty may be indicated in that the first installment was received in the first few months of the next indiction year normally after harvest, then the second in the next four to seven months after until the end of the indiction year (Casson, 1938:284). These reforms may be an indicator of a more realistic and workable system to insure regular tax payments and exercise greater control.

The need for an improved system can certainly be affirmed by the Aphrodito texts. P.Lond.IV 1338-1340, 1349, 1357, 1365, & 1380 (ca. 709, 710) are evidence for this, as the main topic of these letters is the late or missing tax payments in arrears. Sufficient detail is recorded in P.Lond.IV 1380 (ca. 710-711) to show that Basilios is over nine months late in paying the two-thirds tax payment in gold that he is responsible for. This mention of the "two-thirds payment" is reference to the first installment, as it is the normal pattern established and is demonstrated in P.Lond.IV 1412 & 1413 (Casson, 1938:287). What these later texts show is that the problems of very late tax payments was corrected in part in the years 716-722, shortly before the reforms of al-Habhab in 724.

3.5 Dividing the Period by State response to Christian reactions

As it is our objective to demonstrate the Coptic reaction to this fiscal system from a theological point of view, it would be helpful to show the recorded relationship between tax and labor policy and the active identifiable Christian public. The extant texts reveal records of relationship that also relate tax quotas placed on monasteries and monks, and this can be corroborated with literary and documentary texts of the period. This may allow us more measurable data directly related to our research.

The fiscal system pertinent to our research period essentially took shape during the Caliphate of Muʿāwiya I and his family, in a period of time some twenty years after the Egyptian conquest (ca. 660-684). The Later Umayyad development in periods defined by 685 to 705, and then 705 to the 730's, I will deal with accordingly. The early period was one of a mildly modified Byzantine fiscal system; therefore, most Egyptians knew how to respond to the demands placed on them however arduous and sometimes unexpected they might be (Sijpesteijn, 2013:84). The Governor, known in local use as the Symboulos, was

very keen on both civil and fiscal stability, all while balancing relationships with Christians and his Muslim advisors. Therefore, efficient centralization via the *Dīwān al-Harag* (Fiscal headquarters) included his personal involvement, to ensure that Dukes and Pagarchs under them responded properly to their instructions and required quotas (Foss, 2009A:9).

The first Arab governor was Egypt's conqueror, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, in various periods from 642 to 664. His approach to the administrative tax was focused on supplying the Dīwān register in order to maintain and equip the military in an age of Arabic expansion (Sijpesteijn, 2013:77, n.209; e.g. P.Lond.IV.1349). Yet even in his time the Arabs in Egypt revolted against what they understood as injustice in taxes and their first civil war ensued from 656-661 (the revolt actually started in Egypt)(Juynboll, 1973:144). After order was restored ʿAmr was rewarded for his involvement to install Mu'awiya as Caliph. Therefore, he had explicit autonomy on the resources as governor of Egypt again after 658 (Sijpesteijn, 2006:449; Foss, 2009A:3). In this early phase of their first civil war Arabs collaborated with Christians (via peace treaty with Constantinople) in the revolt to the extent that Sebeos interpreted this as ʿAmr's army confessing Christianity and receiving Baptism (Sebeos section 176, cf. Thompson, 1999:154). I mention this very unique event here because it lays down a precedent for future action in a narrow sense. From this experience Christians in this early Umayyad stage might have good reason to believe that they have some form of voice in the new Arab state, and some may even have doubts that the new state system will endure (Hoyland, 1997:Loc. 14688). They remain a majority that can find a way to communicate with power even under strong centralized government. This can certainly be said of the later period under governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Marwan, 685 to 705, where Christians appear to be at the Zenith of their influence.

ʿAmr may have demanded significant taxes and requisitions on the public, but he did maintain the basic aspects of the initial agreements with Egypt, specifically that of allowing them to keep their land by limiting the access that Arab armies had to land and resources (Sijpesteijn, 2006:445; P.Berols.15002). This aspect was retained during the next governor of consequence, Maslama ibn Mukhallad, who ruled from 667 to 682. This period is generally known to be one of prosperity for Egypt, as the focus by the Caliphate is maintaining the Egyptian economy so that Jihad has the necessary resources to continue. As Naval power is a new development for the Jihad, records demonstrate that demands are placed far and wide in the region for men and materials for the annual *koursa*/κοῦρσα (Corsairs) into Byzantine territory (Mikhail, 2008:277; Bell and Crum, 1973:7, 59, 377). Records show that Naval development was early (e.g. P.Apollo.29 (ca. 674); Foss, 2009A:5). This is significant for our discussion, as it was Christian men who were forced to build and man boats to fight against Byzantium (Foss, 2009A:5; Evetts, PO V, 1910:5 [259]; P.Apollo.106; P.Lond.IV.1494, see MacCoull, 1997:133). It can be shown that this was a significant crisis of conscience and caused a rejection or fear of this work and motivated them to find an alternative (re: refugee crisis) (Mikhail, 2008:277 n.29). For example, requisitioned sailors were paying for others to go in their place for the annual koursa in the Mediterranean (P.Apollo.28)!

A lesser crisis but stressful nonetheless was the demand for corn to be sent to Medina from the port at Klysma, at the north end of the Red Sea (P.Lond.IV.1346 is an example of wheat shipments to this port; Sijpesteijn, 2013:77). This was also a center for ship building. Samuel of Kalamun who writes early in the Arab era (660-670), reports that six Camels were requisitioned for the purposes of carrying grain at Klysma, and as a result it made it difficult to provide bread for the brothers of his laura/politeuma. He notes that the

whole region was providing transport or goods for this endeavor, creating logistical problems for six months (Alcock, 1983:30, 109, 129).

The resistance to participate in the annual koursa against Byzantium ("al-Rum") is an indicator and type of reaction. The refugee problem, so clearly attested in the Aphrodito papyri of the early eighth century, does not show the beginning of the phenomena. However, it can easily be shown from a generation earlier during the early stages of the governorship of Mukhallad through a stern letter written in 670:

> …since the caulkers working on the ships of Babylon have fled, we have ordered our topoteretes not to let one single caulker escape without sending him to us; anyone who keeps or hides a caulker will pay 1000 solidi, if he has the means; and we have ordered that the present sealed letter be shown to you. Therefore, whoever does not turn over and send to us every caulker in his district after reading and acknowledging the present letter, sparing even one of them, we won't accept his property in lieu of his life… (P.Apollo.9, trans. Foss, 2009A:19).

The brusque letter above was written by the Amir (Duke) Jordanes to all the Pagarchs of the Thebaid to put fear in their minds that the will of Fustat was not to be ignored regardless of the actions of individuals. I would also interpret this as a mass protest against either the conditions of service or the very idea of the intention of the battle. If it is the latter, then there would be a crisis of conscience to make war against fellow Christians. As it was demonstrated in a previous chapter (2.0) the non-Chalcedonians still desired a full reconciliation of all Christians under the right doctrine of confession by the Emperor. It could easily be expected that within the first and second generations after the conquest, that the average Egyptian regardless of confession would still identify with Christians in the

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Mediterranean. Egyptian Chalcedonians would be expected at a minimum to share this view given that their own Bishop would typically reside in Constantinople in this period.

The above was not an isolated incident, for nearly 50 years later a similar event occurred, where an entire fleet of Egyptian ships disappeared.   Theophanes records that in 718 some 660 ships equipped with food and soldiers for the koursa against Constantinople were manipulated into Byzantine hands (AM 6209, Turtledove, 1982:89). The Egyptian crews caused this by defecting in the name of the Emperor and making the Byzantines aware of where the ships were secretly harbored near Anatolia. Without delay they were burnt with the siphons associated with Greek fire (ibid.). The Caliphate had been through two civil wars by 718, ergo one could argue that its identity and polity were beginning to mold into a more cohesive identifiable unit and perhaps these sailors recognized the considerable threat that this fleet represented. Therefore, at this stage it is revealing that Egyptian sailors could choose such drastic action in deference to their Northern brethren in the faith.

The Refugee Response

The above example is just one response with a clear record. Was physical escape to be a common response to the new administration whether by sea or land? Yet this very response was anticipated with regard to the tax burden very soon after the conquest in 643 by Athanasios, Pagarch of the Hermopolite Nome:

> at the order of the most glorious *amır* it has been determined that the poll tax (*andrismos*) will be levied in the Hermopolite and I am worried that this will scare them and that they will run away (CPR XXII.1, trans. Sijpesteijn, 2006:445)

Athanasios went beyond that warning and appointed men to arrest any anticipated refugees fleeing from their tax liability; he was wise and very prescient (ibid.). I suspect that in his observations during both Persian and then strict Byzantine rule under Cyrus, he knew of the typical ways in which his fellow Egyptians could react under pressure (Bagnall, 1996:144).

One of the earlier letters to reveal a fugitive problem is that of P.Apoll.13 (ca. 661 or 676), where the Pagarch Papas from Apollonos Ano is instructed to provide a list of the fugitives who have fled to his district. The one demanding this is the Duke of the Thebaid, written by his notary Helladios who is responsible to the *toporetes* (tax official and secretary to the Duke) (Legendre, 2013:177). The letter is rather demanding and terse in its tone, insisting on the list to be produced immediately. Depending upon how one interprets the letter, the language also infers that Papas has known for some time of the fugitives in the districts, but has chosen not to record them or acknowledge them to his superiors (lines 7 & 8)[10].

Another letter which may give indication to the early Umayyad tensions of tax and labor demands is found in SB III 7240, 14. The letter can be dated to 697 under the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwan, 685-705 (for date see Cromwell, 2013:283-284). What is surprising is the mention of an *antarsia*/ἀνταρσία, which is a revolt or "uprising" (Bell, 1926:271). Bell interprets this so called uprising as a simple refusal to pay the taxes as they are demanded of monks, who should have been under an exemption during this period of special favor that Christians enjoyed (1926:271-272). However, as many lay persons could have been part of Monastic estate and daily life of the 'Laura' (community) of Kaukoi

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[10] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.apoll;;13

(line 9), it may very well be that the Duke of the Thebaid, Flavias Atias was insuring tax payment of lay people liable in the *katagraphon*. However the language does also hint at tax payers staying there who would have otherwise been removed or the monastery itself closed. In response to this the Duke appointed a legal representative to settle the matter so that all could remain at the monastery, provided taxes were payed and assurances would be given for continued tax payments as required in the register. What is important for us to note is that in this letter there is a poll tax assessed at the monasteries in the general sense of the term, and it could very well be that despite the good intentions of Fustat toward Christians, monks were reacting to the local officials who were indeed taxing them.

By far the best extant record of tax evasion activity is to be found in the Aphrodito Papyri, which gives records for tax policy and the difficulties in carrying it out. These texts are generally dated from 704-14; therefore, they are late in the Umayyad period and they reflect a well-developed fugitive subculture that has been a long ongoing problem. The authoritative voice behind most of these texts, is that of Governor Ḳurra ibn S͟harīk (fl. 709-714), who expresses in serious tones both his frustration and his intent to bring the refugee phenomena to an end. He threatens the Pagarch of Aphrodito, Basilios, with removal of position and even imprisonment and harm if he fails to bring the fugitives to justice (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxxv). This is no surprise when one considers the subject of the correspondence between these men: many requests for back taxes, delayed taxes, requisitions of works required by the state which are overdue (Mikhail, 2014: loc.2970; P.Lond.IV.1338-40, 1362, 1364-5, 1370, 1380, etc.). P.Lond.IV.1438 & 1434 from 705, which is shortly before Ḳurrah's tenure, show that once again sailors are abandoning their assigned ships for the annual *koursa*. In this particular case 41 sailors had fled, as the assigned course of attack was for

the northern shores of Africa (Bell & Crum, 1973:342) (North Africa was still Christian in perspective at this time).

Governor al-Sharik's attempted solution to this long ongoing frustration is found in P.Lond.IV.1332 and 1333 (708), where he directs Basilios to form a commission of special 'agents' (*gegrammatismenon*/γεγραμματισμένον) to seek out fugitives under the oversight of Arab officials. These local agents have practical knowledge of the region to facilitate finding out the truth of the fugitives place and history (Bell & Crum, 1973:1-2). The commission was divided into three parties, intended respectively for Arcadia, the Thebaid, and *"the Limiton".* The first two distinctive Nomes were well attested, but the "Limiton", is not quite as clear, yet its name suggests that the Arabs were anxious not to allow a southern area of the Nubians as a continuous refuge from liability (Hasan, 1967:15-16; al-Hakam [188]). The pactum that had been established with the Nubians was the result of a failed attempt to conquer them, and as such they were required to deliver a certain amount of slaves with them through the frontier on an annual basis (Spaulding, 1995:580). It is conceivable then that regular contacts made would make a useful escape to the beleaguered few who would be willing to risk the attempt (Hasan, 1967:16).

Further evidence as to the extent of this problem is found in P.Lond.IV.1460 & 1461. These document a register that was developed for the purpose of determining where these refugees had come from and for how long they had remained in the pagarchy. This was probably initiated in the instructions and follow up for P.Lond.IV.1332-33. The evidence from these lists make it clear that entire families had migrated in the process of avoiding taxes, and that their respective lengths of stay went for entire generations. A curious list title found in P.Lond.IV.1460 is called "those 15 years and under", and the phrase should be

interpreted as indicating those fugitive families that had been in the pagarchy for a period of

15 years and under. The logic for this interpretation is found in the fact that wives and

children are extensively listed in this category by name. The other list category created by

these registers is that of "twenty years and above", which would obviously mean those who

had remained in the pagarchy illegally had lived there for a generation or more. This

demonstrates that the refugee problem is pervasive and likely has enjoyed the tacit or even

implicit approval by the local authorities. Further, this *katagraphon* register makes clear

that the government in Fustat is clearly aware of the communities of families in many other

pagarchies in the Thebaid. This extensive problem is also indicated in P.Lond.IV.1339 where

Basilios is required to list every fugitive family in each district (chorion) of his pagarchy. The

purpose of the register is clear: to establish the record of origin and return fugitives.

Yet origin of a scattered people is not always guaranteed. Rylands Copt manuscript

277 is very similar to the above P.Lond.IV.1460 in that it uses the distinction of listing those

who have resided outside their districts for 15 years and under. However, the Rylands text

adds a detail of rancor and frustration, for the official writing the text (probably a secretary

of Ḳurrah) states that the Pagarch addressed is required to know the whereabouts of the

fugitives in his district:

> And verily if you have not taken knowledge of them until today—Read on the back (verso)
>
> and know the place where they are- and prepared them for sending, then you are a man in
>
> danger and neglectful (*kataphronein*/καταφρονεῖν), liable to be ensnared, that values not
>
> his own soul at all (modified trans. Crum, 1909:131-132).

This text is interpreted as a warning from the Governor that passive denial is not a

convenient political excuse for harboring fugitives, but a deliberate choice to be ignorant of

what is clearly the Pagarachs' responsibility.   In this case what an administrator does not know may very well kill him; ignorance is no excuse. I interpret this text in this manner for I am confident that some type of regular bureaucratic passive resistance campaign was ongoing for a lengthy time. It was this type of behavior that eventually led to the complete replacement of the entire civil hierarchy with Muslims by the mid eighth century. I will also admit that this phenomena could also be interpreted as such an overwhelming force that the Pagarchs felt powerless to do anything about mass financial migrations by a desperate people.

P.Lond.IV.1461 is reverse of the above concept, to wit that the register begins with the names of districts/chorion and proceeds after with the names of people where these families currently reside. Care is taken to ensure that the locations of entire families are known. It can be safely inferred that these names are those fugitives who have left Aphrodito illegally, and who need to be accounted for when they have returned. This shows Ḳurrahs' carefulness in guaranteeing that no detail is left to the imagination, and that no loophole is allowed in continuing to cater for refugees. He has essentially sorted the clandestine system and is ensuring that it comes to an end.

Once the fugitives have been discovered, then comes the difficult task of repatriation. This is found in P.Lond.IV.1343 (709), where Basilios is ordered to forcibly send specific families with their personal belongings back to the pagarchy of their origin. The order is so specific as to demand that he produce a written list of the details of each family name and of their particular property that will be returned to their origin (lines 1 & 2). Governor Ḳurrah further presses his point of required obedience by promising that this process of forced repatriation and full documentation is being practiced everywhere in

Egypt. This would discourage any temptation to further resist the government by sending families off into other districts or pagarchies. Threats of punishment are common in this archive, yet in this particular order Ḳurrah further insures his systemic success by sending out messengers from Fustat who record each district that has received this order, including also a very generous purse with which to reward "beyond what you expect" those who reveal where families are concealed (lines 36-40)(Bell & Crum, 1973:15). With both carrot and stick, Ḳurrah is removing any financial advantage that local governments may have had by allowing extra workers and taxpayers in their pagarchies/districts. Once the messenger returns to Fustat and affirms that a region has received this message, Ḳurrah promises destruction to anyone who continues to hide families from the all-pervasive eye of the "Amir al-Mounin" (commander of the faithful).

It is obvious then that Ḳurrah is not confident of the loyalty or the focus of his Pagarchs, for in P.Lond.IV.1349 he writes,

> …for you must know that the first and chief of all the duties of an official is the collection of the public taxes, to be diligently and continually kept in mind until such collection is completed by God's help. Be on your guard, in all parts of your administrative district, from the fugitives who flee into it (Trans. Bell &Crum, 1973:24).

With this instruction in mind, Basilios also has the responsibility of those who have "flown" into other pagarchies from his own area of Aphrodito. For in P.Lond.IV.1382 Ḳurrah makes it very clear that Basilios is expected to pursue and receive back refugees from other pagarchies back into Aphrodito, and likewise to send back those who are in his region to their original registered home. This would be expected, for no accountant could expect to

make arithmetic sense of the tax quotas for a Nome, Pagarchy, or district in the population registers unless the names of persons were in their proper place. To further insure accountability and proper documentation of these transfers, messengers are sent from one district to another to give receipts to Pagarchs who allow someone to leave their jurisdiction (Bell & Crum, 1973:54-55). Examples of these are found in P.Lond.IV.1525, 1526, & 1527 (Bell & Crum, 1973:456). Therefore, the demographic change has a legal as well as fiscal status that is recorded both by the central government and the district level.

No bureaucracy of government functions without the funds to move people around and record it. Therefore, Ḳurrah in P.Lond.IV.1383 applies *dapane* "maintenance funds" to facilitate the travel expenses of repatriating fugitives. Basilios is to appoint two men (to be paid) in his Pagarchy to take responsibility for keeping track of fugitives and to draw up a list of their names. What is also helpful in this written order is that several other Pagarchies are named as inclusive in this tracking process, namely the Arsinoite, the Heracleopolite and the Oxyrhynchite Nomes. Ḳurrah is making good on his promise to adjust the record by physically moving people to where they originated from (Bell & Crum, 1973:56).

Ḳurrah eventually brought true consequences to his warnings, and thus we have the painful record of P.Lond.IV.1384, a direct order for fines and punishments. Bell assigns a date of early 710 to this document, which could indicate that Ḳurrah has had enough of the passive and indirect bureaucratic resistance from Upper Egypt, and it is now time for action (1973:56). Heavy fines of five solidi (*nomismata,* gold coins) are levied on the fugitives, the officials who knowingly gave them refuge, and on individuals who kept them (lines 8, 25, 38, 40). An added 2 Solidi are required to be given to the informant by the person responsible for providing illegal refuge (lines 43-44). This is significant when one compares the average

wages of a craftsman during this period. P.Lond.IV.1410 (ca. 709) lists wages and

maintenance for a caulker at 1 ½ Solidi per month, a shipbuilder at 2 Solidi per month, and a

carpenter at 1 1/3 Solidi per month (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxxvii).   Not only are the fugitives

required to pay a heavy fine, but they also receive the brutal punishment of being scourged

on the back forty times: "νοτιζων τεσσαρκοντα μαγλαβια και καθηλων"

(P.Lond.IV.1384, Line 26[11]; Bell & Crum, 1973:58). After this their hands are placed into

wooden "handcuffs" (Xulomangganois/ξυλομανγγανοις) to secure them for the journey

home (Line 41). One should also consider the social dynamic of paid informants who are

openly paid and receipted for their work. Lines 30-32 emphasize Ḳurrah's intent on

documenting every facet of this process, for the messengers and informants, who either

receive or take back refugees are to be given a receipt. Open and transparent involvement

of informants puts the ethical pressure on the Christian community to examine why they

tacitly allow tax evasion to a government that they publicly claim is placed in power by God.

3.6 The Guarantee to Build Trust

Now that we are aware of the extent and the gravity of the record, we should

explore the further records which reveal the response of the public to the demands placed

on them. If a serious tone can be adduced by a review of the above records, then perhaps

so can a serious response. The response can be interpreted in "guarantee-declaration"

(*egguetike homologia*/ ἐγγυετική ὁμολογία) statements from the Aphrodito papyri. This is

helpful for they are an indicator of a concerted response by individuals to the governor for

the purpose of clearing themselves of legal liability for hosting a fugitive, as they facilitate

the repatriation process.   In the examples that we shall see below, these statements are

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[11] http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/ddb/P.Lond.;4;;1384;;

rather collective in nature. This is illustrated in the use of several names that are grouped together as addressors for the purposes of convincing the Governor of their veracity and honest intent to fulfill their duty with regard to the refugees. These are full of respectful protocol and statements of obeisance, along with self-proclaimed punishment if the declaration is not fulfilled.

One example of this type of document is found in P.Lond.IV.1518, which is dated by Bell confidently to 709 (1973:451).   This letter is written to the Governor, by village headmen Apollo, son of Pshoi, Theodosius, son of Shenoute, and Ezekias, son of Gamoul, collectively through the office of the Pagarch Epimachus, who had authority over their village of Jkow. They acknowledged that they had received six families from the Nome of Ptolemais by the Muslim administrator of that area (or assigned refugee agent), one Abdallah ibn Shurae. This Coptic document lists the family members by name in Greek, and affirms clearly their leadership responsibility in detail:

> These (we undertake) to guard and to have quiet, according as you shall order us. At whatsoever time your lordship shall require their persons at our hands, we are ready to deliver them over unto you, without word, without cross, without festival-day' (modified trans., Bell & Crum, 1973:452).

The above statement of guarantee is an indicator that I would interpret as a response of Christian deference. These listed families are essentially under a type of arrest pending further adjudication or sentencing, so there is the potential of further abuse of the system via bureaucracy which Ḳurrah will no longer tolerate. Therefore, to keep them "quiet" would be to isolate them and not allow them to become a source of further public disturbance for further complaint or even riot. I define this response as Christian deference,

for this village could invoke certain religious protections of these families as a cloak to harbor them, yet they consciously chose not to. This is expressed by the terms "without word, without cross (*stauros*), without festival-day". By "word" I would interpret as "using formal protest" to defend their actions as tax fugitives, and to influence the community against the state (Brown, 1971:100). By "cross", I would interpret this to mean using their Christian status as a means to attempt a legal protection from prosecution by use of Canon law or common practice to protect them as Dhimmī(s), or, as an appeal to previous policy. By "festival-day", I take as reference to the practice of protecting someone as if under the special and unique protection of revered Saints of the ecclesiastical calendar in one of their named churches or shrines (Crum, 1908:70; Papaconstantinou, 2007:364). In other words sacred space or tradition would not be used as an excuse to further obstruct the accused from the legal system. Some Christians who are named after particular saints may themselves adjure to or appeal to their namesakes for protection and unique exemption.

As further attestation of honest intent, the three men responsible for these families profess a surety oath of punishment:

> But if not, we submit to every fine that your lordship shall fix for us. For an assurance therefore unto your lordship, we have drawn up this guarantee-declaration for you, being responsible unto you with all our substance that we *(lit.* until we) shall keep and observe (the above), according to the authority of this guarantee-declaration… (modified trans., ibid.).

If a Christian chooses to defer and limit their response to an authority that does not share their world and life view, then creative means must be used in order to assure that they desire in all sincerity to be held accountable. As Ḳurrah has lost faith in the local

administrators to police and maintain the fugitive phenomena, then new ways of expressing good faith and trust building practices must be used. Forfeiture of personal property is a language that can transcend the linguistic and cultural barriers and build solemnity and legal power into this fresh approach to an old problem.

However, as Christian local administrators that acknowledge the authority of the divine in all things, including the very authority of government, then an appeal to divine sanction would be expected. This we find in the oath taking based not a Trinitarian God, but solely as God as creator from who all authority is derived: "swearing by the name of God Almighty *(pantokrator)* and the health of them that rule over us, that we will keep and observe, according as we have already written. We have been questioned and have agreed (*homologein*)" (modified trans. Bell & Crum, 1973:452).

This should be understood as a common theological reference point from a Christian to a Muslim over a shared value as to a form of accountability. Moreover, oaths taken via swearing by the Almighty are also found in P.KRU 5 & 24, where a seller affirms his free volition of the sale by this very same sentence (Cromwell, 2010:152 n.12). Bagnall & Worp affirm that *PSI* XV 1570, *P.KRU* 80, 90, 96, and 118 (from the Hermonthite Nome) also include this phrase. (2004:100). What this demonstrates is that this was an acceptable and well used oath in both Aphrodito and Ermont (Hermonthis) as a Christian expression to affirm good faith and honest intent in agreements.

It would be convenient if references to the divine in the papyri were always diplomatic and simply affirmed common ground that Christians and Muslims alike could find diplomatically palatable. However, in P.Lond.IV.1521 we have almost the same exact format as the previous guarantee-declaration addressed to the Governor and his Arab

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refugee overseer Abdallah, yet with one critical change in its epistolary greeting. The author

begins, "In the name of the Father, and the Life giving consubstantial…". The missing final

word to be expected in this greeting would be "Trinity", as it was written fully in other texts

(e.g. P.Lond.IV.1540, 1542, 1545, 1569). This fact poses an interesting challenge as to why

the Arab Muslims would be tolerant of a Christological Trinitarian affirming oath taking

document that begins with a potentially offensive phrase. Yet this is also useful for our

quest to determine theological motive in response to the challenging demands of an

administration forcing an adjustment towards centralization. Similarly, the Christian

secretaries who wrote from the governor's office would also begin a letter with a greeting

that would include a cross (✝ = 'stauros')(Bell & Crum, 1973:xxxvii).

As pressure is applied to the Christian public for an ethical response to the refugee

problem, some indicators of this may be perceived in this collection of texts from Aphrodito.

One such example is P.Lond.IV.1528, written by Pnei, the son of George, who is

Lashane/village headman of the "Five Fields", who also wrote the 'guarantee-declaration' of

P.Lond.IV.1521. Here in 1528 he confesses that he has been careless (amalein/ἀμαλεῖν)

and neglectful (kataphronein/καταφρονεῖν) (Copt: ϫⲉⲁⲓⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁϥⲟⲛⲉⲓ)

in not arresting and placing into custody certain refugees for which he has been fined. He

promises that in future he will seize and put into prison all those who illegally come into his

fields and report them to the public authorities. The consistency and seriousness to which

fines are affixed to refugees are also shown in P.Lond.IV.1531, & 1532, where in both letters

of declaration the undersigned promise to pay fines if they cannot produce the very person

who must be presented to the authorities (Bell & Crum, 1973:458). Similar in manner found

in P.Lond.IV.1545, we have an application of this declaration where Theodosius accepts

responsibility for his failure to produce a fugitive, for which he was arrested and promptly

paid a fine of 5 Solidi. He is further assisting the process by clarifying past records for this

same fugitive by stating what he has *not* paid in the past for this person. In so doing he is

not only atoning for his failures but he is also justifying the record so that further confusion

for the record is avoided. This avoids further penalty not only for himself but also for the

region where the fugitive affects that record. Oath taking is followed through by objective

action.

3.7 Chora and Church with the same Quota

In this same vein of responses which are chosen in order to affirm accountability, we

have P.Lond.IV.1531. This is the unusual record of multiple persons who take responsibility

to present a single fugitive, one priest named Hermia. In this case the individual warrants

the passionate guarantee of some twenty people who promise to produce him to the

authorities or else pay one gold solidus each. I would venture that this may be a monastery

or monastic 'laura', which is a locale of hermit-like monks who as a group of the priests'

spiritual brothers are willing to vouch for him or at least pay the tax that he is responsible

for. Bell observes that the writing style of the various signatures indicate that the writers

were of a wide varying skill thus indicating a range of levels of education (1973:458). This

would be expected as monks in community (*politea*) were from varied walks of life and

those who became scribes were under a long term training program at different levels of

competence (Bucking, 2007:239-242; Cromwell, 2010B: 9-11, 16). What the letter indicates

for us is that the monastic estates and smaller lauras were no longer privileged and

exempted from the tax system or the governments' demands. They had also demonstrated

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through their harboring of tax fugitives that they were as much part of the fiscal problem as anyone else, and so therefore needed a reform in policy.

Wipszycka gives us a paraphrased anecdote from P.Mich. Copt Texts II, of the new found pressures felt between the chora (districts) and the monasteries, as both share mutually in managing resources well in order to pay taxes:

> A village to the north of a monastery sent a delegation to request the removal of certain camels. This granted, they returned and counseled immediate removal by the villagers themselves. But the villagers said that, if the camels remained and they were ruined and fled to escape their taxes, the owners would have to remove the camels under less favorable conditions. A representative of the village writes to a representative of the monastery, reviewing the case and requesting action on a given date (2011:215).

You will notice that the village representatives are very clear as to what they will do if the monastery does not manage their camels well. They fully anticipate that freely roaming camels will consume what precious produce lay in their fields, and if not checked, they know of no other recourse than to flee the area, knowing full well that the tax authorities will be exacting punishment on them for realities beyond the farmer's control. What this indicates is that Monasteries are now part of the full economic system with its burdens and pressures. Therefore, no one can afford to ignore problems that can bring both legal and financial pain.

3.8 Adjusting the Policy and adjusting to it

The above narratives of Hermia and monastic camels indirectly affirms what Sawirus claims regarding the change in tax policy toward the end of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's governorship (ca.705):

For Al-Asbagh sought out books that they might be read to him, and so for instance he read

the Festal Epistles, in order that he might see whether the Muslims were insulted therein or

not. And he did not shrink from any cruelty that he could inflict upon the Christians. For as

the damned heretics were in the habit of calumniating the Christian monks and saying that

they did nothing but eat and drink, he sent out of his trusted friends, named Yezid,

accompanied by another, and [he] mutilated all the monks in all the provinces and in Wadi

Habib [Scetis] and on Mount Jarad and in other places. And he laid a poll-tax upon them of

one dinar from each individual, and commanded that they should make no more monks

after those whom he mutilated (mutilated could also be "registered"; Ragib, 1997:143). Now

this tax of the infidel Al-Asbagh was the first poll-tax paid by the monks (trans. B.T. Evetts,

PO V, 1910:51).

Al-Asbagh was looking for an opportunity to discredit the integrity of the Christians

his father was wont to diplomatically collaborate with, and it was not hard to find. For our

research focus here I would like to point out that it was the very Christological heretics

which the Miaphysite secretaries of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz were attempting to suppress who became

in reaction a source of political stress for them. The festal letters referenced here which

were released to determine the date of Easter, normally contain Christological statements

to encourage the faithful. As such the other confessional communities could easily find

references to find offensive and twist into interpretations of political subterfuge. Therefore,

al-ʿAsbagh easily found mal-contents who could point the finger and claim that the majority

Miaphysites and their extensive monastic land holdings "did nothing but eat and drink".

This is probably a metaphor for the relative wealth and protected status they enjoyed under

Marwan. I would interpret this as a rare opportunity for political revenge as the

Chalcedonian and other Gaianite related groups had been further marginalized under ʿAbd

al-ʿAzīz's secretaries. Whatever their intended goals, the applied policy would bring further financial stress and continued difficulty with all Christians of any confession. This not only for the significant poll tax, but also concerning fugitives, as the textual record under Ḳurra ibn S͟harīk appears to show.

Now that the majority church is perceived and pursued as a source of state revenue, it should not surprise us that it becomes a point of communication and tax collection for the government. Therefore, tax registers are made in the Aphrodito collection with monasteries as tax entities similar to wealthy land owners and estates (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1419, 1434, 1444, 1460, 1552, and 1594).

This idea is also developed in more detail through the archive of the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit and Titkooh which were published in the brilliant and seminal work of Sarah J. Clackson (1996, 2000, and 2008). These Hermopolite texts give insight into the interaction that monastic estates were required to perform in order to make the fiscal relationships work. There was a level of interdependence that required some creative adjustments by the priests and fathers of these communities in order to meet their tax liabilities. This was due to the fact that the typical textile efforts of the average monk, such as rope, basket, cloth and mat weaving would not have been sufficient to meet the varied tax and requisition demands from Fustat (Clackson, 1996:35). Therefore, a convenient nexus of wealthy land owners and business folk became members of the monastic community, who were trying to reduce their personal tax burden which would also provide the means of monasteries participating in the tax economy placed on them.

This can be demonstrated in several of these texts, such as KSB I 049, which is a rare declaration of a monk to renounce his property to be taken under the care of the

monastery. Clackson edited this document to show an example of a wealthy person who could not manage to pay the demosion taxes on two parcels of land simultaneously (1996:36, 224). By one monk renouncing (*apotassein*/ἀποτάσσειν/Copt: ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ) (line 6) the claim on one piece of land and recognizing its new tenant, a fellow brother monk named Jeremiah, he relieves himself of a tax burden. This oath is further weighted by promises to never take it back again with specific penalties of fifty Solidi if he attempts to do so. In so doing the monastery facilitates not only its own basis of wealth with which to sustain its community but gives a member a way to maintain at least of a portion of personal wealth. This does raise questions of the original ideal of the Pachomian monk to renounce the world (Wipszycka, 2011:235), yet it speaks to the pragmatic ways in which Christians in community creatively chose to maintain their vitality.

Another pragmatic way of maintaining sustainability was in lending money. The Greek texts of *P. Sta. Xyla 5,* 8, 10, and 18, from the monastery of Titkooh (in the Hermopolite Nome) show that monks with some means were loaning money to the community (Wipszycka, 2011:39; see Gascou, CE:1639a-1645b). This is not to say that these were private secretive things of scandal. For in P. Amst.47 and 48; and SB XVI 1240l (Clackson, 1996:39), the Archimandrite of the monastery of Apa Apollo, who is the spiritual superior, organizes the repayment of a loan in installments of wine. This is also demonstrated in Or. 6201 B230, where a monk in the Apa Apollo monastery admits to owing the Archimandrite Apa Theodoros two Solidi (Clackson, 1996:150). Therefore, if this is accepted policy in order to facilitate community well-being, then we shouldn't be surprised to see the practice among the monks of the same monastery. This is shown in P. Med. Copt. inv. 76.21, where a woman from the region of Shmoun acknowledges a debt

(*chreiostein*/χρειωστεῖν/ Coptic: ⲧⲓⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉⲛ) of two (or more) Solidi to the monk Apa

Ienoch from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh. This declaration of guarantee to pay

also includes a repayment schedule and legal witnesses, including a proper scribe to write it

in the acceptable legal format for the period. Likewise two village headmen of Migdol

acknowledge a debt of one Solidus, some Lachnon (measure) of oil and wheat to Kosma, a

monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo (Clackson, 1996:148). This particular repayment is

important, for it involves payment in kind. In comparison to the previous texts of

P.Lond.IV.1460 & 1461 (tax registers) these show that payments in kind are not only to the

government, but also in the milieu of the monastery to the broader community.   It should

be noted that this is further evidence of an under monetized system, which all the more

required this interdependence payments in kind which is observed in the texts (Markiewicz,

2009: 183). The point is that under the stresses of *dapane* maintenance, *demosion* poll tax,

costs for post, administration and fugitive displacement, monasteries and lay communities

collaborated under mutual stress in order to adjust to the hard fiscal reality. As isolated as

monks wanted to be in various forms of Pachomian or anchoretic rules, the continuous crisis

of the struggle for survival demanded a commonly shared value of Christian compassion.

This shared burden of survival and mutual stress provided the not only the pretext for illegal

collusion but also the means of finding a legitimate mutually beneficial solution.

3.9 Communes and Communality: Shared land, Shared taxes

    Another indicator of this is the management of land and property. Land owned by

monasteries could originate from several methods. One was if a wealthy landowner

donated property to facilitate a pious legacy during their lifetime (as in the case of Apollo in

the Dioscorus archive), or included it in their testament as a gift of their estate after death.

An excellent example of this is found in P.KRU 106 (ca. 732), where a women by the name of Anna in full and careful legal language donates all of her property and belongings to the monastery of St. Paul of Koulol in Jeme while on her death bed (MacCoull, 2009:168-69). As it is written on behalf of Anna by the priest and hegoumenos Chmntsneu to the "God-honored" Abba Zacharias, it has a full theological development in its reasoning and authoritative character. Naturally then it is an action in the name of "the holy, life-giving, consubstantial Trinity" (MacCoull, 2009:166), giving solemn authority such as is common to legal statements. Bagnall notes that this text stands within a tradition of a standard invocation formula for this period, and assigns this particular one under the category 2E (1981:122, 130). What is also significant, as this is a public legal document, it is written to the Muslim Pagarch of Hermonthis, Mamet the *amir* (Muhammad), and Chael, the "most magnificent" *dioikētēs* (head of district) of Jeme (Kastron Memnion) (MacCoull, 2009:166)(lines 5-7) [12].

Anna expresses the concern for her eternal future in that she desires for the vicarious prayers of Saint Paul of Koulol on her behalf, through the "hands of your God-honored brother Abba Zacharias…" (MacCoull, 2009:168). What this implies is her desire to be spiritually represented before the judgment of God by the continual prayers of these clerics in successful perpetuity (MacCoull, 2009:171). She even quotes from James 5:16, that the 'prayers of a righteous man avails much', which was probably encouraged by Abba Zacharias as he writes this testament in her presence (MacCoull, 2009:172; lines 242-244). Fear is however not the only motivator of this donation, for she repeats in several ways that "God put it into my heart" to be generous (ⲘⲘⲞϥ ⲈⲀⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ ⲚⲞⲬⲤ ⲈⲠⲀ2ⲎⲦ) (line 66).

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[12] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5609. Subsequent references to lines of P.KRU 106 refer to this transcribed text.

