PaST Percorsi di Archeologia • 5

Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th cent.)

Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology

edited by
Paola Buzi

Edizioni Quasar

PaST

PAST – Percorsi, Strumenti e Temi di Archeologia

5

This volume, which is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 programme, grant no. 687567.

I testi pubblicati nella collana sono soggetti a valutazione secondo la procedura del doppio blind referee

In copertina: *P. Mich.* 5421 e una veduta di Karanis

via Ajaccio 41-43, 00198 Roma - tel 0685358444
email: qn@edizioniquasar.it

eISBN 978-88-5491-058-4

Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th cent.):

Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology

Proceedings of the Third Conference of the ERC Project
"Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature.
Literary Texts in their Geographical Context ('PAThs')".

edited by
Paola Buzi

Edizioni Quasar

Table of Contents

The Places of Coptic Literary Manuscripts: Real and Imaginary Landscapes. Theoretical Reflections in Guise of Introduction*

Paola Buzi – Sapienza Università di Roma

Abstract

Coptic literary manuscripts – and therefore also the works contained in them – have been created, manufactured, exchanged, stored, and discovered in physical places. The majority of these places are a re-occupation of older ones. Cells, churches, basilicas, monasteries, and even villages were very often built inside the temples or their *temene*, re-using and taking advantage of their walls and internal subdivisions, and only in some cases involved partial or complete destruction. The well-known monk Frange, who was involved in several activities related to book production, chose as dwelling a pharaonic tomb, and lived in surroundings that were much more crowded than one might have imagined for a 'hermit', as the cells of other monks located only a very short distance from his dwelling. This state of affairs tells much about the modes of book production and circulation of culture in Christian Egypt. This article – that also represents an introduction to the volume – aims to demonstrate that, when one wants to reconstruct the manuscript tradition of Christian Egypt, an investigation of the archaeological context is essential. In fact, in extreme cases, when manuscripts and texts have not survived, it is precisely the careful analysis of the geo-archaeological contexts that enables the reconstruction of a cultural landscape, a landscape where books were certainly produced but that fate did not preserve.

Keywords

Coptic manuscript tradition, archaeological context, manuscript archaeology, cognitive map.

1. *Premise*

The present volume is mainly the outcome of the international conference *Coptic Literature in Context. The Contexts of Coptic Literature. Late Antique Egypt in a Dialogue between Literature, Archaeology, and Digital Humanities*, which took place at Sapienza Università di Roma on 25-27 February 2019, representing the third annual conference organised by the 'PAThs' project.[1]

As its title proclaimed, the aim the conference – exactly like that of the 'PAThs' project itself – was to create an effective dialogue among scholars active in different disciplines – including codicology, palaeography, papyrology, literature, history of early Christianity, epigraphy, art, archaeology, and archaeometry – and their related methodologies, in order to achieve a multispectral knowledge of late antique Egypt, in the consciousness that only a transdisciplinary approach may lead to the comprehension of complex cultural phenomena such as the production of the 'Coptic book'. Manuscripts – in their double nature of carriers of texts (and therefore of intellectual products) and material objects – were

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it.

1 See http://paths.uniroma1.it/, where a detailed programme is also available. For a report of the conference, see Valerio 2019, 66-68. The two previous meetings – the conference *The Coptic book between the 6th and the 8th century*, Sapienza Università di Roma - Academia Belgica, 21-22 February 2017, and the round table *Linking Manuscripts from the Coptic, Ethiopian and Syriac domain: Present and Future Synergy Strategies*, organised in collaboration with the projects Beta maṣāḥǝft and TraCES (Hamburg), Universität Hamburg, 23-24 February – have been published respectively in *Adamantius* 24 (2018), 6-210, and *Linking Manuscripts from the Coptic, Ethiopian and Syriac Domain: Present and Future Synergy Strategies*, *COMSt Bulletin* 4.1 (Spring 2018), 39-58; 69-78; 115-120, https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/bulletin/bulletin4-1.html.

of course at the core of the meeting, but always in their connection with the geo-archaeological context of production, circulation and storage.[2]

This connection is exactly the purpose for which the 'PAThs' project was conceived. 'PAThs' – an abbreviation, for 'Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage' – aims to provide an in-depth diachronic understanding and effective representation of the geography of Coptic literary production, which is the corpus of writings, with almost exclusively religious content (Bible, homilies, hagiographies, canons, lives, etc.), produced in Egypt between the third and the thirteenth centuries in Coptic (i.e. the last phase of Ancient Egyptian language).

Fig. 1. Logo of the 'PAThs' project.

The complex nature of the numerous scientific disciplines involved in 'PAThs' – mainly philology, codicology, and literature on the one side and archaeology, and geography on the other – is well represented by its logo (Fig. 1), which is inspired by the devotional footprints inscribed by pilgrims, monks, and devout people, not necessarily Christian, all over Egypt in Late Antiquity, in order to mark their presence in places that were considered important for the religious life (PAThs < ⲡⲁⲧ = 'footprint', 'trace').

Exactly like these devotional footprints, Coptic literature in its physical dimension – that is, Coptic books as material artefacts – left a real and concrete trace in the Egyptian landscape. 'PAThs' investigates the relationship between settlements, as revealed by the archaeological investigations, and intellectual production, as documented in the manuscripts, and tries to provide a new comprehensive perspective on the spread and development of Coptic literature and manuscript culture.[3]

The conference was the occasion for the official launch of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*,[4] the main scientific product of the 'PAThs' project. Improved and enriched daily by the project team and external collaborators, the *Atlas* is now available online for the scholarly community. This early launch was strongly desired, in order to share, as soon as possible, a large set of data that, although largely perfectible – but this is the intrinsic nature of projects like 'PAThs', whose 'destiny' and essence is to be always *in fieri*, like the discipline they represent –, may contribute to the research of other scholars.

As already stated on other occasions, the 'PAThs' team strongly believes that the sharing of ideas, achievements and results is the only ethical and fruitful way to do research. It is also the best means to create a virtuous collaboration network involving projects with similar or complementary purposes, without overlapping with their aims and results.[5] For this reason all the data contained in the 'PAThs' database are freely accessible, reusable and exportable, although, as is obvious, users should refer to its use in their publications making use of the appropriate identifiers (URIs) and resource location (URLs).[6]

After this necessary premise for the contextualisation of the volume, the paragraphs that follow aim to represent a theoretical introduction to the articles collected in these proceedings – papers that are the fruit of the dialogue between the 'PAThs' project and some of the main specialists of Coptic Egypt –, clearly showing the unbreakable bond between archaeology and manuscript production.

2 For a similar methodological approach, applied to Anglo-Saxon world see GAMESON 2011, 797-823.

3 This section of the article is based on BUZI - BERNO - BOGDANI 2018, 39-58.

4 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/. The *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* in itself – with its scientific and technical features – is not described here because it has already been the object of several publications. See in particular BOGDANI 2017, 59-69 and BOGDANI 2018, 200-210.

5 For a list of the scientific partners of 'PAThs', see: http://paths.uniroma1.it/cooperation.

6 See the 'How to cite PAThs' instructions: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/ Each record of the database contains the acronym of the person who compiled it, with the dual purpose of acknowledging the scientific effort of the author and providing a sure interlocutor to users. Any suggestion useful to the construction and perfection of the 'geography of Coptic literature' is very much welcome, because the completeness and correctness of the 'PAThs' database also depends on the contribution of users.

2. *'Manuscripts belong to archaeology': old and new reflections for a conscious manuscript archaeology*

'Manuscripts belong to archaeology' was the title of an article written by Kenneth Clark in 1951, which unfortunately did not achieve great resonance. In his lucid and somewhat polemical analysis the author wrote:

> Manuscripts are thought to lie in a separate category of research i.e. from archaeology, and to be the responsibility of a separate group of scholars not usually classed as archaeologists. It would have important effects upon manuscripts discovery and research to recognize that manuscripts belong to archaeology. Perhaps the popular distinction between archaeology and manuscripts derives from the circumstances that manuscripts are not often dug up. It is commonly assumed that archaeology implies excavation, but the two are not inseparable. … It is relevant to recall that many archaeological finds were never exhumed, simply because they were never completely buried. Archaeology possesses the pyramids and the sphinx, the tall columns of Baalbek and Jerash and of temples in Athens and Rome – never lost from the sight of man…. This serves as a reminder that excavation is not the mark of archaeology…Neither is it possible to maintain the view that archaeology is non-literary, dealing only with mute artifacts less expressive than literary witnesses. No one questions that was archaeology that brought the Hammurabi Stele, or the Rosetta Stone, or the Moabite Stone…It is archeology that discovered also papyri stuffed in crocodiles or wrapped around mummies, or even more accessible in baskets under the sand…From stone to paper, the texts recorded thereon by the hand of man belong to archaeology…The particular manner in which a manuscript may come to light is incidental to its archaeological nature.[7]

Despite the passionate apology of the archaeological nature of manuscripts, things have not changed much in recent decades and the traditional subdivision of competences between philology and study of manuscripts on the one side and archaeology on the other remained virtually unchanged.

It is a matter of fact, however, that Egypt represents a unique opportunity for the study of late antique and early mediaeval books in both their archeological and intellectual dimensions: it documents, in a wide chronological span, the use of all possible writing supports (wooden tablets, pottery and limestone ostraca, papyrus, parchment, and paper), book forms (horizontal and vertical rolls, codices, polyptychs), layouts, and combinations of cultural tradition. The climatic conditions of the Egyptian deserts and the Nile Valley have resulted in the preservation and recovery of an exceptionally large quantity of Coptic literary manuscripts that continue to grow in number, luckily now mainly within the activities of regular and scientific excavations carried out in urban settlements, necropolises and monastic structures, whose buildings are often preserved in reasonably good condition.

In brief, manuscripts belong to archaeology not only because they are *archaeological objects* – that is complex artifacts with their own 'stratigraphy' –[8] but above all because archaeology – and *landscape archaeology* in particular – is a crucial key to determine their origin, purpose and life.

Moreover, the recent publication of a fragment of papyrus codex containing the Coptic translation of a paraphrase to *The Iliad*,[9] from Oxyrhynchus, reminds us, once more, that the well-known, widely studied and even obvious coexistence of Greek and Coptic literary and documentary production of late antique Egypt – to which the limited but important role of Latin must be added –[10] was not only a matter of languages, but a much more complex and nuanced system of school training, transcultural identity, remnants of classical *paideia*,[11] and political interventions. Such a state of affairs is documented for instance – to mention but a few examples – by several archaeological contexts, such as the recently (re)excavated and already well-known house of Serenos, housing a school, at Trimithis (Dakhleh oasis), whose mythological wall paintings include scenes of Odysseus and Eurykleia, the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares, and Perseus carrying the head of Medusa,[12] or by the surprising *dipinto* from Hermoupolis, showing Oedipus who solves the riddles of the Sphinx, observed by Zetema and by the personification of the city of Thebes.[13]

---

7 Clark 1951, 7-9.

8 For the concept of book stratigraphy, see Gumbert 2004, 17-42 and Andrist - Canart - Maniaci 2013, where it is widely discussed.

9 *P.Oxy.* 5414; Colomo 2019, 46-55.

10 Latin literary texts from Egypt are now the core of the ERC project 'PLATINUM', hosted by the University of Naples "Federico II" and directed by Maria Chiara Scappaticcio https://platinum-erc.it/. The Latin works of the Bodmer Papyri, and Cicero in particular, will be soon edited and studied in the newly-founded series 'Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus' (CLTP), Cambridge University Press.

11 Agosti 2018, 12-21; Larsen - Rubenson 2018; Agosti - Bianconi 2019 (see in particular the contributions of Carlo Pernigotti, Nathan Carlig and Lucio Del Corso). See also Buzi 2018, 15-67 and Camplani 2018, 101-144, with related bibliography.

12 McFadden 2014, 359-370.

13 This *dipinto*, with others from the same archaeological context, is preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 63609, 63610, 63611).

As is obvious, this multiform and multicultural environment had a direct impact on book production: on its places of conception and creation, manufacturing practices, selection and combination of texts, and internal structure, this last not infrequently subject to evolution over time.[14]

Studying books – and late antique Egyptian books in particular – without considering the physical environment where they were conceived and produced means, therefore, to consciously omit some crucial pieces useful in the composition of a very complex mosaic. Such awareness is what can be defined as *manuscript archaeology*, that is to be meant not only as *archeology of the manuscript* – to quote the well-known *Archeologia del manoscritto* by Marilena Maniaci,[15] a revolutionary definition that has had a great fortune –[16], but also as the study of manuscripts in strict relation with their original cultural and archaeological context.

As we will see, such an environmental and cultural landscape – that is anthropic and natural at the same time – is very different from what has been believed for a long time. Moreover, it is now the time to describe the complexity of late antique geography balancing the monastic landscape – normally given prominent coverage in scientific articles, for the obvious reason that it is much better documented – with its urban counterpoint, certainly less generous in providing manuscripts.[17]

3. Late antique Egyptian cultural landscape: A nuanced and stratified reality

Coptic literary manuscripts – and therefore also the works contained in them – have been created, manufactured, exchanged, stored and discovered in physical places. Most of these places were not monophasic, the majority of the Christian settlements being a re-occupation of older ones, sometimes dating back even to the Middle Kingdom.

The monumental and massive urban and architectural structures of pharaonic and Ptolemaic-Roman periods unavoidably influenced the late antique reconfiguration of cultural landscape[18] – consisting of combined works of nature and of man –,[19] exactly like, later on, this would mark the urban and rural choices of proto-Islamic Egypt.[20]

When the monk Frange – to mention a character that is widely known, thanks to his conspicuous correspondence –[21] came out of his dwelling, he could see the Ramesseum in great part still standing (Fig. 2) and the valleys of Western Thebes – especially the el-Assāsif valley – still occupied by monumental tombs.[22]

It is now clear to everybody that the image of Christians systematically destroying pagan structures is, in most cases, an ideological and literary *topos*.[23] Churches, basilicas and monasteries very often were built inside the temples or their *temene*, re-using and taking advantage of their walls and internal subdivisions – although never re-occupying the *naos* – and only in some cases involved partial or complete destruction.[24] It is sufficient to mention here the re-occupied sites (for different purposes) of the mor-

14 For the concept of manuscripts as 'evolving entities', see Friedrich - Schwarke 2016, 1-23.

15 Maniaci 2007.

16 See for instance van Mierlo 2013, 15-29 and more recently Derolez 2018. For a similar reflections, applied to Anglo-Saxon world, see Hines 2011, 968-985.

17 See the articles of Angelo Colonna and Ilaria Rossetti in this volume.

18 For a definition of cultural landscape see Rubenstein 2011.

19 For a reflection of what Late Antiquity is and its (not shared) chronological boundaries, see Rathbone 2014, xi–xiv. Fundamental for a re-consideration of late antique Egyptian landscape is O'Connell 2014.

20 See, for instance, the case of the mosque of Ibn Hassan at Oxyrhynchus, the first of the urban settlements, built on top of the church of the Holy Family (Fehérvári 2007, 109-128) or that of the mosque of Abū al-Hajjāj constructed above the remains of the church located in the first courtyard of the temple of Luxor (Boraik 2014, 207-213: 212-213).

21 Boud'hors 2008, 149-162: 156-157; Boud'hors - Heurtel 2010; Boud'hors 2016, 119-128.

22 O'Connell 2010, 253-70; Pimpaud - Lecuyot 2013, 147-154.

23 Martin 2008, 41-57; Dijkstra 2011, 389-486; Grossmann 2002, 43-48; Łajtar 2012, 171-188. For the transformation of the use of a site, through change and continuity, see Effland 2014, 193-205 and Martin 1996, 159-173. Last but not least, see the article of Jean-Luc Fournet in this volume.

24 On the re-use of pharaonic buildings see Fournet 2018, 45-82. On the same topic Darlene Brooks Hedstrom states: 'Only two-thirds of Egypt's monastic settlements were built entirely from the ground up. A third of the settlements were modifications of previously existing shelters, either natural formations or man-made, such as abandoned homes, tombs, or quarrie'. Brooks

Fig. 2. Western Thebes, The Ramesseum and the West bank of the Nile seen from the *Topos* of Mark (photo by the 'PAThs' team, 2018).

tuary temple of Ramses III at Madīnat Habū,[25] or the remains of the temple of Luxor, with its late Imperial Roman *additiones* (Fig. 3), later re-used by Christian communities (Figs. 4 and 5),[26] or that of the temple of Isis in Aswan.[27]

In the necropolises of both Amarna[28] and Thebes – again to cite only a few examples – if in some cells obtained by the re-use of pharaonic tombs the ancient reliefs are chiselled and damaged (Fig. 6), in some other cases anonymous monks try to integrate their life and 'artistic creations' – so to say – with the past (Figs. 7a and 7b).

In brief, after 'the decline of the temple-based cults in the third to fourth centuries',[29] the relationship between the social and religious Christian late antique spaces and the pharaonic and Ptolemaic architectural ones remains articulated in a complex system of re-use, stratification and transformation.[30]

Fig. 3. Temple of Luxor. The Roman frescoes in the *Imperial Cult* Chamber (photo by the 'PAThs' team, 2018).

Hedstrom 2017, 92. On the re-use of single elements of ancient building, see for instance Klotz 2010, 197-213; Klotz 2011, 37-52. See also O'Connell 2014, 1-19.

25 Lecuyot 1999a, 33-61; Lecuyot 1999b, 75-80; Lecuyot 2000, 121-134; Lecuyot 2012, 99-135; Delattre - Lecuyot - Thirard 2008, 123-133; Lecuyot - Thirard 2008, 137-144; Lecuyot 2009, 18-20; Vorderstrasse 2015, 409-436.

26 Timm 1984-1992, VI, 2904-2919, s.v. al-Uqṣurēn; Grossmann 1991a, V, 1484-1486; McKenzie 2007, 315; Łajtar 2012, 171-188; Jones - McFadden 2015; Bagnall - Rathbone 2017, 198-202 Figs. 7.2.3-7.2.4. For recent discoveries made by the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities, see Boraik 2014, 207-213.

27 Dijkstra - van Loon 2013, 137-56; Dijkstra 2012. For a general systematic analysis of late Roman and late antique Syene, and the role of the temple of Isis, see Müller 2014, 59-69.

28 Pyke 2014, 139-155.

29 Rathbone 2014, xii.

30 On this subject, see O'Connell 2014, 1-20.

Fig. 4. Temple of Luxor. The stratification of the mosque of Abū al-Hajjāj and a fourth century church built in the first courtyard of the temple (photo by the 'PAThs' team, 2018).

Fig. 5. Temple of Luxor. Two churches built west of the temple (photo by the 'PAThs' team, 2018).

Fig. 6. Valley of the Kings, Tomb of Ramses IV, detail of relief scratched in Late Antiquity.

Fig. 7a. Late antique 'artistic' additions to the wall paintings of TT 56, Tomb of Userhat (photo by the 'PAThs' team, 2018).

Fig. 7b. A detail of the previous image (photo by the 'PAThs' team, 2018).

4. *Late antique Egyptian places as physical spatial units*

Space 'resists definition in either formulas or words… it thus belongs more in the realm of the philosopher and theorist than in the worlds examined by empirical researchers',[31] unless it is studied in the framework of a specific social context, as a phenomenon of human geography rather than physical geography.

Places, on the contrary, are not abstract concepts, but physical manifestations of the cultural landscape, and each toponym is the result of a concrete social, religious and architectural history. Imagining ancient late antique Thebes *in abstracto* is very different from experiencing the walking distance from one site to another, so to verify the access points to a village or a monastery or to a source of water, or to see the architectural stratifications on which the late antique settlements were built. It is in these tangible and real landscapes that we have to imagine the conception, creation and dissemination of Coptic literary manuscripts and their interaction with the Greek production.

Let us take again the case of Frange, who, as we know, was involved in activities related to book production: he lived in surroundings that were much more crowded than one might have imagined for a 'hermit', as the cells of other monks located only a very short distance from his dwelling (TT 29*;* Fig. 8).[32]

The conditions in which he, as a monk, lived were therefore very different from those of a hermit who lived, for instance, in the desert of Jebel Qatrani, north of the Fayyūm, where the water supply was poor and the sole 'urban centre' of the area were what remained of the *kome* of Soknopaiou Nesos.[33]

It is for all these reasons that, for the 'PAThs' project, which aims at dealing with Coptic literature in its geographical context 'Places are firstly intended as physical spatial units that can be archaeologically observed and documented, i.e., they can be referred to a tangible area, with a specific topographical location and a distinctive configuration of material remains'.[34]

31 Couclelis 1992, 215.

32 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/199. Often, intervisibility, like the one from Frange's cell and the neighbouring dwellings, was a matter of security. See also the case of the eastern dwellings of the North Tombs settlement in Amarna. Pyke 2014, 139-155 (Fig. 4).

33 Davoli 2016.

34 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places. See also the welcome web page of the project: paths.uniroma1.it. Like for all the sections of the 'PAThs' database, 'Places' is introduced by a short text aimed at describing the theoretical and practical choices that have

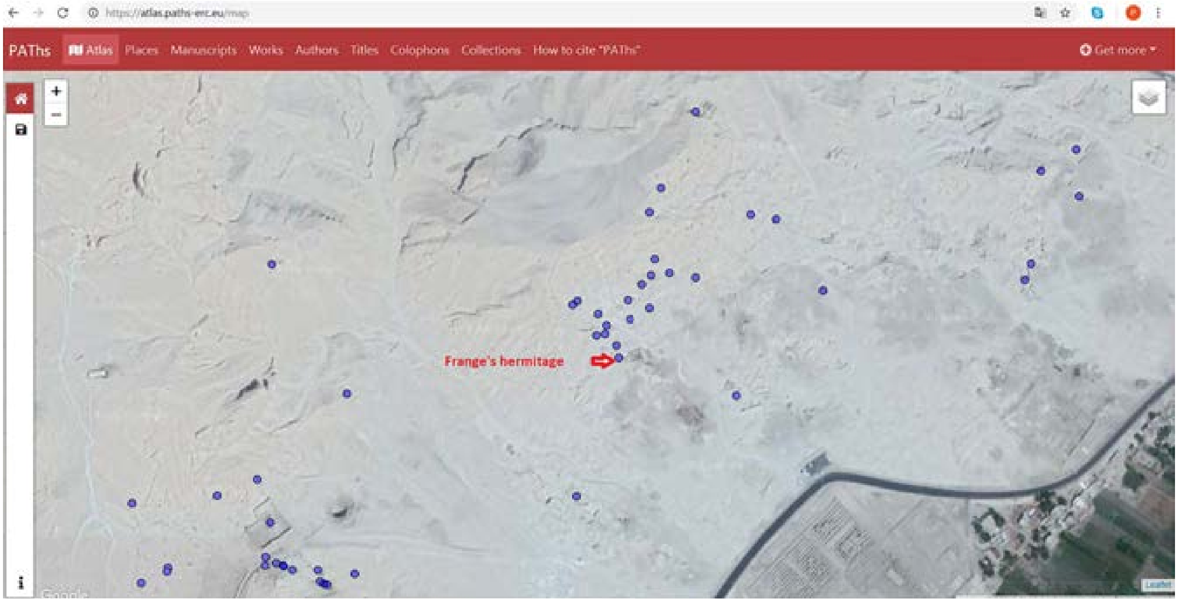


Fig. 8. Frange's tomb (TT 29) and the other cells around it, form the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature.*

A visible consequence of this choice is, for instance, the classification and treatment of the sites of Western Thebes. The mountain of Jeme, as the area is often called in documentary texts, despite the huge area it covers, did not see the formation of real urban settlements, apart from the village of Jeme, located mainly inside the *temenos* of the temple of Medinet Habu.[35] It saw, however, the flourishing of hundreds of dwellings: individual cells and hermitages, monasteries and little *topoi*, each of them well testified by an incredible amount of textual and/or archaeological data. No other areas of Egypt have been so generous in returning information, both about daily life and the cultural output.[36] This called for an accurate geographical representation that may appear even excessive and too detailed, but that is the only way not to lose valuable data (Fig. 9). Such detailed description aims at tracing a sort of *cognitive map* or *cognitive configuration* of how the inhabitants of Western Thebes perceived their environment, of their behavioural space.[37]

Although it remains clear that in the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*[38] priority attention is accorded to sites connected to the production, circulation, storage, preservation and discovery of manuscripts, bishoprics and monasteries that have been central to the cultural life of late antique Egypt could not be excluded in any case from a geographical representation of Coptic literature, even if they have not returned manuscripts. Although this choice may appear paradoxical, it is the result of a meditated decision. It is unreasonable to imagine that in Thmuis, which was an episcopal see, there was no archive of the bishopric and therefore no chancellery that produced texts and books. In the same way, it is illogical to think that the monastery of Bawit, that was one of the main monastic settlements of late antique Egypt, did not have a library.[39] Should we exclude these sites from an atlas dedicated to Coptic literary production only because fate was not generous enough to preserve their manuscripts? Certainly not.

been taken and providing instructions on the typologies of possible searches available. A 'spatial unit' or 'basic spatial unit' is the smallest spatial area of cultural landscape, that is, it is normally not further sub-dividable.

35 Hölscher 1932, 1-4 Pl. 1-2, 32; Wilbert 1940, Wilbert 1940, 86-103; Hölscher 1954, 45-57 Fig. 52-61; Pl. 29-33, 41-46; Grossmann 1991b, 1496-1497; Grossmann 2002, 454-457.

36 O'Connell 2018, 75-105.

37 Couclelis 1992, 226: a *cognitive map* is 'an attempt to represent graphically an individual understanding of the spatial structure of the environment'. For a theoretical approach, see also Dowen - Stea 1973, Sack 1980; Golledge - Stimto 1987; Sack 2010, 16-34.

38 For the technical and theoretical aspects of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*, see Bogdani 2017, 59-69 and Bogdani 2018, 200-210.

39 Anne Boud'hors, however, is studying a group of manuscripts that may be 'candidates' for the monastic library of Bawit. Boud'hors forthcoming.

Fig. 9. The complete census of late antique 'Places' of Western Thebes classified by the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*.

For all these reasons, it has been decided that, if the welcome page of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*[40] shows by default *only* places strictly related to manuscripts, by simply disabling a filter, *all* places that have been classified (and that will be progressively described in detail) in the 'PAThs' database and characterise late antique and early mediaeval Egypt will appear,[41] thus offering a new tool useful for a wider range of research on Christian Egypt.

Obviously, when one is looking for a specific place where manuscripts have been found, or produced or stored, (s)he can easily interrogate the map of the *Atla*s or browse the 'Places' section.[42]

5. *The representability of the geography of Coptic literature: Feasibility and limits*

We are all conscious that a large part of the extant Coptic literary manuscripts is from the antiquities trade and, therefore, only very hypothetically can we reconstruct the *itinera* through which they arrived in the different modern collections where they are now stored. Even the origin of very well-known ancient 'libraries' is still debated. It is enough to mention here the so-called Bodmer Papyri or Dishna Papers, whose double denomination is *per se* revealing.[43]

Moreover, it is important to stress that, with very few exceptions – for instance the Psalter of al-Mudil or the Gospel of John from Naqlūn –,[44] even the Coptic manuscripts that have been found in well

40 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/map.

41 The following categories of places are so far provided in the *Atlas*: 1. sites connected to the production, circulation, storage, preservation and discovery of manuscripts; 2. major political, religious and cultural centres (for instance episcopal sees, but also monasteries or important urban centres), which are relevant for the reconstruction of the landscape of Byzantine Egypt, even though they no longer preserve archaeological traces; 3. toponyms attested in colophons, even when lacking a certain localisation, since they provides significant information on the geographical circulation of manuscripts.

42 For instance, Antinoupolis, with its 38 Coptic literary manuscripts, or better codicological units: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/53.

43 Nongbri 2018, 157-215.

44 These are in fact special cases, since they have both been found in a tomb, used as 'funerary kits'. See Buzi forthcoming a.

documented archaeological contexts represent a 'secondary deposition', that is they were not found in their original location. The fragments found during recent excavations in the so-called candle room of the Monastery of Shenoute[45] certainly belonged to the library of that institution, but were not found on its shelves. The manuscripts uncovered in the Monastery of Paulos at Dayr al-Baẖīt are also clearly found not in their original location.[46] This is even the case of the three marvellous codices found by Tomasz Gorécki in Western Thebes:[47] their heterogeneous book typology and, above all, their stratigraphic location show that they belong to the macrocontext of the archaeological site where they were discovered. However, they were not found in their original microcontext (the shelves of a monastic library, the house of a private citizen, the archive of cathedral, etc.), but in a landfill, or dispersed following the destruction of a building, or in similar situations.[48]

This does not mean that the place of discovery is not important, that an accurate excavation is not determinant. Nor does it mean that we should feel pessimistic about the ability to study Coptic literature in relation to a physical space.

It only means that the place of discovery is not, in itself, sufficient and it is necessary to take into consideration many other elements in order to reconstruct the story of a book and the works that it contains.

Books have two dimensions: one physical and one intellectual. Both aspects may contribute to sketching a geography of Coptic book production.

As for the physical nature of Coptic books, Anne Boud'hors, while working on the Theban manuscripts, has successfully demonstrated that it is possible to talk about a regionality of book production.[49] Moreover, anybody who has some experience with manuscripts is aware that books from specific regions may have particular material features (for example the White Monastery codices realized in the so-called 'Touton style'),[50] although they are not always immediately perceptible, at least at first glance. But when one has available a database, where all the extant Coptic codicological units are classified and, ideally, described in minimal detail (when possible), in order to have the possibility to compare layouts, dimensions of written areas, lectional signs, punctuation, structural signs, dimensions of margins, etc. – in brief all the elements that pertain to the domain of (quantitative) codicology – it would be possible to search for any physical characteristic of a book and create possible correlations with places or regions.

Building such a database is a considerable effort requiring many years of dedication and a wide network of interdisciplinary collaborations, but it is exactly what 'PAThs' is trying to do, in the interests of the whole scholarly community, and hopefully with the collaboration of several colleagues.

Moreover, the pioneering archaeometric analyses carried out on the Coptic inks – pioneering in the sense that, for the first time, such analysis is conducted in a systematic way and dealing with ancient libraries whose provenance and date is certain or deducible –[51] are yielding very important results.[52] Not only are we acquiring surprising data on the ink compositions, but in some cases it has been possible to recompose the *disiecta membra* of some codicological units. These data are also merging in the 'PAThs' database. The same is happening with the structural analysis of bookbindings and covers, an aspect of Coptic codicology whose importance for the history of book making has largely underestimated until now.[53]

The combined use of all these material elements – together with an accurate study of the texts, that should be considered essential – will play a crucial role in delineating a geography of Coptic book and literary production.

---

45 DAVIS *et al.* 2014, 69-87; https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/112. For the new archaeological acquisitions concerning the White Monastery, see BLANKE 2019.

46 EICHNER 2015, 241-250; https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/192.

47 GÓRECKI - WIPSZYCKA 2018, 118-132, with bibliography; https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/82.

48 On the limits of the representability of the geography of Coptic literature, see also BUZI, forthcoming b.

49 BOUD'HORS 2017, 175-212.

50 The 'Touton style' is now the object of study, independently from one another, of Alin Suciu and Francesco Valerio.

51 GHIGO *et al.* 2018, 157-164. See also the contribution of Tea Ghigo and Ira Rabin in this volume. An exhaustive analysis of Coptic inks is the subject of the doctoral research of Tea Ghigo (in preparation).

52 See also the contribution of Tea Ghigo and Sofía Torallas Tovar on the *Codex Miscellaneus Barcinonensis* in this volume.

53 See the contribution of Eliana Dal Sasso in this volume.

6. *Late antique places as seen by the Coptic copyists and the itinerant life of books*

The sites mentioned by Coptic colophons are also real, physical places. Due to their special textual nature, in part documentary and in part literary, colophons can provide extremely interesting information about the late antique Egyptian environment. The edition and translation of a corpus of about 150 colophons (until now), and the marking up of them by means of tags in order to single out meaningful elements and 'actors' – such as copyists, donors, founders of buildings, etc. – is producing meaningful results.[54]

The places mentioned in the Coptic colophons are able to show us precisely how the Copts perceived their social spaces, their sites, and their environment.

We have the confirmation that the White Monastery was for them the ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓ̈ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ('the monastery of our father the prophet Apa Shenoute of the mountain of Atripe'),[55] we learn that one of the Ḥāmūli codices, defined by the donor, who took care of it at his own expense, as little book – although in fact it was not little at all, at least from the physical point of view –, was given ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ̀ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲙ ('to the church of the saint Georgios, the powerful martyr, in Narmoute of the Fayyūm'),[56] and we find out that, in the last quarter of the tenth century, Abba Nykodymos was bishop for the city Tbō and the forts (ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ) of Philae,[57] to cite but a few examples.

The classification and edition of colophons has also provided a small, but valuable, number of places that were not previously 'registered', very useful in defining the microgeography of a specific area. A meaningful example is precisely the area of Tebtunis/Touton with all its satellite villages and settlements.

Moreover, thanks to colophons, it is sometimes possible to follow the different phases of the life of a book that might have changed its owner or simply have been produced in a place, to be later given or transferred to another place. If one does not want to mention here the well-known phenomenon of the codices that were produced at Touton for the White Monastery,[58] a remarkable example of the itinerant life of a manuscript is represented by CLM 1 (= CMCL.AA),[59] a Bohairic-Arabic manuscript, which was manufactured in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, but stored in Babylon, from 1398, as the Arabic note (not a real colophon in fact) of Matthew, patriarch of Alexandria attests (*Vat. copt.* 2, f. v r).

It is difficult to imagine a more concrete and reliable geography than that provided by the Copts themselves in their own texts, and in colophons in particular, although not all these sites can be georeferenced of course.

7. *Imaginary landscapes and their value*

When dealing with Coptic literary manuscripts, however, we cannot avoid considering also imaginary places. Biographies, hagiographies and encomia – I use these definitions, conscious that often they do not really correspond to different literary genres and that the terminology used in Coptic titles is not always reliable – all mention places that represent the scenery of the narrative plot.

One might think that in these cases the description of landscapes, villages, harbours and deserts is completely or almost completely fictional, and therefore that it serves no useful purpose in the recon-

54 In addition to the edition and translation of the corpus of colophons, https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons, a new section of the database has been recently added: 'Persons' attested in colophons https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/persons, that identifies and classified donors, copyists, commemorated persons, decorators, etc. Both sections are under the responsibility of Agostino Soldati. On colophons, see also Buzi 2016, 203-217; Luisier 2016, 218-231; Soldati 2018, 115-119. On colophons as documentary sources for the reconstruction of a specific milieu, see Soldati 2017, 23-32. Very useful too are the translations by Antony Alcock, freely published on the web Alcock, Antony (*sine data* a), *Colophons of Coptic Manuscripts Part One: Fayyum* https://www.academia.edu/30732203/Colophons_of_Coptic_Manuscripts_Part_One_Fayyum and Alcock, Antony (*sine data* b) *Colophons of Coptic Manuscripts Part Two: Upper Egypt* https://www.academia.edu/30978332/Colophons_of_Coptic_Manuscripts_Part_Two_Upper_Egypt.

55 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/112.

56 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/140.

57 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/44.

58 Emmel 2005, 63-70: 66; Nakano 2006, 147-159.

59 The original codicological unit is now divided into 3 shelfmarks: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. copt.* 2, 3, and 4. More precisely the content is the following: *Vat. copt.* 2, ff. 1r-85v: Genesis; *Vat. copt.* 2, f. 85v: colophon; *Vat. copt.* 2, ff. 86r-158r: Exodus; *Vat. copt.* 2, f. 158r: colophon; *Vat. copt.* 3, ff. 1v-55r: Leviticus; *Vat. copt.* 3, f. 55r: colophon; *Vat. copt.* 3, ff. 55v-123v: Numeri (f. 124r-v blank); *Vat. copt.* 4: ff. 1r-60r: Deuteronomium; https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/1.

struction of the cultural and archaeological landscape of late antique Egypt. Surprisingly, this not true. We have several examples of places mentioned and described in a narrative plot that are in fact based on reality and therefore are revealed to be, at least in part, reliable.

One meaningful example is represented by the *In Samuelem archimandritam* by Isaac of Kalamon (CC 0216), transmitted by five codicological units, at different states of preservation.[60] The description of the site of al-Qalamūn,[61] where Samuel established a new community and restored a ruined church, after having escaped from Dayr al-Naqlūn, where he had been tortured, for the second time, by the men of the Melkite patriarch, is very realistic if juxtaposed with a topographical and archaeological survey of the site. The salt mines, the reeds, the narrow *wadi*: everything corresponds to the morphological description of the site in the narrative work.[62]

Another example of reliability of literary sources, if they are handled with caution, is represented by the detailed description of the landscape of Sketis in the *Life of Maximus and Domitius* (CC 0323).[63]

Ewa Wipszycka has used, with prudence, on many occasions, Coptic literature as a historical source,[64] implicitly proposing a model for a correct evaluation and equilibrated interpretation of the role of geographical descriptions in literary sources.[65] I believe that, with due caution, this is a path to follow.

Another virtuous example of the multidisciplinary and combined use of a literary source and the results of archaeological research[66] is represented by the edition of a processional ritual transmitted by a fifteenth-sixteenth century manuscript – which however preserves elements of earlier tradition –, where archaeological evidence is used to interpret the crucial moments of the rite, in its interaction with the surrounding physical space.[67]

It must be added that it is probably not by chance if the most realistic literary places are contained in the late Coptic literary production – like the so-called 'cycle of sanctuaries', according to the definition of Tito Orlandi – when the Christian Coptic identity needs and makes use also of physical places to be represented.[68]

However, even when the description of places does not correspond to reality or is a fictional location, the maximum account of it should be taken, because it represents a symbolic construction that reflects the culture of the authors of a text and of their audience: it is an anthropological space, characterised by identity, history and relation.[69]

In brief, a place, regardless of whether real or imaginary, forges the identity of an individual and his sense of belonging to a community. In a physical place one lives, cohabits, experiences a social, economic or religious common life, while any fictional place embodies a story. The boundaries between historical fiction and creative non-fiction are very blurred: the relationship with factual reality is of course different, but the socio-cultural power is exactly the same, because artistic creations – like the narrative plots involving the description of a building, of a city, of a harbour – are facts themselves.

It is for all these reasons that the real and the imagined both have great importance in the reconstruction of the cultural history of Christian Egypt and the correct description and evaluation of them is essential for the reconstruction of the geography of Coptic manuscript tradition.

It remains clear, however, that physical places, that is the archaeological contexts, have a special dignity and role in providing an in-depth diachronical understanding and comprehensive perspective on the spread and development of Coptic manuscript and literary production, illustrating the relationship

60 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/works/216.

61 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/100.

62 Buzi 2007, 83-104.

63 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/works/323.

64 See for instance see Wipszycka 2004, 135-148 and Wipszycka 2016, 281-305.

65 For an example of the interaction between 'hard' and 'soft' sources, though in another cultural context see Burton Skårdal 1984, 72-80.

66 Carried out by the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project South, under the direction of Stephen Davis, in the federation of the White Monastery.

67 Davis *et al.* forthcoming.

68 See the article of Tito Orlandi in this volume.

69 For an innovative approach to the study of places in Coptic literature making use of tools provided by digital humanities, see the article of Caroline Schroeder in this volume.

between settlements, as revealed by the archaeological investigations, and intellectual production, as is documented in the manuscripts.

***

Twenty papers among those presented at the third 'PAThs' conference are included here, to which one more (by Jean-Luc Fournet) has been added because it perfectly integrates with the scope of the volume. All of them contribute to the development of an interdisciplinary dialogue by investigating all the possible aspects involved in the intellectual production of Coptic Egypt.

As a consequence of the philosophy and structure of the 'PAThs' project, that aims to study Coptic literature no longer as a cultural phenomenon independent of its material context, the papers collected in this volume are consciously arranged not according to traditional disciplinary areas – literature, art history, archaeology, etc. – but following an ideal diachronic journey from the north to the south of Egypt, in a symphony of voices, methodologies and traditions of studies that try to go beyond the consolidated narrow disciplinary subdivisions.

Moving from region to region, and crossing the centuries, book manufacturing practices, formats, scribal habits, and layouts evolve, revealing a strict relationship with the texts that they transmit, but also with the place where they have been produced.[70]

Articles related to methodological, often very innovative, approaches – dedicated to digital humanities, modern theories elaborated in media studies on modern fanfiction applied to Coptic literature, landscape archaeology, archaeometric ink analysis, structural study of bookbindings, etc. – are collected in the second part, certainly not to mark their extraneousness to the analysis of the Coptic literary tradition, but on the contrary to emphasise that they represent a valuable set of theoretic and practical instruments capable of integrating 'classical' models of study. Most of papers in this section are connected with the implementation of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* or are the outcome of partner projects, such as *Coptic Scriptorium.*

More in details, the first part of the volume opens with a meticulous analysis of the fate of the temples in a country that was changing its skin without obliterating to its past, an analysis that is determinant in order to delineate the balance between 'pagan' culture and the consolidating role of Christianity (Jean-Luc Fournet). The attention is then moved to the way Coptic literature writes about its physical places. Hagiographic works reveal themselves to be a real treasure trove of information when one is ready to go beyond the liturgical purposes for which they were composed (or adapted at a later stage), isolating the description of church buildings and trying to locate them (Tito Orlandi).

Moving to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou, in the Fayyūm, which was certainly one of the main bibliological centre of late antique Egypt, through to a careful analysis of hands and layouts, it is possible to deduce that its *scriptorium* produced luxury codices that were sometimes conceived in pairs and even that there were active, what we can define as 'writing circles' (Francesco Valerio).

The so-called Middle Egypt does not cease to provide new elements on the book production and the physical space where it was produced. This is the case of the 'fortress' of Oxyrhynchus (Eva Subías), of the biblical manuscripts from Hermoupolis Magna and Antinoupolis (Frank Feder), the so-called Akhmim Papyri (Nathan Carlig) and the well-known *Codex Miscellaneus Barcinonensis* that is analysed here for the first time taking into account the content, the selection and combination of works and the inks (Tea Ghigo and Sofía Torallas Tovar).

Going down toward the Thebaid, the complex case of the Nag Hammadi codices is dealt with the proposition that, on the basis of a codicological analysis, the Pachomian Federation was the milieu of production (Christian H. Bull). Lastly, the extreme southern fringe of Egypt – or better the northern of Nubia – enable us to learn about the Coptic phase of the Monastery at Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan, where numerous inscriptions have been left on the walls (Vicente Barba Colmenero and Sofía Torallas Tovar) and to make hypotheses on the literary production of Isle of Elephantine (Andrea Hasznos), while the Monastery of Anba Hatre, on the west bank of Syene, provided a new 'colophon' with valuable historical information (Agostino Soldati).

70 Place names are mentioned by the authors of the articles collected in this volume according to their habits, and therefore they do not necessarily appear in the scientific Arabic transliteration.

Lastly, Coptic manuscripts from three extremely important Nubian towns – Qaṣr Ibrīm, Faras and Dongola – are listed and described here for the first time (Adam Łajtar).

As already explained, the second part of the volume is more methodological, collecting issues that are meant to be useful tools or that represent innovative approaches to a wide range of sub-disciplines related to Coptic Studies.

Recent theoretical methods applied in media and cognitive studies are at the basis of a very original re-reading of the production and use of Coptic apocrypha that tries to reconstruct the textual fluidity of these kinds of texts, whose fortune is long-lasting (Hugo Lundhaug), while digital and computational tools are shown to be a useful method to identify real and imaginary geographic entities within Coptic literature, enhancing traditional textual scholarship and proposing new paths of inquiry for an understanding of spaces and places in the Coptic literary world (Caroline Schroeder).

The construction and implementation of the archaeological *Atlas of Coptic Literatures* is the framework for the remaining papers of this section of the volume.

A geo-archaeo-topographical analysis of the Delta, a region that was crucial in the formation of the Coptic Church, being the place of numerous episcopal sees and important urban settlements of early Christian age, is used as case study to demonstrate that, in the absence of discoveries of manuscripts, due to the climatic conditions of a specific area, it is necessary to reconstruct the milieus that were certainly responsible for the copious book production (Angelo Colonna and Ilaria Rossetti). Such typological and functional evaluation of the numerous sites of the region helps to 'illustrate the variety of forms and modes of exploitation and occupation of the Delta, allowing us, on the one hand, to move beyond a dominant (biased) monastic perspective and, on the other hand, to reassess the value of Byzantine and Mediaeval urban sites within a dynamic regional context'.[71]

The contribution of archaeometric ink analysis in supporting and complementing palaeographical and codicological studies concerning the fragmentary manuscripts of the White Monastery is presented as part of a wider interdisciplinary approach to the study of Coptic manuscript tradition, involving humanities and science (Tea Ghigo and Ira Rabin).

No less important is the preliminary census of extant Coptic bookbindings, initiated within the 'PAThs' project, because it illustrates the expected results in terms of elaboration of a codified protocol of description and *ad hoc* terminology: 182 items, dated between the fourth and the eleventh century, have already been identified. This previously neglected material has the extraordinary potential to open new research perspectives on the book production of the late antique and early mediaeval era (Eliana Dal Sasso).

The proposal of a 'reference periodisation system' of Coptic Literature, covering the period between the third and the fourteenth century – that is meant to be the starting point for further discussion among the scholarly community – shows the urgency in the next few years of a systematic reflection on what Coptic literature is and on how it was perceived by readers (Francesco Berno).

The last article deals with some methodological aspects related to the use of the so-called 'legacy data' and proposes theoretical and practical points of reflection based on best practices that can followed by the several active projects of digital humanities in their daily work with diverse data manipulation and creation. To offer a more concrete and solid framework to the general considerations, the case study of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* is introduced, being a research project that makes a consistent and systematic re-use of data previously created by other projects, but pursuing rather different goals and having as a focus Coptic literary manuscripts (Julian Bogdani). Such a reflection is particularly useful, considering the recent proliferation of humanistic projects with a digital *coté*, which, when they are initiated, do not always take into consideration crucial matters such as the necessity of a transparent documentation of the research process, the need for effective ways of publishing the documented dataset on the internet, the problem of consistent reuse of the data.

***

At this point some brief final remarks are necessary.

71 See Angelo Colonna's article for more details.

The assertion according to which understanding and interpreting the stratified historical and archaeological landscape of Christian Egypt – which, as we have seen, is often the fruit of specific centralised political interventions –[72] is of crucial importance for delineating the cultural (i.e. literary) and technological development of the Coptic book might appear to be hyperbole. But books are one of the most complex and sophisticated artefacts: the physical and intellectual milieu where they have been imagined, and the conditions in which they have been created, exchanged, stored and even re-cycled or destroyed had an influence on them.

The articles collected in this volume very clearly show that we can talk about a 'regionality' of book production both in terms of material features and intellectual trends (the typology of literary genres attested in a specific area, the combination of works in relationship with the book form, the 'fashion' of a writing in a given area, etc.), two aspects that are often interwoven in their respective chronological development.

Moreover, it is evident that a careful reconstruction of what remains of cities, villages and hamlets, regardless the fact that they have provided manuscripts or not, is essential to understand the social and anthropic dynamics of ancient Egyptian cultural landscape, which saw in Late Antiquity a meaningful 'decrease of inhabited spaces in the *metropoleis* and the continuous reuse of buildings of the previous phases, as written sources showed',[73] at least until the tenth century, when al-Qāhira became the fulcrum of a new phase of book production and monasteries more and more played the role of strongholds of Coptic cultural identity.

In this framework, continuing to keep strict disciplinary borders makes no sense, and would limit the comprehension of an extremely complex ensemble of cultural elements, such as those forming what we define as late antique and early mediaeval Egypt.

Aknowledgements

My sincere thanks go, first of all, to the participants in the conference – speakers, discussants, graduate and doctoral students, colleagues, chair persons –[74] who gathered in an unusually cold Rome, contributing to a fruitful and lively discussion. No less gratitude I would like to express to Eugenio Gaudio, *Magnifico Rettore*, of Sapienza Università di Roma, who did us the honour of opening the conference programme, to Gaetano Lettieri, Director of the Department and, above all, friend, for his strenuous support in the project, and to the scientific editors of 'PAST' – *in primis* Francesca Romana Stasolla – for hosting this volume in their series.

Finally but importantly, I would like to thank the 'PATHs' team members,[75] who have worked hard over the last few years, and without whose scientific efforts the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* would not exist and certainly would not have appeared so early.

References

Agosti 2018 = G. Agosti, "Greek and Coptic *Paideia* in Late Antique Egypt: Comparing the Incomparable?", *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 12-21.

Agosti - Bianconi 2019 = G. Agosti - D. Bianconi (eds.), *Pratiche didattiche tra centro e periferia nel Mediterraneo tardoantico*, Spoleto, 2019.

Alcock (*sine data* a) = A. Alcock, *Colophons of Coptic Manuscripts Part One: Fayyum,* sine data [https://www.academia.edu/30732203/Colophons_of_Coptic_Manuscripts_Part_One_Fayyum].

Alcock (*sine data* b) = A. Alcock *Colophons of Coptic Manuscripts Part Two: Upper Egypt*, *sine data* [https://www.academia.edu/30978332/Colophons_of_Coptic_Manuscripts_Part_Two_Upper_Egypt].

72 See above all the article of Jean-Luc Fournet in this volume.

73 See the article of Ilaria Rossetti in this volume.

74 Special thanks go to Angela Bernardo, Marta Addessi and Elisabetta Falduto, who coordinated and took care of the logistic aspects of the conference.

75 For a list of the 'PAThs' team members, actual and past, see: http://paths.uniroma1.it/team.

ANDRIST - CANART - MANIACI 2013 = P. ANDRIST - P. CANART - M. MANIACI, *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale* (Bibliologia, 34), Turnhout, 2013.

BAGNALL - RATHBONE 2017 = R.S. BAGNALL - D.W. RATHBONE, *Egypt from Alexander to the Copts. An Archaeological and Historical Guide*. Revised and Updated Edition, Cairo - New York, 2017.

BLANKE 2019 = L. BLANKE, *An Archaeology of Egyptian Monasticism: Settlement, Economy and Daily Life at the White Monastery Federation* (Yale Egyptological Publications, 2), New Haven, 2019.

BOGDANI 2017 = J. BOGDANI, "The Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. A Question of Method", *Vicino Oriente*, XXI, 2017, pp. 59-69.

BOGDANI 2018 = J. BOGDANI, "Linking Coptic Literary Manuscripts to the Archaeological Context by Means of Digital Humanities: The Case of 'PAThs' Project", *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 200-210.

BORAIK 2014 = M. BORAIK, "SCA Excavations at Luxor; New discoveries from the First Millennium AD", in E.R. O'CONNELL (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from new fieldwork* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 2), Leuven, 2014, pp. 207-213.

BOUD'HORS 2008 = A. BOUD'HORS, "Copie et circulation des livres dans la région thébaine (VII^e^-VIII^e^ siècles)", in A. DELATTRE - P. HEILPORN (eds.), « Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages ... »: *Thebes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine.* Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005 (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 34), Brussels, 2008, pp. 149-162.

BOUD'HORS 2014 = A. BOUD'HORS, "Moines, moniales et tissage en Égypte : à propos d'une lettre du moine Frangé", in A. BINGGELI - A. BOUD'HORS - M. CASSIN (eds.), *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia, Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 243), Leuven - Paris - Bristol CT, 2014, pp. 119-128.

BOUD'HORS 2017 = A. BOUD'HORS, "À la recherche des manuscrits coptes de la région thébaine", in D. BRAKKE - S.J. DAVIS - S. EMMEL (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics. Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton*, Leuven, 2017, pp. 175-212.

BOUD'HORS forthcoming = A. BOUD'HORS, "Réflexions sur les conditions d'existence d'une bibliothèque à Baouît", in F. CALAMENT - G. HADJI-MINAGLOU (eds.), *Baouît (2008-2018) : Panorama et perspectives.* Journées d'études, 7-8 juin 2018 Paris, forthcoming.

BOUD'HORS - HEURTEL 2010 = A. BOUD'HORS - C. HEURTEL, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour du moine Frangé* (Études d'archéologie thébaine, 3), Bruxelles, 2010.

BROOKS HEDSTROM 2017 = D.L. BROOKS HEDSTROM, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt: An Archaeological Reconstruction*, Cambridge, 2017 .

BURTON SKÅRDAL 1984 = D. BURTON SKÅRDAL, "'Hard' Facts and 'Soft' Sources: Literature as Historical Source Material?", *American Studies in Scandinavia*, 16, 1984, pp. 72-80.

BUZI 2007 = P. BUZI, "Monaci e barbari: attività agricolo-pastorali e presenze faunistiche nel Deserto Occidentale e nel Fayyum secondo la Vita di Samuele di Kalamun", in S. PERNIGOTTI, M. ZECCHI (eds.), *La terra, gli uomini e gli dèi.* Atti del secondo Colloquio, Bologna 22-23 maggio 2006, Imola, 2007, pp. 83-104.

BUZI 2016 = P. BUZI, "Titoli e colofoni: riflessioni sugli elementi paratestuali dei manoscritti copti saidici", in A. SIRINIAN - P. BUZI - G. SHURGAIA (eds.), *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie del mondo mediterraneo.* Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna 12-13 ottobre 2012 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 299), Roma, 2016, pp. 203-217.

BUZI 2018 = P. BUZI, "Egypt Crossroad of Translations and Literary Interweavings (3^rd^-6^th^ Centuries). A Reconsideration of Earlier Coptic literature", in F. CREVATIN (ed.), *Egitto, crocevia di traduzioni*, Trieste, 2018, pp. 15-67.

BUZI forthcoming a = P. BUZI, "Les manuscrits comme trousseau funéraire : pour une reconsidération des manuscrits découverts à l'intérieur de tombes égypto-chrétiennes", *Revue Études Balkaniques-Cahiers Pierre Belon*, forthcoming.

BUZI forthcoming b = P. BUZI, "The Geography of Coptic Literature", in S. Moawad (ed.), *Ninth international symposium of the St. Mark Foundation, Wadi Natrun, February, 10th – 14th 2019*, Cairo, forthcoming.

BUZI - BERNO - BOGDANI 2018 = 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, 2018, pp. 39-58.

Camplani 2018 = A. Camplani, "Sulla multifunzionalità del tradurre in copto: note sparse su frammenti copti tardoantichi, Cicerone e moderne ipotesi di ricerca", in F. Crevatin (ed.), *Egitto, crocevia di traduzioni*, Trieste, 2018, pp. 101-144.

Kenneth 1951 = C.W. Kenneth, "Manuscripts Belong to Archaeology", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 122, 1951, pp. 7-9.

Colomo 2019 = D. Colomo, "5414. *Iliad* 2.70-82 with Paraphrase and Coptic Translation", *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXXIV, Oxford, 2019, pp. 46-55.

Couclelis 1992 = H. Couclelis, "Location, Place, Region, and Space", in R.F. Abler - M.G. Marcus - J.M. Olson (eds.), *Geography's inner worlds. Pervasive themes in contemporary American geography*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1992, pp. 215-233.

Davis *et al.* 2014 = S.J. Davis - G. Pyke - E. Davidson - M. Farag - D. Schriever - L. Blanke, "Left Behind: A Recent Discovery of Manuscript Fragments in the White Monastery Church", *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 16, 2014, pp. 69-87.

Davis *et al.* forthcoming = S.J. Davis - D. Schriever - M. Farag - S. Moawad, *The Feast of the Desert of Apa Shenoute: A Liturgical Procession from the White Monastery in Upper Egypt*, Leuven, forthcoming.

Davoli 2016 = P. Davoli, "Soknopaiou Nesos e i suoi templi in epoca ellenistica e romana. I rinvenimenti della Missione Archeologica dell'Università del Salento", *Studi di Egittologia e Papirologia*, 13, 2016, pp. 25-44.

Delattre - Lecuyot - Thirard 2008 = A. Delattre - G. Lecuyot - C. Thirard (2008), "L'occupation chrétienne de la montagne thébaine : prospections dans la Vallée des Reines et les vallées adjacentes. Rapport préliminaire", in A. Boud'hors - C. Louis (eds.), *Études Coptes* X, *Douzième Journée d'Études coptes, Lyon, 19-21 mai 2005* (*Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte* 16), Paris, 2008, pp. 123-133.

Derolez 2018 = A. Derolez, *Archaeology of the manuscript book of the Italian Renaissance*, Rome, 2018.

Dijkstra 2011 = J.H.F. Dijkstra, "The Fate of the Temples in Late Antique Egypt", in L. Lavan - M. Mulryan (eds.), *The archaeology of Late Antique 'paganism'* (Late Antique Archaeology, 7), Leiden - Boston, 2011, pp. 389-486.

Dijkstra 2012 = J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 18), Mainz, 2012.

Dijkstra - van Loon 2013 = J.H.F. Dijkstra - G.J.M. van Loon, "The Christian Wall Paintings from the Temple of Isis at Aswan revisited', in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, Cairo, 2013, pp. 137-156.

Dowen - Stea 1973 = R.M. Dowen - D. Stea, *Image and environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behavior*, Chicago, 1973.

Effland 2014 = A. Effland, "'You Will Open Up the Ways in the Underworld of the God': Aspects of the Roman and Late Antique Abysos", in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from new fieldwork* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 2), Leuven, 2014, pp. 193-205.

Eichner 2015 = I. Eichner, "Bücher und Bucheinbände des Paulosklosters (Deir el-Bachît) in Theben-West / Oberägypten", in *Byzantium as Bridge between West and East.* Proceedings of the International Conference, Vienna, 3rd – 5th May 2012, Wien, 2015, pp. 241-250.

Emmel 2005 = S. Emmel, "The Library of the Monastery at Phantoou (al-Hamuli)", in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*, Cairo - New York, 2005, pp. 63-70.

Fehérvári 2007 = G. Fehérvári (2007), "The Kuwait Excavations, 1985-87", in A.K. Bowman *et al.* (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A city and its texts*, London, 2007, pp. 109-128.

Fournet 2018 = J.-L. Fournet, "Changements religieux et patrimoine cultuel : le sort des temples égyptiens durant l'Antiquité tardive ...." , in J.-L. Fournet - J.-M. Mouton - J. Paviot (éd.), *Patrimoine partagé et patrimoine identitaire. Actes du colloque scientifique international 23-24 Octobre 2017*, Paris, 2018, pp. 45-82.

Friedrich - Schwarke 2016 = M. Friedrich - C. Schwarke, "Introduction – Manuscripts as Evolving Entities", in M. Friedrich - C. Schwarke (eds.), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Texts Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9), Berlin, 2016, pp. 1-23.

Gameson 2011 = R. Gameson, "Literary Sources and Archaeology", in D.A. Hinton - S. Crawford - H. Hamerow (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, Oxford, 2011, pp. 797-823.

Ghigo *et al.* 2018 = T. Ghigo - O. Bonnerot - P. Buzi - M. Krutzsch - O. Hahn - I. Rabin, "An Attempt at a Systematic Study of Inks from Coptic Manuscripts", *Manuscript cultures*, 11, 2018, pp. 157-164.

Golledge - Stimton 1987 = R.G. Golledge - R.J. Stimton, *Analytical behavioural geography*, London, 1987.

Górecki - Wispszycka 2018 = T. Górecki - E. Wispszycka, "Scoperta di tre codici in un eremo a Sheikh el-Gurna (TT 1151-1152): il contesto archeologico)", *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 118-132.

Grossmann 1991a = P. Grossmann, "Luxor Temples", in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, V, pp. 1484-1486.

Grossmann 1991b = P. Grossmann, "Medinat Habu", in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, V, pp. 1496-1497.

Grossmann 2002 = P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in* Ägypten (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 62), Leiden - Boston, 2002.

Gumbert 2004 = J.P. Gumbert, "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex", in E. Crisci - O. Pecere (eds.), *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni.* Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14-17 maggio 2003) = *Segno e testo*, 2, 2004, pp. 17-42.

Hines 2011 = J.A. Hines, "Literary Sources and Archaeology", in D.A. Hinton - S. Crawford - H. Hamerow (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, Oxford, 2011, pp. 968-985.

Jones - McFadden 2015 = M. Jones - S. McFadden, *Art of empire: The Roman frescoes and imperial cult chamber in Luxor Temple*, New Haven, CT, 2015.

Klotz 2010 = D. Klotz, "Triphis in the White Monastery: Reused Temple Block from Sohag", *Ancient Society*, 40, 2010, pp. 197-213.

Klotz 2011 = D. Klotz, "The naos of Nectanebo I from the White Monastery Church (Sohag)", *Göttinger Miszellen*, 229, 2011, pp. 37-52.

Hölscher 1932 = U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, Volume 1: *General Plans and Views* (Oriental Institute Publications, 21), Chicago, 1932.

Hölscher 1954 = U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, Volume 5: *Post Ramessid Remains* (Oriental Institute Publications, 66), Chicago, 1954.

Łajtar 2012 = A. Łajtar, "The Theban Region Under the Roman Empire", in C. Riggs (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 171-188.

Larsen - Rubenson 2018 = L. Larsen - S. Rubenson, *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity: The Transformation of Classical Paideia*, Cambridge, 2018.

Lecuyot 1999a = G. Lecuyot, "Une Nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest à l'époque Romaine et Copte : La Vallée des Reines", *Kyphi* 2, 1999, pp. 33-61.

Lecuyot 1999b = G. Lecuyot, "Le Ramesseum de la Troisième Période intermédiaire à l'époque copte", in C. Barbotin - C. Leblanc, *Les monuments d'éternité de Ramsès II. Nouvelles fouilles thébaines* (Les dossiers du Musée du Louvre, 1999), Paris, 1999, pp. 75-80.

Lecuyot 2000a = G. Lecuyot, "Le Ramesseum à l'époque copte. À propos des traces chrétiennes au Ramesseum", in A. Boud'hors (ed.), *Huitième Journée d'Etudes. Colmar 29-31 mai 1997* (Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte, 11), Louvain 2000, pp. 121-134.

Lecuyot 2000b = G. Lecuyot, "Coptic Occupation of the Theban Mountain", *Egyptian Archaeology*, 35, 2000, pp. 18-20.

Lecuyot 2012 = G. Lecuyot, "La céramique provenant du secteur du sanctuaire du Ramesseum", *Memnonia*, 23, pp. 99-135.

Lecuyot - Thirard 2008 = G. Lecuyot - C. Thirard (2008), "L'occupation chrétienne de la montagne thébaine à travers ses vestiges archéologiques", A. Delattre - P. Heilporn (eds.), « Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages ... »: Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine ; actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005 (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 34), Brussels 2008, pp. 137-144.

Luisier 2016 = Ph. Luisier, "Les colophons des manuscrits bohairiques conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Notes de lecture", in A. Sirinian - P. Buzi - G. Shurgaia (eds.), *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie del mondo mediterraneo.* Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna 12-13 ottobre 2012 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 299), Roma 2016, pp. 218-231.

Maniaci 2007 = M. Maniaci, *Archeologia del manoscritto: metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente*, Roma, 2007.

Martin 1996 = A. Martin, "Alexandreia christiana : un nouveau rôle historique pour la capitale de l'Égypte en Orient", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 108.1, 1996, pp. 159-173.

Martin 2008 = A. Martin, "Sérapis et les chrétiens : un réexamen", in *Troisièmes journées internationales d'études sur Alexandrie,* Alexandrie, 8-10 nov. 2002 (Études alexandrines, 3), Le Caire, 2008, pp. 41-57.

McFadden 2014 = S. McFadden, "Art on the Edge: the Late Roman Paintings in Amheida", in J. Felsner, *Akten des XI. Internationalen Kolloquiums der AIPMA* (*Association Internationale pour la peinture murale*) 13.-17 September 2010 in Ephesos, Wien, 2014, pp. 359-370.

McKenzie 2007 = J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 B.C to A.D. 700*, New Haven, CT - London, 2007.

Müller 2014 = W. Müller, "Syene (ancient Aswan) in the First Millennium AD", in E.R. O'Connell, *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from new fieldwork* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 2), Leuven, 2014, pp. 59-69.

Nakano 2006 = C. Nakano, "Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn", *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 8, 2006, pp. 147-159.

Nongbri 2018 = B. Nongbri, *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts*, New Haven 2018.

O'Connell 2010 = E.R. O'Connell, "Excavating Late Antique Thebes: A History", in G. Gabra – H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and monasticism in Upper Egypt II: Nag Hammadi–Esna*, Cairo - New York, 2010, pp. 253-270.

O'Connell 2014 = E.R. O'Connell, *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from new fieldwork* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 2), Leuven, 2014.

O'Connell 2018 = E.R. O'Connell, "Theban Books in Context", *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 75-105.

Pimpaud - Lecuyot 2013 = A.-B. Pimpaud - G. Lecuyot, "Cartes pour l'étude de la rive gauche de Thèbes aux époques romaines et byzantines", in *Memnonia*, 24, 2014, pp. 147-154.

Pyke 2014 = G. Pyke, "The Christianisation of the Amarna Landscape: Conquest, Convenience or Combat?", in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD. Perspectives from new fieldwork* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 2), Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA, 2014, pp. 139-155.

Rathbone 2014 = D. Rathbone, "Preface", in E.R. O'Connell, *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from New Fieldwork* (British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan, 2), Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA 2014, pp. xi-xiv.

Rubenstein 2011 = J.M. Rubenstein, *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*, Upper Saddle River, 2011.

Sack 1980 = R.D. Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought: A Geographic Perspective*, Minneapolis, 1980.

Sack 2010 = R.D. Sack, "A Concept of Physical Space in Geography", *Geographical Analysis*, 5(1), 2010, pp. 16-34.

Soldati 2017 = A. Soldati, "A New Piece in the Prosopography Mosaic of the Coptic Scriptorium of Toutōn: Pantouleos, Son of Houmise", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 3/1, 2017, pp. 23-32.

Soldati 2018 = A. Soldati, "Some Remarks about Coptic Colophons and Their Relationship with Manuscripts: Typology, Function, and Structure", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 4/1, 2018, pp. 115-119.

Timm 1984-1992 = S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in* Ägypten *in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluss von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters* (*Dēr Abū Mina*)*, der Skētis* (*Wādi n-Naṭrūn*) *und der Sinai-Region*, Wiesbaden 1984-1992.

Valerio 2019 = F. Valerio, "Coptic Literature in Context. The Contexts of Coptic Literature Late Antique Egypt in a Dialogue Between Literature, Archaeology and Digital Humanities Rome, 25-27 February 2019", in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 5.1, 2019, pp. 66-68.

van Mierlo 2013 = W. van Mierlo, "The Archaeology of the Manuscript: Towards Modern Palaeography", in C. Smith - L. Stead (eds.), *The Boundaries of the Literary Archive: Reclamation and Representation*, Farnham, 2013, pp. 15-29.

VORDERSTRASSE 2015 = T. VORDERSTRASSE, “Reconstructing Houses and Archives in Early Islamic Jēme”, in M. MÜLLER (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies:* (*Micro*) *Archaeological and Textual Approaches. Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar ‘Household Studies in Complex Societies,’ Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 15-16 March 2013* (Oriental Institute Seminars, 10), Chicago, IL, 2015, pp. 409-436.

WILBERT 1940 = D.N. WILBERT, “The Coptic Frescoes of Saint Menas at Medinet Habu”, *The Art Bulletin*, 22.2, 1940, pp. 86-103.

WIPSZYCKA 2004 = E. WIPSZYCKA, “La *Vita Antonii* confrontée avec la réalité géographique”, in U. ZANETTI - E. LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana. Mélanges d’hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste* (Cahiers d’orientalisme, 25), Genève, 2004, pp. 135-148.

WIPSZYCKA 2016 = E. WIPSZYCKA, “Saint Claude à Pohe *: un exemple de fonctionnement d’un sanctuaire de pèlerinage dans l’Égypte de l’Antiquité tardive*”, in A. ŁAJTAR - A. OBŁUSKI - I. ZICH (eds.), *Aegyptus and Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Warsaw, 2016.

Part I

The Geography of Coptic Literature: Archaeological Contexts, Cultural Landscapes, Literary Texts, and Book Forms

Temples in Late Antique Egypt: Cultic Heritage between Ideology, Pragmatism, and Artistic Recycling

Jean-Luc Fournet - Collège de France – EPHE, PSL – UMR 8167

Abstract
The landscape of Egypt and the rest of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity was marked by the continued presence of temples. Several papyrological documents, corroborated by archaeological evidence, attest to the abandonment of temples and their recovery by the state, which could rent or sell them to individuals for a wide variety of uses. Christianity, therefore, settled into a desolate cult landscape and was not necessarily imposed by force or through the destruction of temples as was too often suggested by the hagiographic sources. By placing the question of the fate of the temples in a perspective which is not specifically religious and by clarifying it from the angle of the heritage policy of the ancients, this article aims to illustrate the role of temples in the formation of the cultural identity of Late Antique Egypt, thus providing a framework also for contemporary literary and manuscript production.

Keywords:
temples, paganism, Christianisation, literature.

Beginning with the religious and cultural revolution ushered in by the Christianisation of the Empire at the beginning of the fourth century, the fate of the temples is one of the most frequently discussed subjects in Coptic studies. Their demise also forms part of the spatial and cultural context which served as the backdrop to the development of this literature. In light of this, I propose here to address again this important subject.[1] What was the fate of places of pagan worship (whether Egyptian, classical or mixed)[2] when Christianity triumphed, and after Theodosius I ordered the closing of the temples (391)? Did they continue to be sites shared by the whole community and, if so, in what way? Or did they persist as markers of identity – we might think here of their conversion into Christian places of worship –? Or were they, in the end, simply destroyed? Behind these questions looms the frequently repreated view that pagan temples were either destroyed or transformed into churches. The reality, as we have known for a long time, was much more complex and, once again, raises questions concerning our sources and the way we look at them.

The sources for addressing these questions (in particular archaeological reports, and publications of papyri and hagiographic texts), as well as studies of regions outside Egypt, have grown in number. This enrichment of evidence has provided stimulating parallels at the level of the Empire and encouraged scholars to re-examine the question by considering it from a broader perspective. In this paper, I would like to explore the fate of the temples as a problem which is not specifically religious. I would also like to illuminate it from the perspective of "heritage policy" in the ancient world. We will see that the fates of cultic and cultural heritage – above all, literary culture – were often interwoven.

1 Concerning this question, there is a huge bibliography. To cite only the main contributions or those which have comprehensively dealt with the question in Egypt: O'Leary 1938; Habachi 1972; Grossmann 1995; Frankfurter 1998, chap. 7; the articles of Bagnall, Brakke, Frankfurter, Emmel, and Grossmann in Hahn *et al.* 2008; Dijkstra 2011. A shorter version of the current article appeared in French in the proceedings of a conference in Lebanon: Fournet 2018. On paganism and Coptic literature see, for instance, van der Vliet 1993. I warmfully thank Paola Buzi, Peter Shi and Korshi Dosoo for the English translation.

2 On these notions, see the recent publication of Naerebout 2007, 524-529, who provides a list of the Egyptian temples of classical style.

1. *Annihilated heritage: the destruction of temples*

In the minds of the general public, whose imagination is shaped by dramatic stories such as those shown in recent films,[3] pagan temples typically suffered the fate of the Serapeum of Alexandria, in other words, destruction. Although the details of the story are very controversial, it is certain that the Serapeum, the most important monument of the Empire after the Capitolium of Rome according to Ammianus Marcellinus,[4] was the object of violent conflict between pagans and Christians. The incident was regarded as a fateful precedent to the destruction of illustrious temples under the influence of the new religion. The cause of this confrontation is attributed to an edict of Theodosius I addressed to the Augustal Prefect and the Count of Egypt, which prohibited blood sacrifices and ordered the closure of the temples (June 16, 391). The bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus (385-412), exploited the opportunity to attack pagan practices. After an initial provocation, he tried to destroy the most prominent sanctuary in the capital of Egypt, the Serapeum. The high position of the temple made it a naturally strategic site. Consequently, the pagans transformed it into an offensive base under the command of the Neoplatonic philosopher Olympius. The Christians, fanaticised by the bishop and soldiers, brought down the defences and destroyed the Serapeum, which might have already been deserted by the pagans following the amnesty issued by the Emperor.[5] It is unclear to what extent the temple was destroyed. It was likely not ruined entirely, as evidenced by the colonnade of the courtyard which still existed in the twelfth century.[6] But it was enough for the fall of the Serapeum to be a traumatic episode for the pagans and an emblematic victory for the Christians. This triumph is well illustrated in the allegorical vignette of the "Alexandrian World Chronicle" (fifth-sixth cent.) where Theophilus is symbolically depicted as trampling on the Serapeum (the top of a Serapis statue is visible; Fig. 1).[7]

According to literary sources, the destruction of the Serapeum was quickly followed by the dismantling of other temples throughout the Empire in the fifth century. The first few examples are linked to Shenoute, an iconic monastic figure in Upper Egypt. This abbot led the famous White Monastery for a remarkably long period (from 385 to 465)[8] and left many works, in which he exhibited his original personality and vigorous activism.[9] According to his own writings and his *Life*, written by one of his disciples, he burned a temples at Atripe, on the left bank of the Nile, near Sohag, opposite Panopolis and another one at Pneueit.[10] It has been demonstrated recently that the account of the supposed second destruction resulted from a confusion, perhaps originating from a desire on the part of the author of the *Life of Shenoute*, to give his hero a more epic aura.[11]

The fact remains, however, that under his leadership the monastery became a centre of literary production which depicted *holy men* as strong figures decidedly against paganism.[12] This is the case

---

3 *Agora*, directed by Alejandro Amenábar, released in 2009.

4 Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII 16, 12: *His accedunt altis sufflata fastigiis templa. Inter quae eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur exilitate uerborum, atriis tamen columnariis amplissimis et spirantibus signorum figmentis et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se uenerabilis Roma in aeternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat*, 'There are besides in the city temples pompous with lofty roofs, conspicous among them the Serapeum, which, though feeble words merely belittle it, yet is so adorned with extensive columned halls, with almost breathing statues, and a great number of other works of art, that next to the Capitolium, with which revered Rome elevates herself to eternity, the whole world beholds nothing more magnificent' (trans. ROLFE 1963, 301-302).

5 On these events, see SCHWARTZ 1966, BALDINI 1985 and, more recently, HAHN 2008b and CHUVIN 2009, 70-74.

6 HAMARNEH 1971, 82-84 (quoted by MCKENZIE - GIBSON - REYES 2004, 108, n. 194; see also 110, n. 209, for the bibliography on its destruction under Saladin). GROSSMANN 1995, 188-189, argues for a complete destruction, an opinion he later modified (GROSSMANN 2008, 300-302). See also MCKENZIE - GIBSON - REYES 2004, 107-108 and HAHN 2008b, 351, n. 50. According to DIJKSTRA 2011, 399, 'It seems likely that the temple was only gradually dismantled for building material after the late 4th c. riots.' In 451, it still played a role in a riot (Priscus, fr. 22, quoted by GASCOU 1998, 34).

7 BAUER - STRZYGOWSKI 1905, pl. VI verso with a commentary, 71-72.

8 EMMEL 2002, 97-98 and EMMEL 2016.

9 On Shenoute and the paganism, see HAHN 2004, 223-269; EMMEL 2008.

10 EMMEL 2008. The case of the temple of Pneueit (or Pnewit) is more complicated: the documents which include the story consists of four texts that have been gathered and brilliantly studied in EMMEL 2017.

11 Stephen Emmel considers the possibility that this is a 'fine example of how an encomiast could fabricate almost ex nihilo a fantastic story glorifying his hero' (EMMEL 2017, 375).

12 BRAKKE 2008, 108-109: 'The White Monastery became a kind of literary headquarters for the production of literary portraits of monks in Shenoute's image'.

for the miraculous destruction of the temple of Kothos (fifth century) initiated by Macarius and Besa (the successor of Shenoute), recounted in chapter 5 of the *Panegyric of Saint Macarius of Tkôw* attributed to Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria (444-451):[13] learning that pagans were slaughtering Christian children on the altar of Kothos (a god otherwise unknown), Macarius went to the spot. After several adventures, and on the advice of a heavenly voice, he managed to make the temple catch fire, and it was consumed entirely. Later, around 500, the temple of Apollo and four other temples in Abydos are said to have been destroyed by Moses, another charismatic abbot, according to his *Life,* dating to the sixth-seventh century.[14] However, the sources of these stories are somewhat suspect and their supernatural character undermines their historical credibility.[15] These events are not supported by any archaeological data – unless, in a kind of circular argument, archaeological data are extrapolated purely from the textual evidence[16] – and display anti-pagan rhetoric which makes them hard to exploit at face value.[17]

The destruction of the temple of Kothos is, from this point of view, a textbook example: the eponymous deity of the temple is unknown to us; its destruction was miraculous; and finally, this episode was followed by a conclusion which reveals the genuine meaning of the story: after the temple has been burnt, Macarius, on his way back, met the high priest of this temple. He had the pagan priest arrested and thrown into a fire, where he 'was burned together with the idols that had been found in his house'. This high priest was called Homer (Ὅμηρος), a personal name which was rarely used at that time. This shows us that, behind the fire

Fig. 1. The illustration from the "Alexandrian World Chronicle" (AD V-VI) representing Theophilus trampling the Serapeum, Moscow, Pushkin Museum, Inv. 310/8, verso. (Image from Bauer - Strzygowski 1905, pl. VI verso).

13 Johnson 1980. On the date of this text, see Fournet 2011, 22.

14 Amélineau 1888-1895, II, 686-687; Till 1935-1936, II, 46-81. On this *Life*, see more recently Moussa 1998 and Moussa 2003.

15 Modern research continues to maintain the unreliability of these texts: Hahn - Emmel - Gotter 2008, 1-2; Bagnall 2008, 25-32; Dijkstra 2011, 394-400; etc.

16 Bayliss 2004, 52.

17 See for instance the end of *Apophthegmata Patrum*, systematic collection, XII, 3: 'Abba Bessarion says: "An answer came from the Lord, that the temples would be overturned"... This is what happened; they were overturned'.

of the temple and the death of its priest, it was the end of pagan culture that Macarius (or the author of his *Life*) was advocating.[18]

On the other hand, we must be cautious about these stories, which should not always be understood in a concrete sense. The verb καθαιρεῖν 'destroy', used in Greek hagiography, is susceptible to a metaphorical interpretation. Even in the minds of the authors, it is uncertain whether the 'destruction' of a temple might not be a dramatic and pithy way to refer to the eradication of the cult it hosted or to the temple's actual closure. Thus, when Procopius, in *De bello Persico*, I 19, 36 tells us that Justinian sent Narses to 'destroy' (καθελεῖν) the temple of Philae and the general did it accordingly (καθεῖλε), we can suspect a metaphorical formula– the temple is in fact still standing![19]

The destruction of the temples was not encouraged by imperial policy, despite Constantine's precedents, such as the very symbolic demolition of the temple of Aphrodite on Mount Golgotha, and possibly even earlier destructions in the reign of Diocletian, which were justified by the exceptional situation of the revolts in the Thebaid at the end of the third century.[20] Despite the inadequacies and inconsistencies (owing to the variety of local conditions) in the evidence which make the interpretation tricky, the abundant legislation available on the subject, mainly the *Theodosian Code*, points above all to a preoccupation with the eradicatation of pagan cults housed in the temples. As a result, sacrifices were banned in 341,[21] and temples closed in 346.[22]

It is commonly believed that the situation became severe under Theodosius I (379-395) and Arcadius (383-408). But, in fact, their legislation is more ambiguous than it first seems, and does not support the idea that the emperors encouraged the destruction of the temples: in 392, they forbade entering and approaching a temple[23] and, in 397, Arcadius allowed the materials from demolished temples to be used to maintain streets, bridges, aqueducts and city walls.[24] In 399, Arcadius and Honorius ordered the destruction of the rural temples, but on the condition that it did not cause disorder or commotion.[25] This might well have looked like an upsurge of laws encouraging the demolition of pagan religious buildings if there had not been other laws protecting them at the same time: in 382, the duke of Osrhoene received a decree ordering the temple of Edessa to be kept open for the people so that they could continue to admire the *simulacra* (statues or bas-reliefs);[26] in 399, the vicars of Spain and the Five Provinces, as well as the proconsul of Africa, were ordered to prohibit the destruction of temples, even the empty ones.[27]

In fact, what gave the impression of an anti-temple crusade under Theodosius was less the laws enacted by this emperor than the situation on the ground, which depended more on the personal initiative of local officials or prelates than the imperial orders. Therefore, the Praetorian Prefect of the East, Maternus Cynegius (384-388), enforced the order to close the temples in the Diocese of the East with more

18 FOURNET 2011, 19-24.

19 On the other hand, in the case of the destruction of the temple of Aphrodite on Mount Golgotha ordered by Constantine, described in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, III 26-29, the author insists that the temple was destroyed and that the site was even excavated to remove all the traces.

20 CARRIÉ 1993, 575-577 and CARRIÉ 2010, 155-156 sees a 'suppression violente de sanctuaires' in the destruction of the sanctuary of Coptos, the installation of a military camp in Luxor, the construction of a *palatium* on the dismantled enclosure of El-Kab and perhaps of a camp in the temple of Khnum in Philae. Those efforts were 'dans le cadre de la répression militaire des deux grands soulèvements de la province dans les années 290', which attempted to smash 'le "nationalisme" provincial en ses lieux d'inspiration' (CARRIÉ 2010, 155). Other than the fact that some of these examples are not, strictly speaking, destruction but re-use (Luxor), these conclusions also result from a reinterpretation of the archaeological data (for instance, P. Grossmann dates the destruction of the temple of Khnum to the end of the third century or to the beginning of the fourth century, but its transformation into a camp to a century later), we can reverse the reasoning by considering these military constructions as re-uses of temples which have fallen into disuse, as Roger S. Bagnall argues (see *infra*, § 3).

21 *CTh.* XVI 10, 2; reiteration of this prohibition, with the death penalty, in 356 (*CTh.* XVI 10, 6 et 10, 4 – on the date of this last, see the discussions summarised in MAGNOU-NORTIER 2002, 370, n. 12).

22 *CTh.* XVI 10, 4 (on the date, see MAGNOU-NORTIER 2002, 370, n. 12).

23 *CTh.* XVI 10, 12.

24 *CTh.* XVI 1, 36.

25 *CTh.* XVI 10, 16, taking the opposite of *CTh* XVI 10, 3 (346) that protects the temple 'located inside the walls'. On rural temples, see CASEAU 2004.

26 *CTh.* XVI 10, 8. See below, n. 108.

27 *CTh.* XVI 10, 15 et 18. See below, n. 109.

zeal than the emperor probably wished, by committing destructions *manu militari*.[28] These events, among others, drove Libanius to write his *Pro templis* (*Or.* XXX), accusing the prefect of disobeying the emperor and deceiving him, since the latter, – as the orator tells us – never ordered the temples to be touched:[29]

> And let none believe that there is an accusation against you, Sire. On our frontier with Persia there lies in ruins a temple that, to judge from the report of all that have seen it, was without peer, so massive was it, built with mighty stones, covering as much as as the city itself.[30] At any rate, in the alarms of war it sufficed the inhabitants that if the enemy captured the city, they would get nothing more, since they would be unable to capture the temple because the strength of its walls defied all the engines of war. Moreover, if they mounted to its roof, they could observe a vast area of enemy country, which is considerable advantage to people at war. I have even heard it argued which temple held the greater marvel, this that is now no more or that of Serapis, which I pray may never suffer the same fate. But this magnificent temple, leaving aside the concealed splendours of its ceiling and all the statues wrought in iron that were hidden in its shadow far from the sunlight, – it is vanished and gone, to the grief of those who had seen it and the confort of those who had not, for in such cases seeing and hearing do not have the same effect. In fact, these who had not seen it experience the twin emotions, of grief at its fall and of confort at not having witnessed it. However, on a careful consideration of the matter, this is none of your doing, but of the person that misled you, a scoundrel hated of the gods, cowardly and avaricious, and a plague to the earth that welcomed him at his birth. He profited by fortune's folly and abused his fortune foully.[31]

The local bishops were also responsible for acts of destruction,[32] such as that of Marcellus against the temple of Zeus in Apamea around 386,[33] Porphyry against the Marneion of Gaza in 402[34] or Theophilus in Alexandria against the Serapeum.[35] Libanius also accuses the monks of being the main instigators of temple destructions – they even allegedly put pressure on Cynegius through his wife –:

> [...] But this black-robed tribe, who eat more than elephants and, by the quantities of drink they consume, weary those that accompany their drinking with the singing of hymns, who hide these excesses under an artificially contrived pallor – these people, Sire, while the law yet remains in force, hasten to attack the temples with sticks and stones and bars of iron, and in some case disdaining these, with hands and feet. Then utter desolation follows, with the stripping of roofs, demolition of walls, the tearing down of statues and overthrow of altars, and the priests must either keep quiet or die. After demolishing one, they scurry to another, and to a third, and trophy is piled on trophy, in contravention of the law. Such outrages occur even in the cities, but they are most common in the countryside. Many are the foes who perpetrate the separate attacks, but after their countless crimes this scattered rabble congre-

28 Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II 26; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 5, 11-15; Libanius, *Or.* XXX 44-45; Zosimus, *Historia nova*, IV 37. See Gassowska 1982.

29 See *Or.* XXX 27: εἰ δὲ ταῖς κατασκαφαῖς ἐγίγνοντο τῆς γνώμης αἱ περὶ ταῦτα μεταβολαί, πάλαι ἂν σῇ ψήφῳ τὰ ἱερὰ κατέσκαπτο· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἡδέως ταύτην εἶδες τὴν μεταβολήν. ἀλλ' ᾔδεις οὐ δυνησόμενος. διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπέσχου τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων. τούτους δ', εἰ καί τι τοιοῦτον προσεδόκων, μετὰ σοῦ προσῆκεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ μεταδοῦναι τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς φιλοτιμίας. ἦν δέ, οἶμαι, μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνονταςκατορθοῦν ἅπερ ἤθελον κάλλιον ἢ μετὰ τοῦ πλημμελεῖν, 'If such conversion could be effected simply by the destruction of temples, they would have been long ago destroyed by your decree, for you would long since have been glad to see this conversion. But you knew that you could not, and so you never laid a finger on these shrines. These people, even if they looked forward to such a result, ought to have advanced towards it in step with you and should have let the emperor share their ambition. It would have been better, surely, to succeed in their objective by staying on the right side of the law rather than by abusing it' (trans. Norman 1977, 125).

30 According to Chuvin 2009, 66-68, it is not the temple of Edessa which is targeted here, but perhaps that of Hierapolis (or Carrhae).

31 Libanius, *Or.* XXX 44-46: Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω σὴν ταῦτ' εἶναι κατηγορίαν, ὦ βασιλεῦ. κεῖται μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ὁρίοις Περσῶν νεὼς ᾧ παραπλήσιον οὐδέν, ὡς ἔστιν ἁπάντων τῶν τεθεαμένων ἀκούειν. οὕτω μέγιστος μεγίστοις ἐγεγόνει τοῖς λίθοις, τοσοῦτον ἐπέχων τῆς γῆς ὁπόσον καὶ ἡ πόλις. ἤρκει γοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων φόβοις τοῖς οἰκοῦσι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον τοῖς ἑλοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔχουσι κἀκεῖνον προσεξελεῖν τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ περιβόλου πᾶν ἐλεγχούσης μηχάνημα. ἦνδὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος ἀναβᾶσι πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς πολεμίας ὁρᾶν, οὐ μικρὸν πολεμουμένοις πλεονέκτημα ἀνθρώποις. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐριζόντων τινῶν, ἐν ὁποτέρῳ τὸ θαῦμα μεῖζον ἱερῷ, τῷ μηκέτ' ὄντιτούτῳ ἢ ὃ μήποτε πάθοι ταὐτόν, ἐν ᾧπερ ὁ Σάραπις. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἱερόν, ἵν' ὑπερβῶ τὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀπόρρητα καὶ ὅσα ἀγάλματα σιδήρου πεποιημένα κέκρυπτο τῷ σκότῳ διαφεύγοντα τὸν ἥλιον, οἴχεται καὶ ἀπόλωλε, θρῆνος μὲν τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν, ἡδονὴ δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ἑωρακόσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἐντοῖς τοιούτοις ὀφθαλμοί τε καὶ ὦτα, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσιν ἄμφω, καὶ λύπη καὶ ἡδονή, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος, τὸ δ' ὅτιπερ οὐ τεθέανται. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπήσειεν, οὐ σὸν τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἠπατηκότος ἀνθρώπου μιαροῦ καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ καὶ δειλοῦ καὶ φιλοχρημάτου καὶ τῇ τικτόμενον αὐτὸν δεξαμένῃ γῇ δυσμενεστάτου, ἀλογίας μὲν ἀπολελαυκότος τύχης, κακῶς δὲ χρωμένου τῇ τύχῃ δουλεύοντος τῇ γυναικί, πάντα ἐκείνῃ χαριζομένου, πάντα ἐκείνην ἡγουμένου. Trans. Norman 1977, 141-142.

32 See, in general, Fowden 1978.

33 Theodoretus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V 21, says the bishop received help from the military to prevent any resistance among the population and insists that this is the first destruction of a sanctuary by a bishop in this city. See Chuvin 2009, 65.

34 Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 47-50; 63-70. See Chuvin 2009, 82-84.

35 Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII 16, 1, tells that Theophilus asked the emperor for a rescript to destroy the Serapeum.

> gates and calls for a tally of their activities, and they are in disgrace unless they have committed the foulest outrage. So they sweep across the countryside like rivers in spate, and by ravaging the temples, they ravage the estates, for wherever they tear out a temple from an estate, that estate is blinded and lies murdered. Temples, Sire, are the soul of the countryside: they mark the beginning of its settlement, and have been down through many generations to the men of today.[36]

These local initiatives were far rarer than literary sources would like us to believe. The literary accounts often tend to exaggerate the degree of destruction. Cases proven by archaeology are rather rare,[37] not to mention that the complete destruction of a stone temple is no trivial task. The description (spiced with some fantasy) of Theodoret of Cyrrhus on the destruction of the temple of Apamea undertaken by Marcellus with the help of Cynegius gives a good idea of the magnitude of the mission:

> An attempt was made to destroy the vast and magnificent shrine of Jupiter, but the building was so firm and solid that to break up its closely compacted stones seemed beyond the power of man; for they were huge and well and truly laid, and moreover clamped fast with iron and lead. When the divine Marcellus saw that the prefect was afraid to begin the attack, he sent him on to the rest of the towns; while he himself prayed to God to aid him in the work of destruction. Next morning there came uninvited to the bishop a man who was no builder, or mason, or artificer of any kind, but only a labourer who carried stones and timber on his back. Give me, said he, two workmen's pay; and I promise you I will easily destroy the temple. The holy bishop did as he was asked, and the following was the fellow's contrivance. Round the four sides of the temple went a portico united to it, and on which its upper story rested. The columns were of great bulk, commensurate with the temple, each being sixteen cubits in circumference. The quality of the stone was exceptionally hard, and offering great resistance to the masons' tools. In each of these the man made an opening all round, propping up the superstructure with olive timber before he went on to another. After he had hollowed out three of the columns, he set fire to the timbers. But a black demon appeared and would not suffer the wood to be consumed, as it naturally would be, by the fire, and stayed the force of the flame. After the attempt had been made several times, and the plan was proved ineffectual, news of the failure was brought to the bishop, who was taking his noontide sleep. Marcellus immediately hurried to the church, ordered water to be poured into a pail, and placed the water upon the divine altar. Then, bending his head to the ground, he besought the loving Lord in no way to give in to the usurped power of the demon, but to lay bare its weakness and exhibit His own strength, lest unbelievers should henceforth find excuse for greater wrong. With these and other like words he made the sign of the cross over the water, and ordered Equitius, one of his deacons, who was armed with faith and enthusiasm, to take the water and sprinkle it in faith, and then apply the flame. His orders were obeyed, and the demon, unable to endure the approach of the water, fled. Then the fire, affected by its foe the water as though it had been oil, caught the wood, and consumed it in an instant. When their support had vanished the columns themselves fell down, and dragged other twelve with them. The side of the temple which was connected with the columns was dragged down by the violence of their fall, and carried away with them. The crash, which was tremendous, was heard throughout the town, and all ran to see the sight.[38]

---

36 Libanius, *Or.* XXX 8-9: οἱ δὲ μελανειμονοῦντες οὗτοι καὶ πλείω μὲν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσθίοντες, πόνον δὲ παρέχοντες τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τοῖς δι' ᾀσμάτων αὐτοῖς παραπέμπουσι τὸ ποτόν, συγκρύπτοντες δὲ ταῦτα ὠχρότητι τῇ διὰ τέχνης αὐτοῖς πεπορισμένῃ μένοντος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ κρατοῦντος τοῦ νόμου θέουσιν ἐφ' ἱερὰ ξύλα φέροντες καὶ λίθους καὶ σίδηρον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. ἔπειτα Μυσῶν λεία καθαιρουμένων ὀροφῶν, κατασκαπτομένων τοίχων, κατασπωμένων ἀγαλμάτων, ἀνασπώμενον βωμῶν, τοὺς ἱερεῖς δὲ ἢ σιγᾶν ἢ τεθνάναι δεῖ· τῶν πρώτων δὲ κειμένων δρόμος ἐπὶ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα, καὶ τρόπαια τροπαίοις ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ συνείρεται. τολμᾶται μὲν οὖν κἀν ταῖς πόλεσι, τὸ πολὺ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον πολέμιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ μυρίοις κακοῖς τὸ διεσπαρμένον τοῦτ' ἀθροίζεται καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλους ἀπαιτοῦσι τῶν εἰργασμένων καὶ αἰσχύνη τὸ μὴ μέγιστα ἠδικηκέναι. χωροῦσι τοίνυν διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὥσπερ χείμαρροι κατασύροντες διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τοὺς ἀγρούς. ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ἱερὸν ἐκκόψωσιν ἀγροῦ, οὗτος τετύφλωταί τε καὶ κεῖται καὶ τέθνηκε. ψυχὴ γάρ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ ἱερὰ προοίμια τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κτίσεως γεγενημένα καὶ διὰ πολλῶν γενεῶν εἰς τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ἀφιγμένα. Trans. NORMAN 1977, 107-108.

37 GROSSMANN 1995, 185 tells about 'Sonderfälle'. See, in general, BAYLISS 2004, 16-25 (with bibliography).

38 Theodoretus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V 22, 3-10: τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος, μέγιστόν τε ὂν καὶ πολλῷ κόσμῳ πεποικιλμένον καταλῦσαι μὲν ἐπειράθη, στεγανὴν δὲ ἄγαν καὶ στερεμνίαν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἰδών, ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώποις ὑπέλαβε διαλῦσαι τῶν λίθων τὴν ἁρμονίαν· μέγιστοί τε γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἄγαν συνηρμοσμένοι καὶ μέντοι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ μολίβδῳ προσδεδεμένοι. ταύτην τοῦ ὑπάρχου τὴν δειλίαν ὁ θεῖος Μάρκελλος ἰδών, ἐκεῖνον μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας προὔπεμψε πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἠντιβόλει πόρον δοῦναι τῇ λύσει. Ἧκεν οὖν τις αὐτόματος ἕωθεν, οὔτε οἰκοδόμος, οὔτε λιθοτόμος, οὔτ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιστάμενος τέχνην, ἀλλὰ λίθους φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ ξύλα εἰθισμένος. οὗτος προσελθὼν ὑπέσχετο ῥᾷστα τὸν νεὼν καταλύσειν, δυοῖν δὲ τεχνίταιν ἀπῄτει μισθόν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτον ὑπέσχετο δώσειν ὁ θεῖος ἀρχιερεύς, τοιόνδε τι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ἐμηχανήσατο. στοὰν ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων πλευρῶν ὁ νεὼς εἶχεν ἐφ' ὕψους κείμενος αὐτῷ συνηρμοσμένην· οἱ δὲ κίονες μέγιστοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἰσόμετροι τῷ νεῷ, ἑκάστου δὲ ὁ κύκλος ἑξκαίδεκα πήχεων ἦν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ λίθου φύσις στερροτάτη τις ἦν καὶ οὐ ῥᾳδίως τοῖς τῶν λιθοτόμων ὀργάνοις ὑπείκουσα. τούτων ἕκαστον ἐν κύκλῳ διορύττων ἐκεῖνος καὶ ξύλοις ἐλαΐνοις ὑπερείδων τὰ ὑπερκείμενα, ἐφ' ἕτερον αὖθις μετέβαινεν. οὕτω δὲ τρεῖς τῶν κιόνων ὀρύξας τὴν φλόγα τοῖς ξύλοις προσήνεγκεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴα κατὰ φύσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰ ξύλα δαπανᾶσθαι δαίμων τις μέλας φαινόμενος καὶ κωλύων τῆς φλογὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλάκις τοῦτο δράσαντες ἀνόνητον ἑώρων τὴν μηχανήν, ἐμήνυσαν τοῦτο τῷ ποιμένι μετὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν καθεύδοντι. Ὁ δὲ παραυτίκα εἰς τὸν θεῖον δραμὼν νεὼν καὶ εἰς ἄγγος ὕδωρ κομισθῆναι προστάξας, ἔθηκε μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τὸ θεῖον θυσιαστήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τὸ μέτωπον θεὶς τὸν φιλάνθρωπον ἠντιβόλει δεσπότην μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνδοῦναι τῇ τυραννίδι τοῦ δαίμονος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τὴν ἐκείνου γυμνῶσαι καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἵνα μὴ πρόφασις ἐντεῦθεν

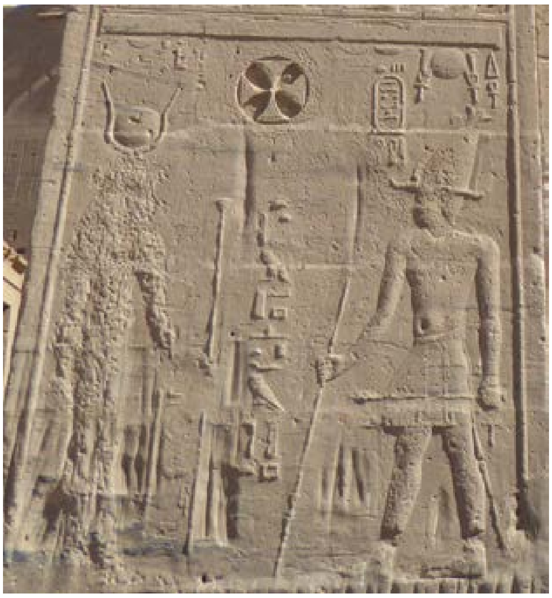


Fig. 2. Isis with her body entirely chipped away in the temple of Philae (© Esther Garel).

Fig. 3. Isis with her head intentionaly mutilated in the temple of Philae (© Esther Garel).

Mark the Deacon, in his *Life of Porphyry*, also left us one of the most striking tales of temple destruction, that of the Marneion in Gaza. The task was only accomplished thanks to a prescription revealed by God to a child ('Burn [the temple] in the following way: bring liquid pitch, sulfur and pork fat, mix the three things, coat the bronze doors with it, set them on fire, and so the whole temple will burn: because otherwise, it is not possible').[39] And yet, in spite of this divine counsel, the fire, with the collapse of a burning beam, did not fail to take a victim and it took several days for the temple to burn down completely. Under such conditions, the destruction was often partial or symbolic. Christians were satisfied just to remove and break the statues (idols, inhabited by demons),[40] to paint over the frescoes[41] or to smash the bas-reliefs, as amply testified by examples in Egypt, especially in Philae.[42] (Figs. 2 and 3).

One might think that everything changed in 435 with the law enacted by Theodosius II and Valentinian III. The emperors ordered the destruction and purification of the temples – a decision which comes as the perfect ending for the chapter on pagans, sacrifices and temples in book XVI 10 of the *Theodosian Code*.[43] It

τοῖς ἀπίστοις μείζονος γένηται βλάβης. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παρόμοια καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸν τύπον τῷ ὕδατι, Ἐκοίτιόν τινα διακονίας ἠξιωμένον, πίστει καὶ ζήλῳ πεφραγμένον, λαβεῖν τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκέλευσε καὶ διὰ τάχους δραμεῖν καὶ μετὰ πίστεως διαρρᾶναι καὶ τὴν φλόγα προσενεγκεῖν. οὕτω τούτου γενομένου, ἀπέδρα μὲν ὁ δαίμων οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος προσβολήν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ, ὡς ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ χρησάμενον ὕδατι, ἐπελάβετό τε τῶν ξύλων καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ κατανάλωσεν. οἱ δὲ κίονες, φρούδου τοῦ ἐρείδοντος γενομένου, αὐτοί τε κατέπεσον καὶ ἄλλους εἵλκυσαν δυοκαίδεκα. καὶ τοῦ νεὼ δὲ τὸ τοῖς κίοσι συνημμένον κατηνέχθη πλευρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων βίας συνελκυσθέν. ὁ δὲ κτύπος εἰς ἅπαν τὸ ἄστυ διαδραμὼν, πολὺς γὰρ ἦν, πάντας εἰς θέαν συνήγειρεν. Trans. B. Jackson.

39 Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 68-70. The quotation is from § 68: Καύσατε τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἔνδον ἕως ἐδάφους· πολλὰ γὰρ δεινὰ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μάλιστα αἱ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαι. Τοιούτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ καύσατε αὐτόν. Ἀγάγετε ὑγρὰν πίσσαν καὶ θεῖον καὶ στέαρ χοίρεον καὶ μίξατε τὰ τρία καὶ χρίσατε τὰς χαλκᾶς θύρας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς <τὸ> πῦρ ἐπιβάλετε, καὶ οὕτως <πᾶς> ὁ ναὸς καίεται· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατὸν γενέσθαι.

40 *Leitmotiv* of the destruction of temples, relayed by the hagiographic tradition of the destruction of the 70 idols (see recently Kouremenos 2016). On this topic, see Stewart 1999; Caseau 2001, 117-121; Dijkstra 2015.

41 Among many examples, see the temple of Domitian in Ephesus (Foss 1979, 30).

42 Nautin 1967, 26-27.

43 *CTh*. XVI 10, 25 : *Omnibus sceleratae mentis paganae exsecrandis hostiarum immolationibus damnandisque sacrificiis ceterisque antiquiorum sanctionum auctoritate prohibitis interdicimus cunctaque eorum fana templa delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratuum destrui collocationeque venerandae christianae religionis signi expiari praecipimus, scientibus universis, si quem huic legi aput competentem iudicem idoneis probationibus illusisse constiterit, eum morte esse multandum,* 'We interdict all persons of criminal pagan mind from the accursed immolation of victims, from damnable sacrifices, and from all other such practices that are prohibited by the authority of the more ancient sanctions. We command that all their fanes, temples, and shrines, if even now any remain entire, shall be destroyed by the command of the magistrates and shall be purified by the erection of the sign of the venerable Christian religion. All men shall know that if it should appear, by suitable proof before a competent judge, that any person has mocked this law, he shall be punished with death' (trans. Pharr 1952, 476).

is considered as the *coup de grâce* to the temples which still existed. But Richard Bayliss[44] has rightly shown that this law must be interpreted as a reaffirmation of that of 399 (*CTh.* XVI 10, 18), which prohibited the still active cults (while ordering that empty temples should not be disturbed[45]). The very text of the law of 435, by its language, insists on the fact that the temples where there were still sacrifices (considered as the essence of pagan cults) had to be destroyed[46] and not just any temples.

If we still insist on interpreting the aforementioned regulation in an ambiguous sense, the law enacted by Majorian and Leo I in 458, directed to the *praefectus Urbis,* has the merit of clarity: they completely prohibit the destruction of temples, reviving the previous protective laws which I have already mentioned and others that I will discuss in a moment.[47]

The policy against vandalism targeting temples (whether religious or for other purposes) has left at least one trace in Egypt: Shenoute, in a short autobiography, admits that, in their crusade of destroying pagan temples, some of his henchmen had trouble with the law.[48]

In short, to quote Richard Bayliss, temples must have suffered more often from 'aggressive deconsacrations rather than actual demolitions or destructions.'[49] In fact, as we will see later, Christian vandalism was far from being the temples' worst enemy.

2. *Converted heritage: 'from temple to church'*

The other *opinio communis* concerning the fate of the temples is that they underwent widespread conversion into churches, either after total destruction, or by accommodating new Christian constructions within their still existing walls.[50] This view is summarised by the famous expression 'from temple to church' which the great early Byzantine art historian Friedrich Deichmann used in one of his many studies on the question.[51] Recently, it also became the title of a collective volume on the destruction and renewal of the cult topography in Late Antiquity.[52] Despite its success, the teleological meaning of the concept is nonetheless questionable, since it seems to endorse the idea that the Christian reclamation of pagan cult sites was a common fact. It also reflects a historical trend and is based on the presupposition that a sacred place would remain so forever despite religious changes.[53] The 'continuism' which it implies has been strongly criticised in recent decades.[54] Nevertheless, it deserves to be challenged once more.

44 BAYLISS 2004, 18.

45 Not even their 'idols' which are still worshipped: they must be placed under official control ([...] *depositis sub officio idolis disceptatione habita, quibus etiam nunc patuerit cultum vanae superstitionis impendi*).

46 We will note the decisive role of the *eorum* in the expression *cunctaque eorum fana templa*, referring to the pagans still active, to which the text refers at the very beginning (*omnibus sceleratae mentis paganae*, which I understand as a dative depending on *interdicimus* while *exsecrandis hostiarum immolationibus*, etc, is the complement to the ablative expressing the object of the ban). Only temples where sacrifices are still practised are therefore expressly concerned.

47 *Nov. Maj.* 4 : [...] 1. *Idcirco generali lege sancimus cuncta aedificia quaeve in templis aliisque monumentis a veteribus condita propter usum vel amoenitatem publicam subrexerunt, ita a nullo destrui atque contingi, ut iudex, qui hoc fieri statuerit, quinquaginta librarum auri inlatione feriatur ; adparitores vero atque numerarios, qui iubenti obtemperaverint et sua neutiquam suggestione restiterint, fustuario supplicio subditos manuum quoque amissione truncandos, per quas servanda veterum monumenta temerantur* [...], 'This is why, by this general law, we decide that all the buildings which were founded by the ancients, like the temples and other monuments, and which were built for the use or the pleasure of the people cannot be destroyed or touched by whoever, so that a judge who gives an order to the contrary would be charged with a penalty of fifty pounds of gold and the *adparitores* and *numerarii* who would have obeyed his orders and who would not have opposed them in any way by a report would incur the punishment of caning and would also see their hands amputated, the very ones by which the monuments of the elders are desecrated while they should have been preserved'.

48 I quote the text (corresponding to LEIPOLDT 1906-1913, III, 91, 19-92, 3) and the translation by EMMEL 2017, 314: ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲛⲟⲩϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ [6]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲣⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲉϥϣⲙϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲛⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡⲉ [7]ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ϩⲙⲡⲥ[ⲟ]ⲡ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲕⲉⲣⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟϥ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ϩⲙⲡⲉⲩϯⲙⲉ 'For I have done nothing in a disorderly fashion: neither the time we burned the pagan temple that is in Atripe; nor the [time] we went with the Christians who were taken before the judge in Hermopolis and Antinoopolis, whom the priests accused because of the other temple, which they for their part too had destroyed in their village'. See also EMMEL 2008, 162-164.

49 BAYLISS 2004, 18.

50 As a result, Pierre Nautin begins his classic study on the conversion of the temple of Philae into a church with the sentence: 'La liste est longue des temples païens transformés en églises' (NAUTIN 1967, 1).

51 DEICHMANN 1964. On the same topic, DEICHMANN 1939 and his article in *RLAC* II, 1228-1241.

52 HAHN - EMMEL - GOTTER 2008.

53 BAGNALL 2008, 33.

54 For Egypt, see above all the contributions in HAHN - EMMEL - GOTTER 2008, and DIJKSTRA 2011.

As with the phenomenon of destruction, the idea of converting temples into churches has known a precedent which served as a paradigm, from the period of the first Christian emperor, Constantine: according to Eusebius, he had a church constructed on the site of the temple of Aphrodite built by Hadrian on Mount Golgotha, after having it completely razed to the ground and removed.[55] The Egyptian examples are far from presenting such an ideal and linear pattern in the reclamation of the cult sites.

The first case of conversion is that of the Mithraeum in Alexandria. It was transformed into an oratory by the bishop George of Cappadocia (357-361).[56] But Socrates informs us that the temple had long been disused and abandoned. For this reason, Constantius II gave it to the Church of Alexandria.[57] Therefore, we can see that there was a rupture in cultic continuity which prevents us from attributing this transformation of architecture to ideological motivations: the construction of a church was not intended to replace a pagan place of worship and to affirm the victory of Christianity over paganism, but can be explained, more pragmatically, as the re-use of a deserted building.

We find the same pattern in the story of the Serapeum. The sources contradict each other. After its destruction, according to Rufinus, a martyrium dedicated to John the Baptist was built on one side of the temple and a church on the other.[58] According to Sozomen, shortly after its fall, this temple was transformed into an eponymous church of Arcadius.[59] However, John of Nikiu tells us that Theodosius I converted the Serapeum into a church, named it after his younger son Honorius, but dedicated it to the martyrs Cosmas and Damian.[60] Moreover, it should be noted that, in spite of the wording used by Sozomen and John of Nikiu, the Christian buildings seem rather to be peripheral additions and, therefore, did not result from a conversion of the temple itself – its layout and size (the internal space was only 9 metres wide) did not suit reuse as a church.[61] Archaeological investigations have not uncovered any foundations of Christian buildings in the sanctuary area.[62] The Christian constructions (dating from the end of the fourth or to the fifth century) have instead been found to the west of the temple, which could confirm Rufinus' account. Nevertheless, Jean Gascou has deployed weighty arguments to dispute the idea that the martyrium of Saint John the Baptist could have been on the side of the Serapeum. According to the *History of the Church of Alexandria*, it was located in a garden south of the city (in the district of Hermes) and belonged to Athanasius, who then bequeathed it to the Church.[63]

55 See above, n.19.

56 Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III 2. During the construction of the oratory, human skulls were found. Christians interpreted these as the remains of human sacrifices. They were allegedly exhibited in procession by the bishop to shame the pagans. The disturbances caused by such an action eventually resulted in the assassination of George by the pagans. See Gascou 1998, 31-32. As this scholar rightly thinks (*ibid.*, 31), it is probable that the transformation of the temple of Dionysus of which Sozomen speaks, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII 15, 2 (ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου ἱερὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκεύαζεν) results from a confusion with that of the Mithraeum.

57 Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* III 2, 2-3: Τόπος τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκ παλαιῶν τῶν χρόνων ἔρημος καὶ ἠμελημένος συρφετοῦ τε γέμων πολλοῦ, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Μίθρᾳ τελετὰς ποιοῦντες ἀνθρώπους κατέθυον. Τοῦτον Κωνστάντιος ἤδη πρότερον ὡς σχολαῖον τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ προσκεκυρώκει, 'There was a place in that city which had long been abandoned to neglect and filth, wherein the pagans had formerly celebrated their mysteries, and sacrified human beings to Mithra. This being empty and otherwise useless, Constantius had granted to the church of the Alexandrians'.

58 Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* II (XI) 27 (ed. Mommsen, GSC IX 2, 1033): *Flagitiorum tabernae ac ueternosa busta delecta sunt, et ueri dei templa ecclesiae celsae constructae. Nam in Serapis sepulchro, profanis aedibus conplanatis, ex uno latere martyrium, ex altero consurgit ecclesia*, 'The lairs of vices and lethargic tombs were brought down and high churches, temples of the true God, were built. And in fact, on one side rises a Martyrium and on the other a church'. Rufinus later explains that the martyrium collected the relics of John the Baptist from his tomb at Sebaste, following his desecration. On this text, see Thélamon 1981, 264-266.

59 Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII 15, 10: τὸ μὲν δὴ Σεραπεῖον ὧδε ἥλω καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκευάσθη Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον, 'It was thus that the Serapion was taken, and, a little while after, converted into a church; it received the name of the Emperor Arcadius'.

60 John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, 83: 'And there was a temple of Serapis in the city, and he converted it into a church and named it after the name of his (Theodosius') younger son Honorius. But this church was also named after the names of the martyrs Cosmas and Damian. It faced the church of St Peter the patriarch and last of the martyrs' (trans. Charles 1916).

61 McKenzie - Gibson - Reyes 2004, 108 and 109 (on the case of Philae that they cite as an example of conversion into a church, see below).

62 McKenzie - Gibson - Reyes 2004, 108: 'No traces of church wall foundations were found in the area excavated inside the main collonnaded court'.

63 See Gascou 1998, 33-35, based, among other things, on the text edited by Orlandi 1968-1970, I, 66-67; II, 61-62.

Fig. 4. The Greek inscription engraved on the eastern pillar of the *naos* gate by Bishop Theodorus commemorating his installation of the oratory of Saint Stephen in the temple Philae: 'This work was done under our father, the most God-beloved bishop Apa Theodorus' (© Julien Auber de Lapierre).

Let us leave Alexandria[64] and jump forward almost a century and a half later for the third example, the temple of Philae. The transformation of this temple is considered as the best-documented case of conversion from temple to church in Egypt. Located on the island of the same name, the Temple of Philae was the last active sanctuary to be closed due to an old diplomatic agreement concluded between Diocletian and the Nubian populations bordering Egypt (Blemmyes and Nobades). In this agreement, Nubians could frequent the temple of Philae, perform their rites there, and take the statue of Isis annually in exchange for peace on the *limes*. Justinian could not tolerate this hotbed of paganism (on an island which had otherwise been Christian since the fourth century).[65] He, therefore, sent the Persarmenian general Narses to put an end to this unacceptable anomaly and to close the temple of Isis between 535 and 537.[66] This closure has long been associated with the establishment, in the temple itself, of a votive cult to Saint Stephen (the first Christian martyr) by Bishop Theodorus, as was commemorated in five inscriptions (Fig. 4).[67] Some scholars believed in the association so strongly that they argue the church was built immediately after the destruction of the temple and was probably commissioned by the emperor.[68]

But again, the concatenation of the two events, though it fits well in the pattern of religious 'continuism', is far from certain. First of all, it is not certain that the closure of the temple effectively ended the cult activities: the last inscriptions attesting the existence of a pagan cult date back to 456/457. It is also quite possible that, despite Procopius' claims, the temple was no longer in operation when Justinian closed it.[69] The closure would, therefore, have been purely symbolic. Furthermore, it is not known when Theodorus established the worship of Saint Stephen. But, given the longevity of his episcopate (from approximately 525 to at least 577),[70] this may have taken place a few decades after the temple was closed by Justinian. Finally, we should not believe, as once thought, that the oratory of Saint Stephen was symbolically installed in the *naos* of the temple, where a cross would have replaced the statue of Isis before being moved to *pronao*s (Fig. 5). The work of Peter Grossmann has shown that it was not in the *naos*, but in the *pronaos* where the oratory was installed from the beginning, using the original columns.[71] The inscriptions and the hammered crosses on the pillars of the *naos* were part of a deconsecration process, without implying the re-use of the temple.[72]

---

64 There are two other very suspicious cases of conversions from temples to churches in Alexandria: that of the temple of Kronos transformed into Saint Michael's church (Martin 1984 and Martin 1996, 149-151; Gascou 1998, 3; the latter will deal in more detail with this case in a work in press entitled *Églises et chapelles d'Alexandrie byzantine: recherches de topographie cultuelle*, *s. n.* « Kaisareion » and « Michel (archange) »), and of the Caesareum, partly transformed into a church under the Arian bishop Gregory (339-345) (cf. Martin 1996, 148-149; Gascou 1998, 32-33).

65 The *Life of Aron* narrates the conversion of the pagans of Philae by Bishop Macedonius in the fourth century (Budge 1915, 445-456): cf. Dijkstra 2007 and Dijkstra 2015.

66 Procopius, *Pers.* I 19, 31-37. See Hahn 2008a.

67 *I.Philae*, II, nos. 200-204 (ed. Bernand 1969) and Nautin 1967.

68 Cf. Nautin 1967, 7: 'Justinien jugea plus expédient de les (sc. les édifices du sanctuaire) faire remettre à l'évêque du lieu pour les transformer en église'.

69 Dijkstra 2011, 425-426.

70 Cf. Dijkstra 2008, 299-335 and 360 (appendix 4).

71 Grossmann 1984.

72 On other churches built on the island of Philae, some of which much after Theodorus, see Dijkstra 2011, 425, n. 125 and 429.

Fig. 5. The altar and niche of Saint Stephen's oratory in the *pronaos* of the temple of Philae (© Julien Auber de Lapierre).

Some temples were also transformed into monasteries, but in these cases we see again discontinuities.[73]

As we have seen, the few examples which are not suspect do not attest to direct or linear conversions, which would forcefully confirm the victory of Christianity over paganism by materialising, in a sense, the famous formula Ὁ Σταῦρος ἐνίκησεν 'the Cross has won'. Indirect transformations took place after the premises had been abandoned for a certain period. Christian authors, then, took advantage of the conversions to speak of the symbolic value of the events. The majority of the examples belong to a later period (after the middle of the fifth century and especially from the sixth century).[74] In most cases, this break in continuity is accompanied by a partial dismantling of the old place of worship and/or a spatial dissociation (often downplayed in literary sources): the church or monastery was built in another place or in an outlying part of the sanctuary – at least not in the *naos*, which was totally unsuitable –[75] with materials (*spolia*) from the temples.[76] There are many examples of these re-uses.[77] Let us mention just a few: the grand church of Shenoute's White Monastery, built with the stones of the nearby temple of Triphis;[78] the three-conch church of Dendera constructed in the second half of the sixth century next to the *mammisi* (temple of birth), recycling the stones of the temple;[79] the Basilica of Hermopolis (late fifth-sixth century) built with re-used materials from the temple of Ptolemy III and with columns from an unidentified Roman temple.[80]

However, indirect conversion did not prevent the occasional symbolic interpretations of such re-uses, which were, in fact, driven primarily by purely practical reasons.[81] Among the examples, the most revealing is a passage on the construction of a church on the site of the Marneion in Gaza from Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyry*:

> When, therefore, the ashes were carried away and all the abominations were destroyed, the rubbish that remained of the marble work of the Marneion, which they said was sacred, and in a place not to be entered, especially by women, this did the holy bishop resolve to lay down for a pavement before the temple outside in the street, that it

73 See, for example, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 5: 'The temples and capitols of the city (of Oxyrhynchus) were also full of monks'. See, in general, Brakke 2008.

74 See Bayliss 2004, 56-57 for an overview not limited to Egypt. According to Bayliss 2004, 51, direct conversions could have been encouraged by the law of Majorian and Leo I (*Nov. Maj.* 4) which, in 458 prohibited the destruction of temples (see n. 47).

75 The worship of the pagan deities was done in the inner or the most secluded part of the temples, which excluded the presence of the public. However, churches were configured so that people could participate without going through any intermediation. Pagan temples, as a result, were not generally suitable for conversion into churches.

76 Despite the protective laws we talked about. On how conversions or re-uses took place, see Bayliss 2004, 32-49; on the re-use of materials from temples, see Grossmann 2008, 309-312.

77 Grossmann 1995, 190-191 and Grossmann 2008, 309-312 ; see also Dijkstra 2011, 406-408.

78 McKenzie 2007, 272-279. Grossmann 1995, 190; Grossmann 2002, 528-536; Grossmann 2008a, 310; but according to Grossmann 2008b, 37, n. 6 and 53, no. 89, the blocks were not taken from the temple of Triphis.

79 See Grossmann 1995, 192; Grossmann 2002, 443-46; McKenzie 2007, 282-283; Grossmann 2008a, 310.

80 See Grossmann 1995, 189-190; Grossmann 2002, 441-443; McKenzie 2007, 284-286; Grossmann 2008a, 306.

81 Even artistic: see Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 53. See below.

> might be trodden under foot not only of men, but also of women and dogs and swine and beasts. And this grieved the idolaters more than the burning of the temple. Wherefore the more part of them, especially the women, walk not upon the marbles even unto this day.[82]

The re-use could, therefore, have the value of anti-pagan propaganda. But, in the case of temples abandoned for decades, sometimes even for centuries, as those in Egypt, such considerations were no longer relevant.[83]

The conclusions from the cases of conversions in Egypt also tally well with evidence from the rest of the Empire. For example, in Greece, the construction of churches in or on sites of the destroyed temples was a late phenomenon and was devoid of any purpose of anti-paganism .[84]

3. *Abandoned heritage: the desertion of the temples*

The two patterns that we have just examined (destruction and conversion) have certain limitations: they owe far too much to anti-pagan propaganda and to a certain type of literature which constantly reported it. The fate which the temples suffered was less dramatic than they report; the reality is duller and less spectacular. The temples were less the victims of the ravages of man and religious fanaticism than of their own decay. They succumbed not to the blows of Christianity but to their own demise. Many of them were in fact already abandoned before the fourth century, or at least in bad shape. The counterexamples offered by the Serapeum or the Temple of Philae – each representing a unique case - should not mislead us into generalising about the numerous small sanctuaries, urban or village, which were no longer able to maintain themselves long before the institutionalisation of Christianity.

Temples were financed by the state and offerings from the public, or else funded themselves using their own resources. However, state subsidies diminished considerably in the third century, as Roger S. Bagnall has lucidly demonstrated, which caused an irreversible decline for the temples.[85] But the Crisis of the Third Century only exacerbated trends which already existed: as early as the first century AD, the emperors had put a brake on the material support which the ruler was supposed to provide for construction, renovation, decoration and maintenance of cult sites in Egypt (according to the precedent set by the Ptolemaic kings). The decreased endowment under Augustus gave way to a strong reduction after Antoninus Pius (138-161), and then a total disappearance by the middle of the third century. The large shrines were withering away, the small ones disappeared. Christianity, therefore, arrived in a landscape desolate of cults.

Hagiography did not fail to highlight this situation through the depictions of holy men who retired to abandoned pagan temples and monuments. There, the protagonists could better assert their moral strength and faith, as they fought with steadfastness and success against the demons still haunting these places.[86] The example of Saint Antony, who retreated to a tomb and had to resist the attacks of demons, served as a model of this *topos*,[87] which spread throughout hagiographic literature far beyond the borders of Egypt: Saint Hilarion († 371), in Cyprus, retired to a ruined temple where he was besieged day and night by evil spirits; Saint Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis († 403), managed to neutralise the evil force emanating from a temple, which was apparently no longer in use.[88] Abandoned temples, therefore, become a space where the saints could manifest their charisma and perform miracles. The temples were, above all, places of asceticism where they could test the vigour of their faith.

---

82 Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 76 : Ἐκχοϊσθείσης οὖν τῆς τέφρας καὶ πάντων τῶν βδελυγμάτων περιαιρεθέντων, τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα σκύβαλα τῆς μαρμαρώσεως τοῦ Μαρνείου, ἅπερ ἔλεγον ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τόπῳ ἀβάτῳ τυγχάνειν, μάλιστα γυναιξίν, ταῦτα οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἔξω εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν πλακωθῆναι, ἵνα καταπατῶνται οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κυνῶν καὶ χοίρων καὶ κνωδάλων. Τοῦτο δὲ πλέον ἐλύπησεν τοὺς εἰδωλολάτρας τῆς καύσεως τοῦ ναοῦ. Ὅθεν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, μάλιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἐπιβαίνουσι τοῖς μαρμάροις ἐκείνοις ἕως τοῦ νῦν. Trans. HILL 1913, 87.

83 DIJKSTRA 2011, 407, concerning the re-uses, concludes that for the majority of the temples 'these can show that practical rather than ideological considerations were equally at play here'.

84 SPIESER 1976; FOSCHIA 2000. See also BAYLISS 2004 for Cilicia.

85 BAGNALL 1988, proposed again in BAGNALL 2008.

86 See MANGO 1992; BRAKKE 2008; FRANKFURTER 2018, chap. 3.

87 Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, 8-9.

88 These two examples are mentioned in SARADI 2008, 115-116.

Far from being merely a commonplace in Christian literature, the abandonment of temples is a phenomenon well attested in archaeology and written documentary sources. These sources, unlike their literary counterparts, are less redolent of ideological prejudices or motives and, therefore, have the advantage of greater objectivity. Several papyrological documents demonstrate the abandonment of temples and their confiscation by the state, which could then rent or sell them to individuals in a tightly regulated manner:[89]

- *P.Sakaon* 93 (Theadelphia, 314-323) is a petition in which the petitioner explains that, due to the desertification of his village, he lives alone with his wife in a temple (*hieron*), for which he is responsible;[90]
- *SB* VI 9598 (Hermopolis, 427/428 or 442/443)[91] is the validation of a rental request for a deserted sanctuary (τόπον ἔρημον ἱερατικόν);
- *SPP* XX 143 (Hermopolis, *c.* 435)[92] is a rent receipt for a disused Amon shrine (ἱε[ρ]ίου [ἐ]ρήμου καλουμένου Ἄμμωνο̣ς̣);
- *PSI* III 175 (Oxyrhynchus, 462) is a lease for a room (*symposion*) of a house located in the temple of Thoeris.[93]

The second and third texts, which have the same provenance and close dates, allow us to understand how these vacant religious properties were managed. Belonging to the state,[94] they relied on the imperial Private Purse (*res privata*), which was locally represented by the military governors. 'Ils étaient concédés à des particuliers, mais sous le régime du bail emphytéotique (bail perpétuel), ce qui montre que les autorités souhaitaient conserver la propriété éminente de ces édifices.'[95] The contractors were in these cases important figures, who could guarantee regular payment of the rents.

We might think that the pagan poet Palladas was exaggerating in one of his epigrams when he said that the Tychaion of Alexandria had become a tavern (κάπηλος): 'once honoured with a temple, you (= Tyche, "Fortune") run a cabaret in your old age!'[96] But the papyri cited above show that such conversions were not at all impossible.

In a certain number of cases, the temples were allocated for public use. For example, in the temple of Triphis, near Panopolis, a 'palace' (*palation*) was built to house the emperor Diocletian and his cortege during his visit to Egypt in 298.[97] The temple of Hadrian (Hadrianon) in Oxyrhynchus was transformed into a prison and a courtroom in the fourth century,[98] while, contemporarily in the same city, the temple of Kore also served as a court.[99]

The best archaeological example of this conversion of ancient temples into state buildings is the temple of Amon at Luxor which was turned into a military camp in 301/302.[100] The row of pylons, halls, and hypostyle courtyards of the temple were, as a result, surrounded with mud bricks punctuated by doors

89 The two texts which follow were presented with corrections (which I follow here) and commented on by Jean Gascou at the session of the Association of Greek Studies of January 7, 2008 (summary in Gascou 2008). He also quoted an unpublished text of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (P.Acad. inv. 69, Lycopolis, 420) mentioning 'the former temple of Pouenbnēu' (τοῦ π̣οτε ἱεροῦ Πουενβνηυ).

90 L. 5-7 :] . . . . ου . . [.] . μετὰ τῆς συμβίου κ̣[α]τ̣αλειπόντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦτο φυλάττιν [- - -]φ̣α̣νῶς μόνος ἐ̣κεῖσαι οἰκῶν, οὔτε δημοσίων οὔτ' αὖ ἀρχεφόδων συνφυλατ[τόντων - - -] . αι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων παρ' ἕκαστα ἀφέλκουσίν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐπ̣ι̣[- - -], κτλ.

91 *BL* X, 201.

92 *BL* II/2, 165 (end of the fourth-beginning of the fifth century) and VI, 196 (*c.* 435).

93 L. 11-15: ἀπὸ οἰκίας οὔσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Θοήριδος ὁλόκληρον συμπόσιον, κτλ.

94 Libanius, *Or.* XXX 43: οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν βασιλέων οἱ νεῴ κτήματα, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, 'Temples are the property of emperors like other monuments'. See Delmaire 1989, 641-645.

95 Gascou 2008.

96 *AP* IX 180-183. The quotation is borrowed from the epigram 183, verse 3 (ἣ πρὶν νηὸν ἔχουσα καπηλεύεις μετὰ γῆρας). On this group of texts see Cameron 2016, 103-105. See also Hahn 2008b 353, n. 59 and above all Gibson 2009 who offers 'evidence to corroborate C.M. Bowra's theory that the Alexandrian Tychaion was converted into a tavern in c. 391 CE' (p. 608). For a metaphorical interpretation of Palladas' epigrams, see McKenzie 2007, 245-246.

97 *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 260 : εἰς ἔκστρωσιν παλατίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Τρι̣[φ]είῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐ̣[υτυχῶς] ἐσομένην ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν αὐτοκρ̣ά̣το̣ρες Διοκλητιανοῦ. On the term *palation*, cf. *P.Oxy.* LV 3788, 4n.

98 Cf. *P.Oxy.*XVII 2154, 14-15. Already in 316, it appears in a list of buildings in need of restoration (*P.Oxy.* LXIV 4441, VI, 12). For the history of the *Hadrianon*, cf. *P.Oxy.* LXXI 4827, 3n.

99 *P.Oxy.* LIV 3739, 1 (325).

100 Mohamed El-Saghir *et al.* 1986.

and horseshoe-shaped towers and enclosed at the corners with rectangular towers. The central hall of the temple of Amenophis II was converted into a chapel for imperial cult: the walls were covered with paintings depicting the tetrarchs. This is an ancient case of re-use: the temple seems to have declined rather early (the last inscription left by a visitor to the temple of Amon seems to date from the second century), and its re-use predated the advent of state Christianity. This indicates that the recovery of the religious buildings was not motivated by the anti-pagan controversy.[101]

The archaeological and papyrological evidence from Egypt is in perfect agreement with the policy implemented by the emperors regarding the rehabilitation of the abandoned temples. As public buildings, temples are expressly designated in legislation for public use.[102] Several laws, as we have seen, prohibited their demolition and improper appropriations. When they were in ruins, their materials had to be used for public works.[103] It is often through secularisation in a public framework that these temples were able to be saved. The pagan Libanius understood this well and proposes himself that temples should be transformed into tax offices:

> As for his predecessor, once he had made up his mind to spurn the gods, even though he would have done better to spare the temples and property of the enemy, I would have expected him to demolish, overthrow and burn the temples of the enemy, but to be a proper champion of our own shrines that have been erected with so much toil and time, labour and expense. If we must protect our cities everywhere, if our cities owe their fame to the temples in particular, and if these temples are, after the glories of the palace, their chief pride, we must surely give them some consideration and be zealous for their maintenance as part of the fabric of the cities. They are at least buildings, even though not used as temples. Taxation, presumably, requires offices of collection: so let the temple stand and be the collecting office, and keep it from demolition'.[104]

It is, therefore, understandable that the state opposed the demolition of temples. Once the pagan cults disappeared, the interest of the state lay above all in saving and re-using these potentially useful buildings for public services or as sources of income in the case of long-term rental. 'The fate of the temples in late antique Egypt was more a question of recycling than of religious violence'.[105]

4. *Protected and shared heritage: temples defended for their heritage value*

It should not be believed, however, that the survival of the pagan cultural heritage is a question which concerns only economic and pragmatic matters. The profound religious transformation in progress brought about changes in cultural paradigms and sensibility. It could only increase the distance between Christians and the architectural monuments which were made in another time by people in a world ruled by a different mentality. Nevertheless, considerations of a more cultural and even artistic nature also played a part in preserving the temples and led to a policy of heritage protection in a modern sense.[106]

---

101 See also above, n. 20, the questionable hypothesis of J.-M. Carrié, who sees in some of the conversions of temples the effects of a policy of repression by Diocletian.

102 *CTh.* XVI 10, 19 (407), addressed to Curtius, Praetorian prefect (from the *Const. Sirm.* 12): *Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus vel oppidis vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur. Arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usus adcommodos transferantur*, 'The buildings themselves of the temples which are situated in cities or towns or outside the towns shall be vindicated to public use. Altars shall be destroyed in all places, and all temples situated on Our landholdings shall be transferred to suitable uses' (trans. PHARR 1952, 475).

103 *CTh.* XV 1, 36 (397) addressed to Asterius, *comes Orientis*: *Quoniam vias pontes, per quos itinera celebrantur, adque aquaeductus, muros quin etiam iuvari provisis sumptibus oportere signasti, cunctam materiam, quae ordinata dicitur ex demolitione templorum, memoratis necessitatibus deputari censemus, quo ad perfectionem cuncta perveniant*, 'Since you have signified that roads and bridges over which journeys are regularly taken and that aqueducts as well as walls ought to be aided by properly provided expenditures, We direct that all material which is said to be "put in order" (= stored for later use and placed under the control of the administration) following the demolition of temples shall be assigned to the aforesaid needs, whereby all such constructions may be brought to completion' (I would like to thank Jean-Marc Mandosio for helping me to identify the meaning of *ordinata* here).

104 Libanius, *Or.* XXX 42: Ἐγὼ δὲ ἠξίουν τὸν πρὸ τοῦδε τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων καθαιρεῖν καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ κατακάειν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐγνώκει τῶν θεῶν καταφρονεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἱερῶν γε καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄντων τοῖς πολεμίοις φειδόμενος ἀμείνων, οἰκείων μέντοι ναῶν πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ πολυχειρίᾳ καὶ πολλοῖς ταλάντοις κατεσκευασμένων καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἄξιον. εἰ γὰρ πανταχόθεν μὲν σωστέον τὰς πόλεις, λάμπουσι δὲ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἱ πόλεις καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μετά γε τὰ κάλλη τῶν βασιλείων κεφάλαιον, πῶς οὐ καὶ τούτοις μεταδοτέον προνοίας καὶ ὅπως ἐν τῷ σώματι τῶν πόλεων εἶεν σπουδαστέον; πάντως δέ εἰσιν οἰκοδομήματα κἂν εἰ μὴ νεῴ γε. δεῖ δέ, οἶμαι, τῷ φόρῳ τῶν δεξομένων. δεχέσθω τοίνυν ἑστώς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καταφερέσθω . Trans. ROLFE 1963, 139.

105 DIJKSTRA 2011, 409.

106 KUNDEREWICZ 1971; LEPELLEY 1994; MEIER 1996.

I have already mentioned certain measures taken by the emperors to obstruct or prohibit the demolition of the temples. Imperial legislation sometimes provided motives which were beyond purely economic reasons or, at least, justified them with the social and artistic roles assumed by the temples. As early as 342, when Constans I prohibited anyone from damaging the temples outside the walls of Rome, he justified his decision with the usefulness of temples for the regular organisation of games and other public celebrations, thereby highlighting the social functions of the temples which was still current in the fourth century.[107] In 382, Theodosius I ordered that the the temple of Edessa not be closed. Again, the reason was to allow large public gatherings, and also because 'there are *simulacra* (statues or bas-reliefs) which must be judged more for their artistic value than for the divinity they represent':[108] here, for the first time, we see the inclusion of reasons related to the aesthetic aspects of the works which decorated the ancient temples in addition to social and political concerns This legislation was echoed in the law of Honorius of 399. This edict protected the *ornamenta* of public buildings, of which temples were a part, and prohibited their appropriation, an attempt to put an end to the illicit traffic of antique objects, to which I will return.[109] This series of protective laws culminated in the aforementioned Edict of Majorian in 458,[110] which endeavoured to save the buildings constructed by the ancients for the 'splendour of cities' (*ad splendorem urbium*). Any *judex* who authorised their destruction would be subjected to very heavy fine (50 pounds of gold), while officials of his office who did not oppose his decisions would be beaten and have their hands cut off!

Behind the aesthetic argument, we can see that, besides the search for economic profitability, there was, above all, 'la volonté têtue [...] d'entretenir ou de restaurer le cadre urbain traditionnel des cités'[111] and to preserve in the increasingly pluralistic Empire 'un idéal urbain, [...] facteur de sa cohésion sociale'.[112]

The Church itself was, *a priori*, less ready to forget the obstacles that the temples and their furnishings could constitute *vis-à-vis* the eradication of religious practices which were now prohibited. It was, however, not insensitive to the status of ancient temples as heritage. Without taking into account the exceptional – and very ambiguous – case of Pegasius, bishop of Ilion, admirer of pagan art who invited the future Emperor Julian to join a real antiquarian journey,[113] we should recall that canon 58 of the fifth Council of Carthage (401)[114] advocated the destruction of rural temples, and those distant from cities, on

107 *CTh.* XVI 10, 3 addressed to Catullinus, *praefectus Urbis*: *Quamquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit, tamen volumus, ut aedes templorum, quae extra muros sunt positae, intactae incorruptaeque consistant. Nam cum ex nonnullis vel ludorum vel circensium vel agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus populo Romano praebeatur priscarum sollemnitas voluptatum*, 'Although all superstitions must be completely eradicated, nevertheless, it is Our will that the buildings of the temples situated outside the walls shall remain untouched and uninjured. For since certain plays or spectacles of the circus or contests derive their origin from some of these temples, such structures shall not be torn down, since from them is provided the regular performance of long established amusements for the Roman people' (trans. Pharr 1952, 472).

108 *CTh.* XVI 10, 8 addressed to Palladius, duke of Osrhoene: *Aedem olim frequentiae dedicatam coetui et iam populo quoque communem, in qua simulacra feruntur posita artis pretio quam divinitate metienda iugiter patere publici consilii auctoritate decernimus neque huic rei obreptivum officere sinimus oraculum*. The location of this temple is not expressly given, but modern scholars, by comparing this law addressed to the duke of Osrhoene with Libanius, *Or.* XXX 44, concluded that it must have been the temple of Edessa (see however the dissenting opinion of P. Chuvin, n. 30).

109 *CTh.* XVI 10, 15 addressed to Macrobius, *vicarius* of Spain, and to Proclianus, *vicarius* of the Five Provinces: *Sicut sacrificia prohibemus, ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta servari. Ac ne sibi aliqua auctoritate blandiantur, qui ea conantur evertere, si quod rescriptum, si qua lex forte praetenditur. Erutae huiusmodi chartae ex eorum manibus ad nostram scientiam referantur, si illicitis evectiones aut suo aut alieno nomine potuerint demonstrare, quas oblatas ad nos mitti decernimus. Qui vero talibus cursum praebuerint, binas auri libras inferre cogantur*, 'Just as We forbid sacrifices, so it is Our will that the ornaments of public works shall be preserved. If any person should attempt to destroy such works, he shall not have the right to flatter himself as relying on any authority, if perchance he should produce any rescript or any law as his defense. Such documents shall be torn from his hands and referred to Our Wisdom. If any person should be able to show illicit post warrants, either in his own name or that of another, We decree that such post warrants shall be delivered and sent to Us. Those persons who have granted the right to the public post to such persons shall be forced to pay two pounds of gold each' (trans. Pharr 1952, 474).

110 See n. 47.

111 Lepelley 1992, 369

112 Rémondon 1964, 322.

113 Julian, *Ep.* 79. The fact that Pegasius himself was accused of being a crypto-pagan and that his case is told to us by Julian, ardent renovator of paganism, removes much of its value from what could be a testimony to the prelates' craze for pagan art.

114 Concil. Carth. 16 June 401 (*Reg. Eccl. Carth. Excerpt*. 58, ed. Munier 1974, 196 = Mansi, III, col. 766) : *Instant etiam aliae necessitates religiosis imperatoribus postulandae, ut reliquias idolorum per omnem Africam jubeant penitus amputari : nam plerisque in locis maritimis, atque possessionibus diversis, adhuc erroris istius iniquitas viget : ut praecipiantur et ipsas deleri, et templa eorum, quae in agris, vel in locis abditis constituta nullo ornamento sunt, jubeantur omnimodo destrui*, 'There are also other compelling reasons for asking our pious emperors to order that the remains of idols across Africa be completely removed: indeed, in most

the condition that they did not have *ornamenta*; it is a recognition, expressed negatively, of the heritage value of certain temples.

Many Christian authors have made no secret of their admiration for the beauty of the ancient temples. Leaving aside the conventional praise conditioned by encomiastic rhetoric,[115] some show genuine attention, even sensitivity, towards pagan art. Thus, Prudence († 405-410) did not hesitate to dissociate the artistic beauty of a pagan monument from its religious use, stained by the impure blood of the sacrifices:

> *marmora tabenti respergine tincta lavate,*
> *o proceres: liceat statuas consistere puras,*
> *artificum magnorum opera: haec pulcherrima nostrae*
> *ornamenta fuant patriae, nec decolor usus*
> *in vitium versae monumenta coinquinet artis.*
> 'Wash ye the marbles that are bespattered and stained with putrid blood, ye nobles. Let your statues, the works of great artists, be allowed to rest clean; be these our country's fairest ornaments, and let no debased usage pollute the monuments of art and turn it into sin'.[116]

Art transcends religious function. And it is at the cost of this shift in values, this change of outlook, that the 'idol' becomes lawful. Once desecrated, devoid of its religious function, an 'idol' becomes an object of decoration, a work of art, which can be sought and collected without risk.[117] Constantine set an example by starting to adorn Constantinople with statues from ancient sanctuaries, launching a trend that turned big cities into veritable museums.[118] Certainly, some ancient authors felt obliged to justify the display of 'idols'. They either claimed that those who initiated the display had anti-pagan intentions or found excuses which cleared them of any suspicion of involvement with paganism;[119] some even ended up forgetting the pagan origin of these idols and saw in them biblical or historical figures.[120] But this taste for the statues and bas-reliefs in temples and pre-Christian culture – which produced them and permeated the Greco-Roman literary heritage – preserved the Christians, or at least the cultivated elite, from any temptation to see any threats to the new faith in the monuments of paganism. Such a cultural interest enabled this cultic heritage – just like the literary heritage inherited from the pre-Christian era – to continue to be shared beyond religious boundaries and to remain in the collective memory. However, it also resulted in the destruction of architectural heritage due to the incitement of temple lootings, which explains, to a large extent, the measures emperors had to take to protect temples and old public buildings. In sum, even if it was not preserved in its entirety, this cultural heritage was at least accepted, understood and integrated into the new society.

Egypt did not escape this frenzy, and surrendered its share to the greed of collectors, although the information provided in written sources and archaeology are scarce and difficult to interpret. We have some examples of the recovery of pagan statues. The most impressive is the cachette dating from the fifth century, discovered in the villa of Sidi Bishr in the outskirts of Alexandria, which contained intact statues of Aphrodite, Eros, Harpocrates, Dionysius, Hygia, Ares, the Nile (Fig. 6).[121] The burial of these statues has been interpreted as proof that their owner was a pagan who wanted to hide works that were overly compromising. But the examination of other known *cachettes* also raises the possibility that the owner was a Christian lover of antiquities, who, therefore, wanted to shelter himself from the accusation of paganism or that he was, at some point, forced to protect his collections.[122] The cultural profile of our anonymous Alexandrian collector would not be so different from that of Lausos, from Constantinople, who collected ancient statues during the same time (amongst which are the Athena Lindia by Scyllis and Dipoinos, the Aphrodite Cnidia by Praxite-

coastal regions and in various estates, the iniquitous paganism is still alive. May they order that these be destroyed and that their temples which, built in rural areas or in hidden places, are devoid of ornaments be completely demolished'.

115 See, for example, what is said about the Serapeum by Theodoretus (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, V 22: μέγιστός τε οὗτος καὶ κάλλιστος) or Socrates (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII 15 : ναὸς δὲ οὗτος ἦν κάλλει καὶ μέγεθει ἐμφανέστατοι).

116 Prudentius, *Against Symmachus*, I, 501-505 (trans. Thomson 1969, 389).

117 Mango 1994; Lepelley 1994; Hannestad 1999; Caseau 2011, 110-112.

118 For Constantinople, see Dagron 1984, 128-136.

119 Dagron 1984, 132-133.

120 Dagron 1984, 135.

121 Kiss 2007, 195-196

122 Caseau 2001, 112-116.

Fig. 6. The statue of Aphrodite and Eros from the villa of Sidi Bishr (© Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria).

