A Lost History of Christian Communities:

Unidentified Greek Homilies on Papyrus in Egypt during the 4th–7th Centuries CE

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Declaration

I, Alexander Wood, declare that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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Abstract

Unidentified homilies on papyrus provide information concerning the use and users of the manuscripts, and indicate the theology taught during the early years of Christianity. This thesis aims to investigate homilies of unknown authorship dating to the 4th–7th Centuries CE, written in Greek and found in Egypt, a corpus which has not previously been collected or discussed in full. This investigation has two main emphases: 1. An examination of the papyri as physical objects, concentrating in particular on what this may tell us about their production and use; 2. An analysis of the content of the papyri and its relation to religion, literary culture, and scribal practice in late antique Egypt.

The multitude of various lectional aids including stops, colons, dieresis and breathings indicate that the papyri were used for reading aloud. Baptism and evil were the two most common themes throughout the corpus, which indicates that these were concerns for the composers and preachers during this period. These themes were revealed through a close analysis of the citations which indicates that the focus of the homilies ranged from exegetical to instructional and pastoral.

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Introduction

The homily forms part of the Christian liturgy, in which biblical exegesis and discussion are used to instruct an audience. The Christian homily developed out of the Jewish Proem sermon and the Graeco-Roman rhetorical tradition; the former providing a basis for exegesis, while the latter imparted an emphasis on oratory and delivering a moral teaching to the audience. In Egypt during the fourth–seventh centuries CE, the homily was well established as part of the Christian liturgy. While many homilies survive in the manuscript tradition from around the late-antique Mediterranean, notably from such Patristic luminaries as John Chrysostom or Severus of Antioch, Egypt has a less rich homiletic tradition. Remnants of homilies, however, survive on papyrus. Many of these homilies were not transmitted through the medieval manuscript tradition, and their authors, and the dates and place of their composition and performance, have been lost, as has our knowledge of their audience. This thesis seeks to retrieve these lost voices, and discover what we may about the communities who heard these unidentified homilies.

Early Christian preaching provides a wealth of information on the social and intellectual world of early Christianity, from the way the early Church used biblical texts to develop theology and ethics, to the relationship between preacher and audience. Sermons and homilies can provide information on the uses of these texts and communities for whom they were composed. Beyond the text, the manuscript

itself tells a story. The papyri examined here provide both textual and physical data; together, both the content and physical features of the manuscript may indicate the intended message of the composer and how the text was intended to be read, which may provide information which helps to characterise the audience.

This thesis focuses on homilies preserved on papyrus and related materials[1] found in Egypt, written in Greek from the fourth to seventh centuries CE. It focuses not on those which are attributed to authors,[2] or which also survive in the medieval manuscript tradition,[3] but on those whose composers we do not know. The names of these homilists were either never transmitted, or were lost in the fragmentation of the papyri. I will thus refer to these homilies throughout as 'unidentified'.

[1] E.g. Parchment, ostraca, wood.

[2] E.g. Shenoute, whose works are in any case excluded as they are composed in Coptic, and with one exception (P. Lond. Copt. 285, 7th–8th CE), are only preserved in that language. The *Discourses* of Shenoute also remain poorly edited and difficult to access; in coming years, however, these will form a major source for understanding preaching in Late Antique Egypt.

[3] Such as various homilies of Origen which survive among the papyri including P. Oxy. 3. 406; or Melito's *Homily on the Passion* which survives in P. Beatty 8. 12.

Table 1: Texts Examined in This Thesis						
Siglum [4]	**TM No.**[5]	**Date (CE)**	**Provenance**	**Material**	**Format**	**Description**
Bodl. MS. Gr. th.e. 2	62358	6th–7th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on 2 Corinthians.
M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52	62343	4th-5th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on Faith.
P. Bodl. 1. 5	62331	6th	Fayum	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily with a paraphrase of Daniel 6. 21-22.
P. Bour. 3	62341	4th-5th	White Monastery (?)	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on God opening the eyes of the people.
P. Col. 11. 295	64287	4th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet or Roll	Homily quoting Genesis 6. 13 and John 2. 9.
P. Col. Youtie 1. 5	64470	4th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on Joshua.
P. Iand. 1.7	65181	6th–7th	Hermopolis	Papyrus	Sheet, possibly Roll.	Homily with a mention of the servant of Christ.
P. Köln Gr. 1. 11	64572	4th–5th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on 1 Cor. 3. 6–8.
P. Lond. Lit. 228	64088	3rd–4th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily referring to Genesis 14. 17.
P. Merton 2. 51	64399	4th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex	Homily concerning Luke 6. 45-

[4] For full bibliographical details, see Bibliography p. 96. All papyri are abbreviated according to the *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, available at http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

[5] TM= Trismegistos, available at http://www.trismegistos.org.

						46 and 7. 29-31.
P. Oxy 13. 1601	62342	4th–5th	Oxyrhynchus	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on Spiritual Warfare.
P. Oxy. 15. 1785	64763	5th	Oxyrhynchus	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on the power of God.
P. Oxy 17. 2073	64489	5th	Oxyrhynchus	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily quoting the Book of Wisdom and Wisdom of Sirach.
P. Oxy. 17. 2074	61464	5th	Oxyrhynchus	Papyrus	Codex	Homily on Wisdom.
P. Palau. Rib. Lit. 15	64685	5th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex/ Palimpsest	Homily for Baptism.
P. Rein. 2.64	65100	6th	Unknown	Papyrus	Codex	Fragment of a Homily.
P. Vindob G. 29522	64938	5th–8th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily, possibly on the Eucharist.
P. Yale 2. 88	64363	3rd–4th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily on Isaiah 61. 10–11
P. Yale 2. 89	64955	5th–6th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily quoting Romans 8. 32.
PSI inv. 535	64727	5th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet	Homily on the Passion.
PSI 1. 54	64722	5th	Oxyrhynchus	Papyrus	Fragment	Homily on Baptism.
PSI 7. 759	64718	5th–6th	Unknown	Papyrus	Sheet or Roll	Homily on the sayings of Jesus.

Introduction

A homily can be defined as:

> *"A speech delivered in a Christian assembly for worship by an authorized person that applies some point of doctrine, usually drawn from a biblical passage, to the lives of the members of the congregation with the purpose of moving them by the use of narrative analogy and other rhetorical devices to accept that application and to act on the basis of it"*[6]

Although this definition from Edwards concerns a "sermon," the two words are not distinguished by editors of papyri. The terms have been separated in some works of homiletic scholarship, in which the sermon is defined as a general address with instruction, while the homily is largely exegetical.[7] This thesis will use "homily" to refer to the texts in the corpus because when they are classified in the papyrological editions, "homily" is used unanimously.

The time period on which this thesis focuses was selected as it coincides with the spread of Christianity throughout Egypt, which occurred exponentially after the time of the Emperor Constantine (d. 337). This was accompanied by a sharp rise in the amount of Christian literature on papyrus in the fourth–seventh centuries. The period is also a significant era for homiletics in general, with the advent of influential preachers including John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Augustine of Hippo and Severus of Antioch. This wide range of literature provides established

[6] Edwards Jr. (2004) p. 1.

[7] Tuckett addresses this issue in his Introduction to 2 Clement, Tuckett (2012) pp. 20–22.

and identified examples which can be compared to the unidentified homilies on papyri.

The examination of these unidentified homilies is a combined analysis of the physical features and the content of the texts. Developments in paleographical studies have advanced the analysis of the physical features of the papyrus. These techniques can be applied to provide insights concerning the use of the manuscript. The frequent application of punctuation and lectional aids throughout the corpus suggests that these manuscripts were produced with the intention of being read aloud. Papyri in the corpus without these lectional signs are instead supplemented with word spacing to divide the text. The abundance of punctuation and word spacing, particularly for sense breaks, suggests that these manuscripts were read aloud by a preacher to an audience.

The content of the homily is analysed here in the framework of recent homiletic scholarship. This study identified common themes, and explicated the use of citations within the corpus. These themes included baptism and evil. Baptism was the most common theme. The preoccupation with the ritual, combined with the issues publicized by well-known preachers concerning baptism during this period, suggests that the audience was largely comprised of unbaptized Christians. Evil was not as frequent, but the unidentified homilies indicated that the intended teachings of the preachers during this period centered around the devil and warning the audience of the consequences of evil.

The varied use of citations also revealed that the texts in the corpus ranged from exegetical to instructional and pastoral. The modification and truncation of citations indicates that some composers approached the reporting of scriptural material liberally, in order to emphasise the key passages which would exemplify their intended teaching.

The overall aim of this study is to show a relationship between the physicality of the papyrus and its content which may shed light on possible uses of the text. In specific terms of the homily, this thesis focuses on how this physical and textual data can provide information concerning both the intended teaching of the text and the intended audience.

Literature Review

Early Christian homilies have only recently started to be analysed in their sociohistorical contexts.[8] Prior to the late 20th century, the study of the homily focused on the text and the preacher. Homilies were often analysed in conjunction with hagiography, while the cultural and social implications of the texts were overlooked.[9] More recent homiletic studies have adopted broader focuses such as the recording history of the text and the audience of the homily.

[8] Mayer (2008) p. 565.

[9] For a good example of homilies being studied in conjunction with hagiography, see Ehrhard (1937–1952).

Introduction

Prior to the last quarter of the 20th century, it was argued that sociological changes in the sixth century halted the composition of new homilies. Pauline Allen has argued that although there are sociological shifts, especially with the growth of both the Syriac and Coptic languages, a continuity is present within the preaching and homiletic traditions. She also maintains that the expansion of Christianity into multiple locales and languages makes this difficult for the modern historian to observe.[10]

Recent homiletic studies have largely been confined to studying the literature within the corpus of a church father, with much of the analysis of the homily comprising an attempt to connect it to a preacher in a particular time and place.[11] This includes Origen,[12] John Chrysostom,[13] Severus of Antioch[14] and Augustine of Hippo.[15] The homilies of a preacher can often be used to reconstruct the life and context of that preacher, as in Allen's *Severus of Antioch* (2004). This focuses much of the analysis on the preacher, with the sociocultural implications of the text not being investigated. In a recent work, Mayer even calls for a "liberation" from the traditional focuses of homiletics and to analyse the text in its own right.[16]

The focus on the preacher also effects scholarly opinion of the purpose and use of the homily. It has been argued that homilies were utilised as a form of education,

[10] Allen and Cunningham (Leiden, 1998) p. 202.
[11] Lipatov-Chicherin (2013) p. 286. A good example of this is MacMullen (1989).
[12] Bingham (1834).
[13] Mayer and Allen (2000).
[14] Allen and Hayward (2004).
[15] Pontet (1945).
[16] Mayer (2008) p. 568.

particularly with the low literacy rates of the ancient world[17] and the ability to provide an education en masse.[18] The preacher of the homily had the authority of a teacher, as he would provide information to a range of social and economic groups.[19] This gave the preacher the ability to – to some extent - control the literary and theological interactions of his audience.

Papyrological studies which examine the physical features of the manuscript provide the criteria for this project's analysis. The study of the papyrus as an artifact is a modern innovation of papyrology. Kim Haines-Eitzen describes the need for:

> "An integrative approach: an approach that combines attention to the physical features with textual issues and literary resources."[20]

One of the key physical features includes the format of the papyrus, which has received much attention in the past century. Turner[21] and Johnson[22] have examined patterns of use and format in the codex and roll respectively, correlating this with the textual content in an attempt to better discern the use of the text. This shift of focus onto the format also allowed for further study into features of the hand. Building on earlier scholarship,[23] more recent works such as Turner[24] and Cavallo and Maehler[25]

[17] Harris (1989) p. 13. It should be noted that Harris' pessimistic estimates have been nuanced by subsequent work, which shows how participation in the literate world was much higher.
[18] Hartney (2004) p. 33; Bailey (2010) p. 19 and Cameron (1991) p. 79.
[19] For e.g. Allen who believed that Severus of Antioch 'took great care' when he prepared his homilies, Allen and Hayward (2004) p. 173.
[20] Haines-Eitzen (2000) p. 15.
[21] Turner (1977); also see Skeat (1994) and Harris (1991).
[22] Johnson (2004).
[23] Colwell (1965).
[24] Turner (1987).

have significantly advanced the scientific study of paleography. The identification of scribal habits and features has provided insights into further possibilities of dating, and of determining how the papyri were used. These identifications have led to closer studies of the scribes themselves, such as the work of Haines-Eitzen (2000). However much conjecture remains, particularly over scribal education and professionalism.[26]

Determining the use of the papyrus allows us to ask questions about the communities who used these texts. It is believed that most homilies were meant to have been read out.[27] However, trying to determine this for a specific text can be difficult, both because of editing and transmission processes, and the simple fact that we are dealing with a written text.[28] There have been attempts to ascertain a general audience for homilies. Medieval homiletics in the late 20th century focused on the audience of the text and how the preacher interacted with them.[29] These methods of citing the language of the homily to help indicate an audience may also be applicable to the ancient evidence.

With regard to the place the papyri occupy in the manuscript production timeline of homilies – which has implications for the uses of the papyrus copies we have – we may refer to the work of Nikolai Lipatov Chicherin, who has produced a possible recording history of the homily. This can be set out schematically as follows:

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[25] Cavallo and Maehler (1987).

[26] For a discussion of "formal and informal" hands, see Orsini and Clarysse (2012).

[27] Bailey argues that the sermon texts in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection "are not transcripts of what preachers said, but versions produced before or after the event", Bailey p. 23.

[28] Allen (2004) p. 207 and Mayer (2008) p. 5.

[29] E.g. Muessig (2002).

1. "Preliminary sketches and drafts.
2. A prepared text written in advance and learned by heart.
3. A stenographic record of the words as they were uttered.
4. A transcript of the stenographic record into ordinary script.
5. The first edited version prepared for copying by scribes and subsequent distribution.
6. Later handwritten editions."[30]

The papyri most likely occupy steps 5 or 6 in this timeline, in which shorthand writers would record the sermon, and the text subsequently produced into 'longhand' for wider dissemination and consumption. This argument is often coupled with reference to the quote from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, whereby Origen is provided with copyists and writers by his patron Ambrose, and/or the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus,[31] which discusses the copying of letters.[32]

Technological and intellectual developments in papyrology over the past 25–50 years has paralleled (and to some extent enabled) a shift from a focus on content exhibited in the late 19th and early 20th century, towards a bifocal study of both content and the papyrus as an artifact. This is the opportune moment to apply these techniques to

[30] Lipatov-Chicherin (2013) p. 278.

[31] For e.g. *Att* 6.6 or 13. 25; Cornelius Nepos tells us that Atticus had a number of transcribers and readers (13.3).

[32] Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6. 23. For e.g. see: Hill (1998) p. 302, Deferrari *Part 1* (1922) p. 104 and Haines-Eitzen (2000) p. 5, The Eusebius quote is used more prolifically than the Ciceronian letters, particularly because Ambrose is concerned with the recording and copying of Origen's commentaries.

homiletics and studies within the medieval manuscript tradition, in order to supplement the exhaustive studies of content.

Research Methods

This study of unidentified papyri aims to show a relationship between the physical features of the manuscript and its content, and what this indicates about the user community of the text. By 'user community', I encompass both composer and preacher (if they were different[33]), and the community which formed the audience(s). The physical features of the homily indicate how the text was intended to be read, and how it was prepared and produced for public performance. The content reveals thematic trends and citation use practices throughout the corpus, which may indicate the purpose of the preaching, and provide indications of the intended audience. While studies in homiletics have provided examples of identified homilies with known uses and audiences, papyrological methods have been used to identify and analyse physical features of the papyri and their relationship to the textual content. The data of the catalogue was then analysed with respect to both content and physical features.

The corpus for this study was formed by gathering texts on papyrus which fitted the following criteria: the language was Greek; the date was between the fourth–seventh centuries CE; the author was unidentified; and the genre was identified in the edition

[33] The analysis of physical features and content will often refer to a "composer" and/or a "preacher." It should be understood that it is unknown whether the composer of these texts was the same person who performed them. Therefore these terms will be used interchangeably, however "preacher" will most often be used when referring to the act of reading the text, while "composer" is usually employed in connection with the creation of the text.

as either a homily, treatise, commentary or theological text.'[34] This data was initially sourced from an analysis of the catalogue of Joseph van Haelst, *Catalogue des Papyrus Littéraires Juifs et Chrétiens* (Paris, 1976),[35] and further supplemented by an examination of Kurt Aland's catalogue, *Repertorium der Griechischen Christlichen Papyri* (Berlin, 1976). For papyri published after 1975, the lists of "Christliche Papyri/Texte" produced by Kurt Treu and Cornelia Römer in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* and the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) were consulted.[36]

After the data was collected the corpus was finalised through the identification of texts which were homilies, and the removal of those which were not. This was achieved by an analysis of the content of the texts and an examination of the editor's discussion. One of the first indications of a homily included the presence of a quote or reference to the scriptures. This was followed by observing if there was any kind of exegetical or analytical discussion of the material. The most significant indication of a homily was the presence of an invocation to the audience within the discussion. Types of invocations included the use of second person pronouns, or verbs in the imperative. Invocations to the audience were the best initial indications of an

[34] Because editors are sometimes vague, and the exact genre of a fragmentary text at times unclear, a wide net was cast.

[35] Specifically focusing on chapters "Textes Patristiques" (pp. 221–254), "Prières Liturgiques et Prières Privées" (pp. 263–330), "Textes Non Identifiés" (pp. 337–358) and "Varia" (pp. 359–362).

