

New Testament Texts on Greek Amulets
from Late Antiquity and Their Relevance for Textual Criticism

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines New Testament citations on all Greek papyrus and parchment amulets from late antique Egypt. Since New Testament textual criticism does not allow for the inclusion of non-continuous manuscripts (of which amulets are a part) in the official catalogue of manuscripts, a large body of textual evidence has fallen outside the purview of scholars. This dissertation, which constitutes the first systematic treatment of non-continuous manuscripts, seeks to remedy the situation in part by determining the ways in which New Testament texts on amulets may be useful for textual criticism.

This dissertation has three main objectives. The first objective is to define more closely the categories of continuous and non-continuous by formulating criteria for the identification of the latter. The second objective is to propose a method for analyzing the texts of non-continuous artifacts in terms of their text-critical value. The third objective is to establish a comprehensive database of one category of non-continuous artifacts (amulets) and provide a detailed analysis of both their texts and containers (i.e., physical manuscripts).

By analyzing a largely untapped source of New Testament textual data, this project contributes to a methodological question in textual criticism concerning its categories and provides a wealth of source material for the study of the reception of the Bible in early Christianity. Thus, while the study is targeted at textual critics, it contributes to a conversation about early Christianity that is much larger than the project, as these texts demonstrate the various ways in which early Christians used scripture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has its genesis in a Q&A session at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in New Orleans, 2009. Geoffrey Smith had just announced a new papyrus amulet from Oxyrhynchus containing a citation of Mark 1:1-2, when Michael Theophilos raised his hand and asked: “As a rule, this amulet will not be listed in the official list of New Testament manuscripts. So what will be its significance to the field overall?” A “rule”? “Why could it *not* be catalogued with other manuscripts?,” I thought. And so began the journey. The amulet in question is P.Oxy. 76.5073 and is featured below (*no. 16*).

A project like this would not have been possible without the help and support of many individuals. In particular, I thank my doctoral supervisor, André Gagné, who has gone above and beyond in helping me become the scholar that I am today. He has informed my scholarship and thinking in many ways, and I will always be indebted to him for his contributions, both professionally and personally. I am also grateful to the other members of my doctoral examining committee: Lorenzo DiTommaso, Carly Daniel-Hughes, Amy S. Anderson, and Stephen Yeager.

Special thanks goes to Adela Yarbro Collins, who kindly agreed to direct a seminar in papyrology and textual criticism in 2010 during my Masters studies at Yale University. Our visit to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library to see and handle papyri was infectious and served as the stimulus for my fascination with the wonderful field of papyrology.

Many of the publications consulted in the research stages of the dissertation appeared long ago in obscure, and often defunct, periodicals and books. I am thankful to the following colleagues for securing scans of obscure but necessary publications that were not easily accessible to me: Tyler Smith, Hany Takla, Lorne Zelyck, Peter Malik, Brian Larsen Wells, and Sonja Anderson. Several other scholars have kindly assisted me at various stages of the project. In particular, I am grateful to the following people for answering questions and offering

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	x
List of Abbreviations.....	xi
Editorial Conventions.....	xvi
Chapter 1: Introduction and Survey of Scholarship.....	1
1.1 Project Summary.....	1
1.2 Classifying Greek New Testament Manuscripts: The <i>Liste</i>	8
1.3 Survey of Research on Non-Continuous Text Manuscripts.....	14
1.3.1 Stuart R. Pickering.....	14
1.3.2 Stanley E. Porter.....	17
1.3.3 Peter M. Head.....	20
1.4 Project Limitations and Outline.....	23
1.4.1 Project Limitations.....	23
1.4.2 Outline.....	25
1.5 Conclusion.....	27
Chapter 2: Terminology and Criteria.....	28
2.1 Defining Non-Continuous.....	28
2.2 Criteria for Identifying Non-Continuous Artifacts.....	29
2.2.1 Criterion #1: Textual Continuity between Recto and Verso.....	29
2.2.2 Criterion #2: The Use of Amulets.....	31
2.2.3 Criterion #3: Presence of the Word ἐρμηνεία.....	38
2.2.4 Criterion #4: Context of Citation.....	41

2.2.5 Criterion #5: Specific Content of New Testament Citation	43
2.3 Conclusion	46
Chapter 3: Method of Textual Analysis	47
3.1 Introduction	47
3.2 A Prolegomenon: The Analogy of Patristic Citations	47
3.3 Method of Textual Analysis Adopted in the Study.....	57
3.4 Conclusion	61
Chapter 4: Amulets and Their Texts	64
4.1 Editorial Procedure	64
4.1.1 Transcriptions, Headings, and Images	64
4.1.2 Paratextual Features and Historical Function	65
4.1.3 Palaeography.....	66
4.2 Amulets and Their Texts.....	67
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Results	192
5.1 Introduction.....	192
5.2 Patterns and Results of Textual Evaluation	193
5.2.1 Patterns.....	193
5.2.2 Results of Textual Evaluation.....	198
5.3 Suggestions for Further Research	201
Bibliography	203
Appendix 1: Cataloguing the Evidence	233
Appendix 2: Von Dobschütz Numbers.....	241

List of Figures

Figure 1.....	71
Figure 2.....	101
Figure 3.....	150
Figure 4.....	160
Figure 5.....	163
Figure 6.....	182
Figure 7.....	182
Figure 8.....	237
Figure 9.....	238
Figure 10.....	238
Figure 11.....	239

List of Tables

Table 1	198
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Aland, Repertorium</i>	Aland, Kurt. <i>Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Biblische Papyri, Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen</i> . PTS 18; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1976.
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> , ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1885-1887. 10 vols. Repr. Peabody, Mass., Hendrickson, 1994.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ANTF</i>	Arbeiten zur neutestamentliche Textforschung
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>ASP</i>	American Studies in Papyrology
<i>BAC</i>	Bible in Ancient Christianity
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BETL</i>	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BICSSupp</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement
<i>BKT</i>	Berliner Klassikertexte
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBET</i>	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBNTS</i>	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament series

CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
col/s.	column/s
CSS	Cistercian Studies Series
De Bruyn and Dijkstra	De Bruyn, Theodore S. and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra. "Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets." <i>BASP</i> 48 (2011): 163-216.
<i>Eranos</i>	<i>Eranos. Acta philologica Suecana</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FC	Fathers of the Church. Washington, D.C., 1947-
fig/s.	figure/s
frg/s.	fragment/s
GA	Gregory-Aland number
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
inv.	Inventory
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
JSNTSupp	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

L./l./ll.	line/s
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LDAB	<i>Leuven Database of Ancient Books</i> [http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/]
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
Mertens-Pack ³	Paul Mertens' updated catalogue to R.A. Pack's <i>The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt</i> (2 nd ed.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965).
NA ²⁷	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , ed. [E. Nestle and E. Nestle], Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger. 27 th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsch Bibelgesellschaft, 1993.
NA ²⁸	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , ed. [E. Nestle and E. Nestle], Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger. 28 th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsch Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . 10 vols. North Ryde: Macquarie University/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976–.
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
<i>NKGW</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>

<i>NTTRU</i>	<i>New Testament Textual Research Update</i>
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
no./nos.	number/s
PG	Migne, J.-P., ed. <i>Patrologia Graeca Cursus Completus</i> . 161 vols. Paris: Vives, 1857-1866.
PGM	Preisendanz, Karl, ed. <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechen Zauberpapyri</i> . 2 vols. Rev. ed. A. Henrichs. Stuttgart: K. G. Saur Verlag GmbH & Co., 1973.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
SAA	Studia antiqua australiensia
SBLNTGF	Society of Biblical Literature New Testament in the Greek Fathers
SBLTCS	Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies
SBLWGRW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World
SD	Studies and Documents
SGAWGW	Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
TS	Texts and Studies
TC	<i>TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism</i> [http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/]

TENT	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
trans.	translation
txt	text of the Nestle-Aland 28 th edition
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

All texts edited in this dissertation are edited according to the standard “Leiden” system established in 1931 and described by Eric G. Turner in *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980²), 187-188, 203.

αβγδ	Letters that are uncertain or could be read in more than one way
[αβγδ]	Letters restored by the editor of the text
<αβγδ>	Letters or words omitted by the scribe but filled in by the editor
< >	Lacunae in the text (erroneous omissions of the scribe)
(αβγδ)	Abbreviations resolved by the editor
[[αβγδ]]	Letters or words written but then cancelled by the scribe
˘αβγδ˘	Letters or words written by the scribe above the line
.....	Unreadable traces of letters, the number of which is estimated
[..] or [±2]	Lacuna in which the number of missing letters is estimated
{αβγδ}	Letters or words wrongly added by the scribe and cancelled by the editor

Papyrus editions and papyrological journals are cited according to John F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://SCRIPTORIUM.LIB.DUKE.EDU/PAPYRUS/TEXTS/CLIST.HTML>. References to LDAB, followed by numbers, refer to literary manuscripts listed in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books, online and updated at <http://WWW.TRISMEGISTOS.ORG/LDAB/>. Reference to Gregory-Aland numbers for New Testament manuscripts may be found at the online edition of the *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, at <http://NTVMR.UNI-MUENSTER.DE/LISTE>. General abbreviations follow the *SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP

1.1 Project Summary

“Read the beginning of the Gospel and see.” Such are the words introducing the text of Mark 1:1-2 in a fourth century amulet found in the ancient city of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt.¹ No doubt these words served as instructions to the one wearing the amulet. As with most amulets from late antique Egypt, the text inscribed upon it was recited as part of a ritual invoking the divine for some favor, healing, or protection. We do not know who wore this amulet, but we do know from its opening lines that its owner was instructed to read the text of the Gospel of Mark. For this ancient person, these words were not just *any* words. They were the *right* words required for the particular ritual carried out. And as it so happens, this amulet is not unique. Many amulets from late antique Egypt bear witness to the use of New Testament texts. For more than a century, however, New Testament textual critics have by and large dismissed these texts as secondary witnesses, classifying them as non-continuous manuscripts.

In the discipline of New Testament textual criticism, there are three primary kinds of evidence used to establish the text of the New Testament: 1) Greek manuscripts, 2) versions (Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Georgian, etc.), and 3) quotations and allusions (e.g., from the church fathers). For a Greek manuscript to qualify for classification, it must be a *continuous* manuscript, that is, a manuscript “containing (originally) at least one New Testament writing in continuous

¹ The text is P.Oxy. 76.5073 (*no. 16* below).

fashion from beginning to end.”² The relevance of *non-continuous* manuscripts—manuscripts or fragments thereof that did *not* contain at least one New Testament writing from beginning to end—has been anything but clear. Examples of non-continuous texts include isolated New Testament citations on amulets, inscriptions, ostraka, wooden tablets, school texts, and so on.

In the first half of the twentieth century, a few non-continuous artifacts enjoyed a place, albeit only briefly, within text-critical discussions as well as in the standard list of Greek New Testament manuscripts.³ Along the way, however, this category of manuscripts was called into question: are such texts actually valuable for reconstructing the text of the New Testament? This question of course was especially important to editors of the Greek New Testament, who were forced to make decisions about the type of evidence that should be used for the purpose of establishing a critical edition of the Greek New Testament. In the middle of the twentieth century, the decision was made that only non-continuous manuscripts could be formally classified and included in the critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament.⁴ Thus, Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux could say in 1986 that non-continuous text manuscripts “n’ont guère d’importance pour la critique textuelle, ce sont plutôt des curiosités.”⁵ As a result of this restriction within the discipline, numerous artifacts containing New Testament citations have been relegated to the margins of textual study.

In the following sections, we shall examine various reasons why non-continuous manuscripts of the New Testament are considered problematic for textual research. But it should

² Eldon J. Epp, “The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (1st ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 5. Stuart R. Pickering states that “[C]ontinuous texts [are]...texts which were originally written out as continuous and complete copies of whole books” (“The Significance of Non-Continuous New Testament Textual Materials in Papyri,” in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts. The Papers of the First Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. D.G.K. Taylor [TS 1; Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999], 122).

³ This is discussed more fully below.

⁴ On the systems of New Testament manuscript classification, see below.

⁵ Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *Initiation à la critique textuelle néotestamentaire* (2nd ed.; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1986), 49.

be stated at the outset that the neglect of these witnesses within the guild of New Testament textual criticism seems to be in part a result of the traditional preoccupation with the quest for the “original text,” that is, the text the author wrote.⁶ The search for the original text has traditionally involved the study of *early* and more *extensive* manuscripts. Manuscripts with earliest ascribed dates have traditionally been considered superior because their texts are closer in time to the original writings that no longer survive.⁷ And since we are fortunate to possess early manuscripts containing extensive amounts of text, later fragmentary manuscripts of various kinds have often been subordinated to these more extensive ones. It is, therefore, no surprise that the earliest reconstructed text of the New Testament, as represented by the Nestle-Aland editions, is largely established on the basis of the large fourth and fifth century majuscule codices, particularly Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus. It is for these and other reasons that additional witnesses have been of secondary importance, namely, because they post-date the early fourth and fifth century majuscules, and because their citations are often not very extensive. This is certainly the case with non-continuous manuscripts, but it is also true of patristic citations and versions, which have only been used sparingly. William L. Peterson has called for a more serious consideration of these secondary witnesses (i.e., patristic citations and versions), arguing that the search for the original text should go beyond the parameters of the New Testament manuscript tradition.⁸ But in comparison, there has been very little effort to assess the significance of non-continuous witnesses.

⁶ On the relevance of the concept of an “original text,” see the momentous study by Eldon J. Epp, “The Multivalence of the Term ‘Original Text’ in New Testament Textual Criticism,” *HTR* 92 (1999): 245-281; idem, “It’s All About Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism,” *HTR* 100 (2007): 275–308.

⁷ It is of course wrong to assume that earlier manuscripts always contain early readings and that late manuscripts always contain late readings. Indeed, readings in later witnesses have been found to have early support, so the age of a manuscript is not necessarily a reflection of the quality of its text. See the comments by J.K. Elliott, “Can We Recover the Original New Testament?” *Theology* 77 (1974): 338-353. On the putative superiority of the papyri, see the discussion in the review of Stanley E. Porter below.

⁸ William L. Petersen, “What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?” in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis, and Early Church History*, ed. Barbara Aland and Joël Delobel (CBET 7; Kampen: Kok, 1994), 136-151.

The situation is completely different when we look outside the field of New Testament textual criticism. In most other disciplines, isolated citations within non-continuous fragments (as defined above) are used without hesitation for the purpose of textual reconstruction, as well as for the study of textual transmission.⁹ In classical papyrology, scholars exploit many different kinds of inscribed artifacts in an attempt to improve our understanding of ancient texts. We can mention just three examples here.

The first is P.Köln Gr. 7.282 (LDAB 2657; second/third century C.E.), an isolated school text on the verso of a documentary register containing a citation of the opening scene of Menander's *Misoumenos*.¹⁰ Its classification as a school text did not prevent it from being used in the critical apparatus of a modern edition; P.Köln Gr. 7.282 is used as a principle witness (siglum "C") to lines 18-33 of *Misoumenos* in W.G. Arnott's 1996 edition.¹¹ In fact, quite a few school exercises of Homer's *Iliad and Odyssey* are included in major editions of those works.¹²

We also know that Homer was cited in amulets, and this brings us to our second example: P.Philammon 9 (LDAB 2143; fifth/sixth century C.E.).¹³ The text of this papyrus consists of at least eleven healing or iatromagical spells for a variety of physical ailments, including fever, headache, hemorrhaging, and so on. The formularies require the one writing or using the spells to

⁹ For citations of the Hebrew Bible within early Jewish "magic," particularly within Aramaic incantation bowls (a type of amulet produced in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor), see Joseph Angel, "The Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic," *Religion Compass* 3/5 (2009): 785-798, and most recently Christa Müller-Kessler, "The Use of Biblical Quotations in Jewish Aramaic Incantation Bowls," in *Studies on Magic and Divination in the Biblical World*, ed. Helen R. Jacobus, Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme, and Philippe Guillaume (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013), 227-245, and the literature cited there.

¹⁰ First published by B. Boyaval, "Le prologue du *Misoumenos* de Ménandre et quelques autres papyrus grecs inédits de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire," *ZPE* 6 (1970), 1-33; see also the discussion of this fragment in Eric G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work* (Durham: Duke University, 1973), 15-21. In addition to the Cairo fragment published by Boyaval, a related fragment was subsequently found in Cologne (Papyrussammlung P. 96). For the most up-to-date edition of these fragments, see Michael Gronewald and Klaus Maresch, eds., *Kölner Papyri (P.Köln), Band 7* (Papyrologica Coloniensia; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991).

¹¹ W.G. Arnott, *Menander*, vol. 2 (LCL 459; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

¹² The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were very often employed as school texts. A recent check in the LDAB brings up 126 hits for a search for "Homerus" + "school text," and the majority of those are catalogued and included in major editions (e.g., Mertens-Pack, Allen-West-Sutton).

¹³ First published in Wilhelm Schubart, ed., *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden IV* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912), no. 1026; see LDAB 2143 for subsequent literature.

write or recite a passage from Homer's *Iliad*, and it is stated that the applied artifact will then produce the desired effect.¹⁴ These citations of Homer are listed in several major catalogues and editions of Homer, including Martin L. West's Teubner edition, where it is assigned the siglum "w2."¹⁵

In the third case, we may cite P.Flor. 2.259 (LDAB 1320; third century C.E.), a private letter from Timaios to Heroninos, in the margin of which is a citation of *Iliad* 2.1-2 (written transverse in a second hand).¹⁶ This papyrus is listed in several catalogues and cited in major editions, including West's edition, where it is assigned the siglum "w8."¹⁷ Thus, for papyrologists and scholars of classical antiquity, citations of classical literature are catalogued, studied, and cited in critical editions irrespective of whether the text in question is continuous or non-continuous.¹⁸

In many ways, then, it is surprising that New Testament scholars have let some texts fall to the wayside for the sole reason that they were never a *complete* text. Moreover, in addition to any text-critical disadvantage of this exclusionary criterion, there is also the disadvantage of losing view of the social value of these artifacts. As one scholar laments, New Testament manuscripts should not be "treated simply as repositories of variants, as if all 5,000 manuscripts

¹⁴ "[For one who suffers from elephantiasis, write this] verse and give it [i.e., the amulet] [to him/her] to wear: '[As when a] woman stains ivory with Phoenecian purple.'" Trans. from Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells* (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 260 (= PGM 2:147, no. P22a). The citation is in verbatim agreement with *Iliad* 4.141.

¹⁵ See Mertens-Pack³ no. 6001; Martin L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (München: K.G. Saur, 2001), 136; idem, *Homerus Ilias, Volumen Prius, Rhapsodiae I-XII* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1998), LVII.

¹⁶ Published in Domenico Comparetti, ed., *Papiri greco-egizii, papiri Fiorentini*, vol. 2 (Milan: Hoepli, 1908-10).

¹⁷ See Mertens-Pack³ no. 0623; West, *Studies*, 136; idem, *Homerus Ilias*, LVII.

¹⁸ According to Roger S. Bagnall, "[i]n a broad sense, papyrology is a discipline concerned with the recovery and exploitation of ancient artifacts bearing writing and of the textual material preserved on such artifacts" ("Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], xvii); cf. the statement by Eric G. Turner: "Pieces awaiting publication will tend to be the smaller, less complete, less straightforward ones. A fortunate combination may produce a worthwhile bulk of continuous text; but often such luck is denied the worker" (*Greek Papyri: An Introduction* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1980], 72).

were a giant container with these variants within them.”¹⁹ All written artifacts deserve to be studied, large or small, whole or fragmentary, even if they do not provide a form of text useful for textual criticism. As Harry Gamble so aptly states:

Whatever else a text may be or may signify, it is a physical object, and as such it can be described, deciphered, and bibliographically located. Yet the physical object is also a social artifact. Its content was composed, its vehicle selected, and the words transcribed in a particular way [...] By observing precisely how the text was laid out, how it was written, and what it was written on or in one has access not only to the technical means of its production but also, since these are the signs of intended and actual uses, to the social attitudes, motives, and contexts that sustained its life and shaped its meaning. From this perspective a clean distinction between textual history and the history of literature is neither possible nor desirable.²⁰

In other words, an inscribed artifact is just as much a *social artifact* as it is a *textual artifact*. But opportunities to explore these wider issues are stifled when certain bodies of evidence are excluded from classification and discussion in allegiance to some rigid criterion.

In a final section of his *Story of the New Testament Text* titled “Future Tasks,” Robert F. Hull lists ten suggestions for future research in New Testament textual criticism, the fifth of which reads as follows: “What can we learn from the analysis of New Testament quotations and allusions in noncontinuous sources (inscriptions, amulets, private letters, unidentified papyrus texts)?”²¹ It is without question that such a systematic analysis is needed. For too long in the discipline of textual criticism, non-continuous manuscripts have received insufficient attention. Thus, we must take up Hull’s invitation to analyze these sources.

This dissertation, which represents the first systematic treatment of non-continuous artifacts, has three main objectives. The first objective is to define more closely the categories of continuous and non-continuous by formulating criteria for the identification of the latter. The

¹⁹ Stanley E. Porter, “New Testament Studies and Papyrology: What Can We Learn from Each Other?” in *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien 22.-28. Juli 2001*, ed. Bernhard Palme (Papyrologica Vindobonensia 1; Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 559-572, at 562.

²⁰ Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 43.

²¹ Robert F. Hull, *The Story of the New Testament Text: Movers, Materials, Motives, Methods, and Models* (RBS 58; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 190. Similarly, with respect to amulets citing scripture, Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman say that “[a] full discussion of these scriptural amulets awaits further study” (*The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* [4th ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 296).

second objective is to propose a method for analyzing the texts of non-continuous artifacts in terms of their text-critical value. The third objective is to establish a comprehensive database of one category of non-continuous artifacts (amulets) and provide a detailed analysis of both their texts and containers (i.e., physical manuscripts).

My hope is that this study will be a useful guide for subsequent research on the non-continuous witnesses of the New Testament. Yet, while the study is targeted at textual critics, it also contributes to a conversation about early Christianity that is much larger than the project, as these texts demonstrate the various ways in which early Christians used scripture (e.g., as apotropaic devices).²² In other words, while one of the goals is to determine precisely in what ways amulets can and cannot be useful for textual criticism, the other goal is to analyze the forms and functions of the actual materials and to consider them in light of their historical context. This twofold approach (textual and social) is necessary in my mind if we are to appreciate fully the ways in which these specific New Testament passages were considered meaningful to some early Christians. Moreover, it is in line with the goals of textual criticism today, which, in addition to reconstructing the text of the New Testament, has the goal of reconstructing the history of the text over space and time. But before we commence with these more specific analyses, it is necessary to provide a description of previous research on the question concerning the nature of non-continuous manuscripts within New Testament textual criticism. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the project limitations and outline adopted in the present study.

²² Tommy Wasserman says it well: “[T]he history of the text is also the history of the scribes who read and re-created their texts for various reasons. The recent developments in NT textual criticism have brought forward a renewed interest not only in individual manuscripts and their environment, but in the whole history of the text and its wider historical context” (*The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* [CBNTS 43; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006], 26).

1.2 Classifying Greek New Testament Manuscripts: The *Liste*

The problems associated with non-continuous witnesses are best illustrated by a discussion of manuscript classification. For the last few centuries, editors have been citing manuscripts in the critical apparatuses of their Greek New Testaments to show textual deviation from the printed or editorial text. But the main points of disagreement among editors have concerned the questions of *which* witnesses to cite and *how* to cite them. I do not wish to rehearse here the entire history of editions, which can be found in most contemporary handbooks on New Testament textual criticism, but a brief description of manuscript classification is necessary for illustrating the origins of the problem.

Johann Jakob Wettstein created the first coherent system of manuscript classification for his 1751-1752 edition of the Greek New Testament.²³ Wettstein classified more than two hundred New Testament manuscripts in his edition on the basis of three main categories: majuscules, minuscules, and lectionaries. Capital Roman letters were employed for the majuscules (A = Alexandrinus, B = Vaticanus, C = Ephraemi Rescriptus, D = Bezae, etc.), Arabic numerals for the minuscules and lectionaries (1, 2, 3, etc.).²⁴ The principal edition of the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, Constantine von Tischendorf's *editio octava critica maior* (1869-1872), followed Wettstein's system generally, albeit with modifications in order to account for new manuscript discoveries.²⁵ For example, Tischendorf assigned superscripts to the existing capitals

²³ *H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Graecum edionis receptae cum lectionibus variantibus codicum MSS. Editionum aliarum. Versionum et Patrum nec non commentario plenoire. Ex Scriptoribus veteribus Hebraeis, Graecis et Latinus. Historiam et vim verborum illustrante opera et studio Joannis Jacobi Wetstenni.* 2 vols. Amsterdam: Dommerian, 1751-52. Reprint, Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1962. Prior to Wettstein, John Mill, in his 1707 edition, had employed a system of citation in which manuscripts were identified by their location.

²⁴ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2nd ed., rev. and enl.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995; German original, 1981), 72.

²⁵ Among editors of the Greek New Testament, Tischendorf holds the prize for the most manuscript discoveries and the extensiveness of his critical apparatus is still unsurpassed insofar as hand editions are concerned.

to signify distinct manuscripts (e.g., F^a, I^b, O^a), as well as the Hebrew letter ך for his prize discovery, Codex Sinaiticus, which he set ahead of the ABCD series.²⁶

A major development was achieved in 1908 when Caspar René Gregory introduced a new system of manuscript classification in his *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (hereafter, *Liste*).²⁷ Gregory's goal was to introduce a logical system of classification that would eliminate the problems and difficulties inherent in the systems of his predecessors. Prior to Gregory, the way in which manuscripts were listed in the critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament, that is, by the siglum given to each manuscript, varied from one edition to the next. Gregory sought to establish a universal system that would be based on four categories of manuscript classification: 1) *Grosschriften* (majuscules);²⁸ 2) Papyri;²⁹ 3) *Kleinschriften* (minuscules); and 4) *Lesebücher* (lectionaries). Thus, a manuscript could be categorized on the basis of its *script* (categories 1 and 3), *material* (category 2), or *function* (category 4).³⁰ Gregory employed the siglum Ϙ for papyri and listed individual manuscripts as consecutive superior numerals.³¹ Majuscules (*Grosschriften*), which by definition are manuscripts written in majuscule

²⁶ *Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit*. Editio octava critica maior; 2 vols. (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869-72).

²⁷ Leipzig: Hinrichs. In modern New Testament text-critical parlance, the term *Liste* (German for "catalogue") normally refers to the authoritative *Kurzgefaßte Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (more on which see below). However, Gregory's 1908 inventory (and its continuation) is consistently referred to in the literature as a "*Liste*" (and "list" in English).

²⁸ The terms "uncial" and "majuscule" have traditionally been seen as synonymous, but "uncial" is a Latin term that originally referred to the number of letters to a line, not a style of script. In this study, we shall use the term "majuscule." On this confusion, see Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon: 1971), 1-2; William H.P. Hatch, "The Origin and Meaning of the Term 'Uncial,'" *Classical Philology* 30.3 (1935): 247-254; Christopher de Hamel, *The Book. A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2001), 54-55.

²⁹ Gregory's 1908 *Liste* recorded *Grosschriften* first and Papyri second. The order was later reversed by Ernst von Dobschütz, and has not changed since.

³⁰ These categories would later be criticized, on which see below.

³¹ It should be noted that Gregory did not himself come up with the idea of using the letter Ϙ as an abbreviation for "papyri." He mentions that Frederick Kenyon in England had already been using Ϙ for this purpose: "Kenyon hat dafür das in England vielfach angewendete Zeichen für Papyri, ein deutsches oder wohl richtiger ein mittelalterliches Ϙ vorgeschlagen" (*Griechischen Handschriften*, 26).

script on parchment, were assigned an Arabic numeral preceded by a zero.³² Wettstein had employed capital letters for majuscules, but as new manuscripts were discovered, later editors were forced to use the Greek and Hebrew alphabets, since the number of letters in the Roman alphabet had been surpassed. Gregory's system solved this problem, since numerals, unlike single letters, were unlimited in number. In previous generations, minuscules had separate numbering systems for different parts of the New Testament.³³ Gregory abandoned this practice and established a new one by assigning to minuscules (*Kleinschriften*) an Arabic number beginning with 1, which could be used for all sections of the New Testament. The same method used to classify the minuscules (i.e., using Arabic numerals) was also applied to the lectionaries, with the exception that an italicized lower case *l* preceded the number to signify that the manuscript is a lectionary.

Thus, we have the following four-fold system:

Papyri: P¹, P², P³...
Majuscules: 01, 02, 03...
Minuscules: 1, 2, 3...
Lectionaries: *l* 1, *l* 2, *l* 3...

There were other attempts by scholars to design a functional system for citing manuscripts in a critical apparatus, but Gregory's classification proved most effective and is still in use today.³⁴

Important for our study is Gregory's classification of 0152 (= O.Athens inv. 12227; LDAB 5594), an amulet containing the text of Matt. 6:9-13 (the Paternoster), and 0153 (Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale inventory no. unknown; LDAB 2991), which represents twenty

³² David C. Parker has suggested that the zero may in fact be a capital O signifying the word "uncial," French for "uncial" (*An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008], 37). Gregory himself is silent on this issue, but the graphic presentation of the character in question is identical to other zeros in the *Liste* (e.g., U/030), which suggests to me that we are dealing with the number zero, not a capital O.

³³ For example, Wettstein began a new number series for each of the four categories of New Testament writings. He recorded minuscules in the Gospels to 112, in the Pauline letters to 60, in the Apostolos to 58, and in Revelations to 28. See Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 72.

³⁴ For example, Hermann Freiherr von Soden's ambitious four-volume edition, which was judged a "failure." For a critique of von Soden's edition, see Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 22-23.

Greek ostraka, containing several portions of the four Gospels.³⁵ This was the first time anyone had formally classified ostraka or amulets—non-continuous by definition— among the manuscripts of the New Testament. Gregory maintained the *Liste* until 1915, increasing the numbers of manuscripts to Ƴ¹⁹, 0169, 2326, and / 1565.³⁶

In 1923, Ernst von Dobschütz of Halle became keeper of the list of manuscripts, and registered new manuscripts as they were reported to him.³⁷ Von Dobschütz first published an updated version of the *Liste* in his 1923 revision of Eberhard Nestle’s *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, and then in a series of articles.³⁸ It was in this revision of Nestle’s *Einführung* that von Dobschütz singled out the amulets and gave them a category of their own, using the Gothic letter Ʒ to denote “talisman.”³⁹ Thus, 0152 (= O.Athens inv. 12227) from Gregory’s *Liste* was reclassified by von Dobschütz as Ʒ¹. In essence, what von Dobschütz did through this re-classification was create a new category on the basis of a manuscript’s function; the lectionary category, of course, had already been established on this basis. By 1928, the

³⁵ My attempts to locate 0153 have been unsuccessful. The IFAO staff in Cairo have assured me that the items did not leave the collection, but they were also uncertain of the whereabouts. There is an interesting note about GA 0152 (O.Athens inv. 12227) by Adolf Deissmann: “Die von R. Knopf Athenische Mitteilungen 1900 S. 313ff. und Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft 2 (1901) S. 228ff. veröffentlichte ‘Tonscherbe’ aus Megara mit dem Text des Vaterunsers ist keine Scherbe (wenn *Scherbe* das Bruchstück z. B. eines zertrümmerten Gefäßes ist), sondern eine wohl eigens für die Inschrift hergestellte Tafel; die Schrift wurde in den noch weichen Ton eingekratzt und dann durch Brennen fixiert. Ich sah die Tafel am 28. April 1906 im Museum zu Athen und besitze einen Gipsabguß” (“The ‘fragment of earthenware’ from Megara with the text of the Lord’s Prayer, published by R. Knopf, Athenische Mitteilungen, 1900, p. 313ff., and Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft, 2 (1901) p. 228ff., is not a fragment of a broken vessel, not a true ostrakon, but a tablet no doubt made specially to receive the inscription. The writing was scratched on the soft clay and then made permanent by baking. I inspected the table on 28 April, 1906, at Athens, and a plaster cast of it is in my possession”). *Licht vom Osten: Das neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistische-römischen Welt* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1909), 31 n.3. English trans. (slightly modified) from *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (trans. Lionel R.M. Strachan; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), 48 n.2.

³⁶ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 74.

³⁷ Aland and Aland note that von Dobschütz’s expansion of Gregory’s *Liste* is the result of other scholars’ discoveries and not his own, unlike Gregory, whose own personal discoveries advanced the *Liste* (*Text of the New Testament*, 74).

³⁸ Ernst von Dobschütz, *Eberhard Nestle’s Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament* (4th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923), 85-103; idem, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften II,” *ZNW* 25 (1926): 299-306; “III,” *ZNW* 27 (1928): 216-222; “IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 185-206.

³⁹ Von Dobschütz, *Nestle’s Einführung*, 86.

number of talismans had grown to six.⁴⁰ In von Dobschütz's fourth and final supplement of Gregory's *Liste*, published one year prior to his death in 1933, the number of talismans had increased to nine. But there had also been a significant modification in this last supplement, as von Dobschütz created a whole new category: ostraka. In fact, he re-classified Gregory's 0153 as Ⓞ¹⁻²⁰ to represent this single lot of Gospel ostraka, and then listed five additional ostraka (up to Ⓞ²⁵). Therefore, the *Liste* had grown to include two new categories (talismans and ostraka), as well as several new manuscripts for each category.⁴¹

Von Dobschütz's successor was Kurt Aland, whose first report appeared in 1950.⁴² Aland was efficient in keeping the *Liste* up to date, as several more supplements were published in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.⁴³ What is immediately evident from these supplements is that Kurt Aland did not continue registering amulets or ostraka, as von Dobschütz had done. Thus, Aland's omission of these materials marks the turning point in the classification of non-continuous manuscripts. In fact, the previously registered amulets and ostraka were suddenly and *without explanation* removed from the *Liste* by Aland and have not yet reappeared; our attempts to find a reason in the literature for their removal from the *Liste* have been unsuccessful. In Aland's authoritative *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*—the first

⁴⁰ Von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften III," *ZNW* 27 (1928): 218.

⁴¹ A complete list of von Dobschütz's "talisman" and ostakon numbers may be found in Appendix 2.

⁴² Kurt Aland, "Zur Liste der griechischen neutestamentlichen Handschriften," *TLZ* 75 (1950): 58-60. Surprisingly, Aland and Aland claim that Kurt Aland's first report was in 1953 (*Text of the New Testament*, 74). But it is clear that his first publication on the *Liste* appeared in *TLZ* in 1950, in which he claims for the first time that he had taken leadership of the *Liste*: "Im Einvernehmen mit ihm [Walter Eltester] hat vor einigen Monaten dann Kurt Aland die Führung der Handschriftenliste im bisherigen Rahmen übernommen" ("Zur Liste," 58). Walter Eltester of the Berlin Academy had taken over the *Liste* following the death of von Dobschütz, but he never published any updates (although he had become aware of additional papyri). Cf. the list of papyri compiled by Bruce Metzger three years earlier and the comments there about Eltester in "A List of Greek Papyri of the New Testament," *ExpTim* 59.3 (1947): 80-81, at 80.

⁴³ Kurt Aland, "Zur Liste der griechischen neutestamentlichen Handschriften," *TLZ* 78 (1953): 465-496; "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften V," *ZNW* 45 (1954): 179-217; "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften VI," *ZNW* 48 (1957): 141-191; "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri," *NTS* 3.4 (1957): 261-286; "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," *NTS* 9.4 (1963): 303-316; *NTS* 10.1 (1963): 62-79; *NTS* 11.1 (1964): 1-21; *NTS* 12.3 (1966): 193-210; "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III," *NTS* 20.4 (1974): 357-381; *NTS* 22.4 (1976): 375-396.

printed edition appearing in 1963 and the second in 1994—Gregory’s 0152 and 0153 are bracketed, indicating that they are to be removed from the *Liste*.⁴⁴ In the second edition, Aland states explicitly in the footnotes to 0152 and 0153 that these categories were not continued: “[D]ie Liste der Talismane (fortgeführt bis T⁹...) wurde nicht fortgesetzt...[D]ie Liste der Ostraka, geführt von O¹⁻²⁵...) wurde nicht fortgesetzt.”⁴⁵ Likewise, in Kurt and Barbara Aland’s handbook on New Testament textual criticism, in which an earlier version of the *Liste* appears, 0152 and 0153 are listed as follows:⁴⁶

0152 = Talisman. (Delete from list)

0153 = Ostracon. (Delete from list)

In that same book, Aland and Aland list multiple registered papyri that they claim should be removed from the *Liste*, since they are non-continuous:

Among the ninety-six items which now comprise the official list of New Testament papyri there are several which by a strict definition do not belong there, such as talismans (P⁵⁰, P⁷⁸), lectionaries (P², P³, P⁴⁴), various selections (P⁴³, P⁶²), songs (P⁴²), texts with commentary (P⁵⁵, P⁵⁹, P⁶⁰, P⁶³, P⁸⁰), and even writing exercises (P¹⁰) and occasional notes (P¹²). The presence of lectionaries may be explained as due to a structural flaw in the overall system, the inclusion of commented texts to the lack of an adequate definition for this genre (probably akin to the popular religious tracts of today which feature selected scripture verses with oracular notes), and the other examples are due to the occasionally uncritical attitude of earlier editors of the list.⁴⁷

It is clear, therefore, that when Aland took over the *Liste* the non-continuous text materials that von Dobschütz had registered were removed and his categories “Talisman” and “Ostraka” were altogether discontinued. Kurt Aland’s wife, Barbara Aland, succeeded him as director of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) in Münster (where the *Liste* is maintained),

⁴⁴ Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1963; 2nd ed., in Verbindung mit Michael Welte, Beate Köster und Klaus Junack, 1994).

⁴⁵ Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 33 nn.2-3. In the online edition of the *Liste* (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>), all bibliographic and inventory information for 0152 and 0153 has been completely removed; thus New Testament textual critics have no way of locating the whereabouts of these manuscripts from their own catalogue. Both 0152 and 0153, however, are listed in the LDAB as 5594 and 0384, respectively. This is a good example of how non-continuous manuscripts have fallen outside the purview of textual critics.

⁴⁶ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 123.

⁴⁷ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 85. The Alands’ third explanation of why the amulets and various selections have been included in the official list, i.e., the “uncritical attitude of earlier editors of the list,” is intriguing for one reason: Kurt Aland was responsible for registering most of these!

and she served in this position until 2004, at which time Holger Strutwolf took over as director. At the present time, *the non-continuous New Testament textual materials have almost no place in text-critical research*. As a general rule—a rule that is strictly enforced by the Institute in Münster—non-continuous text manuscripts are prohibited from being registered in the official *Liste*. The immediate effect of this decision is that when new non-continuous manuscripts of the New Testament are discovered, there is no way to classify them; so they quietly fade into obscurity as they have over the last century. Carl Wessely’s “Les plus anciens monuments de Christianisme écrits sur papyri,” Joseph van Haelst’s *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, and Kurt Aland’s *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* improved the situation in some measure in that these catalogues listed some non-continuous texts (with an emphasis on amulets).⁴⁸ The main problem is that these catalogues are not comprehensive in scope, and, furthermore, Aland’s catalogue covers only those texts written on papyrus. No real discussion of the potential value of non-continuous manuscripts would appear until the turn of the century.

1.3 Survey of Research on Non-Continuous Text Manuscripts

1.3.1 Stuart R. Pickering

In 1999, Stuart Pickering published an essay titled, “The Significance of Non-Continuous New Testament Textual Materials in Papyri,” which represents the first publication devoted specifically to the problem of non-continuous text manuscripts.⁴⁹ Pickering began by highlighting the inherent problems of Gregory’s system. He noted that while the first category (i.e., papyri)

⁴⁸ Carl Wessely, “Le plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus (II),” in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau (vol. 18; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924); Joseph van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976); Kurt Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Biblische Papyri, Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia Apokryphen* (PTS 18; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1976).

⁴⁹ In *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts*, 121-141.

signifies *material*, the second and third categories (i.e., majuscules and minuscules) signify *script*, and the fourth (lectionaries) *function*, as we have already seen. It is the terminology that is equivocal here. All papyrus manuscripts are written in a majuscule script, yet they are not placed in the majuscule category; many lectionaries are written in majuscule script and some are on papyrus; and the majority of minuscules are written on parchment.⁵⁰ Thus, there is a considerable amount of confusion with respect to how manuscripts are classified on this model.

Moreover, Pickering lamented the fact that other witnesses, such as those on ostraka, tablets, amulets, etc., have no place at all within the standard classification:

There is therefore a whole body of New Testament textual evidence which awaits the concentrated attention of specialists. The quotations and allusions in papyri have been almost entirely overlooked by New Testament scholarship, even though quotations and allusions are a recognised form of New Testament textual evidence [...] Hence the extracts, quotations and allusions in papyri are largely neglected evidence for reconstructing the New Testament text and tracing its transmission.⁵¹

Pickering observed that, “[i]t *appears* that there has been a tendency to regard this evidence as second-rate, on the grounds that a text such as a school exercise or a magical text is a less reliable transmitter of textual information than continuous texts.”⁵² According to Pickering, however, this is a weak argument, since it wrongly assumes that non-continuous witnesses can “*never* transmit a passage according to the wording which one would expect from a continuous text.”⁵³ In a case study, Pickering uses P.Vindob. G 2312 (see *no. 21* below), an amulet

⁵⁰ Of course Pickering was not the first person to notice these problems. Aland and Aland state in their handbook: “No one would claim logical consistency for this [Gregory’s] system. One of the groups is defined by the nature of the material used (papyrus), two groups by the form of script (uncial, minuscule), and a fourth by the content of the manuscript (lectionaries)” (*Text of the New Testament*, 74).

⁵¹ Pickering, “Significance,” 124.

⁵² Pickering, “Significance,” 124-125 (emphasis mine). Notice that Pickering seems unsure (“it appears”) about the rationale behind the rule of excluding non-continuous manuscripts, doubtless due to the fact that Kurt Aland had never explicitly provided justification for it. Nevertheless, it has been argued, as Pickering notes, that the scribes of ephemeral texts such as amulets, ostraka, or school exercises that contain New Testament quotations or allusions would be more prone to make inaccurate copies of their exemplars than *professional scribes* copying continuous texts.

⁵³ Pickering, “Significance,” 125 (emphasis original). Another weakness of the argument is, of course, that not all continuous New Testament manuscripts were copied by professional scribes. In fact, many papyri exhibit documentary or “reformed documentary” hands, suggesting that these scribes were not professional in the least. According to C.H. Roberts, these manuscripts “are the work of men not trained in calligraphy and so not accustomed to writing books, though they were familiar with them; they employ what is basically a documentary hand but at the

containing Ps. 90:1-2, Romans 12:1-2, and John 2:1-2, to demonstrate that “the scribe (or the scribe’s text) moves in and out of exact correspondence to a standard form of the New Testament passages, shifting in a flexible way between word-for-word transmission and free forms of transmission.”⁵⁴ In his analysis of P.Abinn. 19, a fourth century papyrus letter from the archive of Abinnaeus, Pickering further argues that this papyrus letter apparently quotes a form of the saying about the cup of water in Matt. 10:42, which possesses “Western” affinities.⁵⁵

Pickering succeeds in showing that there is a need to account for this neglected body of data. Now the main question becomes: How are we to collect, evaluate, and present the data in a convenient way? According to Pickering, “it is perhaps necessary to determine what is the irreducible minimum for satisfactory progress.”⁵⁶ This “irreducible minimum,” Pickering argues, should be “a catalogue listing every relevant papyrus and noting the New Testament extracts, quotations and allusions which each papyrus contains.”⁵⁷ This catalogue should be updated to account for new manuscripts as well as revisions to previously published manuscripts, and Pickering suggests that there should be two versions of the catalogue: 1) an online version and 2) a print version. Moreover, Pickering argues that a database of transcriptions of non-continuous text manuscripts should also be created and maintained, since these transcriptions could be used as a reference point for future research. He notes that while there is some duplication built into this process, since editions of most manuscripts already exist, a transcription database “is perhaps unavoidable if the transcriptions are to be specially useful to New Testament text-critical

same time they are aware that it is a book, not a document on which they are engaged. They are not personal or private hands; in most a degree of regularity and of clarity is aimed at and achieved” (*Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* [London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977], 14).

⁵⁴ Pickering, “Significance,” 129. P.Vindob. G 2312 was edited by C.F.G. Heinrici, *Die Leipziger Papyrusfragmente der Psalmen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments 4; Leipzig, 1903), 31-32.

⁵⁵ Edited by H.I. Bell et al., *The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 8.

⁵⁶ Pickering, “Significance,” 130.

⁵⁷ Pickering, “Significance,” 130.

scholars.”⁵⁸ Pickering concludes by saying that “[t]he emergence of sub-groupings and other patterns show that the non-continuous material is capable of throwing light not only on questions of textual reconstruction but on broader questions relating to the circulation and use of New Testament materials.”⁵⁹ The significance of non-continuous text manuscripts, according to Pickering, can be described in terms of how they can help to 1) extend the range of textual evidence, 2) understand scribal copying, 3) inform our understanding of textual distribution and control, 4) understand the ways in which social contexts affected the copying of particular readings, and 5) test and refine methodological approaches.⁶⁰ Pickering’s essay includes a helpful table titled “Examples of papyri containing non-continuous texts of the Gospel of John,” in which he lists twenty-one non-continuous papyri of John’s Gospel.

Pickering’s article underscores the potential importance of non-continuous text manuscripts for the study of the New Testament text and for broader questions relating to their transmission and use. His proposal to create and maintain a manuscript catalogue and transcription database carries with it a huge responsibility of which he is not ignorant.⁶¹ Ultimately, Pickering’s proposals have not been met with approval, as no catalogue or transcription database has yet appeared.

1.3.2 Stanley E. Porter

Writing four years after Pickering, Stanley E. Porter addressed the issue of non-continuous witnesses head-on in his article, “Why So Many Holes in the Papyrological Evidence for the

⁵⁸ Pickering, “Significance,” 131.

⁵⁹ Pickering, “Significance,” 132.

⁶⁰ This is a summary of Pickering’s five points under the heading “Textual” in “Significance,” 139.

⁶¹ Pickering, “Significance,” 131: “The scale of the task should not be underestimated; but a solution to the problem of scale must be found if it is accepted that the evidence of these materials is crucial for New Testament text-critical work.”

Greek New Testament?”⁶² Echoing the criticisms raised by Pickering concerning the disadvantages of the Gregory-Aland system, especially its restriction of data where the non-continuous materials are concerned, Porter argued that the very definition of a continuous text (traditionally defined as a text that originally contained an entire New Testament book) is ambiguous and needs further clarification. He asks, “How much continuous text is necessary for the text to qualify?”⁶³ In other words, what about documents that originally contained only one-third of a New Testament book, or half, or three-fourths? Why should we in principal exclude such documents from classification? By what criteria can we judge a tiny scrap to be continuous? Can we really know on the basis of a verse or a few verses that a manuscript did or did not originally contain a whole book of the New Testament? In regard to the latter, Porter contends, probably correctly, that we cannot.⁶⁴ These are extremely important questions to which we must return (see Criterion #1 in Chapter 2). Porter also states that, in point of fact, many of the lectionaries contain far more text than some of the registered continuous papyri that have so little text (he cites I 1043 as an example), yet they are subordinated to the papyri. Part of the problem here is that, in textual criticism, the papyri have always held a prominent place, so much so that any writing on this material results in a “sensationalist perception and sometimes even magical fascination.”⁶⁵ The Alands’ fascination with the papyri has in many ways affected the general climate within the discipline insofar as this group of manuscripts has been prioritized on account of their putative age and, according to the Alands, textual value; this attitude might explain why

⁶² Stanley E. Porter, “Why So Many Holes in the Papyrological Evidence for the Greek New Testament?,” in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, ed. Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. Sullivan (New Castle: Oak Knoll, 2003), 167-186.

⁶³ Porter, “Holes,” 175.

⁶⁴ The exception here, according to Porter, is the presence of the word ἐπισημεία, which signifies a type of commentary on the text and thus indicates that the manuscript in question is non-continuous. For more on this type of manuscript, see Chapter 2 below.

⁶⁵ Thomas J. Kraus, “‘Parchment or Papyrus?’ Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts,” in *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity—Selected Essays* (TENT 3; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 15. See also Epp, “Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament,” 3-21.

so many non-continuous *papyri* have been retained in the *Liste*.⁶⁶ However, scholars have contended that this bias is completely unwarranted, since a manuscript's material or age is not indicative of textual quality.⁶⁷ Ultimately, Porter proposes that there should be two lists of New Testament manuscripts: the first list “would be given to those documents for which there is little or no doubt regarding their being New Testament manuscripts,” and the second list “would include those documents for which there is some doubt, such as the *papyri* noted above (including lectionaries), the Apocryphal Gospels, as well as some other manuscripts.”⁶⁸ In a subsequent publication, Porter expanded on his proposal by clearly identifying the two lists in terms of continuous and non-continuous categories:

I have suggested above that a shift from the type of material to the nature of the content of the manuscripts—whether they are continuous text or not—might provide a way of moving forward in textual criticism. This proposal of one category for continuous text manuscripts and one for those that are not allows reclassification within the current list of manuscripts so that the evidence that certain manuscripts contain will not be lost even if they are reassigned. Perhaps as important, if not more so, is that the second list provides a means of bringing into consideration, but without necessarily altering the nature of New Testament textual criticism, manuscripts that in many cases have been overlooked or marginalized because they have failed to be assigned to the categories currently in use.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ In their handbook, Aland and Aland say, “These ‘great’ *papyri* should be introduced to students from the start because they are just as important, and in many ways more important, than the great uncial manuscripts of the New Testament” (*Text of the New Testament*, 57-58). Even the items in Kurt Aland’s *Repertorium I* are, as the title suggests, restricted to this material. In 1979, Kurt Aland made the astonishing claim that the early *papyri* afforded the opportunity to study the New Testament text “in the original” (“The Twentieth-Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black*, ed. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 1-14, at 11).

⁶⁷ See, for example, J.K. Elliott, “The Early Text of the Catholic Epistles,” in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 204-224. Elliott’s fine and indeed poetic response to the question of why *papyri* are privileged by textual critics is worth repeating here: “Shakespeare may wisely have remarked that some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them (Twelfth Night 2.5), but few—if any—*papyri* look as if they were born great...They are like elder statesmen basking in their own longevity, revered as custodians of an otherwise lost link to the distant past. But most *papyri* have had their greatness thrust upon them, whatever the dates allocated to them by palaeographers (and a significant number of *papyri* are indeed later than the fifth century), partly because they are all of recent discovery, thus making their arrival on a scholar’s radar relatively newsworthy, partly because most are published soon after they are unearthed so gaining for themselves a popularity due to their being quickly in the public domain, and partly because the gullible believe that there is an unwarranted magic associated with their having been written on *papyrus*” (224).

⁶⁸ Porter, “Holes,” 176.

⁶⁹ Stanley E. Porter, “Textual Criticism in the Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal,” in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Text and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (TENT 2; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 305-337, here 337.

Porter asserts that the second list could be divided into sub-units, and that manuscripts could be assigned to these various sub-units based on the *type* of non-continuous text they exhibit (e.g., liturgical texts, apocryphal texts, amulets, excerpts, etc.).⁷⁰

On the one hand, Porter's second list would resolve the problem of exclusion by systematically accommodating non-continuous witnesses. Space could finally be given to these secondary witnesses within the system of classification. On the other hand, however, Porter does not offer a clear method on how to establish whether a manuscript is continuous or non-continuous; a method of delimitation is an inescapable *sine qua non* in the classification of continuous and non-continuous manuscripts, and so here we are back to the problem of definitions.⁷¹ Moreover, there is a question of how the two lists would work in practice. Porter's "lists" are not the equivalent to *the* list, that is, the *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, which classifies all manuscripts on the Gregory-Aland model, thereby allowing inclusion of manuscripts in a critical apparatus. Thus, there seems to be no real need for Porter's first list, since the *Kurzgefaßte Liste* does precisely what this list seeks to do—classify continuous manuscripts. We shall return to the question of Porter's second list in Appendix 1.

1.3.3 Peter M. Head

The most recent study on the subject of non-continuous textual materials is an essay by Peter M. Head titled, "Additional Greek Witnesses to the New Testament (Ostraca, Amulets, Inscriptions and Other Sources)."⁷² Head provides a survey of the New Testament witnesses that fall neither within the four-fold category established by Gregory (i.e., papyri, majuscules, minuscules,

⁷⁰ Porter, "Textual Criticism," 314.

⁷¹ Porter himself is of course not unaware of this issue, since he maintains that the definition of "continuous" is ambiguous (Porter, "Textual Criticism," 311).

⁷² Peter M. Head, "Additional Greek Witnesses to the New Testament (Ostraca, Amulets, Inscriptions and Other Sources)," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 429-460.

lectionaries), nor the category of citations of the church fathers. Head describes these materials in the following way:

[T]hey are neither continuous text manuscripts of a NT text, nor are they citations from such a text in a Church Father—these were never anyone’s Bible. They are all short excerpts or quotations of a particular passage from the NT, almost always without extended contexts, and often lacking connectives. They are generally quoting a passage from the NT for a particular purpose, a purpose that may shape the manner in which the text is represented, whether pared down to the essential minimum for a carved inscription, or decorated with Christian markings in an amulet.⁷³

The non-continuous materials, according to Head, cannot be located within the main stream of textual transmission, but they are nevertheless valuable for our understanding of how these texts were used, that is, their *Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Only those non-continuous witnesses with “extensive” amounts of text are most valuable for New Testament textual criticism.⁷⁴ Head makes the interesting observation that the principles of manuscript classification in Septuagintal studies stand in stark contrast with those in New Testament textual criticism: *all* witnesses of the Septuagint are classified, “including amulets, ostraka, inscriptions, and other types of witnesses.”⁷⁵ Indeed, it should be noted that the same is also true in the study of the Apocrypha, where even the tiniest scraps are classified and used for the purpose of textual and historical reconstruction.⁷⁶

Head organizes his treatment of “additional” witnesses under four headings: ostraka, amulets, inscriptions, and other New Testament excerpts. For each category, he provides a

⁷³ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 431-432.

⁷⁴ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 432.

⁷⁵ See Alfred Rahlfs and Detlef Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum I.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004). According to Jennifer M. Dines, “In order therefore to produce a reliable text of the LXX, as near to the original translation as possible, the textual editor must consider many kinds of evidence, from the pre-Christian papyri to the late medieval cursives” (*The Septuagint* [London and New York: T&T Clark, 2004], 7). For an overview of the witnesses to the Septuagint text, see Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 57-68.

⁷⁶ For example, according to Forbes Robinson, “The editor of Apocryphal literature has in some measure to work in the dark. He often collects fragments in the hope that sooner or later he may discover the larger work to which they belong [...] We have practically nothing which relates to the period of the Ministry. Any fragments connected with that period have a peculiar interest; for they may throw light upon the composition of early Apocryphal Gospels which we have lost, such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel according to the Egyptians.” (*Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* [Text and Studies 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896], vii, xi.).

general introduction, a treatment of representative texts, and a survey of relevant secondary literature. The purpose of Head's study is not to be exhaustive, but rather to introduce the data and provide references to the primary literature of each category for future research. Nonetheless, Head's judicious selection of sample texts and primary literature makes his study the most significant one to date. He argues that several of the non-continuous textual materials should be brought to bear on discussions concerning the earliest recoverable text. For example, regarding the fragments of Luke's Gospel within the lot of New Testament ostraka represented as Θ^{1-20} by von Dobschütz and 0153 by Gregory, Head asserts, "There seems no reason why this collection of texts should not be regarded as a citable witness to the text of Luke at the relevant points."⁷⁷ In discussing a recently edited amulet from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 76.5073; *no.* 16 below) containing Mark 1:1-2, "our earliest manuscript witness to this passage by a century," Head contends that "[s]uch early texts should clearly play a role in debates about the earliest recoverable text of the relevant passage, especially at points of significant textual variation."⁷⁸

Head's study raises many questions about how to deal methodologically with the problem of non-continuous texts. For one, he maintains that "there is an ongoing need for up-to-date catalogues of the [non-continuous] material."⁷⁹ Both Pickering and Porter had lamented this in their respective studies, and Head echoes the call to action. He argues that some of the materials should be cited in the apparatus of the Greek New Testament, but this cannot be done without a proper method of delimitation. As for the question concerning how editors of the Greek New Testament could refer to these materials, Head lists the following five possibilities: 1) a separate list continuing earlier lists (=von Dobschütz); 2) a separate list of selective materials "likely to be

⁷⁷ Head, "Additional Greek Witnesses," 435. Cornelia Römer has recently re-dated these ostraka from the seventh century to the fifth/sixth century in her study "Ostraka mit christlichen Texten aus der Sammlung Flinders Petrie," *ZPE* 145 (2003): 183-201, at 186.

⁷⁸ Head, "Additional Greek Witnesses," 442.

⁷⁹ Head, "Additional Greek Witnesses," 453.

cited in a critical apparatus to the New Testament text”; 3) a separate, exhaustive list cataloguing “all possible additional witnesses to the New Testament text” (=Porter’s proposal); 4) a catalogue of relevant papyri and a transcription database (=Pickering’s proposal); 5) “a collection of relevant material compiled on a book-by-book basis through the New Testament.”⁸⁰ Head’s essay does not have the purpose of solving all the problems, but it prompts several important questions and thus serves as a useful starting point for the present study on the non-continuous text manuscripts.

As we have attempted to show in this section, the few works on non-continuous texts of the Greek New Testament have helped move the discussion forward. However, there is still much room for progress. As is evident from the studies reviewed here, solutions to account for the data have been proposed, but they have not been set in motion. For example, scholars have talked about the need for various kinds of lists that would record the data, but it is not clear what kind of list should be established and how such a list would work in practice alongside the *Kurzgefaßte Liste*. There is also a serious need to define more closely the parameters surrounding the categories of continuous and non-continuous and to formulate criteria for assessing the data. Another question concerns what *kind* of non-continuous witnesses should be recorded. For too long in our discipline these and other questions have been asked time and again, and so it is time that this desideratum of New Testament textual criticism is systematically addressed.

1.4 Project Limitations and Outline

1.4.1 Project Limitations

Ideally, the study would be exhaustive, covering all categories and genres of texts, but it is pragmatically impossible to account for whole classes of evidence. Since this dissertation is intended to provide proof of principle, the full set of data will be restricted to Greek papyrus and

⁸⁰ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 454.

parchment amulets from Egypt, and treatments of other forms, such as, for example, ostraka, wooden tablets, and inscriptions will be excluded. Also excluded from the study are the citations of or allusions to the New Testament within patristic and apocryphal sources, since these have received ample attention in text-critical discussions.⁸¹ However, as we shall see, criteria for evaluating patristic citations will be helpful for establishing our own approach. Lectionaries will also not find a place here, even though they are non-continuous by definition and may be important in reconstructing the text of the New Testament.⁸² The main reasons for their exclusion from the study are that 1) their text is predominantly Byzantine,⁸³ 2) the large quantity of witnesses (upwards of 2,400) requires a study of its own, and 3) proper study of the lectionaries, especially for understanding their relationship to earlier readings and the process of “standardization,” is not yet available.⁸⁴ Finally, amulets consisting only of Gospel titles or one-liners from the opening lines of a Gospel (also known as incipits) are excluded from analysis. These have recently been the subject of fine, systematic study and so I do not wish to reduplicate them here.⁸⁵ Finally, the reader should be told of the limitation of time: late antiquity. While there is debate over what constitutes the period of “late antiquity,” my late antiquity begins

⁸¹ For patristic citations, the most important works are those published in the SBL monograph series *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers*, edited by Michael W. Holmes. See also Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett, eds., *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2005); Paul Foster, “The Text of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers,” in *Early Text of the New Testament*, 282-301. For apocryphal sources, see Stanley E. Porter, “Early Apocryphal Gospels and the New Testament Text,” in *Early Text of the New Testament*, 350-369; Tobias Nicklas, “Fragmente christlicher Apokryphen und die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments,” *ZNW* 96 (2005): 129-142; J.K. Elliott, “The Influence of the Apocrypha on Manuscripts of the New Testament,” *Apocrypha* 8 (1997): 265-271.

⁸² See Porter, “Textual Criticism,” 316-319. See also Carroll D. Osburn, “The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament,” in *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 2nd ed., 93-114.

⁸³ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 169: “Actually, the text we find in the Greek lectionaries is almost identical with the Byzantine Imperial text. [...] [The] 2,300 lectionary manuscripts can be of significance only in exceptional instances.”

⁸⁴ On the concept of “standardization,” that is, the process by which the Byzantine text became the standard text, see B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1925), 39-45. According to Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, “nine-tenths of the work is still to be done and the results will have to be patiently awaited” (*An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* [trans. Jenny Heimerdinger; 2nd rev. ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 25).

⁸⁵ Joseph E. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt: Text, Typology, and Theory* (STAC 84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

during the period of crisis in the third century (235-284 C.E.) and ends roughly with the Persian and Arab invasions of the east in the seventh century.⁸⁶

1.4.2 Outline

The outline of this work is as follows. In Chapter 2, we provide a working definition of “non-continuous” and offer several criteria for identifying non-continuous manuscripts. The necessity for such criteria is demonstrated by the fact that some fragments contain only snippets of biblical text, and it is difficult at times to know whether we are dealing with a continuous or non-continuous manuscript. The proposed criteria will thus offer some guidelines for assessing the artifact and its text in order to make a determination about its continuous or non-continuous status.