Fig. 7. A statue of Marcus Aurelius with the breastplate engraved with a cross (© Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria).

les, or the Hera Samia by Lysippus and Boupalos).[123] This phenomenon also finds its counterpart in the field of literature with, for example, the *Ekphrasis*, in verse, by Christodorus of Coptos (*AP* II). Writing under the reign of Anastasius, the poet described the statues which decorated the baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, where Constantine and his successors had established a large gallery of ancient statues collected across Greece, Asia and Italy: the great deities of the Greek pantheon (Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, Poseidon, etc.) were accompanied by legendary heroes (above all the characters of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), historical heroes (Caesar, Pompey, etc.), and the great authors of literature (Homer, Menander, Thucydides, etc.).

Some ancient statues could be preserved with minimal transformations, such as the engraving of a cross.[124] This is the case of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, preserved in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria (inv. 22186), the decoration of the lower part of the breastplate of which was engraved with a cross (Fig. 7). It was not a cult statue, but such procedures were used to desecrate certain temple effigies and make them acceptable by giving them a second life. [125] Was this also the case with the statues of Olympian gods in Alexandria about which Palladas tells us in one of his epigrams?

---

123 Cedrenos, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, Bonn 1838, I, 564, 5-19 : Ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Λαύσου ἦσαν οἰκήματα παμποίκιλα καὶ ξενοδοχεῖά τινα, ὅπου ἡ φιλόξενος ἐχορήγει τὸ ὕδωρ, ἔνθα ἔσχε τὴν κλῆσιν. ἵστατο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηνᾶς τετράπηχυ ἐκ λίθου σμαράγδου, ἔργον Σκύλλιδος καὶ Διποίνου τῶν ἀγαλματουργῶν, ὅπερ ποτὲ δῶρον ἔπεμψε Σέσωστρις Αἰγύπτου τύραννος Κλεοβούλῳ τῷ Λινδίῳ τυράννῳ. καὶ ἡ Κνιδία Ἀφροδίτη ἐκ λίθου λευκῆς, γυμνή, μόνην τὴν αἰδῶ τῇ χειρὶ περιστέλλουσα, ἔργον τοῦ Κνιδίου Πραξιτέλους. καὶ ἡ Σαμία Ἥρα, ἔργον Λυσίππου καὶ Βουπάλου τοῦ Χίου. καὶ Ἔρως τόξον ἔχων, πτερωτός, Μυνδόθεν ἀφικόμενος. καὶ ὁ Φειδίου ἐλεφάντινος Ζεύς, ὃν Περικλῆς ἀνέθηκεν εἰς νεὼν Ὀλυμπίων. καὶ τὸ τὸν χρόνον μιμούμενον ἄγαλμα, ἔργον Λυσίππου, ὄπισθεν μὲν φαλακρόν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κομῶν. καὶ μονοκέρωτες καὶ τίγριδες καὶ γῦπες καὶ καμηλοπαρδάλεις ταυρελέφας τε καὶ Κένταυροι καὶ Πᾶνες.

124 Marinescu 1996; Myrup Kristensen 2009, 167.

125 Marinescu 1996, 289, describes the heads of two goddesses (found in Sparta and Athens) on the forehead of which has been engraved a cross. We may make a parallel with the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius of the Capitolium, who, reinterpreted as Constantine, may have thus escaped being recast.

> Become Christian, the gods with the Olympian residences live here safe from insults; and the crucible that produces the nourishing little change will not set them on fire.[126]

Even Justinian (527-565) – who cannot be accused of sympathy for paganism! – asked general Narses to send the statues from the Temple of Philae to Constantinople, once his order of its closure was carried out.[127]

The survival of Egyptian cultic heritage clearly shows two phases. The first, which covered mainly the fourth century, but also part of the fifth century, is marked by direct opposition between paganism and Christianity. This may have caused Christians, who were now in the position of power, to destroy and mutilate the symbols of the ancient pagan religions, namely the temples and their statues, which had become idols. But these reactions were less common than literary sources suggest. They were often driven by apologetic or polemical motives, which were inclined to transform modest ascetics into crusaders of the new faith in a dramatic epic manner. In any case, Christians did not wish to re-appropriate these places for religious purposes. Most of the time, when the temples were already or about to be abandoned, the state, which was the owner, sought to profit from them: it secularised and assigned them to the most prestigious or most suitable public offices and rented the more modest ones to private individuals. For this purpose, the state implemented a policy to protect this heritage, recognising in it a social, cultural and artistic role. These protections, however, did not prevent the lust of certain antique collectors. In any case, far from being the target of mistrust and prejudices of Christians who would have liked to get rid of them, the temples were seen as a source of income and an object of interest.

From the second half of the fifth century and during the sixth century, tastes changed: the art forms in which paganism was expressed (the full relief statues) faded to make room for other art forms such as mosaics. At the same time, public space was undergoing a metamorphosis. Gradually, large buildings (theatres, hippodromes) stopped being maintained and were abandoned. Temples were then re-used as quarries or were partially recycled by churches and monasteries. These Christian occupations did not bear much symbolic value. It was no longer fashionable to assert the victory of Christianity over paganism by means of religious topography. Paganism was no longer a dangerous enemy to fight, whereas its former places of worship offered spaces to invest at a lower cost. This did not lead to exciting narratives. As a result, the hagiographers and historians – often both at the same time – quickly erased the ruptures of continuity with aetiology and symbols and adorned the vapid facts with more glamour and meaning.

References

Papyri and the papyrological *instrumenta* are quoted according to the abbreviations of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* [https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html] or [http://papyri.info/docs/checklist].

AMÉLINEAU 1888-1895 = É. AMÉLINEAU, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IVe, Ve, VIe et VIIe siècles*, Paris, 1888-1895.

BAGNALL 1988 = R.S. BAGNALL, "Combat ou vide : christianisme et paganisme dans l'Égypte romaine tardive", *Ktèma*, 13, 1988, pp. 285-296.

BAGNALL 2008 = R.S. BAGNALL "Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt", in J. HAHN - S. EMMEL - U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World. 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 23-41.

BALDINI 1985 = A. Baldini, "Problemi della tradizione sulla "distruzione" del Serapeo di Alessandria", *Rivista storica dell'antichità*, 15, 1985, pp. 97-152.

126 *AP* IX 528 : Χριστιανοὶ γεγαῶτες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
ἐνθάδε ναιετάουσιν ἀπήμονες· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς
χώνη φόλλιν ἄγουσα φερέσβιον ἐν πυρὶ θήσει.
On this epigram, see the bibliography quoted by HAHN 2008, 354, n. 61.

127 Procopius, *Pers.* I, 19, 37 : τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν.

Bayliss 2004 = R. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion* (BAR, International Series, 1281), Oxford, 2004.

Bauer - Strzygowski 1905 = A. Bauer - J. Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik. Text und Miniaturen eines griechischen Papyrus der Sammlung W. Goleniščev* (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 51.2), Wien, 1905.

Bernand 1969 = É. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Tome II. Haut et Bas Empire*, II, Paris 1969.

Brakke 2008 = D. Brakke, "From Temple to Cell, from Gods to Demons: Pagan Temples in the Monastic Topography of Fourth-Century Egypt", in J. Hahn - S. Emmel -U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 91-112.

Budge 1915 = E.A.T.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915.

Cameron 2016 = A. Cameron, *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy*, Oxford - New York, 2016.

Carrié 1993 = J.-M. Carrié, "Egitto", in A. Momigliano - A. Schiavone (eds.), *Storia di Roma*, III, *l'età tardoantica 2. I luoghi e le culture*, Torino, 1993, pp. 573-602.

Carrié 2010 = J.-M. Carrié, "Le nombre des chrétiens en Égypte selon les données papyrologiques", in H. Inglebert - S. Destephen - B. Dumézil (eds.), *Le problème de la christianisation du monde antique* (Textes, Images et Monuments de l'Antiquité au haut Moyen Âge, 10), Paris, 2010, pp. 147-157.

Caseau 2001 = B. Caseau, "Πολεμειν λιθοισ. La désacralisation des espaces et des objets religieux païens durant l'Antiquité tardive", in M. Kaplan (ed.), *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident Études comparées* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 18), Paris, 2001, pp. 61-123.

Caseau 2004 = B. Caseau, "The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity and the Christianisation of the Countryside", in W. Bowde - L. Lavan - C. Carlos Machado (eds.), *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, Leiden - Boston, 2004, pp. 105-144.

Charles 1916 = R.H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, Oxford, 2016.

Chuvin 2009 = P. Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens. La disparition du paganisme dans l'empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*, 3d ed., Paris, 2009.

Dagron 1984 = G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur les recueils des « Patria »* (Bibliothèque byzantine - Études, 8), Paris, 1984.

Deichmann 1939 = F.W. Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern", *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts,* 54, 1939, pp. 105-136 (repr. in *idem* [1982], *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten. Gesammelte Studien zur spätantiken Architektur, Kunst und Geschichte* [Wiesbaden], pp. 56-94 with additions).

Deichmann 1964 = F.W. Deichmann, "Von Tempel zur Kirche", in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (JAC Ergänzungsband, 1), Münster, 1964, pp. 52-59.

Delmaire 1989 = R. Delmaire, *Largesse sacrées et* res privata*. L'*aerarium *impérial et son administration du IVe au VIe siècle* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 121), Rome, 1989.

Dijkstra 2007 = J. Dijkstra, "*Une foule immense de moines*. The Coptic *Life of Aaron* and the Early Bishops of Philae", in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses.* Wien, 22.-28. Juli 2001 (Papyrologica Vindobonensia, 1), Wien, 2007, pp. 191-197.

Dijkstra 2008 = J. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 173), Louvain - Paris - Dudley, 2008.

Dijkstra 2011 = J. Dijkstra, "The Fate of the Temples in Late Antique Egypt", in L. Lavan - M. Mulryan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'* (Late Antique Archaeology, 7), Leiden - Boston, 2011, pp. 389-436.

Dijkstra 2015 = J. Dijkstra, "'I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today': The Discourse of Idol Destruction in the Coptic Life of Aaron", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies*, 7, 2015, pp. 61-75.

Mohamed El-Saghir *et al.* 1986 = Mohamed. El-Saghir - J.-C. Glovin - M. Reddé - H. El-Sayed - G. Wagner, *Le camp romain de Louqsor* (MIFAO, 83), Le Caire, 1986.

Emmel 2002 = S. Emmel, "From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis", in A. Egberts - B.P. Muhs - J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great* *to the Arab Conquest. Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, 31), Leiden - Boston, 2002, pp. 95-113.

EMMEL 2008 = S. EMMEL, "Shenoute of Atripe and the Christian Destruction of Temples in Egypt: Rhetoric and Reality", in J. HAHN - S. EMMEL - U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 161-201.

EMMEL 2016 = S. EMMEL, "Editing Shenoute, Old Problems, New Prospects: The Date of Shenoute's Death", in P. BUZI - A. CAMPLANI - F. CONTARDI (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22th, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247), Louvain - Paris - Bristol, II, pp. 937-944.

EMMEL 2017 = S. EMMEL, "Shenoute for Historians: the Pneueit Incident (a Monastic Leader and Anti-Pagan Violence in Late Antique Southern Egypt)", in D. BRAKKE - S.J. DAVIS - S. EMMEL (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 263), Leuven - Paris - Bristol, 2017, pp. 370-407.

FESTUGIÈRE 1964 = A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE (trad.), *Les moines d'Orient,* IV/1*, Enquête sur les moines d'Égypte*: Historia monachorum in Aegypto, Paris, 1964.

FOSCHIA 2000 = L. FOSCHIA, "La réutilisation des sanctuaires païens par les Chrétiens en Grèce continentale (IVe-VIIe s.)", *Revue des Études Grecques*, 113, 2000, pp. 413-434.

FOSS 1979 = C. FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, Cambridge - New York - Melbourne, 1979.

FOURNET 2011 = J.-L. FOURNET, "Omero e i Cristiani in Egitto secondo due testi agiografici (*Panegerico di Macario di Tkôw* e Sofrone di Gerusalemme, *Miracoli di Ciro e Giovanni*)", in L. CRISTANTE - S. RAVALICO (eds.), *Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità* IV, Trieste, 2011, pp. 19-31.

FOURNET 2018 = J.-L. FOURNET, "Changements religieux et patrimoine cultuel : le sort des temples égyptiens durant l'Antiquité tardive", in J.-L. FOURNET - J.-M. MOUTON - J. PAVIOT (eds.), *Civilisations en transition (IV). Patrimoine partagé et patrimoine identitaire*, Byblos, 2018, pp. 45-81.

FOWDEN 1978 = G. FOWDEN, "Bishops and Temples in The Eastern Roman Empire A.D. 320-435", *Journal of Theological Studies* NS, 29, 1978, pp. 53-78.

FRANKFURTER 1998 = D. FRANKFURTER, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*, Princeton, 1998.

FRANKFURTER 2008 = D. FRANKFURTER, "Iconoclasm and Christianization in Late Antique Egypt: Christian Treatments of Space and Image", in J. HAHN - S. EMMEL - U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 135-159.

FRANKFURTER 2018 = D. FRANKFURTER, *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity*, Princeton - Oxford, 2018.

GASCOU 1998 = J. GASCOU, "Les églises d'Alexandrie : questions de méthode", in Ch. DÉCOBERT - J.Y. EMPEREUR (ed.), *Alexandrie médiévale* 1 (Études Alexandrines, 3), Le Caire, 1998, pp. 23-44.

GASCOU 2008 = J. GASCOU, "Le sort des temples après la prohibition des cultes païens", *Revue des Études Grecques,* 121, 2008, p. xii (résumé).

GASSOWSKA 1982 = M. GASSOWSKA, "Maternus Cynegius, *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis* and the Destruction of the Allat Temple in Palmyra", *Archeologia*, 33, 1982, pp. 107-123.

GIBSON 2009 = C. GIBSON, "The Alexandrian Tychaion and the date of Ps.-Nicolaus 'Progymnasmata'", *Classical Quaterly*, 59, 2009, pp. 608-623.

GROSSMANN 1984 = P. GROSSMANN, "Die Kirche des Bischofs Theodoros im Isistempel von Philae. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 58, 1984, pp. 107-117.

GROSSMANN 1995 = P. GROSSMANN, "Tempel als Ort des Konflikts in christlicher Zeit", in Ph. BORGEAUD - E. NORELLI (eds.), *Le temple, lieu de conflit: actes du colloque de Cartigny 1991* (Les Cahiers du CEPOA, 7), Louvain, 1995, pp. 181-201.

GROSSMANN 2002 = P. GROSSMANN, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden, 2002.

GROSSMANN 2008a = P. GROSSMANN, "Modalitäten der Zerstörung und Christianisierung pharaonischer Tempelanlagen", in J. HAHN - S. EMMEL - U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 299-334.

Grossmann 2008b = P. Grossmann, "Zur Stiftung und Bauzeit der großen Kirche des Schenuteklosters bei Sūhāǧ (Oberägypten)", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101, 2008, pp. 35-54.

Habachi 1972 = L. Habachi, "The Destruction of Temples in Egypt", in S.A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 192-198.

Hahn 2004 = J. Hahn, *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt. Studien zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen, Heiden und Juden im Osten des Römischen Reiches (von Konstantin bis Theodosius II.)* (Klio Beihefte, Neue Folge, 8), Berlin, 2004.

Hahn 2008a = J. Hahn, "Die Zerstörung der Kulte von Philae. Geschichte und Legende am ersten Nilkatarakt", in J. Hahn - S. Emmel - U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 203-242.

Hahn 2008b = J. Hahn, "The Conversion of the Cult Statues: the Destruction of the Serapeum 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into the 'Christ-loving' City in J. Hahn - S. Emmel - U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 335-365.

Hill 1913 = G.F. Hill, *Mark the Deacon, The Life of Porphyry bishop of Gaza*, Oxford, 1913.

Hahn - Emmel - Gotter 2008 = J. Hahn - S. Emmel - U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008.

Hamarneh 1971 = S.K. Hamarneh, "The Ancient Monuments of Alexandria According to Accounts by Medieval Arab Authors (IX-XV Century)", *Folia Orientalia*, 13, 1971, pp. 77-110.

Hannestad 1999 = N. Hannestad, "How Did Rising Christianity Cope with Pagan Sculpture?", in E. Chrysos - I. Wood (ed.), *East and West: Modes of Communication. Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida* (The Transformation of the Roman World, 5), Leiden, 1999, pp. 173-204.

Hill 1913 = J.F. Hill (ed.), *Mark the Deacon, The Life of Porphyry bishop of Gaza*, Oxford, 1913.

Johnson 1980 = D.W. Johnson (trad.), *Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw Attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 415-416, Scriptores coptici, 41-42), Louvain, 1980.

Kiss 2007 = Z. Kiss, "Alexandria in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, Cambridge - New York - Melbourne, 2007, pp. 187-206.

Kouremenos 2016 = N. Kouremenos, "The Account of Seventy Idols in Coptic Hagiographical Tradition", in P. Buzi - A. Camplani - F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, I-II (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247), Louvain - Paris - Bristol, 2016, II, pp. 1095-1115.

Kunderewicz 1971 = C. Kunderewicz, "La protection des monuments d'architecture antique dans le Code Théodosien", in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra*, Milano, 1971, IV, pp. 137-153.

Lampadaridi 2016 = A. Lampadaridi, *La conversion de Gaza au christianisme.* La vie de S. Porphyre de Gaza *par Marc le Diacre* (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 1570), Bruxelles, 2016.

Leipoldt 1906-1913 = J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 41, 42, 73, Scriptores coptici, 1, 2, 5), Paris, 1906-1913.

Lepelley 1992 = C. Lepelley, "Permanences de la cité classique et archaïsmes municipaux en Italie au Bas-Empire", in *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'Empire romain au IVe siècle ap. J.-C. Actes de la table ronde autour de l'œuvre d'André Chastagnol (Paris, 20-21 janvier 1989)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 159), Rome, 1992, pp. 353-371.

Lepelley 1994 = C. Lepelley, "Le musée des statues divines. La volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l'époque théodosienne", *Cahiers archéologiques*, 42, 1994, pp. 5-15.

Magnou-Nortier 2002 = É. Magnou-Nortier (ed.), *Le Code Théodosien, Livre XVI et sa réception au Moyen-Âge* (Sources canoniques, 2), Paris, 2002.

Mango 1992 = C. Mango, "Diabolus byzantinus", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 46, 1992, pp. 215-223.

Mango 1994 = C. Mango, "L'attitude byzantine à l'égard des antiquités gréco-romaines", in *Byzance et les images : cycle de conférences organisé au Musée du Louvre* (Conférences et colloques – Louvre), Paris, 1994, pp. 95-120.

Marinescu 1996 = C.A. Marinescu, "Transformations: Classical Objects and their Re-Use during Late Antiquity", in R.W. Mathisen - H.S. Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot, 1996, pp. 285-298.

Martin 1984 = A. Martin, "Les premiers siècles du christianisme à Alexandrie. Essai de topographie religieuse (III^{e}-IV^{e} siècles) ", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 30, pp. 211-225.
Martin 1996 = A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IVe siècle (328-373)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 216), Rome, 1996.
McKenzie - Gibson - Reyes 2004 = J.S. McKenzie - S. Gibson - A.T. Reyes (2004), "Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 94, 2004, pp. 73-121.
McKenzie 2007 = J.S. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt 300 BC-AD 700*, New Haven - London, 2007.
Meier 1996 = H.-R. Meier, "Alte Tempel-Neue Kulte. Zum Schutz obsoleter Sakralbauten in der Spätantike und zur Adaption alter Bauten an den christlichen Kult", in B. Brek (ed.), *Innovation in der Spätantike* (Studien und Perspektiven, 1), Wiesbaden, 1996, pp. 363-376.
Mohamed El-Saghir *et al.* 1986 = Mohammed El-Saghir - J.-C. Glovin - M. Reddé - H. El-Sayed - G. Wagner, *Le camp romain de Louqsor* (MIFAO, 83), Le Caire, 1986.
Moussa 1998 = M. Moussa, *Abba Moses of Abydos*, M.A. diss., Catholic University of America, 1998.
Moussa 2003 = M. Moussa, "The Coptic Literary Dossier of Anna Moses of Abydos", *Coptic Church Review*, 24, 2003, pp. 66-90.
Munier 1974 = C. Munier, *Concilia Africae a. 345-525* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 149), Turnhout, 1974.
Myrup Kristensen 2009 = T. Myrup Kristensen, "Religious Conflict in Late Antique Alexandria: Christian Responses to 'Pagan' Statues in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries", in G. Hinge - J.A. Krasilnikoff (ed.), *Alexandria. A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot* (Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity, 9), Aarhus, 2009, pp. 158-175.
Naerebout 2007 = F.G. Naerebout, "The Temple at Ras el-Soda. Is it an Isis temple? Is it Greek, Roman, Egyptian, or neither? And so what?", in L. Bricault - M.J Versluys - P.G.P. Meyboom (eds.), *Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman World*, Leiden - Boston, 2007, pp. 506-554.
Nautin 1967 = P. Nautin, "La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne", *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 17, 1967, pp. 1-43.
Norman 1977 = A.F. Norman, *Libanius. Selected Works*, II, Cambridge - London, 1977.
O'Leary 1938 = De Lacy O'Leary, "The Destruction of Temples in Egypt', *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 4, 1938, pp. 51-57.
Orlandi 1968-1970 = T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria* (Studi copti, 2), Milano, 1968-1970.
Pharr 1952 = C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Princeton, 1952.
Rémondon 1964 = R. Rémondon, *La crise de l'Empire romain de Marc-Aurèle à Anastase*, Paris, 1964.
Rolfe 1963 = J.C. Rolfe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, II, Cambridge - London, 1963.
Russell 1981 = N. Russell *The Lives of the Desert Fathers. The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, London - Oxford, 1981
Saradi 2008 = H. Saradi, "The Christianization of Pagan Temples in the Greek Hagiographic Texts", in J. Hahn - S. Emmel - U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 163), Leiden - Boston, 2008, pp. 113-134.
Schwartz 1966 = J. Schwartz, "La fin du Sérapeum d'Alexandrie", in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1), New Haven, 1966, pp. 97-111.
Spieser 1976 = J.-M. Spieser, "La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce", in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern. Internationales Symposion in Olympia vom 10. bis 12. Oktober 1974*, Tübingen, 1976, pp. 309-320 (repr. in *id.* [2001], *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* [Aldershot], chap. VI, in English, with additions).
Stewart 1999 = P. Stewart, "The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity", in R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, London, 1999, pp. 159-189.
Till 1935-1936 = W.C. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden*, Rom, 1935-1936.
Thélamon 1981 = F. Thélamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle: l'apport de l'« Histoire ecclésiastique » de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris, 1981.
Thomson 1969 = H.J. Thomson, *Prudentius*, I, Cambridge - London, 1969.
van der Vliet 1993 = J. van der Vliet, "Spätantikes Heidentum in Ägypten im Spiegel der koptischen Literatur", in D. Willers (ed.), *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im Spätantiken Ägypten*, Riggisberg, 1993, pp. 99-130.

Localisation and Construction of Churches in Coptic Literature

Tito Orlandi

Abstract
Coptic literary manuscripts dating from the seventh-eighth centuries often contain homilies and martyrdoms that make reference to the construction of church buildings. These texts are particularly interesting when one wants to analyse the authors' view of their own world and public space in a critical time, that is, the early Islamic period. These literary manuscripts, although they do not correspond to reality, represent the perception of the Copts themselves of their environment, and illustrates the relation between texts, archaeology, and Late Antique mentality.

Keywords
Church buildings, Coptic literary manuscripts, Cycles, relationship manuscripts-archaeology.

Coptic literature has mostly been considered from two mutually exclusive points of view: the study of language on the one hand, and the study of the theology, liturgy, and culture of the Egyptian Church on the other. A different approach, which takes into consideration the literary aspect of the texts, most of which were in fact written to teach, but also to entertain the listeners or (rarely) the readers, has been almost completely neglected, with the meritorious exception of C. D. Müller,[1] who, unfortunately did not achieve any appreciable result. One of the victims of this attitude of the scholars is the great Shenoute, who only in recent times, after Leipoldt had completely misunderstood his style,[2] has received the appreciation he deserves also for this aspect, thanks to Stephen Emmel[3] and his reconstruction, as far as is possible, of his extant works.

Of course my vision of the problem is based on my knowledge of the evolution of Coptic literature,[4] since its beginnings, that mostly consist of the translation of biblical texts as well as few texts of the contemporary patristic literature (fourth century), through a development that followed the ecclesiastical vicissitudes: the Origenistic controversy, the evolution of the monastic movement, the Council of Chalcedon and the quarrels with the Byzantine Empire, until the Arabic domination.

This analysis presupposes that the texts considered here are written in a period when relations with the ancient Greek patristic tradition were of a special nature (relations severed, but common culture retained to a certain point), and a new awareness of Coptic traditions (related, but at the same time opposed to Islam) was being formed.

During this period, the literary tradition and historical memories were undeniably reshaped. The most renowned figures – Basil, Athanasius, John Chrysostom – the most popular events – the persecution of Diocletian, the conversion of Constantine, the Persian wars, the ecumenical councils – remained in the memory of the new writers, but assumed a totally new perspective and character, in line with the necessities of the time: as far as I can see, most of these texts are located in the seventh(-eighth) century.

1 Müller 1954a; Müller 1954b; Müller 1996.

2 Leipoldt 1903.

3 Emmel 2004. Cf. also Orlandi 1989.

4 Orlandi 1991a; Orlandi 1997; Orlandi 2016.

Every literary (homiletic) narration contained in these texts may and should be analysed from many different points of view, which may agree or diverge from one text to the other, according to whims and tastes which may be very different from the literary habits to which we are accustomed because of the Greek (and Latin) patristic texts. Our task is to try to understand the persons, legends, exemplary events, narrative structures, places, and time, according to the perspective of the Coptic authors, which was different from the patristic culture with which we are acquainted.

In this contribution, therefore, I will try to analyse the content of the late, 'spurious' texts (homilies, martyrologies, etc.) of Coptic literature, in order to understand their meaning within their time of composition, which is not quite determined, although sufficiently established, as we have already said: around the seventh century. Only after this kind of analysis will it be possible to detect the literary style of the texts. This is also an experiment in the use of Coptic texts for the historical analysis of their environment, in spite of their being substantially deprived of historical information, as scholars normally assume it must be. This state of affairs should not discourage us from such analysis; because, even if the texts are not witnesses of a real world – that we would like to know –, they are witnesses of their authors' view of the world, which is important in order to understand the conditions and the historical development of the Copts in the early Islamic period. We must detect the continuous dialectic between the capacity of invention of the authors and the tastes and requirements of the listeners, i.e. the public of their time – and also of the literary genres that they adopt.

I have chosen the specific topic of church buildings, which is particularly apt for the subject of this volume, and, in this respect, I am especially interested in the study of this theme in Coptic literature in the late Byzantine and early Islamic period. The selection of the texts is based on my own experience, as it happens in literary criticism, and is not meant to provide a complete list related to this topic.

1. *List of the selected works*

The reader should be aware that the names of the authors of the works that will be listed and briefly described below – names that are only provided here at the first occurrence of a work – corresponds to the attribution found in the manuscripts, and are generally forged; each work is identified by means of the *Clavis Patrum Copticorum* number (CC).[5] Information on editions and discussions is to be found in the database of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*.[6] When opportune, however, I have added some words to illustrate the character of the text.

Before starting my analysis, I would like to preliminarily mention Basil of Caesarea, *De templo Salomonis* = CC 0076 (CG 2965), a peculiar example of early translations, possibly of the fourth century; because, although it does not refer to a real church, the example of Salomon's temple and its ornaments is recurrent in later texts. A special case is also Shenoute, *Canon 7*, which 'opens with several sermons preached by Shenoute on the occasions of the construction, inauguration, and use of the original church' (CC 0571, 0794, 0768),[7] because it presents problems of its own, discussed fully by C. Schroeder, together with some mentions of building activities in the Pachomian texts. They are outside the scope of this contribution.

The following list is subdivided according to the literary periods to which the texts may be assigned:

(a) *Plerophoriae*

This kind of texts is attributable to the sixth century, and was the inspiration for later texts (cf. below 'Cycles') written in opposition to the Islamic domination:

- Efrem the Disciple, *Vita Manasses Archimandritae* = CC 0420 (BHO 0593): typical example of the polemical literature against the Chalcedonians, like *Vita Moysis Archimandritae* = CC 0423 (BHO 0777).

5 See http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html.

6 http://www.cmcl.it.

7 Schroeder 2004, 452-521.

- Cyril of Alexandria, *In Athanasium* = CC 0108 (CG 5273): exaltation of the great Patriarch, presented as the father of the Coptic Church, strong opponent of Roman emperors.
- Cyril of Jerusalem, *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG 3602): very long and interesting homily, full of references and episodes that recur in the general Christian tradition, but that here are changed in a rather strange way. The 'historians' Joseph (Flavius) and Irenaeus are mentioned, as well as a letter of Vespasianus to Ptolemy, and Julian the Apostate. The conversion of Constantine is placed near Antioch, during a war with the Persians, and the city of Constantinople is also mentioned. The vision of the Cross is explained by the soldier Eusignus. The transformation of temples into churches is attributed to Constantine, rather than to Theodosius (cf. below, the legend of the *tree thetas*).
- *Passio Iacobi intercisi* (*Persae*) = CC 0278 (BHO 0396): a rather complicated text, in which a first part, connected with a group of legends of Persian martyrs, is followed by a typical plerophoric narration involving Peter the Iberian and the emperor Marcian.

(b) *Period of Damian - Early Arab period*

- Benjamin of Alexandria, *De nuptiis apud Canam* = CC 0085: the attributed authorship of this work might even be authentic. Besides the exegesis on the passage of John's Gospel, it contains autobiographical anecdotes.
- John of Alexandria, *In Menam* = CC 0181: very long homily that includes the martyrdom of Mena, and the vicissitudes of his sanctuary in the Mareotis (cf. below).
- Isaac of Antinooupolis (Annoi), *In Colluthum* = CC 0214: life and martyrdom of Colluthus, followed by the miracles that happened in his sanctuary.

(c) *Cycles* (*seventh-eighth century*)

All the texts belonging to this group[8] were created as a means of religious edification, often in opposition to the Islamic domination, but also to entertain the participants to the *synaxeis*. They may be compared to the (much later!) emergence of the western Cavalry cycles. Their literary character is important in two aspects: as a witness of the shaping of historical-mythological memory of the Copts, and as a pretended historical ground for composing their literary style. We distinguish homilies and hagiography for the convenience of the presentation, but for what concerns our analysis such distinction is irrelevant.

Homilies:

- Theophilus of Alexandria, *De Ecclesia Trium Puerorum* = CC 0392 (CG 2626); Cyril of Alexandria, *In Raphaelem* (*Relatio Theophili*) = CC 0397 (CG 2627); and John Chrysostom, *In Raphaelem* = CC 0176 (CG 5050.2): historical legends on the construction of churches dedicated to saints and archangels.
- Basil of Ceasarea, *De ecclesia Mariae Virginis* = CC 0073 (CG 2970); Basil of Caesarea, *In Mercurium* = CC 0078 (CG 2969); Theodosius of Jerusalem, *Miracula Georgii* = CC 0388; and *Miracula Mercurii* = CC 0232 (with its derivation, Acacius of Caesarea, *In Mercurium a* = CC 0002 [CG 3515]: series of miracles accompanying the construction of *martyria*.
- Proclus of Constantinopolis, *In 24 Seniores* = CC 0322 (CG 5892): adventures of John Chrysostom in Thracia.
- Severus of Antioch, *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043): history of the conversion of the rich merchant Gesdon from India (probably intended to be Ethiopia).
- Severianus of Gabala, *In Apostolos* = CC 0331 (CG 4281): very long homily, including the comparison of the apostles with twelve precious stones, an invective against Judas, the places where the apostles preached, and their death, Mark in Alexandria, and his connection with Luke.

Hagiography:

I have found the building of churches in the following *martyrdoms*:

- *Passio Anub* = CC 0257 (BHO 0072).
- *Passio Ari* = CC 0260 (BHO 0107).
- *Passio Iohannis et Symeonis* = CC 0279 (BHO 0525).
- *Passio Isaac Tiphrensis* = CC 0280.

8 Orlandi 1991b; Saweros 2017.

- *Passio Macarii* = CC 0285 (BHO 0578).
- *Passio Pirou et Athon* = CC 0298 (BHO 0994).
- *Passio Til* = CC 0304 (BHO 0075).
- *Passio Panine et Paneu* = CC 0434.
- *Passio Nabrahae* = CC 0522.

Most of them are included in a cycle which attributes to a certain Julius of Akfahs, *commentariensis*, the care of the relics of the martyrs.

2. *Conflicting theories*

Coming now to the core subject of the article, a special place, in a negative sense, must be assigned to Shenoute (authentic author). In the work called *De falsis reliquiis* (CC 0629), which immediately follows another work against disordered ceremonies for the martyrs, which took place in the churches, Shenoute shows himself to be definitely against the theory of *martyria,* buildings that are typical of the Coptic culture of the sixth-eighth centuries:[9]

> Really are mistaken those who pretend: This or that martyr appeared to us and revealed where his relics were. And in fact we excavated and found relics of martyrs, and now I shall build some shrine for him or upon him. (...) Our fathers who died before us, I know and testify that they have ordered that nobody would find their corpses. (...) Nobody died for the name of God more than the prophets, nor gave his blood for the Church of God more than the saint apostles, but nowhere in the Scriptures is written: build a sanctuary for one of them in the church for a martyr really known as such. (...) We have never heard or seen that a sanctuary has been built for some relics in a church, except in the church of this same city Panopolis.

But probably the contradicting praxis of the Copts should be seen only as a clue that Shenoute was more worshipped than attentively studied in later times. Against Shenoute's theory, I quote in particular *In Menam* = CC 0181:[10]

> (The *stratelates*) put the remains of the blessed martyr in a coffin of incorruptible wood and placed the wooden image which he had made upon his remains. He buried them there with commemorative paintings. He had a small edifice built over the saint in the form of a small vaulted tomb. (...) And so they built over the tomb a small oratory like a *tetrapylon*. (...) But they [the pilgrims] suffered distress because the place was a desert (...) Accordingly, the chief citizens of Alexandria and those of Mariotes and all the archons of Egypt besought the holy Athanasius, the archbishop, to build a wondrous memorial-church to the glory of God and the holy apa Mena (...) And when the God-loving king, Jovian, heard, he wrote to the *stratelate*s of Alexandria that he should help him with money for the building (...) He brought it to completion in all beauty, adorning it with precious marbles glistening like gold. (... [In the time of Theophilus]) the king ordered the building of a spacious memorial church. And they laboured with royal might and power, with decorative skill like the Temple of Solomon. He made it one with the memorial church which the holy Athanasius had already built. (...) the archbishop Timotheus told the king Zeno about the barbarians who came over Mariotes, afflicting the shrine and all the churches in Mariotes. Then the king ordered all those of senatorial rank in the kingdom to build each of them a palace there. He also wrote to the archons of Alexandria and those of Egypt, that each of them throughout the land should build himself a house there until they made it a city. And so it was built and given the name Martyroupolis. (...) And again in the time of Anastasius the king, pious zeal inspired the heart of the praetorian Prefect (... He) built hospices by the lake and rest-houses for the multitudes to stay at. And he had the market place established among them in order that the multitudes might find and buy all their needs. (...) And this continued from the time of Heraclius the king, till the Saracens took the land.

Another homily in which the church building assumes particular importance is the *In Crucem* = CC 0120:[11]

> § 81 He (Constantine) ordered the door of the temples to be closed, that they be transformed for the rite of the Christians. He gave great benefits to the chiefs of the churches and let the temples be destroyed. Everywhere churches were built, in the cities and in the villages, for the glory and honor of his kingdom. He begot a child and called him Constantine according to his own name. When he was grown he gave him the scepter of the kingdom.

9 AMÉLINEAU 1907-1914, I, 212-213.

10 DRESCHER 1946, 142 ff (edition and translation).

11 CAMPAGNANO 1980.

§ 82 The great emperor Constantine was informed that the idols were secretly adored and the priests went to the deserts to make libations. He closed immediately the doors of the temples and gave their keys to the chiefs of the churches. They found a lot of riches and with them they built many churches everywhere, with the help of the emperor.

§ 103 (Constantine II) took the Cross and put it in the tomb, until he would build an honorable sanctuary according to its dignity.

§104 The emperor told the bishops and the senate: I want to build a new sanctuary in this place, and churches worthy of the glory of Christ. (…) And he gave dispositions for the churches, assigned to them managers and artisans, and trusted them to his mother, giving a lot of riches from his private income for the organisation of the construction. He procured for her marble and tuff slabs, pine wood, and much silver, lead, and iron; in sum, everything was necessary for the construction. He left his mother at Jerusalem with the task to build a sanctuary near the tomb, which would be called 'Saint Resurrection', and another church near Kranion, which would be called 'Timeion of the Cross', and to build the city outside the holy places of the Saviour, with the squares and the tetrapylon.

§ 105 (…) Those who worked to the construction were a great number, even more than those who had worked for temple of Solomon. Therefore, they completed the saint temples and adorned them like the firmament in the sky.

Since it is impossible to discuss the relevant passages of each text listed above that mention church buildings, we assemble them according to some common topics, which coincide with or are close to the phenomenon of the cycles (cf. below). And for each topic we choose a representative passage.

3. *Cycles*

The most important topic for church building is the cycle:

(*a*) *Theophilus, Theodosius, and the 3* thetas

Under this label is collected a series of episodes which are included in many texts of Coptic literature and refer to the intensive activity of Theophilus of Alexandria dedicated to the construction of ecclesiastical buildings. They originated from a historical situation, which later became rather the source of various legends according to the popular taste and requirements. The first allusion to this topic is already found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Coptica* = CC 0200:[12]

And at that time, a woman, who had two sons, cleared away the mounds, as her letter testifies, and a stone slab was discovered, upon which three thetas were inscribed; and her history is related in that letter, besides a story of Theophilus and the Angel Raphael, which is not written in this biography. And when Theophilus removed the slab, he found beneath it the money which he required; so he built the churches with it.

The story of the three *thetas* is not always present in the legends about Theophilus and his churches, but it has been conveniently adopted for the name of the cycle. One of the best examples is in the homily *Miracula Trium Puerorum* = CC 0110:[13]

It happened at the time of my blessed father apa Theophilus, (…) that he had the idea to build a martyrium for the Three Young Saints Ananias, Azarias, and Misael; but the circumstances did not permit. In fact he adorned the throne of Alexandria like Zorobabel at his time. He built the great church of Saint Menas, (…) My father Theophilus told me: (…) It appeared to me this night that I walked with in a vast space, and somebody said: Theophilus, you will build many churches, and I shall provide for this. (…) We arrived at a pagan temple, on which there were representations and inscriptions, with pagan texts. I looked at the columns of the door and saw three great thetas carved. I marveled and said to my father: My saint father, do you see the pagan texts, and these three *thetas* so great? But my father was full of prophetic spirit and said: There is a great mystery in these three *thetas*. The first is interpreted as *theos*; the second as the name of the emperor Theodosius; the third is me, the humble Theophilus. (…) While he said this, the door of the temple was opened, and a large quantity of gold came out. My father was astonished for the quantity of the riches. This temple was outside the city, in a lonely and desert place. My father closed the place, closed the door of the temple, and we came back home. Then my father wrote the emperor Theodosius a letter: (…) Great riches have been discovered in the temple of Alexander. I thought I would let you know, so that you send somebody to count them. (… Theodosius)

12 Ed. in CMCL, http://www.cmcl.it/, § 006, 115-116.

13 Ed. de Vis 1929, 162 ff.

> wrote to my father: (…) I am concerned in these days about the construction of the churches of the metropolis Alexandria, which were destroyed at the time of the impious Diocletian. I wanted to use public funds to build them, but now through the grace of Christ the royal treasure has become plentiful. I order it to be distributed for the construction of all the churches of the metropolis Alexandria and all the other churches in all towns under the rule of Saint Marc the Evangelist. [*Then follows the construction of the shrine, and the miracles which accompany it.*]

Other versions of the cycle are contained in: *In Raphaelem* = CC 0397; *In Menam* = CC 0181; and *In Tres Pueros* = CC 0392. With this topic the next one is strictly connected.

Despite the fact that the couple Theophilus -Theodosius was the most popular concerning the construction of churches, the memory of Constantine could not be neglected.

(b) *Constantine builder of churches*[14]

I quote the narrative plot contained in *Passio Macarii* = CC 0285 (BHO 0578):[15]

> p. 73: The emperor Constantine knew that Eulogius was from a glorious breed of martyrs. (…) He gave him great power to kill all the pagans (…) from the palace of Antioch to the West and to the land of the Ekiosh (Ethiopia …) He burned and destroyed the temples of Alexandria, and confiscated their goods. He succeeded in building many churches. (…) p. 75 When Eulogius sailed to the South, he saw Chetnoufe on a point of the river. He asked the name of the village (…) and said: I came to know in Antioch that my beloved brother Macarius was martyred in this village. Then he assembled the clergy and the officers (…) and they accompanied him where he had been beheaded and buried, North of Chetnoufe. He extracted his holy corpse (…) and put it in a royal coffin, in order to take him to Antioch. But during the night the saint apa Macarius appeared to him and said: Do not bring me out of this village, because this is the place that the Lord has assigned to me until the end of this world, but prepare an *eukterion* for me in the place where they took my head. (…) Eulogius produced a purse of gold and gave the money to the clergy for a wonderful sanctuary.

Other similar reports are to be found in the *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG3602, cf. above); *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043), where Constantine sends the archbishop of Ephesus to the capital of India (Ethiopia), recently converted, to build a church; *Passio Nabrahae* = CC 0522; *Passio Anub* = CC 0257 (BHO 0072); and *Passio Ari* = CC 0260 (BHO 0107).

(c) *Cyril of Jerusalem.*[16]

The Egyptian tradition recognised Cyril as orthodox and regarded his character and work with favour. Consequently, the Copts attributed to him a prominent position both as a historic and a literary figure. In Coptic history, the episode involving the appearance of the Cross shining in upon Golgotha has become especially well known. A translation of his *Catecheses* was adopted at a very early date. Later, a series of homilies was attributed to Cyril. These are of different character, but some of them may be classified together, forming a cycle. This is the case of the *In Crucem* = CC 1020 (CG 3602), which extensively mentions the building of churches, and is amply referred to above.

(d) *John Chrysostom in Thracia*

The cycle dedicated to John Chrysostom is a series of texts (cf. CC 0632: *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi*) derived from a strange Egyptian disguise of his life and is subdividable in two parts:

(1) his activity in Antioch and Constantinople in the period before and after his election as bishop;

(2) his tribulations related to the conflict with Eudoxia (Theophilus is not mentioned) and his exile.

Concerning the second part, we find mainly a sort of biography of John Chrysostom in which, after undergoing various sufferings in Thrace, he converts the local population to Christianity. In this work, mention is also made of a certain Anthimos, who, according to the homily *In Michaelem* (= CC 0148) attributed to Eustathius of Thrace, became bishop of Thrace, being his presumed successor in that see.

14 On this topic see Buzi 2016, 579-593.

15 Ed. Hyvernat 1886-1887.

16 For this cycle cf. Orlandi 1991b and online http://ccdl.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/cce/id/559/rec/2.

The same subject is dealt with in a homily attributed to Proclus of Constantinople, *In 24 Seniores* = CC 0322 (CG 5892), where the construction of a church is mentioned.

(e) *Basil in Lazika*

There was an effort to present the figure of Basil as defender of Christianity against the barbarians. A number of homilies (only two of which have come down to us) were thus produced, set in the region of Lazika, in Georgia (although this name is probably used to indicate an imaginary area) and celebrating the liberation of the region from the Sarmatian barbarians with the help of the archangel Michael. One of them is the *In Mercurium* = CC 0078 (CG 2969), which lists the miracles that occurred during the construction of a church in honour of Michael, in a different way from CC 0232 (cf. below).

4. *Places where the churches are built*

Here follows a schematic list of churches mentioned in the Coptic texts taken into consideration:

De ecclesia Mariae Virginis = CC 0073 (CG 2970)	Caesarea (of Cappadocia, modern) Philippi (ancient)
In Mercurium = CC 0078 (CG 2969)	Caesarea of Cappadocia / Lazica
In Athanasium = CC 0108 (CG 5273)	Seleucia of Isauria
In Mariam Virginem = CC 0119 (CG 3603)	(Ephesus)
In Crucem = CC 0120 (CG 3602)	Ascalon of Palestine, Jerusalem
In Raphaelem = CC 0176 (CG 5050.2)	Constantinople
In Menam = CC 0181	Martyroupolis in Mareotis
In Colluthum = CC 0214	Annoi (Antinoe)
Miracula Mercurii = CC 0232; cf. Acacio di Cesarea. *In Mercurium a* = CC 0002 (CG 3515)	Caesarea of Cappadocia
Passio Anub = *clavis coptica* 0257 (BHO 0072)	Shetnufe/Naesi
Ari Passio. Apari Passio = CC 0260 (BHO 0107)	Shetnufe
Passio Iacobi intercisi. Passi Iacobi Persae = clavis 0278 (BHO0396)	Pemje (Oxyrhynchos)
Passio Iohannis et Symeonis = CC 0279 (BHO 0525)	(Panau, church of John the Baptist) Genemoulos of Panau
Passio Isaac Tiphrensis = CC 0280	Tifre (Panau)
Passio Macarii = CC 0285 (BHO 0578)	Shetnoufe
Passio Pirou et Athon = CC 0298 (BHO 0994)	Tasempoti
Passio Til = CC 0304 (BHO 0075)	Sabaru
In 24 Seniores = CC 0322 (CG 5892)	Ariphoros of Tharacia
In Apostolos = CC 0331 (CG 4281)	Alexandria, martyrion of St. Mark
In Michaelem = CC 0346 (CG 7043)	Ente of Indike
In Georgium. Miracula Georgii = CC 0388	Ioppe of Syria
De Ecclesia Trium Puerorum. In Tres Pueros Babyloniae = CC 0392 (CG 2626)	Alexandria
In Raphaelem = CC 0397 (CG 2627)	Island of Patres
Manasses Archimandritae vita = CC 0420 (BHO 0593)	Abydos
Vita Moysis Archimandritae = CC 0423 (BHO 0777)	Abydos
Passio Panine et Paneu = CC 0434	Psoi (Ptolemais)
Passio Nabrahae = CC 0522	PKalanke (Ankon, Fayyūm)

This list of places is very meaningful, because one can see that, for the most part, they appear in creative narratives, to accompany the mythological deeds of the 'heroes', i.e. saints to be celebrated. Of course, some of the personalities 'brought' their places with them: Theophilus built churches in Alexandria, and in the rest of Egypt, Basil in Caesarea, Cyril in Jerusalem. In other cases, the saint built a church in an imaginary place, something that gave a special aura to the text: Athanasius in Isauria, Cyril in an island called Patres in the Mediterranean Sea, between Alexandria and Antioch, Proclus in Ariphoros of Thracia.

5. *Circumstances accompanying the construction*

(a) *Simple mention of the construction of a church*

In most cases the church dedicated to the saint, who is the object of a liturgical feast, has no real part in the text, and is mentioned only as an obvious detail. This is the case of the *Passio Anub* = CC 0257 (BHO 0072):[17]

> Julius of Kbehs waited until midnight and went where the corpse of the Saint lay, took it, put it in a *sindonion*, gave it scent and oil and wine, and put it on a boat together with three servants of his. They sailed toward South three days and two nights, until they reached a village called Shetnufe and further they searched for the locality Nimeshshoti. When the dwellers of the village heard about that (...) they waited until the end of the persecution, and built a church as he was worthy. Those who were martyred with the Saint were 19 in total (...)

We can find something along the same lines in the *Passiones* of: *Ari* = CC 0260 (BHO 0107); *Isaac Tiphrensis* = CC 0280; *Macarii* = CC 0285 (BHO 0578); *Pirou et Athon* = CC 0298 (BHO 0994); *Til* = CC 0304 (BHO 0075); and *Panine et Paneu* = CC 0434, *Nabrahae* = CC 0522; and in the homilies *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG 3602); *In Raphaelem* = CC 0176 (CG 5050.2); *In Colluthum* = CC 0214; *In 24 Seniores* = CC 0322 (CG 5892); *In Apostolos* = CC 0331 (CG 4281); *In Tres Pueros Babyloniae* = CC 0392 (CG 2626; twice); and *Vita Manasses Archimandritae* = CC 0420 (BHO 0593) (building of a monastery; twice).

(b) *Prediction or ordering of the construction.*

A typical example of prediction may be that in the *Passio Macarii* = CC 0285 (BHO 0578):[18]

> He was praying during the night, when the saint archangel Michael appeared and told him: Do not fear, Macarius, because the crown of martyrdom is near you. Just in this place the Lord has established that your corpse will be deposed, and he will not permit that this village lack anything, because of your saint corpse which is confided to it. I shall leave to the people in it my blessing and my peace, and I shall put in the spirit of certain men loving God to build a church in your name where your corpse will be deposed. All those who are sick or suffering in prison, and will invoke: God of apa Macarius of Antioch, succor us, I will hear them and I shall safeguard them under my lightning wings. To the man who will build a church for you, I shall build one in the skies, done not by human hands. To those who will do offerings in the day of the deposition of your corpse in this church (...) I shall let him be served with the nourishment of one thousand years.

Something similar is found in the *Passiones* of *Pirou et Athon* = CC 0298 (BHO 994); and *Nabraha* = CC 0522; *In Tres Pueros Babyloniae* = CC 0392 (CG 2626); and *In Menam* = CC 0181. An example of order of construction is found in the *In Raphaelem* = CC 0397:[19]

> h 019-029 (The emperor Theodosius) remembered the apparition of the archangel Raphael, who had ordered that a church would be built in the place where the dolphin wanted to seize him, and told me: My father the archbishop, I am realising my negligence in building the shrine of the archangel Raphael that you should build, because I do nothing without your counsel. Then he embarked me in the ship with him and took me to Patres. (...) When we arrived there with the army, the emperor sat in his throne and said to my humility: Lord archbishop, this is the place where the archangel Raphael ordered that I build his shrine. I told him: That the Lord protect your empire, that you accomplish everything according his will, and of the archangel Raphael. Also, in this lagoon the wind is favorable, and if my proposal suits you, we might build a port for the boats first, because it is convenient that your power lead here many boats for the glory of God and his saint archangel Raphael. (...)

17 Balestri - Hyvernat 1955 I, 240-241.
18 Hyvernat 1886-1887, 66-67.
19 Ed. Orlandi 2018.

h 065-066 (Letter of Theodosius) My majesty orders that the place be conveniently arranged for the shrine of Raphael. And the stratelates ordered that the great gifts of the emperor be destined to the completion of the building [*miracles follow during the construction*].

(c) *Collaborators in the construction*

Their mention, together with all the people engaged in the work, is another *locus communis*, as it happens, for instance, in the *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043):[20]

(Constantine writes to John bishop of Ephesus:) For the sake of God then bear thou a little inconvenience, and go to the town of Endike, and administer thy healing medicine of the doctrine of Christ unto those who dwell therein (…) The archbishop took with him a deacon and two presbyters and a reader and three singers and twelve labourers, and priests also. And he took with him everything necessary for the equipment of the baptistery and for service of the altar, and a table of gold, and four vessels of silver which were plated with gold, and some coverings made of pure silk, and the four Gospels, and the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apostolic Epistles (…) The king invited him and brought him into the palace, for as yet no church had been built in the city. And on the morrow the archbishop said unto the king, before everything else let us build a church. (…) And the king made the heralds to summon every man from every part of the city, and ordered them to assemble and to do work, whether archon, or rich man, or poor man, and even the king worked with his own hands (…) And by the Will of God the church was completed in twenty-six days, and the archbishop consecrated the shrine in the name of the holy Theotokos Mary.

Something similar is found in the *In Athanasium* = CC 0108 (CG 5273) and the *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG 3602).

(d) *Destruction of temples connected to the construction of churches*

A good example of this theme is in the *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043):[21]

And within a few days the holy bishop John said unto the king: 'Let us build a church in the name of the holy Archangel Michael, because it is through his supplication that we have all been saved'. And the king said unto him, 'Do whatsoever thou wishest (…)'. And the holy bishop John laid the foundation of a holy church, and all the people of the city rejoiced with him (…) and he finished the church with everything with great zeal, and he put on its roof on the eighth day of the month. And the holy bishop John consecrated it in the name of the holy Archangel Michael (…) And after the dedication the holy bishop John went into the temple with the king, and with all the multitude of the city, and they overthrew it, and burnt the statue of Zeus with fire. (…) And the king made the people to build on the site of the temple a splendid church, and he made them to dedicate it in the name of the Twelve Apostles.

The same happens in the *Passio Macarii* = CC 0285 (BHO 0578) and *Vita Moysis Archimandritae* = CC 0423 (BHO 0777).

(e) *Miracles during the construction*

The best example of this very popular topic is *Miracula Mercurii* = CC 0232 (cf. also the derived work *In Mercurium a* = CC 0002 [CG 3515]), a masterpiece of entertaining literature. After a summary of the martyrdom, there follows a list of miracles, each of them referring to a stage in the construction of the shrine (*martyrion*) in Caesarea. The first concerns the discovery of the relics:[22]

Saint Mercurius put on his arms as a general, with a golden spear in his hand, went to a poor worker who dwelled near the lady who had become blind, and told him with a sweet smile: '(…) if you will do a day of work for me, I shall give you the reward. (…) My corpse is in this city, and also my residence will be there forever. When you will awake next morning, hurry to the street "of the emperor", taking a spade, go to the ruined house, dig at the South of the northern wall three cubits, and you will find my corpse wrapped up in white garments, itself white as snow'.

The second miracle concerns the translation of the relics:[23]

The crowd took counsel: 'Let us take the corpse of the saint martyr in the city'. Others said: 'Perhaps this is not the will of the saint'. And they discussed among themselves. Then the saint moved by himself and went to the street in the direction of the city. Therefore, they took the donkey (…) and put a crown on its head, and loaded the corpse of the saint.

20 Edition and translation Budge 1915, 752-754.

21 Budge 1915, 755 (edition and translation).

22 Orlandi 1976, 65.

23 Orlandi 1976, 71.

The third miracle concerns the collection of the material for the shrine:[24]

> Saint Mercurius appeared to the poor worker like the previous occasion and told him: 'Why do you sleep and did not begin to make bricks for my shrine?'. (... The rich converted) when he heard about that, he glorified God and was not remiss, but he prepared his camels and a lot of carriages, gathered the material, and gave it to the poor man who make the bricks, and also the plow and the animals that he plows the ground.

The fourth miracle concerns the fabrication of the bricks:

> When they began the construction of the sanctuary of saint Mercurius, a pagan officer went to the workers who knead the bricks, because he wanted to build a large hall in his house. He passed near the workers, and began to look at the bricks, until he arrived to the bricks of the saint, and wished to have them in addition to his own. He said to himself: 'I shall take one hundred bricks, and I shall pretend that my men have made them'. (... The pagan after a miracle) shouted: 'Saint Mercurius, saint martyr, forgive my ignorance, and I shall give all my bricks for the construction of your shrine, and all the wood that I shall find'.

The fifth miracle concerns the wood assembled for the furniture:[25]

> When they began to build the *martyrion* of saint Mercurius with great energy, because many were the men who worked to the shrine, it happened that a citizen passed by and saw the wood amassed in front of the door of the sanctuary, wished to have it, and said: 'I need this wood and I shall take it, (... *after a miracle*) a great fear took all those who heard, and nobody ever more went to seize the material belonging to the shrine, until it was finished'. And the man did not stop working to the shrine until it was finished.

The sixth miracle concerns the *iconostasis*:[26]

> After the *martyrion* was happily finished a wooden *kankellon* (scil. iconostasis) was placed (...) They made the entire *hapsis* in very beautiful Persian wood, assembled the people, and raised it. The young workers who were building the shrine said nearly joking: If the heart of saint Mercurius were propitious, because we build his *martyrion*, he might let this wood produce fruits that we can eat, as if it were alive and not cut down. Immediately the wood sent forth some branches covered of beautiful leaves.

The last miracle is a very beautiful story of a young lover who recruits a magician to obtain the favour of his beloved. It includes the description of an *incubatio*, but nothing about the church building.

Similar episodes are also found in the *In Mercurium* = CC 0078 (CG 2969); *In Athanasium* = CC 0108 (CG 5273); *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG 3602); *In Menam* = CC 0181; *In Colluthum* = CC 0214; *Passio Iacobi Persae* = CC 0278 (BHO 0396); *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043); *Miracula Georgii* = CC 0388; *Vita Manasses Archimandritae* = CC 0420 (BHO 0593); and *Relatio Theophili* = CC 0397 (CG2627).

(f) *Conversion of pagans or Jews in relation to the construction* of a church building

Another popular topic, which may be represented by the narrative in the *In 24 Seniores* = CC 0322:[27]

> § 7 (John Chrysostom exiled in Thracia) saw that the people of that city were of a very hard heart (...) Then he went where they performed their ceremonies, and because of his great education and culture, that God has given to him, he at once understood their language and their customs.
>
> § 8 He began to pray God: 'O Lord (...) do not abandon these lost sheep, but lead them to the pen of the safeness. (...) Do not permit that all this city and its people suffer the same fate as Sodom and Gomorrah (...)'.
>
> § 9 God sent a light and, wonderful to say, he himself was luminous and his face emanated rays of light. (... The apostles Peter and John appear)
>
> § 10 Make strong my city, relieve it from the hands of the devil, baptize them under the seal in Christ.
>
> § 11 And he fortified them in the faith and they knew the Lord Jesus Christ. And he built for them a church, ordered a bishop, presbyters, deacons, lectors, cantors, and left the city.

24 ORLANDI 1976, 79.
25 ORLANDI 1976, 85.
26 ORLANDI 1976, 89.
27 CAMPAGNANO - MARESCA - ORLANDI 1977.

Similar episodes are found in *De ecclesia Mariae Virginis* = CC 0073 (CG 2970); *In Mercurium* = CC 0078 (CG 2969); *In Athanasium* = CC 0108 (CG 5273); *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG 3602); *In Menam* = CC 0181, *In Apostolos* = CC 0331 (CG 4281); *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043); *In Raphaelem* = CC 0397 (CG 2627); and *Vita Manasses Archimandritae* = CC 0420 (BHO 0593).

(g) *Consecration of a church by a bishop.*

This is the usual way to inaugurate a new church. An example may be taken from the *De Ecclesia Trium Puerorum* = CC 0392 (CG 2626), where the three saints themselves participate in the ceremony:[28]

> When they had passed the door, under the eyes of the people, they stretched their hands on the lamps and torches and switched them on. (…) I myself entered the sanctuary, let it be arranged in a wonderful way with ivory thrones for the Saints. The Saints entered the shrine and blessed the people, and immediately a multitude of infirm, blind and crippled, recovered. The Saints sit upon their thrones under our eyes, of myself and John [of Lykopolis], while all the clergy and the *philoponoi* remained on the other side of the *hapsis* singing hymns for the Saints. (…) I, Theophilus, was very fortified by the view of the Saints, I provided for the arrangement of the shrine, and I consacrated it on the tenth of Pachons, that is the day when the Saints finished their life.

This topic is found in the *De ecclesia Mariae Virginis* = CC 0073 (CG 2970); *In Crucem* = CC 0120 (CG 3602); *In Michaelem* = CC 0346 (CG 7043); *Vita Manasses Archimandritae* = CC 0420 (BHO 0593); and *Passio Panine et Paneu* = CC 0434.

6. *Conclusions*

Almost all these texts are from the literary period when the imagination of the authors (mostly anonymous, concealed under illustrious names of Church Fathers) prevailed against the historical reality, even the reality known to them through the historical-polemical, instructive texts at their disposal. We cannot trust the names and description of places and events found in the narratives, but it is possible to reconstruct the geography and history in the mind of late Coptic authors, and this may help to form an idea of the relation between texts and places where texts were conceived, kept, and used for liturgy, that is one of the goals of the 'PAThs' enterprise.

On the other hand, this kind of analysis may help to gain a better understanding of the style and structure of the texts, which is still a *desideratum* in the study and appreciation of the Coptic literature. In fact, the study of the use of the various linguistic elements which constitute the style of a text, and justify the meaning that we attribute to them – vocabulary, grammatical structures, syntactic idiosyncrasies – should be established in the framework of the historical collocation of the text itself. Too often we note that the linguistic features are studied without any attention to that collocation, perhaps with the single exception of the biblical translations and of Shenoute' works, whose collocation is reasonably well known.

References

Amélineau 1907-1914 = C.E. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi*, I-II, Paris, 1907-1914.

Balestri - Hyvernat 1907, 1924 = I. Balestri - H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum*, 2 vols. (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 43, 86), Paris, 1907, 1924.

Budge 1915 = E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915.

Buzi 2016 = P. Buzi, "Costantino costruttore, Costantino distruttore: la tradizione letteraria copta", in T. Canella (ed.), *Costantino e i luoghi santi*, Bologna, 2016, pp. 579-593.

Campagnano - Maresca - Orlandi 1977 = A. Campagnano - A. Maresca - T. Orlandi, *Quattro omelie copte. Vita di Giovanni Crisostomo, Encomi dei 24 Vegliardi* (*Ps. Proclo e Anonimo*)*, Encomio di Michele Arcangelo di Eustazio di Tracia* (Testi e documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, Serie Copta, 60), Milano, 1977.

28 Ed. de Vis 1929, II, 154-156.

CAMPAGNANO 1980 = A. CAMPAGNANO, *Ps. Cirillo di Gerusalemme. Omelie copte sulla Passione, sulla Croce e sulla Vergine* (Testi e documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, Serie Copta, 65), Milano, 1980.

DE VIS 1922, 1929 = H. DE VIS, *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane. Texte copte publié et traduit* (Coptica, 1, 5), 2 vols., Kobenhavn 1922-1929 (repr. Louvain - Paris, 1990 = Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte, 5-6).

DRESCHER 1946 = J. DRESCHER, *Apa Mena. A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas* (Textes et Documents), Le Caire, 1946.

EMMEL 2004 = S. EMMEL, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia, 111-112), Lovanii, 2004.

HYVERNAT 1886-1887 = H. HYVERNAT, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte tirés des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia*', Paris, 1886-1887.

LEIPOLDT 1903 = J. LEIPOLDT, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (TU, 25.1), Leipzig, 1903.

MÜLLER 1954a = C.G.D. MÜLLER, *Die alte koptische Predigt. Versuch eines Überblicks*, Heidelberg, 1954.

MÜLLER 1954b = C.G.D. MÜLLER, "Einige Bemerkungen zur 'ars praedicandi' der alten koptischen Kirche", *Le Muséon* 67, 1954, pp. 231-270.

MÜLLER 1996 = C.G.D. MÜLLER, "Charakteristika koptischer Exegese an ausgewählten Beispielen", in G. SCHÖLGEN - C. SCHOLTEN (eds.), *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum : Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, Münster, 1996, pp. 200-209.

ORLANDI 1989 = T. ORLANDI, "Shenoute d'Atripe", in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, XIV, coll. 797-804, Paris, 1989.

ORLANDI 1991a = T. ORLANDI, "Literature", in A.S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, V, 1991, pp. 1450b-1460a.

ORLANDI 1991b = T. ORLANDI, "Cycle", in A.S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, New York, I-VIII, 1991, II, pp. 666a-668b.

ORLANDI 1997 = T. ORLANDI, "Letteratura copta e cristianesimo nazionale egiziano", in A. CAMPLANI (ed.), *L'Egitto cristiano. Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 56), Roma, 1997, pp. 39-120.

ORLANDI 2016 = T. ORLANDI, "Coptic", in D.L. SELDEN - P. VASUNIA (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Literatures of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 2016.

ORLANDI 2018 = T. ORLANDI, *Encomium in Raphaelem archangelum* (*Relatio Theophili*), *attributed to Cyril of Alexandria or Theophilus of Alexandria*. Text, Latin translation, and diplomatic edition of the codices. Digital Edition (CMCL publications = http://cmcl.it/~cmcl/cc0397.pdf), 2018.

ORLANDI - DI GIUSEPPE 1976 = T. ORLANDI - S. DI GIUSEPPE, *Passione e miracoli di S. Mercurio*' (Testi e documenti, Serie copta, 54), Milano, 1976.

SAWEROS 2017 = I. SAWEROS, "On Tito Orlandi's Concept of «Cycle»", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, 56, 2017, pp. 139-152.

SCHROEDER 2004 = C.T. SCHROEDER, "A Suitable Abode for Christ": The Church Building as Symbol of Ascetic Renunciation in Early Monasticism', *Church History*, 73.3, 2004, pp. 472-521.

Scribes and Scripts in the Library of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou. Two Case Studies*

Francesco Valerio – Sapienza Università di Roma

BIBLIOTHECAE
APOSTOLICAE
VATICANAE
D.D.D.

Abstract
The present paper takes into account the codicological and palaeographical features of some Coptic codices belonging to the library of the Phantoou Monastery. The first part of the paper is devoted to the codices New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M592 (= CLM 222) and M602 (= CLM 225): they are demonstrated to be twin volumes, written by the same scribe and intended as a coherent set containing a collection of texts dedicated to the same subject (Saint Michael). The second part of the paper is focused on three more Phantoou manuscripts now preserved in the Morgan Library: M583 (= CLM 241), M595 (= CLM 243) and M591 (= CLM 228), all of them hagiographic and homiletic miscellanies. They are demonstrated to have been written by three scribes, in some way connected to each other. The first scribe, named Epima, copied M583 (dated to 848CE) and the first part of M595; the second scribe, named Apa Kyrillos, completed M595 (dated to 855CE) after Epima's death and, then, copied M591 (dated to 861CE) with the assistance of the third scribe, named Apa Kyri.

Keywords
Phantoou Monastery, parchment codices, palaeography, codicology, scribes.

1. *Introduction*

The so-called Phantoou (or Hamuli) manuscripts are a group of about 60 parchment codices, discovered in the spring of 1910 by local farmers in the ruins of a monastery, near the present-day village of al-Ḥāmūlī (which is located in the extreme West of the Fayyūm).[1] The colophons preserved in some of these manuscripts revealed that the monastery was dedicated to the Archangel Michael and that the ancient name of the place was Phantoou.[2]

As is well known, after the discovery the lot was dismembered and sold to local antiquities dealers. Yet, through the efforts of Émile Chassinat (1868-1948) and Henri Hyvernat (1858-1941), it was for the most part reassembled and, in December 1911, purchased by J.P. Morgan sr. (1837-1913) through the agency of the Paris dealer Arthur Sambon. Only a few codices and some scattered quires and leaves had escaped the control of Chassinat and Hyvernat and, in the following months and years, found their way to the Egyptian Museum (and then to the Coptic Museum) in Cairo and to various manuscripts collections in Europe and America. However, in February 1912, some detached leaves belonging to three manuscripts already purchased by Morgan from Sambon (i.e. CLM 231, 232, 239) were acquired in Cairo by Hyvernat, on behalf of Morgan himself. In June 1912, after a brief stay in New York, the manuscripts purchased from Sambon and the additional leaves recovered by Hyvernat were transferred to the Vati-

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it.

1 In the present paper, the Phantoou manuscripts are referred to only by their CLM (= Coptic Literary Manuscript) number, introduced by the 'PAThs' project. Table 1 provides a complete concordance of BPM volumes, CMCL *sigla*, shelfmarks and so on. The dates, if not otherwise stated, are intended as CE.

2 See Timm 1984-1992, IV, 1917-1921, *s.v.* 'Phantoou'; Depuydt 1993, ciii-cxii.

can Library in order to be restored and remained there for more than ten years, before finding their final dwelling place in Morgan's private library (now Morgan Library and Museum), in New York. The lengthy process of restoration was accomplished by the staff of the Vatican Library, mainly by the brothers Augusto (1863-1914) and Enrico Castellani (1874-1923), under the supervision of Franz Ehrle (1845-1934), Paul Liebaert (1883-1915), Eugène Tisserant (1884-1972), Adolphe Hebbelynck (1859-1939) and Hyvernat himself. Moreover, during the restoration, 12 copies of a lavish photographic facsimile of the codices (including most of the items preserved in the other collections) were prepared at Morgan's expense by the photographer Pompeo Sansaini (1865-1936) and presented to important libraries in Europe, Egypt and America.[3]

The Phantoou library, as has come down to us, contains 9 biblical codices,[4] 2 liturgical collections,[5] and about 50 hagiographic and homiletic codices, for the most part miscellaneous.[6] However, it is almost certain that, despite the wide range of texts represented in the extant codices, what we possess is only a part of the original library: indeed, 'there is not a single copy of the Old Testament Psalms among the surviving works', and this is the clearest proof 'that we are surely not in possession of the complete library holdings, for it is unimaginable that any Coptic monastic library was without at least one copy of the Psalter'.[7]

Many codices, as we have said, are equipped with colophons, often dated. The earliest dated one is of the year 822/823 (CLM 237), the latest one of the year 913/914 (CLM 233): nearly a century of book production (it would appear that the monastery was abandoned after 914).[8] From the bibliological point of view, the collection is quite homogeneous: all the codices are written in Ṣaʿīdic dialect,[9] the format is large (about 250 × 350 mm), the layout is in 2 columns, the script is the bimodular Alexandrian majuscule for the texts and the sloping majuscule for the titles,[10] the paragraphs are marked with enlarged initials in *ekthesis* and special signs (like *diplai*, *coronides*, *obeloi*),[11] the decoration is pervasive and often very elaborate

3 The whole story has been reconstructed in detail by DEPUYDT 1993, lvi-lxix (§ 1), lxx (§ 3.i). An overview on the Phantoou manuscripts and fragments preserved in collections other than the Morgan Library is provided *ibid.* lxxxii-lxxxix (Appendix, §§ 1-7). On the Vatican restoration works and the preparation of the facsimile edition, see also: TISSERANT 1950; LAURENT 1962, 34-36, 120-128; LAURENT 1964; F. D'AIUTO, in D'AIUTO - VIAN 2011, 437-438. The material relating to the restoration (letters, reports, invoices and so on) is stored in the Vatican Library under the shelfmark 'Archivio Biblioteca 184-185' and will be published by the present writer in the next issue of the *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*.

4 See CLM 203-205 (Old Testament), 206-210 (New Testament), 212 (Lectionary). Another Biblical codex of the Phantoou library was CLM 4379, acquired in Berlin in 1936 from Carl Schmidt (1868-1938), who had bought it in Luxor, and perished in the Leuven University Library fire in May 1940: it was identified by LEFORT 1937, 5-6, 9-11, as the twin volume of CLM 203, with which it formed a two-volume Pentateuch (CLM 4379 containing Genesis and Exodus, 203 Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy). However, the association with the Phantoou library of the Greek-Coptic Lectionary CLM 211 is extremely doubtful: indeed, it is not part of the Sambon purchase (it was acquired in 1912 by Morgan himself in Cairo: see TISSERANT 1950, 227; DEPUYDT 1993, lxix [§ 2]), and certainly, from the codicological and palaeographical point of view, it is completely inconsistent with the other manuscripts in the collection (see below, n. 12).

5 CLM 213 (CC 0786, *Hermeneiai*; 0788, *Hymns and Odes*) and 214 (CC 0782, *Antiphonae*; 0786, *Hermeneiai*). Both are witness of the utmost importance for the study of Coptic liturgy: see now ATANASSOVA 2014, respectively 50-51 (§ 2.1) and 52 (§ 2.2).

6 See CLM 215-249, 251-255, 1315, 1847. Of the 'doubtful claimants' (i.e. the codices which were not part of the Sambon purchase, just like CLM 211, discussed below, n. 12), (a) CLM 250, 256, 257, 258 and 1450 were purchased in 1916 by F.W. Kelsey (1858-1927) on behalf of J.P. Morgan jr. (1867-1943), through the agency of D.L. Askren, who reported that he had acquired these manuscripts in the Fayyūm; yet Morgan declined the purchase of CLM 1450 (as it contains the same work as CLM 254, i.e. CC 0638, Ps.Shenoute's *On Christian Behaviour*, it was considered as a duplicate) and the manuscript, after numerous changes of ownership, was finally acquired in 1961 by the British Library (see DEPUYDT 1993, lxxiv-lxxxvi [§ 5]); (b) CLM 259 was acquired for the British Museum by Sir E.A. Wallis Budge (1857-1934), from an unspecified source, in April 1911, 'shortly after the discovery of the Hamuli find' (see DEPUYDT 1993, lxix n. 74). Like the manuscripts of the Sambon purchase, CLM 211, 250 and 256-258 were also transferred to the Vatican Library to be restored, and CLM 211 and 250 were even included in the facsimile edition.

7 EMMEL 2005, 64.

8 See DEPUYDT 1993, cxv and n. 86; NAKANO 2006, 151.

9 Usually with more or less marked Fayyūmic nuances. Only CLM 224 contains a text in a 'pure' Fayyūmic dialect (CC 0488, *The Book of the Investiture of the Archangel Michael*).

10 Only the text of the two liturgical collections (CLM 213 and 214) is written in a single column and entirely in sloping majuscule (on which see BOUD'HORS 1997). Indeed, this seems to be the typical layout of these kinds of work, as is confirmed by numerous manuscripts of similar content, like (e.g.) CLM 1635 = Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, P. 4567A, CLM 3083 = Berlin, Staatliche Museen, P. 8115 + 8099, CLM 3087 = Berlin, Staatliche Museen, P. 9287. See also n. 12.

11 On the paragraph marks in Coptic manuscripts, see the pivotal study of PETERSEN 1954, who has fixed the standard terminology (but see n. 31).

(frontispieces, headpieces, tailpieces, initials, quire and page ornaments, phytomorphic or zoomorphic ornaments, often combined). However, despite the aesthetic concern that clearly governed the realisation of these volumes, the parchment used is always of very poor quality: irregular margins, holes, eyes, sewing repairs, bifolia made of two juxtaposed singletons with stub, are customary features of every Phantoou manuscript.[12]

To be sure, these features are common to all the coeval codices in Ṣaʿīdic dialect, belonging to other monastic libraries of Upper Egypt and, in part, to the Scetiote codices in Boḥairic dialect as well. Yet, the importance of the Phantoou library lies in the fact that it is the only Coptic monastic library of the synaxarial epoch that has come down to us virtually in its entirety and which has provided us with a good deal of complete codices, often preserving their original bindings.[13] Thus, this collection is an invaluable piece of evidence for the study of all the material features of the Coptic synaxarial book.[14] Moreover, the colophons allow these features to be located in a reasonably precise geographical and chronological context.

However, a comprehensive bibliological study of the Phantoou library has not been attempted so far. After the publication of the facsimile edition, Coptic scholars directed their attention mainly to the texts, many of which had been edited and translated. The bibliological features, on the other hand, have not been taken into account in a systematic way.[15] Of course, we have to acknowledge the important research of Arnold van Lantschoot (on colophons, yet very sensitive to palaeographical matters), Viktor Stegemann (on palaeography), Theodore Petersen (on decoration, paragraph marks and bindings), Maria Cramer and Julien Leroy (on decoration), and above all of Leo Depuydt, the author of a full scale catalogue of the Morgan Coptic codices, which can be regarded as a masterpiece in the art of manuscript cataloguing, not only in the field of Coptic studies.[16]

Now, in the framework of the 'PAThs' project, I have been charged with a fresh study of the Phantoou Library, in order to dress the relevant catalogue entries in the database of the project. For this purpose, I have not been able to see the original manuscripts but, on one side, I have taken into account all the bibliography known to me (above all Depuydt's catalogue, which is essential for the codicological data, like the composition of the quires and the measures), and, on the other, I have checked page by page every volume of the facsimile edition, concentrating myself especially on palaeographical matters, which seemed to me the issue most in need of a new and systematic review.[17] The resulting catalogue entries, which are now offered for the attention of the scholarly world, being included in an online database, have the primary advantage of being easily searchable and accessible, but I hope that they will also offer some new insights and elements.

As for the present paper, it is intended as a by-product of the online catalogue and is focused on two case studies, which have seemed worthy of a detailed treatment.

12 The only exception is the already mentioned CLM 211, written on a very fine parchment (as noted by Depuydt 1993, 84 n. 2). Moreover, (a) the script of this codex is a 'mixed style' (on which see Orsini 2019, 24, 33), that only in f. 19v, 20r, 21r verges towards the Biblical majuscule (i.e. one notices pointed ⲁ, 4-strokes ⲙ and tall ⲩ), though the hand seems to be the same (a similar fluctuation of a single hand between the mixed style and the Biblical majuscule can be observed elsewhere, e.g. in the White Monastery fragment CLM 993 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarendon Press B52, CC 0212, Horsiesi's *Rules*); (b) the bimodular Alexandrian majuscule is used only for the titles; (c) the enlarged initials as paragraph mark do not occur in a consistent way. All these features make CLM 211 at odds with the other Phantoou codices and strongly suggest that it was drafted in an earlier phase of Coptic book production (presumably the seventh-eighth centuries) and therefore that it was not part of the Phantoou library.

13 On the importance of the study of Coptic bindings, see Eliana dal Sasso in the present volume.

14 See also Emmel 2005, 67.

15 See also Emmel 2005, 70 n. 17: 'A scholarly desideratum is a systematic description of the codicology of the Phantoou manuscripts'.

16 See van Lantschoot 1929; Stegemann 1936; Petersen 1954; Cramer 1964a and 1964b; Leroy 1974; Depuydt 1993 (with an album of photographic plates: Depuydt - Loggie 1993).

17 I have relied on the Vatican set of the facsimile edition, the first one to be produced, which was presented on October 27th, 1922, to Pope Pius XI by J.P. Morgan jr. and Hyvernat, and is now stored in the Vatican Library under the shelfmark 'Manoscritti fotografati 1-56' (see Tisserant 1950, 227; Laurent 1964, 558 n. 34; Depuydt 1993, lxi-lxii; F. D'Aiuto, in D'Aiuto - Vian 2011, 437-438). Useful collections of facsimiles are provided by Stegemann 1936, Cramer 1964a and 1964b, Leroy 1974 and above all by Depuydt - Loggie 1993. A sample of (low resolution) images is available for each manuscript in the Morgan Library and Museum website, http://ica.themorgan.org/.

2. *A two-volume collection of homilies 'delivered on the day of the great Michael Archangel, supreme commander of the forces of the heaven'*[18] (*CLM 222 and 225*)

The first case study is represented by two manuscripts, both containing a collection of homilies, attributed to various authors, in honour of Saint Michael Archangel: CLM 222[19] and 225.[20] I will argue that both were written by the same hand, on the same occasion, and were conceived as twin volumes, as a coherent set containing a wide-ranging collection of texts dedicated to the same subject: Saint Michael – a subject not out of place in the Library of a Monastery dedicated to Him.

First of all, we may consider the codicological features of the two codices: leaf and writing frame dimensions, as well as page layout and format of the script, are exactly the same.[21]

Secondly, the two manuscripts display the same kind of ordering system. To be sure, quire signatures and page numbers are common features of Coptic codices and, as regards the signatures, they are usually inscribed, like here, in the top-inner margin of the first and last page of each quire. What is more significant in CLM 222 and CLM 225 is the pagination system: in the Ṣaʿīdic manuscripts of the synaxarial epoch (from the White Monastery, from Saint Mercurius, as well as from the Phantoou Library itself), the pagination is usually inscribed in the top-outer margin of all pages. However, in the two manuscripts we are dealing with, the page numbers are expressed only on the first page of each quire and on the verso pages. This is the usual pagination system of the coeval codices in Boḥairic dialect, produced in the Scetiote monasteries,[22] but it is fairly rare among Ṣaʿīdic codices.[23] Moreover, we may observe that, in our two manuscripts, both the signatures and the page numbers are decorated with the same decorative frame: an inverted *cul-de-lampe* above the signature or number and a horizontal rule below.[24] Finally, in both manuscripts there is no continuous pagination from the first to the last page, as the numbering starts again from 1 at the beginning of each work (or of a group of works).[25]

---

18 ⲟⲩⲉⲝⲏⲅⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲥ (...) ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲛⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧϭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ (title of CC 0220 = CC T0140-I, Macarius of Tkoou, *Homily on Saint Michael Archangel*: CLM 222, f. 27v).

19 Description and bibliography: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/222. Contents: (1) John Chrysostom, *Homily on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0483); (2) Gregory Nazianzenus, *Homily on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0193); (3) Basil of Cesarea, *First Homily on Saint Michael Archangel delivered at Lasike* (CC 0082); (4) Basil of Cesarea, *Second Homily on Saint Michael Archangel delivered at Lasike* (CC 0083); (5) Macarius of Tkoou, *Homily on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0220); (6) Severus of Antioch, *Homily on the Mercifulness of God and the Freedom of Speech of Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0346 – end missing); (7) ?, *Homily on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0158 – beginning missing); (8) Eustathius of Thrace, *Encomium on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0148); (9) colophon (f. 72v). The editions of nos. 1-5 and 8 are listed by DEPUYDT 1993, 231-234. Nos. 6 and 7 are still unpublished, though a parallel text of no. 6, preserved in CLM 259*, had been published in 1915 by Budge (see DEPUYDT 1993, 233) and no. 7 has been partly translated into English by SHEPARDSON 1998.

20 Description and bibliography: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/225. Contents: (0) frontispiece (f. i v = DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plate 30); (1) Peter of Alexandria, *Homily on the Riches and on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0311 – central part missing); (2) Severian of Gabala, *Homily on Matthew 24.45-25.30 delivered in the Shrine of Saint Michael* (CC 0333); (3) Severian of Gabala, *Homily on Matthew 25.31-33 delivered in the Shrine of Saint Michael* (CC 0334); (4) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Homily on Leviticus 21.9 and 19.22 and on Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0056); (5) Severian of Gabala, *Homily delivered in the Shrine of Saint Michael Archangel* (CC 0332); (6) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Encomium on SS. Michael and Gabriel Archangel* (CC 0059); (7) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Homily on Murder and Greed, and on Saint Michael the Archangel* (CC 0048). No. 1 has been published by PEARSON - VIVIAN 1993, 41-61, 64-67 (text), 95-144 (translation); no. 4 by WITTE 2002-2009, I 110-211 (text and translation), II (commentary); nos. 6 and 7 by SAWEROS 2019, respectively I 3-15 (text), II 1-12 (translation) and I 17-40 (text), II 13-32 (translation). The other texts (nos. 2, 3, 5), to the best of my knowledge, are still unpublished.

21 See Table 2.

22 See VALERIO 2019, 18-19.

23 Of the four instances quoted for comparison by DEPUYDT 1993, 230 n. 2, the only relevant one is CLM 837 = London, British Library, Or. 9035.4 (a single leaf, from the Wadi Sarga excavations, paginated on verso ϥⲇ), while, on the one hand, CLM 45 = Torino, Museo Egizio, cat. 63000, cod. I, and CLM 1709 = London, British Library, Or. 3581B.25, are foliated (not paginated) and, on the other, in CLM 6377 = London, British Library, Or. 6954.49 the pagination is not actually preserved (in the related fragments from the same White Monastery codicological unit, it is regularly expressed on recto and verso). Compare instead, from the White Monastery, CLM 1770 = Cairo, IFAO 315-322 (a complete quaternion paginated on the first page and on the verso pages: see BACOT 2001, 36) and CLM 388 = CMCL MONB.FO (fragmentary manuscript paginated only on the verso pages: see BOUD'HORS 2011, 107 and n. 28; see also n. 25).

24 Sometimes, the page numbers are decorated also with a wavy line, or a dot, to the right and the left. On the *cul-de-lampe* as a decorative feature of Coptic manuscripts, see LEROY 1974, 62-64.

25 The very same system is attested in the already mentioned CLM 388 = MONB.FO (see BOUD'HORS 2011, 105 and n. 23), as well as in CLM 285 = MONB.AY (see SUCIU 2014, 207 n. 44).

This feature becomes evident if we take a look at the stratigraphy of the two codices. Let us start with CLM 225:[26] it is formed by 15 quires, regularly signed from 1 to 15.[27] Quire 1 is a quinion, the first leaf of which contains the canonical frontispiece (an interlace cross).[28] Quires 2-14 are quaternions, while the last quire only has 5 leaves: a regular quaternion would have been too much for the remaining text, therefore it has been shortened (this is of course a standard device, not only of Coptic codices). If we compare the sequence of the texts and of the quires, it is evident that the end of a work never occurs at the end of a quire: see for instance quire 12, where a new text starts on the penultimate page of the quire! This proves beyond any doubt that the codex was produced as a single codicological unit. Yet, if we look at the page numbers, we note that each work is provided with its own pagination, starting again from 1 (although the first number expressed is usually 2, or even 3).

Now, exactly the same stratigraphy can be found in CLM 222, although the codex has lost 8 quires in the central part, the existence of which is proved by a gap in the quire signatures, from 4 to 11.[29] However, taking into account even the lost quires, the core of CLM 222 appears to have been formed of 15 quires, signed from 1 to 15, just like CLM 225 – although in this case they are all regular quaternions. Like CLM 225, CLM 222 was also conceived as a single codicological unit, because the end of a work never occurs at the end of a quire – but, at the same time, each work (or, in a single instance, a set of 3 consecutive works) is paginated on its own. Yet, the 15 quires of CLM 222, which can be regarded as the original codicological unit, have been expanded by means of two additional quires, collocated before the original first quire. The structure itself of these quires (now first and second quire of the codex) is the clearest proof of their later origin: each of them contains a single work and is formed by a series of bifolia and a single leaf at the end (quire 1 is a 'ternion plus singleton', quire 2 a 'quaternion plus singleton'); in both cases, the singleton was added in order to complete the transcription of the text without starting a new quire; both quires have their own pagination; the first is signed 1 on the last page only, while the second has no signature at all. To sum up, both were conceived and copied separately after the transcription of the quires signed 1-15, and were intended as supplements to the original book-block.

Now, after having investigated the codicological side of the manuscripts CLM 222 and CLM 225, it is time to turn to palaeography. Not surprisingly, both of them (including the additional quires of CLM 222) have been written by the same hand. The writing can be classified as a bimodular Alexandrian majuscule, that is the standard script of the Ṣaʿīdic synaxarial codices. Yet, the hand of our two manuscripts is somewhat peculiar, as it is not round, like the canonical Alexandrian majuscule, but rather squared – one could call it a 'geometric hand'. Note especially, in *beta*, the triangular lower loop; in *epsilon*, the middle stroke which is not horizontal, but oblique; the squared shape of *my* and *omega*, as well as of the loop of *phi*, which is open in the upper part; the triangular shape of *chima*, which ends in a very extended upper stroke.[30] In both manuscripts, the punctuation is expressed by one or two raised dots followed by a space, the paragraphs are marked with an enlarged initial in *ekthesis* and a zeta-shaped *coronis*.[31] The titles are written, as usual, in sloping majuscule and, in this case as well, the hand is clearly the same.[32]

In conclusion, after having considered the textual and the bibliological features, there remains to examine only a piece of historical evidence, which we are lucky enough to possess. On the last page of CLM 222 (f. 72v) there is a colophon, unfortunately fragmentary, as the last leaves of the manuscript are damaged.[33] It informs us that the codex was donated specifically to the Monastery of Saint Michael. Therefore, we are entitled to suppose that also CLM 225 followed the same path. Moreover, after the traditional

26 See Table 3.

27 Some signatures are not preserved, due to material reasons (many leaves are damaged) and an entire quire, the second one, is missing, but its existence can be deduced from the missing pagination ⲓⲑ-ⲗⲇ (f. 9v is paginated ⲓⲏ, f. 10r ⲗⲉ).

28 On this decorative feature of Coptic manuscripts, see Leroy 1974, 57-61.

29 See Table 4.

30 Just compare Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plates 221-226 (from CLM 225) and 227-230 (from CLM 222).

31 The term 'zeta-shaped *coronis*', based on the terminology established by Petersen 1954 (esp. 297) and employed throughout by Depuydt 1993 (see cii [§ XI.6]), has recently been questioned by Albrecht - Matera 2017, who suggest labelling this sign as '*paragraphos* a coda ondulata' (wavy-tailed *paragraphos*). However, I prefer to follow the established terminology.

32 Compare Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plates 87-93 (from CLM 225) and 94-99 (from CLM 222).

33 Editions of the colophon: van Lantschoot 1929, I/1, 56 (no. XXXIII); A. Soldati, https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/20 (with English translation).

dedication in Coptic, the scribe has penned his name, in Greek and in a Greek cursive minuscule, which would delight every student of Greek palaeography.[34] Here too the text is fragmentary, but it is very probable that the name of the scribe was Markos ('Markos the calligrapher'), and that he worked in the very same monastery of Phantoou, if we accept Timm's attractive restoration of the last word.[35]

The date, if it was expressed in the colophon, is not preserved. The dates of the other Phantoou codices entitle us to assign (at least in broader terms) the transcription of these two manuscripts to between the second quarter of the nineth century and the beginning of the tenth.[36] However, it can be observed that the general appearance of CLM 222 and CLM 225 is fairly archaic: I mean the style of the script, sober and angular (a *strenger Styl*, one could say); the simple paragraph marks; the moderately enlarged, and rarely decorated, initials; the decorative interlaces. These are all common features of the earliest dated codices from Phantoou, which are dated within the first half of the nineth century.[37] Therefore, I am inclined to assign to the same period CLM 222 and CLM 225, as well as other undated Phantoou codices displaying similar features.[38]

To sum up, I think it can be taken for granted that CLM 222 and CLM 225 have been written by the same scribe and conceived as a set of twin volumes, to be donated to the library of the Phantoou monastery. Furthermore, the stratigraphy of the two codices in my opinion allows the following chronology of their composition to be sketched: CLM 225, which is introduced by an ornamental frontispiece, was intended as the first volume, while CLM 222, which ends with the colophon, acted as the second volume. After the conclusion of the copy, two more texts on Saint Michael became available to the scribe, who copied them in separate quires and decided to enrich his collection by putting them in front of the second volume.

3. *Epima and friends* (*CLM 241, 243 and 228*)

The second case study is represented by three manuscripts, all of them hagiographic and homiletic miscellanies, dated *ad diem*, written in the Phantoou monastery and donated to its library: CLM 241, 243 and 228. As we shall see, they have been written by a group of scribes connected in some way to each other: indeed, to describe their relationship, one would even be tempted to use Gugliemo Cavallo's definition of 'circolo di scrittura'.[39]

The earliest of the three is CLM 241, containing 9 hagiographic texts.[40] Its stratigraphy is quite simple: we may identify two units of production, the first one comprising three works in 8 quires (ff. 1r-58v), the second one six works (and the colophon) in 15 quires (ff. 59r–173v). The quires are all quaternions, except the last quire of each unit, which, as usual, is a shortened quire.[41] Each unit is provided with a separate set of quire signatures and page numbers.[42] However, both units have been copied by

34 The use of Greek cursive minuscule in Coptic manuscripts of the synaxarial epoch (especially in colophons and memorial notes) has of course not gone unnoticed so far: see the Phantoou manuscripts CLM 229 and 251 and the Scetiote examples collected by Crum 1939 (the present writer hopes to devote in the near future a special study to this phenomenon).

35 The text of the Greek subscription runs as follows:]ρκου καλιοκράφου ἐλ(α)χ(ίστου) τῆς ἁγίας ἐγλησίας [.....]ω. The beginning has been easily restored by van Lantschoot 1929, I/1, 56 as [δι'ἐμοῦ Μά]ρκου, while the last word has been restored as [Φαντο]ω by Timm 1984-1992, IV, 1918.

36 See above, § 1.

37 See CLM 237 (822/823), 229 (842), 251 (844), 241 (848), 243 (855), 228 (861).

38 See CLM 203 and 4379 (see above, n. 4), 206, 217, 246, 252, 1315.

39 See Cavallo 2001, 605-611 (§ 3), 616-622 (§ 5); Cavallo 2004.

40 Description and bibliography: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/241. Contents: (1) Archelaus of Neapolis, *Encomium on Saint Gabriel Archangel* (CC 0045, ff. 1r-16v); (2) *Martyrdom of Saint Psote* (CC 0433, ff. 17r-23v); (3) Theodosius of Alexandria, *Encomium on Saint John Baptist* (CC 0386, ff. 23v-58v); (4) *Martyrdom of SS. Theodore the Anatolian, Leontius the Arab, and Panigerus the Persian* (CC 0437, ff. 59r-75r); (5) *Martyrdom of Saint Philotheus of Antioch* (CC 0296, ff. 75r-102v); (6) *Martyrdom of Staint Shenoufe and Brethren* (CC 0302; ff. 103r-138v); (7) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Homily on the Virgin Mary* (CC 0119, ff. 139r-157r); (8) Pambo of Scetis, *Life of Saint Hilaria* (CC 0247, ff. 157r-167v); (9) *Martyrdom of SS. Apaioule and Pteleme* (CC 0258, ff. 168r-173v); (10) colophon (f. 173v). Nos. 1 and 4 have just been published by Müller - Uljas 2019, respectively part III and part II. The other works are all edited, except no. 5, which will be published by N. Kouremenos (see the detailed list of the editions in Depuydt 1993, 325-329 and in Müller - Uljas 2019, 190).

41 A bifolium at the end of unit 1 (ff. 57=58); a singleton with stub (f. 171) and a bifolium (ff. 172=173) at the end of unit 2.

42 The quires are signed ⲁ-ⲏ and ⲁ-ⲓⲉ, on the first and the last page, in the top-inner corner of the page. Each signature is decorated with a single or double horizontal rule (reddened) above and below. The pages are numbered ⲁ-ⲣⲓⲋ and ⲁ-ⲥⲕⲑ, in the top-outer

the same scribe, who uses a fairly ordinary Alexandrian majuscule for the text and a slightly irregular sloping majuscule for the titles. The punctuation is expressed by a medium dot (sometimes reddened) followed by a space. The paragraphs are marked with an enlarged initial in *ekthesis* and a reddened budded *coronis*.[43] The most striking feature of this manuscript is its ornamentation: the copyist has decorated the margins of many leaves with a rich gallery of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic miniatures: portraits of the Archangel Gabriel, of various saints, of the Virgin, as well as birds, lions, rabbits, gazelles.[44] Such artistic vein – quite amateurish, one must confess –[45] is also accompanied by a certain amount of selfconsciousness, as the copyist did record his name not only in the proper place, that is the colophon, but also in various prayers and signatures, inscribed at the end of some works, and even in two ornamental frames decorating the extended letters in the first line of two pages.[46] His name (at least there is no uncertainty about it!) was Epima, who served as monk in the Phantoou monastery, where the transcription of the codex was completed on the 13th day of Mechir in the year of the Martyrs 564, that is on February 7th, 848.[47]

Next, we may consider CLM 243, which contains 10 homilies of various authors to be read at Eastertide.[48] The codex is composed of 18 quaternions and one binion, signed and paginated continuously.[49] Yet, the impression that we are dealing with a single codicological unit is contradicted by the presence of two hands in the manuscript: hand 1 has copied quires 1-8 (ff. 1r–64v), hand 2 quires 9-19 (ff. 65r–148v). Hand 2 starts his work at the beginning of a new quire, but within a single work, the *Homily on the Resurrection* attributed to John Chrysostom (CC 0167), which starts on the sixth page of quire 7 (f. 51v) and ends on the sixth page of quire 9 (f. 67v): therefore, it is clear that the two scribes did not work together simultaneously on different parts of the same codex, but rather that the second scribe continued and completed a piece of work started by the first scribe.[50]

This hypothesis is reinforced by a closer inspection both of the hands and of the colophon that concludes the manuscript. As regards the hands, the first scribe appears to be none other than Epima, the scribe of CLM 241: the identification is proved not only by the script of text, titles and numbers, and by the

corner of the page (though with some errors and inconsistencies: details in the 'PAThs' catalogue entry, quoted above n. 40). Each number is decorated with a reddened horizontal rule above and below.

43 The budded *coronis* is replaced by a branch-shaped *coronis* in ff. 30v, 31r, 40v, 112v, 149v, 152r, 170v.

44 See Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plates 146, 154, 265, 266, 268, 270, 297-304, 319a, 319c-d, 323c-d (details in the 'PAThs' catalogue entry, quoted above n. 40).

45 See also Petersen 1954, 313-314.

46 The scribe's prayers and signatures are collected and published by van Lantschoot 1929, I/1, 12-13 (no. VI.1-5, 7-8, where the shelfmark is wrongly reported as M588 instead of M583) and by A. Soldati, https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/104 (with English translation). See also Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plates 147, 265, 268, 269. The decorative frames containing the scribe's name can be found in ff. 133r and 135r, in the first line of the second column of each page: the vertical strokes of the ⲁ and ⲱ of ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ (f. 133r) and of the ϯ and ⲁ of ϯⲛⲁⲁⲛⲉϫⲉ (f. 135r) are extended towards the upper margin and joined with various zigzag lines, the name being inscribed in the frame formed by the lines themselves.

47 Editions of the colophon: van Lantschoot 1929, I/1, 10-12 (no. V); A. Soldati, https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/13 (with English translation). See also Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plate 270.

48 Description and bibliography: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/243. Contents: (1) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Homily II on the Passion* (CC 0114, ff. 1r-27v); (2) Euodius of Rome, *Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection* (CC 0149, ff. 28r–51r); (3) John Chrysostom, *Homily on the Resurrection and on the Apostles* (CC 0167, ff. 51v–67v); (4) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Homily III on the Passion* (CC 0116, ff. 68r–79r); (5) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Homily I on the Passion* (CC 0115, ff. 79r–93v); (6) Cyril of Jerusalem, *Homily IV on the Passion* (CC 0117, ff. 93v-100r); (7) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Homily on the Passion and the Judgement* (CC 0051, ff. 100v–108r); (8) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Homily on the Resurrection of Lazarus* (CC 0049, ff. 108r-118r); (9) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Homily on Pentecost* (CC 0052, ff. 118v–140v); (10) Theophilus of Alexandria, *Homily on the Cross and the Good Thief* (CC 0395, ff. 141r–148r); (11) colophon (f. 148r–v). The editions of nos. 2-4 and 6-8 are listed by Depuydt 1993, 346-348; no. 9 has been just published by Saweros 2019, I 57-82 (text), II 49-74 (translation); no. 10 has been published by Suciu 2012, 201-215 (text), 215-225 (translation); nos. 1 and 5, as far as I know, are still unpublished (but see van den Broek 2013, respectively 81-87 [§ 4], 87-92 [§ 5]).

49 The quires are signed ⲁ-ⲓⲑ, on the first and the last page, in the top-inner corner of the page. The pages are numbered ⲁ-ⲥϥⲍ, in the top-outer corner of the page (though with some errors and inconsistencies: details in the 'PAThs' catalogue entry, quoted above n. 48).

50 The difference between the hands is manifest even in the quire signatures and page numbers. Hand 1 uses small letters in Alexandrian majuscule, decorated with a reddened horizontal rule above and below (only in ff. 24v–26v, signatures and numbers are decorated with an inverted *cul-de-lampe* above, a *cul-de-lampe* below and a horizontal rule to the right and the left). Hand 2 uses larger letters in sloping majuscule (the same script employed in the colophon), decorated with a reddened horizontal rule above and below and often with an oblique stroke above the upper horizontal rule and a horizontal rule or a *diple* to the right and the left.

punctuation and the paragraph marks,[51] but also by the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic miniatures, which decorate some leaves,[52] as well as by a prayer penned at the end of a work.[53]

The second scribe displays a more calligraphic and fluid hand than that of Epima, both in the text and the titles, and uses different signs. As paragraph mark, as we have said, Epima uses a reddened budded *coronis*, while scribe 2 alternates simple *coronis* and *obelos* between dots (all reddened). As punctuation mark, Epima uses the most common medium dot, while scribe 2 uses either the medium dot or a small red *diple*, and even a combination of both.

As regards the colophon, it is noteworthy that it begins with a prayer for the soul of the late 'Papa Apima': as has already been observed by van Lantschoot, it is almost certain that this Apima was in fact the scribe Epima and, therefore, it is clear that it was death which prevented him from completing the transcription of the codex CLM 243.[54] Now, who was the pious colleague who continued Epima's work and, at its end, penned this prayer for him? After the date (8th day of Pharmouthi, year of the Martyrs 571, that is April 3rd, 855), the colophon is followed by a cryptographic note, which conceals two names: Apa Kyrillos and Apa Kyri, his son. The presence of two names is quite surprising, since, as we have seen, besides Epima's, only one other hand is detectable in the manuscript.

Now, the solution of this riddle can be found, in my opinion, in the third manuscript I have mentioned, CLM 228. It contains 5 encomia and 2 martyrdoms, of various authors,[55] and can be divided into three units of production, each of them equipped with its own set of quire signatures and page numbers.[56] Unit 1 contains three works in 6 quaternions; unit 2, three works in 9 quaternions; unit 3, a single work in 2 quaternions. The codex is written by two hands, but there is no sharp distinction between sections copied by the one or the other hand: we notice in fact that hand 2 appears here and there all along the manuscript, writing sometimes a page or two, other times a single column or even few lines of a page.[57] In other words, the two hands cooperated in the transcription of the codex, hand 1 playing the leading role, hand 2 serving as assistant.

If we take a closer look at hand 1, it is not difficult to ascertain that it is the same hand as hand 2 of CLM 243, that is the pious colleague who completed Epima's last codex: the identification is proved by the script of text, titles,[58] numbers,[59] and even colophons,[60] as well as by the peculiar punctuation and paragraph mar-

51 Compare DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plates 146-154 (from CLM 241) and 166, 167, 276 (from CLM 243).

52 Compare DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plates 167, 305, 319e, 320c, 323e (from CLM 243) with the plates from CLM 241 quoted above, n. 44.

53 The prayer (f. 51r = DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plate 277) has been published by VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, I/1, 18 (no. IX.1).

54 Editions of the colophon: VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, I/1, 16-17 (no. VIII); A. SOLDATI, https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/48 (with English translation). See also DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plate 282. The identification of the Apima commemorated in the colophon of CLM 243 with the scribe of CLM 241 has been suggested by VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, I/2, 14 n. 2 (no. VIII) ('Probablement le copiste de V' [i.e. CLM 241]), 14 n. 1 (no. IX) ('Il faut probablement considérer la notice nécrologique, par laquelle débute le colophon VIII [i.e. of CLM 243], comme un pieux hommage rendu [...] à un collègue, qui collabora à la transcription du ms., mais que la mort arrêta dans son travail').

55 Description and bibliography: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/228. Contents: (0) frontispiece (ornate cross, f. 1v = DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plate 34); (1) Proclus of Constantinople, *Encomium on the 24 Elders* (CC 0322, ff. 2r-12v); (2) Cyril of Alexandria, *Encomium on Revelation 7-12* (CC 0107, ff. 12v–34r); (3) Theopempus of Antioch, *Encomium on Saint Victor* (CC 0399, ff. 34v–49v); (4) *Martyrdom of SS. Paese and Thecla* (CC 0290, ff. 50r–89r); (5) *Martyrdom of Saint Coluthus* (CC 0265, ff. 89v–93v); (6) Isaac of Antinoe, *Encomium on Saint Coluthus* (CC 0214, ff. 94r–121v); (7) Anastasius of Euchaita, *Encomium on Saint Theodore Stratelates* (CC 0017, ff. 122v-137r). The editions of nos. 1, 4, 5 are listed by DEPUYDT 1993, 301-303; no. 5 has been republished by SCHENKE 2013, 40-57 (text and translation), 58-77 (commentary); nos. 3, 6, 7 have been published in DEPUYDT *et al.* 1993, respectively I 133-152, 47-83, 1-19 (text), II 103-118, 37-64, 1-15 (translation); on no. 6 see now SCHENKE 2013, 114-138 (§ 3.1.1); of no. 2 only an Italian translation is available (see DEPUYDT 1993, 302).

56 See Table 5. The quires are signed on the first and the last page, in the top-inner corner of the page. The pages are numbered in the top-outer corner of the page. It is interesting to note the unusual system of signatures employed in unit 2: not a simple number, which is the standard system, but a double number (ⲁⲁ, ⲃⲃ and so on).

57 Hand 2 appears in ff. 41v; 75v, col. 1, ll. 6-19; 75v, col. 2, l. 15-76r, col. 1, l. 3; 76r, col. 2, ll. 6-33; 76v, col. 1, ll. 20-33; 78v; 79v; 80v, col. 1, ll. 1-18; 82r, col. 1, l. 6-col. 2, l. 33; 84r, col. 2; 87r, col. 1, l. 14-col. 2, l. 33; 87v, col. 1, l. 1-col. 2, l. 24; 88r-89r (= DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plate 246); 94v-96r col. 1; 96v-97r; 98v-99r; 100r, col. 2, l. 13-101r; 101v, col. 2, l. 7-102r.

58 Compare DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plates 121-127 (from CLM 228) and 168-173 (from CLM 243).

59 Quire signatures and page numbers of CLM 228 are written in the same sloping majuscule as the ones of CLM 243, ff. 65r-148v, and are decorated in the same way (see above, n. 50, but also below, n. 63).

60 As already observed by VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, I/1, 20. Compare DEPUYDT - LOGGIE 1993, plates 249 (CLM 228) and 282 (CLM 243).

ks, and by the decorative tailpieces, formed by bands of dots and dashes, zeta-shaped *coronides* and birds.[61] Hand 2 is also an Alexandrian majuscule, yet very poorly executed: so squared and rigid, it seems really a clumsy imitation of hand 1, like a sorcerer's apprentice who tries vainly to rival his master.[62] As paragraph mark, this hand uses an enlarged initial in *ekthesis* and a reddened *diple* (or sometimes a budded *coronis* or an obelos between dots); as punctuation mark, a reddened medium dot followed by a space.[63]

The colophon is dated to the 20th day of Mechir, year of the Martyrs 577, that is February 14th, 861, but unfortunately it is not signed.[64] However, the evidence we have examined so far seems to point to an inescapable conclusion: (1) the cryptographic note of CLM 243 mentions two persons, Apa Kyrillos and his son Apa Kyri; (2) CLM 243 is written (besides Epima) by a single scribe with an elegant and trained hand; (3) CLM 228 is written by two scribes, the first one being the same one who copied CLM 243, the second one being his unskilful assistant. All in all, I think that the most probable explanation is that Apa Kyrillos was the name of the scribe who, in 855, completed Epima's unfinished codex (CLM 243), and then, in 861, copied another codex (CLM 228), this time with the assistance of his son Apa Kyri, who scribbled only a few pages here and there.

Thus, these three manuscripts allow us to follow the activity of a group of scribes working in, and for, the Phantoou monastery, during a timespan of about 15 years, in the middle of the ninth century, just before the irresistible emergence of the Touton scriptorium.[65]

CLM	BPM	CMCL	Shelfmark(s)	Depuydt 1993 (no.)	van Lantschoot 1929 (no.)	Date (CE)
203	I	MICH.AA	M566	1	-	-
204	II	MICH.AB	M567	5	XVII	892/893
205	III	MICH.AC	M568 + Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3821 + Berlin, Staatliche Museen, P. 11966	12 + 403	-	-
206	IV	MICH.AD	M569	13	XXXIX	-
207	V	MICH.AE	Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3820	404	XII	861/862
208	VIII	MICH.AH	M570	34	XXIV	-
209	IX	MICH.AI	M571	35	XXV	-
210	X	MICH.AJ	M572 + Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3813	44 + 405	XXVI	-
211*	XI	MICH.AK	M615 + Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 615 + Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, P. 4942	54	-	-
212	XII	MICH.AL	M573	51	XXVII	-
213	XIII	MICH.AM	M574	59	XXIII	897/898
214	XIV	MICH.AN	M575 + Berlin, Staatliche Museen, P. 11967	58	XVIII	892/893
215	XV	MICH.AO	M599	65	VII	854/855
216	XVI	MICH.AP	M600	160	XXXI	905/906
217	XVII	MICH.AQ	M576	102	-	-
218	XVIII	MICH.AR	M609 + Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Copt. 41 [destroyed]	167	XXVIII	-

61 See Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plates 122, 244 (from CLM 228) and 169, 171, 278-282 (from CLM 243).

62 The presence of a secondary hand in CLM 228 had already been noticed by Depuydt *et al.* 1993, I xi ('it may be noted that M591 [i.e. CLM 228] is written by at least two hands, a first superior hand a second inferior hand, as if an experienced scribe has collaborated with an apprentice in copying the codex'), without however specifying the exact portions of the codex written by this hand (listed above, n. 57).

63 In the leaves which are entirely written by this copyist, he has inscribed also the pagination, using the same ungainly script as the text, with Copto-Arabic ϥ: compare the pagination of ff. 94v-95r and 99r with that of ff. 96r-98v, inscribed by hand 1 (with the 'regular' Coptic ϥ).

64 Editions: van Lantschoot 1929, I/1, 20-22 (no. XI); A. Soldati, https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons/53] (with English translation). See also Depuydt - Loggie 1993, plate 249.

65 On which see Depuydt 1993, cxii-cxvi (Appendix); Nakano 2006; Soldati 2017.

219	XIX	MICH.AS	Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3811	408	XLII + XLVI	903/904
220	XX	MICH.AT	M612 + Berlin, Staatliche Museen, P. 11965	96	XV	892/893
221	XXI	MICH.AU	M590	125	XX	892/893
222	XXII	MICH.AV; MICH.CI; MICH.CJ; MICH.CK	M592	117	XXXIII	-
223	XXIII	MICH.AW	M593	111	XIX	892/893
224	XXIV	MICH.AX	M614	271	-	-
225	XXV	MICH.AZ	M602 + Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Copt. 45 [destroyed]	116	-	-
226	XXVI	MICH.BA	M603	113	XLV	902/903
227	XXVII	MICH.BB	M607	112	XXII	894/895
228	XXVIII	MICH.BC	M591	157	XI	861
229	XXIX	MICH.BD	M588	126	III	842
230	XXX	MICH.BE	M589	127	XXXII	-
231	XXXI	MICH.BF	M578 + Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3815bis	173 + 417	XVI	891 or 893
232	XXXII	MICH.BG	M581	138	XXX	-
233	XXXIII	MICH.BH	M597	107	L	913/914
234	XXXIV	MICH.BI	M596	158	XIII	871/872
235	XXXV	MICH.BJ	M598	159	XXXVI	-
236	XXXVI	MICH.BK	M611	171	-	(end of the 9th cent.)
237	XXXVII	MICH.BL	M579	162	I	822/823
238	XXXVIII	MICH.BM	M585	166	-	(beginning of the 10th cent.)
239	XXXIX	MICH.BN	M613 + Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3819	144 + 411	XLVII	-
240	XL	MICH.BO	M584 + Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3814, 3817, 3818 + Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Copt. 583	165 + 412	-	-
241	XLI	MICH.BP	M583	164	V-VI	848
242	XLII	MICH.BQ	M594 + New York, Columbia University Library, Plimpton, Copt. Ms. 1	66	XLIV	-
243	XLIII	MICH.BR	M595	170	VIII-IX	855
244	XLIV	MICH.BS	M610	64	XXIX	-
245	XLV	MICH.BT	Cairo, Coptic Museum, 2703, 3815	413	XXXVII	-
246	XLVI	MICH.BU	M582	136	-	-
247	XLVII	MICH.BV	M587 + Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 699	121	XXXIV + XLI	(end of the 9th cent.)
248	XLVIII	MICH.BW	M580	163	XIV	889/890
249	XLIX	MICH.BX	Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3816	409	XXXV	-
250*	L	MICH.BY	M608	142	XLIII	(end of the 10th cent.)
251	LI	MICH.BZ	M586	174	IV	844
252	LII	MICH.CA	M606 + Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3812 + Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, Ms. 158.29	119 + 407	XLIX	-
253	LIII	MICH.CB	M577	172	XXI	894/895
254	LIV	MICH.CC	M604	80	XXXVIII	-
255	LV	MICH.CD	M605	69	XLVIII	(beginning of the 10th cent.)

256*	-	MICH.CE	M601	45	-	-
257*	-	MICH.CF	M634	108	-	-
258*	-	MICH.CG	M635	93	-	-
259*	-	MICH.CH	London, British Library, Or. 7597	-	-	-
1315	-	-	M663(1)	131	II	-
1450*	-	-	London, British Library, Or. 12689	-	-	999/1000
1847	-	-	Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3824	410	-	-
4379	-	-	Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Copt. 2 [destroyed]	-	-	-

Table 1. Phantoou Manuscripts, Concordance.

Notes: (1) The manuscripts preserved in New York, Morgan Library and Museum, are referred to by the bare shelfmark (M566, M567…). (2) An asterisk (*) to the right of the CLM number marks the 'doubtful claimants' (see above, n. 6).

	CLM 222	CLM 225
leaf dimensions	288 × 377	282 × 365
writing frame	218 × 281	218 × 274
intercolumnium	25	20
lines per column	30-34	28-32
characters per line	11-16	9-16
height of 10 lines	94	90
ruling	Leroy 00A2 all lines ruled 1st line inside ruling	Leroy 00A2 all lines ruled 1st line inside ruling

Table 2. Comparison of the codicological features of CLM 222 and CLM 225.

Quires	Leaves	Signatures	Pages	Contents
1^{10} [2^{8}] 3^{8} (1-4)	i + 1r-9v [8 leaves] 10r-13r	[ⲁ] / [ⲁ] [ⲃ / ⲃ] [ⲅ] /	ⲃ-ⲓⲏ [ⲓⲑ-ⲗⲇ] ⲗⲉ-ⲙ (f. 12v)	frontispiece (f. i v) cc 0311 (ff. 1r-13r, central part wanting)
3^{8} (4-8) 4^{8} 5^{8} (1-4)	13v-17v 18r-25v 26r-29v	/ [ⲅ] ⲇ / ⲇ [ⲉ] /	ⲁ-ⲏ (f. 14r not paginated) ⲑ-ⲕⲇ ⲕⲉ-ⲗⲃ	cc 0333 (ff. 13v-29v)
5^{8} (5-8) 6^{8} 7^{8} 8^{8} (1-2)	30r-33v 34r-41v 42r-49v 50r-51r	/ [ⲉ] ⲋ / ⲋ ⲍ / [ⲍ] ⲏ /	ⲃ-ⲏ ⲑ-ⲕⲇ ⲕⲉ-ⲙ ⲙⲁ-ⲙⲃ (f. 50v)	cc 0334 (ff. 30r-51r)
8^{8} (2-8) 9^{8} 10^{8} 11^{8} (1-3)	51v-57v 58r-65v 66r-73v 74r-76v	/ ⲏ [ⲑ] / ⲑ ⲓ / [ⲓ] ⲓⲁ /	(f. 52v) ⲅ-ⲓⲅ ⲓⲇ-ⲕⲑ ⲗ-ⲙⲉ [ⲙⲋ-ⲛⲁ]	cc 0056 (ff. 51v-76v)
11^{8} (4-8) 12^{8} (1-8)	77r-81v 82r-89r	/ [ⲓⲁ] ⲓⲃ /	[ⲃ-ⲓ] ⲓⲁ-ⲕⲇ (f. 88v)	cc 0332 (ff. 77r-89r)
12^{8} (8) 13^{8} 14^{8} (1)	89r-v 90r-97v 98r	/ ⲓⲃ ⲓⲅ / ⲓⲅ ⲓⲇ /	ⲃ ⲅ-ⲓⲏ ⲓⲑ	cc 0059 (ff. 89r-98r)
14^{8} (1-8) 15^{5}	98v-105v 106r-110v	/ ⲓⲇ ⲓⲉ / ⲓⲉ	(f. 99v) ⲅ-ⲓⲉ ⲓⲋ-ⲕⲅ (f. 109v)	cc 0048 (ff. 98v-110v)

Table 3. Stratigraphy of CLM 225.

Quires	Leaves	Signatures	Pages	Contents
1^7	1r-7v	- / ⲁ	ⲃ-ⲓⲇ	cc 0483
2^9	8r-16v	- / -	ⲃ-ⲓⲏ	cc 0193
3^8 4^8 5^8 (1-5)	17r-24v 25r-32v 33r-37r	- / ⲁ ⲃ / ⲃ ⲅ /	ⲃ-ⲓⲋ ⲓⲍ-ⲗⲃ ⲗⲅ-ⲙ (f. 36v)	cc 0082 (17r-22r), 0083 (22v-27v), 0220 (ff. 27v-37r)
5^8 (5-8) [6-13^8 (1-4)]	37v-40v [60 leaves]	/ ⲅ [ⲇ / ⲇ - ⲓⲁ /]	ⲃ-ⲍ (f. 38r not paginated) [ⲏ- ?]	cc 0346 (end wanting), [2-3 homilies?]
[13^8 (4-8)] 14^8 15^8 (1-2)	[4 leaves] 41r-48v 49r-50r	[/ ⲓⲁ] ⲓⲃ / ⲓⲃ ⲓⲅ /	[ⲃ-ⲏ] ⲑ-ⲕⲇ ⲕⲉ-ⲕⲋ (f. 49v)	cc 0158 (ff. 41r-50r, beginning wanting)
15^8 (2-8) 16^8 17^8	50v-56v 57r-64v 65r-72v	/ ⲓⲅ ⲓⲇ / ⲓⲇ ⲓⲉ / [ⲓⲉ ?]	ⲃ-ⲓⲇ ⲓⲉ-ⲗ ⲗⲁ-ⲙⲃ (f. 70v)	cc 0148 (ff. 50r-72v) colophon (f. 72v)

Table 4. Stratigraphy of CLM 222.

Quires	Leaves	Signatures	Pages	Contents
- 1-6^8	i v 1r-49v	- ⲁ-ⲋ	- ⲁ-ϥⲋ	frontispiece cc0322, 0107, 0399
7-15^8	50r-121v	ⲁⲁ-ⲑⲑ	ⲁ-ⲣⲙⲇ	cc0290, 0265, 0214
16-17^8	122r-137v	ⲁ-ⲃ	ⲁ-ⲗⲁ (f. 137r)	cc0017 colophon (f. 137r-v)

Table 5. Stratigraphy of CLM 228.

References

BPM = *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan Codices Coptici photographice expressi*, I–LVI, Romae 1922.

CLM = Coptic Literary Manuscript: unique identifier attributed to each codicological unit by the 'PAThs' project: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/.

CMCL = Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari: http://www.cmcl.it/.

ALBRECHT - MATERA 2017 = F. ALBRECHT - M. MATERA, "Testimonianze di παράγραφοι «a coda ondulata» in alcuni manoscritti greci e copti", *Νέα Ῥώμη*, 14, 2017, pp. 5-35.

ATANASSOVA 2014 = D. ATANASSOVA, "The Primary Sources of Southern Egyptian Liturgy: Retrospect and Prospect", in B. GROEN - D. GALADZA - N. GLIBETIC - G. RADLE (eds.), *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East.* Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy (Lebanon, 10-15 July 2012) (Eastern Christian Studies, 22), Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA, 2014, pp. 47-96.

BACOT 2011 = S. BACOT, "Quatre miracles de saint Ménas dans un manuscrit copte de l'Ifao (Inv. 315-322)", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 111, 2011, pp. 35-73.

BOUD'HORS 1997 = A. BOUD'HORS, "L'onciale penchée en copte et sa survie jusqu'au XVe siècle en Haute-Égypte", in F. DÉROCHE - F. RICHARD (eds.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen Orient*, Paris, 1997, pp. 117-133.

BOUD'HORS 2011 = A. BOUD'HORS, "L'*Allocutio ad Monachos* d'Athanase d'Alexandrie (CPG 2186) : nouveaux fragments coptes", in P. BUZI - A. CAMPLANI (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 125), Roma, 2011, pp. 101-158.

CAVALLO 2001 = G. CAVALLO, "«Foglie che fremono sui rami». Bisanzio e i testi classici", in S. SETTIS (ed.), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, III, Torino, 2001, pp. 593-628.

Cavallo 2004 = G. Cavallo, "Sodalizi eruditi e pratiche di scrittura a Bisanzio", in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales (1993-1998)* (Textes et études du Moyen Âge, 22), Turnhout, 2004, pp. 645-665.

Cramer 1964a = M. Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie*, Wiesbaden, 1964.

Cramer 1964b = M. Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei*, Recklinghausen, 1964.

Crum 1939 = W. E. Crum, "Coptic Documents in Greek Script", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 25, 1939, pp. 249-271.

D'Aiuto - Vian 2011 = F. D'Aiuto - P. Vian, *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana*, I-II (Studi e Testi, 466-467), Città del Vaticano, 2011.

Depuydt 1993 = L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4, Oriental series, 1), Leuven, 1993.

Depuydt - Loggie 1993 = L. Depuydt - D.A. Loggie, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Album of Photographic Plates* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 5, Oriental series, 2), Leuven, 1993.

Depuydt *et al.* 1993 = L. Depuydt - P. Chapman - M.E. Foat - A.B. Scott - S.E. Thompson, *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library. Five Coptic Homilies attributed to Anastasius of Euchaita, Epiphanius of Salamis, Isaac of Antinoe, Severian of Gabala, and Theopempus of Antioch*, I-II (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 544-545, Scriptores coptici, 47-48), Leuven, 1993.

Emmel 2005 = S. Emmel, "The Library of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou (al-Hamuli)", in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis. Essays from the 2004 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society in Honor of Martin Krause*, Cairo - New York, 2005, pp. 63-70.

Laurent 1962 = M.-H. Laurent, "L'abbé Paul Liebaert scriptor honoraire adj. de la Vaticane. Sa vie et ses oeuvres (1883-1915)", in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita*, II (Studi e Testi, 220), Città del Vaticano, 1962, pp. 1-132.

Laurent 1964 = M.-H. Laurent, "Pour l'histoire de la Pierpont Morgan Library. Les lettres de Paul Liebaert et d'Henry Hyvernat (1913-1915)", in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, VI (Studi e Testi, 236), Città del Vaticano, 1964, pp. 549-576.

Lefort 1937 = L.Th. Lefort, "Coptica Lovaniensia", *Le Muséon*, 50, 1937, pp. 5-52.

Leroy 1974 = J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 96), Paris, 1974.

Müller - Uljas 2019 = M. Müller - S. Uljas, *Martyrs and Archangels. Coptic Literary Texts from the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 116), Tübingen, 2019.

Nakano 2006 = C. Nakano, "Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn", *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 8, 2006, pp. 147-159.

Orsini 2019 = P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 15), Berlin - Boston, 2019.

Pearson - Vivian - Spanel 1993 = B. Pearson, T. Vivian, with the assistance of D.B Spanel, *Two Coptic Homilies attributed to Saint Peter of Alexandria. On Riches, On the Epiphany*, Roma, 1993.

Petersen 1954 = T. Petersen, "The Paragraph Mark in Illuminated Coptic Manuscripts", in D. Miner (ed.), *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 295-330.

Saweros 2019 = I. Saweros, *Another Athanasius. Four Sahidic Homilies attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria. Two Homilies on Michael the Archangel, the Homily on Luke 11:5-9 and the Homily on Pentecost*, I-II (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 675-676, Scriptores coptici, 51-52), Leuven, 2019.

Schenke 2013 = G. Schenke, *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des Heiligen Kolluthos, Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler*, eingeleitet, neu ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 650, Subsidia, 132), Lovanii, 2013.

Shepardson 1998 = T. Shepardson, "St. Michael the Archangel: An Ancient Coptic Homily", *Coptic Church Review*, 19, 1998, pp. 66-74.

Soldati 2017 = A. Soldati, "A New Piece in the Prosopography Mosaic of the Coptic *Scriptorium* of Toutōn: Pantouleos, Son of Houmise", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 3.1, 2017, pp. 23-32.

Stegemann 1936 = V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie. 25 Tafeln zur Veranschaulichung der Schreibstile koptischer Schriftdenkmäler auf Papyrus, Pergament und Papier für die Zeit des III-XIV Jahrhunderts.*

Mit einem Versuch einer Stilgeschichte der koptischen Schrift (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters. Reihe C, Hilfsbücher, 1), Heidelberg, 1936.

SUCIU 2012 = A. SUCIU, "Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini Sermo de Cruce et Latrone (CPG 2622): Edition of Pierpont Morgan M595 with Parallels and Translation", *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 16, 2012, pp. 181-225.

SUCIU 2014 = A. SUCIU, "Coptic Scribes and Manuscripts. Dated and Datable Codices from the Monastery of Apa Shenoute. I: The Codices Inscribed by Victor, Son of Shenoute (First Half of the 12th Century)", *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 16, 2014, pp. 195-215.

TIMM 1984-1992 = S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluss von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters* (*Dēr Abū Mina*), *der Skētis* (*Wādi n-Naṭrūn*) *und der Sinai-Region*, I-VI (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas der Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, 41.1-6), Wiesbaden, 1984-1992.

TISSERANT 1950 = E. TISSERANT, "Note sur la restauration à la Bibliothèque Vaticane des manuscrits coptes de la Pierpont Morgan Library", in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, 2), Boston, 1950, pp. 219-227.

VALERIO 2019 = F. VALERIO, "Codicological and Palaeographical Description", in P. BUZI (ed.), *Detecting Early Mediaeval Coptic Literature in Dayr Al-Anbā Maqār, between Textual Conservation and Literary Rearrangement: The Case of Vat. Copt. 57* (Studi e Testi, 533), Città del Vaticano, 2019, pp. 17-28.

VAN DEN BROEK 2013 = R. VAN DEN BROEK, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Life and the Passion of Christ. A Coptic Apocryphon* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 118), Leiden - Boston, 2013.

VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929 = A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, I/1-2 (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1), Louvain, 1929.

WITTE 2002-2009 = B. WITTE, *Die Sünden der Priester und Mönche. Koptische Eschatologie des 8. Jahrhunderts nach Kodex M 602 pp. 104-154* (*Ps. Athanasius*) *der Pierpont Morgan Library*, I-II (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten, 12-13), Altenberge, 2002-2009.

Further Reflections on the Byzantine Fortress at Oxyrhynchos: Martyrial and Funerary Church, Monastery and Arab Fort

Eva Subías – Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Abstract
In 2012, during the 10th Conference on Coptic Studies, and previously at the 4th Iberian Egyptology Conference in Lisbon in 2010, I described the excavations to the northeast of the city between 2005 and 2010. During those presentations, being aware of the importance of the find and that I would no longer be able to continue excavating, I made certain possible, albeit premature, interpretations. Fortunately, my interventions stimulated the interest of other academics, this time linguists who have taken an interest in the site and have continued to analyse its historical context. Although in earlier papers I have tried to provide all of the archaeological data, there are still details that have not been studied in depth and which could influence the architectural interpretation of the remains.

Keywords
Oxyrhynchos, fortress, martyrial church, tombstones.

1. *Introduction*

At the 10th International Congress of Coptic Studies in Rome in 2012 and earlier at the 4th Iberian Congress of Egyptology in Lisbon in 2010, I discussed a site in the northwest of the city of Oxyrhynchos which I had excavated between 2005 and 2010. At first, I defined the place as a fortress. Later, however, I suggested that it could be an agricultural domain but left open the question of its origins and functions since I assumed that these could be various. The site is a fortified complex and I partially dug several sectors to gain an overall idea of the site's possibilities and anticipate the logistics of the work, which unfortunately, has lacked continuity. Three of the four sectors led to the discovery of religious buildings: a cemeterial and reliquary church in the central part of the fortress and, in an enclosure along its eastern façade, two chapels and the residence of a monastic community. In previous communications, despite their premature nature I suggested several interpretations for these ruins. I am glad to see that philologists have been interested in my suggestion of a possible relationship with properties owned by the Apion family.[1] However, I will not tackle this difficult question, which is reserved for specialists. Personally, I am interested in analysing the architectural remains according to the prosopographic data discovered there and their possible significance in relation to the Byzantine city.

One aspect of the church's discovery has had little impact among scholars of the Byzantine period in Egypt. This is the title and patronage of the building, which can be studied from two tombstones. One of these offers a chronology, while the other enables us to contextualise the church in a monastic and martyrial context since it has the name of the *proestós* of a monastery dedicated to a saint called Kyriakos. The inscription reads 'Lord, give rest to the soul of your servant Menas, prior of Saint Kyriakos, month of Pâchon, 15'. This is followed by several letters, which unfortunately appear fragmented where there should possibly be the indiction.[2] We are not sure, therefore, of the precise dating. However, the basilica's other

1 I am talking about Andrea Jördens, who has written about my proposal for identifying the *proastion*, and Roberta Mazza, who is interested in this possible relationship between archeology and papyrology for the fortress.

2 I appreciate the work of Jesús Carruesco for the transcription of this and the other tombstone. Concepció Piedrafita has recently published a work on the same slab and the translation (Piedrafita 2015). Even more recently, on the occasion of the Third

funeral slab, of which only the chronological reference remains, enables us to establish a date in the 14th indiction and in the year 402 of the era of Diocletian, which is equivalent to 686 CE.

It would obviously be extremely interesting for the history of Oxyrhynchos to discover the identities of Prior Menas and Saint Kyriakos, who was honoured by the monastic community. Based on the chronology of the tombstones and the appearance of the name on the episcopal lists, I advanced the hypothesis that Kyriakos may have been the last bishop of el-Bahnasa at the time of the Arab conquest.[3] If this were true (and this needs to be accurately established by experts), important historical issues would emerge regarding the history of monastic communities and their position in the ecclesiastical organisation. If the owner had occupied a clerical position, this would help explain the complexity and dimension of the fortress, the presence of a martyrial church, and the church's transformation into a monastery. Into this discussion we should also incorporate the presence of another martyrial chapel and coenobitic dwelling in an additional building attached to the fortress. More questions then arise. For example, was this monastic community different from that which was buried in the central basilica or was it the same one, and finally was the segmentation of the fortress's spaces strictly functional? We must also assess the final destination of these religious buildings, which were transformed into productive structures and into a fort under Arab control.

We should mention that the hypotheses that Kyriakos was a bishop and that the churches were martyrial also stems from the perception that this is not a usual monastery from the architectural point of view and that the fortress as a whole occupied an important place in the history of the city. My aim is therefore to continue this search from the perspectives of urban landscape and architectural typology.

2. *Saint Kyriakos, prior Menas and their context*

Kyriakos is mentioned in lists of seventh-century bishops, albeit with questions marks.[4] A bishop named Kyriakos is well known as a scholar who wrote about the visit of the Holy Family to his city, the ancient Oxyrhynchos. However, agreement on his biography is not comprehensive, and some even believe he may have been a fourteenth-century bishop.[5] Other saints with the same name also exist. The most famous of these is Kyriakos, son of Julita and a martyr of Diocletian persecution. Again, the cult of this saint in Egypt is also poorly documented and he may have been confused with a different saint. According to Papaconstantinou, a saint Kyriakos was worshipped in Oxyrhynchos as well as in Djemé and Aphroditô.[6] Another important Kyriakos was the archbishop of Jerusalem, who was also worshipped in Egypt, specifically at the monastery of the Syrians. The important idea is that even if Kyriakos were not a martyr, he would have achieved holiness because he was a very pious person who held a high position.

The patronage of bishops in monastic communities is documented in Egypt in, for example, the creation of the monastery of Kalamun. Bishops may also have had a monastic experience prior to their designation, which, according to historical and linguistic studies, may have resulted in interpenetration between the two organisations.[7] Moreover, a bishop who was considered a saint would not have been out of place.[8] In fact, it has been demonstrated that the use of the word *haghios* in the mid-fifth century was extended to all kinds of 'holy men', including bishops. Some monks even became saints and received a cult,[9] though this was not a widespread phenomenon and such saints seem to have been venerated rather locally.[10]

'PAThs' Conference, Agostino Soldati reviewed the transcription as follows: †Κύ(ριε) ἀνάπ|αυσον τὴ|ν ψυχὴν το|ῦ δούλου σοụ | (5) Μηνᾶ προες(τῶτος) | τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρι|ακοῦ μηνὶ Πα|χων ιε ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ. The tombstone is fractured on what should be the abbreviation of the indiction, so the end of the translation is doubtful. The other tombstone says:.. ἐν μ]ηνὶ Χοι-α]κ ~κ~ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ ἔτους Διοκλη-τιανοῦ υβ †. The tomb of Mena occupies a privileged place in the building, while the slab with a date invades the central space close to the choir of the church and without respecting the systematics involved in burying in the corridors.

3 Papaconstantinou 1996a; Worp 1994.

4 Worp 1994, 304, with reference 629 from the list of Fedalto 1988.

5 Coquin 1992.

6 Papaconstantinou 2001, 132-134 and 366, but the documents related to Oxyrhynchos are not detailed.

7 Giorda 2009, 51, n. 6, and 52.

8 Février 1991, 64.

9 Papaconstantinou 2007, 357.

10 Papaconstantinou 2001, 234.

Menas was a *proestós* of Saint Kyriakos. We understand that he was the prior of the monastery dedicated to the saint.[11] However, it is not clear what kind of community he led. According to Derda, the *proestós* did not necessarily refer to a coenobitic monastery, so he may have run a set of hermitages, sometimes gathered around a *pyrgos*.[12] In the case of the Byzantine fortress, although the room structures are not fully excavated, a complex in the eastern annex includes a refectory and a group of chapels with a typical *dipinto* illustrating the monks' devotion. North of the fortress is another set of archaeological structures of the *laura* type, where excavation has so far been limited. Although the dwellings are grouped in a small distinct eminence, we cannot exclude a dependent relationship with the church of Saint Kyriakos.

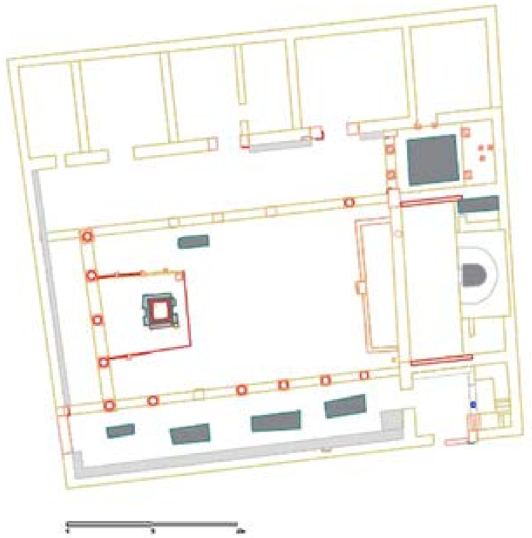


Fig. 1. General plan of the basilica showing the position of tombs and benches.

Our main data for determining the status of Menas and Kyriakos are found in the architecture, however. The typology of the buildings says a lot about their functions and social category. If Kyriakos had been seventh-century bishop from Pemdjé, his cult would almost certainly have taken place in the same place of his burial. We must therefore ask ourselves why he was buried outside the city and away from the Episcopal Church where it was more usual to find members of the church and social hierarchy. We must conclude that Kyriakos had a personal link with the fortress. We should then determine whether he was a monk – and the fortress would then have been his monastery – or whether he had been an elite member who progressed into the ecclesiastical hierarchy and his residence adopted new functions, such as an *episcopium*.[13] To develop this argument, archaeological parallels are needed among aristocratic palaces. However, it has not been detected a typological pattern for the reception and worship rooms in these exceptional cases.[14] What these examples have in common above all is the site's fortified aspect, a characteristic they share with certain monastic centres. When the excavations resume, they will reveal much about the origin of the fortress. In the meantime, what we can do is contextualise the buildings from a typological point of view.

3. *A funerary and martyrial church under monastic control*

Generally speaking, the church was conceived with the same plan we recognise from its visible ruins, without extensions or reductions of the useful space and with only a few changes in detail that affected neither circulation nor structural logic. Its structure is that of a 'return aisle' type basilica, consisting of a large central space with a corridor that surrounds it on three sides. The head is tripartite, with a small apse and two side chambers at the top of the elevated sanctuary. From the corridor, a chapel of special importance can be accessed on the northern side and on the southern side is a distribution room with a door and stairs leading to a gallery on the upper floor. Under the stairs are two pits with ceramic necks inserted into the ground. The ambulatory has a bench running along the southern and western sides that served for rest and pray, like in monastic churches (Fig. 1).

11 The term appears in the eigth century in Deir el Abiad with this meaning of prior, MacCoull 1990, 28. The first appearance of this meaning, however, dates from the fourth century, Wipszycka 1991.

12 Derda 1992, 128.

13 This is the case, for example, of the bishop-monk Abraham of the convent of Saint Phoibammon, Giorda 2009, 69.

14 The so-called *Villa Rustica* from Marea (Grossmann 2002, fig. 10, following Rodziewicz). Or palaces A and B from Hilwan (Grossmann 2002, fig. 35-38). Also the major buildings of some fortifications, such as the fort of Nag el-Hagar. See a plan in Karelin 2011.


Fig. 2. Decorative elements with crosses inscribed on honorary crowns.

We discovered the basilica in its final form, after thefts and clandestine excavations had led to the disappearance of certain elements. In the past, the building had been used long enough to undergo minor repairs, mainly in relation to the painted decorations, which I have never published in detail not because they are not important but because they were not particularly relevant from the iconographic point of view. There is a plant motif displayed like a 'tapestry' and a red basement. The iconographic motif is highly abstract, i.e. stylised trees in two green colours to distinguish the wood from the leaves and pink flowers in-between. This motif is located in the northern chapel and is almost identical to one that remains in a small section of the southern wall of the nave. The rest of the church's decoration (the architectonic decoration) was also vegetal and geometric in nature, for instance a grapevine scroll populated by a bird of paradise.

This decoration fits in well with a funerary space.[15] The absence of human figuration also fits in well (since it tends towards aniconism) with the date of the burials, which are subsequent to the Arab conquest. Therefore, we should assume that, despite the tolerance displayed during these early years, it was more cautious not to display Christian saints. However, the general appearance of the building suggests a certain wealth since even the apse was sumptuously decorated with the golden and nacred *tessellae* of the apse wall that we found in the destruction level. This was significant enough to assert that the building was well-appointed, despite its constructive concept-based mud-brick combined with stone blocks for the structural parts such as the walls of the tribune. It should also be noted that none of the decorative elements contains a Christian sign except for two crosses inscribed on honorary crowns (possibly as decorative endings for the pillars of the chancel barrier). These motifs probably relate to churches promoted by the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Fig. 2).

Another important element for interpreting the basilica is the liturgical furniture, which clearly points to martyrdom worship, possibly devoted to Saint Kyriakos, given the above-mentioned allusion to *haghios*. However, we could also be led to think that Kyriakos is not the recipient of worship but simply wished to rest close to the relics of a martyr and that he founded a church where the martyr was honoured as a saint. Martyrdom worship is suggested by three architectural elements: a chapel presiding over the church's northern wing, where there was an altar or table of offerings; a closed space at the foot of the basilica with a hydraulic receptacle covered by a canopy; and the interior layout of the apse with indications of a *sigma* table slab embedded in the pavement.

The northern chapel has a pre-eminent position at the end of the ambulatory, with which it communicates via a monumental *prothyron* of columns crowned by Byzantine capitals, of which we have found some fragments. This chapel communicated with another room adjacent to the north that was enhanced by elements of architectural decoration. Inside was a large grave that has emerged as a collective tomb.[16] Incised on the slabs is just a small Greek cross with no other inscription or reference to any particular deceased. In ancient times, the tomb must have been opened and closed several times because there are obvious signs of readjustments in the disposal of the closing slabs. There is a certain contradiction between the *prestance* of the room and its funerary function. The first privileged burial could not have been that of the prior of the monastery, who was buried on the southern side of the nave, so it may have been that of the saint or martyr Kyriakos himself. We think this space may have

15 It goes without saying that the image of the tree is frequent in the Byzantine East, and we find examples in tissues originating in Egypt dating from the sixth-seventh centuries. Sometimes the fruits of the pomegranate appear clearly, but it is not the case with these images and it is best to invoke the tree of life.

16 I am grateful to Dolors Codina for information obtained in the context of the writing of her doctoral thesis (unpublished) on the opening of the grave two years after the closure of the site, Codina 2019 at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona.

been conceived as a martyrdom chapel and later used as a burial ground for certain members of the monastic community. This would have involved transferring relics to another privileged location at the foot of the nave.

In any case, in addition to the veneration of relics, there were two types of burial at the basilica: individual burials in the ambulatory surrounding the central space, and burials in the communal pit in the martyrdom chapel. Both occurrences were rare in the east. In fact, we could not compare our findings with those at any other ecclesiastical or monastic basilica in Egypt that would clearly have had the same funeral function. However, in archaeological literature authors sometimes speak of 'funerary churches' such as Deir Abu Fana, where the body of a saint is buried under the pavement. We also find the concept of a 'cemetery church', such as a church in Kellis that contains tombs and altars.[17] However, these do not resemble our basilica. We have also to bear in mind that there is also a type of burial in 'oratories', which probably derive from some type of hermit dwelling.[18] Collective crypts can be found in what I have call in a previous study a 'funerary house' that also included a cult room and a bench for funerary meals. Other structures at Oxyrhynchos of this kind of buildings show a great deal of variety, adding the cult place in a second phase of use. This situation may be compared to that of a small church in Amheida, where a crypt with burials is located under the *pastofori*.[19] Burials have recently been found in the main church in Bawit but 'the graves show that the church was probably built over a cemetery'.[20] The best-known monastic buildings have therefore provided few data on the tombs or crypts for monks. However, there are references to tombs in written sources. An Antinoupolis papyrus, for example, refers to an archiater who wished to be buried in a monks' cemetery.[21] Another unique case is that of the so-called 'funeral church' of the fifth-century necropolis at Bagawat, but there the buildings for funerary meetings do not contain any tomb.[22] Therefore, the fortress basilica, with its individual tombs, burial grave and worship facilities, currently has no parallel in Egypt.

In the fortress basilica we also find individual burials at the pavement level. Church burials were a restricted phenomenon that acquired several nuances over the centuries depending on the ecclesiastical region involved.[23] In Egypt there are few data on this process. The great churches with martyrdom crypts, such as those of Hermopoulis and Abu Mina, do not provide privileged burials. A church in Antinoupolis has a crypt and other privileged burials near the eastern door, but these burials took place after the church was abandoned.[24] In short, unlike other regions of the Empire where the covered cemetery or cemetery basilica was developed as a typology, we have found no trace of privileged burials inside any Egyptian basilica.[25] In basilicas with a predominance of funerary liturgy, the tombs usually correspond to members of the elite or to ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially bishops.[26] In the fortress we have the name of only one deceased – Menas, the prior. We have identified up to five more tombs in the pavement. However, these could not be excavated so we were unable to analyse the bodies to determine their age or gender. It is not unreasonable to consider that the community that dealt with the cult of Kyriakos may have reserved a place of honour for its priors and buried the bodies of other monks in a collective tomb. This hypothesis on the burial of priors in the church and monks in the pit, though plausible, cannot be corroborated archaeologically. Nonetheless, the custom of burying bishops in a martyrdom church can be documented: a late version of the Acts of Peter's Martyrdom details the fourth-century transfer of the body of a bishop from Alexandria to the episcopal, suburban church that he himself had built as a place to commemorate martyrs and where he had prepared his own grave.[27]

17 The so-called West Church of Kellis. Cf. Bowen 2004, 176.

18 The hermit room could be converted into a tomb. This has led to the confusion between a tomb, an oratory and a chapel (see Innemée 2015) due to the validity of the metaphor of the cell as a tomb.

19 Aravecchia *et al.* 2015.

20 Hadji-Minaglou 2015, 239.

21 *P.Cairo Masp* II 67151, 162-168 cited by Gascou 1992, n. 34.