Divine encouragement then has given her confidence that the donation will secure Saint Paul's prayers on her behalf and secure her future favor in divine judgement. As an added justification of spiritual benefits of the donation she also includes a sense of *agapé* (sacrificial love) towards the poor. In her aspiration this act of selfless love (*agapé*) towards the poor will also be a sweet smelling incense received as an "offering for my poverty" (ⲘⲠⲢⲞⲨⲞⲢⲀ ϨⲀ ⲦⲀⲘⲚⲦⲦⲀⲗⲀⲓⲠⲞⲢⲞⲤ) (lines 83-84). Despite her recorded wealth, she sees herself as a desperate sinner in need of spiritual vitality in abundance, which will be secured through her caring for the living after her death (lines 85ff). This is where the material world and the spiritual meet, as the monastery facilitates a loving "*agape*" transaction in order to protect the estate's resources from becoming useless to the community. The monastery thus is facilitated in its ability to pay taxes to the state and fulfill occasional requisitions. This would also be useful to care for the poor as their own resources would normally not be able to pay the poll tax.

3.9.1 A Pious Payment: "First Fruits" tithe guarantee

A key term that needs to be interpreted in the context of the interaction of land management is found in the texts of the monasteries of Bawit and Titkooh, and this term is of the tithe, specifically of the giving "first fruits", known in Greek as *aparché*/ἀπαρχή (Copt: ⲀⲠⲀⲢⲬϨ). The term has its origin in the Old Testament understanding of bringing the first produce from the harvest of your land to the church or monastery (Lev.23:40; Deut. 26:1-10). According to Clackson the term is euphemistically applied to the tax-rent collection (1996:74). Her analysis of the "aparché" texts is that monasteries from the early 8th century onwards (periodically) were liable for the poll tax (demosion) and as such used this term for rent of their lands in order to procure their tax

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responsibility for the members, clerical or lay, who were land tenants (e.g. P.Mon.Apollo 8-14 corpus of texts). Lists were likely developed which showed the calculated value of Solidi or goods/produce to be paid and converted into demosion or pactum payments. Pactum was the term for payment used for hereditary emphyteutic land leases by families who intended to be on the land perpetually as an endowment for the monastery (Clackson, 1996:40; deWit & Sijpesteijn, 1992:57). The interesting aspect of this process was the method of collecting payments, whereby a responsible monk is assigned to or agrees to receive these payments from a designated village or plot (Clackson, 2000:19). The practice of long term hereditary lease can be documented in Egypt as early as 117 through a recorded action of Hadrian who made this kind of agreement regarding his personal land in Egypt (Johnston, 1940:336). We also find this term used in the archive of Bawit as a collection for taxes such as the corn tax (*embole*) (ibid.).

Wipszycka in disagreement with Clackson makes a distinction in the use of the term aparché by combining the original use of tithe as a means to require extra support for the monastery in combination with the additional necessity of rent for taxes (2011:204). She also assesses this term as a measure of piousness and religious sincerity. This would imply a subtle form of manipulation for the sake strengthening piety and commitment in the face of a growing pressure to convert, yet also could be an encouraging sense of participation in Christian community. This also could have served as a cultural response to the Arab entagia (tax quota register), as communities were constantly having to plan for the allotment of taxes for a given year. A self-conscious Christian response could have been to communicate the tax burden as a voluntary act of shared burden in order to develop a community identity.

One text that may contribute to this interpretation is BL Or. 6201 B268A, where aparché and produce are collected for the monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Makare. As the monk Pepros commits in his integrity to collect these items for his fellow monk Daniel, he takes responsibility for a certain area (fields) owned by the monastery. Specifically, that he is "by the will of God ready to give" (ϩⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ ⲧⲓϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛϩⲉⲧⲉⲙⲟⲥ) (line 10) to the "father of the diakonia" (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲓⲁ) the two and a half Solidi allotted for this particular aparché. Wipszycka in her earlier research (1972:71) suggested that the semantics of this expression indicated a free and voluntary contribution in this text. Yet given her analysis later I suspect that she would retract this, as she suspects pious manipulation (2011:206).

The text above is one of several that show the standard process of this collection. The Archimandrite or Abott would have the *diakonia* (business office) develop lists for the appropriate collection of rents from individual fields or productive sites which would allow them to pay the demanded demosion tax quota from Fustat. Then certain monks would be assigned the collection of these as money payments or payments in kind (Clackson, 1996:76; e.g. BL Or. 6201 B219, BL Or. 6201 B267(A), P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2 & 3, P. Schøyen 89/14, BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 1). These texts Clackson analyzed in order to make it clear that monks in their humble service are to collect on behalf of the orders of the Abbott. According to P. Schøyen 89/11(A), "every monk" (ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲥⲛϩⲩ) (line 16) listed in this register is responsible as individuals to contribute to the aparche for the region's monasteries.

This is a case in point to demonstrate that the broader Christian community collaborated to pay taxes via the authority and status of the local monastery in order to find creative solutions. The mutual trust of respected authority and valid agreements work

together to provide a focused response to high tax demands and resource stresses. Richter

also suggests that this "tithe" collection system may also have legally protected the

monastery from the state (2009:212). He points to the experience of one monk in

P.Mon.Apollo 25, who, as the one liable for the demosion payment of two plots, has failed

to produce the required coins and is now directly indebted to the state (ibid.). Perhaps this

was purposefully structured so as to protect the *dikaion* (Monastery's business body), so

that it would not lose its property to the state if it failed its tax liability. If we combine this

with Wipszycka's challenge, perhaps separate payment types made legally applicable to a

person and not an institution further created a legal buffer and allowed multiple lines of

communication with the Pagarch. In turn this promotes the continuity of the monastery

and allows the growing ranks of monks an opportunity to serve.

Within this context yet without the tithing concept is what we have in P.Bal. 102,

where the *dikaion*/δίκαιον of the monastery of Apa Apollo is authorized by its senior priest

and his brothers of this office to borrow 8 solidi from its own monks for the government's

demand of demosion tax, which is to be repaid in the commodities of lentils and honey,

whichever commodity is most available "God willing" (lines 22-23) (Kahle, 1954:490-5;

Markiewicz, 2009:183). What this implies is that the *demosion entagia* (tax demand) is of a

precise timed nature, thus demanding a quick response from the brothers of the monastery.

This was facilitated by the monk "Apa Amrou", who identifies here as a Shaliou/ϣⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩ,

which is an agent associated with the collection of taxes (Lines 5-6, Kahle, 1954:491; Crum,

1939:561). Given his position, he likely provided a service of regular contact with Pagarchy,

and with an unusual Arabic name, perhaps gained a special relationship as an intermediary.

The guarantee of repayment is based on existing crops that were growing (lines 17-18).

Likewise in P.Bal. 103, we have a second record from the same monastery under similar circumstances, where an 'Apa Ammone' has loaned the community a solidus for the express purpose of demosion tax payment, which will be repaid in the form of wheat. This wheat has not yet been harvested, but as soon as it has been threshed it is promised to be delivered (Lines 6-7; Kahle, 1954:504; Markiewicz, 2009:183). Therefore, the lands which the monastery owns or manages is of long term stable value, thus allowing a communal shared response.

Included in this collaboration land management in the broader Christian community is that of the nexus of Church, nobility, and monastery. We find a good example of this in the records pertaining to the episcopal "Holy Church of God" at Hermopolis, specifically in the rent receipt of P.Mich.inv.3415.[13] In this receipt we have one Ioannakios, a civil nobleman of 'gloriosissimus'/ἐνδοξότατος status, who acknowledges the receipt of 5 solidi from Daniel to the church as payment for use of lands to produce a crop for the second indiction year (Mid seventh century) (Venticinque, 2011:93). What is helpful to our purposes is that Ioannakios not only uses his noble title but also combines it with the role of *phrontistēs*/φροντιστής, which is a specific title noting the status of a lay official who is involved with the financial affairs of the church, representing their interests to the civil authorities (Op. Cit., p. 95; Bagnall, 1992:9). Wipszycka further defines this role as a 'very precise' form of curatorship which was likely a permanent feature and not an emergency measure due to the loss of a Bishop or educated priest (1972:152-53).[14] Another layer of lay bureaucracy is added to this in that it is yet another lay official, the *pronoētes*/προνοητής who writes the receipt and signs it with authority.   This office specifically is an agent of the

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[13] https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4165/3415R.TIF
[14] http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/wipszycka1972/0157

church whose primary duty was to oversee and manage the estate holdings of a particular church (Wipszycka, 1972:144; Wipszycka, 1969:188-89; Venticinque, 2011:97). This text is consistent with other records from Hermopolis, for several texts show transactions that are taken on behalf of the church by lay officials and assistants who are expected to act as administrators (Venticinque, 2011:91). Further examples of this intermediary form of management can be found in P.Lond.5.1782[15], SPP 3 271B[16], and SB 12.10805[17] (ibid, n. 8). Of these, SPP 3.271 B is more applicable to our inquiry, for Senouthios, the Dux of the Pagarchy is also *phrontistes*/φροντιστής of the church and is the authority behind this receipt (line 3); yet in turn he is further represented by the archdeacon, *arxidiakonos*/ἀρχιδιάκονος Menas, who is also listed here in his dual role as *dioikētēs*/διοικητής (lines 5-6). The latter role is what is most pertinent to our investigation for this office was key to the entire tax collection system.   The above bureaucracy is completed by the actual author of the rent receipt, one Joseph, a *pronoētēs*/προνοητής of the church (line 7).   What this multilayered legal system reveals is a close integration of ecclesiastical and civil roles, where church canons likely supported the provincial legal structure and both spheres cooperated in order to fulfill financial needs of both institutions. This further supports the logic that the Christology of the church had lines of access to influence financial decisions.

3.9.2 Child Donations: In service to Christ

Another key area of collaboration between the Church and the public in management of fiscal stress is the donation of children to monasteries. This is a well-

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[15] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;5;1782
[16] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;28;17144
[17] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;12;10805

studied phenomena that is established through the corpus of 26 Theban documents from the eighth century, P.KRU 78-103[18] (ca. 734-785) (Papaconstantinou, 2002A:89-92). Since Crum had published these in the early twentieth century (1905, 1912), they have been studied by Till (1964), Papaconstantinou (2002), Wilfong, (2002), Richter (2005), Wipszycka (2011), and Schenke (2016). The purpose here is to interact with their analysis and focus its purpose toward Christology and response to the state.

These documents are from the area of Jeme in the Thebaid, and specifically from the monastery of Saint Phoibammon. The children donated are brought to this monastery from named areas up to twenty kilometers away (Richter, 2005:241). Parents from every stage of life, whether widowed (P.KRU 79)[19], or married (P.KRU 84, 85[20], 90, 91, 92, 97) bring these children for perpetual service to this monastery. Most of the children recorded are males, and are likely weaned from their mothers (Papaconstantinou, 2002A:99-100).   The children would be servants for the church, not slaves or monks (Papaconstantinou, 2002B:513). They would often be assigned menial tasks such as lamp maintenance(P.KRU 92.14, 93.33), fetching water (P.KRU 93.32), catering for guests (P.KRU 93.34) (Wilfong, 2002:100; Papaconstantinou, 2002B:514)(P.KRU 93, line 33, P.KRU 92, line 14; see Richter, 2005:244).

These documents have several features common to legal documents of the period, but with several salient features helpful for our goal. One feature of note is a statement regarding legal precedent for this case, that of divine sanction:

> Since God's law engages and encourages everybody to do the good and the useful, whatever
> he wants, with his property, and no power ruling at any time shall prevent anybody from

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[18] http://papyri.info/hgv/85979 to http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.kru;;103
[19] http://papyri.info/hgv/85980
[20] http://papyri.info/hgv/85986

doing the useful for the salvation of his soul… (trans. Richter, 2005:242)(P.KRU 100, lines 9-13)[21].

Richter interprets the above appeal to God's law as an indicator of some type of broader controversy of legal basis (2005:242). Therefore, a strong affirmative statement of personal freedom to affirm ownership rights may have been a reaction to what was a controversial practice. Was there a type of cross cultural tension between the Arab and Christian communities in this period as Pagarchs and Dukes were being replaced gradually with Muslims? Was the choice of classifying people/children as legal property by the church interpreted by Fustat as another method of avoiding the fugitive registration process? This is possible as we have the record of an adult submitting himself as an oblate into servitude of the monastery of Abba Phoibammon:

> And now, God willing, from today on no man is to be owner (lord) over my body, save only the holy monastery of the holy Abba Phoibammon the great martyr that lies in the holy mountain of Jeme, and I the aforenamed above (Petronius), shall become and be a servant (slave) thereto, performing its commands like a slave bought with money (P.KRU 104; modified trans. MacCoull, 2009:164).

I would suggest that the above example is someone who as an adult could have been looking for a reprieve from the weight of taxes and resource restraints. If the fugitive outlet had been removed through the work of Ḳurra ibn S̲h̲arīk previous to this document, then perhaps this was another available venue of escape. The above document dates from ca. 771/72, which is outside our target area for analysis, but I choose to use it here as an indicator of an iterative process whereby conscientious Christians are attempting to find a

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[21] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5607

solution when overwhelmed by the prospect of not being able to provide for one's needs, especially when chronically ill. Papaconstantinou also proposes that economics were a large factor in the decision making process for these types of donations, but she interprets the larger narratives as pious emotional manipulation of desperate people (2002B:526).

Another feature of these documents pertinent to our research is what Richter calls the "narratio", which is essentially the history giving the reason as to why the parents wish to donate the child (2005:242). A common denominator of these narratives is an event of sickness of the child, for which the parents take them for healing at their patron monastery. In their gratitude for divine healing graciously orchestrated through the patron saint, they promise to donate the child to his service and that of the church. Yet the story is not straightforward, for in the aftermath of the child's healing and in the subsequent relief the parents decide to keep the child. When the child becomes sick again, the parents interpret this as God's judgement for rebellion, and thus they rush to the monastery to enlist the Abba to write up a formal agreement to donate the child (P.KRU 86, lines 17-32; Wilfong, 2002:100-101; P.KRU 96). In one particular example of this act of contrition as the parents beg for forgiveness and divine intervention on behalf of a boy, the sacrament of Holy Communion (Eucharist) comes into focus:

> …Then we took the little boy and brought him into the holy monastery. We always besought God and his Saint, the holy Phoibammon, we cried and besought the martyr: 'Forgive us the sin we have done!', and we always received the holy Communion together with the little boy, and after a period of one month, he who had listened to the prayers of the blessed Anna, the mother of Samuel the prophet, also listened to us (P.KRU 96, trans. Richter, 2005:263).

I am placing an emphasis on the sacrament in this case for it has direct connection to Christology. In many of these legal documents relating to taxes and fugitives, the epistolary greeting formula is that of the "life giving consubstantial Trinity." This statement is made to give authority and assent to oaths and agreements because the same priest who places the imprimatur of authority on this legal document (P.KRU 96 and the rest of this Theban corpus) is also administering the mystery of the life giving Christ. No parent would trust the life of their child into the hands of someone whom they thought did not possess the ability and divine sanction to handle the "holy mysteries" of Christ in the sacrament intended to give spiritual and physical life to the community of faith. The clear attestation of this grounds for this authority and validation to handle the "mysteries" is found in the miracle of healing. More on the full implications of this theology will be given in a later chapter, but in this critical example it shows an intimacy and careful spiritual thought into the continued life of the child.

In all of the concern for the life of the child, the parents make a fateful decision to place the child where they may be better cared for. Whether for pragmatic economics or genuine concerns for spiritual and physical vitality, the fateful decision is made to proceed with the donation in what is called the 'business clause'. This feature grounds the donation in legal language of the ownership of the child by the monastery, their proper status, and the duties of each party (Richter, 2005:243). Steinwenter also compares these statements to the formula of property sales agreements of this period and finds a common pattern (1921:185, n.9; see Richter, 2005:243, n.18). In several of these business clauses the specific responsibilities of the monastery in the lifetime care of the child are stated (P.KRU 87, 90, 103). As to the responsibilities and status of the child, their permanent service work as

described above is referred to in metaphor, "like a slave bought for money" (ⲈϤⲞ ⲚⲀⲘϨⲀⲗ

ⲈϨⲞⲨⲚ ⲈⲠⲘⲀ ⲈⲦⲞⲎⲀⲀⲂ ϨⲚ ⲘⲚⲦ–ϨⲘϨⲀⲗ ⲚⲒⲘ ⲱⲀ ⲈⲂⲈϨ ⲚⲞⲨⲞⲈⲒⲱ ⲚⲐⲈ

ⲚⲞⲨϬⲀⲨⲞⲚ ⲚⲱⲱⲠ)(P.KRU 97, lines 18-19[22]; similar: P.KRU 82 lines 15-16[23], cf.

Papaconstantinou, 2002A:512). Hence the child is exclusively "owned" by the monastery in

that "Nobody else shall be the master of the boy during all the days of his life" (P.KRU 81.26,

trans. Richter, 2005:243). These statements as full legal documents are written to proper

standards by a scribe, notarized by reading aloud and affirming what is written to the

parties, signed by the donor, and several witnesses, normally of clerical or high civil rank.

Apparently this was an understood acceptable practice, as it is described as an action

"just like all the servants of the monasteries" (P.KRU 92.13; cf. Crum & Steindorff,

2012:292), and "Just like anybody who is vowed to a monastery"(P.KRU 99, lines 12-13; cf.

Crum & Steindorff, 2012:3121-13, cf. Richter, 2005:243, n. 17). The oath/vow is described in

language to make it permanent to the extent that it would be sinful to remove the child by

even the family:

> For myself or whoever may dare to do this, first of all that man is to have no profit of it, but
>
> rather is to be liable to the reproach and peril of the holy oath. Subsequently he is to
>
> become and be a stranger to God Almighty, and be subject to a great curse that the Lord
>
> uttered in Deuteronomy to Moses (28:15-68, 29:20-27) because he dared to act in this way
>
> (P.KRU 78, trans. MacCoull, 2009:161; similar in P.KRU 104 on p.165) .

The seriousness of language in the testimony of miracle, property formulae, and

sanction in the oath attest to an unusual documentary text that makes for a helpful point of

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[22] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.kru;;97
[23] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.kru;;82

contact. Papaconstantinou points out that indeed these donation texts certainly point to removing people out of the equation for the annual naval expeditions listed above, yet she also sees a convenient mixture of both documentary, legal, and hagiographical genre's placed together (2002B:516, 521). This is a narrative then that assists the people living near the village of Jeme to understand and process their difficult and painful choices as they navigate survival in the Umayyad context. What I find also helpful is that Schenke makes a connection between the hagiographical account of the life of Phoibammon and these donation documents, for the documentary is a mirror to the hagiographical literature (2016:1-2). She makes a careful distinction between the healing shrine associated with the Saint and his monastery, for the miracles referenced in both these genres is to the shrine of the Saint, not the monastery per se, and it is to the shrine specifically that these children are dedicated. Yet their work will in due course come to benefit the whole of the monastery. Of critical importance to these texts is the oath to serve in the shrine, for when it is broken then the consequence of the illness or calamity is recorded, prompting the crisis which results in legal documentary texts (Schenke, 2016:4-5). The corpus for evaluating this hagiography is Pierpont Morgan M 582, which is a collection of miracles associated with the Saint which occur in the geography near Hermopolis (Verrone, 2002). In these accounts it becomes clear that the Saint specializes in detecting oath breaking, and uses these as crises to bring about repentance and extend grace to the families affected (Schenke, 2016:3-5; eg. PM582 Fol. 22r II, 2–22v I,5). Therefore, for the purposes of salvation in Christ, health, and long term viability, the Saint and his shrine become a legal and spiritually meaningful narrative with which to resolve the tensions of a difficult life lived along the thin tightrope of the Nile.

Conclusion: Bringing the tax life together

In this chapter I have traveled far and wide down the Nile in order to bring together the Coptic Christian experience with the Arab desire for an efficient economy, and produce evidence for purpose in measurable action. This fiscal organization is necessary not only for the needs of a developing Caliphate, but also for the expenses of continuous military expansion into the Mediterranean.

Christians are integral to the main and subsequent roles in government administration and fiscal responsibility for at least the first seventy years of Arab rule and in significant roles well beyond that. The details discussed demonstrate this in objective terms and also explore how the government administration interacts with the church and monastic communities.   The details reveal a main Arab focus, that of the Dīwān as a military register to provide for the needs and preparation of the army. Thus begins the whole plethora of material and fiscal needs that the Egyptian public is held responsible for.

As a people protected by God, "the Dhimmī", Egyptians have a negotiated status, and therefore their provision for the military and the civil government is not some form of brute slave labor, but a labor contract by treaty. The first of these treaties was preserved in the literary record by John of Nikiu, recording the conditions of "tribute" (*gitzya*) to be paid by Alexandrians. Subsequently, al-Muqaffa, writing many years later speaks of this tribute being paid individually in other contexts rather than based on social status.

For the Arabs initially, financial needs were focused in personal terms, not social status, as is demonstrated by the poll tax. Further distinctions that serve immediate need, such as *gitzya*, *dariba*, and *rizq*, reveal the contingent nature of an army that is always preparing for war. For the average person who was required to service this need, it

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amounted to one solidus (dinar) per year as a poll tax, and one solidus per year as a land tax if applicable.

Yet taxes are never a stative system, for they grow and adapt to fit the needs of the state; therefore, I explored the uncovering of a regional tax policy. This policy borrowed much from the Byzantine system, and as such used the Greek distinctions such as *Demosia* and *Andrismos*. Demosia designated a public money tax, the rates of which were influenced to a degree by historical treaty, and often termed "*gitzya*" in a general sense, to be more carefully defined later as the bureaucracy grew. Later Umayyad rulers finessed terms that stayed within historical parameters but nonetheless created more categories from which to collect and designate revenue. The categories for tax organization fall into two: Scheduled tax with distributed registers, and unscheduled, extraordinary taxes to serve the ad hoc demands of the military, such as *dianomai* and *probata.* The unscheduled demands of material goods and currency should be interpreted as additional disruptive stresses that a Christian public would be evaluating with the Christology intimately tied to their world and life view.

The Arabs had improved upon the Byzantine administrative system by gradually applying and effective centralization not previously known in Egypt. Therefore, the tax system had a direct relationship from the seat of government in Babylon/Fustat to the regional pagarchies responsible for raising revenue. The key documents that represent this system were called merismoi, which was a register drawn up in Fustat and distributed to the Pagarchy towns. From the main towns, the lists were distributed to the "select men" of the villages, who carried out collections and/or collaborated with administrative assistants sent by the governor. These taxes are accountable by name, and to those names are applied

several categories of payment. The emphasis on names and their land owning status reveals a new principle of taxation, that of personal identity and not land owning social status. This establishes the more broad based application of tax liability.

The persons who were responsible to make this system effective at the Pagarchy level were the Duke and his secretaries. These roles were enhanced by a registered name list generated in Fustat, called the *katagraphon*, which was used to identify tax paying units at the personal level. This system is worked out with its limits and weaknesses displayed in the interaction between Governor Ḳurra ibn S͟harīk and the Pagarch of Aphrodito, Basilios. Threats and expressed frustrations of late payments and refugees reveal the autonomous nature of previous Egyptian society regardless of the desires of a central government. This in turn causes the government to constantly evaluate and adjust their system of collection, sometimes allowing for payments in currency, or payments in kind depending upon the time of year and its relationship to the harvest cycle. Documentary texts of this nature reveal a perpetual debt culture to the tax system that is further complicated by refugee movement (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1414 & 1416).

With adjustments being made by the state and the governed, then it would be natural to measure state response to Christian reactions. Being that measuring Christian reaction to a fiscal system from a theological point of view is our objective, it is necessary to evaluate documentary texts that indicate such action. Some of these texts relate to the early instability of the Caliphate caused by a "fitna", meaning a Civil War, such as the one that occurred between 656-661. In this uncertain period Christians had some reason to believe that they were a legitimate voice in the concerns of state, for Constans II had formulated a peace treaty with Caliph Mu'awiya, indicating some flexibility on the Egyptian

side of the equation.   What also may have reinforced this view is the fairness and relatively constant respect that ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ maintained via the peace treaty with the Egyptian people. The Arab army maintained a relative social distance and life continued much as it had before.

Yet the social tensions nevertheless were real and measurable, for there are tremendous demands placed on the Egyptian economy for both internal and external military strife. After the fitna has ended, and Mu'awiya has secured his power base, then the annual koursa or naval expeditions to attack the Mediterranean coastline are back on schedule. A significant part of the Egyptian economy is involved in this, forcing Christians of all walks of life to become involved in attacking fellow Christians. How should a Christian sailor respond when their efforts were used toward such ends? Records from Apollonos Ano and Aphrodito reveal that there was a serious crisis of conscience where sailors and technicians would leave their assigned jobs, many who would become refugees during or after their expected term of service (e.g. P.Apoll.9, 28, 106).

Social tensions also arose from the resources constantly demanded from every pagarchy for the military buildup and the collection of corn sent to Medina. Limited available resources placed the local Pagarchs, monasteries, and farms under significant stress to fulfill both local and distant needs. One measurable response to this is the refugee crisis. This disruptive behavior reveals that many people were in the constant hope of discovering those remaining few resources in Upper Egypt, and were willing to take the associated risks involved. Both the late seventh century Apollonos Ano and the early eighth century Aphrodito texts reveal a long ongoing problem of displaced persons who were actively avoiding public service or tax payments. This even becomes a generational problem

that was causing confusion in the tax registers and was also eroding trust between Fustat and the distant Pagarchies. In time even monasteries are under suspicion from harboring refugees.

The government response to this was iterative, progressively adding layers of documentary accountability and bureaucracy, all while using the increasing rhetoric of threats. This is shown in the often tense expressions in the relationship between Governor Ḳurra ibn S͟harīk and the Pagarch Basilios. What these texts reveal is that passive resistance did indeed exist, as regional and village leadership conveniently chose to ignore the current status of the public under their jurisdiction, thus allowing tacit acceptance of illegal behavior and perhaps enhancing local economic needs. (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1460).

The theological aspect of this continued stress may be found in the response of Christian local civil leaders. The terms of "guarantee-declarations" found in the Aphrodito texts express the language of desired integrity and earnestness in order to develop or recover trust (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1518). Placed within this language is the practical use of Christian deference in identity, namely that they would choose to not use the "cross" in defense of their status. That is, they would not abuse their Christian Dhimmī status as a false pretense for tax evasion. I choose to interpret this as careful use of Christian deference, because the collective action of Christian refugees may have weighed upon the moral sense of those Christians who represented the Christian public to Arab rulers. What this translates to in terms of action is intense language use on documentary texts to emphasize honest intentions. This affirmation may be found in the practice of oath taking in the name of "God Almighty" (e.g. P.KRU 5 &24).

Further oath taking before Arab officials even goes to the extent of becoming Christological by invoking the "Life giving consubstantial Trinity". What should be inherently offensive to a Muslim is chosen to be used, not as a form of counter attack but as a genuine attempt to use the terms of essential Christian focus and "raison d'etre". This format, although an established Christian tradition from the Byzantine period, reinforces a perceived need to demonstrate solemn integrity under social and fiscal pressure.

Under these same pressures the church and regional 'chora' (pagarchy) find themselves with the same quota for taxes and material goods. When the tax demands extend to the church sphere for support, we find further language affirming accountability and reinforcing the perception of integrity. In the case of monastic life, we find monks willing to financially guarantee the repatriation of an absconded priest (P.Lond.IV.1531). This also demonstrates that the ecclesiastical culture is fully under the weight of the fiscal system. That they were also suspect is shown by the testing they endured under al-Asbagh, who by investigation of church texts and mutilation of monks, brought all of the Egyptian public under fiscal scrutiny. (Evetts, PO V, 1910:51). In his mind if Christians can also be proved to be dishonest or disrespectful, then perhaps their financial burden should be increased. Christological divisiveness also plays into the government's hands as sources to stir up inquiry and complicate relations.

Through such tensions then the church once again becomes another source of measurable action in terms of their own tax registers. Theological data may be mined through the records of monastic managed lands, as they owned large portions and were responsible to collect taxes from them. Within this context, in an attempt to reduce their personal daily stress and their tax liability, certain wealthy persons chose to utilize the

monastic structure by relinquishing their wealth to the monastery (Clackson, 1996:36, 224).

Monasteries with significant resources were also known to lend money to the general public

along with their own members, which likely was a means to facilitate tax payments.

Theological terms and mores were used in collection for taxes and church needs via the

aparchē concept of "first fruits" tithing given to the monastery. Managing land absorbed by

the monastery indicated a form of piety, and thus devotion to Christ. This is found in land

donation agreements that were termed in legal documents as sanctioned by the 'Live giving

consubstantial Trinity'. This grants both legal and pious authority to legal agreements, but it

also has more value than that. This includes a form of worship, as the previous owner has

the assurances that they will be prayed for in the name of a departed Saint. Thus the

language of these agreements also express a desire for spiritual redemption and favor in

future divine judgement via the liturgical setting.

Another expression of pious sacrifice of a personal nature was that of the donation

of one's own children to the service of the church. In our own era, giving children to a

monastery would appear selfish, abusive, and short sighted. Yet in the difficult life of the

fiscally stressed Umayyad Egypt, donating children was understood as both pious and

mutually beneficial. This represents yet another point of contact between the mutual needs

of the church and public finances. Children as perpetual servants might serve to help the

productivity of the monastery and contribute to its fiscal health, but they also serve a

significant spiritual purpose. It would be a fair assessment that parents would also

economically benefit, yet a concurrent factor would also perceive those same children as

special servants in worship. In their continual service at the shrines of departed Saints, they

represent the hope of miraculous healing power to their families, their church, and their

community.

If a conclusion can be drawn from documentary and literary texts, it must be drawn in humility, for we often do not have a counterbalance to the texts which give full perspective to the taxpayer or the tax gatherer. I would argue that the Arab government wisely perceived and understood the vast decentralization brought about by Byzantine rule and recognized that its resources were untapped and unorganized. Through initial friendly relationships that allowed access to the far reaches of Upper Egypt, they learned over time that the fiscal system had been corrupted and was further made more difficult via very independent rulers and villagers alike (e.g. 'autopragia'). Therefore, reforming the system to represent both demographic reality and true productive capacity was a task that had to be negotiated carefully through cross cultural liaison and full enforcement of policy. The apparent petty reactions of an al-Asbaugh to Christian fiscal resistance is an unusual recorded instance. Most governors attempted to assess what was truly possible fiscally and tried to remain within those bounds. However, there is a clear record that shows the persistent avoidance of taxes via continual migration that created the fugitive problem, and thus the fiscal failures and continual corrections. The extant records of tax quotas, assessments, registers, and threatening letters (e.g. Ḳurra ibn S̲h̲arīk) reveal a long ongoing steady process that attempted to gain every ounce of productivity for a continuous war effort in the Mediterranean. The governor was no longer a distant figure in Alexandria with continual interruption and meddling from Constantinople, but an integrated administrator who regularly brought Dukes, Pagarchs, and village headmen into Fustat/Babylon (future Cairo) and held them personally accountable. The Arabs fully understood the wealth and value that Egypt was capable of through investigation and experience, and over many years developed a system to fully harness productivity.

This produced a dynamic in learning relationships that was not separated from organized church involvement. Monasteries of every type and persuasion were involved in either caring for the poor and paying taxes on their behalf, or collecting taxes via the "*aparche*" system in order to be prepared for their *demosia* gold payments as assessed by the *katagraphon* quotas. When the entagia arrived as to what their quota responsibility was, they had an established system that set about collecting the necessary through the monks who had bound themselves to monastic service. Through land management, money loans, payments in kind, and donations, the church had means from which to pay a poll tax suitable for the state and also to compassionately manage the many who came under their care. What they did understand was that the people set before them were under fellow believers who needed resources and guidance under pressure. So whether in tax assessments, receipts, agreements, declarations of fugitives, or even child donations, their Trinitarian foundation for action was ever present (which is predicated on Christological thought), and they invoked those holy names as a basis for authority in action (Papaconstantinou, 2009:456). The undivided Christ gave their Saints power and also fed them and the spiritual superiors through the Eucharist. This I would argue was their core value and power for assessing their stress, their need, and their reality for action.
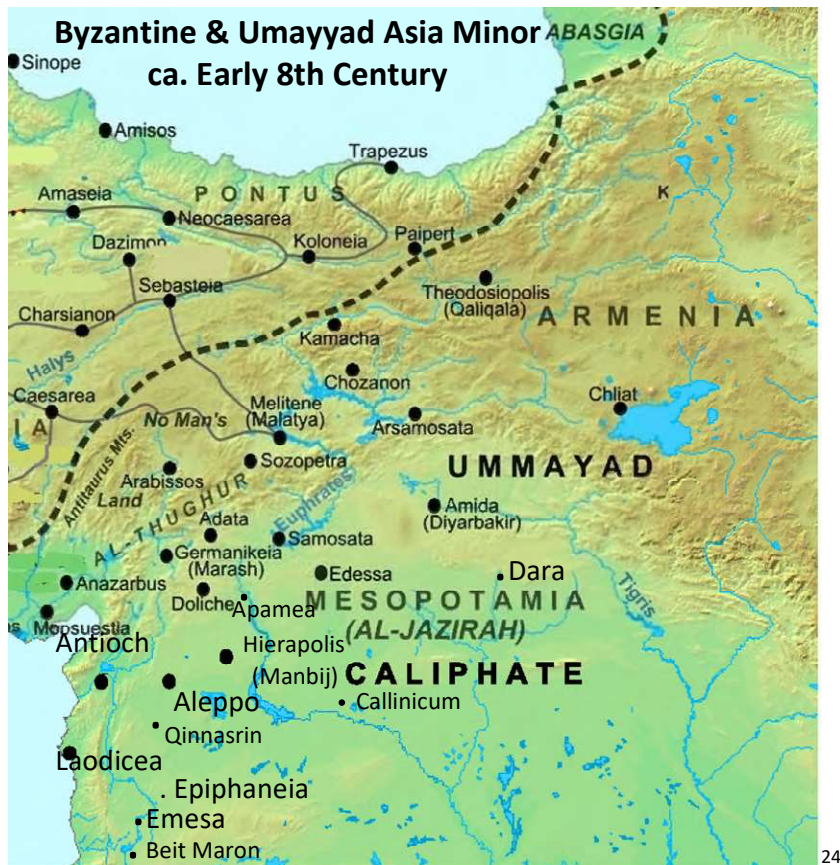
Yet despite their best efforts to bring all of this into harmony with a Christian public, there was the eventful breakdown with the revolts of 712 and 725, the latter which was widespread throughout the eastern Delta and Upper Egypt (Mikhail, 2014:Loc.2383-89). The Coptic understanding of the government of Fustat was by that time that the tax burden was beyond their means and their tolerance. Yet their own record of response is not the only methodology for measuring perception, so we now move toward the Syrian experience, in the hopes that further clarity via comparison may be within our grasp.

4.0 Narrative comparison with the Syrian Palestinian Experience.

This chapter has a methodology aim, which is to make a narrative comparison useful to the Egyptian experience. As a point of contact, our comparison begins with a critical juncture. The critical juncture of the Syrian/Palestinian experience begins at the battle of Yarmuk in 636. By "critical juncture" I am referring to a period that experiences a new force that changes social direction significantly different than the past (Lange, 2013:75). With the Arab success militarily comes a natural demand for an administrative response. Yet this is iterative in nature, for what is useful for our narrative comparison is the subsequent "sequential force" (as per Lange, Weber), which is the reaction intended to retain previous administrative and social factors from the Byzantine past (ibid.). This is the interpretation of this study from the perspective of a desire to identify path dependence, as I wish to use "ideal-type" narrative comparison. By "ideal-type" I mean a construct employed to describe and compare phenomena, in this case Christological ideals that can potentially influence administration rendering a possible rational form of measurable action. The development of Christology in this period may indicate a "value-rational" ideal type (Lange, 2013:107; Weber, 1920/2015: Loc. 581-584; Weber, 1978:24-26). That is to say, the very specific expressions of Christ's singular nature should be expected to produce self-conscious action, such that both the goal and the means of achieving the goal are determined by the actor's values. Value-rational action then implies an identifiable ethic. By path dependence I mean those causal factors that that can vary in influence over time. For example, I would propose that the Miaphysite community had more influence than before upon administrative policy and reaction to it during the transition period into Islamic rule because the Chalcedonian theology naturally connected itself more to state authority than the Miaphysite one. However, as we will observe below, this is not necessarily true. What I intend to

demonstrate is that when the traditional state authority supporting the Chalcedonians is removed, their status fundamentally shifts focus to the Arabs in their arduous effort to maintain the established social status and related fiscal controls. Yet it is also true that the majority Miaphysite church found in the regions surrounding the main administrative cities can speak to administrative issues with more force than before. By this method I wish to compare the Egyptian to the Syrian experience and so gain important insights into the former.

Syria/Palestine is a geographical place for a similar value rational ideal-type as Egypt, because both inherited the neo-classical Byzantine cultural norms and expectations with the above mentioned theological divisions. In order to clarify the unique influences that distinguish the local development of the rational view of Christology, some potential sources of those influences should be described. In the period just before the Arab conquest we have the question of the possibility of Persian influence. Even though warfare raged between Constantinople and Persia for over twenty years, the Persian influence was minimal, as territory was exchanged now and again, and in the interim periods the local Persian administrative focus was on resources and not necessarily on cultural transformation. Heraclius could not raise the army necessary to defeat Persia until about 624, yet for the decade that Persia could have had influence, Heraclius appears to have possessed requisite power to restore these provinces to established administrative norms (Kaegi, 1992:87). The significance of this episode is that it provided the respective churches in the region a practical opportunity to operate independently, for after the Arab conquest the relative independence attempted became permanent.   Thus the periodic isolation gives this ideal-type some development impetus in relation to a value rational construct with which to compare to the similar process in Egypt.

Byzantine & Umayyad Asia Minor ca. Early 8th Century [24]

As Egypt had been terrifically divided between different interpretations of Christology, so had Syria. Besides the Imperial Chalcedonian church and the Miaphysite communities in the remote areas, there were also Nestorian Churches. Nestorianism had not taken root in Egypt, yet on the Eastern border of Syria and into Persia, it had developed a separate ecclesiastical hierarchy even with its own metropolitan Bishop. Yet the negative reaction to Nestorianism after the council in 431 was so strong in the western part of Syria that there was no geographical place of significant influence of that confession, except in the East, where Persians initially allowed it. Yet for our purposes I will not be analyzing Nestorianism in the milieu of administration as the extant evidence for this is small. It is

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[24] 'Cplakidas', User/Contributor Wikimedia. 2011. Modified form of *Byzantine Asia Minor in 740 AD.* Available: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Asia_Minor_ca_740_AD.svg. [2018, June 12]. Copyright under CC BY-SA 3.0

then the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian groups of Western Syria where the measurable detail is more readily available.

