Articles and notes

Vat. copt. 57:
A Codicological, Literary, and Paratextual Analysis[*]

Paola Buzi, Francesco Berno, Agostino Soldati, and Francesco Valerio, 'Sapienza' Università di Roma

MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. copt. 57, a collection of homilies attributed to John Chrysostom in Bohairic Coptic, poses a number of challenges to scholars. Questions such as, Can we identify the texts, and what is their relationship to their Greek models? Can we know who the copyist(s) was or were? are approached by a team of scholars in a collaborative study.

The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana preserves several modern volumes (shelf marks Vat. copt. 57 to Vat. copt. 69), which contain Bohairic parchment leaves from the Monastery of St Macarius (Dayr al-Anbā Maqār) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn (Skētis, or Wādī Hubayb). Among them, MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. copt. 57 = CLM 72 (= CMCL: MACA.AC)[1] represents a special case, not only because it is the only one that contains a selection of works by the same author (John Chrysostom), but also, and primarily, because all its leaves belong to the same original codex, or better codicological unit. The volume is therefore a modern re-binding of an ancient codex that has lost only a few leaves compared to its original structure.

This article describes the codicological and palaeographical features of Vat. copt. 57, analyses its content, and, lastly, its paratextual elements.

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[1] Standard description: Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 368–384. For a general overview on the manuscript and an updated bibliography, see Voicu 2012. For a detailed table of its contents, see Table 1 below. A complete digitized copy is available at: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.copt.57>.

1. Codicological and palaeographical description (by Francesco Valerio)

MS Vat. copt. 57[2] is a parchment codex containing the Bohairic version of 38 homilies attributed to John Chrysostom. It formed part of the library of the Monastery of St Macarius (Dayr al-Anbā Maqār), in the Wādī an-Nāṭrūn, whence it was acquired by Giuseppe Simonio Assemani (1687–1768) during his mission in the Near East (1715–1717), undertaken on behalf of Pope Clement XI Albani.

Together with Vat. copt. 57, Assemani acquired other Bohairic parchment manuscripts from St Macarius: Vat. copt. 1 = CLM 70 = MACA.AA (Copto-Arabic Pentateuch: the Bohairic text is attributed to the ninth–tenth century, while the Arabic version is a later addition, attributed to the thirteenth–fourteenth century),[3] Vat. copt. 5 = CLM 71 = MACA.AB (Psalter, attributed to the thirteenth century), Vat. copt. 35 = CLM 164 = CMCL MACA. EG (Antiphonary, dated by the colophon to the year 1218 CE), and Vat. copt. 58–69 (composite miscellanies of homiletical and hagiographical content, attributed to the ninth–tenth century, except for the four codicological units forming Vat. copt. 60, which are datable to the twelfth–thirteenth century).[4]

As it seems, Assemani brought one more Bohairic parchment manuscript back from St Macarius, containing a catena on the Gospels (dated by the colophon to the year 888/889 CE), but for some reason he left it in the Monastery of the Syrians (Dayr al-Suryān). More than a century later (1838), it was acquired by Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche of Haryngworth (1810–1873), so that it became universally known as the 'Curzon Catena'. In 1917, Curzon's library was bequeathed by his daughter to the British Museum in London (now British Library), where the manuscript was given the call number Or. 8812.[5] We shall return to it later.

In its present state, Vat. copt. 57 contains 280 leaves (260 × 370 mm), forming 36 quires. All quires were originally regular quaternions composed according to Gregory's rule, with flesh side first. Today, three quires are in-

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2   Thanks to the kind permission of Paolo Vian, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, for the purpose of writing this article, I have been able to make a fresh inspection of the manuscript. For the other St Macarius manuscripts in the Vatican Library, I rely for the moment on the digitized copies available at <https://digi.vatlib.it/>. For the Curzon Catena, I used a digitized copy of a black and white microfilm, kindly put at the disposal of the PAThs team by Frank Feder and Alin Suciu, Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Digitale Gesamtedition und Übersetzung des koptisch-sahidischen Alten Testamentes.

3   On this manuscript, see Boud'hors 2012.

4   See Proverbio 2012, 14. For a description of all these manuscripts, see Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 1–6, 12–14, 135–142, and 385–523.

5   Standard description: Layton 1987, 389–394 (no. 249).

complete. In quire XXII (= ff. 169–174), the central bifolium is lost (two leaves are missing between what is now ff. 171=172). In quire XXIII (= ff. 175–180), the third bifolium is lost (thus one leaf is missing between ff. 176 and 177, and one between ff. 178 and 179). In quire XXXVI (= ff. 277–280), the third and the central bifolium are lost (that is four leaves are missing between ff. 278=279; see fig. 1).

Looking at the texts, we see that the two missing leaves in quire XXII were the final leaves of Homily 21, the two missing leaves in quire XXIII were the last and the last but four leaf of Homily 22, the four missing leaves in quire XXXVI contained the end of Homily 37 and the beginning of Homily 38 (but see paragraph 2.1 below). Moreover, the final part of Homily 38 is also missing, since the text ends abruptly in what is now the last leaf of the manuscript (f. 280v).[6]

To sum up, it is certain that eight leaves are now missing from the core of the manuscript, and we can assume that it is not complete at the end. At least a singleton or a bifolium was necessary to complete the text of Homily 38. Besides, it is not known whether Homily 38 was in fact the last text in the collection: others could have followed, so that we cannot say how many, if any, quires are now missing.[7]

The 36 extant quires are regularly signed, from ⲁ to ⲗⲋ, on first and last page, in the top inner margin.[8] Each signature is decorated above and below
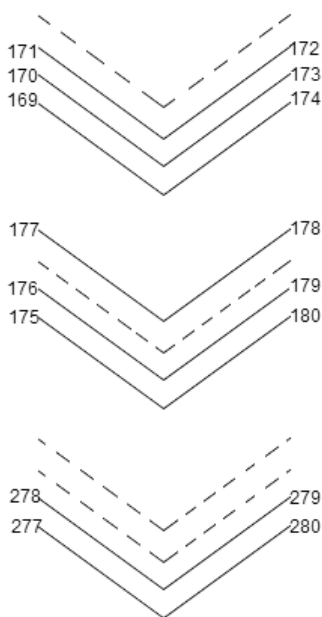

Fig. 1. Vat. copt. 57, quires XXII, XXIII, and XXXVI.

6   In fact, what remains of Homily 38 are only two leaves (ff. 279–280), or rather 'half-leaves', since their outer halves (and the upper margin of f. 280) are not preserved (and have been restored with modern parchment).

7   For the sake of completeness, one may observe that so rich a collection could be expected to be introduced by a title-index, listing the contents in their order of appearance (cf. e.g. the list of ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ prefixed to each Gospel in the above-mentioned Curzon Catena: London, British Library, Or. 8812). If it were so, the manuscript may have suffered a loss not only at the end, but also at the beginning, where a bifolium or a binion (of course without a quire signature: see below in the text) would have contained such introductory matter.

8   Only on f. 280v (last page of quire XXXVI) the signature is not preserved, due to material reasons (see n. 6 above).

with a horizontal rule and a wavy line, and is accompanied by a cross and some invocations in Greek and Coptic, inscribed in the central upper margin of the same initial and final pages of each quire: ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ✠ ⲛⲓⲕⲁ ('Jesus Christ is victorious'), ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ✠ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ('Jesus Christ the Word of the Father'), ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ✠ ⲩ̅ⲥ̅ ⲑ̅ⲩ̅ ('Jesus Christ the Son of God'), ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ✠ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ('The Word of the Father'), ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲏ̅ ('Jesus Christ the Life'), ⲩ̅ⲥ̅ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ✠ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲟⲩ ('The Son Word of the God'), ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ✠ ⲟ ⲑ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲙⲱ(ⲛ) ('Jesus Christ our God'), ⲩ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ [*sic*] ✠ ⲑⲉⲟⲩ ('Christ the Son of God'), ⲝⲓⲗⲟⲛ [*sic*] ✠ ⲍⲱⲏⲥ ('The Tree of Life').[9]

Pagination is present in the top outer margin, on the first page of each quire (i.e. odd numbers from ⲁ to ⲫ̅ⲝⲁ every 16: ⲁ, ⲓⲍ, ⲗⲅ, ⲙⲑ and so on), and on all the verso pages (i.e. even numbers from ⲃ to ⲫⲟⲇ), but there are many errors and inconsistencies.[10] The eight leaves now lost were comprised in the pagination, since the corresponding page numbers are now missing.[11] Like the quire signatures, each page number is decorated above and below with a horizontal rule and a wavy line.

Both the invocations (on the first and last page of a quire) and the pagination (only on the first page of the quire and on the verso pages) seem to be customary features of St Macarius parchment manuscripts, since they occur in nearly all the manuscripts acquired there by Assemani and now in the Vatican Library, as well as in the Curzon Catena.[12]

An ink foliation, from 1 to 280 (therefore *not* counting the eight missing leaves), is added in the top outer margin by an eighteenth-century hand.

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9   The crosses are often decorated: see ff. 8v–9r, 16v–17r, 24v, 32v–33r, 48v–49r, 56v–57r, 64v–65r, 72v–73r, 96v–97r, 104v–105r, 112v–113r, 144v, 153r, 160v–161r, 168v–169r, 174v–175r, 180v–181r, 189r, 196r–197r, 204v–205r, 212v–213r, 220v–221v, 228v–229r, 244v, 260v–261r, 269r, 277r.

10   Four verso pages bear no page number, that is f. 14v (expected number ⲕⲏ), f. 60v (ⲣ̅ⲕ), f. 81v (ⲣ̅ⲝⲃ), f. 153v (ⲧ̅ⲩ). Twleve pages bear a wrong number: f. 17r (ⲙⲑ instead of ⲗⲅ; ⲙⲑ is in fact the number of the first page of the next quire!), f. 102v (ⲥⲃ instead of ⲥⲇ), f. 103v (ⲥⲇ instead of ⲥⲩ), ff. 175v–180v (ⲥⲛⲇ, ⲥⲛⲩ, ⲥⲝ, ⲥⲝⲃ, ⲥⲝⲩ, ⲥⲝⲏ instead of ⲧⲛⲇ, ⲧⲛⲩ, ⲧⲝ, ⲧⲝⲃ, ⲧⲝⲩ, ⲧⲝⲏ, respectively), f. 226v (ⲥⲝ instead of ⲩⲝ), f. 260v (ⲫⲕⲅ instead of ⲫⲕⲏ), f. 264v (ⲫⲗⲏ instead of ⲫⲗⲩ).

