

**UNIONE ACCADEMICA NAZIONALE  
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**LETTERATURA COPTA  
Serie Studi**

**TITO ORLANDI**

**COPTIC TEXTS RELATING TO  
THE VIRGIN MARY  
An Overview**

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## I. GENERALIA

### a) Introduction

During the preparation of the catalogue of the so-called Clarendon Press collection of Coptic manuscripts, in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, which I hope to publish soon, I was confronted with the necessity of clarifying the relationship between the fragments containing texts on the Virgin Mary, and the homilies presently known to deal with the same subject and many isolated fragments which appear to belong to homilies on that subject. The task soon appeared to be very complicated but also rewarding, therefore I thought it useful to publish the results in this separate book.

On the other hand, the works which constitute the Coptic literature, and their relative manuscripts, are not easily classified according to a general and consistent critical and historical arrangement. The fact that until now I have been more or less alone in making serious efforts in that direction, substantiated in publications and offered to the evaluation of the scholars,<sup>1</sup> is an implicit but clear demonstration of what I say.

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1. Cf. above all the web site "<http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it>"; also Orlandi *letteratura*. — Id., *La letteratura copta e la storia dell'Egitto cristiano*, in: Paolo Siniscalco, *Le antiche chiese orientali. Storia e letteratura*, Roma, Città Nuova, 2005, p. 84-117. — Id., *Presidential Address: the IACS and Coptic Studies. A Report*, in: *Huitième congrès international d'études coptes (Paris 2004). I. Bilans et perspectives 2000-2004*, edités par Anne Boud'hors et Denyse Vaillancourt. Paris, De Boccard, 2006, p. 15-36. — Johannes LEIPOLDT, *Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur*, C. Brockelmann (etc.) *Geschichte der christl. Litt. des Orients*, 131-182, Leipzig, Amelang, 1907. Repr. Leipzig 1911; repr. with additions by P. Nagel: Leipzig 1985 is based on uncorrect historical assumptions, and from him derives René-George COQUIN, *Langue et littérature coptes*, in: *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction a l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Cerf, Paris, 1993, p. 167-218 (*Initiations au christianisme ancien*, 4)

The main obstacles which have determined this situation are well known, and easily appreciated, but also hard to overcome. First is to be mentioned the fragmentary condition of most documents, due to the vicissitudes of the manuscripts after the death of Coptic as a spoken language, and later on their disordered transportation outside of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> This in turn has discouraged the publication also of texts decently preserved, because in any case they should be compared with parallel fragmentary documents; and though they can be published and superficially understood and translated, the significance of the individual texts in the frame of their cultural environment remains elusive.<sup>3</sup>

Although the general character of the Coptic literature is rather like that of the Greek and, to a lesser extent, Latin patristic literature, and many of the texts have a parallel or at least a counterpart in those literatures, the problems of the Coptic literature are quite peculiar, a fact which is usually overlooked, thereby producing much misunderstanding. For instance, double attributions or false attributions of authorship are much more widespread than in other literatures,<sup>4</sup> and depend on a range of different reasons, such as the scarce interest of the readers in who actually was the author, or conversely the love for pop-

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2. Cf. Tito ORLANDI, La documentation patristique copte, in: J.-Cl. Fredouille & R.-M. Roberge (eds.), La documentation patristique. Bilan et prospective, p. 127-148. Québec-Paris, Presses de l'Univ. Laval/Sorbonne, 1995.

3. A remarkable, but still individual exception has been the monumental recovery of the works of Shenute, made recently after a long research by Emmel Shenoute. — On the contrary the introductions which accompany the recent collections of texts cured by Leo DEPUYDT (General Editor), Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library. Seven Coptic Homelies Attributed to Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Evodius of Rome, Louvain, Peeters, 1991, CSCO 524-525, *Scriptores Coptici* 43 (Textus) - 44 (Versio); *Encomiastica* from the Pierpont Morgan Library. Five Coptic Homelies Attributed to Anastasius of Euchaita, Epiphanius of Salamis, Isaac of Antinoe, Severianus of Gabala, and Theopemptus of Antioch, Louvain, Peeters 1993. vol. I (textus); vol. II (versio) (CSCO 544, copt. 47 - CSCO 545, copt. 48) — are off the mark.

4. Cf. Wolfgang SPEYER, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: ein Versuch ihrer Deutung*, München, C. H. Beck, 1971 (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*. 1. Abt.; 2).

ular authors like Basil of Caesarea or John Chrysostom, or (later) the necessities dictated by a clandestine production under Islamic domination.

It is reasonable that, in such circumstances, the attention of the scholars has been focused on the problems of the reconstruction of the codices from the sheets sparsely distributed among many collections in the world. Less or no attention has instead been devoted to the peculiar essence of what I shall call the *codicological units* and the *textual units* (see below), and the distorted kind of relationship occurring between them.

All this explains, I hope, the organization of the present contribution. What we have tried to describe according to formal principles (see below) has already been in part understood and appreciated by the scholars working on the Coptic literature, but never (as far as we know) so thoroughly and systematically. As we shall see, the situation may appear discouraging, even desperate, but it should not prevent further work in this field, provided that both the readers and the authors take it in appropriate consideration.

I have endeavoured to outline what presently can be considered the established evidence, but much work is still to be done, and I hope that this exposition, or a sort of catalogue, may help to improve the possibility of future work. With this in mind, we give in the following pages a reasoned list of the texts on the Virgin Mary, also as an example of the situation of which we have given above a general idea. The observations made so far, and those in the next section, will also explain the form of our presentation, the organization of the material, and the conclusions that we extract from the material.

## b) Terminology

I have decided to propose and use a new kind of terminology for the description both of the manuscript tradition and of the literary tradition, because the usual terminology is too prone to misunderstanding in such a complicated situation as that of the Coptic manuscripts and

texts. Too frequently, when we speak of a “codex”, we do not mean something that we really have in our hands, but a number of sheets once belonging to a complete codex, but now dispersed in several collections. And when we speak of a work, we do not mean an established text with one consistent tradition, but something that was often reshaped by scribes or scholars in order to accommodate their model to new exigencies; or even to fragments of such a text.

Therefore it is necessary to list and explain the terms which will form the semantic environment in which the statements about manuscripts and works are collocated in the following exposition. They are:

Codicological units

Bibliological units, ancient or modern, with their *scriptoria*

Textual units, with their literary genres

Author units

Narrative units

The *codicological units* correspond to what in the more lucky traditions are simply and rightly called “the codices”. In the Coptic environment I propose to use a different terminology, because in most cases we are confronted with sparse groups of sheets, which through the research of the scholars are presented as having been part of an original codicological unit, with all the uncertainties which accompany such operations. The criteria are intuitive rather than scientific<sup>5</sup> and also we have to take into account the interruptions (*lacunae*) which make the reconstruction not sure; the existence of fragments not yet recognized; even the existence of “twin codices”, for which it is uncertain the attribution of the sheets.

The *bibliological units - ancient* correspond to the ancient libraries from which we know that coptic codices have been removed and normally brought inside modern collections (museums, libraries, private); but the new terminology<sup>6</sup> should underline the fact that often

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5. Cf. the wise statements in Emmel Shenoute, vol. I p. 52-61.

the ancient libraries do not exist any more, and the attribution to them of the *codicological units* or fragments is often uncertain. The *bibliological units - ancient* may or may not coincide with the *scriptoria*, which are important because they point to peculiar characters of the codices produced, but normally transported in different libraries.<sup>7</sup>

The *bibliological units - modern* correspond to the modern libraries or collections, but we propose this new terminology because they too may not exist any more (e.g. the Borgia collection), and the codices may have passed from one to another. Their history is useful for the appreciation of the manuscripts, and therefore also of the development of the Coptic literature.

The *textual units* correspond to what is generally called “the works” (*opus, oeuvre, Werk, opera*). They are identified in modern scholarship by means of author and title (on which cf. below), but also specifying the *literary genre*: homily or sermon, exegesis, catechesis, etc., utilizing a terminology derived from the Greek and Latin scholarship. The Coptic tradition also derives from it, but a kind of homogenization has been introduced before the X century, and it is not advisable to reproduce the terminology found in the titles of late manuscripts. From what we can see, the Copts, say, of the X century, mainly recognized the following literary genres:

- Homily (to be pronounced in the course of the *synaxis*), for which the names used are: ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ, ΚΑΤΕΧΗΣΙΣ, ΚΑΘΗΓΗΣΙΣ, ΖΟΜΙΛΙΑ, with their orthographic variations, all with the same meaning.
- Martyrdom, for which the names used are ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ.

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6. Cf. Tito ORLANDI, The Study of Coptic Literature, 1976-1988, in: M. Rassart-Debergh et J. Ries (eds.), Actes du IVE Congrès Copte, Louvain-la-Neuve, vol. 2, p. 211-223, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste, 1992, see p. 215-6. — Stephen EMMEL, Recent Progress in Coptic Codicology and Paleography, in: Tito Orlandi (ed.), Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, Vol. 1, Reports on Recent Research, p. 33-50, Roma, CIM, 1993, see p. 41-44.

7. Cf. the fundamental Van Lantschoot Colophons.

- Life (of a saint): **BIOC**.
- Apokrypha (of course not recognized as such), for which there were no special names, except for the **ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ** and **ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ** of the Apostles, and the **ΤΑΖΟ ΕΡΑΤΥ** (intronization) of the Archangels.
- Panegyric (of an Archangel or saint): **ΕΓΚΟΜΙΟΝ**.
- Miracles: **ΩΠΗΡΕ**, or designed through the terminology of the homilies.

I have used this classification, whenever it was advisable, independently of the terminology found in the Coptic titles.

Also we note that in the Greek and Latin patrology the individual works are rather well identified, by means of an author and title,<sup>8</sup> and may be considered fixed documents. In Coptic they are not so easily determined. It must be said, first, that, though the texts may be either of ancient origin (around the IVth cent.), or more recent (around the VIIIth cent.), or also a combination of parts of different origin, like their counterparts in other patristic traditions, the particular history of the Coptic textual manuscript tradition<sup>9</sup> has inserted them, with appropriate transformations, into a system of liturgical utilizations and celebrations, which must be reckoned with, before beginning the historical and literary analysis of each textual unit.

So it happens that the textual units are mostly arranged in the form of homilies (with their synonymic equivalents, cf. above) to be read at the appropriate moment in the celebration of the appropriate festivities; but it is possible, by means of internal elements, to assign them to an eventual original form, e.g. a life of a Saint, a series of miracles, a narration, an apocryphal composition, etc. The occasions for which they were originally composed may have been changed, to suit a new arrangement of the liturgical festivities, so what is said in the title must not be taken for granted.

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8. Cf. Buzi titoli.

9. The main repositories from which come the Coptic codicological units are the convents of apa Shenute (Atripe) and apa Makarios (Sketis), and they represent the situation of the IX-XI century Coptic literary competence.

*Author units.* The same is true for the authors to whom the textual units are attributed in the different codicological units. The Coptic manuscript tradition has never been much interested, except for special cases, e.g. Shenute, in the faithful registration of the name of the author; but in the arrangement of the VIII-IX cent. (what I call the synaxarial arrangement) those names appear to have received a systematic change, as a result of which, the fact that one textual unit preserves its real author is to be considered simply casual. Therefore names like Athanasius or John Chrysostom are better thought of as generic “units” than historical writers.

*Narrative units.* When a textual unit is more or less complete, it is relatively easy to perform its analysis in view of a literary and historical evaluation, keeping in mind the considerations done so far; or at least reasonable hypotheses may be presented. But, as we observed, this is not usually the case. When they are in a fragmentary condition, the identification of the textual unit depends on the reconstruction of one or more codicological units, each of which has problems of its own (cf. above). Even after a reasonable certainty is reached from this point of view, the fragments may represent different textual units referring to one or more older units, similar to each other, but passed through revisions producing similar but not identic redactions of something that at this point it is not easy even to conceive and define. Something like this happens in the case of the so called “archetypes” of blessed classical-philology memory, about which much debate has been done, and continues to be done; but in the case of Coptic the situation is even more fluid. For this reason it seems advisable to take into consideration narrative units, considered in some sense independent from the textual units to which they belong.

I add that under the general name of narrative units I mean also those units of polemic and exhortatory character, which are an important part of every homily.

### c) Classification of works and fragments

The present contribution should be considered together with the electronic data base which forms the core of the enterprise “Corpus dei manoscritti copti letterari”, which can be consulted in the Internet.<sup>10</sup> There, each text, complete or fragmentary, which can be supposed to constitute or to have been part of an individual work (textual unit), has been given a number (citation, e.g.: cc0674), which is the best way to identify it, because of the frequent attribution to more than one author in different manuscripts, and the frequent changes in the titles. This classification is called the *clavis coptica*, after the example of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, but the sequence of the numbers is casual.

The manuscripts which can be considered a complete codicological unit (or codex), or to have formed a complete codicological unit, although now preserved only in part, have been given a reference (e.g. MONB.AA). The manuscripts which are not yet reasonably attributable to some such codicological unit, have a kind of reference of their own, in which the first two letters depend on the collection where they are preserved, and the following formula depends on their official modern classification inside the collection (e.g. PN.129.15.123)<sup>11</sup>

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10. Url: <http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it>

11. Cf. the references in Appendix 2.

## II. BIBLIOLOGICAL AND CODICOLOGICAL UNITS

In this section I list the codicological units which contain the textual or narrative units dealing with the Virgin, which will be described in section III and V. They are arranged according to the bibliological units - ancient to which they probably belong, because it is important to pay attention to the origin of the manuscripts as one of the factors leading to the evaluation of the texts which they contain.

Two provisos: (1) there is in most cases more than one "place of origin" (generally the repository of a monastery or a church) for one manuscript, because the codices, as it seems, were frequently displaced from one repository to another. I list the manuscripts under the heading which seems to have the greatest significance for our purposes. (2) The origin which is indicated is mostly far from sure, still I believe that it is better to represent the situation in this way (duly declaring the uncertainties) rather than continuing the confused approach common so far in similar cases. For the history of Coptic manuscripts, as well as for the history of the relative literature, it is time to propose a synthesis, a model, uncertain as it may be, in order that it can be improved through constructive discussion, instead of random adjustments of an implicit but undeclared reality.

Inside the bibliological units - ancient we classify:

(a) codices in complete or semi-complete conditions, as they are now. Here again it is a relative definition: a codex as we have it now, kept in one bibliological unit - modern, may be the result of re-binding together pieces coming from different codices, etc. But again we prefer to run our risks, and the reader be alert. They are identified by means of the call number given to them in the data-base of CMCL; but also the official call number used in the actual collection is given.

(b) Units virtually identified assigning single sheets or groups of sheets, today kept separately in different bibliological units - modern, to the same ancient codicological unit, that is, groups of dispersed sheets reasonably considered to have belonged to one and the same

codex. They are identified by means of the siglum given to them in the data-base of CMCL; but also the call number of the single sheets is listed.

(c) Units consisting of one sheet or a small group of sheets, which have not yet found any “complementary” sheet to form a virtual codicological unit of the type (b). They are identified by means of the official call number of the relevant collection, slightly modified as it appears in the lists of the data-base of the CMCL.

The units are described according to the following template:

Name of the unit in the CMCL archive.

Localization and content: either quote of the fragments, possibly with the original page number, followed by the textual unit contained, or quote of the codicological unit followed by the number of folios and the textual unit contained.

Material.

Date.

Local language (usually called “dialect”).

Editions (of the parts which concern this study. When otherwise not necessary, only the most recent edition is mentioned).

Comments.

Bibliological unit - ancient, 1.

The monastery of apa Shenute in the mount Atripe (MONB).

This monastery, as well as its third archimandrite, Shenute, is of capital importance in the history of Egypt, and central in the history of the Coptic culture. The bibliography for this unit, that is, its library, is vast.<sup>12</sup> We shall recall, for our purpose here, that this unit was the main center of Coptic literary (but so, also of religious) culture until the IXth cent. I very much suspect that in this monastery the arrangement of the texts according to the necessities of the liturgical festivals has been mostly carried on, in the VIII and IX centuries. The date of the manuscripts, though not certain, can be presumed from paleographic observation: all manuscripts can be attributed to the period between the IX and XI centuries. No entire or semi-entire codex that may belong in our list here comes from this unit, as it is to be expected, because of the process of acquisition of the codicological units in the modern collections. The sigla of the fragments and of the collections are explained in Appendix 2.

Codicological units, 1. Reconstructed codices

### **MONB.BH.**

Localization and content: PN.131.7.42 (165-166), PN.129.18.155 (page numbers unknown), LR.127.1 (page numbers unknown), LR.127.3 + PN.129.18.123 (page numbers unknown), LR.127.2 (page numbers unknown): cc0050, Athanasius of Alexandria, On the Nativity.

PN.131.7.67 (page numbers unknown): cc0883, on the Nativity, of an unknown author.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Louis Theophile LEFORT, *L'homélie de S. Athanase des pa-*

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12. Cf. Tito ORLANDI, *The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenoute at Atripe*, in: A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis*, Leiden etc., Brill, 2002, p. 211-232.

pyrus de Turin, *Le Muséon* 71 (1958) 5-50, 209-239.

Comments: It was reconstructed by Lefort for his edition of the homily, because it parallels, with important differences (cf. below) the text in GIOV.AK. The order of the fragments has been reconstructed by Lefort on the basis of GIOV.AK. The last fragment contains a different textual unit.

### **MONB.BS.**

Localization and content: PN.131.6.078 (017-018), a semi-illegible incomplete folio.

