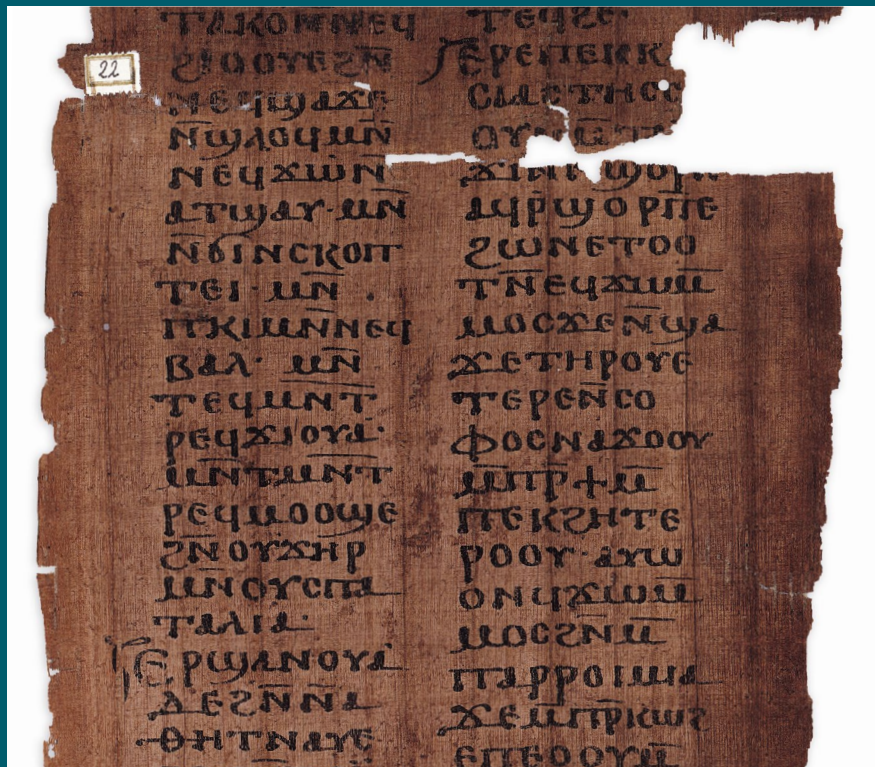


THE COPTIC CODICES OF THE MUSEO EGIZIO, TURIN

HISTORICAL, LITERARY
AND CODICOLOGICAL
FEATURES

Edited by
Paola Buzi and Tito Orlandi

Texts by
Paola Buzi
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STUDI DEL
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EGIZIO | 4

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EGIZIO

 FRANCO
COSIMO
PANINI

Serie a cura di:

Paolo Del Vesco, Christian Greco,
Federico Poole, Susanne Töpfer

Volume a cura di:

Federico Poole, Susanne Töpfer



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

5 PREFACE

[Paola Buzi, Tito Orlandi](#)

PART I

9 FROM BERNARDINO DROVETTI'S COLLECTION TO AMEDEO PEYRON'S CLASSIFICATION

THE COPTIC LITERARY CODICES HELD IN THE MUSEO EGIZIO: AN OVERVIEW

[Paola Buzi](#)

27 THE PAPYRUS CODICES: HISTORY OF STUDIES AND LITERARY ASPECTS

[Tito Orlandi](#)

51 THE PARCHMENT CODEX CAT. 7117

[Francesco Valerio](#)

69 CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COPTIC PAPYRUS CODICES

[Nathan Carlig](#)

101 THE BOOKBINDINGS. HISTORY AND CENSUS

[Eliana Dal Sasso](#)

PART II

115 CATALOGUE OF THE COPTIC BINDINGS IN THE MUSEO EGIZIO

[Eliana Dal Sasso](#)

133 CATALOGUE OF THE PAPYRUS CODICES FROM THIS

[Nathan Carlig](#)

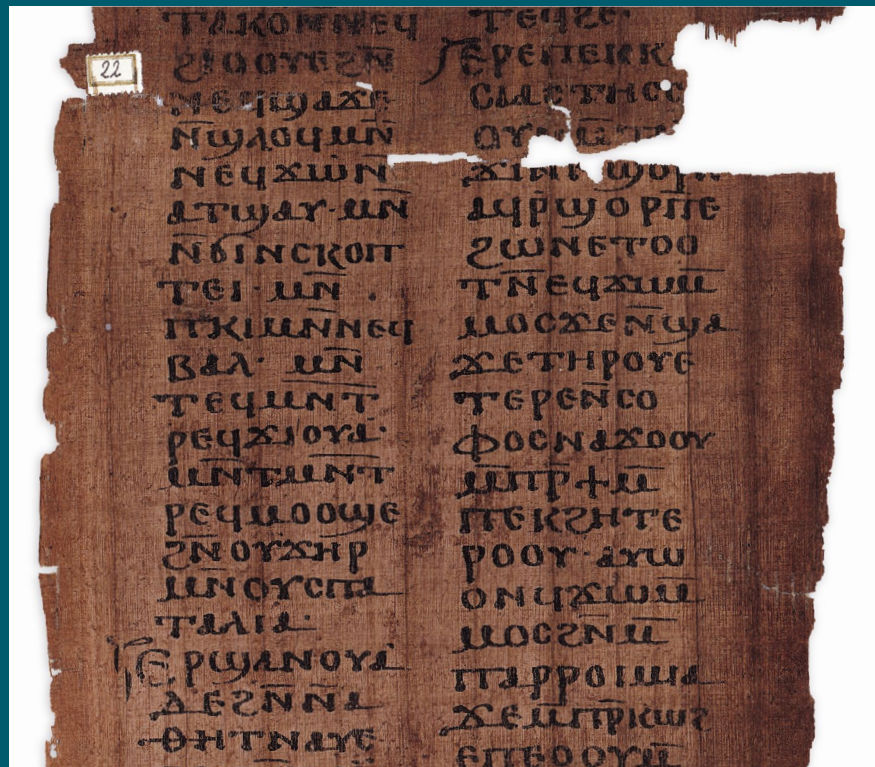
265 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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[Nathan Carlig](#)

265 BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

Paola Buzi, Tito Orlandi

The cultured public that typically visits museums and collections is accustomed to associating ancient Egypt with the pharaonic civilization and, therefore, with its monumental buildings and refined expressions of art pre-dating Hellenism. It is much less familiar, however, with the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods, when the splendid metropolis of Alexandria, which did not exist in pharaonic times, became the centre of the ancient Mediterranean's scientific and literary civilization and slowly saw the spread, and later the triumph, of Christianity.

The Museo Egizio was established in 1824, soon after the Napoleonic campaign and the decipherment of hieroglyphs, when Europe began to form a more complete idea of the development of Egyptian history. Notwithstanding its primary vocation of housing one of the most important and rich collections of Egyptian antiquities of the Dynastic Period worldwide, the museum also houses several other materials dating to the post-pharaonic age, such as pottery artifacts, objects from daily life, stelae, etc.

However, what is more important is that, among other written artifacts¹ from Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages, it has the privilege to host a collection of codices written in Coptic. Found together, these codices represent the relics of a library from the northern Theban region, whose works shed light on the Coptic Church's culture and rites during that period.

With the exception of few specialized scholars, these ancient manuscripts have been practically neglected for a long time, and are today still far less known to the general public than the tomb of Kha or the Nubian temple of Ellesija. They are, nonetheless, of pivotal importance in tracing the history of Egypt prior to the Arabo-Islamic conquest (c. 641 CE).

It is common knowledge that Coptic represents the final phase of the Egyptian language's long life. However, it never became the sole linguistic tool of Christian Egypt,

sharing different spaces of use in official communication, vernacular transmission, and literary production with Greek, which remained the dominant language in many respects.²

The Coptic codices of the Museo Egizio provide an exceptional occasion for reconstructing the consistency of an ancient monastic library, as well as for documenting Late Antique Egypt's narrative preferences, literary interests, and theological orientations. At the same time, they are a valuable witness to the history of the ancient book in its evolving intellectual, material, and technological aspects.

This volume aims to guide readers – both specialists in this field and those who are simply interested in the cultural phenomena of Christian Egypt – through the Museo Egizio's collection of Coptic literary manuscripts, particularly the papyrus codices from This (the well-known “capital” of the Protodynastic Period, located not far from Abydos) (**Fig. 1**), which the museum acquired in the 1820s from Bernardino Drovetti.

The volume is divided into two sections. The first section outlines the history of studies of these Coptic manuscripts since they reached Turin, their literary content, and their place in the broader context of Coptic literary production (Paola Buzi and Tito Orlandi). While the papyrus codices from This (Nathan Carlig) are the focus of this volume,

¹ The funerary stelae, which were recently the subject of a (re)publication and accurate study, are another meaningful category of written artifacts related to Christian Egypt. See van der Vliet, *RiME* 5 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.29353/rime.2021.3392>.

² There is a vast bibliography on Greek/Coptic bilingualism (and on the limited role of Latin) in late antique and early mediaeval Egypt. For the sake of brevity, only a selection of some recent publications are mentioned here: Fournet, in Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 2009, pp. 418–51; Choat, in Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, 2009, pp. 342–56; Zakrzewska, in Gabra (ed.), *Coptic Civilization*, 2014, pp. 79–89; Camplani, in Nicelli (ed.), *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa*, 2015, pp. 129–53; Zakrzewska, in Grossman et al. (eds.), *Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic*, 2017, pp. 115–61; Fournet, *The Rise of Coptic*, 2020.