[36] For even more recent publications that may not be available on LDAB, the *Bibliographie Papyrologique* (http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/cpeg/bp.htm) was consulted;
see also http://papyri.info/bibliosearch.

intention for the text to have been read publicly, which separates the homily from other exegetical genres like the treatise or commentary. [37]

The fragmentary nature of the texts dictated that some of these indications were lost, but testing for public reading was undertaken through the analysis of the physical features of the manuscript. These features were analysed by creating a database of the presence or lack of certain features. Each manuscript was transcribed and its handwriting analysed. The paleographical description was formed according to a criteria developed in Peter Parsons' work on the Nahal Hever scroll, which included features such as letter height, word spacing, and ligaturing. [38]

In conjunction with a description of the hand, formatting and punctuation were crucial for the analysis of the physical features of the manuscript. The examination of format characteristics including the material, margins and general features of the text blocks found the corpus to be similar (in format and handwriting) to other genres of Christian literature on papyrus. Turner, Bagnall and Johnson provide examples of these types of methods and approach to the study of the format of the papyrus.[39] However an analysis of the presence and application of punctuation found that these texts use significantly more types of lectional aids, and do so more frequently, compared to other genres. This was determined by reference to the paleographical works of Cavallo and Maehler[40] and Turner[41] which provided comparisons for the use

[37] It must be admitted here that both these features are also found in letters, of which many by monastic and Church leaders survive for this period; as none of the texts in the corpus bore any other features of letters, however, I have not excluded any on these grounds.
[38] Parsons (1990) pp. 19–26.
[39] Turner (1977), Bagnall (2009), Johnson (2004).
[40] Cavallo and Maehler (1987).

and frequency of lectional aids. The examination of these lectional aids and their use throughout the corpus found that these manuscripts were most likely intended for public reading.

Examination of the textual content of the papyri helped elucidate the intended teaching of the preacher, and provide clues as to the intended audience. The analysis of content revealed common themes throughout the corpus by identifying words and phrases corresponding to teachings attested in Christian literature. These phrases are often references to or quotations from Scripture. The choice of citations and how they are used provides information concerning the type of homily (exegetical, instructional, pastoral etc.) and the rhetorical techniques used by the preacher. Examples of these techniques include sentence construction, repetition, similes and metaphors, accessibility of theology (no prior knowledge) and common themes.[42]

Literary references and their usage in the text were examined to establish the theme of the homily. The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,*[43] provided linguistic and structural comparisons to key words and phrases, which were usually found in identified homilies. The analysis of these references showed that one of the most common themes found in the corpus was baptism, and that the most common form of citing the scriptures was by direct quotation.

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[41] Turner (1987).

[42] These techniques are identified by Lisa Bailey in her study of the Eusebius Gallicanus collection in fifth–sixth century Gaul, Bailey (2010) pp. 4–5.

[43] Available at http://www.tlg.uci.edu.

The citations were categorized according to the extent to which they were directly quoted from the source material, whether they were cited (e.g. by an introductory clause) and whether they were truncated. The analysis showed that homilies often quoted passages from different sections of the scriptures, which were used in various ways, usually in the form of a direct citation but also through reference and modification.

A combined analysis of the physical features of the manuscript and their content has enabled us to suggest that these papyri were read publicly and to draw some conclusions about the teachings of the preacher. Comparison with other papyri preserving other textual genres revealed that the corpus was not unusual in its physical features except for the abundant amount of punctuation and lectional aids, which leads to the supposition that these manuscripts were most likely read aloud in public. The examination of the content compared to early Christian literature identifies a set of common themes, most notably baptism and evil. The scriptural citations which supported these themes were largely without introductory clauses and were usually exact quotes of the source material.

I: The Physical Features of the Manuscript

The Physical Features of the Manuscript

Most homilies were written with the intention of being read aloud to an audience.[44] Public reading is the defining characteristic separating the homily from other exegetical forms of Christian literature, such as the commentary or the treatise. Distinguishing between these genres can be difficult when working with the often fragmentary or incomplete papyri, as indicated by the hesitant and tentative designation as homilies applied by editors.[45] Therefore indications in both the physicality and the content of these manuscripts suggest that they may have been intended for public reading and supports the identification and analysis of them as homilies.

The physical features of the papyri can provide information on the possible intended uses of the text. In the case of these unidentified homilies, the analysis of physical features is largely concerned with identifying to what extent the papyri were read aloud. An important issue concerning reading in antiquity is trying to determine whether the text was read privately (silently or aloud) or publicly.[46] The expectation with homilies is that they were read to an audience, providing teaching and instruction through exegesis. Therefore the recognition that these texts are homilies combined with the abundance of physical features and lectional aids throughout the corpus suggests that these manuscripts were intended for public, rather than private reading.

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[44] When discussing homilies on manuscripts produced after the performance of the sermon, Bailey argues that "Some may never have been spoken at all, though most were intended to be", Bailey (2010) p. 23.

[45] This is most evident in the catalogue of van Haelst (1976), in which all but one of the homilies on papyrus are presented in the "Text non Identifiés" section, while the only other is found in "Varia".

[46] See Knox (1968) and Gilliard (1993)

The Physical Features of the Manuscript

The relevant physical features present in this corpus include punctuation (often referred to as "lectional aids/signs"),[47] letter and word spacing, and book production format. The punctuation attested in the corpus includes stops, colons, breathings, dieresis, accents and paragraphoi, with some unique cases of possible "reading marks." The presence of punctuation is much more prevalent compared to letter/word spacing and formatting. All of the lectional signs listed above are present throughout the corpus, with some papyri having multiple reading aids, such as P. Bour. 3, in which the scribe has used high stops, rough breathings, dieresis and accents.

Peter Parsons has provided criteria to help determine whether lectional signs are an indication of public reading or recitation: frequency; choice of signs; and the graphic prominence of signs.[48] The high frequency of lectional signs throughout the corpus, combined with the expectation that homilies were performed, suggests that these manuscripts may have been produced with the intention of being read publicly.[49] The 10 cases without lectional signs can be explained either by the text being too fragmentary for lectional signs to survive or by the use of other physical features with a similar function, such as word spacing. Overall, it appears that even if lectional aids were not employed, the scribe used other methods to help the reader.

[47] These terms are used by Roberts (1979) pp. 21–22, Turner (1987) pp. 10–14, Cribiore (1996) pp. 83–88.

[48] P.J. Parsons (2012) p. 25.

[49] Roberts argues that "The frequent employment of lectional aids points to a conclusion already reached on other grounds, that most of these texts were intended for church use, to be read in public", Roberts (1979) p. 22.

Format

The rise of the codex coincides with the rise of Christianity.[50] Approximately 75 percent of all Christian papyri are codices, which shows that the codex was undoubtedly preferred by Christians.[51] This rise was so predominant that by the fourth century, the codex is the predominant bookform compared to the roll.[52] This preference does not relate to the fourth–seventh centuries because of the dominance of both the codex and Christianity during this period.

In this corpus only 50 percent of the papyri (11) are codices which is significantly different from the overall numbers of Christian papyri. It is likely that this is because of the fragmentary nature of the corpus with not one text surviving in full. However the lower numbers of codices could be an indication that the papyri were used for a particular purpose. Therefore were different types of format preferred for different text types? Answers cannot be provided here, in relation to the choice of format, with a small corpus which does not incorporate identified homilies on papyrus. Nevertheless the analysis of the physical features of the manuscript below indicates that these papyri may have had a specialised use.

[50] Hurtado (2006) pp. 43–93, Turner (1977).

[51] Format numbers can be acquired from the Leuven Database of Ancient Books.

[52] Bagnall discusses the spread of the codex and the relationship between format choice and content, Bagnall (2009) pp. 70–91.

1: Punctuation

The most significant indication that a text was intended for public reading is the presence of punctuation. Punctuation was applied in order to aid the reader.[53] For example, a stop would help indicate when to take a breath and pause, and accents functioned to differentiate vowel sounds.[54] Although punctuation in the papyri is not limited to homilies, its significant presence in this corpus suggests that these were lectional aids to help reading aloud. The presence of punctuation is significant, but it is also not consistent; indeed no lectional aid throughout the entire corpus is applied consistently.[55] Nevertheless, the analysis of these marks in their physical and textual context provides some insight into the intended use of these manuscripts.

The punctuation in the corpus can be categorised into two separate groups based on the function of the mark. The first being marks which function to provide sense breaks including stops (high and middle), colons and paragraphoi. The second includes marks used to aid pronunciation and differentiate words, such as breathings, dieresis, and accents. Two other physical features which can affect the application and significance of punctuation, reading marks and word spacing, are discussed separately at the end of this section.

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[53] Turner (1987) p. 8.

[54] Colvin (2013) pp. 84–86. Kenyon also discusses the earliest uses of punctuation and how this aids the reader, Kenyon (1899) pp. 25–28.

[55] Although it is definitely not a concrete system of punctuation, Dionysius Thrax outlines the functions of stops and shows that there was a recognised system of writing Greek in the late second century BCE, Dionysius Thrax. *Ars Grammatica* 7–9.

1. 1: Punctuation used for Sense Breaks

Out of the 23 papyri surveyed, punctuation and lectional signs provide sense breaks in a total of 10 cases: seven texts use the high stop, one text uses the mid stop, one text uses the colon and another uses the paragraphos. The function of these lectional signs was to provide clause, sentence, and/or sense breaks.[56] These marks would have provided suggested places to pause for breath, and separated sections of arguments with the help of which the reader would be able to more effectively communicate the overall arguments to an audience.[57] The manner in which information was communicated by the preacher was important, to avoid providing confusing or conflicting views.[58]

Stops (High and Middle)

High stops are the most common form of punctuation used to provide sense break in the corpus (eight cases[59]) while the mid stop is used in only two texts.[60] The high stop started appearing on manuscripts in the second century BCE,[61] and became

[56] For specific functions of these lectional signs and examples see Turner (1987) pp. 10–14.

[57] Turner (1987) p. 8.

[58] Homilies in early Christianity were a significant source of education. Allen believes that Severus of Antioch was very careful in the preparation of his homilies so that the sermon would "warn and instruct and not refute", Allen (1998) p. 173; see also Hartney (2004) p. 33, Bailey (2010) p. 19, and Cameron (1991) p. 79.

[59] Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2, P. Bour. 3, P. Col. 11. 295, P. Yale 2. 89, M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52, P. Oxy. 15. 1785, P. Oxy 17. 2073, P. Bodl. 1. 5.

[60] PSI inv. 535, PSI 7. 759.

[61] E.g. P. Oxy. 15. 1790, P. Oxy. 4. 659.

increasingly frequent in the Christian era.[62] In his *Ars Grammatica,* written in the second century BCE, Dionysius Thrax distinguishes three types of stops: στιγμὴ τελεία, στιγμὴ μέση and the ὑποστιγμὴ.[63] This indicates that at a very early stage, Greek writers were thinking about a system of rules for punctuation. By the Christian period, the stop is applied inconsistently in the papyri, as is evident within this corpus. The observation of the stop in its physical and textual context (the amount of stops and their graphical prominence) helps to indicate possible uses of the manuscript.

Preceding Verbs of Speaking or Perceiving

One of the functions of the stop in the corpus is to highlight verbs of speaking or perceiving. In the eight papyri that use the stop (both high and mid), it is used four times preceding an indirect statement.

In P. Bour. 3, column 1 line 13, the scribe has placed a high stop before the first person singular verb of perceiving οἴμαι, changing the subject from "the servant" in line 12. There are not any other cases of indirect statement from the first person perspective. In line 13 the verb οἴμαι changes the perspective of the recounting of the story from Rebecca to Isaac. This is significant because from this point in P. Bour. 3, Rebecca is only referred to as the παῖς Ἀβραάμ[64] until the very last line in column 4, in

[62] Turner (1987) p. 9.
[63] Dionysius Thrax. *Ars Grammatica* 7–9.
[64] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 16.

which she is named.[65] The high stop in line 13 provides the reader with an indication for a progression in the story[66] and signifies a change of perspective from Rebecca to Isaac.

Another case of a verb of perceiving occurs in column 1 line 18,[67] in which the scribe has placed the high stop following ἀκουέτω and before the verb of perceiving βλέπετε. Unfortunately, the previous three and following four lines are fragmentary which complicates any attempt at determining the context and function of the stop. The evidence available simply shows that the subject of the indirect statement has changed from the first person singular to the second person plural. At this point it appears that the composer is no longer reporting the events from Genesis, but is invoking the audience. The change of subject from reporting the actions of Isaac to the perceptions of the audience is highlighted by the presence of this high stop. The sense break most likely functioned to aid the reader in recognizing this shift.[68]

Another case in which the high stop is used before a verb of speaking or perceiving is present in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52. In Fragment 1 recto line 16, the high stop ends the previous sentence and is followed by οἶδα δὲ [ὅτ]ι ταῦτα λέγων παροι[μιά]ζω (I know that I cite these words…). Although the high stop occupies a similar position in the text to that in P. Bour. 3, its function is not to introduce a citation. Rather it acts to begin a sequence of further exegesis. In addition, from this point on, the perspective

[65] P. Bour. 3 Col. 4 l. 25.

[66] From Gen. 24. 16–22 in which Rebecca is at the well with the servant to Gen. 24. 62–67 where Isaac meets Rebecca.

[67] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 18]ατων ἀκουέτω · βλέπετε ὅτι οὐ νῦν μο|.

[68] It also possibly prompted a change in tone or style of preaching to directly address the audience. Cameron discusses the need for a preacher to be 'perfectly intelligible' for his audience, Cameron (1991) p. 112. See p. 33 for a discussion of invocations to the audience.

remains in the first person singular.[69] Note that there are no other instances of an indirect statement throughout the text, suggesting that this could have been one of the habits of the scribe. There is also a larger amount of space between the preceding word (ποιῆσαι) and the stop when compared to the following word (οἶδα). The graphic prominence of the sign, combined with the change in subject, indicates that the scribe wished to highlight the beginning of the exegesis which started with an indirect statement.

The other two cases of high stops in the corpus are used following the verb of speaking or perceiving and preceding the reported speech. In Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2 the scribe has placed the high stop after the verb of speaking to separate the statement from the remainder of the text:

1 λέγω ·
2 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστιλεν με
3 Χ(ριστὸ)ς βαπτίσαι ἀλλ᾽ εὐαγγε-
4 λίζεσθαι τοὺς δεξαμέ-
5 νους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅ ε-
6 βάπτισεν κἀμοὶ · διὰ τί[70]

The high stop is used to begin a section in which the speech is reported from a first person perspective. Although the high stop is used another three times by the scribe, it is not used again to separate a verb of speaking from a following indirect statement. For example, at Verso lines 4–5 and 6–7, the scribe has recorded two other cases of indirect statement, yet does not place a high stop in between the verb of hearing (ἀκούω) and the beginning of the report (ὅτι). The significant textual feature of the

[69] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 l. 18–19 εὔχ-|ομαι, 22 δυνηθῶ and 25 εὔχομαι.

[70] Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2 Recto, l. 1–6: "I say that Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel to those who have received the gospel into which he also baptized me."

section shown above is the citation of 1 Cor. 1. 1 7 in lines 2–3. This indicates that the composer may only have perceived the high stop to be necessary when the content of the report was a quotation. The stop would have functioned to help the reader in signifying the beginning of reported speech (from their own perspective) and the beginning of a citation (in which the source is not referred to).

In P. Bodl. 1. 5 line 2, the stop is used between ἐξεβόησεν and the report beginning with Δανιήλ. The text preceding and following the stop is a citation of Daniel 6. 21–22. The scribe placed a high stop in the middle of the citation, when the king is speaking.[71] The reason for placing the stop here is to most likely indicate the beginning of the speech, and indicate a change of voice. It could be argued that this mark provides evidence that the text was performed, with the high stop signaling to the reader that the following text is from the voice of the king (who was probably mentioned in the lost text preceding this section). There are no other opportunities for the use of the high stop because of the fragmentary nature of the text. Therefore, in this particular case, the scribe has intended to aid the reader by introducing the direct statement with a high stop. This is a deliberate choice by the scribe, indicated by the space allocated for the stop.

This function of high stops to separate and/or highlight a sentence containing a direct or indirect statement indicates that the scribe copied the text with the knowledge that it might be read aloud. The high stop here is clearly intended to provide a marker

[71] P. Bodl. 1. 5 l. 2–3 μεγάλῃ φωνῇ χρησάμενος ἐξεβόησεν· Δανιὴλ ὦ δοῦλε τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ| ζῶν[τ]ος ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ᾧ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς εἰπὲ ἐδυνήθη σε λε(όν)των ἐξελέσθαι, "With a great voice he cried aloud 'Daniel, O servant of the living God, the God whom you perpetually serve, he said, was he able to rescue you from the lions?'".

for the reader indicating that the voice of the text has changed to the character reporting the statement, which would allow preachers to alter their expression and delivery.

Change in Subject

The high stop is also used to signify a change of subject in three papyri throughout the corpus. The use of the high stop in these cases is most likely associated with the performance of the text. This function is similar to its use with verbs of speaking or perceiving discussed above, in which the shift of perspective is a more specific change of subject.

A common feature of homilies is the change from the third person singular to the first person singular, particularly when there is a shift from citation to exegesis. In P. Bour. 3, a high stop separates a sentence where Christ is the subject of the verb in the third person, to the following sentence which has a first person singular verb.[72] Christ[73] takes the final position of the previous sentence and precedes the high stop. However the *nomen sacrum* is not the reason for the high stop here, as there are seven other instances of *nomina sacra* which are not immediately followed by punctuation.[74]

[72] P. Bour. 3 Col. 3 l. 10 τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐθύθη (*l.* ἐτύθη) Χ(ριστό)ς · ἀεὶ δ[ὲ φαγόμεθα ἀπό].

[73] Note that the chi in Χ(ριστό)ς is significantly larger (0.55cm) compared to other chis on the papyrus, which have an the average letter height of 0.3–0.35cm.

[74] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 16, 18, 24, 29; Col. 3 l. 5, 19, 20.

Throughout column 3 the subjects of the verb are either the third person[75] or the first person plural.[76] However the initial use of the first person singular occurs in column 3 line 10. The theme of this section suggests that the text following the stop was intended to have been read as a statement from the perspective of the reader. The use of the first person singular verb is infrequent throughout the four columns but is preceded by a high stop in each case,[77] which has already been discussed concerning the indirect statement in column 1 line 13.[78]

Graphically, the stop is positioned below the line, above the *nomen sacrum*, and is on the same horizontal plane as the following alpha. The seemingly larger amount of blank space between Χ(ριστό)ς and the stop can probably be explained by the fact that the line for the *nomen sacrum* finishes after the sigma. The scribe is careful not to allow either the line or the alpha to penetrate the barrier created by the stop. Nevertheless, the amount of blank space is a noticeable gap in the text, and functions as a sense break.