PN.131.1.30-31 (051-054): Title and beginning of cc0329, Proclus of Constantinople and Severianus of Gabala (see below), On the Nativity.

PN.131.4.112-119 (125-140): End of cc0895 (CPG4335), John Chrysostom, On the Baptism. Title and beginning of cc0309, Peter of Alexandria, On the Baptism.

PN.129.15.011-016 (271-282), WK.09514 (287-288): from the dossier cc0095 by and about Cyprianus of Antioch.

CU.OR1699.X (page numbers unknown), BL.OR03581A.168 (327--328): end of cc0095; title (many lacunes) and parts of a homily on the Ascension of an unknown author.

MR.CRAWFORD36.1-6 (349-360): cc0889, a homily on the Virgin, of an unknown author.

PN.130.5.132, PN.131.3.77-80 (page numbers unknown): On Mary, possibly also cc0889.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 51-54, Enzo LUCCHESI, *Un sermon copte de Severien de Gabala sur la Nativité du Christ* (attribué aussi a Proclus de Constantinople) *AB* 97 (1979) 111-127; p. 349-360, cf. Robinson *Apocryphal*, p. xxiii.

Comments: The reconstruction of this unit is very doubtful, because it is based mostly on pure paleographic evidence and page numbers. Its content appears to be non homogeneous, but this is a common feature of many such codices.

**MONB.CP**

Localization and content: PN.131.4.162 (p. 17-18?): cc0913, Gregory of Nazianzus, On Stephen protomartyr.

BL.OR03581A.031 (page numbers unknown): (a) end of cc0897, unidentified (possibly another letter of Severus); (b) cc0898, Severus of Antioch, Letter to Probus; (c) cc0219, Liberius of Rome, On fast. It continues in CF.174.

PN.131.1.67, CF.172+301A (page numbers unknown): cc0345, Severus of Antioch, Cathedral homily XIV, On the Virgin.

CF.301 (page numbers unknown): (a) end of cc0345; (b) title and beginning of cc0463, Constantine of Siout, On Isaiah 14.18.

MR.CRAWFORD25.4, CF.171 (page numbers unknown): title: John Chrysostom, On the Ep. to the Hebrews, logos 5 (possibly cc0169).

CP.B25.1-2 (page numbers unknown): (a) end of cc0899, unidentified; (b) cc0348, Severus of Antioch, Cath. Hom. 28, on the apostle Thomas.

MR.CRAWFORD25.1 (page numbers unknown): end of cc0900, unidentified.

MR.CRAWFORD25.2,5,6 (page numbers unknown): cc0856, Athanasius of Alexandria, Exhortations (probably to the monks).

MR.CRAWFORD25.3: cc0080, Basil of Caesarea, Prooemium in regulas.

BL.OR08802.1-6.SUP (page numbers unknown): (a) cc0447, Athanasius of Alexandria, Letter to the virgins; (b) cc0339, Severus of Antioch, Letter to Theognostos; (c) cc0621, Severus of Antioch, Letter to Caesaria.

PN.131.1.37, PN.131.4.163 (page numbers unknown): cc0901, John Chrysostom, On Matthew.

WK.09170 (page numbers unknown): cc0903, unidentified.

CF.173 (page numbers unknown; very small fragment).

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: PN.131.1.67, Emile PORCHER, Un discours sur la Sainte Vierge par Severe d'Antioche, ROC 22 (1915) 416-423; CF.172+301a, Youhanna YOUSSEF, The Coptic Marian Homilies of Severus of An-

tioch, BSAC 43 (2004) 127-140. Cf. Enzo LUCCHESI, Notice touchant l'homélie XIV de Severe d'Antioche, VC 33 (1979) 291-293. Comments: the codex was an anomalous product, probably meant for private perusal. It is a palimpsest, the script above is very disordered, and the text inaccurate.<sup>13</sup> The original sheets came from at least two codices, and I do not comment their texts, which were erased but are still readable in part. The overwritten texts are certainly interesting, as it is the case for us of the Cathedral homily XIV by Severus of Antioch, cc0345, On the Virgin. The attribution of the sheets to the secondary, palimpsest unit is rather easy, given the peculiar aspect of the pages; but the reconstruction is impossible, because no page number is visible. We have given what might have been the original sequence.

### **MONB.CU.**

Localization and content: PN.129.16.099 (003-004), BL.OR-03581B.05 (005-006): cc0329, Severianus of Gabala (as in this manuscript), Proclus of Constantinople, On the Nativity.

PN.131.1.27 (065-066), PN.132.1.04 (097-098), PN.131.3.36 (099-100), BS.FOL1611.2 (page numbers unknown), CC.9254 (page numbers unknown), BL.OR03581B.06 (page numbers unknown), OB.COPT.D239 (page numbers unknown), PN.132.1.60 (page numbers unknown): cc0045, Archelaus of Neapolis, On Gabriel the Archangel.

PN.131.3.37 (139-140), WK.08678 (page numbers unknown): cc0246, Pambo of Sketis, *Historia monachorum*.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 3-6, Enzo LUCCHESI, Un sermon copte de Severien de Gabala sur la Nativité du Christ (attribué aussi à Proclus de Constantinople), AB 97 (1979) 111-127.

Comments: the script of this unit is rather peculiar for its careless individuality. It contained three textual units, which can be set in order by

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13. Cf. Louis Theophile LEFORT, Homélie inédite du pape Libère Sur le jeûne, *Le Muséon* 12 (1911) 1-22, see p. 4.

means of the numeration of the pages, with the uncertainties that remain in these cases, also because some of the sheets are very damaged.

### **MONB.DH.**

Localization and content: RV.B109.cass25.111.1-4 (021-028), PN.-129.18.158 + PN.131.5.150 (033-034), PN.129.17.53-58 (035-046), BL.OR03581B.26 (047-048), PN.129.17.66 (049-050), RV.B109.-cass25.113.1-4 (053-060), PN.129.18.126 (page numbers unknown), WK.09371 (page numbers unknown): cc0150, Evodius of Rome, On the Apostles.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 21-28, 35-46, 49-60, Revillout apocryphes, p. 16-39.

Comments: the sheets attributed to this unit might be only the first part (p. 1 to ca. 80) of the unit, originally a larger one.

### **MONB.DL.**

Localization and content: CP.B14.1 (003-004), RV.B109.cass-25.117.1-4 (005-012), CP.B14.2 (013-014), PN.131.5.105 (019-020), WK.09781 (021-022), CC.9274 (023-024), PN.129.17.67 (087-088), PN.129.17.21-25 (089-098), MP.I.1.B0272(2) (page numbers unknown), PN.131.7.15 (page numbers unknown), PN.131.5.066 (099-100, with a *subscriptio*, title of the work): cc0005, Cyril of Jerusalem, on the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 4-14 Robinson Apocryphal, p. 2-13. P. 87-98, Revillout apocryphes, p. 58-67.

Comments: the sheets attributable to this unit might be only the first part (p. 1 to ca. 100) of the unit, originally a larger one.

### **MONB.DV.**

Localization and content: WK.09352 (005-006): cc0906, excerpt from an unidentified homily on the Virgin.

CF.051 (083-084): excerpt from a homily, possibly by Theophilus of Alexandria; excerpt possibly cc0392, Theophilus of Alexandria, On the church of the Three Children.

BL.OR03581A.020 (087-088): end of cc0904, an excerpt from an unidentified sermon attributed to Cyril of Alexandria On the Virgin; cc0905, an excerpt from an unidentified sermon of Cyril of Alexandria.

LR.098 (089post): end of an excerpt from an unidentified sermon attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (perhaps the same as before); beginning of cc0907, an excerpt of an unidentified sermon attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, on Saint Menas.

BL.OR03581B.54 (097-098): end of an excerpt from an unidentified work attributed to one Helias of Psoi; beginning of an excerpt from a work On Lucius and Arsenius the Syrians.

PN.129.18.167 (115-116): excerpt from cc0565, Acts of John.

IB.01.30 (151-152): end and beginning of excerpts from works attributed to Theodorus the Pachomian.

IB.09.23 (159-160): end of an excerpt from a work attributed to Isaias of Sketis; beginning of an excerpt of an unidentified work of Isaias of Sketis, On the prayer.

IB.02.01 (213-214): end and beginning of excerpts from works attributed to Horsiesi the Pachomian.

IB.11.076 (219-220): excerpt from cc0047, Athanasius of Alexandria, To the monks.

PN.131.1.09 (247-248): end and beginning of excerpts from unidentified works attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria.

IB.11.077-080 (293-300): three excerpts. (a) End of an excerpt possibly from cc0446, Athanasius of Alexandria, On the Ascension. (b) Excerpt of cc0908, on the Annuntiation, attributed to Basil of Caesarea. The following excerpt (c) is probably from the same homily.

PN.129.14.122-124 (325-330): end of an excerpt from cc0085, Benjamin of Alexandria, On the wedding of Cana; excerpt from cc0086, Benjamin of Alexandria, Panegyric of Shenoute; beginning of another excerpt.

BL.OR03581B.07, CF.059-060, CU.ADD1876.08-10, IB.01.27-28,

PN.129.18.170, PN.129.18.172, PN.131.1.10, PN.132.1.54: fragments with page numbers in lacune, containing various other excerpts.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 87-88, unpublished.

Comments: the reconstruction of this codex is very difficult, and it is to be considered provisory. The codex contained a series of excerpts to be read in proper liturgical occasions; they were introduced and concluded with statements indicating the author and the liturgical use.

### **MONB.EC.**

Localization and content: CP.B47.1-3 (079-081v): cc0888, On the sacrifice of Abraham, of an unknown author.

CP.B28 (084-084v), PN.132.1.03 (085-085v), CP.B47.4-5 (page number unknown): end of the previous homily, and cc0329, Severianus of Gabala, On the Nativity.

MR.CRAWFORD35.1-2 (124-127): cc0247, Pambo of Sketis, Life of Hilaria.

PN.132.4.319 (173-174), IB.02.35 (175-176), BL.OR03581B.69 (216-217): cc0066, Atanasius of Antioch, Life of Severus.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 85-86, Enzo LUCCHESI, Un sermon copte de Severien de Gabala sur la Nativité du Christ (attribué aussi à Proclus de Constantinople), AB 97 (1979) 111-127.

Comments: It seems to me that the numeration of this codex has been lost in part, in antiquity, and somebody replaced it, sometimes only on the recto of the folios.

### **MONB.FD.**

Localization and content: PN.131.1.13 (047-048), CC.9229 (051-052), WK.09504 (063-064), RV.B109.cass25.120.1-6 (067-078), PN.129.-18.132 + PN.129.18.134 (079-080): cc0119, Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Campagnano Cirillo 152-185.

Comments: the unit may have contained some text before and after the homily, but so far no other sheet has been recognized.

### **MONB.GA.**

Localization and content: WK.09783 (009-010), IB.13.60 (021-022), IB.12.18 (031-032): cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

IB.12.19 (041-042), PN.131.6.052 (043-044): cc0498, On the Virgin, of an unknown author.

PN.131.1.59-64 (063-074), IB.12.21-24 (probably 081ff.): end of cc0498; title and parts of cc0154, Philip of Anatole, On the Virgin.

IB.12.20 (103-104), PN.131.1.65 (107-108): title and parts of cc0851, Cyril of Alexandria, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 21-42 and IB.12.21-24, Robinson Apocryphal, p. 66-87.

Comments: This unit was a collection of homilies on the Virgin.

### **MONB.MN.**

Localization and content: PN.078.14 (211-212), WK.09423 (225-226), WK.09422 (277-278), WK.00381 (297-300), CF.165 (page numbers unknown), WK.09616 (page numbers unknown): cc0004, *Concilii Ephesini Acta*.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 277-8, Karl WESSELY, Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts, I-V, Leipzig, Avenarius/Haessel, 1909-1917 = Studien zur Paläographie und Papyrologie 9, 11 12, 15, 18 (15 n. 243).

Comments: in the Acts of Ephesus also the homily cc0320 by Proclus, on the Virgin, was preserved. In this case cf. p. 278.

### **MONB.MT.**

Localization and content: CP.B16.1 (017-018), RV.B109.-cass25.112.1-3 (019-024), CP.B16.2 (027-028): cc0150, Evodius of

Rome, On the Apostles.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 19-28, Revillout apocryphes, p. 16-33.

Comments: it is probable that the unit contained other works, but no other sheet has been recognized, that I know.

### **MONB.MY.**

Localization and content: IB.14.50 (015-016), PN.131.5.106 (019-020), WK.09401 (045-046), RV.B109.cass25.125 (081-082), PN.129.17.41 (page numbers unknown), PN.129.18.092 (page numbers unknown), PN.129.18.151 (page numbers unknown): cc0150, Evodius of Rome, On the Apostles.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: cf. Pierre LACAU, *Fragments d'apocryphes coptes*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1904 = BIFAO 9

Comments: it is probable that it contained other works, but no other sheet has been recognized, that I know.

### **MONB.NR.**

Localization and content: RV.B109.cassetta25.118.1-3 (017-022), PN.129.17.28-29 (051-054): cc0884, unknown author, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 17-22 Robinson Apocryphal, p. 14-21. P. 51-54, Revillout apocryphes, p. 54.

Comments: it is probable that this unit contained other works, but no other sheet has been recognized, that I know. No title has survived, therefore we do not know of any attribution.

### **MONB.NS.**

Localization and content: CF.186 (1-2) CF.187 (15-16), CF.190-197 (17-32): cc0118, Cyril of Jerusalem, On Mary Magdalene.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: René-Georges COQUIN, Un encomion copte sur Marie-Madeleine attribué à Cyrille de Jérusalem, BIFAO 90 (1990) 169-212.

Comments: It is probable that it contained other works, but no other sheet has been recognized, that I know.

### **MONB.NT.**

Localization and content: MU.0158.24.1-2 (099-102), MU.0158.24.3 (113-114): end of cc0890, On the Virgin (author unknown). Title, beginning, and part of cc0163, Basil of Caesarea, On the Nativity.

CC.9272 (after 115): possibly end of cc0163. Title and beginning of one homily cc0891, Basil of Caesarea, On the Nativity.

PN.131.8.152 (after 116): probably end of the previous homily. Title and beginning of cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

### **MONB.NU.**

Localization and content: WK.09655-09657 (page number unknown); PN.131.7.73 (page number unknown): title and parts of cc0592: Severus of Antioch, Cathedral homily 7, on the Nativity and Stephen.

PN.131.1.32 (page number unknown): end of cc0592; title and beginning of cc0163, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, On the Nativity.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

### **MONB.NV.**

Localization and content: MU.0158.35 (page numbers unknown and 29-30), WK.09400 (35-36: the sheet seems lost, but it was transcribed by Wessely): cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: WK.09400, Karl WESSELY, Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts, I-V, Leipzig, Avenarius/Haessel, 1909-1917 (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyrologie 9, 11, 12, 15, 18) n. 240.

Comments: none.

### **MONB.NW.**

Localization and content: CP.B15.1-2 (page numbers unknown): cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

IB.12.25 (page numbers unknown): part of a homily on the Virgin, not yet classified.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: CP.B15.1-2, Robinson Apocryphal, p. 70-73, 82-89.

Comments: none.

## Codicological units, 2. Isolated fragments

For the isolated fragments, the origin from the Monastery of apa Shenute is more debatable than for the other documents. I list the fragments, and I add only the reference to the clavis number, indicating their content.

Localization and content: CF.159-160sup: cc0119, Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: IB.12.26-27 and SU.413-414: cc0151, homily by Evodius of Rome, on the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: SU.413-414, Wilhelm SPIEGELBERG, *Eine sahidische Version der Dormitio Mariae*, *Recueil de travaux* II 9 = 25 (1903) 1-4,

Comments: none.

Localization and content: “Chauleur fragment”<sup>14</sup> and NM.665.04 (p. 131-132, 141-142): cc0118, Cyril of Jerusalem, *On Mary Magdalene*.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: René-Georges COQUIN, *Un encomion copte sur Marie-Madeleine attribué à Cyrille de Jérusalem*, *BIFAO* 90 (1990) 169-212.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: PN.131.1.26: cc0320, Proclus of Constantinople, *On the Nativity*.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: The codicological unit to which this fragment belonged contained the Acts of the council of Ephesus, cf. PN.129.14.142-143.

Localization and content: PN.131.1.38: cc0892, John Chrysostom, *On the Nativity*.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: The sheet contains the last few words of a preceding homily, and the beginning of cc0892. It has received no attention so far.

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14. Coquin in his edition gave this name to one sheet published by Chauleur in 1956, which now seems lost.

Localization and content: PN.132.1.56: cc0889, homily on the Virgin, of an unknown author.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: PN.132.1.84: cc0127, Damianus of Alexandria, On the Nativity.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: cf. Enzo LUCCHESI, L'homélie De nativitate de Damien d'Alexandrie: un témoin copte du Monastère Blanc, *Aegyptus* 83 (2003) 229-232.

Localization and content: RV.B109.CASS25.119 (2 folios, p. 39-42): cc0885, Miracles of the Virgin at Bartos (author unknown).

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Robinson Apocryphal, p. 20-25.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: WK.09666-09667: cc0889, On the Virgin (author unknown).

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

Bibliological unit - ancient, 2.

The monastery of apa Macarios in the mount Sketis (MACA).

The library of the monastery dedicated to the memory of Macarius, one of the earliest fathers of the monastic life (early IV century), is second for importance only to that of the monastery of apa Shenute. The two libraries shared the fate to be dispersed in various collections, starting from the XVIII century, but the remains of St. Macarius are in far better condition, although they also pose peculiar problems. One of them is that the codicological units as they are now in the main repository, the Vatican library, are bound in volumes which contain a number of textual units, but sometimes those textual units originally were parts of larger codicological units.<sup>15</sup> I cannot find information on who separated the groups of sheets, neither on who made the present binding.

