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Lecce, 28 July - 3 August 2019

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QUADERNI DELL'ISTITUTO SUPERIORE UNIVERSITARIO  
DI FORMAZIONE INTERDISCIPLINARE

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# A New Look at Turin Coptic Codex XVI (CLM 61)\*

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## Abstract

The article offers the preliminary results of a codicological analysis of Turin Coptic Codex XVI (CLM 61) carried out within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant project “PATHs”. It focuses on the codicological description and reconstruction, as well as the typological, textual and formal analysis of the titles, in order to better understand the contexts of production and use of the manuscript.

## Keywords

Coptic book, titles, Late Antique Egypt

Turin Coptic Codex XVI (CLM 61 = CMCL GIOV.AQ) is an almost complete papyrus codex containing a collection of five *passiones* (or martyrdoms) published by F. Rossi in 1893.<sup>1</sup> It is part of the book collection known as the “Turin Coptic Codices” (Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, I-XVII),<sup>2</sup> identified as the library of the cathedral of the city of Thi(ni)s in Upper Egypt and datable to

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\* This contribution corresponds to part of the oral paper “Scoperte recenti nel codice copto XVI del Museo Egizio di Torino” delivered in the Italian language on July 31<sup>st</sup> 2019 at the 29<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology in Lecce. The research leading to these results was carried out within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant Project n° 687567 “PATHs. Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context: Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage” (P.I.: Paola Buzi) hosted by Sapienza Università di Roma. I thank Paola Buzi and Antonio Ricciardetto for their helpful suggestions.

The following abbreviations are used throughout the article to identify manuscripts or literary works:

- CLM: Coptic Literary Manuscript. Stable and unique identifier for Coptic literary manuscripts attributed in the framework of the ‘PATHs’ project and freely available online [<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>].
- CMCL: *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*. Identifier for reconstructed Coptic literary manuscripts within the framework of the homonymous project directed by T. Orlandi and available online, [[www.cmcl.it](http://www.cmcl.it)]. The identifier is composed of four letters corresponding to the book collection (GIOV for the Turin Coptic Codices, MONB for the White Monastery manuscripts) followed by two letters identifying the reconstructed manuscript.
- CC: *Clavis Coptica* or *Clavis Patrum Copticorum*. Unique identifier for Coptic literary works attributed by T. Orlandi within the framework of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* and freely available online, [[http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam\\_clavis.html](http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html)] and [<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/works>].

<sup>1</sup> Rossi 1893, 5-6 (description), 47-95 (edition), and 113-134 (Italian translation).

<sup>2</sup> Two more leaves pertaining to Codex IX (CLM 54) have recently been identified in the National Library in Turin (Peyron Ms., 157) by P. Buzi. See Buzi 2018, 44-45 (description), and 50-57 (edition, English translation and plates).

the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>3</sup> As such, it is the latest library entirely composed of papyrus books and it plays an important role in the history of both the Coptic book production and the Coptic literature.<sup>4</sup> Since the arrival of this book collection in the Museo Egizio in Turin in the 1820's<sup>5</sup> it has drawn the attention of many scholars. Worthy of mention is obviously F. Rossi who published all the texts between 1883 and 1893. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> cent. many scholars became interested in these manuscripts and republished single texts. Finally, almost two centuries after their arrival in Turin, a catalogue of this exceptional ensemble is to be published by P. Buzi and T. Orlandi.<sup>6</sup> As a member of this project, I was appointed to examine the 811 glasses in order to provide a complete catalogue of all leaves and fragments preserved and a codicological study and reconstruction of the twenty-one codicological units identified so far.<sup>7</sup>

This contribution offers some preliminary results of the undertaking limited to codex XVI. In the following pages, the detailed codicological description based on autoptic analysis<sup>8</sup> combined with an analysis of the titles of the type of literary works copied, enables us to identify some features of the model used by the copyist. It also helps us to understand concrete elements of the evolution of Coptic book production and Coptic literature during a specific period.

### Codicological description of the manuscript

CLM 61 originally consisted of 64 leaves (128 pages) of which ff. 7-61 are preserved (almost) in their entirety. F. 63 can be reconstructed on the basis of two fragments joined together. It bears two subscriptions or “colophon” on the recto (→)<sup>9</sup> and the Greek *Psalm* 109 (110) on the verso (↓), which is the only Greek text in the whole book collection. Ff. 1-2, 62 and 64 are completely lost and ff. 3-6 are preserved only in 8 tiny fragments, whose exact place has not yet been identified. The leaves (Pl. 1) measure 22 cm in width and 32 cm in height. Within the typology of early papyrus codices established by E.G. Turner, Coptic codex CLM 61 can be ascribed to «Group 3», which consists of papyrus codices measuring 21-23 cm in width and 31-32 cm in height.<sup>10</sup> Upper (4 cm), lower (5 cm), internal (2.5 cm) and external (4.5 cm) margins delimit a writing frame of 15 cm in width and 23 cm in height.

