RITES AND RITUALS OF THE CHRISTIAN EAST

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SCIENTIA LUX ETLUX

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THE PRIMARY SOURCES OF SOUTHERN EGYPTIAN LITURGY: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

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> 'Therefore everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them into practice is like a wise man who built his house on the rock. [25]The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house; yet it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock'.
>
> Matthew 7:24-25

1. Introduction[1]

The rock on which scholars of both Oriental Liturgy and Coptic Studies should build their scientific house is the lot of primary sources: manuscripts composed on papyrus, parchment, paper, or ostraca. The texts preserved on them 'along with archaeological remains are all of the distant liturgical past that remain to us'.[2] This is true for the Coptic liturgy and its sources as well. Because of the specific nature of Coptic liturgical manuscripts, their study can be undertaken only with the combined efforts of coptologists and liturgiologists.[3] A paramount example of such an interdisciplinary approach is found in the plenary lectures delivered regularly by Heinzgerd Brakmann during the Congresses of Coptic Studies, beginning with the second Congress in 1984 in Louvain-la-Neuve and proceeding until 2012 in Rome. In the last two decades, the international community of coptologists has been privileged to hear about development in the field of 'Coptic Liturgy' by this renowned German liturgiologist, who has evaluated the philological

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[1] I am very grateful and indebted to my colleague Mary K. Farag for proofreading the English of this article.

[2] Robert Taft, 'Foreword', in *Anton Baumstark, On the Historical Development of the Liturgy. Foreword by R.F. Taft. Introduction, Translation, and Annotation by F. West* (Collegeville MN, 2011), pp. XV-XXIV, on p. XVIII.

[3] For the use of the terms 'liturgiologist' or 'liturgiology' cf. Taft, 'Foreword' (see n. 2), pp. XV-XXIV, on p. XV, n. 2 et al.

and codicological achievements of coptologists from a liturgical point of view.[4] It is the liturgical historian's aim to '*explain the facts the sources disclose*'[5], but the responsibility for publishing liturgical mss, the primary sources for the liturgy, lies with coptologists. Time and time again we recognize that, before we begin to analyse the content of a text and to search for its 'Sitz im Leben', we should first investigate the fragment itself, on which the text is written, and examine its codicological environment. Otherwise our analysis would be built like a house on sand.[6]

The approach to the liturgical sources in this paper is from the codicological perspective of a coptologist whose scholarly goal is to edit the text of the originals and make them available for further investigation by other specialists in Coptic studies, mainly however by scholars of oriental liturgiology. The scope of this article is narrowed to Southern Egyptian liturgy and its primary sources. These comprise the liturgical manuscripts on parchment and paper from the library of the Monastery of St. Michael in Hamuli and from the library of the White Monastery in Sohag, also known as the Monastery of Apa Shenoute of Atripe, which were written in Sahidic,[7] the Coptic dialect of Upper Egypt that was considered the classical language of the Coptic Church during the first millennium. My article attempts to address the results and some desiderata in the investigation of the liturgical sources from both monasteries. Part one presents the liturgical manuscripts from St. Michael's Monastery in Hamuli. Part two surveys the liturgical manuscripts from the White Monastery in Sohag. Part three offers

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[4] Brakmann's publications in the congresses' acta are listed in the bibliograpy 5.2.

[5] Taft, 'Foreword' (see n. 2), p. XIX.

[6] Many lectionary fragments from the White Monastery library (cf. here 3.2) have been preserved without liturgical rubrics and codicological context. In such cases only the pericope content serves as a heuristic tool for heortological identification. However, this method can be very misleading and even produce incorrect results, if the codex structure or a parallel text witness does not confirm the assumption suggested by the pericope content. The recent analysis of the liturgical codex MONB.NP is a case in point. There, the pericope John 12:12-19, the Palm Sunday reading par excellence, is used in an absolutely different context, namely as a pericope during the Christmas season for the feast of Apa Psote on 27 of Choiak (= 23 of December). Above all, detailed codicological analysis made the heortological identification and the placement of the fragment within the codex structure possible and excluded the option of Palm Sunday as the feast identification in regard to this fragment. See Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 70-71. In this article one can find further examples.

[7] The Egyptian northern dialect, Bohairic, used at first in Lower Egypt, today is the language of the Coptic liturgy along with Arabic and Greek in both Lower and Upper Egypt. In the diaspora, the language of the land is also used (such as English or German).

reflections on avenues for future research on Southern Egyptian liturgy. The article ends with bibliographical lists of the primary sources from both monasteries. The list of secondary sources concentrates on the most significant titles and does not include every sporadic mention of each item in the literature. It intends to be a trampoline for liturgiologists specialised in other liturgical traditions but interested in including Southern Egyptian Liturgy in their comparative study.

2. The Manuscripts from St. Michael's Monastery in Hamuli

The codicological situation of the manuscripts from both monasteries is completely different. It is less problematic with regard to the manuscripts from the Hamuli find, which is considered 'the largest and, in some ways, the most important of extant collections' and 'unparalleled for completeness'.[8] The Hamuli manuscripts were discovered in the spring of 1910 by Egyptian farmers digging for fertilizer in monastery ruins near the present-day village of Hamuli in the Western part of the Faiyum district in Egypt. 'No more than an amorphous rubble heap now remains of what once must have been a preeminent monastic and scribal centre'.[9] All our knowledge about the monastery stems from a) the association of the monastery ruins with the village Hamuli in Faiyum, b) the topographical data from the colophons, c) hints about the monastery in outside sources and d) the places with which the monastery was in contact.[10] The fact that the monastery was dedicated to the Archangel Michael is mentioned in codex bindings and many colophons, as for example in the colophons from two of the liturgical codices in this article (see 2.1 and 2.2).[11] The association between the present-day village Hamuli and the monastery ruins is of a recent date, because the modern village most likely came into existence long after the ancient monastery's decline. As is usual for ancient Coptic library collections, these Coptic manuscripts were apparently divided among the discoverers, but thanks to the efforts of Émile Chassinat (1868-1948) and Henri Hyvernat (1858-1941) they were reunited, kept together as a unit for purchase and eventually acquired in 1911 by the magnate and philanthropist

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[8] Walter E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), pp. V-VI.
[9] Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), p. CIII.
[10] *Ibid*., p. CIII.
[11] Henri Hyvernat, 'The J.P. Morgan Collection of Coptic Manuscripts', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 31 (1912), pp. 54-57, on p. 54; Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), pp. CIV-CV.

John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913). Today the bulk of the original find (ca. fifty parchment codices = about 3,000 folios), enriched by later acquisitions, is kept in the Morgan Library and Museum in New York (= MLM), the former Pierpont Morgan Library. Minor fragments are in the possession of other collections as for example the University of Michigan Library in Ann Arbor or the Universitätsbibliothek in Freiburg im Breisgau (see here 2.4).[12]

The liturgical subset of the Hamuli find includes four complete parchment codices from the ninth century — one horologion, one antiphonary, and two lectionaries.

2.1. *The Horologion – New York, MLM, M 574*

The horologion M 574 is a parchment codex with leaves the size of 280 × 210 mm and consists of ninety-one folios written in a single column with ca. 27-32 lines (max. 34).[13] The codex, entitled ⲡϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ, *The Book of the Holy Hermeneiai*, is divided into five parts containing hermeneiai and other liturgical hymns in Greek and Coptic. The bilingualism of the pericopae and hymns is typical of the Coptic liturgical tradition. Parts I and II of codex M 574 comprise psalm verses, called hermeneiai, which is one of the puzzling *termini technici* that characterises Coptic liturgical manuscripts. What we know for certain is that the hermeneiai are psalm verses chanted during the divine service. On the one hand, they can be arranged according to a keyword and chanted for the dismissal of the Mass, and on the other hand, they can compose part of the responsory during the pre-anaphoral part of the service. It remains uncertain why the Copts used this term for some psalm verses and how it relates to other mysterious terms as for example 'alpha', which refers to psalms as well. The hermeneiai in part I are 'arranged according to a keyword' and 'generally following the order of Biblical chapters and verses, and preceded by an introduction and followed by 1 or 2 conclusions'[14]. Part II

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[12] For further details on the discovery, the Hamuli find, acquisition history, the Morgan collection, and the site of the monastery and its toponomy see Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), pp. XLV-L, LVIII-LXXII, LXXXII-LXXXIX, CIII-CXVI. See also Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (2000-2004)' (see bibliography 5.2), pp. 138-139; Cramer and Krause, *Antiphonar* (see bibliography 5.3), p. 16.

[13] For a superb codicological analysis and detailed presentation of content see Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), pp. 113-121.

[14] Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), p. 113.

consists of hermeneiai as well but in this case without certain arrangements. The publication of both parts was in the process of preparation by Hans Quecke, who unfortunately could not realize his goal. R. Kasser (1927-2013) planned to do the *editio princeps* of these parts as well.[15] The edition and further investigation of the hermeneiai parts of the horologion remains a significant future task not only in regard to the codex itself but particularly to the study of Coptic hymnography — an area that still waits to be explored.

Parts III and V containing texts for the Liturgy of the Hours were published and studied in detail in 1970 by Hans Quecke.[16] His work is of paramount importance and remains the basis on which Coptic liturgical research stands. A good diplomatic edition and English translation was made of Part IV of the horologion, consisting of alphabetical acrostic hymns, by K. H. Kuhn and W. J. Tait in 1996.[17] The alphabetical acrostics were used seasonally during the liturgical celebrations on the days of the saints or other festivals. Their exact liturgical place is still not clear. However, they proceeded to be part of the Bohairic liturgy as a genre in the form of the so-called psali.[18] Some preliminary observations give me the impression that these thirteen acrostics differ from the alphabetical acrostics transmitted by the manuscripts from the White Monastery. Further investigations in this regard are welcome. This task, however, cannot be fulfilled until an edition is made and codicological research is pursued on the acrostic hymns from the White Monastery library.[19]

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[15] Cramer and Krause, *Antiphonar* (see bibliography 5.3), p. 16.

[16] Quecke, *Stundengebet* (see bibliography 5.3), pp. 91-445.

[17] Kuhn and Tait, *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns* (see bibliography 5.3).

[18] Quecke, *Stundengebet* (see bibliography 5.3), p. 101.

[19] The comprehensive examination of the hymns, including the acrostics, in the manuscripts from the White Monastery library is still in its initial stages. For the time being, it can be observed that acrostics have been preserved in three liturgical manuscripts from the White Monastery library, abbreviated as MONB.WA, MONB.WM and MONB.WL, see here 3.3. The three codices consist of many different parts, including typika, hymns, diaconica et al., see here 3.7. There remain the rest of five Greek acrostics for which parallels cannot be found yet either in the Hamuli horologion or elsewhere. The codicological data for the acrostics are MONB.WA, Rom, BAV, Borgia copto 109, cass. XXIV, fasc. 104, f. 5v, pag. 202, lines 1-35, f. 6r, pag. 203, lines 1-13; MONB.WM, Paris, BnF, Copte 133(2) f. 13r and v, lines 1-16 and MONB.WL, Paris, BnF, Copte 129(20) f. 117v, pag. 72, lines 12-31; f. 118r, pag. 73, lines 1-34, f. 118v, pag. 74, lines 1-3. For a recent edition and English translation of the acrostics in MONB. WL, see Lesley S.B. MacCoull, 'Greek Paschal Troparia in Ms Paris Copte 129[20]', *Le Muséon* 117 (2004), pp. 93-106, on pp. 98-101.