11   The missing page numbers are: ⲧⲙⲇ and ⲧⲙⲩ (the two lost leaves of quire XXII), ⲥⲛⲏ and ⲥⲝⲇ (the two lost leaves of quire XXIII, certainly written, like the other page numbers of that quire, with the wrong ⲥ- instead of ⲧ-: see n. 10), ⲫⲝⲩ, ⲫⲝⲏ, ⲫⲟ, ⲫⲟⲃ (the four lost leaves in quire XXXVI). In quire XXXVI, the number of the last page is also missing (ⲫⲟⲩ on f. 280v), since the upper margin of the leaf is not preserved (see n. 6 and n. 8).

12   About this system of pagination, already Boud'hors 2012, 66, noted that it 'semble être l'habitude des manuscrits de parchemin du monastère de Saint-Macaire, et peut-être de Basse-Égypte en général'.

Sometimes the folio numbers have been trimmed, or have become faded, and have been repeated by a hand of the nineteenth or early twentieth century.[13]

The parchment is of poor quality, as it happens in the majority of Coptic manuscripts:[14] flesh and hair sides are highly different in colour and grain, and almost all leaves have irregular margins, holes, or eyes (now restored with modern parchment).[15]

The text is written in a single column, aligned left (written area: 170 × 300 mm). Each page has 36 to 38 lines, each line has 20 to 28 characters.[16] Paragraphs are marked with an enlarged initial in *ekthesis*. Punctuation is provided by a single or double raised dash, followed by a space.

Each homily is preceded by a title (see paragraph 4 below), written in a bimodular script inspired by the Greek Alexandrian majuscule.[17] The same writing is used for the page numbers, the quire signatures and the invocations, as well as for two prayers (in the standard pattern ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲭⲱ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲃⲟⲩⲓ, 'Bless me, forgive me; I am the disciple') added in ff. 200v and 211r, at the end of Homilies 26 and 27.[18]

The textual and numerical elements (texts, titles, invocations, prayers, quire signatures, and page numbers) are all written with the same brown ink, but there are some instances of use of red ink.[19]

The copyist left a blank space around each title, which in the majority of cases has been suitably occupied by a decorative frame, filled with interlaces of various patterns and colours. The frame at the beginning of Homily 1 (f. 1r) is of course the richest and most complex, as it not only surrounds the title, but also covers the outer and the lower margin of the page. Moreover, Homily 1 begins with a decorated initial (a large ⲛ with the vertical strokes filled with an interlace, and a knot in the middle of the oblique), and red ink is used for the first four lines of the text as well as for the first and third line of the title. Another 'enriched' frame, which covers the outer margin too, appears in f.

13 Usually in pencil, but in ink in ff. 134 and 142, and in pencil rewritten with ink in ff. 90, 92–104, 106–107, 117. In ff. 258 and 261 the nineteenth–twentieth-century hand has rewritten in pencil the eighteenth-century folio number.

14 See Buzi 2011, 14–15.

15 In f. 182v there are even remains of animal hair. In ff. 25, 67, 83, and 250 sewing repairs are visible.

16 Exceeding letters of the last line of the page are written below the end of the line in ff. 140r, 141r, 176r, 186r, and 271r.

17 It may be worth recalling that the bimodular Alexandrian majuscule is a very common type of *Auszeichnungsmajuskel* in Greek minuscule manuscripts.

18 See paragraph 3 on the supralinear corrections to the text written in this script.

19 Namely the page numbers in ff. 97v and 177v, and the complete set of page number, invocations and quire signature in ff. 1r, 81r, 88v–89r, 96v–97r, 104v–105r. On f. 1r see also below in the text.

179r, at the beginning of Homily 23: its scope is obviously to mark a major division in the codex, since Homily 23 opens the series of homilies devoted to the Pauline Epistles. The other frames usually surround the titles on three sides only (that is they are shaped like a square bracket, [or]), with a few exceptions, for which there seems to be no specific reason.[20] In addition to Homily 1, there are eleven instances of a decorated initial marking the beginning of a homily. Rather than being properly 'decorated', they are enlarged initials rewritten with coloured ink.[21]

The writing of the text is a calligraphic and yet fluid majuscule, whose general features are the square module of the letters (unimodularity), a sharp contrast of thick (verticals and descenders from left to right) and thin strokes (horizontals, ascenders and descenders from right to left), the presence of serifs. Such a script is clearly inspired by the Greek Biblical majuscule[22] and occurs not only in Vat. copt. 57, but appears to be the typical writing of the parchment manuscripts of St Macarius, so that it has been christened by coptologists 'Nitriot majuscule' (or 'Nitriot uncial').[23] It is interesting to observe that two of the aforementioned general features of the Nitriot majuscule (the sharp contrast of thick and thin strokes and the presence of serifs) are distinctive not of the 'canonical' form of the Greek Biblical majuscule (third to fourth century) but of the late examples of this script (the period of the so called 'decadence', from the fifth century on).[24]

Now, let us describe in detail the hand of Vat. copt. 57.

20 The title of Homily 11 (f. 74r) has no frame, but is followed by a band of dots and dashes and is accompanied by an elegant branch-shaped coronis, which covers part of the outer margin of the page. The titles of Homilies 17 (f. 136v), 25 (f. 188v), and 36 (f. 267r) have no frame at all. The title of Homily 18 (f. 141r) has a rectangular frame. The bracket-shaped frames surrounding the titles of Homilies 19 (f. 153v) and 31 (f. 230v) are depicted only in black ink, without insertion of colour. The title of Homily 37 (f. 272v) is framed by a simple rectangle, not filled with interlace.

21 See ff. 6v (Hom. 2), 14v (Hom. 3), 51v (Hom. 8), f. 59r (Hom. 9), 66v (Hom. 10), 90r (Hom. 12), 179r (Hom. 23), 196v (Hom. 26), 201r (Hom. 27), 218r (Hom. 29), 225r (Hom. 30).

22 Or 'Biblical uncial', as English-speaking scholars prefer to label it (see e.g. Wilson 1971).

23 See Boud'hors 1997, 120; Ead. 2012, 65.

24 On the Greek Biblical majuscule, see the pivotal study of Cavallo 1967, with updates and complements in Orsini 2005. Orsini also devoted a special study to the Coptic Biblical majuscule (Orsini 2008), but it is confined to Old Testament manuscripts in Sahidic dialect. As for the contrast of thick and thin strokes, I use here the term 'sharp' to indicate that the strokes could be *either* thick *or* thin, as it is the case in the late Greek Biblical majuscule (see Cavallo 1967, 76) and in the Coptic Nitriot majuscule, while there are also medium strokes in the canonical Greek Biblical majuscule (see Cavallo 1967, 4).

ⲁ: occurs both in the canonical[25] form (i.e. with left and central stroke forming an acute angle) and in the looped form (i.e. with the two aforementioned strokes forming a loop), which is typical of the late Biblical majuscule.

ⲃ: the upper loop is very small and pointed (it has in fact a triangular shape); the lower one is rounded in the outer part and straight at the base.

ⲅ: with a squared serif at the end of the horizontal.

ⲇ: sometimes with a serif at the left end of the base.

ⲉ, ⲑ, ⲟ, ⲥ: because of the shading, the four round letters appear to be vertically split (typical feature of the late Greek Biblical majuscule); the horizontal of ⲉ ends with a squared serif.

ⲍ: the oblique is thick and the horizontals thin (typical feature of the late Greek Biblical majuscule); the upper horizontal is very short, the lower one is prolonged below the line and ends with a serif.

ⲏ: with tall horizontal.

ⲕ: split (typical feature of the late Greek Biblical majuscule), with the upper oblique very short.

ⲗ: sometimes with a squared serif at the base of the left oblique.

ⲙ: the two obliques form a single curved stroke, thin and above the line, or sometimes descending below it. This shape seems to be a compromise between the canonical four-stroke ⲙ and the three-stroke ⲙ of the Alexandrian majuscule.[26]

ⲛ: with thin oblique and thick verticals (typical feature of the late Greek Biblical majuscule). At the end of line, it is sometimes replaced by a supralinear stroke.

ⲝ: the upper horizontal stroke is small and attached to the serpentine, which is prolonged below the line and ends with a squared serif.

ⲡ: the horizontal does not project over the verticals (that is remarkably a feature of the canonical Biblical majuscule: in the late Greek examples the horizontal is prolonged and ends with two serifs). However, it should be observed that, when ⲡ is followed by ⲉ, ⲟ or ⲣ, the horizontal is sometimes prolonged to the right and touches the upper part of the next letter.

ⲣ, ϥ: the vertical descends below the line, and is sometimes hooked at the base.

ⲧ, †: with hooked serif at both ends of the horizontal; in † the vertical too is sometimes hooked at the base.

25 The term 'canonical' refers of course to the canon of the *Greek* Biblical majuscule.

26 It is interesting to compare the shape of ⲙ in the Sahidic manuscripts analyzed by Orsini: in four strokes, both the obliques being thin (see Orsini 2008, 136, 142–143, 147). On the Greek side, in the canonical shape both the obliques are medium, while in the late Biblical majuscule the left oblique is thick and the right one is thin. So, the preference for a thin central part of the letter (be it in two or in a single stroke) can be considered a distinctive feature of the Coptic Biblical majuscule.

ⲩ: the sole letter that is completely not consistent with the canon of the Biblical majuscule, as its shape is rather inspired by the corresponding letter of the Alexandrian majuscule. The vertical stroke ends above the line and has a triangular shape, while both the obliques are rounded and end with a hooked or squared serif.

ⲫ: the loop is enlarged and elliptic, but often not symmetric (the right half is narrower and more pointed); the vertical is sometimes hooked at the base.

ⲭ: the descender from left to right is thick, straight and without serifs; the ascender is thin, wavy, starts sometimes below the line and ends with a squared or hooked serif.

ⲱ: the left loop is rounded, the right one squared.

ϣ, ⳃ: the prolonged tail ends with a squared serif and is usually above the line.

ⲉ: the central part is parallel to the line, and therefore thin.

ⲝ: the descender from left to right is thick, usually with no serif; the ascender is thin and ends with a squared or hooked serif; the base is prolonged over the obliques and sometimes has a round serif on its left end.

ϭ: has a round shape and the final stroke, being parallel to the line, is thin and ends with a squared or hooked serif (it looks like a minuscule Greek *sigma*: σ).

The characters described above are of course not exclusive to Vat. copt. 57, but for the most part they are common to all the manuscripts written in Nitriot majuscule. We can therefore consider this script as a canon, derived, as we have seen, from the Greek Biblical majuscule of the late type, with sporadic elements either of the canonical Biblical majuscule (ⲡ), or of alien origin (ⲙ, ⲩ, from the Alexandrian majuscule).[27]

Yet a canon in itself is quite an abstract entity, an ideal, formed by a group of hands showing a good deal of common features, but also several distinctive elements, which concern both the *impression d'ensemble* and the shape of single letters, or even of single parts of a letter. Every hand is the result of a complex balance of many factors, which make the identification of the same hand in more than one manuscript a particularly difficult, even tricky task, since even with all the visible similarities, there will always be at least one difference which will question the identification.