Fig. 1: Map of Egypt showing the main late antique and mediaeval cultural centres, that are mentioned in this volume (Google Maps, elaborated by Paolo Rosati).

there is also a chapter dedicated to a parchment codex of unknown provenance and biblical content, which Drovetti also purchased in Egypt (Francesco Valerio). Lastly, the bookbindings housed in the papyrus storeroom which are very likely detached from the papyrus codices, are analysed for the first time herein (Eliana Dal Sasso).

The second section is of a more technical nature and contains a detailed codicological description of the bookbindings (Eliana Dal Sasso) and papyrus codices, which led to the reconsideration of the codicological units' composition in some cases (Nathan Carlig).

The content of both sections of the volume is based on accurate autoptical analysis and, in some cases, archaeometric measurements of the inks, in addition to the necessary literary and historical reflection.

This volume is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced Grant PATHs–“Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context: Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination, and Storage”,³ funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567, hosted by Sapienza Università di Roma and directed by Paola Buzi (<http://paths.uniroma1.it/>), and of the CMCL enterprise – “Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari” – founded and directed by Tito Orlandi (cmcl.it).

³ Buzi *et al.*, *RiME* 1 (2017), <https://rivista.museoegizio.it/article/tracking-papyrus-and-parchment-paths-an-archaeological-atlas-of-coptic-literature-literary-texts-in-their-geographical-context-production-copying-usage-dissemination-and-storage/>.

The following abbreviations and IDs are used:

CC = *Clavis Coptica* or *Clavis Patrum Copticorum*: the complete census and classification of all Coptic literary works available online at www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html, and at <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/works>.

CLM = Coptic Literary Manuscript: unique identifier of Coptic literary manuscripts attributed within the framework of the PAThs project and freely available online <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>.

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The editors would like to express their deep gratitude to the museum staff, particularly Susanne Töpfer, Curator responsible for the Papyrus Collection, for facilitating the PAThs members' numerous study sessions in the papyrus storeroom (April 2017 – September 2021). We would also like to thank Federico Poole, Curator responsible for the scientific publications, for his assistance with the publishing process. A special thank you goes to Christian Greco, the Director of the Museum, for his unwavering support and willingness to promote knowledge of post-pharaonic written artifacts.

FROM BERNARDINO DROVETTI'S COLLECTION TO AMEDEO PEYRON'S CLASSIFICATION. THE COPTIC LITERARY CODICES HELD IN THE MUSEO EGIZIO: AN OVERVIEW

Paola Buzi

1. The Codices: Their Acquisition, Extent and Writing Support

The remains of more than twenty papyrus codices are housed in the Museo Egizio's papyrus storeroom largely under the shelf mark CGT 63000.¹ They all almost certainly belong to the same ancient library, which, on the basis of internal elements (content, titles, selection and combination of texts) and external clues (codicological and palaeographic features), can convincingly be dated to the late 7th or early 8th century. The single leaves—bifolii that were cut into two when the manuscripts entered the museum—are kept under glass,² normally labelled to indicate their sequence within the codex.³ They have also been gelatinated in some cases, as, for instance, in Codex IV.⁴

They contain Greek patristic works translated into Coptic in the 5th century (the so-called “classical translations”, according to Tito Orlandi's classification),⁵ apocrypha (such as the *Acta Pilati*), works that reflect the theological controversies of the late 4th century (for instance, the *Vita Aphou*, preserved exclusively in a Turin codex), some original works of the 6th century (such as Damian of Alexandria, *De Nativitate*), a few pseudoepigraphal works, a selection of normative works, such as the *Gnomai Concilii Nicaeni*,⁶ and last but not least the *De iudicio supremo* attributed to Shenoute⁷—an attribution that is not unanimously shared⁸—which, if this attribution is correct, would represent one of the most ancient manuscripts transmitting a work of the White Monastery's archimandrite and, furthermore, outside of the Monastery of Shenoute. Interestingly, the same work is contained in a fragmentary codex preserved partly in the Bodleian Library and partly in the British Library, which is earlier than the Turin exemplar.⁹

Due to their fragmentary state of preservation, the exact number of Coptic papyrus codices in Turin is, however, difficult to establish.¹⁰ In some cases, they consist of semi-complete codices, almost entirely preserved, while in other cases all that remains is just a leaf (see Table 1 for a complete list of the codicological units).

While these codices constitute the main bulk of the Coptic literary manuscripts housed within the museum, it is also necessary to mention the presence of hundreds of very small papyrus fragments¹¹ (the majority of which are still to be classified but are very likely associated with the

¹ CGT 63000 Codex I, CGT 63000 Codex II, etc. They correspond to CLM 45–62, 6558–59, 6564, 6329–30, according to the classification of the PAThs project. In some cases, these codicological units are also mentioned in Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone, *Antichità Egizie*, 1888. See Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

² There are more than 800 glasses.

³ As pointed out by Tito Orlandi, in 1974 it was already possible to deduce that glass 64 of Codex III did not exist. Orlandi, *Muséon* 87 (1974), pp. 115–27.

⁴ There are also some cardboard folders that contain fragments of documentary (?) texts on papyrus. Folder “CP 173 – Copto e arabo”, for instance, contains the papyrus fragments which are described by Francesco Rossi (?) as “tutti d'un Gruppo o rotolo”. The label is dated “settembre 1905”. The folder, however, also contains a parchment fragment.

⁵ Orlandi and Camplani (eds.), *L'Egitto cristiano*, 1997, pp. 39–120.

⁶ The *Gnomai* include the so-called *subscriptio Paulini*, see Camplani, in dal Covolo et al. (eds.), *Eusebio di Vercelli*, 1997, p. 226.

⁷ Behlmer, *Schenute*, 1996.

⁸ See Boud'hors, in Barone et al. (eds.), *Philologie, Herméneutique et Histoire des Textes*, 2017, pp. 128, 133. For the content of the papyrus codices, see Orlandi, *Muséon* 87 (1974), pp. 115–27 and Id., *Augustinianum* 53 (2013), pp. 501–30. See also T. Orlandi's contribution in this volume.

⁹ CLM 617 = MONB.XP. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gr.th. F2(P) and F3(P) + London, British Library, Or. 3581A, ff. 185–188.

¹⁰ For a detailed description of the codicological structure of the papyrus codices, see N. Carlig's contribution in Part II of this volume.

¹¹ For instance, Provv. 5066 = CLM 6650, Provv. 5075 = CLM 6651, Provv. 6208 = CLM 6652, Provv. 6267 = CLM 6653, or Provv. 8584 = CLM 6554. Further literary papyrus fragments are preserved in a cardboard folder labelled “CP 183 – SN (5)” = CLM 6655. I was informed of the existence of most of these fragments by Susanne Töpfer in April 2017.

above-described manuscripts), at least seventeen bookbindings (six of which are in rather good condition) which, although detached from their original codicological units, are compatible with the papyrus codices because of their dimensions,¹² and a parchment codex (5th/6th century) with its binding, which is now preserved separately (the parchment codex has a modern binding).¹³

One of the bookbindings¹⁴ of the papyrus codices (Prov. 6206) includes a parchment leaf in its laminated boards,¹⁵ which obviously belonged to an earlier codicological unit. Unfortunately, the contents could not be identified, but the script is likely dateable to the 6th century.

Despite the fact that little information exists about the Coptic codices' arrival in Turin in the Museo Egizio's archives or in those of other institutions and collections, there is no doubt that they were acquired by the King of Savoy in 1824 from Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852).¹⁶ The latter was the French consul in Egypt at the time, whose agents procured most of the antiquities for his collection in the Thebaid and its surroundings.

More precisely, the codices had been stored in two warehouses in the port of Leghorn (Tuscany) since 1819, where the collection was visited by several scholars and potential buyers. The adverse effects on the manuscripts as a result of their prolonged exposure to that humid environment is easy to imagine.

On April 4, 1820, the Savoy family sent a letter to Drovetti containing a financial offer for the acquisition of his entire Egyptian collection. Unfortunately, Drovetti's letter of acceptance (January 20, 1821) never reached the recipient (or so Drovetti claimed) and negotiations ground to a halt until January 18, 1822, when the Italo-French diplomat wrote to count Prospero Balbo to explain the situation. The collection was eventually transferred to Turin in 1823. A new purchase contract was drawn up on December 29, 1823, and payment was made in January 1824.¹⁷

The codices have remained in the museum since then, with the exception of a brief period (2010–15)¹⁸ during which they were hosted in Turin's Archivio di Stato, where they were carefully photographed.

There are, however, two exceptions. Two papyrus leaves were donated to the museum in 1983 by the heirs of Amedeo Peyron, the first scholar to study them soon after

their arrival in Turin (see below for his profile and extraordinary role as a scholar). They are now held in the museum with the label "Dono Peyron - 1983". Two more papyrus leaves are stored in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin (BNT, Peyron, Ms. 157), as part of the "Fondo Peyron".¹⁹ Both cases can be explained by the fact that Amedeo Peyron had brought them to his residence for the purpose of studying them and they were simply forgotten after his death.