Miaphysitism had taken deep root in the area, especially since the time of the great missionary work of Jacob Baradeus (Frend, 2008:320-21). Jacob had been commissioned by the Empress Theodora when The Arab Ghassanid King, al Harith ibn Jabadah sent an official embassy to Theodora in 541, requesting a Miaphysite Bishop to ordain priests for his region (Michael the Syrian IX.29, Chabot, II, 245-6; see Frend, 2008:285; PO 18, Brooks, 1924:6; PO 19, Brooks, 1926:153). Theodosius, the protected Miaphysite Patriarch present in Constantinople, obliged the request from the Empress and ordained James Baradaeus of Tella as metropolitan Bishop of Edessa, and one Theodore as metropolitan Bishop of Bosra (Bostra). Although James was from East Syria, his missionary endeavors covered much of Eastern Byzantium, as at that time there was a dearth of Miaphysite priests mostly because of previous persecutions (John of Ephesus, PO 19, Brooks, 1926:153). This influence even went as far as Cyprus and several islands, and his biographer John of Ephesus claimed that his diocese was "from Constantinople to Egypt" (PO 18, Brooks, 1924:693). James as Bishop now took advantage of this opportunity by filling the gap by ordaining monks of the Syrian Miaphysite houses, perhaps as many as 100,000 including Bishops and Patriarchs during his 37 years of service to 578 (Frend, 2008:286, n.6; PO 18, Brooks, 1924:697). This was not without peril, for if the record of John of Ephesus is accurate, many people in these regions who admired him protected him by lying about his whereabouts to Justinian's men who attempted to arrest him (PO 18, Brooks, 1924:694-696). Yet the risk was not without great reward, for John also records that James ordained 27 Bishops by 566, many in Antioch and Syria, even extending into Mesopotamia (PO 19, Brooks, 1926:156-158). This 37 year period should be understood as fundamental to the developing conditions of church division prior

to and during the period of the Arab conquest. This is a tremendous time of growth for a parallel ecclesiastic hierarchy and extended membership that continued long after the Arab conquest. The last few persecutions of Heraclius in the 630's did not alter that course in any way.

The pre-Conquest dynamic should be further explained by the interaction between Chalcedonians and Miaphysite groups. Since the initial research of Lebon (1909), scholars have coined the term "neo-Chalcedonian" as a movement during this very period where Chalcedon was being rephrased in more fully Cyrillian terms (Allen, 1980:5; Grillmeier, 1995:3, 47, 429, 457). This is an attempt first begun by Justinian and continued into the reign of Heraclius for a vocabulary and discourse with which to bridge the gap with Miaphysite Severans at first and then Jacobites (the hierarchy established by James Baradaeus) later. A good example of this is the edict of Christological formula issued by Justin II in 570-71, where Christ was declared to be "one nature of God the Word incarnate" (Evagrius, HE:5, IV[25]; Grillmeier, 1995:484). This authoritative statement was meant as an encouragement to settle disputes and accommodate Miaphysite theology but also a legal declaration to demand an end to theological debate. Yet this was not to be the case, for the Miaphysite church rejected the offer, for it was growing significantly and would not sign any agreement unless it directly and explicitly condemned Chalcedon. It was also experiencing its own internal divisions which made it difficult for the State church to identify who to work with towards reconciliation on the one hand or determine who was appropriate to punish on the other (Allen, 1980:6). One pertinent example is the schism created by the supporters of Baradaeus vs. Bishop Paul "the Black" vs. Alexandrine monks and presbyters in 575.

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[25] http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/evagrius_5_book5.htm

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Divisions were exacerbated over the issue of choosing the next Patriarch in Alexandria, as it had not had a Miaphysite bishop in nine years (Mango, 1983:407; Brooks, 1929:468). In this case the State had no part in resolving the issue or helping to resolve it, despite the fact that Miaphysite clerics were in and out of Constantinople regularly.

Justin II however was not willing to give up the goal of his great uncle, for in 566-567 under the encouragement of the Empress Sophia a special synod was called to assist in a Tritheist request to bring agreement between themselves and the Miaphysite Severans. With such an opportunity the Chalcedonians were also represented through their Patriarch John (the 'Scholasticus') (Michael the Syrian, IX.30). Scholasticus was a lawyer prior to his appointment as Patriarch, and therefore was an excellent person who could facilitate compromise and debate (Meyendorff, 1989:260). Baradaeus himself was present who also had a moderate influence on the process, for two of the men whom he ordained, Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria had been supporting the Tritheist heresy (PO 19, Brooks, 1926:155-56; Frend, 2008:290-91; Michael the Syrian, X.1). The more moderate Miaphysite Bishops attempted to use this opportunity to propose a compromise of terms such as, "Out of two natures, One". If such a statement were accepted, and the twelve anathemas of Cyril made Canonical, then perhaps a full reconciliation could be negotiated (Michael the Syrian, X.2). Both Frend and Meyendorff view the account recorded by Michael the Syrian as draft statements that Justin was preparing in response to this compromise, not any true formal offer (Frend, 2008:318; Meyendorff, 1989:261). This may be a fair assessment, given that the discussion with Justin even went so far as to include perhaps using the Henotikon of years past as a method of the moderate Bishops to draw the extreme groups into conformity (Michael the Syrian, X.2). Yet for all their discussions no full agreement was reached, only conciliation and the restoration of Conon and Eugenius to

their former Sees, both of whom continued to have a moderate Tritheist influence in eastern Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. It is likely that the Christology which Mohammed was exposed to was the Tritheism the aforementioned Bishops, who were influenced by the Alexandrian John Philoponus. This Tritheism is recorded as being espoused by the Miaphysites of Najran (Block, 2011:50-51, 66-67).

Justin II was not discouraged by these outcomes, and moreover in 567-568 he attempted a serious approach to bring Miaphysites together at Callinicus (Callinicum) at the monastery of Mar Zakai. This was in order to bring all parties together and find a valid solution. The intent of this meeting was to find common ground for all parties with a more formal Synod to be held in Dara later that year. This should have been a comfortable setting, for this place was on the river Euphrates clearly in Miaphysite territory, and no Chalcedonian Bishops were sent to represent the will of the Emperor, only that of the Patrician John Commentiolus (already enroute on a diplomatic mission to Persia)(Meyendorff, 1989:262). The written creedal proposal of Justin that John presented to the monks at Mar Zakai was simply that of affirming the creed of Nicea, and reversing all anathemas from Cyril's time to the present, even to restore Severus to the Diptychs (record of honor used in the liturgy). Justin went another step further and offered that the twelve anathemas of Cyril be fully recognized as Canon law, with the suggestion that to the creed they simply add the phrase "out of two natures or hypostases was constituted a single nature or hypostasis of God the Incarnate Word" to be made more clear by the negations, "and not two sons, neither two people, nor two hypostases" (Michael the Syrian, X.2; Chabot, 1901:285). If that were not enough of a step for their approval, he even offered to reinstate the Henotikon of Zeno and further offered that all Miaphysite Bishops that were previously declared anathema to be reinstated, with the State fully acknowledging that their

removal was unjust and illegal (Chabot, 1901:287). What is to be observed here is that Justin had carefully listened to the debate of the previous year, and was willing to make adjustments. This can be seen in the appeal and argument of the Patrician John as he pleads with the monks to be willing to make concessions by using the example of the Apostle Paul in his circumcision of Timothy, and also one from their beloved Cyril:

> Saint Cyril accepted John from Antioch who shared Nestorius' opinion, because John was willing to confess that Mary was "Mother of God", and thus he sent him a letter of concord and communion. He did this not by maintaining an exact rigor, but using condescension for the sake of great number" (Chabot, 1901:288 my trans.)

The Patrician also follows this with very clear statements that peace among the churches is within their grasp if they are but willing to come to an agreement with the Emperor. Yet this was not possible if the Miaphysites were themselves divided, which was clearly the case. Michael the Syrian records that even before the meeting began with Justin's proposal, the group supporting Baradaeus demanded from Patrician John that he anathematize Eugenius for his Tritheism, thus revealing the same division seen previously in Constantinople (Chabot, 1901:285-286).   The division is described in terms of Baradaeus' party accusing Conons' monks of polytheism, and Conons' monks accusing Baradaeus' monks of Sabellianism (ibid.). I would describe the formal meeting to address the proposal as very tense, for the monks in their agitated rancor began to demand that the Patrician John allow them to read the creedal statements proposed by Justin. In the clamor to insist on their permission to see the Emperor's writ, one Cosmas Bar-Hraniata, forcibly wrested the document from the Patrician and ripped it into shreds (apparently moved to do so by a

demon, according to Michael) (Chabot, 1901: 288)[26]. This apparently caused general confusion among the monks (I would imagine a shouting match) with the Patrician John furiously leaving the monastery (he did not even stay for the meal prepared for him) (Chabot, 1901:287). After this confusion, Baradaeus and "the notables" quickly went to the Patrician to appeal that they be allowed to write another document with the monks that would be agreeable to the Emperor (expressly similar to the one before). However, when Baradaeus went back to his monks to describe the possibility of a new creedal statement they warned him, "if you do not swear on your head that you do not accept it, we anathematize you all, and we will never accept that you are our Bishop" (ibid.). James relented and followed the advice of his monks and did not return with the others. The Patrician returned to Justin full of rage and reported the dissention and confusion of the Callinicum experience (Chabot, 1901:288.). Even after this fiasco, Justin remained willing to attempt a further meeting at Dara as originally intended, for he did not want to be known as someone who persecuted those called the diakrimenoi ("hesitants") (Chabot, 1901:289). The meeting however was not to include Baradaeus, for he chose to keep the counsel of his monks. Present was Bishop Theodorus, who on his own counsel chose to accept the plan and was "received in great honor" by the Emperor (Chabot, 1901:290).

I relate this colorful event in order to demonstrate how deep were the ecclesiastical divisions at this late stage, just before the 7th century, when these churches would be placed under entirely different stresses. The distrust was palpable and could be measured by these

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[26] Allen (1980:6) notes the account as written by Michael the Syrian is confused as well as Frend's assessment of it (2008:319). Part of this is due to the printing of the columns in the 1901 Leroux edition Of Chabot's French translation which do not follow in proper Left to Right order, but rather one column narratively follows on the next page below, as Michael is making a distinction of "secular vs. ecclesiastical" history. I have attempted to bring the narrative into a logical flow of events. This text in many cases is the only source available for certain specifics of this period.

conflicts, as regions developed unique identities that were politicized internally. The Emperor knew very well that the Persians were indeed a threat to the stability of the Eastern provinces, but before even approaching the Persians diplomatically, he needed the mutual agreement of church leaders so that the state acts as a unit in confronting existential threats on its borders. This confusion sets the tone for the intervening years between Justinian and Heraclius, for despite the clear flexibility of the Emperor, theological division is profoundly interrupting his attempts at civil unity.

We can see this kind of development in the subsequent reactions of Justin II. Despite many conciliatory and flexible attempts at finding common ground for a creedal statement, the Syrian Miaphysites proved to be elusive and determined to be independent. After the very patient attempt at Dara achieved only limited results, another attempt was made in Constantinople in the year 570 (Frend, 2008:321). Once again the moderates and Tritheists were at each other's throats and unable to compromise. Justin then determined in 571 to craft his own mandatory creedal statement which he also called a Henotikon (Evagrius, 5.IV[27]), which I have discussed in detail above in a previous chapter (pp. 75-77).

In response to recalcitrant rejection of this careful rewrite of the Henotikon, persecution of Miaphysites begun under Justin II and continued to Tiberius II (578-582). With Persia as a primary focus militarily, financially, and civically, there was little tolerance for further distractions in Syria. Syria, at a minimum, was a strategic frontier and, at most, the buffer between Persia and Anatolia at the heart of the Empire. Miaphysite John of Ephesus considers John Scholasticus, the Chalcedonian Patriarch, as the architect of this period of persecution, for John himself was in put in prison during his tenure (John of

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[27] http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/evagrius_5_book5.htm

Ephesus, HE III, 1.4; see Meyendorff, 1989:263). Once Tiberius II found out that his own Patriarch was continuing the persecution he put a stop to it (John of Ephesus HE III: 12, 15, 16).

4.1 The Arabian Peace?

One of the distinct and helpful contributions toward the peace of the church which affected Syria was found in an unusual place: Arabia. In the years that Theodore had done his work to promote the Miaphysite faith at the bequest of Theodora, he found a complete ally in the Arab Ghassanids. The key Arab figure of this tribe was their King, al-Mundhir, the son of al-Harith (fl. 569-581, d.~602), who became a Miaphysite Phylarch under Justinian. While Baradaeus was alive, al-Moundhir sought constantly to heal the division between him and the Tritheists and other schismatics who were following various Bishops, especially Paul of Antioch (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.36; cf. Frend, 2008:328). James refused to reconcile with Paul, and the regional factious bickering between the two camps continued so ferociously that al-Moundhir was compelled to resolve it (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.39). In 580 he asked for a special audience with Tiberius II with the specific purpose of bringing a union to these disparate groups. Tiberius granted the request, not only because he could resolve an extremely difficult ecclesiastical issue, but also because he needed every ally and advantage in maintaining the balance of power with the Persians. On the 8th February 580, al-Moundhir with his sons was received by the Emperor in the Capital with the proper pomp and splendor due a king. Tiberius II must have been highly motivated to use all the political capital that this auspicious occasion could offer, for he granted a full Royal Crown for al-Moundhir to wear on his head, and also granted to his sons full military rank of the Empire (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.42). Client kings of the eastern Empire often wore a simple

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circlet on their forehead; therefore, this gesture of an opulent crown is significant politically (Chrysos, 1978:50-51; Shahid, 1981:290-291). On the 3rd of March al-Moundhir was given the command of the floor of a large ecclesiastical gathering of the various parties of Eastern Christianity and proceeded to rebuke them with the authority of a Patriarch (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.40). Present at this gathering were not only the competing monks of James and Paul, but also the Miaphysites of Alexandria and John of Ephesus (representing moderate Miaphysites of Asia Minor) who recorded the meeting (ibid.). At first, a true breakthrough appeared to be on the horizon, as the groups sat and discussed a method by which a true formula of union could be achieved. According to John, a full ("deed") document proclaiming union was drawn up, and all parties agreed to it in al-Moundhir's presence (ibid.).

At that moment the peaceful union and the promise to promote and keep it was agreed upon by the Bishops and Notables of their respected regions, which in a class hierarchy of that period was meant to work in practical terms (Rapp, 2013:137, 147, 301). Yet with all of the remote monasteries and isolated centers with a different view towards what peace and appropriate compromise looked like, failure was inevitable. John of Ephesus himself notes that the reason for the failure is because the rank and file monk and member in Syria and Egypt were not part of this process of reconciliation, ergo they reacted with regional meetings of their own which angrily pushed back on any forward movement attempted by al-Moundhir (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.40).

A good example of this is found in the response to the Miaphysite Bishop of Alexandria Damianus (of Syrian birth). When he returned from Constantinople and described the union and its terms to the monks, he was severely rebuked:

being blamed for making peace with Paul (of Antioch), like one more desirous of pleasing

men than God, and indifferent to the peace of the church, he violated his word and proved

false to the promises he had made to the illustrious Mondir (Moundhir), and to the rest of

the believers of both parties who had interceded with him, and turned round and opposed

Paul, and wrote anathemas against him, and reproaches and contumelies of the harshest

kind. (John of Ephesus, HE II, IV.43; trans. Smith, 1860:306)

Damianus was not content to write polemical material in his local See for the

purposes of showing himself Orthodox to his own people. His writings of circular letters

(encyclicals) extended to Syria, for his fear that if he did not speak up, then a sinful

compromise would continue. In the perception of John of Ephesus the effect of this was to

add fuel to the already existing fire and cause al-Moundhir to be deeply sorrowful and

offended that the very persons who agreed to the union were now promoting division at a

furious pace. As a noble client king who took on the protection of the Miaphysite cause

personally, his discouragement did not cause him to ignore the problem, for he wrote each

one of the signatories to the union a letter rebuking each of them, calling them to repent for

lying to God and to the Church (John of Ephesus, HE III, Smith, 1860:306-307). This was to

have a compound effect on him later, for this was not the end of his sorrows in dealing with

church-state relations. For after a failed campaign of combined Roman and Arab forces

against the Persians in 580, al-Moundhir was accused of treason, and exiled in 581 (John of

Ephesus, HE III, III.40-42). His capture and imprisonment were acts of treachery by a Roman

friend according to the accounts of both John of Ephesus and Michael the Syrian (ibid.;

Michael the Syrian, X.19).

To add insult to injury, his sons were encouraged by the State to become

Chalcedonian when they tried to have their father released. The end result of this was the

dissolution of the Christian Arab Kingdom alliance, and the fifteen tribes that it composed all scattered, some under Byzantium, others under Persia (Michael the Syrian, X.19; cf. Chabot, 1901:350-51). This left Constantinople more vulnerable to Persia, and a bad memory to Arabia. I believe that this episode left a deep wound in the Arabian conscience and promoted a general distrust of "new Rome" that was to have profound consequences fifty years later.

Maurice (582-602) ended the Arab Phylarchy in 584, believing that these client kings were of no use to the Empire, yet he also wanted to certainly keep religious "*akribea*" (accuracy) alive and well in the remainder of the Empire (John of Ephesus, HE III, III.42FF; Foss, 1997:252). Given al-Moundhir's perspective it is difficult to understand why Maurice would think this. Yet for a time there appeared to be a détente as in previous administrations (through the encouragement of his own Bishop, John the Faster 582-595), for the Syrian monasteries between Aleppo and Maboug were active and successful, having "many brothers" who were well trained and able to evaluate and examine opponents in the milieu of sectarian fighting (Michael the Syrian, X.22; cf. Chabot, 1901:366-67). The détente was not meant to last, for as a serious Chalcedonian, Maurice began to persecute Miaphysites in Syria with the aid of his cousin Domitian who was Bishop of Melitene, who aggressively seized churches and monasteries for the state (probably around ca.599) (Michael the Syrian, X.23-25). With the revolt and overthrow by Phocas in November 602 this particular period of persecution passed. Yet another repression period brought by Phocas would bring chaos in 609 with riots, and brutal killings on either side in order for the state to maintain power. It resulted in the death of the Chalcedonian Patriarch Anastasius II (Foss, 2003:157). Shortly after these disturbing events, Syria fell into Persian hands in 611.

The Miaphysite Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch (fl. 595-631) nicknamed the 'Camel driver' witnessed this transition, and took the bold step of sitting openly on the seat of the Chalcedonian throne in Antioch after the Chalcedonian Patriarch had been murdered (ibid.). From his perspective "the Chalcedonian night had been driven away", and with this in mind he also took the opportunity to form a reunion with the Alexandrine Miaphysites (Evetts, PO I, 1904:481-2; see also Frend, 2008:337). If that was indeed his perspective, it was to be a short lived reality. The Persians had successfully conquered Syria and had allowed the Miaphysites a defacto position as the majority religion. This was likely due to the influence of Shirin, the wife of Persian Shah Chosroes, as she was a confessed Miaphysite (Sebeos, trans. Thompson, 1999:174). In this new position the Persians expected the church to be a unifying source of stability via a confession capable of being affirmed by all Christians. Sebeos records that the Persians acknowledged the proposed Armenian confession of faith as a means to show a calm solidarity among all faiths in the region (Thompson, 1999: lxiii; see Frend, 2008:337). Howard-Johnston interprets the Persian policy of the region at this time as an attempt at maintaining a status quo between religious groups (1999:209). Yet Frend points out that in his translation of the Synodicon Orientale, Chabot indicates that the Nestorians, at this meeting, were attempting to gain a political advantage over the Miaphysites (1902:580-98, see also Frend, 2008:338), but the Persians were more interested in a peaceful coexistence and a singular symbol of the faith. This is illustrated in their history with the Nestorians, as they would elect a 'Katholicos' (Patriarch) who would be assigned to the Persian court (Chabot, 1902:254). I interpret this as an attempt by the Persians to accept individual regional peace and allow the various sects their distinctive relationships with the court, all while acknowledging a mutual respect as a requirement for civil stability. All groups concerned had to adjust to a new reality other than the state

sanctioned Christology as they were used to contending with or defending as a point of reference. This gives us some level of insight into the preparation of adjustment in attitude that Christians of all types were to learn in a more complete way under the Arabs. In the future, key persons would sway and influence political opinion and help negotiate relationships between several different faiths.

4.2 The Last Byzantine Attempt at Christological Unity in Syria- Monenergism

In 628 Heraclius removes the last vestiges of Persian power in the region and proceeds quickly to restore both administrative and church order. I described some of his actions earlier in Syria in order to demonstrate the conditions for violence (p. 41), but at this juncture I wish to explain Syrian responses to his brief campaign of ecclesiastical unanimity. Previously I reported that the monenergist doctrine utilized in Egypt bore significant fruit for unity, but it was not a lasting one given the effect of the Arab conquests and their patronage of the Miaphysite Theodosian church. In Syria however, one must take a different view, for the monenergist and monothelite programs that became part of the Byzantine agenda at this point actually took further development into the Chalcedonian communities which remained active and belligerent long into the Islamic period (Tannous, 2014:31).

The initial momentum for this took place in Armenia, where in 630 Heraclius convinced the Catholicos Ezr on the doctrine and unifying feature of the "One Operation" (*monenergia*/μονἐνέργια), which was followed by a regional Synod in Theodosiopolis/ Erzerum held in 633 where it was formally adopted by that church[28] (Michael the Syrian (Armenian text), trans. Bedrosian, 2013:[122]).   With this success, Heraclius thought it wise

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[28] Sebeos records this agreement but chooses political details, not theological; Howard-Johnston argues that the Synod indeed took place, with a clear majority in agreement, but with Sebeos as a likely detractor (Sebeos/Trans. Thompson, 1999: 228, n.49, ch.41, 131-132). Michael the Syrian is more forthcoming in XI.2.

to put his own thoughts in an open letter to the Miaphysite community, whom he termed the "*diakrimeno*i" (hesitants). The letter is a visionary approach to encourage compromise with the disparate groups, by holding out what terms he sees as compatible, finding their focal point in the "one operation" (monenergia) of Christ. His line of argument begins with correcting the old offense of Justinian, that of impassibility. In his view, if the divine is impassible, and yet Christ suffered in his flesh, then it is not wrong to speak of two natures. Yet his language does not stress or emphasize the two natures or the appeal would be dead on that very point. He borrows from two key adverbs of Chalcedon, noting that the natures are that of "without confusion" and "without separation", but using them as a point to unify the natures by virtue of Christ's "one operation" (*monenergia*).   Knowing that his word would not be an accepted ecclesiastical authority, he then borrows from Cyril:

> …that is, as was told by Cyrillus of blessed memory: '*mia phusis tou Logou Theou sesarkomene'* (one nature of God the Word incarnated). The words "Without confusion" and "without separation", mark the two natures that are united; because we can not speak of confusion for one (entity); the expression "without separation" indicates that they are united in a nature of the incarnated Word-God; because if one by the union of two natures, it is obvious that it does not involve division nor separation (Michael the Syrian, XI.2, Chabot, 1901:402 my translation).

Heraclius is using the same tactic that Cyrus is doing simultaneously in Alexandria, that of using Cyrillian language to encourage the Miaphysite community to come to the negotiating table and find common ground in "one operation" order to develop unity. He completes the letter by stating that he would be willing to anathematize all previous councils if they were found to deny the singular union of Christ in his being and his work

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(Chabot, 1901:403). This hyperbole demonstrates a willingness to flexibly work with his opponents and that all options were available.

Unfortunately it was the elderly and very wary Patriarch Athanasius in Antioch who expressed in a very long letter the Syrian Miaphysite opposition (Michael the Syrian, XI.2, Chabot, 1901:405-408). Any discussion of two natures after the union had to be rejected outright, even if it could be harmonized with the venerable Cyril. For Athanasius the touchstone to be followed was Nicea, for it was not a bargaining chip to be set aside in the language of unity. History could not be forgotten, for what was sinful in it needed to be openly confessed as sinful. Therefore, he proceeded to remind Heraclius of the painful history that he found to grievously "scandalize" the church (his term!). He specifies several significant conciliar events and in greater detail emphasizes the phrases used by the councils which did harm to the church. First in his mind is that Chalcedon defines a statement of faith other than Nicea, which automatically is anathematized based on the declarations of the first council of Ephesus, which stated that any further attempt at a formula was forbidden. He also states that Chalcedon makes the error of defining Christ as "of two natures" while at the same time being "conceived in two natures", which is impossible to reconcile logically into a single compound, if a singular essence is to be comprehended. Further, he suggests that the very term which was previously approved by the Fathers, "ex duo", meaning out of two natures, was rejected by this council yet could be of value here. Worse, he makes it clear that the history lesson has *yet* to be learned, that Chalcedon failed in his view to condemn Ibas and Theodoret, (earlier church fathers) who aggressively attacked Cyril's 12 chapters (anathemas).

Further yet, Athanasius takes great pains to state in precise detail exactly what is offensive in the famous Tome of Leo and is very specific of the offenses expressed against the indivisible Christ through the mechanism of the *communicatio idiomatem*. This famous term is expressed in the phrase "each form operates, with the participation of the other, what is peculiar to it; the Word doing what is the Word, and the body doing the things that are the body", is quoted almost verbatim by Athanasius as the very essence of the false division of Christ that the Emperor must openly break away from (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:405-408).   I would take this to mean that Athanasius is defining in careful detail what a full break with past would look like in true form. Consecutive attempts to unify are seen as "whitewash" that fail to account for the offensive detail of what has occurred. Heraclius has also failed to address the injury done to the treasured Saints on the other side of the debate which continued to fuel the politics symbolically and substantially. Minimalist language will not do here if an honest reconciliation is to take place.

Frend interprets the above letter as an indicator of a recalcitrant movement that cannot effectively communicate with the neo-Chalcedonian attempt to adjust. He understands this late stage of the debate as so psychologically entrenched that neither side can act dispassionately without being emotionally worried about their political base of support (Baradeus is a classic example of this) (2008:346). However, it is political maneuvering and respective failure to unify, of which both are guilty, that has precisely placed the two sides at this juncture. Heraclius admits in his letter that he is not a trained theologian and is willing to make almost any statement that brings the two sides together. But the Miaphysite community is deeply serious about language and semantics and has no use for minimalistic language when they interpret the recent disastrous war as punishment from God for failing to completely break with politicized, corrupt, and imprecise language.

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It is this type of action that represents in essence what the value-rational ideal type in Christological expression can be. The soon to be disastrous losses to the Arabs will yet even more confirm their interpretation of events.

For Syria, if Antioch was a neo-Chalcedonian failure, then it appeared that the momentum for compromise would build at Edessa and Maboug/Manbij. Yet Michael wrote these separate events as a means to denote the beginning of persecution of Miaphysites as a preface for territorial loss to the Arabs (Chabot, 1901:411-413). The specific event in Edessa is couched in terms of a Triumph, like Roman emperors of old, where Heraclius arrived in Edessa as a victorious deliverer. Thousands of monks and notables in the church went to greet him, and he used the occasion and the heightened emotions to attempt a union. A special festive day was organized where the Emperor would participate in the divine mystery of the Eucharist, so as to symbolize an official reunion of opponents (Chabot, 1901:411). Yet at the very precise moment when the act of his participation would take place, the Metropolitan Bishop Isaie (Isaiah) demanded that Heraclius denounce Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. This was an amazing bold move on the part of a Bishop who would attempt to use his authority as Ambrose did with Theodosius three hundred years before. The proclaimed defender of Christianity who restored the 'true cross' to Jerusalem and who also understood himself to be the designated protector of Christianity had no patience with such a sudden and public demand. Both characters thought that the moment was politically ripe to force each other's hand. Yet the result was swift as Isaie was deposed immediately

from his See and the throne given to a Chalcedonian (Chabot, 1901:412)[29]. Michael

also uses this crisis to make a point that the Emperor did not have the political clout that he

thought he did. Heraclius may have the power to depose a bishop but he cannot depose

the conscious acts of those who support a recognized spiritual authority. Michael specifies

that certain noble "first families" who are essentially the financial backbone of the church

and the city, will simply wait for the Emperor's exit with a view to return when the political

opportunity presents itself (ibid.). I would interpret this as an indicator that Edessa had

largely become Miaphysite with the majority of ecclesiastical and noble authorities as anti-

Chalcedonian. The years of Persian privilege had set in thoroughly throughout the

surrounding country. Therefore, no external pressure was going to force a union with

Constantinople. For our purposes it is significant that Michael, with a view to defending his

own Orthodoxy of Miaphysitism, notes in this section that financial resources were well in

hand against the Emperor's wishes.

To illustrate the failure of Heraclius even further, Michael in the same breath moves

the imperial agenda to Maboug (Manbij), where in the early months of 631, Heraclius met

12 Bishops with Patriarch Athanasius for a lengthy discussion for twelve days. The meeting

is significant, for the broader territory of Syria is represented well, such as Emesa, Edessa,

Maboug/Manbij, Harran, Epiphania, Qinnasrin, and Samosata (ibid.; Armenian version in

Bedrosian, 2013:[122]). This was led by Patriarch Athanasius, and his letter which I

described above was eventually presented as their careful statement to Heraclius. With

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[29] This is an excellent example of why I classify these Christological conflicts as value-rational. Note the
definition of Weber of this ideal-type: "Examples of pure value-rational orientation would be the actions of
persons who, regardless of possible cost to themselves, act to put into
practice their convictions, of what seems to them to be required by duty,
honor; the pursuit of beauty, a religious call, personal loyalty, or the
importance of some "cause" no matter in what it consists (1978:25)."

such an august body of spiritual leaders and careful language presented, the Emperor thought it appropriate to ask for the Eucharist again, based on his repeated offer of union of the two natures found in the "one will", and "one operation" of Christ. Once again, he did not see why this compromise should not work in spite of the history lesson Athanasius had so carefully laid out. Yet the mention of two natures was immediately connected to the history of Nestorius and the Tome of Leo, and the logical conclusion for these bishops was that the Emperor was not truly presenting any true compromise at all. Heraclius used the remaining tool at his disposal, that of violence (mutilation of ears and nose) and taking churches by force (Chabot, 1901:412-413).

If Michael is attempting to present two sides who cannot comprehend each other, I believe that he has succeeded. However, his most immediate purpose is stated at the end of this section, that of demonstrating why God judged the Byzantines through the conquering Arabs. In this sense the Arabs are seen as a deliverer at least from his precise point of view. He also has given the background for extended church divisions continuing into the early Islamic period, for he describes that extensive areas which returned to the Chalcedonian fold: Beit Maron, Maboug/Manbij, and Emesa and the southern areas of Syria (ibid.) (Bar Hebraeus, Chron. I, 272-274, see Hovorun, 2008:95-96). This also sets the stage for the later division among Melkites (Chalcedonians), that of the lingering monenergist and monothelite debates which led to the Maronite schism. Brehier (1938:115-117), Duchesne (1925:397-98), Frend (2008:347), and Meyendorff (1989:344) all perceive the possibility that many monks did indeed comprehend the potential benefit of union based on the one will and one operation in Christ. Yet with the death of Patriarch Athanasius in July of 631 further formal union was impossible without an effective leader to take his place in the turbulent years of 631-638 when Syria was lost to the Arabs (Hovorun, 2008:65).

4.3 Post Conquest management of divisions

Despite the above indication that Miaphysitism had become the majority Christian confession in the Syrian countryside, this is not the same overwhelming case as in Egypt. The monastery of Beit Maron had long been a regional influence in Syria Secunda (Vööbus, 1960:251; Palmer, 1993:25). Therefore, when it retained a Chalcedonian approach, it was not unusual that it would receive and warmly welcome Heraclius during his visit to Syria (Suermann, 1998:190, in Hovorun, 2008:95). Given the relationship and loyalty to the Emperor, this region near Apamea became a center for monotheletism long into the Islamic era. It would be expected then that the Ekthesis of Heraclius issued in 638, which specifies a singular will in Christ, would have been received authoritatively as Orthodox (monothelitism). The emphasis on the singular will in Christ as a natural logical consequence of a singular energy became a significant and very contentious issue among fellow Chalcedonians who began to distance themselves from monenergism and monotheletism in the late 7th century. The phenomena is unique in that the debate traversed political boundaries despite almost constant warfare. This eventually led to the sixth ecumenical council in Constantinople in 680-81, where the monenergist and monothelite project was abandoned altogether. However, the Maronite community in Syria continued to retain their monothelite conviction despite the changes to the Byzantine understanding of Chalcedon, and they were willing to suffer for it.

The early evidence of Maronite monothelite conviction can be found in a treatise from Macarius of Antioch (ACO 2.II.1, 610:3-4). He was asked by a monk named Luke from Africa regarding the new "heretical" views of Maximus (the Confessor) (ca. 580-662) concerning the concept of two wills and two operations of Christ, corresponding to the two

natures. Only the title of this treatise from 645 is extant but it does demonstrate that early on in the controversy that Syrian theologians were beginning to hear of another viewpoint in the defense of Chalcedon. Substantial evidence for Macarius' developed defense of Monothelitism becomes clear in his testimony before the sixth Council in 680 (ACO 2.2.I:24, 178, 228, 232; see Duschene, 1894:359-360). We also know that Maximus began writing openly regarding his views against Monothelitism in 644-45 and was present in Africa in 645 (Allen & Neil, 2015:4).   Luke may very well have been present at the debate in Carthage between Maximus and Pyrrhus on the subject of wills hosted by the Exarch Gregory in July of 645, and chose to inquire further about the subject to his bishop in Antioch (Allen & Neil, 2015:6).

If what Michael the Syrian records is true, that respective confessing communities could keep their churches and monastic possessions at the time of the Arab conquest, then it can be expected that Chalcedonian and Miaphysite communities of all variations were able to maintain a legal status and would naturally continue their respective regional influence (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:412-413). However, this does not mean that an absolutely rigid demarcation can be maintained between them, for according to Thomas of Kafartab, monastic followers of Maximus' dyothelite (two-wills) doctrine were actively influencing Syria through dishonest means (Chartouni, 1986:266-267, in Tannous, 2014:49)[30]. Given the future drama to be played out among these groups, I strongly suspect that Thomas is correct to some degree, as the mechanisms of influence are often very informal, especially with traveling monks. The accusation by Thomas that the

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[30] The comprehensive corpus of documents written by Maximus the Confessor listed by Allen & Neil (2015) do not reveal any correspondence or direct influence of Maximus on Syria in his day, despite the fact that he was from Palestine and probably had contacts there via his relationship with Sophronius.

dyothelites used bribes and favors, would have been the common tools of the Roman Empire, but being that Syria is now under a different state with a different motive those forces would not fit the context (Chartouni, 1986:266-267).

What is clear is that the varied groups in Syria were competing for influence and properties under the Umayyad Caliphate. The Maronite Chronicle of ca. 664 records a significant incident in June of 659, where disparate parties seek an audience with Caliph Mu'āwiya in order to settle a dispute:

> In the same month the bishops of the Jacobites (Miaphysite), Theodore and Sabukht came to Damascus and held an inquiry into the Faith with the Maronites in the presence of Mu'āwiya. When the Jacobites were defeated, Mu'āwiya ordered them to pay 20,000 denarii and commanded them to be silent. Thus there arose the custom that the Jacobite bishops should pay that sum of gold every year to Mu'āwiya, so that he would not withdraw his protection and let them be persecuted by the members of the (Maronite, Chalcedonian) Church. The person called 'Patriarch' by the Jacobites fixed the financial burden that all the convents of monks and nuns should contribute each year towards the payment in gold and he did the same with all the adherents of his faith. He bequeathed his estate to Mu'āwiya so that out of fear of that man all the Jacobites would be obedient to him (trans. Palmer, 1993:30).

Straight away one can discern a shared pattern with Egypt, that of Christian competition between divisive confessing groups. The confessional identities obviously fail to come to respectful terms, and therefore seek the judicial help of the local Muslim authorities. This is also similar to the contemporary Egyptian dynamic. However, in this case the disagreement (and likely violence) is so sharp that the bishops believe that they have lost authoritative control in the matter. The debate likely happened in Damascus where

Mu'āwiya chose to establish his rule (Palmer, 1993:32). This also may indicate that with Chalcedonians holding control of the major cities in Syria, Maronites have a genuine concern beyond the bounds of Beit Maron, Maboug/Manbij, and Emesa. I choose to place the extensive quotation here in order to establish that Christology has practical application, even after the Arab conquest, for property and resources are of such significance that these things are fought over with dramatic energy. This is not solely to be explained or reduced to political terms, for the beliefs held are taken seriously, especially since in their recent memory the Christian Empire failed to protect its holdings. Sacramental and devotional commitments run deep and affect much of the personal flow of daily life (baptism, marriage, funerals, and the Eucharist). It would not be a stretch in imagination for the Syrians to suspect that a failure in sacramental worship would be connected to political failure. Blame shifting as to who was responsible for the failure of spiritual power or faithfulness would have been as natural as breathing. Despite the fact that Muslims have little motive in Christology other than maintaining the public peace (at this point in time, as Muslim iconoclasm will come later), it is quite revealing that these Christian communities demand a hearing before the state in order to give the settlement the force of civil law. This study would further suggest that despite a new State regime, the Christian community does not know how to function without the sanction of the state. Further revealing is the fact that the state uses a monetary incentive in order to motivate a particular group to cooperate, so that a level of protection can be assured to the Maronites/Chalcedonians. Both Tannous and Gribomont also attach a material benefit to this, suspecting that Miaphysites were attempting to reclaim churches that had been lost under Heraclius just before the Arab conquest (Tannous, 2014:51; Gribomont, 1974:119). This pattern will continue well into the eighth century as we will see below.

Monothelitism may have been the creative compromise developed by Sergius and implemented by a willing Heraclius, but as the Empire dwindled rapidly and no true peace succeeded, it was a matter of time before the project was revisited and modified. Syria is an excellent place to evaluate how this confessional change towards the "two-wills" works its way through the churches and hopefully by careful application to personal life. However, what is available is minimal and requires careful interpretation. It is very tempting at this juncture to develop fully the theological process of the doctrine of two wills in Christ as set down by Maximus the Confessor and its adoption by the sixth ecumenical council, but it will not serve our purposes here. Despite the new political reality of an Islamic state, the Chalcedonian faithful were eventually influenced by the theological changes that happened in Constantinople, and this community eventually became dyothelite as their Western brethren did.