22 Capuani *et al.* 2002, 254-255

23 See, for instance, Falla Castelfranchi 1989.

24 Grossmann 2010, 169.

25 Duval 1982 and Duval - Picard 1986.

26 For a general reflection on the phenomenon, see Yasin 2009.

27 It is a *basilica ad corpus*, according to Rébillard 1993, 986-987.

Fig. 3. Pool for martyrdom worship and pilgrim practices.

We should also stress the presence of a choir at the foot of the basilica clearly with liturgical functions (Fig. 3). This very large enclosure has stone pillars and vertical slabs or *plutei* with a very simple geometrical decoration of rhombuses and circles. The slabs are sawn, probably due to the reuse of liturgical furniture. This detail could mean two interesting things: 1) that the choir was an addition to the first church plan, and 2) that a low barrier was required for observing some kind of ritual. As we know, the functions of a chancel in a Christian church are diverse. Although written data or other material to support interpretation is often scarce, its position in the Church fits well with a well-known feature of martyrdom in the West and in North Africa. Sometimes, however, the function of this space changed: for example, from choir to *martyrium*.[28] At the Byzantine fortress in Oxyrhynchos the choir arrangement is just a small basin with several holes on both the inside and outside. The outer holes may have supported a canopy while the inner holes may have been used to secure a table to display a relic or to bless water or oil for pilgrims.[29] We know that in Abu Mina there were several reliquaries and an alabaster container near the altar, where the oil that dripped above the relics could be collected.[30] We believe that the basilica case is similar since in neither case can the equipment be considered a baptismal pool. The texts also support the hypothesis that pools of water were used for religious practices related to martyrdom worship. For example, in the book of the passion of Pirow and Athom, the martyrs appear in dreams to Sarapamon and state (according to the French translation by Hyvernat): 'Tu es digne d'exercer le ministère auquel nous te préposons, de la part du Seigneur, et qui consiste dans le soin du corps glorieux de notre père Ap'Anoua, prêtre et martyr. Tu mettras de l'eau dans sa piscine, tu allumeras sa lampe'.[31] We know from another fragment of the same text that the saint was buried beneath the pool: ... 'Au-dessus de l'endroit où il était inhumé, ils construisirent un bassin qu'ils remplirent d'eau et placerent une lampe qui restait allumée le jour et la nuit'.[32] The Palestinian

28 Duval - Baratte - Golvin 1989.

29 For a reconstruction of the altar with a reliquary of Ras el Bassit in Syria, see Yasin 2015, 146-147.

30 Grossmann 1998, 284-285

31 Hyvernat 1886, 163.

32 Hyvernat 1886, 138.

church has a piece of liturgical furniture related to the relics of a martyr named *Thalassa*.[33] According to a liturgical document, the same piece of furniture was also present in the Red Monastery.[34]

Another highlight from the architectural perspective, is the sanctuary. This large space must have been magnificent, with a row of decorative columns in the form of a *templon* or *fastigium* (only one mark of column is preserved).[35] Perhaps in a second phase, an *iconostasis* was introduced that transformed the sanctuary into a *khurus*, as was common in Egyptian churches in the second half of the seventh century.[36]

The apse of the sanctuary is small (the stones that defined it have been stolen) as it was not intended to accommodate the altar. Instead, there is a pavement with the print of a *sigma* table that was embedded in the ground. The apse therefore adopts the form of a symbolic *stibadium*. It is unanimously agreed that the marble tables of this form generally constitute a symbolic reference to the last supper and therefore have a funeral significance,[37] though their specific function in the liturgy has not been fully resolved. The marble tables have usually been found out of context but they are assumed to have been resting on one foot as a table of offerings. Sometimes they have been found to contain relics.[38] In Christian Egypt, tables were embedded in the floor of a church in Tebtynis and in a Kellis chapel (room 46-48, chapel QR 227).[39] We should also mention similar receptacles found in another church in the Diocese of Africa (Haidra VI) dedicated to the martyrs of Diocletian persecution.[40] It has also been suggested that this could have been the function of the Tebtynis table, while others were used as funeral steles.[41] We believe that the table places the symbolism of the funeral *refrigerium* in the foreground.[42] In the context of the fortress, this indicates that the basilica was first and foremost a monks' cemetery and also the burial place of Saint Kyriakos, patron of the monastic community (Fig. 4).

It is also important to consider the appearance of the church as a whole. It has a large nave with a space for circulation, rest and prayer and a bench running along the southern and western sides, as corresponds to a place of commemoration.[43] This provision is frequent in both Egyptian diocesan churches such as those of Hermoupolis and monastic churches.[44] One of the monastic churches comparable by type with that of the fortress is the main church at Apa Jeremias, which is dated from the seventh century but had a previous fourth-century phase.[45] The martyrdom churches were of the 'return aisle' type (like the North Church of Saint Menas) or of the most official type of basilica with three or more naves. Access to the church was given through a small door, which was not in the axis (as was common in monastic churches: Dayr Abu Fana or Kom Namrud, church C from Tebtynis). At the Byzantine fortress in Oxyrhynchos, the presence of the reliquary choir justifies this variation, fits in well with the typological option that goes beyond symmetry, and indicates a type of free circulation on the periphery of the church. This does not mean, however, that access to the most important places of worship and commemoration was not restricted. Access to the sanctuary was well defined by the steps and *cancelli* between the columns in the first section of the nave as suggested by holes for wood fences.

These architectural elements therefore form a complex whole from the liturgical point of view as if they were adapted for complementary functions. The apparent incongruity of liturgical facilities is related to this evolution, which is more general in scope. We know that in Egypt, as in other regions, tombs and

33 Mlynarczyk 2011, 266.

34 Bolman 2016, 32.

35 On the ambiguity of the denomination and its role and significance in the Eastern church, see Ruggieri 2008.

36 Grossmann 1991.

37 Roux 1973a, 150.

38 Roux 1973a, 179.

39 Grossmann 2002, plate IIb.

40 Duval - Baratte - Golvin 1989.

41 Roux 1973a, 167. The author alleges this possible martyrial function for the case of Tebtunis, still *in situ*, while discarding the other hypothesis, that of Bagnani, who believed that it was related to baptism. Its use as a funeral stele is found in Roux 1973a, 178 and also in Roux 1973b.

42 Février 1977, 29-45. See also Flood 2001 for reuse of the so-called Coptic tables in the Arab period.

43 The ritual would consist of eucharistic offerings and *agapes* in commemoration of the deceased, as prescribed by the bishop of Hermontis. MacCoull 2000, 56.

44 See Thomas - Costantinides Hero 2016, 47 for the resumption of the autonomy of the monasteries as private foundations after the attempted regulation of Justinian.

45 Capuani *et al.* 2002, 133-134.

Fig. 4. View of the tribune and the apse with the negative imprint of the *sigma* table.

burial chapels were dedicated to a martyr and later became the subject of ecclesiastical initiatives for the construction of a *martyrium*.[46] In fact martyrdom churches characteristically received liturgical facilities that commemorated the circumstances and actors involved in the translation of relics.[47] On the other hand, the cult of martyrs led to meetings,[48] festivals and pilgrimages that separated and restricted access to different spaces. In short, it is generally agreed that the distinction between *martyrium* and sanctuary for the Eucharist disappeared in the fourth century[49] and that *agape* for martyrs may even be considered a Eucharistic celebration.

As a *martyrium* the basilica should have been a place of pilgrimage. As well as the famous pilgrimage city of Abu Mina, several other pilgrimage centres in Egypt have been identified, mainly from sources but occasionally also from archaeology. Another martyrdom and pilgrimage church is the one at Tell al-Makhzan in the eastern part of the Delta. Although this church differs in several aspects from the fortress basilica, what they have in common is the vast surface of the building and the layout of the chambers around the return aisle. Also, as we imagine was the case for the fortress basilica, the relics of the saint were transferred to the interior of the new basilica from a first memorial chapel.[50] The scarce archaeological and architectural data on Christian pilgrimage to Egypt contrast with the abundance of written references to the worship of the saints. Facilities for pilgrims would not need to be very specific. In Sidi-Mahmud, near

46 For example, in Saint Peter, the hieromartyr of Diocletian persecution who received a *martyrium* in the seventh century (Gascou 1991) or the martyrium for the relics of Saint John the Baptist (Aranda Pérez 1991, 1354-1357), all of which were initiatives of high ecclesiastical instances; however, ascetics such as Saint Phib also received similar honours (Coquin 1991, 1598)

47 Yasin 2015.

48 Papaconstantinou 1992, 241-242.

49 Spieser 1998, 20.

50 Bonnet *et al.* 2005.

Abu Mina, for example, Grossmann identifies a place of incubation next to a small church.[51] In the case of the D3 church in Antinoupolis, he affirms the use of places of incubation from the presence of benches.[52]

The word *martyrion* is documented in Oxyrhynchos only for martyrs Ioustos and Serenos in the city and few other times in the surrounding area.[53] In the surrounding area, the sources that use the term *martyrion* refer only to a church dedicated to all martyrs, one dedicated to Saint Kolluthos at the *komé* of Talao, and one dedicated to Saint John 30 km north of the city.[54] However, it is known that martyrdom worship did not strictly require the use of this term and was widespread in various types of churches.[55] In monasteries, martyrial worship was not frequent despite the special case of Phoibammon in Deir el-Bahari.[56] According to Papaconstantinou, monasteries were not usually dedicated to saints, though some were dedicated to people who were considered holy. Kyriakos holds the title of *hagios* but did he receive martyrdom worship or was the cult devoted to an anonymous martyr? According to Papaconstantinou, the founders of monasteries were revered as true martyrs.[57] The relationship between monasteries and saints and martyrs evolved over the centuries while relics were increasingly worshipped in monasteries of the seventh century. Nevertheless, martyrdom worship assumes the presence of a bishop and cannot be considered private or monastic, though this does not mean that they cannot be located on private property.[58] Some pilgrimage circuits were frequented by only a small number of people. Perhaps these were devotees from a nearby city who followed the church's festive calendar.[59]

No specific archaeological evidence relates the fortress basilica to the remains of a pilgrim-oriented craft, such as jars or *ampullae* for eulogy, though some of those found in Egypt were dedicated to Kyriakos.[60] However, we founded some stoppers for jars with Saint Menas figure among others. What has been excavated is certainly very little, and the absence of *xenodochia* or other facilities used to welcome pilgrims cannot be ruled out. Not even at the great basilica are excavations complete and we know for sure that its walls continue below the sand.

Unfortunately, these arguments do not help us to clarify the origin of the sanctity of Saint Kyriakos. When I first published the results of my excavation, I suggested very cautiously, that the building seemed like a reception room. This impression stemmed from its proportions and its centrality in the fortress as a whole, a suburban domain that suggests an *oikos* of landowners. In the West, the episcopal audience has still not been clearly related to a specific and differentiated type of reception room[61] though, according to Duval, the elevated platform and cancels are indications to consider.[62] Episcopal *aulae* were normally tied to the main church, though examples exist of bishops and monks operating from outside the metropolis.[63] For example, Patriarch Benjamin I chose the Matra monastery as a residence when he returned to Alexandria in 644.[64] At least five cases exist in which the bishop resides in a town without municipal status.[65] The bishop from Hermontis, founded a monastery in which he lived rather than in the diocesan seat and leaved it in heritance to a 'superior'.[66] This case dates from the seventh century, which is the same period as the fortress basilica. The relationship between bishops and monasteries can therefore be defined by one

51 Grossmann 1998, 288.

52 Grossmann 2016, 35

53 In the Synaxarium of the sixth century, only Saint Serenos and Saint Ioustos appear related to a martyrium. See Papaconstantinou 1996b, 153.

54 Papaconstantinou 2001, 287-288

55 Papaconstantinou 2001, 274-275.

56 Papaconstantinou 2001, 271-278.

57 Papaconstantinou 2001, 308. The author points out that the title of martyrium disappears early from the documentation.

58 Papaconstantinou 1996b, 143 n.4.

59 Papaconstantinou 2001, 310. The author points out that the scope of the circuits of the episcopal Synaxarium would in some cases exceed the city limits, which implies that people would have to stay a night away from home.

60 Papaconstantinou 2001, 349.

61 Ruzzardi 2007.

62 Duval 1999.

63 The Dayr Muṣṭafā Kāšif convent in Khargah may also have worked as an episcopal see, Ghica 2012.

64 Coquin - Martin 1991.

65 Worp 1994, 317.

66 The monk, who was prior to the monastery of Sant Phoibammon, changed his monastery by indication of the archimandrite, possibly after being appointed, MacCoull 2000, 54.

of two situations: either a bishop founded a monastery after his appointment or a monk who had demonstrated a certain moral category was appointed bishop. However, no explicit reference to an *episcopium* is known for Oxyrhynchos.[67]

The Episcopal Church or *katholiké ekklesia* should be the most magnificent church in the city. It should also be located in the centre or in a significant area of urban topography. Recent excavations of the archaeological mission at Oxyrhynchos have focused on a large basilica space located in the area of the *intramuros* necropolis, which links the city with its pharaonic past and was possibly the sites of the *serapeum* in the Greco-Roman period. This church may be a good candidate for this role. Its affiliation to Saint Philoxenos, one of the greater saints with a cult at Oxyrhynchos, has recently been published.[68] Thanks to its repeated presence in written sources, another candidate is the church dedicated to Phoibammon.[69]

The fact that the fortress basilica is neither the greatest, the most beautiful nor the most important from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of *Pemdjé* perspective does not rule out that it may have been a property of the Episcopal Church at some point in the long history of Christianity in the city. In fact, in the fifth century the episcopal Church would have had agricultural properties and rented vineyards.[70] In sector 4 of the fortress, we found a room where vine branches were stored. Obviously, this does not mean that the fortress was definitely an episcopal property but it does allow us to visualise the nature of these suburban domains.

4. *A second martyrial and monastic complex*

The fortress basilica shows a close interrelationship between an institutional church and a monastic community. This is repeated in an annex on the eastern façade, a site surrounded by a wall with angle towers and an independent entrance. The spaces that were excavated within the walls are few but significant.

There is one sector of which we know only two rooms or chapels oriented towards an open central space. In the northernmost area, a quadrangular room was modified to include two apses to the east and west and a cover with a canopy vault on shells. On the angles of construction, which adopted a cruciform aspect, there were four gates, which were necessary for the construction process. These were later bricked up or left only partially open as a kind of cupboard lined with mortar. Filling the spandrels on the eastern side are abundant mosaic fragments and amphorae fragments that we can roughly date to the sixth century. An interesting fact is that the lime mortar lining the quadrangular room contained a *dipinto* and several paintings that were hidden by the new construction. The *dipinto*, which depicts a holy presbyter and prior (*proestós*), is signed by Thomas and another monk whose name is incomplete and graphited below in Coptic.[71] We are especially interested in the presbyter, a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who was also the main figure in the monastery. This figure was needed for celebrating the liturgy (also in the case of martyrdom worship), which suggests he was in charge of martyrdom matters in the adjoining room.[72] For scholars of Egyptian Christianity it is also interesting to include this case when studying the relationships between the church and monasticism.[73]

The most prominent element is a quadrangular space inside which a dome was built. It rested on wooden architraves between the side walls and six columns so that the construction had eight support points. The columns were very low and all different, as were their reused capitals. From the technical point of view, it was a risky initiative that was bound to collapse quickly. Despite the modesty of the construction materials, the architectural approach was hugely important, so this area must have been

67 Serfas 2007, 257.

68 Padró - Martínez - Piedrafita 2018.

69 According to Papaconstantinou, there are grounds for thinking that the Episcopal Church of Phoibamon corresponded to the founder, who was famous for synaxarium of the city. See Papaconstatinou 1996b, 155.

70 Benaissa 2007.

71 Piedrafita - Padró 2010, 267-268. Piedrafita 2017, 24.

72 The title of presbyter could also be granted by the bishop as an indication of prestige and piety. Wipszycka 1992.

73 In particular, see Wipszycka 2018, 445. The author points out that, despite the reluctance of monks to include ecclesiastics in their monasteries, the reality shown by documentary papyrus is that this was often the case.

related to some form of martyrial cult. The centre of the room had a stone slab with a wooden fence enclosure that clearly indicates the position of an altar. Needless to say, the shape of the dome on columns evokes the tomb of Christ, and the presence of an enclosed space with wooden fences indicates the position of an altar. In fact, we found a highly fragmented stone block with a hole that suggests of a table/reliquary. The floor was not paved, so the mark left by the circulation of the devotees who prayed around the altar can be seen.

In Egypt, we find few martyrdom buildings with a central plan. The most majestic of these is located in Pelusium. Though modest, this chapel of the fortress is no less important since it speaks of an erudite architecture set in metropolitan models and leads us to think of initiatives close to ecclesiastical power. Still, the complex was left in the hands of monks. As we have already mentioned, the annex has a house of which we have been able to excavate only the refectory. The other rooms indicate a very small community, though nothing precludes the fact that a much larger set of rooms may be located below the sand. The refectory had windows decorated with a *claustra* and the side walls were painted with images of the triumph and worship of the cross, i.e. rams and branches of palm in a symmetrical arrangement. From the iconographic point of view, these images are appropriate since the animals symbolise the Christian community and are often found in monastic environments in Middle Egypt, such as the Sohag Red Monastery or the underground chapel of the Sohag White Monastery. From the artistic perspective, the painting has an undeniable graphic quality but the colouration is very simple. We can date this structure to the sixth century thanks to the presence of ceramics on the spandrels of the vault. This dating can also be extended to the paintings as there is no overlapping of pictorial layers. The decoration is rather austere, and perhaps even unfinished, since the east wall has no colour.

5. *An industrial installation and an Arab fort*

We cannot specify the date but, unlike the rotunda room, the transformed chapel was still in use when the patio became a production area for several activities: on one side are three kilns in a line; to the east is a large millstone surrounded by columns where a pergola would have rested; and just in front of the entrance to the old chapels are a bench and a small millstone, which are suitable for finer work. What kind of product would people have milled in this area? Millstones and bread kilns were frequent in any suburban structure of a certain size. A papyrus from the beginning of the sixth century reports that the founder of a small monastery west of Oxyrhynchos, a certain Kopreus, rented a bakery belonging to a female member of the city's elite[74] and that it contained three ovens for bread, two mills and a stone for grinding with a mortar. It appears to be very similar to what we found (I am not saying that we have found the monastery of Kopreus, however!). In any case, large-scale bread production is well-documented at the Oxyrhynchos-area monastery, as is oil and wine production for supplementing the requirements of the monastic community and those of workers from outside that community.[75]

The only difference between the above document and the archaeological remains lies in the function of the furnaces. The bread ovens of this period were of the 'tannur' type for baking unleavened bread pressed against the wall.[76] The kilns of the fortress are similar to those for bread – oval and with a mouth on an inclined plane, however, they are large and too tall to be used in this way (Fig. 5). Access to the fire room is wide and is made with tiles and recycled elements from the architectural decoration. Moreover, the ovens were full of L7-type amphoras, which are intended for storing wine. These furnaces are incongruous with their location, firstly because the fire would be too close to the grain grinder and the workplace and secondly, because this was not a good place for producing *amphorae* since there were no facilities for preparing, kneading and turning clay. However, we know little about the production workshops for these amphorae and it may be that production and cooking were done separately.

Finally, the site provides important archaeological data for the centuries of transition when, for a certain time, the *status quo* was maintained, Byzantine properties were respected, and Christian worship

74 *P.Oxy*. xvi 1890, Commented by, among others, Wipszycka 2011, 193.

75 Wipszycka 2011, 195.

76 Formally, this type of oven is like the type II of Depraetere, see Depraetere 2002, 123.

Fig. 5. Oven containing LR7 amphorae.

was tolerated after the Arabic conquest.[77] We have already seen that the basilica remained in use until the end of the seventh century and that 'the ecclesiastical annex' underwent a major transformation going through one or two phases in which the area was conquered and controlled by Arab forces.

Excavation of the chapel with the opposite apses revealed a Cufic inscription painted on the white lime mortar without any other decoration. In its final days this space seems to have served only as a workplace because the walls presented incisions like counting marks. The inscription requests Allah's blessing on the property of Malik ibn Ziyâd al-Khayr.[78] Successful dating of this text is essential for constructing the sequence of events. Despite the difficulties presented by this source, we would like to point out that the story of the conquest of el-Bahnasa mentions a couple of characters with this name.[79] However, It appears that caliph Abd al-Malik (r. 685-705) and his son were the first to take control of this Egyptian territory, recording an inventory of its strengths and possessions and conducting a census.[80]

In the sector of the chapels later transformed into a production area, we discovered the foundations of a quadrangular tower at an upper level. We have been unable to verify the structural relationship between the constructions but we get the impression that construction of the tower meant the disappearance of the other structures. Also, the tower was constructed with different materials in terms of the module and the quality of the mud. If the other structures were not standing, we can imagine that this was an isolated watchtower. In stratigraphy we have found no elements of Arab material culture to indicate that it remained in use for a long time. Probably, the function of the fortress was to establish strategic control over the territory for a short period of time before it was completely abandoned. In fact, the ancient city was concentrating near the river, where the Arab el-Bahnasa was consolidated. Oxyrhynchos is known to have played a significant role in the redefinition of the landscape during the transition from the Christian to the Islamic world. Medieval sources reveal that the Arabs built a first oratory in the west of the city in a place where the Virgin Mary would have stayed.[81] In fact, a bit further south but not far from the fortress is the Muslim cemetery of the modern city, where the remains of venerable heroes of the Arab conquest are preserved and where it is still claimed (as in other places in Egypt) that there is a tree under which the virgin rested.[82]

77 Sijpesteijn 2009.

78 يرحمك ربك اذه لملك بن زياد الخير I am grateful for the new transcription by Virgilio Martínez Enamorado on the occasion of this communication. Provisionally translated as 'Bless you this your Lord [Allāh] the property of Malik bn Ziyâd al-Khayr'.

79 Jarry 1970, 12-14. Galtier 1909, 196-199, 208.

80 Sijpesteijn 2009, 126. Veure també Sijpesteijn 2007.

81 van der Vliet 2006, 52.

82 For Arabic sources citing this fact, check Sadek El Gendi 2015, 26 and 29, n. 13.

References

Aranda Pérez 1991 = G. Aranda Pérez, "John the Baptist, Saint", in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopaedia*, I-VIII, New York, IV, pp. 1354-1357.

Aravecchia *et al.* 2015 = N. Aravecchia - T.L. Dupras - D. Dzierzbicka - L. Williams, "The Church at Amheida (ancient Trimithis) in the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt. A Bioarchaeological Perspective on an Early Christian Mortuary Complex", *Bioarchaeology of the Near East*, 9, 2015, pp. 21-43.

Bausi - Camplani 2016 = A. Bausi - A. Camplani, "The *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria* (*HEpA*)*: Editio minor* of the fragments preserved in the *Aksumite Collection* and in the *Codex Veronensis* LX (58)", *Adamantius*, 22, 2016, pp. 249-302.

Benaissa 2007 = A. Benaissa, "New Light on the Episcopal Church of Oxyrhynchos", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 161, 2007, pp. 199-206.

Bolman 2016 = E.S. Bolman, *The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt*, New Haven - London, 2016.

Bonnet *et al.* 2005 = C. Bonnet - Mohamed Abd El-Samie - Mohamed Abd El-Hafez - Refhat El-Taher, "L'ensemble martyrial de Tell el-Makhzan en Égypte", *Genava: revue d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie*, 53, 2005, pp. 281-305.

Bowen 2004 = G.E. Bowen, "Some Observations on Christian Burial Practices at Kellis", in G.E. Bowen - C.A. Hope (eds.), *The Oasis Papers 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 167-182.

Calderini 1935-2010 = A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano.* Con Supplementi a cura di S. Daris, Cairo - Barcelona - Milano - Bonn - Pisa, 1935-2010.

Capuani *et al.* 2002 = M. Capuani - O.F.A. Meinardus, M.-H. Rutschkowscaya - Gabra, *Christian Egypt. Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia*, Cairo, 2002.

Codina 2019 = D. Codina, *El món funerari bizantí a Egipte. El cas d'Oxirrinc*, doctoral thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona, 2019.

Codina - Subías 2017 = D. Codina - E. Subías, "La basílica funerària del sector 16. Oxirrinc, El-Bahnasa, Egipto. Estudio thanatoarqueológico del individuo 16638", in *Actas del XIII Congreso Nacional de Paleopatología*, Écija, 2017.

Coquin 1991 = R.-G. Coquin, "Cyriacus Bishop of al-Bahnasa", in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, III, pp. 669-671.

Coquin - Martin 1991 = R.-G. Coquin - M. Martin, "Dayr Matra", in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, III, p. 837.

Depraetere 2002 = D. Depraetere, "A Comparative Study on the Construction and the Use of the Domestic Bread Oven in Egypt During the Graeco-Roman and Late Antique/Early Byzantine Period", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo*, 58, 2002, pp. 119-156.

Derda 1992 = T. Derda, "Polish Excavations at Deir el-Naqlun 1986-1991. Interdependence of Archaeology and Papyrology", in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August* , Copenhagen, 1992, pp. 124-130.

Duval 1999 = N. Duval, "Les installations liturgiques dans les églises paléochrétiennes", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 5, 1999, pp. 7-30.

Duval 1982 = Y. Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae, le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVè au VIIè siècle*, Roma, 1982.

Duval - Baratte - Golvin 1989 = N. Duval - F. Baratte - J.-C. Golvin, "Les églises d'Haïdra VI: la basilique des martyrs de la persécution de Dioclétien. Bilan de la campagne 1983", in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 133, 1989, pp. 129-173.

Duval - Picard 1986 = Y. Duval - J.C. Picard (ed.), *L'inhumation privilégiée du IV au VIII siècle en Occident, actes du colloque tenu à Créteil les 16-18 mars 1984*, Paris, 1986.

Falla Castelfranchi 1989 = M. Falla Castelfranchi (1989), "Sepolture di vescovi e monaci in Mesopotamia", in *Actes du XI*[e] *congrés international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aoste, 21-28 septembre 1986*, Rome, 1989, pp. 1267-1279.

Fedalto 1988 = G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis, II:Patriarchatus Alexandriae, Antiochae, Hierosolymitanae*, Padova, 1988.

Février 1977 = P.A. Février, “A propos du repas funéraire: culte et sociabilité ‘In Christo Deo, pax et concordia sit convivio nostro’”, *Cahiers archéologiques Fin de l’Antiquité et Haut Moyen Âge*, XXVI, 1977, pp. 29-45.

Février 1991 = P.A. Février, “Martyre et sainteté”, in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental* (*IIIe-XIIIe siècle*). *Actes du colloque de Rome* (*27-29 octobre 1988*), Rome, 1991, pp. 51-80.

Flood 2001 = F.B. Flood, “The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope: Coptic and Byzantine ‘Altars’ in Islamic Contexts”, *Muqarnas*, 18, 2001, pp. 41-72.

Gabra - Takla 2015 = G. Gawadt - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt. Al-Minya and Asyut*, Cairo - New York, 2015.

Gascou 1991 = J. Gascou, “Lithazomenon and Saint Peter’s bridge”, in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, V, pp. 1467-1468.

Gascou 1992 = J. Gascou, “La vie de Patermouthios moine et fossoyeur (Historia Monachorum X)”, in *Itinéraires d’Egypte. Mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin s.j.*, Cairo, 1992, pp. 107-114.

Galtier 1909 = E. Galtier, *Foutouh al Bahnasâ* (MIFAO, 22), Cairo, 1909.

Ghica 2012 = V. Ghica, “Pour une histoire du cristianisme dans le désert occidental d’Égypte”, *Journal des savants* 2.1, (2012), pp. 189-280.

Giorda 2009 = M.C. Giorda, “Bishops-Monks in the Monasteries: Presence and Role”, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 39, 2009, pp. 49-82.

Grossmann 1991 = P. Grossmann, “Architectural Elements. Sanctuary”, in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, I, pp. 220-221.

Grossmann 1998 = P. Grossmann, “Pilgrimage Center of Abu Mina”, in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, Leiden - Boston - Köln, 1998, pp. 281-302.

Grossmann 2002 = P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Handbuch der Orientalistik Abt., 1-62), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2002.

Grossmann 2010 = P. Grossmann, “Antinoopolis October 2010. On the Church Beside the Eastern Gate”, *Aegyptus*, 90, 2010, pp. 165-181.

Grossmann 2016 = P. Grossmann, “New Early Christian Churches at Antinoopolis”, in M. Loaay - A. Mansour (eds.) *Copts in the Egyptian Society before and after the Muslim Conquest. Archaeological, Historical and Applied Studies*, Alexandria, 2016, pp. 31-42.

Hadji-Minaglou 2015 = G. Hadji-Minaglou, “Recent Excavations at Bawit’, in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt. Al Minya and Asyut*, Cairo - New York, pp. 229-240.

Hyvernat 1886 = H. Hyvernat, *Les actes des martyrs de l’Égypte* I, Paris, 1886.

Innemée 2015 = K. Innemée, “Funerary aspects in the Paintings from the Apollo Monastery at Bawit”, in G. Gabra -H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt. Al Minya and Asyut*, Cairo - New York, 2015, pp. 242-253.

Jarry 1970 = J. Jarry, “La conquête du Fayoum par les musulmans d’après le Futuh Al-Bahnasa”, *Annales Islamologiques*, 9, 1970, pp. 9-20.

Jördens 2006 = A. Jördens, “Ein oxyrhynchitisches *proastion*”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 200, 2006, pp. 470-480.

Karelin 2011 = D. Karelin, “Hypothetical Computer Reconstruction of Nag el-Hagar Fortress in Egypt’, *AMIT*, 2 (15), 2011, pp. 1-20.

Krueger 2019 = F. Krueger, “The Papyrological Rediscovery of the Monastery of Apa Ezekiel and Bishop Andrew of Hermonthis (6th Century) Preliminary Report on the Edition of the Coptic Ostraca at the Leipzig University”, *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 21, 2019, pp. 73-114.

MacCoull 1990 = L.S.B. MacCoull, “The Pascal Setter or Alexander II Patriarch of Alexandria: a Greek Defense of Coptic Theology ander Arab Rule’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44, 1990, pp. 27-40.

MacCoull 2000 = L.S.B. MacCoull, “Apa Abraham: Testament of Apa Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis, for the Monastery of St. Phoibammon near Thebes, Egypt”, in J. Thomas A. Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* I (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XXXV), Washington, DC, 2000, pp. 51-58.

Mazza 2001 = R. Mazza, *L’Archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell’Egitto tardoantico*, Bari, 2001.

Mlynarczyk 2011 = J. Mlynarczyk, "Churches and Society in Byzantine and Ummayad-Period Hippos", *ARAM*, 23, 2011, pp. 253-284.

Padró - Martínez - Piedrafita 2018 = J. Padró - J.J. Martínez - C. Piedrafita, "Historia de un edificio religioso en Oxirrinco, desde el siglo IV a.C. hasta el siglo VII d.C.", *Anuari de filologia. Antiqva et mediaevalia* 8, 2018, pp. 70-718.

Papaconstantinou 1992 = A. Papaconstantinou, "L'agapè des martyrs: P.Oxy. LVI 3864", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 92, 1992, pp. 241-242.

Papaconstantinou 1996a = A. Papaconstantinou, "Sur les Évêques byzantins d'Oxyrhynchos", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 111, 1996, pp. 171-174.

Papaconstantinou 1996b = A. Papaconstantinou, "La liturgie stationnale à Oxyrhynchos", *Revue des études byzantines*, 54, 1996, pp. 135-159.

Papaconstantinou 2001 = A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte. Des byzantins aux Abbasides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, Paris, 2001.

Papaconstantinou 2007 = A. Papaconstantinou, "The Cult of Saints: A Haven of Continuity in a Changing World", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World 300-700*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 350-367.

Piedrafita 2015 = C. Piedrafita, "El prior Menas i una inscripció amb l'era de Dioclecià a Oxirrinc", in N. Castellano *et al.* (eds.), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa*, Barcelona, 2015, pp. 455-465.

Piedrafita 2017 = C. Piedrafita, "Revisió de l'epigrafia grega d'Oxirrinc a l'any 2017. Una recopilació dels textos més importants publicats", *Nilus*, 26, 2017, pp. 21-25.

Piedrafita - Padró 2010 = C. Piedrafita - J. Padró, "Dues noves inscripcions d'Oxirrinc (Campanya de 2007)", in E. Borrell Vidal - P. Gómez Cardó (eds.), *Artes ad hvmanitatem* I, XVI, Barcelona, 2010, pp. 261-268.

Rébillard 1993 = E. Rébillard, "Koimetérion et Coemeterium: tombe, tombe sainte, nécropole", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquit*é , 105.2, 1993, pp. 975-1001.

Roux 1973a = G. Roux, "Tables chrétiennes en marbre découvertes à Salamine"', *Salamine de Chypre* IV*,* Paris, pp. 133-196.

Roux 1973b = G. Roux, "Une table chrétienne de Delphes", *Bulletin de Correspondance Héllénique*, 97.1, 1973, pp. 137-144.

Ruggieri 2008 = V. Ruggieri, "La barriera presbiterale e il templon bizantino: ambivalenze semantiche fra liturgia, architettura e scultura", *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, sèrie seconda, X, pp. 29-58.

Ruzzardi 2007 = C. Ruzzardi, "Le sale di rappresentanza dell'episcopio di Ravenna nell'ambito dell'edilizia religiosa occidentale ed orientale dal tardoantico all'alto medioevo", in *L'Audience. Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2007, pp. 221-239.

Sadek El Gendi 2015 = S. Sadek El Gendi, "Christianity and Monasticism in Al-Bahnasa according to arabic sources", in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christinanity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt. Al-Minya and Asyut*, Cairo - New York, 2015, pp. 21-30.

Serfas 2007 = A. Serfas, "On the Meaning of the Word *Strotés* in P.Oxy.XVI 1951", *Zeitschrift für papyrologie und epigraphik*, 161, 2007, pp. 253-259.

Sijpesteijn 2007 = P.M. Sijpesteijn, "The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Beginning of Muslim rule", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 437-459.

Sijpesteijn 2009 = P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Landholding Patterns in Early Islamic Egypt", *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9.1, January, 2009, pp. 120-133.

Spieser 1998 = J.-M. Spieser, "Les fondations d'Ambroise à Milan et la question des martyria", in *Deltion Hristianikēs Arhaiologikēs Etaireias*, 20, 1998, pp. 29-34.

Subías 2012 = E. Subías, "La fortaleza bizantina del suburbio noroccidental de Oxirrinco (El Minia, Egipto)", in L.M. De Araújo - J. Das Candelias (eds.), *Novos trabalhos de Egiptologia Ibérica*, Lisboa, 2012.

Subías 2016a = E. Subías, "A Byzantine Domain in the Suburbs of Oxhyrhynchus", in P. Buzi - A. Camplani - F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012 and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September, 15th-19th, 2008 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247-248), I-II, Leuven, 2016, II, pp. 1381-1394.

Subías 2016b = E. Subías, *La decoració arquitectònica de l'església de la fortalesa al nord-oest d'Oxirinc* (*Pemdjé*) (Trama, 3), Tarragona, 2016.

Thomas - Constantinides Hero 2016 = J. Thomas - A. Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* I, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35), Washington, DC, 2016.

Timm 1984-2007 = S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit: Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit unter Ausschluss von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters* (*Der Abu Mina*)*, der Sketis* (*Wadi n-Natrun*) *und der Sinai-Region*, I-VI (Tübinger Atlas zum vorderen Orient, Beihefte, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, 41, 1-6), Wiesbaden, 1984-2007.

van der Vliet 2006 = J. van der Vliet, "Bringing Home The Homeless: Landscape and History in Egyptian Hagiography", *Church History and Religious Culture*, 86 n.1/4, 2006, pp. 38-55.

Wipszycka 1991 = E. Wipszycka, "Proestos", in A S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991 VI, p. 2021.

Wipszycka 1992 = E. Wipszycka, "'Fonctionnement de l'église égyptienne aux IVè-VIIIè siècles", in *Itinéraires d'Égypte. Mélanges oferts au père Maurice Martin s.j.*, Cairo, 1992, pp. 115-145.

Wipszycka 1994 = E. Wipszycka, "Le monachisme égyptien et les villes", *Travaux et mémoires*, 12, 1994, pp. 1-44.

Wipszycka 2011 = E. Wipszycka, "Resources and Economic Activities of the Egyptian Monastic Communities (4th–8th century)", *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 41, 2011, pp. 159-263.

Wipszycka 2018 = E. Wipszycka, *The Second Gift of the Nile. Monks and Monasteries in Late Antique Egypt* (The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Suppl., 33), Warsaw, 2018.

Worp 1994 = K.A. Worp, "A Cheklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (A.D. 325-750)", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 100, 1994, pp. 283-318.

Yasin 2009 = A.M. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean*, Cambridge, 2009.

Yasin 2015 = A.M. Yasin, "Sacred Installations. The Material Conditions of Relic Collections in Late Antique Churches", in C. Hahn - H.A. Klein (eds.), *Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, Harvard, 2015, pp. 133-151.

Manuscripts Wanting Homes: Early Biblical Manuscripts from Hermoupolis Magna and Antinoupolis

Frank Feder - Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

Abstract
This brief article introduces Hermopoulis Magna and Antinoupolis in Middle Egypt as important provincial centers in Late Antiquity and as hubs of Christian culture and classical education. It is unavoidable to assume that the cities were also centers of manuscript production. However, we possess hardly any information about manuscript production and libraries here. Examining some early biblical manuscripts (mostly from the Berlin Papyrus Collection) labeled as coming from Hermoupolis the article discusses the vagueness of the references and ways how a provenance Hermoupolis could be confirmed. Of great help are here the manuscripts found during the ongoing Italian excavations in Antinoupolis which provide assured data for the discovered manuscripts.

Keywords
Late Antiquity, Hermoupolis Magna, Antinoupolis, early biblical manuscripts.

1. *Introduction*

Hermoupolis and Antinoupolis ranged among the important provincial cities in Middle Egypt in Late Antiquity (Fig. 1).

As *metropoleis* and administrative centers they enjoyed an advanced Hellenistic culture and education. With the spread of Christianity both cities received an episcopal see in the fourth century CE, and numerous monastic communities developed in the neighboring deserts in the fourth-fifth century. While Hermoupolis Magna looked back at a long history in Pharaonic times as the 'city of the Eight (primordial gods)' and of Thot/Hermes the ibis-headed Egyptian god,[1] Antinoupolis was founded only in 130 CE by Emperor Hadrian (117-138), at the place where his ἐραστής Antinoos drowned in the Nile. But it enjoyed the privileged status of a *polis* until the reforms of Septimius Severus and Diocletian in course of the third century CE levelled this status. However, the rests of a temple erected in the name of Ramses II prominently indicate a precedent Pharaonic occupation also for this site.[2]

For Hermoupolis, Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* VI 46,2) mentions Christian communities already in the time of the Alexandrian bishop Dionysios (247/48-264/65), and the impressive relicts of the grand basilica (Fig. 2) prove the importance of the city as Christian urban hub.

Antinoupolis (Fig. 3) became a model city of Roman-Hellenistic culture whose architecture was enthusiastically copied in other cities. Since Diocletian's (284/285-305) administrative reforms Antinoupolis was the capital of the Lower Thebaid. Vestiges of several churches and, above all, the famous St Colluthos sanctuary and pilgrimage centre witness a highly developed Christian infrastructure.

2. *Hermoupolis and Antinoupolis: centers of book production?*

Despite their obvious importance as administrative and urban centers with prospering Christian communities, which must have possessed Christian literary and biblical texts, our information about book

1 This name 'Eight' is still conserved in the Coptic name of the city ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ and in the Arabic term 'Al-Ashmunein'; cf. Roeder 1959, ch. III, and ch. IV, 136-137.

2 Rosati 2008; for further information on the pre-Graeco-Roman history of the site, see https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/53.

Fig. 1. Map of Middle Egypt © 'PATHs' team.

Fig. 2. Hermoupolis, Basilica ©Frank Feder 2013.

Fig. 3. Antinoupolis, Northern Church ©Frank Feder 2013.

production and libraries in and around the two *metropoleis* is quite limited and is based on manuscript finds made during excavations or just assigned to the cities by collection catalogues without definite proof of provenance.

2.1. Hermoupolis Magna

The inventory book of the Berlin Papyrus Collection relatively often mentions for some early Coptic biblical manuscripts a provenance "Eschmunein". It is very likely that at least a fair number of them were brought to Berlin by Otto Rubensohn who led papyrus excavations 1903-1905 in Hermoupolis. Unfortunately, an excavation report has never been published and the material of Rubensohn's campaigns has not been studied in detail yet.[3] The more systematic German excavation campaigns in Hermoupolis 1929-1939 directed by Günther Roeder seem to have discovered only documentary material from the period after the Arabic conquest.[4] There is no systematic survey or any other study which could help us to identify manuscripts brought from Hermoupolis. Schüssler's catalogue *Biblia Coptica* while including many useful information does not list provenance information in a consistent way except in the last two fascicles that appeared.[5]

Therefore, 'PAThs" *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*[6] lists only three manuscript items connected to this place. Two parchment leaves from a miniature codex of the Festal Letters of Athanasius (fifth century?, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung P 11948),[7] a single papyrus leaf with the Letter of Abgar (eighth century?, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung K 3151A),[8] and the rests of a Fayyumic papyrus codex with *Hermeneiai* and an Arabic protocol (dated 795; New York, The Morgan Library and Museum M636).[9] For none of these items the provenance Hermoupolis is safely assured, in case of the last item even highly improbable.

2.2. Antinoupolis

As for Antinoupolis, the situation is much better since Italian missions have excavated the area of the city systematically since 1935. After a longer gap caused by the Second World War (and an additional stop of the activities between 1993-2000 due to security problems in Egypt) the field work was taken up again in the

---

3 http://www.egyptian-museum-berlin.com/f05.php (assessed November 1, 2019).
4 Roeder 1959, 136-141.
5 Schüssler 1995-2012.
6 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/28 (last accessed November 2019).
7 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/719.
8 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/1703.
9 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/4722.

1980s and, especially, since 2004.[10] The excavations yielded numerous papyrus and parchment, literary and biblical, manuscripts in Coptic and Greek (plus bilingual manuscripts) dated from the fifth to the eighth-ninth century CE. However, a systematic publication, also of the manuscripts discovered during earlier campaigns, has only begun in 2008.[11] As far as it can be judged from the excavation records published until now almost all the literary and biblical texts have been found in the Northern Necropolis of the city. That means, they could have been part of an individual burial, and we do not know yet if the city possessed a library (in a church?) of Christian literature or comparable (private?) institutions. The numerous oracular questions found in the Northern Necropolis area as well, and, of course, the vicinity of the St Colluthos complex itself, make it also appear possible that the manuscripts originally belonged to a library there.[12]

A growing number of biblical and literary texts in Greek and Coptic is being published in the Florentine series *Antinoupolis*. Among the published finds are such remarkable pieces as a fragment of a Greek-Akhmimic Psalter,[13] or a fragment of an early Bohairic (!) Gospel of Matthew manuscript.[14] And, for a proper estimation of the manuscript finds we have to keep in mind that besides the Christian texts in Greek and Coptic also fragments of classical Greek literature like Homer[15] were discovered, witnessing the vividness of classical education in late antique Antinoupolis. The by far better exploration of the site and its manuscript finds is also mirrored by the 37 manuscript entries in the 'PAThs' database.[16]

3. *Criteria for identifying manuscripts from Hermoupolis and their possible connection to material from Antinoupolis*

We will present here some significant examples of manuscripts for which a provenance from Hermoupolis has been suggested or postulated.

London, BL, Or. 7594, papyrus (Fig. 4)
109 leaves (cut from a roll); fourth century CE
Deuteronomy 1-28 (lacunae); John 1:1-4:11; Acts 1:1-24:16, 28:1-34:12 (lacunae); Apocalypse of Elijah 1:1-8.12-16; Daniel (in Greek) 1:17-18 (cartonnage)

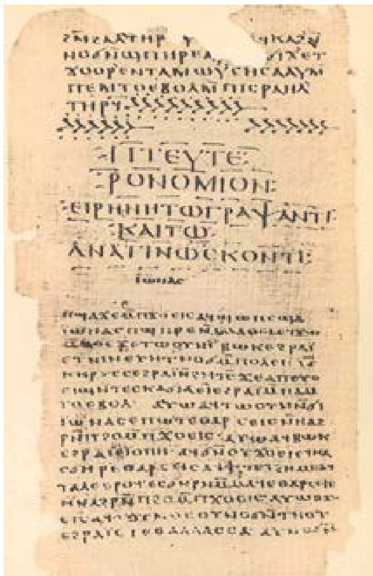


Fig. 4. London, BL, Or. 7594. After E.A.W. Budge (1912), *Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt,* London: The British Museum, plate IV.

This important and early miscellany manuscript was, according to its first editor Ernest A. Wallis Budge, 'discovered near El-Ashmunein in January 1911 . . . between the feet of a chained mummy interred in a decorated coffin in a Roman period tomb'.[17] However, Budge gave at different occasions different accounts about the discovery – from him being present at the discovery to the brief statement that the manuscript was acquired in Upper Egypt – which makes his story unreliable. Unfortunately, though quoting from Bentley Layton's catalogue entry Schüssler repeats the discovery information 'im Januar 1911 in der Nähe von El-Ashmunein' without mentioning the contradictory reports by Budge given by Layton.[18] Only a closer investigation of the acquisition reports of the British Library and of the papyrus material and its handwritings can help to verify the postulated provenance Hermoupolis.

10 PINTAUDI 2008, 1-15.
11 PINTAUDI 2008; PINTAUDI 2017; DELATTRE 2008.
12 GROSSMAN - DELATTRE 2017, 635.
13 DELATTRE 2008, 146-147.
14 GROSSMAN - DELATTRE 2017.
15 MINUTOLI 2017.
16 https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places/53.
17 LAYTON 1987, 4-5.
18 SCHÜSSLER 1995, 88 (sa 15).

Fig. 5. Berlin, ÄMP, P. 10586 © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Sandra Steiß.

Since, on the other hand, there is no comparable manuscript of the fourth century from Hermoupolis or Antinoupolis, or of the whole area around, until now we can only confirm that the papyrus codex is from Upper Egypt.

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P 10586 (Fig. 5)
Proverbs, Sirach, Job[19]

These few surviving leaves of an originally quite comprehensive parchment codex – the text of Proverbs ends with page number 189, before the Sirach prologue begins with a new page numbering – with wisdom books came, according to the inventory book of the Papyrussammlung Berlin from the 1906 excavation in Hermoupolis ('El-Eshmunein'),[20] so, very likely from one of Rubensohn's papyrus campaigns.

Very significant is the relatively small square format of the manuscript (max.15,5 x 13,8 cm) which seems typical for the period – I would date the manuscript now to the fifth century CE – and the region, if we compare other manuscripts from the better documented site of Antinoupolis.[21]

Berlin, ÄMP, P 15869 (Fig. 6)
Sirach

Four fragments of a double leaf from a parchment codex which contained at least the book of Sirach. The codex had a similar square format (16/17 cm x 13/14 cm) and was found, according to the vague information in the inventory book of the Papyrussammlung Berlin from 'the region north of Hermoupolis' (no date of the find).[22] I would date this manuscript now to the late fourth – early fifth century CE. The fragments were probably acquired from a local dealer.

19 The last small fragment remained unidentified in Feder 2002. My colleague Suzana Hodak identified this as text portion from Job.
20 Feder 2002, 160; Schüssler 2012, 24-25 (sa 125).
21 Cf., for example, Delattre 2008, 131-32 (no. 1, plate I).
22 Feder 2004, 99; Schüssler 2012, 26 (sa 126).

Fig. 6. Berlin, ÄMP, P 15869 © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Sandra Steiß.

Fig. 7. Cheik_Abada_Antinoe_Inv.No.1017 © Alain Delattre.

Fig. 8. Cheik_Abada_Antinoe_Inv.No.18.10.2005 © Alain Delattre.

However, the damaged state of the fragments resembles strikingly a partly equally damaged manuscript from Antinoupolis preserving text portions of the Gospel of John (Fig. 7).[23] Beyond their mere resemblance, a possible common provenance must, of course, be confirmed by a closer investigation of the parchment and the handwriting, it seems, at the first glance, very likely that the Berlin fragments were found in Antinoupolis too.

A final example confronts leaves from two parchment miniature codices (Figs. 8 and 9), the one allegedly from Hermoupolis (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Copt. 7; Proverbs, 2 leaves, 6,8 x 6,5 cm),[24] the other, a damaged leave found in 2005, during the excavation in the Northern Necropolis at Antinoupolis (4 Maccabees 5:2-6; ca. 8 x 6,5 cm).[25] Here again the provenance from Hermoupolis is doubtful, but not excluded, although a common provenance from Antinoupolis seems more likely.

Probably, further miniature codex leaves may appear during the excavations at Antinoupolis, which would allow a more detailed study to answer the question if the two codices had their home in Antinoupolis, or if miniature codices were in use in both cities.

All in all, the more problematic issue remains the provenance from Hermoupolis, since neither the inventory book entries in collections like the Papyrussammlung in Berlin are sufficiently reliable nor the excavation reports are published or studied at all. This leaves us, already as for the few examples presented

23 Delattre 2008, 135-139 (no. 3, plate II).

24 Schüssler 2015, 129 (sa 243).

25 Delattre 2008, 135-139 (no. 2, plate I).

Fig. 9. Manchester, JRL, Copt.Ms.7 (2x) © Manchester, The John Rylands Library.

here, with the fact that a provenance from Hermoupolis, without additional information, remains a mere guess.

It is very regrettable that, while the Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Papyrussammlung are being gradually digitised and presented in an exemplary online database,[26] the part of the collection with the Egyptian manuscripts (Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic) has not received such an attention, in spite of a big ERC-Grant for the collection which, however, only documents the Elephantine material excavated by Rubensohn.[27]

References

Delattre 2008 = A. Delattre, "Textes Coptes et Greques d'Antinoé", in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis* I, Firenze, 2008, pp. 131-162.

Feder 2002 = F. Feder, "Koptische Bibelfragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung I", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 48.1, 2002, pp. 159-174.

Feder 2004 = F. Feder, "Koptische Bibelfragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung II", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 50.1, 2004, pp. 99-104.

Grossman - Delattre 2017 = E. Grossman - A. Delattre, "A New Early Bohairic Text from Antinoe', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis* III, Firenze, 2017, pp. 635-646.

Layton 1987 = B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the Year 1906*, London, 1987.

Minutoli 2017 = D. Minutoli, "Omero, Ilias 203-209, 213-219; 246-253, 257-260", in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis* III, Firenze, 2017, pp. 535-539.

Pintaudi 2008 = R. Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis* I, Firenze, 2008.

Pintaudi 2014 = R. Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis* II, Firenze, 2014.

Pintaudi 2017 = R. Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis* III, Firenze, 2017.

Roeder 1959 = G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, Hildesheim, 1959.

Rosati, 2008 = G. Rosati, "Il tempio di Ramesse II: appunti sull' attività in corso", in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis* I, Firenze, 2008, pp. 479-483.

26 https://berlpap.smb.museum.

27 https://elephantine.smb.museum/projekt. See however Andrea Hasznos' article in this volume.

SCHÜSSLER 1995-2015 = K. SCHÜSSLER, *Biblia Coptica, Die koptischen Bibeltexte, Das Sahidische Alte und Neue Testament: Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten*, Vol. 1.1-4, Wiesbaden, 1995-2000 (sa 1-120); Vol. 2.1-2, Wiesbaden, 2012-2015 (sa 121-260); Vol. 3.1-4, Wiesbaden, 2001-2006 (sa 500-585); Vol. 4.1-4, Wiesbaden, 2007-2011 (sa 586-780).

Between Literary and Documentary Practices: The Montserrat *Codex Miscellaneus* (*Inv. Nos.* 126-178, 292, 338) and the Material Investigation of Its Inks*

Tea Ghigo – Universität Hamburg - Sapienza Università di Roma - BAM, Berlin
Sofía Torallas Tovar – University of Chicago

Abstract
The Montserrat *Codex Miscellaneus* (TM 59453/LDAB 552) has been the subject of numerous studies since the publication of its first text by its owner, father Ramon Roca-Puig. Scholars have dealt with the content of its texts, as well as interrogated its origin and materiality. It is a fourth-century papyrus single quire codex, which contains texts in both Latin and Greek. It has been argued that it belonged to the Bodmer library, connected to a Pachomian library in the Thebaid. In this paper we want to contribute to the material study of the codex by presenting the first results of an archaeometric analysis performed upon the inks. The analysis was carried out within the framework of the 'PATHs' project based at Sapienza University of Rome, and executed with the close cooperation of DVCTVS, a team of scholars who curate the Roca-Puig collection. The results obtained have not only cast light on the history of production of the codex, but also, and perhaps most importantly, point out that a meaningful interpretation of the analytical data is only possible through an interdisciplinary collaboration between the humanities and the natural sciences.

Keywords
Codex Miscellaneus, book production, palaeography, archaeometry, ink analysis, interdisciplinary approach.

1. *The Montserrat* Codex Miscellaneus

The Montserrat *Codex Miscellaneus* (TM 59453/LDAB 552) was acquired by father Ramon Roca-Puig in 1955. He produced several editions of the texts contained in the codex.[1] It has been ever since the subject of much attention, and multiple studies have dealt with the content of its texts in addition to its origins and materiality.[2] It is a fourth-century papyrus single quire codex, containing texts in both Latin and Greek. It has been argued that it belonged to the Bodmer library, allegedly connected to a Pachomian library.[3]

* Tea Ghigo contributed to this work performing the archaeometric analysis on the *Codex Miscellaneus* and writing paragraphs 2 and 3. Sofía Torallas Tovar contributed by performing the palaeographic analysis and writing paragraph 1. Paragraphs 4 and 5 were written in collaboration between the two authors. The archaeometric analysis performed on the *Codex Miscellaneus* has been supported by the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), and within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg and by the ERC Advanced Grant project *Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context: Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage*, project no. 687567, P.I. Paola Buzi (Sapienza University of Rome), http://paths.uniroma1.it/. This paper is the first collaboration of the DVCTVS team (PGC2018-096572-B-C21), curators of the Roca-Puig papyrological collection at the Abbey of Montserrat, and the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung enterprise to study systematically inks in ancient manuscripts and documents. We are very grateful to the Benedictine community at the Abbey of Montserrat, especially fathers Pius Tragan and Gabriel Soler, responsible of the papyrus collection, for allowing us to work at the Abbey and perform all the analysis necessary for this paper. Our warm thanks go to our colleagues Ira Rabin, Oliver Hahn, Olivier Bonnerot, Simon Steger and Zina Cohen from the BAM, for their constant support. Also special thanks to Serena Ammirati for her useful suggestions and Lucas Binion for polishing the English expression.

1 On Ramon Roca-Puig and his papyrus acquisitions, see Tragán 2015, 20-29; Ortega Monasterio 2011, 59-76; Ortega Monasterio 2015, 43-52. On the first editions of the codex, see Roca-Puig 1965 and Roca-Puig 1977.

2 E.g. Torallas Tovar - Worp 2006, 11-24; Gil - Torallas Tovar 2010, 17-31; Nocchi Macedo 2013, Nocchi Macedo 2014, 26-48; Ammirati 2015a, 57-58.

3 The *Codex Miscellaneus* was claimed to belong to the Bodmer Library by James M. Robinson already in (1990-1991) 26-40, esp. 34. See also Brashear *et al.* 1990, 3-32. Lowe had observed the palaeographical resemblance between the Montserrat codex and Chester Beatty AC1499: see Lowe 1971, no. 1782. Other formal similarities include page set up and codex typology. Camplani 2015, 124-125, also observed the coherence in the Christian contents of the *Codex Miscellaneus* and some of the Bodmer books; see also some critical remarks on the last hypothesis in Mihálykó 2019.

It may seem out of context that a project like 'PAThs', dedicated to the study of Coptic Egypt, invested its resources into the archaeometric analysis of a codex written in Greek and Latin. However, it cannot be forgotten that Egypt was characterised as having a multilingual society at that time.[4] The results obtained from the analysis of Egyptian manuscripts written in languages other than Coptic represent valid terms of comparison, thus establishing a diversity of sources crucial to maintaining a broad perspective on codices produced during the time period.

In addition, as already said, the *Codex Miscellaneus* is generally recognised as being part of one of the most important collections of manuscripts from the Late Antiquity: the so-called Bodmer Library.[5] Given the intricate and delicate situation of this reconstructed 'library', whose dating and provenance are still debated, an archaeometric approach to the study of the inks and writing supports could help future understanding of the manuscripts' history, from their production to their arrival in the institutions where they are nowadays preserved.

1.1 Description

This papyrus codex consists of a single quire,[6] of which twenty-six out of at least twenty-eight original bifolia are preserved. Eighteen bifolia are virtually complete. It is a multiple-text codex, composed of several production units, since it has been written in different moments.

The codex bears the inventory numbers 128-178, 292 and 338 in the Roca-Puig papyrus collection at Montserrat (called *P.Monts.Roca*).

The size of each folium is ca H. 12.3 x W. 11.4 cm.[7] The pages have a rather trapezoidal shape, since their height diminishes slightly from the centre of the bifolia towards the outer edge of each folium. The bifolia, originally folded vertically in the centre, were sewn together with two double stitches. Some remnants of the string are preserved, as well as pieces of parchment, which had been inserted between the papyrus leaves and the string for purposes of reinforcement. The vertical fibres appear on the outer side of the first preserved folium, the horizontal fibres appearing in the inner side of the folium. This order continues until the centre of the codex, inv. no. 153-154, where one finds two pages, 56-57, showing both horizontal fibres. After that the order of fibres changes to horizontal alternating with vertical fibres.[8]

The general content of the codex is as follows:

A: Inv. no. 128↓–149↓, pp. 5-47 of the codex (Latin): Cicero, *Catilinarian Orations*, 1-2.[9]

B: Inv. no. 149→ –153→, pp. 48-56 of the codex (Latin): *Hymn to the Virgin Mary*.[10]

C: Inv. no. 154→, p. 57, of the codex: Drawing of a mythological episode.[11]

D: Inv. no. 154↓– 157↓, pp. 58-64 of the codex (Greek): Anaphora.[12]

E: Inv. no. 158→ –161→ (the other ↓ side of Inv. no. 161 is blank), pp. 65-71 [72] of the codex (Latin): *Alcestis* in Latin hexameters.[13]

F: Inv. no. 162→ –165↓, pp. 73-80 of the codex (Latin): Tale about the Emperor Hadrian.[14]

G: Inv. no. 166→ –178↓, pp. 81-106 of the codex (Greek): Alphabetised stenographical *Commentarium*.[15]

---

4 Rochette 1996, 153-168; Rochette 1998, 177-196; Oréal 1999, 289-306; Fewster 2002, 220-245; Thompson 2009, 395-417; Fournet 2009, 418-451; Torallas Tovar 2010a, 17-43; Torallas Tovar 2010b, 253-266; Buzi 2018, 15-67.

5 Fournet 2015, 8-37; Schubert 2015, 41-46.

6 This practice is the common procedure in early codices. See Kenyon 1933, I, 10-11. Ibscher 1937 claims that all papyrus codices up to the third century are single-quire codices, and it was from the fourth century on that they started to be composed in more than one quire. However, the Bodmer codices are dated to the fourth century. It is taken also as a sign of the fact that the codex comes from a school environment, cf. Kasser - Cavallo - van Haelst in Carlini 1991, 108, n. 10. For a full survey on the subject, see Robinson 1978; and also Turner 1977, 51-55, 61.

7 This is Turner's group 10; see Turner 1977, 22.

8 This is perfectly typical in single-quire codices; cf. Turner 1977, 58-60 and 65.

9 Roca-Puig 1977; Willis 1963.

10 Roca-Puig 1965.

11 Roca-Puig 1989, 139-169, text no. 4; Musso 1990, 30-32; Horak 1992, 230 (ViP 48); Nocchi Macedo 2010, 91-117.

12 Roca-Puig 1994.

13 Roca-Puig 1982; Marcovich 1988; Lebek 1983, 1-29; Parsons - Nisbet - Hutchinson 1983, 31-36; Tandoi 1984, 3-11; Nosarti 1992; Liberman 1998; Nocchi Macedo 2014.

14 Gil - Torallas Tovar 2010; Berg 2018; Ammannati 2018, 221-240.

15 Torallas Tovar - Worp 2006, 11-24; Luiselli 2017, 36-40.

At least two folia are missing from the beginning of the codex, and one more after the first preserved page. At the end of the codex, given the average length of the six individual word lists in the last section, G, we calculate that one more folium is missing with the page containing the last entries of the sixth sub-list.[16]

The binding features dimensions of H. 12.3 x W. 11.7 cm. The outside material is low quality parchment, which is at present in very brittle condition. Its hair side is on the outer side of the binding, while the inside material of the binding consists of various layers of papyrus used for padding the parchment of the binding. This papyrus-padding material still shows traces of writing and has been affected by worms.

Furthermore, four stripes of leather knotted on the inner side of one cover of the binding have been preserved, while the other cover has only two such knots preserved; there are two more holes in the parchment of this cover which might have been made for holding two more knots, establishing a symmetry between the two covers of the binding. These knots are drawn through the parchment and the padding inside, and were probably meant to keep the padding material in place.

1.2 Palaeography of the codex

While studying the history of the production of a certain manuscript, its palaeography is a crucial element that needs to be established as accurately as possible, and should be prioritised as much as any merely textual element. The fact that one or more scribes might be at work, for example, can be palaeographically established, and then successively confirmed by observing the composition of the inks as revealed by archaeometric analysis.

The successive sections of the codex (A-G) feature a different page layout.[17] The main difference is between the first six sections, which present running text, and the last, Section G (Inv. no. 166→ –178↓, pp. 81-106 of the codex), which presents three columns of, on average, thirty-two lines/entries. These sections, moreover, feature texts both in Latin and Greek. The handwriting across all texts is inscribed in a regular cursive, featuring an “informal round” for the Greek, and a minuscule with some ligatures for the Latin, both of which datable to the second half of the fourth century. Despite variations in the size of the writing and in the page layout from one text to another, the corroboration of many colleagues has helped us conclude that one single hand is responsible for both the Greek and Latin texts.[18]

The Greek hand of the codex can be described as a small, quickly written cursive, roughly bilinear (the vertical strokes of β, ϰ, ι, ρ, υ often reach below the lower line), and sloping slightly to the right. There are often ligatures of ει, αυ, αι, γε, επ, ελ, θω, λλ, etc. Last letters of the words sometimes project into the intercolumnar space, but not systematically. Accents and breathings have not been written. Occasionally, there is diaeresis on ι and υ.

The Latin hand is not calligraphic either. The Latin hand in the portion containing Cicero’s *Catilinarian Orations* is probably the same hand, though it is written slightly smaller, as the one in the Hadrian section of the codex. It can be described as an upright mixed writing, featuring uncial and cursive elements. Lowe[19] calls it ‘early half uncial’. He already pointed to the resemblance of the Montserrat codex (in Lowe, Suppl. 1782) with Chester Beatty AC 1499, though he dated this one to the end of the fifth century and preferred to date the Montserrat text to the end of the fourth century.[20] Orsini also indicates that the hand of our codex might be the same as one of the hands of the Menander codex, also from the Bodmer library.[21]

1.3 Acquisition

In 1955, Dr Ramón Roca-Puig (1906-2001) purchased a number of papyrus fragments in Cairo which turned out to belong to our codex. Two documents from Roca-Puig’s personal papers may give a clue to the co-

16 For further calculations on this, see Torallas Tovar - Worp 2006, 19-20.

17 Described with line numbers and measurements in Gil - Torallas Tovar 2010, 19-21.

18 Wouters 1988, 18, n. 49, notes that almost all editors of Graeco-Latin papyri have pointed out the resemblance between both hands. There are however cases when differences are so striking that two scribes are considered to have been at work. Most recently on the hands of the codex, Ammirati 2015a, 59 and Ammirati 2015b, 16-18.

19 Lowe 1971, no. 1683.

20 With different dates in CLA 1650 and 1785, cf. Orsini 2015, 65.

21 Orsini 2015, 65.

dex's original source. Both are handwritten by father Sylvestre Chauleur, Director of the *Institut Copte* in Cairo at that time.[22] Both were completed by the summer of 1955, when, apparently, father Chauleur visited the city of Barcelona and delivered the papyri to Roca-Puig personally. In 1973, through an exchange with the *Bodmer Foundation*, Roca-Puig acquired additional fragments also belonging to this codex; these are now inv. nos. 134-135.[23] Later on, an additional fragment from the same codex showed up in the collection of Duke University (inv. no. 798), and was edited by W.H. Willis (1963); this papyrus was subsequently given an imaginary inventory number 129 in Roca-Puig's files.

1.4 Origin

The origin of the codex is not completely clear. Unfortunately, the cover of the codex does not contain any indication of its owner nor scribe. Neither is there much information to be found within the codex itself, as the only reference to an owner appears in the colophons of two of the sections.

As mentioned above, it has been claimed that the codex belongs to the Bodmer library,[24] whose manuscripts were probably produced in the Thebaid. The fact that Chauleur's letter to Roca-Puig mentions the Pachomian monasteries could be used to reinforce the thesis presented by Robinson,[25] but we have to consider the possibility that the introduction of this idea was just a marketing strategy deployed back in the 1950s, so we will not force a conclusion on this matter.[26] There are, however, some material aspects that can help us reconstruct and understand the Bodmer library, and thus find a connection between the pieces in the hypothetical corpus. The reconstruction of this 'library' is mostly the work of James M. Robinson, who lists almost 60 items that, according to him, belonged to the same collection. This is what Fournet calls the 'maximalist inventory'.[27] In assembling this list, Robinson overlooked some acquisition information[28] and often based his hypothesis on unreliable informants,[29] but there still remains some consensus on the coherence of some of the material characteristics and even the textual contents of some of the codices.

A different matter altogether is that of the origin of the codex.[30] Some, including Robinson, claim that this was the library of the Pachomian monastery of Pbow. Others prefer to think that these books belonged to a centre of high education, perhaps in Panopolis.[31] There is also the issue of the geographical proximity of the supposed origin of the Bodmer library and the Nag Hammadi find, which, together with codicological and palaeographical criteria, has been an argument for associating both libraries and proposing a Pachomian origin to both of them.[32] All arguments are based on hypotheses and analogies that cannot be proven in a definite way. Turner[33] already advanced the possibility of a Panopolitan origin, seeing as some of the Bodmer rolls were copied on Panopolitan administrative documents.[34] Gilliam suggests a

22 Both edited in Gil - Torallas Tovar 2010, 25-27.

23 For the exchange affair with Kasser and Braun, see Roca-Puig 1977: xii-xiii.

24 The most recent approach is the monographic section of *Adamantius* 21 (2015) and Nongbri 2018, with an extensive study on the acquisition of this hoard(s) and material features of these books.

25 See n. 5, and Robinson 1990-1991 and Robinson 2011. Kasser 2000, xxi-xxxvii.

26 In spite of the connection of some texts with Pachomian content, the association of the Bodmer Library with the Pachomian communities is at least an open question, if not, as many think, very dubious. Fournet 2015, 12, 16-17. Camplani 2015, 127.

27 Fournet 2015, 8.

28 Kasser 2000, xxiv, n. 5.

29 Kasser 1988, collects two contradictory testimonies: the antique dealer who negotiated its sale to Mr. Bodmer said on his deathbed that they came from Ed-Debba, 5 km. from Nag Hammadi; Mr Bodmer's secretary, on the contrary, claimed that they came from Mina or Minia, in the outskirts of Assiut and that the provenance cited by the antique dealer applied only to *P.Bodm.* 17, from a different lot. Too much speculation, indeed.

30 On the proposals, Fournet 2015, 17-19.

31 Contra Robinson, see Blanchard 1991; Cribiore 2001, 200, and n. 74, both say that this hoard must have belonged to a Christian school of advanced learning. See also Fournet 1992, 253-266. Kasser 1988, 191-194. Kasser 1995, 28, n. 37. But see recently: Pietersma - Turner Comstock 2011.

32 Also led mainly by Robinson 2014, 1118-1135. Recently reopened by Lundhaug - Jenott 2015. For a debate on this see Wipszycka - Piwowarczyk 2017.

33 Turner 1968, 51-53.

34 The rolls of the *Iliad* in *P.Bodm.* 1 (third-fourth century) are copied on the verso of a Panopolitan land register (dated to 208/9). See Geens 2014, 80; Miguélez Cavero 2008, 221-222. See the codicological argument advanced by Fournet 2015, 14.

Panopolitan origin as well, but in his opinion the use of Latin in some pieces of the library contradicts the possibility of the library ever having belonged to a monastery.[35] Fournet and Gascou propose new evidence to link the Bodmer library to Dendera, in the Panopolitan nome but very close to Dishna, based on the evidence provided by documents (and the onomastics in these documents) found in the bindings of some of the codices.[36]

Since all evidence for a safe identification both of the geographical spot and the nature of the 'library' is circumstantial, we will never really know to which hoard the *Codex Miscellaneus* belonged. More than one hoard, however, may have been in circulation and up for sale in those years,[37] and the fact that books with different content and different dates could have belonged to the same library in Antiquity has to be considered as a possibility as well. What is pertinent for our inquiry, however, is the connections between different books presenting similar material features or even textual contents regardless of the library to which they eventually belonged, connections which can instead point to the *scriptorium* from which they might have emanated. A future intervention regarding the ink of codices allegedly belonging to the same 'library' could confirm or dismantle some of these hypothetical reconstructions. May this paper be a first step in embarking upon this worthy project.

2. *Experimental protocol and handling of the fragments*

The archaeometric analysis was performed using portable and non-invasive instrumentation. This way, it was possible to work directly *in-situ* and collecting samples from the leaves analysed was unnecessary. The experimental protocol we applied for the analysis of inks on this codex consisted of a primary screening using NIR reflectography to determine the typology of ink, followed by an elemental analysis using XRF spectroscopy.[38]

Given the peculiar structure of this codex, divided in 7 different textual sections, we decided to analyse one papyrus leaf per section, in order to compare the ink(s) used across the manuscript. Table 1 gives the shelfmarks of the leaves analysed.

Shelfmark	Section
Inv. 145	A – Cicero, *Catilinarian Orations*
Inv. 150	B – *Hymn to the Virgin Mary*
Inv. 154	C – Drawing of a mythological episode
Inv. 157	D – *Anaphora*
Inv. 161	E – *Alcestis* in Latin hexameters
Inv. 163	F – Tale about the Emperor Hadrian
Inv. 172	G – Alphabetised stenographical *Commentarium*

Table. 1. Shelfmarks of the leaves analysed and correspondent textual sections.

The leaves of this codex were preserved in glass frames sealed with paper tape. The near-infrared reflectography was performed without removing the glass frame, holding the USB microscope in direct contact with the top glass. This procedure prevented the papyrus leaves from exposure to even the most miniscule amounts of physical stress due to the contact between the writing support and the external surface of the microscope. Unfortunately, it is not possible to perform XRF analysis without removing the glass frames, given that the X-ray beam must be focused directly on the surface of the manuscript. However, during this second step we decided to remove only the top glass, leaving the papyrus leaves positioned

35 Gilliam, 1978, 128-131: while both Menander and Homer are not out of place in a monastery, Latin is however unexpected. Cf. Evelyn White 1926, 320-321, for inscriptions on walls of cells with lines of the Iliad and Menander's *sententiae*. See also Stramaglia 1996, 131-135. Other hypotheses propose a Christian secondary school rather than monastic library.

36 Fournet 2015, 18.

37 As Fournet 2015, 12 also claims.

38 Rabin *et al.* 2012. For further information, see the section "Analytical protocol" contained in the paper "Gaining perspective the materiality of manuscripts: the contribution of archaeometry to the study of the inks of the White Monastery codices" in this same volume.

Fig. 1. Montserrat Abbey, Roca Puig collection, Inv. 150. On the right the micrographs under visible (top) and near-infrared (bottom) light.

on the bottom half of the glass frame. This way it was not necessary to handle the papyri directly, since the bottom glass was used as a support to move the leaves while positioning them under the X-ray beam. We followed this procedure for every leaf examined after verifying that the chemical elements present in the glass were not interfering with the analysis of the ink and papyrus. When possible, we collected at least 4 measurement spots on the inks per leaf in an attempt to portray an accurate representation of the whole surface of the text. Because X-ray penetrates the whole cross-section of the papyrus, to perform XRF it is necessary to have a blank surface on the other side of the leaf that corresponds with the spot of ink chosen for analysis. This often represented a challenge, given both that the text was very densely distributed on the two sides of each folio, and that the spots closer to the border of the paragraph, where generally it is easier to find the condition described, were often too deteriorated to obtain a satisfactory outcome.

3. *Results and discussion: the* Codex Miscellaneus

Fig. 1 shows the results of NIR reflectography on *P.Monts.Roca* inv. 150. Comparing the visible and near-infrared images we observe a slight change in the opacity of the ink. This feature is generally typical of iron-gall inks, although in this case the change in opacity is not everywhere as evident as it is normally observed in medieval iron-gall inks. A closer look at the visible and near-infrared images shows the first letter on the left changes its opacity less than the other letters. Similar observations were made on *P.Monts.Roca* inv. 145, inv. 154, inv. 157, inv. 161, and inv. 163, although the change in opacity between visible and near-infrared micrographs was in some cases more prominent than in others. In a previous work we extensively discussed the limitation of our current analytical protocol to characterise mixed inks obtained through blending carbon with either iron-gall or plant ink.[39] Since it is impossible to predict the behaviour of such inks in the near-infrared region, we tend to be cautious in the interpretation of the results from NIR reflectography when identifying the typology of ink (namely: carbon, iron-gall or plant). In the case of the inks observed on leaves belonging to sections A to F of this codex, we cannot exclude that in some cases small amounts of carbon were added to the mixture.

39 Colini *et al.* 2018.

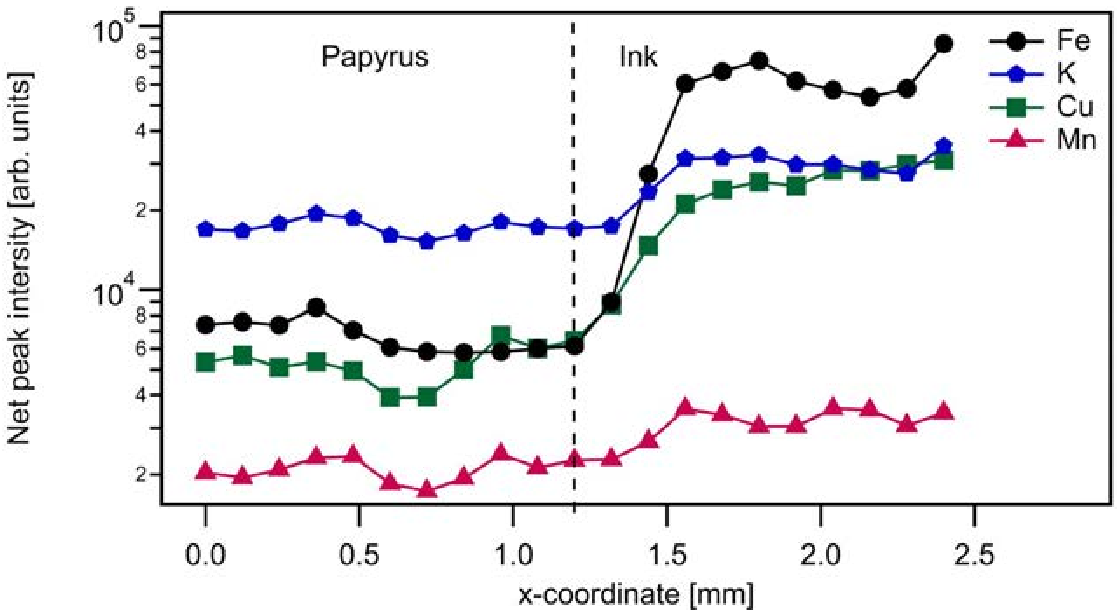


Fig. 2. XRF intensity profiles of different elements collected at the interface between papyrus and ink on Inv. 150.

XRF analysis on these same leaves detected consistent amounts of iron, copper, and potassium, along with small amounts of manganese in all the inks examined. As an example, Fig. 2 shows the intensity profiles of the elements iron, copper, potassium and manganese extracted from the XRF measurements taken along the line connecting the support and an inked area on *P.Monts.Roca* inv. 150 (i.e. the so-called line scan). The similarity of the profiles indicates that all these elements are contained in the ink. Calcium was sometimes found in large amounts, but its presence was at least partly the result of contamination, perhaps originating from papyri contained in the mummy cartonnage that was preserved in the same collection, forming a group of documents probably kept and sold together in the same lot by the papyrus trader in Cairo. This result, together with the slight change in opacity observed in the near-infrared micrographs, indicates that the main component of the writing media used on these leaves is iron-gall ink.[40] The content of potassium may generally be attributed to the binder or to the tannins, while iron, copper and manganese were probably contained in the metallic salt(s) used to prepare the inks.

It is interesting to notice that the ratio of these other elements to iron (i.e. the so-called fingerprint) is heterogeneous along the various sections of the codex, as shown in Fig. 3. Here we observe that the difference between the fingerprints from different spots of ink on *P.Monts.Roca* inv. 145, inv. 154, inv. 157, inv. 161, and inv. 163 is often of such a magnitude as to suggest that this codex was written in more than one phase, a fact that could explain many of its variations in size and page set-up.

In fact, we assume that a coherent writing phase is characterised by the same ratio of other elements to iron, the main component of iron-gall ink. Such ratio can be affected by different factors of impact. The most obvious is the preparation of a new batch of ink once the previous has been used up. In this case, depending on the ingredients (especially the metallic salts) used in the manufacturing of the new ink, the fingerprint can be either completely different in its elemental composition, or simply display a different ratio of elements to iron. In any case, it is very unlikely that the new ink prepared would display the exact same fingerprint as the old one. Differences in the preparation process might also lead to changes in the ink. Another factor influencing the fingerprint is the potential for a new binder to have been added to the ink at some point in order to prevent the particles of pigment from depositing on the bottom of the inkwell. In this case, given the characteristically high concentration of potassium in Egypt's most common binder, gum Arabic, the effect on the fingerprint would most likely be an increase in the ratio of potas-

40 To obtain iron-gall ink a source of iron (generally metallic salts) is mixed with hydrolysable tannins. These are rich in gallic acid which complexes iron to form a black pigment called iron-gallate.

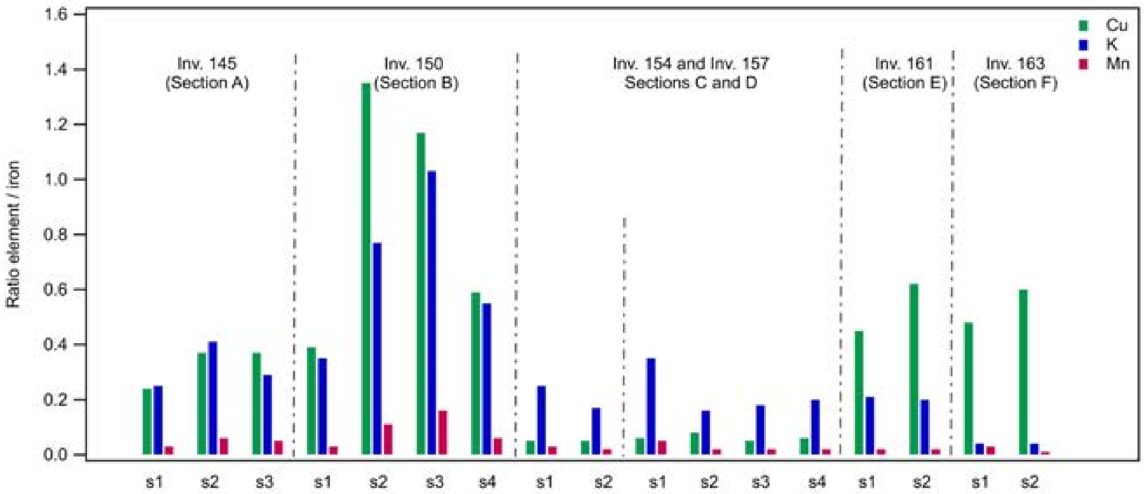


Fig. 3. Fingerprint of different spots of ink (s1, s2, s3…) on the leaves from sections A to F of the *Codex Miscellaneus*.

sium to iron. Finally, the fingerprint can change as a mere effect of time because of deposition and drying processes affecting the ink. Furthermore, experimental studies performed on iron-gall inks preserved in sealed bronze containers showed that the metallic vessel can leak into the ink with the passing of time, thus increasing the concentration of one or another element.[41] It must be stressed, though, that the use of metallic ink well during Late Antiquity has not been largely attested so far. One of the few examples we have comes from Hamuli and is probably dated between the ninth and tenth century CE.[42] Because it registers the factors of change discussed so far, the fingerprint model was applied in the past to complement codicological studies, and it successfully led to the characterisation of each writing phase when applied to texts written on rather homogeneous supports, such as parchment or European paper.[43]

Unfortunately, the situation is by far more complicated in the case of papyrus manuscripts because the heterogeneous structure of the writing support largely hampers an accurate determination of the inks' fingerprints.[44] Consequently, comparisons between the fingerprints of inks from different leaves of the *Codex Miscellaneus* must be treated with extreme caution. In any case, the analytical data presented in this work do not aim at providing an exact determination and characterisation of the various writing phases. Even if we were dealing with a more homogeneous support, this task could certainly not be accomplished analysing only a few spots of ink on 6 of the over 50 leaves that compose sections A to F of the codex. It is possible, though, to obtain a general indication regarding the different stages of writing by observing the data from Fig. 3. Here we can distinguish 5 groups of fingerprints that show significant variations in the ratios of other elements to iron:

- section A (folio 145) displaying similar ratios of copper and potassium and a lower ratio of manganese;
- section B (folio 150) where the ratio of all these three elements tends to be higher;
- section C and D (folios 154 and 157) showing ratios of potassium higher than ratios of copper and manganese;
- sections E (folio 161) displaying a ratio of copper that is almost doubling the ratio of potassium;
- section F (folio 163) showing a fair ratio of copper and very small ratios of potassium and manganese.

Obviously, the one presented here is just a rough discrimination, as can be inferred by observing the ink spot 1 analysed on section B. Its fingerprint much more closely resembles those in section A than those which immediately follow in section B. This suggests the possibility that the writing phases of the codex

41 Nehring 2019.

42 Depuydt 1993, 601, pls 465-467.

43 Hahn *et al.* 2007; Rabin - Hahn - Geissbühler 2014; Geissbühler *et al.* 2018; Hahn - Heiles - Rabin 2018.

44 Ghigo - Rabin - Buzi 2020.

Fig. 4. Montserrat Abbey, Roca Puig collection, Inv. 172. On the right the micrographs under visible (top) and near-infrared (bottom) light.

did not always coincide with the limits of a textual section. It is plausible that the scribe took breaks from writing or prepared new ink while working at the same section.

The last section of the codex (section G) is peculiar compared to the others. Unlike the previous sections it does not contain strictly a literary text, but a list of words related to the practice of stenography.[45] It is interesting to notice how the results obtained on *P.Monts.Roca* inv. 172 suggest that such peculiarity extends as well to the typology of ink used. Fig. 4 shows the corresponding visible and near-infrared micrographs. Here, no change in the opacity of the ink is observed, leaving no doubts that the text was written using a carbon-based ink. Furthermore, XRF analysis did not detect any inorganic element consistently present in the ink, confirming that this leaf was written using a pure carbon ink.

During our archaeometric studies of inks from late antique Egypt, we sometimes found carbon inks (or mixed inks containing consistent amounts of carbon) used in *marginalia* on the medieval parchment codices from the library of the White Monastery and of Saint Macarius monastery. However, the *Codex Miscellaneus* is the only case we have recorded so far of a manuscript displaying a significant discrepancy in the typology of ink used to write the main text of different parts of the codex. Carbon and iron-gall ink are very different both in the ingredients used for preparation and in the manufacturing procedure. This made us wonder about the reason of such discrepancy within the same codex. Since the practice of stenography was confined in antiquity to the sphere of the administration and justice, we decided to compare the results obtained on section G with those obtained on *P.Monts.Roca* IV 70, a documentary papyrus written in the same period.

4. *Results and discussion:* P.Monts.Roca *IV 70*

P.Monts. Roca IV 70 (inv. nos. 194 + 193 + 192 + 113 + 1204; TM 219245) contains the remains of a legal dossier, with accounts and a report of legal proceedings. In all likelihood, its provenance is Alexandria, since it contains the text of the proceedings of a trial before the Prefect of the Annona of Alexandria, Fl(avius) Cratinus. It has an internal date, 378/9 CE. It has been written in a skilled fourth-century cursive hand, performed with a very thin calamus, leaving very sharp strokes and elegantly executed letters. This fact

45 On the text, see Torallas Tovar - Worp 2006, 25-35. Stenography (or tachygraphy) is connected to notarial practice in Antiquity. On shorthand manuals and papyri, see Boge 1974; Boge 1976; Irigoin 1989; Menci 1992; Lewis 2003; Torallas Tovar - Worp 2006; Kaltsas 2007.

Fig. 5. Montserrat Abbey, Roca Puig collection, Inv. 113+192+193+194+1204. On the right the micrographs under visible (top) and near-infrared (bottom) light.

places our text in the context of a professional scribe linked to administration. Interestingly, the situation is similar for the last section of the *Codex Miscellaneous*, where one can clearly notice that a thinner calamus has been used.

The similarity between these two manuscripts extends to the type of ink used as well. Fig. 5 shows the results of the NIR reflectography on this document. The comparison between visible and near-infrared micrographs reveals that it was written using a carbon-based ink, exactly like the last section of the *Codex Miscellaneus*. In addition, XRF elemental analysis did not detect the presence of any inorganic element.

It could be argued that the comparison between the *Codex Miscellaneus* and *P.Monts. Roca* IV 70 is not appropriate, given that the area of provenance of the two manuscripts is indeed very different. In this regard, it must be mentioned that a recent study over a more significant number of documentary and literary texts, pointed out that carbon-based inks were found in most cases when analysing documentary papyri from various areas of Egypt, while iron-gall ink (or inks showing similarities to iron-gall) were used mostly in literary texts.[46] Against this background, if we accept that documentary and literary texts were produced in separate environments, we must acknowledge that both the textual contents and the archaeometric results coincide in suggesting that section G and sections A to F were composed in different environments, or in any case, using a different set of tools and materials.

5. *Conclusions*

The comprehensive analysis presented in this work cross-links textual, palaeographical, codicological, and archaeometric information, and casts light on the process of production of the *Codex Miscellaneus*. Previous palaeographic analysis identified only one hand as responsible for the composition of the codex, both in its Greek and Latin texts. The variation in language, page set-up and contents suggested that the book was not conceived as a single product, but was probably produced in successive phases according to the needs of the scribe. Now, elemental analysis on some of the leaves has revealed and confirmed that it was written in consecutive phases. We observed that there was a difference in the composition of the inks from the several sections, and in some cases, even within the same section, thus further indicating that the production did not happen in one instance, but rather the scribe stopped, maybe produced or procured new ink, and then continued writing at a later moment. In addition, both archaeometric and textual analysis suggest that the last section, the list of Greek words connected to stenography, was written in a different environment than the other sections. Further research on samples of papyrus and parchment manuscripts has pointed out the split that remained for a few centuries in the literary and documentary

46 GHIGO - RABIN - BUZI 2020.

use in some areas of Egypt: iron-gall inks used mostly for the former vs. carbon inks extensively used for the latter. We imagine that such traditions and customs weighed heavily in the production of ink in the *scriptoria* or offices where documents were produced.

In conclusion, we can assume that this small codex belonged to one single person who composed it in different moments. This only confirms the hypothesis already formulated in the past about this and similar miscellaneous codices.[47] It was most likely that the small dimensions of these types of codices made it easy to use them as 'notebooks' and thus to carry them around, a practice which likely left traces of different typologies of ink used across in different environments. The owner of the codex used iron-gall ink in the composition of the literary texts, but when he copied the words list (section G) – the only text in the codex which is not literary –, he used a different kind of ink, perhaps because he was at that point working in a *scriptorium* or office devoted to the production of documents.

References

Ammannati 2018 = G. Ammannati, "L'Hadrianus del P.Monts.Roca III", *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 81, 2018, pp. 221-240.

Ammirati 2015a = S. Ammirati, *Sul Libro Latino Antico. Ricerche Bibliologiche e Paleografiche*, Pisa - Roma, 2015.

Ammirati 2015b = S. Ammirati, "Leggere Cicerone in Egitto: osservazioni paleografiche (e filologiche)", in P. de Paolis (ed.), *Dai papiri al XX secolo. L'eternità di Cicerone. Atti del VI Simposio Ciceroniano, Arpino 9 maggio 2014* (*XXXIV Certamen Ciceronianum Arpinas*), Cassino, 2015, pp. 11-29.

Berg 2018 = T. Berg, *L'Hadrianus de Montserrat* (*P.Monts.Roca III, inv. 162-165*)*: édition, traduction et analyse contextuelle d'un récit latin conservé sur papyrus*, Liège, 2018.

Blanchard 1991 = A. Blanchard, "Sur le milieu d'origine du papyrus Bodmer de Ménandre", *Chronique d'Égypte*, 66, 1991, pp. 211-220

Boge 1974 = H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten*, Hildesheim, 1974.

Boge 1976 = H. Boge, *Die Entzifferung griechischer Tachygraphie auf Papyri und Wachstafeln. Mit Bemerkungen zu den Gießener tachygraphischen Fragmenten sowie zur Geschichte der Tachygraphie und zur Frage der Priorität ihrer Erfindung* (Kurzberichte aus den Gießener Papyrussammlungen, 36), Gießen, 1976.

Brashear *et al.* 1990 = W. Brashear - W.-P. Funk - J.M. Robinson - R. Smith, *The Chester Beatty Codex AC. 1390: Mathematical School Exercises in Greek and John 10: 7-13: 38 in Subachmimic*, Louvain - Paris, 1990.

Buzi 2018 = P. Buzi, "Egypt, Crossroad of Translations and Literary Interweavings (3rd-6th Centuries). A Reconsideration of Earlier Coptic Literature", in F. Crevatin (ed.), *Egitto Crocevia Di Traduzioni*, Trieste, 2018, pp. 15-67.

Camplani 2015 = A. Camplani, "Per un profilo storico-religioso degli ambienti di produzione e fruizione dei Papiri Bodmer: contaminazione dei linguaggi e dialettica delle idee nel contesto del dibattito su dualismo e origenismo", *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 124-125.

Carlini 1991 = A. Carlini, *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII. Erma: Il Pastore* (*I^{a}-III^{a} visione*), Cologny - Genève, 1991.

Cribiore 2001 = R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton-Oxford, 2001.

Colini *et al.* 2018 = C. Colini - O. Hahn - O. Bonnerot - S. Steger - Z. Cohen - T. Ghigo - T. Christiansen - M. Bicchieri - P. Biocca - M. Krutzsch - I. Rabin (2018), "The Quest for the Mixed Inks", *Manuscript Cultures*, 11, 2018, pp. 41-49.

Crisci 2004 = E. Crisci, "I più antichi codici miscellanei greci. Materiali per una riflessione", *Studi & Testi*, 2, 2004, pp. 109-144.

Depuydt 1993 = L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, I-II, Leuven, 1993.

Evelyn White 1926 = H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, Part II: Coptic Ostraca and Papyri, Edited with Translations and Commentaries by W. E. Crum. Greek Ostraca and Papyri Edited with Translations and Commentaries by H. G. Evelyn White*, New York, 1926.

47 Radiciotti 1997, 132-134; Crisci 2004, 129-132; Ammirati 2015a, 57-58: uses the denomination 'codice biblioteca'.

Fewster 2002 = P. Fewster, "Bilingualism in Roman Egypt", in J.N. Adams - M. Janse - S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 220-245.
Fournet 1992 = J.-L. Fournet, "Une éthopée de Caïn dans le codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer", *Zeitschrift für papyrologie und Epigraphik,* 92 ,1992, pp. 253-266.
Fournet 2009 = J.-L. Fournet, "The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 418-451.
Fournet 2015 = J.-L. Fournet, "Anatomie d'une bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive : L'inventaire, le faciès et la provenance de la 'Bibliothèque Bodmer", *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 8-37.
Geens 2014 = *Karolien Geens, Panopolis, a Nome Capital in Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine Period* (*ca. AD 200-600*), Leuven, 2014
Geissbühler *et al.* 2018 = M. Geissbühler - G. Dietz - O. Hahn - I. Rabin, "Advanced Codicological Studies of Cod. Germ. 6 (Hamburg, Staats-Und Universitätsbibliothek): Part 2", *Manuscript Cultures*, 11, 2018, pp. 133-139.
Gil - Torallas Tovar 2010 = J. Gil - S. Torallas Tovar, *Hadrianus. P.Monts.Roca III*, Barcelona, 2010.
Gilliam 1978 = J.F. Gilliam, "Some Roman Elements in Roman Egypt", *Illinois Classical Studies*, 3, 1978, pp. 115-131.
Ghigo - Rabin - Buzi 2020 = T. Ghigo - I. Rabin - P. Buzi, "Black Egyptian inks in Late Antiquity: new insights into their manufacture and use", *Journal of Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, 12: 70. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-019-00977-3.
Hahn *et al.* 2007 = O. Hahn - T. Wolff - H.-O. Feistel - I. Rabin - M. Beit-Arié, "The Erfurt Hebrew Giant Bible and the experimental XRF analysis of ink and plummet composition", *Gazette du Livre Médiéval*, 51, 2007, pp. 16-29.
Hahn – Heiles - Rabin 2018 = O. Hahn - M. Heiles - I. Rabin, "Palaeography and X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy: Manuscript Production and Censorship of the Fifteenth Century German Manuscript, State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. germ. 1", *Manuscript Cultures*, 11, 2018, pp. 109-132.
Horak 1992 = U. Horak *Illuminierte Papyri, Pergamente und Papiere*, I, Wien, 1992.
Ibscher 1937 = H. Ibscher, "Der Codex", *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst*, 4, 1937, pp. 3-15.
Irigoin 1989 = J. Irigoin, "Le manuel de sténographie grec: une source de renseignements méconnue", in *Actas del VII Congreso español de Estudios Clásicos*, I, Madrid, 1989, pp. 187-193.
Kasser 1988 = R. Kasser, "Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosiddetti Papiri Bodmer", *Aegyptus*, 68, 1988, pp. 191-194.
Kasser 1995 = R. Kasser, "Lazare conté en un Lyco-diospolitain d'aspect fort étrange (Jean 10,7–13,38)", in *Christianisme d'Egypte*, Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte, 9, Louvain, 1995.
Kasser 2000 = R. Kasser, Introduction, in *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana. La collection des Papyrus Bodmer. Manuscrits de textes grecs classiques, grecs et coptes bibliques et de littérature chrétienne, du 2e au 9e siècle* (*édité par la Fondation Martin Bodmer par les soins de M. Bircher*), München, 2000.
Kenyon 1933 = F.G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, London, 1933.
Kaltsas 2007 = D. Kaltsas, "Kritische und exegetische Beiträge zu den Papyri des tachygraphischen Lehrbuchs", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 161, 2007, pp. 215-251.
Lebek 1983 = W.D. Lebek, "Das neue Alcestis-Gedicht der Papyri Barcinonenses", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 52, 1983, pp. 1-29.
Liberman 1998 = G. Liberman, "L'Alceste de Barcelone", *Revue Philologique*, 72, 1998, pp. 219-231.
Lewis 2003 = N. Lewis, "Shorthand Writers", *Comunicazioni Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli'*, 5, 2003, pp. 19-27.
Lundhaug - Jenott 2015 = H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Tübingen, 2015.
Lowe 1971 = E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores: a palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century*, Part 12: Supplement, Oxford, 1971.
Luiselli 2017 = R. Luiselli, *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini: CPF. II.3. Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina. 2, Frammenti adespoti; Gnomologi e sentenze. 3, Gnomica*, Firenze, 2017, pp. 36-40.
Marcovich 1988 = M. Marcovich, *Alcestis Barcinonensis: text and commentary*, Leiden - New York, 1988.

Menci 1992 = G. Menci, “Il commentario tachigrafico”, in A.H.S. El-Mosalamy - J. ‘Ayn Shams - M. al-Dirāsāt al-Bardīyah (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIX Papyrological Congress, Cairo 2-9 September 1989*, Cairo, 1992, pp. 451-465.

Mihálykó 2019 = Á. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri. An Introduction* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 114), Tübingen, 2019.

Miguélez Cavero 2008 = L. Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD*, Berlin, 2008.

Musso 1990 = O. Musso, “Mnasea di Patara e un papiro figurato di età imperiale”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 80, 1990, pp. 30-32.

Nehring 2019 = G. Nehring, *The Use of the X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy in the Analysis of Iron-Gall Inks*, Master Thesis, Torun: University Nicolaus Copernicus, 2019.

Nocchi Macedo 2010 = G. Nocchi Macedo, “Réexamen du dessin du Codex Miscellaneus de Montserrat (P.Montserrat inv. nr. 154 = MP3 2916.41)”, *Aegyptus*, 90, 2010, pp. 99-117.

Nocchi Macedo 2013 = G. Nocchi Macedo, “Bilinguisme, digraphisme, multiculturalisme : une étude du Codex Miscellaneus de Montserrat”, in M-H. Marganne - B. Rochette (eds.), *Bilinguisme et digraphisme dans le monde gréco-romain: l’apport des papyrus latins*, Liège, 2013, pp. 139-167.

Nocchi Macedo 2014 = G. Nocchi Macedo, *L’Alceste de Barcelone* (*P. Monts. Roca inv. 158-161*), Liège, 2014.

Nongbri 2018 = B. Nongbri, *God’s Library. The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts*, New Haven, 2018.

Nosarti 1992 = L. Nosarti, *L’Alcesti di Barcellona. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento*, Bologna, 1992.

Oréal 1999 = E. Oréal, “Contact linguistique. Le cas du rapport entre le grec et le copte”, *Lalies*, 19, 1999, pp. 289-306.

Ortega Monasterio 2011 = M.T. Ortega Monasterio, “El Instituto Papirológico Roca-Puig y el CSIC: ¿Proyecto o realidad?”, in *Palabras bien dichas. Estudios filológicos dedicados al P. Pius-Ramon Tragan*, Barcelona, 2011, pp. 59-76.

Ortega Monasterio 2015 = M.T. Ortega Monasterio, “La colección Roca Puig de papiros. Su formación”, in S. Torallas Tovar (ed.) *La mano del escriba. Recorrido por los tesoros manuscritos de la Abadía de Montserrat*, Barcelona, 2015, pp. 43-52.

Orsini 2015 = P. Orsini, “I papiri Bodmer: scritture e libri”, *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 60-78.

Parsons - Nisbet - Hutchinson 1983 = P.J. Parsons - R.G.M. Nisbet - G.O. Hutchinson, “Alcestis in Barcelona”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 52, 1983, pp. 31-36.

Pietersma - Turner Comstock 2011 = A. Pietersma - S. Turner Comstock, “Two More Pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193: A Pachomian Lectionary?”, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 48, 2011, pp. 27-46.

Rabin - Hahn - Geissbühler 2014 = I. Rabin - O. Hahn - M. Geissbühler, “Combining Codicology and X-Ray Spectrometry to Unveil the History of Production of Codex Germanicus 6 (Staats-Und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg)”, *Manuscript Cultures*, 7, 2014, pp. 126-131.

Rabin *et al.* 2012 = I. Rabin - R. Schütz - A. Kohl - T. Wolff - R. Tagle - S. Pentzien - O. Hahn - S. Emmel (2012), ‘Identification and Classification of Historical Writing Inks in Spectroscopy: A Methodological Overview’, in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 3, 2012, pp. 26-30.

Radiciotti 1997 = P. Radiciotti, “Manoscritti digrafici grecolatini e latinogreci nell’antichità”, *Papyrologica Lupiensia*, 6, 1997, pp. 107-146.

Robinson 1978 = J.M. Robinson, “The Future of Papyrus Codicology”, in R. McLachlan Wilson (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 1978, pp. 23-70.

Robinson 1990-1991 = J.M. Robinson, “The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 5, 1990-1991, pp. 26-40.

Robinson 2011 = J.M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Library. From the First Monastery’s Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin*, Cambridge 2011.

Robinson 2014 = J.M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story, Vol. 2: The Publication* (*NHMS 86*), Leiden - Boston 2014.

Roca-Puig 1965 = R. Roca-Puig, *Himne a la Verge Maria. «Psalmus responsorius». Papir llatí del segle IV*, Barcelona, 1965.

Roca-Puig 1977 = R. Roca-Puig, *Ciceró. Catilinàires* (*I et II in Cat.*). *Papyri Barcinonenses*, Barcelona, 1977.

Roca-Puig 1982 = R. Roca-Puig, *Alcestis. Hexàmetres Llatins*, Barcelona, 1982.

Roca-Puig 1989 = R. Roca-Puig, "Quatre papirs inedits", in *R. Roca-Puig i la ciència dels papirs,* Algerri, 1989, pp. 139-169.

Roca-Puig 1994 = R. Roca-Puig, *Anàfora de Barcelona i altres pregàries* (*Missa del segle IV*), Barcelona, 1994.

Rochette 1996 = B. Rochette, "Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine", *Chronique d'Égypte*, 71, 1996, pp. 153-168.

Rochette 1998 = B. Rochette, "Le bilinguisme gréco-latin et la question des langues dans le monde gréco-romain. Chronique bibliographique", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 76, 1, 1998, pp. 177-196.

Schubert 2015 = P. Schubert, "Les Papyrus Bodmer : Contribution à une tentative de délimitation", *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 41-46.

Stramaglia 1996 = A. Stramaglia, "Fra 'consumo' e 'impegno': usi didattici della narrativa nel mondo antico", in O. Pecere - A. Stramaglia (eds.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino*, Cassino, 1996, pp. 97-166.

Tandoi 1984 = V. Tandoi, "Anonymi Carmen de Alcestide nuper repertum", *Quaderni di Foggia*, 4, 1984, pp. 3-11.

Thompson 2009 = D.J. Thompson, "The Multilingual Environment of Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt: Egyptian, Aramaic and Greek Documentation", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 395-417.

Torallas Tovar 2010a = S. Torallas Tovar, "Linguistic Identity in Graeco-Roman Egypt", in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, Aldershot, 2010, pp. 17-43.

Torallas Tovar 2010b = S. Torallas Tovar, "Greek in Egypt", in E. Bakker (ed.), *Blackwell's Companion to the Ancient Greek Language,* Oxford, 2010, pp. 253-266.

Torallas Tovar - Worp 2006 = S. Torallas Tovar - K.A. Worp, *To the Origins of Greek stenography. P. Monts.Roca I*, Barcelona, 2006, pp. 11-24.

Tragán 2015 = P.R. Tragán, "Ramón Roca Puig (1906-2001)", in S. Torallas Tovar (ed.) *La mano del escriba. Recorrido por los tesoros manuscritos de la Abadía de Montserrat*, Barcelona, 2015, pp. 20-29.

Turner 1968 = E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An introduction*, Princeton, 1968.

Turner 1977 = E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia, 1977.

Willis 1963 = W. Willis, "A Papyrus Fragment of Cicero", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association,* 94, 1963, pp. 321-327.

Wipszycka - Piwowarczyk 2017 = E. Wipszycka - P. Piwowarczyk, "A Monastic Origin of the Nag Hammadi Codices?", *Adamantius*, 23, 2017, pp. 432-458.

Wouters, 1988 = A. Wouters, *The Chester Beatty Codex AC 1499. A Graeco-Latin Lexicon on the Pauline Epistles and a Greek Grammar*, Louvain, 1988.

The Achmîm Papyri: Codicological Study and Attempt at Reconstruction*

Nathan Carlig - F.R.S.- FNRS - Université de Liège

Abstract
This article deals with the seven papyrus manuscripts, six Coptic and one Greek, from the so-called "Achmîm Papyri", found in Panopolis and datable to the fourth century. The manuscripts are studied in this contribution from a bibliological and codicological point of view, trying to clarify their context of production.

Keywords
'Achmîm Papyri', codicology, codices, rolls

1. *Introduction*

The 'Achmîm Papyri' are a group of Greek and Coptic papyri, both literary and documentary, kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne in Paris, as well as in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin.[1] The expression was first used in French ('Papyrus d'Akhmim') by U. Bouriant,[2] and later adopted by U. Wilcken[3] and P. Collart.[4] The papyri were discovered in the necropolis of Panopolis (Greek name of Achmîm) and are datable to the fourth century (less probably to the fifth century), a period during which cultural and religious life, both pagan and Christian, was flourishing in this city.[5]

Among these papyri are the remains of seven literary manuscripts, six in Coptic, one in Greek:

1) Manuscript A (Fig. 1)[6]: Paris, BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 1-6, bearing *Exodus* 1:1-2:29; 4:2-25; 5:22-6:14 in Coptic dialect *A* (CLM 1005)[7],

* This contribution is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it. Since November 2019, the specific research on the Coptic book production in Panopolis in the fourth/fifth century has been carried out thanks to the funding of the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (F.R.S.-FNRS, Belgium) at the CEDOPAL of the Université de Liège. The following abbreviations are used: CC = *Clavis Coptica* or *Clavis Patrum Copticorum*, the complete census 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 Identifier, available online at atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts; LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancien Books, available online at www.trismegistos.org/ldab; MP³ = *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins Mertens-Pack³*, available online at http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/base-de-donnees-mp3/; TM = Trismegistos, available at www.trismegistos.org; van Haelst = J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens,* Paris, 1976.

1 For a general presentation of the "Achmîm Papyri" and a complete retrospective bibliography, see Carlig forthcoming b.

2 Bouriant 1885.

3 Wilcken 1887.

4 Collart 1931 = *P.Achm.*

5 For more on the pagan poetry revival in Panopolis in late Antiquity, see Miguélez Cavero 2008 and for a more general perspective Agosti 2012. In the fourth century too, monasticism spread all over the Nile Valley and not far from Panopolis the White Monastery led by Shenute flourished from the end of the fourth century (see Emmel 2002).

6 The identification of the six Coptic codices by means of letters A to F is due to Bouriant 1885, 243, followed by Lacau 1911, 6. The BnF Coptic manuscripts are usually cited only with Arab numbers (e.g. 129[16] 25), but in the case of the shelfmark Copte 135, Roman numbers I-III denote the three boxes in which the frames are kept.

7 Editions: Bouriant 1885, 246-255; Lacau 1911, 50-64.

2) Manuscript B (Fig. 2): Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{I} 7, bearing *Sirach* 22:17-23:16 in Coptic dialect *A*, followed by the final title (*subscriptio*) (CLM 1006)[8],
3) Manuscript C (Fig. 3): Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{I} 8-10, bearing *2Maccabees* 5:27-6,41 in Coptic dialect *A*, preceded by a section title (CLM 1004)[9],
4) Manuscript D (Fig. 4): Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{I} 11, bearing *Luke* 1:29-68 in Coptic dialect *S* (CLM 1007)[10],
5) Manuscript E (Fig. 5): Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{II} 12-25 + P.Berol. inv. 1862, bearing the *Apocalypse of Sophonias* (CC 0028) and the *Apocalypse of Elias* (CC 0031) in Coptic dialect *A* (CLM 284 = MONB.AX)[11],
6) Manuscript F (Fig. 6): Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{III} 26-32, bearing the same two apocalypses in Coptic dialect *S* (CLM 1003)[12],
7) *P.Bour.* 3 (Paris, Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne, Sorb. Inv. 828) + *P.Achm.* 1 (Paris, BnF, Suppl. Gr. 1099.5), containing a homily of exegetical character in Greek attributed to Origen or an Origenian author (LDAB 3505 = MP^3 9461)[13].

One manuscript is a roll (manuscript C), while the other are codices. From the three codex formats identified, two are typical of early book production: the oblong format (manuscript F) and the square pocket format (manuscript E), while the third, the best represented in this book collection (manuscripts A, B, D and *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1), stands out for its unusual leaf dimensions and the manufacture technique of some of its representatives.

This contribution proposes to study these seven manuscripts from a bibliological/codicological point of view, based on the description prepared within the 'PAThs' project and on the autoptical analysis of the BnF, Copte 135 leaves carried out on April 17th 2017. Special attention will be given to the book format, and a reconstruction will be attempted, as far as possible, of each manuscript.

2. *Roll*

Manuscript C is one of the 11 Coptic literary rolls known to us.[14] It consists of three fragments kept in three separate glasses: BnF, Copte 135^{I} 8 and 9 are contiguous and preserve three columns of text (the right side of the third is lost), while BnF, Copte 135^{I} 1, to be placed after the lacuna, contains the fourth column of text. The fragments are complete in height and measure 23 cm. The columns are 9.5-10 cm wide and the intercolumnium is around 1-1.5 cm wide. The text is an *excerptum* of 2Macc. about the Jewish martyrs (5:27-6:21) in dialect *A*. The title precedes the beginning of the text: ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲇⲁⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲕⲕⲁⲃⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲓ ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲛⲓⲕⲟⲥ (*l.* ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲟⲥ) ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ « The martyrs of Judaea, who are among the Maccabees, who lived under king Andronicos (*l.* Antiochos) ». The writing is an upright and slightly bimodular majuscule (ⲟ is usually smaller than the other letters) showing a marked thick-and-thin style. The *dicōlon* (⁚) is used as punctuation mark.

The same *excerptum* completely preserved (2Macc. 5: 27-7:41) and preceded by the same title is also found in the Crosby-Schøyen codex,[15] pp. 51-74. If we assume that the roll originally contained the same amount of text as the *excerptum* of the Crosby-Schøyen codex, ten columns have been lost in the Paris roll so it would originally have been 1.6 m long. Another Coptic roll is also written in dialect *A*: P.Vindob. inv. K

8 Editions: BOURIANT 1885, 255-257; LACAU 1911, 64-67.

9 Editions: BOURIANT 1885, 257-259; LACAU 1911, 68-76.

10 Editions: BOURIANT 1885, 259-260; LACAU 1911, 76-81.

11 Editions: BOURIANT 1885, 260-279 (*partim* BnF leaves only); STEINDORFF 1899, 33-108. The manuscript and its text has been much discussed: see STERN 1886, VON LEMM 1900 and 1904, TILL 1928. On the textual relationships with the other manuscripts, manuscript F from the "Achmîm Papyri" and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 2018, see LACAU 1966 and Pietersma, Comstock, ATTRIDGE 1981, 12-18. For a linguistical analysis, see FUNK 1985 (ms. "p").

12 Editions: BOURIANT 1885, 260-279; STEINDORFF 1899, 109-145.

13 Editions: *partim* Sorb. Inv. 828: *P.Bour.* 3; *partim* BnF, Suppl. Gr. 1099.5: WILCKEN 1927, 305; *P.Achm.* 1. Thanks to the discovery of new fragments in the BnF, P. Collart published again col. I and III of *P.Bour.* 3 in *P.Achm.* 1. Reproductions of these leaves are available on the website of the Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne (http://www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr/menu1/collections/pgrec/2Sorb0828.htm) and on the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11000137n).

14 A codicological analysis of the roll, as well as of the other Coptic literary rolls, has already been carried out in CARLIG forthcoming a, from which we take the main results.

15 Oslo, Schøyen collection, MS 193 + Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 2026 = CLM 42 = DISH.AK. Edition: GOEHRING 1990.

Fig. 1. Manuscript A, f. 1v (Paris, BnF, Copte 135[I] 2 ↓): Exodus 2:2-19 in *Coptic dialect A*.

Fig. 2. Manuscript B (Paris, BnF, Copte 135[I] 7 ↓): Sirach 22:17-23:16 in Coptic dialect *A*, followed by the final title (*subscriptio*) (CLM 1006).

Fig. 3. Manuscript C, col. I (Paris, BnF, Copte 135[I] 8 →): 2Macc. 5:27-6:4 in Coptic dialect *A*, preceded by a section title (CLM 1004).

Fig. 4. Manuscript D, f. 1r (Paris, BnF, Copte 135[I] 11 ↓): Luke 1:29-45 in Coptic dialect *S* (CLM 1007).

Fig. 5. Manuscript E (*partim* Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{II} 23r →): *Apocalypse of Elias* (CC 0031) in Coptic dialect *A* (CLM 284 = MONB.AX).

Fig. 6. Manuscript F (*partim* Paris, BnF, Copte 135^{III} 30r ↓): *Apocalypse of Elias* (CC 0031) in Coptic dialect *S* (CLM 1003).

10157,[16] containing on the recto (→) a translation of the first Festal letter of Cyril of Alexandria and on the verso (↓) a homiletical text written *transversa charta*. It is datable to the fifth century.

3. *Oblong format codex*

The expression 'oblong format' denotes a tall and high codex format, where the height (H) of a leaf is around twice the width (W; proportion H/W = *c.* 2). Usually, these manuscripts are made in an easy and simple way: from a roll, usually around 25-30 cm high, square bifolia are cut, stacked and folded. Proportions can be higher but since the leaves are more than 25 cm high and very narrow, the fabrication must have followed the same pattern. Moreover, ancient or modern trimming as well as poor state of conservation can slightly modify the proportions. In *The Typology of the Early Codex*,[17] E.G. Turner classifies the papyrus manuscripts with this leaves format among 'Group 8'[18] and the related subgroups.[19]

Among the Achmîm Papyri, the seven leaves of manuscript F tally with this format, since the leaves are 11 cm wide and 25.5 cm high, so that the proportion H/W is very high: 2.32. They contain the *Apocalypse of Sophonias* (CC 0031) on f. 26 and the *Apocalypse of Elias* (CC 0028) on f. 27-32 both copied in dialect *S*. Some pages are soiled, sometimes to the point that the text is illegible.[20] The column of writing is very narrow (7-8 cm) and tall (22-23 cm), leaving little space for the margins. The text is written in an upright and generally unimodular majuscule showing some irregularities (for example the variation in writing ⲗ) and a slight thick-and-thin style. Each page contains between 30 and 36 lines. Trema is used on ⲓ and ⲩ. The *dicōlon* (⁚) and the *diple obelismene* (⸐) are used as punctuation marks.

16 CLM 1028. Edition: Till 1931. See also CAMPLANI 1999 and CAMPLANI - MARTIN 2000.

17 TURNER 1977, 20-21.

18 It is defined in the following way (dimensions are in cm; B = breadth; H = height): 'B half H, B 14/12 x H 30/25'.

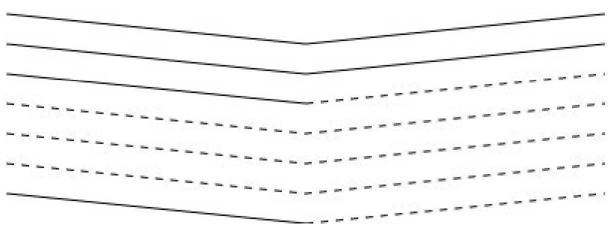
19 Three subgroups are identified according to peculiarities in the dimensions and proportions: 1) 'Less than 12 cm. broad', 2) 'Aberrant 1 (much higher than broad)', and 3) 'Aberrant 2 (H not quite twice B)'.

20 See, for example the page BnF, Copte 135^{III} 26v →.

An estimation of the lacunas and a reordering of the leaves limited to the *Apocalypse of Elias* (f. 27-32) can be done on the basis of a comparison with two other testimonies: manuscript E, which contains the *Apocalypse of Sophonias* followed by the *Apocalypse of Elias* in dialect *A*,[21] and the papyrus codex Dublin, Chester Beatty inv. 2018,[22] dated to the sixth century and containing the Apocalypse of Elias from the beginning until 20:23.[23] Unfortunately, due to a lack of useful textual parallels of the *Apocalypse of Sophonias*, the place of f. 26 within the codex cannot be established with certainty. The text of the *Apocalypse of Elias* of our manuscript lacks its beginning, before f. 27 (around 2 leaves). An estimated lacuna of three leaves is observed after f. 27. Afterwards the text is continuous from f. 28 to f. 32. The end of the text is not preserved and would have covered about 3 more pages. In brief:

BnF, Copte 135^{III} 26r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 26v →
[lacuna: unknown number of leaves containing *Apocalypse of Sophonias*]
[lacuna: 2 leaves containing the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Elias*]
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 27r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 27v →
[lacuna: 3 leaves]
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 28r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 28v →
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 29r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 29v →
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 30r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 30v →
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 31r →
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 31v ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 32r →
BnF, Copte 135^{III} 32v ↓
[lacuna: 2 leaves, of which around 3 pages contained the end of the text]

Two further remarks can be formulated. First, thanks to the examination of the original leaves in Paris, we can reconstruct two bifolios, by joining f. 29 with f. 32 and f. 30 with f. 31. We can therefore establish that f. 28 has lost its conjugate leaf, originally placed after f. 32. Secondly, f. 26-30 show the fibre alternation ↓→ while f. 31 and 32 show the fibre alternation →↓. It is probable that this manuscript, probably containing only the two apocalypses, as manuscript E, was a single-quire codex, whose first half showed the fibre alternation ↓→ and the other half, the fibres alternation →↓. The double page f. 30v-f. 31r would therefore correspond to the centre of this single-quire codex. The following scheme can therefore be drawn for f. 27-32:



Within the Coptic book production, a few other manuscripts, all datable back to the fourth century, discovered and possibly produced in an area not that far from Panopolis, provide interesting parallels to the Paris manuscript in terms of format and quire layout.

21 See *infra* for the codicological reconstruction.

22 CLM 1022.

23 Pietersma - Comstock - Attridge 1981.

Four of the Nag Hammadi codices – the tallest in the collection – have a height/width proportion of around 2, from 1.96 to 2.14: Nag Hammadi Codex XIII,[24] XI,[25] X[26] and I.[27] Nag Hammadi Codices X and XI are single-quire codices, originally containing respectively 36 and 37 leaves, while Nag Hammadi Codex I is made up of three large quires, originally containing 44, 16 and 12 leaves. From the 8 preserved leaves of Nag Hammadi Codex XIII it is possible to reconstruct part of a quinion, but the original book may have been a large single-quire codex. The manuscript of the *Gospel of John* in dialect *L5* found near the village of Hamamieh,[28] 'about twenty-seven miles from Asyut',[29] is another example of an oblong format codex. The leaves are each 25 cm high and 12.5 cm wide (proportion H/W = 2) and the writing is an informal upright and unimodular majuscule showing a slight thick-and-thin style.

The Berlin manuscript Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. Qu. 3065[30] contains the *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (CC 0122) of Clement of Rome in dialect *A*. It is 12 cm wide and 24.5 cm high (proportion H/W = 2.04) and was originally made up of a single quire of 44 leaves, according to the reconstruction of C. Schmidt, the editor of the manuscript.[31]

The manuscript of Strasbourg, BNU, Copte 362-385,[32] also contains Clement's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, followed by the *Epistle of James* and the *Gospel of John*, all copied in dialect *A* (with portions of the gospel also in Greek). According to the reconstruction of F. Rösch, the editor, the leaves are 15 cm wide and 28 cm high (proportion H/W = 1.87) and the codex was originally composed of one quinion, 5 quaternions, one ternion and one binion.[33] The writing is a large and informal round unimodular majuscule, datable to the fifth century. Three more manuscripts can be put forward, all written in dialect *A* and now kept in Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven. They come from the same discovery and probably were produced in the same context.[34] One of them consists of 8 fragmentary leaves bearing the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[35] They originally measure 13-15 cm in width and 27 cm in height (proportion H/W = 1.93).[36] The second consists of 3 fragmentary leaves (the first two are consecutive), preserving the *Gospel of Luke*.[37] According to the Lefort's reconstruction, it should also have contained *Matthew* and *John*, but not Mark. The third also consists of three fragmentary leaves and bears the *Exodus*.[38] According to the Belgian Coptologist again, they were both originally 16 cm wide and 32 cm high (proportion H/W = 2) and were single-quire codices.[39]

4. *Square pocket format codex*

The square pocket codices are characterised by leaf dimensions around 12-15 cm in width with the height not exceeding the width by more than *c.* 2-2.5 cm, so that the height/width proportion is around 1. As for the oblong format, ancient or modern trimming as well as a poor state of conservation can slightly modify

24 CLM 674; proportion H/W = 1.96.

25 CLM 672; proportion H/W = 1.97.

26 CLM 671; proportion H/W = 2.10.

27 CLM 662; proportion H/W = 2.14.

28 CLM 6334. Edition: THOMPSON 1924.

29 THOMPSON 1924, ix.

30 CLM 686 = MONB.MW.

31 SCHMIDT 1908, 6-7. This reconstruction was reproduced by BUZI 2014, 157. Perhaps a new autoptical analysis of the manuscript will improve this reconstruction.

32 CLM 1020. Edition: RÖSCH 1910.

33 RÖSCH 1910, viii-x.

34 See LEFORT 1949, LEFORT 1952 and LEFORT 1953.

35 CLM 1178. Edition: LEFORT 1952, 1-18.

36 LEFORT 1952, ii-iv. On this manuscript see also Batovici 2017, 82-85, where the author assigns to Lefort a reconstructed width of 12-13 cm.

37 CLM 6370. Edition: LEFORT 1949 (*partim*) and LEFORT 1953, 16-30.

38 CLM 6371. Edition: LEFORT 1949, 1-15.

39 To these Coptic parallels, we should also add two Greek manuscripts from the Bodmer papyri: the Menander codex (MP[3] 1298) and the *P.Bodmer* XIV + XV (LDAB 2895). These are however slightly less high, being respectively 13 cm wide and 27.5 cm high and 13 cm wide and 26 cm high.

these dimensions and proportions. In E.G. Turner's typology,[40] this format corresponds to the 'Group 9'[41] and subgroups.[42] Manuscript E consists of 22 leaves and 1 unplaced fragment bearing the *Apocalypse of Sophonias* (CC 0031) followed by the *Apocalypse of Elias* (CC 0028) in dialect *A*. The leaves measure 12.5-13.3 cm in width and 15 cm in height (proportion H/W: 1.13). The writing frame is around 8.5-9 cm wide and 10-12.5 cm high, giving space to large margins (upper margin: 2-2.3 cm high; lower margin: 2.7-3.2 cm high; inner margin: 1-1.8 cm wide; outer margin: 2.2-2.8 cm wide). The text is written in one column per page (19-20 lines/page) in an informal unimodular majuscule. The axis is upright and there is a slight contrast between the thick and thin strokes. There is no pagination nor quire numbering, but BnF, Copte 135^{II} 23r → shows the number 123 (ρ̣κ̣γ̣) written *transversa charta* in the outer margin in Greek cursive.[43] Was this number added later or was it already written on the original roll, before making up the codex? In the absence of any other case within this manuscript, it is hard to give a firm answer.

In his edition of both texts according to manuscripts E and F, G. Steindorff first reordered the leaves and identified the lost leaves in the manuscript. He estimated the lacuna after BnF, Copte 135^{II} 17 '*von etwa 2 Seiten*', i.e. one leaf, and filled the last two, after BnF, Copte 135^{II} 23 and 25, with the corresponding portion of text preserved in BnF, Copte 135^{III} 26-32.[44] The comparison with the text of the Apocalypse of Elias in the Dublin manuscript[45] confirms Steindorff's estimation of the extent of the lacunas after BnF, Copte 135^{III} 23 and 25 and makes it possible to calculate the extent of the lacuna after *P.Berol.* inv. 1862.1 to one leaf. The succession of leaves can be established as follows, including the lost leaves:

Apocalypse of Sophonias
[lacuna: unknown number of leaves]
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 12r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 12v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 13r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 13v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 14r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 14v ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 15r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 15v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 16r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 16v ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 17r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 17v ↓
[lacuna: 1 leaf]
P.Berol. inv. 1862.5r ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.5v →
P.Berol. inv. 1862.3r ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.3v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 18r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 18v →
Apocalypse of Elias
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 19r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 19v ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.4r →
P.Berol. inv. 1862.4v ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.6r →
P.Berol. inv. 1862.6v ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.1r →
P.Berol. inv. 1862.1v ↓
[lacuna: 1 leaf]

40 Turner 1977, 21-22.

41 It is described in the following way by E.G. Turner: '"Square", W. Schubart: e.g. 15 x 17, 14 x 16 or 13/12 x 15-13'.

42 The subgroups are 1) 'Aberrant 1 (not square i.e., range in B is similar, but difference between B and H is 3 cm. or more)' and 2) 'Aberrant 2 (broader than high)'.

43 The number has been already highlighted by Steindorff 1899, 88.

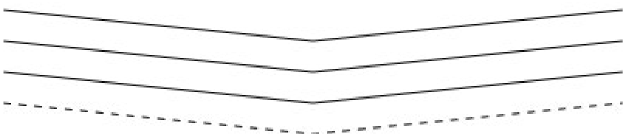
44 Steindorff 1899, 9.

45 See *supra* for a brief description of this manuscript.

BnF, Copte 135^{II} 20r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 20v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 21r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 21v ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 22r ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 22v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 23r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 23v ↓
[lacuna: 1 leaf]
P.Berol. inv. 1862.2r ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.2v →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 24r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 24v ↓
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 25r →
BnF, Copte 135^{II} 25v ↓
[lacuna: 1 leaf]
P.Berol. inv. 1862.7r ↓
P.Berol. inv. 1862.7v →
P.Berol. inv. 1862.8r →
P.Berol. inv. 1862.8v ↓

Now that the sequence of the leaves is established and the extent of the lacunas is estimated, with the exception of the lacuna at the beginning of the manuscript, due to a lack of parallels, we can focus on the reconstruction of the quires and their layout. In this respect, G. Steindorff gave no information in his edition but a careful examination of the fibres leads to the reconstruction of many bifolia and of a sequence of four quires.

The six leaves BnF, Copte 135^{II} 12-17 correspond to the remains of the first reconstructed quire, a quaternion. BnF, Copte 135^{II} 14 and 15 form its centre, while the external bifolio, corresponding to the first and the last leaves, is lost. It can be reconstructed according to the following scheme:



The fibre sequence in facing pages shows both a fibre alternation and a "like facing like" pattern:[46]

??|↓→|↓→|→↓||↓→|→↓|→↓|??

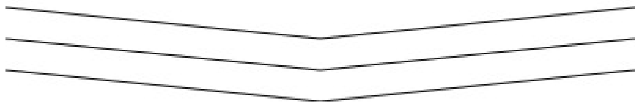
The following quire is complete and is a ternion, which is striking from two points of view. Firstly, the quire is located inside the codex, and not at the end where its presence could be explained by a reduction of the quantity of writing support according to the remaining amount of text to be copied. Secondly, early codices are made mainly of quaternions or of larger quires.

The fibre alternation within the quire tallies with the "alternation" pattern and the quire opens with a page showing the vertical fibres, according to the following scheme:

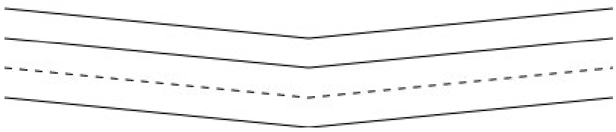
↓→|↓→|↓→||→↓|→↓|→↓

The quire can finally be reconstructed according to the following scheme, where the two external bifolia are kept in Berlin (1st bifolio: *P.Berol.* inv. 1862.5 and 1862.6; 2nd bifolio: *P.Berol.* inv. 1862.3 and 1862.4), while the central bifolio is kept in Paris (BnF, Copte 135^{II} 18-19).

46 On these two patterns of fibre alternations, see TURNER 1977, 65.



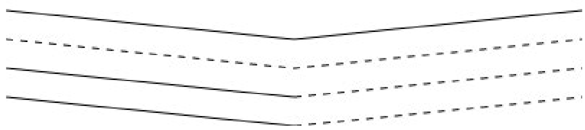
The third quire can be reconstructed as a quaternion, whose second bifolio (leaves 2 and 6 of the quire) is lost. Conjugate leaves *P.Berol.* inv. 1862.1 and 1862.2 form the external bifolio, while conjugate leaves BnF, Copte 135^{II} 20 and 23 and BnF, Copte 135^{II} 21 and 22 form respectively the third and the fourth (central) bifolio. Here is the scheme of the reconstructed quire:



The fibre alternation pattern cannot be identified with certainty due to the lack of the second bifolio. It begins with the vertical fibres (↓), and shows the "like facing like" pattern in the facing pages of the two central bifolia, in the same position as in quire 1:

→↓|??|↓→|→↓||↓→|→↓|??|↓→

Of the fourth quire only four leaves are preserved, BnF, Copte 135^{III} 24 and 25, and after a lacuna of one leaf *P.Berol.* inv. 1862.7 and 1862.8. The two latter form a bifolio that can be identified as the central bifolio of a quaternion. Therefore, BnF, Copte 135^{II} 24 and 25 have lost their conjugate leaf. Here is the scheme derived from this hypothetical reconstruction:



In this case too, the fibre alternation pattern cannot be identified with certainty due to the lack of a bifolio (the third). The quire begins with a page showing the horizontal fibres and the first two bifolia shows a fibre alternation in facing pages:

→↓|→↓|??|↓→||→↓|??|[↓→]|[↓→]

E.G. Turner listed 9 papyrus manuscripts showing this format,[47] amongst which is our manuscript of the two apocalypses. Within the Coptic book production, there are four papyrus manuscripts showing a format similar to that of our manuscript. Their further analysis shows interesting echoes of our manuscript not only from a codicological point of view, but also from a dialectological, textual and geographical point of view. Moreover, they are all datable to the fourth century.

Two of them are written in dialect *A*. The papyrus codex kept in Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), Copte 413-433[48] contains the apocryphal work known as *Epistula Apostolorum* (CC 0034) and consists of 21 papyrus leaves whose original dimensions were 14 cm in width and 15 cm in height (pro-

47 In subgroup 'Aberrant 1' are listed 10 manuscripts, and in subgroup 'Aberrant 2' are listed only 2 manuscripts, both Coptic, the Crosby-Schøyen manuscript and the Berlin Proverbs Codex, about which see *infra*.

48 CLM 25 = CMCL.BB. Edition: Schmidt - Wajnberg 1919.

portion H/W = 1.07). The text is written in one column per page (10.5 cm wide and 9.5 cm high) in an informal round majuscule. Pagination is preserved. The editors of the text proposed a quire layout reconstruction as a single-quire codex, but a preliminary autoptical analysis of the leaves in Cairo as well as a tentative reconstruction of some bifolia question this hypothesis: the codex was surely made up of smaller quires (quaternions?). The so-called 'Berlin Proverbs Codex'[49] is slightly wider than high. The leaves are 14 cm wide and 12.5 cm high (proportion H/W = 0.89). The text is written in a single column per page in a unimodular upright majuscule. It is made up of a single quire of 83 leaves and was possibly discovered in Panopolis/Achmîm.

The two other parallels are taken from the so-called *Dishna Papers* or *Bodmer Papyri*, whose places of discovery and production have been much discussed since their first appearance in the 1950's. Recent research points to a place of production in the neighbourhood of Dendera, near Dishna, *ca.* 100 km south of Panopolis, but some links with Panopolis/Achmîm still remain.[50] *P.Bodmer* XVIII,[51] which contains the first part of *Deuteronomium* (1:1-9:7) in dialect *S*, is 14 cm wide and 14.5 cm high (proportion H/W = 1.04) and is made up of six quaternions. The text is written in a single column per page measuring 9 cm in width and 10 cm in height. The Crosby-Schøyen Codex[52] contains the *De Pascha* by Melito of Sardis (CC 0222), the same *excerptum* of 2Macc. (CC 0745) as in our manuscript C (see *supra*), *1Peter* (CC 0721), the *Book of Jonas* (CC 0738) and an unidentified text. All texts are written in dialect *S* and in two columns per page, with the exception of the last text, written in a single column per page. The maximum dimensions of the leaves are 15.9 cm in width and 14.7 in height (proportion H/W = 0.92), so that the manuscript is slightly wider than high.[53] It is made up of a single quire of 68 leaves.

5. 'Standard panopolite' *format codices*

First considered by E.G. Turner as a subclass of Group 5 within the format types of early papyrus codices,[54] the '*standard panopolite*' has been identified (and named) by J. Gascou as a format on its own.[55] The leaf dimensions are 18 cm in width and 25 cm in height. Some manuscripts in this group attest an unusual manufacture. They are made from rolls (or portions of rolls) already used on the recto (→) for Greek documentary texts datable from the end of the second to the end of the third century probably originating from the archives of the Panopolite nome administration.[56] The rolls were pasted two by two with the written face inside, so as to obtain a double layer blank roll showing the vertical fibres (↓) on both sides. The newly blank roll was then cut into sheets around 36-40 cm wide, stacked and folded to form bifolia, which were then trimmed at the top to be 25 cm high.

Four manuscripts of the Achmîm Papyri tally with the '*standard panopolite*' format: manuscripts A, B, D, written in Coptic, and the Greek manuscript *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1. Manuscript D, which consists of one leaf, is the only one which is not made up by pasting together two rolls: the recto shows the vertical fibres (↓) and bears *Luke* 1:29-45 (35 lines), while the verso has the horizontal fibres (→) and contains *Luke* 1:45-68 (37 lines). The outer part of the leaf is lost. Upper margin is 1.5 cm, lower margin is 2.5 cm and outer margin is 1.5 cm. The text is written in an upright unimodular informal majuscule. If the codex began with the *Gospel of Luke*, this was the second leaf.

Now let's move to the three manuscripts made up by reusing Greek documentary rolls. Manuscript A consists of three double-thickness leaves used for the copy of the beginning of *Exodus* in dialect *A*. The writing is an upright unimodular majuscule written by an informal and rapid hand. The layout is very dense, with respect to manuscript D, since the pages contain between 39 to 43 lines and the margins are very

49 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms. or. oct.* 987 = CLM 24 = CMCL.BA. Edition: BÖHLIG 1958.

50 For a recent discussion and new discoveries on this question, see FOURNET 2015.

51 CLM 36 = DISH.AD.

52 Oslo, Schøyen Coll., MS 193 + Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 2026 = CLM 42 = DISH.AK. Edition: GOEHRING 1990.

53 More codices of the Bodmer papyri attest this format, in Greek or in Coptic, in papyrus or in parchment, like the *P.Bodmer* II (van Haelst 426 = LDAB 2777) containing the Gospel of John in Greek of the *P.Bodmer* XXII + Mississipi Coptic Codex 2 (CLM 39 = DISH.AG), a parchment codex containing the *Lamentation of Jeremias* in Coptic.

54 TURNER 1977, 17

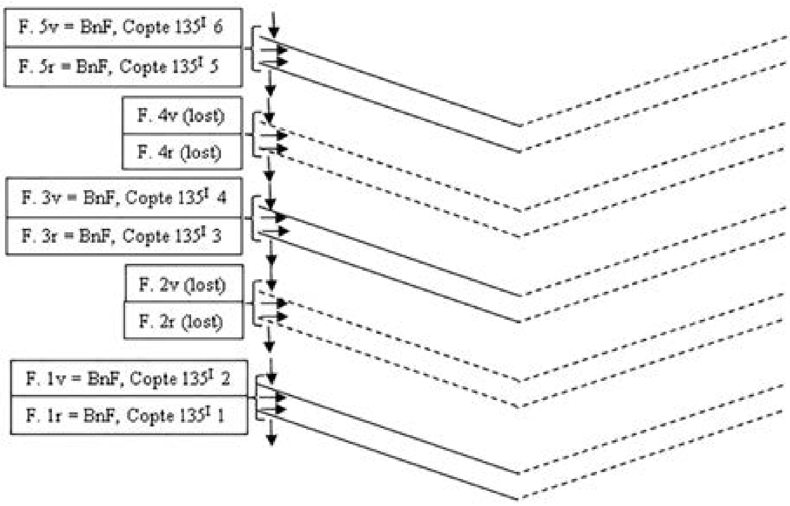
55 GASCOU 1989, 81-83.

56 For a global study of these documentary texts, see BAGNALL 2002. The American papyrologist do not divide in the right way *P.Bour.* 41a and 41b and use the old shelmarks BnF, Copte 135A and BnF, Copte 135B to designate manuscripts A and B.

small (*c.* 1-1.5 cm each). On the basis of the text of *Exodus*, we can infer that a leaf was lost between the first and the second preserved leaf, and another between the second and the third leaf, as in the following list:

f. 1
Recto: BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 1 ↓: *Exodus* 1:1-2:2
Verso: BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 2 ↓: *Exodus* 2:2-19
f. 2 (lost)
Recto: *Exodus* 2:19-3:10 (*ca*)
Verso: *Exodus* 3:10 (*ca*)-4:2
f. 3
Recto: BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 3 ↓: *Exodus* 4:12-15
Verso: BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 4 ↓: *Exodus* 4:16-25
f. 4 (lost)
Recto: *Exodus* 4:25-5:7 (*ca*)
Verso: *Exodus* 5:7 (*ca*)-22
f. 5
Recto: BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 5 ↓: *Exodus* 5:22-6:14
Verso: BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 6 ↓: *Exodus* 6:14-7:4

The conjugate leaves are not preserved. It is probable that f. 1 constituted the first leaf of a codex containing possibly the whole book of *Exodus*. The beginning of this codex, until f. 5 can be reconstructed as follows. The continuous lines represent the preserved leaves, while the discontinuous lines represent the lost leaves. Two closely parallel lines represent the two layers of a double-thickness leaf. Looking inside the double-thickness leaves, where the fibres are horizontal (→), four different documents are attested:



- *P.Achm.* 9: a land and tax register datable to the end of the second century, bearing lists of names in Σ (BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 1 →) and in I, K, Λ and M (BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 3 →);
- *P.Achm.* 7: liturgical[57] lists related to villages of the Panopolite nome dating back to the year 197 CE (BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 2 → and 4 →);
- *P.Achm.* 8, l. 1-23: a copy of an official correspondence of Claudios Diognetos, procurator, dating back to the year 197 CE, containing the end of a letter, a complete second letter, and the beginning of a third letter (BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 5 →);
- *P.Achm.* 6, l. 12-23 (end of the lines) and l. 24-32: a land register datable to the end of the second century containing the land descriptions nos 585-588 (the numeral 585 has been lost due to trimming, but it can be restored) (BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 6 →).

57 Liturgy is here to be intended as the legal obligation to accomplish civil charges in Roman Egypt.

F. 1 and 3 are made from parts of the same rolls, *P.Achm.* 9 for the recto and *P.Achm.* 7 for the verso while f. 5 has been made from other rolls, *P.Achm.* 8 for the recto and *P.Achm.* 6 for the verso. *P.Achm.* 7 and *P.Achm.* 8 have been pasted upside down with respect to the other rolls. As a result, the text of of f. 1v ↓, 3v ↓ and 5r ↓ runs upside down with respect to the Greek documents of f. 1v →, 3v → and 5r →. Since f. 1 and 3 display the same fabrication, pasting *P.Achm.* 7 as the verso on *P.Achm.* 9 as the recto, it is therefore highly probable that f. 2, as well as the three conjugate leaves of ff. 1-3 were made up in the same way. This can be confirmed partially by a reconstruction of the content of the lost parts of the land and tax register *P.Achm.* 9. Since f. 3r → contains names in I, K, Λ and M, and f. 1r → contains names in Σ, it is reasonable to suppose that

- the conjugate leaf of f. 3r → contained names in M (end), N and Ξ
- f. 2r → contained names in Ξ (end), O and Π,
- the conjugate leaf of f. 2r → contained names in Π (end), P and Σ (beginning),
- the conjugate leaf of f. 1r → contained the end of the name list in Σ and the names in T.

Probably the beginning of the land and tax register (names from A to I) was sufficient to make up f. 4r and its conjugate leaf, as well as, perhaps, the conjugate leaf of f. 5r. The roll of the land and tax register would therefore have been reused in at least 4 bifolia each measuring *c.* 36-40 cm in width, so that the roll originally was *c.* 144-200 cm long. Similarly, we can suppose that the verso of f. 2 and of the conjugates leaves of f. 1-3 were cut out from the liturgical lists *P.Achm.* 7. In the following chart are summarised all the above information and conclusions.

Codex leaf	Shelfmark	→/↓	Content	Remarks
f. 1r	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 1	→	Land and tax register : names in Σ	The lost conjugate leaf also contained the section with names in Σ and T (ca)
		↓	*Exodus* 1:1-2:2	
f. 1v	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 2	→	Liturgical lists	Pasted upside down on BnF, Copte 135^{I} 1 →
		↓	*Exodus* 2:2-19	
f. 2r (lost)		→	Land and tax register: names in Ξ, O, Π (*ca*)	The lost conjugate leaf also contained the section with names in Π, P, Σ (beginning), immediately preceding BnF, Copte 135^{I} 1 →
		↓	*Exodus* 2:19-3:10 (*ca*)	
f. 2 v (lost)		→	Liturgical lists (?)	The lost conjugate leaf also contained the liturgical lists (?)
		↓	*Exodus* 3:10 (*ca*)-4:2	
f. 3r	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 3	→	Land and tax register : names in I, K, Λ, M	The lost conjugate leaf also contained the section with names in M (end), N and Ξ (*c.*)
		↓	*Exodus* 4:12-15	
f. 3v	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 4	→	Liturgical lists	Pasted upside down on BnF, Copte 135^{I} 3 →
		↓	*Exodus* 4:16-25	
f. 4r (lost)		→	Beginning of the land and tax register (?)	The lost conjugate leaf also contained the beginning of the land and tax register (?)
		↓	*Exodus* 4:25-5:7 (*c.*)	
f. 4v (lost)		→	Official correspondence (?)	The lost conjugate leaf also contained official correspondence (?)
		↓	*Exodus* 5:7 (*c.*)-22	
f. 5r	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 5	→	Official correspondence (letter 1 : end ; letter 2 : complete ; letter 3 : beginning)	Pasted upside down on BnF, Copte 135^{I} 6 →
		↓	*Exodus* 5:22-6:14	The conjugate leaf contained possibly the very beginning of the land and tax register (?)
f. 5v	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 6	→	Land register (records nos 585-588)	The conjugate leaf contained another text than the land register. The preceding records, which were expected here, are however used as f. 3r of *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1 (see *infra*)
		↓	*Exodus* 6:14-7:4	

Only one layer of a double-thickness leaf (BnF, Copte 135^{I} 7) of manuscript B has been preserved. On the vertical fibres side (↓), corresponding to a page of the codex, we read the end of the book of Sirach (22:17-23:16) in Coptic dialect *A*, followed by the final title. The writing is similar to that of manuscript A: upright and unimodular, written in an informal and rapid hand. The layout is dense too, as in manuscript A. Since the Coptic text is written upside down with respect to the Greek documentary text, a part of the official correspondence of Claudios Diognetos, published as *P.Achm.* 8, l. 24-44, the sheet was pasted upside down with respect to its other layer, now lost. This layer has therefore been re-used in the same way as f. 5r of manuscript A: as a recto and upside down. Was the verso of the double-thickness leaf also cut out from the land register *P.Achm.* 6, as is the case of f. 5v in manuscript A? It is however not possible to establish whether this leaf contained another text after the book of Sirach or was left blank.

Codex leaf	Shelfmark	→/↓	Content	Remarks
f. 1r	BnF, Copte 135^{I} 7	→	Official correspondence: end of a letter	Pasted upside down with respect to the lost f. 1v→
		↓	Sirach 22:17-23:16 + final title	
f. 1v	Lost	↓	Land register (?)	
		→	Blank or beginning of another text (?)	