It is important to stress that other Coptic manuscripts are preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria,²⁰ all of which were directly donated by Bernardino Drovetti to Amedeo Peyron, as attested by the latter's papers and notes. Despite the fact that some of them are very late and others lack literary content, and, most importantly, none are related to manuscripts preserved in the Museo Egizio, they are extremely useful in demonstrating that the operations of Drovetti's agents were not limited only to the Thebaid.

BNT, Ms. a.IV.29 (CLM 6472),²¹ for instance, contains the Psalms and consists of 139 paper leaves, which belonged to a codicological unit whose complementary fragments are to be found in Cairo's Coptic Museum and in the Cam-

¹² The Museo Egizio contains twenty-two shelf marks relating to Coptic bindings, but some of them relate to fragments. See *Table 2* in Chapter 4 for a complete list, which is extremely useful to understand the conditions in which the codices reached Turin.

¹³ CLM 1131. Small fragments of it are preserved in a paper envelope, inserted into the modern binding.

¹⁴ CLM 6561.

¹⁵ CLM 6643.

¹⁶ See Binaghi *et al.*, *Quando l'Egitto venne a Torino*, 2019.

¹⁷ On the vicissitudes of the collection's acquisition, see Donatelli, in Binaghi *et al.* (eds.), *Quando l'Egitto venne a Torino*, 2019, pp. 49–59.

¹⁸ This transfer was made necessary by the re-organisation of the museum's papyrus collection as part of the museum's general refurbishment. They were kept in the Archivio di Stato's "Sezioni Riunite" section, under the supervision of Egyptologist Sara Demichelis, alongside the pharaonic papyri measuring up to 2.20 m in length. During this time they were always available to scholars for consultation.

¹⁹ Buzi, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), pp. 39–57. The "Fondo Peyron" documents the activities of the Peyron family in the period between Bernardino Drovetti (1780–1865) and Peyron's homonymous grand-nephew (1904–37). It is divided into several sections, each of which pertains to a different member of the family. A complete inventory of the "Fondo Peyron" (299 pages) is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria itself, in the Manuscripts and Rare Books Section (BNT, Cons. Mss. 8 Gallo 2). See also Francesco Valerio's contribution in this volume.

²⁰ CLM 5754, 6481–84, 6485, and 6516.

²¹ This manuscript and BNT, Ms. a.IV.28, mentioned below, got lost in the fire of 1904.

bridge University Library.²² We know for certain that H.G. Evelyn White discovered the Cairo leaves during the archaeological investigations he carried out in the Monastery of St Macarius in 1920–21. The leaves were then transferred to England for restoration and study, brought back to Egypt, and finally deposited in the Coptic Museum. Prior to Evelyn White, K. Tischendorf had acquired another leaf of the same manuscript from the Monastery of St Macarius in 1844. Tischendorf's heirs sold it to the Cambridge University Library in 1884–86.²³

BNT, Ms. a.IV.28, ff. 1–15 (CLM 6483),²⁴ a.IV.28, ff. 20–27 (CLM 6484),²⁵ and Ms. a.IV.28, ff. 16–9 (CLM 6485) are also from the Wadi Natrun.²⁶

This state of affairs shows that Drovetti had strategic commercial connections not only in Thebes and the Thebaid, but also in other Egyptian regions. On the other hand, his donation of the above manuscripts to Peyron may indicate that he considered them to be less valuable in economic terms and less interesting in terms of content.

Peyron himself donated his papers and manuscripts to the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, but a large fire destroyed part of the library section where Greek and Oriental manuscripts were preserved on the night between January 25 and 26, 1904. Other documents were given to the library by his nephew, Bernardino Peyron (1818–1903). The remaining part of Amedeo Peyron's archive, together with the library and documents of other members of the family, originally stored at a private property in Cavour, was only sold to the Italian State in 1969.²⁷

Therefore, we now know, as a result of the “Fondo Peyron”'s exploration of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, that Amedeo Peyron not only took some leaves from the papyrus codices to his residence in order to study them, but also owned an indeterminable number of fragments—literary and documentary—that he had received directly from Drovetti. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain precisely when this donation took place (after 1824?) because most of the papers and notes in Peyron's dossier have no date and, as discussed above, some manuscripts were lost.²⁸

We also learn that Amedeo Peyron was well acquainted with Henry Salt's collection, which he had visited in Leghorn in 1826 thanks to Jean-François Champollion's mediation. Moreover, the “Fondo Peyron” also includes transcrip-

tions of articles and works by Jean-François Champollion himself, Thomas Young, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), and others, which attest to the solid network of scholarly relationships maintained by the Turin scholar with several international colleagues, mainly Egyptologists.

2. Hypotheses about Provenance

The exact provenance of the Turin papyrus codices does not seem to be explicitly mentioned in any modern document or report. However, provenance from This (or Thinis), the modern Ġirġā,²⁹ is highly likely and was indeed firmly argued for by Tito Orlandi and others.³⁰ This convincing hypothesis is based on two sources:

1) A title list from one codex—which, for the most part, has almost disappeared³¹—mentions the Cathedral of Thi(ni)s, which fact makes it quite reasonable to deduce that the entire group of codices originated in that ecclesiastical and cultural institution. The book list in question is transmitted by fragment Provv. 6266,³² and contains a scribal subscription informing us about the owner institution, the “catholic church” of Thi(ni)s, and the identity of the copyist, Geōrgios, the “humblest reader”. A numbered list of the contents of the lost book follows.

²² <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6482>. All the records relating to these fragments were compiled by Francesco Valerio.

²³ Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi El Natrūn*, 1926, pp. VII, XL–XLI, 196.

²⁴ <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6483>.

²⁵ <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6484>. It is most probable that this manuscript belonged to the same CLM 1476 codicological unit, <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/1476>.

²⁶ <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6485>.

²⁷ Peyron, *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze* 12 (1876–77), pp. 65–74; Rossi, *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi* 10 (1899), pp. 113–22; Gabrieli, *Manoscritti e carte orientali*, 1930, p. 51.

²⁸ Buzi, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), p. 43.

²⁹ About this place, see Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, 1984–92, VI, pp. 2682–85.

³⁰ Orlandi, *Muséon* 87 (1974), p. 116.

³¹ According to Orlandi, it was found in the remains of the codex mentioning Sabinus of Heraclea = CLM 6558.

³² CLM 6329. Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons*, 1929, I.1, pp. 180–81, no. cv. See also <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/96>. Edition and translation for the PATHS project by Agostino Soldati.

2) Provv. 8548,³³ a single leaf that only bears the scribal inscription—a prayer on behalf of the manuscript’s donor—that most likely concluded a codex. Another possibility, based on Tito Orlandi’s opinion,³⁴ is that this last fragment was a model to be used to write colophons. In any case, in this text an anonymous woman is said to have donated a book to the “Monastery of St John the Baptist in Thi(ni)s”. Eugène Revillout, the first scholar to deal with the document, informs us that the fragment was originally found on top of the leaves of Codex III,³⁵ while Arnold van Lantschoot’s reading of the slightly damaged toponym following the mention of the *topos* mentioned in Ms. Provv. 8548, confirms the provenance of the Turin codices from This.³⁶ According to Ewa Wipszycka, it cannot be ruled out that the “catholic church” mentioned in the first fragment was part of the Monastery of St John the Baptist mentioned in the second document.³⁷

Determining the provenance of the parchment codex containing biblical content that Paul de Lagarde published in 1883³⁸ is more problematic. Its general appearance, layout, and palaeography suggest that Upper Egypt, and possibly Western Thebes, may have been its place of production.³⁹ According to Karl-Heinz Schüssler, the Museo Egizio purchased it from Bernardino Drovetti in 1821. He probably confused the date of the official purchase with that of the letter (January 20, 1821), in which Drovetti declared his acceptance of the Savoy family’s financial offer. The parchment codex is actually mentioned in the anonymous “Catalogue de la collection d’antiquités de mons. le chev. Drovetti” (1822).⁴⁰

3. Hypotheses about Date

Although there are no internal elements to precisely date the papyrus codices from This, the two above-mentioned scribal inscriptions, which can be assigned to a pre-formal phase of colophons, can be convincingly dated to the late 7th or the early 8th century. The typology of titles (only two of which can be attributed to the category of “complex titles” and none to that of “extended-complex titles”,⁴¹ typical of the 8th and 9th centuries), the fact that papyrus is the only writing support used, the type of miscellanies (or multiple-text codices) that they represent (very different, for instance,

from those of the White Monastery or of Hamuli), the minimalistic decoration, and the palaeographic features suggest that they were produced before the mid-8th century. This hypothesis finds further confirmation in the presence on folio 25 of Codex III of a protocol from the late 7th century, or even the early 8th century.⁴²

The codices of the library of This are not the only ones from an ancient library whose sole writing medium is papyrus. Another example is represented by the fragments purchased in the winter of 1905–06 by Lord Tyssen-Amherst, first Baron of Hackney (1835–1909). They had previously been seen by A.H. Sayce at a dealer’s in Luxor, who stated that the manuscripts were brought from Diospolis Mikra, that is, about 78 km south of This. Finally, in 1912, they were sold to J. Pierpont Morgan and are now part of the Morgan Museum and Collection.⁴³ Their poor state of preservation precludes a precise comparison, but based on the best preserved fragments we can deduce that the layout was typically two columns of writing, similarly to the This codices.⁴⁴ Moreover, the different scripts used in the Morgan manuscripts—both unimodular and bimodular—are comparable with those of the Turin manuscripts.