Michael the Syrian in his defensive posture of Miaphysite faith describes the progressive dyothelite influence as partly due to Arab actions and also that of nostalgia for the Romans:

> Although we have already spoken of the heresy of Maximus, and the way Constantinus (IV) introduced him to the Churches of the Romans, after he had been removed by his father Constans, we must now make known the schism that arose among them in this year of 1038 (AD 727), about this heresy and of the expression: "who was crucified (for us)". In the countries of the Romans, this opinion reigned since the time of Constantinus (IV), but in the regions from Syria it was not admitted. It was sown by the hand of prisoners and captives that the troops of the Taiyaye (Arabs) brought and made to live in Syria. No doubt because of esteem of the empire of the Romans, those who let themselves be perverted by this

opinion and accepted it were mostly the townspeople and their bishops, and the leaders (Chabot, 1901:492 my trans.).

Michael is writing from a twelfth century Miaphysite perspective, when dyothelitism is well established in many Melkite (Chalcedonian) churches. His frustration is palatable as he ascribes the influence as an unintended consequence of Byzantine prisoners brought into Syria through the aggressive and almost incessant Arab naval expeditions in the late seventh century. With the occasional civil war (e.g. 656) among the Arabs and the hope of a possible recapture of Syria by the Romans, it is a reasonable interpretation by Michael that the then existing Chalcedonian churches would maintain a hopeful focus on the development of theology in Constantinople. One also notices that his accusation is against those who live in the cities and their respective bishops, and the primary offense taken by Michael is that of changes in the liturgy. When he references the words "who was crucified for us", he is pointing out the added phrase installed in the liturgy by the monothelite Chalcedonians. Specifically, this is added to the hymn within the 'Trishagion', and the implications of historical 'theopaschism' (God suffered, or one of the Trinity suffered as per Justinian). This rejection is because this added phrase to the Trishagion is attributed to Peter the Fuller, (ca.480) an early proponent of this idea. Yet it was redeemed in a sense by an early Syrian Father Ehphrem of Amid (Antioch) (fl. 527-545), for he chose to interpret the phrase as directed to Christ (not the entire Trinity) in order to suit Miaphysite preferences (Prentice, 1902:82-83, 86; Mouawad, 2003:598). But Michael appears to evaluate the broader influence liturgically among Miaphysites as having removed the phrase over time, as perhaps a response to the growing Chalcedonian movement. Monothelites also retained the phrase in liturgy as it was interpreted in a similar sense and therefore not offensive. Tannous I believe is correct in using this example of tension in drawing a connection

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between Christology and liturgy, where he notes that various authors (such as John of Damascus) speak in the energies and wills in Christ within the same context as liturgy such as we have here in 727 (Tannous, 2014:56).

This also would be consistent with the idea that the settlement of 659 (after the debate before Mu'awiya) between the respective communities of church ownership maintained a certain status quo, leaving Chalcedonians (both monothelite/Maronite and dyothelite) in firm control of metropolitan churches yet also in continual tension with each other. Liturgy would always be connected to confessional commitment which necessitated a confrontation and competition. I would also venture to add the possibility that the border between Syria and Anatolia was not hermetically sealed, and so were to a degree porous, allowing monks and bishops a certain level of access to their Western brothers and sisters where Christological and liturgical ideas could be exchanged.

Jankowiak demonstrates that this exchange is possible to a careful degree via Palestine (2012). He proposes the possible communication from the West into Palestine and Syria via several windows of opportunity. The first possible dyothelite missive that is recorded is that of Stephen of Dor, a Palestinian Bishop and friend of Sophronius, who as Vicar appointed in 646 by Pope Theodosius could communicate authoritatively in Palestine (Jankowiak, 2012:19; Booth, 2013A:295-96). This event is also significant in that with his papal letters he also carried a dyothelite treatise of Maximus the Confessor, known as Opusculum 15 (PG 91, 153C-184C; Allen & Neil, 2105:65). This was an extensive florilegium and would prove useful at the Lateran Council in 649. His main goal was to depose bishops not ordained according to the canons and to exhort others against monotheletism. It is no small matter that he introduced the writings of Maximus the Confessor into Palestine after

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the conquests, yet we have no solid proof that they were copied and sent northward into Syria. After the Lateran Council we know of Bishop Stephen returning with letters from Pope Martin I, which were addressed to the bishops of Philadelphia and the villages of Esbous and Bakatha, which were Stephen's direct responsibility in Palestine. However even more significant in this event is that the Council sent dogmatic letters to the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and to a Palestinian noble living in Adraa/Dara'a, and the archimandrite of the laura of Theodosius (Jankowiak, 2012:19; Martin, *epistulae* 5-11, PL 87, 153B-179D).

Despite the apparent momentum of dyothelite change, the arrest, trial, and mutilation of Maximus and Martin in 653-55, delayed its development for another generation. The next affiliated movement of Maximus' teachings are in 662, when after his exile to Lazica some of his followers immigrated to Palestine (CCSG 39, lines 25-27; Jankowiak, 2012:21). Despite the renewed communion of the five major Sees of Eastern Christianity in the years between 656 to 662, which would have been monothelite in perspective, the works and thought of Maximus appear to have won the hearts and minds of the Patriarch in Jerusalem by 664 (CCSG 39, lines 120-128; Jankowiak, 2012:21, n.58). With the renewed fighting between Constantinople and the Caliphate in 662, the dyothelite movement would have more freedom to influence the region. The confessional and political distance would remain in place for another 14 years.

The division over Christ's wills among the Patriarchates came to an end in 680, when at the invitation of Emperor Constantine IV, bishops were invited to an ecumenical council in order to settle the issue that had raged since the time of the Arab conquests. The debate would continue on locally in Syria for centuries, but this opportunity was made available by

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a rare peace established between the Caliphate and the West in 677-8 (Moosa, 1969:598-600). This was significant in that Antioch and Alexandria, which would normally be isolated, could now be represented properly by their Patriarchs or representatives, thus making the council legitimately ecumenical and its decisions valid.

Macarius of Antioch now returns to the scene as a committed Monothelite Patriarch of Antioch (since 669) who has been residing in Constantinople and also possibly Antioch, and is able to attend the Council and represent his views (Trombley, 1983:637). Thankfully there are records to give his Christology in more detail as he affirms his belief by various statements given before the counsel. To express this he wrote a florilegium of church fathers with which to defend his position just as his opponents and any theologian of the period would construct, and was also expected to present this in his defense to the Emperor (ACO 2.2.1:44.20-24, see Tannous, 2014:44). This florilegium is not extant, but what we know from records taken at the council, within his three codex's of patristic material he uses a key phrase from Dyonisius' fourth letter, that of Christ's one "Theandric energia" as an authoritative means to establish a single point of operation in him (ACO 2..2..1:2.16.2.4-2.8, see Hefele, 1896:153-54; Perczel, 2004: 425, 443). One must remember that this was the very same path taken by Sergius and Cyrus for the plan of Union in Alexandria (633) some three generations prior. This is amazing when one considers that the intent of the theology originally was to find common ground with the Emperor, and is now yet another form of dissension and division continuing a cycle of disagreement. What is most striking about this entire Council is that much of the debate surrounds what documents qualify for validity in order to establish tradition (Meyendorff, 1989:371). This study would suggest that the bishops and legates present wanted to establish a proper patristic basis for a singular Christological expression, being that so much forgery or misleading use of the material led

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up to this point. This would be in contrast to the project begun by Sergius and Heraclius, who, although they did use patristic statements, used these and constructed them in such a way as to develop their pragmatic argument for a solution to regional Christologies, all for the sake of the 'Oikonomia' (Oikoumene) (Ohme, 2009). Theology was used and debated in those cases for the benefit of meeting mutually desired goals in unity. Yet no one could admit that any compromise was attempted or that venerated teachers of the church had properly contradicted each other. The one method left was to categorize contradictory or confusing documents as forgery or misconstrued/misunderstood context. Those who could be successfully accused of manipulating material or following those who did were then anathematized (NPNF2-14, Schaff, 2005:655). Here in 680 after many years of debate and mistrust, these bishops are fixated on establishing an authoritative tradition that is increasingly difficult to identify and maintain. This is important for our inquiry, for the same distrust between group identities transfers over to Syria, where the debate continues, even if yet another ecumenical council attempts to settle the enmity.

Macarius of Antioch and his fellow confessors were anathematized and allowed to be judged by the Pope in Rome, where there they were exiled to a monastery for their remaining days (NPNF2-14, Schaff, 2005:653-54; Hefele, 1896:179-180). The council then ended with an extensive definition of the person and work of Christ, with a view towards carefully addressing the past issues with the hope of avoiding new ones. An important correction was made, and the patriarchs and bishops did not further debate the formula when it was read:

> Preserving therefore the inconfusedness and indivisibility, we make briefly this whole
> confession, believing our Lord Jesus Christ to be one of the Trinity and after the incarnation

our true God, we say that his two natures shone forth in his one subsistence in which he both performed the miracles and endured the sufferings 'through the whole of his economic conversation' (δι ὅλης αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκονομκῆς ἀναστροφῆς), and that not in appearance only but in very deed, and this by reason of the difference of nature which must be recognized in the same Person, for although joined together yet each nature wills and does the things proper to it and that indivisibly and inconfusedly. Wherefore we confess two wills and two operations, concurring most fitly in him for the salvation of the human race (NPNF2-14, Schaff, 2005: 657).

The above is a small excerpt of the formula but it points to the core of the Christology defined. Building on Chalcedon, the bishops here chose to make a careful distinction between nature and hypostasis/subsistence, so that clear language can be used to define what nature is and what properly belongs to it. The doctrine of 'economic appropriation' is further distinguished as an "economic conversation", so that a nature does things 'proper' to it in such a manner as not to confuse but coordinate. These are further applied to the will as defined in the statement as "natural wills", each belonging to the corresponding nature. What is even more helpful is that the primary presuppositions underlying such a comprehensive statement of "natural wills" is given:

For we will not admit one natural operation in God and in the creature, as we will not exalt into the divine essence what is created, nor will we bring down the glory of the divine nature to the place suited to the creature (ibid.).

The entire structure then is built upon the presupposition that there are two kinds of being, created and uncreated. Therefore, language and terms must define, distinguish, and protect these identities so as to preserve the very source and power for salvation. This is theology proper and the essence of what theologians debate and commit themselves to.

Yet as profound and dramatic as these decisions may be, when these monks and bishops return to their respective areas of authority, they have the difficult job of convincing their constituents that the decisions are right and proper and in their best spiritual interest. This is precisely why we need to explore the ramifications in Syria. Meyendorff understands the contemporary Syrian perceptions and response of such high level synods as a "committee decision" that diverted from the teaching of Nicea and Cyril (1993:72). The local diocese then does not often comprehend what the larger issues at stake are, resulting in a sense of tension if not betrayal of the faith. However, their own concerns are very deep, with a sense of what is to be protected at all costs.

Miaphysitism then for the Syrian expression becomes what was once a careful coordinated unification movement into a conservative one, motivated at the very core to preserve the faith that their spiritual fathers agreed to and the external expressions faithful to it (Meyendorff, 1993:69-71). Their conviction is that the long fought for unity had been achieved, and as such then it should be honored. I believe that this is the perspective of Michael the Syrian, to whose record of 727 we need to turn in order to further evaluate the consequences of liturgical change:

> Sergius, son of Mansur who oppressed many of the faithful who were in Damascus and Emesa (Homs), not only forced them to erase in the Trisagion the expression "who was crucified for us", but also trained many of people to accept this heresy. This heresy also perverts the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa and other cities that the Chalcedonians had occupied since the time of the emperor Heraclius (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:492-493, my translation).

The above quote has implications for methodology. Part of the methodology in this chapter is discovering those factors that contribute to "path dependence", for these as

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causal factors clarify processes in Egypt. Here, in the Syrian context, the study will explore

the path dependence of State-Church relations, for I see in this dynamic a persistent trend, a

desire to gain State sanction in order to maintain a theological agenda.   Michael places this

dependence and use of State control on the Mansur family, who were well established

Byzantine elite before the conquest. The senior Mansur son of Sergius, was responsible for

taxes in Damascus under the Byzantines in the last years of Heraclius, and was the one who

negotiated terms of surrender in the conquest, and also maintained his position under the

new caliphate (Haldon, Foss, 2010:83; Thomas, 2001:19). The current Sergius referred to in

the above quote is the son, who was also responsible for the tax system under Muʿāwiya I to

ʿAbd al-Malik. The use of his position is very revealing in that it is both ecclesiastical and

civil, capable of achieving two related goals. By insisting on a particular confession, he

believes that he can achieve a civil peace, for he cannot escape his presuppositions on what

that requires. If the Roman Emperor could define Christology that solved the issue once and

for all (which would have been his supposition at this point), then that could be used as a

unifying factor. It appears that he has the sanction and authority to carry out this mission,

with the appearance of success. This is unique for it is borrowed cultural material from the

Christian Oikoumene applied for the benefit of another regime. The long term observation

Michael wants us to see is that major cities of influence are even more entrenched by

Mansur's continued forceful emphasis of a particular faith. He is however doing more than

a simple bemoaning of the past, for he still maintains his own confessional agenda by

attempting to show what he understands as the fruit of Mansur's labor:

> The Maximites (on their side) were addressing reproaches to those of the party of Beit
>
> Maron: "You do not confess, in accordance with the definition of Council of Chalcedon and
>
> the Tome of Leo, who must be recognized and counted in Christ two natures, which keep

Their properties and their operations in Christ, without diminishment; and, therefore, also two wills two separate operations; but you confess, like Cyril and Severus, that there is only one hypostasis, a single nature, a single will in Christ, and that one is his operation, his power, his authority. " And they called them Severians, Jacobites, theopaschites. Now, they said very well that if Christ is considered of two natures and in two (natures), which keep their properties and their operation, according to Leo's Tome and the definition of Chalcedon, then by necessity It must also be confessed that there are two wills and two operations, and also two hypostases acting and controlling, I mean two sons and two (sons) Christs; and there would not be, according to a sound and upright judgment, to have fights between the Maximites and the Chalcedonians, about confession because all thought like Leo and the synod of Chalcedon (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:494, my translation).

The language of the two forms of Chalcedonian confession have already been discussed, but what is being emphasized here is the very 'uncivil' behavior of the dyothelites from Michael's point of view. He means to point out by use of the very means of the well understood terms of his time, that what Mansur attempted to do by enforcing the sixth ecumenical council is actually destabilizing his own confessional community. Michael expressly says that the physical fighting going on should not have taken place when one takes notice of the common ground of their core source documents, that of Leo's Tome and the formula of Chalcedon. His conclusion is that the actions speak clearly, that this system of thought lends to violence. Further, if violence continues then one may very well lose the civil control that was supposed to be under the self-control by Christian clergy, and he demonstrates this in an episode from Aleppo:

[the] Chalcedon[ians] [of] The people of Aleppo split in two fractions; one, with their bishop, was Beit Maron's party, the other was for the Maximites. They came to physical blows

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("hands") about [control of] their great church, which had been built by Acacius of Aleppo. Each party claimed it, and several [people] beat each other in its enclosure. The Emir, seeing their quarrel, prescribed that each party would take half of the church. The Eastern side was shut to the bishop of Beit Maron, and the west side to the supporters of Maximus. They made in the middle a separation in planks [of wood] and they fixed a second altar in wood for the west side, but [in worship] their assemblies [experienced] confusion (Chabot, 1901:495, my trans.).

What Michael describes as a State sponsored solution has astounding consequences. For what follows from the above so called solution by the Emir is the worship 'confusion', described as constant interruptions in each other's worship via shouting or violence. What is further amazing is the desecration of the altars, symbols, and even the sacred elements of one community by another (ibid.). The Emir has no choice but to enforce some type of peace, for the city and the entire region is overwhelmingly Christian at this point in time, and violence left unchecked will certainly escalate. His initial response is sequential layers of dependence on bishops to maintain control of their respective communities, only to fail miserably. His attempt at allowing Dhimmīs freedom to manage their communities is failing, and his dependence on Mansur to provide a solution has also failed. Therefore, drastic measures were taken to ensure the public peace:

The Emir, seeing that the sharing of the church had not put an end to the troubles, ordered that the middle partition was removed, that all were subject to the bishop, that the one who would not submit was punished, and that his head and beard were [to be] shaved. Many of them were not persuaded: and [so] they were punished and banished. The emir ordained that every day two priests would enter and celebrate at the same altar: one from one party and another from the other, and that each of them would give communion to

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those of his party. They agreed to this shameful order, and perform what had never been done before. Two priests offered the same [oblation] on the same altar, in two Patens and two Chalices. In order to insure that they do not fight each other, the Emir sent men, bearers of daggers, who stood on the steps (next to the altar) until the priests would have finished (Chabot, 1901:496, my translation).

The liturgical factor (path dependence) that Mansur utilized eventually removed his influence by degrees from exercising his authority over ecclesiastical matters, to the point where the Muslim Emir acts in his place. Dictating terms by which the sacred Eucharist would be celebrated was definitely the sphere of oversight for the bishop, not a civil authority. Yet the church in Aleppo found itself in this position, having to perform what must have been absolutely an "abomination of desolation" in their view. All Christian communities would have argued most vociferously in this time period that Christ essentially must be worshipped as a singular entity, for the oblation expressed at the altar was no less than Christ himself, and both parties recognized the essential singular union with the divine. Therefore, to have two expressions of him at the same table would have been of the greatest shame as Michael suggests here (ibid). Eventually, the shame would move one confession to give up on their claim to the church, for such an obvious and public confusion at the core of Christian identity and profession could not continue. As Solomon attempted to cut a child in two in order to invoke maternal instinct, so did the Emir elicit a response from more mature Christians ashamed of their collective conduct. The result was that the church in Aleppo eventually became fully dyothelite and in conformity to the other major cities of the region.

But the success enforced in the cities would not be able to be accomplished in the countryside. Michael also records continued threats and violence in the region of Beit

Marron, where the dyothelite agenda is furthered by Marwan himself in 745. This is a case of the Caliph's maneuvering as taken from Michael's point of view. One will remember that in late seventh century Egypt, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became involved in the choice of the Miaphysite Patriarch of Alexandria. So too here, in another similar pattern, Marwan becomes involved in the administrative management of the church (which in turn affects his own management of the financial and civil life). To what extent or what the specifics of detail were in the choice of a Patriarch I do not know in the case of 745, only that Michael indicates the possibility that close civil collaboration with bishops of necessity had developed into approval or appointment by the Caliph. Michael could be generalizing and it is in limited detail that the local approval of bishops is authorized in principle from Damascus. What is most important is that the Caliph as late as 745 finds it necessary to continue to work at Christian harmony for the benefit of administrative needs.

What we do know in the years leading up to this event, Marwan was encouraging Simony and could be influenced by prophetic omen. For example, Patriarch Iwannis (John) achieved his status and appointed via "diploma" (rescript) by presenting a gift of fifty Camels (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:506). In another case, Cyriacus of Segestan had a scholar modify the Apocalypse of Enoch to include verses which prophesied that Marwan's rule was secure and his sons would reign after him (Chabot, 1901:507). His reward was to wait on Marwan who would assign him a see, for the Caliph told the Patriarch not to assign the vacant throne of Tur Abdin until he allowed it. This however became the occasion of tension and schism, for Canon law could not allow a bishop to be considered unless the Metropolitain approves first before the Patriarch confirmed (Chabot, 1901:507-508) and no state sanction is required or recognized for the lower level appointments. We also have the record of Abai of Arzon, who gave presents to the son of Marwan, who then wrote a libellus

to the Patriarch instructing him to assign Arzon to the coveted see of Tur Abdin, which Cyriacus had been waiting for. But the Patriarch, who was compromised by his Simony and weak character, could not easily decide which way to turn, so he gave Abai the seat of Amida (Amid') instead (Chabot, 1901:509-510). Therefore, Simony and political maneuvering were wreaking havoc among ecclesiastical relationships, giving Marwan a political edge and a platform for his agenda. In time, his agenda apparently included forcing a singular confession upon Christians just as a Byzantine Emperor would do.

These are the existing conditions that take us to our dyothelite crisis in 745, where Marwan intervenes in order to settle the long standing disunity of the countryside. According to Michael, Marwan gave the order for the Chalcedonian church to ordain his Goldsmith, Theophylact of Qanbara as Patriarch (Chabot, 1901:511). As an educated elite working within his court, he could expect him to follow through with a plan to affect change in the most influential of monothelite regions, Beit Maron. What is surprising is his use of military force in order to communicate the message that a change of confession as demanded. Physical abuse would be the counterproductive conveyor of the message that inter-confessional violence was going to be forced to a stop. Once again the key liturgical phrase "who was crucified for us", was to be removed (ibid.; Tannous, 2014:35). Theophylact knew exactly where the precise point of pressure needed to be applied in order to measure effective change, that of liturgical expression. For in changing this aspect of worship it would be clearly obvious to the public as to what was expected by the State. But the physical torture method of influence failed, so Theophylact attempted yet another approach, that of the influential monastery and church at Maboug/Manbij (Chabot, 1901:511). This event also was another failure to change the confession of a community, so Theophylact was forced to take the process back before Marwan, where the Maronites

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were compared to the famous mayhem of Aleppo in 727. One remembers the previous

encounter in 659 with the Caliph Mu'ā*ω*iya and the status achieved by the Maronites at that

time. But in this case the status is reversed, for it is now the Maronites, who are fined four

thousand dinars, who have become dependent upon the state for continued protected

status (ibid). The final solution to avoid violence was a State sanctioned separation, for

Maronite Patriarch Andreas was compelled to humbly ask the Caliph for permission to build

a separate church building (ibid.; Tannous, 2014:35).

The above raises a serious question: "Did the Caliph or lower levels of Arab

leadership see a value in one confession as opposed to another?" It is clear that the State

wanted a civil peace, but did they see a particular value in the Chalcedonian viewpoint in

achieving that peace? The above evidence does not make this clear, but what should be

possible to identify in our inquiry is the idea that bishops with a confessional conviction had

a value in the fiscal administration of the Syrian region. Based on the observed patterns of

behavior, I would propose that civil peace and order brought by a unifying Christology was

assumed to enhance tax collection and the efficient management of central and local

government. This line of research may allow us insight into the possible useful distinction of

one confession over another in rational pragmatic sense as progress is made towards an

ideal-type.

4.4 Holy Bishops Handling Money

A natural question arises from the above tensions and the use of bishops to settle

them, who are acting as if the Byzantine State was still in force. Did the Arab leadership

expect the bishops to maintain a civil, ordered discourse in order to handle taxes in the

Syrian context? Based on the Christian themed iconography and distribution of replication

coins in seventh century Homs, Walmsley perceives the administrative handiwork of the bishops shortly before the arrival of Islam (Haldon, et al., 2010:27). This is due to their increasing roles in administrative decisions in the later years of Heraclius, as state funds dwindle due to the pressure of the war with Persia. During the Arab conquest, we find them negotiating terms for peace in their respective cities in Syria, thus increasing their public value (Walmsley, 2013: 44, 47; Shboul, 1996:90). Their influence on the content and symbolism of coins remained until the 680's, when the "standing Caliph" coins were minted, showing significant changes that may indicate that the clergy was removed from the process (Haldon, et al., 2010:28; Johns, 2003:429-30). This can be progressively shown via the slow changes in language use, for the epigraphic images and text began to show a program of cultural change by introducing Arabic with Islamic themes (Schulze, 2013:245). Language change may indicate one aspect, but symbolic changes can be of even greater cultural significance. Mu'āωiya learned this the hard way by choosing to remove the cross as a symbol from the coins:

> Many Arabs gathered at Jerusalem and made Mu'āωiya king ... In July of the same year the emirs and many Arabs gathered and gave their allegiance to Mu'āωiya. Then an order went out that he should be proclaimed king in all the villages and cities of his dominion and that they should make acclamations and invocations to him. He also minted gold and silver, but it was not accepted because it had no cross on it (Maronite Chronicle, trans. Palmer, 1993:31-32).

Foss describes in excellent detail four types of this particular byzantine style coin, which has all of the imperial features that the public could expect from a symbol of Roman authority, except for what would have been the primary identifier as the authority of a confessedly Christian Emperor, that of the cross (2002:361-62). I believe that it would be

safe to assume that no bishop would authorize this, for he would know very well the

significance of meaning and the predictable response by the public. These coins have been

discovered in hoards where the coins bear the marks of the year 674-677, which would be

consistent with the timing of the event quoted above from the Maronite Chronicle (ibid.). A

key aspect of this event should be noted in that the Maronite Chronicle does not state

precisely but implies that the refusal to accept this coin should be understood as a general

public reaction to its use. One could argue that if the local bishop had been previously

active in the approval of the design, then the rejection could have happened at the

administrative level. However, I would argue that the refusal would have been a more

public crisis, as the Chronicle in question seems to generally record events that could be

easily recalled in public memory and of common significance. This is important for the sake

of methodology, for I do not wish to fall into the trap of the "Big Man" theory of history,

whereby anything of measurable significance is boiled down to the analysis of the

documents and actions of elites. In contrast to this approach, the Christian public is so

theologically informed and so influenced by the bishop that the reaction should have been

predictable to the Caliph who had Christian advisors. It is known that the "Mawla

Mu'āωiya" or "Mawla amir al-mu'minin" (advisor/client to Mu'āωiya or advisor/client to the

leader of the faithful) was a documented title of the close advisors to the Caliph, many who

were Christians (Haldon, et al., 2010:193). The cross as the most easily identifiable

connection to the whole singular acting Christ for redemptive, sacerdotal, and even

miraculous power (as seen in hagiographical works) would have been a glaring obvious

reality from the Patriarch to the peasant in the remotest village. The cross as a symbol for

Christian identity and power on coins became eminent in the fifth century, and when

Constans II came to power (641-668), he installed the famous epithet "en touto nika" (in this
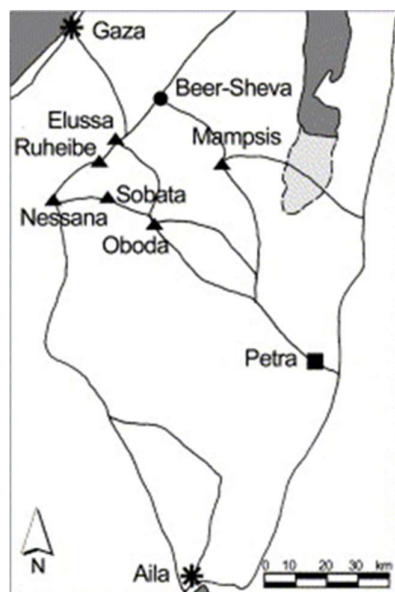
[sign] conquer) on his coins to indicate his determination to defend the faith with military force (Grierson, 1999:29). By the end of the Umayyad period when the Byzantines had effected something of a stable boundary with their eastern enemy, Leo III together with his son Constantine V (720-741) instituted a silver coin with the inscription, "Jesus Christ is victorious" (Grierson, 1999:13). The collective action of the common man in public open voice is the potential process in place here. This also could be considered as instrumental action in implementing a rational one in practice.

I would also like to carefully place another dynamic of ideology at this point, which is pertinent to the message of these coins.   One of the tensions that Mu'ā𝜔iya and other Umayyad Caliphs had to bear was that of the claims of the current Byzantine Emperors, that of the spiritual oversight of those in the 'Bilād al-Shām' (Syria and Palestine) (Haldon, et al., 2010: 28). We know that Constans II went to Armenia in 652 in an effort to assert his authority over the church and the region in the hopes of reinforcing his defenses with Syria, probably in the hopes of mounting a campaign (Kaegi, 2006:76). His grandfather, Heraclius had shown the world what a penultimate Christian Emperor could accomplish, and it would have been natural for this grandson to desire the same. I would suggest that the messaging placed onto the coins making their way into Syria would be part of those expectations and reinforce the claims over previously held Christian lands. A term that is placed on one of these series of coins was put into circulation that I believe helps makes this case, that of "ananeos", meaning 'renewal' (Grierson, 1999:389; Philips & Goodwin, 1997:81). By using both "en touto nika", and "ananeos", it is clear that Constans II is attempting to set himself up as a permanent dynasty like Constantine I, and also to communicate and encourage an image of stability as his empire is under considerable strain (Olster, 1991:171). In contrast, Mu'ā𝜔iya wisely understood what the value and threat of a constant political numismatic

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propaganda in his very own back yard would do to his agenda for a centralized and self-conscious Caliphate. However, it was his successor, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan who would successfully reform the monetary system in 691-92 (Johns, 2003:429-432). The message both *on* and *of* the money does matter.

4.5 Nessana: The Bishop, the State, and the Village: integrated

A bishop's involvement in the production of coins can only be an inferred process that has to be carefully considered, yet documentary evidence of the common use of these coins would be more useful. What we have in the extant record of the Nessana papyri (P.Ness.) is the result of a careful archeological study accomplished in 1935-37 by Colt near the modern settlement of Auja al-Hafir (Kraemer, 1958: i, viii). Nessana was originally a Roman military camp that developed into a village recognized in the province of Palestina Tertia, some 50 miles South East of Gaza and South West of Galilee (Kraemer, 1958:209).

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[31] C. Freidin, I.A. Meir, 2005. Byzantine mortars of the Negev Desert, Construction and Building Materials, Volume 19, Issue 1, Fig. 1. ISSN 0950-0618. Rights order:4318421321436.

There are some bronze coins found in this location that are dated to the late Umayyad era, but more importantly there are literary (Casson & Hettich, 1950), and non-literary manuscripts (Kraemer, 1958), taken from the churches in the local village. The literary texts firmly place the churches within the Miaphysite sphere of influence, which would be consistent with the geographical placement, as this village would have had regular contact with the Miaphysite Arab tribes before and after the conquest. For example, the discovered texts of the 12 Chapters of the Faith (Cyril), letters of the legend of King Abghar, and a Cyrillian Greek glossary I would interpret as consistent with this confession (Maas, 1951:409; Hombert, 1951:518). Onomastics of the documents that I read in the non-literary texts edited and published by Kraemer (1958) reveal that the families and connected parties of this region are Hellenized Arabs, using the names of revered Miaphysite saints. Added to this dynamic is a mixture of soldiers and administrative landowners, sometimes with more classic and Latin names, who were likely part of the extended network of Syria and Palestine (see also Ruffini, 2011:205, Wasserstein, 2003:257-62).

The Greek and Arabic texts recovered display an extended tapestry of family, church, and state relations, all connected via the nexus of the church, which often enacted policy and kept the records and scribal talent to write them. A pre-conquest example illustrating this is found in P.Ness.3.54[32] (early 7th century), where a priest who was both presbyter and village authority (Dioikētēs/διοίκητης) from Chaphrea (a town north of Nessana) registers a complaint to a higher civil authority, possibly the Pagarch of the district (Ruffini, 2011:214; Kraemer, 1958:151-152). The issue recorded is a tax matter which concerned the town and its lime kilns, and it demonstrates that the clergy and civil administration were enmeshed in

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[32] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;54

this culture and had a civil standing with which to make an appeal (ibid.). We will visit this issue of tax petition later in the post conquest narrative.

More pertinent to our investigation is discovering whether this precedent continues in force after the conquest. A church presbyter who is also a civil official in a post conquest Nessana is found in P.Ness.3.55[33] (682), where a Georgios son of Patrick is given a receipt for 4 1/3 solidi for payment of land taxes on behalf of Sergius son of Menas (Kraemer, 1958:153-55). The document acknowledges the legality of the third party status of the payment as a loan that Sergius must repay to George (lines 10-12). Here is where our clergy comes into play, for they are depended upon even after the conquest to assist in the administrative relationships. For here in this case Sergius son of George is the scribe writing for the tax collectors from Gaza (capital of the Pagarchy/district Filastin), John son of Ammianus, and Victor son of George, who are declared unable to write yet are legally responsible for this transaction. What we learn of our scribe Sergius in P.Ness.3.56[34], is that this same priest Sergius is the son of the George who makes the tax payment, writing his name as Sergius son of Georgios son of Patrikios (the Patriarchal founder)(line 18). Although the event likely was written and notarized in Gaza, it was found sealed in Nessana as an official record for accountability. What is pertinent to our study here is that the entire family of civil servant ecclesiastics are found active in this archive, for they travel to the capital of Filastin in order to make an accounting of the necessary administrative bureaucracy and also assure compliance to state laws when they return home.

[33] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;55
[34] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;56

A similar transaction that gives us a further glimpse into the tax structure and personnel of Syria-Palestine is found in P.Ness.3.59[35] (October of 684), where the same priest and civil servant Georgios son of Patrikios is paying a tax burden for Sergius in installments. This well preserved record gives us clear detail on the poll tax, here called epikephalion/ἐπικεφάλιον ("Tax on the head") (line 8), and the land tax, called demosia/δημοσια, which is categorically consistent with our findings in Egypt (line 7). George pays the six solidi required for the land tax (Line 11), but the document indicates that the required six solidi for poll tax is yet to be paid (line 13). Kraemer claims to detect an increase in tax rate or an increase in owned property to explain the six solidi poll tax figure (1958:173). However, El-Abbadi has reflected on this figure and assumed that if the standard tax rate established under Omar (ca. 640) was 1 solidus per male, then the further assumption that there were six adult males in his household appears as excessive when compared to the records of other families at that time (1992:472-73). He resolves this issue by using a particular interpretation of the account of Omar's tax system found in Al-Hakam, that of a graduated tax based on social status (ibid., al-Hakam, 1961:205). If one was in the higher classes one would pay 4 solidi, the 2 for middle class, with the remaining poor class at one solidus per year (el-Abbadi, 1992:471). If one compares the data of P.Ness.3.76[36] (late 687), which is a register of adult males responsible for the poll tax in Nessana, then one sees a pattern where heads of households are shown to also have adult male dependents, often three per household. If Sergius's household then is common to other homes in Nessana, then the six solidi figure per annum is reasonable if one assumes three adult males present (Kraemer, 1958:219). This poll tax register is also very vital to our objective, for it shows the

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[35] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;59
[36] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;76

level of authority that the clergy have at this time, as they are signatories as witnesses to this tax register and are thus trusted by the state.

We also have another case of expressed trust via a release from indentured labor, found in P.Ness.3.56, written January 18 of 687[37]. Sergius son of George as Archpriest was both scribe and witness to a completed labor contract, where the minor son of the monk Cyrin ("Abba Kurin") was legally committed to work for one al-Aswad (lines 8, 13). Although the language and structure of the document lends itself to be interpreted as a loan, it is but simply a legally recognized means for an Arab to pay a father for the labor of a minor son and be held accountable for the conditions. Lines 9-11 acknowledge that the father was generously paid 50 solidi as promised, and the formal release required complete freedom for the son (Kraemer, 1958:156-57).

One very clear and surprising example of the level of trust and responsibility laid on our Archpriest Sergius is found in P.Ness.3.58[38]. This text does not have a specific date, but there are clues within to help us place it in the late seventh century. In 692 Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan instituted a major reform of finances which began with a land survey, which is acknowledged in this text as "geometria ton Sarakēnon"/τῆς γεωμετρία τὸν Σαρακηνὸν (line 8). In essence, the document is a commission of eight significant landowners (protokōmetai/πρωτοκωμῆται) who have given a receipt to Sergius for his pay of the significant sum of 37 ½ Solidi from the governor to them. The reason for the payment as stated by Kraemer is that the governor had reassigned the land of the Bani War to him. However, upon further review, Mayerson has taken a fresh

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[37] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;56
[38] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;58

look at the terms used for survey and for land transfer, and has determined that Sergius is

responsible for the survey being carried out, not receiving said land (1989:284-85). The

money received is for the price of the survey. Yet a further study by Ruffini re-edits the text

and agrees that Kraemer's understanding was more accurate, interpreting the gift from the

governor not as the 37 ½ solidi but the very land in question (2011:214)[39]. One can surmise

that Sergius is trusted to be faithful with his own personal land tax obligation, yet is also

being held responsible for a careful review of land holdings and their respective tax

collection. Mayerson also interprets this land adjustment as a result of the influence of the

Muslim doctrine to live a settled life; therefore, the Bani War have been settled

permanently away from their ancestral lands and the government still needs the tax income

(1989:283). If Mayerson is correct as I believe that he is, then Ruffini's latest understanding

of the text would be consistent with this cultural transition for the Arabic tribes, especially

the Bedouin. Sergius inherits this responsibility either to assure its careful subdivision and

the resultant tax collection, or is liable to the tax obligation as a whole. I would assess that

in either case the conditions would account for significant stress. I find it significant that the

governor (named "Meslem") would have confidence that a high ranking

Archpriest/Hegeumenos with significant holdings would manage to find the resources to

cover the high expense. Mayerson further adds that he interprets Sergius' civic role as

Dioikētēs by this time, taken after his father, which would add further defense to his

authoritative role in a land survey and the management of the associated tax register

(1989:286 n.6).

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[39] Stroumsa also takes the same view, and Ruffini notes her influence on his assessment (2008:126-27).

Earlier in the Egyptian context we had discussed the tax registers called "entagia".
Their format was well established by Bell in 1945, and Kraemer includes several of these in
the Palestinian context (P.Ness.3.60-67). These texts are identified as having been written
in 674-77, and 689, with a similar pattern to that of the Egyptian format, but addressed to
the village as a whole not to individuals. The differences are found stylistically in that the
registers use the requisition term "*paraschete*"/παράσχετε, in Greek, with a parallel Arabic
text using their equivalent term "rouzikon"/"rizq". Sijpesteijn connects these texts to the
promised "ata" that armies would receive before their annual campaigns against the West
(2010:256 n.24). The chronography of these texts are clarified by the use of the Arabic
calendar with Byzantine indiction year and Roman months to date the document (Kraemer,
1958:176).

There are identifiable factors in tax demand that indicate a shared unpredictability
with the Egyptian experience, yet have mildly different structures to accomplish the same
thing. Where the Egyptian entagia letters came to reflect an entire year of productive goals,
perhaps divided into two parts, the entagia for Palestine (also implicating Syria) are divided
even more. Those differences in detail are: that tax periods were typically 2 months, and
that they were combined in equal units of wheat and oil, yet the amounts demanded could
be vastly different from one period to another (Kraemer, 1958:178). For example,
P.Ness.3.61[40], is an entagia/requisition written in August of 675 for 96 modii of wheat, and
96 sextarii of oil, which are specifically referenced to the harvest of June-July (Kraemer,
1958:182-183). The following requisition, P.Ness.3.62[41], is written in October of the same
year (675) with application to September and October, demanding 310 units of each

[40] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;61
[41] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;62

commodity, yet with no apparent reference to harvest or current conditions of their ability to pay. The inconsistent number of units used from one period to the next in instance appear to be considerate of the ability of the regional farmers to provide given the recent harvest. However, the fact that the following period would demand much more shortly afterward would contradict this notion, for a harvest would have been later in the year. Therefore, this should be interpreted this as similar to the Egyptian experience, in that what these requisitions represent is periodic demands by the Arab army for foodstuffs to maintain their field units.   In the Egyptian context this may be considered similar to dapanē/maintenance demands, with the development here in Palestine as a more regulated form to express the occasional need.