A similar phenomenon takes place in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52, in which the high stop separates a sentence with "God" as its subject, from the following sentence in which the subject is the first person.[79] The perspective here is undoubtedly meant to be from the reader communicating his prayer(εὔχομαι) to the audience. Fragment 1

[75] E.g. P. Bour. 3 Col. 3 l. 2 εἶπεν.

[76] E.g. P. Bour. 3 Col. 3 l. 8 [ἐσθίομεν] (Note that it is reconstructed) Col. 3 l. 10 ἐθύθη (*l.* ἐτύθη).

[77] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 13, Column 2 l. 4. The only other first person singular verb is present in Column 3 l. 18, however it is likely that a high stop would have preceded the οὐκ in the previous line which is lost.

[78] See p. 23.

[79] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Recto l. 24–25 [ὁ Θ(εὸ)]ς συντρίψαι τὸν σαταν[ᾶ]ν ὑπ[ὸ] τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶ(ν)| [ἐ]ν τάχει· ἔρρω[σ]θαι ὑ[μ]ᾶς εὔχομαι ἀν[αν]εούσ[ας], "God crushes Satan under his feet. I pray that you are healthy…"

Recto lines 18–19 presents the only other case in which the scribe had the opportunity to place a high stop before the first person verb. However the verb is preceded by ἀλλά which would have signaled a sense break, possibly making the stop unnecessary.[80] The stop is graphically prominent but there is equal space on either side of the sign, which in total occupies two letter spaces. The scribe here is definitely signposting the end of the thought on God, and the beginning of the thoughts from the perspective of the preacher.

Therefore, it appears that in both cases, one of the functions of the high stop is to signal a change into the first person singular. From that point the preacher would have recognised the change in perspective, which could have been accompanied by a change in how the homily was delivered (for e.g. tone, pace or volume).

Short Sentence

As a common rhetorical device, short sentences can help the preacher by providing "rhythm and focusing attention."[81] In P. Bour. 3, a high stop is followed by a shorter sentence of 10–11 words which is ended by another high stop.[82] In the sentence, the reader invokes his audience, telling them that 'your eyes had not yet been opened.' The second person had been the subject in previous lines,[83] but this particular sentence is contained within two high stops. The subject of the next sentence is

[80] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Recto l. 18–19 [...ἀνή]λισκον τὴν [ἐ]λπίδα κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἀλλ' εὐχ-|[όμαι], "I destroyed the hope by myself, but I pray…"

[81] Bailey (2010) pp. 4–5.

[82] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 11–12 · τάχ[α] μηδέ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ κρίνοντος| ἀνοῖξαι σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς [...]ηκει · "Perhaps your eyes have not been opened by God the judge."

[83] E.g. Col. 2 l. 8–9 πίνεις ἐσθά-|νῃ, Col. 2 l. 9 αἰσθάνῃ and Col. 2 l. 10–11 ἀνοί-|γεις.

Hagar, which may have required a stop to break the sense from the second person. Graphically, the stop in line 10 is only allocated one letter space, while the stop in line 11 is not allocated any space at all, which was most likely added after the words were written (but by the same scribe).

In column 4 of P. Bour. 3, the scribe has used another short sentence. The sentence is only nine words and 41 letters long.[84] The sentence is constructed as a simple condition, with a present indicative and infinitive in the first clause and an imperative in the second clause. Before and after this sentence, the discussion is centered around the spiritual (πνευματικός).[85] The combination of a condition and an imperative may have warranted the use of the high stops to create a short sentence. Although the discussion is still on the holy spirit, the invocation to the audience using the imperative (μένε) might be an indication of a different method of delivery (e.g. tone, speed and/or volume).[86] The high stop preceding the sentence in line 3 has been allocated a single letter space, while the stop in line 4 to end the sentence is allocated approximately half of one letter space. The combination of the sentence structure, textual context, the use of the imperative, and the graphical prominence of the high stop suggests that the sentence was meant to have been recognised by the reader and probably to have been expressed differently in tone, pace or volume.[87] The two stops

[84] P. Bour. 3 Col. 4 l. 3–4 · εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις παρα-|δέξασθαι τὰ πν(ευματι)κὰ ψυχ[ικ]ὸς μένε· "If you are not willing to receive the spiritual (things), those of the soul remain." Note that the average letters per line of the papyrus is approximately 35 letters, so this sentence is only 5 letters longer than one line of text for the scribe.

[85] Col. 4 l. 3 τὰ πν(ευματι)κὰ πν(ευματι)κός, l. 5 πν(ευματι)κός, l. 8–9 πν(ευματι)-|κός, l. 10 πν(ευματι)κός.

[86] Augustine of Hippo argued that different kinds of homilies called for different tones of speech, which indicates that preachers during this period used varying tones for different kinds of homilies, Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* 4. 38.

[87] Augustine wrote that the style of speaking was important to persuade an audience, see Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* 4. 27–28.

may have signified to the reader that pauses could be used before and after the statement to help convey a clear and concise message.

The composer of PSI 7. 759 has recorded a series of short sentences separated by mid-stops. In 18 lines of text, the mid stop is used 11 times with word counts ranging from a minimum of 4[88] to a maximum of 11.[89] In the earlier case, a dependent clause of only four words and 22 letters is separated from the remainder of the text using mid stops. The phrase is dependent on the previous clause in which the composer discusses the lack of benefit in the renunciation of the "soulless and wealthy."[90] The genitives of the dependent clause in line 10 undoubtedly refer to the accusative plural ἡμᾶς, which is an address to the audience. The combination of its position as the final clause of the sentence and its containment within the mid stops suggests that this phrase was meant to be emphasised by the reader.

The composer of PSI 7. 759 also uses the rhetorical technique of repetition in order to focus the attention of the audience. In lines 11–13, the composer uses the same verb κατελείπω for both clauses in the sentence.[91] In both clauses, the subject remains the first person plural, however the verb is negated in the second clause, with the contrast emphasised by the presence of δέ. A similar phenomenon also most likely occurred with ἀπετάξαμεθα in lines 4–6(once again a first person plural).[92] In line 4 ἀπετάξαμεθα serves as the main verb for the clause, and is used once again for the

[88] PSI 7. 759 l. 8–9 · τῆς ψυχῆς μὴ |καθαρευούσης·

[89] PSI 7. 759 l. 10–11 · οὐκ ἰάσαμεν δὲ τὸν Π(ατέ)ρα| τῆς ἀδικείας οὔπω ἐσμεν τέκνα Θ(εο)ῦ·

[90] PSI 7. 759 l. 7–8 ο]ὐδ[ὲν] ὀνήσει ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀποταγὴ τῶν| [ἀ]ψύχων χρημάτων·

[91] PSI 7. 759 l. 11–13 εἰ δὲ κ[αὶ]| κατελείπαμεν μ(ητέ)ρα οὐ κατελείπαμεν δὲ| τὴν ἁμαρτείαν· "Although we abandoned the mother, we did not abandon sin."

[92] This section is slightly reconstructed by Vitelli and Norsa and suits the space and context of the text on the manuscript, Vitelli and Norsa (1925) p. 44.

next clause (which is preceded by a mid stop) and is negated.[93] In both of these instances, the short sentence, as indicated by the mid stops, serves to contain this repetition.[94] In lines 11–13 the sentence is preceded in line 11 and ended in line 13 by a mid stop, while the negative οὐ and particle δέ serve to break the sentence into separate clauses. Both mid stops are graphically prominent with 0.8cm in space allocated to the stop, equating to approximately two letter spaces.[95] As a lectional aid, the mid stops which are used to separate the short sentence would have signified to the reader the beginning and end of this thought concerning the abandonment of sin.

Overall, the mid stop in PSI 7. 759 functions in similar manner to a high stop, but is applied more often, and more liberally. It is used to end whole sentences, but is also employed in the middle of sentences, separating dependent clauses (as in lines 8–9). Nevertheless the sentences throughout the text are quite short, often beginning with particles like εἰ[96] or δι (for δία)[97] or a negative such as οὐκ or οὔπω, all of which are preceded by mid stops.[98] The mid stops undoubtedly functioned as reading aids. The sense break would have provided the reader with a reminder of when to pause in order to best communicate to the audience the end of the short sentence and most forcefully transmit the teaching it contained. The two to three letter spaces given to

[93] It is however worth noting that δέ is only used in the second clause in this case.

[94] Also note the sentence in lines 13–14, also contained within two mid stops, in which two different forms of τίκτω are used-both being present indicative first person plurals, but the initial one is middle-passive and the second is active, PSI 7. 759 l. 13–14 ·δι ἧς τικτόμεθα καὶ τίκτομεν·.

[95] Vitelli and Norsa have recorded the stop in line 11 following Θ(εο)ῦ’ as a low stop. This is incorrect as although it is placed on the bottom plane of that line, the apostrophe at the end of the upsilon probably took too much room. Thus the stop was placed under the apostrophe so that two punctuation marks did not occupy more than 2 letter spaces, which may have disoriented a reader. This is likely as there are no other cases of low stops on the papyrus, and one here would break the habit of the scribe in his use of mid-stops (11 cases in total).

[96] PSI 7. 759 l. 4, 9, 11, 16.

[97] PSI 7. 759 l. 13.

[98] PSI 7. 759 l. 5, 10, 15.

each mid stop makes it graphically prominent in the text and thus noticeable for a reader.

Invocation to the Audience

The sense break is also often employed in the corpus preceding invocations to the audience. These breaks have been indicated either by the high stop or, in the case of P. Oxy. 17. 2074, the colon. This is significant, as the presence of punctuation before an invocation might indicate that the reader was to pause before addressing the audience, and along with the second person verbs, provides further evidence for the public reading of these texts.

In Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2, the scribe has placed a high stop at the beginning of a sentence in which the second person singular imperative active ζητῖ (ζήτει) takes the first position.[99] Unfortunately, the remainder of line 9 and a majority of line 10 are fragmentary, making it impossible to discern the sense of the sentence. The shift to the imperative most likely warranted the use of the high stop, so as to highlight the shift of moods to the reader. There are no other cases of the imperative in this small fragment, but the verso has four cases of verbs in the second person.[100] Although the second person was most frequently the subject on the verso, the mood shift from the indicative to the imperative was pointed out to the reader via the punctuation.

The colon is used in P. Oxy. 17. 2074 to provide sense breaks and to highlight points where the audience is addressed. The use of the colon already has roots in performed

[99] Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2 Verso l. 9 δουλεύων · ζητῖ πο̣[.

[100] Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2. Verso l. 3 ἀκουέις l. 5–6 ἀκ[ού-|ει, l. 8 [ἀ]κούε[ι], l. 9 ζητῖ.

manuscripts, which contained texts that were performed, such as its use to indicate a change of speaker in dramatic texts.[101] However, one of the oldest uses of the colon has been identified in the fourth century papyrus, BCE P. Vindob G.1 line 9 (*Curse of Artemisia*), in which it is used to divide a sentence. In the fourth century CE, the colon is used alongside high stops performing a similar function in P. Bodmer 2 (John 1–14).[102] This indicates that the colon had two roles: 1. The colon is often used in a text which is most likely to have been performed or publicly read. 2. The colon can designate speakers in dramatic texts, as well as functioning like a stop in ending sentences, clauses and sections.

P. Oxy. 17. 2074 is the only text in the present corpus which employs colons. There are six surviving cases of the colon, with another three reconstructed by Grenfell and Hunt.[103] In every case except for one of the reconstructions,[104] the colon is followed by σὺ εἶ, which often begins the next sentence. There are only two cases in which σὺ εἶ is not preceded by a colon and this can be explained as the fact that these do not begin a new sentence, but may be another independent clause in a similar line of thought.[105] The correlation between this phrase and the use of a mid stop is significant in determining whether this text was read publicly.

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[101] Turner (1987) pp. 8–9. The examples provided include P. Oxy. 33. 2654 a first century copy of Menander's *Karchedonios* and P. Oxy. 33. 2656 a fourth century copy of Menander's *Misoumenos*. Also note that it was identified by Kenyon as early as the late 19th century, Kenyon (1899) p. 28.

[102] The colon ends both sentences and clauses within sentences and sections, e.g. p. 3 l. 6, p. 11 l. 8, p. 15 l. 5, p. 17 l. 9, p. 47 l. 18, p. 55 l. 8, p. 62 l. 5, p. 67 l. 18, p. 70 l. 15, p. 83 l. 3, p. 87 l. 8. On the date of this papyrus (which may, despite common opinion, date to the fourth century, see Nongbri (2014).

[103] P. Oxy. 17. 2074 Surviving Colons: Folio 1 Recto l. 10, 14, 16; Folio 1 Verso l. 15; Folio 2 Recto l. 7; Folio 2 Verso l. 6. Reconstructed Colons: Folio 1 Recto l. 5, 7, 13.

[104] Folio 1 Recto l. 13- Although even in this case the words following the colon and beginning the sentence are σὺ ἤ which is missing the verb to be. Other cases of σὺ εἶ are followed by the exclamation ἦ, which suggests that the scribe may have forgotten the verb in line 13, or did not see the need to stress the second person as the subject of the sentence by adding the verb.

[105] P. Oxy. 17. 2074 Folio 1 Recto l. 18 and Folio 1 Verso l. 13.

Firstly, the repetition of the kind shown by σὺ εἶ here is usual for a homily. Not only is the phrase repeated in order to focus the attention of the audience, but the phrase invokes the audience themselves. With almost every sentence beginning with σὺ εἶ, the text is constantly reminding the audience that they are the subject. At one point in the text, the audience is invoked and referred to three times in four lines.[106] The combined use of repetition and constant invocations to the audience suggests that this text was read aloud.

The choice to use the colon adds to this argument, especially when the author has not used any other forms of punctuation for sense breaks. The colon is only used throughout the text before the repeated phrase σὺ εἶ. In each surviving case the colon is graphically prominent, taking approximately 2–3 letter spaces or 0.5–0.6cm, making them very apparent to the reader. The use of the colon prior to the repeated phrase suggests that σὺ εἶ was emphasised in each case because of the pause indicated by the lectional aid. Therefore, the function of the colon for both sense breaks and emphasis is similar to the stops discussed above. The choice of colon may be indicative of a performed reading of the text, as other attestations of the colon occur in dramatic texts like comedies and dialogues, which were almost certainly read publicly.[107]

[106] P. Oxy. 2074 Folio 1 Recto l. 14–17 σὺ εἶ| ἡ τελειώσασα αὐτοῦ τὸ σπούδασ-|μα δυνάμει τῇ σῇ : σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀνειχ-|νεύσασα, "You are the fulfillment of him the zealous work to your strength. You are the one who searched out."

[107] Turner (1987) pp. 8–9.

Chronological Shift

The final use of the high stop in the corpus is to denote a chronological shift. This only occurs in P. Bour. 3, largely because of the fragmentary nature of the papyri and the lack of opportunities for the high stop to be applied. There are only two cases of a time shift or progression denoted by high stops.

In column 1 l. 3, a high stop is present between ἀφίστατο and ἀλλά at the end of the line.[108] The two sentences refer to Genesis 24. 16ff, and concern the story of Rebecca and the Well, in which she eventually meets and marries Isaac. In the sentence prior to the stop, Rebecca is mentioned with her common epithet Ῥεβέκκα τοῦ φρέατος[109] and the tense of the verb in the imperfect. The sentence following the stop begins to reiterate the story of Rebecca from Genesis 24. 16.[110] The verb following ἀλλά is reconstructed by Collart in the aorist, suggesting that the action was already completed. Therefore, the sentence following the high stop presents a recounting of the story in which the actions have been completed.

The high stop is not very graphically prominent, allocated only 0.25cm or approximately one letter space. The high stop here functions as the end of the previous sentence, but may also highlight the shift in time from describing Rebecca in

[108] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 3–4 οὐδ᾽ αὐτὴ ἡ Ῥεβ]έκκα τοῦ φρέατος ἀφίστατο· ἀλλὰ| [κατέβη ἐπὶ τὴν πηγήν].

[109] Gregory of Nyssa. *In Diem Luminum.* Gebhardt (1967) vol. 9 p. 231 l. 13 τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος; Epiphanius. *Panarion*. Holl (1922) vol. 2 p. 31 l. 15 ἐπὶ Ῥεβέκκαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ φρέατι.

[110] Gen. 24. 16 καταβᾶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἔπλησεν τὴν ὑδρίαν καὶ ἀνέβη, “She went down to the spring filled her jar and returned”; P. Bour. 3 l. 3–5 ἀλλὰ| [κατέβη ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν]καὶ μάλιστα δὲ ε̣ι̣σ̣[.....] εἰκῇ γέγρα-|πται, “But she went down to the spring and above all ε̣ι̣σ̣[.....] in vain it is written.”

line 3, to the reporting of the story beginning with ἀλλά, which continues in line 4. This use of the high stop would have assisted the reader by notifying them of the time shift. It may have also warranted a shift in the form of delivery itself (pace, tone or volume), particularly because the text following the stop is a paraphrase of Genesis 24.16.

The other example occurs in column 2 line 11 following ὀφθαλμούς and preceding τάχ[α].[111] The content of the sentence prior to the stop is concerned with the eyes of the audience not being opened[112] (a theme also repeated in the next sentence).[113] The content refers to Genesis 21. 19, in which God opens the eyes of Hagar, which is directly referenced one line later in Column 2 lines 13–14.[114] This is another example of repetition in the text, in which the motif of the 'opening of the eyes' is the intended focus for the audience. The role of the high stops in these cases is to provide sense breaks between each sentence, so that this theme is conveyed clearly, which would be communicated more clearly with with pauses separating each statement. The high stop in line 11 separates the present action of the eye opening in the previous sentence (ἀνοίγεις) from the completed action of the following sentence (ἀνοιξαί). The high stop is graphically prominent, with 0.3cm of space allocated to it which is approximately 1–2 letter spaces.[115] For the purposes of public reading, the stop would have indicated an opportune moment for a pause. In the context of the content,

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111 P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 11–12 τοὺς ὀφαλμοὺς · τάχ[α] μηδὲ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ κρίνοντος| ἀνοῖξαι σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς [...]ηκει· "Perhaps your eyes have not been opened by God the judge."