<sup>3</sup> On the date and provenance of the book collection, see Orlandi 1974, 115-120; Buzi 2018, 42-43.

<sup>4</sup> See Orlandi 2013, 525-530; Buzi 2018; Buzi 2020, 132-134.

<sup>5</sup> For an up-to-date *status quaestionis* of the early modern history of the collection, see Buzi 2018, 39-42.

<sup>6</sup> First attempts at cataloguing the entire collection were made by T. Orlandi as early as the 1970's. See Orlandi 1974 and 2013.

<sup>7</sup> CLM 45-62, 6558, 6559 and 6564.

<sup>8</sup> Five missions at the Museo Egizio in Turin were carried out between autumn 2017 and autumn 2019.

<sup>9</sup> These two fragmentary subscriptions will be published soon.

<sup>10</sup> Turner 1977, 15-16.

The manuscript preserves five *passiones* written in one column per page in an unimodular round majuscule showing an upright axis and a thick-and-thin style. When written in the first line of a page, the vertical stroke of κ is extended into the upper margin<sup>11</sup> and ρ is decorated above with a curled line<sup>12</sup> (see Pl. 1).<sup>13</sup> A similar way of decorating and extending the letters (in the lower margin in this case) is attested in the contemporary Coptic codex CLM 713 (Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 13448),<sup>14</sup> ff. 68 and 69, which are copied by a distinct hand with respect to the rest of the codex.<sup>15</sup> In CLM 61, the slight superposition of the extremities of the strokes and a difference in colour between the letter and its extension or decoration clearly indicate that this operation was carried out after the text was copied. A medium dot is the only punctuation mark used throughout the codex. An interlaced rope combined with the *ekthesis* of the first letter indicates the beginning of each passion. An ornate paragraphos, combined with the *ekthesis* of the enlarged initial letter, indicates the beginning of a new section in the passion. An interlaced rope is also added at the end of the last text, on f. 61v.

The five passions describe the torments suffered by Christians during the persecutions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the early 4<sup>th</sup> cent. The passions were translated from Greek into Coptic in the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>16</sup> The *Passio Pantaleonis* (CC 0293) tells of the miracles of the physician Pantaleon and his martyr. It is an example of a classical «epic» passion.<sup>17</sup> The following three passions, the *Passio Asclae* (CC 0262), the *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis* (CC 0295) and the *Passio Ariani* (CC 0261), form what T. Orlandi calls the Arianus' cycle.<sup>18</sup> The three texts are closely connected, especially the second and third. In the first two passions, the prefect Arianus orders the martyrdom of Ascla and that of Apollonius and Philemon. During the martyrdom of Philemon, Arianus is wounded and becomes blind. In the third passion of the cycle, Arianus recovers his sight thanks to the intervention of Jesus and adopts the Christian faith. He consequently suffers martyrdom in front of Diocletian himself. The last text of the collection, the *Passio Dios* (CC 0269) tells of the martyrdom of the soldier Dios who refused to obey the emperor's orders.

The internal organisation of the codex can therefore be established as follows:

ff. 1-2: lost and left blank;

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<sup>11</sup> The phenomenon can be observed on ff. 16 v, 18 r, 19 v, 32 v, 34 v (Pl. 1), 35 r, 35 v, 39 r, 40 v, 45 r, 46 r, 47 r, 49 r, 50 r, and 52 r.

<sup>12</sup> The phenomenon can be observed on ff. 7 v, 16 v, 17 v, 26 r, 28 r, 28 v, 31 r, 32 v, 33 r, 34 v (Pl. 1), 37 v, 38 v, 39 r, 45 r, 47 r, 48 r, 49 v, 50 r, 51 v, 52 r, 55 r, 58 r, and 59v.

<sup>13</sup> This phenomenon was noted by Rossi 1893, 5, who qualified it as «bizzarria calligrafica».

<sup>14</sup> Found in MMA 1152 in Western Thebes and datable to the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> cent.

<sup>15</sup> Carlig 2018, 167.

<sup>16</sup> On the translation of hagiographic works from Greek into Coptic, see Orlandi 1997, 90-94 and Boud'hors 2012, 234-235.

<sup>17</sup> Orlandi 1997, 94.

<sup>18</sup> Orlandi 1997, 94.

