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COMMENTATIONES

Hittites at Tell Afis (Syria)¹

Alfonso ARCHI – Fabrizio VENTURI

I. New Evidence of Cultural Links between Syria and Anatolia through Analysis of Late Bronze Age II Tell Afis Material Culture

Fabrizio VENTURI

ABSTRACT. Northern Syria between 1350-1200 BC fell under Hittite control after the successful campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I and Muṣili II. Nevertheless, following the archaeological evidence, Hittite presence south to the Anatolian plateau is elusive. Elements in material culture related to the Hittite homeland are flimsy and textual sources coming from sites such as Ugarit and Emar show that central power appeared uninterested in a direct annexation of the territories; political control was exercised with the auxiliary use of officials, and from a certain point in 13th BC, was basically delegated to the Viceroy of Karkamiš.

The site of Tell Afis, located on the Jazr plain, in the district of modern Idlib (Syria), has recently given an important Late Bronze Age II sequence which sheds new light on the political and cultural landscape of 13th BC north-west Syria. Textual and archaeological evidence collected in phases VII-VI-Vb required a reconsideration of the role played by the Hittites in inner-Syrian societies after the conquest of the provinces.

1. The historical context

The political scenario of north-western Syria, characterized in the first part of the Late Bronze Age by the Mitannian occupation, was affected in the mid-14th century BC by profound changes, when the Hittites reaffirmed their interests in the region, with Šuppiluliuma I. Military campaigns and




¹For the publication of this material thanks go to Stefania Mazzoni, director of the Archaeological Expedition at Tell Afis of the Università degli Studi di Firenze, and to Fajar hajji Mohammed, director of the Archaeological Museum of Idlib (Syria).

2. Ein (wohl) mittelbabylonischer Wirtschaftstext

(Taf. XXI)

Inventarnummer: 22116; Maße: 2,8 × 2,5 × 1,0 cm.

- 1) 85 UDU.NITA.MEŠ
- 2) 15 ūz-ma
- 3) 'PAP' 1 ME UDU'(KU).NITA.MEŠ
- 4) ša šu' 'sin-DÙ
- 5) 'KI' 'sin-li-d[i-iš]
- 6) ITI KIN.'KAM'
- 7) UD.15.KAM
- 8) pa-aq-du

ūz-ma: šu: 'KI': 

85 Schafe, 15 Ziegen, zusammen 100 Stück Kleinvieh,
die dem Šin-bāni unterstehen,
sind dem' Šin-lid[iš] am 15. Elūl' übergeben.

Bemerkungen

Für die Tafelform vergleiche man die ganzseitigen Fototafeln bei A. T. Clay, BE 14 (pl. I) und BE 15 (pl. IV). Die dort abgebildeten Tafeln sind allerdings alle etwas breiter als hoch; in unserem Fall ist es umgekehrt.

Der Text ist recht fehlerhaft geschrieben: Z. 2 ūz-ma statt ūz.HI.A oder ūz.MEŠ; Z. 3 KU statt UDU; Z. 4 ein šu mit nur zwei Waagrechten; Z. 5 am Anfang nicht das zu erwartende a-na, sondern, wenn ich recht sehe, etwas wie KI (= itti ?); Z. 6 statt des zweiten Elements des Monatsnamens kin.'innin ein KAM (wie bei der Angabe des Tages in Z. 7). Offenbar war hier ein Anfänger am Werk; vielleicht handelt es sich um die Schreibübung eines Schülers.

Z. 3: Schafe und Ziegen werden hier als "Schafe" zusammengefaßt; für diese Möglichkeit siehe CAD I/J 133 sub immeru 2b.

Päpstliches Bibelinstitut

Further Leaves from a White Monastery Codex
Containing Texts Attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria

(TAB. XXII-XXVII)

Alin SUCIU

In a recent issue of the journal *Orientalia*, Enzo Lucchesi commented upon a Sahidic parchment leaf kept in the Strasbourg University Library¹. The folio bears the inventory number "Copte 248" and it was formerly identified by Françoise Morard as part of the Coptic homily *De homicidis*, In *Michaellem*, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2191; *clavis coptica* 0048)². This sermon is readily available in the Italian translation made by Tito Orlandi after one of the Hamuli manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M 602, ff. 98^v-110^r)³. Besides, we have knowledge of several fragments that have survived from a White Monastery manuscript (codex MONB.FQ)⁴, to which the Strasbourg folio identified by Morard also belonged.