³³ CLM 6330. Revillout, *Le Concile de Nicée*, 1873; van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons*, 1929, I.1, pp. 181–82, no. CVI. See also <https://atlas.pathserc.eu/colophons/97>. Edition and translation for the PATHs project by Agostino Soldati.

³⁴ Opinion expressed orally, on the occasion of the conference “The Coptic Book Between the 6th and the 8th Centuries”, Rome, September 21–22, 2017.

³⁵ Revillout, *Le Concile de Nicée*, 1873, p. 9.

³⁶ See Orlandi, *Muséon* 87 (1974), p. 116 and Id., *Augustinianum* 53 (2013), p. 525.

³⁷ I am grateful to Ewa Wipszycka for sharing this hypothesis on the occasion of the conference “The Coptic Book Between the 6th and the 8th Centuries”, September 21–22, 2017. On the expression “catholic church” in Coptic sources, see Wipszycka, *JJP* 24 (1994), pp. 203–24 and Giorda, *Monachesimo e istituzioni scolastiche*, 2010, p. 37.

³⁸ de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 1883, nos. 3–4.

³⁹ For an accurate description of this codex, see F. Valerio’s contribution in this volume.

⁴⁰ Contained in *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d’Italia*, III, 1880, p. 209 (no. 145).

⁴¹ Buzi, in van der Vliet et al. (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium*, 2004, I, pp. 309–16.

⁴² See N. Carlig’s contribution in Part I of this volume. See also Diethart et al., *Tyche* 9 (1994); Delattre, in Frösen, Puroila and Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings*, 2004; Id., *Papyrus coptes et grecs*, 2007, pp. 289–90.

⁴³ They correspond to CLM 881–97, 903–15, 6472–73. Crum, *Theological Texts*, 1913, pp. 1–94; Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts*, 1993, pp. LXXII–LXXIII.

⁴⁴ The This codices are mainly laid out in two columns, with the following exceptions: CLM 53 = GIOV.AI, CLM 54 = GIOV.AJ, CLM 56 = GIOV.AL, CLM 61 = GIOV.AQ.

It is interesting to stress that, in contrast, most of the papyrus codices identified by Anne Boud'hors as good candidates for the "family" of Theban codices are arranged in one column only.⁴⁵ Also, the two papyrus codices found in 2005 by Tomasz Górecki⁴⁶ are in one column; moreover, they use a bouclé unimodular handwriting⁴⁷—more accentuated in the codex of Pistentius, while terminal thickenings are very evident in *Canones Basilii*—that finds no parallel in the manuscripts of Turin.

Is this indicative of a different regional tradition because This is not in the Thebaid and Diospolis Mikra lies in its uppermost margin? It is difficult to say, but these features are nevertheless remarkable.

The Turin codices represent a rare example of a relatively well-preserved late antique institutional library that reflects the literary tastes and dogmatic orientations prior to the definitive shift from papyrus to parchment as a writing medium and prior to the process of text selection (and the arrangement of surviving texts by new titles) that began in the second part of the 8th century. In this respect, unless new discoveries are made, the This library is a unique case.

4. Specific Codicological Features of the Codices from This

Although our impression may be partly influenced by the state of preservation of the leaves, it is clear enough that the quality of the papyrus used to produce the codices from This was not always good. Many leaves exhibit corrugated fibres. *Kollēseis* are frequent and normally very visible (for example, twenty in Codex I), which is a further indication, exactly like the presence of a protocol in Codex III, that the material used to create these codices was not always of the highest quality.

Codex II contains several restorations or, more precisely, fibre integrations achieved through the use of small strips of papyrus, as well as re-writings of small sections of text, such as those on folio 15v.⁴⁸ In Codex VI, the fragment preserved under glass 6 was repaired with a strip whose fibres have a different orientation to those of the page. Such a practice is uncommon, but there are some parallels (British Library, Or. 5000).⁴⁹ According to Alin Suciu,⁵⁰ these integrations are more likely to be explained by the need to

correct the text than by a wish to restore the manuscripts. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the archaeometric analyses of the inks carried out by Tea Ghigo as part of the scientific activities of the PATHs project, in collaboration with the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (BAM), Berlin, and the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg. It turned out that the composition of the ink of the added strips was not dissimilar to the rest of the text, suggesting that not much time had passed between the process of writing and that of correcting (or restoring).⁵¹

Choosing the spots for measurements proved to be difficult at times, since the black ink was barely visible due to the darkening of the support or the use of a transparent substance resembling a gelatine film, as is well documented in 20th-century papyrus conservation interventions. More generally, the archaeometric analyses,⁵² which, due to budget and time constraints were only conducted on a selected group of papyrus leaves⁵³ and on the parchment codex, revealed that all the samples of papyrus sheets examined were written with iron-gall ink, which was surprisingly rather well preserved and exhibited no traces of the typical corrosion. In the case of the Turin codices, the

⁴⁵ A. Boud'hors, in Brakke and Davis (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics*, 2017, pp. 175–212.

⁴⁶ Cairo, Coptic Museum 13448 = CLM 713, and Cairo, Coptic Museum 13447 = 714. Górecki, *PAM* 17 (2007), pp. 263–74; Górecki, Wipszycka, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), pp. 118–32; Carlig, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), pp. 165–83; Camplani and Contardi, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), pp. 150–64; Soldati, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), pp. 195–99; Dekker, *Adamantius* 24 (2018), pp. 133–42.

⁴⁷ Only f. 65v of the *Canones Basilii* is written with a bimodular script.

⁴⁸ Although it is a different practice, papyrus strips have been used to restore some parchment codices of the Monastery of St Macarius, namely CLM 96, 122, 135, 157. I owe this information to Francesco Valerio.

⁴⁹ I owe this information to Chrysi Kotsifou. Mary Farag drew my attention to the similar phenomenon of appending new sheets to existing biblical scrolls or cutting and pasting textual passages, carving out patches of text from multiple manuscripts and then gluing them together as in a collage. See Dershowitz, *The Dismembered Bible*, 2021.

⁵⁰ Personal communication, 17.09.2018.

⁵¹ Ghigo, "A Systematic Scientific Study of Coptic Inks", 2021, p. 96.

⁵² On 6 October 2017 preliminary measurements of a selection of fragments had been conducted, in my presence, by Ira Rabin and Myriam Krutzsch, who made use of a Dino-Lite digital microscope. In May 2018 Tea Ghigo, with the support of Olivier Bonnerot, has integrated these preliminary results with other measurements, by means of XRF and Raman techniques.

⁵³ Codex II, glass 18 = CLM 46 [<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/46>], Codex IX, Provv. 8592 = CLM 54 [<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/54>], Codex XIII, glass 23 = CLM 58 [<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/58>], and Codex XV, glass 1 = CLM 60. For the initial results, see Ghigo, Rabin, and Buzi, *ArchaeolAnthropolSci* 12, 70 (2020). See also Ghigo et al., *Manuscript Cultures* 11 (2018), pp. 157–64.

ink “possesses a brilliant black hue in visible light, which is generally the case for carbon inks”.⁵⁴ Moreover, all the analyzed leaves were “written using an ink whose elemental composition lacks the satellite elements—namely, copper and zinc—that are often attested by scientific analysis of inks based on vitriol. [...] this could indicate the use of metallic iron rather than vitriol in the preparation of this ink”.⁵⁵

Part of the results of this challenging experience were presented to the public during the “Archeologia invisibile” exhibition organized by the Museo Egizio between March 2019 and January 2020.⁵⁶

Another interesting and distinctive codicological feature of the codices from This is Codex 1’s mixed system of page ordering, which combines pagination and foliation. Foliation is used until quire 9 (ϑ) and continues until p. ι. Each leaf is numbered in the top-outer corner of the verso. The first leaf of each quire, however, is numbered on the recto and verso. Pagination is only used from quire 10 (ι) onwards and begins at p. ια.

In brief, many of the codicological elements of the papyrus codices from the “cathedral church” of This are, if not unique, certainly distinctive and may suggest a local manuscript tradition that shared some of the requisites of the Theban writing communities while maintaining its own specificities.⁵⁷ Lastly, the fact that several scribes contributed to the writing of the codices leads us to believe that we are dealing with a place of production involving several qualified operators.

5. The First Classification of the Codices from This and Peyron’s Method

The destiny of the codices from This is closely intertwined with the scientific career of Amedeo Peyron (Turin, 1785–1870).

