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

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

24

2018

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



Morcelliana

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1. Contributi

1.1 Sezioni monografiche

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

Introduction

by
Paola Buzi

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

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

The choice of dedicating a conference – the first of the “PATHs” project – to the book production between the 6th and the 8th centuries was not fortuitous: despite the important recent progresses made in the understanding of this period of the history of the Coptic book³ – and of the book in general, since Egypt can be considered a real laboratory of the physical features of codices, in terms of formats, quire systems, bookbindings, combination and arrangement of texts –, much remains to be clarified and explored, such as the nature of

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

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

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

libraries and their criteria of selection, the tastes and the interests that were behind their formation, but also the evolution in the making of the codex and the professional competences involved⁴. The scant information concerning all these aspects that are provided by well-known 9th-11th-century libraries in fact is even poorer for previous periods.

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

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

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

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

The second section – *Coptic Books from the Theban region* – takes its inspiration from the discovery of the three Theban Coptic books of the so-called pit MMA 1152 by Tomasz Górecki and his team⁵, whose provenance is archaeologically well documented, a fact of great importance for a project like “PATHs”, that aims at analysing the Coptic book in strict relation to the geo-archaeological context. The section, however, is opened by a more general and at the same time very accurate overview of the literary manuscripts, in Greek and Coptic, found in Thebes, with a particular attention to their archaeological contexts (Elisabeth R. O' Connell). This is followed by a contribution on one of the most interesting multiple-text manuscripts of the Theban area, *P. Bodmer 58*, as far as the content and the physical aspects are concerned (Anne Boud'hors).

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

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

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

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

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

Paola Buzi

ERC Advanced Grant 2015 Principal Investigator:

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

Literary Texts in their Geographical Context.

Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage»

The Early Sahidic Version of the Encomium on Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos from Shaykh Abd al-Qurna: On the Progress of Its Edition

by
Renate Dekker

One of the three manuscripts found in the hermitage at tomb MMA 1152 in Shaykh Abd al-Qurna contains an early Sahidic version of the *Encomium* of Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos (599-632)¹, the edition of which was entrusted to me². For a long time, only the first part of the papyrus book was available for study. Since the Polish conservator Anna Thommée sent images of the fragmentary second part, and since her team will soon start a new mission to complete the restoration and documentation of the manuscript, the edition can be resumed³.

This contribution evaluates the present state of research, focusing on four aspects. Firstly, it describes the conservation work done on the manuscripts and the difficulties faced by Thommée and her team during the process. Secondly, it discusses how the edition of the *Encomium* started in 2007 and how it will be continued. Thirdly, we can finally evaluate how much of the text is preserved in the papyrus book and to what extent it diverges from the other – Coptic and Arabic – versions of the *Encomium*. We conclude with some observations on the historical context of the hermitage, where the early Sahidic version was found, not far from where the bishop actually stayed in the 620s⁴.

1. CONSERVATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

In February 2005, the Polish team headed by Tomasz Górecki unexpectedly discovered two papyrus books and a parchment codex in « a dump of ashes and rubbish from an oven or kitchen » on the rocky slope southeast of the tower in front of the entrance to MMA 1152⁵. They lay on top of a layer of ashes and were covered by about 30 cm of rock detritus⁶. The papyrus book containing the *Encomium* was found directly next to the book with the *Canons* attributed to Basil of Caesarea⁷ and under the parchment codex

¹ Former National Museum of Alexandria, Field inv. no. Coptic MS. 2; now Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13447 (confirmed by Nathan Carlig).

² R. DEKKER, *Encomium on Pesynthios of Coptos: The Recently Discovered Sahidic Version from Sheikh Abd al-Qurna, in Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, vol. 2: *Naqada - Esna*, ed. G. GABRA, H.N. TAKLA, Cairo-New York 2010, 21-31; EADEM, *The Encomium on Bishop Pesynthios: An Evaluation of the Biographical Data in the Arabic Version*, in *Coptic Culture: Transmission and Interaction*, edited by M. AYAD, Cairo/New York 2016, 77-91. See also EADEM, *The Sahidic Encomium of Pesynthios, Bishop of Keft: Towards a New Understanding. Based on a Recently Discovered Manuscript*, MPhil-thesis, Leiden University 2008 (unpublished, but available at www.academia.edu).

³ I am much indebted to Tomasz Górecki (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Warsaw) for giving me a tour at the hermitage in February 2008, and for sending updates on the progress of the conservation work. Thanks are also expressed to Anna Thommée, conservator and director of the Atelier for the Conservation of Artifacts, Books and Archival Materials in Toruń (Poland), for sending conservation reports and photographs of the manuscript made in the period 2010-2015, and for reviewing this paper; and to Ewa Wipszycka (University of Warsaw) and Paola Buzi (Sapienza University, Rome) for arranging funding, in order that the restoration of the manuscript and consequently, the edition of the *Encomium* can be completed.

⁴ H.E. WINLOCK – W.E. CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I*, New York 1926, 133, 223-224; J. VAN DER VLIET, *Pisenthios de Coptos (569-632), moine, évêque et saint: autour d'une nouvelle édition de ses archives*, in *TOPOI. Supplément 3*, ed. M.-F. BOUSSAC, Lyon/Paris 2002, 63-64; R. DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks and Authority in Late Antique Egypt: Bishops of the Theban Region at Work* (OLOA 264), Leuven 2018, 2, 95-96.