In Chapter 3, we explain the method of textual analysis. That chapter begins with a prolegomenon on the analogy of patristic citations of the New Testament, since the methodological situation in that sphere of study is relevant. As will be demonstrated, the translocation of New Testament texts into the texts of the church fathers often gave rise to modifications; understanding the citing habits of the church fathers will thus be helpful as we attempt to understand the citations in the texts subjected to analysis. The method of textual analysis explained in the second half of the chapter will be employed throughout the remaining chapters at the appropriate places.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed examination of all known Greek papyrus and parchment amulets containing a New Testament citation. The scope of this chapter is broad. Each entry begins with a transcription and English translation of the Greek text. This is followed by an examination of each amulet’s codicological, palaeographical, and textual features. These new

⁸⁶ This is the chronological timeframe adopted in the famous work of A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964).

editions provide revisions to transcriptions where necessary and offer many new textual and palaeographical contributions. In addition to these elements, attention is also given to the clues regarding the production and use of these amulets. We hasten to add that our study of the extant amuletic record has benefited tremendously from the works of Theodore S. de Bruyn and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra, who have catalogued all Christian Greek amulets from late antiquity that have been published up to 2011, as well as Joseph E. Sanzo's work on scriptural amulets, the latter of which appeared in print during the final stages of this dissertation.⁸⁷

In Chapter 5 ("Conclusions and Results"), we provide a brief summary of the observable patterns arising from the analysis of individual amulets in Chapter 4. These patterns include: textual heterogeneity, breaking off the citation mid-word or mid-sentence, inconsistent use of nomina sacra, omission of conjunctions, and female owners. This is followed by a statistical summary of the textual quality of each amulet in tabular form, and suggestions for future research.

In Appendix 1, we offer suggestions on how to collect and present textual data from non-continuous artifacts. Specifically, we argue that, as a starting point, the amulets in this study should be included in the *Liste's* online database. Citations in the *Liste* and elsewhere should be made using von Dobschütz's "☩" siglum, on account of historical precedent and convenience. Additionally, we suggest that the texts and images of these amulets should be integrated into the Manuscript Workspace of Münster's online "New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room." If the suggestions in this Appendix are followed, then a major step toward a much-improved system of classification will be made.

⁸⁷ Theodore S. de Bruyn and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets," *BASP* 48 (2011): 163-216; Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*.

In Appendix 2, we provide a detailed list of all of von Dobschütz's \mathfrak{T} and \mathfrak{C} numbers. Each entry includes the relevant talisman or ostrakon number, contents, and bibliographic details, including *editiones principes* and LDAB references. More significantly, we have extended von Dobschütz's list of talismans with several addenda on the basis of the amulets analyzed in Chapter 4.

1.5 Conclusion

In sum, the present work seeks to remedy the neglect of non-continuous witnesses by collecting and analyzing one type of these sources: amulets. Transcriptions and translations of all these amulets are gathered in one place, thereby making these sources readily available to scholars. Minimally, the study can be used as a kind of reference tool, which more or less seeks to achieve a compilation of data that Porter had envisioned in his proposal of a second list. Many of the amulets presented here have never been properly studied, mostly due to the lack of availability of sources. Our hope in producing this work is that others will be able to benefit from a collection of these neglected ancient witnesses and to use them, where appropriate, within text-critical research. We also hope that the analyses of individual amulets and their contexts will enrich a larger area of inquiry concerning what these artifacts reveal about the lives and religious perspectives of the late antique Egyptian Christians who used them.

CHAPTER 2

TERMINOLOGY AND CRITERIA

2.1 Defining Non-Continuous

In this chapter, we begin with a definition of “non-continuous” and then move on to consider five criteria for identifying non-continuous artifacts. As noted in the previous chapter, determining whether a manuscript is continuous or non-continuous is often not as cut and dry as one might think. A “non-continuous” text of the New Testament may be defined as

an artifact containing only a portion or excerpt of some New Testament text, which is typically copied from memory, an exemplar, or some other source (rather than from another New Testament manuscript), and which is used for a specific purpose that is often both private and ephemeral in nature (e.g., a personal letter, amulet, school exercise).

The difficulty is that many of the manuscripts that have Gregory-Aland numbers are so small and fragmentary that it seems impossible to know with any certainty whether or not they are continuous. How can we actually determine that a manuscript did or did not *originally* contain a complete book of the New Testament on the basis of a few extant verses? Or, to put it differently, how can we know that a scrap was not in fact from an amulet, commentary, homily, lectionary, or the like?¹ Thus, in what follows, we present a set of criteria to help us in determining whether a manuscript is continuous or not.

¹ David Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 36): “Where there is only a scrap surviving, we do not know whether it is from an amulet, a continuous-text or lectionary manuscript, or even a homily or a commentary. At the most extreme, we might even have to say that there are no absolute grounds for determining whether a Gospel fragment is a copy of a canonical or a non-canonical Gospel.”

2.2 Criteria for Identifying Non-Continuous Artifacts

2.2.1 Criterion #1: Textual Continuity between Recto and Verso

The criterion of textual continuity has been used for identifying a continuous manuscript, but its application can be problematic given the limitations of smaller fragments. As Porter observed, the criterion for determining whether a manuscript is continuous “*appears to be that the other side of the papyrus represents the continuous text, and on the basis of the relative length between texts the size of the codex can be determined.*”² That is, a manuscript is assumed to be continuous if the *content* on one side of a manuscript continues on the other side.

While this is generally a helpful criterion, it is certainly not always the case that a continuation of the biblical passage on the other side of a folio signifies a continuous text as we have defined it, and so caution is warranted. We can take the case of P.Yale 1.3 (P⁵⁰) as an example. This papyrus is a bifolium consisting of two selections from Acts: Acts 8:26-32 on the first folio (recto and verso) and Acts 10:26-31 on the first folio and the second folio (also recto and verso). There is considerable scholarly debate over this papyrus’ *raison d’être*, but it is clear from the scribal demarcations in the text that it did not contain a complete copy of Acts; it was intentionally designed from the outset as a bifolium containing only portions from Acts 8 and 10. In the case of P.Yale 1.3, then, the criterion of textual continuity on the verso does not apply, since we know that this is a non-continuous manuscript on account of the fact that Acts 8 ends and Acts 10 begins on the same page (fol. 1^v). However, if only the top portion of the first folio of this papyrus had survived, where Acts 8 would be featured on both the recto and verso, the conclusion would most surely be that it is continuous. Yet we know this is not the case. This

² Porter, “Textual Criticism,” 311 (emphasis mine).

hypothetical illustration at least suggests that we may have more non-continuous manuscripts among the registered manuscripts of the New Testament than we think.³

Another difficulty with applying the criterion is when the other side of a fragment contains indecipherable writing (or writing that has been erased) and is *assumed* to have once contained a continuation of the text on the other side. P.Monts. Roca 4.50 (GA 0267) illustrates the point. This little parchment fragment contains portions of Luke 8:25-27 on only one side of the fragment; the other side is blank, but it has been assumed that this side of the parchment was washed in order to erase the text. Even though no text on the other side is visible whatsoever, it was nonetheless registered in the official list of New Testament manuscripts on the assumption that the erased text (and erasure itself is an assumption) contained a continuation of the other side. But this is not valid reasoning. The parchment could just as well have been produced as an amulet, an isolated sheet used for devotional purposes, a citation in some other Christian literary work, etc. Indeed, the context (the Garasene demoniac) would be fitting for an amulet.

The recto and verso criterion is a useful one, but, in light of its limitations due to the fragmentary nature of smaller fragments, it must be applied with caution. A careful codicological reconstruction of the contents—by calculating the letters per line, average length of lines per page, dimension of margins, etc.—is necessary in order to determine at least by approximation whether or not the content was written in a continuous fashion *on the folio in question*. There is always the possibility, however, that a fragmentary folio containing continuous material on the recto and verso was not part of a continuous text manuscript at all, and that what survives is only a partial remnant of a larger non-continuous piece. Thus, this first criterion is best used in

³ Another example would be Codex Climaci Rescriptus, which contains significant portions of the four Gospels but is judged to be non-continuous. There is also a debate about what kind of document this is; it was originally thought to be a lectionary (listed as *l* 1561) but was later reclassified as 0250. See Ian A. Moir, *Codex Climaci Rescriptus Graecus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

combination with other criteria in order to increase the probability of whether the folio in question is continuous or not.

2.2.2 Criterion #2: The Use of Amulets

Since amulets are by definition non-continuous, in that they never offered a complete biblical text, it is useful to know what patterns, both physical and textual, are involved in order to make an identification.⁴ The extended discussion of the criterion here may also serve as an introduction to the broader issues discussed in Ch. 4, where we catalogue and analyze all amulets containing New Testament citations.

Amulets (sometimes referred to as talismans) fall under the categories of “subliterary” or “paraliterary” since they differ from major literary genres (e.g., epic, drama, history, lyric), although they may draw on or be influenced by literary works.⁵ According to Theodore S. de Bruyn and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra, amulets are

texts that were written to convey in and of themselves—as well as in association with incantation and other actions—supernatural power for protective, beneficial, or antagonistic effect, and that appear to have been or were meant to have been worn on one’s body or fixed, displayed, or deposited at some place.⁶

⁴ While Chrysostom and Augustine suggest that “Gospels” were used for protection and healing, most scholars think that these church fathers were probably referring to *collections* of Gospel texts.

⁵ On the distinctions between “literary,” “subliterary” and “paraliterary,” see Timothy Renner, “Papyrology and Ancient Literature,” in *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 282-302, at 282-283. There is some confusion over the terms often used to signify an amulet, such as talisman, phylactery, ligature, charm, spell, etc. On the terminology, see especially Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 6-19. According to Skemer, the term “talisman” comes from the Greek word τέλεσμα (“religious rite or ceremony”) but only later came to be associated with “magic” (particularly in the medieval period), especially astrological images. Talismans did not have to be inscribed with text and they also did not have to be attached to the body, unlike amulets. According to E.A.W. Budge, “The object of the talisman is quite different from that of the amulet. The amulet is supposed to exercise its protective powers on behalf of the individual or thing continually, whereas the talisman is only intended to perform one specific task. Thus a talisman may be placed in the ground with money or treasure, which it is expected to protect and to do nothing else” (*Amulets and Talismans* [New York: University Books, 1961], 14). In this study, we shall, following common practice, refer to amulets and not talismans.

⁶ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 168. For a general discussion of amulets, see Ernst von Dobschütz, “Charms and Amulets (Christian),” in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1910), 3:413-430; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Amulets: Illustrated by the Egyptian Collections in University College, London* (London: Constable and Company, 1914); Budge, *Amulets and Talismans*; Roy Kotansky, “Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets,” in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher Faraone and Dirk Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 107-137; idem, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae* (Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1994); Campbell

The biblical citations in Christian amulets, therefore, served a protective or curative function, and while there was some controversy over the use of scripture for these and other related purposes, we can tell from the papyrological record that they were popular among Christians.⁷ As C.H. Roberts notes, “Christians in Egypt in the third and early fourth centuries were not above using amulets much as their pagan contemporaries did.”⁸ And it is apparent that Canon 36 of the Synod of Laodicea (c. 363 CE), which condemned the use of amulets, did not have universal effect, since the majority of Christian Greek amulets date from the fourth to the ninth centuries:

It is necessary that priests and clergy not be wizards or enchanters, or numerologists or astrologers, or to make so-called amulets, which are prisons of their souls. And those who wear (them) we commanded to be cast out of the church.

Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς ἢ κληρικούς μάγους ἢ ἐπαιδοὺς εἶναι, ἢ μαθηματικούς, ἢ ἀστρολόγους, ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια ἅτινα ἐστὶ δεσμοπήρια τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν. τοὺς δὲ φοροῦντας ρίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκελεύσαμεν.⁹

The amuletic record thus attests to the widespread use of amulets during late antiquity as an alternative to the official religious institution of the Church. Their association with “magic” is undeniable, and there is no shortage of literature on the subject.¹⁰ Nonetheless, “magic” remains a difficult term to define. J.E. Lowe’s 1929 statement of the problem still rings true:

Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950); Michael J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (TENT 1; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 26-31; Skemer, *Binding Words*; Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 439-443.

⁷ See the often-cited passages of Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt. 72*; *Hom. 1 Cor. 43.7*; *Hom. Jo. 32.3*; Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo. 7.12* (but cf. *De doctrina Christiana 2.20/30*); Jerome, *Comm. Matt. 4.6*.

⁸ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 82.

⁹ Greek text from PG 137:1388; trans. is my own. Cf. Deut. 18:9-14, which prohibits the practice of divination and magic.

¹⁰ Faraone and Obbink, *Magika Hiera*, and the “Selected Bibliography of Greek Magic and Religion” at 277-283; David E. Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” in *ANRW 2:23.2*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 1507-57; Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994); Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); David Frankfurter, “Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category ‘Magician,’” in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 115-135. It is difficult to discern the extent to which amulets’ association with “magic” might have been an influencing factor in their neglect by New Testament textual critics. An argument could be made that the neglect of amulets is analogous to New Testament scholars’ deliberate marginalization of non-canonical literature in the past on ideological grounds. Canonical normativity, and the orthodox beliefs attached to it, has led many scholars to regard non-canonical literature as unimportant for historical inquiry. For an appropriate

Many definitions of the word ‘magic’ have been attempted: none, perhaps, is wholly satisfactory. The word connoted so much, the boundary line between it and religion is so hazy and indefinable, that it is almost impossible to tie it down and restrict it to the narrow limits of some neat turn of phrase that will hit it off and have done with it.¹¹

The basic point of agreement is that amulets largely satisfied the physical needs of individuals and were a normal part of people’s existence in antiquity. In other words, they were used as a means to solve their personal problems, which often included (among other things) demons, fevers, scorpions, headaches, disease, the evil eye, protection, and the like. The amulets analyzed in Ch. 4 illustrate some specific cases. Likewise, questions concerning amulet *production* appear in several of the entries below at the relevant points, but suffice it to say at this point that most (if not all) amulets were products of ritual performances that were overseen by a specialist, whether a monk, priest, or the some other religious person.¹² This socio-religious background will have implications for how we are to understand certain features in the amulets discussed in the study.

In addition to the textual components, illustrations are also common in the Greek magical papyri, where they are bound up with the incantation. By way of demonstration, in PGM VII 579-90 the rule for working up an amulet against demons, phantasms, and all sickness and suffering reads as follows: “The figure is like this: let the Snake be biting its tail, the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and the characters thus, as follows [...] the whole figure is [drawn] thus, as given below, with [the spell], ‘Protect my body, [and] the / entire

critique of canonical bias, see Philip L. Tite, *The Apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans: An Epistolary and Rhetorical Analysis* (TENT 7; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 103-112.

¹¹ J.E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), 1. It is the *method* of obtaining relief or satisfaction from physical conditions that has led some scholars to distinguish “magic” from mainstream or institutionalized religion. According to one oft-cited definition, “Magic is defined as that form of religious deviance whereby individual or social goals are sought by means alternate to those normally sanctioned by the dominant religious institutions [...] Goals sought within the context of religious deviance are magical when attained through the management of supernatural powers in such a way that results are virtually guaranteed” (Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” 1515). Aune, however, retracted this social deviance model in a subsequent publication (“‘Magic’ in Early Christianity and Its Mediterranean Context: A Survey of Some Recent Scholarship,” *ASE* 24 [2007]: 229-294). In this later work, Aune contends that there is little heuristic or explanatory value in using the term “magic.” According Meyer and Smith (*Ancient Christian Magic*, 4), “ritual” is a “less value-laden term,” and their adoption of it is reflected in the subtitle of their 1994 book, “Coptic Texts of *Ritual Power*.” In any case, the dichotomy between “magic” and “religion” is *passé* in historical studies of late antiquity. The concept of “magic” will not be pursued any further here.

¹² See esp. the discussions of P.Turner 49 (*no.* 3), P.Oxy. 8.1151 (*no.* 17), and P.Vindob. G 29831 (*no.* 19) below.

soul of me, NN.’ And when you have consecrated [it], wear [it].”¹³ Thus, as exemplified in this formulary for making an amulet, the illustration (here the *ouroboros*, a symbol of a snake eating its own tail) encapsulates the incantation and is ineffective without it. Two common examples of illustrations in Christian amulets are *crosses* (e.g., P.Duke inv. 778 [no. 7], P.Oxy. 8.1151 [no. 17], PSI 6.719 [no. 4], BKT 6.7.1 [no. 2], etc.) and free-standing *tau-rho* (or “staurogram”) devices (e.g., P.Princ. 2.107 [no. 5], P.Duke inv. 778 [no. 7], P.Schøyen 1.16 [no. 11], P.Berl. inv. 11710 [no. 20], P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 [no. 22]).¹⁴ There are a variety of other illustrations, including the XΜΓ acrostic as seen in P.CtYBR inv. 4710.¹⁵ And in P.Oslo inv. 303, we find the XΜΓ acrostic along with a cross, the letters α and ω (cf. Rev. 1:8; 21:6), a staurogram, and the ΙΧΘΥΣ acrostic.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the papyrological record suggests that the textual components alone on amulets may have been more valuable, perhaps due to the putative power of words (and specifically, scripture) in invoking divine power.¹⁷ And it was necessary for these words to come into contact with the body of an owner in order for the desired effect to be produced.

As part of his detailed analysis of P.Oxy. 5.840 (“Gospel of the Savior”), Michael J. Kruger listed five “general trends” within the 93 papyrus and parchment amulets recorded in van Haelst’s catalogue:

¹³ Trans. from Betz, *Greek Magical*, 134.

¹⁴ For a complete list of Christian amulets containing crosses and/or staurograms, see de Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 163-216.

¹⁵ There are several different proposals for the meaning of XΜΓ. A common interpretation is that it represents Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννῶ) = “Mary begat Christ.” On the debate over the meaning of this Christian acrostic, see *NewDocs* 8:156-168.

¹⁶ ΙΧΘΥΣ is commonly understood as Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστὸς) Θ(εοῦ) Υἱ(ὸς) Σ(ωτήρ) = “Jesus Christ, God’s Son, Savior). See especially Tuomas Rasimus, “Revisiting the *ICHTHYS*: A Suggestion Concerning the Origins of Christological Fish Symbolism,” in *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Studies for Einar Thomassen at Sixty*, ed. Christian H. Bull, Liv Ingeborg Lied, and John D. Turner (NHMS 76; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 327-349.

¹⁷ It should be noted that Christian elements or idioms may not necessarily signal Christian self-identification. On the problems surrounding the category of “Christian” amulets, see Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 10-14.

- 1) The majority are written on papyrus and parchment, with papyrus outnumbering parchment four to one.
- 2) A large portion have no writing on the back side.
- 3) The content on amulets can be divided into three categories: 1) Psalms, 2) Prayers (including the Paternoster), and 3) New Testament citations.
- 4) Psalms and Prayers make up the majority.
- 5) External factors are folds (in 21 out of the 93 amulets studied), cords, or holes for cords.

Kruger's study appeared before de Bruyn and Dijkstra's more comprehensive list of Christian amulets (the most up-to-date list), and so the evidence has expanded. Of the 186 Christian amulets listed by de Bruyn and Dijkstra plus the recently published P.Oxy. 76.5073 and P.Ryl. Greek Add. 1166, 134 (72%) are written on papyrus (as opposed to Kruger's 73) and 24 (13%) on parchment (as opposed to Kruger's 20). These updated statistics, however, lend further support to Kruger's observation that papyrus outnumbers parchment four to one.

Kruger's second trend, that writing is often absent on the back side, is important. Literary or subliterate fragments bearing writing only on one side of the page normally point to a fragment of a roll or an amulet; in a codex, the preferred written medium by Christians, both sides of the folio are inscribed. There is no clear example in the papyrological record of a single New Testament writing copied onto the recto side of a roll.¹⁸ Of the four opisthograph New Testament texts (P.Oxy. 4.657 + PSI 12.1292 [P¹³], P.Oxy. 8.1079 [P¹⁸], P.Oxy. 10.1228 [P²²], P.IFAO 2.31 [P⁹⁸]), only P.Oxy. 10.1228 yields the possibility of being a New Testament roll, since the recto of both fragments is blank. However, the editors, Grenfell and Hunt, were quick to say that "no doubt in other parts the roll included sheets which had previously been inscribed."¹⁹ Moreover, Brent Nongbri has recently suggested that P.Oxy. 8.1079 [P¹⁸] is not part

¹⁸ See the discussion in Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 53-61.

¹⁹ Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, "1228. St. John's Gospel xv, xvi," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. X (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914), 14. See also the comment by Kurt Aland in *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1967), 104.

of a roll but rather a leaf from a codex.²⁰ Given the paucity of New Testament texts in the form of rolls—only four opisthographs and zero New Testament texts on the recto of a roll—any fragments carrying a New Testament passage on one side only may well be an amulet. Of the 186 Greek amulets documented by de Bruyn and Dijkstra, 95 (51%) of them are written on one side only; we may now also add P.Oxy. 76.5073 and P.Ryl. Greek Add. 1166 to this list. Thus, more than half of the published Greek amulets containing Christian elements are written exclusively on one side of the sheet. And it is important to note that these statistics do not take into account the fact that many of the texts written on the other side of an amulet are unrelated.²¹ In view of these statistics and the fact that Christian scribes preferred writing on both sides of a folded sheet intended for a codex, there is a high probability that a manuscript fragment carrying a New Testament writing on one side only is an amulet. Of course texts like P.Oxy. 2.209 (P¹⁰)—a school exercise with Rom. 1:1-7 on one side only—prove that other possibilities exist, and so the “one-side only” criterion must be used with caution.²²

External factors, such as the presence of cords, holes or folds, are also common identifying features of amulets, since they indicate that the text in question was folded or tied with the intention of being carried on one’s person (e.g., for protection).²³ Indeed, ancient instructions for making spells indicate the procedures, as in P.Berl. inv. 5025, which reads: “Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your

²⁰ Brent Nongbri, “Losing a Curious Christian Scroll but Gaining a Curious Christian Codex: An Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Exodus and Revelation,” *NovT* 55 (2013): 77-88.

²¹ De Bruyn and Dijkstra note unrelated texts on the other side of an amulet with the abbreviation “ow” (other writing).

²² On P.Oxy. 2.209 (P¹⁰), see AnneMarie Luijendijk, “A New Testament Papyrus and Its Documentary Context: An Early Christian Writing Exercise from the Archive of Leonides (P.Oxy. II 209/P¹⁰),” *JBL* 129.3 (2010): 575-596. Another mysterious example is P.Monts. Roca 4.50 (GA 0267), on which see the discussion of Criterion #1 above.

²³ According to de Bruyn and Dijkstra, “almost always the material on which the text is written was rolled or folded into a format that could be easily worn” (“Greek Amulets,” 172). For a fuller discussion of these and other external features of amulets (including wooden tablets), see Theodore de Bruyn, “Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Text in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List,” in *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (TENT 5; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 145-189, esp. 154-164.

neck.”²⁴ Of course such physical characteristics may be the earmarks of a secondary use of a codex, in which case an extract from a continuous text was recycled as an amulet. In such cases, however, we should expect textual continuity (continuous text on recto and verso); although these texts were reused as amulets, since they originally contained continuous text, they should be classified and given a Gregory-Aland number. A good example of a continuous text manuscript re-used as an amulet is P.Col. 11.293 (*no.* 8), a fragment containing the Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12) with a hole in the center.²⁵ De Bruyn and Dijkstra state that this “badly damaged leaf *from a parchment codex* [...] was preserved (and possibly worn) because it contained the Lord’s Prayer.”²⁶ Interestingly, even though P.Col. 11.293 was most likely a continuous text manuscript originally, it has not been registered in the *Liste*, perhaps because of the title “amulet.” Nonetheless, cords, holes or folds are quite common features of amulets, and their presence only increases the probability that the manuscript in question is an amulet, whether originally or secondarily.

In their criteria for identifying an amulet, de Bruyn and Dijkstra list several *internal* elements typically found in both Christian and non-Christian charms and spells, including esoteric or “magic words” (*voces magicae*), letters or words arranged in shapes, strings of vowels, *historiolae*, crosses, christograms, cryptograms, Mariological references, scripture, etc.²⁷ Thus, the presence of any number of these devices, whether standing alone or in combination, are helpful indicators of an amulet, in which case a non-continuous identification can be secured.

²⁴ γλυφέντα δὲ διατρυ[π]ήσας καὶ διείρας σπάρτω περὶ τὸν τρά[χ]ηλόν σου εἴρησον. Text from PGM 1:68-69 (6); trans. from Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 5.

²⁵ Timothy M. Teeter, “293,” in *Columbia Papyri XI* (ASP 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 3-7. It is not completely clear, however, whether this hole was created for a string or if it was caused by the wrinkles in the parchment. Cf. comment by de Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 198 n.170.

²⁶ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 199 n.172 (emphasis mine).

²⁷ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 168-169.

2.2.3 Criterion #3: Presence of the Word ἐρμηνεία²⁸

Among the registered manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, there are a total of five papyrus fragments and three parchment fragments known as “*hermeneia*” manuscripts, that is, fragments containing a certain passage from the Gospel of John, below which occurs the word ἐρμηνεία, centered on the page, which is then followed by a kind of enigmatic comment or note on the biblical citation.²⁹ All of these manuscripts follow precisely this tripartite pattern: 1) some text of John, 2) the word ἐρμηνεία, and 3) a brief comment. To give just one example, I reproduce here the verso of P.Monts. Roca 4.51 (formerly P.Barç. inv. 83), also known as P⁸⁰:³⁰

[Text of John 3:34]

ἐρμηνεία³¹

ἀληθῆ ἐστιν τὰ λ[ελαλημένα]
παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐάν σ[υ ἐν αὐτοῖς]
ὠφελήσῃ

Thus, the comment appears to be a statement that expresses something further about the phrase “speaks the words of God” (τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖ) that occurs in the Johannine citation. In addition to the Greek comments in these eight manuscripts, there are also comments in Coptic alongside the Greek in P.Berl. inv. 11914 (P⁶³), Paris, BnF Copte 156, a Greco-Coptic

²⁸ Much of the following section has been adapted, with slight modification, from my article “A Coptic Fragment of the Gospel of John with *Hermeneiai* (P.CtYBR inv. 4641),” *NTS* 60.2 (April 2014): 202-214.

²⁹ The texts are: P.Vindob. G 26214 (P⁵⁵), P.Ness. 2 3 (P⁵⁹), P.Berl. inv. 11914 (P⁶³), P.Vindob. G 36102 (P⁷⁶), P.Monts. Roca 4.51 (P⁸⁰), lost parchment from Damascus (0145), P.Berl. inv. 3607 + 3623 (0210), and P.Berl. inv. 21315 (0302). Two further manuscripts (P.Ness. 2 4 [P⁶⁰] and P.Vindob. G 26084 [0256]) are likely ἐρμηνεία manuscripts, although the term ἐρμηνεία is not visible. Codex Bezae (GA 05) has ἐρμηνεία but they occur in Mark’s Gospel and lack the tripartite structure of other ἐρμηνεία manuscripts; the ἐρμηνεία appear at the bottom of the page and were added by a much later scribe.

³⁰ Originally edited by Ramon Roca-Puig, “Papiro del evangelio de San Juan con ‘Hermeneia:’ P.Barç. inv. 83—Jo 3,34,” in *Atti dell’ XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Milano 2-8 Settembre 1965* (Milan: Istituto Lombardo Di Scienze E Lettere, 1966), 225-236. This papyrus now resides in the Montserrat Abbey in Spain and was re-edited recently in Sofía Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp, with the collaboration of Alberto Nodar and María Victoria Spottorno, *Greek Papyri from Montserrat (P.Monts. Roca IV)* (Scripta Orientalia 1; Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 2014), 124-128.

³¹ A common misspelling (itacism) of ἐρμηνεία.

manuscript discovered at Antinoe and published by Walter E. Crum in 1904.³² In 2013, I discovered P.CtYBR inv. 4641—the first-known Coptic-only *hermeneia* fragment in the possession of Yale University.³³ There are also ἐρμηνεία comments in Latin in Codex Sangermanensis (GA 0319), as well as in manuscripts in Armenian and Georgian.³⁴ All extant ἐρμηνεία manuscripts, of which only a handful are known to us today, are by definition “non-continuous” manuscripts (or fragments thereof), in that they were not originally written out as complete and *continuous* (i.e., unbroken or uninterrupted) copies of whole books. The function of these comments is anything but clear. Bruce M. Metzger, Stanley E. Porter, and, most recently, Wally V. Cirafesi and Kevin W. Wilkinson have all written significant articles on the ἐρμηνείαι.³⁵

Drawing on J. Rendel Harris’ work on *sortes sanctorum* and the Greek-Latin ἐρμηνείαι in Codex Bezae (GA 05) and Codex Sangermanensis (GA 0319), Metzger argues that these special manuscripts were likely used for the purpose of divination and not as a reading copy of

³² Walter E. Crum, “Two Coptic Papyri from Antinoe,” *Proceedings from the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 26 (1904): 174-178, esp. 174-176. Paris, BnF Copte 156 was re-edited by Hans Quecke, “Zu den Joh-Fragmenten mit ‘Hermeneiai,’” *Orientalia* 40 (1974): 407-414 and cited as “K” in George W. Horner’s edition of the Sahidic New Testament (*The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* [7 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1911-1924]). See also van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1124.

³³ Jones, “Coptic Fragment.” It is somewhat ironic that P.CtYBR inv. 4641 has been registered as an official manuscript of the Coptic New Testament since it is non-continuous. In stark contrast, Greek manuscripts that are non-continuous do not meet the present criteria for inclusion in the official list.

³⁴ See the survey in B. Outtier, “Les *Prosermeneia* du Codex Bezae,” in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994*, ed. David C. Parker and Christian-Bernard Amphoux (NTTS 22; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 74-78.

³⁵ Bruce M. Metzger, “Greek Manuscripts of John’s Gospels with ‘Hermeneiai,’” in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn*, ed. Tjitze Baarda et al. (Kampen: Kok, 1988), 162-169; Stanley E. Porter, “The Use of Hermeneia and Johannine Papyrus Manuscripts,” in *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, 573-580; Wally V. Cirafesi, “The Bilingual Character and Liturgical Function of ‘Hermeneiai’ in Johannine Papyrus Manuscripts: A New Proposal,” *NovT* 56 (2014): 45-67; Kevin W. Wilkinson, “*Hermeneiai* in Manuscripts of John’s Gospel: An Aid to Bibliomancy,” in *My Lots Are in Thy Hands*, ed. AnneMarie Luijendijk and W. Klingshirn (Leiden: Brill, 2014), forthcoming. See also David C. Parker, “Manuscripts of John’s Gospel with Hermeneiai,” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. J.W. Childers (TS 3.4; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 48-68. Parker shows in his study through a textual analysis of the eight manuscripts that “these are documents which are of use to the editor of John” (“Manuscripts of John’s Gospel,” 68).

the Gospel.³⁶ According to Metzger, the ἔρμηνεῖαι were oracles disconnected from the biblical text above.

Other scholars, such as Porter, disagree with the theory that these are oracular statements. According to Porter, the ἔρμηνεῖαι are “biblically motivated and connected reflections on the biblical text,” or at least individual parts.³⁷ In a similar line of argument, Cirafesi, highlighting the bilingual character of these manuscripts, suggests that “ἔρμηνεῖαι are interpretive comments (loosely understood) that functioned as liturgical tools to facilitate early Christian worship services needing to accommodate the use of two languages within a particular community.”³⁸ In support of this thesis, one may also point to the occurrence of the ‘summary notes’ in P.Bodmer 8 (P⁷²), where it appears that a Coptic scribe was responsible for drawing attention to certain themes in the margin,³⁹ or the Coptic glosses in Old Fayyumic in P.Beatty 7 (Isaiah),⁴⁰ not to mention anything of the Greco-Coptic lectionaries and various Greco-Coptic New Testament

³⁶ See J. Rendel Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae (With Some Notes on Sortes Sanctorum)* (London: Clay, 1901). For a discussion of Coptic fragments of *sortes sanctorum* lacking biblical citation, see Arnold van Lantschoot, “Une collection sahidique de ‘Sortes Sanctorum,’” *Le Muséon* 69 (1956), 35-52; Lucia Papini, “Fragments of the *Sortes Sanctorum* from the Shrine of St. Colluthus,” in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 393-401, and the literature cited there.

³⁷ According to Porter, “the statements [i.e., *hermeneiai*] are neither strictly commentary nor simply unattached oracular pronouncements, but biblically motivated and connected reflections on the biblical text, perhaps utilizing similar language” (“The Use of Hermeneia,” 579). See also idem, “What Do We Know and How Do We Know It? Reconstructing Early Christianity from Its Manuscripts,” in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts (TENT 9; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 41-70, at 60-63.

³⁸ Cirafesi, “Hermeneiai,” 67; cf. Gamble: “Thus both the production of non-Greek versions of scripture and the use of bilingual manuscripts are rooted in the liturgical reading of scripture and witness the effort to make the sense of scripture accessible to all” (*Books and Readers*, 231).

³⁹ See the list of these “summary notes” in David G. Worrell, “The Themes of 1 Peter: Insights from the Earliest Manuscripts (The Crosby-Schøyen Codex ms 193 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex Containing P⁷²),” *NTS* 55.4 (2009): 502-522, at 511-512. The notes in the margin consist of the preposition περί followed by a word or phrase that describes the adjacent text. What is odd about the notes is that most of the words following περί are in the nominative and not the required genitive (e.g., περί ειρήνη, περί ἀγαπή, περί ἀγνία [*sic*]). Considering that Coptic nouns do not decline and Greco-Coptic words always take the nominative form, we may possibly be dealing with a Coptic scribe. In further support of this, the note at 2 Pet 2:22 glosses ἀληθου (for ἀληθους) with the corresponding Coptic word πμεῖ. See also Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 31-32.

⁴⁰ Roger S. Bagnall refers to the Coptic glossator of P.Beatty 7 as “a member of the book-possessing population, bilingual, a fluent writer, from the Fayyum or somewhere in its vicinity, and probably something of an experimenter with language, because he is not working in an established writing system that he could have learned in school or anywhere else. And, of course, he may be assumed to be a Christian” (*Early Christian Books in Egypt* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009], 67).

diglots.⁴¹ Such phenomena demonstrate clearly that Coptic and Greek co-existed within many Coptic Christian communities and so Cirafesi's theory concerning liturgical contexts and the need to accommodate the use of more than one language is appealing.

In a forthcoming essay, Kevin W. Wilkinson argues that the ἐρμηνεῖαι were “an aid to bibliomancy,” and that the comments are clearly related to the gospel passages that they accompany (contra Metzger). According to Wilkinson, “[a]nyone wishing to inquire into his or her fate would arrive by some means at a passage of John and then consult the accompanying ‘interpretation,’ which translated the language and/or content of the biblical text into an oracular prediction or command.”⁴² Wilkinson's treatment of the ἐρμηνεῖαι provides much of the clarity necessary for understanding the structure of the oracular system. However, the questions about the very nature and purpose of the ἐρμηνεῖαι have not been fully answered, and such lines of inquiry are outside the scope of this study. What is important is that the presence of the word ἐρμηνεῖα alongside a passage from John's Gospel is a useful indicator of this type of non-continuous text.

2.2.4 Criterion #4: Context of Citation

When dealing with small fragments containing New Testament citations or allusions, it is often the case that the larger context (if there was one) in which the citation was embedded has been lost. For example, was de Hamel MS 389 (GA 0314), a tiny scrap of parchment containing only five words from John 5:34, a “note” or “isolated text” as the editor suggests?⁴³ Or was it perhaps

⁴¹ E.g., Florence, Museo Egizio inv. 7134 (P²), Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P. k. 362 + 379 + 381 + 382 + 384 (P⁶), P.Vindob. K 7541-7548 (P⁴¹), P.Vindob. K 8706/34 (P⁴²), P.Oslo inv. 1661 (P⁶²), P.Vindob. K 7244 (P⁹⁶), just to name the papyri. For a complete list of Greco-Coptic manuscripts, see Siegfried G. Richter, “SMR-Liste koptischer neutestamentlicher Bilinguen,” in *SMR-Datenbank des Projektes Novum Testamentum Graecum – Editio Critica Maior der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste*, December 2009 [<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/pdf/SMR-Bilinguen.pdf>].

⁴² Wilkinson, “*Hermeneiai* in Manuscripts of John's Gospel,” forthcoming.

⁴³ Peter M. Head, “Five New Testament Manuscripts: Recently Discovered Fragments in a Private Collection in Cambridge,” *JTS* 59.2 (2008): 520-545.

a citation within a patristic text, private letter, polemical treatise, liturgical hymn, etc.? Without the context, it is difficult to say, and in cases like this one, other features are lacking that would allow us even to make a guess as to what kind of text we have. As a result, we must categorize such manuscripts as “extracts” or “various selections.”

In other cases, however, the immediate context may enable us to identify the text as something other than a continuous text of the New Testament. A good example is P.Oxy. 3.405, which consists of seven fragments with some containing quotations from the New Testament. Grenfell and Hunt, unable to identify the text, labeled P.Oxy. 3.405 “theological fragments.”⁴⁴ On the basis of the text surrounding the biblical quotations, subsequent scholars were able to identify P.Oxy. 3.405 as a copy of Irenaeus’ *Adversus Haereses*.⁴⁵ There are other times that a fragment can be shown to contain a New Testament citation within a non-biblical context that cannot be identified. This is the case, for example, with P.Vindob. G 35894. In this fragment, there is a quotation of Rev. 10:9-10, yet the editor has shown that the first line (before the quotation) is not from Revelation or any other part of the New Testament.⁴⁶ In cases like P.Vindob. G 35894, then, we are dealing with an unidentifiable non-continuous text in which a biblical citation has been embedded; such texts should be placed in a category of “various selections” until their larger literary (or non-literary) works are identified. In Appendix 1, we shall return to the question about how to compile and list textual data, but for now we can simply say that texts like P.Vindob. G 35894 should be maintained in a list of sorts.

⁴⁴ Ed. princ. Grenfell and Hunt, “405-406. Theological Fragments,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), 10-12.

⁴⁵ Marcel Richard and Bertrand Hemmerdinger, “Trois Nouveaux Fragments Grecs de L’Adversus Haereses de Saint Irénée,” *ZNW* 53.3 (1962): 252-255. See now Charles E. Hill, “Irenaeus, the Scribes, and the Scriptures: Papyrological and Theological Observations from P.Oxy. 405,” in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, eds. Sara Parvis and Paul Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 119-130.

⁴⁶ Uwe Schmidt, “P.Vindob. G 35894 — Ein Wiener Pergamentfragment mit NT-Text,” in *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der neutestamentlichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1979 bis 1981* (Münster: Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung, 1982), 93-99. According to Schmidt, “Dies alles zusammengenommen läßt daher wohl nur den Schluß zu, daß in Zeile 1 ein Text aus Apk 10,9 nicht gestanden haben kann” (“P.Vindob. G 35894,” 96).

2.2.5 Criterion #5: Specific Content of New Testament Citation

Another potential indicator of a non-continuous manuscript is the actual content of the biblical citation, especially in the case of amulets and lectionaries. According to de Bruyn and Dijkstra,

It is relatively easy to identify texts incorporating biblical material that were certainly produced or used as amulets. These texts usually include an adjuration or a petition. The biblical passages are often ones that are frequently invoked for their protective or beneficial value, such as Ps. 90 LXX or the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13). The passages may be quoted in an abbreviated form as a cipher for an entire work, as in the incipits of the gospels or the opening words of verses in a psalm. Often several passages are juxtaposed one with another, and sometimes they are quoted in an incomplete or confused manner. Frequently they are also accompanied by doxologies, acclamations, crosses, and other Christian symbols.⁴⁷

A cursory glance at the Christian amulets listed by de Bruyn and Dijkstra reveals that the majority of those containing New Testament quotations consist of the Paternoster and Gospel incipits. It is natural that we find in considerable numbers the Lord's Prayer in amulets, given the prayer's significance within the Christian tradition.⁴⁸ But in amulets, these particular words of Jesus specifically served an apotropaic or curative function. In some amulets, we find the Lord's Prayer alongside other, non-biblical prayers or adjurations, such as in P.Iand. 1.6.

Another popular New Testament text used in several healing amulets (such as P.Oxy. 8.1077 [*no. 1*]) is Matt. 4:23-24/9:35, a narrative summary that depicts Jesus as a healer of "every illness and infirmity" (πάσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν). The words "healing every illness and infirmity" were appealed to as a kind of blanket formula that was applicable to a variety of physical conditions. According to Theodore de Bruyn, "short of these amulets we would not have specific knowledge of the manner in which this passage of scripture figured,

⁴⁷ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets," 172.

⁴⁸ In the Didache 8:2-3, it states that the Lord's Prayer should be performed not like the "hypocrites" but "as the Lord commanded in his Gospel," and that the addressees should pray the prayer "three times a day": μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε [...] τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας προσεύχεσθε. Text from Bart D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (LCL 24; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 429-430. On manuscripts containing the Paternoster, see especially Thomas J. Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer—They are More Than Simply Witnesses to That Text Itself," in *New Testament Manuscripts*, 227-266. See also the dated but nonetheless helpful essay by Ernst von Dobschütz, "The Lord's Prayer," *HTR* 7.3 (1914): 293-321.

apart from any contextual invocation, as the means for channeling divine power to protect and to heal.”⁴⁹ In other words, this particular passage was transmitted in isolation from the larger narrative in which it was embedded precisely because of its putative power to protect and heal. Thus, fragments containing these verses may point to an amulet.

Other New Testament texts were also chosen for their healing, ethical, instructional, or protective value, such as P.Vindob. G 2312 (= *no. 21*; John 2:1-2, Rom. 12:1-2), P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (*no. 22*; 2 Cor. 10:4, 1 Thess. 5:8, Eph. 6:16), P.Oxy. 34.2684 (*no. 24*; Jude 4-5, 7-8), P.Berl. inv. 13977 (*no. 23*; 1 Tim. 1:15-16), among others. As we shall see, there is no recognizable pattern as to why random (or at least otherwise unattested) New Testament passages were chosen for amulets. With respect to Gospel incipits (i.e., initial phrases or titles from the Gospels), Joseph E. Sanzo has argued recently that the incipits in apotropaic devices were “metonymic,” whereby the “ritual specialist used the Gospel *incipits* to attain relevant material from the life and ministry of Jesus that was scattered through the Gospels (and possibly beyond).”⁵⁰ That is to say, ritual specialists were interested in the “power associated with particular events/stories, not *generic* power.”⁵¹ Thus, incipits are also earmarks of an amulet. In sum, in cases where fragments contain nothing more than a New Testament passage that is often featured in amulets for various purposes, there is a likelihood that such a text *is* an amulet, the probability of which increases when other factors are present (i.e., holes, strings, text written only on one side, irregular format, informal script etc.).

The criterion of content may also aid one in the identification of a lectionary manuscript (=non-continuous), but the situation is much more complicated. Lectionary manuscripts are

⁴⁹ See Theodore de Bruyn, “Appeals to Jesus and the One ‘Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmity’ (Matt 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity,” in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11-13 October 2006*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso and Lucian Turcescu (BAC 6; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 65-82, at 80.

⁵⁰ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 171 (emphasis original).

⁵¹ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 67 (emphasis original).

defined as “those in which the text of the NT is divided into separate pericopes or lections, rearranged according to the fixed order in which they are read as lessons for the church on particular days during the year.”⁵² One difficulty that arises is the fact that there were various kinds of lectionaries (e.g., containing the Gospels or the Apostolos or both) within different geographical locales (e.g., Egypt, Antioch, Jerusalem, Byzantium), and so the order and content of one lectionary may not correspond to another. Such variation is especially true of the *menologion* (which follows the civil calendar and begins on 1 September, as opposed to the *synaxarion*, which follows the ecclesiastical calendar and begins at Easter), “because of differing preferences for festivals and honored saints in various eras and locales.”⁵³ However, lectionaries may be identified based on the separate “lessons” they contain. For example, a manuscript containing passages from Mark, John, and Hebrews conforms to the Saturday and Sunday synaxarion lections during Lent; a manuscript containing Matt. 1:18-25, 2:1-12 and Gal. 4:4-7 would follow the Christmas Day lesson in the menologion. Sometimes when the extant passages cannot be aligned precisely with a lectionary cycle, they are still designated “lectionary” simply because the manuscript collects several biblical passages together. This is the case with, for example, P.Vindob. G 2324 (*l* 1043) and Codex Climaci Rescriptus (originally classified as *l* 1561 but reclassified as 0250).⁵⁴ At any rate, in the absence of other internal or external features, the criterion of the specific content of the New Testament citations may help one determine if a manuscript fragment is non-continuous.

⁵² Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries,” 2nd ed., 94. See also Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 163-170.

⁵³ Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries,” 2nd ed., 96. For a discussion of the terms *menologion* and *synaxarion*, see Jacques Noret, “Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées: essai de clarification d’une terminologie,” *AnBoll* 86 (1968): 21-24; Jean Duplacy, “Les lectionnaires et l’édition du Nouveau Testament grec,” in *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R.P. Béda Rigaux*, ed. A. Descamps and A. de Halleux (Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), 509-545.

⁵⁴ In a very helpful essay, Stanley E. Porter uses P.Vindob. G 2324 as a test case for assessing the influence of unit delimitation in Greek manuscripts. See his “The Influence of Unit Delimitation on Reading and Use of Greek Manuscripts,” in *Method in Unit Delimitation*, ed. Marjo Korpel et al. (Pericope 6; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 44-60.

2.3 Conclusion

The foregoing criteria are intended as guides for assessing whether a manuscript is continuous or non-continuous. In many instances, ambiguity results from the imperfection of our knowledge; fragments only tell a part of the story and we must weigh the evidence to determine the probability of their being non-continuous. The use of multiple criteria (e.g., specific content, context of citation) is a surer method of testing textual non-continuity.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD OF TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we establish a working method for evaluating the New Testament citations on Greek amulets analyzed in Chapter 4. As we have seen, textual continuity is a *sine qua non* of inclusion of manuscripts within the official list of New Testament manuscripts. In his book on textual criticism and manuscripts, David Parker lists four criteria that a manuscript must fulfill in order to be included in the *Liste*, the second of which is that “it should consist of more than excerpts.”¹ I would like for a moment to question the validity of this rule within the discipline, especially since it seems to command almost absolute allegiance. We should be wary of any method or criterion that unreservedly restricts data and the evaluation of it. I believe that we must all heed to the recommendation of Kenyon who, more than a century ago, claimed that “[t]he writings of *any* author who quotes the Scriptures at all must be taken into consideration.”²

The key word here is “consideration.” But how are we to move forward?

3.2 A Prolegomenon: The Analogy of Patristic Citations

As a starting point, we may look to the treatment of isolated patristic citations of the New Testament, which are in many ways analogous to the citations and adaptations within non-continuous fragments. Thus, the criteria for evaluating the patristic citations may help us gain traction in our own research on the present topic.

¹ Parker, *Introduction*, 41.

² Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1912), 242-243 (emphasis mine).

Gordon D. Fee claimed that the problems with the citations in the church fathers are four.³ *First*, it is difficult to know when a Father is citing from memory or copying his text from an exemplar. Citation from memory was more common with shorter, popular texts that circulated in isolation within Christian communities for private devotion or Church liturgy.⁴ Examples of such texts would be the Lord's Prayer and Psalm 90—two very popular texts used in Christian amulets. Since many of the non-continuous texts are short, isolated citations, we may well be dealing with citation from memory more than not.⁵ This is not to say, however, that scribes in principal were unsuccessful in faithfully reproducing *longer* passages from memory. In his discussion of the importance of memory in the citation practices of Augustine, Hugh Houghton notes that “[c]iting by memory does not necessarily produce an inaccurate text of Scripture. Ancient education involved a considerable degree of learning by rote and this may have resulted in a corresponding ability to recall extensive passages word for word.”⁶ An example of the use of memory in Greco-Roman education can be found in a statement by Theon of Alexandria, a first-century C.E. author of a treatise on *progymnasmata*:

Begin with the simplest thing, for example, with exercise of memory, then pass to paraphrasing some argument in a speech, then to paraphrasing some part of the speech, either the prooemion or narration. Thus our young men will gradually become capable of paraphrasing a whole speech, which is the result of perfected ability.⁷

³ Gordon D. Fee, “The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 1st ed., 191-207, at 192-193. See also Bart D. Ehrman, “The Use of the Church Fathers in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Bible as Book*, 155-165.

⁴ According to Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, “If one is assured that the father makes a bona fide quotation and not a mere allusion, the problem remains of whether he quoted it after consulting the passage in a manuscript or relied on his memory. The former is more probable in the case of longer quotations, whereas shorter quotations were often made from memory” (*Text of the New Testament*, 127-128); cf. Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 432.

⁵ On citations and echoes in fourth century papyrus letters, Malcolm Choat notes that “it is highly likely that these phrases are being imperfectly remembered (or introduced subconsciously?) from an oral context, whether a Church service or a more informal occasion; it is less probable that they are copied from an actual text” (*Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* [SAA 1; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006], 79).

⁶ Hugh A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John: Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 67. Houghton does subsequently show, however, that Augustine himself admits that his citation from memory was imperfect (e.g., *Sermo* 374.19, *Retractationes* 1.7.2, *Sermo* 362.22.25).

⁷ George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (SBLWGRW 10; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 71.

But did Christian authors of ephemeral texts such as amulets and *sortes* have training in the “exercise of memory,” a practice normally reserved for the educated elite, or according to Theon, “our young men?”⁸ As suggested above and demonstrated further below, it seems that many amulets were the products of ritual specialists (monks, priests, and the like) who were familiar with the appropriate biblical texts and their apotropaic value. It is therefore certainly possible that those who produced scriptural amulets were doing so from memory. Indeed, we know that monks were instructed to memorize scripture.⁹ However, when dealing with *longer* citations of texts that do not stem from liturgical contexts, it is perhaps best to default to the assumption that these texts were copied from a written source and not cited from memory.¹⁰

Second, there is a problem with citing habits among the church fathers, which range from “rather precise,” to “moderately careful,” to “notoriously slovenly.”¹¹ According to Fee, the scribal habits of the church fathers must be carefully analyzed just as those of any other scribe of the New Testament.¹² Studying transcriptional probability may help us recover the source-

⁸ On memory performance in classical antiquity, see Jocelyn Penny Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1997). On Greco-Roman education generally, see the various works by Raffaella Cribiore, especially her *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

⁹ For example, in the *Life of Pachomius* 24, we find the following: “Strive, brothers, to attain to that to which you have been called: to recite psalms and teachings from other parts of the Scriptures, especially the Gospel” (trans. Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia I* [CSS 45; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980], 312).

¹⁰ Quite frequently, variation in wording and textual errors in patristic citations are explained as potentially faulty citations from memory. See, e.g., Parker, *Introduction*, 111. But, how can we know with certainty when a text was cited from memory? Is there enough justification in saying that deviation from the manuscript tradition indicates a citation from memory? In the case of some writers such as Augustine, the role of memory in their citations is stated explicitly (Houghton refers to Augustine’s “mental text,” [*Augustine’s Text of John*, 113-115]). However, where such statements on the reliance of memory or other obvious earmarks are absent, I contend that we remain very cautious about attributing a citation to memory.

¹¹ Fee, “The Use of the Greek Fathers,” 1st ed., 192-193.

¹² Gordon D. Fee, “Modern Text Criticism and the Synoptic Problem,” in *J.J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976*, ed. Bernard Orchard and Thomas R.W. Longstaff (SNTSMS 34; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, 154-169), 160: “Fathers may, and must, be evaluated in the same way as the manuscript evidence. Some cite with precision; others do not. Some show care for the wording per se; others adapt and paraphrase at will. How a Father cites is often as important as what.”

variant, but this is more difficult in cases where the textual sample is small, since the *overall patterns* of scribal error are less prominent.¹³ We shall return to this problem momentarily.

Third, the character or type of work in which the citation is embedded is relevant. According to Fee, citations tend to be more accurate in commentaries and polemical treatises, where the text serves as the basis for comment or debate, and less accurate in letters and sermons. When speaking of accuracy and inaccuracy, however, we must bear in mind that scribes often used their imagination to fill in the gaps of texts and to create meaning more effectively; in other words, the mental processes enhanced the intimate connection between the copyist and what was being copied, especially where the text's *meaning* is concerned.¹⁴ In a recent study on citation methods within antiquity generally and citation practices of Christian scribes in the second century particularly, Charles E. Hill demonstrated that

even a stated and sincerely held regard for the sacredness of a text did not necessarily affect an author's practice of what we would call loose or adaptive citation. Literary Christians inherited, took part in, and contributed to a literary culture, Greek, Roman, *and Jewish*, which did not consider that the chief purpose of literary borrowing was to guarantee for the reader an exact replication of the text appropriated.¹⁵

Inaccuracy of citation can be explained in a number of possible ways (e.g., conforming citation to context, faulty memory, clerical errors, etc.), but intentional changes that were made in order to clarify the perceived meaning are indicative of the kind of citations we find in many of the

¹³ On transcriptional probability, see B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek with Notes on Selected Readings* (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881-1882), 2:22-30. Hort distinguished between intrinsic probability, which signifies "what an author is likely to have written" and transcriptional probability, "what copyists are likely to have made him [the author] seem to write" (*Introduction*, 20). Both are subsumed under the broader category of "Internal Evidence of Readings."

¹⁴ According to Philip Comfort, "the evidence of the extant manuscripts shows that the scribes were engaged in the creative act of reading and were not completely controlled by the linguistic signs and structures of the text. Scribes became active, creative readers and interpreters of the text they were copying. This freedom, rather than being looked upon as reckless disregard for the integrity of the original text, should be viewed as normal processing" (*Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography and Textual Criticism* [Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2005], 284).

¹⁵ Charles E. Hill, "'In These Very Words': Methods and Standards of Literary Borrowing in the Second Century," in *Early Text of the New Testament*, 261-281, at 277 (emphasis original); cf. the following statement by Gunther Zuntz: "The common respect for the sacredness of the Word, with [Christians], was not an incentive to preserve the text in its original purity. On the contrary, [it]...did not prevent the Christians of that age from interfering with their transmitted utterances" (*The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* [Schweich Lectures 1946; London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1953], 268-269).

church fathers. But this is also true of copyists of the New Testament. For example, transcriptional accuracy is not attained by the scribe of P.Beatty 1 (P⁴⁵), who “sees through the language to its idea-content, and copies that—often in words of his own choosing, or in words rearranged as to order.”¹⁶ In the words of Hort, “the offices of transcribing and editing came to be confused.”¹⁷

The *fourth* problem with citations in the church fathers is “the number of Bibles used by the father,” since it is possible that more than one New Testament exemplar was pressed into service for copying. In fact, many church fathers explicitly refer to variants in other manuscripts and Amy M. Donaldson has catalogued almost every such reference in a recent (unpublished) doctoral dissertation.¹⁸ The implication of a father’s use of various exemplars is the introduction of contamination or mixture, which can operate in successive or simultaneous fashion. Moreover, with the geographical relocation of some church fathers (e.g., Origen), “local texts” (if we may borrow a controversial phrase from Streeter) may have been utilized, which may have differed from texts previously consulted.¹⁹ Therefore, there must be an awareness of any potential, sudden shifts in the text of a church father.

In view of these problems, Fee established a set of criteria and sub-criteria for evaluating patristic citations, arranging the list in descending order of certainty to extremely doubtful materials.²⁰ The utility of some of these criteria for our purposes is limited on account of the fact

¹⁶ Ernest C. Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P⁴⁵, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵,” in *ibid.*, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 106-124, at 117.

¹⁷ Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 2:24.

¹⁸ Amy M. Donaldson, “Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), available online at <http://etd.nd.edu/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-12112009-152813/>.

¹⁹ It should be noted here that different forms of text may have been present in the same locality at the same time, and readings also could have arisen coincidentally.

²⁰ The list can be found in Fee, “Use of the Greek Fathers,” 1st ed., 201-204. Cf. *idem*, “The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations,” *Bib* 52 (1971): 357-394; repr. in Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 301-334.

that they involve the immediate literary context surrounding the citation, which is lacking in many non-continuous manuscripts. For example, Fee’s criterion 1.1 is that, when a church father employs the very words contained in the citation in his subsequent discussion, the probability that those were the words of his text is increased.²¹ However, some non-continuous witnesses do provide the wider context, such as, for example, P.Mich. inv. 3718 (LDAB 6578).²² This papyrus contains “Christian allegorizations,” in which the unidentified author cites the texts of Matt. 19:24, Matt. 13:33, John 2:1, Luke 3:8, and comments on them individually. Fee’s criteria 1.1-2 can be applied in this case, because, after the author cites a New Testament passage he/she gives an allegorical interpretation of it; this subsequent discussion *confirms* the wording in the citation.

Take for example the author’s citation and allegorization of Matt. 19:24:

εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος ράφιδος εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τή(ν) βασιλίαν τῶν οὐρανῶ(ν). κάμηλός ἐστιν Ἰού[δ]ας· τὸ τρύπημα τῆ[ς] ραφ[ί]δος ἐστὶν ἡ σφ[τη]ρ[ία]· [ὁ] πλούσιο[ς] ὁ διὰβ[ολ]ος.²³

Fee’s criterion 1.1 holds that the repetition of κάμηλος and τρύπημα in the comments following the citation is further evidence that those words were in his exemplar. This is significant because there are variants of these words in the manuscript tradition, as seen in the critical apparatus.²⁴ This text is not featured in the present study, but it is important to say that P.Mich. inv. 3718 contains genetically significant readings, and so there is no reason why such a text with an important citation should not be included in the critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament. In any case, Fee’s criterion of context, specifically the repetition of wording of the citation

²¹ Fee, “Use of the Greek Fathers,” 1st ed., 201. When the citation and commentary do not agree, one or the other has likely been altered. Streeter gave an example from Origen’s *Commentary on Matthew*, where the words καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς from the Byzantine text of Matt. 26:3 are present in the citation but absent from the following commentary, suggesting that a later copyist “substitute[d] a familiar for an unfamiliar phrase” (*Four Gospels*, 46-47).

²² Published by Albert Henrichs and Elinor M. Husselman, “Christian Allegorizations (P.Mich. inv. 3718),” *ZPE* 3 (1968): 175-189.

²³ Text from Henrichs and Husselman, “Christian Allegorizations,” 180.

²⁴ We should also note that the tradition is divided over the readings εἰσελθεῖν and διελθεῖν. P.Mich. inv. 3718 has the former.

within subsequent (and we might also add previous) discussion, is relevant for those non-continuous manuscripts that do have a larger context.

Fee's criterion 2.1 claims that there is a high degree of probability that we have the actual text of a church father if the citation contains several verses in length. In other words, a larger sample of text cited "assumes that an author is more likely to have consulted his text at such points than otherwise."²⁵ Fee appropriately cautions against the full reliance on this criterion, since *copyists* transmitting a father's text could have easily conformed it—whether consciously or unconsciously—to their own standard text. For example, as Fee notes, Origen's Matthean version of the Lord's Prayer (*On Prayer*) has been conformed to the tradition by a later copyist (e.g., addition of ὅτι in v. 5 and τῆς in v. 10), since Origen's subsequent discussion of the passage confirms what his actual text was (cf. Fee's criterion 1.1, above).²⁶ The relevance of this criterion for our study is that scribes copying text onto amulets are likewise more likely to have consulted a *written* text when the textual sample is substantial. Of course the same caution must be applied here as in the case of patristic citations: authors of amulets may also have conformed the citation—whether consciously or unconsciously—to the text that they know best. The difference between citations in amulets and the fathers is that citations in the latter are far more substantial and diverse than those in the former. Generally, the most extensive citation that we find in amulets is the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13, or portions thereof). But there are exceptions. For example P.Köln 8.340 (*no. 18*) cites eleven verses of the Gospel of John, and the majority of amulets cite more than one verse. However, a scribe's consultation of or reliance on a written text must be weighed on a case-by-case basis.

Fee's criterion 5.4 is also germane. It states that a father's use of conjunctions and particles in the citation of a single verse cannot be used with much confidence, since these are

²⁵ Fee, "Use of the Greek Fathers," 1st ed., 201 n.42.

²⁶ Fee, "Use of the Greek Fathers," 1st ed., 201 n.42.

very often adapted to fit the context of the father's own text.²⁷ Modifications of this sort are fairly common in the non-continuous witnesses and especially, as we shall see below, in amulets. For example, in P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (*no.* 22), the scribe omits the conjunction γάρ in his/her citation of 2 Cor. 10:4.²⁸ However, since γάρ always refers back to a preceding phrase, and since that preceding phrase is not included in the amulet, it is therefore superfluous. In the loose citations of 1 Cor. 2:9 and Matt. 8:20 in P.Mich. 18.763 (LDAB 5071), an unidentified Christian text, the author uses οὐδέ instead of οὐκ in both cases where no variation unit occurs. Here we are likely dealing with a stylistic predilection on the part of the author. Inflection is also frequently altered where no variation unit occurs, such as in P.Duke inv. 778 (*no.* 7) and P.Princ. 2.107 (*no.* 5), amulets citing the Lord's Prayer, where the phrase τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον is changed to τῶν ἄρτων ἡμῶν (ὑμῶν, P.Princ. 2.107) τῶν ἐπιούσιων—masculine accusative singulars become masculine genitive plurals. Changes of inflection, particles and conjunctions are prompted, at least in part, by the need to create “textual cohesion.”²⁹ Discourse analysis has demonstrated that authors, in attempt to move isolated sentences into communicative contexts, avail themselves of certain “resources” (e.g., transitional/connecting words or phrases) in order to communicate ideas more effectively on the larger level of discourse.³⁰ This need of textual

²⁷ Fee, “Use of the Greek Fathers,” 1st ed., 203.

