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The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction

Mohr Siebeck

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114

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Preface

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journey and shared every moment of it with me.

Table of Contents

Maps and Images

Abbreviations

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

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

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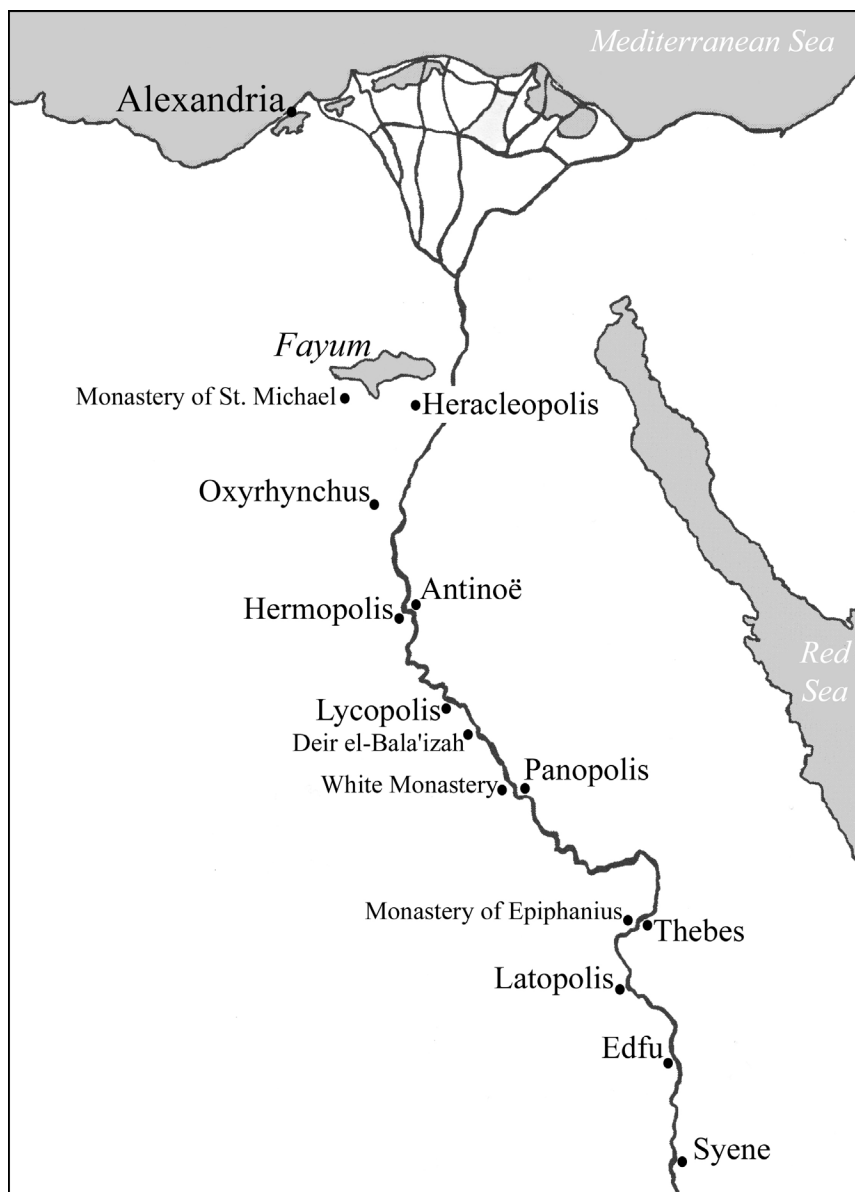
Fig. 1: Egypt in Late Antiquity. Design by Lance Jenott.

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

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[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

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[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 Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions* (Warsaw: The Raphael Taubenshlag 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.

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[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 Leclerq'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-*

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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 Ecclesiase Liturgica* (Paris: August Picard, 1913), cxxxxvii–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 Trismegistos[18] and the Leuven Database of Ancient Books[19] with useful information, varia-

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[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 südägyptischer 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

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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: Schöningh, 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 papyurs 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. Stewart[25] 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 Psalmodia 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 liturgiological 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

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[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," *OstkStud* 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 εὐσπλαγχνίαν (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

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[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.

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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.

This book is however more than simply an introduction to the liturgical papyri. Collecting all the papyri and fundamental data concerning them has permitted me to survey an important segment of the manuscript culture in late antique Egypt: the writing of liturgical texts. This perspective raises a series of questions different from those of source criticism. When were liturgical texts first written? What do they look like? What materials, formats, and lectional signs were employed by the copyists? What can their material features tell us about how liturgical texts were transmitted and how the manuscripts were used? How did the earliest liturgical books evolve? What languages were they written in? Although such questions concerning manuscript culture and materiality have received increasing attention in papyrology, in the case of the liturgical papyri they have only been considered in passing by previous scholarship. A systematic exploration of these texts outlines a history of copying liturgical texts in late antique and early medieval Egypt, and this could be useful as a comparison for studies of other corpora, such as biblical manuscripts. Moreover, since the liturgical papyri are the earliest copies of liturgical texts we possess, observing their material features is also our chief way of exploring how the liturgy was transmitted in the earliest period. The conclusions therefore bear on our approaches to the history of writing and transmission of liturgical texts, as well as on methodological debates concerning the reconstruction of early Christian liturgy in general.

In summary, this book serves two purposes: it provides an introduction to the liturgical papyri and explores the history of writing liturgy. It is first and foremost concerned with the manuscripts themselves, and less with their contents and their interpretation within the history of liturgy. Accordingly, my methodology relies more on papyrology than on liturgical scholarship. The investigation of the manuscripts involved autopsy whenever possible. However, as the manuscripts are scattered over a hundred collections on four continents, in several cases I had to be content with images kindly provided by the collections (and in about fifty cases such assistance could not be secured). The possibilities of the digital age have permitted me to build up a database of images and data on the items and to access comparative material from other genres. The contributions of the study are also those of a papyrologist: new dates based on palaeography, a survey of provenances, a study of materiality and of languages, and a complete list of items.

The list of 323 liturgical papyri in the Appendix lies at the heart of the book. It is of course a snapshot of the editorial work carried out over the past century, since new items will inevitably be added to the corpus as they are edited. It contains Christian liturgical papyri from Egypt written in the third to ninth centuries. In the second part of this chapter I will discuss my criteria for inclusion in the list and explain in greater detail my definition of 'liturgical,' by which I mean texts composed for and regularly recited during such services as Eucharist, the liturgy of the hours, baptism, and ordination. Bibli-

cal texts used in liturgy, creeds, homilies, and private prayers will thus be left
aside. I will also explain my methods of identifying a liturgical text on papy-
rus.

Since this book aims at serving a wide readership, I include a concise in-
troduction to the liturgy of the Coptic Church (chapter two).[42] It initiates non-
specialist readers into the fundamental questions, results, and sources of the
study of early Christian liturgy in Egypt. It surveys the scholarly literature on
the subject, but does not attempt to revise it or integrate evidence from the
papyri systematically. Its scope is restricted to the rites most frequently wit-
nessed in the papyri: Eucharist, liturgy of the hours, and baptism, but does not
treat rites such as ordination, consecration of churches and objects, or matri-
mony, which are less relevant for the discussion.