The "dioratic" gift of Pachomius is a theme which occurs already in his Greek *Vita Prima* and was developed later in Coptic literature⁵. As the homily ascribed to Athanasius makes use of this motif and recounts, among other things, the way in which Pachomius tracked down a murderous monk through his visionary abilities, Louis Théophile Lefort included the episode in question in his edition of the Coptic *vitae* of the founder of coenobitism⁶. It was precisely in this context that

¹ E. Lucchesi, "Identification de Strasbourg Copte 248", *Or* 78 (2009) 92-95.

² F. Morard, "Les recueils coptes d'Actes apocryphes des apôtres. Un exemple: le codex R", *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 73-82. The leaf was edited and translated by Y. N. Youssef, "The Archangel Michael and the Patriarchs in Exile in the Coptic Tradition", in N. Bosson - A. Boud'hors (ed.), *Actes du Huitième congrès international d'études coptes, Paris, 28 Juin - 3 Juillet 2004* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 163; Leuven 2007) 645-656, at 648-650.

³ T. Orlandi, *Omeliie copte* (Corona Patrum 7; Torino 1981) 59-70. The codex in question belonged to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyum. Description in L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* vol. 1 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4, Oriental Series 1; Leuven 1993) 224-230 (= no. 116).

⁴ For the White Monastery codices, I employ the sigla system of the *Corpus dei manoscritti copti letterari* project (= CMCL, director: Tito Orlandi). According to CMCL's classification, each White Monastery codex is designated by two letters of the Latin alphabet, which are preceded by MONB (= "Monastero Bianco").

⁵ The "dioratikon charisma" was one of the charges against Pachomius at the Council of Latopolis (Esneh). Cf. Greek *Vita Prima* 112 (Greek text in F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* [Subsidia hagiographica 19; Brussels 1932] 72-73); for the parallel in the Arabic *Life*, see E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IV^e siècle. Histoire de Saint Pakhôme et de ses communautés* (Annales du Musée Guimet 17; Paris 1889) 591-595.

⁶ Edited in L. Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii vitae Sahidice scriptae* 2 vols. (CSCO 99-100, *Scriptores coptici* 9-10; Paris 1933) 1: 347-350 (= no. 19; S¹⁹); French translation in idem, *Les*

Lefort tried, for the first time, a tentative inventory of the White Monastery codex which contained the sermon *De homicidis*⁷. The dossier was further enriched by Françoise Morard with two still unpublished leaves, Strasbourg Copte 248 and Paris BnF Copte 161⁶, f. 38. Finally, in his recent article, Lucchesi included in the same codex one more fragment, held in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (inv. no. 9286). This fragment was edited a long time ago without a proper identification by Henri Munier⁸.

I should like to remark in this brief note that at least three supplementary folios from the same manuscript are recoverable. Two of them are currently held in the National Library in Paris, while a third one is in the British Library in London. Given that the last fragment contains the *explicit* of *De homicidis* as well as the title of the following work, it is of central importance for the codicological reconstruction.

The two newly identified Paris fragments of the codex MONB.FQ are BnF Copte 131⁶, f. 28 and BnF Copte 131⁷, f. 32. The page numbers 7-8 and 9-10 are still visible on the parchment, showing that the fragments which are bound today in separate volumes were originally consecutive leaves. Although both of them were tentatively attributed by Ariel Shisha-Halevy to the Coptic author Shenoute of Atripe⁹, they parallel in fact ff. 101^r, line 8-102^v, line 6 in Pierpont Morgan M 602, the other copy of Ps.-Athanasius' sermon *De homicidis*¹⁰. Compared to the text of the Morgan codex, the White Monastery manuscript offers a shorter and slightly different recension, but over all there is no doubt that they represent two witnesses of the same text.

