

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

Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology

edited by
Paola Buzi



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Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th cent.): Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology

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“Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature.
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edited by
Paola Buzi

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

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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 Phantouou 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 Phantouou 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

Phantouou Monastery, parchment codices, palaeography, codicology, scribes.

1. Introduction

The so-called Phantouou (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 Phantouou.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 Phantouou 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. 'Phantouou'; 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 Ṣa'idic 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 (§ 3.1). 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'AUTO, in D'AUTO - 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 Şa'īdic 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 α, 4-strokes μ and tall γ), 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: 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'AUTO, in D'AUTO - 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 222¹⁹ 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 Ša’īdic manuscripts of the synaxarial epoch (from the White Monastery, from Saint Mercurius, as well as from the Phantou 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 Ša’īdic 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 ΟΥΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΑΡΤΑΘΟΥΟΣ (. . .) Ζῆ ΠΕΡΘΟΥ ἸΠΠΟΒ ἸΑΡΧΑΝΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΑΥΘ ΠΑΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ἸΤΣΟΜ ἸἸΠΗΥΕ (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 4Δ), 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 bibliographical 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 $\Theta-\lambda\Delta$ (f. 9v is paginated IH , f. 10r $\lambda\epsilon$).

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 [§ XL6]), 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 Phantou, 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 Phantou codices entitle us to assign (at least in broader terms) the transcription of these two manuscripts to between the second quarter of the ninth 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 Phantou, which are dated within the first half of the ninth century.³⁷ Therefore, I am inclined to assign to the same period CLM 222 and CLM 225, as well as other undated Phantou 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 Phantou 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 Phantou 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 Guglielmo 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 Phantou manuscripts CLM 229 and 251 and the Scetioti 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 ἀγίας ἐγλησίας [...]ω. The beginning has been easily restored by VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, I/1, 56 as [δὲ 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 Saint 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. Apaious 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 α-η and α-ιε, 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 α-πς and α-κε, 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 Phantou 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 Easter-tide.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 λ and ω of $\lambda\omega\gamma\omega\lambda$ (f. 133r) and of the \dagger and λ of $\dagger\lambda\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ (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 λ - $\iota\theta$, on the first and the last page, in the top-inner corner of the page. The pages are numbered λ - $\epsilon\zeta\zeta$, 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: (o) 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) Theopompus 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 (aa, bb 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 Phantou 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 q; compare the pagination of ff. 94v-95r and 99r with that of ff. 96r-98v, inscribed by hand 1 (with the 'regular' Coptic q).

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. Phantouu 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	[λ] / [λ] [β / β] [r] /	β-ηη [ιθ-λλ] λε-η (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	/ [r] Δ / Δ [ε] /	Δ-η (f. 14r not paginated) θ-κλ κε-ηβ	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	/ [ε] ς / ς z / [z] η /	β-η θ-κλ κε-η ηΔ-ηβ (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	/ η [θ] / θ ι / [ι] ιΔ /	(f. 52v) γ-ιγ ιΔ-κθ λ-ηε [ης-ηΔ]	cc 0056 (ff. 51v-76v)
11 ⁸ (4-8) 12 ⁸ (1-8)	77r-81v 82r-89r	/ [ιΔ] ιβ /	[β-ι] ιΔ-κλ (f. 88v)	cc 0332 (ff. 77r-89r)
12 ⁸ (8) 13 ⁸ 14 ⁸ (1)	89r-v 90r-97v 98r	/ ιβ ιγ / ιγ ιΔ /	β γ-ηη ιθ	cc 0059 (ff. 89r-98r)
14 ⁸ (1-8) 15 ⁵	98v-105v 106r-110v	/ ιλ ιε / ιε	(f. 99v) γ-ιε ις-κγ (f. 109v)	cc 0048 (ff. 98v-110v)

Table 3. Stratigraphy of CLM 225.

Quires	Leaves	Signatures	Pages	Contents
1 ^r	1r-7v	- / Δ	Β-ΙΔ	cc 0483
2 ^o	8r-16v	- / -	Β-ΙΗ	cc 0193
3 ^s 4 ^s 5 ^s (1-5)	17r-24v 25r-32v 33r-37r	- / Δ Β / Β Γ /	Β-ΙΣ ΙΖ-ΛΒ ΛΓ-Μ (f. 36v)	cc 0082 (17r-22r), 0083 (22v-27v), 0220 (ff. 27v-37r)
5 ^s (5-8) [6-13 ^s (1-4)]	37v-40v [60 leaves]	/ Γ [Δ / Δ - ΙΔ /]	Β-Ζ (f. 38r not paginated) [Η- ?]	cc 0346 (end wanting), [2-3 homilies?]
[13 ^s (4-8)] 14 ^s 15 ^s (1-2)	[4 leaves] 41r-48v 49r-50r	[/ ΙΔ] ΙΒ / ΙΒ ΙΓ /	[Β-Η] Θ-ΚΔ κε-κς (f. 49v)	cc 0158 (ff. 41r-50r, beginning wanting)
15 ^s (2-8) 16 ^s 17 ^s	50v-56v 57r-64v 65r-72v	/ ΙΓ ΙΔ / ΙΔ ΙΕ / [ΙΕ ?]	Β-ΙΔ ΙΕ-Λ ΛΔ-ΜΒ (f. 70v)	cc 0148 (ff. 50r-72v) colophon (f. 72v)

Table 4. Stratigraphy of CLM 222.

Quires	Leaves	Signatures	Pages	Contents
- 1-6 ^s	i v 1r-49v	- Δ-Σ	- Δ-Ϸ	frontispiece cc0322, 0107, 0399
7-15 ^s	50r-121v	ΔΔ-ΘΘ	Δ-ΡΜΔ	cc0290, 0265, 0214
16-17 ^s	122r-137v	Δ-Β	Δ-ΛΔ (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/>.
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