

ÁGNES T. MIHÁLYKÓ

The Christian
Liturgical Papyri:
An Introduction

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

114

Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editors

CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin) · MARTIN WALLRAFF (München)
CHRISTIAN WILDBERG (Princeton)

Beirat/Advisory Board

PETER BROWN (Princeton) · SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley)
JOHANNES HAHN (Münster) · EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI (Rom)
JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

114



Ágnes T. Mihálykó

The Christian Liturgical Papyri:
An Introduction

Mohr Siebeck

Ágnes T. Mihálykó, born 1990; studied History and Classics at the Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest); 2017 PhD in Classics (papyrology) from the University of Oslo; currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Eötvös József Collegium, Eötvös Loránd University.

ISBN 978-3-16-155786-6 / eISBN 978-3-16-157552-5

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-157552-5

ISSN 1436-3003 / eISSN 2568-7433 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2019 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen and bound by Nädele in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

This book is a revised version of my PhD dissertation defended in 2017 at the University of Oslo, Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Arts and Ideas. My most heartfelt gratitude is due first and foremost to my supervisors, Anastasia Maravela and Anne Boud'hors. A good supervisor is worth “far more than rubies” and I was so fortunate to enjoy the support of two. I owe the possibility of completing the dissertation in Oslo to Anastasia Maravela and her project “Strengthening research capacity in the papyrus collection of the Oslo University Library (2012–2017),” funded by the Norwegian Research Council. She was an encouraging and attentive guide during each stage of my thesis, read and corrected my text with meticulous precision, and always had an open door for my questions. Her supervision was not only profitable but also immensely enjoyable. I am also grateful for my co-supervisor Anne Boud'hors for her prompt help via e-mail and her ready assistance during my research stays in Paris.¹ Her expertise and advice was indispensable especially for the chapters on paleography and Western Thebes. I am moreover indebted to the members of my evaluation committee, Silvio Bär, Cornelia Römer and Diliانا Atanassova, who offered useful criticism and contributed greatly to improving this book.

My work has furthermore benefitted from discussions with Céline Grassien, who kindly agreed to share her unpublished thesis on hymns on papyrus, and whose expert collaboration was indispensable for finalizing the Appendix. The book has also profited from comments by several scholars who kindly agreed to read different parts of the thesis, including Heinzgerd Brakmann, Korshi Dosoo, Harald Buchinger, and Yohanna Youseff. I am also indebted to Naïm Vanthieghem for his prompt help with dating Arabic papyri, and to Lajos Berkes for expert opinion on Greek documents. I thank Céline Grassien, Korshi Dosoo, and Antti Marjanen for trusting me with their in-progress editions of liturgical papyri.

I have furthermore learnt from conversation with the members of the papyrus project, Joanne Stolk and Jens Mangerud, as well as fellow-PhDs Carlos Hernández Garcés, Oana Cojocar, and Marijana Vukovic. Postdoctoral fellows Christian Bull and Lance Jenott, and the keeper of the papyrus collection, Federico Aurora, also contributed to making my time in Oslo truly enjoyable. I benefitted from the thriving scholarly milieu in and around Oslo; parts of the

¹ These were enabled by generous funding from the Programme franco-norvégien and from the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Oslo.

thesis were presented at the classics seminar of the department, at the Breakfast Club for late antique scholars in Oslo organized by Liv Ingeborg Lied, and at the Nordic Coptic Network meeting in Lund in 2016. I am grateful to all the colleagues for useful feedback.

As with every study of manuscripts, this book too owes a lot to the kind help of colleagues at various collections. I thank Marius Gerhard at the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, Bernhard Palme at the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Sofia Torallas Tovar at the Abadia de Montserrat Collection, and the colleagues at the British Library, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Bodleian and Sackler Libraries in Oxford, and the Metropolitan Museum in New York for facilitating access to the collections and images, as well as the Fundación Pastor, Madrid, the John Rylands Library, Manchester, the Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Florence, the Archives de l’Université catholique de Louvain, the Museo Egizio di Torino, and the Papyrussammlung of the University of Heidelberg for kindly supplying images.

I am indebted to the Eötvös József Collegium of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and especially to its director László Horváth, who initiated me into ancient Greek, and provided me with the possibility of studying papyrology through the seminars and supervision of Hermann Harrauer. The Collegium hosted the postdoctoral research project “How the Old Church Prayed: The Earliest Christian Prayers on Papyrus” (PD 128355, financed by the Hungarian National Research, Development and Innovation Office), during the first months of which this book was completed. My work also received support from László Horváth’s research project NN 124539, equally funded by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office. Furthermore, I owe gratitude to Lance Jenott, who was not only an expert proof-reader and editor for this book, but also guided me through the publication process.

Finally, my warmest thanks are due to my parents and my brothers, who supported me and endured the separation my move to Oslo meant, and especially to my husband Károly Tóth, who accompanied me on this enriching journey and shared every moment of it with me.

Table of Contents

Preface	V
List of Maps and Images	XI
Abbreviations	XII
Editorial Note	XIV
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Defining a Corpus	14
Chapter 2: The Coptic Liturgy: Sources and History	39
The Sources	40
The Prayers of Sarapion	40
The Apostolic Tradition and the Canons of Hippolytus	41
The Liturgical Section of the Aksumite Collection	43
The Canons of Athanasius	44
The Mystagogical Catechesis	44
Other Canonical Sources	45
Testimonies from the Literature and Documents	46
Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts and Commentaries	47
An Outline of the Coptic Liturgy	51
The Eucharist	55
The Prothesis	55
The Liturgy of the Word	56
The Liturgy of the Faithful	58
The Anaphora	60
Post-anaphoral Liturgy	64
The Liturgy of the Hours	66
Baptism	71

Chapter 3: Dating Liturgical Papyri	74
Documents Dated by the Patriarch	77
Documents Dated by External Evidence	79
Western Thebes	80
Dated Versos	80
Arabic Versos	82
Cursive Hands	83
Formal and Informal Upright Hands	84
The Sloping Majuscule	85
Conclusion	92
 Chapter 4: Provenance	 95
Fayum	97
The Heracleopolite Nome	103
Oxyrhynchus	104
Hermopolis and its Surroundings	107
Deir el-Bala'izah	109
Upper Egypt	111
Western Thebes	115
The Monastery of Epiphanius	117
The Monastery of St. Phoibammon	125
Other Monasteries and Hermitages in Western Thebes	127
Unprovenanced Documents	131
Writing the Liturgy in Western Thebes	134
Reconstructing the Liturgy of Western Thebes	140
 Chapter 5: The Materiality of Liturgical Papyri	 153
Formats	155
Distinguishing Codices and Single Sheets	155
Codices	158
Single Sheets	161
Rolls and Rotuli	164
Ostraca	166
Tablets	167

Other Material Features	168
Handwriting	168
Sense Unit Markers	169
Indication of Tone and Musical Notation	177
Abbreviations, Corrections, and Decorations	180
Conclusion	184
 Chapter 6: Uses of Liturgical Papyri	 188
Amulets	191
Education and Writing Exercises	200
Aids for Performing the Service	210
 Chapter 7: Genres, Manuscripts, and Their Uses	 220
Prayers, Priests, and the Euchologion	224
The Earliest Copies of Prayers on Papyrus	224
Writing Early Prayers	227
The Text of the Early Prayers	233
Contents and Origins of the Early Prayer Collections	236
The Structure of the Early Collections	240
A Typology of the Late Antique Euchologia	241
Acclamations, Deacons, and the Diaconicon	244
Hymns, Hymn Books, Singers, and Others	247
The Earliest Hymns on Papyrus	247
The Earliest Collections of Hymns on Papyrus	248
Users of Hymn Manuscripts	250
Conclusion	251
 Chapter 8: Languages of the Liturgy	 253
Context	254
Latin	255
Prayers	259
Acclamations	265
Hymns	267
Conclusion	273

Chapter 9: Writing the Christian Liturgy in Egypt	280
Appendix: Table of Liturgical Papyri	287
Glossary	372
Bibliography	377
Index of Authors	405
Index of Manuscripts	407
Index of Subjects	418
Images	427

Maps and Images

1. Map of Egypt	XV
2. Flat μ (New York MLM M 612 fol. 2 recto)	16
3. Flat μ (New York MLM M 603 fol. 24 verso)	16
4. Map of Western Thebes	116
5. P.Berol. 13415 recto	428
6. P.Aphrod.Lit. 48	429
7. P.Lond. III 1029 recto	429
8. Pap.Colon. XXVIII 13	430
9. MPER N.S. XVII 48 recto	431
10. P.Berol. 3602 recto	432
11. British Museum EA 5853 recto	432
12. P.Mon.Epiph. 600	433
13. P.Ryl. inv. Add. Gr. 1166 recto	434
14. Louvain Ms Lefort copt. 28A	434
15. MPER N.S. XVII 55 recto	435
16. P.Rain.Cent. 31 p. 7	436
17. P.Vindob. G 3 recto	437
18. P.Amst. I 21	437
19. P.Bad. V 124	438
20. P.Lond.Copt. I 1226	439
21. PSI Com. IX 2	439
22. New York MLM M 636 fol. 26 recto	440
23. MPER N.S. XVII 58	440
24. P.Lond.Copt. I 513	441
25. P.Matr. inv. 46	441
26. P.Berol. 5476 recto	442
27. P.Ryl.Copt. 175	443
28. MPER N.S. XVII 37	444
29. MPER N.S. XVII 27	445
30. New York MLM M 574 fol. 2 recto	446
31. P.Lond.Copt. I 514 recto	447
32. P.Ryl. III 466 recto	448
33. PSI IX 1096	448
34. BKT VI 6 2	449
35. P.Vindob. G 19879 recto	450
36. P.Vindob. G 42377 recto	451

Abbreviations

<i>Aeg</i>	<i>Aegyptus</i>
<i>ALW</i>	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
<i>AnPap</i>	<i>Analecta Papyrologica</i>
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i>
<i>BAV</i>	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>BM</i>	British Museum
<i>BnF</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Cavallo and Maehler, <i>GB</i>	Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, <i>Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800</i> . Bulletin Supplement 47. London: Insti- tute of Classical Studies, 1987.
<i>CCSL</i>	Coptus Christianorum Series Latina
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>CMCL</i>	Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
<i>CQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>EchOr</i>	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
<i>EphThLov</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JCoptS</i>	<i>Journal of Coptic Studies</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>J ECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
<i>JöB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KM</i>	Kunsthistorisches Museum
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed.

	with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MLM	The Morgan Library and Museum
<i>Mus</i>	<i>Le Muséon</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTTRU</i>	<i>New Testament Textual Research Update</i>
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>OstkStud</i>	<i>Ostkirchliche Studien</i>
<i>PGL</i>	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Edited by Geoffrey W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>PP</i>	<i>Parola del Passato</i>
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RBén</i>	<i>Révue Bénédictine</i>
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SPap</i>	<i>Studia Papyrologica</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
TM	Trismegistos Database (www.trismegistos.org)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache</i>
<i>ZKT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Editorial Note

Papyrus editions, corpora, and series are cited according to the abbreviation in the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

The text of papyri cited in this book is transcribed with the critical signs of the Leidener Klammersystem, following B. A. van Groningen, “Projet d’unification des systems de signes critiques,” *CdÉ* 7 (1932): 262–69.

[]	lacuna
< >	omission in the original
()	resolution of symbol or abbreviation
{ }	cancelled by the editor of the text
\ /	interlinear addition
[[]]	deletion in the original
... .	uncertain or illegible letters
l.	regularized form
corr. from	corrected from (by the scribe)

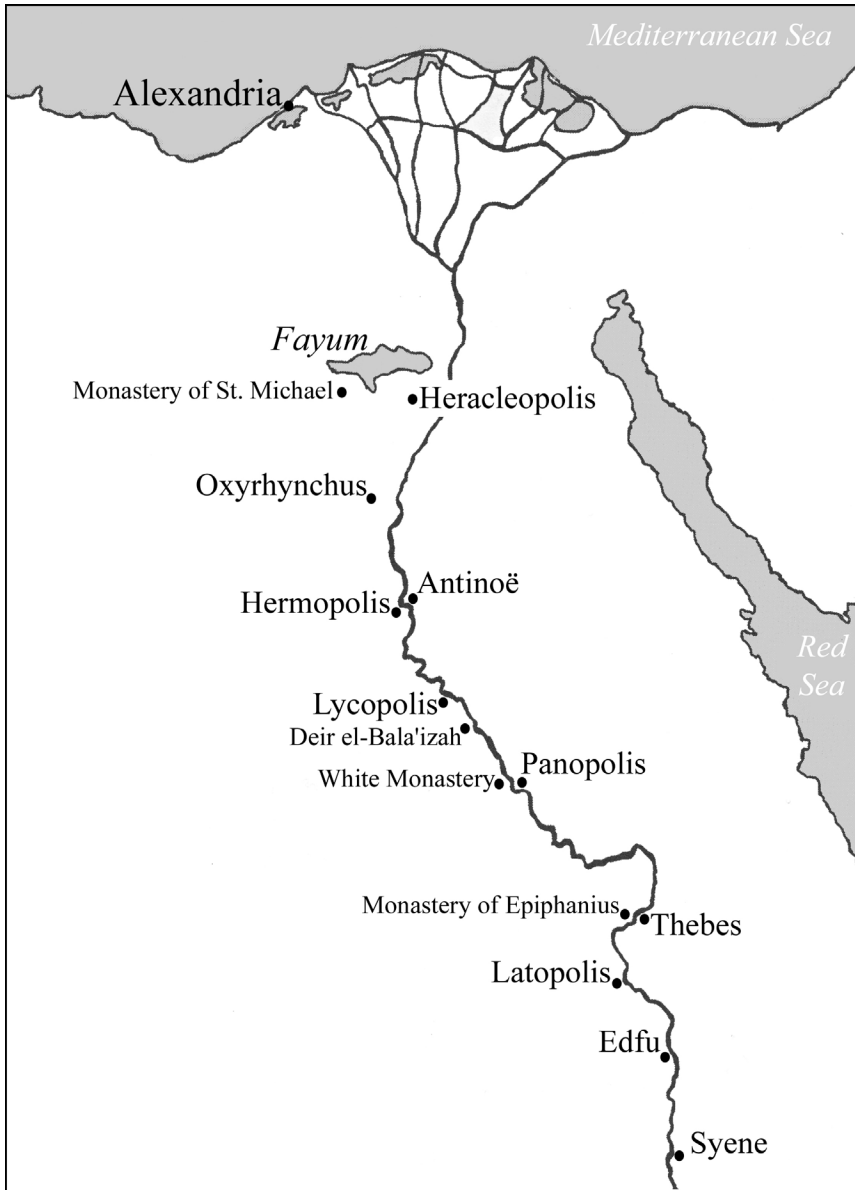


Fig. 1: Egypt in Late Antiquity. Design by Lance Jenott.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Liturgy had a prominent place in the life of a Christian in late antique and early medieval Egypt. The faithful were expected to attend church twice a day for the morning and the evening prayer, and twice a week for the Eucharist, on Saturday evening and on Sunday morning. Turning points in their lives were marked by church services: baptism; for some, ordination or consecration as a monk; and finally the funeral. It would therefore be expected that whatever they heard, prayed, or sung in church had an effect on them. It influenced their beliefs, was adopted in the verbiage of their protective and healing practices, and left its mark on their literary, epistolary, and other documentary productions. As holidays of the liturgical week or year structured the rhythm of life, they serve as timestamps in documents and literary texts. Liturgical gatherings in the church created communities, and going to a certain church with a certain rite defined one's membership in a congregation.

Despite its importance in people's lives, early Egyptian liturgy remains little known to historians of the church and of religion. This is no coincidence. The usual sources, namely literary and documentary texts, contain only scattered remarks on liturgical practices. Liturgy required little discussion. Changes happened slowly and thus rarely drew the attention of authors. As a rule, one finds only passing remarks, concise descriptions presenting the routines of a holy person, or short notes if anything noteworthy changed in the practice. Only a few types of sources give us more information: mystagogical catecheses, church orders, and travelogues of pilgrims, to whom the liturgy of a foreign land would have been one of the *mirabilia* they saw. But for Egypt, we are poorly informed. A mystagogical catechesis from fifth-century Alexandria, preserved in Ethiopic, is an excellent source of information for how the Eucharist was conducted; but the church orders from Egypt are laden with problems of provenance and date, and pilgrims in Egypt were generally interested in the wisdom of the monks rather than their liturgical practices.¹ Documents on papyri, such as letters, lists, and contracts, also

¹ On the literary sources for the liturgy, see chapter two.

rarely mention the liturgy, and remarks are usually made in passing. Only a few of them contribute significantly to our knowledge.²

Due to the sparsity of descriptions and references in historical sources, researchers must turn to the primary sources of the liturgy – liturgical manuscripts themselves. In this area the Egyptian *chora*³ exceeds every other region for the late antique and early medieval periods. Liturgical manuscripts have been preserved from every part of the world where Christians lived; but since they rarely come from before the eighth and ninth centuries, information about the liturgy in earlier periods depends on these later sources. Such studies face considerable methodological challenges. Although liturgy always draws on tradition, which can be centuries old, it is nevertheless subject to constant changes and variations at different times and places. Because liturgical manuscripts tend to be designed for practical use, they reflect the actual usage of their community, rather than preserve antiquarian versions of texts no longer recited. Although ancient liturgical manuscripts are occasionally transmitted for centuries without significant change (the most famous case being the prayer book of Sarapion, a compilation of fourth-century prayers preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript from Mount Athos)⁴, and some texts were copied even after they had fallen out of use,⁵ liturgical manuscripts have a tendency to be “subject to rewriting and redaction to reflect changing historical and cultural circumstances.”⁶ As copyists did not aim to be faithful to the manuscript they were copying, but rather to the liturgy performed in their communities, they adapted their copies in accordance with contemporary practices.⁷ Thus the liberty of change and the diversity of local customs poses serious challenges to the researcher who wants to reconstruct the late antique form of a rite based on considerably later medieval manuscripts.⁸ The hindrances are even greater when it comes to determining the precise wording of a text for the sake of philological comparison or theological analysis. Very often a particular reading is attested in only one codex, and the variants do not lead us to the reconstruction of an original reading as they

² See Georg Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (München: K.G. Saur, 2002), 77–125; Ewa Wiprzycka, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions* (Warsaw: The Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation, 2015), 327–30.

³ For papyrological or liturgical terms see the glossary.

⁴ On the prayer book, see Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995).

⁵ Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (London: SCPK, 1992), 75.

⁶ Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, 74.

⁷ Achim Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora: Text – Kommentar – Geschichte* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2004), 49–51.

⁸ See the methodological discussion in Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, 56–79.

would in the case of literary texts. Rather, the manuscripts “witness an individual liturgy anchored in space and time.”⁹

Since the reconstruction of the late antique form of the liturgy from medieval codices is wrought with problems, the value of the late antique manuscripts as direct testimonies to the late antique form of the liturgy is immense. They have been preserved in largest numbers by the sands of Egypt on papyrus, parchment, ostraca, and wooden tablets (which henceforth I will refer to with the papyrologist’s umbrella term ‘papyri’).¹⁰ They were found in archaeological excavations and clandestine digs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and entered private and public collections in Egypt and the West often through the antiquities trade. Since the publication of the first two pieces by M. Egger in 1887,¹¹ they continue to appear in various papyrological volumes and articles. Many were published in catalogues of collections mingled with other documentary and literary texts. Since their editors were often papyrologists and Coptologists with little expertise in the history of liturgy, they did not frequently draw parallels, attempt to reconstruct lacunae, or provide liturgical contextualization. Other liturgical papyri were published by scholars of liturgy in journals dedicated to early Christian studies, such as the Greek papyrus codex from the monastery of Deir el-Bala’izah, edited by Pierre de Puniet in *Revue Benedictine* in 1909.¹² Yet these editors often lacked the papyrological expertise needed to date the manuscripts or provide geographical and social contextualization. The gap between papyrology and liturgical scholarship was only rarely bridged in the editions. Exceptional are the cases in which editors collaborated with experts of liturgy, as in the case of Walter E. Crum’s work with F. E. Brightman in his editions of liturgical ostraca (O.Crum). Other researchers, such as Cornelia Römer, Céline Grassien, and Kurt Treu, the most productive editor of liturgical papyri,¹³ have specialized in liturgical pieces and combined expertise in both fields.

⁹ Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 57: “bezeugen sie eine jeweils individuell in Raum und Zeit verortete Liturgie.”

¹⁰ For an overview of writing materials in antiquity commonly treated together by papyrologists, see Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, “Writing Materials in the Ancient World,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3–29.

¹¹ M. Egger, “Observations sur quelques fragments de poterie antique qui portent des inscriptions grecques,” *Mémoires de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 21 (1887): 377–408.

¹² Pierre de Puniet, “Le nouveau papyrus d’Oxford,” *RBén* 26 (1909): 34–51.

¹³ Treu edited over sixty liturgical papyri in a series of articles (“Drei Berliner Papyri mit Nomina sacra,” in *Studia Patristica. Vol. X*, ed. Frank L. Cross [Berlin: Akademie, 1970], 29–31; “Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri,” *APF* 21 [1971]: 57–81; “Varia Christiana,” *APF* 24–25 [1976]: 113–27; “Ein altchristlicher Christushymnus,” *NovT* 19 [1977]: 142–49; “Moses πρωτοπροφήτης in P.Ien. inv. 536,” *APF* 27 [1980]: 61–62; “Varia Chris-

So far scholarly efforts have resulted in over three hundred published liturgical papyri. However, these sources have entered liturgical and historical research only selectively and to a limited extent, and multiple challenges continue to prevent scholars from capitalizing on these editions. Because liturgical papyri are fragmentary, good editions with reliable identification and contextualization are essential for further use; but this information is oftentimes absent or incorrect due to the limitations of the editors' expertise. Several of the early editions even lack a translation and a commentary. Furthermore, the fact that the texts are written in Greek and Coptic often prevents scholars specialized in only one or the other language from spotting connections between texts attested in both. Focus on individual texts without an overview of the entire material, together with the uncertainties of palaeographical dating, resulted in unreliable dates. To make matters more difficult, the editions are also often hard to come by, scattered widely in various papyrological volumes and journals.

Repeated attempts have been made to collect the liturgical papyri, starting with the publication of *Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica, Reliquiae vetustissimae* (1913), which reprinted eighty-six items and mixed liturgical prayers and hymns with texts of private devotion.¹⁴ However, the last extensive collection was Henri Leclercq's article "Papyrus" and "Ostraca" in Volume XIII of *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* from 1937. Since then, only one group of liturgical texts has received a corpus. In 1999 Jürgen Hammerstaedt published a collection of Greek anaphoras (Pap.Colon. XXVIII), which presents re-editions of nineteen fragments from Egypt and Nubia dated between the fourth and eleventh centuries with a detailed commentary. Moreover, a corpus of liturgical hymns is in preparation by Céline Grassien. Her thesis, "Préliminaires à l'édition du corpus papyrologique des hymnes chrétiennes liturgiques de langue grecque," defended in 2011, contains a list of over 200 hymns with preliminary editions and an analysis of the entire corpus.¹⁵ Its publication will supply an introduction and easy access to the Christian hymns in Greek preserved on papyrus, including those from Nubia and Palestine, up to the thirteenth century. At present, however, the almost complete lack of accessible liturgical corpora similar to those available for magical texts (e.g., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, *Supplementum Magicum*, and *An-*

tiana II," *APF* 32 [1986]: 23–31) and in the volume *MPER N.S. XVII* (with Johannes Diethart).

