

# ADAMANTIUS

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Rivista del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su  
“Origene e la tradizione alessandrina”

Journal of the Italian Research Group on  
“Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition”

24

2018

*The Coptic Book: Codicological Features,  
Places of Production, Intellectual Trends*



**Morcelliana**

# Adamantius

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**Indice**  
**Adamantius 24 (2018)**

1. *Contributi*
- 1.1 *Sezioni monografiche*
- 1.1.1 *The Coptic Book: Codicological Features, Places of Production, Intellectual Trends*
  - PAOLA BUZI, *Introduction* 6-8
  - MARILENA MANIACI, *Ricordo di Paul Canart (25 ottobre 1927 – 14 settembre 2017)* 9-11
  - GIANFRANCO AGOSTI, *Greek and Coptic Paideia in Late Antique Egypt: Comparing the Incomparable?* 12-21
  - SOFÍA TORALLAS TOVAR, *Athanasius' Letter to Dracontius: A Fourth-Century Coptic Translation in a Papyrus Roll (P.Monts.Roca inv. 14)* 22-38
  - PAOLA BUZI, *The Coptic Papyrus Codices Preserved in the Museo Egizio, Turin: New Historical Acquisitions, Analysis of Codicological Features, and Strategies for a Better Understanding and Valorization of the Library from Thi(ni)s* 39-57
  - TITO ORLANDI, *The Monasteries of Shenoute and Macarius: A Comparison Between Two Libraries* 58-65
  - FRANCESCO BERNO, *The Coptic Reception of the Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews by John Chrysostom (CPG 4440), with Some Notes on the Composition of MONB.CR (= CLM 325): A Survey and New Textual Identifications* 66-74
  - ELISABETH R. O'CONNELL, *Theban Books in Context* 75-105
  - ANNE BOUD'HORS, *Le P. Bodmer 58 comme témoin de la vie culturelle et religieuse dans la région thébaine au début du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle* 106-117
  - TOMASZ GÓRECKI† e EWA WIPSZYCKA, *Scoperta di tre codici in un eremo a Sheikh el-Gurna (TT 1151-1152): il contesto archeologico* 118-132
  - RENATE DEKKER, *The Early Sahidic Version of the Encomium on Bishop Pesynthius of Koptos from Shaykh Abd al-Qurna: On the Progress of Its Edition* 133-142
  - ÁGNES T. MIHÁLYKÓ, *The Thrice-Blessed Pesynthios of Koptos and the Presanctified Holies: Some Notes on a Coptic Pastoral Letter (P.Berol. 11346)* 143-149
  - ALBERTO CAMPLANI – FEDERICO CONTARDI, *The Canons Attributed to Basil of Caesarea in the Context of the Canonical Literature Preserved in Coptic* 150-164
  - NATHAN CARLIG, *Codicological Remarks on the Pseudo-Basil Codex from Hermitage MMA 1152 (Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13448)* 165-183
  - PRZEMYSŁAW PIWOWARCZYK, *Preliminary Remarks on the Recently Identified Leaves with Martyrium Petri from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna* 184-194
  - AGOSTINO SOLDATI, *One of the Oldest Extant Coptic 'Colophons'* 195-199
  - JULIAN BOGDANI, *Linking Coptic literary manuscripts to the archaeological context by means of Digital Humanities: The case of 'PATHs' project* 200-210
- 1.1.2 *Lectures on Philo – De vita Mosis*
  - CLAUDIO ZAMAGNI, *Introduzione* 211-212
  - FRANCESCA CALABI, *Regalità, profezia, sacerdozio di Mosè secondo Filone alessandrino* 213-226
  - FRANCESCA SIMEONI, *Assimilazione e immutabilità. Modelli platonici della relazione tra Mosè e Dio in Filone di Alessandria* 227-237
  - MANUELA BARETTA, *Ipotesi sul pubblico del De vita Mosis di Filone alessandrino* 238-244
  - LEONARDO LUGARESÌ, *Dio e l'uomo nel teatro del mondo. Agonismo spirituale, vita inautentica e rappresentazione del potere nella riflessione di Filone sugli spettacoli* 245-263
  - ANGELA MARIA MAZZANTI, *L'importanza della krisis fra enunciazione teorica e lettura degli avvenimenti. La Legatio ad Gaium di Filone di Alessandria* 264-275
  - ILARIA L.E. RAMELLI, *Philo as One of the Main Inspirers of Early Christian Hermeneutics and Apophatic Theology* 276-292



GUIDO BENDINELLI, *Filone e Origene interpreti di Mosè* 293-305

CLAUDIO ZAMAGNI, *Filone nella letteratura cristiana antica: la sintesi eusebiana di Hist. eccl. II 4,2-3 e la testimonianza sui 'terapeuti' (II 16,2-17,24)* 306-311

MASSIMO GARGIULO, *Una esegesi per tutti: le Quaestiones tra giudaismo rabbinico, mondo greco e tradizioni popolari* 312-324

DOMENICO PAZZINI, *Creazione, nominazione, linguaggio: Genesi 1-2 in Filone, Origene, Walter Benjamin* 325-333

## 1.2 Articoli

ALEX LEONAS, *Notes concerning Philo's chronology and social position* 334-348

VÍT HUŠEK, *Scholia of Clement of Alexandria in the Coptic Catena on the Gospel* 349-359

ANTONIO CACCIARI, *Sugli hapax legomena nelle Homiliae in Psalmos origeniane* 360-370

ADELE MONACI CASTAGNO, *Eusebio di Cesarea, Gerusalemme e la Palestina (313-324/325 d.C.)* 371-397

MANOLIS PAPOUTSAKIS, *Is He the Rider of the Quadriga? Ephrem the Syrian on Julian's Apotheosis* 398-415

GIOVANNI MANDOLINO, «Come un indovino»: *doppia creazione e immagine di Dio nel De opificio hominis di Gregorio di Nissa* 416-434

ALESSANDRO CAPONE, *Stoici, qui nostro dogmati in plerisque concordant: Gerolamo e lo stoicismo* 435-450

CARLA LO CICERO, *Rufino traduttore di Gregorio di Nazianzo. Pastori di pecore (o bovini) e pastori di anime: riecheggiamenti virgiliani e ricordi di scuola (Gr. Naz. or. 2,9 – Rufin. Greg. Naz. orat. 1,9)* 451-462

ELISA DAL CHIELE, *Gubernat aquam qualiter illi placuerit. Una citazione non identificata in Agostino, cons. ev. III 48* 463-468

CARMEN ANGELA CVETKOVIĆ, *Contested Authority in the Twelfth Century Latin West: Bernard of Clairvaux's Reception of Origen* 469-484

RUBÉN PERETÓ RIVAS, *The two versions of Evagrius Ponticus' Kephalaia Gnostika. A New Discussion on Their Authenticity* 485-492

## 1.3 Note e Rassegne

TESSA CANELLA, *Lo sviluppo teologico cristiano dell'idea di tolleranza: a margine di un recente volume di Peter Van Nuffelen* 493-505

LORENZO PERRONE, *Tra le linee dei conflitti: Coabitazioni culturali e religiose ad Alessandria e in Egitto fra I e VI sec., con un'appendice di ALBERTO CAMPLANI, Momenti di trasformazione storico-culturale e percorsi di coabitazione nelle zone marginali* 506-519

GUALTIERO CALBOLI, *I Commenta in Ciceronis Rhetorica di Mario Vittorino: una nuova edizione commentata* 520-531

## 2. Notiziario

2.1 Riunioni del Gruppo 532-536

2.2 Notizie su tesi e attività didattiche 537-541

[TERESA PISCITELLI]

## 3. Repertorio bibliografico

3.1 *Pubblicazioni recenti su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina* (a cura di L. PERRONE) 542-615

0. *Bibliografie, repertori e rassegne; profili di studiosi*, 542; 1. *Miscellanee e studi di carattere generale*, 544; 2. *Ellenismo e cultura alessandrina*, 556; 3. *Giudaismo ellenistico*, 556; 4. *LXX*, 558; 5. *Aristobulo*, 562; 6. *Lettera di Aristeo*, 563; 7. *Filone Alessandrino*, 563 (1. *Bibliografie, rassegne, repertori*; 2. *Edizioni e traduzioni*; 3. *Miscellanee e raccolte*; 4. *Studi*); 8. *Pseudo-Filone*, 565; 9. *Flavio Giuseppe*, 566 (1. *Bibliografie, rassegne, repertori*; 2. *Edizioni e traduzioni*; 3. *Miscellanee e raccolte*; 4. *Studi*); 10. *Cristianesimo alessandrino e ambiente egiziano*, 566 (1. *Il contesto religioso egiziano*; 2. *Il periodo delle origini*; 3. *Gnosticismo, ermetismo e manicheismo*; 4. *La chiesa alessandrina: istituzioni, dottrine, riti, personaggi e episodi storici*; 5. *Il monachesimo*); 11. *Clemente*