⁵ T. GÓRECKI, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152): Preliminary Report, 2005*, Polish Archaeological Mission (=PAM) 17 (2007) 266 and fig. 3; cf. ID., *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna*, in *Seventy Years of Polish Archaeology in Egypt*. Exhibition catalogue, ed. E. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, Warsaw 2007, 186 and the photograph on p. 190.

⁶ GÓRECKI in *Seventy Years*, cit., 180.

⁷ On this Coptic version of the Canons of Saint Basil, see A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea: A New Coptic Codex*, in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion, from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17-22, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the*

with fragments from the *Book of Isaiah* and the *Martyrdom of St Peter*⁸. It was almost complete, but in a poor condition, for the back cover was destroyed and the rest of the book was brittle, tightly compressed and distorted⁹, apparently on account of being exposed to the heat of smoldering ashes. Heat had also caused the edges of the parchment leafs to melt together¹⁰.

The Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology (University of Warsaw) arranged that the manuscripts were secured by Janina Wielowiejska and Izabela Mazur, book conservators from the National Library in Warsaw¹¹. The books were first brought to the storeroom of the SCA in Luxor, where excavated objects are stored, and transferred to the laboratory in the National Museum of Alexandria in March 2006¹². Already before their transfer, the PCMA and the Polish Ateliers for Conservation of Cultural Property (PPKZ S.A., Warsaw) launched the project « Polish Conservation Mission: Gurna Manuscripts (Hermitage in TT 1152) ». The conservation work was done by Daria Kordowska and Anna Thommée, conservators of the Atelier for Conservation of Artifacts, Books and Archival Materials in Toruń, a local branch of PPKZ S.A.¹³. Thommée headed the first two missions in 2006, and Kordowska the two following ones in 2007 and 2008. After Kordowska left the PPKZ S.A. in 2009, Thommée directed the conservation work in 2010, 2011, 2013 and 2015. Until present, there have been eleven missions, and the last three of them took place in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, where the manuscripts were transferred to in October 2012¹⁴.

In the studio the leafs of the manuscripts were carefully cleaned and separated. The papyrus books were stored in specially made acid-free cardboard boxes with Japanese paper between the leafs and silica gel packets¹⁵. Unfortunately, the condition of the fragile books deteriorated on account of toxic fungi (from the *Aspergillus* family) and bacteria growing on them despite repeated disinfections, and the papyrus was falling apart and getting darker¹⁶. Apart from the fact that the climate in Alexandria was too humid for manuscripts, the air-conditioning in the museum storage room did not work properly from May until November 2010, despite the recommendations of the conservators¹⁷. Although international norms for preserving papyrus prescribe a temperature of 18-20°C and a humidity level of 50-55%, the temperature fluctuated between 15°C and 25°C and the humidity level between 40% and 80%, causing « the degradation and biodeterioration of the objects »¹⁸. In order to stop this process, the manuscripts were brought to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, where the air is drier. When the conservators assessed their condition in January 2013, they observed

Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15-19, 2008 (OLOA 247), ed. P. BUZI, A. CAMPLANI, F. CONTARDI, Leuven 2016, vol. 2, 979-992; A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, *Remarks on the Textual Contribution of the Coptic Codices Preserving the Canons of Saint Basil, with Edition of the Ordination Rite for the Bishop (Canon 46)*, in *Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre Orient et Occident. Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu*, ed. F.P. BARONE, C. MACÉ and P.A. UBIERNA, Turnhout 2017, 139-159; and the contribution by the same authors in this volume.

⁸ GÓRECKI in *Seventy Years*, cit., 180, 186-187. On the *Martyrium Petri*, see Przemysław Piwowarczyk's contribution in this section.

⁹ D. KORDOWSKA, *Conservation Work on Three Coptic Manuscripts from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna*, PAM 18 (2008) 314; A. THOMMÉE, *The Gurna Manuscripts (Hermitage in MMA 1152): Conservation Report 2010*, PAM 22 (2013) 201.

¹⁰ KORDOWSKA, in PAM 18, cit., 312-313; THOMMÉE, PAM 22, cit. 201, 204; cf. EADEM, *Preliminary Conservation of a Coptic Parchment Manuscript (9th-10th century): a Review of its Condition, and Nature of its Problems*, in *Parchment and Leather Heritage: Conservation – Restoration*, ed. E. JABŁOŃSKA, T. KOZIELEC, Toruń 2012, 199-208.

¹¹ KORDOWSKA, in PAM 18, cit., 311 n. 1; cf. GÓRECKI, PAM 17, cit., 263 n. 1.

¹² THOMMÉE, PAM 22, cit., 199 (on the new laboratory). She mentioned the SCA store room during personal communication.

¹³ KORDOWSKA PAM 18, cit., 311 n. 2; <http://www.pcma.uw.edu.pl/en/pcma-newsletter/2006/late-roman-byzantine-and-medieval/sheikh-abd-el-gurna-papyrus-book-conservation-project-egypt/>.

