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ET HISTOIRE DES TEXTES  
ENTRE ORIENT ET OCCIDENT

INSTRUMENTA PATRISTICA ET MEDIAEVALIA

Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

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MÉLANGES EN HOMMAGE À SEVER J. VOICU

édités par

Francesca P. BARONE, Caroline MACÉ, Pablo A. UBIERNA

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# INSTRUMENTA PATRISTICA ET MEDIAEVALIA

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Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers (†1998)

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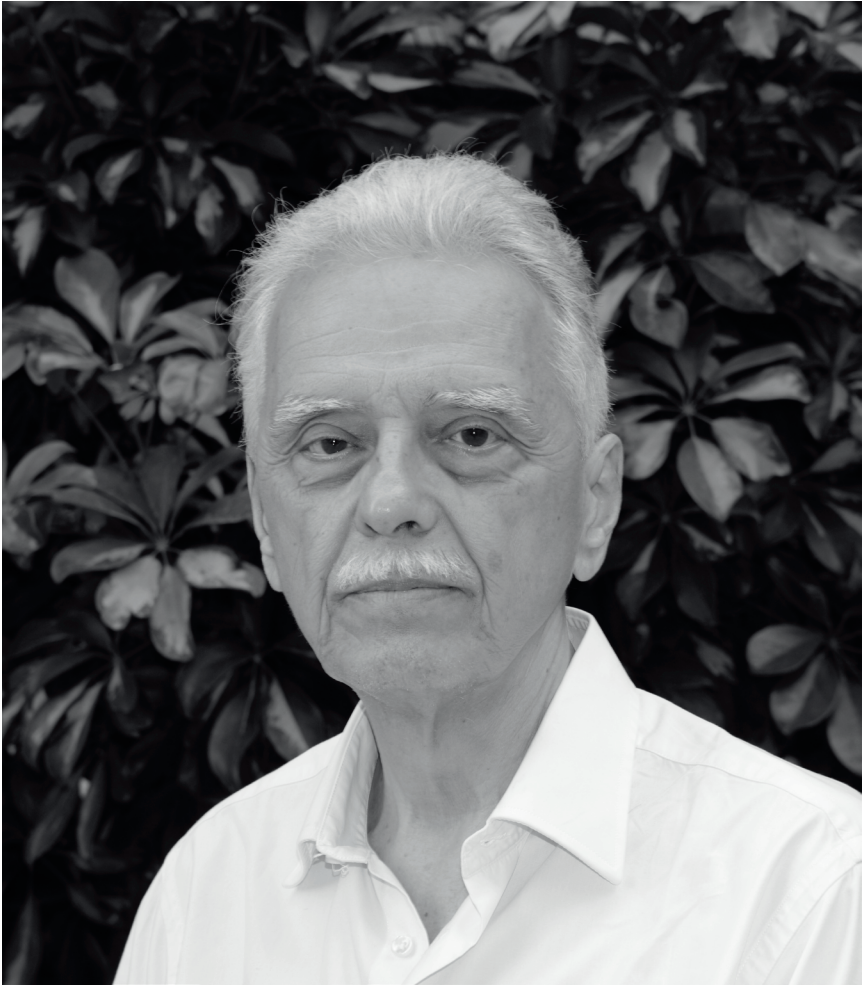


photo Davide Borgonovo



## Liste des abréviations communes

- AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*, éd. Société des Bollandistes, 67 vols., Anvers – Bruxelles, 1643-1940; réimpr. Turnhout, 1966-1971; *Acta Sanctorum Database*: <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk/>.
- ACO = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, éd. E. SCHWARTZ, Strasbourg, 1914; Berlin – Leipzig, 1924-1940.
- ALDAMA: J. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum*, Paris, 1965.
- AnBoll = *Analecta Bollandiana*
- ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, éd. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, Berlin – New York, 1972-.
- BACopt = *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*
- BBGG = *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
- BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
- BHG = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*
- BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CAVT = J.-C. HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout, 1998.
- CANT = M. GEERARD, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout, 1992.
- CC = *Corpus Christianorum*
- CCG = M. AUBINEAU, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. I: Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae*, Paris, 1968; — R. E. CARTER, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. II: Codices Germaniae*, Paris, 1968; — R. E. CARTER, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. III: Codices Americae et Europae Occidentalis*, Paris, 1970; — W. LACKNER, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. IV: Codices Austriae*, Paris, 1981; — R. E. CARTER, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. V: Codicum Italiae Partem Priorem*, Paris, 1983; — S. J. VOICU, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. VI: Codicum Ciuitatis Vaticanae Pars Prior*, Paris, 1999; P. AUGUSTIN, J.-H. SAUTEL, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci. VII: Codicum Parisiorum Partem Priorem*, Paris, 2011.
- CCSA = *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*
- CCSG = *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*
- CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*

*CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

*CMCL* = *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*

*CPG* = M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols., Turnhout 1974-1987 (vol. 3, ed. secunda, paratur a J. NORET, 2003); M. GEERARD – J. NORET, *Supplementum*, Turnhout, 1998.

*CSCO* = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*

*CUF* = *Collection des Universités de France*

*DEAC* = *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du christianisme ancien*, sous la dir. de A. DI BERARDINO, 2 vols., Paris, 1990 [trad. française de *DPAC*].

*DPAC* = *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, diretto da A. DI BERARDINO, 3 vols., Gênes, 1983, 1983, 1988.

*DSp* = *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, sous la direction de M. VILLER, A. RAYEZ, A. DERVILLE *et al.*, 109 fasc., Paris, 1935-1995; online Beauchesne (<http://www.dictionnairedespiritualite.com/>).

*DThC* = *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, éd. A. VACANT, E. MANGENOT, É. AMANN, 15 vols., Paris, 1902-1950.

*EO* = *Échos d'Orient*

*GCS* = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*

*GRBS* = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

*JAC* = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

*JÖB* = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

*JThS* = *Journal of Theological Studies*

*LAMPE* = G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961.

*LIMC* = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich – Munich, 1981-1999; Düsseldorf, 2009.

*LCL* = *Loeb Classical Library*

*LSJ* = H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English lexicon*, a new edition revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. S. JONES, 9<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford, 1996.

*MAMA* = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae*

*Memorie Ist. Lomb.* = *Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere. Classe di Lettere, Scienze Morali e Storiche*

*Nachr. Ges. Göttingen* = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse (1894-1933)*



- NDPAC = *Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, diretto da A. DI BERARDINO, 3 vols., Gênes – Milan, 2006-2008.
- OrChr = *Oriens Christianus*
- OCA = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, éd. A. P. KAZHDAN, New York – Oxford, 1991.
- OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus (...) Series Graeca*
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus (...) Series Latina*
- PLP = *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, éd. E. TRAPP *et al.*, CD ROM-Version, Vienne, 2001.
- PLRE = *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1971-1992.
- PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*
- PTS = *Patristische Texte und Studien*
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft ...* éd. G. WISSOWA *et al.*, Stuttgart, 1893-1978.
- REA = *Revue des études augustinienes*
- REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes*
- REB = *Revue des études byzantines*
- Rendic. Ist. Lomb. = *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere. Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche*
- Rendic. Lincei = *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
- RgK, I = E. GAMILLSCHEG, D. HARLFINGER, H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, I: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*, 3 vols., Vienne, 1981 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, 3/1).
- RgK, II = E. GAMILLSCHEG, D. HARLFINGER, H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, II: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*, 3 vols., Vienne, 1989 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, 3/2).
- RgK, III = E. GAMILLSCHEG, D. HARLFINGER, H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, III: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan*, 3 vols., Vienne, 1997 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, 3/3).