¹⁴ Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, *Reliquiae liturgicae vetustissimae. Sectio altera: Ab aevo apostolico ad Pacem Ecclesiam*, vol. 1 of *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* (Paris: August Picard, 1913), cxxxvii–cclxii.

¹⁵ I am grateful to the author for sharing with me a corrected version of her thesis in October 2015.

cient *Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*), has contributed to the relative obscurity of liturgical papyri vis-à-vis their magical counterparts.

In addition to liturgical corpora, lists of liturgical papyri aid researchers in finding relevant publications. The most important is a chapter in Joseph van Haelst's *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* on "liturgical prayers and private prayers" from 1976. This is a mixture of texts from the liturgy and texts of a more private character, such as amulets, and prayers for healing or protection. Each item is briefly described and accompanied by bibliographical references and basic information concerning the manuscript; references to minor categories, such as hymns, are collected in the indices. The catalogue was continued by Kurt Treu and Cornelia Römer in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*,¹⁶ but includes only Greek items. On the Coptic side, only Jutta Henner's list of Sahidic anaphoras can be cited.¹⁷ And although most liturgical papyri have been entered into the online databases of Trismegistos¹⁸ and the Leuven Database of Ancient Books¹⁹ with useful information, varia-

¹⁶ Kurt Treu, "Christliche Papyri VI," *APF* 26 (1978): 149–59; "Christliche Papyri VII," *APF* 27 (1980): 251–57; "Christliche Papyri VIII," *APF* 28 (1982): 91–98; "Christliche Papyri IX," *APF* 29 (1983): 107–10; "Christliche Papyri X," *APF* 30 (1984): 121–28; "Christliche Papyri XI," *APF* 31 (1985): 59–71; "Christliche Papyri XII," *APF* 32 (1986): 87–95; "Christliche Papyri XIII," *APF* 34 (1988): 69–78; "Christliche Papyri XIV," *APF* 35 (1989): 107–16; Cornelia E. Römer, "Christliche Texte (1989–August 1996)," *APF* 43 (1997): 107–45; "Christliche Texte (1996–1997)," *APF* 44 (1998): 129–39; "Christliche Texte (1997–1998)," *APF* 45 (1999): 138–48; "Christliche Texte (1998–1999; mit einem Nachtrag aus dem Jahr 1992)," *APF* 46 (2000): 302–8; "Christliche Texte V 2000–2001," *APF* 47 (2001): 368–76; "Christliche Texte VI 2001–2002," *APF* 48 (2002): 349–50; "Christliche Texte VII 2002–2004," *APF* 50 (2004): 275–83; "Christliche Texte VIII (2004–2005)," *APF* 51 (2005): 334–40; "Christliche Texte IX (2005–2007)," *APF* 53 (2007): 250–55.

¹⁷ Jutta Henner, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica: Editionen und Kommentar liturgischer Texte der Koptischen Kirche des ersten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 4–35, to be used along with the extensive review by Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Fragmenta Graeco-Copto-Thebaica. Zu Jutta Henners Veröffentlichung alter und neuer Dokumente süd-ägyptischer Liturgie," *OrChr* 88 (2004): 117–72, especially 121–28.

¹⁸ "Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of papyrological and epigraphical resources." www.trismegistos.org. Trismegistos collects information about texts from the ancient world, especially from Egypt, dated between roughly 800 BC and 800 AD and complements it with other useful information about these texts, such as the people and places they mention, the ancient archive they belong to, the modern collection they are kept in, or the ancient authors they report. For each text (inscriptions and manuscripts on papyrus or parchment) a Trismegistos (TM) number is assigned and metadata is collected, i.e., date, provenance, language, material, sides written, bibliography, and inventory number.

¹⁹ "Leuven Database of Ancient Books." www.trismegistos.org/ldab. An originally independent database, now integrated in Trismegistos, which collects more detailed metadata on literary and semi-literary manuscripts, including not only rolls and codices, but also

tions in how different genres are labelled does not allow researchers as of 2018 to search for and find all ‘liturgical’ papyri, ‘hymns’, or ‘liturgical prayers’ through these databases.

On the whole, editions of the papyri were poorly directed towards the interests of historians of liturgy and religion. This resulted in a selective and uneven use of the published evidence, even though scholars were aware of the existence and usefulness of these sources from their earliest publication at the turn of the twentieth century. Unsurprisingly, it stirred the interest of historians of liturgy in particular, who hoped that the testimony of the papyri, even those from the sixth and seventh centuries, would take them back to the beginnings of the Christian worship, or at least to the third century. It was Theodor Schermann who first tried to integrate the papyri into an overall history of the Egyptian liturgy. Yet he paid little attention to the date or context of the manuscripts, as his focus was on the textual contents, and on ‘the search for origins’. He favored a few select witnesses, especially P.Bala’izah, a papyrus from the sixth or seventh centuries, the contents of which he claimed went back to the early third century.²⁰ The rest of the texts he either discussed in passing or reprinted at the end of the volume without incorporating them into his analysis. Anton Baumstark also paid attention to the editions of papyri, acknowledged their importance and sometimes even proposed corrections of the texts.²¹

This tendency to use select papyri in the search for the origins of Christian worship, rather than as evidence for the period of the manuscripts themselves, has prevailed after Schermann. Some manuscripts have received considerable attention, such as P.Bala’izah and P.Strasb. inv. Gr. 254, the so-called ‘Strasbourg anaphora fragment’ (4–5th c.), which in several publications has served as a key witness to the eucharistic prayer in the third or even second century.²² In studies concerning the development of anaphora, a prominent field in

single sheets and ostraca with literary or semi-literary texts. It contains information on published or on-line images as well. The entries are most conveniently accessible through Trismegistos by searching for the TM number, then clicking on the LDAB number.

²⁰ Theodor Schermann, *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrtausends* (Paderborn: Schönigh, 1912), 5–13.

²¹ For an assessment of Baumstark’s work on the liturgical papyri, see Heinzgerd Brakmann, “Zwischen Pharos und Wüste. Die Erforschung der alexandrinisch-ägyptischen Liturgie durch und nach Anton Baumstark,” in *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*, Rome, 25–29 September 1998, ed. Robert F. Taft and Gabriele Winkler (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 324–25.

²² The extensive bibliography on the papyri has been summarized by Walter Ray, “The Strasbourg Papyrus,” in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 39–56, for more recent studies see Walter Ray, “The Strasbourg Papyrus and the Roman Canon: Thoughts on Chapter Seven of Enrico Mazza’s *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*,” *Studia Liturgica* 39

liturgical scholarship, the meager selection of only four manuscripts included in the collection entitled *Prayers of the Eucharist Early and Reformed* – namely P.Strasb. inv. Gr. 254, BM EA 54036, P.Bala'izah, and Copt.Lov. 27 – came to dominate the discussion, while other manuscripts have been integrated into research to a much less extent. The early and complete anaphora contained in P.Monts.Roca is only starting to receive the attention it deserves.²³ Other sources, in particular the Coptic ones, have been neglected even more. In addition, many scholars who focus on the 'search for the origins of Christian worship', or on fourth- and fifth-century developments, consider the papyri as material for speculation on these early periods. The sixth century and beyond, for which the papyri provide ample evidence, are considered less relevant. The fact that there is only one specimen from the third century, and relatively few from the fourth and fifth,²⁴ poses limits to the 'search for the origins of Christian worship' based on the papyri.

Despite these limits, the papyri remain indispensable for studying the origins of Christian liturgy. It is, however, crucial to use as many papyri as possible in such studies, with due consideration of their context and date. The rewards of taking into account a wide range of anaphoras preserved on papyrus can be seen in the studies of Alistair C. Stewart²⁵ and Bryan Spinks.²⁶ With the help of their inclusive source basis they have questioned the prevailing notion that the Alexandrian church had only one typical anaphora structure, that of the anaphora of St. Mark, and have instead demonstrated that anaphora development in Egypt was far from uniform.

The papyri provide an even more valuable source basis for the study of ritual developments in the sixth to ninth centuries. Hans Quecke's *Unter-*

(2009): 40–62, Bryan D. Spinks, "Revisiting Egyptian Anaphoral Development," in *A Living Tradition: On the Intersection of Liturgical History and Pastoral Practice. Essays in Honor of Maxwell E. Johnson*, ed. David A. Pitt, Stefanos Alexopoulos, and Christian McConnell (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2012), 195–99 and Bryan D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London: SCM Press, 2013), 59–61.

²³ Michael Zheltov, "The Anaphora and the Thanksgiving Prayer from the Barcelona Papyrus: An Underestimated Testimony to the Anaphoral History in the Fourth Century," *VC* 62 (2008): 467–69; Paul F. Bradshaw, "The Barcelona Papyrus and the Development of Early Eucharistic Prayers," in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2010), 129–38; Alistair C. Stewart, *Two Early Egyptian Liturgical Papyri: The Deir Balyzeh Papyrus and the Barcelona Papyrus with Appendices Containing Comparative Material* (Norwich: Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 2010); Walter Ray, "The Barcelona Papyrus and the Early Egyptian Eucharistic Prayer," *Studia Liturgica* 41 (2011): 211–29, and Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance*, 99–102.

²⁴ On the chronology of liturgical papyri, see chapter three.

²⁵ Stewart, *Two Early Egyptian Liturgical Papyri*.

²⁶ Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance*, 94–120.

suchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet departed from the edition of the Psalmody sections of a manuscript from 894/895 (New York MLM M 574), which he complemented with earlier papyrological attestations of the texts included in the codex that predominantly come from the sixth to eighth centuries. This approach allowed him to reconstruct the liturgy of the hours in the ninth century and earlier. Heinzgerd Brakmann drew upon various, also lesser known, papyri in liturgical discussions in a series of articles.²⁷ Achim Budde's study of the history of the Egyptian anaphora of St. Basil used not only all the extant manuscripts of the anaphora in Greek, Sahidic, and Bohairic, but also a wide range of comparative material, including some neglected papyri. Interested in all stages of the anaphora's development in an equal manner,²⁸ he employed the manuscripts as sources for the centuries in which they were written, and was cautious when projecting their testimony into earlier periods. His observations of the material and physical aspects of the manuscripts allowed him to draw conclusions on how the anaphoras were written down.²⁹ Philippe Bernard also discussed liturgical papyri in his article about the psalmody and hymnody in early Christianity, which contains a section about hymns on papyrus with a helpful list.³⁰ Finally, Stig Frøyshov's use of P.Naqlun I 6 to show that the *cursus* of twenty-four selected Psalms in Codex Alexandrinus could have stood behind the twelve daytime and twelve night Psalms recited by the anchorites in Lower Egypt demonstrates how a single papyrus hidden in a papyrological edition can contribute to a long-standing liturgical debate over the validity of the distinction between 'cathedral' and 'monastic' liturgy of the hours.³¹

While historians of liturgy were aware of the usefulness of papyri and capitalized on them in their research, albeit selectively, theologians, Coptologists, and historians of religion have explored the potential of this material to a much lesser extent. For them, the difficulties deriving from the scattered

²⁷ Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Das alexandrinische Eucharistiegebet auf Wiener Papyrusfragmenten," *JAC* 39 (1996): 149–64 (Pap.Colon. XXVIII 3 and 5); "Der Berliner Papyrus 13819 und das griechische Euchologion-Fragment von Deir el-Bala'izah," *OstStud* 36 (1987): 31–38 (P.Berol. 13918 and P.Bad. IV 58); "Severus unter den Alexandrinern. Zum liturgischen Diptychon in Boston," *JAC* 26 (1983): 54–58 (SB XX 14591).

²⁸ Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 34–36.

²⁹ Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 560–61. My chapter seven scrutinizes and refines his observations on the basis of the entire corpus of liturgical papyri.

³⁰ Philippe Bernard, "La dialectique entre l'hymnodie et la psalmodie, des origines à la fin du VIe siècle: bilan des connaissances et essai d'interprétation," *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 26 (2005): 121–29 and 152–62.

³¹ Stig R. Frøyshov, "The Cathedral-Monastic Distinction Revisited. Part I: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?" *Studia Liturgica* 37 (2007): 198–216. On the terms see Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*. 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 32.

state and imperfections of the editions are topped by the complexities of liturgical scholarship in general: the specific terminology, the intricate speculations based on parallels in other rites and in later sources, and the ongoing debates concerning reconstructions of the shape of the liturgy in various periods. In spite of these challenges, there have been some attempts at integrating liturgical papyri in historically oriented research, which hint at the potential hidden in the material. For example, the liturgical papyri have been cited repeatedly in studies concerning the cult of Mary in late antique Egypt. For a long time the only source regularly cited in works on the topic was P.Ryl. III 470, a copy of the Marian hymn ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγγίαν (or *Sub tuum praesidium* as it is known in the Latin tradition).³² This papyrus was originally dated to the third or fourth century, and was therefore considered the earliest testimony to Marian worship until Hans Förster redated it to the eighth or ninth century on the basis of suggestive Coptic parallels.³³ In a more exhaustive survey of the sources Theodore de Bruyn drew on private prayers and anaphoras to present a picture of devotion to Mary, leaving the hymns to the Theotokos, a more numerous and more informative corpus, to later consideration.³⁴ In his book about *Making Amulets Christian*, he furthermore touched upon the interplay of Greek amulets and formularies with the liturgical services, especially in the form of borrowed texts,³⁵ but he did not extend his observations to more subtle interactions between magical and liturgical texts or to Coptic amulets and formularies. Christian identity expressed through prayer in the third and fourth centuries has been explored by Anastasia Maravela.³⁶ Moreover, liturgy could not only express the otherness of Christians from Jews or pagans, but also differences between congregations. Thus it would be possible to observe the affirmation of a Miaphysite identity by studying polemical wording in liturgical papyri.³⁷ These examples highlight

³² For a bibliography, see Theodore de Bruyn, “Appeals to the Intercessions of Mary in Greek Liturgical and Paraliturgical Texts from Egypt,” in *Presbeia Theotokou: The Intercessory Role of Mary across Times and Places in Byzantium (4th–9th Century)*, ed. Pauline Allen, Andreas Külzer, and Leena M. Peltomaa (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 140 n. 13.

³³ Hans Förster, “Die älteste marianische Antiphon – eine Fehldatierung? Überlegungen zum ‘ältesten Beleg’ des Sub tuum praesidium,” *JCOptS* 7 (2005): 99–109.

³⁴ De Bruyn, “Appeals to the Intercessions.”

³⁵ Theodore de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 17–42.

³⁶ Anastasia Maravela, “Christians Praying in a Graeco-Egyptian Context: Intimations of Christian Identity in Greek Papyrus Prayers,” in *Prayer and Identity Formation in Early Christianity*, ed. Reidar Hvalvik and Karl O. Sandnes (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 291–323.

³⁷ Stephen Davis’s study of the impact of Miaphysite theology on liturgical texts (*Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008], 86–107) has already taken steps

the hidden potential in this source material, which has so far been neglected due to a lack of mediation between the papyrological editions and the scholars who could avail themselves of these sources.

This book aims precisely to fill the gap between editions and studies and to serve as an introduction to the corpus of liturgical papyri directed towards the broadest range of potential users, including scholars of liturgy, theologians, church historians, historians of religion, Coptologists, and papyrologists editing new items. In being an introduction to the earliest sources of the Egyptian liturgy, it supplements both Diliana Atanassova's 2014 article on the manuscripts of Southern Egyptian liturgy,³⁸ which focuses on late ninth to twelfth-century codices from the monastery of the Archangel Michael in Hamouli and the White Monastery,³⁹ and that of Ugo Zanetti on Bohairic liturgical manuscripts from the second millennium.⁴⁰ An essential part of this book provides the first ever list of all so-far edited liturgical papyri from Egypt from the third to ninth centuries in Greek, Coptic, and Latin, amounting altogether to 323 items (Appendix). It presents an overview of the sources with essential information and useful details, and aims to make access to the editions easier through its bibliographical entries and information on publicly available images.⁴¹ But the list offers more than just a compilation of data from previous publications. My overview of the entire corpus enabled me to revise much of what is written in the editions: to spot connections overseen by the editors, to suggest more precise dates and provenances based on similarities between the manuscripts. The discussions throughout the book clarify my methodology on which the revisions are based. In addition, the book provides background information on the liturgy in Egypt and an overview of general characteristics of the corpus, such as chronology, geography, materiality, and languages, through which existing items and new additions to the corpus can be evaluated.

in this direction, but it would have profited from incorporating liturgical papyri, which preserve the precise verbiage used in the centuries Davis discusses. The papyri would also have helped him avoid the methodological minefield of using liturgical manuscripts from the second millennium as witnesses to late antique texts and practices.

³⁸ Diliana Atanassova, "The Primary Sources of Southern Egyptian Liturgy: Retrospect and Prospect," in *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East*, ed. Daniel Galadza et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 47–96.

³⁹ The White Monastery of Shenoute of Atripe near Sohag is also known as the Monastery of Apa Shenoute, which is the name preferred by some Coptologists. However, I will call it the White Monastery, as it is widely known in the secondary literature.

⁴⁰ Ugo Zanetti, "Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts," *OCP* 61 (1995): 65–94.

⁴¹ Reference to the individual papyri throughout the volume will be through their references as given in the Appendix, where the reader can find the information on publications and images.

Index of Authors

- Atanassova, Diliana 10, 15, 34n122,
48n54, 99, 138n213
Atzori, Martina 258n24
Avdokhin, Arkadiy 230
- Bagnall, Roger S. 160n23
Batovici, Dan 154n4
Baumstark, Anton 6
Berkes, Lajos 81n31–32
Bernard, Philippe 8, 188–89, 210,
258n24, 269n75
Boud'hors, Anne 133n184, 134n186,
270
Bouley, Allan 225n23, 229–233,
236n82
Brakmann, Heinzgerd 8, 45, 51,
144n242–43, 156n13
Brightman, F. E. 3
Bucking, Scott 200n55, 121n126
Budde, Achim 8, 38n127, 45, 50n65,
51–52, 62, 78n15, 218, 227–33, 235,
254, 259, 264–65, 276, 279
Burmester, Oswald H. E. 51
- Cadwallader, Alan H 158n17
Camplani, Alberto 27n94, 45, 113–14,
208–9, 254n4, 273n87
Carlig, Nathan 200, 202
Cavallo, Guglielmo 84, 91
Charlesworth, Scott D. 215n112
Choat, Malcolm 130
Clackson, Sarah 254n4
Comstock, Susan 27n94
Coquin, René-Georges 41–42
Cribiore, Rafaela 200–1, 203–4
Crum, Walter E. 3, 78n21, 97, 99, 115,
117, 120n119, 123–25, 132n179,
133n183, 134n189–90, 135n192, 150,
150n284–85
- Cuming, Geoffrey J. 61, 155n10,
233n64, 241
- Daniel, Robert W. 204n66
Davis, Stephan 9n37
de Bruyn, Theodore 9, 26n87, 191–92,
194n29, 195, 195n33, 196n35–36,
197n37, 197n40, 198n43
De Haro Sanchez, Magali 200n51
Dekker, Renate 119n113, 131n176,
152n298
Delattre, Alain 48n60
Dijkstra, Jitse H. F. 26n87, 191n14,
194n29, 195n33, 196n35, 197n37,
197n40, 198n43
Doresse, Jean 77n15
- Egger, M. 3
Emmel, Stephen L. 48
Engberding, Hieronymus 58n114, 61
Evelyn White, Hugh G. 117, 120n119
- Federico Contardi 45
Förster, Hans 9
Fournet, Jean-Luc 112, 254n4
Fritsch, Emmanuel 43n24, 44n25
Frøyskov, Stig R. 18, 70–71, 139–40
- Gamber, Klaus 155
Gamble, Harry Y 177n110
Gampel, Alan 176–80
Godlewski, Włodzimierz 125
Grassien, Céline 3–4, 14, 17n51, 23n75,
28–29, 31, 76, 114n94–95, 126n152,
149n273, 160n25, 176, 177n108,
178n116, 179–80, 249–51, 258n24
- Hammerstaedt, Jürgen 4, 74, 156, 228
Hanafi, Alia 82

- Hasitzka, Monika 188n3, 201–2
 Henner, Jutta 5
 Hurtado, Larry W. 154n4

 Johnson, Maxwell E. 51, 57n112, 233

 Klöckener, Martin 231–32

 Leclercq, Henri 4
 Lukinovich, Alessandra 209n91
 Lundhaug, Hugo 113

 MacCoull, Leslie B. 23n75, 82n36, 91,
 124
 Maehler, Herwig 84, 91
 Maravela, Anastasia 9, 200n55,
 240n97
 Martín Hernández, Raquel 193n28
 Mazza, Enrico 155n10
 Mazza, Roberta 162n32
 Mikhail, Maged S. A. 150n284
 Mikhail, Ramez 55n92
 Millar, Fergus 275–76
 Moawad, Samuel 46
 Mugridge, Alan 224n21

 Nocchi Macedo, Gabrel 208n84, 258n24

 Pedretti, Francesco 20–22, 163–64
 Peterson, Erik 269n75
 Pietersma, Albert 27n94

 Quecke, Hans 7–8, 25n84, 50n65, 51,
 68, 121n122, 271n79

 Robinson, James M. 112–13
 Roca-Puig, Ramon 208n84
 Römer, Cornelia E. 3, 5, 76, 130, 132–
 33, 136n198, 157, 163n41, 165, 188–
 89, 201, 212, 214n107, 215n111,
 227n34

 Satzinger, Helmut 133, 134n186
 Schermann, Theodor 6, 20, 45, 241
 Schmelz, Georg 47
 Sijpesteijn, Peter J. 210
 Spinks, Bryan D. 7, 51
 Stegmüller, Otto 79n22
 Stewart, Alistair C. 7, 227–28, 232–33

 Till, Walter C. 150
 Torallas Tovar, Sofía 193n28, 209n93,
 254n4
 Treu, Kurt 3, 5, 17n51, 76, 78, 221n94
 Turner, Eric G. 160

 Uebel, Fritz 194n29

 Van Haelst, Joseph 5, 20, 194n29
 Vanthieghem, Naïm 16n48, 17n51,
 48n60, 82, 83n41–42, 83n46, 90
 Veilleux, Armand 70

 Wilcken, Ulrik 188n2, 194n29
 Winlock, Herbert E. 123
 Wipszycka, Ewa 275
 Worp, Klaas A. 209n93