After these introductory chapters, the next two engage with the fundamen-
tal questions of context: when were the manuscripts written (chapter three)
and where (chapter four)? Chapter three discusses the methods of establishing
dates, starting with those established on the basis of external evidence such as
a known scribe, the mention of a patriarch, archaeological context, or the
presence of a dated document on the verso. I then survey the papyri dated by
palaeography, with special attention to a style called sloping majuscule in
which the majority of the liturgical papyri are written. The chronology of this
style, which was previously little studied, can be established with the help of
liturgical papyri dated on the basis of external criteria and of Greek and Cop-
tic documents. These considerations result in revised dates for over the half
of the corpus.

In chapter four I review the provenances of liturgical papyri. Here, the or-
ganizing principle is locality. This survey presents a tableau of the Christian
communities in Egypt from which the liturgical papyri stem, and also allows
us to spot connections between papyri from the same locality and explore
regional characteristics of the liturgy and its writing. Methodological discus-
sions of assigning provenance to the papyri are embedded into the survey of
localities. Most attention is given to the monastic hub situated on the western
bank of the Nile across from Thebes in Upper Egypt. These monasteries and
hermitages, which flourished in the early seventh to eighth centuries, left us
over a hundred liturgical ostraca and papyri. However, due to the scattered
and often neglected state of publication of these items, the value of this
wealth of information for the study of the liturgy in the seventh and eighth
centuries, a period otherwise poorly served with liturgical sources, has not

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[42] Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Le déroulement de la Messe copte. Structure et histoire," in
L'eucharistie: célébrations, rites, piétés, ed. A. M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (Rome: C. L. V.
Edizioni liturgiche, 1995), 107–32, provides a convenient summary of the history of the
Eucharist.

been recognized. Of special interest is the fact that these items testify for the first time to the liturgy of a conscious Miaphysite group.

Chapters five, six, and seven go on to focus on the materiality of the liturgical papyri. The central questions explored in chapter five concern what a liturgical manuscript looked like: What format did it have? What material was it written on? Which writing style was used? Which lectional and musical signs were applied? A rather disparate picture of how liturgical manuscripts were written emerges from the frequent remarks that editors have made on these features. I could nevertheless identify some tendencies within the diversity by describing the entire corpus with the help of statistics. Some features are characteristic of a certain period, region, or genre, while others are more typical of liturgical papyri generally. The most widespread tendency, already noted by editors, is the informal quality of the manuscripts, which does not conform to what may be expected from a liturgical manuscript based on parallels from the second millennium. Rather than carefully prepared codices, the liturgical papyri tend to be informal copies of one text or a small group of texts scribbled down by negligent scribes on single sheets, the verso of other documents, or ostraca. This feature of early copies reveals the informal processes of how liturgical texts were transmitted, a fact which needs to be taken into consideration in methodological discussions concerning their reconstruction.

Chapter six reflects on this informal quality of liturgical papyri, which has led editors and commentators to question whether such copies could actually have been used to perform the liturgy. Instead, scholars proposed that some of them might have been amulets or practice-copies produced in the course of education. However, these suggestions must be reconsidered in light of the fact that such 'informal' features prevail throughout the entire corpus. I first review those liturgical papyri with features suggesting use as amulets, which seems to be the case for only a handful of items. The assumption that some liturgical texts were copied in the course of scribal and educational activities is also scrutinized. I then review the possibilities of using a manuscript to perform the liturgy, and suggest that reading from manuscripts was not the only option: the clergy could also write such sheets in order to memorize a text, or to aid their memory during performance. The fact that the texts were often quoted from memory and transmitted orally might explain the informal quality of many of the liturgical papyri. The prominent role of orality in transmission requires attention in the methodological discussions of liturgical scholars. These considerations can, moreover, be useful for scholars of biblical manuscripts, who in recent years have been engaged in similar attempts at identifying the uses of biblical papyri.

Chapter seven discusses the genres of liturgical papyri, as certain features of the manuscripts tended to vary according to which genre was being copied. Prayers, hymns, and acclamations were copied on separate items for the cler-

gy who performed them in the course of the service. From these differentiated copies, the priest's euchologion, the singer's hymn book, and the deacon's diaconicon emerged. Thus the history of putting these three genres in writing is also a history of the 'Rollenbücher' that contain them. Here, I pay most attention to the euchologion, since the process of its composition and transmission has implications for a key area in liturgical scholarship, the study of anaphora development. The euchologion appears as a formal book already in the fourth century, when most of the witnesses are carefully produced collections of prayers. I argue that this unusual prominence of codices is the result of conscious efforts on the parts of bishops to promote a respectable and orthodox set of prayers.

Chapter eight discusses the languages of the liturgy in the context of the linguistic situation of the Egyptian countryside. Christian liturgy was predominantly Greek in the third to fifth centuries, with a marginal role played by Latin and Coptic. It is from the sixth century that Coptic starts to spread, first in prayers, then in hymns, at the expense of Greek. This chapter sketches the process of the advance of Coptic, and tries to explain the reasons behind the change. Finally, on the basis of the conclusions arrived at in the first eight chapters, chapter nine sketches a history of writing the liturgy in Egypt.

Defining a Corpus

As the conclusions of this book are based on the corpus of 323 liturgical papyri included in the list in the Appendix, my criteria for establishing the list need to be explained before I proceed with an analysis. The list contains Christian liturgical texts preserved on papyri in Egypt dating from the third to the ninth century.[43] Although most of them have already been published, I also include a few unedited pieces.[44] By 'papyri' I mean texts inscribed on

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[43] My list is therefore more streamlined than previous lists and corpora, which included texts coming from other regions, dating from the tenth century and later, or those not strictly liturgical. It does not contain the liturgical texts of the Manicheans in Kellis (T.Kell.Copt. 2, 4, 6, 7, P.Kell.Copt. 1, 2, P.Kell.Gr. 88, 91, 92, 97, 98) or the Medinet Madi Manichean Psalm book (TM no. 107976).

[44] P.Louvre inv. E 6984 is to be edited by Céline Grassien. P.Heid. inv. K 95 is forthcoming by Korshi Dosoo in *Coptica Palatina: Koptische Texte, bearbeitet auf der 4. Internationalen Sommerschule für Koptische Papyrologie*, ed. Anne Boud'hors et al. (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, forthcoming). P.Ilves inv. B 105 is being edited by Antti Marjanen. I am grateful to all these scholars for kindly sharing their work with me. P.Oslo inv. 391 will be edited by myself in P.Oslo V. P.Duke inv. 668 is an aide-memoire for the recitation of the liturgy of the hours, on which information can be found at http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/pap./records/668.html together with an image. P. Dennison 1 (Ann Arbor Kelsey Museum inv. 77.3.2) was mentioned in Ludwig Koenen,

portable items, i.e., papyri, parchment, ostraca, and wooden tablets, but not inscriptions and graffiti, which add little to a study of liturgical manuscripts.[45] The special focus of this study on late antique and early medieval Egypt follows from the fact that Egypt is the area which preserves the most papyri.[46]

The chronological terminus around the year 900 was chosen because it allows me to trace developments up to the appearance of the first complete liturgical manuscripts from the monastery of Saint Michael in Hamouli, which were written at the very end of the ninth century, as well as the first extensive fragments of liturgical manuscripts from the White Monastery, which come from the ninth to twelfth centuries. These manuscripts have been described by Diliana Atanassova in her article "The Primary Sources," and thus need not be included in my list or considered here other than as comparative material.