*RHT* = *Revue d'histoire des textes*

*ROC* = *Revue de l'orient chrétien*

*RSBN* = *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*

*SBN* = *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*

*SChr* = *Sources chrétiennes*

*SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

*SH* = *Subsidia Hagiographica*

*TLG* = *TLG. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>.*

*TRE* = *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, éd. G. KRAUSE, G. MÜLLER, 36 vols., Berlin – New York, 1977-2004; *TRE* online (De Gruyter).

*TU* = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*

*ZPE* = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*



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*)\*

Alberto CAMPLANI – Federico CONTARDI  
(Rome – Montpellier)

1. Introduction

During the *Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome, September 17-22, 2012) the two authors of this contribution have informed the scientific community about the discovery of a new complete Coptic papyrus codex containing the *Canons* attributed to Basil of Caesarea.<sup>1</sup> This codex was found in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, with other two manuscripts, by the Polish Archaeological

\* Alberto Camplani has written the second paragraph of this essay, while Federico Contardi is author of the third one. The first introductory paragraph is due to both authors.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15-19, 2008*, ed. by P. BUZI, A. CAMPLANI, F. CONTARDI, Leuven, 2016, p. 979-992. The work is classified as CPG 2973 and *Clavis coptica* 0090: see <http://www.cmcl.it>. A good presentation of the *Canons* is R.-G. COQUIN, “Canons of Saint Basil”, in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A. S. ATIYA, New York, 1991, p. 459a-459b. Of great importance is W. RIEDEL, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900. Some remarks on dating and provenance had been offered by J. WORDSWORTH, *The 106 Canons of Basil, an Egyptian Church Order, probably of the fifth century*, in Id., *The Ministry of Grace*, London, 1903<sup>2</sup> (1901), p. 445-461.

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*Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre Orient et Occident. Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu*, éd. Francesca P. BARONE, Caroline MAGÉ, Pablo A. UBIERNA, Turnhout, 2017 (*Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*, 73), p. 139-159

Mission guided by Thomas Górecki.<sup>2</sup> The edition was trusted to Alberto Camplani, who in turn charged Federico Contardi with the task of transcribing both the new codex and the fragments from other Coptic codices containing this work; he is now writing a commentary on the *Canons* in collaboration with other scholars.<sup>3</sup>

This manuscript was preserved in the National Museum of Alexandria, identified as *Coptic Ms 1* (from this moment it will be called “A”), and was later transferred to Cairo, Coptic Museum. According to a still inedited paper by A. Boud’hors, the codex can be dated to the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>4</sup>

The *Canons* were known so far to be extant in the following witnesses:

- a number of Arabic manuscripts attesting to an Arabic version divided in 106 chapters – known to Abū ’l-Barakāt ibn al-As’ad ibn Kabar – probably made on the basis of a Coptic *Vorlage*:<sup>5</sup> one of these was translated in German by Riedel<sup>6</sup> (“R”), but not edited; we could check only the ms. *Vaticano arabo* 149 (“V”);
- a quotation of *Canon 1* in a Coptic liturgical manuscript of paper;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> T. GÓRECKI, “Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152). Preliminary report, 2005”, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, XVII (2007) (Reports 2005), p. 263-272; T. GÓRECKI, E. SZPAKOWSKA, “Sheikh Abd El-Gurna. Archaeological Activities in the Hermitage in Tomb 1152”, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, XVIII (2008) (Reports 2006), p. 305-310; T. GÓRECKI, “Archaeological research in the hermitage in Tomb 1152 in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (West Thebes)”, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, XX (2011) (Research 2008), p. 225-236.

<sup>3</sup> They are grateful also to E. Wipszycka, who identified the text soon after the discovery and supported its edition by the Italian team. See T. GÓRECKI, “Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152). Preliminary report, 2005”, p. 272 n. 4. This identification was made possible through a provisional translation by W. Myszor of some passages taken from visible pages of the codex.

<sup>4</sup> A. BOUD’HORS, “À la recherche des manuscrits coptes de la région thébaine”, in *Scripta Coptice*, in Honour of Bentley Layton, ed. D. BRAKKE, S. J. DAVIS, S. EMMEL, Leuven, forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. I Band. *Die Übersetzungen*, Città del Vaticano, 1944, p. 606, to be updated.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel’s translation of the Arabic text was based on the “Berliner Handschrift R” (Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin Diez A. quart. 107): W. RIEDEL, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, p. 231-282.

<sup>7</sup> Coptic Museum, J 42572, see J. DRESHER, “A Coptic Lectionary Fragment”, *Annales du Service des Antiquités d’Égypte*, 51 (1951), p. 247-256. In the

- a number of fragments belonging to different Coptic codices, edited and inedited, among which are to be mentioned:<sup>8</sup>
  - two leaves from a lost papyrus codex coming from Deir Bala'izah (n. 31), with the text of *Canon* 36;<sup>9</sup>
  - some Chester Beatty leaves (ms 819C, ff. 1-8) from a parchment codex (*Canons* 48-96) likely deriving from the White Monastery<sup>10</sup> (here “D”), to be attributed to the tenth / eleventh century;
  - the Turin *Codex* XIII, which is constituted by a good number of fragmentary leaves from a papyrus codex; it has been called GIOVAN in the database of *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*<sup>11</sup> (here “T”), to be attributed to the eighth century.

The possibility to read the whole work in Coptic gives us the means not only to arrange the already identified fragments, especially those of T, but also to evaluate the significance of both the Coptic manuscripts and the Arabic version of the *Canons*, a work which, it should be stressed, is not attested in other literatures of the Christian East. This research should lead to a preliminary edition of the Coptic text with a translation in a modern language. A second phase of the same research will consist in an overview of the Arabic tradition, which will be compared to the Coptic one within an *editio maior* of all the Coptic and Arabic material, accompanied by a historical and liturgical commentary.

debate following the delivery of this paper during the *Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, D. Atanassova pointed out that Drescher's classification of this text as lectionary is questionable.

<sup>8</sup> F. ROSSI, *I papiri copti del Museo Egizio di Torino*, Turin, 1892, II, fasc. IV, p. 81-92. For the identification and a proposal of arrangement of the fragments, see W. E. CRUM, “The Coptic Version of the ‘Canons of S. Basil’”, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 26 (1904), p. 57-62, who could check also an Arabic manuscript containing the work (BL *add.* 7211).

<sup>9</sup> P. E. KAHLE, *Bala'izah*, London, 1954, vol. 1, p. 410-416.

<sup>10</sup> T. ORLANDI, “Les manuscrits coptes de Dublin, du British Museum et de Vienne”, *Le Muséon*, 89 (1976), p. 323-338, p. 324.