²⁸ We do not know the gender of the authors of the amulets under consideration. While male scribes were the norm, the historical record indicates that women also wrote as scribes and were even trained as such. According to Origen (*apud* Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.23), “girls [were] trained for beautiful writing” (κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἡσκημέναις). On female scribes in Roman antiquity and early Christianity, see the excellent study by Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. Ch. 2. Indeed, outside of a professional domain, women were engaged in private correspondence with family members. See e.g., the texts in Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). Moreover, over 40% of the Coptic letters found at Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis were written by women. On this rich archive from fourth century Egypt, see Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk, eds., *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis. Vol. 2: P.Kellis VII* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 13-14.

²⁹ On textual cohesion, see especially M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English* (London: Longman, 1976). See also J.R. Martin, “Cohesion and Texture,” in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. Deborah Schiffrin et al. (Malden: Blackwell, 2001), 35-53.

³⁰ On discourse analysis, see Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Stanley E. Porter and D.A. Carson, eds., *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical*

cohesion must be kept in mind when assessing New Testament citations in amulets, where authors are not copying whole texts but isolated textual units for a particular purpose. We shall come back to the phenomenon of the omission of particles and conjunctions in amulets in Chapter 5.

The standard methodology for assessing patristic citations is a combination of quantitative analysis and the Comprehensive Profile Method. This method, developed by Bart D. Ehrman for his study of the text of the Gospels in Didymus the Blind, compliments traditional quantitative analysis (which involves tabulating a document's agreements with individual representatives) by evaluating group readings through the use of three specific profiles: 1) inter-group profile, 2) intra-group profile, and 3) a combination of inter- and intra-group profiles.³¹ Statistical analysis of this sort has been an effective approach in determining the relationships of manuscripts and to which "textual cluster" a particular manuscript belongs.³² While patristic citations are largely still being evaluated utilizing these methods, Münster's Coherence-Based Genealogical Method, which stands behind the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM), is gaining in popularity.³³ However, it is unclear how the method will affect the situation concerning the

Greek (JSNTSupp 113; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); Jeffrey T. Reed and Stanley E. Porter, eds., *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2010).

³¹ See Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (SBLNTGF 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); idem, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *NovT* 29 (1987): 22-45.

³² The term "textual cluster," which is intended as an alternative to the traditional term "text-type," has been advocated by Eldon J. Epp; the present author has adopted this terminology. See Eldon J. Epp, "Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 2nd ed., 519-577. "'Cluster' is a positive term, emphasizing close contextual relationships, but avoiding the subtle implications in the term 'text type'—that it is rigid, constant, tightly circumscribed and definitive" (Epp, "Textual Clusters," 522-523). Text-type as a category has been completely abandoned by Münster (vehemently so by the director of the INTF, Holger Strutwolf), because the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (= CBGM hereafter) will not allow it. On the jettisoning of the traditional terminology, see J.K. Elliott, "Recent Trends in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament: A New Millennium, a New Beginning?" *BABELAO* 1 (2012): 117-136, esp. 128-130; Paul Foster, "Recent Developments and Future Directions in New Testament Textual Criticism: Report on a Conference at the University of Edinburgh, 27 April 2006," *JSNT* 29.2 (2006): 229-243, esp. 231-233.

³³ David Parker provides a succinct explanation of this method: "It has as its foundation a full list of variants made by comparing complete transcriptions of witnesses. Where there are many manuscripts (as in the case of the New

textual analyses of the church fathers. At present, patristic data have an insignificant place within the ECM, since they are only being “added as appropriate.”³⁴ This is an unfortunate procedure and unlike that of most other modern editions, which do incorporate such data.

In sum, citations in the church fathers and in non-continuous manuscripts pose a wealth of similar problems, as we have seen. This is why Fee’s work on the methodology of assessing patristic citations is valuable also for the study of isolated citations in non-continuous manuscripts and amulets in particular. It is important to note that Fee and others have had to address similar, practical concerns as our own: how to gather, present, analyze, and evaluate the textual data.³⁵ Fortunately, for patristic citations, the field is on much firmer ground. Editions and indices of the texts of the church fathers abound, and textual analyses of the citations in individual authors are continuing to be carried out in the fine SBL monograph series, *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers* (SBLNTGF), edited by Michael W. Holmes.³⁶ We shall return in Appendix 1 to the question of how to collect and present textual data in non-continuous documents, but in anticipation of that discussion we would simply like to note here that some form of database of transcriptions is necessary as a starting point.

Testament works), these witnesses are scientifically selected by analysing all known copies in a set of test passages, but where the size of the task is practicable, the inclusion of all witnesses is desirable. The editor studies each unit of variation and where possible produces a stemma showing how the readings developed from one another. This relationship is recorded in a database, in which the relationship between the manuscripts is also recorded and calculated, in particular which is the most likely ancestor of each manuscript. The editor can then ask the database to disclose how all the manuscripts relate to each other. The resulting diagram is described as the textual flow” (Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, 84-85). For a more advanced discussion by the developer of the method, see Gerd Mink, “Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes (SBLTCS 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 141-216.

³⁴ Gordon D. Fee and Roderic L. Mullen, “The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 2nd ed., 351-373, at 368.

³⁵ See the section “Gathering and Presenting Data” in Fee, “Use of the Greek Fathers,” 1st ed., 196-204.

³⁶ Indispensable patristic resources include, among others: Mauritius Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (5 vols.; Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1974-1987); Dom E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Brugge: Karel Beyaert, 1961); *Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977-); *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-); J. Allenbach, et al., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (Paris: CNRS, 1975-2000). Outdated but still helpful are: J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca Cursus Completus* (161 vols.; Paris: Vives, 1857-1866) and idem, *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus* (221 vols.; Paris: Vives, 1844-1855). Information about each of the nine volumes in the SBLNTGF series may be found online at: http://www.sbl-site.org/publications/Books_NTGrF.aspx.

3.3 Method of Textual Analysis Adopted in the Study

The method of textual analysis adopted here is one that was first developed by Kurt and Barbara Aland in their handbook on textual criticism and later refined by Barbara Aland for application to smaller fragments.³⁷ This method was employed recently in a 2005 doctoral thesis on the text of Matthew in the early papyri by Kyoung Shik Min—a student of Barbara Aland—as well as by Tommy Wasserman in a study on the early papyri (and one parchment) of Matthew.³⁸ In this method, a manuscript is classified in two ways: according to its textual quality (*Textqualität*) and according to its character of transmission (*Überlieferungsweise*).

Textual quality refers to how closely the text aligns with the *Ausgangstext* or initial text. The *Ausgangstext* refers to a “hypothetical, reconstructed text, as it presumably existed, according to the hypothesis, before the beginning of its copying.”³⁹ For all practical purposes, the *Ausgangstext* is the text of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*, now in its 28th edition.⁴⁰ Scholars have rightly noted the circularity of this approach, since the basis for all judgments is a hypothetically reconstructed text (i.e., NA²⁸).⁴¹ In other words, it prevents a fuller picture about how a manuscript’s text might agree with other manuscripts or textual clusters.

³⁷ See Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 93-102; Barbara Aland, “Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, ed. A. Denaux (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 1-13.

³⁸ Kyoung Shik Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums* (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 2005), esp. 42-48; Tommy Wasserman, “The Early Text of Matthew,” in *Early Text of the New Testament*, 83-107.

³⁹ Gerd Mink, “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition, the New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as a Source of Genealogy for Witnesses,” in *Studies in Stemmata II*, ed. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 13-85, at 25.

⁴⁰ Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung*, 40: “Die textkritische Qualität eines Papyrus bestimmen wir hier im Bezug auf den Ausgangstext der Überlieferung, d.h. den Text des NTG²⁷.” This “initial text” is not synonymous with an “original” or “authorial” text, but many scholars are willing to assume, probably prematurely, that there are no differences between them. Since “initial” is sometimes incorrectly equated with “original,” we have chosen to use the German term *Ausgangstext* to avoid the confusion. On the concept of the *Ausgangstext*, see the helpful discussion in Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, “Introduction,” in *Textual History of the Greek New Testament*, 1-12, at 2-8.

⁴¹ See especially Bart D. Ehrman, “A Problem of Textual Circularity: The Alands on the Classification of New Testament Manuscripts,” *Biblica* 70 (1989): 377-388.

However, “because the vast majority of textual critics seem to agree that the current editions (NA^{27[28]} and UBS^{4[5]}) reproduce a text which must be close to the original or *Ausgangstext*, using the method as a working hypothesis seems unobjectionable to many, at least as a point of departure.”⁴² In other words, the objection of circularity should not deter us from attempting our task. Three categories are used to characterize the agreement with the *Ausgangstext*: “strict (*feste*),” “normal” (*normale*), and “free” (*freie*).⁴³ The ratio of deviation, which is based on a comparison of the text with the variation-units in the critical apparatus of NA²⁸, dictates which category is to be applied.⁴⁴

Wasserman provides the best examples of how this method is applied through his use of clear charts, which break down the ratio of deviation and the type of deviation involved.⁴⁵ To illustrate the method, let us look at Wasserman’s evaluation of PSI 1.1/ⲡ³⁵ (LDAB 2956).⁴⁶ First, Wasserman calculates the number of variation units in the stretch of text found in NA²⁷; there are 6. He then determines whether or not the fragment contains any additional variation units not noted in NA²⁷; in the case of PSI 1.1, there is none. He then presents the ratio of deviation in a percentage, which he arrives at by calculating the number of times the fragment deviates from the *total* number of variation units, in this case 6. In PSI 1.1, there is only a single deviation from the printed text (omission of δέ in Matt. 25:22), which results in a ratio of 1/6 or 16.7%. Since the ratio of deviation is very low, PSI 1.1 represents a “strict” text, that is, a text close to the *Ausgangstext* (=NA²⁷). Conveniently, Wasserman notes which type of deviation is present in

⁴² Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger, “Introduction: In Search of the Earliest Text of the New Testament,” in *Early Text of the New Testament*, 1-19, at 9.

⁴³ In B. Aland’s development of the method, there are two instances in which “free” apply: 1) due to carelessness (*Nachlässigkeit*) and 2) to editorial interference (*editorischen Eingriffen*). See B. Aland, “Kriterien,” 2.

⁴⁴ On the term “variation-unit,” see E.C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, “Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism*, 96-105; Cf. Eldon J. Epp, “Toward the Clarification of the Term ‘Textual Variant,’” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, 47-61.

⁴⁵ Wasserman, “Early Text of Matthew,” 83-107.

⁴⁶ The analysis of PSI 1.1 is found in Wasserman, “Early Text of Matthew,” 88-89.

each fragment under analysis (A= “addition”; O= “omission”; SUB = “substitution”; W/O = “word order”), as well as the number of singular readings. It should be noted that three categories “strict,” “normal,” and “free” are only useful insofar as they tell us something about how closely a text aligns with the NA²⁸. A “free” text does not in principle mean a poor text. It simply means that the text does not agree closely with the NA²⁸. And indeed, what is “free” for a comparison with the NA²⁸ may be “strict” for a comparison with some other manuscript or textual cluster.

Min’s second classification, *transmission character*, refers to how well the scribe copied the exemplar. Clerical errors and singular readings are often the result of “inaccurate” copying (see the nuance of accuracy/inaccuracy above) and so on the basis of such deviation the degree of correspondence between the exemplar and the newly produced text can be approximated. As in the classification of textual quality, the three categories of “strict,” “normal” and “free” are also used here to characterize the transmission character. This approach is akin to Hort’s concept of “transcriptional probability,” which seeks to identify readings originating with the scribe due to various impulses.⁴⁷ One of the problems with the application of transcriptional probability is also a problem in assessing transmission character, namely, it is not possible to know with *complete certainty* how a scribe changed his/her text because we lack the physical evidence, that is, the source-manuscript, to prove it. Hort claimed that the probability that a secondary reading was created by a copyist rests on the practitioner’s ability to identify the “highest real excellence” of the original reading.⁴⁸ However, any textual critic will admit the difficulty with this concept, since perceived improvements may not be actual improvements at all.

⁴⁷ Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 2:22-30.

⁴⁸ Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 2:29: “For if it be a scribe’s correction, it must have some at least apparent excellence, and if it be original, it must have the highest real excellence. Contrast of real and apparent excellence is in any given variation an indispensable criterion as to the adequacy of the evidence for justifying reliance on Transcriptional Probability.”

It is possible, indeed necessary, however, in the case of both continuous and non-continuous manuscripts, to eliminate genealogically insignificant variants, which find a home in many of the manuscripts taken up in the present study. Nonsense and singular readings are guilty (until proven innocent) of being introduced into the wider tradition by the scribes of individual manuscripts.⁴⁹ Thus, comparisons with the *Ausgangstext* should exclude singulars and obvious errors. When the orthography of a text is exceedingly poor, it is sometimes difficult to determine the correct spelling. A good example of a document with poor orthography is P.Berl. inv. 13977 (*no.* 23), which was corrected by the modern editor. Some editors might complain that correcting a text's orthography in this way is risky business, since variants of this sort are instructive in and of themselves. Other editors find it acceptable to restore missing text in the orthographic form in which the copyist is most likely to have used (see, e.g., the discussions of P.CtYBR inv. 4600 [*no.* 9] and P.Col. 11.293 [*no.* 8]). However, in the case of poor orthography, I follow the practice of correcting orthography in a subsection of the transcription and restoring text according to the spellings of the tradition.⁵⁰

Our method has a couple advantages over against the traditional statistical models. The first advantage is purely pragmatic, in that the presentation of the data occupies little space, as opposed to the tabulation of data in multiple columns required by quantitative analysis. Given that the present study will be collecting a large quantity of data and analyzing each one of them, a method that is clear, efficient and that allows for space to be used economically is ultimately desired. The categories of “strict,” “normal” and “free” are used to characterize both the textual

⁴⁹ On the advantages and disadvantages of singular readings for textual criticism, see James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008), Ch. 2 (39-63).

⁵⁰ I am following, among others, the recommendation of Martin L. West, who states that, in cases of poor orthography, “rather than impose a consistent system which can only be chosen rather arbitrarily, it is better to follow the *paradosis*, not under the delusion that it is at all reliable, but as the most convenient way of exhibiting it” (*Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique, Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* [Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973], 70).

quality and transmission character of each non-continuous witnesses catalogued in the present study.

A second advantage of the method is that it works well with smaller, highly fragmentary manuscripts where the textual sample is small. When the Alands say that a manuscript is “too brief for certainty,” they mean that the manuscript in question does not preserve a stretch of text that is known to contain variation units, or that the readings at places of significant variation are unclear (for which the superior abbreviation *vid* [=ut videtur] is often given) or limited.⁵¹ The character of such texts is too inconclusive to be placed in one of the Aland’s five categories.⁵² Thus, with fragmentary manuscripts our method has the advantage of providing a tentative evaluation based on the agreements and disagreements of *all* extant readings within each non-continuous manuscript with the *Ausgangstext*.

3.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to propose a method for analyzing New Testament citations on amulets. We began with a prolegomenon noting the similar problems of assessing New Testament citations in the works of the church fathers. We examined Gordon D. Fee’s list of problems with patristic citations and a few of his criteria and sub-criteria for evaluating them. Using Fee’s criteria, several considerations must be made when assessing citations in amulets: wording found in the surrounding context (where applicable), the extent of the textual sample, and the use of conjunctions and particles.

Our method of textual analysis draws on the work of Kyoung Shik Min and Tommy Wasserman. The method consists of two parts: a classification of a text’s *textual quality* and its

⁵¹ See, e.g., the description of P⁹, P¹², P⁶⁵, P⁷³, P⁸⁰ in the “Descriptive List of Papyri” in Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 96-102.

⁵² On the five categories devised by the Alands, see Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 106, 159, 335-337.

character of transmission. Textual quality is determined on the basis of a comparison with the *Ausgangstext*, which in this case is the text of NA²⁸, and character of transmission is determined by how well the scribe copies his/her exemplar. As we saw, this method has the advantages of being pragmatic as well as appropriate for the study of less substantial citations.

Ultimately, whether or not an amulet's text is valuable for textual criticism must be determined on a case-by-case basis. Thus, it will be necessary for readers to consult the individual sections comprised of textual analyses in each entry below (Chapter 4). It is not altogether sufficient for labels such as "strict," "normal," or "free" to determine our use or non-use of these texts. We must recall Bengel's text-critical dictum that manuscripts (but also variants) must be *weighed* and not merely counted.⁵³ If anything, these texts extend the range of possible readings and for those pushing for a fuller, more complete apparatus, the non-continuous manuscripts would be helpful in that regard. Indeed, a broader database of possible readings would support the aims of thoroughgoing eclecticism, which seeks to exploit all types of variants. J.K. Elliott, for example, has proposed that non-continuous witnesses (e.g., amulets, *hermeneiai*, etc.) should be included in the apparatus of the Greek New Testament. According to Elliott, "although one must pity an editor assembling an apparatus, confronted with a seemingly endless array of potential witnesses to include, the argument that no witnesses should be jettisoned and that all possible sources should be tapped is compelling."⁵⁴

The transmission of the text of the Greek New Testament represents a historical process that is highly complex, and when bits of the textual tradition become utilized for various purposes within the life of the church and its constituents, sometimes that tradition is reshaped. There are, therefore, examples of non-continuous witnesses that yield no support for the wider

⁵³ On this principle, see Epp, "Traditional 'Canons,'" 84.

⁵⁴ J.K. Elliott, "What Should Be in an *Apparatus Criticus*? Desiderata to Support a Thoroughgoing Eclectic Approach to Textual Criticism," in *Textual History of the Greek New Testament*, 129-139, here 138. Cf. idem, "The Early Text of the Catholic Epistles," 218-219.

tradition and are less relevant for the business of textual criticism, as we shall see. But for these manuscripts, which “form the dangling ends of branches that go no further,” the story only just begins.⁵⁵ These texts extend the evidence of Christian literature and yield historical information that provide the historian with a better glimpse into the everyday lives of Egyptian Christians within late antiquity. For the most part, textual critics have stopped just shy of pursuing these historical phenomena, which is in part the result of the restrictions that are imposed onto the discipline as traditionally defined. As Kraus has stated,

As traditional textual criticism of the New Testament primarily and often only focuses on the reconstruction of a text closest to the hypothetical original, textual critics are hardly interested in the paleographical and codicological data provided by manuscripts and the other preserved non-biblical texts on them, but concentrate on the shape and quality of the text given.⁵⁶

It is now time, however, for these materials to be considered more closely. In the following chapter, we examine the physical and textual components of papyrus and parchment amulets bearing a New Testament citation. This will be preceded by an explanation of the editorial procedure adopted in that chapter.

⁵⁵ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 430.

⁵⁶ Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 230.

CHAPTER 4

AMULETS AND THEIR TEXTS

4.1 Editorial Procedure

In this chapter, I catalogue and analyze all extant Greek amulets written on papyrus and parchment that contain a citation of the Greek New Testament. Since I am interested in matters pertaining not only to the textual but also physical characteristics of manuscripts, such as the graphic forms of script, folds, layout, material damage, etc., space will be devoted to such issues within each entry. What follows is an explanation of the method for describing each amulet.

4.1.1 Transcriptions, Headings, and Images

In light of Pickering's suggestion that a transcription database is "unavoidable" if scholars are to consider non-continuous texts, we have decided to include transcriptions of all non-continuous witnesses treated here. As Pickering himself noted, there is a redundancy in reproducing the transcriptions. However, the utility of having the transcriptions of all Greek amulets with New Testament citations in one place will save others from the inconvenience of tracking down all the editions or studies in which they are printed (most often in German, French, and Italian; the edition of P.Iand. 1.6 is in Latin).

The transcriptions, as well as technical details of manuscripts (e.g., provenance, dimensions, inventory numbers), have been gleaned from the *editiones principes* of manuscripts and subsequent studies that provide revisions to the *editio princeps*. The Leiden System (see front matter) has been adopted for transcriptions and all abbreviations (e.g., *nomina sacra*) have been resolved (e.g., Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς). Relevant research on the text of individual fragments will be duly noted in the notes. However, the present project does not permit the inclusion of exhaustive

bibliographies for each of the fragments studied here, since the project is meant to be a starting point for further scholarly inquiry. In addition to the *editiones principes*, only studies that have proposed new readings, interpretations, or offered new editions will be cited. In general, the presentation of materials follows the model of the *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* series (*NewDocs*), in which transcriptions and translations, bibliographical data, and descriptions are provided. We have adapted modern papyrological convention by referring to manuscripts by their publication numbers; for convenience to New Testament textual critics, Gregory-Aland numbers will also be cited parenthetically in the headings: P.Oxy. 64.4406 (P¹⁰⁵). Other classifications will be provided in the heading where appropriate (e.g., von Dobschütz), in particular the identification numbers for items in the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB) and de Bruyn and Dijkstra's "checklist." Van Haelst's catalogue is not referenced because those item numbers are conveniently listed in the LDAB. We have examined all of the papyri and parchments included here from photographs; at times we have modified transcriptions based on my examinations and use of good judgment, and all such changes will be thoroughly explained. We have given links in the notes to images of manuscripts that are accessible online.

4.1.2 Paratextual Features and Historical Function

A discussion of the paratextual features will also be an important component in the analysis of each non-continuous witness, since such features may assist us in determining more precisely the historical function of these documents (e.g., protective, curative, beneficial, etc.). Eldon J. Epp has argued, for example, that modest codex sizes were "convenient for travel" and that such convenience was attractive to itinerant Christian teachers and preachers.¹ According to C.H.

¹ Eldon J. Epp, "The Codex and Literacy in Early Christianity and at Oxyrhynchus: Issues Raised by Harry Y. Gamble's *Books and Readers in the Early Church*," *Critical Review of Books in Religion* 10 (1997): 15-37, esp. 19-21. Epp draws extensively on the article by Michael McCormick, "The Birth of the Codex and the Apostolic Life-Style," *Scriptorium* 39 (1985): 150-158. For a critique of Epp's position, see Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*,

Roberts, miniature codices, defined by Turner as “less than 10 cm. broad,”² “are best regarded not as amulets but as devotional handbooks for the well-to-do,” and most likely a Christian invention.³ Our treatment of a few miniature codices (e.g., P.Ant. 2.54 [*no. 12*], P.Vindob. G 29831 [*no. 19*], P.Berl. inv. 11710 [*no. 20*], and P.Oxy. 34.2684 [*no. 24*]) must take these theories into account. Such paratextual features may also indicate something about the nature of the text, since the use of a document may be a determining factor in the textual quality of the document produced. For example, carelessness in orthography and script may suggest carelessness in copying, although this must be determined on a case-by-case basis. Dimensions of all fragments are provided in centimeters according to width by height (W x H).

4.1.3 Palaeography

Each entry will also include a discussion of palaeography, which will follow modern Greek palaeographical criteria and methods. In recent years, papyrologists have been critical of the ways in which some biblical scholars use palaeography to promote a specific agenda or argument relating to early Christianity or early Christian papyri.⁴ In a recent, highly influential article, this kind of second-rate scholarship has been labeled “theological palaeography” by two renowned Greek papyrologists and palaeographers.⁵ I will be describing the graphic structure of letters using the standard parlance of papyrologists that is best represented in classic palaeographical

157-165. For a view similar to Epp’s, see Graham N. Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 182.

² Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 22.

³ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 11. Cf. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 235-236.

⁴ See Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, ch. 2; David C. Parker, Review of Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts*, *TC* 4 (1999) [<http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v04/ComfortBarrett-ed1999rev.html>].

⁵ Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography,” *ETL* 88.4 (2012): 443-474.

works.⁶ Other palaeographical features, such as abbreviations, symbols, bilinearity, and the like will be duly noted.

More often than not, I accept the dates assigned to manuscripts by their editors, but, as with the transcriptions, modifications will occasionally be made. In terms of the method in dating manuscripts, I connect scripts, where possible, with one of the “canonical” or “normative scripts,” namely, “handwritings that follow precise rules and are repetitively stable in their technique and manner of execution, with the result that they have great staying power.”⁷ The normative scripts consist of: 1) round majuscule; 2) biblical majuscule; 3) Alexandrian majuscule; 4) severe style; 5) upright ogival majuscule; 6) sloping ogival majuscule; 7) round chancery.⁸ While not all scripts will fall into these typologies (especially irregular and inconsistent hands, such as P.Iand. 1.6), they do exemplify a range of datable scripts that were widely diffused in antiquity, which provide a basis for comparison.

4.2 Amulets and Their Texts⁹

1. MATT. 4:23-24

P.Oxy. 8.1077

11.1 x 6 cm

6th-7th cent. C.E.

LDAB 2959

von Dobschütz \mathfrak{L}^2

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 19

⁶ Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C. – A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955); Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*; Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967); idem, with Herwig Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800* (BICSSup 47; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987); Cavallo, “Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri,” in *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 101-148; Pasquale Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica: materiali per un aggiornamento* (Cassino: Edizioni dell’Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2005); Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (2 vols.; Bibliothek des Buchwesens 20; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 2010).

⁷ Cavallo, “Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri,” 127.

⁸ Cf. figure 3 in Orsini and Clarysse, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates,” 468.

⁹ For a list of manuscripts excluded from analysis below and explanations for their exclusion, see the last note of this chapter.

Ed. princ. A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VIII (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1911), §1077.

	Col. I	Col. II	Col. III	Col. IV	Col. V
1	ία μα τικὸν εὐ αγγέλιον	δά σκων καὶ κη ρῦσ	ων πᾶ σαν νόσον καὶ	λα κίαν ἐν τῷ λα ῶ κ(αὶ)	προσ ήνεν καν αὐ τῷ
5	κα τὰ	σων —	πᾶ —	ᾶ —	τοὺς
10	Ματ θαί ον κ(αὶ) περι ῆγεν ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς	τὸ εὐ αγγέλι ον τῆς	Image (See Fig. 1)	πῆλ θεν ἢ ἀκοῆ αὐ τοῦ	κα κῶς ἔχοντας καὶ ἔθε
15	ὄλην τὴν Γαλιλέ αν δι	βα σει λείας κ(αὶ) θερα πεύ	σαν νό σον κ(αὶ) πᾶ σαν μα	εἰς ὄλην τὴν Συρί αν καὶ	ρά πευ σεν αὐτούς ὁ Ἰ(σοῦ)ς —

Col. 1: 14-15. Γαλιλαίαν | Col. V: 1-2. προσήνεγκαν

Translation

Curative gospel according to Matthew. And Jesus went around all of Galilee teaching and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom and healing every illness and every infirmity [sic] and every infirmity among the people. And a report about him went out into all of Syria and they brought to him all who were sick and Jesus healed them.

This amulet against illness, written on an oblong piece of parchment, contains writing in the shape of crosses, surrounded by a human figure drawn in the center. It was listed as \mathfrak{Z}^2 by von Dobschütz (see Appendix 2). It begins with the title, “Curative gospel according to Matthew,” which precedes a citation of Matt 4:23-24—a narrative summary that depicts Jesus as a healer of every illness and infirmity. The same biblical quotation, occurring also in Matt. 9:35, is found in eight other healing or iatromagical amulets that have been the focus of a study by Theodore de

Bruyn, who analyzes them in light of the reception of scripture within late antique Christianity.¹⁰ The phrase “one who heals every illness and infirmity” (Matt. 4:23/9:35) is an example of what David Frankfurter has called *clausal historiolae*, that is, narratives “that function as a subsidiary invocation to a directive utterance, a command or prayer.”¹¹ The titular expression “Curative gospel according to Matthew” is unique to this amulet. However, it is not a title of Matthew’s Gospel in the strict sense; it should probably be understood as “the good news *about* healing according to Matthew,” which serves to introduce the summary of Jesus’ healing power.

De Bruyn and Dijkstra place P.Oxy. 8.1077 in their category of “certain amulets and formularies” (no. 19).¹² The parchment was folded in antiquity, four ways horizontally and three ways vertically. There are five columns of text arranged in such a way as to render three crosses per column; the second cross of col. three has been replaced with an image of a human bust (see Fig. 1). These crosses should not be underemphasized; they were likely added to enhance the effect of the ritual device. The sign of the cross was considered to be imbued with power, so it is no wonder we find them in most of the amulets under consideration.¹³ There is a series of small, diamond-shaped cutouts in between the columns of text as well as notches along the edges and corners of the parchment that someone, presumably the owner (or perhaps a ritual specialist), made in order to give the amulet a decorative appeal.

¹⁰ “Appeals to Jesus,” 65-82. The eight amulets are P.Oxy. 8.1077 (LDAB 2959); P.Berl. inv. 6096 (LDAB 6091); P.Oxy. 8.1151 (LDAB 2802); P.Turner 49 (LDAB 6084); P.Coll. Youtie 2.91 (LDAB 10333); P.Köln inv. 2283 (LDAB 6113); BGU 3.954 (LDAB 6231); P.Köln 8.340 (LDAB 2813).

¹¹ David Frankfurter, “Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells,” in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, 457-476, at 469. Frankfurter distinguishes between “clausal *historiolae*” and “*historiolae* proper.” De Bruyn has summarized the distinction well: “Frankfurter distinguishes between narratives that are recited independently—*historiolae* proper—and narratives that form the preamble to an ensuing request—clausal *historiolae*. The former are, seemingly, efficacious simply by virtue of their inscription or recitation; the latter tie the mythic event to the present need: ‘just as then you did such-and-such, so now do such-and-such’” (“Appeals to Jesus,” 67 n.6).

¹² De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 186-187.

¹³ According to Athanasius of Alexandria (*Contra gentes* 1:27-29), when the sign of the cross is made, “all false appearance of demons is routed” (trans. E.P. Meijering, *Athanasius, Contra gentes: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* [Leiden: Brill, 1984], 13). Justin Martyr (*I Apol.* 55) claimed that the cross “is the greatest symbol of His power and rule” (trans. *ANF* 1:181).

The amulet is written with brown, iron-based ink that has faded severely. It should be noted here that the parchment as a whole has deteriorated very significantly since its discovery. A comparison of the parchment today with the photo published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1911 shows that the fragment has since crumbled and torn in many areas. The text of the last column is indeed very difficult to read today, but the 1911 image shows that the text was perfectly readable. The scribe employs *καί*-compendium regularly and the final *nu* is abbreviated by a horizontal line. The script can be characterized as an example of the later bimodular, Alexandrian majuscule common from the sixth to the eighth centuries.¹⁴ This script is so common among Coptic manuscripts that it has received the classification “Coptic Uncial” for Greek manuscripts.¹⁵ A good comparandum is P.Oxy. 20.2258 (LDAB 523; Callimachus, sixth century C.E.), which can be firmly dated to the sixth century.¹⁶ But the script continues well into the seventh century (and even into the eighth, but with more flourishes), as can be seen in an equally close parallel in P.Louvre Hag. 2-5 (LDAB 6537; Lives of Saints, seventh century C.E.).¹⁷ Thus, we should revise Hunt’s original dating of sixth century to sixth/seventh century.

The image of the human bust enhances the efficacy of the words surrounding it, since images and symbols were considered sources of supernatural power.¹⁸ Here, as in many other healing amulets from antiquity, the drawn figure is a representation of the body of the one to be

¹⁴ See Cavallo, “Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri,” 129-131. See also Orsini and Clarysse, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates,” 452-453 and the literature cited there.

¹⁵ See Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 26; J. Irigoin, “L’Onciale grecque de type Copte,” *JÖB* 8 (1959): 29-51.

¹⁶ See Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, pl. 47 (84-85). Turner is somewhat skeptical of the date (“vi or vii [?]”). See the surer opinion of Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 82.

¹⁷ Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 51 (112). Cavallo and Maehler give the date “vii/viii” but the date of seventh century as given in the recent publication of P.Louvre Hag. 2-5 is more accurate. This date is also adopted in the LDAB.

¹⁸ Skemer, *Binding Words*, 133: “Textual amulets provided a tangible physical bond between words, symbols, and images that were sources of supernatural power and the persons or objects that were the intended beneficiaries of that power.”

healed, presumably the owner of the amulet. Interestingly, the bust is presumably that of a woman, depicted with curly hair and breasts (see Fig. 1):¹⁹

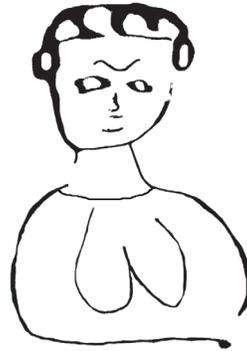


Fig. 1

P.Oxy. 8.1151 (see *no. 17* below) is another amulet also found at Oxyrhynchus that was owned by a woman (“Joannia, the daughter of Anastasia”). As with that amulet, the owner of P.Oxy. 8.1077 likely consulted a ritual specialist at a local church or shrine and paid for her amulet. Additionally, three other amulets under consideration were owned by women: P.Turner 49 (*no. 3*), P.Princ. 2.107 (*no. 5*), and P.Köln 8.340 (*no. 18*). These artifacts support the veracity of the statement by Chrysostom that women hung gospels (probably gospel amulets) from their necks.²⁰

NA²⁸ prints the opening line of Matthew 4:23 as follows: καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ. There are two variation units that concern us here: the omission or addition of ὁ Ἰησοῦς and the grammatical case of the words in the phrase ὅλη τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ:

- (1) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν ὅλῃ (– \aleph^*) τη Γαλιλαία \aleph^* C^{*} sy^{s,p,h} bo
- (2) ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ὁ Ἰησοῦς C³
- (3) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν \aleph^1 D^f 33 892 1424 / 844 / 2211 lat; Eus
- (4) ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς K W Γ Δ^{f43} 565 579 700 1241 \aleph
- (5) ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ B (k) sy^c sa mae

The addition of Jesus may be seen as an attempt to clarify the subject of περιῆγεν and thus the text-critical criterion of local genealogical priority applies. That is, the lack of a subject in some

¹⁹ Cf. the drawings in P.NYU 2.5 and P.Köln 8.340.

²⁰ Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 72, cited below in the discussion of P.Oxy. 8.1151.

manuscripts is able to account for the presence of it in others.²¹ Of course we must also observe that the omission of Jesus is represented in only a few manuscripts over against the wider tradition. We can explain the occurrence of the accusative cases in the phrase ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν as an attempt to give the more usual construction following περιάγειν. The UBS editorial committee gave the reading ἐν ὅλη τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ a “C” rating, indicating difficulty in deciding which variant to print.²² Our concern here is not to solve this textual problem. Rather, it is to highlight the fact that P.Oxy. 8.1077 offers support for variant #3 above (with slight orthographical difference in Γαλιλέαν) and therefore extends the manuscript evidence at this particular point of variation.

The phrase ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν has been omitted from v. 23 in our amulet, presumably because this piece of background information was not considered ritually useful to the owner of the amulet in channeling divine power. Since this omission constitutes a singular reading, it is therefore genealogically insignificant and must be eliminated from textual analysis. The same is also true of the dittography of νόσον κ(αὶ) πᾶσαν in Col. III. As is well known from citations of scripture in texts of the church fathers and other manuscripts, nonsense and singular readings are often guilty of being introduced into the wider tradition by the scribes of individual manuscripts.²³ Thus, comparisons with the *Ausgangstext* should exclude these singular readings.

The verb ἀπήλθεν in v. 24 (Col. IV) in our papyrus agrees with the text of NA²⁸ (following B and D, among others) over against the variant ἐξῆλθεν (⊗ C f¹ 33 892 sy^{hmg}). The meaning is, of course, the same. In the same verse, our amulet omits πάντας from the phrase αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς, which constitutes a singular reading, as well as everything that comes

²¹ On this criterion, see Eldon J. Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons’ of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity, and Viability—Or Lack Thereof,” in *Textual History of the Greek New Testament*, 79-127, at 93-96.

²² Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) 14.

²³ On the advantages and disadvantages of singular readings for textual criticism, see Royse, *Scribal Habits*, Ch. 2 (39-63).

between ἔχοντας and καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς. Moreover, the scribe of the amulet has added ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς at the end of the verse, which is not found in the manuscript tradition, thereby clarifying the subject of ἐθεράπευσεν. These singulars are of little value to textual criticism. However, while singular readings are present in P.Oxy. 8.1077, a few of its readings, as we have seen, are significant and should not be ignored. Yet, with the high ratio of deviation in such a short stretch of text, we must conclude that P.Oxy. 8.1077 represents a “free” text. Since we know that Matt. 4:23-24 was a popular choice of text among ritual specialists for healing amulets, it is possible that it was reproduced from memory as with the Lord’s Prayer. Whatever the case, the amulet attests to the use of scripture in early Byzantine Egypt and contains a variety of interesting visual features worthy of further study.

2. MATT. 4:23 || INCIPITS || JOHN 1:1 || PS. 17:3, 90:1, 117:6-7 || TRINITARIAN FORMULA ||

PROTECTIVE INCANTATION

BKT 6.7.1²⁴

8.5 x 13.6 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

LDAB 6091

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 4

Ed. princ. Fritz Krebs, “Altchristliche Texte im Berliner Museum,” *NKGW* 4 (1892): 114-120, at 118-120.

- 1 † ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς κ(αὶ) τοῦ υ(ιο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματος)
ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοήθειᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου
ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀλλήσθαι
† ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρ(ὸς)
5 τὸν <θεόν> κ(αὶ) θε(ὸ)ς ἦν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ
πρὸς τὸν θε(ὸ)ν >—————
† βίβλος γεννέσασεν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστο)ῦ υ(ιο)ῦ Δα(υὶ)δ υ(ιο)ῦ Ἀβρ(αάμ)
† ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστο)ῦ υ(ιο)ῦ τοῦ θε(οῦ)
† ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρισαν
10 ἀναδέξασθαι διήγισιν: >—————
† κ(ύριο)ς ἐμοὶ βοηθὸς κ(αὶ) οὐ φοβηθήσο-
μαι τί πηοῖσει μοι ἄν(θρωπ)ος
† κ(ύριο)ς ἐμοὶ βοηθὸς κἀγὼ ἐπόψομαι

²⁴ No image has ever been published, but I thank Marius Gerhardt (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung) for kindly providing me with an image for research purposes.

- 15 † τοὺς ἐκθρούς μου >—————
 † κ(ύριο)ς στερόομά μου κ(αὶ) καταφυγή μ[ου]
 κ(αὶ) ῥυστής μου: >—————
 † περιυγεν ὁ κ(ύριο)ς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὄλην τὴν Γαλλείαν
 διδάσκον ἐν ταῖς συναγωγῆς αὐτον
 κ(αὶ) κυρησον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλεί(ας)
 20 † κ(αὶ) θεραπεύον πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακία(ν)
 † τὸ σῶμα κ(αὶ) τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φείσαι τοῦ δού-
 λου σου τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον
 τοῦτο ἀμὴν ἀλληλοῦῖα † α † ω †

2. κατοικῶν 3. ἀλυσθήσεται 5. τὸν θεόν 7. γεννέσεως 8. Ἰησοῦ 9. ἐπεχείρησαν 10. ἀνατάξασθαι | διήγησιν 12. ποιήσει 14. ἐκθρούς 15. στερέωμα 17. περιήγεν | Γαλιλαίαν 18. διδάσκων | συναγωγῆς | αὐτῶν 19. κηρύσσων | εὐαγγέλιον 20. θεραπεύων 22. τοῦ φοροῦντος

Translation

In the name of the father, the son, and the Holy Spirit. (Ps. 90:1) The one who lives in the help of the Most High will abide in the shelter of the Lord of heaven [...] (John 1:1-2) In the beginning was the word, and the word was with (God), and the word was God. This one was in the beginning with God. (Matt. 1:1) An account of the genealogy of Jesus Christ son of David, son of Abraham. (Mark 1:1) [The] beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, son of God. (Luke 1:1) Since many have undertaken to set down an account [...] (Ps. 117:6-7) The Lord is a helper to me and I will not fear what a person may do to me. The Lord is a helper to me and I will observe my enemies. (Ps. 17:3) The Lord is my firmness and my refuge and my rescuer. (Matt. 4:23) The Lord Jesus went around all of Galilee teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every illness and every infirmity. (Incantation) The body and the blood of Christ spare your servant who carries this amulet. Amen. Alleloujah. † α † ω †.

This protective amulet discovered in the Fayum is written in 23 lines on a rectangular piece of parchment that is complete, with straight edges. The back is blank. All four margins are intact and very narrow. The parchment is in poor condition and some kind of moisture has damaged both the writing surface and the ink. The original editor suggested that this moisture was in fact the sweat of the wearer of the amulet that soaked into the parchment.²⁵ While this is at least possible, other explanations cannot be excluded. Hair follicles are well defined and their cloistered pattern may suggest that the animal was a sheep.²⁶ Traces of multiple folds are visible.

²⁵ Krebs, “Altchristliche Texte,” 119: “Seiner Bestimmung hat dies φυλακτήριον redlich gedient; denn der Schweiß seines Trägers hat es völlig durchtränkt und die schon ohnehin schlechte und undeutliche Schrift an manchen Stellen derart verschwimmen lassen, daß eine sichere Lesung nicht mehr möglich ist.” The suggestion was repeated by AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles? The Gospel of the Lots of Mary* (STAC 89; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 24.

²⁶ See the excellent discussion of hair follicles in parchment manuscripts generally, and Codex Sinaiticus in particular, at http://codexsinaiticus.org/en/project/conservation_parchment.aspx. Contrast there the images of calf and sheep hair follicles.

Each new citation begins with a cross; there are a total of 10 crosses in the left margin.²⁷ In addition, there are 3 crosses at the very end of the amulet (l. 23), in between which are the letters α and ω (see transcription).²⁸ The second line of each citation is indented. The scribe writes sacred names (including $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$ and $\text{\AA}\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu$) in abbreviated form, except $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, which exhibits *scriptio plena*. The series of *nomina sacra* in ll. 7-8 is marked off with supralinear strokes that are written in convex crescent form; the stroke elsewhere is wavy (e.g., $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in l. 11). The abbreviations of $\pi\rho(\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$ in l. 4 and of $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}(\alpha\varsigma)$ in l. 19 are uncommon in Christian amulets and other manuscripts. The former abbreviation is actually quite common in documentary papyri, and the latter was probably prompted by the lack of space on the line.²⁹ There are decorated (forked) line fillers at the ends of ll. 6, 10, 14, and 16. $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}$ is consistently written in compendium form.

The handwriting is swift, inclined to the right, and undecorated. Narrow ϵ , θ , \omicron , ς , wide δ , η , κ , λ , μ , ν , χ , straight-back sigma, two-stroke υ . The letters $\omicron\iota$ are consistently ligatured. The letters are written closely together and their size decreases as the scribe moves toward the end of the document. The original editor assigned a date of sixth century C.E., Schmidt and Schubart described the hand as “späte Schrift,” Wessely as “écriture d’époque postérieure,” and Rahlfs and Fraenkel date it to VI/VII.³⁰ This type of hand has its origins in the severe style dominant in

²⁷ Several studies incorrectly report that these crosses are staurograms but an examination of the original clearly demonstrates that they are crosses.

²⁸ On the use of alpha and omega as “magic” symbols, see Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (SGAWGW 7; Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1925), 122-125. These two letters also occur in P.Köln 8.340 (no. 18) in the lower margin of fig. B, side A.

²⁹ A search for the abbreviation $\pi\rho(\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$ in the Papyrological Navigator (<http://www.papyri.info>) results in a couple hundred examples. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is written as a *nomen sacrum* in a previously unattested form in P.Oxy. 76.5072 ($\beta\alpha(\sigma\iota)\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$; cf. P.Egerton 1). The abbreviated form in our amulet, however, is likely not a *nomen sacrum* proper on account of the observations that 1) the scribe has no space to write the remaining letters ($\alpha\varsigma$) on the line, which explains their omission, and 2) there is no overlining to mark a *nomen sacrum* as elsewhere on the parchment.

³⁰ Respectively, Krebs, “Altchristliche Texte,” 114; Carl Schmidt and Wilhelm Schubart, *Altchristliche Texte* (BKT 6; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910), 129; Wessely, “Monuments,” 412; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 21.

the third century C.E., as can be seen from the similarities in the Harris Homer (LDAB 2419).³¹ An extremely similar, though neater, hand is found in P.Oxy. 11.1373 (LDAB 373; Aristophanes, fifth century C.E.).³² Thus, I would tentatively suggest a date of fifth/sixth century C.E., a century earlier than what Rahlfs and Fraenkel suggest.

This amulet is a fascinating specimen for a few reasons, not least of which is the variety of texts chosen for inclusion: Trinitarian formula, various Psalms, gospel incipits, Matt. 4:23, and a protective incantation. The scriptural passages, crosses, and ritual symbols $\alpha\text{-}\omega$ make BKT 6.7.1 a paradigmatic example of a Christian ritual device. Jews and Christians alike made frequent use of Ps. 91 MT/Ps. 90 LXX in ritual contexts, particularly in rituals against demonic powers.³³ It occurs in several other amulets below. Trinitarian formulae are not uncommon in amulets, as can be seen from similar examples (e.g., P.Turner 49 [*no.* 3], P.Oxy. 11.1384, PSI 6.719 [*no.* 4]). The closing acclamation ἀλληλοῦῖα also appears elsewhere (e.g., P.Vindob. G 337, P.Oxy. 16.1928), and may have been drawn from a liturgical context.³⁴ The closing incantation's reference to the "body and the blood of Christ" contains eucharistic overtones that were probably also influenced by liturgical formulae. Indeed, the anaphoral traditions in Egypt

³¹ See image in Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, pl. 14.

³² Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, pl. 42; Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 17a.

³³ According to the Talmudic tradition, Ps. 91 was considered a highly effective anti-demonic psalm (*b. Shebu.* 15b; *y. Erub.* 10.11, *y. Shabb.* 6.8b). This psalm also appears in a first century C.E. Qumran manuscript known as *Apocryphal Psalms* (11Q11), where it functions apotropically. See Émile Puech, "Les Psaumes Davidiques du Rituel D'exorcisme (11Q11)," in *The Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160-181. The most commonly cited verse against demons in Jewish "magic" is Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this man a brand plucked from the fire?'" This verse is found in at least six Babylonian magic bowls produced to ward off demons, the Talmud (*b. Ber.* 51a), and a first century B.C.E. apotropaic hymn from Qumran (1QH^a 22:25); see Angel, "Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic," 789-790. One wonders why this passage is completely absent from Christian amulets. Is it because of the verse's reference to "the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem," a phrase that reflects Jewish ideology? For the use of Ps. 90 LXX in Christian amulets, see Thomas J. Kraus, "Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial," *BZ* 125 (2004): 39-73; idem, "Fragmente eines Amulett-Armbands im British Museum (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier," *JAC* 48/49 (2005/2006): 114-127; idem, "Βους, Βαινχῶοχ und Septuaginta-Psalm 90? Überlegungen zu den sogenannten 'Bous'-Amuletten und dem beliebtesten Bibeltext für apotropäische Zwecke," *ZAC* 11 (2011): 479-491.

³⁴ See de Bruyn and Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets," 181.

played a significant role in the development of Christian eucharistic practices and beliefs, as is attested by the abundance of Coptic literature dealing with the subject.³⁵ The carrier of the amulet is described as τοῦ δούλου σου, a description we also find in P.Turner 49 (*no.* 3), P.Oxy. 8.1151 (*no.* 17), and BGU 3.954 (*no.* 10), all below. The phrase “the one who carries this amulet” is likewise found in many amulets, including P.Vindob. G 29831 (*no.* 19), P.Iand. 1.6 (*no.* 6), P.Princ. 2.107 (*no.* 5), and P.Köln 8.340 (*no.* 18). One will notice that the grammatical case of the phrase “the one who carries” is incorrect: it should be in the genitive (τοῦ φοροῦντος), not the accusative (τὸν φοροῦντα). We will encounter this mistake again on several occasions below. It is likely that this was a stock phrase and that ritual specialists did not (for whatever reason) give much effort in grammatically aligning it to the gender of their clients.³⁶

We shall examine two New Testament passages from this amulet: Matt: 4:23 and John 1:1-2. Aside from the spelling errors, the citation of Matt. 4:23 diverges from the text of NA²⁸ only in two places:

καί¹ NA²⁸] *omit* **BKT 6.7.1**
 ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ NA²⁸] ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν **BKT 6.7.1**

The first variant (omission of καί) is quite easy to explain. As with several other amulets included in this study, the scribe of this amulet omits καί because it is superfluous; that is, there is nothing for καί to connect, since the preceding biblical passage (v. 22) has not been included in the amulet.³⁷ The second variant is one of several in this variation unit, and it includes two deviations from the text of NA²⁸: the addition of κύριος Ἰησοῦς and the shift from datives to accusatives in the phrase “around all of Galilee.” We have already seen this precise textual deviation in P.Oxy. 8.1077 (*no.* 1, –κύριος). The addition of “Lord Jesus” can be explained as a

³⁵ On the anaphoral traditions in Egypt, see Bryan D. Spinks, *Do This In Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London: SCM Press, 2013), esp. Ch. 4.

³⁶ For a fuller treatment of this phenomenon, see the discussion of P.Köln 8.340 below.

³⁷ Cf. the omission of conjunctions on similar grounds in P.Vindob. G. 2312 (*no.* 21), P.Vindob. G. 29831 (*no.* 19), and P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (*no.* 22), all below.

clarification of the subject of περιῆγεν. Several manuscripts attest to the use of the accusative phrase “around all of Galilee,” excluding κύριος: \aleph^1 D f^1 33 892 1424 l 844 l 2211 lat; Eus. There is a slight variation of this variant that includes the transposition of ὁ Ἰησοῦς, which is read in K W Γ Δ f^{43} 565 579 700 1241 \aleph . As we saw with P.Oxy. 8.1077, we can explain the occurrence of the accusative cases in the phrase ὄλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν as an attempt to give the more usual construction following περιάγειν. Thus, both P.Oxy. 8.1077 and BKT 6.7.1 offer support for a reading that is part of a significant variation unit and they both no doubt deserve a place in text-critical discussions about the text of Matt. 4:23. I would tentatively classify the textual quality of this citation as “strict” and its transmission character as “normal.”

As for the citation of John 1:1-2, it agrees precisely with the printed text at this point, except that in our amulet (l. 5), the scribe has omitted θεόν. It is quite possible that this is an accidental omission, since the scribe’s citation habits are otherwise very good. I classify its textual quality as “strict,” but cautiously, especially since there are no variation units in this short stretch of text. Nonetheless, in terms of the scribe’s *overall* citation habits, he/she (or his/her exemplar) largely follows the manuscript tradition, including the LXX manuscript tradition, since the citations of the Psalms passages are strict.³⁸ Thus, aside from orthography, our scribe has produced a faithful copy of several passages from the Bible and so merits inclusion in text-critical debates.

3. MATT. 4:23/9:35 || MATT. 8:15/MARK 1:31 || CREEDAL FORMULAE || PRAYER FOR HEALING

P.Turner 49³⁹

30.2 x 3 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

LDAB 6084

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 72

³⁸ There are only two deviations from Rahlfs’ edition of the LXX in the citations of the Psalms: 90:1 θεοῦ Rahlfs] κυρίου BKT 6.7.1 and 117:6 βοηθός Rahlfs] + καὶ BKT 6.7.1. See Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (ed. and rev. Robert Hanhart; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

³⁹ Photograph online at: <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/04427/>.

Ed. princ. William Brashear, “49. Christian Amulet,” in *Papyri Greek and Egyptian Edited by Various Hands in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* [P.Turner] (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1981), 192-93.⁴⁰

- 1 παρθ]ένου Μαρία<ς> κ(αι) ἐστ(αυ)ρ(ώ)θη ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου κ(αι) ἐτάφη εἰς μνημῖον κ(αι) ἀνέστη ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κ(αι) ἀνελήμφθη ἐπὶ τοῦ<ς> οὐρανοῦς κ(αι) ε....[
2]. ἐν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ὅτι ἐθεράπευες τότε πᾶσαν μαλακίαν τοῦ λαοῦ κ(αι) πᾶσαν νόσον συγπρ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ πιστευ.. μου ὅτι ἀπῆλθες τό[τ]ε εἰς τὴν [ο]ικίαν τῆ[ς] πενθερᾶς Πέτρου πυρεσ[σούσης]
3 [καὶ ἀφῆ]κεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός· κ(αι) νῦν παρακαλοῦμεν σε, Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, θεράπευσον κ(αι) νῦν τὴν δούλην σου τὴν φοροῦντα τὸ ἄγ[ιον] ὄνομά σου ἀπὸ πάσης νόσου κ(αι) [ἀπὸ παν-]
4 [τὸς π]υρετοῦ κ(αι) ἀπὸ ῥιγοπυρέτου κ(αι) ἀπὸ κροτάφου κ(αι) ἀπὸ πάσης βασκοσύνης κ(αι) ἀπὸ παντὸς πν(εύμ)α(τος) πονηροῦ ἐν ὀνόματι πα(τρ)ὸς κ(αι) υ(ιο)ῦ καὶ ἁγίου πν(εύμα)τος.
3. φοροῦσαν

Translation

[He was born of the] virgin Mary and crucified by Pontius Pilate and was buried in a tomb; and on the third day he rose and was taken up to heaven and ... Jesus, because you healed at that time every illness and every infirmity of the people ... Jesus [we?] believe [you?] because you went at that time into the house of Peter's mother-in-law, who was suffering from a fever, and the fever left her. And now we ask you, Jesus, heal also now your female servant, who wears your ho[ly] name, from every illness, every fever, every shivering fit, every headache,⁴¹ as well as from all bewitching and every evil spirit; in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

This papyrus was part of a private collection of papyri that was donated to the Ägyptisches Museum in West Berlin in the spring of 1978. The amulet was designed as a prayer addressed to Jesus for the healing of fever and accompanying symptoms. It is written on a long, narrow strip of papyrus in just four lines; the width is ten times the height (30.2 x 3 cm). The vertical indentions at the bottom of the papyrus at equal intervals indicate that the papyrus was rolled up (cf. P.Oxy. 76.5073 [no. 16]). Like many other amulets, it was placed in a casing and worn on the body of its owner (here called a “servant”), probably suspended from the neck by means of a string.⁴² G.H.R. Horsley has suggested that, on the basis of multiple occurrences of the first

⁴⁰ This is a revised edition that includes the text of a related fragment that Brashear discovered subsequent to the initial publication in 1975. For the first edition, see William Brashear, “Vier Berliner Zaubertexte,” *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25-33, at 31-33.

⁴¹ Κρόταφος is not the common term for headache but that is surely the intended meaning here. It means “side of the forehead, temples,” and more generally, “side, edge, profile” (see LSJ s.v. κρόταφος).

⁴² See several images of such casings from antiquity in Petrie, *Amulets*, pl. xix, no. 133.

person plural, this amulet may have been produced by a church leader for a lay person.⁴³ According to Horsley, the prohibition of the “*making*” of amulets in Canon 36 of the Council of Laodicea (see above) presumably implies the making of amulets for both those in orders as well as for those among the laity. The implication is that the laity accepted the view that these church leaders had special access to Christ. Horsley asks: “Was this because they had readier access to biblical/liturgical texts to copy extracts, or because they were more likely to be literate? [...] Behind these personal documents [...] are we able to perceive the laity’s acceptance that those in orders had special access to Christ?”⁴⁴ This theory would undoubtedly have implications for how scribes copied scripture onto amulets (e.g., with the use of an exemplar). Indeed, most scholars believe that amulets were produced by ritual specialists, such as priests or monks, who served as intermediary figures for constituents of popular religion. According to de Bruyn,

The preparation and use of amulets was similar to the preparation and use of oil. In all likelihood some if not all of the papyri [i.e., amulets] discussed above were prepared by Christian priests or monks...Moreover, as with the oil, amulets were rendered powerful by ritual actions: by the actions of writing, reciting, and wearing the inscription. And finally, once prepared by a cleric or monk or another ritual specialist, amulets, like the oil, could be taken away and applied by oneself.⁴⁵

That ritual specialists were sought out for healings, exorcisms and the like is evidenced in the literature from late antique Egypt and beyond, such as the following rant by Shenoute of Atripe:

In the moments of the suffering, however, [there are some who] when they fall into poverty or become ill—or indeed other temptations—abandon God and have recourse to enchanters or oracles or...other deceptive things: just as I myself have seen—the snake’s head bound to the hand of some, and another with the crocodile tooth bound to an arm, another with fox claws bound to his legs: especially as there was a magistrate who told the latter that he was wise to do so. Indeed, when I reproachfully asked him whether it was the fox claws that would heal him, he said: “It was a great monk who gave me them saying, ‘Bind them to you, and you will recover.’”⁴⁶

⁴³ *NewDocs* 3:116.

⁴⁴ *NewDocs* 3:116.

⁴⁵ De Bruyn, “Appeals to Jesus,” 79. John Chrysostom (*Hom. Col.* 8.5) reports that amulet-making was a profit-making business: “For amulets, even though the ones who make money from them philosophize endlessly [...] the matter is idolatry” (τὰ γὰρ περίαπτα, κἂν μυρία φιλοσοφῶσιν οἱ ἐκ τούτων χρηματίζομενοι [...] εἰδωλολατρεία τὸ πρῶγμά ἐστι). Text from PG 62:358.

⁴⁶ Paris copte 129¹¹² 66 + DS, p. 59; trans. from Tito Orlandi, “A Catechesis Against Apocryphal Texts by Shenoute and the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi,” *HTR* 75 (1982): 85-95, at 90.

Similarly, over two hundred oracular tickets have been discovered among the remains of the Church of Saint Colluthus in the ancient city of Antinoë. Here, pilgrims would consult Christian priests to write oracular questions for them, who in turn would bring their questions to the oracle.⁴⁷ In most amulets, prayers, adjurations, praises and the like are in the first person singular (“I adjure you, I call,” etc.). So, the shift to the first person plural in P.Turner 49 may be, as Horsley imagines, indicative of a priestly or monastic environment in which this amulet was manufactured from within a group of representative religious leaders.⁴⁸

The text is written along the fibers (→) in a crude, semi-cursive hand that is at times difficult to decipher, especially at the end of l. 1. Small portions of the papyrus are missing; otherwise, the text is complete. The back is blank. The word ἐσταυρώθη in l. 1 is written in the form of a staurogram (this is not noted by de Bruyn and Dijkstra), although “the figure between sigma and theta is not so much a tau-rho monogram as a cross with a circle on it — almost a pictorial representation of the crucifixion.”⁴⁹ *Nomina sacra* are used for Ἰησοῦς, πατήρ, υἱός, and πνεῦμα, but not for οὐρανός (cf. BKT 6.7.1 [no. 2]). Both types of abbreviations are marked off with a supralinear stroke. Καί-compendium is also used consistently throughout.

The opening lines are reminiscent of the early creedal formula in 1 Cor. 15:4 (ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ) but even more so of the Apostle’s Creed.⁵⁰ It should be noted that creedal formulae appear in several Christian amulets. For example, ll. 2-8 in P.Batav. 20, an amulet against fever, read: “Christ appeared, Christ suffered, Christ died, Christ was raised,

⁴⁷ Papini, “Fragment of the *Sortes Sanctorum*, 393-401. On divinitation in early Christianity, see especially Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, chs. 3-4.

⁴⁸ On “magic” and ritual specialty from Egypt, see the fantastic essay by David Frankfurter, “Ritual Expertise,” 115-135. See also Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, esp. ch. 2.

⁴⁹ P.Turner 49, note to l. 1.

⁵⁰ Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (τὸν) υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ (τῶν) νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς [...] Text from Adolf Harnack, *The Apostles’ Creed* (trans. Thomas Baily Saunders; London: A. & C. Black, 1901), 16.

Christ was taken up, Christ reigns, Christ saves.”⁵¹ The Trinitarian formula at the end of P.Turner 49 is also quite common in amulets (BKT 6.7.1, P.Oxy. 11.1384, PSI 6.719 [no. 4]).

We learn from the text of this amulet that its owner was a woman. In l. 3 the phrase “your servant, who wears” is feminine (τὴν δούλῃν σου τὴν φοροῦντα). The participle φοροῦντα is of course masculine, though its article is feminine. As we saw in BKT 6.7.1 above, φοροῦντα served as a stock phrase whose form became fossilized.⁵² It was not grammatically aligned but the preceding phrase and article were. The amulet appeals to the pericope involving Jesus’ healing of Peter’s mother-in-law. It also references “every illness and infirmity of the people,” which is surely an allusion to Matt. 4:23/935 (“one who heals every illness and infirmity”). As we saw with P.Oxy. 8.1077 (no. 1), this phrase occurs in several healing amulets, and is an example of what David Frankfurter has called “*clausal historiolae*,” that is, short narratives that serve a subordinate (though supporting) role to the main request.⁵³ Note that here in P.Turner 49, Jesus is specifically addressed in the vocative (“Jesus, because you healed...”). The story of Peter’s mother-in-law is then picked up as a biblical precedent that can be applied to the client’s situation: “just as then you did such-and-such, so now do such-and-such.”⁵⁴ This amulet is one of five under consideration that belonged to a woman, and so this prompts several questions concerning Christian female clients.⁵⁵ We will return to these questions in Chapter 5.