¹⁴ I: 5 March-11 April 2006; II: 17 August-28 September 2006; III: 26 June-22 July 2007; IV: 12-28 October 2008; V: 4 January-24 February 2010; VI: 11-27 May 2010; VII: 12 December 2010-27 January 2011; VIII: May 2012; IX: 14-31 January 2013; X: 20 May-21 June 2013; XI: 15 November-30 December 2015, according to KORDOWSKA in PAM 18, cit., 311; THOMMÉE, PAM 22, cit., 199 n. 1; THOMMÉE's unpublished conservation reports of January 2011 and January-June 2013; the dates of the photographs taken in 2015.

¹⁵ KORDOWSKA PAM 18, cit., 314-315; THOMMÉE, PAM 22, cit., 201.

¹⁶ THOMMÉE, PAM 22, cit., 201-203, 207-208 (with a microbiological report)

¹⁷ THOMMÉE, Conservation report of January 2011, 3.

¹⁸ THOMMÉE, PAM 22, cit., 207.

new microbiological changes: « while the growth was not intensive, it was observable with the naked eye »¹⁹. By day, the conditions in the Coptic Museum were optimal, but in the evening, when the museum staff left the building, the air-conditioning was switched off for security reasons. As a result, the temperature in the



Fig. 1. Front cover (photo: A. Thommée; adapted by R. Dekker)

¹⁹ THOMMÉE, Conservation report of January-June 2013, 2.

storage room rose to 26°C and the humidity level dropped to 50% during the mission in May-June 2013²⁰. The papyrus book containing the *Encomium* measured ca. 32.5 x 24 x 4 cm²¹. It used to have a leather cover, strengthened by boards made of reused papyrus (with remains of two texts, one in a literary hand and the other one in a more cursive script). The front cover, now broken into pieces, was decorated with a six petal rosette within a circular frame against a red background, with a string of red dots painted on the frame (Fig. 1). A red broad ribbon interlace ornament ending in loops above and below is visible below the rosette, and another, less intricate design was painted in red ink above and on both sides of the rosette. The book was closed with leather straps and a wooden peg with carved interlace decoration (Fig. 2)²². The codex consists of forty more or less complete folios (eighty pages) that belonged to five quires (A-E), eleven fragmentary folios (twenty-two pages), and the last part of the book, which was opened in 2015 and comprises fragments of at least five more folios²³. A paper reproduction of the codex on the basis of printed photographs, which takes into account the direction of the papyrus fibres, the contents of the *Encomium* and the original page numbers, indicates that the codex probably comprised eight quires (A-H) of ca. 120 pages in total.

After the mission of 2015, the project was suspended on account of lack of funding, but in November 2017, Ewa Wipszycka (University of Warsaw) informed me that she and Paola Buzi were arranging financial means, in order that the conservation work on the papyrus books could be completed²⁴. Later that month, Anna Thommée confirmed that a new mission will take place. Once the restoration and documentation of the manuscript has been completed, the edition of the *Encomium* can be finalized as well.

2. EDITION OF THE ENCOMIUM

Soon after the discovery of the manuscripts, Father Wincenty Myszor (Silesian University, Katowice) and Jacques van der Vliet (Leiden University) both identified the text in one of the papyrus books as the *Encomium* on Bishop Pesynthius on the basis of the title page²⁵. Myszor made a first edition of the title²⁶. Van der Vliet was contacted to confirm the identification, since he had previously announced his intention to re-edit the documents relating to Bishop Pesynthius in the Musée du Louvre (*P.Pisenthios*)²⁷. In September 2007, the international project directed by Van der Vliet and Florence Calament of the Musée du Louvre officially started in the form of a seminar in Coptic papyrology in Leiden, in which I participated as a student²⁸. In the same month, I was entrusted with the edition of the *Encomium* under Van der Vliet's supervision and with the support of Wipszycka and Górecki-



Fig. 2. Wooden peg (photo: A. Thommée; adapted by R. Dekker)

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ GÓRECKI in PAM 17, cit., 271.

²² GÓRECKI, in PAM 17, cit., 271 and Fig. 6; THOMMÉE, in PAM 22, cit., 200.

²³ THOMMÉE, in PAM 22, cit., 200, where ten single folios are listed instead of eleven.

²⁴ Wipszycka made the announcement on the day of the author's PhD defense (Leiden, 7 November 2017).

²⁵ GÓRECKI, PAM 17, cit., 272 and n. 5.

²⁶ W. MYSZOR, *Encomium of St. Pisenthios from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna*, PAM 17 (2007) 273-274.

²⁷ VAN DER VLIET, *Pisenthios de Coptos*, cit. n. 4, 61-72.