As far as Vat. copt. 57 is concerned, the general impression, as we have already noted, is of a carefully executed but at the same time fluid hand. In detail, we may consider the following letters distinctive: ⲁ (pointed), ⲍ, ⳍ, ⲡ (with ligature), ⲫ, ⲭ, ⲱ, ϣ, ⲉ, ⳃ, ⲝ.[28] Moreover, we must take into account

27 Of alien origin are also the seven additional characters of the Coptic alphabet, which are adapted to the 'rules' of the canon (but see n. 28).

28 Letters showing the highest degree of variation from hand to hand are, quite foreseeably, the additional characters of the Coptic alphabet, since there was no model for them to follow.

that the codex is equipped with a colophon (f. 184r: see paragraph 3) stating the name of the copyist: 'papa Theodoros the reader' (ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲱϣ), who accomplished his task for 'papa Biktor of the church of the great *abba* Macarius'.[29]

As a first step of our comparative inquiry, we may consider the St Macarius manuscripts in the Vatican Library, which are *not* equipped with colophon. As far as I have seen, none appears to have been written by the same hand as Vat. copt. 57. Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot judged the hand of Vat. copt. 58[1] = CLM 73 = CMCL MACA.AD (*In XLIX martyres Scetenses* = CC 0986) 'affinis' to that of Vat. copt. 57 and of British Library, Or. 8812,[30] but the comparison is untenable, since there are substantial differences in the shape of letters. Besides, in Vat. copt. 58[1] the vertical stroke of ⲣ, ⲫ, ⲩ, ⳙ, † is *consistently* pointed or hooked at the base, while that happens only sporadically in Vat. copt. 57 and in British Library, Or. 8812.

As a second step, we may scrutinize the St Macarius manuscripts equipped with a colophon, looking for references to a scribe named Theodoros. There are three such instances:

(1) Vat. copt. 63[4] = CLM 122 = CMCL MACA.CI (a Chrysostomic homily on 2Cor. 5, 17 = CC 0482), f. 105v: copied by 'the son Theodoros of Siout' (ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲁⲣⲟⲥ [*sic*] ⲥⲏ̄ ⲡⲣⲙ̇ⲛ̇ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲧ);[31]

(2) Vat. copt. 66[2–3] = CLM 133 = CMCL MACA.CU (*Vita Sinuthii* = CC 0481 and *Passio Isaac Tiphrensis* = CC 0280), f. 95r: copied in the year 924/925 CE by 'Theodoros, the spiritual son of father Abraam son of Koltha' (ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲙ̇ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲕⲟⲗⲑⲁ);[32]

(3) Brit. Lib., Or. 8812 = CLM 1468 (the Curzon Catena: see above), f. 116v: copied in the year 888/889 CE by 'Theodoros of Abū Ṣīr (ⲑⲉⲟⲇ( ) ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ), unworthy monk of the holy Laura of the great *abba* Macarius'.[33]

The hands of Theodoros 1 and 2 show substancial differences both between each other and from the hands of Theodoros 3 and of Theodoros 'the reader' (i.e. the scribe of Vat. copt. 57). The writing of Theodoros 1 is less regular and

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29 On the titles of *papa* and *abba*, see Derda and Wipszycka 1994.

30 Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 386.

31 Ed. Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 454.

32 Ed. ibid. 477–478. On palaeographical grounds, the two scholars assign to the same scribe also Vat. copt. 61[3] = CLM 98 = CMCL MACA.BG (Peter of Alexandria, *De divitiis* = CC 0311), 63[2] = CLM 120 = CMCL MACA.CG (*Passio Theodori Anatolii* = CC 0437), 66[1] = CLM 132 = CMCL MACA.CT (*Passio Ignatii Antiocheni* = CC 0512), 66[10] = CLM 139 = CMCL MACA.DD (*Passio Anub* = CC 0257): see Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 421, 452, 475, 487.

33 See Layton 1987, 391–392 and paragraph 3, n. 70.

accurate and adds more prominent serifs to the letters.[34] The writing of Theodoros 2 is rigid and compressed and does not even use the Alexandrian majuscule as *Auszeichnungsschrift*, but the same Nitriot majuscule as the text.[35]

There remains Theodoros 3, the scribe of the Curzon Catena: his hand (at least judging from the black and white images currently at my disposal, see n. 1) appears to be more 'solemn', but, if one compares it letter by letter with the hand of Vat. copt. 57, one has to admit a surprising amount of similarities, or rather a complete identity in shape.[36]

However, notwithstanding the similarity in the writing of the text, the two manuscripts show some differences in other respects, which cannot be totally dismissed. First of all in the ornamentation, since the decorated initials and the quire ornaments of the Catena are much more elaborate than those in Vat. copt. 57.[37] Secondly, the very colophons are written in different scripts: where the usual sloping majuscule is employed in Vat. copt. 57,[38] the Catena has the more formal Alexandrian majuscule. Finally, the same Alexandrian majuscule as *Auszeichnungsmajuskel* of the Catena is slightly different from that of Vat. copt. 57, as it has more pronounced serifs.

In this regard, I am inclined to think that the discrepancies are merely a consequence of the different content of the two manuscripts: a catena has many more internal partitions than a collection of homilies, and was perhaps considered a more 'venerable' book. In my opinion, the presence of a richer decoration and a more elegant *Auszeichnungsmajuskel* in the Curzon Catena could be accounted for by practical and ideological reasons, and should not serve as a counter-argument against the patent similarity of the main hands of the two manuscripts.

Therefore, I would maintain with some confidence that Vat. copt. 57 and British Library, Or. 8812 were written by the same scribe. I believe it is rea-

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34 In detail, we may observe at least ⲁ, ⲃ, ⲧ, ⲩ, ⲫ, ⲭ, ⲱ, ⲉ̣, ⲝ, ⲋ, which are different from the corresponding letters of the hand of Vat. copt. 57.

35 As distinctive letters, compare ⲙ, ⲣ, ⳡ, ⲉ̣, ⳅ, ⲝ.

36 The only relevant differences I have noticed are: (1) the loop of ⲫ, which in the Catena occurs only rarely in the 'asymmetric' shape; (2) the left loop of ⲱ, which in the Catena is usually more squared than in Vat. copt. 57. Note however that in the Catena the quite unusual ligature of ⲡ with ⲉ/ⲟ/ⲣ (and even with ⲁ) occurs, too.

37 On the contrary, the interlaces of the frames (see Brit. Lib., Or. 8812, ff. 2r, 121r) are very similar, if not identical, to those of Vat. copt. 57, but such ornamental motifs are in fact common to all the St Macarius manuscripts.

38 Or 'onciale penchée', on which see Boud'hors 1997.

sonable to identify him with the Theodoros (of Abū Ṣīr viz. the reader) who signed both colophons.[39]

As a matter of fact, an alternative view can be held, namely to assign to the same copyist only the transcription *of the text* of the two manuscripts, assuming that other scribes worked separately on each of them to add titles and ornamentation.[40] This scenario is not improbable, but Ockham's razor could perhaps tip the balance in favour of the 'simpler' hypothesis outlined above.

Be it as it may, if at least the identification of the main hands is accepted, the date of the colophon of Brit. Lib., Or. 8812 entitles us to assign (in broader terms) the transcription of Vat. copt. 57 to the second half of the ninth century.

As a conclusion, just a hint at a more general question concerning both Greek and Coptic palaeography. In his recent study of the Coptic Biblical majuscule, Pasquale Orsini observes that 'i manoscritti copti potrebbero fornire elementi utili per la definizione delle caratteristiche grafiche regionali della maiuscola biblica greco-egizia'.[41] In this connection, he mentions Guglielmo Cavallo's old hypothesis to locate the production of half a dozen Greek manuscripts in late Biblical majuscule showing similar palaeographical characteristics in the monasteries of the Wādī an-Nāṭrūn (they were all dated by Cavallo himself to the fifth or sixth century). Among them there are Washington, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, 06.275 (Pauline Epistles, 016 Aland, LDAB 3044, also known as 'Freer IV') and the three palimpsests Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 9 (lower script: New Testament, 04 Aland, LDAB 2930, also known as 'Ephraem rescriptus'), London, British Library, Add. 17210 (lower script: Homer's *Iliad*, LDAB 2231, also

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39 To be honest, the comparison between the hands of these two manuscripts was already proposed by Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 384, but they simply observed that 'prae scripturae indole, coetaneus videtur [i.e. Vat. copt. 57] codici Brit. Mus., Or. 8812', without even noticing the name shared by the scribes.

40 In this case, since the colophon of the Catena is written in the same script as the titles, we must assume that Theodoros of Abū Ṣīr (not the same person as Theodoros the reader) was not the scribe, but simply the rubricator/decorator of Brit. Lib., Or. 8812 alone. As for Vat. copt. 57, Agostino Soldati (see paragraph 3) has convincingly argued a connection between the colophon and a set of supralinear corrections added to the text of the manuscript up to f. 184r. So, we have two possibilities: (1) the text of Vat. copt. 57 and Brit. Lib., Or. 8812 was written by the same (anonymous) scribe, and then Theodoros the reader inserted the titles in Vat. copt. 57, corrected and decorated it, adding eventually the colophon, while Theodoros of Abū Ṣīr added titles, decorations, and a colophon in Brit. Lib., Or. 8812; (2) Theodoros the reader wrote the text of both Vat. copt. 57 and Brit. Lib., Or. 8812, but added titles, decorations, corrections and colophon only in the first manuscript, while the second was equipped with titles, decorations, and a colophon by his namesake of Abū Ṣīr.

41 Orsini 2008, 145.

known as 'Cureton Homer') and 17211 (lower script: Gospel of Luke, 027 Aland, LDAB 2892, also known as 'Codex Nitriensis').[42] This hypothesis was subsequently questioned by Edoardo Crisci, who proposed to locate all the manuscripts assigned by Cavallo to the Wādī an-Nāṭrūn in a 'Mesopotamian context', *except* the Freer IV and the Ephraem rescriptus, which Crisci judged not consistent with the other members of the group palaeographically.[43]

Indeed, comparing the hands of the Freer IV and the Ephraem rescriptus with the Coptic manuscripts in Nitriot majuscule, we see striking similarities in the shape of nearly all the letters. Even the letter π in the two Greek manuscripts appears in the same 'canonical' shape (i.e. with the horizontal not projecting over the verticals) we have already noticed in the Nitriot majuscule. That seems to be a very good reason for definitely acknowledging a Nitrian provenance for the Freer IV and the Ephraem rescriptus. If it is so, the 'regional variant' of the late Biblical majuscule they represent should be considered the very model for the formation of the canon of the Coptic Nitriot majuscule.