<sup>11</sup> T. ORLANDI, “Les papyrus coptes du Musée égyptien de Turin”, *Le Muséon*, 87 (1974), p. 115-127, p. 125; *Id.*, “The Turin Coptic Papyri”, *Augustinianum*, 53 (2013), p. 501-530, in particular p. 505 and 523; see also <http://www.cmcl.it>.

## 2. The Coptic and Arabic versions: some distinctive characters (Alberto Camplani)

Given the still partial textual basis especially for what concerns the Arabic version, in this initial phase of our research we are able only to give the reader a general information about the two versions and to illustrate, but not to answer to, a number of fundamental issues.

The philological problems of the Coptic material are not easily solved. For instance, it should be wondered whether the differences among A, T and D (in particular between A on the one hand and T/D on the other) are to be explained with the textual diversification within the Coptic tradition or as the consequence of two distinct processes of translation from Greek to Coptic based on different models. The first hypothesis seems more likely, although the task of proving its plausibility is made difficult by the fact that the main part of the text is preserved by A, while T and D contribute only with longer or shorter fragments. Only by way of an analogical reasoning we can explain the peculiarities of the Coptic version for those passages where it is attested only by A, as we will see when dealing with the final section of the *Canons*.

The Arabic text, as it appears in V and in Riedel's German translation from R, is usually close to the Coptic one, but in some cases provides expressions, sentences, paragraphs that in Coptic, or at least in A, have disappeared. However, it is interesting to note that some items have been deleted from the Arabic version too, especially as regards the literary frame, which will be studied here in more detail.

### *a. The title, the subtitles and the structure of the text in Coptic and Arabic*

In the first page of A we read a long title, if compared with the simple one offered by the Arabic version:

ἡΚΑΝΩΝ ἡΠΙΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[ΟΣ] ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ἡΓΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑ[ΡΙΑ] ἡΤΚΑΠΠΑ-  
ΤΟΚΙΑ ·

εΤΒΕ Τ[ΠΙΣ]ΤΙΣ ἡΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ·

εΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΖἡΠΓΑΜΟΣ · Μ[Ν] ἡΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ·

εΤΒΕ ΝΕΧΗ[ΡΑ] ἡΝ <ἡ>ΕΓΚΡΑΤΗΣ ·

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΤΑΓ[ΜΑ] ΤΗΡῶ<sup>12</sup> ΕΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟ[Ν] ΧΙΝ ΕΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΡΑ[Ι]  
ΕΠΕΜΝΟΥΤ ·

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΔΥ ΕΤΕΩΩΕ ΕΩΛΗΛ ·

ΕΤΒΕ ἸΝΗΣΤΙΑ ἸΝ ΝΑΠΑΡΧΗ · ἸΝ ἸΡΕΝΗΤ ·

ΕΤΒΕ ΤΣΙΝΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ἸΝ ΤΣΙΝῚΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ·

ΕΤΒΕ ἸΝΟΒΕ ἸΝ ΝΕΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΩΩΕ ΕΚΑ ΠΟΥ(Δ) ΠΟΥΑ ΖΙΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΑ ΤΜΙΝΕ ἸΠΠΟΒΕ ΠΠΟΒΕ ·

ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ ἸἸἸΖΟΥΟΥΤ ἸΝ ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ·

ΧΕΚΑΣ ἸΝΔΟῚ ΘΕ ἸΜΟΟΩΕ ἸΝ ΠΗ: ἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ.

The Canons of Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia,

1. about the faith in the Holy Trinity;
  2. about those (who live) in the marriage and the virgins;
  3. about the widows and 3b. the ascetics;
  4. about all the ecclesiastic orders, from the bishop to the doorkeeper;
  5. about the hour in which it is proper to pray;
  6. about the fasts and 6b. the first fruits and tithes;
  7. about the way of baptizing and 7b. celebrating the (eucharistic) mystery;
  8. about the sins and the times that is necessary to establish according to the kind of sin;
  9. about the ornaments of male and female;
- in order that we can find the way of going into the house of God.

The title<sup>13</sup> makes reference to the main themes of the text, although not in the order in which they appear in the work.<sup>14</sup> It must be observed that the Coptic text, as we read it in A but also fragmentarily in T, is subdivided in a number of units of different length by a system sub-titles marking the beginning of each

<sup>12</sup> ΤΗΡῶ Α.

<sup>13</sup> A complex structure title, according to P. Buzi, *Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta. Studio storico e tipologico*, Pisa – Rome, 2005, p. 109-124.

<sup>14</sup> The *Canons* could be divided in the following sections:

- a trinitarian and Christological profession of faith (canon 1).
- the traditional theme of the two ways, of good and evil (canon 2);
- marriage and its discipline (canons 3-19);
- penitence (canons 20-27);
- precepts for the lay
- precepts for the clergy, prayers for consecration (canons 38-95).
- rules concerning the liturgy (canons 96-106).

unit. In some occasions these units are defined *kephalaia*. However, the order of these units and the arguments they deal with is not always similar to the one presupposed by the general title, as the reader may verify in the appendix, where all the sub-titles are reproduced in order of occurrence. On the one hand, there are additional sub-titles in relation to the general title – for example the chapters about the cult of the martyrs (31 and 33), those against magicians (22) and astrologers (34) –, on the other hand, the order of some thematic units is different from the one of the general title: in particular the sub-units about the times of penance according to the kind of sin (n. 8 = canons 20-25) and the ornaments of male and female (n. 9 = canons 26-27) are placed in the first part of the work and not at the end as announced by the title; the rules concerning the times of prayer (n. 5 = canon 28) and fast (n. 6a = canon 29) precede in the Coptic and Arabic version those about ascetics (n. 3b = canon 32), virgins and widows (nn. 3a, 2b = canon 36), contrary to the indication of the title.

Therefore, it should be wondered whether the difference between the order of the general title and that of the sub-titles of the units is to be explained in term of history of transmission, in the sense that the title originally referred to a text whose order was different from the one presented by A, or with the stylistic choices of the “author” of the general title. The latter hypothesis seems to be likely, given the agreement of both the Coptic codices and the Arabic version as regards the order of the text.

For what concerns the Arabic version, we could check only Riedel’s German translation of R and a microfilm of V: it is too limited a basis to make precise statements about this version, but, on the other side, the concordances between Riedel’s translation, V and the information given by the tradition, in particular Abū ’l-Barakāt ibn al-As’ad ibn Kabar, is to be taken into serious consideration at least when considering the form of the text.

In the Arabic version the general title is shorter than in A:

These are the canons (قوانين) of Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, about the chapters of the Church order (طقس الكنيسة), and the canons of the Holy Apostles, whose prayers the Lord has accepted. Amen.