2.2. *The Antiphonary – New York, MLM, M 575 + Berlin, SMB, P. 11967, f. 1-2*

The liturgical parchment codex M 575 consists of seventy-six folios. The leaf size measures 354 × 270 mm. It was written in a single column of ca. 30-34 lines.[20] Two leaves from the original codex are in the possession of the *Papyrussammlung* of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. The codex contains an antiphonary and hermeneiai arranged according to keywords. It is unique within Coptic studies, because it is one of the few dated codices (see its colophon dated before of 893) and so far this is the only preserved specimen of an antiphonary in the Coptic tradition. Maria Cramer (1898-1978) and Martin Krause edited the codex in 2008 with a German translation.[21] This important diplomatic edition provides an excellent basis for further comparative investigations on hymns, liturgical occasions, and festivals. Coptologists will welcome deeper insight into the antiphonary text from the liturgical point of view.

2.3. *The Annual Lectionary – New York, MLM, M 573*

The Morgan Library and Museum collection also holds two annual lectionaries from Hamuli. The first lectionary, New York, MLM, M 573 is a complete parchment codex of eighty-one leaves, written in two columns of ca. 26-33 lines. The leaf size measures 338 × 267 mm. The codex contains biblical lections for the Liturgy of the Word during the Mass for important immovable festivals of the whole liturgical year and for the movable cycles Lent, Holy Week and Eastertide.[22] As usual for the solemnities in the Coptic liturgy, there are at least five biblical lections, which consist of one reading from the a) Pauline Epistles, b) Catholic Epistles, c) Acts of the Apostles, d) Psalter, mentioned with its chapter number, and e) four Gospels. The Scripture readings always follow this order in the Coptic tradition. Sometimes the number of readings taken from one of the biblical collections of books can increase. The

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[20] For detailed codicological and content analysis see Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), pp. 107-112.

[21] Cramer and Krause, *Antiphonar* (see bibliography 5.3).

[22] For more details consult Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), n° 51, pp. 69-81; Schmitz and Mink, *Liste* 2,2 (see bibliography 5.3), sa 15[L], pp. 1080-1083; Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 3,2 (see bibliography 5.3), sa 530[L], pp. 55-71.

number of biblical readings indicates the ranking of the feast day as a solemnity or not. Indeed, the selection of the festivals in the Hamuli lectionary includes only the most important occasions of the year. Heinz-gerd Brakmann's designation '*ordo maior*' for such composition of five biblical lections, accompanied by a prokeimenon in other manuscripts, has been adopted in Coptic liturgical investigations.[23] Another significant characteristic about this lectionary is the combination of immovable and movable feasts within one codex. For scholars who know and work on other Orthodox liturgical traditions this combination is indeed highly uncommon and needs to be emphasised, but in the Coptic liturgical man-uscripts tradition it is the only possibility and occurs in every annual lectionary.[24]

2.4. *The Gospel Annual Lectionary – New York, MLM, M 615 + Ann Arbor, UML, Mich. Inv. n° 4942 + Freiburg im Breisgau, UB, Hs. 615*

A large part of the second annual lectionary from Hamuli, eighty-two leaves, is kept in MLM with the inventory number New York, MLM, M 615.[25] The fragment Ann Arbor, UML, Mich. Inv. n° 4942 is held by the University of Michigan Library in Ann Arbor and another five leaves inventoried as Freiburg im Br., UB, Hs. 615 are in the posses-sion of the Universitätsbibliothek in Freiburg im Breisgau. The codex today consists of eighty-eight leaves out of 112. It is not only incom-plete but also severely damaged and fragmentary. Therefore the leaf size 362 × 289 mm is measured only approximately. The text was writ-ten in two columns of twenty-eight lines.[26] Due to the damaged state of the codex some of the heortological rubrics and lines from the readings

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[23] Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (1996-2000)' (see bibliography 5.2), p. 591.

[24] See the comment by Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), p. 69, n. 3: 'The present lectionary is a mixture of the synaxarion and the menologion types'.

[25] A curator of the Pierpont Morgan Library has confirmed that codex M 615 obtained a year later (1912) also belongs to the Hamuli find. See Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (2000-2004)' (see bibliography 5.2), p. 139, n. 48. See also Depuydt, *Cata-logue* (see bibliography 5.1), pp. XLV, LXIX.

[26] For more details consult Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.3), n° 54, pp. 84-99; Schmitz and Mink, *Liste* 2,2 (see bibliography 5.3), sa 14[L], pp. 1077-1080; Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 3,4 (see bibliography 5.3), sa 570[L], pp. 46-64.

remain undecipherable or doubtful.[27] The content of this annual lectionary was limited only to the Gospel readings for the Liturgy of the Word during the Mass for some high ranking immovable and movable feast days selected from the whole liturgical year. In contrast to the first Hamuli lectionary this one is bilingual and the Greek and Coptic readings alternate. In the Coptic rite, it is usual that the Greek texts (pericopae or hymns) come first and the Coptic translations follow them. In the Coptic manuscripts tradition, we find three types of layouts: '(1) Greek on verso and Coptic on facing recto (with 1 or 2 columns on each page), (2) Greek in column *a* and Coptic on column *b*, and (3) Greek and Coptic alternate'.[28] Thus, it has been Coptic custom all along that the pericopae are read twice — in the first millennium Greek and Coptic, thereafter until today Coptic and Arabic.[29] Hence it is not unusual at all that the Hamuli lectionary M 615 is bilingual. The question rather is why the first lectionary M 573 possesses only the Coptic lections; where do their Greek counterparts remain? Perhaps once, there existed another codex, parallel to Hamuli manuscript M 573, with the same structure and pericopae but in Greek.

A preliminary comparison indicates many similarities between both Hamuli lectionaries M 573 and M 615, see, for example, the set of festivals; the Gospel readings also correspond to each other in many

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[27] On some heortological problems in this codex see Diliana Atanassova, 'Beobachtungen zu einigen sahidischen Jahres-Lektionaren', in *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études Coptes, Paris, 28 juin – 3 juillet 2004*, eds. N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors, vol. 2, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 163 (Leuven, 2007), pp. 391-404, on pp. 392-397. In this article I refer to the Hamuli codex M 615 as sa 590^L. Until 2004, when the article in question was written, the number 590^L was the siglum for the codex in the catalogue 'Biblia Coptica'. Later, the codex was published with the siglum sa 570^L, without taking into consideration already published or forthcoming texts, as used to be the rule in such cases. In any case, the incorrect 'Biblia Coptica' sigla did not hinder the identification of the fragments in the article because the shelf marks remain correct.

[28] See Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), p. 85, n. 6-7 with further references.

[29] For liturgical Coptic-Arabic manuscripts from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, see, for example, Schmitz and Mink, *Liste* 2,2 (see bibliography 5.3), sa 16^L, pp. 1084-1086, sa 349^L, pp. 1057-1059; Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 1,3 (see bibliography 5.4.2.3), sa 74^L, pp. 70, *Biblia Coptica* 1,4, sa 108^L, pp. 49-69. Was there a time when the lections in the Southern Egyptian liturgy were recited triply in Greek, Coptic and Arabic as for example in the Northern rite? See the example in the Northern Egyptian liturgy, the Bohairic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week lectionary from Scetis (thirteenth to fourteenth c.) kept partially in London (BL, Or. 1242(6), f. 1-3), Oxford (BL, Ms. copt. c. 3, f. 1) and in a private collection (twenty-three leaves). See van Haelst, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), n° 2, p. 27 with further references.

cases. Striking is the fact that the readings in the Gospel lectionary M 615 vary quantitatively, being sometimes longer and only seldom shorter than their parallels in the other Hamuli lectionary M 573. Why this and other differences between both occur is a welcome question for future research. Because of their importance and good codicological condition the lectionaries from Hamuli have been often studied. In his catalogue Leo Depuydt describes both in detail for the first time. Karl-heinz Schüssler's catalogue 'Biblia Coptica' provides the most recent detailed descriptions. The website of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung of the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster can be consulted for updates to both lectionaries presented in the SMR database.[30]

Due to the fact that these two manuscripts are the most extensive and best-preserved lectionaries of Southern Egyptian liturgy, it is highly recommended that they form the basis of a critical edition of the Sahidic lectionary. In such an edition the annual lectionary M 573 should be used as the first main text and the Gospel lectionary M 615 as the second main text supplying some of the missing festivals. Significant text variations from the annual lectionary M 573 in Gospel lectionary M 615 and lectionary fragments from the White Monastery and the other Sahidic fragments without known origins should supply the *apparatus criticus*. Some preliminary examinations give me the impression that the Sahidic lectionary fragments follow the same tradition and many textual variations are not to be expected. As far as I know, no one is planning to undertake such a task. The reason is perhaps the fact that the Sahidic lectionary fragments from the White Monastery and elsewhere have not been described properly and some of them lie unknown in libraries and museum collections.

The table below, arranged according to the inventory number of the codices in the MLM, sums up the most important information regarding the four codices mentioned above. Along with inventory number, content, century, material and the most significant bibliographical data, this table also quotes the sigla of the four codices according to the three cataloguing systems established in Coptology.[31]

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[30] For both catalogues, see here 3.3. According to the SMR database there are ca. 120 Sahidic lectionaries, most of them preserved fragmentary. I am indebted to Siegfried G. Richter and Matthias H.O. Schulz for this information.

[31] For the three systems, see here 3.3. In the cmcl database system the library of St. Michael's Monastery is abbreviated as MICH. The catalogue 'Biblia Coptica' is abbreviated usually as BC. For the bibliographical data, see 5.3.

Liturgical Manuscripts from St. Michael's Monastery in Hamuli

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	SMR sigla	BC sigla	Bibliography
New York, MLM, M 573	Annual Lectionary	822/23-913/914	Parchment	MICH.AL	sa 15^L	sa 530^L	Depuydt, *Catalogue*, n° 51, pp. 69-81; Hyvernat, *Codices Coptici*, vol. XII; Schmitz and Mink, *Liste* 2,2, sa 15^L, pp. 1080-1083; Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 3,2, sa 530^L, pp. 55-71.
New York, MLM, M 574	Horologion (Hermeneiai with various hymns)	897/898	Parchment	MICH.AM	—	—	Depuydt, *Catalogue*, n° 59, pp. 113-121; Hyvernat, *Codices Coptici*, vol. XIII; Kuhn and Tait, *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns*; Quecke, *Stundengebet*, pp. 91-445.
New York, MLM, M 575 + Berlin, SMB, P. 11967	Antiphonary and Hermeneiai	Before 893	Parchment	MICH.AN	—	—	Cramer and Krause, *Antiphonar*; Depuydt, *Catalogue*, n° 58, pp. 107-112; Hyvernat, *Codices Coptici*, vol. XIV.
New York, MLM, M 615 + Ann Arbor, UML, Mich. Inv. n° 4942 + Freiburg i. Br., UB, Hs. 615	Bilingual Gospel Lectionary	7/8 c. 9/10 c.	Parchment	MICH.AK	sa 14^L	sa 570^L	Depuydt, *Catalogue*, n° 54, pp. 84-99; Hyvernat, *Codices Coptici*, vol. XI; Schmitz and Mink, *Liste* 2,2, sa 14^L, pp. 1077-1080; Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 3,4, sa 570^L, pp. 46-64.

Traditionally, only the four codices described above count as liturgical manuscripts from the Hamuli find. Only further investigation of the homiletic codices from St. Michael's library will reveal which codices among them were used in the liturgy and should join the four liturgical sources mentioned above.[32]

The Morgan collection is of outstanding importance because a) 'such a large number of codices coming from one and the same ancient monastic library have stayed together as a single unit' without being dismembered, b) a majority of ancient Coptic illuminations before the tenth century as well as original bindings are to be found in this collection, and last but not least, c) most of the early dated colophons in Coptic literary manuscripts came to light with the Hamuli manuscripts.[33] The text of the four codices is available in the facsimile published already in 1922 by Henry Hyvernat.[34] Many leaves from the four liturgical Hamuli manuscripts have been edited and examined. What remains unpublished is mostly biblical, such as Psalm verses or New Testament readings. This advanced *status quaestionis* is beneficial not only for the liturgical manuscripts from St. Michael's Monastery but particularly for those from the White Monastery, where the codicological situation is not at all fortunate, as can be seen in the following.