At the end of l. 2 and the beginning of l. 3, the text reads τὴν [ο]ικίαν τῆ[ς] πενθερῶς Πέτρου πυρεσ[σούσης καὶ ἀφῆ]κεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός—an obvious reference to the story of Jesus’ healing of Peter’s mother-in-law (Mark 1:30-31/Matt. 8:14-15/Luke 4:38-39). The phrase

⁵¹ Χ(ριστό)ς ἐφάνη | Χ(ριστό)ς ἔπαθε[ν] | Χ(ριστό)ς ἀπέθα[ν]εν | Χ(ριστό)ς ἀνηγέρθη | Χ(ριστό)ς ἀνελήμφθη | Χ(ριστό)ς βασιλεύει | Χ(ριστό)ς σφύζει. Text from ed. princ., P.W.A. Th. van der Laan, “20. Amulette Chrétienne contre la Fièvre,” in *Textes Grecs, Démotiques et Bilingues (P. L. Bat. 19)*, ed. E. Boswinkel and P.W. Pestman (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 96-102, at 98. See also a similar creed-like statement in P.Haun. 3.51.

⁵² See a fuller treatment of this phenomenon in the discussion of P.Köln 8.340 below.

⁵³ Frankfurter, “Narrating Power,” 469; see also de Bruyn, “Appeals to Jesus,” 65-82.

⁵⁴ De Bruyn, “Appeals to Jesus,” 67 n.6.

⁵⁵ The other four amulets are: P.Oxy. 8.1077, P.Princ. 2.107 (no. 5), P.Oxy. 8.1151 (no. 17), and P.Köln 8.340 (no. 18).

ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός agrees verbatim with the text of NA²⁸ at this point in both Matt. 8:15 and Mark 1:31. It is difficult to say whether such a short phrase was reproduced from memory or copied from an actual text. We should recall that shorter texts were probably often cited from memory although we cannot rule out the possibility that a written text was involved in the copying process.

While we must leave this last question open, it is important to note that a variation unit is present in this sequence of text in Mark 1:31, namely, the addition of the adverb εὐθέως after πυρετός by many witnesses (A [D] K Γ Δ ℞, etc.). That Matthew lacks a variation unit at this point complicates the matter, however, since it means that the scribe of P.Turner 49 could be citing either Matthew or Mark. Potential support for the former can be found in our amulet's use of Peter instead of Simon, as in Mark. However, potential support for the latter can be found in the allusion to Jesus' healing of every *illness* (νόσον), a term which occurs subsequently in the same literary unit in Mark 1:34 but not in the parallel unit in Matthew. For this reason, this amulet could be cited as a *possible* witness supporting the omission of εὐθέως in Mark 1:31. However, given the brevity of the citation and the open question as to which Gospel is actually being cited, a determination of its textual quality and transmission character cannot be made with any confidence. Nonetheless, this is a good example of an amulet that weaves together several biblical phrases for the purpose of channeling divine favor/power.

4. MATT. 6:9 || JOHN 1:23 || INCIPITS || PS. 90:1 || DOXOLOGY

PSI 6.719⁵⁶

25 x 5.5 cm

6th cent. C.E.

LDAB 2767

Von Dobschütz 𐤆⁴

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 38

⁵⁶ Photograph online at: <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv014recto.jpg>.

Ed. princ. G. Vitelli, *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini*, vol. 6 (Florence: Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana, 1920), no. 719 (=151-152).

→

- 1 † Χ(ριστ)έ [σ](ῶτ)ερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 υἱοῦ Δαυέτ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης. [ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐα-]
 γελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 υἱοῦ θεοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. ἐπε[ιδ]ήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπιχείρησαν ἀν[ατάξα]σθαι
 δι[ι]ήγ[η]σιν περὶ τῶν
 πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖ[ν] π[ρα]γμάτων ὁ κατοικῶν [ἐν βο]ηθεί[α] τοῦ ὑψίστου
 καὶ τὰ
 5 ἐξῆς πᾶτηρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ[ραν]οῖς ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου κα[ὶ]
 τὰ ἐξῆς] δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ
 καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ νῦ[ν κ]αὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν [αἰ]ῶνων ἀμήν χ.. †††

2. Δαυίδ

3. ἐπεχείρησαν

4. πεπληροφορημένων

5. πάτερ | ἁγιασθήτω

Translation

Christ savior: (John 1:1) In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. (Matt. 1:1) An account of the genealogy of Jesus Christ son of David, son of Abraham. (Mark 1:2) Just as Isaiah the prophet said, (Mark 1:1) [The beginning of the gos]pel of Jesus Christ, son of God, son of Abraham. (Luke 1:1) Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us. (Ps. 90:1) The one who lives [in the hel]p of the Most High, and so forth. (Matt. 6:9) Our father who is in heaven hallowed be your name, a[nd so forth]. Glory to the father and son and Holy Spirit, both now and always, and forever and ever. Amen.

This amulet, containing a variety of texts from the Bible, is written on an oblong piece of papyrus in one column with six very long lines. It is probably a sheet cut from a roll, since the reverse side contains an unrelated Byzantine protocol written in a large, perpendicular hand.⁵⁷ All four margins on the recto are intact and folds are visible. There is one small hole on the left side of the sheet and a larger one on the right. The papyrus was folded while the ink was still wet, as evidenced by the fainter reversed letters especially on the left hand side. The first line begins with a cross, which is then followed by what appears to be the *nomen sacrum* Χ(ριστ)έ. The editors took what follows Χ(ριστ)έ as the *nomen sacrum* for σῶτερ, with only the ερ showing. It

⁵⁷ See photo in Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 244 (fig. 4). Aland incorrectly states that the verso is “unbeschrieben” (*Repertorium*, Var 31). Inscribed protocols of this type, which are mostly found in later Byzantine and Arabic papyri, are written in extremely large letters that are often difficult to decipher. H.I. Bell surmised that they were written with a brush rather than a pen. See his “The Greek Papyrus Protocol,” *JHS* 37 (1917): 56-58.

seems that the scribe has transformed the final ρ of this last *nomen sacrum* into a staurogram by adding a horizontal stroke to its descender. Tremata occur over both υ and ι. At the end of ll. 2-3, the scribe writes the final letter above the line. It is interesting to note that the scribe abbreviates only the divine names occurring at the very beginning and end of the text; all other occurrences of a divine name in the main body of text (at least 14 in number, excluding δαυίδ and Ἀβραάμ) exhibit *scriptio plena*. The text ends at l. 6 with the letter χ and at least two undecipherable letters with overlining (for Χριστός?), followed by three crosses; the horizontal stroke of the final cross is extended to serve as a line-filler.

The hand is a neat semi-cursive, decorated with finials, upright, and roughly bilinear. Letters are written inconsistently. Upsilon is written three different ways: in two strokes, in three strokes, and horseshoe-shaped, without a descender (akin to the later minuscule form). The top element of π is written as a horizontal but it is also rounded. The loop of φ is large and wide. Other enlarged letters include β, ι, κ, ξ, ζ. The letter ζ is written in minuscule form. The handwriting is similar to, though slightly less refined than, P.Oxy. 16.1928 (LDAB 3284), a sixth century C.E. amulet containing gospel incipits and Psalm 90. Ironically, this amulet also contains a protocol on the reverse side, which bears a date of 5 Oct. 533. It is also graphically similar to the hand of P.Laur. 3.75, which bears a date of 574 C.E.⁵⁸ Thus, a sixth century date for the hand of PSI 6.719 seems likely.

All previous editions (Vitelli, Preisendanz, Wessely) transcribe the first half of the last line (l. 6) as καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ. However, the image very clearly shows the word καί in between πνεύματι νῦν. Interestingly enough, the fuller doxology in this amulet corresponds precisely to the last half of a doxology found in Ps.-Athanasius' *De Virginitate*:

⁵⁸ Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 34b. Cavallo and Maehler give an incorrect date of 589; see the correction in BL 8.165-166.

δόξα παρτι καὶ νῖϙ καὶ ἀγίϙ πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.⁵⁹ And a similar doxology is found in the *euchologium* of Bishop Sarapion of Thmuis from the fourth century: διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν ἀγίϙ πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.⁶⁰

In addition to the doxology, the amulet invokes gospel incipits (including part of Mark 1:2), Ps. 90, John 1:23, and Matt. 6:9.⁶¹ The reference to the trinity following the Lord's Prayer is common in amulets, as we have already seen in P.Turner 49 (*no.* 3) and BKT 6.7.1 (*no.* 2). The texts that interest us here are the first verse of the Lord's Prayer and the end of John 1:23.⁶² Other than the two misspellings of πάτηρ (read πάτερ) and ἀγιασθήτο (read ἀγιασθήτω), the opening verse of the Lord's Prayer in this amulet agrees with the text of NA²⁸. Likewise, the five words from the end of John 1:23 agree with the text of NA²⁸. However, the textual samples here are in no way substantial enough to classify their textual character. Thus, the citations remain unclassifiable.

One of the more interesting features of this amulet is the use of the phrase καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (“and so forth”) in ll. 4-5. The function of this phrase has been best explained by Sanzo. According to him, we are dealing with two “different kinds of metonymic transfer between *incipits* of multiunit corpora (i.e., the Gospel *incipits*) and *incipits* of single-unit texts (i.e., LXX Ps 90:1 and Mt 6:9).”⁶³ In other words, the ritual specialist did *not* insert the phrase καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς following the incipits because the immediate context was not considered relevant to the ritual.

⁵⁹ Text PG 28:268. An almost identical doxology was discovered in a Greek inscription in Khanasser, Syria. See J.-B. Chabot, “Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie orientale,” *Journal asiatique* 18 (1901): 430-450, at 442. This inscription as well as the text from Ps.-Athanasius quoted above are also reproduced in Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (eds. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq; Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ané, 1921), 1526 and 1527, respectively.

⁶⁰ Text from Xavierus Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 2 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1905), 166. See also the discussion of the doxology in P.Köln 4.171 (*no.* 14), vis-à-vis Sarapion of Thmuis' *euchologium*.

⁶¹ De Bruyn and Dijkstra have incorrectly labeled the Johannine reference as John 1:24 (“Greek Amulets,” 188).

⁶² For an analysis of the incipits in PSI 6.719, see Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 86-88.

⁶³ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 171.

Rather, the incipits were, according to Sanzo, used to “attain relevant material from the life and ministry of Jesus that was scattered throughout the Gospels (and possibly beyond).”⁶⁴ In contrast, Ps. 90 and the Lord’s Prayer are partially cited and the phrase καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς functions as a substitute for what is not cited. That is, the citation was invoked *pars pro toto* (part for whole). The phrase may help explain why so many amulets cut off their citations of scripture mid-sentence or mid-word, as in P.Oxy. 76.5073 (no. 16), P.Vindob. G 29831 (no. 19), P.Berl. inv. 11710 (no. 20), P.Vindob. G 2312 (no. 21), and P.Ant. 2.54 (no. 12). That is to say, the citations were invoked *pars pro toto* in these other amulets without the insertion of the phrase καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς to signal the additional text.⁶⁵ In sum, while the papyrus makes no striking contributions to our knowledge of the text of the New Testament, PSI 6.719 nonetheless provides us with a ritual tactic of invoking scripture in an interesting and indeed creative manner.

5. MATT. 6:9, 11 || PS. 90:1-2 || HEALING INCANTATION || SANCTUS

P.Princ. 2.107
LDAB 5835
de Bruyn and Dijkstra 70

13 x 15.5 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. Edmund Harris Kase, Jr., ed., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936), no. 107 (=102-103).

↓
1 Ⲡ πρὸς ρε . . ο . γωβα . σ . μω . .
 νουσηα . εξεγε οσαρκ αυσε .
 ρυγοπύρετον ὀρκίζω σε Μιχαὴλ ἀρ-
 χάγγελε γῆς καθημερινὸν ἢ νυκτ-
5 ερινὸν ἢ τεταρτέον τὸν παντοκράτο-
 ρα Σαβαὼθ μηκέτι ἄψη τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ
 φοροῦντος μηδὲ παντὸς τοῦ σώματ-
 ος αὐτοῦ ὀρκίζω σε καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπαλλαξ<ατε>
 Ταϊόλλης Ἰσιδόρου π . βων
10 ὁ κατικὸν ἐν βοηθίᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέ-
 πι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀλλ[ι]στήσετε ἐρῆ
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταφυγὴ μου καὶ βοηθῶς μου

⁶⁴ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 171.

⁶⁵ This is also the view of the editors of P.Oxy. 76.5073; see the comments at that entry below.

ἐλπιδῶ ἐφ' αὐτῶν. πατήρ ὑμῶν <ό> ἐν τῆς
 οὐρανῆς ἀγιασθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, τὸ-
 15 ν ἄρτον ὑμῶν τῶν ἐπιούσιων. ἅγιος
 ἅγιος κ(ύριο)ς Σαβαώθ πλήρις οὐρανός
 καὶ γῆ κης ἀγία<ς> σο<υ> δόξης ανιαδααι-
 α Μιγαήλ τῶν κ(υρίο)ν Ἀβράμ, Ἰσάκ
 20 Ἰακώβ, Ἐλωεί, Ἐλέ, Σαβα-
 ώθ Ωηλ

3. ῥιγοπύρετον 5. τεταρταῖον 9. Ἰσιδώρου 10. κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθεία 10-11. σκέπη 11. αὐλισθήσεται | ἐρεῖ 12.
 βοηθός 13. ἐλπίζω ἐπ' αὐτόν | πάτερ ἡμῶν 13-14. τοῖς οὐρανοῖς 14. τὸ 14-15. τὸν 15. ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον 16.
 πλήρις 17. τῆς 18. Μιχαήλ | τὸν

Translation

[*voce magicae?*] [...] fever with shivering fits, I adjure you, Michael, archangel of the earth; [whether] it is quotidian or nocturnal or quartan fever; by the Almighty Sabaoth, that it no longer touch the soul of the one who carries [this amulet], nor [touch] his whole body. I adjure you and the dead, deliver Taiolles, daughter of Isidorus [...] (Ps. 90:1) The one who lives in the help of the Most High will abide in the shelter of the God of heaven. He will say to God, “< > and my refuge and my helper, I put my trust in him.” Our father who art in heaven, hallowed < > your will, < > our daily bread. Holy, holy is the Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of you[r] hol[y] glory. Aniaadaiaia, Michael, the Lord of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Elœi, Ele, Sabaoth, Ôel.⁶⁶

This amulet is written against the fibers (↓) on a rectangular piece of papyrus in 20 lines.⁶⁷ The left, right, and upper margins are fully intact, with only a portion of the lower right margin intact. It appears that the lower margin had already been broken off before the scribe wrote his/her text, given the way he/she squeezes the last line in on the sheet. A staurogram precedes the first line of text, not a cross, as the edition and subsequent studies suggest.⁶⁸ The ink is faded in many areas, making it difficult to decipher some letters and words. Supralinear strokes are written over *nomina sacra*.

The handwriting is a plain yet fluid semi-cursive with letters sloping slightly to the right.⁶⁹ The lines drift downward, especially as the writing continues. There is very little contrast between thick and thin strokes, and letters are written inconsistently. υ is written in four ways: in two oblique strokes with right oblique descending below the line; in two strokes with the right

⁶⁶ Trans. (slightly modified) from Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 257-258.

⁶⁷ At the time of our autopsy, P.Princ. 2.107 was mounted between glass with two unpublished papyri: AM 8960 and AM 8962.

⁶⁸ E.g., Kase, *Papyri*, 102; de Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 195; Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 256.

⁶⁹ See image in Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 239 (fig. 3).

oblique curving considerably to the right and up; as a horizontal stroke on the line (see three examples in l. 10); and as a wedge with no middle element. Kase dated it to the fourth/fifth century C.E., while Daniel and Maltomini dated it a century later (fifth/sixth). There are many similar letterforms in P.Oxy. 68.4700, a contract dated to 18 November 504. Compare especially the loop in rho's descender, the wedge-shaped υ , and ligatured $\alpha\iota$. The general impression of the hand suggests that we are dealing with a fifth/sixth century document.

In his edition, Kase labeled this amulet as a “Gnostic fever amulet,” perhaps on the basis of the unconventional names and unintelligible words in the piece.⁷⁰ This label was repeated in some subsequent studies.⁷¹ Kotansky claimed that “[d]espite the writer’s use of these citations [i.e., biblical verses], the character of the spell shows it is syncretistic rather than distinctively Christian.”⁷² But on the observation that the amulet contains quite usual passages on Christian amulets, such as portions of Ps. 90 and the Lord’s Prayer, Robert Daniel and Franco Maltomini contended that “this is a conventionally Christian charm.”⁷³ The question of how to label this amulet was picked up most recently by Kraus, who argued persuasively that neither the invocation of Michael the Archangel nor the potential *voces magicae* cause any trouble: “They do not turn this charm into anything other than a Christian one, as the first feature [i.e., invocation of Michael] is to be seen quite often [...] and the latter [i.e., *voces magicae*] might serve as an emphasis on the previous quotations and invocation.”⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Kase, *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, 102. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 2.35.3) reports that the Gnostics believed the term Sabaoth (among others) had a specific power associated with it. Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 1.24, cited below.

⁷¹ E.g., van Haelst 967; Alen E. Samuel, “How Many Gnostics?,” *BASP* 22 (1985): 297-322, at 317.

⁷² In Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 300.

⁷³ Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini, eds., *Supplementum Magicum*, vol. 1 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990), 78.

⁷⁴ Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 266. Cf. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 50 n.129.

The most up-to-date edition is the one by Kraus, who draws on the transcription produced by Daniel and Maltomini.⁷⁵ There have been two subsequent changes to Kase’s text that merit mention. First, Kase read the first half of l. 9 as “τοι οχλησις ιδοτ..” This reading has now been correctly identified as Ταιόλλης Ἰσιδóρου, “Taiolles, daughter of Isidorus.” The revised reading is important because it offers yet another clear example of a woman as the owner of a Christian amulet, along with P.Oxy. 8.1077 (*no. 1*) and P.Oxy. 8.1151 (*no. 17*).⁷⁶ Moreover, the use of the masculine participial phrase τοῦ φοροῦντος in P.Princ. 2.107 may help explain a similar occurrence in P.Köln 8.340 (*no. 18*) and consequently the identification of the gender of that amulet’s owner. As we shall detail more fully below, on the backside of P.Köln 8.340, there is an image of a woman standing and praying in the *orantes* position. It would be reasonable to suppose, as I think we should, that this image represents the client (who is otherwise not mentioned in the amulet) for whom the request for healing and protection was made. Yet the use of the masculine participial phrase τὸν φοροῦντα in ll. 41-42 would be problematic for such an identification. However, since in the amulet currently under discussion we have both the name of the female owner (and a matronymic) as well as the masculine phrase τοῦ φοροῦντος, a female owner may still be possible, if not likely. It seems to me that τοῦ φοροῦντος (*vel sim.*) was a stock phrase and that ritual specialists did not give much effort in grammatically aligning it to the gender of their clients.⁷⁷ Kraus also seems to observe this, since he describes the phrase as a “generalizing masculine formula.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 254-266; Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 78-79.

⁷⁶ The following letters π.βον may well be part of a name. According to the Trismegistos People database (<http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/>), there are several names ending in βον. If this interpretation is right, then the person in question would be a grandparent of Taiolles.

⁷⁷ Indeed, there are parallels in documentary papyri, where stock phrases do not fit into the syntax of the sentence. For example, in contracts the term δραχμιάς was often written in the accusative plural even when the syntax demanded another case and/or number. The editor of P.Col. 10.259 explains this grammatical irregularity as a result of the “fossilization of form [that] became the standard form of the word to be used regardless of the syntax of the sentence” (Jennifer A. Sheridan, “259. Loan through a Bank,” in *Columbia Papyri X*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall and Dirk

Second, in the first half of l. 17, Kase read καὶ δίκης ἅγιος ὁ δόξης (“...and justice. Holy is the one of glory”). He argued that the writer was here alluding to Isa. 6:3b (LXX), which reads πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. However, Daniel and Maltomini read καὶ γῆ κης ἁγία<ς> σο<υ>. It is difficult to read γῆ on the papyrus. The first letter also does not resemble *delta*, required for Kase’s reading. If we follow Daniel and Maltomini’s text at this point, then there is a question as to why two final letters have been erroneously omitted (ἁγία<ς> σο<υ>), although we may point to two similar omissions elsewhere on the papyrus (e.g., ll. 8 and 13). Without rejecting Kase’s reading outright, we might note that there is additional support for the revised reading. As Kraus notes, the text in ll. 15-17 is part of the *Liturgia Marci*, which reads ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.⁷⁹ Our amulet has omitted the third ἅγιος from the liturgy as well as the articles before οὐρανός and γῆ. However, in consideration of the fact that our papyrus seems to contain the fuller text of this liturgical formula, we have retained Daniel and Maltomini’s text with the only exception being the addition of sublinear dots under γῆ.

The reference to the thrice-holy, known as the *sanctus*, is found also in P.Köln 4.171 (*no. 14*). According to Bryan D. Spinks, the *sanctus* has its origins in Judaism (see Isa. 6:3) where it (or, more properly, the *qeduššah*) was part of Jewish liturgy early on.⁸⁰ He argues that the *sanctus* was adopted first in Christianity by Syrian and Palestinian Christians who knew of its liturgical use in Judaism. He further argues that the *sanctus* became part of the Eucharistic prayer in Syrian and Palestinian communities by the third century, after which it became almost

D. Obbink [ASP 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996], 42-44, at 44). See also the discussion of this phenomenon in Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, 69-70.

⁷⁸ Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 260.

⁷⁹ Text from Frank E. Brightman, *Liturgies: Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 132.

⁸⁰ Bryan D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

universal.⁸¹ It seems that various church liturgies played a role in influencing the texts of many amulets, since in the present study alone we encounter a variety of such elements (e.g., *sanctus*, Trinitarian and eucharistic formulae, “Alleloujah,” etc.). It is possible that the *sanctus* formula cited here was quite deliberate, since it includes the name Sabaoth, which was considered to be associated with divine power when pronounced. For example, according to Origen (*Cels.* 1.24),

then we say that the name Sabaoth, and Adonai, and the other names treated with so much reverence among the Hebrews [...] belong to a secret theology which refers to the Framer of all things. These names, accordingly, when pronounced with the attendant train of circumstances which is appropriate to their nature, are possessed of great power.⁸²

The name Sabaoth is very common in amulets. In fact, in one silver lamella, it is the only inscribed text, written beside a line of “magic” signs.⁸³ It also occurs in P.Vindob. G 2312 (*no.* 21), alongside Adonai, κύριος, and “magic” signs. Alternatively, the thrice-holy may have been viewed as an intensifier of the prayer or request in ritual texts, since in its original context in Isa. 6:3 it is uttered by angels. Thus, the words themselves may have been considered sacred.

References to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are common in Christian literature (e.g., Matt. 8:11, 22:32, Mark 12:26, Luke 20:37, Acts 3:13, 7:32). It also appears frequently in liturgical sources, such as, for example, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where it is mentioned eleven times.⁸⁴ This is perhaps yet another example of a liturgical element being adapted for an amuletic function. However, the phrase from Exod. 3:6 is found in many Jewish and Christian “magical” sources and contexts.⁸⁵ The best example is from Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 85), who maintained that if

⁸¹ According to de Bruyn, “the continuing use of the *sanctus* in amulets [...] is due to its prominence in the eucharistic liturgy as a congregational acclamation” (“The Use of the *Sanctus* in Christian Greek Papyrus Amulets,” in *Papers Presented at the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2003: Liturgia et Cultus, Theologica et Philosophica, Critica et Philologica, Nachleben, First Two Centuries*, ed. Mark J. Edwards, Francis Margaret, and Paul M. Parvis [Leuven: Peeters, 2006], 15-19, at 19).

⁸² *ANF* 4:406. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.35.3, who refers to the “Gnostics’” use of the term Sabaoth (among others).

⁸³ Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 72.

⁸⁴ See *ANF* 7:377-505.

⁸⁵ See the references in M. Rist, “The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula,” *JBL* 57 (1938): 289-303.

anyone exercises a demon in the name of the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, “it will perhaps be subject to you.”⁸⁶

The citation of the Lord’s Prayer, which runs from l. 13 to l. 15, is quite incoherent, which, according to Kotansky, suggests that “the writer was ignorant of their context and meaning.”⁸⁷ In addition to the omission of v. 10, the text deviates from the text of NA²⁸ in the following places:

- v. 9: πάτερ NA²⁸] πατήρ **P.Princ. 2.107**
- v. —: ἡμῶν NA²⁸] ὑμῶν **P.Princ. 2.107**
- v. —: ὁ NA²⁸] omit **P.Princ. 2.107**
- v. —: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς NA²⁸] τῆς οὐρανής **P.Princ. 2.107**
- v. —: τὸ ὄνομα NA²⁸] τὸ θέλημά **P.Princ. 2.107**
- v. 10: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον NA²⁸] τὸν ἄρτον ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον **P.Princ. 2.107**

It is interesting to note that the shift to the plural genitives in the phrase τὸν ἄρτον ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον (probably due to vowel lengthening) is also found in P.Duke inv. 778 (no. 7, with ἡμῶν instead of ὑμῶν). The replacement of θέλημά for ὄνομα is otherwise unattested and the change in wording necessitates a change in meaning as well (i.e., “hollowed be your *will*”). All in all, this amulet demonstrates a high rate of deviation in such a short stretch of text and so we must classify both its textual quality and transmission character as “free.” But we must ask: why is the citation of the Lord’s Prayer so disconnected? Why has the scribe omitted v. 10 as well as vv. 12-13, verses that are included in most other amulets? The same question may also be extended to the scribe’s citation of Ps. 90:1-2 in ll. 10-13, where he/she omits the phrase Ἀντιλήμτωρ μου εἶ (v. 1) and adds the phrase καὶ βοηθός μου (vs. 2). Sanzo has argued that the citations were intended to act as incipits and that they functioned metonymically, namely, the

⁸⁶ ANF 1:241. In the “Great Magical Papyrus of Paris” (Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574; LDAB 5564), a spell to drive a demons, one finds the opening instructions: “Excellent spell for driving out demons: Formula to be spoken over his head: Place olive branches before him and stand behind him and say, ‘Greetings, god of Abraham; greetings, god of Isaac; greetings, god of Jacob’” (trans. Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 43).

⁸⁷ In Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 300.

textual snippets evoke the larger, implied textual unit.⁸⁸ However, most incipits constitute text from the opening line of a textual unit (e.g., the opening line of the Gospels), but here we have more than an opening line in both citations (e.g., Psalm 90:1-2, Matt. 6:9, 11). It seems to me that no explanation for the error-ridden citations is completely satisfactory. What we should highlight is that the two most common biblical citations in amulets are here laid down beside a variety of other common “magic” terms and formulae in an effort to invoke the divine for protection against fever. That effort was perhaps strengthened through the adjuration of Michael the Archangel. Thus, the ritual expert responsible for the production of this amulet wanted to ensure that his/her client Taiolles found protection through the applied use of the amulet.

**6. MATT. 6:9-13 || LUKE 9:37?; 11:1b-2 || DOXOLOGY || PS. 90:13 || EXORCISM OF SOLOMON ||
PROTECTIVE INCANTATION**

P.Iand. 1.6⁸⁹
LDAB 6107

30 x 15.5 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

Von Dobschütz \mathfrak{Z}^6

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 36

Ed. princ. Ernest Schäfer, *Papyri Iandanae, Vol. 1: Voluminum codicumque fragmenta graeca cum amulet christiano* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), no. 6 (=18-32).⁹⁰

→

I¹ † εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθαῖον: κατελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρουσ/ |

I⁵ πάτερ ἡμῶ[ν] ὁ ἐ<ν> τοῖς οὐρανο<ί>ς: ἀγιασθῆτω τὸ [ῥ]νομα σου: [ἐ]λθάτω/ |

I⁹ ουρου ὅτ[ι σου] ἐστω ἡ δόξα εἰς τοῦ<ς> αἰῶνας τῶ[ν] αἰώνων |

Π³ υ[.]ορον [...] ορο[....]νείκαστός ἐστιν καὶ [.....]ν I⁵ πομαιγα[.]γαντην [...] τα
διοικούντα τὴν [κτίσιν]η | τοῦ: ὑμᾶς τὸν βα[ρχ]ίονα τοῦ ἀθανάτου
θ(εο)ῦ καὶ τὴν τῆς δεξιᾶς | αὐτοῦ χίρα/:

I² προσῆ[λ]θαν αὐτῶ οἱ μαθητα[ὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντ]ες: | διδάσκα[λ]ε, δίδα-/

I⁶ [ἡ β]ασιλεία σου: γεννηθῆ[τω τὸ θέλημα σου ὡ]ς [ἐ]ν τ[ῶ ο]ὐρανῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς/

Π¹ ἐκξορκισμὸς <Σ>αλομῶνος πρὸς πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον |¹⁰ πν(εῦμ)α = = = ἔδωκε πτος ῶ
παρα[[ρα]]στ<ή>κουσιν μύριαι μαριάτες | ἀγγέλω[ν] καὶ χίλ[[λ]]ιαί χιλιά-/ μεσηβρινὸν
δαμόν[ι]ον: νυ[[νε]]κτηρινοῦ | φερξοῖας [..]ασντο [ἡ]μερινῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀγίου
ὀνόματος | φερξοῖας/

I³ ξ[ο]ν ἡμᾶς [.] προ[σεύχε]σθε καθὼς καὶ [Ἰωάνν]ης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς/

I⁷ γῆς τὸν | ἄρτον ἡμῶ τὸν ἐπιούσ[ι]ον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες/

⁸⁸ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 51.

⁸⁹ Photograph online at: <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv014recto.jpg>.

⁹⁰ Schäfer's edition may be found online at: http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/pub/iand/piandv1/papiandv1_-_meta.html

Π³ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλε[ίσκον] {ἐπιβήση} καὶ καταπτή¹⁵σις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα
 [[βασιλεπκ]] ἢ νυκτερινῆς ἢ ὅσα τυφλὰ δα[[α]]ιμόνια ἢ κω[φὰ ἢ ἄλ]αλα ἢ νοδὰ |
 ακαηοιτοννημα κ<α>ὶ πονηρὸν συ[[υ]]νάντημα ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος ϑΘ/ |
 Ι⁴ μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς[[οις]] ἐὰν προσεύχησθ' οὕτως λέγ[[τγ]]εται/
 Ι⁸ τὰ οὐφλήματα ἡμῶν | ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφ<ή>καμε τοῖς ὀφιλέταις

1. Μαθθαῖον 2. ἐ pap | οὐρανός pap | ἁγιασθήτω 3. ηροῦ [ex πονηροῦ] | ἐστιν 6. βραχίονα | δεξιᾶς 7. χεῖρα 9.
 ἐξορκισμὸς | αλομῶνος pap 10. θεός 11. νυκτερινοῦ 12. φριξίας 13. φριξίας 14. ἡμῶν | βασιλίσκον |
 καταπατήσεις 15. καὶ | δράκοντα 16. [φάρμ?]ακα ἢ ὄλον νόσημα 17. λέγετε 18. ὀφλήματα | ἀφήκαμεν |
 ὀφειλέταις

[See translation below]

This amulet is unusual. It is an amulet against diseases and demons, making use of a mishmash of scripture: the Gospel of Matthew, Gospel of Luke, Psalm, and the “Exorcism of Solomon.”⁹¹ It is no doubt an amulet given the contents and the presence of a cross, *nomen sacrum*, and incantation—all very common elements in amulets. It is no. 36 in de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s list and was listed as \mathfrak{Z}^6 by von Dobschütz (see Appendix 2).

The most striking feature of this papyrus, and what makes it unusual, is the text’s structure, which, at first glance, is tremendously puzzling. The text is written in 18 long lines on the recto of a single sheet of papyrus measuring 30 x 15.5 cm (i.e., width double the height). What is odd is that the texts are jumbled together in an odd arrangement, such that one must assign some sort of marker to indicate where the text goes next.⁹² To illustrate the problem, we can consider the first few lines. Line 1 begins with the title of Matthew’s Gospel, then proceeds with a citation of a variant form of either Matt. 8:1 or Luke 9:37 (“when Jesus came down from the mountain”), which introduces the story about Jesus’ healing a leper or a boy with a demon, respectively. But this text does not continue onto l. 2. Line 2 begins the Lord’s Prayer, which runs to “let” (ἐλθάτω) and does not continue on l. 3. As it turns out, l. 1 is actually picked back up at l. 7, the third word in (προσῆλθον), and l. 2 is picked back up at l. 8. However, Schäfer,

⁹¹ Meyer describes the arrangement as “mixed through each other to form a verbal montage” (*Ancient Christian Magic*, 46).

⁹² A convenient approach was that of Karl Preisendanz in PGM 2:226-227, no. 17, which we have reproduced above. Cf. also Wessely, “Monuments, 415-417.

who wrote his edition in Latin, seems to have cracked the code, so to speak, by showing that this all makes sense if the scribe was following his exemplar *across* the page when he should have been following *down* the page. In Schäfer's view, the scribe's exemplar contained text in six juxtaposed columns that was written in four lines per column. The problem was introduced when our scribe copied *across* the columns, from left to right, instead of top to bottom, thereby producing a garbled text.⁹³ It appears that the first row of cols. 3-6 was missing from the scribe's *Vorlage*. Schäfer's reconstruction of the text of the *Vorlage* is reproduced below, with only slight modification.⁹⁴ This is followed by an English translation, which draws on the notes of Schäfer and Kuhlmann.⁹⁵

Column 1 (Luke 9:37; 11:1b-2)

† Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθαίων: κατελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους προσῆ[λ]θαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθητα[ὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντ]ες· διδάσκα[λ]ε, δίδα-
ξ[ο]ν ἡμᾶς [·] προ[σεύχε]σθε καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάνν]ης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς
μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς [[οις]] ἐὰν προσεύχησθ' οὕτως λέγ[[τγ]]εται·

Column 2 (Matt. 6:9-12)

πάτερ ἡμῶ[ν] ὁ ἐ<ν> τοῖς οὐρανο<ί>ς: ἁγιασθῶ τὸ [ὄ]νομα σου: [ἐ]λθάτω
[ἡ β]ασιλεία σου: γενηθή[τω τὸ θέλημα σου ὡς] [ἐ]ν τ[ῷ ο]ὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶ τὸν ἐπιούσ[ι]ον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφεσ
τὰ ὀφλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφ<ί>καμε τοῖς ὀφιλέταις

Column 3 (Matt. 6:12-13, doxology; Exorcism of Solomon)

<ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πον->
ηρου ὅτ[ι σου] ἐστω ἡ δόξα εἰς τοῦ<ς> αἰῶνας τῷ[ν] αἰώνων·
ἐκξορκισμὸς <Σ>αλομῶνος πρὸς πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πν(εῦμ)α = = ἔδωκε πτος
[]

Column 4 (unidentified text; Ps. 90:13 LXX)

[]

⁹³ There are at least two examples of this in the New Testament manuscript tradition, both pertaining to Luke's genealogy of Jesus. In GA 80 and GA 109, the scribes copy from exemplars with multiple columns but read across them instead of down. On both, see further the comments by Caspar R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 147, and 152-153, respectively. I thank Michael Theophilus for bringing these examples to my attention.

⁹⁴ Cf. the "Mögliche Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Anordnung" by Peter Kuhlmann in P.Gis.Lit. 5.4 (*Die Giessener Literarischen Papyri und die Caracalla-Erlasse: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* [Gießen: Universitäts-Bibliothek, 1994], 170-183). In col. 3, l. 1, Schäfer restores with ἄγε instead of εἰσενέγκῃς; we have retained the latter from P.Gis.Lit. 5.4.

⁹⁵ Cf. trans. in Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 46.

υ[.]ορον [...] ορο[...ά]γείκαστός ἐστιν καὶ [.....]υ
ὧ̅ παρα[[ρα]]στ<ή>κουσιν μύριαι μαριριάτες ἀγγέλων] καὶ χίλ[[λ]]ιαί χιλιά<δες>
ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλε[ίσκον] {ἐπιβήση} καὶ καταπτήσις λέοντα καὶ δράυχοντα
[[βασιλεπκ]]

Column 5 (request for protection)

< >
]πομαι γα[.]γαντηγ [...] τα διοικοῦντα τὴν [κτίσιν]η τοῦ:
μεσημερινὸν δαιμόν[ι]ον· νυ[[νε]]κτηρινοῦ φηρξοίας [..]ασντο [ή]μερινῆς
ἢ νυκτηρινῆς ἢ ὅσα τυφλά δα[[α]]μόνια ἢ κω[φά] ἢ ἄλ]αλα ἢ νωδὰ

Column 6 (unidentified text; request for protection)

< ἐξορκίζω>
ὕμᾶς τὸν βα[ρχ]ίονα τοῦ ἀθανάτου θε(ε)ῦ καὶ τὴν τ]ῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χίρα:
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀγίου ὀνόματος φηρξοίας
ακα ἢ πᾶν νόσημα κ<α>ἰ πονηρὸν συ[[υ]]νάντημα ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος ρΘ

Translation

(Col. 1) The Gospel according to Matthew: When Jesus came down from the mountain, [his] disciples came to him [sayi]ng, “Teacher, teach us to p[ra]y like [Joh]n taught his disciples.” And he said to them, “Whenever you pray, say: (Col. 2) ‘Our father who is in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come [your will be do]ne, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors. (Col. 3) [And do not lead us into temptation but deliver us from the ev]il one. Fo[r yours] is the glory forever and ever.’” An exorcism of Solomon against every unclean spirit, that God gave [...] (Col. 4) [...] by whom stand myriads of myriads and thousands and thousa[nds] of angels. [You will tread] on the asp and basil[isk] and trample the lion and dragon. (Col. 5) [...] I [...] that exercises judgment [...] over the noon demon, night demon [...] lunch demon, night fever or any number of blind, mute, dumb, or toothless demons. (Col. 6) [...] I adjure you by the arm of the immort[al God and] his right hand, and by his fearful and holy name: expel toxin or any disease or evil plague from the one who carries (this amulet). Amen.

One of the major remaining questions is whether the copyist arranged the text in this order deliberately or accidentally. Drawing a comparison with an ancient curse tablet, Schäfer contended that the text was intentionally disfigured in this way to keep others from reading its contents.⁹⁶ According to Kuhlmann, however, the words of the invocation needed to be as clear as possible for the “magic” to be effective, and so the dislodgment of the text must have been accidental. The clumsiness of the hand demonstrates that the copyist was not experienced in writing Greek letters (see below), and so this may well mean that the scribe also had difficulty understanding the arrangement of text in his/her *Vorlage*. Perhaps the copyist did not know

⁹⁶ The lead tablet is no. 4 in Richard Wunsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Bonn: Marcus & E. Weber’s Verlag, 1907). For an English translation and introduction to this tablet, see John G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), no. 10 (62-64).

Greek well, or at all. Might this mean that a semi-literate owner copied the amulet, instead of a ritual specialist hired for such a purpose? Whatever the case, it is clear that we are dealing with a copyist who carried out his/her task carelessly.

The rectangular piece of papyrus is lacunose in several places. All margins are intact, with the lower margin being the most generous. A cross stands in the left margin of l. 1, right before the opening line Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθαῖον. The verso is blank. The writing is very clumsy and irregular. The scribe begins with large majuscule letters but the letters become increasingly compressed as the writing moves forward; the letters in the last 6 lines are in the main nearly half the dimensions of the first 12 lines. The execution is awkward and, as stated above, points to a scribe who is not familiar with writing letters. But can we be more specific on this point?

There are, of course, several designations for scribes whose letters do not resemble those of the “literate.”⁹⁷ In many documentary texts, especially contracts, those who were ἀγράμματοι were required to make use of a ὑπογραφεύς—one who writes under another’s orders.⁹⁸ We often find the body of the text in one hand and a subscription in another hand. In such cases, it is evident that a more practiced scribe was employed for the purpose of writing the main content, while the actual author signed off as a formality. This class of writers (i.e., those who merely wrote their names and perhaps a few lines at the end of documents) is referred to as βραδέως γράφοντες, or “those who write slowly.” According to Kraus,

⁹⁷ Since the classic work of William V. Harris (*Ancient Literacy* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989]), ancient literacy and literacy rates have been conceived of in new ways. On these new theories and concepts, see the excellent collection of essays in William A. Johnson and Holt N. Parker, eds., *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also the brief but helpful discussion in Roger S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1-5. On the different classes of writers, see Thomas J. Kraus, ““Slow Writers”—ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?” in *Ad Fontes*, 131-148.

⁹⁸ The phrase one usually finds in the papyri is ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγράμματος (e.g., P.Abinn. 60, P.Cair. Isid. 77, P.Col. 7.136, P.Iand. 3.48, P.Mert. 2.98, P.Oxy. 1.134, P.Sakaon 1). Bad eyesight was also a reason for using a ὑπογραφεύς, as P.Oxy. 6.911 attests.

βραδέως γράφοντες wrote their own names and occasionally some additional words in order to be identified properly. By doing so they distinguished themselves clearly from the completely ἀγράμματοι and conveyed at least a modicum of literacy. The quantity of what they wrote was far from large. But what they had in common with ἀγράμματοι was that they were badly in need of a ὑπογραφεύς as well.⁹⁹

It should be noted that βραδέως γράφοντες, in addition to being a specific class of writers, is also a palaeographical category. Scripts of this type are often described as “clumsy,” “awkward,” “rude,” “bulky,” and the like. These scribes struggled to execute a single letter, made many mistakes, and their letters often resemble those that could easily have come from a child. This way of writing—which is highly irregular, varying even from letter to letter, line to line—is often compared to the type we find in school exercises, although Kraus is right to note the methodological problem in such a comparison: letters in school exercises represent a transitional phase whereas βραδέως γράφοντες are adults whose skill has never improved. In any case, our papyrus contains all the characteristics of a “slow writer”: letters are upright, ugly, separated, bold, highly inconsistent, breaking bilinearity, and rife with mistakes. Strokes are often wobbly, and some letters are overinked. Thus, on palaeographical grounds, we can place our papyrus within the category of βραδέως γράφοντες.

The textual quality of our amulet is equally problematic. Aside from the many spelling errors, copying mistakes, and corrections, it is difficult even to identify the New Testament passages that are being cited. The opening passage seems to be a conflation of Luke 9:37 and 11:1b-2, the latter being a preface to the Lukan version of the Lord’s Prayer. That is an odd choice, since, according to the opening words, the text purports to be from the Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθαίου (l. 1). Indeed, the prayer itself is Matthew’s version. Sanzo has suggested that, in light of the opening title of Matthew’s Gospel, the scribe intended to provide the Matthean preface.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Kraus, “Slow Writers,” 135. See also Herbert C. Youtie, “βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy,” *GRBS* 12 (1971): 239-261.

¹⁰⁰ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 95 n.83.

Odder still is that the Lukan preface is not strictly Lukan, since the text deviates from the printed text in places where no variation units exist:

Luke 9:37

κατελθόντων αὐτῶν NA²⁸] κατελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ **P.Iand. 1.6**

Luke 11:1b-2

κύριε NA²⁸] διδάσκαλε **P.Iand. 1.6**

εἶπεν δὲ NA²⁸] καὶ λέγει **P.Iand. 1.6**

ὅταν προσεύχησθε λέγετε NA²⁸] ἐὰν προσεύχησθ' οὕτως λέγεται **P.Iand. 1.6**

The genitive singular κατελθόντος is unattested in the wider tradition, as is the addition of Ἰησοῦ. It is possible that this participial phrase is in fact a variation of Matt. 8:1 (καταβάντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους), although our scribe uses the verb found in the Lukan passage. The deviation from the Lukan preface to the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:1b-2) led Sanzo to believe that "the author had imperfect knowledge of the original words that immediately preceded the Lord's Prayer."¹⁰¹ Whatever the case, it is clear that the text of column 1 has been adulterated through an unknown process of conflation.

The text of the Lord's Prayer is a different case, and this is certainly due to the widespread use of this text in the Christian tradition. Nonetheless, there are deviations from the text of NA²⁸, and they are as follows:

v. 10: ἐλθέτω NA²⁸] ἐλθάτω **P.Iand. 1.6**

v. —: οὐρανῶ NA²⁸] τῶ οὐρανῶ **P.Iand. 1.6**

v. —: γῆς NA²⁸] τῆς γῆς **P.Iand. 1.6** D K L Θ f¹³ ℣

v. 12: ὀφειλήματα NA²⁸] οὐφλήματα **P.Iand. 1.6**

ἐλθάτω is likely a spelling error (read in **℞** in the Lukan version of the Prayer), and the additions of τῶ before οὐρανῶ and τῆς before γῆς were natural or stylistic inclinations.¹⁰² ο{ὐ}φλήματα ("debt") is a singular reading. The Didache reads τὴν ὀφειλὴν and Origen reads τὰ

¹⁰¹ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 95 n.83.

¹⁰² On the fluctuation of articles, see Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. Gordon M. Messing; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), §1126-1152 (288-292).

παραπτώματα, but I cannot find another example of οὐφλήματα. The Prayer ends with a pruned down version of the doxology in col. 3: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστω ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.¹⁰³

This variation of the doxology is rare. Among the shorter versions, one typically finds either ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (it^b) or ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (cop^{sa,fay} Did).¹⁰⁴

Ἀμήν is written as an isopsephism (ϙθ) whose numerical value is 99: α = 1 + μ = 40 + η = 8 + ν = 50. This isopsephism, which was known to Irenaeus, is fairly common in Christian papyri from Egypt.¹⁰⁵ We find it also in P.Duke inv. 778 (no. 7) and P.Berl. inv 11710 below (no. 20).

It should be noted that the *nomen sacrum* for πνεῦμα in l. 10 contains an unusual marking. Instead of the standard supralinear stroke, this *nomen sacrum* is marked off with a triangular “cap,” as seen in Fig. 2:



Fig. 2

¹⁰³ On the origin of the doxology, see Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 306-307.

¹⁰⁴ In P.Oxy. 3.407 (“Christian Prayer”) we find an alternative closing doxology: [...] διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κα[ι] σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι’ οὗ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων[ν] ἀμήν.

¹⁰⁵ Irenaeus speaks of this isopsephism in the context of describing the absurd interpretations of the Marcosians: “These persons endeavor to set forth things in a more mystical style, while they refer everything to numbers [...] Thus, therefore, the numbers that were left, viz., nine, as respects the pieces of money, and eleven in regard to the sheep, when multiplied together, give birth to the number ninety-nine, for nine times eleven are ninety-nine. Wherefore also they maintain the word “Amen” contains this number” (*Haer.* 1.16.1). Trans. from *ANF* 1:341. Other papyri containing this isopsephism include P.Oxy. 6.925, P.Oxy. 31.2601, P.Oxy. 8.1162, P.Oxy. 56.3857, P.Oxy. 56.3862. For a helpful discussion about isopsephism, see Bagnall, *Everyday Writing*, 14-15, 22-23. For a discussion on this particular isopsephism (ϙθ), see L. Vidman, “Koppa Theta = Amen in Athen,” *ZPE* 16 (1975): 215-216.

The practice of course was extended to words other than ἀμήν. Perhaps the most interesting is the example of the Smyrna graffito, incised into a plaster wall:

ισόψηφα	Equal in value:
κύριος ω	Lord, 800
πίστις ω	Faith, 800

Since the dating of the top layer of plaster is secured to 125/6, the lower layer of plaster and the text it carries must date before 125. The dating thus confirms that this was a practice among Christians in the very early periods of its existence. See Bagnall, *Everyday Writing*, 22-23

I have found only one other example of this, in P.Berl. 11710 below, where a nearly identical marking is used for an unusual *nomen sacrum* for θεός.

At any rate, it should be clear from the preceding textual analysis that our papyrus is of little value for the business of textual criticism. Its text represents a “free” text. What we have is a patchwork of literary units from the Gospels sewn together by someone whose main interest was asking God’s protection from demons and diseases. Nonetheless, it is important for our understanding of how scripture was being used and altered to meet the needs of Christians in Egypt.

7. MATT. 6:9-13 || DOXOLOGY || PS. 90 || PS. 91 HEADING

P.Duke inv. 778¹⁰⁶

26.8 x 11.5 cm

6th-7th cent. C.E.

LDAB 2992

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 1

Ed. princ. Csaba A. La’da and Amphilochios Papatomas, “A Greek Papyrus Amulet from the Duke Collection with Biblical Excerpts,” *BASP* 41 (2004): 93-113.

→

1 ϠϠϠ ὁ κατικὼν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψ[ί]στου ἐν *vac* σκέπη τ[οῦ]
θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀύλησθήσεται ἐρὶ τοῦ κυρίου μο[υ]
Ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ κατα *vac* φυγὴ μου ὁ θε(ε)ός *vac* μου
βοηθός μου καὶ ἐλπῖω ἐπ’ αὐτόν ὅτι αὐτὼς ρύσειτέ με
ἐκ παγίδος θυρευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχῆ *vac* δους ἐν ταῖς
μεταφρέναις αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σε καὶ
ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρηγας αὐτοῦ ἐλπῖς· ὄπλω κεκλώσει σε ἡ ἀλήθε[ι]α
αὐτοῦ οὐ φ[ο]βηθήσομαι ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτηρινοῦ
5 καὶ ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένους ἡμέρας ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπ[ο]ρευ-
ομένου ἐν σκότι ἀπ[ὸ] συνπτώματος καὶ δεμο`νίου
μνησβρινοῦ πεσῖ[ται] ἐκ τοῦ κλίτ[ο]ν σου χειλείας καὶ μηρ[ι]ᾶς ἐκ
δεξιῶν σου πληγ τῆς ὀφθαλμοῖ σου
κατανο[ή]σοις καὶ [ἀνταπόδοσι]ν ἁμαρτωλῶν ὁ[ψη] τῶν ὑψ[ι]στων
[ἔθου] καταφυ[γή]ν σου
οὐ προσελεύσεται πρ[ὸς] σὲ κακ[ά] οὐδὲ μάστιγος οὐκ ἐγγιεῖ τοῦ
σκηνώμα[τ]ος ὅτι τ[οῖς] ἀγγέλ[οις]
αὐτοῦ ἐ[ν]τελείται περ[ὶ] σοῦ <τοῦ> δ[ι]αφυλάξι πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς
σου· ἐπὶ χειρ[ῶν] ἀρῶ[σ]ί σε μήποτε προσκώπη[ς]
10 πρὸς λειθῶν τῶν πόδα] σου· ἐπὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσεις
καὶ καταπατήσης

¹⁰⁶ Photograph online at: <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/778.html>.

λέοντα καὶ δράκωντα ὄτι ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἤλπισα καὶ ῥύσωμαι αὐτώ· καὶ
σκεπάσω αὐτὸ ἐπικαλέσεται μ' ἐΐ
καὶ εἰσακούσωμε αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰμι ἐν θλίψει ἐξελοῦμεν καὶ
δοξάσω αὐτὸ ὅτι ἔγνω·
τὸ ὄνομα μ' οὐ ἐνπλήσω αὐτὸν ἐν μακρότητι ἡμερῶν καὶ δίδω
αὐτῷ τὸ σουτήριόν μου
Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δ[α]υεὶτ ε[ίς] ἡμέραν [τοῦ σα]ββάτου ἄλλους .[.]. vac

↓
15 πάτηρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῆς οὐρανοῦς ἁγιασθήτω
τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλία ὅς ἐν
[ο]ὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ[ς γ]ῆς· τῶν ἄρτων ἡμῶν·
τῶν ἐπιούσιων δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφήματα ἡμῶν· μὴ ε-
20 [ισε]νινκε ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμῶν κ[ύρι]ε
[ἀ]λλὰ ῥῆσε ἡμᾶς [ἀπὸ τοῦ] προηροῦ διὰ
τὸ μονογενῆ υἱόν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν
ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κρ[ά]τος καὶ τοῦ παν-
αγίου συ πνεύματ[ο]ς γῆν καὶ ἄγιν
25 [κ]αὶ εἰς τρυῖς ἐφ[νας τῶ]ν ἐφώνων Ϝ[θ]
† † †

1. κατοικῶν | ἀυλισθήσεται | ἐρεῖ | τῷ κυρίῳ 2. αὐτός | ῥύσεται 3. θηρευτῶν | ταραχώδους | τοῖς | μεταφρένοις | ἐπισκιάσει | σοι 4. πτέρυγας | ἐλπιδίς | κυκλώσει | φοβηθήσῃ | νυκτερινῶ 5. πετομένου | ἡμέρας | σκότει | συμπτώματος | δαμονίου 6. μεσημβρινῶ | πεσεῖται | κλίτους | χιλιάς | μυριάς | τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς 7. κατανοήσεις | καὶ κ ex α corr. | ὑψιστον 9. διαφυλάξαι | ὁδοῖς | ἀροῦσιν | προσκόψης | 10. λίθον | τόν | ἐπ' | ἀσπίδα | ἐπιβήσῃ | καταπατήσεις 11. δράκοντα | ἤλπισεν | ῥύσωμαι | αὐτόν | αὐτόν | ἐπικαλέσεται 12. εἰσακούσομαι | θλίψει | δοξάσω | αὐτόν | ἔγνω 13. ἐμπλήσω | αὐτόν | δείξω | τὸ σωτήριον 14. Δαυίδ 15. πάτερ | τοῖς οὐρανοῖς 16. ἐλθέτω | βασιλεία | ὡς 17. οὐρανῶ | τόν ἄρτον 18. τόν ἐπιούσιον 19. ἡμῖν | ὀφειλήματα 19-20. εἰσενέγκης 20. πειρασμῶν 21. ῥύσαι 22. τόν 23. τὸ κράτος 24. σου | νῦν | αἰεὶ 25. αἰῶνας | αἰῶνων

Translation

(Ps. 90) The one who lives by the help of the Most High, who abides in the shelter of the God of heaven. He will say to my Lord, “You are my refuge and my fortress, my God my helper, and I will hope in him” because it is he who will rescue me from a trap of hunters and from a troublesome word; with the broad of his back he will shade you and under his wings you will find hope; with a shield his truth will surround you. I [sic] will not be afraid of nocturnal fright, of an arrow that flies by day, of a deed that travels in darkness, of mishap and noonday demon. At your side a thousand will fall and ten thousand at your right [...] Only with your eyes will you perceive, and the requital of sinners you will see [...] the Most High you made your refuge. No evil will come before you, and no scourge will come near your covert, because he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways; upon his hands they will bear you up so that you will not dash your foot against a stone. On asp and cobra you will tread, and you will trample lion and dragon under foot. Because in me he hoped, I will also rescue him; and I will protect him [...] He will call to me and I will listen to him; I am with him in trouble. I will deliver and glorify him because he knew my name. I will satisfy him with length of days and show him my deliverance.” (Ps. 91 heading) A Psalm pertaining to David regarding the day of the sabbath (Matt. 6:9-13) Our father who is in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come...on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily loaves and forgive our debts [...] Do not lead us into temptation but deliver us [from the] evil one. (Doxology) Through [your] only begotten son, for yours is the glory and the power, and through your all-holy spirit, now, always, and forever and ever. A[men.]

This oblong sheet of papyrus contains the text of Ps. 90 in its entirety (as does P.Oxy. 16.1928), most of the Lord's Prayer (with doxology), and the heading of Ps. 91.¹⁰⁷ It contains the most extensive text on any amulet under consideration. The sheet of papyrus now consists of several broken pieces that have been placed together and fixed with adhesive strips. Overall, the papyrus is in poor condition, with many abrasions and several large lacunae. It was folded in antiquity eight ways vertically and at least two ways horizontally.¹⁰⁸ Both sides of the papyrus are inscribed in black ink along the fibers (→) and while a determination of "recto" and "verso" in this case is problematic, I agree with the editors that the side with the better quality is judged to be the recto. In this case, it is the side with Ps. 90, which takes up the entirety of the sheet. The verso, then, is inscribed *transversa charta*. On the recto, the top, left, and bottom margins are intact but very narrow. On the verso, the same margins are intact, but the lower margin in this case is much larger because the scribe left the second half of the sheet blank. The first line of text on the recto is preceded by three contiguous staurograms. On the verso, three very large crosses are drawn contiguously beneath the last line of text. Moreover, given that the first word on the verso is indented by about one character, it is probable that a cross or staurogram also preceded it, although the papyrus is damaged at this point. Immediately following the last word on the verso (αἰώνων), there is letter or symbol that the editors took to be the isopsephism Ϙθ (=ὀμίην). This reading seems correct, since we have on the papyrus the left half of a circular or lunate letter and a descending stroke that is consistent with the letter Ϙ. Thus, this is one of three papyri under consideration containing this isopsephism; the other two are P.Iand. 1.6 (*no. 6*) and P.Berl. inv. 11710 (*no. 20*).

¹⁰⁷ The wording in l. 14 is not identical to the heading of Ps. 91 (Ψαλμὸς ὧδῆς εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου), but since it immediately follows the text of Ps. 90, it is the best candidate.

¹⁰⁸ The editors (La' da and Papathomas, "Greek Papyrus Amulet," 93-94) claim that there is only one horizontal fold, but the image of the verso clearly shows two folds, and perhaps a centerfold, although the damage in the middle makes the identification of the latter less certain.

The text on the recto and verso is written by the same hand. The handwriting is an example of a Byzantine literary (but also documentary) hand: semi-cursive, swift, very roughly bilinear, elongated strokes, and upright. Letters are both separated and ligatured. η is given an “h” shape, which is typical of this period. Some flourishes are present on the tips of letters (e.g., κ, π, ρ, φ). ε is in a majuscule form as well as the more common Byzantine form, namely, broken with an elongated top half. The editors provide close palaeographical parallels in literary manuscripts from the sixth and seventh centuries C.E., but there are also many similarities between letterforms in documentary papyri dated to the sixth century, including, but not limited to, P.Oxy. 16.2005 (25 January 513) and P.Vindob. G 2130 (3 February 518).¹⁰⁹ Thus, a sixth century date, with the possibility of a seventh, seems likely.¹¹⁰

The citations of both Psalm 90 and the Lord’s Prayer contain many textual errors, and the orthography is overall quite poor. In terms of the citation of the Lord’s Prayer, the most obvious errors are the omissions of the middle of v. 10 (γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου) and the second half of v. 12 (ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν). The other deviations from the text of NA²⁸ are as follows:

- v. 9: πάτερ NA²⁸] πάτηρ **P.Duke inv. 778**
- v. —: τοῖς NA²⁸] τῆς **P.Duke inv. 778**
- v. 10: γῆς NA²⁸] τῆς γῆς **P.Duke inv. 778**
- v. 11: τὸν ἄρτον ... τὸν ἐπιούσιον NA²⁸] τὸν ἄρτων ... τὸν ἐπιούσιων **P.Duke inv. 778**
- v. 13: καὶ NA²⁸] *omit* **P.Duke inv. 778**
- v. —: πειρασμόν NA²⁸] + κύριε **P.Duke inv. 778**

The spelling πάτηρ (for πάτερ) occurs in three other amulets in the present study: PSI 6.719 (*no.* 4), P.Princ. 2.107 (*no.* 5), and P.CtYBR inv. 4600 (*no.* 9). This orthographic variation may be

¹⁰⁹ The editors compare the hand with those of P.Warr. 10 (591-592 C.E.), P.Grenf. 2.84 (end of sixth century C.E.), and MPER N.S. XVII 49 (sixth/seventh century C.E.).

¹¹⁰ The fourth century (“IV”) date listed in Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 111 is certainly incorrect.

explained as an interchange of ε > η, which was common in the Roman and Byzantine periods.¹¹¹ The reading τῆς οὐρανοῖς in l. 15 (v. 9) is odd, though we might note that the reading τῆς οὐρανῆς is found in P.Princ. 2.107, which is otherwise unattested.¹¹² The addition of the article τῆς before γῆς in v. 10 (l. 17) follows several important manuscripts, including D K L Θ f^{A3} M, although the insertion of the article may here reflect the predilection of the scribe (or the scribe of his/her exemplar). The shift from singular accusatives to plural genitives in the phrase τὸν ἄρτων...τὸν ἐπιούσιων (v. 11; ll. 17-18) is attested in only one other manuscript: P.Princ. 2.107.¹¹³ The omission of καί in v. 13 (l. 19) is obscure. The addition of κύριε following περιεσμὸν in v. 13 (l. 20) is also found in two other amulets under consideration: BGU 3.954 (*no. 10*) and P.CtYBR inv. 4600.¹¹⁴ The citation of Ps. 90 is also ridden with errors, and so clearly the scribe's overall citation habits are poor. The high rate of deviation from the text of NA²⁸ provides justification for classifying both the textual quality and transmission character of the Lord's Prayer in this amulet as "free."¹¹⁵

Nonetheless, the papyrus is significant for two reasons. First, it is one of only two amulets containing the text of Ps. 90 in its entirety (the other is P.Oxy. 16.1928). The widespread use of Ps. 90 in Christian amulets from late antique Egypt illustrates the importance of these words within ritual contexts, but this particular amulet's citation *in toto* suggests that the words surrounding the usual verses cited (i.e., vv. 1-2) were equally important. Second, while the

¹¹¹ On this interchange in the papyri, see Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods: Vol. I: Phonology* (Milan: Instituto editoriale Cisalpino - La Goliardica, 1976), 244-246.