Until now, the last fragment of MONB.FQ was considered to be a leaf in the National Library in Paris identified by Morard (i.e. BnF Copte 161⁶, f. 38). The original pagination of this fragment is lost, but Enzo Lucchesi rightly pointed out that, if we compare the text to the version preserved in the Pierpont Morgan M 602, we must place it towards the end of Ps.-Athanasius' sermon, as pages [41]-[42] of the codex¹¹. Now, I should like to remark that BnF Copte 161⁶, f. 38

vies coptes de S. Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs (Bibliothèque du Muséon 16; Louvain 1943) 382-385.

⁷ Lefort identified the remnants of three leaves, of which two are damaged but are recoverable from separate pieces: Paris BnF 129¹², ff. 72 + 70, Paris BnF 129¹³, f. 71 + 133², f. 57, and Naples I.B. 09, f. 25. All Paris fragments except BnF 133², f. 57 were already published by E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e et V^e siècles* vol. 2 (MMAF 4/2; Paris 1895) 609-611. For the Naples fragment see G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* (Rome 1810) 553 (= no. 229) and now P. Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti borgiani conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" di Napoli* (Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memoria, ser. 9, vol. 25/1; Rome 2009) 218.

⁸ H. Munier, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. N° 9201-9304: Manuscrits coptes* (Cairo 1916) 150-152.

⁹ A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic* (Analecta Orientalia 53; Rome 1986) 219; S. Emmel is more cautious and counts them among the Shenoutean uncertain fragments, see his *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* vol. 2 (CSCO 600, Subsidia 112; Louvain 2004) 904-905.

¹⁰ H. Hyvernat, *Bibliotheca Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi* vol. 25 (Rome 1922) plates 201-204. Italian translation of the corresponding Sahidic text in Orlandi, *Omeliie copte*, 60-62.

¹¹ Lucchesi, *Or* 78, 95.

was actually followed, at a distance of only one folio, by a previously unnoticed fragment in the British Library. This is BL Or. 6807, f. 6 and, although the parchment is a bit damaged, the pagination 4[5]-[4]6 still can be recovered on it¹².

The new London folio is of special interest because it carries some important codicological details. Thus, the recto contains the concluding lines of the pseudo-Athanasian homily *De homicidis* and a subscription of the copyist, who signed himself as "Aurelius Flavius Philotheus"¹³. The verso of the fragment contains the title of the following work, which reads: ΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΕΑΠΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΗΝΟΟΥΣ ΦΑΑΠΑ ΖΩΡΠΙΗΙΟΙΟ [M]ΝΑΠΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΝΤΕΡΕΥΙΩΤΗ ΧΕ Α[Α]ΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ ΠΙΩΤ [N]ΤΕΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟ4 ΖΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΗΗ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ ("A letter of Apa Athanasius the archbishop of Alexandria, which he sent to Apa Horsiesius and Apa Theodorus when he heard that Apa Pachomius, the father of the *Koinonia*, had died. In the peace of God, Amen"). It has not been established yet whether this letter, which claims to belong to Athanasius, is genuine or not¹⁴.

Be that as it may, it becomes apparent that *De homicidis* was followed in codex MONB.FQ by the epistle of (pseudo-)Athanasius to Horsiesius and Theodorus concerning the death of Pachomius (CPG 2190; *clavis coptica* 0453).

It is interesting to note that, although Lefort was aware of the London fragment and published the surviving portion of Athanasius' letter immediately before the fragments of *De homicidis*, he recorded it as belonging to a separate codex and even dated the handwriting one century earlier¹⁵. This shows once more how relative is the attempt to date the Coptic manuscripts on purely formal grounds.

Adding the three fragments identified here, we may now attempt the codicological reconstruction of the manuscript:

Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *De homicidis*, In Michaellem (CPG 2191; *clavis coptica* 0048)

3 leaves missing

pages 7-8 = Paris 131⁶, f. 28

pages 9-10 = Paris 131⁷, f. 32

1 leaf missing

pages 13-14 = Paris 129¹², ff. 72 + 70

pages 15-16 = Paris 129¹², f. 71 + 133², f. 57

5 leaves missing

¹² B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906* (London 1987) 179-180 (= no. 153).