- ff. 3 r-28 v (pp. λ-ΝΔ ; page numbering λλ and λβ are omitted by the writer): *Passio Pantaleonis* (CC 0293);
- ff. 29 r-34 r (pp. ΝΕ-ΞΕ): *Passio Asclae* (CC 0262);
- ff. 34 v-44 r (pp. ΞΣ-ΠΕ): *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis* (CC 0295);
- ff. 44 v-56 r (pp. ΠΣ-ΡΘ): *Passio Ariani* (CC 0261);
- ff. 56 v-61 v (pp. ΡΙ-ΡΚ): *Passio Dios* (CC 0269);
- ff. 62: lost and left blank;
- f. 63 r: two unpublished subscriptions or “colophons”;
- f. 63 v: unpublished *Ps.* 109 (110) in Greek by a different hand;
- f. 64: lost and left blank.

The codex was originally formed of 8 quaternions ( $Q^{1-8}$ ). Each quire has its first page showing the horizontal fibres ( $\rightarrow$ ) and the succession of fibre directions follows the “like facing like” pattern in order to display the same fibre direction on two facing pages.<sup>19</sup>

The first quaternion ( $Q^1 =$  ff. 1-8) is partially preserved. Thanks to the analysis of the pagination and to the comparison of five other Turin Coptic Codices,<sup>20</sup> we can assume that ff. 1-2, which have not been preserved, were originally not paginated and most probably left blank. The 8 unplaced fragments can be ascribed to ff. 3-6 since they concern the *Passio Pantaleonis* (CC 0293). Only ff. 7-8 are preserved in their entirety. The quaternion can therefore be represented as follows:



The six following quaternions ( $Q^{2-7} =$  ff. 9-56) are complete. The last quaternion ( $Q^8 =$  ff. 57-64) lacks the sixth (f. 62) and the last (f. 64) leaf, both most probably left blank. The quire can therefore be represented according to this scheme:



<sup>19</sup> Turner 1977, 64-68.

<sup>20</sup> CLM 47, 48, 49, 53 and 58.

Pagination is written in the top-outer corner of each page bearing text. While numbering the pages, the writer omitted page numbers  $\lambda\Delta$  and  $\lambda\mathfrak{B}$  so that p.  $\lambda$  (f. 17v) is immediately followed by p.  $\lambda\Gamma$  (f. 18r). On the first and the last page of each quire, quire numbering is written in the top-inner corner and a staurogram ( $\text{Ⲫ}$ ) is drawn in the centre of the upper margin.

The original rolls used to make up the codex were in a horizontal position, as indicated by the presence of vertical *kollēseis* on several leaves. One roll in particular can be reconstructed. It was used to make up ff. 42-47 (pp. [ $\Pi\lambda$ ]- $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{B}$ ). This roll was 1.25 m long and consisted of 9 short *kollēmata* measuring around 15 cm in width. The roll was provided with a *prōtokollon* indicated by the diverse fibre direction before and after the *kollēsis* in f. 42.

### Textual, typological, and formal analysis of the titles

Eight titles help to identify the literary works copied in the codex. All were transcribed by F. Rossi. They are written in a distinctive writing style, that is a unimodular majuscule sloping to the right and showing a slight thick-and-thin style. The writing is similar, although more formal, to that of the Coptic documents of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>21</sup>  $\lambda$  has a round or a pointed body,  $\mathfrak{B}$  slightly breaks the bilinearity downwards,  $\mathfrak{M}$  sometimes shows the central element as slightly curved. The oblique stroke of  $\mathfrak{N}$  sometimes does not meet the right-hand vertical stroke.  $\tau$  shows *empattements* on both extremities of the horizontal stroke.

**Title 1** (Pl. 2) is the final title of the *Passio Pantaleonis* (CC 0293). It is written at the end of f. 28 v (p.  $\mathfrak{N}\Delta$ ) within the writing frame. The title is decorated above with a line of *diplai* and a line of horizontal strokes and below with a line of *diplai* and superposed horizontal strokes. Other *diplai* are drawn on the left and on the right of the lines.

- 1      $\lambda\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{K}$   $\epsilon\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{O}\lambda$   $\bar{\mathfrak{N}}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}$   $\tau\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{Y}$ -
- 2      $\rho\mathfrak{I}\Delta$   $\bar{\mathfrak{M}}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}$
- 3      $\bar{\mathfrak{Z}}\mathfrak{N}$   $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$   $\tau\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$  ·

Transl.: «The martyrdom ( $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ) of the saint ( $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) Pantaleon in the city ( $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ) of Nicomedia is finished».

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<sup>21</sup> See Boud'hors 1997, 128-129.

