

## COPTIC SCRIBES AND MANUSCRIPTS: DATED AND DATABASE CODICES FROM THE MONASTERY OF APA SHENOUTE

### I. THE CODICES INSCRIBED BY VICTOR, SON OF SHENOUTE (FIRST HALF OF THE 12<sup>th</sup> CENTURY)

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The present article is the first from a larger inquiry focused on the manuscripts that came from the library of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute, also called the White Monastery, situated in Upper Egypt near Sohag. As it is well known, the parchment codices of this monastery came to us dismembered, with the leaves torn to fragments and scattered around the world. However, the huge quantity of surviving fragments is actually small compared to the estimated number of the leaves when the codices were intact. As its remains probably represent only about 10% of the complete manuscripts, it is obvious that the Monastery of Shenoute must have possessed an enormous monastic library at the threshold from the first into the second millennium, very likely the largest such library in Coptic Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Because of its vastness, the library of the Monastery of Shenoute offers an important glimpse into Coptic literature from the post-conquest period. This library held copies of most literary works attested in codices that came from other monasteries, as well as a significant portion of the Coptic literature later translated into Arabic and from this language into Ethiopic. Moreover, numerous texts are *unica* featuring only in White Monastery manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Although too often neglected, to a certain extent the study

<sup>1</sup> On the structure of the library, its final stage and destruction, cf. Tito Orlandi & Alin Suciu, “The End of the Library of the Monastery of Atriipe,” in: Paola Buzi & Alberto Camplani (eds.), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17-22, 2012*, forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the writings of Rufus of Shotep and those of Shenoute are almost exclusively transmitted in White Monastery manuscripts. Only one homily that has survived under Shenoute’s name, *De iudicio* (clavis coptica 0367), is attested also in a papyrus codex that probably belonged to a monastery in Tin, Upper Egypt. The manuscript is kept today in the Egyptian Museum in Turin and was edited in Heike Behlmer, *Schenute von Atriipe: De iudicio*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie prima — Monumenti e testi 8, Turin 1996. Remarkably, this text is also the only writing of Shenoute preserved in Greek. The Greek version features in a bilingual Greco-Coptic codex from the White

of the Coptic literature depends upon the codicological reconstruction of the White Monastery library.

The aims of this research are manifold. Firstly, I will propose, as far as the empirical data allows, an organization of the reconstructed codices of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute according to their scribes. The paleographical comparison between different scattered fragments lies at the basis of this endeavor. Secondly, the identification of a dated manuscript copied by a certain scribe will be of great help for dating, more or less precisely, all the undated codices copied in the same scribe's hand. This detail is of special interest because many Coptological publications arbitrarily ascribe dates to various manuscripts. This comparative approach proposes an evaluation and dating of some of the White Monastery manuscripts on firmer grounds. Finally, this research aims to provide arguments for studying the manuscript fragments from the Monastery of Apa Shenoute as complete scribal corpora.

Unfortunately, isolated fragments from the White Monastery codices have been randomly published too often, the sole criterion in choosing them being pure fortune or, in the best case, the taste of their modern editors. Edited without a proper identification of the work that it contains and without specification as to its codex of provenance, a manuscript fragment has little to say. Hence, it is of almost no relevance for the progress of our field. Someone might claim that the same situation applies to Greek papyrology and philology. As it is well known, some literary fragments in Greek have been identified only long after the publication of the *editio princeps*. However, as we know that the source of most of the Sahidic parchment fragments available in different collections around the world is the Monastery of Shenoute, in the field of Coptic paleography and literature such a method to edit documents is chaotic. Therefore, it is always advisable to search for paleographically and codicologically related fragments of the items envisaged for publication.

The process of editing Coptic literary fragments, especially when we deal with parchment manuscripts, should follow some basic principles. In my opinion, the publication of biblical and literary Coptic manuscript fragments should fulfill at least one of the following conditions:

- 1) they contain texts newly attested in Coptic, which broaden our picture of Coptic literature;
- 2) they offer previously unattested portions of known fragmentary writings;

Monastery (MONB.XP). The text is arranged on two columns, the left-hand column having *De iudicio* in Greek and the right-hand column the same work in Sahidic.

- 3) if the text has already been edited, the new fragment should display at least significant *variae lectiones*, interesting paleographical traits or grammatical features;
- 4) fragments of texts already published can be edited if they are part of an unknown or poorly researched collections of manuscripts;
- 5) the publication supports the creation of a critical edition, which must take into account all known manuscript witnesses of a literary work.

Here I would like to argue in favor of the paleographical and codicological methods and to illustrate the advantages of organizing the manuscript fragments not only according to codicological units, but also according to scribal corpora.<sup>3</sup>

This article documents the codices copied by the scribe Victor, son of Shenoute, who was a monk of the White Monastery in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. According to the data available, at least eight codices inscribed by Victor have survived, although their number could be even higher, depending on how we organize the extant fragments into codicological units. We have two dated colophons of this scribe, one bearing the year 1112 and the other 1118 AD. As in the former, dated 1112 AD, Victor says that this was the first codex he ever copied, we can infer that all the undated manuscripts inscribed by him could not be earlier than this.

The codices of Victor are diverse: a lectionary (codex 1), a gospel manuscript (codex 2), a codex with the Catholic Epistles (codex 3), one with the Apocalypse (codex 4), two Shenoute manuscripts (codices 5 & 6), a codex containing the ascetical works of Ephrem Graecus (codex 7), and a homiletic miscellany (codex 8).

Victor's scribal corpus has a peculiar handwriting, which makes his manuscripts relatively easy to recognize. From time to time, the *ductus* displays some stylistic variations, which are probably due to the development of the handwriting and the increasing age of the scribe. Following

<sup>3</sup> I have already made some preliminary attempts to organize the White Monastery manuscripts into scribal corpora in my previous studies. In some cases, this organization of the data has proved relevant for dating certain manuscripts whose age has otherwise been hard to know, see, e.g., Alin Suciu & Einar Thomassen, "An Unknown 'Apocryphal' Texts from the White Monastery," in: Paola Buzzi & Alberto Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 125, Rome 2011, 477-499, at 479-480; Alin Suciu, "New Fragments from the Sahidic Version of the *Historia Josephi Fabri Lignarii*," *Le Muséon* 122 (2009), 279-289, at 282-284; Idem, "À propos de la datation du manuscrit contenant le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc," *VigChr* 65 (2011), 189-198.