The best study of this bibliological unit is found in the Introduction to the publication of the Cairo fragments by H. Evelyn White (White Texts). He notes that no extant codicological unit is datable before the IX cent., but the explanation seems less dramatic than he supposes (distruction of the library by the beduins), and should be related to the renovating work done by the school which arranged the Coptic texts for liturgical use in the IX cent. That school was probably active mainly at the St. Shenute monastery, where also we do not find codices earlier than the IX cent. if not by exception, but the consequences were extended to St. Macarius, the texts of which, in Bohairic, probably depended on the Sahidic originals of St. Shenute.

According to the accurate reconstruction of White (p. xxxii) the manuscripts from St. Macarius were brought to Europe starting from 1635, but especially by Assemani (1715-18, now in the Vatican library), B. Drovetti (ca. 1815, they were burnt in Turin), C. Tischendorf (1844 now in Leipzig<sup>16</sup> and some in Cambridge), H. Tattam (ca. 1830, now in Manchester).<sup>17</sup>

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15. Cf. A. HEBBELYNCK, A. van LANTSCHOOT, *Codices coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani, I Codices Vaticani*, Roma, Bibl. Vaticana, 1937.

## Codicological units, 1. Complete codices

**MACA.AC**

Localization and content: RV.C057, codex of 280 folios. The folios 98-111 contain a homily, cc0602, by John Chrysostom, on the Nativity (= PG 49, 351-362).

Material: parchment.

Date: IX cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: the codex contained a collection of works by John Chrysostom or attributed to him.

**MACA.BH**

Localization and content: RV.C061.117-142: cc0385, homily by Theodosius of Alexandria, on the Assumption of Mary.

Material: parchment.

Date: IX-X cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: Marius CHAINE, *Sermon de Théodose Patriarche d'Alexandrie sur la Dormition et l'Assumption de la Vierge*, ROC 29 (1933-4) 276-314.

Comments: none.

**MACA.BR**

Localization and content: RV.C062.090-119: cc0151, homily by Evodius of Rome, on the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

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16. Cf. Johannes LEIPOLDT, *Verzeichnis der Koptischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig* = C. VOLLERS, *Katalog der Handschriften der Univ.Bibl. zu Leipzig*, Vol. 2, p. 383-427, Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1906; and Walter Ewing CRUM, *Hagiographica from Leipzig Manuscripts*, PSBA 29 (1907) 289-296, 301-307.

17. Cf. Walter Ewing CRUM, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester, Univ. Press, 1909.

Date: X cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: Paul Anton De LAGARDE, *Aegyptiaca*, Gottingae, 1883, p. 38-63.

Comments: none.

### **MACA.DI**

Localization and content: RV.C067.069-089: cc0073, homily by Basil of Caesarea, On the church of the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Date: X cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: pp. 493-495. Ed. M. CHAINE, *Catéchèse attribuée à Saint Basile de Césarée. Une lettre apocryphe de Saint Luc*, Rev. Or. Chr. III ser. 3 (1922-3) 150-9 and 271-302.

Comments: none.

Codicological units, 2. Reconstructed codices

### **MACA.EJ.**

Localization and content: LU.1088.04, LU.1089.09, LU.1088.01, CC.-ABUMAQAR.009, MR.CRAWFORD46: title and parts of cc0385, On the Assumption of the Virgin, attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria.

Material: parchment.

Date: X-XI cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: *White Texts*, p. 60-62.

Comments: none.

### **MACA.EK.**

Localization and content: LU.1088.04, LU.1087.22-23, LU.1087.30-31, CC.-ABUMAQAR.048.1-2: title and parts of the

apokryphon cc0573, Dormitio of the Virgin, attributed to the Apostles Peter and John.

Material: parchment.

Date: X-XI cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: White Texts, p. 54-58.

Comments: none.

### **MACA.EL.**

Localization and content: CC.-ABUMAQAR.024 (015-016); CC.-ABUMAQAR.024ADD5 (031-032%); LU.1087.24 (031-032%); LU.1086.06 (033-034); LU.1086.28 (035-036); LU.1086.29 (045-046); LU.1087.17 (047-048); LU.1086.41 (049-050); CC.-ABUMAQAR.024ADD1 (050post); LU.1086.34 (051-052); MR.SUP-PL49?? (063-064); CC.-ABUMAQAR.024ADD2 (065post%); CC.-ABUMAQAR.024ADD6 (065post%); CC.-ABUMAQAR.024ADD3 (073-074%); LU.1087.14 (073-074%); WK.06424 (073-074%); CC.-ABUMAQAR.024ADD4 (075post); cc0198, Gregory of Nissa, Encomium of Gregory Thaumaturge.

LU.1087.21 (075post); LU.1086.50 (076post): cc0073, On the church of the Virgin, attributed to Basil of Caesarea.

Material: parchment.

Date: X-XI cent.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: unpublished, but cf. MACA.DI.

Comments: none.

### Codicological units, 3. Isolated fragments

Localization and content: CC.ABUMAQAR.010-010ADD: cc0909, On the Virgin, of an unknown author.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: White Texts, p. 62-65.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: CC.ABUMAQAR.025-025ADD: clavis 0886, Unknown author, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: White Texts, p. 51-53.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: CC.ABUMAQAR.031-031ADD.1: cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: White Texts, p. 59 (variants from Lagarde).

Comments: from a codicological unit different from the following item. Parallels ed. Lagarde p. 51.

Localization and content: CC.ABUMAQAR.031ADD.2: cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: White Texts, p. 59 (variants from Lagarde).

Comments: from a codicological unit different from the preceding item. Parallels ed. Lagarde p. 48-50.

Localization and content: LU.1088.22, LU.1089.3 and 8: cc0885, Miracles of the Virgin at Bartos.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Bohairic.

Editions: Arnold van LANTSCHOOT, Miracles opérés par la S. Vierge a Bartos (fragments bohairiques), in: A. Metzinger (ed.), *Miscellanea biblica et orientalia* (Misc. Miller, *Studia Anselmiana* 27-28) p. 504-511, Roma, 1951

Comments: none.

Bibliological unit - ancient, 3.

The monastery of St. John at Tin (GIOV).

The attribution of the papyrus fragments brought by B. Drovetti from Egypt, now in the Egyptian Museum in Turin, to the library of a monastery in Tin, Upper Egypt, has been proposed by me after van Lantschoot Colophons, p. 180-181, n. CV, and is based on an index placed, as it seems, in front of one of the codicological units, TM.63000.03. Be that as it may, certainly the Turin papyrus come from one ancient bibliological unit, though they are now badly damaged.

The sheets are placed between glass panes, and are referred to by means of the call number of the codex (TM.63000.01, 02, 03, etc.) followed by the number of the glass. More information on the Turin collection may be found in my article: *Les papyrus coptes du Musée Égyptien de Turin, Le Muséon* 87 (1974) 115-127.

Codicological units. Reconstructed codices<sup>18</sup>

### **GIOV.AA.**

Localization and content: TM.63000.01:

Glass 1a, 2a, 3: cc0862, homily on the Virgin, author unknown.

Glass 1b, 2b, 4-10: cc0127, Damianus of Alexandria, On the Nativity.

Glass 10-41: cc0201, anonymous History of Eudoxia.

Glass 41-61: cc0512, Martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch.

Glass 61-66: cc0282, Martyrdom of Joore.

Material: papyrus.

Date: VII-VIII century.

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18. We classify these codices as “reconstructed” because they are not complete, and the individual sheets are kept under separate glasses. In fact they are all that remains of entire codices, and have always been kept together, both in the place of discovery and in the actual collocation. The dates indicated for them are absolutely conjectural.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: glass 2a, 3, Francesco ROSSI, *Trascrizione con traduzione italiana di un testo copto del Museo Egizio di Torino*, Mem. Acc. Scienze Torino, II.42 (1892) p. 166 = fr. VIII; 163-4 = fr. V. — Glass 1b, 2b, 4-10, Tito ORLANDI, *Papiro di Torino 63000,1: Damiano di Alessandria, Sul Natale*, in: H. Melaerts (ed.), *Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii*, Leuven, Peeters, 2000, p. 593-614.

Comments: none.

### **GIOV.AF.**

Localization and content: TM.63000.06 It contained:

Glass 1-73: cc0050, Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Nativity*.

Glass 74-91: cc0173, John Chrisostom, *On Mt. 12.14*.

Glass 92-95: cc0306, *Martyrdom of Ptolemaeus*.

Material: papyrus.

Date: VIII-IX century.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Glass 1-73, L. Th. Lefort, «Le Muséon» 71 (1958) 5-50 and 209-239.

Comments: none.

### **GIOV.AK.**

Localization and content: TM.63000.10: cc0099, Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Nativity*. Cc0329, Proclus of Constantinople, Severianus of Gabala, *On the Nativity* (at least glasses 1, 5, 8, 7, 22, 18, 23). Cc0452, Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Nativity*.

Material: papyrus.

Date: VIII century.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Francesco ROSSI, *Trascrizione con traduzione italiana dal copto di due omelie di S. Giovanni Grisostomo con alcuni capitoli dei Proverbi di Salomone e frammenti vari di due Esegese sul giorno natalizio del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo*, Mem. Acc. Scienze Torino, II.40 (1890) 99-208; and other fragments in Id., *Trascrizione con traduzione italiana di un testo copto del Museo Egizio di Torino* (parte

seconda), Mem. Acc. Scienze Torino, II.42 (1892) 107-252.

Comments: the condition of this unit is rather peculiar, because all the sheets have the numeration in lacune, and have been mixed up, and the original sequence is lost. The reconstruction is still very uncertain, and the assignement of the single sheets to the work to which they originally belonged is still *in fieri*.

Bibliological unit - ancient, 4.

The monastery of St. Mercurius at tBo (MERC).

In 1907 a group of 21 codices was acquired by the British Museum, London, from 4 different dealers.<sup>19</sup> One of them, Robert de Rustafjaell, an American Egyptologist, wrote a book on the discovery,<sup>20</sup> maintaining that they came from the same finding, made in a ruined monastery near Edfu (ΤΒΩ, Apollinopolis Magna: ΠΜΟΝΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟC ΖΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΤ-ΒΩ), and precisely in a receptacle inside the ancient walls. It is impossible to know how far this statement is trustworthy; in any case we can say from the colophons that the monastery had a library, from which most of the codices come.

Codicological units, 1. Complete codices

### **MERC.AB**

Localization and content: BL.OR06784; 23 folios, cc0119: Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Date: X-XI cent.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Budge Miscellaneous, p. 49-73; Campagnano Cirillo 152-185.

Comments: none.

### **MERC.AC**

Localization and content: BL.OR07027.01-73:

1-21: cc0254, Papnute of Sketis, Report on monks.

19. Cf. Bentley LAYTON, Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906, London, The British Library, 1987, p. xxvii-xxviii.

20. Robert D. De RUSTAFJAE LL, The Light of Egypt, London, Paul etc., 1909.

21-72: cc0129, Demetrius of Antioch, On the Virgin.

73: colophon.

Material: paper.

Date: year 1004.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 21-72, Modras Demetrio.

Comments: none.

### **MERC.AD**

Localization and content: BL.OR06782.01-36;

1-9: colophon; cc0572, Repose of John the Evangelist.

9: title of cc0193, Gregory of Nazianzus, On Michael Archangel.

10-28: cc0144, Epiphanius of Salamis, On the Virgin; colophon.

29-36: cc0109, Cyril of Alexandria, On the Virgin.

Material: paper.

Date: year 989/90 and around.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 10-28 Budge Miscellaneous, p. 120-138.

Comments: The manuscript consists of 4 distinct groups of folios, which in antiquity were secondarily united and bound in their present order. See Layton Catalogue p. 174.

Codicological units, 2. Reconstructed codices:

### **MERC.AH**

Localization and content: BL.OR07028 (24 folios); BL.OR06780 (16 folios); WF.02 (8 folios).

Original page n. 1-60: cc0093, Celestine of Rome, On Gabriel Archangel.

Original page n. 60-96: cc0396, Theophilus of Alexandria, On the Virgin.

Original page n. 96-[97]: colophons.

Material: parchment.

Date: year 974.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 60-96, W. H. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, New York 1923, pp. 249-321.

Comments: none.

Bibliological unit - ancient, 5.

The monastery of Michael the archangel at Sopehes (MICH).

In 1910 some Egyptian farmers found ca. 50 codices and many sheets in the ruins of an ancient monastery situated 3 km. S-W of the present-day village of al Hamuli (10 km. N of Medinet Madi), in the Western part of the Fayum. From the colophons of the codices we know that the official ancient name was ΠΜΟΝΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠ-ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΛΛΙ or ΝΩΠΕΖΕC.<sup>21</sup> Most of the manuscripts are now preserved in the P. Morgan Library in New York, and in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.<sup>22</sup> It is doubtful whether one may speak properly of a library, because many codices written in Sopehes are found in other bibliological units,<sup>23</sup> and three writing tablets were found together with the codices. Therefore it is possible that we are in the presence of a *scriptorium*, whose products only in part were deposited in the library of the monastery.

Codicological units. Complete codices

### **MICH.AP**

Localization and content: NM.600 (64 folios; Photographic edition, XVI)

1-45: cc0120, Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Cross.

46-63: cc0396, Theophilus of Alexandria, On the Virgin.

63: colophon.

Material: parchment.

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21. Cf. Leo DEPUYDT, Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Leuven, Peeters, 1993, p. lviii-lix

22. Cf. Henry HYVERNAT, A Checklist of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Privately Printed, 1919, and the photographic edition: Henry HYVERNAT, Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi, Roma, 1922, 56 vols.

23. Notably the monastery of Shenoute, cf. van Lantshoot Colophons.

Date: year 906.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 46-63 unpublished, but cf. MERC.AH.

Comments: none.

### **MICH.BH**

Localization and content: NM.597 (75 folios; photographic edition, XXXIII)

1-45: cc0129, Demetrius of Antioch, *On the Virgin*.

46-74: cc0119, Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Virgin*.

75: colophon.

Material: parchment.

Date: year 913-4.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 1-45, Krzysztof MODRAS, *Omelia copta attribuita a Demetrio di Antiochia, Sul Natale e Maria Vergine*, Roma, CIM, 1994. 241 p. (Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari). — P. 46-74, Campagnano Cirillo, p. 152-185.

Comments: none.

### **MICH.BI**

Localization and content: NM.596 (37 folios; photographic edition, XXXIV)

1-19: cc0129, Demetrius of Antioch, *On the Virgin*.

19-26: cc0151, Evodius of Rome, *On the Virgin*.

26-36: cc0115, Cyril of Jerusalem, *On the Passion*.

36-37: colophon.

Material: parchment.

Date: year 871-2.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 1-19 Modras (ut supra). P. 19-26 Shoemaker *Dormition*, p. 252-278.

Comments: none.

**MICH.BJ**

Localization and content: NM.598 (21 folios; photographic edition, XXXV)

1-8: cc0151, Evodius of Rome, On the Virgin.

9-21: cc0115, Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Passion.

21: colophon.

Material: parchment.

Date: IX-X cent.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 1-8, Shoemaker Dormition, p. 252-278.

Comments: none.

**MICH.BP**

Localization and content: NM.583 (173 folios; photographic edition, XLI)

1-16: cc0045, Archelaus of Neapolis, On Gabriel the Archangel.

17-23: cc0433, Martyrdom of Psote.

23-58: cc0386, Theodosius of Alexandria, On John the Baptist.

59-75: cc0437, Martyrdom of Theodore Anatolius.

75-102: cc0296, Martyrdom of Philotheus.

103-138: cc0302, Martyrdom of Shenufe.

139-157: cc0119, Cyril of Jerusalem, On the Virgin.

157-167: cc0247, Pambo of Sketis, Life of Hilaria.

168-173: cc0258, Martyrdom of Apaiule and Ptolemaeus.

173: colophon.

Material: parchment.

Date: year 848.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 139-157, Campagnano Cirillo, p. 152-185.

Comments: none.

**MICH.CF**

Localization and content: NM.634 (28 folios preserved). This unit is in very bad conditions; no sheet is complete, many are lost. For what is possible to judge, it contained only one homily, cc0005, Cyril of

Jerusalem, On the Virgin; but the title, and so the attribution, is lost.

Material: parchment.

Date: IX-X cent.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

Bibliological unit - ancient, 6.

Monastery of unknown name, near Hû, 200Υ (cf. Crum Texts p. v)

Little earlier than 1905 a group of papyrus fragments was on the market of Luxor.<sup>24</sup> They were seen by Henry Sayce, to whom the dealer(s) said that they were found together in Hû (200Υ, Diospolis Parva, South of Abydos). It is plausible that they came from the library of a monastery. They are now in the P. Morgan Library, New York and are published in Crum Texts.

Codicological units. Isolated fragments.

Localization and content: NM.C04.1-2: cc0005, Cyril of Jerusalem, on the Virgin.

Material: papyrus.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Crum Texts, p. 12-13.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: NM.C06: cc0163 Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, On the Nativity.

Material: papyrus.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Crum Texts, p. 18-19.

Comments: The fragment contains the end of an unidentified homily, and the title and beginning of cc0163. The second sheet published by Crum under the same heading may belong to the same codicological unit, but the content has not been identified.