The units in which the text is divided are shorter in comparison with those of the Coptic version. They are numbered from 1



to 106, as confirmed by Abū 'l-Barakāt ibn al-As'ad ibn Kabar,<sup>15</sup> and provided with sub-titles. Abū 'l-Barakāt too transcribes these sub-titles in a form which for the main part coincide with the one they have in the Arabic manuscript tradition of the *Canons*. The following examples, selected from the beginning and end of the Arabic version and compared to those by Abū 'l-Barakāt, may give the reader an idea of the sub-titles of the Arabic version:

First: On faith <sup>16</sup>	الأول لأجل الإيمان
Second: On the place of life and that of death <sup>17</sup>	الثاني لأجل مواضع الحياة والموت
(...)	(...)
One hundred and sixth: Prayer after the baptism <sup>18</sup>	السادس و المائة صلاة من بعد المعمودية

#### b. Formal differences between the Coptic and Arabic Version

From the point of view of the contents and the form, some differences are to be pointed out. At the end of the Coptic text, preserved only by A, we read some prescriptions about the first fruits and tithes, as announced in the general title, followed by some lines apparently making an summary of an originally longer *kephalaion* about apocryphal books, and a very important final section about the writing of the text itself, where the writer, a fictional “historiographer” Paulinus of Caesarea, declares to have written the canons according to the words pronounced by his father, Basil himself, to whom the *Canons* are ascribed.<sup>19</sup> In the Arabic version the last canon (n. 106), with which the Arabic version ends, is the one specifically devoted to the post-baptismal prayer: it corre-

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. chapter VII, ed. W. RIEDEL, “Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū 'l-Barakāt”, *Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-hist. Klasse*, 5 (1902), p. 635-706 (see also W. RIEDEL, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, p. 35), but above all the edition by KII. SAMIR, *Abū al-Barakāt ibn al-As'ad ibn Kabar: Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī iḍāḥ al-ḥidma*, Cairo, 1971, p. 178-182. Sister Azza Samir has helped the authors with the Arabic text of Basil's *Canons* and the one by Abū al-Barakāt: she deserves our warmest gratitude.

<sup>16</sup> Abū al-Barakāt: لأجل الأمانة المستقيمة

<sup>17</sup> Abū al-Barakāt: لأجل مواضع الحياة والموت التي تستوجب بعمل الوصايا ومخالفتها

<sup>18</sup> The same sub-title in Abū al-Barakāt.

<sup>19</sup> See A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, “The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea”.

sponds to a section of the Coptic text which immediately precedes the prescriptions on first fruits and the section about the composition of the work. From Abū 'l-Barakāt ibn al-As'ad ibn Kabar we may infer that this abridged form was the one known at his time:<sup>20</sup>

<i>Coptic version: units of the final section (A)</i>	<i>Arabic version and Abū 'l-Barakāt</i>
Baptism	Canons 103-106: Baptism
First fruits and tithes	<i>explicit</i>
Apocryphal books	
The writing of the text	

It is more likely that in the course of time the text of the *Canons* has been shortened and deprived of their fictional frame rather than the opposite. This does not affect our judgment about the variants offered by the Arabic version, which in some cases are certainly better than the ones of the Coptic tradition.

On the other side, the Coptic text shows clear signs of shortening. This happens in the last part of the text, and in particular:

- in the passage corresponding to *Canon* 101, after the sentence  $\alpha\omega\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\omega\lambda\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\mu}\ \pi\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  (“and thus they will pray on the water”) there is no prayer as expected, while the Arabic version has the announced prayer on the water.<sup>21</sup>
- when the baptismal ritual deals with the oil of exorcism, in the Coptic version we find the expression  $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\omega\lambda\eta\lambda\ \Delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\chi\omega\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon$  (“you will pray in this way”): also in this case, while the Arabic version quotes a prayer of exorcism,<sup>22</sup> the Coptic omits it, as well as it deletes also the following prayer on the oil of *charisma*,<sup>23</sup> the main part of the prayer devoted to the candidates to baptism, apart from the first line,<sup>24</sup> and finally the prayer after the baptism.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Cf. W. RIEDEL, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, p. 238 for Abū 'l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, who declares that Basil's Canons are 106 and that the canon numbered 103 is the one dealing with baptism.

<sup>21</sup> This prayer is numbered as *Canon* 102 in the Arabic version.

<sup>22</sup> *Canon* 103.

<sup>23</sup> *Canon* 104.

<sup>24</sup> *Canon* 105.

<sup>25</sup> *Canon* 106.

Are we to attribute these omissions to the Coptic version or to the scribe of A? The second possibility seems more likely, not only because the above expressions witness to the existence of these prayers in the original text of the Coptic version, but also for the reason that the same phenomenon occurs before, in a point of the Coptic version which is fortunately attested by both A and T: as already pointed out by F. Contardi,<sup>26</sup> the scribe of A has deleted an entire chapter (*Canon* 32) on the ascetics (ἰδασκητικῆς) despite the fact that the topic was announced in the general title, probably because he perceived it as interrupting the thematic unity (the rules of cult in the *martyria*) of canons 31 and 33. It is not easy to understand why these baptismal prayers were omitted: maybe they were preserved in other books in the scribe's library, or they were considered by him as too different from the ones in use in his liturgical context; other explications are, of course, possible.

Therefore, on the one side we have an Arabic version which altered the literary frame of the *Canons*, on the other the Coptic tradition must be checked in all its witnesses, because one of the scribes has omitted a number of important passages and sections.

*c. Further Observations on Date and Provenance: The Rite of Ordination for a Bishop*

In our recent contribution, we have exposed the problems of dating the text. We have observed that the historical figures such as Basilus, Paulinus, Athanasius, are quoted in a fictional frame and the reference to the synods have no historical value. The initial profession of faith does not give a sure *terminus post quem* different from the most obvious one, i.e. the end of the fourth century, or, better, the first half of the fifth century. There is no distinctive Christological terminology which could point to a theological trend, apart from some expressions close to Cyril's theological language – a language however which is typical of diverse religious trends active in Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean. Basil of Caesarea is presupposed with his letters and canons; the council of Nicaea is mentioned more than once, although, according to a phenomenon that is detectable also in Western canonical lit-

<sup>26</sup> A. CAMPLANI – F. CONTARDI, "The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea".

erature, the references are to decisions and rules which are not preserved in the official canons. From the above considerations it emerges that a sixth-century date could be preferable, although an earlier date is not to be excluded. What at present seems to be more in favour of the former is the fact that the *Canons* presuppose the existence of a rich canonical tradition in which the Council of Nicaea has not only attracted the canons of other councils to its sphere (according to a custom in force for a long time), but also the sentences of the Fathers whose work has been reduced in the form of canonical literature. In other words, the work was written in a time when all what was contained in canonical collections could be attributed anachronistically to the Council of Nicaea.<sup>27</sup>

It is difficult to take a position on the issue of the text's provenance. The *Canons* are not known outside Egypt in other canonical literatures of both the Christian East and Byzantium. However, on the other hand, the Egyptian origin of some of its elements has been questioned.