## INDIRIZZARIO DEI MEMBRI DEL GRUPPO

- Alessandrino*, 577; 12. *Origene*, 578 (1. *Bibliografie, rassegne, repertori*; 2. *Edizioni e traduzioni*; 3. *Miscellanee e raccolte*; 4. *Studi*); 13. *L'origenismo e la fortuna di Origene*, 590; 14. *Dionigi Alessandrino*, 591; 15. *Pierio di Alessandria*; 16. *Pietro di Alessandria*; 17. *Alessandro di Alessandria*, 591; 18. *Ario*, 592; 19. *Eusebio di Cesarea*, 592; 20. *Atanasio*, 594; 21. *I Padri Cappadoci*, 595 (1. *Basilio di Cesarea*, 595; 2. *Gregorio di Nazianzo*, 596; 3. *Gregorio di Nissa*, 597); 22. *Ambrogio di Milano*, 605; 23. *Didimo il Cieco*, 605; 24. *Evagrio*, 605; 25. *Rufino di Aquileia*, 606; 26. *Teofilo di Alessandria*, 606; 27. *Sinesio di Cirene*, 606; 28. *Gerolamo*, 606; 29. *Agostino*, 609; 30. *Isidoro di Pelusio*; 31. *Cirillo Alessandrino*, 611; 32. *Nonno di Panopoli*, 612; 33. *Pseudo-Dionigi Areopagita*, 613; 34. *Cosma Indicopleuste*; 35. *Giovanni Filopono*, 614; 36. *Massimo il Confessore*, 615.
- 3.2 *Segnalazioni di articoli e libri* 616-652  
[MARIA DELL'ISOLA, MARCO SETTEMBRINI, ANDREA NICOLOTTI, ROMANO PENNA, ARIANNA ROTONDO, CLEMENTI MAZZUCCO, ANDREA VILLANI, OSVALDA ANDREI, LEONARDO LUGARESÌ, LORENZO FOCANTI, JEAN-MARIE AUWERS, STEFANO FRANCHINI].
4. *Comunicazioni*
- 4.1 *Congressi, seminari e conferenze*
- 4.1.1 *Congressi: cronache* 653-658  
*Philon d'Alexandrie dans l'Europe moderne: réception d'un corpus judéo-hellénistique (XVI-XVIII s.)*, Lyon, 7-9 novembre 2018 [FRANCESCA CALABI]. XVI Convegno del GIROTA 27-28 aprile 2018 – Portogruaro (VE) *Il cristianesimo in Anatolia tra Marco Aurelio e Diocleziano: tradizione asiatica e tradizione alessandrina a confronto* [MAURIZIO GIROLAMI].
- 4.1.2 *Seminari: cronache* 658-661.  
*Summer School in Coptic Literature and Manuscript Tradition* (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg, 17-21 settembre 2018) [MARTA ADDESSI]
- 4.1.3 *Progetti di ricerca* 662-667  
*A proposito di PAThs* [PAOLA BUZI, ALBERTO CAMPLANI, MARIA CHIARA GIORDA]
5. *Indici*
- 5.1 *Indice delle opere di Origene* (M. ADDESSI) 668-669
- 5.2 *Indice degli autori moderni* (M. ADDESSI) 670-684
6. *Indirizzario*
- 6.1 *Elenco dei membri del Gruppo* 685-688
- 6.2 *Elenco dei collaboratori di Adamantius 24 (2018)* 689-690
7. *Libri e periodici ricevuti* 691-694
8. *Pubblicazioni del Gruppo* 695-696
- Opere di Origene* 697
- Annuncio delle due sezioni monografiche di «Adamantius» 25 (2019)* 698

## 1. Contributi

### 1.1 Sezioni monografiche

#### 1.1.1 The Coptic Book: Codicological Features, Places of Production, Intellectual Trends

##### Introduction

by  
Paola Buzi

The theme section of this issue of *Adamantius* collects the proceedings of the international conference *The Coptic book between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries: codicological features, places of production, intellectual trends* (Rome, “Sapienza” Università di Roma – Academia Belgica, 21-22 September 2017)<sup>1</sup>, organized within the scientific activities of the ERC project “PATHs - Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context: Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage”, plus two more contributions – respectively dedicated to the Coptic version of the letter of Athanasius to the monk Dracontius, transmitted by a horizontal roll, and to the Coptic tradition of John Chrysostom’s homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews – that, although exceeding the chronological limits dealt with the conference, are extremely relevant for the reconstruction of the development of the Christian Egyptian book and literary tradition.

It is important to stress that the term ‘book’ is meant here both as a material object – with its specific codicological and palaeographic features –<sup>2</sup> and as a carrier of texts and intellectual products. Moreover, it must be clear that the adjective “Coptic” is used in this context to refer to the entire Late Antique Christian Egyptian book production, therefore written also in Greek, and not only to books that transmit texts in the Coptic language.

The choice of dedicating a conference – the first of the “PATHs” project – to the book production between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries was not fortuitous: despite the important recent progresses made in the understanding of this period of the history of the Coptic book<sup>3</sup> – and of the book in general, since Egypt can be considered a real laboratory of the physical features of codices, in terms of formats, quire systems, bookbindings, combination and arrangement of texts –, much remains to be clarified and explored, such as the nature of

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<sup>1</sup> ERC Advanced Grant (2015) project n° 687567, hosted by “Sapienza” Università di Roma ([paths.uniroma1.it](http://paths.uniroma1.it); <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu>). See P. BUZI, *Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature: Literary Texts in Their Geographical Context; Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage (PATHs)*, *Early Christianity* 8 (2017), 507-516; P. BUZI – J. BOGDANI – N. CARLIG – M. GIORDA – A. SOLDATI, “*Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths*”: A New International project on Coptic Literature, *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 1 (2017) [<https://rivista.museoegizio.it/>]; P. BUZI – F. BERNO – J. BOGDANI, *The ‘PATHs’ Project: an Effort to Represent the Physical Dimension of Coptic Literary Production (Third–Eleventh centuries)*, *Comparative Oriental Manuscripts Studies Bulletin* 4.1 (???) 39-58.

<sup>2</sup> More and more specialists of manuscripts and early printed books, of various cultural areas and disciplines, are now studying the textual/cultural aspects of books in strict relation with their physical features, internal and external. See for instance B.J. FLEMING, *The Materiality of South Asian Manuscripts from the University of Pennsylvania MS Coll. 390 and the Rāmamālā Library in Bangladesh*, *Manuscript Studies* 1.1 (Spring 2017) 3-26, and B. WAGNER, M. REED (eds.), *Early Printed Books as Material Objects. Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, Berlin-Munich 2010.

<sup>3</sup> For the case of Thebes see A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche des manuscrits coptes de la région thébaine*, in *From Gnostics to Monastics. Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton*, ed. D. BRAKKE - S.J. DAVIS - S. EMMEL, Leuven - Paris, Bristol (CT) 2017, 175-212; EAD., *Copie et circulation des livres dans la région thébaine (VII<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, in *“Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que village...” Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romain et byzantine*, ed. A. DELATTRE, P. HEILPORN, Brussels 2008, 149-161; EAD., *Copyist and Scribe: Two Professions for a Single Man? Palaeographical and Linguistic Observations on Some Practices of the Theban Region According to Coptic Texts from the Seventh and Eighth Centuries*, in *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*, ed. J. CROMWELL - E. GROSSMAN, Oxford 2017, 274-295.

libraries and their criteria of selection, the tastes and the interests that were behind their formation, but also the evolution in the making of the codex and the professional competences involved<sup>4</sup>. The scant information concerning all these aspects that are provided by well-known 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>-century libraries in fact is even poorer for previous periods.

A better knowledge of this phase of the Coptic book production will contribute to the definitive abandonment of the misleading praxis for using the most famous mediaeval libraries – White Monastery, Monastery of the Archangel Michael (Hamūli), Monastery of Macarius (Scetis) – as a model and a meter on which to measure the entire history of Coptic manuscript tradition.

