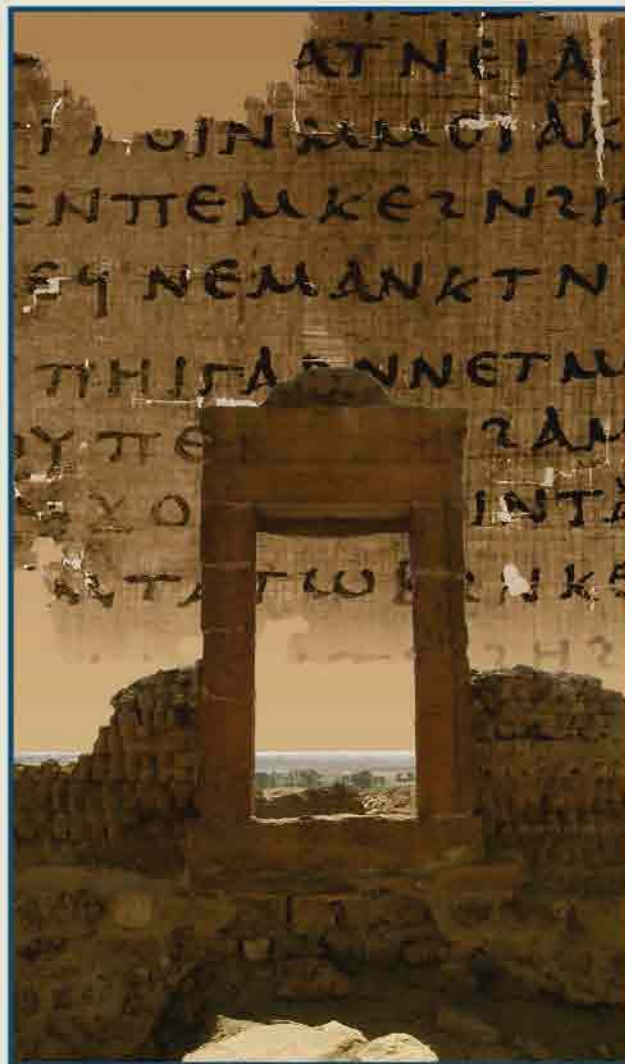


# Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th cent.)

## Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology

edited by  
Paola Buzi



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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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# 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 have 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 1060 CE. This bishop was already attested by the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* for the year 1086. The flesh-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 The collection, which is today almost completely unpublished, consists of a number of large fragments of Coptic literary codices, some phylacteries with Greek and Coptic prayers and a few Coptic and Arabic documentary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 Margouliouth and Eric John Holmyard.<sup>1</sup>

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: ρ̅ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲧⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ρ̅ⲁⲧⲧⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲃⲓⲁⲛ), all the other Coptic fragments are still unexplored.<sup>2</sup> 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 hair-side of the parch-

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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 Margouliouth 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 flesh-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, ΥΟΣ, 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'.<sup>3</sup>

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 Phibamôn, bishop of Aswân, 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 Sāwirus b. al-Muqaffa', Yuhannā ibn Šā'id bin Yahyā bin Mīnā, also known as Ibn al-Qulzumī.<sup>4</sup> 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-Ġamālī, the Armenian *mamlūk* appointed by the caliph as *amīr al-ġuyūš*, commander-in-chief of the armies.<sup>5</sup> The bishops were assisted by a certain Joseph (Yasīb), his superintendent of the gardens (خولى بساتين الاجل امير) (الجيش وكان خصيصا به). The *wazīr* summoned Cyril to his Cairene gardens at az-Zāhir, with all his bishops on August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1086 CE (في يوم السبت الثالث والعشرين من مسرى سنة ثمان مائة 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 Šā'id partaking in the Cairo synod is that of a *Bifām isqaf Aswān* (بفام اسقف اسوان), in all likelihood, the same Phoibammôn, bishop of Aswân, 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 Fātimid caliph Abū Tamīm Ma'ad al-Mustaṣir bi-'llāh (1036-1094), the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

### 1. *The Greek text* (Fig. 1)

The seventeen almost fully extant lines hosted in the left page of the flesh-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, 46a-51a; ΜΗÁΛΥΚÓ 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: ἸΟΥΔΑ ΠΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC), written by the same hand in letters of smaller size, is inserted. The sole abbreviations are to be observed in ΘΕΩ<sup>Α</sup> ΘΕΟΜΗ<sup>Ρ</sup>ΟC (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 aberrant Greek exhibiting many phonetical aberrations, the advanced decay of the declensional system and the not surprising recourse to some Coptic letters (l. 15: ΒΟΟ<sup>†</sup>ΤΟC; l. 3: the presumable inherent vowel in ΠΑΝΝΤΟΖΟΝ = ΠΑΝ<sup>Ν</sup>ΔΟΖΟΝ; l. 12: probably the same expedient in ΕΠ<sup>Κ</sup>ΡΟΝ = ΕΠ<sup>Κ</sup>ΡΟΝ; l. 17: ΝΑΚΟΜΕ<sup>†</sup>Α) as well as to Coptic formative elements (l. 1: ΠΝ-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC; l. 17: Ν-ΑΚΟΜΕ<sup>†</sup>Α, 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’.<sup>8</sup> The iterated polysyndetus through κε could recall the long sequences of words connected by ΔΥΩ 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 ἀνώδινοC 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 ] ἸΟΥΔΑ ΠΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC  
 [± 5 ] ΚΗΑC ΚΕ ΟΙ ΠΡΕCΒΥΑC ΤΗC ΠΑ-  
 ΝΑΚΙΑC ΚΕ ΠΑΝΝΤΟΖΟΝ ΚΕ ΠΑΝΕΚ-  
 ΡΑΝΤΟΝ ΚΕ ΠΑΝΕΥΛΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΕ  
 5 [Δ]ΠΕΡΟΥΓΑΜΜΟΥ ΘΕΩΔ(ΟΚΟΥ) ΚΕ ΘΕΩΜΗΤΟ-  
 ΡΟC ΚΕ ΩΤΕΚΤΟΥCΙC ΚΕ ΑΓΙΑΝ-  
 ΤΩΝ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑC ΤΗC  
 ΓΙΕΝΕCΙΜΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΤΛΗΜΤΕΡΟC  
 ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ Π-