¹¹² Cf. BGU 3.954, where the scribe changes the gender of the adjective "evil" from masculine/neuter (τοῦ πονηροῦ) to feminine τῆς πονηρ[ᾶς *vel* -ίας].

¹¹³ It is interesting to note that there are three textual affinities between P.Duke inv. 778 and P.Princ. 2.107: 1) the spelling πάτηρ, 2) the article τῆς in τῆς οὐραν-, 3) and the phrase τὸν ἄρτων ... τὸν ἐπιούσιων. Perhaps not too much should be made of this fact, although the immediate curiosity is whether they might be drawing on a similar amuletic tradition.

¹¹⁴ It is also found in P.Bad. 4.60 and O.Athens inv. 12227, which fall outside the parameters of this study. See the discussion of this insertion in P.CtYBR inv. 4600 (*no. 9*).

¹¹⁵ On the doxological formula in ll. 21-25, see La'da and Papatomas, "Greek Papyrus Amulet," 104-106. As La'da and Papatomas note, the phrase διὰ τὸ μονογενῆ υἱόν must be a mistake for διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ, which is attested elsewhere. See the discussion of the doxology in P.Köln 4.171 (*no. 14*).

majority of amulets under consideration are written on one side only, P.Duke inv. 778 is written on both sides (cf. Criterion #2 above). Given that other amulets outside the scope of this study contain a citation of only a portion of Ps. 90—P.Gen. 1².6, SB 1.2021, SB 1.970, P.Leid.Inst. 10, SB 1.3573, BKT 8.12, BKT 8.13, P.Oxy. 17.2065, P.Oxy. 73.4931, P.Bodl. 1.4, P.Laur. 4.141, P.Ryl. 1.3, PSI 7.759)—one wonders whether the addition of the Lord’s Prayer on the backside was in fact an afterthought.

8. MATT. 6:4-6, 8-12

P.Col. 11.293¹¹⁶

7.1 x 6.2 cm

5th cent. C.E.

LDAB 2953

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 105

Ed. princ. Timothy M. Teeter, *Columbia Papyri XI* (ASP 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), no. 293 (=1-7).

Recto

1 [σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ]
[ἀπ]οδώσει σοι.
[κα]ὶ ἴ[ὸταν] προσεύχησθε,
[ο]ὐκ [ἔσε]σθ[ε] ὡς οἱ ὑποκρι-
5 [ταί·] ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς
[σ]υναγωγαῖς [κ]αὶ ἐν ταῖς
[γ]νω[ί]αις τῶν [π]λατ[ε]ιωῶν
[έ]σ[τ]ῶτες προσεύχεσθαι,
[ὅ]πως φανῶσι τοῖς ἀν[θ]ρώπ[ο]ις·
10 [ἀ]μὴν [λέ]γω ὑμῖν, ἀπέ-
χουσι τὸν μισθὸν ἀύ-
[τ]ῶν. *vac* σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσ-
[ε]ύχη, εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ τα-
[μ]ειῖόν σου καὶ κλείσ[α]ς

Verso

1 *vac* αὐτόν. *vac*
οὐ[τ]ῶς οὖν προσεύχ[εσθε]
ὑμεῖς· π[ά]τερ ἡμῶν ὁ [ἐν]
τοῖς οὐρανοῖ[ς], ἀγί[α]σθή-
5 τῶ [τὸ ὄνομά σο]υ, ἐλθ[έ-]
τῶ ἢ [β]ασιλ[ε]ία σου, [γ]εγ[η-]
θ[ή]τω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡ[ς]
[ἐν ο]ὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς.
τῶ[ν] ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν [ἐ-]
10 πιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σή-
μερον· καὶ ἄφε[σ] ἡμῖν [τὰ]
ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡ[ς]
καὶ [

Translation

[...] Your [Father who sees in] s[ecret] will reward you. A[nd whenever] you pray, do not b[e] like the hypoc[rites]; for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and at the [stre]et [corn]ers, so that they may be seen by others. Truly I say to you, they have received their reward. But whenever you pray, go into [your room and shut] ... him. Pray then in this way: “Our Father in heaven, hallo[wed] be y[our name]. Your [kingd]om come. Your will be done, on earth as it is [in] heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as [we] also [...]”

¹¹⁶ Photograph online at: <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p1812>.

This parchment fragment preserves portions of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew's version). It is written on both sides, and contains portions of 14 (recto) and 13 (verso) lines. The parchment itself shows damage in the center; the discoloration may be signs of water damage, and this is supported by the shrinking or crinkling effect visible on the parchment. The right (recto) and left (verso) margin is generous, measuring over 2 cm. The format, script, and lack of amuletic features (e.g., written on one side only, lack of crosses, staurograms, etc.) suggest that the fragment was part of a larger codex. There is an open question as to whether the original codex had one or two columns of text; the editor favors the latter possibility.¹¹⁷ The ink is quite faded and near the damaged center letters are difficult to discern. The hole near the center has been noted by de Bruyn and Dijkstra and they remain appropriately cautious as to whether this was caused by the damage on the parchment or created deliberately for the purpose of holding a string.¹¹⁸

The editor of this parchment fragment remarked that “[t]he circumstances of its separation from the codex are mysterious; if it was torn out to be kept as a charm or used for recitation, whoever did so was careless and lost the last portion of the prayer.”¹¹⁹ In his review of Teeter's volume (i.e., *Columbia Papyri XI*), Paul Mirecki contends that the fragment is more likely from a damaged book, “perhaps a deliberately destroyed book.”¹²⁰ According to Mirecki, this would explain why the prayer is incomplete. However, the portion of text that was torn away from the putative damaged codex just so happens to be by far *the* most popular text on Christian amulets. Thus, I would argue that, while the fragment was most likely part of a continuous codex, it was torn away deliberately for the purpose of being used as an amulet (*contra*

¹¹⁷ A two-column format is also supported by Cornelia Römer, “Christliche Texte (1997-1998),” *APF* 45 (1999): 138-148, at 148.

¹¹⁸ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 198 n.170.

¹¹⁹ Teeter, *Columbia Papyri XI*, 3.

¹²⁰ “Review of: Teeter, *Columbia Papyri XI*,” *BASP* 38 (2001): 135-145, at 136.

Mirecki).¹²¹ The loss of part of the prayer can probably be attributed to carelessness in tearing or cutting it from the codex, as Teeter has suggested.

The text is written in a formal biblical majuscule hand. Letters are carefully executed in an upright, bilinear fashion. There is a remarkable contrast between thick and thin strokes; horizontal strokes are razor sharp to the extent that they are almost not visible. Teeter rightly compares the hand to P.Oxy. 6.848 (LDAB 2799; fifth/sixth century C.E.) and Codex Alexandrinus (LDAB 3481; fifth century C.E.), although verticals and obliques are thicker in the latter due to the writing angle. We may also compare it with the hand of the “Cotton Genesis” (LDAB 3242), which is also dated to the second half of the fifth century C.E.¹²² Thus, a fifth century date (perhaps the second half of this century) seems likely for P.Col. 11.293.¹²³

The use of *nomina sacra* is inconsistent. In l. 3v, *πάτερ* exhibits *scriptio plena*, as does *οὐρανοῖς* in l. 4v. Oddly enough, the profane use of *ἀνθρώποις* in l. 9r is abbreviated, though without the supralinear stroke.¹²⁴ Teeter suggested that “[j]ust possibly, the scribe simply forgot to write *θρώποις* at the beginning of the next line, and either he or a later corrector, unable or willing to extend the word into the margin, wrote only the final syllable.”¹²⁵ It seems more likely that the scribe accidentally abbreviated the word, as sometimes happened. For example, in Codex Sinaiticus, there are several cases where the scribe(s) abbreviated the word *πνεύμα* even in the phrase “unclean spirit(s).”¹²⁶

¹²¹ So too de Bruyn and Dijkstra: “It is more plausible that this badly damaged leaf from a parchment codex [...] was preserved (and possibly worn) because it contained the Lord’s Prayer than that it is a ‘random fragment of a damaged book, perhaps a deliberately destroyed book’” (“Greek Amulets,” 199 n.172, citing Mirecki, 136).

¹²² Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 24a.

¹²³ See also Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica*, 64-65.

¹²⁴ Teeter draws attention to the omission of the supralinear stroke and suggests that it may have faded (*Columbia Papyri XI*, 6).

¹²⁵ Teeter, *Columbia Papyri XI*, 6.

¹²⁶ See the examples listed in Peter M. Head, “The Gospel of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus: Textual and Receptino-Historical Considerations,” *TC* 13 (2008): 1-38, at 16.

Except for the addition of final nu in a few places, the text of our fragment shows no deviation whatsoever from the printed text of NA²⁸. In l. 5v (6:10), the editor restores ἐλθέτω with ἐλθάτω, but we should give the scribe the benefit of the doubt.¹²⁷ We have therefore amended the restored text with ε instead of α. In light of the lack of deviation, we can safely classify the textual quality and transmission character as “strict.” Since this fragment was likely originally part of a continuous codex of at least the Gospel of Matthew and used only secondarily as an amulet, there is no reason why it should not be classified and added to the official list of New Testament manuscripts. As we shall see below, P.Oxy. 64.4406 (*no. 15*) is similar in that this fragment was also probably from a continuous codex and used secondarily as an amulet. Yet, ironically, P.Oxy. 64.4406 has a place in the list under the GA number Ƴ¹⁰⁵. Thus, we have here a parchment manuscript that should be added to the majuscule category (e.g., 0xxx).

There are several significant variation units in Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12 for which our fragment may be cited in support of the printed text. In v. 4, several witnesses add ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ following ἀποδώσει σου (K L W Δ Θ 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 / 844 / 2211 Ƴ it sy^{s.p.h}); P.Col. 11.293 can be added among the witnesses in support of the text (Ⲭ B D Z f^{1.13} 33 aur ff¹ k vg sy^c co; Or). In v. 5 (ll. 3-4), our fragment reads προσεύχησθε οὐκ ἔσεσθε with Ⲭ² B Z f¹ 892 lat sy^{hmg} co over against the reading προσεύχη οὐκ ἔση present in Ⲭ² D K L W Δ Θ f^{1.3} 33 565 579 700 1241 1424 / 844 / 2211 Ƴ k q sy^{c.p.h}. In v. 10, the article is added before γῆς in several witnesses (D K L Θ f^{1.3} 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 / 844 / 2211 Ƴ), but our fragment can be added to the other witnesses that omit it (Ⲭ B W Z Δ f¹).

¹²⁷ The editor of P.CtYBR inv. 4600 (*no. 9*) did something very similar in his restoration of the same word; we have amended that transcription on the same grounds.

9. MATT. 6:9-13

P.CtYBR inv. 4600¹²⁸

9.1 x 15.5 cm

6th-8th cent. C.E.

LDAB 131626

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 95

Ed. princ. Brent Nongbri, “The Lord’s Prayer and XMG: Two Christian Papyrus Amulets,” *HTR* 104 (2011): 59-68.

- 1 πάτερ ὑμῶν [ὁ] εὐ[ρανοῖς ἁγιασθήτω]
τὸ ὄνομά σου [ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου]
κενηθήτου = τ[ὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῶ]
καὶ ἐπὶ κῆς τὸν ἄρτον [ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον]
5 δὸς ὑμῖν σήμερον = καὶ ἄ[φες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλή-]
ματα ὑμῶν = ὡς καὶ ὑμ[εῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς]
οφειτῆς ὑμῶν = καὶ μ[ὴ εἰσένεγκης]
ὑμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν κ[ύριε ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι]
ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ[ῦ.....]
10 τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν . [.....]

1. πάτερ | ἡμῶν | ἐν 3. γενήθητω 4. γῆς 5. σήμερον 6. ἡμῶν | ἡμεῖς 7. ὀφειλέταις | ἡμῶν 8. ἡμᾶς | πειρασμό 9. ἡμᾶς 10. τῷ | ἡμῶν

Translation

Our Father in he[aven, hallowed] be your name. [Your kingdom come]. [Your will] be done on earth [as it is in heaven]. Give us this day [our daily bread]. And f[orgive us] our deb[ts] as we also [have forgiven] our debtors. And do no[t bring us] into the time of trial, L[ord but rescue] us from the evil one...to our Lord.

This papyrus amulet is one of several others that contain only the Lord’s Prayer. The text is written with the fibers (→) on a light-brown piece of papyrus measuring 9.1 x 15.5 cm. The back is blank. The editor deduces that the papyrus “seems to have been folded both horizontally and vertically into a small square of roughly 2.5 by 2.5 cm.”¹²⁹ De Bruyn and Dijkstra place this amulet within their category of “probable amulets,” and while caution is always appropriate in matters of classification, I see no reason why this piece should not be placed in their first category, namely, “certain amulets and formularies.” This judgment is based on the following

¹²⁸ Photograph online at: <http://brbl-legacy.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=4600>.

¹²⁹ Nongbri, “Lord’s Prayer and XMG,” 62.

factors:¹³⁰ 1) the back is blank, 2) the content (Lord's Prayer) is common to amulets, and 3) folds are present. Two of these pass our criteria #1 and #5 above. The presence of a *possible* tau-rho symbol at the lower right edge of the papyrus would lend further support to the classification of this piece as an amulet, since such devices were very common in amulets.¹³¹

The handwriting is similar in appearance to that of many Greek (and Coptic) Byzantine documentary manuscripts,¹³² although the editor is right to point out the occasional separateness of the letters (see especially ll. 2 and 6), which suggests a more controlled execution. The orthography is poor, especially the misspelling of the personal pronouns. There are four occurrences of short oblique strokes (“=”) that the editor takes as sense unit markers, and this seems to be possible, even though one is misplaced in l. 3.¹³³ Nongbri tentatively dated this text to the sixth or early seventh century, but the question of dating has been revisited by Nikolaos Gonis, who extends the parameters to include the eighth century.¹³⁴

Nongbri's transcription was revised slightly by Gonis in 2012, and mention of those revisions is in order here. First, Gonis claims that “we may exonerate the scribe for what he wrote but has not survived,” meaning that the misspelled Greek in the restored part of Nongbri's text should be standardized (ἐλθέτο > ἐλθέτω [l. 2], τὸ > τὰ [l. 5]).¹³⁵ Nongbri's restored text may be right, especially given the spelling habits of this scribe (see the vowel reduction in l. 10), but since this part of the text is not extant, I agree that we should give the scribe the benefit of the doubt. Second, Nongbri's omission of the article τοῖς at the end of line 6 is, appropriately, added

¹³⁰ Cf. Nongbri, “Lord's Prayer and ΧΜΓ,” 62.

¹³¹ The presence of staurograms is in fact a criterion in de Bruyn and Dijkstra's study (“Greek Amulets,” 168-169).

¹³² “[S]wift, decisively inclined to the right, rich in ligatures, and characterized by elongated strokes that extend above and below the line, along with artificial swirls and flourishes” (Cavallo, “Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri,” 136).

¹³³ Marking sense units in this way was not very common, according to the historical record. Although there were a variety of ways in which sense units were divided, the most common way appears to be the use of the middle and raised dot, on which see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 10-11.

¹³⁴ Nikolaos Gonis, “An ‘Our Father’ with Problems,” *ZPE* 181 (2012): 46-47.

¹³⁵ Gonis, “An ‘Our Father’ with Problems,” 46.

by Gonis. Third, and more importantly, Gonis makes sense of a crux in l. 8. In Nongbri's restoration of l. 8, *καί* is substituted for *ἀλλά*, which constitutes a singular reading. The reading is restored on the basis of the presence of the letter *kappa* at the end of this line. However, Gonis offers a solution to this problem by pointing to the inclusion of *κύριε* in three other Paternoster amulets precisely at this point: BGU 3.954 (*no. 10*), P.Bad. 4.60, and P.Duke inv. 778 (*no. 7*). The addition of *κύριε* is also found in O.Athens inv. 12227 (LDAB 5594), an ostrakon with the Lord's Prayer, although there it occurs *after* the phrase *ἀλλά ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, not before it. More importantly (and this is not mentioned by Gonis), the addition is known from the Liturgy of St. James and the "Liturgy of Palestine."¹³⁶ Given that *καί* is unattested in the tradition and that other witnesses, and two liturgical traditions, attest to the addition of *κύριε* here, Gonis' restoration (with *ἀλλά* following *κύριε*) seems more likely. All three of Gonis' modifications are with justification and so we have amended Nongbri's text accordingly.¹³⁷

Notwithstanding spelling errors and the addition of *κύριε* in l. 8, this amulet's text of Matt. 6:9-13 agrees precisely with the text of NA²⁸. There is only one variation unit for which our papyrus may tentatively be used in support of the printed text over against a secondary reading: the omission of *τῆς* in v. 10 (following *Ⲛ B W Z Δ f¹ txt*) over against its inclusion (D K L Θ f³, 565, 579, 700, 892, 1241, 1424, l 844, l 2211, *Ⲙ*). Given the close alignment of P.CtYBR inv. 4600 with the text of NA²⁸, we may classify its textual quality and its transmission character as "strict." This papyrus, with others like it, demonstrate that the Lord's Prayer was a *living text*, and that it could stand alone as a powerful ritual technology against various physical troubles.

¹³⁶ Greek text in Brightman, *Liturgies*, 66 and 466.

¹³⁷ Gonis also problematizes line 1 of Nongbri's text, but given the difficulty of the readings there, we have retained Nongbri's text in the transcription above.

10. MATT. 6:9-13 || DOXOLOGY || INCIPITS || CREEDAL FORMULAE
 || PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE

BGU 3.954
 LDAB 6231
 de Bruyn and Dijkstra 26

Unspecified
 (2 x 1 cm folded)

6th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. Ulrich Wilken, "Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten," *APF* 1 (1901): 396-436, at 431-436.

1 † Δέσποτα θ(ἐ)ε παντοκράτωρ
 ὁ πατή[ρ] τοῦ κ(υρί)ου καὶ σο(τή)ρος <ή>μῶν
 [Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ]αὶ(?) ἄγιε Σερήνε
 εὐχαριστῶ ἐγὼ Σιλουανὸς υἱὸς
 5 Σαραπίωνος καὶ κλίνω τὴν
 κεφαλὴν [μο]υ κα<τ>ενώπιόν σου
 αἰτῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν ὅπως διώ-
 ξῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου σου τὸν
 δαίμονα προβασκανίας καὶ
 10 τὸν κ[εφαλαλ]γίας καὶ τὸν τῆς
 ἀηδίας κα[ὶ](?) πᾶσαν δὲ νόσον
 καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἄφελε
 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὅπως ὑγιάνω κ(αὶ) [ἰσ-]
 χ[ύσω] εἰπεῖν τὴν ἑὺ ἄγγελικὴν
 15 εὐχὴν [οὔτως(?)] π(ά)τερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς
 οὐ(ρα)ν[οῖς] ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐλθ[έ-]
 τω ἢ βα[σιλεία σου] γενηθήτω τὸ θέ[ε-]
 λη[μ]ά [σου ὡς] ἐν οὐ(ρα)νῶ κ(αὶ) ἐπὶ γῆ[ς τὸν]
 ἄρτον ἡ[μῶν τὸ]ν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡ[μῖν]
 20 σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλ[ή-]
 ματα ἡμῶν [κα]θὰ κ(αὶ) ἡμεῖς ἀφεί<ε>[μεν]
 τοῖς ὀφει[λέταις ἡμῶν] καὶ [μὴ] ἄγε
 ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν κ(ύρι)ε ἀλλ[ὰ] ῥύ[σαι ἡ-]
 μᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πο[ν]ηρ[ίας]. Σοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δόξ[ια εἰς]
 25 τοὺς αἰών[ας]] καὶ ἡ τῶν [. . .]
 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν [ὁ λόγος] βίβλος κε-
 [νέσεως Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱ]ο[ῦ] Δαυίδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ
 ὁ φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς θ(εὸ)ς ἀληθινὸς χάρισον
 ἐμὲ τὸν δούλόν σου τὸ φῶς. Ἄγιε Σερήνε
 30 πρόσπεσε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἵνα τελείως ὑγιάνω

2. σωτήρος 21. κατὰ | ἀφίεμεν 26-7. γενέσεως

Translation

(Prayer) Master, Oh God Almighty, The Fath[er] of our Lord and Savior [Jesus Christ], and St. Serenus: I, Silvanus, son of Sarapion, give thanks and bow [my] head before you, asking and beseeching that you might chase away from me, your servant, the demon of the evil eye, the (demon) of the e[vil d[e]d an[d] the (demon) of unpleasantness and take away from me every illness and every infirmity so that I might be healthy and [able] to say the Gospel-prayer [of health: (Matt. 6:9-

13) “Our father who is in] heaven, [hollowed be] your name. Your [kingdom] come [your] will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give u[s] this day our daily bread and forgive our deb[t]s [a]s [we] also have forgiven [our debtors]. And do [not] lead us into temptation, Lord, [but] deliver us from ev[il]. For yours is] the glor[y] forev[er and the [...]” (John 1:1) In the beginning was the [Wor]ld. (Matt. 1:1) An account of the ge[nealogy of Jesus Christ, s]o[n of David, son of Abraham]. (Prayer) O light from light, true God, grant me, your servant, the light. St. Serenus, supplicate on my behalf so that I may be perfectly healthy.¹³⁸

This papyrus was found in Herakleopolis Magna in 1899 during the excavations led by Ulrich Wilken. All the papyri discovered there in that year were destroyed when the ship that was carrying them to Europe burned in the harbor of Hamburg.¹³⁹ Because of this, we have not been able to compare the transcription with the actual papyrus. Nor am I able to say any more about the physical characteristics of the papyrus (e.g., the handwriting) than what Wilken and Wessely report. Wilken first published the papyrus in *APF* in 1901 and it was reedited (with the same text) in BGU 3.954 in 1903. However, a superior text was published by Wessely, which we have reduplicated here.¹⁴⁰ The sixth century date proposed by Wilken and Wessely has been retained here, since it is not possible to analyze the handwriting.

According to Wilken, the papyrus was found by his workers on 20 February 1899. It was closely pressed together (“zusammengepresstes”) and wrapped in a brown thread. The papyrus was apparently in bad condition. Wilken reports that unfolding it caused damage, and that, since the edges were breaking off, the sheet was divided into a large number of tiny rectangles and placed side by side.¹⁴¹ The full dimensions of the sheet were not given, but Wilken does say that the dimensions of the *folded* papyrus, as found *in situ*, were c. 2 x 1 cm. From Wilken’s transcription, we observe that a cross preceded the first line of writing.

¹³⁸ Trans. (slightly revised) from Sanzo, “*Canonical Power: A ‘Tactical’ Approach to the Use of the Christian Canon in P.Berl. 954,*” in *Saint Shenouda Coptic Quarterly* 4.3-4 (2008): 28-45, at 31-32.

¹³⁹ H el ene Cuvigny, “The Finds of Papyri: The Archaeology of Papyrology,” in *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 30-58, at 34.

¹⁴⁰ Wessely, “Monuments,” 420-422.

¹⁴¹ Wilken, “Heidnisches und Christliches,” 431: “Leider gelang es nicht, wie bei dem anderen Amulett (s. oben S. 420), es in v ollig unversehrtem Zustande zu entwickeln. Die Kniffe waren so tief, da  trotz der angewandten Feuchtigkeit die R ander vielfach brachen, soda  das Blatt in eine gro e Zahl winziger Rechtecke zerfiel.”

Our text is comprised of a mishmash of passages: the Lord’s Prayer (in its entirety), an allusion to Matt. 4:23, gospel incipits, a phrase from the Nicene Creed, and a prayer of a certain Silvanus. The name of God is invoked as part of the ritual, but so is St. Serenus, who serves as an intermediary between the human supplicant and the divine. From the request it is clear that our Silvanus is under a demonic attack, and the request is that God “chase away” these demons. The Lord’s Prayer is introduced as the “gospel prayer” (εὐαγγελικὴν εὐχὴν), a description that does not occur in any of the other amulets under consideration.

There are a few interesting points of contact between BGU 3.954 and P.Oxy. 8.1151 (*no.* 17). First, the client Joannia of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus is, as here, described as “your servant.” Second, saints are invoked for their intercessory power, and a particular name, St. Serenus, occurs in both.¹⁴² Third, the term διώκω is used in both amulets. This term deserves further discussion. In his study of BGU 3.954, Sanzo suggested that Silvanus has had an encounter with demons and that the phrase διώξις ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ should not be understood as “drive out of me” (in other words, an exorcism), but “chase away from me” (i.e., protection from demons).¹⁴³ Kotansky has argued, in contrast, that this is a common *exorcistic* formula in many amulets.¹⁴⁴ In P.Oxy. 8.1151, we find the term διώκω twice: “flee, hateful spirit, Christ pursues you” (φεῦγε πνεῦμα μεμισμένον, Χριστός σε διώκει) and “chase away and put to flight from her every fever” (ἀποδίωξον καὶ φυγάδευσον ἀπ’ αὐτῆς πάντα πυρετὸν). While these two amulets may have served as “performative incantations,” where the demon is addressed directly, we contend that it is more likely the phrase ἀπο-/διώκω was used for its *protective* value.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, support

¹⁴² It is unclear whether the saints in both amulets refer to the same person. In P.Oxy. 8.1151, “St. Serenus” surely refers to the saint which had a local shrine in Oxyrhynchus (see Luijendijk, “Gospel Amulet,” 420 and n. 18) but the “St. Serenus” in BGU 3.954 may or may not be the same person.

¹⁴³ Cf. Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 42.

¹⁴⁴ See Kotansky, “Incantations and Prayers,” in *Magika Hiera*, 107-137, at 113.

¹⁴⁵ The phrase “performative incantation” is from Kotansky, “Incantations and Prayers,” 117.

for this interpretation is provided by Abba Isaiah's *Ascetic Discourses*, monastic exhortations (λόγοι) that include a fascinating (and often disregarded) passage on combatting evil spirits:

If you are leading an ascetic life and struggling against the enemy, should you notice the demons weakening their warfare or even fleeing [φυγοῦσαν], do not rejoice in your heart that the evil spirits are now behind you, for they are preparing a battle that is worse than the first. They are moving behind the city and ordering their troops to lie still. If you oppose them by attacking them, they flee [φεύγουσιν] from you, feigning weakness. Then, if your soul feels proud that it has chased them away [καταδιώξει] and you abandon the city, some of them appear from behind while others attack from the front, thereby leaving the poor soul surrounded and with nowhere to escape. Now the city in this case is the act of surrendering oneself before God with one's whole heart, for he will save you from all the attacks of the enemy (*Discourse IV*).¹⁴⁶

Scholars have not brought this passage to bear on treatments of magic and amulets, but it has much relevance for the current discussion. The enemy's war against a city is clearly an analogy of spiritual warfare. In the context of the discourse, the point is that monks should not take pride in keeping demons at bay through their asceticism. Rather, they should submit themselves to God and allow *him* to keep the enemy from attacking the body and soul. The language of "chasing" and "fleeing" here is certainly protective and not exorcistic, and we submit that the similar expressions in the amulets under discussion are to be understood likewise.

We shall leave aside a discussion of the incipits in this papyrus, in keeping with the goal of this study.¹⁴⁷ The text of the Lord's Prayer deviates from the text of NA²⁸ in the following places:

- v. 12: ὡς NA²⁸] κατά **BGU 3.954**
- v. —: ἀφίκομεν NA²⁸] ἀφίεμεν **BGU 3.954** ⲛ² Ⲙ³ Ⲛ; Didache
- v. 13: εἰσενέγκης NA²⁸] ἄγε **BGU 3.954**
- v. 13: πειρασμόν NA²⁸] + κύριε **BGU 3.954**

The substitution of κατά for ὡς is unattested outside our amulet, as far as I am aware. The variant ἀφίεμεν is read by several manuscripts, but the reading in our papyrus is not clear.

¹⁴⁶ Trans. (slightly modified) from John Chryssavgis and Pachomios (Roberts) Penkett, *Abba Isaiah of Scetis: Ascetic Discourses* (CSS 150; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2002), 61. For the Greek text of this part of *Discourse IV*, see especially the fifth century papyrus from Columbia University published as P.Col. 8.192 in Roger S. Bagnall, Timothy T. Renner, and Klaas A. Worp, eds., *Columbia Papyri VIII* (ASP 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 17-28 (and pl. 1).

¹⁴⁷ The incipits in BGU 3.954 are fully analyzed in Sanzo, "Canonical Power"; see also idem, *Scriptural Incipits*, 91-92.

Wessely transcribed ἀφεί<ε>[μεν], but this could just as well be ἀφίομεν, another variant supported by D L W Δ Θ 565. Thus, we must exclude it from analysis. The variants ἄγε and κύριε constitute singular readings, and so they too must be excluded. The addition of κύριε after πειρασμόν is found also in P.CtYBR inv. 4600 (no. 9), P.Bad. 4.60, and P.Duke inv. 778 (no. 7). As noted in the discussion of this reading in P.CtYBR inv. 4600 above, this insertion is known from the Liturgy of St. James and the “Liturgy of Palestine.” These variants aside, the text of the Lord’s Prayer in BGU 3.954 agrees with the text of NA²⁸. The scribe (or the scribe of his/her exemplar) has taken some liberties in revising the text but he/she has remained overall faithful to the tradition. I classify the textual quality and transmission character as “normal.”

The citation of (or better, allusion to) Matt. 4:23 is not significant, since it consists of only five words from the tradition where no variation unit exists. Thus, it is of no help to text-critical debates about the text at this point. On the whole, the papyrus offers no readings of real significance. Yet the amulet is interesting for many reasons. First, the amount of texts appealed to illustrate the variety of possibilities from which ritual specialists could draw: incipits, clausal *historiolae*, prayers, the Lord’s Prayer, creedal statements. Second, the invocation of St. Serenus testifies to the importance of saints in Christian rituals.¹⁴⁸ More studies on saints in the context of Christian amulets from antiquity, like this one, are desirable.¹⁴⁹ Third, the allusion to (citation of?) creedal formulae (“O light from light, true God”) in our amulet attests to the belief that those

¹⁴⁸ Heavenly saints were appealed to early on in the Christian tradition. In the *Shepherd of Hermas* (24.6), for example, the “young lady” tells Hermas to call on the saints presumably for assistance in divine election in order to escape the final judgment: “Therefore, do not cease speaking into the ears of the saints” (σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς λαλῶν εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἁγίων).

¹⁴⁹ See Arietta Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L’apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris: CNRS, 2001). See also H.J. Magoulias, “The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons,” *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 228-269. Alcuin of York links saints and amulets in an interesting way: “They carry amulets, believing them to be something holy. But it is better to imitate the examples of the saints in one’s heart than to carry their bones in little bags. And it is better to hold the written teachings of the Gospels in one’s mind, than to carry them, written on strips of parchment, around one’s neck” (*Ep.* 290). Trans. from Claudia Rapp, “Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes: Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity,” in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. W.E. Klingshirn and L. Safran (Washington: Catholic University of America, 2007), 194-224, at 201.

words were powerful in invoking divine favor or protection.¹⁵⁰ We find creedal formulae in P.Turner 49 (*no.* 3) as well as Chicago MS 125 (von Dobschütz's Σ^7), but other examples exist.¹⁵¹ Thus, there is a wealth of information packed into this amulet, which illustrates the textual heterogeneity in amulet production.

11. MATT. 6:9-13 || DOXOLOGY || 2 COR. 13:13? || PS. 90:1-13

P.Schøyen 1.16 Frg. A: 3.9 x 11.7 cm 4th-5th cent. C.E.
 LDAB 2994 Frg. B: 7.7 x 13 cm
 de Bruyn and Dijkstra 50 Frg. C: 9 x 9.7 cm

Ed. princ. Leiv Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," *Symbolae Osloenses* 24 (1945): 121-147, at 141-147; Rosario Pintaudi, "Amuleto cristiano: LXX, Ps. 90.4-13 (MS 244/4)," in *Papyri Graecae Schøyen* (= P.Schøyen 1; Papyrologica Florentina 35; Florence: Gonnelli, 2005), no. 16 (55-56).

P.Oslo inv. 1644 (Frgs. A and B)

↓
 1 ✠ π[άτε]ρ ἡμῶν ὡ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐλθέτω ἡ βα-
 σιλία σου γενεθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ-
 ς γῆς τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶ[ν] ἄρον ἄρον [ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον κ-]
 αὶ ἄφ[ες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν]
 5 τοῖ[ς ὀφειλόμενοις] ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ [εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν]
 ἀλλὰ ῥύσε ἡμᾶς <ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα> εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
 αἰῶνων ἢ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
 τὴν χάρις τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μεθ' ἡμῶν
 ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοήθειᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ]
 ἀύλησθήσεται ἐρὶ τῷ κ[υρίῳ] [Ἀντιλήπτω μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγὴ μου]
 10 ὁ θεός μ[ο]ν βοηθός μου ἐλπίω ἐπ' αὐτόν ὅτι αὐτὸς ῥύσεται με]
 [ἐκ παγίδος θ]ηρευτῶ(ν) καὶ ἀπ[ὸ] λόγου ταραχῶδους ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις]
 αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σε καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐλπιδίς]

1. ὁ 1-2. βασιλεία 2. γενεθήτω 5. ὀφειλέταις 6. ῥύσαι 7. ἡ (?) | Χριστοῦ 9. ἀύλησθήσεται | ἐρεῖ 11. θηρευτῶν 12. ἐπισκιάσει

P.Schøyen 1.16 (MS 244/4) (Frg. C)

↓
 1 [ὄπλω κυκλώσει σε ἢ ἀλή]θεια ἀ[ὐτοῦ] οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου]
 [νυκτερινοῦ ἀπὸ βέλους πετ]ρωμένον[υ] ἡμέρας ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπορευομένου

¹⁵⁰ The phrase is only partial in our amulet. The part of the Nicene Creed of 381 alluded to/cited runs φῶς ἐκ φωτός θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. For the Greek text, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd ed.; London: Longman, 1972), 297.

¹⁵¹ See also the description of the Nubian Coptic grotto in Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 77-78.

ἐν σκότει]

 [ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμ]ωνίου με[σημβρινοῦ πεσεῖται ἐκ]

 [τοῦ κλίτους σου χιλιάς καὶ] μυριάς ἐ[κ δεξιῶν σου πρὸς σὲ δὲ]

 5 [οὐκ ἐγγιεῖ πλὴν τοῖς ὀ]φ[θα]λμῖς σου κα[τανοήσεις καὶ ἀνταπόδο-]

 [σιν ἀμαρτωλῶν ὄψη ὅ]τι σου κ(ύρι)ε ἡ ἐλπι μ[ου τὸν ὕψιστον ἔθου]

 [καταφυγὴν σου οὐ προσελε]ύσεται πρὸς σὲ [κακά καὶ μάστιξ οὐκ ἐγγιεῖ]

 τῷ σκηνώματί]

 [σου ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτο]ῦ ἐντελίτε πε[ρὶ σου τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε

 [ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου ἐ]πὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσή[ν σε μήποτε προσκόψης]

 10 [πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου ἐπ' ἀ]σπίδα καὶ βασ[ιλίσκον ἐπιβήση καί]

2. πετομένου 3. δαιμονίου 5. ὀφθαλμοῖς 6. σύ | ἐλπίς 8. ἐντελεῖται 9. χειρῶν | ἀρουσίν 10. ἀσπίδα

Translation

(Matt. 6:9-13) “Our f[at]he[r who is in h[eaven, hallowe]d be your name.] Your [king]dom [come your will] be done, [on] earth [as it is in heaven. Give us this day] our [daily] bread and for[give our debts as we also have forgiven] our debtors. And do not [lead us into temptation] but deliver us [from the evil one. For yours is the glory] for[ever and ever.” (2 Cor. 13:13?) The love of God and] the grace of Christ a[nd the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you]. (Ps. 90:1-13) The one who lives by the help [of the Most High, who] abides [in the shelter of the God of heaven]. He will say to the Lord, [“You are my refuge and my fortress], my God my helper, [I will hope in him” because it is he who will rescue me from a trap of h[unters and fro]m a troublesome word; with the broad of his back] he will shade you an[d under his wings you will find hope; with a shield his tr]uth [will surround you. You will not be afraid of nocturnal fright, of an arrow that fl]ies [by day, of a deed that travels in darkness, of mishap and noon]day de[mon. At your side a thousand will fall and] ten thousand [at your right [...]] Only with] your eyes [will you] pe[rceive, and the requital of sinners you will see be]cause you, O Lord, are my hope, [the Most High you made your refuge. No evil] will come before you, [and no scourge will come near your covert, because] he will command [hi]s [angels] conce[al]ing you to guard you in all your ways; upon h[is] hands they will bear y[ou up] [so that you will not dash your foot against a stone. On a]sp and co[bra]...

This papyrus consists of three separate fragments that once contained (at least) the text of the Lord’s Prayer (with doxology) and Ps. 90 in their entirety, along with (possibly) portions of the valediction in 2 Cor. 13:13. The two top fragments—Frg. A = ll. 1-4; Frg. B = ll. 5-12—are housed in the University of Oslo library and were published as P.Oslo inv. 1644 by Leiv Amundsen in 1945.¹⁵² According to Amundsen, these fragments were purchased in Egypt in 1936 together with a collection of documentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus. He reports that “[t]he two fragments were glued together by the native dealer ignoring the lacuna of about 1.5 cm between them (l. 4).”¹⁵³ The third fragment is kept in the Schøyen Collection in Oslo under the

¹⁵² Amundsen, “Christian Papyri,” 141-147.

¹⁵³ Amundsen, “Christian Papyri,” 141.

shelf mark “MS 244/4”; this fragment was published by Rosario Pinaudi in 2005.¹⁵⁴ According to Pinaudi, it was acquired from the famous Austrian book dealer Hans P. Kraus in April 1989.

We have been unable to find any additional information about the link with Oxyrhynchus, at least in regard to the first two fragments. It is possible that these fragments purchased in Egypt in 1936 were part of the acquisitions of the papyrus cartel or syndicate headed by the British Museum in the 1920s and 1930s, since Oslo was a member institution.¹⁵⁵ If this is correct, then it would explain why the first two fragments were separated from the third, since it was very common during this time for Egyptian natives and antiquities dealers to divide up manuscripts and sell them piecemeal on the antiquities market.

The writing of the papyrus runs against the fibers (⊥) in a single column (i.e., *transversa charta*); the back (→) is blank. Frg. A constitutes the top portion of the papyrus sheet, and the upper and left margins are intact. On this fragment, a staurogram precedes the first line of writing.¹⁵⁶ On Frg. B, an unusual decorative line—featuring semi-circles atop the line—separates the New Testament citations above (i.e., Lord’s Prayer, 2 Cor. 13:13) from the Ps. 90 citation below. This line presumably extended the entire width of the column of writing.

The handwriting is an example of an early Byzantine type. Amundsen characterized the scribe as “a rather unskilled writer.”¹⁵⁷ I would prefer to describe the letters as being written in a practiced albeit not very elegant hand. The letters are large, upright, detached, and fluid. The ductus of the script is inconsistent throughout. o is tiny, μ is rounded with a deep saddle, θ is narrow, the right half of ν is well above the baseline. Vertical strokes tend to be curved, especially with η, ι, μ, ν (right hasta), π. The scribe is sloppy with connecting strokes. For

¹⁵⁴ Pinaudi, “Amuleto cristiano,” 55.

¹⁵⁵ See James G. Kennan, “The History of the Discipline,” in *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 59-78, at 66.

¹⁵⁶ This staurogram is incorrectly referred to as a “cross” in Pinaudi, *Papyri Graecae Schøyen*, 55, van Haelst 345, Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 236, and de Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 191.

¹⁵⁷ Amundsen, “Christian Papyri,” 142.

example, θ in l. 2 of Frg. A crosses at the top; the loop of the first ρ in l. 3 of Frg. B (l. 7 of the transcription above) does not connect to the top of the vertical; the right hasta of v in l. 8 of Frg. C cuts through the central oblique. Amundsen compared the handwriting with examples found in Schubart's handbook and dated it to the later half of the fourth century.¹⁵⁸ This is probably correct although Pintaudi's extension of the dating parameter ("IV-V d.C.") finds support in P.Mich. inv. 6223 (receipt, 14 February 406 C.E.), which exhibits similar handwriting yet with more cursive elements. Thus, a fourth/fifth century C.E. date is more appropriate.

A few words about the transcriptions above are in order. Pintaudi published the Schøyen fragment together with P.Oslo inv. 1644 but he did not, in contrast to Amundsen, provide a complete reconstruction of the Schøyen fragment. This is unfortunate, since it does not allow for a fuller picture of the original papyrus sheet. In fact, a reconstruction is made possible by the left margins in Frgs. A and B, as well as by the fact that Frg. C is separated from Frg. B by only a handful of words. Thus, in addition to improving on Pintaudi's transcription by including accents, we have also reconstructed the text as it probably stood in the original. Also, in l. 3, Pintaudi reads με[σεμβρινοῦ but the ε inside the bracket should in fact be η. These changes are reflected in the transcription above.

The extant wording of the Lord's Prayer in P.Schøyen 1.16 agrees closely with the text of NA²⁸. The only deviations, aside from orthographical differences, are 1) the rather abrupt ending of the Prayer (our scribe omits the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ in l. 6) and the addition of τῆς before γῆς in v. 10 (ll. 2-3). Three reasons suggest that the omission of ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ is the result of a copying error. First, the scribe's copying habits are otherwise quite good. In the citation of Ps. 90:1-13, for example, there are only a few mistakes.¹⁵⁹ Second, in an apotropaic context, the

¹⁵⁸ Amundsen, "Christian Papyri," 142. See Wilhelm Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 1/4/1; Munich: Beck, 1925), nos. 56 and 57.

¹⁵⁹ V. 2: ὁ θεός μου LXX] + βοηθός μου P.Schøyen 1.16; v. 4: σοι LXX] σε P.Schøyen 1.16; v. 13: ἀπίδα LXX] ἀπίδαν P.Schøyen 1.16.

phrase “from the evil one/evil” would have carried enormous significance, and so a deliberate omission is probably less likely. Third, ἡμᾶς εἰς stands near the end of the immediately preceding line and so it is possible that the error was facilitated by parablepsis. All in all, it seems that our scribe simply slipped up at this point by accidentally omitting the phrase, and then skipped immediately to the doxology. P.Schøyen 1.16 represents a text that is “at least normal.” However, this classification must be taken with caution, since the textual sample is fairly small. The only significant variation unit is the addition of τῆς in v. 10 (following D K L Θ ^f3 ℞ *et al.*), and this hardly affects the meaning of the text. The scribe seems to follow his/her exemplar fairly closely, except for the omission of the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, which, as we have seen, was likely accidental.

Amundsen attributed the phrase τὴν χάρις τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*l. Χριστοῦ*) κ[αί to the apostolic valediction in 2 Cor. 13:13 and reconstructed the text around it on the basis of this supposed connection. If this is correct, then, as Amundsen notes, the scribe has awkwardly changed the article ἡ to τήν. However, another explanation for the odd reading τήν χάρις is possible, namely, that the scribe has interchanged final ν for final ζ.¹⁶⁰ In other words, the reading here may well have been τήν χάριν, in which case the connection with 2 Cor. 13:13 is on less firm ground. Thus, while we have retained Amundsen’s reconstruction above, it does not merit textual classification. Nonetheless, P.Schøyen 1.16 as a whole is a fascinating example of the use of scripture in a ritual context. The original size of the papyrus sheet was larger than most amulets under consideration, but its size would not have been a deterrent: it was effective only if it touched the body.

¹⁶⁰ The interchange of final ζ and ν is common in the papyri; see Gignac, *Grammar*, 131-132.

12. MATT. 6:10-12

P.Ant. 2.54

5.2 x 4 cm

3th-4th cent. C.E.

LDAB 5425

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 156

Ed. princ. J.W.B. Barns, H. Zilliaccus, and C.H. Roberts (eds.), *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, pt. 2 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960), no. 54 (6-7).

Fol. 1→	Fol. 1↓
1 σου ὡς ἐν οὐρα- νῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς	1 ἡμῶ[ν τ]ὸ- ν ἐπιού- σιον δὸς ἡμᾶς
5 γῆς τὸν ἄρτον	5 σήμερ- ον καὶ
Fol. 2↓	Fol. 2→
1 ἄφεις ἡμῖν τὸ	Blank
3 ὀφειλήμ<ατα>	

Fol. 2 ↓: 2. τὰ

Translation

[...] Your [will be done] on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debt[s]...

This little amulet has received a lot of attention since its publication in 1960.¹⁶¹ It is no. 156 in de Bruyn and Dijkstra's list of "possible amulets." It is written on a tiny sheet of papyrus that was folded to create a bifolium. The first folio is written in 6 lines, while the first page of Fol. 2 is written in 3 lines. The last page (Fol. 2→) is blank. The papyrus is complete with all margins intact. To put the dimensions into perspective, the papyrus sheet (before folding) is about half the size of a credit card!

¹⁶¹ For example: van Haelst 347; Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 29; Ernst Bammel, "Ein neuer Vater-Unser-Text," *ZNW* 52 (1961): 280-281; idem, "A New Text of the Lord's Prayer," *ExpTim* 73 (1961): 54; Kurt Treu, "Christliche Papyri (1940-1967)," *APF* 19 (1969): 169-206, at 180; Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 82; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, no. 387 (273); Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 234-235 (with figs. 1 and 2), and the literature cited there; Head, "Additional Greek Witnesses," 441-442 (with transcription).

The original editor believed that the papyrus was a “toy book for a child”; this suggestion was repeated by Aland.¹⁶² On the basis of the “evolving hand,” Cribiore classified it as a “miniature notebook” used in an educational context, and Kraus was disposed toward this view, claiming that it “may be a ‘miniature notebook’ (Cribiore) based on palaeographical observations (inconsistency of letter formation in a specific way).”¹⁶³ Horsley suggested that this sheet may have been intended for a codex but that the scribe discarded it after realizing he made a copying error.¹⁶⁴ Given its dimensions, it is also often labeled as a “miniature codex,” since it falls within Turner’s “less-than-10cm-wide” rule. We shall return to this question in the Excurses below, but for now we contend that we abandon altogether the view that this papyrus was a “toy book,” since there is simply no evidence for this. And Horsley’s suggestion is equally without basis. There is no reason why we should not classify this papyrus as an amulet that was *designed* as such from the beginning. First, the clumsy handwriting is common in amulets. Second, the Lord’s Prayer is the most common New Testament citation on Christian amulets to date. Third, the citation breaks off mid-word, which is characteristic (along with breaking the citation off mid-sentence) of many Christian amulets, including, in our study alone, P.Oxy. 76.5073 (*no. 16*), P.Vindob. G 29831 (*no. 19*), P.Berl. inv. 11710 (*no. 20*), P.Vindob. G 2312 (*no. 21*).¹⁶⁵ Fourth, its small size and centerfold would make wearing it on the body much easier. This papyrus, in my mind, should be removed from de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s list of “possible amulets” and placed into their category of “certain amulets.”

¹⁶² Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 29: “Papyrus diente vielleicht als Amulett oder ‘Spielbuch’ für ein Kind.”

¹⁶³ Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 273; Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 235.

¹⁶⁴ Horsley, “Reconstructing a Biblical Codex,” 480.

¹⁶⁵ De Bruyn (“Papyri,” 160) claims that it is “puzzling” that the scribe cut his/her writing short with space remaining on that page and an entire blank page that follows. But one possible explanation for this is that this is how the scribe found the citation in another amulet that served as his/her exemplar. In P.Princ. 2.107, only a couple phrases from the Lord’s Prayer are cited. For a list of other amulets with only a portion of the Lord’s Prayer, see Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 227-266.

The handwriting is inclined to the right and is a good example of the “severe style”: straight-back ε and σ (i.e., compressed laterally), ω with low central vertical, small o, high mid-point of μ, second hasta of ν raised above the baseline, no decorations. This style is represented in many papyri of Homer from the third century C.E.¹⁶⁶ Our papyrus is written in a plain hand, with a few letters written very boldly. I submit that the third century date proposed by the original editor is probably correct, although, since the severe style continues into the fourth century, a fourth century date is not impossible. Therefore, I tentatively suggest a date of third/fourth century C.E.¹⁶⁷

The entire text of our papyrus consists of portions of three verses from the Lord’s Prayer. It diverges from the text of NA²⁸ in only two places:

- v. 10: γῆς NA²⁸] τῆς γῆς **P.Ant. 2.54** D K L Θ ^f3 ℞
v. 11: ἡμῖν NA²⁸] ἡμᾶς **P.Ant. 2.54**

The reading τὸ in l. 2 of Fol. 2↓ is a spelling error for τῶ and the substitution of ἡμᾶς for ἡμῖν is a singular reading. The only important variation unit in this stretch of text concerns the omission or addition of τῆς before γῆς, which, however, does not affect the meaning of the text. Since the textual sample is so small, we tentatively classify its textual quality and transmission character as “normal.” P.Ant. 2.54 is important because it is, by about a century, the earliest witnesses to the text of the Lord’s Prayer. If it were to be listed in support of the addition of τῆς (see above), it would be the earliest Greek witness attesting to this variant reading by well over a century (the next oldest is Codex Bezae, dated to the fifth century). Thus, P.Ant. 2.54 should not be overlooked by the textual critic given its early date.

EXCURSUS:

¹⁶⁶ For examples, see the palaeographical descriptions in William A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

¹⁶⁷ This is the date also proposed by Clarrysse and Orsini, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates,” 450 and 472.

Amulet Versus Miniature Codex?

Before bringing our analysis of P.Ant. 2.54 to a close, there is one more question to ask: are we dealing with an amulet or, rather, a miniature codex? The categories “amulet” and “miniature codex” and their relationship have been a point of debate among scholars and so we must consider the implications of classifying four of our texts as amulets and/or miniature codices: 1) P.Ant. 2.54, 2) P.Vindob. G 29831 (*no. 19*), 3) P.Berl. inv. 11710 (*no. 20*), and 4) P.Oxy. 34.2684 (*no. 24*).

According to Turner’s widely accepted criterion, a “miniature” codex is one whose width is 10 cm or less.¹⁶⁸ Michael J. Kruger has recently problematized both categories (amulet and miniature codex), concluding that Christians viewed amulets and miniature codices as distinct literary categories.¹⁶⁹ That is to say, a miniature or “pocket” codex is not synonymous with an amulet, or vice versa. This is line with Robert’s view that miniature codices “are best regarded not as amulets but as devotional handbooks for the well-to-do.”¹⁷⁰ According to Kruger, the category “amulet” “should be reserved for those texts that were clearly *designed* for magical use and not for documents that simply may have been used in a magical way.”¹⁷¹ The problem with this criterion is that it distinguishes too sharply between production and use. A fragment used secondarily as an amulet *becomes* an amulet, regardless of its previous use and purpose. The Psalms and the Lord’s Prayer were never originally *designed* or composed as amulets, but they came to be used in a ritual context. Moreover, suggesting that we put miniature codices on one side and amulets on another is exclusive in nature and too rigid an approach.

¹⁶⁸ Turner, *Typology*, 30. For further discussions of miniature codices, see C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief*, 10-12; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 235-236; Amundsen, “Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection,” 121-147, at 127-128; Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms,” in *Ad Fontes*, 47-67.

¹⁶⁹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 23-40; idem, “P.Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?” *JTS* 53.1 (2002): 81-94.

¹⁷⁰ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 11.

¹⁷¹ Kruger, “P.Oxy. 840,” 93 (emphasis original).

But the bigger question is: to what extent do *form* and *function* relate to each other? This is admittedly a modern concern, resulting from the need to classify items in neat and tidy categories. Although Kruger might be right that Christians generally distinguished between amulets and miniature codices, we know that not all did. He admits the possibility when he says that “it is possible (though rare) for a document to be both a codex and an amulet at the same time.”¹⁷² And even though the evidence is comparatively slim, there are in fact several codices less than 10 cm in width that were in all likelihood *designed* to be amulets. Included in this study are P.Ant. 2.54, P.Vindob. G 29831, P.Berl. inv. 11710, and P.Oxy. 34.2684, but others include P.Leid.Inst. 10 (LDAB 3241) and P.Oxy. 17.2065 (LDAB 3285).¹⁷³ This is especially true for P.Vindob. G 29831, which begins with a prayer for protection—an obvious earmark of an amulet.¹⁷⁴ We may perhaps also mention one of the pocket codices (consisting of four wooden boards) recently discovered at Kellis. The text is a parody of Homer (LDAB 10674), but the editor wonders “whether elements of the ‘Pater noster’ were taken over in the story sketched in ll. 8 ff. Within this context, one should not only note l. 14: ‘Father Zeus, give us bread,’ but note also l. 10 where the word *χρήστον* may have been used intentionally as a reminder of *Χριστόν*.”¹⁷⁵ Whether or not we can designate this miniature codex as an amulet is open to debate, but the presence of words reminiscent of the Lord’s Prayer makes it at least possible.

¹⁷² Kruger, “P.Oxy. 840,” 91.

¹⁷³ According to de Bruyn, the textual and paratextual features of P.Leid.Inst. 10 “make it highly probable, if not certain, that the sheets were worn as an amulet” and that P.Oxy. 17.2065 “is likewise a good candidate for an amulet, given its text and size” (“Papyri,” 160).

¹⁷⁴ Surprisingly, this amulet was not mentioned by Kruger, even though it had been published almost a decade before his study appeared. This is probably because Kruger relied solely on van Haelst’s 1976 catalogue, as he admits (“P.Oxy. 840,” 85, 90). At any rate, P.Vindob. G 29831 offers a corrective to his statement that “prayers on miniature codices are practically non-existent” (“P.Oxy. 840,” 92).

¹⁷⁵ Colin A. Hope and K.A. Worp, “Minature Codices from Kellis,” *Mnemosyne* 59.2 (2006): 226-258, at 247. The Greek of ll. 8-14 run as follows: Ὡς εἰπὼν πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο λευκὸς ἀλέκτωρ | τῷ δ’ ἄμ’ Ἀλέξανδρος πιάσας παρέδωκε μαγείρῳ | ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἐνήσας καὶ γευσάμενος ἔλεγε, “Χριστόν! | Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι, δεῦτ’ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον· | ἀνέρες ἔσθε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ μάπαν ἐνεγκεῖν. | Αἰσθίετε πάντες καὶ μοι καταλίψατε ὄστοῦν. | Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ ἄρτον μοι δὸς ἢ τυρίον ὀπτὸν.

To be sure, we are restricted solely to the evidence that has survived due to good fortune and so it is not clear to what extent the extant record reflects the situation of late antiquity. Nonetheless, I contend that it is reductionistic to argue that an amulet must *never* be a miniature codex or vice versa. I concur with Kraus' opinion that "Kruger's polarity between 'miniature codex and (or better *versus*) amulet' appears to be questionable."¹⁷⁶ I would add to Kraus' critique by simply suggesting that the polarity is artificial and ultimately unhelpful. Book production in late antique and early Byzantine Egypt was fluid, and there is certainly no universal form or pattern for amulet production, as the evidence attests. We find amulets written in single columns and multiple columns; with short lines and long lines; on oblong materials and on square materials; on papyrus, but also on parchment, wood, and pottery. Some are folded and some are rolled, and so on. And indeed, some were bound or folded as little codices in contrast with the usual practice. Thus, we need to move beyond these categorical restrictions (amulet *versus* miniature codex), even though it might leave some dissatisfied.

I argue that P.Ant. 2.54, P.Vindob. G 29831 and P.Berl. inv. 11710 are miniature codices that were manufactured as such for the purpose of being used in a ritual context. Strong arguments can be made in support of this claim based on their external and internal features. P.Oxy. 34.2684 is more difficult to assess, since it lacks most of these features, so we shall return to this question at the appropriate place below. To close this extended discussion, I might just note that Turner's criterion of 10 cm or less in width has been accepted as the rule. That is, a codex's width *must* fall within 10 cm if it is to be designated "miniature." But, to quote Kraus once more,

[i]s it really enough simply to stick with the dimension given by Turner (less than 10 cm broad) and is this dimension really able to embrace all the diverse manuscripts to form one single category? Does it consequently make any sense to exclude papyri that are wider, as could be the case with

¹⁷⁶ Kraus, "P.Oxy. V 840," 59 (emphasis original).

P.Ryl. I 3 being 10 x 10.4 cm large, while many fragmentary papyri have been included in this category on an assumed and therefore hypothetical width?¹⁷⁷

These questions bear witness to the categorical restraints resulting from Turner’s “less than 10 cm” parameter. It is probably time that we eschew Turner’s 10 cm rule. Indeed, other definitions or criteria of miniature books exist. Anne Bromer, for example, describes them as “one-hand books,” signifying that if the book can fit roughly in the palm of your hand, it is miniature.¹⁷⁸ While this is admittedly a subjective gauge, at least this approach avoids the need to assign hypothetical numerical values (i.e., 10 cm) that were never used in antiquity.

13. MATT. 6:11-13

P.Köln 8.336¹⁷⁹
LDAB 6282
de Bruyn and Dijkstra 117

12 x 4 cm

6th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. Michael Gronewald, “Vaterunser,” in *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, vol. 8 (eds. Michael Gronewald, Klaus Maresch, and Cornelia Römer; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997), 48-49.

→ -----
1 δὸς ἡ]μῖν σύμερον: κ[αὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήμα-]
[τα ἡμῶν] ὡς καὶ ὑμε[ῖς ἀφίομεν τ[οῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ]
[εἰσενέ]γκες ἡμᾶς· εἰς πειρασ[μὸν ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς]
[ἀπὸ το]ῦ πονηροῦ· ενχ[

1. σήμερον 2. ἡμεῖς 3. εἰσενέκης | πειρασμὸν 4. πονηροῦ | ἐν Χριστῷ?

Translation

[Give] us this day [...] a[nd forgive us our debts] as we also forgive our [debtors. And do not le]ad us into temptat[ion but deliver us from th]e evil one.

This tiny scrap of papyrus contains only a handful of words from the Lord’s Prayer, written with the fibers (→). Only the lower margin is preserved, measuring c. 1 cm. There is a colon in l. 1, along with raised dots in ll. 3 and 4. No folds or holes can be detected and so de Bruyn and

¹⁷⁷ Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840,” 57.

¹⁷⁸ Anne C. Bromer and Julian I. Edison, *Miniature Book: 4,000 Years of Tiny Treasures* (New York: Abrams, 2007), 11; see also Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, 51.

¹⁷⁹ Photograph online at: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/PKoeln/PK3583r.jpg>.

Dijkstra place this isolated fragment in their table of “Probable Amulets” (no. 117). Unless further evidence comes to light, we should treat this papyrus as an amulet, since the text it bears is by far the most common New Testament passage found on amulets to date. If this is correct, then what is unusual about the text is what follows the Prayer, that is, $\epsilon\nu\chi$. The editor suggested that the reading may have been $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$, an instrumental dative, that goes with what comes before it. That is, “deliver us from the evil one *by Christ*.” This is attested nowhere else among the amulets under consideration.

The majuscule letters are large, plain, round, and upright. Serifs on η , μ , ρ . The loop of α is very round and this letter is open at the top. π is in a cursive form. There are only a handful of letters, but I concur with the editor that the general impression as well as the individual letterforms suggest a date of c. sixth century C.E. The editor points to an excellent comparandum in P.Grenf. 2.84 (LDAB 139, Aesop, sixth century C.E.).

In what little text is preserved on the papyrus, we find only one deviation from the text of NA²⁸:

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ NA²⁸] $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ **P.Köln 8.336**.

This is the only amulet attesting to this variant (but cf. BGU 3.954 above), which is also read by D L W Δ Θ 565. Therefore, even though the textual sample is small, this amulet’s text provides further evidence of an important variant as attested in the wider manuscript tradition. I would tentatively classify its textual quality as “at least normal” and its transmission character as “strict.”

14. MATT. 6:12-13 || DOXOLOGY || SANCTUS

P.Köln 4.171¹⁸⁰

8.5 x 5.5 cm

5th cent. C.E.

LDAB 5971

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 44

Ed. princ. Cornelia Römer, “171. Christliches Amulett,” in *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, vol. 4 (eds. Bärbel Kramer, Cornelia Römer, and Dieter Hagedorn; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982), 31-34.

→ -----
 [τὰ ὄφ-]
 1 [ειλή]μ[ατα ἡμῶν ὧ]ς καὶ ἡ-
 [μ]εῖς ἀφ[ή]καμεν το[ῖς] ὄφι-
 [λ]έταις ἡ[μῶν] καὶ μὴ εἰς-
 [εν]έγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πι-
 5 ρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥῆσαι ἡμᾶς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ διὰ τοῦ μο-
 νογενοῦς <σ>ου Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χρ(ιστο)ῦ ἀμήν
 ἀμήν = ἀμήν = ἀμήν =
 ἅγιος = ἅγιος = ἅγιος

2-3. ὀφειλέταις 4-5. πειρασμόν 5. ῥῆσαι

Translation

[...] [our de]b[ts a]s we also have forg[iven] o[ur] debtors. [An]d do not lead us into temptation but deliver us from the evil one through your only begotten, Jesus Christ. Amen. Amen = Amen = Amen! Holy = Holy = Holy!