Guglielmo Cavallo's terminology, the script falls into the "bimodular" category,<sup>4</sup> which means that some letters are thin and others large. More precisely, the handwriting alternates two *moduli*, large and thin. The letters are small, neat and beautiful, having a vertical axis. With the exception of **z**, **ȝ**, **ɸ** and **ȝ**, whose lower part sometimes descend below the line, the other letters remain above the line. This is remarkable because letters like **ρ**, **γ**, **ψ**, **†**, **ϙ** or **ϙ** usually extend below the line in most Sahidic manuscripts.



BnF Copte 129<sup>II</sup>, f. 138

As I already mentioned, certain diversity in handwriting exists from one codex to another, especially in the case of the letters **ɸ** and **ϙ**. In the codices 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8, the letter **ɸ** is simple, generally drawn without any embellishment. On the other hand, in the codices 1, 6 and 7, the same letter is larger and a red dot appears in each of the two loops. Similarly, in the codices 1, 5, 6 and 7, **ϙ** is more round and neat than in the others.

As this article contains photographic reproductions of each manuscript, a full paleographical description of the codices inventoried hereby is useless. Suffice to say that the aspect of the manuscripts inscribed by Victor is generally sober, although from time to time some of them contain embellishments, like large initial letters decorated with interlaced straps. Besides, codices 1, 7 and 8 display rather big middle dots in red. Finally, as a peculiarity of this scribe, we should remark the unusual form of the verboid expressing the past tense, **πεξε**, which he always writes as **πεξι**.<sup>5</sup>

Here is a tentative inventory of the codices inscribed by this copyist.

### Codex 1 (fig. 1)

The first manuscript copied by Victor to which I should like to draw attention is a lectionary. The surviving fragments of this manuscript include:

<sup>4</sup> Guglielmo Cavallo, "Grammata Alexandrina," *JÖB* 24 (1975), 23-54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. no. 9225v col. 2, lines 9, 18-19; Vienna, K 9133r col. 1, line 19; v col. 2, line 17.

Vienna, K 9696 (pp. 11-12)  
 Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>19</sup>, f. 39 (pp. 61-62)  
 Louvre, E 10064 + SN 100a<sup>6</sup> (no pagination preserved)  
 Vienna, K 9708 (no pagination preserved)  
 Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. no. 9225a-b (no pagination preserved)<sup>7</sup>  
 Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>19</sup>, f. 55 (no pagination preserved)

The codex in question has received the siglum “sa 305L” in the *Datenbank koptischer neutestamentlicher Handschriften* (University of Münster).<sup>8</sup> Karlheinz Schüssler inventoried the same manuscript as “sa 694L” in his *Biblia coptica*.<sup>9</sup>

Remarkably, the fragment BnF Copte 129<sup>19</sup>, f. 55 preserves a colophon.<sup>10</sup> According to the information supplied in this colophon, the codex was completed by Victor of Panopolis (ΠΑ[ΝΟΣ]), the son of Shenoute (ΠΙΕΒΙΗΝ ΒΙΚΤΟΡ ΥC ΝΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ), on Epep 22, 834 AM, which corresponds to July 16, 1118 AD.

### Codex 2 (fig. 2)

Arnold van Lantschoot already pointed out that Victor’s pen was the source of another colophon, which has survived on a single parchment leaf in the British Library.<sup>11</sup> When Walter E. Crum catalogued the Coptic manuscripts in the British royal collection, which at that time were housed the British Museum, the call number of this folio was Or. 3581B(69). After the White Monastery literary fragments were transferred to the British Library and reorganized into two huge volumes (Or. 3581A-B), the leaf became folio 88 of Or. 3581B.<sup>12</sup> This colophon is dated twice Parmoute 23, 828 AM = April 18, 1112 AD. Victor’s name appears three times, once on the recto, and twice on the verso. Once he cyphered his name in a cryptogram which Arnold van Lantschoot decrypted.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Anne Boud’hors, “Le catalogue des textes coptes du Louvre,” in: *ICCoptS* 6, vol. 2, 257-267, at 267.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the description in Henri Munier, *Manuscrits coptes*, Cairo 1916, 12-13.

<sup>8</sup> <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/smr-table.php>.

<sup>9</sup> Karlheinz Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte* vol. 4/3, Wiesbaden 2010, 77-84.

<sup>10</sup> Edited in Arnold van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 1, Louvain 1929, 137-139 (= no. LXXXI).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, 138.

<sup>12</sup> Edited in Walter E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905, 231-233 (= no. 489). Reedited in van Lantschoot, *Colophons* (see n. 10), 133-137 (= no. LXXX).

<sup>13</sup> Van Lantschoot, *Colophons* (see n. 10), fasc. 2, 54 n. 21. Partly deciphered by Crum, *Catalogue BM* (see n. 12), 231b n. 2.

In this colophon, the first in chronological order, Victor mentions that this was the first book inscribed by him, at the advice of his teacher, Matthew. The latter features as well in an earlier colophon written by a certain scribe named Raphael. Thus, Raphael says that he completed his codex on Paone 12, 807 AM (= June 6, 1091 AD), “while my brother, the deacon Matthew, was with me in the scriptorium (τΒΙΒΙΟΘΥΚΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΓΡΑΦΕΥС).”<sup>14</sup> On Raphael, who copied in his turn several codices, we will return in a future article. All these details offer a remarkable glimpse inside the walls of the scriptorium of the White Monastery and of the relationships between some of its scribes.

The colophon dated April 1112 AD provides an important detail concerning the moment when Victor started to work as a scribe. Unfortunately, as the leaf that bears the British Library colophon has survived dismembered, it is not easy to decide as to which codex it originally belonged. However, certain information it contains might indicate the manuscript of provenance. Thus, the scribe Victor wrote in Greek that he inscribed this codex with τΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΤΟΝ αΓΙΟΝ εγαγρε[ιο]ν. He also mentioned three times in Coptic that the book is a πιτραεγαγρελιον or a πιλετραεγαγρελιον, that is, a manuscript with all four gospels. This description of the codex matches with another manuscript copied by Victor, from which fragments of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke have surfaced. Of this codex, we have knowledge of the following fragments:

Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>5</sup>, f. 161 + Paris, BnF Copte 132<sup>2</sup>, f. 87 (pp. [3]-4; Matthew 26:25-39)

Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>5</sup>, f. 157 (pp. [9]-[10]; Matthew 26:71-27:2)

Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. no. 2642 (pp. 15-16; Matthew 27:41-57)

Vienna, K 9133<sup>15</sup> (pp. 21-22; Mark 14:15-31)

Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>8</sup>, f. 141 (end of quire 2 = pp. [31]-[32]; Luke 22:11-28)

With the sole exception of *Vindobonensis* K 9133, George Horner already listed the other fragments in the third volume of his edition of the Sahidic New Testament.<sup>16</sup> At the time when Horner registered the manuscripts,

<sup>14</sup> This colophon survived on two fragments in the National Library in Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 35v and BnF Copte 132<sup>1</sup>, f. 66; van Lantschoot, *Colophons* (see n. 10), 127-131 (= no. LXXVII). Cf. also *ibidem*, fasc. 2, 52 n. 15.