 Zanetti, Ugo 10, 21n64, 50n66, 51
 Zheltov, Michael 156n13, 238

Index of Manuscripts

- BGU XVII 2709 81, 107–8, 325
BKT IX 155 34n120, 107n59, 108, 282,
291, 321, 330
BKT IX 198 102, 102n33, 159, 159n19,
291, 324, 341, 352
BKT IX 24 93n73, 102, 290
BKT IX 44 102, 171, 291
BKT VI 6 1 36, 164, 175n103, 227–28,
230, 247n117
BKT VI 6 10 35n124
BKT VI 6 2 76n9, 91–92, 107n59, 163,
179n124, 179n126, 217, 289
BKT VI 6 4 102, 162n34, 289
BKT VI 6 5 163n40
BKT VI 6 6 83n47, 101, 173n88, 289
BKT VI 6 7 186n159, 289
BKT VI 6 8 93n73, 102, 159, 160n26,
172n78, 173, 173n82, 174, 192, 227,
247–48, 290
BKT VI 6 9 35n124
BKT VI 7 1 197n39
BKT VI 7 2 31n109, 57n110, 102–3,
133n185, 137, 157n15, 162–63, 173,
181n132, 188n2, 195n33, 226n27,
235, 243n105, 262–63, 263n42–44,
275, 282, 290, 308, 371
BKT VIII 16 91–92
BKU II/1 301 135, 244
BKU III 322 25n85
BL O 27421 133n183, 151n291, 292
BL O 5852 133n183, 178n116, 291
BL O 5891 133n183, 146n253, 292
BL Pap. 2906 107n61, 178n113–14,
178n116, 292
BM EA 14180+P.Berol. 1086 120n118,
127, 132n179, 136, 136n199, 137,
143, 175, 293–94, 313
BM EA 23043 132n178, 139n215, 294
BM EA 33182 33n117, 126, 126n148,
142, 166, 206, 212, 218, 245–46,
294
BM EA 54036 7, 60n129, 167, 182,
185n154, 218, 226n26, 227n35, 228,
236, 236n80, 238n88, 243n105, 262,
295
BM EA 5853 77n15, 79, 133, 151n291,
178n113–14, 178n116, 292
BM EA 5876 132n179, 136, 136n199,
138, 146, 293–94, 354
BM EA 5881 120n120, 122, 127n155,
130, 133, 136, 139n215, 145, 205,
213, 215, 218, 293, 367
BM EA 5892+14241 24n77, 133n183,
148, 203, 294
Bonn Univ.-Bibl. inv. So 267 226n26,
243n106, 295, 351
Cairo Coptic Museum inv. 3469 82,
83n43, 91, 163n38, 169n55, 171n70,
173n85, 195, 295
Copt.Lov. 27 7, 110–11, 159n21,
160n26, 226n25–26, 235–37, 260,
262, 266n59, 296, 320, 336, 348,
366
Copt.Lov. 29 61n131, 265
Crosby-Schøyen codex (Schøyen collec-
tion inv. 193) 27n93, 27n94, 113–14,
208–9, 273n87
Dublin Chester Beatty Library Codex A
(Medinet Madi Psalm book) 14n43,
248, 277n98
Great Euchologion of the White Monas-
tery (MONB.VE) 48, 60n124,
61n131, 63–64, 144n238, 242, 264–
65

- Kacmarcik codex 49n63, 58, 60n130, 234
- Louvain Ms Lefort copt. 28A 65, 77, 86–87, 90, 159n21, 160n26, 168, 175n102, 186n157, 212, 226n25–26, 242, 243n106, 262, 264, 266n59, 296, 319
- Milan euchologion 37n137, 83n47, 93n72, 157, 157n15, 163, 185, 225, 228, 230n46, 234, 237, 297, 348
- MMA 1152 29+77+78 26n88, 80, 120n119, 129, 146n252, 172n74, 178n113, 178n116, 203, 297
- MMA 1152 C.O. inv. 90 129
- MPER N.S. III 41 174n93, 185n155, 204, 267n62, 297
- MPER N.S. IV 18 17n51, 163n40
- MPER N.S. XVII 12 88n63, 181n154, 182n139, 183n145, 267n63, 297
- MPER N.S. XVII 13–25 89, 172n76, 172n78, 173n79, 174n93, 179n124, 179n126, 186n159, 249, 267n63, 298–99, 324
- MPER N.S. XVII 26 89, 101, 298
- MPER N.S. XVII 27 82, 83n46, 90, 122n129, 181n132, 181n137, 298
- MPER N.S. XVII 28 16n48, 92
- MPER N.S. XVII 29 267n64, 298, 356
- MPER N.S. XVII 31 35n124
- MPER N.S. XVII 32 59n123, 83n48, 84n54, 138, 158n17, 226n27, 243n105, 299, 308, 369
- MPER N.S. XVII 33 32n113, 83n48, 84n54, 103, 226n27, 243n105, 299
- MPER N.S. XVII 34 29, 34, 83n48, 221, 299
- MPER N.S. XVII 35 89, 165, 226n32, 299
- MPER N.S. XVII 37 81, 89, 101–2, 162n32, 171n67, 300
- MPER N.S. XVII 38 82, 83n41, 83n48, 300
- MPER N.S. XVII 39 300
- MPER N.S. XVII 40 91–92, 195n33, 300
- MPER N.S. XVII 41 185n155, 267n62, 300
- MPER N.S. XVII 42 79n126, 91n68, 163n39, 204, 217, 267n64, 301
- MPER N.S. XVII 43 33n117, 83n49, 84n52, 245–46, 301
- MPER N.S. XVII 44 83n48, 84n51, 179n124, 179n126, 301
- MPER N.S. XVII 45 162n34, 301
- MPER N.S. XVII 46 165, 302
- MPER N.S. XVII 48 83n49, 84, 84n54, 86, 226n27, 243n105, 302
- MPER N.S. XVII 54 88n63, 122n129, 165, 170n63, 172n74, 172n78, 181n137, 214, 302
- MPER N.S. XVII 55 83n49, 84, 84n51, 84n54, 87–88, 163n38, 172n74, 172n78, 195n33, 214, 300, 302
- MPER N.S. XVII 56 34n120, 37n138, 102n33, 159, 172n78, 173n79, 181n36, 182n160, 183–84, 303, 324, 341, 352, 361
- MPER N.S. XVII 57 83n49, 84n53, 88n64, 170n64, 173n87, 181n174, 303
- MPER N.S. XVII 58 82, 88, 303
- MPER N.S. XVII 59 303
- MPER N.S. XVII 60 83n48, 84n54, 103, 303
- MPER N.S. XVII 61 83n48, 84n54, 103, 304
- MPER N.S. XVII 62 304
- MPER N.S. XVII 63 173n85, 304
- MPER N.S. XVII 64 304
- MPER N.S. XVII 65 178n115, 304
- MPER N.S. XVII 66+67 305
- New York MLM M 573 100, 149n275, 149n277
- New York MLM M 574 8, 26n91, 47, 67n168, 69, 71, 75, 78, 90, 100, 120–23, 129n163, 138n213, 146, 146n249, 171, 173n84, 175n100, 202, 219, 224, 249, 264, 272–73, 310, 331, 334, 338, 364
- New York MLM M 575 24n77, 47, 75, 100, 171, 175n100, 249–50, 272, 364
- New York MLM M 577 91
- New York MLM M 580 91
- New York MLM M 586 90
- New York MLM M 588 91

- New York MLM M 595 91
 New York MLM M 603 16–17
 New York MLM M 612 16
 New York MLM M 615 100, 149n275,
 276n93
 New York MLM M 636 86, 88–89
 New York MLM M 662B(23a) 162n34,
 206, 305
 New York MMA 12.180.33 120n119
- O.Antinoupolis I no. 8 109, 124n137,
 125, 134n188, 138n213, 166,
 183n147, 268n68, 305, 345
 O.Bachit 929 24n77–78, 32n113, 130,
 306
 O.Berol. 20892 143n235
 O.Bodl. II 2160 132n178, 149n278, 306
 O.Bodl. II 2161 132n178, 133, 136,
 146n252, 205n69, 306–7, 314
 O.Bodl. II 2162 35n124, 136n196
 O.Bodl. II 2163 132n178, 133, 136,
 205n69, 306
 O.Bodl. II 2164 132n178, 133, 136,
 149n273, 205n69, 306
 O.Bodl. II 2165 132n178, 133, 136,
 146n253, 205n69, 306–7
 O.Bodl. II 2166 132n178, 138n213,
 149n278, 267n84, 307
 O.Bodl. II 2167 35n124, 136n196
 O.Bodl. II 2168 132n178, 133, 136,
 149n273, 205n69, 306–7
 O.Boter 134n187, 307
 O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 22 149n270
 O.Camb. 117 134n187, 146n252, 307
 O.Camb. 118 134n187, 146n252, 307
 O.Col. inv. 1366 147n256–57
 O.Crum 100 149n279
 O.Crum 27 142n275
 O.Crum 34 211, 246n114, 252
 O.Crum 371 147n258
 O.Crum 4+7 123n131, 126, 126n148,
 126n150, 133n183, 136, 136n199,
 137, 143, 167, 185n154, 218n128,
 228n36, 308, 313
 O.Crum 41 121, 145n248,
 O.Crum 455 141n221, 148n275, 149–
 151
 O.Crum 5 59n123, 126n148, 126n150,
 138, 143, 299, 308, 369
- O.Crum 515 26n89, 126n148, 126n152,
 146n252, 308
 O.Crum 516 31n112, 79–80, 126,
 126n150, 138, 143–44, 184n161, 261,
 309
 O.Crum 517 126n148, 151, 309
 O.Crum 518 25n83, 126n148, 146n252,
 166, 309, 311
 O.Crum 519 126n148, 126n150, 138,
 144–45, 174, 218n128, 221, 261,
 263n44, 310
 O.Crum 520 126n148, 186n158, 188n2,
 194n29, 203, 206, 310
 O.Crum 521 134n189, 151, 310
 O.Crum 6 126, 126n148, 126n150,
 133n185, 134n186, 136, 136n199,
 137, 144, 164, 167, 262, 290, 308
 O.Crum 60 152
 O.Crum 73 142n277
 O.Crum 74 142n276
 O.Crum 75 141n223
 O.Crum Add. 10 149n275–76
 O.Crum Add. 39, 129n163, 134n190,
 138n213, 146, 171n66, 310, 338
 O.Crum Add. 67 135n193
 O.CrumST 12 122
 O.CrumST 15 143n235
 O.CrumST 16 33n117, 132n179, 143,
 212, 218, 244, 267, 310
 O.CrumST 165 142
 O.CrumST 17 33, 133n183, 144–45,
 311
 O.CrumST 18 32–33, 128, 194n28
 O.CrumST 19 134n180, 311
 O.CrumST 20 311
 O.CrumST 21 132n179, 139n215,
 151n291, 311
 O.CrumST 24 35n124
 O.CrumST 25 26n88, 34n121, 120n119,
 132n179, 139n215, 146, 174,
 181n135, 214, 218, 311
 O.CrumST 26 25n83, 132n179, 172n74,
 214, 218, 311
 O.CrumST 27 132n179, 146n252, 172,
 311
 O.CrumST 310 148
 O.CrumST 351 149n277
 O.CrumVC 2 133n183, 136n199, 137,
 144, 311, 316

- O.Deir el-Bahari 16 143n235
 O.Deir el-Bahari 8 57n109, 126,
 126n151, 137n199, 138, 142n231,
 175, 264, 312
 O.Deir el-Gizaz no. 28 116, 131, 139,
 145, 312
 O.Deir el-Gizaz no. 43 122
 O.Edfou II 309 114, 134n188, 166, 312
 O.Edfou II 310 83, 114, 134n188, 166,
 312
 O.EdfoulFAO 1 114
 O.EdfoulFAO 10 114, 134n188, 166,
 312
 O.EdfulFAO 26 114–15
 O.Egger 134n187, 151n286, 312
 O.Evelyn White 132n174, 149n278, 174,
 182n139, 313
 O.Frangé 158 149n271
 O.Frangé 159 149n271
 O.Frangé 190 33n115, 128, 194n28
 O.Frangé 191 33n115, 128, 194n28
 O.Frangé 222 141n224
 O.Frangé 352 18n52, 128, 141, 148n269
 O.Frangé 5 141n224
 O.Frangé 730 123n131, 127, 136n199,
 137–38, 143, 169n56, 294, 313
 O.Frangé 769 149n277
 O.Frangé 779 131, 135, 249n123
 O.Frangé 78 149n274–75, 279
 O.Frangé 791 79, 127–28, 137, 137n199,
 138n213, 146n253, 151n288,
 180n131, 313–14
 O.Frangé 84 149n271
 O.Hermitage inv. 1133 126n150,
 133n183, 136n199, 137, 143–44, 167,
 185n154, 305, 313
 O.IFAO without number 35n124
 O.Israel Museum 6974312 143n235
 O.Israel Museum 876560 143n235
 O.Leid. 335 134n189, 173n90, 194n29,
 314
 O.Leid. inv. I 451 120n118
 O.Medin.HabuCopt. 2 32n113, 116,
 144n241, 314
 O.Nagel 8 127, 132n178, 137, 137n199,
 138n213, 146n253, 151n286, 166,
 180n131, 314
 O.Nagel inv. 12 147n256
 O.Petr.Mus. 19 57n105, 57n109, 132,
 136, 136n199, 138–39, 140n220,
 142n230–31, 144, 166–67, 169n57,
 175, 180n131, 181n132, 187n161,
 189, 212, 261, 312, 314
 O.Petr.Mus. 20 133, 136, 146n253,
 205n69, 268n68, 306, 314
 O.Skeat Mich. 14 132n178, 146n252,
 170n61, 315
 O.Skeat Mich. 15 132n178, 151n287,
 315
 O.Skeat Mich. 16 132n178, 178n115,
 315
 O.Stras. I 809 132n178, 146n252, 315
 O.Stras. I 810 33n117, 134n197, 143,
 246, 315
 O.Theb.Copt. 36 128
 O.Torino inv. 7138 133n183, 136n199,
 137, 144, 311, 316
 O.Vindob. G 30 24n78, 133n183, 148,
 170n64, 316
 Oxford Bodl. MS Gr. Class. D 19 (P) 82,
 91, 316
 P.Aberd. 4 134n187, 146n252, 316
 P.Aberd. 5 134n187, 146n252, 316
 P.Aberd. 6 134n187, 146n253, 316
 P.Amh. I 2 14n78, 93n70, 161, 172n77,
 225, 247, 282, 317
 P.Amh. I 9a 83n47, 162, 162n34,
 169n55, 176, 179n124, 181n135, 182,
 188n5, 267n64, 317
 P.Amh. I 9b 35n124
 P.Amst. I 19 317
 P.Amst. I 20 184, 317
 P.Amst. I 21 83n49, 84, 84n51, 88, 179,
 179n124, 317
 P.Amst. I 23 179n124, 179n126, 318
 P.Amst. I 24 160n27, 186n159, 267n62,
 318
 P.Aphrod.Lit. 48 79, 86–87, 97, 165,
 209, 318
 P.Bad. IV 58 8n27, 28n96, 33n116, 96,
 103–4, 181n132, 183, 193, 226n25,
 226n28, 242, 243n105, 318
 P.Bad. IV 65+V 127 33n117, 83n47, 96,
 103–4, 167, 182n139, 193, 319

- P.Bad. V 124 33, 77–78, 87–89, 96,
103–4, 165, 172, 193, 226n31,
243n106, 319
- P.Bad. V 128 83n48, 83n50, 84n54,
107–8, 171n66, 319
- P.Bal. I 25 110n74, 261, 176n93
- P.Bal. I 28 110–11, 226n25–26, 242,
260, 262, 266n59, 296, 319, 321
- P.Bal. I 29 57n106, 110, 226n26,
243n105, 260, 320
- P.Bal. I 30 22, 24n77, 31n110, 57n106,
57n109–10, 84, 110–11, 138, 160n26,
169n56, 173n88, 174, 174n94,
174n98, 175, 175n102, 226n25, 242,
260, 264, 296, 312, 320, 336
- P.Bal. II 412 65, 110, 174n98, 226n26,
260, 320
- P.Bala'izah 6–7, 24n78, 63, 110–11,
169n58, 175, 226n25–26, 227, 242,
243n105, 260, 262, 319, 321
- P.Berl.Sarisch. 2 34n120, 93n73,
107n59, 108, 282, 291, 321, 330
- P.Berl.Sarisch. 5 176, 176n105,
178n115, 179n124, 181n135, 321
- P.Berl.Sarisch. 7 23n75, 107n59, 321
- P.Berl.Sarisch. 8 88n64, 173n87,
176n105, 322
- P.Berol. 1047 120n118
- P.Berol. 11346 18n52, 145, 152n299
- P.Berol. 11633 76n10, 89, 173n85, 87,
195n33, 325
- P.Berol. 11842 37n138, 81, 93n73, 108,
162n34, 250, 325
- P.Berol. 12501 148
- P.Berol. 12683 33n117, 115, 134n188,
166, 246, 326
- P.Berol. 13220 107n59, 163n39, 173n85,
186n157, 326
- P.Berol. 13415 93n72, 107n60, 108,
169n56, 174n98, 175, 185, 225–26,
228, 230n46, 239, 240n96, 242, 326
- P.Berol. 13888 17n51, 91n68,
- P.Berol. 13918 8n27, 28n96, 33n116,
83n48, 84, 84n54, 107–8, 111, 165–
66, 181, 181n135, 197–98, 218, 226,
242–43, 243n105, 262n36, 327
- P.Berol. 14192 132n178, 146n252,
178n115, 327
- P.Berol. 14193 132n178, 151n286, 327
- P.Berol. 14194 132n178, 151n286, 327
- P.Berol. 16356 93n73, 226, 328
- P.Berol. 16389 176, 197–98, 328
- P.Berol. 16595 178, 181n133, 328
- P.Berol. 16701 328
- P.Berol. 16704 35n124
- P.Berol. 17449 38n139, 80, 93n72,
107n60, 108–9, 156n14, 162n32, 183,
210, 247–48, 329
- P.Berol. 17612 76n10, 78
- P.Berol. 21233 178n115
- P.Berol. 21329 91, 179n126, 181n137,
329
- P.Berol. 21984 83n48, 84n54, 107n59,
108, 162n34, 183, 226n27, 243n105,
329
- P.Berol. 3602 33n118, 78, 85–86,
169n55, 171, 174, 244–45, 323
- P.Berol. 364 120, 132n178, 137n199,
174n92, 178n116, 182, 182n138,
187n161, 322
- P.Berol. 5019 101, 323
- P.Berol. 5476 81, 87–88, 89, 101–2,
173n80, 184, 323
- P.Berol. 5477 83n49, 84n52, 89, 101–2,
173n80, 184, 324
- P.Berol. 5478 87–89, 101–2, 102n33,
159n19, 172n78, 173n80–81, 184,
291, 303, 324, 341, 352
- P.Berol. 709 57n105, 133n183, 140n220,
142n230, 322, 349
- P.Berol. 8687 83n48, 83n50, 178,
178n115, 324
- P.Berol. 925 122
- P.Berol. 936+971 122
- P.Berol. 9444+4970 132n178, 142,
145–46, 169n57, 171n66, 177n111,
325
- P.Berol. 9755A–E 244n109
- P.Bock 83n47, 329
- P.Bodm. XII 24n78, 27n93, 93n71, 113,
159n20, 171, 207–9, 330
- P.Bodm. XLVII 31
- P.Bodm. XXIX–XXXVII (Codex of
Visions) 30–31, 113–14, 207–9
- P.Bour. 4 157n15, 163, 171n66, 172n77,
182, 330
- P.Col. XI 294 34n120, 93n73, 108, 196,
282, 291, 321, 330

- P.Col. XI 296 76n10, 330
 P.Cotsen-Princeton I 175n203
 P.CtBYR inv. 1360 37, 105
 P.CtYBR inv. 1584A 101, 178n113,
 178n115, 331
 P.CtYBR inv. 488 83n48, 84n51, 122,
 167, 218, 331
 P.David 5 83n48, 84n51, 124n141,
 127n157, 132n179, 146n253,
 152n295, 180n131, 181n137, 194n29,
 205–6, 218n127, 331
 P.Dennison I 14n44, 83n47, 332
 P.Duke inv. 668 14n44, 34n121, 71,
 83n48, 84n51, 163, 195n33, 212, 332
 P.Duke inv. 766 88n64, 170n64,
 176n105, 178n115, 179, 332
 P.Erl. I 122n129, 174n93, 178, 181n135,
 181n137, 183n148, 333
 P.Fay.Copt. 10 54n89, 83n47, 97, 100,
 215, 271, 334
 P.Fay.Copt. 44 99–100, 103, 170, 244,
 263, 274
 P.Fay.Copt. 5 83n47, 99, 108n64,
 171n70, 174n93, 271, 333
 P.Fay.Copt. 6 83n47, 99, 271, 333
 P.Fay.Copt. 8 34n121, 99, 162n33,
 188n2, 195, 195n33, 197–98, 212,
 219, 334
 P.Fay.Copt. 9 33n117, 83n47, 99,
 194n30, 213, 244, 334
 P.Gen. inv. 157 91, 195n33, 334
 P.Gen. IV 153 174n95, 177n111, 226,
 228, 334
 P.Gen. IV 154 126n149, 143n235
 P.Genova I 8 34n120, 335
 P.Giss.Univ. IV 35 83n49, 84n53, 105–
 6, 108, 158n17, 183, 335
 P.Grenf. II 113 17n51, 244n109
 P.Heid. inv. G 1616 162n34, 335
 P.Heid. inv. K 95 14n44, 176, 182,
 183n148, 271, 272n82, 335
 P.Heid. IV 291+293 163n40
 P.Heid. IV 292 88n64, 170n64, 173n85,
 336
 P.Heid. IV 294 159, 172n73, 172n76,
 336
 P.IIves inv. B 105 14n44, 110–11,
 159n21, 160n26, 169n56, 174n94,
 174n98, 175, 175n102, 226n25–26,
 242, 260, 296, 320, 336
 P.Jena inv. 41 35n124
 P.Jena inv. 536 89, 107n60, 109, 336
 P.Kell.Copt. 1 14n43, 171, 258n119
 P.Kell.Copt. 2 14n43, 171, 258n119
 P.Kell.Gr. 88 14n43, 171, 237, 348
 P.Kell.Gr. 91 14n43, 258n119
 P.Kell.Gr. 92 14n43, 258n119
 P.Kell.Gr. 97 14n43, 258n119
 P.Kell.Gr. 98 14n43, 167–68, 258n118
 P.Khirbet Mird I 15n46, 179
 P.Köln IV 172 37n138, 157, 172n77,
 188n2, 336
 P.Köln IV 173 167, 172n76, 337
 P.Köln X 407 181n137, 337, 353
 P.Laur. IV 143 93n73, 173n89, 181n133,
 225, 228, 337
 P.Lond. III 1029 83n48, 84, 86, 101,
 129n163, 138n213, 162n34, 172,
 181n136, 167n64, 338
 P.Lond.Copt. I 1130 261n31
 P.Lond.Copt. I 1218 35n124
 P.Lond.Copt. I 1226 86, 88–89
 P.Lond.Copt. I 151 266n57
 P.Lond.Copt. I 153 48n56
 P.Lond.Copt. I 155 266n57
 P.Lond.Copt. I 511 54n89, 263
 P.Lond.Copt. I 512 54n89
 P.Lond.Copt. I 513 33n118, 78, 88–90,
 245, 338
 P.Lond.Copt. I 514 24n77, 34n120, 78,
 91, 101, 173n87, 181n136, 275, 338
 P.Lond.Copt. I 517 54n89, 100, 103,
 196, 226n26, 243n106, 263, 338
 P.Lond.Copt. I 519 54n89, 83n48,
 84n52, 100, 176, 271, 338
 P.Lond.Copt. I 971 33n117, 77, 79, 112,
 161, 170n63, 174n98, 182–83, 211,
 245–46, 266, 339
 P.Lond.Lit. 232 60n129, 166, 185n154,
 226n27, 227n35, 228n36, 238n88,
 243n105, 263, 263n40, 263n44, 339
 P.Lond.Lit. 234 160n27, 161, 172,
 181n135, 182n140, 186n159, 223,
 239n95, 339
 P.Lond.Lit. 235 83n48, 163, 165n48,
 267n64, 340
 P.Lond.Lit. 237 171n66, 340