Ending my study with the ninth century is also justified by methodological considerations regarding the date of the papyri. The dates of liturgical papyri are mainly based on palaeography and therefore imprecise, always leaving space for ambiguities if a chronological limit is to be set. There are always items that could be dated to more than one century. Nevertheless, two marked tendencies appear in the tenth century that distinguish it from what preceded. The first is the use of paper, which is not attested prior to the end of the ninth

"Der erweiterte Trishagion-Hymnus des Ms. Insinger und des P. Berl. Inv. 16389," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 75 n. 5, where ll. 4–8 were quoted as a parallel to P.Mon.Epiph. 598.1–3. Pennsylvania University inv. E 16403 has a draft on-line edition by Robert A. Kraft at http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/ppenn/museum/michael-hymn.html.

[45] Furthermore, inscriptions with liturgical texts from third to ninth-century Egypt are not numerous. I have been able to identify only Gustave Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1907), no. 237, an inscription with the Great Doxology from the White Monastery.

[46] As for other regions, three liturgical papyri from Palestine are worth mentioning: a single sheet with a prayer for the departed, also known from medieval Byzantine manuscripts, from the seventh-century city of Nessana (P.Nessana III 96), a fragment of a *tropologion* codex containing hymns for Easter and the feast of Athanasius from the eighth or ninth century, and a fragment with *doxastika*, short doxological hymns, copied on the back of a letter from the seventh century. The latter two items come from Khirbet Mird and were edited by Joseph Van Haelst ("Cinq textes provenant de Khirbet Mird," *AS* 22 [1991]: 306–16). The first fragment was identified by Tinatin Chronz on the basis of Georgian parallels as the *tropologion* of the church of Anastasis in Jerusalem ("Das griechische Tropologion-Fragment aus dem Kastellion-Kloster und seine georgischen Parallelen," *OrChr* 92 [2008]: 113–18). Fragments of liturgical books have also been recovered in Nubia, on which see Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Defunctus adhuc loquitur. Gottesdienst und Gebetsliteratur der untergegangenen Kirche in Nubien," *ALW* 48 (2006): 383–433 and "La Nubie chrétienne et ses prières liturgiques grecques," in *La liturgie – témoin de l'église: Conférences Saint-Serge, 57e Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 2010*, ed. André Lossky and Manlio Sodi (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012), 285–92.

century, and became frequent, gradually replacing papyrus, only in the tenth.[47] Thus liturgical manuscripts on paper can be assumed to date later than the ninth century.[48] As for texts written on papyrus or parchment, palaeography needs to be used to specify a more precise date. This requires careful study, which may not lead to unequivocal results. However, precisely at the beginning of the tenth century there was a change in the dominant writing style used for liturgical texts, the sloping majuscule,[49] namely the appearance of the 'flat' μ, the presence of which can help us recognize manuscripts dating from the tenth century and beyond. It has two basic forms: it can look like an H, or it can have the horizontal bar on the base line, but the straight horizontal line is common to both.
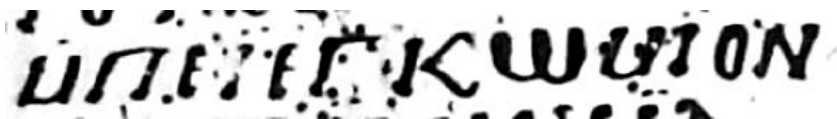
Fig. 2: 'flat' μ in ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲅⲕⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ *(New York MLM M 612 fol. 2r, col. i.22, 892/893)*

Fig. 3: 'flat' μ in ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ *(New York MLM M 603 fol. 24v, col. ii.5, 905/906)*

These forms appeared parallel at the very end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century. Their evolution can be followed closely on the dated colophons of the Hamouli manuscripts. The curve of the μ tends to flatten out in the last quarter of the ninth century, it is already rather little marked in New York MLM M 596 fol. 37r col. ii (871/72), but the μ with completely flat baseline can be observed first in New York MLM M 612 fol. 2r (892/893, see

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[47] Marie Legendre, "Perméabilité linguistique et anthroponymique entre copte et arabe: Exemple de comptes en caractères coptes du Fayoum fatimide, et Répertoire des anthroponymes arabes attestés dans les documents coptes," in *Coptica Argentoratensia: Textes et documents de la troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte (Strasbourg, 18–25 juillet 2010)*, ed. Anne Boud'hors et al. (De Boccard: Paris, 2014), 327–28.

[48] Thus MPER N.S. XVII 28, a hymn to Mary, has to be reassigned. Although it is written on paper, it was dated to the eighth century by the first editors. Its writing shows similarities with P.Ryl. III 466, the Arabic back of which dates to the ninth or tenth century (information courtesy of Naïm Vanthieghem). This, together with the material, would suggest a tenth century date for MPER N.S. XVII 28.

[49] See chapter three.

fig. 2) and the H form appears first in New York MLM M 603 fol. 24v col. ii.5 (902/903, see fig. 3).[50] Thus all writings containing the 'flat' μ are likely to come from the tenth century or beyond, and will therefore be excluded.[51]

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[50] Images of the Hamouli manuscripts are available in the relevant volumes of *Codices coptici photographice expressi: Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan*, ed. Henri Hyvernat (Rome, 1922), at https://archive.org/details/PhantoouLibrary.

[51] Thus P.Vindob. G 31487 (ed. Céline Grassien, "Ὅτε φθείρουσιν οἱ χριστιανοὶ τὰς βίβλους τῶν ἁγίοων ἀποστόλων, γράφοντες τροπάρια: l'exemple du P.Vindob. G 31487," *Tyche* 14 [1999]: 87–92, image in ed. pr.), a Greek hymn for Palm Sunday dated by the ed. pr. to the sixth or seventh century, should be reassigned to the tenth or eleventh century based on the 'flat' μ and the proximity to White Monastery hands, e.g., Paris BnF Copte 129[20] fol. 156–157 (image at BnF Gallica, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525015068/f90.item.zoom). P.Ryl. III 468, a parchment leaf with hymns to martyrs dated to the sixth century by the first editor (image at the LUNA database of the John Rylands Library, https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/18m719), also has the 'flat' μ, and is very close to MPER N.S. IV 18, which can be dated to the eleventh century on account of its belonging to a collection of liturgical manuscripts identified by Alain Delattre and Naïm Vanthieghem ("Réexamen et mise en contexte d'un rouleau liturgique grec de l'époque fatimide [P. Prag. I 3 + P. Stras. Inv. K 556]," in *Études coptes: Dix-septième journée d'études [Lisbonne, 18–20 juin 2015],* ed. Anne Boud'hors and Catherine Louis [Paris: Boccard, 2018], 177–97). P.Ryl. III 467, a parchment double leaf with hymns to Mary and the Trinity, was likewise dated to the sixth century by the first editor and to the seventh by Grassien, "Préliminaires," 2:275 (image at the LUNA database of the John Rylands Library, https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/lfep04), but it also has the 'flat' μ and can be compared to P.Ryl.Copt. 25 (image at the LUNA database of the John Rylands Library, https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/38832g), which belongs to the same lot identified by Delattre and Vanthieghem ("Réexamen et mise en contexte," 192). P.Vindob. G 1383 + 19895 + 26089 (ed. Céline Grassien, "Reconstitution d'un livret byzantin pour le Dimanche des Rameaux [P. Vindob. G 1383 + 19895 + 26089]," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, ed. Isabella Andorlini et al. [Firenze: Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli, 2001], 1:559–69, image in ed. pr.), a leaflet with hymns for Palm Sunday, displays a writing style very close to the previous hand, and is therefore also to be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century (it is not consistent in the use of the 'flat' μ, but a few instances can be recovered: e.g., p. 6 l. 10). P.Berol. 13888 (ed. Treu, "Neue Berliner," 68–70, dated to ca. eighth century by the ed. pr., image at the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/03917/), a papyrus leaf with the Great Doxology and two hymns for Pentecost, also displays the 'flat' μ and can be dated to the tenth century on the basis of the close parallel with P.Lond.Copt. I 490 from 936 (see P.Lond.Copt. pl. 7; the Arabic verso of P.Berol. 13888 was placed in the ninth or tenth century by Naïm Vanthieghem; private communication by e-mail, 14/04/2016). P.Oxy. LXXV 5024 (dated by the ed. pr. to the sixth or early seventh century, image in ed. pr. pl. viii), an intercession or a hymn inspired by intercessions on parchment, also has the 'flat' μ, but probably dates from the very end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth as it resembles the colophon of New York MLM M 577 49v (894/895), accessible at https://archive.org/stream/PhantoouLibrary/m577%20Combined%20%28Bookmarked%29%20#page/n99/mode/2up. P.Grenf. II 113 was dated to the eighth or ninth century by the ed. pr., but it probably comes from the tenth or eleventh

