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THE TITLES

General observations

Observing the graphic and decorative aspects of the titles of *Vat. copt.* 57-69, and of *Vat. copt.* 57 in particular,¹ one can reasonably deduce that the *scriptorium* of Dayr al-Anbā Maqār involved the activity of different specialists of the making of the book, including persons charged with the specific task of the decoration.² This impression is confirmed by internal and external evidence.

The comparison with the, more or less coeval, codices of the White Monastery it is very striking. Not only are they much less elegant and accurate — like, on the other hand, the general aspect of the manuscripts, including the quality of parchment and its technical treatment —, but they are normally written with the same ink of the text, using a red pigment only to emphasise enlarged initials, paragraphs signs, etc.

Moreover, it should be observed that, very often, the script used for the titles is different from that used for the texts — and *Vat. copt.* 57 makes no exception in this respect —, which is another device that confirms the attention reserved to the realization of the codices of this library.

The textual structure of the titles

It is, however, the textual structure of the titles of *Vat. copt.* 57 to present the most interesting features. As already observed, *Vat. copt.* 57 is the only codex of the group of ninth-tenth century Vatican Boḥairic manuscripts whose selection of works is entirely dedicated to the same author, but this is not the only peculiarity of this manuscript.

Not only most of its titles show meaningful differences compared to the structure of the majority of those of the other Boḥairic codices from the Wādī al-Naṭrūn preserved in the Apostolic Vatican Library, but sometimes they also contain inconsistencies compared with the textual sections they refer to.³

¹ For more details about the decoration of *Vat. copt.* 57, see the chapter by Francesco Valerio.

² But for the use of the same typology of ink for text, titles and decoration see the article by Tea Ghigo and Ira Rabin in this volume.

³ For the textual sections of the codex see the chapter by Francesco Berno. An electronic

Most of the Vatican Bohairic titles make use of a “model” that represents a consolidated practice in Sa’idic manuscript tradition and that suggests a direct derivation from a Sa’idic *antigraphon*, from which the some of the Bohairic translations would have been obtained. Titles which refer to works of (or attributed to) John Chrysostom do not make exception in this respect. To make but a few examples:

John Chrysostom/Anastasius from Sinai, *In Psalmum 6* (CC 0018), *Vat. copt.* 58, ff. 123-150:

ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΧΡΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΑΦΧΟΦ ΕΦΕΡΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΙΝ ΜΠΗΔΕΣ ΜΨΑΛΜΟΣ ΕΤΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΦ ΔΕ ΒΑΧΕΝ ΨΗΝΣΤΙΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΨ ΑΜΗΝ

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.⁴

Benjamin of Alexandria, *De nuptiis apud Canam. In Iohannem 2.1-11* (CC 0085), *Vat. copt.* 67, f. 9r:

ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΦ ΝΧΕ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ Μ[ΠΝΑ]ΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ ΠΙΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΨ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΙΖΟΝ ΕΤΑΦΩΨΠ ΉΕΝ ΨΚΑΝΑ ΝΤΕ ΓΑΛΙΛΕΑ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΨ ΑΜΗΝ

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.⁵

Vat. copt. 57 itself includes a certain number of titles (7 out of the 37 preserved *inscriptiones* or initial titles) that respect the just described structural arrangement and literary tradition:⁶

edition of the whole *corpus* of Coptic titles dated between the third and the twelfth century is part of the scientific goals of the “PATHs” project [<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/titles>].

⁴ CLM 81 = MACA.AL. HEBBELYNCK – VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 394.

⁵ CLM 142 = MACA.DG. H. VIS, *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane*, I-II, Coptica consilio et impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstediani edita, 1, 5, Hauniae 1922, 1929, p. I. 56; C. D. G. MÜLLER, 1968. *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Schriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I. von Alexandrien, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Heidelberg 1968, p. 52; HEBBELYNCK – VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., pp. 490-491.

⁶ I 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 – VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 373); John Chrysostom, *De Annunciatione* (CC 01610, CPG 4677), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 166v (HEBBELYNCK – VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 376); John Chrysostom, *De remissione peccatorum* (CC 0598, CPG 4429), *Vat.*

John Chrysostom, *De salute animae* (CC 0600, CPG 4031, 4622), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 66v (Fig. 4):

ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ(Σ) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΧΡΙΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΠΕΠΚΟΠΟ(Σ)
ΝΤΕ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΘΒΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ΖΗΝΟΥ ΧΗ ΉΕΝ ΝΑΠΑΙΕΩΝ ΝΕΦΛΗΟΥ
ΝΕΜ ΕΘΒΕ †ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΚΑΤΑΝΙΖΙΣ

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.⁷

John Chrysostom, *De nativitate* (CC 0602, CPG 4334), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 98r:

ΟΥΟΜΗΛΙΑ ΕΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΣ ΝΧΕ ΠΑΓΙΟ(Σ) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΧΡΙΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΧΙΝΜΙΣΙ
ΜΠΕΝΟΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΖΗΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ Φ† ΔΜΗΝ