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> For the corresponding textual section of the Šaʿīdic fragment of the liturgy of St. Cyril, see LIETZMANN 1928, 8-19; IO = 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.

- 10 ΡΕΤΡΟΜΟΥ ΚΕ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΠΑΡ-  
ΘΕΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΜΑΡΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΕ ΘΕΩΡΗ-  
ΜΟΣ ΚΕ ΕΠΚΡΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΝ ΚΕ ΠΡΟ-  
ΦΗΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΜΕΤΑΝΙΑΣΣ ΚΕΡΙΚΟΣ  
15 ΚΕ ΒΟΟΪΤΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΤΟΝ  
ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΠΡΟΤΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΕΡΟΥ  
ΚΕ ΑΡΧΗΓΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΑΚΟΜΕΪΑ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ

5. θεω<sup>α</sup> θεομή|ρος

[---] [---] όσία του άποστόλου [---] ? και πρεσβείας τής παναγίας και πανενδόξου και παναχράντου και πανευλογημένου και άπειρογάμου θεοτόκου και θεομήτορος και (θεο-)τικτούσης (?) και άμιάντου (?) και του θεου Μαρίας αυτής γενεσίμου του άτλημονεστέρου, του άγιου Ιωάννου του θεου προδρόμου και βαπτιστου και παρθένου και μάρτυρος και θεωρημόνος και έπικούρου σωτήρος και προφήτου και μετανοίας κήρυκος και βοηθου, Στεφάνου πρώτου άρχidiaκόνου και πρώτου μάρτυρος και άρχηγου και των άγιων μαρτύρων κομιτίων και των άγιων.

[---] *funeral service of the Apostles(s) | [---] guidance/prayer (?) and intercession of the al|l-holy and wholly glorious and wholly unde|fied 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 precursio|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 (λθ, 14-17): ΝΡΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΥΟ | ΤΕΜΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡΗ ΤΕΘΕΟΔΩΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ | ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΟ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΑ ΝΙΗ ΕΔ|ΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, whilst in *HÜLÄČI* 1960, p. ΦΠΣ/°Λ<sup>7</sup> is: ΝΡΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΘΗΪΘΟΥΑΒ ΘΗΜΕΖ ΝΪΟΥΓ ΕΤΟΙ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΝΪΟΥΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ : ΪΘΕΟΤΚΟΚ ΕΪΘΟΥΑΒ ΪΔΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ. The Kacmarcik codex has (f. 119v): έξαιρέτως τής παναγίας, ύπερενδόξου, άχράντου, ύπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ήμων, θεοτόκου και άειπαρθένου Μαρίας: †ης λεχθι η αυτη† (ή έλέχθη αυτή ύπό, R. Larson, see below) τής άρχαγγελικής φωνής έπιλεγούσης κτλ.

2. πρεσβγας: for the change (ει>)ι>υ, cp. GIGNAC 1976, 269-271. Between the word and the preceding κε a faded ρι can be discerned, perhaps a phonetic writing of an aberrant article ή. Considered the initial relics ]κνας, one could restore the formulaic cluster εϋχαίς και 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 όδηγίας και πρεσβείαις. If the faint ρι would hide a defaced δι(ά), cp. e.g. the *iunctura* ύλεως γένου ταίς άνομίας ήμων διά τας (ms. της) πρεσβείαις αυτών τας όσίας in a immediately subsequent passage of the text preserved by the Kacmarcik codex (f. 120v, MACOMBER 1979, 84).

2-3. πα|νακίας: for the common surdisation of γ, see GIGNAC 1976, 79, c.1.

3. πανητοζον: probably to be uttered πανήντοζον. 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 τής πανενδόξου, πανυμνήτου, ύπερευλογημένης, και κεχαριτωμένης δεσποίνης ήμων, ύπεραγίας θεοτόκου και άειπαρθένου Μαρίας.

3-4. πανεκ|ραντον: 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 τής παναχράντου Δεσποίνης ήμων Θεοτόκου, και πάντων σου των άγιων; and in Ps. Hypp. *De consum. mundi*, I, *GCS* 1.2, 289: εκ τής παναχράντου και θεοτόκου Μαρίας.

4. πανεγλοκίμενου: the rare adjective, as far as I know, occurs in Germ. I, *Hom. de dorm.*, 15, see WENGER 1958, 52.

5. [α]περογδαμμου: 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, 180a, s.v. άπειρογάμος, 2.

θεωΔ(ΟΚΟΥ): it seems likely a writing of θεοτόκος exhibiting sonorisation of τ, rather than a 'Nestorian' θεοδόχος, about which see LAMPE 1961, 625a, s.h.v.