Moreover, also thanks to recent discoveries due to active archaeological excavations, it appears clearer and clearer that it is possible to talk about a “regionality of the book production”, being the area of Thebes one of the most generous in providing new finds consisting of books, in all possible forms and writing supports, that shed light on the cultural trainings and literary tastes of the inhabitants of urban settlements (such as Jeme) and of a constellation of different forms of ‘monasteries’ (from essential and remote hermitages to well-organized *topoi*).

Whenever possible, therefore, it becomes essential to take into consideration the place(s) where a text was copied and a book was manufactured and stored and has circulated. In this way, cultural orientations and literary tastes in specific areas of Egypt will be singled out, while changes in the manufacture of codices will emerge, in a manuscript tradition that offers the oldest witnesses for the use of codex.

The theme section is articulated in three parts. The first – *Literary culture(s), and book production in Egypt between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries* – that aims at analyzing different libraries and regional milieus of Late Antique and early Mediaeval Egypt, is opened by an article of Gianfranco Agosti, which deals with the common ground of Greek and Coptic *paideia*, comparing the Late Antique Greek learned poetry with the contemporary Coptic hagiographic production. Then Sofía Torallas Tovar discusses one of the most important bibliographical discoveries of the last years, a papyrus roll containing Athanasius of Alexandria’s *Letter to Dracontius* in Coptic version, that much adds to our knowledge of the cultural activities of early Egyptian Church institutions. The section continues with a contribution of Paola Buzi dedicated to the ancient library of the cathedral of This, consisting of a number of Coptic codices dating to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup>, preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Turin, and now the object of a complete re-examination within the activities of the “PATHs” project, with particular attention to ancient restorations and re-writings and the codicological features. The criteria of selection and arrangement of the works of two important Christian libraries of early mediaeval Egypt, that of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute and that of the Monastery of Macarius, which represent different manners of preservation of the Coptic literary tradition, are the object of Tito Orlandi’s contribution. Lastly, the section offers an accurate *status quaestionis* of the reception of John Chrysostom’s homilies dedicated to the Epistle to the Hebrews (Francesco Berio).

The second section – *Coptic Books from the Theban region* – takes its inspiration from the discovery of the three Theban Coptic books of the so-called pit MMA 1152 by Tomasz Górecki and his team<sup>5</sup>, whose provenance is archaeologically well documented, a fact of great importance for a project like “PATHs”, that aims at analysing the Coptic book in strict relation to the geo-archaeological context. The section, however, is opened by a more general and at the same time very accurate overview of the literary manuscripts, in Greek and Coptic, found in Thebes, with a particular attention to their archaeological contexts (Elisabeth R. O’Connell). This is followed by a contribution on one of the most interesting multiple-text manuscripts of the Theban area, *P. Bodmer 58*, as far as the content and the physical aspects are concerned (Anne Boud’hors).

<sup>4</sup> In this respect, the contribution of A. MARAVELA, *Monastic book production in Christian Egypt*, in *Spätantike Bibliotheken. Leben und Lesen in den frühen Klöstern Ägyptens*, ed. H. FROSCHAUER, C.E. RÖMER, Wien 2008, 25-38 is very useful.

<sup>5</sup> T. GÓRECKI, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152). Preliminary Report, 2005*, *Polish Archaeological Mission 22* (2017) 263-274; ID., *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna*, in A. MAJEWSKA, *Seventy Years of Polish Archaeology in Egypt. Catalogue of the Exhibition. Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 21 October - 21 November 2007*, Warsaw 2017, 176-181; ID., ‘It might come in useful’: *Scavening among the Monks from the Hermitage in MMA 1152*, *Étude et Travaux 27* (2014) 129-150.

Most of the contributions of this section are, therefore dedicated, to the archaeological context of discovery (this is the case of the article written by Tomasz Górecki† and Ewa Wipszycka), to the texts that are transmitted by the codices (Renate Dekker, Alberto Camplani with the collaboration of Federico Contardi, Przemysław Piwowarczyk), to their codicological features (Nathan Carlig), to the liturgical aspects of the historical contexts (Agnes Mihálykó), and to scribal subscriptions (Agostino Soldati).

Lastly, the third sections contain an article by Julian Bogdani that aims at showing how digital humanities, with their broad and diversified tools and methodologies, can contribute to a better knowledge of Late Antiquity, notably of Christian Egyptian manuscript and literary production in its geographical context.

A few days before the conference, we received the sad news of the passing of Mons. Paul Canart, an inspirer and guide for several of the authors of this theme section. He had been invited to take part in the conference as discussant and therefore I find it appropriate and dutiful to celebrate his memory with a brief *ricordo* of his human and scientific qualities by Marilena Maniaci. It is our way to thank him for his extraordinary teachings in the fields of codicology and palaeography.

Paola Buzi

ERC Advanced Grant 2015 Principal Investigator:

«PATHs - Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: an Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature.

Literary Texts in their Geographical Context.

Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage»

**Codicological Remarks on the Pseudo-Basil Codex from Hermitage MMA 1152  
(Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13448)\***

by  
Nathan Carlig

In 2005, the Polish archaeological mission at Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Qurna (Western Thebes) directed by the late T. Górecki discovered three manuscripts in the hermitage MMA 1152<sup>1</sup>. Two of them are papyrus codices, one containing 36 *Canons* attributed to Basil of Caesarea (CC<sup>2</sup> 0090) and the other bearing an *enkōmion* of Pisenithius, bishop of Coptos (CC 0238). The third manuscript consists of a bulk of parchment leaves containing the book of Isaiah (CC 0739) followed by two leaves with the *Acta Petri* (CC 0026)<sup>3</sup>. The three manuscripts were restored in 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2010<sup>4</sup>. At the beginning they were kept at the *Bibliotheca Alexandrina*, and in 2013 they were moved to the Coptic Museum, Cairo, where they are still kept. The manuscript of the *Canons* has the inventory number 13448. While preparing the edition of the text, A. Camplani and F. Contardi published two preliminary articles, dealing mainly with philological matters<sup>5</sup>. As regards the codicological point of view, the codex has been taken into account by A. Boud’hors in both her surveys on Theban manuscripts. According to the French scholar, the manuscript could date back to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the *terminus post quem* provided by the presence of the manuscript of the *Enkōmion* of Pisenithius in the same discovery place, and on the basis of palaeography<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> As regards the archaeological context, see T. GÓRECKI, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152). Preliminary Report, 2005*, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 17 (2007) 263-274 and the article by T. Górecki and E. Wipszycka published here.

<sup>2</sup> The abbreviation “CC” stands for *Clavis Coptica* (or *Clavis Patrum Copticorum*) developed by T. Orlandi within the framework of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (CMCL), and freely available at [http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam\\_clavis.html](http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html).

<sup>3</sup> Some preliminary reports have been published. See in particular T. GÓRECKI, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152)*, cit. (n. 1), 263-274, where the discovery of the manuscripts is announced. A brief *status quaestionis* about the hermitage can be found in E. WIPSYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV<sup>e</sup> – VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (JJP. Suppl. 11), Warsaw 2009, 190-196. See also I. ANTONIAK, *Recent Discoveries in the Hermitage of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna: Coptic Codices and Ostraca*, in “*Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages...*” *Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistiques, romaine et byzantine*. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005, éd. A. DELATTRE – P. HEILPORN (PapyBrux 34), Bruxelles 2008, 10-16.

<sup>4</sup> As regards the restorations, see T. GÓRECKI – E. SZPAKOWSKA, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. Archaeological Activities in the Hermitage in Tomb 1152*, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 18 (2009) 305-310, D. KORDOWSKA, *Conservation Work on three Coptic Manuscripts from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna*, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 18 (2009) 311-315 and A. THOMMÉE, *The Gurna Manuscripts (hermitage in MMA 1152)*. *Conservation Report, 2010*, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 22 (2013) 199-208.

<sup>5</sup> A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea. A new Coptic codex*, in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup>, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>, 2008, ed. P. BUZI – A. CAMPLANI (OLOA 247), Leuven 2016, 979-992 and A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *Remarks on the Textual Contribution of the Coptic Codices preserving the Canons of Saint Basil, with Edition of the Ordination Rite of the Bishop (Canon 46)*, in *Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre Orient et Occident*. Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu, éd. F.P. BARONE – C. MACÉ – P.A. UBIERNA (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 73), Turnhout 2017, 139-159.