Admittedly, these criteria do not provide a clear-cut distinction. The fragility of the criterion makes it possible that some pieces from the second half of the ninth century and the first half of the tenth will be included and others not. While these items will not figure in the Appendix, they will be referred to in the discussions to the extent they are relevant.

Finally, all papyri in the Appendix include 'liturgical' texts. Although this criterion might seem simple at first, defining what 'liturgical' means and identifying 'liturgical' texts requires a complicated argument. The meaning of the word is hard to define for the period concerned, as the concept of 'liturgy' is modern and no such category can be distilled from the sources for this complex of phenomena. A few terms referring to various celebrations appear in the sources, such as ἀκολουθία, 'order of the service,' λειτουργία, 'service,' and σύναξις, 'gathering,' 'communal prayer,' and in particular 'liturgy of the Eucharist,'[52] but none of them appears as a general umbrella term for 'liturgy'. Collections of liturgical texts, such as P.Monts.Roca, the Aksumite collection,[53] the euchologia from Deir el-Bala'izah, and the prayer book of Sarapion, offer a glimpse of what kinds of texts were considered to belong together. These collections include various selections of rites, in some cases only the Eucharist, ordination, and baptism, and in others exorcisms and prayers for the sick as well. On the other hand, there are prayers for healing and exorcisms that include invocations of Isis alongside Christ, or adjurations and unintelligible sequences (so-called *voces magicae*) – and yet refer to themselves as 'prayers'.[54] Such texts were considered unacceptable by ecclesiastical authorities,[55] and they do not appear in the above-mentioned liturgical collections. Whereas there seems to have been an understanding of how liturgical texts and respectable prayers could and could not be formulated,

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instead, judging by the occasional presence of the 'flat' μ and the parallel of Paris BnF Copte 132[1] fol. 68v (1045), image at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52506755c/f141.image.r=copte%20132%20(1).

[52] ἀκολουθία: P.Berol. 11346.x+4 (ed. Alberto Camplani, "A Pastoral Epistle of the Seventh Century Concerning the Eucharist [Pap. Berlin P. 11346]," in *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, ed. Verena M. Lepper [Berlin: Akademie, 2012], 377–86, ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲗⲟⲅⲑⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲥⲓⲛⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲉ), λειτουργία: O.Frangé 352 (ⲧⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲃⲟⲟⲥ, 'the service of the clothes,' which probably means a funeral), σύναξις: cf. *PGL* 1302.

[53] On this important witness of the late antique form of the Alexandrian liturgy, preserved in a fourteenth century Ethiopic manuscript but preserving texts from the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, see Alessandro Bausi, "La collezione aksumita canonico-liturgica," *Adamantius* 12 (2006): 43–70, and chapter two.

[54] E.g., Marvin Meyer, and Richard Smith, eds., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), no. 80, 127, 128.

[55] The authoritative ecclesiastical discourse on which healing rites are acceptable has been treated by Benedikt Kranemann, "Krankenöl," *RAC* 21: 915–65 and de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian*, 17–42.

early Christian liturgical collections and sources do not provide detailed and explicit criteria for considering certain texts appropriate for liturgy and others not. The majority of the authoritative discourses simply prohibit turning to magicians, incantations, and amulets for help, and instead recommend the service of monks and clergymen and prayers addressed to God and Jesus, without detailing what was precisely was acceptable. The reality was however more complex, as monks and clergymen could perform services that their ecclesiastical superiors considered unacceptable, and the acceptance of certain texts and practices also varied with time and place.[56]

In summary, the sources do not offer sufficient information for us to recognize what Christians in the late antique and early medieval period understood as 'liturgy,' which texts belong to it, and which did not. The lack of an emic term for 'liturgy' supports the observation that the category of 'liturgical,' as an overarching and distinct set of customs and texts, is anachronistic for late antiquity. Although the celebrations included in the modern concept of liturgy already existed, they were not grouped together under the term λειτουργία or any such synonym.[57] Early Christians did not draw a clear distinction between private prayer and communal worship,[58] or between 'magical' and 'liturgical' prayer. For a monk, meditating on the Psalms during work, reciting them alone, or together as a group, was all part of the same worship of God. Likewise, the person anointed with oil blessed by a certain Apa Anoup, with a 'magical' incantation to secure healing and protection from demons,[59] would probably not have regarded it as substantially different

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[56] The case in point is Shenoute's often-cited description of 'a great monk' offering fox claws as remedies (cf. David Frankfurter, "Syncretism and the Holy Man in Late Antique Egypt," *JECS* 11 (2003): 375). Moreover, monks of the Theban necropolis who read warnings in the Canons of Basil (34) concerning the dangers of visiting magicians and astrologers also owned 'magical' handbooks themselves. On Basil's Canon 34, see Wilhelm Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1900), 251–53, and on the manuscript of the Canons found in a hermitage in the Theban necropolis, Alberto Camplani and Federico Contardi, "The Canons Attributed to Basil of Caesarea: A New Coptic Codex," in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion, from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17–22, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15–19, 2008*, ed. Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani, and Federico Contardi (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 3:979–92. On the magical handbooks in Western Thebes, see Herbert E. Winlock and Walter E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York, 1926), 1:207. The two books in question are Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, no. 128 and 134.

[57] Armand Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobisme pachômien au quatrième siècle* (Rome: Libreria Herder, 1968), 161.

[58] Veilleux, *La liturgie*, 288.

[59] Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, no. 66.

from other anointings, such as the one before baptism, which also granted
strength to fight demons.

Therefore, in order to study liturgical texts from late antique Egypt, we
must define 'liturgical' in an etic way, on the basis of the modern understand-
ing of liturgy. Clearly, if we apply external categories to the sources, they
will not always comply. But such is the case with any heuristic device. Am-
biguous cases are inevitable and will be dealt with later on in this chapter.
However, this point does not need to prevent us from establishing categories
in order to provide a better overview of the sources. It means only that the
ambiguity of certain cases has to be kept in mind.

There have been previous attempts at establishing a category of 'liturgical'
Christian texts preserved on papyrus. Such a category implicitly underlies
several collections, catalogues, and studies of liturgical papyri, such as the
above-mentioned corpora, the study of Theodor Schermann, and the cata-
logue of Joseph van Haelst. However, these studies do not provide reasons
for their selection of material. Only van Haelst offered a brief explanation as
to why he grouped everything together that could be classified vaguely as
prayer: he could not elaborate more refined distinctions for 'reasons of objec-
tivity,' and he did not believe that 'magical' amulets could be distinguished
from 'not magical'.[60] The only scholar who attempted to make an explicit
definition and systematic classification of 'liturgical' papyri was Francesco
Pedretti.[61] He advocated the creation of a corpus of liturgical papyri, which
he suggested should include those texts "which have a relationship to Chris-
tian liturgy, that is, with the public prayer, the official liturgy of the Church,
which is performed according to established norms, and through which the
Church intends to give God the proper worship."[62] In order to specify what
this relationship to Christian liturgy meant, he divided the papyri into three
categories:

1) Objects of liturgical use. This includes only copies of texts employed in
the "ceremonies or liturgical acts, performed according to precise norms."[63]

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[60] Joseph Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris: Sor-
bonne, 1976), 4.