¹³ A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, vol. 1: *Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 1; Louvain 1929) no. LXc.

¹⁴ Cf. Lefort, *Les vies coptes*, p. lxxxiv. A letter from Athanasius to Horsiesius concerning the death of Theodorus appears in Pachomius' *Vita Prima* 150 (Greek text in Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii* 95-96), but also in Sahidic and Bohairic; for the Sahidic text, see Lefort, *S. Pachomii vitae Sahidice scriptae*, 1: 301-303; for Bohairic, idem, *S. Pachomii vita Bohairice scripta* (CSCO 89, *Scriptores coptici* 7; Louvain 1953) 214-215. Translation of both Coptic versions in idem, *Les vies coptes* 233-234 (French translation from Bohairic), 347-348 (French translation from Sahidic).

¹⁵ Edited by Lefort, *S. Pachomii vitae Sahidice scriptae*, 1, 346 (= no. 18; S¹⁸); translated in idem, *Les vies coptes* 380. In *S. Pachomii vitae Sahidice scriptae*, 1, p. x, Lefort described the fragments as coming from separate manuscripts, S¹⁸ and S¹⁶, and dated the first of them in the 10th century and the second in the 11th, without realizing that he ascribed the same hand to different centuries.

pages 27-28 = Naples I.B. 09, f. 25
3 leaves missing
pages 35-36 = Cairo 9286
1 leaf missing
pages 39-40 = Strasbourg 248
pages [41]-[42] = Paris 161^o, f. 38
1 leaf missing
page 4[5] = London BL Or. 6807, f. 6^r

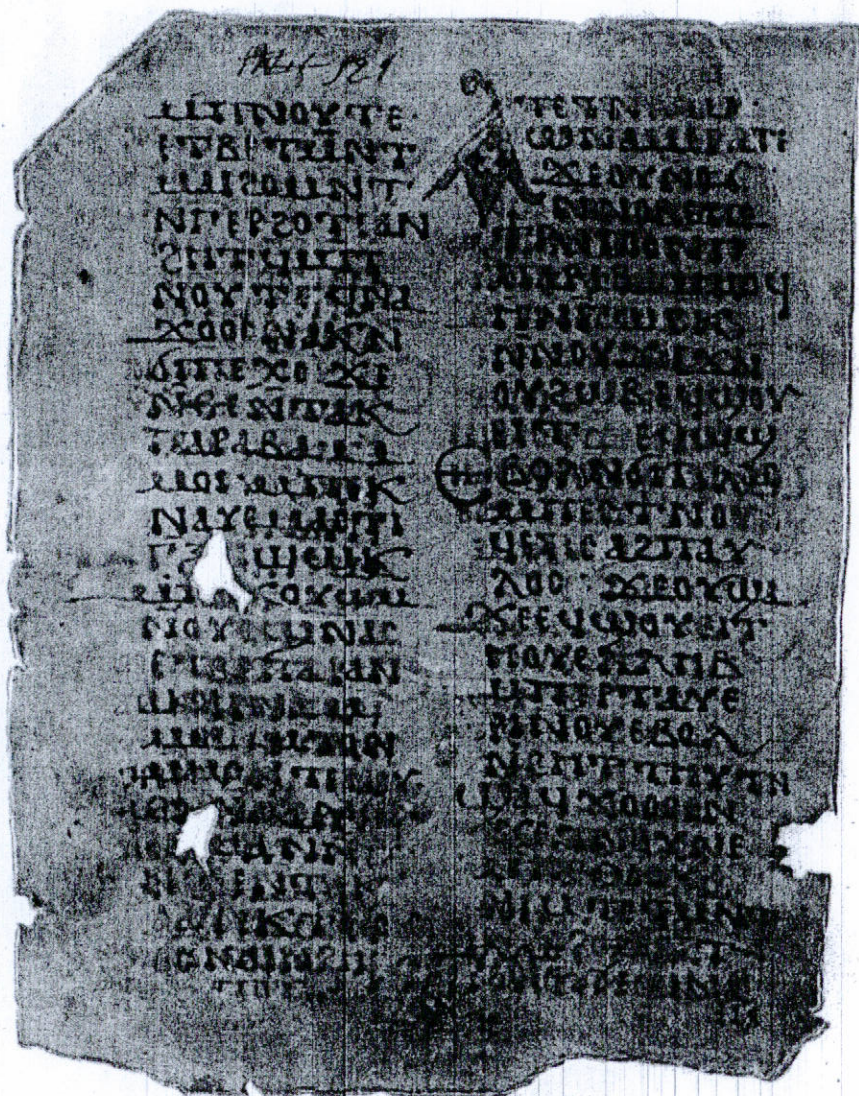
Athanasius of Alexandria, *Letter to Horsesius and Theodorus* (CPG 2190; *clavis coptica* 0453)