²⁸ On the progress made, see J. VAN DER VLIET, *Les archives de Pesynthios: nouvelles découvertes, nouvelles questions*, in *Études coptes XII: Quatorzième journée d'études (Rome, 11-13 juin 2009)*, ed. A. BOUD'HORS, C. LOUIS, Paris 2013, 263-270; R. DEKKER, *Reconstructing and Re-editing the Archive of Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos/Keft (7th century)*, in *Current Research in Egyptology 2010: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium*, ed. M. HORN, J. KRAMER, D. SOLIMAN, N. STARING, C. VAN DEN HOVEN, L. WEISS, Oxford 2011, 33-41; F. CALAMENT, *Le programme d'édition des archives de Pesynthios: focus sur les papyrus coptes du Musée du Louvre*, in *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie, Genève, 16-21 août 2010*, ed. P. SCHUBERT, Genève 2012, 107-118; cf. J. VAN DER VLIET, *Pesynthios of Coptos/Qift (ca. 568-632) and the Rise of the Egyptian Monophysite Church*, JSCS 3-4 (2012) 27-42; IDEM, *Le prêtre Marc, Psan et Pesynthios: un réseau miaphysite autour du monastère d'Épiphane*, in *Études coptes XIII: Quinzième journée d'études (Louvain-la-Neuve, 12-14 mai 2011)*, ed. A. BOUD'HORS and C. LOUIS, Paris 2015, 127-136.

ki. Following the example of Gawdat Gabra, who first examined the Coptic and Arabic versions of Bishop Pesynthios' biography²⁹, the manuscript from Shaykh Abd al-Qurna is referred to by a *siglum*, « Q ». The images of Q that became available for study in 2007 showed seventy pages of the first five quires of the manuscript³⁰, which revealed that the main text is close to the complete Sahidic version in the paper codex S (Esna-Edfu region, A.D. 1005)³¹. For palaeographical reasons, Q is dated to the late seventh century, but its discovery at the hermitage in MMA 1152 suggests that it was still used in the early eighth century, during the second phase of occupation of that hermitage (see the fourth section below)³².

Preliminary transcriptions and translations of the first part of Q and the complete text of S were used as sources in my MPhil thesis *The Sahidic Encomium of Pesunthios, Bishop of Keft* (2008), PhD dissertation *Episcopal Networks and Authority in Late Antique Egypt* (2017) and three articles published in 2010, 2011 and 2016³³. The bishop's name is variously spelled, partly on account of the preferences of editors of congress proceedings, but « Pesynthios » is the preferred form in the PhD dissertation: « Pesynth- » is based on the Sahidic form of the name, which is older than the Bohairic forms « Pisentius » and « Pisenthios », but the Latin « -ius » ending is consistent with the spelling of other names, such as Epiphanius, Athanasius, Claudius, etc.

In October 2016, Thommée sent a second CD with all the photographs made by her team, including images of the front cover and the second part of the book before and after the opening of the pages. In addition, it contained unpublished reports on the conservation work done in 2011 and 2013. The passages on the dark, incomplete folios and fragments were difficult to read, but most of them could be identified by means of a new transcription of S.

Since images of the remaining part of the manuscript are available now, and since the conservation team intends to make new photographs during the eleventh mission, the edition of the *Encomium* can be resumed and finalized. It should not only include Q and S, but also L, three incomplete papyrus folios in the British Library (Western Thebes, late seventh century), BN, four fragments of a parchment codex in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (White Monastery, ninth/tenth century), and W, three folios from a parchment codex in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (provenance unknown, ninth century)³⁴. W includes two anecdotes that do not appear in Q and S, but are known from the extensive Arabic version A (nineteenth century copy of an unknown manuscript)³⁵, and – one of them – from the Bohairic version B (Wadi al-Natrun, A.D. 917/918)³⁶. In other words, Q and S represent a short Sahidic version, and W a long one, which is likely to have included more anecdotes known from B and/or A only, such as the bishop's conversation with a mummy.

²⁹ G. GABRA ABDEL SAYED, *Untersuchungen zu den Texten über Pesyntheus, Bischof von Koptos (569-632)*. PhD-dissertation, Bonn 1984.

³⁰ Pages 1-62 and 65-72.

³¹ BL, Or. 7026, fols. 20a-82b: ed. E.A.W. BUDGE, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1913, 75-127 (text), 258-321 (translation); cf. GABRA, *Untersuchungen*, cit., 6; B. LAYTON, *Catalogue of the Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the Year 1906*, London 1987, no. 160 (2).

³² DEKKER, *Encomium on Pesynthios of Koptos*, cit., 23; cf. EADEM, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 98, 239-240.

³³ R. DEKKER, *Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos (Egypt): « He Did Not Pursue the Honour, but It Was the Honour That Pursued Him »*, in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, edited by J. LEEMANS, P. VAN NUFFELEN, S.W.J. KEOUGH, C. NICOLAYE, Berlin 2011, 331-341. The other two are DEKKER, *Encomium on Pesynthios of Koptos*, cit. (n. 2), and *Encomium on Bishop Pesynthios*, cit. (n. 2).

³⁴ L = BL, Or. 7561 (61-62): unpublished, cf. LAYTON, *Catalogue*, cit., no. 167 (2); GABRA, *Untersuchungen*, cit., 7 (« S1 »); BN = BnF, copte 161 (6), fol. 41: unpublished, cf. A. SUCIU's blog post for April 24, 2013, at <https://alinsuciu.com/2013/04/24/photographs-of-white-monastery-fragments-on-gallica-website/> (accessed on May 18, 2019); DEKKER, *Biographical Data*, cit. (n. 2), 80, Fig. 6.1; W = ÖNB, K 9692, K 9551, K 9552: ed. W.C. TILL, *Koptische Pergamente theologischen Inhalts*, Vienna 1934, 31-36 (text), 37-43 (translation).