112 P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 10–11 [ο]ὐκ ἀνοί-|γεις δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς·.

113 P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 12–13 · παρὰ τῷ φρέαρ τῆς| ὁράσεως ἦν ἡ Ἄγαρ καὶ ἕως ἄνοιξεν ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς αὐτῆς τοὺς| ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐκ ἔβλεπεν τ[ὸ] φρέαρ τῆς ὁράσεως, "Hagar was at the well of vision and until God opened her eyes she did not understand the well of vision."

114 Genesis 21. 19 καὶ ἀνέῳξεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς. See pp. 62–63 for further discussion of content.

115 The stop is also significantly closer to the sigma in ὀφθαλμούς than to the tau in τάχ[α].

the lectional mark would have also indicated a shift in time to the completed action, particularly with the frequent repetition.[116]

The paragraphos is used in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 to denote a sense break within the text. The paragraphos, best defined as a horizontal stroke beginning from the margin to the middle of two lines of text, was used in papyri often as an indication of a sense break or a change of speaker.[117] The paragraphos first appears on papyri in the late fourth century BCE *Derveni Papyrus*, where it marks the beginning and end of hexameter quotations.[118] During the Christian era, it was undoubtedly used to aid public reading, as evidenced by its graphical prominence and intrusion into the margin.[119] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 is perhaps surprisingly, the only papyrus in the corpus which provides examples of paragraphoi.[120]

There are five cases of paragraphoi within a range of two pages and a total of 54 lines in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52.[121] The paragraphoi are used by the scribe to call attention to the sense break in combination with the stop in the line above.[122] Not all stops in the papyrus are supported by the paragraphos, indicating that the stops which are

[116] Note that the stop in Col. 2 l. 12 following [...]ηκει and preceding παρά has a similar function of separating the content so that the opening of the eyes is not repeated in such quick succession, which might have confused the audience.

[117] Turner (1987) pp. 8–9, 12–13; Cribiore (1996) pp. 81–82; e.g. PSI 1171 l. 634. For paragraphoi used with colons to indicate a change in speaker, see e.g P. Oxy. 11. 1373 and P. Oxy. 7. 1013.

[118] Turner (1987) no. 51.

[119] Johnson argues that the paragraphos was used to assist reading aloud, Johnson (1994) pp. 67–68.

[120] Sanz recorded the paragraphoi in his edition as reaching from the margin well into the line of text. However the paragraphoi range from 0.7–1cm (approximately 2–3 letter spaces) which makes them much less graphically prominent compared to how Sanz has represented them; see Sanz (1946) pp. 105–106.

[121] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Verso l. 2, 11, 22; Recto l. 6, 16.

[122] A similar phenomenon occurs in a fourth century CE copy of a speech of Lysias: P. Lond. inv. 2852, in which the paragraphos is used with the stop (and only sometimes with space) following the end of a sentence, e.g. P. Lond. inv. 2852 Verso l. 24, (Cavallo and Maehler (1987) no. 8b).

combined with the paragraphos were intended as larger section breaks. Also, in each combination of paragraphos and high stop, there is no further space to distinguish the break, with the text continuing on the same line uninterrupted. Therefore, the paragraphos in conjunction with the stop is the only indication of a sense break which is provided by the scribe.

The role of the stop in the papyrus is not limited to its combination with the paragraphos. There are five other instances in the text in which the scribe has used a high stop (three cases)[123] and a low stop (two cases)[124] without the paragraphos. This suggests that the scribe had a set of standards on which break constituted only a stop, and which break warranted a stop and a paragraphos. However, only the high stop is used in conjunction with the paragraphos, which could also indicate a set of rules for each piece of punctuation used for a sense break. The content before the paragraphos and high stop is vastly different to that following it. In each case the subject and the object are different from the sentence preceding to the stop.

The presence of both of the stop and the paragraphos, and the applications of these by the scribe, allows for the possibility that these features may have been used differently for reading. Specifically, the paragraphos might have aided public reading as a mark intended to note the separation of different subjects, particularly given the absence of blank space on the papyrus to help indicate this sense break. At the beginning of the line the reader would recognise the paragraphos below it which

[123] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1; Verso l. 5 following [ἐξε]υτελίσαν-|τας, Recto l. 10 following θαλασσῶν and Recto l. 25 following τάχει.
[124] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1; Verso l. 20 following ἀφορμάς and Recto l. 9 following Πέτροι.

might have indicated the need for a longer pause to signal to the audience that the subject was now changing. The high stop would then indicate the end of the sentence and the exact time the reader was intended to pause. Therefore the combination of the paragraphos and the high stop would have been used to help reading in public, to signify shifts in subjects through pauses designated by the scribe.

Stop used for Unclear Reasons

Along with these uses of the sense break, there are some cases in which it is difficult to discern why a punctuation mark has been used. In M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52, a high stop is used preceding the object of the verb.[125] The content of the sentence does not warrant a sense break here, unless the reader intended to pause in order to stress 'earth and flesh.' It might also be separating the repetition of ζωός plus an aorist accusative participle, which is used adjectivally in line 5 as ζωήν. Unlike the other high stops on the papyrus, this one is not accompanied by a paragraphos below the line to highlight the sense break. The scribe has not employed a strict system of application of sense breaks, but the use of the high stop in every other case begins a new line of thought. This makes the usage of the high stop in fragment 1 verso line 5 difficult to interpret apart from the possibility that it was intended to signal to the reader that the following clause should be emphasised.

[125] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Verso l. 4–6 περὶ τῆς μ[ετὰ τα]ῦτα ζωῆς [πα]ραστή-|σαντας · τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς τε ἐ[ν σαρ]κὶ ζωὴν [ἐξε]υτελίσαν-|τας, "Concerning the life among these, those who demonstrate that life upon earth and flesh is undervalued."

Another case which is difficult to classify occurs in P. Bour 3, in which a high stop precedes καί in the middle of the sentence.[126] The content preceding the stop discusses the concept of eyes being opened, while the independent clause following the stop can be translated as "and you were able to see."[127] The text following the stop is obviously connected to the same line of thought, which Collart acknowledges in ending the sentence following ἰδεῖν in his edition.[128] However the high stop is not recorded by Collart, even though it is very clear on the manuscript as it is allocated 0.4cm, approximately two letter spaces. The graphical prominence of the stop would have made the break very noticeable to the reader. As with the previous case, although it occurs mid sentence, the stop might have been a signal for the reader to pause to provide emphasis on the statement following the stop, even though the sense ends three words later with ἰδεῖν. The abrupt ending of the line of thought, combined with the graphical prominence of the stop makes it's function difficult to ascertain.

[126] P. Bour. 3 Col 2 l. 25–26 ἵνα ὁ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ἰδὼν [ἐλ]εήσῃ σε καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τοὺς| ὀφθαλμοὺς σου · καὶ δυ[νηθ]ῇς ἰδεῖν, "In order that Jesus would have mercy upon seeing you and would open your eyes and you would have the power to see."

[127] P. Bour. 3 Col 2 l. 26 καὶ δυ[νηθ]ῇς ἰδεῖν.

[128] Collart (1926) p. 34.

1. 2: Punctuation for Word Differentiation or Pronunciation

There are four types of diacritical marks present in the corpus for the purpose of differentiation or pronunciation: rough breathings (*spiritus asper*), apostrophe, dieresis and acute accents. As with the punctuation indicating sense breaks, the scribes do not appear to consistently follow rules or standards for the application of these marks, as they are both inconsistent and not very prominent.[129] These lectional signs are often added by a second hand,[130] but in this corpus they appear to have been written by the same scribe who wrote the text, at the same time of its writing.

Breathings

Breathings are applied inconsistently and seemingly at the discretion of the scribe. [131] The lack of consistency has lead scholars to believe that they were only used when the scribe deemed it necessary to distinguish the word being aspirated.[132] However in his study of breathings in documentary papyri, Ast has argued that looking for consistency or the places in which the breathing is not used is 'unfruitful and will not yield results, but understanding the presence of the mark might indicate why it is used in certain circumstances.'[133]

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[129] This parallels the use of such diacritics in general in papyrus texts; on their use in antiquity see Fournet (1999) pp. 16–38.

[130] E.g. P. Oxy 15. 1820, P. Mich. 137, P. Berol. inv. 21105.

[131] There seems little way of determining whether they were in the exemplar of the text or not.

[132] Kenyon (1899) p. 30; Gardthausen (1913) pp. 383–385; see Cribiore (1996) p. 86.

[133] Ast (2013) p. 7. Available: https://www.academia.edu/4872683/Signs_of_Education_and_Culture._Prosodic_Marks_in_Greek_Documents._A_Talk.

Throughout the corpus there are 15 instances of the rough breathing spread across four papyri, with one case of the smooth breathing (*spiritus lenis*).[134] Only two letters are aspirated, eta (twelve cases) and omicron (four).

The rough breathing is used on a single eta in five cases. In PSI 7. 759, the breathing is used to distinguish the two instances of eta in line 2 as conjunctions.[135] Further on in line 7, it is also used to distinguish the definite article for ἀποταγή, which is also seen in P. Oxy. 17. 2073 verso lines 3 and 4 with βλάβη and ὄψεις (*1.* ὄψις) respectively. The scribe of P. Bour. 3 has also used the rough breathing to distinguish the definite article for Ἄγαρ.[136] The application of the rough breathing in these circumstances indicates that the scribe believed it necessary to distinguish the letter, which is understandable because of the possibilities for a lone eta. This would have helped the preacher by indicating the meaning of that eta.

Another common use of the rough breathing includes when an eta is followed by a delta to help distinguish the word from homographs. In PSI 7. 759 two cases of the pronoun ἥδε in line 3 are both accompanied by rough breathings, most likely to distinguish them from the conjunction ἠδέ. Conversely, in P. Bour. 3 the scribe aspirates the conjunction ἤδη using a smooth breathing, probably to distinguish it from the pronoun.[137] Notably there is another case of the rough breathing over the eta before the dental consonant in P. Oxy. 17. 2073, when ἡδονή is aspirated for an

[134] This is not unusual as the smooth breathing is rare.
[135] PSI 7. 759 l. 2]κησις ἤ πρός τόνδε ἤ τόνδε.
[136] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 13.
[137] P. Bour. 3. Col. 4 l. 8. Note that there are no instances of the pronoun ἥδε preserved.

unknown purpose.[138] Overall, the breathing appears to be used to aid the reader, to distinguish certain words from homographs.

The use of the rough breathing over omicron is similar to the eta, with most cases used to help distinguish words.[139] In P. Bour. 3 the definite article of Ἀβραάμ is accompanied by a rough breathing.[140] The explanation that the breathing is used to highlight a proper name is not acceptable, as other names including ὁ Ἰσαάκ are not aspirated. [141] Conversely, in P. Oxy. 15. 1785, the rough breathing is used accompanying the pronoun οἵ, but is not used with the definite article οἱ.[142] The inconsistent use of the rough breathing can not be explained. The breathing occurs throughout the corpus over articles and pronouns starting with omicron, but never in the same text.

Apostrophe

PSI 7. 759 is the only papyrus in the corpus in which the apostrophe is used, however there are many common uses of the apostrophe within this single manuscript. Turner argues that apostrophes were used to indicate elisions from the second century BCE,

[138] P. Oxy. 17. 2073 Recto l. 4]. οὐ λέγων ἡδονὴ καί[.

[139] The two cases which are not discussed here occur in P. Oxy. 17. 2073. They both occur at a fragmentary point on the verso lines 9 and 10, in which the context of the breathing cannot be determined. The case in line 9 is possibly a definite article ὁ or pronoun ὅ. In line 10 it appears to be accompanying a negative οὔ, but this cannot be confirmed.

[140] P. Bour. 3 Col. 4 l. 24.

[141] P. Bour 3. Col. 1 l. 14; I thought initially that the rough breathing may have functioned similarly to the apostrophe in highlighting proper non-Greek names but other examples of proper names without the breathing include: Col. 4 l. 11 ὁ Ἰα[κ]ώβ and Col. 4 l. 25 ὁ δὲ κ(ύριο)[ς] Ἰη(σοῦ)ς Χριστός.

[142] P. Oxy. 15. 1785 Fragment 2–4 Recto l. 7–8. The definite article οἱ is used in line 6 accompanying Σοδομείται. Note that the pronoun most likely refers back to Σοδομείται as well, which may have warranted the distinction.

and cites a poem of Ibycus as the earliest example.[143] The apostrophe is used in the following centuries for elision as well as separating syllables, most often in the case of 'double consonants, double mutes or double liquids.'[144] From the early Christian period the apostrophe is then used at the end of proper names and non-Greek names.[145]

The first function of the apostrophe in PSI 7. 759 is its appearance at the end of each use of a *nomen sacrum*. All four uses of *nomina sacra* are followed by an apostrophe, which could either be a signal relating to the pronunciation of these names, or serve to indicate a pause was required after these terms.[146] These forms might also be treated as proper names, which in comparison to P. Chester Beatty I whereby an apostrophe precedes and follows proper names could explain the use of the apostrophe following the *nomen sacrum*.

In PSI 7. 759, the apostrophe is not used to separate double syllables or consonants, but there are patterns can be observed. From the remaining eight cases of apostrophe in the text, three follow the rho in γάρ' and another three follow the kappa in οὐκ'. Not all of these cases are followed by consonants, so the use of the apostrophe does not appear to be necessary. As these are the only words ending in rho or kappa, it appears the scribe thought it necessary to signal this here with the apostrophe, to indicate a pause or word ending. Although a consistent explanation of the presence of

[143] Turner (1987) p. 8; P. Oxy. 15. 1790 Col. 3 l. 4 Δαναόιτ' ἐρό[ε]σσαν.

[144] Turner (1987) p.11; e.g. P. Berol. inv. 9722, P. Bodmer 2, P. Oxy. 7. 1016.

[145] The hypothesis concerning non-Greek names is that the apostrophe is most often used with Hebrew names, e.g. P. Amh. 1 Col. 4. l. 1 Σαμαρίαν'. In P. Chester Beatty I, proper names are marked before and after by an apostrophe.

[146] PSI 7. 759 l. 9 Π(ατέ)ρα' l. 10 Π(ατέ)ρα' l. 11 Θ(εο)ῦ' l. 12 μ(ητέ)ρα'.

the apostrophes is elusive, it is likely that they functioned as reading aids, and suggests the possibility that this manuscript was intended to be read aloud.

Dieresis

The dieresis (also called trema) has two functions, often labeled as "organic" and "inorganic." The dieresis is "organic" when it is used over a vowel to differentiate it from other vowels in the middle of a word so as not to be read as a diphthong. "Inorganic" dieresis is the placement of the trema over the initial or final vowel, often upsilon or iota.[147] The dieresis is common amongst both literary and documentary papyri, with no real standard for its 'inorganic' application.

There are six papyri in the corpus which use diereses.[148] Most of these can be classified as 'inorganic,' and occur over the initial upsilon or iota.[149] Notable inorganic uses of the trema include P. Bour. 3 over Hebrew names beginning with iota,[150] and in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 in which all cases of dieresis are words which are often accompanied by rough breathings.[151] There are only four cases of organic use of the mark of dieresis, two of which occur over the upsilon in Μωϋσῆς.[152] The organic use

147 The inorganic use is the oldest example of dieresis from the second century BCE in P. Oxy. 15. 1790 Col. 3 l. 5. On organic and inorganic uses see Turner (1987) p. 10, Fournet (1999) p. 21 and Ast (2013) p. 6.

148 PSI 7. 759, P. Bour. 3, P. Oxy. 17. 2074, M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52, P. Oxy. 13. 1601, P. Col. Youtie 1. 5.

149 E.g. P. Col. Youtie 1. 5; Recto l. 7 and Verso l. 3; P. Oxy. 17. 2074 Folio 1 Verso l. 16; P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 13, 15, Col. 2 l. 2, 16, 19, 21, Col. 3 l. 7, Col. 4 l. 6; PSI 7. 759 Recto l. 5, 6, 10.

150 Each mention of Ϊσαάκ, Ϊουδαίων and Ϊακώβ is accompanied by a mark of dieresis. P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 13, 15, Col. 2 l. 2, 16, 19, 21, Col. 3 l. 7, Col. 4 l. 6.

151 M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Verso l. 2]σ ϋπ[; l. 11–12 ϋ-|μῶν; l. 14- ϋμᾶς; l. 18 ϋπόμον; l. 22- ϋμᾶς; Recto l. 14 ϊκανή; l. 21 ϋπό; l. 24 ϋπό; l. 25 ϋμᾶς.

152 P. Bour. 3 Col. 4 l. 14 and P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Recto l. 17; the other two cases occur in P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 27 προσϊόντας and PSI 7. 759 Recto l. 15 υϊοί.

of the dieresis here undoubtedly functioned as a pronunciation aid. The function and recording of these marks of dieresis in conjunction with other various lectional marks indicates that these texts were read aloud, most likely in public.

Accents

The earliest forms of accentuation appear on papyri from the second to first centuries BCE, and seems to have been added to the text after the initial writing by different hands.[153] Accentuation is not consistently applied in either documentary or literary papyri. In this corpus, only some cases of acute accents are found in P. Bour. 3 and PSI 1. 54. Although accents may have "helped a reader who was going through a text in *scriptio continua*,"[154] the lack of consistent application along with the rarity of accents indicates that they were not necessary for reading.[155] Accents are also commonly written by a second hand, suggesting that they were not an initial necessity, but written after the first reading.[156] Nevertheless they functioned to help the reader with vowel emphasis and separation.[157]

P. Bour. 3 has 13 cases of accentuation, which were all written by the scribe who wrote the text. All of the accents are acute, and they are applied inconsistently across

[153] P. Oxy. 15. 1790 Col. 3 All accentuation was added by a later scribe. First century BCE literary papyri such as P. Oxy. 4. 659 and P. Oxy. 24. 2387 are accentuated by the original hand at the same time of the writing of the text. For an overview of the application of accents see Fournet (1999) pp. 22–29.