However, we do have a record of an annual quota of an entire year of military supplies, P.Ness.3.69[42], which is a register noting the full commodity amounts of wheat and oil (Kraemer, 1958:200). Despite the observations that the records of military provisions from 674-77 may be poorly planned if not reactionary, this record is taken from 680-81 and may have been a corrective. Donner read this *logos rouzēk*/"rizq" and determined that a rational fiscal planning process was in place and referred to it as a "food tax" (1981:286). Mayerson used this text as an example of how *rouzikon* was in essence a subdivision of entagia, and therefore could be structured differently (1995:280-81). If there is a corrective element to be noted here, it may be noted in the fact that its text is a receipt for goods paid in kind to the army (lines 2-6), as well as currency paid (lines 12-13). It may well have been that at times when Nessana was not able to provide the commodities it would have the option to pay the equivalent market price in solidi. Kraemer notes that the exchange rate of

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[42] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;69

currency to commodities is roughly 30 units to solidus, which is similar to that found in

P.Ness.3.64-65 (1958:201). For our purposes it should be observed that this accounting of

military provisions was written on the back of P.Ness.3.68[43], which is the letter to Georgios,

the Dioikētēs of Nessana regarding a request to deliver chaff (Kraemer, 1958:200). This

same Georgios is found in his same roles, P.Ness.3.70 and 74.   If this is true it may very well

be that George in his dual role between the church and the state was also trusted to handle

the responsibilities that this community had to the military (Ruffini, 2011:213-214). It

should also be noted in the context of P.Ness 70 & 74, that these documents are written on

the verso (the back) of P.Ness.3.80 & 81, which are specifically an accounting of offerings

donated to the church of St. Sergius, giving credence to the idea that this Dioikētēs was also

of the priest class, as he had access to these documents and the responsibility to keep these

records which were all kept together (Kraemer, 1958:234; Ruffini, 2011:214; see also

Wipszycka, 1972:141-142).

It should also be noted that later evidence of the relationships between the church

and the state appear to be more strained and demanding. The aforementioned

P.Ness.3.70[44] is example, where the Dioikētēs Georgios, the Hegoumenos (Abbot) receives

an urgent request for the poll tax from a neighboring region. The request is from the office

of another responsible person also named George, who is likely a Dioikētēs as well. It is

short and to the point:

Get whatever you can collect…since I have the authority (responsibility) over the quota of. . .

Make sure that you do not delay an hour in bringing the poll tax and that it be found

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[43] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;68
[44] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;70

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sufficient for the second installment at Gaza . . . . Peace be with you! (trans. Kraemer, 1958:203).

This is one Christian administrator appealing to another for help in obtaining the required tax currency before a deadline. The same kind of private interaction is also seen in P.Ness.3.68 (680), where George once again acts in his capacity as Dioikētēs to respond to an urgent request to deliver an amount of chaff to an agent of the writer, one Abraham. Another clue as to the nature of the transaction is the gracious closing at the end of the request: εἰρήνη σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ † "peace to you from God" (line 6 of 68 and line 9 of 70). As brothers who share burdens of survival under duress the epistolary ending would be of more meaning than mere polite protocol.

Apparently after years of hard work to mutually coordinate tax payments and military requisitions, enough became enough, and an exasperated landowning class decided to protest. P.Ness.3.75[45] is a late seventh century text written on a Sunday, where an organized group is planning to collectively meet in Gaza on the following day, their purpose being to protest to the governor (symboulos) regarding the collective tax burden (line 3). The prime conspirator is one Samuel, inviting other noble landowners to join him in his effort (line 2). The extant letter was originally written to the town of Sobata, and he is now writing to another town, asking that they forward it to Nessana, which is where this text was found (line 8). The letter represents 4 towns/districts and is apparently a mass effort to be able to speak with a singular voice as an entire Pagarchy to its highest Arab civil authority. Kraemer assumes that the Monday event had between 50 to 100 people present, but what is clearly stated in the record is that twenty landowners have committed to this

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[45] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;75

confrontation (1958:212). According to Heichelheim, Palestine had a history of successful tax protest (1938:24, see Kraemer, 1958:213), therefore, perhaps the elite "beloved of God" (line 1) class of this pagarchy knew their own history and believed with confidence that they had as a protected class (Dhimma) every right to formally protest.

Here we find a contrast to the experience in Egypt, for the records show that it was the Patriarch or the Christian secretaries that could intercede on behalf of the oppressed. Yet here in the smaller region of Palestina Secunda, there appears to be a more accessible relationship to the higher authority with more genuine concern for the public. On the reverse of P.Ness.3.77 is an Arabic letter of rebuke to one Yazid ibn Fa'id, who was probably the judge (Qadi) responsible for Nessana (written ca. 687) (Kraemer, 1958:159). In this text a higher authority, one Nabr ibn Qais gives his underlying reason as to why the people of Nessana should be given fair treatment:

> …for as regards Yazīd ibn Fāʾid there is not due to him [ ] due to him payment, and the people of Nessana have the protection of God and the protection of His mess[eng]er. So do not reckon that we acquiesce to your corruption and injustice in respect of it. When this letter of mine reaches you, then [. . .] what I [ ], and by God do not [ ] from it [. . .] unjustly or else I will take it in advance from your assets until such time as I am satisfied that whoever of you is doing that [will be p]enal[ized] in respect of his wealth. So take note of that! (trans. Hoyland, 2015:59).

Outside of the Quran, this is the first historical reference to the meaning of "Dhimma" ("protected ones") (ibid.). Apparently the governor had wise men in place who would be willing to confront the regional judges or perhaps even the tax collectors and attempt to maintain the integrity of their authority. It may very well be on this basis that the collective nobility of Gaza had reason to think that raising such a sensitive issue would

have a direct hearing and perhaps success. The fact that such a letter was available and on

hand to a Christian community in the archive of their spiritual leadership is a compelling

record of this community to attempt a harmonious existence on the fringes of Palestine.

Another point of contact to encourage dialogue and action may have been influence

of the Christian wife of the governor. We have in P.Ness.3.72-73 the intriguing request from

the governor in December of 683 and March of 684 for help in providing guides and

resources for a pilgrimage to Sinai. In P.Ness.3.73[46], dated 683, the governor with an

obvious Christian greeting (Line 1: "In the name of God Almighty") specifically asks the

whole community (Line 2) to participate in helping him provide the necessary means for his

own wife, named Ubayya (line 5). In P.Ness.3.72[47] dated 684, the governor writes to the

Dioikētēs of Nessana for a guide to take his mawla (client), one Abu 'l-Mughira (line 4), to

"the holy mount" (lines 7-8). The monastery of St. Catherine was active in this era, and it

was known as a place of miracles and also perhaps the location of the burning bush where

Moses encountered Yahweh (Stone, 1982:30-31; Rapp, 2006:95, 110; Ward, 2015:52).

4.6 From South to North: The Flexible Frontier

In the Syriac 'Life of Theodūṭē (Theodotus)' we have a healthy contrast of one

extreme end of Syria for another. Nessana was a Southern military outpost during the

development stages from early Islam to a settled Caliphate with a centralized government.

Amid and Qenneshre (Eagles' Nest) on the Euphrates river, which are the loci for Theodotus'

life and ministry, are at the Northern fringes of Syria and are representative of a fluid

boundary between Byzantine and Caliphate struggling over territorial claims after the initial

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[46] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;73
[47] http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.ness;3;72

conquests. Theodotus died ca. 698 (Chronicle of Zuqnin, Palmer, 1993:61), and we have his life's work written by Symeon (Simon) of Samosata, which was dictated by his disciple Joseph (Palmer, 2006:111). What his interactions and work reveal is a community that is distant from Arab rule, and very mixed in its Christian identity. This is different than Nessana, with its established churches and cathedral which clearly show a settled Miaphysite influence. Theodotus is a traveling Miaphysite monk who eventually becomes bishop of Amid, and through his travels we learn that North Syria at this time is a plethora of confessional contexts. In his traversing the boundaries between Arab and Roman rule, we have indications of a culture adjusting to a new administration while expressing their confessional differences in a pragmatic way.

We find Theodotus choosing a life of travel after serving under Patriarch Theodore in the monastery of Qenneshre. This monastery at the time was known for its production of scholarly leadership and the majority of Miaphysite Patriarchs of Antioch (Tannous, 2013:93-94). The traveling monk takes along his follower Joseph as they travel through the district of Claudia on the west side of the Tigris River. During these hikes they traverse southward through Samosata and encounter one Sargīs (Sergius), a slave sent to collect taxes from the northern regions. This slave is authorized by the governor to travel northward as the new administrative reforms are taking effect, which now extends the tax burden to the lower classes:

> When that slave reached that region, he began to cause distress to the orphans and to the poor people of that region; and he sent [the following letter] to the Monastery-of-Mor-Sergios-which- is-spacious, in which the blessed Theodūṭē was dwelling: 'Get ready for me the tribute of the ten men whom I have [written in my register as dwelling] in your monastery! Have a care, lest I stir up the people of Claudia against you! And do not rely

upon Theodūṭē, because I am going to levy the poll-tax from him as well! (trans. Palmer, 2006:113)

One notices that the slave has already been informed of Theodotus as an active supporter of the poor and is well known in the region as their defensive voice. The entagia/tax register has already been written due to the census taken earlier, and Theodotus for all his travels supposedly cannot escape his responsibility. According to the text, although the Abbot of the monastery reads the letter to the monks under his care, it is Theodotus to whom they make the emotional request to appeal their tax burden via a letter (Palmer, 2006:114). The letter is written by Theodotus and it falls upon Joseph to take the appeal to the tax collector in the nearby village of Alwand. When the letter is read publicly to Sergius, the villagers ardently tell him that "It will not go well with you if you ignore that man's command" (ibid.). When Theodotus hears of this response, his own reaction is not directly confrontational, but spiritual, for his action is to walk 7 miles away to the monastery of 'Theotokou' (ref. to Mary as 'God-Bearer' of Christ; in Syriac it is literally, "her who gave birth to God")(Palmer, 2006:117). Sergius appears to have the upper hand, as Theodotus seems to have run away from trouble and allowed him to physically abuse those in the monastery 'Mor-Sergios'. Or has he? As this account is hagiography, the writer places Theodotus in his spiritually superior role at a time of crisis precisely in a *place* of power, where beseeching Mary and the Saints in a shrine/monastery dedicated to her is expected to bring results. The amazing result is a demonic attack on Sergius, where the demons drag him by his hair before the shrine of venerated Saints, and reveal to him their influence on his work and why they are now suddenly hindered:

'Up to now,' they told him, 'we have been helping you. It was we advised you to threaten this old man, Theodūṭē. But now he is seated in the sanctuary of Mary-who-gave-birth-to-

God and he has sent word and brought Her-who-gave-birth-to-God and all the saints of the earth; and this night the saints arrived from Constantinople out for him-. They are torturing (lit. Judging) us because of you' they went on. 'It is now thirty days' that we have been tortured (lit. judged) because of you, to make us drive you out of this place'. 'So go to him and do whatever he tells you' (trans. Palmer, 2006:114).

This study would suggest that the place of spiritual power is carefully chosen by Joseph/Symeon to demonstrate that right Christology is critical not only to deal with the new stresses created by a developing Caliphate but also the surrounding milieu of confessional belief. For as this region is on the border of Nestorian influence, a shrine dedicated to a clear picture of the source of Christ's union with humanity and the value of what Theotokos means should not be lost on the monastically trained reader. Yet it is not clear as to what this reference is to the saints in Constantinople, as it might be a continued referent to the Christian Emperor who may return and rule again. Palmer interprets this as a reference to the center core of spiritual power residing in the capital of the Christian Empire (2006:118), but I disagree, as this is too general a classification. It still refers to the long tradition of Miaphysite Patriarchs and martyrs (at least since the time of Theodora) who righteously suffered in Constantinople defending their faith, who now in a moment of crisis spiritually present themselves in an intervention. This not only would be consistent with the Miaphysite *weltanschauung* but also further would place the greatest spiritual imprimatur on the consecration of Theodotus as bishop. This also would have implications for the Chalcedonian reader but that confrontation comes in a different form in this biography (Palmer, 2006:126-130).

What is a demon possessed and physically abused tax collector to do? According to Theodotus, he is "an enemy of God" not worthy of an exorcism (Palmer, 2006:115). Yet his

faithful disciple convinces him to release the poor slave, who at this point has been beaten in a public place for four days despite mere mundane attempts for his rescue. The conditions for his release were delineated in a letter written by Theodotus, stipulating that he was to give back all that was taken from the poor, orphans, and widows. When Joseph delivered the letter to the tormented Sergius, the release was not as straightforward as expected:

> The tax-collector tried to take that note and read it, but they (demon possessed men) snatched it from him and began to strike him on the face, saying, 'the note is for us: when Theodūṭē was writing it, we were standing beside him.' And they began to read out all the contents. Then they dragged him in front of the altar of the monastery and said, 'If you promise that you will do everything that the holy man is telling you-but if not, we swear by Adonai the glorious that we shall dwell in you. 'That boy was terrified and became like one dead. He made the following promise: 'I shall do everything he tells me.' He urged his disciple to make him come and pray over him; and he was just leaving when Theodūṭē walked in- for nothing that those demons had done to that man was hidden from him.
> (trans. Palmer, 2006:115-16)

In the end the taxes were returned to the people, but not before Theodotus had severely rebuked Sergius and instructed him. Consequently the demons were released both from him and also the possessed men who physically beat on him (Palmer, 2006:116). Symeon has artfully written an account to convince the reader that whether a powerful Old Testament Prophet or a New Testament Apostle, Theodotus has command over spiritual realms of authority. How the Miaphysites could theologically justify using agents of Satan to accomplish their spiritual power and authority is not clear to me from reading these accounts, but it does make it clear that in post conquest north Syria the poor and

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downtrodden were looking for answers and expecting to find them in the majority

confession that they were in the closest social contact with, which would have been

Miaphysitism. This event also records people weeping and kneeling in front of him, even

the slave tax collector. All those affected by this system express their deepest desire, which

is a release from political and economic reality, yet their own interpretation demands a

spiritual explanation for the practical world as it is.

Theodotus also represents the relative fluidity of the border in relationships and the

interactions that flow from a new state gradually establishing its control. Amid was the

northernmost Arab military presence of the Caliphate, known as the Diyar Bakr, where

Christians had made a pact to pay their taxes, maintain peace, and perform no public

procession or disturbance (Hitti, 1916:275). Theodotus became the bishop of this region,

but before he was consecrated he would send Joseph into the Roman held territory to

negotiate the well-being of refugees who ran away from the occasional raid (Palmer,

2006:121). His primary purpose was to "redeem many souls, both from the Arabs and from

the Romans", to visit and encourage them, and also to write letters to fellow Miaphysites

(Palmer, 2006:120-121). These letters would cross the border for a valid and innocent

purpose, both to encourage and to threaten governors of Roman garrison border regions so

that undue pressure would not be applied to refugees for them to convert to the

Chalcedonian confession (Palmer, 2006:121).

The letter writing campaign of this future bishop had unintended consequences, for

he was brought before the Arab governor within the Mosque of Amid (which was attached

to the church) and accused of spying for the Romans. Chapter 58 of the life of Theodotus

reveals a violent event of abuse to the 'holy man' as he was accused of assisting Romans

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and taken for judgement (Palmer, 2006:124). Joseph and Symeon resolve this crisis miraculously, by a judgement of God upon the very one who would judge him, by giving him blindness. Only through the word of "the righteous man of God" is the governor's sight restored. In the very same language that the slave tax collector is rebuked as an "enemy of God", so also is the highest authority in the entire region. This is the hagiographic approach that Joseph and Symeon use to achieve the mutual respect of all different faiths in Amid. I assess it as such simply because I would assume that Theodotus would not survive the encounter by using such words in actuality. I would also interpret this as a desire on the part of late seventh century Miaphysite leadership for credibility among both the Arabs and the different confessional communities (Palmer, 2006:124-125).

When Theodotus is consecrated bishop ca.690, the Miaphysite Patriarch Julian comes to Amid and surprisingly met with pomp and great respect by both Christians and Arabs. Significant to our inquiry is the extent of authority that is granted to him by the Arab government:

> I command that the laws of the city of Amid and of all the region be given into the hand of that righteous man who holds the office of bishop in it. For I have heard that he has no respect of persons. For this reason have I given the laws of the Christians into his hands (Ch. 74 Life of Theodūṭē, trans. Palmer, 2006:127).

Palmer interprets this decree as an appointment for the new bishop to be also a civil judge in matters pertaining to all Christians, regardless of confession (ibid.). He also suspects via the argument from silence that Chalcedonians are few who could apply political pressure. Although I believe his conclusions to be right, I would argue that the regional hagiographic and indirect evidence of monastic activity makes his statement more plausible.

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When he travels to Edessa during his brief period in active episcopal work, in one encounter he deftly avoids a friendly invitation to enter within a Chalcedonian church to pronounce a blessing and prayer. With political adroitness he instead manages to bring adults and children outside of the church for the rite of blessing. This is probably to avoid the appearance that he has been accepted into communion within their faith (Ch. 87, Life of Theodūṭē, Palmer, 2006:128).

Theodotus then represents the fine tightrope of a line that the spiritual leader must deftly accomplish in late seventh century Umayyad Syria. The new efficiencies of tax collection and centralized government require a social harmony that Damascus is expecting via the wise mediation of bishops and holy men to negotiate. He must maintain his theological convictions centered around the singular essence of Christ's being while being a source of diplomacy and mutual respect. All this is while he loathes the suffering brought by meager resources and the reality of tax demands extended to the poorest of the fringe regions.

4.7 The Unfriendly Canons: Jacob of Edessa

Church Canons provide more of these scenarios worthy of exploration as a contrast to the Egyptian experience, for the close interaction of individuals in confessional expression in Northern Syria is intimate to the point of enmeshment. Tannous also explores this idea of social intimacy via a close look at the Canons of Miaphysite bishop Jacob of Edessa (d.708), a near contemporary of Bishop Theodotus (2013). The Canons are intended as responses to questions posed by different monks, and are intended as thoughtful rules in order to guide them in their daily service to the church and to the public, and many of these are specifically designed to keep confessional identities separate (Hoyland, 1997:601-602). However, given

the nature of the questions that Jacob responds to, one has the sense of a social comfortableness between Miaphysite and Chalcedonian public and clergy (Tannous, 2013:83).   Tannous openly assumes that these questions may be taken from real life experience, and I would respond that catechetical instruction is indeed designed to give the naïve or immature a platform from which to practically respond in the Christian life; therefore, he may well have solid reasons for this view (ibid.). The catechetical model does more than answer questions but helps the follower to develop the ethical rubric from which to make Christologically consistent decisions in the future. This is consistent with a value-rational expression of this ideal type.

Jacob's protégé', one priest Addai, asks if he and a Melkite could be friends, except to the extent of sharing the Eucharist together:

> Addai: Is it permissible for a lonely Orthodox man, as a poor man, to seek the friendship of a heretic who is also lonely, ascetic and poor and not of his family, so as to stay close to each other and keep company in everything except for (divine) service?

> Jacob: - To love the Lord, to keep his commandments and those of his disciples, and to love a heretic and to join him, are two things that cannot be combined; this is not appropriate (Nau, 1906: 60, my trans.).

Also in the same vein of thinking:

> Addai: If it is necessary for an orthodox cleric to be at table with a heretical cleric, what must happen? Will the Orthodox bless (the meal) and the heretics eat, or the other way around?

> Jacob: If it were not absolutely forbidden and forbidden for clerics and orthodox priests to eat with heretics, there would be some reason to ask this question (ibid., my trans.).

These are straightforward answers to pragmatic needs that Jacob could easily identify with as an experienced monk himself. Yet one will notice in the tone of Jacob's responses that he is rather incredulous that Addai can be thoughtless in his line of questioning. As the region has been devastated by wars and struggle over the frontier between two major powers, the vagaries of life and survival are harsh and difficult. Thus the unusual steps are taken to utilize what few resources there are. Fear and cultural sensibilities with their traditions overwhelm, so even old habits of agrarian survival and superstition continue to influence:

> Addai: What should I think of the one who puts a dinar in a channel of water and sprinkles his garden to make the crickets and the worms leave which devastated it?
>
> Jacob: He who exchanged the glory of God incorruptible and creator against the image of a corruptible man and who reveres and honors creatures, must be counted with idolaters (Nau, 1906:56; my trans.).

This study uses this piece of superstitious practice as a way to illustrate an earlier point to our inquiry, that of the value and message of the coins then in use. As the image of the coin would often have had the authoritative image of a Christian Emperor, perhaps it could be used to bring blessings on one's garden in such desperate times and places. Considering the sacerdotal powers of healing attributed to the Eucharist and the shrines of the Saints (found in many of the questions from Addai), as well as vestiges of pagan practice still remnant in contemporary expression, this practice would be consistent with the cultural milieu (see Nau, 1906:51-56 for several examples).

In this concern should also be the authoritative image of the Caliph, as at this time period one would also expect that the new issue of the Caliphal coin expressing a Muslim

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consciousness was beginning to be distributed. Addai would also have to ask some practical questions of the Christian life as it intersected with the new Arabic authority:

> Addai: A heretic prince who has the power to punish, strike and imprison (in chains), orders an Orthodox priest to dine at home and He said to him, "If you do not accept dinner with me, I swear by God that I will punish you in such a way." then, while he eats, the prince has a censer brought and says to the priest: "Arise and put the perfumes on, or else take care of yourself (you are in danger) ". He then places them by fumes and he prays, and he anoints the (guests) with perfumed oil, without there being any faithful (Christians) in this house, and he does this for fear of the prince. I would like to know if he sinned in this and if he transgressed the canons.

> Jacob: - That he is a transgressor of the canons, I can declare it, but if he guilty or not, God knows and not me. I can however, to say this: it is a long time since the priests began to transgress the canons and to like taking part in the affairs of the world and the master of the world; That is why they have been put to princes (influence) and to those who hold power in this world; it is for this reason that they receive orders from them, and that they transgress the canons out of fear like the others. If it were not so, I would say that they did not sin. For these canons already existed at the time when the Orthodox people possessed freedom and power; but now because of our sins, we are deprived of freedom and power and we are delivered to those who can command us to transgress the canons (Nau, 1906:60-61, my trans.).

> Likewise we have another similar common interaction of daily life:

> "Addai: If the emir orders a man, the bursar of a monastery, to eat together with him out of the same dish, will he eat, or will he not eat (i.e. 'should he')?

> Jacob: I do not advise him, but necessity obliges him. (Ibid., my trans).

The above extensive quote has tremendous import to our inquiry, therefore, I place it here in the effort to discover confessional responses. Addai genuinely wants to know from his superior what to do with the complex set of relationships brought by the progressive integration of Arabs and their way of life. Addai presents so much detail in this anecdote that I am inclined to believe that it is actual practice that he is observing and not just a potential problem. Addai is not naïve here, for he certainly knows that if he cannot eat with a heretic of a similar faith, then it would extend also to a Muslim. Jacob's response is rich with his own perceptions of Arab rule and the resulting pressures from a change in power. He clearly recognizes what influence has been lost, and I believe it to be profound that he places himself and his confessional heritage within a former position of both power and influence. He grieves that the average monk is in a weak position both politically, educationally, and emotionally, for the continuing action controlled by fear gives the Arab power ever increasing influence in Christian action.

The average Christian then may have a personal confessional tradition but must interact with every other social distinction, because the whole social fabric is being altered by a third influence. This admixture I would propose adds a stressful dimension causing many to question the practical value of the primary tenants of their faith in practice. Therefore, in an age uncertainty, I would propose a measurement of that uncertainty in the willingness to closely interact with contrary Christology even to the point of a conscious ignorance of it. Addai senses this tension and so desires clarification in his own struggle.

An example of this is found in the account of an old Persian man living in the monastery of Mar Abay in Qelleth near Dara. During his many travels of the province, our beloved bishop of Amid Theodotus discovers that this man has been living among the

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monks for twenty years without any of them asking if he is baptized. Upon finding out he

insists on withholding the Eucharist until his baptism and restoration (Tannous, 2013:84-85).

In a similar scenario that Tannous takes from the same folio, a Nestorian is discovered in the

Miaphysite monastery of Sergius the Broad. Theodotus of course is upset, for in giving him

the Eucharist they are "seating a heretic at the table of life", which is clearly breaking canon

law (Tannous, 2013:85)[48]. Despite the perspective of the bishop, he is decisively ignored

and the Nestorian is allowed to partake of the Lord's table. Why? He was a useful

carpenter, and according to the biographer it is through demonic influence that the monks

overlook this fault. When confronted, the possessed claimed that he enjoyed doing spiritual

harm through confusing/disturbing the communities (ibid.). This event may give insight into

the blame shifting that is going on between confessions. For if the efficacy of the sacrament

can be weakened through the mixing of confessions, perhaps that could be used to explain

the waning social influence which Jacob is grieving about. This is also the same social

influence that is attempting to negotiate a détente with a developing Arab power growing a

centralized state.

   The same conditions of uncertainty may also be an influence causing people to

change their confessional alliance. The biographer of Theodotus places the bishop in an

encounter with a man who was denying his former faith near the monastery of Qenneshre.

This is astonishing when one considers the wide ranging influence and powerful resource

that this esteemed place of learning was supposed to have had. What is amazing is that

within a stone's throw of the epicenter of Miaphysitism for the entire region, was a

Nestorian who openly confessed his change to Judaism. What is further astounding is the

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[48] Tannous makes reference to MS St Marks, Jerusalem, 199, fols. 553a – 553b.

fact that he was widely revered as a holy man by the surrounding community (Tannous, 2013:87).

John the Stylite is a resource to help understand this phenomena via a question he poses to Jacob of Edessa. He asks how he should respond to an entire village that had previously left the Miaphysite faith yet now wants to return. In specific, how does one administer the Eucharist at such an occasion, as normally a bishop would be the one receiving them back into communion (Tannous, 2013:88).[49]

Yet the evidence of this study suggests that such mass changes of confession were unusual, as the full process normally involved an absolution by the bishop and his prayer in order to be restored. In my view it is far more likely that confessional rules were bent. Addai gives insight into this when he asks Jacob if a Miaphysite "Orthodox" priest can administer the sacraments to Chalcedonians if no other priest is available, and if the reverse was also possible? If so, can one sing the proper chants of your confessional anaphora while doing so? Jacob's response is predictable: "They (the Canons) do not agree that he dares to do such a thing. Those who allow themselves to be persuaded to do so will be punished as if he were carrying with heretics (Nau, 1906:63, my trans.)."

What Jacob is faced with as bishop is a high order of pragmatism in an age of transition. Jacob no longer had state sanction of a Christian Emperor to attempt uni-conformity and administer discipline in order to enforce canon law. The one tool at his disposal was sacramental, and you can see this via his strict responses to Addai especially when it concerns the Eucharist. If one was "interdicted" and barred from taking the Eucharist, some level of influence might be achieved.   All Christian confessions of this

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[49] Tannous references Voobus, A. 1975. The Synodikon in the West Syrian Tradition I, 244. trans 224.

period were fully convinced of the spiritual efficacy and necessity of the Lord's Table in a realist sense (yet without a Thomistic defense). Jacob had some reason to hope that his fellow priests would take his warnings seriously and obey his directives (Tannous, 2013:96). The Eucharist had great meaning in being able to communicate spiritual life and affirm the individual's continued vital connection and identity with the mystery of the singular union that is Christ. It was well understood that the sacraments were by necessity to be administered through the spiritual authority and blessing of the bishop; therefore, close spiritual identity between priest and bishop were vital to this understanding of communion with Christ.

Despite his warnings and hard work in defending Canon law and applying discipline, Jacob famously gave up trying to enforce them after four years. The Patriarch advised him to be more lenient and accepting the dynamics of the time in which he lived. However, in a public display of his utter exhaustion with the lack of discipline, he burned his copy of the Canons outside the monastery of the Patriarch while shouting: "I'm burning in the fire, like someone superfluous and useless, as the Canons that you all trample under foot and do not observe (Michael, the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:472, my trans.)." Jacob forthwith went back to his ascetic roots, spending his remaining days contemplating and writing. Via writing and translation work, he would clarify and defend right Christology from a distance; perhaps another generation would read and take his warnings more seriously.

4.8 Conclusion: the non-ideal ideal type

Jacob of Edessa as frustrated bishop represents the intermediate workings of a value rational ideal type. His spiritual forefather, Jacob Baradeus, would have viewed him from a great chronological distance as a hierarchical guardian, seeking the salvation and spiritual

maintenance of the souls under his care. Baradeus would have also been grateful for a continued Miaphysite presence, still mediating the deep significance of Christ's hypostasis and thus celebrating the great mystery of his continued presence in worship via the sacraments (Weber, 1947:66-67; Rapp, 2005:46, 301). This being the bedrock of action, shepherding souls with spiritual power and authority would necessitate establishing a hierarchy of bishops to continue the service to the faithful, even if it was dangerous to do so. This was definitely the case in the life of Baradeus, who spent 37 years as a celebrity traveling fugitive from Justice, ordaining clergy of all levels including Patriarchs who would have the authority and the audacity to debate with him.

Yet the two Jacobs cannot serve as hermetically sealed bookends. In between there is the within case scenario, for there is an available narrative comparison in the neo-Chalcedonian attempt both before and after the Arab conquest. This is where the state sponsored form of Christology attempted to conciliate and borrow from the patron saint of Miaphysites, Cyril, and use his terms to bridge the relational divide. Despite two very heated and passionate narratives, both are attempting what they believe to be a singular rational ideal type. Therefore, they believe that dialogue is valuable, but by necessity it requires a resolution. This is because their shared most precious value is that Christ is unified in his person, moreover, they expect themselves to be unified as a community who coexist in a shared spiritual life.

This is why bishops were often called before the Emperor to debate the essential language of nature and hypostasis. The Emperor as arbiter of the Christian Empire could issue an authoritative statement such as the Henotikon or Ekthesis, demanding a uniformity in confession. He would even go so far as to crown royal kings such as al-Mundhir if he

thought that the shame inflicted via his high status as a quasi Miaphysite Patriarch would accomplish a true and lasting union. But if a Phylarch such as he could threaten that functional unity, he would also be removed, and even treachery was considered an ethical means to do so. Even in the late stages before the conquests, the Emperor would be willing to employ almost any terminology, or sanction, or even confession of culpability if it meant that the Christian Empire could accurately consider itself "whole" within a unified Christ. They reasoned with the Syrians that if Cyril could attempt to reunify with John of Antioch (accused of Nestorianism) then certainly they could be reasonable and come to an agreement (Michael the Syrian, Chabot 2, 1901:288). Even as the eastern provinces were evaporating away from Heraclius, he would use his authority to impose confessional unity.

What he or anyone would not imagine is that those churches who came under the influence of Heraclian neo-Chalcedonianism in Syria would continue in the same vein long after the Arab conquest. It was in the lofty positions of metropolitan power that the Melkite clergy of the main cities such as Damascus continued to attempt a uniformity. Yet uniformity was not at the behest of a Confessed defender of a unified Christ, but of a developing unified Muslim state with no conscious Christology. Arab conquest realities for financial, military, and efficient purposes demanded that Christological communities cooperate, communicate, and compete. For a brief period the Chalcedonians had reason to believe that the Arab state may even bring a Christian harmony by use of its military resources, such as under Theophylact. Yet Theophylact is not a simple corrective action for Maronite confession, but a further objective realization of how fractured even the Chalcedonian perspective had become via the dyothelite/monothelite divide. Thus the violent competition for larger influential city churches brought judicial action from a Muslim authority in 659, 727, and 745.

Yet the Arab authorities maintain the public value of these bishops, for they still hold the value of authoritative influence over the Christian public, and as such they can assist in tax policy. This can be interpreted as path dependence, for the bishops remain at the center of administrative authority as before the conquest. One indicator of this is the influence that they have in maintaining the use of Christian iconographic coins. Even though they are minted in Homs, they have all the familiar imagery of a Christian Emperor overseeing his Oikoumene, even if from afar. These disappear from the scene in slow fashion, after the emergence of the "Standing Caliph" coins epigraphically show a program of cultural change. Yet this programmed change does not follow their progressive design perfectly, for the public at large rejects their first experience with these coins as they have no cross (ca. 674-77). This is an obvious indicator of the Christological consciousness of the public, and therefore the continuing broad influence of the bishop. Even Constans II knew full well how powerful a numismatic image could be on public consciousness, and so utilized victorious themes and images from the glory days of his fourth century forefathers, probably with a view to influence the Syrian border. This indicates an instrumental action implementing a value-rational one in practice. Mu'āωiya understood these ramifications and acted accordingly. By the mid eighth century Byzantines coins became a rare sight in Syria.

With a conscious change of imagery and political messaging could the bishops still be of public use? We see two regional uses of bishops in civil discourse that the Arabs use to stabilize financial policy and continue the difficult work of communal harmony. First, this can be found in the dual role of clergy as civil servant in the South Palestinian town of Nessana, where specifically a Hegeumenos (Archpriest) shared the role and title of Dioikētēs. The records of the Nessana papyri clearly show the same person both in roles as

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manager of tax registers and payments, and also ecclesiastical donations in the same church repository. On several occasions, these two roles show on the same sheet of papyri! Miaphysite clergy act to comply with the wishes from the governor in Gaza, and are shown to be trusted figures. One surprising example is Sergius, a Hegeumenos serving as a new manager for a large land holding that previously belonged to the Bedouin clan of the Bani War. Tax policy must be maintained even though the Arabs are vacating territory, and Sergius is trusted to do that arduous task. But tax assignments have a liability, as the public has tangible limits on the financial burdens that they are willing to absorb. Therefore, we have the example of the organized and very public protest, rallied together by a landowner named Samuel who writes to the entire district in order to make an appeal before the governor. This is also another example of path dependence, as the region has had successful tax protests before. We also have the unusual privilege of seeing an Arab internal corrective to administrative abuse, for one Nabr ibn Qais rebukes the local Qadi/judge in Nessana, invoking the first post Quranic use of the concept of "Dhimmī" (P.Ness.3.77). God's protected people apparently have a judicial and religious right to mutual respect.

The second example of a holy bishop who handles the subject of money and mutual respect is the venerable Theodūṯē/Theodotus, who comes to us in hagiographical form. His biographer would rather we see his handling of taxes as an issue of justice, for in using his spiritual power and authority, the poor are protected and unjust taxes are returned. His form of tax adjustment is not rebellion, but resistance. The proof of this is that he earns the trust of the local Arab 'emir', and despite unjust accusations and physical abuse that stem from his relationship with Roman (border) Christians, his integrity is vindicated through the instrumentality of his role as a holy man. In the final analysis he is allowed to be the honored judge for all non-Arabs in the region. Despite the difficulties of hagiographical

material, the account serves us well as a Miaphysite apologetic that records the regional attempt by the Arabs to manage the border under regular military encounter while maintaining a working relationship with the varied expressions of Christianity.

Lastly, these varied expressions of Christianity are nothing less than the attempted demarcation between confessional communities in Northern Syria. For one Jacob of Edessa, these fault lines of Christology are not as neatly defined and respected as a Miaphysite bishop would like. He has the serious responsibility of administering the rules of the church and the sacraments, and both are governed by the rational commitment to Christology. Through the catechetical question and answer exchange between himself and the priest Addai, one learns of the difficulty in maintaining confessional identity. This difficulty arises as there is every evidence via these questions of a general disregard for the rules which are designed to preserve a confessional purity in doctrine and practice. The blunt truth is that social mores are applying pressure that bleed through the membrane of theological distinction. This becomes a source of frustration to the point of angry exhaustion, expressing itself in the public burning of the very Canons Jacob is oath bound to preserve. Being a Miaphysite is messy.

Conflicted, compounded, and constantly navigated is the way that I would describe the Christological landscape in Syria. Nessana may have a settled feel to it through reading its related documents, but the reality is that by the late eighth century the village is abandoned. This indicates that economic pressures could not be overwhelmed despite the hard work of the community to maintain its confession and also its civil duty to the governor. Northern Syria by contrast is in constant tension, either by continual warfare on the border or on the sea with Constantinople, or within its walls of Christological

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controversy. Yet both Caliph and bishops have a shared value with the past, that of bridging confessional identities into a singular whole. The Caliph has need of a smooth running administration so that the military is well equipped and the public is peaceably served. Their common meeting point is the tax register, where names and places are well understood, and the taxes can flow where they belong. Yet Christology is complex, and the relationships in the debate are complicated. The result is a continuing quest for peaceable relations and mutual understanding.

5.0 Summary: The Eastern Christian mind, and the implications of this on Economy and State.

This journey through literary and documentary evidence was driven by a proposition: "Did Historical-Contextual Christological perspectives in seventh and eighth century Egypt have a direct impact on the economic and political relationship with Arabs, specifically as it relates to taxes, and if so, how, and to what extent?" To achieve this, the intent was to study the historiographical and papyri evidence that comes from ecclesiastical discourse involved with the economic (tax) policy of Arab rule from 641 to ~720 with the hope of making the connection between theology and practice. I began with the belief that this was possible, because theologians and administrators of that time period were classically trained, and so should have had an identifiable logic or pattern so as to connect ideas to practice. As Christology was a marked if not definitive social identifier, I was expecting to find that this would be a key factor in almost all relationships of late antique Egypt.

The theoretical point of departure of this study was to ask how one could know the perception and understanding of the new power shift, both of Christian leaders and laity during the critical years of transition after the Arab conquest. Paying taxes demands a

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practical application of one's world and life view. Therefore, some considerable effort must have been placed toward justifying the submission of the public to the Muslim Arabs financially in a moral/theological sense. My expectation was that Miaphysite focus on the singular divine nature of Christ brought an overemphasis on spiritual reality, thus limiting the practical application of church influence in the everyday management of finances.

To further develop the comprehension of this work, this study used the methodology of within case analysis in comparative historical method. With a holistic view of internal comparison of available data, this study also pursued secondary sources in order to analyze evidence with extant papyri available. Also used was pattern matching, which is a mechanism that can explain and connect a statement/condition on a tax record with an understood process of what that tax record pointed to in its context. What was also anticipated by looking at this evidence was path dependence, for there was evidence of a persistent administrative structure for government taxes/finances. This study further utilized the useful definition of ideal-type narrative comparison learned from Max Weber, by comparing Syria as a rational ideal type. This method is also useful for testing the hypothesis in order to determine the original meaning in context of Egyptian Christology and taxes. Religious statements are often indicators of a state of political conflict, as well as both continuity and change. The expectation is that by observing the conflict via the interaction between disparate theological communities, the precise points of Christological debate may be learned with the hope of identifying a point of contact between Christology and practice.