Finally, *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1 consists of two double-thickness leaves, published by P. Collart as *P.Bour.* 3 (*Sorb. Inv.* 828), and of the recto layer of another double-thickness leaf (BnF, Suppl. gr. 1099.5) first published by U. Wilcken,[58] then by P. Collart as *P. Achm.* 1.[59] The text is written in a Greek cursive in a single column per page and is an unknown homily of exegetical character. The homily has been attributed to Origen[60] or, more cautiously, to an author inspired by Origen's works.[61] *P.Achm.* 1 corresponds to the end of the text. All the leaves are broken vertically into two parts. The first double thickness leaf has lost its external part, while the other leaves are complete. The correct order of the Sorbonne pages of the Greek homily, which differs from the order in Collart's edition, has been established by C. Schmidt.[62] A clear textual continuity can be found between f. 2v and 3r, while it is less obvious, due to a loss of writing support, between f. 1v and 2r. Here is the list of the pages of the Greek homily:

f. 1
Recto: *Sorb. Inv.* 828.a ↓ = *P.Bour.* 3, col. III
Verso: *Sorb. Inv.* 828.b ↓ = *P.Bour.* 3, col. I
f. 2
Recto: *Sorb. Inv.* 828.c+d ↓ = *P.Bour.* 3, col. IV
Verso: *Sorb. Inv.* 828.e+f ↓ = *P.Bour.* 3, col. II
f. 3
Recto: BnF, *Suppl. gr.* 1099.5 ↓ = *P. Achm.* 1
Verso (lost): blank or beginning of another text (?)

The leaves are made up with parts of the same documents as in manuscripts A and B, but they are pasted differently. A part of the land register *P.Achm.* 6, here published as *P.Bour.* 41b, col. I is used as f. 1r, while in manuscript A it was used for f. 5v. F. 1v however is constituted by a portion of the liturgical lists *P.Achm.* 7, here published as *P.Bour.* 41a, col. I. In manuscript A, *P.Achm.* 7 is also used as the verso of f. 1, 2 (lost) and 3, but pasted on the land and tax register *P.Achm.* 9. The portion of the liturgical lists used for f. 1v is pasted upside down on the land register f. 1r →. F. 2 is made in the same way as f. 1, with the difference being that the verso was made up from a portion of the official correspondence *P.Bour.* 41a, col. II-III, from a different roll to that of *P.Achm.* 8. In fact, the beginning of col. II (= l. 31-38) preserves another copy by the same hand as that of

58 Wilcken 1927, 305.

59 Reproduction available on the website of the BnF https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc24194w (accessed on Friday 13 September 2019).

60 Ausenda 1940, 44 and McNamee 1973, 49. A. Camplani also tends to this identification (personal communication: "una mia indagine inedita mi aveva portato in quella (*scil.* Origen) direzione".

61 Schubart 1930, 94 and Ehrhard 1936, 705.

62 Schmidt 1928, 145-151.

the end of letter 2 kept in BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 5 → (= *P.Achm.* 8, l. 14-21). From f. 3, only one layer – the recto – has been preserved. It was made up using the portion of land and tax register (records nos 582-584) immediately preceding in the original roll the portion used for f. 5v of manuscript A (records nos 585-588). In this case too, it is not possible to answer the question whether another text was copied after the Greek homily or not.

Codex leaves	Shelfmark	→/↓	Content	Remarks
f. 1r	*Sorb. Inv.* 828.a	→	Land register (records numbers not preserved)	
		↓	Greek Homily	
f. 1v	*Sorb. Inv.* 828.b	→	Liturgical lists	Pasted upside down on *Sorb. Inv.* 828.a →
		↓	Greek Homily	
f. 2r	*Sorb. Inv.* 828.c+d	→	Land register (records numbers not preserved)	
		↓	Greek Homily	
f. 2v	*Sorb. Inv.* 828.e+f	→	Official correspondence	Pasted upside down on *Sorb. Inv.* 828.c+d →
		↓	Greek Homily (end)	
f. 3r	BnF, *Suppl. gr.* 1099.5	→	Land register (records nos 582-584)	
		↓	Greek Homily (end)	
f. 3v (lost)		→		
		↓	Blank or beginning of another text (?)	

The leaves of manuscripts A, B and *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1 were therefore made up from 5 different rolls:

1) *P.Achm.* 6 + *P.Bour.* 41b (TM 20269): Land register
- *Sorb. Inv.* 828.a →: Land register, records numbers lost.
- *Sorb. Inv.* 828.c+d →: Land register, records numbers lost.
- BnF, *Suppl. gr.* 1099.5 → : Land register - records nos 582-584.
- BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 6 → : Land register - records nos 585-588.

2) *P.Achm.* 7 + *P.Bour.* 41a, col. I (TM 20270): Liturgical lists
- BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 2 →
- BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 4 →
- Sorb. Inv. 828.b →

3) *P.Achm.* 8 (TM 20271): Official correspondence
- BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 5 →: remains of three letters: end of letter 1, complete letter 2, beginning of letter 3
- Bnf, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 7 →: end of a letter

4) *P.Achm.* 9 (TM 28326): Land and tax register arranged alphabetically according to the first letter of the anthroponym
- BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 3 →: names beginning with I, K, Λ and M
- BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 1 →: names beginning with Σ

5) *P.Bour.* 41a, col. II-III (TM 17349): Official correspondence
- *Sorb. Inv.* 828.e+f →

Two rolls share at least partially the same text, the official correspondence of Claudios Diognetos (*P.Achm.* 8 and *P.Bour.* 41a, col. II-III). The portions of four different rolls were used to make up manuscript A (BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 1-6). Since no bifolio has been preserved in its entirety (the conjugate leaves are always lacking), there is no textual continuity within the portions of a same roll in a single codex. But in the case of *P.Achm.* 6 + *P.Bour.* 41b a textual continuity exists from BnF, Suppl. Gr. 1099.5 → to BnF, Copte 135$^{\mathrm{I}}$ 6 →, which preserved the land records nos 582-588. The first was used for the recto of f. 3 in *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1, and the second for the verso of f. 5 in manuscript A. The different positions assigned to these sheets (recto and verso) in two different codices (*P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1 and manuscript A) indicates 1) that the leaves of manuscript A and the leaves of *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1 are part of two different codices (otherwise portions of the same roll would be reused in the same position) and 2) that the two codices were made up separately, using a first part of the roll for one of the codices, and the remaining part for the other one. On the other hand, we have shown that the land and tax register roll *P.Achm.* 9 was used entirely (or almost) to make up part of manuscript A.

In his contribution, J. Gascou identified two more codices made up from double-thickness bifolia.[63] The first instance is *P.Ryl.* I 1 (LDAB 3169; TM 62010), a two columns per page codex containing Deut. 2:37-

63 Gascou 1989, 81-83.

3:1 and 3:3-5 on the recto and Deut. 3:8-10 and 3:12-13 on the verso in Greek, datable on palaeographical grounds to the fourth century. The Greek documents from which the writing support was made contains official correspondence relating to sacrifices dated to the year 294 CE, probably sent to the administration of the *strategos* of the nome.[64] The second instance, *P.Panop.* 19 (TM 16164), is more interesting since it is better preserved and provides sure *termini* to date both the original rolls and the codex derived from them. The latter contains a few tax receipts dated from 339 to 346 and issued to a certain Besas Antoninus son of Alopex from Panopolis and to members of his family. The bifolia were made of two long (6.1 m and 5.18 m respectively but certainly originally longer) rolls, *P.Panop. Beatty* 1 (TM 44881) and 2 (TM 44882), containing an official correspondence of the *strategos* of the Panopolite nome, dating from 298 to 300.[65]

As J. Gascou has already argued, the codex format 18 cm x 25 cm can be clearly assigned to a place of manufacture, Panopolis/Achmîm, and to a specific period of time, between the end of the third and the mid-fourth century. On this ground the date and place of production of manuscripts A, B and *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1, and, by extension, also manuscript D, can be established more firmly than only on palaeographical grounds and the archaeological reports of discovery: the codices were made up in Panopolis, in the first half of the fourth century and copied soon after.[66]

6. *Conclusions*

After analysing the bibliology and the codicology of the seven manuscripts from the ancient collection known as Achmîm Papyri, the following observations can be made. The seven literary single-text manuscripts contain Christian texts, Biblical (manuscripts A, B, C and D), apocryphal (manuscripts E and F) or homiletical (*P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1), in Coptic dialects *A* (manuscripts A, B, C and E) and *S* (manuscripts D and F) as well as in Greek (*P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1). All the texts are written by informal and sometimes rapid hands.

Four book formats are attested: the roll (manuscript C), the oblong format (manuscript F), the square pocket format (manuscript E), and the '*standard panopolite*' format (manuscripts A, B, D and *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1), identified by J. Gascou. For each manuscript a bibliological/codicological reconstruction has been attempted, as far as the state of conservation and the presence of textual parallels made it possible: manuscripts B and D are too badly preserved (one leaf or even less) to enable such a reconstruction. Manuscript F was originally a single-quire oblong codex showing fibre alternation ↓→ from the beginning to the centre and →↓ from the centre to the end. Manuscript E is a multiple-quire square pocket codex: all the quires are normal quaternions, with the exception of one ternion. The fibre alternation is not regular. On manuscripts A, B and *P.Bour.* 3 + *P.Achm.* 1, much attention has been paid to their particular manufacture, in the first half of the fourth century, when the Panopolite nome administration donated or sold (part of) its archives. Probably the date and place of manufacture of these '*standard panopolite*' manuscripts can be extended to the other manuscripts of the Achmîm Papyri.[67] Manuscripts showing similar formats as that attested in the Achmîm Papyri share three main features with the seven manuscripts studied: date, area of discovery and production, and dialect. All the manuscripts are datable to the fourth or fifth century. The Nag Hammadi Codices, Bodmer Papyri, and the *Gospel of John* in dialect *L5* have been discovered and probably produced in an area no more than 100 km from Panopolis/Achmîm. Finally, out of the 23 manuscripts written in dialect *A* listed in the manuscript database of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* of the 'PAThs' project,[68] four are part of the Achmîm Papyri and eight more share with them codicological features, such as format, layout and writing.

In conclusion, the Achmîm papyri can surely be considered an ancient book collection as important as the Nag Hammadi codices and the Bodmer Papyri for Coptic book production in the early period, as well as a firm starting point from which to analyse the literary production in dialect *A* and the book production in the culturally flourishing fourth/fifth century Panopolis.

64 Bagnall - Rives 2000. For the link with Panopolis see esp. 79.

65 *P.Panop. Beatty*, vii-ix.

66 Gascou 1989, 83.

67 On this see Carlig forthcoming b.

68 See https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/search/manuscripts?f=paths__manuscripts%3Adialect&s=1&v=A (accessed 13 September 2019).

References

AGOSTI 2012 = G. AGOSTI, "Greek Poetry", in S.F. JOHNSON (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 361-404.

AUSENDA 1940 = G. AUSENDA, "Contributo allo studio dell'omiletica cristiana nei papiri greci dell'Egitto", *Aegyptus*, 20, 1940, pp. 43-47.

BAGNALL 2002 = R.S. BAGNALL, "Public Administration and the Documentation of Roman Panopolis", in A. EGBERTS - B.P. MUHS - J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis. An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest.* Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998 (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, 31), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2002, pp. 1-12.

BAGNALL - RIVES 2000 = R.S. BAGNALL - J.B. RIVES, "A Prefect's Edict Mentioning Sacrifice", *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 2, 2000, pp. 77-86.

BÖHLIG 1958 = A. BÖHLIG, *Der achmimische Proverbientext nach Ms. Berol. Orient. Oct. 987*, Teil I : *Text und Rekonstruktion der sahidischen Vorlage* (Studien zur Erforschung des Christlichen Ägyptens, 3), München, 1958.

BOURIANT 1885 = U. BOURIANT, "Les papyrus d'Akhmim", *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, 1, 2, 1885, pp. 243-304.

BUZI 2014 = P. BUZI, *Koptischen Handschriften/Coptic Manuscripts*, 7: *Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz/The Manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Teil/Part 4: *Homiletische und Liturgische Handschriften aus dem Weißen Kloster/Homiletic and Liturgical Manuscripts from the White Monastery*, Stuttgart, 2014.

CAMPLANI 1999 = A. CAMPLANI, "La prima lettera festale di Cirillo di Alessandria e la testimonianza di *P. Vindob. K 10157*", *Augustinianum*, 39, 1999, pp. 129-138.

CAMPLANI - MARTIN 2000 = A. MARTIN - A. MARTIN, "Lettres festales et listes épiscopales dans l'Église d'Alexandrie et d'Égypte. À propos de la liste épiscopale accompagnant la première lettre festale de Cyrille d'Alexandrie conservée en copte", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 30, 2000, pp. 7-20.

CARLIG forthcoming a = N. CARLIG, "Les rouleaux littéraires coptes de papyrus (ca. 300 – VII^e siècle)", in A. BOUD'HORS - E. Garel - C. LOUIS (eds.), *Études Coptes XVI.* Actes de la 18e journée d'études coptes. Bruxelles, 22-24 juin 2017, forthcoming.

CARLIG forthcoming b = N. CARLIG, "Les papyrus d'Achmîm : une mise au point", in A. BOUD'HORS - E. GAREL - C. LOUIS - N. VANTHIEGHEM (eds.), *Études Coptes XVII.* Dix-neuvième journée d'études (Ottawa, 19-22 juin 2019), forthcoming.

COLLART 1931 = P. COLLART, "Les papyrus grecs d'Achmîm à la Bibliothèque nationale de France", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 31, 1931, pp. 35-110.

EMMEL 2002 = S. EMMEL, "From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis", in A. EGBERTS - B.P. MUHS, - J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis. An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest.* Acts From an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998 (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, 31), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2002, pp. 95-113.

EHRHARD 1936 = A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum End des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I: *Die Überlieferung*, 1. Lieferung (Texte und Untersuchungen, 50/1), Leipzig, 1936.

FOURNET 2015 = J.-L. FOURNET, "Anatomie d'une bibliothèque de l'Antiquité tardive: l'inventaire, le faciès et la provenance de la 'Bibliothèque Bodmer'", in G. AGOSTI - P. BUZI - A. CAMPLANI (eds.), *I Papiri Bodmer. Biblioteche, comunità di asceti e cultura lettaria in greco, copto e latino nell'Egitto tardoantico/Bodmer Papyri. Libraries, ascetic congregations, and literary culture in Greek, Coptic, and Latin, within Late-Antique Egypt*, Brescia, 2015 = *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 8-40.

FUNK 1985 = W.-P. FUNK, "How Closely Related are the Subakhmimic Dialects?", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 112, 1985, pp. 124-139.

GASCOU 1989 = J. GASCOU, "Les codex documentaires égyptiens", in A. BLANCHARD (ed.), *Les débuts du codex.* Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris, 3 et 4-VII-1985 (Bibliologia, 9), Turnhout, 1989, pp. 71-101.

LACAU 1911 = P. LACAU, "Textes coptes en dialectes akhmimique et sahidique", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 8, 1911, pp. 43-109.

Lacau 1966 = P. Lacau, "Remarques sur le manuscrit akhmimique des apocalypses de Sophonie et d'Élie", *Journal Asiatique*, 254, 1966, pp. 169-195.
Lefort 1949 = L.-Th. Lefort, "Fragments de S. Luc en akhmîmique', *Le Muséon*, 62, 1949, pp. 199-205.
Lefort 1952 = L.-Th. Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques en copte* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 135, Scriptores coptici, 17), Louvain, 1952.
Lefort 1953 = L.-Th. Lefort, '"Fragments bibliques en dialecte akhmîmique", *Le Muséon*, 66, 1953, pp. 1-30.
McNamee 1973 = K. McNamee, "Origen in the Papyri", *Classical Folia*, 27, 1973, pp. 28-53.
Miguélez Cavero 2008 = L. Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context. Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid. 200-600 AD* (Sozomena, 2), Berlin, 2008.
Pietersma - Comstock - Attridge 1981 = A. Pietersma - S.T. Comstock - H.W. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah based on P. Chester Beatty 2018: Coptic Text*, Chico, 1981.
Rösch 1910 = F. Rösch, *Bruchstücke des Ersten Clemensbriefes nach dem achmimischen Papyrus der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek mit Biblischen Texten derselben Handschrift*, Strassburg, 1910.
Schmidt 1908 = C. Schmidt, *Der Erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 31/1), Leipzig, 1908.
Schmidt 1928 = C. Schmidt, "Review of P. Collart, Les papyrus Bouriant (Paris, 1926)", *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 190, 1928, pp. 145-182.
Schmidt - Wajnerg 1919 = C. Schmidt - I. Wajnerg, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung. Ein katolisch-apostoliches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 43), Leipzig, 1919.
Schubart 1930 = W. Schubart, "Christliche Predigten aus Ägypten", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde Kairo*, 1, 1930, pp. 93-105.
Stern 1886 = L. Stern, "Die koptische Apocalypse des Sophonias. Mit einem Anhang über den untersahidischen Dialect", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 24, 1886, pp. 115-135.
Steindorff 1899 = G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias. Eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 17/3), Leipzig, 1899.
Till 1928 = W.C. Till, "Bemerkungen und Ergänzungen zu den achmîmischen Textausgabe", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 63, pp. 90-91.
Till 1931 = W.C. Till, *Osterbrief und Predigt in achmimischen Dialekt* (Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde, 2/1), Leipzig, 1931.
Turner 1977 = E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia, 1977.
von Lemm 1900 = O. von Lemm, "Kleine Koptische Studien. X: Bemerkungen zu einigen Stelle der koptischen Apokalypsen", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 13/1, 1900, pp. 1-28.
von Lemm 1904 = O. von Lemm, "Kleine Koptische Studien. XXVI: Bemerkungen zu einigen Stelle der koptischen Apokalypsen", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 21/3, pp. 41-50.
Wilcken 1927 = U. Wilcken, "Review of P. Collart, Les papyrus Bouriant (Paris, 1926)", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 8, 1927, pp. 302-308.

The Panopolis Connection: the Pachomian Federation as Context for the Nag Hammadi Codices

Christian H. Bull - Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society, Oslo

Abstract
Building on recent scholarship on the provenance of the Nag Hammadi Codices, the present article argues that the different character of the subgroups detected is best accounted for by proposing that one group was produced in the Pachomian monastery of Sheneset - Chenoboskion, while one or both of the others with some likelihood may have been produced in the Pachomian monastery at Shmin - Panopolis. The codices were then united through a monastic book-exchange network, and/or monks transferring from one monastery to another, before their final deposition at nearby Jabal al-Tarif.

Keywords
Nag Hammadi Codices, Pachomian federation, Chenoboskion, Panopolis, scribes.

1. *Introduction*

In a recent article[1] Louis Painchaud summarises what is known about the production of the Nag Hammadi codices, and proposes that any hypothesis of their provenance must take into consideration the subgroups among the codices, into which they can be grouped according to duplicate texts, scribes and scribal schools, quality of papyrus and cover, cartonnage material, dialects, and scribal notes. The division into subgroups builds upon the work of James Robinson and Michael Williams,[2] and their existence has been used by scholars such as Ewa Wipszycka and Alexandr Khosroyev[3] to argue that the codices could not have a monastic provenance, since they would in that case ostensibly have been more uniform. Khosroyev famously proposed that the codices were owned by a group of urban literati with an eclectic taste in literature and ecumenical religiosity.[4] Painchaud himself ends on an agnostic note with regards to the provenances, though he notes that one subgroup seems to derive from the Dishna plain and belonged to a devoted Christian community, whereas another group seems to derive from professional scribes in an administrative center, where he singles out Panopolis as the most likely candidate.[5]

Painchaud finished his article before the appearance of Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott's *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in which Pachomian monks with Origenistic proclivities are proffered as the most likely originators of the codices. Lundhaug and Jenott downplay the differences between the subgroups, while pointing out that even if the codices were produced independently from each other this would not preclude monks as their producers, since there is no reason to assume that the Pachomians all followed the same methods of book-production, and that it is in fact likely that different monasteries within the federation had different techniques.[6]

The two main competing hypotheses about the provenance of the Nag Hammadi codices thus follow the old dichotomy between monks in the desert and intellectuals in the city, despite the fact that scholars

1 Painchaud 2018.
2 Robinson 1975; 1984, 71-86; Williams 1995; Williams 1996, 241-249.
3 Khosroyev 1995, 3, 67; Wipszycka 2000, 187.
4 Khosroyev 1995, 98, 101.
5 Painchaud 2018, 414-420.
6 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 207-214.

such as James Goehring and Ewa Wipzsycka[7] have challenged this dichotomy and emphasised the ties that connect monks with village and city life in Egypt. In the present contribution I will argue that far from disproving the monastic hypothesis, the fact that distinct subgroups of manuscripts were buried together on the Dishna plain is best explained if we consider them as products of the Pachomian federation.

2. *The find-location of the Nag Hammadi Codices*

Although the story of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices is well-known, it is worthwhile rehearsing the basics. In 1945 the Egyptian *fellah* Mohammad Ali al-Samman claimed to have been digging for *sabbakh* with some companions (the number of which has varied in different retellings), when they stumbled upon a jar by the cliffs of Jabal al-Tarif, which turned out to contain our codices. There is considerable disagreement on the trustworthiness of the testimony of Ali, recently laid out in full and defended by James Robinson, in *The Nag Hammadi Story*;[8] detractors have suggested that the *fellahin* were not out looking for *sabbakh*, as they claimed, but rather searching for treasure in the nearby pharaonic tombs.[9] This notion has given rise to the idea that the codices represent a Christian version of the Book of the Dead, which would have been placed in the tomb to guide the soul of the deceased to a blessed afterlife.[10] I think Paula Tutty has sufficiently dealt with this unlikely scenario in a recent article, pointing out that the Book of the Dead tradition was long gone in Egypt by the time the Nag Hammadi Codices were written, much less deposed.[11] On the hypothesis that the books were really found in a tomb, which is far from proven, it would be far more likely that they were there to be read or hidden away than deposed as Christian Books of the Dead, for which there is no attestation.[12] Even if the books were discovered in a tomb, that would not invalidate the monastic hypothesis, since tombs were used by monks as a place of withdrawal, as also the Coptic graffiti in the tombs of Jabal al-Tarif testify.[13]

Whether or not the codices were discovered in a tomb or in a jar by a boulder, there is a consensus that they were found together in the area near Jabal al-Tarif, and as Lefort stated in his topography of Pachomian monasteries, the fifteen kilometers between Sheneset and Tabennesi comprise the heartland of the Pachomian region.[14] While it is true that the proximity to the most important Pachomian settlements does not prove that this is also the provenance of the codices, we can certainly not discount the geography as unimportant.[15]

Lefort visited the area in 1938, and was able to confirm the topographical precision of the *Life of Pachomius*.[16] The area around Sheneset is especially important for our purposes. After Pachomius converted, early in the fourth century, he spent time under the tutelage of the anchorite Palamon in the desert close by Sheneset. Lefort identifies this desert as the sandy and rocky escarpment that separated the village at that time from the inundated plain beyond.[17] Pachomius often left his master behind and went past the

7 GOEHRING 1990; 1993, 281-296; 1996; WIPSZYCKA 1994.

8 For the fullest account, see ROBINSON 2014.

9 Goodacre 2013, 319. The discrepancies highlighted by Goodacre to sow distrust of the discovery-story are to my mind easily explained when considering that Ali had to recount from his own memory events that had happened several years back. The main features of the story remain basically the same in different retellings.

10 DENZEY LEWIS 2013; DENZEY LEWIS - BLOUNT 2014.

11 TUTTY 2018. For further discussion of Goodacre and Denzey Lewis - Blount's articles, see BURKE 2016; BURNS 2016; NONGBRI 2016, and the response of DENZEY LEWIS 2016.

12 Books as funerary deposits are attested, but not as ritually activated Books of the Dead.

13 Cf. LUNDHAUG - JENOTT 2015, 39-42. See below for these tombs and graffiti.

14 LEFORT 1939. BURKE 2016 questions that the codices were discovered together, but offers no alternative explanation for the simultaneous appearance of these very similar manuscripts on the book-market in the late forties.

15 On monastic topography in general, cf. BROOKS HEDSTROM 2017; cf. TUTTY 2019, 79-105, on the Pachomian heartland.

16 In the following I use the standard abbreviations SBo for the Bohairic life, found in Lefort 1953, and G^1 for the first Greek life, found in HALKIN 1932. Translations in VEILLEUX 1980-1982.

17 *Pace* LUNDHAUG - JENOTT 2015, 32 n. 38, the 'mountain' on which there were brothers of Pachomius when he dwelled with Palamon (SBo 14) likely refers to this proximate desert, rather than the outer one, Jabal al-Tarif. Palamon lives 'close to the village' (SBo 10: ⲉϥⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϯⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ [LEFORT 1953, 8.1-2]) of Sheneset, though the 'mountain' is just 'outside their dwelling' (SBo 10: ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ [LEFORT 1953, 10.23-24]). Since ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ can mean both 'mountain' and 'monastic dwelling', this must be a laura near the village, in 'those deserts' that are surrounded by an acacia forest, beyond which is the 'far desert'

acacia forest to the further or outer desert to practice mortifications (SBo 15; G¹ 11). He would spend nights in the tombs, praying to the Lord (SBo 12). Thus, Pachomius would have crossed the inundated plain to arrive at Jabal al-Tarif, where he prayed in the pharaonic tombs in which later Coptic graffiti testify to a monastic presence from at least the sixth century.[18] The Jabal is about an hour walk away from Sheneset, and it is not very far-fetched, I think, to imagine Pachomian brethren a number of decades later emulating their master's excursions, bringing along with them books he might not have been very pleased to see them reading.

3. *Rival provenance-hypotheses and topography*

How then do the rival provenance-hypotheses hold up on this topographic background? On the hypothesis of urban literati, as proposed by Alexandr Khosroyev and followed by many, these would presumably be based in Diospolis Parva, which is the closest city and metropolis of the Diospolite nome. However, in the excavation report of Petrie from 1901 the Roman temple and surrounding houses show no sign of habitation after the reign of Gallienus.[19] Thus by the fourth century the erstwhile metropolis must have been much reduced. On the topographical map of his excavation report, W. M. Flinders Petrie notes a Coptic monastery and cemetery, though he says the latter is modern and it seems neither was in use in the fourth century.[20] There is thus no indication, to my knowledge, that Diospolis Parva could support an elite population of urban intellectuals in the fourth century. It has been suggested that the proposed owners would be someone like Zosimus of Panopolis, whose floruit was presumably in the last quarter of the third century.[21] Panopolis was still a vibrant urban center, to which we will return, and the writings of Zosimus indeed attest to his interest in texts like the ones contained in the Nag Hammadi codices. However, there is no trace that Zosimus wrote or read Coptic, nor are the colophons at all similar to the addresses of Zosimus to his correspondent Theosebeia. Likewise, the archive of the *scholasticus* Ammon, which spans the first half of the fourth century in Panopolis, gives us an insight into an educated family of pagans, of whom several are priests and where some interest in astrology and philosophy is detected.[22] They were certainly literate urbanites, but again, nothing indicates that they read Coptic. A possible comparandum would be the so-called Thebes-cache, containing magical handbooks with Greek, Demotic, and Old Coptic spells.[23] But Old Coptic is very different from the Coptic dialects found in the Nag Hammadi treatises, and is nearly exclusively used in non-Christian texts. The colophons of the Nag Hammadi codices do not point to urban intellectuals, and it is moreover hard to fathom why such urbanites would make the journey from the city of Panopolis, or further away, past Sheneset and the inundated plain, in order to deposit their books at Jabal al-Tarif.

Some favour the Manicheans as likely owners and producers, but though Manicheans would certainly have been interested in most or all of the texts in the corpus, and many read and wrote Coptic, there are no Manicheans attested on this stretch of the Nile, nor are there any indications that the scribes were Manichean from the colophons, nor are there Manichean materials in the cartonnage, nor are there Manichean texts in the codices (though Manichean influences have been proposed).[24]

Finally, it has been pointed out that even if one were to accept the monastic hypothesis, it does not follow that the monks would have to be Pachomian. But again, there is no evidence of another monastic

(SBo 15: Ⲛⲁϥⲓ̈ⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϧⲓⲥⲓ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓϣⲁϥⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲛϯ ⲉⲧⲕⲱϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓϣⲁϥⲉ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ [Lefort 1953, 16.22-25]; cf. SBo 17).

18 See Robinson 2014, 2:1118.

19 Petrie 1901, 56-57. The Coptic Deir and cemetery are modern. The allegedly Coptic graffiti (Pl. XLIV, no. 10), are undated and impossible to read from the facsimile.

20 Flinders Petrie 1901, 31, 50, Pl. I.

21 Khosroyev 1995, 99. On Zosimus, cf. Mertens 1995; Bull 2018, 218-225; and now Dufault 2019.

22 Willis 1979; Willis - Maresch 1997; Bull 2018, 216-218.

23 Zago 2010; Dosoo 2016; Bull 2018, 225-228.

24 For Manichaean influences, see, e.g., Pettipiece 2012; Falkenberg 2018. Stroumsa 1982 suggested Manichean influence on monasticism as such, and that Manicheans might have hidden among 'orthodox' Christians. However likely that might be, we have no evidence for it in Pachomianism. Goehring 1997, 78, suggests that early Pachomian coenobitism might have interacted with and borrowed from Manichaean monasticism.

organisation that could have collaborated on this book collection in the area; some have pointed to the monastery Thmoushons founded by Apa Jonas (SBo 51), which joined the Pachomian federation well before the middle of the fourth century, when our manuscripts were with some probability written. Far from testifying to monastic diversity in the area, Thmoushons demonstrate the pervasiveness of Pachomian influence in this stretch of the Nile.

Others have proposed Melitian ascetics as likely originators of the codices, since they too have been accused of reading apocrypha, but once again we know of no Melitian community near our find-site.[25] It is certainly conceivable that there were unaffiliated monks between Sheneset and Pbow in the second half of the fourth century, but to my knowledge there is no evidence of this.[26] It has been asserted with little evidence that the monastic inscriptions in the caves of Jabal al-Tarif were not Pachomian, but this matters little if they are from the sixth century, as is the commonly accepted dating, well after the Pachomian apogee and the production of the Nag Hammadi codices. In any case, the Pachomian literature confirms that the Pachomians did frequent these caves, making the search for alternative monastics somewhat superfluous.

4. *The subgroups and their provenance*

4.1. Scribal hands

I will now briefly rehearse what is known about the subgroups in the Nag Hammadi corpus, on the basis of which Painchaud argues that the subgroups were produced by different groups and intended for different recipients. We will take note especially of the features salient for any proposed provenance. Three subgroups have been detected based on scribal hands, and I use Michael A. Williams' designation of these groups as A (NHC I, VII, XI); B (NHC IV, V, VI, VIII, IX); and C (NHC II, XIII).[27] Note that Codex III, X, and XII cannot be placed in any group. Group A consists of codex I, VII, and XI, penned by scribe A, B, and C.[28] These scribes do not belong to the same school, but they collaborated on the three codices, dividing the labor between different texts. So, scribe A wrote most of codex I, but left it to scribe B to write the penultimate text, *The Treatise on the Resurrection* (NHC I,*4*). Had this been the final text the addition could have happened much later, but as it stands we have clear evidence that the two scribes collaborated on the codex. Scribe B also wrote the first two treatises of Codex XI, which was completed with two final treatises by Scribe C, who also wrote all of Codex VII. The three codices must thus have been produced in the same locale, for the scribes to have collaborated in this way.

Group B consists of Codex IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX, all of which were produced by different scribes with similar technique, thus belonging to the same scribal school. Accordingly, these were not necessarily produced in the same locale, though the scribes likely belonged to the same religious milieu since they have the same training.

Group C, comprising Codex II and XIII, have either the same scribe or at least two scribes of the same school.[29] Painchaud points out that the duplication of the long recension of the *Apocryphon of John* in Codex IV of group B and Codex II of group C links the two groups: either one was copied from the other, or they had a common ancestor. This is an important observation. Also, group C contains the untitled treatise known as *On the Origin of the World* in both Codex II and XIII, and so these two codices were perhaps

25 The Melitian materials from the archives of Paieous, Paphnouthios and Nepheros are likely all related to the monastery of Hathor in the upper Lycopolite nome, far north of Jabal al-Tarif. Cf. Goehring 1997, 64-72.

26 So Scholten 1988, 172, contested by Khosroyev 1995, 71-78, but none of the rival monastics the latter cites were from the Dishna area. Wipszycka 2000, 183, claims there were 'semianachoretical monks who coexisted side by side with the cenobitical monasticism also on the "Pachomian territories"' but cites no evidence. Piwowarczyk - Wipszycka 2017, 433, cite only the inscription at Jabal al-Tarif (T8), previously mentioned, but this is sixth century (Robinson 2014, 2:1118). Rousseau 2007, 157, opines that the owners were ascetics living near the Pachomians, based on differences of views regarding continuity of Jewish past and the goodness of the world, but offers no proof of such ascetic neighbours. The non-Pachomian monasteries mentioned by Goehring 2018, 74, are not located in the Dishna area.

27 Confusingly, Painchaud changes this nomenclature and makes the single Codex III into a group.

28 On this group as a unity, cf. Painchaud - Kaler 2007.

29 See now on this group Williams - Coblentz 2018.

produced with different recipients in mind, although it is of course possible that the group owning the codices wished to possess multiple copies of a work.

4.2. Cover quality and dialects

Painchaud goes on to consider the quality of the covers and papyrus of the codices. This is fairly inconclusive for our purposes: Group A all have similarly primitive covers, whereas three of the Group B papyruses have primitive covers and coarse papyrus, while two of them have advanced covers and fine papyrus, like Group C. It is worth pointing out also that Codex XIII of Group C was inserted into the covers of Codex VI, of Group B. This means that at an unknown period before being placed into the same jar there was a relation between Group B and C.

Also common for Group B and C is that dialect-wise, they seem to have been superficially edited into approximative pure Sahidic, as Painchaud states. In Group A, scribe A and B write Lycopolitan (L_6), while Scribe C writes regular Sahidic, which indicates that the community in which Group A was produced drew its members from different parts of Egypt.[30]

4.3. Cartonnage

Moving onto the cartonnage is where it really gets interesting. Group A contains private documents in Greek and Coptic, including monastic material, most famously the letter from Papnoute to his venerated superior Pachomius which also mentions a father Makarios (C6). These names likely refer to the founder of the Pachomian federation himself, his *oikonomos* Papnoute, and perhaps the father Makarios who was abbot of Phnoum. Although it has been pointed out that Papnoute, Pachomius, and Makarios are common enough names, it stretches credulity that in this precise area and in the same time frame, there would be another monk named Papnoute with another beloved superior named Pachomius, and with another associated father named Makarios.[31] This is especially so if one accepts the probable reconstruction of the address of the letter to 'my prophet and father Pachomius',[32] since Pachomius is indeed called a prophet in the Bohairic life (SBo 194) and an Arabic text on the consecration of the great church of Pbow.[33]

Curiously, Painchaud states first that Group B contains 'all Greek' material, administrative and official,[34] then later that it has a 'few Coptic' documents.[35] In fact, Codex VIII contains five Coptic private letters (C15-19).[36] At least one of these is in all likelihood monastic, since it refers to 'all the brothers with you' (C15, 5-6) typical of the other monastic letters, and the same phrase *may* also be reconstructed in C16.[37] Paula Tutty convincingly argues that this letter C16 was written by the scribe of Codex VIII.[38] Since this scribe has similar technique as the other scribes of Group B, this would go some way toward demonstrating that they were all trained in a monastery.

Lundhaug and Jenott argue that the economic and administrative papyri may derive from the monastic administration, not necessarily the municipal or imperial one, a suggestion rejected by Piwowarczyk and Wipszycka in their review of the *Monastic Origins*.[39] Though many of the papyri may indeed stem from the monastic economy, and some demonstrably do so, it is still clear that Painchaud is correct in pointing out that the type of documents found in subgroup A differs from those of B. The former has a clear tendency towards private documents and letters, many definitely monastic and Coptic, with a clear

30 Goehring 2018, 69.

31 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 138.

32 Barns - Browne - Shelton 1981, 141: [ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ]ⲡ̣ⲁⲡⲣ̣[ⲟ]ⲫⲏⲧ̣[ⲏⲥ] ⲛ̣̄ⲉⲓⲱⲧ [ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲙ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ, 'deliver it to my prophet and father Pahome, from Papnoute'. Although the name of Pachomius is here fully restored, it is clear that he is the addressee from the text of the letter itself, where both the names Pahome and Papnoute are fully preserved.

33 Barns - Browne - Shelton 1981, 141; Lantschoot 1934, 13-56, contains the Arabic text.

34 Painchaud 2018, 401.

35 Painchaud 2018, 415.

36 Barns - Browne - Shelton 1981, 147-152.

37 Tutty 2019, 23; monastic provenance of the Codex VIII Coptic cartonnage also accepted by Choat 2017, 35.

38 Tutty 2019, 247-250.

39 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 111-126; Piwowarczyk - Wipszycka 2017, 435-439.

anchoring in the Diospolite nome. These documents could easily have been obtained in Sheneset, whose Greek name Chenoboskion appears in the cartonnage of two of the codices in this group, Codex I and XI, and possibly also in the third, Codex VII.[40] Also a village named Techthy in the Diospolite nome, and hence in the vicinity of Chenoboskion, is mentioned in the cartonnage of Codex VII (G64). Subgroup B has a clear tendency towards larger scale administration and economic transactions in Greek, some of which *may* be monastic, but none of which is clearly so. The five Coptic letters were ignored by Painchaud, making the portrayal of subgroup B as official and administrative less clear-cut. Importantly, Lundhaug and Jenott concede that some documents of group B, notably in Codex V and VI, may derive from non-monastic administrative contexts, but they point out that the same type of documents is found in the monastic Deir el-Bala'izah texts of the seventh and eighth century, and thus cannot rule out the hypothesis of a monastic provenance.[41] As Goehring has pointed out too, the Bala'izah texts also contain an apocryphon similar to Nag Hammadi materials.[42] For now it is worth emphasising and keeping in mind for later that the cartonnage of group A and B contain different kinds of texts, and while that of the former surely points in the direction of Sheneset and a monastic context, that of the latter is of a sort that might be more available in an urban center like Panopolis, as Painchaud proposed, though it also contains Coptic and likely monastic materials.[43]

4.4. Colophons and scribal notes

Finally, Painchaud takes note of the colophons, scribal notes, and formulas of devotion in the manuscripts.[44] In Group A, Codex I and VII each have a Greek devotional message. The verso of the flyleaf in Codex I, after the subscript title of the *Prayer of the Apostle Paul,* we find within a decorated box 'In peace', then a decorated band followed by a number of crosses and *cruces ansatae*, and then below a line of diples: 'Holy Christ (chi rho)'.[45] In Codex VII we find 'ICHTHYS (Jesus Christ son of God), wonder, êêê, impossible!'[46] Codex VII also has the Coptic end note: 'This book is that of the fatherhood, the son is the one who wrote it. Bless me, father. I bless you, father, in peace. Amen'.[47] Lundhaug and Jenott demonstrate that the term 'fatherhood' is fully at home in Egyptian monasticism, and that the note may imply that the book is reserved for those who have reached fatherhood status at the monastery.[48] Painchaud on the other hand notes only that the term implies a close connection between the scribe and the recipient, and adds that Shenute in his *I am Amazed* (commonly known as the *Catechesis against Origenists*) attacks his opponents that they claim to have knowledge, and that 'truly it is possible for fatherhoods or seniorities of this kind to greatly corrupt the hearts of many people in many places of Christ'.[49] Lundhaug and Jenott points out that this very passage may imply that the opponents of Shenoute included monks, and that Origenistic tendencies were still not rooted out from Upper Egyptian monasteries by the middle of the fifth century.[50]

Group B has two scribal notes. The most well-known is that of Codex VI, placed between the Hermetic *Prayer of Thanksgiving* (NHC VI,*7*) and the excerpt from the *Perfect Discourse* (NHC VI,*8*): 'This one treatise of his I have written down. Indeed, a great many have come into my hands. I did not write them down since

40 G1.4 (NCH I); G153.9 (NHC XI). Tutty 2019, 88, suggests that a fragmentary line of G65 should be restored with the common abbreviation of Chenoboskion: [Χηνο]β(όσκια). Although only based on a beta, the reconstruction is plausible in the context. Chenoboskion is also mentioned in G31.3 (NHC V) in Group B.

41 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 109, 126. Cf. also Choat 2017, 33-35, who is skeptical that the administrative and economical material is monastic.

42 Goehring 1986, 251; cf. Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 162-163.

43 Painchaud 2018, 399.

44 Painchaud 2018, 404-414.

45 NHC I.B, 9-10: ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ̣ | (decorated band, crosses and *cruces ansatae*, diples) | ⲟ ⳩ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ.

46 NHC VII 118, 8-9: ⲫⲫⲫ ⲓ̈ⲭⲑⲩⲥ ⲑⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲏⲏⲏ | ⲁⲙⲏⲭⲁⲛⲟⲛ ↙ ⲧⲩ.

47 VII 127, 28-32: ⲡⲉⲓ̈ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲁ ϯⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ | ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲁϩ̄ϥ· | ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ̈ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ϯⲥⲙⲟⲩ | ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ | ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ.

48 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 178-183. Goehring 2018, 68, suggests instead that the term points back to the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII, *2*), where the term is also used, and 'simply affirms for the group the divine nature of its contents'.

49 Shenute, *Contra Origenistas* 376: ⲟⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲛϭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛⲙⲛⲧⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ· ⲏ ϩⲉⲛⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟϭ ⲉϫⲱϩⲙ ⲛⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ϩⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ. I do not here follow the translation of Orlandi 1982, 89, as Painchaud does. Coptic text in Orlandi 1985, 36.

50 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 173; Lundhaug 2012; Lundhaug 2017a.

I thought that they had come into your (*pl.*) hands. In fact, I hesitate to write them for you (*pl.*), for perhaps they have come into your (*pl.*) hands and the matter has caused you (*pl.*) trouble, since indeed the treatises of this one (*sc.* Hermes) that have come into my hands are many'.[51] The note is important in many regards: it demonstrates that the scribe is at some geographical distance from the recipients, since he is uncertain which books are available to them and does not simply ask if they already have a treatise before copying it down. The recipients are addressed in the plural, meaning it is a group with books in common. Also, the doubts of the scribe indicate that he had some liberty of choice for what to include, which *pace* Painchaud would not have been the case with a professional scribe.[52] The scribe has many books of Hermes available, but he has not copied them all, to our loss, which indicates access to a substantial book-collection including esoteric works. Finally, the scribe worries that the books of Hermes may cause the recipients trouble, which might simply be a reference to possessing superfluous duplicate works, or perhaps the Hermetica were somehow illicit, or perhaps the scribe simply worries that the recipients are not that interested in the abundant works of Hermes he has access to. Although the note contains no pious phrases, the most likely interpretation is in my view that of Lundhaug and Jenott, who propose a book-exchange network.[53] We will return to this point. The second note of group B is in Codex VIII, a cryptogram in Greek: 'Words of truth of Zostrianos, god of truth, words of Zoroaster'.[54] Lundhaug and Jenott gives several references to monastic cryptograms, and point out that Pachomius himself in his letters used cryptograms, described as a secret spiritual language.[55] The message of the cryptogram may not tell us anything about the scribe, if Painchaud is correct in proposing that this colophon might have been present already in the Greek Vorlage that previously circulated in the circle of Plotinus' gnostic friends in third-century Rome.[56]

Group C has first what is likely a scribal note, though some see it as part of the title: 'The Book of Thomas. It is to the perfect ones the athlete writes'.[57] Painchaud clearly sees also the second sentence as part of the title of the work, and does not include it in his overview of colophons, but Lundhaug and Jenott point out that it is not Thomas who writes the book in the frame narrative of the *Book of Thomas,* and that 'the athlete' is therefore with some likelihood a monastic scribe writing to other 'perfect ones', both common designations for monks.[58] Jon F. Dechow points out that according to the 'Rule of the Angel', which may have been an early feature of Pachomian coenobitism, those Pachomians who were perfect 'have no need of legislation',[59] and were thus presumably free to read whatever they wished. Another colophon, part in Coptic and part in Greek, follows just below on the same page: 'Remember me too in your prayers, my brothers. Peace to the holy ones and the spiritual ones'.[60] Certainly nothing out of place for a monastic readership here.

5. *From the city to the desert: Panopolis and the Pachomian federation*

In sum, it is clear that subgroup A has a clear connection to the Dishna area where the codices were found, and consonant with being in the Pachomian heartland this group has monastic material in the cartonnage.[61] The three scribes responsible for its manufacture worked together, with some likelihood in the nearby monastery of Sheneset, since as mentioned the Greek name of this village, Chenoboskion, is

51 NHC VI 65, 8-14: ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲥⲁϩϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ | ⲁϩⲁϩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲉⲓ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ | ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ· | ⲕⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ϯⲇⲓⲥⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲥϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲏ | ⲧⲛ̄ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ | ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲣ̄ϩⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄· ⲉⲡⲓ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ | ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲏ̣.

52 Painchaud 2018, 416; Khosroyev 1995, 10.

53 On this scribal note much has been written, cf. Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 197-206, for in-depth analysis and bibliography.

54 NHC VIII, 132,7-9: ⲟ̄ⲗ̄ⲍ̄ ⲗ̄ϥ̄ ⲑ̄ⲟ̄ⲃ̄ ⲁ̄ⲉ̄ϥ̄ ⲑ̣̄ϣ̄ⲅ̄ ⲥ̄ⲱ̄ϯ̄ | ⲯ̄ϥ̄ⲑ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗ̄ⲭ̄ ⲁ̄ⲉ̄ⲗ̄ϣ̄ ⲑ̣̄ⲟ̄ⲃ̄ⲁ̄ⲉ̄ϥ̄· | ⲑ̄ⲱ̄ ⲟ̄ⲗ̄ⲍ̄ⲗ̄ϥ̄ ⲅⲥⲯⲗ ⲑ̄ⲱ̄ⳛ̄ ⲯ̄[ⲗ̄ⲭ̄] > λόγοι ἀληθείας Ζωστριανοῦ θεοῦ ἀληθείας λόγοι Ζωροάστρου. Cryptogram explained by John D. Turner in Barry *et al.* 2000, 661. I here write the strangely shaped sampi with the Old Nubian letter nyi, which resembles it the most among the Coptic unicode letters. Painchaud renders it ⲩⲣ, which graphically resembles the letter, while the letter is omitted by Lundhaug - Jenott.

55 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 194-197.

56 Painchaud 2018, 413-414.

57 NHC II 145, 18-20: ⲡϫⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ | ⲡ̣ⲁⲑⲗⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓ̈ | ⲛ̣̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ. An alternate translation, reading the whole as the title of the work, would be 'The book of Thomas the athlete who writes to the perfect ones'.

58 Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 185.

59 Dechow 2018, 30, quoting Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 32.17.

60 NHC II 145, 21-24: ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ | ϩ̣[ⲛ̄] ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ | ⲉ[ⲓ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲟⲓⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲓⲥ | ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ.

61 See now Tutty 2019.

found in the cartonnage of two or all three of the codices in this group.[62] We cannot be sure if they made their books in secret from their brothers or superiors, but the colophon and formula of devotion certainly imply that they themselves saw nothing illicit about what they were doing, and in fact wrote one of the books 'for the fatherhood'. This perhaps indicates that the books required spiritual maturity, and were reserved for the perfect among the brothers.[63] Of course, if we are to believe the Greek Pachomian *vita prima* the founder would not have countenanced such heretical books, and reportedly even threw the books of Origen in the river (G^1 31). But as Goehring has pointed out, the lives were written at a later period, when it was important to portray the founder as flawless in his orthodoxy, and the Greek recension might even have been redacted to portray him in a closer relation to the Alexandrian episcopate.[64] Certainly, some of the interests attributed to Pachomius and Theodore overlap with the Nag Hammadi treatises: a concern with otherworldly visions, demonology, eschatology, and asceticism is common to both text corpora.[65] Goehring has also pointed out the *Lives'* portrayal of Pachomius as hiding for Athanasius on his visit to the Thebaid, his use of angelic language mysticism, and the accusations he faced at Esna for his visions as indications of his less than perfect orthodoxy.[66] Furthermore, Sozomen lists Pachomius among Egyptian monks with known Origenist affinities, and explains that he was philosophising alone in a cave when an angel appeared to him, commanded him to gather brethren around himself, and gave him a tablet containing the rules, supposedly still preserved in Sozomen's time.[67] These are factors that indicate that Pachomius' charisma was far from routinised. But even if the Greek *vita prima* were to be trusted on this point, and Pachomius did in fact oppose such heretical books, the lives themselves show us that he regularly had to castigate brethren for breaking the rules, and of course the books of Origen would have to be already present in the monasteries for him to throw them in the river.

Especially after the death of Pachomius in 346 there was a period of weak centralised control, and the authors of the lives complain about lapses in monastic discipline. The Pachomian Apa Charour testifies to this lapse of discipline in an odd apocalyptic prophecy, saying that of 3000 monks in Pbow only 30 stuck to the rules laid down by the founder.[68] Mostly Charour complains about brothers who do not participate in services and indulge in bodily desires, but he also complains about a number of books lying around in niches without being read.[69] The people Charour claims are out of control could be the people reading the Nag Hammadi Codices, but for all we know Charour could be one of the monks reading such texts, most of which do in fact advocate strict ascetic discipline. So even if we were to assume that books such as the Nag Hammadi Codices were forbidden in the Pachomian federation, they could still have been copied and read, at least in this period of weak central control. Theodore saw the need, in 367, to have Athanasius' famous festal letter of this year, condemning the reading of apocryphal books, translated into Coptic and be 'made into law' for the federation.[70] It is perhaps only at this time that the reading of apocryphal literature became controversial. In his *Ancoratus* of 374, Epiphanius of Salamis testifies to the existence of ascetics in the Thebaïd influenced by Hieracas who deny that *this* flesh will be resurrected, but rather another flesh.[71] Epiphanius connects this heresy with Origenism,

62 G1.4 (NCH I); G153.9 (NHC XI); and possibly G65 (NHC VII). The latter codex does contain a reference to the Diospolite nome. See also G31.3 (NHC V) in Group B.

63 LUNDHAUG - JENOTT 2015, 180-183.

64 GOEHRING 1997, 74-76.

65 JENOTT 2013; BULL 2019; JENOTT - PAGELS 2010 for shared concerns between NHC I and the *Letters of Antony.*

66 GOEHRING 1997, 74-75, 78. HIDING: SBo 28; G^1 30. Language mysticism: *Letters of Pachomius*. Trial: G^1 112.

67 Sozomen, *E.H.* 3.14. Cf. DECHOW 1988, 89; DECHOW 2018, 18.

68 *Prophecy of Apa Charour* in LEFORT 1956, 1: 100-104 (Coptic text); ibid., 2: 100-108 (French translation). This ϭⲁⲣⲟⲩⲣ is probably the same as the Καροὺρ mentioned in *Letter of Ammon* 25, given the rarity of the name (cf. Goehring 1986, 271). If so, then the prophecy must have been added upon later, since Charour according to the letter died while Ammon was in Pbow, ca. 352-355, while later monks are referred to in the prophecy. The prophecy as we have it consists of a set of enigmatic utterings, along with explanatory comments that clarify the historical events referred to, so it is possible that a later commentator added the historical references postdating Charour when adding his explanatory glosses.

69 Cf. LUNDHAUG - JENOTT 2015, 166.

70 SBo 189; cf. LUNDHAUG - JENOTT 2015, 151, 169, 249. The extant Coptic translation of this letter is perhaps not the same as the one translated at the behest of Theodore. For a translation cf. BRAKKE 2010.

71 Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 82. Cf. the important monograph on this by DECHOW 1988. On the Coptic translation of the *Ancoratus*, cf. BULL forthcoming. On the resurrection controversy cf. further LUNDHAUG 2013; LUNDHAUG 2017b.

and in the *Panarion,* written a few years later, he states that this heresy is now rife in Egypt among 'the most prominent who think they have taken upon themselves the monastic way of life, among those who withdraw by natural inclination into the desert and have chosen poverty'.[72] Though Epiphanius thought these people were pseudo-monks, it is clear that they considered themselves bona fide monks, and were seen by many as prominent, at that. A later letter of Cyril of Alexandria to the monks of Phua specifically warns them about following Origen in denying the resurrection of this flesh.[73] The name Phua, otherwise unknown, is most likely a corruption of the Pachomian Pbow, a suggestion raised and then rejected by the first editors of the letter on the grounds of the supposed unshakeable orthodoxy of the Pachomians.[74] To the contrary, this letter indicates that even into the fifth century the orthodoxy reigning in Pachomian monasteries were not as impeccable as commonly believed, and that the monks opposed by Epiphanius might have included Pachomians. In fact, that such doctrines were found in the Pachomian milieu is proved by the *Letter of Ammon* (26), in which we are told that Theodore in Pbow had to discipline a certain brother Patchelpius for teaching another brother that the resurrection would not be of this flesh.[75] This teaching activity ostensibly took place at night, and shows that there might have been more widespread clandestine teaching, especially somewhere like Sheneset, which was further away from Theodore's direct proximity.

What then of Group B and C? Admittedly they are not as easy to connect to the Pachomian milieu as Group A. Even if one agrees with Lundhaug and Jenott that it is *possible* to read the cartonnage as deriving from monastic administration, this reading is not necessary and it could well be that they derive from an urban administrative center, as Painchaud proposes, though he is mistaken about there being no Coptic fragments present. So then, how did group B and C come to be buried with Group A in the Dishna plain? I would again propose that this is most easily explained by placing them in a Pachomian context.

Louis Painchaud proposed that a likely provenance for Groups B and C is Panopolis, which strikes me as a plausible hypothesis for several reasons, and which would in fact strengthen the Pachomian hypothesis. First, it is too often overlooked that the Pachomians had a major monastery in the metropolis. Pachomius reportedly founded the monastery of Shmin, the Coptic name for Panopolis, at the behest of its bishop (SBo 54; G[1] 81), to some local resistance. Some time later he also built Tse and Tsmine in the land or vicinity of Panopolis. The Apa of Panopolis was Petronius, who became head of the federation for a very short time after Pachomius died, before he himself died shortly after (G[1] 114). When Palladius visited Panopolis near the end of the fourth century, there were reportedly about three hundred monks in the monastery of Shmin, and some of them worked in a scriptorium – in the context the term καλλιγραφεῖον clearly refers to a scribal workshop, parallel to the other workshops the monastery had (*Laus. Hist.* 32.9-12). Since also the lives emphasise scribal training and translation as an important activity, it is entirely plausible that the Panopolis scriptorium was active shortly after the foundation of the monastery, maybe in the 330s or early 40s. Perhaps this is where the scribes of Group B got their common training and produced the codices. This might seem like an adventurous suggestion, but there is some circumstantial evidence to back it up. According to the *Life of Pachomius*, the philosophers of Panopolis would come to test the monks of Panopolis after the foundation of the monastery (SBo 55b; G[1] 82-83). Now, the shaming of the philosopher in what hardly amounts to proper philosophical debate is a hagiographical trope found in the *Life of Antony* (72-80), and which also Epiphanius of Salamis is credited with in his Egyptian sojourn (*Vita Epiph.* (PG 41) 22-25, 29). But there is likely some reason that this trope appears in connection with the Panopolis monastery and nowhere else in the *Life of Pachomius*: it is not Pachomius himself but other monks in Panopolis who refute the philosophers, in an entirely unmiraculous fashion, so that the story is not so redolent of hagiography. It is entirely plausible that skeptical so-called 'philosophers', i.e. people with some knowledge of Greek philosophy, challenged the arriving monks. We need not imagine this

72 *Pan.* 64.4.1(Holl): Ἡ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φῦσα αἵρεσις πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρᾳ ὑπάρχουσα, τὰ νῦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις καὶ δοκοῦσι τὸν μονήρη βίον ἀναδεδέχθαι <εὑρίσκεται>, παρὰ τοῖς φύσει κατὰ τὰς ἐρημίας ἀναχωροῦσί τε καὶ τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην ἑλομένοις· I do not follow Holl's emendation <εὑρίσκεται>.

73 Letter 81 in Schwartz 1940, 201. The other fragment is against the Origenist teaching of the preexistence of souls.

74 *Pace* Krismanek 2010, 47-49 and Honigmann, 1953, who claim that there were no Origenists in Pachomian monasteries, nor in Upper Egypt at all. *Contra* this cf. Goehring 1986 and Goehring 1997.

75 Cf. Lundhaug - Jenott 2015, 247.

encounter as purely adversarial: the philosophers would presumably also be interested in asceticism, and might even have been impressed by the Pachomians. Some might have been converted.

These philosophers might resemble the previously mentioned Zosimus of Panopolis, who was likely active a few decades before the foundation of the Panopolitan monasteries. Zosimus considered himself to be a philosopher, and speaks about the extirpation of passions. As such he was influenced by for example Plato and Aristotle, but also by the Hermetic treatises and Judeo-Christian apocalypses of the kind we find in the Nag Hammadi codices. He might even have become Christian, and came to see the gods dwelling in temples as deceitful demons.[76] Zosimus developed a following, and was referred to as the divine Zosimus by later alchemists. Could some of his disciples have still been around to debate the first Pachomians of Panopolis?[77] Painchaud points out that Zosimus seems to see himself as part of the so-called kingless generation,[78] as would presumably his disciples, and this term appears several times in Nag Hammadi texts (as well as in the Berlin Gnostic Codex, the *Gospel of Judas,* and in the account of the Naassenes in the *Refutation of All Heresies*).[79] An editor who also saw himself as part of the kingless generation is according to Painchaud responsible for the final redaction of *On the Origin of the World* in Codex II, hypothetically undertaken around the end of the third century, before it was translated into Coptic.[80] It would be tempting to see the Sitz im Leben of this redaction in Panopolis, in the circle of Zosimus whose floruit is around just this time. But even if this somewhat speculative redaction-hypothesis is rejected, there is another reason to possibly tie the kingless race to Panopolis: as Painchaud also notes, Shenoute of Atripe criticizes certain people who claimed to be kingless (ⲁⲧⲣⲣⲟ) in his treatise *Only I Tell Everyone Who Dwells in This Village.*[81] These are not necessarily 'heretical Christians', *pace* Painchaud, but described as sorcerers, astrologers and idolaters,[82] from whose houses Shenoute claims to have taken 'idols and books full of abominations'.[83] It is however not certain that these people call themselves kingless, because the context in which the word appears is highly rhetorical. These 'sorcerers' seem to claim that since they pay taxes they should go free, but Shenoute counters: 'The land over which God has made faithful kings masters, is also the one from which what belongs to the king should be given to the king. Or will it be said in the houses of these people full of all guile and all wickedness that they were kingless?'[84] It is not at all certain from this passage if the people in question really used 'kingless generation' as a self-designation. However, in a passage just below it does seem like Shenoute is riffing on his opponents' supposed kinglessness: 'I will make you know the kings, those who will make you submit to the church and its luminary, our most holy father and martyr, the archbishop Cyril'.[85] It seems then that these people might actually have called themselves kingless, and the fact that Shenoute calls them sorcerers and astrologers, who possess books full of abominations, may imply that inheritors of Zosimus were still around in the first half of the fifth century. Also Christian heretics were still around towards the middle of the fifth century, for the archbishop of Alexandria, Dioscorus, in a letter to Shenoute complains 'that there are books and several treatises of the plague, Origenes, as well as other heretics, that are in that monastery and in the former temple of Shmin, and also in other places'.[86] Panopolis is thus a place where heterodox monastics might have exchanged books and opinions with esoteric-minded and philosophically inclined pagans, and the *Life of Pachomius* indicates that such meetings in fact took place.

---

76 BULL 2018, 220-224.

77 P. Panop. deal with a visit of Diocletian to Panopolis in 298, after defeating L. Domitius Domitianus and Aurelius Achilleus in 297-8 (March). This may be how he came to learn about Egyptian books of alchemy which he forbade according to *Suda*, delta, 1156.

78 Zosimus of Panopolis, *True Book of Sophe the Egyptian* (BERTHELOT 1887-1888, 2:213).

79 PAINCHAUD 2018, 417-418 n. 120, with refs. On the kingless race, cf. PAINCHAUD - JANZ 1997.

80 PAINCHAUD 1995, 115.

81 On this text and its many problems and misunderstandings, cf. EMMEL 2017, 377-80.

82 LEIPOLDT 1955, 88,12-13: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯϯ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲣϩⲓⲕ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲕⲁⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲉϥⲱⲡ ⲉⲛⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲉϥϣⲙϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ.

83 LEIPOLDT 1955, 87,150-151: ⲛⲧⲁⲛϥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙⲛⲛϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉϩ ⲛⲃⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲉⲩⲏⲓ.

84 LEIPOLDT 1955, 88,17-20: ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϯ ⲛⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ. ⲏ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲉⲛⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲕⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉ;

85 LEIPOLDT 1955, 88,27-89,2: ϯⲛⲁⲧⲣⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲧⲣⲉⲧⲛϩⲩⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲉϥⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ, ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲅⲓⲱⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲗⲗⲟⲥ.

86 Munier 1928, 148: MONB.XZ ⲟ̅ⲅ̅, ln. 29-44: ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲱⲧ̅ⲙ̅ ⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̅ ϩⲉⲛϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲁϩ ⲛ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲗⲟⲓⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϩⲱⲣⲓⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ· ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉϩⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϩ̅ⲛ̅ ⲑⲉⲛⲉⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ϩ̅ⲙ̅ ⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ϣⲟⲣ̅ⲡ̅ ⲛ̅ϣⲙⲓⲛ· ⲁⲩⲱ ϩ̅ⲛ̅ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲙⲁ·

One might add that Zosimus also speaks of a 'counterfeit demon' (ἀντίμιμος δαίμων) who opposes Jesus Christ in freeing the luminous human from the earthly Adam.[87] This is very close to the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC III,*1*), in which the 'counterfeit spirit' (ἀντίμιμος πνεῦμα) keeps the luminous seed of Seth captive in their earthly shells.[88] Since Regine Charron has also pointed out that the so-called Pronoia-hymn of the latter contains alchemical imagery,[89] it is a strong possibility that Zosimus had access to the Greek Vorlage of the *Apocryphon of John,* meaning this text was likely available in Panopolis. Painchaud seems to imply that the circle of Zosimus would be the likely Sitz im Leben for the production of Group B and perhaps Group C, which groups we recall are connected by their related long recensions of the *Apocryphon of John.* But let us recall again that there is nothing that indicates that Zosimus or his milieu knew Coptic, far less wrote it. However, if we think of the philosophers who came to debate the Pachomians as people similar to Zosimus, possibly pupils of his, then this could explain how texts in Greek such as the Hermetica, the *Origin of the World,* and the *Apocryphon of John* found their way to the monks, who then translated them into Coptic and copied them in the scribal workshop in the Panopolis-monastery, attested by Palladius.

This proposed 'Panopolitan connection'[90] would also make sense of the previously mentioned scribal notice in Codex VI. The scribe says he has access to a number of books by Hermes, such as we know were read by Zosimus and his circle. Perhaps the scribe had access to these books through friendly relations with people similar to Zosimus, or perhaps even former students of Zosimus had become Pachomian monks themselves, and brought their books along. The fact that the scribe takes it upon himself to include such a Hermetic work, which he does not know if the plural recipients want or already have, would make complete sense if the scribe was working in the Pachomian monastery in Panopolis while his recipients dwelled in Sheneset, and they were part of a monastic book-exchange network.

We cannot of course be sure, this is but a suggestion for a likely scenario. The Panopolitan monks would have sent their products, the codices of Group B and perhaps the affiliated group C to their confreres in Sheneset, or perhaps they brought them along on their way to the biannual convocations at Pbow (SBo 71; G^1 83). The Panopolis connection would thus explain how a number of codices, produced using administrative papyri as well as monastic correspondence as cartonnage and written by scribes in the same scriptorium in the metropolitan monastery of Shmin (Panopolis), traveled up the Nile to the village monastery Sheneset (Chenoboskion), where they joined group A, produced locally. The three groups then, at an unknown date, ended up together at Jabal al-Tarif, either hidden away from heresy hunters or perhaps simply brought along as reading material for monks emulating their founder Pachomius's penchant for retiring to the cave tombs to pray.

References

Barns - Browne - Shelton 1981 = J.W.B. Barns - G.M. Browne - J. C. Shelton (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 16), Leiden, 1981.

Barry - Funk - Poirier - Turner 2000 = C. Barry - W.-P. Funk - P.-H. Poirier - J. D. Turner, *Zostrien* (*NH VIII, 1*) (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section "Textes", 24), Québec, 2000.

Berthelot 1887-1888 = M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, I-III, Paris, 1887-1888.

Brakke 2010 = D. Brakke, "A New Fragment of Athanasius's Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter: Heresy, Apocrypha, and the Canon", *The Harvard Theologocical Review*, 103, 2010, pp. 47-66.

Brooks 2017 = H.D.L. Brooks, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt: An Archaeological Reconstruction*, Cambridge, 2017.

87 Zosimus, *Mémoires authentiques* 1.14-15 (ed. Mertens 1985, 7-8., cf. comm. pp. 104-106).

88 NHC III 26,19; 27,18; 32,3; 34,11; 34,16; 34,23; 35,6; 36,17; [38.18]; 39,7; 39,10. The long recensions in NHC II and IV translate ἀντίμιμος into Coptic ϣⲃⲃⲓⲁⲉⲓⲧ, ⲉⲓⲛⲉ, or ϣⲏⲥ.

89 Charron 2005.

90 I borrow the phrase from Painchaud 2018, 418 n. 120.

Bull 2018 = C.H. Bull, "Hermes Between Pagans and Christians: The Nag Hammadi Hermetica in Context", in H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 207-260.

Bull 2019 = C.H. Bull, "The Great Demon of the Air and the Punishment of Souls: The *Perfect Discourse* (NHC VI,8) and Hermetic and Monastic Demonologies", in E. Crégheur - L. Painchaud - T. Rasimus (eds.), *Nag Hammadi à 70 ans. Qu'avons-nous appris? Nag Hammadi at 70: What Have We Learned?* (Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Études», 10), Leuven, 2019, pp. 105-120.

Bull forthcoming = C.H. Bull, "The Coptic Translation of Epiphanius of Salamis's *Ancoratus* and the Origenist Controversy in Upper Egypt", forthcoming.

Burke 2016 = T. Burke, "What Do We Talk About When We Talk About the Nag Hammadi Library?", *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 45, 2016, pp. 33-37.

Burns 2016 = D. Burns, "Telling Nag Hammadi's Egyptian Stories", *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 45, 2016, pp. 5-11.

Charron 2005 = R. Charron, "The "Apocryphon of John" (NHC II, 1) and the Graeco-Egyptian Alchemical Literature", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 59, 2005, pp. 438-456.

Choat 2017 = M. Choat, "Monastic Letters on Papyrus from Late Antique Egypt", in M. Choat - M.C. Giorda (eds.), *Writing and Communication in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity, 9), Leiden, 2017, pp. 17-72.

Dechow 1988 = J.F. Dechow, *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity: Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1975; North American Patristic Society Monograph Series, 13), Philadelphia 1988.

Dechow 2018 = J.F. Dechow, "The Nag Hammadi Milieu: An Assessment in the Light of the Origenist Controversies', in H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt*, Tübingen (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 11-52.

Denzey 2013 = D.L. Denzey, "Death on the Nile: Egyptian Codices, Gnosticism, and Early Christian Books of the Dead", in A.D. DeConick - G. Shaw - J.D. Turner (eds.), *Practicing Gnosis: Ritual, Magic, Theurgy and Liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and Other Ancient Literature. Essays in Honor of Birger A. Pearson.* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 85), Leiden, 2013, pp. 161-180.

Denzey - Blount 2014 = D.L. Denzey - J.A. Blount, "Rethinking the Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices'" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133, 2014, pp. 399-419.

Denzey 2016 = D.L. Denzey, "Rethinking the Rethinking of the Nag Hammadi Codices", *Bulletin for the Study of Religion*, 45, 2016, pp. 39-45.

Dosoo 2016 = K. Dosoo, "A History of the Theban Magical Library", *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 53, 2016, pp. 251-274.

Dufault 2019 = O. Dufault, *Early Greek Alchemy, Patronage and Innovation in Late Antiquity* (California Classical Studies, 7), Berkeley, 2019.

Emmel 2017 = S. Emmel, "Shenoute for Historians: The Pneueit Incident (A Monastic Leader and Anti-Pagan Violence in Late Antique Southern Egypt)", in D. Brakke - S.J. Davis - S. Emmel (eds.), *Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 263), Leuven, 2017, pp. 369-407.

Falkenberg 2018 = R. Falkenberg, "What Has Nag Hammadi to Do with Medinet Madi? The Case of Eugnostos and Manichaeism", in H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 261-286.

Geens 2014 = K. Geens, *Panopolis, a Nome Capital in Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine Period* (*ca. AD 200-600*) (Trismegistos Online Publications, 1), Leuven, 2014.

Goehring 1986a = J.E. Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 27), Berlin, 1986.

Goehring 1986b = J.E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies", in B.A. Pearson - J.E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity), Philadelphia, 1986, pp. 236-257.

Goehring 1990 = J.E. Goehring, "The World Engaged: The Social and Economic World of Early Egyptian Monasticism", in J.E. Goehring - C.W. Hedrick - J.T. Sanders - H.D. Betz (eds.), *Gnosticism & the Early Christian World: Essays in Honor of James M. Robinson*, Sonoma, 1990, pp. 134-144.

Goehring 1993 = J.E. Goehring, “The Encroaching Desert: Literary Production and Ascetic Space in Early Christian Egypt”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1, 1993, pp. 281-296.

Goehring 1996 = J.E. Goehring, “Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt”, *Harvard Theological Review* 89, 1996, pp. 267-285.

Goehring 1997 = J.E. Goehring, “Monastic Diversity and Ideological Boundaries in Fourth-Century Christian Egypt”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5, 1997, pp. 61-84.

Goehring 2018 = J.E. Goehring, “The Material Encoding of Early Christian Division: Nag Hammadi Codex VII and the Ascetic Milieu in Upper Egypt”, in H. Lundhaug -L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 53-80.

Goodacre 2013 = M. Goodacre, “How Reliable is the Story of the Nag Hammadi Discovery?”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 35, 2013, pp. 303-322, http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0142064X13482243.

Halkin 1932 = F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica, 19), Brussels, 1932.

Honigmann 1953 = E. Honigmann, “The Monks of Fua, Addressees of a Letter of Cyril of Alexandria (412-444 A. D.)”, in *Patristic Studies* (Studi e Testi, 173), Vatican City, 1953, pp. 52-53.

Jenott 2013 = L. Jenott, “Recovering Adam’s Lost Glory: Nag Hammadi Codex II in its Egyptian Monastic Environment”, in L. Jenott - S.K. Gribetz (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Cosmogony in Late Antiquity*, Tübingen, 2013, pp. 222-236.

Jenott - Pagels 2010 = L. Jenott - E. Pagels, “Antony’s Letters and Nag Hammadi Codex I: Sources of Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 18, 2010, pp. 557-589.

Khosroyev 1995 = A. Khosroyev, *Die Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi: Einige Probleme des Christentums in Ägypten während der ersten Jahrhunderte* (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten, 7), Altenberge, 1995.

Krismanek 2010 = H.-B. Krismanek, *Das Briefkorpus Kyrills von Alexandrien als Quelle des Antiken Mönchtums: Kirchenpolitik, Christologie und Pastoral*, Frankfurt am Main, 2010.

Lefort 1939 = L.Th. Lefort, “Les premiers monasteres Pachomiens: Exploration topographique”, *Le Museon* 52, 1939, pp. 379-407.

Lefort 1953 = L.Th. Lefort, *Pachomii Vita Bohairice Scripta* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 89, Scriptores coptici, 7), Leuven, 1953.

Lefort 1956 = L.Th. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachome et de ses disciples*, I-II (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 159-160, Scriptores coptici, 23-24), Leuven, 1956.

Leipoldt 1955 = J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Archimandritae vita et opera omnia* III (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 42, Scriptores coptici, 2), Louvain, 1955.

Lundhaug 2012 = H. Lundhaug, “Shenoute’s Heresiological Polemics and Its Context(s)”, in J. Ulrich - A.-Ch. Jacobsen - D. Brakke (eds.), *Invention, Rewriting, Usurpation: Discursive Fights Over Religious Traditions in Antiquity* (Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity, 11), Frankfurt, 2012, pp. 239-261.

Lundhaug 2013 = H. Lundhaug, “Begotten, Not Made, to Arise in This Flesh: The Post-Nicene Soteriology of the Gospel of Philip”, in E. Iricinschi - L. Jenott - N. Denzey Lewis - Ph. Townsend (eds.), *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 82), Tübingen, 2013, pp. 235-271.

Lundhaug 2017a = H. Lundhaug, “Shenoute’s Eucharistic Theology in Context”, in D. Hellholm - D. Sänger (eds.), *The Eucharist – Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, I-III (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 376), Tübingen, 2017, II, pp. 1233-1251.

Lundhaug 2017b = H. Lundhaug, “‘Tell me what shall arise’: Conflicting Notions of the Resurrection Body in Coptic Egypt”, in F.S. Tappenden - C. Daniel-Hughes (eds.), *Coming Back to Life: The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortality, Death and Life in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Montreal, 2017, pp. 215-236.

Lundhaug - Jenott 2015 = H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 97), Tübingen, 2015.

Mertens 1995 = M. Mertens, *Zosime de Panopolis: Mémoires authentiques* (Les alchimistes grecs, 4.1.), Paris, 1995.

Munier 1928 = H. Munier, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Musée égyptien du Caire,* Le Caire, 1928.

Nongbri 2016 = B. Nongbri, “Finding Early Christian Books at Nag Hammadi and Beyond”, *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 45, 2016, pp. 11-19.

Orlandi 1982 = T. Orlandi, “A Catechesis against Apocryphal Texts by Shenute and the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi”, *Harvard Theological Review*, 75, 1982, pp. 85-95.

Orlandi 1985 = T. Orlandi, *Shenute Contra Origenistas. Testo con introduzione e traduzione*, Rome, 1985.

Painchaud 1995 = L. Painchaud, *L’écrit sans titre: Sur l’origine du monde* (*NH II, 5 et XIII, 2 et Brit. Lib. Or. 4926*[*1*]) (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section “Textes”, 21), Québec, 1995.

Painchaud 2018 = L. Painchaud, “The Production and Destination of the Nag Hammadi Codices”, in H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 387-426.

Painchaud - Janz 1997 = L. Painchaud - T. Janz, “The “Kingless Generation” and the Polemical Rewriting of Certain Nag Hammadi Texts”, in J.D. Turner - A. McGuire (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 44), Leiden, 1997, pp. 439-460.

Painchaud - Kaler 2007 = L. Painchaud - M. Kaler, “From the ‘Prayer of the Apostle Paul’ to the ‘Three Steles of Seth’: Codices I, XI and VII from Nag Hammadi Viewed as a Collection”, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 61, 2007, pp. 445-469.

Petrie 1901 = W.M.F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu*, London, 1901.

Pettipiece 2012 = T. Pettipiece, “Towards a Manichaean Reading of the Nag Hammadi Codices”, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies*, 3-4, 2012, pp. 43-54.

Piwowarczyk - Wipszycka 2017 = P. Piwowarczyk - E. Wipszycka, “A Monastic Origin of the Nag Hammadi Codices?”, *Adamantius*, 23, 2017, pp. 432-458.

Robinson 1975 = J.M. Robinson, “The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices”, in M. Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts: In Honour of Pahor Labib* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 6), Leiden, 1975, pp. 170-190.

Robinson 1984 = J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction*, Leiden, 1984.

Robinson 2014 = J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Story*, I-II (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 86), Leiden, 2014.

Rousseau 2007 = P. Rousseau, “The Successors of Pachomius and the Nag Hammadi Library: Exegetical Themes and Literary Structures”, in J.E. Goehring - J.A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Christianity: Language, Literature, and Social Context* (Catholic University of America Studies in Early Christianity), Washington, D.C., 2007, pp. 140-157.

Scholten 1988 = C. Scholten, “Die Nag-Hammadi-Texte als Buchbesitz der Pachomianer”, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 31, 1988, pp. 144-172.

Schwartz 1940 = E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum 3: Collectio Sabbaitica contra Acephalos et Origenistas destinata* (*AD 536*), Berlin, 1940.

Stroumsa 1982 = G.G. Stroumsa, “Monachisme et Marranisme chez les Manichéens d’Egypte”, *Numen*, 29, 1982, pp. 184-201.

Tutty 2018 = P.J. Tutty, “Books of the Dead or Books with the Dead? Interpreting Book Depositions in Late Antique Egypt”, in H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 287-326.

Tutty 2019 = P.J. Tutty, *The Monks of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Contextualising a Fourth Century Monastic Community*, PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 2019.

Veilleux 1980-1982 = A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia: The Lives, Rules, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples*, I-III (Cistercian Studies, 45-47), Kalamazoo, 1980-1982.

Williams 1995 = M.A. Williams, “Interpreting the Nag Hammadi Library as ‘collection(s)’ in the History of ‘Gnosticism(s)”, in L. Painchaud - A. Pasquier (eds.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi et le problème de leur classification:* Actes du colloque tenu à Québec du 15 au 19 Septembre 1993 (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi: Section “Études”, 3), Quebec, 1995, pp. 3-50.

Williams 1996 = M. A. Williams, *Rethinking “Gnosticism”: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton, 1996.

Williams - Coblentz 2018 = M.A. Williams - D. Coblentz, “A Reexamination of the Articulation Marks in Nag Hammadi Codices II and XIII”, in H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 110), Tübingen, 2018, pp. 427-456.

Willis 1979 = W.H. Willis, “The Letter of Ammon of Panopolis to his Mother”, in J. Bingen - G. Nachtergael - E.G. Turner (eds.), *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie. 2: Papyrus inédits* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 17), Brussels, 1979, pp. 98-115.

Willis - Maresch 1997 = W. H. Willis - K. Maresch (eds.), *The Archive of Ammon Scholasticus of Panopolis* (*P. Ammon*) *1: The Legacy of Harpocration* (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 26/1), Opladen, 1997.

Wipszycka 1994 = E. Wipszycka, ‘Le monachisme égyptien et les villes’, *Travaux et mémoires*, 12, 1994, pp. 1-44.

Wipszycka 2000 = E. Wipszycka, ‘The Nag Hammadi Library and the Monks: A Papyrologist’s Point of View’, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 30, 2000, pp. 179-191.

Zago 2010 = M. Zago, *Tebe magica e alchemica. L’idea di biblioteca nell’Egitto romano: la Collezione Anastasi*, Padova, 2010.

Archaeological and Epigraphical Survey of the Coptic Monastery at Qubbet el-Hawa (Aswan)*

Vicente Barba Colmenero - Universidad de Jaén
Sofía Torallas Tovar - University of Chicago

Abstract
Excavation carried out at Qubbet el-Hawa demonstrates that the site offers and archaeological sequence spanning from the 6th Dynasty to the Middle Ages, including the existence of a large necropolis that almost completely occupies the hill across different Egyptian periods and phases. This article presents the most recent archaeological achievements and offers the edition of two Coptic ostraca and one inscription.

Keywords
Qubbet el-Hawa, ostraca, monastery, cell.

1. *The archaeological context of Qubbet-el Hawa*

The hill of Qubbet el-Hawa rises on the west bank of the Nile in front of the modern city of Aswan, a short stretch from the island of Elephantine (Fig. 1). Excavation performed at this site demonstrates that the archaeological sequence at Qubbet el Hawa spans from the 6th Dynasty to the Middle Ages, including the existence of a large necropolis that completely occupies the hill across different Egyptian periods and phases.

Since the 1880s, the different hypogea of the site have been intermittently excavated in pursuit of epigraphic and archaeological material.[1] It was not until 1957 that Elman Edel, an Egyptologist with a clear philological inclination, initiated uninterrupted excavations that lasted until 1984.[2]

In 2008, the University of Jaén in Spain, in collaboration with the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt, had their first season of excavations in the necropolis, under leadership of Alejandro Jiménez Serrano. As of present day, the University of Jaén has carried out ten archaeological campaigns in which more than a hundred researchers have collaborated.[3] The results that we present here are the product of research conducted during the four most recent archaeological campaigns, in which we have had the opportunity to investigate part of a huge rubbish dumpster dating from the Byzantine period that had buried several tombs (QH33-aa, QH33-bb and partially QH34-cc), and contained materials from the Coptic monastery that sits atop the hill of Qubbet el-Hawa. Abundant ceramics were also documented from a pottery workshop belonging to the same monastery, which we had the opportunity to partially excavate.[4]

* We are very grateful to Paola Buzi (Sapienza Università di Roma) for inviting us to present our work in the 3rd 'PAThs' conference and publishing the results in this volume, to Alejandro Jiménez-Serrano (Universidad de Jaén) and the whole Qubbet el-Hawa team, Alain Delattre (Université Libre de Bruxelles) and Sebastian Richter (Freie Universität Berlin) for reading the draft of this paper and giving us valuable suggestions, and Lucas Binion for the polishing of the English expression. All images are ©Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa, Universidad de Jaén. The ostraca photographs are by Patricia Mora. The excavation and research at Qubbet-el-Hawa is funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science (HAR2016-75533-P).

1 Burckhardt 1819; Schiaparelli 1892; William Cecil 1903; Budge 1920; Helck 1975; Habachi 1985.

2 Edel 1966; Edel 2008.

3 Proyecto I+D+I HAR2016-75533-P de Excelencia "Excavación, Estudio Histórico y Conservación de las Tumbas del Reino Medio de la Necrópolis de Qubbet el-Hawa (Asuán, Egipto)", http://www.ujaen.es/investiga/qubbetelhawa/index.php.

4 Barba *et al.* 2017.

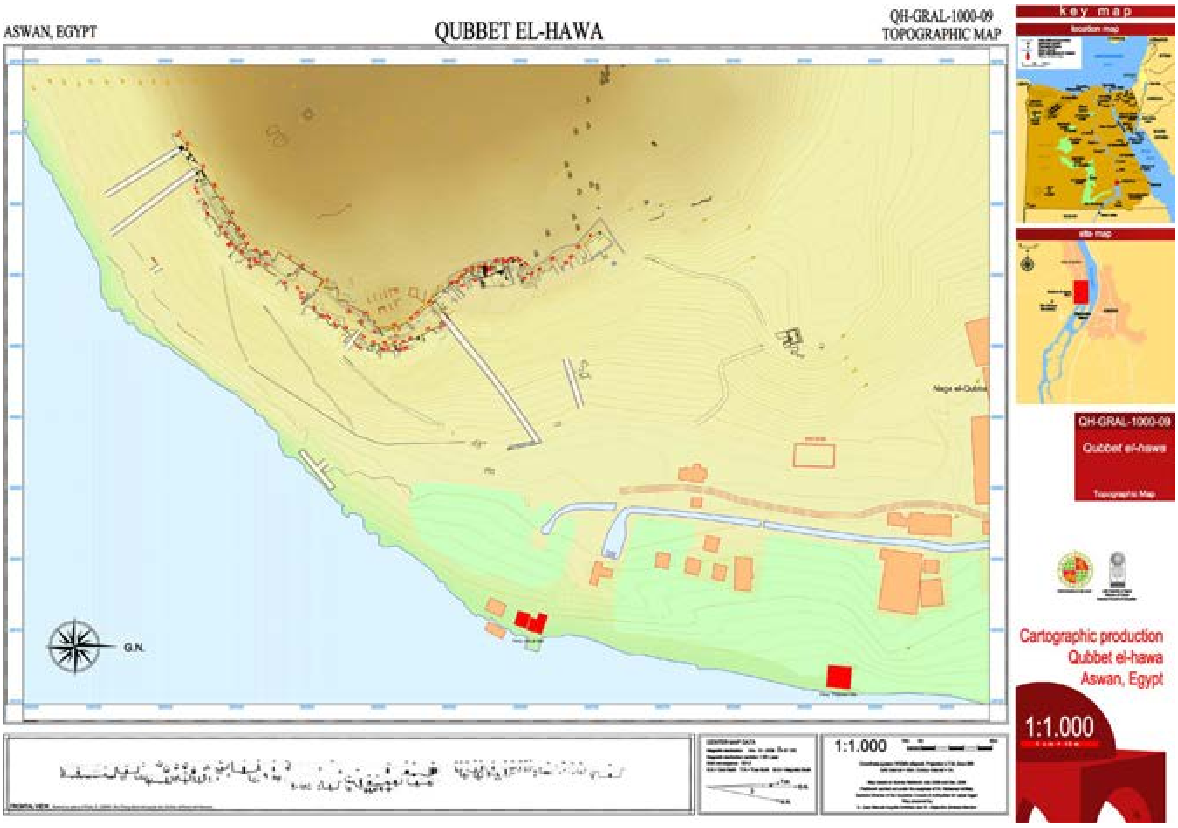


Fig. 1. Archaeological site of Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan. ©Proyecto Qubbet el-Hawa, Universidad de Jaén.

2. *The Coptic monastery of Qubbet el-Hawa*

We do not have a complete picture of how this spectacular monastery was structured. According to some authors, it depended on another close monastery called Dayr Anba Hadra.[5] In 1998, the Supreme Council of Antiquities decided to remove sand from the northern area of tomb QH34h where a church would eventually be unearthed.[6] The church had been built by excavating into the mountain and using part of the old tombs as foundation. The most outstanding discovery was that of an apse featuring mural paintings and graffiti with Coptic, Arabic, and Greek texts. Following this discovery, the remaining sand was then removed from the church by the Department of Islamic Archaeology of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in 2010. Today we have a complete view of the entire religious building. Some interpretations of the building's architecture have been published,[7] although analyses of the structures have focused mainly on the study of the aforementioned parietal decorations and graffiti.[8] Some of the Coptic and Arabic graffiti were studied by Renate Dekker,[9] and later on surveyed by Amalia Zomeño and Sofía Torallas Tovar.[10]

They majority of the inscriptions date from after the eleventh century, mostly votive in content, inscribed both in Coptic and Arabic with a single Greek text, likely written by visitors requesting prayers and protection. In some cases, the inscriptions are painted on the wall, with reddish ink or paint and have begun fading away due to sun exposure. Most frequently the inscriptions were incised, sometimes in an elaborate manner, though also in other cases much faster and more carelessly. Some of the inscriptions are bilingual (Coptic-Arabic) like the one edited by Dekker.[11] This particular inscription, important for

5 Monneret de Villard 1927, 108-114. Meurice 2006; Gabra 2002, 105-107; Dijkstra 2008; Dekker 2013a.

6 Abdin 2013.

7 Dekker, 2008; Dekker 2013b.

8 Coquin - Martin 1991; Grossmann 1991; Middleton-Jones 2013.

9 Dekker 2008; Dekker 2013a.

10 Torallas Tovar - Zomeño Rodríguez 2013.

11 Dekker 2008, 32-34, for the Coptic part.

Fig. 2. Church of Qubbet el-Hawa.

giving a historical context to the church, was made immediately prior to the destruction mentioned in the inscription on the north wall of QH34e. The inscription in Sahidic reads: "Today, 22nd of the month of Tubi, the first day of the new moon, Era of the Martyrs, year 889, it happened during the domination of the 'Turks' in all the land of Egypt, during the archbishopric of our father Abba Mark in the city of Alexandria and also in the days of the Bishopric of Theodore in the city of Aswan, then the Turks made … they came towards Prim and they "opened" it on the seventh day of Tubi, they took it all … what was in it, they came and sold…". [12] This inscription must be one of the earliest carved in Arabic in the church, though once the church was destroyed, it continued to receive visitors and dwellers who were mainly Arabized Christians. The walls of the church continued to receive inscriptions from visitors, but at some point, it is not entirely obvious that they knew that the building in ruins in which they were was in fact a church. For example, in the vault of the right nave of the church, an Arabic inscription reads: "He was in this place (*makan*) Isma'il b. al-Hayy Sulaymi in the year 1108" (1745 CE). This inscription is obviously very late, and it differs from those that appear in other layers for the fact that a 'place' (*makan*) is mentioned, and not a 'monastery' (*dayr*), using the formula: "So-and-so was in this monastery…".

3. *A Coptic chapel in the ancient tomb QH34-aa*

The hypogeum with the number QH34-aa was discovered in 2014, located between the tombs QH34 and QH34a, and was named following the correlative numbering established by Elmar Edel. QH34-aa is a complex area, and until the excavation of the entire area was completed in 2017, we did not have a general view or understanding of the origin of several small tombs located in this sector. These small tombs have followed the same numbering (34aa, 34bb, 34cc and 34dd). Although originally they were probably all part of a single funerary complex, nowadays they stand separate from each other. At some point, this particular area of the hill must have suffered a great detachment from bedrock, likely at the end of the Pharaonic period, most probably caused by a great earthquake that triggered the sinking of much of the larger structures and exposed further rooms and chambers. It is for this reason that we currently see small, incomplete tombs and shafts with burials in what is an outdoor area. Once all the large blocks of rock had been removed, the whole area, during the Byzantine period, was used for the establishment of some structures, and subsequently as a rubbish dump for the monastery that was located on the upper terrace.

The number QH34-aa corresponds to a tomb formed by a shaft and an underground burial chamber of the Middle Kingdom, inside which approximately ten intact burials have been found, some of which in excellent states of conservation, with even the names of the deceased being preserved.[13] As the shaft with time became filled with sand, the upper part was used by the first hermits as a primitive chapel.

12 One of the best-known inscriptions of this site, on the fall of Qasr Ibrim in 1173, already published by Bouriant 1886, 218, then taken up by De Morgan 1894 and finally by Griffith - Crowfoot 1934, 5-8. See for the latest edition S. Richter, in Edel 2008, 514-515.

13 Jiménez-Serrano *et al.* 2016.

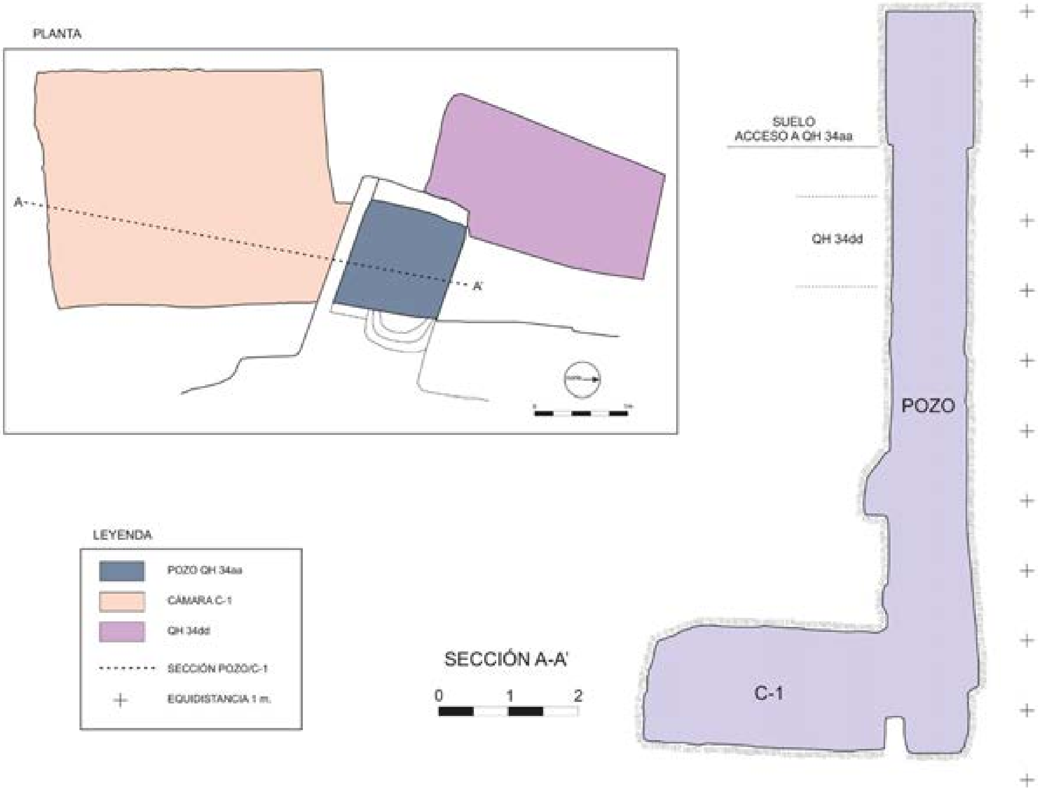


Fig. 3. Ground plan and section of tomb QH34aa.

Inside this supposed small "chapel," there is no stratigraphy associated with its use as such. Its entire interior was completely filled with different strata from the Coptic dumpster, providing us with a very interesting chronology of its abandonment. All the ceramics that we have studied from the dumpster belong to a late-antique chronology, from the beginning of the sixth century up to the beginning of the eighth century, and therefore the chapel must have been constructed and been in use at some point between the fifth and sixth century, and abandoned shortly after.

The chapel consists of a small quadrangular room measuring 1.30 meters wide by 1.20 meters deep and 2.10 meters high. All four walls were white-washed, with two inscriptions along the top of the side-walls written in red ink by the same hand, one in Coptic and the other in Greek. On the back wall we found a niche, possibly intended to hold a sacred image or icon, and two holes on the wall, perhaps for hanging lamps. This cavity is not large enough to have been used as a cell, so we thought it may have been used as some sort of oratory. This possibility would explain the presence of the inscriptions on the upper part of the walls.

The painted inscription (*dipinto*), in Coptic uncial, presents a couple of verses of the Lord's prayer (Mt 6:9-13) both in Coptic and Greek.[14] Paul Dilley[15] has already drawn attention to the lack of studies and even less developed systematisation of the *dipinti* (painted inscriptions) of late antiquity. Generally, these *dipinti* serve as labels for the images represented in the frescoes, so they usually do not appear alone as in the case of our inscription.

On the north wall there is the text in Sahidic Coptic. The two lines are encased inside a red line that surrounds each line separately in some kind of frame. The surface covered by the inscription measures ca 0.80 m wide and 0.10 m high.

14 For an overview of the inscriptions and *dipinti* in Egypt and Nubia, see Delattre - Dijkstra - van der Vliet 2014-2018.

15 Dilley 2008.

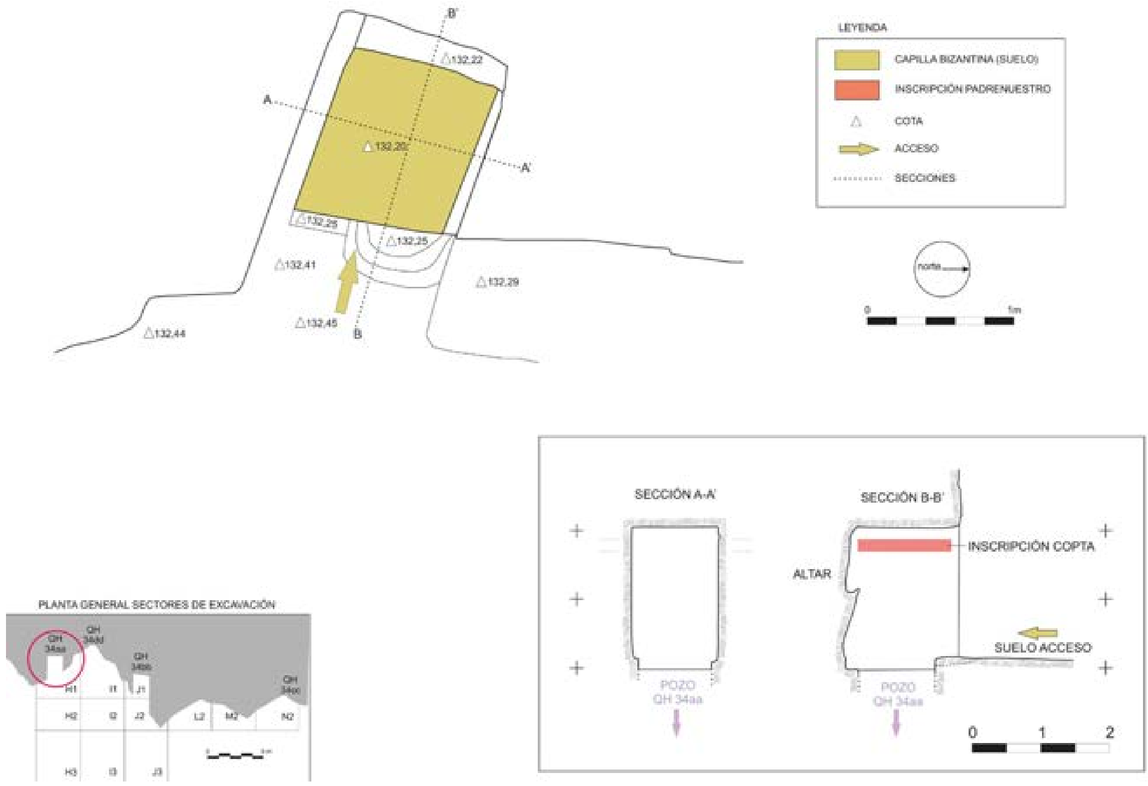


Fig. 4. Ground plan and section of the Coptic chapel.

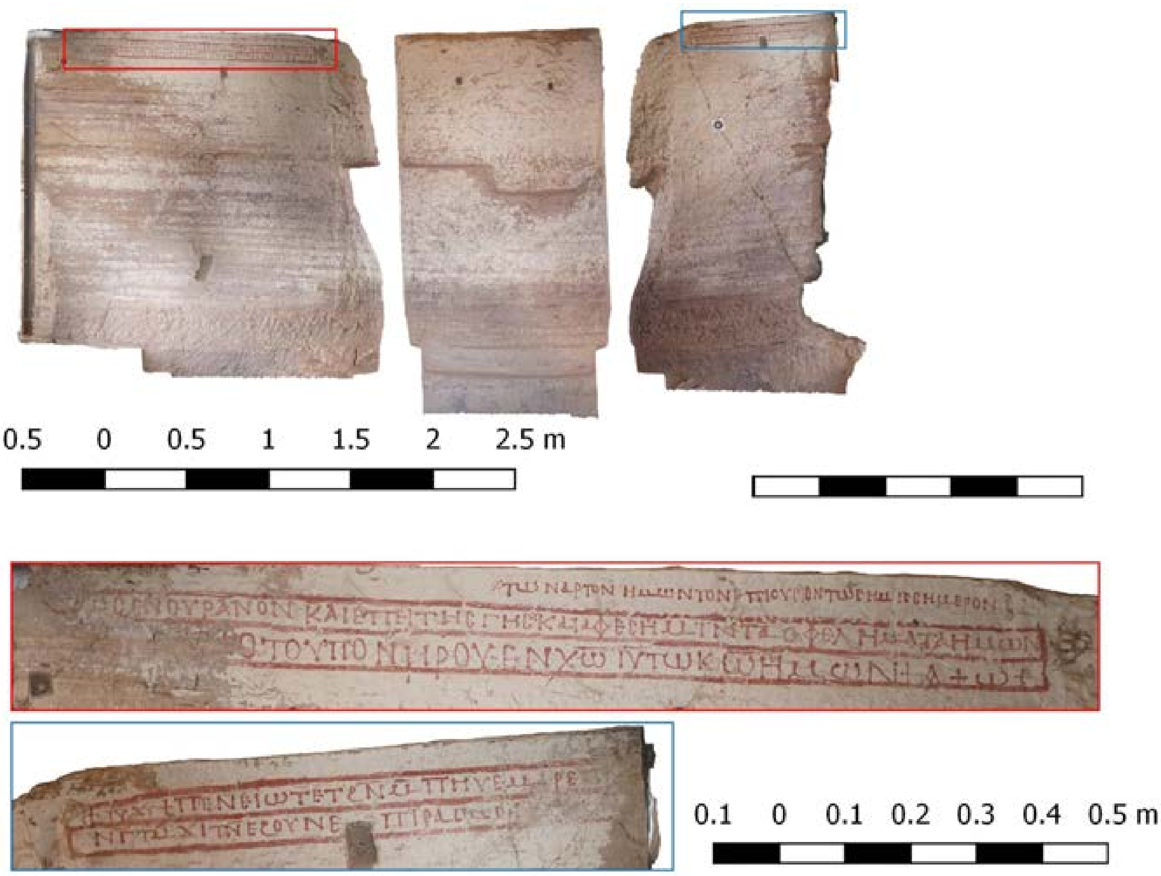


Fig. 5. Inscriptions in the chapel.

1 + ⲓⲩ̄ ⲭⲩ̄ + ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲉⲕ̣[ⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲡ (Mt 6:9)
2 ⲛⲅ̄ⲧⲙϫⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ⲗ̣ⲁ̣ [(Mt 6:13)

"1 Jesus Christ. Our Father, who art in heaven, [hallowed be thy name] | 2 Lead us not into temptation, but …"

It must be a selection of parts of the Lord's Prayer, because there is not enough room for the missing part of the prayer (Mt 6:10-12). The same can be said about the Greek inscription, on the south wall. The surface covered by it measures ca 1.50 m wide and 0.20 m high. The second and third lines are encased inside a red line drawing a double frame, while the first one starts at the middle of the space and is outside of the frame, written in a slightly smaller text size. It was a later insertion, indicated by an asterisk, since it should stand between τῆς γῆς and καὶ ἄφες, according to the traditional prayer. The use of a lectional sign is especially interesting, since it indicates that the scribe had literary training.

1 ※τὼν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον τὼς ἡμῖς σήμερον. (Mt 6:11)
2]ὡς ἐν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς γῆς. ※καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφελήματα ἡμῶν, (Mt 6:10 / 6:12)
3] ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ἐν χω̅ ιυ̅ τῷ κω̅ ἡμῶν † α † ω † (Mt 6:13)

1 lege τὸν δὸς ἡμῖν || 2 lege ἐπὶ ἡμῖν ὀφειλήματα

"1 Give us this day our daily bread | 2 heaven and on earth. Forgive us our debts | 3 from evil. In C(hrist) J(esus) our Lord † α † † ω †."

Two verses, (ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν), are missing between lines 2-3, and there is no way they could fit in the lacuna. An alternative interpretation of the situation is that the prayer starts on the north wall in Coptic (verse Mt 6:9), continues in Greek on the south wall (verses Mt 6:10-13), and ends on the north wall again in Coptic (verse Mt 6:13). This would be a very interesting example of a bilingual prayer in which the languages alternate.[16]

We do not have parallels in epigraphy specifically for the Lord's Prayer, although we do have parallels for other prayers, especially in monastic environments. However, it was widely used in liturgy and personal prayer in Egypt, so we should not be surprised by its presence here. The existence of a bilingual inscription at such a late period is interesting, and particularly within ascetic communities, where we would expect the use of the Coptic language, although use of Greek did persist even into the ninth century.[17]

In the study of the different tombs on the hill of Qubbet el-Hawa, Coptic materials have been found that confirm the fact that a large portion of these ancient Pharaonic hypogea were reoccupied in Byzantine times by Christians. Analysing the excavation journals of Edel,[18] we observe that in most of the hypogea near the monastery there are archaeological remains belonging to the same period, as well as Coptic inscriptions and graffiti inside the tombs QH 34e, QH 34h, QH 34i and QH 34f.

The occupation of tombs by hermits was a common practice throughout Egypt.[19] Most of the monasteries investigated originated in caves or grottoes that had previously been occupied by hermits or anchorites who had decided to withdraw from society in order to lead an ascetic life. For Qubbet el Hawa, we have the attestation of the funerary stela Bishop Joseph III of Aswan (ed. Dekker)[20] which reads "… he (*i.e. Joseph*) is *the first father after our fathers, the hermits*, who lived in this holy mountain and the one through whom God established this great good thing being the foundation of this holy altar, when he started gathering those who came to him". This fact is well studied in the Theban region, where there has been continuous occupation in tombs by Christian monks across previous periods.[21]

Similarly, the nearby monastery of Dayr Anba Hadra (known as Saint Simeon), located in the Wadi Saman, according to some studies had its origin in a small cave located northwest of the church. This place was carved into the rock, forming a small room with painted ceiling and walls, decorated

16 One more case, Maravela - Mihálykó - Wehus 2017, 225. On Greek and Coptic languages in prayer, see Mihálykó 2019, 263
17 Mihálykó 2019, 263.
18 Edel 2008
19 With bibliography and literary references, see O'Connell 2007.
20 Dekker 2015.
21 Leblanc 1989, Lecuyot 1993, Thirard 2012, Boud'hors - Heurtel 2010, Górecki 2017.

with representations of saints framed between various floral and geometric decorations that have been dated to the sixth-seventh centuries.[22] Therefore, we think that the settlement of Qubbet el-Hawa too must have originated in the movement of a small community of hermits who settled in the various caves and graves next to them, deciding to reuse an old well and then build a chapel around the fifth or sixth centuries.[23]

4. *The Coptic dumpster*

As we have mentioned above, the area where the mountain collapsed, thus exposing wells and internal rooms of ancient tombs, had been buried by a large dumpster in late Roman times. Within this landfill up to 18 different strata have been documented, some of them still maintaining a distinct spatial relationship with one another. As we can see in this archaeological sequence, the rubbish dumpster has small horizontal strata of rapid formation, including horizons of irregular connection between its lower or upper strata. Abundant ash, burnt bricks, and large burnt ceramics are commingled within stronger layers of more compact earth whose origin resulted from slow formation, with smooth connection lines that evidence post-depositional accumulation. In some cases, we can observe small archaeological layers or micro-layers that have left their mark, having been deposited as fine lines on the ground (sands surely related to storms and ashes).

Analysing the stratigraphy of the dumpster, we could verify that its origin had to be associated with the diverse activities developed on the platform just above, where the still visible structures of the monastery are located. In 2015 we were able to carry out both a superficial archaeological cleaning and also an excavation of several archaeological soundings from this site.

The structures located on the upper platform cover an area of about 500 m^2. Several enclosures delimited by masonry walls have been defined and in some cases the walls of rammed earth and adobe are preserved. This entire structural ensemble is associated with the monastery walls that are still standing on the spur of the plateau, a place that has to this day never been excavated. We have identified what could have been an area of workshops, where a survey located a series of ovens of various sizes. The whole structural group was defined by an enclosure delimited by the cut of the rock. Under these structures, in the cut of the rock, we found the rubbish dumpster that we have described previously, seven meters below the platform. It seems both logical and practical that on the lower platform there is an accumulation of sediments and waste materials both from the periodic cleaning of the structures above, and from the production area where several ovens and a possible kitchen area have been documented.[24]

The ceramics found there were most likely from a manufacturing workshop. There were at one point up to eight furnaces, some of great size, which may have been dedicated to the baking of ceramics, as well as others of a smaller domestic type that could have belonged to the kitchens of the Coptic monastery. Among the materials found, a large number of ceramics stand out. Our analysis of the complete repertoire of the table service has identified storage crockery, an abundance of transport containers such as amphorae, the Egyptian Sigillata, and certain luxury decorative materials or intended for ritual use.

Among the materials found in the dumpster, we would like to highlight the approximately 40 ostraca that have been documented during the archaeological excavation process. Most of them are very fragmentary and feature only a few words, sometimes even just a few letters, and there are only three of them that have a more or less intelligible text. We will include below just two pieces featuring a more or less complete text. From these pieces, one of them is especially interesting, since it attests to the connection of the Christian settlement in Qubbet-el-Hawa with the monastery of Anba Hadra and the existence of workshops and probably commercial exchange. According to the date provided by the archaeological context, we have dated them roughly to the mid sixth to mid seventh centuries. The first one is later than the second one, since it was found in the superior levels.

22 Monneret de Villard 1927; Dekker 2013a. van Loon (forthcoming) dates the earliest paintings to the seventh-eighth centuries.

23 See above the inscription for Bishop Joseph III edited by Dekker 2015.

24 Barba *et al.* 2017.

4. 1. *O.QH Jaen* 1 (TM 844393)

This ostracon is composed by different fragments: inv. no. 1085 (QH33/10 F3-UE104), found in 2010, which fits perfectly with others found in 2009 in sector F3, inv. no. 344 (QH33/09 F3-UE32), sector F1, inv. no. 331 (QH33/09 F1-UE32), and inv. no. 300 (QH33/09 F1-UE30). These pieces match together (ca H 14 x W 13.5 cm) to form an almost complete letter written with brown ink, with a well-trained hand on a piece of wavy pottery (dark brown slip, colour of the paste 10R 7/4), *c.* seventh cent.

[ ]ⲛⲧⲉⲕ
[ⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁⲓⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
[ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲉ]ⲧ̣ⲃⲉ ⲛϩⲱⲃ
[ⲙⲡⲉ]ⲕ̣ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ̣
ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧϥ ⲡ ̣ ̣ ̣
ⲧⲧ̣ ⲉⲓⲥ̣ⲫⲉⲣⲓⲛ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ-
ⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲱⲗⲟⲥ̣
ϣⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛ̅ⲥ[ⲁ]ϣⲕⲟⲣ ϩⲛ̅[
ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ϫⲓⲡ[ ] ̣ ⲙⲡ[
ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱⲥ̣ ̣ [ ]ⲡ ̣[ⲙ]
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ̣[
ⲛⲟⲩⲕ + ⲛ[
]ⲉⲩⲭ[

3 ...to your God-loving brother, about the work at | 4 your workshop | 5 where you work ... | 6 bring/deliver to the *topo*s of the holy | 7 Apa Hatre. | No one at all | 8 shall require the rent from you. In... | 9 they have passed ... | 10 three times holy ...

1. Probably a form of ⲥϩⲁⲓ in the lacuna.
4. ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ (Gk ἐργαστήριον) also in P.KRU 106, 152; 25, 12; 24, 3 and 68, 51/68,60 SBKopt 50, 19 302, 6.
5-6. There are few traces of a word probably between lines 5 and 6, insufficient to provide any sure reading.
6. ⲉⲓⲥⲫⲉⲣⲓⲛ is a hapax as Greek loan in Coptic.
8. For ϣϭⲟⲣ, 'rent'.
10. The term ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ appears in very few Greek texts on papyrus, P.Cair.Masp. III 67295, 1, 15, applied to a 'Father', P.Cair.Masp. III 67312, r 109, to a 'Mother', and P.Lond.V 1927, 2, 46, to the apostle, citing *Eph.* 5:16.
13. ⲉⲩⲭ[: Perhaps the Greek expression ἔρρωσθαι σε εὔχομαι, typical of the farewell formula of letters.

4.2. *O.QH Jaen* 2 (TM 844394)

This ostracon was found in recent years (QH33-UE338-9) and contains an order for transportation. Seven lines of text are written with black ink on a sherd of an amphora with a wavy surface. The four margins are preserved, and thus we have a complete document (H ca 12.5 x W 16 cm). ca seventh cent., probably earlier tan *O.Qubbet-el-Hawa* 1.

+ ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ϣⲟⲙⲛ̣ⲧ
ⲛ̅ⲕⲟⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̅ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
ⲙⲛ̅ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̣
ⲛ̣̅ϥ̣ⲧⲉ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁⲕⲱⲧ ̣
ⲛⲧⲗⲁⲕ ⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ̣
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉ
ⲛⲛⲧⲃ̅ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ

1 Fetch three | 2 *couster* of grapes | 3 and two *sarakot* | 4 and four (?) and one *salakot* | 5 of gourd (?). Send two | 6 *matia* of fodder (?) | 7 for the animals.

1 The expression ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ is used for orders of delivery or transportation and has been connected to the monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit. It is used exclusively in ostraca with very few examples on papyrus. See Albarrán - Boud'hors 2016, 104; Tait 1994 and *O.Bawit*, p. 247. Though the formulary from Bawit differs from this instance, it is interesting that the formula lacking sender and addressee are strikingly similar.

2 ⲕⲟⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣ: if understood as a measure it can be connected to ⲭⲟⲩⲥ, Gk. χοῦς (Förster 2002, 877), but this is a liquid measure; ϭⲟⲥⲧ (Crum 1939, 832b; Alcock 1996, 6) is a measure of length. Better perhaps connected to Gk κίστη, 'basket' (though only attested in second century Greek papyri). Alternatively it can be connected to Lat. *culter*, 'tonsorius, sickle'. For grapes, cf. *P.Mich.inv.* 6865, sixth cent. ⲗⲓⲗⲱϩⲉ ⲛ̅ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ "a *lilohe* of grapes".


Fig. 6. *O.QH Jaen* 1.

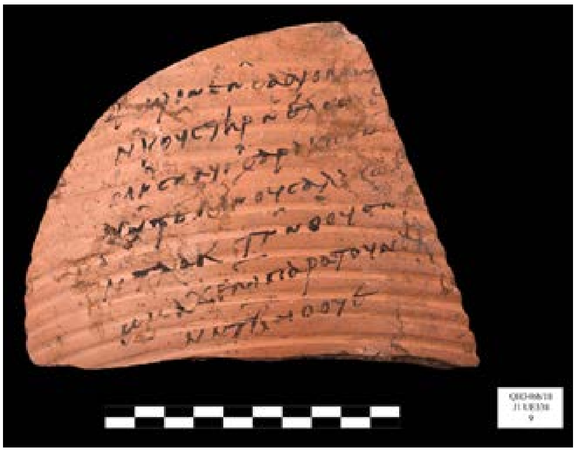


Fig. 7: *O.QH Jaen* 2

3 ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧ: can be connected to ⲥⲁⲣⲅⲁⲛⲏ 'basket' (Förster 2002, 717 'Korb, Flechtkorb'). Otherwise it means 'wanderer' (Crum 1939, 54b). ⲥⲟⲣⲟⲩⲧⲟⲛ (Vorderstrasse 2014, 220) is a measure of liquid, generally wine or vinegar.

4\. The reading of ϥⲧⲉ is not guaranteed.

5 ⲛⲧⲗⲁⲕ: I have not been able to find an explanation for this term. The verb ⲧⲱⲗⲕ 'to pluck' might be related?, unless it is a pot (ⲗⲟⲕ, Crum 1939, 138a; Alcock 1996, 3; Vorderstrasse 2014, 219). Perhaps related to ⲧⲗⲟϭ and ϭⲗⲟϭ meaning 'gourd' (Crum 1939, 815a).

6 ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉ : it must be some product that can be delivered in *matia* (ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ, Crum 1939, 213a; Alcock 1996, 3; a dry measure for wheat, lentils etc.) and is connected to animals. I am inclined to think this is fodder for the animals. A similar sounding term is attested in the Gk. papyri, παρατοῦρα, from Lat. *paratura* (Trapp 1993 'Ausrüstung'), but connected to clothing vel sim., see *P.Louvre* I 67; SB XVI 12254. No other like sounding Latin term seems to mean 'fodder'. Alternatively, ⲡⲁⲣⲁ can be the Greek preposition παρά, but I do not find any way of explaining it here.

The remaining 40 Coptic ostraca fragments do not really deserve "papyrological publication", due to their extremely fragmentary state.[25] However, they are not completely useless, since the stratigraphy of this dumpster allows us to place them in a relative chronological sequence, and thus helps provide dates to their palaeography.[26]

5. *Conclusions*

From the archaeological materials we have analysed, we know that the monastery was occupied during a very specific chronology. The beginning of the inhabitation on this hill must be fixed around the fifth-sixth century, with the occupation of the ancient Pharaonic tombs. It would most likely have been a Christian troglodyte habitat, occupying the spaces of the old funerary chapels in which we observed various inscriptions and drawings. Next to these, a small room (QH34-aa) had been chosen as the location for a small chapel in which an image or icon of the saint to whom this place was consecrated, possibly Saint George,[27] must have been placed. All around the room, red *dipinti* provided the Lord's prayer in Coptic and Greek.

In the middle of the sixth century the chapel was abandoned, and the icon probably moved to one of the new rooms that were built at the top of the hill. The monastery began construction in the early sixth century, eventually reaching its peak usage during the second half of the seventh century and the first third of the seventh century. At the end of the seventh century, the structures of the upper platform ceased to house any activity, and by the eighth century, the structures of the workshop seem to have been completely abandoned, as we do not find archaeological materials dating after that period. This abandonment

25 For a preliminary description, see Jiménez-Serrano *et al.* 2010-2011, 79-80. See also Torallas Tovar 2010. For a complete list with images and transcriptions, see Barba Colmenero-Torallas Tovar forthcoming.

26 Other eight ostraca from the necropolis have been published by Sebastian Richter in Edel 2008, 451 (QH34c/25), 1548-1549 (QH104/1), 1572-1573 (QH105/37), 1765-1767 (QH110/47), 1774-1775 (QH110/33), 1776 and 1780 (QH110/51 and QH110/55), 1777 and 1781 (QH 110/60) (page numbers in Edel 2008 are followed by tomb and item numbers. We suggest they be named *O.QH* Edel).

27 See *dipinti* in QH34f, Richter in Edel 2008, 518-522.

of the workshop area seems to have coincided with a key moment in the restructuring of the monastery. From that moment on, the structures related to the church on the other side of the hill became more important, although it is not clear to what cause we should attribute this change. This will be the aim of our future inquiries.

The study of the archaeological materials from the Byzantine period of the Qubbet el-Hawa monastery has elucidated important evidence regarding the history of this place. The study of the materials has only just begun, and we still have much work to do in terms of classification, study, and quantification, especially of the ceramic material. Even so, from this relatively small contribution, Qubbet el-Hawa will be positioned on the map as a key place from which to gather important details about the daily life of the primitive Christian monks of southern Egypt.

References

ABDIN 2013 = M.A. ABDIN, "The Monastery of Qubbat al-Hawa", in D. RAUE - S.J. SEIDLMAYER - P. SPEISER (eds.), *The First Cataract of the Nile. One Region – Diverse Perspectives*, Berlin - Boston, 2013, pp. 1-3, pls. 1-2.

ALBARRÁN - BOUD'HORS 2016 = M.J. ALBARRÁN - A. BOUD'HORS, "À la découverte des papyrus coptes de la Sorbonne", A. BOUD'HORS ANNE C. LOUIS (eds.), *Études coptes XIV.* Seizième journée d'études (Genève, 19-21 juin 2013) Paris, 2016, pp. 101-114.

ALCOCK 1996 = A. ALCOCK, "Coptic Terms for Containers and Measures", *Enchoria* 23, 1996, pp. 1-7.

BARBA - JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO – MARTÍNEZ 2017 = V. BARBA - A. JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO - J.L. MARTÍNEZ, "Cerámica bizantina del monasterio copto de Qubbet el-Hawa en Asuán, primer análisis arqueológico campañas 2015-2016", *Bulletin de la liaision de la Céramique Égyptienne* 27, 2016, pp. 83-133.

BARBA COLMENERO - TORALLAS TOVAR forthcoming = V. BARBA COLMENERO - S. TORALLAS TOVAR, "Survey of the ostraca from Qubbet-el-Hawa", in A. JIMÉNEZ SERRANO (ed.), *Qubbet el-Hawa Memoirs I: Multiple Late Middle Kingdom burials in tomb QH34aa*, Jaén, forthcoming.

BOUD'HORS - HEURTEL 2010 = A. BOUD'HORS, - C. HEURTEL, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT29: Autour du moine Frangé* (Études d›archéologie thébaine, 3), I-II, Bruxelles, 2010.

BOURIANT 1886 = U. BOURIANT, "Petite inscription historique en dialect thébain copiée à Assouan", *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et al archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, 7, 1886, p. 218.

BUDGE 1920 = E.A.W. BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris. A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between Years 1886 and 1913*, I, London, 1920.

BURCKHARDT 1819 = J.L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Nubia*, London, 1819.

CECIL 1903 = Lady W. CECIL, "Report on the Work done at Aswân", *ASAE* 4, 1903, pp. 51-73.

COQUIN, - MARTIN 1991 = R.-J COQUIN - S.J MARTIN, "Dayr Anba Hadra: History", in A.S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York 1991, III, pp. 744-745.

CRUM 1939 = W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939.

DE MORGAN - BOURIANT - LEGRAIN - JÉQUIER, 1894 = J. DE MORGAN - U. BOURIANT - G. LEGRAIN - G. JÉQUIER, (eds.), *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* I/1, Vienna, 1894.

DEKKER 2008 = R. DEKKER, "New Discoveries at Dayr Qubbat al-Hawa, Aswan: Architecture, Wall Paintings and Dates", *Eastern Christian Art* 5, 2008, pp. 19-36.

DEKKER 2013a = R. DEKKER, "The Development of the Church at Dayr Anba Hadra, A Study of the Plasterwork and Dated Inscriptions", in G. GABRA - H.N. TAKLA (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, Cairo - New York, 2013, pp. 105-115.

DEKKER 2013b = R. DEKKER, "An Updated Plan of the Church at Dayr Qubbat al-Hawa", G. GABRA - H.N. TAKLA (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, Cairo - New York, 2013, pp. 117-135.

DEKKER 2015 = R. DEKKER "The Memorial Stone of Bishop Joseph III of Aswan", in A. LAJTAR - G. OCHALA, GRZEGORZ - J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplements, 27), Warsaw, 2015, pp. 5-25.

DELATTRE - DIJKSTRA - VAN DER VLIET 2014-2018 = A. DELATTRE - J.H.F. DIJKSTRA - J. VAN DER VLIET, "Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 1-6 (2013-2017)", *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 2014-2018, 51, pp. 199-215; 52, pp. 297-314; 53, pp. 377-393; 54, pp. 261-286; 55, pp. 307-328.

Dijkstra 2008 = J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation* (*298-642 CE*) (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 173), Louvain - Paris, 2008.

Dilley 2008 = P. Dilley, "*Dipinti* in Late Antiquity and Shenoute's Monastic Federation: Text and Image in the Paintings of the Red Monastery", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 165, 2008, pp. 111-128.

Edel 1966 = E. Edel, "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in den Gräbern der Qubbat el Hawa bei Assuan", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 93, 1966, pp. 48-55.

Edel 2008 = E. Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan. Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte, archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH24-QH209. I. Abteilung, Band 1-3*, Paderborn - Munich - Wien - Zurich, 2008.

Förster 2002 = H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 148), Berlin - New York, 2002.

Gabra - Vivian 2002 = G. Gabra - T. Vivian, *Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture*, Cairo -New York, 2002.

Górecki 2017 = T. Górecki, "Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152). Preliminary Report, 2005", *Polish Archaeological Mission* 22, 2017, pp. 263-274.

Griffith - Crowfoot 1934 = F.LL. Griffith - G.M. Crowfoot, "On the Early Use of Cotton in the Nile Valley", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 20.1/2, 1934, pp. 5-12.

Grossmann 1991 = P. Grossmann, "Dayr Qubbat al-Hawa: Architecture", in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York 1991, III, pp. 851-852.

Habachi 1985 = L. Habachi, with Contributions by G. Haeny - F. Junge, *Elephantine IV. The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, Mainz am Rhein, 1985.

Helck 1975 = W. Helck, "Herchuf", in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 1975, 2, col. 1129.

Jiménez Serrano *et al.* 2010-2011 = A. Jiménez Serrano - I. Alemán Aguilera - M.C. Botella López - C. Cardell Fernández - J.L. Martínez De Dios - M.C. Medina Sánchez - I. Mellado García -B. Prado Campos - S. Torallas Tovar - Y. de La Torre Robles - M. Valenti Costales, "Proyecto Qubbet El-Hawa: las Tumbas nos. 33, 34 y 34h. Tercera Campaña (2010)", *BAEDE, Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 20, 2010-2011, pp. 65-98.

Jiménez Serrano *et al.* 2016 = A. Jiménez-Serrano - J.L. Martínez de Dios - Y. De la Torre Robles - V. Barba Colmenero - M. Bardoňová - E. Montes - L. García González - J. Alba Gómez, S. Zurinaga - M.J. López Grande - A. Morales, M. Botella - I. Alemán - Á. Rubio - M.P. Sáez Pérez López - T. Obregón - S. Miró 2016 = "Proyecto Qubbet El-Hawa: Las Tumbas N.31, 33, 34aa, 34bb, 35n, 35p y 122. Octava Campaña (2016)', *BAEDE. Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 25, 2016, pp. 11-61.

Leblanc 1989 = C. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire. I. Géographie, toponymie, historique de l'exploration scientifique du site*, Cairo, 1989.

Lecuyot 1993 = G. Lecuyot, "The Valley of the Queens in the Coptic Period", in D.W. Johnson (ed.), *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington 12-15 August 1992*, I-II, Rome, II, part. 1, 1993, pp. 263-276.

Maravela - Mihálykó - Wehus 2017 = A. Maravela - Á.T. Mihálykó - G. Wehus, "A Coptic Liturgical Prayer for the Consecration of the Chalice", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 63.1, 2017, pp. 204-230.

Meurice 2006 = C. Meurice, "Decouverte et premières études des peintures du monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan", in A. Boud'hors - J. Gascou - D. Vaillancourt (eds.), Études Coptes IX, Onzième journée d'études (*Strasbourg, 12-14 juin, 2003*) (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte, 14, Paris, 2006, pp. 291-303.

Middleton-Jones 2013 = H. Middleton-Jones, "The Digital 3D Virtual Reconstruction of the Monastic Church, Qubbat al-Hawa", in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, Cairo - New York, 2013, pp. 221-229.

Mihálykó 2019 = Á.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction*, Tübingen, 2019.

Monneret de Villard 1927 = U. Monneret de Villard, *Description générale du monastère de Saint-Siméon à Aswân*, Milan, 1927.

O'Connell 2007 = E. R. O'Connell, "Transforming Monumental Landscapes in Late Antique Egypt: Monastic Dwellings in Legal Documents from Western Thebes", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 15.2, 2007, pp. 239-273.

SCHIAPARELLI 1892 = E. SCHIAPARELLI, "Una tomba egiziana inedita della VIª dinastia con iscrizioni storiche e geographiche", *Reale Accademia dei Licei* 289, ser. 4, 10, pt. I, 1892, pp. 21-35.

TAIT 1994 = W.J. TAIT, "A Coptic 'enquiry' about a delivery of wheat", in C. EYRE - A. LEAHY - L.M. LEAHY (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, London, 1994, pp. 337-342.

THIRARD 2012 = C. THIRARD, *Survivance des sites monastiques paléochrétiens dans le Proche-Orient* (Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes, 20), Cairo, 2012.

TORALLAS TOVAR 2010 = S. TORALLAS TOVAR, "Cristianismo en Asuán: nuevos y viejos hallazgos epigráficos en la orilla oeste del Nilo", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 7, 2010, pp. 297-299.

TORALLAS TOVAR - ZOMEÑO RODRÍGUEZ 2013 = S. TORALLAS TOVAR - A. ZOMEÑO RODRÍGUEZ, "Notas sobre la ocupación cristiana de la orilla oeste de Asuán: a propósito de una campaña arqueológica española a orillas del Nilo", in L.A. GARCÍA MORENO - E. SÁNCHEZ MEDINA (eds.) - L. FERNÁNDEZ FONFRÍA (coord.), *Del Nilo al Guadalquivir. II Estudios sobre las fuentes de la conquista islámica. Homenaje al Profesor Yves Modéran*, Madrid, 2013, pp. 393-403.

TRAPP 1993 = E. TRAPP, Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, Wien 1993.

VAN LOON forthcoming = G.J.M. VAN LOON, "An Unusual Representation of King David in the so called 'Cave of Anba Hadra' in Dayr Anba Hadra near Aswan", in H.N. TAKLA - S. EMMEL - M.S.A. MIKHAIL (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Coptic Studies* (*Claremont CA, July 25-30 2016*), Leuven, forthcoming.

VORDERSTRASSE 2014 = T. VORDERSTRASSE, "Terms for Vessels in Arabic and Coptic Documentary Texts and Their Archaeological and Ethnographic Correlates", in P. SIJPESTEIJN - A.T. SCHUBERT (eds.), *Documents and the History of the Early Islamic World* (Islamic History and Civilization, 111), Leiden, 2014, pp. 195-234.

No Literary Manuscripts from Elephantine?

Andrea Hasznos – Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

Abstract
Working on the Coptic textual and manuscript material from the Elephantine and Aswan region, one sees a relatively large number of extant documentary texts, but very few literary ones. A process is underway of gathering what can be found in collections throughout the world and investigating the issue of texts from Elephantine within the ERC 'Elephantine' project of the Berlin Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection. This draws attention once again to the importance of 'museum archaeology' and provenance research, as well as analyses on materiality of manuscripts.

Keywords
online catalogues, Coptic literary manuscripts, Berlin, Elephantine, provenance of manuscripts, museum archaeology.

As is now well known, the 'PATHs' project is working on Coptic literary manuscripts with a geographical focus, which definitely fills a gap in Coptology. The *Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (*KOHD*) project,[1] of the Göttingen Academy, is also currently preparing an online database of the Coptic literary manuscripts in the Berlin Papyrus Collection.[2] Another Berlin-based project that I am a member of is the ERC 'Elephantine" project[3] of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, Berlin. It is producing an online database of Elephantine material in all languages and scripts (hieratic, demotic, Coptic, Aramaic, Greek, Latin), which will also include the texts with their translations.

The difference in the concept of these two databases is that *KOHD* includes only literary manuscript fragments[4] without restriction on the place of origin if they are in a German collection, while the 'Elephantine' database includes all text types but only those found in the Elephantine/Syene region, as that is the focus of the project, not restricting the present location of the objects to Germany.

In both projects, I work mainly on collection material, although there is some excavation material in both. There is a considerable difference between working on an excavation and working in a collection.

When processing the written material, which comes from the excavation itself, the provenance is given and the texts are more or less in context. When processing the material from a collection, however, one works with manuscripts which have been housed there and come into the collection from a very wide variety of sources: as a gift, as a result of a purchase, from excavations not properly documented, to mention only the most frequent cases. Many are not even documented or the documentation has been lost over time. That means that the provenance in many cases is not known, or not specific, which in turn makes it extremely difficult to put the given fragments into context and to connect them with other fragmen-

1 Members of the Coptic group: Ute Pietruschka, Joost Hagen, Andrea Hasznos. Head of project: Prof. Dr. Tilman Seidensticker, head of workgroup "Coptic": Prof. Dr. Heike Behlmer.

2 https://coptica.kohd.adw-goe.de/content/start.xml.

3 "Localizing 4000 Years of Cultural History. Texts and Scripts from Elephantine Island in Egypt" PI: Prof. Dr. Verena Lepper; https://www.smb.museum/museen-und-einrichtungen/aegyptisches-museum-und-papyrussammlung/sammeln-forschen/forschung/erc-projekt-elephantine-lokalisierung-von-4000-jahren-kulturgeschichte-texte-und-schriften-der-insel-elephantine-in-aegypten.html

4 However, now we are inserting, with shorter descriptions, hitherto unidentified and lesser known documentary fragments that we process in our work, in order to create a more comprehensive overview of the material.

ts that belonged to the same manuscript or collection. We are all painfully aware of this problem. It takes a considerable amount of effort to find and determine possible provenances for the fragments scattered all over the world. Even if one commits oneself to such an enterprise, the focus is mostly on the text, palaeography and physical features of the manuscript, while its geographical background tends to be neglected. And that is exactly why 'PAThs' is such a good initiative. It makes our manuscripts and texts more tangible in the ancient landscape of Egypt, places them in a geographical context, putting them on the map, which subsequently will help us to guess more connections and hopefully to draw more conclusions concerning manuscript production, scribal centres, literacy, dialects used, decorations and material applied in the different regions, and maybe to understand the spread and development of manuscript culture.

Working on a database like 'PAThs' obviously forces the researcher to dig deeper and investigate more thoroughly the background and possible origins of a manuscript.

1. *The manuscripts of the Berlin Papyrus Collection: what can one say about their provenance?*

One group of manuscripts, whose provenance is well known, is represented by the so-called Hamuli manuscripts. They come from present day Hamuli, in the Fayyum, from the Monastery of Saint Michael, a once pre-eminent monastic and scribal centre.[5] In the Berlin collection these are:

P. 11967: two leaves of an Antiphonary, which belong to M 575;[6]
P. 11966: a bifolio of an Isaiah-Codex, which belongs to M 568;[7]
P. 11965: *Encomium on the Four Bodiless Beasts*, which belongs to M 612.[8]

There are also manuscript fragments from the White Monastery, and, interestingly enough, in none of these cases does the inventory of the Berlin collection give any information about their provenance, since all were purchased from the antiquities market. So it is thanks to modern research that we know this.[9]

Several White Monastery fragments, preserved in certain collections, including that of Berlin, have found their other halves in other collections. The following pieces may be mentioned from the White Monastery:[10]

P. 8772: *Metastasis Ioannou*, MONB.MQ;[11]
P. 8776: *Legend of Gesios and Isidoros*;[12]
P. 8778:[13] *Gospel of Matthew*, MONB.KU;[14]

5 Depuydt 1993, esp. lv–lxxxix.

6 Beltz 1978, 110; Depuydt 1993, no. 58. In the colophon, no name survives of the scribe, but it was donated to the Monastery of Saint Michael.

7 Beltz 1978, 111; Depuydt 1993, no. 12. Also found at the site of Hamuli, but there is no colophon.

8 Beltz 1978, 111; Depuydt 1993, no. 96. The scribe is Isaac, i.e. Isac, residing in Ptepuhar. He was trained in Touton *scriptorium* or at least was a good imitator of the Touton style (Depuydt 1993, 187).

9 Another interesting and sometimes challenging question would be to see where a manuscript was housed and used, and where it was copied, as the two aspects do not always coincide. See Depuydt 1993, esp. lxxi. Whenever possible, in the 'PAThs' database each manuscript is connected to three places: 'place of production', 'place of storage', and 'place of discovery'.

10 Most of them probably made in Touton.

11 Beltz 1978, 110. Further fragments of the same manuscript: Paris, Louvre E 10015 + Paris, Louvre E 10094 + Bolaffi no. 4 See Suciu 2011. , who adds the fragments mentioned here to the list those related this manuscripts that were known before: https://alinsuciu.com/2011/09/22/a-further-fragment-from-the-apocryphal-acts-of-john-in-coptic-once-again-concerning-the-sotheby-bolaffi-fragments/.

12 Beltz 1978, 110. Further fragment that belongs to the same manuscript is Cairo, IFAO no. 163 (Suciu - Thomassen 2011, 480/fn.14).

13 BKU I, no. 169; Beltz 1978, 113; Schüssler 2011, sa 754.13. Further fragments that belong to the same manuscript are: Ann Arbor, UML, inv. 4969,34; Berlin, SBB, Ms. or. 1605, fol.5; Cairo, Coptic Museum, G 435; Cairo, Patriarchate no. 35; Leiden, RMO, Ms.Copte 52; London, BL, Or. 3579 B.10, ff. 16-17, Or. 3579 B.10, ff. 18, Or. 3579 B.22, f. 39, Oxford, BL, Copt.g. 98 (P); Paris, BnF, Copte 129(4) f. 1, Copte 129(4) f. 7, Copte 129(4) f. 8, Copte 129(4) f. 9, Copte 129(5) f. 94, Copte 129(5) f.. 95, Copte 129(6) f. 2, Copte 129(6) f. 5, Copte 129(6) f. 26-29, Copte 129(9) f. 75, Copte 129(9) ff. 80-85, Copte 129(10) f. 112, Copte 129(10) f. 163, Copte 129(10) f. 192, Copte 132(2) f. 134, Copte 132(2) f. 135, Copte 132(3) f. 195, Copte 132(3) f. 226, Copte 133(1) f. 34, Copte 133(1) f. 44a, Copte 133(1) f. 74d, Copte 133(1) f. 128a, Copte 133(19 f. 138, Copte 161(1) f. 15, Copte 161(1) f. 15a, Copte 161(1) f. 15c, Copte 161(1) f. 15e; Paris, BnF, ? (previously: Paris, Sammlung Weill); Rome, BAV, *Borg. copt.* 109, cass. XVIII, fasc. 67, f. 1-3; Wien, ÖNB, K 2619, K 2622; K 2683, K 9005, K 9041, K 9052, K 9096, K 9097, K 9350.

14 Buzi 2014, 107.

P. 8780:[15] *Gospel of Luke*, MONB.LB;
P. 8764:[16] *Life of Pachomius*, MONB.AG;
P. 8771:[17] Greek-Coptic liturgical codex (in Sahidic), MONB.NP;
P. 8777: Severianos of Gabala, *On the Archangel Michael*, MONB.DV;[18]
P. 8775:[19] *Gospel of John*, MONB.LA;
P. 10513: Shenoute, *Canon 7*, MONB.GN[20]
P. 10514: Literary text.[21]

The very famous Mani-codices fragments were purchased in Cairo in 1931 by Carl Schmidt, and given to the Museum in 1933 by August Pfeffer.[22] But in this particular instance, we are lucky enough to know the place of origin: Carl Schmidt managed to discover the provenance of the manuscripts thanks to his connections in the antiquities market: Medinet Madi in the Fayyum, in the cellar of a ruined house.[23]

P. 15996 contains the *Kephalaia*.[24] Most of the codex is in Berlin, whereas some pages are in Warsaw.[25]

In the Berlin Papyrus Collection there are numerous manuscripts fragments whose provenance is unknown for the time being, since they come from the "Antikenhandel", or are "Alter Bestand", according to the inventory: for example, the well-known and important P. 15926, that contains the *Acts* and was edited by Hintze-Schenke,[26] is of unknown provenance; similarly, P. 3259 (S) , that transmits the *Psalms* and was edited by Rahlfs,[27] although in this case we have information about the purchase itself: in 1889, in Thebes, from an antiquities dealer; lastly, P. 11946 (S), containing John and Psalms, edited by Luft,[28] was purchased by Carl Schmidt in Cairo in 1914.

There are pieces in the Berlin Collection, which come from excavations: the Rubensohn-Zucker excavations (1906-9) yielded many ostraca and papyri mainly from Ashmunein and Elephantine. Also in Ashmunein some literary fragments were found, or pages of codices. For example:

P. 10585 A+B: literary text with biblical quotes;[29]
P. 10586: A+B+C+D: Old Testament, Sapiential Books;[30]

15 Beltz 1978, 113, Schüssler 3.2, sa 525.11.1. Paris, BnF, Copte 132(4) f. 315 belongs to the same folio. The following leaves belong to the same codex (based on Schüssler 3.2): Cairo, Coptic Museum, Nr. 3874; Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 53; London, BL, Or.3579 B.24; Oxford, BL, Clarendon Press b.2; Paris, BnF, Copte 129(7) f. 26, Copte 129(7) f. 27, Copte 129(9) f. 90, Copte 129(9) f. 94, Copte 129(9) f. 98, 101, Copte 129(10) f. 103, Copte 129(10) ff. 132-137, Copte 129(10) f. 183, Copte 129(10) f. 199, Copte 132(2) f.126, Copte 132(3) f. 233, Copte 133(1) f. 44, Copte 133(1) f. 124, Copte 133(1) f. 126, Copte 133(1) f. 215; Paris, Louvre, AF 12415; Roma, BAV, *Borg. copt.* 109 cass. XIX, fasc. 74, ff. 1-2, cass. XIX, fasc. 74, fol.3-4; cass. XIX, fasc. 74, fol.5; Strasbourg, BNU, Copte 29; Wien, ÖNB, K 2587, K 2623, K 2629, K 2686, K 2687, K 9092, K 9093, K 9094.

16 BKU I, no. 191; Beltz 1978, 110. Further fragments of the same manuscript aLondon, BL, Or. 3581 B (79); London, BL, Or. 6954 (34); London, BL, Or. 6954 (39); Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IB.01.1 (31-34); Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IB.01.1 (35-37); Paris, BnF, Copte 129(12) f.61; Paris, BnF, Copte 131(7) f.50; Wien, ÖNB, K9560; Wien, ÖNB K9441.

17 BKU I, no. 173; Leipoldt 1903; Henner 2000, 92-128. It belonged to manuscript Z 108,3 with: Roma, BAV, *Borg. copt*. 109/108, 3, *Borg. copt.* 109/97,1; Paris, BnF, Copte 129(19) f. 73, Copte 129(20), f. 151; Copte 129(20), f. 153; Wien, ÖNB, *P.Vindob.* G. 39789; London, BL, Or. 3580A (15), Or. 6954 (22), Or. 6954 (24), Or. 6954 (28).

18 BKU I, No. 190; Beltz 1978, 110. The addition of this Berlin fragment to codex MONB.DV is based on a personal communication with Alin Suciu (2018) who made this identification.

19 BKU I, No. 174; Beltz 1978, 113; Schüssler sa 532.2; further fragments of the same manuscript are based on Schüssler 3.2: Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 60; London, BL, Or. 3579 B38, Or. 3579 B.45; Paris, BnF, Copte 129(9) f. 51, Copte 129(9) f. 52, Copte 129(10) f. 150, Copte 129(10) f. 200, Copte 133,2 f. 86; Roma, BAV, *Borg. copt.* 109, cass. XIX, fasc. 72; Wien, ÖNB, K 9112bis.

20 Beltz 1978, 113.

21 Beltz 1978, 112.

22 P. 15995, P. 15996, P. 15997, P. 15998 (Beltz 1978, 97-98).

23 Polotsky 1935-1940, IV. Although some scholars have doubts about this information.

24 Edition by Polotsky - Böhlig 1935-1940.

25 Beltz 1978, 98.

26 Hintze-Schenke 1970; Beltz 1978, 96.

27 Rahlfs 1901; Beltz 1978, 111; Schüssler 2011, sa 35.

28 Luft 1976; Beltz 1978, 114; Schüssler 2011, sa 610.

29 Luke 9:61; Matthew 13:48; Romans 16:19; cf. Jeremiah 4:22; Beltz 1978, 115 (unidentified).

30 Beltz 1978, 112; Feder 2002; Schüssler 2011, sa 125.

P. 11945: unidentified text;[31]
P. 11948: Epistle by Athanasius;[32]
P. 11950: *Gospel of John*;[33]
P. 22146: *Letter of James*;[34]
P. 22149 (*Gospel of Matthew*);[35] also noteworthy are Greek literary fragments: one example is P.13272 parchment fragment with *Pastor Hermae* from the late fourth century.[36]

What adds to the difficulties in the interpretation of these manuscripts is the fact that, even if there was an official excavation, there still seem to be pieces, which were acquired ("erworben", "gekauft") at the time of it, but do not come from the excavation proper, like for example P.11949 (*Gospel of John*).[37]

2. *No literary works from Elephantine?*

Working first on the Rubensohn Bibliothek some years ago, I collected and processed the Coptic pieces in the Berlin Papyrus Collection which came from the Elephantine excavations, or had been inventarised by Hintze[38] as coming from them, based on content and other features, and noted that there is not a single piece containing literary texts. With the onset of my work in the ERC Elephantine project, I started entering into the database all the Elephantine manuscripts and numerous Coptic pieces from Aswan known so far, belonging to twenty-one collections worldwide. It should be noted that many are probably still hidden in several collections, uninventarised, while others might be falsely labelled 'Elephantine', due to the fact that most of that material is not 'direct excavation' material, but came into these collections from the most varied sources, with different levels of documentation, etc. But, getting back to the point, even in that larger assortment of some 400 pieces (most of which are debt acknowledgements, letters, accounts, lists and tombstones), there are only eight literary pieces:

1) two of them are from the Monneret de Villard excavation at Deir Anba Hadra, and are now preserved in Cairo:

   - *Life of Pachomius*, fragment, papyrus;[39]
   - *Apocalypse* 1.1 – 1.15, 4.9 – 5.13, fragment, in Sahidic, parchment;[40]

2) five parchment and one paper fragments were found by Munier in an envelope with 'Assouan, 1909' written on it, preserved in the Cairo Museum. Munier suspected that they all come from Anba Hadra:[41]

   - *Journal d'entrée* no. 48083: *Psalms* 137:3 – 138:23: a little cahier, four parchment leaves;
   - *Journal d'entrée* no. 48084: *Epistle to the Hebrews* 13:12-to the end, and *Epistle to the Galatians* 1:1-2; 4:12-29: two parchment leaves bound together;
   - *Journal d'entrée* no. 48085: '*Book of Enoch* (?)' according to Munier's publication, in fact the text is Ps.-Chrysostom's *Encomium on the Four Bodiless Creatures*;
   - *Journal d'entrée* no. 48086: *Martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian*, two very fragmentary parchment leaves;
   - *Journal d'entrée* no. 48087: *Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian*: two large parchment leaves, very regular script;

31 BELTZ 1978, 118.
32 BELTZ 1978, 111; CAMPLANI 1998, 191-246; PIEPER 1938.
33 BELTZ 1978, 114; SCHÜSSLER 2011, sa 696.
34 BKU III, 379.
35 BKU III, 377.
36 STEGMÜLLER 1937, 456-459.
37 BELTZ 1978, 114; SCHÜSSLER 2011, sa 727.
38 HINTZE 1977.
39 LEFORT 1941b, 135-138; LEFORT 1943.
40 LEFORT 1941a, 107-110. According to LEFORT 1941, 107/n. 4, the orthography and other features suggest that the codex was written in Lower Egypt (the leaves were discovered together with a group of fragments in Bohairic dialect written in Nitriote majuscule). The manuscript was transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1925.
41 MUNIER 1923; they have the *Journal d'entrée* number but nothing else. See also PEARSON 2002, 375-383.