[154] Cribiore (1996) p. 85.

[155] Accents were not used consistently until the later Byzantine period, see Reynolds and Wilson (2013) p. 4.

[156] Cribiore (1996) p. 85.

[157] Turner (1987) p. 11.

various vowels, syllables and words.[158] There is only one case of accentuation in immediate proximity to a diphthong (Col. 4 l. 8 εἰδείης) whereas the others are surrounded by consonants. The accent is placed over the correct vowel in all cases, showing that the scribe (who also allocated room for the accent above the line), was aware of conventions of accentuation.

PSI 1. 54 is the only other papyrus in the corpus with acute accents, which are found five times in this text.[159] As with P. Bour. 3, the accents were written by the scribe who wrote the text. Compared to the long angular strokes in P. Bour. 3, the accents in PSI 1. 54 take the form of dots. The accentuation is largely correct; only in the case in line 3 (ἁγίασασ[), in which the accent is placed over the iota where it is traditionally to be be over the second alpha.[160] The accentual dots in this papyrus represent not only the acute, but also the circumflex, as with τοῦ in line 5 and Θεοῦ in line 6.

Although accents were not required for pronunciation, (as shown by their overwhelming lack of application throughout documentary and literary papyri) the presence of them in this corpus – even though they are not applied consistently - shows that the scribes of these texts considered pronunciation to be an important issue. The position and graphic prominence of the signs suggests that all accents throughout the corpus were written by the same scribe who recorded the texts,

[158] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 6 διψήση (possible accent- this interlineary mark is quite long, stretching across the eta, sigma and final eta); Col. 2 l. 6 γενήσεται; Col. 2 l. 8 ὅρα and πόσον; Col. 2 l. 13 Ἄγαρ; Col. 2 l. 1 8 κωφόν; Col. 2 l. 20 ἀνοίξη; Col. 2 l. 21 ὅρα; Col. 2 l. 24 φανέντος; Col. 4 l. 4 μένε; Col. 4 l. 8 εἰδείης; Col. 4 l. 8 ἥδη; Col. 4 l. 8 δίκας.

[159] PSI 1. 54 l. 1 τήν; l. 3 ἐκουσίως; l. 3 ἁγίασασ[; l. 5 τοῦ; l. 6 Θεοῦ.

[160] Although the word is incomplete on the papyrus, the only possibilities are the aorist participle active masculine singular nominative ἁγιάσας or the aorist participle active feminine singular nominative ἁγιάσασα. Unless the scribe has recorded a different form, the only possibility for the correct accent is over the second alpha.

which may indicate certain purposes for the production of these texts. This would suggest that accents were required for the initial use of the text(compared to texts in which accents were added in a second hand which might be an indication of a use which was not initially intended, or by a person who was not initially intended to use the text), or most likely, that the scribe may have been copying from a model. The fact that these scribes have correctly placed these accents indicates that they were either well-educated, or followed their models well.

The presence of these accents, and the fact that they were written by the scribes who copied the text, are consistent with other indications that these texts were intended for public reading.

2: Other Lectional Aids

Reading Marks

The term "lectional aid" is often employed to describe phenomena discussed above, such as stops, breathings, apostrophes and accents. The term "reading mark" is not often used by papyrological editors because of the difficulties in analysing a written text which is argued to have been intended for reading aloud. Turner alludes to these kinds of marks when referring to a second century CE copy of Menander's *Epitrepontes*:[161]

> "An unusual feature is the employment of a bold oblique dash to mark clause ending. I am inclined to think its purpose is not punctuation or part division, but as a divider to aid reading aloud or dramatic delivery"[162]

Another use of this term can be seen in observations on P. Oxy. 11. 1355, in which dots (single, double and triple), sometimes combined with dashes outside the right hand margin, are proposed to have been used for pauses and to aid "voiced reading."[163]

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[161] P. Oxy. 50. 3533.
[162] Turner (1987) no. 86 p. 144.
[163] Siikavirta (2013) p. 6.

Both of these examples show that the interpretation of these interlineary signs (dots and dashes) as reading marks is highly speculative.[164] Studies in the area have only revealed that unexplainable dots and dashes that do not coincide with other scribal practices (punctuation, formatting etc.) within performed texts are presumed to be for the purposes of reading aloud. In the present corpus, PSI 7 .759, and P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15 both have signs which could be interpreted as "reading marks."

In PSI 7. 759 there are dots clearly marked below, above and even in the middle of the line. Dots below the line do not appear to be applied with any consistency: one such example is the dot below the omicron of τίκτομεν in line 14.[165] These signs are also inconsistent when placed in the middle of words.[166] Taking into account both the abundance of lectional aids, and the genre of the text as a homily, which is most likely to have been read aloud, it is possible that these dots may have functioned alongside the other marks to assist reading. Their role may have been to help maintain the reader's pace and place, as argued for the other papyri with "reading marks" mentioned above.

The marks in P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15 may have played a similar role in helping the reader. In this case the dots only appear below the line, with the most clear examples occurring under the lambda of [ἀν]αβολῆς in recto l. 16 and the epsilon of

[164] A good example is Turner's discussion of a mark which separates vowels concerning Roberts' analysis of P. Mich. 130 (Shepherd of Hermas) in Skeat (1969) pp. 62–64, Turner (1977) p. 84 n. 14.
[165] Another example includes a dot below the nu in τῶν in line 6. Dots below the line sometimes indicate deletions in papyri, but such is not the case here.
[166] For e.g. In between the alpha and gamma in ἀποταγή in line 7, in between the mu and alpha in σωματικόν in line 10 and in between the lambda and epsilon in βασιλείας in line 16.

[δι]αμένουσα in recto l. 17.[167] As with PSI 7. 759, the marks are not applied consistently (or even often) but are always below the letter and not placed inside the line.

The intended purpose of these marks is difficult to determine.[168] In both cases the scribe has not allocated space for the dots, which might suggest that they were added by a later scribe, after –or in preparation for- being read aloud.[169] It is unlikely that these additions would have occurred during a public performance, but most likely following one, or during a private reading session.[170] However the addition of these marks may have impacted subsequent readings of these texts. Although the marks do not occur at any significant points in the text, their mere presence amongst other lectional signs suggests an association with the reading, or perhaps public performance, of the text. I would not go so far as to label these dots specifically as "reading marks" (as with the attestations of Turner and Siikvirta above), but when combined with other physical features, these signs helped the reader by contributing to the understanding of the text.

[167] Other examples occur outside of the lower left part of the recto, including the mark under the omicron of ἔρημος at verso l. 6. The examples cited above are the most evident and graphically prominent.

[168] The editors of the papyrus do not mention the marks, possibly because of this difficulty: PSI 7. 759, Vitelli and Norsa (1925) no. 759; P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15, de P. Solá (1973) pp. 23–33 and O'Callaghan (1993) no. 15.

[169] It is not uncommon to see punctuation like accents or breathings to be added in by another scribe, see Turner (1987) pp. 10–12.

[170] Scribal additions of reading marks following an initial reading might have been written in similar circumstances to the recording of corrections or erasures after an initial reading. A good discussion of corrections is available in Haines-Eitzen (2000) pp. 85–88.

Other Lectional Aids

Word Spacing

The unusually frequent employment of spaces between words throughout the corpus may indicate that these texts were used for public reading. Punctuation, in any form (stops, word spaces, accents, breathings etc.) is common in texts which were most likely to have been read aloud. P. Reinach Gr. 2. 62 is a fifth century copy of Basil of Caesarea's *Hexameron Homily 2. 1* in which the scribe has frequently employed word spacing along with stops and diereses. This application of such a variety of lectional aids is not present within this corpus, but word spacing appears to have been a substitute lectional aid for punctuation. In her examination of school texts, Cribiore discusses blank spaces under the sub-chapter titled 'punctuation.'[171] Word spacing provided sense breaks for the reader, in a similar fashion to stops. As the function is thus similar to punctuation, one could argue that that the presence of word spacing may indicate the text was used for public reading.

Word spacing is rare amongst both documentary and literary papyri, with Turner stating that in some cases he cannot explain why the scribe has chosen to provide this lectional aid.[172] Therefore in a scribal tradition which is largely based upon writing *scriptio continua*, it is significant to observe that half (11)[173] of the manuscripts in the corpus have at least one case in which a word has a blank space preceding and/or following it. Many of the papyri with cases of word spacing do not have many, if any, examples of punctuation. This suggests that scribes who did not use punctuation as

[171] Cribiore (1996) p. 83.
[172] Turner (1987) p. 7.
[173] PSI inv. 535, P. Oxy. 13. 1601, P. Merton 2. 51, P. Col. 11. 295, P. Yale 2. 88, P. Yale 2. 89, P. Köln Gr. 1. 11, P. Col. Youtie. 1. 5, P. Rein. 2. 64, P. Vindob. G. 29522, P. Bodl. 1. 5.

reading aids employed blank spaces and grouped letters into words to aid the reader.[174]

In the case of PSI inv. 535, the scribe does not use any type of punctuation throughout the text, but inconsistently uses spaces between words so that the text is not entirely written in *scriptio continua*. In some cases, the spaces appear to divide sentences, such as in line 2 where a single letter space follows κρεισέως before ἐν ἡ βιαϛ . . . . . [, which appears to be the beginning of a new clause. But it also appears mid clause, as is evident in line 6 where a single letter space precedes, and 1–2 letter spaces follow, ἀγόμενος. The spaces do not appear to be any larger than 0.7cm or approximately three letter spaces.[175] These spaces, similar to those allocated for stops in other papyri in the corpus may have been lectional aids intended to help the preacher, providing clear divisions between both words and sentences in certain cases which would aid a public reader in his understanding of the text.

Both P. Oxy. 13. 1601 and P. Col. Youtie 1. 5 have multiple examples of word spacing and lack further signs of punctuation apart from dieresis.[176] The lack of further signs of punctuation, (particularly signs which provide a sense break) might indicate that the scribe used word spacing in preference to punctuation such as stops, paragraphoi, or colons. The scribe recorded punctuation which would aid the reader in pronunciation in the form of diereses, but has not provided examples of punctuation

[174] A case without punctuation but with word division can be seen in a sixth century copy of *The Odyssey*, P. Berol. inv. 11754+21187. Note that the division is infrequent, most likely because of the compressed nature of the writing.

[175] PSI inv. 535, preceding αὐτόν in line 9.

[176] P. Col. Youtie 1. 5 Recto l. 7 and Verso l. 3 and P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Recto l. 17; for further discussion of dieresis see pp. 46–47.

to indicate pause and sense breaks except for word spacing. This indicates that the papyri without punctuation for sense breaks utilised word spacing in it place. The evident necessity these scribes felt to provide lectional aids points to the likelihood that the text was intended to be read aloud.

Overall, the use of word spacing seems to largely depend on the extent to which scribe has utilised marks of punctuation to divide the text. No papyrus in the corpus has examples of both punctuation marks for the purpose of sense breaks and word spacing. This reveals that in cases where marks of punctuation are not used by the scribe, they have used word spacing as a substitute, to break up the text.

A large majority of Greek literary papyri are written in *scriptio continua* without frequent punctuation, which indicates that it was not necessary to provide these lectional aids for other genres. The relative abundance of punctuation or word spacing in this corpus points to a specialised function for these manuscripts. As homilies, it is highly likely that these lectional aids were intended to help a preacher when the text was performed.

Conclusions

The frequent application of physical features, such as punctuation and word spacing suggests that this corpus was intended for a specialised use, which its genre indicates was public reading. Some of the features of these manuscripts, including format, margins, letter height and letters per line confirm common scribal practices of

literary papyri. However the unusually large amount of punctuation differentiates these manuscripts from other genres of Christian papyri. Not only are punctuation marks for sense breaks and pronunciation frequent, but the cases which do not have these marks are supplemented by other forms of division like word spacing. The frequency of punctuation indicates that it was felt necessary by the scribe to provide lectional aids for these homilies.

If these lectional aids indicate that these manuscripts were intended to be read aloud, who was performing the reading, and who was receiving it? The analysis of physical features has indicated that the scribes of the papyri felt it necessary to provide sense breaks and marks of pronunciation in order to aid the reader. Taking into account the genre of the text as a homily, the reader is most likely to have been a member of the clergy or a monastic leader. For more information concerning the intended teaching and the audience, we must turn to an analysis of the content of the homilies.

II: Content

Content

The interaction between the preacher and the audience is a central component of the homily.[177] These unidentified homilies on papyrus testify to this interaction, with the written text used to communicate information to an audience through a public performance. The performed nature of these manuscripts warrants discussion of two different user groups; the preacher, and the audience.

The analysis of the content of these texts helps to provide information concerning the preacher and the audience. Homilies are often reminiscent of chronological, geographical and socio-political circumstances within the preacher's community.[178] The identification and analysis of common themes and issues occurring throughout the corpus, sheds light on the teaching the homily was intended to communicate. These themes may in turn suggest certain cultural, religious and/or socio-economic tendencies in the audience.[179] The content and context of citations (mostly scriptural), and the manner in which they are made, also sheds light on the teaching and the preaching style of the composer, and may also provide clues to the audience.

[177] Dunn-Wilson (2005) p. xv.

[178] A good example from the fourth century is John Chrysostom's series of Homilies during the year 387, which are clear reactions to the fear of retribution from the emperor Theodosius after the desecration of imperial statues in Antioch, see Mayer and Allen (2000) pp. 7–8, 29.

[179] Bailey argues that "The reconstructing of an audience doesn't necessarily mean trying to guess the laity, but rather being aware of how preachers tried to reach their audiences and how their strategies were shaped by reactions of those audiences", Bailey (2010) p. 26.

1: Themes

The analysis of the most common themes in the corpus, baptism and evil, shows the concerns and circumstances of the composers, and their communities. The fragmentary nature of the papyri and the subsequent lack of surviving text only allows this analysis to make assumptions concerning the theme of the homily. Therefore the material examined below ranges from the entirety of the surviving text being concerned with a particular theme to mere references and allusions to a theme through the choice and use of citations.

1. 1: Baptism

The ritual significance of baptism was clearly a concern which preachers felt they had to impress upon their audience during this period. Baptism is referred to in over a third of the papyri in the corpus, indicating that it was frequently discussed. 'Deathbed' (or Sickbed) baptism was a common issue for Christian communities in Egypt, most likely until the sixth century. Termed the 'delay of baptism' it was not uncommon for Christian believers to stall their baptism until the last few moments before death so as not to commit further sin following their purification.[180] Infant baptism did not become common practice until the sixth century and was not

[180] Ferguson (2009) p. 167–168.

enforced by law until the ninth century.[181] This suggests that prior to this a significant amount of people attending homilies may not have been baptized.

The delay of baptism was a real concern for preachers during the fourth century because of the possibility of death before the ritual, or the loss of consciousness which would prevent partaking in the proclamation of faith and renunciation of sin. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus discussed the advantages of immediate baptism,[182] while Gregory of Nyssa wrote a homily titled "Against those who Defer Baptism."[183] Other works entirely concerned with baptism were also written by Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom.[184] The prevalence of discussion of the ritual among writers of the fourth century indicates that baptism was a central concern for preachers during this period, which is reflected in the frequency of which baptism is referred to in these unidentified papyri. This further suggests that the audience for these homilies may have predominantly consisted of those who were unbaptized. [185]

Archaeological evidence also confirms the significance of baptism during this period in Egypt. The church complex of St. Menas at the site of Abu Mina had a baptistery which went through three developmental stages between the fifth and eighth centuries,[186] while the White Monastery near modern Sohag was most likely equipped with a baptistery from its foundation in the second half of the fourth

[181] Ferguson (2009) p. 627 and 631.

[182] Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia Exhortatoria ad Sanctum Baptismum* or Homily 13 (PG 31. 424–444); Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 40. 11–12.

[183] Gregory of Nyssa, *Adversus Eos Qui Differunt Baptismum Oratio* PG 46. 415–432.

[184] Gregory of Nyssa, *In diem Luminum* PG 46. 580–600; John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*.

[185] A.M. Hartney argues that the unbaptized were "encouraged to attend the sermon" and takes this as an indication of the role of the sermon in not only educating Christians, but also having an impact on the behaviour of the general public, A.M. Hartney (2004) pp. 33–34.

[186] Bagnall (2007) p. 116, McKenzie (2007) pp. 290–295.

century.[187] The additions to these complexes in later centuries suggest an increasing amount of people were being baptized. The motivations for the ritual as argued by preachers during this period must have been a factor in the rise of catechumens.[188]

There are two types of references to baptism throughout the corpus. The first includes a citation, which may be concerned with baptism or provide a mention of the ritual. The other is a passing mention (usually the word or references to it); often this latter type is caused by the fragmentary nature of the manuscript.

Citations Concerning Baptism

The first reference to baptism occurs in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2, which is directly connected to both Christ and Paul by the quotation of 1 Cor. 1. 17. In this instance, the preacher assumes the perspective of Paul by introducing the citation with λέγω:

1 λέγω ·
2 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστιλεν με
3 Χ(ριστὸ)ς βαπτίσαι ἀλλ᾽ εὐαγγε-
4 λίζεσθαι τοὺς δεξαμέ-
5 νους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ ἐ-
6 βάπτισεν κἀμοί·[189]

1 Corinthians 1 emphasises the role of Christ in baptism and Paul's role as the preacher (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι). This is not only a reference to baptism, but provides authority to the preacher. The text here focuses on baptism and its association with Christ. Although the lines following the citation are fragmentary, the verb ἐβάπτισεν is

[187] McKenzie (2007) p.277 and Ferguson (2009) p. 825.
[188] Ferguson (2009) p. 618.
[189] Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2 Recto l. 2–4: "I say that Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel to those who have received the gospel into which he also baptized me."

used twice.[190] The subject of ἐβάπτισεν in both cases is the aforementioned Χ(ριστό)ς in line 3 while the object in the first case is κἀμοί and the object of the second case is lost. The most important aspect of these verbs is their subject Χ(ριστό)ς, emphasising that Christ is the only one able to baptize.