³⁵ A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, arabe 4785: ed. DE L. O'LEARY, *The Arabic Life of S. Pisentius, According to the Text of the Two Manuscripts Paris Bib. Nat. Arabe 4785 and Arabe 4795* (PO 22.3), Paris 1930. W corresponds to A, fols. 161a-166a (no. 30: the priest who was punished for spitting in the sanctuary) and 180a-185b (nr. 26: the adulteress who claimed to be innocent).

³⁶ B = Rome, Vatican Library, copt. 66, ed. É. AMÉLINEAU, *Étude sur le christianisme en Égypte au septième siècle*, Paris 1887, 109-115 (the spitting priest).

The edition is planned as a supplement to *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, which requires the retyping of the Coptic transcriptions in the unicode font Antinoou. S will serve as the main text, since it is complete, but where necessary, the text will be supplemented by the – occasionally more elaborate – parallel text in Q. A comparison of Q with L, BN, S, W, B and A should reveal to what extent the *Encomium* was adapted to local needs, and what the distribution of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts tells us about the development of Bishop Pesynthius' cult in Egypt in the course of time.

3. THE CONTENTS OF THE ENCOMIUM

The title of Q is similar to that of the Bohairic version B, which is likewise presented as an « *Encomium* » delivered by Bishop Moses of Koptos, after Pesynthius' disciple John agreed with him about the contents³⁷. The involvement of two « authors » suggests that Moses, being a bishop, was considered as the right person to write and deliver an *Encomium* and to thereby promote the cult of a saint, but relied on John, an important eye witness, for anecdotes³⁸.

Whereas the title of Q is close to the Bohairic version, the main text includes most of the anecdotes attested in the Sahidic version S, which was renamed a « *Life and Conduct* » and attributed to « the priest » John³⁹. The preserved anecdotes appear in the same order as in S (see Table 1)⁴⁰. Although the second part of the manuscript is fragmentary and dark, it is possible to recognize a passage on the bishop's last days and even a damaged colophon, including a short title, « The life of our holy father ... » (ll. 1-2), the date of Pesynthius' death (l. 5: « [thirteen] Epep ») and a request by the copyist (« Pray for [me, ...] ! »). The mention of « Apa Pesynthius, the bishop » is expected in ll. 2-3, but the traces are hardly legible.

The Sahidic version is a carefully composed text that alternates encomiastic sections addressing the deceased Pesynthius with narrative sections, in which statements about the bishop are illustrated by one or more anecdotes⁴¹. The author aimed to convince his audience, originally the citizens of Koptos⁴², that Pesynthius was truly a saint and a successful intercessor with God, by emphasizing his spiritual abilities (reading souls, telepathy, foreknowledge, knowledge of the divine, healing) and the efficacy of his prayers⁴³. S includes only nineteen out of the fifty-five narratives known from A, which is, by contrast, organized as a collection of narratives or « wonders ». Each of them is introduced by a separate header⁴⁴. Whereas A still contains part of the encomiastic sections, B only includes narratives, without commentaries and headers⁴⁵, and has a particular interest in anecdotes on Pesynthius' asceticism, some of which do not occur in Q and S⁴⁶.

Some parts of the *Encomium* are more extensive in Q than in S, such as a discussion of the importance of faith, citations from the bishop's pastoral epistles and a description of his radiant appearance⁴⁷. Remarkably, the anecdote that explains why Pesynthius reluctantly agreed to be ordained bishop, is complete in S, but imperfect in Q: the copyist skipped the section in which the clergymen of Koptos requested Apa

³⁷ AMÉLINEAU, *Étude*, cit., 73; cf. DEKKER, *Encomium on Pesynthius of Coptos*, cit. (n. 2), 24; EADEM, *Biographical Data*, cit., 80.

³⁸ Several *encomia* are attributed to Bishop Constantine of Asyut; cf. DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 98; on the commemoration of saints by Pesynthius and Abraham of Hermonthis as a possible missionary act, see 186-187 (St Phoibammon), 252-253 (St Onnophrius, Patriarch Severus of Antioch, St Victor).

³⁹ S, fols. 20a-82b: ed. BUDGE, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 75-127 (text), 258-321 (translation). John, Pesynthius' disciple and an important eye witness, does not appear as a priest elsewhere in the *Encomium*.

⁴⁰ The original page numbers of Q are referred to, but since the original pagination of S is irregular (p. 45 is followed by 36!), we adopt the folio numbering introduced by Budge in his edition.

⁴¹ DEKKER, *Encomium on Pesynthios of Coptos*, cit., 25; EADEM, *The Sahidic Encomium of Pesunthios*, cit., 27.

⁴² EADEM, *Biographical Data*, cit., 78; EADEM, *The Sahidic Encomium of Pesunthios*, cit., 62.

⁴³ EADEM, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 245-247.

⁴⁴ Ed. O'LEARY, S. *Pisentius*, « wonders » nos 1, 4-8, 14-17, 20-25, 27, 31 and 53.

⁴⁵ A, fols 117a-b is loosely based on Q, pp. 45-47 = S, fol. 36b-37b; A, fols 139b-140b on S, fol. 49a-50b and 56b-57a; A, fols 155b on S, fol. 74a-b. The first two passages are omitted in B, ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Étude*, cit., 100, 144. The third eulogy and the preceding anecdote (on the jealous husband) are absent from B altogether.