7. ΤΗΣ: it seems to be the vulgar Greek unemphatic form of the personal pronoun αυτής, 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. ΒΑΚΚΕΡ 1974, 19-22, or, more simply, a use of (αυ)τής in the post-classical meaning of "aforesaid", cp. BLASS - DEBRUNNER 1997, 367, § 288, n. 3.

8. ΓΙΕΝΕΣΙΜΟΝ: the first letter of the word could be interpreted as a π, but πΕΝΕΣΙΜΟΝ, which would entail an unattested \*(έ)παινέσιμον, *laudabilitas*, seems scarcely probable. It appears much more likely to read ΓΙ, 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 γεννησιμιά, see *ILNE* 1953-1980, 335a-336b, 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 ἐγκαινισμός 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.

ατλημιτερος: at first glance, one could be tempted to suppose a legasthenic univerbation and restore something like ἀθλητις ἡμέτερος: for the use of the epithet referred to Christ or the saints, cp. LAMPE 1961, 46a. In this occurrence, it would be attributed to the Baptist. Otherwise, the writing could hint to a haplographic writing of ἀτλημι(ονέσ)τερος, for similar aberrations, see GIGNAC 1976, 313, 2. The rare ἀτλήμιον, 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 ἀτλήμιονα βίον ἐλόμενος), 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 γενέσιμιον/γεννήσιμιον: 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*, CCo127), glass 5r, col. I, 1-20: ἡπεποϋετ|οϋετ ἡνετ|εετ ταρο | ω τπαρθε|ινοϋ ε|ε | ἡπερτω|ηε εβολ ἡ|ηετνα|διο|ω ταρο ἡτο | ε|ιε| ἡπεπε|[αυτ]ορτῖ ἡ|[ηαα]κε τα|[ρο ντ]ο ἡ | [μη]ο|γωω|[πε] ἡμο ἡ | [μη]ετα|ο|[ηαα] ἡἡμη|[...] ταρο ἡτο | [ω η]α|ρια τπα|ρ|θε|ινοϋ, '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 ἀνώδυνος ὠδίν, but I wonder if the corrupted τῆς 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 λεχῶ, 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 αττωλημι 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): ἡνπερτα|γιος ἰω|ωδανηνης · | πβα|πτι|στι|ς α|γω πε|προ|δρο|μος α|γω π|πε|ρο|φη|τι|ς α|γω π|μα|ρτ|γροϋ, whilst in *HŪLĀĀĪ* 1960, p. φῆτς/°Λῆ is: ηεμ πα|γιος ιω|ωδανηνης π|π|ρο|δρο|μος ἡβα|πτι|στι|ς ο|γοϋ ἡμα|ρτ|γροϋ; the Kacmarcik codex has: τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου, προδρόμου, βαπτιστοῦ, καὶ μάρτυροϋ Ἰωάννου.

9-10. πρῆτρομοϋ: for the change o > ε, a common feature of many Greek loanword of Coptic, see GIGNAC 1976, 289-90, 4.a.1.a.ii. 11. μαρτεροϋ: about such rendering of υ, whose traditional Coptic name is significantly ρε, cp. GIGNAC 1976, 273-274, 3 a 1.

11-12. θεωρημιος: the word could be seen as a solœcistic writing of θεωρημιων, cp. LAMPE 1961, 632b, s.h.v., otherwise, more probably, θεωρήμιων, 'contemplative', cp. Choerob. in *An. Ox.* II 220, and its occurrence (voc. θεωρήμιον) in a Byzantine hymn in learned language belonging to the Canon XVII (11 Sept.) *In Sanctum Heliam Spelaotam*, see DEBIASI GONZATO - SCHIRÒ 1966, 206, l. 189 (ὡδή ζ, 12), as well as in the *Lexicon schedographicum* edited in *An. Boiss.* IV 366-412: 379, v. 265, with an interesting *distinguo* (Θεωρήμιων Ἠλίαις τε, τὸ ω μέγα καὶ ἐν ρ | θεωρη-ήμιων Γρηγόριος, τὸ ο μικρὸν καὶ δις ρρ). Vulgar Greek attests also a θεόρημιος which KRIARÁS 1980, 101, s.v. θεοέρημιος, glosses παντέρημιος: ἄθλιος, δυστυχός. Whichever the borrowed original word is, θεωρημιος occurs in the liturgy as epithet of St Mark, cp. ΤΑΤΤΑΜ 1835, 115, s.v. θεωρημιος (sic), and the frequent expression of the *hūlāĀī*, cp. e.g. *HŪLĀĀĪ* 1960, p. ρῆτς/°Λῆ: πθεο|ρημιος (ناظر الاله) ἡεγα|γγε|λι|τι|ς μαρκοϋ π|α|πο|στο|λοϋ ε|θο|γα|β ο|γοϋ ἡμα|ρτ|γροϋ, cp. SAMEH FAROUK SOLIMAN 2014.

13. επκρον σωτηρον: 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 ἐπικούρον ἔχομεν καὶ σωτήρα.

14. μετανιασσ κερικος: 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. βοο†τοϋ: in such digraphic word one could discern a medieval occurrence of the modern βοιθητις, see *ILNE* 1953-1980, 11a-12b, 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 \*βοωτητις, 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): ἡνπερτα|γιος στε|φε|ἄ|νοϋ παρ|χη|δα|κονοϋ α|γω π|ω|ρο|ρ ἡμα|ρτ|γροϋ, whilst in *HŪLĀĀĪ* 1960, p. φῆτς/°Λῆ is: ηεμ πα|γιος ε|τε|φε|ἄ|νοϋ π|π|ρω|το|δια|κονοϋ ο|γοϋ ἡπ|ρω|το|μα|ρτ|γροϋ; the correspondent section of the Kacmarcik codex offers: τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάνου, τοῦ πρωτοδιακόνου καὶ πρωτομάρτυροϋ followed by the mentions of Saint Mark and of the eponymous saint of the commemorated dead.