The Turin scholar is such a famous and deservedly renowned figure, not least for his pivotal role in the formation and promotion of the newly-instituted Museo Egizio,⁵⁸ that adding even a brief note on his production as a philologist, papyrologist, and Orientalist may seem superfluous.⁵⁹ What is important to stress here is that, as one of the officially designated members responsible for arrang-

ing the Drovetti collection,⁶⁰ Peyron initially preferred to focus on the Hellenistic papyri, which he published in the *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*.⁶¹ In the meantime, he began collaborating with Jean-François Champollion on the study of certain hieroglyphic papyri, thereby contributing to the birth of the discipline of Egyptology in Turin.⁶² It was only later that he dedicated himself to the Coptic codices.

In this respect, whereas his *Lexicon linguae copticae*⁶³ and *Grammatica linguae copticae*⁶⁴ are widely regarded as milestones in the history of Coptic studies, the impact of Peyron’s classification and cataloguing of the Coptic manuscripts of Turin on the composition of these two works is much less known.⁶⁵ Cataloguing was a challenging task in its own right at that time, to the point where only a few other pioneers had attempted it in Italy before him: Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli,⁶⁶ who had studied, catalogued, and published the Coptic fragments of the *Bibliotheca Naniana* (Venice), which originated from the White Monastery of Shenoute, and Georg Zoëga,⁶⁷ who, on behalf of Cardinal

⁵⁴ Ghigo, “A Systematic Scientific Study of Coptic Inks”, 2021, p. 94.

⁵⁵ Ivi, p. 97.

⁵⁶ <https://museoegizio.it/en/explore/exhibitions/archeologia-invisibile/>.

⁵⁷ For more details concerning the codicological features of the codices, see Nathan Carlig’s contribution in Part II of this volume.

⁵⁸ Peyron, *Memorie* 29 (1825), pp. 70–82.

⁵⁹ The bibliography concerning Amedeo Peyron and his numerous research interests is very broad. Only bibliographical references related to the emerging discipline of Coptic Studies are mentioned here; for the rest, see the accurate article by Gianotti, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 82 (2015), *sub voce*.

⁶⁰ For a description of Turin’s Egyptian collection at the time of the Coptic codices’ arrival, see Cordero di San Quintino, *Giornale Arcadico* 19 (1823), pp. 3–31; Botti, *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei* 30 (1921), pp. 128–49; Ridley, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 41 (1992), pp. 712–16; Curto, *Studi Piemontesi* 16 (1987), pp. 437–44.

⁶¹ Peyron, *Papyri graeci* I, 1826; Id., *Papyri graeci* II, 1827.

⁶² As regards the two scholars’ collaboration and J.-F. Champollion’s invitation to A. Peyron to share the results of their common research with other colleagues, see Peyron, *Lexicon*, 1835, p. viii.

⁶³ Peyron, *Lexicon*, 1835.

⁶⁴ Peyron, *Grammatica*, 1841.

⁶⁵ For a description of Turin’s Egyptian collection at the time of the Coptic codices’ arrival, see Cordero di San Quintino, *Giornale Arcadico* 19 (1823), pp. 3–31; Botti, *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei* 30 (1921), pp. 128–49; Ridley, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 41 (1992), pp. 712–16; Curto, *Studi Piemontesi* 16 (1987), pp. 437–44.

⁶⁶ Mingarelli, *Aegyptiorum codicum reliquiae*, 1785. See also Buzi, in Buzi et al. (eds.), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica*, Oxford 2011, pp. 33–57.

⁶⁷ Zoëga, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum*, 1810. On Zoëga, a pioneer of Coptic Studies, see Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti*, Roma 2009, pp. 15–101; Ead., in Ascani et al. (eds.), *The Forgotten Scholar*, 2015, pp. 217–23.

Stefano Borgia, had undertaken a similar project on numerous parchment leaves of the same origin.⁶⁸

Peyron, who had learned the Coptic language from Abbot Tommaso Valperga di Caluso (Turin, 1737–1815)—who, under the pseudonym of Didymus Taurinensis, had published a pioneering work entitled *Litteraturae copticae rudimentum*⁶⁹—after his initial disappointment⁷⁰ over the physical condition of the codices, provided a classification and a first codicological description of seven of them—mostly still valid⁷¹—as he himself explains in the preface of his *Lexicon linguae copticae*.⁷²

We now know that Peyron originally intended to publish all of the texts contained in the manuscripts—an endeavour famously accomplished by Francesco Rossi later⁷³—and that for this reason he had temporarily transferred some leaves of the Coptic papyrus codices to his residence.⁷⁴ Francesco Rossi comprehensively and accurately describes the patience with which Peyron worked on the classification of manuscripts and provides us with useful information concerning the first attempt at conserving them.⁷⁵

The texts of the Turin codices (including those of the parchment codex) were used by Peyron to obtain *lemmata* for his *Lexicon*, which was a work that was mainly conceived to contribute to the study of the Egyptian language.⁷⁶ Under this regard, it should be stressed that he was one of the pioneers who arranged the *lemmata* of a Coptic dictionary by root rather than strictly alphabetically. This choice was not universally shared and appreciated. In the *Note e giudizi delle proprie opere dell'Ab. Amedeo Peyron*, the Turin scholar explains his work, revealing his pride at the results achieved and, at the same time, barely concealing his misgivings regarding the work of Henry Tattam, who had just published another lexicon of the Coptic language:⁷⁷

Impiegai dieci anni in questo lavoro ingrattissimo. Ben io sapeva, che il Silvestre Sacy⁷⁸ [sic] in una sua Memoria letta all'Istituto di Francia aveva riprovato il consiglio di seguire l'ordine analitico delle radici nella formazione di un lessico Copto, tuttavia io seguitai quest'ordine nel mio Lexicon. Il Sacy fu talmente leale, che nel rendere conto del mio Lessico nel *Journal des Savants*, mars 1836, pag. 147, lodò il mio metodo. Contemporaneamente al mio comparve in

Oxford, 1835, il *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum* di Enrico Tattam; egli stesso in Parigi me ne fece cortese dono, ed io, lui presente, notai nelle sole prime pagine errori non lievi. Il suo Lessico morì appena nato, il mio fu accettato e seguito da tutti. Il Tattam era un pensionato dell'Università di Oxford, che viveva beatamente facendo lavorare la sua figlia più che ventenne; questa in Parigi copiava i manoscritti Copti, e somministrava il materiale a suo padre, che anche ad ora tarda si godeva le oziose piume. La figlia meritava rispetto per la sua scienza Copta.⁷⁹

I spent ten years in this ungrateful task. I was well aware that, in a Memoir which he read at the French Institute, Silvestre Sacy [sic] had criticized the decision to follow the analytical order of the roots in forming a Coptic lexicon. However, I followed this order in my Lexicon. Sacy was so loyal that he praised my method in reviewing my Lexicon in the Journal des Savants, March 1836, page 147. Henry Tattam's Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum appeared in Oxford in 1835 at the same time as mine. In Paris, he kindly made a gift of it to me and, in his presence, I observed that the very first pages contained errors of no small importance. His Lexicon died newborn, whereas mine was accepted and used by everyone. Tattam was a retired Oxford University professor who led a happy life by giving work to his daughter who was in her early twenties. She copied Coptic manuscripts in Paris and fed the material to her father, who luxuriated in idle feathers until the late morning. Tattam's daughter deserved respect for her knowledge of Coptic.

⁶⁸ For the beginnings of Coptic Studies, see Orlandi, in Ascani *et al.* (eds.), *The Forgotten Scholar*, 2015, pp. 195–205.

⁶⁹ Valperga di Caluso, *Litteraturae copticae*, 1783.

⁷⁰ Peyron, *Memorie* 29 (1825), p. 11.

⁷¹ In fact, the seven codices would be revealed to be eight.

⁷² Peyron, *Lexicon*, Taurini 1835, pp. xxv–xxvi. Orlandi, *Muséon* 87 (1974), p. 117.

⁷³ Rossi, *I papiri copti del Museo Egizio*, Torino, 1887–92; Id., *Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 5 (1893), pp. 3–136.

⁷⁴ Tito Orlandi, informed by Andreas Wittenburg (Munich), reveals his habit, which is now confirmed by Peyron's papers preserved in the National Library of Turin.

⁷⁵ Rossi, *Memorie* II.36 (1884), pp. 3–4.

⁷⁶ Donadoni, in Curto (ed.), *Giornata di studio in onore di Amedeo Peyron*, 1998, pp. 27–32.

⁷⁷ Tattam, *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum*, 1835.

⁷⁸ Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1758–1838), Orientalist and linguist, teacher of Jean-François Champollion, among the others.

⁷⁹ Peyron, in Peyron, *Per le nozze di Teresa Peyron*, 1879, p. 15.