3. The Manuscripts from the White Monastery in Sohag

3.1. *The White Monastery alias the Monastery of Apa Shenoute*[35]

On the western side of the Nile near the village of Atripe (six miles/ten km from present-day Sohag) in Upper Egypt around the mid-fourth century,

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[32] Of course, a homily by definition belongs to the liturgical genre. Nevertheless, a collection of homilies can be put together for liturgical or non-liturgical purposes. Examples of manuscripts made for non-liturgical purposes are such codices where the homilies by one author compose an anthology for monastic reading. Due to the lack of studies in this direction we are still not able to define exactly whether a homiletic manuscript is liturgical or non-liturgical. Perhaps, ms New York, MLM, M 595, which contains homilies by several authors regarding Eastertide, is an example of homiletic miscellany for liturgical use. See Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), n° 170, pp. 345-350; Alin Suciu, 'Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini *Sermo de Cruce et Latrone* (CPG 2622): Edition of Pierpont Morgan M595 with Parallels and Translation', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 16 (2012), pp. 181-225.

[33] Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), p. XLVI; Hyvernat, 'The J.P. Morgan Collection' (see n. 11), p. 54.

[34] Hyvernat, *Codices Coptici* (see bibliography 5.3), vol. XI, M 615; vol. XII, M 573; vol. XIII, M 574; vol. XIV M 575.

[35] The following texts provide details about the monastery: Darlene L. Brooks-Hedstrom, 'An Archaeological Mission for the White Monastery', *Coptica* 4 (2005), pp. 1-26;

a certain Apa Pgol (Pkjol), a direct disciple of Pachom (292/298-346), founded a coenobitic congregation. The monastery remained a vital monastic institution from the fourth century probably until the twelfth or thirteenth century.[36] At this time, the site was called 'monastery of Atripe' or 'monastery of Apa Shenoute' as manuscript colophons refer to it.[37] The name 'White Monastery' (in Arabic: Dayr Al Abyad) which today is a standard designation was already known at least as early as the thirteenth century.[38] It refers to the white limestone blocks, of which the monastery church was built. In recent coptological studies, both designations 'White Monastery' and 'monastery of Apa Shenoute (of Atripe)' have been used.[39] The name Shenoute in the monastery denomination refers to the third archimandrite of the monastery Apa Shenoute (346/347-465),[40] whose maternal uncle, Apa Pgol (Pkjol), was the founder of the monastery. According to Stephen Emmel, Shenoute 'had solidified a strong foundation

Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt, Volume 1: *Akhmim and Sohag*, eds. Gawdat Gabra and Hany Takla (Cairo, 2008); Peter Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2002), pp. 528-536, pl. 150-154, VIIIa-b, Xa-b; P. Grossmann, D. Brooks-Hedstrom, and M. Abdal-Rassul, 'The Excavation in the Monastery of Apa Shenute (Dayr Anba Shinuda) at Suhag'. With an Appendix on Documentary Photography at the Monasteries of Anba Shinuda and Anba Bishoi, Suhag by Elizabeth S. Bolman, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), pp. 371-382; René-Georges Coquin et al., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (New York et al., 1991), pp. 761-770; Rafed El-Sayed, 'Schenute und die Tempel von Atripe: Zur Umnutzung des Triphisbezirks in der Spätantike', in *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, eds. Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz and Daniel von Recklinghausen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 194 (Leuven, 2010), pp. 519-538; Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 6-34; Harald Froschauer and Cornelia E. Römer, *Spätantike Bibliotheken: Leben und Lesen in den frühen Klöstern Ägyptens*, Nilus 14 (Vienna, 2008), pp. 15-24; Rebecca Krawiec, *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 14-20, 175, n. 1, 2; Bentley Layton, 'Rules, Patterns, and the Exercise of Power in Shenoute's Monastery: The Problem of World Replacement and Identity Maintenance', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 45-73; G. Lefebvre, 'Deir-El-Abiad', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, tome 4,1 (Paris, 1920), pp. 459-502.

[36] Coquin et al., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah' (see n. 35), pp. 763-765; Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), p. 13.

[37] Coquin et al., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah' (see n. 35), pp. 763-765; Tito Orlandi, 'The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe', in *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest. Acts from an International Symposium held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998*, eds. A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, 31 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 211-232, on p. 211, n. 2.

[38] Cf. the geographical dictionary by a certain Yaqut who died in 1229. See Coquin et al., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah' (see n. 35), p. 764.

[39] Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), p. 15, n. 37.

[40] For a portrait of Shenoute as monastic father as well as writer and for a discussion on the dating, see Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 6-14.

for a literature composed in the Coptic language: during his long life as head of a large monastic community in Upper Egypt, he produced an extensive corpus of more than seventeen volumes of original works in Coptic'.[41] Shenoute had an enormous impact on the Sahidic literary monastic tradition as well as on the liturgical sermon tradition of his monastery not only during his time but also until the decline of the monastery in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries and even beyond the monastery's boundaries.[42] In the fifteenth century the monastery was already in ruins as reported by the Arab historian al-Maqrizi,[43] in whose time only the monastery church was intact. Today the monastery church still stands and since restoration the current monastic community is now using it. The monastery became known beginning in the seventeenth century from reports of European travellers, such as Johann Wansleben, who visited the site in 1673, or Charles Perry, who first reported on manuscripts which he saw there probably in 1742.[44]

3.2. *The White Monastery Library and Its Dispersal*[45]

Perry's report and particularly the inscriptions[46] on the church walls referring to book copies of gospels, vitas etc. as well as the colophons[47]

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[41] Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), p. 6.

[42] Some of his sermons expanded even to the liturgy of Lower Egypt. Cf. Oswald H.E. Burmester, *Le Lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte: Texte copte édité avec traduction française d'après le manuscrit Add. 5997 du British Muséum*, t. II., PO, 25, 2, Nr. 122 (Paris, 1943; reprint Turnhout, 1997), pp. 476-477, 480.

[43] Coquin et al., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah' (see n. 35), p. 764; *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten. Aus den Handschriften zu Gotha und Wien mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Ferdinand Wüstenfeld* (Göttingen, 1845; reprint Hildesheim and New York, 1979), p. 105.

[44] For more details and further travelers' names, see Coquin et al., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah' (see n. 35), p. 765; Froschauer and Römer, *Spätantike Bibliotheken* (see n. 35), pp. 15-16, n. 2-4.

[45] Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 18-24; Catherine Louis, 'Nouveaux documents concernant l'"affaire des parchemins coptes" du monastère Blanc', in *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études Coptes* (see n. 27), pp. 99-114; Catherine Louis, 'The Fate of the White Monastery Library', in *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt* (see n. 35), pp. 83-90; Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 211-232; Hany Takla, 'The Library of the Monastery of St. Shenouda the Archimandrite', *Coptica* 4 (2005) pp. 43-51.

[46] The inscriptions in the small chamber do not remain intact until today. They were copied by Canon W.T. Oldfield during his visit in the monastery at the beginning of the twentieth century and then published by W.E. Crum. See Walter E. Crum, 'Inscriptions from Shenoute's Monastery', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 5 (1904), pp. 552-569; Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 213.

[47] Arnold van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*. Tome I: Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques. Fasc. 1: Textes; Fasc. 2: Notes et tables, Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1 (Louvain, 1929); Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 215-219.

in codices from the ninth to eleventh centuries led Tito Orlandi 'to be reasonably sure that the monastery had a library from the beginning, and possibly also a *scriptorium*'.[48] Most likely, the church housed the library but its exact location there is not clear. Two rooms come into consideration: a small room in the apse called by the monks the 'secret chamber' and a bigger room near the apse but apart from the sanctuary. In Peter Grossmann's sketch of the church,[49] the small square room lies in the northeast site of the sanctuary area north of the triconch apse. This is the famous room where in 1883 the French egyptologist, Gaston Maspéro (1846-1916), found dismembered codices, detached leaves and tiny fragments.[50] This is also the place where at the beginning of the twentieth century the inscriptions referring to book copies were still readable.[51] However, the small room is considered by most coptologists today a temporary 'repository of the codices only when they were no longer in use'.[52] According to P. Grossmann, who made an in-depth archaeological investigation of the church, the easternmost large room of the long hall adjacent to the south side of the church is the monastery library.[53] Grossmann's plausible hypothesis is based on the fact that the walls in this room have alcoves at regular intervals, which were most probably constructed in order to contain codices.[54] T. Orlandi estimates that the library originally housed at least one thousand books and that the remains of all codices today could amount to as many as 10,000 fragments.[55] The time frame during which the manuscripts were produced spans from the sixth

[48] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 211.

[49] Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (see n. 35), p. 530, pl. 150-151.

[50] É.C. Amélineau claimed to have been the first to see the room in question, but only Maspéro left a publication on it: Gaston Maspéro, *Fragments de la version Thèbaine de l'Ancien Testament*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, 6 (Paris, 1892), p. 1; cf. also Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 22-23; Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), p. 43, n. 2. Cf. as well Froschauer and Römer, *Spätantike Bibliotheken* (see n. 35), pp. 17-18, n. 6; Louis, 'The Fate' (see n. 45), pp. 83-85.

[51] Crum, 'Inscriptions' (see n. 46), pp. 552-569; Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 211-213; Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), p. 44.

[52] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 212. Cf. as well Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur* (see n. 35), p. 530; Lefebvre, 'Deir-El-Abiad' (see n. 35), pp. 498-499.

[53] Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur* (see n. 35), p. 532, pl. 150.

[54] 'Dieser Bibliothekssaal ist auf allen vier Seiten mit regelmäßig angeordneten hohen Nischen für die Unterbringung der Buchrollen und der damals bereits üblich gewordenen buchmäßig angelegten Codices versehen'. See Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur* (see n. 35), p. 532, pl. 150.

[55] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 225, 229. In 2005, H. Takla stated that 'so far some 360 codices have been identified as literary or biblical manuscripts, on the basis of Orlandi and Schüssler's published works'. See Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), p. 45, n. 14-15.

to twelfth centuries.[56] However, the typical White Monastery codex 'is written in the 9th to 11th centuries and is made of parchment'.[57] The manuscripts came to the library in three ways: a) as a product of the monastery's own scriptorium, b) as an import produced expressly for the White Monastery but in other scriptoria, as for example Touton,[58] and c) as a later donation originally produced for other monastic locations.[59] The library kept, among others, biblical, hagiographical, historical, and liturgical works.[60] Today, the monastery no longer houses the library. In 1778 the first 2,300 parchment leaves and fragments left the library, having been purchased by Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731-1804), who did not know their exact origin.[61] Further leaves from the library were purchased by various collections in the ensuing fifty years without indicating their origin.[62] In 1882, Gaston Maspéro identified the origin of the manuscripts by comparing the newly acquired fragments with those bought earlier by Cardinal Borgia.[63] At the beginning of 1883, Maspéro was shown a hidden room that contained thousands of leaves. His attempts to maintain them together failed and antiquities dealers and collectors purchased the bulk of manuscripts from the room leaf by leaf.[64] Since then the amount

[56] Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (2000-2004)' (see bibliography 5.2), pp. 137, 141.

[57] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 220. Regarding the absence of papyrus codices today as well as for different periods of the library's development, see Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), p. 47-49. For dated parchment mss later than the 11th century, cf. Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 4/3 (see bibliography 5.4.2.3), 77-84, sa 694[L].

[58] Many colophons testify that scribes from Touton in the Faiyum copied manuscripts for the White Monastery library during the tenth century. See Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), pp. CX, CXII-CXVI; Chièmi Nakano, 'Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Touton (Fayoum)', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 8 (2006), pp. 147-159; Alin Suciu and Einar Thomassen, 'An Unknown "Apocryphal" Text from the White Monastery', in *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends. Studies in Honor of Tito Orlandi*, eds. Paola Buzi and Alberto Camplani, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 125 (Rome, 2011), pp. 477-499, on p. 478-479, n. 7.