17. αρηηγον: about the epithet, unusual with reference to Saint Stephen, see LAMPE 1961, 236a-b, s.h.v.

ηακομητα: Coptic ἡ(α)- 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 κομητίω, 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 α after the Coptic article ἡ, rather than belonging to an unlikely possessive article ηα-, 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 ἡνπεχοροϋ τῆρῃ ἡμαρτγροϋ, whilst in

ἩΥΛΑΪ 1960, p.  $\overline{\Phi\pi\pi\overline{}}/\overline{\circ^{\wedge}\wedge}$ , after the request of intercession to Saint Mark, to the patriarch Severus, to Saint Cyril, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory and many other saints, is:  $\overline{\text{ΝΕΜ ΠΧΟΡΟС ΤΗΡϲ ΗΤΕ ΝΗΘΟΥΑВ ΗΤΑΚ}}$ . In the Kacmarcik codex we read, after the request of intercession to Saint Mark and to the saint of the day:  $\text{\textit{καὶ παντὸς χοροῦ τῶν ἁγίων σου}}$ .

## 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 *šima* 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*:  $\overline{\text{Ιϲ}}$   $\overline{\text{Πϳ}}$  (l. 16);  $\overline{\text{ΠΟϲ}}$  (l. 19), as well as to frequent interpunctuation through *dicola*. The quotation of the Psalter (ll. 17-20) seems to be written  $\text{\textit{ἐν εἰσθέσει}}$ . As far as the language is concerned, the Ša'īdic in which the text is written shows some southern traits, cp.  $\text{\textit{ΠΑΝϲ}}$  (l. 5), as well as the tendency to render *ν-* through *ε-*, cp.  $\text{\textit{ΕϲΙ}}$  *pro*  $\overline{\text{ΝϲΙ}}$  (ll. 3 e 9),  $\overline{\text{ΦΟΜΤ}}$   $\text{\textit{εϲωϲ}}$  (=  $\overline{\text{ΦΟΜἸΤ}}$   $\overline{\text{ἸϲωВ}}$ , ll. 1 e 7),  $\text{\textit{εαϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εμα}}$  (l. 14), also  $\overline{\text{ΜΕ-ΔΔΥΕΙΔ}}$  (l. 17). A peculiarity apparently limited to the Grecisms is the omitted writing of the  $\omega$ , or simply of the sound /o/ of the loanword:  $\text{\textit{ΑΠΕΜΗ}}$  ( $\text{\textit{ἀπήμων?}}$ , l. 4),  $\text{\textit{εΜΗ}}$  ( $\text{\textit{ἡμών}}$ , ll. 9 e 11), but cp. the akin graphic omission in  $\text{\textit{εϲΝϲ}}$  (l. 6). Further phonetical features which have to be noticed are the aphaeresis  $\text{\textit{ΟΥΦΟΥΡΙΜΕ}}$  'ροϲ (l. 2. Perhaps rather elision of the final vowel of the preceding verb? see also the full form after consonantic ending  $\text{\textit{εϲΟΥϲ}}$ , l. 19) and the crasis  $\text{\textit{ΧΑΝΔΙΚ[εΟС}}$  (18). A late-Coptic stylistic peculiarity seems to be the use of  $\text{\textit{ϲΙ-}}$  *pro*  $\text{\textit{ϲἰ}}$  as it occurs in the prepositional cluster  $\text{\textit{εВОΛ ϲΙ-}}$  (ll. 6 e 10), glaringly in the sense of  $\text{\textit{εВОΛ ϲἰ}}$ , 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  $\text{\textit{ϲεπεκοϲχαι}}$ . 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  $\text{\textit{όσία}}$ . I was not able to recognize any verse of the Ecclesiastes, although one would expect to find it considered the indication  $\text{\textit{ΠΕΧΑϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εϲΠΕΚΛΥϲΙΑϲΤΗϲ}}$  (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:  $\text{\textit{ΠΑΤϲΗΤ ΜἸΠΑΤϲΒΩ ΝΑΤΑΚΟ ϲΙΟΥϲΟΠ ϲΕΝΑΚΩ ἸΤΕΥΜἸΤΡΜΑΟ ἸϲΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ | ΔϲΩ ΝΕΥΤΑΦΟϲ ΝΕ ΝΕϲΗΝΙ ϲΑΕΝΕϲ}}$ . Nor was I able to find the Sinuthian quotation preceded by  $\text{\textit{ΠΕΧΑϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εϲΠΕΠΡΟΦΥΤΗϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εΜΗ}}$  :  $\text{\textit{ΑΠΑ ϲΕΝΟΥΤϲ}}$  |  $\text{\textit{ΠΔΙΚΕΟϲ}}$  (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.