**Title 2** (Pl. 3) is the initial title of the *Passio Asclae* (CC 0262). It is written in the centre of the upper margin of f. 29 r (p. νε) and decorated above and below by a line of horizontal strokes and *diplai* in alternation. Both ρ are extended upwards by a decorative curled line.

1 ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΝΑΣΚΛΑ

Transl.: «The martyrdom (μαρτυρία) of Ascla».

**Title 3** (Pl. 4) is the final title of the *Passio Asclae* (CC 0262). It is written at the end of f. 34 r (p. ζε), within the writing frame. The end of the third line is filled with horizontal sinusoid strokes (~). A line of horizontal strokes and dots in alternation is drawn above the title and two lines of horizontal strokes and dots in alternation, separated by a line of *diplai*, are drawn below it. On the left and the right sides *diplai* and short horizontal strokes are drawn.

1 ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ  
2 ΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΔΣΚΛΑ ΝΣΟΥΧΟΥΤ-  
3 ΟΥΕ ΝΤΩΒΕ

Transl.: «The martyrdom (μαρτυρία) of the saint martyr (μάρτυρος) Ascla on the day 21 of Tobe».

Titles 4 and 5 (Pl. 5) are written in the same paratextual unit located in the lower margin of f. 44r (p. νε). A *dicolon* closes both titles. They are separated by a blank space. **Title 4** is a final title related to the *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis* (CC 0295) and the *Passio Asclae* (CC 0262). However, since the *Passio Asclae* already has both initial and final titles (titles 2 and 3), the name of Ascla is probably an error for that of Apollonius. The confusion can be explained by the same initial λ, but also by the close connection between the *Passio Asclae* and the *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis*, both part of Arianus' cycle. **Title 5** is the initial title of the *Passio Ariani* (CC 0261) written in the Greek genitive. The two lines of text are decorated above and below by a line of horizontal strokes and dots in alternation.

1 ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΜΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ ΜΝ ΔΣ-  
2 ΚΛΑ : <sup>vac.</sup> ΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ :

Transl.: «The martyrdom (μαρτυρία) of Philemon and Ascla (l. Apollonios). Of Arianus (Αριάνου)».



**Title 6** (Pl. 6) is the final title of the *Passio Ariani* (CC 0261). It is written in the middle of f. 56r (p. ρθ), as the text ends, and is concluded by a *dicōlon*. Below, the leaf is left blank. The title is decorated above with a line of horizontal strokes and double *diplai* in alternation and a line of *diplai* and, below, with a line of horizontal strokes, a line of *diplai* and a line of horizontal strokes in alternation with *diplai*. On the left and the right side, *diplai* and short horizontal strokes in alternation are added.

- 1    ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΝΑΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΖΗΓΕ-  
2    ΜΩΝ ΝΘΗΒΑΕΙΣ :

Transl.: «The martyrdom (μαρτυρία) of Arianos, governor (ἡγεμόν) of the Thebaid».

**Title 7** (Pl. 7) is the initial title of the *Passio Dios* (CC 0269). It is written in the centre of the upper margin of f. 56 v (p. [ρι]) and is concluded by a *dicōlon*. It is decorated above and below with a line of horizontal strokes.

- 1    ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΣ :

Transl.: «The martyrdom (μαρτυρία) of the saint Dios».

**Title 8** (Pl. 8) is the final title of the *Passio Dios* (CC 0269) of which Rossi only transcribed the first word.<sup>22</sup> It is written at the end of f. 61 v (p. ρκ) within the writing frame. It is decorated above with two lines of horizontal strokes and triple *diplai* in alternation, separated by a line of *diplai* and, below, with a line of horizontal strokes and double *diplai* in alternation, a line of *diplai*, and superposed horizontal strokes.

- 1    ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΔΙΟΣ

Transl.: «The martyrdom (μαρτυρία) of the saint (ἅγιος) Apa Dios».

According to P. Buzi's typology of Coptic titles, the titles in Turin Coptic codex XVI are «Subject Titles», that is to say «titoli il cui testo, espresso da pochissime parole, coincide completamente e semplicemente con il soggetto dell'opera a cui essi sono attribuiti. [...] il [...] contenuto è risolto in poche parole-chiave identificative dell'argomento dell'opera».<sup>23</sup> Five of them (titles 1, 3, 4, 6 and 8) are final titles or *subscriptions*, according to the terminology used by P. Buzi,<sup>24</sup> and the three others

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<sup>22</sup> Rossi 1893, 90 : ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ . . . . .

<sup>23</sup> Buzi 2005, 93. For the English terminology, see Buzi 2004.

<sup>24</sup> Buzi 2005, 32.