- P.Lond.Lit. 238 91–92, 178n116, 179,
183n146, 227, 340
- P.Lond.Lit. 241 35n124
- P.Lond.Lit. 242 35n124
- P.Lond.Lit. 243 35n124
- P.Lond.Lit. 244 81n31, 162, 162n34,
162n36, 340
- P.Lond.Lit. 246 35n124
- P.Lond.Lit. 247 183n148, 341
- P.Lond.Lit. 248 35n124
- P.Louvre inv. E 6581 102n33, 159,
159n19, 172n75, 291, 303, 324, 341,
352
- P.Louvre inv. E 6984 14n44, 83n47,
174n92, 341
- P.Macquarie inv. 346 158n17, 341
- P.Matr. inv. 46 82, 88n64, 89, 164, 171,
179–80, 181n134, 342, 352
- P.Med. inv. 68.64 35n124
- P.Mich. inv. 1628 34n120, 93n72, 163,
181n136, 182n139, 195n33, 342
- P.Mich. inv. 6427 36, 227, 247n117
- P.Mich. XIX 799 124n141, 157, 161,
195, 217, 342, 351
- P.Moen inv. 9 342
- P.Moen. inv. 10 35n124
- P.Mon.Epiph. 136 149n275
- P.Mon.Epiph. 19 118, 120
- P.Mon.Epiph. 207 141n224
- P.Mon.Epiph. 231 141n224
- P.Mon.Epiph. 3 118, 120
- P.Mon.Epiph. 381 135
- P.Mon.Epiph. 386 119
- P.Mon.Epiph. 389 147n260
- P.Mon.Epiph. 43 118n108, 122,
143n235
- P.Mon.Epiph. 44 147n256
- P.Mon.Epiph. 45 147n256
- P.Mon.Epiph. 46 119, 123, 147n256–57,
175n103
- P.Mon.Epiph. 47 119, 123, 147n256–57
- P.Mon.Epiph. 48 119, 123, 147n256–57
- P.Mon.Epiph. 582 118, 120
- P.Mon.Epiph. 583 25n85, 135n194, 142,
261, 276n93
- P.Mon.Epiph. 592 + 49 30, 79, 118,
124n138, 131, 134n186, 138,
149n278, 156n14, 158, 159n21, 168,
172n78, 173n81, 174n92, 174n98,
186, 187n161, 204, 247n116, 258n24,
270, 343
- P.Mon.Epiph. 593 79, 118, 166, 172n73,
172n76, 343
- P.Mon.Epiph. 594 83n48, 151n291, 343
- P.Mon.Epiph. 595 118–19, 146n253,
344
- P.Mon.Epiph. 596 118–19, 146n253,
344, 347
- P.Mon.Epiph. 597 118, 146n253, 344
- P.Mon.Epiph. 598 15n44, 79, 118, 124,
137n199, 146n253, 151, 151n286,
178n113, 178n115, 332, 344, 345
- P.Mon.Epiph. 599 118, 124, 137n199,
151, 151n286, 344, 345
- P.Mon.Epiph. 600 79, 86, 118, 178n113,
178n115, 345
- P.Mon.Epiph. 601 79, 118, 124n137,
125, 138n213, 151n287, 218n128,
305, 345
- P.Mon.Epiph. 602 79, 118, 120, 122,
139n215, 145, 151n287, 345
- P.Mon.Epiph. 603 79, 118, 346
- P.Mon.Epiph. 604 79, 118, 346
- P.Mon.Epiph. 605 79, 118, 172n71,
218n126, 346
- P.Mon.Epiph. 607 79, 118, 120,
137n199, 346
- P.Mon.Epiph. 608 118, 139n215, 206,
344, 347
- P.Mon.Epiph. 609 79, 118, 139n215,
205, 347
- P.Mon.Epiph. 610 35n124
- P.Mon.Epiph. 87 119
- P.Monts.Roca inv. 18 54n88, 156n14,
159, 173n83, 174, 176, 181n136,
182n140, 183, 271–73, 278, 348
- P.Monts.Roca 7, 18, 24n79, 29, 30,
33n116, 37n137, 63, 65n151, 66,
93n71, 113–14, 159n20, 161, 172n76,
174, 174n96, 175, 183, 189, 207–9,
212, 221, 225, 227–28, 230n46, 234,
235n77–78, 236–39, 242, 247n115,
258, 296–97, 348, 366
- P.MoscowCopt. 89 33n117, 83n47, 212,
244, 251, 267, 348
- P.MoscowCopt. 95 53n105, 53n108,
132n178, 140n220, 142n230,

- 142n232, 169n56, 174n92, 181,
228n126, 266n59, 322, 349
- P.MoscowCopt. 96 132n178, 146, 349
- P.Naqlun I 6 8, 34n121, 98–99, 162n33,
182n139, 349
- P.Naqlun II 20 33n117, 83n47, 99, 161,
171, 174n93, 176, 181n134, 212,
244–45, 267, 349
- P.Nessana III 96 15n46
- P.Oslo inv. 1665 83n49, 84n52, 169n57,
211, 213, 226n29, 243n106, 263, 266,
276, 350
- P.Oslo inv. 391 14n44, 349
- P.Oxy. LX 4010 84, 93n71, 105,
158n17, 164, 221, 225, 228, 243,
350
- P.Oxy. LX 4011 83n48, 106, 174, 250,
351
- P.Oxy. LXXV 5022 106, 124n141,
172n77, 204, 342, 351
- P.Oxy. LXXV 5023 90, 105–6, 163n39,
169n56, 171n70, 174n93, 176,
178n113, 178n115, 179n124,
179n126, 181n134, 181n137, 188n2,
195n33, 217, 351
- P.Oxy. LXXV 5024 17n51, 106
- P.Oxy. XI 1537 106
- P.Oxy. XV 1786 83n49, 84n54, 92, 105,
177, 225, 247, 282, 350
- P.Oxy. XVII 2068 37, 105, 118, 164,
227, 247n117
- P.PalauRib. inv. 138 160n26, 169,
176n159, 192–93, 204, 226n26,
243n106, 295, 351
- P.PalauRib.Lit. 17 82n39, 164, 171, 342,
352
- P.PalauRib.Lit. 20 35n124
- P.Pisenthuis 22 135, 249n123
- P.Prag. I 2 174n96, 352
- P.Prag. I 3 146n249
- P.Prag. III 206–207 172n78, 352
- P.Rain.Cent. 31 33n120, 37n138, 83n49,
84, 84n51, 87–88, 102n33, 158–59,
172n77, 173n79, 183–84, 203–4, 291,
303, 324, 341, 352, 361
- P.Rain.Cent. 32 35n124
- P.Rain.Cent. 33 353
- P.Rain.Cent. 34 35n124
- P.Rain.Cent. 37 173n64, 353
- P.Rain.Cent. 38+28 217, 250, 353
- P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt. 174 133n183,
188n3, 201–2, 353
- P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt. 195 126n148,
126n151, 183, 188n3, 202, 206, 353
- P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt. 197 57n107,
132n179, 138, 143n233, 146, 167,
188n3, 293, 354
- P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt. 218 122
- P.Rein. II 63+64 170n64, 354
- P.Ryl. I 7 76n10, 88n64, 172n77,
175n93, 354
- P.Ryl. I 9 181n133, 181n136, 183n148,
355
- P.Ryl. III 462 26n87
- P.Ryl. III 465 23n75, 57n108, 101, 103,
170n63, 171–72, 182n139, 185n154,
189, 197–98, 219, 226n27, 227n35,
228, 236, 236n80, 238n88, 243n105,
263, 263n42–44, 355
- P.Ryl. III 466 26n48, 60n129, 76n9, 82,
83n41, 83n45, 91, 122, 176n105,
179n124, 179n126, 181n135, 188n5,
185n33, 217, 267n64, 355
- P.Ryl. III 467 17n51
- P.Ryl. III 468 17n51, 76n10
- P.Ryl. III 470 9, 198, 267n64, 298, 356
- P.Ryl. III 471 24n78, 33n117, 72, 161,
188n2, 196, 198, 244, 356
- P.Ryl. III 472 36, 175, 227, 258–59
- P.Ryl. inv. Gr. Add. 1166 83n49, 84,
84n54, 86, 97, 108, 162n32, 168,
172n71, 178n116, 181, 183n144, 197,
198, 354
- P.Ryl.Copt. 175 86, 88–89
- P.Ryl.Copt. 19 217n120
- P.Ryl.Copt. 20 163n40, 217n120
- P.Ryl.Copt. 21 163n40, 217n120
- P.Ryl.Copt. 23 24n77, 31n110, 107–8,
243n106, 260, 356
- P.Ryl.Copt. 24 162n33, 163n40,
217n120
- P.Ryl.Copt. 25 163n40, 217n120,
217n123
- P.Ryl.Copt. 26 163n40, 217n120,
217n123
- P.Ryl.Copt. 27 163n40, 217n120,
217n123

- P.Ryl.Copt. 28 163n40, 179, 217n120,
 217n123
 P.Ryl.Copt. 29 217n119, 217n123
 P.Ryl.Copt. 30 217n119, 217n123
 P.Ryl.Copt. 31 217n119, 217n123
 P.Ryl.Copt. 32 217n119, 217n123
 P.Ryl.Copt. 33 362
 P.Ryl.Copt. 35 217n122
 P.Ryl.Copt. 36 217n122
 P.Ryl.Copt. 37 217n120
 P.Ryl.Copt. 38 217n120, 217n122
 P.Ryl.Copt. 39 217n120
 P.Ryl.Copt. 40 217n120
 P.Ryl.Copt. 42 217n122
 P.Ryl.Copt. 45 217n121
 P.Ryl.Copt. 46 217n120–21
 P.Ryl.Copt. 47 217n120–21
 P.Ryl.Copt. 48 217n120
 P.Ryl.Copt. 49 162n33
 P.Ryl.Copt. 51 35n124
 P.Ryl.Copt. 54 217n118
 P.Ryl.Copt. 55 162n33, 217n118
 P.Ryl.Copt. 56 162n33, 217n118
 P.Ryl.Copt. 57 162n33, 217n118
 P.Ryl.Copt. 58 162n33, 217n119
 P.Ryl.Copt. 59 217n119
 P.Ryl.Copt. 60 217n118
 P.Sarga 13 35n124, 134n188, 166
 P.Sarga 15 35n124
 P.Sarga 16 35n124, 271n80
 P.Scherling inv. 127 93n70, 164, 172,
 176, 225, 227, 247–48, 268–71, 277,
 282–83, 357
 P.Scherling inv. 128 269n75
 P.Stras. V 471 108
 P.Strasb. inv. Gr. 1185 178n115, 179,
 267n64, 357
 P.Strasb. inv. Gr. 254 6–7, 37n137,
 53n75, 60–61, 74, 93n72, 95, 155–57,
 225, 227n35, 228, 238–39, 357
 P.Strasb. V 397 90, 92
 P.Turaiev 1 83n47, 181n134, 358
 P.Turner 10 83n47, 109, 172n77,
 173n83, 358
 P.Vindob. G 1383 + 19895 + 26089
 17n51, 179, 179n126
 P.Vindob. G 19879 76n9, 82, 83n42,
 86–87, 91–92, 171n69, 195n33, 358
 P.Vindob. G 19880 91–92, 171n69,
 174n92, 180n131, 195n33, 358
 P.Vindob. G 19887 26n89, 206, 243,
 359
 P.Vindob. G 19896+19898 36–37,
 38n140, 227, 230
 P.Vindob. G 19917 170n64, 181n137,
 359
 P.Vindob. G 19926 35n124
 P.Vindob. G 19930 35n124
 P.Vindob. G 19931 34n120, 172,
 173n149, 197, 359
 P.Vindob. G 2326 83n48, 84n54, 103,
 162n34, 176, 184, 194, 358
 P.Vindob. G 26013 157, 210, 359
 P.Vindob. G 26030 107n60, 186n159,
 360
 P.Vindob. G 26064 + 26091 + 35761
 23n75, 33n117, 88n64, 165, 223, 246,
 360
 P.Vindob. G 26215 226n30, 360
 P.Vindob. G 26224 103, 158n17,
 172n78, 173, 173n89, 360
 P.Vindob. G 26225 90, 267n62, 361
 P.Vindob. G 29522 35n124
 P.Vindob. G 3 86–90
 P.Vindob. G 31487 17n51
 P.Vindob. G 31956 90, 267n65,
 P.Vindob. G 35998(a) 34n120, 37n138,
 102n33, 159, 159n19, 173n80, 184,
 303, 352, 361
 P.Vindob. G 36100 196, 361
 P.Vindob. G 40064 174n95, 179n124,
 361
 P.Vindob. G 40195 83n49, 84n53,
 169n55, 188n3, 204–5, 362
 P.Vindob. G 40606 157, 176, 182, 248–
 49, 362
 P.Vindob. G 42377 82, 82n36, 83n42,
 83n44, 92, 181, 181n134, 196, 206,
 362
 P.Vindob. K 4854 + K 82 + K 83
 63n142, 108n64, 164n93, 185,
 186n159, 218, 226n28, 242, 262, 265,
 266n59, 363
 P.Würzb. 3 93n71, 107n61, 108, 174n91,
 225, 228, 240, 363

- P. Würzburg K 1003 37n138, 93n70,
101–2, 172n77, 183n148, 225, 247–
48, 258n24, 270, 282, 363
- P. Würzburg K 1018 167, 181n134, 364
- P. Würzburg K 1019 101, 167, 200, 202,
268, 271–73, 297, 364
- Pap. Castr. VII 10 171n70, 173n84,
174n93, 175n100, 176, 180, 181n135,
182n140, 250–51, 364
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 10 90, 169n58, 175,
181n134, 185n154, 186, 212–13, 215,
226n29, 228, 234, 236, 243n105, 263,
365
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 12 226n26, 232,
243n105, 263n44, 366
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 13 83n49, 84,
84n54, 86–87, 162n31, 226n27,
227n35, 235–37, 243n105, 262, 296,
348, 366
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 14 163, 236n27,
243n105, 263n44, 366
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 15 226n30, 366
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 18 130–31, 133,
136, 139, 145, 205, 215, 293, 367
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 3 60n129, 169,
186n159, 226n26, 228n88, 143n105,
252n40, 252n42, 252n44, 364
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 5 60n129, 160n26,
186n159, 226, 228n88, 242, 252n40,
365
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 6 48n61, 60n129,
238n89
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 7 48n61, 60n129,
238n89
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 8 48n61, 60n129
- Pap. Colon. XXVIII 9 48n61, 227n35,
228n87
- Pap. Graec. Mag. O3 123n183, 166,
188n2, 194n29, 367
- Pap. Graec. Mag. P12 175n103
- Pap. Graec. Mag. P13 197n41, 237
- Pap. Graec. Mag. P21 36n129
- Pap. Graec. Mag. P23 122n129, 188n2,
195–96, 217–18, 367
- Pap. Graec. Mag. P9 22, 28n96
- Paris BnF Copte 129²⁰ 156–157 17n51,
48n56, 127, 138, 294, 313
- Paris BnF Copte 129²⁰ fol. 119 337
- Paris BnF Gr. 325 49n63, 137, 235, 282
- Pennsylvania University inv. E 16403
15n44, 173n85, 178n124, 181n134,
367
- Perg. Heid. inv. K 35 250n133
- Prague Or. Inst. MS I–IV 48, 61n131,
242, 264–65
- Provo Maxwell Inst. inv. Copt. 90
26n90, 59, 143n235, 174n94, 175,
221, 226n25–26, 242, 243n105, 368
- PSI Com. IX 1 59n123, 88n63, 138, 196,
224n21, 226n29, 235, 243, 299, 308,
369
- PSI Com. IX 2 33n117, 78, 88–89, 92,
109, 157, 169, 180n131, 181n136,
205–6, 246, 366, 369
- PSI Com. VI 9 35, 170n62, 171, 227
- PSI I 65 81, 105–6, 161, 181n133, 368
- PSI IX 1096 76n9, 83n41, 91, 178n115,
179n124, 196, 218, 368
- Rome BAV Syr. 94 249
- SB III 6087 33n118, 77, 79–80,
132n178, 144, 167, 182, 211, 218,
243–45, 369
- SB XX 14591 8n27, 33n118, 77, 80,
132n178, 144, 167, 169n55, 218,
243–45, 370
- SB XXII 15626 37n136, 105
- SBKopt. I 12 33n117, 35, 132n178,
135–36, 143n234, 246, 370
- Scheide Ms 144 38n139, 93n73, 106,
159n20, 160, 160n26, 161, 173n89,
174n98, 180n131, 182–84, 210, 247,
270–71, 370
- Stud. Pal. XVIII 288 173n90, 175,
186n159, 188n3, 189, 193, 242, 244,
371
- Suppl. Mag. I 31 193n21
- Suppl. Mag. I 36 259
- T. Kell. Copt. 2 14n43, 167–68, 171,
258n118, 269n73
- T. Kell. Copt. 4 14n43, 167–68, 258n118
- T. Kell. Copt. 6 14n43, 167–68, 258n118
- T. Kell. Copt. 7 14n43, 167–68, 258n118
- Vienna KM inv. K 8585 120n119,
134n186, 135

Vienna KM inv. K 8586a 133n185,
134n186, 144, 226n25, 266n59, 371
Vienna KM inv. K 8586b 133n185,
134n186, 136n199, 137, 144,
186n150, 226n25, 262, 290, 371

Vienna KM inv. K 8599b 133n185,
134n186, 144, 226n25, 371
Vienna KM inv. K 8603 31n112,
133n185, 175, 371

Index of Subjects

- Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis 79–80, 125–26, 129, 142, 148, 152, 211, 216n115, 246n114, 256n16, 261–62, 275, 279, 309n65
- Abu-l Barakat Ibn Kabar 50, 223n15
- Acclamation 33–34, 54, 143, 161, 177, 186, 212, 222, 241–46, 251–52, 259, 265–67, 276–77, 280, 283, 310, 318, 327, 334, 348–49, 353, 356, 363, 365, 371
- diaconical (see also diptychs) 33n117, 142–45, 206, 221, 244–46, 251, 294, 301, 310, 315, 319, 326, 328, 339, 360, 366, 369–70, 373
- Agatho, 39th patriarch of Alexandria 77, 369
- Akumite collection 18, 43–44, 56–61, 65–66, 73, 138, 142, 234, 236, 240–41
- Alexander II, 43th patriarch of Alexandria 77–78, 319n98
- Alexander Monachus 342
- Alexandria 24n77, 42n15, 43–44, 52–53, 55, 66, 95–96, 99, 147n258, 213n106, 223n15, 237–39, 257, 260
- Alexandrian majuscules 75, 84, 168, 186, 372
- Amulet 5, 9, 19–22, 24–25, 26n87, 28n96, 32–33, 259
- use of liturgical papyri as 191–99, 210n94, 281, 290, 327–28, 334, 336, 354, 356, 359
- Anamnesis 62, 64, 348, 364, 372
- Anaphora 4, 6–7, 32, 48, 51, 60–64, 143–44, 199, 199n46, 227–29, 234–35, 238–39, 259, 262, 278, 372
- of St. Basil 8, 46, 49n63, 50n65, 62, 78n17, 111, 235, 245, 254, 262, 264, 275, 296, 319
- of St. Mark or Cyril 43–44, 46, 48, 49n63, 60–62, 234–36, 238–39, 262–65, 295, 339, 355, 357, 364–65
- of St. Gregory 31, 48, 49n63, 62–63, 262, 265, 275, 363
- on papyrus 4, 35n124, 63, 111, 139, 155–56, 175–76, 185, 289, 295–97, 299, 308, 310, 313, 319, 321, 323, 334, 338–39, 348–49, 351, 355, 357, 363–66, 369–71
- of P. Monts.Roca (Barcelona anaphora) 63, 111, 114, 234–39, 262, 296, 348, 366
- thanksgiving of 61–64, 111, 143–44, 289, 308, 313, 319, 339, 357, 363
- Anastasius, 36th patriarch of Alexandria 79, 323
- Andronicus, 37th patriarch of Alexandria 77, 79, 339, 370
- Angels 29, 36n129, 61, 131, 145, 312
- Annunciation 151n289–90, 315, 332, 337, 351, 353
- Anointing: see Oil, anointing with
- Anouph, saint 329
- Antinoopolis 109, 125, 166, 284, 305, 358, 369
- Antioch 78, 186n156, 229n45, 338
- Aphrodito 97, 111–12, 318
- Apostolic Tradition 41–44, 58, 59n120, 65–66, 69, 72, 233, 245
- Arabic on the verso of liturgical texts 17n51, 81–83, 91–92, 109, 161, 285
- Arsione 97–98, 101–2, 256n16, 275, 284, 323, 338
- Ascension day 141n221, 149–50
- Athanasius of Alexandria 15n46, 46, 119, 150n285, 230, 232, 238, 252, 256, 333
- Athanasius, patriarch of Antioch 78