A homily which saint John Chrysostom delivered on the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. In God's peace. Amen.⁸

John Chrysostom, *De baptismo (b)* (CC 0603, CPG 4522, 7900[4]), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 112r:

ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΝΧΕ ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΧΡΙΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΑΡ-
ΧΗΠΕΠΚΟΠΟ(Σ) ΝΤΕ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛ(ΙΣ) ΕΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΕΠΩΔΙ ΝΤΑΕΠΦΑΝΙΑ

A sermon which saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, delivered on the feast of Epiphany.⁹

It is interesting to observe that the just listed titles are rather brief, belonging to the typology defined “Simple Structure Title”¹⁰ that normally corresponds to early (that is realized within the fifth century) translations from Greek. Moreover, the term *ομηλία* — in all its variants — is rarely used in Coptic titles and always in ancient examples.¹¹

copt. 57, f. 23r (HEBBELYNCK – VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 373); John Chrysostom, *Cum Saturninus et Aurelianus* (CC 0611, CPG 4393), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 172r (HEBBELYNCK – VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 376). The title attributed to the 38th textual section of the codex is lost.

⁷ CLM 72 = MACA.AC. HEBBELYNCK, VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 371.

⁸ CLM 72 = MACA.AC. HEBBELYNCK, VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 372.

⁹ CLM 72 = MACA.AC. HEBBELYNCK, VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 373.

¹⁰ P. BUZI, *Titles in the Coptic Manuscript Tradition: Complex Structure Titles and Extended Complex Structure Title*, in J. VAN DER VLIET – M. IMMERZEEL (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2004*, 2 vols., Brill, Leuven 2004, I, pp. 309-316 (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 133).

¹¹ Among the titles of *Vat. copt.* 57 thirteen make use of the term *λογος* — f. 1r (CC 0596),

Most of the titles of *Vat. copt.* 57, however, have a completely different structure and phraseology, and many of them do not use any term to define the work they are attributed to, a fact that is very anomalous in the Coptic tradition.¹² This reveals — 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. This “author” considers what he is copying as a part of a whole:

John Chrysostom, *In Lucam 12,18* (CC 0596; CPG 4969), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 1r (Fig. 1):

ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΤΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΦ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΘΒΕ ΦΗ
ΕΤΉΝΟΥΤ ΉΕΝ ΠΙΕΓΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ ΧΕ ΉΝΑΦΟΡΦΕΡ ΝΗΔΑΠΟΗΚΗ

From the sermon which saint John Chrysostom delivered on what is written in the Gospel according to Luke: “I will tear down my barns”.¹³

The same pattern — with an εβολ ηεν «from (the sermon, the homily, etc.)», eventually accompanied by a ηοοφ οη, “likewise” — characterises most of the titles that follow the just described one. A variant, that does not mention the “literary genre”, is represented by titles such as the following:

John Chrysostom, *2Thes 1,9* (CC 1003; CPG 4435), *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 225r:

ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΟΝ ΠΙΔΑΪ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΙΔΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΧΡΙΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΔΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ
ΝΤΕ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛ(ΙΣ) ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΉΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΠΡΟΣΘΕΣΣΑΛΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ · ΗΘΙΚΟΝ

Likewise, again the doctor saint John Chrysostom and Archbishop of Constantinople from the letter to the Thessalonians. Ethical (works).¹⁴

f. 6v (CC 0941), f. 14v (CC 0597), f. 45v (CC 0953), f. 51v (CC 0943), f. 66v (CC 0600), f. 112 r (CC 0603), f. 122v (CC 0604), f. 166v (CC 0610), f. 179r (CC 0612), f. 184v (CC 0997), f. 196v (CC 0999), f. 256v (CC 0614) —, and three of the term ογημλια — f. 35r (CC 0599), f. 98r (CC 0602), f. 172 (CC 0611). All the other titles do not use any specific terminology.

¹² The following are the titles of *Vat. copt.* 57, f. 23r (CC 0598), f. 31r (CC 0945), f. 59r (CC 0944), f. 90r (CC 0601), f. 132r (CC 0605), f. 136v (CC 0606), f. 141r (CC 0607), f. 153r (CC 0608), f. 158r (CC 0609), f. 188v (CC 0998), f. 201r (CC 1000), f. 211v (CC 1001), f. 218r (CC 1002), f. 225r (CC 1003), f. 230v (CC 0613), f. 236r (CC 1004), f. 247 (CC 1005), f. 262v (CC 0615), f. 267r (CC 1006) and f. 267r (CC 0616).

¹³ CLM 72 = MACA.AC. HEBBELYNCK, VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 368.

¹⁴ CLM 72 = MACA.AC. HEBBELYNCK, VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* cit., p. 380.

It is possible to notice that this form of title may or may not use a specific term to describe the “literary genre”.