(titles 2, 5 and 7) are initial titles or *inscriptions*. Three out of the five works are provided with both initial and final titles: the *Passio Asclae* (Title 2 and 3), the *Passio Ariani* (Titles 5 and 6) and the *Passio Dios* (Titles 7 and 8). The *Passio Pantaleonis* has only a final title (Title 1) but since its beginning is lost, it cannot be established whether or not it was also provided with an initial title. The *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis* is therefore the only work definitely provided with just the final title (Title 4), written in the same paratextual unit as the initial title of the *Passio Ariani* (Title 5).

A further analysis of the titles and their formal features helps to distinguish two groups among them. The first group brings together the following titles:

Title 1: «The martyrdom of the saint Pantaleon in the city of Nicomedia is finished».

Title 3: «The martyrdom of the saint martyr Ascla on the day 21 of Tobe».

Title 6: «The martyrdom of Arianus, governor of the Thebaid».

Title 8: «The martyrdom of the saint Apa Dios».

They all are final titles, which correspond to the most common way of identifying literary works in antiquity, as attested by many Greek literary papyri.<sup>25</sup> From a textual point of view, they provide information about the martyr, such as the place (title 1) or the date (title 3) of the martyrdom, or even the professional activity of Arianus (title 6) or the title «Apa» (title 8) attributed to Dios. Moreover, the title of the *Passio Pantaleonis* is a verbal phrase, thanks to the use of the verb  $\alpha\chi\omega\kappa \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  at the beginning. It corresponds to the Greek expression  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$  opening final titles<sup>26</sup> and it is not common in Coptic titles.<sup>27</sup>

From a formal point of view, the four titles are written within the writing frame. They are all placed at the end of a page, with the exception of title 4, which is written in the middle of a page and followed by a long blank space. The titles are decorated with a complex set of signs (horizontal strokes, dots, *diploi*) drawn in more lines above and below the titles, and even, for titles 1, 3 and 6, on their left and right sides.

By identifying them with four final titles, the scribe most probably reproduced what was displayed in his model, which probably dated back to the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. when the passions were translated from

<sup>25</sup> On this, see Turner 1987, 16-17; Buzi 2005, 21-26; Schironi 2010. Final titles are also the most frequent in the Herculaneum Papyri: see Del Mastro 2014, 11-13. Less common in the papyri, initial titles have been studied by Caroli 2007. While E. Castelli dedicated some contributions to the titles of Christian works, a global study of the titles in the Greek Christian papyri is still needed.

<sup>26</sup> See the instances discussed by Schironi 2010, 21 and 22. This expression does not seem to be used in the Herculaneum Papyri.

<sup>27</sup> According to the database of titles hosted by the Atlas of Coptic Literature (<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/titles>), the verb  $\alpha\chi\omega\kappa \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  followed by a postponed subject introduced by  $\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}$  opening a title is attested three times in the parchment codices CLM 27 (1006, provenance not known), in CLM 571 (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> cent., White Monastery), and in CLM 435 (1002-1003, White Monastery). More generally, the verb  $\alpha\chi\omega\kappa \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  is attested in 59 titles.

Greek into Coptic. At that time, the role of the main title of a work was still assumed by the final title.<sup>28</sup> The four final titles also suggest that the closely related *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis* and *Passio Ariani* were considered as one literary work. The layout in a single column per page, which is only very infrequently attested in the Turin Coptic Codices<sup>29</sup> could also be explained as an imitation of the layout in the manuscript used as model.

The second group of titles consists of the remaining four titles:

Title 2: «The martyrdom of Ascla».

Title 4: «The martyrdom of Philemon and Ascla (l. Apollonios)».

Title 5: «Of Arianus».

Title 7: «The martyrdom of the saint Dios».

Three (titles 2, 5 and 7) are initial titles and one (title 4) is a final title. In sharp contrast with the titles of the first group, the titles of the second group are much shorter. They only specify the literary genre and the name of the martyr (titles 2, 4 and 7), and only one (title 7) contains the word «saint» to describe the martyr. Title 5 is even shorter and consists of the name of the martyr in the Greek genitive and is written in the same paratextual unit as title 4.

From a formal point of view, all these titles are written outside the writing frame, in the upper (titles 2 and 7) or in the lower (titles 4 and 5) margins. The decorative devices used are very simple and consist of one line of horizontal strokes alone or in alternation with *diplai* above and below the title. Finally, both *rho* of the word ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ in title 2 are decorated with the same curled line as the one added on some *rho* in the text.<sup>30</sup> In title 2 however, rather than being added later, it seems that these interlaces are part of the ductus of the letter, since no change in ink nor superimposition of the extremities of the strokes can be seen. On the basis of these observations, it can be assumed that the titles of the second group were written after the copy of the passions, at the same time as when some *rho* and *kappa* in the first lines of some pages were completed with decorative lines and strokes.