The use of the citation and the subsequent verbs referring to baptism indicates that the composer wished to distinguish the roles of the preacher and Christ. The preacher takes on the role of Paul in evangelizing the audience, while Christ is the one who baptizes; not only in the citation, but in an additional two instances. The emphasis on preaching indicates that the composer and preacher intended to clarify the role of the preacher as an instructor and not a baptist.

A focus on baptism provides a thematic connection to a number of citations in the text. Paul Collart argued that the major theme of the homily preserved in P. Bour. 3 is eternal salvation, with the text responding to Nicodemos from John 3. 5.[191] Collart also points out that the composer emphasises "water rebirth", one of the requirements for salvation, which is referenced in multiple citations and allusions of 'the well' metaphor.[192] One of these citations includes the constant references to "Rebecca and the Well" from Gen. 24. 16–27.[193] The well metaphor is continued by a later reference in the same column to the opening of the eyes of Hagar.[194] Although

[190] Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2 Recto l. 5–6 and 8–9.

[191] John 3.5 λέγω σοι ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, "I say to you no one can enter the kingdom of god unless they are born from water and spirit"; see Collart (1926) p. 31.

[192] Collart (1926) p. 31–32.

[193] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 6–17.

[194] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 22 καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέῳ]ξεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς Ἄγαρ, "And God opened the eyes of Hagar."

the well is not directly mentioned in the text, the story in Gen. 21. 19 states that the well was the reason for Hagar's eyes being opened. Therefore, the well represents an avenue for the "water rebirth" discussed by Collart, which is undoubtedly a reference to baptism.

Additionally, the composer has directly quoted John 4. 13–14 in which Christ speaks of the eternal salvation given by the water he provides.[195] The choice of this chapter is significant, as the role of Christ in baptism is contrasted to John the Baptist in John 4.1.[196] Nevertheless the citation of John 4 refers to the well, as a symbol for rebirth and baptism.

The baptismal theme in P. Bour. 3 is subsidiary to the overall theme of eternal salvation noted by Collart. As one of the rewards for baptism, eternal salvation was used by preachers in the fourth century to dissuade believers from delaying baptism.[197] The constant references to the well and metaphors like the opening of the eyes of Hagar,[198] showcases baptism as a route to eternal salvation. This could be indicative of either an audience who were delaying baptism, or possibly one containing catechumens, as part of their preparation for baptism. Most likely it was a

[195] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 4–7: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψήσει πά-|λιν · ὃς δ' ἂν πείη τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ ἀναδώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ| διψήση εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πη-|γὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, "For whoever drinks of this water will thirst again; but the one who drinks the water that I will give him will never thirst again, but it will become in him a well of living water springing up to eternal life."

[196] John 4. 1: ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὅτι Ἰησοῦς πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ Ἰωάννης, "Now Jesus learned that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was gaining and baptizing more disciples than John." See above for the role of Christ as the baptist in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. e. 2.

[197] Ferguson (2009) p. 618.

[198] This is another common theme throughout P. Bour. 3, mentioned eight times: Col. 1 l. 22, Col. 2 l. 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26.

general audience of both baptized and unbaptized, to whom the preacher emphasised the role of the ritual in eternal salvation.

Based on the association between the citations quoted in the text, P. Col. 11. 295 is also concerned with baptism. The first citation is directly quoted from Gen. 6. 13, and comes from the story of the flood:[199]

5 ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς φασὶν εἶπεν [καιρὸς παντὸς]
6 [ἀν(θρώπ)]ου ἥκει ἐναντίον μου .[200]

The second quotation on the verso directly quotes John 2.9 concerning the wedding at Cana:[201]

4 ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τῶν γ[άμων
5 ἐγεύσ]ατο τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενη[μένον[202]

Teeter argues that both of these citations are used because the major theme of the homily was baptism.[203] He also points out that both of these citations are used to refer to baptism in other texts. The flood story is referred to in 1 Peter as a "symbol of baptism" (ὅ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα),[204] which is reflected in the patristic tradition, including Tertullian, Didymus and Ambrose.[205] Teeter also highlights the connection of the Cana story with baptism in Tertullian.[206] In *de*

[199] Gen. 6. 13: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Νῶε καιρὸς παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἥκει ἐναντίον μου, "And God said to Noah 'the time of all men has come before me.'"
[200] P. Col. 11. 295 Recto l. 5–6, "They say God said 'the time of all men has come before me."
[201] John 2. 9: ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον, "The master of the feast tasted the water become wine."
[202] P. Col. 11. 295 Verso l. 4–5, "The master of the feast of marriage tasted the water become wine."
[203] Teeter (1998) pp. 20–21.
[204] 1 Peter 3. 20–21, "And it(*sc.* water) is a symbol of baptism that now saves you."
[205] Tertullian *de Baptismo* 8–9; Didymus *de Trinitate* 2. 24; Ambrose *de Sacramentis* 1. 23, *de Mysteriis* 24.
[206] Teeter (1998) p. 22.

Baptismo 9, Tertullian emphasises the connection between Christ and water, and refers to the power shown at Cana.

The association between the two citations suggests that the homily in P. Col. 11. 295 was concerned with baptism, even though baptism itself is not mentioned. It is clear that each side of the papyrus is only concerned with one citation. The flood story on the recto was probably elaborated upon, as shown by the mention of the anger and power of God in line 7.[207] The mention of wine skins in line 7 indicates that the Cana story on the verso was also probably discussed in further detail.[208] As the text features multiple citations, it was not an exegesis on a particular passage, but probably had an overall message concerning baptism which integrated these scriptural references.

The composer of P. Col. 11. 295 used both Old and New Testament citations to teach the audience about renewal through baptism. The introductory φασίν for the flood story (combined with the lack of introduction for the Cana story) might be an indication that it was necessary to introduce Old Testament citations. Both of these citations were clearly viewed as metaphors or were at least associated with baptism in Late Antiquity. The main theme of renewal amongst these citations is distinctly expressed through the reference to the flood story.

[207] P. Col. 11. 295 Recto l. 7: ἠ]δυνήθη τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτ[οῦ.
[208] P. Col. 11. 295 Verso l. 7:]στιας αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀσκοί[.

In P. Yale 2. 88, the citations from Isaiah also suggest that the homily was concerned with baptism.[209] The text is reconstructed by Stephens as a quote from Isaiah 61. 10–11, introduced by ἀναγέγραπται.[210] She argues that this biblical verse "is often understood to refer to Christian baptism," [211] and provides an example from Theodoret of Cyrus.[212] The message of the citation is based on the protection of God and being "clothed with a garment of salvation and a tunic of joy."[213] The connection between baptism and salvation in the corpus of papyrus homilies is common, indicating that it was a major concern for both preachers and audiences in the late antiquity. The emphasis on salvation shows common ties to P. Bour. 3, in which baptism is observed as a requirement for salvation. Although the text in P. Yale 2. 88 is reconstructed, it is likely that baptism was part of its teaching.

One of the most significant points in this text is the use of the introductory verb ἀναγέγραπται.[214] Once again an Old Testament citation on baptism is preceded by such a verb (compare P. Col. 11. 295, discussed above). This might suggest that the audience needed to have the scriptural source of these texts more explicitly signaled to them, in contrast to the New Testament. The use of another citation preoccupied with salvation in connection to baptism provides further evidence for the frequent discussion of the rewards of the ritual. The intended teaching in this context is undoubtedly protection and salvation, which had clear links to baptism. The

[209] P. Yale 2. 88 l. 4–9.
[210] Stephens (1985) P. Yale 2. 88 pp. 8–9.
[211] Stephens (1985) p. 8.
[212] Theodoret of Cyrus. *Commentaria in Isaiam* Section 19 l. 437 (Guinot 1980) ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος τὴν χάριν καλεῖ.
[213] Isaiah 61. 10 ἐνέδυσεν γὰρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης, "For he has clothed me with a garment of salvation and with a tunic of joy."
[214] Note that this word is also reconstructed in line 4, but the papyrus reads]ἀναγεγ[which leaves little room for other possibilities.

combination of the fourth century date of the P. Yale 2. 88 and the intended teaching in it suggests the likelihood that the audience was not baptized, or were possibly catechumens preparing for the ritual.

References to Baptism

The fragmentary nature of the corpus often allows only excerpts of texts to survive, with incomplete citations and sentences. Therefore some of the papyri which cannot be reconstructed as (relatively) extensively as the cases above have fleeting references to baptism, usually only in the form of a single preserved word or phrase.

In the case of PSI 1. 54, the references to both water and baptism suggest that the homily must have been concerned with baptism.[215] Originally, Vitelli and Norsa thought it was a homily "on the gospels."[216] However, the content does not correspond or even refer to any particular gospel. It is likely that the citation which the surviving text exegetes is lost.

The text following the mention of water and baptism also suggests a connection between salvation and baptism. In line 5 the fragment reads "in order that they become sons of…"[217] and in line 6 "God creator of all."[218] This appears to be similar to the themes in P. Bour. 3, as baptism might have been presented by the composer as a requirement for salvation. The subsequent mention of "sons of" and "God" implies a

[215] PSI 1. 54 l. 3 ὕδωρ and l. 4 βεβαπτισμένης.
[216] Vitelli and Norsa (1912) p. 106.
[217] PSI 1. 54 l. 5 ἵνα γένοντε υἱοὶ τοῦ[.
[218] PSI 1. 54 l. 6 κτίστου Θεοῦ πάντων[.

similar protection as that suggested in P. Yale 2. 88. Therefore, the references to baptism are exemplified by the verb βαπτίζω and the mentions of water, while the fragmentary text following these references suggests a connection to salvation of the sort exemplified in P. Bour. 3.

With only five lines from 39 surviving in full, the theme and intended teaching of P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15 is difficult to discern.[219] O'Callaghan argued that the homily was most likely concerned with baptism, with the surviving text referring to the "first fruit of baptism" and "Christ the first to receive baptism."[220]

The connection between the "first fruit" and baptism occurs throughout fourth century Christian literature, often associated with the cleansing of sin. In the *Vulgo in Baptismum Christi Oratio,* Gregory of Nyssa argues that Christ was important as the 'repairer of evil doing' and that he 'sanctifies the first fruits of every action'; this is followed by a discussion of the ability of baptism to purify.[221] The "first fruits of baptism" is a common phrase, occurring in Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentarii in Joannem* and Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechesis*.[222] The first fruits here are usually associated to the first group of baptized, of which Christ is one of the exemplars. This

[219] P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15 Recto l. 18–22 are the only lines which survive in full.

[220] O'Callaghan (1993) pp. 107–108, 111; P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15 l. 21([βα]πτίσματος ἀπαρχάς), l. 19 (πρ]ώτου λαβεῖν Χρ(ιστο)ῦ βάπτισμα).

[221] Gregory of Nyssa, *Vulgo in Baptismum Christi Oratio*; Χριστὸς δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐκείνου πονηρίαν ἐπανορθῶν τέλειον ἀναλαμβάνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ σῴζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ γίνεται πάντων ἡμῶν τύπος καὶ χαρακτήρ, ἵν' ἑκάστης πράξεως ἁγιάσῃ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν καὶ τὸν ζῆλον τῆς παραδόσεως ἀναμφίβολον καταλίπῃ τοῖς δούλοις. βάπτισμα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτιῶν κάθαρσις, ἄφεσις πλημμελημάτων, ἀνακαινισμοῦ καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως αἰτία (Gebhardt 1967 p. 223 l. 24–p.224 l. 5); "But Christ, the repairer of his evil-doing, assumes man in its fullness, and saves man, and becomes the type and character of us all, in order to sanctify the first fruits of every action, and leave to his servants no doubt in their zeal of the tradition. Baptism, then, is a purification from sins, a remission of trespasses, a cause of renovation and regeneration." (trans. Schaff and Wace. 1893 p. 974).

[222] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* (Pusey 1872 Vol. 3 p. 103 l. 16); Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 3 Chapter 7 l. 1–2.

statement also features in one of the few surviving lines of P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15, which suggests that the discussion may have been similar to those of these fourth century Church fathers.

The frequency of the metaphor of the first fruits indicates that the audience was most likely to have known about its connection to baptism. The first fruit not only stood for Christ himself, but also for the purification of sins, one of the advantages for undertaking the ritual.[223] Although the surviving text in P. Palau Rib. Lit. 15 does not directly match anything from the bible, the references from the fourth century onwards suggest that the preacher was attempting to describe a well-established metaphor and its relation to baptism to his audience.

The final reference to baptism occurs in P. Merton 2. 51, in which the verb βαπτίζω is only mentioned. This text is clearly concerned with Luke chapters 6 and 7, most likely focusing on the evil man.[224] In directly quoting Luke 7. 30, the composer mentions baptism:

4 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ο]ὐκ ἐβαπτίσαντο
5 [ὑπὸ ᾽Ιωάννου τὴν δὲ βου]λ̣ὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ
6 [καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)]ῦ ἠθέτησαν[225]

The quote here evokes a multitude of concepts concerning baptism. The first is a signifier of separation between Jews and Christians. At recto lines 1–2, the composer also quotes Luke 7. 29–30, where the evangelist directly contrasts those baptized by

[223] Ferguson (2009) p. 618.

[224] This is most evident with citations of Luke 6. 45–46 on the verso and Luke 7. 29–30 on the recto.

[225] P. Merton 2. 51 Recto l. 4–6, "But the Pharisees were not baptized by John. They rejected the purpose of God and the command of God."

John to the Pharisees who were not. This contrast allows the composer of the papyrus to point out that the refusal of baptism is a significant step in the "rejection" (ἀθετέω) of God. Baptism is also presented as a status symbol for Christians in this case. The people and tax collectors (ὁ λαὸς καὶ οἱ τελῶναι) are shown to be morally superior to the Pharisees in accepting the ritual. Therefore, although the theme of the papyrus does not seem to be baptism, the ritual itself is portrayed by the composer as a distinguishing symbol of status and morality.

For an audience hearing these particular quotations, the amount of importance placed on baptism provides Christians with a point of differentiation and a spiritual advantage. The text is undoubtedly an exegesis of these particular passages of Luke, evoking multiple themes. In comparison to previous texts which mention baptism, P. Merton 2. 51 is not entirely concerned with the ritual. Therefore the audience was most likely comprised of a variety of social groups, both baptized and unbaptized. The only certainty for an analysis of the text is the intention of the composer to provide a discussion of Luke 6 and 7.

Overall, the constant references to the rewards provided by the ritual and the consequences of not undertaking it suggest that the audiences of these unidentified homilies might not have all been baptized. The common issue of the delay of baptism, as commonly discussed by fourth century Christian writers, might explain the preoccupation with baptism in one third of the papyri in this corpus.

1. 2: Evil

One of the functions of the homily is to provide instruction and guidance for the congregation. Within this advice, a frequent theme is how to combat and avoid evil. Here I define this theme broadly, so as to allow the inclusion of homilies with different kinds of instruction, which mostly fall within the overall topic of warning or teaching the audience about evil. Whether the moral and ethical discussions of evil in these unidentified homilies are responses to specific circumstances within the community or general admonitions, they nevertheless show the way the preachers of these homilies articulated their relationships with their audiences.

The Devil

In terms of theological speculation, ascetic practice, and everyday Christian life, the devil loomed large over late-antique Egypt. This is reflected in the present corpus in two instances which instruct the audience on the impact and role of the devil.

In P. Oxy. 13. 1601, the devil is presented as the enemy in a homily to which the editors give the title "Homily on Spiritual Warfare."[226] The composer quotes Joel 1. 6 which emphasises the rise of an enemy,[227] and completes the citation later with the description 'this nation having the teeth of a lion.'[228] The text following this citation is a contracted quote of 1 Peter 5. 8 in which the devil is explicitly named as the

[226] Grenfell and Hunt (1919) p. 21.
[227] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Verso l. 3–4 [ὅτι ἔθνος ἀνέβη| ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ [κ(υρίο)υ ἰσχυρόν.
[228] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Verso l. 11–13 ἀνα-|ρίθμητον τούτου [δὲ τοῦ ἐθνοὺς| [οἱ] ὀδόντες λέοντ[ος.

enemy.[229] Although the citation from 1 Peter 5. 8 omits the simile of the devil which compares it to the lion, the combination with Joel 1. 6 describes the nation with "the teeth of a lion"([οἱ] ὀδόντες λέοντ[ος]."

This comparison is frequently described by writers from the third century onwards, including Origen,[230]Eusebius of Caesarea,[231] and Athanasius.[232] Although in many of these references to the metaphor the author is quoting 1 Peter 5. 8, which indicates that the association between the devil and the lion was frequently applied. A Christian audience might therefore have been expected to recognize the metaphor when quoted from the New Testament.

The composer of P. Oxy. 13. 1601 establishes the devil as the enemy by describing it using both Old and New Testament references, most likely in order to instruct and warn the audience. This may have been a response to perceived evil or sin within the community of the composer. The quotation of Joel 1. 8 and Hosea 3. 3 - both of which discuss the prostitute woman - on the recto, indicate that this may have been a concern for the composer. It is clear that the intention of the composer was to provide vivid imagery of the enemy, name it and then demonize it further using established metaphors. The metaphor then could be used to provide a moral or

[229] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Verso l. 13–15 ὁ ἀντί-|[δι]κος ὑμῶν διάβολ[ος περιπατεῖ| [ζ]ητῶν καταπιεῖν [,"The devil is your enemy, seeking whom he may devour."
1 Peter 5.8 ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν καταπιεῖν, "The devil is your enemy, he walks around like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour."
[230] Origen, *Fragmenta in Jeremiam* Fragment 28 l. 30 (Klostermann, 1901) and *Expositio in Proverbia* PG 17 p. 220 l. 14.
[231] Eusebius of Caesarea, *General Elementary Introduction* p. 24 l. 8 (Gaisford, 1842) and *Commentaria in Psalmos* PG 23 p. 121 l. 49, p. 164 l. 27.
[232] Athanasius, *Homilia de passione et cruce domini* PG 28 p. 233 l. 29 and *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram* PG 28 p. 720 l. 52.

ethical teaching concerning evil and sin.[233] The combination of Old and New Testament quotations shows the extent to which the composer wished to describe the "spiritual battle," which is exemplified by the devil and prostitution.