2. The literary content *(by Francesco Berno)*

As is well known, Vat. copt. 57 preserves solely and exclusively John Chrysostom's homilies, both authentic and spurious (whether erroneously attributed to the Archbishop of Constantinople or possibly derived from a Greek antigraph currently unavailable to us).[44]

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42 See Cavallo 1967, 87–93 (with facsimiles at tavv. 79, 81–83) and Orsini 2008, 147. For the Freer manuscript, see <http://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object. php?q=fsg_F1906.275>; for the digitized copies of the Paris palimpsest see <http:// archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc24008t>; of the London ones see <http:// www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_17210> and <http://www. bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_17211>. One of the reasons for this attribution was that the London palimpsests (reused together in the ninth century for the transcription of the Syriac text of the treatise against John Grammaticus by Severus of Antioch) were acquired in the mid–nineteenth century precisely in the Wādī an-Nāṭrūn, in the Monastery of the Syrians (but see the following note).

43 See Crisci 1996, 152. The palimpsest London, British Library, Add. 17210+17211 was indeed discovered in the Monastery of the Syrians, but it was not produced there. The upper Syriac text is accompanied by a colophon (Add. 17211, f. 53r) stating that 'it was written by one Simeon, recluse of the convent of Mār Simeon of Kartamīn, for Daniel, periodeutes of the district of Amid' (see Wright 1871, 548–550, no. 687). Wright agrees with Cureton's hypothesis that the manuscript was brought to Dāyr al-Suryān by its abbot Moses of Nisibis, who is in fact known to have conveyed to that monastery, in CE 932, 250 manuscripts collected during a visit to Baghdad and its neighbourhood.

44 On the *status quaestionis* regarding Chrysostom's homilies in Coptic, see Voicu 2011, 575–610. Cf. also Orlandi 1973, 330, and 2000, 497–573.

Actually, Chrysostom's homilies customarily show a bipartite structure: the first part offers an interpretation of the biblical passage, forming the core of Chrysostom's teaching; the second part (*ethikon*) contains the moral/par-aenetic exhortation, which the audience is invited to infer from the first part. Already in the Greek tradition, these ethical closes had often no specific re-lationship with the exegetical pericope.[45] Being generally free from learned concerns, they are obviously the most suitable to address a Coptic monas-tic audience and its liturgical needs. And indeed, the Bohairic[46] collection in Vat. copt. 57—which generally safeguards the relative place of each homily, by declaring its corresponding order in the Greek series upon which it re-lies—seems to avoid carefully the exegetical sections of the original texts, translating only the exhortative second part of its model. Besides, as we shall see more in detail, the correspondence between Coptic and Greek *ethika* is anything but exact, the latter failing at overlapping with the former in most cases. Significant mismatches occur, in particular, in sections[47] 5, 8, 9, 10, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, and 36.

Several pieces of evidence help us see an order behind the apparent-ly chaotic arrangement of the codex. The most important are the numerous scribal notes that seem to hint at a coherent internal structure, presumptive-

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45 Further details on this quite peculiar structure of Chrysostom's homiletic Greek texts are available in Barkhuizen 1995, 43 ('[t]he general structure or composition of the exegetical homilies of Chrysostom reveals a clearly defined twopart division – an exegetical first part, followed by an ethical or moral second part'). See also Moulard 1941, 62.

46 For the hypothesis that Vat. copt. 57 was a translation from a Sahidic model, see Voi-cu 2012, 152. It has to be remarked that, with the eventual exception of ff. 31r–34v (see n. 57 below) and of ff. 74r–89v, no Sahidic translation of Chrysostom's hom-ilies is consistent with the Bohairic versions preserved in the Vat. copt. 57. Thus, one could suppose that this codex was intentionally designed to fill a void in the Coptic reception of Chysostom's work, in the context, however, of an immediate and practical capability of the manuscript. Nevertheless, the analysis carried out by Kim 2018, 92–96, raises the possibility of a Sahidic antigraph behind the extant ver-sion of the homily *De remissione peccatorum* (CC 0598). Further research should examine the practicability of extending his remarks to the other textual units of the codex. New light on a possible role played by one or more Sahidic antigraph(s) can be shed by the titles (see paragraph 4).

47 Throughout this essay, I avoid the use of the symbol § (which, as a mere instance, precedes the Chrysostomic homilies in Voicu 2011) in order to underline the pro-nounced independence and self-sufficiency assigned to each textual section by the final redactor of the manuscript (see also paragraph 4 for the role played by the titles).

ly consistent with a Paschal cycle.[48] It is worth observing at this point that there is a quite clear division into two parts: the first half of Vat. copt. 57 is made up of homilies on canonical Gospels (in the order Lk/Mt/Jn), while the second one consists of homilies on Paul's Letters (in the following, far more puzzling, order: 2Thes/1Thes/2Thes/1Cor/Tm/Tit/Col), demonstrating, *inter alia*, its dependence on the New Testament model.[49] Among the above mentioned notes, four *marginalia*—on ff. 136v (†ⲙⲁⲅ︤ⲅ︥† ⲛ̄ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛ︤ ⲅ̄︥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ),[50] 141r (ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲅ︤ⲃ︥ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲅⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⳹ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱϣ),[51] 153v (ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲅ︤ⲅ̄︥ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲃ︤ ⲛ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲓⲧ),[52] and 256v (ⲡⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⳉⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ⲉⲛ †ⲙⲁⲅ︤ⲇ̄︥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲏⲡ)[53]—show that our codex was actually used as a (Holy Week?) lectionary, or, at least, was perceived as such, although it is impossible to determine whether this usage was original or not.[54] The paraenetic attitude that presided over the selection of our homilies speaks in favour of the former option (*sed contra*, it could be noted that the wide-spread character of the Coptic management of Greek homiletic *corpora*, whose main concern was to enucleate solely the moral subject of its model, threatens to make this argument more questionable, and the case of Vat. copt. 57 far less specific).

    Finally, as far as I can see—and also in view of the uncertainties about this manifold issue in the Greek tradition itself,[55]—it is not possible to identify an even vague conformity between the selection of the homilies collected in Vat. copt. 57 and their provenance from Chrysostom's Antiochene or Constantinopolitan period.

48 According to Voicu 2011, 599–600, 'la grande raccolta del Vat. copt. 57 [è] strutturata secondo un ciclo pasquale bizantino di cui non esistono attestazioni prima dell'età giustinianea'. On Coptic Holy Week Lectionaries, see at least Burmester 1932, Zanetti 1983, Sauget 1987, Zanetti 1995, and Suciu 2014, esp. 677–679.

49 This structural arrangement seems to be quite characteristic of Chrysostom's homilaries. See Voicu 1977.

50 'The 3rd Sunday of Pentecost, three homilies in sequence (?)'.

51 'This [homily] is the 2nd after the 1st, in his day of reading'.

52 'This [homily] is the 3rd after the 1st'.

53 'The last Sunday, furthermore. To be read the 4th Sunday of Epēp'.

54 According to Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 375 ('[t]itolo homiliae praemittitur rubrica, ut videtur, saec. XIII'), these insertions date back to the thirteenth century, which is at least three centuries after the production of the codex. Another cluster of problems arises from the insertion on f. 66v, which appears to be much more generic, for which I refer to paragraph 3 below.

55 For example, the degree of internal consistency, from a geographical point of view, of the Greek series, which could be made up of non-consecutive homilies. On this vexed matter, I refer to Mayer 2005.

A synoptic and comprehensive overview of the content of Vat. copt. 57, with the indication of the new Coptic *clavis* entries attributed to each homily by the CMCL at the request of the PATHs project, as well as of some open questions, is provided in Table 1.

2.1. Outstanding issues: the cases of Coptic Homilies 5, 31, and 38.

In the following, I would like to highlight three issues that deserve more specific research to be definitively clarified.

The first issue concerns Coptic Homily 5, devoted to Mt 26:17 (Vat. copt. 57, ff. 31r–34v).[56] This is a doubly composite text: the first section was taken from the last part of the exegetical passage and the first part of the moral passage of Greek Homily 82 (*PG* 58, 742, 6–58, 743, 9),[57] and the second section, from the last lines of the *ethikon* of Greek Homily 81 (*PG* 58, 736, 19–58, 738, 27). While it is not possible to go in more depth here into the reasons (if any) that led to such a peculiar textual unification, it has to be noted that there is a thematic continuity between these two passages, namely the reflection on free will and free choice. It cannot be excluded that the second text aimed at rectifying the excessive anthropological pessimism of the first—where free will is said to be inadequate and insufficient to save humankind—by stating that a proper exercise of the human will is able to escape future punishments.[58]

The second, even more complex, issue regards Coptic Homily 31, the first of the three *excerpta* dedicated to 1Cor (Vat. copt. 57, ff. 230v–236r). The text at the beginning, ff. 230v ll. 5–11, is taken from *PG* 61, 11, 31–34 (the *argumentum*). The Homily opens with the quotation from 1Cor 3:1 and the related Chrysostom's commentary, which I read as follows:

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ ϣϭⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱ|ⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲡⲛ(ⲉⲩⲙ)ⲁⲧⲓⲕⲱⲥ· ⲉϥⲟⲩ|ⲱⲛϩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏ ⲉ|ⲧⲉϣⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϫⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁϯⲁⲥⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓϫⲓⲛϣϭⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉϭⲱⲧⲉⲙ

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56 Cf. Lucchesi 2010, 19–37.

57 Independent evidences reveal that Greek Homily 82, in its Coptic translation(s), has been the subject of substantial reworking and redrafting processes. See the Sahidic excerpt from CPG 4335, consistent with *PG* 49, 370, 3 and ff., which seems to preserve a divergent redaction of our homily. See Lucchesi 2010, 32–33. On the possible relation with PN 131.1.37, cf. Voicu 2011, 584 and Porcher 1933, 240. For the reconstruction of MONB.CP (= CLM 323), see Orlandi 2008, 17–18.

58 *In obliquo*, I would note the significant use of the polished Stoic image (see, Anthistenes, *Ulixes* 14, Ariston [*apud* Stobaeus, *Eclogues* II, 31, 95, and, under the name of Ἀριστώνυμος, in *Florilegium* III, 1, 97] and, lastly, Seneca, *Ad Lucilium* 30, 3) relating to the skillful 'sailor/pilot', who is able to navigate his own ship both in stormy and calm seas, like the virtuous soul, which can control its own body under any circumstances. Obviously, this image is rooted in the Homeric 'πολύτροπος'.