[59] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 215-217 (a table with date, place of writing, and place of donation of mss with colophons), 220; Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), pp. 46, 48-49.

[60] Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), p. 46.

[61] Today, they are kept in Rome and Naples. See Louis, 'The Fate' (see n. 45), p. 83. Cf. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 20-21.

[62] Cf. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), p. 21; Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), pp. 44-45.

[63] Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 22-23; Louis, 'The Fate' (see n. 45), p. 83.

[64] Despite misadventures and difficulties, G. Maspéro purchased for the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* about 3,500 parchment leaves and fragments and made sure that this library possesses today the largest part of the leaves belonging originally to the White

of leaves from the White Monastery library increased among several collections, continuing the gradual dispersal of the White Monastery library across various libraries and museums in Europe, North America and Egypt.[65] This typical coptological phenomenon has been one of the biggest problems that coptologists have had to deal with since the beginning of Coptic studies and it continues to be so today.

3.3. *Databases of Coptic Literary Texts*[66]

The efforts to reconstruct the largest Coptic library ever known[67] began already in the nineteenth century with the catalogue of the Borgia collection with Coptic fragments by Georg Zoëga (1755-1809),[68] who classified leaves that belong together under one and the same catalogue number.[69] Further efforts were made later by Walter E. Crum (1865-1944) who not only described the leaves in the British Museum

Monastery library. For more detailed analysis of the situation and the problems that G. Maspéro had with É.C. Amélineau, see Louis, 'The Fate' (see n. 45), pp. 86-89. The items were arranged and catalogued by É.C. Amélineau in about 43 bound volumes designated as Copte 129 through 133. Cf. Takla, 'The Library' (see n. 45), p. 45, n. 12-13. The handwritten catalogue by É.C. Amélineau is still in the BnF, but today it is not very useful. Cf. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), p. 41, n. 95.

[65] The libraries and museums that possess liturgical fragments today are, for example: Ann Arbor, UML, Berlin, SBB and SMB, Cairo, CM and IFAO, Leiden, RMO, London, BL and VAM, Paris, BnF and Louvre, Rome, BAV, Manchester, JRUL, New York, MLM, Oxford, BL, Strasbourg, BNU, Vienna, ÖNB, etc. The library and museum abbreviations follow those officially given by the institutions themselves online or otherwise. For useful information about the collections, see Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 38-52.

[66] Databases of documentary texts including Coptic have been well developed in the last decade. See for example the Brussel's Coptic database by Alain Delattre http://dev. ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte/baseuk.php?page=accueiluk.php. Such databases also gather information about liturgical texts in documentary sources. However, such items require another study and a different approach and lie beyond the scope of this article.

[67] Depuydt, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1), p. XLVI; Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 213.

[68] Zoëga, *Catalogus* (see bibliography 5.1).

[69] In his coptological blog on 30.12.2012, Alin Suciu paid tribute to G. Zoëga as the pioneer in the reconstruction of the White Monastery library. He translates an extract from a French letter of Zoëga dated to December 1803 as follows: 'I can say that I have created myself the collection that I am consulting, because most of what came from Egypt were only sheets of parchment detached from the books to which they belonged, and thrown together in such confusion, that it took me a lot of time and fatigue to elaborate upon and discover their points of contact or dissimilitude. It was only by checking sometimes the writing, the taste for ornaments, the size and quality of the parchment, and other circumstances even more painstaking, that I managed to form from these scattered leaves books, or at least consecutive fragments, to organize and distribute them into classes'.

— today in the British Library — in his catalogue, but also gave his suggestions for further fragments which belong to the same original codex but today are in the possession of other collections.[70] The next step after preparing elaborate catalogues was the collection of photographs or microfilms of the detached leaves known or thought to come from the White Monastery. Louis Théophile Lefort (1879-1959) gathered an enormous amount of photos of fragments from the White Monastery library, the negatives of which were lost during World War II, but their prints are still kept in the library of the University of Louvain-la-Neuve.[71] H. Hyvernat and W.E. Crum also assembled similar collections of photographs, although they are not as systematic.[72] Coptologists of the following generations proceeded to make such photograph collections, on the basis of which later thematic catalogues have been developed. A thematic catalogue does not describe only one collection of manuscripts as a part of a certain library, but, gathering items from all libraries, systematises them according to their character (literary or documentary), dialect (Sahidic or Bohairic), and topic (New Testament only or biblical in general). In 1969, Tito Orlandi began the enterprise *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (= cmcl) 'with the aim to acquire the photographic reproduction of all known Sahidic manuscripts, in first place those coming from the Monastery of Shenute, but not only those'.[73] His photographic collection is now kept in the

http://alinsuciu.com/2012/12/30/memorabilia-georg-zoega-on-reconstructing-coptic-manuscripts-from-scattered-leaves/.

[70] See the bibliography 5.1. with references to the catalogues by W.E. Crum, L. Depuydt, B. Layton, G. Zoëga, and most recently by C. Louis and P. Buzi, containing reconstruction attempts. For his handwritten catalogue, É.C. Amélineau attempted to organise the Coptic leaves and fragments in the BnF in bound volumes according to their general subject matter, for which see here n. 59. The bulk of Coptic liturgical fragments at the BnF can be found in the volumes Paris, BnF, Copte 129(19) and Copte 129(20) and the tiny liturgical fragments belong to the boxes Copte 133(2). Of course, this is a general observation with many exceptions and should be used with great caution. The state of research in cataloguing Coptic manuscripts can be read in Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 229-230. Collections with Coptic manuscripts such as the University Library at Cambridge, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Coptic Museum at Cairo require cataloguing as soon as possible.

[71] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 230.

[72] Hyvernat's photograph collection is kept today at The Catholic University of America in Washington DC, and Crum's photograph collection along with his notebooks and papers is in the possession of the Griffith Institute at Oxford. See Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 230.

[73] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 230. In an earlier article describing the cmcl project, Orlandi mentions the year 1968 as a starting point. See Tito Orlandi, 'Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari', *Computers and the Humanities* 24 (1990), pp. 397-405.

Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum in Rome.[74] The cmcl enterprise gathered not only photographic reproductions, but also archived bibliographical, codicological, historical and other data 'that could facilitate the reconstruction of the codices and in general the study of the Coptic literature'.[75] The next step in the reconstruction of the White Monastery library came with the electronic revolution in 1980,[76] when Orlandi's cmcl enterprise became an online database,[77] starting the virtual reconstruction of the codices from the White Monastery library. Apart from the information collected during the past decades, the cmcl database provides an abbreviation system used to name the original codex, to bring together virtually all scattered leaves, and to reveal their relations to each other, so that the original codices can be reconstructed. In this system the library of the White Monastery is abbreviated as MONB, standing for 'Monastero Bianco' ('White Monastery' in Italian). According to the cmcl database, an original codex receives a siglum which consists of the library's abbreviation plus two capital letters chosen coincidentally. Until recently, the cmcl database focused mostly on manuscripts of patristic and homiletic interest.[78] It was shaped by the particular interests of the scholars using and working with the cmcl database. In terms of accounting for the liturgical manuscripts, the database is still in its initial stages. The shelf marks of the manuscripts have been collected, but the most important work, that is, the reconstruction

[74] Cf. Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 230-231. The liturgical fragments were set aside for study at a later stage. Interest in regard to the liturgica increased steadily, after I joined the cmcl team in 2009. In his article, Orlandi shared some of the difficulties that arose in the attempt to obtain photographs. Indeed, the different policies of libraries, the enormous time investment and last but not least the expensive library fees are only a few of the problems that scholars working on the White Monastery library fragments encounter.

[75] Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), p. 230.

[76] Orlandi, 'The Corpus' (see n. 73), pp. 397-405; Orlandi, 'The Library' (see n. 37), pp. 211-232.

[77] See the cmcl web page: http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it/. Originally begun at the Papyrological Institute of the Catholic University Sacro Cuore in Milan, Orlandi's project was later transferred to the La Sapienza University in Rome. See T. Orlandi, 'Un projet milanais concernant les manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc', *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), pp. 403-413; T. Orlandi, 'Realizzazioni e progetti del Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari', in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli, 19-26 maggio 1983), ed. M. Gigante, vol. 2 (Naples, 1984), pp. 755-761. The development of the cmcl project can be followed in Orlandi's bulletins on the cmcl website. In 2011, the cmcl project became part of the Hiob Ludolf Zentrum für Äthiopistik in the University of Hamburg: http://cmcl.aai.uni-hamburg.de/.

[78] See, for example, the excellent work on the reconstruction of the Shenoute's Corpus, Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3).

of the original liturgical codices, has yet to be done. In this regard, the most developed are the codices with typika.[79]

Other coptologists established similar projects, simultaneous or subsequent to the start of Orlandi's project, and have also attempted to reconstruct Coptic codices, including those from the White Monastery library. In the 1960s, the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster began to work on a list of Coptic manuscripts of the New Testament, from which in 1986 resulted the first of three volumes of the *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, by Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink.[80] The second volume followed in 1989 and the third volume of Sahidic lectionaries was published in 1991.[81] The Münster list constitutes in fact a thematic catalogue dedicated only to Sahidic[82] manuscripts of the New Testament including also the lectionaries, which according to the Coptic tradition are rich in New Testament readings. Here, the Coptic fragments are presented as a part of reconstructed codices with particularly elaborate palaeographical descriptions accompanied by detailed codicological and bibliographical data. Meanwhile, Siegfried G. Richter[83] has digitized the catalogue of Münster at the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung online, as SMR (Schmitz/Mink/Richter),[84] a database free of charge. In 1993, Karlheinz Schüssler established a further thematic catalogue: the 'Biblia Coptica'.[85] The first results were published in 1995 and since then further parts of the catalogue have been published on a regular basis.[86] This catalogue is dedicated

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[79] See here the recent investigations in this regard in the bibliography 5.4.2.1 with further references. I became involved with the cmcl in 2009 at the Congress of Coptic Studies in Cairo.

[80] Kurt Aland, 'The Coptic New Testament', in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Enviroment, Primarily in the Syrian East*, ed. Robert H. Fischer (Chicago, 1977), pp. 3-12, on pp. 9-10. See also http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/pdf/Vorwort.pdf.

[81] For the three volumes, see bibliography 5.4.2.3.

[82] The project is not limited to manuscripts in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. However, at present they are the ones that have been published and are most developed.

[83] http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/pdf/Entwicklung.pdf.

[84] http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/index.php. The acronym SMR consists of the initial letters of the authors' names: Franz-Jürgen Schmitz, Gerd Mink, and Siegfried G. Richter.

[85] Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 1,1 (see bibliography 5.4.2.3), pp. 1-4. The project 'Biblia Coptica' started in 1993 at the University of Salzburg and in 2011 moved to the University of Vienna. See Karlheinz Schüssler, 'Das Projekt "Biblia Coptica Patristica"', *Oriens Christianus* 79 (1995), pp. 224-228, on p. 224, and Christian Danz, 'Das neue »Research Centre for Early Christian-Coptic Studies« an der Universität Wien', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 13 (2011), pp. 213-215.

[86] See bibliography 5.4.2.3.

to manuscripts of both the Old and the New Testament and in addition to the lectionaries includes other liturgical manuscripts containing biblical readings, along with non-biblical liturgical texts.[87] It delineates the most important codicological, palaeographical and bibliographical data of a manuscript, laying emphasis on the content and presenting it in a particularly elaborate way. However, the non-biblical parts of the liturgical manuscripts are only listed without any accompanying details.