The presence of the second set of titles is interesting for the study of the evolution of both the Coptic book production and the Coptic literature. The addition of the initial titles to the *Passio Asclae*, the *Passio Dios* in the upper margin of the first page of the text, and probably also to the *Passio Pantaleonis* whose beginning is lost, confirms that the presence of the final title was no more sufficient, at the time when the manuscript was copied, to allow clear identification of literary work.

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<sup>28</sup> Buzi 2005, 26.

<sup>29</sup> On the twenty-one codicological units identified within the Turin Coptic Codices, the single column per page layout is attested in five codices, two of them being of Biblical content: CLM 53 (three homilies by/attribution to John Chrysostom: CC 0168, 0171 and 0178), CLM 54 (*Sententiae Concilii Nicaeni* CC 0021 and a *Life of Athanasius* CC 0408), CLM 56 (*Proverbia*), CLM 61 and CLM 62 (*Iob*).

<sup>30</sup> See the description of the writing on p. 261.

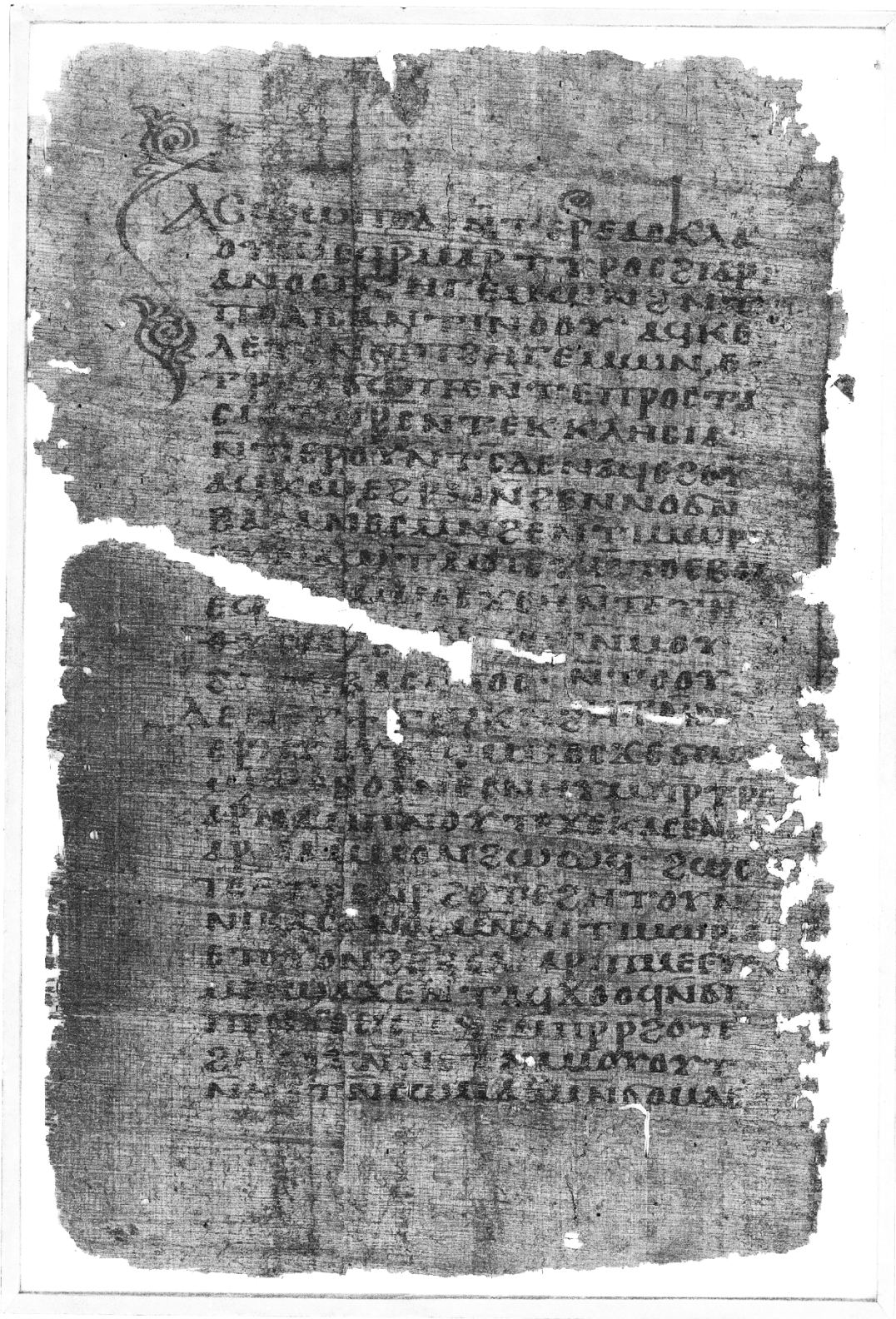
The role of the main title was increasingly assumed by the initial title, as P. Buzi has already stressed.<sup>31</sup> The addition of title 4 and 5 within the same paratextual unit, in the lower margin of f. 44 r, makes a neater distinction between the *Passio Apollonii et Philemonis* and the *Passio Ariani*. Most probably, the whole operation was carried out by a second hand which imitated very effectively the sloping majuscule of the titles copied by the first hand.