<sup>6</sup> A. BOUD’HORS, *Copie et circulation des livres dans la région thébaine (VII<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, in “*Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages...*” *Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistiques, romaine et byzantine*. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005, éd. A. DELATTRE – P. HEILPORN (PapyBrux 34), Bruxelles 2008, 149-161



However, the codicological elements mentioned in publications about the manuscript are not sufficient to provide a detailed codicological description. Within the framework of the ERC Project “PATHs”, which aims to provide a digital atlas of Coptic literature (now available on atlas.paths-erc.eu), a pattern of codicological description applied to Coptic manuscripts has been developed. It takes into account the text, but also material features, such as the writing support and form, layout characteristics, writing, binding, etc. In this article, I am going to apply this method to describe the manuscript. In the manuscripts database of the atlas of Coptic literature, the manuscript is recorded as Coptic Literary Manuscript (CLM) 713. A. Camplani kindly provided me with a complete set of pictures of the manuscript. An autoptical analysis of the manuscript in Cairo was conducted on June 24<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> 2018 by Paola Buzi, whom I warmly thank for sharing with me the results of her analysis.

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The codex is complete and inclusive of binding and decorated leather cover. It consists of 75 preserved leaves<sup>7</sup>, divided into ten quires<sup>8</sup>. All the leaves are written on both sides, with the exception of f. 1r at the beginning of the codex, and ff. 73v and 74 at the end, which are left blank. F. 75r bears a sort of colophon written by a different hand from those used to write the text<sup>9</sup>. The other side (f. 75v) is blank. The leaves measure 28-29 cm in height and 22 cm in width<sup>10</sup>. The written frame is 23 cm high and *ca* 14 cm wide<sup>11</sup>. Each page contains one column of 21 to 24 lines, with the exception of f. 65r (p. ρλλ), which contains two columns. The text is aligned on left.

F. 1v (pl. 1) bears a general title (“Canons of the Great Basil, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia”), followed by an “index-title” of some of the *Canons* copied in the manuscript. Inside the codex, each canon is preceded by a brief title, i.e. a section heading<sup>12</sup>. Five section headings are highlighted by leaf tabs placed on the external edge of ff. 15v, 27r, 38r, 56v, and 68r. The leaf tabs are black, maybe made from leather. I suppose that each page bearing a title was provided with a leaf tab. In fact, on these pages, a loss of papyrus or kind of a black stain is observed where the leaf tab would have been applied.

#### WRITING AND SIGNS

The text was written by one main hand, while two others wrote f. 65r (p. ρλλ), and ff. 68v and 69r (pp. ρλμ and ρλ[θ]) respectively. The three writings are little irregular majuscules with upright axis and no thick-and-thin style. However, they can be distinguished by some specific features.

The first hand has already been briefly described by A. Camplani and F. Contardi<sup>13</sup>, as well as A. Boud’hors<sup>14</sup>. It is generally unimodular<sup>15</sup> but o and e are sometimes wide and sometimes narrow. c is wide. η shows a 3-strokes *ductus*. Bilinearity is broken by ρ, q, κ, τ, φ, x, z, ψ, and ω. The *ductus* of some letters shows serifs

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and A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche des manuscrits coptes de la région thébaine*, in *From Gnostics to Monastics. Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton*, ed. D. BRAKKE, S.J. DAVIS, S. EMMEL (OLOA 263), Leuven-Paris-Bristol (CT) 2017, 175-212.

<sup>7</sup> In the first account about the discovery of the manuscripts, by T. GÓRECKI, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152)*, cit. (n. 1), 266 counted about 70 leaves (see also A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche*, cit. [n. 7], 194). In A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea*, cit. (n. 5), 982, there are 74 leaves.

<sup>8</sup> A. THOMMÉE, *The Gurna Manuscripts*, cit. (n. 4), 200 counts 9 quires.

<sup>9</sup> On the colophon, see the article of A. Soldati, published here.

<sup>10</sup> The dimensions were measured by P. Buzi during her mission in the Coptic Museum in June 2018 and are slightly different than that published by T. GÓRECKI, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152)*, cit. (n. 1), 266, followed by I. ANTONIAK, *Recent Discoveries*, cit. (n. 3), 147, A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea*, cit. (n. 5), 982, and A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche*, cit. (n. 6), 194.

<sup>11</sup> The dimensions were also measured by P. Buzi.

<sup>12</sup> As regards the section headings, see A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *Remarks on the Textual Contribution*, cit. (n. 5), 142-145. All the section headings are edited on pp. 156-158.

<sup>13</sup> A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea*, cit. (n. 5), 982.

<sup>14</sup> A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche*, cit. (n. 6), 194.

<sup>15</sup> However, according to A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche*, cit. (n. 6), 194 the writing is generally bimodular.

that can be classified as *boules* when they appear at the join of two lines (in the case of o for example), and as *empattements* when they appear at the end of a stroke in the case of Δ, γ, ζ, or Ϸ<sup>16</sup>.

The writing of the two columns of f. 65r (p. ϣλΔ; pl. 3) is more bimodular, since it shows more systematically narrow c and e. The serifs at the end of the letters are slight and the ink is darker than in the rest of the codex.

The third hand, which wrote ff. 68v and 69r (p. ϣΗ and p. ϣλ[Ϸ]; pl. 4 and 5), is more similar to the first hand, but the serifs are very slight, like the ones of the second hand. Two further features must be noted. First, some letters of the last line of both pages are extended and decorated in the lower margin, so as to break the bilinearity. On f. 68v, the hast of Ϸ forms a spiral under which we can distinguish some ink traces, probably the rest of some decorative pattern. On f. 69r, the hast of the two γ is prolonged and ends with a sort of stylized *corōnis*. Secondly, two signs are noted on these two pages, that are unique in the manuscript: in the left margin of f. 68v, a twisted rope, used as a logical sign for the text, and in the centre of the upper margin of f. 69r, a cross (+).

There are no lectional signs in the text, but some structural signs are used. A blank space (*spatium vacuum*) sometimes accompanied by a medium dot distinguishes the meaning units (sentences), while more important portions of texts are concluded with the *dicōlon* (·). Important passages or the beginning of a *Canon* section are highlighted by a zeta-shaped sign (Ζ) in the margin and, at f. 65r, by the twisted rope. We also note a phytomorphic ornamentation in the left/outer margin of f. 1v and stylized half-*corōnides* in the upper and lower margins. Superposed lines of *diplai* (>) and *diplai ōbelismenai* (>—) are used to highlight the *Canons* titles inside the codex.

#### PAGINATION AND QUIRE SIGNATURE

Pagination starts on f. 1v, where the title and the “index-title” are written, and ends on f. 73r, as the text ends. Page numbers are partially lost on ff. 13r, 14r, 15r, 16v, 32r, 40r, 62r, 64r, 66r, 69r, and 73r, and they are completely lost on ff. 1v, 2r, 16r, 68r, 70r, 71r, 71v, and 72r and v (pl. 6 and 7). When completely preserved, the pagination is regular, except in the consecutive pages 7r and 7v, where the pagination jumps from 12 (Ϸ) to 16 (ϣ)<sup>17</sup>, and in f. 55r, where the writer forgot the ι for the number 10 in 111 (p<ι>Δ). Page numbers are written in the top-outer corner of the page and are decorated with two horizontal strokes respectively written above and under the number and, not systematically, by little curved strokes on left and right (see by example pl. 2).

Quire numbers are written in the top-inner corner of the first and last pages of quire. If they were written, the numbering of the first (ff. 1r and 7v) and the last (ff. 72r and 75v) quire has been lost. The quire numbering of the first page of the second (β) and of the sixth (ς) quires, as well as of the quire numbering of the last page of the fifth quire (ε) have not been preserved. The preserved quire numbers bear the same ornamentation as the pagination (see by example pl. 2).

#### QUIRE LAYOUT

In their 2016 article, A. Camplani and F. Contardi say that the codex is made up exclusively of quaternions<sup>18</sup>. On the base of 1) the analysis of the pagination and of the quire numbering, 2) the presence of vertical or horizontal *kollēseis*, 3) the juxtaposition of the fibres of distinct leaves, as well as 4) the state of conservation, it is possible to reconstruct the layout of quires 2 to 9, while the first and the tenth quires are more problematic from this point of view.

The eight quires numbered from 2 (β) to 9 (θ) are quaternions showing the horizontal fibres (→) on the first page. The succession of fibre directions within the pages of quires 2 (β), 3 (γ) and 7 (z) tallies with

<sup>16</sup> Many thanks to D. Bianconi who helped me to better describe the serifs.