CC	Section No. Vat. Copt. 57	No. Greek series	Content	CPG/PG	Notes
0596	1 (ff. 1r–6r)		Lk 12:16	4969/deest	The Coptic dictate seems to adhere to the Greek text in Vat. gr. 569, ff. 336r–339v. For the possible attribution to a Cappadocian author, see Voicu 2000.
0941	2 (ff 6v–14r)	21	Mt 6:24	4424/57.293–300	
0597	3 (ff 14v–22v)	22	Mt 6:28	4424/57.299–308	The title describes the following text as an excerpt from the original *ethikon*. Nevertheless, the Coptic translation covers the Greek homily in its entirety.
0598	4 (ff. 23r–30v)		De remissione peccatorum (Mt 18:18)	4629/60.759–764	The title describes the following text as an excerpt from the original *ethikon*. Nevertheless, the Coptic translation covers the Greek homily in its entirety. See Kim 2018.
0945	5 (ff. 31r–34v)	82/81	Mt 26:17	4424/58.742–843;736–738	See paragraph 2.1.
0599	6 (ff. 35r–45r)	2	Mt 1:1	4424/57.023–032	
0942	7 (ff. 45v–51r)	50	Mt 14:23	4424/58.507–510	The title states that the following homily stems from Greek Homily 49, instead of 50.
0943	8 (ff. 51v–58v)	52	Mt 15:21	4424/58.522–574	
0944	9 (ff. 59v–66r)	58	Mt 17:21	4424/58.569–574	
0600	10 (ff. 66v–74r)		De salute animae	4031/4622. Cf. 60.735–738	The dictate of this homily is traced back to Ephrem, *Oratio in uanam uitam, et de paenitentia*, by Assemani 1746, 308–314.
0081	11 (ff. 74v–89v)		Quod deus non est auctor malorum	2853/31.332–353	This is an authentic homily of Basil of Caesarea. The correct attribution was known also in Coptic environments, as stated by the Sahidic CLM 414 (MONB.GS; see Devos and Lucchesi 1981). However, the first ten lines of the Coptic text cannot be found in Basil.
0601	12 (ff. 90v–97v)		In parabolam de ficu	4588/59.585–590	For the possible attribution to a Cappadocian author, see Voicu 2002, 333–346. Cf. also Proverbio 1985.
0602	13 (ff. 98r–111v)		In diem Natalem	4334/49.351–362	
0603	14 (ff. 112r–122r)		In Theophania	4522/7900(4)/(50.805–808)	To be attributed to Leontius of Constantinople. The provided *PG* reference is to the *In S. Theophania, seu baptismum Christi*, a composite pseudo-Crysostomian homily made up of the second part of Leontius' *In Theophania* and other original sections. See Datema 1981.
0604	15 (ff. 122v–131v)	30	Gen 1:11	4409/53.273–282	
0605	16 (ff. 132v–136v)		Ps 48:6	4413/55.226–229	The correspondence with *PG* is partial.

Table 1. A Synoptic Overview of Vat. Copt. 57 (by Francesco Berno).

CC	Section No. Vat. Copt. 57	No. Greek series	Content	CPG/PG	Notes
0606	17 (ff. 136v–140v)		De Samaritana (Jn 4:5)	5003/deest	The Coptic dictate seems to partially adhere to the Greek text in MS Oxford, Bodl. barocc. 212, f. 292 and Mosw. 271, f. 335. See 'notes' to Coptic Homily 12.
0607	18 (ff. 141r–153v)		De Samaritana (Jn 4:5)	4581/59.535–542	
0608	19 (ff. 153r–158v)		De Samaritana	4653/61.743–746	According to Voicu 2011, 593, it is likely that this homily results from a lost Greek model, since Vat. copt. 57 allegedly consists exclusively of Coptic translations of known Greek texts.
0609	20 (ff. 158r–166r)	22	Jn 2:4	4425/59.133–138	
0610	21 (ff. 166v–171v)		In Annunciationem	4677/62.763–766	
0611	22 (ff. 172r–178v)		Cum Saturninus et Aurelianus	4393/52.413–420	
0612	23 (ff. 179r–184r)	4	2Thes 2:6	4435/62.489–492	
*0997	24 (ff. 184v–188v)	5	2Thes 3:3	4435/62.497–500	
*0998	25 (ff. 188v–196v)	11	1Thes 5:19	4434/62.464–468	
*0999	26 (ff. 196v–200v)	4	1Thes 3:5	4434/62.420–422	
*1000	27 (ff. 201r–211r)	8	1Thes 4:14	4434/62.439–446	
*1001	28 (ff. 211v–217v)	1	2Thes 1	4435/62.467–472	
*1002	29 (ff. 218r–225r)	2	2Thes 1:1	4435/62.475–480	
*1003	30 (ff. 225r–230r)	3	2Thes 1:9	4435/62.482–486	
0613	31 (ff. 230v–236r)	*argumentum*/1/2	1Cor 1:1	4428/61.11.31–34; 13–14; 20–22	See paragraph 2.1.
*1004	32 (ff. 236v–347r)	9	1Cor 3:12	4428/61.075–082	
*1005	33 (ff. 247r–256v)	18	1Cor 6:15	4428/61.146–152	
0614	34 (ff. 256v–262v)	15	1Tm 5:11	4436/62.583–586	The title states that the following homily stems from Greek Homily 12, instead of 15.
0615	35 (ff. 262r–267r)	1	Tit 1	4438/62.667–670	
*1006	36 (ff. 267r–272v)	3	Tit 1:12	4438/62.679–682	
0616	37 (ff. 272v–278v)	9	Col 3	4433/62.359–364	
0617	38 (ff. 279r–280v)	deest	fragmentum	deest/deest	The title is lost, but there is no reason to doubt that this unidentified homily was also attributed to Crysostom. See paragraph 2.1.

*   The CC marked with * have been attributed by CMCL at the request of PAThs, on the occasion of our analysis of this manuscript.

'As for me, I could not speak to you in the lively way of the spirituals. This is (not) due to that irresoluteness which occurs to it in front of an *aporia*, but is due to the weakness of those who had the opportunity to listen'.

Οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ὑμῖν λαλῆσαι ὡς πνευματικοῖς. Δηλονότι οὐ παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπορίαν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀσθένειαν τὸ μὴ πολλὰ ἀκοῦσαι γέγονε.

Subsequently, from f. 230v l. 12 to f. 233 l. 8, the text adheres to *PG* 61, 13, 30–61, 14, 3, that is to a short exegetical section extracted from the final part of Greek Homily 1. From f. 233 l. 9 to the end (f. 236r), the text complies (partially) with the *ethikon* of Greek Homily 2 (*PG* 61, 20, 40–61, 22, 46). In this case, a content-oriented analysis does not seem to help, since no satisfactory explanation arises from a joined reading of these two excerpts. Indeed, Coptic Homily 31 begins—after the aforementioned passage from the *argumentum*—by quoting from Eph 2:8,[59] and, from then on, follows the Greek dictate, which (not without a certain degree of inconsistency) turns to stress the importance of unity and harmony within the Christian Church. Here, the Coptic homily stops following Greek Homily 1 and overlaps with Homily 2, where we find that the scope of moral compass is alien to the notion of 'nature', i.e. no one is virtuous or wicked κατὰ φύσιν.

As for the fragmentarily preserved Coptic Homily 38 (ff. 279r–280v), we know[60] that this textual section begins somewhere in the four leaves missing between ff. 278v and 279r. They are said to have accommodated the end of Homily 37 and the beginning of Homily 38. Thus, the first line of f. 279r (ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲟ̅ⲉⲣⲧ[ⲉⲣ) is attributed to Homily 38.

Yet, the last words before the supposed gap, at the bottom of f. 278v, are 'ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ϩⲱϥ· ⲁϥⲧⲱϩϥ | ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ· ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ |

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59 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἐφεσίοις γράφων ἔλεγε· Χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν. Οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ὁλόκληρος· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐπιστεύσατε προλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ κληθέντες ὑπηκούσατε. Σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὐ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου. Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν. Translation: ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ | ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ | ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟϧⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁϩϯ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ | ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲗⲟⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛ | ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲫⲁϥ(ⲛⲟⲩ)ϯ ⲡⲉ·ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ | ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ· ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ | ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲗϩⲉⲛ̀ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ̀ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ | ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲁⲛ | ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛϭ(ⲟⲓ)ⲥ ⲓⲏ(ⲥⲟⲩ)ⲥ ⲡⲭ(ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟ)ⲥ· ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲫⲁⲫⲏ ⲁⲛ | ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲁⲓ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛϭ(ⲟⲓ)ⲥ ⲓⲏ(ⲥⲟⲩ)ⲥ | ⲡⲭ(ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟ)ⲥ ϧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲧⲉⲛ | ⲛⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲛ ('Hence, writing to the Ephesians, he said: *by grace have you been saved through faith*, *and this not for yourselves*, not even the faith is yours altogether [the glory of God]; for you were not first with your belief, but obeyed a call, with all who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Not *for this or that man*, but in *the name of the Lord*').

60 Already from Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 328; see also paragraph 1 and n. 11 above.

ϫⲉⲉⲑⲃⲉⲟⲩ ⲕⲱϣ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ'. Joining the two passages—allegedly interrupt-
ed by an eight-page lacuna—we read:

> ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ϩⲱϥ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ | ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ· ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ | ϫⲉⲉⲑⲃⲉⲟⲩ ⲕⲱϣ
> ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ ‖ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲑⲉⲣⲧ[ⲉⲣ.[61]

which, apparently at least, is a quite consistent[62] translation of *PG* 62, 364,
14–17, that is of the obvious continuation of Coptic Homily 37 (Greek Hom-
ily 9) on Col 3:

> Ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωϋσῆς οὕτως ηὔχετο, καὶ ἠκούσθη· φησὶ γάρ· Τί βοᾷς πρός με; Καίτοι γε
> οὐδὲν εἶπεν ἀλλ' ἐβόα κατὰ διάνοιαν μετὰ καρδίας συντετριμμένης·

We can try to explain this unexpectedly perceived textual continuity only
tentatively. The first option to be taken into consideration is the mere chance.
Yet, it seems extremely unlikely that, after a textual gap, the codex would
accidentally start again with a pericope that can be easily related to the end of
the previous incomplete section, and then the dictate would continue (without
a new title, or any other paratextual marks) with an unidentified work that
shows no affinity to Greek Homily 9 on Col 3. Under these circumstances,
another supposition cannot be completely ruled out, namely that, in providing
a new binding to the manuscript after the Vatican acquisition of the parchment
codex from the library of St Macarius (or maybe sooner), the learned restorer
who was (re?)-binding Vat. copt. 57 could fall victim of a *saut du même au
même*. In the eventual presence of scattered leaves, it is not totally implausible
that he completed the Coptic translation of 'Τί βοᾷς πρός με' with an expres-
sion that could echo 'μετὰ καρδίας συντετριμμένης'. Yet, the evidence that
ff. 278 and 279 form a bifolium speaks conclusively against this possibility.
If there had been an actual textual continuity, it would be thus far more likely
that the mistake had been made before the insertion of the ancient pagination.
Further research is required to analyse the unidentified textual section in its
entirety. Given all the above, at present this could be only mentioned as a
phenomenon of 'textual pareidolia'.