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24. Depuydt, Catalogue, p. lxxii-lxxiii

Localization and content: NM.C07 (11 sheets): cc0127, Damianus of Alexandria, On the Nativity.

Material: papayrus.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Crum Texts, p. 23-32.

Comments: none.

Bibliological units - ancient, 7.  
Origin not known

Codicological units: isolated fragments.

Localization and content: BE.WEST.BL133.A, cc0456 Basil of Caesarea, On the Nativity.

Material: papyrus.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: I mention this fragment from a note that I have taken when inspecting the papyri collected in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin Charlottenburg. They are still there, perhaps to be moved to the Museum Insel. Unfortunately I have not copied the text: I assume I found a title and little else.

Localization and content: BL.OR04714.SUP: cc0575 Prayer of Mary at Bartos.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Walter Ewing CRUM, A Coptic Palimpsest. I, Prayer of the Virgin in Bartos. II, Fragment of a Patriarchal History, PSBA 19 (1897) 210-222.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: DC.MS819A.1-6: cc0154 Philip of Anatole, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: OB.COPT.D026: cc0050, Athanasius of Alexandria, On the Nativity.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: unpublished.

Comments: none.

Localization and content: PN.155: cc0851 Cyril of Jerusalem, on the Virgin.

Material: papyrus.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: Enzo LUCCHESI, D'un papyrus copte d'Antinoè, Le Muséon 111 (1998) 269-278

Comments: none.

Localization and content: UU.2,3,6, p. 31-34 and 41-42, cc0889, On the Nativity, of an unknown author.

UU.1, 2 sheets, p. 67-70, cc0396, Theophilus of Alexandria, On the Virgin.

Material: parchment.

Local language: Sahidic.

Editions: p. 31-34 and 41-42, Roel van den BROEK, The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions, Leiden, Brill, 1971. The other pages are not published.

Comments: there are photos also of the pages 71-72 of this codicological unit, in the Michigan University Library, but the original is not traceable now. Cf. van den Broek, p. 33, n. 2.

### III. TEXTUAL UNITS

We arrange the list of the textual units according to the chronological order of the liturgical festivities in which they were supposed to be read, as it is reported in the titles. It is true, in any case, that they could be read also in different festivities, depending on the taste or whim of the authorities. For some, no title is preserved, or the title does not mention the festivities, but we can infer their function. They are placed at the end of the appropriate festivity. It is also the case that different manuscripts give different titles, but this is only normal if one reflects on the historical development of the Coptic titles.<sup>25</sup>

In the list below, we do not explicitly mention an “official title” beside the indication of the number of *clavis coptica*, in order to stress the fact that such titles are an artificial and conventional invention of modern scholars, admittedly on the basis of what is customary in the Greek and Latin patristic tradition. In any case, such titles may be inferred from the Coptic titles, which I report in their entirety, and are mentioned in the section II, on the codicological units (see above).

The dates are taken from the official calendar of the Coptic Church, which generally coincides with the indications given in the titles. The calendar is taken from the tables of Meinardus,<sup>26</sup> still the best in my opinion, and of Coquin.<sup>27</sup> I report the definition of the feasts as found in the Arabic *Synaxar* from the Latin (or semi-Latin) translation of Forget.<sup>28</sup> Some homilies cannot be assigned to any festival: they are listed at the end.

The items in the list follow the template: clavis number; list of codicological units with title and incipit, when preserved; summary; comments.

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25. Cf. Buzi titoli.

26. Otto MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt, Faith and Life*, Cairo, 1970.

27. René G. COQUIN, *Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic*, in: Aziz S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, New York etc., Macmillan, 1991, vol. 7, p. 2171-2190. See there for the different redactions of the *Synaxar* or calendar.

28. Jacques FORGET, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, CSCO 47 48 49 67 78 90, Louvain, CSCO, 1905-1926, 6 Vol.

a) **29 Khoiakh** (Nativity): *Synaxarium*, I p. 286: “Hodie natalium gloriosum Domini nostri Iesu Christi festum iterum agimus. In eam namque sententiam convenerunt patres Ecclesiae doctores, utraque die festum natalium sanctorum agendum esse; extrema enim nocte diei vigesima nona manifestati sunt.”

1) Date mentioned in the title

**Clavis 0452.** One codicological unit, GIOV.AK, in which the title is: ΖΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΟΥΕΞΗΓΗΘΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΑΥΘΟΣ ΝΘΙ ΑΠΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΟΥΜΙΣΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΚΟΥΧΟΥΤΨΙΣ ΝΧΟΙΑΚΖ = And now, a homily by apa Athanasius, archbishop of Rakote, on the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the 29 of Choiakh.

Inc.: ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΠΛΑΟΣ ΝΤΑΥΜΠΩΑ ΜΠΕΙΩΜΝΟΥΥΕ ΝΤΕΙΘΟΤ.

Summary: the text is not yet properly reconstructed. We can provisionally say that it dealt especially with what kind of festivity was the birth of the Saviour, and on the correct date of the feast, and its significance. Comments: attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, nihil obstat an origin from the IV-V cent., but the reconstruction is extremely uncertain.

**Clavis 0163.** Three codicological units:

- NM.C06, in which the title is: ΟΥΕΞΗΓΗΘΙΣ ΝΤΕ [ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ] ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΠ[ΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑ] ΝΤΩΟΡΠ ΝΚΑΠΠΑ[ΔΟΚΙΑ] ΕΥΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ Π[ΖΟΥΜΙΣΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΩ]-ΤΗΡ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ [ΝΚΟΥΧΟΥΤΨΙΣ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΧΟ]-ΙΑΧΚ = A homily by Saint Basilios, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia I, on the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the 29 of Choiakh.

Inc.: ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΕΧΙΜΩΝ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΖΟΥΜΠΕ ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ...

- MONB.NT, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΑΥΘΟ ΝΘΙ ΠΣΟΦΟΣ ΖΝ ΝΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ ΝΤΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΡΞ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΚΟΥΧΟΥΤΨΙΣ

**ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΧΙΑΧ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ** = A homily pronounced by the theologian apa Basilius, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadoce, on the carnal birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the 29 of Choiakh. In the peace, amen.

Inc. as in the other unit.

• MONB.NU (PN.131.1.32), in which the title is: **ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΧ-ΤΑΥΟΘ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΚΩΝCΤΑΝ†ΝΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΕΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΧΕ ΙΗCΟΥC ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΧΠΟΘ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ ΝΤΕ ΔΙΟΥΔΕΑ ΖΝ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΡΩΔΗC ΕΙC ΖΕΝΜΑΓΟC ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΜΜΑΝΩΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΘΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΧΤΩΝ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΘ· ΑΝΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΕΧCΙΟΥ ΖΝ ΜΜΑΝΩΑ ΑΝΙ ΕΟΥΩΩΤ ΝΑΥ = Homily pronounced by Saint John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, on the birth of our Saviour, on the (biblical) passage: when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea at the time of Herodes, some Magi came from the Orient to Jerusalem, saying: where is born the king of the Judees? We have seen his star in the East, and we came to worship him.**

Inc.: **ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕCΩΑΝΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ ΤΖΜΜΕ ΜΠΕΑΡ ΖΜ ΠΖΩΩΒ ΝΤΕΠΡΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΩΑΡΕ ΠΚΑΖ †ΟΥΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΟΥΝΤΗΘ ΕΧΟΥΕΤΟΥΩΤ.**

Summary: cf. PG 61, 763-768. Long prologue: like Spring, Christ brings new life in humanity. Mystery of the virginal birth. Praises of Mary. Commentary of the Gospel. The Mages and the star. Mysteries in the Scripture.

Comments: as G. Mercati remarked<sup>29</sup> the homily in Greek is found under the name of John Chrysostom (PG 61, 763-768), but it is now classified under the *spuria*<sup>30</sup> The attribution was uncertain even in Greek. Theodoretus (PG 83, 209-212) attributes it to Severianus of Gabala, while Severus of Antioch (*Contra imp. gramm.* 3, cap. 36) attributes it to the Chrysostom. The double attribution in Coptic seems

29. G. MERCATI *Journ. of Theol St.* 8 (1917) 355-7 (= *Studi e Testi*, 79, pp. 458).

30. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium Pseudo-Chrysostomicum*, Paris 1969, n. 319



**Clavis 0127.** Two codicological units and one isolated fragment:

- GIOV.AA. Title and inc. in lacune.
- NM.C07, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟ[Σ] ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟϞ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΚΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΝΩΤΗΡ ΙΗCOΥC ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΝCOΥΧΟΥΤΨΙC ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΧΟΙΑΚΖ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΑΑΝ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΜΚΤΟ ΝΤΑΡ[ΚΟ ΕΡΕ ΝΖ]ΗΠCIC[Τ]ΩC ΝΜΠΟΛΙ[ΤΕΥΟΜ]ΕΝΟC Ε[ΑΝ]ΑΓΚΑΖΕ [...]ΑΙ ΕΤΩΡΠ [Ν]ΝΚΑ ΝΝΑ[...] Ε]ΜΝΤΟΥ Ν[Α]Υ ΝΙΩΤ ΜΝ [...]ΕΤΠ[...]ΩΗΜ ΖΙ [Κ]ΩC[ΤΑΝ]ΤΙΝΟC [ΠΠΑΤ]ΡΙΚΙΟC ΠΕΤΕ ΩΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΠΛΑΡΤΗC· ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕCΤΝΝΟΟΥϞ ΝΟΙ ΜΑΥΡΙΚΙΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΡΕϞΧΙ ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΕϞΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟC ΜΝ ΝΖΥΠΑΤΟC [Μ]Ν ΝΕCΤΡΑΤ[ΗΛΑ]ΤΗC ΜΝ ΑΜΑΝΤΙΟ[Σ ΠΕCΙ]ΟΥΡ ΜΝ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ ΝΚΗ]ΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΔΗΜΟC ΤΗ[ΡϞ] ΜΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΤΗΡC[...]ΥΑ = Homily pronounced by the saint apa Damianos archbishop of Rakote on the carnal birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord for the 29 of Choiakh, and on the pestilence and destructive earthquake, when the chiefs of the people obliged [...] to plunder the properties [...] of the orphans [...] under Constantine the patricius who is called Lartes, send by the emperor Mauritius to Rakote to capture all the magistrates of Egypt, and at the presence of the patricius and the consul and the officials and the eunuch Amantius and all the magistrates of Egypt and the army and all the people [

Inc. in lacune.

- PN.132.1.84, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.  
Summary: the feast of the Virgin. Gabriel and the annuntiation. Visit of Mary to Elisabeth. The birth of Jesus. Against the heretics: Platonites, diphysites. The recent earthquake. Conclusion.  
Comments: on this important, but fragmentary homily, cf. my remarks in the edition, cf. above.

**Clavis 0129.** Three codicological units:

- MERC.AC, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟC ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟϞ ΝΟΙ

ΑΠΑ ΔΥΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΝΤΟΧΕΙΑ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΧΧΕΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΘ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΕΧΡΥΣΟCΤΟΜΟC  
 ΜΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟC ΕΠΕΧΠΟ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΜΠ-  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΝCΟΥ ΧΟΥΨΙC ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΧΟΙΑΧ ΑΥΩ  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΧΜΑΛΥ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΤΝΤΑCΧΠΟC ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by apa  
 Demetrius archbishop of Antioch who consecrated the great John  
 Chrysostom priest, on the carnal birth of God the Logos for the 29 of  
 Choiakh, and on Mary his mother virgin who generated him. In the  
 peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΤΑΡΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΧΟΙΑΖΚ ΟΥΡΑΩΕ ΝΑΝ ΠΕ  
 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΧΖΑΗ ΟΥΕΥΦΡΟCΥΝΗ ΤΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡC

• MICH.BH, in which the title and the inc. are the same as in  
 MERC.AC.

• MICH.BI, in which the title and the inc. are the same as in  
 MERC.AC (only it omits “and on Mary... him”).

Summary: Birth and childhood of Mary. Presentation to the Temple.  
 Mary in the house of Joseph. Dialogue between Father and Son on the  
 incarnation. Annuntiation. Praises of Mary. Mary and Elizabeth. Na-  
 tivity. The shepherds and the Mages. The holy family in Egypt. The  
 slaughter of the innocents. The family of Herod and John the Baptist.  
 Theology of the birth of Christ and of Mary. Exhortations.

Comments: some parts are very similar to cc0005.

**Clavis 0329 (= CPG 4282).** Four codicological units:

• GIOV.AK, in which the title is: [ΟΥΕΞΗΓΗC]ΙC Ε[ΑΧΤΑΥΟC]  
 ΝΘΙ [ΠΡΟΚΛΟC] ΠΕΠΙC[ΚΟΠΟC] ΝΚΥΖΙΚΟC [ΖΝ ΤΕΚ]ΚΛΗ-  
 CΙΑ [ΝΚΩC]ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ[ΠΟΛΙC] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΟΥ[ΜΙCΕ] ΜΠΕΝ-  
 ΧΟΕΙC [ΙΗCΟΥC Π]ΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ΝCΟΥΧΟΥΤ[ΨΙC] ΜΠΕΒΟΤ  
 ΧΟΙ[ΑΚ]Ζ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ [ΤΕ]ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ Μ[ΜΑ]ΡΙΑ ΤΠΑΡ-  
 ΘΕ[Ν]ΟC ΤΕΝΤΑCΧΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ = Homily pronounced by [Pro-  
 clus] bishop of Cyzikos in the church of Constantinople on the birth of  
 our Lord Jesus Christ for the 29 of Choiakh, and on the offer of the  
 Virgin Mary who generated God.

Inc.: ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΟΝ ΜΠΟΥΥ ΤΡΑΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΡΟΥΥΤ ΝΜΜΗΤΝ...

- MONB.BS (p. 51-54), in which the title is: ΟΥΕΞΗΓΗCΙC ΝΤΕ ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ CΕΥΗΡΙΑΝΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΝΓΑΒΑΛΛΕΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΟΥΜΙCΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙΗCΟΥC ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC [...] = Homily by Saint Severianus bishop of Gabala on the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ [...].

Inc.: ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΟΝ ΜΠΟΥΥ ΤΡΑΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΡΟΥΥΤ ΝΜΜΗΤΝ ΤΗΡΤΝ...

- MONB.CU (p. 3-6). Title and *incipit* not preserved.

- MONB.EC (p. 84v-ca. 100), in which the title is: [ΟΥΖΟ]ΜΟΙΛΙΑ ΕΑΥΤΑΥ[Ο ΜΜΟC] ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ CΕΥΗΡΙΑΝΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΝΚΑΒΑΛΛΕΥC ΕΠΖΟΥΜΙCΕ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΙΗCΟΥC ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ΝCΟΥΧΟΥΤΨΙC ΝΧΟΙΑΚΖ = Homily pronounced by apa Severianus bishop of Gabala for the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the 29 of Choiakh.

Inc. as in MONB.BS

Summary: the first part of the homily was dedicated to Gabriel and the annunciation. The other parts cannot be reconstructed.

Comments: The authorial tradition accepted by GIOV.AK, from the monastery of Tin, contrasts with that of the Shenoute's monastery. Lucchesi has pointed to the identity of the texts,<sup>31</sup> which should be accepted, with the caution that all manuscripts are fragmentary. The inclusion in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* under Severianus comes from the notice in Emile PORCHER, *Analyse des manuscrits coptes 131.1-8 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1 (1933) 135-160, 231-278, 2 (1936) 65-123 (MONB.BS).

**Clavis 0320** (= BHG, App. 80, CPG 5800). Two codicological units:

- MONB.MN, p. 278, where the title is: ΟΥΕΞΕΚΗCΙC ΝΤΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΡΟΚΛΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΚΥΖΙΚΟC· ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟC ΖΝ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙC· ΕΤΒΕ

31. Enzo LUCCHESI, *Un sermon copte de Severien de Gabala sur la Nativité du Christ* (attribué aussi a Proclus de Constantinople), *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979) 111-127.

ΤΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC Ι̅C ΠΕΧ̅C· ΖΜ ΠΖΟΥΥ ΝΤΕ-  
ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΜΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΤΕΝΤΑC-  
ΧΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

Inc.: ΠΩΑ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑCΝΗΥ ΤΩΖΜ  
ΜΠΕΝΛΑC...

• PN.131.1.26, where the title is: [ΟΥΕΞΗΓΗCΙ]C ΕΛΧΤΑΥΟC ΝΟΙ  
ΑΠΑ ΠΛΟΚΛΟC [ΠΕΠΙCΚΟ]ΠΟC ΝΚΥΖΙΚΟC· ΖΝ  
ΤΕΚΚΛΗ[CΙΑ Ν]ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙC· ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΝΤΡΩ[ΜΕ  
ΜΠ]ΕΝ ΧΟΕΙC Ι̅C ΠΕ Χ̅C· ΖΜ ΠΖΟΥΥ ΝΤΕΠ[ΡΟCΦΟΡ]Α  
ΜΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC· ΤΕΝΤΑCΧ[ΠΕ ΠΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΠΕΝCΗΡ  
Ι̅C· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ·

Inc.: [ΠΩΑ] ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC [...

Summary: cf. Schwartz, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, I 1 1, p.  
103-107.

Comments: both fragments come from codexes containing the Acts of  
the Council of Ephesus, and therefore also this homily of Proclus. Cf.  
Enzo LUCCHESI, L'oratio I "De Laudibus S. Mariae" de Proclus de  
Constantinople. Version Sahidique..., in: E. LUCCHESI, H.D. SAF-  
FREY (eds.), Memorial... Festugière, p. 187-198, Genève, Cramer,  
1984.