page [4]6 = London BL Or. 6807, f. 6^r
leaves missing

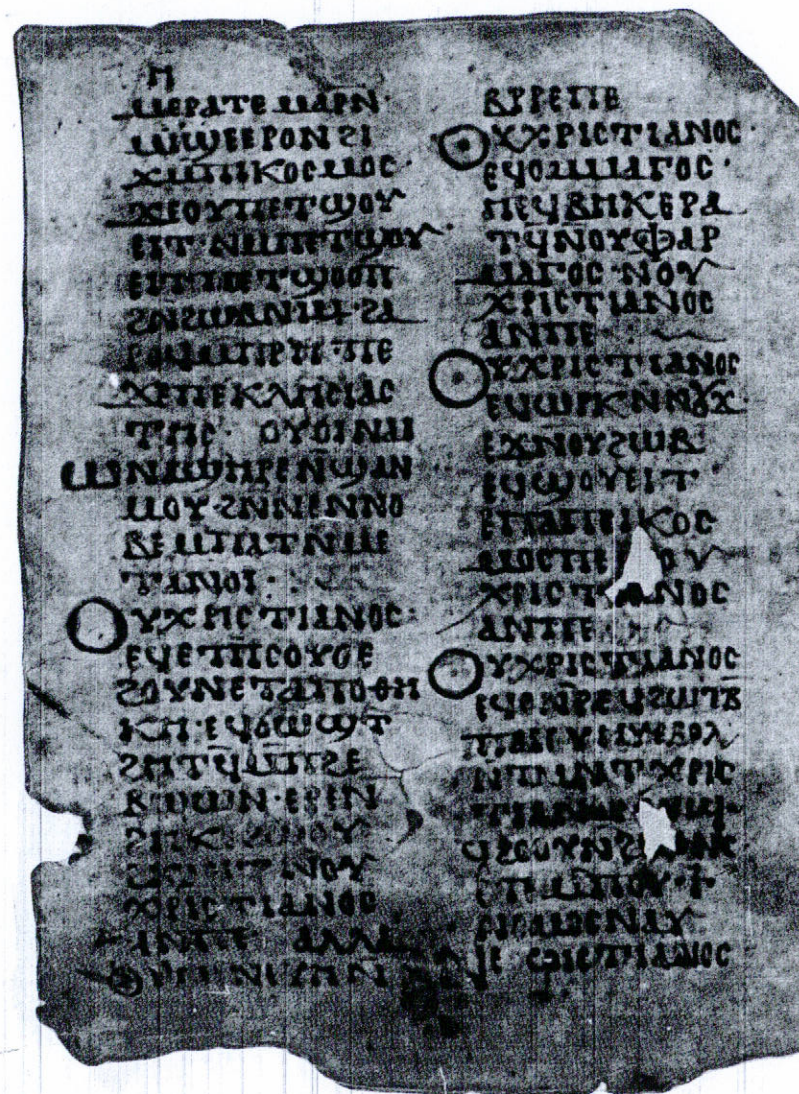
As a final remark, it should be stated that the internal coherence of the codex is established not only by the putative Athanasian authorship of the two works, but also by their common reference to Pachomius.

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Paris, BnF Copte 131⁶, f. 28 r.



Paris, BnF Copte 131⁶, f. 28 v.



Paris, BnF Copte 1317, f. 32 r.



Paris, BnF Copte 1317, f. 32 v.