It is worth mentioning that, when we look at the Coptic reception of
Chrysostom's works, homilies that combine passages from different works
are not isolated cases. As part of an ongoing broader analysis of the structure
and content of MONB.CR (= CLM 325),[63] I focused my attention on the com-
position of the long Sahidic homily preserved *in extenso* in IB.11.85–99 (ⲣⲗ–

61 'For Moses also in this way prayed, and was heard, for He said, 'Why do you cry
    unto Me?'; albeit he said nothing, but cried in thought with a contrite heart'.

62 However, I must point out that the second Coptic sentence has a plural subject,
    which is not possible to find in its alleged Greek model.

63 Analysis that led, *inter alia*, to the identification of the precise width of the frag-
    ments (*PG* 49, 244, 66–49, 245, 27; 49, 250, 54–49, 251, 11) preserving the 1st
    Greek homily *De diabolo tentatore* (CPG 4332), respectively in IB.11.81–82 ([ⲛⲉ]–

ⲣⲚⲎ). Actually, the text appears to be the *cento* of three consecutive Chrysostomic homilies on the Gospel (CPG 4425; nos. 45, 46, 47),[64] the initial title clearly hinting at the composite nature of the text.[65] In particular, I would like to emphasize the marked liberty of redrafting, emending, cutting, and recomposing the original Greek model(s) that the final redactor of these homilies proves to have reached.[66] *In obliquo*, it remains to be said that any research on the Coptic notion of 'literary work' must seriously consider such a freedom as one of the most problematic issues (and, at the same time, as one of the most characterizing features) of Coptic literature.

Coptic Homilies 5, 31, and 38 are just three eye-catching instances. As shown in Table 1, numerous minor outstanding questions regarding peculiar textual arrangements generously dot the Vat. copt. 57, and make it an extremely significant (and quite unexplored) subject of research.

3. The colophon, *the marginalia, and some corrections (by Agostino Soldati)*

Eventually, all that there is left to do is to rake through the paratexts and some extra-scribal features scattered across the manuscript. 'Perhaps the colophon was placed there, because, for some reason, most of f. 184r had been left blank'.[67] Such is the explanation Sever Voicu provided to the unconventional position of the scribal subscription informing us about the scribe, the donor, as

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ⲚⲎ) and WK.09827 (ⲡⲁ–ⲡⲃ). IB.11.82v, col. 2, as well as IB.11.083, show peculiar variations on the Greek dictate, which deserve specific attention.

64 The first section goes from the beginning of the homily to 90v, col. 2, l. 3, and adheres to *PG* 59, 255, 48–59, 258, 10 (with a gap, in the Greek text, of five lines before 59, 256, 31); the second is from 90v, col. 2, lin. 4 to 95r, col. 2, l. 4, and adheres to *PG* 59, 260, 53–59, 262, 54 (with a gap between 59, 262, 8 and 59, 262, 14); the third runs from 95r, col. 2., l. 5 to the end of the text, and adheres to *PG* 59, 268, 18 – 59, 270, 14. Further detail on the relationship between the Greek model and its Sahidic translation shall be provided by forthcoming contributions.

65 See Buzi 2009, 248, and Zoëga 1810, 607–608 (Num. CCLII). The 'ϩⲟⲙⲟⲓⲱⲥ' which opens the *inscriptio* is due to the continuity of the homily with the immediately preceding text (ⲣⲕⲑ–ⲣⲗ), which preserves a slightly redrafted version of the last lines (*PG* 59, 172, 10–20) of Chrysostom's 29th homily on John.

66 This shows that the notion itself of *pseudoepigrapha* (as well as the related categories of *genuina*, *dubia*, and *spuria*) can be highly misleading, even more in a Coptic environment. As for Chrysostom's Coptic reception, Voicu 2008, 61, effectively remarks that 'le opzioni di autenticità applicabili a Cristostomo si sono moltiplicate e diversificate'. See also Mayer 2017, 979–981.

67 Voicu 2012, 152. The text is edited, with Latin translation, in Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 384.

well as the monastic *milieu* where manuscript Vat. Copt. 57 was copied.[68] The text, written in the customary sloping uncial, bears no date and reads:

ⲥⲩⲛ ⲑ(ⲉⲱ) ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓ ϣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲡϯⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ̀ⲫϯ | ⲛⲉⲙⲡϭⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ · ⲡⲁⲡⲁ | ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϯⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ |⁵ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲣⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ | ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲛ(ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧ) ⲓⲕ(ⲟⲥ) (ⲟⲩⲟϩ) ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ϧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ϯⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ | ⲙ̀ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ. | (ⲟⲩⲟϩ) ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϣⲱ |¹⁰ ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲣⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲉϥⲯⲩⲭⲏ·ϫⲉⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ | ⲁⲧϥⲓⲫⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ (*sic*)[69] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁϥⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ | ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥϧⲏⲧⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛⲡϫⲱⲙ | ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ (ⲟⲩⲟϩ) ⲁⲙⲏⲛ (ⲟⲩⲟϩ) ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϯ

'With God. This occasion of remembrance of this good (ἀγαθός) book occurred with the assent of God as well as the taking care of the faithful (πιστός) laymen (λαός), papa Biktōr of the tent (σκηνή) of the great Abba Makari, remember him who is alive, might the Lord have mercy of him with his spiritual (πνευματικός) sons and when he would pass away from this life, might he give rest to his blessed (μακαρία) soul (ψυχή) with his saints and remember of papa Theodōros[70] the reader, might the Lord have mercy of his soul (ψυχή), because he took care of the holy writings (γραφή), he copied them, might the Lord Jesus the Christ write his name in the book of those who are alive, amen and amen and amen'.

68 However, f. 184r is not the only page to have been filled only partially. Blanks were also left at the bottom of ff. 6r, 14r, 30v, 34v, 51, 58v, 66, 89v, 97v, 111v, 131v.

69 About the quite awkward dissimilatory change ϥϥ > ⲧϥ, apparently affecting also the (sometimes homophonic?) cluster ⲅϥ, see the instances gathered by van Lant-schoot 1929, II 62, 9 ad XCII, 25–26. Rather than to a hardly explainable phonetic phenomenon, one could refer the writing to an abnormal analogous influence of the frequent abstract ⲙⲛ̅ⲧϥⲁⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ.

70 The scribal subscription of the Curzon Catena, London, British Library, Or. 8812, f. 116v (see paragraph 1 above), written in an accurate Alexandrian majuscule, exhibits a phrasing quite inconsistent with that employed by papa Theodōros the reader: ϯϯϩⲟ ⲓⲥ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϩⲟⲡⲟⲥ | ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲁⲡⲓ|ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲧⲁϥⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲑⲉⲟⲇ( ) ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙ̀ϣⲁ ⲙ̀|ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟ(ⲥ) ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲩⲣⲁ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲁⲕ`ⲁ́ⲣ(ⲓⲟⲥ) |⁵ [[ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ]] ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉ̀ⲧ́ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲡϣⲓⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ | (ⲟⲩⲟϩ) ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟ(ⲩ) ⲧ ⲟⲛ ἁⲅⲓⲟ(ⲛ) Μ(α)ρτ(ύρων) ⲭ̅ⲉ̅. 'I beseech, lo, I feel contrition (μετάνοια), keep my remembrance, so that (ὅπως) might my Lord Jesus the Christ have mercy of me and of you. I am the distressed (ταλαίπωρος) one who copied, Theod( ) (from) Pousiri, the unworthy monk (μοναχός) of the holy monastery (λαύρα) of the great abba Makari(os), might he preserve me from the shame of the chastisements (κόλασις). Amen and amen, (so) be it, (so) be it. In the year of the Holy Martyrs 605'. The text was edited by de Lagarde 1886, who surprisingly read ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲕ, pointing out in apparatus that 'ⲕ vocis ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲕ non certus lego: possit ⲛ esse. versui imposita pr m haec littera'. On closer inspection, the interlinear addition is the quite usual oblique ⲧ. At the beginning of the line there are obvious relics of the classical Bohairic subjunctive ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-, then rectified by the younger *nitrische Form* devoid of ⲛ̀-.

As far as the extra-scribal annotations offered by the manuscript are con-
cerned, the most obtrusive feature is the Arabic writing traced beside each
title in the external margin of the page.[71] In the majority of the occurrences
it appears as سحه, sometimes vocalized with a *fatḥah* on the first syllable (ff.
35r, 66v, 196v: سَحته), in further instances, perhaps erroneously, as سحبه (f. 31r)
or even سحیه (f. 166v).[72] Four times (ff. 45v, 51v, 66v, 122v) such Arabic word
cohabits with an annotation in slender Greek minuscule σχετϕ traced in the
external upper corner of the page. [73] Only once (f. 22v) an apparently analo-
gous σχετ occupies the same place in a page which does not host a title. In
such case it is perhaps to be referred to the one bedizening the facing page (f.
23r). Thrice (ff. 51v, 66v, 74r) سحته is combined with a Coptic indication ⲥⲟⲕⲥ,
occurring in its second instance within the *marginale* ⲱϣ ⲛ̀ϥⲁⲓ | ⲉ̀ⲛⲣⲉϥ|ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ
| ⲥⲟⲕⲥ, underneath whom there is a compendious| ϣ̄ⲧ̄ϣ (perhaps ϣⲱϣⲧ,
'stop'?). This advice to read 'for the dead persons' the Chrysostomic homily
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ⳿ⲅⲑⲟⲩ ⲭⲏ ⳪ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲡⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲉϥⲗⲏⲟⲩ is due to a starkly naïve Coptic
hand, which seems nevertheless having employed the very same ink of the
decisively more confident ubiquitous Arabic word. Conversely, the aforesaid
Greek notes are traced with a brighter ink, nearly selfsame with the one of the
pagination as well as of the *marginalia* ⲥⲟⲅⲓ 'correct' (f. 23v), ⲛⲁⲙⲉ 'truly' (f.
220v) and c( ) 'ante interrogationes' (ff. 101v, 102r, 110r) or ⲭ( ) (14v).

Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot explained *dubitatim* سحته as a rendering
in Arabic letters of ⲥⲃⲏⲧϥ, 'write it', and ⲥⲟⲕⲥ as a hint 'quod vocis tonum
forsan respicit', embracing Crum's cautious suggestion that such Boḥairic
marginal rubric would mean 'continue, start (here)', as opposed to ⲭⲁⲕ/ⲭⲁⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, 'cease, pause (here)', or rather a clue pertaining to the mode of recital.[74]
Firstly, the matching of سحته to ⲥⲃⲏⲧϥ, and hence to σχετϕ, its 'dialect G' writ-
ing, seems to be quite awkward. The Coptic personal suffix (-ϥ) in the alleged
rendering through Arabic script would have been expressed by ف rather than
ه. Since it seems very unlikely that the two scholars could see in the form a
hybridization, in which the Arabic personal suffix ه- was added to the Coptic

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71 See the detailed survey offered by Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 383–384.
72 Delio Vania Proverbio kindly informed me *per litteras* that he would read 'talvolta
     مخنه (مَخَنَة), *ingresso, introito*'.
73 What Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot interpreted as an η is indeed the upright ε
     characteristic of the medieval Egyptian Greek minuscule in ligature with τ. The di-
     alect G writing σχετϕ clearly reflects the Boḥairic ⲥⲉⲛⲧϥ yet untouched by itacistic
     pronounce, see Kasser 1975, 417, cp. Fayyūmic ⲥⲅⲉⲧⲉ.
74 Crum 1939, 362. The note ⲭⲁⲕ doubtfully discerned by Hebbelynck and van Lant-
     schoot in ff. 35r and 110v seem rather the even murky ⲕⲏϥ and ⲭⲱⲓ (f. 35r) and the
     onomastic (?) ⲭⲁⲉⲗⲥ (f. 110v).

 cϵнтϩ,[75] I suggest that the meaning of سحته should be searched for in the Arabic linguistic domain. If the last letter is indeed the *hāʾ* of the masculine pronominal suffix and not the *tāʾ marbūṭah* of a debatable substantival *addendum lexicis*, it appears licit to discern in the word a form of the verb سحت (*saḥata*) endowed with a pronominal suffix (*saḥatahu*). I wonder if in such context the root, usually meaning *perdere*, *eradicare*, could not be tentatively interpreted as *id excerpsit*.[76] The same sense, perhaps, could not be excluded for cⲱⲕ, notoriously translating ἀποσπᾶν, ἐκλέγειν, ἐκθερίζειν,[77] so that one might even be induced to deem سحته and cⲟⲕc equivalent, both albeit well distinguished from σχετϥ/cⲃⲏⲧϥ. Actually, on a closer inspection, the latter indication, rather than a form of cⲃⲁⲓ could be interpreted as belonging to cⲭⲁⲓ (cⲭⲏⲧϩ), by means of which usually ἀροτριᾶν, but once also ἕλκειν[78] are rendered. Thus, it could not be excluded that, in such instances, also σχετϥ might correspond to cⲟⲕc and to the puzzling سحته. In light of the abovementioned conjectural interpretation, were the titles perceived as summaries of the corresponding textual sections? *Doctiores videant*.

Beside these somehow baffling *marginalia*, the manuscript bears several amendments ascribable to readers, whose mention, understandably, is missing in the lavish Vatican Library catalogue. Whilst some are undoubtedly due to simple readers (a), a certain amount seems to be by the very hand which inserted in *Auszeichnungsmajuskel* the titles (b):

> f. 1r, l. 7 in ⲡcⲕⲉⲡⲁⲣ (σκεπάρνη?) the letters ⲕⲉ are retraced with thick traits of black ink and the syllable oc is overwritten (i.e. σκεῦος)[79] (a);
> f. 1r, l. 19 ϧⲉⲛ`ⲧⲟⲩ′ⲡⲣⲟϩⲉⲣⲉcⲓc (b);
> f.9v, l. 36 ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲧⲓⲁⲛ`ⲧⲓ′ⲑⲉcⲓc (b);
> f. 10r, l. 36 ⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲓⲁ `ⲁⲛ′ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲟ|ⲫⲏ (a?);
> f. 11r, l. 33 ⲙⲉⲧⲁ`ⲧ′|ⲕⲁϯ (b);
> f. 11v, l. 35 ϯ⳿ϯⲛⲟⲩ (a);
> f. 12r, l. 8 ⲛ̄ⲧⲱ`ⲟⲩ′[ⲟⲩ (a), after the trimming of the leaf;

75 A change ϥ > ϩ, about which cp. Kahle 1954, 139, § 122A, seems decisively unlikely in this dialectal and chronological context.

76 See Lane 1863, 1314b–c. Among the instances there quoted سحت الشحم عن اللحم, he peeled off the fat from the flesh, and سحت شيئا, he peeled, or peeled off a thing by little and little, seem particularly telling.

77 Crum 1939, 325b, s.v. cⲱⲕ.

78 Crum 1939, 328b, s.v. cⲭⲁⲓ: in the Boḥ. Version of Iob 39, 10 cⲭⲁⲓ pro cⲱⲕ of the Ṣaʿ. Cp. also the plausibly already ancient etymological confusion between cⲃⲁⲓ and cⲱⲕ in a word as cⲁϩⲟ/cⲁϩⲱ, not 'great scribe' (*cⲁϩ-ⲟ) as supposed by von Lemm and Crum, but lit. 'gatherer of face' (*cⲁⲕ-ϩⲟ), as well as, perhaps, the graphically evocative cⲭⲁⲧ, lit. 'gathering of money' (*cⲕ-ϩⲁⲧ), about which see Černý 1976, 149.

79 For the writing cⲕⲉⲟc see Förster 2002, 735-737, *s.h.v.*

f. 12r, l. 24 ογ`ν´ πε (b);

f. 12v, l. 14 ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭⲟⲗ`ⲧ´, seems to be due to the copyist himself;

f. 14r, l. 8 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟ`ⲛ´[ⲛ (a), after the trimming of the leaf;

f. 15r, l. 13 ⲛⲏ`ⲉ´ⲧⲉⲉⲑⲃⲉ (b);

f. 16r, l. 18 ⲛ̄`ⲉγ´ⲧⲉⲗⲏⲥ (b?);

f. 16r, l. 33 ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲭ`ⲓ´[ⲓ (a);

f. 16r, l. 35 ⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲕⲉⲟγⲱⲛ`ⲋ´[ⲋ (a);

f. 18v, l. 36 ⲟγⲭⲓⲛ[[ⲥ]]ⲥⲟⲕ, (a) the improper gemination is expuncted through an † overline;

f. 19r, l. 36–37 ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁ[[ⲡ]]`ⲣ´ⲉⲧⲓⲛ (a) through an † overline, wrongly;

f. 20v, l. 30 ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲕ `ⲭⲉ´ϥⲧⲱⲃⲋ (a), through an † overline;

f. 21r, l. 1 ϥⲏ `ⲉ´ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ, (a) through an † overline;

f. 21r, l. 34 [[ⲁϥ]]`ⲁⲓϥⲛ´ⲥⲁϩⲟγⲓ (a), wrongly;

f. 23r, l. 16 ⲡⲟγⲁⲣⲓⲑⲙⲟⲥ with unclear sign over the γ (a?);

f. 25r, l. 29 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲁ`γ´ϩ (a), very cursively;

f. 26r, l. 23 ⲙ̄ϕ`ⲣ´ⲏⲧⲓ (a);

f. 28v, l. 13 ⲟⲛ added at the end of the line (a);

f. 31r, l. 5 ⲃⲉⲛⲟγⲣⲱⲟ`γ´ⲧϥ (b?);

f. 33v, l. 34 ⲙⲡⲓⲭⲓ`ⲙ´ⲱⲛ (b?);

f. 43r, l. 34 ⲃⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲁⲑⲉ`ⲁ´ⲙⲁ (b);

f. 47r, l. 6 ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥ†ⲁⲥⲟ (a);

f. 47v, l. 28 ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲟ`γ´ⲧ (b);

f. 51v, l. 19 ⲛⲁϥ (a) over a washed out word; in the left margin the variant ⲛⲱⲟγ by another puny hand;

f. 51v, 1.20 the same hand (a) wrote ⲉϥⲭⲏⲕ over the washed out word itself;

f. 52r, l. 30 ⲣⲱⲙⲓ `ⲁⲛ´ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓϩⲉ (b);

f. 81v, l. 14 ⲁ`ⲅ´ⲅⲓⲟⲛ (b);

f. 120v, l. 22–24, the beginnings are restored: ⲛ̄ϩⲱϥ etc. ⲡⲉϥ†ⲟγ|ⲟⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲏ etc. ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲛⲓⲥⲧⲓ|ⲭⲓⲟⲛ etc. (a);

f. 123v, l. 11 ⲛ̀ⲁ`ⲗⲏ´ⲑγⲛⲟⲥ (b?);

f. 126v, l. 8 ⲉⲣ[[ϥ]]ϕⲁⲛⲧⲁⲍⲓⲛ (a?);

f. 134v, l. 1 ⲛ̀†`γγ´ϕⲟⲥ (b), the very same writing of the pagination;

f. 134v, l. 27 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲙⲉ`ⲧ´ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ (b);

f. 148, l. 25 ⲉ̀|ⲧⲉⲥ`ϣⲉ ⲛ̀´ⲟγⲱϣⲧ (b?);

f. 150v, l. 7 ⲉ̀ⲧⲁγⲟⲣ`ⲡ´ϥ (a);

f. 151r, l. 10 ⲁⲛⲟ[[ⲛ]]ⲕ (a?);

f. 151v, l. 36 ⲛ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟγ† (a), ⲙⲟγ† overline;

f. 152v, l. 3 ⲉⲧ[[ⲉ]]ⲟ`γ´ⲟγⲱϣⲧ (a);

f. 153v, l. 10 (after the title) ⲉⲧⲁ[[ⲧ]]ϥⲟγⲱⲛ (a);

f. 154r, l. 33 ⲛ̀ⲟγ[[ϩ]]ⲃⲏⲃⲓ (b?);

f. 166r, l. 4 ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧϥ `ⲁⲛ´ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉⲡⲥⲓ (b);

f. 168v, l. 30 ⲉϥ`ⲭ´ⲱ (b);

f. 171v, l. 9 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ`ⲣ´ϣⲉ (a);

f.192r, l. 15 ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲡⲓ[[ⲧ]]ϩ`ⲭ´ⲟ *sic pro* ϩⲕⲟ (b);

f. 200r, l. 30 ⲛ̀ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲭⲉ`ⲙ´ϩⲛⲟγ (a);

f. 200v, l. 6 ⲙ̇[[ⲡ]]ⲫⲱⲣ (a), the same hand possibly retraced also the last two faint lines of f. 258v;

f. 213r, l. 12 ⲛ̇ϩⲟⲩⲟ `ⲃ̇´ⲉⲛ̇ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ (b);

f. 249v, l. 28 ⲅⲁⲣ `ⲡⲉ´ ⲫⲏ (b);

f. 262v, l. 19 ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲗⲁⲃⲏⲥ `ⲁⲛ´ ⲡⲉ (b);

f. 263v, l. 14 ⲁⲕⲣⲓⲃⲱⲥ l. 21 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲉⲙⲫⲉⲥⲑⲉ (a?);

f. 267r, l. 10 after the title, ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲉ `ⲁⲛ´ ⲡⲉ.