[61] Francesco Pedretti, "Introduzione per uno studio dei papyri cristiani liturgici," *Aeg* 35
(1955): 292–98.

[62] Pedretti, "Introduzione," 292–93: "quelli che hanno un rapporto con la liturgia cris-
tiana, cioè con la preghiera pubblica, la preghiera ufficiale della Chiesa, quella che è fatta
secondo precise norme da Essa stabilite, e attraverso la quale Essa intende dare a Dio il
culto dovuto."

[63] Pedretti, "Introduzione," 295: "in cerimonie e in atti liturgici, fatto secondo norme
precise."

Thus a copy of the anaphora on a tablet prepared for private needs, or a hymn written as a writing exercise, was not an object of liturgical use.[64]

2) Texts of liturgical character, irrespective of the nature of the copy. This broader category includes texts and objects that belong "to the liturgical practice"[65] regardless of whether the actual object was used in liturgy.

3) Texts with liturgical value, that is, if a text witnesses to the wording or practice of the liturgy, even if it lacks a liturgical character.

By 'liturgical text' Pedretti meant everything that has a liturgical character or value, including amulets with liturgical phrases, although he admitted that in many cases it is difficult to ascertain a liturgical use. As essential characteristics of a liturgical prayer he named its conformity to the "fundamental acts and sentiments of the Christian piety: adoration, praise, thanksgiving, propitiation, humble repentance,"[66] as well as the presence of certain fixed expressions, such as the final doxology. As the liturgy prays for the community and not for the individual, it is also marked by the absence of excessive individualism, and a solemn tone. As *ultima ratio* he suggested that whoever has good knowledge of these sources will immediately recognise the liturgical character of a text.

Pedretti's three categories offer concrete starting points, especially for examining different phenomena and distinguishing between the liturgical use, character, and value of a text. The idea of a text's 'liturgical character' will be of most help in the present study. The 'liturgical use' of a manuscript is very difficult to differentiate from private use; and since the uses of liturgical manuscripts are a topic of this study (chapter six), it would be pointless to base a categorisation on only one of several possible uses. Texts of 'liturgical value,' on the other hand, would carry this research too far. It could be argued that all texts concluding with the word *amen* instead of ἤδη ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ have a liturgical value, since they attest to the Christian custom of closing a prayer with *amen*. However, the liturgical value of this custom is so negligible that it would be useless to include every prayer or amulet finishing with *amen*. It is difficult to define the exact extent of liturgical value that would justify the inclusion of a text in the collection. Moreover, it is not the aim of this study to examine how much influence liturgical language had on amulets and other texts, or to collect all witnesses to the text of the liturgy, however important and interesting these questions are.

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[64] Ugo Zanetti defined the liturgical manuscripts similarly as "service books which would be of no use if there were no church services" ("Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts," 67).

[65] Pedretti, "Introduzione," 295: "all'uso liturgico."

[66] Pedretti, "Introduzione," 297: "l'espressione degli atti e dei sentimenti fondamentali della pietà cristiana: adorazione, lode, ringraziamento, propiziazione, umile pentimento."

Thus what I intend to include in my selection corresponds roughly to Pedretti's "texts of liturgical character." However, it remains difficult to define what liturgical character means in practice. Worship of God was probably less 'official' and normative than Pedretti supposes. As he correctly observes, there was freedom in the early Church to perform different texts during the celebrations, and services could vary from place to place. Amulets and prayers for justice can very well conform to the basic tone of Christian piety or solemnity, as Pedretti describes it (e.g., Pap.Graec.Mag. P9 or *Ancient Christian Magic* no. 89). The personalization of a text was also more complicated than Pedretti thought. While verbs of praying and praising in the first person plural are indeed important characteristics of liturgical prayers and hymns, those that pray for a single individual cannot be excluded. For example, a prayer for the vesting of a monk (the second prayer of P.Bal. I 30, fol.8b r.5–v.14) uses ⲛⲓⲙ, the Coptic for N.N., as a mere placeholder, where the monk's actual name would have been added during the prayer's recitation. We find the same procedure in the case of 'magical' manuals.

Instead of searching for general characteristics, the modern concept of liturgy may be taken as our basis for definition, the services that it includes can be distinguished, and the texts which belong to these services can be called liturgical. At this point it is useful to recall the observation that many of the services that the modern concept of liturgy covers, such as Eucharist, the liturgy of the hours, ordination, and baptism, existed from a very early period of Christianity, and were certainly present in the fourth to ninth centuries. Only there was no overarching category that distinguished them as 'liturgical' from other types of rites. This basis for definition is still not unequivocal, as the concept of liturgy varies according to various Christian traditions. For example, Protestant churches today tend to have only a few liturgical services such as Eucharist, communal liturgy of the word, baptism, confirmation, matrimony, and funeral, while the Catholic Church also includes confession, anointment of the sick, and exorcism. The modern Coptic Church includes even more rites in its prayer book, such as the service of Abū Tarbū, performed to heal someone bitten by a mad dog, which includes the recitation of unintelligible words similar to *voces magicae*, along with biblical readings and psalmody, and which was approved by Patriarch Gabriel V (1409–1427) in his Ritual Order.[67]

Despite such diversity, scholarship on the history of liturgy provides us with a basic outline for what the modern concept of liturgy includes. General

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[67] On the rite see Ramez Mikhail, "A Magical Cure for Rabies: The Coptic Liturgical Service in Honor of Abū Tarbū," in *Ritualia Orientalia Mixta: Reflexionen über Rituale in der Religionsgeschichte des Orients und angrenzender Gebiete*, ed. Predrag Bukovec and Vedrana Tadić (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2017), 267–89.

studies of the topic[68] tend to focus on the Eucharist, baptism (and other rites of Christian initiation), the liturgy of the hours, and special celebrations particular to feast days. Other services, such as ordination,[69] matrimony,[70] funeral,[71] consecration of the church[72] and sacred objects, and various healing rites,[73] are much less studied. The same holds true for paraliturgical prayers for individuals in various life situations (e.g., infancy, adolescence).[74]

In agreement with this outline, I include in my study texts related to these celebrations of the church: Eucharist, baptism, liturgy of the hours, ordination, and the celebration of special festivals such as Easter and Christmas. Texts belonging to other celebrations, such as matrimony, funeral, or the consecration of items and places, could in theory be taken into account, but must remain largely untreated for now since there are no texts in the corpus that are clearly related to them.[75] In fact, the bulk of the material belongs to

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[68] E.g., Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, trans. F. L. Cross (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1958), or Geoffrey Wainwright and Katherine B. Westerfield Tucker, *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[69] E.g., Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Pseudoapostolische Ordinationsgebete in apostolischen Kirchen. Beobachtungen zur gottesdienstlichen Rezeption der Traditio Apostolica und ihrer Deszendenten," in *Liturgies in East and West: Ecumenical Relevance of Early Liturgical Development. Acts of the International Symposium Vindobonnense I, Vienna, November 17–20, 2007*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Feulner (Vienna: LIT, 2013), 61–98.