⁴⁶ AMÉLINEAU, *Étude*, cit., 75-101 = A, « wonders » 9-13 (not in Q and S) and 5-8 (in Q and S).

⁴⁷ Passages in Q, pp. 31-33, 58-61 and 88, are absent in S, fols 32b, 43b and 56b.

Colluthus to ask Pesynthius what he meant by saying that he would « not to be disobedient to Him who sends me »⁴⁸. At least in this section, S provides a better reading than the early version Q.

4. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE HERMITAGE IN SHAYKH ABD AL-QURNA

The hermitage in MMA 1152 was inhabited in two phases: from the mid-sixth to the mid-seventh centuries, and from the end of the seventh to the mid-eighth centuries, with an interval of a few dozen years⁴⁹. Other hermitages in Western Thebes display a similar pattern, including the *Topos* of Epiphanius (inhabited in the early seventh and early eighth centuries, with an interval of at least sixty years)⁵⁰, TT 65⁵¹, TT 29⁵² and perhaps the *Topos* of St Mark at Qurnet Murai⁵³.

In the 620s, the hermitage in MMA 1152 was inhabited by Ezekiel and Djor, who were in contact with the priest Victor, the abbot of the Monastery of St Phoibammon at Dayr al-Bahri, and the priest Mark of the *Topos* of St Mark at Qurnet Murai⁵⁴. Interestingly, in the same period, Bishop Pesynthius stayed at the *Topos* of Epiphanius at a few hundred meters distance, as the discovery of part of his episcopal documents at the *Topos* indicates⁵⁵.

According to all versions of the *Encomium*, Pesynthius and John left the diocese of Koptos and went to Western Thebes in the neighboring district of Hermonthis, in order to hide for the Persians, who were about to take the city of Koptos⁵⁶. Whereas the Arabic version states that the bishop remained concealed for ten years, that is, during the entire period of the Persian occupation (619-629)⁵⁷, and that only four people knew where he was hidden, the study of his episcopal documents reveals that he was far from isolated. In fact, he was also involved in matters outside of his diocese: he supervised clergymen from the diocese of Qus (until the ordination of Bishop Pisrael of Qus in ca. 620) and received multiple requests to contact civil officials in the district of Hermonthis⁵⁸. He was apparently believed to be a powerful « patron who intercedes on behalf of us before God and men », as a desperate widow from Jeme addressed him in a petition⁵⁹. Direct contact between Pesynthius and the hermits at MMA 1152 has not been demonstrated,

⁴⁸ S, fol. 40b-41a; cf. DEKKER, *Encomium on Pesynthios of Coptos*, cit., 23; EADEM, *He Did Not Pursue the Honour*, cit., 338 n. 42.

⁴⁹ T. GÓRCEKI, *The Hermitage in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (West Thebes): Excavations, Studies and Conservation in 2009 and 2010/2011*, PAM 22 (2013) 188; cf. IDEM, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna: Hermitage in Tomb 1152 and Chapel in Tomb 1151*, PAM 19 (2010) 303. On the site, see E. WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (ive-viii siècles)* (JJP Suppl. 11), Warsaw 2009, 190-196.

⁵⁰ DEKKER, *Relative Chronology*, cit., 765 and Fig. 1. On the *Topos* in general, see WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés*, cit., 184-187.

⁵¹ A. HASZNOS, *Coptic Texts from the « Monastery of Cyriacus » (TT 65)*, vol. I, with an introduction by T.A. BÁCS, Budapest 2013, 22.

⁵² A. BOUD'HORS and C. HEURTEL, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29 autour du moine Frange*, Bruxelles 2010, vol. I, 9-10 and 22, where the editors distinguish Frange's dossier (first half of the eighth century) from that of his predecessors (beginning of the seventh century). Documentary material for the period in between appears to be absent.

⁵³ A. BOUD'HORS and C. HEURTEL, *Les ostraca et papyrus coptes du Topos de Saint-Marc à Thèbes*, Cairo 2015, vol. I, 9-15, where the editors distinguish dossiers for the priest Mark (early seventh century) and the priest Peter (early eighth century). Cf. WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés*, 187-190.

⁵⁴ E. GAREL, *The Ostraca of Victor the Priest Found in the Hermitage TT 1152*, in *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw, 29 July-3 August 2013* (JJP Suppl. 28), ed. T. DERDA, A. ŁAJTAR, J. URBANIK, Warsaw 2016, vol. 2, 1041-1054. On Mark, Victor, and Ezekiel and Djor, see also DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 111-117.

⁵⁵ At least *P.Mon.Epiph.* 117, 152-153, 254, 430, 494 and *O.Mon.Epiph.* 172, 425, 469; cf. DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 206, 210.

⁵⁶ Q, pp. 68-69 = S, fol. 46a-b; B, ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Étude*, cit., 137-138; A, fol. 136b.

⁵⁷ The Coptic documents found at the *Topos* confirm that Pesynthius stayed there, but not necessarily for ten years, and since Western Thebes was relatively safe, there was no need to remain in hiding; cf. DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, 95-96, in reaction to E. WIPSZYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions* (JJP Suppl. 25), Warsaw 2015, 41. Since the bishop did not reside in the city of Koptos on the east bank, but in a monastery on the west bank, I wonder whether he actually fled or had practical reasons for going to Western Thebes.