Many are the participants in the puzzle to virtually reconstruct the White Monastery library.[88] Let us look closely at the liturgical parts of this puzzle as far as it is possible today.

3.4. *The Liturgical Books for Every Different 'Role' during the Service ('Rollenbücher')*

The liturgical books from the White Monastery library can be divided into different types according to the agents who used them during the service. Heinzgerd Brakmann refers to them as 'Rollenbücher', which means books for each different role that has to be performed by each 'actor' during the liturgy.[89] The 'actors' are the priest or bishop, the deacon, the lector and the cantor. Respectively, the books are the euchologion and the homilary for the priest or bishop, the book for the deacon also known as the diaconicon, the lectionary for the lector and the antiphonary for the cantor. To all these books should be added, last but not least, the so-called typika, a term which in coptology designates parts of liturgical codices listing incipits of biblical lections, hymns and sermons, arranged according to the liturgical calendar (see bibliography 5.4.2.1). These 'stage directions'[90] play no direct part within the liturgy, because they provide only the opening words of biblical and homiletic readings as well as chants. Nevertheless, their function for the liturgical performance is significant.

In terms of book types, one should differentiate between the book as a codicological unit and the book as a liturgical unit. In the first case, the unit

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[87] Until now, the liturgical typika have not been part of the catalogue 'Biblia Coptica'.

[88] The puzzle metaphor is very popular with specialists in the field. See Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (1996-2000)' (see bibliography 5.2), p. 589; Froschauer and Römer, *Spätantike Bibliotheken* (see n. 35), p. 18.

[89] Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (1992-1996)' (see bibliography 5.2), pp. 456-457; *idem*, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (2000-2004)' (see bibliography 5.2), p. 139.

[90] Kurt Treu, 'Ein altkirchlicher Christushymnus (P. Berol. 16 389)', *Novum Testamentum* 19 (1977), pp. 142-149, on p. 145 ('Regieanweisungen').

refs to the codex and in the second case the *terminus technicus* is libellus. Both units can overlap as in the case of the lectionary, where the libellus for the lector can be found in one codex called the lectionary. Recent studies on the liturgical manuscripts from the White Monastery show that some libelli, such as those for the 'actors' deacon and cantor, often occur together in the same codex where they follow each other.[91] However, a complete book ('Plenarformular'), where the texts of all 'actors' are put together, is not known among the liturgical codices from the White Monastery.[92]

The following represents the state of research on various liturgical books from the White Monastery library arranged according to the 'actor' in charge, beginning with the priest and proceeding with the cantor, the deacon and the lector.

3.5. *The Euchologion – The Liturgical Book for the Priestly Service*

3.5.1. The Great Euchologion of the White Monastery

Since the beginning of the twentieth century we have been aware of the existence of several fragments regarding the priestly service in the White Monastery. The famous Great Euchologion of the White Monastery was codicologically identified and explored through the efforts of such scholars as A.M. Kropp, K. Zentgraf and W.E. Crum. Emmanuel Lanne deserves particularly credit as he investigated and edited together the twenty-nine scattered leaves of this important source.[93] Originally the parchment codex contained a minimum of 227 inscribed pages.[94] Today the leaves are scattered in four different libraries as shown in the table attached at the end of section 3.5, siglum MONB.VE. After E. Lanne published all known twenty-nine leaves together in 1958, the investigations on this unique document became more detailed in the studies done by Hieronymus Engberding, Gérard Godron, etc.[95] Parts of the Great Euchologion have been published and commented upon not only in German and French but also in Italian and

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[91] Atanassova, 'Das Typikon-Fragment aus Venedig' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 110-113; Brakmann, 'Fragmenta' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), p. 156, n. 177.

[92] Brakmann, 'Fragmenta' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 140, 153 ('Plenarien', 'Plenarformular').

[93] For bibliographical references see here 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2.

[94] For the reconstruction of the number of pages see Farag, 'The Anaphora of St. Thomas the Apostle' (see bibliography 5.4.1.1), p. 320, n. 21.

[95] For bibliographical references see here 5.4.1.1.

Russian.[96] In 2010, Mary K. Farag gave an English translation of the Anaphora of Thomas, a Eucharistic prayer probably composed in the fourth or fifth century.[97] Her in-depth investigation suggests an Egyptian origin of this anaphora and examines it in the light of the Jewish *merkavah* mysticism.

The scattered fragments from the Great Euchologion bear witness to thirteen anaphoras. According to Brakmann, this abundance of liturgical formularies is not just a random collection of texts relating only to the White Monastery; rather it is a witness to the living liturgy of Upper and Middle Egypt up to the twelfth century.[98] In the cmcl database this important euchologion bears the siglum MONB.VE.

The dating of Coptic manuscripts is still a precarious issue due to the lack of in-depth palaeographical research on this matter and the lack of more dated mss. So it is of great importance when we can date a liturgical manuscript with precision. In a 2011 investigation on the dating of the Great Euchologion, Alin Suciu identified the scribal hand of the Great Euchologion in a dated colophon from a Vatican fragment with the shelf mark Rom, BAV, Cod. 111.1, f. 8. This colophon is dated to 25 January 990. In this way, he has proved without a doubt that the Great Euchologion of the White Monastery was written at the end of the tenth century.[99]

3.5.2. Other Euchologia

The remains of the White Monastery library possess more unedited and uninvestigated euchologia. Only scattered mentions can be found about them. In the inventory list below can be found the remains of at least two more euchologia similar to the Great Euchologion but with fewer leaves.[100] They bear the cmcl sigla MONB.VF and MONB.VG. Further studies and critical editions of them should not be neglected any longer.

3.5.3. The Anaphora of Basil

The fragments from the White Monastery library have until now been the object of investigation not only as a part of text critical editions but also as a part of liturgical investigations on a single topic, as for example the

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[96] See Maestri and Zheltov in bibliography 5.4.1.1.
[97] Farag, 'The Anaphora of St. Thomas the Apostle' (see bibliography 5.4.1.1).
[98] Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (2000-2004)' (see bibliography 5.2), p. 138.
[99] Suciu, 'À propos de la datation' (see bibliography 5.4.1.1), pp. 189-198.
[100] Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen (2000-2004)' (see bibliography 5.2), p. 138, n. 43.

Egyptian Anaphora of Basil published in 2004 by Achim Budde.[101] Budde's detailed study examines the Egyptian versions in Sahidic and Bohairic with a 'comparative edition' along with the Greek version and a German translation given in parallel columns. The fragments containing priest and deacon texts from the White Monastery constitute the witnesses for the Sahidic version in his important investigation. With regard to Budde's study, I agree with Anne McGowan,[102] who writes: 'Budde performs a valuable service in highlighting the similarities and differences among the various versions of the Egyptian recension of the Anaphora of Basil'. Budde's edition is an excellent basis for further investigations, including the comparison between the other recensions of the Basilian Anaphora. Quite recently, Catherine Louis brought to light a new paper witness to the Anaphora of Basil from the eleventh to twelfth centuries with the shelf mark Cairo, IFAO, n° 438, which she identified in the library of the French Institute in Cairo.

For the other two main Egyptian anaphoras, those of Gregory and of Cyril, we have just a few short witnesses in Sahidic and all of them are from the Great Euchologion. In 2012, Ugo Zanetti made a complex analysis of the part of the Anaphora of Gregory that is preserved in the Great Euchologion.[103] So far, the Anaphoras of Gregory and of Cyril have not been used for comparative liturgical studies.

Using the valuable information from the cmcl database, I have prepared a tabular overview for the euchologia from the White Monastery library and some other Sahidic sources of unknown origin. The items in the inventory list are ordered alphabetically according to their shelf marks. Some additional information such as material and century[104] describes the fragments in further detail. In the inventory lists can also be found the sigla from the cmcl database. A cmcl siglum does not exist in every case, since the database remains in the initial stages of investigating the original liturgical codices apart from the Great Euchologion.

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[101] Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora* (see bibliography 5.4.1.2), pp. 63-69 ('Vergleichende Edition').

[102] Anne Vorhes McGowan, 'The Basilian Anaphoras: Rethinking the Question', in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville MN, 2010), pp. 219-261, on p. 257.

[103] Zanetti, 'Deux prières' (see bibliography 5.4.1.1), pp. 318-326.

[104] The dating of all fragments from the White monastery library is uncertain and approximate. It should be considered preliminary, due to the lack of in-depth palaeographical research on this matter. Cf. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), p. 85, n. 137; Dwight W. Young, *Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenute*. Textband. Tafelband. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 22 (Vienna, 1993), p. 19, n. 28-29.

Euchologia – Codices for Priests or Bishops

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
Ann Arbor, UML, Mich. Ms. 4538a	Anaphora Basilii	10-11 c.	Paper		Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, μ, pp. 102-103.
Berlin, SBB, ms.or. fol. 1609 Bl. 1-2	Anaphora Athanasii	10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VG	Buzi, *Catalogue*, forthcoming; Quecke, 'Ein saïdisches Eucharistiefragment', pp. 113–131.
Cairo, CM, CM 2641 (19) [G 483]	Anaphora Basilii		Parchment		Information by Siegfried G. Richter and Matthias H.O. Schulz
Cairo, CM, CM 3911 (545) [Munier n° 9260; G 485c]	Anaphora Basilii	10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VE	Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, δ, pp. 98-99; Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*.
Cairo, IFAO, n° 277	Euchologion	10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VG	Louis, *Catalogue*, n° 30, forthcoming.
Cairo, IFAO, n° 438	Anaphora Basilii	10-11 c.	Paper		Louis, *Catalogue*, without number, forthcoming.
Leiden, RMO, Copte 71 (Ins. 28), f. 1-2	Euchologion	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VF	Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 66, p. 69; Pleyte and Boeser, *Manuscrits*, Ms. Insinger 28, pp. 123-126.
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.9 (= A.7)	Forms of the Invocation	10-11 c.	Paper		Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 150, pp. 35-36.
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.10 (= A.8)	Oratio Fractionis; Oratio Dominica; Oratio Osculi Pacis; Oratio Act Apostol; Oratio Evangelii	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VF	Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 151, pp. 36-37; Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 66, p. 69.

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.13 (= A.9)	Anaphora; Oratio Fractionis	10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VE	Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 152, pp. 37-38; Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*.
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.14-15 (= A.10)	Unidentified	9-10 c.	Parchment		Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 153, pp. 38-39.
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.15 (= A.10)	Part of an Oratio Inclinationis	9-10 c.	Parchment		Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 153, pp. 38-39.
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.16 (= A.10)	Oratio Absolutionis ad Patrem	9-10 c.	Parchment		Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 153, pp. 38-39.
London, BL, Or. 6877	Anaphora; Eucharistic Liturgy	9-10 c.	Parchment		Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 64, p. 67 (unknown origin)
London, BL, Or. 6954(25)	Anaphora; Intercessory Prayers from the Eucharistic Liturgy; Greek with passages in Coptic	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VB	Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', p. 160; Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 65, p. 68.
London, BL, Or. 6954(30)-(32)	Anaphora; Eucharistic Liturgy	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VF	Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 66, p. 69.
Louvain, ms. Lefort n° 27 (burnt in 1940)	Anaphora	6 c.	Parchment		Lefort, *Les Manuscrits*, n° 27, pp. 102-104, pl. IX.