<sup>15</sup> For the description of this folio, see Walter C. Till, “Papyrussammlung der National Bibliothek in Wien. Katalog der koptischen Bibelbruchstücke. Die Pergamente,” ZNTW 39 (1940), 1-57, at 26. Edited in Carl Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* vol. 3, SPP 12, Leipzig 1912, 26-27 (= no. 124); cf. also Walter C. Till, “Die Coptica der Wiener Papyrussammlung,” ZDMG 95 (1941), 165-218, at 202.

<sup>16</sup> George Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* vol. 3, Oxford 1911, 352 (= no. 83).

the Cairo leaf was still kept in the collection of the Coptic Patriarchate. However, it was moved in the meantime to the Coptic Museum, as most of the fragments in the Patriarchate and the Egyptian Museum. In their repertory of the Sahidic manuscripts of the New Testament,<sup>17</sup> Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink still indicated the old location of the fragment.

There are, however, some doubts in attributing the colophon dated 1112 to this codex. Strong arguments suggest that, when complete, this manuscript was not a *tetraeuangelion* in the actual sense of the term, but it rather contained gospel excerpts. The fact that the fragment in the Coptic Museum, although paginated 15-16, contains a portion from chapter 27 of the Gospel of Matthew, demonstrates this. If the pagination of the manuscript was continuous, normally this chapter would occur much later in the codex. For example, in the Pierpont Morgan M 569, a complete copy of the Gospel of Matthew, this chapter begins on page 77 of the manuscript. Similarly, the fragment Vienna K 9133, which contains Mark 14:15-23, bears the page numbers 21-22, although this section must normally fall much later in the codex. Therefore, if this is the manuscript to which the colophon BL Or. 3581B, f. 88 attaches, the most likely hypothesis is that it was not a real *tetraeuangelion*, but rather a codex of *excerpta* from the gospels. Karlheinz Schüssler, who inventoried the manuscript as “sa 676<sup>lit</sup>” proposed the same hypothesis, describing its content as “Zusammenstellung von Passionstexten.”<sup>18</sup> Be that as it may, this colophon is of major importance for establishing the *terminus post quem* for all the undated codices copied by Victor of Panopolis.

### Codex 3 (fig. 3)

The beginning of yet a third colophon written by the same scribe appears on the fragment Vienna K 9146<sup>bis</sup>, which is the last leaf of the Epistle of Jude.<sup>19</sup> The codex to which this fragment belonged contains the Sahidic version of the Catholic Epistles. The manuscript has the siglum “sa 547”

<sup>17</sup> Franz-Jürgen Schmitz & Gerd Mink, *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* part I: *Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien* vol. 2/1, *Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung* 13, Berlin/New York 1989, 347-348 (= sa 160).

<sup>18</sup> Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* vol. 4/3 (see n. 9), 29-32.

<sup>19</sup> Carl Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* vol. 2, SPP 11, Leipzig 1911, 186 (= no. 163); reedited in van Lantschoot, *Colophons* (see n. 10), 158-159 (= no. XCIV).

in Karlheinz Schüssler's *Biblia Coptica*.<sup>20</sup> However, the copyist does not reveal here any relevant data concerning his person.

#### Codex 4 (fig. 4)

In the same scribe's hand are a series of fragments from the Apocalypse of John. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek preserve the vestiges identified until now:

- Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>11</sup>, f. 138 (no pagination; Apocalypse 2:7-18)
- Paris, BnF Copte 132<sup>3</sup>, f. 206v-r (no pagination; Apocalypse 2:21-24)
- Vienna, K 9758 (pp. [31]-32; Apocalypse 11:13-12:6)
- Vienna, K 9830 (pp. [33]-34; Apocalypse 12:6-13:1)
- Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>11</sup>, f. 148 (pp. [37]-38; Apocalypse 13:14-14:7)
- Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>11</sup>, ff. 146-147 (pp. 39-42; Apocalypse 14:7-16:2)
- Vienna, K 9003 (no pagination; Apocalypse 21:8-13)

George Horner<sup>21</sup> grouped together four Parisian folios,<sup>22</sup> but he did not realize that the Vienna fragments belonged to the same codex since he knew them only through Carl Wessely's diplomatic edition.<sup>23</sup> For his part, in his catalogue of the Coptic parchments in Vienna, Walter Till<sup>24</sup> joined K 9003 to K 9758 and K 9830, but he overlooked the fact that these fragments and those in Paris come from the same codex. Christian Askeland, who is preparing a critical edition of the Sahidic text of the Apocalypse, is currently studying this codex.

#### Codex 5 (fig. 5)

Among the manuscripts inscribed by Victor are also two codices of the works of Shenoute. Stephen Emmel has reconstructed codicologically one of these, which contains Shenoute's Canon 6,<sup>25</sup> ascribing it the siglum MONB.YJ:

<sup>20</sup> For the fragments of this codex see Karlheinz Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte* vol. 3/3, Wiesbaden 2004, 46-50. Cf. also Karlheinz Schüssler, *Die katholischen Briefe in der koptischen (sahidischen) Version*, 2 vols., CSCO, 528-529, Louvain 1991, 1: xc; Idem, *Epistularum catholicarum versio Sahidica* (Phd diss., University of Münster, Münster 1969), 43-44, 54; George Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* vol. 7, Oxford 1924, 547-548 (= no. 15).

<sup>21</sup> Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament* 7 (see n. 20), 552 (= no. 15).

<sup>22</sup> The fragment Paris, BnF Copte 132<sup>3</sup>, f. 206 has been identified only recently by Christian Askeland.

<sup>23</sup> Horner registered separately the Vienna fragments, as nos. 20 and 24, as they would belong to different codices. They were published in Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte* vol. 2 (see n. 19), 75-76, 82-83 (= nos. 85-86, 89).

<sup>24</sup> Till, "Papyrussammlung" (see n. 15), 37 (= no. 161).