2) Date not declared or title not preserved

**Clavis 0050** (= CPG 2187). Two codicological units and an isolated  
fragment:

• GIOV.AF, in which the title is: Ο[ΥΛ]ΟΓΟC [ΕΛ]ΧΤΑΥΟC [ΝΟΙ]  
ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΡΑΚΟ-  
ΤΕ ΝΤΕΡΕCΚΤΟC ΖΝ ΤΜΕΖCΝΤΕ ΝΕΞΩΡΙCΤΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ  
ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΝΤΑCΧΠΕ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΕΛΙCΑΒΕΤ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΕCΕΛΕΝΧΕ  
ΑΥΩ ΕCΧΠΙΟ ΝΑΡΙΟC ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΒΟΤΕ  
ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΕΤΕ †ΡΒΟΟΝΕ ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΜΑΝΑCΗ  
ΠΡΡΟ ΝΙΟΥΔΑ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ†ΖΕ ΜΝ ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ = Homily pro-

nounced by apa Athanasius archbishop of Rakote after he came back from his second exile on the Saint Virgin Mary mother of God who generated God and Elizabeth the mother of John confuting and castigating Arius and on those who make the abomination of the heathen, that is the evil eye, and on Manasses the king of Juda and on drunkenness and defilement.

Inc.: **ϢΤΟΟΜΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ Μ̄ΠΤΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ Μ̄ΠΩΑΧΕ  
Μ̄ΠΕΠΡ̄ΦΗΤΗΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΖΙΕΡΟΥΑΛΤΗΣ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ...**

- MONB.BH, in which the title and the *incipit* are in lacune.
- An isolated sheet, OB.COPT.D026, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: Prologue, against Arius. Annuntiation and visit to Elizabeth. Praises of the Virgin. Birth of Jesus, Magers, shepherds. On Manasses. Against magic. On the abstinence and against drunkennes and lust.

Comments: The unit as it is preserved in GIOV.AF is a typical product of the literary period of the synaxarial systematization, (partly) formed using pieces previously circulating as independent texts or parts of other texts. This is why the unit as it is preserved in MONB.BH, probably more ancient, from the period of the cycles (it belongs to the cycle of Athanasius), does not contain the moral part on Manasses, the drunkenness, and the defilement; and why we find the part on the drunkenness (ed. Lefort p. 42-43) also in a homily attributed to Basil of Caesarea (cc0074; cf. CPG 2845, PG 31, 160-184, different redaction).

**Clavis 0892.** One isolated fragment:

- PN.131.1.38, in which the title is: **ΟΥΖΟΜΟΛΙΑ ΕΑΨΤΑΥΟΣ ΝΟΙ  
ΑΠΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΤΙΚΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΚΟΣΤΑΝΔΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΝΩΤΗΡ ΙΗCOYC ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ΠΕΝ-  
ΧΟΕΙC ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC  
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ** = Homily pronounced by apa John archbishop of Constantinople on the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord and on Saint Mary the Saint Virgin.

Inc.: **ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν̄CΟΦΟC Ε΢ΟΥΩΨ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
ΕΥΚΗΠΟC· Η ΟΥΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC· Ε΢ΤΕΡΠΕ Μ̄ΜΟ΢ ΕΧΝ**

ḲΩΗΝ...

Summary: only the first words are preserved.

Comments: none.

**Clavis 0602** (= CPG 4334). One codicological unit:

• MACA.AC, in which the title is: ΟΥΟΜΗΛΙΑ ΕΑΧΤΑΟΥΟC ΝΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΠΙΧΡΙCΟCΤΟΜΟC ΕΘΒΕ ΠΧΙΝΜΙCΙ ΜΠΕΝΟC ΙΗCΟΥC ΠΧΡΙCΤΟC ΉΕΝ ΟΥΖΗΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΝΟΥΤ ΛΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by Saint John Chrysostom on the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΠΑΛΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΝΙΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC CΕΡΠΡΑΤΤΙΝ ΝΟΜΙΜΟC...

Summary: cf. PG 49, 351-369. Celebration of Christmas, great affluence. Discussion on the date of Christmas, and long demonstration. Against the heathen and the Manichaeans.

**Clavis 0592** (= CPG 7046, 7035.7). One codicological unit:

• MONB.NU (WK.09655-09657), three consecutive sheets in which the title is: ΖΟΜΟΙΩC ΚΕ ΛΟΓΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΑΝΔΙΟΧΙΑ ΠΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ CΕΥΗΡΟC ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟC ΕΠΖΟΥΜΙCΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙΗCΟΥC ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ΜΝ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΑΠΑ CΤΕΦΑΝΟC· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Another sermon pronounced by the Saint Patriarch and archbishop of Antioch, who wears God, apa Severus, on the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ and the martyr apa Stephen. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: †ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ ΑΥΩ †ΡΑΩΕ ΖΝ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΡΟΤ ΜΠΕΤΝCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ...

Summary: Joy for the feast, which otherwise would require a better speaker to be celebrated. Theological considerations on the Nativity: Christ is born, but also has always existed, as Logos; He became man to save the humanity; He did not want that man perish because of the sin. (Lacune) Prophecies on Christ. Glory of Christ.

Comments: it is the seventh cathedral homily of Severus. Cf. the complete Syriac version in *Patrologia Syriaca* 38.2.

**Clavis 0890.** One codicological unit:

- MONB.NT (MU.0158.24, p. 99-101). Only the conclusion of the work is preserved.

Summary: the Manichaeans and the heretics be confused, and the Church make feast for Christmas. On the birth of Jesus. Joseph, Mary and the priests.

Comments: The work preceded cc0163, and so far has received no attention.

**Clavis 0883.** One codicological unit:

- MONB.BH (PN.131.7.67), a small fragment; no title or *incipit*.

Summary: side (a) on the incarnation; side (b) on the glory of Jesus.

Comments: The sheet is excluded from other codicological units on the basis of script and layout. The work has not received any attention.

b) **21 Tobe** (Repose of the Virgin): *Synaxarium*, I p. 360: “Hodie requie donata est Virgo, pura Dei mater, domina Maria, feminarum universi regina.”

1) Date is mentioned in the title

**Clavis 0573.** One codicological unit:

• MACA.EK, in which the title is: ΠΧΙΝΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΝ ΣΩΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΝΟ̅C ΤΗΡΕΝ †ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ †ΡΕϷΦΕΝΟΥ† ΗΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΝCΟΥΚΑ̅ ΝΤΩΒΙ ΝΕΜ ΤΕCΑΝΑΛΥΜΨΙC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝCΟΥΙC̅ ΜΜΕCΟΥΡΗ· ΕΑΓΙC-ΤΟΡΙΝ ΜΜΩΟΥ ΝΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΝΕΜ ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΝΙΑΠΟCΤΟ-ΛΟC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΟ̅C ΙΗCΟΥC ΠΧΡΙCΤΟC ΗΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΝΟΥ† ΑΜΗΝ = The depart from the body of the Lady of us all, the saint *theotokos* Mary the true mother of God on the 21st of Tobi, and her saint Assumption on the 16th of Mesore, narrated by Peter and John, the saint apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΕCΩΟΠ ΝΧΕ †ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟC ΜΑΡΙΑ ΗΕΝ ΠΕC-ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΖΗΠ ΕΥΧΗ ΗΑΤΟΤC ΝΧΕ Ι† ΜΠΑΡ-ΘΕΝΟC...

Summary: Christ announces the death to his mother. [Lacune] The apostles around Mary. New apparition of Christ. [Lacune] Funerals of the Virgin.

Comments: it is the only testimony of the “true” *apocryphon* called the *dormitio Virginis* (BHG1055 etc.), from which the homilies cc0005, cc0119, cc0151, cc0385 are more or less directly derived.

**Clavis 0851.** Two codicological units:

• MONB.GA (p. 103-104, 107-108), in which the title is: ΟΥΕΝΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΑϷΤΑΟΥΟϷ ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟC ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΕΤΜΠΩΑ ΝΤΑΙΟ ΝΙΜ ΤΕΠΛΑΞ ΜΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΝΧΒΙΝ ΝΖΗΤC ΤΕCΤΟΛΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΜΝΤΟΥΗΗΒ ΠΟΛΜΑΙ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΜΑΝΝΑ ΝΖΗΤϷ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΕΤΩΟΤΜ ΤΜΕΖCΝΤΕ ΜΠΕ ΕΤΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ

ΤΕΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΥΟΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ  
 ΜΠΕΣΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ  
 ΤΩΒΕ ΠΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily  
 pronounced by apa Cyril archbishop of Rakote for the Woman who is  
 worthy of all praise, the slab or marble in which there is no stain, the  
 saint stole of the priesthood, the golden jar in which is kept the manna,  
 the door locked, the second sky on the earth, the saint *theotokos* Mary,  
 pronounced in the day of her saint commemoration, the 21st Tobe. In  
 the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΕΙΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΜΟΥ ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΚΟΜΟC...

• PN.155, in which the *incipit* and title are in lacune.

Summary: Praises of the Virgin. Parallel with Judith. Annuntiation,  
 visit to Elizabeth. Behaviour of Joseph. The Virgin and the angels.  
 Birth of Jesus.

Comments: Some of the praises of the Virgin coincide with those in  
 cc0109. Work on this text is still to be done.

**Clavis 0119.** Four codicological units and an isolated fragment:

• MICH.BH, in which the title is: ΤΜΕΖΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΝΕΖΗΓΕCIC  
 ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟΣ ΝΟΙ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ-  
 ΛΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΘΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜ ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟΣ  
 ΕΦΕΓΚΟΜΙΑΖΕ ΜΠΒΙΟΣ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΝΧΟΕΙC  
 ΤΗΡΝ ΤΕΘΕΩΔΟΔΟΣ ΕΤΑΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΜΠΕΝ-  
 ΩΝΖ ΤΗΡΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΙΗCΟΥC  
 ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΖΙCΔΟΡΙΖΕ ΝΤΕCΘΙΝΧΠΟ ΕΥΤΑΜΑ  
 ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΟΥΧΠΟ ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΥΥΤ ΜΝ  
 ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΝΤΑCΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟC ΝΖΗΤΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΙΚΑΘΗΓΕCIC  
 ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΙΕΓΚΟΜΙΟΝ ΖΜ ΠΕCΤΟΠΟC  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΦΕΡΑΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΩ† ΤΑΙΟ ΝΑC ΜΝ ΝΕΚΕ-  
 ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΝΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΜΠΕCΡΠ-  
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΚΑ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ ΠΕ· ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ = The 21st sermon pronounced by the saint patri-  
 arch apa Cyril archbishop of Jerusalem in praise of the saint Virgin

Mary the mother of the life of us all and our saviour, Jesus Christ, narrating her birth, showing to everybody that she is an offspring of male and female as any human being. He spoke also about the day in which she died, in this same catechesis, or rather encomion, in her saint church, feasting and honoring her also with all orthodox people who were with him, in the day of her commemoration, that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace, amen.

Inc.: ΕΡΩΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΑΖΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ ΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΩΖΜ ΝΝΕΨΩΒΕΕΡ ΕΥΑΡΙCTON...

• MICH.BP, in which the title is: ΤΜΕΖΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΝΕΖΗΓΕCIC ΕΑΨΤΑΥΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ- ΛΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠICKΟΠΟΣ ΝΘΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜ ΕΑΨΤΑΥΟΣ ΕΨΕΓΚΟΜΙΑΖΕ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΜΠΕΝΩΝΖ ΤΗΡΝ ΙΗCΟΥC ΠΕΧΡΙCTΟΣ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΑΨΙC- ΤΟΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΕCΔΙΝΧΠΟ ΕΑΨΤΑΜΟ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΟΥΧΠΟ ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΡ- ΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ· ΑΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑCΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΕΑΨΧΩ ΝΤΕΙΚΑΘΗΓΕCIC ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΙΕΓΚΟΜΙΟΝ ΖΜ ΠΕCΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΨΕΡΨΑ ΝΑC ΜΝ ΝΕΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΡ- ΡΩ ΝΝΑΛΙΘΥΝΟΝ ΕΤΕ CΟΥΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΠΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΑΜΗΝ = The 21st sermon pronounced by the saint patriarch apa Cyril archbishop of Jerusalem in praise of the saint Virgin Mary the mother of the life of us all, Jesus Christ our Lord, narrating her birth and showing to everybody that she is an offspring of male and female as any human being. He spoke also about the day in which she died, pronouncing this catechesis, or rather encomion, in her saint church, feasting her with all orthodox people in the day of the commemoration of the true queen, that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace of God, amen.

Inc. as the previous one.

• MERC.AB, in which the title is: ΤΜΕΖΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΝΕΖΗΓΗCIC ΕΑΨΤΑΟΥΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ- ΛΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠICKΟΠΟΣ ΝΘΙΕΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜ ΕΠΒΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ- ΘΕΩΔΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ· ΑΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΧΕ

ΟΥΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟC ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ·  
 ΛΥΩΛΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑCΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟC  
 ΝΖΗΤΥ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ CΟΥΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΝΤΩΒΕ· ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = The 21st sermon pronounced  
 by the saint patriarch apa Cyril archbishop of Jerusalem on the life of  
 the saint *theotokos* Mary. He spoke also on the day in which she died,  
 that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΕΡΩΛΝ ΟΥΑΖΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΟC ΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΩΖΜ  
 Ν[ΝΕC]ΩΒΗ[ΗΡ ΕΥ]ΑΡΙCΤΟΝ...

- MONB.FD: title and *incipit* not preserved. The text parallels ed. Campagnano Cirillo § 11-52 (most of the homily).
- CF.159-160, an isolated fragment, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune. The text parallels ed. Campagnano Cirillo §10-13.

Summary: introduction, where Cyril mentions two previous homilies, preached by him, on the Cross and on the Passion. Theological dispute on the human, corporeal nature of the Virgin, against the heretics who maintain that she is a *dunamis*. History of the monk Annarichus of Maiuma, converted by Cyril. Narration of the death and funerals of Mary. Conclusion.

Comments: Ed. Campagnano Cirillo 152-185, with extensive discussion on the origin of the homily. There is also an Ethiopic version. Arnold van Lantschoot, L'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge chez les coptes, Gregorianum 27 (1940) 493-526, distinguishes two redactions, but in fact each manuscript diverges in part from the others. Cf. also C.D.G. Müller, Die alte koptische Predigt, Berlin 1954, p. 192, 207-17, 318-9.

**Clavis 0144.** One codicological unit:

- MERC.AD, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΚΥΠΡΟC ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟC  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΕCΧΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕCΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕCΟΥ-  
 ΧΟΥΤΟΥΕΙ ΠΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily by the saint apa Epiphanius bishop of  
 Cyprus, pronounced on the saint Virgin Mary who generated God, in

the day of her saint commemoration, that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΑΛΗΘΩΣ Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΑΠΚΟCΜΟC †ΟCΕ ΝΟΥΝΟC  
ΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΕCΘΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΟΟΥ...

Summary: Introduction, on the death of the Virgin. Comparison between Mary and Sion. Comparison with figures of the Ancient and New Testament. The genealogy in Matthew. The Virgin is not a celestial, extra-human creature. The four women Thamar, Rahab, Ruth, Bersabea. Luke on the date of Christmas, precise calculation. Conclusion.

Comments: Hippolytus of Rome is mentioned. The text is different from PG 43.485-501.

**Clavis 0151.** Seven codicological units and three isolated fragments:

- MICH.BI, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟC ΕΑCΤΑΥΟC ΝCΙ  
ΑΠΑ ΕΥΖΩΔΙΟC ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΤΝΟC ΜΠΟΛΙC  
ΖΡΩΜΗ ΕΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΜΝΝCΑ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC·  
ΝΤΑCΤΑΥΟC ΔΕ ΖΝ ΤΩΡΠ ΝΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΤΑΥΚΟΤC  
ΝΒΡΡΕ ΖΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΕΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΥΩ  
ΤΡΕCΧΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ· ΑCΤΑΥΕ ΖΝΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
ΝΕΠΑΙΝΟC ΕΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕC-  
ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ  
CΟΥΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by apa Euhodios archbishop of the metropolis Rome, the second after the apostle Peter. He pronounced it in the first church built from scratch in the name of the saint *theotokos* Mary, truly the mother of God. He said also a few praises in honor of the holy Virgin Mary, showing us the day of her death, that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΟΥΠΡΕΠΩΝ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝ† ΤΑΙΟ  
ΝΙΜ ΖΙ CΜΟΥ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΝΧΟΕΙC ΤΗΡΝ...

- MICH.BJ, in which the title and *incipit* are as in the previous unit.
- MONB.GA (p. [1]-65), in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.
- MONB.NT (P131.8.152), in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟC ΝΤΕ  
ΠΕΝΠΕ[Τ]ΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΙ[Η]Υ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ

ΑΠΑ ΕΥΖΟΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ· ΝΤΝΟΘ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ  
 ΖΡΩΜΗ [ΕΤΕ] ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΜΝΝ[С]Α ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ·  
 ΕΑϸ[ΤΑ]ΥΟϸ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΑΡ[ΘΕΝ]ΟС ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ  
 [Μ]ΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΜΠΕCΠΜΕ[Ε]ΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΕΤΕ  
 CΟΥ[ΧΟ]ΥΤΟΥΕΙ ΠΕ ΜΠΕΒΟТ [ΤΩΒ]Ε· ΕϸΟΥΩΝΖ Μ[ΜΟС]  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΤΧ[... = Homily pronounced by the saint father, very  
 much honored, apa Evodius archbishop of the metropolis Rome, the  
 second after apa Peter, on the saint Virgin Mary, in the day of her saint  
 commemoration, the 21st of Tobe, showing that she...