1.0 The State of Chalcedonian Christology in 7th Century Egypt.

Maximus the Confessor was at the center of debate within Chalcedonian Christology for both the Eastern and Western Empire, and one would expect him to be a likely influence in this process. However, his observable impact in our defined study is minimal, as he is on the fringes of the early debate that impacts our study within Egypt and Syria. Yet he is useful for he demonstrates well the inner tension felt among clergy in this period, who desire a unity of Christian faith while also maintaining Christological precision. Our inquiry finds him writing a letter to Peter, a Patrician from Numidia, regarding ecclesiastical issues of personnel placement in Egypt shortly before the Arab conquest. Here is a clear example of the close interaction between the church and the state. Maximus justifies his interference in a local political affair by claiming that the restoration of a deacon to recognized office in the state church (Chalcedonian) is to promote the "highest good", which is defined precisely as "to reunite those separated by faith" (Jankowiak & Booth, 2015:44). This highest good is theologically supported by Maximus in stressing that Christ has the same operating activity (energōn/ἐνεργων) in miracles as well as in his suffering, thus implying that the full breadth of his activity should be in bringing all of his people together (ibid.). The letters of Maximus are a small reflector of a broader policy that we see in action set by Emperor Heraclius after his success against the Persians in 628. He observed and interacted with different Christological persuasions during the Persian war, and set about to find a unifying policy to correct the divisive stresses on the empire as soon as was practicable. The design was to create a singular harmony of doctrine in the Church so that the Church and State might be in "Symphony".

This attempt at Symphony is the result of 300 years of Imperial policy that goes back to the days of Constantine in his maintenance of the integrative role as 'Pontifex Maximus'. This idea has documented proof from the Edict of Milan (313) and onward. When viewed

from the experience of the Council of Nicea (325) onwards we consistently see state involvement in Christological controversies for the purpose of achieving a singular theological focus for all clergy. This is demonstrated well in Justinian's Novella VI (April, 535), where he claims that the Priesthood should be viewed as a similarly weighted benevolence from God as the State. These two gifts from God are a means to direct the entirety of Humanity (Scott, 1932:xvi.31).

Thus when we come to Heraclius (575-641) in the later years of his reign it is understandable that he would expect the same goals for Symphony as his predecessors. Yet, the painful reality faced was that he had a very fragmented empire both before and certainly after the Muslim Arab invasions. Heraclius' particular episode in the search for unity began with the Patriarch Sergius in Constantinople, who, as a dedicated Chalcedonian shared the Emperor's commitment to unity. His theological creativity birthed what was to be known as the monenergist movement. Its designed goal was to bring Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian communities together around the singular subject of one energeia/ενεργεια, meaning one activity/operation in Christ. Christ in his view could be understood as a singular entity by virtue of his operation in the created world while also simultaneously acknowledging his two natures, human and divine.

In attempting to adapt this theology to the broader perspectives of the Empire, Heraclius sought out the theological reference points of Armenian, Greek, and Egyptian scholars in order to craft a harmonizing view of reality in Christ. But Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem, and other theologians of Egypt and Syria reacted, fearing that this was an unnecessary novelty which would further detract from the set doctrine canonized at the Council of Nicea (325). Undeterred, Heraclius continued to make a serious attempt to

provide for the success of monenergism, by appointing Cyrus of Phasis as the new Patriarch in Alexandria. As both civil Prefect and ecclesiastical father, he is in a unique position to enforce a unifying theology in order to bring a very independent minded province into *Symphonic* order. This Symphony is of such high value that he is committed to its authoritative success by employing the theological language and terms from the revered Cyril of Alexandria and Dionysius the Aeropagite. Their respected theology is coopted for monenergist purposes and employed in a document to be signed by all Bishops in 633.

To many Miaphysites committed to the Christology of Severus of Antioch, Cyrus' new attempt at unity by creative use of 'single operation' in Christ was a welcome adjustment, perceived as a movement from Chalcedon into their confessional arena. By carefully stating that Christ is "One incarnate nature of God the Word" (Cyril's famous phrase employed during the debate at Chalcedon), while also cautiously defining how incarnate deity could also suffer, Cyrus was crafting a compromise understandable to the majority of parties in Egypt. Most groups of this period still expected and anticipated a unified church, so they were looking for a proper vehicle to make this possible. What is key to the two opposing streams of thought is Christ's integrity of being after the incarnation. The main questions centered on the tension of "How can the incarnated divine truly suffer?" (in order to bring the reality of salvation to the created order).

The key item to be solved to this apparent contradiction was His suffering according to one nature (human) and not the other (divine). By grounding this idea in Cyril's terms and known logic as a revered Egyptian father, Cyrus found a unifying touchpoint that independent minded clergy would find hard to disagree with. Yet the age old desire to protect the distinctive sacredness of divinity would not itself hold a political center. Another

agreeable term would need to be found, and that was at this time the expression "one divine-human operation (*theandric energeia*)", borrowed from Dionysius. Here we discover that there is no such thing as mere being to be contemplated, for the divine acts in time and space, which thus allowed a level of human understanding. With that limited level of understanding, a natural question arises, "How is Christ to act in a union of divine and human natures?" The true *how* is acknowledged as a mystery, for at this time in Egypt few want to claim a division in Christ's acts, only that a single person of being performs the acts in both capacities. By agreeing to the term "one theandric energy" an apparent compromise is reached, at least for many Miaphysite groups, such as the Theodosians prominent in Egypt at this point in time.

Cyrus' written correspondence with Sergius reveals that ecclesiastical reunion has civil-political implications (CPG 7611, see Hefele, 1895: V.5.sec.293). For a ceremony of great pomp is attended by military and civil figures in a public expression of what *Symphony* should be in Substance. Beginning with the Liturgy of worship to the financial affairs of state, perhaps a cohesive structure of Christian society could be vitally experienced.

Yet a ceremony of union will not guarantee a practical one. For Cyrus finds himself using all of the political tools at his disposal to bring about the practical application of the theological agreement. Therefore, gifts, promises of positions of authority, and even severe violence are viewed as a legally sanctioned necessity. As a result, when the brother of Miaphysite Patriarch Benjamin I is murdered in utter cruelty, it is all in the name of the objective union. Benjamin I in response is to interpret this violence as an attack on the true Church, and so instructs his dedicated hierarchy to resist Cyrus' agenda to the point of death (Evetts, PO I, 1904:491-492).

With segments of the Miaphysite Church retreating to the remote parts of Upper Egypt, increasing frustration would be expected of Cyrus and Heraclius. This is seen in Heraclius' actions in pursuing the monenergist agenda in Syria, and discovering significant failure. The Emperor also turns to violence as Cyrus does, permitting the mutilation of dissidents (Hovorun, 2008:65). How effective or far reaching this policy would have been cannot be known, for the Emperor and his agent Cyrus are permanently disrupted by the advance of the Arab conquests beginning in 635. Heraclius' last effort to stem the tide of ecclesiastical loss is through the decree of the Ekthesis (638), which formally forbids further debate, but he complicates the state of affairs by introducing a further theological term of the "single will" in Christ (CPG 7607/ACO I, I, 152, see Allen, 2009:Loc. 2137-2225). . Thus the debate of monothelitism begins which further disturbs both Church and state until sixth Council of Constantinople in 680-681.

With the loss of Heraclius and the extended drama of Imperial succession at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt, Cyrus is left with few tools to continue his project, and so chooses to negotiate a peace treaty. The new era of Arab Egypt begins, yet the Christological debates and their attendant consequences continue. As the Roman army retreats, intrigue and political realignment disrupt relationships over theological commitments (Joh of Nikiu, trans. Charles, 1916:190-191). Cyrus is faced with the harsh reality of the failure of his unionist project, and likely dies from this stress after the fall of Egypt (Charles, 1916:195-196).

In the post conquest reality the Chalcedonian Church in Egypt persists, and this is likely due to the fact that under Cyrus' leadership loyal unionist administrators were appointed to positions of authority and necessary bureaucracy. As the Arabs initially used

the existing administrative structure with few modifications, Chalcedonian presence with its

tenacious desire for social influence continues. Despite Cyrus' departure, many chose to

maintain that presupposed status quo attempted by the Union of 633, even those of the

Miaphysite community (Evetts, 1907:497). This demonstrates that theological conviction

often goes much deeper than what is observed in political expedience. At this point the

Chalcedonians even have an assigned Patriarch after Cyrus, showing that theological

continuity was expected. I believe that this also continues the further hope of a future

Oikoumene (Unified Christian Kingdom), even though a Christian Emperor has been

separated from them politically.

For our specific purposes, the administrative positions of power in continued use by

many Chalcedonians proves useful to demonstrate Christologically motivated action. For

further abuse is recorded, predicated from the author's point of view as Christological bias

via the actions of the Chalcedonian governor of Alexandria, one Theodore. The enormous

financial pressure that he applied can be interpreted as his desire to maintain political and

financial power over the Miaphysite Patriarch and his hierarchy. For he fulfills his financial

obligations to the Arab Navy by shifting all of his responsibility on to the backs of the

Miaphysite community (Evetts, PO V, 1910:6-9). For Theodore, the basis of the Oikoumene

has shifted to Damascus, and from a special agreement purchased from the Caliph he can

maintain his social position and selfish agenda.

Besides new fiscal demands there are also new tensions of church ownership. The

new Arab state has no clue as to the competition of church property which left the

Chalcedonians in an advantageous position in the Nile Delta. Not until the governorship of

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwan (685-705) is the confessional landscape more accurately reflected

in the ownership of church property. Directly related to our purposes is the financial resources that these properties reveal, for they were collection centers of tithes and rents, which had implications for the financial demands of the Arab government (Mikhail, 2014:Loc. 4785).

Chalcedonian Christology would also have a measured form of action in the worship of this period. Liturgical forms also reveal Christological commitments, via the specific order of song, prayer, hymns, and specific in the rite of the Eucharist reflect emphasis on the person of Christ and His two natures active after the incarnation. For example the Trishagion hymn to the Trinity was interpreted from their perspective as a means to stress the substantive persons clearly expressed as united individuals cooperating for the benefit of the church (see CE:2278a-2279a). This is significant when one considers the sacerdotal power that is believed to be administered in the rite. The assumption being that if the Trinity is falsely understood, then spiritual power is not available to the individual within the community. The encultured late antique mind would not take this great mystery of Christ's presence in worship lightly. If this worship was accurate and well pleasing to God, then perhaps things would go well with the Arab government.

2.0 The State of the State in the Stature of Christ: 7th Century Miaphysitism in practice

Seventh century interaction in the Egyptian experience has its roots in the two centuries of prior Christological development. Borrowed philosophical language was used in order to describe the realities expressed in Biblical scripture, in order that keen minds could interpret and describe divine action. Therefore, the careful definition of words in exegesis by both Biblical reference and Fathers of the Church must be explored in this context. The terms physis (nature), hypostasis (individuality), and prosopon (personality) are not

originally intended as political designators, but as serious theological terms with which to bring divine blessing through the honest pursuit of understanding the substance and action of Christ.

Therefore, the beginning of this inquiry is appropriate at the Council of Chalcedon (451), where the distinctions of reality become very sharp in the Egyptian mind. The famous negative adverbs, "unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, and inseparably" were designed to protect and define carefully the mystery of the relationship between the divine and human in Christ (ACO 2.1.2, see Price & Gaddis, 2005:170, 171, 180, 2:204, n. 53). The process that led to these terms used was intended to be the product of spiritual hierarchy, designed in itself to be a source of unity and harmony. This design was to hold both the Western and Eastern Bishops in a state of equilibrium, for both communities would naturally define shared Greek terms differently. The key phrase that sparked divergence and debate between these communities was the term, "in two natures". This phrase was built into the formula of Chalcedon and agreed to, but was continuously troublesome to the Eastern mind. For them, it was more accurate to speak of Christ's singular identity as being "out of two natures". Their focus was on the final *result* of the hypostasis in action after the incarnation, not His component parts (natures). Their highest goal is to preserve the singular being (subject) that is Christ, who contains within Himself the essential revealed mystery of the natures which in synthesis restore man to God.

For the Western mind in this period, the details of the particulars in construct are primary. Their commitment to the terms "In two natures" reflects their focus to carefully identify Christ's permanent connection to humanity. In so doing the atonement is conceived in concrete understanding and belief. Humanity now has access to God through

its accessible ultimate High Priest. This idea was expressed in the debated Tome of Leo, a

letter written in 449 (ACO 2.1.2, p.215, Schaff, 2004:76; Price & Gaddis, 2005:2:117-163).

As clear and helpful as theological formulas are designed to be, they cannot be separated

from the drama of personality and political maneuvers for power. Dioscorus of Alexandria is

an excellent example of this, as the successor to the revered Patriarch Cyril, he assumed the

mantle of a public role in ecclesiastical influence. Yet power and the wisdom to wield it well

are often parted, for he did not have Cyril's careful deference. His divisive nature led to

much politicizing debate at Chalcedon, which was expressed at the final vote on the

Christological terms agreed upon. For the final vote on the formula was not presented to

the Bishops in concise terms of the four adverbs, but rather "Dioscorus vs. Leo".

The obfuscation caused by political discourse might have been our only

understanding of these theological terms had it not been for the avid letter writing of Cyril

and other key Patriarchs of the time. Cyril wrote in reaction to Nestorius, the Patriarch of

Constantinople (386-450), who gave us the controversy where Cyril's theological gifts could

shine a precise light on the incarnation. Through their argumentation over the term

"Theotokos" (God bearer), which is the term to describe the role of Mary as the place where

the incarnation took place, we learn the point of contact from which to clarify terms. In

three profound letters written during 429-430, Cyril gave us the structure for the descriptive

language of the incarnation which would become the standard for evaluating orthodoxy.

This proved not only to be the case for the Council of Ephesus, but for Chalcedon as well,

and for many generations beyond. For Cyril, describing the human mother of Christ as

"God-Bearer" is not a valuable point of contention as it was for Nestorius. Why? Because in

the incarnation, Christ as the *Word* takes on (assumes) human nature, not a human person,

within the human mother Mary. Mary is not the bearer of the essence of the divine

Godhead, but the bearer of the body and soul which were united to the Logos (hence the

reason why the term *Word* is often used to describe Christ) (Ep. 4:48-49, PG77; Bindley,

1899:102-107).

In Cyril's third letter, we see the debate broadening beyond the argument between

two Patriarchs, for the whole Oikoumene of the Christian Empire observes this discourse

and becomes concerned with the critical standard of Orthodoxy which he expresses (Ep. 17,

PG77, see Bindley, 1899:121-133; Wickham, 1983:17-33). This critical standard is expressed

by Cyril as the "Twelve Anathemas", that he claims are canonical statements with which to

evaluate Christology. Necessary for our purposes is that the focus of Cyril's argument is the

idea of what a true hypostasis is. For him, a hypostasis is a substance within another

distinct substance without a perfect distinction of the mode of subsistence. His famous

shortened form of this idea is expressed as 'One hypostasis of the incarnate Word", which

was further simplified as "One nature of the Word incarnated". This phrase would become

the definitive confessional statement of the Miaphysite movement.

Nestorius was deposed at the Council of Ephesus, yet Cyril continued to be

challenged by a rival theologian, John of Antioch, who saw Cyril as Apollinarian. Through

personal diplomacy the two came to a mutual agreement in April of 433, and expressed in a

document called the "Formula of Reunion" ("Laententur Caeli") (Cyril Ep. 39; Bindley,

1899:166-172). This agreement forms the basis for the future debate at Chalcedon, and its

resulting formula. Pertinent to our goal is Cyril's personal writing on this matter, where at

this stage of his development he writes that Christ was "Of two natures; in a union without

confusion, mixture, or blending; consubstantial with the Father as to his divinity;

consubstantial with us as to his humanity" (ibid.). This idea becomes the basis of the very

language of Chalcedon which all parties agreed to in 451. Cyril admitted himself that

division over these terms was unnecessary (Ep. 39, cf. ACO 1.1.4, p.19; see Wickham,

1983:222). In these letters we find that two very mature theologians came to realize that

they defined terms differently in their own respective regions, yet both also agreed that

these terms as understood were in concurrence with Nicea.

Which leads us back to Dioscorus and the drama at Chalcedon, for cooler heads had

not prevailed in the years prior to this confrontation. The contest was essentially who

would be the primary interpreter of Cyril for the entire Church (Davis, 2008:49). Dioscorus

had determined that the debate would center on the single subject of Christ after the union

(incarnation). When Eutychus began to speak of Christ having a unique flesh unlike ours,

Dioscorus then had the basis from which to draw battle lines and proceed with his agenda,

which included making Alexandria an Apostolic See. If the Alexandrian Cyril is the

theological epicenter of the church, then its legal status should be commensurate with it, at

least in his own perspective. Though Eutychus had good intentions, his language skills were

imprecise in stating, "Two natures before the union, but only one after it" (ACO 2.I.2, p.120,

trans. Stevenson, 2015:loc. 8348-8352). The unintended consequence of this statement is

that it became a slogan of the Miaphysite cause, although scholars would best express

Eutychus' version of this blending the divine and human in Christ as pure Monophysitism

(e.g. Chadwick, 1951; Frend, 2008). Eutychus had intended to preserve the integrity of the

incarnation by using the term, "One Nature", but it would be captured and used to debate

what a hypostasis actually was, and from it would propel a new movement within the

Church.

Dioscorus used this confusion of language to attempt another Council in Ephesus in 449. With this august platform he used the occasion to depose Patriarch Flavian, and further establish Cyril's 12 anathemas as Orthodox confession. But his political maneuvering and use of violence raised many questions of the propriety of the event which was to be later called the "Robbers Council" (Leo, Ep. 95; see Frend, 2008:44). The ensuing embarrassment by Leo and others led to a mass appeal to the Emperor for yet another Council, which led to the famous and ultimately divisive Council of Chalcedon in 451.

It was at this benchmark Council that Pope Leo I, not Dioscorus, comes to the forefront to present the Western perspective. The solution that he offered in his famous Tome was an attempt to clarify the language of Cyril, so as to make a hypostasis accessible. The solution that he offered in his famous Tome was that Christ's two natures are related in one singular hypostasis, where the natures share properties "in active communion with each other" (Tome of Leo, trans. Stevenson, 2012:loc.8449-8453; Meyendorff, 1989:73). The choice of terms and the focused environment of the council allowed Leo's expression of Cyril to be openly acknowledged by all as consistent in purpose and appropriate to express Christ (ACO 2.i.1, p. 81, see Frend, 2008:48).

Despite the attempt at unanimity at Chalcedon, the term "in two natures" was perceived back in Egypt as a step backwards towards Nestorius. Proterius as the new Patriarch installed in Alexandria was attacked by the mob and killed for no other reason than that he signed the formula of Chalcedon (Evagrius, HE II.8). Continued resistance expressed itself to the ordination of priests, for the declaration of Chalcedon places the church-state as diminished in authority to consecrate those who would administer the sacraments. Therefore, the Egyptian public goes to the most accessible source, which is the

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monks scattered throughout every corner of the province. This is shown in the public choice of Timothy Aelurus who was consecrated Patriarch in 457 by Peter the Iberian and several other respected monks (Rufus, 2008:135-137).   This certainly did not follow Canon law, but Timothy had been ordained priest by none other than the Cyril of blessed memory himself, thus his elevation to the See at such a moment seemed only proper. Later the Emperor finds himself in the uncomfortable position of having to depose Timothy, certainly not because he believes him to be unfit for office, other than his continued refusal to affirm Chalcedon (this implies political pressure on the Emperor). Yet the new Timothy "Wobble Cap" and the deposed Timothy, choose cautiously to collaborate with each other in mutual service to the Miaphysite community, despite one of them physically being absent in exile. When the political winds change, Aelurus is released and his renewed vigor in office proves his continued resistance to Chalcedon. This was to be short lived, for the Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople effectively pushes back on his influence.

Yet by 477 the Egyptian die had been cast, and Emperor Zeno despite his efforts had to contend with the reality that no Bishop consecrated in Constantinople had any respect among the Copts. Peter Mongus represents this state of affairs, for as a significant Miaphysite Patriarch he may have had detractors in Constantinople, but the Emperor allowed him to continue in a form of understood détente.

Moreover, the situation on the ground could not continue, for the fundamental presupposition of a unified Christian Empire presumes a unified Christ. Therefore, the need was met in a document developed to find a unifying language, called the Henotikon (482). Although decreed as law for the whole Empire, it was specifically addressed to Egypt. The

statement doesn't anathematize Chalcedon, but deftly minimizes its influence and shifts it instead to Christ's being:

> …incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary, the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two, and the sufferings…are those of a single person…(Evagrius III.XIV).

As careful and as simplified as this language is, it doesn't break clearly away from Chalcedon (Zacharius Rhetor, VI.1, Hamilton & Brooks, 1899:133-134). Ergo Peter the Iberian uses all of his influence to put pressure on Peter the Patriarch to reject the Henotikon. But as it was Emperor's Henotikon, the Patriarch felt compelled to implement it as a tool of unity. The natural consequence of this was that many groups saw a weakness in theological integrity and resolve, and so even further separate and splinter. I believe that this can be attributed to the existence of many monasteries and their relative access to the public, especially if they are of the Pachomian model. This model of monastic life would often lend itself to regular social interaction, and for the average monk or parishioner, Cyril was the standard by which all theology was measured.

The two Timothys and the two Peters could not effect a movement toward unification with the Emperor. Therefore, the next brilliant mind to attempt this was Severus of Antioch (465-538). As an advisor to Emperor Anastasius (fl.491-518) and later Patriarch of Antioch, he stood in a unique position to carefully impact the Miaphysite viewpoint. Yet political momentum still worked against his efforts, for he was deposed in 518 and found his way to the most natural refuge, Egypt (Allen & Hayward, 2004:24). By the time of the purges of Justinian (520-530), anti-Chalcedonian groups had a clear line of demarcation and identity. Severus for his part would deeply influence the Egyptian countryside by his constant travels and letter writing, which would even further solidify its anti-Chalcedonian

consciousness (Evetts, 1907:453). Severus' impact cannot be understated, for his precise mind clarified the Miaphysite concept of the hypostasis located in the divine power:

> The Logos did not permit the flesh to move according to the law of the nature of the flesh… How do (all of the miracles) belong to the flesh when it is not endowed with the power of the Logos, an entitlement of the Godhead, if it is not to be regarded as one with him (trans. Grillmeier, 1995:83)?

With regard to the full expression of the complete humanity in Christ, Severus resolves the subject of his sinlessness. He does so by stating that the divine Logos chose the limitations to fit into human existence (as an act of will) (CSCO 319:113-114, Allen & Hayward, 2004:47). This was by no means an intellectual exercise, for as remote monks begin to debate his ideas in contrast with other groups such as the followers of Julian of Halicanarssus (d. 527), often they come to physical blows and even manslaughter (Evetts, PO I, 1907:454).

Severus himself however believed that extreme reactions could be reduced by choosing to view these varied Christological terms in more abstract form. For example, when pursuing an understanding of Christ's two natures, this should be done in "*Theoria*", as an act of abstract contemplation, intellectually (Chestnut, 1976:37-38; Severus, Homily LIX, Briere, PO VIII, 1912:231-2), or inferentially (Severus, Ep. 99, Brooks, PO XIV, 1920:22-23; Ep. 2, Brooks, PO XII, 1919:190, 205). These abstractions of Christ could be expressed as "property", or "Physical Quality" (Grillmeier, 1995:94-95). He also provided a further pathway to abstract solutions by developing the term "Sunthetos", Synthesis, as a term to express the composite singular nature of Christ. This was a duality within the one subject which could possibly be described by the term "one nature", but so constructed so as to not

confuse the two natures of divine and human (Severus, Ep. 15 & 25, Brooks, PO XII, 1919:210, 222-248). By abstracting the natures as intellectual categories, Severus rationalizes the one nature of the union as composed "out of two". However, in consistent Miaphysite fashion, there is for him only one nature to be considered after the incarnation.

Despite Severus' work at Synthesis, Justinian's purges left large swaths of anti-Chalcedonian areas without a hierarchy. In response John of Tella (483-538) began to fill this void by ordaining clergy outside his normal limits among needful communities (Andrade, 2009:204-205). By doing so, there is a clear development of a parallel hierarchy existing within and alongside the church-state, which naturally created more tension and a greater rift. Justinian recognized the significant danger to the Oikoumene, and he attempted to utilize Severus to heal the schism (from 532-536). Theodora complicated matters further, by organizing the consecration of anti-Chalcedonian Patriarchs who would accelerate the division, such as Theodosius of Alexandria. The followers of this Patriarch of Severan persuasion continued into the post Arab conquest period of our study.

Yet Justinian still maintained his faith in the concept of his role as a type of chief priest, and saw fit to attempt a bridge across a growing divide. This can be seen in his open letter written to the monks of Egypt in 541. In this tract he chooses to elucidate Severus' term for composition, *Sunthetos,* and turn its usefulness into action in the hope of finding an agreeable term. The Emperor sees a point of contact in this term, noting that "Whatever is composed 'of' something is also known 'in' its various elements" (Wesche, 1991:34). For Justinian, if Christ is composed 'of' two natures without confusion, then he should be also known 'in' these two natures. In his mind there is no successful contradiction in the terms of a true union structured in this way, and thus hopes to have a useful tool for dialogue.

Justinian is one of the few on record that is conscious of the true source of the tension between East and West. For he appears to understand the implications of rendering hypostasis and nature as synonymous terms. By evaluating the use of Severus' term "composition", he maintains the need for the distinction between the universal and the particular.   Once this is acknowledged, nature is distinguished as expressing the universal, and hypostasis as individual/particular. This is obviously the Western construct yet he must still bridge this with the Miaphysites who would naturally see this as offensive to their idea of maintaining the integrity of a hypostasis. To Severus and the Egyptian mind the singular subject of Christ is best protected by the use of the term nature, and that one nature specifically is the result of abstracted divine and human distinction held by the intellect, not as substantial.

Justinian failed to win over the monks toward his view of the relationship between universals and particulars. In contrast, increasing momentum developed under the subversive efforts of Empress Theodora, who further aided the movement by facilitating the ordination of James Baradeus. This travelling Patriarch is credited with the ordination of 100,000 priests, including Bishops and Patriarchs. Alexandria appears at this time to be a Miaphysite safe haven. The purpose of establishing this spiritual hierarchy is not for rebellion, but to fill a sacramental need, as no believer wanted to be far from the life giving Eucharist. Both sides still hope for a reunion, but pragmatic needs for spiritual life and even physical implications could not be ignored.

With Alexandria relatively free in theological independence in the late sixth century, an environment exists for creative solutions to answer the universal and particular on their own terms. John Philoponus (490-570) is one example of this effort, a capable theoretician

who rejected Aristotelian categories in order to give hypostasis a new foundation. For him, three persons in the Trinity must possess three distinct substances in order for a hypostasis to have legitimacy (Philoponus, "*Against Themistius*", in Ebied, Van Roey, Wickham, et al. 1981:51,130). The problem created with this proposed solution is that it is easily interpreted as Tritheism, and with varied monks travelling around Egypt and Arabia with this thought, this Christology was the likely form of Christianity that Mohammed encountered in the early seventh century.

Though theologically developing an independent path, the late sixth and early seventh century Miaphysite Patriarchs such as Damian (fl. 569-605) still held out hope for a unifying Christology. This is indicated in his Synodical letter where we find him praying that Christ will speak to the Emperor and so inspire him to bring "peace and concord" to the Church (Crum & Winlock, 1926:336-337). It is clear from the hope expressed that if Christ can be mutually and universally understood and worshipped properly according to a singular nature, then the Emperor and his Oikoumene would receive victory over their enemies and enjoy peaceful rule.

Dioscorus, a student of Philoponus, waxed poetically about how vital it was for the Emperor to rescue the Church, but by 571, the Emperor Justin II (565-578) faced in unpoetic reality just how difficult this was. In his own approach to reinvigorate the spirit and power of the previous Henotikon, he wrote his own confession of faith which was loud with the influence of Cyril (Evagrius V.4:253-254). This was intended to give recognition towards the Miaphysite *composition* in Christ, including a careful restatement of what subsistence as hypostasis meant in Constantinople. In this iteration subsistence is shown to be complex and yet recognized within the limits of revealed mystery. As this was yet another via media,

Justin II fails as did his forefathers, for the thing Egyptian Miaphysites most desired was denied: a condemnation of Chalcedon.

Through the political disasters of Maurice (582-602) and Phocas (602-610), Miaphysites are able to exploit further opportunities for freedom. Even when John the Almsgiver (606-619) takes the Patriarchal throne in Alexandria, his Chalcedonian commitment does not restrict him from choosing wisdom in building relational bridges through his generosity. His main persuasive approach is to use broad minded use of Church funds and careful liturgical emphasis. One can only speculate how far his method may have gone towards ecclesiastical healing, as his rule was cut short due to the Persian occupation (616-629).

The Persians were no serious threat to Miaphysite life and influence, and the experience was more or less a dress rehearsal for the Arab Conquest. Patriarch Benjamin I (622-661) began his early training during this period, and the experience would serve him well under difficult conditions. When Cyrus arrives with his monenergist program, Benjamin I has the mutual deep respect of his monks to the extent that he commanded resistance to the point of death (Evetts, PO I, 1907:490-491).

Hagiographical literature such as the Life of Samuel of Kalamun reveal that such resistance was actually occurring (Alcock, 1983:79-80). In positive affirmation we learn from Benjamin I what Christological conviction existed right at the nascent days of the Arab Muslim Caliphate. Christ's fully human body and lifestyle is emphasized, in their full sense as objective experience (Müller, 1968:118-120). If this is applied in contemporary experience, the implication is that if priests fail to handle the "Mysteries" of the Eucharist properly, then God is offended and ergo the spiritual life also fails (Römer, 1985:84-85).

Benjamin I also thought that it was critical to evaluate the precise definition of the suffering of Christ, for he desired that the faithful comprehend that the divine cannot suffer. He did this by asserting that the divine in Christ has the power to choose to isolate suffering to human flesh (ibid.).   This was ever more important in the new state of public affairs, for as chief priest he represented Christ and Christians before the new state power. We find a key perspective in this new role via his annual Easter Paschal letter, where his concern is to maintain public peace: "…we do not want to be foolish…to our benefactors…therefore we should not make noise…or even (do violence) to your neighbors…" (Römer, 1985:105, modified trans.). This is an indicator that the Patriarch was held responsible for the potential violence between Christological communities, showing that doctrinal identity was significant to social structure (Evetts, PO I, 1904:495-496). This is also reflected in a vision that he experienced while consecrating a chapel in the monastery of Saint Macarius, where he is threatened with serious consequences if love and patient tolerance are not lived out in the community (Evelyn-White, 1973:129-130). Also present at this vision experience is the future Patriarch, Agathon. Agathon builds on the church-state relations from his predecessor, who reveals through his actions that he values his friendship with the Muslim Arabs, yet also sees their religion as unique, calling them "Gentiles" (Evetts, PO V, 19010:4-5).

As successive Patriarchs walk a very narrow path of peace and co-existence with their *benefactors*, we find hagiographical accounts of Christ acting in their election to this difficult position of spiritual authority. This is seen in the choice of John of Sammanud (677-690), who is acclaimed for his wisdom in both spiritual and state matters. (Evetts, PO V, 1910:6-19). This is illustrated through an event manipulated through the work of Chalcedonian rivals, for he finds himself in a difficult position with governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn

Marwan (fl. 685-705). What this crisis reveals is that John fears the unified Christ more than the governor, which turns out to be the context for mutual respect between John and Marwan, and thus benefit for the Church (Evetts, PO V, 1910:13-17).

This begins the golden era of Miaphysite church-state relationship, which is vivid in the life and Patriarchal experience of Isaac (690-693). Through the record of his life we find the value of two key secretaries directly under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Anastasius and Isaac, who along with the Patriarch, serve as cautious navigators of a hot and cold relationship with the governor (Bell, 1988:45-61). These vital administrators actively consult with Patriarch Isaac, yet also lean on his spiritual vitality and power (Bell, 1988:56, 61).   Despite what appears to be a good relationship, it is this governor who demands that all public displays of the cross are to be obliterated and replaced with Sura 112 "Muhammed is the great Apostle of God, and Jesus is also the Apostle of God. But verily God is not begotten and does not beget" (Bell, 1988:61; Evetts, PO V, 1910:25). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reveals just how critical Christological discourse is in church-state relations. By reacting this way he reveals just how powerful and vital this is in common identity.

Isaac and this governor essentially have a good relationship, based largely on the knowledge that the previous Patriarch John III desired him as his successor. As the governor is now part of the election process of the Patriarch, Bishops choose to interpret this as Christ's active choice for them, which is not completely unlike the former Byzantine model (Evetts, PO V, 1910:23-24; Bell, 1988:63). Isaac also reveals how vital his role is to the comprehension of the Eucharist, for his hagiographical biographer Mena affirms that he was able to observe the Holy Spirit transform the elements into Christ's Body and blood in a realist sense (Bell, 1988:64). Mena's presupposition is that Christ reveals Himself to holy

men who have proper theology of the head of the Church, Christ. To illustrate this, he records an event where the governor observes a "fire" around the Patriarch as he administers the sacrament. This is to ground the political relationship in spiritual perception, as a form of validating the Patriarch's position as emissary to the state, mediated and affirmed by spiritual power.

The golden era of church-state relations shows its inevitable end towards the closing days of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz , for as the Miaphysite Church is consciously rising to the forefront as the majority, the Caliphate is becoming more conscious of its existence as a Muslim state and the shape of what that means for its Dhimmī communities.

Patriarch Alexander II is responding to these tensions and expresses this in an extant Easter Paschal letter of 724 (Ber.P.10677). In this context he is careful to give the basis on which Christ may be understood to be visible, which in his view is only to be described according to Apostolic revelation. On this authoritative basis, Christ's true and real visibility is a divine mystery beyond words, and must be believed by faith as God's economy under his rule (MacCoull, 1990:30). The nature of Alexander's argument reveals what contemporary Muslim objections there are to the Christian world and life view. Iconic Christian symbols were systematically removed in several steps during this period (Theophanes AM 6215, Turtledove, 1982:93; Vasiliev, 1956:25-47). What is also revealing is his use of "divine-human operation" (theandric energeia) as an agreeable term to defend the visible Christ. Regardless of Benjamin I's previous objections, these patristic terms have come full circle and reveal the lasting impression of moderating Theodosian influence. Alexander II makes practical application of this Christology, for he finds it necessary to encourage good works on the basis of this definition of Christ's reality (MacCoull, 1990:33).

This belief is converted into action via the average mutual activity of both monk and parishioner. Not all monks were isolationist anchorites, and through long hours of physical and emotional investment into the community, the *holy man* suffered along with his fellow believers and earned the right to have an influence. Through personal spiritual victory in ascetic devotion to prayer, fasting, and contemplation, he earned the trust of his fellow Copts. By overcoming sin and the demonic world he is seen as someone who can certainly assist with finances and resources with integrity (Ward, 1984:4, 14, 22; Brown, 1971:98).

The monk also brought practical Christology as a pedagogue, for he was a trusted spiritual master who could not only teach you spiritual and physical things but lead you to an understanding of the person of Christ. As these monks fulfill their anticipated roles faithfully throughout a lifetime of service, they eventually are transcended into the role of *Saint,* and so in consecutive terms the contemporary living monk aspired to such status and so sought out spiritual power and authority via the shrines of the departed holy men and women of blessed memory. (Brown, 1983:16).

There is then the practical application of the ascetic life, for the monk desires in mortification of his flesh an experience of Christ Himself. This can be interpreted as a form of self martyrdom in order to fully know the consubstantial Christ (Hedstrom, 2009:768; Brakke, 2009:6). Yet while living he has a role to play as a transmitter of accessible truth in teaching an exegesis of the Bible to anyone available. This may indeed be the prophetic role but it is the point of contact to eliminate the divide between the sacred and the secular. This divide is especially bridged by the spiritual father of the monastic community, the "Apa". This is because this father figure becomes a focal point for God's authority in

practical living, for both monk and peasant acknowledge in him the presence of God and his power (Veilleux, 1980:47; Burrows, 1987:15).

We see this illustrated in the Life of Samuel of Kalamun, for when he saw the approaching storm of Cyrus' monenergist program of 633, he gathered his disciple monks around him in preparation for the difficult days ahead. His desire is to preserve vital networks in order to maintain continuity under stress. He also utilized another resource for this purpose, the "lay brothers", who were theologically educated in the community to help serve the poor and ill. In this manner Samuel is maintaining links so that Christology is connected to practice. Later when Samuel is redeemed from slavery to the Blemmys, he reestablishes this network in a new location in the Fayuum, where the ascetic and practical are assembled again. In so doing he illustrates how the monk stands in connectivity to his broader community, and brings the power of the incarnated Christ into the everyday life of resource and financial responsibility.

3.0 The State of Understanding of Arab Policy by the Coptic Church

Monks and lay persons alike were needed to fulfill the workable administrative needs of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ when he became the first Arab governor of Egypt in 642. As educated Christians were the available bureaucrats, they gave the legal and logistical framework for the government and its needed documentation. This part of the study benefits from the idea that as trained theologians they should have a terminology that describes the logic that is used to measure or motivate human action. The purpose here is to describe the government administrative network and its related financial system, while looking for indications of Christology and how it influenced the responses of Christians adjusting to it.

The main point of the early government system was the maintenance of the Dīwān, which was the military register of soldiers and their families who required resources to maintain their existence and be prepared to fight. This system was the essential reason for collecting taxes and other resources as needed. As Christians were considered *Dhimmī,* they had a protected status via treaty which required principles of action as taxes are collected. The two main types of taxes originally collected were called *gitzya,* which was essentially a poll tax, and the second was a land tax, although not clearly designated in earlier periods. The rates of this tax appear to be roughly 1 solidus (*nomisma*) per male of a certain age per year for the poll tax, and generally the same amount for the land tax when averaged out by the available records (Morimoto, 1981:33). There is also apparent adjustment in the rates for the poor, which in essence modifies this system into an income tax (Morimoto, 1981:38-41).

As the government and the military often demanded physical goods or services as payment, a developed system of payments in kind (*rouziq, dariba*) were common, which was practical for the under monetized poor. However, the payments may have been readily available but as unscheduled extraordinary demands that did not take into account actual production capacity, it added significant stress to the public (ibid.). Added to this was the occasional demand for the expenses needed for government officials as they traveled the province overseeing the country, which was called *dapane* ('maintenance') (Morimoto, 1981:43, 47, 50).