[70] E.g., Gabriel Radle, "Uncovering the Alexandrian Greek Rite of Marriage: Sinai NF/MG 67 (9th/10th c.)," *Ecclesia Orans* 28 (2011): 49–73.

[71] E.g., Richard Rutheford, *The Death of a Christan: The Order of Christian Funerals* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990).

[72] E.g., René-Georges Coquin, "La consécration des églises dans le rite copte," *Orient Syrien* 9 (1964): 149–87.

[73] E.g., Kranemann, "Krankenöl."

[74] Eirini Afentoulidou et al., "Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life," *JöB* 67 (2017): 173–211.

[75] P.Vindob. G 26064 + 26091 + 35761 may belong to a marriage ritual, since the reading is the wedding at Cana (John 2:1–10), while the intercessions on the other side of the rotulus contain a long prayer with several references to 'wedding' (fr. 1 l. 6, fr. 2 l. 1, 3) and a possible reference to creation of men as male and female (fr. 2 l. 8: ὁ ἐξ ἀρηνον θ . λην [l. ὁ ἐξ ἀρήνων θῆλυν?]). However, its editor, Céline Grassien, considered the rotulus to belong to the celebration of Epiphany or the feast commemorating the wedding at Cana ("Un nouveau rotulus liturgicus: Le P.Vindob. G 26064 + 26091 + 35761," in *Proceedings of the 24th Internatonal Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1–7 August, 2004*, ed. Jaakko Frösén, Tiina Purola, and Erja Salmenkivi [Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007], 406). P.Ryl. III 465v may be a prayer for a funeral, but also a simple intercession for the departed. For P.Berl.Sarisch. 7, Leslie MacCoull ("The Coptic Verso of P.Berl.Sarisch. 7," *BASP* 38 [2001]: 39–50) has suggested that it might come from a codex for the consecration of the church, but the bilingual codices of the kind she proposes are otherwise unknown, and the fragment is too small to provide a solid foundation for her hypothesis.

the Eucharist and the hours,[76] while ordination[77] and baptism[78] are much less represented.

On the other hand, I do not intend to include prayers related to various rites of healing, exorcism, and protection.[79] In my opinion, the various methods of healing and protection should be treated together, since the distinction between 'liturgical' and 'magical' practices becomes nearly impossible. Traditional healing practices such as the use of amulets continued in the Christian era, while the church itself took on an important role in healing and tried to appropriate and regulate it, making consecration of oil for the sick part of the eucharistic ritual.[80] This fact further complicates the question, since it means that healing prayers were integrated into the central rite of Christianity. However, if a healing or exorcistic prayer is preserved independently, it is difficult to reconstruct its ritual context, or determine which one of these prayers could belong to a Eucharist and which could not. Healing, exorcistic, and apotropaic prayers are numerous and manifold. They will thus be excluded from this study in order to avoid an arbitrary distinction within the group and to preserve its integrity.

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[76] It is difficult to position hymns in liturgical services. They could belong to the Eucharist, the liturgy of the hours, or vigils or processions connected to feast days, but in most cases nothing allows us to determine their function.

[77] Only one text relates potentially to the ordination of a bishop, P.Ryl.Copt. 23. In addition, there are two prayers for the consecration of a monk (BM EA 5892+14241 and P.Bal. I 30 fol. f 8b r.5 – fol. f 8b v.14), and another, O.Bachit 929, for which such an interpretation is possible. Moreover, a possible setting for P.Lond.Copt. I 514, a long litany hailing Victor, the bishop of Arsinoe, might be the enthronement of the bishop, or a feast at the return of the bishop to his see after his consecration in Alexandria. Another setting for the litany could be his visit to a monastery, which is a special feast day, witnessed in New York MLM M 575 p. 140; see Maria Cramer and Martin Krause, *Das koptische Antiphonar* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2008), 334–35.

[78] Only P.Ryl. III 471 is certainly related. O.Bachit 929, a fragmentary prayer asking for strength in the fight against the devil, could also belong here, as well as O.Vindob. G 30, a hymn with references to baptism, but both are too mutilated to be certain. P.Bala'izah fol. III v preserves a short creed, which is used in the present baptismal rite, but nothing indicates that it is part of a baptismal ritual there as well. P.Bodm. XII may also be a baptismal hymn, as proposed by the ed. pr., but the text is incomplete and the attribution is not certain. Finally, for P.Amh. I 2 this interpretation has been proposed by Adolf von Harnack ("Zu den Amherst-Papyri," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1900: 986–87), but the text may not have been restricted to this occasion.

[79] I nevertheless make one exception: the prayers for laying on of hands and exorcism of oil in P.Monts.Roca fol. 155b–156b, since they belong to a euchologion. Besides these prayers, it includes an anaphora and a prayer for thanksgiving after communion, which are clearly liturgical prayers.

[80] On these attempts, see Kranemann, "Krankenöl," 955–59 and 963.

I will therefore consider only copies of those texts which were recited dur-
ing the above-mentioned services (hereafter called 'the liturgical services').
To this point, two remarks must be added. First, I will consider only texts that
as a rule were composed for the needs of the liturgical services. This means I
will not study here several texts that were recited during the service, i.e., the
Creed, readings from the lives of saints, and, most importantly, the Bible. The
survey of the substantial numbers of biblical manuscripts[81] would go beyond
the scope of the present study, even though many of them certainly played a
role in the liturgical services. Every Christian rite makes extensive use of the
Bible, and its role is particularly significant in the Coptic Church.[82] Services
included readings selections from the Bible, but also the singing of Psalms,
Canticles, hymns composed of verses from the Psalms, psalmic refrains, etc.
Some of the Psalm verses played the same role in the service as non-
scriptural compositions, and the sources do not always distinguish between
them,[83] which renders their exclusion even more disputable. Yet, a methodo-
logical impediment enjoins their exclusion. Extracts of the Bible on papyrus
almost never have a title or other instructions that indicate whether they were
intended as amulets, school exercises, aids for memorization, or use in the
liturgy. Certainly in cases where texts have an important role in later litur-
gy,[84] or when they appear in such a combination that non-liturgical use is
unlikely,[85] or when they offer a textual variant specific to the liturgy,[86] it is

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[81] Of Sahidic lectionaries alone there are more than 120 according to Atanassova, "The
Primary Sources," 55 n. 30, though several of them are from the White Monastery and
therefore fall out of the scope of this book.

[82] Ugo Zanetti, "La liturgie dans les monastères de Shenoute," *Bulletin de la Société
d'Archelogie Copte* 53 (2014): 190–201.

[83] On the lack of distinction between psalmody and hymnody in early Christianity, see
Bernard, "La dialectique." The distinction did not become clear-cut in the later period
either. In the White Monastery, compositions made of verses from the Odes and Psalms
were recited in services together with Greek hymns, and those in Greek could be called
hymnos (Zanetti, "La liturgie dans les monastères," 199). Similarly, there is little reason to
distinguish between the recto of O.Crum 518, containing a combination of biblical verses,
Luke 1:24, Pss 131:9–10 and 27:9, and its verso, which carries a biblically worded hymn.
On the other hand, hymns composed of Psalms could have some characteristics that distin-
guished them from other hymns. For example, in Western Thebes they were sung in Coptic
as well, while non-biblical hymns were exclusively in Greek (see chapter eight below for
details, as well as O.CrumST 26, a collection of incipits, where the Psalm verses are in
Coptic and the hymn incipits are in Greek).