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
Louvain, ms. Lefort n° 29 (burnt in 1940)	Palimpsest: second text: Anaphoral Intercession	Second Text: 11-12 c.	Parchment		Lefort, *Les Manuscrits*, n° 29, pp. 106-109.
Louvain, ms. Lefort n° 30 (burnt in 1940)	Part of a Euchologion (not identified and partly deciphered)	10 c.	Parchment		Lefort, *Les Manuscrits*, n° 30, pp. 109-110.
Louvain, ms. Lefort copt. s. n., f. 1-4 (burnt in 1940)	Anaphora Basilii	Text 7 c. Ms 9 c.	Parchment		Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora, α*, pp. 95-96; Doresse and Lanne, *Un témoin*; Quecke, Review of Doresse and Lanne, *Un témoin*, pp. 496-498.
Manchester, JRL, n° 21	A Prayer of the Kiss of Peace of St. Gregory	10-11 c.	Paper		Crum, *Catalogue JRL*, n° 21, pp. 7-8.
Manchester, JRL, Suppl. 11	Anaphoral Service: Prayer of Thanksgiving, after the receiving of the Holy Mysteries, which closes the liturgy of St. Cyril	9-10 c.	Parchment		Crum, 'New Coptic Manuscripts', pp. 498-499.
Paris, BnF, Copte 129(20) f. 137–138	Euchologion	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VF	Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 66, p. 69.
Paris, BnF, Copte 129(20) f. 121–136	Anaphora	10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VE	Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe.*

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (100) f. 1–11	Anaphora Gregorii; Anaphora Cyrilii etc.	10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VE	Engberding, 'Untersuchungen', pp. 59-75; Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*; Lietzmann, 'Sahidische Bruchstücke'; Zanetti, 'Deux prières', pp. 318-326.
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (108) f. 1	Pars anaphorae in Deiparam	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VB	Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 65, p. 68; Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 108, p. 221.
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (109) f. 1-2	Pars anaphorae in Deiparam	9-10 c.	Parchment		Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 109, p. 222.
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (110)	Euchologion	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VF	Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 66, p. 69; Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 110, p. 222.
Rom, BAV, Vat. copt. 103, f. 2	Anaphora Basilii	11 c.	Paper		Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, g, p. 97-98; Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici*, n° 103, f. 2, p. 692; Quecke, 'Ein sahidisches Fragment', pp. 137-147.

3.6. *Homilary*

Sermons of the church fathers play an important role in the liturgy
of the White Monastery. As the typika demonstrate, most of them
belong to the famous abbot and third archimandrite of the White Mon-
astery, Apa Shenoute of Atripe, mentioned already above. The codico-
logical investigations on Shenoute's works have for years been one of
the best-developed fields in Coptic studies. The 'Shenoutologists'[105]
have been studying the vast amount of fragments and reconstructing
their codicological structure.[106] In his study on the 'Shenoute's Literary
Corpus', Stephen Emmel presents eighty-eight reconstructed codices
containing the abbot's works.[107] He divides Shenoute's works into three
types: canons, discourses, and letters.[108] The discourses in particular
have a direct connection to the Monastery's liturgy.[109] As evident in the
typika, they were read regularly during Sunday vigils. Most likely, She-
noute's letters played a part in the service as well, but for that we have
only a vague reference.[110] The typika also demonstrate that the sermons
of Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea (the Great) and Severus
of Antioch were preached during vigils at the White Monastery as
well.[111] In all likelihood, some of the great church fathers are missing
in the list of preachers popular in the White Monastery, because several
of the sermons' incipits are still lacking identification on account of the
damaged state of the fragments. Of course, the greatly reduced state of
the liturgical source should always be borne in mind when analysing
the data.

The sermons, as texts of the church fathers, have not been neglected
by the coptologists, but the codices with their works have never been

[105] Ugo Zanetti listed the coptologists' working on Shenoute's writings as such. See
Zanetti, 'Liturgy in the White Monastery' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), p. 208.
[106] A team, under the direction of S. Emmel, is working on a critical edition of Shen-
oute's works. The first volumes are to be expected soon.
[107] See the 88 tables in Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3),
pp. 390-539.
[108] Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 3-4, n. 3.
[109] *Ibid*., pp. 235-382.
[110] Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext' (see 5.4.2.1), pp. 39-40.
[111] See the following typikon witnesses to Athanasius of Alexandria: MONB.NP, Ann
Arbor, UML, Mich. Ms. 110 + Cairo, IFAO, Copte 225Ar, l. 1 and verso, l. 7-8; MONB.
WD, Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 81 (Ins. 38a) f. 2r, l. 5 and Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 81
(Ins. 38a) f. 2v, l. 19-20. As for Basil of Caesarea (the Great), see MONB.NP, Vienna,
ÖNB, P.Vindob. K 9741r, l. 12-13. As for Severus of Antioch, see MONB.WD, London,
BL, Or. 3580A f. 1v, l. 19-22.

investigated from a liturgical point of view. In the library catalogues, the homiletic works follow the liturgical manuscripts as a different unit of the catalogue; in addition, the liturgical purpose of the homilies is rarely indicated. Without a doubt, the sermons for the liturgy were arranged in special codices not designed for monastic reading, but so as to serve as homilary books for the preacher. S. Emmel has reconstructed five such codices containing Shenoute's discourses with liturgical rubrics and designated them 'Shenoute lectionaries'. Most likely, these five codices with the cmcl sigla MONB.DD, DR, DT, YQ, ZQ served as homilaries for use during the White Monastery liturgy.[112] To identify other homilaries with sermons by other church fathers apart from Shenoute is an important future task for specialists in Coptic studies. Alin Suciu plans to dedicate his future research to this task.

3.7. *The Codices for the Priest's Assistants – Deacons, Cantors, and Lectors*

The codicological situation for the other liturgical 'actors' — deacon, lector, and cantor — is much more complicated and has hardly been investigated. Such codices have been the focus of my recent ongoing studies. In the following, I sketch a summary of the latest results, for which detailed references can be consulted in the articles mentioned in the bibliography 5.4.2.1. These results would not have been possible without the efforts and observations of such renowned scholars of Coptic liturgy as H. Quecke, U. Zanetti and H. Brakmann.[113]

The White Monastery library possessed large liturgical codices (300-600 pages), consisting of the libelli for the priest's assistants, such as deacons, cantors and probably lectors. Up to the present, I have reconstructed eighteen[114] of these codices. Due to the fact that the codices usually begin with typika, I refer to them as liturgical codices with typika. Such codices contain many different parts, designated also as libelli. At the beginning we find the typika, which are also called directories, with incipits of the biblical readings for the Mass, and other

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[112] Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (see bibliography 5.4.1.3), pp. 361-376.
[113] See the bibliography 5.2 and 5.4.2.1.
[114] This is the most up-to-date number. My previous publications give a different number which has changed in light of ongoing research.

directories containing several chant incipits. In such directories, the liturgical feast is always mentioned. These two types of directories are accompanied by lists with incipits of other texts, such as the discourses by Apa Shenoute of Atripe, or psalm verses used as hymns in the Coptic liturgy. However, these lists contain only the incipits without mention of their association with liturgical feasts or occasions. This larger part with directories and lists covers at least the first 200 or 300 pages of such a codex. After that, libelli usually follow which contain the entire texts of the hymns mentioned before as incipits in the directories. After such a large section comes the libellus of the deacon. To conclude, the liturgical codices for the priest's assistants are built in three sections:

– the first includes the directions for the lector and the cantor as incipits
– the second gives the entire text of various hymns for the cantor
– the third presents the deacon's text.

The codicological situation, however, is much more complicated and this classification oversimplifies the matter, because each of these parts has its own complicated structure which deserves detailed study.[115] However, some additional remarks can be found in the following presentation on various parts of the codex for the priest's assistant.

3.7.1. The Typika – The Directories of Pericopae

Following the libelli order of a liturgical codex from the White Monastery, I begin with the typika.[116] The directories with pericopae providing instructions for the lector were less neglected in the past.[117] They correspond directly to the Sahidic lectionaries and thanks to the good

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[115] For years I have been working on a study referring to the first section of such codices. Some preliminary observations can be looked up in my articles in 5.4.2.1. I am also planning in the near future to begin a new project regarding the hymns in the Coptic liturgy and aimed also at the second section. The third part will be the focus of a collaborative future study planned by H. Brakmann and me. All three studies will be published in the series *Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum*.

[116] In Coptic studies, the term 'typikon' designates parts of liturgical codices listing incipits of biblical lections, hymns and sermons, arranged according to the liturgical calendar. See bibliography 5.4.2.1.

[117] See Drescher, Maspéro, Zanetti in the bibliography 5.4.2.1.

editorial state of the Coptic New Testament, the identification of the biblical incipits is not problematic if enough letters from the incipits are preserved. The investigation of the liturgical calendar from the typika brought to light a few new saints celebrated in the White Monastery, as for example Apa Sei,[118] the soldier, commemorated on 25 of Tobi (20 of January) or Apa Seth,[119] an archimandrite of the White Monastery, celebrated on 29 of Tobi (24 of January).

Among the liturgical codices with typika, the only exception is codex MONB.NP, where texts for the lector occur as a whole and not only as incipit instructions.[120] All other typika do not include complete lections in their codex structure. In the White Monastery tradition, it is the lectionary codices that provide the whole text of the biblical readings for the lector.

3.7.2. The Typika – The Directories of Hymns

Directions for the cantor are also found in the first section. Here, only the incipits of hymns occur.[121] Psalm verses serve as hymns in Coptic liturgy, constituting a large part of such incipits.[122] It is not yet clear whether some codex parts provide the psalm texts as a whole or not. There are lists with psalm verses arranged according to a keyword and, in all probability, they are to be chanted at length but further examination is required.[123] There are also hymns that were not taken from the Psalter. These can be found in the second section of the codex, which contains the whole text of chants.

The typika provide evidence of all kinds of hymns bearing puzzling names. In the first place there are directories with hymns termed in the Coptic liturgy 'hermeneiai'. They always occur with their responsories

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[118] See the typika references MONB.WC, Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 82A (Ins. 38b) + Paris, BnF, Copte 133(2) f. 15c + f. 21 verso, l. 24, and MONB.WL, Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 82B (Ins. 38c) recto, l. 24.

[119] See the typikon references MONB.WC, Venezia, Bibl. Nan. copt. frg., Mingarelli-Fragm. XIX recto, l. 22; MONB.WL, Leiden, RMO, Ms. Copte 82B (Ins. 38c) verso, l. 22. See also René-Georges Coquin, 'Le synaxaire des Coptes: Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Haute Égypte', *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978), pp. 351-365, on pp. 361-362.

[120] See Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 32-80.

[121] See Junker, Quecke, Urbaniak-Walczak in the bibliography 5.4.2.1.

[122] Quecke, 'Psalmverse' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 101-114.

[123] Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 32-80.

which are called in Coptic simply 'the answer'. Identifying such hymn incipits is not a laborious matter because they are taken from the Sahidic Psalter. Problematic, however, is the question why the Copts designated such psalm hymns by the Greek name 'hermeneia', meaning 'interpretation', 'translation'. A satisfactory answer is wanting. The directories of hymns include Greek psalm verses as well, but they are chanted in the dismissal of the liturgy. In the Coptic manuscripts, such Greek psalm verses are called 'hymnos'. Despite the non-standard spelling of the Greek words, identifying such psalm verses is not difficult. The last type of hymns mentioned in the directories is the so-called 'trisagion' and 'poiekon' hymns. Because these hymns were expressly composed for the liturgy, they are indicated both by incipit in the first part of the liturgical codex and as a complete text in the second part of the liturgical codex. Due to the fact that these hymns are written in Greek and only the 'poiekon' hymns have their Coptic counterpart which always translates the Greek text, one can conclude that these hymns were originally composed in Greek and imported into the Coptic liturgy. Comparison of the Greek hymns in the Coptic liturgy with the Greek hymns in the Byzantine tradition has not been undertaken. The study of these hymns is altogether in its initial stages. Not only do the texts themselves raise problems, but also their designation. Though coptologists such as W.E. Crum and H. Quecke tried to explore the meaning of the word 'poiekon', a convincing explanation is still lacking. One can assume that it is a Greek word with the Coptic article π for masculine singular. W.E. Crum suggested that the word 'poiekon' should be derived from the Greek word 'oikos' without explaining the phonetic transformations of this word into Coptic.[124] This issue remains a mystery for specialists in Coptic studies. The problem cannot be solved as long as any Greek originals in the Byzantine liturgical tradition are not identified and a critical edition of these hymns with translation into a modern language is lacking.[125] Studies in this direction by specialists in Byzantine hymnography are most welcome.