In *Canon 46*, whose Coptic text is here edited for the first time, the mention occurs of "the bishop of the *metropolis*" and/or the "great bishop", as well as the allusion to the custom of ordering the bishop by three bishops. These prescriptions could be paralleled by those of canons 4 and 6 of the Council of Nicaea, according to which the ordination accomplished by three bishops must be approved by the metropolitan bishop and should not be done without his consent. The difference is that in Basil's *Canons* the metropolitan bishop, if he is to be identified with the "great" bishop mentioned in the course of the ritual, is one of the three bishops who consecrate the new bishop: in other terms, the "great" bishop is directly involved in the consecration. This ordination by three bishops including a "metropolitan" has been considered by some scholars as an argument against the Egyptian provenance of the text:<sup>28</sup> according to Egyptian custom, it is the bishop of Alexan-

<sup>27</sup> On the issue of the date in which the "Fathers" entered the canonical collections of the Byzantine and Syriac Churches, see H. OIIME, "Greek Canon Law to 691", in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, ed. W. HARTMANN, K. PENNINGTON, Washington D.C., 2012, p. 24-114, especially p. 84-114.

<sup>28</sup> See COQUIN, "Canons", p. 459. More in favor of an Egyptian provenance is WORDSWORTH, *The 106 Canons of Basil*, p. 446.

dria (later called the “patriarch”) who, with the assistance of several bishops, consecrate the candidate coming from one of the dioceses of Egypt; there is no metropolitan bishop in the country.<sup>29</sup>

If this analysis is correct, one could place the composition of the *Canons* in a Syrian context, from which it would have been taken by the Coptic Church and translated from Greek into Coptic after the great divisions caused by the Christological controversies. We may observe that this same phenomenon was occurring to the liturgy: the new anti-Chalcedonian Church which emerged during the fifth/sixth century was marked by a celebration of the Eucharist with the *Anaphora of St Basil*, an Antiochian type of *prex eucharistica* which took the place of the older *Anaphora of St Mark/St Cyril* – a Basilian connection between Syria and Egypt which could be on the background of the *Canons* too.

When dealing with this rite of ordination,<sup>30</sup> we find a mixture of elements pointing to different phases of the liturgical evolution: archaic features are joined to elements considered by scholars as later developments. This coexistence points to a date around the sixth century – a crucial moment of cultural and liturgical transformation in Egypt.

Some elements of the ritual here edited should be emphasized:

- the three bishops are guided by a “great” bishop, who could be identified with the bishop of the “metropolis” mentioned at the beginning of the unit, although this identification is not beyond doubt;
- the Gospel is said to be placed above the candidate;<sup>31</sup>
- the “great” bishop pronounces a prayer of consecration where the eucharistic theme is particularly pronounced and deeply linked with the incarnational theme;

<sup>29</sup> E. WIPSYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church. People and Institutions*, Warsaw, 2015, p. 129-146.

<sup>30</sup> For the rite of ordination, the reference will be P. F. BRADSHAW, *Rites of Ordination. Their History and Theology*, London, 2014.

<sup>31</sup> P. F. BRADSHAW, *Rites of Ordination*, p. 69-72. According to H. BRACKMANN, “Zur Evangeliar-Auflegung bei der Ordination koptischer Bischöfe”, in *Εὐλόγημα. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, SJ*, ed. E. CARR, Rome, 1993, p. 53-69, this custom is attested also in Egyptian liturgy.

- after the prayer the “great” bishop imposes his hand on the new bishop, and so do the other bishops after him;
- the “great bishop” gives a kiss on the mouth of the new bishop and blows on his face so that he may receive the Holy Spirit;
- the other bishops kiss the new bishop;
- the laity greets the new bishop, kissing his hands but not his face;
- the celebration of the mystery follows.

The closest rite is that of *Apostolic Constitutions*, where the Gospel is put on the head of the ordinand by the deacons (VIII,4):<sup>32</sup>

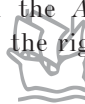
Καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης εἰς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων ἅμα καὶ δυσὶν ἐτέροις πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐστῶς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σιωπῆ προσευχομένων, τῶν δὲ διακόνων τὰ θεῖα Εὐαγγέλια ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς ἀνεπτυγμένα κατεχόντων, λεγέτω πρὸς Θεόν:

While the ordination prayer of *Apostolic Constitutions*, which in part depends on *Apostolic Tradition*, is different from the one reported in Basil’s *Canon 46*, we find at the end of the ritual other elements which put the two rites in close connection (*Apostolic Constitutions* VIII,5):

Καὶ μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν εἰς τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀναφερέτω τὴν θύσαν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος. Καὶ τῆ ἕωθεν ἐνθρονιζέσθω εἰς τὸν αὐτῷ διαφέροντα τόπον παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων, πάντων αὐτὸν φιλησάντων τῷ ἐν Κυρίῳ φιλήματι.

On the one hand, what is here lacking in relation to Basil’s *Canon 46* is the mention of the imposition of hands, although this silence is difficult to interpret. “In every Eastern rite, however, it is the presiding bishop alone who lays his hand on the ordinand, and only in a few cases are there signs of obviously secondary attempts to associate others with him in this action”.<sup>33</sup> Basil’s *Canon 46* may be connected to those secondary attempts.

The kiss is the common feature of the two passages, which deserves a note: while in the *Apostolic Constitutions* nothing is said about those who have the right to kiss the new bishop on his



<sup>32</sup> Text quoted according to *Les constitutions apostoliques*, vol. III, ed. M. METZGER, Paris, 1987 (*SChr*, 336), p. 282-283.

<sup>33</sup> P. F. BRADSHAW, *Rites of Ordination*, p. 92.

face,<sup>34</sup> in Basil's *Canons*, as well as in other liturgical literature, the ritual is clericalized – a secondary and later development.<sup>35</sup>

Of course, the task of a detailed analysis of this ritual must be left to the historians of liturgy. The purpose of this contribution was to offer this document to their attention.

### 3. The Coptic Codices: reconstruction and example of a provisional edition (Federico Contardi)

#### *a. Situation of the reconstruction*

Thanks to the good conditions of preservation of A it has been possible to proceed to the identification of all the fragments of T, allowing the work of previous scholars to be completed.<sup>36</sup> More than 50 fragments were identified and in some cases it was possible to reconstitute almost entire pages. As a whole, fragments were identified coming from the following canons: 1-2, 14-16, 28-33, 37-40, 42-44, 46-49, 55-56, 59, 61-63, 67-68, 73-75, 80-81, 86-87, 90, 93-100. It is noteworthy that T is the only Coptic witness for *Canon 32* (about the ascetics), since it is lacking in A.

Concerning the *mise en page* of the text, the most evident difference between A and T is that the latter is organised in two columns of about 23 lines each, while the former is in a single column (except p. ϣλλ ) of about 22-24 lines.

#### *b. Edition of Canon 46: The ordination of a bishop*

*Canon 46* is integrally preserved by A (πϵ, 19- ϣ, 5). It has been possible to recognize three papyrus fragments coming from T, of which I give a diplomatic transcription:

⟨fr. 48 h/v col. b⟩

ⲁΥ[...]

ϵⲗⲠ[...]

ⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡ[...]

ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟ[...]

<sup>34</sup> A custom already occurring in the *Apostolic Tradition*.

<sup>35</sup> P. F. BRADSHAW, *Rites of Ordination*, p. 102-103.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview of the first attempts of recomposition of T, see A. CAMPANI – F. CONTARDI, “The Canons attributed to Basil of Caesarea”.