- $\overline{\text{ΦΟΜΤ}}$   $\text{\textit{εϲωϲ}}$   $\overline{\text{Πϲ}}$  ...  
ΑΛΙΘΩϲ ΟΥΦΟΥΡΙΜΕ ΡΟϲ Πϲ ΠΒΙΟϲ ...  
ΚΟϲΜΟϲ :  $\text{\textit{ΠΕΧΑϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εϲΠΕΚΛΥϲΙΑϲΤΗϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εα[ϲΤΑ-}}$   
ΜΟΝ ΠΑΝϲ ΑΠΕΜΗ :  $\text{\textit{εϲΤΩΝ}}$  ΝΑΝΙΝΟϲ  $\text{\textit{ε[Μ-}}$   
5  $\text{\textit{ΗΤΡΕΜΑΟ}}$  : ΝΑΙ  $\text{\textit{εΤΑΥϲΙ}}$  ΝΝΕΥΑΚΑΘΟΝ ..[  
 $\text{\textit{εϲΝϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εВОΛ ϲΙΝΙΤΑΦΟϲ}}$  : ΝΤΑΠΕϲΕΡΠἸ..[  
ΤΑΚΟ : ΑΛΛΟϲ  $\overline{\text{ΦΟΜΤ}}$   $\text{\textit{εϲωϲ}}$  ΝΕΥϲΙΠἸ-  
ϲΗΤ :  $\text{\textit{εΤΟΟΥ}}$  ΟΝ ΝΕϲΟ ΝΡΟΟΥϲ ΝΑΙ : Πϲ-  
ϲΑϲ  $\text{\textit{εϲΠΕΠΡΟΦΥΤΗϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εΜΗ}}$  : ΑΠΑ ϲΕΝΟΥΤϲ  
10 ΠΔΙΚΕΟϲ : ΤΑϲΙΝΙ  $\text{\textit{εВОΛ ϲΙΩΜΑ}}$  : Τ[Δ-]  
ϲΙΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΚΡἸΤΗϲ  $\text{\textit{εΜΗ}}$  : ΤΑΠΟ-  
ΦΑϲΙϲ  $\text{\textit{εϲΔΑϲ<Ι>}}$   $\text{\textit{εВОΛ ϲΗΤΤ}}$  :  $\text{\textit{ΧΕϲΠἸεϲ}}$  . [  
 $\text{\textit{εαϲ}}$   $\text{\textit{εμα}}$  : | -----  $\text{\textit{ϲεπεκοϲχαι}}$   
15 ἸΝΤΑΙ ΤΩΡΟΝ ΤΑϲ ΝΑΚ :  $\text{\textit{εϲΑΠΤΑΙΟ}}$  ...  
ΛΑϲ :  $\overline{\text{Ιϲ}}$   $\overline{\text{Πϳ}}$   $\text{\textit{εΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ}}$   $\text{\textit{εΤΟΝΑϲ}}$  :  $\text{\textit{ϲΑΙΩϲ}}$  [ε-]  
ΒΟΛ  $\overline{\text{ΜΕΔΔΥΕΙΔ}}$  :  $\text{\textit{ϲΙΠΕΠἸΑΛΤΗΡ[ΙΟΝ]}}$   
ϲΤΑΙΟ ΝΑΚ  $\text{\textit{ϲΙΠΕΚΗ}}$  :  $\text{\textit{ΧΑΝΔΙΚ[εΟС ΔΙΩ-}}$

ΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ : ΔΠΟΣ ΩΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ : ΔΥΤΟΥΧΟΥ  
 20 ΖΙΝΕΓΟΛΙΨΙΣ ΤΗΡΟ  
 ΕΚΩ ΛΑΧ .-  
 ΔΙΤΟΣ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ... ΝΑ [± 3]  
 .. Ì ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩ

*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) Ἀρα Ἰενουτε | 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 (θλίψις)" | I (ἐγώ) am the hum|bled (ἐλάχιστος?) deacon (διάκονος), might God remit [---].*

1. ΩΟΜΤ ΕΖΩΥ: for the not uncommon omission of  $\eta$  in the writing of the numeral, see KAHLE 1954, 105-107; for the rendering  $\epsilon$ - of the  $\eta$ - connecting numerals, see *ibidem* 114.f; for the widespread spirantization of the labial in ΖΩΒ, see *ibidem*, 93-94. The *iunctura*, also occurring below at l. 7, could recall Sir. 25, 1-2: ΔΗΝΟΥΣ ΔΑΤΩΜΗΝΤ ΝΖΩΒ ΚΤΛ. | ΩΟΜΗΤ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΕΝΤΑΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΜΕΣΤΩΟΥ ΚΤΛ. 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).

ροϋ: about the omission of  $\epsilon$  in likely cases, see KAHLE 1954, 65-66, 20.

πβιος . . . : perhaps πβιος ἡπει|κοσμος, cp. Jo. 3.17.

3. εβι-: for the substitution of  $\eta$  with  $\epsilon$  in such places, see KAHLE 1954, 115, i; KASSER 1964, 40b.

4. ΔΠΕΜΗ: 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. ]ΗΤΡΕΜΑΟ: probably [η]ΗΤΡΕΜΑΟ, for the rendering  $\eta$  pro  $\bar{\eta}$ , see KAHLE 1954, 116, 83.

εταγχι κτλ.: the phrase could be a reminiscence of Lc. 16.25: ΔΚΧΙ ΝΝΕΚΑΓΑΘΟΝ.

6. εγνβ: ἐπὶ πλεῖον, see CRUM 1939, 251b. About the rendering  $\eta\delta$ , usually attributed to Mesokhemic, see KASSER 1964, 40a. Anne Boud'hors, *per litteras*, assumes that such writing could hide εγνηξ, "ils gisent dans les tombeaux".

ζι- pro ζη-: for the widespread substitution, see CRUM 1939, 683a; KAHLE 1954, 84, a; KASSER 1964, 98b.