This amulet consists of a tiny sheet of dark papyrus that is written along the fibers (→); the backside (↓) is blank. The left and right edges of the papyrus have been cut. There is a large lacuna in the upper portion of the sheet interrupting the text; presumably at least vv. 9-11 preceded the extant text on the now-missing portion of papyrus. There is no evidence that the sheet was folded.¹⁸¹ The last 5 lines are preserved in full. Several oblique strokes and one horizontal stroke are drawn beneath the last line of text to indicate that the text finishes at this

¹⁸⁰ Photograph online at: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/PKoeIn/PK3302.jpg>.

¹⁸¹ De Bruyn and Dijkstra (“Greek Amulets,” 191) leave the column “Folds (cord, holes, handle)” blank.

point.¹⁸² In l. 7, the *nomina sacra* Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός are abbreviated by a combination of suspension and contraction.

The handwriting is unornamented, informal, upright, non-bilinear, with letters mostly detached. Römer's description of the hand as "eine ungeübte Hand" is appropriate.¹⁸³ The loop of α is large, the hastas of μ are rounded outward, ο is tiny, η is cursive ("h"), ε is large, and the right half of ν is raised well above the line. The informalities of this type of handwriting make it difficult to date on palaeographical grounds. Nonetheless, Römer dated it to the fifth century C.E. and provided several noteworthy documentary parallels: PSI 12.1265 (deed, 441 or 446 C.E.) P.Med. inv. 6907 (transportation contract, 424 or 425 C.E.). Further support for this date is provided by P.Oxy. 72.4914 (document, 4 February 465 C.E.), an unskilled hand with many similar letterforms (cf. γ, η, μ, ν, υ). Thus, a fifth century date seems likely.

The citation of the Lord's Prayer agrees verbatim with the text of NA²⁸. We may therefore tentatively classify both its textual quality and transmission character as "strict." The papyrus offers support for the reading ἀφήκομεν (= *txt*) in v. 12 (l. 2), which is also read by \aleph^* and B *et al.*, over against the variants ἀφίομεν (D L W Δ Θ 565) and ἀφίεμεν (\aleph^2 K ^f13 M; Did). But what is perhaps more interesting than the New Testament citation are the elements that follow it. A similar doxological phrase to διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—a modified version of which appears in P.Duke inv. 778 (*no.* 7)—was already in circulation in the second century, since we find it in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 20.2: διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα τιμὴ κράτος μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.¹⁸⁴ According to Römer, the fuller doxology in the amulet corresponds to a portion of the *euchologium* of Bishop Sarapion of Thmuis from the fourth century: διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

¹⁸² This scribal phenomenon is also found in P.Berl. inv. 11710 (*no.* 20).

¹⁸³ Römer, "171," 32.

¹⁸⁴ Text from Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers*, I:394; cf. the *Apostolic Constitutions* 40 (=ANF 7:497).

δι' οὗ σοί ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.¹⁸⁵ However, the correspondence fits the doxology of PSI 6.719 (*no. 4*) much better, and so we must remain cautious about attributing the doxology here in P.Köln 4.171 to any specific tradition. As with many doxologies, it may merely be an adaptation or conflation of a variety of doxological traditions.

As here, the thrice-written ἀμήν is also found in P.Princ. 2.107 (*no. 5*), P.Köln 8.340 (*no. 18*), as well as P.Bon. 1.9, P.Ross.Georg. 1.23, and P.Ross.Georg. 1.24.¹⁸⁶ According to Römer, the triple amen intensified the effect of the previous prayer.¹⁸⁷ The thrice-holy reference may likewise have been viewed as an intensifier of the prayer or request in ritual texts, since in its original context in Isa. 6:3 it is uttered by angels. Thus, the words themselves may have been considered sacred. Both tripartite references are common features in amulets, but here they are individually separated by sets of three oblique strokes. Similar oblique strokes may be found in P.CtYBR inv. 4600 (*no. 9*) and P.Iand. 1.6 (*no. 6*). In sum, through this tiny scrap of papyrus we see the workings of a ritual specialist who combined a popular scriptural passage with closing formulae to ensure the effect of the Lord's Prayer in channeling divine power.

15. MATT 27:62-64; 28:2-5

P.Oxy. 64.4406 (GA P¹⁰⁵)¹⁸⁸
LDAB 2957
de Bruyn and Dijkstra 122

3.2 x 5.5 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. J. David Thomas, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. LXIV (eds. E.W. Handley et al.; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997), §4406.

→ -----
1 τ]ῆν παρ[ασκευήν
[συνήχθησαν ο]ἱ ἀρχιερ[εῖς καὶ οἱ

↓ -----
1 ἐπ[άν]ω αὐτο[ῦ] ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰδέα
[αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστρ]απιὴ καὶ τ[ὸ] ἔνδυμα

¹⁸⁵ Text from Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 166.

¹⁸⁶ In P.Princ. 2.107 the third ἅγιος has apparently been omitted by error.

¹⁸⁷ Römer, "171," 34.

¹⁸⁸ Photograph online at: http://csntm.org/Manuscript/View/GA_P105.

<p>[Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς] τὸν Πι[λᾶτον [λέγοντες κ(ύρι)ε ἐμ]νήσθημ[εν ὅτι ἐκεῖ-] 5 [νος ὁ πλάνος] εἶπεν ἔτι [ζῶν μετὰ] [τρεῖς ἡμέρας] ἐγείρομα[ι κέλευσον [οὖν ἀσφαλισθ]ῆναι τὸν [</p>	<p>[αὐτοῦ λευκὸν] ὡς χειῶ[ν ἀπὸ δὲ [τοῦ φόβου αὐτ]οῦ ἐσίσθ[ησαν οἱ τη-] 5 [ροῦντες καὶ] ἐγενήθη[σαν ὡς νεκ- [ροὶ ἀποκριθ]εῖς δὲ ο ἄ[γγελος εἶπεν [ταῖς γυναιξίν μ]ὴ φο[βεῖσθε</p>
--	---

Recto: 3. Πιλᾶτον Verso: 3. χιῶν 4. ἐσείσθησαν

Translation

[...] Preparation, the chief priest[s and the Pharisees gathered] before Pi[late and said, “Lord], w[e remember what th[at impostor] said while he was still [alive, ‘After three days] I will rise again.’ [Therefore command the tomb] to be made [secure] [...] upon it.” [His appearance was like lightn]ing, and [his clothing white] as snow. [For fear of hi]m [the guards] shook [and] became [like dead men]. But the a[n]gel answered and said to the women, “Do] n[ot be af]raid [...]”

This papyrus has writing on both the recto and verso, and while it was most probably used as an amulet on account of the presence of a string still attached (see criterion #2 above), originally it must have been part of a codex.¹⁸⁹ Thus, it has been assigned the Gregory-Aland number Ɔ¹⁰⁵. De Bruyn and Dijkstra place P.Oxy. 64.4406 in their category of “probable amulets” (secondary use) and describe it as a “pap. fragment of a codex sheet” (no. 122).¹⁹⁰ This is the only extant Greek amulet with content from Matthew’s resurrection narrative and so it prompts the question as to what purpose this amulet served. Perhaps the words of Jesus on the recto were, like most amulets, seen as a source of power for apotropaic purposes. We must keep in mind, however, as de Bruyn and Dijkstra rightly note, that “[t]he boundary between an apotropaic practice and a devotional practice cannot always be clearly drawn.”¹⁹¹ This is especially true in cases such as P.Oxy. 64.4406, where the contents of the amulet tip the scales in favor of classifying it as a

¹⁸⁹ In response to my paper “Amulets from Oxyrhynchus with New Testament Citations,” presented at the Society of Biblical Literature, Baltimore, Maryland, November 2013, Brent Nongbri made the suggestion that the string attached to this papyrus might in fact be remnants of a string used for the binding of the codex from which the fragment was once a part. However, this string appears to have been deliberately threaded through the papyrus in an unusual way, and not like what we would encounter in a bound (or previously bound) codex. The string was threaded almost through the center of the inscribed papyrus, creating at least 8 holes. (I thank Malcolm Choat for kindly confirming these details through a direct autopsy on 27 January 2015.) The dangling strings on each end may have been part of a larger, connected string at one point so that the papyrus could have been worn. While other explanations certainly cannot be excluded, it seems probable that this string was not used for binding but rather for fastening the papyrus onto an object or person. This detail is itself further evidence for an amuletic use of this papyrus. AnneMarie Luijendijk recognizes this sheet as an amulet and notes that “the original string is still affixed to the papyrus” (“Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus,” *VC* [2010]: 217-254, at 243).

¹⁹⁰ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 202-203.

¹⁹¹ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 180.

devotional rather than a ritual object intended to channel divine power for healing, protection, or the like. The words of Jesus' promise that he would rise from the dead coupled with the report of the resurrection itself by the angel at the tomb may have been a source of deep assurance for the owner of the amulet, that he/she might also, in the words of Paul, "walk in newness of life" (Rom 6:4). It should be remembered that content concerning the dead is not uncommon in Christian liturgies from Egypt, and three papyrus amulets (P.Col. 11.294, P.Berl. inv. 21251, P.Ryl. 3.465) contain liturgical overtones concerning the dead.

Thomas suggests an original page size of c. 12 x 22 cm, which would fall within Turner's Group 8 (i.e., breadth half height).¹⁹² There are other extant codex leaves used secondarily as amulets, although some of them never made the official list of New Testament manuscripts. An example here is P.Col. 11.293 (*no.* 8), an extract from a parchment codex containing the Paternoster, likely "preserved (and possibly worn) because it contained the Lord's Prayer."¹⁹³ The question of why P.Oxy. 64.4406 made the official list of New Testament manuscripts while P.Col. 11.293 did not is a testament to the current uncertainty concerning the role of non-continuous manuscripts within the discipline of New Testament textual criticism.

The letters are executed carefully in bilinear fashion on a piece of papyrus that is broken on all sides. The ink in this papyrus amulet is faded badly; letters are barely visible in some places. The cord and the holes through which it was threaded are in tact and clearly visible on the papyrus. In a publication in 2000, Peter M. Head suggested that the letters εἰς (in ἀποκριθεῖς) should be taken out of the restored part of the text and added to the transcription.¹⁹⁴ An examination of the papyrus confirms Head's reading, and so we have revised the transcription

¹⁹² Turner, *Typology*, 20-21. Turner's categories are problematic, as we saw in the excursus above. To repeat a point made there, the dimensions guiding the categorical distinctions (e.g., Group 1, Group 2, and so on) are artificial in that they only provide us with a way of *describing* certain manuscripts. The ancients did not operate with such groupings in mind, and so their utility is certainly limited.

¹⁹³ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets," 199 n.172. Ed. princ. Teeter, *Columbia Papyri XI*, no. 293 (3-7).

¹⁹⁴ Peter M. Head, "Some Recently Published NT Papyri from Oxyrhynchus: An Overview and Preliminary Assessment," *TynBul*, 51.1 (2000): 1-16, at 10 n.19.

accordingly. Thomas compares the hand to P.Vindob. K 7244 (P⁹⁶; sixth century C.E.), but the papyrus also shows similarities to P.Vindob. G 39781 (GA 0182; fifth/sixth century C.E.), affirming the editor's impression that the fifth century cannot be ruled out.

The textual sample aligns with the printed text of NA²⁸ except at one point: our papyrus includes the definite article in the phrase πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον in l. 3 (v. 62) of the recto. No other manuscript of Matthew contains the definite article at this point, although in Mark 15:43, there is a unit of variation concerning the omission or addition of the article in the same phrase. According to Barbara Aland, however, "this is obviously a mistake of the copyist, who, in accordance with the usual placement of the article, inserted it here also before Pilate."¹⁹⁵ We may thus treat this as a singular reading. Otherwise, in terms of assessing this papyrus' overall textual character, we may, following Barbara Aland, classify the papyrus' textual quality and transmission character as "strict."¹⁹⁶ It should keep its place in the official list of New Testament manuscripts.

16. MARK 1:1-2 || INSTRUCTION TO READER

P.Oxy. 76.5073¹⁹⁷
LDAB 140277

25.2 x 4.5 cm

3rd-4th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. Geoffrey S. Smith and Andrew E. Bernhard, "5073," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. LXXVI (eds. D. Colomo and Juan Chapa; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2011), 19-23.

- 1 ↓ ἀνάγνωτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγ'ελίου καὶ ἴδε
ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγ'ελίου Ἰη(σο)ῦ τοῦ χρ(ιστο)ῦ
ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ
ἰδοὺ ἀποστελῶ τὸν ἄγγελόν μου
5 πρὸ προσώπου σου ὅς κατασκευάσει

¹⁹⁵ Aland, "Kriterien," 9 (translated from German).

¹⁹⁶ Aland, "Kriterien," 12.

¹⁹⁷ Photograph online at: <http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?e=q-000-00---0POxy--00-0-0--0prompt-10---4-----0-11-1-en-50---20-about-5073--00031-001-0-0utfZz-800&a=d&c=POxy&cl=search&d=HASHd90506c1f0a5701ac3f188>.

1. ἀνάγνωθι

Translation

Read the beginning of the Gospel and see: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, “Behold! I will send my angel before your face who will prepare.”

This long strip of papyrus (cf. dimensions of P.Oxy. 8.1151 [*no. 17*]) opens with an interesting and otherwise unattested note of introduction to the reader (presumably the carrier of the amulet): ἀνάγνωθι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἴδε (“Read the beginning of the Gospel and see.”). What follows it is a citation of Mark 1:1-2. The text is written against the fibers (↓); the back (→) is blank. The arrangement of the text is somewhat irregular: the text of the Gospel begins as usual at the left edge but the scribe uses only a little more than half the width of the papyrus, thereby leaving almost the entire right half of the papyrus blank. The opening exhortation, which is positioned above the Gospel text, is indented and runs to the right edge. According to the editors, “[t]hough odd, the effect is clear: line 1, the imperative urging one to ‘Read the beginning of the gospel...’, is visually set apart from the quoted gospel text as a sort of heading.”¹⁹⁸ The perforations at the top left edge of the papyrus at equal intervals are described as “insect holes” by the editors. The left half of the papyrus is better preserved, and this is probably the result of it being rolled up from left to right, i.e., it is the innermost portion of the roll. *Nomina sacra* are abbreviated by a combination of suspension and contraction. Tremata are present in ll. 1 and 3, and there is an apostrophe between double γ in ll. 1, 2, and 3.

The letters are written in black, well-preserved ink. The letters in l. 1 are slightly different graphically than those in the text below it; in particular, they are more upright. The editors suggest that “a single scribe copied this text in two stages, perhaps with a stylus change in between.”¹⁹⁹ The hand is a beautiful specimen of the type of sloping majuscule common in the third and fourth centuries. The letters are roughly bilinear, plain, fluid, with small o, flattened ω,

¹⁹⁸ Smith and Bernhard, “5073,” 19.

¹⁹⁹ Smith and Bernhard, “5073,” 20.

two-stroke υ, and ε and σ compressed laterally. Smith and Bernhard compare it with the hands of P.Oxy. 7.1015 (LDAB 5218; anonymous panegyric on Theon, third century C.E.) and P.Herm. Rees 4 (letter to Theophanes, early fourth century C.E.), but an even closer comparandum is offered in P.Oxy. 3.560 (LDAB 1856; *Iliad*, third century C.E.).²⁰⁰ Thus, the third/fourth century date is probable. Sanzo sounds a word of caution concerning this date, claiming that if it is correct it “would be considerably earlier than any extant amulet with the Gospel *incipits* [...] the early date of P.Oxy. LXXVI 5073 is surprising and, I believe, warrants further study.”²⁰¹ However, we contend that the editorial dating is correct, while keeping in mind that palaeographical dating of literary papyri is tentative.

Smith and Bernhard compare the amulet to others with *incipits*, citing PSI 6.719 (*no. 4*) as an example. “Incipit” is, however, not an appropriate label for this amulet, as Sanzo has shown.²⁰² Instead, the passage cited has *independent* “magical” value, that is, it was not meant to invoke anything else, and on this particular point Smith and Bernhard were correct in their description: the phrase “behold, I will send my angel before you” “serves as a guarantee of angelic protection, an assurance from beneficent angels.”²⁰³ In our study, angels figure into the requests of four other amulets: P.Princ. 2.107 (*no. 5*), P.Iand. 1.6 (*no. 6*), P.Vindob. G 29831 (*no. 19*), and P.Oxy. 8.1151 (*no. 17*). But there are many other Jewish and Christian amulets from antiquity that invoke the aid of angels (sometimes to assist the main deity in effecting the spell) and so the fragment here fits in with the ritual literature of the time.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ For an image of P.Oxy. 3.560 and a discussion of the hand, see Brice C. Jones and Andrzej T. Mirończuk, “An Oxyrhynchus Fragment of Homer, *Iliad* 23 in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto,” *ZPE* 186 (2013): 6-10.

²⁰¹ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 98.

²⁰² Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 141-142.

²⁰³ Smith and Bernhard, “5073,” 20.

²⁰⁴ There is an interesting example on a third/fourth century C.E. silver liturgical exorcistic amulet that invokes the angels of the church: πρὸς πνεύματα· | Φωαθφρο | ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ Βασιλείου τῆ | δεξιᾶ χειρ[ί] | τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ | τὸ ἔμα τοῦ | Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ | ἀγγελῶν α(ὐ)τῆς καὶ | ἰκλησίᾳ (“For [evil] spirits: ‘Phōathphro, depart from Basilius, by the right hand of God, and the blood of Christ, and by her [sic] angels and (the) Church.’”) Text

One of the more significant features of the text of the amulet is its citation of Mark 1:1 vis-à-vis the question of whether the original text of v. 1 contained the phrase υἱοῦ θεοῦ, over which the manuscript tradition is divided. The longer reading is printed in NA²⁸ but is enclosed within brackets, indicating uncertainty with regard to the authenticity of the phrase. Tommy Wasserman included this amulet in his study of the υἱοῦ θεοῦ variant in a section titled “Non-continuous Manuscript Witnesses.”²⁰⁵ Wasserman notes that, apart from P.Beatty 1.1 (P⁴⁵, third century), there are no early witnesses to the Gospel of Mark. He reserves some caution for how we might use this amulet, since it is not a continuous manuscript of Mark’s Gospel. Nonetheless, he concludes that “it may still be significant for the reconstruction of the New Testament, not least by virtue of its age.”²⁰⁶ If it were to be tapped as evidence for the omission of υἱοῦ θεοῦ, it would then join the ranks of some important manuscripts, including Ⲭ* Θ 28, among others.

As for the textual character of the citation proper, we see that it diverges at four places:

v. 1: Χριστοῦ NA²⁸] τοῦ Χριστοῦ **P.Oxy. 76.5073**

v. 2: καθώς NA²⁸] ὡς **P.Oxy. 76.5073**

v. —: τῷ Ἡσαΐα NA²⁸] Ἡσαΐα **P.Oxy. 76.5073** D Θ f¹ 700 l 844 l 2211; Ir Or^{pl} Epiph

v. —: ἀποστέλλω NA²⁸] ἀποστελεῶ **P.Oxy. 76.5073** Ⲭ Θ

First, in l. 1 the definite article τοῦ is inserted before Χριστοῦ. The editors note rightly that “Jesus, *the* Christ” is found nowhere in the New Testament. According to Smith and Bernhard, “the article transforms ‘Jesus Christ,’ a proper name into ‘Jesus, the Christ,’ an assertion of messianic identity, and better captures the sense of the Hebrew and Aramaic used among the

and trans. from Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 170. The phrase τοῖ[ς] | ἀγγέλοις α(ὐ)τῆς καὶ | ἐκκλησίᾳ is grammatically problematic; see the discussion at Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 173. There is an intriguing “pagan” amulet with an unprecedented description of a hierarchy of angels. The amulet in English translation reads: “Angel Iao, may you give all access and power and favour and assistance to Asklepiakos with (the help of) the first angels and middle angels and final angels throughout (his) life and bodily protection, Abrasax O Da(mnamene)us forever.” Trans. from *NewDocs* 10:16. On the role of angels in Christianity and Christian “magic,” see Rangar Cline, *Ancient Angels: Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire* (RGRW 172; Leiden: Brill, 2011); Thomas J. Kraus, “Angels in the Magical Papyri: The Classic Example of Michael, the Archangel,” in *Angels. The Concept of Celestial Beings — Origins, Development and Reception*, ed. Friedrich Vinzenz Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schöpflin (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2007), 611-627.

²⁰⁵ Tommy Wasserman, “The ‘Son of God’ Was in the Beginning: (Mark 1:1),” *JTS* 62.1 (2011): 20-50, at 23-25.

²⁰⁶ Wasserman, “‘Son of God,’” 25.

earliest Jesus followers.”²⁰⁷ They conclude that while the singular reading should not be used for the purpose of establishing the text of Mark, it should be regarded “as a rich expression of later Christian nomenclature born out of struggles for self-definition.”²⁰⁸

A second point of deviation concerns the substitution of ὡς for καθώς in v. 2 (l. 2). Our amulet is, however, not alone in this reading. ὡς is also read in several important manuscripts including A D W ^f3 28, among others.

A third reading diverging from the text of NA²⁸ is the omission of the article τῶ before Ἡσαΐα (v. 2, l. 3), following D Θ ^f 700 *pc*, among others. This is a significant point of variation, because in addition to the omission/addition of the article, a third reading is found in quite a few manuscripts: ἐν τοῖς προφήταις (A W ^f3 28).

Finally, in v. 2 (l. 4), our amulet reads not ἀποστέλλω (present tense) but ἀποστελῶ (future tense). Although not listed in NA²⁸, this reading is also found in Θ and 28. One might notice that this is the third case in which our amulet agrees with Θ, suggesting that the scribe’s exemplar was probably close in character to this manuscript’s tradition.²⁰⁹

The citation ends at κατασκευάσει and it is likely that this was deliberate. On the one hand, several amulets in the present study stop mid-word or mid-sentence (P.Vindob. G 29831 [*no. 19*], P.Berl. inv. 11710 [*no. 20*], P.Vindob. G 2312 [*no. 21*], P.Ant. 2.54 [*no. 12*]), indicating that the practice of ending a citation before its logical conclusion in amulets was not unusual. On the other hand, the scribe of P.Oxy. 76.5073 gives us another clue: he/she extends the last letter on the amulet well below the baseline with a tail curving to the left.

²⁰⁷ Smith and Bernhard, “5073,” 23. They note that the article appears in writings of the first few centuries in the context of doctrinal debates (e.g., Justin Martyr, Origen, Eusebius).

²⁰⁸ Smith and Bernhard, “5073,” 23.

²⁰⁹ The text of Codex Koridethi (Θ) has traditionally been classified as “Caesarean,” but this classification has been called into question. For a theoretical discussion on the Caesarean “text-type,” see Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (SD 43; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981). As Epp notes, “Bruce Metzger dropped the Caesarean text from the list of text types in the second edition of *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*—it disappeared without as much as a footnote!” (“Textual Clusters,” 543).

In sum, if we were to classify the text of P.Oxy. 76.5073 using our method of analysis, the conclusions would be as follows: “free” textual quality and “normal” transmission character. However, we must recall Bengel’s text-critical dictum that manuscripts (but also variants) must be weighed, not merely counted.²¹⁰ In other words, some variants are more genetically significant than others. Given the importance of the variation units in NA²⁸ in Mark 1:1-2 for establishing textual relationships, this amulet’s readings should be added to the discussion and to the list of witnesses. Noting that this amulet constitutes the earliest Greek manuscript evidence of this passage by a century, Head concludes that “[s]uch texts should clearly play a role in debates about the earliest recoverable text of the relevant passages, especially at points of significant textual variation.”²¹¹ And I hasten to agree.

17. JOHN 1:1, 3 || INCANTATION || PRAYER FOR HEALING

P.Oxy. 8.1151²¹²
LDAB 2802

4.4 x 23.4 cm

5th cent. C.E.

von Dobschütz \mathfrak{Z}^9

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 21

Ed. princ. A.S. Hunt (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. VIII (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1911), §1151 (251-253).

→

1 † φεῦγε πν(εῦμ)α
μεμισμένον,
χ(ριστό)ς σε διώκει·
προέλαβέν σε
5 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον.
ὁ θεὸς τῆς προβατι-
κῆς κολυμβή-
θρας, ἐξελοῦ τὴν
10 δούλην σου
Ἰωαννίαν ἣν
ἔτεκεν Ἀναστασία
εἰ καὶ Εὐφημία

καὶ τὴν δούλην σου
30 Ἰωαννίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν
Ἀναστασία ἡ καὶ
Εὐφημία, καὶ ἀπο-
δίωξον καὶ φυγάδευ-
σον ἀπ’ αὐτῆς πάντα
35 πυρετὸν κ(αὶ) παντοῖον
ῥῆγος ἀμφημερινὸν
τριτεον τεταρτεον
καὶ πᾶν κακόν. εὐχῆς
κ(αὶ) πρεσβίαις τῆς
40 δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς
θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν

²¹⁰ On this principle, see Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons,’” 84.

²¹¹ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 442.

²¹² Photograph online at: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/images/papyrus/0012rwf.jpg>.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.
 15 † ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν
 ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος
 ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ
 θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.
 πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ
 20 ἐγένετο καὶ χωρεῖς
 αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο
 οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν.
 κ(ύρι)ε † χ(ριστ)έ, υἱέ καὶ
 λόγε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
 25 ζωντος, ὁ ἰασάμε-
 νος πᾶσαν νόσον
 καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν,
 ἰασαι καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι</p> | <p>ἐνδόξων ἀρχαγγέ-
 λων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐν-
 δόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ
 45 εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ θεο-
 λόγου Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ
 ἁγίου Σερήνου καὶ τοῦ
 ἁγίου Φιλοξένου καὶ τοῦ
 ἁγίου Βήκτωρος καὶ τοῦ
 50 ἁγίου Ἰούστου καὶ πάντων
 [τῶ]ν ἁγίων. ὅτι τὸ ὄνομά
 σου, κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θεός, ἐπικαλεσά-
 [μ]ην τὸ θαυμαστὸν
 καὶ ὑπερένδοξον καὶ
 55 φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπε-
 ναντίοις. ἀμήν. †</p> |
|--|---|

2. μεμισημένον 13. ἡ 25. ζῶντος 36. ῥίγος 37. τριταῖον τεταρταῖον 38. εὐχαῖς 49. Βίκτωρος

Translation

Flee, hateful spirit! Christ pursues you. The Son of God and Holy Spirit have taken you away beforehand. O God of the sheep-pool, deliver from all evil your servant Joannia, whom Anastasia, also called Euphemia, bore. In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. All things came into being through him and without him not one thing came into being. O Lord Christ, son and Word of the living God, the one who heals every illness and every infirmity, heal and look over your servant Joannia, whom Anastasia, also called Euphemia, bore, and chase away and put to flight from her every fever and every kind of chill, quotidian, quartan and every evil through the prayers and intercessions of our lady the God-bearer and the glorious archangels and St. John, the glorious apostle and evangelist and theologian, and Saint Serenus and Saint Philoxenus and Saint Victor and Saint Justus and all the Saints, because your name O Lord God, I have called, the wonderful and most glorious (name), the fear of your enemies. Amen.

This elaborate amulet, designed to ward off evil and sickness, was found “tightly folded, and tied with a string” (ed. princ., 251). It is no. 21 in de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s checklist under Table 1 (“Certain Amulets and Formularies”) and was listed as \mathfrak{Z}^9 in von Dobschütz’s list of talismans (see Appendix 2).²¹³ The amulet is written along the fibers (→) on a long, narrow piece of papyrus that is virtually complete; the only lacunae occur toward the bottom of the papyrus, but the text can be confidently restored. *Nomina sacra* occur with supralinear strokes. Both organic and inorganic tremata are used. *Koí*-compendium is written in ll. 20, 35, 43, 44-50, and *nu* is written as a raised horizontal stroke (*nu* ἐφέλκυστικόν) at the end of l. 22. There are four, small

²¹³ ZNW 32 (1933): 185-206, at 188.

cross-like symbols as seen in the transcription at ll. 1, 15, 23, 56; as we have mentioned above, crosses and Christograms are common in amulets (cf. the crosses in P.Duke inv. 778 [no. 7]).

We have made one necessary revision to the transcription as printed in the edition. In the edition, P.Oxy. 8.1151 closes awkwardly with an infinitive in ll. 38-39 (εὐχεσθαί), which prompted the editors to treat it as an imperative (“pray”). The editors do not mention that it is of course possible that εὐχεσθε is the intended reading, since the second most common interchange in the papyri is between αι and ε.²¹⁴ The phrase εὐχεσθαί πρεσβίαις τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν was subsequently translated for the PGM by Karl Preisendanz (see PGM 2:212-213, no. 5b) as “pray for the intercession of our lady,” thereby understanding differently to whom the prayer is directed.²¹⁵ However, the reading is almost certainly εὐχῆς (l. εὐχαῖς) | καί; there is only one letter visible at the beginning of l. 39, which is consistent with καί-compendium. Thus, ll. 38-41 may now be translated with much more sense: “through the prayers and intercessions of our lady the God-bearer.”

The handwriting is an informal majuscule with letters mostly detached and upright. The letters become gradually more compressed and the ductus becomes more fluid as the writing moves forward. *Sigma*'s cap extends well past its lower counterpart, and the letters αι tend toward cursive when written in combination as a diphthong. In an attempt to avoid word division, the scribe creates line-fillers by extending the width of letters to the end of the line. The papyrus can be placed in the fifth century; see the similar letter-forms and shapes in PSI 1.25 (horoscope, 22 August 465) and P.Köln 3.151 (deed of loan, 24 July 423).

²¹⁴ See Gignac, *Grammar*, I:192-193. Eleanor Dickey speaks specifically to the problem in our papyrus: “[T]he short diphthong αι merged with ε, so that, for example, the verb endings -εσθαί (infinitive) and -εσθε (second-person plural) became confusable” (“The Greek and Latin Languages in the Papyri,” *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 149-169, at 152).

²¹⁵ See Dieter Hagedorn, “Bemerkungen zu Urkunden,” *ZPE* 145 (2003): 224-227, at 226.

The amulet is historically interesting for a number of reasons: the reference to the “intercession of our lady the *theotokos*,” the list of saints and prosopography (Anastasia, Euphemia, Joannia), and the reference to John as θεόλογος. The designation of Mary as θεοτόκος occurs in P.Köln 8.340 (*no. 18*), another amulet quoting John 1:1-11. Prayers to Mary in Egypt are well attested, and the “*theotokos*” epithet is a result of the Council of Ephesus in 431, where the *christo-/theotokos* debate was settled: Mary was “God-bearer.”²¹⁶ The reference to “the one who heals every illness and every infirmity” is a stock phrase (clausal *historiola*) commonly used in healing amulets; see the discussion at P.Oxy 8.1077 (*no. 1*). On the phrase “every fever and every kind of chill, quotidian” (πάντα πυρετὸν κ(αὶ) παντοῖον ῥήγος ἄμφημερινὸν), see the similar occurrence in P.Batav. 19.20 (LDAB 6288), another Christian fever amulet.

The opening phrase, “Flee hateful spirit! Christ pursues you” is a common amuletic formula. Kotansky highlights its antiquity with reference to a similar example quoted by Pliny the Elder (*Nat. 27.75*) as part of a ritual cure for *impetigo*: φεύγετε καθαρίδες· λύκος ἄγριος ὕμμε διώκει (“Flee beetles, a fierce wolf pursues you”).²¹⁷ Similar language (i.e., pursuing, fleeing) is also found in the monastic exhortation of Abba Isaiah, *Discourse IV*, as we saw in our discussion of BGU 3.954 (*no. 10*). The client is perhaps under a demonic threat (or she is anticipating one) and so the request is for God to intervene and keep evil spirits at bay. Just like P.Oxy. 8.1077, P.Turner 49 (*no. 3*), P.Princ. 2.107 (*no. 5*), and P.Köln 8.340, this amulet was

²¹⁶ One popular Marian prayer known as the “*Sub tuum praesidium*” reads: “We take refuge under your mercy, Theotokos. Do not disregard our prayers in times of trouble, but deliver us from danger, O only pure, only blessed one.” For a list of hymns and prayers addressed to Mary in the papyri, see *NewDocs* 2:145-146.

²¹⁷ Kotansky, “Incantations and Prayers,” 113. See also the discussion of the engraved sardonyx gemstone in Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 43 and 76, which reads φεύγε πόδαγρα Περσεύς σε διώκει (“Flee, Gout, Perseus pursues you”).

also worn by a woman: Joannia, daughter of Anastasia. Normally, in the papyri persons are identified by a patronymic, but in “magical” papyri, matronymics predominate.²¹⁸

AnneMarie Luijendijk has recently devoted a detailed study of this papyrus, highlighting in particular what it tells us about early Christian practices of amulet production and use, or what she calls the “‘social life’ of a papyrus amulet.”²¹⁹ The amulet is contemporary with Chrysostom’s statement about women hanging “gospels” from their necks, and Luijendijk is surely right to say that “gospels” here probably refer not to large codices but to amulets with biblical excerpts—just like this one.²²⁰ Some of the saints mentioned in the amulet were local to Oxyrhynchus, and so Luijendijk concludes that “it is highly likely that Joannia had commissioned her amulet in Oxyrhynchus, invoking the locally worshipped saints to help her recover from illness.”²²¹ In many other amulets, there is an appeal not to saints but to angels, as in P.Iand. 1.6 (*no. 6*) and P.Oxy. 76.5073 (*no. 16*). Luijendijk’s study is a good example of the way in which Christian amulets can be exploited for understating the socio-religious functions of scripture, “magic,” saints, and more within Egyptian Christianity.

²¹⁸ The phrase “NN ἦν ἔτεκεν NN” also occurs in P.Princ. 3.159, a Greek fever amulet invoking κύριοι ἄγγελοι. Matronymics also figure in several formularies for making amulets; see, e.g., PGM VII 374-76 and PDM xiv 1070-77.

²¹⁹ AnneMarie Luijendijk, “A Gospel Amulet for Joannia (P.Oxy. VIII 1151),” in *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World*, ed. Kimberly B. Stratton and Dayna S. Kalleres (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 418-433, at 419.

²²⁰ Luijendijk, “Gospel Amulet,” 424: “I contend that John Chrysostom, in the sermons cited above, as well as contemporary writers, refer to such amulets with gospel quotations as ‘small gospels.’ Instead of picturing women and children walking around with miniature codices of entire gospels tied around their necks, we should imagine these gospel amulets as the Jewish *tefillin* (φυλακτήρια), amulets with biblical excerpts.” Chrysostom’s often cited statement about amulets runs as follows: “And what are these amulets and borders? Since they were continually forgetting God’s benefits, he commanded that his wonders be inscribed on little books and that these should be suspended from their hands...which they call phylacteries, as now many of our women have gospels hanging from their necks” (Καὶ τίνα ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα; Ἐπειδὴ συνεχῶς ἐπελανθάνοντο τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγραφῆναι βιβλίους μικροῖς τὰ θαύματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξηρητῆσθαι αὐτὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν...ἃ φυλακτήρια ἐκάλουν· ὡς πολλοὶ νῦν τῶν γυναικῶν Εὐαγγέλια τῶν τραχήλων ἐξαρτῶσαι ἔχουσι). Text from PG 58:669 and trans. from Luijendijk, “Gospel Amulet,” 418.

²²¹ Luijendijk, “Gospel Amulet,” 421. In Oxyrhynchus alone, there was a church dedicated to Mary, along with shrines and sanctuaries of Victor (Gr. βίκτορος), Philoxenus, Justus, and Serus—all mentioned in the P.Oxy. 8.1151. Philoxenus is mentioned in two ticket oracles from Oxyrhynchus; see P.Oxy. 16.1926 and P.Harris 54.

The quotation of John 1:1, 3 runs from lines 15 to 22; v. 2 is omitted.²²² In v. 3, P.Oxy. 8.1151 reads οὐδὲ ἔν with the majority of witnesses against οὐδέν, read by \mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{K}^* D^f (cf. the reading in P.Köln 8.340 below [*no. 18*]). Given the theological implications, there have been decades of debate over where v. 3 should be punctuated: after οὐδὲ ἔν or after ὁ γέγονεν.²²³ The absence of punctuation in most Greek manuscripts often prevents us from attributing a manuscript to either of the two possibilities. Our papyrus, however, seems clear: by cutting off the citation immediately after ὁ γέγονεν, the scribe is taking ὁ γέγονεν with what comes before, namely, οὐδὲ ἔν.

Other than the insignificant spelling error χωρεῖς in l. 20, the text of John 1:1 and 3 in this amulet agrees exactly with the text of NA²⁸. We may, therefore, categorize both the text and transmission as “strict.” The text of this manuscript merits inclusion in the apparatus of the Greek New Testament since it agrees with the printed text and offers precise evidence that a ritual specialist punctuated his or her client’s text with a full stop after ὁ γέγονεν.²²⁴ As to the last point, it should be noted that the punctuation may have been copied faithfully from the exemplar. If Luijendijk is correct that Joannia purchased her amulet from a ritual specialist (a church leader?), then this may mean that the text was copied from an actual manuscript.²²⁵ Alternatively, since the Gospel of John was apparently popular at Oxyrhynchus—judging from the relatively high number of manuscripts of John that were discovered there—its text may have

²²² De Bruyn and Dijkstra (“Greek Amulets,” 186) as well as Pickering (“Significance,” 134) incorrectly list the contents of P.Oxy. 8.1151 as John “1:1-3.”

²²³ See the discussion in Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 167-168. The issue behind the placement of punctuation is that some fourth century Arians and Macadonians exploited this passage to argue that the Holy Spirit was created. Taking ὁ γέγονεν with what comes before would make such an interpretation possible. However, placing the phrase with what comes after it eliminates this interpretation altogether.

²²⁴ This is also argued by Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 98 n.90.

²²⁵ Luijendijk, “Gospel Amulet,” 421.

been part of the oral culture of the Christian community.²²⁶ Either way, P.Oxy. 8.1151 contributes to our knowledge of Egyptian Christianity in more ways than one and it, like many amulets, deserves the attention of early Christian scholars.

18. JOHN 1:1-11 || HEALING INCANTATION

P.Köln 8.340²²⁷

LDAB 2813

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 45

Frg. A: 3.5 x 15.8 cm

Frg. B: 3.4 x 5.1 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. Franco Maltomini, “340. Amuleto con NT Ev. Jo. 1, 1-11,” in *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, ed. Michael Gronewald, Klaus Maresch, and Cornelia Römer (vol. 8; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997), 82-95.

Side a, frg. A

1 Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ ις
 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦ[ν ὁ] λόγος καὶ ὁ [λόγος ἦν]
 πρὸς τὸν θε(ε)ὸν [κα]ὶ θε(ε)ὸς ἦν ὁ [λόγος.]
 οὗτος ἦν [ἐν] ἀρχῇ πρὸς τ[ὸν]
 5 θε(ε)ὸν. πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ [ἐγ-]
 ἐνετο κ(αὶ) χωρὶς αὐτ[οῦ]
 ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ὃ γέ[γ]ο[ν]-
 εν. ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶη ἦν [καὶ]
 ἡ ζῶη ἦν τὸ φ[ῶ]ς τῶν
 10 ἀ<ν>θρώπων· κ(αὶ) τὸ φ[ῶ]ς
 ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ < > ἀπεσ-
 ταλμένος παρὰ θε(ε)οῦ
 {παρὰ θε(ε)οῦ}, [ὄ]γ[ο]μα αὐτῷ
 Ἰωάννης· [οὗτο]ς ἦλθεν
 15 εἰς μαρτ[υρ]ίαν, ἵνα
 μαρτυρή[σῃ] περὶ τοῦ
 φωτός, ἵνα πάντες
 πιστεύσουσιν
 δι' αὐτοῦ. ο<ὐκ ἦν> ἰκεῖνος
 20 τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μ[αρ]-
 τυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φ[ω]-
 τός. ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀ[λη]-
 θινόν, ὃ φωτίζει
 πάντα ἄνθρωπο[ν],
 25 [ἐ]ρχόμενον εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον. ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ

40 ἐπὶ τὸν ἱμάτον
 {τον} ἐπὶ τὸν φορ[οῦν-]
 τα τὸν ὀρκισμὸ(ν)
 τοῦτον κ(αὶ) ἀπωδιώ-
 ξης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶ-
 45 σαν νό[σον κ]αὶ πᾶ[σαν]
 μαλα[κίαν ..] . [
 [..]. [± 5].. [

Side a, frg. B

1]υ[
 [...]επ[...].
 τ[...]. εφ[...].
 ἀκάθ[α]ρ[τ]ον πᾶ[ν]
 5 πνεῦμα ἰγγ. [
 τὰ ὀφθαλμὸν πο-
 νηρὸν ἢ ἐπιβουλή(ν)
 ἀνθρώπου ὀρίζο ὑμ[ᾶς]
 εἰς τὸ {γ} ἔνδοξον κ(υρίο)υ ὀ(νομα)
 10 ..ιαγα + εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶ-
 νας {τῶν αἰών[ων]},
 ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

[Characteres]

²²⁶ Cf. also this papyrus' reference to the sheep-pool, no doubt a reference to John 5:2. The Gospel of John had an unusual popularity in Egypt as a whole. On the transmission of the Fourth Gospel in Egypt and beyond, see Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²²⁷ Photograph online at: http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Karte/VIII_340.

μῶ ἦν, καὶ [ὁ κόσμος]
 δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένε[το],
 καὶ ὁ κόσμος {κόσμος}
 30 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω. εἰς
 τὰ ἴδια ἔλθεν, καὶ οἱ
 ἴδιοι αὐτῶν οὐ παρ-
 ἔλαβον. ἐ[πικαλοῦ-]
 μέν σε, θ[εό]ν, καὶ τὴν θεο-]
 35 τόκον Μαρία, π[ατέ]ρα
 τοῦ κ[υρίου] {κυ} <καὶ> σωτῆρ[ος]
 [ἡ]μῶν Ἰ[ησοῦ] Χ[ριστοῦ], ὁπ[ω-]
 [ς ἐ]κσαποστίλης
 τὸν ἄγγελόν σου

Frg. A: 18. πιστεύωσι 19. ἐκεῖνος 25. ἐρχόμενον 31. ἦλθεν 32. αὐτὸν 38. ἐ]ξαποστείλης 40. τῶν | ιαμάτων 43-4. ἀποδιώξης

Frg. B: 8. ἀνθρώπων | ὀρίζω 11-2. αἰώνων

Translation

(John 1:1-11) In the beginning wa[s the] Word, and the [Word was] with God, and the [word] was God. He was [in] the beginning with God. All things came into being through him, and without him nothing came into being. What has come into being in him was life, [and] the life was the light of all people. And the li[ght] [shines] in the darkness [...] There was a man sent by God, whose name was John. Th[at one] came as a witness to testify to the light, so that all might believe through him. That one [was not] the light, but [he came] to testify to the light. The true light, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world came into being through him, yet the world did not know him. He came to what was his own, and his own people did not accept him. (Incantation) We [call upon] you G[od], and Mary the [God]-bearer, F[ather] of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, that you might send your angel who presides over the healing of the one who we[ars] this adjuration [i.e., amulet] and chase away each and every ill[ness] and infirmity [...] every unclean spirit, every evil eye, every snare of humanity. I banish you by the glorious name of the Lord forever and ever. Amen, amen, amen.²²⁸

This long amulet containing both text and images was designed as a request for healing and protection. It begins by appealing to a lengthy passage of scripture (John 1:1-11), followed by an invocation of the name of God, requesting that he send his angel to chase away sickness, evil spirits, the evil eye, and “every snare of humanity.” The epithet “*theotokos*” is also found in P.Oxy. 8.1151 (no. 17).²²⁹ We also find the common clausal *historiola*, “every illness and infirmity,” an appeal to Matt. 4:23/9:35. On the backside, there are two figures standing, depicted as praying in the *orantes* position, i.e., with their hands raised.

²²⁸ For the English translation, we have relied on the restorations of the text made by the editor. Cf. the Italian translation in Maltomini, “340,” 95.

²²⁹ See the discussion there of this term.

Here we must correct the interpretation of one of these figures by the editor. According to the editor, there is a face superimposed onto the chest of the second standing figure.²³⁰ It is described as lacking hair, eyebrows, eyeballs, mouth, chin, and neck. The eye sockets are described as tiny and round and the nose as being constructed by a line beginning at the top part of the forehead extending down the bottom of the face and finally curving off to the right. Maltomini wrestles with the identification of this “face,” and concludes by suggesting that it is “probably the person for whose healing the two stand praying their prayers.”²³¹ The problems associated with the identification of this superimposed “face,” however, can be easily resolved: what Maltomini describes as a “face” is clearly, in fact, an image of a woman’s breasts (see Fig. 3):



Fig. 3

This would explain, then, why this “face” lacks hair, eyeballs, eyebrows, mouth, and chin, and why the nose is represented by a long curved line. This identification is further secured by the

²³⁰ Maltomini’s full description of this figure runs as follows: “Al di sotto di questa figura è rappresentato un orante. Il viso, appena abbozzato, si sovrappone a parte del petto della figura precedente. La linea del contorno non appare chiusa in alto sulla testa; assenti i capelli; gli occhi sono piccoli e rotondi, senza pupille e senza sopracciglia; il naso è costituito da una lunga linea che si inizia nella parte alta della fronte, scende dapprima verticale per poi piegare verso destra. Bocca, mento e parte del collo sono scomparsi in una lacuna. Il tronco è rettangolare; di alcune linee irregolari che vi appaiono all’interno non so ravvisare il significato preciso (panneggio?). Le braccia sono sollevate nel gesto della preghiera, più distese di quelle del primo orante, e vengono ad incorniciare la figura centrale. Non si distinguono gli arti inferiori” (Maltomini, “340,” 95).

²³¹ Maltomini, “340,” 95: “[...] probabilmente la persona per la cui guarigione [...] i due oranti levano la loro preghiera.”

fact that the standing figure has long, wavy hair; even the editor admits that this must be a female figure on this basis. The breasts are similar in appearance to the breasts depicted in P.Oxy. 8.1077 but are given more of an angle.

Does the inclusion of a female figure suggest that the owner of this amulet was a woman? Perhaps it does, although it is difficult to say who the first (presumably male) figure might be and his relation to the female figure. In our study alone we have encountered at least four other amulets that were owned by women: P.Oxy. 8.1077, P.Turner 49 (*no. 3*) P.Princ. 2.107 (*no. 5*), and P.Oxy. 8.1151. The participial phrase τὸν φοροῦντα in ll. 41-42 might seem at first to preclude the possibility of a female owner of the amulet. However, in P.Princ. 2.107, the owner of the amulet is a woman by the name of Taiolles and yet the masculine participial phrase τοῦ φοροῦντος is found there as well (ll. 6-7). As we noted there, it seems that the participial phrase “the one who carries” was a stock phrase and that ritual specialists did not give much effort in grammatically aligning it to the gender of their clients.²³²

The papyrus is long and narrow like many other amulets; it is similar in dimensions to P.Oxy. 8.1151. It consists of two fragments (A and B) that have been separated over time; fragment A is placed above B. It is unclear how much text is missing between the fragments, although consideration of the text (at this point, the prayer) suggests that not much is missing. The upper, lower, and left margins are in tact. The editor claims the papyrus is as thick and stiff as cardboard (“spesso e rigido come cartone”), which is the result of the superimposition of several strips of papyrus (at least three). Since the fiber orientation of these overlapping strips alternates (→ and ↓), we cannot speak of recto and verso in this case but only “side A” and “side B.” In addition to the drawings on side B already mentioned, there is a *character* (“magic” symbol) in the lower margin of frg. B, side A, which can be identified as an “internal” angled

²³² See also P.Turner 49, l. 3 where the participial (but not the article!) is masculine and thus not aligned with the preceding feminine subject: τὴν δοῦλῃν σου τὸν φοροῦντα.

cross, common to many Greek and Coptic “magical texts.”²³³ The cross was considered a “seal” that served as protection and was thus integral to apotropaic devices.²³⁴ On each side of the cross at the bottom are the letters *alpha* and *omega*, which are here used as “magic” symbols, as well as some other (largely) unidentifiable *voces magicae* (which we have left out of the transcription).²³⁵ The thrice-written ἀμήν at the close of the amulet is also found in P.Köln 4.171 above (*no. 14*).

Below his transcription, Maltomini corrects ἐ[πικαλοῦ]-μεν (ll. 33-34) to ἐπικαλοῦμαι—i.e., from first person plural to first person singular—on the basis of a reading in P.Vindob. G 29831 (*no. 19*). In that amulet, we have a similar formula: ἐπικαλοῦμε μέ σε ὁ θε(ε)ς ὁ π(α)τήρ τοῦ κ(υ)ρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(η)σοῦ Χ(ρι)στοῦ. However, while ἐπικαλοῦμε can be understood as a common spelling error (α > ε) and thus corrected to the first person singular, ἐπικαλοῦμεν precludes such an interpretation, given the addition of ν.²³⁶ Maltomini suggests the addition of ν may be an error (“α > ε + eccedente -ν”).²³⁷ We should, however, take this reading as it stands, that is, as a first person plural: ἐπικαλοῦμεν. Indeed, we find a similar use of the first person plural in the invocation of P.Turner 49 (*no. 3*), l. 3: παρακαλοῦμεν σε, Ἰ(η)σοῦ. As we saw in that amulet, the use of the first person plural may reflect the priestly or monastic environment in which the amulet was manufactured. Thus, the reading ἐ[πικαλοῦ]-μεν

²³³ See image in Maltomini, “340,” 85.

²³⁴ This is made explicit in the famous “Coptic Book of Ritual Power from Leiden” (Leiden, Anastasi No. 9; LDAB 100023), where the cross is called the “holy seal” (σφραγίς). See Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 311-322, at page 3 recto, ll. 10-15. It should be noted that the cross still serves a “magical” function in some modern religious traditions. In the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church, “the Cross (*Mäsqäl*) serves as the central symbol of the Christian faith and offers protection from demons, heals the sick and accomplishes other magical (or as the faithful would define them ‘miraculous’) acts” (Steven Kaplan, “Magic,” in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig [vol. 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007], 636-638, here 636). The ritual practices of this tradition are, in my mind, in need of more study and comparison, since amulets are important ritual devices. As Kaplan explains, “magical” amulets are often prepared by a *däbtära* (an itinerant religious figure), priest, or monk, and clients subsequently wear them.

²³⁵ On the use of *alpha* and *omega* as “magic” symbols, see Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 122-125. α and ω occur also at the end of BKT 6.7.1, l. 23, included above.

²³⁶ On the shift from α to ε in the papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar*, I:192-193.

²³⁷ Maltomini, “340,” 88.

in ll. 33-34 need not be corrected to anything else.

The script of side A is small, semi-cursive, and tilted to the right; the end of the text (especially frg. B) was written in rapid fashion and is sloppy in appearance. The ink has faded in many areas. In writing *καί*, the scribe alternates between *scriptio plena* and compendium forms. There are several cases of dittography (ll. 13, 29, 36, 41), poor spelling throughout (see notes to transcription above), as well as omitted text (see below). *Nomina sacra* are written throughout. In ll. 34-35, the words *θεοτόκον Μαρία* are marked off with supralinear strokes but they are not abbreviated.²³⁸ Maltomini dates the hand to the fifth/sixth century, but the irregularity of the script prevents us from making any precise judgments.

The opening of the amulet consists of a citation of John 1:1-11, which constitutes the longest citation of the Greek New Testament in any Christian amulet. Sanzo is inclined to view the citation as an *incipit* and not an independent textual unit, even though it would count as the longest *incipit* in the amuletic record.²³⁹ Aside from misspellings, the text itself agrees largely with the text of NA²⁸. Significantly, in John 1:3, our papyrus reads οὐδὲν (l. 7) along with \mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{X}^* D and others, over οὐδὲ ἔν (cf. the reading in P.Oxy. 8.1151 above). Our manuscript omits half of v. 5 and the first two words of v. 6 (l. 11; φαίνει – ἄνθρωπος). There is no variation unit at this point in the text, so it could have been omitted deliberately, although the reason for such an omission is unclear. It may have arisen, however, due to a clerical error, since our scribe exhibits carelessness in several places. There is likewise an abrupt omission in the phrase ο<ὐκ ἦν> of v. 8 (l. 19), which may well have been facilitated by parablepsis, since the last letters of the preceding line are –ουσην. Clearly, we can classify the textual quality as “strict,” but in

²³⁸ According to A.H.R.E. Paap, “[g]radually, however, stroke and meaning, too, were connected and we can understand that even when the nomina sacra were written in full, they were sometimes overlined. The stroke then serves to focus the attention on the sacral meaning of a word rather than its written form” (*Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions* [Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 8; Leiden: Brill, 1959], 124).

²³⁹ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 140-141.

consideration of the omissions, I would classify its transmission character as “normal.” I submit that P.Köln 8.340 is a citable witness to the text of John at the relative points of variation, especially v. 3 (οὐδὲ ἔν vs. οὐδὲν).

19. JOHN 1:5-6 || PRAYER FOR PROTECTION

P.Vindob. G 29831
LDAB 2823
de Bruyn and Dijkstra 8

6.5 x 4.2 cm

6th-7th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. Kurt Treu and Johannes Diethart, *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes II*, vol. 1 (MPER N.S. XVII; Vienna: Hollinek, 1993), no. 10 (23).

Fol. 1a	Fol. 1b
1 Ἐπικαλοῦ- μέ σε ὁ θε(εὸ)ς ὁ π(ατ)ήρ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν	1 λης τὸν ἄγγελόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν φο-
5 Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ὅπως ἐξαποστί-	5 ροῦντα τοῦτο
Fol. 2a	Fol. 2b
1 τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκο- τίᾳ φαί- νει καὶ	1 οὐ κατέ- λαβεν ἐ- γένετο ἄν(θρωπο)ς ἀπεσ-
5 ἡ σκοτί- α αὐτὸ	5 ταλμέ- νος παρὰ

Fol. 1a: 1-2. ἐπικαλοῦμαι 6. ἐξαποστείλης

Translation

I call on you God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to send forth your angel to the one carrying this (amulet). The light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overcome it. There was a man sent from [...]

This little parchment sheet is in the form of a bifolium measuring 6.5 x 4.2 cm and contains two distinct texts: a prayer for God to send his angel to the one wearing the amulet, and John 1:5-6. It is written in single columns, with six lines per page, averaging c. 6-7 letters per line; four generous margins; brown ink; holes along a centerfold. The text begins with the prayer (Fol. 1a), and the initial letter (ε) is enlarged and slightly extended (*ekthesis*) into the left margin. The

following words are written as *nomina sacra*: θεός, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, κύριος, πατήρ, ἄνθρωπος. Itacism is present.

Unlike many of the amulets studied here, P.Vindob. G 29831 is written in an elegant biblical majuscule script. One of the most characteristic features of the hand is that the verticals are not always straight; instead, they curve slightly to the left. The verticals are thick; horizontals and obliques thin. With a few exceptions, the scribe has broken bilinearity, but the right and left margins are kept fairly straight. μ is written in four strokes, and the scribe raised his/her stylus to connect the obliques at the central point. There are what Pasquale Orsini calls “terminal swellings” (“ingrossamenti terminali”) at the tips of some letters, such as τ and φ.²⁴⁰ In Fol. 2b, l. 5 the scribe has filled in the blank space of the line by extending the horizontal stroke of ε. There is an excellent comparandum in the famous Dioscorides codex in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale Vindob. Gr. 1; LDAB 802), which is dated to the beginning of the seventh century. It is also similar to P.Vindob. G 30135 (LDAB 3296), a fifth/sixth century codex fragment of Proverbs. Thus, a sixth/seventh century date is likely.

We must at this point turn to the question of this document’s *raison d’être*. The prayer provides justification for labeling this artifact as an amulet, and this is precisely the title the editors give it.²⁴¹ But G.H.R. Horsley has questioned this designation vis-à-vis its original purpose.²⁴² Bothered by the fact that the text of John 1:6 cuts off mid-sentence, Horsley proposed that the sheet was turned into an amulet only after the scribe realized he botched up the folio arrangement of a non-amuletic codex. But instead of wasting his efforts, he turned the problem-sheet into a fancy amulet. Originally, however, according to Horsley, the codex (which Horsley

²⁴⁰ Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica*, 133.

²⁴¹ The request for God to send his angel to the one carrying the amulet is evocative of P.Oxy. 76.5073 (*no. 16*), which cites Mark 1:1-2 (“Behold! I will send my angel before your face...”).

²⁴² “Reconstructing a Biblical Codex: The Prehistory of MPER *n.s.* XVII. 10 (P.Vindob. G 29 831),” in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses. Berlin, 1995*, ed. Bärbel Kramer, et al.; (vol. 1; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 473-481.

attempts to reconstruct partially) must have contained more than just the two verses. He contends that a complete continuous codex of John's Gospel is unlikely; perhaps it only contained the prologue (1:1-18). He disagrees with the editors' speculation that nothing followed the citation of John in Fol. 2b, which concludes with the preposition *παρά*.²⁴³

I find Horsley's theory problematic for two main reasons. First, it does not take into account the ritual culture of late antiquity in which experts manufactured amulets for clients. Should we really imagine scribes sitting around creating amulets on a whim, as Horsley's theory about P.Vindob. G 29831 suggests?²⁴⁴ On the contrary, amulet production was necessitated by the performative circumstances that were themselves prompted by clients looking for divine protection, healing, and the like. In fact, waiting to produce an amulet upon a client's arrival had at least one advantage: an amulet could be tailored to the client's specific needs. For example, a specific ailment could be mentioned or the client him- or herself could be listed explicitly (e.g., P.Oxy. 8.1151 [*no. 17*] and P.Princ. 2.107 [*no. 5*]). Furthermore, clients may have been ill-disposed toward premanufactured amulets, since these made use of catch-all phrases and words that did not really address a client's actual problems.²⁴⁵ These features indicate that ritual specialists produced amulets as a response to a client's request; they were thus products of the

²⁴³ Treu and Diethart, *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen*, 23: "Obwohl der Text auf Iiv 12 mitten im Satz abbricht, folgte vielleicht nicht mehr. Dann wäre I mit der Anrufung der Beginn des Doppelblattes."

²⁴⁴ Some amulets were premade to save time, but they were done so with intention and proper ritual. For a late example, see Gideon Bohak, "Some 'Mass Produced' Scorpion-Amulets from the Cairo Geniza," in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Seán Freyne*, ed. Zuleika Rodgers, et al.; (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 35-49. These scorpion amulets are written in Aramaic and date later than the artifacts studied here, but these specimens are interesting in their own right. Fig. 1 shows a parchment sheet of 21 premanufactured scorpion amulets, separated from each other by horizontal strokes. The individual amulets would have been cut out as needed. In addition to the Aramaic text, a scorpion is drawn on each amulet. I thank Lorne Zelyck for bringing these Cairo Geniza amulets to my attention.

²⁴⁵ There is an analogy with modern amulet production in New Age magic. According to Patrick Dunn, in a non-academic publication, "There's usually a rack of printed talismans and magic rings for sale in every occult bookstore. Sadly, a prefabricated talisman isn't worth the paper it's written on, and a premade magic ring is just a piece of interesting jewelry. If you want something magical, it is most effective to design and construct your own talisman" (*Postmodern Magic: The Art of the Magic in the Information Age* [St. Paul: Llewellyn, 2005], 56). Self-produced amulets were far less common in antiquity, but the modern analogy provided here prompts the question: might some ancient individuals have turned to amulet-making themselves as a result of being dissatisfied with generic amulets on the market? There are of course other reasons why individuals may have produced amulets themselves (e.g., financial), but this is a question worth further reflection.

ritual performance that could be taken away and used over and over again.²⁴⁶ This omission in Horsley's discussion is surprising, since he is aware of such ritual contexts, as evidenced by his claim that P.Turner 49 (*no.* 3) stems from a priestly or monastic milieu.²⁴⁷

Second, that the Johannine citation concludes mid-sentence is not necessarily an indication that the text continued onto another folio. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find in amulets a citation deliberately cut off in mid-sentence or mid-word (see, e.g., P.Oxy. 76.5073, P.Berl. inv. 11710 [*no.* 20], P.Vindob. G 2312 [*no.* 21], P.Ant. 2.54 [*no.* 12]). And in some amulets with incipits, this is all the more clear, where we find the phrase “and so forth” (καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς) following a citation cut short, as in PSI 6.719 (*no.* 4). Likewise, beginning a citation at a particularly “random” place is also not uncommon in amulets (e.g., P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 [*no.* 22], P.Vindob. G 2312, P.Berl. inv. 16158). Given that the prayer and the biblical citation are written by the same scribe, I submit that the most likely explanation is that P.Vindob. G 29831 was produced as an amulet from the very beginning; Horsley's hypothetical theory should be rejected, since it assumes too much.²⁴⁸ On the question of whether P.Vindob. G 29831 is a miniature codex or amulet, see the excursus above.