<sup>25</sup> Codex MONB.YJ comprises the remains of the first two parts of Canon 6, *He Who Sits Upon His Throne and Remember, O Brethren*. Cf. Stephen Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, CSCO 599-600. Subsidia 111-112, Leuven 2004, vol. 1, 176-178, 504.

Paris, BnF Copte 130<sup>5</sup>, f. 58  
 Naples I.B. 10, ff. 3-7<sup>26</sup>  
 Vienna, K 935-938

### Codex 6 (fig. 6)

Victor copied as well a similar codex, which contains discourses by Shenoute. Until now have been identified portions of the sermons *Let Our Eyes* (no clavis number) and *What Person Would Say* (clavis coptica 0767). Numerous fragments of this manuscript have survived and, although some of them are still unidentified, they certainly contain works of Shenoute. This is ascertained by the fact that the White Monastery manuscripts of Shenoute do not contain writings of other authors, except for the codices of his correspondence (which naturally include epistles sent by others to Shenoute), or unless Shenoute extensively quotes from another author. Here is an inventory of the fragments of this manuscript which I have been able to identify until now.

Paris, BnF 131<sup>2</sup>, ff. 140-142 (pp. 71-[76]; *Let Our Eyes*)  
 Paris, BnF 131<sup>2</sup>, f. 114 (pp. 89-90; unidentified)  
 Leiden, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. 122 (pp. [91]-[92]; unidentified)  
 Louvre, E 10609 (pp. 106-107 [sic!]; unidentified)  
 Vienna K 9804 (pp. 221-222; *What Person Would Say*) — id. Emmel (personal communication)  
 Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. no. 9282a-b (pp. 223-224, [225]-[226]; *What Person Would Say*) — id. Emmel (personal communication)  
 Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>2</sup>, f. 146 ([233]-[234], beginning of a new quire; *What Person Would Say*) — id. Emmel (personal communication)  
 Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 42 (no pagination preserved; unidentified)  
 Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 17 + BN 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 32 (no pagination preserved; unidentified)  
 Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 124 (no pagination preserved; unidentified)  
 Louvre, E 9986 (no pagination preserved; unidentified)

The first paginated leaves are the fragments Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>2</sup>, ff. 140-141, which bear the page numbers 71-74. The fragment BnF Copte 131<sup>2</sup>, f. 142 must have been pages [75]-[76] of the codex because it textually follows page 74. The upper margin of BnF Copte 131<sup>2</sup>, f. 141r contains the liturgical rubric “Pashon 10,” indicating that this portion of the text

<sup>26</sup> The fragments in Naples were published by Emile Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* vol. 2/II, Paris 1913, 290-294, 296-299, 309-311, 318-320. Cf. Georg Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum*, Rome 1810, 572 (= no. 237); Paola Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti borgiani conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III” di Napoli*, Accademia dei Lincei — Memorie, Ser. IX, 25/1; Rome 2009, 227-228.

must be read on the day dedicated in the Coptic synaxary to the Three Hebrew Saints, Ananias, Azarias and Misael.<sup>27</sup> The fragments belong to Shenoute's sermon *Let Our Eyes*.

The next paginated folio, Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>2</sup>, f. 114, bears the page numbers 89-90, allowing us to establish that seven leaves (= 14 pages) are missing between this and the previous folio. Its verso ends with the first part of Ezekiel 7:27,<sup>28</sup> which continues on the recto of Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, no. inv. 122.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the pagination of the Leiden fragment, which is lost, must be restored as [91]-[92]. The content of this portion of the codex, followed at a short distance by Louvre, E 10609 (paginated even/odd, 106-107), has not been identified yet.

An uncertain number of missing pages follows the Louvre fragment. The next paginated folio after Louvre, E 10609 is Vienna K 9804, which is inscribed with page numbers 221-222. The verso of this fragment contains a portion from Isaiah 1:16.<sup>30</sup> The missing part of the quotation is identifiable on the first page of a badly damaged bifolio, now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (call number 9282a-b).<sup>31</sup> When properly folded, the two conjugate leaves are consecutive and form the innermost bifolio of a quire. Stephen Emmel has identified the text, which treats the problem of repentance, as Shenoute's *What Person Would Say*.<sup>32</sup>

Remarkably, the recto of the second leaf of the bifolio in Cairo parallels almost word for word the beginning of another previously unidentified series of fragments in Paris, namely BnF Copte 131<sup>3</sup>, ff. 69-72. Because the parallel text of these fragments go beyond that of the Coptic Museum bifolio, we can establish with their help that this (parallel text in BnF 131<sup>3</sup>, f. 69r-v) was followed at a short distance in our codex by Paris BnF Copte 131<sup>2</sup>, f. 146. The latter fragment parallels BnF Copte 131<sup>3</sup>, f. 72r-v and must consequently belong to the same work. Therefore, we have enough reasons to establish that the previously unidentified fragments BnF Copte 131<sup>3</sup>, ff. 69-72 belong to *What Person Would Say* by Shenoute of Atrię.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. René Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite* vol. 4: *Les mois de Barmahat, Barmoudah et Bachons*, PatrOr 16/2, Paris 1922, 369-371.

<sup>28</sup> Agostino Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta Copto-Sahidica* vol. 2, Rome 1889, 265.

<sup>29</sup> Published in Willem Pleyte & Pieter A.A. Boeser, *Manuscrits coptes du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden 1897, 360-362 (= Insinger 77).

<sup>30</sup> Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta* 2 (see n. 28), 220.

<sup>31</sup> Munier, *Manuscrits coptes* (see n. 7), 139-142.

<sup>32</sup> Personal communication dated December 4, 2011.

As the entire text of the last fragments mentioned discusses the problem of repentance, it is tempting to assign to the same sermon two other consecutive leaves on the same topic, namely BnF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 42 and one that is formed by joining together BnF Copte 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 17 and BnF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 32. If so, they offer previously unknown portions from *What Person Would Say*.