- MONB.NV, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune. The text of MU.158.35 parallels ed. Lagarde ch. 4-6. The text of WK.09400 parallels ed. Shoemaker Dormition§ 7.12-8.15.

- MONB.NW, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

- MACA.BR, in which the title is: ΟΥΚΑΘΗΚΙCΙC ΕΑϸΤΑΥΟС  
 ΝΧΕ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΟΥΖ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΟΥΤ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟТ  
 ΝΙΒΙΝ ΑΒΒΑ ΕΥΧΟΔΙΟС ΠΙΑΡΧΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟС ΝΤΕ ΤΠΟΛΙC  
 ΡΩΜΗ ΕΠΙΜΑΖΒ ΠΕ ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ ΠΕΤΡΟС ΠΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟС·  
 ΕΤΑϸΤΑΥΟС ΔΕ ΕΤΕΝCΟΙC ΤΗΡΝ †ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟС ΕΘΟΥΑΒ  
 ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕϸΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΠΙΖΩΒ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΜΠΕCΒΙΟС ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝCΟΥΚ̄Α ΜΠΙΑΒΟТ ΤΩΒΙ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΠΙΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ· ҺΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΝΟΥ† ΑΜΗΝ = Homily  
 pronounced by our saint and very honored father abba Evodius arch-  
 bishop of Rome, the second after the apostle Peter. He pronounced it  
 for the Lady of us all the *theotokos* saint Mary showing us that she fin-  
 ished her saint life on the 21st of Tobi according to the calendar of  
 Egypt. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΑΡΕΩΑΝ ΟΥΟΥΡΟ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΚΟCΜΟС ΟΥΩΨ ΕΙΡΙ  
 ΝΟΥΖΟΠ ΕΠΕϸΨΗΡΙ...

- SU.413-414, and probably IB.12.26-27 (where the text parallels CP.B15.1). In SU.413 the long title begins: [ΟΥΛ]ΟΓΟС ΕΑϸ-  
 ΤΑΥ[Οϸ] ΝCΙ ΑΠΑ ΕΥΖΟ[ΔΙΟС Π]ΑΡΧΗΠΙCΚΟ[ΠΟС Ν]Τ-  
 ΝΟΘ ΜΠΟ[ΛΙC Ζ]ΡΩΜΗ [...] ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΟС... and then is  
 very fragmentary = Homily pronounced by apa Euhodios archbishop  
 of the metropolis Rome ... apa Peter ...

Inc. in lacune.

- CC.-ABUMAQAR.031-031ADD.1 (p. 31-34), in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.
- CC.-ABUMAQAR.031ADD.2, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: introduction, the celestial feast of Mary, compared to the wedding of the son of a king. Testimony of persons of the Ancient Testament. Evodius and the Virgin. Comparison with precious stones. Miracles of Mary. Cana. Against the Jews: the pagans are better than they. The repose of the Virgin.

Comments: the number of manuscripts shows that this was one the most appreciated homilies of the Coptic tradition. - On the different redactions cf. Gonzalo ARANDA PÉREZ, Dormición de la Virgen. Relatos de la tradición copta, Madrid etc., Ciudad Nueva, 1995 (= Apocrifos cristianos, 2); and Shoemaker Dormition.

**Clavis 0154.** One codicological unit and one isolated fragment:

- MONB.GA (p. 63-74), in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΧ-ΤΑΥΟϸ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ· ΝΤΑϸΤΑΥΟϸ ΔΕ ΕΤΡΩ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΕΝ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡΝ ΤΕΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ· ΝΤΑϸΤΑΥΟϸ ΔΕ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟϸ ΜΜΗΗϨΕ ΣΟΟΥΖ ΕΥΡΩΑ ΝΑΣ ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕΣΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΣΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ = Homily pronounced by our saint very honored father apa Philip bishop of Anatole, on the queen of all women and Lady of us all the saint *theotokos* Mary. He pronounced it in the holy sanctuary where a great convention was gathered to feast her in the day of her saint commemoration, that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace of God.

Inc.: ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΔΙΟΥΡΟΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ Ω ΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΕΡΙΤ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΣΟΟΥΖ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΗΙ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ...

- DC.MSS819A.1-6, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑϸΤΑΥΟϸ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ

ΑΠΑ ΑΠΑ (sic) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ  
 ΕΤΡΡΩ ΕΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΤΝΧΟΕΙC ΤΗΡΝ ΤΚΙΒΩ-  
 ΔΟΣ ΝΑΛΥΘΙΝΗ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΑΥ  
 ΕΜΠΡΡΟ ΕΜΠΩΝΖ ΤΕCΤΑCΧΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΕΝΟΥΜΕ·  
 ΕΝΤΑΧΤΑΥΟ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΜ ΠΕCΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟC  
 ΕΜΜΗΗΨΕ CΟΟΥΖ ΕΥΕΡΨΑ ΝΑC ΕΑΨΑΧΕ ΕΠΕCΧΠΟ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΝ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑCΑΙΑΙ ΕΜΜΟC ΖΝ ΤΒΒΟ ΝΙΜ  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΓΑΒΡΙΑΛ ΒΩΚ ΨΑΡΟC  
 ΑΨ† ΝΑC ΕΜΠΕΧΕΡΙCΜΟC ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΧΠΟ  
 ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΕΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΗΤΗC ΖΕΜ  
 ΠΜΑ ΕΝΘΟΙΛΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ CΑΛΟΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΕΝΨΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΕΝΤΑ ΖΗΡΩΔΗC ΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ ΖΝ ΒΕΘΛΗΜ  
 ΕΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ ΠΕΥΖΑΠ· ΕΝΤΑΧΤΑΥΕ ΠΙΛΟΓΟC ΔΕ [ΖΜ  
 ΠΕΖΟΥ] ΕΜΠΕCΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕ CΟΥΧΟΤΟΥΕ  
 ΕΝΤΩΒΕ ΠΕ· ΖΕΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΝΕC-  
 ΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΤΗΡΝ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ  
 ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by our saint very honored father apa  
 Philip bishop of Anatole on the queen of all women and lady of us all,  
 the true arch, the saint vergin Mary, the mother of the king of life, she  
 who truely generated God. He pronounced this sermon in her sanctu-  
 ary where a great convention was gathered for her feast, and he spoke  
 on her saint birth and how she grew in all purity and that Gabriel the  
 archangel went to her and gave her the celestial greetings and on the  
 carnal birth of God the Logos from her in the manger and on Salome  
 and on the children whom Herodes killed in Bethlem, of whom God  
 made the vengeance. He pronounced this sermon [in the day] of her  
 saint death that is the 21st of Tobe. In the peace of God, that His saint  
 blessings come to us all together, amen.

Inc.: ΟΥΠΕ†ΝΑΧΟΟΨ Η ΟΥΠΕ†ΝΑΤΑΟΥΟΨ· ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΑΝΚ  
 ΟΥΖΗΔΙΩΤΗC...

Summary: the meaning of the five letters of the name Mary. Exhorta-  
 tion to the hearers. History of Joakim and Anna. Mary presented to the  
 temple. The Virgin and the Paradise. The rivers of the Paradise. The  
 ancestors of Joseph; matrimony of Mary and Joseph. Annunciation,  
 nativity ... [lacune]



ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by our saint and very honored father apa Cyril, archbishop of Rakote, in honor of the ever virgin, the saint Mary, truly mother of God, showing her great glory and the honor that she received from God. In the peace of God, amen.

Inc.: Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΠΛΑΟC ΜΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΟΥΩΝ ΝΜΜΑΔ-  
 ΧΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ ΝΤΕΤΝCΩΤΜ ΕΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΝΤΜΑΔΥ ΜΠ-  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ...

Summary: praises of Mary. Relations between Jesus and Mary. Privileges of Mary. Mary herself tells his life. The world, personified, glorifies Mary. Condescension and humility of Jesus towards Mary. The virgins must imitate Mary. On the annuntiation. Christ is without mother in the sky, without father on the earth. Prayer to the Virgin ... [lacune]

Comments: The only manuscript which preserves the text has lost its final part. Some of the praises of the Virgin coincide with those in cc0851, while the statements on the father and mother of Christ are found also in cc0329.

**Clavis 0889.** One codicological unit and three isolated fragments:

- MONB.BS (p. 349-360; and perhaps two other fragments), no title or *incipit*.
- WK.09666-09667, two sheets including no title or *incipit*.
- UU.2,3,6, three sheets including no title or *incipit*.
- PN.132.1.56, a small fragment, no title or *incipit*.

Summary: Nativity. Long passage on the myth of the Phoenix. Presentation. Life of Mary.

Comments: none.

c) **21 Paone** (Consecration of the first church, in Philippi): *Synaxarium*, II p. 179: “Hodie, commemoratio dominae purissimae, Matris Dei, per quam salus Adamo ac posteris eius contigit, itemque aedificationis ecclesiarum illius nomine dicatarum in universo mundo, atque imprimis ecclesiae quae temporibus apostolorum constructa est.”

**Clavis 0073 (CPG 2970)**. Two codicological units:

• MACA.DI, in which the title is: ΟΥΚΑΘΗΚΙΣΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΑΟΥΟΣ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΕ ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΤΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ ΕΠΕΡΦΜΕΥΙ ΝΘΗ ΕΤΧΟΛΖ ΜΠΙΤΟΥΒΟ ΝΧΟΥ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΨΡΕΧΦΕ ΦΝΟΥΨ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΘΜΗ ΨΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ· ΕΑΥΤΑΟΥΟ ΝΤΑΙΚΑΘΗΓΙΣΙΣ ΉΕΝ ΨΝΙΩΨ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΒΕΡΙ ΕΤΑΥΚΟΤΣ ΝΑΣ ΝΧΕ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΟΣ ΠΙΠΡΕΠΟΣΙΤΟΣ ΣΑΠΕΙΕΒΤ ΝΨΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΑΥΕΡΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΣΟΥΚΑ ΜΠΙΑΒΟΤ ΠΑΩΝΙ ΕΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΦΑΙ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΣΑΪ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΠΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΙΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΑ ΝΙΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΚΕΤ (Τ)ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΉΕΝ ΠΕΣΡΑΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΧΟΚΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΣΟΥΚΑ ΜΠΙΑΒΟΤ ΠΑΩΝΙ· ΑΥΣΑΧΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΉΕΝ ΤΑΙΚΑΘΗΚΗΣΙΣ ΕΘΒΕ ΝΙΠΟΡΝΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΝΩΙΚ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΡΑΜΑΟΙ ΝΑΘΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΙ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΝΟΥΨ ΑΜΗΝ = Discourse pronounced by saint Basilius, saint bishop of Caesarea of Cappadoce for the commemoration of her who always wore the purity, the true mother of God the saint Mary. He pronounced this discourse in the great new church which was built for her by Eumenius praepositus, East of the city, and was consecrated on the 21st of Paoni. The saint doctor saint Basilius explained in this discourse that the day in which the Apostles built the church in her name and achieved it is the 21st Paoni. He said also in this discourse that the eternal place of the defiled and of the adulterers and of the rich men without piety is that of the punishment. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΜΦΟΥΨ Ω ΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΜΜΑΙΧΡΣ ΝΙΩΗΡΙ ΕΤΑΥΨΝΑΚΖΙ ΜΜΩΟΥ...

• MACA.EL, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: praises of the Virgin and of her church recently built in Caesarea. Narration of a trip to Jerusalem made by Basil when he was a presbyter. He visited the home of Mary, mother of Mark the evangelist, and found a letter of Luke telling the construction of the first church ever built, in Philippi, in honor of the Virgin. Jesus himself had ordered the construction in a vision. Miracle relating to the construction of the church of Caesarea. Vision of the Virgin to Basil; the portrait of the Virgin. Another miracle. Exhortations.

Comments: none.

d) **23 Paone** (Mary Magdalene): this feast was not included in the *Synaxarium*. I have included it, because there may be some confusion between Mary the Virgin and Mary Magdalene.<sup>32</sup>

**Clavis 0118.** One codicological unit and three isolated sheets:

• MONB.NS, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΚΟC ΝΤΕ ΠCΟΦΟC ΖΝ ΝΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟC ΠΖΙΕΡΟCΟΛΟΜΙΤΗC ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΝΓΕΝΝΑΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΚΔΑΛΙΝΗ ΕΑΥΑΡΧΕΙ ΧΙΝ ΕΤΕCΜΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΨΑ ΠΕCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕCΒΙΟC ΤΗΡΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΑΨ ΝΓΕΝΟC ΤΕ· ΑΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕCΑΨΥ ΜΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΘΟΙΛΕ ΕΡΟC ΕΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΠΖΩΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΡΖ ΕΡΟC ΕCΟ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕCΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΒΙ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΑΤCΕΙ ΕΠΚΟCΜΟC· ΑΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕCΘΙΜΜΟΨΕ ΜΤΟ ΠCΩΤΗΡ ΝΜ ΝΕCΚΕ CΟΟΥ ΕΨΕΝΟΥΑ· ΑΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΤΕΚΛΟΜ ΤΑΛΟ ΜΜΟC ΑCΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΚΗΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤC ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΝΤΟC ΤΕCΟ ΝΠΡΟCΟΠΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΘΕΟΔΟΚΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΕΥΠΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΤΕCΩΝΕ ΔΕ· ΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑCΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟC ΝΖΗΤΥ ΠΕ CΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΨΟΜΤΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΠΑΩΝΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by the theologian and archbishop apa Cyril of Jerusalem on the saint illustrious Mary Magdalene. He began from her childhood until her death and narrated all her life, from what family she came. He spoke also of the seven ungodly spirits who defiled her, explaining how God preserved her as a virgin, without sin, before she came to the world. He spoke also of her encounter with the Saviour and of her six cousins. He said also how she received the crown and she brought it to Egypt and on the miracles

32. Cf. F. Stanley Jones (ed.), *Which Mary? The Marys of Early Christian Tradition*, Atlanta, SBL, 2002.

which God made through her, and that her face was like that of the saint *theotokos* saint Mary the true mother of God and that she was her sister. The day in which she died is the 23rd of Paone. In the peace of God, that her saint blessing may come to us all.

Inc.: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΡΖΩΒ ΕΠΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΔΑΝΟΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ  
ΕΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΧ ΝΕ...

• “Fragment Chauleur” and NM.665.04, where title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: praises of Mary mother of Jesus, with exegesis of a psalm. Many virgins follow her, among whom Mary Magdalene. The author will tell her life, taken from a book found in the library of Jerusalem, written in Egyptian (i.e. Coptic?). [Lacune] Narration of the apostles: Herodes, Nicodemus, Theophilus, Pilatus, Lazarus. The Magdalen at the tomb of Jesus; the Magdalen and the Virgin. Death of the Virgin on the 21st of Tobe. The gospels and their authors. Gabriel and Theophilus.

Comments: although not dedicated to the Virgin, in any case the Virgin has an important place in this homily.

e) **16 Mesore** (Ascension of the Virgin): *Synaxarium*, II p. 264: “Hodie contigit ascensio corporis celsissimae ac purissimae dominae Mariae, matris Dei Verbi.”

**Clavis 0573**: cf. above, under 21 Tobe. The title of this *apokryphon* mentions two liturgical feasts.

**Clavis 0385**. Two codicological units:

• MACA.EJ, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΛΥΤ]ΛΟΥΟΥ ΝΧΕ [ΠΕΝΤΡΙΜ]ΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΙΩΤ [ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕ]ΟΔΟΚΙΟΣ ΠΙΑΡ-[ΧΗ]ΕΠ[ΙΚΚΟ]ΠΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟ† ΟΥΟΥ ΠΙ[ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙ]ΤΗΣ ΕΤ[ΕΡ]ΦΟΡΙΝ ΜΠΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ· ΕΛΥΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΝΑ-ΛΥΜΨΙΣ ΝΤΕΝΟ̅C ΤΗ[Ρ]ΕΝ †[ΘΕΟ]ΔΟΚΟΣ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΟΥ Ι̅C ΜΠΙΑΒΟΤ Μ[ΕCΩ]ΡΗ ΠΕ· ΕΛΥΕΡΉΗΤC ΙC-ΧΕΝ [†ΟΙ]ΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΡΖΙCΤΟΣ ΨΑ [Π]ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΑΙΑΓΙΑ ΜΠΑ[ΡΘΕΝΟΣ] ΝΕΜ ΤΕCΑΝΑΛΥΜΨΙC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ· ΕΤΑΥΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΙΛΟΓΟΣ ΉΕΝ ΤΉΑΗ ΝΡΟΜΠΙ ΕΤΕC-ΝΑΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΉΗΤC· ΉΕΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΦΝΟΥ† ΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by our thrice blessed father abba Theodosius archbishop of Rakoti and confessor who wears Christ, on the Assumption of the Lady of us all the saint *theotokos* Mary that is the 16th of Mesore, beginning from the *oikonomia* of Christ until the death of this holy Virgin and her saint Assumption. He pronounced this sermon in the last year in which he was going to die. In the peace of God amen.