## Conclusion

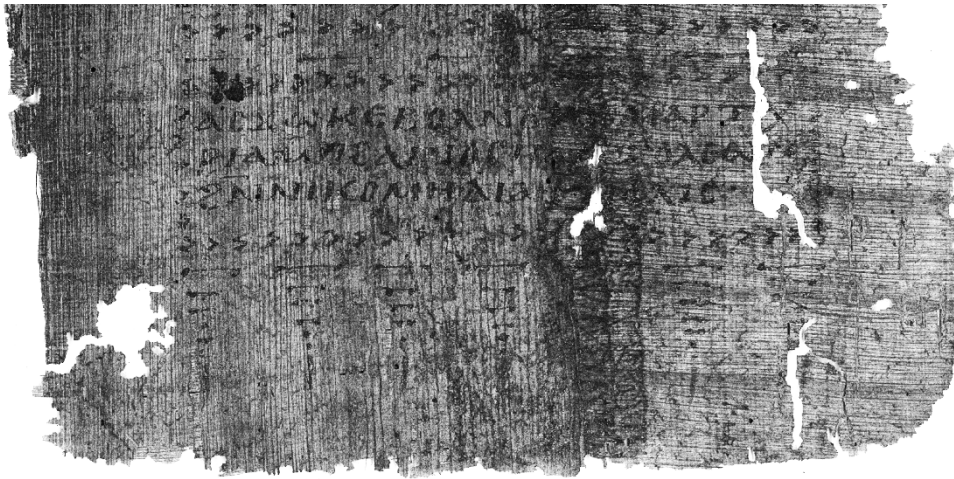
Thanks to the codicological analysis of the codex, combined with a typological, textual and formal analysis of the titles by a focus on the type of Coptic literary works copied, the following conclusions can be drawn about the production and use of Turin Coptic Codex XVI (CLM 61). The codex originally consisted of 8 quaternions, corresponding to 64 leaves or 128 pages, and can be dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. It contains a collection of passions copied on the basis of a model probably dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. as suggested by the final titles and the layout in a single column per page, that is the period of translation of the texts from Greek to Coptic. A second scribe decorated some letters, added initial titles and divided one of the works into two distinct passions, with the aim of adapting, as far as possible, the presentation of this manuscript to the current standards of Coptic book production. In conclusion, Turin Coptic Codex XVI is a hybrid product that illustrates how the Coptic book and the Coptic literature evolved between the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. and the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> cent.

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<sup>31</sup> Buzi 2005, 26 and Buzi 2020, 133.



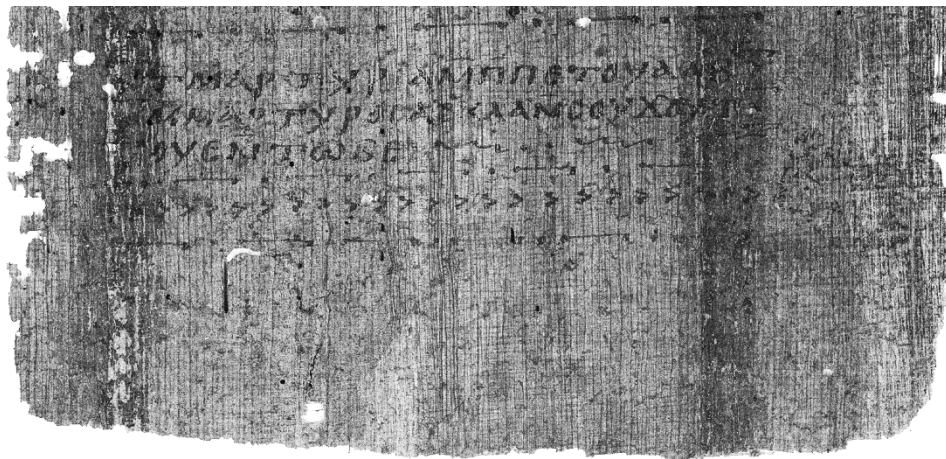
Pl. 1. Beginning of the *Passio Apollonii et Philemoni* (CC 0295) on f. 34v = p. ζς (Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 28 →). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