### Codex 7 (fig. 7)

The same scribe produced as well the codex MONB.NE, a manuscript which contains Sahidic translations from the ascetical writings of Ps.-Ephrem, or Ephrem Graecus. Notably, Enzo Lucchesi identified one of the fragments of this codex (Cairo, Coptic Museum 9258) as *Rerum monachalium rationes* by Evagrius (PG 40, 1252-1264; cf. CPG 2441).<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the Sahidic version must have been ascribed to Ephrem, as the rest of the writings in MONB.NE. To the numerous fragments identified until now by Delio Vania Proverbio<sup>34</sup> and Lucchesi,<sup>35</sup> should be added two other Parisian witnesses: BnF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 90, which contains a portion from *De perfectione monachi* (CPG 3971),<sup>36</sup> as well as BnF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 147, a fragment from the bottom of what must have been the following leaf of the same work.<sup>37</sup> An additional fragment of codex MONB.NE surfaced recently in the collection of the Oslo University Library.<sup>38</sup>

### Codex 8 (fig. 8)

Finally, Cairo, Coptic Museum inv. no. 9228, which contains a fragment from a sermon on the Passion by Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2184; clavis optica 0051),<sup>39</sup> and several fragments from the Severus of Antioch's

<sup>33</sup> Enzo Lucchesi, "Evagrius copticus," *AnBol* 117 (1999), 284.

<sup>34</sup> Delio V. Proverbio, "Auctarium au dossier copte de l'Éphrem grec," *Orientalia* 66 (1997), 78-85.

<sup>35</sup> Enzo Lucchesi, "Un corpus éphrémién en copte," *AnBol* 116 (1998), 107-114. Cf. also Idem, "L'Asceticon copte d'Ephrem le Syrien. Un nouveau feuillet rapporté à son codex d'origine," *AnBol* 131 (2013), 51-59, at 51.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Assemani, *Sancti Patris Nostris Ephraem Syri opera omnia quæ exstant* Ser. 1/Graece et latine 2, Rome 1743, 412E-413C. Assemani's text has been taken over by Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Οσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα* vol. 3, Thessalonica 1990, 378-380.

<sup>37</sup> Identified in Alin Suciu, "The Borgian Coptic Manuscripts in Naples: Supplementary Identifications and Notes to a Recently Published Catalogue," *OCP* 77 (2011), 299-325, at 310-311.

<sup>38</sup> Alin Suciu & Hugo Lundhaug, "The Coptic Parchment Fragments in the Collection of the Oslo University Library: A Checklist," forthcoming.

<sup>39</sup> This sermon was edited after a complete manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in Joseph B. Bernardin, "A Coptic Sermon Attributed to St. Athanasius," *JTS* 38

77<sup>th</sup> *Cathedral Homily* (CPG 7035; *clavis coptica* 0640), probably belonged together to another codex copied by Victor. In certain Greek manuscripts, the sermon of Severus is sometimes ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa or to Hesychius of Jerusalem. This homily is the only text of Severus fully preserved in Greek.<sup>40</sup>

There is no codicological detail which would clearly suggest that the fragment from Ps.-Athanasius and those from Severus originally belonged to the same codex. Moreover, some paleographical features, like the different shapes of the letter *ȝ*, rather suggest that these leaves belong to different stages of Victor's scribal production. If I mention them here together is only because the subject treated, that is, the Passion story from the gospels, furnishes a thematic unity which might allow inclusion in the same manuscript.

Enzo Lucchesi was the first to identify Paris, BnF Copte 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 79 and BnF Copte 132<sup>3</sup>, f. 142 as fragments of Severus' homily.<sup>41</sup> For her part, Alla Elanskaya published a well-preserved Moscow fragment of the same work,<sup>42</sup> which Sever Voicu identified later.<sup>43</sup> To these witnesses, we can add two folios from Vienna, which were consecutive pages:

- Severus of Antioch, *On the Harmony of the Gospels* (Cathedral Homily 77) Moscow, I.1.b.717 (pp. 65-66)
- Paris, BnF 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 79 (no pagination preserved)
- Paris, BnF 132<sup>3</sup>, f. 142 (pp. [93]-[94])
- Vienna, K 9917bis (pp. 95-96; end of the 20<sup>th</sup> quire)
- Vienna, K 9748 (97-98; beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> quire)

If the Ps.-Athanasius fragment belonged indeed to the same codex, its place cannot be determined since it lost its pagination. Therefore, only Severus' homily can be placed codicologically. The position of Severus'

(1937), 113-129. The Cairo fragment was published in Munier, *Manuscrits coptes* (see n. 7), 19-21. Identified in Enzo Lucchesi, "Regards nouveaux sur la littérature copte," in: Buzi & Camplani (eds.), *Christianity in Egypt* (see n. 3), 369-414, at 412 (although the fragment does not belong to Ps.-Athanasius' *On the Resurrection of Lazarus* [CPG 2185; *clavis coptica* 0049], as it says there).

<sup>40</sup> Marc-Antoine Kugener & Edgard Triffaux, *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche. Homélie LXXVII*, PatrOr 16/5, Paris 1922.

<sup>41</sup> Enzo Lucchesi, *Répertoire des manuscrits coptes (sahidiques) publiés de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 1, Geneva 1981, 81, 88. There is another codex containing the same text, but this does not interest us here. In his "Notice touchant l'Homélie XIV de Sévère d'Antioche," *VigChr* 33 (1979), 291-293, at 293 n. 4, Lucchesi announced the imminent publication of an article concerning a Coptic folio belonging to the 77<sup>th</sup> *Cathedral Homily* but, unfortunately, he has not published it yet.

<sup>42</sup> Alla I. Elanskaya, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A.S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow*, Supplements to *VigChr* 18, Leiden 1994, 372-377, plates 139-140.

<sup>43</sup> Sever Voicu, "Un frammento copto dell'Omelia cattedrale 77 di Severo d'Antiochia," *Augustinianum* 32 (1992), 385-386.

homily in the codex does not become clear unless we check the signature of the quires. Thus, the verso of Vienna K 9917<sup>bis</sup>, which is paginated **q5** (= 96), carries the signature of the 20<sup>th</sup> quire (= **κ**). The next page of the codex, and the first of the following quire, is the recto of Vienna K 9748. This page is paginated **q2** (= 97) and bears in the upper outer corner the signature of the 21<sup>st</sup> quire (**κα**). These codicological details are enough to infer that the scribe started anew the pagination of the codex, but he numbered consecutively the quires. Cases of discontinuous pagination are normal in Coptic codices. Scholars who reconstructed the White Monastery manuscripts have already drawn attention to other such examples.<sup>44</sup> It is important to highlight that sometimes the discontinuous pagination can be misleading. When we encounter such a situation, the only appropriate criterion for establishing the order of the surviving leaves in a dismembered White Monastery manuscript is the signature of the quires (granted that they are preserved).

As I showed above, the surviving fragments of the codices copied by the scribe Victor can be arranged into eight codices. Three of them are biblical manuscripts (Gospels, Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse), one lectionary, two are devoted to Shenoute's works, one preserves a selection of Coptic translations from the writings attributed to Ephrem, and the last one is a homiletic miscellany.