We have revised the transcription in two ways. First, Treu and Diethart read ἐξαποστίλλης (Fol. 1a, Fol. 1b), but the first λ is not visible on the parchment.²⁴⁹ Second, all of the sublinear dots have been removed: these letters can be read with confidence. In terms of the character of the New Testament text cited, there is no deviation from NA²⁸. This stretch of text is

²⁴⁶ Luijendijk imagines what it might have been like for Joannia, the owner of P.Oxy. 10.1151 (amulet for fever; see above), to participate in the ritual in the presence of the specialist chosen for the job: “I picture Joannia during the ritual session that may have taken place when she purchased her amulet: she said its text out loud in her own voice, probably in a ‘repeat after me’ fashion with the writer of the amulet, for she, as most people in antiquity, may have been illiterate. As an accompanying ritual gesture, she crossed herself at the places indicated in the document” (“Gospel Amulet,” 421). De Bruyn likens the preparation and use of amulets to the preparation and use of oil (“Appeals to Jesus,” 79).

²⁴⁷ For more on amuletic production in ritual contexts, see the discussion at P.Turner 49 above.

²⁴⁸ De Bruyn and Dijkstra place P.Vindob. G 39831 in their category of “Certain Amulets and Formularies” (“Greek Amulets,” 184).

²⁴⁹ Also noted by Horsley, “Reconstructing a Biblical Codex,” 473.

stable in the tradition: there are no variation units corresponding to the extant text cited in the critical apparatus.²⁵⁰ Thus, we may tentatively classify its text and transmission as “strict.” But there is one noteworthy feature: the word καί that begins v. 5 has been omitted. Horsley argues that the καί is on the (now missing) preceding sheet (his “0v”). However, it seems more likely that the copyist deliberately omitted καί since the conjunction was not necessary, namely, nothing came before it.²⁵¹ We contend that the omission of καί, which is otherwise unattested, is a further indication that the scribe *began* his text at v. 5. Thus, there is no need to reconstruct the codex as Horsley has done.

20. JOHN 1:29, 49 || DIALOGUE BETWEEN JESUS AND NATHANAEAL

P.Berl. inv. 11710

LDAB 6211

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 184

Fr. A: 6.5 x 7.5 cm

Fr. B: 6 x 7.5 cm

6th-7th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. H. Lietzmann, “Ein apokryphes Evangelienfragment,” *ZNW* 22 (1923): 153-154.

Fol. A↓

1 θ[η] Ἰησοῦ καὶ
εἶπε· ῥαμβιο-
ύ κ(ύρι)ε σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱ-
ὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. <ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ>
5 ὁ ῥαμβίς καὶ
εἶπε· Ναθα-
ναήλ {α}

Fol. B↓

15 τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ ἔρ-
ον τὰς ἀμ<α>-
ρ<τί>α<ς> τοῦ κόσ-
μο<υ>. ἀπεκρ-
ίθη αὐτῷ ὁ ῥ-
20 αμβίς καὶ
εἶπεν

Fol. A→

πορευοῦ ἐν τ-
ῷ ἡλίῳ. ἀπεκ-
10 ρίθη αὐτῷ Να-
θαναήλ καὶ
εἶπεν· ῥαμ-
βιού κ(ύρι)ε, σὺ εἶ
ὁ ἀμνὸς

Fol. B→

Ϡ ι(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστο)ς πνο-
γτε {π}

θό

²⁵⁰ In v. 5, 013 reads αὐτόν for αὐτό, whereas 036 038 and 063 read αὐτῷ. These are not listed in NA²⁸ but may be found in Ulrich B. Schmid, with W.J. Elliott and David C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John, Edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project*, vol. 2: *The Majuscules* (NTTSD 37; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 190.

²⁵¹ A similar case occurs with the omission of γάρ in P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (l. 1) and οὖν in P.Vindob. G 2312 (l. 4).

Fol. A↓: 1. Ἰησοῦ 2-3. ῥαββίου 5. ῥαββίς Fol. A→: 9. ἡλίω 9-10. ἀπεκρίθη 12-13. ῥαββίου
Fol. B↓: 15-16 ὁ αἴρων 18-19. ἀπεκρίθη 19-20: ῥαββίς

Translation

(Fol. A) [Nathanael?] answered Jesus and said, “Rabbi, Lord, you are the son of God.” The Rabbi [answered him] and said, “Nathanael, walk in the sun.” Nathanael answered him and said, “Rabbi, Lord, you are the lamb (Fol. B) of God who takes away the sins of the world.” The Rabbi answered him and said.

Unlike many of the fragments in the present study, P.Berl. inv. 11710 has received quite a lot of attention.²⁵² It is most often labeled an apocryphal Gospel in the literature, although several features suggest that we have to do with an amulet, as we shall see.²⁵³ On account of the fact that I will provide several important new readings and interpretations of these fragments, it will be given a more extended treatment than others.

P.Berl. inv. 11710 consists of two rectangular papyrus folios that are unbroken. The fragments are generally well preserved. Fol. A has a slight vertical tear beginning from the top and running halfway down the folio, but fortunately the letters that are affected are still clearly readable. The ink on the outside pages (Fol. A↓ and Fol. B→) has naturally faded much more than the inside ones (Fol. A→ and Fol. B↓), since these pages were exposed to outside elements (surface friction, weather, etc.). Eight holes are present along the edges of both fragments, which align when the fragments are stacked. There is a string still attached to the second hole (from the top) on the right edge of Fol. A→. Thus, our fragments were clearly tied together with a string.

The text is in Greek, except for two lines of Coptic on Fol. B→: ι(ησοϥ)ς χ(ριστο)ς πνοϥτε. The first two names are abbreviated, while God exhibits *scriptio plena*. Supralinear

²⁵² It is listed in several catalogues (e.g., van Haelst 591; *Clavis apocryphorum*, no. 7; Aland, *Repertorium I*, Ap 15 [377]), and is the subject of several studies: D.A. Bertrand, “Papyrus Berlin 11710,” in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens I*, ed. Francis Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 429-431; Andrew E. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts* (LNTS 315; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 126-127; Tobias Nicklas, Thomas J. Kraus, and Michael J. Kruger, eds., *Gospel Fragments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 228-239.

²⁵³ Its designation as an apocryphal text is illustrated by its inclusion in, for example, Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 237-239 and J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 42-43.

strokes are absent from all three. The reference to “Jesus, Christ, and God” in isolation is somewhat unusual, but it may be a theological expression, perhaps affirming Jesus’ full divinity (“Jesus Christ [is] God?”).

There are two sets of letters on Fol. B→ that have been a point of contention. Before the first line of Coptic text, there are two superimposed letters. Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger—who provide the most recent and thorough analysis of P.Berl. inv. 11710 to date—spend some time trying to decipher these letters, and they entertain (but ultimately reject) two possibilities: an abbreviation for $\pi\rho(\acute{o}\varsigma)$ and an abbreviation for the Coptic word $\pi\rho\alpha\mathfrak{N}$ (“name”). They also assert that it may resemble a staurogram.²⁵⁴ In fact, that is indeed what we have here (see Fig. 4):



Fig. 4

What is probably confusing Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger is the “tail” descending off the right side of the τ , thus making it resemble the right hasta of π . But this is not at all uncommon. We find this form in many staurograms in Greek and Coptic literary and documentary manuscripts from late antiquity. Just a cursory glance in Michigan’s database of Coptic papyrus letters reveals several clear examples: inv. nos. 777, 3551, 3547, 3570, 6865, 6867.²⁵⁵ Some scribes were creative in decorating staurograms, and this flourish off the horizontal bar of τ is just one example. In most Coptic papyrus letters, a staurogram precedes the first line of writing (usually in the top left corner of the sheet), so the staurogram in P.Berl. inv. 11710 is not out of place. We

²⁵⁴ Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger, *Gospel Fragments*, 237. Actually the phrase used is a bit unclear: “Even though the symbol looks like $\pi\rho$, the possibility cannot be excluded that it resembles π and only looks similar to $\pi\rho$.” Lietzmann (“Ein apokryphes Evangelienfragment,” 154) read this as ρ superimposed onto μ , indicating a Christogram. Bertrand, Ehrman and Pleše retain this. But this is erroneous. In addition to all other arguments against it, there is no left hasta of μ , and so we must rule this reading out altogether.

²⁵⁵ See also P.Vindob. G 27290a, P.Köln 9.387, and P.Col. inv. 552a.

should understand the staurogram here as we do others, that is, as a standalone pictorial representation of Jesus' crucifixion.²⁵⁶

In the lower right corner of the same page (Fol. B→), there are two Greek letters turned upside down: a letter resembling a tau-rho compendium (though without the tail) followed by θ . These characters have also been a point of contention. Lietzmann thought the first character was a staurogram turned upside down (“ein umgekehrtes Ϡ ”).²⁵⁷ Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger cautiously suggest that it may be a staurogram followed by the letter θ , which stands for $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. All together, the letters would, according to them, denote “crucified god.”²⁵⁸ However, they note that there is no parallel for this usage. This explanation is to me very dubious. The best explanation is that we have the two letters $\varphi\theta$, whose numerical value is 99.²⁵⁹ This is of course a common Christian scribal practice known as isopsephy, where the word “amen” is written cryptically as a number ($\alpha = 1 + \mu = 40 + \eta = 8 + \nu = 50 = 99$).²⁶⁰ The most telling clue is the location of the isopsephism: it is at the very end of the document. As it happens, in almost all other occurrences of this isopsephism in Christian papyri from Egypt, it stands at the end of documents as a kind of closure or last word. For example, it occurs at the end of P.Oxy. 6.925, P.Oxy. 8.1162, SB 16.12304, P.Oxy. 31.2601, P.Oxy. 56.3857, P.Duke inv. 778 (no. 7) and P.Iand. 1.6. Interestingly, in P.Oxy. 31.2601, the letters $\varphi\theta$ are written on the verso in the upper-left hand corner, but they are rotated 90° counterclockwise to the writing. So perhaps it was the practice of some scribes to have the symbol float around somewhere on the papyrus, as in P.Berl. inv. 11710. Perhaps rotating the letters made the cryptic letters all the more cryptic!

²⁵⁶ See the extensive discussion of the staurogram in Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, ch. 4.

²⁵⁷ Lietzmann, “Ein apokryphes Evangelienfragment,” 154.

²⁵⁸ Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger, *Gospel Fragments*, 237.

²⁵⁹ It is possible that our scribe accidentally confused the staurogram and isopsephism at this point, which would explain why the first letter resembles a tau-rho compendium. Moreover, the letter φ is graphically similar to ρ in many papyri (it sometimes resembles a backwards ρ).

²⁶⁰ See further discussion of this phenomenon at the entry for P.Iand. 1.6 (no. 6).

The sequence of the text is as follows: Fol. A↓, Fol. A→, Fol. B↓, Fol. B→. Whatever else came before in our little text (assuming something did), it is clear nothing else followed Fol. B↓, other than the Coptic lines at the top of Fol. B→ (= page 4). There is proof enough in that the text does not continue from Fol. B↓ to Fol. B→, but further evidence is provided by the horizontal line drawn beneath the last line of Fol. B↓. It is not uncommon in papyri and ostraka for scribes to indicate the close of a text or letter by drawing a horizontal line beneath the last line; as we saw above, lines also occur at the end of P.Köln 4.171 (*no. 14*).²⁶¹ I would suggest that the line in P.Berl. inv. 11710 is serving the same purpose, that is, marking the conclusion of the text. One might question why the scribe would have deliberately broken off the text in mid-sentence (ὁ ῥαμβις καὶ εἶπεν...), but it should be noted that this is typical of many amulets (see P.Oxy. 76.5073 [*no. 16*], P.Vindob. G 29831 [*no. 19*], P.Vindob. G 2312 [*no. 21*], and P.Ant. 2.54 [*no. 12*]). The “scribbles” just above this line and to the right of εἶπεν (the last word on the amulet, before the Coptic lines on Fol. B→) were read as ζγ by Nicklaus, Kraus, and Kruger. The first letter—if we can call it that—is possibly ζ but the second set of scribbles hardly resembles γ. It seems to me more likely that these indiscernible scribbles represent “magic” signs, which often resemble letters and sometimes come at the conclusion (but also the beginning) of an incantation.²⁶²

The interesting *nomen sacrum* for θεός in Fol. B↓, l. 15 deserves a few comments. First, all previous transcriptions have the *nomen sacrum* read θ(εο)ϛ̄ or θυ, with overlining. However, while this is the expected form of the abbreviation, a closer look at the papyrus clearly reveals an omicron between θυ. It is surprising that no one has yet commented on this! This form of

²⁶¹ In addition to P.Köln 4.171, see also P.CtYBR inv. 1564, P.Berl. inv. 11037, SB 6.9315, Bodl. Gr. Class.e.72(P), P.Yale 1.3, P.Corn. inv. 1.74, BGU 6.1337, P.Mich. inv. 475.

²⁶² See the many examples in Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, especially no. 24, which includes a couple examples of “magic” signs that are almost identical in form to the Greek letter ζ. There is a ζ through the middle of which is drawn an ankh in the famous Miletus inscription. On this inscription and its χαρακτήρες, see Rangar H. Cline, “Archangels, Magical Amulets, and the Defense of Late Antique Miletus,” *JLA* 4.1 (2011): 55-78.

abbreviation is certainly irregular but not unattested. Paap lists a few similar examples in his 1959 source book where only one letter has been omitted.²⁶³ It is possible that our scribe was unfamiliar with the standard conventions of writing *nomina sacra*, since he/she is inconsistent in his/her use of them elsewhere. For example, in Fol. A↓, l. 1, Ἰησοῦ (pap. Ἰεσοῦ) is written in *scriptio plena*, as is υἱός two lines down. θεός is also written in *scriptio plena* in Fol. A↓, l. 4.²⁶⁴ Yet κύριε is abbreviated both times (Fol. A↓, l. 3; Fol. A→, l. 13). But inconsistency in writing *nomina sacra* is extremely common in amulets (see pattern #3 in Chapter 5).

Another interesting point about this irregular *nomen sacrum* is the way that it is marked off. It is not marked with the usual supralinear stroke, but instead with a kind of “cap,” as can be seen in Fig. 5:



This is extremely rare and I have only been able to find one other example of it, which, ironically, is another Gospel amulet included in this study: P.Iand. 1.6 (see Fig. 1). In that amulet, it sits over the *nomen sacrum* for πνεῦμα. Both symbols (if that is what we can call them) are nearly identical in form.

Next, we must turn to a significant point of debate, that is, the opening line of Fol. A↓. Lietzmann read the first line as follows: θ.ι̅ε̅σον̅ κα̅ι. He proposed the reading ὁμολ[ό]γησεν καὶ εἶπε in his edition likely on the basis of John 1:20, where the text says ὁμολόγησεν ὅτι ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός (“he confessed, ‘I am not the Messiah’”). As Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger note, “[o]thers not only take this over (and associate the beginning of the fragment with John 1:20), they even extend the line with Ναθαναήλ as grammatical subject (‘Nathanael confessed and

²⁶³ See Paap, *Nomina Sacra*, nos. 19 (θων), 79 (θες), 146 (θος). There are also two other examples in two public Christian inscriptions in and near Corinth: IG 4.204 and IG 4.205.

²⁶⁴ Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger incorrectly say that θεός written in full occurs on “A→, l. 4” (*Gospel Fragments*, 229). It is, in fact, on the verso of that folio.

said’).”²⁶⁵ Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger note the problem and move on; they retain Lietzmann’s reading θ.ι̅ε̅σ̅ο̅ν, except they remove the sublinear dots beneath ε̅σ̅ο̅ν. I hasten to admit that I am deeply perplexed over why this reading has caused so much trouble (from Schubart[?!], to Lietzmann, to Nicklas, Kraus, Kruger, and others).²⁶⁶ All the letters are very clear on the papyrus except one, which can be restored with confidence. The first line reads thus:

θ.ι̅ε̅σ̅ο̅υ²⁶⁷

These letters are really indisputable, in my mind. What is most surprising is that others have read the last letter as v. Yet, this letter is clearly upsilon. What is probably confusing readers is the short vertical stroke positioned at the lower-right edge of the preceding omicron; this is no doubt being taken (incorrectly) as the left hasta (vertical stroke) of v.²⁶⁸ But this little stroke is featured in seven other occurrences of omicron in the papyrus (A↓, ll. 2, 3, 4; A→, l. 14; B↓, ll. 15, 17, 19); see especially the last letter of the very next line (i.e., A↓, l. 2; ρ̅α̅β̅β̅ι̅ο̅-). Thus, we have not v but υ as the last letter in this string of letters.

So, we have established the reading, but what do we make of θ.ι̅ε̅σ̅ο̅υ? I think it is safe to say that we have here [ἀπεκρί-]θ[η] Ἰεσοῦ, with Ἰεσοῦ naturally being in the dative case (ἀποκρίνομαι takes the dative). The scribe probably wrote ἀπεκρίθι, since he/she uses that form consistently in our papyrus, although we will give them the benefit of the doubt by restoring with η. The misspelling of Ἰεσοῦ (for Ἰησοῦ) can be easily explained as an orthographical variant, since in the papyri we find many examples of the interchange of η > ε.²⁶⁹ Even more significant

²⁶⁵ Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger, *Gospel Fragments*, 234 (and n.6 for those who adopt Lietzmann’s restored text).

²⁶⁶ According to Lietzmann, the great German papyrologist Wilhelm Schubart had given him his own transcription of the text, which Lietzmann then compared with the papyrus himself (“Schubart has mir den Text abgeschrieben, ich habe ihn danach selbst noch einmal verglichen” [“Ein apokryphes Evangelienfragment,” 153]). So, we have no way of knowing the extent to which Lietzmann’s text reflects Schubart’s.

²⁶⁷ This reading, and my interpretation of it below, was adopted by Joseph E. Sanzo and Lorne R. Zelyck and incorporated into their paper “What is P.Berol. 11710: Amulet, Apocryphal Gospel, Biblical Elaboration?” presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, 24 November 2014.

²⁶⁸ All it would take to transform a υ into a v is the addition of a left hasta.

²⁶⁹ See the many examples in Gignac, *Grammar*, I:242-243.

is the fact that this very spelling of Jesus' name is found in two other Greek magical papyri: P.Oxy. 8.1152 and P.Oxy. 11.1384.²⁷⁰ Our scribe is a poor speller as it is, and so the misspelling is not out of character with his/her habits. The scribe's spelling of Jesus' name in *scriptio plena* is a further testament to his/her inconsistency of writing *nomina sacra*. So, ll. 2-3 should read: [ἀπεκρί-]θ[η] Ἰησοῦ | καὶ εἶπε (“he answered and said to him”). This reading is consistent with the dialogue that is taking place between Nathanael and Jesus in the papyrus. For example, we find the introductory formula ἀπεκρίθη...εἶπε two other times (Fol. A→, ll. 9-12; Fol. B↓, ll. 18-21), or three times, if we consider the scribe's omission of ἀπεκρίθη in Fol. A↓, l. 4. As for the subject of ἀπεκρίθ[η], we can assume that is Nathanael, since no other characters are mentioned, and since Jesus addresses him as such in the ensuing lines in Fol. A↓, ll. 6-7. Since in Fol. A→, ll. 9-10 Nathanael answered αὐτῷ, we might wonder why in Fol. A↓, l. 1 we have the substitution Ἰησοῦ. However, it is important to note that this is one of the most common substitutions we find in New Testament and early Christian manuscripts (αὐτός > Ἰησοῦς). That is, many scribes felt the need to clarify who the subject was and so substituted Jesus' name. Indeed, we have already seen a similar example in our analysis of P.Oxy. 8.1077 (*no. 1*), where the scribe added Jesus' name on two different occasions to clarify that he was the subject of the verbs; the grammatical, inflected “he” was not enough.

We must now turn to the question of this document's *raison d'être*. According to Lietzmann, “Da der Text auf Col. B' unten abbricht und in B' nicht fortgesetzt wird, gehörten die Blätter nicht zu einem fortlaufend geschriebenen Evangelienbüchlein, sondern dienten wohl als

²⁷⁰ The text of P.Oxy. 8.1152 is as follows: Ωρωρ φωρ ἐλωεῖ | ἀδωναεῖ Ἰαὼ σαββαῶθ Μιχαήλ Ἰησοῦ | Χριστέ βοήθη ἡμῖν | καὶ τούτω οἴκῳ ἂν μὴν (“Oror Phor, Eloi, Adonai, Iao, Sabaoth, Michael, Jesus Christ, help us and this house. Amen”). The relevant portion of P.Oxy. 11.1384, a very intriguing text, runs as follows: ἀπήντησαν ἡμ[ί]ν... ἄνδ]ρες | ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κα[ὶ] εἶπαν τῷ κ(υρίῳ) | Ἰησοῦ τί<ς> ἔνη θαραπία ἀρρώ[στοις] | καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἔλεον ἀπέδ[ωκα] ἐ[λ]λήας καὶ σβύρν[α]ν ἐξέχ[υσα] τοῖς | πεποιθόσι τ[ῷ] ὀνόματι τοῦ | πατρὸς καὶ ἀγ[ί]ου [πν(εύματος) καὶ τοῦ] | υἱοῦ (“[...] men met us in the desert and they said to the Lord, ‘Jesus, what cure is possible for the sick?’ And he said to them, ‘I gave olive-oil and poured out myrrh to those who have believed in the name of the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son’”).

Amulet.”²⁷¹ He is surely correct. As stated in our discussion of the amulet-miniature codex dichotomy in the analysis of P.Vindob. G 29831 above (*no. 19*), amulets and miniature codices are not necessarily distinct categories. That is to say, it is not an either/or situation, but a both/and. Like the Vienna miniature codex, P.Berl. inv. 11710 must also be categorized along these lines: it is both a miniature codex and an amulet (see the Excursus above).

The text chosen, however, is not a traditional passage used in amulets, and the contents do not, on the face of it, suggest a “magical” function. So why should we classify it as an amulet after all? To answer this question, let us turn to the text for a closer analysis. The text begins (Fol. A↓) with Nathanael’s confession of Jesus as the “Son of God” (John 1:49). This is followed by an enigmatic reply of Jesus on Fol. A→ that has perplexed scholars for years: πορεύου ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ (“walk in the sun”). The reading on the papyrus is clear, but what does “walk in the sun” mean? This phrase appears nowhere else. Nicklas, Kraus, and Kruger provide three possibilities: 1) Nathanael is in the shade and Jesus is telling him to walk out of the shade and into the light (cf. John 1:48, 50); 2) it is a reference to John 3:21 (“the one who does what is true comes to the light”); 3) it is a reference to Manichaeism (citing Augustine, *Haer.* 46.6). All of these seem like possible interpretations. One of the common elements between John’s Gospel and Manichaean literature is the theme of light. In P.Kellis Gr. 98, ll. 60-62 (LDAB 5523), the sun is said to have virtuous powers, and in the *Kephalaia*, the term φωστήρ is used as a synonym for the sun.²⁷² But allusions to sun and light in early Christian literature abound so we cannot really limit ourselves to Manichaeism. For example, in the unidentified P.Egerton 2 (= inv. 3)—fragments of a Gospel commentary?—there is a reference to God as “the sun(?) shining above our sun.”²⁷³ And in

²⁷¹ Lietzmann, “Ein apokryphes Evangelienfragment,” 153-154.

²⁷² See Iain Gardner, ed., with contributions by Sarah Clackson, Majella Franzmann, and K.A. Worp, *Kellis Literary Texts* (vol. 2; Dakhleh Oasis Project 15; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 127.

²⁷³ [ἡ]λιος ὑπ]ὲρ τὸ(ν) ἡλιος[ν] ἡμ[ῶν] φω]στήρ(ν). Rachel Yuen-Collingridge has suggested replacing ἡλιος with κύριος ὁ θεός in her fine piece “Hunting for Origen in Unidentified Papyri: The Case of P.Egerton 2 (= inv. 3),” in

addition to the many references to light in the Fourth Gospel, the text of Rev. 22:5 says that the redeemed in the new Jerusalem οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ’ αὐτούς. There is even a close parallel in Isa. 2:5 LXX: καὶ νῦν ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Ἰακώβ δεῦτε πορευθῶμεν τῷ φωτὶ κύριου. Most scholars believe that this passage serves as the background for the portion of the Sermon of the Mount where Jesus says ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου.²⁷⁴ In other words, there is a call for Jesus’ disciples to be the light of God to those who are in darkness. Indeed, Paul picks up this theme as well in Rom. 2:19 (φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει).

But given the broader context of our fragment, perhaps an even more compelling parallel is the text of 1 John 1:7, which states ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατῶμεν ὡς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ, κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας. According to this text, walking in the light is a precondition of the forgiveness of sins. If we look back at our fragment, immediately following Jesus’ exhortation that Nathanael “walk in the light,” it cites John 1:29 (ὁ ἄμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἶρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου). Thus, like 1 John 1:7, our fragment *also* links walking in the light with forgiveness of sins. In sum, while no exact parallel to the phrase πορευῶν ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ exists, the meaning is probably akin to passages in John (and beyond) where light is an image of salvation and divine power.²⁷⁵

The text on Fol. B↓ (and the last line of Fol. A→) is a citation of John 1:29 (ὁ ἄμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἶρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου), the only variation being the shift to the plural ἁμαρτίας. This is separated from the confession of Nathanael in Fol. B↓ (John 1:49), so we are obviously dealing with a kind of patchwork of Gospel texts, as we find in many amulets. Moreover, forgiveness of sins is a prominent theme in amulets. Not only do we find it in the

Early Christian Manuscripts, 39-57, at 48-50. For the original editorial reconstruction, see H.I. Bell and T.C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London: British Museum, 1935), 47.

²⁷⁴ See, e.g., Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Sacra Pagina 1; Collegeville, Liturgical Press, 1991), 80.

²⁷⁵ Another point to make is that John 1:5 (“the light shines in the darkness”) is cited in P.Vindob. G. 29831, a protective amulet that we have already discussed above.

Lord’s Prayer (the most common New Testament text on amulets), we also find it in P.Berl. inv. 13977, which cites 1 Tim. 1:15-16 (“Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners—of whom I am the foremost”). Thus, several features tip the scales in favor of an amuletic designation: 1) a patchwork of Gospel texts that convey divine power and salvation (“walk in the sun”) and the forgiveness of sins, 2) holes and a string still attached, 3) staurogram, 4) isopsephism, and 5) non-continuation of text on Fol. A→. Given these conclusions, P.Berl. inv. 11710 should be transferred from de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s table of “Possible Amulets” to their table of “Certain Amulets and Formularies.”

In regard to the textual character of the two biblical citations, both are close in their wording in comparison with NA²⁸. The following deviations may be noted:

John 1:49

ῥαββί NA²⁸] ῥαββιού κύριε **P.Berl. inv. 11710**

John 1:29

ἴδε NA²⁸] ῥαββιού κύριε σὺ εἶ **P.Berl. inv. 11710**

τὴν ἀμαρτίαν NA²⁸] τὰς ἀμαρτίας **P.Berl. inv. 11710 W**

The last part of the first citation (1:49) is identical to the text of NA²⁸. The two differences are the vocative form of ῥαββιού and the addition of κύριε. The substitution of μ for β in the spelling ῥαμβιού (pap.) can be explained as an insertion of a medial nasal before a stop, examples of which may be found in Gignac’s *Grammar*.²⁷⁶ In addition to the examples listed by Gignac, we can also cite ἀποκάλυμψις (for ἀποκάλυψις), which occurs in many Coptic manuscripts, including P.Mich. inv. 1557.²⁷⁷ Whether there is some Coptic influence on the spelling is unclear, although it is at least possible, given the two lines of Coptic on Fol. B→. As others have noted, the double-vocative phrase κύριε ῥαββί is found in a few manuscripts at Mark 10:51 (D it), as a variant of ῥαββουví.

²⁷⁶ See Gignac, *Grammar*, I:118.

²⁷⁷ See Brice C. Jones and Lorenzo DiTommaso, “A Coptic Exegetical Text on the Apocalypse of John and an Excursus on the ‘Valley of Jehoshaphat,’” forthcoming.

The second citation (1:29) is nearly verbatim with the text of NA²⁸. The only deviations are the addition of a confession at the beginning (replacing ἴδε) and the shift to a plural in ὁμοπρίας. The text of the amulet could reflect the text found in the tradition, since Codex W reads τὰς ὁμοπρίας at this point.²⁷⁸ However, since the reading in Codex W represents a singular reading, the shift to the plural is more likely indicative of a faulty citation from memory or the preference of the scribe. A similar case (i.e., shift from singular to plural) may be found in P.Duke inv. 778 above. The spelling ἔρον (for ἄρων) is a common itacism (α > ε); ἔρων is read by \aleph N W Θ 063.²⁷⁹

In sum, the text of P.Berl. inv. 11710 does not offer any significant readings that would play a role in discussions about the earliest recoverable text of John. Given that the readings may be cited from memory and that the textual sample is so brief, it is not feasible to evaluate its textual character. Nonetheless, the foregoing analysis contributes much to the discussion of this interesting papyrus, especially its designation as an amulet. Given this label, we contend that it is at least possible that its text was *created specifically for inclusion on this particular amulet* and that it may not have existed in this form in any antecedent literary tradition. In other words, it may not be right to speak of this text as an apocryphal Gospel at all. While this question remains outside the parameters of the study, it should elicit appropriate caution as to how scholars label P.Berl. inv. 11710.

21. JOHN 2:1a-2 || ROM. 12:1-2 || PS. 90:1-2

P.Vindob. G 2312²⁸⁰

14.9 x 6 cm

5th-6th cent. C.E.

LDAB 3488

Von Dobschütz \aleph ⁸

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 59

²⁷⁸ The variant is not cited in NA²⁸ but see Schmid, et al., *New Testament in Greek IV*, 199.

²⁷⁹ See Gignac, *Grammar*, I:192-193.

²⁸⁰ Photograph online at: http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/CGFBGGJX7DE5XD1Q943PU8N8TUADFQG3ERRH8D2SSX2Q2XIHKD-02572?func=find-b&find_code=WRD&adjacent=N&request=02312&x=0&y=0.

Ed. princ. C.F.G. Heinrici, *Die Leipziger Papyrusfragmente der Psalmen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments 4; Leipzig, 1903), 31-32.²⁸¹

↓ * * * * *
 1 ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψ[ίσ]του ἐν σκέπη τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ
 τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ἀνλισθήσεται ἐρῖ τ[ῶ] κ(υρί)ῳ Ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου
 εἶ καὶ καταφυγή μου ὁ θε(ός) β[ο]ηθός μου καὶ ἐλπῶ ἐπ' αὐ<τόν>
 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί διὰ τῶν ἐκτιμῶν τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ
 5 π[α]ραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ψυχὴν σῶζαν εὐά-
 ρεστον τὴν λογικὴν λατρίαν καὶ μὴ συνσχημα<τίζεσθε>
 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐγ Κανᾶ τῆς Γα-
 λιλαίας ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐ<τοῦ>
 [magic signs] Ἀδωναῖ [magic signs] κ(ύριο)ς [magic signs] Σαβαώθ

1. βοηθεία ἐν 2. ἀνλισθήσεται | ἐρει 3. οἰκτιμῶν 4. οἰκτιμῶν 5. corr. to ζῶσαν 6. λατρεία 7.
 8. μήτηρ

Translation

(Ps. 90:1-2) The one who lives in the shelter of the Most High, who abides in the shadow of the [God], will say to the Lord, “You are my refuge and my fortress, God my helper, and I will hope in him.” (Rom. 12:1-2) I appeal to you, brothers, through the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living soul, acceptable, which is your spiritual worship. And do not be conformed [...] (John 2:1a-2) And on the third day, there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee. And Jesus and his mother with h[im] were invited.

This papyrus, formerly under the inventory no. 8032, contains verses from the Psalms, John, and Romans, and is written against the fibers (↓) on a single piece of rectangular papyrus; the back is blank.²⁸² It was listed as \mathfrak{Z}^8 in von Dobschütz’s list of talismans (see Appendix 2). There are 8 lines of text in Greek; the last line contains sacred names and “magic” signs. Above the first line of text, there are seven, seven-pointed “asterisks” or stars that are extremely common in “magical” texts.²⁸³ Despite a few small lacunae, the papyrus is complete, with all four margins intact. There are traces of ink in the lower margin that were transferred from the wet ink above as the result of folding. In fact the horizontal folding line is clearly visible, as are the letters ληθ

²⁸¹ Sanzo (*Scriptural Incipits*, 114) and the LDAB have Heinrici’s edition running from pages 30-32, but it actually begins at 31.

²⁸² This papyrus has been studied extensively and listed in several catalogues over the last century. See the extensive bibliography cited in Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 114.

²⁸³ See, e.g., the illustrations in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 122, 149, 270, 283, 286, 293, 302. See also Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 21, and 224, notes to ll. 15-16.

from the word ἐκλήθη in l. 8. There are several folding lines visible, indicating that it was folded into a little square and perhaps placed in a packet or pocket. There are four words written as *nomina sacra*: κύριος (x2), θεός (x3), οὐρανός, and Ἰησοῦς. There is some sort of red pigment around some letters and on the papyrus generally whose purpose is not clear.

The scribe has written his/her letters with care. The letters are neat, inclined to the right, separated, roughly bilinear, with very little contrast between thick and thin strokes. The hand is an example of a type of sloping majuscule common to the early Byzantine period (fourth to sixth centuries): μ with low saddle, π with curved top, straight-backed σ and ε, y-shaped υ. Heinrici dated the papyrus to the fourth century, but Wessely dated it to the sixth to seventh.²⁸⁴ The LDAB as well as most other scholars have adopted Wessely's later dating of the papyrus. However, Wessely offered no comparanda; he merely listed the date ("du VI-VII^e siècle"). In fact, the hand can be dated earlier than what Wessely suggested. We see close parallels in examples of the sloping majuscules in its early stages, such as P.Vindob. G 19815 (LDAB 1271; Hesiod, fourth century C.E.), but even closer ones in the fifth century, such as the "Cairo Menander" (LDAB 2745; fifth century C.E.), with its more rounded forms.²⁸⁵ That this style continues into the next century is evidenced in papyri like P.Vindob. G 29769 (LDAB 1001; Euripides, sixth century C.E.), but in this century and beyond the letters generally become more upright and bimodular. Thus, a better dating of P.Vindob. G 2312 is fifth/sixth century.

The last line of text has posed a real problem to previous editors, except for the three obvious words (Ἀδωναῖ κύριος Σαβαώθ). Wessely's comment is indicative of the state of confusion among editors: "en caractères étrangers."²⁸⁶ Heinrici himself did not transcribe the line other than the divine names but he was the one responsible for the belief that the last line

²⁸⁴ See Heinrici, *Leipziger Papyrusfragmente*, 31; Carl Wessely, "Monuments," 411.

²⁸⁵ See Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pls. 11b and 16b, respectively.

²⁸⁶ Wessely, "Monuments," 411.

consisted of “magic” names written in Coptic: “die Punkte auf der letzten Zeile sind in dem Original durch koptische Zaubernamen ausgefüllt.”²⁸⁷ This gets repeated by virtually all subsequent scholars.²⁸⁸ Sanzo’s description that the line contains a “list of sacred names and characters” is more accurate.²⁸⁹ While there are three characters that resemble the Coptic letters Ϸ, ω, and ϣ, what we have here are actually “magic” signs. In one of Kotansky’s amulets (no. 62, “A Magic ‘Sword’”), there are several nearly identical “magic” signs in the midst of the divine names Ἰάω, Ἀδωνάϊ, and Σαβαώθ.²⁹⁰ And in his no. 23, there is a “magic” sign (resembling the Arabic numeral “3”) that *is* identical to the fifth sign in our amulet. In this last example, the “magic” signs occur alongside the divine names Ἰάω and Ἀδωνάϊ (pap. Ἀθωνάϊ). These three names occur in several other amulets in Kotansky’s study alone (nos. 2, 7, 35, 38, 60), not to mention all the other Greek magical papyri excluded from his study. In any case, there is a pattern among the Greek magical papyri that we also see here: “magic” signs being used alongside these particular divine names. What is unique, as far as I am aware, is the name κύριος written alongside the others as a *nomen sacrum*. It is possible that κ(ύρι)ος is a replacement of Ἐλωάϊ, which is very common in amulets, occurring alongside those already mentioned.

We must now ask the question: why were *these* particular scriptural passages chosen? Ps. 90 is not out of the ordinary by any means, but the other two passages (John 2:1-2 and Rom. 12:1-2) are unique to this amulet. It has been proposed that this amulet was designed for lovers or newly-weds.²⁹¹ But this suggestion has no basis whatsoever, as Sanzo has rightly noted:

²⁸⁷ Heinrici, *Leipziger Papyrusfragmente*, 31 n.4.

²⁸⁸ Aland claims, for example, that the last line is partly written in Coptic (“Teilweise mit koptischen litt geschrieben”), as do Rahlfs and Fraenkel (“Letzte Zeile Gottesanrufung, z.T. kopt. Buchstaben”). See Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 13 (337), and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 393, respectively. Pickering also mentions the presence of “Coptic material such as one expects in magical incantations” (“Significance,” 127).

²⁸⁹ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 114.

²⁹⁰ Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 369-373, and the illustration on 370. On the significance of the name Sabaoth in “magical” amulets, see the discussion of P.Princ. 2.107 (no. 5), where the name appears three times.

²⁹¹ According to Thomas J. Kraus, “Der Papyrus P.Vindob. G 2312...diente als Amulett für Frischverliebte bzw. für Jungverheiratete” (“Der lukian bzw. Antiochenische Text der Psalmen in Papyri und Inschriften. Eine Suche nach

While one must certainly be cautious in assuming that the practitioner has intentionally altered the text here, the replacement of ‘living soul’ for ‘living sacrifice’ in Rom 12:1 makes perfect sense within the context of a general curative or protective ritual and thus does not require one to postulate a ritual for newly-weds [...] these texts were most likely used in a ritual for healing or from protection from some kind of demonic attack.²⁹²

I agree with Sanzo’s assessment, which prompts an even further question: why do we not find more texts from the Pauline and pseudo-Pauline corpus on amulets? Outside of this amulet, there are only two others containing texts from the Pauline literature: P.Berl. inv. 13997 (*no.* 23; 1 Tim. 1:15-16) and P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (*no.* 22; 2 Cor. 10:4, 1 Thess. 5:8, Eph. 6:16).²⁹³ With Paul’s emphasis on the spiritual body and passages that speak of protection from evil and the evil one (e.g., Gal. 1:4, 2 Thess. 3:2-3), the absence of such texts in amulets is surprising. Perhaps the liturgical context had some influence on the situation, since gospel lectionaries (*euangelistarion*) were far more common than those with texts outside the Gospels (*apostolos*).²⁹⁴ It is also possible that Paul’s general exclusion of Jesus traditions was a reason for not using his letters as frequently in a ritual context. On the other hand, elements from the Gospels and thus the life of Jesus were probably considered to be more “powerful,” and so it makes sense that these materials were the most trendy among ritual specialists.

Our transcription above differs from those in previous editions. In addition to providing accents, the following changes have been made. The κ of κυρίω in l. 2 has been given a sublinear dot, since this letter is only partially visible. Wessely reconstructs the abbreviation as

der Stecknadel im Heuhaufen?” in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Marcus Sigismund [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013], 133-162, at 151). The “newly-wed” association is adopted also in the LDAB entry as well as in Jutta Henner, Hans Förster, and Ulrike Horak, eds., *Christliches mit Feder und Faden: Christlichen in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten; Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Papyruseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aus Anlaß des 14. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Wien: Österreichische Verlagsgesellschaft C. & E. Dworak, 1999), 49.

²⁹² Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 167.

²⁹³ It cannot be said with any certainty that P.Schøyen 1.16 cites 2 Cor. 13:13, as the editor initially proposed. See my discussion of the problem of this attribution above.

²⁹⁴ Osburn notes that over two-thirds of all Greek lectionaries are gospel-only lectionaries (“Greek Lectionaries,” 2nd ed., 94). Note also that Greco-Coptic manuscripts from Egypt containing New Testament letters are scant. See Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 254.

θ(ε)ϖ but the “points” of κ’s obliques seem clear.²⁹⁵ The endings of the last words of ll. 3 and 8 (αὐτόν and αὐτοῦ, respectively) were placed in brackets by both Heinrici and Wessely, but brackets indicate a restoration of the original. Since we know that the scribe omitted these letters altogether (whether deliberately or accidentally), they should rather be placed within angle brackets (or “chevrons”), following standard editorial procedure. In l. 5, Heinrici read ζῶσαν (=NA²⁸), Wessely read σῶζαν, and Pickering read σῶξαν. Sanzo claims that “Wessely *incorrectly* substituted the phrase, ‘ψυχὴν σῶζαν’ for the phrase, ‘ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,’” but, in fact, Wessely was right: this is what the scribe *originally* wrote.²⁹⁶ The scribe here has simply interchanged the two letters ζ and σ in the word ζῶσαν, a very typical phenomenon in Greek papyri.²⁹⁷ In this case, then, the original wording must not be seen as a textual variant but as a spelling mistake for ζῶσαν (=NA²⁸). What Wessely does not indicate is that the scribe or a later reader noticed this mistake and corrected the word to ζῶσαν by changing the initial sigma to a zeta and the zeta to a sigma. The scribe wrote συνσχημα in l. 6, omitting the rest of the word (-τίξεσθε). To indicate the omission in the original, we have placed the omitted letters in angular brackets.²⁹⁸ Following Wessely and Pickering, we have revised ἰκτηρμῶν (so Heinrici) to ἐκτηρμῶν; the ε is more than clear. Following both Wessely and Pickering, we have changed ἐν in l. 7 to ἐγ (read ἐν). Subsequent scholarship should make use of the revised transcription above.

The New Testament citations begin with Rom. 12:1-2 in l. 4. The citation of this passage is fairly close to the text of NA²⁸ in v. 1, with the following exceptions:

οὖν NA²⁸] *omit* **P.Vindob. G 2312**
 θυσίαν NA²⁸] ψυχὴν **P.Vindob. G 2312**
 [ζῶσαν NA²⁸] σῶζαν* **P.Vindob. G 2312]**

²⁹⁵ Wessely, “Monuments,” 411.

²⁹⁶ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 167 n. 53 (emphasis mine).

²⁹⁷ See the examples in Gignac, *Grammar*, I:120-121.

²⁹⁸ Heinrici, Wessely, and Pickering all read συνσχημα without indicating the omitted letters in their transcriptions.

ἀγίαν NA²⁸] *omit* **P.Vindob. G 2312**
 τῷ θεῷ NA²⁸] *omit* **P.Vindob. G 2312**
 ὑμῶν² NA²⁸] *omit* **P.Vindob. G 2312**

The omission of οὖν is explainable: since nothing comes before this verse in the amulet, οὖν is superfluous, since it “signifies that something *follows* from what precedes.”²⁹⁹ A similar omission may be found in P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453. As we have already seen, according to Sanzo, the substitution of ψυχὴν for θυσίαν “makes perfect sense within the context of a general curative or protective ritual.”³⁰⁰ We must then treat this variant as a singular reading that arose from the circumstances of the ritual and not as a legitimate variant stemming from the manuscript tradition. As for the third variant, how should we go about explaining the awkward phrase “saving soul” (ψυχὴν σωζων)? We do not have to, because, as we noted above, we are dealing with a spelling error—not a variation in wording. Thus, the reading agrees with the text of NA²⁸ and is not a variant; we have therefore bracketed it in the list of variants above. The last three variants (omission of ἀγίαν, τῷ θεῷ, and ὑμῶν²) are of no real value to the textual critic, since they are singulars. There is no apparent reason why the scribe would have intentionally omitted these words. In fact, the omission of the first two is surprising (“holy,” “to God”), since one would think those words would have been meaningful in a curative or protective ritual context.

The citation of John includes several interesting readings. It deviates from the text of NA²⁸ as follows:

v. 1: τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ NA²⁸] τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ **G 2312 B Θ U f³**
 v. —: τῇ Κανῶ NA²⁸] Κανῶ **G 2312**
 v. —: καὶ²...ἐκεῖ NA²⁸] *omit* **G 2312**
 v. 2: καὶ¹ NA²⁸] *omit* **G 2312** Ɑ⁶⁶ 045 0211 579 it vg^{mss} bo^{ms}
 v. —: καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ NA²⁸] καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐ<τοῦ> **G 2312**

²⁹⁹ Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2964 (665).

³⁰⁰ Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 167.

The first reading (τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ) finds support in several manuscripts, including Codex Vaticanus. The omission of τῆ before Κανά follows the tradition, except for ℘⁷⁵, which includes it. But this is not a significant point of variation. The omission of v. 1b (καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ) is more problematic. According to Pickering,

We might even suggest that the papyrus version represents the way some people thought of the incident, with the emphasis on Jesus being invited rather than on his mother as the first-named guest. This could in turn suggest a reason for the omission of καὶ in some manuscripts: the word could have been dropped to avoid the impression that Jesus was merely an accompanying guest. An increased emphasis on Jesus and the relative de-emphasising of his mother are precisely what the papyrus conveys.³⁰¹

This is an interesting take on the omission of v. 1b. Further support for it can be found in the scribe's substitution of καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ for καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ in v. 2. That is to say, since the mother of Jesus was omitted from the opening verse, the scribe still needed to place her at the wedding, and so he does it by having her listed as an invitee along with Jesus. So, the substitution in v. 2 helps *explain* the omission in v. 1b and I conclude with Pickering that the omission was deliberate.

Given the freedoms the scribe took in copying and editing the citation, we may classify both the textual quality and transmission character as “free.” In the words of Pickering, “the scribe (or the scribe's text) moves in and out of exact correspondence to a standard form of the New Testament passages, shifting in a flexible way between word-for-word transmission and free forms of transmission.”³⁰² However, the reading τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ may be useful insofar as it supports a known variant in several important manuscripts.

22. 2 COR. 10:4 || 1 THESS. 5:8/EPH. 6:16

P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453³⁰³
LDAB 3051
de Bruyn and Dijkstra 92

16.5 x 19 cm

6th cent. C.E.

³⁰¹ Pickering, “Significance,” 127-128.

³⁰² Pickering, “Significance,” 129.

³⁰³ Photograph online at: <http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/6BSE4MYAX3IXD7G7TNJNC61QY54QR55RNBUD9J>

Ed. princ. Herbert Hunger, “Zwei unbekannte neutestamentliche Papyrusfragmente der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,” *Biblos* 8 (1959): 11-12 (G 30453); idem, “Ergänzungen zu zwei neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,” *Biblos* 19 (1970): 71-75 (G 26034 + G 30453).

↓	Uncorrected Text	Corrected Text
1	✠ τὰ ὄπλα τῆς στρατίας σου σαρκικά ἀλλὰ τῆνατὰ τ[ῶ θ(ε)ῶ] τρουλακα π [π]ίστεος ἀνα[λάβ]ῳ καὶ περικε- φαλαίαν ἐλπ[ίδα σ]ωτηρίας	1 ✠ τὰ ὄπλα τῆς στρατείας οὐ σαρκικά ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῶ θ(ε)ῶ θώρακα πίστεως ἀναλάβω καὶ περικε- φαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας
5	κ[ύρι] <έ> νου δός ὡς [τῶ γ]νόστη σου θὴν ἐναλλ[αγὴν] ἅ παρέδειξας ἐνίκυσας δύραννον ἔ[[ν]]λαβεν τὸ[ν] σ[τέ]φανον ὁ δὲ υἱό[ς] ἐλεήθητι	5 κ(ύρι)έ μου δός ὡς τῶ γνώστη σου τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν ἅ παρέδειξας ἐνίκησας τύραννον ἔλαβες τὸν στέφανον ὁ δὲ υἱός ἐλεήθητι
10	πάν[τας] ἡμᾶς	10 πάντας ἡμᾶς

Translation

The weapons of warfare are not fleshly, but they have divine power. Take up the breastplate of faith and a helmet the hope of salvation. My Lord, give me who knows (i.e., believes in) you, the prize for what you have proven: you have defeated the tyrant and taken the crown. Son, have mercy on us all.

This sheet of papyrus contains 10 lines of writing in a single column against the fibers (↓); the other side is blank.³⁰⁴ The top half of the sheet is listed under the inventory G 30453 and was published first by Hunger in 1959. The lower half of the sheet (G 26034) was later connected with the upper and published together in an updated edition by Hunger in 1970. The ink has faded badly, and the discoloration that is likely an effect of a central, vertical fold has made it difficult to read letters along that spot. A staurogram precedes the first line of writing. At the left edge corresponding to l. 7, there is a trace of ink. De Bruyn observes that there are three vertical creases and one horizontal crease.³⁰⁵ The line length suggests that θεός in l. 2 was written as a *nomen sacrum*. υἱός in l. 9 exhibits *scriptio plena*. The word κύριε in l. 5 is problematic but discernable nonetheless. The scribe wrote κνου (read: κ μου), and Hunger is surely correct to

FAVFN8KNRDR-00686?func=find-b&find_code=WRD&adjacent=N&request=26034&x=0&y=0.

³⁰⁴ Although Hunger did report some traces of illegible ink on the left edge of the recto: “Das Rekto ist leer, weist aber am linken Rand Tintenspuren auf” (“Zwei unbekannte neutestamentliche Papyrusfragmente,” 11).

³⁰⁵ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 196 n. 161.

restore the vocative ending ε in angular brackets indicating that it was erroneously omitted. Support of this is found in the fact that such invocations in amulets often open with an address to God (e.g. P.Oxy. 8.1151 [*no. 17*] and P.Köln 8.340 [*no. 18*]; cf. also the Lord's Prayer).

The handwriting is typical of early Greek Byzantine literary and documentary manuscripts: swift, inclined to the right, bimodular, pointed sigma and epsilon, υ as y. The epsilons at the start of ll. 7-8 are enlarged and formed as majuscules, in contrast to the narrow ε in the rest of the text. A sixth century date is highly probable. Cf. the hands of P.Oxy. 11.1357 (liturgic Church calendar; 535/6 C.E.), P.Lit.Lond. 98 (Dioscorus, 560-575 C.E.), and P.Cair.Masp. 67175 (*Life of Isocrates*, sixth century C.E.).³⁰⁶

The texts consist of a mishmash of New Testament passages (2 Cor. 10:4 and an apparent conflation of 1 Thess. 5:8 and Eph. 6:16) followed by a protective invocation. We may compare the readings in the first citation with NA²⁸ as follows:

2 Cor. 10:4

γάρ NA²⁸] *omit* **G 26034 + 30453**

ἡμῶν NA²⁸] *omit* **G 26034 + 30453**

Our amulet omits γάρ and ἡμῶν, but otherwise it agrees with the text of NA²⁸. The omission of γάρ is natural, since, as either a causal conjunction or confirmatory adverb, the term always refers back to a preceding phrase.³⁰⁷ In the context of the amulet, it is superfluous, since nothing precedes the quotation.³⁰⁸ The omission of ἡμῶν (“our warfare”) might be explained as an attempt to make the amulet more personal, namely, more relevant to the client. The reading στρατίας is most probably a misspelling of στρατείας and not στρατιάς.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Images in Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pls. 30a, 32a, 33b, respectively.

³⁰⁷ See Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2803 (637-638). Cf. the omission of οὖν in P.Vindob. G 2312 (*no. 21*) above.

³⁰⁸ A similar case occurs with the omission of καί in P.Vindob. G 29831 (fol. 2a, l. 1; see above).

³⁰⁹ In the critical apparatus, several manuscripts are listed as attesting to this reading (στρατίας) in 2 Cor. 10:4 (including D² K L), but it seems to me that those may be cases of error in punctuation and/or interpretation. The original scribe of D^p wrote the word without an accent; the circumflex over iota was added by a ninth century corrector; see Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 73-74.

The second citation deviates from the text of the NA²⁸ in the following way:

1 Thess. 5:8

καὶ ἀγάπης NA²⁸] ἀναλάβω **G 26034 + 30453**

The verb governing θώρακα in 1 Thess. 5:8 is ἐνδυσάμενοι (“put on”), and it is positioned before it. In the amulet, the verb is ἀναλάβω (“take up”), which may be the result of harmonization to a similar phrase in Eph. 6:16 where the text reads ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως (“take up the shield of faith”). Note, however, that the syntax of the latter passage is different than that of our passage, which has the verb positioned after the direct object. Thus, the citation is loose. Given that the amulet has apparently been personalized, resulting in the omission of some words, and that the citation has been adulterated by conflation, its text represents a “free” text.

Yet a final question remains: why would a Christian use *these* passages in an amulet? No other Christian amulet contains a citation of these texts, so it is unique. De Bruyn and Dijkstra place it in their table of “Probable Amulets.” According to de Bruyn elsewhere, this artifact does not “provide a clear indication of amuletic purpose.”³¹⁰ On the contrary, it seems clear enough that it does. In fact, it meets at least two of the criteria used by de Bruyn and Dijkstra to identify a text as an amulet: a staurogram and incantation. More importantly, the contents themselves clearly suggest an amuletic purpose. The biblical citations (2 Cor. 10:4 and 1 Thess. 5:8/Eph. 6:16) have to do with protection, a theme we have seen in several amulets already. The first passage refers to the weapons of warfare as having “divine power” (δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ) and the second passage contains an imperative to “take up” (ἀναλάβω) the breastplate of faith.³¹¹ The upshot of the closing incantation is that Christ has won the battle over Satan (= τύραννον) and that this victory provided protection from evil for all mankind, and especially for the one wearing

³¹⁰ De Bruyn, “Papyri,” 162.

³¹¹ ἀναλάβω is an imperative serving as a command or exhortation (see Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §1835-1844 [409-411]).

the amulet.³¹² Thus, having a share in the crown—the “prize” requested—is a symbol of one’s salvation from evil. In other words, it is a request for protection, as is common in many amulets. This, coupled with the biblical passages concerning armor, is clearly suggestive of an amulet, and so I see no reason why P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 should not be transferred to de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s table of “Certain Amulets and Formularies.” In sum, what this particular amulet teaches us is that early Christians were not restricted to a *certain* quantity of passages. Instead, they were free to choose from a large pool of possible texts that had relevance for their specific needs, and this amulet is a good example of creative, literary patchwork.

23. 1 TIM. 1:15-16

P.Berl. inv. 13977 (GA
0262)³¹³

12 x 7.5 cm

7th cent. C.E.

LDAB 3061

de Bruyn and Dijkstra 89

Ed. princ. Kurt Treu, “Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung,” *APF* 18 (1966): 23-38, at 36-37.

Col 1. †

1 [πισ]τὸς ὡ λλόκος
καὶ πάσης ἀποτοχῆς
ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς
[ἦλθεν] εἰ[ς τ]ῶν
5 [κόσμον ἀμα]ρτ-
[ωλοὺς σώσαι]

Col 2.

ὁμ προτὸς ἰμιν
ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆτο
ἐλεήθην, ἵνα ἐν ἐ-
10 μοι πρώτῳ ἐνδείξη-
τε Χ(ριστό)ς [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] τῆν [ἄπα-]
[σαν μακροθυμίαν]

Col. 1: 1. ὁ λόγος
πρώτῳ 10-11. ἐνδείξεται

2. ἀποδοχῆς

Col. 2: 7. ὦν προτὸς

8. ἀλλά | τοῦτο

9. ἠλεήθην

10.

Translation

The saying is su[re] and worthy of full acceptance, that Christ Jesus [came] into the [world to save sinners]—of whom I am the foremost. But for that very reason I received mercy, so that in me, as the foremost, Christ [Jesus] might display the [utmost patience].

³¹² Paraphrasing Hunger, “Ergänzungen,” 75: “Christus hat in seinem Kampf um die Erlösung der Menschen von der Herrschaft dieses tyrant den Siegeskranz errungen. Die geistige Klammer zwischen beiden Teilen des Textes ist somit die kämpferische Abwehrbereitschaft des Menschen gegen das Böse und die Vernichtung des Bösen (in Person) durch Christus, beides zum Heil des Christen im allgemeinen, insbesondere natürlich des Trägers des Amulettes, des diesen Text niederschrieb.”

³¹³ Photograph online at: <http://smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/03978/>.

This isolated parchment sheet containing a citation of 1 Tim. 1:15-16 is registered in the *Liste* as GA 0262; it is no. 89 in de Bruyn and Dijkstra's list of amulets. The parchment sheet, measuring 12 x 7.5 cm, was folded in half to create a bifolium. The ample intercolumnar space would have easily allowed for a centerfold, although one is not visible. The lower left corner of the sheet has torn away. The hair side is blank.³¹⁴ A plain cross is written in the margin above col. 1. The orthography is very poor.

The handwriting is interesting, because it shifts from majuscule letters in col. 1 to cursive and semi-minuscule letters in col. 2. A close analysis of the ductus indicates that it is indeed the same scribe, but from a distance, it looks like two completely different hands. The writing of the first column is of the majuscule type, sloping slightly to the right, and is common to many literary manuscripts of the seventh century.³¹⁵ The writing of the second column is a good example of the "Byzantine minuscule cursive" from the seventh century. It is extremely close graphically to P.Vindob. G 39736, a Greek-Arabic letter that carries the date 643 C.E.³¹⁶ Common features include: long descenders ending in hooks (e.g., μ in col. 2, l. 1), ϵ in two movements, often with a broken back, ligatured and sloping to the right. Both styles of handwriting were contemporaneous, and we can even point to a Greek contract in which both styles are present on the same papyrus (but in different hands): P.Vindob. G 19807 + 25195 (640-650 C.E.).³¹⁷ Thus, our fragment can be securely dated on palaeographical grounds, and it is also a nice example of the transition from majuscule to minuscule writing in the seventh century.

³¹⁴ I was not able to secure an image of the backside and so relied on Treu's distinction between hair and flesh. Treu uses the term "verso" ("Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente," 36) but the corresponding term "hair" is found in *NewDocs* 2:138.

³¹⁵ Treu's description of the handwriting is "Grobe, flüchtige Schrift, Col. 1 überwiegend Majuskelformen, Col. II kursiv, mit bis in die nächste Zeile ausgezogenen Ober- und Unterlängen" ("Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente," 36).

³¹⁶ Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 43c. The term "Byzantine minuscule cursive" is used by Cavallo to describe this type of hand.

³¹⁷ Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 46a.

A few comments must be made concerning the transcription. Treu's transcription (and the one reproduced in *NewDocs* 2:138) is in need of slight revision. First of all, it must be noted that the parchment shows signs of being a palimpsest. To what extent it was inscribed before the superior text was written is hard to say, but there are several traces of letters, especially in col. 2 (see, e.g., the smudged letter above and a little to the left of the first letter of l. 1 and the various traces of ink in that line and the ones following).

Second, there are a couple letters or signs that are clearly visible, which Treu neither transcribed nor commented on. In col. 1, l. 4, following $\omega\nu$ there is an enigmatic letter or combination of letters that strongly resembles a staurogram (see Fig. 6):³¹⁸



Fig. 6

One of the open questions is, if this is a staurogram—I am not sure what else it could be—why does it occur *here*? It is an odd place for a staurogram, although it should be noted that we do find staurograms or crosses consistently placed at the *beginning* of each line in some amulets, such as P.Batav. 20.

Third, in the very next line, following ρ (the last letter in Treu's transcription), there appears a letter resembling a *tau*. Surprisingly, yet again, Treu does not mention this letter. But we do have here two letters: ρ and most probably τ (see Fig. 7):



Fig. 7

³¹⁸ This is not noted by de Bruyn and Dijkstra.

Since the letters occur near the centerfold, it could be that the scribe squeezed the following τ onto the line by writing it just underneath and a little to the right of ρ . If this is the case, then the transcription would certainly need to be revised to $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau$ - in l. 5. Another possibility is that the letters *tau* and *rho* are written here as a staurogram, at least in form. It is larger but indeed graphically similar to the apparent staurogram at the end of the previous line, although the curve of tau's horizontal in both instances is odd. The parchment breaks through the lower half of the second symbol (as seen in Fig. 7), so one would have to imagine ρ descending then curling upward; the stroke is continued until it reaches the cross-bar of τ (this part is seen in Fig. 7). An important point to make here is that in P.Vindob. G 39736—the Greek-Arabic letter cited above in the discussion about the dating of the hand of the present text—and in P.Vindob. G 12081 there are staurograms that look very similar (identical in the latter).³¹⁹ In P.Vindob. G 12081, the descender of ρ rises and connects to tau's cross-bar, and so this characteristic form in these contemporary manuscripts can possibly be explained as a by-product of the script. Nonetheless, whether we are dealing with a τ that is squeezed onto the line or a tau-rho compendium in the form of a staurogram, we must revise Treu's transcription to include τ as the last letter on this line.

Fourth, at the end of l. 10 in col. 2, Treu places the last two letters in brackets: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\acute{\iota}[\xi\eta]$. As it turns out, however, both letters are present on the parchment, although η is faint. Our transcription above has been amended accordingly.

Fifth, there is yet another instance that we must take into consideration. At the beginning of l. 3, col. 1, there is an apparent letter, perhaps ι , following $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The letter or marking is not clear at all, although it does resemble ι , which would constitute a nonsense reading. Why Treu left these letters completely out of consideration remains a mystery.

³¹⁹ Image of P.Vindob. G 12081 may be found online at: http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/?func=find-c&ccl_term=WID%3DRZ00004485&local_base=ONB08.