Inc.: ΜΦΟΥΟΥ ΑCΧΩ[Κ] ΕΒΟΛ ΝΧΕ †[ΠΡΟΦ]ΗΤΙΑ ΝΤΕ [ΠΖΥΜ]ΝΩΔΟΣ ΔΑΥΙΔ ΟΝ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC...

• MACA.BH, in which the title and *incipit* are the same as the preceding unit.

Summary: the homily is divided in two parts. The first contains the praises of the Virgin by means of biblical passages alluding to Mary, and of the parallel with figures of the Ancient Testament. The second part is said to derive from a book written by the apostles Peter and John, found in the library of Mark the evangelist in Alexandria.

Comments: it is a paraphrasis of the “repose of the Virgin”, known in many versions.

**Clavis 0396 (CPG 2625).** Two codicological units and one isolated fragment:

- **MERC.AH**, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟϞ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΘΕΩΦΙΛΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΝΟϞ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ· ΝΤΑΧΤΑΥΟϞ ΔΕ ΕΤΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡΝ ΤΕΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ... = Homily pronounced by our saint father very honored apa Theophilus, archbishop of the capital Rakote, on our Lady mother of God saint Mary ...

Inc.: ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΑΧΨΑ ΝΑΝ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕ-ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΜΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ...

- **MICH.AP**, in which the title is: ΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΧΤΑΥΟϞ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΝΟϞ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡΕΝ ΤΕΘΕΩΔΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΕΧΨΠΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ· ΝΤΑΧΤΑΥΕ ΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΝΟΥΙΣ ΜΜΕΣΟΥΡΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΣΑΝΑΛΕΜΨΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΑΥΧΙΤΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ ΝΖΗΤϞ· ΑΧΨΑ-ΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΖΕΒΡΕΟΣ ΕΧΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΑΧΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΙΚ-ΩΝ ΝΤΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡΕΝ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΣΧΗΖ ΕΥ-ΠΟΒΕΝΨΗ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΑΠΘΗΚΕ· ΑΧΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΝΤΕΒΙΗΝ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ· ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ = Homily pronounced by our saint father very honored apa Theophilus, archbishop of the capital Rakote on our Lady mother of God saint Mary, who truly generated God. He pronounced this sermon on the sixteenth of Mesore, the day of her saint assumption, in which she was brought to the sky. He spoke also on a Hebrew who dwelt in the city of Rakote, who came to believe in Christ because of the image of our Lady saint Mary, painted on a tablet in his shop. And he spoke also on the misery of men. In the peace of God, amen.

Inc.: ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΑΧΨΑ ΝΑΝ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤ-ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡΕΝ ΤΕΘΕΟΔΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ...

- **UU.2**, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: After the praise of the Virgin, and a section on the moment

of our death, the sermon deals mostly with a miracle done by an image of the Virgin, which a Jew wanted to destroy.

Comments: The text was written probably in the first period of the forgeries produced under the Arabs, when (some of) the Copts hoped to convert them to Christianity.

## f) Uncertain assignement

**Clavis 0498** (unknown author, On the Virgin). One textual witness:

- MONB.GA, p. 41-65, no title or *incipit*.

Summary: Benedictions of Mary. Praises of Mary. The parts of the body of Mary. The prophets. Other praises. Father, Son and Mary. The virgins and the married couples. the annuntiation. Again on the nature of Christ.

Comments: none.

**Clavis 0911 (CPG 7035.2)** (Severus of Antioch, Cathedral homily II, on the Vergin). One textual witness:

- Inscription from the monastery of apa Epiphanius, Crum E (ed. Walter Ewing CRUM, The Literary Material, in: H. E. WINLOCK, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, vol. I, Part 2 New York, 1926), no title or *incipit*.

Summary: Defence of the one nature of Christ. Commentary on the annuntiation. Again on the nature of Christ.

Comments: none.

**Clavis 0345 (CPG 7038, 7035.14)** (Severus of Antioch, Cathedral Homily XIV, on the Virgin). One codicological unit:<sup>33</sup>

- MONB.CP (PN.131.1.67, CF.172+301a, CF.301), in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: As we must honour the prophets, the martyrs, and the apostles, much more must we honour the Virgin, who is herself prophetess, martyr, and apostle.

Comments: The 14th cathedral homily of Severus of Antioch, whose content deals especially with the Virgin. The homily is preserved in Syriac (translated from the Greek, like the Coptic version) in its entirety, ed. Brière etc., *Patrologia Orientalis* 38.2.

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33. Another fragment is announced in Enzo LUCCHESI, L'homélie XIV de Severe d'Antioche: un second témoin copte, "Aegyptus" 86 (2006), which I could not see.

**Clavis 0912 (CPG 7035.115)** (Severus of Antioch, Cathedral homily CXV, on the birth of Jesus). One textual witness:

- Inscription from the monastery of apa Epiphanius, Crum F (ed. Crum, cf. cc0911), no title or *incipit*.

Summary: At the beginning there are some comments on the annunciation.

Comments: none.

**Clavis 0884** (Videlicet homily on the Virgin). One codicological unit:

- MONB.NR, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: On the childhood and the death of the Virgin.

Comments: only 10 pages are preserved.

**Clavis 0885** Miracles of the Virgin at Bartos. Two isolated fragments:

- RV.B109.CASS25.119, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.
- LU.1088.22, LU.1089.3 and 8, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune. Summary: a miracle. The anthropophagoi. The hegemon Makri-nos.

Comments: the text is related to cc0575.

**Clavis 0886** (Videlicet homily on the Virgin). One isolated fragment: CC.ABUMAQAR.025-025ADD, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: Annuntiation. Death of the Virgin.

Comments: none.

**Clavis 0862** (Videlicet homily on the Nativity). One codicological unit:

- GIOV.AA (glassess 1a, 2a, 3), in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: Annuntiation, Mary and Gabriel. Celebration of the Nativity. Charity for the poors. Countenance in the church.

Comments: none.

**[Work not classified]** (Videlicet homily on the Nativity). One codico-

logical unit:

- BL.PAP.XI.2, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: (From Crum's Catalogue, n. 301) Mary declares to Joseph she had told him sooner of the angel's announcement to her, had not shame withheld her, while Joseph entreats her to say why she has not preserved her purity.

Comments: The fragment is transcribed in Crum's Catalogue, n. 301. Cf. Robinson Apocryphal, p. xxiii.

**Clavis 0906** (Excerptum on the Virgin, from an otherwise unknown homily). One codicological unit:

- MONB.DV (p. 5-6), in which the title and *incipit* are not preserved.

Summary: praises and blessings of Mary. Against the Jews who do not acknowledge the virginal birth of Jesus.

Comments: I did not find any parallel in known works.

**Clavis 0904** (Excerptum on the Virgin, from a homily attributed to Cyril of Alexandria). One codicological unit:

- MONB.DV (p. 87-88), in which the title and *incipit* are not preserved.

Summary: praises of Mary. Against the heretics who maintain that Mary is a *dunamis*, and Nestorius. The parts of Mary's body and their meaning.

Comments: I did not find any parallel in known works.

**Clavis 0905** (Excerptum on the Virgin, from a homily attributed to Cyril of Alexandria). One codicological unit:

- MONB.DV (p. 88 and perhaps LR.098), in which the title and *incipit* are not preserved.

Summary: the manuscript is semi-illegible, but cf. the translation in Robinson Apocryphal, p. 222: "And Anna arose, and called all the virgins who were in Jerusalem. And they sought in Israel and found other seven Maries. The first is Mary of James. The second is Mary of John, who is called Mark. The third is Mary the sister of Lazarus. The fourth is Mary of Judas. The fifth is Mary of the Mount of Olives. The sixth

is Mary Magdalene. The seventh is Mary the mother of the Lord” (end of p. 88). LR.098: the Virgin in the sky sits in the eternal palace. Her virginity will not perish forever.

Comments: I did not find any parallel in known works.

**Clavis 0908** Excerpts from a homily on the Virgin, attributed to Basil of Caesarea. One codicological unit:

- MONB.DV (p. 298-300), in which the title and *incipit* are not preserved.

Summary: annuntiation.

Comments: none.

**Clavis 0909** (Videlicet a homily on the Vergin). One codicological unit:

- CC.ABUMAQAR.010-010ADD, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: Fathers of the Ancient Testament are called to witness.

Praises of the Virgin.

Comments: none.

## g) Others

The following textual units are mentioned, mainly because the Virgin is more or less extensively treated in their text, independently of their specific scope.

**Clavis 0456** (Basil of Caesarea, On the Nativity). One codicological unit:

- BE.WEST.BL133.A. See the comment in the list of the codicological units (isolated fragments). No text is preserved.

**Clavis 0150** (homily in Honor of the Apostles,<sup>34</sup> attributed to Evodius of Rome). Four codicological units:

- MONB.DH, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.
- MONB.MT, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.
- MONB.MY, in which the title and *incipit* are in lacune.

Summary: Praise of the apostles. Last supper, dialogue with Thomas, Lazarus. Carus and Herod. Jesus and the apostles. Herod and Pilatus, the devil and Peter. Transfiguration.

Comments: This homily, and its attribution to Evodius of Rome, are reconstructed purely from the internal analysis of the text, made possible through several overlappings in the four manuscript witnesses. I have listed it because some fragments have been wrongly attributed to the unit cc0151.

**Clavis 0575.** (Oratio apud Bartos). 1 codicological unit:

- BL.OR04714.SUP, title and beginning in lacune.

Summary: The Virgin is in the city of Bartos (the Parthians? Beyrouth? Tartus-Tortosa in Syria?) where Matthias is prisoner. Jesus reveals to her and to the disciples a mysterious prayer. The Virgin recites it, and frees Matthias.

Comments: cf. Angelicus M. KROPP, *Ausgewählte koptische Zauber-*

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34. Lucchesi, OLP 28 (1997) p. 177 suggests rather a title *On the Passion*. Be that as it may, and given the absence of a title in the codices, what is important is the individuation of the homily.

texte, Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élizabeth, 1930-1, vol. II p. 127-135, also for the Ethiopic version and related Coptic texts in BL.OR06796 and BE.OST.P08327. The text is related to cc0885.

#### IV. AUTHOR UNITS

##### **Athanasius of Alexandria** (cc0050, cc0452)

The Coptic tradition about Athanasius is found especially in cc0200 (*Historiae ecclesiae*), cc0408 (*Vita Athanasii*, anonyma), cc0108 (Panegyric, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria), cc0191 (Panegyric by Gregory of Nazianzus), cc0123 and cc0124 (two Panegyrics by Constantine of Siout), cc0218 (On the death of Athanasius, attributed to Liberius of Rome), cc0402 (On the death of Athanasius, attributed to Timoty of Alexandria), cc0402 (*Vision of Athasius*). Also are to be remembered the Canons of Athanasius (cc0089) and the liturgical Anaphora of Athanasius (cc0778).

Of Athanasius the Coptic tradition proposed above all: his participation in the council of Nicaea, as secretary and speaker of the bishop Alexander; his struggle against the Arians and the arianizing emperors; his exiles in Egypt and other countries; his special relationship with the monks, especially with Antonius and Pachomius. Athanasius was considered the father of the triumphant Egyptian Christianity, leader and example to follow in the good and bad luck.

Of the historical and apologetical works of Athanasius none seems to have been translated into Coptic. It is easy to suppose that they were read directly in Greek, when necessary, also in the Coptic milieu. On the contrary, the Festal Letters (cc0054) and the Life of Antonius (cc0065) were translated and broadly diffused.

Athanasius was not particularly appreciated as a preacher in the Greek tradition, and there was no such collection of his homilies as those of Basil, Gregory, and other contemporary authors. This is why the Coptic tradition, starting from the sixth century, felt more free to forge and attribute to him new homilies (even an entire cycle), as anyhow it was prone to do.<sup>35</sup> The two works taken into consideration here come from this activity, and testify to theological, liturgical, and his-

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35. Cf. our voice "Cycles" in: Aziz S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, New York etc., Macmillan, 1991, vol. 3, p. 666-668.

torical opinions of the period between the VI and VIII century. In fact, the homily cc0452 might be earlier, but the state of its manuscript transmission does not permit a definite evaluation.

**Basil of Caesarea** (cc0073, cc0456, cc0163)

Basil of Caesarea (330 ca. - 379) was well known and appreciated in the Coptic tradition. He was mentioned in the *Histories of the Church* (cc0200), and his *Panegyric* by Gregory of Nissa was translated into Coptic (cc0192). From the *Synaxar* we know that there existed a collection of seven miracles made by him (see under 6 Tobe) and a homily attributed to him in honor of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste (see under 15 Mechir). Much literary fortune had the legend which told of his vision of the phantom of St. Mercurius slaying Julian the Apostate in Persia.<sup>36</sup>

Of the works known in the Greek tradition as authentic, there existed the Coptic translation of: CPG2896, 2 homilies On baptism (cc0071-2); CPG2845 On fast (cc0074); CPG2847 On the passage: "Attende tibi ipsi" (cc0458); CPG2850 On the passage "Destruam horrea mea" (cc0459); CPG2853 On the origin of evil (cc0081, attributed to John Chrysostom); CPG2854 Against the irascibles (cc0069); CPG2895 Ascetic constitutions (cc0070, modified); PG 31,653-676 Prologue on the judgment (cc0075); one letter (cc0457, cf. CPG2900); CPG2885 Prooemium to the rules (cc0080).

Other homilies appear to be Coptic translations of Greek models of the IV century, but the Greek text is not known, and the attribution to Basil is either to be excluded (cc0076 On the creation and destruction of the world); or dubious: cc0455 On the faith; cc0456 On the Nativity; cc0163 On the Nativity, attributed also to John Chrysostom (A. De Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudo-Chrysostomicum*, Paris 1969, n. 319).

Recent forgeries, around the VIII century, are the homilies

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36. Tito ORLANDI, *Studi Copti*. 3. La leggenda di S. Mercurio, Milano, Cisalpino, 1968. Id., *Basilio di Cesarea nella letteratura copta*, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 49 (1975) 49-59.

cc0077 On Genesis 6; cc0073 On the church of Mary in Philippi; and especially those belonging to the cycle<sup>37</sup> of the Lazica: cc0082 On Michael, cc0083 On Michael, cc0366 On Michael, cc0078 Miracles of Mercurius.

### **Cyril of Alexandria** (cc0099, cc0109, cc0851)

Cyril of Alexandria (bishop 412-444) is present in the Coptic *Histories of the Church* (cc0200) especially as the author of the work confuting Julian's *Against the Galilees*, and in the general Coptic tradition as the winner in the council of Ephesus (431) and the implacable adversary of Nestorius. Of his innumerable genuine homilies and theological works, only the *Explanation of the 12 chapters* (cc0101) and some of the *Festal letters* (cc0876 ep. 1, cc0102 ep. 23) have survived in Coptic translation. Very dubious are cc0098 On fast (one unpublished fragment), cc0099 On the Nativity, and cc0100 On penitence.

Also in the large Coptic literary tradition of the *spuria* he is not particularly relevant. Cc0096 On the Council of Ephesus, cc0840 On John the Baptist, cc0632 On John Chrysostom, cc0109 On the Virgin, cc0851 On the Virgin, and cc0107 On the Apocalypse, are late forgeries. The attribution to him of cc0097, On the hour of the death (CG5275) is supported by many interesting, but late, memories of his life; on the contrary cc0108 (Panegyric of Athanasius) belongs to the cycle of Athanasius, and cc0397 (On Raphael the archangel) and cc0110 (On the three Children of Babylon) belong to the cycle of Theophilus.

### **Cyril of Jerusalem** (cc0005, cc0118, cc0119)

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (ca. 350-387) is very popular in the Coptic tradition (cf. e.g. cc0200 *Histories of the Church*), probably in

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37. Cf. our voice "Cycles" in: Aziz S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, New York etc., Macmillan, 1991, vol. 3, p. 666-668.

memory of his troubles with the Arianizing authorities, although he was not a trusted “homoousian”. Of his works known in Greek only one fragment from the VI (of the 18) Cataphesis exists in Coptic translation; but a remarkable cycle of 7 homilies has been built and attributed to him in the period of the cycles.

According to our reconstruction,<sup>38</sup> somebody has written three homilies (cc0116+0117 On Passion and Resurrection, cc0119 On the Virgin, and cc0120 On the Cross) as a complement to the 21 (3 pro-catecheses, an introduction, 18 catecheses) genuine catecheses of Cyril. This probably happened in the VIII century, and the spurious homilies soon effaced in the Coptic tradition the genuine Catecheses (only a fragment of the sixth is actually extant, cc0112), which were no more in syntony with the teaching of the Coptic Church.

Later on, other homilies were written to be attributed to Cyril: cc0005 On the Virgin, cc0113 On the life and Passion of Christ, cc0560 On the 24 Elders, cc0020 On the Canticum vineae, cc0118 On Mary Magdalene.

### **Damianus of Alexandria (cc0127)**

Damianus, bishop of Alexandria (578-605), was called from Syria in order to end a period of a great crisis of organization and theological dispute in the anti-chelcedonian Church of Egypt, due to the action of the emperor Justinian and of his successors to reestablish unity in the Church of the Empire. Damianus was remarkably successful in organizing the Egyptian church and its hierarchy with lasting consequences, although he was less fortunate with the other problem, namely to normalize the relations with the other, Syrian, important anti-chalcedonian Church. In fact, he raised a personal, theological conflict, which was appeased only by his successor, Anastasius.