χε τῆσπῑ |  
 λυω τῆπα |

⟨fr. 48 v/h col. a⟩

[.....]οχος |  
 [...]πεϋ |  
 ϧ[.]ωϧ εϥ |  
 μεριζε ῆ |  
 μοϧ καν · |  
 αλλα ῆπ̄ |

⟨fr. 25 h/v col. a⟩

καθιστ[.] |  
 μοϧ εχω[.] |  
 ῆγκατ[.] |  
 μη ῆτε[.] |  
 ϣα εϣ[.] |  
 [.....] εβολ |  
 [...] ῆπι |  
 βοϥλη ῆῆ |  
 ῆϣιϣα |

⟨fr. 25 v/h col. a⟩

[.....]ῆ |  
 [...]ετοϥ |  
 [...] ϧα εμεϥ |  
 μεμεϥ ϣαῆῆ |  
 ⟨ornamentation⟩

⟨fr. 25 h/v col. b⟩

ῆοϥε[.] |  
 ῆερῆικ[.] |

⟨fr. 25 v/h col. b⟩

[.]επε ῆπιϣ |  
 κοπος κα βιχ |  
 [.]χωϧ · λυω |  
 [.]αρϣαϣαζε |  
 [.]μοϧ ῆβι |  
 π[... ]πιϣ |  
 κο[... ] |  
 μη[.....] |  
 εϣραϧ ετρ[.] |  
 μοϥ εβολ ϣῆ |





<fr. 26 v/h col. a>

[..]εϛ|

[...]ϛ · |

[...]φϛ μα|

[...]ωκ ε|

[...]ηϛ|

[...]η · αγω |

On the basis of A and the fragments of T is now possible to offer a provisional edition of *Canon 46*:

- ἡνεῦχειροδονει ἡλααῖ ἡνεπισκοπος χωρις πεπισκοπος ἡτμητροπολις ·  
 ἡτοϛ ἡνεπισκοπος εναῖ δεκας εἰναταροϛ ερατῆ ἡνεπισκοπος ριτῆ  
 φωμητ ἡνεπισκοπος ·  
 εἰναχειροδονει ἡπεπισκοπος ἡτειρε · εἰναταλο πεγαγγελιον εἰωϛ  
 5 αῶ εϛναωληλ εἰωϛ ἡτειρε ἡσι πνοσ ἡνεπισκοπος δε τῆσοϛ αῶ  
 τῆπαρακαλει ἡμοκ πνοϛτε παντοκρατωρ · πλογοϛ ἡπειωτ πενταϛει  
 εβολ ρῆτπε · αϛμετεχε εῦσαρξ εβολ ρῆτπαρθενοϛ ετογααβ ·  
 ταῖ ἡταϛποϛε · αϛτααϛ ἡνεϛαποστολοϛ · ναῖ ἡταϛωπε ναϛ  
 ἡδιατοχοϛ ριτῆπεϛοϛωϛ · εῦμεριζε ἡμοϛ ναη · αλλα ἡπεσπωδνε  
 10 ενερ οϛωμα γαρ ἡοϛωτ πε · τενοϛ σε πχοειϛ πνοϛτε παντοκρατωρ  
 σωϛτ ερραῖ εἰῆ τεκδιαθνηκη αῶ εἰῆ πεντακσοτπῆ ἡνεπισκοπος ·  
 παῖ ἡτακταροϛ<sup>37</sup> ερατῆ · εἰῆτεκκλησια · δεκας εκετῆνοοϛ<sup>38</sup>  
 ερραῖ εἰωϛ ἡπεκῆῆα ετογααβ · αῶ ἡῆμαρῆ ρῆπραϛε<sup>39</sup>  
 ἡτεκχαριϛ ἡτῆ οε<sup>40</sup> ναϛ εμοϛε ρῆπεκοϛωϛ · δεκας εϛαϛῆ οε  
 15 ἡχοοϛ ἡρενωληλ<sup>41</sup> ραροϛ αῶ ραπλαοϛ · παῖ ἡτακσοτπῆ ακκαϛιστα  
 ἡμοϛ εἰωϛ ἡγκα τῆρῆη<sup>42</sup> ἡτεκκλησια εϛμοντ<sup>43</sup> εἰωϛ ἡῆϛι  
 εβολ ἡμοϛ ἡεπιβοϛηη ηηη ἡηϛηϛηατῆκοϛ<sup>44</sup> · δεκας εϛαϛῆ οε  
 ἡδιοικει ἡτεκεκκλησια ἡτακχποϛ ριτῆ πεκϛνοϛ ἡμῆνε ἡμοκ · ἡῆϛι  
 εβολ ἡμοϛ ἡηατσαρξ<sup>45</sup> · δεκας εϛαϛῆ οε ἡρωμ εἰῆπδιαβολοϛ ·  
 20 ἡῆραρερ εροϛ ἡογαϛη ἡρομη · ἡῆοϛοειϛ ἡεῆρῆηκον · ἡῆμοϛε  
 ρῆπεκοϛωϛ τηρῆ · αἰῆ λααῖ ἡκαταγῆωϛιϛ · αῶ ἡῆσωτῆ επεϛσοϛε ·

<sup>37</sup> 12 ἡτακταροϛ: ἡτακροϛ A

<sup>38</sup> 12 εκετῆνοοϛ: εκετῆνοοϛ A

<sup>39</sup> 13 πραϛε: πῆϛε A, fortasse πῆϛε legendum

<sup>40</sup> 14 ἡτῆ οε: ἡτῆ οε A

<sup>41</sup> 15 ἡχοοϛ ἡρενωληλ coniecti ἡχοοϛ A

<sup>42</sup> 16 ἡγκα τῆρῆη T εκατῆρῆη A

<sup>43</sup> 16 εϛμοντ: εϛμοντ A

<sup>44</sup> 17 ἡηϛηϛηατῆκοϛ: ἡηϛηϛηατῆκοϛ A “antidikos” Versio arabica

<sup>45</sup> 19 ἡηατσαρξ: ἡατσαρξ A

- ετ̄ϕειρε ἡμοϑ εχ̄ν<sup>46</sup> πεϑλαοϑ παῖ · δε ἡτοκ ετσωτῆ εογον<sup>47</sup> ἡμ·  
 τεχαριϑ τωκ μαγαακ ριτῆ πεκειωτ ἡαγαθοϑ ἡἡπεῖῆα ετοϑααβ ϑα  
 ενεϑ ἡνεϑ<sup>48</sup> ϑαμῆν ·
- 25 εϑϑανοϑω δε ἡἡαῖ μαρε πνοϑ ἡπεσκοποϑ κα βιχ εχωϑ ἡϑορῖ ·  
 αϑω ερεπκε σεπε ἡπεσκοποϑ κα βιχ εχωϑ · αϑω μαρεϑασπαζε<sup>49</sup>  
 ἡρωϑ ἡβι πνοϑ ἡπεσκοποϑ ἡἡνιϑε εϑοϑν εϑραϑ ετρεϑμοϑϑ<sup>50</sup> εβολ  
 ϑἡπεῖῆα ετοϑααβ · αϑω εϑϑανοϑω ἡἡαῖ μαρεπκε σεπε ἡπεκλῆροϑ  
 αспаζε<sup>51</sup> ἡμοϑ πταγμα τηρῆ ἡἡελαῖκοϑ μαροϑασπαζε ἡνεϑβιχ ·
- 30 ἡἡελααϑ ἡρωμε аспаζε ἡтаπρο ἡπεσκοποϑ · εἡἡτι ἡεσκοποϑ  
 ἡἡατε · ἡἡἡερεϑυτεροϑ ·  
 ἡἡἡϑωϑ δε μαροϑχωκ εβολ ἡἡἡϑυστηριον · αϑω ἡσεοϑεϑ ϑαϑνε  
 ἡπεσκοποϑ<sup>52</sup> ἡταϑχειροδονει ἡμοϑ ἡβῖρε ἡϑαϑε ερατῆ ἡἡϑ ϑιτοϑωϑ ·  
 εϑωπε ἡἡϑωϑον ἡμοϑ εαϑε ερατῆ εтве πεϑβαει μαρεϑϑ ἡϑενκοϑῖ
- 35 ἡἡϑοκῆ ϑαοϑϑα ·