- Augustine of Hippo 231–32
- Baptism 27n94, 40n5, 42–43, 45, 71–72, 148, 208–9, 211, 241
 – papyri related to 24n78, 306, 316–17, 321, 330, 356
- Barcelona anaphora: see anaphora, P.Monts.Roca
- Basil of Caesarea 62, 229n45
- Bawit (monastery of Apa Apollo) 109, 261n31
- Benjamin I, 38th patriarch of Alexandria 77, 79, 86, 145, 150n285, 296n20, 339, 369
- Bible 36, 176, 198, 255, 297, 302, 309, 330, 335, 337, 343, 351, 353, 355
 – manuscripts of 25–26, 93, 106, 135–36, 154, 166, 172, 184, 191, 193, 201, 215, 224, 273n87, 314
 – liturgical readings from 22, 25, 34, 54, 56–57, 67–69, 72, 115, 142, 147, 149n277, 177, 217, 220, 223, 239, 261, 273, 276, 294, 326, 339, 360
 – liturgical recitation of (see also Psalms, canticles, hermeniae) 25–26, 69–70, 147, 272
- Biblical majuscules 75, 84, 110, 155, 156n14, 168, 186, 202, 225, 372
- Bishop
 – liturgical role of 31, 69, 72, 106, 216n115, 220, 224, 229, 237, 250, 261, 273n87
 – mentioned in liturgical papyri 24n77, 33, 61, 78–79, 182–83, 292, 323, 335, 338, 359, 369
 – ordination of 24n77, 31n110, 260, 356
 – role in organizing the liturgy 142, 145, 148, 152, 229–34, 236, 239–40, 251–52, 282–83
- Blessing 32–33, 64–65, 69, 72, 128, 144–45, 193, 194n28, 197, 311, 319–20, 336, 368
- Bohairic 10, 49–50, 54, 99, 137–38, 238, 269n75, 271–72, 278, 285, 348–49
- Byzantine rite 15n46, 53, 62, 67n164, 68n168, 138n213, 172n72, 179–80, 199, 267, 285, 298, 301, 310, 317, 332, 338, 340, 356, 375
- Calendar, liturgical 34, 99–100, 106, 148–52, 216n114, 223, 249–50
- Canon (hymn) 169n54, 170n64, 176, 179–80, 321–22, 332, 355, 357, 372
- Canons of Athanasius 44, 57n112, 68–69, 222, 252
- Canons of Basil 19n56, 45
- Canons of Hippolytus 42, 66, 68–69
- Canticle
 – of Anna (1 Sam 21–10) 217, 250, 353
 – of Mary (Luke 146–55) 121–22, 329, 355
 – of Moses (Exod 151–21) 26n86, 118, 120, 122, 145, 328, 332
 – of the Three Children (Dan 352–88) 26n86, 36, 67n167, 118, 120, 122, 129, 134n186, 135, 139n215, 145–46, 181n137, 214, 293, 297–300, 302, 304–5, 309, 311, 329, 332–33, 336, 345–46, 355, 367
 – of Simeon (Luke 229–32) 121
- Canticles 67n168, 69, 372
 – of the Coptic Church 25n84, 67, 118, 120–22, 145, 212, 219, 250n133, 271n79
- Chael I, 46th patriarch of Alexandria 78, 88, 369n265
- Chael III, 56th patriarch of Alexandria 78, 275, 338n163
- Chairetismos 79, 124n141, 181n136, 304, 306–8, 311, 327, 329, 351, 372
- Chalcedonian: see Melkite
- Christmas (Nativity) 44, 73, 151, 289, 295, 298, 307, 309–10, 312, 318, 325, 327, 333, 337, 345, 358
- Cicero 208–9
- Clement of Alexandria 40
- Codex 133–35, 155–61, 164, 174, 183–86, 216–17, 225–29, 236, 243, 245, 247–50, 280–85
 – miniature 110–11, 157, 159–60, 192–93, 247, 290, 336
- Colophon 16, 75–76, 86, 90, 99–100, 168, 183, 208n84, 225, 372
- Consecration of a monk 22, 24n77, 31n110, 43, 73, 148, 294, 306, 320
- Cosmas Indicopleustes 368
- Cosmas the Singer, hymnographer 357

- Creed 26, 59, 71–72, 143, 266, 321, 363
 – Nicene 26n90, 130, 143n235, 175, 221, 242, 368
 – Nicene-Constantinopolitan 59, 67–68, 72, 110, 118, 121–22, 126n149, 130, 143n235, 242, 266
 Cursive writing 83–84, 168, 186, 205–6, 216, 281
 Cyriacus, patriarch of Antioch 78, 338
 Cyril III ibn Laqlaq, 75th patriarch of Alexandria 211
 Damian, 35th patriarch of Alexandria 142n227, 257, 276, 278n100, 284
 Deacon, liturgical role of 33, 56, 140, 177, 211, 221–23, 244–46, 250
 Decoration 135, 158n17, 173n80, 183–84, 201–4, 210, 329, 353, 359
 Deir el-Bachit (monastery of Apa Paul) 116, 130, 133, 136, 306
 Deir el-Bahari: see Monastery of St. Phoibammon
 Deir el-Bala'izah 109–11, 139, 237, 243, 260–62, 264, 274–75, 280, 283, 296, 319–21, 336
 Deir el-Gizaz 116, 131, 312
 Deir el-Hammam (monastery of Apa Isaac) 99–100, 103, 139, 170, 333–34
 Deir el-Naqlun 98–99, 147n258, 349
 Dendera: see Tentyra
 Diaconicon (acclamation): see Acclamation, diaconical
 Diaconicon (book) 48, 221–22, 244–46, 251, 373
 Dioscorus of Aphrodito 79, 111–12, 209, 256–57, 318
 Dioscorus, scribe from Western Thebes 133, 136, 139, 205, 213, 215, 293, 367
Diple 169, 173–75
 Diptychs 33, 53n83, 77–79, 144, 167, 211, 218, 244–45, 323, 338–39, 369–70, 373
 Directory: see Typikon
 Dishna papyri 27n94, 30–31, 112–14, 207–9, 330, 348,
 Doxology (of prayer) 21, 31–32, 62–63, 57, 111, 127n155, 144, 156, 228, 229n45, 230, 237, 237n84, 262n36, 271, 295, 351, 357, 365, 368, 373
 Easter 27n94, 42n15, 72, 114–15, 141n225, 149–50, 151n289, 214n109, 251, 306, 337
 Edfu (Apollonopolis Magna) 114–15, 134, 166, 312
 Egeria 273n87
 Elephantine 115, 132n179, 134, 166, 246, 326
 Epiclesis (part of anaphora) 32, 61–64, 168, 212, 218, 227, 235, 296, 334, 355, 365–66, 373
 Epiphanius of Salamis 269
 Epiphanius, hermit in the monastery of Epiphanius 79n24, 117–19, 124–25
 Epiphany 23n75, 72, 148, 151, 214, 298, 302, 305, 315, 319, 325, 328, 342, 345
 Ethiopic 39, 41–44
 Eucharist (sacrament) 45, 145, 197–99, 338, 354, 359
 – liturgy of 18, 40–45, 55–66, 123, 126, 129, 135n193, 141–45
 – papyri related to 290, 294–97, 299, 308–11, 313, 316, 318–21, 323, 326–27, 334, 338–39, 348–51, 354–55, 357, 359, 362–66, 368–71
 – theology of 145
 Euchologion 45, 48, 50n66, 100–1, 111, 135, 161, 224–44, 282, 285, 371
 Eusebius of Caesarea 124, 349
 Evening service 43, 57n112, 68n171, 68–69, 143n233, 145–46, 215n111, 293, 311, 336, 340, 342, 349, 354
 Exorcism 18, 22, 24, 71–72, 175n101, 348
 Fayum 47–48, 54, 97–103, 139, 173n80, 180, 184, 263–64, 272, 274, 278, 283–85, 289–91, 298, 300, 303, 323–24, 331, 333–34, 338, 341–42, 345, 360–61, 363–64
 Fayumic 48, 54, 100–1, 103, 263–64, 271–72, 274, 285, 334, 338, 363
 Feast of the Holy Cross 151

- Frangé, hermit in Western Thebes 32–33, 127–28, 135n194, 141n224, 148n266, 194n28, 205n67
- Funeral 18n52, 23, 23n75, 40, 72–73, 119n114, 148, 237, 240–41
- Gabriel II ibn Turak, 70th patriarch of Alexandria 52, 63
- Gabriel, archangel 152, 331
- Gnostic 35n125, 66, 206, 299
- Gospel 210–11, 370
- incipits of 194n28, 198, 199n46
- liturgical reading from 56–57, 67–69, 115, 142, 220, 223, 239n95, 261, 276, 294, 339
- Great Doxology 15n45, 17n51, 37–38, 66–67, 69, 120–22, 137, 137n199, 138, 145, 210, 215n111, 270–71, 302, 316, 322, 329, 346, 360, 370, 373
- Hamouli: see Monastery of the Archangel Michael, Hamouli
- Heracleopolis 101, 103, 299, 303–4, 358
- Hermeniae 47, 69, 100, 121n123, 249, 373
- Hermetica 36
- Hermitage of Frangé (TT 29) 127–28, 131, 139, 205n67, 313
- Hermopolis 48, 91–92, 102, 107–9, 180, 185, 239–40, 243, 282–85, 289, 291–92, 295, 300, 316, 319, 321, 325–27, 329–30, 334, 336, 340, 354–56, 358, 360, 363, 368
- Hieracas of Leontopolis 269, 277
- Hippomon (Qarara) 96, 103–4, 318–19
- Hirmos* 173n87, 179–80, 321–22, 342, 355, 373
- Homily 27, 35n124, 40–41, 48, 56–58, 119, 136n196, 147, 314, 323, 353
- Horologion
- Book of 50n65, 224
- service of 66–68, 70
- Hymns 4, 8, 17n51, 25n83, 28–31, 35–38, 47–48, 54, 93–94, 124–25, 136, 138, 213n106, 247–51, 267–73
- alphabetic acrostic 29–31, 47, 119, 124n141, 158–59, 172–73, 184, 209, 258, 270, 277, 290, 303, 317, 323–24, 330, 336–37, 341–43, 348, 351–52, 354, 358, 360, 363, 372
- Coptic 29, 54, 171, 175–76, 180, 184–85, 268–73, 277–78, 285, 333–35, 338, 348–49, 357, 363–64, 370
- formats of 159, 161–63, 167, 170–71, 176–77, 184, 186–87
- monastic singing of 99–100, 110, 114, 122–24, 126, 129–31, 139–40
- place in the liturgy 24n76, 56, 59, 64, 66–69, 71, 74, 145–46, 148–49, 151–52
- Hymn book 100, 131, 175, 223, 247–51, 274, 283–85, 298, 376
- Improvisation of liturgical praying 52, 225, 229–32, 259, 282
- Indication of tone (*octoechos*) 179–80, 181n135, 196, 249–50, 285, 289, 298, 301, 317–18, 321, 340, 342, 351, 355, 361, 367–68, 374
- Inscription, liturgical 15, 29n102, 48
- Institution narrative 32, 61–64, 144, 235–36, 295–96, 351, 355, 364, 366, 371, 373
- Intercession 17n51, 106, 359, 374
- anaphoral 32, 58, 61–62, 64, 144, 156, 235, 239, 245, 264–65, 299, 334, 339, 357, 364, 371
- diaconical 33n119, 35n123, 56, 68n171, 143, 181n136, 223, 244n109, 245–46, 301, 315, 360, 366, 369–70
- independent 41, 43, 49n63, 56–58, 66–67, 69, 72, 138, 140n220, 142–44, 240, 290, 297, 299, 312, 314, 320, 322, 349, 354–55, 363, 371
- Jeme 116, 124, 148, 314
- Jerusalem, liturgy of 15n46, 68n171, 273n87, 298, 356
- Johannes Monachus, hymnographer 267
- John Cassian 70–71
- John III, 40th patriarch of Alexandria 78–79
- John the Baptist 151, 214n109, 245, 315, 338, 345, 358
- Kellis 14n43, 167–68, 171, 213n105, 237, 248, 255

- Khirbet Mird, Palestine 15n46
 Kontakion 185n155, 199, 297, 300, 318, 361, 374

 Latin 113–14, 207–9, 255
 – liturgical texts in 30, 36, 258–59, 348
 Lectionary 25–26, 27n94, 50n65, 100, 135, 161, 223, 273n87
 – Gospel 100, 110n74, 114–15, 142, 220n4, 261, 276n93
 Lent 42n15, 149–50, 151n285, 339
 Lesser Doxology 181–82, 322, 326, 353, 374
 Litany 33–34, 181n136, 291, 303, 321, 330, 335, 338, 342, 352, 359
 – of intercessions: see diaconical intercessions
 Little hours 67, 69, 146, 374
 Liturgy of the faithful 58–66, 143–45
 Liturgy of the hours 8, 46, 66–71, 100, 120–23, 145–47, 228n39, 266, 374
 – papyri related to 25n84, 48, 120, 122–23, 145–46, 214, 217, 239n95, 293, 297–302, 304–5, 309, 311, 322, 325–26, 329, 331–34, 336, 340, 342–47, 349, 355–56, 360, 367, 370
 Liturgy of the word 41, 56–58, 142–43, 239n95, 325–26, 374
 Lord's Prayer 64–67, 70, 121–23, 147, 198, 199n46, 242–43, 263, 266, 320, 350
 Lower Egypt 52–53, 68n171, 71, 96, 272, 278

 Macarius, bishop of Memphis 56
 Magical papyri 4–5, 9, 19–20, 22, 24, 35, 76, 171n68, 194n28, 195, 199, 213n105
 Manicheans 14n43, 98, 167–68, 171, 213n105, 237, 248, 255, 269, 277, 283, 348
 Mark, priest of the church of St. Mark 79, 86, 118–19, 127–28, 130–31, 133, 135–36, 292, 313, 343
 Martyrs 17n51, 37, 114, 151, 249, 292, 303–4, 311, 318, 333, 335, 340, 355, 367
 Mary 9, 79n22, 151, 207, 245, 323, 339, 369
 – hymn to (theotokion) 9, 16n48, 17n51, 66, 68, 146, 249, 298, 300, 304–9, 310–12, 315–16, 321–22, 324, 326–27, 329–30, 332, 336–38, 340–42, 345, 348, 351–54, 356, 362, 364, 367, 372, 376
 Matrimony 23n75, 43, 48, 73, 106
 Medinet Madi (Narmouthis) 98
 Meletians 44, 222n10, 252
 Melito of Sardis 27, 330
 Melkite (Chalcedonian) 267, 275
 – liturgical manuscripts from Egypt 49n63
 – liturgy in Egypt 53–54, 57, 59–61, 128
 Menas, saint 112, 209, 318
 Methodius of Olympos 258n24
 Miaphysite
 – Christology 9n37, 56n98, 64, 127–28
 – Church in Egypt 116–17, 210
 – liturgical manuscripts (see also Trisagion, Miaphysite, patriarch, Western Thebes) 49n63, 53n83
 – liturgy 53–54, 59–61, 117, 124–25, 152, 244–45, 274–76
 Michael, archangel
 – hymn to 152, 303, 331, 358, 364, 367
 – feast of 152
 MMA 1152, hermitage in Western Thebes 128–29, 297
 Monastery of Apa Isaac: see Deir el-Hammam
 Monastery of Cyriacus (TT 65) 129, 142, 221
 Monastery of Epiphanius 117–25, 131, 139, 343–47
 Monastery of St. Macarius, Wadi Natrun 49n63, 223n15
 Monastery of St. Phoibammon (Deir el-Bahari) 123, 125–26, 139, 264, 294, 308–10, 312, 353
 Monastery of the Archangel Michael, Hamouli 10, 47, 54, 75, 99–100, 120–23, 139, 216n114, 249–50, 266, 272, 274
 Morning service 36, 42–43, 68–70, 120–23, 145–46, 217, 301, 325, 329

- Moses, hermit in the monastery of
 Epiphanius 79, 86, 118–21, 123, 136,
 186, 205, 219, 250, 343–47
- Musical notation 177–79, 184, 217–18,
 250, 284, 292, 294, 304–5, 314–15,
 319, 321–22, 324, 327, 332, 340,
 344–45, 357
- Alypian 177, 350
- Mystagogical catechesis (Alexandria)
 44–45, 56, 59, 65–66, 245, 265–67
- Nile
 – hymn on 358
 – intercession for 43, 57, 142, 143n233,
 206, 299, 354
- Nitria 71, 139–40, 213n106
- Nomina sacra* 37, 106, 127–28, 180,
 270, 331, 374
- Nubia
 – liturgical manuscripts from 4, 15n46,
 29n102, 48, 238n87, 238n89
 – liturgy of 49n61
- Obelos* 173–74
- Octoechos*: see Indication of tone
- Offering of incense, morning and even-
 ing 48, 55, 57n112, 66–67, 146, 264,
 293, 354, 374
- Oil
 – anointing with 19–20, 71–72, 196,
 274, 356
 – consecration of 24, 41, 65–66, 71–72,
 175n103, 237, 241, 348
- Old Testament 245, 302–3, 330, 339
 – liturgical readings from 69, 273n87
- Opening dialogue (of anaphora) 33, 61,
 143, 212, 242, 310, 348–49
- Oral transmission of liturgy 52, 137,
 187, 212, 228, 233, 251, 264, 267,
 281–82
- Ordination 23, 24n77, 31, 41, 211, 260,
 356
- Origen 40, 69, 108, 256
- Ostracon 109, 134–36, 166–67, 170–72,
 174, 182–85, 193–94, 218–19, 243,
 280, 284
- Oxyrhynchus 104–7, 224, 282–83, 335,
 350–51, 368, 370
- Pachomians 46, 113–14, 207, 255–56
 – liturgy of 27n94, 70, 72–73, 123
- Paleography 15–18, 75, 78, 82–92, 168
- Palestine, liturgical papyri from 4,
 15n46, 29n102, 179n124
- Palladius 71, 198n44
- Palm Sunday 17n51, 114, 149, 301,
 306–7, 312, 361
- Panopolis 112, 339
- Paper 16, 92, 99, 105, 163, 178n115,
 199
- Paragraphos* 174, 186, 216, 226
- Parchment 17n51, 160–63, 165, 185,
 280
- Patriarch
 – intercession for 43, 57–58, 61, 67, 138,
 142, 143n234, 175, 264, 359, 312,
 314–15, 320, 369
 – mentioned in liturgical papyri 77–79,
 144, 244–45, 275, 296, 319, 323,
 338–39, 369–70
- Pauline epistles 135
 – liturgical reading from 57, 67, 142,
 339
- Pentecost 17n51, 149–50, 214, 302
- Pesynthius, bishop of Koptos 118, 131,
 140–41, 144–48, 151n285, 152, 257
- Peter of Alexandria 46, 335
- Philotheus, 63th patriarch of Alexandria
 78
- Post-Sanctus 36n127, 62, 227, 235, 375
- Prayer
 – formats of 161, 175, 185–86, 224–27,
 241–43
 – for protection 24, 36n129, 197n41
 – for the laying on of hands 41, 43,
 65n151, 66, 237, 348
 – for the sick 5, 18, 23–24, 43, 56–57,
 61, 65–66, 192, 199, 237, 264, 348,
 359, 363
 – fraction 44, 64–65, 144, 295–96, 320,
 373
 – liturgical 5, 29, 31–33, 37–38, 138–39,
 177, 237–244, 251–52, 259–65, 274–
 76, 278–79
 – of aspasmus (for the kiss of peace) 59,
 72, 138, 143, 299, 308, 369, 272
 – of final inclination 64, 144, 197, 311,
 316, 320, 327, 375

- of inclination before communion 64–65, 137, 144, 262, 290, 308, 318, 320, 366, 371, 375
- of prothesis (offering) 55, 59, 137–38, 143, 242, 265, 294, 313, 338, 368, 375
- of thanksgiving after communion 64–65, 144, 197, 221, 234, 237, 297, 310, 318, 327, 339
- of the veil 58–59, 143, 309, 375
- paraliturgical 23, 32, 43, 115, 128
- private 5, 9, 19, 35–37, 69, 119, 123, 133n185, 175, 204, 227, 230, 266
- Presanctified, liturgy of 138, 290, 350, 375
- Pre-Sanctus 32, 35, 61–64, 131, 143–45, 167, 185n154, 296, 308, 313, 321, 364, 366, 375
- Priest, liturgical role of 31, 33, 140, 148, 177, 209, 223, 231–32, 237, 244, 244n109
- Prothesis (see also prayer of prothesis) 55–56, 143
- Psalm
 - L 67–68
 - XC 198, 237n84
 - CXXXV 25n84, 67, 120, 122, 145, 319, 272
 - CXL 69, 146, 311
 - CXLVIII–CL 25n84, 26n87, 67, 121–23, 331, 361, 372
 - CL 34n120, 64, 144, 330, 332
- Psalmodia
 - Book of 8, 47, 50n65, 68, 121, 219, 224, 251n133, 375
 - service of 67–68, 120, 375
- Psalms
 - liturgical recitation of 8, 19, 25, 47–48, 54, 56, 67–69, 71, 98–99, 105–6, 118, 142, 146, 147n258, 214, 217, 222n10, 252, 339, 349
 - papyri of (see also Psalm) 25n83, 91, 129, 132, 146, 172, 259, 309, 334
- Psalter 100, 142
- Roll 154n4, 158n17, 163–64, 225, 227, 247, 269, 357
- Romanus Melodus 185, 267, 297, 300, 318, 361
- Rotulus 48, 163–66, 226, 241, 243n105, 280, 299, 302, 318–19, 327, 339, 360, 375
- Sahidic in the liturgy 25n81, 48, 54, 62–63, 99, 101, 221, 253, 263–65, 271–72, 274, 283, 285
- Saints (see also Anouph, John the Baptist, Martyr, Mary, Menas, Theodore Stratelates) 25–26, 31, 33, 56, 65, 103–4, 147–48, 151–52, 245, 319, 339
 - hymns to 29, 249–50, 368
- Sanctus 26n89, 32, 61–64, 143–45, 206, 239, 242, 313, 348, 359, 366, 375
- Sarapion of Thmuis, prayers of 2, 18, 40–41, 52, 56–57, 59, 63, 65, 72, 233, 237–41, 273n87
- Scetis 68n171, 71, 139–40, 170
- Sense unit markers 29, 159, 163, 169–76, 187, 215–16
- Sermon: see Homily
- Severe style 84, 168
- Severus of Antioch 77, 119, 138, 144, 175n103, 249, 262, 267, 275, 297–98, 340, 370
- Shenoute 19n56, 27, 46, 48, 69–70, 72, 147n261, 150n285, 175n103, 255–56
- Sinai 49n63, 138–40, 165
- Singer 68, 179, 190, 212, 220–23, 250
- Single sheet 15n46, 48, 111, 118n108, 155–58, 161–66, 170–72, 174, 182–83, 185, 188–90, 192, 225–28, 243–44, 247–48, 251, 280, 283
 - long 162, 184
 - narrow 26n87, 108, 163, 184–85, 187, 195–96, 217–19, 280, 284–85
- Sloping majuscule 16, 75–77, 82, 85–92, 135, 159, 163, 168, 184, 186, 205–6, 212, 280–81
- Sub tuum praesidium* (ὕπὸ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν) 9, 198, 298, 356
- Syene 115, 132n179, 134
- Syria 45, 190, 234, 246, 276, 278n102
- Syriac
 - influence on Coptic liturgy 39, 53, 59, 62–63, 111, 117, 137–38, 245–46, 262, 274–76, 301
 - language 249, 256, 273n87, 276

- liturgy 39, 53n81, 66, 150n284, 356
- Miaphysite Church 53, 78, 117, 283

- Tentyra (Dendera) 113, 132, 134, 314
- Testamentum Domini 45–46, 234
- Theodore Stratelates, saint 304, 355
- Theodoret of Cyrus 229n45
- Trisagion 56n98, 199, 353, 376
 - developed 124–25, 138n213, 146n253, 205–6, 275, 291–92, 307, 310–11, 313–14, 316, 328, 331–32, 342, 344, 352, 358, 367, 373
- Miaphysite 53n83, 56, 66–67, 120, 122–23, 128, 145, 210, 305, 315, 322, 346, 359
- Typikon (directory) 27, 34, 48, 217, 221, 223, 311, 339, 376