- *Journal d'entrée* no. 48088: Sermon, on one paper folio, stained and torn.

However, all of these come from the other bank of the Nile, Aswan West. What about Coptic literary fragments on Elephantine itself? The Rubensohn-Zucker excavation boxes in the Berlin Papyrus Collection with papyrus fragments yet to be inventarised hold some pieces, which range in size from small to minute. Only one or two of them have something like a codex script and may therefore have originally come from codices, or at least literary texts in some form or another.

Work is in progress on them within the ERC Elephantine project. An important part of the project is the technical, scientific research on material supports and inks. Virtual unfolding (using tomography)[42] of fragile papyrus rolls or packages is making significant progress, and its first authentic object[43] was to unfold a Coptic papyrus 'package' from the Louvre. Through this process, a very neat codex script became visible, although unfortunately only a noun and its article: 'The Lord'. Was it a codex? Sadly, we have nothing more at the moment from the island.

Now, the reasons for, and possible causes of, the lack of literary manuscripts should be investigated.

We may naturally presume that the area had been looted for the more handsome manuscripts and fragments which entered the antiquities trade circuit and are now either in private hands, or in collections around the world without any indication of provenance. It is therefore crucial to make material examinations on the papyri and parchments which are known with certainty to come from the region, because comparison should make it possible to identify manuscript fragments around the world as originating from the Elephantine-Aswan region. Further 'museum archaeology' must be carried out to find, among the still unidentified manuscript fragments of collections, texts from Elephantine based on colophons or other. Researching the documentary texts is also important, as one might find book lists like, for example, in Western-Thebes,[44] which might give us clues as to what was read in Late Antique and early Islamic Elephantine.

Another possible reason for the lack of manuscripts would be – although rather implausible –, that there were no libraries in the monastic communities in the area. However, even if it is a 'less-reading' environment, we would have to presume that, in the churches, lectionaries were used to read from. One might find some evidence in support of that. Three texts from Elephantine mention *anagnostes*: Berlin ostracon P. 44[45] has Petros the rea[der], Louvre AF 12594 has Abraam, son of Jakobos the reader,[46] a Greek ostracon has Aurelios Papnouthis, son of Victor, lector of the church of Elephantine.[47] Probably, just as at Syene, the expression 'the church of Elephantine' denotes the most important church of the island, the Episcopal church.[48] And where there are *anagnostes*, there are probably things to read out from. Further proof that there was a 'reading' community on the island comes from the Rubensohn-Zucker excavations: ostracon P. 12683[49] contains the so-called *Lesser Doxology*, in Greek, from the fifth century, with somewhat incorrect grammar; it is certainly a liturgical piece, used by a priest, a deacon, an *anagnostes*, or a member of the community – such ostraca with liturgical text are encountered often in Egypt, and Western Thebes is especially rich in them. They were probably used as the *Gesangbücher* today (more durable and less expensive than papyrus). This particular piece is in Greek, but Greek and Coptic go hand in hand in the liturgical sphere of Christian Egypt.[50] It might very well come from the pen of a native Copt: looking at the script, it seems very likely, as also in the abbreviated ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ (*pneumati*) form. By all accounts, this piece is evidence of an existing Christian community with written texts. Further evidence of a monastic community is provided by two non-literary ostraca bearing letters that talk about administrative issues: in Louvre E 32584 Psan the priest is writing to Psan the *oikonomos*: the *oikonomos* should give somebody eight bundles of reed/alfa grass (ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲕⲉⲙ). In Louvre E 32585 Moses is writing to Psan the *oikonomos* to

42 Baum *et al.* 2017

43 In the testing phase, it was done on mock-ups.

44 Several in *P.Mon.Epiph.*: 554, 556, 557; CO Ad.23; a list on ostracon first published by Bouriant, see Bouriant 1889 and Coquin 1975.

45 Unedited.

46 Bacot - Heurtel 2000, 21.

47 Jenkins 1998, 61.

48 Dijkstra 2005, 199.

49 Stegmüller 1937.

50 Mihálykó 2019.

give somebody else six bundles of reed/alfa grass (ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲙ). The material mentioned is used for mats. Weaving mats is a very typical activity of the monks in Egypt, and *oikonomos* is an administrator (financial official?) of monasteries (or, admittedly, of other organisations), which make it very possible that we see the functioning of a monastery in these letters. And where is the library of this monastery? Hopefully it will surface in the near future.

References

BACOT - HEURTEL 2000 = S. BACOT - C. HEURTEL, "Ostraca coptes d'Éléphantine au Musée du Louvre", in N. BOSSON (ed.), *Études coptes* VII. *Neuvième journée d'études*, Montpellier 3-4 juin 1999, Paris - Leuven, 2000, pp. 17-45.

BAUM *et al.* 2017 = D. BAUM - N. LINDOW - H.-C. HEGE - V. LEPPER - T. SIOPI - F. KUTZ - K. MAHLOW - H.-E. MAHNKE, "Revealing Hidden Text in Rolled and Folded Papyri", *Applied Physics A*, 123, 2017, https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs00339-017-0808-6.pdf.

BELTZ 1978 = W. BELTZ, "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Teil I)", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 26, 1978, pp. 57-119.

BOURIANT 1889 = U. BOURIANT, "Notes de voyage: 1. Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Couvent d`Amba Hélias", *Receuil de Travaux*, 11, 1889, pp. 131-138.

BUZI 2014 = P. BUZI, *The Manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Part 4. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XXI, Coptic Manuscripts, 7), Stuttgart, 2014.

CAMPLANI 1998 = A. CAMPLANI, "Atanasio e Eusebio tra Alessandria e Antiochia (362-363): Osservazioni sul *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, l'*Epistula catholica* e due fogli copti (edizione di Pap.Berol. 11948)", in E. DAL COVOLO - R. UGLIONE - G.M. VIAN (eds.), *Eusebio di Vercelli e il suo tempo*, Roma, 1998, pp. 191-246.

COQUIN 1975 = R.-G. COQUIN, "Le catalogue de la bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Élie "du rocher" (Ostracon IFAO 13315)", *Bulletin d'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 75, 1975, pp. 207-239.

CRUM - EVELYN WHITE 1926 = W. E. CRUM - H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, Part II. Coptic Ostraca and Papyri. Greek Ostraca and Papyri*, New York, 1926.

DEPUYDT 1993 = L. DEPUYDT, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, I-II (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4-5, Oriental series, 1-2), Leuven, 1993.

DIJKSTRA 2005 = J.H.F. DIJKSTRA, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity* (*AD 298 – 642*), PhD dissertation, Gröningen, 2005.

FEDER 2002 = F. FEDER, "Koptische Bibelfragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung I. Fragmente von Proverbien (31,26-31) und Sirach (Prol. 4,2-6,4) aus einem Codex mit Weisheitsbüchern", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 48.1, 2002, pp. 159-174.

HENNER 2000 = J. HENNER, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 5), Berlin, 2000.

HINTZE 1977 = F. HINTZE, "Berliner koptische Ostraka aus Elephantine", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 104, 1977, pp. 97-112.

HINTZE - SCHENKE 1970 = F. HINTZE - H.-M. SCHENKE, *Die Berliner Handschrift der sahidischen Apostelgeschichte* (*P. 15926*), Berlin, 1970.

JENKINS 1998 = M.R. JENKINS, "Two Christian Period Finds on Elephantine Island", *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*, 9, 1998, pp. 61-64.

KÖNIGLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN 1904 = *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, hrsg. von der Generalverwaltung, Koptische Urkunden, 1. Bd. (= BKU I), Berlin, 1904.

LEFORT 1941a = L.-Th. LEFORT, "Le prologue de l'Apocalypse en sahidique", *Le Muséon*, 54, 1941, pp. 107-110.

LEFORT 1941b = L.-Th. LEFORT, "Glanures pachômiennes", *Le Muséon*, 54, 1941, pp. 111-138.

LEFORT 1943 = L.-Th. LEFORT, *Les vies coptes de Saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs* (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 16), Louvain, 1943.

LEIPOLDT 1903 = J. LEIPOLDT, "Bruchstücke von zwei griechisch-koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments", *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 4, 1903, pp. 350-351.

LUFT 1976 = U. LUFT, "Bruchstücke eines saidischen Johannesevangeliums und Psalters (Berlin P 11946)", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 24/25, 1976, pp. 157-170.

Mihálykó 2019 = Á.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 114), Tübingen, 2019.

Munier 1923 = H. Munier, "Melanges de litterature copte III, Manuscrits coptes sa'idiques d'Assouan", *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, 23, 1923, pp. 210-228.

Pearson 2002 = B.A. Pearson, "The Munier Enoch Fragments Revisited", in H.-G. Bethge - S. Emmel, - K.L. King, - I. Schletterer (eds.), *For the Children: Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 54), Leiden, 2002, pp. 375-383.

Pieper 1938 = M. Pieper, "Zwei Blätter aus dem Osterbrief des Athanasius vom Jahre 364 (Pap.Berol.11948)", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 37, 1938, pp. 73-76.

Polotsky - Böhlig 1935-1940 = H.-J. Polotsky - A. Böhlig, *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin.* Hrsg. im Auftrage der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Prof. Carl Schmidt, Band 1: *Kephalaia.* 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1-10) mit einem Beitrag von Hugo Ibscher, Stuttgart, 1935-1940.

Rahlfs 1901 = A. Rahlfs, *Die Berliner Handschrift des sahidischen Psalters* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, IV/4), Berlin, 1901.

Satzinger 1967-1968 = H. Satzinger (ed.), *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Koptische Urkunden,* 3. Bd. (= BKU III), Berlin, 1967-1968.

Schüssler 1996 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten sa 21-48*, 1.2, Wiesbaden, 1996.

Schüssler 2003 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten sa 521-540*, 3.2, Wiesbaden, 2003.

Schüssler 2007 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten sa 586-620*, 4.1, Wiesbaden, 2007.

Schüssler 2010 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten sa 673-720*, 4.3, Wiesbaden, 2010.

Schüssler 2011 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten sa 721-780*, 4.4, Wiesbaden, 2011.

Schüssler 2012 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Vollständiges Verzeichnis mit Standorten sa 121-184*, 2.1, Wiesbaden, 2012.

Stegmüller 1937 = O. Stegmüller, "Christliche Texte aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung", *Aegyptus*, 17, 1937, pp. 452-462.

Suciu 2011 = A. Suciu, *A Further Fragment from the Apocryphal Acts of John in Coptic: Once Again Concerning the Sotheby-Bolaffi Fragments*, https://alinsuciu.com/2011/09/22/a-further-fragment-from-the-apocryphal-acts-of-john-in-coptic-once-again-concerning-the-sotheby-bolaffi-fragments/ (accessed 16.9.2019), 2011.

Suciu - Thomassen 2011 = A. Suciu - E. Thomassen, "An Unknown "Apocryphal" Text from the White Monastery", in P. Buzi - A. Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi*, Roma, 2011, pp. 477-499.

A New *Bifolium* from the Monastery of Anbā Hadrà (Ms. Roma, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 280.C1) as Historical Source for the Coptic Episcopal See of Aswān*

Agostino Soldati - Sapienza Università di Roma

Abstract
This paper offers the first edition of the texts preserved by a parchment *bifolium* kept in the Biblioteca Corsiniana of Rome. Since it bears traces of binding, it could had belonged to the final part of a lost codex. The left page of the hair-side hosts a note due to the very hand of Phoibammōn, bishop of Syene, commemorating his episcopal enthronement, which took place on June 10th, 1060 CE. This bishop was already attested by the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* for the year 1086. The hair-side preserves, upside-down, on the left page a portion of the intercessions for the defuncts of the Greek liturgy of Saint Mark / Saint Cyril, and, on the right page, a Coptic devotional text of uneasy interpretation with biblical and patristic quotations and, at the end, traces of what seems to be a scribal subscription. The liturgical passage exhibits interesting lexical and thematic detours from the text conveyed by the Kacmarcik codex and follows the same order observed in the Great Euchologium of the White Monastery.

Keywords
Syene, Aswān, bishopric, parchment, *memento*, liturgy.

The monastery of Anbā Hadrà in Aswān (Egypt) was excavated by Ugo Monneret de Villard between 1924 and 1926. In 1935, the rich collection of written material unearthed by the Italian archaeologist and orientalist in that site was donated to the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome, where it is still kept, in the so-called "Fondo Caetani". The collection, which is today almost completely unpublished, consists of a number of large fragments of Coptic literary codices, some phylacteries with Greek and Coptic prayers and a few Coptic and Arabic documentary and para-literary texts. Some of the latter, of alchemic, magic and practical content, appeared in the 1931's issue of *Islamica*, edited by David Samuel Margoulioth and Eric John Holmyard.[1]

If one excludes a tenth/eleventh century private letter (*P.Linceo Copto* 1), which I have edited in the last issue of *Aegyptus*, addressed to a monk of the Syenite coenobium of Anbā Hadrà (ll.4-5: ϩⲙ̂ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲧⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲁ`ⲧ´|[ⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃ]ⲁ̣ⲛ), all the other Coptic fragments are still unexplored.[2] Among these, a documentary piece worthy of attention is a *memento* preserved on a somewhat crinkled parchment *bifolium* (Roma, Bibl. Corsiniana, 280.C1), written by the very hand of a bishop of Aswān on the occasion of his episcopal appointment. The autographic note of the bishop appears in the left page of the flesh-side of the parch-

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it. I would like to thank Valentina Sagaria Rossi, learned keeper of the oriental manuscripts of the Biblioteca Corsiniana (accessed March 2020) for her support and the generous permission to study this manuscript. I owe my deepest gratitude to Anne Boud'hors, Philippe Luisier SJ and Tonio Sebastian Richter for their learned suggestions. All remaining mistakes are only mine.

1 A survey of the written material held in Fondo Caetani is offered in Lincei 1935; the edition of the most interesting Arabic documents appeared in Margoulioth and Holmyard 1931. The cataloguing and the edition of the Coptic papyri, parchments and papers held in the library is entrusted to Tito Orlandi, who will coordinate an *ad hoc* working group of specialists. As regards the excavations of the site, see Monneret de Villard 1925; Monneret de Villard 1926; Monneret de Villard 1927; Dekker 2013. For the excavations currently underway by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut under the direction of S. Richter, see https://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/63443 (accessed March 2020). A mention of the *bifolium* here published is carefully reported in Dekker 2015, 2, no. 5.

2 Soldati 2018.

ment. On the hair-side, upside down, two devotional texts, one Greek, the other Coptic, have been copied by quite coarse literary hands. Behind the Coptic one the page is blank but in the lower part. There some *lusus calami* can be discerned: the shape of a majuscule hori and the sketch of an eagle. The envelope containing the *bifolium* also hosts a somewhat flawed transcription of the text of the *memento* ascribable to the hand of Monneret de Villard. Beside the final mention of the date bore by the text, ⲯⲟⲋ, the Milanese scholar noted down the conversion to Gregorian calendar: '776 a M. | 284 | 1060 e.v.'. A somehow cryptic allusion to our *memento*, without any explicit hint to it, is also to be found in the major monography Monneret de Villard dedicated to the monastery: 'un vescovo Phoibamôn viveva nel 1060: le vite dei Patriarchi citano un vescovo di nome Befam nell'anno 1086'.[3]

The extant holes of the binding (cm 4; 7,5; 13,5; 17,5) reveal that the *bifolium* was part of a lost manuscript of a tiny size (cm 16 x 20,8). Due to their rough appearance, the aforementioned bilingual texts did not clearly belong to the works copied into the codex. Rather, they seem to be devotional texts due to an occasional reader of the book, who had decided to fill in its final blank pages, see below. A prominent reader was the one who drafted the *memento*. Its last lines contain the core of the historical information: the note was written by Phibamōn, bishop of Aswān, on the day of his enthronement 'the third day of Paōni, the year is the 776(th) from Diocletian of the time of Martyrs', that is to say June 10th, 1060 CE. This is not the only document witnessing the existence of this high prelate: another relevant record is to be found in the book dedicated to Cyril II (who reigned for fifteen years from 1078 CE) of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, composed by a contemporary of his, the so-called continuator of Sāwīrus b. al-Muqaffaʿ, Yūḥannā ibn Ṣāʿid bin Yaḥyà bin Mīnā, also known as Ibn al-Qulzumī.[4] The author writes about a serious controversy which arose between the patriarch and the bishops of Lower Egypt (اساقفة من بحرى). Together with the dignitaries of the Christian community in Cairo (اراخنة من مصر), they complained that Cyril retained in his service five persons – two bishops, an unfrocked monk, a scribe and a monk – who were allegedly most unfit companions for him (هوذا يصحبك من يفسد احوال الشعب), and they asked him to remove them. They obtained from the patriarch a signed document (مدرج) in which he declared that he would comply with their requests; but, in spite of this, Cyril dismissed only one of the clerks in question, the monk, fearing lest, by indulging the demands of the bishops of Lower Egypt, he should seem to acknowledge their authority over him (عليه الحاكمين والا صار كأنه من تحت امرهم وكانهم). Thus, the priests appealed to the civil authority, and they presented letters of complaint to the *wazīr* Badr al-Ǧamālī, the Armenian *mamlūk* appointed by the caliph as *amīr al-ǧuyūš*, commander-in-chief of the armies.[5] The bishops were assisted by a certain Joseph (Yasīb), his superintendent of the gardens (خولى بساتين الاجل امير الجيوش وكان خصيصا به). The *wazīr* summoned Cyril to his Cairene gardens at aẓ-Ẓāhir, with all his bishops on August 16th, 1086 CE (في يوم السبت الثالث والعشرين من مسرى سنة ثمان ماية واثنين للشهدا الموافق لسنة خمس وسبعين واربع ماية الخرجية), and at this audience, he severely rebuked the bishops for having neglected to bestow upon their patriarch the honour which was due to him, and he ordered both Cyril and his opponents to draw up a compendium of their canons (مجموع قوانين الدين) in support of their respective claims. Three weeks later, the *wazīr* convened again the patriarch and his bishops before him, and he exhorted them all to concord and mutual charity, and cautioned them against the vice of avarice, and having ordered the patriarch to promulgate the canons which he had drawn up, he dismissed them all in peace. These events which led to the promulgation of a new code of the canon law are recorded in detail by Ibn al-Qulzumī, who likewise furnishes us with an important list of the bishops who were summoned to Cairo on this occasion by the patriarch. From this list we learn that there were in Egypt at this time as many as fifty-four bishoprics, all of which were occupied. One of the last entries of the list of the twenty-two bishops of Ṣaʿīd partaking in the Cairo synod is that of a *Bifām isqaf Aswān* (بفام اسقف اسوان), in all likelihood, the same Phoibammōn, bishop of Aswān, who wrote our *memento*.

Thanks to our manuscript we now know that, when the Cairo synod was convened, the Syenite prelate was already in office for almost twenty-six years, having been appointed in 1060 CE during the patriarchate of Christodoulos. Plausibly, his whole bishopric took place under the reign of the eighth Fāṭimid caliph Abū Tamīm Maʿad al-Mustanṣir bi-ʾllāh (1036-1094), the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler.[6]

3 Monneret de Villard 1927, 146.

4 Atiya *et al.* 1959, 332-337, and Burmester 1936. See also Munier 1943, 26-29.

5 Becker 1960.

6 Gibb - Kraus 1993.

In this perspective, the parchment *bifolium* of the Lyncean library constitutes a new, precious supplement to the poorly known chronotaxis of the Coptic episcopal see of Aswān.[7]

1. *The Greek text* (Fig. 1)

The seventeen almost fully extant lines hosted in the left page of the hair-side are written in a very common sloping majuscule which could be compared with the quite older examples of Cavallo - Maehler 1987, 53a; 53b; 54b; 54c, cp. Crisci 2018, 46*a*-51*a*; Mihálykó 2019, 85-92. The upper margin is crossed by horizontal lines interspersed by couples of *hamuli* under which a fragmentary title "funeral service of the Apostle(s)" (l. 1:]ⲟⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ), written by the same hand in letters of smaller size, is inserted. The sole abbreviations are to be observed in ⲑⲉⲱ^{ⲇ} ⲑⲉⲟⲙⲏ̄|ⲣⲟⲥ (ll. 5-6). There are no signs of interpunction but a certain deliberate spacing between words or clusters is to be appreciated. The language is a definitely abherrant Greek exhibiting many phonetical aberrations, the advanced decay of the declensional system and the not surprising recourse to some Coptic letters (l. 15: ⲃⲟⲟϯⲧⲟⲥ; l. 3: the presumable inherent vowel in ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲧⲟⲍⲟⲛ = ⲡⲁⲛⲛ̄ⲇⲟⲍⲟⲛ; l. 12: probably the same expedient in ⲉⲡⲕ̣ⲣⲟⲛ = ⲉⲡⲕ̄ⲣⲟⲛ; l. 17: ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲙⲉϯⲁ) as well as to Coptic formative elements (l. 1: ⲛⲛ-ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ; l. 17: ⲛ-ⲁⲕⲟⲙⲉϯⲁ, cp. *ad l.*), that is to say all the well-known features of the pidgin-Greek usual among Christians of Islamic Egypt. The general comprehension of the text is sometimes complicated by a certain usual legastheny exhibited by an evidently Coptic speaker in writing learned Greek compounds, whose meaning, in all likelihood, escaped him.

The text appears to be a prayer with substantial reminiscences of, if not the very passage of, a section of the intercessions *pro defunctis* of the liturgy of St Mark - St Cyril, enhanced by interesting textual additions. Overall, the text seems to adhere substantially to the Coptic version preserved by the Great Euchologion of the White Monastery, being still far from the long-winded verbiage of the Greek version conveyed, for example, by the Kacmarcik codex. As it could be observed in the Great Euchologion, after the mentions of the Virgin Mary, of Saint John the Baptist and of Saint Stephen there is solely a concise hint to the whole 'choir of the saints'.[8] The iterated polysyndetus through ⲕⲉ could recall the long sequences of words connected by ⲁⲩⲱ typical of the Coptic text. As already noticed, the text exhibits many interesting features: beside some epithets unusual in this anaphora, we read what seems to be a not otherwise attested allusion to the ἀνώδινος ὠδίν (to use the oxymoronic expression occurring in Gr. Nyss., *De trid.* 276 Gebhardt; *In Cant.* 388 Langerbeck) of Mary at ll. 7-8, see *ad l.*

As it is customary, I give a transcription of the text in Coptic characters, followed by a normalized version in Greek characters.

[± 6]ⲟ̣ⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
[± 5]ⲕ̣ⲏⲁⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲟ̣ⲓ ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲁⲥ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲁ-
ⲛⲁⲕⲓⲁⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲧⲟⲍⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲕ-
ⲣ̣ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲩⲗⲟⲕⲓⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ
[ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲅⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲱⲇ(ⲟⲕⲟⲩ) ⲕⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲙⲏⲧⲟ-
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲱⲧⲉⲕⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲁⲅⲓⲁⲛ-
ⲧⲱⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲧⲏⲥ
ⲅⲓⲉⲛⲉⲥⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲗⲏⲙⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲩ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲟⲩ ⲡ-

7 The mention of Phoibammōn occurring in the list is opportunely registered in Timm 1984, 225 and in Fedalto 1988, 654 (60.19.23 SYENE), but neither seems to having taken the albeit sibylline reference of Monneret de Villard to the *memento* here published.

8 For the corresponding textual section of the Ṣa'īdic fragment of the liturgy of St. Cyril, see Lietzmann 1928, 8-19: 10 = Lanne 1953, 292-293, cp. also Hänggi - Pahl 1968, 135-139. A neat perspective upon the different structures of the *intercessio* in Coptic liturgies is provided by Hammerschmidt 1957, 139-142: 141. For the same intercession in the Greek version of the liturgy preserved by the Kacmarcik codex, see Macomber 1979, 84. The Greek text reconstructed by Cumings 1990 sounds much more concise. A general survey on the extant Greek and Coptic witnesses of the anaphora in Henner 2000, 21-24. The oldest Greek fragments of the anaphorae are collected by Hammerstaedt 1999. An up to date survey of the relevant Coptic sources from the southern domain in Atanassova 2014.

ⲣ̣ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲙⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲁⲣ-
ⲑⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲏ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲉⲡⲕ̣ⲣⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥⲥ ⲕⲉⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ
ⲕⲉ ⲃⲟⲟ†ⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛ
ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ
ⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲙⲉ†ⲁ ⲕⲉ ⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ

5. ⲑⲉⲱ^{ⲇ} ⲑⲉⲟⲙⲏ̈|ⲣⲟⲥ

[---] [---] ὁσία τοῦ ἀποστόλου [---] ? καὶ πρεσβείας τῆς παναγίας καὶ πανενδόξου καὶ παναχράντου καὶ πανευλογημένου καὶ ἀπειρογάμου θεοτόκου καὶ θεομήτορος καὶ (θεο) τικτούσης (?) καὶ ἀμιάντου (?) καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Μαρίας αὐτῆς γενεσίμου τοῦ ἀτλημονεστέρου, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεοῦ προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ καὶ παρθένου καὶ μάρτυρος καὶ θεορρήμονος καὶ ἐπικούρου σωτῆρος καὶ προφήτου καὶ μετανοίας κήρυκος καὶ βοηθοῦ, Στεφάνου πρώτου ἀρχιδιακόνου καὶ πρώτου μάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων κομιτίων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων.

[---] funeral service of the Apostles(s) | [---] guidance/prayer (?) and intercession of the al|l-holy and wholly glorious and wholly unde|filed and wholly blessed and | unaware of carnal intercourse God-bearing and mother of | God and bringing forth God and immacu|late and of the divine, of Mary herself, | delivery without pangs, | of Saint John the precurso|r of God and Baptist and vir|gin and martyr and from God spea|king and ally of the Saviour and pro|phet and herald of repentance | and helper, of Stephen, first | archdeacon and first martyr | and prince and of the assembly of the holy Martyrs and of the Saints.

2-8: the request of the intercession of Mary in the Great Euchologium sounds (ⲗⲑ, 14-17): ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ | ⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ⲧⲉⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ | ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲓ̈ⲙ ⲑⲁ̅|ⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ, whilst in *Ḫūlāǧī* 1960, p. ⲫ̅ⲡ̅ⲋ̅/٥٨٦ is: ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ̀ ⲇⲉ ⲑⲏⲉ̀ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ ⲛ́ⲱ̀ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲙ́ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ́ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ : ϯⲑⲉⲟ́ⲧⲟⲕⲟⲥ ⲉ́ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϯⲁ́ⲅⲓⲁ́ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ̀. The Kacmarcik codex has (f. 119v): ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ὑπερενδόξου, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· †ης λεχθι η αυτη† (ἣ ἐλέχθη αὐτὴ ὑπὸ, R. Larson, see below) τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς φωνῆς ἐπιλεγούσης κτλ.

2. ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲁⲥ: for the change (ει>)ι>υ, cp. Gignac 1976, 269-271. Between the word and the preceding ⲕⲉ a faded ο̣ι can be discerned, perhaps a phonetic writing of an aberrant article ἡ. Considered the initial relics]ⲕ̣ⲏⲁⲥ, one could restore the formulaic cluster εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις, occurring in similar context, e.g., both in the liturgy of St Gregory of Nyssa (*PG* XXXVI, col. 720) and in the one of St. Basil (*PG* XXXI, col. 1641); subordinately, a possible restitution could be also ὁδηγίας καὶ πρεσβείαις. If the faint ο̣ι would hide a defaced δι(ά), cp. e.g. the *iunctura* ἵλεως γένου ταῖς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν διὰ τὰς (ms. της) πρεσβείας αὐτῶν τὰς ὁσίας in a immediately subsequent passage of the text preserved by the Kacmarcik codex (f. 120v, Macomber 1979, 84).

2-3. ⲡⲁ|ⲛⲁⲕⲓⲁⲥ: for the common surdisation of γ, see Gignac 1976, 79, c.1.

3. ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲧⲟⲝⲟⲛ: probably to be uttered ⲡⲁⲛⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲝⲟⲛ. For the trivial surdisation of δ, see Gignac 1976, 81, b.1.a; for the epithet πανένδοξος in particular and the whole verbiage cp. e.g. Ps. Io. Chrys., *In nov. Dom.*, *PG* LXIII, col. 928: πρεσβείαις τῆς πανενδόξου, πανυμνήτου, ὑπερευλογημένης, καὶ κεχαριτωμένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.

3-4. ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲕ|ⲣ̣ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲛ: for the deaspiration of χ, see Gignac 1976, 89-90, c.1.a; the adjective πανάχραντος as an attribute of the Holy Virgin, occurs e.g. in Ps. Mac. *Preces*, *PG* XXXIV, col. 448: πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, καὶ πάντων σου τῶν ἁγίων; and in Ps. Hypp. *De consum. mundi*, I, *GCS* 1.2, 289: ἐκ τῆς παναχράντου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας.

4. ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲩⲗⲟⲕⲓⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ: the rare adjective, as far as I know, occurs in Germ. I, *Hom. de dorm.*, 15, see Wenger 1958, 52.

5. [ⲁ]ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲅⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩ: at least for the gemination of μ, see Gignac 1976, 157-158, 2.b, and Holton *et al.* 2019a, 139. For its use as epithet of the Holy Virgin, see Lampe 1961, 180*a*, s.v. ἀπειρόγαμος, 2.

ⲑⲉⲱⲇ(ⲟⲕⲟⲩ): it seems likely a writing of θεοτόκος exhibiting sonorisation of τ, rather than a 'Nestorian' θεοδόχος, about which see Lampe 1961, 625*a*, s.h.v.

7. ⲧⲏⲥ: it seems to be the vulgar Greek unemphatic form of the personal pronoun αὐτῆς, cp. Jannaris 1897, 153, § 530; Psaltes 1913, 194; Schwyzer 1939, 614; Gignac 1981, 165, 3.b.; Holton 2019b, 881-882, 5.3.2.3.3. Although it is not easy to reconstruct the original phrasing which the writer was striving to reproduce, one could suppose the presence of a *pronomen abundans* or, better, a resumptive pronoun without any relative connection, cp. Bakker 1974, 19-22, or, more simply, a use of (αὐ)τῆς in the post-classical meaning of "aforesaid", cp. Blass - Debrunner 1997, 367, § 288, n. 3.

8. ⲅⲓⲉⲛⲉⲥⲓⲙⲟⲛ: the first letter of the word could be interpreted as a ⲡ, but ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲥⲓⲙⲟⲛ, which would entail an unattested *(ἐ)παινέσιμον, *laudabilitas*, seems scarcely probable. It appears much more likely to read ⲅⲓ, which can be interpreted as an interesting graphic rendering of the spirantised initial guttural of γενέσιμον/γεννήσιμον, see Schwyzer 1939, 209-210, Gignac 1976, 311, b, and, especially, Holton *et al.* 2019a, 193-194, 3.8.2.1. It could be regarded as the medieval antecedent of the modern usual γεννησιμιό, see *ILNE* 1953-1980, 335*a*-336*b*, in the sense of the abstract γένεσις/γέννησις, rather than an albeit plausible *abstractum pro concreto* γενέτειρα. About such most productive medieval and modern Greek type of abstracts in -ιμον, see mainly Hatzidakis 1911, 215-221, and Holton 2019b, 656-661, 2.22. One could otherwise be induced to discern in the word an aberrant writing of καινισμός or ἐγκαινισμός, cp. the biblical ἐγκαινισμὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, LXX 1Ma. 4.56 and Nu. 7, 10, and its symbolic value. In the latter case, it would be uncertain whether the epithet should be referred to the Virgin or to the following figure, John the Baptist.

ⲁⲧⲗⲏⲙⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ: at first glance, one could be tempted to suppose a legasthenic univerbation and restore something like ἀθλητὴς ἡμέτερος: for the use of the epithet referred to Christ or the saints, cp. Lampe 1961, 46*a*. In this occurrence, it would be attributed to the Baptist. Otherwise, the writing could hint to a haplographic writing of ἀτλημ(ονέσ)τερος, for similar aberrations, see Gignac 1976, 313, 2. The rare ἀτλήμων, as far as I know, is uniquely attested in the Διαθήκη ὡς ἀπό τινος μοναχοῦ of Nicephorus Gregoras, edited in Leone 1971, 770, l. 13 (ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἀτλήμονα βίον ἑλόμενος), in the meaning 'free from pain' as an attribute of monastic life. Rather than an 'imperturbable renewal', the adjective, substantially a synonym of ἀνώδυνος, would appear to confirm that the preceding substantive could indeed be γενέσιμον/γεννήσιμον: it seems a likely allusion to the well-known extra-biblical motif of the delivery without pangs of the Virgin Mary, about which see Campenhausen 1962, 41-41, n.2, and, for echoes in Western theology (Zeno of Verona), *ibidem* 56, n. 1. The theme is explicitly developed in the apocryphal tradition, see the often-quoted *loci Asc. Is.* 11.14, and *Od. Sal.* 19. 8. I owe to the learned kindness of Alberto Camplani the further reference to a passage of *P.Bingen* 148 (part of CLM45 preserving Dam. Alex., *De Nativitate*, CC0127), glass 5r, col. I, 1-20: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲧ|ⲟⲩⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ|ⲉⲉⲧ ⲧⲁϩⲟ | ⲱ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉ|ⲛⲟⲥ· ⲉ̈ⲓⲉ | ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡϩⲱⲱ|ⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄|ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲓⲟⲩ|ⲱ ⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ | ⲉ[ⲓⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲉ|[ϣⲧ]ⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄|[ⲛⲁⲁ]ⲕⲉ ⲧⲁ|[ϩⲟ ⲛⲧ]ⲟ· ⲏ | [ⲙⲡ]ⲟⲩϣⲱ|[ⲡⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ· ⲏ | [ⲙ̄ⲡ] ⲉⲧⲁⲅⲟ|[ⲛⲓⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ|[...] ⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲛⲧⲟ | [ⲱ ⲙ]ⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲡⲁ[ⲣ|ⲑⲉ]ⲛⲟⲥ·, 'Neither the pallor of the parturients pertained to you, o Virgin, nor the pining away of those who will conceive pertained to you, nor the trouble of the pangs pertained to you *etc.*'. I was not able to find in any liturgy a similar hint to the miraculous ἀνώδινος ὠδίν, but I wonder if the corrupted †ης λεχθι η αυτη† offered by the Kacmarcik codex, rather than the easy restitution of R. Larson, see above *ad* 2-8, could hide at least a defaced allusion to the Virgin as λεχώ, see Lampe 1961, 799a, s.h.v. Beside the aforesaid hypothesis, one could not even overlook the albeit remote eventuality that the adjective would hide a hybrid form of ⲁⲧⲧⲱⲗⲙ with Greek comparative suffixation, *valde immaculatus*.

9-15. The request of the intercession of St John the Baptist preserved by the Great Euchologium is (ll. 17-19): ⲙⲛⲡϩⲁⲅ̄ⲓⲟⲥ ̄ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ · | ⲡⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓ̈ⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ̄ | ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, whilst in *Ḫūlāǧī* 1960, p. $\overline{\text{ⲫⲡⲋ}}$/٥٨٦ is: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲡ̀ⲣⲟⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ; the Kacmarcik codex has: τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου, προδρόμου, βαπτιστοῦ, καὶ μάρτυρος Ἰωάννου.

9-10. ⲡ|ⲣⲉ̣ⲧⲣⲟⲙⲟⲩ: for the change ο > ε, a common feature of many Greek loanword of Coptic, see Gignac 1976, 289-90, 4.a.1.a.ii.

11. ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ: about such rendering of υ, whose traditional Coptic name is significantly ϩⲉ, cp. Gignac 1976, 273-274, 3 a 1.

11-12. ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲏ|ⲙⲟⲥ: the word could be seen as a solœcistic writing of θεορρήμων, cp. Lampe 1961, 632*b*, s.h.v., otherwise, more probably, θεωρήμων, 'contemplative', cp. Choerob. in *An. Ox.* II 220, and its occurrence (voc. θεωρῆμον) in a Byzantine hymn in learned language belonging to the Canon XVII (11 Sept.) *In Sanctum Heliam Spelaeotam*, see Debiasi Gonzato - Schirò 1966, 206, l. 189 (ᾠδή ζ, 12), as well as in the *Lexicon schedographicum* edited in *An. Boiss.* IV 366-412: 379, v. 265, with an interesting *distinguo* (Θεωρήμων Ἠλίας τε, τὸ ω μέγα καὶ ἓν ρ | θεορρ-ήμων Γρηγόριος, τὸ ο μικρὸν καὶ δὶς ρρ). Vulgar Greek attests also a θεὀρημος which Kriarás 1980, 101, s.v. θεοέρημος, glosses παντὲρημος· ἀθλιος, δὒστυχος. Whichever the borrowed original word is, ⲑⲉⲱⲣⲓⲙⲟⲥ occurs in the liturgy as epithet of St Mark, cp. Tattam 1835, 115, s.v. ⲑⲉⲟⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ (sic), and the frequent expression of the *ḫūlāǧī*, cp. e.g. *Ḫūlāǧī* 1960, p. $\overline{\text{ⲣⲙⲅ}}$/٣٤١: ⲡⲓⲑⲉⲱ́ⲣⲓⲙⲟⲥ (ناظر الاله) ⲛ̀ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲁ́ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ́ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, cp. Sameh Farouk Soliman 2014.

13. ⲉⲡⲕ̣ⲣⲟⲛ ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣⲟⲛ: in the first word of such *iunctura*, one can observe at least the frequent loss of the diphthong before the liquid, about which see Gignac 1976, 307-309, c. For this cluster, cp. e.g. Theodt. *Int. in Ps. LXXVIII*, *PG* LXXX, col. 1508: σὲ δὲ μόνον ἐπίκουρον ἔχομεν καὶ σωτῆρα.

14. ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥⲥ ⲕⲉⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ: among the phonetic aberrations of this *iunctura*, note at least the improper gemination of the sibilant in final position before a word beginning with a stop, about which see Gignac 1976 159, b.1.a, and 160, 2; for the cluster μετανοίας κῆρυξ, cp. Gr. Nyss. *In S. Ephraim*, *PG* XLVI, col. 845; and Ps. Io. Chrys. *In s. theoph. seu bapt. Chr.*, *PG* L, col. 805.

15. ⲃⲟⲟϯⲧⲟⲥ: in such digraphic word one could discern a medieval occurrence of the modern βοηθητής, see *ILNE* 1953-1980, 11*a*-12*b*, and Kriarás 1975, 143, s.h.v. The albeit phonetically closer βοοθύτης offered in Suda B 380 Adler (ὁ τοὺς βόας βάλλων πελέκει) and even an unattested *βοωτητής, plausible deverbative of the rare Hesiodian βοωτέω, which could constitute somehow obscure *figurae* of the Baptist as butcher or plougher, seem to be excluded. One could perhaps rather be tempted to see in the word an awkward allusion to Isaiah's φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ of the Gospels (Mt 3.3; Mc 1.3; Lc 3.4; Io 1.23).

15-17. As far as the entreat of intercession of St. Stephen is concerned, the Great Euchologium has (ll. 19-21): ⲙⲛ|ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓ̈ⲟⲥ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁ̄ⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲇ̄ⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ̄ | ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, whilst in *Ḫūlāǧī* 1960, p. $\overline{\text{ⲫⲡⲍ}}$/٥٨٧ is: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁ́ⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲥ́ⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲡ́ⲣⲱⲧⲟⲇⲓⲁ́ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡ́ⲣⲱⲧⲟⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ; the correspondent section of the Kacmarcik codex offers: τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου, τοῦ πρωτοδιακόνου καὶ πρωτομάρτυρος followed by the mentions of Saint Mark and of theeponymous saint of the commemorated dead.

17. ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲛ: about the epithet, unusual with reference to Saint Stephen, see Lampe 1961, 236*a*–*b*, s.h.v.

ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲙⲉϯⲁ: Coptic ⲛ̄(ⲁ)- and the Latinism κομίτιον, with an interesting vocalism which echoes the well-known variant κομέτιον occurring in many Greek inscriptions of Republican era (in the formulaic ἐγ κομετίῳ, cp. e.g. IG VIII 2225, 2, dated to 170 BC), see Allen 1978, 49, and the relevant instances opportunely gathered in *ThlL* III coll. 1801-1810, s.v. *comitium*: col. 1802, ll. 37-55. For the widespread change *i*>ε in Latin loanwords, see Gignac 1976, 255-256. The ⲁ after the Coptic article ⲛ̄, rather than belonging to an unlikely possessive article ⲛⲁ-, could be interpreted as a prothetic vowel of the loanword, cp. Foy 1879, 110-111, §20; Dieterich 1898, 33-37 (where the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of this kind of prothesis is formulated); Gignac 1976, 312, 3 n. 1. In the Coptic text of the Great Euchologium the very same *iunctura* sounds ⲙⲛⲡⲉⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, whilst in

Ḫūlāǧī 1960, p. ⲫ̅ⲡ̅ⲏ̅/٥٨٨, after the request of intercession to Saint Mark, to the patriarch Severus, to Saint Cyril, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory and many other saints, is: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡ̀ⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏⲉ̀ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ. In the Kacmarcik codex we read, after the request of intercession to Saint Mark and to the saint of the day: καὶ παντὸς χοροῦ τῶν ἁγίων σου.

2. *The Coptic text* (Fig. 1)

On the opposite page, we read some mournful Coptic moral sayings interspersed with biblical and patristic quotations. Although they seem to have been written by the same ink, it is not certain that the text was written by the same hand to which the Greek text is due, the sloping uncial employed for copying the latter being quite different from the one endowed with serifs and flourishes of the facing Coptic text. Noteworthy is the "Nubian" guise of *čima* whose slender crest arises from right, somehow as in a minuscule *delta*. The endings of the 23 lines are highly faint and it is not possible to ascertain the exact amount of the missing letters, excepting for the scriptural quotations at ll. 18-19: their certain restoration suggests that the lines could exhibit irregular extensions. The author resorts to a number of *nomina sacra*: ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲩ̅ (l. 16); ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ (l. 19), as well as to frequent interpunction through *dicola*. The quotation of the Psalter (ll. 17-20) seems to be written ἐν εἰσθέσει. As far as the language is concerned, the Ṣaʿīdic in which the text is written shows some southern traits, cp. ⲡⲁⲛϩ (l. 5), as well as the tendency to render ⲛ- through ⲉ-, cp. ⲉϭⲓ- *pro* ⲛ̄ϭⲓ- (ll. 3 e 9), ϣⲟⲙⲧ ⲉϩⲱϥ (= ϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ, ll. 1 e 7), ⲉⲁϣ ⲉⲙⲁ (l. 14), also ⲙⲉ-ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ (l. 17). A peculiarity apparently limited to the Grecisms is the omitted writing of the ⲱ, or simply of the sound /o/ of the loanword: ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲛ (ἀπήμων?, l. 4), ⲉⲙⲛ (ἡμῶν, ll. 9 e 11), but cp. the akin graphic omission in ⲉⲩⲛϭ (l. 6). Further phonetical features which have to be noticed are the aphaeresis ⲟⲩϣⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ʼⲣⲟϥ (l. 2. Perhaps rather elision of the final vowel of the preceding verb? see also the full form after consonantic ending ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ, l. 19) and the crasis ϫⲁⲛⲇⲓⲕ[ⲉⲟⲥ (18). A late-Coptic stylistic peculiarity seems to be the use of ϩⲓ- *pro* ϩⲛ̄ as it occurs in the prepositional cluster ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ- (ll. 6 e 10), glaringly in the sense of ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄, of which it is an often attested textual variant, cp. Crum 1939, 645, *a-b*. The text is introduced by what appears to be a fragmentary 'title' (l. 1) followed by a continuous line, as in the facing page where the Greek text is copied. A shorter line is traced under the beginning of l. 14, before the somehow not aligned ϣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ. These lines are concluded by what seems to be a scribal subscription in a quite vulgar Greek (ll. 21-23).

The text might be interpreted as a meditation on the vanity of human life, in tune with the preceding ὁσία. I was not able to recognize any verse of the Ecclesiastes, although one would expect to find it considered the indication ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲉϭⲓⲡⲉⲕⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ (l. 3). The not fully intelligible portion of text following these words could rather be interpreted as a vague reminiscence of Ps. 48, 10-11: ⲡⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ | ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲏⲓ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ. Nor was I able to find the Sinuthian quotation preceded by ⲡⲉ|ϫⲁϥ ⲉϭⲓⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ : ⲁⲡⲁ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ̣ | ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ (ll. 8-10). The final fragmentary indication of the name of the writer could prompt to interpret the whole text as the annotation written by a reader of the lost book to which the *bifolium* belonged.

ϣⲟⲙⲧ ⲉϩⲱ̣ϥ ⲡ̣ϣ …
ⲁⲗⲓⲑⲱⲥ ⲟⲩϣⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲉ̣ ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ̣ …
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ : ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲉϭⲓⲡⲉⲕⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ̣ ⲉⲁ[ϥⲧⲁ-
ⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲛϩ ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲛ : ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲉ[ⲙ-
ⲏⲧⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ : ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲁⲕⲁⲑⲟⲛ ..[
ⲉⲩⲛϭ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲛⲓⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ : ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲙ̣..[
ⲧⲁⲕⲟ : ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ ϣⲟⲙⲧ ⲉϩⲱϥ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲡ̣ⲁ̣-
ϩⲏⲧ : ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲟ ⲛⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ ⲛⲁⲓ : ⲡ̣ⲉ̣-
ϫⲁϥ ⲉϭⲓⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ : ⲁⲡⲁ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧ̣ⲉ̣
ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ : ⲧⲁϭⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ : ⲧ[ⲁ-]
ϭⲓⲛⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲙⲛ : ⲧⲁⲡⲟ-
ⲫⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉϣⲁⲥ<ⲓ> ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲏⲧⲧ : ϫⲉϫⲓⲡⲓⲉϥ . [
ⲉⲁϣ ⲉⲙⲁ : | -------- ϣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ
ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲕ : ⲉⲥⲁⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ …
ⲗⲁⲥ : ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲩ̅ ⲉⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲁϩ : ϣⲁ̣ⲓⲱ̣ϣ [ⲉ-]
ⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲉⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ : ϩⲓⲡⲉⲡⲯⲁⲗⲧⲏⲣ[ⲓⲟⲛ]
ϯⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲓⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ : ϫⲁⲛⲇⲓⲕ[ⲉⲟⲥ ϫⲓϣ-]

ⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ : ⲁⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ : ⲁϥⲧ̣ⲟⲩϫ̣ⲟ̣ⲟ̣ⲩ
ϩⲓⲛⲉⲩⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ
ⲉⲕⲱ ⲗⲁϫ .-
ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ … ⲛⲁ [± 3]
.. ï ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲱ̣

Three things ... [---] | *Really* (ἀληθῶς) *something worth weeping about is the life* (βίος) [---] | *world* (κόσμος), *said the Ecclesiastes* (Ἐκκλησιαστής) *...*[---] | *teaching us the life without sorrow* (ἀπήμων) *where are those of the great* | *riches, those who have taken their goods* (ἀγαθόν) [---] | *more from the graves* (τάφος), *their doing* [---] *did* | *perish; another one* (ἄλλος scil. *saying*), *there are three things which are on my* | *heart, and, again, they make me concern, said our* (ἡμῶν*?*) *prophet* (προφήτης) *Apa Šenoute* | *the righteous* (δίκαιος)*: the leaving my body* (σῶμα), *my meeting* (ἀπαντᾶν) *our judge* (κριτής), *the sen|tence* (ἀπόφασις) *which will come from my heart: 'take the* [---] | *in whatever place', by your weal.* | *I do not have a gift* (δῶρον) *to give to you beyond honouring* [*with my*] | *tongue Jesus the son of God which lives* (Mt 16.16; Mc 8.16 v.l.), *I will shout* | *with David in the Psalter* (ψαλτήριον), | *I give honour to you in your house, that* (Ps 33.18) *"did the righteous* (δίκαιος) | *cry, the Lord listened them, he saved them in their all sorrows* (θλῖψις)*"*'.| *I* (ἐγώ) *am the hum|blest* (ἐλάχιστος*?*) *deacon* (διάκονος), *might God remit* [---].

1. ϣⲟⲙⲧ ⲉϩϣ̣ϥ̣: for the not uncommon omission of ⲛ in the writing of the numeral, see Kahle 1954, 105-107; for the rendering ⲉ- of the ⲛ- connecting numerals, see *ibidem* 114.f; for the widespread spirantization of the labial in ϩⲱⲃ, see *ibidem*, 93-94. The *iunctura*, also occurring below at l. 7, could recall Sir. 25, 1-2: ⲁⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲁⲧϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲕⲧⲗ. | ϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲕⲧⲗ. However, the 'three things' could be the three following quotations.
2. A. Camplani kindly suggested to me the possible non *verbatim* echoing of Sap. 2.1 (καὶ λυπηρὸς ὁ βίος ἡμῶν).
ⲣⲟϥ: about the omission of ⲉ in likely cases, see Kahle 1954, 65-66, 20.
ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ̣ …. : perhaps ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ̣ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲓ̣|ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ, cp. Jo. 3.17.
3. ⲉϭⲓ-: for the substitution of ⲛ with ⲉ in such places, see Kahle 1954, 115, i; Kasser 1964, 40*b*.
4. ⲁⲡⲉⲙⲛ: for the rendering of the sound /o/ through 'Murmelvokal', see Kahle 1954, 58, 6 E, and, conversely, *ibidem* 56. I cannot trace out other instances of the cluster ἀπήμων βίος than the fortuitously assonant Proclus, *In Plat. R. publ.* 1, 87 Kroll.
5.]|ⲏⲧⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ: probably [ⲙ]|ⲏⲧⲣⲉⲙⲁⲟ, for the rendering ⲏ pro ⲛ̄, see Kahle 1954, 116, 83.
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲕⲧⲗ.: the phrase could be a reminiscence of Lc. 16.25: ⲁⲕϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ.
6. ⲉⲩⲛϭ: ἐπὶ πλεῖον, see Crum 1939, 251*b*. About the rendering ⲛϭ̄, usually attributed to Mesokhemic, see Kasser 1964, 40*a*. Anne Boud'hors, *per litteras*, assumes that such writing could hide ⲉⲩⲛⲏϫ, "ils gisent dans les tombeaux".
ϩⲓ- *pro* ϩⲛ-: for the widespread substitution, see Crum 1939, 683*a*; Kahle 1954, 84, a; Kasser 1964, 98*b*.
ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲙ̣…[: perhaps, if one consider the initial verb of the following line, the relic could be restored as ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲉ̣ⲩ̣ⲉ̣. It could be a reminiscence of Ps. 9.6: ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ.
7-8. ⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲡ̣ⲁ̣|ϩⲏⲧ: cp. also ⲛⲉⲩⲟ (l.8). On the cleft sentence with ⲡⲉϥ-, ⲧⲉⲥ-, ⲛⲉⲩ- instead of ⲡⲉⲧ-, ⲧⲉⲧ-, ⲛⲉⲧ-, see Richter 2017.
8. ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩ: read ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ. I owe to the learned kindness of T.S. Richter the suggestion to interpret it as an aberrant writing *pro* ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ.
10. ⲧⲁϭⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ: for such expression cp. the frequent ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ in *Test. Abr.*, see Guidi 1900, 158-159.
11. ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ: for the omission of the ⲛ- introducing the object, see Kahle 1954, 110-111.
12. ϩⲏⲧⲧ: the writing could be interpreted as *scriptura etymologica* or simple misuse, see Kahle 1954, 131, 114.
ϫⲉϫⲓⲡⲓⲉϥ .[: the relic could be *dubitatim* restored ϫⲉϫⲓⲡⲓ<ⲉ>ϥⲟ̣[ϭⲥ, 'hasten toward whichever place (ⲉⲁϣ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ)'? With her usual keenness, Anne Boud'hors suggested: 'ce qui suivrait serait une sorte d'allusion à la décision prononcée par le juge, d'aller à tel ou tel endroit (chez les bénis à droite, chez les damnés à gauche). De fait, cela sonne assez « chénoutien »'.
15. ⲧⲁϯ: such form of conjunctive is considered as a southern trait, see Kahle 1954, 160, 138, as well as Richter 2016.
ⲉⲥⲁ- : for this writing instead of ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ-, see above *ad l.* 3.
16. ⲗⲁⲥ: perhaps ϩⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲁ̣|ⲗⲁⲥ.
17. ⲙⲉⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ: ⲙⲉ- pro ⲙⲛ̄-, cp. *ad l.* 3.
ϩⲓⲡⲉⲡⲯⲁⲗⲧⲏⲣ[ⲓⲟⲛ]: about the superabundant writing ⲡⲯ *pro* ⲯ, see Kahle 1954, 134, 118.
18. ϫⲁⲛⲇⲓⲕ[ⲉⲟⲥ: for the 'crastic' writing, see Crum 1939, 746, s.v. ϫⲉ, and Kasser 1964, 105*a*.
20. ⲧⲏⲣⲟ: for the monophthongization ⲟⲩ > ⲟ, see Kahle 1954, 86, 56.

3. *The* memento (Fig. 2)

The text, beginning with a staurogram similar to a rough Maltese cross consisting of four juxtaposed *hamuli*, contains nineteen not exactly rectilinear lines of unequal length and is written in a rather clumsy, slightly sloping majuscule. As far as orthography is concerned, inorganic τρήματα mainly consisting of double dots often crown ⲓ, only sporadically occurring in form of a single dot. ⲛ̄ is usually rendered as ⲉⲛ- before consonant with the exception of ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉ̈ⲓⲏⲛ (l.2) and ⲛⲑⲉ (l. 7). An isolated prothetic ⲉ seems to occur in the intensifier ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲓ (l. 18), see *ad l.* Two *nomina sacra* are employed: ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ (l. 13), ⲇⲓ̈ⲕ̅ⲗⲏ (l. 18). The determinative article before a consonant is always ⲡⲓ- apart from the formulaic ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ (l. 16), ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩϣⲟⲙⲉⲧ (l. 17). The *memento* exhibits the demure phrasing conventional of similar notes and of many scribal subscriptions with its poignant, almost mawkish outpouring of self-effacement. As far as style is concerned, a somewhat puerile *annominatio* could be noticed in the phrasing ⲡⲓ̇ⲕⲁϩ | ⲡⲓ̈ⲅⲉⲣⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛⲉⲙ|ⲕⲁϩ (ll. 4-6). An interesting dialectal feature could be seen in the form ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲉⲣⲣⲟ, see *ad l.*, perhaps a relic which could be referred to the so-called dialect E of Kasser classification.[9]

†
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲉ̇ⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲡⲓ̇ϩⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲛ ⲡⲓ̇ⲣⲉⲙ-
ⲙⲁⲟ ϩⲉⲛⲉϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲡⲓ̇ϩⲏⲕⲉ
ϩⲉⲛⲛⲉϥⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲡⲓ̇ⲕⲁϩ
ⲡⲓ̈ⲅⲉⲣⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲏϩ ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ̈ⲁϣⲁϩⲟⲙ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟϣ ⲛⲑⲉ
ⲉⲙⲡϣⲱ ϩⲓ̈ϫⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲉⲣⲣⲟ ϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲉϫⲱⲓ̈
ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲡⲏ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓ̇ⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ-
ⲟⲩⲱϣ ϩⲉⲛϯⲧⲣⲁⲥ ⲙⲉⲣⲉϥ-
ϫⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ
ϫⲉⲉⲣⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ̇ⲓ ⲛⲟⲩ-
ϩⲏⲡⲟⲙⲏⲛⲏ ϣⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲫⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ
ⲡⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲓ
ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩϣⲟⲙⲉⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ ϯⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲓ ⲁⲡⲟ ⲇⲓ̈ⲕ̅ⲗⲏ ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲟⲛ
ⲯⲟⲋ

Remember me, o fathers, I am the poor wretched, the rich in his sins, the poor in his virtues (ἀρετή), *the mud, the ash, the one full of every heart's pain and groan because of my sins which are as copious as the sand in the shore of the Nile. Pray for me, as an act of charity* (ἀγάπη), *everyone who will read in this quaternion* (τετράς) *let him say with ardour of heart that might the Lord give him freely* (χαρίζομαι) *of endurance* (ὑπομονή) *unto the uttermost. I am Phibamōn, the bishop* (ἐπίσκοπος) *of Souaan, the day in which I was enthroned* (θρονίζω), *the third day of Paōni, this year, the 776 from Diocletian* (10th June 1060) *of the time of Martyrs.*

2. ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲓ̈ⲏⲛ: i.e. ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ.
3. ϩⲉⲛⲉϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ: *l.* ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ.
5. ⲡⲓ̈ⲅⲉⲣⲙⲉⲥ: about the sonorisation of ⲕ in Coptic words, see KAHLE 1954, 95-96, 71. The motif of the ash, paired with the much more common Biblical *topos* of the dust in a manieristic hendiadyoin inspired e.g. by Gen. 18.27 (ⲁⲛⲟⲕⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲁⲛ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲥ) is attested also in the scribal notes preserved by ms. *Vat. copt.* 61, fol. 193, 8 m^3 = HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 428 (ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲃⲓ ⲙ̇ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ̇ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲓⲕⲉⲣⲙⲓ), as well as by ms. *Vat. copt.* 66, fol. 171v, 2-3 = HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 482 (ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩ ⲙ̇ⲡⲓⲥⲃⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ | ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲕⲉⲣⲙⲓ).
8-9. ⲉⲙⲡϣⲱ ϩⲓ̈ϫⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧⲟⲩ | ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲉⲣⲣⲟ: another frequent motif among these expressions of Christian humility is the 'sea of sins' of the beseecher, often sharpened through the image of the sins as copious as the sand on the seashore. It is found both in Ṣaʿīdic and in Boḥairic colophons: for example, in the BnF Copte 132¹, fol. 68 = VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, XCVIII, ll. 23-24, where we read ϫⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛϭⲓⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲱϣ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ | ⲉⲡϣⲱ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ, 'because they are many, my transgressions (παράπτωμα) and are numerous more than the sand of the sea (θάλασσα)'; or else, in the *Vat. copt.* 58, fol. 35v, 13-17, = HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 390, ⲉ̇ⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉⲥⲉⲟϣ ⲛ̇|ⲙⲁϣⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ|ⲡⲓϣⲱ ⲛ̇ⲧⲉ|ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ̇ⲍ̄ ⲛ̇|ⲕⲱⲡ ⲛ̇ⲥⲟⲡ, 'since they are more numerous than (παρά) the sand of the sea multiplied seven times'; in the *Vat. copt.*, fol. 62 165v, 5-6 = HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 440-441, the phrasing is even more parabolic: ⲉ̇ⲃⲟⲗ | ϫⲉⲥⲉⲟϣ ⲉ̇ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲱ ⲛ̇ⲧⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̇ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̇ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲉ | ϧⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩⲁ̇ϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ̇ⲧⲉ‹ⲙ›ⲡⲁⲩϣϭⲓⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̇ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, 'since they are more numerous than the sand of the sea and as the stars of the sky, in their multitude, which cannot be reckoned'. Most remarkably, in the text we are considering, the sand is that of the Nile shore, the ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, the 'big river' *par excellence*, which the Greeks were used to call the διῶρυξ τοῦ μεγάλου Νείλου. I wonder if such a difference constitutes a local idiosyncrasy, typical of Aswān, whose landscape exhibits the famed sand dunes along the river. What

9 For this indeed elusive dialectal variety, see SATZINGER 1980.

is definitely noteworthy is the so far unrecorded form ⲡⲉⲉⲣⲣⲟ, a dialectal variant of ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ: it is not easy to ascertain whether the first ⲉ is part of the determinative article (ⲡⲉ-ⲉⲣⲣⲟ) or a peculiar rendering of the original semivowel *j* (ⲡ-ⲉⲉⲣⲣⲟ).[10]
10-11. ⲉⲧⲛⲁ|ⲟⲩⲱϣ: obviously *pro* ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱϣ. For the prosthesis of ⲟⲩ to ⲱ, peculiar of the far South, see Crum 1939, 467a-b.
11. ϩⲉⲛϯⲧⲣⲁⲥ: the other main linguistic feature of our text is a lexical one: in the typical appeal to the reader, instead of the usual ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓ̈ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ, 'in this book', we found a seemingly unclear ϩⲉⲛϯⲧⲣⲁⲥ. Just as the guess that ϯⲧⲣⲁⲥ could be a poetical hint to a τετραευαγγέλιον is improbable, so too is the hypothesis of a chronological reference to a τετάρτη ἡμέρα, a 'Wednesday', being the late Greek use of τετράς *pro* τετάρτη even attested in Coptic documentary texts (*MPER* XVIII 252, 5; 12). Rather, I think that the syntagm is to be interpreted ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ̈‹ⲧⲉ›ⲧⲣⲁⲥ, literally 'in this fourfold thing'. This is one of the rare Coptic instances of the Grecism τετράς, a learned synonym of its more common technical diminutive τετράδιον, that is to say a quaternion of parchment, a quire of four leaves folded to make sixteen pages.[11] The older Coptic occurrence of such sophisticated loanword is to be found in a fourth century papyrus letter from Kellis (*P.Kell. Copt.* 35), in which the sender writes to the addressee (ll. 36-39): ϯⲡ̄ⲁⲍⲓⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲕ | ⲡⲁϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥϩⲉⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥ | ⲛⲏⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲣⲟⲩⲛ̄|ⲧⲉⲧⲧⲥⲏϩ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲁⲛ, 'I beg you, my lord brother: If you can write these quires for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you too'. A later instance is the one preserved by a Bodleian ostracon (inv. 483 = Crum, *Varia Coptica* 104), a fragmentary private letter about the binding of a book, which we could date to the seventh or eighth century. After having complained about the poor quality of the parchment (l. 1-2: ⲙⲉ‹ⲣⲉ›ⲡϣⲁⲩ ⲣ̄ϣⲁⲩ ⲉ|ⲡϫⲱⲙⲉ, 'the skins will be of no use for the book'), the sender mentions (l. 3), in the midst of unfortunate lacunae, ⲙⲛ̄ϥⲧⲟ'ⲟ'ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥ, 'and four quaternions'. This peculiar lexical use, in lieu of ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ, could induce the hypothesis that the bishop was not writing his *memento* on the last pages of a proper book but on those of a simple notebook, where some prayers were copied for private use. Nonetheless, one could also consider the possibility of a synecdoche τετράς pro ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ, as if it were a mere, affected, *specimen modestiae*.[12]
11-12. ⲙⲉⲣⲉϥ|ϫⲟⲟⲥ: i.e. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ=, see Kahle 1954, 68, 21 a.
13. ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ: i.e. ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ. For the not isolated use of the correspondent substantive instead of the infinitive of the verb, see Kahle 1954, 189-190, 157 B.
15. ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲛ: the rendering through geminated ⲁ is noteworthy. For the writings of the toponym, see Timm 1984, 222 and Soldati 2018, 186, *ad* 18-19 (ⲥⲃⲁⲛ).
18. ⲉⲧⲁ̣ⲓ: i.e. ⲧⲁⲓ, but perhaps confusion with ⲉⲧⲉ-?

---

10 It is well known how the noun is the result of the juxtaposition of the *status constructus* of ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ and the adjective ⲟ. We observe such type of compound, for example, in the well-known ϩⲣⲟⲩ-ⲟ, 'boastfulness' from ϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'voice', ⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁ-ⲟ from ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, or else ⲣ̄ⲧⲱ (<ⲧⲣⲱ) 'span' beside ⲧⲱⲣⲉ, ϩ̄ⲗⲗⲟ beside ϩⲁⲗ. The Coptic word is the outcome of an ancient *itrw*ʿ³: according to Vychichl 1983, 66*b*, 'la forme est primitivement **yatraw*, puis **yarraw*. Par la suite le groupe *rr* est dissimilé **yaʔraw* ou sim.'. If this reconstruction is correct, the variant occurring in our albeit late and linguistically defaced *memento* would reflect an older phonetic setting of the word, which was sporadically attested through the Fayyūmic ⲓⲉⲣⲣⲁ as well as the Ṣaʿīdic plural ⲓⲉⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ. Thus, our text could bear a precious dialectal *addendum lexicis* belonging to the aforesaid so far poorly known *E* variety of Kasser's nomenclature.

11 Förster 2002, 804.

12 Alessandro Bausi, with the usual learned curiosity, drew my attention to the assonance of the Greek word as it appears in this document with the Gəʿəz ጥራዝ, *ṭərāz*, "volume, exercise book, ledger, fascicle of a book", see Leslau 1991, 598a, s. v. *ṭaraza* ጠረዘ "sew together, bind a book", cp. also Dillmann 1865, col. 1220, s.h.v. Leslau quotes Vollers 1896, 645, where طراز, 'embroidery', is mentioned among the *persische Entlehnungen* typical of Egyptian Arabic. Any hint of the semantic domain of the *Buchwesen* is totally unknown to the Persian تراز as well as to its Arabicized pendant طراز, see Vullers 1864, 534b-535b, and Steingass 1892, 811a-b, s.h.v. I wonder if the special meaning attested in Ethiopic could hide at least a till now unobserved leverage of the assonant Greek τετράς, or its defaced Coptic outcomes, as the (ϯ)ⲧⲣⲁⲥ occurring in the extremely Southern text here published.

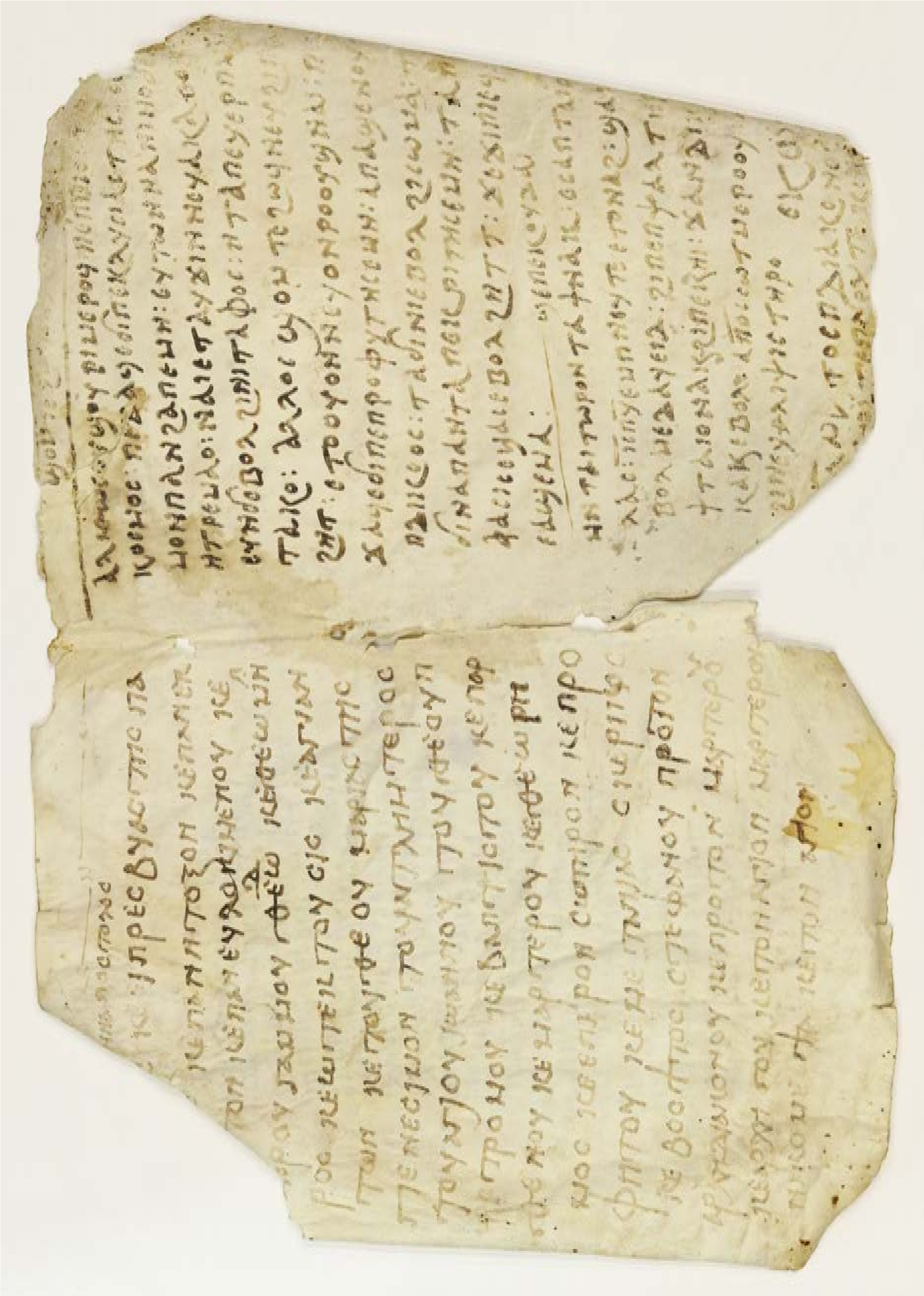


Fig. 1. The Greek text (left page) and the Coptic text (right page).

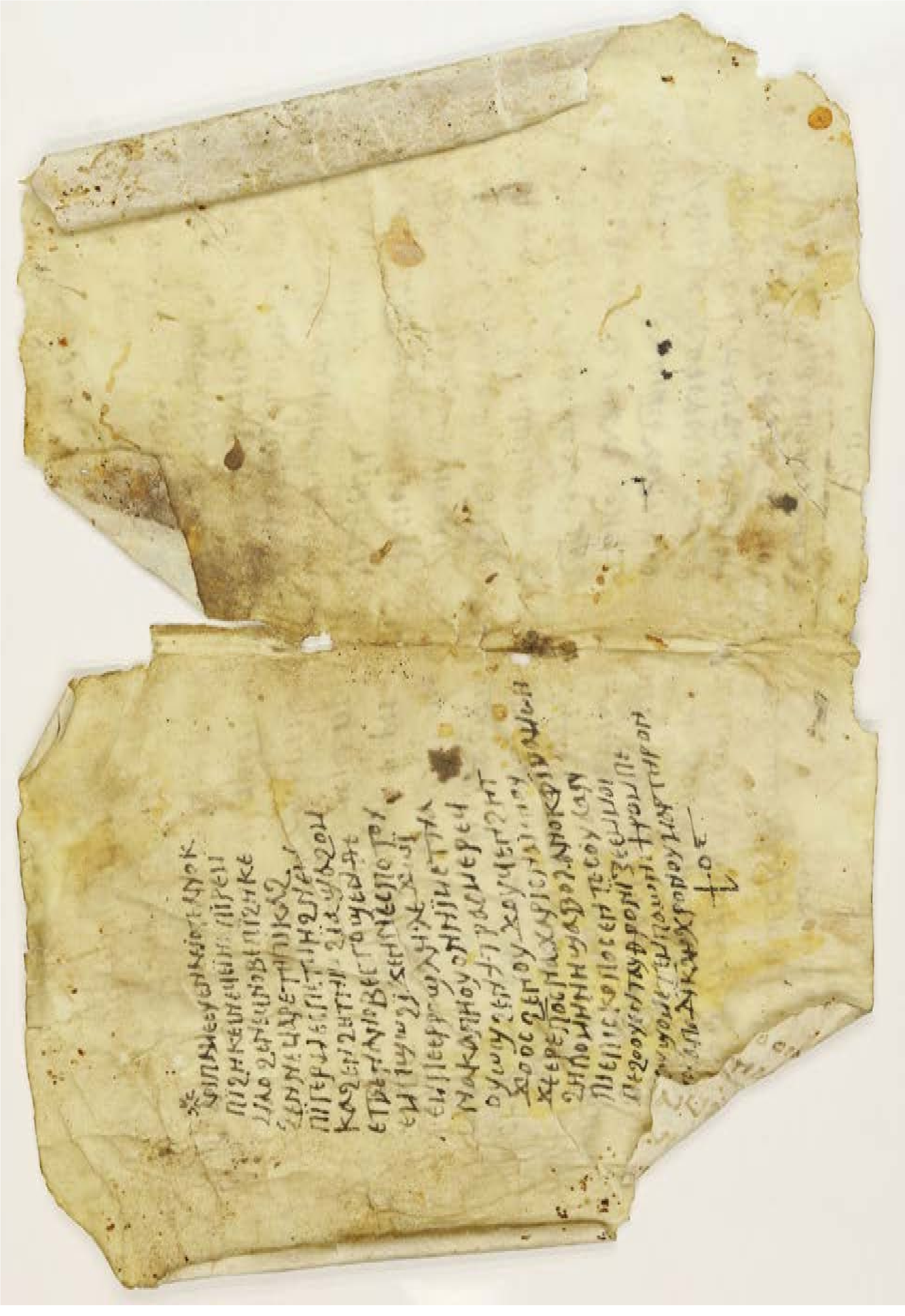


Fig. 2. The *memento* of the bishop Phoibammon and the blank page.

References

Papyrological publications are abbreviated according to the *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html).

Allen 1978 = W.S. Allen, *Vox Latina. A guide to the pronunciation of classical Latin*, Cambridge, 1978.

Atanassova 2014 = D. Atanassova, "The Primary Sources of Southern Egyptian Liturgy: Retrospect and Prospect", in B. Groen *et al.* (eds), *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Lebanon, 10-15 July, 2012* (Eastern Christian Studies, 22), Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA, 2014, pp. 47-96.

Atiya - 'Abd al-Masiḥ - KHS-Burmester 1959 = A.S. Atiya - Y. 'Abd al-Masiḥ - O.H.E KHS-Burmester, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, known as the History of the Holy Church* by Sawīrus ibn al. Muḳaffa', 2.3 Christodulos – Michael (A.D. 1046-1102), translated and annotated by … (Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte. Textes et documents), Cairo, 1959.

Bakker 1964 = W.F. Bakker, *Pronomen abundans and pronomen coniunctum: a contribution to the history of the resumptive pronoun within the relative clause in Greek* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke nederlandse akademie van wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, 82), Amsterdam - London, 1964.

Becker 1960 = C.H. Becker, *'Badr Al-Djamālī', in Encyclopédie de l'Islam 1: A-B, par un comité de rédaction composé de* H.A.R. Gibb … [*et al.*], nouv. *éd. établie* avec le concours des principaux orientalistes, Leyde - Brill - Paris, 1960, I, pp. 869-870.

Blass - Debrunner 1982 = F. Blass - A. Debrunner, *Grammatica del greco del Nuovo Testamento.* Nuova edizione di F. Rehkopf, edizione italiana a cura di G. Pisi (Introduzione allo studio della Bibbia, Supplementi, 2), Brescia, 1982

Burmester 1936 = O.H.E. Burmester, "The Canons of Cyril II, LXVII Patriarch of Alexandria", *Le Muséon*, 49, 1936, pp. 245-288.

Campenhausen 1962 = H.F. von Campenhausen, *Die Jungfrauengeburt in der Theologie der alten Kirche* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 3), Heidelberg, 1962.

Cavallo - Maehler 1987 = G. Cavallo - E. Maehler (1987), *Greek bookhands of the early Byzantine period: A.D. 300-800* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, Supplement, 47), London, 1987.

Crisci 2018 = E. Crisci, "Centri e periferie. Rifessioni sulle dinamiche dell'interazione grafca nel mondo greco", *Scripta* 11, 2018, pp. 37-65.

Cumings 1990 = G.J. Cumings, *The Liturgy of St Mark, Edited from the Manuscripts with a Commentary* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 234), Roma, 1990.

Debiasi Gonzato - Schirò 1966 = A. Debiasi Gonzato - G. Schirò, *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, I, Roma, 1966.

Dekker 2013 = R. Dekker, "The Development of the Church at Dayr Anba Hadra. A Study of the Plasterwork and Dated Inscriptions", in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, Cairo - New York, 2013, pp. 105-115.

Dieterich 1898 = K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 1), Leipzig, 1898.

Dillmann 1865 = A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae cum indice Latino, adiectum est vocabolarium Tigre dialecti septentrionalis compilatum a* Werner Munzinger, Lipsiae, 1865.

Förster 2002 = H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 148), Berlin, 2002.

Foy 1879 = K.A.P.H. Foy, *Lautsystem der griechischen Vulgärsprache*, Leipzig, 1879.

Gibb - Kraus 1993 = H. Gibb - A. Rosskeen - P. Kraus, "Al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh", *EI*² 7, 1993, pp. 729*b*–732*b*.

Gignac 1976 = F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 1. *Phonology* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità, 55), Milano, 1976.

Guidi 1900 = I. Guidi, "Il testo copto del Testamento di Abramo", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Cl. di sc. morali, storiche e filologiche, S. V, IX, 1900, pp. 157-180.

Hammerschmidt 1957 = E. Hammerschmidt, *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora. Syrische und griechische Einflüsse auf eine ägyptische Liturgie* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, 8), Berlin, 1957.

Hammerstaedt 1999 = J. Hammerstaedt, *Griechische Anaphorenfragmente aus Ägypten und Nubien* (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 28), Opladen - Wiesbaden, 1999.

Hänggi - Pahl 1968 = A. Hänggi - I. Pahl, *Prex eucharistica. Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti* (Spicilegium Friburgense, 12), Fribourg, 1968.

Hatzidakis 1911 = G. Hatzidakis, "Zur Wortbildungslehre im Mittel- und Neugriechischen", *Glotta* 3, 1911, pp. 209-221 = Rist. Id., *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἔρευναι* I, Atene, 1934, pp. 164-172.

Hebbelynck - Van Lantschoot 1937 = A. Hebbelynck - A. van Lantschoot, *Codices coptici Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani*, v. 1. *Codices coptici Vaticani* (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, codices manu scripti recensiti a iussu Pii XI P.M.), in Civitate Vaticana, 1937.

Henner 2000 = J. Henner, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica. Editionen und Kommentar liturgischer Texte der Koptischen Kirche des ersten Jahrtausends* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 5), Tübingen, 2000.

Holton *et al.* 2019a = D. Holton - G. Horrocks - M. Janssen - T. Lendari - I. Manolessou - N. Toufexis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, I. *General Introduction and Phonology*, Cambridge, 2019.

Holton *et al.* 2019b = D. Holton - G. Horrocks - M. Janssen - T. Lendari - I. Manolessou - N. Toufexis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, II. *Nominal Morphology*, Cambridge, 2019.

Ḫūlāğī 1960 = *Piğōm ṅte Pieuchologion èthouab, ete phai pe Piğōm nte tišomti ṅánaphora ńte piagios Basilios nem piàgios Grēgorios nem piàgios Kyrillos nem hankeeuchē euouab. Kitāb al-ḫūlāğī al-muqaddas ayy kitāb aṯ-ṯalāṯah al-quddāsāt allatī al-qadīs Bāsīliyūs wa-'l-qadīs Ġrīğūriyūs wa-'l-qadīs Kīrillus maʿa ṣalawātin uḫrà muqaddasah*, tabaʿa ʿalà nafiqah al-qumuṣ ʿAṭā Allāh Arsāniyūs al-Maḥriqī, Qāhira, 1960.

ILNE 1953-1980 = *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, τῆς τε κοινῶς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων*, 4.1 βλεφαρίδα - γάργαρος – 4.2 γαρδαλώνω - γεροδάσκαλος (Ἐν Ἀθήναις: Ἐργαστήριον γραφικῶν τεχνῶν Στέφανος Ν. Ταρουσόπουλος; Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, α'), 1953-1980.

Jannaris 1897 = A.N. Jannaris, *An historical Greek grammar, chiefly of the Attic dialect as written and spoken from classical antiquity down to the present time, founded upon the ancient texts, inscriptions, papyri and present popular Greek*, London - New York, 1897.

Kahle 1954 = P.E. Kahle jr, *Bala'izah, Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* 1, London, 1954.

Kasser 1964 = R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum* (Bibliothèque d'études copte, 7), Le Caire, 1964.

Kriarás 1975 = E. Kriarás, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, IV, Thessalonikḗ, 1975.

Kriarás 1980 = E. Kriarás, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, VII, Thessalonikḗ, 1980.

Lampe 1961 = G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961.

Lanne 1953 = E. Lanne, *Le Grand Eucologe du Monastère Blanc*, texte copte édité avec traduction française par E.L. (Patrologia orientalis, 28.II), Paris, 1953.

Leone 1970-1971 = P.L.M. Leone, "Nicephori Gregorae Opuscula nunc primum edita", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Macerata* III-IV, 1970-1971, pp. 729-781.

Leslau 1991 = W. Leslau, *Comparative dictionary of Geʿez (classical Ethiopic). Geʿez-English/English-Geʿez, with an index of the Semitic roots*, Wiesbaden, 1991.

Lietzmann 1928 = H. Lietzmann, "Sahidische Bruchstücke der Gregorios- und Kyrillos-liturgie", *Oriens Christianus*, 9, n. ser., 1-19, 1928.

Macomber 1979 = W.F. Macomber, "The Anaphora of Saint Mark According to the Kacmarcik Codex", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 45, 1979, pp. 75-98.

Margouliouth - Holmyard 1931 = D.S. Margouliouth - E.J. Holmyard, "Arabic Documents from the Monneret Collection", *Islamica*, 3, 1931, pp. 249-271.

Monneret de Villard 1925 = U. Monneret de Villard, "Rapporto preliminare sugli scavi al monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswan (1924-1925)", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Cl. di sc. morali, storiche e filologiche, S. VI, 1, 1925, pp. 289-303.

MONNERET DE VILLARD 1926 = U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Descrizione generale del monastero di San Simeone presso Aswân", *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 26, 1926, pp. 211-245.
MONNERET DE VILLARD 1927 = U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Il monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswân*, I. *Descrizione archeologica*, Milano, 1927.
MUNIER 1943 = H. MUNIER, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'église copte*, Cairo, 1943.
MIHÁLYKÓ 2019 = Á.T. MIHÁLYKÓ, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 114), Tübingen, 2019.
PSALTES 1913 = S.B. PSALTES, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik, 2), Göttingen, 1913.
SAMEH FAROUK SOLIMAN 2014 = SAMEH FAROUK SOLIMAN, "Two Epithets of Mark the Evangelist: Coptic ⲑⲉⲱ̀ⲣⲓⲙⲟⲥ and Byzantine Greek θεόπτης", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 54, 2014, pp. 494-506.
SATZINGER 1980 = H. SATZINGER, "Sudan-Ägyptisch und Elephantine-Koptisch", *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève*, 4, 1980, pp. 83-87.
SCHWYZER 1939 = E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*, 1. *Allgemeiner Teil, Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2.1), München, 1939.
SOLDATI 2018 = A. SOLDATI, "Una lettera copta dal monastero di Anbā Hadrà presso Aswān", *Aegyptus*, 98, 2018, pp. 189-196.
STEINGASS 1892 = F.J. STEINGASS, *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*, London, 1892.
TATTAM 1835 = H. TATTAM, *Lexicon Ægyptiaco-Latinum ex veteribus linguæ Ægyptiacae monumentis, et ex operibus La Crozii, Woisii, et aliorum summo studio congestum. Cum indice vocum Latinarum*, Oxonii, 1835.
TIMM 1984 = S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters* (*Dēr Abū Mina*), *der Skētis* (*Wādi n-Naṭrūn*) *und der Sinai-Region*, 1 (A-C) (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, Nr. 41/1), Wiesbaden, 1984.
VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929 = A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte, I. Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques* (Mémoire couronné au Concours Universitaire pour 1924-1926) (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1), Leuven, 1929.
VOLLERS 1896 = K. VOLLERS, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Aegypten. II. Ueber die Lehnwörter. Fremdes und Eigenes", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 50, 1896, pp. 607-657.
VULLERS 1894 = J.A. VULLERS, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum etymologicum : cum linguis maxime cognatis Sanscrita et Zendica et Pehlevica comparatum, e lexicis persice scriptis Borhâni Qâtiu, Haft Qulzum et Bahâri aǵam et persico-turcico Farhangi-Shuûrî confectum, adhibitis etiam Castelli, Meninski, Richardson et aliorum operibus et auctoritate scriptorum Persicorum adauctum. Accedit appendix vocum dialecti antiquioris, Zend et Pazend dictae*, II, ر - ی, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1894.
VYCICHL 1893 = W. VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte, avec une préface de* Rodolphe KASSER, Leuven, 1983.
WENGER 1958 = A. WENGER, "Un nouveau témoin de l'Assomption: une homélie attribuée à saint Germain de Constantinople", *Revue des études byzantines*, 16 (= *Mélanges Sévérien Salaville*), 1958, pp. 48-53.

Literary Manuscripts and Writing Supports in Christian Nubia in Context. Three Case Studies: Qasr Ibrim, Faras, Dongola*

Adam Łajtar – University of Warsaw

Abstract
Christian Nubia has returned a conspicuous amount of literary texts produced on both durable writing materials (stone, terracotta, bricks, rock faces, plastered walls, ceramic, etc.) and non-durable ones (papyrus, parchment, paper, leather, textiles, etc.). Both groups involve different kinds of media, the most popular being stelae, walls, manuscripts, ostraca, pottery vessels; others, like metal objects, jewellery, clay stoppers, stamps, and textiles, are found only occasionally. These texts are essentially composed in three languages – Greek, Coptic and Old Nubian – and have been found throughout the entire territory of Nubia, from the first Nile cataract in the north to the confluence of the two Niles in the south. Three sites are especially important as the source of the inscribed material with respect to both the number of finds and their variety. These are: Qasr Ibrim, Faras, and Dongola. This article presents an overview of textual finds of literary character from these three sites, concentrating on four aspects: the archaeological context of the finds, the type of writing support (its material and its form), the language of texts, and their contents.

Keywords
Christian Nubia, manuscripts, wall inscriptions, literature, Qasr Ibrim, Faras, Dongola.

1. *Introductory remarks*

It is known that Nubia, the southern neighbour of Egypt that stretched along the Middle Nile Valley, was Christian in the period corresponding more or less with the European Middle Ages.[1] Christianity started to infiltrate this area in the fourth century, and was firmly established as a state religion two centuries later. At the time of Christianisation, Nubia was divided in three kingdoms: Nobadia in the north, between the first and the third Nile cataracts, with Faras or Qasr Ibrim as the capital; Alwa (sometimes referred to as Alodia) in the south, beyond the fifth cataract, with the capital in Soba; and Makuria in between, with Dongola as the capital (Fig. 1). At a certain point of time, perhaps in the first half of the seventh century, the northern kingdom, Nobadia, was incorporated into its southern neighbour, Makuria, and ceased to exist as an independent entity.[2]

The process of Nubia's Christianisation is poorly understood.[3] John of Ephesus, an anti-Chalcedonian bishop and historian who is our main source of information, speaks of three evangelisation missions. The first mission, in the 540s, and the second, at the turn of the 560s, were directed to Nobadia, the third, in the 580s, had Alwa as its goal. The exact date of the Christianisation of Makuria is not known, although its king was Christian at the time of the second mission to Nobadia. Nobadia and Alwa received the anti-Chalcedonian version of Christianity. Which version of the Christian faith reached Makuria is a matter of controversy. Scholars of the first half of the twentieth century opted for the Chalcedonian confession,[4] the present-day scholarship rather maintains the view that the anti-Chalcedonian faith prevailed there

* I would like to thank Stephanie Aulsebrook for improving the English of my paper.

1 For Nubians and Nubia, with a focus on its late-antique and mediaeval history, see Adams 1977, *passim*, especially 433-546; Welsby 2002; Werner 2013.

2 For the question of the incorporation of Nobadia into Makuria, see most recently Godlewski 2004, 58-61.

3 For the Christianisation of Nubian Kingdoms, see Richter 2002; Dijkstra 2008, 271-304.

4 Thus, for example, Monneret de Villard 1938, 61-70, and still Adams 1977, 443.

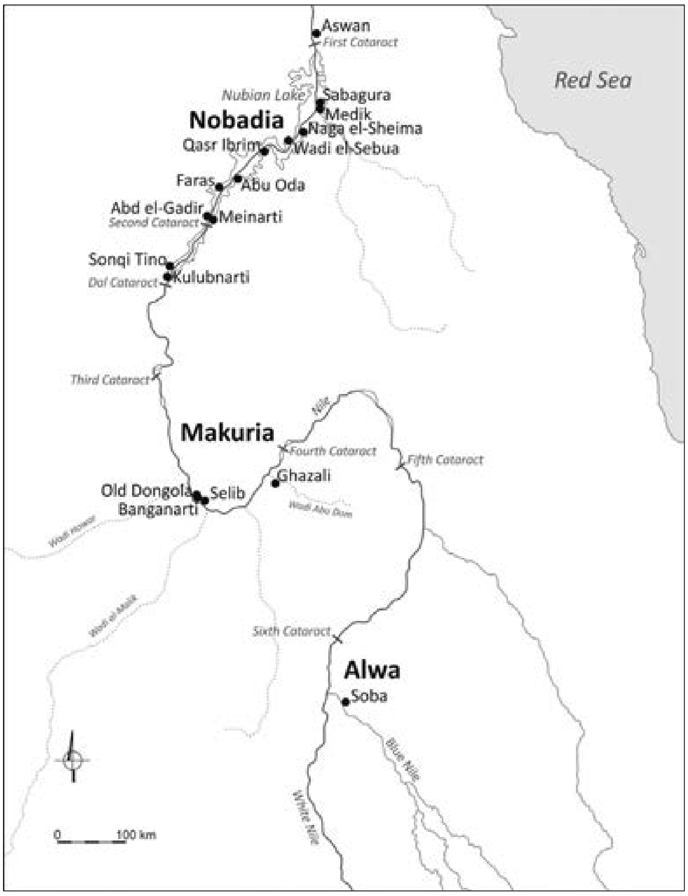


Fig. 1. Map of Christian Nubia showing sites mentioned in the text. Drawn by Szymon Maślak. With kind permission of the author.

also. Later, after Makuria incorporated Nobadia, their Churches merged into one Makurian Church, which was unmistakably anti-Chalcedonian being subordinated to the anti-Chalcedonian Alexandrian Patriarchate. The same is most probably true for the Church of Alwa. The Christianisation of the Nubian kingdoms was crucial for the history of the Middle Nile Valley, as along with the new religion, the whole region also accepted the cultural baggage of Eastern Christianity, including patterns of literary and visual culture, organisation of the state, ideology of power, and social behaviour. These elements were subsequently maintained and developed throughout the entire period of the Christian Nubian culture, which for Makuria lasted until the fourteenth-fifteenth century, and for Alwa until the beginning of the sixteenth century.[5]

Christian Nubia had a rich culture, which, with respect to its forms and contents, did not diverge essentially from what we know from other areas of the Oriental Christian world. Its most spectacular element is the multitude of paintings with religious subjects adorning the walls of cult buildings from big cathedrals, such as that of Faras,[6] to small local churches, as, for example, the church at Sonqi Tino, one hundred or so kilometres to the south of Faras.[7] Another, less known but equally rich, element was literary output. The online *Database of Medieval Nubian Texts* (*DBMNT*) launched and maintained by Grzegorz Ochała[8] contains roughly 3000 entries, but this should by no means be understood as an absolute number, as there are still thousands of unpublished texts that need to be entered into it. The texts produced by Nubian Christians were executed on both durable writing materials (stone, terracotta, bricks, rock faces, plastered walls, ceramic, etc.) and non-durable ones (papyrus, parchment, paper, leather, textiles, etc.). Both groups involve different kinds of media, the most popular being stelae, walls, manuscripts, ostraca, pottery vessels; others, like metal objects, jewellery, clay stoppers, stamps, and textiles, are found only occasionally. The durable materials are by far more popular than the non-durable ones: for example, the *DBMNT* includes 991 stelae and 977 wall and rock inscriptions in comparison to 324 manuscripts on perishable materials.

The texts are essentially composed in three languages: Greek, Coptic and Old Nubian.[9] Greek is attested throughout almost the entire period of the existence of the Christian Nubian state and culture, from the sixth till the fourteenth century. It is found mostly in religious texts, both literary and paraliterary, by

5 Makuria was divided in the fourteenth century into a number of petty kingdoms, which could have retained their Christian character for a certain period. One of them, situated in the second cataract region, survived as a Christian state until at least the end of the fifteenth century, or even as long as the Ottoman conquest of northern Nubia in the 1570s. Alwa ceased to exist under pressure from the Muslim Funj people, who were moving down the Blue Nile. Its capital, Soba, fell prey to the Funj warriors in 1504.

6 For the cathedral of Faras and its paintings, see most recently JAKOBIELSKI *et al.* 2017.

7 For the Sonqi Tino church, see FANFONI 1979; for its paintings, see PASI 2012.

8 http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/.

9 For the linguistic situation in Christian Nubia see OCHAŁA 2014; ŁAJTAR - OCHAŁA forthcoming. When using the term 'Coptic' I always mean Sahidic Coptic; texts in other dialects are extremely rare in Nubia and have no relevance for the present study.

which term I mean texts that came into existence in connection with religious practices and preserve characteristics of literary language, such as liturgical and private prayers, epitaphs, dedications of buildings and paintings, mementos left by pious visitors in cult places, and many more. It is extremely rare in the non-sacral sphere; the only examples known to me are documents connected with the transportation of goods, written mostly on ostraca, and addresses in letters. Coptic occurs in texts datable to the period between the sixth and the twelfth century. It is the language of religious texts, both literary and paraliterary, with the exception of liturgical prayers; this sphere of literacy was obviously reserved for Greek.[10] Coptic is also the language of documents and correspondence, both private and official. Old Nubian appeared for the first time as glosses in Greek texts dating from the end of the eighth century.[11] It received the status of a fully-fledged language of written communication somewhere around AD 1000 replacing Coptic in this function, and retained it until the wane of the Christian Nubian culture towards the end of the fifteenth century. The texts composed in Old Nubian are roughly the same as in Coptic: literary and paraliterary texts (with an almost complete lack of epitaphs), documents and letters.

Textual finds were made throughout the entire territory of Nubia, from the first Nile cataract in the north to the confluence of the two Niles in the south. Three sites are especially important as the source of the inscribed material with respect to both the number of finds and (especially) their variety. These are: Qasr Ibrim, Faras, and Dongola. In what follows I present an overview of textual finds of literary character from these three sites concentrating on four aspects: the archaeological context of the finds, the type of writing support (its material and its form), the language of texts, and their contents. The presentation is summarised in the form of tables. In an appendix I give a list of textual finds I discuss. The list is arranged according to sites (going from north to south: Qasr Ibrim, Faras, Dongola) and then by types of texts (Old Testament, New Testament, apocrypha, patristica-homiletica-ascetica, hagiographica, liturgica, varia). Note that the list contains only published finds and those of which I am well aware. There is surely a considerable number of unpublished materials, which, when published, may change the picture which emerges from my presentation. While compiling the list of textual finds I left aside private prayers found in inscriptions left by visitors in cult places,[12] prayers for the protection of the donors of wall paintings,[13] amuletic prayers,[14] and prayers for the souls of the deceased occurring in epitaphs, even if the latter were frequently literary compositions, based most probably on the funerary liturgy.[15]

2. *Qasr Ibrim*

Qasr Ibrim (Greek and Coptic Primis or Phrim [Πρίμις/ⲫⲣⲓⲙ], Old Nubian Silmi [ⲥⲓⲗⲙⲓ]) was an important religious, commercial, administrative, and military centre situated on the right bank of the Nile, more or less midway between the first and the second Nile cataracts.[16] It probably fulfilled the functions of a capital for the independent Kingdom of Nobadia and later, at least temporarily, for the province of Nobadia within the Kingdom of Makuria. It was a bishopric see from the time of Christianisation in the sixth century until, at least, the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Located on a rocky outcrop rising *c.* 60m above the level of the Nile, it was kept safe from being flooded by the waters of the Nubia Lake, which allowed archaeological investigations to be carried out there by a mission of the Egypt Exploration Society until 2008.

10 A notable exception is a parchment with prayers from baptismal liturgy in Coptic found in the Qasr el-Wizz monastery (F29).

11 This does not mean that it obtained its written form only at that time. The Old Nubian alphabet was created on the basis of the Coptic alphabet probably already at the time of the Christianisation of the Nubian kingdoms in the sixth century.

12 Generally for this kind of texts with relation to Christian Nubia, see Łajtar forthcoming. Visitors' inscriptions are well represented at all three sites discussed in this paper.

13 The prayers in question consist of a series of requests expressed in the aorist imperative. They are apparently based on a liturgical model, however, the exact source is difficult to identify. Inscriptions with such prayers are known from Faras and Dongola, whereby the choice of requests and their sequence varies from one site to another suggesting the existence of two local traditions; see Łajtar in: Godlewski - Kusz - Łajtar 2017, 152-153.

14 Two examples of such texts found in Qasr Ibrim are described and illustrated in Adams 2010, 219, pl. 44a; 220, pl. 44d; 244.

15 This concerns, first of all, the prayer 'God of the spirits and all flesh' (ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός), which is found nearly one hundred times in Greek epitaphs from Nubia. For a list of these epitaphs, see Łajtar 1996b (note that the list is mostly obsolete); for its literary and theological contents, see Brakmann 2006, 303-310.

16 Generally for Christian Qasr Ibrim, see Adams 1996; Adams 2010.

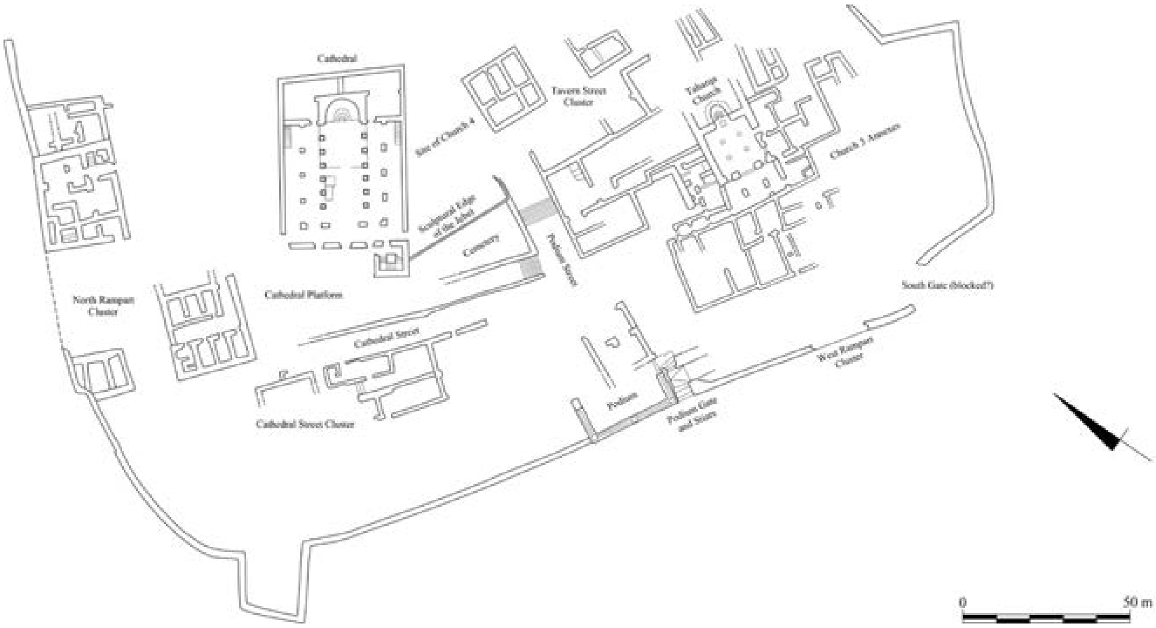


Fig. 2. Plan of Qasr Ibrim in the Classic Christian Period (ninth-twelfth century). Elaborated by Bartosz Wojciechowski on the basis of ADAMS 2010: 35.

The most important element of the landscape of Christian Qasr Ibrim was the cathedral, an imposing stone structure built in the seventh century and used until at least the end of the fourteenth century (Fig. 2).[17] To the south of it stood the so-called South Church, a ninth century building of red brick considerably smaller than the cathedral,[18] later, probably towards the end of the twelfth century, overbuilt by a small mud-brick church (the so-called Small Church or Church 2).[19] The area south of the cathedral and west of the South Church was occupied by the cathedral cemetery with ten or so tombs, either cut in rock or built of red brick.[20] Some of these tombs had internal walls plastered and inscribed with Gospel incipits in Coptic, undoubtedly for apotropaic purposes (QI12; QI15; QI16; QI19; QI20; QI23; QI24). Tombstones found in the area suggest that the tombs offered a place of eternal rest for bishops and occasionally also other people.[21] To the north and south of the cathedral area, there were habitation quarters with mud-brick houses with rather small dimensions and modest equipment.[22] The space west of the cathedral was apparently free of occupation in Christian times (the so-called West Plaza) and the same seems to be true for the eastern part of the town.

While looking at the findspots of inscribed material in Qasr Ibrim, one can easily observe that it mostly comes from the cathedral and its immediate neighbourhood. The finds were spread over the floor of the cathedral, in the fill of tombs in the cathedral cemetery, in the West Plaza and adjacent houses.[23] The finds with an unknown provenance should most probably be ascribed to the cathedral and its vicinity too. If I labelled them 'findspot unknown' in the appended list of finds it is because their exact provenance was not given in the publications. Another easily observable fact is that the texts are almost exclusively written on perishable

17 For the cathedral of Qasr Ibrim, see especially ALDSWORTH *et al.* 2010.

18 For this church, see ADAMS 2010, 54. The church was completely destroyed at some point, perhaps by Egyptian invaders in 1172-1173. According to Adams the evidence for the church's existence consists 'of disarticulated red brick, some of it with fragments of whitewash and painted designs' found directly under the Small Church and its immediate vicinity.

19 For this church, see ADAMS 1996, 78-79.

20 For the cathedral cemetery, see ADAMS 2010, 54-56 with fig. 14; ADAMS 1996, 82-83.

21 The tombstones were found in a secondary context redeposited in one of the tombs of the cathedral cemetery, probably after they were overturned by Egyptian troops of Shams el-Dawla during the raid of 1172-1173. Of nine bishops' epitaphs, all of them in Greek, four commemorated bishops of Phrim (Qasr Ibrim), three bishops of Kourte, and one bishop of Faras; the identity of one bishop cannot be established any longer due to the fragmentary state of preservation of his epitaph; for the publication of the epitaphs, see ŁAJTAR - VAN DER VLIET 2010: nos. 18-26, with introductory remarks on pages 51-56.

22 For Qasr Ibrim habitation quarters, see ADAMS 2010, 14-40; ADAMS 1996, 35-60.

23 PLUMLEY 1975, 103-104; ADAMS 2010.

materials; mostly parchment, more rarely papyrus and paper. In addition, the excavators recorded more than 60 fragments of book covers, as a rule made from several sheets of reused papyrus pressed together and then sewn within a leather covering.[24] As far as the content of the texts is concerned, they present various kinds of religious literature: Biblica (QI 4 [*Psalter*]; QI5 [*Psalm* 95]; QI8 [*Psalter*]; QI 14 [*Matthew*]; QI26 [*John*]; QI31 [fragments of a codex, which contained the two Johannine works]); apocrypha (QI36 [*Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*]; QI7 [Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Raphaelem Archangelum*]); patristica-homiletica (QI41 [Stephen of Hnes, *Homily on Michael*]; QI43 [homily quoting from John's Revelation]); hagiographica (QI47 [*Acta Sancti Mercurii*]; QI48 [*Acta Sancti Georgii*]; QI50 [Akakios of Caesaerea, *Martyrdom of Iulitta and Kyrikos*]; QI52 [*Miracle of Saint Menas*]); and, especially, liturgica (QI53 [*typikon* for the month of Phaophi]; QI54 [lectionary for the month of Mesore]; QI56 and 57 [fragments of lectionaries]; QI59-61 [parts of the *Anaphora of Saint Mark*]; QI62 [*Anaphora of Saint Athanasius*]; QI63-66 [liturgical prayers]; QI67 [prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified]; QI68 [the *Trishagion*]; QI69-73, 75-76, 78, 80 [hymns]). One assumes that these finds are the remains of the cathedral library, which, at a certain point in time, was fragmented and dispersed all over. J. Martin Plumley, the original discoverer of the Qasr Ibrim texts, was of the opinion this occurred only in the second half of the fourteenth century and later;[25] however, more recent studies opt rather for the date 1172-1173, when Qasr Ibrim was captured and destroyed by Egyptian troops of Shams el-Dawla.[26] This disastrous event yields a probable explanation for the finding of some fragments, together with the tombstones of bishops, in the fill of one of the tombs in the cathedral cemetery. After the Egyptian troops withdrew from Qasr Ibrim the rubbish was collected from the desecrated cathedral and thrown into the bishopric tombs that were opened and robbed by the invaders.

An interesting issue connected with inscribed finds from the Qasr Ibrim cathedral concerns their linguistic side. One observes that all texts associated with the performative side of the liturgy that are prayers (and also hymns), are in Greek. On the other hand, the lectionaries, which give incipits and sometimes also explicits of readings for given feasts of the liturgical year, are in Old Nubian. This is in agreement with information transmitted by some sources of external provenance that Christian Nubians celebrated their Eucharistic liturgy in Greek.[27] The persuasive part of the liturgy, however, that is readings and sermons, was done in their native tongue. In this context it is interesting to observe that a fragmentary *typikon* listing saints and readings for the month of Phaophi is, somewhat unexpectedly, written in Greek and Coptic (QI53). This can only be explained through the assumption of the presence in Qasr Ibrim of a colony of Egyptian émigrés for whom the readings were given in the language of their country. The assumption goes hand in hand with a relatively rich representation of biblical manuscripts in Coptic among the extant finds. They could have been kept in the cathedral library for liturgical use. Coptic along with Old Nubian is also well represented among other textual genres such as patristica-homiletica and hagiographica.

Outside of the cathedral a not particularly rich but rather important lot of inscribed material was found in a cache under the floor of the South Church.[28] It contained a leaf with the *Gospel of Mark* in Greek (QI17) and fragments of several Coptic manuscripts with biblical, apocryphal and hagiographical contents (QI 1 [*Genesis*]; QI 10 [*Isaiah*]; QI 11 [*Jeremiah*]; QI 33 [*Enoch*]; QI 48 [*Martyrdom of Saint Mark the Evangelist*]). Fragments of leather book covers accompanied the manuscripts. The finds distinguished themselves from the rest of the Qasr Ibrim finds by their relatively early date – palaeographically not later than the eighth-tenth century – and by the fact that the support for the texts is papyrus, which also speaks in favour of an early date. One can suppose that the manuscripts, which these fragments came from also belonged to the library of a church, either the cathedral or the South Church, were fragmented during a catastrophe,[29] and were subsequently buried in a holy place.

24 Adams 2010, 217. Unfortunately, no example is described or illustrated.

25 Plumley 1975, 102.

26 Adams 2010, 242.

27 Thus Abū al-Makārim, previously known as Abu Salih (Evetts - Butler 1895: 272; repeated in Vantini 1975, 333), and Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī, *Kitāb akhbār al Nūba wa-l-Maqurra wa-l-Beja wa-l-Nīl* quoted by Al-Maqrizi, *Al-mawa'iz wa-l-i'tibar fi dhikr al-khitat wa-l-athar* (Vantini 1975, 614).

28 Plumley 1966, 11-12, Plumley 1975, 105.

29 Considering the early date of the manuscripts one thinks of the Egyptian sack of Qasr Ibrim in retaliation for the Makurian invasion of Upper Egypt in 956 rather than the Shams al-Dawla raid of 1172-1173.

An exceptional find was made in one of the private houses. This was a group of four wooden tablets, which originally might have formed a single codex (QI77). They are inscribed in Greek with what looks like a collection of liturgical poetry, including perhaps a complete canon for Saint Peter. To whom this 'codex' might have belonged is difficult to say; anyway, the owner must have been a person of some intellectual and financial standing. A sheet of paper inscribed on one side with an alphabetical hymn in honour of the Virgin in Greek found in another house was probably a private copy prepared for someone who was able to read Greek (QI74).

Two further pieces of literary heritage known to us from Qasr Ibrim are worthy of mention here. These are: a wooden plank with the bilingual *Psalm* 149.3-150.6 found on the body of a person buried in a tomb in the cathedral (QI6) and a burial shroud with the prayer of Mary (in the hour of her death?) in Old Nubian discovered in Tomb T9 of the cathedral cemetery (QI34). They indicate that literary compositions, mostly of biblical and apocryphal provenance, were used in funerary contexts in Christian Nubia, as a means for protecting the soul of the deceased in the liminal moment of passage between this world and eternity. The aforementioned incipits of the four gospels inscribed on internal walls of some tombs in the cathedral cemetery and the inscriptions on the walls of the burial vault of Archbishop Georgios in the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H at Dongola discussed below (D11; D13; D14; D15; D18; D19; D20) have the same function.

3. *Faras*

Faras, called Pachoras (παχωρας) in Greek and Coptic sources, and Para (παρα) in Old Nubian ones, was an important centre of occupation in the second cataract area, which, either as an alternative to Qasr Ibrim or simultaneously with it, fulfilled the functions of a capital for Nobadia, first as an independent kingdom and later as a province of the Kingdom of Makuria. It was a bishopric see from *c.* 620 until at least the end of the fourteenth century.[30] Interestingly, several local bishops are designated as metropolites in sources at our disposal, which shows that Faras was capital of an ecclesiastical province within the Makurian Church. Faras is known mainly thanks to its cathedral adorned with magnificent paintings, discovered by Polish archaeologists during the so-called Nubian campaign of the 1960s.[31] Earlier excavations by American and British archaeologists unearthed some less impressive churches, the so-called North Church and South Church,[32] and the Rivergate Church (Fig. 3).[33] More importantly we know about what was seemingly the main monastic establishment of the Faras agglomeration. This so-called Qasr el-Wizz monastery, located *c.* 2km north of the town, was excavated by a mission from the American Research Center in Egypt working roughly at the same time as the Polish mission in the cathedral.[34] Established during the time of the Christianisation of the Kingdom of Nobadia in the mid-sixth century and used until the thirteenth century, it probably went under the name of Apa Dios(koros).

Textual finds from the cathedral and the Qasr el-Wizz monastery differ considerably from each other with respect to their support, language and contents. The cathedral yielded relatively few manuscripts but abounded in wall inscriptions, belonging to both painted representations as their integral element and standing alone as an independent element of the internal 'decoration.' The first category is exemplified by the inscription with the first words of the Gospel according to John painted in the book held by Jesus Christ shown on the east wall of the south nave of the cathedral (F4), and the inscription with *John* 1.29-30 (the words with which John the Baptist saluted Jesus before the baptism in the Jordan

30 For the history of the Faras bishopric, see Jakobielski 1972.

31 For the excavations, see Michałowski 1967; for the cathedral and its transformations, see Godlewski 2006; for the paintings, see n. 6.

32 For the North and the South Churches, see Milehem 1910, 27-37.

33 Griffith 1926, 66-93.

34 For a preliminary presentation of the results of the mission's work, see Scanlon 1970 and Scanlon 1972. The final publication of the excavations is under preparation by Artur Obłuski and his team; preliminarily, see Obłuski 2016; see also Obłuski 2019, 18-22. For the literary output connected with the Qasr el-Wizz monastery, see Tsakos 2016.

river) visible on the open roll held by John the Baptist represented on the west wall of the baptistery (F5). To the second category belong two *dipinti* on the east wall of the north pastophorium with prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified (F27), and a long inscription with the list of hymn incipits (F30). In the monastery, the textual finds are almost exclusively manuscripts. Wall inscriptions are represented by only one rather impressive item: a *dipinto* on the internal walls of the baptismal tank in the monastery's church with *Ode* 8 in Greek and Old Nubian (F1). As for the language and the contents of texts, the cathedral finds are dominated by liturgical compositions in Greek including, in the first line, prayers and hymns (F27 [the Nicene-Constantinopolitan (?) creed]; F28 [prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified]; F30 [list of hymns incipits]; F31 [a collection of hymns including a troparion for Palm Sunday] (Figs. 4a and 4b); F33 [a hymn quoting from psalms]; F34 [hymn for Saint John the Baptist]). In the monastery, the dominant language is Coptic and the texts are mostly of non-liturgical character. Their hallmark is a collection of works connected with the monastic life including ascetic treatises (F17 [Stephen of Thebes, *Sermo asceticus*]; F18 [an unidentified ascetic work]; F20 [Shenoutean dialogue]) and lives of monastic saints (F22 [*Life of Hilaria*]; F23 [*Life of Apa Dios*]; F24 [*Life of Marina*]). These are supplemented by biblical texts (F2 [*Jeremiah*]; F7 [*Acts*]; F8 [*Galatians*]) and apocrypha (F11 [*Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*]; F12 [an abridged version of the last work]; F13 [Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Cross*]; F10 [a complete codex with two works: *Words of the Saviour under the Cross* and *Dance of the Saviour around the Cross*]).

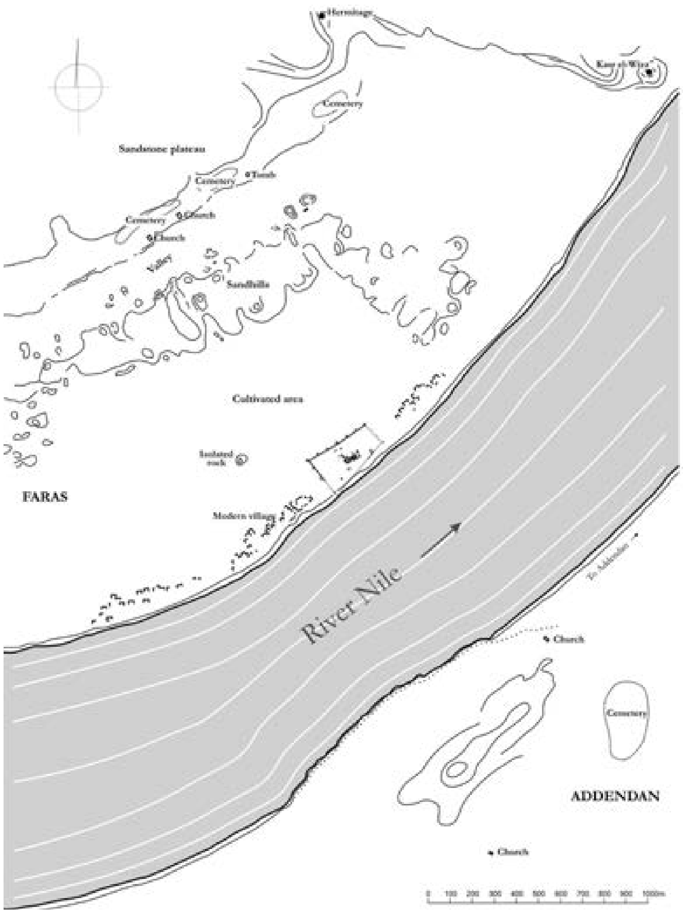


Fig. 3. Plan of the Faras agglomeration in Christian times. Elaborated by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Szymon Maślak on the basis of Milehem 1910 and Griffith 1927. With kind permission of Włodzimierz Godlewski.

Yet another element of the cultural and religious landscape of the Faras agglomeration important from the point of view of the present paper was the so-called Anchorite Grotto.[35] The Grotto (originally a Pharaonic tomb) was situated *c.* 2km northwest of the Faras town and was apparently used as a place of solitude by a holy monk with the name Theophilos, probably a member of the Qasr el-Wizz monastic community. After the death of its original occupant, his hermitage was turned into a kind of commemorative church frequented by the local population including even bishops of Faras.[36] The inhabitant of the Grotto covered its walls with a series of inscriptions in Coptic containing various literary and paraliterary texts such as gospel incipits (F3), the Letter of Jesus to Abgar (F9), the Nicene Creed with the anathema against Arians (F26), *Apophthegmata Patrum* (F16), lists of names (the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, the Three Wise Men who visited Jesus after his birth, the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus), and the Rotas-Sator square. The inscriptions were put into ornamental frames to give the impression that they are pages of a codex.

35 For a description of the Grotto and a (very imperfect) presentation of inscriptions adorning its walls, see Griffith 1927, 81-90. The site attracted relatively little attention in the scholarship. Recently Artur Obłuski gave short characteristics of the complex (Obłuski 2019, 53-56) and Jacques van der Vliet reflected briefly on its inscriptions (van der Vliet 2017, 160-162).

36 This is testified by graffiti left by visitors on the walls of this 'church.'

Figs. 4a-b. Parchment leaf with a collection of hymns in Greek found in the Faras cathedral (F31); a: flesh-side, b: hair-side. Copyright National Museum Warsaw.

This epigraphic 'book' was accompanied by a sort of colophon, which gave the name of the writer and the date: year of Diocletian 462, AD 746. The choice of the texts inscribed on the walls of the Anchorite Grotto was obviously a personal matter for Theophilos. They showed his orthodoxy (the Nicene Creed) and his admiration for the ascetic life (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), playing at the same time an apotropaic role (gospel incipits, the Letter of Jesus to Abgar, lists of holy names).

4. *Dongola*

Situated midway between the third and the fourth Nile cataracts, Dongola (Old Nubian Toungoul [ⲧⲟⲩⲅⲅⲟⲩⲗ], Greek and Coptic Timikleos [ⲧⲓⲙⲓⲕⲗⲉⲟⲥ]),[37] was the royal capital of Makuria and the seat of the head of the Makurian Church, designated as an archbishop metropolite in sources at our disposal.[38] The town was located on a rocky plateau dominating the right bank of the Nile, and consisted of the citadel enclosed within massive defences and extensions going in all directions except westwards.[39] The east extension boasted a massive two-storey mud-brick building interpreted as a throne hall of the kings of Makuria, turned into a mosque at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the oldest still-functioning mosque in Sudan (Fig. 5).[40] Dongola has been the object of archaeological activity by a Polish mission for over fifty years. Very little has been unearthed in the citadel. The only discoveries worth mentioning here are: a spacious residential building, perhaps a royal palace, a small cruciform building turned into a church at a later stage of its use, and the Church of Raphael, forming together a complex that was connect-

37 For the names of Dongola in medieval times, see ŁAJTAR 2013; ŁAJTAR 2015c.

38 Thus, for example, in a newly discovered wall inscription in the Church of Raphael on the citadel of Dongola, commemorating its consecration or renovation; for the publication of the inscription, see DERDA - ŁAJTAR forthcoming.

39 Generally for Dongola based on the results of work of the Polish mission, see GODLEWSKI 2013.

40 For this building, see GODLEWSKI 2013, 42-47 (with earlier bibliography).

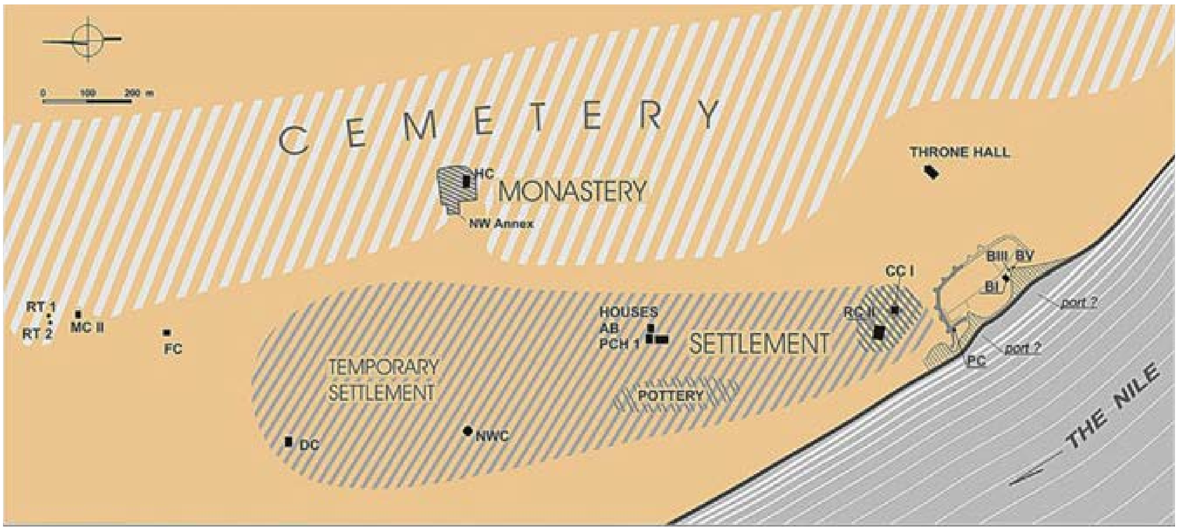


Fig. 5. The Dongola agglomeration in the twelfth century. Elaborated by Dobrochna Zielińska after Godlewski 2013: 18.

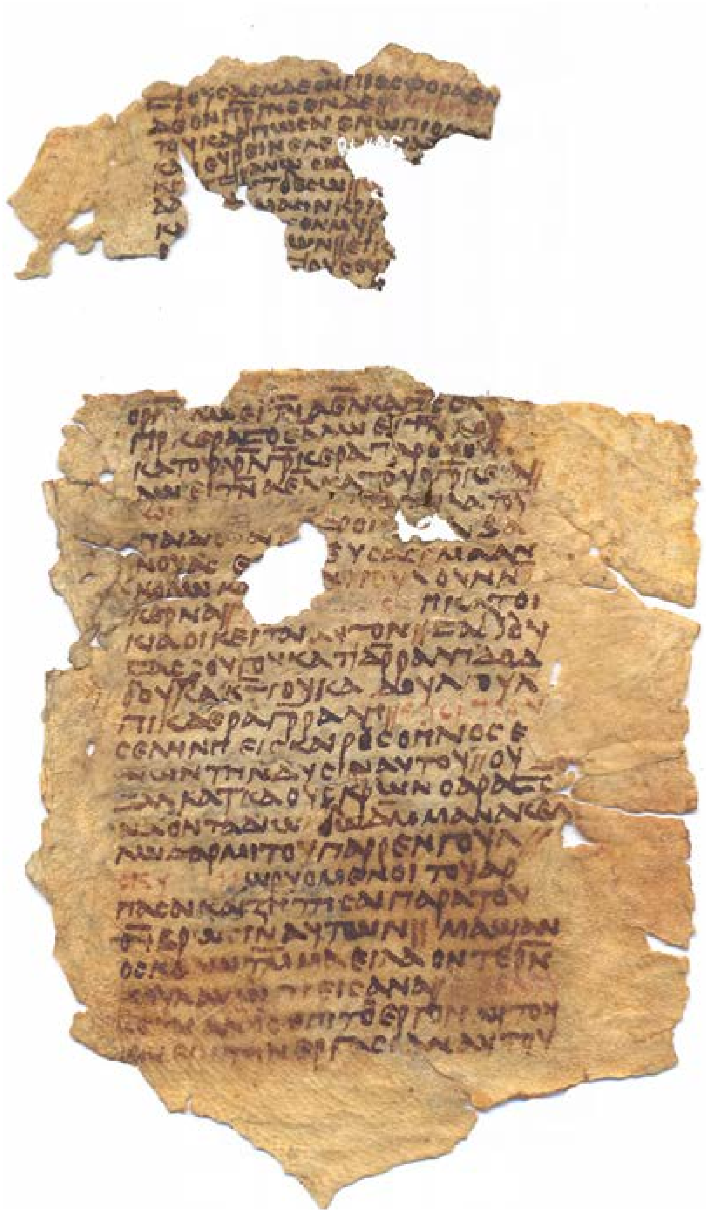


Fig. 6. Fragments of parchment leaf with Psalm 103.15-31 in Greek and Old Nubian found in the mosque at Dongola (D7). Copyright National Museum Warsaw.

Fig. 7. Fragments of plaster with Constantinopolitan creed in Greek found within the monastery church (D23). Photo Włodzimierz Godlewski. Copyright Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw.

ed with the state and royalty.[41] Excavations in the north extension yielded two big churches, the Church of Granite Columns, believed to be the cathedral of Dongola,[42] and the Cruciform Church, tentatively identified as the Church of Jesus, the most important ecclesiastical structure in Dongola in the late period.[43] Another important discovery is a monastery hidden under the so-called Kom H located *c.* 1.5km northeast of the town. The monastery has not yet been fully excavated, though the main elements of its spatial organisation have been sufficiently identified.[44] These include: the monastery church,[45] another smaller church,[46] a cell for a particularly important ascetic turned into a commemorative chapel after his death,[47] the service areas, and two annexes abutting the monastery wall from the west and called the Northwest Annex and the Southwest Annex respectively.[48] The annexes were apparently liturgical spaces, possibly of commemorative character, accessible for both the monks and believers coming from the outside world. The monastery on Kom H was probably founded shortly after the conversion of Makuria to Christianity and may have functioned until at least the mid-fourteenth century.

Manuscripts are almost completely absent from the textual finds made in Dongola by the Polish mission.[49] Worth mentioning are only two fragments of parchment leaves with Old Testament poetical works (*Psalm* 103 and *Ode* 8) in Greek and Old Nubian, found in the throne hall of the Makurian kings (D7, Fig. 6, and D10 respectively). Instead we have a considerable number of wall inscriptions, mostly belonging to the original 'decoration' of cult spaces. Here are some examples: fragments of plaster with the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed in Greek found within the monastery church (D23, Fig. 7); another creed in Greek, obviously

41 For the palace, see GODLEWSKI 2013, 26-29 (with earlier bibliography); GODLEWSKI - DANYS - OSYPIŃSKA 2015. For the commemorative building, see ZIELIŃSKA 2010; GODLEWSKI 2013, 35-39. For the Church of Raphael, see GODLEWSKI 2018b.

42 For the cathedral of Dongola and its transformations, see GARTKIEWICZ 1990 (summarised in GODLEWSKI 2013, 48-57).

43 For the Cruciform Church, see GODLEWSKI 1990 (summarised in GODLEWSKI 2013, 39-41).

44 Generally for the monastery on Kom H, see GODLEWSKI 2013, 78-91. The name of the monastery is a matter of controversy, either the '(Great) Monastery of Antony' or the 'Monastery of Holy Trinity.' Both names occur in textual sources discovered on the site.

45 GODLEWSKI 2018a.

46 The church was discovered only in the 2017/2018 season of work and its discovery has not yet been reported in print.

47 GODLEWSKI 2013, 82-83; GODLEWSKI 2014, 275-280.

48 For the Northwest Annex, see JAKOBIELSKI 2001; GODLEWSKI 2013, 85-91. For the Southwest Annex, see GODLEWSKI 2013, 91. For the painted decoration of the Annexes, see MARTENS-CZARNECKA 2012.

49 This lack is frequently explained by the presence of termites (Sudanese Arabic: *arda*), which eat everything organic. I do not know if this explanation is correct; anyway the absence of parchments and papers in the capital of the Kingdom of Makuria is remarkable.

Fig. 8. Hymns in honour of Archangel Michael in Greek accompanying his painted representation in the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (D34). Copyright Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw.

based on the Constantinopolitan one but displaying a highly developed anamnetic part, inscribed on the wall of one of the rooms of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H (D25); a prayer for the Church from an unknown anaphora of Egyptian type in Greek known from two copies inscribed on the walls of two chapels in the Northwest Annex (D26 and D27); prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified in Greek inscribed in two other chapels of the same Annex (D28 and D29), and the north pastophorium of the Church of Raphael (D30); two inscriptions in the Northwest Annex and one in the Southwest Annex giving the texts of psalms in Greek and Old Nubian (D4 [*Ps.* 29]; D6 [*Ps.* 96]; D8 [*Ps.* 127]); a hymn based upon *Ode* 8 (the song of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace) positioned at the head of the apse of the Church of Raphael (D33); a series of hymns in honour of Michael in Greek accompanying his painted representation in the Northwest Annex (D34, Fig. 8). Worth mentioning is also an ostracon with *Psalm* 22.1 preceded by the Trinitarian formula found in a private house on the citadel (D3). The most impressive discovery of textual character made by the Polish mission in Dongola was a burial vault under Room 5 of the Northwest Annex prepared shortly before 1113 for Georgios, an archbishop of Dongola (Fig. 9). The internal walls of the vault are densely covered with ink inscriptions containing various texts of literary and paraliterary character, obviously written with the aim to protect the tomb and the body buried in it.[50] They include, among others: incipits and explicits of the four

50 For a full publication of these inscriptions together with a discussion of their function, see Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017.

Fig. 9. Burial vault under Room 5 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H in Dongola inscribed with literary and paraliterary texts in Greek and Coptic, general view. Photo Cristobal Calaforra-Rzepka. Copyright Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw.

gospels in Greek (D11, 13-15), the so-called *Oratio Mariae ad Bartos* in Greek coupled with the prayer of the virgin Justina from the *Conversio Cypriani* also in Greek (D15 and D22 respectively), and excerpts from the works *On the Holy Virgin Mary* by Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem (D19) and *On the Dormition of the Holy Virgin Mary* by Ps.-Evodius of Rome (D20), both in Coptic. On the general characteristics of the textual material of literary character known from Dongola one must observe that it is dominated by biblical and liturgical texts in Greek and Old Nubian. Coptic is rare and occurs only in the monastery.

An ink inscription on the east wall of Room 35 of the Northwest Annex with an adaptation of one of the so-called Menander sentences in Greek (D35) deserves special mention here. The text says that those who know script, perhaps in the sense of (Holy) Scripture, have a better understanding than other people. The inscription is obviously a reminiscence of school education in the Greek style, which frequently made use of short gnomic statements to teach students both the language and the ethics.[51] It testifies to the fact that literary education in Christian Nubia followed paths that had been established in the Greek and Greek-influenced world for over a millennium.

5. *Conclusions*

An overwhelming majority of the texts of literary character known to us from Christian Nubia are imports from Egypt and perhaps areas of Eastern Christianity even further afield. They were brought to Nubia through the medium of manuscripts and then underwent a regular process of transmission and repro-

51 For the use of gnoms (including Menander *Sententiae*) for educational purposes in Late Antique Egypt, especially in the monastic milieu, see LARSEN 2013; LARSEN 2016.

duction. Some of them, e.g. biblical books, apocrypha, homiletica, and hagiographica, were also translated into the epichoric language. Only in very rare cases can we suppose that the Middle Nile Valley was the place where a text was composed. None of the texts surveyed in the appended list of sources can be identified as such – not even a horoscope for the month of Thoth found in Qasr Ibrim (QI85) – however, original Nubian compositions are known from elsewhere.[52] The import of Greek and Coptic manuscripts must have been particularly intensive at the time of the Christianisation of the Nubian Kingdoms in the sixth century and shortly thereafter, however, it also took place later, probably as late as the tenth-eleventh century. Imports can be detected in the material under scrutiny, especially that originating from Qasr Ibrim. Here one can mention: a leaf with *Matthew* 12.32ff. in Coptic (QI14), a parchment leaf with a homily quoting extensively from John's *Revelation* also in Coptic (QI43), and a papyrus leaf with the Coptic version of Akakios of Caesarea, Martyrdom of Iulitta and Kyrikos (QI50), all three found in the filling of tomb T2 in the Qasr Ibrim cathedral cemetery; a leaf with *Mark* 6.56-10.22 in Greek found in the cache under the South Church in Qasr Ibrim (QI17); two leaves of a codex with portions of the homily on Michael and the Devil found in the refuse fill above the uppermost floor of House 211 in Qasr Ibrim (QI45); a complete codex with two works *Words of the Saviour under the Cross* and *Dance of the Saviour around the Cross* in Coptic found in the Qasr el-Wizz monastery (F10). The list would probably have been much longer if we had final publications of finds, especially Coptica from Qasr Ibrim, with full codicological and palaeographical descriptions and photos.

As far as biblical texts are concerned one observes a clear prevalence of New Testament texts over the Old Testament ones. This prevalence can easily be explained by practical reasons: the New Testament is the basis of the Liturgy of the Word in all Christian churches and there are no reasons to suppose that the Nubian Church followed another tradition. The preserved lectionaries of the Nubian Church prescribe one reading from the gospels and one from the Pauline letters but none from the Old Testament.[53] One has to observe further that the Old Testament is represented mostly by two poetic books namely *Psalms* and *Odes*, especially *Ode* 8, that is the song of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace. Their popularity is obviously connected with their inclusion as an element of the musical setting of the liturgy. In fact, a bilingual, Greek-Coptic, *typikon* from Qasr Ibrim (QI53) provides for the performance of a psalm, most probably in full, before the reading from a Pauline epistle and a gospel, and a fragmentary Old Nubian lectionary from the same site (QI57) gives the text of Psalm 31 as the song for the fifth Sunday of Lent. The use of psalms and odes as liturgical songs gives a probable explanation for their linguistic peculiarity. Many Nubian testimonies for these poetic compositions are bilingual, Greek-Old Nubian, whereby the verses are either translated one after the other (full bilingualism; so QI3; QI4; QI5; F1; D6; D8) or alternating (semibilingualism; so QI6; D4; D7; D10). This is likely to be reminiscent of the performance of psalms and odes by two choirs one of which sung in Greek and the other in Old Nubian.

Looking at the non-biblical literary texts one observes a considerable number of works representing a peculiar genre of apocryphal literature labelled 'apostolic memoirs' by Alin Suciu in his discussion of one such text preserved in a manuscript now divided between Berlin and Strasbourg.[54] These 'apostolic memoirs' are reports attributed to the apostles, which find expression already in their narrative structure characterised by the first person plural, concerning various topics.[55] The reports occur either independently or in the framework of a homily attributed to a Church Father, whereby the alleged author often claims finding the original record in a book discovered somewhere in Jerusalem.[56] 'Apostolic memoirs' known from the three Nubian sites discussed in this paper include: *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli* (QI36; F11; F12); *In quattuor animalia*, attributed to either Saint John Chrysostom or to Saint Cyril of Jerusalem (QI38; QI39; QI40); *Words of the Saviour under the Cross* (The Stauros-Text) and *Dance of the Saviour around the*

52 The most obvious example is a hymn for Michael on page 2 ii of the so-called 'Attiri Book of Michael'; cf. van Gerven Oei *et al.* 2016, 51-56.

53 See Ochała 2015, *passim*, especially 16-20.

54 Suciu 2017, *passim*, especially 70-138. Joost Hagen calls them 'diaries of the apostles;' cf. Hagen 2004; see also Hagen 2007; Hagen 2010b.

55 Sometimes 'apostolic memoirs' are composed as a dialogue between Jesus and his disciples held either before his passion or after the resurrection (thus, for example, Stauros-Text and *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*).

56 This makes their typological appurtenance difficult. They may be classified as both apocrypha and patristica-homiletica.

Cross (F10); Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Holy Virgin Mary* (D19); Ps.-Evodius of Rome, *On the Dormition of the Holy Virgin Mary* (D20). An unidentified apocryphon, loosely referring to the sayings of Jesus (QI35) may belong to this genre too, however, its fragmentary state of preservation precludes any certainty in this matter. Works representing the genre of 'apostolic memoirs' are known also from other Nubian sites.[57] Importantly they are attested in all three languages of the Christian Nubian literacy, i.e. Coptic, Greek, and Old Nubian, and in different recensions or even versions, as is the case with *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*. Suciu demonstrated that 'apostolic memoirs' were products of the Coptic monastic milieu of the post-Chalcedonian period aimed at legitimating certain feasts of the liturgical year. Liturgical use yields a very probable explanation for the popularity of these texts among Christian Nubians too: they could have been read aloud, in full or as excerpts, to the believers gathered to celebrate specific feasts. Thus 'apostolic memoirs' are testimony to the popular piety of inhabitants of Christian Nubia. Considering the subject of the texts, this was directed mostly towards the Cross and the angelic beings, such as Michael and the Four Apocalyptic Beasts. For a vivid cult of angels in Christian Nubia speaks also the occurrence among the finds from Qasr Ibrim of a copy of Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Raphaelem Archangelum* (QI37), another homily about the qualities and deeds of an angel falsely attributed to a Patristic author.

Finally, one has to take into consideration liturgical texts. I already called attention to the fact that they are almost exclusively in Greek. One observes a relatively small number of textual finds connected with the Eucharistic liturgy. Those we possess indicate that the Church of Makuria made use, as expected, of Egyptian-type anaphorae, mostly the *Anaphora of Saint Mark* (QI59: QI60; QI61), but also the *Anaphora of Saint Athanasius* (QI62), and another anaphora not yet identified (D26; D 27).[58] An interesting phenomenon is a substantial representation of finds related to the Liturgy of the Presanctified, which made the Presanctified the best-documented type of liturgical celebration in Christian Nubia. The explanation for this unexpected situation is that, starting from the tenth century, the Liturgy of the Presanctified offered a background for the decoration of the north pastophoria of Nubian churches, and its prayers were inscribed there along paintings showing Jesus Christ blessing the chalice.[59] However, the most striking feature of the material discussed in this paper is a prominent representation of texts related to the musical setting of the liturgy. They occur at all three sites and in all possible media (parchment, papers, ostraca, wall inscriptions). The great number of such finds and their variety testifies to the importance of this element of liturgical celebrations in Christian Nubia, but also to the fact that it had the greatest influence on the believers.

The above discussion can be summarised in form of the following tables:

Qasr Ibrim

Findspot

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Cathedral	3	2	2	–	2	19
Cathedral cemetery	1	8	1	2	2	1
South Church	3	1	1	–	1	–
Habitation quarters	–	2	2	1	–	3
West Plaza	–	–	–	–	–	3
Unknown	4	7	3	2	2	2

57 The Pseudo-Chrysostomian work *In venerabilem crucem sermo* in Old Nubian is the content of a manuscript of unknown provenance, now in Berlin (the so-called 'Griffith's Staruros-Text'); for the most recent publication, see BROWNE 1983; see also BROWNE 1989b, 22-29 and 85-87. A copy of the same work, also in Old Nubian, was found during excavations of the University of Chicago mission in Serra, a locality close to Faras; for the publication of the text, see BROWNE 1984; see also BROWNE 1989b, 28-45 and 87-89. The *Book of Bartholomew* (known also as *The Book of Resurrection of Jesus Christ*) in Coptic preserved in the manuscript BM *Or.* 6804 was originally donated to the Jesus-Church at Illarti, obviously a Lower Nubian locality, as stated in the colophon of this manuscript. For the publication of the text, see BUDGE 1913, 1-48 (Coptic text), 179-230 (English translation); for the literary genre of the text, see SUCIU 2015. The codex with the *Book of Bartholomew* belongs to the so-called Esna-Edfu hoard, which shows numerous affiliations with Nubia; cf. VAN DER VLIET 2015.

58 For the use of Egyptian-type anaphorae in the Makurian Church, see BRAKMANN 2006, 314-320.

59 For the decorative programme of north pastophoria of Nubian churches, see ŁAJTAR - ZIELIŃSKA 2016.

Material

	OT	NT	Aporypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Papyrus, paper, parchment	10	13	8	5	7	27
Wood	1	–	–	–	–	1
Textiles	–	–	1	–	–	–
Ostraca	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wall inscriptions	–	7	–	–	–	–

Language

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Greek	1	3	–	–	3	20
Coptic	5	11	3	5	3	–
Old Nubian	–	6	6	–	1	6
Greek-Coptic	1	–	–	–	–	1
Greek-Old Nubian	4	–	–	–	–	1

Faras

Findspot

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Cathedral	–	3	2	–	1	6
South Church	–	–	–	–	–	1
Qasr el-Wizz monastery	2	2	4	4	4	2
Anchorite Grotto	–	1	1	1	–	1

Material

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Papyrus, paper, parchment	1	2	6	4	5	4
Wood	–	–	–	–	–	–
Textiles	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ostraca	–	–	–	–	–	2
Wall inscriptions	1	4	1	1	–	4

Language

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Greek	–	1	4	–	–	8
Coptic	1	5	3	5	4	2
Old Nubian	–	–	–	–	1	–
Greek-Coptic	–	–	–	–	–	–
Greek-Old Nubian	1	–	–	–	–	–

Dongola

Findspot

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Churches	–	–	–	–	–	2
Throne Hall (Mosque)	2	–	–	–	–	–
Habitations	2	1	–	–	–	–
Monastery on Kom H	6	6	3	2	–	10

Material

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Papyrus, paper, parchment	2	–	–	–	–	1
Wood	–	–	–	–	–	–
Textiles	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ostraca	1	–	–	–	–	–
Wall inscriptions	7	7	3	2	–	11

Language

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Greek	4	7	1	2	–	11
Coptic	–	–	2	–	–	1
Old Nubian	1	–	–	–	–	–
Greek-Coptic	–	–	–	–	–	–
Greek-Old Nubian	5	–	–	–	–	–

Summary

	OT	NT	Apocrypha	Patristica, homiletica, ascetica	Hagiographica	Liturgica
Greek	5	11	5	2	3	39
Coptic	6	16	8	10	7	3
Old Nubian	1	6	8	–	2	6
Greek-Coptic	1	–	–	–	–	1
Greek-Old Nubian	10	–	–	–	–	1

Appendix: List of finds with literary texts from Christian Nubia[60]

Qasr Ibrim

Old Testament

1. *Genesis* (exact identification not given). Coptic. Parchment? South Church. Eighth-tenth century. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
2. *Deuteronomy* 32.15-17 and 21-22. Greek. Parchment? Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Adams 1996, 239.
3. *Psalm* 26.8-14 + 90.1-5. Greek and Old Nubian. Parchment leaf. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989a, no. 12; Browne 1989b, 62-65, no. 12.
4. *Psalm* 61.10-13 + 83.2-13 + 86.1-7 + 46.2-6. Greek and Old Nubian. Two parchment leaves once belonging to the same codex. Cathedral. Date unknown, probably before 1172-1173. Leaf A: Plumley - Browne 1988: no. 2, pl. 2; Browne 1989b, 44-47, no. 2. Leaf B: Browne 1981; Browne 1989a, no. 13; Browne 1989b, 64-67, no. 13.
5. *Psalm* 95.6-13. Greek and Old Nubian. Parchment leaf. Cathedral. Date unknown, probably before 1172-1173. Plumley - Browne 1988, no. 3, pl. 2; Browne 1989b, 46-49, no. 3.
6. *Psalm* 149.3-150.6. Greek and Old Nubian. Wooden plank. Burial vault in the cathedral. Date unknown, probably eleventh-thirteenth century. Ruffini 2009.
7. *Psalter* (exact identification not given). Coptic. Parchment? Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
8. *Psalter* (exact identification not given). Coptic. Parchment? Filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
9. *Wisdom* (exact identification not given). Greek and Coptic. Parchment? Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
10. *Isaiah* 16-17, 22-3, 28-9. Coptic. Parchment leaf. South Church. Eighth-tenth century. Unpublished; cf. Plumley - Adams 1974, 214; Hagen 2010a, 720; Hagen 2012, 14.
11. *Jeremiah* 40.1-2. Coptic. Parchment. South Church. Eighth-tenth century. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2012, 14.

New Testament

12. *Matthew* 1.1-7. Coptic. Inscription painted on an internal wall of tomb T12 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010: no. 91A.
13. *Matthew* 6.9-13 [*pater noster*]. Greek. Paper? scrap. Findspot unknown. Unpublished. Date unknown. Known to me through a photo in the Qasr Ibrim Archive in the British Museum.
14. *Matthew* 12.32ff. Coptic. Papyrus leaf. Filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Apparently an import. Unpublished; cf. Plumley 1966, 11-12, pl. VI 2 (left); Hagen 2010a, 720.
15. *Mark* 1.1-4. Coptic. Inscription painted on an internal wall of tomb T12 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010, no. 91C.
16. *Mark* 1.1-2 (not preserved) and 16.19b. Coptic. Inscription painted on an internal wall of tomb 369 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010, no. 92B.
17. *Mark* 6.56-10.22. Greek. Parchment. Leaf of a codex. South Church. Fifth-sixth century. Obviously an import, perhaps still from the time of the Christianisation of Nobadia in mid-sixth century. Roberts - Plumley 1976.