The first dated codex is the gospel manuscript, which was completed in April 1112. As in the colophon of the *tetraevangelion* Victor mentions that this was his first task accomplished as a scribe, it means that all the undated manuscripts must be placed after 1112. The codices of Victor represent one of the cases when we can establish the age of some White Monastery manuscripts with the help of other dated codices in the same scribe's hand. Fortunately, as I will document in the next articles, this example is not singular.

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<sup>44</sup> See, e.g., Enzo Lucchesi, "Une version copte du *Sermo asceticus* d'Étienne le Thébain," *AnBol* 115 (1997), 252; Idem, "Deux nouveaux fragments sahidiques du Panégyrique de Grégoire le Thaumaturge par Grégoire de Nysse," *AnBol* 122 (2004), 277-282, at 279. Cf. also the interesting codex MONB.AY, in which the scribe started anew the pagination of each of the three texts he copied; cf. Tito Orlandi, "Un codice copto del 'Monastero Bianco,'" *Le Muséon* 81 (1968), 354-355.

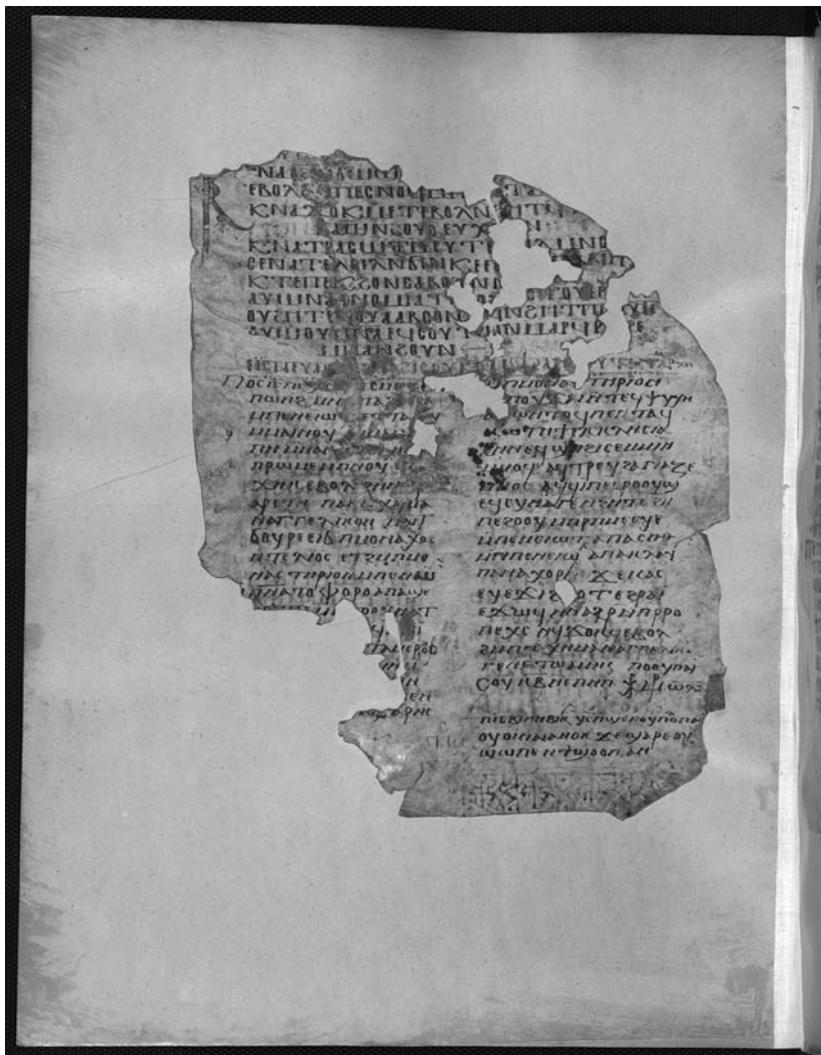


Fig. 1. Codex 1. Lectionary. Paris BnF Copte 129 (19) f. 55v. © BNF.

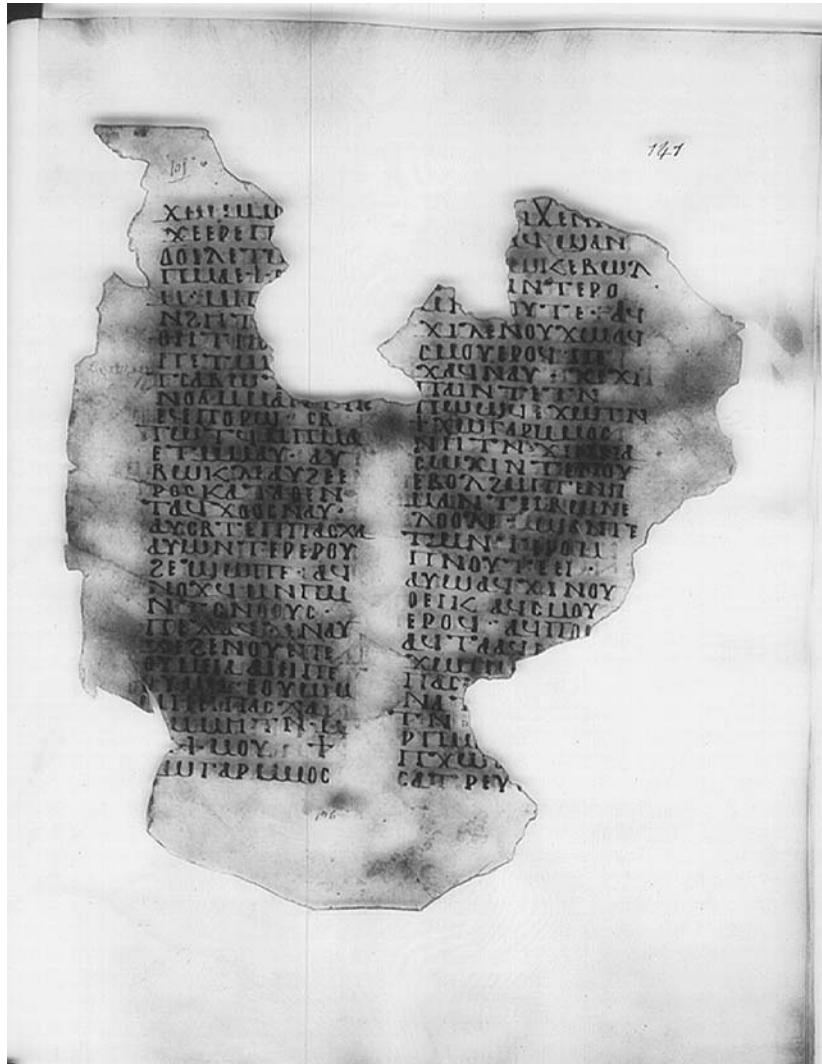


Fig. 2. Codex 2. Gospels manuscript. Paris BnF Copte 129 (8) f. 141r.  
© BNF.