- Upper Egypt 52–53, 68n171, 95–96, 112–15, 152, 180, 223n15, 237, 257, 272

- Victor, bishop of Arsinoe 24n77, 101, 275, 338
- Vigil 24n76, 27, 73, 141n223, 147–48, 222n13

- Wadi Sarga 96, 134n188, 166
- Western Thebes 19n56, 25n83, 44–45, 47, 53n83, 71, 80, 115–52, 180, 184, 186–87, 193–94, 203, 205, 218–19, 226, 243, 245–46, 261–62, 264, 265–66, 271, 275, 284–85, 291–94, 297, 306–16, 322, 325, 327, 331, 343–47, 349, 353–54, 357, 359–61
- White Monastery
 - liturgical manuscripts from 10, 15, 25n81, 34, 47–48, 86, 111, 127, 138, 146n249, 161, 168, 180, 216n114, 221, 223, 242, 246, 266n57, 285, 294, 313, 337, 362
 - liturgy in 25n83, 27, 51, 53–54, 56–57, 68n171, 69, 139, 146n253, 264–66, 275
- Wooden tablets 167–68, 185, 193, 201–2, 218, 295, 319, 331, 337, 354, 364, 370
- Writing exercise 21, 81, 83, 102, 188, 190, 196, 200–6, 261, 299, 323, 353, 358–59, 362, 371

- Yahya b. Hilal, pagarch of Arsione 81, 323

Images

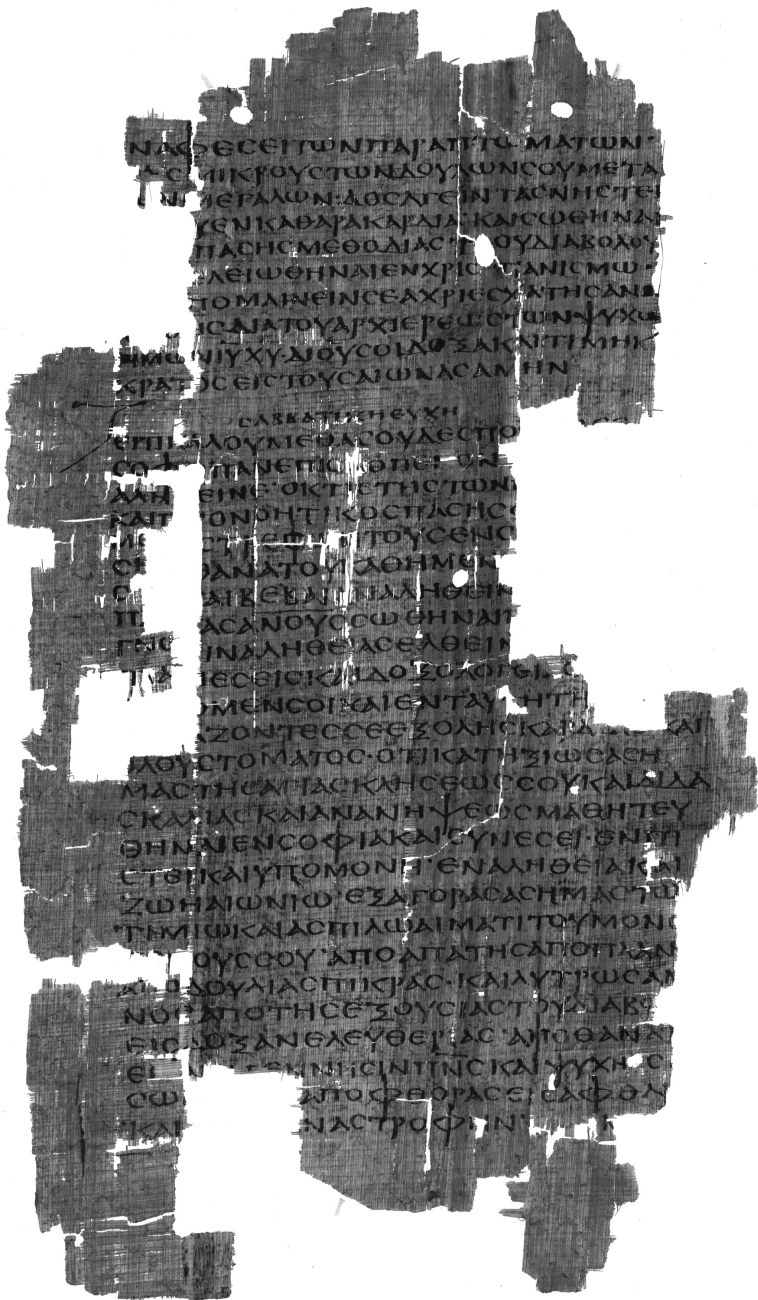


Fig. 5: P. Berol. 13415 recto (4–5th c.) © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P. Berol. 13415

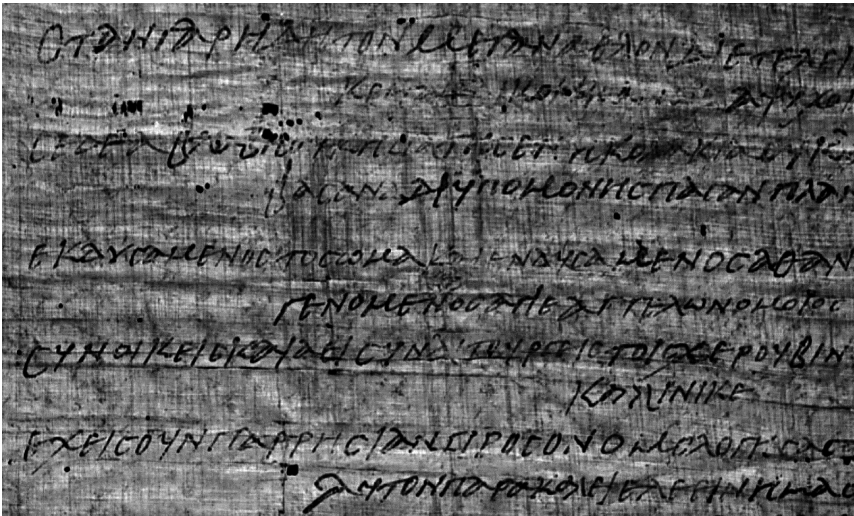


Fig. 6: P.Aphrod.Lit. 48.3-7 (ca. 551, Cairo Egyptian Museum JdE 40767 verso)
 © Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie

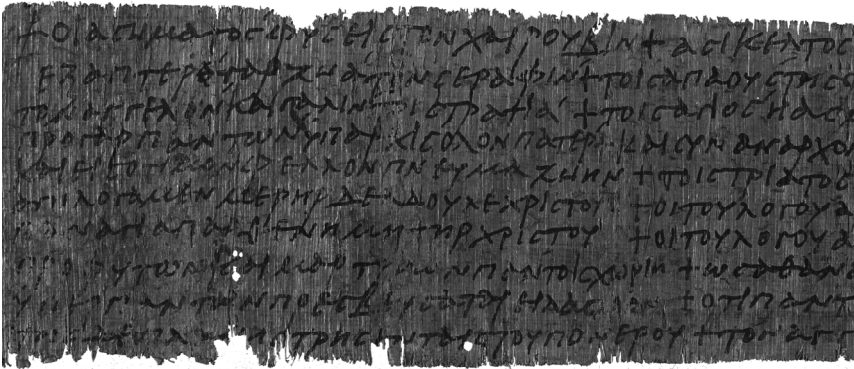


Fig. 7: P.Lond. III 1029 recto (6th c., British Library Pap. 1029) © By permission of the British Library

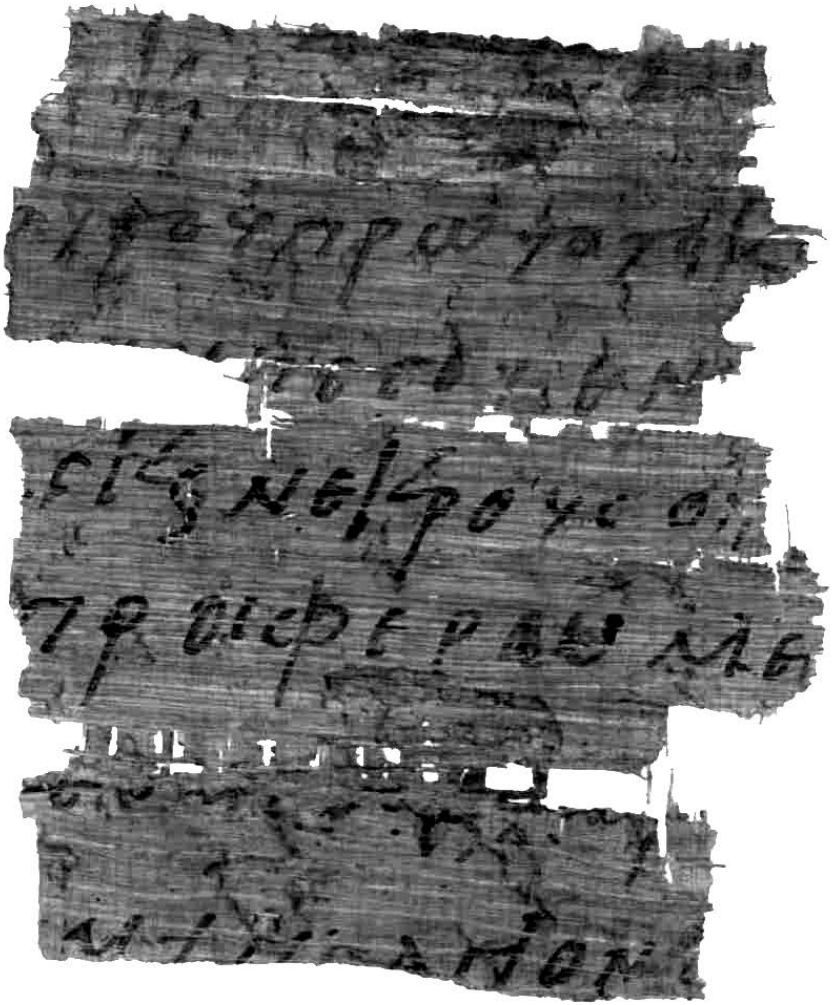


Fig. 8: Pap.Colon. XXVIII 13 (second half of 6th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 41043 verso) © Austrian National Library

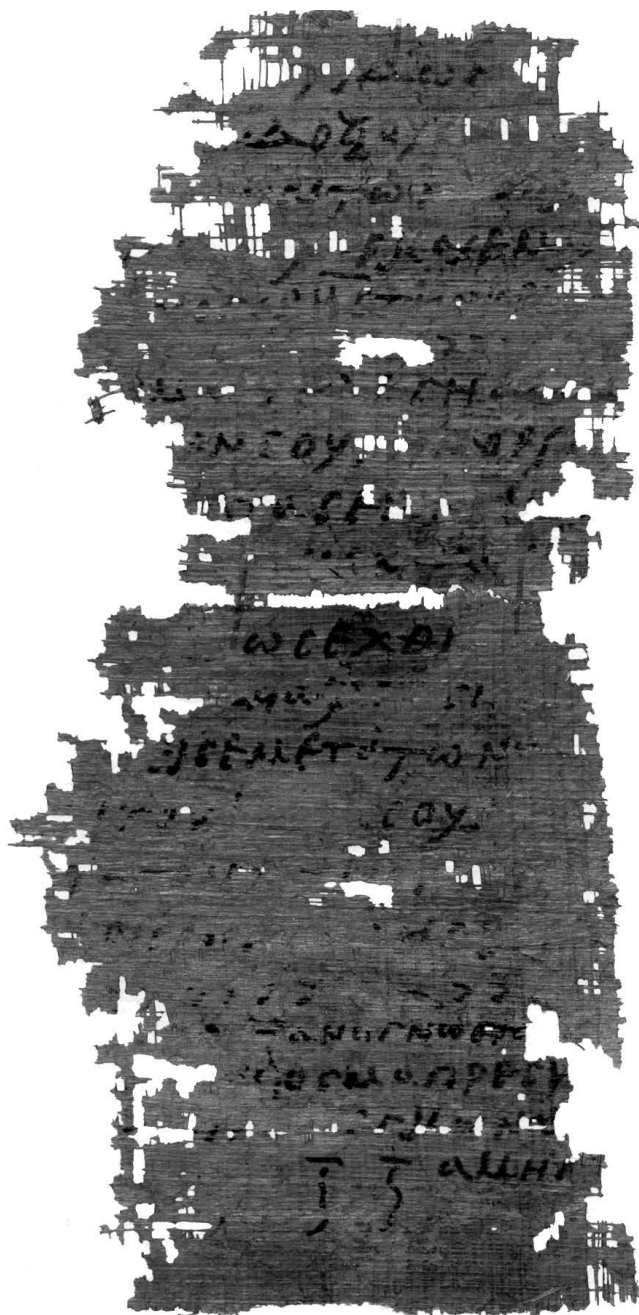


Fig. 9: MPER N.S. XVII 48 recto (6th c., Vienna Papyrussammlung of the Austrian Library inv. G 26233) © Austrian National Library

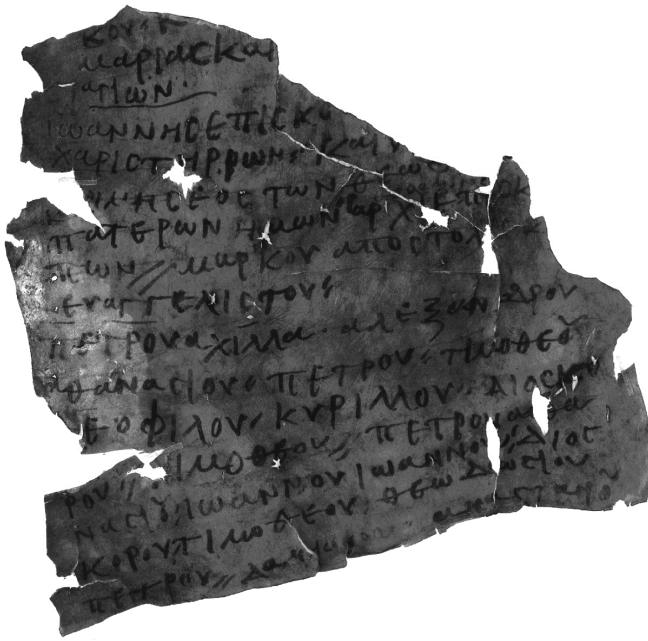


Fig. 10: P.Berol. 3602 recto (early 7th c.) © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P.Berol. 3602

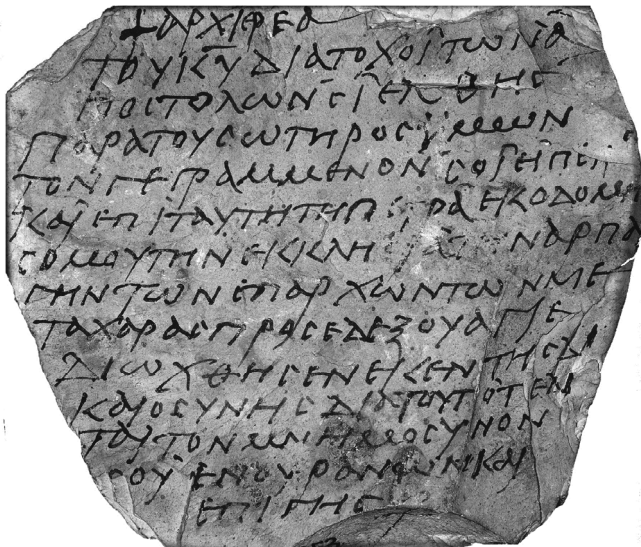


Fig. 11: British Museum EA 5853 recto (early 7th c.) © The Trustees of the British Museum

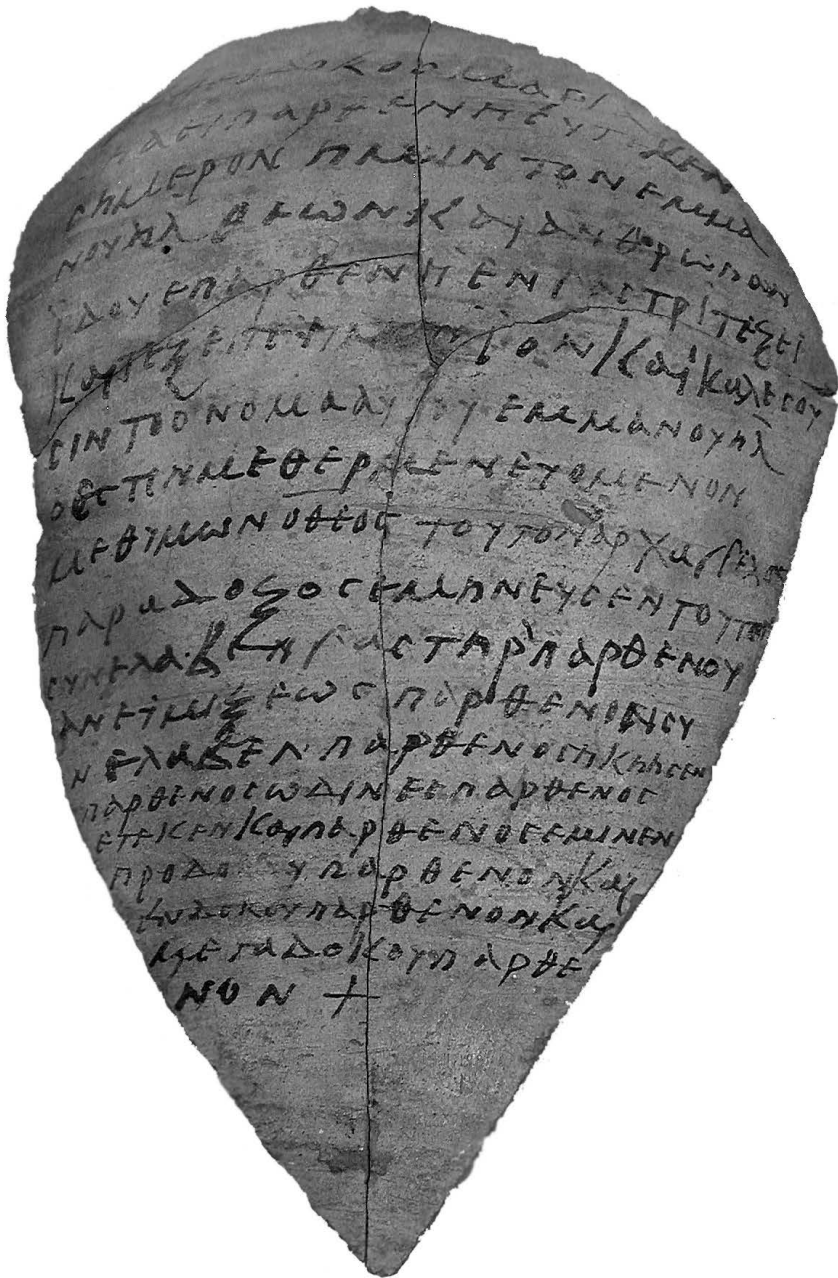


Fig. 12: P.Mon.Epiph. 600 (early 7th c., New York Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 14.1.198)

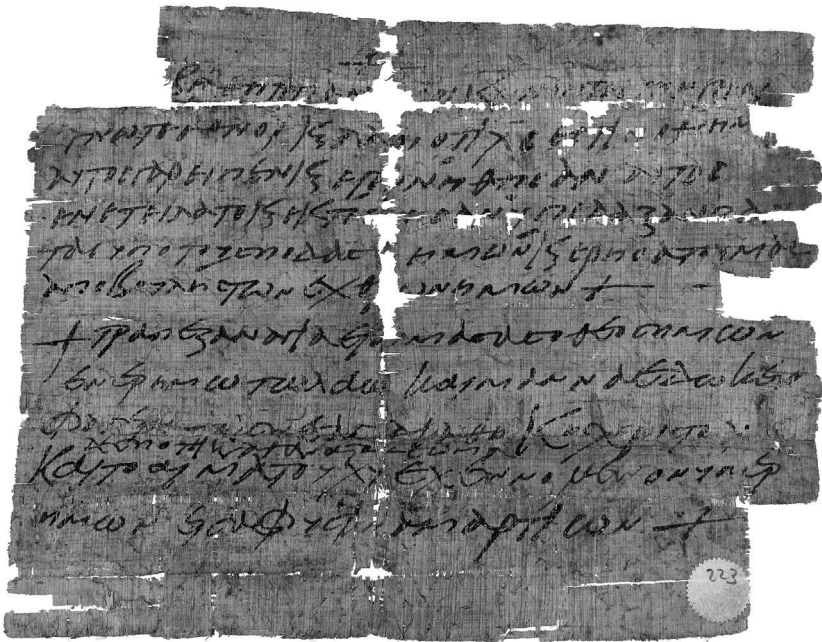


Fig. 13: P.Ryl. inv. Add. Gr. 1166 recto (end of 6th/beginning of 7th c.). © The University of Manchester



Fig. 14: Archives de l'Université catholique de Louvain, Collection des manuscrits orientaux, Papyri coptes Lefort n° 28A (ca. 622–661) © Archives de l'Université catholique de Louvain

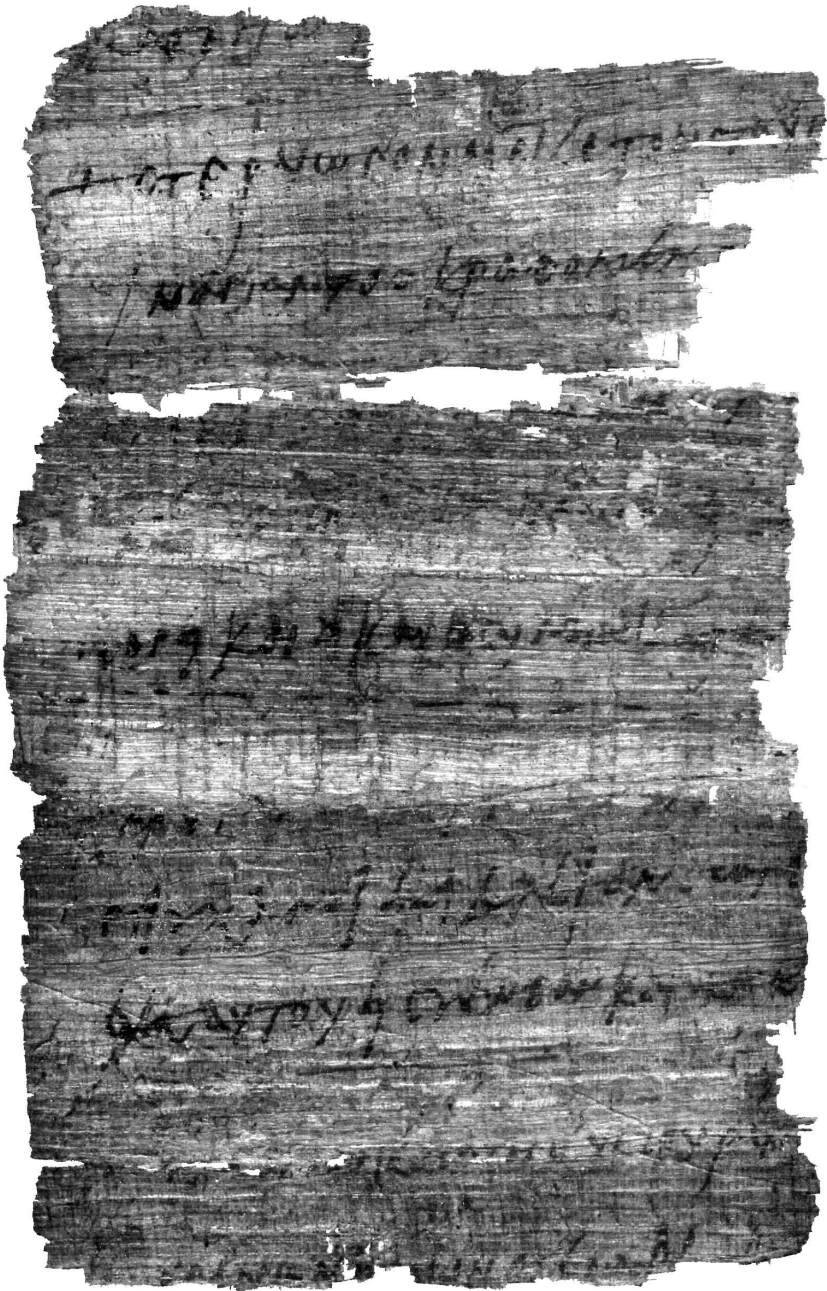


Fig. 15: MPER N.S. XVII 55.1–16 (7th/8th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 19932 recto) © Austrian National Library