As Greek and Coptic are the languages of everyday legal expressions and commerce, these terms of payment need to be described, as they continue to be used well beyond our period of inquiry. The standard Greek translation of *gitzya* is *demosia* (δημόσια) which is

an abbreviation of *chrusika demosia* (χρυσικὰ δημόσια), a public money tax (Morimoto, 1981:64; Bell & Crum, 1973:xxv). *Demosia* as a descriptor includes both land and poll taxes paid in currency (Frantz-Murphy, 1985:41).

Collecting *demosia* was intended to be a fair system and usable for both parties, but in reality it became difficult and burdensome. The system began its process in Fustat, where an assessment register, called the merismoi, was written to the various pagarchies, and distributed through their capital cities (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxviii-ix). From there, the local assessors drew up a list of taxpayers and the category of taxes responsible for each person. Demand notes to every productive person/entity were called entagia/ἐνταγιά. Early forms of this system allowed local village headmen to determine the rate of tax, but this was later changed during the reforms of 716. The basic idea of the poll tax early on was that of a system of personal identity, which was more natural to Arab thinking. In time it was adjusted to a more property ownership model.

As it was a personal principle guiding the early system it should be evaluated in terms of personal power. The person below the governor representing his authority in the pagarchies was the Duke. He would often report to the governor directly regarding taxes (Sijpesteijn, 2013:72). Below the Duke were his secretaries, the *topoteretes* (administrative) and the *sakellarios* (financial) Foss, 2009A:10, 12). These men ensured effective communication throughout the pagarchy via a documented register called the *katagraphon* (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxvii, 8). Place names would form the units in a tax district, which were dependent upon local village officials to determine tax liability, status, arrears, or fugitive responsibility (Morimoto, 1981:93; Legendre, 2013:12). From this the entagia are sent out

and payment is demanded. Once these taxes were collected, they were sent on Fustat to be accepted at face value or adjusted according to the projected needs for the next fiscal year.

No tax system is perfect, especially when the government does not understand the capacity or current condition of the economy. P.Lond.IV 1414 reveals a dynamic weakness that was likely constructed to make up for arrears. This is expressed in the term *logisima*/λογίσιμα. *Logisima* appears to be a record of extraordinary taxes, but unless the taxes in kind were composed into useable currency, this category is general and undefined. Morimoto interprets this as an attempt by the Pagarchs to make up for the continuous arrears in tax payments that are recorded every year (1981:107).

The weaknesses of this system are shown in the Aphrodito texts. P.Lond.IV 1338-1340, 1349, 1357, 1365, & 1380 (ca. 709, 710) are evidence for this, as the subject of these letters is late or missing tax payments in arrears. Adequate detail is recorded in P.Lond.IV 1380 (ca. 710-711) to show that Basilios is over nine months late in paying the "two-thirds tax payment" in gold that he is responsible for. This mention of the "two-thirds payment" is reference to the first installment, as it is the normal pattern established and is demonstrated in P.Lond.IV 1412 & 1413 (Casson, 1938:287).

As the objective is to connect the responses of the Egyptian public to this tax system in theological terms, it would be helpful to show the relationship between tax and labor policy and the active Christian public. One can logically expect that tax records for monks and monasteries should be able to produce measurable data.

A key aspect of his early tax system is how it related to the annual military campaigns against the Byzantine holdings in the Mediterranean. Naval power is an application of this and a new experience for the Arabs, and they depend on the Egyptians

for the technology, materials, and manpower to effectively use it in warfare (Mikhail, 2008:277; Bell and Crum, 1973:7, 59, 377). As these are Christians facilitating this process, this is a crisis of conscience, with the result that many leave their assigned responsibilities to become internally displaced refugees, or leave for Byzantium (Mikhail, 2008:277). The refugee problem would become an enormous one for the Arabs and the Egyptian administrative officials, causing many decades of trouble which affected the entire economy and culture. Much of the Aphrodito texts is concerned with this problem, leaving the governor Ḳurra ibn S̲h̲arīk so exasperated as to threaten the lives of his Pagarchs (Bell & Crum, 1973:xxxv).

These texts reveal that the governor needed to develop special agents working with Arab officials in order to determine the extent of the problem and to rectify its endemic nature (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1332 & 1333). In time registers developed by these men involved determining those who had been refugees for more than 15 years or less, or 20 years or more (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1460). The pervasiveness of the problem suggests an implicit approval by local officials as passive resistance, and this was suspected by the governor (Crum, 1909:131-132). Yet despite the relational distress, the governor implements a forced policy of repatriation in order to make the fiscal system reflect honest demographics, including a verification system via messengers (Bell & Crum, 1973:15, 56). With continued resistance and difficulties, we find Ḳurrah acting on his threats by applying fines and physical punishments (P.Lond.IV.1384, Bell & Crum, 1973:56).

Christians were granted a special status as *Dhimmī*, because they were interpreted as "ahl al-Khitab", people of the book, and as such as those who feared God they were expected to be honest brokers as intermediaries in the new form of Arab government. But

the generational refugee problem and the continuous struggles with Christian administrators left a credibility gap which these same administrators realize they needed to repair. I discovered a statement that I believe reflects this desire for credibility, and that is the "guarantee-declarations" found in the refugee related texts (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1518). In these guarantee declarations Christian terminology is used to affirm that they will not use their protected status as Christians or their ecclesiastical calendar (feast days), to make excuses for non-compliance (Bell & Crum, 1973:452; Papaconstantinou, 2007:364). Another statement that was likely used to affirm the integrity of intent was the oath taken in the name of God: "swearing by the name of God Almighty *(pantokrator)* and the health of them that rule over us, that we will keep and observe, according as we have already written. We have been questioned and have agreed (*homologein*)" (modified trans., Bell & Crum, 1973:452). There are also other references to the Trinity, which are very useful given our proposition of Christological influence (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1540, 1542, 1545, 1569). This is especially revealing when we consider that Trinitarian statements implying Christology were used as a means of communicating integrity to Arab officials.

The above collection of documents also reveals a change in status for monks and monasteries, who were now no longer exempt from taxes, and were held liable in the same system as any other person or estate (e.g. P.Lond.IV.1419, 1434, 1444, 1460, 1552, & 1594). These communities now adjust to this reality by making creative adjustments to meet tax liabilities, for the average monk made rope, mats, and cloth which would normally be insufficient to raise the required revenue for tax demands. Even the upper class would respond in this creativity, for some of the members of the broader community of wealthy land owners and business owners became monks or varied members of the monastic community, which would reduce their own personal burden and make it possible for

monasteries to participate in the tax economy. This could happen by the process of

renouncing one's own property (KSB I 049, Clackson, 1996:36, 224). I interpret these as

indicators of significant fiscal stress for the entire province.

Another indicator of this stress is the management of land and property. As an act of

piety a land owner could donate their property during their lifetime, or as a legacy after

death (e.g. P.KRU 106).   The intent of the pious donation is to facilitate the continued

prayers by the priests before the saints on behalf of the donor, with the hopes of eternal

benefit at the judgement (MacCoull, 2009:171-172). This is useful for our inquiry, for here

material world and the spiritual meet, as the monastery facilitates a loving *agapé*

transaction in order to protect the estate's resources provide utility to the community. The

monastery thus is facilitated in its ability to pay taxes to the state and other requisitions.

A key term that I also believe pointed to a nexus of the material and spiritual is that of

aparché/$\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\eta}$(Coptic: ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲉ). As a word describing the first fruits offered as a tithe

in worship, the term was repurposed to describe tax-rent payments to the monastery

(Clackson, 1996:74). This term became a descriptor of shared tax payments gathered by

monks from both clerical and lay persons. Documented texts showed from these persons

the calculated value of solidi (coins) or goods to be paid for demosion tax payments. The

interpretation if this study is that this was a creative use of language by the clergy to

encourage a sense of Christian compassion with which to share a common burden. It

speaks to social cohesion via a shared Christology allowing a common action in economy.

A vivid indicator of collaboration between the Church and the public in management

of fiscal stress is the donation of children to monasteries. This is an indicator of an iterative

process whereby conscientious Christians are attempting to find a solution when

overwhelmed by the prospect of not being able to provide for the needs of the family, especially when children are chronically ill. As a well-studied phenomenon, scholars consider economics as a large factor in the decision making process for these types of donations, but also interpret the larger narrative as pious manipulation of desperate people (Papaconstantinou, 2002B:526). A common form of these narratives is the event of sickness of the child, for which the parents take them for healing at the shrine of their patron saint. In their gratitude for divine healing given, they promise to donate the child to his service and that of the Church. Yet parents often reconsider this emotional commitment, for in the aftermath of the child's healing the parents decide to keep the child. When the child becomes sick again, the parents interpret this as God's judgement for rebellion, and thus they ask the *Apa* to write up a formal agreement to donate the child (e.g. P.KRU 86, lines 17-32; see Wilfong, 2002:100-101; also P.KRU 96). No parent would trust their child with someone whom they thought did not possess the divine authority to handle the *holy mysteries* of Christ in the sacrament intended to give spiritual and physical life to the community of faith, especially their children. The clear attestation of this authority and validation to handle the "mysteries" is found in the miracle of healing. Therefore, for the purposes of salvation, health, and the continued viability of the community, the Saint and his shrine become a legal and spiritually meaningful narrative with which to resolve the struggles of a difficult life and its fiscal stresses.

4.0 Narrative comparison with the Syrian Palestinian Experience.

This chapter was intended to make a narrative comparison useful to the Egyptian experience, and our comparison began with a critical juncture. The critical juncture of the Syrian/Palestinian experience begins at the battle of Yarmuk in 636. By "critical juncture"

this study is referring to a period or event that brings a new force which changes social direction significantly different than the past (Lange, 2013:75). With the Arab success militarily comes this change, bringing a natural demand for an administrative response. Yet this is iterative in nature, for what is useful for our narrative comparison is the subsequent "sequential force" (as per Lange, Weber), which is the reaction which retains previous administrative factors from the Byzantine past (ibid.). This is the point of view from the perspective of a desire to identify path dependence, as the study is designed to use "ideal-type" narrative comparison. By "ideal-type" I mean a construct employed to describe and compare phenomena, which applied here are Christological ideals that influence civil government rendering a possible rational form of measurable action. The development of Christology in this period indicated a "value-rational" ideal type (Lange, 2013:107; Weber, 1920/2015: Loc. 581-584; Weber, 1978:24-26). As applied to this case, the expressions of Christ's singular nature is expected to produce self-conscious action, such that both the goal and the means of achieving the goal are determined by the actor's values. Value-rational action implies an identifiable ethic produced by a comprehensive world and life view. Path dependence should be understood as those causal factors that can vary in influence over time. In application of this, I propose that the Miaphysite community had more influence than before upon administrative policy and reaction to it during the transition period into Islamic rule because Chalcedonian theology naturally connected itself more to state authority than the Miaphysite one. However, research revealed that this is not necessarily true. Chalcedonians as the existing administrative power maintained their influence well into the Umayyad period, yet it is also true that the majority Miaphysite church found in the regions surrounding the main cities spoke to administrative issues with more force than before, and were allowed an administrative influence.

Syria/Palestine is a geopolitical entity of similar value rational ideal-type as Egypt, because both inherited the late antique Greco-Roman cultural norms and expectations with the above mentioned theological divisions. In order to clarify the influences that distinguish the local development of the rational view of Christology, some sources of those influences were described.

Chalcedon was the required confession for the curial class, civil administrators, and bishops of the state, thus they were in control of the large metropolitan cities with the associated fiscal controls. However, that did not stop the enormous influence of Jacob Baradeus, who was commissioned by Empress Theodora when the Arab Ghassanid King, al Harith ibn Jabah officially requested a Miaphysite bishop for his phylarchy in 541 (Michael the Syrian IX.29, Chabot, 1901: 245-6; Frend, 2008:285; PO 18, Brooks, 1924:6; PO 19, Brooks, 1926:153).   James was from east Syria, and would often be active in this area. But as there was a great dearth of available clergy after the massive purges under Justinian, these eastern areas were desperate for clergy. Large and significant monastic houses were filled with Miaphysite clergy, who became in turn the continued supply of needed priests, monks, and bishops (PO 19, Brooks, 1926:156-158). This 37 year period was fundamental to the development of church division prior to and during the period of the Arab conquest.

This period can also be understood by the term of modifying influence called "neo-Chalcedonian". The term was coined by Joseph Lebon in 1909, and began a movement in scholarship to explore the ways in which both theologian and Emperor attempted to accommodate Cyrillian terms that both could agree to (Allen, 1980:5; Grillmeier, 1995:3, 47, 429, 457). Although Justinian failed, his successors were not deterred in achieving this lofty goal, such as Justin II who began in 566-567 by calling a special Synod to find agreement

between Tritheists and moderate Miaphysites. Baradeus himself was called in to help, and the moderates proposed a compromise, suggesting that if Cyril's 12 anathemas could be Canonized, and the key term "Out of two natures, one" could be agreed to, then perhaps the road to reunion was possible (Michael the Syrian, X.2). No full agreement was accomplished, but another attempt was taken in the following year at Callinicum, which also proved a failure because of the intense emotional distrust. The event recorded by Michael the Syrian is telling, for the Patrician sent to negotiate the terms reminded the Miaphysites of the conciliatory tone taken by Cyril with John of Antioch, but he was met with cynicism and anger (Chabot, 1901:285-287). The event is indicative of a difficult tone in relations between these groups, for flexibility on the part of the Emperor or his representatives is met with heated demands for theological precision.   Because of growing tensions with Persia, the government in Constantinople had limits to its patience and resources, thus the issue is never resolved properly.

As Baradeus is the product of Arabian needs, the Christian Arabs come into the late sixth century picture as earnest healers of division. The key Arab figure of this peacemaking was their King, al-Moundhir, the son of al-Harith (fl. 569-581, d.~602), who became a Miaphysite Phylarch under Justinian. With Baradaeus available, al-Moundhir sought energetically to heal the division between him and the Tritheists and other schismatics who were following various bishops, especially Paul of Antioch (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.36; Frend, 2008:328). As Tiberius II desperately needed the Ghassanid Arabs in his struggle with Persia, he welcome an audience requested by Moundhir in 580 to bring the theologians into agreement (John of Ephesus, HE III, IV.39, 40). It too ended in failure, for though the bishops made an agreement before their Emperor, they needed to convince their respective monks at home of the validity of the action. Yet this idea could not work in practical terms,

for the bishops did not have the actual vested power on the ground in the remote areas of their influence, even though it was an established principle (Rapp, 2013:137, 147, 301). Later al-Moundhir was arrested under false charges of treason, and the Phylarchy was eventually annulled by Maurice in 584, thus removing a valuable ingredient to the prospect of the Oikoumene.

Maurice and Phocas both brought chaos and suffering to the Miaphysite church in Syria, which had its climax in the brutal murder of the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Antioch Anastasius II in 609 (Foss, 2003:157). Syria fell into Persian hands in 611, and much like Egypt the Miaphysites had the opportunity to develop into a more cohesive movement, with the Persians using their community as a point of contact for a unified Christian confession and representation (Thompson, 1999: lxiii; see Frend, 2008:337).

When the Persian period ended in 628, Heraclius achieved almost demi-god status with the return of the "true cross" to Jerusalem. He quickly begins to implement his monenergist policy in Syria as he did Egypt, expecting that his high stature will bring a willingness towards confessional unity. The failure of the project was not a total defeat, for certain groups such as the Maronites accepted the monenergist formula well into the Umayyad period (Tannous, 2014:31). In an open letter to the Miaphysite community of the region, Heraclius attempted to craft language borrowing from Cyril, much like Cyrus was doing simultaneously in Egypt (Michael the Syrian, Chabot, 1901:402-403). His approach is not to attempt a large confessional statement in one event as Cyrus, but rather a more personalized approach, by going to the metropolitan bishops, and significant monastic houses, seeking agreement and asking to be received in Liturgy with them. He seeks a more symbolic union in unified liturgical experience rather than from formal legal demands.   The

response is varied, some resisting him to his face in disallowing him the liturgy, as in Edessa (Chabot, 1901:411). Others would write a full theological treatise in response, such as Miaphysite Patriarch Athanasius, who insisted that any discussion of the two natures after the union must be rejected outright, even though Heraclius is borrowing from Cyril in moderating language to combine the two sides (Chabot, 1901:405-408). Athanasius' careful response also reveals a glaring divide, for the Patriarchs' response is thoughtful theological language which addresses the injuries done in times past as well as full language which defines the single subject of Christ (ibid.). He represents the sentiment in passionate terms of the Miaphysite community in Syria, for the argument is of *akribea*, which is theological accuracy, rather than the perceived political expedience of the Emperor. Mutual agreement requires mutual trust of competency and integrity.

This was the state of affairs when Heraclius bid his famous farewell to Syria. Yet the Arab conquest did not deliver the Miaphysites from their oppressors in the large cities, for the Chalcedonian elites were the ones to negotiate surrender and guide the Arabs into effective administration through a blending of Byzantine and Arab style of bureaucracy.

According to Michael the Syrian (12th century), Christian communities of the different confessions were allowed to keep their respective church properties in the immediate aftermath of the conquest (Chabot, 1901:412-413). Both communities then would be expected to maintain their regional influence in continuity, yet evidence points to interaction if not ongoing proselytizing between groups. What is clear is that the varied groups in Syria were competing for influence and properties under the Umayyad Caliphate. The Maronite Chronicle of ca. 664 records a significant incident in June of 659, where disparate parties seek an audience with Caliph Muʼāωiya in order to settle a dispute (Palmer,

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1993:30). The confessional identities obviously fail to come to respectful terms, and therefore seek the judicial help of the local Muslim authorities. This is also similar to the contemporary Egyptian dynamic. However, in this case the disagreement (and likely violence) is so sharp that the bishops believe that they have lost authoritative control in the matter. Christology has practical application after the Arab conquest, for property and resources are of such significance that these things are fought over with dramatic energy. It would not be a stretch in imagination for the Syrians to suspect that a failure in sacramental worship due to heresy would be connected to political failure. Despite the fact that Muslims have little motive in Christology other than maintaining the public peace it is quite revealing that these Christian communities demand a hearing before the state in order to give the ecclesiastical settlement the force of civil law. This also suggests that despite a new non-Christian regime, the Christian community does not know how to function without the sanction of the state. Further revealing is that the state effectively forces one group to pay for the security of another, so that a level of protection can be assured to the Maronites/Chalcedonians.

The Maronites maintained the monothelite heritage of their famous patron, Heraclius. However, the Empire in its desire to bring a unifying principle to the mystery of Christ's nature eventually developed the "two wills" doctrine in Christ, often called dyothelitism. This theology was developed by Maximus the Confessor but its documented influence in Syria is limited within the scope of our period; therefore, I do not fully develop this aspect of Christology here. Dyothelitism likely was transported into Syria via the annual flow of prisoners from the West that were the result of the yearly naval expeditions of the early Caliphate (Chabot, 1901:492). What I do demonstrate is that it divided the Chalcedonian community and even further mobilized the Miaphysite confession. The

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clearest application of dyothelite application of doctrine is in the liturgy, for Chalcedonian elites adopted that doctrine with its implications and forcibly removed the phrase "who was crucified for us" from the Trishagion hymn. The concern is for "theopaschism", the concept that the divine could suffer. Therefore, the removed phrase indicated to dyothelites that the divine had been properly protected as impassible, and ergo no suffering of the divine Christ would be tolerated in the celebration of the Eucharist. What is intriguing is that both Chalcedonian Monothelites and Miaphysites preferred to keep the phrase, for the theologians in each confession maintained an intellectual distinction which satisfied them that Christ was impassible in his divine nature, ergo his suffering mentioned in worship would not violate that doctrine (Prentice, 1902:82-83, 86; Mouawad, 2003:598).

For the Chalcedonian elites with their new confession in dyothelitism, they have the majority influence with Muslims, and the control of the major cathedrals. They make application of this in Syria, thus exacerbating the local conflict. In the sixth ecumenical council, building on Chalcedon, bishops chose to make a distinction between nature and hypostasis/subsistence (unlike Cyril), so that clear language can be used to define what each nature is and what properly belongs to it (in Christ). The doctrine of 'economic appropriation' is further distinguished as an "economic conversation", so that a nature does things 'proper' to it in such a manner as not to confuse but coordinate. These are further applied to the will as defined in the statement as "natural wills", each belonging to the corresponding nature, thus establishing two wills in Christ as permanent doctrine.

Syrian Miaphysites will ever view themselves as a conservative movement, for in their view, it is Chalcedon and Constantinople that has now departed from Nicea, and not them. They are now in preservation mode, to defend the faith of their spiritual fathers and

every expression faithful to them (Meyendorff, 1993:69-71). Therefore, when 12th century Patriarchal historian Michael the Syrian writes on these events, he is evaluating tensions from this point of view. For him, it is the Mansur family who is to blame for the continued heresy in the Church, as they were the ones who negotiated the surrender of Damascus in 635 and maintained their civil positions. Then as Chalcedonians maintained their power as heresiarchs, they are liable for continued strife. This strife is exemplified in the actions of Sergius ibn Mansur, who in 727 caused another liturgical purge in Syria by once again forcibly modifying the liturgy to fit dyothelite doctrine (Chabot, 1901:492-493). This has implications for methodology, for the "path dependence" of Syria is maintained by the Mansur heritage as they influence the state from the Byzantine model well into the Umayyad period. This power position is more than simple politics, for it has sincere and dramatic motivations in theology, for this family could be expected to act out of a conviction that a Christology should be able to bring about social cohesion that the Muslim Arabs expect from them as administrators.

Yet with serious division in the Church, no cohesion is to be found, for uncivil behavior was to be realized in the major cathedral churches, which required further intervention by the Umayyad government, which further minimized the influence of the bishops. This is illustrated in the recorded experience of Aleppo, where Monothelites and Dyothelites regularly came to fisticuffs in Church, requiring a wall to physically separate them in worship, yet for their efforts disruptions of each liturgy continued (Chabot, 1901:495). The solution finally came from the Emir of the city, who used armed guards at the very altar to insure that there was no disruption of the service. In time the more mature of the respective communities realized that this was a shameful condition; therefore, the cathedral was ceded to the dyothelites.

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Another use of force to compel cohesion was in the events brought by one Theophylact, the Caliph's Goldsmith turned Patriarch. Via a military contingent he attempted to force Maronites into conformity, yet physical abuse failed in intended effect (Chabot, 1901:511).   The evidence is not clear that the Caliphate had a particular understanding that Chalcedonian confession would bring social cohesion. However, what should be possible to identify in our inquiry is the idea that bishops with a particular conviction had a value in the fiscal administration of the Syrian region, which requires a level of civic cooperation. Based on the observed patterns of behavior, I proposed that civil peace and order brought by a unifying Christology was assumed to enhance tax collection and the efficient management of central and local government.

The evidence for this is indirect through the use of numismatics. Bishops were part of the fiscal administration prior to the conquest and afterwards, and thus were active in the distribution and iconography of coin production (Haldon, et al., 2010:27). Their influence on the Christian themes of coins remained until the 680's, when the "standing Caliph" coins were minted, showing significant changes that could indicate that the Christian clergy was progressively removed from the process (Haldon, et al., 2010:28; Johns, 2003:429-30). But the coins did not yet reflect public adjustment, for the first purely Muslim themed coins were rejected because of their lack of an iconographic cross (Palmer, 1993:31-32). The cross was a direct connection to the whole singular acting Christ for social, sacerdotal, and even miraculous power and would have been a glaring obvious reality from the Patriarch to the peasant in the remotest village. This phenomena also is not in isolation, for their immediate Christian neighbor to the West was using the medium of coins to project spiritual and political success in an age of loss (Grierson, 1999:389; Philips & Goodwin, 1997:81; Olster, 1991:171).).

There is extant documentary evidence for bishops and higher clergy handling the fiscal system within the near Syrian context of Palestine. These texts are taken from churches in Nessana (P.Ness) which include both literary (Miaphysite educational), and documentary (administrative, ecclesiastical) texts. The Greek and Arabic texts reveal an extended network of family, church, and state relations, all connected via the nexus of the church, which maintained policy and kept the records and scribes to write them. In the texts of P.Ness.3.55, 56 we find an entire family of civil servants who are also ordained clergy, for they travel to the capital of the district to make an accounting of the necessary administrative bureaucracy and also assure compliance to state laws in their own village.

These texts also reveal similar tax categories to what we have in Egypt, such as the *epikephalia*, which is the poll tax, and *demosia*, which was locally understood and applied as a land tax (P.Ness.3.559; Kraemer, 1958:173).   Other studies of these tax records have revealed a progressive tax system according to social status, which is also similar to the Egyptian model (el-Abbadi, 1992:471).   What is surprising is that the archpriest (Hegoumenos) Sergius was given the significant responsibility of paying 37 ½ solidi for the land tax, for he had been entrusted as the new owner of land holding previously held by the Bani War, an Arabic tribe that was transitioning from pastoralism into the settled life of the ruling class (P.Ness.3.58; Ruffini, 2011:214).   The governor seems to have respect and trust that ranking clergy will be faithful to manage the tax burden, as Sergius also seems to be endowed with the title Dioikētēs (Mayerson, 1989:286).

A key finding of this research is the implied fiscal and emotional stress of both comparative tax systems. This is indicated in Nessana in a protest letter organizing individuals of the district to collectively appeal in person before the governor in Gaza

(P.Ness.3.75). What I find in contrast to the Egyptian experience is that the land owners, which would have included clergy, have the sense of confidence to personally ask the governor from task relief. Egypt had its two main secretaries of Miaphysite persuasion to be the representatives of public plight, who themselves were in a high social ranking, but here it is the average landowner along with Miaphysite clergy who appeals.

Another representative role is observed in the life of Theodūṭē (Theodotus), a mobile priest on the extreme north end of Syria. At the time of his life and ministry the border is fluid as it is a constant battle zone between the Caliphate and Constantinople. What his relationships and work reveal is a community that is distant from Muslim Arab rule, and very mixed in its Christian identity. This is different than Nessana, with its established churches and cathedral which clearly show a settled Miaphysite influence. Theodotus is a traveling Miaphysite monk who eventually becomes bishop of Amid, and through his travels we learn that North Syria at this time is a mixture of confessional belief. In his traversing the boundaries between Arab and Roman rule, we have signals of a culture adjusting to the Caliphate while expressing their confessional differences in a pragmatic way.

Theodūṭē comes into conflict with the realities of Arab administration through the expansion of their tax system into the poorer regions of Syria. In this interaction he becomes a voice for the poor, and as the recognized *holy man* the public expects not only his political influence but his spiritual power to affect change. As his biography is hagiography, Theodūṭē prays at a shrine dedicated to Mary, the *Theotokou*, so naturally this spiritual power wins the day (Palmer, 2006:111-113). The very place of the incarnation is revered as the very place of all solution.

Regardless of his spiritual power his letter writing influence and travels revealed the nervous angst of the Muslim Arab frontier. For he was arrested and charged by the Arabs as a spy for the Romans, for he had no fear of crossing the border in order to minister to the refugees of any identity. His interactions with the Romans was revealed in his letters, and so more of his character is revealed through the suffering and victory among the Arabs (Palmer, 2006:124-125). Now as a respected bishop, recognized by all, he is allowed a combined religious and civil role. In this position he is expected to mediate the varied faith expressions and their interactions with an expanding tax system.

We finish our journey in Syria with the Church Canons written by Jacob of Edessa (d. 708). As a contemporary of Theodūṭē, he desires a theological faithfulness among his Miaphysite flock, desiring a separatist commitment in a society which pragmatically collaborates in surprising ways. The Canons are designed to keep the faithful distinct, but social realities reveal to Jacob that his people do whatever it takes to survive on the frontier. The Canons also reveal what the actual stresses are and where compromises are most likely to take place. As a form for catechesis Jacob is answering practical questions of a culture under the stress of change and a poor economy. What the Canons show is that his people want to widely collaborate for resources and friendship. Jacob is frustrated for not only do priests mingle with those of a different confession, but that they also attempt a relational comfort with the Muslim Arabs as well. Jacob especially sees this aspect of adjusting to Muslim Arab influence as the consequences for sin, thus with this fundamental shift in reality, the Canons are almost impossible to follow (Nau, 1906:60-61). The Christian may have an individual confessional tradition but of perceived necessity interacts with every other social distinction, because the whole social fabric is being transformed by a third influence. This admixture I believe adds to a tense daily life, causing many to question the

practical value of the primary tenants of their faith in practice. Therefore, in a time of insecurity, I discern a measurement of that in the willingness to closely cooperate with contrary Christology even to the point of a conscious ignorance of it.

What is not ignored by the bishops are the implications theologically for the Eucharist, but despite disciplinary warnings from both Theodūṭē and Jacob they appear to go unheeded (Nau, 1906:63; Tannous, 2013:96). Jacob did not have the authority of a Christian Emperor to administer discipline in order to enforce canon law. The one instrument at his disposal was sacramental. If one was "interdicted" from taking the Eucharist, a level of influence might be achieved.   All Christian confessions of this period were fully convinced of the spiritual efficacy and necessity of the Lord's Table in a realist sense. Jacob had some reason to hope that his fellow priests would take his warnings seriously and obey his directives (Tannous, 2013:96). The Eucharist had powerful significance in being able to communicate spiritual life and sustain continued vital connection and identity with the singular union that is Christ. It was well understood that the sacraments were by necessity to be administered through the spiritual authority of the bishop, therefore, close spiritual identity between priest and bishop were vital. In the following conclusion and analysis of findings I will draw together the theology of the Eucharist with the action of an Egyptian public.

5.1 Results and Analysis [part 1]: The Coptic Connection between Theology and Economy.

The previous sections have been explorations of literary and documentary evidence of human evidence of action in an attempt to connect Christology to practice. These sections have been purposefully divided into separate narrative/literary and documentary distinctions, in the hope of constructing a bridge between the two and identifying a value rational type. Construction of this bridge requires much more than the positioning of simple acquisition and use of the material world. Rather, we need to point to the subjective valuations which served as the motives for human action. And during this period, one of the most important valuations, as supremely needful things for spiritual vitality, are the sacraments, a key, recurring theme.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the institution given by Christ in which the new covenant with man was to be inaugurated and thus restoring us to fellowship with God, is commonly called the Eucharist in scholarly literature. Therefore, I have used this term frequently as I interact with that vein of thought. Yet the more common terms for the sacrament during this period of time, is "mysteries" or "blessing" (Maxwell, 2015:Loc. 13865), for the entire experience in the sacrament is indeed a revealed mystery, as the very essence of the Union in Christ is understood as ineffable mystery with perceived benefits, thus a true blessing. Several texts that I have referenced above have shown that this mystery is a *vital* one for this sacrament was understood in our research context as essential for continued living, both spiritual and physical (pp. 33, 55, 60, 83, 122, 203, 213, 289, 294, 314).

5.1.1 Cyril's Incarnational Application

The Christological construct expressed by Cyril of Alexandria is of significance at this point, for he carefully connected Christology into its practical use for the Eucharist (Welch, 1994:5). Both Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian groups claimed to be his faithful followers in doctrine. Therefore, he is a valuable starting point for our objective here. As a practical application of thought this should be useful for our inquiry, for the Miaphysite believer considered the Eucharist the vital reality to their individual and group existence (MacCoull, 2011:XVI.3).

Cyril's starting point is 'deification', or *Theosis*, a doctrinal practice that was developed by Gregory of Nazianzus (Kharlamov, 2006:1; see Gregory's Oration XXI, 2, NPNF2-07:413). "Theosis", often expressed as 'divinization' or 'deification' refers to participation in the divine glory and the process of becoming ever more like Christ, particularly through prayer, meditation and worship, especially the Eucharist experience. Cyril's term for this was *theopoiesis*, in order to indicate our access to the divine nature in a communion of life, but not an actual mixture of substance (Russell, 2003:Loc. 397)[50]. He also chose this term because he wanted to express his thinking in Biblical and Patristic terms rather than Origenist, philosophical terms. (Iskander, 2009:24). For Cyril, the meaning of this term is expressed as 'partakers of the divine nature' (2 Peter 1.4), which he applies to

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[50] According to Russell, "The verb *theopoiou* is not used in philosophical contexts. It expresses the bringing about of a change in the believer by Christ, a promotion from the fallen condition of humanity to a state freed from subjection to death. Christ's teaching is all-sufficient. … *theopoiesis* is therefore fundamentally a product of Christian discipleship. This is because to be deified is to attain immortality, and immortality is not an innate human characteristic but a gift from God. It does not come about through the realization of the essential self, as in Platonism, but is granted as a result of fidelity to the teaching of Christ and his Church (2004:191)."

sanctification and the sacraments (Davis, 2008:39). Cyril applies the concept of theopoiesis in his exegesis of Christ's claim (John 6.36), "I am the bread of life"….

> What then is Christ promising? Nothing corruptible; rather, he is promising that blessing in the *participation* of his holy body and blood, which raise a person completely to incorruptibility so that they need none of the provisions that drive away the death of the flesh. I am referring here to food and drink. Next it seems that in this passage he calls either the sanctification by the Spirit or the divine and Holy Spirit himself "water." This designation is often used in the Holy Scriptures. The holy body of Christ then gives life to those whom it enters and preserves them to incorruptibility when it is mixed with our bodies. After all, it is understood to be the body of none other than him who is life by nature. It has in itself the full power of the Word, who is united to it. It is endowed with the Word's qualities, as it were, or rather it is filled with his activity by which all things receive life and are kept in existence (Cyril of Alexandria, Commentary on John 6:35; trans. Maxwell, 2013:212-213).

In the controversies that marked Cyril's day, it was necessary to think carefully what he means by the incorruptible flesh of Christ "mixing" with our bodies (τοῖσ ἡμετέροισ ἀνακιρνάμενον σώμασι). This term he used for mixing was used by the Stoics to denote what happens to the physical properties of two wet substances, yet here we are speaking of the glorified flesh of Christ interacting with our own corrupted body (Chadwick, 1951:161). Cyril finds this concept so important that he finds other opportunities to say it via other helpful analogies:

> And the Savior himself says, "Those who eat my flesh and drink my blood abide in me, and I in them." Here one may especially see that Christ says that he will be in us not by a mere relation understood in terms of disposition but by a natural participation. If one combines one piece of wax with another and melts them both with fire, one piece is made from both. In the same way, by participation in the body of Christ and his precious blood, we are united

so that he is in us, and we are in him (Cyril on Jn. 15:1, trans. Maxwell, 2015: Loc. 6712-6716).

Yet it would not be accurate to say that Cyril is borrowing a Stoic idea, but only appropriating a term to convey a unique meaning, and that is what he precisely does when describing what the Sacramental transaction is in John 6:51ff.[51] The power and activity ('*energeia*') (mentioned in reference to Jn. 6:35) involved here to receive life, is the same power rooted and grounded in the incarnation, for by partaking of his flesh the believer was also receive its life giving power. Yet for Cyril Christ's flesh only has this power because of its ineffable union with the Logos/Word:

> Since the life-giving Word of God has taken up residence in the flesh, he has transformed it so that it has his own good attribute, that is, life. And since, in an ineffable mode of union, he has completely come together with it, he has rendered it life-giving, just as he himself is by nature. For this reason, the body of Christ gives life to those who participate in it. His body drives out death when that body enters those who are dying, and it removes decay since it is fully pregnant with the Word who destroys decay (Cyril, Jn. 6:51ff, trans. Maxwell, 2013:232).

What it means to be "fully pregnant with the Word" is an analogy that needs to be explored further, but suffice it to say here that that this is an attempt to unite God and mankind in order to give him life without diminishing the divine essence by confusing it with our physical substance (Cyril also uses similar language in reference to knowledge of this in reference to Jn. 17:3, see Maxwell, 2015:Loc. 8459). Cyril desires for his flock to place full

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[51] According to Davis, in his commentary on John Cyril uses three different terms for "mixing" "mingling" of our bodies with Christ: (1) *anakerannumi*/ἀνακεράννυμι, (2) *anamignumi*/ἀναμίγνυμι (along with its base noun form, *hē mixis*/ἡ μίξισ and (3) *anaphurw*/ἀναπηύρω. e.g. John 3:6, 4:2, 6:56 (2008:45 n.226).

trust in the very Logos as the source of life in Christ to become their own in the sacrament. In order to clarify what he means by "life", he further defines it as a transformation of our own body, for in the act of participation believers have received divine immortality, a more full participation of life itself. It should be further added that this participation is not analogical or metaphorical, for in Cyril's mind the act of eating the sacrament is a 'realistic' physical experience for the one who takes the elements in faith:

> And since the flesh of the Savior has become life-giving (in that it has been united to that which is by nature life, namely, the Word from God), when we taste of it, then we have life in ourselves, since we too are united (συνενούμενοι) to that flesh just as it is united to the Word who indwells it (Maxwell, 2013:236; see Davis, 2008:44).

One must ask at this point if the transformation of our body due to the physical union with Christ is merely a physical change. Cyril answers no, for our souls, which are united to our bodies, have been "re-created" into newness of life by the Holy Spirit in Baptism, thus equipping us for this exchange (Russell, 2003:Loc. 375-384, 576; see also Cyril's Commentary on John 3:6, Maxwell, 2013:98). In other words, once we have been recreated by the Sprit in Baptism, we are then able to partake of Christ's body. To put it in another form, our soul with flesh is transformed via this exchange into the incorruptible divine properties of immortality. Yet at no time is this separated from a physical dimension. In further application of this idea this even intersects with the doctrine of Sanctification, which means more than simply moral change, and then in consequence this aspect is applied to our participation with incorruption (Maxwell, 2013:212, 232, 239). The sacrament should then be seen as a viable tool in the process of sanctification:

…Satan, I think, when he wants to lay siege to the human soul, goes to the weak part of it, thinking to overthrow it easily in this way, especially when he sees it receiving no assistance by which the passion would likely be defeated, like noble emotions, provocations to courage, suggestions of devotion and the mystical blessing (Eucharist). This most of all is the effective antidote to the murderous poison of the devil (Cyril on Jn. 13:26-27, trans. Maxwell, 2015: Loc. 4253-4257).

A further definition must be given in Cyril's thought of what it means to be incorruptible, for this transformation cannot be confused with a mere abstract thought, as "*theoria*", for physical contact with Christ is vital for Cyril:

And if through the mere touch of his holy flesh he gives life to that which has decayed, how will we not gain the life-giving blessing more richly when [531] we also taste the blessing. After all, he will surely transform those who participate in the blessing so that they will have his own good attribute, that is, immortality (Commentary on John, 4.2, trans. Maxwell, 2013:236-237).