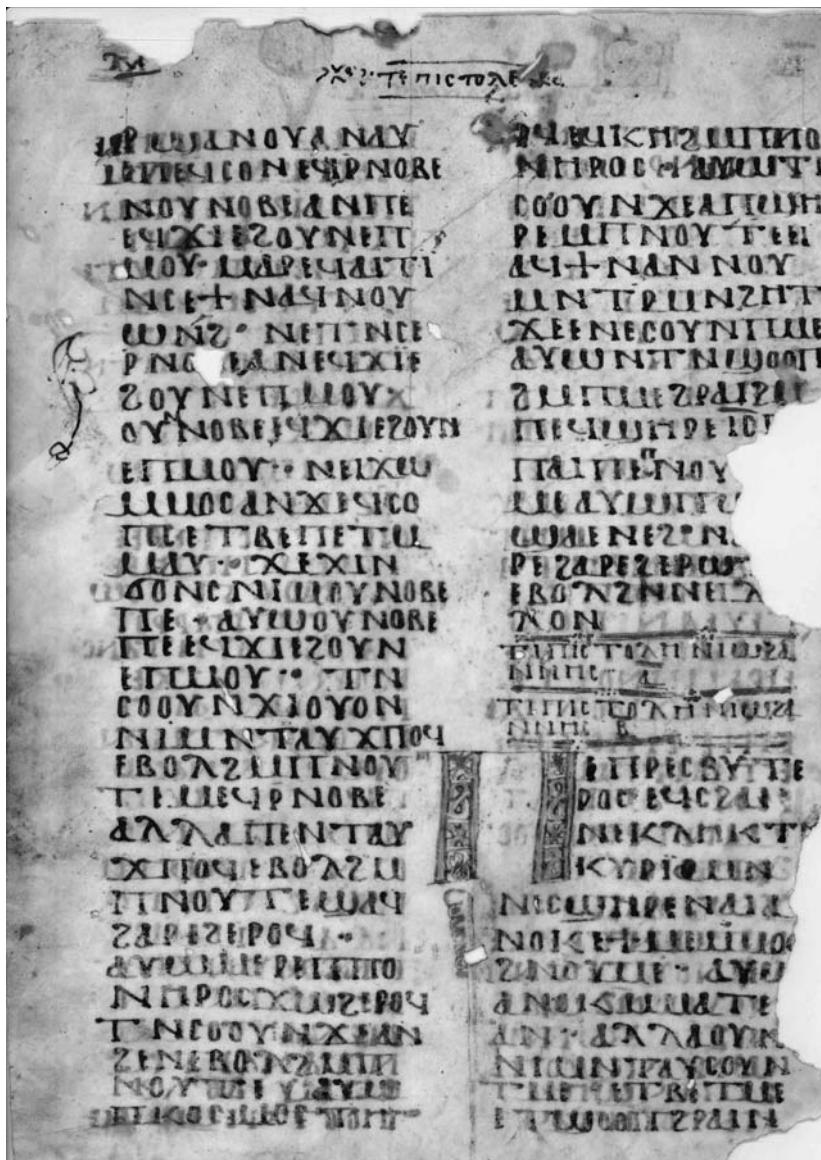


Fig. 3. Codex 3. Catholic Epistles. Vienna ÖNB K 9149v. © ÖNB.

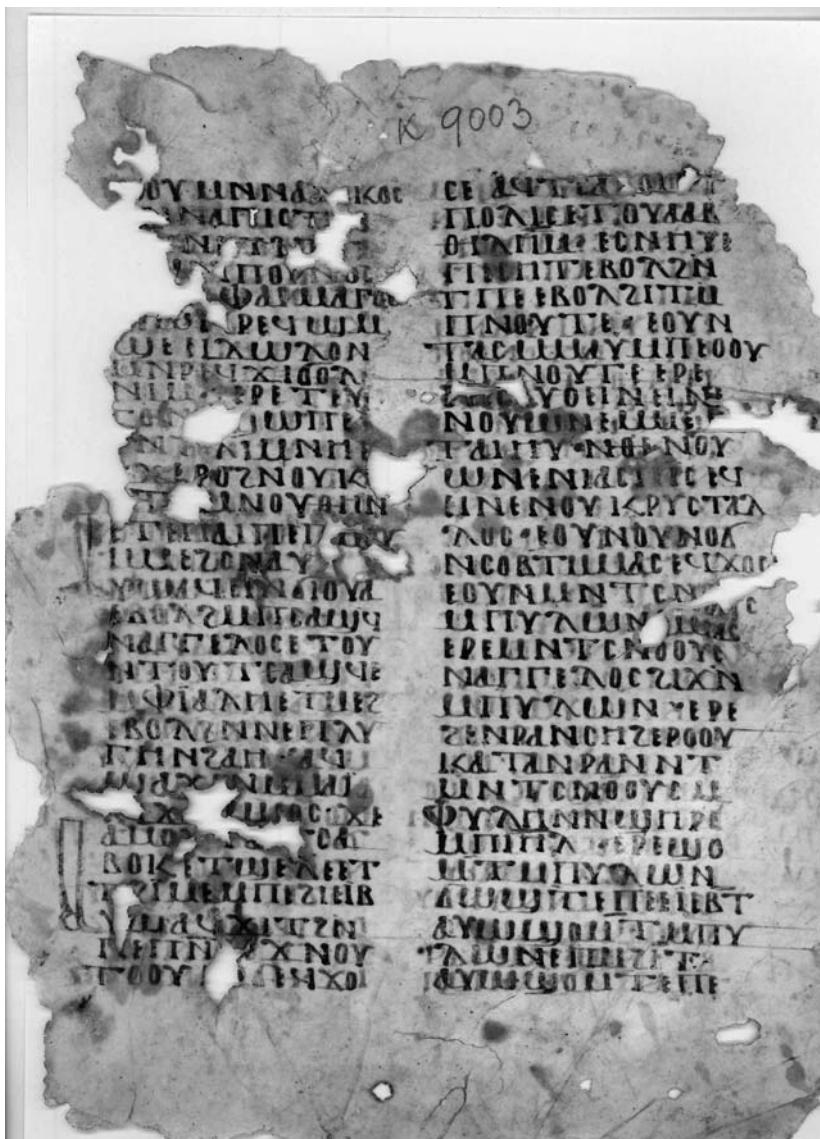


Fig. 4. Codex 4. Apocalypse. Vienna ÖNB K 9003r. © ÖNB.