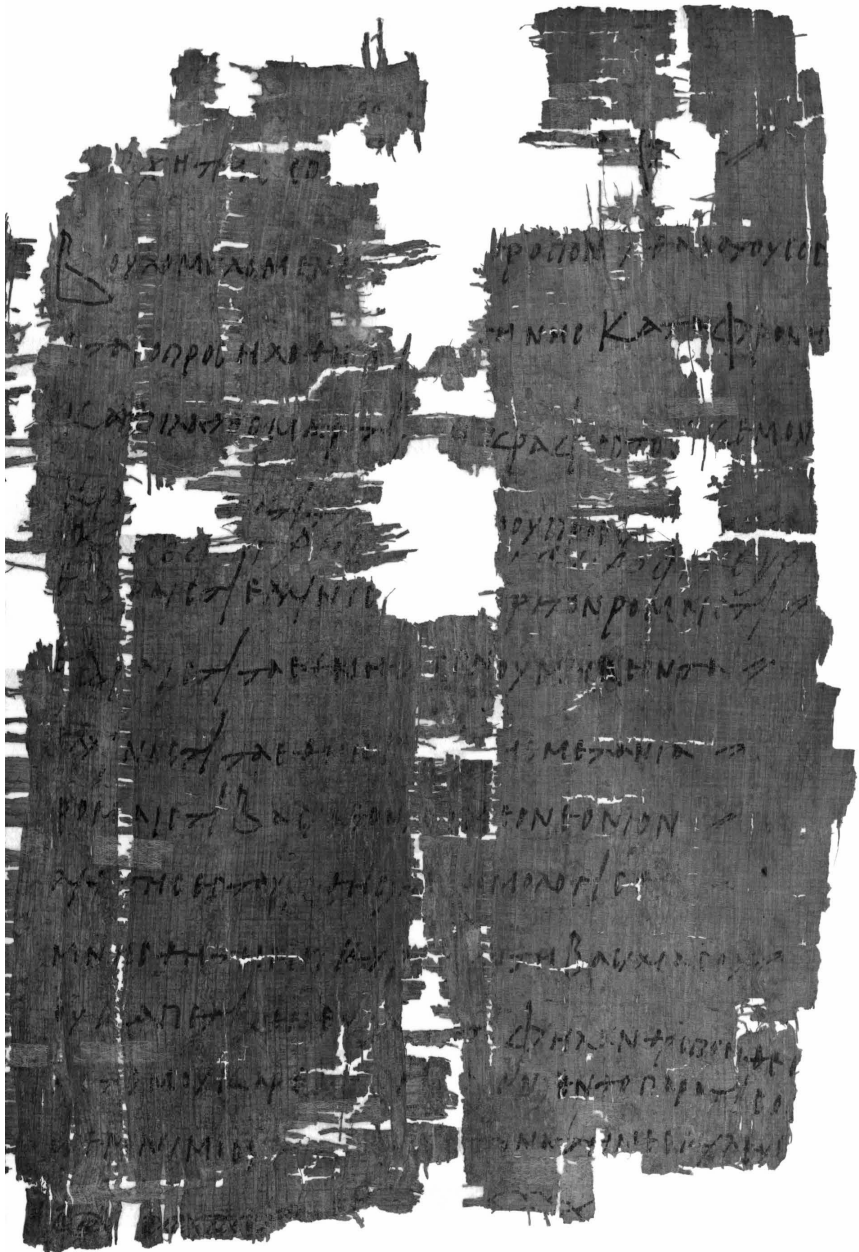


Fig. 16: P.Rain.Cent. 31 p. 7 (7th/8th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 19882 + 25687 + 26040) © Austrian National Library

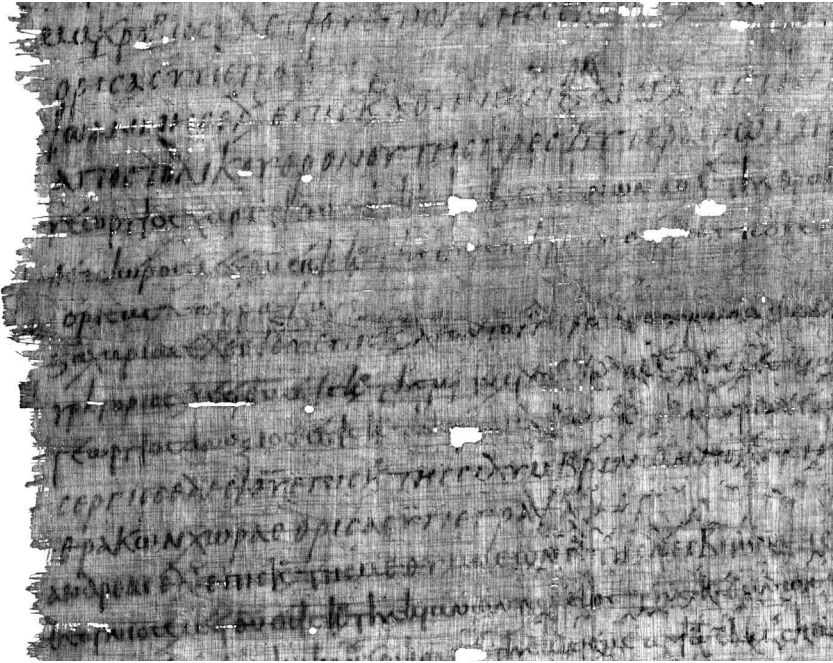


Fig. 17: P.Vindob. G 3r.40–54 (681–688) © Austrian National Library

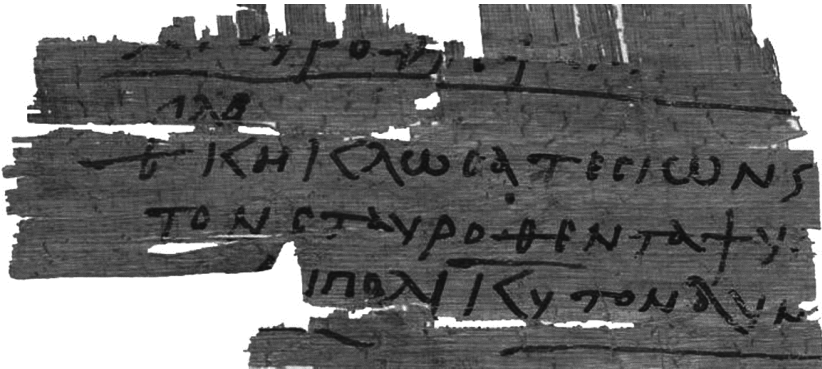


Fig. 18: P.Amst. I 21 (7th/8th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 19808 recto) © Austrian National Library

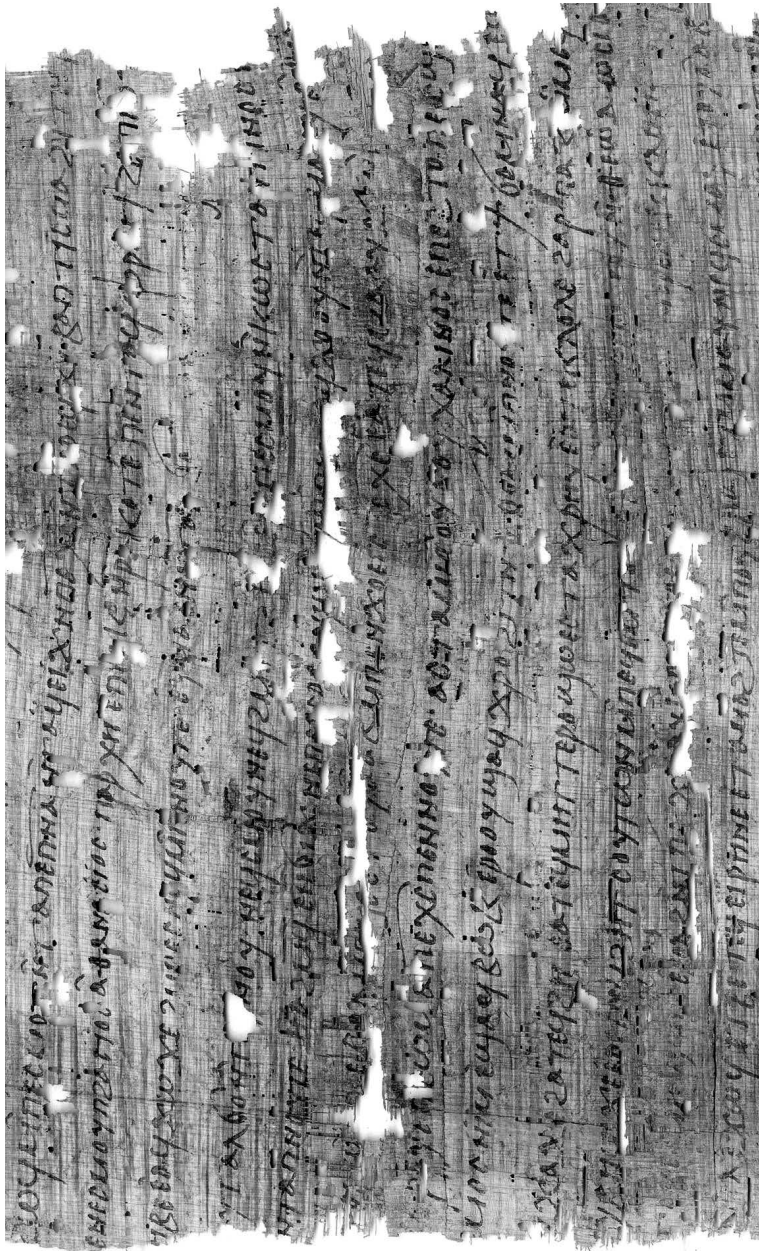


Fig. 19: P. Bad. V 124.30-41 (ca. 705, University of Heidelberg, Institute of Papyrology, inv. K 12 recto). © Institut für Papyrologie, Universität Heidelberg

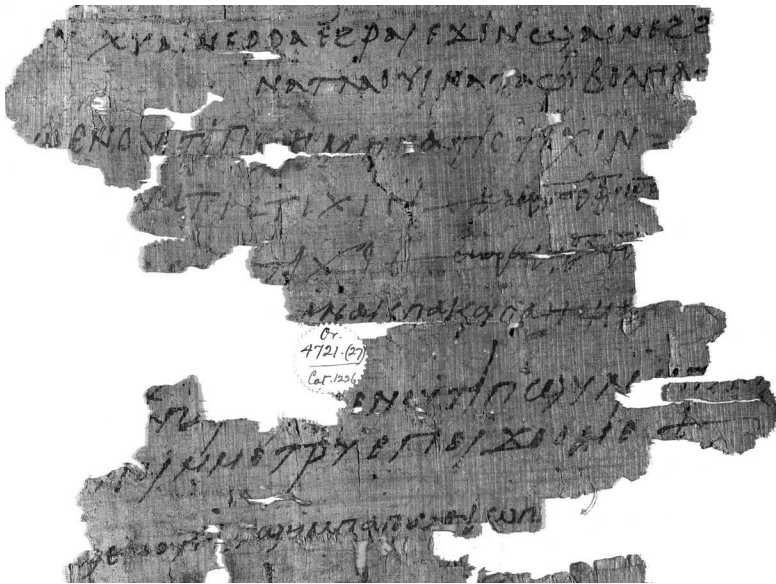


Fig. 20: P.Lond.Copt. I 1226.3–11 (745, British Library Ms Or. 4721(27) recto)
 © By permission of the British Library

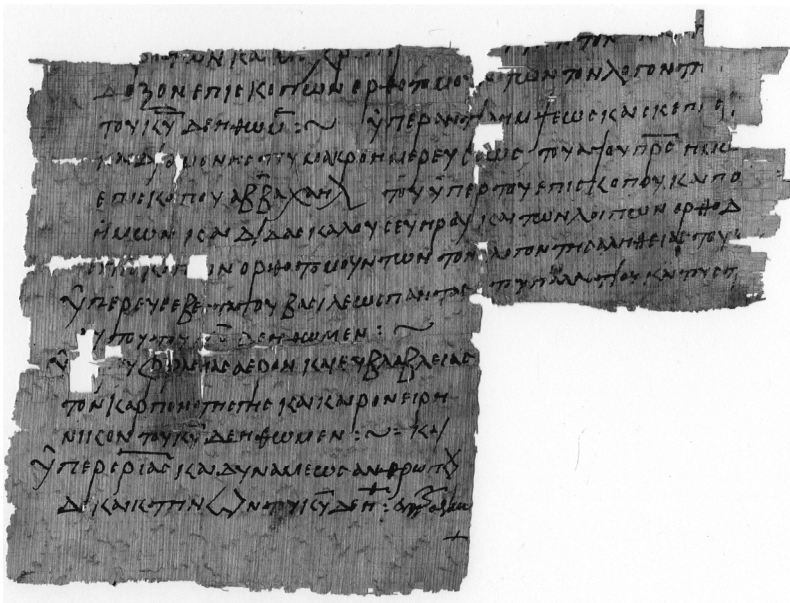


Fig. 21: PSI Com. IX 2 (743–767, Papiri della Società Italiana inv. 534)
 © Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Florence

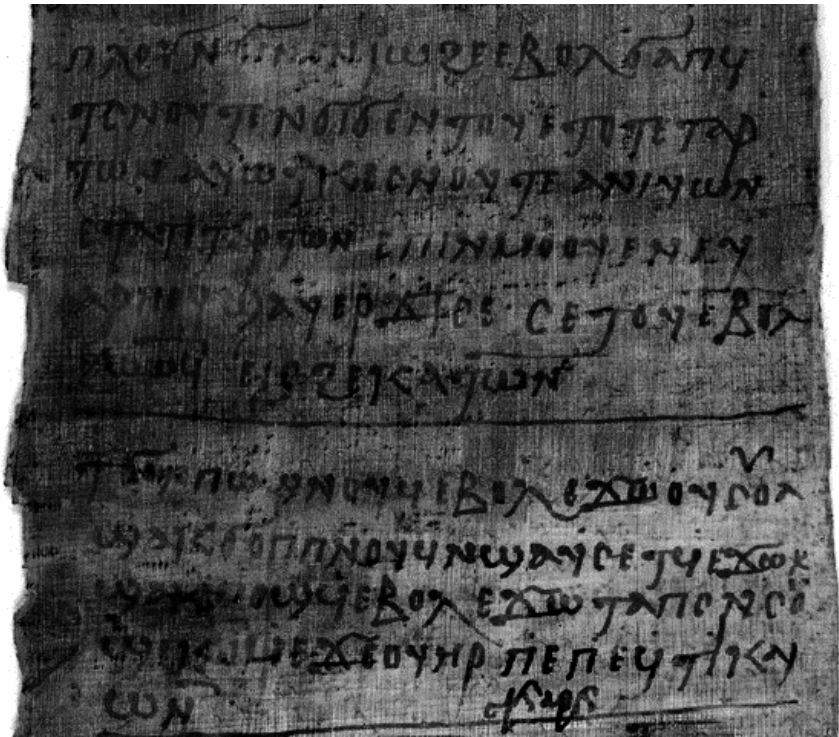


Fig. 22: New York MLM M 636 fol 26 recto (795–797)

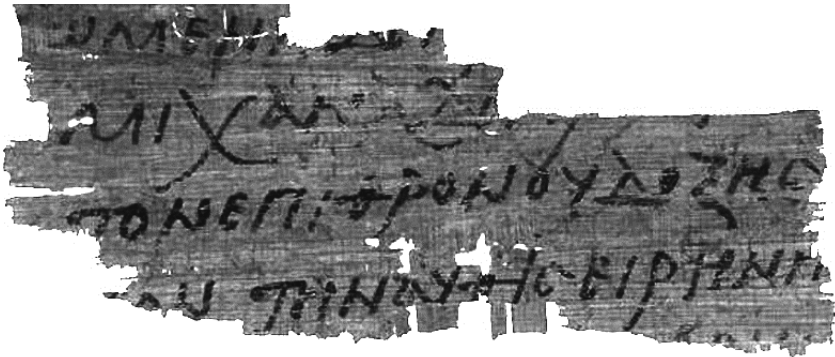


Fig. 23: MPER N.S. XVII 58 (8th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 42715 recto) © Austrian National Library

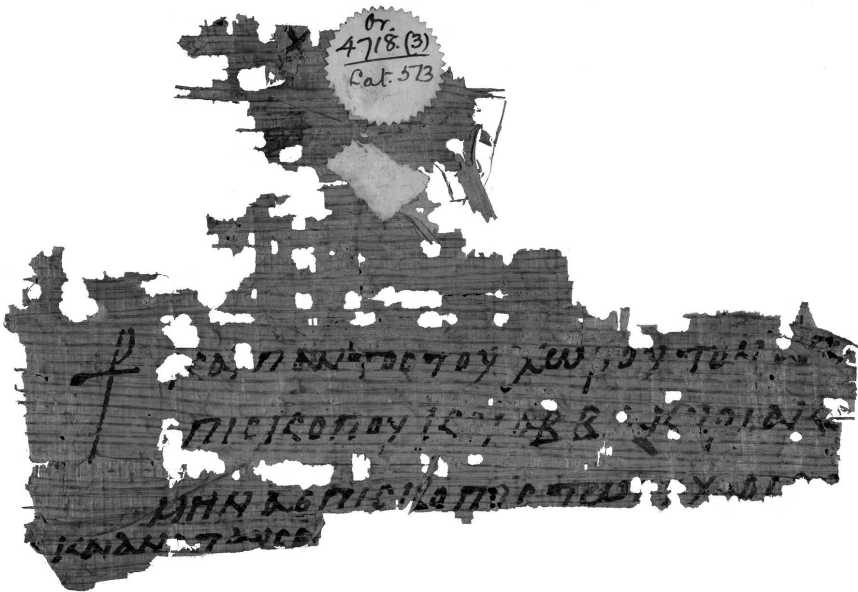


Fig. 24: P.Lond.Copt. I 513 (793–817, British Library Ms Or. 4718(3) recto)
 © By permission of the British Library

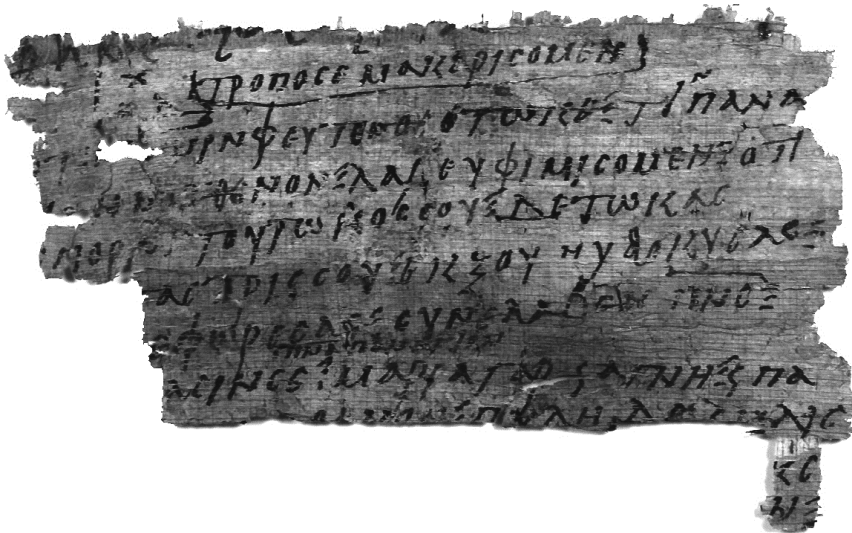


Fig. 25: P.Matr. inv. 46 (late 8th / early 9th c.) © Fundación Pastor de Estudios Clásicos, Madrid

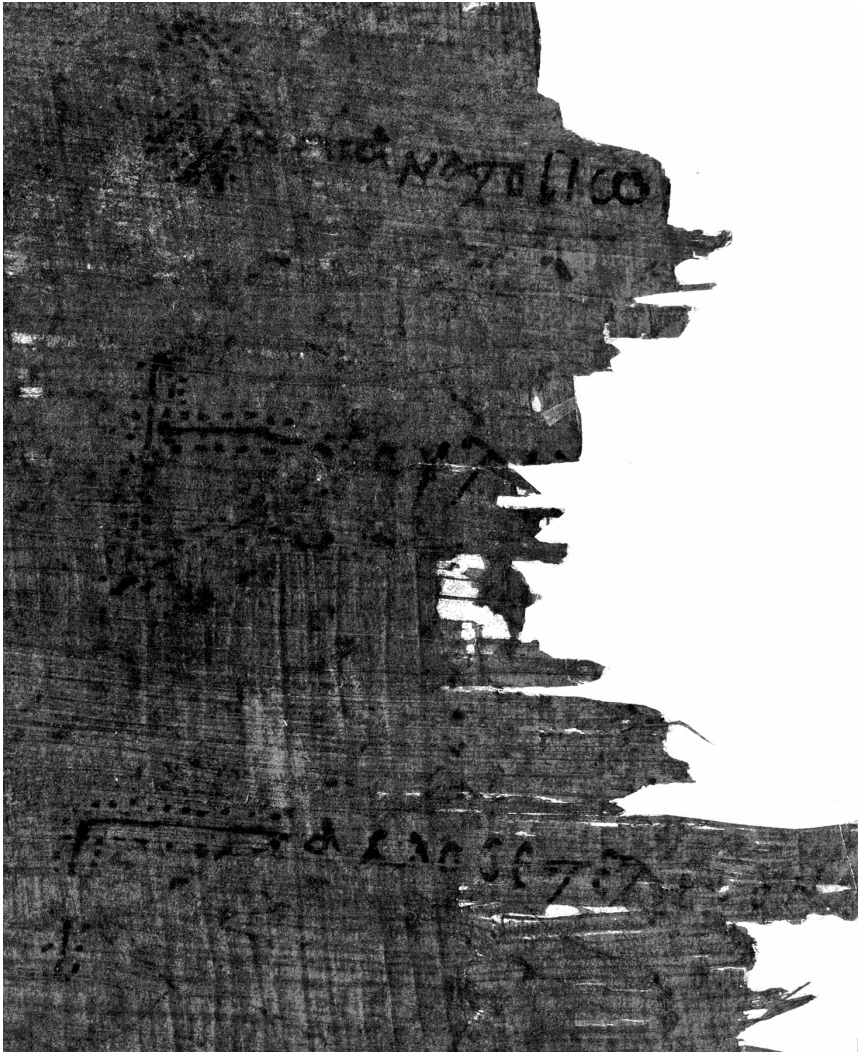


Fig. 26: P.Berol. 5476 recto (mid-8th c.) © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P.Berol. 5476