The other mention of the devil occurs in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 in which the composer emphasises the protective role of God. The composer quotes Romans 16. 20, in which 'God crushes Satan under his feet.'[234] The main theme of the text is the affirmation of faith. The composer exemplifies this by citing Matthew 14. 25 concerning Peter being saved by Christ,[235] Psalm 46. 1–3 concerning the strength of God,[236] and Luke 17. 6 in which faith is compared to the growth of a tree.[237] The quotation from Romans provides further evidence for the affirmation of faith, but also emphasises the protection provided by God, as a reward for faith.[238]

The clear emphasis here on protection and the affirmation of faith suggests that the audience needed some assurance of their protection. The focus on the enemy and protection may have been reactions to circumstances similar to John Chrysostom's series of homilies in 387, which are clear reactions to the fear of retribution from the emperor Theodosius.[239] In P. Oxy. 13. 1601 the composer is warning the audience of the spiritual struggle, which is exemplified by the battle with the devil. In M.P.E.R. N.S.

[233] Anderson argues that sophists during the Roman period like Hermogenes used similes combined with other rhetorical devices "for the elaboration of a moral theme." Anderson (1993) pp. 48–50.

[234] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Recto l. 24 [ὁ Θ(εὸ)]ς συντρίψαι τὸν Σαταν[ᾶ]ν ὑπ[ὸ] τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶ̄|[ἐ]ν τάχει· Compare Romans 16. 20 ὁ δέ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης συντρίψαι τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ἐν τάχει·.

[235] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Verso l. 4–6.

[236] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Recto l. 9–11.

[237] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Recto l. 14–15.

[238] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Fragment 1 Recto l. 20–21 μὴ μόνον κ[α]ταπατήσω ἀλλὰ κ(αὶ) Θ(εο)ῦ αὐ-|[τὸν διδό]ντος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μ[ο]υ.

[239] Mayer and Allen (2000) pp. 7–8, 29.

4. 52, the emphasis on the protection of God suggests that the composer wished to reassure the audience of their faith and the protection it provided against the devil.

The Consequences of Sin

Three texts in the corpus refer to the consequences of evil using citations which provide scriptural examples of the implications of sin. P. Oxy. 15 1785 is written in two hands, and Grenfell and Hunt argued these were fragments of two separate homilies on the same papyrus. The themes of the two are related: the text written in the hand which writes most of the verso appears concerned with the power of God, and emphasises how he should be feared,[240] while text on the recto, in a second, mentions the Sodomites and Benjamites. The two texts can thus be considered to deal with the consequences of sin.

The mention of the two tribes provides an example from the scriptures of the consequences of sin. The Benjamites are given the epithet "the most lost," [241] and the Sodomites are described as "the fewest were saved." [242] The mention of the Benjamites evokes the image of their destruction by the Israelites because of their rape of a Levite,[243] while the reference to the Sodomites calls to mind imagery pertaining to their destruction caused by 'God's judgement.'[244] Although the reference

[240] P. Oxy. 15. 1785 Fragment 2–4 Verso l. 7–8 τὸν κ(ύριο)ν τῷ δὲ φόβῳ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλείσ[ας καὶ| ἀναρπάξας ἀπὸ κ[ακο]ῦ μὴ ἴσθι φρο[νή]μ[ατ.

[241] P. Oxy. 15. 1785 Fragment 2–4 Recto l. 5–6 ἕνεκεν [σ]υνουσιασμοῦ [ἀπώλο]ντ[ο πολ-|[λοὶ] ἀπὸ τῆς φ[υλῆ]ς Βενιαμείν.

[242] P. Oxy. 15. 1785 Fragment 2–4 Recto l. 6–7 [ὀ]λίγ[οι δ]ὲ ἐσ[ώ]θη-|σαν ἕνεκεν [σ]υ[νο]υσιασμοῦ οἱ Σοδομείται.

[243] Judges 19–20.

[244] The destruction of the cities occurs in Genesis 19. 24 καὶ κύριος ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα

to these particular tribes within close proximity is not prevalent in later Christian literature, their mention together in this text must be related to their destruction.

The intention of the composer might have been to provide examples of the consequences of sin to the audience. The fact that the composer used examples of entire cities or peoples rather than individuals, indicates an intention to provide instruction on the consequences of sin, and to emphasise that the judgement of God is not applied only to individuals, but to entire cities. These examples most likely acted as warnings to the congregation, to maintain order.[245]

The consequences of evil are also evoked in P. Merton 2. 51 in which the evil man is directly addressed. The text is most likely a critical exegesis of Luke chapters 6 and 7 because of the direct citation of these chapters on the recto and verso.[246] One of these citations (Luke 6. 45) is concerned with the difference between the evil man and the good man.[247] However the citation is quoted on the papyrus differently to the passage from the New Testament:

1 [ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ]
2 [πονη]ρ̣ο̣ῦ̣ προφέ̣ρ[ων καρπὸν πονηρὸν προ-]
3 [έ]φερεν ὡς ἐκ π[ονηροῦ πονηρὸν δένδ-]
4 ρον. καὶ ὅτε ἀποσ[τέλλετε ἐκ τοῦ ἀγα-]
5 θοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆ[ς καρδίας ἀγαθὰ οὐκ]
6 ἀπόλλυτ̣[αι ὁ ἀγαθὸς καρπὸς]

θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

245 Hartney argued that the homily had an impact on social behaviour, therefore it is likely it could be used to maintain law and order, Hartney (2004) pp. 33–34. Stewart-Sykes argues that Hippolytus of Rome used his homilies to maintain order, Stewart-Sykes (1998) p. 62.

246 For further discussion of the Luke citations see pp. 81–82.

247 P. Merton 2. 51 Verso l. 1–7.

7 [αὐ]τῆς[248]

As in the passage from Luke, the composer initially addresses the actions and implications of the evil man and then the good man. The evil man is emphasised by being placed in the initial position, suggesting this was the focus of the preacher. The fruit produced by the good and evil men evokes the imagery of the "first fruit" observed above,[249] and the fruit which began sin from Genesis 3. The contrast between the "production of evil fruit" and 'the good fruit which does not perish' provides a sense of mortality, and essentially denies eternal life to the evil man. This is supported by the following citation of Luke 6. 46, concerning the rejection of God.[250]

The consequences for the evil man are directly laid out by the composer here through the citation of Luke 6. 45. The nature of the text as an exegetically focused homily suggests that these passages were most likely for instruction, particularly because the composer omitted passages from Luke 6. 47–7. 28.[251] By citing Luke 6. 45–46, the composer wished to communicate the implications of being the evil man. Although

[248] "For the bad man, produced from evil, produces evil fruit, as the evil tree is (produced) from evil; and when you send out good things from the good treasure of the heart, its good fruit does not perish"; Compare Luke 6. 45 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ,"The good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings out that which is good, and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart brings out that which is evil, for out of the abundance of the heart, his mouth speaks."

[249] See pp. 68–69.

[250] P. Merton 2. 51 Verso 7–9 οὐκ ἄρ[α ἐμὲ καλεῖτε κύριε κύριε]| [καὶ] οὐ ποιεῖτε [ἃ λέγω οὐδὲ τοῦ προ-]| [φήτ]ου λέγ[οντος ἀκούετε…], "Thus you do not call me 'Lord, Lord" and you do not do what I tell you neither do you listen to what the prophet says…"

[251] There is certainly not enough space for the composer to have quoted Luke 6. 47–7. 28. Rees argues that the composer may have skipped this section because it is concerned with Christ healing the servant of a centurion while the citations that are preserved relate to the teachings of Christ, Rees (1959) pp. 1–2.

the section is predominantly exegetical, the choice of these citations suggests that one of the consequences of being evil included the "rejection of God."[252]

Conclusions

Homilies allowed a preacher to communicate a message to an audience, mediating the influence of the texts cited by their construction into an argument and narrative. The material chosen could have been conditioned by a reaction to current events, or long-standing concerns within the community. The frequency with which baptism is mentioned throughout the corpus suggests that it was definitely one of these concerns, as the rewards of the ritual are emphasised by the composers. The issue concerning the delay of baptism evident in fourth century Christian writers suggests that these unidentified homilies were also a reaction to these circumstances. It is also likely that the preoccupation with evil and its consequences was a similar reaction to a different set of circumstances. Although the exact references for these themes must remain opaque because of the fragmentary nature of the texts and our lack of knowledge of the exact place and time in which they were preached, something of the circumstances behind their composition and copying can be glimpsed in their content.

[252] P. Merton 2. 51 Recto l. 4–6 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ο]ὐκ ἐβαπτίσαντο| [ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τὴν δὲ βου]λ̣ὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ| [καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)[ῦ ἠθέτησαν, "But the Pharisees were not baptized by John. They rejected the purpose of God and the command of God."

2: Citations

The presence and use of scriptural citations is one of the most significant features of these unidentified homilies. As the amount of citations and the degree to which they resemble their source indicate how the preacher used the scriptures within the homily, so too do the citations provide information on how these teachings were communicated to an audience. The amount of citation and the resemblance to its source can indicate how the preacher used the scriptures and its role within the homily. The composers' interactions with multiple citations and the use of Old and New Testament material also provides some indication of what the composers were reading, and how these texts were articulated for the audience, for many of whom this would have been their primary interaction with scripture, given the low rates of functional literacy in the period. If and how the source of the citation is characterised may also provide an indication of how the preacher presents the citation and mediated the authority of the text from which it came

<u>References Without Introductory Clause</u>

The statement ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ ἀδελφάς in PSI 7. 759 is significant because of the implication that the preacher is appealing to brothers *and sisters*.[253] This citation quotes Matthew 19. 29 and Mark 10. 29–30, when Jesus is speaking of the kingdom of God to the disciples. The reference is also used in later Christian literature including

[253] PSI 7. 759 l. 16.

the homilies of John Chrysostom.[254] In PSI 7. 759, however, the citation is used to address the audience, which would indicate that the congregation was comprised of both men and women. Women were undoubtedly part of congregations during Late Antique Egypt, further indicated by the address to women in M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52.[255] Although the citation from PSI 7. 759 is not sufficient enough to warrant classification as a direct gospel quotation, the frequent attestations of the exact phrase in later literature suggests that it was used to address an audience which included women.

The composer of P. Bour. 3 constantly refers to scripture, but does not give a sustained quotation of any particular passage. The story of Rebecca and the Well (Gen. 24. 16–67) is frequently referred to in column 1, but is never quoted as a complete passage.[256] This is also seen in column 4, in which the composer refers to the story of Moses finding the well at Madiam (Exodus 2. 15–22)[257] and when Jesus finds the well of Jacob (John 4. 6).[258]

The combination of the lack of direct citation and the rapid shift between references indicates that the citations were not the focus of the homily, but were part of the

[254] John Chrysostom for e.g. *De Virginitae.* Grillet and Musurillo (1966) Section 73 l. 52, *In Genesim.* PG 54 p. 625 l.30, *In Matthaeum.* PG 58 p. 606 l. 36. Others include Clement of Rome, *Epistula II ad Corinthios.* Bihlmeyer and Schneemelcher (1970) Chapter 20 section 2; Athenagoras, *Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis.* Schoedel (1972) Chapter 32 section 5; Origen, *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*. Koetschau (1899) Section 14 l. 12 and Section 16 l. 4; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis 18*. Reischl and Rupp Vol. 2 (1967) Chapter 30 l. 16.

[255] M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 l. 22–23 παρακαλε-|σάτω θλιβομένας καὶ ταραττομένας, "I summoned those women who have been afflicted and disturbed."

[256] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 6–17.

[257] P. Bour. 3 Col. 4 l. 14–19.

[258] P. Bour. 3 Col. 4 l. 21–25. Other instances in which the composer refers to a passage but does not cite it directly include Col 2 l. 10–11 A reference to the opening of the eyes in Genesis 21. 9; Col. 2 l. 23–24 A reference to Jerecho which refers to the story of Jesus healing the blind man in Luke 18. 35–43; Col 4 l. 2–9 Refers to 1 Cor. 2. 13–14 with the punishment for not receiving the holy spirit; Col. 4 l. 11–12 Refers to the story of Jacob meeting Laban and marrying Rachel and eventually fathering a child in Genesis 29.

overall theme.[259] The composer may not have expected the audience to recognise the source of these citations (or even that they were citations), but utilised the material to provide instruction concerning salvation. The use of both the Old and New Testaments suggests that the composer was knowledgeable in the scriptures and applied this knowledge to provide a teaching supported by multiple citations. The well and water remained a constant metaphor throughout the text and provided examples of the common preaching technique of repetition.

Direct Quotation

The most common method of citation throughout the corpus is direct quotation. The phrase 'direct quotation' should be understood as the citation of a passage from the scriptures, where the majority of the forms are similar, and the sense of the original passage is conveyed by the citation. The reconstructed nature of the these fragmentary papyri is an issue when evaluating the extent to which these passages have been cited. Therefore the degree of reconstruction and whether this reconstruction suits the text (its relation to the content, letters per line) must be considered in order to determine the use of citations and their role in the text. The direct citations discussed below are not accompanied by a reference to the scriptural source. These direct citations and their use in the text can help to indicate the composer's intended teaching and provide information concerning the audience.

[259] The overall theme of the text was most likely salvation pp. 62–64.

Citations

P. Merton 2. 51 directly cites multiple passages from the gospels, while maintaining focus on the exegesis of Luke 6 and 7. The reconstruction of the text reveals that the composer most likely quoted Luke 7. 29–30:[260]

1 [καὶ πᾶς ὁ λα]ὸς καὶ οἱ τελ̣ῶ[ναι]
2 [ἀκούσαντες ἐδικ]α̣ίωσαν τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν
3 [ὁμολογοῦντες τὰς] ἁμαρτίας ἑαυτῶν
4 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ο]ὐκ ἐβαπτίσαντο
5 [ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τὴν δὲ βου]λ̣ὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ
6 [καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)]ῦ ἠθέτησαν[261]

The direct citation of Luke 7. 29–30 suggests that there was most likely some sort of exegesis of these particular passages, especially as the verso of the papyrus quotes Luke 6. 45–46 is cited on the verso.[262] It is also possible that the mention of the source was present but did not survive. The composer also quotes a section from Mark 7. 9 on the recto, after citing Luke 7. 30.[263]

The use of the direct citation in this instance indicates that this homily was exegetical. The lines following the citation of Luke 7. 29–30 reformulate the phraseology of the gospel in the present tense, which was most likely the beginning of the exegesis.[264]

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[260] Luke 7. 29–30: καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀκούσας καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ἐδικαίωσαν τὸν Θεὸν βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου. οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτούς, μὴ βαπτισθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, "When all the people and the tax collectors heard this, they declared God to be just, having been baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the council of God not being baptized by him themselves."

[261] P. Merton 2. 51 Recto l. 1–6, "And all the people and the tax collectors heard him and acknowledged the justice of God, confessing their sins. But the Pharisees were not baptized by John. They rejected the council of God and the command of God." Note that although it is mostly reconstructed by Rees , the citation matches the average letters per line for the manuscript, Rees (1959) no. 51.

[262] Note that this citation is modified from the source material, see pp. 83–84.

[263] P. Merton 2. 51 Recto l. 6–7 τὴν δὲ βου]λ̣ὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ| [καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)]ῦ ἠθέτησαν, "They rejected the purpose of God and the command of God"; compare Mark 7.9 ἀθετεῖτε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, "They rejected the council of God."

[264] P. Merton 2. 51 Recto l. 7–8 [(?) ὡσαύτως ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς αὐτοὺς] ἀ̣θετεῖ| [ἠρῶτα δὲ αὐτὸν Φαριασαῖος μ]ετ᾽ αὐτο[ῦ], "Likewise, God rejected them. But a Pharisee asked him to eat with him." Rees argues that the shift to the present tense in line 7 suggests that this was discourse from the composer, Rees (1959) p. 3.

The citation would have been read out and followed by this exegesis, focusing on the individual teachings from each selected passage of Luke. This homily thus mediated its instruction by careful exegesis of scriptural text.

P. Oxy. 13. 1601 directly cites and exegetes passages from the Old Testament book of Joel. The composer of this text quotes Joel 1. 6 in two separate sentences on the verso,[265] and a truncated citation of Joel 1. 8 on the recto,[266] which indicates that the homily was most likely concerned with the exegesis of these passages, similar to P. Merton 2. 51.[267] The citation of Joel 1. 6 here is reconstructed, but it does match the average letters per line for the manuscript. The composer references a multitude of citations from both the Old and New Testaments, which are supplementary to the citations of Joel.[268] As with P. Merton 2. 51, the theme appears to shift rapidly, but continues to cite the book of Joel, indicating the bringing of these scriptural examples to bear on the text's focus on the devil, the spiritual battle and sin.

Direct citation is the most common form of reference to the scriptures throughout the corpus.[269] The frequency with which it is employed indicates that it was the preferred

[265] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Verso l. 2–3 [ὅτι ἔθνος ἀνέβη| ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ [κυριοῦ ἰσχυρὸν, "For a strong nation has risen against the land of the lord", and l. 11–13 ἀνα-|ρίθμητον τούτου [δὲ τοῦ ἐθνοὺς| [οἱ] ὀδόντες λέοντ[ος, "Countless of this nation have the teeth of a lion"; compare Joel 1.6 ὅτι ἔθνος ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μου ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀναρίθμητον οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὀδόντες λέοντος, "For a strong and countless nation has risen against my land, their teeth are the teeth of a lion."

[266] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Recto l. 8–9, see pp. 84–85 for further discussion of the truncation.

[267] Although it is extremely fragmentary, P. Bodl. 1. 5 also appears to be solely concerned with a passage from Daniel 6. 21–22.

[268] Other citations and references in P. Oxy. 13. 1601 include: Verso l. 7–8- a reference to Ephesians 6.12; Verso l. 13–15 is a contracted quote from 1 Peter 5. 8; Recto l. 14–15 is a contracted citation of Hosea 3.3.