<sup>17</sup> This irregularity has already been noted by A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea*, cit. (n. 5), 982.

<sup>18</sup> A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea*, cit. (n. 5), 982.



the “like faces like” typology described by E.G. Turner<sup>19</sup>, that is to say that when the codex is open, the two facing pages shows the same fibre direction and in the centre of the quire, the fibres are horizontal, according to the following scheme:

→↓↓→|→↓↓→||→↓↓→|→↓↓→

The other five quires show some irregularities in comparison with this scheme. In quires 4 (Δ), 5 (ϵ), and 6 (ς), the central bifolium is reversed, so that the facing pages alternate the fibre direction before and after the centre of the quire and that the facing pages at the centre of the quire show the vertical fibres (↓), as in the following scheme:

→↓↓→|→↓↓→||→↓↓→|→↓↓→

In quires 8 (η) and 9 (θ), however, the second bifolium, corresponding to ff. 2 and 7, is reversed, breaking the “like faces like” typology on this only point. Consequently, there is a fibre alternation between ff. 1v and 2r and between ff. 7v and 8r, while the centre of the central bifolium shows the vertical fibres, as shown in the following scheme:

→↓↓→|→↓↓→||→↓↓→|→↓↓→

The first quire has seven leaves. Except for f. 1r, all the pages of the quire are written. Pagination is preserved from f. 2v (p. r). Thanks to the autoptical analysis conducted by P. Buzi, a continuity of fibre is observable between ff. 1 and 6, 2 and 5, and 3 and 4. Therefore, the two latter leaves correspond to the centre of the quire. A first solution to reconstruct the layout of the first quire is to consider that it was made up by a ternion (ff. 1-6) followed by a singleton (f. 7), as shown in the following scheme:

→↓↓→|↓→||→↓↓→|↓→

This quire layout seems to be attested in the Pisenthios codex (Cairo, Coptic Museum inv. 13447; CLM 714), found in the same place as the *Canons* codex, according to what is said by R. Dekker in her 2008 MPhil thesis: the first quire of the codex is made up of a ternion showing the horizontal (→) fibres on the first page followed by a seventh leaf as singleton placed ↓→<sup>20</sup>.

The second solution, which is more likely, supposes the existence of a 76<sup>th</sup> leaf, left blank and placed before f. 1 (f. 0), which originally formed a bifolium with f. 7. The recto of f. 0 could have been pasted on the inner side of the front cover (as done with f. 75v on the back cover; see *infra*), while the verso was left blank, according to the following scheme:

[→↓]→↓↓→|↓→||→↓↓→|↓→  
 f. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 (lost)

This quire reconstruction, which comprises two leaves at the beginning not used to write the text of the *Canons* (it begins on f. 2r), is attested in contemporary book productions, such as the Turin Coptic codices Museo Egizio, 63000 VIII (CLM 53), IX (CLM 54), XV (CLM 60) and XVI (CLM 61), dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. In fact, pagination, quire numbering, as well as fibre juxtaposition of the first preserved leaves lead to suppose that the codices began with two blank unpaginated leaves and that the text began on the recto of the third leaf (so on the two facing pages, the text begins on the right page). In the case of the *Canons* codex however, we see that the verso of the second leaf, f. 1v, is completely covered with the copy of the “index-title”, so that in the two facing pages, the left one presents the “index-title”, and the right one has the beginning of the *Canons*. Since f. 1v was originally numbered Δ, it surely indicates that the “index-title” was part of the original editorial project. One could

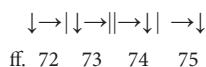
<sup>19</sup> E.G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, 65-67.

<sup>20</sup> R. DEKKER, *The Sahidic Encomium of Pesunthios, Bishop of Keft. Towards a New Understanding, based on Recently Discovered Manuscript*, unpublished MPhil, Leiden University, 2008, 6 (freely available at <[https://www.academia.edu/4767524/The\\_Sahidic\\_Encomium\\_of\\_Pesunthios\\_Bishop\\_of\\_Keft\\_unpublished\\_thesis\\_main\\_text\\_>](https://www.academia.edu/4767524/The_Sahidic_Encomium_of_Pesunthios_Bishop_of_Keft_unpublished_thesis_main_text_>)>).

explain this peculiarity in the layout by considering that the writer, in assigning this peculiar position to the “index-title”, gave it a special status, a bit apart from the text of the *Canons* itself.

The last four leaves of the codex, ff. 72-75 are incomplete, particularly in the lower part. Ff. 72 (pl. 6 and 7) and 73↓ bear the end of the *Canon* “On the first fruits and tithes”, of which it is the first attestation ever. Ff. 73→, 74→ and 74↓ are blank. F. 75 bears the “colophon” on the perfibral face (→). The other side (↓) is left blank but we can see concretions that are perhaps a consequence of pasting this side of the leaf onto the back board of the cover<sup>21</sup>. Except from f. 73↓ which bears the first numeral of the pagination (p[.]), no pagination or quire number has been preserved on the written pages, while the blank pages should not have been numbered.

In order to reconstruct the quire layout, we can only rely on the state of conservation of the leaves, comparing it with ff. 69, 70, and 71 from the previous quire, whose position is surely known. These three leaves are incomplete in the bottom-inner corner, near the binding. The loss of papyrus grows while leafing through the codex. In quire 10, f. 73 has lost its entire lower part. In ff. 72 (pl. 6 and 7), 74 and 75, a loss of papyrus in one bottom corner is observed, shaped similarly to the lacuna in ff. 69 to 71. For these reasons, we can identify the order of succession of the faces of ff. 72, 74, and 75, so that the place of the lacuna fits with that of the previous leaves. Since this canon is not known elsewhere, and the lacunas due to loss of writing support or bad conservation of the ink prevent any reconstruction of a sentence running from one leaf to the following, as I was told by A. Camplani<sup>22</sup>, this reconstruction is possible too and can give precious indication on the reconstruction of the text. Finally, the autoptical analysis by P. Buzi shows fibre continuity between ff. 72→ and 75→ and between ff. 73→ and 74→. According to these observations, we can therefore conclude that quire 10 is a binion showing vertical fibres on the first page and alternating fibre direction, as can be seen in the following scheme:



#### MANUFACTURE OF THE ROLLS

The blank papyrus roll was used to make up the codex, by cutting the roll into large sheets, placing them one on the top of the other, then folding them to form bifolia<sup>23</sup>. The study of the *kollēseis* on the leaves, their number, their direction (vertical or horizontal), the type of superposition (upward or downward), their frequency, the distance from one to another, allows the reconstruction of how the codex was made up, but also, when we have enough information, the shape of the original rolls, shedding light on its fabrication at a time when the book *par excellence* was the codex.

Regarding the *Canons* codex, the sometimes poor state of conservation of some leaves prevents the identification of all the *kollēseis* in the codex both on the photographs, and by autoptical analysis. The conclusions drawn here are therefore partial. Two vertical *kollēseis* are observed on ff. 4 and 6, while on the rest of the codex, all the observed *kollēseis* are horizontal. We can see that the horizontal *kollēseis* are very frequent: they occur almost on every leaf.

The vertical direction of the two first *kollēseis* indicates that the first quire was made up of a horizontal roll, with the side showing horizontal fibres facing downward, because the quire begins with the horizontal fibres (→)<sup>24</sup>. Since the leaves of quires 2 (ϐ) to 9 (ϑ) show horizontal *kollēseis*, it indicates that the blank roll or the sheets cut from it were turned 90° before making the quires.

In conclusion, the analysis of the codex of Pseudo-Basil’s *Canons* found in Gurna on the base of photographs, and enriched by the autoptical analysis conducted by P. Buzi, as well as by the comparison with

<sup>21</sup> A. THOMMÉE, *The Gurna Manuscripts*, cit. (n. 5), 200. For A. BOUD’HORS, *À la recherche*, cit. (n. 6), 194, the “colophon” is written on the verso of the leaf.

<sup>22</sup> Email of September 14<sup>th</sup> 2017.

<sup>23</sup> On the making up of a codex in the Coptic tradition, see P. BUZI – S. EMMEL, *Coptic Codicology*, in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction*, ed. A. BAUSI, Hamburg 2015, 141-147.