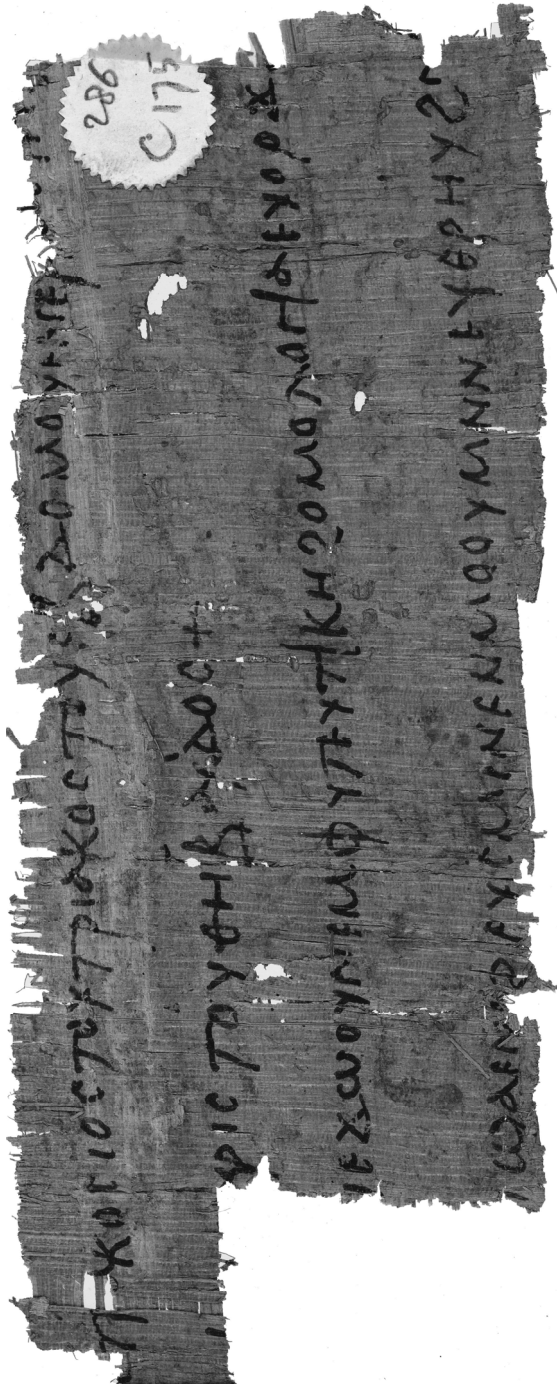


Fig. 27: P.Ryl.Copt. 175 (721, University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, inv. Coptic P 175 recto). Copyright of the University of Manchester

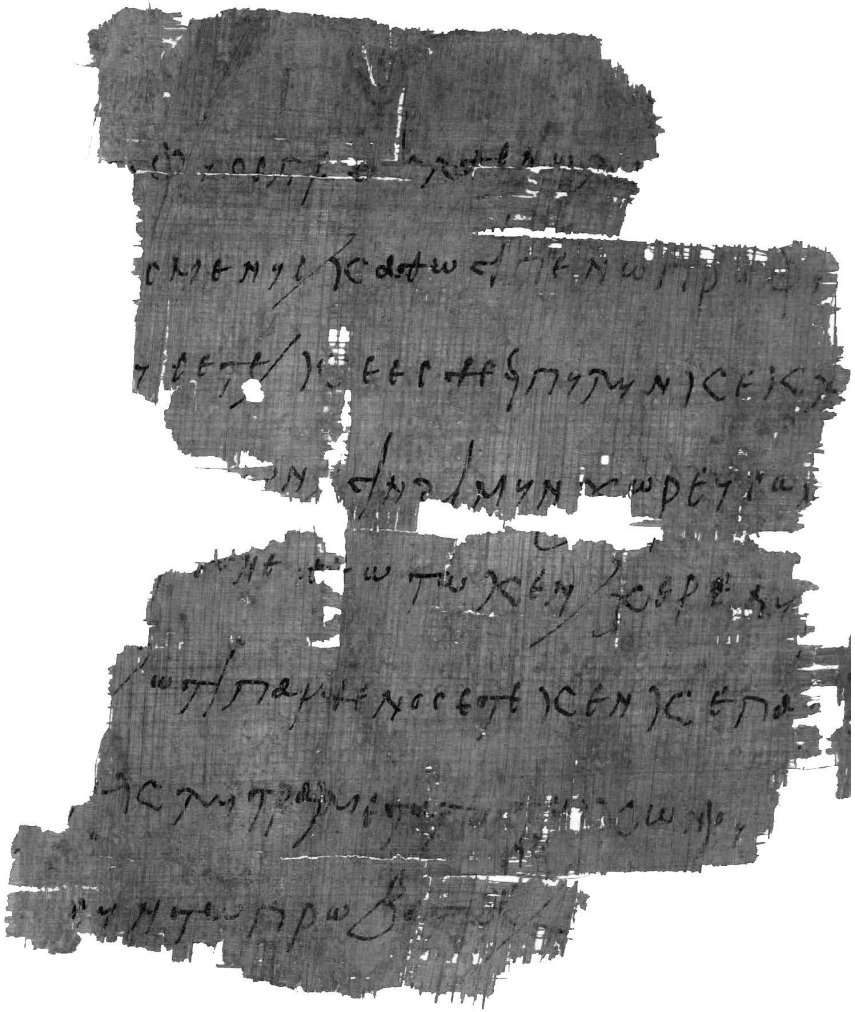


Fig. 28: MPER N.S. XVII 37 (8th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 26041 recto) © Austrian National Library

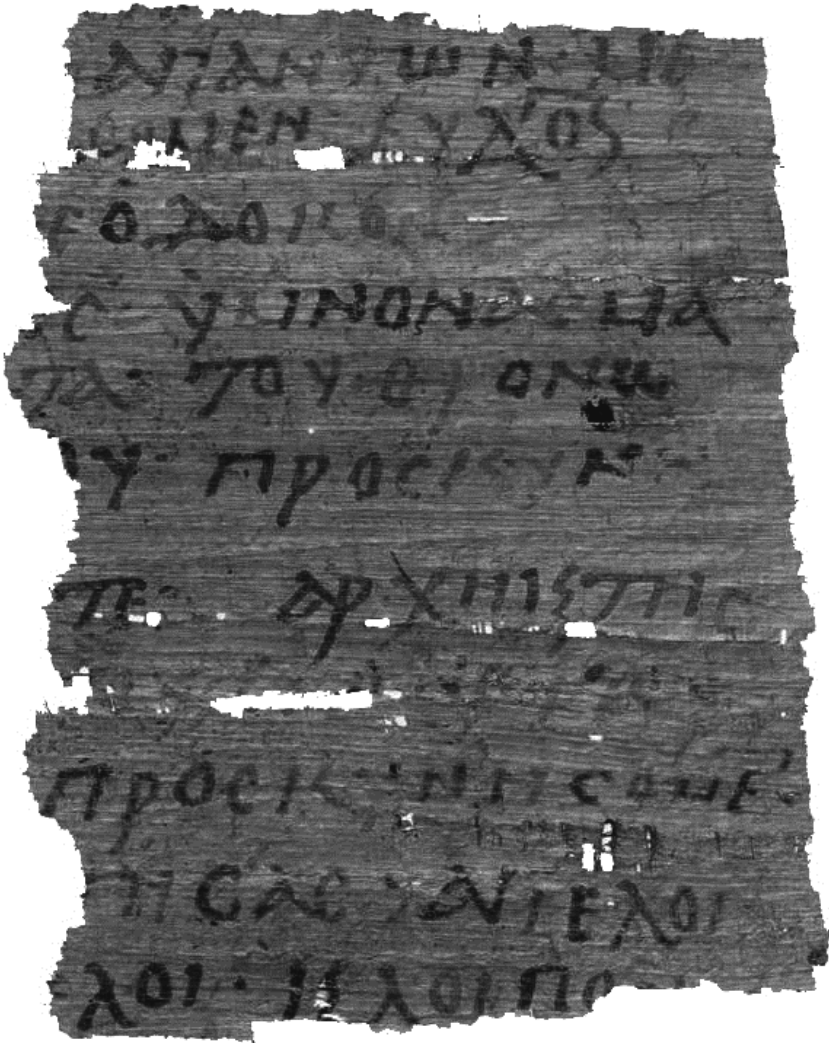


Fig. 29: MPER N.S. XVII 27 (9th c., Papyrussammlung of the Austrian National Library inv. G 26161 recto) © Austrian National Library

Ε

ΘΟΥΝΟΠΕΠΩΝΙΝΤΕΚΙΝΤΧΣΠΟΣ
 ΛΙΝΝΕΤΕΡΖΟΤΕΖΗΤΚ· ΟΥΩΝΖΕΒΟΛΜΙ
 ΧΘΕΙΣΧΘΟΥΧΣΠΕ· ΧΘΟΥΩΔΕΝΕΖΠΕΠΕΥΝΑ·
ΜΠΕΡΙΚΩΤΕΜΓΕΚΖΟΝΣΒΟΛΜΠΕΧΕ· ΧΥΤΠΕ
 ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΘΟΥΧΣΠΕΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΩΔΡΕΠΙΔΓΓΕΛΟΣΜΠΧΘΕΙΣ· ΚΩΤΕΕΝΕΤΕΡ
 ΖΟΤΕΝΖΗΤΥ· ΔΥΩΝΤΟΥΠΕΩΔΥΝΑΖ
 ΜΟΥ· ΧΥΤΠΕΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ· ΔΕΠ
 ΧΘΕΙΣΖΟΛΒ· ΝΔΙΑΤΟΥΝΝΕΤΖΕΛΠΙΖΕΕΡΟΥ·
 ΝΣΕΝΑΩΩΩΤΑΝΝΛΔΑΥΝΑΔΑΘΟΝ·
ΔΙΤΠΕΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕΠΧΘΕΙΣΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΖΟΛΒ· ΤΙΠΕΤΝΟΥΟΙΕΡΟΥ· ΝΕΤΗ
 ΖΟΝΣΕΝΑΧΙΩΠΕΔΝ·
ΓΩΥΣΗΣΛΙΝΔΡΩΝΟΥΑΔΒ· ΣΔΜΙΟΥΗΛ
 ΜΙΝΝΕΥΓΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ· ΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒΝΩ
 ΩΟΥΩΩΥΜΙΟΥ· ΣΕΝΑΤΕΝΗΛΕΧΗΝΕΥ
 ΒΖΟΒ· ΠΩΠΕΠΕΘΟΥΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ· ΝΕ
 ΩΗΡΕΥΤΙΗΛ·
ΔΙΩΩΕΒΟΛΖΗΤΑΣΛΗΩΜΠΧΘΕΙΣ· ΔΥΩ
 ΔΥΕΩΠΠΕΡΟΙ· ΔΥΕΝΤΕΧΥΠΕΥΤΟΥ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ· Β· ΝΤΕΡΙΩΩΕΖΡΑΩΑΡΟΚ·
 ΠΧΘΕΙΣΝΕΝΒΟΛΜΚΩΤΠΕΡΟΙ· ΔΥΩ
 ΠΗΡΕΥΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒΝΤΑΚ· Γ· ΤΝΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΟΥΠΕΚΗΙ· ΤΑΟΥΩΩΤΠΕΚΕΡΠΕ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ· ΕΡΕΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒΝΑΩΟΥΩΟΥ
 ΜΙΟΥ· Δ· ΕΠΧΘΕΙΣΚΩΠΕΚΡΠΕ· ΕΡΕ
 ΠΕΚ· ΡΟΝΟΣΤΑΝΟΥΤΕΖΗΤΠΕ· ΕΡΕΝΕΚ
 ΒΑΧΩΩΩΤΕ· ΧΥΤΠΕΒΙΗΝ· Ε· ΜΙΔΤΑΝΖΟΙ
 ΠΑΡΟΥΤΕ· ΕΒΑΖΣΕΝΤΡΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ· ΒΟΙΚ

Fig. 30: New York MLM M 574 fol. 2 recto (897/898)

... ΝΙΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΕ ...
 ... = ΣΥΝΙΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΕ ...
 ... ΝΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ = ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΑΚΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΑΘΟΚΕ ΚΕΡΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΕΚΑΤΗΩ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΙΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΥ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΒΑΧΑΧΑΗΛ ΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΓΕΡ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΒΙΚ ΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΛΙΩΝ = ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΥΜΕΛΛΙΝΣΕ = ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ = ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ = ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ = ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΥΝΟΥ ΙΟΥ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΣ ΔΩΝΣΟΥ ΟΥ ΧΥ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΒΙΚ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΟΥ ΧΥ = ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΒΙΚ ΚΛΕΙΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΕΚΑΤΟΥ ...
 ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΕΟΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΩΗΣ = ΣΥΝΙΝ ΓΕΝ ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΒΙΚ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΒΙΚ ΟΥΤΡΙΣ ΤΕΚΑΤΗΩ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ... ΣΥΝΙΝ
 ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΒΙΚ ΒΟΠΘΗΝΣΟΝ ΧΗΡΑΣ ΟΡΦΑΝΟΙΣ ...
 ΠΑΛΕΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΡΗΝΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΣ

Fig. 31: P.Lond.Copt. I 514 recto (ca. 880–907, British Library Ms Or. 4718(4) recto)
 © By permission of the British Library

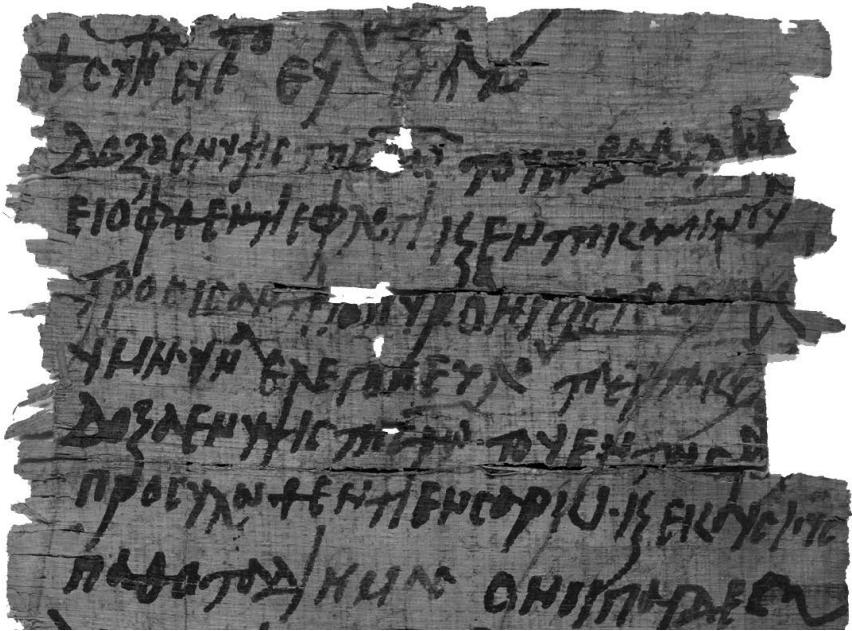


Fig. 32: P.Ryl. III 466r.1–8 (9th/10th c., University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, inv. Greek P 466 recto). Copyright of The University of Manchester

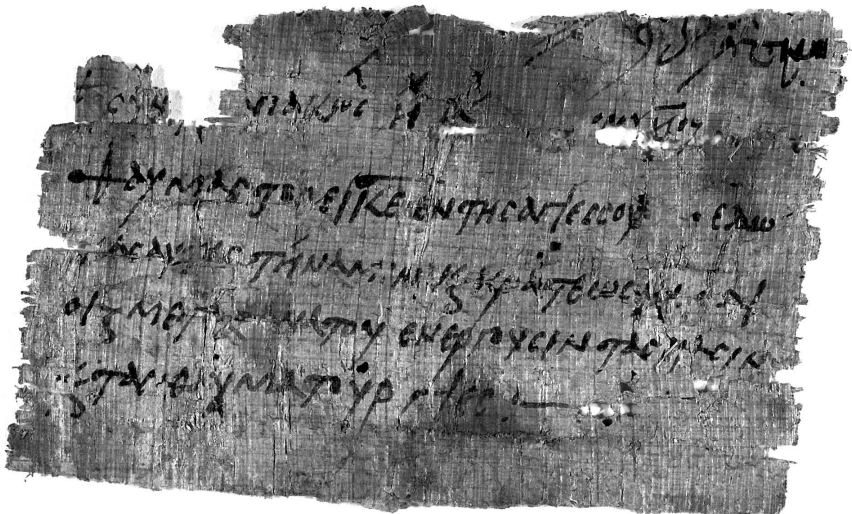


Fig. 33: PSI IX 1096 (9th/10th c., Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana inv. 18866 recto) © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

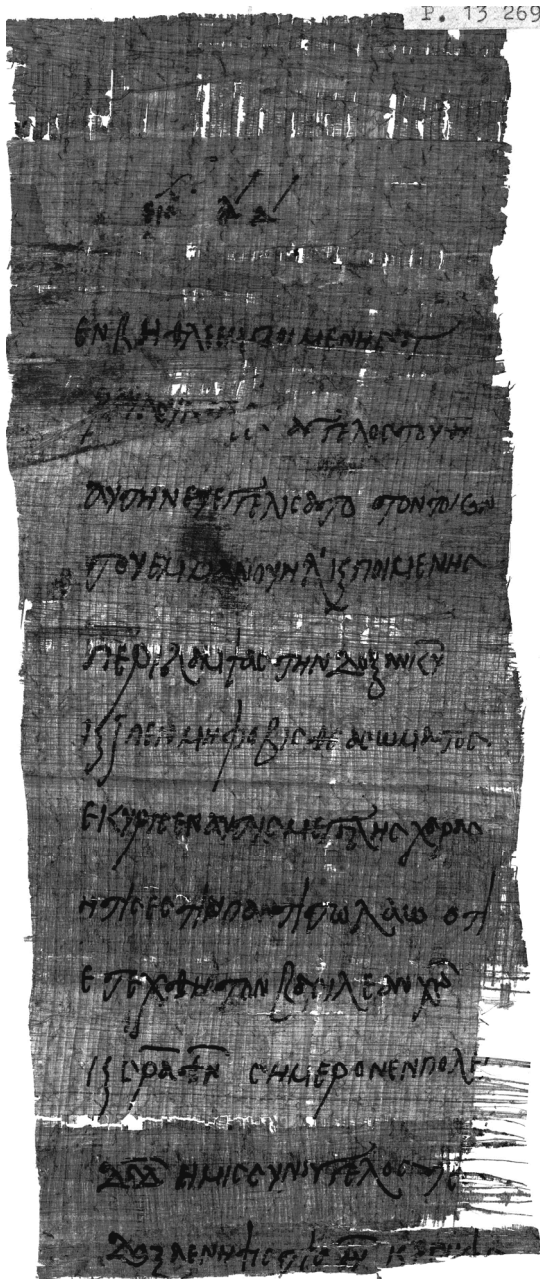


Fig. 34: BKT VI 6 2 (second half of 9th/10th c., P.Berol. 13269 recto)

© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P.Berol. 13269

...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...

Fig. 35: P. Vindob. G 19879 recto (9th c.) © Austrian National Library

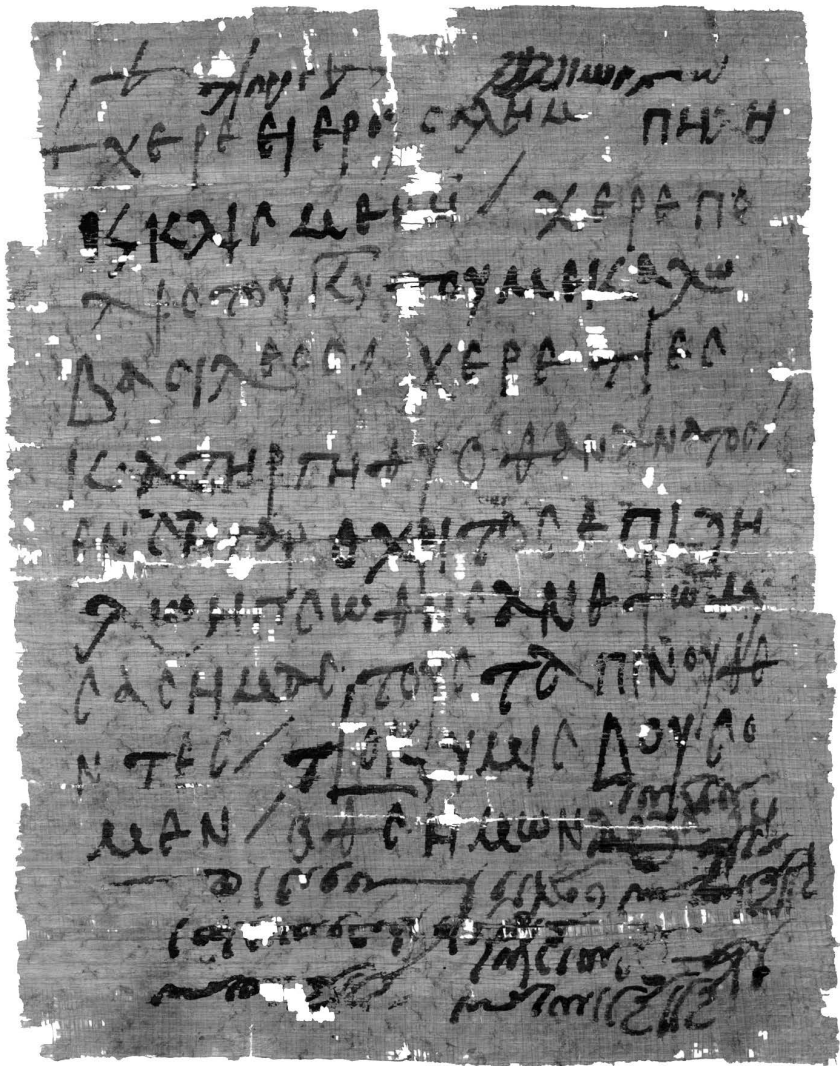


Fig. 36: : P.Vindob. G 42377 recto (9th c.) © Austrian National Library