60 Note that the entries of the list correspond with individual texts rather than with manuscripts or clusters of texts, even if there are exceptions from this rule.

18. *Mark* 11.1-10. Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf, which has *John* 20.11-18 in Greek on the other side. House 785, room 4. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989a, no. 14; Browne 1989b, 66-67, no. 14.
19. *Luke* 1.1-3. Coptic. Inscription painted on an internal wall of tomb T12 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010, no. 91D.
20. *Luke* 1.1-4 and 24.51-53 Coptic. Inscription painted on an internal wall of tomb 369 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010, no. 92C.
21. *Luke* 13-25. Coptic. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Adams 1996, 239.
22. *Luke* 24.5-7 + *Matthew* 27.8 + *Mark* 16.7. Selection of quotes whose sequence follows Tatian's *Dietessaron*. Old Nubian. Fragment of a paper sheet. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 2004.
23. *John* 1.1-5. Coptic. Inscription painted on an internal wall of tomb T12 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010, no. 91E.
24. *John* 1.1-5 and 21.22-25. Coptic. Inscriptions painted on internal walls of tomb 369 in the cathedral cemetery. Tenth-twelfth century. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010, no. 92D and E.
25. *John* 18.21. Coptic. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Adams 1996, 239.
26. *John* 20.9-15. Old Nubian. Fragment of a paper sheet. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. Plumley - Browne 1988, no. 6, pl. 5. Browne 1989b, 52-53, no. 6.
27. *John* 20.11-18. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf, which has *Mark* 11.1-10 in Old Nubian on the other side. House 785, room 4. Date unknown. The Greek text remains unpublished. It is known only from description accompanying the publication of the Old Nubian part.
28. *John* 20.12-13 and 16-17. Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1992, 35-36, Appendix.
29. Pauline epistles (exact identification not given). Coptic. Parchment? Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
30. *Jude* 9-16. Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1980; Browne 1989a, no. 15, pl. 1; Browne 1989b, 66-69, no. 15.
31. *Revelation* 7.15-8.11 + *Revelation* 14.6-15 + *John* 11.20-41. Old Nubian. Three parchment leaves originally belonging to the same codex, which had 194 pages and contained the two Johannine works (*Revelation* and Gospel). Cathedral. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Reconstruction of the codex: Browne 1996.

Apocrypha

32. Paralipomena of Jeremiah (exact identification not given). Coptic. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
33. 2 *Enoch* 36-42. Coptic. Fragments of four parchment leaves. South Church. Eighth-tenth century. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2012, 7-34, figs. 1-3.
34. Prayer of Mary (in the hour of her death?). Old Nubian. Burial shroud. Tomb T9 in the cathedral cemetery. Eleventh-twelfth century. Ruffini 2015.
35. Unidentified apocryphon, loosely referring to the sayings of Jesus (*Matthew* 28.16-20, *Mark* 16.14-18, *Luke* 24.36-49, *John* 20.19-23), perhaps a homily. Old Nubian. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 2001a.
36. *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*. Old Nubian. Parchment leaf. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. Plumley - Browne 1988, no. 11, pl. 11; Browne 1989b, 60-63, no. 11; Browne 1990.
37. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Raphaelem Archangelum*. Old Nubian. Fragments of three parchment leaves. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. Browne 1982; Plumley - Browne 1988, no. 10, pl. 9, 10; Browne 1989b, 58-61, no. 10.
38. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In quattuor animalia*. Coptic. Parchment. House III, north of the temple enclosure. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2007, 467-80; Hagen 2010, 720.
39. Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *In quattuor animalia*. Old Nubian. Two leaves of a paper codex. House 763. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1985; Browne 1989a, no. 16, pl. I; Browne 1989b, 68-69.
40. *In quattuor animalia* (?). Old Nubian. Fragment of a paper sheet. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Preliminary publication: Browne 1994, 9-10.

Patristica, homiletica

41. Stephen of Hnes, *Homily on Archangel Michael*. Coptic. Parchment? Filling of Tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Plumley 1966, 11, pl. 6.1; Hagen 2010a, 720.
42. Pisentios of Koptos, a homily. Coptic. Parchment? Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720.
43. Homily quoting extensively from John's *Revelation*. Coptic. Parchment. Filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Probably an import. Unpublished; cf. Plumley 1966, 11 and pl. VI 1, right hand-side (photo).
44. Homily on repentance. The text describes a meeting between Chrysostome and Shenoute in Heavens, which ends with an agreement. Coptic. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2009, 52.
45. Homily on Michael and the Devil (otherwise falsely attributed to Gregory the Theologian). Coptic. Two leaves of a codex. House 211, room 1, refuse fill above uppermost floor. Ninth century (palaeography). Obviously an import. Kuhn - Tait 1991.

Hagiographica

46. *Martyrdom of St Mark the Evangelist.* Coptic. Parchment? South Church. Eighth-tenth century. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 720; Hagen 2012, 8-9.

47. *Acta Sancti Mercurii*. Greek. Fragments of a parchment codex. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND 1986.
48. *Acta Sancti Georgii*. Greek. Fragments of six parchment leaves originally belonging to a single codex. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND 1982 (only fragment [2]) + FREND 1989 (the remaining fragments).
49. *Acta Sancti Epimachi*. Old Nubian. Two parchment leaves from a codex. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. BROWNE 2002.
50. Akakios of Caesarea, *Martyrdom of Iulitta and Kyrikos*. Coptic. Papyrus. Filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Most probably an import. Unpublished; cf. PLUMLEY 1966, 11-12, pl. VI 2; PLUMLEY 1975, 104, fig. 3
51. Martyrdom. Greek. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. ADAMS 1996, 239.
52. *Miracle of St Menas*. Coptic. Parchment? Found in the filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Unpublished; cf. HAGEN 2010a, 720.

Liturgica

53. *Typikon* listing saints and readings for the month of Phaophi. Greek (rubrics) and Coptic (main text). Fragments of a parchment codex. Filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. HAGEN - OCHAŁA 2014.
54. Lectionary giving readings for the month of Mesore (*1Corinthians* 14.35-40 + *Hebrews* 6.7-8 + *2Corinthians* 1.2-7 + *1Corinthians* 2.6-11). Old Nubian. Parchment leaf. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. PLUMLEY - BROWNE 1988, no. 7, pl. 6; BROWNE 1989b, 52-55, no. 7.
55. Lectionary for the month of Khoiak (*John* 7.28-29, 1.18-28). Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf. House 763, fill. Eleventh-thirteenth century. BROWNE 2001b.
56. Lectionary (*John* 19.42-20.9 + *John* 13.13-17 + *Philippians* 4.4-9). Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. PLUMLEY - BROWNE 1988, no. 5, pl. 5; BROWNE 1989b, 50-53, no. 5.
57. Lectionary? for Lent (*Psalm* 31.1-4 and 7-11). Old Nubian. Paper sheet. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. PLUMLEY - BROWNE 1988, no. 1, pl. 1; BROWNE 1989b, 44-45, no. 1.
58. Service book. Greek and Old Nubian. Paper. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. ADAMS 1996, 239.
59. *Anaphora of Saint Mark*: opening dialogue, *gratiarum actio*, intercession prayers. Greek. Three fragments of a parchment leaf of a codex. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS 1987, 90-98, pl. 2; HAMMERSTAEDT 1999, 102-122, no. 6.
60. *Anaphora of Saint Mark*: intercession prayers. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS 1987, 97, pl. 2a-b; HAMMERSTAEDT 1999, 123-126, no. 7.
61. *Anaphora of Saint Mark*: intercession prayers. Greek. Four fragments of paper sheets (of a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 127-129, pl. 3a-f. HAMMERSTAEDT 1994 (new arrangement of fragments 2 and 3); HAMMERSTAEDT 1999, 127-134, no. 8.
62. *Anaphora of Saint Athanasius Archbishop*; opening part: prayers for peace and for Church. Greek. Parchment leaf (apparently not from a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - MUIRHEAD 1976, 47-49; HAMMERSTAEDT 1999, 135-137, no. 9.
63. Five prayers of thanksgiving and dismissal. Greek. Parchment leaf. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND 1984, 545-553, photo.
64. Petitionary prayers. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf (of a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 129-130, pl. 3g/h.
65. Fragmentary prayer of liturgical character (possibly a prayer for the king from the intercession of an anaphora). Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf (inscribed on one side only). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 131-132, pl. 4b.
66. Fragmentary prayers of liturgical character. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf (of a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 132, pl. 4c/d.
67. Prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified. Greek. Two parchment leaves. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Leaf (1): FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 130-131, pl. 4a. Leaf (2): FREND - MUIRHEAD 1976, 45-47. Leaves connected and partly edited anew: ŁAJTAR 1996.
68. *The Trishagion*. Greek. Fragment of a paper sheet. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 126-127, pl. 2c.
69. *Hymn on Saint John the Baptist*. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf of a codex containing also a hymn of Severus of Antioch on Nativity (QI70) and another unidentified composition. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 122-123, pl. 1 c/d. The identification of the text as a hymn for Saint John the Baptist was suggested in DEPTUŁA forthcoming.
70. Severus of Antioch, a hymn *On Nativity* (known from Syriac translation by Paul of Edessa). Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf of a codex containing also a hymn for Saint John the Baptist (QI69) and another unidentified composition. Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 122-123, pl. 1 c/d; the text was identified as a hymn of Severus of Antioch *on Nativity* in LUCCHESI 2008, 165-197, esp. 167-171.
71. A hymn in honour of the Virgin. Greek. Parchment leaf (of a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 119-122, pl. 1a/b.
72. A hymn in honour of the Virgin. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf (of a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. FREND - DRAGAS - KONTOYIANNIS 1992, 124-126, pl. 2 a/b.

73. Fragmentary hymn in honour of the Virgin (?). Greek. Parchment leaf (of a codex). Cathedral. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Frend - Dragas - Kontoyiannis 1992: 123-124, pl. 1 e/f.
74. Alphabetic hymn in honour of the Virgin. Greek. Paper. Below floor of a private house in the citadel. Date unknown. Łajtar 2014.
75. Fragmentary prayers or hymns dealing with Birth. Greek. Parchment fragment. Occupational layers above the cathedral. Date unknown. Frend - Dragas - Kontoyiannis, 1992, 132-133, pl. 4e/f.
76. A hymn quoting from *Psalm* 121.1 (the other side has a liturgical text on Michael in Old Nubian). Greek. Parchment. West Plaza. Date unknown. Unpublished; only mentioned.
77. Liturgical poetry with various subjects including apparently a canon for Saint Peter. Greek. Wooden tablets, perhaps belonging to a single codex (but if yes, written by various hands). Late Christian House 202. Date unknown, probably late. Unpublished; cf. Adams 2010, 210, 305 (inventory), pl. 43c, 43d, 43e, 43f.
78. Liturgical text on Michael (the other side has a hymn quoting from *Psalm* 121.1 in Greek). Old Nubian. Parchment. West Plaza. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989a, no. 19; Browne 1989b, 70-73, no. 19.
79. Eulogy on Michael. Greek. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Adams 1996, 239.
80. Encomium (of a saint?). Old Nubian. Parchment. West Plaza. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989a, no. 17.

Varia

81. Letter from Heavens about celebration of Sunday. Coptic. Parchment? Filling of tomb T2 in the cathedral cemetery. Before 1172-1173, but exact date unknown. Unpublished; cf. Hagen 2010a, 721.
82. Florilegium. Phraseological and typological parallels may point to Ps-Chrysostom as the source. Old Nubian. Three leaves of paper. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989a, no. 18, pl. 2; Browne 1989b, 70-71, no. 18.
83. Unidentified, possibly theological. Old Nubian and Arabic. Paper. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Unpublished; cf. Adams 1996, 239.
84. Unidentified, possibly a historical narrative. In the text there is a question of the lack of a king for some period and an archbishop is asked to establish the king. He refuses to do this with the explanation he does not know the commands of God. Old Nubian. Parchment. Cathedral. Eleventh-twelfth century, before 1172-1173. Browne 1991, 289-291, fig. 1.
85. Horoscope for the month of Thoth. Old Nubian. Parchment. Findspot unknown. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989a, no. 20; Browne 1989b, 72-73, no. 20.

Faras

Old Testament

1. *Daniel* 3.57-81 (*Ode* 8). Greek and Old Nubian. Ink inscription on internal walls of the baptismal tank in the church of the Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Barns 1974. Browne 1989, 74-77, and 92-93.
2. *Jeremiah* 26.13-18. Coptic. Fragments of a parchment leaf. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.

New Testament

3. Incipits of four gospels. Coptic. Ink inscription on the south wall of the Anchorite Grotto. AD 746. Unpublished; mentioned in Griffith 1927, 88, no. 25 (description), pl. LXIV 2 (photo), and LXX 25 (drawing).
4. *John* 1.1-2. Coptic. Inscription painted in the book held by Jesus Christ represented on the east wall of the south nave of the cathedral. About AD 1000. Jakobielski *at al.* 2017, 292-294, no. 89.
5. *John* 1.29-30. Greek. Inscription painted in the roll held by Saint John the Baptist represented on the west wall of the baptistery of the cathedral. Second half of the tenth century. Jakobielski *at al.* 2017, 345-347, no. 110.
6. *John* 20.27. Coptic. Inscription accompanying the representation of Jesus with doubting Thomas in the staircase of the cathedral. Ninth century. Jakobielski *at al.* 2017, 184-185, no. 41.
7. *Acts* 5.28-36; 11.8-17; 15.13-18; 15.22-29; 18.4-13. Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
8. *Galatians* 6.9-10 and 17-18. Coptic. Fragments of a parchment codex (the codex had also *Sermo asceticus* of Stephen of Thebes and another ascetic work). Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.

Apocrypha

9. Letter of Jesus to Abgar. Coptic. Inscription painted on the south wall of the so-called Anchorite Grotto. AD 746. Unpublished; cf. Griffith 1927, 88-89 (English translation).
10. *Words of the Saviour under the Cross* (Stauros-Text) and *Dance of the Saviour around the Cross*. Coptic. Complete codex found in the Qasr el-Wizz monastery (undoubtedly an import from Egypt). Tenth century. Hubai 2009.
11. *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*. Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos; preliminarily see Tsakos 2016, 224.
12. *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli*, an abbreviated version. Greek. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos; preliminarily see Tsakos 2016, 224.
13. Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Cross*. Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.

14. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In annuntiatonem beatae virginis*. Greek. Fragments of a parchment codex also containing Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem*. Cathedral. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Łajtar and A. Tsakos.
15. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem* (see the preceding entry).

Patristica, homiletica, ascetica

16. *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Coptic. Inscriptions painted on a wall of the Anchorite Grotto. AD 746. Unpublished; English translation in: Griffith 1927, 83-84, nos. 4-8 (Abba Arsenios; Abba Makarios; Abba Antonios; Abba A[mun ?]; unidentified anchorite); 86-87, nos. 15-18 (unidentified anchorite, Abba Hapio (Sarapion?); apophthegm ascribed to Palladius, unidentified anchorite, unidentified anchorite); 87-88, nos. 19-23 (Abba Esaias, Abba Pachom, Abba Esaias, Abba Euagrios, Abba Esaias *exegetes*).
17. Stephen of Thebes, *Sermo asceticus*. Coptic. Fragments of a parchment codex (the codex had also another ascetic work and *Galatians* 6.9-10 and 17-18). Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
18. An unknown ascetic work. Coptic. Parchment (the codex had also *Sermo asceticus* by Stephen of Thebes and *Galatians* 6.9-10 and 17-18). Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
19. Homily, which makes use of the motif of Jesus walking over the sea (*Matthew* 14.22-33; *Mark* 6.45-52; *John* 6.16-21). Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
20. Dialogue connected with the Shenutean milieu. Coptic. Parchment fragments. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.

Hagiographica

21. *Acta Sancti Epimachi*. Old Nubian. Leaf of a parchment codex. Cathedral. Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1989, 78-79, 93; Browne 1992.
22. *Life of Saint Hilaria.* Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
23. *Life of Apa Dios*. Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
24. *Life of Saint Marina.* Coptic. Two leaves of a parchment codex. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
25. *Life of Dioskoros of Alexandria.* Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.

Liturgica

26. The Nicene Creed. Coptic. Ink inscription on a wall of the Anchorite Grotto. AD 746. Griffith 1927, 84-86, no. 9.
27. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed? Greek. Fragment of a parchment leaf. Cathedral. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Łajtar and A. Tsakos.
28. Prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified. Greek. Two ink inscriptions on the east wall of the north pastophorium of the cathedral. Eleventh century? Kubińska 1976, 18-24, fig. 18, and 26, fig. 19.
29. Baptismal liturgy. Coptic. Parchment. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Tsakos.
30. A list of hymns' incipits. Greek. Ink inscription in the cathedral. Date unknown, apparently late. Unpublished; studied by A. Łajtar and A. Deptuła.
31. A collection of hymn, including the *troparion* for the Palm-Sunday ἦλθεν ὁ σωτὴρ σήμερον. Greek. Parchment. Cathedral. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Łajtar and A. Deptuła.
32. A hymn? quoting from Psalms (*Psalm* 94.1; 95.1; 80.4). Greek. Ostrakon. South Church. Date unknown. F.E. Brightman in: Milehem 1910, 36.
33. A hymn quoting from Psalms. Greek. Parchment. Cathedral. Date unknown. Unpublished; studied by A. Łajtar and A. Tsakos.
34. A hymn in honour of Saint John the Baptist. Greek. Ink inscription on the roll held by Saint John the Baptist represented in the baptistery of the cathedral. About AD 1000. Unpublished. Known to me through a photo.
35. A hymn for Virgin Mary. Greek. Ostracon. Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Unpublished; mentioned in Tsakos 2016: 223.

Dongola

Old Testament

1. *4Kings* 2.12 = 4*Kings* 13.14 + *Ecclesiastes* 4.12 + another quotation, not yet identified. Greek. Ink inscription on a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century or later. Unpublished; known to me in autopsy.
2. *Ecclesiastes* 4.12 (see the preceding entry).
3. *Psalm* 22.1 preceded by the Trinitarian formula. Greek. Ostrakon; perhaps an amulet. Private house on the citadel. Date unknown, apparently late. Łajtar 1997.
4. *Psalm* 29. Greek and Old Nubian. Ink inscription on a wall of the Southwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century or later. Łajtar - van Gerven Oei forthcoming.
5. *Psalm* 90.13. Greek. Inscription accompanying the representation of Jesus trampling dragon, lion and snake, found on a wall of a private house. Ninth-tenth century. Jakobielski 1979, 241, figs. 16 and 18.
6. *Psalm* 96. Greek and Old Nubian. Ink inscription on a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century or later. Łajtar - van Gerven Oei forthcoming.
7. *Psalm* 103.15-31. Greek and Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf (of a codex?). Mosque (formerly throne hall of the kings of Makuria). Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1987, 76-81; Browne 1989, 72-75, no. 1.

8. *Psalm* 127. Greek and Old Nubian. Ink inscription on a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century or later. Łajtar - van Gerven Oei forthcoming.
9. *Psalm* 129.2-8. Old Nubian with an acclamation of Archbishop Georgios in Greek. Ink inscription on a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. AD 1163-1113. Browne 2006. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017, 22-25, no. II.
10. *Daniel* 3.31-34 and 38-40 (*Ode* 8). Greek and Old Nubian. Fragment of a parchment leaf (of a codex?). Mosque (formerly throne hall of the kings of Makuria). Eleventh-thirteenth century. Browne 1987, 81-83; Browne 1989: 74-75, no. 2.

New Testament

11. *Matthew* 1.1-2 and 28.20. Greek. Inscription painted on the west wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017, no. 8.
12. *Matthew* 6.9-13 [*pater noster*]. Greek (see D23).
13. *Mark* 1.1-2 and 16.20. Greek. Inscription painted on the north wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017: no. 11.
14. *Luke* 1.1-4 and 24.53. Greek. Inscription painted on the east wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017: no. 12.
15. *John* 1.1-3 and 21.25. Greek. Inscription painted on the south wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017: no. 15.
16. *John* 1.1-5 and 21.25. Greek. Ink inscription in a tondo above the representation of Jesus trampling dragon, lion and snake, found on a wall of a private house. Ninth-tenth century? Jakobielski 1979, 241-242, figs. 17-18.
17. *Hebrews* 5.4. Greek. Graffito on a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century or later. Łajtar 2001, 209-215.

Apocrypha

18. *Oratio Mariae* (*ad Bartos*). Greek. Main element of an inscription on the north wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H; note that the inscription contains also D22. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017, no. 9, lines 1-42.
19. Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Holy Virgin Mary*. Coptic. Inscription painted on the east wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017, no. 13.
20. Ps.-Evodius of Rome, *On the Dormition of the Holy Virgin Mary*. Coptic. Inscription painted on the south wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017, no. 16.

Patristica

21. Basil of Caesarea, *De jejunio homilia prima* 1. Greek. Ink inscription in the Southwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century or later. Łajtar 2015a.
22. *Conversio Cipriani* V (prayer of Justina). Greek. Element of an inscription on the north wall of a burial vault under the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H; note that the main element of the inscription is D18. Shortly before AD 1113. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017: no. 9, lines 47-51.

Liturgica

23. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (Greek) + a series of invocation of God of Michael (Old Nubian) + *Matthew* 6.9-13 [*pater noster*] (Greek). Ink inscriptions on a wall of room 21 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century or later. Unpublished; known to me in autopsy.
24. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Greek. Ink inscription in the church of the monastery on Kom H. Before thirteenth century. Łajtar 2018.
25. *Symbolum Dongolanum*, basing on the Constantinopolitan Creed but developing considerably the anamnetic part. Greek. Ink inscription on a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century or later. Jakobielski - Łajtar 1997.
26. Prayer for the Church from an unidentified anaphora of Alexandrian type (the same text as D27). Greek. Ink inscription on the south wall of chapel 29 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century? Unpublished; cf. Jakobielski 1998, 163.
27. Prayer for the Church from an unidentified anaphora of Alexandrian type (the same text as D26). Greek. Ink inscription on a fragment of plaster found in the filling of chapel 13 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century or later. Unpublished; cf. Catalogue Warsaw 2006, 57, no. 18.
28. Prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified. Greek. Two ink inscriptions in room 7 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century or later. Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017, no. XXXVa-b.
29. Prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified. Greek. Two ink inscriptions in room 27 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century or later. Unpublished; cf. Jakobielski 2001, 149, fig. 9 on p. 150, pl. XVII 2.
30. Prayers of the Liturgy of the Presanctified. Greek. Three ink inscriptions on the walls of the north pastophorium of the Church of Raphael (B.V) on the citadel. Tenth/eleventh century. Unpublished; cf. Łajtar 2015, 113-115.
31. *The Trishagion*. Greek. Inscriptions protruding from the mouths of angels acclaiming the newly born Jesus represented in paint on the south wall of room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Eleventh century. Unpublished; known to me in autopsy.
32. *The Trishagion.* Coptic. Scrap of parchment. Monastery on Kom H. Date unknown. Unpublished; known to me in autopsy.

33. A hymn basing on *Ode* 8. Greek. Ink inscription on the head of the apse of the Church of Raphael (B.V) on the citadel. Tenth-eleventh century. Unpublished. Known to me in autopsy.
34. Hymns in honour of Michael. Greek. Ink inscriptions accompanying a representation of Archangel Michael on the east wall of chapel 13 of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century? Unpublished. Known to me in autopsy. For a good photo, see MARTENS-CZARNECKA 2001, pl. XLIII.

Varia

35. An adaptation of a sentence of Menander (Jaekel 568). Greek. Ink inscription of a wall of the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H. Twelfth century. ŁAJTAR 2009.

References

ADAMS 1977 = W. Y. ADAMS, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*, Princeton, NJ, 1977.

ADAMS 1996 = W. Y. ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrîm. The Late Mediaeval Period* (Excavation Memoir, 59), London, 1996.

ADAMS 2010 = W. Y. ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrim. The Earlier Medieval Period* (Excavation Memoir, 89), London, 2010.

ALDSWORTH *et al.* 2010 = F. ALDSWORTH *et al.*, *Qasr Ibrim. The Cathedral Church* (Excavation Memoir, 97), London, 2010.

BARNS 1974 = J.W.B. BARNS, "A Text of the Benedicite in Greek and Old Nubian from Kasr el-Wizz", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 60, 1974, pp. 206-211.

BRAKMANN 2006 = H. BRAKMANN, "*Defunctus adhuc loquitur:* Gottesdienst und Gebetsliteratur der untergegangenen Kirche in Nubien", *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 48, 2006, pp. 283-333.

BROWNE 2004 = C.S. BROWNE, "Tatianus Nubianus", in S.M. BAY (ed.), *Studia Palaeophilologica Professoris G.M. Browne in honorem oblata*, Champaign, IL, 2004, pp. 93-98.

BROWNE 1980 = G.M. BROWNE, "New Texts in Old Nubian from Qasr Ibrim I (Jude 9-16)", *Sudan Texts Bulletin*, 2, 1980, pp. 16-33.

BROWNE 1981 = G.M. BROWNE, "New Texts in Old Nubian from Qasr Ibrim II (A leaf from a bilingual psalter [Ps 83: 13; 86: 1-7; 46: 2-6])", *Sudan Texts Bulletin*, 3, 1981, pp. 9-19.

BROWNE 1982 = G.M. BROWNE, "A Fragment of Ps.-Chrysostome from Qasr Ibrim", *Sudan Texts Bulletin*, 4, 1982, pp. 1-10.

BROWNE 1983 = G.M. BROWNE, "Griffith's Stauros-Text", *Studia Papyrologica*, 22, 1983, pp. 75-119.

BROWNE 1984 = G.M. BROWNE, *Chrysostomus Nubianus: An Old Nubian version of Ps.-Chrysostom, in venerabilem crucem sermo* (Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 10), Rome - Barcelona, 1984.

BROWNE 1985 = G.M. BROWNE, "New Texts in Old Nubian from Qasr Ibrim (III)", *Sudan Texts Bulletin*, 7, 1985, pp. 14-29.

BROWNE 1987 = G.M. BROWNE, "Two Old Nubian Texts from Old Dongola", *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, 26, 1987, pp. 76-86.

BROWNE 1989a = G.M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* II (Texts from Excavations, 10), London, 1989.

BROWNE 1989b = G.M. BROWNE, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian* (*Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* Beiheft, 5), Vienna, 1989.

BROWNE 1990 = G.M. BROWNE, "An Old Nubian Version of the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis*", in W. GODLEWSKI (ed.), *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20-25 August, 1984*, Warsaw, 1990, pp. 75-79.

BROWNE 1991 = G.M. BROWNE, "Old Nubian Studies: Past, Present and Future", in W.V. DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, London, 1991, pp. 286-293.

BROWNE 1992 = G.M. BROWNE, "An Old Nubian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Epimachus", in S. JAKOBIELSKI - J. KARKOWSKI (eds), *50 Years of Polish Excavations in Egypt and the Near East: Acts of the Symposium at the Warsaw University 1986*, Warsaw, 1992, pp. 74-77.

BROWNE 1994 = G.M. BROWNE, "A Survey of Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim", *Nubian Letters*, 21, 1994, pp. 7-10.

BROWNE 1996 = G.M. BROWNE, "Lachmannus et Nubia", *Le Muséon*, 109, 1996, pp. 261-266.

BROWNE 2001a = G M. BROWNE, "An Old Nubian Apocryphal Text from Qasr Ibrim', *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 3, 2001, pp. 129-132.

BROWNE 2001b = G.M. BROWNE, "An Old Nubian Lectionary Fragment", *Orientalia*, 70, 2001, pp. 113-116.

Browne 2002 = G.M. Browne, "An Old Nubian Translation of the Martyrdom of Saint Epimachus", *Le Muséon*, 115, 2002, pp. 69-76.

Browne 2006 = G.M. Browne, "An Old Nubian Translation of Psalm 129", *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*, 9, 2006, pp. 25-27.

Budge 1913 = E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1913.

Catalogue Warsaw 2006 = *Polish Excavations at Old Dongola. 45 years of the archaeological co-operation with the Sudan*, Catalogue of an Exhibition in the National Museum in Warsaw, Warsaw, 2006.

Deptuła forthcoming = A. Deptuła, "Greek Sticheron from Medieval Nubia Praising John the Baptist (Q.I. 1964, 6a revisited)", *Symbolae Osloenses*, forthcoming.

Derda - Łajtar (forthcoming) = T. Derda - A. Łajtar, "Organization of the Church in Medieval Nubia in the Light of a Newly Discovered Wall Inscription in Dongola", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, forthcoming.

Dijkstra 2008 = J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 173), Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2008.

Evetts - Butler 1895 = B.T.A. Evetts - A.J. Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ, the Armenian*, Oxford, 1895.

Fanfoni 1979 = G. Fanfoni, *Sonqi Tino I. L'architettura della chiesa* (Serie archeologica, 24), Rome, 1979.

Frend 1982 = W.H.C. Frend, "A fragment of the 'Acta Sancti Georgii' from Q'asr Ibrim (Egyptian Nubia)", in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 100 [= *Mélanges offerts à Baudouin de Gaiffier et François Halkin*], 1982, pp. 79-86.

Frend 1984 = W.H.C. Frend, "Some Greek liturgical fragments from Q'asr Ibrim in Nubia", in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica XV: Papers Presented to the Seventh Internationl Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1975*, Part I (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlicher Literatur, 128), Berlin, 1984, pp. 545-553.

Frend 1986 = W.H.C. Frend, "Fragments of an Acta Martyrum from Q'asr Ibrîm", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 29, 1986, pp. 66-70.

Frend 1989 = W.H.C. Frend, "Fragments of a Version of the Acta s. Georgii from Q'asr Ibrîm", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 32, 1989, pp. 89-104.

Frend - Dragas 1987 = W.H.C. Frend - G. Dragas, "A Eucharistic Sequence from Q'asr Ibrim", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 30, 1987, pp. 90-98.

Frend - Dragas - Kontoyiannis 1992 = W.H.C. Frend - G. Dragas - S. Kontoyiannis, "Some Further Greek Liturgical Fragments from Q'asr Ibrim", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 35, 1992, pp. 119-134.

Frend - Muirhead 1976 = W.H.C. Frend - I.A. Muirhead, "The Greek Manuscripts from the Cathedral of Q'asr Ibrim", *Le Muséon*, 89, 1976, pp. 43-49.

Gartkiewicz 1990 = P.M. Gartkiewicz, *Nubia I, Dongola 2. The Cathedral in Old Dongola and Its Antecedents*, Warsaw, 1990.

Godlewski 1990 = W. Godlewski, "The Cruciform Church at Old Dongola (Sudan). Some Comments", in W. Godlewski (ed), *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20-25 August 1984*, Warsaw, 1990, pp. 127-137.

Godlewski 2004 = W. Godlewski, "The rise of Makuria (late 5th-8th cent.)", in T. Kendall (ed.), *Nubian Studies 1998:* Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies, August 21-26, 1998, Boston MA, 2004, pp. 52-73.

Godlewski 2006 = W. Godlewski, *Pachoras. The Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros. The Architecture* (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* Supplement Series, 1), Warsaw, 2006.

Godlewski 2013 = W. Godlewski, *Dongola – Ancient Tungul* (Archaeological Guide, 1), Warsaw, 2013.

Godlewski 2014 = W. Godlewski, "Dongola 2010-2011", *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 23/1, 2014, pp. 263-284.

Godlewski 2018a = W. Godlewski, "The Monastery Church", in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka - A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015-2016. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Managment* (Excavation Series, 5), Warsaw, 2018, pp. 15-30.

Godlewski 2018b = W. Godlewski, "The Church of Raphael (SWN.B.V)" in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka - A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015-2016. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Managment* (Excavation Series, 5), Warsaw, 2018, pp. 115-131.

Godlewski - Danys - Osypińska 2015 = W. Godlewski - K. Danys - M. Osypińska, "Palatial Building SWN.B.I and Earlier Relics of Buildings SWN.B.IV and SWNB.X", in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka (eds.), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Excavation Series, 3), Warsaw, 2015, pp. 65-84.

Godlewski - Kusz - Łajtar 2018 = W. Godlewski - U. Kusz - A. Łajtar, "A Fragmentary Wooden Icon found in the Church of Raphael (SWN.B.V)", in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka - A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015-2016. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Excavation Series, 5), Warsaw, 2018, pp. 147-154.

Griffith 1926 = F.Ll. Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia XLVII. The Church by the Rivergate", *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 13, 1926, pp. 66-93.

Griffith 1927 = F.Ll. Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia LII. The Anchorite's Grotto", *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 14, 1927, pp. 81-91.

Hagen 2004 = J.L. Hagen, "The Diaries of the Apostles: 'Manuscript Find' and 'Manuscript Fiction' in Coptic Homilies and Other Literary Texts", in M. Immerzeel - J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Treshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August - 2 September 2000* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 133), Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2004, pp. 349-367.

Hagen 2007 = J.L. Hagen, "'The Great Cherub' and his Brothers. Adam, Enoch and Michael and the Names, Deeds and Faces of the Creatures in Ps.-Chrysostom, *On the Four Creatures*", in N. Bosson - A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitème congrès international d'études coptes. Paris, 28 juin - 3 juillet 2004*, II (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 163), Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2007, pp. 467-480.

Hagen 2009 = J.L. Hagen, "A Pleasant Sense of Mild Bewilderment: Re-excavating the Coptic Texts from Qasr Ibrim", *Ancient Egypt* 10/2, 2009, pp. 46-54.

Hagen 2010a = J.L. Hagen, "'A City That Is Set on an Hill Cannot Be Hid'. Progress Report on the Coptic Manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim", in W. Godlewski - A. Łajtar (eds.), *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, II.2 (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* Supplement Series, 2.2/2), Warsaw, 2010, pp. 719-726.

Hagen 2010b = J.L. Hagen, "Ein anderer Kontext für die Berliner und Strassburger 'Evangelienfragmente.' Das 'Evangelium des Erlösers' und andere 'Apostelevangelien' in der koptischen Literatur", in J. Frey - J. Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen. Beiträge zu außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 254), Tübingen, 2010, pp. 339-371.

Hagen 2012 = J.L. Hagen, "No Longer 'Slavonic' Only: 2 Enoch Attested in Coptic from Nubia", in A.A. Orlov - G. Boccaccini (eds.), *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch. No Longer Slavonic Only* (Studia Judaeoslavica, 4), Leiden - Boston, 2012, pp. 7-34.

Hagen - Ochała 2014 = J L. Hagen - G. Ochała, "Saints and Scriptures for Phaophi: Preliminary Edition of and Commentary on a Typikon from Qasr Ibrim", in D. Atanassova - T. Chronz (eds.), *ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Orientalia - Patristica - Oecumenica, 6/1), Vienna - Berlin, 2014, pp. 269-290.

Hammerstaedt 1994 = J. Hammerstaedt, "Papierfragmente der Markusliturgie aus byzantinischer Zeit in Qasr Ibrim", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 104, 1994, pp. 287-291.

Hammerstaedt 1999 = J. Hammerstaedt, *Griechische Anaphorenfragmente aus Ägypten und Nubien* (Papyrologica Coloniensia, XXVIII), Opladen, 1999.

Hubai 2009 = P. Hubai, *Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien: Der Kasr el-Wizz Kodex* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur), Berlin - New York, 2009.

Jakobielski 1972 = S. Jakobielski, *Faras III. A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions*, Warsaw, 1972.

Jakobielski 1979 = S. Jakobielski, "Dongola 1976", *Études et travaux*, 11, 1979, pp. 229-244.

Jakobielski 1998 = S. Jakobielski, "Old Dongola. Excavations 1997", *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 9, 1998, pp. 158-170.

Jakobielski 2001 = S. Jakobielski, "Das Kloster der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit: Bauphasen des nordwestlichen Anbaus", in S. Jakobielski - P.O. Scholz (eds.), *Dongola-Studien. 35 Jahre polnischer Forschungen im Zentrum des makuritischen Reichs* (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica, 7), Warsaw, 2001, pp. 141-168.

Jakobielski - Łajtar 1997 = S. Jakobielski - A. Łajtar, "Ein Glaubensbekenntnis aus Alt Dongola (Sudan)", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 27, 1997, pp. 7-26.
Jakobielski *et al.* 2017 = S. Jakobielski *et al.*, *Pachoras/Faras. The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros* (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Monograph Series, 4), Warsaw, 2017.
Kubińska 1976 = J. Kubińska, "Prothesis de la Cathédrale de Faras. Documents et recherches", *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'art de Louvain*, 9, 1976, pp. 18-24.
Kuhn - Tait 1991 = K.H. Kuhn - W.J. Tait, "Two Leaves from a Codex from Qasr Ibrim", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 77, 1991, pp. 145-149.
Larsen 2013 = L. Larsen, "On Learning a New Alphabet: The Sayings of the Desert Fathers and the Monostichs of Menander", in S. Rubenson - M. Vinzent (eds.), *Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011* (Studia Patristica, 55/3), Leuven, 2013, pp. 59-77.
Larsen 2016 = L. Larsen, "Early Monasticism and the Rhetorical Tradition: Sayings and Stories as School Texts", in P. Gemeinhardt - L. van Hoof - P. van Nuffelen (eds.), *Education and Religion in Late Antique Christianity: Reflections, Social Contexts and Genres*, London - New York, 2016, pp. 13-33.
Łajtar 1996a = A. Łajtar, "Varia Nubica III. Ein liturgisches Gebet aus Qasr Ibrim", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 112, 1996, pp. 140-142.
Łajtar 1996b = A. Łajtar, "Varia Nubica IV: Das älteste nubische Epitaph mit dem Gebet vom sogenannten Typus Euchologion Mega?", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 113, 1996, pp. 101-108.
Łajtar 1997 = A. Łajtar, "Psalm 22, 1-2 nebst der invocatio dei auf einem Ostrakon aus Alt-Dongola (Sudan)", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 27, 1997, pp. 55-60.
Łajtar 2001 = A. Łajtar, "Heb 5.4 in a Graffito in the Western Annex of the Monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola", *Études et travaux*, 19, 2001, pp. 209-215.
Łajtar 2009 = A. Łajtar, "An Adaptation of a Sentence of Menander in a Nubian Monastery", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 171, 2009, pp. 19-24.
Łajtar 2013 = A. Łajtar, "On the Name of the Capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria", *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 57/2, 2013, pp. 127-134.
Łajtar 2014 = A. Łajtar, "A Greek Hymn with Alphabetic Acrostics Found at Qasr Ibrim, Egyptian Nubia", in D. Atanasova - T. Chronz (eds), *ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Orientalia - Patristica - Oecumenica 6/1), Vienna - Berlin, 2014, pp. 391-408.
Łajtar 2015a = A. Łajtar, "A Quotation from St. Basil's *De jejunio homilia prima* 1 in a Wall Inscription in the Southwestern Annex to the Monastery on Kom H at Dongola", in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka (eds), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology Excavation Series, 3), Warsaw, 2015, pp. 289-292.
Łajtar 2015b = A. Łajtar, "Wall Inscriptions in Church SWN.BV on the Citadel of Dongola" in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka (eds), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology Excavation Series, 3), 2015, pp. 111-116.
Łajtar 2015c = A. Łajtar, "The mystery of Timikleos solved!", in A. Łajtar - G. Ochała - J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices II. New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement, 27), Warsaw, 2015, pp. 231-244.
Łajtar 2018 = A. Łajtar, "The Constantinopolitan Creed in an Inscription from the Monastery Church on Kom H in Dongola", in W. Godlewski - D. Dzierzbicka - A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015-2016. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Managment* (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology Excavation Series, 5), Warsaw, 2018, pp. 37-46.
Łajtar forthcoming = A. Łajtar, "Cultic Graffiti in Christian Nubia (6^{th}-15^{th} c.)", in B. Ward-Perkins - A.E. Felle (eds.), *Cultic Graffiti in the Late Antique Mediterranean World and Beyond*, forthcoming.
Łajtar - Ochała forthcoming = A. Łajtar - G. Ochała, "Language use and literacy in late antique and medieval Nubia", in G. Emberling - B. Willimas (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Nubian Studies*, Oxford, forthcoming.
Łajtar - van der Vliet 2010 = A. Łajtar - J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim. The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement, 13), Warsaw, 2010.
Łajtar - van der Vliet 2017 = A. Łajtar - J. van der Vliet, *Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia. The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola* (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement, 32), Warsaw, 2017.

Łajtar - van Gerven Oei forthcoming = A. Łajtar - V. W. J. van Gerven Oei, "Three Bilingual Greek-Old Nubian Psalms from Dongola (DP 2-4)", *Orientalia*, forthcoming.

Łajtar - Zielińska 2016 = A. Łajtar - D. Zielińska, "The Northern Pastophorium of Nubian Churches: Ideology and Function (on the Basis of Inscriptions and Paintings)", in A. Łajtar - A. Obłuski - I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Warsaw, 2016, pp. 435-457.

Lucchesi 2008 = E. Lucchesi, "Hymnes de Sévère et sur Sévère", *Aegyptus* 88, 2008, pp. 165-197.

Martens-Czarnecka 2001 = M. Martens-Czarnecka, "Wall Paintings Discovered in Dongola", in S. Jakobielski - P.O. Scholz (eds.), *Dongola-Studien. 35 Jahre polnischer Forschungen im Zentrum des makuritischen Reichs* (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica, 7), Warsaw, 2001, pp. 253-284.

Martens-Czarnecka 2012 = M. Martens-Czarnecka, *Nubia III, Dongola 3. The Wall Paintings from the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola*, Warsaw, 2012.

Michałowski 1967 = K. Michałowski, *Faras: Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand*, Einsiedeln - Zürich - Cologne, 1967.

Milehem 1910 = G.S. Milehem, *Churches in Lower Nubia* (Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia, II), Philadelphia, 1910.

Monneret de Villard 1938 = U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 118), Rome, 1938.

Obłuski 2016 = A. Obłuski, "Nobadian and Makurian Church Architecture. Qasr el-Wizz, a case study", in A. Łajtar - A. Obłuski - I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Warsaw, 2016, pp. 481-512.

Obłuski 2019 = A. Obłuski, *The Monasteries and Monks of Nubia* (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement, 36), Warsaw, 2019.

Ochała 2014 = G. Ochała, "Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches", *Dotawo*, 1, 2014, pp. 1-50.

Ochała 2015 = G. Ochała, "The Nubian Liturgical Calendar. The Evidence of Nubian Lectionaries', *Le Muséon*, 128, 2015, pp. 1-48.

Pasi 2012 = S. Pasi, "I dipinti della chiesa di Sonqi Tino in Nubia", *Scienze dell'antichità*, 18, 2012, pp. 569-591.

Plumley 1966 = J.M. Plumley, "Qasr Ibrîm 1966", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 52, 1966, pp. 9-12.

Plumley 1975 = J.M. Plumley, "The Christian Period at Qasr Ibrim. Some Notes on the Mss Finds", in K. Michałowski (ed.), *Nubia. Recentes recherches. Actes du colloque nubiologique international au Musée National de Varsovie, 19-22 juin 1972*, Warsaw, 1975, pp. 101-107.

Plumley - Browne 1988 = J.M. Plumley - G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* I (Texts from Excavations, 9), London, 1988.

Richter 2002 = S.G. Richter, *Studien zur Christianisierung Nubiens* (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, 11), Wiesbaden, 2002.

Roberts - Plumley 1976 = C.H. Roberts - J.M. Plumley , "An Uncial Text of St. Mark in Greek from Nubia", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27, 1976, pp. 34-45.

Ruffini 2009 = G. R. Ruffini, "Psalms 149-150: A bilingual Greek and Old Nubian Version from Qasr Ibrim", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 168, 2009, pp. 112-122.

Ruffini 2015 = G.R. Ruffini, "Qasr Ibrim's Old Nubian Burial Shroud (QI inv. 78.1.24/53 = NI 46)" in A. Łajtar - G. Ochała - J. van der Vliet (eds), in *Nubian Voices II. New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement, 27), Warsaw, 2015, pp. 53-72.

Scanlon 1970 = G.T. Scanlon, "Excavations at Kasr el-Wizz: A Preliminary Report I", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 56, 1970, pp. 29-57.

Scanlon 1972 = G.T. Scanlon, "Excavations at Kasr el-Wizz: A Preliminary Report II. Part II: The Monastery", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 58, 7-42.

Suciu 2015 = A. Suciu, "The Book of Bartholomew: A Coptic Apostolic Memoir", *Apocrypha*, 26, 2015, pp. 211-237.

Suciu 2017 = A. Suciu, *The Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon. A Coptic Apostolic Memoir* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 370), Tübingen, 2017.

Tsakos 2016 = A. Tsakos, "Religious Literacy in Greek from the Christian Monastery at Qasr el-Wizz, Lower Nubia", in Th. Sansaridou-Hendrickx - B. Hendrickx (eds.), *Graeco-Africana et Afro-Byzantina.*

Proceedings of the International Conference on Graeco-African and Afro-Byzantine Studies at the University of Johannesburg (27 October - 1 November 2014), Johannesburg, 2016, pp. 220-230.

van der Vliet 2015 = J. van der Vliet, "Nubian Voices from Edfu: Egyptian Scribes and Nubian Patrons in Southern Egypt", in A. Łajtar - G. Ochała - J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices II. New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (*Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement, 27), Warsaw, 2015, pp. 263-268.

van der Vliet 2017 = J. van der Vliet, "The Wisdom of the Wall: Innovation in Monastic Epigraphy", in M. Choat - M.C. Giorda (eds.), *Writing and Communication in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Texts and Studies in Earrly Christian Monasticism, 9), Leiden, 2017, pp. 151-164.

van Gerven Oei *et al.* 2016 = V.W.J. van Gerven Oei, *The Old Nubian Texts from Attiri* (Dotawo Monograph, 1), Brooklyn, 2016.

Vantini 1975 = G. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg - Warsaw, 1975.

Welsby 2002 = D.A. Welsby, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia. Pagans, Christians and Muslims along the Middle Nile*, London, 2002.

Werner 2013 = R. Werner, *Das Christentum in Nubien. Geschichte und Gestalt einer afrikanischen Kirche* (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte, 48), Münster, 2013.

Zielińska 2010 = D. Zielińska, "Edifice Without Parallel: Cruciform Building on the Old Dongola Citadel", in W. Godlewski - A. Łajtar (eds.), *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August - 2 September 2006*, II: *Session Papers* (*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* Supplement Series, 2.2), Warsaw, 2010, pp. 695-704.

Part II

Theoretical Approaches, New Methodologies, and Protocols of Analysis Applied to Coptic Literary Manuscripts and Their Archaeological Context

The Fluid Transmission of Apocrypha in Egyptian Monasteries

Hugo Lundhaug - University of Oslo

Abstract
This article discusses the long history of the production and use of Coptic apocrypha in Egyptian monasteries and the mechanisms governing the fluidity of apocryphal texts and traditions. The article draws upon recent theoretical work within media studies on modern fanfiction as well as cognitive perspectives on readers' mental creation and simulation of storyworlds. These perspectives are combined with insights from new/material philology, especially regarding the inherent textual fluidity of the transmission of texts in a manuscript culture, thus shedding new light on the functions, significance, and development of apocrypha in Coptic Egypt.

Keywords
Hagiography, Apocrypha, biblical storyworld, textual fluidity.

Having finished the process of creating Adam, God ordered all the angels to worship his creation. Not all of them obliged, however, including the first-formed of all the angels. As Jesus recounts the story to his apostles:

> My Father said to him, 'Come and worship the first human being that we have made according to my likeness and my image and the work of my hands'. The first-formed replied, 'I will not worship him, for he is a human being and I am prior to him and I am greater than all the angels'.[1]

After the first-formed refuses several additional requests to change his mind, God loses patience with him and proclaims that because of his disobedience and stupidity he shall 'henceforth not be called first-formed', but rather 'Saklam, the adversary of his Lord',[2] and proceeds to order a cherub to strike him down and throw him out of heaven.

Jesus tells this story to his apostles on the Mount of Olives, and it is said to have been recorded by John, the apostle and evangelist. It is not part of John's canonical Gospel or Letters, though, but another text purportedly authored by John that explains many things that are left unsaid in the canonical biblical texts, such as why the devil fell from heaven, how the Archangel Michael got his prominent position as the devil's successor, why Adam was created and later fell from grace, as well as such issues as the devil's role in the death of John the Baptist and, most prominently, the post-mortem judgment of souls and the punishment of sinners. This text is the so-called *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, a work that seems to have been quite popular in Egypt over several centuries, as indicated by both direct and indirect attestations.

1. *A popular, but controversial, genre*

Not only is the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael* attested in three Coptic manuscripts from Egyptian monasteries, and from fragments of Greek and Old Nubian manuscripts from Nubian monasteries, but its popularity is also reflected in sources hostile to it. Around the turn of the seventh century, bishop John of Parallos,

1 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 9. Translation based on the Coptic text of Morgan Library manuscript M593 in Müller 1962, 12. All translations from Coptic throughout this article are my own unless otherwise noted. For a complete English translation of the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, see Lundhaug 2020.

2 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 10; Coptic text in Müller 1962, 12.

in Lower Egypt, attacked the reading of the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael* and other apocryphal texts in his treatise *Against the Heretical Books*,[3] where he deals with the problem of the 'blasphemous books of the heretics,' which he claims were being read throughout Egypt, even 'in the orthodox churches.'[4] The bishop mentions apocryphal books with titles such as *The Preaching of John*, *The Laughter of the Apostles*, *The Teachings of Adam*, *The Counsel of the Savior*, and the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*. These books, he says, invent details that are not mentioned in the canonical texts, such as the claim that the devil fell because he refused to worship Adam,[5] that the Archangel Michael was given the position formerly occupied by the devil,[6] and the exact dates on which these things happened.[7] He also criticizes those who would teach the contents of such books to what he, echoing Athanasius' 39th *Festal Letter*, described as simple-minded people.[8] For John of Parallos, knowledge of the biblical storyworld[9] should only be derived from the canonical Scriptures (to which he, unlike Athanasius, also counted Tobit),[10] and gaps in that knowledge should not be filled using apocryphal texts such as the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*.

Both the well-documented opposition in certain quarters against the production and use of apocryphal literature in Egypt from the days of Athanasius in the fourth century to the time of John of Parallos and further into the Islamic period, and the abundance of Coptic manuscripts containing apocryphal materials testify to the fact that apocryphal literature was produced and used in Egyptian monasteries from the early Christian centuries and continued into the second millennium. As one can see from the extant manuscript evidence of the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, John of Parallos' campaign against apocryphal books did not produce the desired results, as this and many other noncanonical books attributed to the apostles continued to be produced and read in Egyptian monasteries for centuries. Even the White Monastery, from which our only extant copy of John of Parallos' anti-heretical sermon against apocryphal books derives, held a copy of the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, made – and presumably read – long after John of Parallos' condemnation of it. We also know that the use of this text in the White Monastery was not an isolated occurrence, as the text is also attested in two ninth-century manuscripts found in the ruins of the Monastery of St. Michael the Archangel at Phantoou in the Fayum, a discovery that also unearthed many other apocryphal works.[11]

In his polemical work against heretical books, John of Parallos specifically opposes the use of apocrypha in churches across Egypt.[12] Indeed, his opposition to heresies and the use of illicit books is what he is primarily known for.[13] The later catechetical work *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*, attributed to the tenth-century heresiologist Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffá,[14] for instance, relates that John confiscated apocryphal books from Egyptian monasteries and ordered them burned.[15] In addition, the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* also attacks the contemporary use of apocryphal books, in particular a book dealing with the *Investiture of Abbaton, the Angel of Death*. This text, which according to the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* was pseudepigraphically attributed to Theophilus of Alexandria, is in fact also directly attested in a late tenth-century manuscript deriving from the Monastery of Mercuri-

3 This Coptic text, partly preserved in the remains of a single manuscript from the White Monastery (MONB.CM), has been edited by van Lantschoot 1946. For an English translation of the text, see BULL - JENOTT 2020.

4 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 47-48.

5 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 63.

6 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 61-63.

7 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 58, 61-62.

8 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 49; cf. Athanasius, *Festal Letter* 39.15.

9 On the concept of 'storyworld', see the discussion below.

10 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 59; cf. Athanasius, *Festal Letter* 39.20-21.

11 The collection is commonly known as the 'Hamouli manuscripts' due to the proximity of their discovery location to the modern village of al-Hamouli. For overviews of this collection and its discovery, see DEPUYDT 1993; EMMEL 2005; HYVERNAT 1919, xiii–xviii; HYVERNAT 1912. Facsimiles of all the Hamouli codices in the Pierpont Morgan Library's collection have been made available in HYVERNAT 1922.

12 John of Parallos, *Against the Heretical Books*, MONB.CM 47.

13 See, e.g., the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion's entry for the 19th of Koiak. As Detlef Müller (1991) puts it, John of Parallos 'did not share the Coptic inclination to search for instruction in unorthodox books' or 'to decipher God's secrets not found in the Bible', but 'investigated monastery libraries and burned virtually every such book that he found'. Cf. also the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, 14 (EVETTS 2017, 1:207).

14 According to Mark Swanson, this attribution is pseudepigraphical, and the text was probably written by a Coptic monk (SWANSON 2011, 265-66).

15 See SWANSON 1996, 221.

us at Edfu, in an *Encomium on Abbaton, the Angel of Death* here attributed to Timothy of Alexandria.[16] Like the *Investiture of Michael*, the *Investiture of Abbaton* also embellishes and reinterprets the events surrounding the creation and fall of Adam and the fall of the devil. It agrees with the *Investiture of Michael* and a number of other apocryphal texts that the devil was expelled from heaven because he refused to worship Adam.[17] Moreover, just like the *Investiture of Michael* emphasizes the day of Michael's investiture, on the 12th of Hathor, the *Investiture of Abbaton*, which describes the role and authority of the angel of death, makes sure to point out that Abbaton was invested as the angel of death on the 13th of Hathor.

Like the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, the apocryphal work dealing with the angel of death seems to have been a popular one, its contribution to the biblical storyworld even extending across media, as described in the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*:

> It is a mere tradition in all the churches of believers to draw his painting with his terrifying appearance and hideous manifestation together with his impure soldiers (standing) around him, ready to torture, in order that the believers fear them, care about performing good deeds in order to be saved from their hands, and praise the Son of God who redeemed them in his blood.[18]

Such transmedial transmission of traditions concerning Abbaton is also attested by archaeological discoveries made by Grenfell and Hunt during the excavation of a monastic complex at Tebtunis, where remains of a tenth-century fresco (now unfortunately lost) shows Abbaton together with sinners being punished, his appearance being, as far as can be made out from the photos of one of the then extant frescos, in accordance with the description of him in the Pseudo-Timothy *Encomium* preserved in the Edfu-manuscript as having claws.[19] So while there was opposition to the production and reading of apocryphal texts about Abbaton and other angelic figures from certain quarters, apocryphal stories about them were circulating in texts and images in monasteries and churches across Egypt. Indeed, the transmedia aspect of the production, consumption, and transmission of apocrypha probably also comprised oral storytelling and liturgical, or at least paraliturgical, enactment.[20] It is crucially important to keep this in mind if we want to understand the full significance and impact of apocrypha in Egyptian Christianity.

2. *Apocrypha and associated practices*

While it is unclear to what degree our preserved Coptic apocrypha were read or heard by Coptic-speaking people in general or mainly by monks, it is clear that the majority of our Coptic manuscripts containing apocrypha demonstrably derive from monasteries, while there are no such manuscripts that can be shown decisively to be of a non-monastic origin.[21] Why, then, did Egyptian monastics copy and read apocryphal texts?[22] What were their functions? In what practices were they embedded? And how did variations in function contribute to the fluidity of these texts and traditions?

With regard to many of the later Coptic apocrypha it is clear that one of their functions was to provide justification for – and far more information concerning – the feast days of saints and archangels, such as for example the important celebration on the 12th of Hathor of the archangel Michael, or similar dates in other apocryphal texts.[23] At the same time, it is important to note that the direction of influence between texts and liturgy may pass in both directions. Practices may influence texts, and texts may influence practices. It is also worth noting that the directly liturgical, or paraliturgical, contents of such texts often

16 See Suciu - Saweros 2016 for a new English translation and introduction. The colophon has been published in van Lantschoot 1929, 1:187-189; The first edition of the text was in Budge 1914.

17 See, e.g., Dochhorn 2012; Müller 1959.

18 Translation from Suciu and Saweros 2016, 554.

19 Walters 1989; Ps-Timothy of Alexandria, *Encomium on Abbaton, the Angel of Death*, BL Or. 7025.49-50.

20 On textual fluidity in the interaction between oral and written transmission, see Johansson 2017. On the use of apocrypha in liturgy, see Rose 2009; Hawk 2018.

21 For a sustained argument in favour of the monastic provenance of the much-debated Nag Hammadi Codices, see Lundhaug - Jenott 2015. See also Tutty 2019 and the article by Bull in the present volume.

22 Here I include both male and female monastics. For the possibility that the Nag Hammadi Codices were produced and read by female monastics, see Gribetz 2018.

23 On this aspect, see Suciu 2017.

show a different degree of fluidity from that of the rest of the writing in question. We see this, for instance, in the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, where the differences between the three preserved versions of the text are especially distinct in an extended hymnic passage.[24]

Moreover, the production, donation, and reading of manuscripts containing apocrypha was evidently regarded by many as pious, devotional practices on a par with the production, donation, and reading of other Christian literature, including the canonical biblical texts. Many colophons attest to this, including one following the *Encomium on Abbaton* in manuscript BL, Or. 7025 (MERC.AU), which states that the 'God-fearing brother Chael' financed the production of the book and had it donated to the monastery of St. Mercurius at Edfu for his soul's salvation, and so that the monks of that monastery would be able to read in it the name of Abbaton, and so that St. Mercurius would call upon Christ and save Chael from the machinations of the devil, and expresses a wish that 'the Archangel Abbaton' might treat him kindly and forgive him his sins when he dies.[25] The first part of the colophon contains a short prayer for remembrance by the scribe Theopistos, who copied the text in the year 981, by 'everyone who reads in this book'.[26] There is also a statement at the end of the *Encomium on Abbaton* itself, where the homilist Pseudo-Timothy states, after having finished 'quoting from' the fictitious book on the *Investiture of Abbaton*, that this and other books he claims to have found 'in the library in Jerusalem' had been placed there by 'our holy fathers the apostles' 'for the sake of the faith and salvation of the unbelievers'.[27] This sentiment in fact echoes what is found a couple of pages earlier, towards the end of the quoted apostolic book itself, where Christ proclaims to his apostles that they should preach on Abbaton's day of remembrance 'so that the children of men will be afraid and repent'.[28]

The fact that not only the production, donation, and use of manuscripts containing apocrypha, but also the composition of apocryphal narratives was seen by some as a pious activity is attested to by the *Homily on the Passion and Resurrection*, pseudepigraphically attributed to Evodius of Rome:

> The king will not find fault if embroideries are added to his garments, but he will greatly commend those who have added them, so that everyone might praise the garment because of the embroideries which are on it. Thus the Lord Jesus will not find fault with us if we add adornments to the Holy Gospels, but he will instead greatly commend us, and bless those who will bear fruit through them.[29]

By this clever metaphor the homily argues that expanding on the biblical narratives should not be regarded as an objectionable activity, but rather the opposite, as such embellishments could only reflect positively on the canonical gospels, and thus be pleasing to God, not least because it might help people in their faith, a point we also saw being made in the *Encomium on Abbaton*. Not everybody would agree, though, and Pseudo-Evodius is aware of it, as his defence of apocryphal embellishments is made in anticipation of accusations of having 'added to the words of the Holy Gospels' from 'someone who is strict among the brothers', thus necessitating his explanation by means of a creative simile.[30] Yet some brothers evidently approved, of this type of literature, as we find this text preserved completely in a ninth-century parchment codex from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou and fragmentarily in the remains of at least six other codices, from the White Monastery, Thinis, and elsewhere.[31]

And there were many such books in Coptic, copied and read by monks, that elaborated upon and extended the gospels and other canonical texts. Pseudo-Evodius is in good company in doing so. A great number of apocryphal texts and traditions have been preserved in Coptic manuscripts over the entire timespan of Coptic literary production. Throughout this period of profound socio-religious change, apocryphal texts and traditions continued to be copied and read throughout Egypt. What is unusual about Pseudo-Evodius' homily is simply that it admits to what it is doing and presents a defence of it while doing so.

24 See LUNDHAUG 2019b; LUNDHAUG 2020.

25 LANTSCHOOT 1929, 1:188. Abbaton is never referred to as an archangel in the *Encomium* itself, but only in the manuscript's colophon.

26 LANTSCHOOT 1929, 1:187-189.

27 Ps-Timothy, *Encomium on Abbaton*, BL, Or. 7025.67-68.

28 Ps-Timothy, *Encomium on Abbaton*, BL, Or. 7025.66.

29 Ps-Evodius, *Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection*, 42 (Coptic text in CHAPMAN 1991, 1:90-91).

30 Ps-Evodius, *On the Passion and the Resurrection*, 40 (Coptic text in CHAPMAN 1991, 90).

31 See BURNS 2020. There was significant textual fluidity in the transmission of this text (see, e.g., CHAPMAN 1991, x-xi).

3. *Apocrypha and the biblical storyworld*

What exactly do I mean by apocrypha? For the purposes of the present contribution I have chosen to define apocrypha as (1) texts and traditions that develop or expand upon characters and events of the biblical storyworld; (2) and/or contain a claim to authorship by a character from that storyworld or a direct witness to it.[32] I do not place any chronological limits on the concept.[33] As for 'storyworld', it denotes a reader's mental construction and simulation of an imaginary world on the basis of the text or texts he or she is reading.[34] By 'biblical storyworld' I refer to the specific storyworld that is created on the basis of a reading of the biblical texts. For readers of these texts, the biblical storyworld was transnarrative, i.e., it was based on the reception of a combination of narratives.[35] Moreover, it can be described as hyperserial, in the sense that it is the result of a multitude of narratives that in effect become mere episodes in a much larger story.[36] The above definition of apocrypha thus highlights their crucial role in contributing to readers' cognitive construction of the biblical storyworld. The understanding Coptic monastics, for instance, had of the appearance, history, functions, and significance of the archangels was crucially shaped by their reading of apocryphal texts. In this regard the specific role of the apocryphal texts was, from a cognitive perspective, to function for their audience as 'blueprints for the creation and modification' of this 'mentally configured storyworld', to use David Herman's terminology.[37] Importantly, they would have this function in interpretative conjunction with their readers' prior knowledge of the biblical storyworld, where the canonical biblical texts would of course play a crucial role.

From this perspective it is clear that the biblical storyworld could never be a static construct. Not only would different readers mentally configure and simulate the storyworld in different ways,[38] especially when embedded in different contexts, but both the availability and constitution of the blueprints for world-creation constituted by the apocryphal texts would change over time and be context-dependent. As Bronwen Thomas points out, 'storyworlds are generated and experienced within specific social and cultural environments that are subject to constant change',[39] and our manuscript evidence of Coptic apocrypha shows us that both apocryphal traditions and the apocryphal texts themselves were subject to change, reworking, and further development in shifting contexts of transmission.

Throughout the history of the production and transmission of Coptic literature, contexts changed in sometimes highly dramatic ways. As Stephen Emmel has pointed out, 'the increasingly difficult circumstances of the Copts after the seventh-century conquest meant that much even of what has survived of Coptic literature has come down to us filtered through cultural circumstances that may well have altered, perhaps only to varying extents, but nonetheless in definitive ways, the character of that literature'.[40] The importance of interpreting the Coptic apocryphal texts in light of the context in which the surviving

32 It is thus worth noting that I here adopt a significantly broader understanding of the category of apocrypha than, e.g., Orlandi 2016, where, for instance, the later apocrypha embedded in pseudepigraphical sermons are not regarded as belonging to the category at all (cf. also Orlandi 1983, 68, 70). While Orlandi (1983) is absolutely right that it is important to understand Coptic apocrypha in light of their historical contexts (see the discussion below), for my purposes here it is valuable to treat all texts conforming to this broad definition together, as they share a number of important traits.

33 The decoupling of the concept of 'apocrypha' from chronological considerations is in line with recent treatments of apocrypha, e.g., Piovanelli 2005; 2015; Markschies 2012; 2015; Burke 2015. When referring to Coptic apocrypha, I make no claims with regard to their original language of composition. Taking my cue from Stephen Emmel's (1997; 2007) suggestion that it probably did not matter for those who read or heard these texts in Coptic whether or not they were reading translation literature I treat all apocryphal texts preserved in Coptic in their current form as Coptic texts produced for and read by Coptic speakers, regardless of whether the texts are likely to have been originally composed in Coptic – probably the case with the majority of the later Coptic apocrypha – or whether they are likely to have been originally composed in a different language –primarily Greek, the likely original language of a majority of the earliest Coptic apocrypha (cf. Orlandi 1983; 1991; 2016). I would also like to add the observation that there is often significant textual fluidity stemming from the process of translation, with the context of translation significantly influencing the shape of the translated text (cf. Emmel 1997; Wisse 1997).

34 See, e.g., Ryan 2017; Herman 2013.

35 See Wolf 2012.

36 Cf. Johnston 2015.

37 Herman 2009, 73.

38 Cf., e.g., Gerrig 2010 on how readers with different backgrounds may fill in gaps differently when reading the same texts.

39 Thomas 2011, 6.

40 Emmel 2007, 84.

manuscripts were produced and used, namely in Coptic monasteries in various parts of Egypt at various points in time, is thus evident. Indeed, as Emmel emphasizes, 'nearly everything written in Coptic was finally subordinated to the needs of the Egyptian churches and monasteries, which by the tenth century were effectively the only bastions of Coptic (Christian) culture in what had become an Arab-speaking and largely Islamic land'.[41] It is thus to be expected that Coptic literature, Coptic apocrypha included, reflects in various ways the changing socio-religious landscape in which it was produced and used.

With this in mind, we may approach the question posed by David Herman: 'When a narrative is adapted or remediated, which features of the storyworld remain constant and which features change – and with what overall effect?'[42] With regard to Coptic apocrypha, this aspect has so far not been systematically analysed, but it is clear that the apocryphal traditions, and thus the biblical storyworld, changed over time in response to changing interests and circumstances. And we see such changes also in the transmission of individual apocryphal texts, for there is notable fluidity both in the development of these apocryphal traditions and in the transmission of the texts.

Unsurprisingly, the later Coptic apocrypha introduce aspects to the biblical storyworld that intersect with later ideas and concerns, rooted in later contexts. The *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, for example, describes how the devil, masquerading as an apostle, does his best to make the disciples of the apostles envious of their apostolic masters after Jesus has flown away with them on an olive tree to show them what happens to sinners and righteous after death.[43] However, the 'little disciples', as they are called, are not fooled by the devil, but make him go away by throwing stones at him. As one of the apostle John's disciples explains to his peers, John had himself once managed to hit the devil with a stone, and thus they go about chasing away the devil.[44] When this text was being read in the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayoum and in the White Monastery, when the extant manuscripts were in use,[45] this story would have reminded many of its readers or hearers not only of the Christian storyworld, but also of similar traditions in Islam, where a well-known story has Abraham throwing stones at the devil, who tries to dissuade him from doing God's will, a legend that is reenacted yearly even today in the rami al-jamaraat ritual during hajj.[46] Indeed, this overlap between the Christian and Islamic storyworlds is also attested in another Coptic apocryphal text, the *Homily on the Life of Jesus and His Love for the Apostles*, preserved in several manuscripts from the White Monastery.[47] A similar overlap can also be seen in the devil's refusal to worship Adam, which we find not only in the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael* and the *Encomium on Abbaton*, but also in the Qur'an.[48]

There was a long tradition of copying and using apocrypha in Egyptian monasteries, and there are many features that also show continuity between the earliest Coptic apocrypha and the much later ones, from pseudepigraphical attribution to apostles,[49] to the setting of dialogues between Christ and the apostles on the Mount of Olives,[50] to similarities in exegetical interests, such as the creation, names, and functions of the angels,[51] the fall of the devil, and the creation and fall of Adam. The *Investiture of the Archan-*

41 EMMEL 2007, 84.

42 HERMAN 2013, 10.

43 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 27; M614, 20; Coptic text in MÜLLER 1962.

44 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 28; M614, 20-21; Coptic text in MÜLLER 1962.

45 The two manuscripts from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou were produced in the ninth century, while the White Monastery manuscript was produced sometime between the ninth and eleventh centuries (see LUNDHAUG 2020).

46 See, e.g., FIRESTONE 1991.

47 See PETTIPIECE 2020.

48 Q 2:34, Q 7:11, Q 15:29-31, Q 17:61, Q 18:50, Q 20:116, Q 38:72-74; see LUNDHAUG 2019b; LUNDHAUG 2020.

49 E.g., the *Apocryphon of John,* the *Investiture of Michael* and the *Mysteries of John* are all directly attributed to the apostle John

50 On this setting as used in the early Coptic apocrypha, often designated as 'Gnostic', see, e.g., RUDOLPH 1968; PERKINS 1980. Such dialogues can sometimes also take place prior to the resurrection, as is the case in the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*.

51 E.g., the use of the name 'Saklataboth' for the devil in the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, which can be regarded as a combination of the names Saklas and Ialdabaoth given to the world ruler in some of the Nag Hammadi texts, including the *Apocryphon of John* and the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (cf. DOCHORN 2013, 28-29; DOCHHORN 2012, 46). Another example of continuity over time can be seen with the use of the name 'Lithargoel' in the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (applied to Jesus as a physician; *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* 8.14-19, 9.30-32, 10.31-11.26) and in the *Investiture of the Archangel Gabriel* (applied to a healing angel 'Litharkoel'; cf. SCHENKE 2003, 2:418-19; JENOTT 2020). Similarly, the *Investiture of Gabriel* features the angel-names Leleth, Hormosiel, and Oriel, which are very close to the angel-names Eleleth, Harmozel, and Ouriel found in the *Apocryphon of John*.

gel Michael, for instance, states in its incipit that 'These are the words, excellent and filled with profit, of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he spoke to his disciples and his holy apostles on the Mount of Olives, having spoken to them concerning the creation of the heaven and the earth, and concerning the way in which he created the human being after his likeness and his image, and concerning the way he invested Michael the Archangel on the 12th of Hathor, the holy John the Evangelist, the beloved by God, having interpreted them.'[52]

Many of these apocryphal works directly address questions that are not treated by the canonical biblical texts, and many are engaged in explaining what was treated or hinted at, but left unexplained, there. We see, for instance, a great interest in exegeting the first chapters of Genesis in Coptic apocrypha from the earliest to the latest, but also themes with less direct connection to the canon are popular. Multiple texts relate stories of what happens to the individual soul at death, how sinners will be punished and the righteous rewarded, including vivid descriptions of hell and various heavenly realms, and multiple narratives deal with the creation and roles of the angles and the fall of the devil. Based on only a limited number of references in the canonical biblical texts, a large number of apocrypha thus collectively – transnarratively and hyperserially – establish a much more detailed and rich picture of the biblical storyworld.

Other features change noticeably over time. One such feature is the framing of the apocryphal texts. While the earliest Coptic apocrypha are usually attributed directly to an apostle, evangelist, or another figure from the biblical storyworld, in the later centuries there is a tendency to embed such traditions within more or less elaborate frames. A highly common framing device is that of homilies pseudepigraphically attributed to patristic figures from the fourth to the sixth century with a high standing in the miaphysite Coptic tradition.[53] In these homilies, the pseudonymous author often claims authority for the apocryphal contents of his sermon by explaining how his teachings derive from apostolic books found in Jerusalem, sometimes the discovery location is even specified as the 'library of the apostles'.[54] In the *Encomium on Abbaton, the Angel of Death*, for instance, Pseudo-Timothy states in the homiletic frame that he acquired a book concerning the *Investiture of Abbaton, the Angel of Death* on a trip he made to Jerusalem to celebrate Easter. The major part of Pseudo-Timothy's homily is then simply an extended quotation from this fictitious book, itself framed as a post-resurrection dialogue between Christ and the apostles, with Christ explaining the history and role of the angel of death in relation to topics ranging from a discussion of Abbaton's role in the creation of Adam, to the more contemporary issue of his role in the death of every single human being and the collection of their souls.[55]

Sometimes, however, such later Coptic apocrypha also betray their Egyptian context of production and use. For example, in Pseudo-Timothy's *Homily on the Festival of the Archangel Michael*, the pseudonymous homilist tells us that he found a book in Jerusalem narrated by John the Evangelist and written down by his disciple Proklos, but one of the topics treated in this book is in fact the flooding of the Nile, which places its relevance neatly in Egypt, at least in its manuscript context.[56] In another text, the *Encomium on Mary Magdalene*, pseudonymously attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, it is even stated that the embedded book on the *Life of Mary Magdalene*, which Pseudo-Cyril says he 'found in the library of the holy city', was 'written in Egyptian.'[57]

While it is clear that many of the later apocryphal narratives are found embedded within pseudepigraphical homiletic frames, often containing stories about how this or that apostolic book was acquired by the pseudepigraphical homilist, it is nevertheless important to note that we do in fact also find texts directly attributed to apostles, evangelists, or other figures from the biblical storyworld, in late Coptic manuscripts. It is thus quite clear that it was still possible to introduce new apostolic books in Coptic at a

52 The *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, M593, 1.

53 See Hagen 2004; Suciu 2017; Sheridan 2016.

54 On this *topos* in Coptic manuscripts, see Hagen 2004; Suciu 2017.

55 See Suciu - Saweros 2016.

56 Ps-Timothy of Alexandria, *Homily on the Festival of the Archangel Michael* was first published in Budge 1915. The flooding of the Nile is also referred to in the colophon of the codex which contains this text (BL, Or. 7029, from the Monastery of Mercurius at Edfu), where a great miracle is said to have happened in connection with the flooding of the Nile in 982, as well as in 992 (see van Lantschoot 1929, 1:197-200).

57 Ps-Cyril of Jerusalem, *Encomium on Mary Magdalene*, iv (Coquin - Godron 1990, 176). On this text, see also Marquis 2016.

very late date. This is the case, for instance, with the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael* or the *Mysteries of John*,[58] which are both directly attributed to the apostle John. Even the fictional successor of Peter as bishop of Rome, Evodius, is attributed with the authorship of an eye-witness account of the crucifixion, in the pseudonymous *Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection*, which circulated widely at a relatively late date.[59]

4. *Elaboration on the storyworld and the fluidity of tradition*

Different apocryphal texts often elaborate upon the same parts of the biblical storyworld, in different but often overlapping ways. An example of this can be seen in the different elaborations of the story of the creation of Adam in a wide range of texts from the *Apocryphon of John* or the *Gospel of Philip* from the Nag Hammadi Codices, to such later texts as the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*, the *Encomium on Abbaton*, and the *Mysteries of John*, to mention just a few of the many texts that deal with this particular theme. How are we to understand this growth of additional materials based on the biblical storyworld? I would suggest that the mechanisms by which such traditions evolved and new works were produced based on the storyworld of the biblical texts can be likened, at least partly, to modern fanfiction. In this type of text, usefully defined by Bronwen Thomas as 'stories produced by fans based on plot lines and characters from either a single source text or else a 'canon' of works',[60] fans create stories that serve to expand and fill in gaps in the storyworld of the authoritative source text or texts on which they are based. These 'fan-products' can sometimes gain authoritative status of their own, albeit on a somewhat secondary level, and become part of what can be described, using terminology from modern fanfiction studies, as a *fanon*. They gain such 'fanonical' status basically by being well enough received and popular enough in fan communities that they are further transmitted within them.[61] Similarly we may suspect that those Coptic apocrypha that gained a positive reception among Egyptian monastics may have gained such secondary 'fanonical' status. When they were read in monastic communities some of their contents might well have come to be regarded as 'intrinsic to the story world' in the same way as their canonical source materials.[62] On the basis of the surviving manuscript evidence, some Coptic apocryphal texts and traditions may indeed have gained such a status, which seems to have been the case, for instance, with the texts dealing with the investiture of the archangel Michael and the angel of death Abbaton.

5. *Manuscript culture and textual fluidity*

One of the central insights of material (or 'new') philology[63] is the fact that in a manuscript culture texts undergo change every time they are copied, and that a major mechanism governing the change is contextual influence. This is because textual variants arose not only from the basic fact that scribes made mistakes, but also from intentional changes made to the texts in order to make them relevant for new contexts of use. This also means that we may gain insights about the reception of texts by reading them in light of their manuscript contexts, i.e., in light of the times and places in which the manuscripts that have survived were produced and used.

This is not surprising, for even though modern readers often tend to regard textual variants as deviations from the norm,[64] textual fluidity is in fact the norm in manuscript cultures, not least in the trans-

58 The *Mysteries of John* is preserved completely in BL, Or. 7026, from the Monastery of Mercurius at Edfu. The text was first published in Budge 1913. For a new English translation and introduction, see Lundhaug - Abercrombie 2020.

59 See Chapman 1991; Burns 2020.

60 Thomas 2011, 1. On fanfiction, see also Hellekson - Busse 2006; Jenkins 2013. For recent applications of fanfiction theory to the understanding of ancient apocrypha, see, e.g., Larsen 2019; Lundhaug 2019b; Rosland 2019.

61 Cf. the definition of 'fanon' in Page - Thomas 2011, 277: 'A fan-derived alternative to the 'canon' whereby aspects of plotting, background information, or characterization become 'fanonical' due to uptake and dissemination within fan communities.'

62 Cf. Thomas 2007.

63 On new/material philology, see esp. Nichols 1990; Nichols 1997; Spiegel 2014; Lundhaug - Lied 2017.

64 See Bryant 2007, 19.

mission of literature in the vernacular.[65] In our Coptic materials we see that in those cases where we are lucky enough to have a work preserved in more than one manuscript, there is textual variation. As Paul Zumthor has argued, we should not conceive of such works along the same lines as modern works, for works in a manuscript culture are by the very nature of their material basis 'fundamentally unstable'.[66] Thus conceived, the work itself 'exists outside and hierarchically above its textual manifestations,' and is 'dynamic by definition'.[67] As Zumthor puts it, the work 'grows, changes, and decays', and the individual textual manifestations of a work found in manuscripts, Zumthor describes as 'less something complete in itself than the text still in the process of creation'.[68] Each time a text is being copied by a new scribe, in a new context, there is a 'renewed attempt to get at meaning', and not simply the creation of an exact copy of meaning that is fixed once and for all.[69] In such a situation, the common scholarly practice of using the various manuscript witnesses to a work mainly to reconstruct a text as close as possible to the hypothetical 'original' text and to focus interpretive efforts on that text, and its often equally hypothetical context of authorship, risks erasing the work's history of transmission, evidence of which is located in the work's individual manuscript instantiations.[70]

While the variance created through these processes span the whole range from minor orthographic differences, or minor details, to major differences in textual contents and length, in many cases the variants are significant enough to support different interpretations,[71] resulting in different constructions and understandings of the biblical storyworld, even in cases where the variants between texts may seem to be relatively minor.[72] Take for instance the abovementioned *Investiture of the Archangel Michael*. At one point in the narrative, the apostle Peter asks Christ why he and his father created Mastema (i.e., the devil) when surely they knew all the bad things that would happen because of him.[73] The answer given by Jesus is slightly, but significantly, different in the two manuscripts that preserve it. While admitting that he and his father created the devil as the 'first-formed from the hands of God', Jesus' explanation of how the devil's arrogance arose is different in the two manuscripts in a way that both reflects, and could give rise to, differences in interpretation, as M593 explains that 'it was within him (i.e., the devil), though, that we made this great arrogance', thus admitting to having created the devil as an arrogant being in the first place, while M614 explains that 'it was within him (i.e., the devil), though, that this great arrogance came into being', thus distancing the devil's creators from his arrogance.[74] Similarly, when Jesus explains to the apostles why Adam was created, M593 states that 'My Father gazed upon the entire world we had made, and he saw that he did not find anything within it that would praise him'; in M614 Jesus includes himself as praiseworthy together with his father: 'My Father gazed out upon the entire world and he found nothing within it that would praise us'.[75]

Looking at a significantly earlier text, we find multiple significant differences, both great and small, between the extant witnesses to the *Apocryphon of John*.[76] Preserved in three versions in the Nag Hammadi Codices (Codices II, III, and IV), as well as *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502, there is also a fragment from the Bala'izah discovery that displays great similarities in contents, while not seeming to derive from the 'same' work[77], thus illustrating how fluidity of tradition may sometimes intersect with textual fluidity more strictly speaking. With regard to the latter, we see, e.g., in an important passage regarding Barbelo's relationship with the Father, how the version in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 states that 'Barbelo gazed intensely into

65 See Cerquiglini 1989; Zumthor 1972; Nichols 1990; Lundhaug - Lied 2017.

66 Zumthor 1992, 47.

67 Zumthor 1992, 47-48.

68 Zumthor 1992, 48.

69 Zumthor 1992, 48.

70 See King 1997, 131.

71 Cf. the definition of a fluid text in Bryant 2007, 17: 'any written work that exists in multiple material versions due to revisions (authorial, editorial, cultural) upon which we may construct an interpretation'. Cf. also Bryant 2002.

72 For examples of small but significant variants, see, e.g., Jenott 2017; Lundhaug 2017a; Lundhaug 2019a; Lundhaug 2019b.

73 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 5; M614, 3.

74 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 6; M614, 4.

75 *Invest. Mich.* M593, 6; M614, 4.

76 See Waldstein - Wisse 1995; Wisse 1997.

77 See Waldstein - Wisse 1995. On the Bala'izah manuscripts, see Kahle 1954; Goehring 2015.

him, the pure light'; while Nag Hammadi Codex II rather thinks that 'he gazed into Barbelo in the pure light surrounding the invisible sprit and its shining'; and Nag Hammadi Codex III seems to agree with the former rather then the latter in stating that 'Barbelon gazed intensely into the pure light'.[78] Fluidity like this makes it very difficult to reconstruct a hypothetical original or archetype, and highlights the importance of trying to understand the ways in which texts actually appear in manuscripts, and consequently how they would have appeared to the users of these manuscripts.[79]

But while works change in transmission, the various textual manifestations in manuscripts also remain identifiable as somehow the same work. There are thus certain constraints to the fluidity, but how do these constraints work? How is it that texts may change significantly in transmission, while still being identifiable as the same work? Stephen Nichols has suggested that texts may in some sense be regarded, with an analogy derived from the physical sciences, as dynamic systems. By doing so Nichols hopes to capture what he describes as the 'mutable stability' of texts when they undergo often significant changes in transmission.[80] That is, in other words, the mechanism by which texts stay useful by being changed when received in new contexts. Nichols thus paradoxically highlights the stability principles which he sees at work in the transmission of fluid texts in medieval literary culture. He likens the changes undergone by texts in transmission to the ways in which physical structures adjust to changes in their load. Similarly, he claims, 'Poetic structure in the manuscript age is dynamic; it constantly accommodates to the stress of modification without losing its ability to adjust to load changes or to suffer any reduction in performance or loss of identity'.[81] Such transformation of texts in transmission in order to accommodate to shifting conditions, is described by Nichols as the paradox of 'mutable stability' – a stability which incorporates and depends upon change. If the texts were not adapted to new contexts of use and shifting circumstances they might end up no longer being useful. He describes one of the mechanisms by which such accommodation takes place as that of 'differential imitation', defined as 'the iteration of an object with nuanced variation',[82] and speaks of the 'generative dynamic of transmission', a 'dynamic activity that transforms as it transmits'.[83] To put it in simpler terms, this is where we see the agency of scribes and the influence of context. Nichols argues that 'we should not be surprised to find traces of the contemporary context on the manuscript version it produces,' and points out the crucially important fact that multiple literary works, originally authored at different times and places, were being copied at the same time, and thus simultaneously went through processes of differential imitation in transmission, and that this also happened at the same time as new works were being authored, thus creating generative dynamics that were not unidirectional, but which crucially enabled works authored at later dates to also influence the reworking of texts authored before them, which were still being copied and adapted.[84] This explains how in the fluid transmission of texts in a manuscript culture, works may influence each other in more than one direction, at more than one point in time. It is thus important not to restrict analyses of possible influences between texts to the hypothetical originals. Such analyses, while highly common in scholarship, needlessly restrict the possible direction of influence to one that exclusively passes from the hypothetical original with the earliest hypothetical date of authorship to the one with the later date.

6. *Conclusion*

Finally, in lieu of a conclusion, I would like to suggest that one of the most important functions of the continuing production and use of Coptic apocrypha was their continuing contribution to keeping the biblical storyworld alive, while consolidating its importance, and making it, with all its divine entities, seem real

78 For a discussion of this and other variants among the versions of *Ap. John*, see Lundhaug 2017a.

79 On the importance of paying attention to the manuscript context when interpreting texts from the Nag Hammadi Codices, see also Lundhaug 2013; Lundhaug 2017b; Lundhaug 2017c; Lundhaug 2019a.

80 Nichols 2016.

81 Nichols 2016, 100.

82 Nichols 2016, 90.

83 Nichols 2016, 96, 97.

84 Nichols 2016, 97.

and relevant in people's lives. They did this not least through their transnarrative and hyperserial nature, where different versions and stories about the characters and events of the biblical storyworld mutually enriched each other and the canonical texts alike, thus reinforcing each other's authority by being attached to the same storyworld. I would suggest that this aspect contributed in no small way to the popularity of apocrypha in Egypt, and may help explain why they were found to be useful reading materials in Egyptian monasteries for hundreds of years, through shifting contexts, as attested by manuscripts from all major Egyptian monastic manuscript collections for which we have evidence, where apocrypha are not found in isolation, but alongside lives of monks and other hagiographic writings, monastic rules, and the canonical biblical texts themselves, whose importance was probably only heightened by the simultaneous presence of apocrypha in these collections. Indeed, as Evodius, the fictional bishop of Rome, argues, the embellishment of the canonical gospels by means of apocryphal additions is 'like gold: when you mix it with the topaz stone, it shines greatly, so that no darkness occurs at all where it will be put. Thus also when the adornment of the words of the Holy Spirit is added by the teachers to the Holy Gospels, they shine brightly and cast forth lightning'.[85]

References

Bryant 2002 = J. Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen*, Ann Arbor, 2002.

Bryant 2007 = J. Bryant, 'Witness and Access: The Uses of the Fluid Text', *Textual Cultures*, 2.1, 2007, pp. 16-42.

Budge 1913 = E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (British Museum; Coptic Texts: Edited with Introductions and English Translations, 3), London, 1913.

Budge 1914 = E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms Etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (British Museum; Coptic Texts: Edited with Introductions and English Translations, 4), London, 1914.

Budge 1915 = E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (British Museum; Coptic Texts: Edited with Introductions and English Translations, 5), London, 1915.

Bull - Jenott 2020 = C.H. Bull - L. Jenott, 'John of Parallos, *Homily Against Heretical Books*: An Introduction and Translation', in T. Burke (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 2*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2020.

Burke 2015 = T. Burke, 'Entering the Mainstream: Twenty-five Years of Research on the Christian Apocrypha', in P. Piovanelli - T. Burke, with the collaboration of T. Pettipiece (eds.), *Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent: New Perspectives on Early Christian and Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 349), Tübingen, 2015, pp. 19-47.

Burns 2020 = D.M. Burns, 'A Homily on the Passion and Resurrection: A New Translation and Introduction', in T. Burke (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 2*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2020.

Cerquiglini 1989 = B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie*, Paris, 1989.

Chapman 1991 = P. Chapman, 'Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection Attributed to Euodius of Rome', in L. Depuydt (ed.), *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 524, Scriptores coptici, 43), Leuven, 1991, pp. 79-106.

Coquin - Godron 1990 = R.-G. Coquin – G. Godron, 'Un encomion copte sur Marie-Madeleine attribué à Cyrille de Jérusalem', *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 90, 1990, pp. 169-212.

Depuydt 1993 = L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, I-II (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4-5; Oriental Series, 1-2), Leuven, 1993.

Dochhorn 2012 = J. Dochhorn, 'Der Sturz des Teufels in der Urzeit: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Skizze zu einem Motiv frühjüdischer und frühchristlicher Theologie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Luzifermythos', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 109, 2012, pp. 3-47.

85 Ps-Evodius, *On the Passion and the Resurrection*, 44 (Coptic text in Chapman 1991, 91). The questions and topics discussed in this article will be further explored in the ERC-funded research project APOCRYPHA (Grant Agreement No. 865971 under Horizon 2020, the European Union's Framework Programme for Research and Innovation) at the university of Oslo, starting August 2020.

DOCHHORN 2013 = J. DOCHHORN, 'Mythen von der Einsetzung des Erzengels Michaels in koptischen Literatur', in D. BUMAZHNOV (ed), *Christliches Ägypten in der spätantiken Zeit: Akten der 2. Tübinger Tagung zum Christlichen Orient (7.–8. Dezember 2007)* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 79), Tübingen, 2013, pp. 23-42.

EMMEL 1997 = S. EMMEL, 'Religious Tradition, Textual Transmission, and the Nag Hammadi Codices', in J.D. TURNER - A. MCGUIRE (eds), *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 44), Leiden, 1997, pp. 34-43.

EMMEL 2005 = S. EMMEL, 'The Library of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou (al-Hamuli)', in G. GABRA (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis: Essays from the 2004 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society in Honor of Martin Krause*, Cairo, 2005, pp. 63-70.

EMMEL 2007 = S. EMMEL, 'Coptic Literature in the Byzantine and Early Islamic World', in R.S. BAGNALL (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 83-102.

EVETTS 2017 = B. EVETTS (ed. and trans.) *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria: The Copts of Egypt Before and After the Early Islamic Conquests, Attributed to Sawirus b. al-Muqaffa*, London, 2017.

FIRESTONE 1991 = R. FIRESTONE, 'Abraham's Association with the Meccan Sanctuary and the Pilgrimage in the Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Periods', *Le Muséon* 104.3-4, 1991, pp. 359-387.

GERRIG 2010 = R.J. GERRIG 'Readers' Experiences of Narrative Gaps', *Storyworlds*, 2, 2010, pp. 19-37.

GOEHRING 2015 = GOEHRING, 'The Monastery of Apollo at Bala'iza and Its Literary Texts', in G. GABRA - H.N. TAKLA (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt: Al-Minya and Asyut*, Cairo, 2015, pp. 41-56.

GRIBETZ 2018 = S.K. GRIBETZ, 'Women as Readers of the Nag Hammadi Codices', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22, 2018, pp. 463-494.

HAGEN 2004 = J.L. HAGEN, 'The Diaries of the Apostles: 'Manuscript Find' and 'Manuscript Fiction' in Coptic Homilies and Other Literary Texts', in M. IMMERZEEL - J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000*, I-II (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 133), Leuven, 2004, I, pp. 349-367.

HAWK 2018 = B.W. HAWK, *Preaching Apocrypha in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series), Toronto, 2018.

HELLEKSON - BUSSE 2006 = K. HELLEKSON - K. BUSSE, 'Fan Fiction: A Bibliography of Critical Works', in K. HELLEKSON - K. BUSSE (eds.), *Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet: New Essays*, Jefferson, N.C., 2006, pp. 33-40.

HERMAN 2005 = D. HERMAN, 'Storyworld', in D. HERMAN - M. JAHN - M.-L. RYAN (eds.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, London, 2005, pp. 569-570.

HERMAN 2009 = D. HERMAN, 'Narrative Ways of Worldmaking', in S. HEINEN - R. SOMMER (eds.), *Narratology in the Age of Cross-Disciplinary Narrative Research* (Narratologia, 20), Berlin, 2009, pp. 71-87.

HERMAN 2013 = D. HERMAN, *Storytelling and the Sciences of Mind*, Cambridge, Mass., 2013.

HYVERNAT 1912 = H. HYVERNAT, 'The J. P. Morgan Collection of Coptic Manuscripts', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 31.1, 1912, pp. 54-57.

HYVERNAT 1919 = H. HYVERNAT, *A Checklist of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1919.

HYVERNAT 1922 = H. HYVERNAT, *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi*, I-LVI, Rome, 1922.

JENKINS 2013 = H. JENKINS, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture: Updated Twentieth Anniversary Edition*, New York, 2013.

JENOTT 2017 = L. JENOTT, 'Reading Variants in *James* and the *Apocalypse of James*: A Perspective from New Philology', in L.I. LIED - H. LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 175), Berlin, 2017, pp. 55-84.

JENOTT 2020 = L. JENOTT, 'The Investiture of the Archangel Gabriel: A New Translation and Introduction', in T. BURKE (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 2*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2020.

Johansson 2017 = K.G. Johansson, ‘Intertextuality and the Oral Continuum: The Multidisciplinary Challenge to Philology’, in H. Lönnroth (ed), *Philology Matters! Essays on the Art of Reading Slowly* (Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts, 19), Leiden, 2017, pp. 35-57.

King 1997 = K.L. King, ‘Approaching the Variants of the *Apocryphon of John*’, in J.D. Turner - A. McGuire (eds. *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 44), Leiden, 1997, pp. 105-137.

Johnston 2015 = S.I. Johnston, ‘The Greek Mythic Story World’, *Arethusa* 48.3, 2015, pp. 283-311.

Kahle 1954 = P.E. Kahle, jr, *Bala’izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala’izah in Upper Egypt*, I-II, London, 1954.

Lantschoot van 1929 = A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte: Tome I: Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques* (*Mémoire couronné au Concours Universitaire pour 1924-1926*) (Bibliothèque du *Muséon*, 1), Leuven, 1929.

Lantschoot van 1946 = ‘Fragments coptes d’une homélie de Jean de Parallos contre les livres hérétiques’, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*. Vol. 1 of *Bibbia – Letteratura Cristiana Antica* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Studi e Testi, 121), Vatican City, 1946, pp. 296-326.

Larsen 2019 = K.B. Larsen, ‘Fan Fiction and Early Christian Apocrypha’, *Studia Theologica* 73.1, 2019, pp. 1-17.

Lundhaug 2013 = H. Lundhaug, ‘Begotten, Not Made, to Arise in This Flesh: The Post-Nicene Soteriology of the *Gospel of Philip*’, in E. Iricinschi - L. Jenott - N. Denzey Lewis - Ph. Townsend (eds.), *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 82), Tübingen, 2013, pp. 235-271.

Lundhaug 2017a = H. Lundhaug, ‘An Illusion of Textual Stability: Textual Fluidity, New Philology, and the Nag Hammadi Codices’, in L.I. Lied – H. Lundhaug (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 175), Berlin, 2017, pp. 20-54.

Lundhaug 2017b = H. Lundhaug, ‘Monastic Exegesis and the Female Soul in the *Exegesis on the Soul*’, in U. Tervahauta - I. Miroshnikov - O. Lehtipuu, - I. Dunderberg (eds.), *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 144), Leiden, 2017, pp. 221-233.

Lundhaug 2017c = H. Lundhaug, ‘The *Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III,*5*) as a Monastic Text’, in M. Vinzent (ed.), *Studia Patristica XCIII: Papers Presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2015: Volume 19: The First Two Centuries; Apocrypha and Gnostica* (Studia Patristica, 93), Leuven, 2017, pp. 335-346.

Lundhaug 2019a = H. Lundhaug, ‘Textual Fluidity and Post-Nicene Rewriting in the Nag Hammadi Codices’, in E. Crégheur - L. Painchaud - T. Rasimus (eds.), *Nag Hammadi at 70: What Have We Learned?* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi: Section ‘Études’, 10), Leuven, 2019a, pp. 47-67.

Lundhaug 2019b = H. Lundhaug, ‘Textual Fluidity and Monastic Fanfiction: The Case of the *Investiture of the Archangel Michael* in Coptic Egypt’, in I.S. Gilhus - A. Tsakos - M.C. Wright (eds.), *The Archangel Michael in Africa: History, Cult and Persona*, London, 2019, pp. 59-73.

Lundhaug 2020 = H. Lundhaug, ‘The Investiture of the Archangel Michael: An Introduction and Translation’, in T. Burke (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 2*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2020.

Lundhaug - Abercrombie 2020 = H. Lundhaug - L. Abercrombie, ‘The Mysteries of John: An Introduction and Translation’, in T. Burke (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 2*, Grand Rapids, 2020.

Lundhaug - Jenott 2015 = H. Lundhaug - L. Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 97), Tübingen, 2015.

Lundhaug - Lied 2017 = H. Lundhaug - L.I. Lied, ‘Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology’, in L. I. Lied - H. Lundhaug (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 175), Berlin, 2017, pp. 1-19.

Markschies 2012 = C. Markschies, ‘Haupteinleitung’, in C. Markschies - J. Schröter (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I. Band: Evangelien und Verwandtes*, I-II, Tübingen, 2012, I, pp. 1-180.

MARKSCHIES 2015 = C. MARKSCHIES, 'Foreword', in T. BURKE (ed.), *Forbidden Texts on the Western Frontier: The Christian Apocrypha in North American Perspectives: Proceedings from the 2013 York University Christian Apocrypha Symposium*, Eugene, Or., 2015, pp. xi–xviii.

MARQUIS 2016 = C.L. MARQUIS, 'An Encomium on Mary Magdalene: A New Translation and Introduction', in T. BURKE - B. LANDAU (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 1*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2016, pp. 197-216.

MÜLLER 1959 = C.D.G. MÜLLER, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden, 1959.

MÜLLER 1962 = C.D.G. MÜLLER, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 225, Scriptores coptici, 31), Leuven, 1962.

MÜLLER 1991 = C.D.G. MÜLLER, 'John of Parallos, Saint', in A.S. ATIYA (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, V, pp. 1367-1368.

NICHOLS 1990 = S.G. NICHOLS, 'The New Philology: Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum* 65, 1990, pp. 1-10.

NICHOLS 1997 = S.G. NICHOLS, 'Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116, Sonderheft, 1997, pp. 10-30.

NICHOLS 2016 = S.G. NICHOLS, 'Mutable Stability, a Medieval Paradox', *Queeste* 23.2, 2016, pp. 71-103.

ORLANDI 1983 = T. ORLANDI, 'Gli Apocrifi copti', *Augustinianum* 23.1/2, 1983, pp. 57-71.

ORLANDI 1991 = T. ORLANDI, 'Literature, Coptic', in A.S. ATIYA (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, V, pp. 1450-1460.

ORLANDI 2016 = 'Coptic', in D.L. SELDEN – P. VASUNIA (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Literatures of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 2016, DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199699445.013.30.

PAGE - THOMAS 2011 = R. PAGE - B. THOMAS (eds.), *New Narratives: Stories and Storytelling in the Digital Age*, Lincoln, 2011.

PERKINS 1980 = P. PERKINS, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*, New York, 1980.

PETTIPIECE 2020 = T. PETTIPIECE, 'A Homily on the Life of Jesus and His Love for the Apostles: A New Translation and Introduction', in T. BURKE (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 2*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2020.

PIOVANELLI 2005 = P. PIOVANELLI, 'What Is a Christian Apocryphal Text and How Does It Work? Some Observations on Apocryphal Hermeneutics', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 59, 2005, pp. 31-40.

PIOVANELLI 2015 = P. PIOVANELLI, 'The Christian Apocryphal Texts at the Society of Biblical Literature International meetinngs (2004-2006) and the Ottawa International Workshop (2006): Retrospects and Prospects', in P. Piovanelli T. Burke, with the collaboration of T. Pettipiece (eds.), *Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent: New Perspectives on Early Christian and Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 349), Tübingen, 2015, pp. 3-15.

ROSE 2009 = E. ROSE, *Ritual Memory: The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West* (*c. 500-1215*) (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 40), Leiden, 2009.

ROSLAND 2019 = K.T. ROSLAND, 'Reading the 'Apocryphon of John' as Genesis Fan Fiction', in F. UHLENBRUCH – S. AMMANN (eds.), *Fan Fiction and Ancient Scribal Cultures* (*Transformative Works and Cultures* 31). [https://journal.transformativeworks.org/index.php/twc/article/view/1559/2171].

RUDOLPH 1968 = K. RUDOLPH, 'Der gnostische 'Dialog' als literarisches Genus', in P. NAGEL (ed.), *Probleme der koptischen Literatur*, Halle Saale, 1968/1 (K2), pp. 85-108.

RYAN 2017 = M.-L. RYAN, 'Why Worlds Now?' in M.J. P. Wolf (ed.), *Revisiting Imaginary Worlds: A Subcreation Studies Anthology*, New York, 2017, pp. 3-13.

SCHENKE 2003 = H.-M. SCHENKE, 'Acts of the Peter and the Twelve Apostles', in W. SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.) - R. MCL. WILSON (trans.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, I-II, Revised Edition, Louisville, 2003, II, pp. 412-425.

SHERIDAN 2016 = M. SHERIDAN, 'Pseudepigrapha and False Attribution in Coptic Sermons', in P. BUZI - A. CAMPLANI - F. CONTARDI (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012 and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September, 15th-19th, 2008 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247-248), I-II, Leuven, 2016, II, pp. 1005-1012.

Spiegel 2014 = G.M. Spiegel, 'Reflections on the New Philology', in R.H. Bloch - A. Calhoun - J. Cerquiglini-Toulet - J. Küpper, J. Patterson (eds.), *Rethinking the New Medievalism*, Baltimore, 2014, pp. 39-50.

Swanson 1996 = M.N. Swanson, 'The Specifically Egyptian Context of a Coptic Arabic Text: Chapter Nine of the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* of Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ', *Medieval Encounters* 2.3, 1996, pp. 214-227.

Swanson 2011 = M.N. Swanson, '*Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*', in D. Thomas - A. Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History: Volume 3 (1050-1200)* (History of Christian-Muslim Relations, 15), Leiden, 2011, pp. 265-269.

Thomas 2007 = B. Thomas, 'Canons and Fanons: Literary Fiction Online', *Dichtung-Digital* 37, 2007 [http://www.dicthung-digital.org/2007/thomas.htm].

Thomas 2011 = B. Thomas, 'What is Fanfiction and Why Are People Saying Such Nice Things about It?' *Storyworlds* 3, 2011, pp. 1-24.

Suciu 2017 = A. Suciu, *The Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon: A Coptic Apostolic Memoir* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 370), Tübingen, 2017.

Suciu - Saweros 2016 = A. Suciu - I. Saweros, 'The Investiture of Abbaton, the Angel of Death: A New Translation and Introduction', in T. Burke - B. Landau (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures: Volume 1*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2016, pp. 526-545.

Tutty 2019 = P. Tutty, *The Monks of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Contextualizing a Fourth Century Monastic Community*, PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 2019.

Waldstein - Wisse 1995 = M. Waldstein – F. Wisse, *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 33), Leiden, 1995.

Walters 1989 = C.C. Walters, 'Christian Paintings from Tebtunis', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75, 1989, pp. 191-208.

Wisse 1997 = F. Wisse, 'After the *Synopsis*: Prospects and Problems in Establishing a Critical Text of the Apocryphon of John and in Defining its Historical Location', in J.D. Turner - A. McGuire (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 44), Leiden, 1997, pp. 138-153.

Wolf 2012 = M.J.P. Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds: The Theory and History of Subcreation*, New York, 2012.

Zumthor 1972 = P. Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris, 1972.

Zumthor 1992 = P. Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, Minneapolis, 1992.

Understanding Space and Place through Digital Text Analysis

Caroline T. Schroeder - University of Oklahoma

Abstract
Digital text analysis can identify named geographic entities within Egypt; entity recognition technology can also identify unnamed entities and abstractions. With a digitised, annotated corpus we can also research how Coptic literature talks about spaces and place. This paper will introduce the Coptic SCRIPTORIUM research platform, examine case studies in geospatial research using Coptic SCRIPTORIUM's digital resources, and explore future areas of scholarship. Throughout, we will pay close attention to the new research questions digital technology enables as well as to the challenges for such research. Digital and computational methods enhance traditional textual scholarship and enable new modes of inquiry for understanding spaces and places in the Coptic literary world.

Keywords
Digital text analysis, places, geospatial research, Coptic literature.

Coptic literature conveys diverse senses of space and place. A town, Jême. A monastic settlement, Sketis. The river. A monk's cell. The mountain. 'Outside'. Some places are named and concrete. Some spaces are more abstract.

The 'PAThs' project has created new technologies and scholarly environments for mapping, visualising, and tracking Coptic text-bearing objects.[1] A digital corpus of the *text* on those objects can provide a complementary dataset for geospatial research. Digital text analysis can identify named geographic entities within Egypt; entity recognition technology can also identify unnamed entities and abstractions. With a digitised, annotated corpus we can also research how Coptic literature talks about spaces and places – what kinds of vocabulary describe 'the cell', 'the mountain' or 'Sketis'? This paper will introduce the Coptic SCRIPTORIUM research platform, examine case studies in geospatial research using Coptic SCRIPTORIUM's digital resources, and explore future areas of scholarship. Throughout, we will pay close attention to the new research questions digital technology enables as well as to the challenges for such research. Digital and computational methods enhance traditional textual scholarship and enable new modes of inquiry for understanding spaces and places in the Coptic literary world.

1. *The Coptic SCRIPTORIUM Project*

Coptic SCRIPTORIUM is a collaborative, interdisciplinary digital project designed to enable research in history, linguistics, Classics, religious studies, papyrology, Biblical Studies, and any scholarship pertaining to Coptic language and literature.[2] We are open source and open access, which means everything from our technology tools to our digital texts are freely available online and can be used and adapted by others. People from different disciplines and different stages in their academic careers have participated in the

1 'PAThs'. An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature" http://paths.uniroma1.it/; https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/; Buzi *et al.* 2017; Buzi - Bogdani - Berno 2018.

2 Schroeder - Zeldes 2013-2019; Schroeder - Zeldes 2016.

project, and we have benefitted from their labor and from the support of multiple funding agencies.[3] One of our objectives is to provide a digital space for publishing editions of Coptic texts located in libraries and museums around the world. Digitisation has the potential to bring dispersed materials together in one place where scholars and members of the Coptic community *both* can have access.

Our project goals in summary are:

- Digitise Coptic text in machine-actionable formats
- Produce a searchable, richly-annotated corpus of Coptic texts
- Provide visualisations of Coptic texts for reading and research
- Develop tools and technology to process and machine-annotate Coptic texts
- Create data models and sustainable data curation for digital Coptic
- Generate research results from the tools and corpus
- Develop a collaborative platform for scholars to use and contribute to the project
- Have fun

Our current published corpora include the Coptic *Old Testament* and *New Testament* as well as over twenty other works. Some documents were manually transcribed for the project, and some were contributed by partners and collaborators. Each person who has worked on a text is credited. The texts are all annotated with information including:

- Maintaining the original text of the original document
- Metadata describing the text's origins, source, editing and publication history, and other reference information; with the Fall 2019 release we have begun providing metadata links to 'PAThs' entries for authors, works, and manuscripts[4]
- Palaeographic information for transcriptions from manuscripts, papyri, and other text-bearing objects (including columns, lines, ekthesis, damage, etc.)
- Normalisation of spelling and orthography as an annotation on the original text
- Coptic bound groups annotated as groups and then segmented into lexical units (words, morphemes) with annotations for those units
- Part of speech annotations (based on Bentley Layton's grammar)[5]
- Language of origin annotations for Greek, Latin, etc., loan words (annotations refer to the oldest known original attestation of a word and so include Hebrew and Aramaic particularly for proper names [*e.g.* Jesus, Eve], even if those words may have come into Coptic via their Greek manifestations)
- Lemma annotations of each word with its dictionary headword; lemmas are then linked to the Online Coptic Dictionary at coptic-dictionary.org[6]
- Dependency syntax (treebank) annotations for linguistic relationships[7]

A number of other annotations could be provided, such as citations or references to other texts or links to other resources (such as links to the Pleiades gazetteer). We are currently working on automated entity recognition, which will be addressed further below.

To create these annotations, we've built a number of tools and technologies some of which are adaptable to other languages

- A suite of Natural Language Processing (NLP) tools; they may be used in online web applications, as an API, or as a download. The NLP suite includes the following elements[8]:
  - A 'tokeniser' to segment bound groups into lexical units (words, morphemes)
  - A 'normaliser' for normalisation of spelling and orthography

3 For a full list of past and present participants, see Schroeder and Zeldes, 'SCRIPTORIUM | About'. We thank Georgetown University, the University of the Pacific, Canisius College, the University of Oklahoma, and the National Endowment for the Humanities (HAA-261271-18, HD-51907, PW-51672-14, HG-229371) for funding.

4 ZELDES - SCHROEDER 2016; 'Coptic Scriptorium NLP Tools v3.0.0'.

5 LAYTON 2011.

6 The Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA); Feder et al. 2018; BURNS *et al.* 2019.

7 ZELDES - ABRAMS 2018.

8 ZELDES - SCHROEDER 2016; 'Coptic Scriptorium NLP Tools v3.0.0'.

  - A part of speech tagger
  - A language of origin tagger
  - A lemmatiser (annotates each word with dictionary headword)
  - A dependency syntax annotator for treebanks.
- An online, collaborative environment to transcribe texts (GitDox), which is then linked to the above mentioned natural language processing tools[9]

These tools are all freely available online.

Our current workflow follows several stages. We either transcribe a text directly from a manuscript or scrape digitised text from an existing digital resource with permissions. For each, we add metadata and process the text using the NLP tools delineated above. Currently for many corpora the annotations are manually checked by a Coptic scholar.

Each document contains three metadata fields recording the level of automation vs manual annotation and revision. The three fields are segmentation (for word segmentation), tagging (normalisation, part of speech, lemma, language of origin), and parsing (syntactic treebanks). Each of these three fields contains information about the level of automation: 'automatic' designates full automation using our tools with little to no manual intervention for that aspect of annotation; 'checked' means that the relevant machine annotation(s) have been reviewed and corrected by an editor with expertise in Coptic; 'gold' indicates that an editor with expertise in Coptic has reviewed and corrected the annotations at a level of near perfect accuracy. Typically, we reserve the 'gold' standard in each of the three areas (segmentation, tagging, parsing) only for those documents that have been manually treebanked. Because of the detail required to manually treebank a document – reviewing word segmentation, part of speech, lemma, and syntactic dependency – these texts have a high level of accuracy in annotations. Our large *New Testament* and *Old Testament* corpora have not been checked; they are entirely machine annotated due to their size (the exceptions are the *Gospel of Mark* and *1 Corinthians*; we have 'gold' and 'checked' level annotation data for both of these texts in separate corpora appropriately titled.)

All documents receive editorial review prior to publication. For purely machine-annotated corpora we look primarily for accuracy in the metadata and correcting errors in the annotation encoding (not the contents of the annotations themselves). For our manually reviewed corpora, after one or more editors have worked on a document (which could involve transcribing a text, encoding paleographic information, running the NLP tools, and correcting errors) a senior editor provides editorial review for the text, text annotations, and metadata.

The process of transcribing text, encoding text, annotating, and then checking all text and metadata annotations is time consuming. Even for high quality previously digitised documents from collaborators such as David Brakke or Diliana Atanassova, the process of annotating and reviewing annotations takes a significant number of hours for each document.[10] Thus, we have moved to a workflow where we provide machine processing only (no editing) of treebank annotations for a majority of our texts. We have a small 'gold' treebanking corpus; most texts, however, are automatically treebanked. As our NLP tools have improved, we have been transitioning to a model where more and more of our documents will receive *all* machine processing, with manual correction by scholars and students who require it for their research.

2. *Digital text analysis in Coptic: Existing methods*

So, how can all of this digital infrastructure help advance research on spaces and places in Coptic literature? This section contains case studies using existing text and annotations in the Coptic SCRIPTORIUM platform. Each of these case studies are exploratory; not all are statistically significant. Some conclusions are substantial while others are suggestive; continuing to build a larger and more representative corpus of Coptic literature will enable computational research on the statistical significance of these case studies in the future.

9 Zhang - Zeldes 2017; 'GitDox - Version Controlled Annotation Interface'.

10 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, johannes.canons Corpus, urn:cts:copticLit:johannes.canons, v.3.0.0, 30 September 2019, http://data.copticscriptorium.org/urn:cts:copticLit:johannes.canons; shenoute.eagerness Corpus, urn:cts:copticLit:shenoute.eagerness, v.27.70, 24 October 2019, http://data.copticscriptorium.org/urn:cts:copticLit:shenoute.eagerness; shenoute.dirt Corpus, urn:cts:copticLit:shenoute.dirt, v.2.7.0. 31 May 2019, http://data.copticscriptorium.org/urn:cts:copticLit:shenoute.dirt.

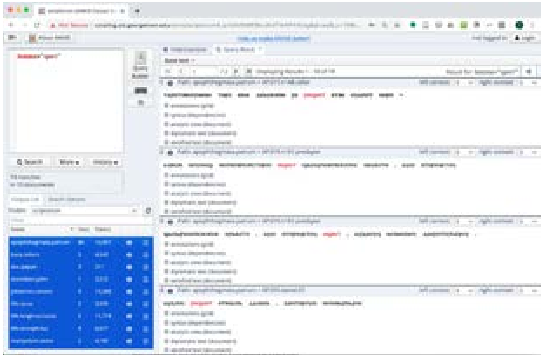


Fig. 1. Screenshot of results for 'Sketis' query in ANNIS.

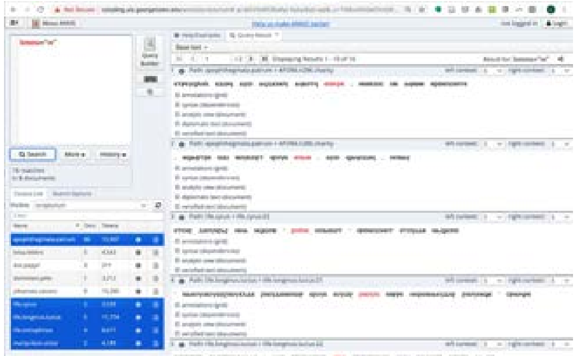


Fig. 2. Results in hagiography, AP, martyrdoms for query for 'house'.

2.1. Word search

On the most basic level, one can search for individual terms – either named places or abstract concepts – in our database of annotated texts. The database, ANNIS, is a search and visualisation tool for annotated text developed by linguists for research in corpus linguistics.[11] Thanks to the NLP tools that segment Coptic into lexical words and annotate them for lemmas, one can search for specific hits, as one would in other digital text databases. The database is divided into text corpora (groupings of documents according to work, author, or other historical text groupings in Coptic Studies). A search for 'Sketis' (Coptic ϣιητ) in all corpora gives us 18 'hits', each of which is visualised as a key word in context in the list of results (see Fig. 1).[12]

Clicking on the 'annotations (grid)' option will provide full annotations for the result; clicking on the 'i' icon next to a result will provide full metadata for the document in which that result is located. Selecting a specific corpus or corpora in the lower left box can narrow down the results, if one wants to search only a particular set of texts. For example, a search for 'house' in the entire database results in 1171 hits, while searching only in published hagiography, martyrdoms, and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, results in 16 hits (see Fig. 2 below).[13]

Similarly, one can narrow a search based on metadata using the ANNIS query language. Should one want to search for 'mountain' only in texts that have been tagged at 'gold' level quality of accuracy, a query can be composed, resulting in 23 results.[14]

Using our part-of-speech annotations, one can also search for proper names, which would include proper names of places. A query for all of the proper names in a text or set of texts will generate more results than spatial analysis requires, because it produces hits for names of people, as well. Fig. 3, for example, visualises proper names appearing in 10 or more times non-biblical texts in Coptic SCRIPTORIUM's corpora.[15] Only three of those proper names belong to places; the remaining names designate people or figures. This method, however, is the best way for researchers to leverage machine annotation for data-

11 KRAUSE - ZELDES 2014; the Coptic SCRIPTORIUM installation is 'Coptic SCRIPTORIUM: ANNIS'.

12 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Full Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, accessed November 13, 2019, https://tinyurl.com/t6pcq7d. In this paper, a 'Full Corpora Query' designates a query in our ANNIS database of all corpora (and all documents in the corpora) excluding the Coptic Treebank Corpus. The Coptic Treebank corpus contains manually treebanked documents from a variety of genres and authors, collected in one place for ease of finding the Coptic treebanks. These documents, however, come from other existing corpora in the database, so if one queries all corpora including the Coptic Treebank, the results may contain duplicate hits. Query results, data downloads of results, and a table of information about the composition of the queries, results, and files are posted at https://github.com/ctschroeder/paths2019conf and will be posted to the University of Oklahoma open scholarship repository at https://shareok.org/.

13 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Full Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=18fb8be7-78cb-4e94-94f1-d5e1a87fa045, accessed November 22, 2019; Full Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=18fb8be7-78cb-4e94-94f1-d5e1a87fa045, accessed November 22, 2019.

14 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Full Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=18fb8be7-78cb-4e94-94f1-d5e1a87fa045, accessed 22 November 2019.

15 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Non-Biblical Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=5add4c96-dedf-469e-8e9b-716caf42e368, accessed 19 November 2019.

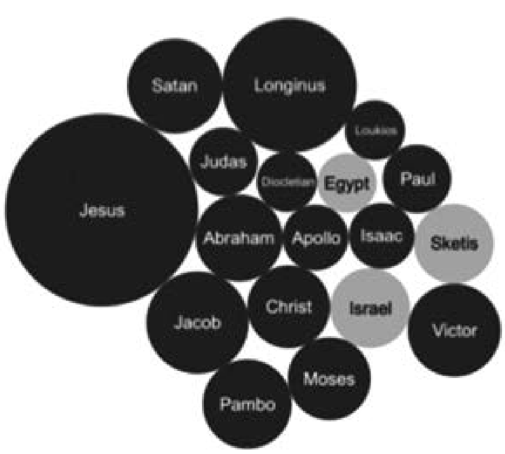


Fig. 3. Proper names appearing more 10 or more times in non-biblical Coptic SCRIPTORIUM Corpora.

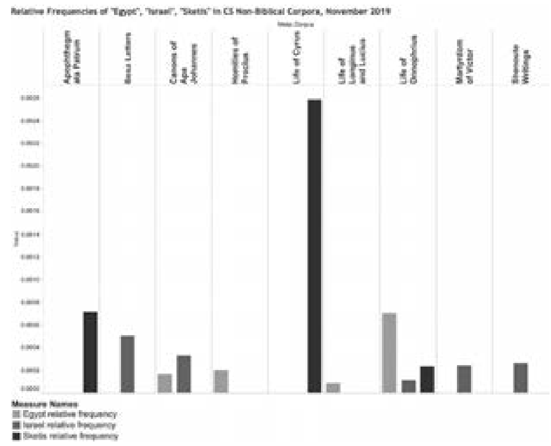


Fig. 4. Relative Frequencies of 'Egypt', 'Israel', 'Sketis' in non-biblical CS corpora.

mining for named geographic entities until named entity recognition (NER) is available for Coptic. (See Section 3.1)

We can take the named entities in Fig. 3 and examine the data in another way to learn *which sources* are concerned with *which places*. Fig. 4 graphs the relative frequencies of the top three place-names in the non-biblical digital corpora ('Sketis', 'Israel', and 'Egypt') along with the text groups in which they appear. We see that 'Egypt' appears in later non-biblical corpora – the *Canons* of White Monastery leader Johannes, the *Life of Onnophrius*, and the Coptic translations of homilies of Proclus – not the 'classical' works of Shenoute and Besa. 'Sketis' appears in literary works about saints only (hagiography and the Apophthegmata Patrum). Most occurrences of 'Israel' can be found in our authors from the White Monastery (Shenoute, Besa, Johannes) and to a lesser extent hagiography and martyrology.

Researchers can download each set of results for further analysis and to store as a bibliographic record. We encourage all scholars to download and save results, save the links and query syntax for each query, and when citing Coptic SCRIPTORIUM in publications to cite the version number(s) of the corpora and date accessed.

2.2. Collocations: *How* texts talk about places and spaces

Digital text analysis also uses a method known as word collocations to study text. On the most basic level, collocations are the coappearances of words in a text; the collocates of a key word of interest are the other words that appear near it in a text. In Section 1 of this paper, for example, the most frequent term is 'Coptic', and the top collocates for 'Coptic' are 'and', 'the', 'texts', 'Coptic', 'in'. If we decide not to include very common prepositions, articles, conjunctions, and other similar terms (known in Digital Humanities and corpus linguistics as 'stop words'), then the most common semantically meaningful collocates of Coptic in Section 1 are 'texts', 'Coptic', 'editor', 'visualisations', 'testament'.[16] Scholars use word frequencies and collocations to help answer a variety of research questions; I will address three. First, word frequencies and collocations can give us a quick glimpse into large text sets to help us understand what a document or set of documents is about. Taking Section 1 as our example, the most frequent terms ('Coptic', 'annotations', 'text') suggest that that section concerned something related to Coptic, and likely annotations on Coptic text. Looking at the collocations, we might hypothesise that the section concerns something more specific about Coptic texts – editing and visualising, and perhaps working with the *New Testament*, *Old Testament*, or wills and testaments. Second, key words and collocations can aid in determining the author of a text, since authors are typically consistent in their use of vocabulary, especially in the ways they put words

16 To calculate frequencies, I used the open source DH tool Voyant: Sinclair and Rockwell, "Voyant." The 'corpus' consisting of a draft of Section 1 of this essay can be found at https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=b2375e08c410719ad5d34cd8f97b687e&panels=corpuscollocates,summary.

together.[17] Third, data mining a text for key words and collocations can provide semantic information about a topic and how a text or set of texts talks about a topic.[18] Returning to our example of Section 1 of this paper, and the most frequent collocations for Coptic, we see that this section is primarily interested in Coptic as edited, visualised text – not Coptic as art, history, or some other set of topics that we might associate with 'Coptic'. Similarly, the second most frequent word is 'annotations', with top collocates of 'number', 'units', and 'Greek'. We might infer that when Section 1 of the paper discusses annotations, it often is interested in quantification of annotations and language (especially Greek). There are of course many other uses of key words and collocations, including building lexical resources or language learning.[19] For this paper, I am concerned primarily with the first and third research avenues – discovering information in large or previously unknown texts and investigating meaning about terms.

Keywords and collocations can support geospatial research. Returning to our interest in the major monastic center Sketis, we can ask: *How* do our sources talk about Sketis? We can search for the collocates of Sketis, specifically the words within five words of the word 'Sketis'. (This number can be adjusted; typically the smaller the range the more closely the collocates are associated with the keyword of interest.) As of November 2019, in our digitised corpus, the term for Sketis (Coptic 'ϣιητ') appears 18 times in three works: the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Life of Cyrus*, and the *Life of Onnophrius*. Table 1 below lists the most frequent collocates of Sketis. I have included only those terms that appear more than 2 times in the dataset.[20]

Coptic Lemma	English	RawFrequency
ⲛ	'of'	27
ⲡ	'the'	16
ⲛⲧⲟϥ	'he'	10
ⲁ	past tense marker	9
ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ	'church'	8
ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ	'they'	7
ϩⲛ	'in'	6
ⲉ	'to'	6
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ	'time'	4
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ	'priest', 'presbyter'	4
ⲁⲡⲁ	'Apa'	3
ⲁⲩⲱ	'and'	3
ⲇⲉ	'but', 'then'	3
ⲉⲣⲉ	converter	3
ⲛⲟϭ	'great', 'big'	3

Table 1. 'Sketis' (Coptic 'ϣιητ') Collocates

17 HOOVER 2003; JUOLA 2013.

18 For an introduction to interpreting meaning from collocations, see MORGAN 2017. For more advanced research, see for example NAKAMURA - SINCLAIR 1995. The 'Hidden Patterns of the Civil War' project and 'Virginia Secession Convention' project digitised and analysed texts pertaining to the American Civil War; in the 'text mapping' portion of the first project, researchers can investigate collocations (or 'word correlations') and frequencies in different sets of texts by different constituencies (*i.e.* Northern Democrats, Northern Republicans, Southern Secessionists, Southern Unionists); see 'Virginia Convention of 1861 - Civil War Collections - University of Richmond'; 'Hidden Patterns of the Civil War'; 'Text Mining | Home'.

19 RYDBERG-COX 2000; BAMMAN - CRANE 2009.

20 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Full Corpora No-Redundancies Query, v. 3.0.1, accessed 26 November 2019, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=da5c21af-1ae5-4d37-8c63-68d080ca6b2f. In this paper, any reference to a 'No-Redundancies Query' indicates that the query syntax has filtered out redundant texts in our corpora, specifically filtering out two categories of documents: the documents in the machine-annotated Bible books of Mark and 1 Corinthians (the query searches the manually curated corpora for Mark and 1 Cor instead) and redundant manuscript witnesses of the same text (i.e., when two or more documents representing parallel manuscript witnesses contain the same text exist, ANNIS produces the result from only one document). Query syntax for the collocates searches for all lemmas within five words of each instance of the word 'Sketis'. Raw data download file is annis-export-sketis-l5r5.csv. I then cleaned the data by removing annotations irrelevant for this research question and filtered out 'Sketis' itself from the results to produce the file annis-download-sketis-l5r5-cleaned-filtered.txt.

Coptic Lemma	English	Raw Frequency
ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ	'church'	8
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ	'time'	4
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ	'priest', 'presbyter'	4
ⲁⲡⲁ	'Apa'	3
ⲛⲟϭ	'great', 'big'	3
ϫⲟⲓ	'boat'	2
ⲃⲱⲕ	'go'	2
ⲙⲁ	'place'	2

Table 2. 'Sketis' Collocates Excluding 'Stop Words'

Most of the terms are 'stop words' or 'function' words (pronouns, prepositions, tense markers, etc.), words without a lot of semantic heft. Table 2 contains a list of collocates that excludes the 'stop words'; it also includes terms appearing twice. Here we see Sketis associated with a person or people (priest, Apa) and a or the church, and it may appear in narratives with a temporal element ('time') or involving movement and travel ('boat', 'go').

The results contain more robust sets of terms if we work with more common geospatial references. 'Jerusalem' appears 180 unique times in our corpora, across the New Testament, Old Testament, AP, and several monastic writings.[21] 61 unique terms appear more than once as collocates for 'Jerusalem', and the most frequent collocates differ significantly from the collocates for 'Sketis'.[22] Table 3, below, presents all collocates that appear five or more times near 'Jerusalem'. Unlike Sketis, Jerusalem is associated with dwelling, daughter, son, Jesus, and building.

Coptic Lemma	English	Raw Frequency
ⲃⲱⲕ	'go'	31
ⲟⲩⲱϩ	'live', 'dwell'	12
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ	'do'	9
ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ	'daughter'	8
ⲕⲱⲧ	'build'	7
ϣⲏⲣⲉ	'son'	6
ϫⲓ	'take'	6
ϫⲱ	'say'	6
ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ	'Jesus'	6
ⲟⲩⲟⲡ	'pure'	6
ϣⲱⲡ	'receive/moment'	5
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲁ	'Judea'	5
ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ	'walk'	5
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ	'city'	5

Table 3. Top Collocates for 'Jerusalem'.

Looking more closely at the data, we can see that we are, however, comparing apples and oranges. 'Sketis' appears exclusively in non-Biblical texts, while 'Jerusalem' appears primarily in biblical texts; in none of our non-biblical works does 'Jerusalem' appear more than once (Fig. 5).[23]

21 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM Full Corpora No-Redundancies Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=cfa9147c-a177-4554-b8d4-602ebf5294dc, accessed 26 November 2019. Raw data download saved as Jerusalem-frequencies-allcorp-noredundancies-nov2019.txt

22 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, All Corpora No-Redundancies Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=d7ad4d27-0d05-4491-afbb-878792fe7959, accessed 18 November 2019. Raw data download saved as annis-export-Jerusalem-l5r5-noredundancies-allcorpora-18Nov2019.txt

23 Data file at Jerusalem-Sketis-frequencies-noredundancies-across-corpora.txt; file created by scraping data cited in nn. 21 & 22 and filtering out occurrences in Biblical corpora.

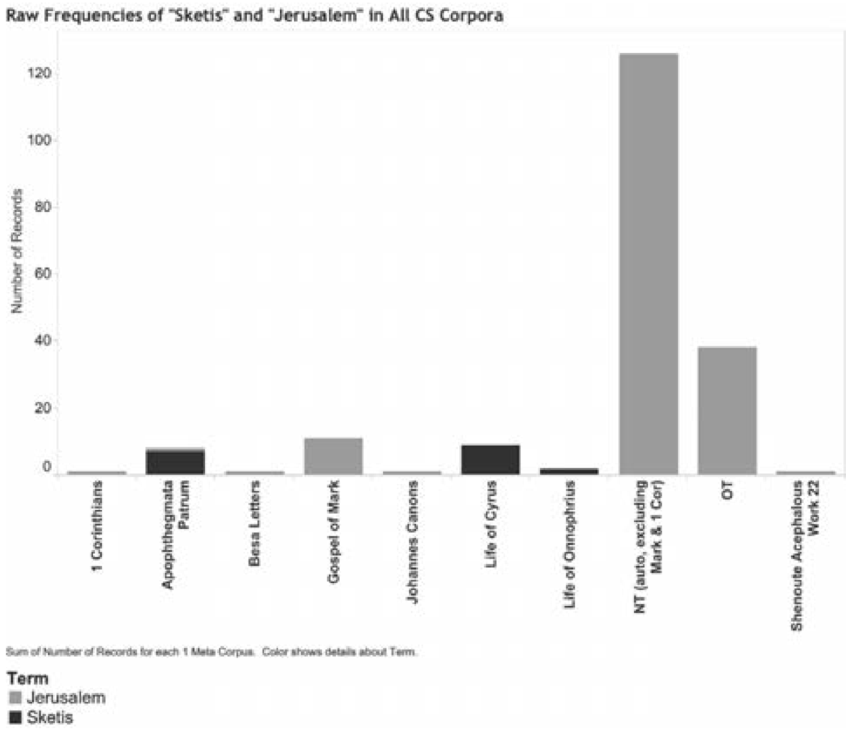


Fig. 5. Raw frequencies of 'Sketis' and 'Jerusalem' in all CS corpora, November 2019.

Thus, the associations our documents have with the places 'Sketis' and 'Jerusalem' – the ways they talk about these locations – may be driven by genre or corpus selection as much as by associations with the cities themselves. Additionally, Jerusalem appears 10 times more than Sketis and has both more numerous and more diverse collocates.

Sketis is one of the two most frequently mentioned named places in Coptic SCRIPTORIUM's non-biblical corpora, so perhaps comparing it to other frequently mentioned named places in non-biblical corpora will be more enlightening. Digging into the data, we find that Israel likewise appears 18 times in non-biblical corpora (Table 4).[24]

Coptic Lemma	English	Raw Frequency
ⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗ	'Israel'	18
ϣⲓⲏⲧ	'Sketis'	18
ⲕⲏⲙⲉ	'Egypt'	10
ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ	'Alexandria'	6
ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ	'Amente'	3
ⲥⲟⲇⲟⲙⲁ	'Sodom'	3
ⲅⲟⲙⲟⲣⲣⲁ	'Gomorra'	3
ϩⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ	'Jerusalem'	3
ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ	'Ephesus'	2
ⲅⲉϩⲉⲛⲛⲁ	'Gehenna'	2
ϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲟⲛ	'Henaton'	2

Table 4. Most Frequent Named Places in CS Non-biblical Corpora.

Any scholar of monasticism or religion in late antiquity already knows, however, that our authors likely discuss Sketis and Israel in different contexts and associate them with different concepts. The digital

24 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Non-Biblical No Redundancies Corpora Query for pos="NPROP", v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=d958d880-e073-44e0-88e8-7e96cefac8a3, accessed 16 November 2019. Raw data download is nonbiblical-NPROP-frequencies-noredundancies.txt.

data bears this out. Table 5 below shows all collocates for 'Israel' in non-biblical corpora that appear more than one time as a collocate of 'Israel'.[25] The only top collocate shared between 'Israel' and 'Sketis' is 'time'. Even our non-biblical texts associate 'Israel' with biblical terms and religious terms, such as 'lord' (both Egyptian and Hebrew forms), as well as community and family terms such as 'house', 'people', and 'son' (none of which are top collocates for 'Sketis'). Comparing these two locations to the third most frequent place name in non-Biblical corpora ('Egypt') provides additional information about *how* our non-biblical sources write about certain places and *how* they do so. Table 6 below shows all collocates for 'Egypt' in non-Biblical corpora that appear more than one time as a collocate of 'Egypt'.[26] 'Egypt' shares only one top collocate with 'Sketis', 'go' – a word often included on stop lists because of its frequency. Our sources, then, suggest an association of Sketis with different things and concepts than Egypt and Israel.

Term	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency[27]	English
ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ	4	0.025	'lord'
ϣⲏⲣⲉ	3	0.01875	'son'
ⲏⲓ	3	0.01875	'house'
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ	3	0.01875	'time'
ⲡⲉϫⲉ	3	0.01875	'said'
ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ	2	0.0125	'Adonai'
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ	2	0.0125	'people'

Table 5. Collocates for 'Israel' (Non-Biblical, Frequencies greater than 1).

Term	Raw Frequency	Relative Frequency	English
ⲃⲱⲕ	3	0.03191	'go'
ϫⲱ	2	0.02128	'say'
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ	2	0.02128	'city'
ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ	2	0.02128	'raise'

Table 6. Collocates for 'Egypt' (non-Biblical, Frequencies Greater than 1).

Turning to spatial entities that are not named, 'house' appears quite frequently in our corpora – 1138 unique times across the New Testament, Old Testament, AP, some hagiography, and several monastic writings.[28] Fig. 6 visualises collocates of 'house', excluding stop words, pulling out the most frequent 20 terms for individual visualisation. Across the entire Coptic SCRIPTORIUM corpora, 'house' is most prominently associated with David, Judah, God, and male familial relationships. Here we see traces of the fact that our overall set of corpora is heavily weighted toward biblical texts. Let's compare to the collocates of house in non-biblical sources (Fig. 7). First and foremost, we see a much less diverse array of terms (probably because the non-biblical texts contain many fewer hits for 'house' – only 96).[29] Both visualisations show all collocates of 'house' that appear more than once in the respective datasets; as the large black square in Fig. 6 shows, across the entire Coptic SCRIPTORIUM corpora quite a few unique terms appear as collocates of

25 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Non-Biblical No Redundancies Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=fa101edb-0c9b-4d14-9062-73990a791dc7, accessed 18 November 2019. Raw data download is annis-export-Israel-nonbiblical-noredund-l5r5.txt.

26 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Non-Biblical No Redundancies Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=9fc5f368-55d2-4e6f-ac48-f0e0b582361a, accessed 19 November 2019. Raw data download is annis-export-Egypt-l5r5-nonbiblicalcorpora-noredundancies-Nov2019.txt.

27 For the purposes of this paper, 'Relative Frequency' in collocation tables is the linear relative frequency of a lemma, computed by calculating the raw frequency as a percentage of the sum of the frequencies of all collocates.

28 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Full Corpora Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=fae46f37-443f-41da-93d2-a1ec21b97cb5, accessed 15 November 2019; raw data download is annis-export-house-fullcorpora-5l5r-nov2019.txt. Redundant documents have been filtered out post-processing; cleaned data file for visualisation is collocates-house-allnonredundantcorpora-nov2019.txt.

29 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Non-Biblical Corpora No Redundancies Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=27edc188-92d5-42b5-a5f0-ce0ee44771c9, accessed 15 November 2019. Cleaned data file for visualisation is collocates-house-allnonredundantcorpora-nov2019-REV.txt.

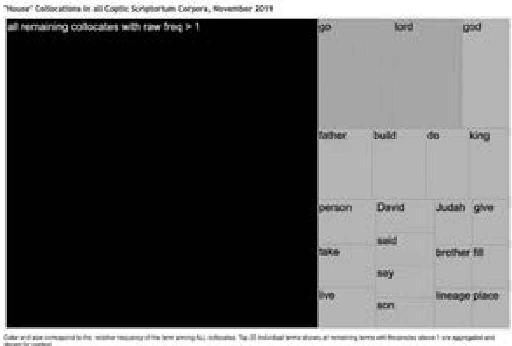


Fig. 6. Collocations of 'house' in all CS corpora (frequency > 1), November 2019. Size and shade of boxes corresponds to raw frequency of term.

Fig. 7. Collocations of 'House' in CS non-biblical corpora (frequency > 1), November 2019. Size and shade of boxes corresponds to raw frequency of term.

'house' more than once. Whereas in Fig. 7, we see that only 16 terms appear near 'house' more than once. 'House' still is associated with God and some (but fewer) male familial terms. 'Israel' is a collocate, not Judah. And 'house' is associated with 'congregation' and purity.

Our sources are not terribly interested in the physical or economic aspects of houses in either dataset. Looking at the data in another way, we can see that Shenoute's works dominate the non-biblical texts containing the word 'house'. Fig. 8 shows a graph of the frequencies of 'house' in non-biblical corpora; most appear in the writings of Shenoute.[30] If we had a higher proportion of documentary papyri in Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, we might have different collocations for 'house'.

The results I have presented above are preliminary and exploratory. For a fully scientific analysis, one needs to ensure the corpus or corpora being queried are complete or representative of the textual material one is studying.[31] In this case, some of our corpora are complete – the Sahidica New Testament corpus, for example, presents the entire edition of the Sahidic *New Testament* previously published by Warren Wells online.[32] Others are neither complete nor representative, yet; the *Apophthegmata Patrum* corpus (AP), for example, does not contain all the Coptic Sayings (yet). As the project progresses, we anticipate more and more complete corpora to provide solid foundations for quantitative research.

3. *Future resources for analysis of geopatial entities*

Three areas of Coptic SCRIPTORIUM's future technological development and research will enable more geospatial analysis of textual sources: expanding dependency syntax annotations, developing entity recognition, and linking data with other projects such as 'PAThs'.

3.1. Dependency syntax annotations

Dependency syntax annotations, or treebanks, show relationships between terms in a text. So one can investigate, for example, all the verbs associated with a certain subject. In other words, we can determine not only the words within proximity of a key term (as we researched when examining collocations in Section 2.2 above) but also linguistically linked terms, such as the verbs of particular subjects, or the words that modify a particular place.

For the purposes of this case study, I am using only our 'gold' treebank corpus, which means a scholar in of Coptic has manually reviewed and corrected every machine annotation created by the parser; we thus believe this corpus has a high degree of accuracy in annotations. It also contains a diverse set of

30 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Non-Biblical Corpora No Redundancies Query, v. 3.0.1, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=269bb3de-e57c-4f83-83fc-06eae2eec2af, accessed 16 November 2019. Histogram generated within ANNIS.

31 See survey in IDE 2004; DAVIES 2015; REPPEN 2010.

32 *Sahidica New Testament*, v. 2.5.0, 1 April 2018, http://data.copticscriptorium.org/urn:cts:copticLit:nt.

texts (*New Testament*, monastic, hagiography). Because of the labor required for this manual annotation, the corpus is not large.

Let us return to two terms examined previously in this paper: 'house' and 'Jerusalem'. The words dependent upon 'Jerusalem' are primarily 'stop' or 'function' words: 'in', 'the', 'and', a copula, and a relative converter.[33] Jerusalem appears only seven times in the gold treebank corpus to date, which gives us a sample for exploration but too small for statistically significant research. 'House' occurs more frequently in the gold treebank corpus, at 43 hits.[34] Nonetheless, the number of semantically meaningful dependent terms is small. Only 'God' appears twice; single occurrences include 'Stephen', 'Simon', 'Greek', 'Lord', 'father', 'house', 'place'. If we expand this query for 'house' to all corpora with syntactic analysis—including those with automatic parsing, as well as gold standard parsing— we would gather more data, but it might be less accurate. As our tools become more accurate, the potential for this kind of research about space and place should increase.

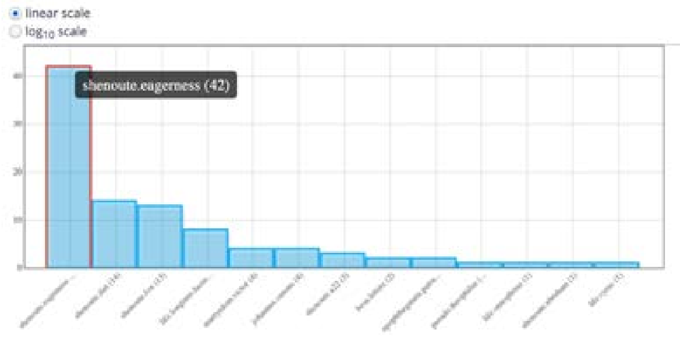


Fig. 8. Raw frequencies of 'house' in CS non-biblical corpora, November 2019.

3.2. Entity recognition

One increasingly prominent method of textual research in digital humanities is automated recognition of entities. The Pelagios project 'Recogito' recognises named geographic entities in texts in English, Latin, and Greek.[35] English named entity taggers or extractors exist for other languages, but not yet for Coptic.[36]

Coptic SCRIPTORIUM is developing a tool to annotate both named and unnamed entities. It will identify people, places, animals, objects, and abstract entities and then co-reference them to other occurrences of the same entity. In other words, a pronoun like 'she' will be linked to the person to whom it refers, and a title such as 'Amma' will also be linked to other mentions of the same individual, whether her name or pronoun or another title. This kind of co-referenced entity recognition requires treebanking first for high quality results.

A pilot of the tool is available online, using Shenoute's text *Not Because a Fox Barks* as an example.[37] Gold standard treebanked data, automatically treebanked data, and plain text are each available as sample inputs. The output visualises entity annotations in the following way: each entity has a box around it with an icon designating its entity type – a cloud for abstract entities, a person for people, a paw for an animal, etc. Every instance of the same identity (even if it has a different title or form) has the same color box. These visualisations are generated from annotations that will be searchable in our ANNIS database, so researchers will be able to query the text corpora for entities and their co-references.

Entity and coreference annotation will enable multiple forms of research. Linguists, of course, will be interested in coreferenced, syntactically annotated texts. Scholars of Coptic history and literature can ask questions such as: How do certain authors or texts talk about particular places (named and unnamed)? What *people* are associated with *particular places*? Which texts discuss which kinds of places? The co-referenced annotations allow one to find pronouns or alternative titles for any entity – a person or a place.

---

33 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Coptic Treebank Corpus Query, v. 3.0.0, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=34a5e466-2e34-49ee-ba4a-21be1ec89f28, accessed 20 November 2019. Query results download is annis-export-Jerusalem-dependencies-treebankgold.txt.

34 Coptic SCRIPTORIUM, Coptic Treebank Corpus Query, v. 3.0.0, http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/?id=252795c5-fc04-4e00-a69a-3cb3fd092f07, accessed 20 November 2019. Query results download is annis-export-house-dependencies-treebankgold.txt.

35 'Recogito'.

36 The most famous is Stanford's entity tagger: 'The Stanford Natural Language Processing Group'; Finkel - Grenager - Manning 2005.

37 'Xrenner - Externally Configurable Coreference and Non Named Entity Recognizer'; Zeldes - Zhang 2016.

3.3. Linked geographic data

Finally, one other aspect of future research is enabling linked data between projects. Linking enables discovery. For example, results for searches in Pelagios or in the Pleiades online gazetteer include links to queries in our texts for those place names. A researcher interested in, for example, Sinai (Coptic *sina*), will find in Pelagios and Pleiades links to a search of our corpora for the term.[38]

Linked data also enables further contextual research. As the project mission for 'PATHs' posits, studying texts in their contexts is an important aspect of research. Linking digital text corpora with 'PATHs' can situate texts and text-bearing objects in their geographical context. Coptic SCRIPTORIUM has begun including 'PATHs' stable identifiers and links for works, manuscripts, and authors to document metadata.[39]

4. *Conclusions*

As this paper has demonstrated, a digital text richly annotated can enable geospatial research. Searches for known named places and also for proper names can help researchers find information about specific locations and also better understand which texts or author are concerned with which named places. Likewise searches for terms for unnamed places ('house', 'mountain', etc.) support research in various themes in Coptic history and literature. More complex text analysis, such as queries for word collocations or words syntactically connected to geospatial terms can provide information regarding how documents talk about various spaces and places. Future research in entity recognition and linked data will advance discovery and research. Some of the examples from this paper illuminated new knowledge about spaces and places while others confirmed information we might glean from close reading of texts.