[84] Such as the Canticles of the Coptic Church (Exod 15:1–21, Ps 135, Dan 3:52–88, and
Pss 148–150), which were sung in the liturgy of the hours. Hans Quecke collected and
analysed several manuscripts of these on papyrus and ostraca (*Untersuchungen zum
koptischen Stundengebet* [Louvain-la-Neuve: Institute Orientaliste, 1970], 240–73).

[85] Such as lectionaries (e.g., P.Mon.Epiph. 583, BKU III 322) and hymns composed of
Psalm verses (on the variety of compositions produced from Psalm verses in the Coptic
tradition, see Zanetti, "La liturgie dans les monastères," 192–201 and Hans Quecke,

reasonable to assume that they were produced for liturgical use, and thus witness to the liturgy. But for the majority of biblical manuscripts it is diffi-cult to determine whether or not they had a liturgical use.[87] For these reasons I exclude from my collection biblical manuscripts (including lectionaries), unless they contain other liturgical texts,[88] or are substantially modified.[89]

I do not treat the Creed either, which was recited in the Eucharist[90] and the liturgy of the hours,[91] for similar reasons. Several papyri are preserved with the Nicene or the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creeds, which were composed during synods and were not originally meant to be used in the liturgy. I will only refer to these manuscripts occasionally. Hagiographical works will not be considered either. Although they too were read in liturgical contexts, they were not necessarily written for a service and were studied in private devo-tion outside the liturgy as well. The exclusion of all these text types means that substantial parts of the liturgy and in particular the development of an important liturgical book, the lectionary, will be beyond the scope of my study.

"Psalmverse als 'Hymnen' in der koptischen Liturgie?" in *Christianisme d'Égypte*: *Hom-mages à René-Georges Coquin*, ed. Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl [Louvain: Peeters, 1994], 101–14). Lectionaries may contain text beyond the Bible, namely titles and dates, and their liturgical character is not in question if enough text is preserved. Nevertheless, they are excluded from this study because they are usually catalogued and studied with biblical manuscripts, and they are too numerous.

[86] Witnesses to the liturgical text of the Canticle of Moses (Exod 15:1–21) and the Can-ticle of the Three Children (Dan 3:52–88) are thus excluded; on them see Quecke, *Unter-suchungen*, 240–52, 256–69.

[87] This decision will be much easier to make once the certain liturgical texts have been surveyed and a general picture of what liturgical manuscripts looked like has been formed; these results will also be helpful when trying to determine the use of specific biblical manuscripts. E.g., P.Ryl. III 462, containing Pss 148–150, the lauds from the morning prayer, is considered an amulet by Theodore de Bruyn and Jitse H. F. Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets and Formularies Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parch-ments, Ostraka, and Tablets," *BASP* 48 (2011): 202 no. 126. However, the format of the sheet, h28×w7, and other material features come close to liturgical manuscripts, especially the narrow single sheets (cf. chapter five), and this, together with the content, suggests a liturgical rather than amuletic use.

[88] E.g., MMA 1152 29+77+78 or O.CrumST 25.

[89] E.g., O.Crum 515, or P.Vindob. G 19887 with the modified version of Isa 6:3, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts; *heaven and* earth are full of *Your* glory," which appears as the Sanctus (or biblical Trisagion) in the eucharistic liturgies.

[90] Its introduction to the Eucharist is attributed to Peter the Fuller, Miaphysite bishop of Antioch at the end of the fifth century (J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. [London: Longman, 1979], 348). The first liturgical attestation from Egypt is Provo Max-well Inst. inv. Copt. 90 (6th c.), which cites the Nicene Creed after a prayer of offering.

[91] The first certain attestation from Egypt is from the end of the ninth century, in New York MLM M 574 (Quecke, *Untersuchungen,* 436–39 and discussion in 319–31).

The second remark is that I include only texts that are established and recurring parts of the liturgy. I thus exclude sermons, which are not necessarily recurring and could be composed for a single occasion. This was not always the case, as the White Monastery liturgical indices show that homilies written by Shenoute and church fathers were read during Sunday vigils in annual cycles. For their reading the monastery possessed homiliaries, and the homilies chosen for a certain date were indicated in the indices.[92] However, the sermons of the church fathers are literary texts and have a completely different kind of textual history than liturgical ones. They were also read for private edification, and in this respect they are less strictly related to the liturgical services. In the case of a copy of a homily, e.g., of Melito of Sardis's *On Easter*,[93] it is not always clear whether it was read during a liturgical service, or whether it served only a reader's private interests.[94]

To summarize, my definition of 'liturgical papyri' is papyri with texts composed for and performed regularly during the liturgical services of the church (as listed above), regardless of the purpose the copy served. Yet, this definition is of only moderate help when trying to identify liturgical texts among Christian texts preserved on papyri and other mediums. The objects themselves often contain only one or two texts, and rarely preserve titles, rubrics, or other instructions that indicate what service they belonged to. In some cases the content (such as references to the Eucharist, readings, or ordination) allows us to determine the text's ritual function; and in other cases, the identification of texts with others known from later liturgy, or extensive

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[92] Atanassova, "The Primary Sources," 74.

[93] It is preserved in seven manuscripts from late antique Egypt: in Greek in P.Bodm. XIII (TM 61420), P.Mich. 5552+5553+P.Chester Beatty VIII 12 (TM 61462), P.Oxy. XIII 1600 (TM 61463), and in Coptic in the Crosby-Schøyen codex (TM 107771), London BL Or. 9035(4) (TM 107910), in private collection Bruce number unknown (TM 108122), and in Paris BnF Copte 131² fol. 134 from the White Monastery (ed. Lucchesi, who dated it to the 6th or 7th c.).

[94] On this basis, the Crosby-Schøyen codex (inv. no. 193) is not included in my list, although it has been argued that it is the first liturgical book extant in its entirety. It contains the following texts in Sahidic: Melito, *On Easter*; 2 Macc 5:27–7:41, 1 Peter, Jonah, and an otherwise unknown sermon or rather admonition for prayer. It has been suggested, most recently by Albert Pietersma and Susan T. Comstock ("Two more pages of Crosby–Schøyen Codes MS 193: A Pachomian Easter Lectionary?" *BASP* 48 [2011]: 27–46), that the book was a Paschal lectionary for an Easter service, perhaps the Easter service of the Pachomians. On the other hand, it has recently been proposed by Alberto Camplani ("Per un profilo storico-religioso degli ambienti di produzione e fruizione dei Papiri Bodmer: contaminazione dei linguaggi e dialettica delle idee nel contesto del dibattito su dualismo e origenismo," *Adamantius* 21 [2015]: 129–31) that the codex served the post-baptismal instruction of a group of devout lay Christians. Whatever the original use of the codex, it does not fit my definition of liturgical since there is nothing else in it than the biblical texts and sermons.

parallels, indicate with more or less certainty where in the liturgy the prayer occurred. However, in most cases, especially the hymns,[95] it is impossible to know the precise position of a particular text within the liturgy. Thus I have looked for markers that can help identify liturgical texts even if I cannot determine whether they belong to the Eucharist, the liturgy of the hours, or another service.

The observation that liturgical texts have a fixed stock of expressions proved useful for finding such criteria, with the caveat that such expressions were also imitated by prayers that had nothing to do with the church's liturgical celebrations.[96] Liturgical texts are shaped by certain conventions, not only of wording, but also of structure and content, which allow us to recognize them. However, the conventions did not shape liturgical texts in general, but rather specific genres. It is on the basis of these genres' characteristics that liturgical texts must be identified.