Even more detailed is the description of Peyron's work provided by the intellectual and jurist Federico Sclopis di Salerano (Turin, 1798–1878). Writing in elegant, old-fashioned Italian, Sclopis di Salerano makes no secret that it was certainly not an interest in Coptic literature that inspired Peyron's efforts:

Uscito dal grecizzato Egitto il Peyron non tardò a rientrare nello studio più intimo della lingua indigena di quella regione enimmatica, e si trattenne per dieci anni nell'ardua fatica della compilazione di un Lessico Copto. Fin dagli anni suoi giovanili egli s'era un po' occupato di questa lingua, della quale il suo maestro Tommaso Di Caluso aveva mezzo secolo prima pubblicati i rudimenti, ma poi avendola abbandonata, né la riprese se non per incitamento di Champollion giuniore, che desiderava vedersi preparato un valido strumento alla spiegazione già così felicemente iniziata dei geroglifici. Un dizionario Copto già esisteva, quello del La-Croze edito dallo Scholz colle note del Woide, ma monco ed imperfetto. L'intento del Peyron era di compilare un Lessico che giovasse a coloro che imprendano a chiarire il sistema geroglifico mediante uno studio più profondo dei dialetti copti e della loro comune origine, poiché se si fosse trattato di applicarlo alla sola lettura copta, per se stessa poco rilevante, non avrebbe francato la spesa di farlo. Volle adunque e seppe il nostro Collega con un pazientissimo studio delle strane leggende e delle sbagliate traduzioni dei Monaci della Tebaide fornire agli scrutatori dell'Egitto la chiave per interpretare i monumenti dei Faraoni. *Est, est*, esclama il Peyron, *in sermone Antonii multum momenti ad hieroglyphica Pharaonum declaranda*. ... Nel suo Lessico Copto il Peyron s'attenne al sistema delle radici, non tenendo guari conto delle vocali. Lingua copta dicesi quella di cui gli Egiziani nei secoli cristiani; lingua egizia, quella che colà era in uso sotto i Faraoni e i Tolomei. Il copto si esprime colle sue radici schiette e nitide cui aggiungendosi particelle prefisse ovvero suffisse si produce varietà di significati. Lingua eminentemente geometrica che ricusa il piegarsi ad ogni larghezza di parlare oratorio o poetico; lingua conforme agli istituti del monopolio sacerdotale che assorbivano ogni elemento di scienza

e di vita pubblica nella terra di Thoth. Mentre disponeva la pubblicazione del suo Lessico il Peyron erasi condotto a Parigi, dove il chiamavano uffici di tenera amicizia, e desideri di speciale istruzione. Colà aveva saputo dal Letronne⁸⁰ che il metodo che intendeva seguire, cioè l'etimologico, era stato severamente criticato dal chiarissimo orientalista Sacy, che ne aveva fatto soggetto di una sua lettura all'Istituto di Francia. Il Peyron, quantunque avesse in grande venerazione il Sacy, non poteva però rimuoversi dall'abbracciato sistema credendolo di gran lunga migliore d'ogni altro. Il Lessico fu stampato, ed il Sacy, conosciuto, si rimosse dalla prima opinione e si mostrò così imparziale e giusto estimatore del merito di questo libro da esporre pubblicamente la sua approvazione. Questo fatto, che onora così l'uno come l'altro dei due preclari orientalisti, è narrato dal nostro Collega nella prefazione alla Grammatica Copta ... Non è da dimenticarsi che al momento stesso in cui il Peyron pubblicava il suo Lessico Copto, un altro ne veniva in luce in Oxford per opera di Enrico Tattam, ma esteso sul metodo puramente alfabetico, e non su quello affatto nuovo, che forma il pregio principale del lavoro del nostro Collega. Lo studio del Copto non fu mai smesso interamente dal nostro Collega, che anzi ancora nell'anno scorso prese a dettare i frammenti di un Salterio Copto-Saïdico, onde correggere certi errori che ad altro orientalista erano sfuggiti.⁸¹

Having left the Egypt of the Greeks, Peyron was not slow to return to the close study of that mysterious region's native language, and he spent ten years in the arduous task of compiling a Coptic Lexicon. Ever since his youth, he had occasionally worked with this language, the rudiments of which his teacher Tommaso Di Caluso had published half a century earlier. However, having abandoned it, he only took it up again at the behest of Champollion Jr., who desired a valid tool for explaining the hieroglyphs that had already begun in so felicitous a

⁸⁰ Jean Antoine Letronne (Paris, 1787–1848), archaeologist and numismatist.

⁸¹ Sclopis, *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 5 (1869–70), pp. 15–18.

manner. There was already a Coptic dictionary, that of La-Croze, which had been published by Scholz with the addition of Woide's notes. However, it was incomplete and defective. Peyron's intention was to compile a Lexicon that would be useful to those undertaking to clarify the hieroglyphic system through a more detailed study of the Coptic dialects and their common origin. Had it been a matter of applying it to Coptic literature—which is, in and of itself, negligible—he would not have taken the trouble. So, our Colleague desired and managed to provide the investigators of Egypt (i.e., Egyptologists) with the key to interpreting the monuments of the Pharaohs, as a result of an extremely patient study of the strange legends and mistaken translations of the Monks of the Thebaid. “Let there be no question of it,” exclaims Peyron, “there is much of significance in the language of Anthony to explain the hieroglyphs of the Pharaohs ...”. Est, est, in sermone Antonii multum momenti ad hieroglyphica Pharaonum declaranda. ... In his Coptic Lexicon, Peyron followed the system of the roots, resolutely ignoring the vowels. Coptic is the language of the Egyptians in the Christian centuries. Egyptian is that which was used there under the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. Coptic expresses itself with its simple and clear roots, and the addition of prefixes or suffixes to them produces a variety of meanings. It is a pre-eminently geometrical language that refuses to submit to the exaggerations of oratory or poetry. It is a language modeled upon the institutions of the priestly monopoly that absorbed every element of knowledge and public life in the land of Thoth. While he was preparing the publication of his Lexicon, Peyron went to Paris, called there by the duties of a tender friendship and the desire for a special education. There, he learned from Letronne that the method that intended to follow, viz. the etymological method, had been severely criticized by the famous orientalist, Sacy, who had given a lecture on that subject at the French Institute. As much as he held Sacy in great respect, Peyron nonetheless could not bring himself to abandon the system that he had embraced, since he believed it far better than any other. The Lexicon was published, and Sacy, upon reading it, changed his mind and showed himself so impartial and fair a judge on the worth of this book as to express his approval in public.

This fact, which is to the honour of both of these brilliant Orientalists, is narrated by our Colleague [i.e., Peyron] in the preface to the Coptic Grammar ... It should not be forgotten that, at the very moment when Peyron was publishing his Coptic Lexicon, another saw the light of day in Oxford through the efforts of Henry Tattam. That, however, was based purely on the alphabetical method and not at all on the new one that constitutes the principal virtue of the work of our Colleague. The study of Coptic was never entirely abandoned by our Colleague, who even last year undertook to dictate the fragments of a Copto-Sahidic Psalter in order to correct some mistakes that had escaped the notice of another Orientalist.

In brief, both the *Lexicon linguae copticae* and of the *Grammatica linguae copticae*,⁸² published six years later, owe much to Peyron's classification and cataloguing of the Coptic manuscripts of Turin.

It is interesting to note that the lexica of Peyron and Tattam, despite the different approaches in their conception and construction, were both used by Gustav Parthey for his *Vocabularium coptico-latinum et latino-copticum e Peyroni et Tattami lexicis*.⁸³ Here, although Parthey declares his esteem for the Turin scholar, it is the alphabetical order of Tattam's lexicon that he adopts for his *Vocabularium*.⁸⁴

6. The Codices of This from Peyron to Today

The remaining part of the 19th century, after Peyron's work, saw various scholars actively editing individual texts in the papyrus codices. If Eugène Revillout⁸⁵ showed an interest in dogmatic literature⁸⁶ and hagiography,⁸⁷ it is to Francesco Rossi that we owe the editing and translation of almost all

⁸² Peyron, *Grammatica*, 1841.

⁸³ Parthey, *Vocabularium coptico-latinum*, 1844.

⁸⁴ “in enumerandi vocis copticis vocabularii latino-coptici ordinem alphabetum sequuti sumus”: Parthey, *Vocabularium coptico-latinum*, 1844, p. viii.

⁸⁵ Revillout, *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires* 3/4 (1877), pp. 444–94.

⁸⁶ Revillout, *Le Concile de Nicée*, 1873 = CC 0556. As stated above, see also Camplani, in dal Covolo et al. (eds.), *Eusebio di Vercelli*, 1997, pp. 191–246 (*subscriptio Paulini*).

⁸⁷ Revillout, *RdÉ* 3 (1885), pp. 27–33 = CC 0407; id., *RdÉ* 3 (1885), pp. 34–37 = CC 0512.

the ancient library's texts.⁸⁸ Despite the fact that his work has often been criticized,⁸⁹ his transcriptions are reliable and extremely useful because he was able to see the manuscripts in a much better state of preservation than they are in today.

In the first fifty years of the 20th century, the codices from This were completely neglected until the intervention of Louis-Théophile Lefort, who rearranged the sequence of the leaves of various codices and published some hagiographic texts.⁹⁰ Traces of his practical and extremely useful work are still identifiable in the papyrus storeroom in the form of labels stuck to the glass, where his recognizable handwriting annotates contents, page numbers, etc.