νταπεγερπι . . . : perhaps, if one consider the initial verb of the following line, the relic could be restored as νταπεγερπιεεγε.

It could be a reminiscence of Ps. 9.6: ΔΠΕΓΡΙΜΕΕΓΕ ΤΑΚΟ.

7-8. ΝΕΥΖΙΠΔΖΗΤ: cp. also ΝΕΥΟ (l.8). On the cleft sentence with πεϋ-, τεϋ-, νεϋ- instead of πετ-, τετ-, νετ-, see RICHTER 2017.

8. ετοου: read ἦτοου. I owe to the learned kindness of T.S. Richter the suggestion to interpret it as an aberrant writing *pro* ττοου.

10. ΤΑΒΙΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΩΜΑ: for such expression cp. the frequent ΠΧΙΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΩΜΑ in *Test. Abr.*, see GUIDI 1900, 158-159.

11. ΠΕΚΡΙΤΗΣ: for the omission of the  $\eta$ - introducing the object, see KAHLE 1954, 110-111.

12. ΖΗΤΤ: the writing could be interpreted as *scriptura etymologica* or simple misuse, see KAHLE 1954, 131, 114.

ζεχιπεϋ .[: the relic could be *dubitatim* restored ζεχιπεϋ<ε>ϋ[ς, 'hasten toward whichever place (εαϋ ἦμα)'? 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. ΤΑ†: such form of conjunctive is considered as a southern trait, see KAHLE 1954, 160, 138, as well as RICHTER 2016.

εσα- : for this writing instead of ἦσα-, see above *ad l.* 3.

16. λας: perhaps ζηπα|λας.

17. ΜΕΔΑΥΕΔ: με- pro ἦη-, cp. *ad l.* 3.

ζιπεϋ†αλτηρ[ιον]: about the superabundant writing πϋ *pro* ϋ, see KAHLE 1954, 134, 118.

18. ΧΑΝΔΙΚ[εος]: for the 'crastic' writing, see CRUM 1939, 746, s.v. χε, and KASSER 1964, 105a.

20. ΤΗΡΟ: for the monophthongization οϋ > ο, 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  $\iota$ , only sporadically occurring in form of a single dot.  $\bar{\eta}$  is usually rendered as  $\epsilon\eta$ - before consonant with the exception of  $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\psi\epsilon\eta\eta$  (l.2) and  $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$  (l. 7). An isolated prothetic  $\epsilon$  seems to oc-

cur in the intensifier εταῖ (l. 18), see *ad l.* Two *nomina sacra* are employed: πῶς (l. 13), ΔΙΚΛΗ (l. 18). The determinative article before a consonant is always πῖ- apart from the formulaic περσοῦ (l. 16), πεσοῦωμετ (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 πῖκαρ | πῖгермес петμнз нем|кар (ll. 4-6). An interesting dialectal feature could be seen in the form εμπεерро, see *ad l.*, perhaps a relic which could be referred to the so-called dialect E of Kasser classification.<sup>9</sup>

†  
 ἀριπαμεεγε ναείοτε ἀνοκ  
 πῖζηκε ενεφεῖην πῖρεμ-  
 μαο ζενεφνοβε πῖζηκε  
 ζεννεφαρετη πῖκαρ  
 5 πῖгермес петμнз нем-  
 кар энзнт ннм зῖαωαζομ  
 ετβενανοβε ετοω нөө  
 емπωω зῖхеннеспотоу  
 емπεерро ωληλ εχωῖ  
 10 νακαπη οyon ннм εтна-  
 οуωω ζεν†трас мереф-  
 хоос ζενογχοуφ энзнт  
 хεερεпῶс нахарис наῖ ноу-  
 зһпомннн ωαβολ ἀνοκ φῖβамων  
 15 πепископос εντεσογαан  
 περσοῦ ενταγθρονῖζε емμοι  
 πεσοῦωμετ нпаωни †ромпе  
 εταῖ ἀπο ΔΙΚΛΗ хροноу μαρτηρον  
 υος

*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 (10<sup>th</sup> June 1060) of the time of Martyrs.*

2. ενεφεῖην: i.e. η̄εβнн.

3. ζενεφνοβε: l. зῖннеφноβε.

5. πῖгермес: about the sonorisation of κ 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 (ἀνοκ.λε ἀνῖογκαρ ἀνῖογκῖμεс) is attested also in the scribal notes preserved by ms. *Vat. copt.* 61, fol. 193, 8 m<sup>3</sup> = HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 428 (ἀριφμεβι ἡπρεφερνοβῖ πῖκαρι менпкерн), as well as by ms. *Vat. copt.* 66, fol. 171v, 2-3 = HEBBELYNCK - VAN LANTSCHOOT 1937, 482 (ἀριφμεγ ἡπсвоγῖ нагтенπωα | πῖκαρι немпкерн).

8-9. емπωω зῖхеннеспотоу | емπεерро: 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 Ṣa'idic and in Bohairic colophons: for example, in the BnF Copte 132', fol. 68 = VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929, XCVIII, ll. 23-24, where we read хенаωωоу нсинапараггωма · азω сεωω нзого | еπωω нεαλαсса, '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, εβολ хεεεоу н|маωω пара|πωω нте|φιοи нз н|коп нсоп, '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: εβολ | хεεεоу εροге пωω нтеφιοи нем нφρη† ннисиоγ нтетφε | ρенпоγωωи наῖ ετεφнпаγωβнпн ннωоу, '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 εiero, the 'big river' *par excellence*, which the Greeks were used to call the διωρυξ 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 πεεppo, a dialectal variant of εεπο: it is not easy to ascertain whether the first ε is part of the determinative article (πε-εppo) or a peculiar rendering of the original semivowel *j* (π-εεppo).<sup>10</sup>

10-π. ετνα|ογωω: obviously *pro* ετναωω. For the prosthesis of ογ to ω, peculiar of the far South, see CRUM 1939, 467a-b.