Fig. 5. Codex 5. Shenoute MONB.YJ. Naples IB 10 f. 3v.

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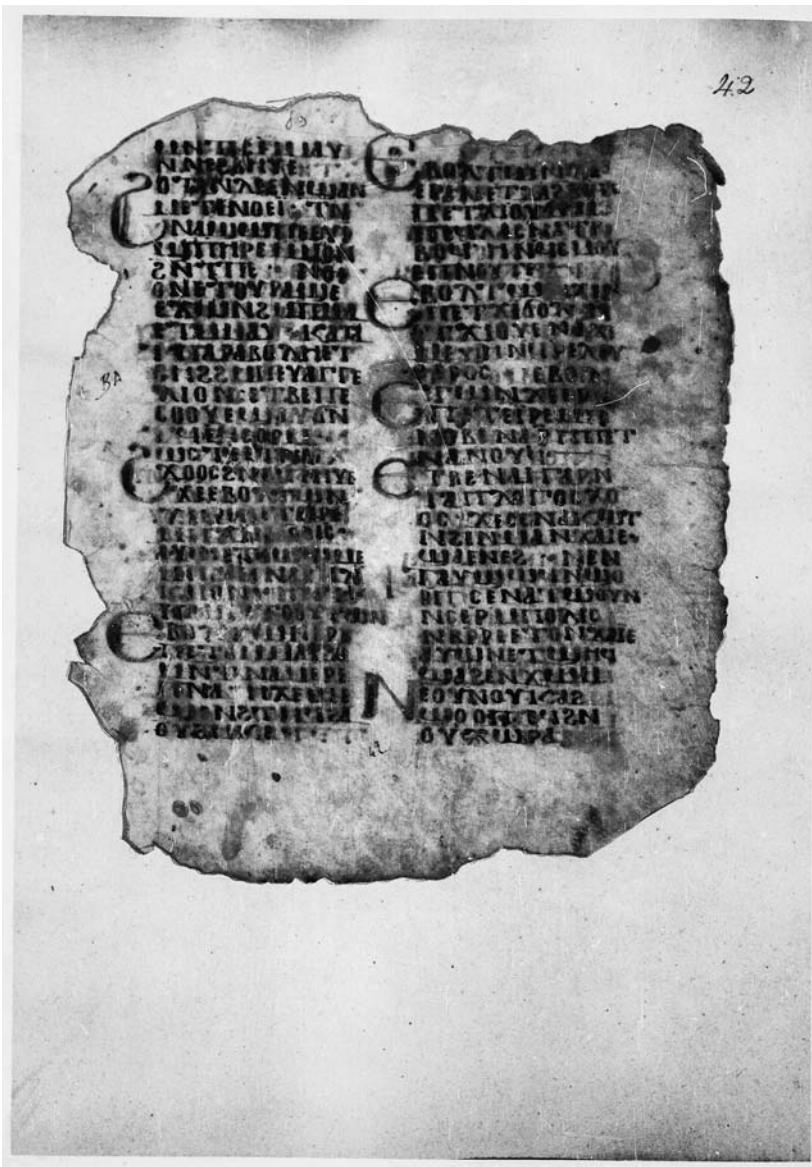


Fig. 6. Codex 6. Shenoute. Paris BnF Copte 131 (5), f. 42r. © BNF.



Fig. 7. Codex 7. Ephraem Graecus. MONB.NE. Paris BnF Copte 131(4), f.105r.  
© BNF.

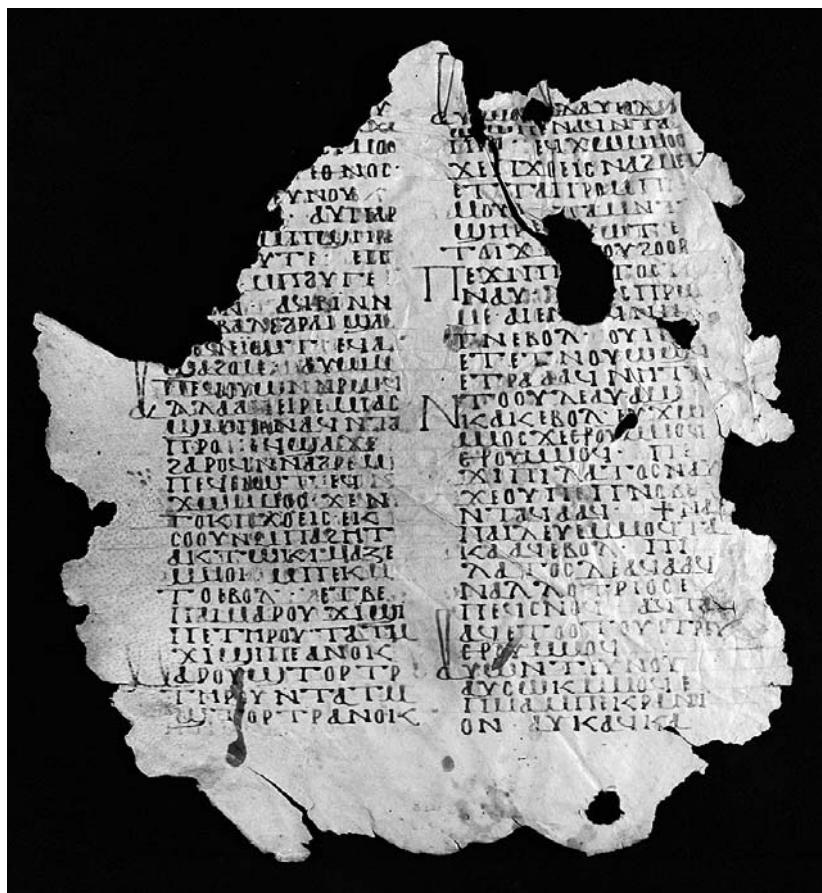


Fig. 8. Codex 8. Homilies. Cairo 9228. © Coptic Museum.