He makes the above *realistic* connection as a result of his exegesis of the resurrection experience of the Widow of Nain (Jn. 7:11-16), and Jairus' daughter (Jn. 8:41-56). His reasoning is that if Christ can bring new life into the dead by merely touching their funeral bier or their hand, then in similar fashion when we consume the sacramental elements we also should experience resurrection power.

Cyril also applies this concept on another Sanctification related, practical level. If indeed a believer receives immortal physical life as a result of their experience in the Eucharist, can this also extend to everyday emotional troubles and temptations? For Cyril, the answer is a profound yes:

> Moreover, the human qualities were active in Christ in a profitable way, not that having been set in motion they should prevail and develop further, as is the case with us, but that having been set in motion they should be brought up short by the power of the Word, nature having first been transformed in Christ into a better and more divine state. For it was in this way and in no other that the mode of healing passed over into ourselves too (Cyril on Jn. 8, trans. Russell, 2003:Loc. 2117-2120).

This particular context of 'healing' above develops the usefulness of the sacrament to counter Satanic and Demonic attacks on our passions, thus hampering our growth in maturity. 'Healing' then in this context is understood as the sacramental power of Christ to bring further obedience in faith.

For Cyril the greatest significance of the Eucharist is its clear relationship to the Incarnation, for in performing the sacrament believers have a new experience of it in sacramental worship. If Christ's flesh is consumed in the sacrament, then the doctrine to comprehend this reality must not be mistaken. If flesh has the power thus assigned to it in sacrament then the careful doctrine of Christ's divine immutability must be delineated, for it communicates power from itself to give life but does not diminish or confuse with human substance. If according to John 6:53, "unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life left in you" is understood in a realistic way, then it is upon Cyril to protect the relationship to the divine so as not to diminish Christ's divinity as it communicates its power to his flesh. This is precisely why the specific Union within the Incarnation must be a "true" one. The nature of this "true union" was the heart of his controversy with Nestorius, for this Patriarch insisted that in the sacrament we only consume the mere flesh of Christ, so as to protect His Divinity from change in the sacrament (ACO I.1.6 83-84, see Davis, 2008:48). To this Cyril responds:

The Word descended into the human world in order to raise it up to the life of God. Participation in the divine life is the purpose of the sacraments. And without the deifying power of the Word they are emptied of their efficacy: 'If you detach the life-giving Word of God from the mystical and true union with the body and separate them entirely, how can you prove that it is still life-giving" (Contra Nestorius, ACO I.1.6:84, trans. Russell, 2003:Loc. 857-860).

If there is no truly divine power of deification in the sacrament, then it is a worthless ritual and Christianity has been reduced to Paganism. But if true, then how exactly can one say that the divine is present in such a manner as to bring true life to the participant? Cyril answers thus:

> The body of the Word himself is life-giving, since he has made it his own by a real union transcending our understanding and powers of expression. In a similar way, if we too come to participate in his holy flesh and blood, we are endowed with life completely and absolutely, because the Word dwells within us, both in a divine way through the Holy Spirit and in a human way through the holy flesh and the precious blood (Contra Nestorius, 4.5, ACO I.1.6:85, trans. Russell, 2003:Loc. 861-864).

If believers are to experience spiritual change, then they must partake of the Spirit and Body of Christ. If this is true, then the individual is raised to a new level of being by the active pursuit in participation with the divine, but not in a Gnostic sense, for that is why he chooses the specific term '*theopoiesis*'. For Cyril, Christ must then be a single subject in our encounter with him in sacrament, for the Union must be of a type that can effectively transmit the power of life from him to us.

If all the above is true, then can we expect a practical expression of this in everyday life (including taxes?)? Cyril was apparently concerned with this when he rebuked those who hesitated to come to the table of the Lord because of persistent sins in weakness:

> …someone might say. 'But it is written: "Anyone who eats of the bread and drinks of the cup unworthily, eats and drinks judgement upon himself' (cf. 1 Cor. 11:29). I have examined myself and I see that I am not worthy.' But then when will you be worthy? My response would be: 'When will you present yourself to Christ? If you are always going to be afraid of falling—"For who can discern his faults," as the holy Psalmist says (Ps. 18:12 LXX)—and you will end up totally bereft of a share in saving sanctification.' Make up your mind, then, to lead a more devout life in conformity with the law, and so partake of the Eucharist in the conviction that it dispels not only death but even the diseases that are in us (cf. 1 Cor. 11:30). For when Christ has come to be within us he lulls to sleep the law that rages in the members of flesh. He rekindles our reverence towards God, while simultaneously causing the passions to atrophy (Cyril Commentary on John, Ch. 4.2 re: 6:56, trans. Russell, 2003:Loc. 2096-2104).

Cyril's pastoral concern is that communicants do not neglect the sacrament when they sin, for sinfulness will always be present. He wants them to understand that by ignoring the sacrament, further ability to repent and amend one's lifestyle is diminished. This gives us a basis that his application of Christology has implications for financial decisions and thus economic activity, for the Eucharist could be considered by the average believer as a motive for action in making ethical financial decisions with personal strength of character.

5.1.2 Severus of Antioch and the Spiritual Via Media

In continuity with Cyril, we have the next most significant influence in the Miaphysite view of the Sacrament, Severus of Antioch. A self-proclaimed follower of Cyril and refugee to Egypt, he is a natural next step toward a practical Christology.

> For a long time we have wanted to partake of the **Holy Mysteries**. Set our city free from the Council of Chalcedon! Anathematize now this (council) which has turned the world (upside down)! Anathematize now the council of the distorters (of the faith)! The cursed Council of Chalcedon! The cursed Tome of Leo! Let all the bishops anathematize (it) now! Who will not do so is a wolf and not a shepherd (Ps. Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chron.:13-14, trans. Witakowski; see Hayward & Allen, 2004:11).

The above acclamations were the greeting that Severus, the named candidate for Patriarchal See of Antioch, heard upon his entry into the city, 6th November, 512 (Hayward & Allen, 2004:11). This illustrates the frustration, agitation, and anticipation of an anti-Chalcedonian fervor in the early sixth century, and the specific sacramental focus of the public. Severus represented a hope to fulfill a deep desire for the practical benefits expected of the Eucharist. Despite the perceived need of the Syrian public, their realization would not hold for long, for Severus was removed from office after only six years. His exile into Egypt is what is helpful for our study, for his constant moving among Miaphysite monasteries in remote Egypt gives us the background for his potential influence in Egypt regarding the Sacraments.

As a theologian who was well connected in the empire he had the opportunity to write to both clergy and laity, and in one instance he lays out clearly his view of the Sacrament of Communion (varied form to describe the Eucharist). This is found in an extant

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letter which is a response to the request for a given birth name of a new son, and also a request for the consecrated elements of the Sacrament to be sent to the parents, in turn to be administered to the boy by the local priest. In this letter to Ammanius & Epagathus, Severus responds in a manner not quite expected:

> …you ask that from my humble self, communion (that is to say, the oblation) be sent to you: how is it that this matter is not good, and one which provokes Christ our Redeemer and our God? For it is necessary to send it to those who are entirely destitute of divine communion, for when the faith is one, the holy communion also is certainly one, and not a thing other and different, even if one of the priests who offers has a heavenly and exalted way of life, while another has one which is low and wretched. For it is not the man himself who offers the sacrifice, but Christ confects it by means of the formula (lit. "daughter of the voice") of the one who is offering, and changes bread into the flesh and the chalice into blood by the power of his Spirit and inspiration and grace (SL 111.2:262-7, trans. Hayward & Allen, 2004:148-150).

This is consistent behavior of the clergy since the conclusive response of the fathers of the Church in the days of the Donatist controversy, where it was affirmed that the spiritual integrity of the priest had no effect on the legitimacy of the sacrament (re: Edict of Unity, 405; Cardman, 2013:27, 30). Here in application of the unity of Christ in one hypostatic union, the efficacy of the sacrament is the same whether it is administered by himself or the local priest. He goes even further in the letter to clarify this principle through Biblical analogy, that of the experience of the prophet Elijah (1 Kings 17:1-7). As Elijah was given bread by unclean Ravens (Lev. 11:14), so-called unclean priests will not affect negatively the spiritual effect desired by the parents of the child. Priests are "nonetheless intermediaries through whose hand the divine food is given and committed to us (Hayward

& Allen, 2004:149)." He further comments that the negligence or weakness of the priest have no effect on the nourishment of the sacrament when the faith of those receiving it is 'Orthodox' (Miaphysite). Severus claimed that he was influenced by Gregory of Nazianzus, and the above argument is similar to his oration on Baptism (Hayward & Allen, 2004:149, p.50:n. 20; Or. 40.26, see Schaff, 1893, NPNF2-07:553).

There are extant manuscripts (CPG 7078) of liturgical prayers in Coptic that are attributed to Severus, and thus show his influence in practice (Youssef, 2008). Brightman translates the full form of a Severan liturgy which reveals an application of Christology that was prescient in Cyril but more plainly stated here, in that because of a 'realist' physical presence of Christ's body there is also a physical efficacy in healing as well as an aid to obedience:

> Master Lord Jesus Christ, eternal Son and Word of the spotless Father, of one substance with the Holy Ghost for to thou art the living bread which came down from heaven and didst aforetime make thyself a lamb without spot for THE LIFE OF THE WORLD I pray and beseech thy goodness, O lover of man, [] MAKE THY FACE TO SHINE UPON this bread, []and upon this cup, which we have set upon this thy priestly table : [] bless them, [] sanctify them, [] hallow them and change them, [], that this bread may become indeed thine holy body, [] and the mixture in this cup indeed thy precious blood. And may they become to us all for participation and healing and salvation of our souls and bodies and spirits…(1896:148).

One will notice that the language of this prosthesis prayer over the elements is more direct in relation to the substantive change of the bread and wine into the realistic presence of Christ. The purpose of this physical presence is also stated more clearly in three specific applications. First, for purposes of participation, that is, Theosis/Theopoiesis, the physical presence equips one for sanctification, as we saw developed by Cyril above. Secondly,

physical healing has become a practical application, for if there is a physical presence in power to unite us to Christ for spiritual transformation, it is not a large leap in logic to apply it to physical healing (Davis, 2008:90). Thirdly, it is applied directly for the eternal salvation, for that is applied to the full human, both soul and body, and is considered a "nourishment" to maintain and develop the faith of the believer, similar in concept to the letter discussed above. When the faith of the believer is strengthened, then applied obedience in every day financial activities is to be expected.

5.2 Results and Analysis: [Part 2]: Das Mitte: The Subtle Influence of Subordinationism

Since the beginning of this research I have had the suspicion that there was hidden in some place a key to unlock the apparent disconnect between theology and practice. I have not found a tract, treatise, sermon, tax register or missive which provides detailed exposition by the Christian community, of any economic reasons for compliance with the demands of their Muslim conquerors (By no means will I claim that I have exhausted the available data in order to make such a statement, simply a reasonable statistical sampling of available data). As rational creatures – creatures who act in order to achieve selected ends, or goals – humans will act in accordance with subjective valuations, grounded upon presuppositions, even if they do not, or cannot, state these presuppositions. Ergo early Chalcedonian Pagarchs or regional leadership appropriated the legal authority of the Caliphate just as they did the Emperor to insure economic favor and viability. But the overwhelming expression in the country was Miaphysitism, which for over a hundred years was collectively an independent subsystem desperately wanting to be a legitimate recognized part of the Oikoumene. As an "outsider" group, I expected some expression to lend itself well to an economic thought process. Yet, this naturally leads to the question,

"How did vestiges of Ceasaropapism still come to the surface if the Byzantine "Vicar of Christ" on earth was no longer actively ruling in a country that was culturally trained in the expectations of the Oikoumene?"

In order to provide an answer I have decided to bring out an old classification long since dealt with in the 4th century, that of Subordinationism. However in this case of the seventh and eighth centuries, Subordinationism of the being or nature of Christ in some derived form out of the essence of the Father was not a hot issue as it was in the days of Origen or Arius. Origen was especially laid to rest by Nicea, but for relational and political reasons Justinian put the last nails in the coffin of this heresy in fifth council of 553 (Grillmeier, 1995:393-395). If it is not part of the contemporary debate, then why use it as an evaluative tool?

The answer lies I believe in the logical dichotomy of the nature vs. grace relationship. Nature and grace must be submitted to categorization and relation if they are to be understood as subjects of God's sovereignty. One will be compared and contrasted against the other in relation to the unity and diversity understood in the person and work of Christ, for the argument for centuries is a long pursuit of maintaining His unity in divine essence while striving for a connection in activity to His diverse operations in communicating grace in and to nature. I believe that what we are observing is an attempt to abstract Nature and Grace, yet continuous argument has been observed conceptualizing that abstraction in application to the substance of reality, with the implication from which to respond in human action. As Christ is understood in relation to humanity, then action in response to the relation between nature and grace will be inevitable. Subordinationism is not only an

ontological issue within the Trinity, for it can be understood and used in the realm of the created order ('nature' in this sense) in its relationship to grace (divine gift).

Earlier when the study described Justinian's concept of the Oikoumene, I referenced his Novella 6 (April, 535), where he claimed that because God loves the human race he has given the great gifts of the sacred/priestly office and Imperial power (Meyendorff, 1968:48, see also, Krueger, 1929:11). It should be noted here that in his mind he is not thinking in terms of two spheres collaborating, but as two parts of a singular cohesive human race. In so doing nature and grace are held as equal values to be held in equilibrium via the inspired wisdom of the Emperor as "Vicarius Christi". In much the same way as Miaphysitism sees the single person of Christ possessing a single divine-human nature, the single person of the Emperor possesses divine-human prerogatives, prerogatives which are sacerdotal (divine/grace) and political (human/nature). Later Western applications of this idea would separate the two.

However, Justinian believes that he can bring them into harmony, or, as he prefers to call it, "Symphony". (ibid.). As a gracious gift from God to the 'nature' of human existence Justinian places the burden upon himself to create a Canon law that the church and its members must abide by. In essence what has happened is a Subordination of spiritual power (Grace) to the state (Nature), for he has usurped the pastoral and Canonization role of the Patriarch and his clergy by placing the Christian masses under his care. Justinian goes further in 545 in applying this idea by decree legally making the Patriarch of Constantinople the second only to Rome in matters of Church precedence and authority (Meyendorff, 1968:49 n.5). In so doing he affirms that legal authority of the Church to bind matters of conscience were now matters of the State. However, Justinian

deserves some credit for realizing later in life that the unity/symphony attempted through the mechanism of the state was failing, and thus he called for the fifth ecumenical council 553. It is a tacit statement that fundamental issues of doctrine and life ultimately would be handled by the Church, but that these also needed the resources of the state to effectively apply Canon law.

This would be meaningless to our research if it were not for the consistent actions of the Egyptian clergy to seek out State sanction, even under abusive situations. They might be at theological odds with the Emperor up to and including the time of the Arab conquest, but they choose to act consistently with their Statist legal framework, a framework in which, in true Miaphysite fashion, the human and divine are combined but not confused in a single person. It is clear that the neo-Chalcedonians and Miaphysites saw tremendous value in continuing dialogue and maintaining hope of unity, for a Christian State presumed such.

There are some extant documents of Ostraca and Papyri from the late sixth and early seventh century that Crum and Brightman published in 1902 that I believe are pertinent to this discussion of the divinized-state. A recurring phrase used in these texts is, "This is the word of God to you." (p. 21, [107] n. 2). The phrase is designed to communicate both authority and the language of certainty. In several of these texts, the representative of the government employs this phrase to assure a citizen of their personal or fiscal security. For example, the Lashane, or village headman in text #108 (ca. 605) of this corpus affirms:

> Lo, (here is) the word of God (Coptic: ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉ) to thee, Marcus ... , that
>
> thou enter into thy house and go northward (or) southward 2 and we will not permit any evil
>
> to reach I thee ; for on no account this year…tremis (coin, 1/3 of a Solidus). For thy security I

have set forth this trustworthy 'Logos' (Word). "And if I forsake this 'Logos' God shall forsake me." (trans. Crum, 1902:21 [108], II:24).

This apparently is the ruling of a village headman regarding some type of fiscal responsibility to this district (chora), and this record legally affirms that Marcus' family is no longer under liability for this. As this legal statement is "the Word of God", it affirms the idea that the power of the State is divine and extends even to the least member of the Oikoumene. Significant as a divine sanction by the State to the citizen is that, in the course of making such a declaration, the government agent proclaims a self-maledictory oath, for as the State is declaring that it has the right to give realization to the divine, it can in nowise fail to fulfill its liabilities.

In another text of this corpus, similar in scope to the Monastic financial arrangements described by Clackson earlier, we have the record of a priest, Apa Victor, planning for future taxes via the farming of one Jacob:

> I authorize thee to sow for me the ploughed field in the property I of Eponychus and hand to me the value of its taxation in (the month of) Paone, namely, 3 artabas of corn. […lines 6-8 are obscure] ... and that I deliver them at thy house, while […] Lo, (here is God's) word to thee (trans. Crum, 1902, 22 [206], II:39).

Apa Victor uses the same language as the State agent in order to affirm his genuine and sincere commitment to Jacob that he will be allowed to use a specific field, and that the lease payment in part is purposed for tax payments, implying that Jacob is allowed to keep some produce for himself. As the State is the partial beneficiary of this agreement, it is completed with an oath of divine sanction, as the very "word of God" to the farmer that both are held accountable to.

The above concepts of the divine state and textual indicators need to be extended into our period of post conquest management. The Miaphysite expression in post conquest Egypt appears not to have a vested interest in aggressively defining their legal relation to the state, and thus willingly work within that structure, accepting suffering if that is part of the process. If there is resistance, it is mostly passive, thus the research findings in the tax refugee problem and in child donations to monasteries.

In active engagement, the pious Miaphysite members of the curial class saw Benjamin I as the rightful Bishop in Egypt and shortly after the conquest seek to have him recognized by the Arab governor. This illustrates a pattern of revolving, or alternating Muslim Arab favor and disfavor which is almost constantly played out in the drama displayed in the primary source material found in the History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Evetts, PO I and PO V). A relative détente or equilibrium is reached during the days ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwan (685-705), who appears to have a sense of cooperative trust in his Miaphysite secretaries, and reaches the apex of this relationship when he becomes the final authority to determine a Patriarch. In these cases it is the Miaphysite clergy defining the relative health of the church in terms of their contemporary relationship to the state. Jones also makes careful observation in diachronic comparison of the relative passiveness in which Egyptian Christians respond to their political government. If they react in violence at all it is because of their commitment to their Patriarch, which is likely of sacerdotal concern (1959:286-290).

Yet one still needs to answer the question of why does the relationship between nature and grace function in the post conquest Egypt in this way? I believe that the answer is found in Miaphysite Christology. Benjamin I and subsequent Patriarchs clearly saw

themselves in a Severan/Theodosian mold, and therefore in this view it is valid to place a Severan argument here for the purposes of evaluating the consequences of an idea. With that in mind one should focus on the Miaphysite perspective of a singular acting state of the incarnate Christ. As a rigorously singular subject who acts, it is necessary to identify the human nature which acts within the unity, that is, *en sunthesei*/ἐν συνθέσει, meaning 'in synthesis' of the divine and human natures. Severus resolves human action from within the incarnation via his distinctive application of operation/activity contemplated '*in theoria*': "One is the agent (energon/ἐνεργῶν), one is the activity (*energeia*/ἐνέργεια), but the works are varied, what is done by the activity" (Mansi, X, col. 1116-7, trans. Meyendorff, 1987:42-43). This quote is taken from one of his letters to Sergius the Grammarian, and in another letter to the same he states work/operation in a more direct way:

> Thus one also sees Immanuel [as one sees the builder] for the one who acts is one –this is the Word of God Incarnate-and the operation is one efficient cause, but the things done are different…Thus let no man separate the Word from the flesh, and thus he cannot divide or separate the operations (First letter to Sergius, CSCO Vol. 119:83, trans. Chestnut, 1976:31).

The acting agent in perfect unity must also do varied works via a single energy/activity into the respective categories of work, both divine and human. Yet no action taken by Christ was ever alone in the incarnated Logos, which begs the question, is a human nature without an identifiable full human energy truly human? This has implications for human action as well as salvation.

The issue emanating from the Severan "synthesis" of the human and divine in Christ, is not that it fails to recognize the two natures, but what this implies for human action in the life of the Egyptian Christian. The activities emphasized by the theologians of this period are

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very telling in this study. Severus' approach is passive, for he taught three different levels of 'Theoria' so that one could gradually comprehend the mystery of the union in Christ more fully, and that the highest level of Theoria in the Trinity was never achieved except in the life of Gregory Nanzianzus (Chestnut, 1976:37-44). However, in actual practice beyond contemplation, the standard human need expressed in order to benefit from Christ was found in the experienced mystery of the Eucharist (Moss, 2016:13, 16). This results in most action interpreted as abstractions, not physical actions taken within the material created order.

When one searches for physical activity in the Alexander II Paschal letter of 724, one discovers a potential reason for the failure to act. There is careful language consistent with Nicea to affirm the equality and "only-Begotten" nature of the Son as the second person of the Trinity. The language seems consistent with the modifying Severan influence expected as it has been allowed to work through generations of debate and experience. Even further, Alexander claims that it is "impious" to confess three gods, thus both responding to and anticipating Muslim disagreement (MacCoull, 1990:31). The hard work of Nicea and Chalcedon at least seems to have had its effect in producing a thoroughly balanced understanding of the co-eternal and consubstantial Trinity. Or had it? Alexander's specific words on Christological details may indicate otherwise of the contemporary understanding of this:

> [Via the great commission of Matt. 28:19, 20]… He was divinely showing that He Himself was one Son and Lord after taking on, from us and for our sake, ensouled flesh, which was itself already truly <u>divinized</u> (emphasis mine) for the dwelling of the Word in it; even if what is unconfused () is ineffably saved in Him for our sake, it is this that is the differentiation of things that are inseparably hypostatically united, namely, the divinity and the humanity. And

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in every respect it is constituted as not subject to either numbering or division (trans. MacCoull, 1990:31).

The above confession of faith is essentially the theological center of this long letter, and is helpful for our inquiry. The standard definitions are stated relationships that are given for typical Miaphysite statements regarding the divine mystery, with one key term added that helps us to uncover the link in determining active human choice: ***divinized.*** This one term raises issues related to the actual relation of Christ to his creation. If He is divinized human, then how do humans relate to that ethically by choice of will?   The divine may be declared to be unconfused in *Theoria*, but admittedly the differentiation identified is inseparably linked and ineffable. If truly ineffable, where from this is the point of contact from which one is to act in the world?

Perhaps more perspective can be learned on this question through looking at the broad goal of the Paschal letter given in 724 within its historical context. Alexander II is currently experiencing a culture gaining momentum towards Islam, with its concomitant attacks on the ability of God to be seen and heard in Christ, especially actualized in the 721 decree of governor Yazid II to destroy all crosses and Christian themed images (Evetts, PO V, 1910:72-73). His response is to defend God's visibility via the incarnation, with exegesis taken from the Gospel of John chapter 1:14, 18 (MacCoull, 1990:30, 35). To the faithful reading this letter, the economics of daily life had practically come to a standstill, with passports and security severely restricting movement to the point where produce was rotting in the field:

At last the roads were made impassable, and no man could travel or sell or buy. The fruits of the vineyards were wasted, and there was no one to buy them for a single dirhem, because

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their owners remained within their houses for two months awaiting the passport to release them thence (Evetts, PO V, 1910:69).

Economic activity had practically come to a grinding halt with the added pressure of a police state with no apparent concern for Christianity and the Christian man. Did Alexander II not see or understand this? I believe that he did, based on his summary evaluation of contemporary experience towards the end of this letter:

> …since we see that the whole world is beset with misfortunes one on top of another and is running the risk of coming to the end-time which will destroy all things, on account of our many sins up to now, though we are in distress night and day… (trans. MacCoull, 1990:33).

If Alexander is keenly aware of the intense present suffering, then what is necessary in human action in order to alleviate the crisis? If Christology is the central point of his action as expressed in the letter, and his believing faithful look to him for sacerdotal blessing and action, then what are he and the average believer to do? In the immediate context of response, his exhortation is an appeal to all the faithful to perform action that will bring God's mercy upon them: "We shall abstain from drink, we shall do good works, we shall give thanks to God…By good works we shall attract God's mercy, now most of all beseeching him and making propitiation before his face…" (ibid.). The point is that his requested actions involve self-limitation, not active confrontation. Also, the subject of self-limitation, along with the activity of the sacrament, is the overall intention of this letter, because the precise motive for writing it is to determine the very day of the Easter celebration and the special attendant Eucharist performed within it. The good works specified in this letter are giving to the poor what few resources remain, in order that the mercy of God may "gentle the hearts of those who oppress us" (MacCoull, 1990:33-34). I would then interpret his appeals as

directed to the divine within the divinized human, for the state is also under divine sanction and as such the point of contact for confronting power is not within the realm of nature, for the faithful here are not called to address suffering politically and actively, but spiritually, by appealing to God via the divinized humanity in Christ.   It is His divine action within the state that is appealed to, for even a Muslim governor can be influenced spiritually and be of service (which is the hagiographical point of the 'Life of Samuel of Kalamun').

In light of this study, divinization of the human in Christ as applied to this scenario has reduced the active role of the Church and its members in nature, for the management of nature has been relegated to the divine state because the most objective act in the collective understanding of the average Christian is his/her act in the sacrament, where the divine human Christ is encountered for the sake not only of personal salvation but also for the most direct active appeal to the divinized state. This is shown also in the prayers of the liturgy which involve special supplication for the rulers, both ecclesiastical and civil. This may seem radical when placed in the reality of a Muslim governor as the authoritative actor in the divine state, but this appears as a rational application when one considers the facts of active behavior. When the following Caliph (Hisham) was installed, who was favorable toward the Christian community, the author of the History of the Patriarchs immediately noted his relief of the tax burden, and the appointing of a new Patriarch in Antioch. The corresponding response to this from Alexander II is very revealing in that it was political recognition stated with spiritual power: "We bless the prince Hisham, and pray that he may enjoy a reign of many years, and overcome his enemies, so that he may do that which is right before the Lord (Evetts, PO V, 19010:73)."

The above analysis has been influenced by the observations of R.J. Rushdoony, who pointed my mind in the direction of the nature-grace dichotomy in relation to the issue of divinization for this Christology:

Monophysitism ostensibly exalted Christ by diminishing His humanity, but it simply endangered or destroyed the reality of the incarnation. It reduced the realm of the church to the spiritual, which was left poorly related to the world, and again turned over the material (nature) world to Caesar…. Any subordinationist Christology, which gave to God the Son a reduced status in the Trinity, similarly reduced the church as Christ's body (1968:Loc. 1229-1233).

If this idea is applied consistently to the nature-grace discussion one can construct a model to evaluate the basis of response to the state. Justinian may have been an avowed Chalcedonian, but the potential applications of this to his own perception of the state were too clouded by hundreds of years of the Christianized accommodation of the Emperor's role as "Pontifex Maximus" and a divine state is the result. The inconsistency of his view played well into the logic of the Miaphysite Christology, with its divinized human nature, and the state as a result enjoyed the Egyptian passive approach. This is because the Miaphysite expected that the Christ encountered in sacrament was their mediator to nature, with the effect that he would be their voice with which to speak truth to power. This underlies their non-confrontation, for the divine state was expected to be regulated by His power if humans could but influence His mercy by their sacramental obedience.

Development of a universal idea may be the intent in the inquiry of a historical pattern, but it is the particular facts of the case which force the counterpoint in refinement of the idea. The particular facts of our case are experienced approximately eighteen months after the Paschal letter, for there was a wide spread revolt in 725. This was likely prompted

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by the newly appointed governor, Ubaid Allah, who performed a new census and land
evaluation requiring lead plates to be hung around the neck of all able men and animals,
with a resultant tax increase (Evetts, PO V, 1910:76; Mikhail, 2014:Loc. 2389 & 6966 n.91).
The apparent resultant "doubling" of the tax was a shock to the population, for the
expectation of a new governor friendly to Christians was not an abrupt increase in financial
burden. This revolt was significant in that it was widespread, covering the Eastern part of
the Nile Delta as well as Upper Egypt (Mikhail, 2014:Loc. 2389).   Since I am arguing that
Miaphysite Christology induced quiescence among them to Muslim rule, this rebellion may
be seen as a counter-example. But the sampled data demonstrate that, despite occasional
resistance, the general trend was quiescence.

It may also serve us well to apply Miaphysite Christology to a contemporary issue:
human rights. To be sure, doing so could justly be dismissed as obtuse anachronism, if not
for its utility. Our modern sensibilities induce us to respond to perceived abuses with
political activism, and make it difficult for us to review such abuses in historical narrative.
We wonder at how people could accept such abuses. More particularly, since, arguably, our
ideas of human rights are derived from the Christian faith, how does it appear that the
Christians we are looking at here, tolerated such abuses of human rights and indeed seem
to have had no idea that there were such things. At least one author, himself a professing
Monophysite, argues that Monophysite/Miaphysite Christology tends to deny that there are
human rights.

> In the concept of the rights of man, humanity gains an autonomy that a consistently
> incarnational faith will not permit. From the religious point of view, human freedom is not
> autonomy, that is, pure self-determination; rather, it is autexousion, a graced capacity to

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achieve full ethical personhood and mystical participation in the life of God. There is always a synergy of nature and grace (Guroian, 1998:244).

Straightaway one notices that Guroian goes right to the heart of the matter: defining the relationship of nature and grace. For him, the nature-grace question is not one of dichotomy or continuum, but synergy, which is in perfect harmony with the divinized human synthesis of seventh to eighth century expression that we have been exploring. Autonomy for man is not possible, for his potential is not found in freedom but in grace enhanced nature that seeks participation in the divine. The key point to make here is that if this mystical experience can be grasped and acted upon, then mankind achieves completed personality that was always intended, and can ethically act from that position. Yet one is compelled to ask where this mystery of the synergy of nature and grace comes from? Guroian answers directly via his Christology:

> Human beings are not autonomous but theonomous: this is testified in the God-man, Jesus Christ, who is no less God than human and in whom all human reality finds its being, its norm, and its fulfillment (1998:245).

Nature and grace in this schema are indistinguishable, for humans find their reality in this synergy. This study would challenge this idea as lacking for finding a point of contact from which to address abuse and suffering. Where is the so called norm in nature if it can never be separated from grace? It may also be possible to further challenge this idea as a basis for an individual incarnation in every human being and also that it subjectivizes redemption and questions the basis for concrete actions in ethics. Is there anything to be done ethically in self-defense? Apparently not:

Accordingly, in Orthodox theology and ethics, the social imperative that stems from redemption in Jesus Christ is not initially a call to political or legal action, but the much more radical call to the repentance of self-limitation. Repentance is the principal evidence of a deep inner conversion of heart, of metanoia. Humility (in Hebrew '*anah* and in Greek *tapeinos*), not justice (or *jus*), is the highest virtue of Orthodox ethics (Guroian, 1998:246).

It could be argued that objective acts in documented form as discovered in time and space are certainly what compel us to look for reasons to resolve tension. But that is precisely how the Western mind would be expected to respond. However, the observed Christology that we have studied denies any Christological basis for the right to resist the state in direct confrontation. The subjective basis for this passiveness is an enigma of nature-grace synthesis which paralyzes a person from clearly choosing a course of action in the concrete created world. The revolt of 725 was just one example of several in early Islamic Egypt that demonstrate that we are bodies and souls who will individually and collectively act economically in nature regardless what we claim our presuppositions are, while also simultaneously dependent on divine grace to perform economic action within the objective world.

5.2.1 Caveat Concerns

Connecting Christology to practice naturally will have counter arguments, simply because one is taking a subjective valuation of an ultimate eternal theological reality and attempting to find an objective expression in time and space. In short, one has to explore the rational possibility that Christological beliefs had nothing to do with economic decision making in the preparation for and payment of taxes. This study would propose that this

may be a useful further study in the future, simply because one could spend just as much effort arguing for a disconnect between Christology and practice as has been done in the above study attempting to make precisely such a connection.

How is this disconnect possible? This is easily possible when taken from within the Christian world and life view in its approach to anthropology. Men and women as understood from this point of view are in desperate need of Christ in sacrament and sanctification precisely because they can indeed disconnect a principled idea of action from actual practice. In simple terms this is referred to as fallen human sinful nature. Nature in this context is defined as a categorical description of a collection of measurable behaviors that are the result of the condition of the state of the human soul/spirit. Humans then are understood in a holistic sense, for the state of the spiritual soul will without fail express its condition in the created world through the intellect/mind, which in turn controls observable action. As such there are what has been called the 'Noetic' effects of sin, which means that our intellect is affected by our sinful state of affairs and as such self-deceit is possible (Jeffreys, 1997:428-430; Bosserman, 2014:9 n. 34; Poythress, 2014:28, 33, 45). In other words, the current state of the human mind as affected by sin could easily respond to the external stimuli of tax demands and choose to respond in fear, and in that state of panic simply focus on selfish survival rather than on principled applications of Christ and his being/presence. Given the same understood state of mind, willful misunderstanding, or honest misapprehension could have easily contributed to inconsistent or false applications of Christology.

One could argue this alone from the reaction of the extensive refugee crisis as observed from the Aphrodito texts (Bell & Crum, 1973; Casson, 1938). Multiple generations

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of Egyptian Christians who faithfully visited shrines and attended worship services centered in sacrament actively chose to run away from their assigned districts and avoided paying taxes. For all the supposed spiritual power effected in sacrament towards the obedience of faith, many farming families chose to give in to fear or greed and find farming land in a place where they could be relatively anonymous. As was demonstrated above, this problem was large, endemic, pervasive, and continued for generations. One could also argue that Christology was completely disassociated from such action because they were relatively uneducated and were not equipped to intellectually connect who Christ is, with what one is called to do. Their Christianity could potentially be defined and studied then as merely a cultural expression. Therefore, fearful survival mentality and its resulting actions have no connection to what they claimed to believe concerning the risen Christ encountered in worship.

Another counter factual caveat should be considered in the form of universal negative. In formal logic it is difficult to prove a negative. In order for someone to say Christology had nothing to do with responses to the tax system one would have to demonstrate a disconnect in every applicable case. In other words, formal proof of a universal negative would be the elimination of every particular affirmative (Poythress, 2013:210). With Christological language and imagery saturating late antique Egyptian culture, one would be very hard pressed to make this case. Yet one must acknowledge that this negative is indeed a possibility.

However, a far more likely caveat that should be expressed here is that Christology in its relation to responses to the tax system represent particular affirmatives. What I mean by this term is that Christology is likely a particular factor that affirmatively influenced

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human response, and therefore is part of a combination of factors. This in would suggest a further development of the earlier mentioned Noetic effects of sin. This could also be explained by our complex psychology and the difficulty of being truly self-conscious of our true motives and thus the failure to express them. When this condition is applied to the one doing the research, likewise that observer attempting a scientific method is likely to misunderstand personal motive for human action just as much as the historical actor. I should note here that I am not making the case that a viable historical method is impossible, only that it requires both vigorous self-understanding and thorough research into the contextual milieu of the historical actor. But this makes the case that caveats are necessary and that variability of the hypothesis must be acknowledged.

Interestingly, evolutionary naturalistic approaches to self-conscious thought and motives also recognize Noetic effects, but attribute them not to fallen nature in a spiritual sense, but to cognitive development (De Cruz & De Smet, 2013:54). According to this approach, as humans adapt to their environment, decisions will be made in the best interests of survival. The ability of a decision making process to improve survivability is assumed to be the heuristic development of survival choices passed on from one generation to another (ibid). A belief system may be unwarranted from personal scientific discovery, but from simple cause and effect experience affirmed by its pragmatic effect to cause adaptation (de Cruz & De Smet, 2013:55). This approach also acknowledges the cognitive failure to perceive observable truth, or likewise to make assumptions on false evidence/perception. It is in this vein of thought that evolutionary analysis places the development of religious belief/perception, for phenomena is attributed by developing minds to deity as a means of encouraging cooperation. This enhancement of cooperation

via religious presuppositions further develops human capacity for survival (De Cruz & De Smet, 2013:56-57).

In another possible approach to this hypothesis, both naturalism and theism could also posit that religious/Christological beliefs rarely influence economical decisions. In this approach one could argue that rarely do persons under financial pressure have the emotional patience and a long suffering perspective to carefully evaluate financial management with a view toward Christological consistency. It takes planning, deep thought, and a strong character to apply mental discipline to make a decision to use resources consistent with the ontological doctrine of Christ. Few are intellectually and spiritually equipped for such a serious endeavor. When Christological expressions are present, we cannot know to a full extent what is meant by them. The person making such expressions may be making false inferences due to a poor comprehension of Christ, or poor comprehension of the terms used. They might easily assume what a term means and not properly place it where it belongs in context or rational application.

One of the key factors noticed in this study is that late antique Egypt had a vigorous bureaucracy structure that would naturally produce volumes of financial records. These records in turn did not disappoint in their use of Christological language and theistic expressions of their view of reality. However, what was not encountered were self-conscious evaluations of their use of money or a theory of the use of money, but rather a raw record of what was done, under whose authority, with an inference of divine sanction. What is currently not available are theoretical expressions of what could or could not be done with money based upon who Christ is, other than sharing resources with the poor (Alexander II above). This study did not have the benefit of academic analysis of monetary

policy, such as was expressed by the University of Salamanca, where in an analysis of market forces brought Saravia de la Calle (1544) to conclude that the price of goods was not simply the sum of labor, materials, and risk added, but the mutual estimation agreed by buyer and seller; any price agreed to was valid if it did not involve malice or deceit (Smith, 1953:108). Such precursors to the idea of the free market system had the benefit of hundreds of years of a University research environment on which to grow and develop economic theory. In contrast, the Egyptian experience was one of brutal survival and painful grasping at resources wherever possible.

Another useful comparison in study environment is that of Max Weber.   When he was looking for the one clarified motivation to determine the unique efficient driver to the Protestant work ethic, he had the benefit of hundreds of years of Reformation and post Reformation debate, analysis, and commentary from which to work. Luther, Calvin, and a host of other prolific writers had the luxury of writing vast sums of materials on theoretical and practical uses of money from the Christian world and life view. Through patient labor and analysis he had the very substance to objectively lay hold onto "the duty of Godly calling" as the very core that made rational sense to the Protestant approach to work.

But there is no excuse for not doing the hard work of analyzing the current trends of development into the fiscal system of 7th-8th century Egypt. It is very rewarding to study the current level of scholarship and make an attempt to add to its understanding and bring to bear the contemporary use of theology and Christology and its potential to reveal much more when understood in its context.

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