π. ρεν†τρας: the other main linguistic feature of our text is a lexical one: in the typical appeal to the reader, instead of the usual ρηπειχωωμε, ‘in this book’, we found a seemingly unclear ρεν†τρας. Just as the guess that †τρας could be a poetical hint to a τετραευαγγέλιον is improbable, so too is the hypothesis of a chronological reference to a τετάρτη ημέρα, 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 ρητεί<τε>τρας, 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.<sup>11</sup> 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): †ραζιογ ἡμακ | παχαδισ πασαν χεκαρζεῖνιτετρας | ηἡ εταῖτηῖναγσε νεκ †νατρογῆ|τεττχηρ νεκ αν, ‘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 ostrakon (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: μερεπωαγ ρωαγ ε|πχωμε, ‘the skins will be of no use for the book’), the sender mentions (l. 3), in the midst of unfortunate lacunae, ηἡφτο’ογ ἡτετρας, ‘and four quaternions’. This peculiar lexical use, in lieu of χωωμε, 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* χωωμε, as if it were a mere, affected, *specimen modestiae*.<sup>12</sup>

π-π. μερεϗ|χοοο: i.e. μαρεϗ, see KAHLE 1954, 68, 21 a.

13. ναχαρις: i.e. ναχαριζε. For the not isolated use of the correspondent substantive instead of the infinitive of the verb, see KAHLE 1954, 189-190, 157 B.

15. εντεσογαν: the rendering through geminated λ is noteworthy. For the writings of the toponym, see TIMM 1984, 222 and SOLDATI 2018, 186, *ad* 18-19 (CBAN).

18. εταλ: i.e. ται, but perhaps confusion with ετε-?

10 It is well known how the noun is the result of the juxtaposition of the *status constructus* of ειοop and the adjective o. We observe such type of compound, for example, in the well-known ρρογ-ο, ‘boastfulness’ from ρρογ ‘voice’, ρῆμα-ο from ρωμε, or else ρτω (<τρω) ‘span’ beside τωρε, ἔλλο beside ελλ. The Coptic word is the outcome of an ancient *itrw*<sup>10</sup>: according to VYCHICHL 1983, 66b, ‘la forme est primitivement \*yabraw, puis \*yarrow. Par la suite le groupe rr est dissimilé \*ya’raw 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 ιεppα as well as the Ṣa’īdic plural ιεppωωγ. 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 Gə’əz ቅራዝ, *ṭarāz*, “volume, exercise book, ledger, fascicle of a book”, see LESLAU 1991, 598a, s. v. *ṭaraza* ጠረዝ “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 (†)τρας occurring in the extremely Southern text here published.