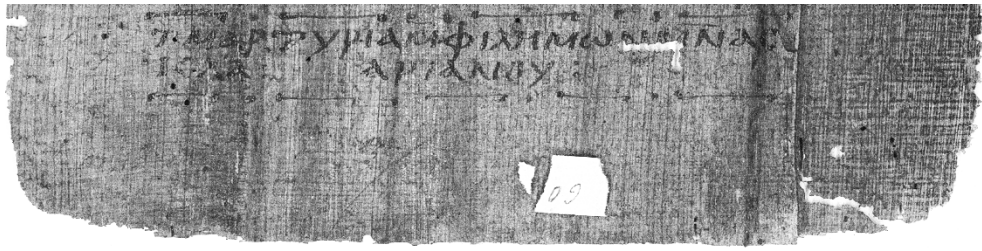
Pl. 2. Lower part of f. 28v bearing the final title of CC 0293 (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 22 ↓→). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



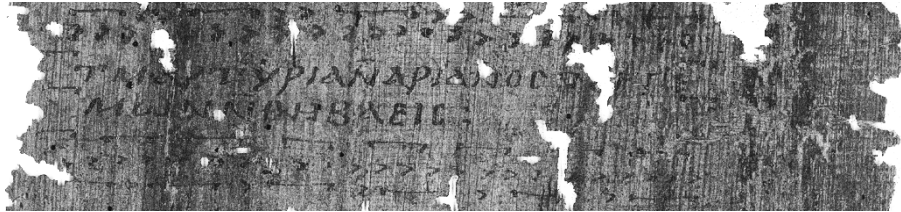
Pl. 3. Upper margin of f. 29r bearing the initial title of the CC 0262 (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 23 →). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



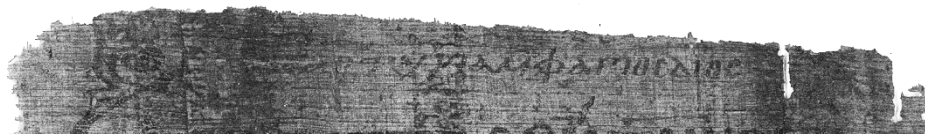
Pl. 4. Lower part of f. 34r bearing the final title of the CC 0262 (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 28 ↓). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



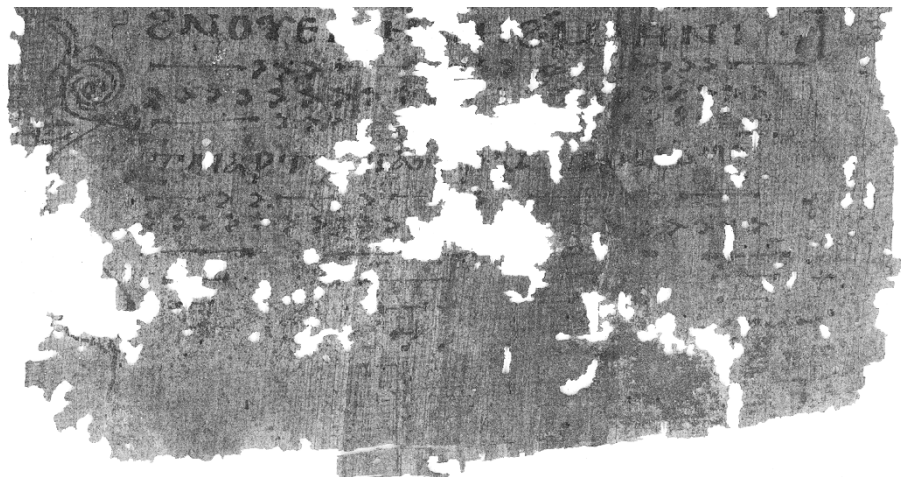
Pl. 5. Lower margin of f. 44r bearing the final title of CC 0295 and the initial title of CC 0262 (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 38 ↓). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



Pl. 6. Section of the central part of f. 56r bearing the final title of CC 0261 (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 50 ↓). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



Pl. 7. Initial title of CC 0269 and part of the stylized coronis in the left margin (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 50 →). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.



Pl. 8. Last line and final title of CC 0209 (detail of Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 63000, XVI, 55 ↓). Foto Museo Egizio di Torino.

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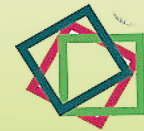
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