Such a state of affairs suggests that the collection of homilies transmitted by *Vat. copt.* 57 is the result of the copy from at least two antigraphs: the first is probably a Sa’idic model, while the second — from which the copyist very likely gets the texts that he could not find in the Sa’idic tradition, or at least in the Sa’idic model to his disposal, is a Greek one. This would explain the terminology, which alludes to the act of “selecting” or “extracting”.¹⁵

If this theory is correct, however, for a matter of date, the manufacture of *Vat. copt.* 57, that is a rather late codex, would not correspond to the moment in which the above described operation took place, but it rather represents the transcription of an older Boḥairic codex, which in turn was the result of a targeted selection of texts obtained also by means of a direct copy from Greek. This direct derivation from the Greek tradition would not be surprising at all, since, as we have already mentioned,¹⁶ it is clearly documented also in the case of the Boḥairic biblical translations belonging to the same Monastery of Saint Macarius.¹⁷ 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.

It remains to be explained the reason why the author of the titles sometimes presents the textual sections introduced by the *inscriptiones* as if they were *excerpta*, although they are translation of the entire homily they are attributed to, as happens in the case of the *In Mt 6,28* (CC 0597, CPG 4424) and of the *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,¹⁸ which sug-

¹⁵ This terminology is used also in the numerous annotations that are present in the codex. On this aspect, see the chapter by Agostino Soldati.

¹⁶ See the Introduction. For other reasons, the existence of a Greek model has been suggested also by Sever J. Voicu. See S. J. VOICU, *Vaticano copto 57*, in BUZI, PROVERBIO (eds.), *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library* cit., pp. 151-152.

¹⁷ BUZI, *Some notes on Coptic biblical titles* cit., pp. 5-22. For a different opinion E. LUCCHESI, *Deux commentaires coptes sur l'Évangile de Matthieu*, in *Le Muséon* 123 (2010), pp. 19-37 and T. ORLANDI, *Patristica copta e patristica greca*, in *Vetera Christianorum* 10 (1973), p. 330; ID., *Testi patristici in lingua copta*, in *Patrologia V: dal Concilio di Calcedonia (451) a Giovanni Damasceno († 750). I Padri orientali*, Genova 2000, p. 554. On the aspects of transmission see also S. KIM, *Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien* cit., pp. 81-149.

¹⁸ See the chapter by Francesco Berno.

gests that the Bohairic Coptic translation is based on an unknown textual tradition.

Another peculiarity is represented by the label *ethikon*,¹⁹ systematically used by the author of the titles, which however does not appear in the Greek titles and does not seem to correspond to a real comprehension by the copyist/creator of titles of the articulation of the original Chrysostomic homilies, a fact, however, that does not affect the importance of the cultural operation that is behind the text transmitted by this codex.

In brief, everything suggests that the *Vat. copt. 57* is a local product, due to the cultural initiative of the monastic community of Dayr al-Anbā Maqār, an initiative that is partially independent from the Saʿīdic tradition, maybe due to the absence of a systematic and/or satisfactory *corpus* of Chrysostomic works to be used for the liturgical purposes of Monastery of Saint Macarius.

Many aspects, however, remain unsolved for the moment. Assuming that the textual arrangement of *Vat. copt. 57* in great part directly depends on the Greek tradition — without the medium of the Saʿīdic one — through which paths the Greek *antigraphon*, which differs from the Greek version that has survived and is widely known, reached the Wādī al-Naṭrūn? Was it a local “product” itself or rather had it been purchased or borrowed for this purpose? How conscious was the scribe of *Vat. copt. 57* — who very likely limited himself only to the task of copying (and possibly annotating) the text, was probably mainly arabophone and demonstrates not to have any familiarity with Saʿīdic Coptic — of the complex formation of this multiple-text manuscript that represents a perfect example of what has been defined as a ‘corpus organizer’?²⁰ Last but not least, when exactly does the selection and combination of Chrysostomic texts transmitted by *Vat. copt. 57*, with their related titles, date back to?

These unanswered questions patently point to the fact that our knowledge of the transmission of culture in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, and more in particular in Dayr al-Anbā Maqār, still has many grey areas.

¹⁹ For ex.: $\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\eta\ \pi\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\omega\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma\ \pi\iota\chi\varsigma\omicron\varsigma\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \beta\epsilon\eta\eta\ \pi\iota\eta\alpha\zeta\eta\bar{\mu}\theta\ \eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\psi\epsilon\psi\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\ \eta\pi\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \eta\alpha\tau\theta\epsilon\omicron\eta\ \eta\eta\eta\ \epsilon\theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\theta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\iota\varsigma\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \psi\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \beta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\psi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\ \eta\theta\iota\kappa\omicron(\eta)$ (“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 Haemorrhoida. Hom. 50* [CC 0942; CPG 4424], CLM 72 = MACA.AC; $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \beta\epsilon\eta\eta\ \eta\eta\theta\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \pi\iota\eta\alpha\zeta\eta\bar{\kappa}\beta\ \eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \dots$ (“From the ethical sermon twenty-two...”), *Mt 6, 28* (CC 0597, CPG 4424), CLM 72 = MACA.AC; etc.

²⁰ For the concept of ‘corpus organizer’ see A. BAUSI, *A Case for Multiple Text Manuscripts being ‘Corpus Organizers’*, in *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* 3 (2010), pp. 34-36.