<sup>24</sup> See P. BUZI – S. EMMEL, *Coptic Codicology*, cit. (n. 23), 142.

other contemporary Coptic manuscripts, took into account the general aspect, the number of leaves, pagination and quire signature, the juxtaposition of fibres in order to reconstruct bifolia, writing, use of signs, elements of layout, like the number of columns per page, the presence of titles, leaf tabs, *kollēseis* and decoration. It leads to a more detailed codicological reconstruction. The codex of Pseudo-Basil's *Canons* was most probably originally composed of 76 leaves (of which 75 survive), organised in nine quaternions followed by one binion. The reordering of the leaves can contribute to a better edition of the text, especially with regards to the last canon *On first fruits and tithes*. The presence of a “index-title” written in a peculiar place of the codex, according to the contemporary scribal habits must be highlighted, as well as the three hands who wrote the codex, one of which changing deeply the page layout. Finally, the presence of the *kollēseis*, and their features, contributed to a better understanding of the making of a papyrus codex. Surely further investigations in Coptic manuscripts, by applying a detailed protocol of description such as the one developed in the ERC Project “PATHs”, will lead to interesting and innovative results and therefore contribute to a better understanding of Coptic book production.

Nathan Carlig  
 Project PATHs  
 Sapienza University of Rome  
 nathan.carlig@uniroma1.it

*Abstract.* The article provides the first complete codicological description of the codex containing the *Canons* attributed to Basil of Caesarea (Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13448) discovered in 2005 in a hermitage in Western Thebes. The codicological method applied here has been developed within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant Project “PATHs” at Sapienza University of Rome. After a general description, special attention is paid to the writing and the identification of the hands, use of signs, pagination, quire numbering, quire layout and the manufacture of the rolls used to make up the codex. In the appendix, a chart lists all the leaves with their main codicological features.

*Keywords.* Coptic book, Western Thebes, codex, papyrus, pagination, quire signature, *kollēsis*, layout, quire, roll.

APPENDIX

CHART SUMMARIZING THE CODICOLOGICAL FEATURES OF CODEX CAIRO, COPTIC MUSEUM, INV. 13448

Preliminary notes:

- a dotted line distinguishes the two sides of a leaf
- a simple line separates different leaves
- a bold type line distinguishes the quires
- a double line indicates the centre of a quire.

Leaf numb.	r/v	→/↓	Pagin.	Quire numb.	H/V kollësis	Content	Section heading	Leaf tab	Other remark
0	r	→							Not preserved
0	v	↓							Not preserved
1	r	→				Blank			
1	v	↓	[Δ]			Index-title			
2	r	↓	[B]			Canons			
2	v	→	Γ			Canons			
3	r	↓	Δ			Canons			
3	v	→	ε			Canons			
4	r	→	ς		V	Canons			
4	v	↓	z			Canons			
5	r	→	η			Canons	X	[X]?	
5	v	↓	θ			Canons			
6	r	↓	ι		V	Canons			
6	v	→	ια			Canons			
7	r	↓	ιβ			Canons			
7	v	→	ις			Canons			
8	r	→	ιz	[B]		Canons			
8	v	↓	ιη			Canons			
9	r	↓	ιθ		H	Canons			
9	v	→	κ			Canons	X	[X]?	
10	r	→	κΔ		H?	Canons	X	[X]?	
10	v	↓	κΒ			Canons			
11	r	↓	κΓ		H	Canons			
11	v	→	κΔ			Canons			
12	r	→	κε			Canons			
12	v	↓	κς			Canons			

Leaf numb.	r/v	→/↓	Pagin.	Quire numb.	H/V kollësis	Content	Section heading	Leaf tab	Other remark
13	r	↓	κ[z]			Canons			
13	v	→	κη			Canons			
14	r	→	κ[ο]			Canons			
14	v	↓	λ		H	Canons			
15	r	↓	λ[δ]			Canons			
15	v	→	λβ	β	H	Canons	X	X	
16	r	→	[λγ]	γ		Canons			
16	v	↓	[λ]Δ		H	Canons	X	[X]?	
17	r	↓	λε			Canons	X	[X]?	
17	v	→	λς		H	Canons			
18	r	→	λζ			Canons			
18	v	↓	λη			Canons			
19	r	↓	λε			Canons	X	[X]?	
19	v	→	η		H	Canons			
20	r	→	ηδ			Canons			
20	v	↓	ηβ		H	Canons	X	[X]?	
21	r	↓	ηγ			Canons			
21	v	→	ηΔ		H	Canons			
22	r	→	ηε			Canons			
22	v	↓	ης		H	Canons			
23	r	↓	ηζ			Canons			
23	v	→	ηη	γ	H	Canons	X	[X]?	
24	r	→	ηθ	Δ		Canons			
24	v	↓	η		H?	Canons			
25	r	↓	ηδ			Canons			
25	v	→	ηβ		H	Canons	X	[X]?	
26	r	→	ηγ			Canons			
26	v	↓	ηΔ		H	Canons			
27	r	→	ηε			Canons	X	X	
27	v	↓	ης		H	Canons			
28	r	↓	ηζ			Canons			
28	v	→	ηη		H	Canons			

Leaf numb.	r/v	→/↓	Pagin.	Quire numb.	H/V kollēsis	Content	Section heading	Leaf tab	Other remark
29	r	↓	νε			Canons			
29	v	→	ζ		H	Canons			
30	r	→	ζα			Canons			
30	v	↓	ζβ		H	Canons			
31	r	↓	ζγ			Canons			
31	v	→	ζΔ	Δ	H	Canons			
32	r	→	ζ[ε]	ε		Canons			
32	v	↓	ζς		H	Canons	X	[X]?	
33	r	↓	ζζ			Canons			
33	v	→	ζη		H	Canons			
34	r	→	ζε			Canons			
34	v	↓	ο		H	Canons			
35	r	→	οα			Canons			
35	v	↓	οβ		H	Canons			
36	r	↓	ογ			Canons			
36	v	→	οΔ		H	Canons			
37	r	↓	οε			Canons			
37	v	→	ος		H?	Canons			
38	r	→	οζ			Canons	X	X	
38	v	↓	οη		H	Canons			
39	r	↓	οθ			Canons			
39	v	→	π	[ε]	H	Canons			
40	r	→	π[Δ]	[ς]		Canons	X	[X]?	
40	v	↓	πβ		H	Canons			
41	r	↓	πγ			Canons			
41	v	→	πΔ		H	Canons			
42	r	→	πε			Canons			
42	v	↓	πς		H	Canons			
43	r	→	πζ			Canons			
43	v	↓	πη		H	Canons			
44	r	↓	πε			Canons			
44	v	→	Ϸ		H	Canons			

Leaf numb.	r/v	→/↓	Pagin.	Quire numb.	H/V kollësis	Content	Section heading	Leaf tab	Other remark
45	r	↓	qα			Canons			
45	v	→	qβ		H?	Canons			
46	r	→	qγ			Canons			
46	v	↓	qΔ		H?	Canons			
47	r	↓	qε			Canons			
47	v	→	qς	ς	H?	Canons			
48	r	→	qζ	ζ		Canons			
48	v	↓	qη		H	Canons			
49	r	↓	qθ			Canons			
49	v	→	ρ		H?	Canons			
50	r	→	ρα			Canons			
50	v	↓	ρβ		H	Canons			
51	r	↓	ργ			Canons			
51	v	→	ρΔ		H	Canons			
52	r	→	ρε			Canons			
52	v	↓	ρς		H?	Canons			
53	r	↓	ρζ			Canons			
53	v	→	ρη		H	Canons			
54	r	→	ρθ			Canons			
54	v	↓	ρι		H?	Canons			
55	r	↓	ρ<ι>α			Canons			
55	v	→	ριβ	ζ	H?	Canons			
56	r	→	ριγ	η		Canons			
56	v	↓	ριΔ		H?	Canons	X	X	
57	r	→	ριε			Canons			
57	v	↓	ρις		H	Canons	X	[X]?	
58	r	↓	ριζ			Canons			
58	v	→	ριη		H	Canons			
59	r	→	ριθ			Canons			
59	v	↓	ρκ		H	Canons			
60	r	↓	ρκα			Canons			
60	v	→	ρκβ			Canons			