These types of research will become more instructive as the corpora grow and particularly the number of 'born digital' editions increases. By 'born digital' editions, we mean digital editions of documents with no published print edition, *i.e.*, editions of texts first published in a digital format. Several documents examined in this paper are 'born digital'. Diliana Atanassova published digital editions of manuscripts of the *Canons of Apa Johannes* online; Coptic SCRIPTORIUM annotated them and republished them on our platform, amplifying their searchability with our natural language processing tools that segment the text into words and tag it with lemmas, parts of speech, and so forth. Some manuscript witnesses to Shenoute's works *I See Your Eagerness* and *Acephalous Work 22*, which both appeared in our queries above, have never been published in print and appeared first on Coptic SCRIPTORIUM.[40] Thus, currently research on spaces and places in these texts can *only* be conducted on a digital platform enhanced by digital annotation tools. As the tools evolve and the number of digitised texts increases (particularly 'born digital' editions), our research into the role of space and place in the Coptic literary imagination will also grow.

References

BAMMAN - CRANE 2009 = D. BAMMAN - G. CRANE (2009), "Computational Linguistics and Classical Lexicography", *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 003, 1, 2009 http://digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/1/000033/000033.html (Accessed February 26, 2009).

BUZI - BOGDANI - BERNO 2018 = P. BUZI - J. BOGDANI - F. BERNO, "The 'PAThs' Project: An Effort to Represent the Physical Dimension of Coptic Literary Production (Third–Eleventh Centuries)", in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 4, 2018, pp. 39-58.

BUZI *et al.* 2017 = P. BUZI - J. BOGDANI - N. CARLIG - M.C. GIORDA - A. SOLDATI (2017), "'Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths': A New International Project on Coptic Literature", *Rivista Del Museo Egizio*, 1, 2017 https://doi.org/10.29353/rime.2017.656 (Accessed December 22, 2017).

DAVIES 2015 = M. DAVIES, "Corpora: An Introduction", in D. BIBER - R. REPPEN(eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics* (Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics), Cambridge, 2015, pp. 11-31.

38 GRAF 2015; 'Peripleo | Pelagios Commons'.

39 How to Cite the 'PAThs' Project.

40 Atanassova, 'The Canons of Apa John the Archimandrite - CoptOT Public'.

Feder *et al.* 2018 = F. Feder - M. Kupreyev - E. Manning - C.T. Schroeder - A. Zeldes Feder, "'A Linked Coptic Dictionary Online", in *Proceedings of the Second Joint SIGHUM Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Cultural Heritage, Social Sciences, Humanities and Literature*, 12–21. Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2018 https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W18-4502/.

Finkel - Grenager - Manning 2005 = J.R. Finkel - T. Grenager - C. Manning, "Incorporating Non-Local Information into Information Extraction Systems by Gibbs Sampling" in *Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics - ACL '05*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2005, pp. 363-370.

Hoover 2003 = D.L. Hoover, "Frequent Collocations and Authorial Style" *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 18, 3 2003, pp. 261-286.

Ide 2004 = N. Ide, "Preparation and Analysis of Linguistic Corpora", in S. Schreibman - R. Siemens - J. Unsworth (eds.), *Companion to Digital Humanities*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 289-305 http://www.digitalhumanities.org/companion/.

Juola 2013 = P. Juola, "How a Computer Program Helped Show J.K. Rowling Write A Cuckoo's Calling", *Scientific American*, 20, August 2013. (Accessed November 14, 2019), https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-a-computer-program-helped-show-jk-rowling-write-a-cuckoos-calling/.

Krause - Zeldes 2016 = T. Krause – A. Zeldes, "ANNIS3: A New Architecture for Generic Corpus Query and Visualization", *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 31.1, 2016, pp. 118-139.

Layton 2001 = B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, 3rd Edition, Revised (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, 20), Wiesbaden, 2001.

Nakamura - Sinclair 1995 = J. Nakamura - J. Sinclair, "The World of Woman in the Bank of English: Internal Criteria for the Classification of Corpora", *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 10.2, 1995, pp. 99-110.

Reppen 2010 = R. Reppen, "Building a Corpus", in A. O'Keefe - M. McCarthy (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, Abingdon, 2010, pp. 31-37.

Rydberg-Cox 2000 = J.A. Rydberg-Cox, "Co-Occurrence Patterns and Lexical Acquisition in Ancient Greek Texts", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 15.2, 2000, pp. 121-130.

Schroeder - Zeldes 2016 = C.T. Schroeder - A. Zeldes, "Raiders of the Lost Corpus", *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 10.2, 2016 http://digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/10/2/000247/000247.html.

Zeldes - Mitchell 2008 = A. Zeldes - A. Mitchell, "The Coptic Universal Dependency Treebank", in *Proceedings of the Second Workshop on Universal Dependencies* (*UDW 2018*), Brussels, 2008, pp. 192-201.

Zeldes - Schroeder 2016 = A. Zeldes - C.T. Schroeder, "An NLP Pipeline for Coptic"', in *Proceedings of the 10th ACL SIGHUM Workshop on Language Technology for Cultural Heritage, Social Sciences, and Humanities* (*LaTeCH2016*), Berlin, pp. 146-155.

Zeldes - Zhang 2016 = A. Zeldes - S. Zhang, "When Annotation Schemes Change Rules Help: A Configurable Approach to Coreference Resolution beyond OntoNotes", in *Proceedings of the Workshop on Coreference Resolution Beyond OntoNotes* (*CORBON 2016*), San Diego, California, pp. 92-101.

Zhang - Zeldes 2017 = S. Zhang – Zeldes, "GitDOX: A Linked Version Controlled Online XML Editor for Manuscript Transcription - Semantic Scholar", in *Proceedings of FLAIRS 2017, Special Track on Natural Language Processing of Ancient and Other Low-Resource Languages*, Marco Island, FL, 2017, pp. 619-623 https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b262/965b17040d1fcb262c1e5745e86a1881b22e.pdf?_ga=2.199664494.1168244831.1510527078-247539317.1510527078.

Online resources and projects

D. Atanassova, *The Canons of Apa John the Archimandrite - CoptOT Public* http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/web/apa-johannes (Accessed November 27, 2019).

D.M. Burns - F. Feder - K. John - M. Kupreyev, *Comprehensive Coptic Lexicon: Including Loanwords from Ancient Greek"*, May 12, 2019 https://doi.org/10.17169/REFUBIUM-2333.

'Coptic SCRIPTORIUM: ANNIS' Database http://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/annis/scriptorium, (Accessed November 13, 2019).

GitHub. Coptic Scriptorium NLP Tools v3.0.0 https://github.com/CopticScriptorium/coptic-nlp (Accessed September 20, 2019)

GitDox - Version Controlled Annotation Interface https://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/gitdox/ (Accessed October 17, 2019).

D.F. GRAF, "Sinai: A Pleiades Place Resource", in *A gazetteer of past places. Pleiades: a gazetteer of past places*, February 23, 2015 https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/746813.

Hidden Patterns of the Civil War, http://dsl.richmond.edu/civilwar/ (Accessed November 14, 2019).

P. MORGAN, "This Talk Doesn't Have a Name", (July 21, 2017) http://blog.paigemorgan.net/articles/17/this-talk.html.

PAThs. An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature http://paths.uniroma1.it/ (Accessed May 1, 2018).

PAThs: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. "How to Cite the 'PAThs' Project as a Whole and the Single Database Records", https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/cite (Accessed December 1, 2019).

Peripleo | Pelagios Commons. (Accessed November 27, 2019) https://peripleo.pelagios.org/ui#referencing=http%3A%2F%2Fpleiades.stoa.org%2Fplaces%2F746813&datasets=http%3A%2F%2Fcorpling.uis.georgetown.edu%2Fannis%2Fscriptoriummy-dataset&filters=true.

'Pelagios'. 'Recogito' https://recogito.pelagios.org/ (Accessed November 27, 2019).

C.T. SCHROEDER – A. ZELDES, *Coptic SCRIPTORIUM*, 2019 2013 https://copticscriptorium.org/.

C.T. SCHROEDER – A. ZELDES, "SCRIPTORIUM | About", *Coptic SCRIPTORIUM* https://copticscriptorium.org/about (Accessed November 13, 2019).

S. SINCLAIR - G. ROCKWELL (2016), *Voyant Tools* (*Home Page*) http://voyant-tools.org/.

Valley of the Shadow. "Text Mining | Home", http://dsl.richmond.edu/textmapping/, (Accessed November 14, 2019).

The Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA), ed. *Coptic Dictionary Online* http://coptic-dictionary.org/ (Accessed November 13, 2019).

The Stanford Natural Language Processing Group https://nlp.stanford.edu/software/CRF-NER.html (Accessed November 22, 2019).

Virginia Secession Convention. "Virginia Convention of 1861 - Civil War Collections - University of Richmond" https://secession.richmond.edu/ (Accessed November 14, 2019).

Xrenner - Externally Configurable Coreference and Non Named Entity Recognizer https://corpling.uis.georgetown.edu/xrenner/ (Accessed October 17, 2019).

Contextualising Northern Egypt in Late Antiquity: An Archaeological Perspective from Western Delta*

Angelo Colonna – Sapienza Università di Roma

Abstract
After a brief theoretical introduction on the notion of 'place' developed by the 'PAThs' project and its implications for the geographical representation of the contexts of Coptic manuscripts, the article focuses on the north-western Delta, and discusses a group of important sites (Buto, Koprithis, Sais, and Xois) as case-studies to test that notion and to explore the impact of the archaeological investigation of the area on our understanding of Late Antique and Medieval Egypt. Insisting on the urban character of those sites, as well as on their apparent integration into a dynamic regional system, it is suggested that Delta archaeology can positively contribute: (1) to redress the imbalance towards the Valley and the monastic contexts, emphasising the role of the cities as intellectually active milieus; (2) to stimulate a more critical sensibility towards archaeological evidence, material culture, and survey data as instrumental in building an integrated, holistic, and well-balanced approach that complements textual information and allows us to reconstruct a detailed picture of the historical and cultural landscape of Christian Egypt.

Keywords
Western Delta, religious landscape, cultural geography, Sais, Buto.

1. *Introduction*

The *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* is a complex intellectual enterprise that lies at the intersection of different disciplinary fields: codicology and philology on the one hand, geography and archaeology on the other. While the former two inform us of the physical (= manuscripts) and cultural (= works) objects of Coptic literary creation, the latter focus on the spatial and material setting of those objects, their production and circulation. So far, the difference has been not just one of content but especially of emphasis: material contexts and spatial representation are less an area of concern in Coptic research than the study of formal, linguistic, and literary aspects. Yet, the material and geographical dimensions are crucial to the understanding of any historical phenomenon and cultural activity or process. The challenge taken by 'PAThs' is integrating those different perspectives, while the aims of the present contribution is, accordingly, to propose an informed discussion on the potential of archaeology for the reconstruction of a geography of Coptic literature, i.e. of the social-cultural milieus and environments where Christian literature in Coptic language was produced and disseminated in Late Antique and Mediaeval Egypt, between the 3rd and the 13th centuries CE. A few sites from the central-western Delta will be reviewed to illustrate problems and possibilities, and will provide the basic material for the analysis.

2. *Placing 'PAThs'*

Although the technical efforts and methodological choices underpinning the construction of the 'PAThs' database have already been discussed,[1] it is useful to briefly sketch the theoretical structure and hierarchical organisation of the *Places* dataset.

---

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it.

1 A detailed introduction to the section Places of the 'PAThs' database is provided on the project website: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places. Cf. also the contributions of Bogdani and Colonna in Buzi *et al.* 2019 and the overview of Buzi in this volume. For an informed discussion on the structure of the *Atlas*, cf. Bogdani 2017, and his contribution in this volume. For a parallel perspective focused on the Eastern Delta, see the contribution of Ilaria Rossetti in this volume.

Places are intended as (1) physical spatial units (sites) that can be archaeologically observed and documented, i.e., they can be referred to a tangible area, with a topographical location and a distinctive configuration of material correlates. (2) Special attention is accorded to those contexts linked to the production, circulation, storage, preservation and discovery of manuscripts. (3) Finally, major political, religious and cultural centres (in particular episcopal sees), which are relevant for the reconstruction of the landscape of Byzantine and Mediaeval Egypt, are also recorded, even though they no longer preserve archaeological traces.

This tripartite structure highlights some distinctive points that, on the one hand, distinguish 'PAThs' from other works and tools developing along similar lines[2] and, on the other hand, have a decisive impact on – and thus are indicative of – the project's understanding, conceptualisation and visualisation of Late Antique Egyptian cultural landscape.[3] These points can be labelled as materiality, relationality, and cultural significance, and they raise important implications: firstly, 'PAThs' takes into account (as far as possible) all the documented archaeological contexts belonging to the chronological range and cultural domain of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, being not limited to the almost absolute dominance of monastic or funerary data and, on the other hand, breaking down the apparent static uniformity of certain regional areas into smaller, locally circumscribed units of artefacts and material remains for analytical purposes.[4] Secondly, archaeologically reconstructed environments are recognised not just as the underlying spatial backdrop and framework where literary artefacts were located and displaced, but as an active social factor that was directly involved in their production (e.g. monastic *scriptoria*), fruition and dissemination (e.g. schools, libraries, tombs). Accordingly, the archaeologically recovered relationship of a manuscript with the material setting of its discovery may provide critical information about the multiple links (production, usage, destitution, etc.) the associated work(s) had with the socio-cultural environment of provenance. Thirdly, places are not just material sites but culturally significant locales invested with meanings and values so that a geography of Late Antique and Mediaeval Egypt cannot exclude the possibility that those (numerous) places that we know from textual and literary sources were recognised by ancient communities as major nodes of political power and religious authority within the landscape. Their inclusion into the dataset, therefore, matches this basic consideration, integrating it with the key fact that, although archaeologically unknown or poorly documented, these sites are indeed identifiable on the ground and their physical location often corresponds to that of earlier centres of pharaonic and Graeco-Roman times, thus setting their cultural identities into a stratified sequence of overlapping phases within a more articulated historical framework of *longue durée*. The issue of diachronicity should be emphasised here as it allows us not just to outline continuities and ruptures in the (modes of) appropriation of a certain space, area or environment between the Coptic communities and their pharaonic forerunners but especially to contextualise such strategies into a broader perspective of dynamic engagement with a highly diversified and stratified surrounding landscape.[5]

The relevance and applicability of the points just highlighted to the situation of Delta will be explored below, but it is worth stressing the advantages of such an integrated approach to historical geography when applied to local or regional contexts so as to get a more reliable, variegated and complex picture of those realities. The focused, inclusive, and material-based catalogue of places in 'PAThs' is programmatically intended to supplement material for this kind of research, and the following discussion of some case-studies from the Delta purposely tries to move along these tracks.[6]

2 Traditionally, the geography of Coptic Egypt has been driven by a strictly textual approach (cf. Amélineau 1893; Timm 1984-1992) with limited attention to the archaeological datum. Although these seminal contributions remain fundamental to any reconstruction, scholars' sensibility toward the archaeology of Roman and Late Antique Egypt has grown more and more, as a recent synthesis demonstrates; cf. O'Connell 2014.

3 A focused presentation of the methodological and conceptual aspects lying behind 'PAThs' understanding and use of the category "Place", is in preparation by the present author.

4 The case of Western Thebes in 'PAThs' and 'Trismegistos' is especially instructive: at present, 'PAThs' logs 104 different places in that area whereas in 'Trismegistos' there is a unique TM Geo ID 1341, www.trismegistos.org/place/1341, identifying Memnoneia-Djeme (Thebes west). Cf. the contribution of Paola Buzi in this volume.

5 For a recent discussion on the reconstruction of ancient landscape, and the fundamental role played by archaeology in the process, cf. Brooks Hedstrom 2017, with a declared focus on monastic contexts. For an updated overview of the state and advances of Egyptian archaeology of the 1st millennium CE, cf. O'Connell 2014, with various contributions on recent or ongoing excavations in different sites and contexts (urban, funerary, monastic).

6 For a different regional context where archaeology can positively be used to construct a better interpretative framework in conjunction with textual sources, cf. Buzi 2015 on Early Christianity in the Fayyum.

Fig. 1. Places linked to manuscripts in the Delta (© 'PAThs' team).

3. Perspectives from the Delta

Assuming a northern (Delta) point of view in the study of the cultural geography of Byzantine Egypt, with special focus on the representation of Coptic literary production, is not an easy task, as the analysis is hampered by a number of difficulties and limitations related to the specificity of that environment and its transformations.[7] As a consequence, it appears that the criteria designed above only partially fit the evidence available from this region: none of the Delta sites is known to be physically connected to manuscripts, with the partial, though relevant, exception of Alexandria and the western fringe monasteries which, however, represent special cases that will be not discussed here (Table 1; Fig. 1).[8] Although Egypt is renowned for the exceptional abundance of textual sources, these come only from very favourable areas while most parts of the country provide no written documents. The damp Nile Delta, which encompasses over half of the ancient settlement and agricultural land of the country, is not a suitable environment for the conservation of papyri so no manuscript comes from this region.[9]

1. Archaeological sites	2. Places linked to manuscripts	3. Episcopal sees
174 (Fig. 3)	8 (Fig. 1)	44 (Fig. 2)

Table 1. Place-types actually mapped in the Delta by 'PAThs'

The severe impact of this situation on modern interpretation is emphasised by Roger Bagnall who, introducing the geographical context and limitation of his analysis of Late Antique Egypt, and commenting on the well-known division between Upper and Lower Egypt, explicitly notes that '[t]he quirks of preservation of papyrus (…) have destroyed this balance in historical perspective, for almost no evidence survives

7 For a general overview of the geographical and historical setting of the area, cf. Wilson 2007. For a valuable assessment of the current state of the Delta archaeological and cultural heritage, with the risks and problems of its management, cf. Tassie - Watering - De Trafford 2015.

8 Likewise, three places linked to manuscripts in the Memphite region, i.e. the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah ('PAThs' Place 75), Giza ('PAThs' Place 274), and Babylon ('PAThs' Place 144) are not considered for discussion, but they are nevertheless added to the final figure in Table and shown in Fig. 1.

9 A rare exception is the discovery of some carbonised papyri at Thmuis/Tell Timai; cf. Blouin 2014, 45-70, 298-300.

Fig. 2. Episcopal sees in the Delta (© 'PAThs' team).

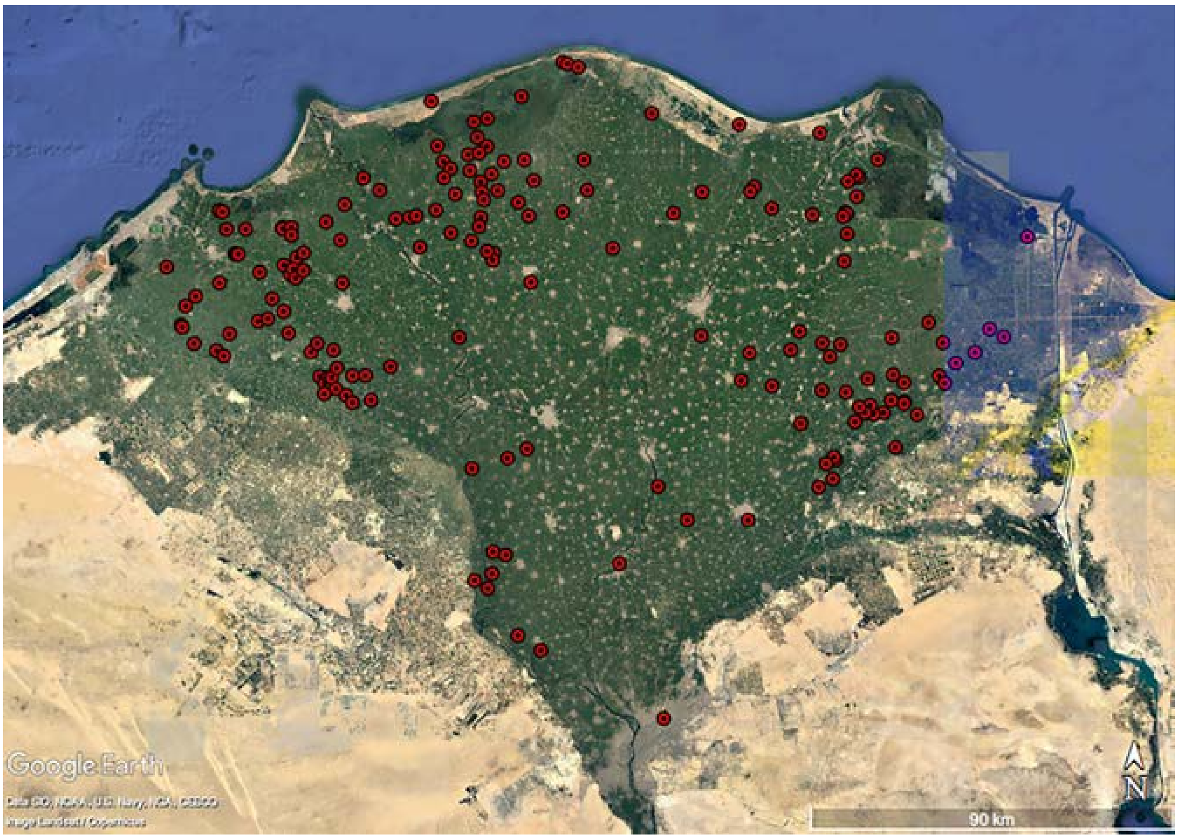


Fig. 3. Archaeological sites in the Delta (© Google Earth).

from the Delta towns and villages. Here and there it is possible to compensate for this loss, but admittedly we do not even know if our picture of ancient Egypt would differ greatly if the evidence were more evenly distributed. To a large degree, then, this is not the story of the entire Nile Valley, but merely of the long ribbon of the upper part of that valley, from Aswan to Memphis'.[10]

Historical reconstruction of this area, therefore, should rely mainly on archaeological data, yet the archaeology of Late Antique Delta is greatly underrepresented for different concomitant reasons, among which:[11] (1) the environmental conditions of the floodplain, (2) the increase of population with the consequent expansion of agricultural activities (land reclamation), (3) the complex stratification of the local tells/koms, continuously occupied since ancient times and usually covered or destroyed by modern towns, (4) the dominating monumental and pharaonic-oriented interests of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries scholars, together with their poorly developed methodologies of excavation and documentation, have critically affected the investigation as well as the preservation of the archaeological contexts and largely obscured our knowledge of their most recent phases. Moreover, the best-known or excavated sites all show exceptional characteristics that make them unrepresentative of the whole region: cities and settlements like Alexandria, Marea, Marina el-Alamein, on the one hand, Abu Mina, Kellia and the Wadi Natrun on the other, appear extraordinary in layout and political relevance, peripheral in location (western edge and desert), highly specialised in functions and organisation (monastic settlements, pilgrimage centres, harbours and port-cities).

Despite such constraints, the growing pace of scholarship on Delta archaeology in the past decades, with refinement of research strategies, and improvements in non-invasive technologies and methodologies, is rapidly changing our perception and implementing the amount and quality of information.[12] A full review of the history and achievements of the Delta exploration is beyond the focus of the present paper,[13] but at least one major survey project should be mentioned here for the scale and amount of data gathered: it is the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) Delta Survey, an ongoing project that aims at mapping and recording, as completely as possible, the lesser-known archaeological sites of Lower Egypt.[14]

While this turn is certainly helpful in redressing the imbalance, one might wonder what kind of contribution the Nile Delta might offer to the ongoing debate on the understanding and representation of Coptic literary manuscripts. The main and only answer to this question, from an archaeological point of view, is *contextualisation* (emphasis mine): setting data into a network of spatial and temporal relationships is the distinctive mark of archaeology and the *conditio sine qua non* for any meaningful historical interpretation. In this perspective, despite the lack of manuscripts and papyri, the material evidence from the Delta can be used to expand the scope of inquiry beyond the traditional field of monasticism and the regional focus of Upper Egypt, substantiating (when possible) textual accounts and, above all, exploring the role of different landscapes and social settings in reframing questions and discussion on the literary milieus of Late Antique and Medieval Egypt.

In order to test and articulate this answer, some sites from the central-western Delta will be presented here as a case-study: Buto/Tell el Fara'in; Koprithis/Tell Qabrit; Sais/Sa el-Hagar; Xois/Sakha (Fig. 4). Their choice is motivated by a triple consideration: they are rather peripheral to the general agenda of Coptic archaeology;[15] they have been all surveyed by the EES Delta Survey Project and/or have been made object of systematic excavation projects (Buto and Sais),[16] so that we have a reasonable amount of environmental, material, and historical data; they have been directly visited by a recent mission conducted by

---

10 Bagnall 1993, 15.

11 Cf. Wilson 2014, 43. A more detailed analysis of the environmental, political and cultural risk factors and destructive forces in Tassie - Watering - De Trafford 2015, 112-116

12 Cf. Trampier 2014, with methodological discussion and analysis of cases-studies from the south-western Delta.

13 Cf. Tassie - Watering - De Trafford 2015, 104-110.

14 Since 1997, the project, with regular updates, is publicly available at https://www.ees.ac.uk/delta-survey. For a presentation of the basic structure, methodology and goals of the research, cf. Spencer - Spencer 2000.

15 Cf. the recent work of Gabra - Takla 2017.

16 The site of Buto is under research by the German Archaeological Institute: https://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/63537. Since 2010 a regional survey around the main site has been started by Robert Schiestl: https://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/51318; https://www.en.ag.geschichte.uni-muenchen.de/research/delta-project/index.html. Sais has been investigated since 1997 by a joint University of Durham EES project, cf. http://community.dur.ac.uk/penelope.wilson/sais.html.

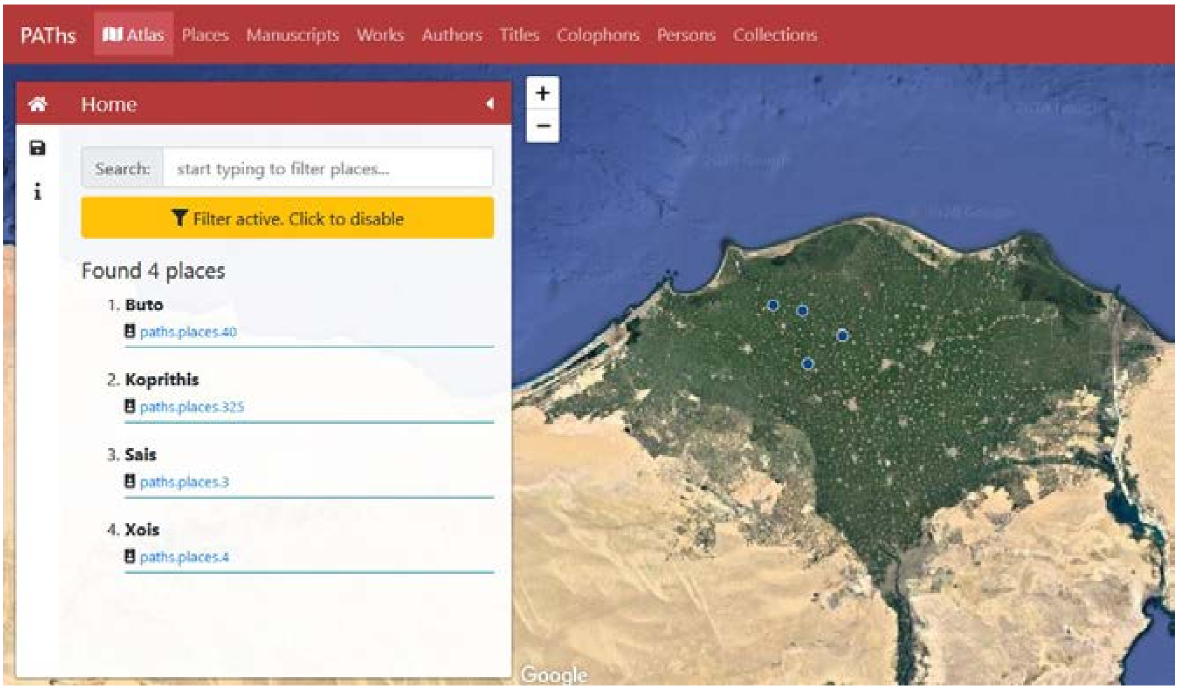


Fig. 4. Map of the Sites discussed in the text (© 'PAThs' Team).

'PAThs' in order to acquire updated information on their status and preservation.[17] Thus, the preliminary and very tentative reappraisal proposed here is intended to stimulate a more critical sensibility towards archaeological contexts and material data as instrumental in building an integrated, holistic, and well-balanced model on the cultural landscape of Christian Egypt.

The strategy suggested is quite simple and consists in reviewing first how these places feature in the textual record, contrasting then the information against archaeological remains and material culture in order to assess their position within the broader framework of the Delta geography and occupational pattern.

3.1 Textual perspective: the new semantic of religious landscape

As already noted, none of these places has actually yielded manuscripts. Still, they are mentioned in Byzantine and Medieval sources of different character, scope, language, and dating, which sometimes provide interesting indications on their cultural characterisation and re-appropriation within the contemporary imagined geography.

In this perspective, without going into details, three important dimensions might be addressed of the Christianisation of Egyptian settlements in the Delta that stress a marked political-religious sensibility and an active (re)configuration of local contexts and urban experience: (1) the establishment of a network of bishoprics; (2) the conceptualisation of a mythic landscape; (3) the implementation of religious infrastructures.[18] The first point concerns the status of these places as episcopal sees.[19] Their occurrence in lists of bishops, which is often the main reason for their inclusion in the data set, reflect an important process of transformation and illustrate a general pattern of historical significance: about 44 bishoprics were located in the Delta (out of 100 in the whole of Egypt, including Libya and the Pentapolis of Cyrenaica)[20] and they usually repre-

17 The mission took place in May 2018: http://paths.uniroma1.it/mission-to-egypt-alexandria-the-mediterranean-coast-and-the-delta-second-topographical-survey-of-the-sites-related-to-late-antique-period.

18 For a knowledgeable cultural perspective on the transformation of Egyptian sacred landscape in Late Antiquity, cf. FRANKFURTER 2018, 233-256. Developing on literary sources, the analysis focuses on well-known Upper Egyptian localities like Abydos and Dendera.

19 For the Byzantine period, cf. WORP 1994, 298 (Buto), 301 (Koprithis), 306 (Sais), 308 (Xois).

20 Twenty-nine bishoprics were located in the Valley, the rest in Libya and the Pentapolis. The figure and distribution refer basically to the fourth -fifth centuries CE and are based on the analysis of WIPSZYCKA (1983, 183-186) and MARTIN (1996, 17-115). Cf. BAGNALL 1993, 285.

sent a major focus of discussion on the organisation of the region (Table 1; Fig. 2). Such an uneven distribution certainly relates to the geographical and political position of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and possibly shows that '[a]s the center of gravity in the country shifted to the north, the Delta's political, economic, and religious importance grew, camouflaged though it is by the defective surviving documentation'.[21]

With the exception of Koprithis, all the bishoprics are *metropoleis* with a long history as capitals of nomes and important political nodes already in the Graeco-Roman and pharaonic periods. Evidently, the new religious network largely overlaps and coincides, in terms of geographical articulation, with the earlier administrative structure.[22] Secondly, each one of these sites is mentioned in liturgical and hagiographical sources as places associated with crucial, foundational episodes of the Coptic religious tradition. The story of the Flight of the Holy Family and the dramatic accounts about local martyrs were especially effective in this process of semantic appropriation and transformation of ancient sites and their spaces. Koprithis features in the martyrdom of Didymus of Tarschebi as the place of provenance of a local priest named Arapolon, suggesting that there was a church there by the end of the fourth century. Sais appears twice in the *Synaxarium*, being mentioned in relation to the deaths of St Dabamon (10 Paonah), as the place 'where the priest of the idols told the governor that a woman named Dabamon from Degwah had cursed the gods', and of St Apakir (6 Amshir) as 'people from the city of Sa came and took the body of St. Apakir, built for him a church, and laid his body inside it'. The double reference clearly but briefly illustrates the memory of the older topography and customs of the city as well as its resignification through church-building and the blessing of the martyrdom. Sakha is listed among the places visited by the Holy Family during their wandering through the delta and specifically with the miracle of the stone stepped upon by Jesus, from which a well sprang, and permanently impressed with his footprint.[23] The fundamental character of the episode, which displays a recurrent narrative pattern, is also evident in the Christian toponym, Bikha Issous, after which the city was known in literary sources like the Homily of Zacharias, the well-educated bishop of Sakha. In this regard, the biographical note of this famous individual in the *Synaxarium*, which emphasises his scribal education and literary production, also gives us a valuable hint about the intellectual activity within the city.

A final aspect concerns the church-building programme and the re-contextualisation of religious activities into new architectural forms and spatial relations. Apart from the few allusions quoted above, two passages appear particularly indicative of both the extent and the impact of this phenomenon of 'mushrooming of churches'[24] in the Delta. They both belong to Mediaeval accounts of Arabic authors and contain valuable details on the state of Sakha and Sais during their time: on the one hand, Ibn Hauqal (980 ca.) reports on Sais as a city containing one mosque and many churches, together with markets a bath-house and the so-called 'Fountain of Moses'[25]; on the other hand, in the thirteenth century, Abu al-Makarim refers to five churches in Sakha.[26]

Overall, from this textual survey, the sites at issue emerge as meaningful spatial foci in a religious geography that, through negotiation with earlier memories, monuments or institutions, had been reshaped and reintegrated into a new cosmological framework so as to ingrain the values of Christianity into the real world of both local landscapes and Egypt as a whole country.[27] Thus, as aptly remarked by David Frankfurter, 'in multiple dimensions, and multiple social worlds, the landscape became narrated and memorialised as sacred, powerful, and linked to 'us': *our* villages, *our* hills, and the river that integrates *our* territory'.[28]

3.2 Archaeological perspective: urban contexts and regional landscape

Although data from excavations and survey works are preliminary and partial, they can stimulate new reflections and might be used to positively qualify two issues so as to complement textual-based narra-

21 Bagnall 1993, 20.
22 Alston 2002, 2, 187.
23 Sadek 2017, 89-90.
24 Wipszycka 2007, 333.
25 Wilson 2006, 41.
26 Cf. Sadek 2017, 89.
27 Cf. Alston 2002, 319-322, and *passim*.
28 Frankfurter 2018, 255.

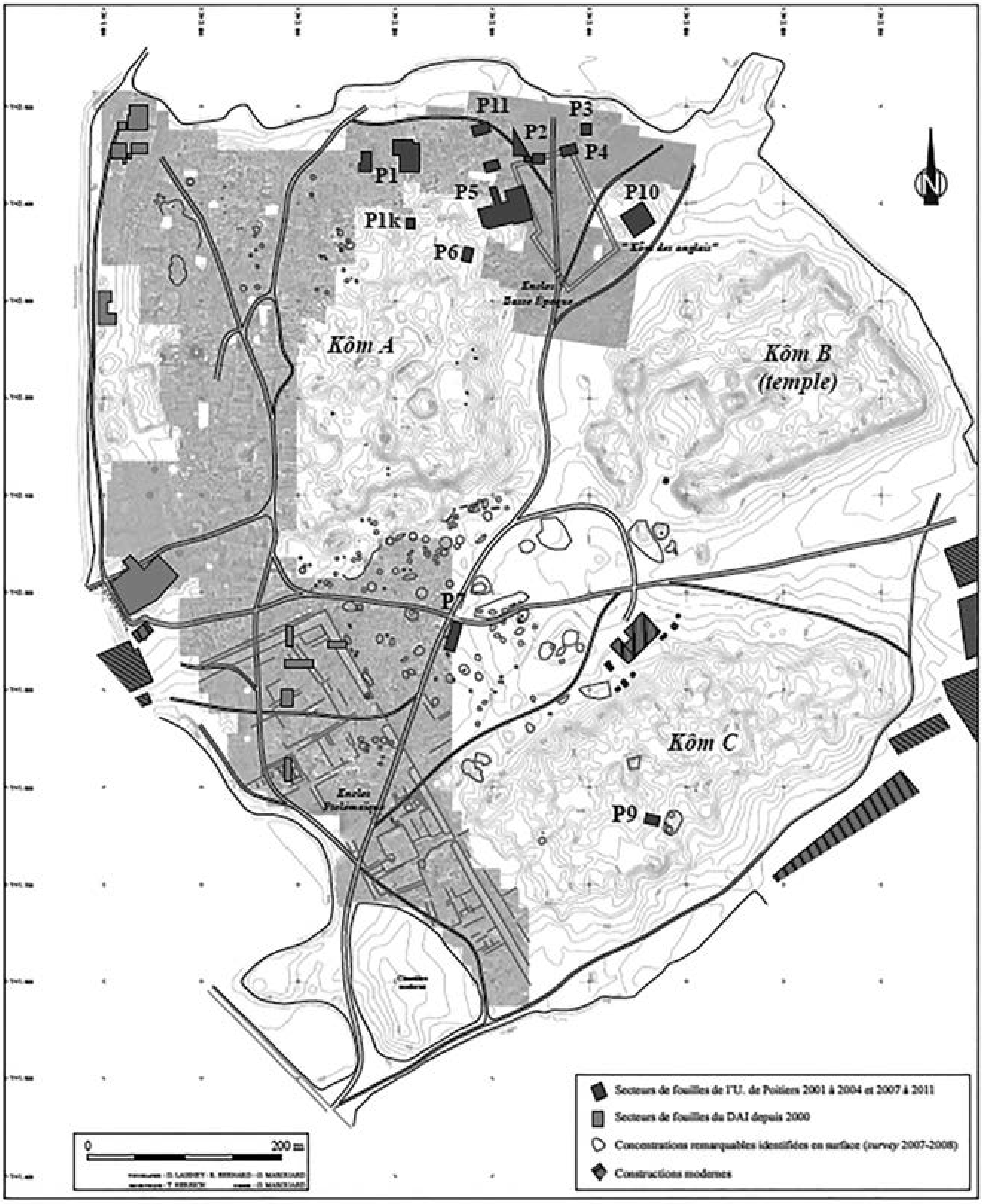


Fig. 5a. Map of Tell el Fara'in/Buto (after Ballet *et al.* 2011, p. 76).

tives: (1) the impact of the new ideology (Christianity) and institutions (church) on the material, urban configuration of the sites, with a particular focus on the processes and dynamics of re-use, abandonment, and substitution of temples as focal cores of the urban community; (2) the changes and development in the settlement pattern of the area, with a special focus on the integration of different types of site in the Delta landscape.

Regarding the replacement of temples and reconfiguration of the urban setting, the process might remain elusive in its details but the material traces of such activities are rather apparent. At Buto/Tell el-Fara'in ('PAThs' ID 40; Fig. 5a-b), the *temenos* of the great temple on Kom B had already been transformed into a productive area by the end of the Ptolemaic period, while Roman houses and buildings were

Fig. 5b. View of the Temple Area, Kom B (© 'PAThs' Team, May 2018).

installed in the eastern part of the walls as well as in the area of the Sacred Lake (time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius).[29] Late Roman structures are attested in this sector in the fourth century, with wells and ditches cut down through the foundation levels of the temple.[30] The latter seems to be removed from the inside out, as demonstrated by the fact that the new industrial and housing areas developed around it, while its central core was progressively filled by the rubble of the spoliation process. More importantly, fragments of Byzantine pottery (fine ware and amphorae) have been collected from the surface of Kom A and ranges from the fifth to the seventh centuries.[31] Moreover, a small sounding in the depression between Kom A and C (sector P7) has brought to light some pits and installations for the calcination of limestone indicating an activity of re-use of architectural fragments. The associated pottery dates to the seventh-ninth century and includes fragments of Islamic production. It is difficult to assess the reconfiguration of the city from such scanty evidence but it would appear that, at that time, part of the site was still in use for industrial activities, while the settlement reduced and possibly shifted to the nearby village of Ibtu, outside the boundaries of the archaeological site, and probably encompassed other peripheral sites around Tell el-Fara'in.[32]

At Tell Qabrit/Koprithis ('PAThs' ID 325; Fig. 6a), ca. 11 km north-west of Buto, excavations carried out by the SCA (2000- 2001) have discovered a series of Late Antique structures to the south and a red-brick church building in the central area of the site.[33] The former group is generally assigned to the Arabs, as it is constructed of brown burnt brick, and although it displays a well-organised layout, its functional characterisation remains uncertain. The church building was associated with pottery of the fourth-seventh centuries CE (Fig. 6b). It is made of red-bricks and has a rectangular outline, with east-west orientation.

---

29 For an updated synthesis on the Late and Graeco-Roman phases of the city, cf. Leclère 2008, 197-232. The later stages, from the Ptolemaic to the early Arab period, are addressed in detail by Ballet 2011; Ballet *et al.* 2011.

30 Leclère 2008, 212-213; Wilson 2014, 51

31 Ballet - von der Way 1993, 6-8, fig. 3.

32 Ballet *et al.* 2009, 154, 158; Ballet 2011, 1588.

33 Wilson - Grigoropoulos 2009, 202-208; Wilson 2014, 52-54.

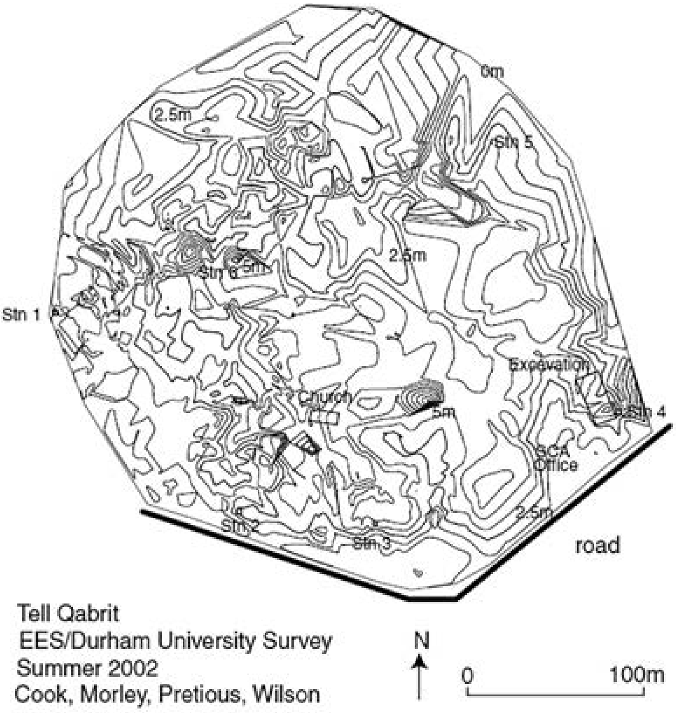


Fig. 6a. Map of Tell Qabrit/Koprithis (after WILSON - GRIGOROPOULOS 2009, fig. 75).

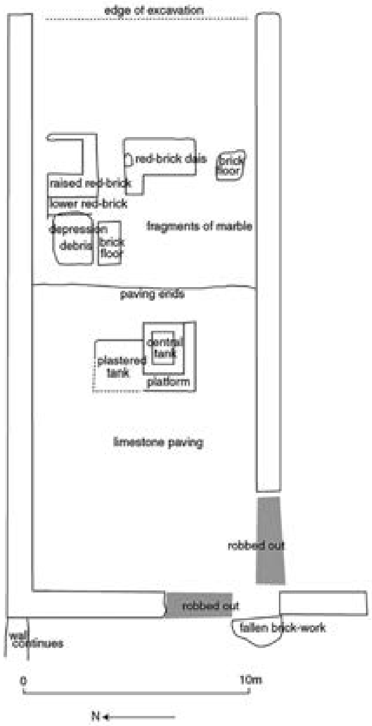


Fig. 6b. Plan of the church building excavated at Koprithis (after WILSON - GRIGOROPOULOS 2009, fig. 77).

There remains a marble-lined font in the centre, but the apse (if present) appears to have been completely removed. Similarly, traces of limestone and marble paving have only survived at the west and east ends of the building respectively. The walls of the church were originally plastered and founded upon layers of crushed limestone chips and earlier pottery. The shape and size of the building compares with other churches in Upper Egypt and the Fayyum, such as the one at Hawara, and may not even have had an apse, like the seventh century church C at Tebtynis.[34] Among the debris, a block inscribed with hieroglyphs in raised relief was found, suggesting that a pharaonic site (possibly Buto?) nearby may have provided the stone building material, or that there was an earlier phase at the site. A limestone block and seven large red granite grindstones are visible on the surface, probably having been uncovered during the *sebakh* digging and left behind as they were too heavy to take away. This type of artefact is relatively common on Delta sites, and is often associated with ecclesiastical institutions (churches or monasteries). Overall, the evidence is rather sparse but it might indicate a gradual development of the new urban community as early as the fourth century right through the Mediaeval period.

At Sa el-Hagar/Sais ('PAThs' ID 3; Fig. 7a) a reconfiguration of (and shift in) the urban setting seems likewise appreciable, with the northern *temenos* enclosing the early temple of Neith being abandoned after the pharaonic period.[35] The pharaonic city and the southern monumental areas were largely overbuilt by Roman buildings, which reused materials from older structures. Despite the pillaging, a glimpse of the new arrangement is evident in the material resulting from the trench (Excavation 10) excavated by the Durham University in 2007 on the east side of the so-called 'Great Pit'.[36] A dense area of red brick was located in the south-east corner, which comprises a straight outer wall plastered on the outside and a curving, more substantial wall on its western side. The two walls had collapsed, but the area between them was filled with brick and pottery rubble including fragments of Saite and Ptolemaic dating mixed with Roman

34 Cf. GROSSMANN 2002, respectively 427-428, fig. 49 (Hawara), and 426-427, fig. 48 (Tebtynis).

35 General overview in LECLÈRE 2008, 159-196. Reports and updates on the survey work and excavations conducted by Durham University available at http://community.dur.ac.uk/penelope.wilson/sais.html.

36 WILSON 2015, 51-52. Cf. also the full report at http://community.dur.ac.uk/penelope.wilson/3q2007.html.

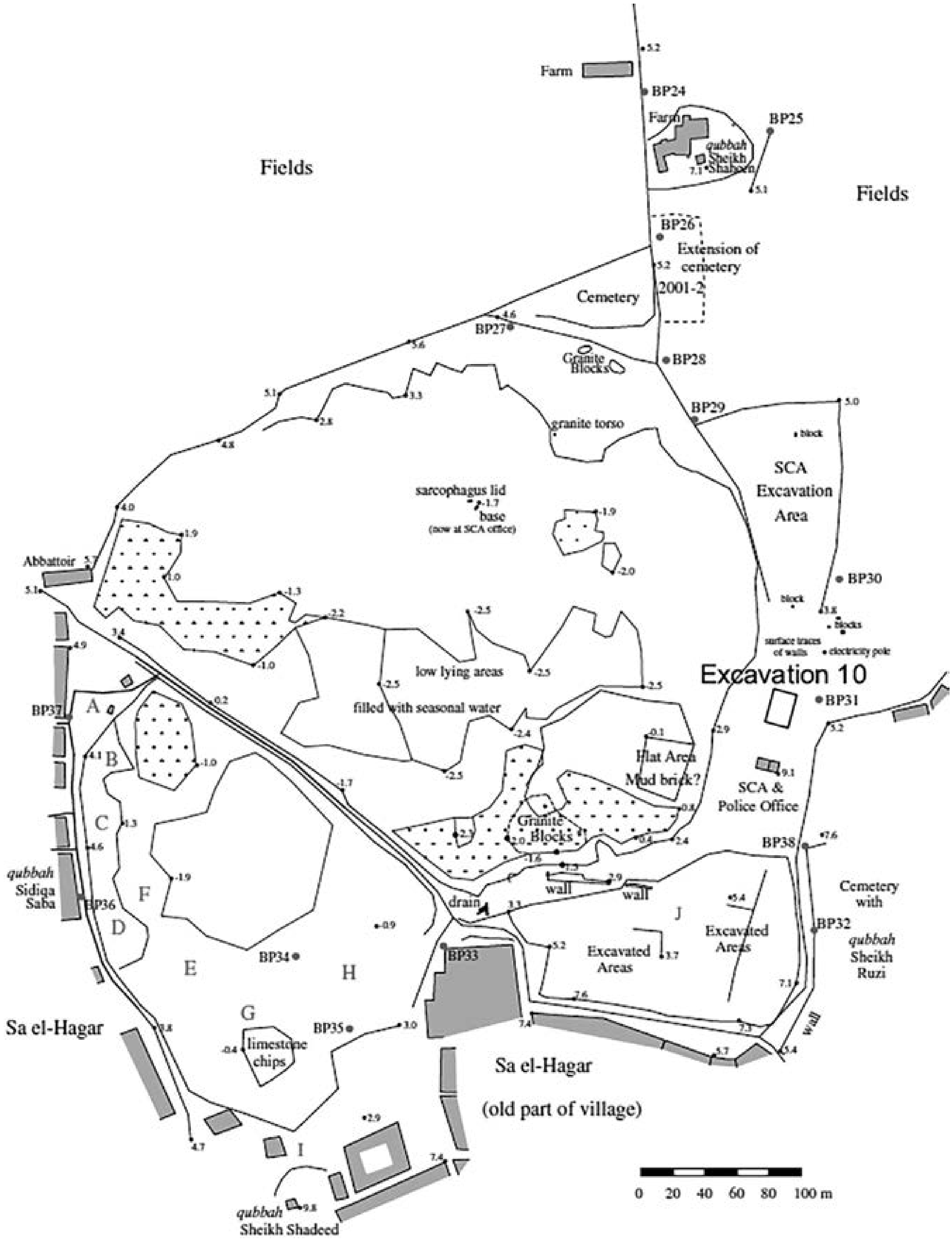


Fig. 7a. Map of the area of the 'Great Pit' at Sa el-Hagar/Sais showing the location of the excavations (© Egypt Exploration Society and Durham University).

and Late Antique material; a large limestone block was added to the wall, likely as a supporting foundation (Fig. 7b). Approximately half-way along the curved wall there was a mass of brickwork which appears to be a sort of base of some other feature (a column or vault springing). Outside the building, an industrial area [10.005] with traces of burning has been identified, which contained a group of Late Roman amphorae (Fig. 7c). The curved wall inside a straight retaining wall and the possible presence of a vault springing

Fig. 7b. Church building excavated at Sais (© Egypt Exploration Society and Durham University).

Fig. 7c. Industrial area [10.005] outside the church building at Sais (© Egypt Exploration Society and Durham University).

suggest an interpretation of the remains as a church building,[37] while the industrial zone outside may support the identification, churches being also centres of production. Columns, capitals and reworked granite shafts have also been discovered around the modern village[38] substantiating the picture and confirming the literary account of Ibn Hauqal. The church was built over pre-existing mudbrick structures possibly Ptolemaic, and the recovered pottery assemblage confirms the presence of underlying Saite layers that have been subsequently destroyed. Overall, one might outline a whole sequence of overbuilding of the late pharaonic and Hellenistic structures, which were reused as rubble core of Roman and Late Antique buildings from the fourth to fifth centuries onward.

The site of Sakha ('PAThs' ID 4; Fig. 8a) is the most difficult to evaluate due to the limited and poorly contextualised evidence. The site has been levelled and is covered by the south part of Kafr es-Sheikh city, except for a small area of the ancient mound, so that almost nothing survives *in situ*. Moreover, a systematic archaeological investigation has yet to be undertaken. Excavations carried out in 1960-1961 brought to light the agora of the Graeco-Roman town, characterised by two bath installations and a workshop area with ateliers for pottery production – a pattern similar to what is documented at Buto. The nearby church, on the other hand, displays some traces of the later occupation: apart from the famous stone-block with the alleged Jesus' footprint (which some take as evidence for identifying this place with Bikha Isous), the excavations carried out (1994) on occasion of the renovation of the edifice, has brought to light some architectural elements exhibited at the entrance of the church (capitals and shafts of columns Fig. 8b). Despite the scanty material, the site apparently reveals a sequence of urban arrangement similar to that attested in other Roman-Late Antique centres (Buto, Sais, Athribis), with bathhouses as an important focus in the (Roman) topography of the site and (possibly) a shift in the location of the church with respect to the earlier public area.

Broadening perspective, survey works and some focused excavations have produced a valuable set of archaeological, geographical, environmental data to model a more articulated and material-based framework in which these individual cases can be placed, thus shifting discussion to a regional, landscape level. In this regard, two aspects are worth noting: (a) the chronological focus and (b) the variety of site-types and dimensions.

37 Obviously, this edifice, which has been only partially unearthed in recent years, does not appear in the study of Grossmann (GROSSMANN 2002).

38 WILSON 2006, 227-229.

Fig. 8a. View of the archaeological area at Sakha/Xois (© 'PAThs' Team, May 2018).

Fig. 8b. Architectural elements displayed at the modern church of Sakha (© 'PAThs' Team, May 2018).

Taking advantage of the impressive work of the EES Delta Survey, 'PAThs' has collected over 150 sites that can be archaeologically dated to Late Antiquity, mostly on the base of surface pottery, though some of them have also yielded more substantial evidence (Table 1; Fig. 3).[39] This crude figure is already remarkable – it is more than three times the sum of the other two types of relevant places (sites with manuscripts and bishoprics) – and requires a brief comment: the chronological units and the related nomenclature used by the EES Delta Survey distinguish a Late Roman assemblage of fourth-seventh century from an Early Arab phase including evidence of eighth-eleventh century.[40] The sketched periodisation signals changes in the set of collected materials but the underlying cultural patterns certainly overlapped and were more fluidly amalgamated.[41] That is to say that, while not all the surveyed sites may necessarily display tangible or evident traces of an established Christian occupation, they all positively contribute to chart and adjust our understanding of the cultural and religious transformations occurring in the region during those centuries.

Once mapped, these sites arrange into large clusters that, while certainly reflecting the status of modern archaeological and surveying activities,[42] might however be indicative of ancient settlement patterns and configurations. In particular, the north central Delta, between Buto and Sebennytos, emerges as an area densely settled and populated in this period.[43] Overall, it seems that there are many sites, whose life-cycle does not fit the model of a Ptolemaic and early Roman development followed by decline into the Late Antique period, but rather corresponds to a pattern of Late Antique reconfiguration, continuation or displacement well into the Arab period[44] It is remarkable that, on the basis of the pottery material surveyed, Late Antiquity is the best represented phase at most sites, and that, while those in north-western Delta mainly display a continuity of occupation from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period, until the seventh-eighth century CE, the majority of the settlements in the northern central part of the Delta appear to have developed from the Roman times into the early mediaeval period, up to the ninth and tenth centuries.[45] The case of Buto and its hinterland is particularly instructive in this regard: the ancient

39 Cf. Wilson 2014, 49. An Excel file listing all the sites at which Roman, Late Roman/Coptic or early Islamic material has been recorded by the EES Delta Survey project has been kindly shared with 'PAThs' by Jeffrey Spencer, to whom I am grateful for the generous support (personal email communication 06/07/2019). The list is actually being processed and all the relevant sites will be included in the Atlas, receiving a 'PAThs' ID and displaying a cross-reference to the corresponding entry on the EES Delta Survey website.

40 Cf. the chronological summary and the full discussion on the pottery material collected from the Western Delta in Wilson - Grigoropoulos 2009, 268-288, and Tables 2.1-2, 3.

41 Cf. Mikhail 2014, 1-4, in particular 2.

42 In particular, the central part of the Delta shows a striking lack of sites, a fact explained more by the limited investigation of the area than by the actual absence of evidence. Cf. Wilson 2009, 142-143, fig. 9.2.

43 Wilson 2014, 44-45, fig. 2; 2017, 348-352, fig. 1.

44 Wilson 2017, 348.

45 According to the data of the EES Delta Survey, pottery dating to the Late Roman (fifth to mid-seventh) accounts for 37% of the total assemblage, thus representing 'the single largest period-group amongst all the ceramic material collected' (Wilson -

pharaonic centre, the origins of which date back to the prehistory of Egypt, was still active in the eighth century, when it had become part of a regional system of highly diversified sites distributed along channels and waterways up to the northern shores of the lake Burullus, with an occupation ranging (mainly) from Roman times until the eighth-ninth centuries.[46], Some of them, like Tell Foqaa, Kom Sidi Selim, and Kom Abu Ismail,[47] also extended into the ninth-tenth centuries, well after the Arab conquest, as indicated by the specific type and fabric of their pottery assemblages.[48]

Moreover, a typological and functional assessment of the numerous sites might illustrate the variety of forms and modes of exploitation and occupation of the Delta, allowing us, on the one hand, to move beyond a dominant (biased) monastic perspective and, on the other hand, to reassess the value of Byzantine and Mediaeval urban sites within a dynamic regional context. In this perspective, the preliminary classification proposed by Penelope Wilson, which tries to combine the morphological, topographical and environmental features of the sites with the archaeological evidence recorded from their survey into a basic functional interpretation, could provide a valuable, though tentative, material counterpart to integrate documentary information as well as to outline a settlement system on large territorial scale.[49] As a result, one could use her typology to test, articulate and refine theoretical models like the multi-layered structure (megalopolis, urban and proto-urban settlements, villages, hamlets, farmsteads) conjectured by David Alston.[50] The bishoprics and great cities (like, presumably, the sites described above) were certainly urban poles of significant administrative-economic activities, as well as the places where the Christian elites operated as political and religious representatives of the community, mainly responsible for building and renovation projects (like churches).[51] In the countryside, however, a full range of different urban(ised) and agricultural settlements (towns, villages, farms, estates, and monasteries included) were involved in the management of the rural hinterlands and engaged in multiple and (more or less) hierarchical connections between them and with the city-cores relying on their productivity.[52]

The archaeology of the Delta, therefore, offers ample room for framing the great centres of the Coptic tradition into a wider and more nuanced picture of historical transformation, socio-economic interaction, and cultural reorganisation of the local landscape. In Late Antiquity, the ancient Egyptian cities, with their monumental temples and their high prestigious status retained from pharaonic (nome capitals) and Graeco-Roman times (metropoleis), further enhanced their position as key-places of religious authority (episcopal sees), while the advent of Christianity affected their urban profile and appearance. Evidence from Buto and Sais shows that, although temples were no longer prominent topographical foci, the modes and strategies of their removal fit better with a transitional rather than conflictual process, where ancient structures were gradually abandoned and dismantled for recycling building material, while apparently a shift occurred in the location of the public area with (at least some of) the new edifices of cult (churches), as the case of Xois possibly indicates. In this regard, despite gaps and limitations, data from Delta contexts could enter the crucial debate on the passage 'from temple to church' in Egypt, the relationship between the decline of traditional cults and the rise of the new religion, and the general problem of urban planning.[53] Additionally, the presence of bath installations dating from the Ptolemaic to Roman period (Buto, Sais, Xois), besides matching a contemporary widespread pattern of urbanistic arrangement (cf. Athribis, and Thmuis in the Delta), gives support to literary testimonies like that of Ibn Hauqal on Sais, suggesting

---

GRIGOROPOULOS 2009, 276), while the Early Arab group (eighth to eleventh centuries) makes up another 13%; full analysis and discussion in WILSON - GRIGOROPOULOS 2009, 276-284.

46 Cf. BALLET *et al.* 1993, 21; WILSON 2014; WILSON 2017.

47 Respectively EES sites 254, 282, 387. Individual files in Wilson and Grigoropoulos 2009, 233-236 (Tell Foqaa), 240-244 (Kom Sidi Selim), 156-157 (Kom Abu Ismail).

48 WILSON 2017, 361-362

49 WILSON 2014, 45-49, especially 49. The hierarchy includes: 'Twin mound' sites; lagoon shore sites; high, square sites, 'levee' type sites; 'Mutubis' type mounds; island sites; smaller villages and hamlets.

50 WILSON 2002, 330-331, Table 6.2.

51 Cf. MIKHAIL 2014, 37-50.

52 WILSON 2014; WILSON 2017.

53 The topic is extensively discussed and analysed, from different perspectives and in relation to different examples, in the various contributions edited by HAHN - EMMEL - GOTTER 2008. A strong emphasis on the archaeological record and an integrated approach on regional scale are advocated by DIJKSTRA 2011.

that this kind of public space could have remained an important social arena well into Byzantine and Arab times. Indirectly, this fact also points to the existence of other, now vanished spaces of social and cultural interaction. In this regard, the textual reference to the scribal training and intellectual background of Zacharias of Xois/Sakha also serves to remind us how much of the original materiality of such contexts has been lost or left no recognisable trace on the ground but were, nonetheless, certainly a tangible component of local townscapes, and should not pass unnoticed in modern reconstructions, if only as negative evidence.

Leaving aside monumental features mostly surviving at larger sites, pottery assemblage is certainly the best represented class of material culture, and may reflect cultural trends and aspects of the lifestyle in Late Antique towns and settlements. Of course, this is not the place for a full discussion and conclusions drawn from survey evidence remain inevitably partial and limited, but still they can offer us some basic clues.[54] Fine tableware and amphorae prevail both as locally made and as imported pottery from North Africa and eastern Mediterranean: the first group includes imports of Cypriot Red Slip and African Red Slip from Tunisia, alongside regional products like the Aswan Red Slip and Egyptian Red Slip B. Amphorae, mostly associated with the transportation of wine and oil, are well represented by local types (Carthage LRA 7 and, less frequently attested, LRA 5/6), and by imports of eastern provenance (Carthage LRA 1 and LRA 4 or 'Gaza amphorae'). This pattern elicits at least two brief remarks: (1) the circulation of vessels, both as containers of goods (wine and oil) and as final products (tableware) shows a higher degree of integration of the western Delta into the economic dynamics at both regional and Mediterranean level, with many sites functioning as active markets and centres of exchange;[55] (2) imports and local imitations of fine tableware suggest that certain forms were invested with social or aesthetic values and might be broadly indicative of common tastes and rather homogeneous modes of presentation of food in urban milieus, while also alluding to another important context (house and domestic spaces) of social life and cultural interaction that is scarcely documented in Delta archaeology.

The picture sketched above is no more than guesswork, and gives only an (admittedly intuitive) impression of what might have been the urban situation at the sites described, as well as of how they could have been integrated into a network of differently-sized settlements within a well-inhabited and dynamic deltaic environment. Evidence is still rather patchy and variable, but Delta archaeology is progressing rapidly and so are the possibilities of expanding and adjusting our knowledge/view of the historical and cultural development of this area.

4. *Conclusions*

To resume, in guise of conclusion, the opening question: how can Delta archaeology participate in the study of Coptic literature? The answer – contextualisation – is both negative and positive. The negative side concerns the limitations in the data available as well as the difficulties in acquiring such information, and prospectively indicates promising lines of inquiry. The positive results can be articulated more in detail, being aware, as a general theoretical remark on the correlation between archaeological evidence and textual information, that positive does not mean positivist: material data cannot be used uncritically and straightforwardly to confirm or reject literary sources. The remains from the contexts described do not match the textual descriptions but allow us to outline an urban environment that sources evoke or exploit for ideological purposes. Certainly, we are not supposed to use accounts, homiletic and liturgical texts to 'read' the extant structures on the ground; rather, the architectural features and the localisation of church

54 A detailed analysis of the pottery data from the western Delta Survey, cf. Wilson - Grigorpoulos 2009, 276-282 (specifically on Late Antique evidence), and the final catalogue reviewing the material for each surveyed site. For an attempt to set this data within a wider historical and socio-cultural framework, cf. Wilson 2014, 54-55. For a targeted examination of the specific case-study of Buto and the surrounding region, cf. Ballet - von der Way 1993, 6-22.

55 In this regard, the comment of Ballet - von der Way (1993, 22) on the pottery assemblage from Buto that '[c]ette céramique tardive traduit bien des affinités avec celle des franges occidentales du Delta (Kellia, Abou Mina) (…) ces céramiques participent-elles d'un courant commercial ou s'agit-il d'apports ponctuels de voyageurs et de pèlerins' perfectly illustrates the point, highlighting the structural connections that linked, spatially and economically, cities, towns and specialised settlements like monasteries.

and temple buildings at these sites, with the shifts and changes that can be inferred from them, suggest a complex process of re-use of earlier material and of urban reconfiguration that literary texts formulate through the topical motive of the victory of Christianity (its ideology, institutions, and architectural forms) over the earlier, 'pagan' counterpart. Both types of sources (archaeological and textual), therefore, concur to elucidate the material, symbolic and cultural dynamics underlying the Christian appropriation of local contexts and regional landscapes. Incidentally, the diachronic stratification of the sites appears as an important aspect to acknowledge inasmuch as the cultural memory of their past history comes to play a part in the literary discourse of some Christian sources.

Archaeological evidence and survey information from the Delta can also be used proficiently to build better arguments, raise new issues, and suggest different perspectives in the field of literary studies: (1) they reassess the complexity of Late Antique geography, complementing and integrating the monastic landscape with its urban counterpart, which in the Delta was a widespread context of economic, intellectual, and religious activity. The image of the monk secluded in the solitude of the desert is now largely recognised as a hagiographic fiction,[56] and archaeological-geographical data can positively contribute to the debate – so far almost exclusively based on sources and materials from Upper Egypt (cf. the Nag Hammadi case) – about the relationships between literature, urban and monastic milieus. Accordingly (2), the city can be reconfigured as a potentially vibrant context of literary production and/or fruition. Despite the paucity of primary data on literary manuscripts from the Delta, its urban landscape still might work as a valuable comparative framework against which the richer information coming from Upper Egypt could be contrasted. This might result in a constructive incentive to reconsider literary problems like the assumption that '[i]n late antiquity, centers of book production were primarily if not exclusively in monasteries.[57] It has been recently objected, on a critical-historical basis, that this shared idea is rather a biased impression: while a more careful consideration of textual material seems to indicate that 'at least until the 5th century, but also later, monastic and urban contexts were much more tangential than one might think', it is also a fact that monasteries are a well-established object of study, far better than urban settlements, although the latter largely outnumber the former.[58] Yet, the stratification, expansion and transformation they have experienced over time make it difficult to understand the topographical layout of a site, let alone to identify specific spaces. The survey and topographical data gradually emerging from the cities and towns of the Delta (but not only from there) point to a complex socio-economic interaction between urban, rural and monastic landscape, and seem to suggest that cities – at least some of them – could have been relevant intellectual foci and possibly important contexts of dissemination and circulation of literary ideas and products. Ultimately (3), for 'PAThs', archaeology and geography represent a valuable source of data that offer a tremendous intellectual stimulus to historical and literary studies expanding both the vertical (chronological) and horizontal (landscape) dimension of the analysis. They help us to reconceptualise places as dynamic historical entities, spatial palimpsests we could say – venturing to adopt a philological-codicological metaphor –, within a wide, multi-tiered geographical context where physical spaces, literary products and religious paths overlap and relate to each other in a variety of meaningful ways. Making intelligible such a dense scenario for Byzantine and Medieval Egypt is the ultimate goal of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*.

References

ALSTON 2002 = R. ALSTON, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London - New York, 2002.
AMÉLINEAU 1893 = É. AMÉLINEAU, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte,* Paris, 1893.
BAGNALL 1993 = R.S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993.
BAGNALL 2007 = R.S. BAGNALL (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World*, 300-700, Cambridge, 2007.

56 Cf. WIPSZYCKA 1994.
57 KOTSIFOU 2007, 55, 50.
58 BUZI 2018, 23, 24.

Ballet 2011 = P. Ballet, "De Per Ouadjyt à Bouto (Tell el-Fara'in). Un grand centre urbain du delta égyptien de la fin de la basse époque à l'antiquité tardive", in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 155.4, 2011, pp. 1567-1589.

Ballet - Von der Way 1993 = P. Ballet - T. von der Way, "Exploration archéologique de Bouto et de sa région. Epoques romaine et byzantines", in *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo*, 49, 1993, pp. 1-22.

Ballet - Lecuyot - Marouard - Pithon - Redon 2011 = P. Ballet - G. Lecuyot - G. Marouard - M. Pithon - B. Redon , "Et la Bouto tardive? ", *Bulletin de l'Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale*, 111, 2011, pp. 75-100.

Blouin 2014 = K. Blouin, *Triangular Landscapes: Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule*, Oxford, 2014.

Bogdani 2017 = J. Bogdani, "The Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. A Question of Method", in *Vicino Oriente*, XXI, 2017, pp. 59-69.

Brooks Hedstrom 2017 = D. Brooks Hedstrom, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt. An Archaeological Reconstruction*, Cambridge, 2017.

Buzi 2015 = P. Buzi, "Early Christianity in the Fayyūm: the New Contribution of Archaeology", in *Vicino Oriente*, XIX, 2015, pp. 85-96.

Buzi 2018 = P. Buzi, "Egypt, Crossroad of Translations and Literary Interweavings (3rd-6th Centuries). A Reconsideration of Earlier Coptic Literature", in F. Crevatin (ed.), *Egitto crocevia di traduzioni* (ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ, 1), Trieste, 2018, pp. 15-67.

Buzi - Bogdani - Colonna - Rossetti 2019 = P. Buzi - J. Bogdani - A. Colonna - I. Rossetti, "The Egyptological Research Activities of Sapienza University of Rome. From Archaeology to Topography and Beyond", in S. Di Lernia - M. Gallinaro (eds.), *Archaeology in Africa. Potentials and Perspectives on Laboratory & Field Work Research* (Arid Zone Archaeology Monograph, 8), Sesto Fiorentino, 2019, pp. 73-87.

Dijkstra 2011 = J.H.F. Dijkstra, "The Fate of the Temples in Late Antique Egypt", in L. Lavan - M. Mulryan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, Leiden - Boston, 2011, pp. 389-436.

Frankfurter 2018 = D. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity*, Princeton - Oxford, 2018.

Gabra - Takla 2017 = G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt*, Cairo - New York, 2017.

Geoffrey - van Wetering - Traddord 2015 = J.T. Geoffrey - J. van Wetering - A. De Traddord, "The Nile Delta in Peril: Cultural Heritage Management in the Delta", in F.A. Hassan - L.S. Owens - G.J. Tassie - A. De Trafford - J. Van Wetering - Okasha El Daly (eds.), *The Management of Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, I-II, London, 2015, II, pp. 100-130.

Grossmann 2002 = P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 62), Leiden – Boston - Köln, 2002.

Hahn - Emmel - Ulrich 2008 = J. Hahn - S. Emmel - G. Ulrich, *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, Leiden - Boston, 2008.

Kotsifou 2007 = C. Kotsifou, "Books and Book Production in the Monastic Communities of Byzantine Egypt", in W.E. Klingshrin - L. Safran (eds.), *The Early Christian Book*, Washington D.C., 2007, pp. 48-66.

Leclère 2008 = F. Leclère, *Les villes de basse Égypte au I^{er} millenaire av. J.C*, Le Caire, 2008.

Martin 1996 = A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IVe siècle (328-373)*, Rome, 1996.

Mikhail 2014 = M.S.A. Mikhail, *From Byzantine to Islamic Egypt. Religion, Identity and Politics after the Arab Conquest*, London - New York, 2014.

O'Connell 2014 = E.R. O'Connell, *Egypt in the First Millennium AD. Perspectives from new fieldwork*, Leuven - Paris - Walpole MA, 2014.

Sadek 2017 = A.A. Sadek, "The Tradition of the Holy Family and the Development of Christianity in the Nile Delta", in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt*, Cairo - New York, 2017, pp. 83-92.

Spencer - Spencer 2000 = J.A. Spencer - P. Spencer, "The EES Delta Survey", *Egyptian Archaeology* 16, 2000, pp. 25-27.

TIMM 1984-1992 = S. TIMM, *Das Christlich-Koptische Ägypten in Arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung Christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in Arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluss von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters* (*Dēr Abū Mina*)*, der Skētis* (*Wādi N-Naṭrūn*) *und der Sinai-Region*, I-VI, Wiesbaden, 1984-1992.
TRAMPIER 2014 = J. TRAMPIER, *Landscape Archaeology of the Western Nile Delta*, Atlanta [GA], 2014.
WILSON 2006 = P. WILSON, *The Survey of Sais* (*Sa el-Hagar*)*, 1997-2002*, London, 2006.
WILSON 2007 = P. WILSON, "The Nile Delta", in T.A. WILKINSON (ed.), *The Egyptian World*, London, pp. 15-28.
WILSON 2014 = P. WILSON, "Living the High Life: Late Antique Archaeology in the Delta", in E.R. O'CONNELL (ed.), *Egypt in the first Millennium AD. Perspectives from new fieldwork*, Leuven, 2014, pp. 43-58.
WILSON 2017 = P. WILSON, "Landscapes of the Bashmur – Settlements and Monasteries in the Northern Egyptian Delta from the Seventh to the Ninth Century", in H. WILLEMS - J.-M. DAHMS (eds.), *The Nile: Natural and Cultural Landscapes*, Mainz, 2017, pp. 345-368.
WILSON - GRIGOROPOULOS 2009 = P. WILSON - D. GRIGOROPOULOS, *The West Nile Delta Regional Survey, Beheira and Kafr esh-Sheikh Provinces*, London, 2009.
WIPSZYCKA 1983 = E. WIPSZYCKA, "La chiesa nell'Egitto del IV secolo: Le strutture ecclesiastiche", in *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae* VI, *Congres de Varsovie* 1978, Warsaw - Louvain - Brussels, 1983, pp. 182-201.
WIPSZYCKA 2007 = E. WIPSZYCKA "The Institutional Church", in R.S. BAGNALL (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 331-349.
WORP 1994 = K. A. WORP, "A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (AD 325-750)", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 100, 1994, pp. 283-318.

Reconstructing the Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Settlement Dynamics. Some Cases from the Eastern Delta*

Ilaria Rossetti - Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

Abstract

The archaeological research in Egypt has always focused on the phases of greater monumentality of the sites, mainly pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman, neglecting different evidence belonging to last phases of the settlement lifespan, which remained for a long time undocumented or understudied. Within the 'PAThs' project, great importance is given to the (re)contextualization of the manuscripts in their archaeological and topographical settings and one of its main goals is the creation of an *Archaeological Atlas of the Coptic Literature,* where places becomes a crucial resource. The purpose of my contribution is to present some case of studies to understand the importance of this tool in the study of population dynamics. The examples discussed here will focus on the archaeological evidence of the Eastern Delta, which, although lacking manuscripts, can still represent an important tassel for the reconstruction of the Egyptian landscape in late antique and early mediaeval era.

Keywords

Eastern Nile Delta; late antique period; settlement dynamics; archaeology; settlements.

Archaeology has often played a minor role in the study and reconstruction of the historical, religious, social and economic contexts of late antique and mediaeval Egypt. As known, most of the archaeological investigations carried out in the country since the late nineteen century focused on the most monumental remains of the pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Moreover, the bulk of manuscripts, both papyri and parchments, preserved by the Egyptian dry climate, inevitably led historians to pay less attention to other types of evidence for the study of the society, economy, and institutions. Only recently, the importance of investigating and documenting all the phases of the life of a site, to better understand the settlement dynamics, as well as the significance of the archaeological context and the artefactual nature of the manuscripts themselves was understood.[1]

The 'PAThs' project was started and developed in perfect harmony with this synergistic and multidisciplinary approach.[2] The re-contextualisation of the texts in their original context and the creation of the *Archaeological Atlas of the Coptic Literature*[3] may provide greater awareness of the historical and cultural environment in which the literary works were created.

In this paper, I will show some examples of 'Places' registered in the database from the Eastern Delta area in order to better understand the value of the *Atlas* for the study of population dynamics. The 'PAThs' places-entries is the result of a team effort: the work for the definition and compilation of the sites' data-

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it.

1 This is a much-debated topic and in recent years the interest and the attention to the study of late antique Egyptian archaeology increased above all in the fieldwork. See O'Connell 2014a, and in particular O'Connell 2014b with previous references; Papaconstantinou 2012, 196-197; Brooks Hedstrom 2019.

2 Buzi *et al.* 2017. For updated references see http://paths.uniroma1.it/.

3 See Bogdani 2017 and the article of Julian Bogdani in this volume.

base was shared with Angelo Colonna.[4] I would like to point out that this part has not yet been completely investigated and recorded and therefore the examples and the observations that follow will not claim to be a full dissertation on this topic, but only a tool to highlight some issues and stimulate a debate.

1. *The Eastern Delta*

The studied area is the eastern part of the Nile Delta, between the Damietta branch of the Nile river and the Suez Canal, and includes different ancient Egyptian *nomoi*.[5] The area is characterised by a moderately elevated plateau that slopes gently towards the Lake Manzala (Buḥayrat Al-Manzilah) and the Mediterranean Sea, and the landscape main features are agricultural fields, urban settlements, water canals, lagoons and marshlands.[6]

During the late antique period, the Delta was one of the most densely populated areas in Egypt:[7] it played a fundamental role in the ancient Egyptian economy thanks to its agricultural production; its strategic position put it at the centre of a dense network of relations with the Near East and the Mediterranean coasts. Unfortunately, due to the environmental conditions, the reconstruction of the population dynamics and urban networks is possible almost only through archaeological evidence, because papyri and other organic materials are not as well preserved as those found in the Nile Valley and oases, with rare exceptions.[8] However, the conservation of ancient monuments has been deeply affected by the instability of the alluvial soil forming the Delta, by the humid climate, and, finally, by the density and continuity of human settlement over time. Today, the remains of these majestic towns and villages are preserved in small plots of land, usually located within the modern cities or in the middle of cultivated fields.

2. *The* metropoleis

In order to analyse the settlement patterns and features, I shall start from the main cities of the area, i.e. the *metropoleis*, the capitals of the *nomoi* (Fig. 1). All of them[9] were founded during the early pharaonic period and became influential and powerful cities during the Ptolemaic and Roman era, when they were enlarged and embellished with buildings in Graeco-Roman style. From the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century CE, the government of Egypt was subjected to several administrative reforms[10] that, together with a monetary crisis, would cause the cities to gradually lose their primacy over other larger towns of their territories.[11] Their status was eroded, former public lands were transferred to private ownership and non-agricultural activities migrated from the cities to larger towns, while some rural and agricultural functions gradually moved into urban areas.[12]

Despite the crisis of the cities, they were still very important during the late antique and early mediaeval periods, as centres of secular and ecclesiastical power. The settlement patterns and the urban layouts

---

4 For more details, see the contribution of Angelo Colonna in this volume.

5 In total the *nomoi* considered are nine: Heroopolites, Athribites, Leontopolites, Sethroites, Mendesios, Diospolites Kato, Boubastites, Tanites and Arabia. Unfortunately, the exact number of *nomoi* and their territorial extension remain difficult to define due to the continuous changes that occurred during the Roman and the late antique period and to the lack of reliable data (Bagnall 1993, 19; Bagnall - Frier 2006, 55; Kruse 2019).

6 Pennington *et al.* 2017.

7 Wilson 2014, 44, with previous bibliographic references.

8 Some papyri were preserved in the ancient cities of Tanis and Thmuis because they were subjected to combustion (Turner 2002, 62).

9 For a concise description of these capitals during the previous periods, see in the 'PAThs' *Atlas* database: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places the former phases of the cities: Athribis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/8, Tanis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/12, Herakleopolis Mikra: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/41, Heroonpolis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/6, Thmuis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/35, Diospolis Mikra: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/22, Leontopolis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/9, Phakoussa: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/44, Bubastis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/15.

10 See lastly Kruse 2019, with previous bibliographic references.

11 See Bagnall 1993, 62-92; Bagnall 2005; Alston 2002, 366-367; van Minnen 2007; Papaconstantinou 2012; Kruse 2019.

12 Keenan 2003; Bagnall 2005.

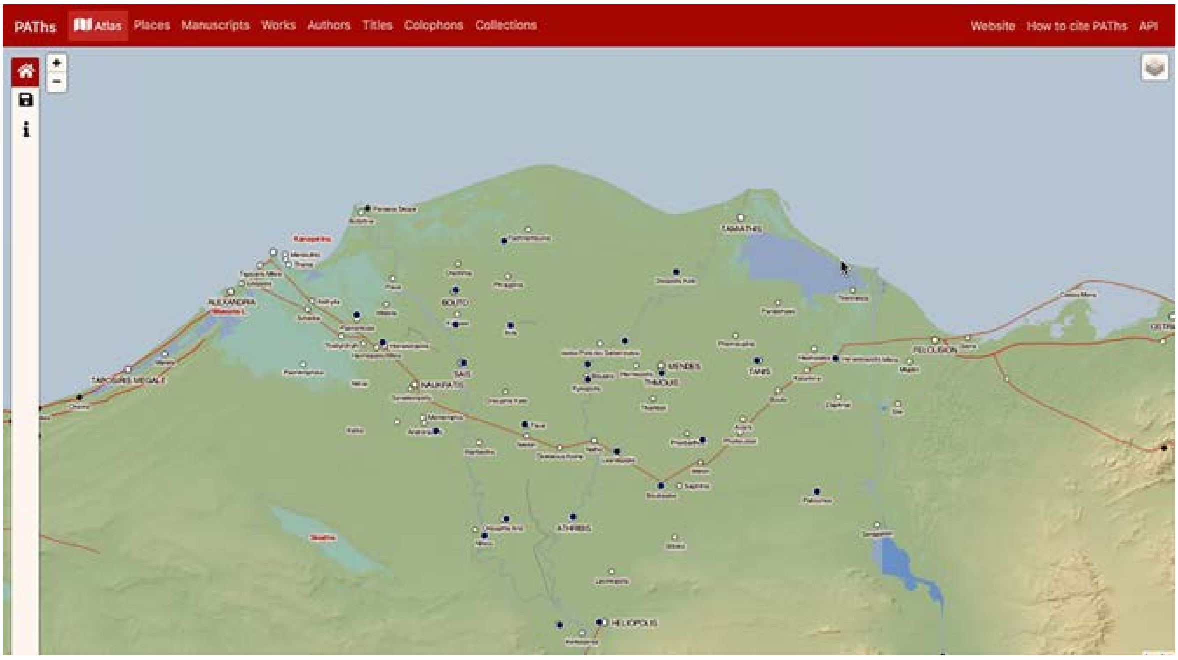


Fig. 1. The Delta *metropoleis* (black dots) according to a search in the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*.

were re-adapted to these new circumstances, in order to accommodate new institutions. The *metropoleis* decreased in size compared to the previous periods and entire quarters were abandoned. The streets and the public buildings still in use were repaired, while the public buildings that had lost their function were sold or became quarries for building materials.[13]

These important cities saw the establishment of episcopal sees at an early stage and in the centre of the renewed public space, previously occupied by the main temple, officially decommissioned at the beginning of the fifth century CE, new edifices were built: churches.[14] In many cases, monastic communities probably settled within the urban network in areas no longer inhabited, such as abandoned dwellings or temples no longer in use[15].

An example of this renovation in the Eastern Delta could be that of Athribis (Fig. 2), the capital of the Athribites *nomos*, which was partially investigated.[16] The ancient site of Athribis, Tell el-Atrib, is located in the southern part of the Delta, 50 km north of Cairo, in the suburbs of the modern-day city of Benha (ancient Panaho). The city was already settled probably during the Old Kingdom, according to written sources, and it continued to be occupied without interruption until at least the eighth century CE, as suggested by numismatic evidence. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, during the fourth century CE the city became one of the four greatest centres in Egypt and one of the largest settlements with a prominent position in the Mediterranean. It became the seat of a bishop even before 325, as attested by the Coptic *Martyrdom of Shenufe* (CC 0302) that mentions Bishop Plasse.[17]

Modern archaeological investigations were carried out in the northern part of the city by a Polish mission, that, in different years, excavated two main areas: one, named Kom A,[18] north of the ancient Athribis, and the other to the north-east, at Kom Sidi Yussūf.[19] The rest of the town monuments is now under the modern Benha, however thanks to travellers reports it is possible to reconstruct the layout of the city. Athribis was organized with two main roads, *cardus* and *decumanus*, meeting at a right-angle, where a

13 Bagnall 1993, 47; van Minnen 2007, 211-212.
14 Wipszycka 1996, 140; Wipszycka 2007; van Minnen 2007, 212.
15 Wipszycka 1996, 281-336; Wipszycka 2009, 218-225.
16 Athribis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/8; Leclère 2008, 233-278, with previous bibliography.
17 Seeliger - Krumeich 2007, 60-62.
18 Michałowski 1962; Michałowski 1964a; Michałowski 1964b.
19 Myśliwiec - Sztetyłło 2000.

Fig. 2. The city of Athribis from Google maps, adapted from Wilson 2012, fig. 9.5.

monumental tetrapylon was built under the reign of the imperator Valens.[20] The monument is probably attested by the *Passio Anub* (CC 0257) as well, which referred to it as the place where Christians were judged.[21] The oldest part of the city was located near the bank of the Nile, where pharaonic temples, along with a supposed harbour, quays and markets were established; these structures were probably not in-use anymore during the Late Antiquity.

In the city, while many of the classical buildings were abandoned or partially re-used, numerous churches and chapels were built. Some of them were archaeologically recorded: for example, the remains of an apsidal structure were found in Kom Sidi Yussūf[22]. In a rubble dump (trench D), fragments of architectural elements, interior decorations and liturgical furnishings were uncovered mixed with a thick ash layer. Thanks to Tomasz Górecki's accurate analysis of the findings, it is possible to discuss some features of the church. The sacred building was embellished with marble columns with Corinthian capitals, partially or entirely gilded, decorated pilasters, high-quality mosaics and floor tiles. Moreover, the sanctuary must have been decorated with chancel barrier whose reconstruction made it possible to estimate a width of the aisle of at least 7 m, or perhaps even 11-12 m. Fragments of different altar-*mensae* and a few dozen bronze chandeliers represent only a small portion of the original sacred furniture. According to the archaeological materials, although lacking, it is possible to hypothesise that the church was erected as early as the end of the fifth century, modified at least once, and destroyed, probably by fire, between the seventh and ninth centuries CE.

In 1938, Alan Rowe discovered the remains of an important building in the centre of the city, which was made of granite columns, capitals with acanthus leaves, bases of columns, fragments of marble and an altar. This building was interpreted by Pascal Vernus as another Byzantine church.[23]

20 Rowe 1938.
21 Amélineau 1893, 66.
22 Górecki 2017.
23 Vernus 1978, xi.

Other worship buildings are attested by travellers: the magnificent church dedicated to the Holy Mary was one the most important. It was described in an account of the miracle of the Virgin: 'Dans cette ville était une église au nom de la Vierge avec quatre portes et quatre piliers. Entre chaque pilier, il y avait 40 coudées d'intervalle, ce qui donnait une longueur de plus de 80 mètres à l'église entière. Elle était tout entière bâtie de pierres et ne comprenait pas moins de 160 colonnes. Le sanctuaire et l›autel étaient sculptés, ornés d'or et d'argent. Il y avait en outre une image de la Vierge incrustée de pierreries, revêtue d'une robe de soie, provenant de Constantin, avec des portraits de Michel, de Gabriel et des autres anges. Des chandeliers d'or et d'argent y étaient continuellement allumés'.[24]

Al-Maqrizi, in addition to the holy Mary church, reported the existence of a monastery: 'The monastery of Athrib, also called by the name of the Lady Mary [etc…]. I remark that this monastery has been destroyed so that only three monks are left on that festival; the monastery lies on the bank of the Nile, near Benha al Asal'.[25] Most likely, the urban monastery was located near the ancient abandoned buildings immediately outside the city of Athribis.

The Polish Expedition brought to light different buildings, both private and public:[26] at Kom A they investigated a district with a complex for the production of building material (limekilns and brick-kilns), in use at least until the Byzantine period. Brick-fired foundations of a vast architectural complex were unearthed south-west of this sector, probably belonging to one, or more, public buildings. The building was connected to a thermal installation dating from the end of the first century BCE and renovated several times until the mediaeval era, when a thick cement floor and mosaics were added. Unfortunately, nowadays this ancient spectacular complex is very badly preserved.

At Kom Sidi Yussūf, an entire district was excavated, uncovering a Byzantine 'villa' with associated workshops, a baths complex, dated between the fourth and fifth centuries CE, and different houses.[27] These private buildings, redesigned several times and used at least until the fifth century, were made of mudbricks and sit in a maze of narrow streets and alleys, often occupying the public space. Each quarter was divided by paths that could rapidly change due to the construction of new houses or obstructions with other elements. The villa presented an imposing entrance with an *impluvium*, the walls were decorated with frescos with veined marble and florals motifs. The complex was also equipped with its own bathhouse, a winery, a brewery, kitchens, an open courtyard, different rooms and servants' quarters. Considering the position, at the edge of the city boundary, and the extension of the villa (dated between the second and the fifth-sixth centuries CE) it is possible to assume that it was the residence of a rich family of landowners.

The city of Athribis is one of the few *metropoleis* in the Eastern Delta that has yielded so many findings for the late antique and mediaeval era, unfortunately, most of the other capitals of *nomoi* did not. In many cases, only sporadic remains of the late antique occupation were left, e.g. for the settlements of Thmuis-Mendes[28].

These two ancient cities, the modern Tell-Timai and Tell el-Rub'a, were located at least 500 m apart and 15 km south-east of al-Manṣūra. Mendes, already founded in the pre-dynastic period, was the capital of the *nomos* until at least the Ptolemaic period, after the second century BCE, when the Mendesian branch of the Nile weakened and moved eastward, closer to Tell Timai. From then on, while Mendes declined, Thmuis became an important economic centre and the new capital of the Mendesios nome.[29]

Although the written sources confirm that Tell Timai was one of the oldest episcopal sees in Egypt, with more than 3,560 houses and several public buildings,[30] only sporadic traces of the late antique occupation were found, consisting mainly of pottery and coins dated between the fourth and the eighth centuries CE. Recently, a cemetery was discovered: 'Finally, built upon the denuded western enclosure wall [of the Late Ptolemaic Temple] was a Late Roman mud brick burial monument with several preserved burials, including child amphora burials. The evidence from the burials would suggest they were Coptic'.[31]

24 Amélineau 1893, 67-68.

25 Vernus 1978, xiii.

26 Michałowski 1962; Michałowski 1964b; Michałowski 1964a; Leclère 2008, 260.

27 Myśliwiec - Sztetyłło 2000; Leclère 2008, 261; Wilson 2012, 146-147.

28 Tmuis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/35; Mendes: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/329. Leclère 2008, 313-361.

29 Blouin 2010; Blouin 2014.

30 Alston 2002, 331-332.

31 Winter 2017 season, [https://www.ees.ac.uk/timai].

Fig. 3. The city of Leontopolis (Tell el-Moqdam) from *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*, on the background a satellite image from Google maps.

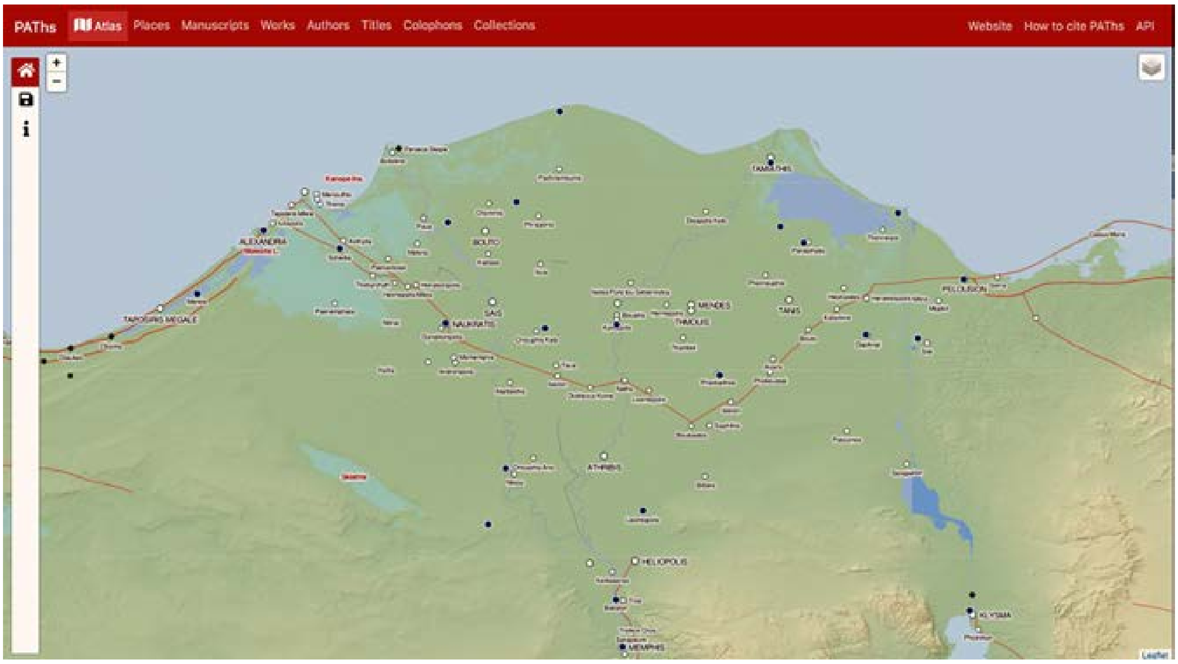


Fig. 4. The third-rank towns were a bishopric was present according to a search in *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*.

At the same time, the twin-city of Mendes was not completely abandoned; indeed, during the last investigations in the main temple, carried out by Pennsylvania State University, coins dated back to sixth century CE and different late antique potteries were found.[32] According to Lisa Giddy, 'in Christian period the area saw limited re-occupation, perhaps by hermits'.[33] Donald Redford hypothesised that by the fourth century CE some of the older temples of the city had been turned into churches.

32 DANERI RODRIGO 2009; HOLT 2009; REDFORD 2009.

33 GIDDY 2001.

For many other *metropoleis* the archaeological context is much more compromised: an emblematic case is Tell el-Moqdam (Fig. 3), the ancient city of Leontopolis, capital of Leontopolites *nomos* and episcopal seat.[34] It is located in the central Nile Delta, 80 km north-east of Cairo. The archaeological site is badly preserved: not only it was almost destroyed by *sebakhin* and modern agriculture but was recently also transformed into a huge illegal dump. To make matters worse, in the north-western part, a modern lake is in the process of being filled, submerging the ancient buildings. Although surface materials are dated at least to the seventh century CE, there are no structures from the late antique period. Based on the Rifaud excavation of the central tell (in 1823), it is likely that some mud-brick structures (towers?), dated back to the ninth century CE, were still preserved at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is also possible that a church was located south of the lake, in the Roman sector.

3. *The other settlements, villages and hamlets*

Beside the main cities, the rural landscape consisted of a myriad of villages and hamlets. Already in Roman times, it was possible to distinguish between large villages (or third-rank settlements) and small rural hamlets.[35] These large towns had been founded at least in the Ptolemaic period, if not in the pharaonic era, and differed from the others due to the presence of many facilities, monuments and institutions. In the Late Antiquity, some of these rural sites were abandoned while others became more important, thanks to new wealth coming from craft specialization and from large estates owned by families that projected towards the countryside.[36] These sites became so important that in many cases they could boast, together with civil institutions, an episcopal seat (Fig. 4). This is a phenomenon that characterised the Delta, i.e. the creation of bishoprics in towns other than the *metropoleis*, that could change and rapidly move from one town to another.[37] Towns layouts presented different buildings, both private and public, like baths, granaries, dovecotes, workshops and obviously, churches that, especially after the fourth century CE, were built numerous all over the country.[38] The houses were usually made in mudbricks, forming irregular quarters, due to the construction of new buildings or other structures that occupied the former public space.

A series of small villages and hamlets gravitated around these large settlements and depended on them from both a political and economic standpoint. Several churches and chapels were probably built in mudbricks as well.[39] Many of these little hamlets were partially abandoned, probably during the late antique period, in favour of the *metropoleis* or of the third-rank villages. It is worth noting that the abandoned settlements and villages could become the perfect place for members of ascetic communities, searching for desert and solitary places.[40]

Some of these third-rank villages could be Leontopolis (the modern Tall al-Yahūdiyyah) in the Heliopolites *nomos*, Daphnai (the modern Tall Dafānnah) in the Sethroites *nomos*, Pharbaithos (the modern Farbīṭ) in the Tanites *nomos* or Panephysis (modern al-Manzalah) in the Mendesios *nomos.*[41] Despite written sources attesting the importance of these sites as bishopric, no late antique evidence was ever found. Recently, many other rural settlements or towns have been recorded in the region, thanks to the Delta Survey Project of the Egypt Exploration Society.[42] Due to this important work, it was possible to identify

34 Leontopolis according to 'PAThs' *Atlas* database: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/9 and to EES Delta survey Project https://www.ees.ac.uk/moqdam66; see also Redmount - Friedman 1995; Morgenstein - Redmount 1998; Redmount 2012, with previous references.

35 For the so-called third-rank villages see Mueller 2006, 100; Davoli 2011, 70.

36 Bagnall 1993, 62-92, Bagnall 2005; Alston 2002, 366-367; Keenan 2007.

37 Wipszycka 1996, 142.

38 Wipszycka 2007, 333.

39 Wipszycka 2007, 333.

40 This phenomenon is witnessed by John Cassian for some places around Lake Manzalah (Blouin 2019).

41 It is likely that the last two sites became for a brief period during Roman times *metropoleis* of their own *nomos*, respectively Pharbaitic and Nesyt (Blouin 2019, p.52). See also in PAThs *Atlas* database Leontopolis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/328, Daphnai: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/135, Pharbaithos: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/43, Panephysis: http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/48.

42 https://www.ees.ac.uk/delta-survey.

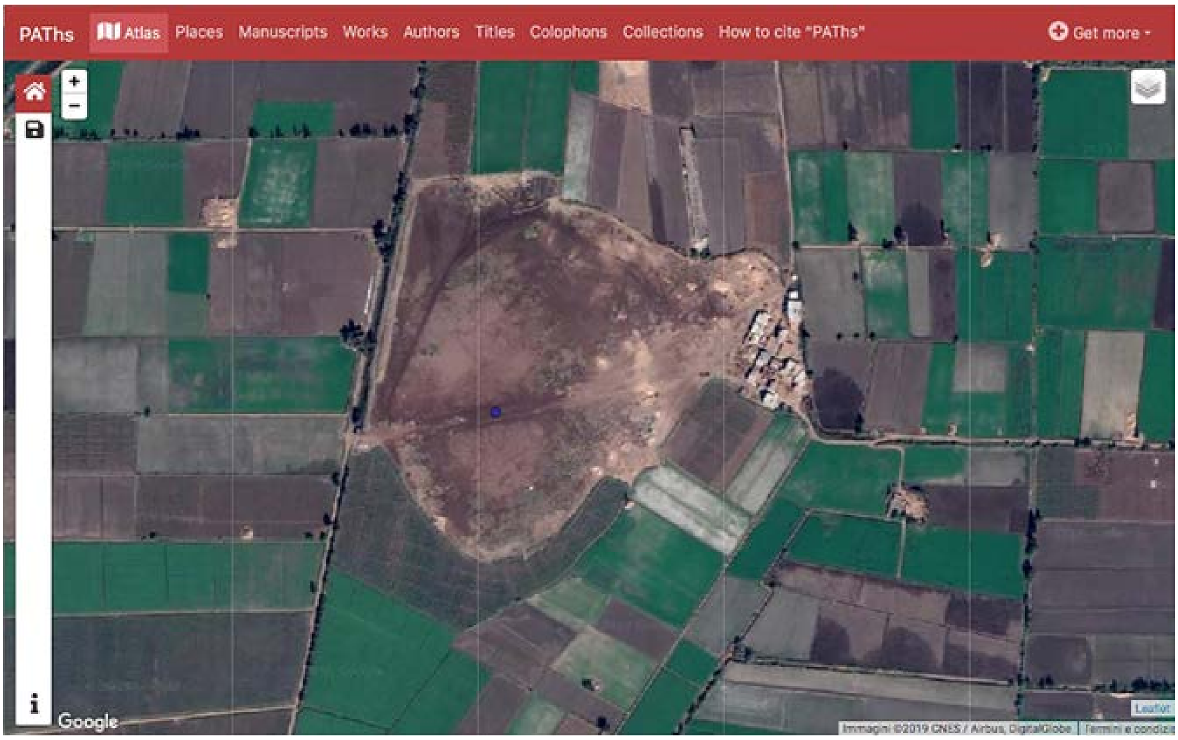


Fig. 5. The city of Kom Yetwal wa Yuksur form *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*, on the background a satellite image from Google maps.

several centres that seem to have a continuity of life until at least the seventh-eighth centuries CE, thanks to the remains of buildings made with techniques and types of materials dated to this period and, above all, to the widespread presence of late antique and Islamic potteries.

At Tell Burashiya,[43] for example, an archaeological campaign carried out in 1996 revealed late roman mudbrick and fired-brick buildings, including a large bathhouse with fired-brick wells and conduits, plus some drains of jointed amphorae. The walls of large square buildings were visible in the southern part of the mound. During the Patricia and Jeffrey Spencer survey in 1997, some pottery sherds of late Roman, Coptic and early Islamic periods were examined. Nowadays, the site is used as a modern cemetery, which started from the NW corner and spread to cover the whole mound.

Another example is Kom Yetwal wa Yuksur (Fig. 5).[44] Its surface was covered with different granite blocks lying on the mound, large quantities of potteries, fragments of corroded bronze, glass fragments and fired bricks. After a magnetometry campaign, which identified large rectangular buildings, the site was explored with a few trenches. These structures included at least three rectangular buildings, with thick walls, that were interpreted as administrative buildings or some other kind of official structures. The examined ceramics dated from the Late Roman period onward, some fragments of red-slipped wares dated around the fifth century were occasionally decorated with Christian motifs. In light of the clear late antique occupation of the site, the granite blocks were probably used in the construction of a church.

Unfortunately, since we do not know the ancient name of these sites, we cannot, at the moment, understand the exact importance of these settlements and therefore their rank. However, based on the finds, the bath complex and the probable church made of valuable materials, these sites could be third-rank ones.

---

43 https://www.ees.ac.uk/burashiya320; 'PAThs' *Atlas* database http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/350.

44 https://www.ees.ac.uk/yetwalwayuksur307; http://paths.uniroma1.it/atlas/places/351; Spencer 2016.

4. *Conclusions*

This is only a limited sample of what remains of the many cities, villages and hamlets that populated the ancient landscape of the Eastern Delta. As already demonstrated, their archaeological context is highly varied: from large cities attested by both archaeological findings and written sources, to places identified only through texts, where nothing remains from the late antique period onward, to sites where late antique remains were found but whose ancient toponyms are not known, making it impossible to find attestations in the textual evidence.

All these data, although scarce, are important tassels that can, and must, contribute to the reconstruction of the ancient landscape. For example, archaeological evidence seems to confirm a decrease of inhabited spaces in the *metropoleis* and the continuous reuse of buildings of the previous phases, as written sources showed. Instead, the third-rank villages seem to maintain more or less the same layout,[45] even if they increased their wealth and became the seat of a bishop. Some structures made of finer materials than mudbrick were probably built thanks to the evergetism of rich landowners.

Unfortunately, a better understanding of the settlement dynamics of this area for the late antique era has not been reached yet, however, persevering in the study of the written sources together with the archaeological finds could bring positive results. This is the only possible way to understand the institutional, economic and administrative networks that connected settlements, villages and hamlets into a system and to provide a framework for the Coptic literary tradition.

Therefore, the *Archaeological Atlas of the Coptic Literature* can become an efficient tool even in this type of studies. Obviously, due to its nature, particular attention will be payed to religious archaeology (bishoprics, pilgrimage centres and monastic settlements), but all other kinds of archaeological evidence will not be neglected.

References

Alston 2002 = R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London - New York, 2002.

Amélineau 1893 = É. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris, 1893.

Bagnall 1993 = R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993.

Bagnall 2005 = R.S. Bagnall, "Village and City: Geographies of Power in Byzantine Egypt", in J. Lefort - C. Morrisson - J.-P. Sodini (eds.), *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin* (*IVe - XVe siècle*), Paris, 2005, pp. 553-565, http://archive.nyu.edu/handle/2451/28279 (Accessed 17 September 2019).

Bagnall - Frier 2006 = R.S. Bagnall - B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge, 2006.

Blouin 2010 = K. Blouin, "Toponymie et cartographie du nome mendésien à l'époque romaine", in T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology*, Ann Arbor, 2010, pp. 85-96.

Blouin 2014 = K. Blouin, *Triangular Landscapes: Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule*, New York, 2014.

Blouin 2019 = K. Blouin, "God Is in the Marshes: Late-Antique Asceticism and the Northeastern Nile Delta", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies*, 11, 2019, pp. 45-64.

Bogdani 2017 = J. Bogdani, "The archaeological atlas of Coptic literature. A question of method", *Vicino Oriente*, 21, 2017, pp. 59-69.

Brooks Hedstrom 2019 = D. Brooks Hedstrom, "Archaeology of Early Christianity in Egypt", in W.R. Caraher - T.W. Davis - D.K. Pettegrew (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Archaeology*, New York, 2019, pp. 665-684.

Buzi *et al.* (2017) = P. Buzi - J. Bogdani - N. Carlig - M. C. Giorda - A. Soldati, "'Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths': A New International Project on Coptic Literature", *Rivista del Museo Egizio*, 1, http://dx.doi.org/10.29353/rime.2017.656 (Accessed 3 September 2019), 2017.

Daneri Rodrigo 2009 = A. Daneri Rodrigo, "Two Late Roman Amphorae from Mendes", in D. Redford (ed.), *Delta Reports. Research in Lower Egypt,* Volume 1, Oxford, 2009.

45 Coptic materials, when they exist, are found in the same area with those of the previous phases.

Davoli 2011 = P. Davoli, "Reflections on Urbanism in Graeco-Roman Egypt: A Historical and Regional Perspective", in E. Subías - P. Azara - J Carruesco - I. Fiz - R. Cuesta (eds.), *The Space of the City in Graeco-Roman Egypt Image and Reality*, Tarragona, 2011, pp. 69-92.

Giddy 2001 = L. Giddy, "Digging Diary 2000', *Egyptian Archaeology,* 18, 2001, p. 28.

Górecki 2017 = T. Górecki, "Remnants of Byzantine Chruch at Athribis", in G. Gabra, - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt: Beni Suef, Giza, Cairo, and the Nile Delta*, Cairo, 2017, pp. 239-252.

Holt 2009 = F. Holt, "Numismatic Report", in D. Redford (ed.), *Delta Reports. Research in Lower Egypt,* Volume 1, Oxford, 2009, pp. 59-63.

Keenan 2003 = J.G. Keenan, "Desert Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyūm", *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologist*, 40, 2003, pp. 119-129.

Keenan 2007 = J.G. Keenan, "Byzantine Egyptian villages", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*. Cambridge, 2007, pp. 226-243.

Kruse 2019 = T. Kruse, "The Branches of Roman and Byzantine Government and the Role of Cities, the Church, and Elite Groups", in K. Vandorpe (ed.), *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, Hoboken, 2019, pp. 119-138.

Leclère 2008 = F. Leclère, *Les villes de Basse Égypte au Ier millénaire av. J.-C. Analyse archéologique et historique de la topographie urbaine*, Le Caire, 2008.

Michałowski 1962 = K. Michałowski, "Fouilles polonaises à Tell Atrib en 1960", *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, 57, 1962, pp. 68-77.

Michałowski 1964a = K. Michałowski, "Les fouilles polonaises à Tell Atrib (Saison 1961)", *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, 58, 1964, pp. 235-244.

Michałowski 1964b = K. Michałowski, "Sixièe campagne de fouilles à Tell Atrib (Saison 1962)", *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, 58, 1964, pp. 245-254.

Morgenstein - Redmount 1998 = M.E. Morgenstein - C.A. Redmount, "Mudbrick Typology, Sources, and Sedimentological Composition: A Case Study from Tell el-Muqdam, Egyptian Delta", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 35, 1998, pp. 129-146.

Mueller 2006 = K. Mueller, *Settlements of Ptolemies. City Foundations and New Settlement in Hellenistic World*, Leuven, 2006.

Myśliwiec - Sztetyłło 2000 = K. Myśliwiec - Z. Sztetyłło, *Tell Atrib 1985-1995. Pottery stamps, rescue excavations*, Warsaw, 2000.

O'Connell 2014a = E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD. Perspectives from New Fieldwork*, Leuven - Paris -Walpole, Ma, 2014.

O'Connell 2014b = E.R. O'Connell, "Settlements and Cemeteries in Late Antique Egypt: An Introduction", in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD. Perspectives from new fieldwork*, Leuven - Paris -Walpole, Ma, 2014, pp. 1-20.

Papaconstantinou 2012 = A. Papaconstantinou, "Egypt", in S.F. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 195-223.

Pennington - Sturt - Wilson - Rowland - Brown 2017 = B. T. Pennington - F. Sturt - P. Wilson - J. Rowland - A.G. Brown, "The Fluvial Evolution of the Holocene Nile Delta", *Quaternary Science Reviews*, 170, 2017, pp. 212-231.

Redford 2009 = D. Redford, "An Interim Report on the Temple of the Ram-God at Mendes", in D. Redford (ed.), *Delta Reports. Research in Lower Egypt,* Volume 1, Oxford, 2009.

Redmount 2012 = C. A. Redmount, "Leontopolis", in R.S. Bagnall - K. Brodersen - C.B. Champion - A. Erskine - S.R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, I-XIII, Malden, MA, 2012, VII https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah15240 (accessed 15 November 2018).

Redmount - Friedman (1995) = C.A. Redmount - R.F. Friedman, "Tales of a Delta Site: the 1995 field season at Tell el-Muqdam", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 34, 1995, pp. 57-83.

Rowe 1938 = A. Rowe, "Short report on excavations of the Institute of Archaeology of Liverpool at Athribis", *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, 38, 1938, pp. 522-532.

Seeliger - Krumeich 2007 = H.R. Seeliger - K. Krumeich, *Archäologie der antiken Bischofssitze I: Spätantike Bischofssitze Ägyptens*, Wiesbaden, 2007.

Spencer 2016 = J. Spencer, *The Delta Survey, 2009-2015*, London, 2016.

Turner 2002 = E.G. Turner, *I papiri greci*, translated by Manfredo Manfredi, Roma, 2002.
van Minnen 2007 = P. van Minnen, "The Other Cities in Later Roman Egypt", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 207-225.
Vernus 1978 = P. Vernus, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes et a l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharanoique*, Le Caire, 1978.
Wilson 2012 = P. Wilson, "Archaeology in the Delta", in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 136-151.
Wilson 2014 = P. Wilson, "Living the High Life: Late Antique Archaeology in the Delta", in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD. Perspectives from new fieldwork*, Leuven - Paris - Walpole, Ma, 2014, pp. 43-58.
Wipszycka 1996 = E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Roma, 1996.
Wipszycka 2007 = E. Wipszycka, "The Institutional Church" in R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700.*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 331-349.
Wipszycka 2009 = E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastique en Égypte* (*VIe-VIIIe siècles*), Warsaw, 2009.

Gaining Perspective into the Materiality of Manuscripts: The Contribution of Archaeometry to the Study of the Inks of the White Monastery Codices

Tea Ghigo - Universität Hamburg - Sapienza Università di Roma - BAM, Berlin*

Ira Rabin - BAM, Berlin - Universität Hamburg

Abstract
An interdisciplinary approach to the study of manuscript traditions is here applied to the analysis of the leaves from the White Monastery, one of the greatest centres of literary production in Late Antique Egypt. In the framework of the 'PAThs' project, archaeometric analyses complement the information pieced together by a range of disciplines in the field of humanities. The use of different complementary analytical techniques provides information on the type of ink used and its elemental composition, unveiling interesting details regarding the materials and methodology of manufacturing of writing media. Moreover, this contribution takes a step forward and discusses the possible existence of a regional arrangement in the elemental composition revealed in the inks studied.

Keywords
archaeometry, ink analysis, interdisciplinary approach, Coptic studies, manuscript making.

1. *Introduction*

In November 2017 the CSMC (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg), the BAM (Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung, Berlin), and the ERC Advanced grant project 'PAThs', based at Sapienza University of Rome, started an interdisciplinary project aimed at bringing new insights into the material study of manuscripts.[1] This collaboration is based on a dedicated PhD project, that addresses primarily the archaeometric analysis of writing materials in Coptic Egypt. The main purpose is to collect data on a statistically relevant number of manuscripts, trying to reconstruct the technological evolution of black inks and coloured pigments, while giving support to palaeography and codicology.[2] It is in this frame-

* Tea Ghigo performed the analytical campaigns, evaluated the data collected and prepared the manuscript. Ira Rabin provided feedback during the data evaluation and revised the manuscript. The research presented in this article has been funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 Programme, with an ERC Advanced Grant 2015 destined to support the project "Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context: Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage", project no. 687567, P.I. Paola Buzi, http://paths.uniroma1.it. This work was carried out in cooperation with the SFB 950 "Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa" funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and within the scope of the Centre for the study of manuscript Cultures (CSMC). We would like to acknowledge the help of the personnel of the libraries who permitted our access and supported our work. Our special thanks go to the staff of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, in particular to Christoph Rauch, Melitta Multani and Nicole Fürtig. Warm thanks are also due to Paolo Vian, Delio Vania Proverbio, Irma Schuler, Angela Nuñez and the staff of the conservation laboratory at the Apostolic Vatican Library. Special thanks also to the staff of the Cambridge University Library, in particular to Ben Outhwaite, Anna Johnson, Maciej Pawlikowski and our Olivier Bonnerot, for dedicating his time to perform the analysis on *Or.* 1699 ff. M1-M2 in this collection. We are deeply indebted to our colleagues Oliver Hahn, Zina Cohen and Simon Steger from the BAM, and especially thankful to Francesco Valerio and Paola Buzi, who supported this work from the very beginning, providing crucial information and fostering new interdisciplinary dialogue.

1 Ghigo *et al.* 2018.

2 The corpus of manuscripts to examine is in constant development in accordance with the results obtained during the work. So far, we have analysed texts from six different collections. Among the papyrus collections, we examined some fragments from the 'Bodmer Library' and some codices from the library of the cathedral of Thi(ni)s (Ghigo - Rabin - Buzi 2020; Ghigo - Torallas in this volume). Among the parchment collections, we examined the codices from the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah, the heterogeneous Michaelides collection preserved at the Cambridge University Library, the parchment codices from the Monastery of Saint Macarius (Ghigo - Rabin 2019), and those from the library of the White Monastery presented in this work.

work that the material analysis of the inks used on the leaves from the library of the White Monastery has been developed.

The White Monastery, or better the confederation of monasteries that it coordinated, became one of the most relevant focal points of Coptic literary production under the strenuous guidance of Shenoute (ca. 350-465/66 CE), who himself became the most prolific Coptic writer.[3] What remains of the library, however, dates back for the most part to a much later period, between the ninth-eleventh centuries CE, although a nucleus of earlier papyrus and parchment manuscripts might have survived.[4] The codices from this ancient collection were often divided up while circulating the antiquity market. For this reason, their leaves are nowadays to be found in several European and non-European collections. [5]

The parchment leaves examined within the research described here date back to the tenth-eleventh centuries, and most of them are preserved at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, as part of a set of fragments bought in 1887. This purchase included 69 leaves, which, once at the Staatsbibliothek, were bound in eleven modern volumes.[6] At the Staatsbibliothek we examined 25 parchment leaves originally belonging to 17 different codicological units. In addition, we also analysed 5 parchment leaves originally divided in 3 codicological units forming part of the Borgian collection at the Apostolic Vatican Library. These were brought to Europe on the initiative of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who acquired them in 1778.[7] Finally, we examined 2 leaves from a single codicological unit now preserved at the Cambridge University Library which, according to Catherine Louis, belong to a codex from the White Monastery.[8]

Table 1 lists the shelfmarks, number of folio and modern collection for each codicological unit examined. For sake of clarity, we added the CMCL sigla[9] and the 'PAThs' IDs (CLM numbers, in the latter case)[10] as a univocal way of determining a specific codicological unit, as it appears in the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*.

It is fundamental to remark that the codices that formed part of this library were not produced exclusively in the scriptorium of the White Monastery. Some of their colophons reveal that, as a gesture to save their souls, some donors commissioned manuscripts to a *scriptorium* in Touton,[11] in the Fayyūm, far away from the White Monastery in Sūhāǧ (Sohag). This seems to have been a professional *scriptorium* that spent part of the time producing codices to be donated to the White Monastery. Table 1 reports, where possible, the information available regarding the place of production of the leaves examined.

2. *Analytical protocol*

The analytical protocol applied on the leaves from the White Monastery consists of a primary screening to determine the type of the ink and a subsequent in-depth analysis using several spectroscopic techniques: X-ray Flourescence (XRF), Fourier Transformed Infrared Spectroscopy (FTIR), and Raman spectroscopy.[12] The primary screening is carried out by means of near-infrared reflectography. Strictly speaking, optical differences between carbon, plant and iron-gall inks are best recognized when comparing their response to the infrared light: carbon ink has a deep black colour, iron-gall ink becomes transparent above 1200 nm and plant ink disappears at ca. 750 nm.[13] We performed the analysis using a small USB microscope equipped with a NIR light at 940 nm, an UV light at 390 nm and an external white light source. Working at 940 nm we determined the ink typology, observing the changes in the opacity of the ink. Here, car-

3 Orlandi 2002; Buzi 2016.

4 Buzi 2014, 64.

5 On Shenoute's and the manuscripts of the White Monastery, see above all Emmel 2004.

6 Buzi 2014, 61-63.

7 Buzi 2009, 7-8; Louis forthcoming, 7.

8 Louis forthcoming, 365 (n. 919).

9 Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari (CMCL): www.cmcl.it.

10 'PAThs' – Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu. The *siglum* CLM stand for Coptic Literary Manuscripts.

11 Nakano 2006.

12 Rabin *et al.* 2012.

13 Mrusek - Fuchs - Oltrogge 1995.

Preservation place	Shelfmark	Folio(a)	CMCL	CLM	Production place
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1348	ff. 1-3	MONB.LN	502	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1350	f. 1	MONB.AB	264	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1350	f. 3	MONB.OO	576	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605	f. 1	MONB.IB	427	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605	f. 2	MONB.IE	430	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605	f. 3	MONB.NL	547	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605	f. 6	MONB.KH	476	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1606	f. 3	MONB.NT	555	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1607	ff. 1-2	MONB.DN	343	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1607	ff. 9-10	MONB.GC	400	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1608	f. 3	MONB.EZ	375	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1609	ff. 1-2	MONB.VG	3350	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1609	f. 3	MONB.AW	283	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1609	f. 4		1572	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1611	f. 1		1710	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1612	ff. 1-3	MONB.AR	278	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1613	f. 1	MONB.DQ	346	Unknown
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1614	f. 1	MONB.CR	325	Unknown
Apostolic Vatican Library	*Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.* 16, f. 57	f. 2	MONB.KM	480	Fayyūm (?)
Apostolic Vatican Library	*Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.* 26, f. 131	ff. 2-3	MONB.CE	314	Touton - Fayyūm
Apostolic Vatican Library	*Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.* 29, f. 166	ff. 1-2	MONB.NC	538	Fayyūm
Cambridge University Library	*Or.*1699	ff. M1-M2	MONB.LY	511	Touton – Fayyūm

Table 1. List of the leaves analysed. The information on the production place was extracted from the section 'Manuscripts' of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*: https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts (last accessed 13.02.2019). Further details are discussed in the following paragraphs.

bon-based inks show no change in their opacity, while the opacity of iron-gall inks changes considerably, and plant inks become transparent. The in-depth investigation includes micro-XRF analysis to detect the elemental composition of the ink. In the case of iron-gall inks we sometimes establish the so-called fingerprints, i.e. the characteristic ratios of the metallic elements contained in the ink.[14]

3. *Preliminary results*

We focused our analysis on both the black inks and the coloured pigments displayed in the leaves of the codices.

The XRF analysis of red, green and yellow pigments found on some of the leaves of this collection led to their identification, showing a palette composed of minium (Pb_3O_4) for the red-orange tones, orpiment (As_2S_3) or realgar (As_4S_4) for the yellow hues, and copper-based greens whose mineralogical composition was not possible to investigate further. These results were not surprising as these pigments occur in nature and are widely distributed. Furthermore, the use of arsenic-based pigments is documented in Egypt since Pharaonic times[15] while evidence of minium is recorded from the Greco-Roman period onwards.[16]

In contrast, interesting results were obtained while investigating the black inks. The examination using NIR reflectography revealed that the main body of the text, the titles and the colophons of all the leaves analysed were written using iron-gall ink. Furthermore, XRF analysis revealed a difference in their elemental composition. After comparing the data obtained from all the codicological units studied, we observed two different clusters: inks containing only iron (Fig. 1), and inks also containing copper and, in some cases, a little zinc (Fig. 2), as reported in Table 2.

14 Rabin *et al.* 2012.

15 Lee - Quirke 2000; Daniels - Leach 2004; Di Stefano - Fuchs 2011.

16 Ahmed Afifi 2011.

Preservation place	Shelfmark and folia	Elements detected		
		Fe	Cu	Zn
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1348	*	*	*
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1350, f. 1	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1350, f. 3	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 160, f. 1	*	*	
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605, f. 2	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605, f. 3	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1605, f. 6	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1606, f. 3	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1607, ff. 1-2	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1607, ff. 9-10	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1608, f. 3	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1609, ff. 1-2	*	*	*
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1609, f. 3	*	*	
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1609, f. 4	*	*	
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1611, f. 1	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1612, ff. 1-3	*		
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1613, f. 1	*	*	*
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	*Ms.or.fol.* 1614, f. 1	*	*	
Apostolic Vatican Library	*Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.*16.57, f. 2	*		
Apostolic Vatican Library	*Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.*26.131, ff.2-3	*		
Apostolic Vatican Library	*Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.*29.166, ff.1-2	*		
Cambridge University Library	*Or.*1699 ff. M1-M2	*		

Table 2. Elemental composition of the black inks from the codicological units studied.

A variety of mediaeval recipes mention the use of vitriol in the manufacturing of iron-gall inks. The term itself referring to a mixture of sulphates appeared during the late Middle Ages.[17] Vitriol has been commonly equated to the Greek term *chalcanton*, a copper-based substance often mentioned in ancient treatises.[18] According to Pliny, *chalcanton* could be obtained during Antiquity from crystallization of drain waters proceeding from mines containing sulphates,[19] and we can suppose that throughout history it could have been directly extracted from those mines as well. Either way, the resulting salt will most likely contain a mixture of different sulphates, typically iron, copper and zinc, as has been supported by the analysis of the inks of mediaeval European manuscripts.

The absence of a variety of metallic elements in the inks of some of the manuscripts from the White Monastery collection might be an indication that other materials, such as common iron nails or iron filings, were used instead of vitriol to prepare this type of iron-gall ink. Arabic recipes from the Middle Ages onwards corroborate this possibility.[20] Alternatively, vitriol may have been purified before being used in the preparation of the ink: the addition of solid iron to the vitriol solution to obtain pure iron sulphate is reported in literature.[21] In any case the two groups of inks revealed through elemental analysis reflect differences in the materials and methodology of manufacture of the inks.

Generally, we tend to assume that manuscripts belonging to the same collection show a certain degree of homogeneity in the materials used for the preparation of the ink. However, this is not the case for

17 KARPENKO - NORRIS 2002.

18 We must recognise, though, that to date we have no direct proof of the correspondence between *chalcanton* and vitriol before the early Middle Ages.

19 Pliny, 34.32.

20 COLINI forthcoming.

21 KARPENKO - NORRIS 2002

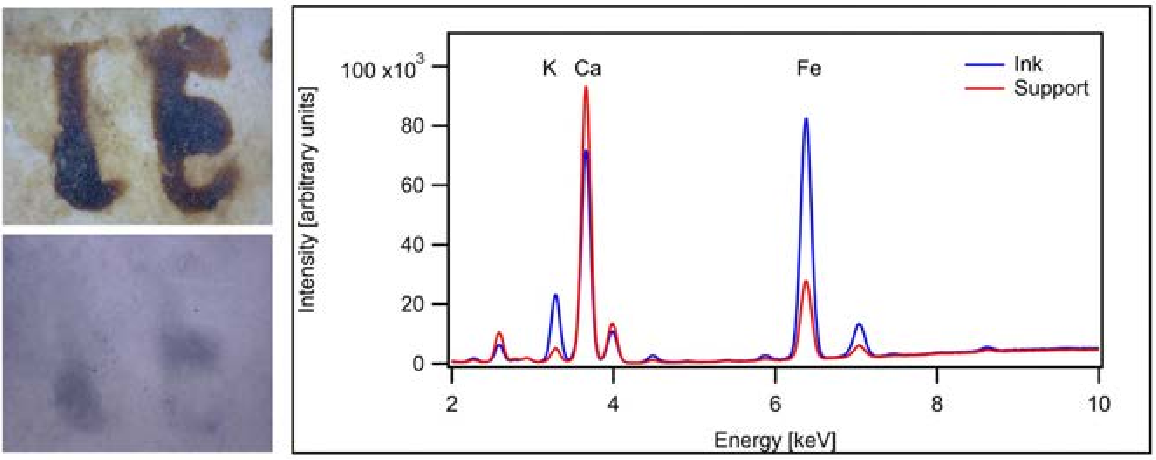


Fig. 1. Visible and near-infrared micrographs (left top and bottom, respectively) and XRF spectra (right) of the inked (blue) and non-inked (red) area on Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms.or.fol.* 1350, f. 1.

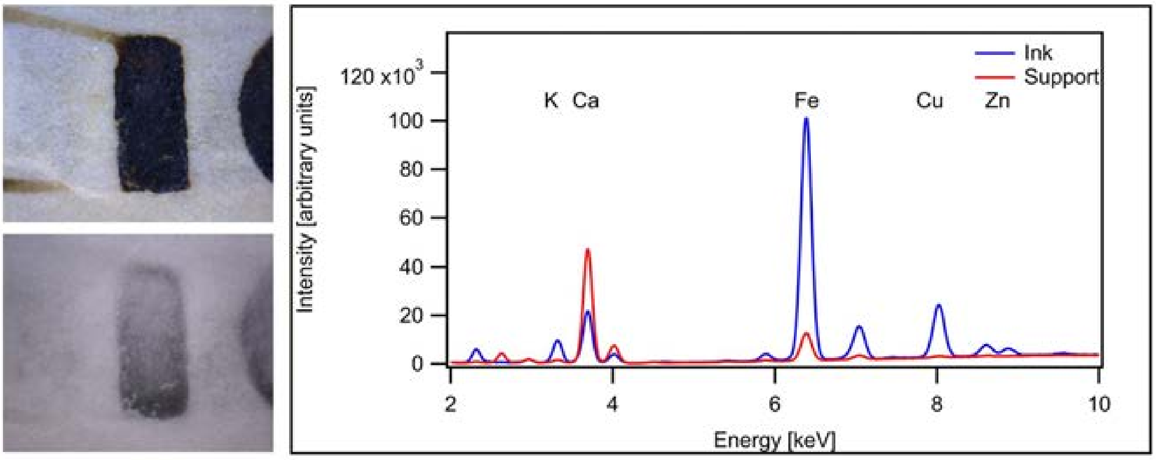


Fig. 2. Visible and near-infrared micrographs (left top and bottom, respectively) and XRF spectra (right) of the inked (blue) and non-inked (red) area on Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms.or.fol.* 1609, f. 1.

the manuscripts from the White Monastery. We should not forget though, that the codices forming part of this collection were most probably produced in at least two different places: the Touton *scriptorium*, in the Fayyūm region, and the White Monastery itself. Trying to gain further insight, we focused our attention on the few codices available that were attributed to Touton or more generally to the area of the Fayyūm, and therefore produced in the north of Egypt rather than in the area of Sūhāǧ, where the White Monastery was located. According to palaeographical and codicological studies, the leaves at the Cambridge University Library, *Or.* 1699 and those preserved at the Apostolic Vatican Library, *Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.* 26, f. 131 were originally part of codices produced in Touton (respectively MONB.CE = CLM 314 and MONB.LY = CLM 511). In fact, as it has been pointed out by Francesco Valerio,[22] both are decorated in the so-called 'Touton Style', which was identified and defined by Petersen[23]. Moreover, Apostolic Vatican Library, *Borg.copt.* 109.*cass.* 29, f. 166 (MONB.NC = CLM 538) can be generically attributed to the area of the Fayyūm according to some dialectal forms typical of this region,[24] while *Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.* 16, f. 57 (MONB.KM = CLM 480) may have

22 Personal communication (26th June 2019).

23 Petersen 1954.

24 Louis forthcoming, 373-375.

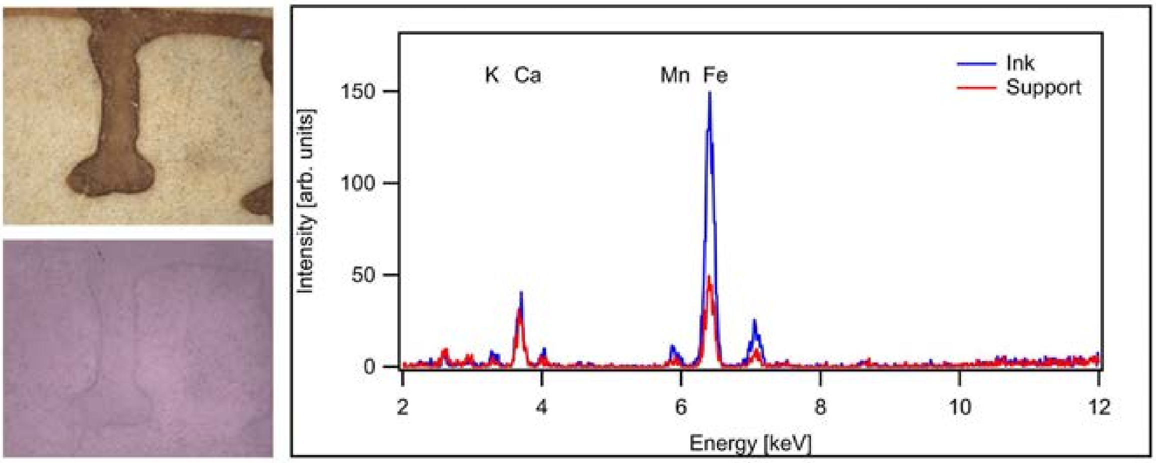


Fig. 3. Visible and near-infrared micrographs (left top and bottom, respectively) and XRF spectra (right) of the inked (blue) and non-inked (red) area on Apostolic Vatican Library, Borg.copt. 109 cass. 26, f. 131.

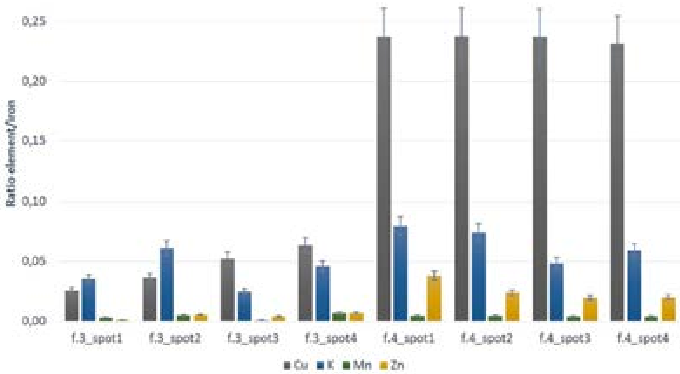


Fig. 4. XRF elemental analysis on four spots of ink from f. 3 and four spots of ink from f. 4 of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms.or.fol. 1609. The results are reported as ratio of each element to iron (i.e.: fingerprint).

been produced in the same region according to the typology of superline strokes used.[25]

It was interesting to note that the inks found on all these four different codicological units contained exclusively iron, with no trace of copper or zinc (see for instance the results obtained on *Borg.copt.* 109 *cass.* 26, f. 131 in Fig. 3). Despite the fact that the number of manuscripts from Touton and the Fayyūm that have been investigated is far from being statistically meaningful, the consistency in the result obtained seems to suggest there may be a trend in the composition of the inks used in northern Egypt. This hypothesis was corroborated by the analysis of four codices from the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Wādī al-Naṭrūn that revealed the use of iron-gall inks containing exclusively iron, but of course it will be necessary to make more tests before reaching trustable conclusions.[26] This analytical evidence, together with the textual information demonstrating that the manuscripts from the White Monastery were produced in different places, poses some interesting questions: is it possible that the inks produced in the north of Egypt in a period between the ninth and eleventh centuries all contained exclusively iron? Could this have been a peculiar trait characteristic only of the inks produced in that area? And if so, what implication would this have for the analytical results obtained on the collection from the White Monastery? Is it possible that the manuscripts whose inks contain only iron were produced in the north of Egypt, while those whose inks contain other elements were produced elsewhere, for instance inside the same monastery? These matters are of great importance. If further analysis could confirm that a consequential number of manuscripts produced in northern Egypt were penned with inks containing only iron, while a significant number of manuscripts produced inside the monastery were written with inks containing also copper and zinc, that would indicate the existence of local differences in the materials and methods used in the manufacturing of writing

25 LOUIS forthcoming, 145-147. Archaeometric studies often rely on few pieces, given the limited access that it is possible to obtain to the collections when it comes to perform scientific analysis. Therefore, every piece of information that is possible to obtain matters, even in case of manuscripts whose historical context is still unclear. For sake of clarity, it is pointed out that the attribution to a specific geographic location is, in this case, dubious.

26 GHIGO - RABIN 2019.

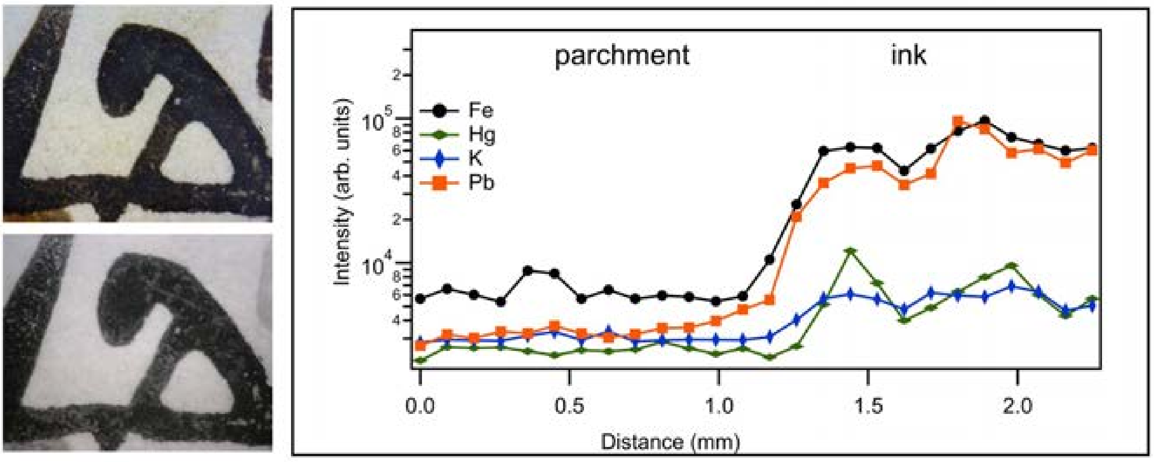


Fig. 5. Visible and near-infrared micrographs (left top and bottom, respectively) and XRF intensity profiles (right) of different elements extracted from a line-scan connecting non-inked and inked areas on Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms.or.fol. 1605, f. 6.

media. Most importantly, this typological diversity could be exploited to establish the place of production of a certain codex.

Archaeometric analysis, at least in some cases, can support palaeographical and codicological studies, providing them with additional tools to gain insight on the production of manuscripts in a certain scriptorium. It is the case of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms.or.fol.* 1609, ff. 3 and 4 (CLM 283 and 1572). In her catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts at the Staatsbibliothek,[27] Buzi suggests that these two leaves may come from the same codicological unit, since the hand is very similar, if not the same. After performing XRF analysis, we calculated the fingerprint (i.e.: the ratio of each element to iron) of the ink used on both these leaves. In Fig. 4 the result of this calculation is displayed. Here we observe a diversity in the ratio of copper to iron in folio 3, where is around 5%, and in folio 4, where is around 25%. Although on this basis we cannot claim that these two leaves belong to different codicological units or were written by different persons, we can certainly assess that they come from different writing phases. In fact, even when the same ink is used for a certain period, and it is left to rest in the inkwell or in any other storage place for some time, it might change its fingerprint due to deposition and drying processes. Alternatively, every new batch of ink displays a slightly different fingerprint. Such differences in the fingerprint have been successfully used in the past to discriminate between several writing phases on a certain codex.[28] The case study on Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms.or.fol* 1609, ff. 3 and 4 was presented at the University of Hamburg during the summer school dedicated to Coptic literature that took place in September 2018,[29] in the presence of scholars who had directly studied these leaves. According to Diliana Atanassova, despite the similarity in the handwriting, the two leaves were written indeed by two persons. Alin Suciu added that these two hands very likely belong to a teacher and a pupil who worked closely in the same *scriptorium*, thus explaining the similarity in the handwriting.

Lastly, we will discuss the case of the peculiar type of ink found on f. 6 of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms.or.fol.* 1605 (MONB.KH = CLM 476). Right in the middle of this leaf there is evidence of a marginal note added later, that corresponds to the numbering of chapters of biblical works according to the Greek system.[30] Fig. 5 reports the results on this spot. Near-infrared reflectography shows that there is no change in opacity when the ink is illuminated using 940 nm light. This clearly indicates that it contains carbon. However, XRF analysis detected the presence of iron, lead and mercury together with potassium, that could be attributed to the binder. The intensity profiles of each element detected along a line that connects non-inked and inked areas reveal that iron and lead intensities increase significantly moving from the support to the inked area, indicating that we are probably dealing with one of the

27 Buzi 2014.

28 For instance Hahn - Heiles - Rabin 2018.

29 See https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/register_coptic2018.html.

30 Schüssler 2007, 81.

rare examples of mixed inks recorded so far. Moreover, potassium and mercury are present in lesser amounts. The pattern of the intensity profiles is very similar in the case of potassium, iron and lead, and suggests that they were all contained in the ingredients employed, together with carbon, in the ink manufacturing. The high iron content may suggest that carbon was mixed with iron-gall ink, although the presence of tannins that need to react with iron to produce this type of ink could not be identified using the current analytical protocol. While potassium can normally be attributed to the binder, lead is generally not contained in vitriol or iron filings used to prepare iron-gall inks, and therefore could have a different origin. There exists the possibility that this ink was prepared by mixing carbon, iron-gall and red lead (minium), to give a warmer hue to the black colour. Or, simply, that lead was introduced from contaminated water. Finally, the line profile of mercury, appears slightly different from the one characterising the other elements. This suggests that the trace of ink was contaminated by something containing mercury, for example the same pen was first used to apply a mercury-based red ink (cinnabar) and then used to write this marginal note.

At present, the evidence we have on mixed ink produced by blending carbon and iron-gall ink consists of different recipes contained in Arabic treatises from the ninth century onwards describing its preparation, and a Syriac manuscript from the fourteenth century where a mixture of iron-gall and carbon ink was unequivocally identified.[31] Unfortunately, we do not have any information on the period in which this marginal note was added. It was definitely after the tenth-eleventh centuries CE, when this codex was first produced, and surely before its dismemberment. In fact, Francesco Valerio pointed out that such chapter numbers, all written by the same hand, are detectable in all the extant leaves belonging to this codicological unit.[32] According to him, as a lower chronological term for the addition of such numbers, a reasonable date is the thirteenth-fourteenth century CE, when Coptic 'monolingual' manuscripts ceased to be produced and used, having been replaced by the bilingual Copto-Arabic ones.[33]

5. *Conclusion*

The results obtained on the leaves from the White Monastery seem to suggest that there may exist local trends involving different materials and methods used in the manufacture of black inks in Egypt between the ninth and eleventh centuries, encouraging further investigation in this direction. If such trends could be systematically demonstrated, the chemical composition of the inks may serve to complement palaeographical and codicological information on the place of production of certain codices. Moreover, the archaeometric analysis of inks on Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Ms.or.fol.* 1609, ff. 3 and 4 revealed interesting details regarding the production of the manuscript, offering new insights on the different phases involved in the writing process. Finally, this study unveiled one of the first experimental proof of the existence of a mixed ink probably obtained by adding carbon to iron-gall ink, although further investigation is needed to support this conclusion.

References

Ahmed Afifi 2011 = Ahmed M. Afifi, "Analytical Investigation of Pigments, Ground Layer and Media of Cartonnage Fragments from Greek-Roman Period", *Mediterranean Archaeology & Archaeometry*, 11, 2011, pp. 91-98.

Buzi 2009 = P. Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti Borgiani conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" di Napoli*, con un profilo scientifico di Stefano Borgia e Georg Zoega e una breve storia della formazione della collezione borgiana (Accademia dei Lincei – Memorie, Ser. IX, 25/1), Rome, 2009.

31 Colini 2018; Colini *et al.* 2018.

32 See the table dressed by Schüssler 2007, 81.

33 Personal communication with Francesco Valerio, 27 June 2019.

Buzi 2014 = P. Buzi, *Coptic Manuscripts* 7. *The Manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Homiletic and Liturgical Manuscripts from the White Monastery. With two documents from Thebes and two Old Nubian Manuscripts* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XXI.7), Wiesbaden, 2014.

Buzi 2016 = P. Buzi, "From Single-Text to Multiple-Text Manuscripts: Transmission Changes in the Coptic Literary Tradition. Some Case-Studies from the White Monastery Library", in M. Friedrich - C. Schwarke (eds.), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9), Berlin, 2016, pp. 93-109.

Colini 2018 = C. Colini, *From Recipes to Material Analysis the Arabic Tradition of Black Inks and Paper Coatings (9th-20th Century)*, University of Hamburg, PhD Dissertation, 2018.

Colini forthcoming = C. Colini "'I Tried It and It Is Really Good'. Replicating Recipes of Arabic Black Inks", in L. Raggetti (ed.), *Traces of Ink: Experiences of Philology and Replication*, forthcoming.

Colini *et al.* 2018 = C. Colini - O. Hahn - O. Bonnerot - S. Steger - Z. Cohen - T. Ghigo - T. Christiansen *et al.*, "The Quest for the Mixed Inks", *Manuscript Cultures*, 11, 2018, pp. 41-49.

Daniels - Leach 2004 = V. Daniels - B. Leach, "The Occurrence and Alteration of Realgar on Ancient Egyptian Papyri", *Studies in Conservation*, 49, 2004, pp. 73-84.

Di Stefano - Fuchs 2011 = L.M. Di Stefano - R. Fuchs, "Characterisation of the Pigments in a Ptolemaic Egyptian Book of the Dead Papyrus", *Journal of archaeological and anthropological sciences*, 3, 2011, pp. 229-244.

Emmel 2004 = S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2 vols. (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 599-600, Scriptores coptici, 111-112), Leuven, 2004.

Ghigo *et al.* 2018 = T. Ghigo - O. Bonnerot - P. Buzi - M. Krutzsch - O. Hahn - I. Rabin, "An Attempt at a Systematic Study of Inks from Coptic Manuscripts", *Manuscripts Cultures*, 11, 2018, pp. 157-164.

Ghigo - Rabin 2019 = T. Ghigo - I. Rabin, "Archaeometric Study of Inks from Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the Apostolic Vatican Library", in P. Buzi (ed.), *Detecting Early Medieval Coptic Literature in Dayr āl-Anbā Maqār. Between textual conservation and literary rearrangement: The case of* Vat. copt. *57* (Studi e Testi, 533), 2019, pp. 77-84.