Mss.: A ρ. πε-ϑ; T frgg. 48, 25, 26 (48 = ll. 5-6: αϑω ... τῆπαρακαλει; ll. 10:  
 ἡδιατοχοϑ ... ἡπεσϑωἡνε; 25 = ll. 15-17: ακκαϑιστα ... ἡϑχιϑατῖκοϑ; l. 20: ἡἡ  
 ... εἡρηἡκοἡ; ll. 23-24: ἡἡα ... ϑαμῆν; ll. 26-28: σεπε ... εβολ ϑῆ; 26 = 31-32:  
 πρεϑυτεροϑ ... αϑω)

### c. Translation

No bishop shall be consecrated without the bishop of the metropolis, himself with two bishops, so that a bishop is established by three bishops.

The bishop will be consecrated as follows: the Gospel will be lifted above him and the archbishop will pray on him as follows: “We pray you and invoke you, o God almighty, o *Logos* of the Father, who descended from the heaven and through the holy Virgin has partaken of the flesh, which he broke and gave to his apostles, they who became for him the successors according to his

<sup>46</sup> 22 εχ̄ν: εχῆ A

<sup>47</sup> 22 εογον: εοἑν A

<sup>48</sup> 24 νενεϑ T ενεϑ A

<sup>49</sup> 26 μαρεϑασπαζε T μαροϑασπαζε A

<sup>50</sup> 27 ετρεϑμοϑϑ T (confer versionem arabicam) εтρεϑχι A

<sup>51</sup> 29 аспаζε: аспа A

<sup>52</sup> 33 ἡἡεσκοποϑ: ἡεσκοποϑ A



wish, sharing him (masc.)<sup>53</sup> among us – but it (fem. =  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\zeta\acute{\iota}$ ) has never changed: for it is one body. Now then, Lord, God almighty, look at your heritage and the one you have chosen as bishop, whom you have established on the Church, so that you may send on him your Holy Spirit, you will fill him with the joy of your grace (or: the joy and your grace), let him walk according to your wish, so that he may send the prayers<sup>54</sup> for himself and the people for whom you have chosen him and on whom you have established him, and give the peace to the church, well firm on him. Remove him from every danger of the schismatics,<sup>55</sup> so that he may find the way to administer the church that you have acquired through your own blood (Act. 20:28). Remove him from what is carnal, in order that he may find the way to trample on the devil. Protect him for many years and for a time of peace; may he walk according to your whole wish, without anything reproachable. Listen to his prayer, which he does on his people, because you are one who listens to everyone. Only yours is the grace through your good Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.”

When these words have been finished, let the archbishop put his hand on him as first, while the remaining bishops put their hand on him. Let the archbishop kiss his mouth and blow on him, in order that he may be filled with the Holy Spirit. When he has concluded these things, let the rest of the clergy kiss him. Let all the order of the laymen kiss his hand – no one will kiss the mouth of the bishop, except only the bishops and the presbyters. After that, let the (eucharistic) mystery be celebrated. It should be ordered to the bishop who has been consecrated to stand and give (the sacrament) near him. If he cannot stand because of the exhaustion, he will give it to very few (believers), and he will put himself aside.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The masculine personal pronoun should refer to a masculine name, but it could be also the result of a mistake of translation or a scribal error.

<sup>54</sup> This is the result of an integration made on the basis of the Arabic text.

<sup>55</sup> In the Arabic we read “*antidikos*” which could be the correct reading, of which *schismastikos* could be a banalization.

<sup>56</sup> Cfr. Riedel’s German translation of the Arabic ms. (W. RIEDEL, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, p. 261): “(Über die Ordination des Bischofs.) «Der Bischof soll nicht ohne den Metropolitanbischof ordiniert werden. Dieser sei jedoch nicht allein, sondern zwei andere Bischöfe sollen bei

## d. Appendix: the sub-titles in the Coptic Codices

In the following list are registered the subtitles of the Coptic version, as transmitted by A and T.

*Canon 2. A:* **ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲏ ⲛⲡⲟⲛⲉ̅̅ ⲛⲏⲧⲉⲗⲏ ⲛⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ** (“These are the commandments of the way of life and the way of death”)

*Canon 3. A:* **ⲉⲧⲪⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲗⲏⲡⲓⲣⲁⲙⲟⲩ** (“About those [who live] in the marriage”)

*Canon 4: A* **ⲉⲧⲪⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲏⲙⲟⲩ** (“About those whom is necessary to accept and those whom is necessary to request”)

ihm sein, damit ein Bischof von drei Bischöfen eingesetzt werde. Der Bischof werde folgendarmassen ordiniert: Das Evangelium werde auf sein Haupt gelegt, und der Oberbischof bete über ihm folgendermassen: Wir beten und demütigen uns vor dir, o Herr, o Gott, Allesfassender, o Wort des Vaters, das vom Himmel herabkam und von der Jungfrau (Maria) einen Leib annahm, welchen er verteilte und den heiligen Aposteln gab, welche für ihn Stellvertreter wurden nach seinem Willen und so seinen heiligen Leib austeilen – er aber wird nicht geteilt, sondern ist durch seine Gottheit einen Leib, welcher niemals geteilt wird – segne, o Gott, Allesfassender; blicke auf den, welchen du erwählt hast, dass er ein Stellvertreter der Apostel werde, auf diesen, den ich für deine Kirche weihe. Sende auf ihn deinen Heiligen Geist und erfülle ihn mit Trost und Gnade. Gib ihm ein Vorbild, dass er für sich und für die Gemeinde, über welche du ihn gesetzt hast, brünstiges Gebet nach oben sende und den Frieden, welcher der Kirche eigen ist, schön vor dir mache. Lass von ihm allen Widerstand des antidikos aufhören, damit er den Weg zur Leitung dieser heiligen Gemeinde finde welche du durch dein eigenes Blut erkaufst hast. Treibe aus Ihm heraus, was des Fleisches ist, damit er den rechten Weg finde, alle Schlingen des diabolos zu zertreten. Bewahre ihn viele Jahre, und lange Zeit wandle er ganz nach deinem Willen, ohne etwas Verwerfliches. Erhöre sein Gebet, welches er über deiner Gemeinde betet, denn du bist es, der das Gebet eines jeden erhört. Denn dein allein ist die Gnade und Liebe zu den Menschen durch deinen gütigen Vater und deinen heiligen Geist bis in die Ewigkeit der Ewigkeit. Amen. Wenn das beendigt ist, soll der Oberbischof ihm die Hand auflegen, die Bischöfe sollen ihm die Hände auflegen und der Bischof soll ihn küssen und in sein Angesicht blasen, damit er mit dem heiligen Geiste erfüllt werde. Sind diese mit ihrem Thun fertig, soll ihn der ganze übrige Klerus küssen; die Klasse der Weltlichen soll seine Hand küssen. Ein ....? Mensch dagegen soll den Bischof nicht küssen, sondern die Bischöfe und Presbyter. Darauf sollen sie das Sakrament vollenden und dem neugeweihten Bischof befehlen, zur Rechten zu stehn. Wenn er die ganze Gemeinde nicht zu segnen vermag, weil er müde ist, soll er wenige segnen und bei Seite stehn”.