Leaf numb.	r/v	→/↓	Pagin.	Quire numb.	H/V kollësis	Content	Section heading	Leaf tab	Other remark
61	r	→	ρκΓ			Canons			
61	v	↓	ρκΔ			Canons			
62	r	↓	ρκ[ε]			Canons			
62	v	→	ρκζ		H?	Canons	X	[X]?	
63	r	↓	ρκΖ			Canons			
63	v	→	ρκΗ	η	H	Canons			
64	r	→	ρκ[θ]	θ		Canons			
64	v	↓	ρλ		H?	Canons			
65	r	→	ρλα			Canons			Second hand
65	v	↓	ρλβ		H?	Canons			2 cols. on the page
66	r	↓	ρλ[γ]			Canons			
66	v	→	ρλΔ		H	Canons			
67	r	→	ρλε			Canons			
67	v	↓	ρλζ		H	Canons			
68	r	↓	[ρλΖ]			Canons	X	X	
68	v	→	ρλη		H	Canons			Third hand
69	r	→	ρλ[θ]			Canons			Third hand
69	v	↓	ρμ			Canons			
70	r	↓	[ρμΔ]			Canons			
70	v	→	ρμβ		H?	Canons			
71	r	↓	[ρμΓ]			Canons; Additional Canon <i>On first fruits and tithes</i>	X	[X]?	
71	v	→	[ρμΔ]	θ		Additional Canon <i>On first fruits and tithes</i>			
72	r	↓	[ρμΕ]			Additional Canon <i>On first fruits and tithes</i>			
72	v	→	[ρμΖ]			Additional Canon <i>On first fruits and tithes</i>			



Leaf numb.	r/v	→/↓	Pagin.	Quire numb.	H/V kollēsis	Content	Section heading	Leaf tab	Other remark
73	r	↓	p[MZ]			Additional Canon <i>On first fruits and tithes</i>			
73	v	→				Blank			
74	r	→				Blank			
74	v	↓				Blank			
75	r	→				'Colophon'			Fourth hand
75	v	↓				Blank			

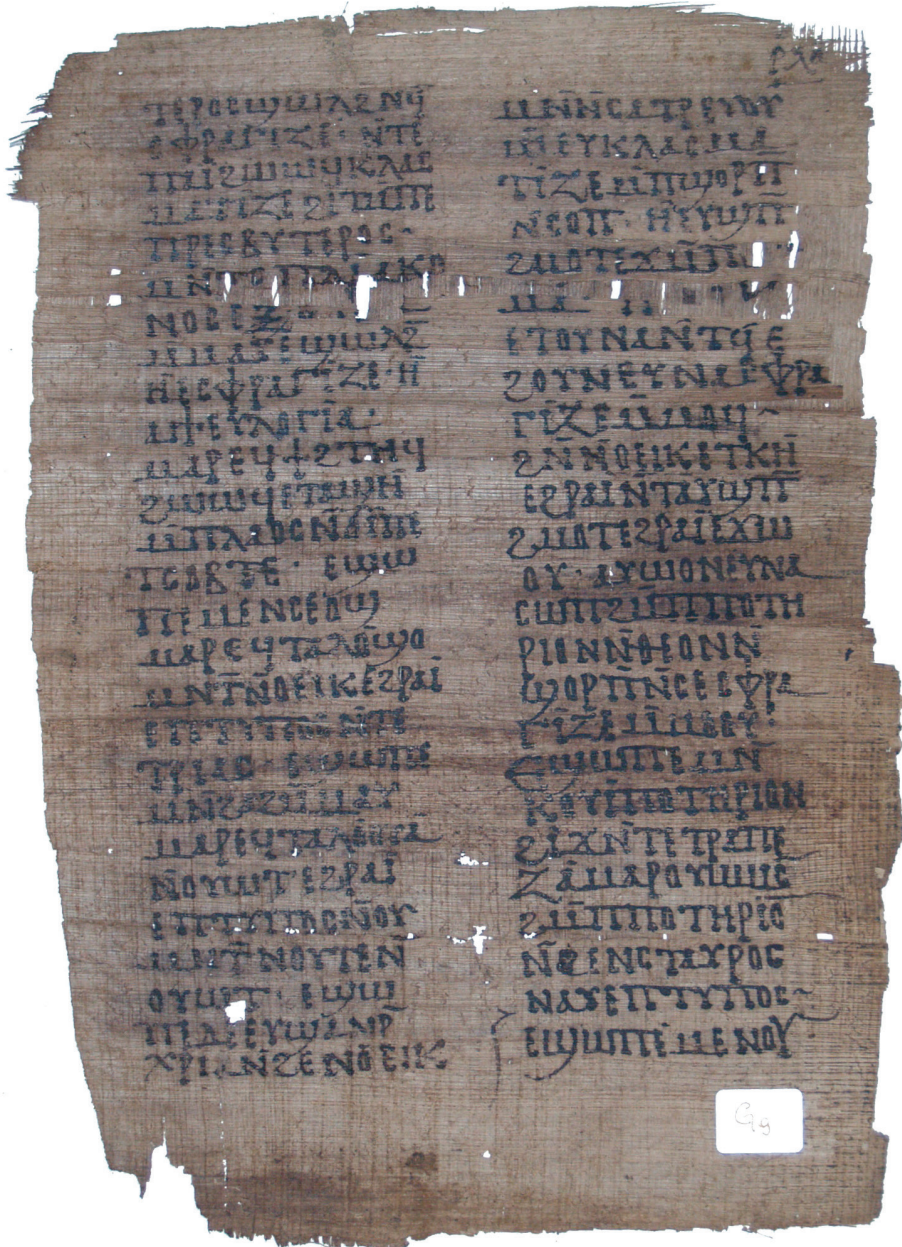


Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13448, f. 1v (main title and “index”). © Polish Center for Mediterranean Archaeology

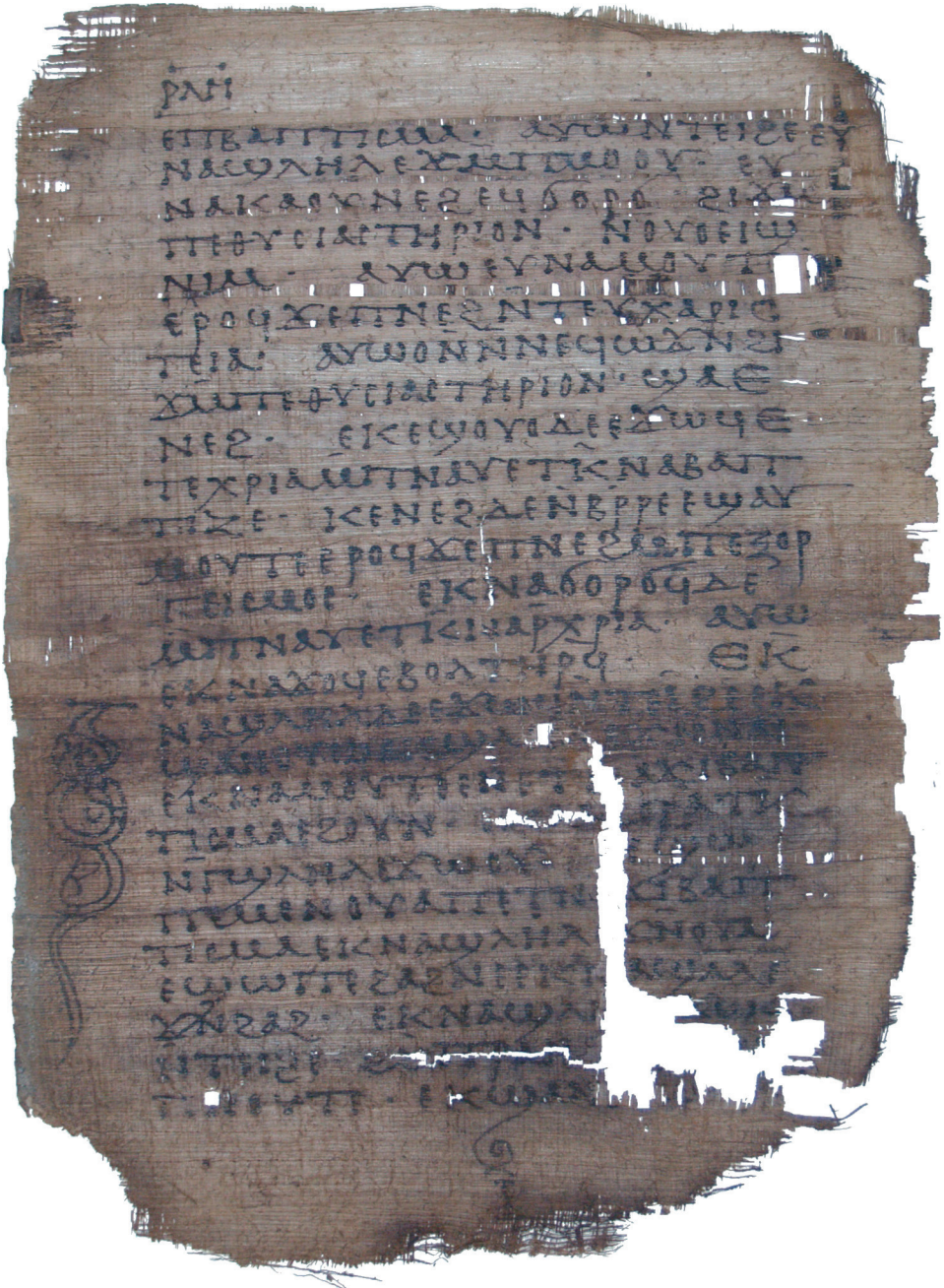
Handwritten Coptic text on a fragment of papyrus, arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is a form of Coptic, likely from the late antique or early medieval period. The text is densely packed and shows signs of being part of a larger document, with some lines appearing to be part of a list or a series of entries. The fragment is irregularly shaped, with some missing parts on the left and right edges.

Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13448, f. 15v. © Polish Center for Mediterranean Archaeology



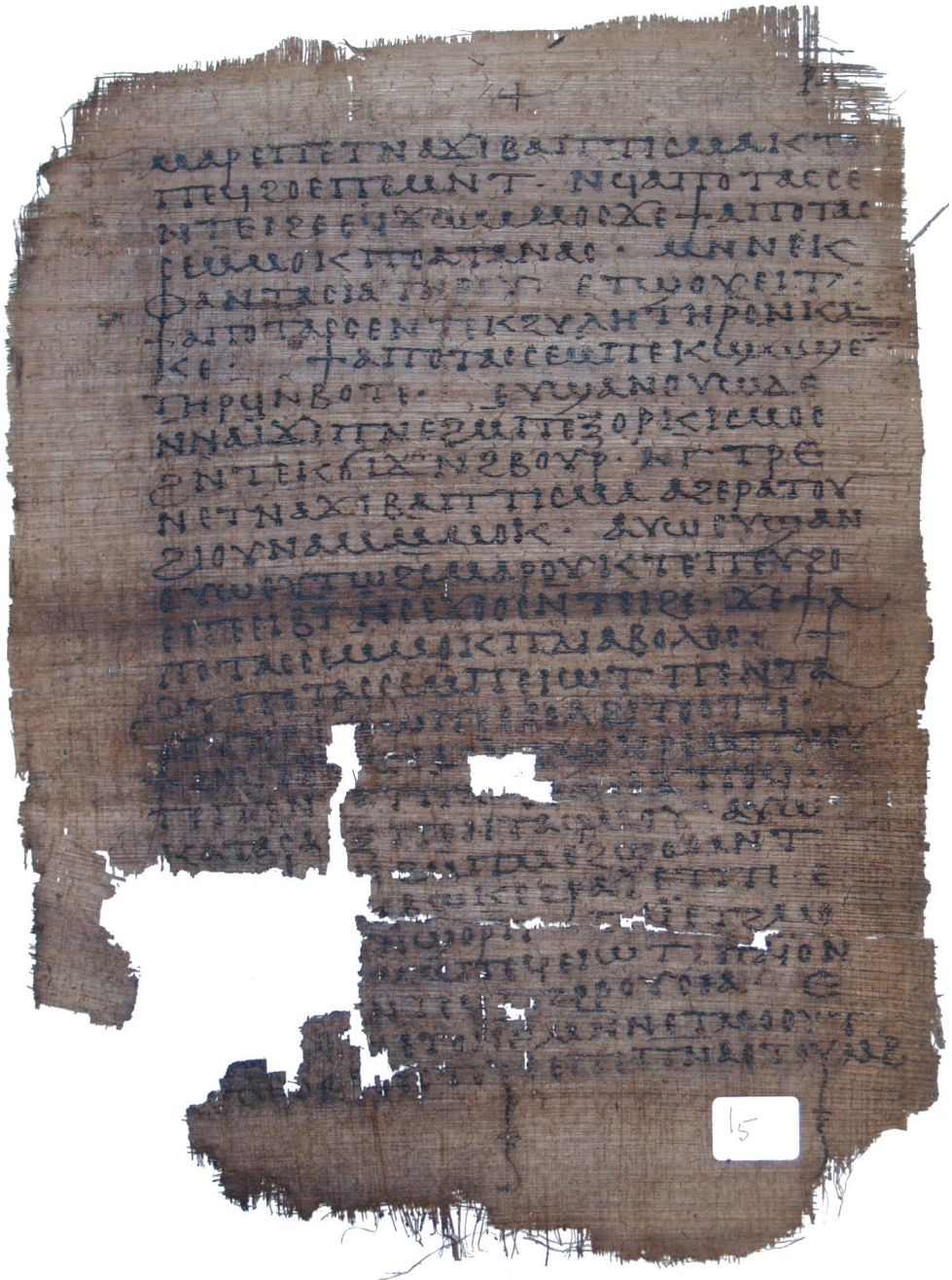


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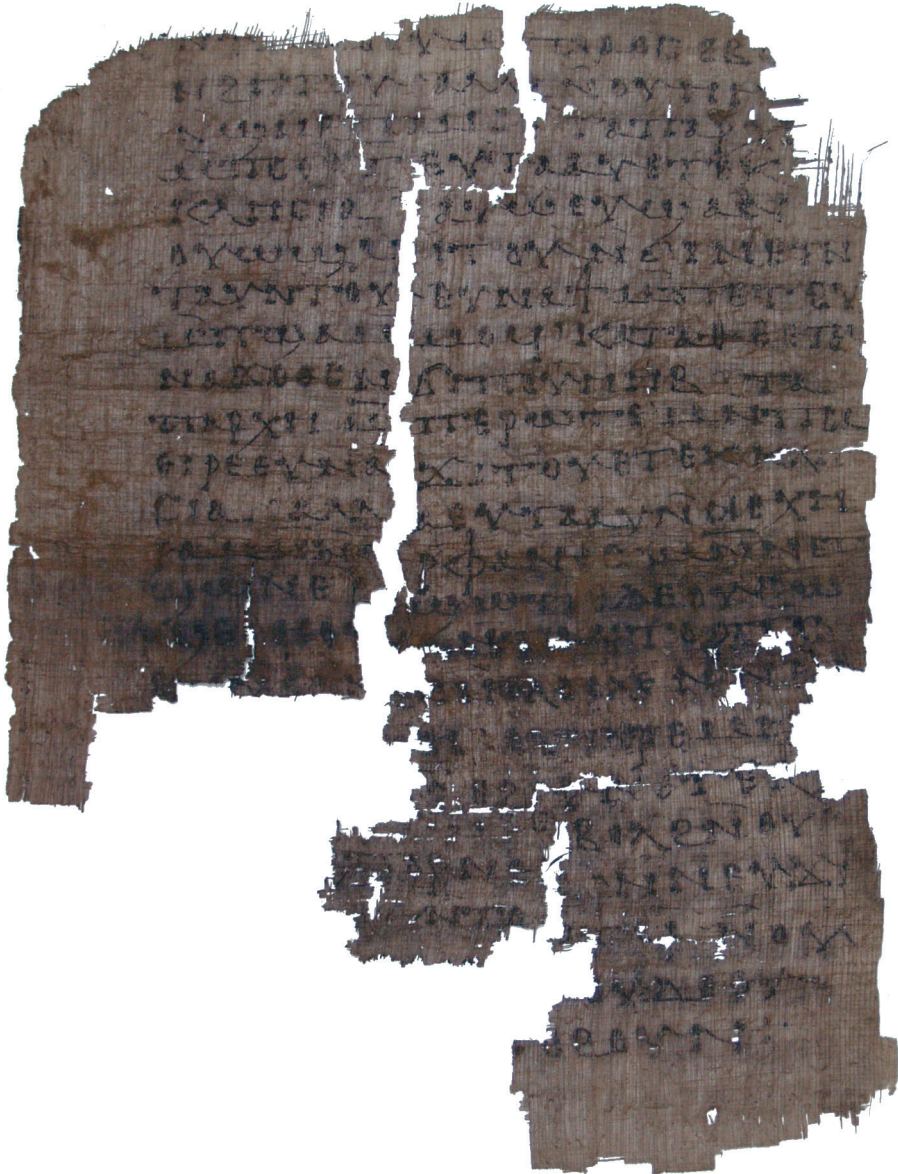


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