It has to be noted that the great majority of the afore-listed amendments is to be found in the pages preceding the colophon. From this remark, the suspicion arises that the colophon was inserted on the occasion of a substantial revision of the first 2/3 of the manuscript, rather than, as it is customary, at the end of the copying. This could explain its fanciful position. Further advances of such a revision could be marked by the two other 'prayers' by Theodoros (ff. 200v and 211r).[80]

4. The titles *(by Paola Buzi)*

The titles of Vat. copt. 57—the only multiple-text manuscript of the mediaeval Vatican Bohairic manuscript collection to include a selection of works entirely dedicated to the same author—represent another peculiarity of this unusual codex, testifying to the complexity of its genesis. First, most of them show meaningful differences compared to the structure of the majority of the titles of the other Bohairic codices from the Wādī al-Naṭrūn preserved in the Vatican Library. Besides, sometimes they also contain inconsistencies in regard to the textual sections they refer to.[81]

As for the first aspect, most of the Vatican Bohairic titles represent a direct derivation from a Sahidic structural model (and therefore from the Sahidic manuscript tradition). To give but a few examples:

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲁϥϫⲟϥ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩ⳨ ⲙ̄ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ϧⲁϫⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ

'A *sermon* of saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, that he pronounced having interpreted the sixth Psalm. He pronounced also about the saint fasting. In God's peace. Amen'.[82]

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80 See p. 165 above.

81 For the textual sections of the codex see § 2 above. An electronic edition of the whole *corpus* of Coptic titles dated between the third and the eleventh century is one of the scientific goals of the PAThs project.

82 John Chrysostom/Anastasius from Sinai, *In Psalmum 6* (CC 0018), Vat. copt. 58[9], ff. 123–150 = CLM 81 = MACA.AL. Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 394.

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲉ̅ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙ̅[ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅]ⲧⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ
ⲡⲓⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲡ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲕⲁⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲁ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ

'A sermon which our holy father pneumatophoros Apa Benjamin, Archbishop of
Rakote (Alexandria), delivered on the wedding that took place in Cana in Galilea. In
God's peace. Amen'. [83]

It is interesting to stress that titles which refer to works of (or attributed to)
John Chrysostom do not make exception in this respect.

On the other hand, Vat. copt. 57 itself includes a certain number of titles
(seven out of the 37 preserved *inscriptiones*) that respect the just described
structural arrangement and literary tradition:[84]

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟ(ⲥ) ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟ(ⲥ) ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲕⲱⲛⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲗⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲓϩⲓⲥ

'A sermon of the blessed John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on those
whose heart is posed on this useless time, and on repentance and compunction'.[85]

ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲏⲗⲓⲁ ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟ(ⲥ) ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡϫⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ

'A homily which saint John Chrysostom delivered on the nativity of our Lord Jesus
Christ. In God's peace. Amen'.[86]

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟ(ⲥ)
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲕⲱⲛⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗ(ⲓⲥ) ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲉⲡϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲛⲓⲁ

'A sermon which saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, delivered
on the feast of Epiphany'.[87]

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83 Benjamin of Alexandria, *De nuptiis apud Canam. In Iohannem 2.1–11* (CC 0085),
    Vat. copt. 67¹, f. 9r = CLM 142 = MACA.DG. De Vis 1922, 1929, I, 56; Müller
    1968, 52; Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 490–491.

84 We provide here but three examples. The other titles of this kind are to be found
    in: John Chrysostom, *In Gen.* 11,1 (CC 0604, CPG 4409), Vat. copt. 57, f. 122v
    (Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 373); John Chrysostom, *De Annuntiatio-
    ne* (CC 0610, CPG 4677), Vat. copt. 57, f. 166v (Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot
    1937, 376); John Chrysostom, *De remissione peccatorum* (CC 0598, CPG 4429),
    Vat. copt. 57, f. 23r (Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 373); John Chrysostom,
    Cum Saturninus et Aurelianus (CC 0611, CPG 4393), Vat. copt. 57, f. 172r (Hebbe-
    lynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 376). The title attributed to the 38th textual section
    of the codex is lost.

85 John Chrysostom, *De salute animae* (CC 0600, CPG 4031, 4622), Vat. copt. 57, f.
    66v. Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 371.

86 John Chrysostom, *De nativitate* (CC 0602, CPG 4334), Vat. copt. 57, f. 98r. Hebbe-
    lynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 372.

87 John Chrysostom, *De baptismo (b)* (CC 0603, CPG 4522, 7900(4)), Vat. copt. 57, f.
    112r. Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 373.

Most of the titles of Vat. copt. 57, however, have a completely different struc-
ture and phraseology, revealing—in my opinion—a firsthand operation aimed
at collecting selected Chrysostomic texts from a different source compared to
the one used for the above mentioned cases.

In this respect, it is meaningful that already the first title of the codex
seems to stress the personal initiative of the 'author' who created it—and very
likely was responsible for the creation also of the other titles of this kind—
considering what he is copying as a part of a whole:

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲩⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁϣⲟⲣϣⲉⲣ ⲛⲛⲁⲁⲡⲟⲑⲏⲕⲏ
'From the sermon which saint John Chrysostom delivered on what is written in the
Gospel according to Luke: "I will tear down my barns"'.[88]

The same pattern—with an ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 'from (the sermon, the homily, etc.)',
eventually accompanied by a ⲛⲑⲟϥ ⲟⲛ, 'likewise'—characterizes most of the
following titles. A variant, that does not mention the 'literary genre', is repre-
sented by titles such as the following:

ⲟⲙⲟⲓⲱⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲕⲱⲛⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗ(ⲓⲥ) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲉⲓⲥ · ⲛⲉⲑⲓⲕⲟⲛ
'Likewise, again the doctor saint John Chrysostom and Archbishop of Constantino-
ple from the letter to the Thessalonians. Ethical (works)'.[89]

Such a state of affairs suggests that the literary selection transmitted by Vat.
copt. 57 is the result of copying from at least two antigraphs: the first is prob-
ably a Sahidic model, while the second—from which the copyist very likely
obtains the texts that he could not find in the Sahidic tradition, or at least in
the Sahidic model to his disposal—is a Greek one. This would explain the
terminology which alludes to the act of 'selecting' or 'extracting'.[90]

Considering the relatively late date of Vat. Copt. 57, it seems probable
that the selection did not take place on the occasion of the manufacture of the
codex. The manuscript rather represents the transcription of an older Bohairic
codex, which, in turn, very likely, was the result of a targeted selection of
texts, obtained also by means of a direct copy from Greek. This direct deriva-
tion from the Greek tradition would not be surprising at all, since it is clearly
documented also in the case of the Bohairic biblical translations from the

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88 John Chrysostom, *In Lucam 12,18* (CC 0596; CPG 4969), Vat. copt. 57, f. 1r. Heb-
    belynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 368.
89 John Chrysostom, *2Thes 1,9* (CC … CPG 4435), Vat. copt. 57, f. 225r. Hebbelynck
    and van Lantschoot 1937, 380.
90 This terminology is used also in the numerous annotations of the codex. See para-
    graph 3.

same Monastery of St Macarius.[91] Several elements suggest that the milieu of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn was much more bound to, and in way dependent on, the Greek literary and manuscript tradition than the Monastery of Shenoute, for instance.

It remains to be explained why the author of the titles sometimes presents the textual sections introduced by the *inscriptiones* as *excerpta*, even when they translate the entire homily they claim, as it happens in the case of the *In Mt* 6,28 (CC 0597, CPG 4424) and of *De remissione peccatorum*, *In Mt 18,18* (CC 0598, CPG 4429).

From the literary point of view, it is meaningful that the selected Chrysostomic homilies of Vat. copt. 57 do not follow the expected (i.e. Greek) order. Moreover, the numbers attributed to the Coptic homilies do not always correspond to those of the extant Greek tradition,[92] which is a clear demonstration that the Bohairic Coptic translation is based on an unknown textual tradition.

Another peculiarity is represented by the label *ethikon*,[93] systematically used by the author of the titles. It does not appear in the Greek titles and does not seem to correspond to a real comprehension of the articulation of the original Chrysostomic homilies. This fact, however, does not affect the importance of the cultural operation that is behind the text transmitted by this codex.

In brief, everything suggests that Vat. copt. 57 is a local product, due to the cultural initiative of the monastic community of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, an initiative that is partially independent from the Sahidic tradition and very likely was aimed to fill the absence of a systematic and/or satisfactory *corpus* of Chrysostomic works to be used for the liturgical purposes of Monastery of St Macarius.

Many aspects, however, remain unsolved for the moment. Assuming that the textual arrangement of Vat. copt. 57 depends in great part directly on the Greek tradition—without the medium of the Sahidic one—what were the *itinera* that brought the Greek *antigraphon*, which differs from the Greek

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91 Buzi 2017, 5-22.
92 See Table 1.
93 E.g. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲙⲏⲑ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲧⲑⲉⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ϣⲁⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲙⲟⲣⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲓⲕⲟ(ⲛ) ('Again saint John Chrysostom from his sermon forty-nine, having interpreted the Gospel according to Matthew and on she from whom the blood flowed, that is the hemorrhaging woman. Ethical (works)'), *De Haemorrhoissa. Hom.* 50 (CC 0942; CPG 4424)); ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲑⲏⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲕ̄ⲃ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ … ('From the ethical sermon twenty-two…'), *Mt 6, 28* (CC 0597, CPG 4424); etc.

version that has survived and is widely known, to the Wādī al-Naṭrūn? Was it a local 'product' itself or rather had it been purchased for this purpose? How conscious was the scribe of Vat. Copt. 57—who, at that time, must have been mainly arabophone, and who shows no familiarity with Sahidic Coptic, so that it is very likely that he limited himself only to the task of copying (and annotating) the text—of the complex formation of this multiple-text manuscript that represents what has been defined as 'corpus organizer'?[94] And, last but not least, when did the selection and combination of Chrysostomic texts transmitted by Vat. Copt. 57, with their related titles, take place?

These unanswered questions patently point to the fact that our knowledge of the transmission of culture in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn still has many grey areas.

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CC = *Clavis Coptica* (see <http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html>).

CLM = Coptic Literary Manuscript (see <http://paths.uniroma1.it/>).

CMCL = Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari (see < http://www.cmcl.it/>).

CPG = M. Geerard *et al.*, eds, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I–V, Corpus Christianorum. Claves (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2003).

PG = J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, I–CLXI (Parisiis: Apud J.P. Migne, 1857–1866).

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94 On the concept of 'corpus organizer' see Bausi 2010.

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