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[124] Crum, *Catalogue BM* (see bibliography 5.1), p. 45. In my opinion, Crum's suggestion is more plausible than others because it refers to a term from Byzantine hymnography. Some other explanations have been summarised in Henner, *Fragmenta* (see bibliography 5.4.2.2), pp. 121-122. See also Brakmann, 'Fragmenta' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 142-149.

[125] Regarding future investigations, see here n. 115.

3.7.3. The Diaconicon – The Deacon's Book

The last part of a codex for the priest's assistants belongs to the deacon. An overview of the deacon's fragments from the White Monastery can be found in Jutta Henner's investigation on the *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica* published in 2000.[126] However, this study should be used along with the in-depth review of it written by Heinzgerd Brakmann, in which he also offered a list of diaconicon fragments.[127] The deacon's book is a good guide for understanding the procedure of a service due to the fact that it has more extensive rubrics than the euchologia.[128] The codicological reconstruction of at least six different codices with deacon's parts indicated in the table below by their cmcl sigla belongs to the results from my research on the liturgical codices with typika.[129] Some of the fragments in the following table do not bear cmcl sigla because their typikon parts are missing and they require further investigation. Preliminary observations on the codicological state of the diaconica suggest that the diaconicon fragments form part of a liturgical codex with typika for the priest's assistants.[130]

All diaconicon fragments presently known are ordered alphabetically according to their shelf marks in the table below. Some additional information such as material, century[131] and important bibliographic references describe the fragments in detail. The inventory list includes some of the sigla from the cmcl database, which designate liturgical codices with typika.

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[126] Henner, *Fragmenta* (see bibliography 5.4.2.2), pp. 130-150.

[127] Brakmann, 'Fragmenta' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 155-161.

[128] 'In ostkirchlichen Liturgien wie der koptischen greifen generell Priester- und Diakonentexte ineinander wie die beiden Seiten eines Reißverschlussses'. See Brakmann, 'Fragmenta' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), p. 156. See also Zanetti, 'Liturgy in the White Monastery' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), p. 203.

[129] My newly awakened curiosity for the diaconica of the White Monastery derives from Brakmann's interest in this topic. He has been investigating the diaconal texts for years. We decided to unite our different approaches to the material and plan a study with a textual edition of these fragments, which will be published in the series *Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum*.

[130] See the suggestion in Brakmann, 'Fragmenta' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), p. 156, n 177.

[131] See n. 104.

Diaconica – The Deacon's Books

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
Berlin, SBB, ms.or. fol. 1609 Bl. 4	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VB	Buzi, *Catalogue*, forthcoming.
Cairo, IFAO, n° 241A	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.NP	Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext', pp. 60-61; Louis, *Catalogue*, n° 29, forthcoming.
Cambridge, UL, Or. 1699 AA	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VB	Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 65, p. 68.
Leiden, RMO, Copte 72 (Ins. 29) pag. 182/183, Copte 73 (Ins. 30) pag. 166-17	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VB	Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', pp. 159, 168; Coquin, 'Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique', p. 40; Henner, Fragmenta, pp. 146-147; Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 65, p. 68; Pleyte and Boeser, *Manuscrits*, MS. Insinger 30, pp. 130-132; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, n° 759, p. 272.
Leiden, RMO, Copte 74 (Ins. 31)	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.WE	Pleyte and Boeser, *Manuscrits*, MS. Insinger 31, pp. 133-135; Henner, Fragmenta, p. 147; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, n° 760, p. 273.
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.12 f. 1–12	Diaconale	9-10 c. (?)	Parchment		Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 155, pp. 41-44. (from Siut)
London, BL, Or. 3580 A.18b (= A.13)	Diaconale of Anaphora Basilii	before 10 c.	Parchment	MONB.WM	Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', p. 168; Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, η, p. 101; Coquin, 'Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique', p. 41; Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 156, pp. 44-45; Engberding, 'Zu Or. 3580 A (13)', pp. 135-138; Henner, *Fragmenta*, p. 144; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, n° 924, p. 927.

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
London, BL, Or. 4917(6)	Diptych for Deacon's use in Greek and Coptic		Parchment		Crum, *Catalogue*, n° 971, p. 400.
London, BL, Or. 6954 (28)	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.NP	Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext', pp. 60-61; Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', pp. 150, 160-161; Henner, *Fragmenta*, pp. 151-161, 245-247; Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 68, pp. 71-72.
Louvain, ms. Lefort n° 28 (burnt in 1940)	Greek–Coptic Diptyche	9-10 c.	Parchment		Lefort, *Les Manuscrits*, n° 28, pp. 105-106.
New York, MLM, 664B(11)	The deacon's part of Liturgical Manual containing extracts for the service of the Holy Chrism in Greek; Alphabetical hymn for Apa Shenoute in Coptic	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.NP	Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext', pp. 60-61; Depuydt, *Catalogue*, n° 60, pp. 121-122.
Paris, BnF, Copte 129(20) f. 139-145	Diaconale of Anaphora Basilii (f. 139v-140r)	before 10 c.	Parchment	MONB.WA	Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, ε, pp. 99-100; Coquin, 'Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique', p. 41; Henner, *Fragmenta*, p. 145.
Paris, BnF, Copte 129(20) f. 146	Diaconale (?)	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.WA	—
Paris, BnF, Copte 162 f. 1-5	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment		Henner, *Fragmenta*, pp. 145-146; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, n° 855, p. 286.
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (101), f. 1-8, pag. 27-42	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment		Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', pp. 159, 168; Henner, *Fragmenta*, pp. 147-150; Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 101, pp. 220-221.

Inventory number	Content	Century	Material	cmcl sigla	Bibliography
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (105), f. 3-4, pag. 87-94	Hymns; Diaconale of Anaphora Basilii (pag. 92-94)	before 10 c.	Parchment	MONB.WL	Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, ζ, p. 100; Coquin, 'Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique', p. 40; Henner, *Fragmenta*, pp. 144-145; Quecke, *Stundengebet*, p. 301, n. 8; Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 105, p. 221.
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (108, f. 1), pag. 178/179	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.VB	Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', pp. 160, 168; Layton, *Catalogue*, n° 65, p. 68; Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 108, p. 221.
Rom, BAV, Borgia 109 (109) pag. 256/257, 282/283	Diaconale	9-10 c.	Parchment		Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', pp. 160, 168; Zoëga, *Catalogue*, n° 109, p. 222.
Wien, ÖNB, P.Vindob. K 9742	Diaconale of Anaphora Basilii	9-10 c.	Parchment	MONB.WM	Brakmann, 'Fragmenta', pp. 160, 166-167; Budde, *Basilios-Anaphora*, θ, pp. 101-102; Henner, *Fragmenta*, pp. 183, 250-251.

3.7.4. The Lectionary – The Book for the Lector

Among all liturgical manuscripts from the White Monastery the lectionaries have been least neglected. Along with all extant Sahidic lectionaries, they were taken into account in the first Sahidic critical edition of the New Testament made by George Horner from 1911 to 1924.[132] In descriptions of collections, the lectionaries were typically counted among biblical manuscripts. Exceptions to this are the Leiden catalogue of 1897 by Willem Pleyte and Pieter Boeser as well as the forthcoming catalogue of the fragments at the French Institute in Cairo by Catherine Louis. In these catalogues, the lectionaries are included among the liturgical manuscripts. The Sahidic lectionaries have also been taken into account in thematic catalogues, such as the catalogue of Münster published online as the SMR database or the catalogue 'Biblia Coptica' (see above 3.3). Both catalogues list New Testament manuscripts, lectionaries included, and they reconstruct the original biblical codices and explore in detail their contents. The catalogue 'Biblica Coptica' also includes Old Testament manuscripts and some other liturgical items apart from the lectionaries, if they contain biblical readings. The non-biblical liturgical parts of such codices are not of interest in the catalogue. Thus, thanks to the efforts of these German scholars we are well informed as to the content of various lectionary fragments. The codicological reconstruction of the lectionaries is also in an advanced stage. Of course, the lectionaries have been part of the cmcl database since the beginning. This intensive study of the Sahidic lectionaries by several specialists in three different places created a strange situation in the field of Coptic studies, because for one lectionary codex we have three different designations.[133]

The Sahidic lectionaries, including those from the White Monastery library, have gained longer and more intensive study than other liturgical items, and codicologically they are relatively well understood. The task that remains is to create a critical edition of the different lectionary types

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[132] George Horner, *The New Testament in the Southern Dialect otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*. I: *The Gospel of S. Matthew and S. Mark* (Oxford, 1911); II: *The Gospel of S. Luke* (Oxford, 1911); III: *The Gospel of S. John. Register of Fragments, Etc. Facsimiles* (Oxford, 1922); IV: *The Epistles of S. Paul* (Oxford, 1920); V: *The Epistles of S. Paul (continued). Register of Fragments, etc.* (Oxford, 1920); VI: *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1922); VII: *The Catholic Epistle and the Apocalypse* (Oxford, 1924). The reprint edition of the seven volumes has been published in 1969 by Otto Zeller, Osnabrück.

[133] See, for example, the table above with the Hamuli liturgical codices.

such as the annual lectionary, Holy Week lectionary or sabbato-kyriakai lectionary. We have examples of all these types preserved either as complete codices or as fragments from the White Monastery as well as from St. Michael's Monastery. A critical edition should not only present the Sahidic biblical text used during the Coptic liturgy, but also answer the question as to whether the Sahidic Bible had two recensions — one for liturgical and another for non-liturgical purposes. Preliminary comparison of the biblical incipits in the typika and the *textus receptus* of the Coptic Bible give reason to ask this question.[134]

Since an enormous number of lectionary fragments survive and since they are available online for free on the SMR database, a tabular overview is not offered here.

4. Future Tasks in the Study of the Primary Sources on Southern Egyptian Liturgy

After this overview on Southern Egyptian liturgical sources, I wish to conclude this article highlighting some general tasks which ought to be done in the future by both coptologists and scholars of oriental liturgy:

– Cataloguing of the collections of Coptic manuscripts which still lack proper description in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, the University Library in Cambridge, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, etc., should be undertaken in the near future. For example, from the vast collection (over 3,500 items) of the Coptic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, we have descriptions and only a good catalogue of the Biblical fragments.[135]

– The search through the unidentified and unedited leaves in different collections in order to find new fragments from the White Monastery

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[134] See, for example, both the textual tradition of the Coptic translation of the Gospel of Mark and the question about the liturgical use of both traditions already asked by A. Boud'hors, which still does not have a satisfactory answer. Anne Boud'hors, 'L'Evangile de Marc en copte sahidique: essai de clarification', in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12-15 August 1992*, eds. Tito Orlandi and David W. Johnson, vol. 2 (Rome, 1993), pp. 53-65, on p. 63.

[135] Anne Bouvarel-Boud'hors, *Catalogue des fragments coptes. I. Fragments bibliques nouvellement identifiés* (Paris, 1987). The list by E. Lucchesi (see 5.1) is rather an inventory.

including liturgica should be intensified. Although this task incurs high material costs including acquiring photos of manuscripts and working with the originals, museum archaeology has become more and more common.[136] Unfortunately, the path to produce this knowledge is long, difficult and very expensive, because there are only a few libraries in the world that post images online and these are usually from fragments already published. The current practice of some libraries, for example the *Papyrussammlung* of the Austrian National Library, to make photos of the manuscripts available to everybody online is welcome and is to be encouraged.

– Identifying the provenance of items already catalogued and published should be attempted. There are many fragments in known collections that lack an identification of provenance.[137] Among them there are probably items from the White Monastery library.