All these scholars focused on one or more texts, rather than on the library as a codicologically consistent collection of books. Moreover, the material aspect of the manuscripts used to preserve the texts was largely overlooked. Only with Tito Orlandi—who published several texts himself⁹¹—were the codices of the Museo Egizio considered again as the library of This, and evaluated and analyzed as a whole.⁹²

Following Orlandi's re-assessment and re-classification, a few new studies focused on the Turin manuscripts: Heike Behlmer's edition of the *De iudicio supremo*, attributed to Shenoute of Atripe,⁹³ and an important identification made by Enzo Lucchesi.⁹⁴ Then, once again, a long period of obscurity surrounded the This codices, with the exception of Francesca Prometea Barone's contribution to the text of Codex VIII⁹⁵ and Orlandi's 2013 article.⁹⁶

Nowadays, however, we pay renewed attention to the This library. There is a great deal of active research. Among others, Jean-Daniel Dubois is coordinating a group of scholars who are preparing a new edition of the *Acta Pilati* (Codex II),⁹⁷ Christian Bull and Alexandros Tsakos are working on the *Vita Epiphani* (Codex XV), Tito Orlandi himself is studying, together with Awad Wadi, the *In Athanasium* attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (Codex XIV), and Alberto Camplani (in collaboration with Federico Contardi) is using the Turin version of the *Canones Basilii* (Codex XIII) for the edition of the same work transmitted by a codex found in Thebes.⁹⁸ Moreover, many scholars have used the This texts as a source for analyzing different aspects—theological, dogmatic, liturgical, and even magical—of Late Antique Egypt.⁹⁹

Finally, the PAThs project¹⁰⁰ has attempted to apply a holistic approach by taking all the library's aspects into consideration, starting with the codicological features whose

in-depth analysis is the basis for any advancement. The results of this approach—based on a series of missions dedicated to autoptic analysis¹⁰¹—is freely available through the PAThs database by means of an intuitive search.¹⁰²

⁸⁸ Rossi, *I papiri copti del Museo Egizio*, 1887–92; Id., *Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 5 (1893), pp. 3–136. The fascicles composing the two volumes of *I papiri copti* had been originally published separately in the *Memorie*. These have two different paginations, a fact that certainly does not contribute to clarity and uniqueness in quotations. On this matter, see Tito Orlandi's contribution in this volume.

⁸⁹ Above all by Atkinson, *PRIA* III (1893–96), pp. 24–99. Some corrections to Rossi's translations and other observations have been suggested by von Lemm, *Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, 10:5 (1899) – 21:3 (1904), 1:5 (1907) – 9:3 (1915), *passim*.

⁹⁰ Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques*, 1952, pp. 67–104 (*Passio Ignatii* = CC 0512); Id., *Muséon* 71 (1958), pp. 5–50, 209–39.

⁹¹ Orlandi, Vandoni, *Vangelo di Nicodemo*, 1966; Orlandi, *Testi copti* 1, 1968; Orlandi, Campagnano, *Vite di monaci*, Roma 1984. See also Orlandi, Pearson, Drake, *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre*, 1980.

⁹² Orlandi, *Muséon* 87 (1974), pp. 115–27. Orlandi revisited the library of This forty years later in another article: id., *Augustinianum* 53.2 (2013), pp. 501–30.

⁹³ Behlmer, *Schenute*, 1996. In 2013, W. Kosack published a new edition, in which he located some more fragments at the beginning of the codex. Kosack, *Schenute*, 2013.

⁹⁴ Lucchesi, *AB* 97 (1979), pp. 111–27.

⁹⁵ Barone, *OChP* 75 (2009), pp. 463–73.

⁹⁶ *Augustinianum* 53.2 (2013), pp. 501–30.

⁹⁷ The edition of the *Acta Pilati* will be published in the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum*. It is based on two different recensions of Greek, with a critical apparatus (giving all the variants in Greek) and a textual apparatus (providing all the variants of the *Acta Pilati* in other languages: Latin [more than 500 manuscripts], Coptic, Syriac, Christo-Palestinian, Armenian, and Georgian). As for the *Acta Pilati* of the Turin codices, Jean-Daniel Dubois and Gérard Roquet are also preparing a quasi-diplomatic edition with a critical apparatus, together with the edition of the same text in continuous lines and a translation into French (with notes on the translation). Two Coptic fragments preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which run parallel to the Turin text, are also taken into consideration in this edition. For the Turin version of the *Acta Pilati*, see also Dubois and Rochet, *Apocrypha* 21 (2010), pp. 57–71; Dubois and Rochet, in Crégheur et al. (eds.), *Christianisme des origines*, 2018, pp. 163–79.

⁹⁸ Camplani and Contardi, in Buzi et al. (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion* 2016, pp. 970–92; Camplani and Contardi, in Barone et al. (eds.), *Philologie, Herméneutique et Histoire des Textes*, 2017, pp. 139–59.

⁹⁹ On the *Canones Basilii* as a source for liturgy on late antique Egyptian culture, see also Maravela, Mihálykó and Wehus, *AfP* 63.1 (2017), pp. 204–30, while for magical aspects see Dosoo, *Trends in Classics* 13.1 (2021), pp. 44–94: 52–53, 76–77. The *Vita Aphou* as a source for theological controversy on anthropomorphism and man “made in the image of God” has been discussed by Bumazhnov, *Der Mensch als Gottes Bild*, 2006, and by Camplani, in Adinolfi et al. (eds.) *L'anti-Babele*, 2017, pp. 149–83.

¹⁰⁰ paths.uniroma1.it.

¹⁰¹ April 2017 (Paola Buzi and Maria Chiara Giorda), October 2017 (Paola Buzi and Nathan Carlig), May 2018 (Paola Buzi and Tea Ghigo, for the inks), October 2018 (Nathan Carlig and Francesco Valerio), January 2019 (Nathan Carlig), September 2019 (Nathan Carlig), December 2019 (Francesco Valerio, for the parchment codex), September 2021 (Eliana Dal Sasso, for the bookbindings).

¹⁰² From the section “Manuscripts”, users should consult the database by selecting “Collections”/“Italy, Torino Museo Egizio”. The results are forty-seven items, including the bookbindings. The parchment codex, <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/1131>, is also the object of the Digital Edition of the Sahidic Old Testament project, Göttingen (<https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/>).

Table 1: List of the Coptic literary codices' codicological units

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number ¹⁰³	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie, 1888</i>	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
1	CGT 63000, I 1-3; 4-59; 67; 60-66; 68	Cat. 7120 (<i>partim</i>) Cat. 7122 (<i>partim</i>)	45 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/45	GIOV.AA	108175	Papyrus codex	0127 0201 0282 0512 0862	Late 7th/ early 8th century
2	CGTCGT 63000, II 1-54	Cat. 7118	46 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/46	GIOV.AB	108413	Papyrus codex	0035 0395	Late 7th/ early 8th century
3	CGT 63000, III 1-30 + Prov. 8586 (P.N. 634) ¹⁰⁴ + CGT 63000, III 31-49; 63, fr. 1; 51-56; 57-58; 59; 60; 61-62; 63 + Codex XIV, 11, fr. 1; 59 + 73 + Codex XIV, 13, fr. 13; 60; 61+62; 65-72	Cat. 7120 (<i>partim</i>) Cat. 7122 (<i>partim</i>)	47 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/47	GIOV.AC	108414	Papyrus codex	0019 0276 0319 0407 0840 0958 0959 0960 0961 Not id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century
4	CGT 63000, IV 91, fr. 5; 93, fr. 2 + 96, fr. 1; 91, fr. 4; 90; 1-14; 35; 88; 86; 18-20; 15-16; 21- 29; 62; 78; 32-34; 30-31; 36-39; 17; 42; 40-41; 43-61; 70; 63-69; 89; 71- 75; 95; 76-77; 84; 79-80; 83; 94; 87; 81-82; 92; 85; 91, fr. 2 + 96, fr. 2; 91, fr. 1 + 93, fr. 1 Unplaced: 91, fr. 3	Cat. 7124?	48 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/48	GIOV.AD	108415	Papyrus codex	0367	Late 7th/ early 8th century
5	CGT63000, V 1-49; 50-51; (52-53)	Cat. 7121 (<i>partim</i>)	49 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/49	GIOV.AE	108416	Papyrus codex	0156	Late 7th/ early 8th century

¹⁰³ The sequence of leaves (fols.) and fragments (fr.) is based on the research of CMCL and PATHs. For more details on manufacture of the codices, see Nathan Carlig's contribution in Part I of this volume.

¹⁰⁴ This fragment is kept in a separate glass.

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie, 1888</i>	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
6	CGT63000, VI 1-73	Cat. 7123	50 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/50	GIOV.AF	108362	Papyrus codex	0050	Late 7th/ early 8th century
7	CGT 63000, VII 1; 2, fr. 1; 7, fr. 2 + CGT 63000, X 41, fr. 3; 43, fr. 1-2; 50, fr. 4 + Prov. 8587 (P.N. 644) ¹⁰⁵	-	51 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/51	GIOV.AG	108417	Papyrus codex	0504 Not id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century
8	CGT 63000, VIIB 3-6	Cat. 7122	52 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/52	GIOV.AH	108418	Papyrus codex	0271	Late 7th/ early 8th century
9	CGT 63000, VIII 1-22; 23-25; 41, fr. 1; 3-4; 26; 41, fr. 1; 27-32; 33; 34; 35; 36-38; 39 + 42, fr. 6; 40, fr. 1-3; 41, fr. 2-4; 42, fr. 1-5; 43; 44, fr. 11 + CGT 63000, X 44, fr. 4 + CGT 63000, XI, 5, fr. 3-4	Cat. 7126	53 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/53	GIOV.AI	108419	Papyrus codex	0168 0171 0178 Not id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century

¹⁰⁵ This fragment is kept in a separate glass.