- Canon 20.* Α: ετβε νεχροнос ετεωφε εκα πογα πογα ριβολ ἡρητογ κατανοβε (“About the times that is necessary to establish each one according to the kind of sin”)
- Canon 22.* Α: εтβε ἡμαγος (“About magicians”)
- Canon 26.* Α: εтβε νεπιστημη (“About the ornaments”)
- Canon 28.* Α: εтβε πναγ ετεωφε εωληη (“About the hour in which it is proper to pray”)
- Canon 29.* Α: εтβε ἡηηστηα (“About the fasts”)
- Canon 31.* ΑТ: εтβε χε<sup>57</sup> πετεωφε αν πε εβωκ ενταφος<sup>58</sup> ετογμογτε εροογ χε μαρτυριον εῤсγναζειс ἡρητογ · η εωληη<sup>59</sup> (“About the fact that is not seemly to go to the tombs called *martyria* to celebrate the liturgy or praying”)
- Canon 32.* Т: εтβε ἡасκητης ἡ[ροογ]т мἡ[ἡасκητης ἡсime] (“About the male ascetics and female ascetics”)
- Canon 33.* Α: εтβε πετεωφε αν πε εтρεχἡ ἡнескннωма ἡἡμαρτυρος ερογн етκαθολικη · алла χεкас εγνακωт маγ ἡzenμαρτυριον (“About the fact that is not seemly to bring the bodies of the martyrs into the Catholic Church, but [this canon is] in order that *martyria* will be built for them”)
- Canon 34.* Α: εтβε χε ογнос ἡнове πε μογте η βωк ераτἡ ἡογρεμμογте (“About the fact that it is a great sin the incantation or to go to an enchanter”)
- Canon 36.* Α: εтβε ἡχηρα мἡἡπαρθενос (“About the widows and the virgins”)
- Canon 37.* Α: εтβε χε ογнос ἡнове πε βωк ἡнеоεатрон<sup>60</sup> мἡἡριπкос<sup>61</sup> η σε λααγ ἡма εсσοо (“About the fact that it is a great sin to go to the theatres and to the horse race, or any other polluted place”)
- Canon 38.* Α: εтβε ткаτастасис ἡπταγμα τηρἡ ἡτεκκληсia (“About the constitution of all the orders of the Church”)
- Canon 96.* Α: εтβε νεπιστημη ἡπεоγсiαστηριον (“About the dispositions [or: ornaments] of the altar”)
- Canon 97.* Α: εтβε πпωγ ἡπμγστηριον (“About the breaking of the [eucharistic] mystery”)

<sup>57</sup> χε: om. Α

<sup>58</sup> εντα[φ]ос Т етаφος Α

<sup>59</sup> εωληη Т ωληη Α

<sup>60</sup> ἡнеоетрон Α

<sup>61</sup> мἡἡсипкос Α

*Canon 98.* Α: εἴτε πτωφ ἡποεῖκ εἴτε τκαταστασίς αὔω εἴτε τεπιστήμη ἡτοσηρηπινύστηριον (“About the breaking of the bread; about the institution and about the order of the way of celebrating the [eucharistic] mystery”).

*Canon 101.* Α: εἴτε πτυπος ἡπβαπτισμα (“About the way of celebrating the baptism”)

*Canon without number.* Α: εἴτε ἡρέμητ μῆῆαπαρ[χη] (“About the first fruits and tithes”)

#### ABSTRACT – RÉSUMÉ

An important discovery made by the Polish Archaeological Mission in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna has improved our knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the *Canons* attributed to Basil of Caesarea: a new Coptic papyrus manuscript has come to light, which at present is preserved in the National Museum of Alexandria, identified as *Coptic Ms 1*. The *Canons* were known so far through the following witnesses: a number of Arabic manuscripts, one of which was translated in German by Riedel, but not edited; a quotation of *Canon 1* in a Coptic liturgical manuscript of paper (published by J. Dresher); a number of fragments belonging to different Coptic codices, edited and inedited, and in particular two leaves from a lost papyrus codex coming from Deir Bala'izah (n. 31), with the text of *Canon 36* (published by P. E. Kahle); some Chester Beatty leaves (ms 819C, ff. 1-8) from a parchment codex (*Canons* 48-96) likely deriving from the White Monastery (inedited); the Turin *Codex XIII*, which is constituted by a good number of fragmentary leaves partially edited by F. Rossi. The aim of this contribution is to discuss the textual value of the different witnesses, trying to assess the significance of the new manuscript discovery, with reference to the Arabic tradition. This will be the occasion to provide the unknown text of some passages of this important canonical writing.

Une très importante découverte réalisée par la Mission archéologique polonaise à Cheikh Abd el-Gournah a amélioré notre connaissance de la tradition manuscrite des *Canons* attribués à Basile de Césarée: un nouveau papyrus copte a été trouvé, maintenant au Musée National d'Alexandrie et identifié comme *Coptic Ms. 1*. Jusqu'à présent les *Canons* étaient connus par un certain nombre de manuscrits arabes, dont un traduit en allemand par Riedel mais sans l'avoir édité; une citation du *Canon 1* dans un manuscrit liturgique copte sur

papier (édité par J. Dresher); un certain nombre de fragments appartenant à divers *codices* coptes, édités et non édités et particulièrement deux folia d'un codex perdu en papyrus provenant de Deir Bala'izah (n. 31), contenant le texte du *Canon* 36 (publié par P. E. Kahle); quelques folios de la Collection Chester Beatty (ms. 819C, ff. 1-8) d'un codex en parchemin (*Canons* 48-96) en provenance du Monastère Blanc (inédit); le *Codex* XIII de Turin, avec une quantité considérable de folios en partie édités par F. Rossi. L'objet de cette contribution est de discuter la valeur textuelle des différents témoins et d'établir l'importance de la nouvelle découverte par rapport à la tradition arabe. Ce sera l'occasion de fournir le texte, jusqu'ici inconnu, de certains passages de cet important écrit canonique.