– The contents of the liturgical items already attributed to the White Monastery or suspected to be from the White Monastery have to be defined more precisely.[138]

– Identifying liturgical homilaries among patristic works is an advanced task for the future.

– Searching for dated manuscripts by scribes who also copied liturgical texts should be promoted as major support to the dating of the liturgical manuscripts from the White Monastery and other Sahidic liturgica.

– Editing and investigating liturgical texts from both libraries, especially the unknown euchologia, the deacon's books and the books with chants, should be further pursued. Many of the liturgical books do not yet have a critical edition and this is an area wide open for further scholarship.

Of course, this list mentions only a few of the most important tasks that lie before specialists in both Coptic studies and oriental liturgy. Both are invited to make their contributions by achieving these challenging tasks.

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[136] I was fortunate enough to identify in 2009 two typikon fragments in Ann Arbor and Strasbourg. See Atanassova, 'Paper codices' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 1-23, on pp. 6, 9, and Atanassova, 'A new typikon fragment' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1).

[137] As example can serve van Haelst, *Catalogue* (see bibliography 5.1).

[138] Such liturgical texts are in the first place amulets with liturgical character in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester. See Crum, *Catalogue JRL*, n° 25-n° 36, pp. 9-13 ('Ashmunain collection'); n° 54-60, pp. 21-23.

5. Bibliography on the Southern Egyptian Liturgy

The following bibliographical list supplements the overview above. It is arranged thematically, first according to both monastic libraries and second according to the liturgical book types within each of the libraries. The bibliographical data for every book type are ordered alphabetically according to the author's name. The purpose of this list is to facilitate the work of scholars who are not specialists in Coptic studies but interested in the primary sources on Southern Egyptian liturgy. Specific indications of liturgical items in the catalogues are given in brackets. In the past, catalogues included lectionaries with biblical items and not with liturgical ones, and the homilaries were counted among homiletic literature. Therefore, the data in brackets refer to Sahidic liturgical manuscripts that are designated as such in the catalogues.

5.1. *Catalogues with Southern Egyptian Liturgical Items*

Anne Boud'hors, *Catalogue des fragments coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg. I. Fragments bibliques*, CSCO, 571, Subs. 99 (Leuven, 1998). [pp. 60-62]

Anne Boud'hors, 'Le catalogage des textes coptes du Louvre', in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20.–26. Juli 1996*, eds. S. Emmel, M. Krause, S.G. Richter and S. Schaten, Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, 6, 1-2 (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 257-267. [p. 267 lectionary fragments]

Paola Buzi, *Koptische Handschriften 7: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Homiletische und Liturgische Handschriften aus dem Weißen Kloster*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XXI.7 (Wiesbaden, forthcoming)[139].

Paola Buzi, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Copti Borgiani conservati presso la biblioteca nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" di Napoli (con un profil scientifico dei Stefano Borgia e Georg Zoega e una breve*

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[139] The catalogue is still forthcoming, but my colleague P. Buzi gave me the opportunity to get acquainted with her text. However, it is not possible to give exact information on the liturgical items included there.

storia della formazione della collezione Borgiana), Memorie Serie, 9, 25/1 (Rome, 2009). [Hymn p. 334]

Walter Ewing Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905). [pp. 30-51, 399-406]

Walter Ewing Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester and London, 1909). [pp. 7-24]

Walter Ewing Crum, 'New Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 5 (1920), pp. 497-503. [pp. 498-500]

Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4,1 (Leuven, 1993). [pp. 69-81, 84-99, 105-122]

Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Album of Photographic Plates*, Photographed by David A. Loggie, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 5,2 (Leuven, 1993). [all pl. of n° 51, 54, 58, 59, 60]

Adolphus Hebbelynck and Arnoldus van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani*, Tomus I, *Codices Coptici Vaticani* (Vatican, 1937). [pp. 692-693]

Henri Hyvernat, 'Fragmente der altcoptischen Liturgie', *Römische Quartalschrift* 1 (1887), pp. 330-345, pl. X-XI. [Sahidic liturgica from Rome, cf. Zoëga's catalogue n° 100-110]

Henri Hyvernat, 'Fragmente der altcoptischen Liturgie', *Römische Quartalschrift* 2 (1888), pp. 20-27. [Sahidic liturgica from Rome, cf. Zoëga's catalogue n° 100-110]

Bentley Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts In the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906* (London, 1987). [pp. 61-79]

Louis-Théophile Lefort, *Les manuscrits coptes de l'université de Louvain*. Vol. I. *Textes Littéraires* (Louvain, 1940). [pp. 102-112, pl. IX]

Catherine Louis, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits littéraires coptes conservés à l'IFAO du Caire: Contribution à la reconstitution de la Biblliothèque du monastère Blanc* (Paris, forthcoming). [n° 21 - n° 35][140]

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[140] The catalogue is still unpublished, but my colleague C. Louis kindly made her thesis available to many coptologists including me. The catalogue's numbers in the thesis will not change in its forthcoming publication.

Enzo Lucchesi, *Répertoire des manuscrits coptes (sahidiques) publiés de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Préface de Paul Devos, Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 1 (Geneva, 1981).

Johannes Aloysius Mingarelli, *Aegyptiorum codicum reliquiae Venetiis in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatae. Fasciculus III*. (Bononiae, 1790?). (Unpublished, but galley proofs exist in Berlin, SBB, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ao 3613; Bologna, BUB, MS. 2947bis and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cat. Mss. Marc. 9.) [Fragm. XVIII and Fragm. XIX – for the two liturgical items see Atanassova, 'Das Typikon-Fragment aus Venedig' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), pp. 105-122, and Atanassova, 'Der kodikologische Kontext' (see bibliography 5.4.2.1), [pp. 32-80]

Willem Pleyte and Pieter Adriaan Aart Boeser, *Manuscrits coptes du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden, 1897). [pp. 4-19, 123-265][141]

Josef van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976). [pp. 263-330]

Arnoldus van Lantschoot, 'Cotation du fonds de Naples', *Le Muséon* 41 (1928), pp. 217-224. [p. 224 Napoli, BN, I.B. 17.01, fasc. 483]

Georg Zoëga, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Avec une introduction historique et des notes bibliographiques par Joseph-Marie Sauget (Hildesheim and New York, 1973; reprint of Rome, 1810). [pp. 176, 189, 220-222]

5.2. *General Literature*

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Zu den Liturgien des christlichen Ostens', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 24 (1982), pp. 377-410.

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Zu den Liturgien des christlichen Ostens', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 30 (1988), pp. 303-410.

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1984-1988)', in *Actes du IVe congrès copte, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988*, vol. 2: *De la linguistique au gnosticisme*, eds. M. Rassart-Debergh and J. Ries, Publications de

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[141] n° 49 on p. 266 is not liturgical. See Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica* 1,4 (see bibliography 5.4.2.3), sa 101, pp. 25-36.

l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 41 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 419-435.

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1988-1992)', in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12-15 August 1992*, eds. Tito Orlandi and David W. Johnson, 2 vols. (Rome, 1993), pp. 9-32.

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1992-1996)', in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20. – 26. Juli 1996*, eds. Stephen Emmel, M. Krause, S.G., Richter and S. Schaten, Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, 6,1-2, (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 451-464.

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1996-2000)', in *Coptic studies on the threshold of a new millennium. I-II. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000 edited on behalf of the International Association for Coptic Studies (IACS)*, eds. Mat Immerzeel and Jacques van der Vliet with the assistance of Maarten Kersten and Carolien van Zoest, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 133 (Leuven, 2004), pp. 575-606.

Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (2000-2004)', in *Huitième congrès international d'études coptes (Paris 2004). I. Bilans et perspectives 2000-2004*, eds. Anne Boud'hors and Denyse Vaillancourt, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte, 15 (Paris, 2006), pp. 127-149.

Hans Quecke, 'Zukunftchancen bei Erforschung der koptischen Liturgie', in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R.McL. Wilson, Coptic Studies, 1 (Leiden, 1978), pp. 164-197.

Kurt Treu, 'Christliche Papyri XII', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 32 (1986), pp. 87-97.

Kurt Treu, 'Christliche Papyri XIII', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 34 (1988), pp. 69-78.

Janet Timbie, 'A Liturgical Procession in the Desert of Apa Shenoute', in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden, 1998), pp. 415-441.

Janet Timbie, 'Once More into the Desert of Apa Shenoute: Further Thoughts on BN 68', in *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, Volume 1: *Akhmim and Sohag*, eds. Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla (Cairo and New York, 2008), pp. 169-178.

Jutta Henner, *Fragmenta liturgica coptica: Editionen und Kommentar liturgischer Texte der Koptischen Kirche des ersten Jahrtausends*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 5 (Tübingen, 2000).

5.3. *Liturgical Sources from St. Michael's Monastery in Hamuli*

Maria Cramer and Martin Krause, *Das koptische Antiphonar*, Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum, 12 (Münster, 2008). [M 575]

Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4,1 (Leuven, 1993). [pp. 69-81, 84-99, 107-121]

Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Album of Photographic Plates*, Photographed by David A. Loggie, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 5,2 (Leuven, 1993). [all pl. of n° 51, 54, 58, 59]

Henri Hyvernat, *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan Codices Coptici photographice expressi*, 56 vols. in 63 (Rome, 1922). [vol. XI, XII, XIII, XIV facsimiles of M 615, M 573, M 574, M 575]

Karl Heinz Kuhn and W.J. Tait, *Thirteen Coptic acrostic hymns from Manuscript M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Oxford, 1996). [M 574]

Leslie S.B. MacCoull, 'Review of Karl Heinz Kuhn and W.J. Tait, *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns from Manuscript M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Oxford, 1996)', in *Chronique d'Égypte* 73 (1998), pp. 197-199. [M 574]

Hans Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 3 (Louvain, 1970). [M 574 pp. 91-445]

Helmut Satzinger, 'Review of Karl Heinz Kuhn and W.J. Tait, *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns from Manuscript M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Oxford, 1996)', in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 92 (2002), pp. 221-223. [M 574]

Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink, *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien*, 2. Teil, 2. Halbband, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 15 (Berlin and New York, 1991). [M 615, pp. 1077-1080; M 573 pp. 1080-1083]

Karlheinz Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament*. Bd. 3, Lieferung 2: sa 521-540

(Wiesbaden, 2003). [M 573 pp. 55-71]; Lieferung 4: sa 561-585. (Wiesbaden, 2006). [M 615 pp. 46-64]

5.4. *Liturgical Sources from the White Monastery in Sohag*

5.4.1. Codices for the Priests or Bishops

5.4.1.1. The Great Euchologion of the White Monastery

John W.B. Barns, 'Review of *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc*, ed. Emmanuel Lanne', in *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1960), pp. 192-194.

Hieronymus Engberding, 'Untersuchungen zu den jüngst veröffentlichten Bruchstücken sa'idischer Liturgie', *Oriens Christianus* 43 (1959), pp. 59-75.

Mary Farag, 'The Anaphora of St. Thomas the Apostle: Translation and Commentary', *Le Muséon* 123 (2010), pp. 317-361.

Gérard Godron, 'Quelques travaux récents sur la liturgie en dialecte sahidique', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 62 (1964), pp. 5-13.

Wilhelm Hengstenberg, 'Review of Angelicus M. Kropp, 'Die koptische Anaphora des heiligen Ev. Matthäus', *Oriens Christianus* 29 (1932), pp. 111-125', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 36 (1936), pp. 162-165.

Angelicus M. Kropp, 'Die koptische Anaphora des heiligen Ev. Matthäus', *Oriens Christianus* 29 (1932), pp. 111-125.

Emmanuel Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc: Texte copte édité avec traduction française par Dom Emmanuel Lanne*, PO, 28,2, 135 (Paris, 1958).

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[142] The origin of the codices has been included in 'Biblia Coptica' since volume 2,1
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