⁵⁸ A, fols 194b, 201a, but see DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 95-96, 143-144, 227-228, 230-231.

⁵⁹ *SB Kopt.* I 295, ll. 9-10.

but since their dwelling was close to the *Topos* of Epiphanius, the bishop must have known about them. One of the hermits living at the hermitage during the second phase of occupation was Joseph, who received several letters, including one from Frange (early eighth century). The latter addressed him reverently as a spiritual superior (« his beloved father ») and an ascetic authority (« the man who truly bears Christ »)⁶⁰. On the basis of a Coptic writing exercise signed by Simon and Joseph, Górecki suggested that Joseph was a teacher, who checked Simon's work⁶¹. In this period, at least one of the inhabitants was specialized in working leather and produced belts, sandals and perhaps leather covers for books⁶². Perhaps, the study of the documentary texts found at the site will reveal his identity⁶³.

The discovery of a late-seventh century copy of the *Encomium* at the hermitage in MMA 1152 indicates that the short Sahidic version was composed relatively soon after the bishop's death, that an early copy circulated in the very area where the bishop used to stay (outside of his diocese), and that his cult was already established by that time. In a Coptic circular letter from the time of Patriarch Benjamin I, which was probably written in the period 643/644-665, Pesynthius is called « thrice blessed », an expression indicating that he was still in the process of being officially recognized as a saint⁶⁴.

The colophon of Q does not record for which audience this copy of the *Encomium* was intended, but the one in the book containing the *Canons* attributed to Basilus of Caesarea, which was found next to Q, is helpful: Peter of Peperi donated this book to the Parochial Church (*ekklesia catholike*) of Jeme⁶⁵. On the basis of the palaeography, it is dated to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, in about the same period as Q⁶⁶. It is likely that the *Encomium* was donated to a church as well, either the Parochial Church of Jeme or a church in the Koptite district, since it was meant to be read out to the faithful on the bishop's feast day. At some point, the papyrus books were brought to the hermitage in MMA 1152 (together or separately), perhaps in order to be read, copied or repaired. Since one of the hermits was engaged in leather working, it is tempting to wonder whether he produced a new leather cover for one or both books. The interlace decoration on the front cover of Q and particularly the decorated title page of the *Martyrium of St Peter*⁶⁷ recall ostraca with drafts of such patterns, which were indeed executed on a wall in the corridor of MMA 1152⁶⁸.

It is unclear when and why the papyrus books and the parchment codex ended up on a rubbish dump. The tentative dating proposed for the parchment codex (ninth-tenth century)⁶⁹ suggests that the three

⁶⁰ Ostrakon K.O. 10, in I. ANTONIAK, *Preliminary Remarks on the Coptic Ostraca from Seasons 2003 and 2004*, PAM 16 (2004) 244-245 and Fig. 1. On the date for Frange, see BOUD'HORS and HEURTEL, *Frange*, cit., 10. For « Christ-bearer » as an expression for ascetic authority, see DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, cit., 47.

⁶¹ GÓRECKI, PAM 19, 301-302, Fig. 4.

⁶² GÓRECKI, PAM 19, 303; IDEM, PAM 22, 188; WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés*, cit., 192.

⁶³ A. BOUD'HORS, *The Coptic Ostraca of the Theban Hermitage MMA 1152. 1. Letters* (O. Gourná Górecki 12-68), JJP 47 (2017) 45-100. For a letter on papyrus, from a certain Moses to an unnamed recipient, see A. BOUD'HORS, *Réclamation pour le paiement de coupons de papyrus: le témoignage d'une lettre copte*, JJP 45 (2015) 9-24. Cf. T. GÓRECKI – A. ŁAJTAR, *An Ostrakon from the Christian Hermitage in MMA 1152*, JJP 42 (2012) 135-164.

⁶⁴ Pap. Berlin P. 11346: ed. A. CAMPLANI, *A Pastoral Epistle of the Seventh Century Concerning the Eucharist* (Pap. Berlin P. 11346), in *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, ed. V.M. LEPPER, Berlin 2012, 377-386; cf. DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, 97.

⁶⁵ CAMPLANI – CONTARDI, *The Canons Attributed to Basil of Caesarea*, cit. (n. 7), 983. On the Parochial Church, the main church of Jeme, see DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks*, cit. 74-75. It could have been the church in the second courtyard of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

⁶⁶ CAMPLANI – CONTARDI, *Remarks*, cit. (n. 7), 140, based on A. BOUD'HORS, *À la recherche des manuscrits coptes de la région thébaine*, in *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bently Layton* (OLOA 263), edited by D. BRAKKE, S.J. DAVIS, S. EMMEL, Leuven 2017, 175-212.

⁶⁷ T. GÓRECKI – E. SZPAKOWSKA, *Sheikh Abd el-Gurna: Archaeological activities in the Hermitage in Tomb 1152*, PAM 18 (2008) 306, Fig. 2.

⁶⁸ T. GÓRECKI, *Archaeological Research in the Hermitage in Tomb 1152 in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (West Thebes)*, PAM 20 (2011) 232, Fig. 9 (two ostraca with elegant interlace patterns); cf. IDEM, *Limestone Flake with a Drawing of a Guilloche: A Contribution to the Designing of Theban Hermitage Wall Decoration*, *Études et Travaux* 22 (2008) 61-68, Figs 1-2 (fragments of mud plaster) and 3-6 (ostraca with crude exercises).