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie, 1888</i>	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
10	CGT 63000, IX 1-7; 8-10 + Dono Peyron + Prov. 8592 + Prov. 8591 + Turin, BNT, Peyron Ms. 157 + CGT 63000, IX 14-33; 36-39 Uncertain location or even belonging to the codex: CGT 63000, IX 34-35; 40, fr. 2; 40, fr. 1+3; 41, fr. 1-2	Cat. 7119	54 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/54	GIOV.AJ	108363	Papyrus codex	0021 0408 Not id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century
11	CGT 63000, III 63, fr. 1; 50, fr. 1-3 + CGT 63000, XIV 17, fr. 1-2; 17, fr. 3 + CGT 63000, X 1-25; 27-29; 32-42; 44, fr. 1-2 + 4; 45-46, fr. 1-4; 47-49; 50, fr. 1-2; 51 + CGT 63000, XIV 16, fr. 6; 17, fr. 4	-	55 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/55	GIOV.AK	108366	Papyrus codex	0099 0329 0452 Not. Id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century
12	CGT 63000, XI 1, fr. 1; 1, fr. 2; 2, fr. 1; 2, fr. 2; 3, fr. 1; 3, fr. 2; 4, fr. 1-2; 5, fr. 2; 6, fr. 1+3; 6, fr. 2; 7-12; 5, fr. 1	-	56 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/56	GIOV.AL	108420	Papyrus codex	0753 Not id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century
13	CGT 63000, XII 1-37; 38-40	Cat. 7125	57 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/57	GIOV.AM	108393	Papyrus codex	0083 0149	Late 7th/ early 8th century

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie</i> , 1888	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
14	CGT 63000, XIII 1, fr. 1; 1, fr. 2; 2, fr. 1; 2, fr. 2; 3 + CGT 63000, X 30, fr. 2 + CGT 63000, XIII 4 + 5, fr. 1; 5, fr. 2; 6, fr. 2; 7 + 8; 9, fr. 1 + CGT 63000, XIV 14 + CGT 63000, XIII 10; 11-12; 13, fr. 1-4; 9, fr. 2; 14, fr. 1; 14, fr. 2 + 15, f. 2; 15, fr. 1; 16, fr. 1+2; 17 + 18 fr. 1; 6, fr. 1 + 18, fr. 2+3; 30, fr. 1 + CGT 63000, X 30, fr. 1 + CGT 63000, XIII 19, fr. 1; 19, fr. 2 + 3; 20, fr. 1; 20, fr. 2; 21, fr. 1 + 2; 21, fr. 4 + 5; 21, fr. 3; 22 fr. 1; 22, fr. 2; 22, fr. 3; 23, fr. 1 + 2; 23, fr. 3; 24, fr. 1; 25, fr. 1; 25, fr. 2; 24, fr. 2; 24, fr. 3; 26, fr. 1; 26, fr. 2; 27, fr. 1-2; 27, fr. 3; 27, fr. 4; 28, fr. 1; 28, fr. 2; 29, fr. 1; 28, fr. 3; 29, fr. 2	-	58 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/58	GIOV.AN	108421	Papyrus codex	0090	Late 7th/ early 8th century
15	CGT 63000, XIV 1-3; 4, fr. 1-2; 5, fr. 1-2; 6, fr. 1-2; 7, fr. 1-2; 8, fr. 1; 9, fr. 1-2; 10, fr. 1-2; 11, fr. 2; 12, fr. 1-2; 15; 16, fr. 5; 18, fr. 3; 20, fr. 1-2 ¹⁰⁶ Uncertain: 8, fr. 2; 15, fr. 1-4; 16, fr. 2-4; 18, fr. 1-2; 19, fr. 1 and 3; 21, fr. 1-4	-	59 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/59	GIOV.AO	108364	Papyrus codex	0108	Late 7th/ early 8th century

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie, 1888</i>	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
16	<p>CGT 63000, XV 44, fr. 2; 41, fr. 1; 42, fr. 6; 42, fr. 1+3; 42, fr. 4+5; 43, fr. 1; 44, fr. 4; 45, fr. 1; 9 + 40, fr. 1; 5 + 43, fr. 2; 21 + 23, fr. 2; 22 + 23, fr. 1; 24-37</p> <p>CGT 63000 X 26</p> <p>Unplaced:</p> <p>CGT 63000, VIII 44, fr. 8</p> <p>+</p> <p>CGT 63000, XIV fr. 1</p> <p>+</p> <p>CGT 63000, XV 41, f. 1; 42, fr. 6; 42, fr. 1+3; 42, fr. 4+5; 43, fr. 1; 44, fr. 4; 45, fr. 1; 9 + 40, fr. 1; 5 + 43, fr. 2; 21 + 23, fr. 2; 22 + 23, fr. 1; 24-37; 26</p> <p>Unplaced:</p> <p>CGT 63000, VIII 44, fr. 8</p> <p>CGT 63000, XIV fr. 1</p> <p>CGT 63000, XV 1 + 40, fr. 2; 2 + 39, fr. 2; 3 + 39, fr. 1; 4 + 52, fr. 1; 6 + 8, fr. 2; 7, fr. 1 + 8, fr. 1; 7, fr. 2; 10 + 51, fr. 1-2; 11 + 12 + 41, fr. 4; 13, fr. 1; 13, fr. 2 + 14, fr. 2-3; 15; 17, fr. 1 + 18; 17, fr. 2 + 16, fr. 1 + 19; 20; 38; 41, fr. 2; 41, fr. 3; 41, fr. 5; 41, fr. 6; 42, fr. 2; 44, fr. 1; 44, fr. 3; 45, fr. 2 + 46, fr. 1 (?); 46, fr. 2 + 54; 46, fr. 3; 47; 48; 49; 50; 51, fr. 3; 52, fr. 2; 52, fr. 3 + 4 + 6; 52, fr. 4; 53, fr. 1 + 3 + 4; 53, fr. 2; 55, fr. 1-4; 55, fr. 5; 56, fr. 3; 56, fr. 4; 56, fr. 7</p>	-	60 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/60	GIOV.AP	108422	Papyrus codex	0413	Late 7th/ early 8th century

¹⁰⁶ It is unclear whether the following unidentified fragments form part of CLM 59 contain another literary work or pertain to another codex: XIV, 8, fr. 2; 15, fr. 1-4; 16, fr. 2-4; 18, fr. 1-2; 19, fr. 1 and 3; 21, fr. 1-4.

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie, 1888</i>	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
17	CGT 63000, XVI 56 + 59, fr. 4; 57, fr. 1 and 2; 58; 59, fr. 2 and 3; 1-13; 14 + 60, fr. 3 + 62; 15 + 60, fr. 2 + 63; 16 + 60, fr. 1; 17-55; 59, fr. 1 + 61	-	61 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/61	GIOV.AQ	108423	Papyrus codex	0261 0262 0269 0293 0295	Late 7th/ early 8th century
18	CGT 63000, XVII 1-5	-	62 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/62	GIOV.AR	108424	Papyrus codex	0735	Late 7th/ early 8th century
19	CGT 63000, X 44, fr. 3; 50, fr. 3 + CGT 63000, XIV 10, fr. 3; 13, fr. 2, 13, fr. 4; 16, fr. 1	-	6558 ¹⁰⁷ https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6558	-	-	Papyrus codex (6 unpublished fragments)	-	Late 7th/ early 8th century
20	CGT 63000, VIII 44, fr. 3; 44, fr. 5; 45, fr. 1-6 + CGT 63000 X 55, fr. 5; 56, fr. 1-2; 56, fr. 8	-	6559 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6559	GIOV.AI	-	Papyrus codex (12 unpublished fragments)	?	Late 7th/ early 8th century
21	CGT 63000, VI 96, fr. 1 + 79; 96, fr. 2 + 89; 96, fr. 3; 90 Unplaced: 74-78; 80-88; 92-95	Cat. 7123	6564 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6564	GIOV.AF	108362	Papyrus codex (second part of GIOV.AF)	0173 0306 Not id.	Late 7th/ early 8th century
22	Provv. 6266	-	6329 ¹⁰⁸ https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6329	-	-	1 leaf from a papyrus codex (<i>colophon</i>) [https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/96]	-	Late 7th/ early 8th century

¹⁰⁷ It might belong to the same CLM 6329 codicological unit.

¹⁰⁸ It might belong to the same CLM 6558 codicological unit.

	Museo Egizio's shelf mark/call number	Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, <i>R. Museo di Torino. Ant. Egizie</i> , 1888	PATHs ID (CLM)	CMCL ID	TM/LDAB ID	Book form and writing support	Clavis Coptica (CC)	Date
23	Provv. 8548		6330 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/6330	-	-	1 leaf from a papyrus codex (<i>colophon</i>) [https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/97]	-	Late 7th/early 8th century
24	Provv. 7117 fols. (i) + 1-116 + fr. 1-3		1131 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/1131	GIOV.AS	107951 108562 108563	Parchment codex	0754 0761 0762	5th/6th century