At this juncture we must think about this text's *raison d'être*. In Treu's view the little parchment sheet "War in der Mitte vermutlich gefaltet, wohl als Amulett, wozu der Inhalt paßt."³²⁰ Van Haelst, probably merely repeating Treu at this point, comments that the parchment is "probablement une amulette."³²¹ In Turner's "Consolidated List of Codices Consulted" (Table 16), our manuscript is "NT Parchm. 100A," which carries the description "*Not* a codex: amulet."³²² The identification of this parchment fragment as an amulet finds support in the presence of a cross, possible staurograms, and a blank verso. All of these features are part of our Criterion #2 from chapter 2 above ("The Use of Amulets"). According to Treu, this identification is also consistent with the content. However, de Bruyn and Dijkstra place this in their table of "probable amulets," most likely because the content is unusual in amulets. Most amulets, as we have seen, invoke biblical material for their curative or protective value; such passages include, for example, the Lord's Prayer, Ps. 90, Matt. 4:23, etc. But as de Bruyn and Dijkstra state, texts with biblical material *other* than these more usual passages—and especially when they stand alone—are often difficult to classify, since they may have functioned more broadly as beneficial or devotional pieces and not as curative or protective items. In other words, "[t]he boundary between an apotropaic practice and a devotional practice cannot always be clearly drawn."³²³ We have already seen that P.Oxy. 64.4406 (*no. 15*) may have served a devotional purpose, since it cites Jesus' foretelling of his resurrection from the dead after three days, which is otherwise unattested in the amuletic record (see discussion above). It is possible that the scriptural passage here may have served a similar purpose. The text cited in our amulet is from 1 Tim. 1:15-16. The author of the pastoral epistle at this point offers his/her gratitude for God's mercy and salvation.

The full context is as follows:

³²⁰ Treu, "Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente," 36.

³²¹ Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 532.

³²² Turner, *Typology*, 162 (*italics original*).

³²³ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets," 180.

¹²I am grateful to Christ Jesus our Lord, who has strengthened me, because he judged me faithful and appointed me to his service, ¹³even though I was formerly a blasphemer, a persecutor, and a man of violence. But I received mercy because I had acted ignorantly in unbelief, ¹⁴and the grace of our Lord overflowed for me with the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus. ¹⁵The saying is sure and worthy of full acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners—of whom I am the foremost. ¹⁶But for that very reason I received mercy, so that in me, as the foremost, Jesus Christ might display the utmost patience, making me an example to those who would come to believe in him for eternal life. ¹⁷To the King of the ages, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory forever and ever. Amen.³²⁴

This can be classified as a *historiola* proper, that is, an independent selection of scripture that stands on its own for a particular purpose.³²⁵ Thus, our fragment’s inclusion of vv. 15-16 was no doubt deliberate, and the text probably served as a constant reminder to the owner of the amulet that he/she received mercy and salvation through Jesus Christ.

The text’s extremely poor orthography led Treu to provide the text in normal orthography as follows:

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι· ὧν πρῶτος εἰμι ἐγώ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἠλεήθην, ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ πρῶτος ἐνδείξῃται Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τὴν ἅπασαν μακροθυμίαν.

When the orthography is corrected, we can see that the text agrees verbatim with the text of NA²⁸. In v. 16, there is a variation unit, which concerns the phrase Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς:

- (1) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός **ⲛ** D² K L P 630 1241 1505 **Ⲙ** ar vg^{mss} sy
- (2) Ἰησοῦς F G 1739 1881
- (3) Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός 614
- (4) Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς *txt* A D* H Ψ 0262^{vid} 33 81 104 326 365 629 1175 lat

One will notice from the witnesses cited for variant #4—the reading adopted by NA²⁸—that the manuscript under present analysis is in fact cited in support of the reading (0262^{vid}). “Vid” (= *ut videtur*) of course here “indicates that the reading attested by a witness cannot be determined with absolute certain.”³²⁶ This reading is very probable, however, because while the *nomen sacrum* for Ἰησοῦς cannot be seen on the fragment, the supralinear stroke can be.³²⁷ Setting aside

³²⁴ 1 Tim. 1:12-17.

³²⁵ On *historiolae*, see discussion at P.Turner 49 above.

³²⁶ NA²⁸, “Introduction,” 59*.

³²⁷ There is some ink in this place on the parchment, but the letter(s) cannot be made out.

the problems of orthography, we can characterize the textual quality and transmission character of this fragment as “strict.”

24. JUDE 4-5, 7-8

P.Oxy. 34.2684³²⁸ (GA P⁷⁸)
LDAB 2846
de Bruyn and Dijkstra 121

10.6 x 2.9 cm

4th-5th cent. C.E.

Ed. princ. P.J. Parsons, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XXXIV (eds. L. Ingrams, et al.; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1968), §2684.

Fol. 1→: Jude 4

1 γιαν καὶ τὸν μό-
2 νον δεσπότην
3 κ(ύριον)ν ἡμῶν Ἰη(σοῦ)ν Χρ(ιστὸ)ν

Fol. 1↓: Jude 4-5

4 ἀρνούμενοι· ὑπο-
5 μνήσαι δὲ ὑμᾶς
6 βούλομε ἀδελφ[

Fol. 2↓: Jude 7-8

1 αἰωνίου δίκην
2 ἐπέχουσαι ὁμοίως
3 μέντοι καὶ αυτοὶ
4 ἐνυπνιαζόμε-
5 νοι·

Fol. 2→: Jude 8

6 σάρκα μὲν μι-
7 αίνουσιν κυρει-
8 ότητα δὲ ἀθετοῦ-
9 σιν δόξαν δὲ [..

f. 1v: 6. βούλομαι

f. 2r: 2. ὑπέχουσαι?

4-5. ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι

f. 2v: 7-8 κυριότητα

Translation

(4-5) [licentious]ness and deny our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ. But I desire to remind you, brothers [...] (7-8) [...] undergoing punishment of eternal [fire]. Yet in the same way these dreamers also defile the flesh, reject authority, and slander the glorious ones [...]

There has been much debate over this manuscript, especially concerning whether it is an amulet or folio from a complete codex and, if it is an amulet, why someone chose this text. Kurt Aland's decision to include it in the official *Liste*, where it still remains under the siglum P⁷⁸, was based on his earlier assumption that the original codex contained the entire epistle of Jude (i.e., a continuous-text manuscript): “[The codex] was probably used as an amulet but probably

³²⁸ Photograph online at: http://www.csntm.org/Manuscript/View/GA_P78.

contained the whole Epistle of Jude.”³²⁹ Tommy Wasserman has provided the most comprehensive assessment of this papyrus to date, demonstrating persuasively that P.Oxy. 34.2684 is most probably an amulet, invoking the text of Jude because of its apotropaic value.³³⁰ According to Wasserman’s codicological reconstruction, “the codex once contained a larger portion of Jude, arguably vv. 1-13, and that it was produced, not reused, for the purpose of an amulet.”³³¹ Wasserman points to the text’s references of divine and angelic figures, judgment, and salvation, and draws several connections with similar Jewish and Christian “magical” texts attested elsewhere. Given these features in the immediate context, it seems that an amuletic designation is probable. Thus, de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s placement of this amulet in their category of “probable amulets” is appropriate.³³²

The papyrus consists of a bifolium that is inscribed in one column per folio. The amount of lines per folio varies from 3-5, and the average number of letters per line is c. 12-14. A centerfold is clearly visible, which means we may speak of this papyrus in terms of a “miniature codex,” although the dimensions are somewhat atypical (the width is nearly twice the height). As argued in the excursus above, the amulet vs. miniature codex distinction should be jettisoned. If we conclude that P.Oxy. 34.2684 is an amulet, we must conclude that it is *also* a miniature codex given its miniature size.³³³ The edges of the papyrus are straight, and there is minimal damage to the papyrus as a whole. It is clear that there are missing folios, since folio 1 recto begins in the

³²⁹ Aland, *Repertorium*, 314: “[Der Codex] diente vermutlich als Amulett, umfaßte aber wohl den ganzen Judasbrief.” In a later publication, Aland and Aland classify P78 as a “talisman” and state that it should have never been included in the *Liste* (Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 85).

³³⁰ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 51-72. For other discussions of and theories about this papyrus, see the extensive literature cited by Wasserman.

³³¹ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 70.

³³² De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 200-201.

³³³ “Miniature” may here be understood in terms of Bromer’s so-called “one-hand books”: books that can fit roughly in the palm of one’s hand (*Miniature Book*, 11). As stated in the Excursus above, Turner’s “less than 10 cm” rule has little heuristic value, because the ancients had no concept of this hypothetical measurement.

middle of a word, and because there are, according to Wasserman's reconstruction, c. 335 letters missing between Jude 5-7. Two holes are visible at the upper end along the centerfold.

The papyrus is written in an informal documentary hand. The scribe does a good job in separating the letters, although the tendency to slip into a cursive hand is evidenced by the cursive *epsilon* in folio 2↓, l. 2; cf. also the *delta* in folio 1↓, l. 3. In its non-cursive form, *epsilon*'s "back" is written in two parts. In terms of punctuation, there are tremata and one middle dot. *Nomina sacra* are abbreviated by a combination of suspension and contraction. This papyrus has traditionally been dated palaeographically to the third or fourth century, but this dating has been challenged recently by Clarysse and Orsini, who argue for a fifth century date.³³⁴ They cite P.Laur. 141 (LDAB 3235; Ps. 90, c. 485 C.E.) and PSI inv. 535 (LDAB 5961; homily on Christ's passion, second half of the fifth century C.E.); PSI 14.1371 (LDAB 3231; Ps. 36, mid fifth century C.E.) can also be added in support of this graphic stream.³³⁵ It is also similar in appearance to P.Mich. inv. 427 (rent of land and receipt of rent, Sept. 17, 314), though with less cursive elements.³³⁶ I would therefore accept Clarysse and Orsini's dating (fifth century), but I would extend their dating parameter to include the late fourth century as a possibility.

Wasserman's transcription retains the text of Parsons, although he adds sublinear dots to indicate doubt in a few places. While we have adapted Wasserman's transcription for the most part, we find the addition of two sublinear dots unnecessary: 1) ἡμῶν in folio 1→, l. 3 (the mu, although faint, is clearly visible on the papyrus, and 2) δὲ in folio 2→, l. 4 (*epsilon*'s "back" and middle horizontal are clear enough).

The text of P.Oxy. 34.2684 agrees with the text of NA²⁸ except in five places:

³³⁴ Clarysse and Orsini, "Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates," 459. There is a discrepancy in the date of P.Oxy. 2684 as listed in Table 1 at the end of Clarysse and Orsini's article (p. 471): there it is listed as "250-350," but it should read "400-500."

³³⁵ Contiguous images of PSI 14.1371, P.Laur. 141, and PSI inv. 535 may be found in Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pls. 19a-c.

³³⁶ Photograph online at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-2177/427r____.tif.

- v. 4: δεσπότην καί NA²⁸] δεσπότην **P.Oxy. 34.2684**
 v. 5: βούλομαι NA²⁸] + ἀδελφ[οί **P.Oxy. 34.2684**
 v. 7: ὑπέχουσαι NA²⁸] ἐπέχουσαι **P.Oxy. 34.2684**
 v. 8: οὗτοι NA²⁸] αὐτοί **P.Oxy. 34.2684** 1735
 v. -: δόξας NA²⁸] δόξαν **P.Oxy. 34.2684** 5 vg^{cl.wv} sy^{ph}

The first variant can be interpreted as an attempt to make the phrase τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν less ambiguous.³³⁷ As the text stands in NA²⁸, there is a question over whether God and Jesus are meant or if the phrase refers only to Jesus. The omission of καὶ precludes the interpretation of separate individuals: it is Jesus that is meant. Thus, the reading is likely secondary.

The addition of ἀδελφ[οί constitutes a singular reading that, according to Wasserman, may have arisen due to the influence of 2 Pet. 1:10.³³⁸ Whatever the cause of this singular reading, it has no bearing on the wider tradition.

Although the reading ἐπέχουσαι is attested as a variant, there is a good possibility that this reading in our papyrus is merely a spelling error for ὑπέχουσαι. Indeed, the interchange of υ > ε is not uncommon in the papyri.³³⁹ If ἐπέχουσαι is merely a problem of orthography, then that would perhaps explain its presence in a few later manuscripts (1505, 1611, 2138, 2200, *pc*). In other words, some scribes could have created it on the same error or copied the error faithfully from their exemplar. Two additional features support this theory. First, δίκην is in the accusative, a case not normally governed by a verb beginning with the prepositional prefix ἐπί-. And second, δίκην ἐπέχουσαι does not make a lot of sense.³⁴⁰ NA²⁸ cites the Sahidic manuscript tradition in support of the variant ἐπέχουσαι, but this is equally problematic, since ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲗⲁⲡⲓ does not help us

³³⁷ See the discussion in Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 251-254.

³³⁸ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 255.

³³⁹ See Gignac, *Grammar*, I:273. Gignac's first example is the word ἐδρύσκαζ for ὑδρίσκαζ (P.Mich. 121). To cite an additional example, see PSI 5.515 where on two different occurrences (ll. 8-9, 29-30) we find ἐπεχειρογράφησεν for ὑπεχειρογράφησεν.

³⁴⁰ See Wasserman (*Epistle of Jude*, 273), who refers to the meaning as "too difficult."

in recovering *either* possible source reading.³⁴¹ If we accept the theory that P.Oxy. 34.2684 follows the wider textual tradition in reading ὑπέχουσαι, albeit misspelled, then it needs to be removed from the apparatus at this point. This, however, is an editorial decision and one that, ultimately, I cannot make.

The shift in pronoun in v. 8 (οὔτοι > αὐτοί) does not drastically alter the sense, but the paucity of external attestation suggests that this is a casual aberration. Furthermore, on internal grounds, the use of οὔτοι in v. 10 (as a referent to the same group of adversaries) may be used in support of the reading οὔτοι in v. 8.

The reading δόξαν in v. 5 is best explained on the principle of *lectio difficilior*, that is, some scribes saw the grammatical incompatibility between κυριότητα (acc. sing.) and δόξας (acc. pl.) and so harmonized the latter to the former. The superior reading is, therefore, δόξας.

The Alands classified P.Oxy. 34.2684 as a “free text” and placed it within their “Category I.” Wasserman concluded that it “is of no value for the text-critic in the reconstruction of the text of Jude, and, therefore, should not have been included in the list of ‘New Testament papyri’ in the first place.”³⁴² But if we understand the reading ἐπέχουσαι as a misspelling for ὑπέχουσαι, then the ratio of deviation must be adjusted. With the nine variation units in this stretch of text in NA²⁸ and the extra variation unit of ἀδελφ[οί] (=singular), the ratio of deviation is 30%. Even if ἐπέχουσαι were the intended reading, the ratio of deviation would only jump by 10% (40%). In light of this analysis, I suggest that we cannot speak of this text as “eccentric.”³⁴³ Furthermore, we are not dealing with a short, isolated citation such as the Lord’s Prayer: this amulet’s text was most likely copied from an actual manuscript. Taking this into consideration

³⁴¹ Aspiration of the Greek loanword ἐπέχουσαι would also be problematic, since aspiration in Coptic was easily confused. See W.A. Girgis, “Greek Loan Words in Coptic, Part IV,” *BSAC* 20 (1971): 53-67; Gignac, *Grammar*, I:138.

³⁴² Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 101; Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 71.

³⁴³ So Parsons, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXXIV, 5 and Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 57.

along with the relatively close alignment with the text of NA²⁸, P.Oxy. 34.2684 can be used for text-critical endeavors, despite its probable use as an amulet. I would classify both the textual quality and transmission as “normal.”³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴ We have excluded the following manuscripts from our analysis above:

1) *P.Oxy. 60.4010* (LDAB 5717). We consider P.Oxy. 60.4010, along with others, to be a liturgical sheet from a roll. See Alan H. Cadwallader, “An Embolism in the Lord’s Prayer?,” *NTTRU* 4 (1996): 81-86. See also the lengthy discussion of this papyrus in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays, 1962–2004* (NovTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 779-781. According to Epp, “it most likely is a liturgical text” (*Perspectives*, 781). This papyrus is excluded from de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s checklist.

2) *P.Yale 1.3* (P⁵⁰) (LDAB 2861). While P.Yale 1.3 had once been classified as an amulet, we are persuaded by John Granger Cook’s conclusion that there is little need to classify it as such on the basis of its contents. Cook may be right that what we have instead are preacher’s notes. See his “P⁵⁰ (P.Yale I 3) and the Question of its Function,” in *Early Christian Manuscripts*, 115-128. This papyrus is excluded from de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s checklist.

3) *Chicago MS 125*. This manuscript is dated to the thirteenth century and thus outside the chronological parameters of this study. Also, an Egyptian provenance is not certain. This papyrus is excluded from de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s checklist.

4) P.Berl. inv. 11858 (LDAB 4209). A papyrus amulet with a prayer for protection that is fronted by a very loose paraphrase of Matt. 14:22-33 (the biblical paraphrase is not mentioned by de Bruyn and Dijkstra in their *Greek Amulets*, no. 40). The Greek text may be found in PGM 2:231-232, no. P23.

5) *P.Amh. 1.3b* (P¹²) (LDAB 3475). A private letter with Hebrews 1:1 written in a second hand in the upper margin; the backside contains a citation of Gen. 1:1-5 (P.Amh. 1.3c). Various scholars have considered this papyrus to be an amulet. But we agree with Claire Clivaz’s conclusion that “the probability of having here an amulet is quite weak.” See her extensive analysis of this papyrus in “The New Testament at the Time of the Egyptian Papyri: Reflection Based on P¹², P⁷⁵ and P¹²⁶ (P.Amh. 3b, P.Bod. XIV-XV and PSI 1497),” in *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context/Lire les Papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte*, ed. Claire Clivaz and Jean Zumstein (BETL 242; Leuven: Peeters), 15-55, at 50. Cf. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, 160. P.Amh. 1.3b is excluded from de Bruyn and Dijkstra’s checklist but they do include P.Amh. 1.3c (Gen.) in their table of “possible amulets” (“Greek Amulets,” no. 155). All in all, it is possible that the Alands’ description of P.Amh. 1.3b (P¹²) as “occasional notes” is most appropriate (*Text of the New Testament*, 85).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This study represents the first systematic treatment of non-continuous manuscripts of the Greek New Testament. Chapter 1 began by explaining how earlier editors constructed their critical apparatuses. It was shown that the registering of some non-continuous materials in the official list of New Testament manuscripts was done at the hands of Ernst von Dobschütz, and that these were later removed during the tenure of Kurt Aland. This chapter also examined the studies by Pickering, Porter, and Head and noted their differing proposals for taking these materials into account. Chapter 2 provided a definition of “non-continuous” and established multiple criteria for assessing whether a manuscript is non-continuous or not. Chapter 3 demonstrated that the New Testament citations of the church fathers offer a good analogy for how to deal methodologically with the citations in amulets. The work of Gordon Fee was especially helpful in this regard. The second part of that chapter established a working method for analyzing citations in amulets using the three-fold classification of “strict,” “normal,” or “free.” Chapter 4 analyzed all amulets containing a citation of the Greek New Testament. The results of that chapter contribute significantly to our understanding of Christian amulets generally, and of the textual quality of New Testament citations in amulets particularly. The present chapter provides a brief summary of the observable patterns arising from the foregoing analyses in Chapter 4, summarizes the textual quality of each amulet, and offers suggestions for future research.

5.2 Patterns and Results of Textual Evaluation

5.2.1 Patterns

1. *Textual heterogeneity.* One of the most obvious patterns is the richness and diversity of texts chosen for inclusion in amulets. While the Lord's Prayer and Matt. 4:23 constitute the majority of New Testament citations, many other texts feature in the amulets under consideration. In fact, the Lord's Prayer and Matt. 4:23 are sometimes woven into a larger textual web. Outside of these more popular texts, we find other texts such as Trinitarian and creedal formulae, gospel incipits, instructions, Psalms, doxologies, prayers, various gospel texts, Pauline texts, and various New Testament epistles. We have often referred to the compilation of these texts as a "patchwork" and this is precisely what many amulets exhibit. The assortment of texts was surely deliberate, and the rich variety indicates that ritual experts were not restricted to a certain sample. Rather, they were free to choose the appropriate medley of texts that would best address their clients' needs.

2. *Breaking off the citation mid-word or mid-sentence.* In quite a few of the amulets analyzed, the citation breaks off either mid-word or mid-sentence (e.g., P.Oxy. 76.5073 [no. 16], P.Vindob. G 29831 [no. 19], P.Berl. inv. 11710 [no. 20], P.Vindob. G 2312 [no. 21], P.Ant. 2.54 [no. 12]). In all of these cases it seems clear that the scribe *deliberately* cut the citation short. It is hard to know what to make of this. In previous studies of these amulets, this phenomenon has been explained as a faulty copying error. But as we have seen, the scribe's handiwork exhibits a care in the copying of these texts overall. As noted in our analysis of PSI 6.719 (no. 4), the phrase καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ("and so forth") may help explain why other amulets cut off their citations of scripture mid-sentence or mid-word. That is to say, the citations were invoked *pars pro toto* ("part for whole") in these other amulets without the insertion of the phrase καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς to signal

the additional text. This is one possible explanation, although a more extensive analysis of amulets containing literary citations (not just New Testament ones) would be necessary for a better understanding of this scribal phenomenon.

3. *Inconsistent use of nomina sacra.* As we have seen, the scribes of Christian amulets are notorious for being inconsistent in the writing of *nomina sacra*. And it is not merely a contrast between abbreviating names and writing them in full form (i.e., *scriptio plena*). In some amulets, the *nomina sacra* are abbreviated oddly. In PSI 6.719 (no. 4), for example, the scribe apparently writes ερ for σωτηρ and χ for Χριστός at the very beginning and end of the amulet, respectively; all other occurrences in this amulet exhibit *scriptio plena* (including Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and θεοῦ). In P.Berl. inv. 11710 (no. 20), we find the *nomen sacrum* θ(ε)οῦ, which is extremely rare. In other amulets, a scribe may write a *nomen sacrum* in one instance and in the very next instance write the name in full. Given the abundance of errors and inconsistencies in writing *nomina sacra*, it strikes us that some ritual specialists may not have understood the standard conventions of writing *nomina sacra*. The dominant pattern is clear throughout the amulets studied here, and so it prompts the question as to why such a well-known convention was so misunderstood by those copying scripture onto amulets. Does it suggest that these ritual experts behind these amulets were generally unfamiliar with Christian literature broadly speaking? Were they just sloppy scribes? Was there some ritual value in writing some names in full? These and other questions should not be dismissed.

4. *Omission of conjunctions.* As we saw above, Fee's criterion 5.4 states that a father's use of conjunctions and particles in the citation of a single verse cannot be used with much confidence, since these are very often adapted to fit the context of the father's own text. We have seen precisely this same phenomenon in BKT 6.7.1 (no. 2), P.Vindob. G 2312 (no. 21), P.Vindob. G 29831 (no. 19), and P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (no. 22). In these amulets, καί and

γάρ have been omitted because they are superfluous in their new context. In their original literary contexts, these words function grammatically to connect a preceding phrase to a new phrase; yet in these amulets the preceding phrase has been omitted. So, scribes took the liberty to omit them.¹ This is one example of the way in which the citation habits of the church fathers is relevant for the citations in amulets. If anything, it shows that some scribes were attentive to the content and context of the passages they were copying (cf. Pattern #3).

5. *Female owners.* It is clear that five of the twenty-four amulets analyzed above were owned and worn by women: P.Oxy. 8.1077 (*no. 1*), P.Turner 49 (*no. 3*), P.Princ. 2.107 (*no. 5*), P.Oxy. 8.1151 (*no. 17*), and P.Köln 8.340 (*no. 18*). In two of these, their owners are named explicitly: Joannia, daughter of Anastasia (P.Oxy. 8.1151) and Taiolles, daughter of Isidorus (P.Princ. 2.107). In P.Oxy. 8.1077 and P.Köln 8.340, we find images of their female owners drawn onto the papyri themselves. These images depict their owners with breasts and curly hair (see Figs. 1 and 3). These features prompt the question: might there be a correlation between the use of amulets and gender? Are we able to discern from the amuletic record whether or not women made up the larger clientele? The short answer is no, since the present study considers only a small collection of Christian amulets (i.e., those with New Testament citations). Nonetheless, even in our small sample of artifacts, the fact that we have four amulets that were owned by women at least corroborates Chrysostom's claim that "women have gospels hanging from their necks" (γυναικῶν Εὐαγγέλια τῶν τραχίλων ἔξαρτῶσαι ἔχουσι). And we know that the cult of Mary in Egypt was popular among women, who often pilgrimaged to pay her honor and to receive miraculous assistance.² It is also worth keeping in mind that, in ritual artifacts,

¹ Such omissions are natural. In this study, we have on more than one occasion omitted from citations of secondary sources opening words like "however," "and," and "but," since they are a distraction.

² Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, 72 and the literature cited there.

people are most often identified by a matronymic, in contrast to the normal practice of providing a patronymic.

Perhaps what is most interesting about these amulets and their female owners is that they reflect social realities that existed outside of the larger “magic” discourses. On the one hand, “magic” was a discourse of alterity used to level accusations against competing forms of Christianity. And indeed, this discourse was most often male-oriented, and women were used merely as foils for demonstrating superior Christian ideology and practice.³ For example, Jerome condemns “superstitious little women” who wear amulets “with little Gospels and with the wood of the Cross and with things of this sort.”⁴ On the other hand, the picture that emerges from these amulets is that “magic” was a useful technology that women turned to it in order to address particular physical problems. In many ways, then, these amulets are windows into that larger social matrix: they tell us real stories that male church figures would otherwise have silenced or condemned.

6. *Liturgical features.* Another reoccurring pattern in the amulets under consideration is the use of various liturgical words, phrases, or themes. For example, we saw that the addition of κύριε in several Paternoster amulets (P.CtYBR inv. 4600 [*no.* 9], BGU 3.954 [*no.* 10], P.Bad. 4.60, P.Duke inv. 778 [*no.* 7]) is preserved in the Liturgy of St. James and the Liturgy of Palestine (as reconstructed by Brightman). Portions of the *sanctus* occur in P.Princ. 2.107 (*no.* 5) and P.Köln 4.171 (*no.* 14), as well as in several other amulets remaining outside the scope of the present study. According to de Bruyn, “the continuing use of the *sanctus* in amulets

³ On questions related to magic and gender, see especially the recent essay by Kimberly B. Stratton, “Interrogating the Magic-Gender Connection,” in *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World*, ed. Kimberly B. Stratton and Dayna S. Kalleres (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-37.

⁴ *Comm. Matt.* 4.6. Trans. from Thomas P. Scheck, trans., *St. Jerome: Commentary on Matthew* (FC 117; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 260; for the original Latin, see PL 26.168.

[...] is due to its prominence in the eucharistic liturgy as a congregational acclamation.”⁵ Several opening or closing acclamations in the amulets above were already circulating widely in contemporaneous Egyptian liturgies: ἀλληλούϊα, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (BKT 6.7.1 [no. 2]), ὁμῆν (PSI 6.719 [no. 4], P.Iand. 1.6 [no. 6], P.Duke inv. 778 [no. 7], BKT 6.7.1, P.Berl. inv. 11710 [no. 20], P.Köln 4.171, P.Oxy. 8.1151 [no. 17], P.Köln 8.340 [no. 18]), ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (BKT 6.7.1, P.Turner 49 [no. 3]). And several of the doxologies (e.g., in PSI 6.719, P.Köln 4.171) and creedal formulae (e.g., in P.Turner 49, BGU 3.954) are also attested in known liturgical traditions.

There have been very few studies of the influence of liturgical traditions on Christian amulet production. Surprisingly, this is not the case with those who study early Jewish rituals and “magic.” According to Joseph Angel, for example, scriptural citations in Jewish “magical” texts were clearly inspired by Jewish liturgies where the biblical passages figure prominently.⁶ If Bryan Spinks is correct that the *sanctus* was adopted by Christians who knew of its liturgical use in Judaism, then one might wonder whether the very practice of citing scripture in Christian ritual devices was likewise carried over from Judaism.⁷ Indeed, the Jews were already making use of the Hebrew Bible (an anachronistic term as used here) in ritual texts well before the birth of Christianity, as can be seen from a variety of “magical” artifacts from Qumran and beyond.⁸ And the extensive use of Ps. 90 LXX in Christian amulets has a clear precedent in Judaism.⁹ However, we cannot attribute the origins of Christian ritual practice to a single social or religious stratum; the influences on Christian ritual tactics were certainly more variegated than that. As de

⁵ De Bruyn, “Use of the Sanctus,” 19.

⁶ Angel, “Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic,” 788-789.

⁷ Spinks, *Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*, esp. Ch. 3.

⁸ See a list of these artifacts in Angel, “Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic,” 788-798.

⁹ Ps. 90 MT is found in the Qumran scroll known as *Apocryphal Psalms* (11Q11), where the passage functions apotropaically. See Puech, “Les Psaumes Davidiques du Rituel D’exorcisme (11Q11),” 160-181. As noted already above, in the Talmudic tradition, Ps. 90 MT was considered the most potent remedy against demons (*b. Shebu.* 15b; *y. Erub.* 10.11, *y. Shabb.* 6.8b).

Bruyn and Dijkstra rightly note, late antique Christians lived “in a context of religious plurality, where producers of amulets and formularies drew on a mixture of Egyptian, Greek and Jewish traditions.”¹⁰ Nonetheless, the liturgical influences on Jewish ritual culture at least serve to remind us that the liturgies across religions often provided the raw material needed for invoking divine power.

5.2.2 Results of Textual Evaluation

In the following table, we list the “textual quality” of the amulets subjected to analysis. “Uncertain” refers to those texts whose textual quality could not be determined with any certainty, due to the small size of the textual sample or the uncertainty as to which New Testament text is being cited. The text of BGU 3.954 (*no. 10*) has two evaluations (“normal/uncertain”), because it contains two different citations with different results as to their textual quality.

24 Total Amulets		
<i>Text</i>	<i>Century</i>	<i>Classification</i>
P.Oxy. 8.1077	6 th -7 th	free
BKT 6.7.1	5 th -6 th	strict
P.Turner 49	5 th -6 th	uncertain
PSI 6.719	6 th	uncertain
P.Princ. 2.107	5 th -6 th	free
P.Iand. 1.6	5 th -6 th	free
P.Duke inv. 778	6 th -7 th	free
P.Col. 11.293	5 th	strict
P.CtYBR inv. 4600	6 th -8 th	strict

¹⁰ De Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 170.

BGU 3.954	6 th	normal/uncertain
P.Schøyen 1.16	4 th -5 th	at least normal
P.Ant. 2.54	3 rd -4 th	normal
P.Köln 8.336	6 th	at least normal
P.Köln 4.171	5 th	strict
P.Oxy. 64.4406	5 th -6 th	strict
P.Oxy. 76.5073	3 rd -4 th	free
P.Oxy. 8.1151	5 th	strict
P.Köln 8.340	5 th -6 th	strict
P.Vindob. G 29831	6 th -7 th	strict
P.Berl. inv. 11710	6 th -7 th	uncertain
P.Vindob. G 2312	5 th -6 th	free
P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453	6 th	free
P.Berl. inv. 13977	7 th	strict
P.Oxy. 34.2684	4 th -5 th	normal
		37% Strict 8% At least normal 12% Normal 29% Free 16% Uncertain

Table 1

It should be noticed that, while these numbers are somewhat tentative and must be weighed, 37% of the texts under consideration were found to have a “strict” textual quality, namely, a text close to the *Ausgangstext*. The provisional classification of some of the amulets in this category was necessitated by the small sample of text preserved. Nonetheless, a “strict” classification was provided when there was overall agreement with the *Ausgangstext*. 29% of the amulets were found to have a “free” text, and the freedom of the citations in this category range from relatively poor to completely incoherent (e.g., P.Princ. 2.107 [*no.* 5]). As we saw, citations in this category

deviate from the *Ausgangstext* in a variety of ways, but mostly through omissions and additions. Conjunctions were omitted where necessary (see Pattern #4 above), and the subject of verbs was clarified, usually through the addition of the name of Jesus (e.g., P.Oxy. 8.1077 [no. 1]). Singular substitutions are also found, as in P.Iand. 1.6 (no. 6; διδάσκαλε for κύριε) and P.Vindob. G 2312 (no. 21; ψυχὴν for θυσίαν). The evaluation of P.Schøyen 1.16 (no. 11) resulted in a text that is “at least normal” because the omission was likely accidental. Since the exemplar likely contained this text, the “at least” label is meant to reflect this. The “at least normal” classification of P.Köln 8.336 (no. 13) resulted from there being such a small sample of text, although it does contain an important variant reading.

Overall, the citations analyzed in this dissertation exhibit a polarity in their textual quality. Some follow the manuscript tradition while others do not. Without a doubt, many of the citations will not be useful to the editor of the Greek New Testament. These widely divergent citations must be studied only in terms of what they tell us about the reception of scripture and not for their text-critical value. On the other hand, we have shown that there are several amulets containing citations that do in fact merit inclusion in critical debates about the text at relevant points. For example, the citation of John 1:3 in P.Oxy. 8.1151 (no. 17) agrees precisely with the *Ausgangstext* and, more importantly, contains a well-known reading at a significant point of variation: οὐδὲ ἔν, against οὐδέν. In contrast, P.Köln 8.340 (no. 18), citing the same verse, reads οὐδέν against οὐδὲ ἔν. Thus, both amulets attest to two variants found in the wider manuscript tradition and so they are significant in this regard. We also saw that the citation of Mark 1:1 in P.Oxy. 76.5073 (no. 16) does not contain the phrase υἱοῦ θεοῦ. This is a significant variant and, as we saw, the amulet constitutes the earliest Greek manuscript evidence of this passage by a century. These and similar amulets deserve a place in text-critical discussion, and the foregoing evaluations are meant to be a starting point for those discussions.

At the most fundamental level, this work will improve our understanding of New Testament citations on amulets from late antiquity. The decision as to whether or not an amulet or some other non-continuous witness should be cited in support of a reading should ultimately be contingent on the assessment of a document's text and not on some criterion. As stated above, we should be wary of any method or criterion that unreservedly restricts data and the evaluation of it. In many ways, this dissertation is an exercise in the appraisal of an exclusionary criterion and how such a criterion has affected the discipline. We must also remember that Christian amulets are continuing to emerge from collections around the world. In the last five years alone, we have seen the publication of no less than five Christian amulets, and there is every reason to believe that we shall see more. If Peter van Minnen's estimate is correct, there is a backlog of 1,000,000–1,500,000 unpublished papyri.¹¹ Given these numbers, we should therefore be optimistic about the possibility of finding more New Testament amulets. Indeed, in the final stages of this dissertation, we learned that two more papyrus amulets have been discovered, both containing citations of the Greek New Testament.¹² Thus, this dissertation has many implications for how amulets will be treated in the future of the discipline.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The current study has examined one class of non-continuous manuscripts: amulets. The next task will inevitably be to analyze other types of evidence, including ostraka, inscriptions, wooden tablets, lectionaries, isolated fragments, and so on. Ostraka, in particular, would be a valuable study, not least because of the sheer amount of evidence. One of the promising features about this area of study is that hundreds (perhaps thousands) of ostraka remain unstudied and unpublished. Through my own papyrological inquiries, I have learned that Columbia University

¹¹ "The Future of Papyrology," in *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 644-660, at 648.

¹² E-mail correspondence with Lincoln Blummel (5 February 2015).

possesses hoards of ostraka that await future study.¹³ Thus, there is a good chance that more ostraka with New Testament citations will be brought to light.

Another uncharted terrain of investigation is the analysis of non-continuous witnesses written in other languages, such as Coptic. There are quite a few Coptic amulets with New Testament citations, as well as Coptic inscriptions. Many of the Coptic “magical” texts from Michigan from the so-called “wizard’s hoard,” just to cite one American collection, remain largely unstudied, and so New Testament citations may well be found among them. An analysis of versional non-continuous witnesses generally would further illuminate ancient methods of translation and perhaps provide potentially useful source material for textual criticism.

Another opportunity for research—and of no less importance—is the study of the paratextual and social aspects of these amulets. Traditionally, practitioners of New Testament textual criticism have a tendency to divorce a document’s text from its container primarily because textual scholars are preoccupied with textual data. And this is not in itself a bad thing. Indeed, it is the business of textual criticism to determine textual relationships, compare readings, produce editions, and so forth. Yet these fascinating amulets invite us to probe not only what is explicitly expressed through *words* but also through their paratextual features. Moreover, as we have seen, these artifacts were just as much *social* artifacts as they were *textual* artifacts, and so there is no shortage of opportunities for studying the “social life” of an amulet.¹⁴ In particular, the depiction and naming of women in amulets is a scholarly desideratum. These and other approaches will provide further interesting insights into Christian ritual practices, the use of scripture, and the text of the New Testament.

¹³ Raffaella Cribiore informs me that she and Janet Timbie are working on publishing a collection of Coptic school ostraka at Columbia, one of which is an unpublished ostrakon with the text of 2 Cor. 5:17-19 (e-mail correspondence, 2 September 2012).

¹⁴ The phrase “social life” is from Luijendijk, “Gospel Amulet,” 419.

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Appendix 1

CATALOGUING THE EVIDENCE

In Chapter 1, we examined the problem of the category of non-continuous manuscripts within New Testament textual criticism. We began by showing the problems that earlier editors of the Greek New Testament faced in deciding *which* materials merit inclusion in a critical apparatus. As demonstrated, the inclusion of amulets and ostraka by Ernst von Dobschütz (his \mathfrak{L} and \mathfrak{C}) was ultimately met with disapproval, and they were removed from the official list of New Testament manuscripts. In this Appendix, we shall extend the earlier discussion by proposing a way to catalogue non-continuous data. We begin by summarizing the former proposals for classifying non-continuous textual materials.

Cataloguing the Evidence

As we saw in Chapter 1, there have been a variety of proposals concerning how New Testament citations in non-continuous artifacts might be catalogued. Pickering was the first, in recent years, to suggest that these artifacts and their texts be catalogued for future study. In his view, there should be “a catalogue listing every relevant papyrus and noting the New Testament extracts, quotations and allusions which each papyrus contains.”¹ He also suggested that a transcription database be created and maintained in print and online.

Porter proposed two lists: the first list “would be given to those documents for which there is little or no doubt regarding their being New Testament manuscripts,” and the second list “would include those documents for which there is some doubt, such as the papyri noted above

¹ Pickering, “Significance,” 130.

(including lectionaries), the Apocryphal Gospels, as well as some other manuscripts [...]”² The problem with this proposal is that a “list” of this sort would not be functional, since the *Liste* is now comprised of an electronic database online. There are no more paper lists as in the past, and so catch-all categories such as “continuous” or “non-continuous” and subcategories such as Porter proposes, are not practical.

According to Peter Head, the possibilities for classifying these witnesses are five: 1) a separate list continuing earlier lists (=von Dobschütz); 2) a separate list of selective materials “likely to be cited in a critical apparatus to the New Testament text”; 3) a separate, exhaustive list cataloguing “all possible additional witnesses to the New Testament text” (=Porter’s proposal); 4) a catalogue of relevant papyri and a transcription database (=Pickering’s proposal); 5) “a collection of relevant material compiled on a book-by-book basis through the New Testament.”³

It is no longer a question of *if* non-continuous materials should be catalogued but *how*. Too many scholars have voiced their interest in having some sort of system to account for the data and that time has now come.⁴ In spite of the discomfort that may arise from any categorical modification to the official list of New Testament manuscripts, there is a desperate need to record the evidence so that scholars can make comparisons and judgments about the citations in non-continuous witnesses. From an editorial point of view, *all* witnesses should be weighed and their value determined on a case-by-case basis.

² Porter, “Holes,” 176.

³ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 454.

⁴ Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 453: “It is thus an impoverishment of the discipline if these additional witnesses are allowed to drop from our collective sight by virtue of neglect in comparison with the—admittedly fundamentally important—manuscript tradition. There are many opportunities for research in the fields covered by these witnesses. Major fields lack up-to-date checklists or catalogues: especially the NT texts on ostraca (last updated by von Dobschütz in 1933) and NT texts on inscriptions (last fully compiled by Jalabert in 1914). Full lists would enable proper critical work on weighing the significance of these witnesses. With a continuing flow of new publications in all our major categories (ostraca, inscriptions, papyri generally), there is an ongoing need for up-to-date catalogues of material.”

In regard to amulets, we propose that the best solution is to resurrect von Dobschütz's "talisman" numbers in order to distinguish them from other New Testament manuscripts. In other words, this would merely mean a continuation of an earlier list (see Head's possibility #1 above). Von Dobschütz took his list through \mathfrak{T}^9 and so the amulets in this study could be tapped to extend the list to \mathfrak{T}^{27} . In Appendix 2, we list von Dobschütz's original numbers, and this is followed by additional \mathfrak{T} numbers ("addenda"). The list is continued on the basis of the amulets collected in Chapter 4. Some of the amulets in Chapter 4 were already registered by von Dobschütz, and so those items need not be reduplicated in the addenda. \mathfrak{T} numbers may be added to this list as new amulets appear in publication.

A few words should be said about von Dobschütz's \mathfrak{T}^1 and \mathfrak{T}^5 . \mathfrak{T}^1 is an ostrakon and \mathfrak{T}^5 is a wooden tablet. This presents us with a methodological question: do we arrange the list in terms of *material* or *function*?⁵ If we arrange the list according to material, the most obvious choice would be to limit the material to papyrus and parchment, since these make up the majority. If we arrange it according to function, then the list will consist of a variety of writing materials. We propose that the list be maintained on the basis of *function* for two reasons. First, the very letter \mathfrak{T} itself signifies "talisman." Even though the term "amulet" is preferable to "talisman," as we have seen, the letter ought to be retained on account of its former use in the tradition. Second, it creates less of a problem for the system generally. That is to say, it is more convenient to have all amulets listed under one category than to have them disbursed over several categories (i.e., wooden tablets, ostraka, inscriptions, etc.). This does mean that a determination must be made as to whether an artifact served an amuletic function, and though

⁵ Cf. the problems associated with the Gregory-Aland fourfold classification in Chapter 1.

this is sometimes a difficult decision to make, there are a variety of criteria and patterns that ameliorate the decision making process.⁶

So, what does a continuation of this “talisman” list mean in practice? First, it should be noted that we are not arguing for a significant change to the traditional Gregory-Aland system of classification. The four categories on which it is based—papyri, majuscules, minuscules, lectionaries—should remain in place. We have already seen the inherent problems with this system, but there is admittedly no easy solution. We could start again from scratch with a new system, but without a doubt, that new system would also have its problems. Given the variety and quantity of documents, scripts, and functions, no list or system of classification would be free from problems. The current system continues to work and the online version of the *Liste* means that a manuscript can be more thoroughly described in detail.

But what the new proposal does require is the *space* for the inclusion of a new category.⁷ However, “space” in this regard is more of a mental obstacle than anything. That is to say, there are undoubtedly some who will not be willing to accept the installment of another category in the manuscript system for no reason other than sheer allegiance to the tradition. Nonetheless, we have demonstrated in this dissertation that such space—both mental and physical—is necessary and warranted.

So how might we proceed? We propose that 1) all amulets be registered and tagged in the online *Liste* with their respective Σ numbers, and that 2) their transcriptions be listed in the “Manuscript Workspace” in the online “New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room” (NTVMR).⁸

⁶ For example, see de Bruyn and Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets,” 167-182.

⁷ To be precise, it is not a “new” category but an older one restored.

⁸ According to the homepage of the NTVMR, “This site is devoted to the study of Greek New Testament manuscripts. The New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room is a place where scholars can come to find the most exhaustive list of New Testament manuscript resources, can contribute to marking attributes about these manuscripts, and can find state of the art tools for researching this rich dataset” (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/home>).

One of the many benefits of having the *Liste* online is that it can be updated on a regular basis. The kind of change that we are calling for can be demonstrated as follows. At the homepage of the *Liste* (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>), an advanced search box is presented to the viewer (see Fig. 8):

The screenshot shows a search interface titled "Full Search". It contains several input fields and dropdown menus:

- Manuscript Num.:** A text input field with a "GA" dropdown menu and a "Clear All" button.
- Current Country:** A dropdown menu.
- Place:** A dropdown menu.
- Institute:** A dropdown menu.
- Shelf Num.:** A dropdown menu.
- Biblical Content:** A dropdown menu.
- Language:** A dropdown menu.
- Has Feature:** A dropdown menu.
- Dated To:** A range selector showing "0 - 1799AD".
- Line Count:** A range selector showing "0 - ∞".
- Columns:** A range selector showing "0 - ∞".
- Page Width (mm):** A range selector showing "0 - 450".
- Page Height (mm):** A range selector showing "0 - 500".
- Has: Images** and **Transcriptions:** Two checkboxes.
- Search:** A button at the bottom left.

Fig. 8 (February 2015)

In the field titled “Manuscript Num.,” one may enter the Gregory-Aland number associated with any New Testament manuscript. For example, one may search for a papyrus by entering the letter “P” and then a number. The same applies for searching for majuscules (i.e., 0***), minuscules (i.e., 1***), and lectionaries (i.e., l***). It is here that researchers should be able to enter “T” followed by any number within the “talisman” list in Appendix 2 (i.e., numbers 1-27). All other fields in the search box (i.e., “Current Country,” “Biblical Content,” “Shelf Num.,” etc.) should likewise be configured such that the relative search query points to an INTF ID or Gregory-Aland number. In the actual listing of the document, all the information about individual amulets should be entered; conveniently, almost all of the information needed for those fields can be found in this dissertation, including LDAB numbers (see Figs. 9 and 10; \mathfrak{P}^1 serves as the example here):

Document ID	10001
Primary Name	P1
Language	g
Origin Year Early	200
Origin Year Late	299
Origin Year Description	III
Content Overview	Mt 1,1-9.12; 1,14-20.23
Leaves Description	2 Frg (1 Dbl.)
Columns	1
Columns Max (if varies)	
Lines	37
Lines Max (if varies)	38
Lines Description	27r, 25v
Height	250
Height Max (if varies)	
Width	130
Width Max (if varies)	

Fig. 9 (February 2015)

Institute	Penn Museum	
Location	Philadelphia/Pa.	
Shelf Number	E 2746	
Content	Mt 1,1-9.12; 1,14-20.23	
Leaves	2	
Canvas Material	Papyrus	
LDAB ID	2940	
URL	http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=61787	

Fig. 10 (February 2015)

New amulets with Greek New Testament citations can be added to the *Liste* as they appear (usually following their publication), and information can be added, omitted, or changed as required.

The next important stage of the inclusion process would be to add the transcriptions (and hopefully images) of each amulet to the transcription database in the NTVMR. From the homepage of the NTVMR (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/>), one can access the transcription of a New Testament manuscript by navigating to the tab titled “Manuscript Workspace.” Here, one enters the Gregory-Aland number or the INTF ID number. Where available, an image accompanies the transcription of a manuscript, as seen in Fig. 11 (P¹ is again the example here):

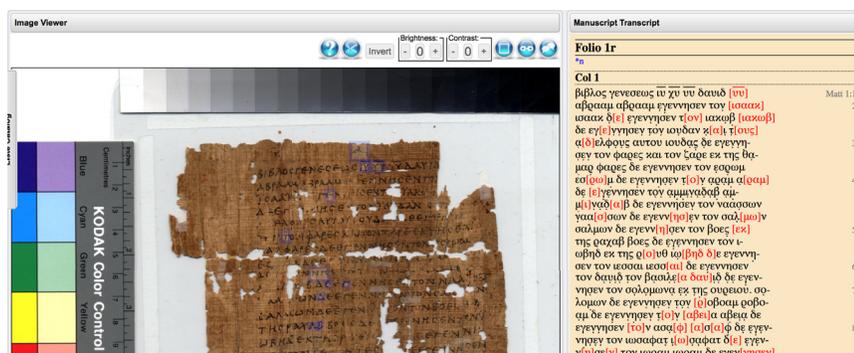


Fig. 11 (February 2015)

The transcriptions for each amulet can conveniently be found in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, thereby eliminating the need to search for the various editions of texts.

These are not very considerable changes in terms of the efforts required to actualize them. It would require tagging, indexing, HTML coding, and entering the information (including typing the transcriptions) into the relevant places, but this can and should be done. It is of course nothing that must be learned, since continuous manuscripts are integrated already on this model. Since the *Liste* now exists exclusively in a digital format online, we should welcome the idea of adding new evidence to it and to the Manuscript Workspace. We live in a digital age where source material is being made available online everyday and the benefits of this for researchers are enormous. The NTVMR should expand its source material to include amulets and other non-continuous witnesses even if it is for the sole purpose of being as inclusive as possible. At least these materials would be accounted for so that researchers can assess their text-critical value. But we should keep in mind that the manuscripts listed in the *Liste* and the NTVMR Manuscript Workspace do not exist merely because of their text-critical value. Indeed, researchers use the online database for other reasons, including to view images, check transcriptions for scribal habits, locate the whereabouts of a particular manuscript, etc.

In closing, we would like to say a few words about how editors might cite amulets and other non-continuous witnesses in a critical apparatus. First, we have shown that a few of the

amulets are citable witnesses at the relevant points, and so we do think editors should consider citing them. However, we are not convinced by David Parker's suggestion that these other types of witnesses should be cited as patristic citations.⁹ Instead, amulets should be cited according to their assigned \mathfrak{T} numbers. In other words, we would cite them just like the papyri, namely, \mathfrak{T}^1 , \mathfrak{T}^2 , \mathfrak{T}^3 , and so on. Witnesses in other categories could also be cited in the *Liste* and elsewhere on similar grounds (e.g., $\mathfrak{O}^{1,2,3}$ for ostraka; $\mathfrak{I}^{1,2,3}$ for inscriptions; $\mathfrak{V}^{1,2,3}$ for "varia," and so forth). The utility of citing these additional witnesses in the modern hand editions, such as the NA²⁸ and the UBS⁵, may be limited on account of space and the very intended nature of those editions. However, they should be cited, where appropriate, in specialist editions, such as the ECM, the IGNTP, and the like, where a wider range of textual data is offered.

⁹ Parker, *Introduction*, 130: "How would one cite inscriptions in an edition of the New Testament? The answer is that they should be classed as patristic citations."

Appendix 2

VON DOBSCHÜTZ'S TALISMAN AND OSTRAKA NUMBERS

(WITH ADDENDA)

One of the difficulties with von Dobschütz's lists of talismans and ostraka is that they are scattered throughout several different publications: *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament* (4th ed.; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923), 85-103; "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften II," *ZNW* 25 (1926): 299-306; "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften III," *ZNW* 27 (1928): 216-222; "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV," *ZNW* 32 (1933): 185-206. In his *Bibliography*, J.K. Elliott lists von Dobschütz's talisman and ostrakon numbers, but he does not list the actual manuscripts or their contents; he merely refers to von Dobschütz's various publications from the 1920s and 1930s in which the items are found.¹ To be fair, Elliott's volume is only meant to be a bibliographic supplement to the *Liste* and so we should not expect details of this sort. However, since the *Liste* currently does not make available von Dobschütz's numbers (hopefully this will change), all the relevant information about these manuscripts must be sought elsewhere.

In what follows, we bring together for the first time all of von Dobschütz's ☩ and ☉ numbers in list form. Beside each amulet and ostrakon, we list the contents of the witnesses in bold. Below this, we reference each manuscript by its publication, and this is followed by references to various catalogues, lists, and studies in which individual witnesses appear. More

¹ J.K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press, 2000), 80. The talisman numbers are listed under the entry for GA 0152. Under GA 0153, Elliott only lists ☉¹⁻²⁰, excluding ☉²¹⁻²⁵.

significantly, we have extended von Dobschütz's list of talismans on the basis of the amulets analyzed in Chapter 4. Von Dobschütz took his list up to \mathfrak{Z}^9 ; we have increased it to \mathfrak{Z}^{27} . The entries of the von Dobschütz "addenda" will contain a reference to the corresponding entry numbers in Chapter 4 (e.g., = *no.* 1), where further data may be found. It will be the responsibility of future researchers to extend this list even further with amulets that should appear subsequently in publication.

Talismans

- \mathfrak{Z}^1 **Matt. 6:11-13**
 O.Athens inv. 12227; von Dobschütz, *Einführung*, 86; LDAB 5594; van Haelst 348; PGM 2:235, no. 4; Rudolf Knopf, "Eine Thonscherbe mit dem Texte des Vaterunsers," *ZNW* 2 (1901): 228-233; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 237-238, with further bibliography.
- \mathfrak{Z}^2 **Matt. 4:23-24**
 P.Oxy. 8.1077 (= *no.* 1); von Dobschütz, *Einführung*, 86; LDAB 2959; van Haelst 341; PGM 2:211 no. 4; de Bruyn and Dijkstra 19; de Bruyn, "Appeals to Jesus," 66; Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 33; Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, no. 20 (96-97), with further bibliography.
- \mathfrak{Z}^3 **Matt. 6:9-13, invocation, prayer, doxology, Gospel incipits**
 BGU 3.954 (= *no.* 10); von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften II," *ZNW* 25 (1926): 300; LDAB 6231; van Haelst 720; PGM 2:217, no. 9; Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 28; Mertens-Pack no. 6029; de Bruyn and Dijkstra 26; Theodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (KNT 1; Leipzig: Diechert, 1905), 269n.66 (with partial transcription); Ulrich Wilken, "Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten," *APF* 1 (1901): 396-436; George Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), no. 55 (132-134); Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 42; Joseph E. Sanzo, "Canonical Power," 28-45; idem, *Scriptural Incipits*, no. 15 (91-92), with further bibliography.
- \mathfrak{Z}^4 **Matt. 6:9, John 1:23, Gospel incipits, Ps. 90:1, doxology**
 PSI 6.719 (= *no.* 4); von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften II," *ZNW* 25 (1926): 300; LDAB 2767; van Haelst 423; PGM 2:227-228, no. 19; Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 31; de Bruyn and Dijkstra 38; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 245-246 (and figs. 4 and 5); Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, nos. 10, 32, 58 (91-92, 111, 131), with further bibliography.

- ℣⁵ **Matt. 6:9-13, doxology (palimpsest), names with epithets on reverse side**
 P.Bad. 4.60; von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften III," *ZNW* 27 (1928): 218; LDAB 6662; van Haelst 346; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 248-250 (and figs. 7 and 8).
- ℣⁶ **Matt. 6:9-13, Luke 9:37(?), 11:1-2, doxology, Ps. 90:13, Exorcism of Solomon, protective incantation**
 P.Iand. 1.6 (= *no.* 6); von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften III," *ZNW* 27 (1928): 218-219; LDAB 6107; van Haelst 917; PGM 2:206-207, no. 17; Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 30; de Bruyn and Dijkstra 36; Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 45-46; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 241-242; Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, no. 18 (94-95), with further bibliography.
- ℣⁷ **Matt. 6:9-13, Mark 1:1-8, Luke 1:1-7, John 1:1-17, Nicene Creed, Ps. 68 LXX**
 Chicago MS 125; von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV," *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; van Haelst 386; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 250-251, with further bibliography.
- ℣⁸ **John 2:1a-2, Rom. 12:1-2, Ps. 90:1-2**
 P.Vindob. G 2312 (formerly inv. 8032) (= *no.* 21); von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV," *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 3488; van Haelst 195; Aland, *Repertorium*, Var 13; de Bruyn and Dijkstra 59; Pickering, "Significance," 126-129; Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, nos. 35 and 61 (113-15, 132), with further bibliography.
- ℣⁹ **John 1:1, 3, incantation, prayer for healing (fever)**
 P.Oxy. 8.1151 (= *no.* 17); von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV," *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 2802; van Haelst 959; PGM 2:212-213, no. 5b; Aland, *Repertorium*, 32; de Bruyn and Dijkstra 21; George Milligan, *Here and There among the Papyri* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 150-151; Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 40-41; Luijendijk, "Gospel Amulet," 418-433; Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits*, no. 21 (97-98), with further bibliography.

℣ *Addenda*

- ℣¹⁰ **Matt. 4:23, Gospel incipits, Ps. 17:3, 90:1, 117:6-7, trinitarian formulae, protective incantation**
 BKT 6.7.1 (= *no.* 2)
- ℣¹¹ **Matt. 4:23/9:35, Matt. 8:15/Mark 1:31, creedal formulae, prayer for healing**
 P.Turner 49 (= *no.* 3)

- §¹² **Matt. 6:9, 11, Ps. 90:1-2, healing incantation, sanctus**
 P.Princ. 2.107 (= *no. 5*)
- §¹³ **Matt. 6:9-13, doxology, Ps. 90, Ps. 91 heading**
 P.Duke inv. 778 (= *no. 7*)
- §¹⁴ **Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12**
 P.Col. 11.293 (= *no. 8*)
- §¹⁵ **Matt. 6:9-13**
 P.CtYBR inv. 4600 (= *no. 9*)
- §¹⁶ **Matt. 6:9-13, doxology, 2 Cor. 13:13?, Ps. 90:1-13**
 P.Schøyen 1.16 (= *no. 11*)
- §¹⁷ **Matt. 6:10-12**
 P.Ant. 2.54 (= *no. 12*)
- §¹⁸ **Matt. 6:11-13**
 P.Köln 8.336 (= *no. 13*)
- §¹⁹ **Matt. 6:12-13, doxology, sanctus**
 P.Köln 4.171 (= *no. 14*)
- §²⁰ **Matt. 27:62-64; 28:2-5**
 P.Oxy. 64.4406 (= *no. 15*)
- §²¹ **Mark 1:1-2, instruction to reader**
 P.Oxy. 76.5073 (= *no. 16*)
- §²² **John 1:1-11, healing incantation**
 P.Köln 8.340 (= *no. 18*)
- §²³ **John 1:5-6, prayer for protection**
 P.Vindob. G 29831 (= *no. 19*)
- §²⁴ **John 1:29, 49, dialogue between Jesus and Nathanael**
 P.Berl. inv. 11710 (= *no. 20*)
- §²⁵ **2 Cor. 10:4, 1 Thess. 5:8/Eph. 6:16**
 P.Vindob. G 26034 + 30453 (= *no. 22*)

☞²⁶ **1 Tim. 1:15-16**
P.Berl. inv. 13977 (= no. 23)

☞²⁷ **Jude 4-5, 7-8**
P.Oxy. 34.2684 (= no. 24)

Ostraka

☞¹⁻²⁰ **Matt. 27:31-32, Mark 5:40-41, 9:17-22, 15:21, Luke 12:13-16, 40-71, John 1:1-9, 14-17, 18:19-25, 19:15-17**
Cairo, IFAO inventory no. unknown; von Dobschütz, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 2991; van Haelst 384; G. Lefebvre, *Fragments grecs des Évangiles sur Ostraka BIFAO* 4 (1904): 1-15; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 48-53, with a plate at 50 (fig. 3); Cornelia Römer, “Ostraka mit christlichen Texten aus der Sammlung Flinders Petrie,” *ZPE* 145 (2003): 183-210, at 186; Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 433-435.

☞²¹ **Luke 1:42, 28**
O.Crum 515; von Dobschütz, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 2862; van Haelst 402; Walter E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others* (London: EEF, 1902), no. 515 (1).

☞²² **John 2:1**
O.Sarga 5; von Dobschütz, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 2826; van Haelst 434; Walter E. Crum and H.I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations Undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel—Nordisk Forlag, 1922), 31 no. 5; Scott Bucking, “Christian Educational Texts from Egypt: A Preliminary Inventory,” in *Akten des 21*, 132-138, at 137.

☞²³ **Various passages from Acts, Romans, Galatians, James, 1 John, Jude, Liturgical Text²**
O.Petrie 414 (but now O.Petrie Mus. 13, 15, 16); von Dobschütz, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 2796; van Haelst 553; John Gavin Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library and Various other Collections* (London: EES, 1930), 145; Römer, “Ostraka,” 197-200; idem, “Das

² Von Dobschütz listed only the passages from 1 John 2:12-14, 19-22, as published in O.Petrie 414 (“Zur Liste,” *ZNW* 32 [1933]: 188). Two things should be noted. First, von Dobschütz incorrectly lists vv. “19-32”; it should be 19-22, as seen from the edition. This mistake is also carried over in Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 435 n.23. Second, this single ostrakon is part of a much larger archive that has been published by Cornelia Römer, for which see the bibliography above.

zweisprachige Archiv aus der Sammlung Flinders Petrie,” *ZPE* 164 (2008): 53–62; Maria S. Funghi et al., *Ostraca greci e bilingui del Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (O.Petr.Mus.)*, pt. 1 (*Papyrologica Florentina* 42; Florence: Gonnelli, 2012), nos. 13, 15, 16; Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 435-437.

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Rom. 8:31

Cambridge, University Library Ostraka inv. 129; von Dobschütz, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 3028; van Haelst 499; Tait, *Greek*, 172; Head, “Additional Greek Witnesses,” 437 (transcription).

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Luke 1:28, Ps. 117:27, 26 (sic)

O.Crum 514; von Dobschütz, “Zur Liste der neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV,” *ZNW* 32 (1933): 188; LDAB 3484; Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, no. 514 (1); Turner, *Typology*, OT 150; Albert Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 14; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 226-227.