[269] Other examples than those discussed include: M.P.E.R. N.S. 4. 52 Verso l. 9ff quotes Psalm 45. 3, Verso l. 14ff quotes Luke 17. 6; P. London Lit. 228 Col. 4 l. 2–10 quotes Genesis 14. 17; P. Col. 11. 295 Verso l. 4–5 quotes John 2. 9; P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 4 quotes John 4. 13; P. Oxy. 2073 Verso l. 11–13 quotes the Book of Wisdom 11. 19 and Verso l. 13–14 quotes the Wisdom of Sirach 25. 16. Epp argues that the

choice for citing the scriptures. Old and New Testament material is quoted equally, with no apparent preference amongst composers of these texts. Quoting the source undoubtedly gave the homily more authority and validity, which would verify the moral and ethical instruction being portrayed.[270] The evident association between direct citation and exegesis, may indicate that more exegetical homilies were popular amongst preachers in Late Antique Egypt.

Modified Citations

The composer of a homily could also alter a passage from scripture for emphasis or to help better convey their intended teaching or instruction. There are three texts in the corpus in which the composer has altered a citation, two of which are truncations while the other places emphasis on a particular teaching.

In P. Merton 2. 51 the composer has altered the quotation to change the emphasis from the "good man"(ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος) to the "evil man" (ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος):

1 ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ]
2 [πονη]ρ̣ο̣ῦ̣ προφέ̣ρ[ων καρπὸν πονηρὸν προ-]
3 [έ]φερεν ὡς ἐκ π[ονηροῦ πονηρὸν δένδ-]
4 ρον. καὶ ὅτε ἀποσ[τέλλετε ἐκ τοῦ ἀγα-]
5 θοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆ̣[ς καρδίας ἀγαθὰ οὐκ]
6 ἀπόλλυτ̣[αο ὁ ἀγαθὸς καρπὸς]

introduction of the Sirach quote with the Wisdom passage "is strong confirmation that our papyrus – surely in part and perhaps in whole – was a diatribe or homily against women." Epp points out that the quote from Sirach is also used in P. Oxy. 1603, a 5th-6th century Psuedo-Chrysostom treatise, which is clearly concerned with wicked women; Epp (2004) p. 42. Assuming that Hunt's reconstruction is correct, this is the most likely explanation for the presence of these two quotes.

[270] Dunn-Wilson (2005) p. 39.

7 [αὐ]τῆς[271]

One can compare Luke 6. 45: ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθὸν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρὸν ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.[272] By placing the evil man in the first position, the composer has emphasised the consequences for the evil man in contrast to the good man. The addition of the fruit metaphor, which does not appear at all in the Lukan passage, provides another image of the consequences of evil for the audience, which most likely proceeds from the forbidden fruit in Genesis 3. This clear alteration of the biblical text shows that the composer wished to emphasise the consequences of evil, rather than the message of the original material, which placed the good man in the first position.[273]

The two papyri with truncated citations are significant as they provide information on how the texts were read and how they were intended to have been received by the audience. The composer of P. Oxy. 13. 1601 has intentionally omitted certain phrases of citations from both the Old and New Testaments. The most significant of these occurs when the composer quotes Joel 1. 8, and omits the middle section of the passage:

8 θρή]νησον πρὸς με

271 P. Merton 2. 51 Verso l. 1–7 "For the bad man, produced from evil, produces evil fruit, as the evil tree is (produced) from evil; and when you send out good things from the good treasure of the heart, its good fruit does not perish."

272 "The good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings out that which is good, and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart brings out that which is evil, for out of the abundance of the heart, his mouth speaks." Also note the similar passage from Matthew 12. 35 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρά, "The good man brings out good from the good treasure and the evil man brings out evil from the evil treasure."

273 Sophists in the Roman period could also manipulate quotes to argue a certain position. Anderson (1993) p. 79.

9 σάκ]κον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐ(τῆς)[274]

Compare Joel 1.8 θρήνησον πρὸς με ὑπὲρ νύμφην περιεζωσμένην σάκκον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν παρθενικόν.[275] The space is not sufficient for the middle of the citation to be at the end of line 8 or the beginning of line 9, which indicates that the composer has shortened the citation. This is not the only case of a truncation within the text: the composer has also omitted a section from the middle of a quote of 1 Peter 5. 8[276] While these are truncated, the composer still communicates the message of the text. In the case of the citation of Joel 1. 8, the lamentation is still conveyed without πρὸς με ὑπὲρ νύμφην περιεζωσμένην. Concerning the citation of 1 Peter 5. 8, the image of the lion is already conveyed in an earlier quotation of Joel 1.6.[277]

The scribe of this papyrus also abbreviates πορνεύω when referring to Hosea 3. 3.[278] While this is a different phenomenon, the abbreviation of πορνεύω to πορ and πορν has implications for how the text was intended to have been read by the preacher. The word was undoubtedly read in full in both cases, but why were these particular words abbreviated? Other words outside of citations are also abbreviated, which indicates that it was not exclusive to quotations or references.[279] Although both cases

[274] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Recto l. 8–9, "You lament to me upon a cloth for her husband."

[275] "Lament to me more than a virgin girded with sackcloth upon the husband of her maiden."

[276] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Verso l. 13–15 ὁ ἀντί-|[δι]κος ὑμῶν διάβολ[ος περιπατεῖ| [ζ]ητῶν καταπιεῖν [, "The devil is your enemy, seeking whom he may devour."1 Peter 5. 8 ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν καταπιεῖν, "The devil is your enemy, he walks around like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour."

[277] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Verso l. 11–13, see pp. 71–73 on the devil and lion simile.

[278] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Recto l. 14–15 ἔλεγεν Ὡσηὲ γυναικὶ πορ(νευούσῃ)| ὅτι καθήσῃ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ οὐ μὴ πορν(εύσῃς), "And Hosea said to the female prostitute 'You should stay with me and not be a prostitute.'"; compare Hosea 3. 3 καὶ εἶπα πρὸς αὐτήν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθήσῃ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ οὐ μὴ πορνεύσῃς οὐδὲ μὴ γένῃ ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σοί, "And I said to her, "You shall stay with me many days. You shall not play the prostitute, and you will not be with another man and I will be to you.'"

[279] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 Recto l. 9 αὐ(τῆς), l. 13 ἐνήστευσ(αν), l. 14 ἔλεγ(εν) l. 14 γυναικ(ί), l. 16 πρῶτ(ον).

of πορνεύω end the line, other abbreviations are present in the middle of lines.[280] The fact that the abbreviation is not applied consistently, and that the most abbreviated case occurs first means that it cannot be explained by an earlier mention and the lack of a need for the complete word. The reader was clearly expected to recognise the abbreviated word, suggesting that they were well informed of the word, and most likely the entire text.[281]

A similar case of truncation in which the sense is previously conveyed occurs in P. Bour. 3. The composer quotes John 4. 14 but does not repeat the phrase concerning 'Christ providing the water':

5 ὅς δ' ἄν πείη τοῦ ὕδα[τος] οὗ ἐγὼ ἀναδώσω οὐ μὴ
6 διψήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀλλὰ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῳ πη-
7 γὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον[282]

Here we may compare John 4. 14, ὃς δ' ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.[283] The composer of this text records some cases of direct quotation, including John 4. 13,[284] which suggests that the truncation is a deliberate choice. The text of the citation is only marginally reconstructed (only one word required reconstruction), so it is clear that τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ has been omitted. Similar to P. Oxy. 13. 1601 it appears that this section has been omitted from the homily because this has already been stated in line five: ὅς δ' ἄν πείη τοῦ ὕδα[τος] οὗ

[280] Note also that the scribe did not maintain a right hand margin, even with the use of line-fillers.
[281] Particularly after Recto l. 9, when these abbreviations start to occur.
[282] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 5–7, "But whoever drinks of the water that I will give him will never thirst again, but will become in him a well of water springing up to eternal life."
[283] "But whoever drinks of the water that I will give him will never thirst again; but the water that I will give him will become in him a well of water springing up to eternal life."
[284] P. Bour. 3 Col. 2 l. 4.

ἐγὼ ἀναδώσω. This indicates that rather than directly quoting the passage, the composer intended to truncate the citation and remove the repetition.[285] This refrain from repetition might have occurred because the composer frequently repeats other motifs such as the well (φρέαρ),[286] and the opening of the eyes (ὀφθαλμός).[287] Therefore the citation is most likely truncated as the intention of the composer is to focus the attention of the audience not on "the giver," but the water (symbolising eternal life) which is being given.

Overall, the modification of a citation occurs within the corpus infrequently, and only when the composer wishes to place emphasis on a line of thought, or when the sense has already been conveyed and it is not necessary for it to be repeated. This indicates that these homilies were constructed by the composers with deliberate homiletic choices of what citations were used, and the language in which they were presented.

[285] Which is significant as one of the key homiletic techniques includes repetition, Bailey (2010) pp. 4–5.
[286] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 2, 3, 19, 23; Col. 2 l. 10, 12, 14, 15, 16; Col. 4 l. 12–13, 17.
[287] P. Bour. 3 Col. 1 l. 22; Col. 2 l. 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26.

3: Citations with References to the Source or Introductory Verbs

Citations with a mention of the source or author are infrequent, in part because of the fragmentary nature of the papyri. There is only one case in which the source is named, only because the character of that book is the speaker, otherwise the citations are introduced with verbs such as λέγω or φημί. In conjunction with these citations, we must ask why does a mention of the source only occur in these instances, especially when some texts have multiple citations and references.

The only citation with a mention of the author occurs in P. Oxy. 13. 1601 in which the composer refers to Hosea in a reference to Hosea 3. 3:

14 ἔλεγεν Ὡσηὲ γυναικὶ πορ(νευούσῃ)
15 ὅτι καθήσῃ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ οὐ μὴ πορν(εύσῃς)[288]

Compare Hosea 3.3: καὶ εἶπα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθήσῃ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ οὐ μὴ πορνεύσῃς οὐδὲ μὴ γένῃ ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σοί.[289] This is the only one of six citations in P. Oxy. 13. 1601 in which the source is mentioned. The mention of the source in this case can be attributed to the quotation of a piece of dialogue. By interpolating the name of Hosea into the passage, the preacher conveys to the audience that the citation is from the book of Hosea, providing legitimacy and authority to the teaching by naming the prophet, who was its source.[290] The use of the

[288] P. Oxy. 13. 1601 l. 14–15. "And Hosea said to the female prostitute 'You should stay with me and not be a prostitute.'"
[289] "And I said to her, "You shall stay with me many days. You shall not play the prostitute, and you will not be with another man and I will be to you.'"
[290] See Dunn-Wilson (2005) p. 39.

name also provides a piece of dialogue for the moral teaching, focused on the prostitute.

In P. Col. 11. 295, the composer quotes a speech from God in Gen. 6. 13 and introduces the citation with φασίν:

5 ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς φασὶν εἶπεν [καιρὸς παντὸς
6 [ἀν(θρώπ)]ου ἧκει ἐνώπιον μου·[291]

See Genesis 6. 13: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Νῶε καιρὸς παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἥκει ἐναντίον μου.[292] The introductory φασίν indicates to the audience that the following text was not written by the composer, but came from another source. The other citation in the text of John 2. 9[293] must have mentioned another source, demonstrated in the line prior to the citation; the fragment reads ἁγί]ων γραφῶν παλαιᾶς τε καὶ κ[αινῆς ("of holy writings, both old and new…).[294] Therefore it is possible that the composer might have highlighted the citations using a reference to the source. However this citation of Gen. 6. 13 provides another example of quoted dialogue being introduced. The use of these mentions of the source for a piece of dialogue might be related to the performance of the homily itself, and were perhaps an indication to the preacher to signal to the audience that this section featured another voice.[295]

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291 "They say God said 'the time of all men has come before me."

292 "And God said to Noah, the time of all men has come before me."

293 P. Col. 11. 295 Verso l. 4–5 ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τῶν γ[άμων| ἐγεύσ]ατο τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενη[μένον, "The master of the feast of marriage tasted the water become wine"; John 2. 9: ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον,"The master of the feast tasted the water become wine."

294 P. Col. 11. 295 Verso l. 3. Note that the end of l. 3 and beginning of l. 4 is lost so the connection to the text in l. 4 is not clear.

295 Mayne-Kienzle (2002) pp. 93–94 summarises the arguments of Bloch (1974) and Sahlin (1999) concerning the delivery of the homily by the reader and states that the preacher gains power "through giving up individual expression and speaking for a supernatural being. " In the act of relating a piece of

In P. Yale. 2. 88 the composer explicitly states that the citation from Isaiah 61 has been "recorded" (or perhaps simply "written", ἀναγράφω). The line preceding the citation has been reconstructed as ἀναγέγρ[απται,[296] which is most likely connected to the reference of Isaiah 61. 10–11. Stephens argues that "this is not the usual introduction for a quotation from scripture but it does occur", [297] noting other instances with ἀναγράφω, including Didymus the Blind and Basil of Caesarea.[298] The content of the papyrus is most likely linked to baptism,[299] however this quote from Isaiah may have served as a citation which supported the instruction. The emphasis on the citation may indicate that the introduction was required to inform the audience of its source in scripture, increasing its legitimacy and authority.

Overall the presence of introductory verbs or mentions of the scriptural source in citations is infrequent, and rarely applied in the surviving text. The main instances in which this has occurred includes instances when the composer is quoting dialogue from the scriptures, and introduces that dialogue with either the name of the source, or with λέγω or φημί. The main function of these references was to indicate a change in speaker, and not to point out the source of the material. In the single case in which "writing" is explicitly mentioned, the text is heavily reconstructed, and it is difficult to analyse the relationship between it and the citation. Nevertheless, it reveals that in some homilies during this period, the preacher did point out the source of the

dialogue from God, the preacher most likely would have acknowledged the speech with a change in tone, pace or volume. Augustine also discussed expression and delivery, see n. 86 and 87.

296 P. Yale 2. 88 l. 4.

297 Stephens (1985) p. 9.

298 Didymus, *Commentary on Genesis* 190. 23; Basil of Caesarea, *Commentary on Isaiah* 6. 183. 86.

299 See p. 66.

material for the audience, which would have impacted on how the citation was understood.

Conclusion

The combined analysis of the physical features and content of these unidentified homilies on papyrus has indicated that these manuscripts were produced with the intention of being read publicly. The examination of the physical features of the manuscripts reveals a frequent application of punctuation and lectional aids which suggests that the texts were formatted to be read, probably aloud. The content of the text provides clues on the teachings of the composers and/or preachers, which in turn provides some possibilities for characterizing the intended audience.

The frequency of punctuation and lectional aids is one of the main features which distinguishes this corpus from other genres of Christian literature. Features including format, letter height, letters per line and margins were of course used in other genres, which indicates (as would be expected) that the scribes who copied homilies also produced texts such as scripture. Stops for sense breaks were very frequent throughout the corpus, and functioned to signpost certain parts of the text, including reported speech or a shift in subject or time. They also provided pauses for emphasis on short sentences or invocations to the audience.

Some papyri in the corpus, such as P. Bour. 3, also had marks of punctuation to aid in word differentiation or pronunciation. Rough breathings, dieresis, and accents, which are often rare in other textual genres, were present throughout the corpus, suggesting scribal concern for the pronunciation and understanding of these texts.

Conclusion

The focus on pronunciation, combined with the frequency of sense breaks, and the substitution of word spacing in the majority of cases where the texts did not use punctuation, provided evidence to support the theory that these texts were produced with the intention of being read aloud.

The analysis of the content has revealed that the common themes of the texts coincided with the concerns of preachers during this period whose work has survived. The two most prolific themes are baptism and evil, with baptism being referenced in over a third of the papyri in the corpus. The 'delay of baptism' was a concern for preachers like Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom, as is reflected in their writings. The many references to baptism indicates that it was also a concern for the composers of these texts, and suggests that their audience was comprised, at least in part, of unbaptized Christian believers, like those of many church fathers from the fourth century.

Discussions of evil were constructed around the identification and description of the devil and the consequences of evil. The devil was characterized in these texts as the enemy from whom God provided protection. The composers used this theme to strengthen the faith of their congregations, which suggests that the circumstances of those homilies may have warranted an assurance of divine protection. The consequences of evil were also referenced and might have been used to control social behaviour.

Conclusion

Citations helped to provide insights into the intended teaching of the composer in texts which are largely fragmentary. Passages from the scriptures were used in these homilies in many ways, from direct quotations to references, and modified citations. Direct quotation was the most common form of citation and corresponded to how citations were used in homilies which survive the medieval manuscript tradition. These citations functioned to provide authority and validity. Modified citations indicated that it was not necessary to directly quote the scriptures, and that such citations could be changed for emphasis to suit the needs of the composer. In three separate texts, a citation was accompanied by a mention of the source. In each case, this mention occurs when a character is speaking, which suggests that the mention did not function primarily to make the audience aware of the source (although it served this purpose), but rather served to identify the change in perspective or speaker. The manner in which these citations were used indicates that the texts in this corpus comprised many different types of homilies: exegetical, instructional and pastoral.

Many of the papyri in the corpus were hesitantly or dubiously designated as homilies by their editors. Often the texts were fragmentary, and only the presence of multiple citations or invocations to the audience indicated their genre. This analysis of the relationship between the physicality of the manuscript and the content has indicated that these texts were indeed most likely homilies, and that these papyrus copies were produced with the intention of being read aloud, and probably, given their genre, publicly.

Conclusion

Reading these papyri allows us to discover the voices of these lost Christian preachers, and know something about the congregations who they stood before. In the lectional signs above and among the words, we can see the strategies scribes employed to assist in the public reading of these texts, while in the content we can witness the concerns over baptism and evil which the preachers strove to communicate, and sense reflected in them something of the circumstances of the communities who heard these homilies. Far from the metropoleis of Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople, we find similar concerns to those articulated by famous late-antique preachers echoed in these papyri. The challenges faced by Christians, and the strategies their leaders brought forth to deal with them, were just as present in late antique rural Egypt as they were in the cities of the wider Roman Empire.

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