During his patriarchate there was important literary activity in Coptic (we have beautiful homilies by Constantine of Siout, John of

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38. Tito ORLANDI, Cirillo di Gerusalemme nella letteratura copta, *Vetera Christianorum* 9 (1972) 93-100.

Shmun, John of Paralos), but the homily cc0127 On the Virgin, found in two Coptic manuscripts, if genuine (as it is possible), was certainly translated from Greek. In Syriac and Coptic is preserved his *Synodicon*.<sup>39</sup>

### **Demetrius of Antioch (cc0129)**

The titles of three Coptic homilies attribute them to a certain Demetrius, bishop of Antioch, otherwise unknown in the Patristic tradition, qualified as having consecrated John Chrysostom as priest: cc0129 On the Virgin, cc0128 On Is. 1.16-17, and cc0130 Panegyric of Philotheos. Another homily in Ethiopic, The miracles of Victor,<sup>40</sup> bears the same information. Also in a panegyric of Victor<sup>41</sup> we read "when I was in Antioch with my father and teacher the archbishop Demetrius, I John, before I came here [i.e. in Constantinople] and was placed on the throne". We know for certain that the bishop of Antioch who consecrated the Chrysostom was Flavianus (381-404); Demetrius is rather a character whom the writers invented at the time of the homiletic and hagiographic cycles, and some clandestine homilies were attributed to him.<sup>42</sup>

### **Epiphanius of Salamis (cc0144)**

Epiphanius was the bishop of Constantia (Salamina) in Cyprus (367-403). He had acquired a vast knowledge in many profane sciences, for which he became famous, and was required to treat special questions, resulting in two works (*De gemmis*, *De mensuris et ponderibus*). The *De gemmis* was also translated into Coptic: cc0142.

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39. Cc0776, ed. Walter Ewing CRUM, Coptic Ostraca and Papyri, in H. E. WINLOCK, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, vol. II, Part 1, New York, 1926, p. 331.

40. Cf. Wright, Catal. Ethiop. Mss. Brit. Mus., p. 197.

41. Ed. Bouriant Mém. de la Miss. Arch. Franc. au Caire 8 (1893) pp. 234-5.

42. Cf. Tito ORLANDI, Demetrio di Antiochia e Giovanni Crisostomo Acme 23 (1970) 175-178 (Misc. De Marco).

As a theologian, he assumed a position fiercely opposed to the doctrines of Origen and his later followers, and in this perspective he wrote two anti-haeretical works: *Ancoratus* and *Panarion*. The *Ancoratus* was translated into Coptic: cc0140. The Greek tradition attributes to him some spurious homilies; one of them (cc0221 On the Passover, Migne PG 43,440-464) was transformed, as it seems, by Mark III of Alexandria in one of his Cathedral homilies.

Two homilies are attributed to him in the Coptic tradition, both late forgeries with interesting features:<sup>43</sup> cc0141 On the Epiphany, and cc0144 On the Virgin.

### **Evodius of Rome** (cc0151)

According to Eusebius, HE 3.22, Evodius was the first bishop of Antioch, but according to another tradition, the first bishop was Peter, and Evodius his successor. The Coptic tradition knew that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, and therefore his successor Evodius became also bishop of Rome. This happened in the period of the cycles, when at least three homilies were composed to be attributed to him: cc0149 On the Passion, cc0151 On the Virgin, and cc0150 On the Apostles.

### **John Chrysostom of Constantinople** (cc0602, cc0163)

John was bishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404, when he was exiliated by the emperor Arcadius after he had raised the hostility of the empress, and also had committed the fatal error of raising the hostility of Theophilus of Alexandria. All this was perfectly known by the Coptic tradition, but his fame as a preacher and author overcame the patriotic Egyptian favour for the memory of Teophilus.

Many of his genuine or spurious (already in the Greek tradition) homilies were translated into Coptic,<sup>44</sup> among which cc0602 (=

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43. Cf. Roel van den BROEK, *Four Coptic Fragments of a Greek Theosophy*, VC 32 (1978) 118-142.

44. It is not necessary to list them here; in this case we refer the interested reader to the database of CMCL, url: <http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it>.

CG4334) On the Virgin, and cc0163 (= PG 61, 763-768) On the Nativity, and many more homilies were fabricated and attributed to him, in the period of the cycles.

### **Philip of Anatole (cc0154)**

A fictitious person, probably interpolated in the Coptic Histories of the Church (cc0200) as a way of censuring the taxation laws of the Arabs. In the period of the cycles, his name generated at least two homilies: cc0154 On the Virgin, and one On the Pious Women, lost but mentioned in the catalogue of Esna (n. 56).<sup>45</sup>

### **Proclus of Cyzicus and Constantinople (cc0320, cc0329)**

Proclus was the secretary of the patriarch of Constantinople, Atticus (dead 425), but at his death he was not elected as successor, and also was refused by the population of Cyzicus, where he had been designated as bishop. He remained in Constantinople, and when Nestorius was elected patriarch (428) he preached a doctrine on the term “theotokos” which contrasted with the view of Nestorius. Not even when Nestorius was exiled after the decisions of the council of Ephesus (431), Proclus could succeed him, Maximinus being consecrated. But at Maximinus’s death in 434 he finally became patriarch, until his death ca. 446.

The theological agreement with Cyril made of Proclus an appreciated author in the Coptic tradition, and the homilies CG5822 On the Incarnation (cc0317), CG5812 On the Passover (cc0318), and CG5800 On the Virgin (cc0319) were translated into Coptic. One homily was disputed between him and Severianus of Gabala (cc0329 On the Nativity). Also in the period of the cycles his name was associated to that of John Chrysostom: cc0322 On the 24 Elders and cc0319 On John the Baptist.

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45. René-Georges COQUIN, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque du couvent de Saint Élie du Rocher* (ostracon IFAO 13315), BIFAO 74-5 (1974-5) 207-239.

### **Severianus of Gabala (cc0329)**

Our knowledge of Severianus is strictly dependent on the events which bound him to John Chrysostom, both as a bishop and as a preacher. As a bishop, Severianus seems to have left his see of Gabala ca. 400 in order to acquire fame (and more?) in the capital of the empire, and there he had stormy relations with John, narrated in Socrates, Sozomenos, Palladius, and others;<sup>46</sup> as a preacher, he was held in high esteem by the people, but the Greek tradition has forgotten him, or ironically confused his homilies with those of John, his rival.<sup>47</sup>

On the contrary, the Coptic tradition has preserved his memory, although in its peculiar way of freely mixing genuine and spurious texts. In our manuscripts we find translations of the V-VI century: cc0329 (= CG4282) On the Nativity (also attributed in Coptic to Basil of Caesarea), cc0166 (= CG4631) On the Penitence (also attributed in Coptic to John Chrysostom), cc0328 On the Creation, cc0639 On the Serpent; as well as homilies forged in the period of the cycles: cc0331 On the Apostles, cc0540 cc0332 cc0333 cc0334, all In praise of Michael the Archangel, cc0335 On Peter and Paul.

### **Severus of Antioch (cc0345, cc0592, cc0911, cc0912)**

Severus of Antioch was born ca. 465, studied in Alexandria and Beiruth, was a monk for some time, and in 508 went to Constantinople, where the emperor Anastasius (491-518) was favorable to the anti-Chalcedonians, and became patriarch of Antioch in 512. When Anastasius was succeeded by Justin, Severus took refuge in Egypt, whence he came back to the capital, invited by Justinian, but he was excommunicated in 536, and again went to Egypt, where he died in 538.

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46. See John N. D. KELLY, *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom, Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1995.

47. Sever VOICU, *Il nome cancellato: La trasmissione delle omelie di Severiano di Gabala*, *Revue de l'Histoire des Textes* n.s. 1 (2006) 317-333.

The Greek tradition has canceled the memory of his name as a heretic, but we know most of his works in Syriac translation. The Coptic tradition considered him one of the great teachers, together with the Alexandrian patriarchs, and preserved many of his works, notably the Cathedral homilies (I cc0349, II cc0911, VII cc0592, XIV cc0345, XXIV cc0593, XXVII cc0344, XXVIII cc0348, LX cc0594, LXXVII cc0640, CIII cc0336, CXV cc0912) and the Epistles (cc0338 = CG7070.12; cc0621; cc0340 = CG7070.13; cc0339 = CG7070.09; cc0341 = CG7070.76). Other texts attributed to him are more or less late forgeries: cc0337 On the death, cc0343 Panegyric of Claudius, cc0346 On Michael the Archangel, cc0347 On Raphael the Archangel.

#### **Theodosius of Alexandria (cc0385)**

Theodosius was elected in 535 patriarch of Alexandria, although he was an anti-Chalcedonian, friend of Severus of Antioch, with the favour of the empress Theodora. But only the following year he was summoned to Constantinople by Justinian, who wanted him to join the Chalcedonian party. Theodosius refused, therefore was kept in Constantinople until his death in 566.<sup>48</sup>

He wrote in Constantinople a number of important theological treatises, which were not preserved in the Greek tradition, but only in Syriac translation. In the Coptic tradition we find four homilies, which if genuine are also translations from the Greek, but were preached during the year of his patriarchate in Alexandria. In fact one of them was his first Cathedral homily (cc0384 On the first day of the liturgical year) and other two formed a kind of “trilogy” with that: cc0386 On John the Baptist, and cc0387 On Michael the Archangel. The fourth is cc0385 On the Assumption of Mary.

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48. Tito ORLANDI, Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta, *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* II 2 (1971) 175-185.

**Theophilus of Alexandria** (cc0396)

Theophilus, successor of the great Athanasius, was patriarch of Alexandria from 395 to 412, and exploited all the possibilities which his predecessor had initiated. He intensified the struggle against the traditional (pagan) forms of religion, consolidated the authority of the patriarchate in Egypt, and enlarged its external influence in confrontation with of rivals Constantinople and Antioch.<sup>49</sup>

The Coptic tradition is fundamentally coherent with the historical actions of Theophilus. It reports the destruction of pagan temples, notably the Alexandrian Serapeum (cc0391 On the church of John the Baptist), and the construction of churches (cc0392 On the church of the Three Children); and his attitude about the Origenistic controversy (cc0394 Epistula Festalis of the year 401).

Theophilus was not much considered by the Greek tradition as an author of homilies; in Coptic two homilies attributed to him are certainly translations from Greek originals of the V century, although the authorial attributions are always doubtful: cc0393 On the penitence, and cc0395 On the Cross. Other homilies are late forgeries of the period of the cycles: cc0396 On the Virgin, and cc0398 Miracles of St. Menas.

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49. Tito ORLANDI, Theophilus of Alexandria in Coptic Literature, in: E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.) *Studia Patristica XVI* (TU 129) p. 100-104, Berlin, Akademie, 1985.

## V. NARRATIVE UNITS

The general content of the homilies listed above may be found in the description of each item. We give here a prospectus of the themes (narrative units) found in the texts, which may give a synthesis of the Coptic tradition on the Virgin. We take into consideration those texts, which treat the themes to a certain extent, not those which mention them cursorily.

### a) Units specifically inherent to the life and the person of the Virgin

Grace of a child for Anna and Ioakim: cc0005, cc0119, cc0129, cc0154.

Presentation to the temple: cc0005, cc0119, cc0129, cc0154, cc0884, cc0889.

Marriage of Mary and Joseph: cc0129, cc0154.

Annunciation: cc0050, cc0109, cc0127, cc0129, cc0144, cc0154, cc0329, cc0862, cc0884, cc0851, cc0886.

Visitation of Elizabeth: cc0119, cc0127, cc0129, cc0851, cc0050.

Nativity of Jesus: cc0050, cc0109, cc0127, cc0129, cc0154, cc0163, cc0452, cc0592, cc0851, cc0862, cc0884, cc0889.

Dormitio: cc0005, cc0119, cc0151, cc0385, cc0573, cc0884, cc0886.

Funerals, and intrigue of the Hebrews: cc0005, cc0119, cc0151?, cc0385, cc0573.

Assumption: cc0119?, cc0151?, cc0385, cc0573?, cc0884.

Church of the Virgin at Caesarea: cc0073.

### b) Extemporaneous units (only insofar they are directly related with the Virgin)

Arians: cc0050, cc0904.

Melitians: cc0005.

Nestorius: cc0099, cc0904.

End of the times: cc0005.

Essence of the Virgin, not a *dunamis*: cc0005, cc0119, cc0144, cc0904.

The Virgin and the Paradise: cc0154.

Residence of Mary in the sky: cc0904.

Genealogy of Mary: cc0119, cc0144, cc0154.

Christ without mother in the sky: cc0109, cc0329.

Myth of the Phoenix: cc0889

Letters of the name Mary: cc0154, cc0889.

Parts of Mary's body: cc0904.

The miraculous dress: cc0005, cc0154, cc0884.

Miracle of the icon: cc0396

Polemic on the assumption: cc0005.

Anaphora chaire: cc0109.

Syntagmata of the Apostles: cc0005.

Salome: cc0129.

The Magi: cc0050, cc0129.

Flight to Egypt: cc0129.

Repentance of the archiereus: cc0005.

## VI. HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION

It is not our purpose to enter into the discussion on which role the texts which we have listed play in the problem of the development of the cult of the Virgin in the IV-VII century, inside and outside of Egypt, nor of the development of the *apocrypha* on the Virgin. The reader may be referred to the clear outline of G. Aranda,<sup>50</sup> or the previous studies, especially by Jugie, Giamberardini, van Esbroeck, and Mimouni.<sup>51</sup> We add that the use made recently by Shoemaker Dormition of the bibliological units - ancient, trying to establish their value for the manuscript tradition is too naif. He does not consider the passage through the synaxarial period, which has generally levelled the character of the codices as collections of textual units deriving from different origins. But of course there is a particular character of the units, after that collecting work.

We would rather insert those texts in the frame of the Coptic literature, because this may be useful in establishing their value for the history of the different traditions on the Virgin, although we warn the readers of the uncertainties which still permeate this difficult work.

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50. Gonzalo ARANDA PÉREZ, *Dormición de la Virgen. Relatos de la tradición copta*, Madrid etc., Ciudad Nueva, 1995 (= *Apócrifos cristianos*, 2).

51. Martin JUGIE, *L'immaculée conception dans l'Écriture Sainte et dans la tradition orientale* (Bibl. Immac. Concept. 3), Roma, Acad. Mariana, 1952. Gabriele GIAMBERARDINI, *Il culto mariano in Egitto*. I, sec. I-VI; II, sec. VII-X; III, sec. XI-XX, Jerusalem, Franciscan Print. Press, I 1975, II 1974, III 1978 (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Analecta 6-8). Michel Van ESBROECK, *Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le Xe siècle*, in: AA VV, *Les actes apocryphes des Apôtres*. p. 265-286, Geneve, Labor et Fides, 1981. Id., *La Dormition chez les Coptes*, in: M. Rassart-Debergh et J. Ries (eds.), *Actes du IVe Congrès Copte*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 sept. 1988, vol. 2, p. 436-445, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste, 1992. Simon Claude MIMOUNI, *Dormition et assomption de Marie. Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1995 (= *Théologie historique*, 98). Stephen J. SHOEMAKER, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford Univ. Press, 2002 (not on the Coptic tradition).

Some of our texts appear to belong to the period of the “classical” Coptic translations of Patristic homilies, in the V-VI century. The authorial attribution is always to be put in doubt, save of course the case when we have the Greek original (Proclus cc0320, Chrysostom cc0602, Severus cc0345, cc0348, cc0592, cc0911, cc0912 through Syriac), but there too there may be uncertainty: Basil or Chrysostom cc0163. Genuine attributions may be Theodosius cc0385 and Damianus cc0127. The others are to be discussed: [Basil] cc0891, [Proclus or Severianus] cc0329, [Cyril] cc0099 and cc0851, unknown cc0889.

The other texts appear to belong to the later period of the Coptic literature, when the texts were composed or reshaped, and attributed to names of convenience: [Athanasius] cc0050, [Cyril of Jerusalem] cc0005, [Basil] cc0073, [Cyril of Alexandria] cc0109, [Cyril of Jerusalem] 0119, [Demetrius] cc0129, [Epiphanius] cc0144, [Evodius] cc0151, [Philip] cc0154, [Theophilus] cc0396. In the case of reshaped texts, it is possible that some parts are relatively ancient, but all this should be carefully discussed. We note that the content of three textual units (cc0005, cc0129, and cc0884) shows interesting common features.

The only textual unit transmitted as a “real” *apocryphon* is cc0573, which may be qualified as a *Dormitio Virginis*.

**APPENDICES**

## 1. List of the codicological units

GIOV.AA	<b>33, 51, 77</b>
GIOV.AF	<b>34, 54</b>
GIOV.AK	<b>16, 34, 48, 50, 52</b>
MACA.AC	<b>29, 56</b>
MACA.BH	<b>29, 72</b>
MACA.BR	<b>29, 63</b>
MACA.DI	<b>30, 68</b>
MACA.EJ	<b>30, 72</b>
MACA.EK	<b>30, 58</b>
MACA.EL	<b>31, 68</b>
MERC.AB	<b>36, 60</b>
MERC.AC	<b>36, 51</b>
MERC.AD	<b>37, 61, 66</b>
MERC.AH	<b>37, 73</b>
MICH.AP	<b>39, 73</b>
MICH.BH	<b>40, 52, 59</b>
MICH.BI	<b>40, 52, 62</b>
MICH.BJ	<b>41, 62</b>
MICH.BP	<b>41</b>
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