⁶⁹ GÓRECKI in *Seventy Years*, cit. n. 5, 180. Both Piwowarczyk (during the conference in Rome) and Thommée (personal communication) suggest that the parchment book is probably older and should rather be dated to the eighth-

manuscripts were left there after the hermitage was abandoned, not by the hermits but by passers-by, possibly tomb robbers⁷⁰.

CONCLUSION

The discovery of an early version of the *Encomium* on Bishop Pesynthius in Western Thebes is remarkable, since the bishop temporarily stayed in the area himself, and he was apparently commemorated there as a saint relatively soon after his death through this hagiographic text.

The Polish conservation team had a hard time when trying to restore and document the fragile papyrus book that contains this early version, since it was repeatedly overgrown with toxic fungi and bacteria, and finding funding was a problem, on account of which the work had to be suspended. Fortunately, there are two new positive developments to report. Firstly, photographs of the entire manuscript are now available for study, on the basis of which the provisional transcription and translation of the *Encomium* can be supplemented. Although the second part of the manuscript is fragmentary and dark, it is clear that most anecdotes known from the complete Sahidic version dated A.D. 1005 were also included in the early Sahidic version. Secondly, thanks to the mediation of Wipszycka and Buzi, Thommée's team is able to continue the restoration and documentation of the manuscript, which is likely to result in new, clear images of the manuscript. In other words, there is good hope that the conservation of the manuscript and the edition of the *Encomium* can be completed in the near future.

Further research on the ostraca and the leatherwork from the hermitage at MMA 1152 will hopefully shed light on the reason why the papyrus books containing the *Encomium* and the *Canons* attributed to St Basil were brought to Shaykh Abd al-Qurna. It is not unlikely that the hermit who worked leather also produced leather book covers, and that he or someone else who decorated two of the three manuscripts (and a wall in the hermitage) first practiced drawing interlace patterns on ostraca. Whatever the reason for keeping the books, they were never returned to the church(es) from which they came, but ended up on a dump heap.

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Abstract. This contribution discusses the present state of research on the early Sahidic version of the *Encomium* found at Shaykh Abd al-Qurna: the conservation work done on the manuscript, the edition of the text, its contents and the historical context of the hermitage, where it was found.

Keywords. Bishops. Western Thebes. Manuscript conservation. Hermitages. Codex. Papyrus. Hagiography.

ninth centuries.

⁷⁰ GÓRECKI in *Seventy Years*, cit. n. 5, 180.

Table 1: Contents of the short Sahidic version (adapted from Dekker 2008)

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Q</i>	<i>[quire]</i>	<i>S</i>
1.	Title	p. 1	[A]	fol. 20a
2.	Introduction	pp. 2-3	[A]	fols 20b-21a
3.1	Pesynthius disliked being praised: 1. recitation of the prophets is overheard	pp. 3-12	[A]	fols 21b-24b
3.2	God sent saints during illness: 2. Elijah the Tishbite's visit	pp. 12-34	[B-C]	fols 24b-32b
3.3	God listened to him since his youth: 3. the pillar of fire	pp. 34-36	[C]	fols 32b-33b
3.4	Pesynthius' prayers were powerful: 4. a fish caught for a sick monk 5. water rising from a well	pp. 36-45 pp. 36-42 pp. 42-45	[C] [C] [C]	fols 33b-35b fols 35b-36b
3.5	Praise	pp. 45-50	[D]	fols 36b-39a
3.6	He is truly a saint: 6. fingers shining like lamps during prayer	pp. 50-52	[D]	fols 39a-39b
3.7	Pesynthius was worthy to be ordained 7. reluctance to accept the office	pp. 52-57	[E]	fols 39b-43a
3.8	His pastoral epistles 8. exhortations to repent and give alms	pp. 57-66	[E]	fols 43a-45a
3.9	Speech addressing Pesynthius	pp. 66-68	[E]	fols 45b-46a
3.10	In the desert Pesynthius relied on God: 9. water found in empty vessels	pp. 68-77	[E]	fols 46a-49b
3.11	Praise	pp. 77-89	[E-F]	fols 49b-56b
3.12	Pesynthius was a Spirit-bearer: 10. the impure shepherd and his cheeses 11 telepathy saved John from danger	fragments fragments	[F-G] [G]	fols 57a-61b fols 61b-63b
3.13	More anecdotes about his abilities: 12. the youth who had begotten a child 13. the calf with the sign of the Cross 14. the boy possessed by a demon 15. the jealous husband	fragments fragments fragments fragments	[G] [G] [G] [G-H]	fols 63b-65b fols 65b-66b fols 66b-69a fols 69a-74a
3.14	Eulogy			fols 74a-74b
3.15	Pesynthius was a Spirit-bearer: 16. the murder by a soldier is revealed			fols 74a-77a
3.16	In the desert Pesynthius relied on God: 17. a large serpent is defeated			fols 77a-78a
3.17	Pesynthius went to heaven: 18. illness and death	fragments	[H]	fols 78a-82b
4.	Colophon	fragment	[H]	fol. 82b