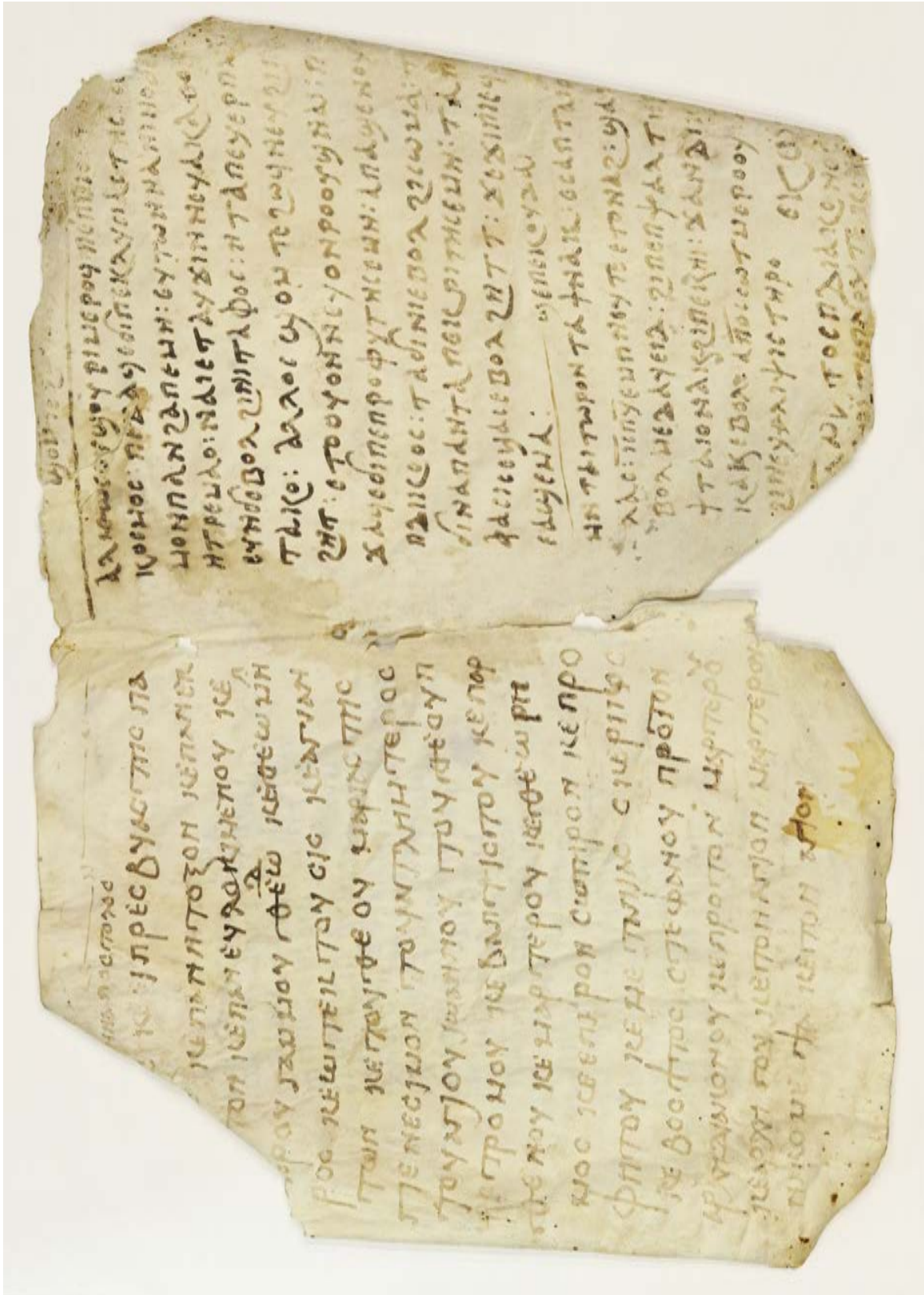


Fig. 1. The Greek text (left page) and the Coptic text (right page).

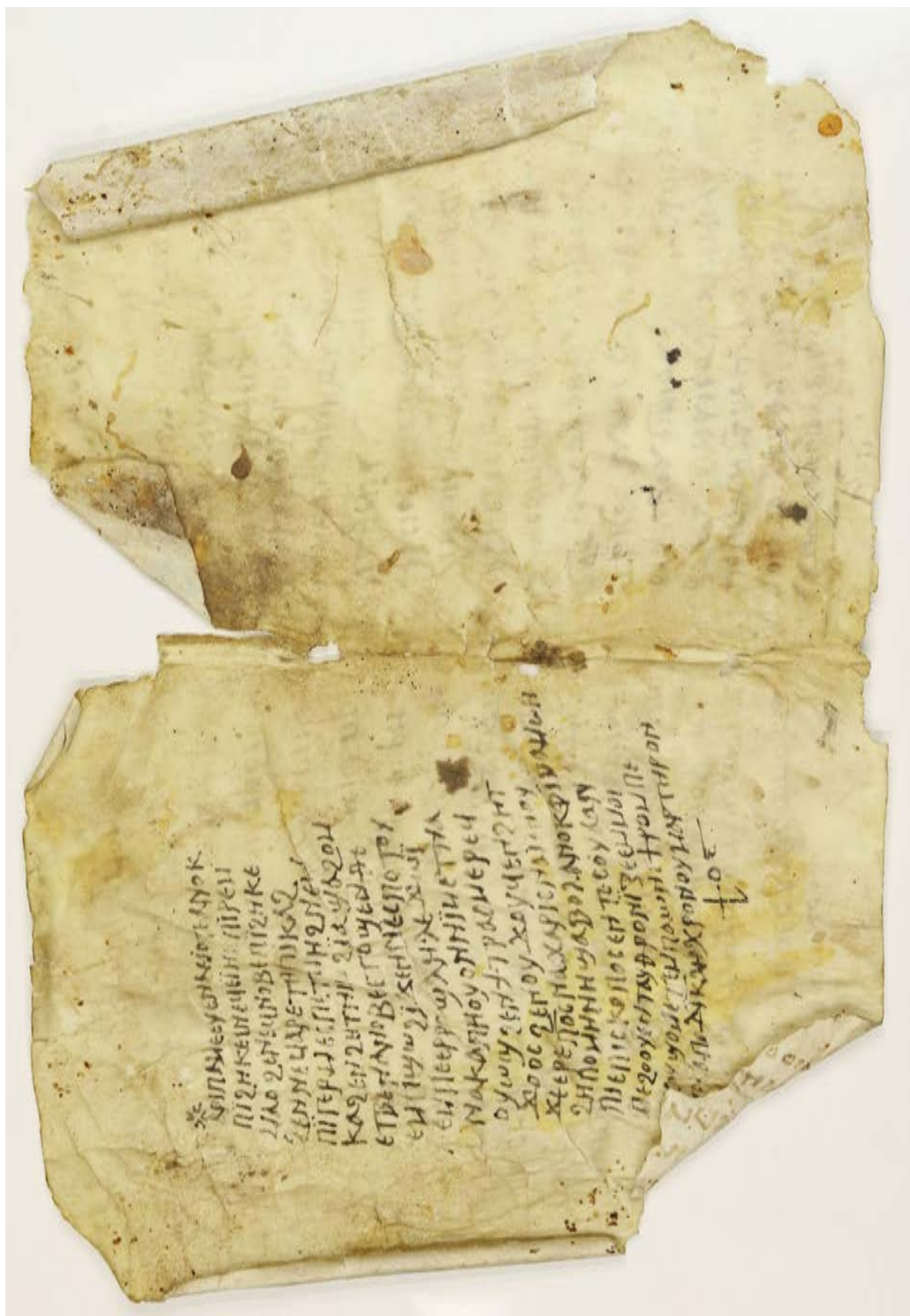


Fig. 2. The *memento* of the bishop Phoibammon and the blank page.

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