Ghigo - Rabin - Buzi 2020 = T. Ghigo - I. Rabin - B. Buzi, "Black Egyptian Inks in Late Antiquity: New Insights into Their Manufacture and Use", *Journal of Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 12:70, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-019-00977-3 (accessed: 12 February 2020), 2020.

Hahn - Heiles - Rabin 2018 = O. Hahn - M. Heiles - I. Rabin, "Palaeography and X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy: Manuscript Production and Censorship of the Fifteenth Century German Manuscript, State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. Germ. 1", *Humanities Commons*, 11, 2018, pp. 109-132.

Karpenko - Norris 2002 = V. Karpenko - J.A. Norris, "Vitriol in the History of Chemistry", *Chemicke Listy* 96, 2002, pp. 997-1005.

Lee - Quirke 2000 = L. Lee - S. Quirke, "Painting Materials", in P. Nicholson - I. Shaw (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 104-120.

Louis forthcoming = C. Louis, *Catalogue raisonné des Manuscrits littéraires coptes conservés à l'IFAO du Caire*, forthcoming.

Mrusek - Fuchs - Oltrogge 1995 = R. Mrusek - R. Fuchs - D. Oltrogge, "Spektrale Fenster Zur Vergangenheit Ein Neues Reflektographieverfahren Zur Untersuchung von Buchmalerei Und Historischem Schriftgut", *Naturwissenschaften*, 82 (2), 1995, pp. 68-79.

Nakano 2006 = C. Nakano, "Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn (Fayoum)", *Journal of Coptic Studies* 8, 2006, pp. 147-159.

Orlandi 2002 = T. Orlandi, "The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe", *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Leiden, 2002, pp. 211-231.

Petersen 1954 = T. Petersen, *The Paragraph Mark in Coptic Illuminated Ornament*, Princeton, 1954.

Rabin *et al.* 2012 = I. Rabin - R. Schütz - A. Kohl - T. Wolff - R. Tagle - S. Pentzien - O. Hahn - S. Emmel, "Identification and Classification of Historical Writing Inks in Spectroscopy: A Methodological Overview", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 3, 2012, pp. 26-30.

Schüssler 2007 = K. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica: Die Koptischen Bibeltexte. 4. Das Sahidische Alte Und Neue Testament: Lfg. 1; Sa 586-620: Vollständiges Verzeichnis Mit Standorten*, Wiesbaden, 2007.

A Preliminary Census of Coptic Bookbindings*

Eliana Dal Sasso – Universität Hamburg

Abstract
This article introduces a new research dedicated to the study of Coptic bookbinding structures initiated within the 'PAThs' project and illustrates the expected results. In particular, it aims to provide a preliminary census of the extant materials, consisting of 208 items, dated between the fourth and the eleventh century, that are scattered among European and extra-European collections. This previously neglected material will permit the elaboration of a comprehensive study on the bookbinding of Coptic manuscripts. It also has the extraordinary potential to open new research perspectives on the book production of the late antique and early mediaeval era.

Keywords
Bookbinding, Coptic manuscripts, census, terminology.

1. *Introductory remarks*

This article introduces a new ongoing research dedicated to the study of late antique and early mediaeval Coptic bookbinding.

It was not until the 1960s that physical descriptions of Coptic bookbindings appeared in catalogues.[1] Nevertheless, they have never been systematically recorded; rather, they have been the object of invasive processes designed to facilitate the handling of the leaves. Thus, even codices acquired in almost perfect condition were sometimes disbound and the boards composed of written papyri of old discarded books split to read their content. Most of the time, only the finely decorated covers have been preserved. So, after being neglected for a long time, the first studies on Coptic bookbindings only focused on their external appearance.[2] When given, the description of technological aspects was mostly brief and sometimes prone to misleading interpretations.[3]

In recent times, however, the discipline which studies bookbindings has developed specific procedures to investigate its field of inquiry. In this context, Janos A. Szirmai's work stood as a milestone in the systematisation of bookbinding studies, while Peter J. Gumbert and Patrick Andrist highlighted the im-

---

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it.

1 B. Layton's catalogue of Coptic manuscripts acquired by the British library after 1906 present the first systematic description of physical features, later re-proposed by L. Depuydt in the catalogue of Coptic manuscripts kept at the Pierpont Morgan Library, see Layton 1987 and Depuydt 1993.

2 A. Grohmann proposed the first classification of the decorative techniques, later simplified by G.D. Hobson. M. Cramer focused on the description of decorative motifs of the Egyptian art in the Christian period between the fourth to the ninetinth centuries but a small chapter of her book is devoted to bookbindings, see Arnold - Grohmann 1929, Hobson 1938 and Cramer 1964, 125-134. Coptologists like W. Budge and W. E. Crum included notes about the decorated bindings of the manuscripts they were studying, see Crum 1905 and Budge 1910, Budge 1912 and Budge 1915.

3 For example, B. van Regermorter's observations regarding the wooden boards kept at the Chester Beatty Library have been contested by R. Powell, see Regemorter 1992, 151-181, and Powell 1963.

portance of recognising and describing the stratification of transformations of the codex, including those regarding the bookbinding, in order to understand its history.[4] However, at present, the only comprehensive study on late antique bookbinding structures has been carried out by G. Boudalis, whose interest is focused on the dynamic which led to the development of the codex form.[5]

Apart from the exception mentioned, the study of early Coptic bindings largely relies on contributions of a few scholars who devoted themselves to specific collections or manuscripts.[6] As a result, the quality of the descriptions is heterogeneous and identical features are described using an incoherent terminology, which does not take into consideration the stratigraphy in bookbinding history.

A systematic study and description of the extant late antique and early mediaeval Egyptian bookbinding techniques and materials is therefore urgently required in order to avoid the loss of further information and foster the advance of knowledge in the field and thus, a further understanding of the Egyptian manuscript culture.

The characterisation of the materials, for instance, helps to locate and date the production of the binding, while their value hints at the social status of the commissioner. In fact, the cover, which was often a separate expense apart from the copy of the book, as colophons attest, being provided to the copyist by the commissioner himself,[7] who might purchase it from a specialised atelier, is particularly indicative of his financial situation.

Moreover, binding techniques assume distinctive traits according to the area to which they belong. Common practices do exist but each tradition develops its own particular ways of reaching the same result. Another important factor to be considered is the function that the book is required to perform. Hence, the materials and the techniques adopted in bookbinding manufacture bear witness not only to the craftsmanship but also to the prestige of a manuscript, to its use and to the context in which it has been produced or transformed.[8] Georgios Boudalis notes how, in Late Antiquity, bookbinding borrowed and adapted techniques, from other crafts such as basketry, weaving and leatherwork[9] not only for the decoration but also for structural elements.[10] It is noteworthy, as archaeological excavations in Egypt prove, that in many Theban monasteries these skills were readily accessible thanks to the existence of workshops specialised in each activity.[11] Monks could then master several crafts, like Frange who, beside binding books used to weave textiles, which were in fact the main objects exchanged in the trade with neighbouring communities.[12]

2. *A first result: A preliminary census of the extant Coptic bookbindings*

The 'PAThs' project devotes a great deal of attention to the description of codicological aspects of the manuscripts, stemming from an awareness that physical features can unveil essential information for an in-depth understanding of Coptic manuscript production in its socio-cultural context. It is in this framework that the description of bookbindings has been introduced.

The first phase of the research consists of the complete census of the extant bindings, their related fragments – such as the papyri extracted from the laminated boards – and in the gathering of the associated bibliography. On this basis, in the next months it will be possible to set-up the protocol for bookbinding recording by formulating a standard survey to document particular bookbinding features and selecting

4 Szirmai 1999; Andrist - Canart - Maniaci 2013 and Gumbert 2004.

5 Boudalis 2018.

6 Whether conservators – see, for example, Ibscher 1911, Adam 1912, Lamacraft 1939, Petersen 1948 – or devoted scholars – see Robinson 1975 and Robinson 1972-1978, Kasser 1960, Kasser 1961, Kasser 1962, Kasser 1964, Kasser 1965, Kasser 1971.

7 Boud'hors 2008, 160.

8 For a detailed exposition of the various modifications a codex can be subjected to, see Andrist - Canart - Maniaci 2013.

9 T. Gottlieb noticed the similarity between the decoration of the binding of CLM 6506 (= BD 37, previously known as Inv. No. 34 and G 30501) and that of the shoes from Achmim published by H. Frauberger. See Gottlieb 1910, 33-34, Frauberger 1895 and for further examples Arnold - Grohmann 1929, 35. CLM stands for Coptic Literary Manuscript and is the stable ID attributed by 'PAThs' to each codicological unit.

10 Boudalis 2018.

11 As is the case of the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, see Winlock - Crum 1926.

12 Boud'hors - Heurtel 2010, 19-20.

the terminology among structured vocabularies such as the *Getty Art & Architecture Thesaurus* (*AAT*) and the *Language of Bindings* (*LoB*).[13] The evaluation of the similarity of the decorative motifs tooled on the covers will show whether or not the same tool was used on different bindings, since hand-made instruments produce unique prints on the cover. In this way, the research will shed light on the existence of common decorative practices, by tracking the circulation of craftsmen—or their tools—and highlighting the existing relationships among bookbinding workshops.[14]

When collected, the study of the information organised in the database will allow recurring patterns to be recognised and bindings to be grouped according to them so as to offer a typological classification of early Christian Egyptian bookbinding structures. The research will not only forward the knowledge of materials and techniques adopted in the production of the codex, but by linking the data to the detailed information in the manuscript descriptions it will also clarify how the typologies vary within the chronological and geographical framework. Thanks to the synergy of 'PAThs' team's skills, the connection between bindings and texts will be explored, in order to ascertain whether particular techniques were chosen to present and transmit specific intellectual contents.

The entries listed in Table 1 and in Table 2 represent the bindings recorded so far, which may undergo modifications, that will be constantly updated and made available online within the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*. In the part dedicated to manuscripts, two saved queries already enable 'manuscripts with ancient bookbindings' and the 'bookbindings detached from original manuscripts' present in the database to be isolated.

At the moment, the information collected from bibliography and photographic documentation is added to the database in the form of free text in the section 'Binding' of each manuscript description within the fields 'Notes on cover' or 'Notes on holes'. However, once the present phase is completed, the section dedicated to binding description will be modified, adding fields to describe the particular features of the bindings. Eventually, the fields will be filled in with data coming from autoptic examinations, bibliography and photographic documentation.

Furthermore, when sufficient information is available, the fragments extracted from the boards will be identified and linked to the binding from which they originate, thus virtually recomposing the *unité de circulation*,[15] i.e. the aspect of the codex before being dismembered.

Until now the corpus of catalogued bookbindings consists of 208 items, all datable between the fourth and the eleventh centuries, that represent the chronological boundaries of the 'PAThs' project. They can be divided into two groups.

The first group (corresponding to Table 1) refers to manuscripts which, according to bibliography, when entered in the collections still preserved their binding. At present, the group includes 139 manuscripts the majority of which, as explained above, have been disbound. Consequently, when preserved, the covers are kept within the collection but separated from the related manuscript. Only a few codices still bear the ancient binding: four Bodmer papyri (CLM 34/DISH.AB; CLM 35/DISH.AC; CLM 36/DISH.AD and CLM 37/DISH.AE), CLM 259 (= MICH.CH),[16] CLM 1061 and 1062 (= Michigan P. 593 α and Michigan P. 593 β), CLM 1399, CLM 6257 (= CMCL.BF) and CLM 6474 (= the 'Naqlun John').

However, not all the manuscripts which are said to possess a binding seem to have preserved it, as is the case of the manuscripts from Edfu kept at the British Library. Bentley Layton reports a list of 21 man-

13 The *Getty Art & Architecture Thesaurus* (*AAT*) ® is a structured resource of The Getty Research Institute, see https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/aat/, accessed 7 September 2019. The *Language of Bindings* (*LoB*) is a reference tool created by the Ligatus Research Unit at the University of the Art London, see https://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/, accessed 7 September 2019. While *AAT* contains generic terms related to art, architecture and cultural heritage, the *LoB* thesaurus includes specific terms which describe historical book structures. Both vocabularies, based on Semantic Web technologies, deal with the definition of concepts – not words –, avoiding the confusion which can arise when different terms are used to describe the same concept. To each entry is associated a persistent URI, which permits the definition to be retrieved even if the host websites change domain, avoiding the loss of information associated with the link. Furthermore, the vocabularies are freely available to the research community as they are released as Linked Open Data.

14 A similar method has been applied successfully by N. Sarris on the decorative tools stamped on Greek bookbindings from the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery, see Sarris 2010.

15 For a definition of *unité de circulation* see Andrist - Canart - Maniaci 2013, 59.

16 Even though the manuscript *Or.* 7597 kept at the British Library has been heavily restored: the cover re-backed and the manuscript replaced upside-down inside it. Lindsay 2001, 34.

uscripts from whose boards have been extracted manuscript fragments[17] but when Jen Lindsay examined the collection she found that 13 of them[18] did not preserve the binding. These manuscripts are temporarily included in the list, waiting for further research to confirm the loss.

The group comprises, besides the bindings of the Edfu manuscripts, the well-known bindings of the Nag Hammadi codices and those of the manuscripts found in the ruins of the Monastery of St Michael, near present-day Hamuli. Today they are preserved in the Morgan Library and Museum and in the Coptic Museum in Cairo and represent the largest collection of bindings of Coptic manuscripts.

The most ancient examples of bookbinding structures are those associated with manuscripts dating back to the fourth and fifth centuries: the Nag Hammadi codices, part of the Bodmer papyri (CLM 33, CLM 34, CLM 35, CLM 36, CLM 37, CLM 38, CLM 40, CLM 44, CLM 1125, CLM 3956 and CLM 6296), CLM 24 (= CMCL.BA), CLM 686 (= MONB.MW),[19] CLM 731 (= *Berolinensis Gnosticus*), CLM 1371 (= Budge's Deuteronomy) and those of the Manichaean manuscripts, three of which are preserved at the Chester Beatty Library.[20]

The latest bindings are those of the Edfu manuscripts, dated by the colophons to end of tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, four late Hamuli manuscripts (CLM 250, CLM 256, CLM 257 and CLM 258), CLM 3469[21] and the Naqlun John (CLM 6474).

Almost all the bindings are formed of laminated boards, mostly of papyrus leaves covered with leather although 20 were bound in wooden boards[22] (CLM 23, CLM 37, CLM 44, CLM 64, CLM 65, CLM 68, CLM 172, CLM 173, CLM 174, CLM 175, CLM 176, CLM 177, CLM 178, CLM 424, CLM 1125, CLM 1131, CLM 1399, CLM 3469, CLM 3956, CLM 6296).

The second group (corresponding to Table 2) is composed of bindings preserved in the collections which are not associated with any manuscripts. At present, the group numbers 69 bindings, the majority of which are formed of laminated boards covered with leather. CLM 6519 is noteworthy as it is a textile binding, CLM 6523, CLM 6524 and 6525 are made out of silver and CLM 6522 refers to two wooden boards.

As mentioned earlier, the census shown here is not complete and the amount of extant artefacts grows on a daily basis as the specialist literature is examined.

This previously neglected material will permit the elaboration of a comprehensive study on the bookbinding of Coptic manuscripts. It also has the extraordinary potential to open new research perspectives on the book production of the late antique and early mediaeval era.

CLM ('PAThs' ID)	CMCL Siglum	Collection	Shelfmark	Writing support	Ms. Date
176	MANI.AE	Austria, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Papyrussammlung	K. 11010	papyrus	
6387		Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	*Pap. Vat. copt.* 1	papyrus	601-800
1190		Egypt, al-Ašmūnayn storehouse	*inv.* 596	papyrus	601-800
205	MICH.AC	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3821 (JdE 47557)	parchment	801-925
207	MICH.AE	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3820 (JdE 47556)	parchment	861-862
219	MICH.AS	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3811 (JdE 47547)	parchment	903-904

17 Layton 1987, xxvi–xxx.

18 CLM 179 (= MERC.AA), 180 (= MERC.AB), 182 (= MERC.AD), 183 (= MERC.AE), 185 (= MERC.AF), 187 (= MERC.AI), 188 (= MERC.AL), 191 (= MERC.AO), 192 (= MERC.AQ), 195 (= MERC.AT), 196 (= MERC.AU), 197 (= MERC.AV), 198 (= MERC.AZ), see Lindsay 2001, 50.

19 Though it is not clear if the binding has been preserved during the conservation process.

20 The boards *Cpt.* 824 and *Cpt.* 826 are digitised and available online at the Chester Beatty Digital Collections, https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/, accessed 13 September 2019.

21 However, according to Boud'hors 2017, 20-21, the manuscript could be ascribed to the same period as CLM 713 and 714, i.e. seventh-eighth century, which were found together in 2005 during the Polish excavations in Western Thebes MMA 1152.

22 For comparison see the list of nine Coptic codices published by Sharpe 1999.

231	MICH.BF	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3815 (JdE 47551bis)	parchment	891-893
239	MICH.BN	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3819 (JdE 47555)	parchment	801-925
240	MICH.BO	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3817 (JdE 47553)	parchment	801-925
249	MICH.BX	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3816 (JdE 47552)	parchment	801-925
662	NHAM.01	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10554	papyrus	301-400
663	NHAM.02	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10554	papyrus	301-400
664	NHAM.03	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 4851	papyrus	301-400
665	NHAM.04	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10552	papyrus	301-400
666	NHAM.05	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10548	papyrus	301-400
667	NHAM.06	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10549	papyrus	301-400
668	NHAM.07	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10546	papyrus	351-400
669	NHAM.08	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10550	papyrus	301-400
670	NHAM.09	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10553	papyrus	301-400
671	NHAM.10	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10551	papyrus	301-400
672	NHAM.11	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	NH 10547	papyrus	351-400
713		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	13448	papyrus	676-800
714		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	13447	papyrus	676-800
920		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3823	parchment	822-914
1125		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	12488	parchment	375-450
1150		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	Hamuli-Ms. 3822	parchment	801-893
1153		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	JdE 44689	papyrus	601-650
3469		Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	13446	parchment	801-1000
3011		France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	*Copte* 28	paper	1301-1400
176	MANI.AE	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 15996	papyrus	
177	MANI.AF	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 15997.1-8	papyrus	
178	MANI.AG	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 15998.1-6	papyrus	
731		Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 8502	papyrus	401-500
24	CMCL.BA	Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz	*Ms. or. oct.* 987	papyrus	401-500
424	MONB.HE	Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz	*Ms. or. oct.* 408	parchment	401-600
686	MONB.MW	Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz	*Ms. or. fol.* 3065	papyrus	301-400
38	DISH.AF	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Cpt.* 2020	papyrus	301-500
64	IERE.AA	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Cpt.* 813	parchment	501-600
65	IERE.AB	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Cpt.* 814	parchment	551-600
66	IERE.AC	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Cpt.* 815	parchment	551-600
172	MANI.AA	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Pma* A	papyrus	
173	MANI.AB	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Pma* D	papyrus	301-425
174	MANI.AC	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Pma* B	papyrus	301-425
175	MANI.AD	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Pma* C	papyrus	301-425
1131	GIOV.AS	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 7117	parchment	401-600
6474		Polish expedition to Neklone	*Nd.* 02.239	paper	1099-1100
3956	DISH.AJ	Spain, Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesús a Catalunya	*P. Palau Ribes* 181-183	parchment	451-500
23	CMCL.AZ	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* LVIII	papyrus	601-700
33	DISH.AA	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* III	papyrus	301-400
34	DISH.AB	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* VI	parchment	301-500

35	DISH.AC	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* XVI	parchment	301-400
36	DISH.AD	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* XVIII	papyrus	351-400
37	DISH.AE	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* XIX	parchment	375-450
40	DISH.AH	Switzerland, Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer	*P. Bodmer* XXIII	papyrus	375-450
3355		The Netherlands, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	134	papyrus	501-700
21	CMCL.AV	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 5000	papyrus	601-700
22	CMCL.AW	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 5001	papyrus	601-700
179	MERC.AA	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7030	parchment	994-995
180	MERC.AB	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6784	parchment	
181	MERC.AC	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7027	paper	1004
182	MERC.AD	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6782	parchment	989-990
183	MERC.AE	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6799	parchment	1053-1056
184	MERC.AF	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6801	parchment	996-1004
185	MERC.AG	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6802	parchment	
186	MERC.AH	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6780	parchment	974
186	MERC.AH	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7028	parchment	974
187	MERC.AI	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7021	paper	987
188	MERC.AL	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6781	parchment	
189	MERC.AM	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7029	parchment	992 or 982
190	MERC.AN	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7023	parchment	999 or 1004
191	MERC.AO	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6804	parchment	
192	MERC.AQ	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7026	paper	1005
193	MERC.AR	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7024	parchment	987
194	MERC.AS	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7022	parchment	981
195	MERC.AT	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6783	parchment	1003-1100
196	MERC.AU	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7025	parchment	981
197	MERC.AV	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6800	parchment	1031
198	MERC.AZ	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6803	paper	
259	MICH.CH	United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7597	parchment	
844		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*P.* V	papyrus	
1371		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 7594	papyrus	301-400
1450		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 12689	parchment	999-1000
2249		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 4917.5	parchment	501-600
2249		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 6695	parchment	501-600
3189		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 1321	paper	
3750		United Kingdom, London, British Library	*Or.* 3367.1	parchment	
67	IERE.AD	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	*Ms.* 166	parchment	551-600
68	IERE.AE	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	*Ms.* 167	parchment	551-600
716		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 1289	papyrus	401-600
1061		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 593 α	papyrus	401-600
1062		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 593 β	papyrus	401-600
1747		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 926	papyrus	301-400
2560		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 542	papyrus	501-600
2784		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 4286	papyrus	601-800

2858		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 607.1-2	papyrus	850-900
4686		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 6896	parchment	401-1000
6531		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 553	parchment	
6549		U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 6410.F	papyrus	401-800
1158		U.S.A., Cambridge (MA), Harvard University-Sackler Art Museum	1984.669	parchment	401-600
44	DISH.AM	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	G67	parchment	401-500
199	MERC.BB	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M633	parchment	
204	MICH.AB	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M567	parchment	892-893
206	MICH.AD	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M569	parchment	801-925
208	MICH.AH	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M570	parchment	801-925
212	MICH.AL	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M573	parchment	801-925
213	MICH.AM	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M574	parchment	897-898
214	MICH.AN	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M575	parchment	892-893
215	MICH.AO	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M599	parchment	854-855
216	MICH.AP	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M600	parchment	905-906
217	MICH.AQ	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M576	parchment	801-925
218	MICH.AR	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M609	parchment	801-925
221	MICH.AU	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M590	parchment	892-893
223	MICH.AW	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M593	parchment	892-893
224	MICH.AX	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M614	parchment	801-925
226	MICH.BA	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M603	parchment	902-903
229	MICH.BD	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M588	parchment	842
232	MICH.BG	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M581	parchment	801-925
233	MICH.BH	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M597	parchment	913-914
234	MICH.BI	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M596	parchment	871-872
235	MICH.BJ	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M598	parchment	801-925
238	MICH.BM	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M585	parchment	801-925
240	MICH.BO	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M584	parchment	801-925
241	MICH.BP	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M583	parchment	848
242	MICH.BQ	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M594	parchment	801-925

243	MICH.BR	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M595	parchment	855
244	MICH.BS	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M610	parchment	801-925
246	MICH.BU	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M582	parchment	801-925
247	MICH.BV	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M587	parchment	897-901
248	MICH.BW	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M580	parchment	889-890
250	MICH.BY	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M608	parchment	996
251	MICH.BZ	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M586	parchment	844
253	MICH.CB	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M577	parchment	894-895
254	MICH.CC	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M604	parchment	801-925
255	MICH.CD	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M605	parchment	901-904
256	MICH.CE	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M601	parchment	951-1000
257	MICH.CF	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M634	parchment	951-1000
258	MICH.CG	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M635	parchment	951-1000
898		U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	*C* 25	papyrus	
1399		U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M910	parchment	
1417		U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M660	parchment	601-800
4722		U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M636 (formerly C 31)	papyrus	795
6257	CMCL.BF	U.S.A., Princeton (NJ), University Library	*P. Cotsen* 1	parchment	550-625
6296		U.S.A., Princeton (NJ), University Library	*Scheide MS* 144	parchment	401-500

Table 1. Bookbindings associated with ancient manuscripts.

CLM	Repository	Shelfmark	Date
6506	Austria, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Papyrussamlung	*BD* 37	700-900
6507	Austria, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Papyrussamlung	*A. Perg.* 00336	701-800
6510	Austria, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Papyrussamlung	*BD* 29	401-600
6520	Austria, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Papyrussamlung	*BD* 35	
6440	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	*Hamuli-Ms.* 3828	
6441	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	*Hamuli-Ms.* 3829	
6523	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	7202	
6524	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	7203	
6525	Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum	7204	
6518	France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	*Copte* 169	301-400
6519	France, Paris, Musée du Louvre	*E.* 25402	
6493	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14016	
6494	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14017	
6495	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14018	

6496	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14019	801-850
6497	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14020	
6498	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14021	
6499	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14022	
6500	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14023	
6501	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14024	
6502	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14025	
6503	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14026	801-900
6504	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 14028	
6505	Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P. 20991	
6508	Germany, Hamburg, Carl von Ossietzky Universitätsbibliothek	*Bind.* 1	
6509	Germany, Hamburg, Carl von Ossietzky Universitätsbibliothek	*Bind.* 2	
6521	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Cpt.* 805	
6522	Ireland, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*Cpt.* 803	
6550	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5055	
6551	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5058	
6552	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5059	
6553	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5060	
6554	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5061	
6555	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5062	
6556	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 5063	
6557	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 6204	
6560	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 6205	
6561	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 6206	
6562	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 6207	
6563	Italy, Torino, Museo Egizio	*Provv.* 6208	
6475	Polish Expedition to Neklone	*Nd.* 12.021	
6476	Polish Expedition to Neklone	Unknown	
6477	Polish Expedition to Neklone	Unknown	
6478	Polish Expedition to Neklone	Unknown	
6577	United Kingdom, Oxford, Sackler Library – Papyrology Rooms	Unknown	
2563	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 612	
6526	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 4972	
6528	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 7077	
6530	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 4088	
6546	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 6592	
6547	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 558	
6548	U.S.A., Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Library	P. 6399	
6442	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 1	
6443	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 2	
6444	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 3	
6445	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 4	

6446	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 5	
6447	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 6	
6448	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M663bis 7	
6479	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	*C* 30.35	
6480	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	*C* 30.36	
6544	U.S.A., New York (NY), The Morgan Library and Museum	M614bis	
1209	West Thebes Supreme Council of Antiquities Storehouse	*DB* 322	
1210	West Thebes Supreme Council of Antiquities Storehouse	*DB* 2196	
1211	West Thebes Supreme Council of Antiquities Storehouse	*DB* 325	
1212	West Thebes Supreme Council of Antiquities Storehouse	*DB* 2826	
1213	West Thebes Supreme Council of Antiquities Storehouse	*DB* 3801	
1214	West Thebes Supreme Council of Antiquities Storehouse	*DB* 1306	

Table 2. Bookbindings detached from original manuscripts.

References

ADAM 1912 = P. ADAM, “Der koptische Einband in Berlin”, *Archiv für Buchbinderei*, 11, 1912, pp. 177-181.

ANDRIST - CANART - MANIACI 2013 = P. ANDRIST - P. CANART - M. MANIACI, *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale* (Bibliologia: Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia, 34), Turnhout, 2013.

ARNOLD - GROHMANN 1929 = T.V. ARNOLD - A. GROHMANN, *The Islamic Book: A Contribution to its Art and History from the VII-XVIII century*, Paris, 1929.

BOUDALIS 2018 = G. BOUDALIS, *The Codex and Crafts in Late Antiquity*, New York, 2018.

BOUD’HORS 2008 = A. BOUD’HORS, “Copie et circulation des livres dans la région thébaine (7e-8e siècles)”, in A. DELATTRE - P. HEILPORN (eds.), *Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages: Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 34), Bruxelles, 2008, pp. 149-161.

BOUD’HORS 2017 = A. BOUD’HORS, “À la recherche des manuscrits coptes de la région thébaine” in D. BRAKKE - S.J. DAVIS - S. EMMEL (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 263), Leuven - Paris - Bristol, CT, 2017.

BOUD’HORS - HEURTEL 2010 = A. BOUD’HORS - C. HEURTEL, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour de moine Frangé* (Études d’archéologie thébaine, 3), Bruxelles, 2010.

BUDGE 1910 = E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt Edited from the Papyrus Codex Or. 5001 in the British Museum*, London, 1910.

BUDGE 1912 = E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1912.

BUDGE 1915 = E.A.W. BUDGE, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915.

CRAMER 1964 = M. CRAMER, *Koptische Buchmalerei. Illuminationen in Manuskripten des christlich-koptischen Ägypten von 4. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Beiträge zur Kunst des christlichen Ostens, 2), Recklinghausen, 1964

CRUM 1905 = W.E. CRUM, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1905.

DEPUYDT 1993 = L. DEPUYDT, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4-5; Oriental series, 1-2), Leuven, 1993.

FRAUBERGER 1895 = H. FRAUBERGER, *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Fussbekleidungen aus Achmim-Panopolis*, Düsseldorf, 1895.

GOTTLIEB 1910 = T. GOTTLIEB, *Bucheinbände: Auswahl von technisch und geschichtlich bemerkenswerten Stücken*, Wien, 1910.

GUMBERT 2004 = J.P. GUMBERT, “Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex”, in E. CRISCI - O. PECERE (eds.), *Il codice miscellaneo: tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Cassino, 14-17 maggio 2003 = Segno e testo*, 2, 2004, pp. 17-42.

Hobson 1938 = G.D. Hobson, “Some Early Bindings and Binders’ tools”, *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, ser. 4, 19, 1938, pp. 202-249.

Ibscher 1911 = H. Ibscher, “Ägyptische Abteilung (Papyrussammlung) Bucheinbände aus Ägypten”, *Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 33.2, 1911, pp. 9-12.

Kasser 1960 = R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer VI: Livre des Proverbes* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 194, Scriptores coptici, 27), Louvain, 1960.

Kasser 1961 = R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVI. Exode I-XV, 21 en sahidique*, Cologny - Genève, 1961.

Kasser 1962 = R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIX: Évangile de Matthieu XIV, 28-XXVIII, 20: Épître aux Romains, I, 1-II, 3 en sahidique*, Cologny - Genève, 1962.

Kasser 1964 = R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXII et Mississippi Coptic codex II: Jérémie XL, 3-LII, 34, Lamentations, Épître de Jérémie, Baruch I, 1-V, 5, en sahidique*, Cologny - Genève, 1964.

Kasser 1965 = R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIII. Ésaïe XLVII, 1-LXVI, 24 en sahidique*, Cologny - Genève, 1965.

Kasser 1971 = R. Kasser, “Nouvelle description du Codex Bodmer de Ménandre”, *Scriptorium*, 25, 1971, pp. 46-49.

Layton 1987 = B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the Year 1906*, London, 1987.

Lamacraft 1939 = C.T. Lamacraft, “Early Book-bindings from a Coptic Monastery”, *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, ser. 4, 20, 1939, pp. 214-233.

Lindsay 2001 = J. Lindsay, “The Edfu Collection of Coptic Books”, *The New Bookbinder*, 21, 2001, pp. 31-51.

Petersen 1948 = T.C. Petersen, *Coptic Bookbindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, unpublished typescript, Morgan Library and Museum, 1948.

Powell 1963 = R. Powell, “Some Early Bindings from Egypt in the Chester Beatty Library: Additional Notes”, *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, ser. 5, 18, 1963, pp. 218-223.

Regemorter 1992 =B. van Regemorter, *Binding Structures in the Middle Ages: A Selection of Studies by Berthe van Regemorter*, translated by Jane Greenfield (Studia bibliothecae Wittockianae, 3), Brussels, 1992.

Robinson 1975 = J.M. Robinson, “The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices”, in M. Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 6) Leiden, 1975, pp. 170-190.

Robinson 1972-1984 = J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, I-XII, Leiden, 1972-1984.

Sarris 2010 = N. Sarris, *Classification of finishing tools in Greek bookbinding: establishing links from the Library of St Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt*, PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2010.

Sharpe 1999 = J.L. Sharpe, “The Earliest Bindings with Wooden Board Covers. The Coptic Contribution to Binding Construction”, in C. Federici - P.F. Munafò (eds.), *International Conference on Conservation and Restoration of Archive and Library materials, Erice 22nd-29th April 1996*, Palermo, 1999, II, pp. 455-478.

Szirmai 1999 = J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding,* Aldershot, 1999.

Winlock - Crum 1926 = E. Winlock - W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes Part I, The Archaeological Material* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 3), New York, 1926.

For a Periodisation of Coptic Literature: Methodological Issues, Manuscript Evidence, Open Questions*

Francesco Berno - Sapienza Università di Roma

Abstract
The article aims to provide an overview periodisation system of Coptic Literature elaborated and proposed within the 'PAThs' project, covering the period between the third and the fourteenth century. Such periodisation is based on manuscript evidence. The first section addresses, from a highly selective perspective, some of the most relevant methodological issues related to the study of Coptic literary and manuscript tradition, with special attention being given to the relationship between the notions of 'original work' and 'translation', and to the Greek-Coptic *diglossia*. A second part examines some important textual issues raised by the late homiletic corpora, by proposing the analysis of two case studies, the former addressing the redrafting process of a known Greek composition (Gregory of Nyssa's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*), the latter revealing equally complex rewriting phenomena related to an allegedly Coptic original text (Ps.-Athanasius' *De homicidiis*).

Keywords
Coptic literature, periodisation, authors, works, re-writing processes.

1. *Introduction and preliminary remarks*

Among the most pressing needs of an *Atlas* of Coptic literature is the definition of a chronological grid reference in which to insert, study, and evaluate extant literary production as conveyed by Coptic manuscripts. However, the difficult task of providing a systematic, capillary, and extensive investigation into the entire paths of Coptic literature – hereafter narrowly interpreted, by the exclusion of semi-literary compositions and documentary materials – remains one of the most urgent *desiderata* of Coptic Studies, although a number of remarkable contributions has laid firm foundations for further research.[1]

The long-standing and serious challenges associated with a comprehensive periodisation of Coptic literature are well known. Suffice it to recall that several texts transmitted in the Coptic language have still to be identified, studied, edited, and that the virtual reconstruction of entire ancient codicological units is currently still in progress; not to mention the arduous difficulties inherent in the specific features of the extant Coptic manuscripts and the 'optical distortions' they show to the modern scholar. On these pivotal phenomena we will come back on several occasions in the present contribution.

Moreover, numerous aspects concerning the analysis of single textual traditions or strings of traditions are still far from having been definitively achieved. On this respect, just think about some very peculiar fluid works, which appear as actual laboratories of selection, interpretation, and transmission of always different combinations made up of originally independent textual units. I am hinting not only at the gnomic collections known as *Dicta philosophorum*, *Menandri Sententiae*, *Sexti Sentences*[2] – for which

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it. I would like to thank Prof. Alberto Camplani for his learned suggestions and feedback on several relevant aspects of my contribution.

1 I am hinting, for instance, at the quadriennal reports on the studies on Coptic Literature: Orlandi 1978; Orlandi 1992; Orlandi 1993; Orlandi 1999; Emmel 2006; Behlmer 2016a; Behlmer 2016b. See also the valuable *status quaestionis* provided in Moawad 2018.

2 See Buzi 2017.

Coptic merely magnifies literary phenomena already occurring in previous linguistic traditions –,[3] but also, and more importantly, at the late homiletic corpora. In such vexed manuscript evidence, different textual units are freely rearranged, recombined, redrafted, by often intertwining portions of translated Greek models and original insertions. Nevertheless, it is worth observing that totally analogous considerations could be extended to the entirety of Coptic production, in order to highlight the remarkable degree of textual fluidity displayed by virtually each textual witness, as far as can be concluded from the poor condition of Coptic manuscript remnants.

It follows, *inter alia*, that only an analysis built on a relational system – that is, a system in which every aspect involved in Coptic cultural production (the identification of a 'textual unit', the study of the manuscript evidences, the archaeological context, the geographical perception of ancient Egypt, and so on) is closely connected to each other – might hope to conveniently address such a maze of redactions, versions, and continuously rewritten texts.[4]

As a result, two fundamental methodological boundaries underlying the following pages are to be preliminarily declared. Firstly, the impossibility to univocally isolating and distinguishing the literary tradition extant in Coptic from the coeval and never ceased literary production in Greek, in the light of the Late-Antique Egyptian *diglossia*. Indeed, Coptic literacy should be seen as an emerging phenomenon, resulting from claims and needs that went far beyond the mere necessity to transfer the theological production circulating in Greek into a more widely understandable language.[5] Such a lasting linguistic 'competition' and cohabitation between (at least)[6] Greek and Coptic will acquire, after Chalcedon, a further specific symbolic value, by marking the caesura between 'Imperial' Church's and Miaphysite Church's more proper language, resulting in an intentionally increasing gap between the two linguistic traditions.[7] Moreover, the targeted use of the two languages has to be taken into consideration in the analysis of the Coptic criteria for selecting whether a Greek work had to be translated or not. In particular, it does not seem appropriate to detach such a problematic cohabitation from the evidence that the vast majority of the official production of the Alexandrian See (as well as the other major archiepiscopal sees) continued to be composed, read and transmitted in Greek, deeply influencing Coptic literature without any need for a direct passage through Coptic.

Secondly, it is worth stressing the ambiguity of the notions of 'original work' and 'originality' themselves, categories massively employed in any systematic access to the Coptic literature, which the aforementioned Egyptian bilingualism leads nevertheless to disambiguate, by discerning a narrow from a broader sense.

The former intercepts the well-known *querelle* on the postulation of an (eventually lost) Greek model behind any Coptic work,[8] unless there is a clear proof to the contrary.[9] Although fully aware of the difficulties in solving such a founding dispute on linguistic, philological, historical grounds, 'PAThs' stance is programmatically resolute, by maintaining that, from the time of Shenoute onward, it is possible to recognise the existence of Coptic compositions disclosing no direct dependence on Greek previous texts.

The latter, instead, introduces an even more refined and significant issue, by pointing out that translation can represent a form of original composition, provided that it exhibits the agency of the final redactor in selecting, cutting and recomposing materials maintaining no original mutual connection.

---

3 Cf. Carlini 2004.

4 Cf. Orlandi 2018a. As for the 'PAThs' methodological options, see Buzi - Bogdani - Berno 2018.

5 On the vexed questions regarding Coptic as target language, cf. Camplani 2015b, and Camplani 2018. On the more general issue related to the relationship between Greek and Coptic, see Richter 2009; Bagnall 2005; Krause 1991. As for the relevant issue of the role played by Greek in Coptic liturgy, see Mihálikó 2019.

6 Cf. Fournet 2009.

7 This could not fail to have an influence on Coptic attitude toward pagan antiquity. See Fournet 2011. A more nuanced conclusion in Wipszycka 1992.

8 By 'work' I mean here what Orlandi 2013a defines 'textual unit', that is, what is 'identified in modern scholarship by means of author and title […], but also specifying the literary genre' (91); thus, a work can be preserved by different 'codicological units'. Instead, I use 'text' – which is an intrinsically wider and vaguer term – to refer to the concrete and unique dictate of a work, that is, the combination of words, grammatical structures, and sentence patterns attested in a specific manuscript.

9 See Lucchesi 2000, 87. See also Lucchesi 1988. The distinction between 'work', 'text', and 'document' is the topic of a quite large scholarly literature, on which I cannot focus here. I refer, for instance, to Martens 1991 and Robinson 2013.

Consequently, the distinction between translation and original literature is undefined and uncertain, not only for practical reasons (i.e., our *subjective* difficulty in distinguishing a 'genuine' Coptic production), but also on a methodological basis (i.e., the *objective* difficulty in detecting this partition in the ancient sources).[10]

Such scholarly division of the ancient literary production – heir of the traditional classification in *genuina/dubia/spuria* – is however connected with another, far more significant phenomenon, that is, the pseudonymous attribution of a work to an author of an earlier period.[11]

Indeed, pseudoepigraphy, that is, the attempt to connect a late literary production (not unlikely composed in Coptic) with a far earlier Church Father, appears as a fundamental element of classification for Coptic literature. It allows, indeed, to address and evaluate not only the theological evolution undergone by a textual tradition connected to a prominent proto-Christian leading figure, but also its degree of textual fluidity and doctrinal flexibility. How and to what extent do the production reliably attributed to an author and its 'apocryphal extension' relate to each other? Which degree of variation does such a phenomenon testify in the Coptic tradition?[12]

Therefore, a systematic history of Coptic literature must strive to overcome an excessively schematic and firm distinction between original works and translations,[13] as well as an equally artificial taxonomy according to its content,[14] since the identification of a coherent and consistent Coptic codification of the literary genre is equally a difficult (not to say, impossible) task. Homily, sermon, martyrdom, hagiographical work, *logos*, *et similia*, are in most cases just bare labels ascribed by late *inscriptiones*, whose unreliable nature, in this respect, has been conclusively demonstrated by Paola Buzi's investigations, with special reference to the late periods of the manuscript transmission.[15] For his part, Tito Orlandi had underlined a process of 'homogenisation' of the Coptic genres,[16] that is, a rearrangement and a 'melting pot' of different literary features and motifs. In short, no uniform genre-system can be recognised in the (extant) Coptic manuscript tradition.

Undoubtedly, such an extremely complex state of affairs has limited the attempts to provide a general evaluation of the history of Coptic literature and its long-term characterising phenomena. There is no need to remind here, as a notable exception, the foundational contributions by Tito Orlandi, on which our reflection, its underlying methodological options, and the resulting proposal are structurally dependent.[17]

Nonetheless, a thorough and comprehensive inquiry appears ever more pressing at this juncture, when, thanks to the above mentioned and other, numerous essays – devoted to historical, literary, codicological issues, both from specific and wider perspectives –,[18] we can benefit from a clearer picture of some important constants and trends of Coptic literacy and writing activity.

This includes a deeper perception of the role played by the theological and political crises that Coptic religious life had to experience as consistent turning and dividing points. As a matter of fact, Coptic literature cannot be set apart from the events leading to and resulting from the Melitian and Chalcedonian schisms, the Arab conquest, and from their *pendant* in terms of theological controversy, such as the Arian doctrine, the Miaphysite debate, the Nestorian condemnation in Ephesus' canons. Indeed, along with such historical circumstances, the accentuated variety of doctrinal orientation working at the beginning of Coptic literacy has recently received its much-deserved attention.[19]

In addition, another set of concerns has emerged, in recent years, regarding prime issues in the study of the 'Coptic period', such as the intrinsic diversity and plurality of the monastic phenomenon,[20] as well

10 *Mutatis mutandis*, that is, by shifting the critical perspective from 'textual' into 'redactional' phenomenon, the observations offered in Epp 1999 may be highly beneficial for a more proper understanding of Coptic textual fluidity.

11 See Sheridan 2016b.

12 A theorical framework is provided by Frey 2019.

13 Coquin 1993.

14 Takla 2014.

15 See especially Buzi 2004 and Buzi 2005.

16 Cf. Orlandi 2013a, 92. See also Orlandi 2008.

17 See at least Orlandi 1984, Orlandi 1986; Orlandi 1991a; Orlandi 1997; Orlandi 1998; Orlandi 2006.

18 By restricting myself to mentioning the recent contributions addressing more general issues, with which the implicit debate will be more intense, see Lucchesi 2011; Boud'hors 2012; Emmel 2007; Buzi 2018.

19 See, as a paradigmatic instance, Camplani 2015a.

20 For a *status quaestionis*, see Sheridan 2016a.

as the convenience of a regional and dialectal-oriented analysis,[21] and the repercussions that the specific organization of the major monastic repositories have had on the modern evaluation of Coptic literature's nature and development.[22]

When considered as a whole, all these elements place the scholar in an ambiguous position, both privileged – since enormous amounts of (not infrequently, mutually conflicting) information, texts, working hypothesis are now available – and awkward – since they require a critical evaluation and a drastic, always difficult selection.

What follows strives to offer a contribution along these lines, with the correlative aim of avoiding any risk of insularity, by giving the opportunity to scholars engaged in other, related research fields (e.g., historians of Christianity, religionists, specialists in apocryphal literature, classical philologists) to come into contact, in a guided way, with a religious and textual environment often preserving otherwise unattested redactions, and relevant variants, along with a significant original production.

2. *The 'PAThs' periodisation system: An overview and some methodological remarks*

As a result of a long and still ongoing debate within the 'PAThs' team and with external scholars, we would like to propose and bring to the critical attention the following periodisation system for the entire Coptic literary production, based on internal elements and of course on manuscript tradition.

It aims at covering all the phases development of Coptic literature, from its beginning as a written linguistic medium to translate a substantial corpus of authoritative Greek texts, mediating them into a different religious and cultural identity, by converting an entire literary world into a new and still unsteady language, until its mature and – so to speak – 'senile' outcomes; namely, since the times of the first steps of the Greek-Coptic bilingualism in Late Antique Egypt, until the Copto-Arabic bilingualism of the early Middle Age, when Coptic literature, also due to the increasing Islamisation of Egypt, finally lost its own linguistic autonomy, leading to the phenomenon of culturally Coptic (i.e. Christian Egyptian) authors who sensed the need to write in Arabic.[23]

A list is provided below of the chronological 'categories' which are currently being used in each 'PAThs' record, under the label 'literary period'. They are applied to more than a thousand Coptic works – transmitted by more than 6,100 codicological units – that are firmly identified by a *Clavis Coptica* entry, whose number is steadily growing. It has to be noted that, also due to the relational nature of 'PAThs' database, this reconstruction should be intended as a provisional working hypothesis, open to criticism and proposed amendments.

Due to the purposes for which it has been elaborated, that necessarily imply a high level of synthesis, the periodisation that we propose appears extremely schematic and requires some preliminary knowledge of the main problems and trends of Coptic literature in order to be fully understood.[24]

1. Translation of biblical works into Sahidic – first phase (third-fourth centuries)
2. Translation of biblical works into Bohairic – first phase (fourth century)
3. Translation of biblical works into, Akhmimic, Lykopolitan, Oxyrhyrinchite, Fayyumic, etc (that is, the other, less attested dialects) (fourth century)
4. Translation of apocryphal works – first phase (fourth century)
5. Translation and (eventual) re-elaboration of a 'Gnostic' corpus (third-fourth centuries)
6. Translation and (eventual) re-elaboration of a Manichaean corpus (third-fifth centuries)
7. Translation of patristic works – first phase (third-fifth centuries)

21 As regards recent and significant inquiries, I will simply allude to Boud'hors 2016 and Luisier 2018.

22 Cf. Orlandi 2018b.

23 On this late, critical phase of Coptic literacy and culture, and on the resulting 'Coptic' literature in Arabic, see Sidarus 2013 and Sidarus 2008. See also Papaconstantinou 2007.

24 For a firm and concise reference point, see Orlandi 1997. See also *supra*, n. 18.

8. Pachomius and the early Pachomian milieu (fourth-fifth centuries)
9. Early original literary production: Shenoute and the Shenoutean milieu (third-fifth centuries)
10. 'Standard' translations of biblical works into Sahidic (fifth century)
11. Translation of apocryphal texts – second phase (fourth-fifth centuries)
12. Translation of hagiographical works – first phase (fourth-sixth centuries)
13. 'Classical' translations - homilies (fourth-sixth centuries)
14. 'Classical' translations – *historiae monachorum* (end of fourth-sixth centuries)
15. 'Classical' translations – acts of councils (end of fourth-sixth centuries)
16. 'Classical' translations – monastic works (end of fourth-sixth centuries)
17. Post-Chalcedonian opposition literature: the 'plerophories' and other works (fifth-sixth centuries)
18. Historiographical production (sixth century)
19. Original literature: Formation of the earlier hagiographic cycles (sixth century)[25]
20. Original literature: The period of Damian and his cultural circle (sixth-seventh centuries): Hagiographies
21. Original literature: The period of Damian and his cultural circle (sixth-seventh centuries): Homilies
22. Poetic production (seventh-eighth centuries)
23. Original literature: Homilies with apocryphal insertions (sixth-seventh centuries)
24. Original literature: Literary production of the early Islamic period (seventh century)
25. 'Standard' translations of biblical works into Bohairic (seventh-eighth centuries)
26. Original literature: Formation of the later (pseudo-epigraphical) hagiographic cycles and re-arrangement of homiletic production (seventh-eighth centuries)
27. Synaxarial arrangement (ninth century)
28. Late liturgical production (tenth-fourteenth centuries)

A very cursory overview is in order. A first section is collectively devoted to the translation(s) of biblical Scriptures, followed by an analogous second section dedicated to the reception and the rewriting processes undergone by Gnostic, Manichaean and other apocryphal corpora. There follow Pachomius and the first category specifically and explicitly indicating an original production – in the 'layered' significance of the term we have seen above –, attributable to Shenoute and his environment. Then, after a couple of labels pointing to a second phase of translation of non-canonical materials and the first reception of hagiographical production, one meets a number of other labels concerning the so-called 'classical translation'. By such an expression we identify, following the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*'s legacy, the first attempt of the Coptic Church (not improbably in connection with the activity of Shenoute)[26] to provide itself with reliable translations of a set of Greek foundational texts, in order to build a textual corpus able to meet emerging theological, liturgical, even political demands. It goes without saying that such a massive (albeit highly selective) insertion of textual material – probably achieved by different episcopal and monastic centres, under the more or less close doctrinal control of the Alexandrian See – marks a key moment in the development of Coptic literature, by providing it with the basis for establishing new and innovative compositions. Hereafter, varying categories of original literature begin, spanning from the period of the Chalcedonian debate, which provoked an actual turning point in Coptic literacy, to the very late liturgical – *lato sensu* – production, the *Triadon* being the most prominent and, at the same time, enig-

25 On the notion of 'literary cycle', see Orlandi 1991b. Cf. also Saweros 2017a.
26 See the pioneering Leipoldt 1909, 154, and Orlandi 2002, 224.

matic example, through the transitional moment of Damian's episcopate and the 'Arabization' of Egyptian culture. In the last paragraph of the present essays, we will deal with the methodological aporias such a 'terminal' phase of Coptic literary production offers to the researcher.

Having reached this point, a few comments are required. Presumably, the most relevant remark concerns what this list *is not*, namely the hypothetical index of a history of Coptic *manuscript* tradition. Rather, it could perhaps become the summary of a future history of Coptic *literary* tradition. This difference is meaningful, being especially relevant in our field of interest, since it is due to an actual filter that leads the modern scholar away from a proper knowledge of the development of Coptic literature and its textual witnesses.

Such a distortive filter is mainly represented by the processes of emendation and rearrangement (also from a dialect-oriented point of view) we can detect in the main Coptic manuscript funds, the White Monastery being just the most iconic example. As is well known, most of the codices transmitted by these ancient repositories can be confidently dated between the end of the ninth and the first half of the eleventh century,[27] and this appears consistent with a deep transformation of the manuscript transmission, resulting from a number of factors, including the changing liturgical needs, the Arab conquest, the increasing monasticisation of Coptic literature.

However, this does not mean at all that the texts preserved in these late witnesses were originally composed or translated for the first time in that period. As far as we can see, these are just the 'selected' ones, which the monastic redactors regarded, after a process of (presumably drastic) selection, as worthy of preservation, being able to meet the evolving political and religious demands.[28]

Consequently, although the manuscript evidences cannot but remain our indispensable starting point, and although the classification we are proposing can be achieved only after a complete (or as complete as possible) inventory of all extant Coptic ancient codicological units, nevertheless it has to be complemented with an historical survey, which takes into account all sorts of sources currently available – historiographical treatises (not only in Coptic, obviously), meta-textual and archaeological data ('titles', colophons, places of production, discovery, and storage of each manuscript units), a serious analysis of the reasons and the consequences of Coptic pseudoepigraphy, a comparison between different translations of the same Greek text in different centuries, as well as of different redactions of the same Coptic work, by evaluating their evolution and their eventual mutual relationship, by being limited only to the most significant phenomena – in order to fill the gaps due to the very peculiar situation of Coptic manuscript remnants.

Moreover, specific attention should be devoted to the dialectal 'evolution' of the Coptic language and the gradual marginalisation of what can be defined, *ex post*, as minor (i.e. less attested) dialects. They bear witness to the very first phases of Coptic literacy and its building blocks, by showing the circulation of biblical translations, the first reception of a selected number of apocryphal compositions, and a substantial heterodox production (mainly Gnostic and Manichaean texts).[29] Lycopolitan's sharp decline between the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, along with the similar fate of the Akhmimic dialect, throws light not only on a gradual 'linguistic unification' under the sign of the Sahidic, but also on an active theological policy, aimed at limiting the circulation of works perceived as inconsistent with a clear demarcation of orthodoxy.[30]

3. *Dialectal variants and biblical manuscripts*

It is reasonable to stress that a further major feature of the 'PAThs' periodisation is the combination of merely chronological indications and content-oriented (or, at least, literary-oriented) remarks.

27 See, for instance, RICHTER 2009, especially 47.

28 Actually, the few extant manuscript collections preceding the synaxarial selection seem to attest ideological options, 'literary tastes', modalities of textual arrangement – as well as actual textual units – that are no longer preserved in later funds. This is clearly highlighted, with specific reference to the revealing case of the Thin Library, in ORLANDI 2013b. Cf. also CAMPLANI 2020.

29 An interesting phenomenon is the possible Subakhmimic anti-Manichaean production, which would be witnessed by CLM 1027 and 1171. See SIMON 1946, 506. CLM stands for Coptic Literary Manuscript and is the stable ID attributed by 'PAThs' to each codicological unit.

30 Cf. LAYTON 1977, 66. See also KASSER 2002.

Thus, as an example, the reader shall note that the foundational period of the early translations of biblical Scriptures is split according to their dialect, or that the 'classical translations' are classified by tracking what could be defined as a modern perception of their literary genre, with (in most cases) a complete or near-complete overlapping of their dating ranges.

Although, as we have seen, the genres declared by the ancient *inscriptiones* cannot be taken as reliable indications, through this partition we are able to suggest the idea of successive moments in the Coptic reception of a specific kind of Greek literary production, giving for each one an even relative dating. Since our choices went in the direction of a development model of Coptic literature, built by connecting manuscript, historical, and archaeological data, the eventual evolution of Coptic 'literary taste' – by consisting with and depending on ecclesiastical and religious demands – has an undeniable impact on our perception of its path.

Even though we do think that, at the current stage of the research, this is the most reasonable model that it is possible to propose, we are fully aware that it could generate, at least apparently, some aporetical conclusions.

The most obvious one lies in the cases of continuously translated and re-translated texts, typically affecting the canonised Scriptures and, in particular, the Scriptures of which the Christian Bible is composed, which have undergone unbroken reception and revision processes over the centuries. Analogous observations, however, could be extended to some hagiographical and liturgical compositions. They are timeless works.

As far as the periodisation proposal is concerned, the questions they induce are made even more complicated by the purely artificial nature of the distinction between 'biblical translation' and 'literary production', the latter being grounded in a ceaselessly transmitted inter-textual framework of biblical quotations and allusions, both from canonical and apocryphal sources.[31] It is not an overstatement to affirm that the Coptic literature – largely, if not entirely Christian in nature – can be seen as a sophisticated form of *parascripture*, by complying with all the main textual and redaction features (the so-called 'apocryphication techniques') such expression involves.[32]

By restricting ourselves to a single, problematic instance, there is no 'material' evidence of such an early Bohairic versions of the Johannine corpus, taken as a whole, but we do indeed have a *clavis* entry dedicated to the Gospel of John, which is linked to different codicological units (about 160) dated between the third and the eleventh century, in several dialects. The reasons which lead me to mention this instance are fairly obvious: we know early Sahidic and Lykopolitan versions of the Fourth Gospel, quite different from the Bodmer fourth century Bohairic translation, which, in its turn, differs significantly from the 'standard' later Bohairic version.[33] However, they all are subsumed under the same *clavis* entry.

This is just an eye-catching instance, but it seems to suggest a generalisable model, namely the translation, in an early period, of both Old Testament and New Testament books – individually or collectively – into all the regional variants of the Coptic language, to be reasonably seen, in some cases, as re-translations from a Coptic dialect to another.

The progressive but increasing emergence of the Sahidic dialect entailed the marginalisation of the other versions and the gradual affirmation of the 'standard' Sahidic one. Between the eighth and the ninth century, the decline of the Sahidic and the corresponding rise of the Bohairic language underlined the need to produce a new 'official' corpus, by retranslating into the emerging language the entirety of the Canon.[34]

A relational system founded on *clavis* entries pointing to a number of pieces of manuscript evidences faces great difficulties in accounting for the chronological layers undergone by a work, if they are numerous. As for ancient evidence, a foundational work, such as the *Gospel of Matthew*, is attested by a large number of manuscripts spanning from the fourth and the twelfth century (by limiting the scope to the chronological range covered by 'PAThs' database). Consequently, 'PAThs' record dedicated to this work

31 See the embraceable observations in Richter 2005. On the fluidity of such process, see Timbie 2007.

32 On the notion of *parascripture* and its impacts, see Burns 2016. On the features and techniques of "apocryphication", see Frey 2019.

33 Cf. Askeland 2012, 168-174; Boud'hors 2015.

34 See Boud'hors 2006. Cf. also Husselman 1947, and Kasser - Quecke - Bosson 1992. As for the independence of the early Bohairic witnesses from the Sahidic corpus, see Luisier 1998, 268. An updated *status quaestionis* on the Bohairic version(s) of the Holy Scriptures is provided by Sheridan 2019.

should be linked to all the chronological categories that refer to a biblical translation (nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, and 25 in the list given above). However, the proposed classification has the prime aim of offering an overview on the paths of Coptic literature, also beyond its immediate usage in 'PAThs' database, which is obviously influenced by reasons of synthesis and coherence. Thus, we have avoided inserting multiple categories, preferring instead to state, whenever possible, when that specific text joined the interest of the Coptic readers, beginning to be translated and re-translated in different 'dialects'.[35]

Therefore, it is fundamental to reiterate that what these pages are proposing is a model of development of Coptic literature, and not merely a tool for a digital database.

Moreover, biblical texts and biblical manuscripts are rather a special class, and our analysis is inevitably partial from both perspectives, also in view of the activity of other international projects specifically devoted to this topic.

4. *Rewritten narratives and textual fluidity: The case of late Coptic homilies*

A final, even more urgent methodological question relates to a very specific Coptic textual phenomenon, that is, the previously mentioned late rearrangement of the homiletic production, in which either highly redrafted versions of Greek sermons and original apocryphal traditions are bound together or different originally independent Greek homilies are recombined and fused together, giving rise to actual new compositions.

As I have tried to stress elsewhere by analysing both homiletic series and single sermons[36] – and as is widely acknowledged –, such late phases of Coptic literature reveal a pronounced freedom of composition. By generalising, one could affirm that the vast majority of Coptic homilaries is structurally shaped by phenomena of textual fluidity, cultural appropriation, rearrangement according to the cultual use[37] Such multiple-text manuscripts are, not infrequently, our only evidence for partial translations of Greek sermons[38].

How to consider these deeply amended and reworked textual units? Strictly speaking, they are Coptic compositions, since they show an undeniable literary agency reached by the late redactor. Nevertheless, they rely on, and are made up of, translations from still recognisable Greek models, which – and this is the most enigmatic aspect – appear fully consistent with what we know of the intent, the theological attitude, and the methodological boundaries that have led to the first known Coptic translations of Greek works (the so-called 'classical translations').

In this respect, Gregory of Nyssa's homily *De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti* (CPG 3192) can be taken as a highly revealing example of the aporias entailed by such late rewritings of known Greek models.

Preserved by a single Bohairic witness under the name of Gregory of Nazianzus (CC 0196),[39] it discloses not only a continuous rearrangement of the original text, but also significant textual insertions, namely variations on the theme, which cannot be found in its Greek counterpart. As is customary, the entire first section of the Greek homily (PG 46, 553, 21 – 565, 25) has been omitted by the Coptic translator, whose concerns are mainly focused on the Greek *ethikon*, by leaving aside the exegetical portion opening the Greek sermon.[40]

Thus, after the addition represented by the *inscriptio* and by a linking passage, the Coptic text parallels the Greek between f. 185r l. 20 and f. 187r l. 30 (PG 46, 564, 25 – 568, 10).[41] However, countless evidences

35 Therefore, we adopt a slightly simplified form of the model developed in KASSER 1966 and KASSER 1958.

36 Cfr. BERNO 2018; BUZI - BERNO - SOLDATI - VALERIO 2018, especially 162-193; BERNO 2019, 29-46.

37 ORLANDI 2012.

38 On the typology of Coptic multiple-text manuscripts and its evolution, see BUZI 2018 and BUZI 2019.

39 *Vat. copt.* 61, ff. 185r-193v (MACA.BI; CLM 100). The Coptic text has been edited in CHAINE 1912-1913. See also HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 426-428.

40 This is a fairly typical Coptic device, attested by both Sahidic (e.g., MONB.CR; CLM 325) and Bohairic (e.g., MACA.AC; CLM 72) codices, which can be taken as collections of *ethika*, even if the extent of the Coptic ethical conclusions only rarely coincides with that of the corresponding Greek sermon. See VOICU 2011 and BELLET 1954, 202. Unlike the codices transmitting *typika* (as for which, see ATANASSOVA 2010), such collections do not seem to be intended as homilaries for liturgical services, that is as lectionaries. Instead, they appear to have been conceived as handbooks of uplifting readings, taken from the most influential, revered and popular Early Church Fathers.

41 However, as for the last lines, the match is increasingly loose.

of redrafting[42] and shortening[43] is dotted throughout the Coptic rendering of the Greek text. Moreover and even more importantly, at f. 187r l. 31 a long section begins, maintaining only a thematic connection with its Greek *Vorlage*, by the addition of a paraenetical piece on Gen 22, 1.[44] From the end of this insertion – whose boundaries, in their turn, are far from being well-defined –, Coptic adheres to the Greek homily, by continuing to reveal examples of reiterate rewriting processes.

Hence the conclusion that the overall structure of the Coptic sermon significantly differs from its Greek counterpart, showing an autonomous argumentative path and independent textual solutions. In short, it is *something radically different* from the inter-text on which it relies.

Moreover, these issues cannot but call into question the notion itself of textual identity, that is, the possibility of identifying continuity and mutual relationship between manuscripts preserving textual units which appear 'thematically' related, despite the diversity of their texts. Consequently, they should be interpreted as "sibling" groups of literary texts, that is, as texts linked by gemming from the same *Vorlage* but attesting different redactional stages in the path from their Greek model to their terminal Coptic rewriting.

If we shift the focus of our analysis from translations of Greek sermons preserved in a single copy to the lucky cases of multiple attestation, the landscape does not differ.

The homily *De homicidis*, pseudoepigraphically attributed to Athanasius (CC 0048), survive in at least two parchment codices, once belonging to the repositories of the monastery of St. Michael (whose latest dated colophon traces back to the year 914) and the White Monastery.[45]

It is worth noticing that, when the two witnesses preserve parallel texts, considerable differences emerge even on a cursory reading. Despite focusing solely on the most relevant mismatches, numerous instances may be quoted. In introducing Christ's speech against those who do not fear the judgments of God (§ 7), the White Monastery's codex proposes the following passage: ϥⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲭ(ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟ)ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲝ [ϩ]ⲓⲱⲱⲕ ⲙⲡ[ⲉ]ⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲉϣ<ⲥ> ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ, ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲛⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ. ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲛⲛⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲕϯ ⲛⲟⲩϭⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ.[46]

On the contrary, the Hamuli's witness opts for a more elaborated version: ϥⲛⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲛⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲝ ϩⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲥ ⲛⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ(ⲛ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲛⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛϣⲗⲟϥ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲁⲣⲛⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲛⲛⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲕϯ ϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲁ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ.[47]

A quite revers situation is presented by the section addressing the topic of all kinds of sins' forgiveness, through contrition and penitence, with the sole exception of the murderers (§ 10). In MICH. AZ, a very cursory statement occurs, merely ennobled by the reference to the Prophet: ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲇⲉ

42 See for instance f. 185v l. 26-186r l. 9: ⲁⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϯⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ̅ⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ϩⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲟ̅ϩⲓ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲁⲧϩⲩⲗⲏⲕⲓⲁ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧϧⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲱⲗⲕ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛⲏⲉ̅ⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲁⲡⲓⲱϣϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧϧⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̅ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϫⲫⲉ ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲓⲥⲧⲟⲣⲓⲁ̅ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲟⲛⲉ ϣⲓⲡⲓ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ… (// PG 46, 565, 39-45: Χρόνος διέβη πολὺς, καὶ ἡ φύσις τὸ ἴδιον ἔπασχεν, ἤδη πρὸς τὸ γηραιὸν, αὐτῷ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπικλιθείσης, καὶ ἔτι ἡ ἐλπὶς παρετείνετο· ἀπέσβη κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ γηραιῷ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ ὁμοζύγῳ ἡ πρὸς παιδοποιίαν ἰσχύς. Καὶ τοῦτο ἀνεπαισχύντως ἡ ἱστορία παρασημαίνεται…).

43 See for instance f. 186v ll. 1-15: ⲉⲁⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϧⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲉ̅ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲡⲥⲟⲗⲥⲉⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉ̅ⲧⲁⲩϫⲫⲟϥ ⲉ̅ⲁ̅ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲉⲣⲱϯ ϧⲁϯ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲣϧⲉⲗⲗⲱ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲭⲟⲣⲓⲅⲓⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲭⲣⲓⲁ̅ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏⲉ̅ⲧⲁⲩϫⲫⲟϥ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲉ̅ⲧⲁⲥⲉⲣϧⲉⲗⲗⲱ ⲛϯⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⲁⲥⲁ̅ⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲥⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉ̅ϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̅ⲣⲱϥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲁ̅ⲗⲟⲩ ⲉϥϧⲁϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲁ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲱϯ (// PG 46, 565, 51 – 568, 6: …ὡς εἰκὸς, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεᾷ, ἀνήβησεν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς πάλιν ἡ πολιὰ, δαψιλεῖς αἱ τοῦ γάλακτος πηγαὶ τῇ παρήλικι πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπιῤῥέουσαι· ἐπεῖχεν ἡ γεγηρακυῖα τῷ παιδὶ τὴν θηλὴν πλημμυροῦσαν. Ἐπηγάλλετο τῷ παρὰ φύσιν θαύματι λέγουσα· Τίς εἴπῃ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὅτι θηλάζει τέκνον ἡ Σάῤῥα; Εἶτα ἡδρύνετο τὸ νήπιον κατ› ὀλίγον, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν μειρακίων ἡλικίαν ἔτρεχεν, καὶ ἤδη παῖς ἦν ἐν ἄνθει τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ὥρας, γλυκὺ θέαμα τοῖς γεννησαμένοις, εἰς ὥραν ἐπιδιδοὺς, εἰς ἀκμὴν προϊὼν, τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὰς συναύξων τῷ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος).

44 Inc.: ϯⲉⲛϩⲟⲩⲣ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲇⲓⲏⲅⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲧ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ ⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲉ̅ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ.

45 Respectively signed, according to the CMCL, as MICH.AZ (= CLM 225) and MONB.FQ (= CLM 390). The text has been recently edited and translated in Saweros 2019, 13-32. Relevant remarks in Saweros 2017b.

46 'Christ will tell you: "Just as you have violated me, without having seen a whip over you and without having been beaten for the sake of my name, and denied me. Now find rest in the punishments, in return for the sins which you did and by which you have made me wroth"'.

47 'For God will say to you: "Look, you have denied me, without having seen a whip over you and without having been beaten for the sake of my name, yet you denied me because of something shameful. Now I will deny you too. Now find rest in the punishments, in return for the sins which you did and by which you have made me angry in this world"'.

ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛⲥⲉⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.[48] In MONB.FQ, instead, one can read more elaborate expressions: ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲣⲉϥϩⲱⲧⲃ ⲁϣⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲡϥⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲃⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲥⲉϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ.[49]

A last and even more significant passage – leaving aside the ubiquitous misalignments – should be recalled, namely the pivotal textual *locus* occurring towards the end of the homily, when the vision of a ⲟⲩϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ is reported. The object of the revelation lies in the definition of 'pagans', explicitly identified with the Christian people who, although baptized, transgressed the law of God. The old man saw a multitude of souls being punished in a great heat, while his *angelus interpres* was explaining the nature of such tormented souls. According to the Hamuli's version, this vision exhausted the revelation of the old monk – who is immediately identified as Pachomius by Athanasius – and the message he had to reveal to his fatherhood (ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ). Instead, according to the White Monastery's account, the *visio damnationis* represents only one half of the apocalypse, since the old monk keeps speaking,[50] by revealing a second vision (defectively preserved), in which he stood in front of a beautiful tree growing in heaven, surrounded by angelic hosts.[51]

All these elements cause us to lean towards the mutual independence of the literary traditions transmitted by these two sources, by gemming from reciprocally unconnected evolutions of a common textual matrix in two different regional and cultural environments. Once again, their relationship seems to be based on their dependence on a common and independently reworked *Urtext*.

The two case studies put forward – the former addressing the redrafting process of a known Greek composition; the latter revealing equally complex rewriting phenomena related to an allegedly Coptic original text – cannot be considered isolated instances.[52] On the contrary, they seem to represent the rule in this late phase of Coptic manuscript transmission, by disclosing two pervasive and interrelated trends, notably an inclination toward *thematic selection* and *textual accretion*.

As a consequence of these remarks and by building on the lucky cases of multiple attestation[53] and on a historical reconstruction of the paths of Coptic literature, it may be supposed that the Greek homiletic tradition went through a double phase of reception, translation and transmission in Coptic, the first one coinciding with the 'period of the classical translations', the second with the liturgical rearrangement probably suffered by the entirety of Coptic production. While the former would provide a (relatively) reliable and accurate translation of a selected corpus of Greek textual material, the latter would redraft such a corpus, by showing increasingly identifiable processes of religious adaptation and textual rewriting.

At the current state of research, this is just a working hypothesis. As such, it needs to formalise and codify historical circumstances that must have been far more fluid, but it accounts for the high and increasing degree of interpolatory activity shown by the last periods of Coptic literature and, at the same time, for the wide availability of textual material to be re-used.

As a result, a great deal of Greek homilies is placed in 'PAThs' database under the categories 'Original Literature: Homilies with apocryphal insertions (6^{th}-8^{th} c.)', 'Original Literature: Formation of the later (pseudo-epigraphical) hagiographic cycles and re-arrangement of homiletic production (7^{th}-8^{th} c.)', 'Synaxarial arrangement (9^{th}-10^{th} c.)', depending on each individual case, but with the explicitly declared statement 1) that such decision is the mere result of an 'accidental' over-representation of this phase of Coptic literature, and 2) that a lost previous circulation of this production can be reasonably assumed, at least in several, significant instances.

Without claiming to exhaust the matter, the present contribution aimed at providing a comprehensive overview on the 'PAThs' classification of Coptic literature, based on the extant codicological units and an

48 'Whoever will kill, even if they fast for six days like Moses, there is no forgiveness for them'.

49 'Even if murderers hang themselves from the hair of their heads and their eyebrows, God will not forgive them unless they pay a soul for a soul'.

50 The addition of the quotation from Mk 4, 48 should also be noted.

51 Inc.: ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡϩⲗⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ.

52 Analogous conclusions should be drawn by a careful analysis of the manuscript evidences preserving the homily *In Crucem*, ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria (CC 0395); analysis which is greatly helped by the critical *apparatus* provided in SUCIU 2012.

53 Other desirable case studies include, *inter alia*, Athanasius' *Homily against Arius* (CC 0050; GIOV.AF / MONB.BH), Theophilus' *Homily on the Cross* (CC 0395; GIOV.AB / MICH.BR / MONB.PG / SIUD.AB), Severian of Gabala's *Homily on the Nativity* (CC 0329; GIOV.AK / MONB.EC / MONB.CV / MONB.BS).

in-depth historical survey, by addressing (from a highly selective perspective) some of the most pressing questions exposed by the complex state of the research on the Coptic literary and manuscript tradition.

Therefore, this article is intended to be the starting point for more specific investigations, which reject or confirm what is presented here as a working assumption and suggestion for further research.

References

Askeland 2012 = C. Askeland, *John's Gospel. The Coptic Translation of Its Greek Text*, Berlin - Boston, 2012.

Atanassova 2010 = D. Atanassova, "Paper Codices with Liturgical Typika from the White Monastery", *Coptica*, 9, 2010, pp. 1-23.

Bagnall 2005 = R.S. Bagnall, "Linguistic Change and Religious Change: Thinking about the Temples of the Fayoum in the Roman Period", in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*, Cairo, 2005, pp. 11-19.

Behlmer 2016a = H. Behlmer, "Research on Coptic Literature (2004-2008)", in P. Buzi - A. Camplani - F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012 and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September, 15th-19th, 2008 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247-248), I-II, Leuven, 2016, I, pp. 19-48.

Behlmer 2016b = H. Behlmer, "New Research on Coptic Literature (2008-2012)", in P. Buzi - A. Camplani - F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012 and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September, 15th-19th, 2008 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247-248), I-II, Leuven, 2016, I, pp. 303-334.

Bellet 1954 = P. Bellet, "Testimonios coptos de la aparición de Cristo resucitado a la Virgen", *Estudios bíblicos*, 13, 1954, pp. 199-295.

Berno 2018 = F. 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", *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 66-74.

Berno 2019 = F. Berno, "The Literary Content", in P. Buzi (ed.), *Detecting Early Mediaeval Coptic Literature in Dayr Al-Anbā Maqār, Between Textual Conservation and Literary Rearrangement: The Case of Vat. Copt. 57*, Roma, 2019, pp. 29-46.

Boud'hors 2006 = A. Boud'hors, "Réflexions supplémentaires sur les principaux témoins fayoumiques de la Bible", in L. Painchaud - P.-H. Poirier (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica. Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, Louvain - Paris - Québec, 2006, pp. 81-108.

Boud'hors 2012 = A. Boud'hors, "The Coptic Tradition", in S.F. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 224-246.

Boud'hors 2015 = A. Boud'hors, "Quelques réflexion sur la cohérence de la composante copte des P.Bodmer", *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 79-85.

Boud'hors 2016 = A. Boud'hors, "De l'édition des fragments coptes fayoumiques. Réflexions méthodologiques", *Chronique d'Egypte*, 91, 2016, pp. 180-192.

Burns 2016 = D. Burns, "Esotericism Recorded: Text, Scripture, and Parascripture", in A.D. DeConick (ed.), *Religion: Secret Religion*, Farmington Hill, 2016, pp. 213-229.

Buzi 2004 = P. Buzi, "Titles in the Coptic Manuscript Tradition: Complex Structure Titles and Extended Complex Structure Titles", in M. Immerzeel - J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies in the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000*, vol. 1, Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2004, pp. 309-315.

Buzi 2005 = P. Buzi, *Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta. Studio storico e tipologico*, Pisa, 2005.

Buzi 2017 = P. Buzi, "Remains of Gnomic Anthologies and Pagan wisdom Literature in the Coptic Tradition", in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt, between the 1st and the 6th cent. CE*, Tübingen, 2017, pp. 131-151.

Buzi 2018 = P. Buzi, "Egypt, Crossroad of Translations and Literary Interweavings (3rd-6th century). A Reconsideration of Earlier Coptic Literature", in F. Crevatin (ed.), *Egitto, crocevia di traduzioni*, Trieste, 2018, pp. 15-67.

Buzi 2019 = P. Buzi, "The Ninth-Century Coptic 'Book Revolution' and the Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts", in A. Bausi - M. Friedrich - M. Maniaci (eds.), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Berlin - Boston, 2019, pp. 125-142.

Buzi - Berno - Soldati - Valerio 2018 = P. Buzi - F. Berno - A. Soldati - F. Valerio, "*Vat. copt.* 57: A Codicological, Literary, and Paratextual Analysis", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 4.2, 2018, pp. 162-193.

Buzi - Bogdani - Berno 2018 = P. Buzi - J. Bogdani - F. Berno, "The 'PAThs' Project: An Effort to Represent the Physical Dimension of Coptic Literary Production (Third-Eleventh centuries)", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 4.1, 2018, pp. 39-58.

Camplani 2015a = A. Camplani, "Per un profilo storico-religioso degli ambienti di produzioni e fruizione dei Papyri Bodmer: contaminazione dei linguaggi e dialettica delle idee nel contesto del dibattito su dualismo ed origenismo", *Adamantius*, 21, 2015, pp. 98-135.

Camplani 2015b = A. Camplani, "Il copto e la chiesa copta. La lenta ed inconclusa affermazione della lingua copta nello spazio pubblico della tarda antichità", in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa. Tradizioni e culture a confronto*, Milano - Roma, 2015, pp. 129-153.

Camplani 2018 = A. Camplani, "Sulla multifunzionalità del tradurre in copto: note sparse su frammenti copti tardoantichi, Cicerone e moderne ipotesi di ricerca", in F. Crevatin (ed.), *Egitto crocevia di traduzioni*, Trieste, 2018, pp. 101-144.

Camplani 2020 = A. Camplani, "The Discovery of Coptic Manuscripts and the Development of Patristic Studies: Methodological and Epistemological Issues and the Challenge of Some New Research Projects", 2020, forthcoming.

Carlini 2004 = A. Carlini, "Rifacimenti cristiani di opere pagane: il Manuale di Epitteto e le Sentenze di Sesto", in M.S. Funghi (ed.), *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, I-II, Firenze, 2004, I, pp. 97-110.

Chaîne 1912-1913 = M. Chaîne, "Une homélie de Saint Grégoire de Nysse traduite en copte, attribuée à Saint Grégoire de Nazianze", *Revue de l'Orient chrétien,* 17-18, 1912-1913, pp. 395-409, pp. 36-41.

Coquin 1993 = R.-G. Coquin, "Langue et littérature coptes", in M. Albert *et al.* (eds.), *Christianismes orientaux: Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris, 1993, pp. 167-217.

Emmel 2006 = S. Emmel, "A Report on Progress in the Study of Coptic Literature, 1996-2004", in A. Boud'hors, D. Vaillancourt (eds.), *Huitième congrès international d'études coptes* (*Paris 2004*), Paris, 2006, I, pp. 173-204.

Emmel 2007 = S. Emmel, "Coptic Literature in the Byzantine and Early Islamic World", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 83-102.

Epp 1999 = E.J. Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term "Original Text" in the New Testament Textual Criticism", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 92, 1999, pp. 245-281.

Fournet 2009 = J.-L. Fournet, "The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 418-451.

Fournet 2011 = J.-L. Fournet, "Omero e i Cristiani in Egitto secondo due testi agiografici (Panegirico di Macario di Tkôw e Sofrone di Gerusalemme, Miracoli di Ciro e Giovanni)", in L. Cristante - S. Ravalico (eds.), *Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità,* IV, Trieste, 2011, pp. 19-31.

Frey 2019 = J. Frey, "From Canonical to Apocryphal Texts: The Quest for Processes of "Apocryphication" in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature", in J. Frey - C. Clivaz - T. Nicklas (eds.), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts*, Tübingen, 2019, pp. 1-43.

Hebbelynck - van Lantschoot 1937 = A. Hebbelynck - A. van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani*, I-II, Città del Vaticano, 1937.

Husselman 1947 = E. M. Husselman, "A Bohairic School Text on Papyrus", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 6, 1947, pp. 129-151.

Kasser 1958 = R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer III; Évangile de Jean et Gènese I-IV en bohaïrique*, Louvain, 1958.

Kasser 1966 = R. Kasser, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean et les versions copte de la Bible*, Neuchâtel, 1966.

Kasser 2002 = R. Kasser, "Le lyco-diospolitain en sa complexité, vestiges régionaux, altérés, devenus polymorphes de la langue véhiculaire pré-copte, utilisée en Haute-Égypte? ", in H.-G. Bethge - S. Emmel - K.L. King - I. Schleterer (ed.), *For the Children, Perfect Instruction*, Leiden, 2002, pp. 341-351.

Kasser - Quecke - Bosson 1992 = R. Kasser - H. Quecke - N. Bosson, “Le second chapitre d’Aggée en bohaïrique B74”, *Orientalia*, 61, 1992, pp. 169-204.

Krause 1991 = M. Krause, “Coptological Studies”, in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, II, pp. 613-616.

Layton 1977 = B. Layton, “Editorial Notes on the “Expository Treatise Concerning the Soul” (Tractate II 6 from Nag Hammadi)’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 14, 1977, pp. 65-73.

Leipoldt 1909 = J. Leipoldt, “Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur”, in C. Brockelmann *et al.* (eds.), *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen der Oriens*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 131-183.

Lucchesi 1988 = E. Lucchesi, “Chénoute a-t-il écrit en grec?”, in R.-G. Coquin (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: Contributions à l’ étude des christianismes orientaux*, Genève, 1988, pp. 201-210.

Lucchesi 2000 = E. Lucchesi, “La langue originale des commentaires sur les Évangiles du Rufus de Shotep”, *Orientalia*, 69, 2000, pp. 86-87.

Lucchesi 2011 = E. Lucchesi, “Regards nouveaux sur la littérature copte”, in P. Buzi - A. Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi*, Roma, 2011, pp. 369-414.

Luisier 1998 = P. Luisier, *Les citations vétéro-testamentaires dans les versions coptes des évangiles. Recueil et analyse critique*, Gèneve, 1998.

Luisier 2018 = P. Luisier, “La documentation copte bohairique du IVe au début IXe siècle, des traductions bibliques au témoignage des inscriptions”, in M. Lafkioui - V. Brugnatelli (eds.), *Writing Sources about Africa and Their Study*, Milano, 2018, pp. 85-102.

Martens 1991 = G. Martens, “Was ist – aus editorischer Sicht – ein Text? Überlegungen zur Bestimmung eines Zentralbegriffs der Editionsphilologie”, in S. Scheibe - C. Laufer (eds.), *Zu Werk und Text. Beiträge zur Textologie*, Berlin, 1991, pp. 135-156.

Mihálikó 2019 = Á. Mihálikó, “The Persistence of Greek and the Rise of Coptic in the Early Christian Liturgy in Egypt”, in A. Norad - S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology; 2016 August 1-6; Barcelona*, Barcelona, 2019, pp. 698-705.

Moawad 2018 = S. Moawad, “Coptic Authors and Their Literary Works in the First Millennium: Presenting a Current Project”, in M. Lafkioui - V. Brugnatelli (eds.), *Written Sources about Africa and Their Study. Le fonti scritte sull’Africa e i loro studi*, Milano, 2018, pp. 127-145.

Orlandi 1978 = T. Orlandi, “The Future of Studies in Coptic Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature”, in R. McL. Wilson, (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 1978, pp. 1-22.

Orlandi 1984 = T. Orlandi, “Le traduzioni dal greco e lo sviluppo della letteratura copta”, in P. Nagel (ed.), *Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen* Ägypten, Halle, 1984, pp. 181-203.

Orlandi 1986 = T. Orlandi, “Coptic Literature”, in B.A. Pearson - J.E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity,* Philadelphia, 1986, pp. 51-81.

Orlandi 1991a = T. Orlandi, “Coptic, Literature”, in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, V, pp. 1450b-1460a.

Orlandi 1991b = T. Orlandi, “Cycle”, in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, I-VIII, New York, 1991, II, pp. 666a-668b.

Orlandi 1992 = T. Orlandi, “The Study of Coptic Literature, 1988-1992”, in M. Rassart-Debergh - J. Ries (eds.), *Actes du IVe Congrès Copte, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 sept. 1988*, I-II, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992, II, pp. 211-223.

Orlandi 1993 = T. Orlandi, “The Study of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature, 1988-1992”, in T. Orlandi (ed.), *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington*, vol. 1, Roma, 1993, pp. 129-150.

Orlandi 1997 = T. Orlandi, “Letteratura copta e cristianesimo egiziano”, in A. Camplani (ed.), *L’Egitto cristiano: Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica*, Roma, 1997, pp. 39-120.

Orlandi 1998 = T. Orlandi, “Koptische Literatur”, in M. Krause (ed.), *Ägypten in spätantik-christlicher Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur*, Wiesbaden, 1998, pp. 117-147.

Orlandi 1999 = T. Orlandi, “Lo studio della letteratura copta, 1992-1996”, in S. Emmel - M. Krause - S.G. Richter - S. Schaten (eds.), Ägypten *und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit.* Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenskongresses, Münster, 20-26 Juli 1996, I-II, Wiesebaden, 1999, I, pp. 23-37.

Orlandi 2002 = T. Orlandi, “The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe”, in A. Egberts - BP. Muhs - J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Leiden, 2002, pp. 211-231.

Orlandi 2006 = T. Orlandi, “Patristic Text in Coptic”, in A. Di Bernardino (ed.), *Patrology. The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus († 750)*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 491-570.

Orlandi 2008 = T. Orlandi, *Coptic Texts Relating to the Virgin Mary*, Roma, 2008.

Orlandi 2012 = T. Orlandi, “La collezione vaticana e la letteratura copta”, in P. Buzi - D.V. Proverbio (eds.), *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library. A Selection of Coptic, Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic Manuscripts*, Città del Vaticano, 2012, pp. 27-46.

Orlandi 2013a = T. Orlandi, “Terminology for the Identification of Coptic Literary Documents”, *Journal for Coptic Studies*, 15, 2013, pp. 87-94.

Orlandi 2013b = T. Orlandi, “The Turin Coptic Papyri”, *Augustinianum*, 53, 2013, pp. 501-530.

Orlandi 2018a = T. Orlandi, “The CMCL Clavis Coptica. On Producing a Standardized List of (Coptic) Works and Manuscripts”, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 4.1, 2018, pp. 107-114.

Orlandi 2018b = T. Orlandi, “The Monasteries of Shenoute and Macarius: A Comparison Between Two Libraries”, *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 58-65.

Papaconstantinou 2007 = A. Papaconstantinou, “‘They Shall Speak the Arabic Language and Take Pride in It’: Reconsidering the Fate of Coptic after the Arab Conquest”, *Le Muséon*, 120, 2007, pp. 273-299.

Richter 2009 = T.S. Richter, “Wadi al-Natrun and Coptic Literature”, in S.A. Mikhail Maged - M. Moussa (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi Al-Natrun: Essays from the 2002 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society*, Cairo, 2009, pp. 43-62.

Richter 2005 = T.S. Richter, “What’s in a Story? Cultural Narratology and Coptic Child Donation Documents”, *Journal of Juristic Papirology*, 35, 2005, pp. 237-264.

Richter 2009 = T.S. Richter, “Greek, Coptic and the ‘Language of the Hijra”: the Rise and the Decline of the Coptic Language in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt’, in H.M. Cotton - R.G. Hoyland - J.J. Price - D.J. Wasserstein (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge - New York, 2009, pp. 401-446.

Robinson 2013 = P. Robinson, “Towards a Theory of Digital Editions”, *Variants*, 10, 2013, pp. 105-131.

Saweros 2019 = I. Saweros, *Another Athanasius. Four Sahidic Homilies Attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria: Two Homilies on Michael the Archangel, the Homilies on Luke 11:5-9 and the Homily on Pentecost*, Leuven, 2019.

Saweros 2017a = I. Saweros, “On Tito Orlandi’s Concept of ‘Cycle’”, *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte*, 56, 2017, pp. 277-303.

Saweros 2017b = I. Saweros, “The Perception of St. Athanasius of Alexandria in Later Coptic Literature”, in G. Gabra - H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Northern Egypt. Beni Suef, Giza, Cairo, and the Nile Delta*, Cairo - New York, 2017, pp. 109-117.

Sheridan 2016a = M. Sheridan, “Research and Publications in Egyptian Monasticism, 2004-2008”, in P. Buzi - A. Camplani - F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012 and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September, 15th-19th, 2008 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247-248), I-II, Leuven, 2016, I, pp. 131-150.

Sheridan 2016b = M. Sheridan, “Pseudepigrapha and False Attributions in Coptic Sermons”, in P. Buzi - A. Camplani - F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012 and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September, 15th-19th, 2008 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 247-248), I-II, Leuven, 2016, I, pp. 1005-1012.

Sheridan forthcoming = M. Sheridan, “The Mystery of Bohairic: The Role of the Monasteries in Adaptation and Change”, in Ch. Kotsifou - E. Iricinschi (eds.), *Coping with Religious Change in the Late-Antique Eastern Mediterranean*, Tübingen, forthcoming.

Sidarus 2008 = A.Y. Sidarus, “Encyclopédisme et savoir religieux à l’*â*ge d’or de la littérature copte arabe (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 74, 2008, pp. 347-361.

Sidarus 2013 = A.Y. Sidarus, “From Coptic to Arabic in the Christian Literature of Egypt (7th – 11th centuries)”, *Coptica*, 12, 2013, pp. 35-56.

Simon 1946 = J. Simon, “Note sur le dossier des textes subakhmimiques”, *Le Muséon*, 59, 1946, pp. 497-509.

Suciu 2012 = A. Suciu, “Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini Sermo de Cruce et Latrone (CPG 2622): Edition of M595 with Parallels and Translation”, *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 16, 2012, pp. 181-225.

Takla 2014 = H.N. Takla, “Coptic Literature: Copts Writing in their Own Tongue”, in L.F. Farag (ed.), *The Coptic Christian Heritage: History, Faith and Culture*, London - New York, 2014, pp. 224-236.

Timbie 2007 = J.A. Timbie, “Non-canonical Scriptural Citations in Shenoute”, in N. Bosson - A. Boud’hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d’études coptes, Paris, 28 juin-3 juillet 2004*, Leuven, 2007, pp. 625-634.

Voicu 2011 = S.J. Voicu, “Per una lista delle opere trasmesse in copto sotto il nome di Giovanni Crisostomo”, in P. Buzi - A. Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi*, Roma, 2011, pp. 575-610.

Wipszycka 1992 = E. Wipszycka, “Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l’Egypte byzantine?”, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 22, 1992, pp. 3-128.

Defining Methodologies and Protocols for the Use and Reuse of Archaeological Legacy Data. The Case Study of the *Archaeological Atlas of the Coptic Literature*

*Julian Bogdani – Sapienza Università di Roma**

Abstract
This article deals with some methodological aspects related to the use of the so-called 'legacy data' and proposes some theoretical and practical points of reflection based on best practices that archaeologists can follow in their daily work with diverse data manipulation and creation. Moreover, the concept of 'legacy data' requires deeper consideration, to better define and contextualise its use within the scope of digital archaeological theory and practice. To offer a more concrete and solid framework to the general considerations, the case study of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* will be introduced, a research project that makes a consistent and systematic usage of data previously created by other projects, but pursuing rather different goals and having as a focus Coptic literary manuscripts. This project offers, in fact, some interesting illustrations of the different meanings that the term 'legacy data' may assume. Finally, a particular attention is paid to the transparent documentation of the research process and to the most efficient ways of publishing the documented dataset on the World Wide Web, in order to facilitate a scientifically consistent reuse of the data.

Keywords
'Legacy data', archaeology, manuscripts study, digital archaeology.

1. *Legacy data in archaeology: Theoretical, methodological and practical aspects*

The proper starting point for a discussion about 'legacy data' in the archaeological research is certainly the introduction that Penelope Allison wrote for the volume that she edited in 2008,[1] where the term is used for data that 'are not already digitised and geo-referenced, but must be prepared, and often manipulated, before they can be used in a digital environment'. Following this definition, and following the examples provided by the author, the Pausanias' Description of Greece and the non-digital records from the nineteenth and early twentieth century excavations at Troy can both be considered as 'legacy data'. Yet, in the ICT field, where the expression originated from, legacy data refers to data from obsolete information systems, in other words, data from information systems that are not in use anymore, although they might be in working condition. While it would be a stretch to consider the discursive form of a written book as an obsolete information system,[2] there are no doubts that excavations and documentation methodologies used in the past can be considered today as amply outdated and obsolete. Data contained in these systems need further elaboration and reconsideration before they can be compared to more recently collected ones or before they are being published in an integrated platform.[3] The volume edited by Penelope Allison deals mainly with aspects and issues concerning the digitising and the georeferencing of data preserved on paper supports[4] and does not consider issues related to the migration and reuse of already digital archives.

* The present article is one of the scientific outcomes of the ERC Advanced 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', funded by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020 programme, project no. 687567 (PI: Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma), http://paths.uniroma1.it.

1 Allison 2008.

2 Strictly speaking, printed books and paper support is not to be considered as 'legacy' because it is still currently being used to document and publish archaeological data and research.

3 Jablonka 2004, 281-285.

4 On the important methodological issues involved in the process of digitising of 'analogue' cf. also Laužikas 2009, 247-259.

Fourteen years later, even the more technical aspect of recovering data from old or fallen into disuse systems is acquiring some importance and urgency for digital projects of various scales. More and more often the data that archaeologists need for their research are found in digital archives rather than on paper support, and the trend is certainly going to grow in the future since the documentation of the archaeological record is becoming gradually paperless.[5] The enthusiasm and bias in favour of digital approaches are paired with the fact that the use of technology has a cost, that might be negligible in the short-term but that might grow to prohibitive in the mid-to-long term. Digital data recording can be very fast and effective but there is no guarantee that after ten years we will be still able to read the files containing our data. The risk of becoming 'legacy' in a few years is more and more substantial. Yet, there seems to be no way back and digital information systems are today the only way to store and manage the data collected in the field and the libraries. On our side, we should aim at a greater awareness of these processes and try to apply to our everyday work the lessons we have learned by processing data from other sources. Moving information from legacy to cutting-edge information systems raises two different levels of problems, tightly connected. The first set of problems is merely technical and is about migrating the data, with possibly no loss. The second set of problems has a scientific base and lies on the foundations of the discipline because it regards the ever-changing informative potential of the archaeological (and broadly humanistic) record.

The technical aspect is mostly negligible, but it can grow to become a highly problematic issue. It is determined by external factors: a specific hardware or software may be discontinued by its producer, by consequently making not trivial the use, the recovery and the migration of data.[6] Depending on the degree of the obsolescence, the recovery operation might be strenuous and expensive and it is not surprising that the lack of funding causes in some cases the *sine die* deferral of the migration process, determining a *de facto* data loss. The access and the recovery depend therefore on the availability of technology and trained staff, in other words, funding, and the recovery process does not affect or change anyhow the content of the data.[7] Prevention is the most efficient strategy to avoid data loss. The careful planning of ordinary maintenance operations fit to delay the obsolescence of the information system and to facilitate and schedule regular migrations is something that must not be neglected. An informed choice of encoding formats, of software used and eventually of hardware infrastructure are mandatory requisites for efficient action.

The second perspective of legacy data treatment and reuse, brings into play the intimate nature of the archaeological record, a research theme that has produced a long-lasting discussion within the scholar community and has determined the definition of counterposed ways of thinking. The positivistic faith in the value *per se* of the archaeological record, much celebrated by the New Archaeology, has been opposed by the Post-processual (or contextual) Archaeology that doubts profoundly on the very possibility of totally objective observation of the archaeological record.[8] This point of view comes with the risk of excessively relativising the archaeological data and that of over-interpreting of the archaeological record, not considered 'simply evidence for the past, but are one of the media through which human beings constructed themselves and their communities in the past'.[9] On the other hand – as far as the automatised treatment of archaeological data is concerned – it is difficult not to agree with a 'neo-positivistic' (or neo-processual) point of view, which states that 'il dato archeologico, per sua natura, deve essere misurabile dal punto di vista quantitativo e qualitativo quando si intenda utilizzarlo in modelli di narrazione storica confutabili'.[10]

---

5 ELLIS 2016.

6 A very classical example is that of the Domesday Project promoted by the BBC, that in the Eighties of the last century collected fragments of daily life of about one million people, to form a very rich archive containing texts and multimedia (images, video footage, audio clips, maps, virtual reality tours, etc.). It was published in 1986 and it was meant to be a snap-shot of the United Kingdom 900 years after the publication of the Domesday Book, the eleventh-century census of England ordered by William the Conqueror. In the Nineties, the advanced technology used to encode the information was outdated and the *ad hoc* developed memory devices were not supported anymore by the available hardware; the companies that had developed it had run out of business some years before. In 2011 some content was laboriously extracted from the original archive and published on a web site, that today has been archived (COHEN - RESENZWEIG 2006, 224-225).

7 JEFFREY 2012, 554.

8 Cf. HODDER 2005, 147-156. For a summary of the extensive bibliography on contextual archaeology cf. BARRETT 2001, 141-164.

9 MORELAND 2006, 139.

10 VALENTI 2010, 8.

The 'agency' of the field archaeologist – that acts through his sensitivity, experience, and preparation – can be, to a certain degree, levelled out by applying stable standards and shared excavation and documentation methods. In any case, it is undeniable that the purposes and the special focus of the research project that is bringing to light the record, that is documenting, recording and analysing it, do condition the informative value of the data. This point is crucial and must be well kept in mind when the migration of data from legacy to up-to-date systems is performed. Not only technical aspects are involved in these processes, but also a sometimes profound transformation in the meaning of the content. By changing the research questions that have determined the creation of the archived records, we should expect that the information these data communicate might change. We should, therefore, be able to lead and govern this change and to acquire the maximum scientific profit from it.

A typical recovery operation of legacy data aimed at their reuse in more articulated and better-connected information systems allows not only the creation of faster and more efficient management, more fluid user experience and a more modern look and feel but also a new path to a better understanding of a specific domain. An old CAD drawing, for instance, extracted from the personal archive of the surveyor that compiled it, and integrated into a wider GIS platform offers a richer insight of the building as a whole. The same can be said for a database of potsherds or other archaeological finds migrated to a more complex database system that links the pottery fragments to other finds and the general archaeological context. New connections, new points of view and new research questions might bring to light new information from the available data.[11]

The migration and reuse of the archaeological datasets is never a neutral operation and this is a fact that archaeologists do know very well. The large use of previously collected data is, in fact, a fundamental part of every modern research project. Less common is the attitude of looking not only toward the past but also toward the future,[12] and consider how others will use the information we are digging today – both from the dirt and from the archives. In what manner future or present colleagues will be able to take apart and differently assemble our interpretative model, or more simply integrate our dataset in models of different geographic or cultural scale.[13]

The concern for the destiny of the digital research 'products' after the final report of funded projects has been for a long time not pressing, at least in the Italian context.[14] Even the funding institutions (mostly public), that one would expect to be seriously engaged in marking a clear trace of their activities into the society – not a *monumentum aere perennius*, but at least a feeble trace – have not determined mid-to-long term conservation policies of digital archives. It is the single researcher or project leader who decides on how and to what extent the archaeological record and the interpretative processes should be shared with the scientific community.[15] The underlying data – the 'objective' archaeological record – is fundamental, but particular importance holds also the interpretative framework used to collect and communicate these data. It is a sort of 'manual of use' a full description of technologies and methodologies used, that would permit a deeper comprehension and simpler reuse in the future. By documenting each step of the production process and the analysis of the archaeological record, as well as by documenting the technical data structure of our informative systems, we will be able to tremendously facilitate automated support renewal, the only effective way we have to extend the life of our (digital) archives.[16]

It is not easy to deal with vague notebooks or freehand sketches from the end of the 1800 or the first half of 1900, but archaeologists have well learned the lesson and the analysis and treatment of this kind of data is an important part of their methodology. It is not difficult to imagine how laborious could be in

11 While Contextual archaeology offers valuable theoretical ground for reflection, it seems too far to say that 'it no longer becomes possible to study an arbitrary defined aspect of the data on its own' (Moreland 2007, 83).

12 Cf. some important considerations matured in the context of the Archaeological Data Service in Jeffrey 2012, 553-570.

13 The transparency of every aspect of the interpretative model is a fundamental part of the ontology of the scientific research, that should be built on shared foundations following verifiable methodologies, Valenti 2000, 93-109; Bertoldi - Fronza - Valenti 2015, 233-243.

14 The trend is not only Italian, as the recent case of Trismegistos clearly demonstrates. Trismegistos has been for a long time a fully open access online database but funding issues have determined the setting up of a paid subscription plan: https://www.trismegistos.org/keeptrismegistosalive.php; for Trismegistos see below n. 23.

15 The sharing is not reserved only to peers, but a greater community can be interested and involved, as the Public Archaeology hopes. For an overview see Moshenska 2017b and particularly the introduction to this volume, Moshenska 2017a, 1-13.

16 Bogdani 2019, 120-121.

the future to deal with tens, or hundreds, or thousands of Gigabytes of undocumented and thus obscure archives, taking for granted that we would be able even to read them.

It is clear, hopefully, that the openness of the archives is an important step in their preservation and their ability to be easily reusable by others or by future us.[17] Moreover, a second fundamental step is their thorough and detailed documentation by using generic editorial platforms[18] and/or specific repositories and white papers. Metadata creation and documentation editing are time-consuming tasks, not rewarded from the academic system and not required from the funding system. Yet, this kind of grey literature is by far one of the best partners of raw data and together provide solid foundations for sound and durable research.[19]

2. *Case study: The* Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature

'PAThs: Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths. An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in Their Original Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage' is an ERC funded project[20], whose goal is to provide an in-depth diachronic understanding and effective representation of the geography of Coptic literary production and in particular of the *corpus* of literary writings, almost exclusively of religious contents, produced in Egypt between the 3rd and the 13th century in the Coptic language. 'PAThs' combines together multiple disciplines, such as philology, codicology, palaeography, archaeology, archaeometry, and digital humanities in an effort to provide a detailed picture of the manuscript production in Coptic language of literary (i.e. not documentary) contents.[21] It provides a sufficiently complex and multifaceted case study to clearly illustrate some of the observations of the previous paragraphs.

Considering the long timespan (third-thirteenth centuries CE) and the huge geographic scope, it is clear that the project is heavily based on data previously edited and made available on paper and digital platforms. These data have undergone a very rigorous review and study process aimed at adapting them to answer new research questions, formulated by following the 'PAThs' research focus.

A detailed account would overflow the limits of this paper and its purpose. Only a few examples that better fit the general methodological frame already sketched above will be exposed in the following paragraphs. It is interesting to clearly and synthetically express from the beginning, some generic co-objectives of the 'PAThs' project, that might help a better understanding of the following examples.

- 'PAThs' aims to become a centralised publishing platform for data regarding the literary production in the Coptic language, representing a technological update of previous digital databases.
- The project is not a mere technological update, but formulates new research questions; for this reason, the data is being re-shaped to fit a better-connected scheme which allows a more detailed analysis of aspects previously not considered in detail.
- The *ad hoc* developed information system is designed to become a *multidisciplinary hub*, permitting the very detailed and deep analysis of specific branches, while maintaining a lucid connection net, fit to return an overall picture, by overstepping the high fragmentation of the research, a typical feature of our present.[22]

---

17 This is not an original or new idea: 'The lost cannot be recovered; but let us save what remains: not by vaults and locks which fence them from the public eye and use, in consigning them to the waste of time, but by such a multiplication of copies, as shall place them beyond the reach of accident'. These are words part of a letter that Thomas Jefferson wrote to Ebenezer Hazard in 1791, the quotation is taken from Boyd - Lester 1974, 287-289.

18 Like the Journal of Open Archaeology Data https://openarchaeologydata.metajnl.com, for example, that publishes peer-reviewed data papers describing archaeology datasets with high reuse potential.

19 Dunning 2001.

20 Advanced Grant 2015, no. 687567. The project is directed by Paola Buzi and is based in Rome, at Sapienza University. More information is available at http://paths.uniroma1.it/.

21 Buzi 2017, 507-516; Buzi et al. 2017; Bogdani 2017, 59-69; Berno - Bogdani - Buzi 2018, 47-66; Bogdani 2018, 200-210. Since February 2019 a first version of the Atlas is available at https://atlas.paths-erc.eu.

22 While it is true that the over specialisation and the sometimes excessive fragmentation is a distinctive feature of the present-days research, this is a trend that plunges its roots deeply in the twentieth century: 'the knowledge of fragments, studied by turns, each for its own sake, will never produce the knowledge of the whole; it will not even produce that of fragments themselves', Bloch 1953, 155.

- Finally, 'PAThs' aims to become an automated endpoint for the distribution of structured, well-documented and scientifically reliable data, encouraging collaboration and promoting the full transparency of the entire scientific process.

2.1 Coptic manuscripts from CMCL to 'PAThs': Data transformation and migration

As already mentioned, 'PAThs' is by no means the first online database dedicated to the recording and study of the manuscript tradition in the Coptic language. On one hand, larger projects focused on manuscript tradition also consider books written in Coptic.[23] On the other hand, the pioneering work of Tito Orlandi and his *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (CMCL) has determined a fundamental advance both in the field of Digital Humanities and on that of Coptic studies.[24]

From the technical point of view, the CMCL is a flat-file database, loosely following the relational model. The data are stored in text files and the management and query logic is implemented by using Unix scripts: no programming languages other than the Unix Shell is used. The same philosophy is followed for the web publication of the data, that are directly sent via the Unix command to the Common Gateway Interface (CGI). This extremely simple configuration grants to the CMCL an incomparable speed, efficiency and durability in time.[25] One of the drawbacks of this architecture is the lack of validation logic during the data-entry phase, but this has never been an issue since Tito Orlandi is the only authorised user who can write on the database.

With regards to the content, the database assigns and maintains a series of unique identifiers for bibliological units, textual units, author units, and narrative units and defines policy for their interconnection.[26] This classification is the result of many decades of meticulous work by Tito Orlandi and his scientific collaborators, who have carefully analysed a tremendous amount of manuscript fragments in the attempt to recover the original codicological units (i.e. books) and to try to narrate their history and the history of the literary works they contain.

The migration of the data contained in the CMCL database to the new 'PAThs' database was an important prerequisite for the construction of 'PAThs' *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*. Even if the CMCL database is still available on the Internet (and hopefully will be maintained from many years to come) the migration process took the shape of the recovery of legacy data. A relational-like, flat-file database system with no support for indexing and no data-validation policy had to be programmatically transformed into a fully relational, SQL based database system and several issues had to be addressed.[27] The most challenging problems, on the other hand, were related to the particular needs of 'PAThs' that required a custom data structure, different from one designed for CMCL. Three examples can be enlightening and representative of the tangled research and technical problems that the migration and reuse of legacy datasets in newly created information systems might bring into the light.

2.1.1 Author units and textual units' connection

Each author unit (i.e. author) filed in the CMCL makes one or more connections to textual units (i.e. literary works), following a one-to-many pattern, which is an over-simplification of the state of art of our

23 It is the case of Trismegistos, https://www.trismegistos.org/, Depauw - Gheldof 2014, 40-52

24 The CMCL database is available at http://www.cmcl.it through a paid subscription plan but some sections are made freely available. For detailed information on the database cf. Orlandi 2003.

25 The only external dependency of this platform is the Unix operating system and the Unix-shell that contains the few text manipulation utilities based on regular expressions used by the CMCL (basically *sed*, *awk*, *grep* and similar). I own this fundamental information on CMCL to personal communications by Tito Orlandi who generously shared the founding philosophy of this information system that he is still maintaining.

26 Orlandi 2008, 7-12.

27 Among others, the issue of text encoding had to be faced. T. Orlandi had developed his own system for encoding Coptic script using plain ASCII characters; the system had been inspired by the Beta Code invented by David W.Packard in the late 1970s and used to encode Greek texts by the *Thesaurus Linguae Grecae* http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/encoding.php. A software library was specifically developed to transform Orlandi's encoding to standard Unicode and was later released with an open-source license. The library, named cmcl2unicode, written in Vanilla JavaScript, is hosted on GitHub (code: https://github.com/paths-erc/cmcl2unicode, demonstration: https://paths-erc.eu/cmcl2unicode/ and indexed in Zenodo https://zenodo.org/badge/latestdoi/76262299.

knowledge on Coptic literature and manuscript tradition. This uncomplicated connection was intended by Orlandi as a mere symbolic representation of the reality and was determined by the technical difficulty of realising and maintaining many-to-many labelled relationship within a flat-file database. The technical issue was overcame by the use of a modern relational database managing system, which made possible and simplified a more articulated link between works and authors, by using a many-to-many qualified (labelled) relationship.[28] This case makes clear to what extent a technical issue might condition and limit the understanding of the data, and it also firmly stresses the importance of the metadata in the consideration of a structured dataset: Tito Orlandi (and other scholars using his CMCL) was well aware of the complexity of the authorship-related issues in the Coptic literature, albeit this was not fully represented in his data structure.

2.1.2. List of identified Coptic manuscripts: Study-first vs. evidence-first approach

Another significative difference between CMCL and 'PAThs' is the naming policy of the codicological units, i.e. ancient books. Even though the concept behind the 'PAThs' entity labelled *Manuscripts* fully coincides with the already mentioned Codicological Units of the CMCL, 'PAThs' has assumed a completely different approach for their naming. T. Orlandi provided with a *siglum* each new unit that he or his collaborators were able to identify and reconstruct with certainty. Furthermore, the *siglum* was indicative of the bibliological unit (i.e. 'groups of codices having formed a library at some time in the antiquity')[29] where the manuscript originally was contained and was based on a hexavigesimal system.[30] There exists also a bibliological *siglum* for manuscripts of unknown provenance (CMCL, e.g. CMCL.AA). Manuscript fragments that have not been yet attributed to a re-established ancient book are excluded until a deeper study can better define them. This approach could be described as 'study-first' and perfectly reflects the history of the CMCL, the lifetime work of a passionate scholar and his collaborators. 'PAThs', on the other hand, is a fixed-term (5 years) project aiming at creating a long-lasting and sustainable infrastructure. It was thus imperative to create from the beginning a clear map of the material evidence of Coptic manuscript tradition, in order or be able to easily design the work of the next decades. This is the reason behind the decision to provide each fragment excluded from the CMCL classification with a codicological unit identifier, following an 'evidence-first' approach. While at a first glance it would have been rational to expand the numeration system set up by CMCL, it was decided to create a new primary key, called CLM,[31] which is susceptible to future changes as far as the isolated fragments are concerned.[32] This breaking change, despite potentially confusing,[33] proved to be

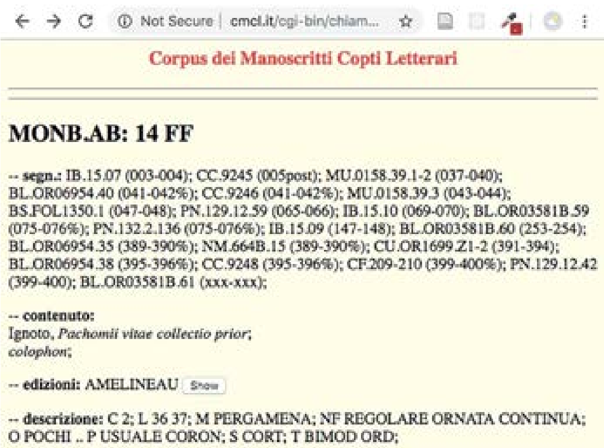


Fig. 1. A screenshot from CMCL showing the available information on codicological unit MONB.AB.

---

28 A work may be reported in a manuscript to have been written by an author (who is labelled as a 'Stated author') even if we know that it has been actually written by a different author (labelled as 'Creator'). For a detailed discussion of what is meant by 'Stated author' and 'Creator', cf. BERNO - BOGDANI - BUZI 2018, 51. The new information system keeps detailed track of this complexity.

29 http://www.cmcl.it/cgi-bin/chiamata.cgi?ms@codici=Show.

30 For example, the codex named MONB.HF was recognised to be part of the library of the White Monastery at Atripe (MONB = Monastero Bianco). The unique identifier is expressed by two digits of hexavigesimal system, using the letters of the English alphabet. This intuitive system maintains a very compact and fixed-size length and allows a very high number of unique identifiers (24^{24} = 6.1561196E36).

31 CLM stands for Coptic Literary Manuscript.

32 A realistic scenario is the merging of many CLMs, recognised after careful study to belong to the same codicological unit. The suppressed CLM numbers are not reused and a map of the changes through time is maintained and published. Manuscripts bearing a CMCL identifier are more stable (theoretically immutable) while the others still need further analysis.

33 The scientific community, understandably, is not very comfortable with the introduction of new naming systems and identifiers, especially when the old ones are widely known and used in publications.

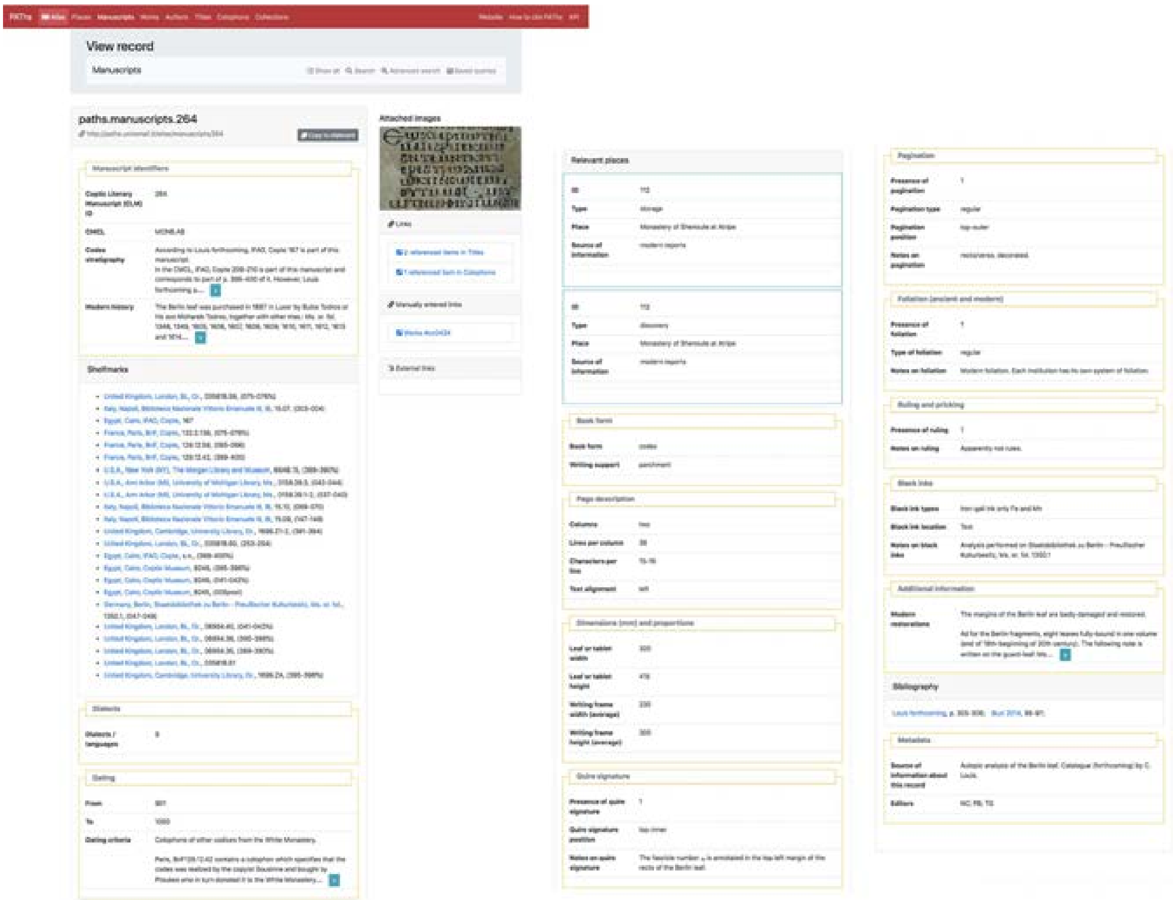


Fig. 2. A screenshot from 'PAThs' *Atlas* (https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/264) showing the available information on codicological unit CLM264 (=MONB.AB).

strictly necessary due to the partially different goals of the CMCL and 'PAThs' project. The corresponding 'CMCL' identifier is provided with each CLM entry, to offer to scholars a complete and updated map of the available resources.

2.1.3. Extension of the descriptive protocol

The main aim of the CMCL database was to univocally identify books, libraries, authors, and works, by providing a neat and bare map of the several entities. Typically, a manuscript is described by its *siglum*, the list of the extant fragments (usually scattered in several modern collections), the list of the works it contains, the list of the bibliographic records containing its edition and possibly a concise description. Any other information is to be found, if available, in the reference bibliography. 'PAThs' has considerably extended this part by developing a new protocol aimed at providing a thorough description of the codicological aspects of the ancient books.[34] This addition represents an important original contribution by 'PAThs' and broadens our perspective on the material aspect of the manuscripts, a concern shared in general terms by Tito Orlandi's work, but that had never found a place in the CMCL.

These few but representative methodological considerations are an integral part of the inner structure of 'PAThs' and as such have been fully described in the documentation that is published and kept up to date in a separate dedicated platform,[35] whose development is going in parallel with the *Atlas*.

34 For an overview of this protocol cf. the manual of use published at https://docs.paths-erc.eu/handbook/manuscripts.

35 https://docs.paths-erc.eu.

2.2 Methodologies and protocols for a geodatabase of Christian Egypt

Just like the codicological description, the archaeological contextualisation and the geographical representation are part of PAThs' contribute to Coptic studies.[36] By now, an almost final version of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* has been made freely available[37] and submitted to the scientific community for review and feedback. The rich web application offers full access to the entire dataset developed by 'PAThs' through very intuitive and user-friendly interfaces, that give access to simple and detailed search functionalities. Also to some pre-compiled queries (called saved queries) have been prepared, to suggest to general public some interesting starting points of consultation and to provide relevant examples to the research questions that can be asked to the dataset. The application includes also a geographical interface – the proper *Atlas* – able to represent on a map the distribution of archaeological sites (*Places*) considered to be important for the comprehension of Late Antique Egypt.[38] The web GIS makes wide use of available cartographic resources, both representing the current situation (base cartography and satellite imagery) and the ancient one.[39]

Once more, this was the starting point of a still on-going process, aimed at producing a rich and open geographic database, with a specific Egyptian focus by trying to acquire, digitise, georeferenced and publish online[40] maps and cartographic coverage of different dates and editions. Particularly, the georeferencing process, that inevitably deforms the original map, do highlight important matters on how to relate to the original and how to deal with inaccuracy.

> What one should keep in mind is that georeferencing does not necessarily improve a historical map or make it more accurate. In the course of changing the original map to make it amenable to digital integration, georeferencing changes lines and shapes, the distance between objects, the map's aesthetics, and its value as a cultural artefact. One gains knowledge of the original while processing it for inclusion in GIS, but one also loses something if the original map is not represented for comparison with its actual size, proportions, and qualities. Ideally, researchers should include both the warped map and the scanned image of the original map in a GIS project or publication.[41]

2.2.1 Georeferencing legacy archaeological and architectonic graphical documentation

The issues introduced above and related to the general methodological framework are currently being addressed and surely will require a deeper analysis and a publication on their own.[42] A GIS-related ex-

---

36 For an introduction to the archaeological review of Late Antique Egypt, still underway, cf. the articles by Angelo Colonna and Ilaria Rossetti in this volume.

37 The *Atlas* was published at https://atlas.paths-erc.eu on the occasion of the Third 'PAThs' International Conference held at the Sapienza University of Rome between 25 and 27 February 2019. The web application is still under development and so are the underlying data. Yet a great effort has been made to provide from the very first steps the main functionality. The *Atlas* is developed with exclusive use of client-side technologies (it is based on the React JavaScript framework, https://reactjs.org; the project code is hosted on GitHub: https://github.com/paths-erc/atlas and is indexed in Zenodo https://zenodo.org/badge/latestdoi/140484435. The dataset is not packaged and shipped with the application, but it is retrieved in real-time from the central web database via a REST API, following a workflow already successfully tested in other similar applications, cf. BOGDANI 2016, 236-245.

38 BOGDANI 2017; BOGDANI 2018, 204-206. For an updated description of the type of archaeological sites (*Places*) included in the dataset, cf. the introduction available at https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/places.

39 In the recent years the archaeologic research is increasingly experimenting web technologies to deliver and distribute GIS data to a wider public, encouraging the reuse and stimulating the collaboration. For the most used technologies and protocols employed to publish geographical data, cf. BOGDANI 2019, 97-102; PREVITALI - VALENTE 2019, 17-27. At present (2020), 'PAThs' is using generic basemaps distributed by Google through the Google Maps Platform https://cloud.google.com/maps-platform/, present-days topographic coverage distributed by Open Street Maps https://www.openstreetmap.org/, a map of the Roman Empire distributed by the Digital Atlas of Roman Empire at the Centre for Digital Humanities, University of Gothenburg, Sweden https://dh.gu.se/dare/, https://web.archive.org/web/20191022004307/http://commons.pelagios.org/2012/09/a-digital-map-of-the-roman-empire/ and a physical map of the Ancient Mediterranean area distributed by the Ancient World Mapping Center http://awmc.unc.edu/.

40 If and when copyright permits the redistribution and the creation of derivate work.

41 RUMSEY - WILLIAM 2002, 6.

42 'PAThs' is dealing with a great number of different cartographic coverages, designed from the late eighteenth century to the present-day. A provisional index is available at https://docs.paths-erc.eu/data/. The maps are mostly available in Public Domain license, downloaded from the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/. Other images have been donated by the friends of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw (PCMA). The coverage of the Egyptian territory is highly uneven, but hopefully, the pursuit of the work will

ample of legacy data transformation and reuse might be of some interest here, regards the efforts that are being spent to create a comprehensive and georeferenced archive of drawings and maps of churches, basilicas and other buildings related to the Christian religion of Late Antique and Medieval Egypt. This geo-archive is being integrated into the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*. The main sources for this archive are the many drawings, maps, and sketches that have appeared in the archaeological literature, but also topographical surveys – available on paper, as raster images or as vector graphics – that partner missions operating on the field are wishing to share.

Fig. 3. Comparison of the coordinates of the same, clearly recognisable ground control point: the base of the southern pylon of the temenos of Taposiris Magna (paths.place.338). The upper image is imported from Bing and the lower one from Google satellite images. Coordinates are expressed in the same projection system, WGS 84/ UTM zone 36N (EPSG: 32636). The linear difference can be calculated to more than 5 meters.

Before all, the important work of Peter Grossmann must be pointed out. His indefatigable on-field efforts have documented and shared with the scholar community an impressive number of Christian buildings, many of them now partially destroyed or buried under the sands. The book,[43] and the many articles he has written are often an exceptional and unique source for many lost archaeological contexts.

The workflow is canonical. Each drawing or map of a religious building is firstly digitised and a full reference to the bibliographic item where it was published is filed along with the digitised image.[44] Then, it is georeferenced using Desktop GIS software and non-deforming algorithms.[45] Legacy architectonic graphical documentation (typically, drawings of single buildings or, in most fortunate cases, maps of groups of buildings) do not usually contain any indisputable element to clearly define their position on the Earth's surface. These documents do not report normally grids of coordinates or topographical stations of known position. In the Fifties of the last century, GPS did not exist and cartographic coverage was not always at disposal, and surely not at a scale that we would judge acceptable today. In most cases, the drawings do report the north indication (it is unclear if it is the magnetic or the cartographic north) and a scale bar. In most cases, the building is reported to be located in a site of known location, although the relative position is mostly lacking.

fill most of the gaps. Special attention is being drawn on the 'masterpiece of cartographic compilation and early nineteenth-century fieldwork' to cite the title of a book dedicated to them (Godlewska 1988): 42 maps that Pierre Jacotin compiled under the guidance of the Napoleonic expedition in Egypt (Jacotin 1824).

43 Grossmann 2002.

44 PAThs' Zotero group, https://www.zotero.org/groups/2189557/erc-paths/items, is being used as a unified repository for all bibliographic references.

45 The GIS platform is developed using the QGIS open-source software http://qgis.org. During the georeferencing process, the *Linear* and the *Helmert* transformation types have been used, since they do not distort the original raster as the various *Polynomial* and *Thin Plate Spline* do. The *Freehand raster georeferencer plugin* for QGIS (code available at https://github.com/gvellut/FreehandRasterGeoreferencer) proved to be a valuable tool, inasmuch it provides graphical tools to perform the basic operations while the official *Georeferencer* tool requires pre-extracted coordinates.

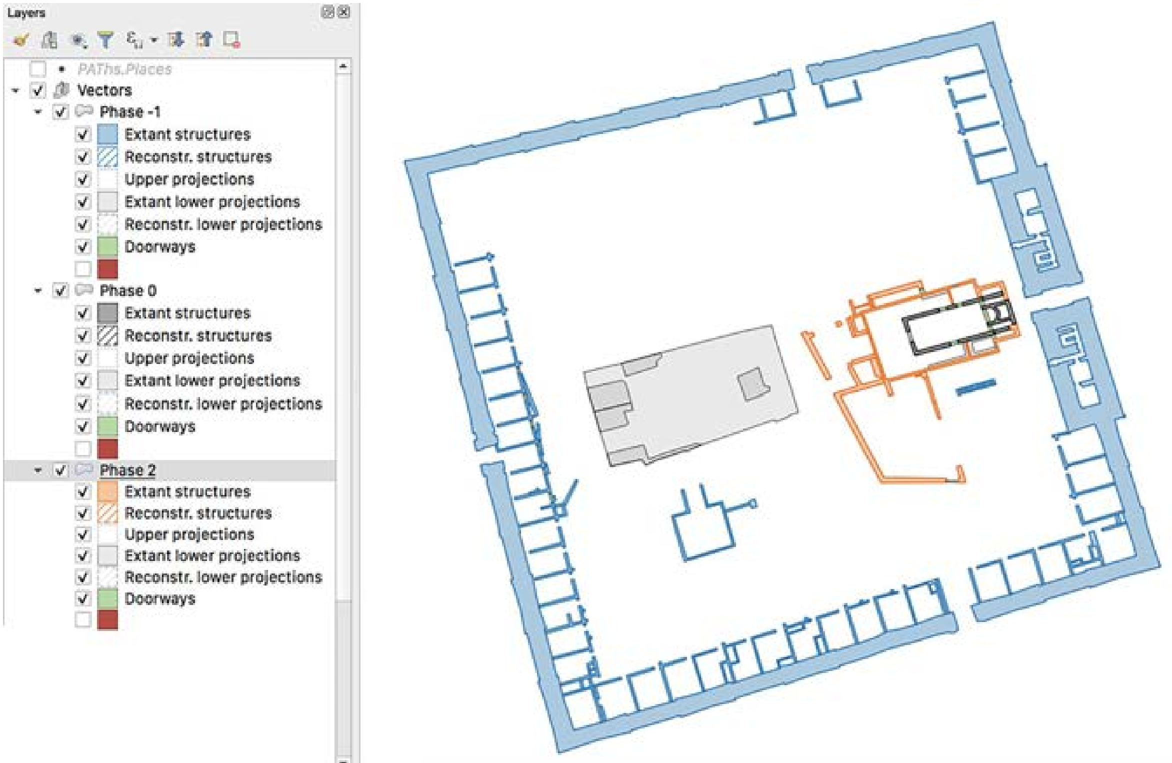


Fig. 4. Example of the use of the SVP, the temple and church of Taposiris Magna in a GIS platform (QGIS): Information on relative chronology is used to create three different views (Phase -1, Phase 0, Phase 1); for each view different symbologies are used to describe each feature. This plan is composed by overlaying features from different drawings and each feature keeps track of the source.

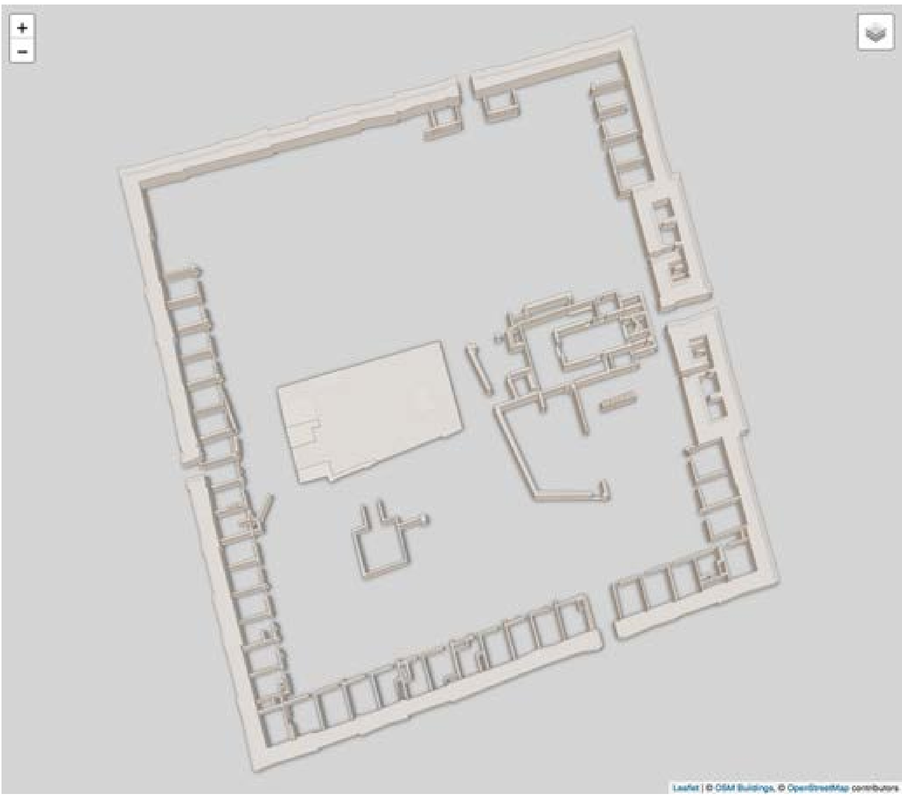


Fig. 5. Example of 2.5D (or pseudo 3D) view of the archaeological remains in the temple area of Taposiris Magna. The information for the extrusion of the structures is encoded using the SVP.

The only means we have to georeference these drawings is the satellite imagery freely provided as an XYZ service by Google or Bing.[46] In the most monumental cases, the archaeological remains visible in the satellite image allow the identification of discrete ground control point (GCP) fit to be used for the georeferencing process. It was decided to never deform the original image to better fit the geometry defined by the control points; not even in (the rare) cases when the identification of the GCPs was certain enough. Satellite imagery freely distributed by Google is nowadays an unavoidable source of information in the archaeological cultural heritage field,[47] yet the accuracy of these images is not defined, as their production does not rely on photogrammetric techniques. Empirical tests have pointed out that the error may differ by more than ten meters even in areas of high-resolution coverage.[48] The same conclusions might be observed by visually comparing satellite coverage distributed by different providers, such as Google and Bing.

For this reason, the relative metric references that the drawings contained (typically the scale bar and the north indication) were taken in a greater consideration than the visible remains on the satellite imagery. Furthermore, by not deforming the legacy images we acknowledge their historical value, which goes far beyond the metric precision of topographical survey. We, therefore, opted to process the published drawings in the same way historical maps have been processed in GIS environments. By now about 150 drawings of various size and complexity have already been georeferenced, but only the relative metadata have been published online, due to copyright restrictions.[49]

2.2.2 PAThs' Simple Vectorisation Protocol: towards a unified post-processing methodology for legacy data

The georeferencing process guarantees, on one hand, a very strict adhesion to the original data, but does not permit, on the other, efficient reuse of the data and their combination to produce a more coherent and updated graphical documentation, by combining, for example, multiple sources of information. For this reason, it was decided to vectorise the entire dataset to obtain a uniform, consistent and mixable data, that could be easily reused, for example in the online atlas.

The need for uniformity, consistency, extensibility, agility, versioning, and a high degree of abstractness lead to the drafting of a general-purpose protocol, for vectorising archaeological and architectonic drawings, named 'PAThs' Simple Vectorisation Protocol (SVP). It has been fully documented[50] and already tested on many tens of extremely simple to very complex cases. The SVP does not require any specific file-format,[51] rather it defines data structure and some best practices for the digital encoding of architectonical documentation in vector formats. The protocol offers an easy way to encode information about localisation of each element, its conservation status, a generic interpretation, relative chronology, metadata about the vectorisation process, the source of the information, etc., and essential information regarding the elevation. It consists of a set of attributes that can be added to a vector GIS file and few vocabularies to guarantee a uniform encoding of different sources of information.

The protocol is not intended to create perfect data but perfectible ones, i.e. a progressive approach is possible. For example, although one might have not information about the relative chronology of a building it is still possible to digitise the original drawing and keep the several phases separate (despite the fact that the order of the different phases is not known). At a later time, and after a careful study, the phase information can be easily updated, without affecting the geometries, to match a more coherent chronological seriation.

---

46 For a description of XYZ and other similar protocols for geographical data distribution in the Web, see Bogdani 2019a, 101-102.

47 Luo *et al.* 2018.

48 https://web.archive.org/web/20190716210821/http://www.uni-koeln.de/~al001/airphotose_files/hs1477.htm.

49 https://docs.paths-erc.eu/data/.

50 https://docs.paths-erc.eu/data/svp.

51 Any GIS vector file with support for attributes can be used with the protocol. At 'PAThs' both Shapefiles, https://www.esri.com/library/whitepapers/pdfs/shapefile.pdf, and GeoJSON, https://geojson.org, is being used, the later mainly for backup and web usage purposes. Moreover, since GeoJSON is a plain text file, it can be easily versioned using a version-control system, like Git https://git-scm.com.

Attribute name	Notes
place	In 'PAThs', the attribute is populated with the ID of the site where the building is found, eg. 338 for Taposiris Magna
subplace	Conventional name of the building as known in the available bibliography, if any, eg. Temple Church for the church located inside the *temenos*.
reconstr	0 (or *null*), 1 or 2. Set to 1 when the structure was not seen by the surveyor otherwise 0 or *null*. Reconstructed structures are usually rendered in publications with a dashed or dotted line. 2 is more rarely used in case the structure was not seen or hypothesised by the surveyor but was supposed by the digitiser.
part	s (or *null*), u, l, d. Describes the relationship of the represented element to the ideal section plain used to draw it. s (or *null*) stands for 'sectioned'; these are structures that are ideally cut by the section plane and are usually rendered with a hatch of oblique parallel lines u stands for 'upper projection' and is used for elements preserved above the section plan, such as covering, vaults, ceilings, capitals, etc. l stands for 'lower projection' and is used for elements preserved below the section plan, such as bases, altars, floor and floor decorations, benches, etc. d stands for 'doorways'; this is the only exception of the general rule of not encoding function because it would require interpretation and it would be prone to errors. Passageways and doorways are, however, and usually, sufficiently clear and easy to recognise. In uncertain cases, the more neutral l must be used.
phase	*null* or any positive or negative integer It provides a way to encode relative chronology when the original sketch differentiates phases, using colours, different strokes or hatches. Phases must be numbered from the more ancient to the most recent, although this information is not usually rendered in the sketch. If the information is missing, it is still necessary to differentiate the phases even if their order might not correspond to absolute chronology.
lost	0 (*null*) or 1 Defines whether a feature is visible (1) or not (0 or null). This attribute might be useful to update the state of preservation reported in the original publication. A feature might have been well-preserved whet it was surveyed (reconstr = null|0) but no more visible today (lost = 1) because buried or damaged.
scale	The scale of the original drawing from which the feature has been vectorised, if available. Enter only the second part of the ratio scale, presuming that the first part is always 1.
source	It contains a reference to the bibliographic or archive item used as the source for the vectorisation. At PAThs, the Zotero identifier of PAThs official bibliographic repository is being used.
subsource	Possibly page number and/or figure number of the bibliographic record containing the original image
operator	Name or codename of the operator who vectorised the image
date	Date and time of the vectorisation process
height	Elevation in meters of the feature, if known to use as extrusion parameter for 2.5D representation
minHeight	Offset elevation in meters of the feature, if known to use as extrusion parameter for 2.5D representation

Table 1. Attribute list of version 1.0.0 of the SVP, source: https://docs.paths-erc.eu/data/svp.

The SVP has proved to be a very flexible and powerful methodology because it allows to digitally encode in vector format almost any kind of architectonic drawing sticking very close to the original source and virtually with no loss of information. For the recovery of legacy data, this was a very important prerequisite. On the other hand, it offers also the possibility to emend old data, to update and to freely remix information from different sources and keep the entire process recognisable and fully reversible. Digital technology, and particularly GIS vector data allow us today to pursue efficiently the double goal of preserving the informative integrity of legacy data and expanding it with the potentiality of contextual and diachronic analysis. The Simple Vectorisation Protocol is nothing else but an attempt to abstract to a higher degree and at the same time make it easier to use the process of the vectorisation of legacy data, a process in which archaeologists have been involved for many decades.

Conclusions

The *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* is still under a very active phase of development and implementation and the 'PAThs' Simple Vectorisation Protocol, although it has proved to be an easy to use and powerful tool for the recovery of precious architectonic and archaeological data, is still little more than an experiment. Nevertheless, the opportunity to work with legacy data, in the various meanings of this expression, has matured the realisation that digital archives are fragile containers. They can bring speed, efficiency, great user experience and almost infinite ways of connecting information, a decisive step in creating knowledge. They help us to manage and analyse massive amounts of information and they are no more an option. Yet our discipline has not matured a stable theoretical and practical framework to deal with them. Hesitant between an enthusiastic and messianic view and a more suspicious one, that considers digital technology as service that can be outsourced to IT engineers, we are still seeking for an equilibrium. Surely, we need to mature the awareness that the responsibility for the unparalleled quantity of digital data that we are collecting and partially publishing in this wonderful and highly volatile thing that is called Web cannot be delegated anymore.

References

Allison 2008 = P.M. Allison, "Dealing with Legacy Data – an Introduction", *Internet Archaeology*, 24, 2008 https://doi.org/10.11141/ia.24.8.

Barrett 2001 = J.C. Barrett, "Agency, the Duality of Structure, and the Problem of the Archaeological Record", in I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 141-164.

Buzi - Berno - Bogdani 2018 = P. Buzi - F. Berno - J. Bogdani, "The "PAThs" Project: An Effort to Represent the Physical Dimension of Coptic Literary Production (Third-Eleventh Centuries)", in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 4, 2018, pp. 47-66.

Bertoldi - Fronza - Valenti 2015 = S. Bertoldi - V. Fronza - M. Valenti, "Sistemi digitali di documentazione e analisi archeologica. Verso quale direzione", *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, 26, 2015, pp. 233-243.

Bloch 1953 = M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, New York, 1953.

Bogdani 2016 = J. Bogdani, "Un archivio digitale multidisciplinare per la gestione e la conservazione di un patrimonio culturale a rischio: il progetto Ghazni (Afghanistan)", *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, Supplement, 2016, pp. 236-245.

Bogdani 2017 = J. Bogdani, "The Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. A Question of Method", *Vicino Oriente*, 21, 2017, pp. 59-69.

Bogdani 2018 = J. Bogdani, "Linking Coptic Literary Manuscripts to the Archaeological Context by Means of Digital Humanities: the Case of the 'PAThs' Project", *Adamantius*, 24, 2018, pp. 200-210.

Bogdani 2019 = J. Bogdani, *Archeologia e tecnologie di rete. Metodi, strumenti e risorse digitali* (Cardini di Groma, 4), Roma, 2019.

Boyd - Lester 1974 = J.P. Boyd - R.W. Lester (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 19, 24 January to 31 March 1791*, Princeton, 1974.

Buzi 2017 = 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, pp. 507-516.

Buzi - Bogdani - Carlig - Giorda - Soldati 2017 = P. Buzi - J. Bogdani - N. Carlig - M.C. 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/article/tracking-papyrus-and-parchment-paths-an-archaeological-atlas-of-coptic-literature-literary-texts-in-their-geographical-context-production-copying-usage-dissemination-and-storage/.

Cohen - Rosenzweig 2006 = D.J. Cohen - R. Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web*, Philadelphia, 2006.

Depauw - Gheldof 2014 = M. Depauw - T. Gheldof, "Trismegistos. An Interdisciplinary Platform for Ancient World Texts and Related Information", in Ł. Boloikowski - V. Casanova - P. Goodale - N. Houssos - P. Manghi - J. Schirrwagen, *Theory and Practice of Digital Libraries*, 2014, pp. 40-52.

Dunning 2001 = A. Dunning, "Excavating Data: Retrieving the Newham Archive", http://www.ahds.ac.uk/creating/case-studies/newham/index.htm.

Ellis 2016 = S. Ellis, "Are We Ready for New (Digital) Ways to Record Archaeological Fieldwork? A Case Study from Pompeii", in E.A. Walcek - J.M. Gordon - D.B. Counts (eds.), *Mobilizing the Past for a Digital Future*, Grand Forks, 2016.

Godlewska 1988 = A. Godlewska, *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt: A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork* (Cartographica, 25, 1 & 2), Toronto, 1988.
Grossmann 2002 = P. Grossmann, *Christlicher Architektur in Ägypten* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 62), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2002.
Hodder 2005 = I. Hodder, *Theory and Practice in Archaeology* (Material Culture, 99), London, 2005.
Jablonka 2004 = P. Jablonka, "Reconstructing Sites and Archives: Information and Presentation Systems at Try", in K. Fischer Ausserer - W. Börner - M. Goriany - L. Karlhuber-Vöckl (eds.), *Enter the Past: The E-Way into the Four Dimensions and Cultural Heritage, CAA 2003, Computer Application and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology,* Proceeding of the 31st Conference, Vienna, Austria, April 2003 (British Archaeological Reports International Series, 1227), Oxford 2004, pp. 281-285.
Jacotin 1824 = P. Jacotin, "Mémoire sur la construction de la carte de l'Egypte", in C.L.F. Panckoucke (ed.), *Description de l'Egypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*. Seconde édition tome dix-septième. État moderne, Paris, 1824.
Jeffrey 2012 = S. Jeffrey, "A New Digital Dark Age? Collaborative Web Tools, Social Media and Long-Term Preservation", *World Archaeology*, 44.4, 2012, pp. 553-570.
Laužikas 2009 = R. Laužikas, "Digitization as Science", *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, 20, 2009, pp. 247-259.
Luo *et al.* 2018 = L. Luo, X. Wang, H. Guo, R. Lasaponara, P. Shi, N. Bachagha, L. Li *et al.*, "Google Earth as a Powerful Tool for Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Applications. A Review", *Remote Sensing*, 10.10, 2018, https://doi.org/10.3390/rs10101558.
Moreland 2006 = J. Moreland, "Archaeology and Texts: Subservience or Enlightenment", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35.1, pp. 2006, 135-151.
Moreland 2007 = J. Moreland, *Archaeology and Text* (Duckworth Debates in Archaeology), London, 2007.
Moshenska 2017a = G. Moshenska, "Introduction: Public Archaeology as Practice and Scholarship Where Archaeology Meets the World", in G. Mashenska (ed.), *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology*, London, 2017, pp. 1-13.
Moshenska 2017b = G. Moshenska, *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology*, London, 2017.
Orlandi 2003 = T. Orlandi, "Modeling the Coptic Literature. The 'Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari'", in *I&E 2002: Proceedings of the XIV Table Ronde Informatique et Egyptologie*, Pisa, 2003, http://www.cmcl.it/~orlandi/pubbli/pisa.doc.
Orlandi 2008 = T. Orlandi, *Coptic Texts Relating to the Virgin Mary*, Roma, 2008.
Previtali - Valente 2019 = M. Previtali - R. Valente, "Archaeological Documentation and Data Sharing: Digital Surveying and Open Data Approach Applied to Archaeological Fieldworks", *Virtual Archaeology Review* 10(20), 2019, pp. 17-27.
Rumsey - Williams 2002 = D. Ramsey - M. Williams, "Historical Maps in GIS", in K.A. Knowles (ed.), *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History*, Redlands, California, 2002, pp. 1-18.
Valenti 2000 = M. Valenti, "La piattaforma GIS dello scavo. Filosofia di lavoro e provocazioni, modello dei dati e 'soluzione GIS'", *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, 21, 2000, pp. 93-109.
Valenti 2010 = M. Valenti, "Per un approccio neo processualista al dato archeologico", in A. Forgione - F. Redi (eds.), *VI Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale* (*L'Aquila 2012*), Firenze, 2010, pp. 8-11.