The genre of hymns has been treated in detail by Céline Grassien, who elaborated a system for identifying hymns on papyri based on a number of conventions.[97] She defined the hymn as "a composition in verse or in prose that is intended to be sung, regardless of the technique of singing (without refrain, responsorial, in alternating or antiphonal choirs)."[98] She also excluded entirely biblical pieces. When identifying the hymns for her corpus, however, she had to focus on characteristics of the texts themselves, since very little in the manuscripts indicated that the texts were intended to be sung. The only secure indicator is the presence of musical notes of various kinds.[99] For the other pieces, Grassien elaborated a complex method of identification. First, she listed marks by which a text can be identified as Christian: *nomina*

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[95] Grassien, "Préliminaires," 1:223–24.

[96] The best example is Pap.Graec.Mag. P9, a sixth-century amulet for Silvanus, the author of which, in his attempt to conform with the ritual language used in church and to detach his text from traditional amulets, introduces several liturgically inspired phrases, such as the invocation of God δέσποτα θεὲ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (cf. Anastasia Maravela, Ágnes T. Mihálykó, and Glenn Ø.Wehus, "A Coptic Liturgical Prayer for the Consecration of the Chalice," *APF* 63 [2017]: 211–13), and the expressions εὐχαριστῶ or κλίνω τὴν κεφαλήν μου κατενώπιόν σου. For contemporary parallels to the latter see the prayer of inclination before communion in P.Bad. IV 58 fol. 1r 2–8 (7th c.): σοὶ ἔκλινα(ν) οἱ δοῦλοί σου καὶ αἱ δοῦλαι τὰς κεφαλὰς, "your servants and handmaids have bent their heads to you"; or the prayer of final inclination in P.Berol. 13918.9–13 (early 6th c.): σοὶ ἔκλινεν, σὲ ἐπέταξεν ὁ λαός σου καὶ ἡ κληρονομία σου τὸν αὐχένα τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος, "your people and your heritage has bent and stretched to you the neck of the heart and the body."

[97] Grassien, "Préliminaires," 1:145–49.

[98] Grassien, "Préliminaires," 1:17: "une composition, en vers ou en prose, qui est destinée à être chantée, quelle que soit la technique vocale (chant sans refrain, chant responsorial, chant à chœurs alternés ou antiphonés)."

[99] On musical notations in liturgical papyri, see chapter five.

sacra and Christian symbols, references to saints and martyrs, and Christian technical terms. Other criteria help to identify the liturgical character: the presence of several verbs in first person plural, especially in subjunctive, or the absence of personalization. Finally, she listed indicators of the hymnic character. Some could be identified in the structure or syntax: an alphabetic acrostic form combined with a recurring verse structure; a structure typical of short hymns where references to a feast are combined with verbs of praise in first person plural subjunctive or optative; doxological endings with diacritical signs marking the end of a unit; the absence of articles and connective particles, which indicates metrical constraint; or the presence of a refrain or parallelism evocative of Psalms. Lexical features, such as words in the semantic field of 'hymn,' can also be indicative. Certain *topoi*, such as the Nativity or the angels' praise of God, can also be suggestive of a hymn when they appear in condensed language. Finally, in certain cases the metric forms can be established as well, although the texts' fragmentary state often impedes this.[100]

Two more potential indicators of hymns may be added to Grassien's system. First is the fact that hymns, as opposed to liturgical prayers, can address in the second person not only God, but also Mary, the saints, and the angels, which is a way to distinguish the two genres. The second concerns hymns in Coptic, which were not treated by Grassien, and have somewhat different characteristics than their Greek counterparts. They often have more narrative elements than Greek hymns, such as paraphrases of biblical and hagiographic stories, and rarely contain expressions of praise. Material features can also help identify Coptic hymns, as copies from the eighth and ninth centuries and later frequently use a system of divisions, separating verses by middots, colons, or other signs, strophes by oblique strokes, and hymns by horizontal lines.[101] This system of sense unit markers indicates the meter and helps identify hymns.

This is a complex yet effective system of criteria, with which Grassien established a corpus of Greek hymns, of which only twenty three, mostly fragmentary texts, were considered uncertain.[102] In March 2016 Grassien and I reviewed her corpus together based on these criteria, and selected 215 edited items, including some in Coptic, but excluding those which were either too late or not from Egypt.; two (P.Monts.Roca and MPER N.S. XVII 34) contain prayers as well. Based on this tally, hymns constitute the largest group in the present corpus of liturgical papyri edited to date (67%).

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[100] Grassien, "Préliminaires," 1:145–49.

[101] On these material features see chapter five.

[102] Her corpus is more inclusive than my selection, as it includes texts from beyond the ninth century, from Nubia and Palestine, and inscriptions.

An objection that could be raise against this selection is that we do not know with certainty whether these texts were in fact performed during services (in keeping with my general definition of 'liturgical' above). This point is especially valid in the case of a couple texts with alphabetic acrostic forms, which we know were employed in Christian poetry outside the liturgy.[103] The acrostic device is indeed directed more towards reading, since the first letter of each verse, when copied in stichometry, i.e., with each verse in a new line, produces the entire alphabet visually, and would be much less prominent in mere pronunciation. Thus an acrostic device does not unequivocally indicate a liturgical hymn, and texts where other criteria are not present need to be examined in detail. For example, the first acrostic in P.Mon.Epiph. 592+49 is paraenetic, admonishing a monk by the name of Ammonius to endure in virtue. It is unlikely that this text was ever performed in a service. However, since the ensuing hymn is for Easter, there is no reason to exclude the leaflet itself from our corpus. The other questionable acrostics are in miscellaneous codices of the Bodmer papyri. P.Monts.Roca fol. 149a–153a contains an acrostic *Psalmus responsorius* in Latin, and 157a–b a garbled acrostic on the sacrifice of Isaac in Greek. The latter raises doubts because of its nearly unintelligible language; the first because of the Latin, which was never a liturgical language in the Egyptian church. [104] Nevertheless, P.Monts.Roca contains prayer texts as well, which were undoubtedly performed, thus the liturgical usage of the codex is not debated.

The so-called Codex of Visions (P.Bodm. XXIX–XXXVII)[105] is a more difficult case. Its concluding pages contains seven or eight short poems, three of which are acrostic (P.Bodm. XXX: Address to Abraham; P.Bodm. XXXII: Praise of the Lord Jesus; P.Bodm. XXXIV: the Lord to Those Who Suffer), and the final, fragmentary one has a hymnic character. All of them employ a Homeric vocabulary and are in classical meters instead of the accentual rhythm usual for hymns of the period. Two of the other three poems in the collection, entitled 'What Would Cain Have Said?' (P.Bodm. XXXIII) and 'What Would Abel Have Said?' (P.Bodm. XXXV), belong to the genre of *ethopoiae*, i.e., poetic compositions on the imagined words of a character in a mythical or biblical story.[106] These were used in education, but trained poets also made similar compositions. They were unlikely to ever have been per-

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[103] Gianfranco Agosti, "I poemetti del *Codice Bodmer* e il loro ruolo nella storia della poesia tardoantica," in *Le Codex des Visions*, ed. André Hurst and Jean Rudhart (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002), 92–93.

[104] As to whether this could be performed or not, see chapter eight, p. 258.

[105] See the collection of essays in Hurst and Rudhart, *Le Codex des Visions*.

[106] On the genre, see Laura Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid, 200–600 AD* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 316–40, and Jean-Luc Fournet, "Une éthopée de Caïn dans le Codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer," *ZPE* 92 (1992): 253–66.